



BIBLIA AMERICANA

Cotton Mather

Volume 2: EXODUS – DEUTERONOMY

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Reiner Smolinski

Cotton Mather.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 2

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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 2 EXODUS – DEUTERONOMY

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Reiner Smolinski

Mohr Siebeck

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In Memoriam

Margret Helene Königstein

Virginia Spencer Carr

Antonio Maria Rodriguez-Vargas

There is no steady unretracing progress in this life; we do not advance through fixed gradations and at the last one pause: – through infancy's unconscious spell, boyhood's thoughtless faith, adolescence's doubt (the common doom), then skepticism, then disbelief, resting at last in manhood's pondering repose of If. But once gone through, we trace the round again; and are infants, boys, and men, and Ifs eternally. Where lies the final harbor, whence we unmoor no more?

Herman Melville (1851)

*Morgen-Glantz der Ewigkeit
Licht vom unerschöpften Lichte
Schick uns diese Morgen-Zeit
Deine Strahlen zu Gesichte:
Und vertreib durch deine Macht
unsre Nacht.*

Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (c. 1690)

Acknowledgments

Nine years ago, in 2010, the first volume of Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana* (Genesis) appeared in print – thanks to the generous support of the distinguished publishing house Mohr Siebeck of Tübingen (Germany). It was a cause for celebration and, let me here confess it once and for all, a tremendous relief and personal vindication in more ways than one. Even the most well-meaning of colleagues generally shook their heads in disbelief (or was it pity?) that anyone would undertake to edit – let alone publish – Mather's elephantine holograph manuscript of, roughly, three million words! Who, in this fast-paced academic world of publish or perish, would spend their academic career on thumbing through dusty old manuscripts and arcane debates in the history of Enlightenment science and biblical hermeneutics? Hardly the kind of theory-driven enterprise that has transformed the studies of the humanities since the 1980s. After spending more than a decade of transcribing the holograph manuscript, collating it against the original document at the Massachusetts Historical Society, proofreading it forward and backward and backward and forward again with the help of numerous graduate research assistants, and hunting down every imaginable primary source in rare-book libraries on both sides of the Atlantic – to repeat, after spending myriads of solitary hours of wading through the Mather bog, I held in my hands, at long last, the first printed copy ever of America's First Bible Commentary. On the shiny dustjacket, Peter Pelham's well-known portrait of Cotton Mather, periwigged in all his glory, seemed to wink and smile back at me – a projection of my own imagination, no doubt.

Since that auspicious moment in late October of 2010, four more volumes of our ten-volume *Biblia Americana* project have been published: Ken Minkema's *BA 3* (Joshua – 2 Chronicles) in 2013, Clark Maddux's *BA 4* (Ezra – Psalms) in 2014, Jan Stievermann's *BA 5* (Proverbs – Jeremiah) in 2015, and Bob Brown's *BA 9* (John – Acts) in 2018. And now, inshallah, the second volume of Mather's two-volume commentary on the Pentateuch, *BA 2* (Exodus – Deuteronomy) in 2019. The remaining four volumes, edited by my colleagues Ava Chamberlain (*BA 6*), Doug Sweeney (*BA 7*), Rick Kennedy and Clark Maddux (*BA 8*), and Jan Stievermann (*BA 10*) – all in due order – are expected to appear by 2022.

If miracles still occur in our time, then, surely, the internet and the world-wide-web must be counted among them. It never ceases to amaze me

how incunabula, rare books, manuscripts, images, and digital resources of the remotest kind are accessible nowadays on any number of databases – just a few clicks away. “Eureka!” has since become part of my everyday vocabulary. Progress notwithstanding, I had the privilege of examining first-hand rare documents in libraries at home and abroad. My particular thanks go to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public Library, Andover-Harvard Library, the Congregational Library and Archives, Pitts Theology Library at Emory University, the Huntington Library, the Bridwell Library at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, and (further afield), the Library of the Royal Society of London, the British Museum Library, the Library of the Franckesche Stiftungen Halle, and the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL). So, too, digital copies of rare works were made available through the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg and Tübingen. Lest I forget, my colleagues at Georgia State University’s Pullen Library have gone out of their way to help me get access to primary and secondary works through interlibrary loans – if not otherwise available. Finally, many thanks to the now indispensable Google Books Library Project. It truly democratizes access to knowledge.

The publication of this volume was made possible by a generous grant from the Henry Luce Foundation. We want to thank Jonathan VanAntwerpen, the Program Director for Theology at the Foundation, for his support of our project.

For my research on *Biblia Americana* (BA 2 Exodus – Deuteronomy), I received several fellowships from the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Huntington Library (Pasadena), the Andrew Clark Library (UCLA), and the Bridwell Library (SMU). The Department of English at Georgia State University under the leadership of Randy Malamud and Lynee Gaillet, and Sara Thomas Rosen, dean of the College of Arts and Science, generously granted two summer research fellowships and time off for two research intensive semesters (formerly known as sabbaticals). Special acknowledgements deserve my colleagues and collaborators Jan Stievermann under whose auspices our Mather Project received a generous grant from the Luce Foundation, Ken Minkema, Clark Maddux, Rick Kennedy, Ava Chamberlain, Bob Brown, and Doug Sweeney. I am also grateful to Ute Smolinski (Limburg); Käthe Ristow (formerly of Mainz); Mark Langley (Topeka); Cary Hewitt and Margaret Bendroth (Congregational Library & Archives); Peter Drummey and Conrad Wright (MHS) for permission to edit and publish *Biblia Americana*; Rick Cogley (SMU); Christopher Trigg and Kate Blyn Wakely-Mulroney (NTU, Singapore); Alfred Hornung, Oliver Scheiding, and Damian Schlarb (Uni-Mainz); Baisheng Zhao (Peking University); Jiang “River” Liu (CPU, Nanjing); Henning Ziebritzki and Jana Trispel (Mohr Siebeck); and

untold well-wishers who suffered me to discuss my research at public lectures and conferences at home and abroad.

My deep affections go out to my beloved daughters – Hannah Sophie Caldwell-Smolinski and Madeleine Marie Caldwell-Smolinski – who have grown up with Cotton Mather and who indulged their father’s penchant for musty old books.

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List of Abbreviations

ABC	Archbishop of Canterbury
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
AV	<i>Authorized Version</i> (i. e., KJV)
BA	<i>Biblia Americana</i> (Cotton Mather)
“BA”	“Biblia Americana” (Mather’s holograph manuscript)
BBKL	<i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> . 29 vols. < www.bautz.de/bbkl >
BD	<i>Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge</i> .
BEIP	<i>The Biographical Encyclopedia of Islamic Philosophy</i> .
BNP	<i>Brill’s New Pauly</i>
BPVN	<i>Biographisch Portaal van Nederland</i>
EGRM	<i>Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology</i>
Calmet	<i>Calmet’s Dictionary of the Holy Bible</i>
CBTEL	<i>Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature</i>
CE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
CERL	<i>CERL Thesaurus: Consortium of European Research Libraries</i> http://thesaurus.cerl.org/
DB	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i> http://www.deutsche-biographie.de
DCBL	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature</i>
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (Second Edition)
DGRA	<i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities</i> (William Smith)
DGRBM	<i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology</i> (William Smith)
E	East, Eastern
EAH	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient History</i>
EB	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
EI	<i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i>
EJ	<i>Encyclopædia Judaica</i>
GAW	<i>A Guide to the Ancient World</i>
HBD	<i>Harper’s Bible Dictionary</i>
JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
JL	<i>Jesuiten-Lexikon</i>
JPS	<i>Jewish Publication Society</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i> (1611)
KP	<i>Der Kleine Pauly</i>
LCD	<i>Lemprière’s Classical Dictionary</i>

<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Online Liddell-Scott-Jones-Greek-English Lexicon</i> (<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>)
<i>LXX</i>	<i>Septuaginta</i>
<i>MAM</i>	<i>Manuductio ad Ministerium</i> (Cotton Mather)
<i>N</i>	North, Northern
<i>NCDGRB</i>	<i>New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology</i> <i>and Geography</i> (William Smith)
<i>NDB</i>	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>NJPS</i>	<i>New Jewish Publication Society Bible Translation</i>
<i>NPNFi</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> (First Series)
<i>NPNFii</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> (Second Series)
<i>NT</i>	New Testament
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (Third Edition)
<i>OEAGR</i>	<i>Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>ODB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> (Alexander Petrovitch Kazhdan)
<i>ODCC</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> (Second Edition)
<i>ODMA</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (online)
<i>OJPS</i>	<i>Old Jewish Publication Society Bible Translation</i> (1917)
<i>OT</i>	Old Testament
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graecae</i> (Migne)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latinae</i> (Migne)
<i>RC</i>	Roman Catholic
<i>S</i>	South, Southern
<i>SEP</i>	<i>Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i> (online)
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>VUL</i>	<i>Vulgata</i>
<i>W</i>	West, Western

PART 1

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Preface

Perhaps more than any other unit of books in the Judeo-Christian Scriptures, the Pentateuch, aka, the Five Books of Moses, Chumash, and Torah (Law), occupies a special place in the corpus of the canonical and noncanonical books of the Old and New Testaments. It is in the Pentateuch where it all began – God’s eternal fiat, the creation and fall of man, Noah’s deluge and dispersal of his descendants, the story of the patriarchs, the deliverance from Egyptian slavery, the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai/Horeb, the trials and tribulations in the Sinai desert, the conquest of the Promised Land, and Moses’ Pisgah sight and farewell. These events are central to the unfolding narratives in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, and are continuously referred to, paraphrased, or quoted as the foundation of authority and authenticity in virtually every book of the Bible. Remove the Pentateuch and the entire superstructure of the Judeo-Christian Scriptures crumbles: the Torah is the foundation of the world’s three great monotheistic religions.

If the preceding summation still holds true for most believers today, it certainly held true for the Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., F.R.S. (1663–1728), and for virtually all of his contemporaries in the early Enlightenment. However, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the unshakable pillars of God’s Word began to sway, the columns of the text developed fissures, the center came apart: The rise of philological criticism of the Bible as text, disputes about the Mosaic authorship and authenticity of the extant copies and their translations, competing biblical chronologies, canon criticism and textual transmission, Newtonian science, Cartesian mechanism, philosophical materialism, and the rise of comparative religions – all these isms and more posed tremendous challenges to the veracity and authenticity of the Pentateuch and the Bible as a whole. Cotton Mather felt called upon to rise up in defense of the Word. His greatest and most voluminous work, *Biblia Americana* (1693–1728), testifies to, and participates in, the remarkable debates among his fellow physico-theologians as he tried to harmonize the subversive implications and rising skepticism with his conservative exegesis of the Bible. An encyclopedic commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Mather’s *Biblia Americana* (c. 3,000,000 words) is colonial America’s first comprehensive explication of the Bible. As I have shown in the introductory sections to the first of ten published volumes of *Biblia Americana* (BA 1:3–174), Mather faced the battle of the books head-on. As he set out to reconcile the old with

the new, miracles and the wonders of the invisible world with a mechanistic and atomistic cosmos governed by cause-and-effect, divine revelation and verbal inspiration with philological-textual redactions of the Bible, he compiled an extraordinary digest of the contemporary debate. *Biblia Americana* is a unique record of how Enlightenment philosophy impacted biblical exegesis in English North America.

What particular noteworthy issues does Mather address in the Pentateuch? The following is an abstract of some of his most intriguing arguments in each of the five books of Moses:

I. Genesis (*Bereshit*)

In his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:211–1156) – his longest and most detailed annotations on any book in the biblical canon – Mather devotes much attention to the conflicting chronologies of the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint (Greek) versions of the Pentateuch. By and large, the belief in the hexameron, a time period of roughly six-thousand years from the first day of creation to the Second Coming of Christ at the beginning (or end) of the millennium, was still widely accepted. For instance, James Ussher (1581–1646), the Anglican archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland, calculated in his popular *Annals of the World* (1658) that the creation of Heaven and Earth (Gen. 1:1) “fell upon the entrance of the night preceding the twenty third day of *Octob.* in the year of the Julian Calendar, 710,” i.e., 4004 BCE¹ (*Annals*, p. 1); this ancient Roman calendar was still regnant in England and her colonies until 1752—nearly 170 years after the Gregorian Calendar had replaced its predecessor in the rest of Europe. Alas, the Samaritan and Greek (LXX) chronologies of the Pentateuch differed from that of the Hebrew Masora by more than 300 or 600 years, respectively. Yet when compared to the chronologies of the Egyptians and Chinese, the history of the world seemed much longer – by tens of thousands of years (*BA* 1:277–301).² Today, such “minor” difference may be amusing to those who subscribe to the well-known “Big Bang” that is to have occurred billions and billions of light-years ago (as Carl Sagan famously put it), but modern readers must not fall into the trap of presentism by judging the past by our current standards: We stand on the shoulders of giants whose vistas were slightly less elevated than our own.

Perhaps more significant than these early debates about biblical chronology are Mather’s attempts to reconcile the atomist philosophy of Leucippus,

1 James Ussher, *The Annals of the World* (1658), p. 1.

2 Paulo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time* (1984), pp. 137–52. Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship. II Historical Chronology* (1993).

Democritus, and Lucretius with the creation account of Moses. To Cotton Mather and his peers, Moses was the most learned philosopher of all times, and if rightly understood the six days of creation follow clearly discernible patterns of corpuscular accretions and the formation of minute particles (atoms) into universal matter. The Greek philosophers, so Mather and his colleagues opined, had nothing on Moses. In fact, Greek philosophy – natural, moral, and juridical – was “stolen” from Moses via the Egyptians whom the divine lawgiver had taught all there was to know (*BA* 1:357–419). In plucking the assumed feathers from the Greeks and Egyptians, and in restoring them to their rightful owner, Mather followed well-established precedent as he engaged some of the leading corpuscularians and natural philosophers of his day, including Gassendi, Hobbes, Descartes, Boyle, and Newton.

Closely related to the competing creationist theories of the day are the contemporaneous debates on the mechanistic causes and effects of Noah’s flood and the size and shape of Noah’s ark (*BA* 1:579–666). In Mather’s time, the two most popular explications of the deluge were published by Thomas Burnet (1635–1715) and William Whiston (1667–1752). An Anglican theologian and natural philosopher, Burnet theorized in his *Telluris Theoria Sacra, or The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1681–90) that the surface of the antediluvian earth was completely level – no mountains or valleys – and the flood waters that would subsequently reshape the globe were contained in the interior, below the earth’s surface, whose thin crust floated on top like flotsam and jetsam. Upon the collapse of the surface, mountains, islands, and continents arose from the waters that inundated the earth. Whiston’s *New Theory of the Earth from its Original to the Consummation of All Things* (1696) was perhaps less sophisticated in its speculative intricacies than Burnet’s *Sacred Theory* but no less dramatic. With Edmond Halley to back him up, Whiston (Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge) posited that the Noachic cataclysm was caused by an interstellar comet passing near the earth and delivering most of the flood waters. In like manner, another comet would cause the destruction of the entire globe in God’s own time, at the end of the millennium. Mather’s response to both Burnet and Whiston is less than welcoming, but he is no less eager to debate his peers about the masses of water necessary to cover the highest mountains on earth.³

II. Exodus (*Shemot*)

Cotton Mather’s commentary on Exodus (*BA* 2) is intriguing as well, for his essays, glosses, and annotations go well beyond the standard fare of his

³ Much useful information is provided in Katharine B. Collier’s *Cosmogonies of our Fathers* (1986).

contemporaries – Matthew Poole, Samuel Clark, Simon Patrick, Jean LeClerc, Richard Kidder, Thomas Pyle, and Matthew Henry. What distinguishes Mather's from those of his contemporaries is that he interlaces his pious exhortations and explications with the scientific innovations and discoveries of his day. Though never rescinding his belief that the Almighty can offset the laws of nature at will, Mather does emphasize that God employs secondary causes in nature to bring about what to the ancient observers appeared to be nothing short of a miracle. In the best manner of John Locke, he insists that generally speaking a miracle is an event or phenomenon of which the underlying causes are unknown and inexplicable – implying in the best Cartesian manner of the day that if the causes are understood, the seemingly supernatural incident is no longer miraculous: every cause has an effect, and every effect can be traced to a prior cause. To be sure, providence is never impugned, for God's creation would not be the best of all possible worlds if the Ancient of Days had to offset the fixed laws of nature to suit the insect of an hour. In this way, Mather expends much ink and paper on explaining the ten plagues in Egypt through primary and secondary causes, just as he does on the parting of the Red Sea – not that these miraculous events were not somehow embedded in God's providential plan to begin with.

It does not come as a surprise that Mather delights in drawing parallels between pagan and biblical history. For instance, if Moses and the Israelites passed through the Red Sea unscathed, so did Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) and his armies through the sea of Pamphylia as the waters receded (so Strabo and Plutarch). Likewise, if God fed the Israelites on manna in the wilderness, so travelers to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt found manna naturally growing on shrubs – even in Mather's own time. Or, if pillars of clouds and fire guided God's Chosen through the desert by day and night, so portable pots of burning bitumen were well known in ancient warfare to guide armies through unknown terrain by day and night. Similar as these occurrences might be, Mather was not always comfortable with historical parallels that appeared to impugn divine providence as the *modus operandi* in the books of Moses. Yet much more daunting were the astonishing similarities between the cultic rituals of the Israelites and those of their Egyptian and Canaanite neighbors. Sacrificing animals, carrying cultic arks or chests, or employing blood in sacred devotions and priestly lustrations appear to be as common in Egyptian temples and in the fertility rituals of the Zabians as they were in the ceremonies of Moses. And if truth be told, then Moses adapted the feast of neomenia, the expiatory rites of the scapegoat, the use of Urim and Thummim, even the model of the tabernacle and future Temple from his Egyptian overlord – that is, if Mather's much-admired nemesis John Spencer and his magisterial *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685) have their say (see Section 2 below). The beginnings of comparative religion and their sources in classical antiquity furnished historical evidence that elucidated many arcane practices in the Hebrew Scriptures, but they also questioned the primacy of the Pentateuch.

Is it not true that the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt were much older and more advanced than that of the obscure Israelites who were thrice enslaved by their more powerful neighbors?

Perhaps in light of the disputes about the authenticity of the Hebrew Scriptures as the rock upon which the apostles reared Jesus Christ as the Redeemer, Mather fully embraced typology, the hermeneutic method of discovering prophetic types in the Old and linking them with their Christological antitypes in the New Testament. “*Scepticism*, hath grown up in the Garden of *Criticism*” (BA 1:703), Mather muttered under his breath. And yet, he was convinced that all efforts to demythologize the Bible and to deprive the Book of Books of its divine origin would come to naught – if he could demonstrate that veiled hints and references to Jesus Christ and his Church are embedded in every book of the Old Testament. Consequently, typological, allegorical, and mystical readings of the ten plagues, the Passover, the parting of the seas, manna from heaven, the tabernacle and its furniture, the high priest’s garments and the accoutrements of religious rituals – all these historical acts and cultic implements, rightly understood, were signs and seals of the promised messiah, the Redeemer of mankind, foreshadowed in the enmity between the arch marplot of Eden and the seed of the woman (Gen. 3:15). The time-honored technique of reading the Bible through the hermeneutical prism of the literal and historical, allegorical and tropological, and the anagogical and mystical sense, then, allowed Mather and his conservative peers to reify the divine origin of the Word. And Mather made full use of this key to unlock God’s mysteries (see Section 1 below) that stitched the vellums of both testaments into one seamless whole.

III. Leviticus (*Vayikra*)

For obvious reasons, the third book of the Torah (BA 2) governs the ritual, legal, and moral codes of the Levites, the priestly class that is mostly concerned with officiating the ritual sacrifices and rites of purification, expiation, and atonement. These ancient ceremonies are central to the function of the Jewish priesthood and of the High Priest’s mediation between God and man. Mather spares no effort to provide his readers with specific details: the distinction between clean and unclean animals, the ritualistic slaughter of domestic animals, the offering of libations, incense, first-fruits, and the all-important sprinkling of sacrificial blood around the base of the altar, the application of blood to the horns of the altar of incense, and the blood ritual involved in the ordination of the priesthood. In each case, he supplies statistical tables that itemize the types and numbers of animals to be sacrificed for each specific occasion, and the quantity and quality of oil, flour, salt, and aromatic spices to accompany these offerings. Mather’s tables are some of the earliest statistics to be found in the

commentaries of his day; they illustrate his delight in numerical evidence to underscore the veracity and reliability of the Pentateuch as a whole.⁴

No matter whether a burnt offering, meat offering, peace offering, sin offering, or trespass offering, Mather always looks out for similar rites among the Israelites' pagan neighbors. These parallel practices, dug up from among the tomes of ancient histories, reinforce his conviction that the heathens enviously copied most of their religious practices from Moses. As Mather and his peers frequently put it, the devil wants religion, too, and therefore apes the rituals and ceremonies that God gave to the Israelites. Defending the Mosaic primacy is Mather's principal concern. Yet more than cultural resemblances, Mather scours Leviticus for prophetic signs and Christological types adumbrated in the New Testament. After all, the Mosaic ceremonies had no other pedagogical purpose, so St. Paul and the Church Fathers argued, than to point toward their abrogation in Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Consequently, it was incumbent upon Mather to find Christological parallels even in the smallest details of every ritual practice.

Viewed from the modern discipline of comparative culture and religion, of religion *as* religion, Mather's commentary on the Torah, especially on Leviticus, demonstrates that travel accounts and records of discovery of faraway continents, countries, peoples, and civilizations, encouraged discerning minds to compare their own Judeo-Christian beliefs and practices with those of other peoples.⁵ For Mather and his peers, such accounts were extremely valuable. In fact, they could be found even in extant histories of ancient Chaldea, Egypt, Phoenicia, Greece, and Rome. They allowed time travelers of the mind to establish taxonomies of religious practices and trace their spread and development over the centuries. In Mather's time such voluminous works as Gerard Johannes Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646) and *Hieroicoicon* (1663), Athanasius Kircher's *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (1652–54) and *Sphinx Mystagoga* (1676, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Gentilium* (1663), Theophilus Gale's *The Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78), Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679), John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus et Earum Rationibus* (1685), and Bernard Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723–37), were among the most noteworthy studies that facilitated such comparisons. A good case in point is

⁴ On the use of evidence in matters of faith, see S. F. Aikin, *Evidentialism and the Will to Believe* (2014).

⁵ See D. A. Palin, *Attitudes to Other Religions* (1984); P. Harrison, 'Religion' and the religions in the English Enlightenment (1990); P. N. Miller, "Taking Paganism Seriously: Anthropology and Antiquarianism in Early Seventeenth-Century Histories of Religion" (2001); H. G. Kippenberg, *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age* (2002); P. Ucko and T. Champion, eds., *The Wisdom of Egypt* (2003); G. G. Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (2010); L. Hunt, M. Jacob, and W. Mijnhardt, eds. *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion* (2010).

Mather's comparison between Israelite and Zabian (heathen) animal sacrifices and fertility rituals. The mysterious rite of the scapegoat Azazel, blood rituals to summon demons or the souls of the dead, mixing different types of seeds, dedicating one's hair to a particular deity, branding, tattooing, divination, and enchantments – these shadowy practices were widespread in ancient Israelite and pagan cultures. If the medieval philosopher Moses Maimon (Maimonides) has his say, then God allowed some of these pagan ceremonies to continue among the Israelites as long as these rites were turned on their head and performed in honor of the God of Israel. Thus repurposing these cultic rituals and adapting them for use in the Mosaic religion was a divine ruse, Maimonides argued, to wean his people from the Egyptian idolatry they had imbibed for centuries. With Herman Witsius's *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* (1683) at his elbow, Mather is less than satisfied with most of these explanations and devotes more than thirty double-columned folios on separating true from false claims. His conservative position on the revealed religion of Moses does not allow him to embrace John Spencer's thesis, no matter how much Mather admires his scholarship. Nonetheless, Mather appears to be startled if not shaken by many of these uncanny similarities.

IV. Numbers (*Bamidbar*)

The fourth book of the Torah (*BA 2*) is a record of the Israelites' forty-year meanderings through the wilderness, from Mt. Sinai to the borders of the Promised Land. Mather has much to say on such pericopes as Israel's rebellion, the violation of the Sabbath and its consequences, the scouts' spying on the Canaanites, Balaam's loquacious ass, the apostasy at Baal-Peor, and the numbering of the Israelites. To be sure, Mather does not bother with what is common and traditional in the Bible commentaries of his day. Rather, like Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes* (1642), he generally focuses on what is new and untested, expounding only those chapters and verses that need updating in light of the ongoing debates among his European peers. Time and again, Mather concentrates on the history behind the described events and imposes what might be called a "reality test." Not that he disdains the uncanny and miraculous, but he wants to know, for instance, how Moses was able to smelt iron, copper, zinc, and tin into brass (brazen serpent) in the desert centuries before the process of making this alloy had been developed (Bronze Age); so, too, he wants to know the location of the copper mines from which the raw materials came, or what species of reptiles the fiery flying serpents were that attacked the renegade Israelites, and what evidence could be found among pagan historians to confirm that such a flying species ever existed. Mather, then, goes out of his way to uncover the real history behind what strikes many as myth or hyperbole.

Given his interest in the holiness codes of the Israelites, Mather explores the efficacy of bitter water (water of jealousy) in cases of suspected adultery, the vows and lifestyle of the Nazirites, priestly lustrations, and the use of blood sacrifices (Taurobolia) in the ordination of priests and ministering Levites. He embeds in his glosses many illustrations from Greek and Roman histories to show how widespread, if not common, such rites were among the ancients – as a way of underscoring the authenticity of the Mosaic account. As in previous cases, Mather tests the veracity of stories that strike him as hyperbolic. When the murmuring Israelites were tired of manna and demanded meat, quails miraculously “came from the sea” and covered the ground two cubits high. Mather offers a more realistic and, perhaps, natural explanation of this seemingly wasteful miracle. If they were quails, he argues, they flew across the Mediterranean in their seasonal migrations; they did not pile up two cubits high on the ground – far too many for the Israelites to consume before the meat would spoil – but only flew two cubits above the ground, because they were exhausted upon their arrival in the desert. More likely, Mather suggested, the Hebrew word rendered “quail” should be translated as “locusts” – much more likely to pile up on the ground when shifting winds drove myriads of locust swarms into the desert. Besides, dried locusts are more nutritious than fowl and can be stored for a long time without spoiling. Again, Mather prefers to keep his feet on the ground.⁶

Similarly intriguing is Mather's detailed discussion of the sacrifice of the red heifer and the priestly use of her ashes for lustrations. In this case study of demystification, Mather embraces the thesis of John Spencer, who argues that the red heifer was nothing else but the embodiment of the Egyptian deity Isis, which the Israelites considered an abomination. As Maimonides put it in his *Guide for the Perplexed*, God employed a divine ruse by allowing the Israelites to slaughter the deified animals of the Egyptians and use them in his own cultic rituals. For just as with the blood of the ram smeared on the lintels of their houses in Egypt, the Israelites demonstrated their faith in Yahweh by perpetrating a sacrilegious act against the Egyptians: slaughtering the Egyptian idol, the ram-headed Amun, and eating its flesh. So in the case of the red heifer, whose ashes became an instrument of sacred aspersion and purification.⁷ Mather is also drawn to demystifying the strange phenomenon of Balaam's loquacious ass and the festival of neomenia, alike celebrated by the Israelites and their neighbors. As everyone knows, talkative animals are legion in Aesop's fables, but they also populate reputable histories of Greece and Rome. To validate the Mosaic story,

6 Hiob Ludolphus, in his *Appendix Secunda ad Historiam Aethiopicam Iobi Ludolfi continens Dissertationem de Locustis* (1694), pars 2: *De Locustis*, cap. 1, §§ 1–5, argues that the Hebrew noun שָׂרָף which he transliterates as “*Selav*” (Exod. 16:13, Numb. 11:35) should not be rendered “*coturnicibus*” (quails) but “*locustis*” (locusts). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.1.5 and 3.13.1), however, holds fast to “quails.”

7 See Numb. 19:2 (BA 2:901-13).

Mather supplies his readers with numerous examples of animals – horses, cows, dogs – who spoke to their masters intelligibly. As to the rites of neomenia, or the Festival of the New Moon, signifying the beginning of a new month in the lunar calendar, Mather acknowledges with much evidence from the classics that these rites, including the use of horned goats, were observed universally – except that the Israelites (unlike the heathens) did not revere the moon as a deity or had crescent moons tattooed on their bodies. No matter the ritual similarities, the heathen idolaters did the right thing for the wrong reason. Lest he devote too much time to the history behind such cultic practices, Mather offers numerous Christological readings if for no other reason than to demonstrate that the Mosaic ceremonies were nothing but didactic devices that terminated in Christ's propitiation.

V. Deuteronomy (*Devarim*)

Also known as the “second law,” Deuteronomy (*BA 2*) repeats many parts of the Mosaic law and history of the four preceding books of the Pentateuch – often with substantive changes. As in his previous annotations, Mather feels drawn to the supranatural and mysterious, not as an unsettling or entertaining subject in itself but as a topic requiring rational explication. Thus the story of the giant Og (Ogias), the Amorite king of Bashan, receives much attention, for the size of his enormous iron bedstead struck beholders with awe and wonder. Looking for rational explanations, Mather tests the evidence of the history behind the story by searching for parallels in Egyptian, Greek, and Roman mythology. If pagan historians confirmed the existence of such giants (so Mather argues), the Mosaic account could not be dismissed as mere hyperbole. Mather, however, does not stop there; he links giant Og with the Egyptian giant Typhon – which to Mather evinces that the Israelites' neighbors copied Moses but distorted the real event. Similarly, Mather finds much evidence in the Talmud and medieval rabbinic literature to confirm his suspicion that over time King Og's extraordinary size grew mightily with each retelling of the story.

Cotton Mather is also drawn to the many resemblances between the religious, moral, and punitive laws of the ancient lawgivers. The Ten Commandments of Moses and their wisdom, Mather and virtually all of his contemporaries believed, provided the blueprint for the laws of Pompilius Numa, second king and lawgiver of ancient Rome (8th–7th c. BCE); for Solon, the ancient lawgiver of Greece (7th–6th c. BCE); and for the Athenian Draco (6th c. BCE), legendary for refusing to temper justice with mercy. Herodotus and Plutarch amply testified that these ancient lawgivers and Greek philosophers, their descendants, all journeyed across the Mediterranean to Egypt where they imbibed the laws Moses had taught the Egyptians while a priestly member of pharaonic

household. If this argument seemed spurious, then Jewish traders (mistaken for Phoenicians) or, much later, the Greek Septuagint (c. 250 BCE) – widely available in the Hellenist world – supplied Israel's pagan neighbors with the wisdom of Moses.

In like manner, Mather discovers evidence of the embattled doctrine of the Holy Trinity in pagan mythology, in the Zohar, Jetzirah, and the Bahir – the classical texts of Jewish Kabbalah. He feels reassured by his findings, especially at the time when Socinians, Arians, and Deists dismissed the Trinity and Christ's divinity outright or when philological-textual critics of extant biblical manuscripts claimed that St. Athanasius and his Trinitarian party interpolated passages in the New Testament manuscripts to reinforce their own dogma and position of power in the early Church. Such assaults on the Book of Books could not be ignored, and Mather composed his "Goliath Detruncatus" (1713), now lost, in defense of the Trinity. Along the same lines, he pays much attention to Jewish laws on tithing, money lending, usury, and the execution of felons, as well as to the proscriptions against graven images, divination, fortune telling, necromancy, fertility rites, crossdressing, temple prostitution, and many other rituals. Mather admires Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah* and *Guide for the Perplexed*, whose rational explanation of the origins of these rites and their prohibition evinces the wisdom of God's law. Not to be left out are Mather's deep thoughts on the persecution of postexilic Jews in Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, and England – from Roman times to the seventeenth century. To Mather and his peers, these heinous pogroms bespoke the ruthlessness and greed of Europe's kings and nobles but also the fulfillment of prophecies and imminence of Christ's Second Coming. Prophecy is history antedated, and history is postdated prophecy; the same is told in both.

Cotton Mather's commentary on the Torah is a timely reminder of how the leading minds of his generation struggled with the scientific and philological discoveries of their day. New explanations of how God created the universe, Cartesian explications of Noah's flood, the cause and effect of miracles, comparisons between the religious and cultural histories of the Israelites and of their pagan neighbors, linking OT types of Christ with their NT antitypes, alike pre-occupied him and his fellow physico-theologians. Mather's *Biblia Americana* is more than a mere window on the early Enlightenment and biblical criticism in Europe and in English North America. His annotations, glosses, and essays on his favorite topics reveal as much about his mental agility and acumen as they testify to his wide reading and participation in the learned debates of his time. To be sure, Cotton Mather was a preacher and physician of the soul first and foremost; his interest in natural philosophy, medicine, and history – though pronounced and all-pervasive – are ancillary to his calling as a clergyman. He delights in all forms of knowledge, and he shares his wide interests with his parishioners in his sermons and in fireside conversations with his family, friends,

and colleagues. Perhaps more than any of his other great works, *Biblia Americana* demonstrates his ability to transcend partisan politics and narrow denominational squabbles. His attention to lived Christianity and the practice of piety enables him to reach out to other Christian denominations at home and abroad. He calls on them to unite behind three barebone fundamentals, his Maxims of Piety – faith in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; in Christ as the Redeemer of immortal souls, and in the practice of the “eleventh” commandment: love your neighbor as yourself.

It goes without saying that the sum total of the preceding summaries cannot do justice to the magnitude of what Mather accomplishes in his commentary. At best, explanatory footnotes and introductory essays can only offer a glimpse of his achievement. The following essays in Sections 1 and 2 are explications of what appear to be some of Mather’s great concerns in his commentary on the Pentateuch: discovering signs and predictive types of Jesus Christ in the Books of Moses and linking them with their seals and antitypes in the New Testament. For Mather, typology remained a time-honored hermeneutic to underscore the foundation of the Hebrew Scriptures upon which Christ’s apostles reared their stately edifice. Plying this ancient heuristic device seemed full of promise, it seemed to Mather, especially in times of declining faith in Jesus of Nazareth as the Redeemer and second member of the Trinity. Yet Mather also realized that typology is a double-edged sword that cuts both ways; if distinct lines of demarcation between literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical interpretations – like those in the colors of the rainbow – could only be drawn with difficulty, might not typological proof of Christ turn into mere allegory and become all things to all people? As I am demonstrating in Section 1, Mather did not always stick to his self-avowed principles. Yet he believed that typology, when fortified with evidence from natural philosophy, could still serve his purpose: the divine origin of the entire Bible.

In Section 2, I examine Mather’s interest in what might be called the rudiments of comparative culture and religion, a new discipline that did not come into its own until the nineteenth century. As slaves in Egypt for centuries (so the argument goes), Moses and the mixed multitude were marooned in the religious traditions of their Egyptian overlord. When Moses, an Egyptian in name and upbringing, gave his laws to the untutored Israelites in the desert, he could not but accommodate the Egyptian customs to which his people had been accustomed for generations. No surprise, then, that the religion of Moses and many of his cultic rites bore many traces of their Egyptian past. In Mather’s time, the clamor about the heathen origin of the Mosaic religion had turned into a cacophony of voices that challenged the supernatural origin of God’s laws. Mather did not sit idly by as he perused the tomes of the learned critics who seemingly sneered at the exclusivity of the Mosaic religion. They pointed at unmistakable parallels between the priestly rituals of Israel and those of their more advanced

neighbors. More often than not, Mather was shaken to the core. Through a process of give and take, conceding and refuting, he set out to beat his learned critics at their own game.

The introductory sections in the present volume cannot do justice to the complex issues Mather addresses in his commentary on the Books of Moses – let alone in *Biblia Americana* as a whole. I therefore invite readers to peruse my introductory essays in volume 1 (*BA* 1:3–210), along with those of my colleagues in the edited collection, *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana: America's First Bible Commentary* (2010, 2011). Jan Stievermann's magisterial *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity: Interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures in Cotton Mather's Biblia Americana* (2016) reveals the complexity of Mather's hermeneutics. These essays and the introductions of my fellow editors published in their respective *Biblia* volumes demonstrate that the hoary effigy of Cotton Mather – like that of the dour and hateful Puritans – is as threadbare as the cliché that upon arriving in the New World, they first fell on their knees and then upon the Indians.

Section 1

The Figures or Types of the Pentateuch

The Figures or Types of the Old Testament are “*like the Waters in Ezeiels Vision, Growing and Rising still, the further we wade into them. ... [In] every paragraph of the Bible is a spot of Ground, where before we dig far, we shall find the Pearl of Great Price*” (*Work upon the Ark* [1689], sign. A2^v).

“*The Types and Shadows of the Old Testament, if but a little understood, how full are they of Gospel-Light and Glory! Having gone through diverse of them, I must acknowledge, with Thankfulness to the Praise of the Freeness of the Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I have seen more of Him, than I saw before*” (Samuel Mather to Increase Mather, MCA IV.ii.152).

“... our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and His Works, are variously exhibited in the *Types* of the Old Testament. There is a Sort of *Prophecies*, whereof the *Mystical Sense*, is the *Literal Sense*. The *Typical Sense*, or the Sense as it concerns the *Type*, is the *Remoter Sense*. Tis a peece of *Canvas*, on which the Holy Spirit ha’s drawn the *Mystical Sense*, as a *Gold Embroidery*” (BA 4:324).

“*Scepticism*, hath grown up in the Garden of *Criticism*” (BA 1:703).

* * *

It was a chilly, crystal-clear mid-November afternoon as throngs of festively clad parishioners shuffled through both side entrances of the North Meeting-House on Clarke’s Square, hoping to warm their frozen limbs at the glowing cast-iron stove before filing, one-by-one, into their family pews. The setting sun had much ado to uphold his rays against the intense reflections of the full moon in Scorpio as it illuminated the stately roofs of many a fine new building between Middle Street and Ship Street. Almost to the day thirteen years earlier the Great Fire of November 27, 1676, had laid all in ashes, “consuming about fifty dwelling-houses and the North Meeting-house” at the head of North Square along with many warehouses near Clarke’s Wharf. Even Increase Mather’s own dwelling, then resting on the foundations of what is now better known as Boston’s Paul Revere House, fell prey to the flames along with many prized manuscripts and dozens of folios and quartos of Increase Mather’s sizable library.¹

¹ “The Diaries of John Hull, Mint-master and Treasurer of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.” In *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* 3 (1857), 110–316. (qt. on

In his Sabbath-day lecture on November 17, 1689, Cotton Mather, then twenty-six, held forth on 1 Pet. 3:20–21: “*The Ark was Building, wherein few, that is Eight Souls, were saved by Water. The Like Figure whereunto, even Baptism doth now also Save us.*”² Mather’s figural link between Noah’s Ark and the baptized members of the Church Visible must have resonated with his maritime parishioners – wealthy Boston merchants, hoary ship captains, and respectable shipwrights like Obadiah Gill, deacon of the North-Meeting, at whose request Mather’s sermon *The Work upon the Ark* (1689) was published by subvention.³ Dedicated to those “*whose Concerns Lye in Ships,*” Mather’s homily offered his seafaring congregation an intriguing meditation on Noah’s Ark, exhorting them to “ *dwell in the Ark of the Lord,*” like the patriarch’s family of old, so that “*All of you may be bound up in the Bundle of Life*” (*Work A5*). Lest anyone miss the point of his figural analogy, Mather invited them to look at the old story with a fresh eye. Veiled in prefigurative types or coded language embedded in the text, the Old Testament foreshadowed the signs and seals of Gospel mysteries abrogated in their NT antitypes: Noah and his family safely ensconced in the bowels of the Ark are predictive types of Christ and his elect remnant anchored in the gospel of the NT Church, the antitype, for “*as Water buoy’d up those that were in the Ark, so Baptism does those that are in the Church towards Heaven*” (*Work 3–4*). In this manner, Mather posits, the Gospel of Christ was also preached unawares to the Patriarchs in the Old Testament – but as shadows of divine things to come in the New (Gal. 3:8, Heb. 4:2). In fact, “*not only the Person of the Messiah but his Conditions, His Endowments, His Benefits, and His Ordinances too, yea, and the Miseries, and the Enemies from which we are by Him delivered; all of these were Preached in and by those Types of old*” (*Work 2*).⁴ Noah, then, was the shipwright, whose Ark was safe by his own presence. Just so, Jesus Christ, the shipwright of our Ark, “*built the Church*” that cannot founder, for he is “*Himself aboard*” and pilots his vessel through the maelstrom of time (*Work 9*).

This figurative explication seems simple enough; New England’s congregations were well attuned to the scriptural figures and types opened by their pastors.⁵ To be sure, biblical typology – a hermeneutic tool employed in its various forms at least since the early Church Fathers – was as complex as its allegorical cousin, the *Quadrige*, or fourfold method of rhetorical analysis. This hermeneutical method was equally plied in the Platonic schools of ancient Alexandria as

p. 242). M. G. Hall, ed. “The Autobiography of Increase Mather” (1961), esp. p. 303. Chandler Robbins, *A History of the Second Church* (1852), pp. 23–24n.

2 Cotton Mather, *Work upon the Ark. Meditations upon the Ark As a Type of the Church; Delivered in a Sermon at Boston, And now Dedicated unto the Service of All, but especially of those whose Concerns Lye in Ships* (Boston, 1689), p. 1.

3 *Work upon the Ark*, sign. A2^v–A3^r. C. Robbins, *History*, “Appendix” (298–99).

4 See also the figure of the Suffering Servant and Christ as the Passover Lamb, on Isa. 53, in *BA* (5:802–16).

5 See M. I. Lowance, Jr., *Language of Canaan* (1980).

in the medieval Church. Briefly defined, the fourfold sense of textual interpretation aims to uncover several layers of meaning: (1) “*Sensus historicus*” or “*sensus litteralis*,” i.e., the grammatical explication of a coherent set of biblical narratives (pericope) in which persons, actions, events, or things serve as signs that point toward the author’s intent. The semantics of the words in, and the history behind, the pericope constitutes the “literal” and “historical sense.” Example: “Manna came down from Heaven” (Exod. 16:1–36). In its literal and historical sense, the miracle of supplying the Israelites with food in the wilderness is easy enough to comprehend, yet even in their literal meaning, “Manna” and “Heaven” evoke something beyond themselves. It hints at numerous NT parallels such as the miraculous feeding of the five thousand (Matth. 14:13–21), or more significantly, Christ’s association with the manna from heaven (John 6:31–58): “I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever; and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.” At the same time, something beyond the act of eating (2) literal bread is suggested. Thus the “*Sensus allegoricus*” employs synecdoche, metonymy, similes, and personification to express a metaphoric or nonliteral sense. Momentarily disconnected, the images can attach themselves to any suggested event, thing, or person – past, present, or future – and generate multiple meanings. Example: “The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us” (John 1:14). Allegorically considered, this passage calls for a meaning other than its literal signification, for both “word” and “flesh” are personifications suggestive of something beyond themselves. (3) Closely related to the allegorical sense is the “*sensus tropologicus*,” better known as the “moral sense” of a scriptural passage; it enlists the same rhetorical devices but primarily appeals to the moral edification of the faithful. Example: They “have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the lamb” (Rev. 7:14). When applied to individuals, the figure of the “robes washed white” links the white garment with the moral cleansing of their character or soul from which the stain of sin is removed by the blood of Christ’s sacrifice. Again, something other than the literal act of washing is intended, for red blood is unlikely to make a garment white. Thus the shedding of Christ’s blood (red) makes believers morally and spiritually pure (white). (4) The “*Sensus anagogicus*,” or mystical sense, leads the faithful to contemplate tangible, albeit higher, spiritual, and mystical things – the life to come in Heaven. Frequently, the anagoge suggests an eschatological dimension to inspire the saints to reach out toward eternal and timeless matters. Example: “Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city” (Rev. 22:14).⁶ The

6 See H. Caplan, “The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching” (1929). R. A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics* (2003) 2:35. To be sure, the Quadriga or fourfold method of interpretation is closely related to midrashic hermeneutics (PaRDeS) in early Judaism. Peshar (literal or surface meaning), Remez (allegorical, symbolic

literal level of the passage – though valid – is suggestive of something far different – the tree of life evoking the prelapsarian Eden and the gates of the city the entrance into the celestial Jerusalem: the life to come. Or, to borrow Mather's own parabolic metaphor, digging in the vineyard of the Holy Scriptures unearths layers upon layers of hidden treasures – even the Pearl of Great Price. The fourfold method of interpretation, like its typological cousin, is a vital key to unlocking hidden meanings and mysteries. And to appreciate Mather's frank indulgence in the tumid metaphors of the Bible is to discover the nexus between OT figural language and its application in the NT. Typology is the Christological lifeline between both testaments.

* * *

As a heuristic device, the fourfold method of opening the Scriptures enjoyed great popularity throughout the history of the Christian Church from the Ante- and Post-Nicene Fathers, to the Middle Ages and beyond the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century. This exegetical method was a standard device of scriptural interpretation, for it allowed exegetes to amplify the meaning of a particular scripture and to extract multiple senses from a single verse – perhaps even to dumbfound the faithful with the profundity of God's Word. Yet if meanings and senses could be multiplied according to the skill and subtlety of the exegete, who was to tell what exactly God had intended when he spoke to Moses and his prophets in arcane metaphors and images of a language no longer accessible to modern translators, let alone to the rank-and-file? Anyone familiar with the challenge of rendering the idiom of one living language into that of another is aware of the subtle shifts in meaning engendered by the accretion of connotations or the attenuation of denotations, let alone the loss of semantic and cultural capital of an Iron-Age civilization like that of the ancient Israelites.⁷

meaning), **Derash** (comparative meaning), and **Sod** (secret or esoteric, mystical meaning) – the highlighted letters spelling the acronym *Pardes*. See *Jewish Encyclopedia* (9:652–53); R. N. Longenecker's *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (1999), pp. xxiii–xli, 6–35; J. D. Dawson, *Christian Figural Reading* (2002).

7 St. Jerome says as much in his Letter to Pammachius: "It is difficult in following lines laid down by others not sometimes to diverge from them, and it is hard to preserve in a translation the charm of expressions which in another language are most felicitous. Each particular word conveys a meaning of its own, and possibly I have no equivalent by which to render it, and if I make a circuit to reach my goal, I have to go many miles to cover a short distance. To these difficulties must be added the windings of hyperbata, differences in the use of cases, divergencies of metaphor; and last of all the peculiar and if I may so call it, inbred character of the language. If I render word for word, the result will sound uncouth, and if compelled by necessity I alter anything in the order or wording, I shall seem to have departed from the function of a translator. ... A literal translation from one language into another obscures the sense; the exuberance of the growth lessens the yield. For while one's diction is enslaved to cases and metaphors, it has to explain by tedious circumlocutions what a few words would otherwise have sufficed to make plain" (Jerome, "Letter LVII To Pammachius on the best method of translating," in *NPNFii* 6:114). Similar concerns governed the members of the 1611 KJV revision committee

Whether or not the venerable doctors of the Latin Church – Jerome, Augustine, Aquinas – were devoted to limiting the scope of their rhetorical engines to the safe boundaries of reason and doctrine, they all seemed to agree that the “literal sense” in its historical and grammatical context was the “primary sense” God and his amanuenses must have had in mind. To be sure, the primary and literal sense is not the figure of speech, the sign, but the meaning it signifies. The Church Fathers – like the latter-day schoolmen in their medieval academies such as Hugh of St. Victor, Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, Nicholas of Lyra, along with their Protestant descendants – Reformers like Luther, Calvin, Beza, and Melanchthon – wrestled with the multiplicity of meanings generated by the quadriga. They all sought to take the literal and primary sense as the point of departure for all other meanings – without diminishing the spiritual implications of the Word.⁸ Easy enough?

Anyone familiar with the figural language of the Hebrew Scriptures might pause here.⁹ For what might have possessed the inspired Psalmist when he sang, “*Thou shalt Tread upon the Lion, & the Adder, (or, Asp,) the young Lion, & the Dragon shalt thou Trample under feet*”? (BA 4:637; Ps. 91:13). What was courtly Isaiah thinking when he prophesied that “the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice’ den” (Isa. 11:8). Or, what did the evangelist have in mind when he recorded Christ’s dictum, “If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out. . . . And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee” (Matth. 5:29, 30). Finally, what about the proverbial *Lex talionis*, “eye for eye, tooth for tooth” (Lev. 24:20)?

Assuredly, neither the Psalmist nor Isaiah could have intended the literal sense. And many there are who laugh at this thing. Treading on poisonous serpents or dragons is dangerous enough in the deserts of Palestine, and wrestling with lions is best left to gladiators in ancient Rome; but having toddlers play with noxious creatures? Surely, if to be taken literally, this goes well beyond virulent *misopedia* by any societal norms! So, too, self-mutilation can hardly be intended, for it does not jibe with the Good News. Indeed, the letter kills. Better heed Mohandas Gandhi to whom is attributed the pacific turn, “An eye-for-eye and tooth-for-tooth would lead to a world of the blind and toothless.” In short, the literal sense could not have been the one intended by the inspired authors of yore. It violated all standards of reason and morals, even as a metonymy’s inward kernel contained in the outward shell of the words carries a historical and

who worried about the problem of translating the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures without loss of intended meaning (“The Translators to the Reader”), in *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, And the New* (1611), sign. C^v.

⁸ See J. A. Steiger, “Typological and Allegorical Exegesis” (732–40); B. S. Childs, “The Sensus Literalis of Scripture: An Ancient and Modern Problem” (1977), pp. 80–93. For more detailed information on their respective hermeneutical methods, see S. Raeder, “Martin Luther” (363–406); P. Opitz, “Calvin and Zwingli” (428–51); and G. Hobbs, “Melanchthon” (487–511).

⁹ See M. I. Lowance, Jr., *Language of Canaan* (1980).

spiritual meaning that reveals the intention of the inspired author. The figural language in these illustrations evidently signifies a higher, spiritual or mystical denotation which, by implication, becomes the literal and primary sense of a scriptural passage.¹⁰

Modern scholars take it for granted that understanding the literal, historical, and grammatical sense of such passages requires firm grounding in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin as it does in the study of the Targums, Midrash, Talmud, Mishnah, and rabbinic exegesis – first and foremost, Hillel, Rashi, Maimonides, Nachmanides, Ibn Ezra, David Kimchi, Abarbanel.¹¹ Yet the great doctors of the medieval Church until the Renaissance had little if any knowledge of Hebrew or access to rare manuscripts of these midrashim before Johannes Gutenberg in Germany and Daniel Bomberg in Italy rendered the fruit of their respective printing presses available to all who could afford them.¹²

Not surprising, then, the medieval defenders of the faith and their Protestant descendants during the Reformation kept wrangling over the letter and the spirit of the Bible (note for example the divisive debate on trans- and consubstantiation of the host), for when the literal and primary sense was embroidered with allegories and tropes, who was to umpire the boundaries between predictive typology crucial to establishing the Messiah in the NT and the florid metaphors of the ancient Hebrew prophets? And where should the line be drawn between OT prophetic typology, first cousin to the three allegorical levels of the quadriga, and the type's literal fulfillment in the NT, when the prophetic type in the Old is alleged to have had its first literal and historical accomplishment (antitype) in OT times? Is more than one literal actualization possible and allowed? If so, which one is the primary and which the secondary application? Put in another way, is free-flowing allegory robust enough to serve as the authoritative link between OT adumbration and NT abrogation?¹³ As the German philologist and literary critic Erich Auerbach points out in his chapter on "Fortunata," "The total content of the sacred writings was placed in an exegetical context which

¹⁰ As Samuel Mather, Cotton Mather's uncle, puts it in his *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683, 1685, 1695, 1705), "We must distinguish between the *thing* preached, and the *manner* of preaching, between the Shell, and the Kernel, the Shadow, and the Substance. Now the *thing* preached was the *Gospel*; tho' the Shell was the Law. The Spirit and Substance, and Mystery of that Dispensation was Evangelical, tho' it was involved in a legal Shell and outside, and overshadowed with the Shades and Figures of the Law" (1705), p. 8. Hereafter, all quotations from this work are from the second edition (London, 1705).

¹¹ See H. Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (1963), and J. P. Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi John Selden* (2006), and K. H. Dannenfeldt, "Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic" (1955).

¹² On the study of Hebrew during the Renaissance and early modern periods, see B. Hall, "Biblical Scholarship" (1963), pp. 38–93; S. Goldman's "Biblical Hebrew in Colonial America" (1993), pp. 201–208; S. G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism* (2012), as well as his *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies* (1996).

¹³ See B. S. Childs, *Biblical Theology* (1993), pp. 337–48, 379–83.

often removed the thing told very far from its sensory base, in that the reader was forced to turn his attention away from the sensory occurrence and toward its meaning. This implied the danger that the visual element of the occurrence might succumb under the dense texture of meanings.”¹⁴

Knotty questions like these invite dogmatists of all stripes to defend their creeds, for much is at stake. A case in point is the famous, albeit divisive debate, about the prophecy of Isaiah (7:14), which more than seven-hundred years later served the Apostle Matthew to establish Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah (Matth. 1:21–23; Luke 1:35). First Isaiah:

Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

Now Matthew’s application:

And she [Mary] shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS: for he shall save his people from their sins. Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.

It is worth repeating that Matthew fashions the identity of Jesus Christ as the Immanuel intended by Isaiah even as the apostle pays no heed to the literal, historical, and political context that led to the prophet’s ancient proclamation. Let us set aside the disagreement between Jews and Christians about whom Isaiah, the most Christian of OT prophets, intended seven-hundred years before the birth of the Nazarene.¹⁵ The historical context establishes that Ahaz, king of Judah (c. 735–719 BCE), refused a sign from God that the enemies then at the gates of Jerusalem would be vanquished before the boy Immanuel – born of a virgin or young woman (*almah*) – would be old enough to distinguish right from wrong. Surely, the prophet could not have intended the child of the Virgin Mary, as Matthew claims! What use would such a promise have been to Ahaz nervously surveying his enemies’ armies from the battlements of the City of David? Isaiah’s prophecy would have sounded to desperate Ahaz like mockery or banter to foretell the birth of the Savior hundreds of years later. Surely, the divine prophet must have spoken of someone else, someone much closer

¹⁴ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (2003), p. 48. Although Auerbach never uses the term typology in the sense explained above, yet his illustration easily fits the three allegorical definitions of the quadriga: When “God made Eve, the first woman from Adam’s rib while Adam lay asleep; so too is it that a soldier pierced Jesus’ side, as he hung dead on the cross, so that blood and water flowed out. But when these two occurrences are exegetically interrelated in the doctrine that Adam’s sleep is a figure of Christ’s death-sleep; that, as from the wound in Adam’s side mankind’s primordial mother after the flesh, Eve, was born, so from the wound in Christ’s side was born the mother of all men after the spirit, the Church (blood and water are sacramental symbols) – then the sensory occurrence pales before the power of the figural meaning” (48–49).

¹⁵ See H. Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (1963), esp. 164–67; and R. N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (1999).

to Ahaz's own time, perhaps even the prophet's own son, Shear-jashub ("a remnant shall return"), who accompanied his father during the inauspicious meeting with Ahaz (Isa. 7:3), or perhaps even Hezekiah (c. 729–c. 686 BCE), righteous king of Judah and son of Ahaz?¹⁶ In short, if Isaiah's prediction was literally and necessarily abrogated in his own time, then the apostle's NT appropriation of this key messianic prophecy could only intent a double literal fulfillment, or a secondary literal fulfillment, a mystical accomplishment perhaps, worse, a mere allegorical application to Jesus Christ (Matth. 1:22–23).¹⁷

When Platonism and its allegorical prayer-wheels were all the rage among the learned in the Greco-Roman world, when the Philosopher Philo Judaeus (c. 20 BCE–40 CE) was harmonizing Judaism with Greek philosophy two centuries before the Christian theologian Origen of Alexandria (c. 184–c. 253 CE) was decried for his outlandish allegorical, mystical exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures, when even Josephus Flavius (37–c. 100 CE), the Jewish priest and historian, was steering clear of OT hyperboles in his *Antiquities of the Jews* and *Jewish Wars* to render his history more trustworthy to the learned Hellenists – did the apostles and St. Paul, first and foremost, make disciples for Christ by dressing up OT prophecies and types as allegories of the Messiah or impose secondary applications?¹⁸ Did predictive typology blend with allegory into more loosely employed exegetical modes? If so, was allegory authoritative enough to establish Christianity? Or was a single and literal fulfillment vested in Christ the only viable option? Either way, we need not doubt that it was, for the community of believers in the early Church certainly thought so. The Christian Church has maintained this position for nearly two millennia. As the German theologian and biblical scholar Hans W. Frei reminds us, "Allegory, the attachment of a temporally free-floating meaning pattern to any temporal occasion whatever, without any intrinsic connection between sensuous time-bound picture and the meaning represented by it, was in any case a common interpretive device in early

16 In fact, Rashi claims that Isa. 7:14 refers to Isaiah's own wife: "My wife will conceive this year. This was the fourth year of Ahaz. ... Divine inspiration will rest upon her. This is what is stated below: '(8:3) And I was intimate with the prophetess, etc.' and we do not find a prophet's wife called a prophetess unless she prophesied. Some interpret this as being said about Hezekiah, but it is impossible, because, when you count his years, you find that Hezekiah was born nine years before his father's reign. And some interpret that this is the sign, that she was a young girl and incapable of giving birth" [*italics reversed*], in *Sefer Isaiah Halakhah: Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* (1992) 1:67. See also Hailperin, p. 165.

17 See Cotton Mather's discussion in *Tripuraditus* (163–72), and his annotations on Isa. 7:14, in *BA* (5:603–14), J. Stievernann, *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity* (2016), pp. 312–19. Also see G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, eds. *Commentary* (2007), pp. 1–109.

18 See M. F. Wiles, "Origen as Biblical Scholar" (1970) 1:454–89, esp. 470–74. P. W. Mertens, "Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction," *JEC* 16 (2008): 283–317. A. J. Droge, *Homer or Moses?* (1989), pp. 35–48. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952), pp. 11–22. For the Antiochene criticism of Alexandrian allegory, see esp. R. A. Greet, *Theodore of Mop-suestia* (1961), pp. 88–111.

Christianity, including the New Testament. The line between allegory and typological or figural interpretation was often very fine, when the temporal reality of an earlier instance was dissolved in favor of its meaning, but the application of that meaning remained riveted to a temporal occurrence.”¹⁹

Symptomatic of the ancient debate is the interlocutor’s query in *Summa Theologica*, a magisterial codex of medieval exegesis, by St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274), an immensely influential Dominican philosopher and doctor of the Church. In the traditional form of Platonic Q&A, St. Thomas has his interlocutor raise the issue:

Objection 1: “It seems that in Holy Writ a word cannot have several senses, historical or literal, allegorical, tropological or moral, and anagogical. For many different senses in one text produce confusion and deception and destroy all force of argument.”

Reply to Objection 1: “The multiplicity of these senses does not produce equivocation or any other kind of multiplicity, seeing that these senses are not multiplied because one word signifies several things; but because the things signified by the words can be themselves types of other things. Thus in Holy Writ no confusion results, for all these senses are founded on one – the literal – from which alone can any argument be drawn, and not from those intended in allegory, as Augustine says (*Epist.* xlviii). Nevertheless, nothing of Holy Scripture perishes on account of this, since nothing necessary to faith is contained under the spiritual sense which is not elsewhere put forward by the Scripture in its literal literal sense.” (Pt. 1, Q. 1, Art. 10)²⁰

In short, the multiplicity of senses generated by the quadriga does *not* confuse the intended meaning of a text, so the learned doctor argues, for the four-fold method evolves from the literal and historical sense and employs predictive types – personal, real, occasional – to signify and adumbrate events and their fulfillment in the NT. Had St. Thomas’s learned response satisfied his interlocutor’s objection – and all those who were stymied by the same issues thereafter – the question of a single or multiple sense might have been put to rest. As Brevard S. Childs aptly sums up the issue, “There are few more perplexing and yet important problems in the history of biblical interpretation than the issue of defining what is meant by the *sensus literalis* of a text.”²¹

¹⁹ H. W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (1974), pp. 29–30.

²⁰ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (1981) 1:7. St. Thomas’s legerdemain rejection of St. Augustine’s method ought to be weighed against the latter’s careful delineation of the principles of scriptural interpretation in *De Doctrina Christiana* (NPNFi 2:513–597), where St. Augustine exemplifies fundamental rules for literal vs. allegorical interpretation.

²¹ See B. S. Childs, “Sensus Literalis of Scripture” (pp. 80–93), quote appears on p. 80. R. A. Muller, in his *Post-Reformation Dogmatics* (2003), esp. 2:442–524; H. Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation* (2010), esp. vols. 3–4; and many others have done so in exemplary fashion. In *The Language of Canaan* (1980), esp. chs. 4, 6–7 M. I. Lowance, Jr., focuses on Mather’s typology in his historical works, and so does S. Bercovitch in his highly influential (but often misleading) *Puritan Origin of the American Self* (1975, 2011). J. Stievernann provides a trenchant analysis of Mather’s prefigurative, typological, and allegorical readings of the Bible,

That these perplexing problems were far from settled and flared up again and again until modern times is evident in a major Deist controversy in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Cotton Mather did not sit idly by in his Boston study, as he eyed the hermeneutical debate from afar. The Dutch Arminian philosopher of natural law, political theory, and theology Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), now best remembered for his acclaimed works on jurisprudence, challenged one of the most valued proofs of the Christian religion when he championed a preterit-contextual interpretation of biblical prophecies. A new departure in the hermeneutical science, Grotius's *Annotationes in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (Amsterdam, 1642–1650) insisted that many of the OT predictive types and prophecies applied by the apostles in the NT as literal fulfillments in Jesus Christ actually violated the OT prophets' intended primary sense.²² The primary and literal sense, Grotius claimed, had to be found in the historical and contextual events of the prophet's own time and could not be appropriated in any literalist sense to NT times. Only if a double fulfillment were allowed – a literal and primary abrogation in the Old adumbrating an allegorical or secondary fulfillment in the NT – could the apostle's adaptation of the OT predictive typology be admitted as proof the Christian religion.

One of Grotius's most prominent apologists, the Anglican scholar and member of the Westminster Assembly Henry Hammond (1605–1660), came to his defense in the subsequent turmoil engulfing this volatile thesis (1655–57). In his *Second Defence Of the Learned Hugo Grotius* (London, 1655), Hammond insisted that the learned Dutch philosopher did not exclude the literal fulfillment in Christ of certain OT prophecies but that in his famous *Annotationes* he was primarily concerned with “the *first* and *literal interpretation*” of the OT prophets, “where there is one *immediate completion* of each *Prophecy* among the *Jewes* of or neer *that* time, wherein it was written, another more *remote* and *ultimate* concerning *Christ*, or the times of the *Gospel*.” In his *Annotationes*, Hammond contended, Grotius therefore established “most *distinctly* the *first*, or *literal* sense, as that is *terminated* in the *immediate completion* ... because it was most *neglected* by other *interpreters*, who were more *copious* in rendring the *mystical notation*” as it applied to the NT (*Second Defence*, p. 12, § 17). But Hammond could not stem the avalanche of criticism coming down on Grotius. In thus questioning the exegetical method of none less than Christ's own inspired apostles, his opponents charged, Grotius's contextual historicization of the prophecies watered down the grounds and reasons of Christianity to mere allegories and inadvertently shattered the very bedrock of the Christian religion, with its bulwark

in *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity* (2016), esp. pp. 193–241. For a history of typology in literature and the arts, see especially P. J. Korshin's *Typologies in England* (1982) and the perceptive essays collected in E. Miner's *Literary Uses of Typology* (1977), and M. I. Lowance, Jr.'s *Language of Canaan* (1980), esp. chs. 4, 6–7.

²² On Hugo Grotius and his OT hermeneutics, see H. J. M. Nellen, “Growing Tension.”

of typology literally abrogated in Christ. The ever-widening debate, which involved the best of contemporary exegetes in Cotton Mather's time, cannot here be discussed in detail.²³ Suffice it to sketch some of the main responses to Grotius's historical method, which determined much of the hermeneutical debate on this issue in the early eighteenth century.

Cotton Mather, for one, in his late manuscript "Triparadisus" (1712, 1726–27), voiced his discontent with the method of his Dutch colleague, whose missionary handbook *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (Paris, 1627) Mather still praised as a major contribution to Christian apologetics.²⁴ But Grotius's biblical commentary *Annotationes* carried the author's historicism too far. Mather was exasperated "that so Great a Man among us Christians, as Grotius ... should make such Mad Work in his Judaizing Figments on this wonderful Chapter [Isa. 53, the suffering servant]. How poorly would the Ethiopian Lord-Treasurer, have been accommodated with a Commentary on this Chapter, if instead of a Philip, he had mett with a Grotius, for a Commentator? ... The Bright Coruscations of a CHRIST, in every Line of the Chapter, are enough, even to convert a Rochester!" (*Threefold Paradise* 164–65).²⁵ Subsequent attempts to rescue the OT prophecies and their literal abrogation in Christ from the clutches of Arians, Socinians, and the "new" historicists, included such scholars as John Greene, Samuel White, John Lightfoot, William Lowth, Arthur Ashley Sykes, Edward Chandler – all of whom tried to harmonize Grotius's preterit contextualization with its tendency to disallow a single and literal fulfillment in the NT by expanding the "Prophetic Intent" to include a double fulfillment: a smaller one in

²³ See Reventlow, "The Crisis over the Authority" and "The Climax of Biblical Criticism," in *Authority* (vol. 3, parts II and III); G. Reedy, *Bible and Reason* (chs. 1–2); S. Snobelen, "Argument."

²⁴ Grotius's *De Veritate* was one of the earliest missionary manuals providing biblical citation references how best to convert Jews and Moslems. In book 5, chs. 12–19, of this work, Grotius still insisted that Isaiah's prophecy of a virgin giving birth to a son (Isa. 7:14) was the OT type that was literally abrogated in Christ, the NT antitype (Matt. 1:22–23). Yet in his later work *Annotationes* (*Opera* 1:298–99, 2:3, 10–15), Grotius pointed at the incongruence of the two Scriptures and called for a strictly historical application of this prophecy to Isaiah's own time. Matthew's NT parallel was therefore not a literal fulfillment of this prophecy in Christ as the Messiah, he argued, but merely an inadmissible allegorization of its OT antecedent. Mather's mixed admiration for Grotius becomes clear when he charges him with "Judaizing" the prophecies and blames him for such intellectual offspring as Anthony Collins, whose *Grounds and Reasons* (pt. 1, ch. 8, pp. 39–50), was the most decisive Deist threat to the authority of the Bible. For Increase Mather's vociferous reaction to Grotius, see *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (1709), pp. 7–8.

²⁵ On the "suffering servant" (Isa. 53), see Mather's glosses in *BA* (5:802–16). The English libertine John Wilmot, second earl of Rochester (1647–80), poet and courtier of Charles II, was infamous for his life-style during his early years. However, Rochester turned to religion when his health began to fail. His deathbed confession was published in Gilbert Burnet's *Some Passages of the Life and Death of Rochester*. London, 1680.

OT times and a larger one in NT times.²⁶ Did the Holy Spirit, then, inspire the apostles and evangelists to quote the ancient prophecies in a double or mystical sense? Mather certainly believed the Third Person of the Trinity did. As he put it in his commentary of Gen. 10:21, the Old Testament “is not merely a *Fellow*, but a *Father* to the *New*. Our Lord, and His Apostles, brought all their Arguments for the *Christian Faith* out of it” (BA 1:702).

Sir Isaac Newton's disciple William Whiston (1667–1752), the Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge and respected author of *A New Theory of the Earth* (London, 1696), had been wrestling with Hugo Grotius's historical method for some time and vehemently objected to the double and secondary application of the OT prophecies to Christ in his much acclaimed Boyle lecture, *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (Cambridge, 1708) consisting of eight sermons preached in 1707 at St. Paul's cathedral, London. Whiston's dogmatic response to the hermeneutical quandary is well worth quoting at length:

I Observe that the Stile and Language of the Prophets, as it is often peculiar and enigmatical, so is it always single and determinate, and not capable of those double Intentions, and typical Interpretations, which most of our late Christian Expositors are so full of upon all Occasions. . . . A single and determinate sense of Prophecy, is the only natural and obvious one; and no more can be admitted without putting a force upon plain words, and no more assented to by the Minds of inquisitive Men, without a mighty byass [*sic*] upon their rational faculties. . . . If Prophecies are allow'd to have more than one event in view at the same time, we can never be satisfy'd but they may have as many as any Visionary pleases; and so instead of being capable of a direct and plain Exposition to the satisfaction of the judicious, will be still liable to foolish applications of fanciful and enthusiastick Men. . . . If this double intention in Prophecies be allow'd by us *Christians*, as to those Predictions which were to be fulfilled in our Savior Christ; and if we own that we can no otherwise shew their completion, than by applying them secondarily and typically to our Lord, after they had in their first and primary intention been already plainly fulfill'd in the times of the Old-Testament: We lose all the real advantage of these ancient Prophecies, as to the proof of our common Christianity; and besides expose our selves to the insults of *Jews* and *Infidels* in our Discourses with them. (*Accomplishment*, Sermon I, sec. x, pp. 13–14, 15, 16)²⁷

²⁶ John Greene, *Letters to the Author of the Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1726); Samuel White, *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah, wherein the literal sense of his Prophecy's is briefly explain'd* (1709); John Lightfoot, *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, Among themselves, and with the Old Testament* (1658) and *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655); William Lowth, *A Commentary on the Larger and Lesser Prophets* (1714–15) and *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah* (1714); Arthur Ashley Sykes, *An Essay upon the Truth of the Christian Religion: wherein its real Foundation upon the Old Testament is shewn. Occasioned by the Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1725); Edward Chandler, *A Defense of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament; Wherein are considered All the Objections against this Kind of Proof, Advanced in a Late Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1725).

²⁷ For a trenchant response to Whiston's rejection of allegorical and mystical readings, especially as it concerns the controversial Book of Canticles, or Song of Songs, see “Occasional

It was absolutely necessary for Whiston that the messianic prophecies in the OT “have been properly and literally, without any recourse to Typical, Foreign, and Mystical Expositions fulfill’d in Jesus of *Nazareth*, our Blessed Lord and Savior,” else the cause of Christianity would relinquish the bedrock of prophetic proof (*Accomplishment*, p. 13). In spurning Grotius’s double sense and in categorically ruling out the apostles’ supposed allegorical proof of Christ, Whiston had aptly gauged the exegetical dilemma surrounding the prophecies. For if Grotius’s double sense were allowed to facilitate the NT abrogation, Whiston insisted, then all was lost and the Grub Street enthusiasts and lunatic fringe would rule the day.²⁸

Unfortunately for Whiston, his vehement insistence on a single application created a problem of his own making, for he painted himself into a literalist corner from which he could extricate himself only by performing a hermeneutic somersault. In his controversial treatise *An Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (London, 1722), Whiston examined the textual difficulties surrounding the apostles’ use of OT citations to establish Christ as the promised messiah, and hypothesized that when compared to the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Hebrew and Septuagint versions of the OT are corrupted precisely in those points where they concern the prophecies of the Messiah’s First and Second Coming (Propositions VI, VII, XII–XIII).²⁹ In his desperation to uphold the primary and literal abrogation of the OT prophecies in Christ in the face of the apostles’ alleged allegorization, Whiston was forced to argue that textual corruptions were introduced in the OT copies either accidentally by scribal error or, more likely, deliberately to thwart the proof of Christianity.³⁰ The first-century Jews of the Christian era, Whiston claimed, were put under tremendous pressure to stop the spread of the Gospel by “altering and corrupting their own Copies”

Annotation. V,” in Samuel Parker’s *Bibliotheca Biblia* (1725), 3:221–51.

²⁸ See especially J. E. Force, *William Whiston* (1985), chs. 3–4. D. Lucci’s *Scripture and Deism* (2008). It is one of those ironies in the history of interpretation that Whiston’s vehement defense of the Christian faith was severely compromised when in his *Historical Preface to Primitive Christianity Reviv’d* (1711) and in his *Collection of Ancient Monuments Relating to the Trinity and Incarnation* (1713) he openly declared his Arian rejection of the Johannine Comma as a forgery interpolated by St. Athanasius. Whiston’s Arianism cost him his academic appointment in Cambridge; meanwhile his mentor, Sir Isaac Newton, wisely kept mum about his own Arianism. See also *Athanasian Forgeries, Impositions, and Interpolations* (1736).

²⁹ See also Whiston’s *A Supplement to Mr. Whiston’s late Essay, Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (1723).

³⁰ The results of more than 30,000 textual variants between the Septuagint, the manuscript of the Codex Alexandrinus, and numerous other OT and NT manuscripts were published by the classical philologists Johann Ernst Grabe and John Mill, in 1705, and in Mill’s elephantine *Novum Testamentum Graecum, cum Lectionibus Variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Versioneum, Editionum, SS. Patrum et Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (1746). For a useful study of these textual critics, see A. Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley* (1954), and J. Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible* (2005).

of the Hebrew original and of the widely available Septuagint translation, "in such Citations, and in such other Places as might suit their own Designs":

Now tho' these *Jews*, like all the rest of even the wicked Part of Mankind, must have had some natural Aversion and Reluctance to Fraud and Forgery; yet since they found themselves under an absolute Necessity, and had no other Means of opposing the spread of Christianity among them; they might persuade themselves, as no small Part of Mankind do in such Cases, that *Lying for God*, or for what they had long esteem'd *his true Religion*, was either no Crime at all; or, however, a very pardonable one; if not perhaps meritorious." (*An Essay*, Prop. XII, p. 224)

It is for these reasons, Whiston claimed, that many of the apostles' quotations of the OT messianic prophecies deviate in context, wording, and intent from the true and original texts preserved in the NT, and that, if restored to their proper place and wording, this faithful restoration of "*the true Text of the Old Testament, to its original Purity*" (333) would nullify the need for Grotius's double sense: The OT prophecies would then be singly and literally abrogated in the NT.

Alas, William Whiston's faithful restoration unleashed a firestorm of criticism among his contemporaries. His deus-ex-machina device to make the prophecies safe for Christianity especially aroused the ire of Anthony Collins (1676–1729), a voluble Deist, freethinker, and philosopher, who charged in his famous *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (London, 1724) and in his follow-up *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered* (London, 1727) that Whiston's "restoration" of the true text amounted to little more than "a mere WHISTONIAN BIBLE; a BIBLE confounding, and not containing *the true Text of the Old Testament*" (*Discourse*, p. 225). Without doubt, Collins's refutation of Whiston's literalism poured out the baby with the bathwater by repudiating Christianity as little more than Judaism allegorized. As a Socinian who rejected the divinity of Christ, Collins could well afford to look unflinchingly at the "fables" of a Jesus yet still praise the Creator for his "Divine Machine" and the harmony of the laws of Nature.³¹

Collins's basic argument was that the NT writers fashioned Christianity out of the Old by quoting the ancient prophecies out of context, by adding or deleting words, by adapting the OT wording to suit their own purposes, and by claiming that the new dispensation rescued the Word from all manner of corruptions and innovations that had crept into the sacred texts. Yet in presenting the new revelation as fulfilling the old, Collins countered Whiston's assertion, the NT writers seemed to forget that "the old *revelations*, far from intending any change, engraftment, or new dispensation, did for the most part declare they

³¹ For a highly useful studies of Collins and the contemporaneous debate, see J. O'Higgins, S.J. *Anthony Collins* (1970); H. W. Frei, *Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (1974), pp. 66–85; and H. G. Reventlow, *Authority of the Bible* (1985), esp. pp. 362–69, and his *History of Biblical Interpretation* (2010) 4:159; and G. Reedy, S. J., *The Bible and Reason* (1985).

were to last *for ever*, and did forbid all alterations and innovations, they being the *last dispensations* intended” (*Grounds and Reasons*, p. 21). Determined to legitimize their new religion, Collins continued, the apostles were forced to demonstrate that the OT messianic types were singly and literally accomplished in Jesus of Nazareth. In their zeal to hail the promised Messiah, however, Christ’s disciples took considerable exegetical liberties by citing messianic predictions that are nowhere to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures and by adding and changing words without consideration of their context. This allegorical misappropriation and indiscriminate rephrasing of OT prophecies, Collins charged, is evident in a number of hotly debated messianic prophecies which the Apostle Matthew had applied to Jesus of Nazareth: Isa. 7:14–16 in Matth. 1:22–23; Hos. 11:1 in Matth. 2:14–15; Jer. 31:15–16 in Matth. 2:16–17; Zech. 6:12 in Matth. 2:23; Isa. 9:1–2, 42:7 in Matth. 14–16; Isa. 53:3–4 in Matth. 8:16–17; Isa. 42:1, 49:5–6 in Matth. 12:17–20.³²

But these *proofs* taken out of the *Old*, and urg’d in the *New Testament*, being, sometimes, either not to be found in the *Old*, or not urg’d in the *New*, according to the literal and obvious sense, which they seem to bear in their suppos’d places in the *Old*, and therefore not proofs according to scholastick rules; almost all Christian *commentators* on the bible, and *advocates* for the christian religion, both antient and modern, have judg’d them to be apply’d in a secondary, or typical, or mystical, or allegorical, or enigmatical sense, that is, in a sense different from the obvious and literal sense, which they bear in the Old Testament. (*Discourse*, pp. 39–40)³³

Indeed, with the preterit and contextual readings of Hugo Grotius, Henry Hammond, Richard Simon, Gulielmus Surenhusius, Samuel White, and others at his elbow, Collins argued that the apostles took prodigious liberties in quoting the Scriptures: “For they not only put a sense upon the prophet’s words, which is remote from the literal sense (wherein they so far concur with the allegorists); but proceeding by rules contrary to all use of language and to common sense, they put a sense upon the words subversive of the true literal sense; whereby properly speaking they are no interpreters at all, or rather worse than none, being mere indulgers of fancy” (*Discourse*, p. 245). It does not come as

32 Anthony Collins, *Discourse* (pp. 40–78ff). In his introductory comments on the Book of Matthew, Mather paraphrases a passage from *Annotations upon the Old and New Testament* (1662), by the Anglican clergyman John Trapp (1601–1669), pastor of Weston upon Avon (Gloucestershire) to underscore the correspondences between OT and NT:

Q. How often is the *Old Testament* cited in the New?

A. I have somewhere mett with this Computation; But I have not strictly examined it. There are above two hundred Places of the *Old Testament* cited in the New; So that in almost every needful Point (saies my Author *Trap*.) the Harmony is express’d. The *Psalms* are cited Fifty Three Times. *Genesis*, Forty two times. *Isay*, Forty Six times. This shewes the wonderful Agreement between the Books of Both Testaments. A more delightful *Harmony*, than what *Pythagoras* dreamt of the *Spheres*” (BA 7, preliminary comments).

33 Also see Collins’s source references on pp. 39–40.

a surprise that Anthony Collins unleashed an avalanche of refutations and ad hominem polemics for years to come.³⁴ Yet this controversy also forced the defenders of the faith to revisit their Christological readings and to adjust their typological arguments.

Anthony Collins's declaration of war on the Holy Scriptures was too much to bear for Cotton Mather, who entered the hermeneutical controversy then raging in the market place of ideas by composing his manuscript essay "Tripa-radus: A Discourse Concerning the Threefold Paradise" and by revising and adding new material to his "Biblia Americana" manuscript then still languishing in his library. In the former, he devised a "*Golden Key*" to harmonize his prophetic literalism with the preterit-allegorical hermeneutics of Hugo Grotius as a means to safeguard revealed religion from the onslaught of Deists like Blount, Collins, Toland, Tindal. In denying the apostles' supernatural ability "to *know* the Intention of the *Prophecies* in the *Old Testament*" and in questioning their capacity to link predictive types with their fulfillment in the life of Jesus Christ, Collins and his ilk "won't own the *Interpretation* which the *New Testament* putts upon the *Old*." Such "Blind *Infidels*" rob all true expositors of "this *Comfort of the Scriptures*," Mather retorted; "And except in a very few Places, we must suppose no more, than here or there *something*, that what we have in the *History* of our SAVIOUR there may be some *Allusion* to" (*Threefold Paradise* 162, 172). At first glance, Mather's defense of the apostles' literalist application seems to beg the question; for in resorting to miraculous causes, Mather knew only too well that he would not dismantle his opponents' exegetical stance. Less than a decade before his death, he devised a key to unlocking the hermeneutical mystery of the divine prophecies "to satisfy any *Christian* [that is to say, any *Reasonable Man*] in the *Truth of the Matter*:"

In the *Divine Prophecies* there were THREE *Grand Events*, One or other of which the *Prophetic Spirit* usually had in His View; And tho' His Design were sometimes to foretel some *Lesser Events*, which were more Quickly to be accomplished, yet His *Main Design* was to lead the Minds of His People unto those THREE *Greater Events*. For this Purpose, He often tack'd unto those Prophecies of those *Lesser Events* divers Expressions which must not be *fully* answered in them; Nor were these *Lesser Events* to be any other than Little *Figures* and *Praeludes* of those *Greater Events*, which GOD would have the Minds of the Faithful to be chiefly fixed upon; wherein those Things have been and will be accomplished. ... (*Threefold Paradise*, pp. 162–63).

Indeed, Mather acknowledged in the best Grotian manner the need to contextualize prophetic proclamation and abrogation in their respective historical

³⁴ In his follow-up *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; in a View of the Controversy, Occasioned by a late Book, intituled, A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons* (1727), Anthony Collins provides a detailed list of thirty-five authors who aimed to refute his thesis that the apostles allegorized the OT types in applying them Jesus Christ.

setting. At the same time, he relegated literal fulfillment in OT times to a minor event, to a partial accomplishment, or to a mere prelude of its larger application in NT or post-NT times. But in elevating the NT accomplishment to the primary event intended by the prophetic spirit governing divine revelation, Mather in essence imposed a double signification and thus expanded prophetic literalism to encompass the realm of typological allegory. In an irony perhaps best understood by Mather himself, he broadened typological interpretations to become almost indistinguishable from the much-maligned allegory of the quadriga. We have come full circle.

* * *

The Figures or Types of the Old-Testament

We began by examining the figural application of Noah's Ark buoyed up by the flood waters as a type of the NT Church and Christian baptism in Cotton Mather's early sermon *Works upon the Ark* (1689). It is now my purpose to turn to the typological handbook which served him as his primary source for this early work and for numerous typological illustrations on the Pentateuch, in *Biblia Americana* (vols. 1–2). Of the many handbooks on typology available in Mather's time, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683), composed by his uncle Samuel Mather (1626–1671), was his single most important resource.³⁵ Cotton Mather mined this work for all it is worth. Its author, eldest

³⁵ Among the most notable treatises or handbooks on typology and biblical exegesis popular throughout the seventeenth- and early eighteenth centuries are *Disputatio De Sacra Scriptura, Contra Huius Temporis Papistas* (1588), by the Elizabethan divine William Whitaker (1548–1595); *Prophetica, Sive De Sacra et unica ratione Concionandi Tractatus* (1592), by the great Elizabethan William Perkins (1558–1602), posthumously translated and published in revised form as *The Arte of Prophecy: Or A Treatise Concerning the sacred and onely true manner and methode of Preaching* (1607); the five-volume *Philologia Sacra, qua totius Sacro Sanctae* (1623–36), esp. vol. 5, by the Lutheran professor of Greek and Hebrew at Jena, Salomon Glassius (1593–1656); *Moses Unveiled: or, those Figures which served unto the Pattern and Shadow of Heavenly Things, pointing out the Messiah Christ Jesus* (1620), by the Scottish Presbyterian clergyman William Guild (1586–1657); *Christ Revealed: or, The Old Testament Explained. A Treatise of the Types and Shadows of our Saviour contained through the whole Scripture* (1635), by Thomas Taylor (1576–1631), appearing in its revised form as *Moses and Aaron* (1653); *Summa Doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei* (1648), by the Dutch theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603–1660); *Pious Annotations, Upon the Holy Bible expounding the difficult places thereof learnedly* (1643), by Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649), an influential Swiss-Italian Reformed theologian and professor of Hebrew at Geneva; *A Treatise of Divinity: consisting of Three Bookes* (1646), by the Reformed theologian Edward Leigh (1602–1671); *An Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, containing the several Tropes, Figures, Properties of Speech therein* (1669), by the English nonconformist divine Henry Lukin; the three-volume *Institutio Theologiae Elenctica* (1679–1686), by the French-Italian Reformed theologian in Geneva Francis Turretin (1623–1687); and *Tropologia, or, A Key to open Scripture Metaphors* (1681), by English Baptist minister Benjamin Keach (1640–1704).

son of Richard Mather of Dorchester, Samuel Mather graduated from Harvard in 1643, became chaplain at Magdalen College (Oxford) and, subsequently, preacher at St. Nicholas, in Dublin, Ireland (1654). Suspended at the Restoration (1660), he briefly served as curate at Burtonwood (Lancashire), before his ejection under the Act of Uniformity (1662). Returning to Dublin, Samuel was briefly imprisoned in 1664 for maintaining a conventicle of Independents. He died in Dublin in 1671. Subsequently, his younger brother, Nathaniel Mather (1631–1697), gathered Samuel's manuscript sermons on typology and published them twelve years later. Samuel Mather is mostly remembered for his collection of sermons on OT typology, preached privately to a small group of Independents over a two-year period (Mar 23, 1666–Feb, 28, 1668), and posthumously published as *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (Dublin, 1683).³⁶ In its time, it was a popular work in Old and New England: the first edition of *Figures* was twice reprinted (Dublin, 1685, and London, 1695), and a second edition with a useful index appeared in London (1705).³⁷

Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types of the Old-Testament* is a testament to Puritan hermeneutics in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century New England. It is particularly noteworthy, because its author invests great effort in defining and illustrating his key terms. Before classifying biblical typology into "*Personal Types*" (luminaries such as Adam, Noah, David, Jonah, Moses), "*Real Types*" (such holy things as Noah's Ark, Manna, the Temple), "*Occasional*" (temporary types such as Jacob's Ladder, the Burning Bush, the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, the Brazen Serpent) and *Perpetual*" (everlasting types such as ceremonial laws and the Decalogue instituted under the old dispensation) – Samuel Mather sets forth his terminology in the time-honored manner of the schoolmen, employing Aristotelean categories, definitions, divisions, and subdivisions, all set forth in logical order and in clearly defined rules (*Figures*, pp. 63, 64, 72, 108, 127–28, 130, 165–66).

"*A Type is a Shadow of good things to come*" (Heb. 10:1), Samuel Mather begins his explication; it signifies an external and tangible reality, which adumbrates a "higher spiritual thing" or "*Antitype*" and its larger fulfillment (abrogation) in the near or distant future. As a visible and earthly "*sign*," the type resembles a "*Pattern* or *Figure*" of an invisible and heavenly reality which it shadows forth as in a glass, but darkly (1 Cor. 13:12). A type is therefore "*some outward or sensible thing ordained by God under the Old Testament, to represent and hold forth something of Christ in the New.*" To be sure, there were no Gospel antitypes before the Good News was preached, for it was the Holy Spirit who taught the apostles and evangelists to discern their antecedents in the OT. "They

³⁶ "Nathaniel Mather to Increase Mather (1682–83)," in *The Mather Papers* (1868), pp. 34, 43–45, 47, 50, 60, 61, 68.

³⁷ All citation references are to the second edition (1705) of Samuel Mather's work. See also M. I. Lowance, *Language of Canaan* (1980), ch. 7.

were made *Types* afterwards; but they had not that *Schesis*, that habitude and relation to Christ and the Gospel, till there was a Gospel, or a Promise of Life by Christ, that blessed Seed” (*Figures*, pp. 51, 52, 56). Here abstracted in a few lines, Mather’s definition in the original amounts to a lengthy, step-by-step delineation garnished with biblical references and illustrations that his flock could easily transcribe in shorthand onto notepads and rehearse at leisure among friends and family as the custom was.

Yet Samuel Mather was not satisfied with mere definitions; he also devised four or five ground rules by which his parishioners could discern if a thing was a true type instituted by God:

1. Types are *not* mere “arbitrary similitudes” but must have “something of *Christ* stamped” upon them – like the rock struck by Moses gushes forth water in the wilderness or the sacrificial lamb offered on the altar. By analogy, they all shadow forth good things to come in the NT. Thus terrestrial buildings, like the Temple or Tabernacle, prefigure the true one in Heaven (Heb. 9:24), or the Land of Canaan, a type of the heavenly one (Heb. 11:16). Permutations of names and things – Adam, Melchizedek, Isaac, Moses, Joseph, David, Israel, the paschal lamb, manna – reveal God’s mind and are all interchangeable types of Christ in the new dispensation. Although inferior and falling short in some aspects, the OT types must closely resemble the larger and complete NT antitype. There is a manifest analogy between the dispensation under the Law and the Gospel mysteries of which they are an image. “The *Protasis* or Proposition of these sacred similitudes is in the Books of *Moses*, and in the Old Testament; but the *Apodosis* the Reddition or Application is to be found chiefly in the New” (53, 54, 55).
2. Types are both “*Signs*” of Gospel mysteries and “*Seals*” or “*Pledges* and *Assurances*” of God’s infallible will to be fulfilled in its appointed time. As signs and seals, these types not only prefigure what “the *Messiah* might *happen* to be” but what Christ “should *certainly* be.” And “to suppose that the Messiah might have been quite another manner of Person, than the *Types* hold forth, is to take away the *Analogy* between the *Type* and the *Antitype*; and so by consequence to deny that they were *Types*; or else to make them all Lyes and false Images” (55, 56).
3. Types therefore relate not only to Christ as a “Person” but also to “his spiritual and saving Benefits” (antitype) arising from his propitiation. For example, as types, the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant do not directly signify Christ, but his “*Angels*” who minister to the Lord and his people in the NT Church. Likewise, the Passover in the Old Testament types out the benefits of the Lord’s Supper in the New, just like the passage through the Red Sea does, the sacrament of our baptism. Yet besides Christ’s blessings, the OT types also foreshadow “our *Miseries* without him”: thus leprosy as a type of our ceremonial uncleanness or “*natural Pollution*” types out lack of grace; Hagar and Ishmael, the Covenant of Works; Babylon, the “Type of the Church of Rome”; Pharaoh, a “Type of the *Devil*”; and Sodom and Gomorrah, a “Type of Hell” (56, 57).
4. Type and antitype, no matter how much they resemble each other by way of analogy, always manifest “a *dissimilitude* and a *disparity* between them in other things” – else they would be identical. The NT antitype must always surpass in clearness and magnitude the OT type. For example, Adam is a type of Christ, the second Adam.

However, as the latter infinitely transcends the former (1 Cor. 15:47), their disparity is seen in Adam's sin and mortality and in Christ's perfection, propitiation, and eternity. As the type is incomplete and can never fully match the antitype, so the priests of old were types of Christ but could never reach the Lord and Savior in grandeur or glory – let alone pardon sins. Likewise, as types, persons and things in the OT always fall short of Christ's perfection, the antitype, so Jonas was only “a *partial Type*” of the Messiah whom he shadowed forth in one aspect only: abiding in the grave for two or three days before rising again. Although a prophet and king, David fell short of Christ, the antitype, who was prophet, king, and priest; so Moses – a prophet, king, and priest – yet his priesthood was curtailed when Aaron was consecrated, and as king and judge Moses never gave himself as a sacrifice “unto Death for expiation of their Sins.” The type always falls short of the perfection of the antitype (57, 58).

5. Types differ from similes in that the former is an instrument of logical argument, but the latter merely a device of comparison. An arbitrary type resembles a fixed or instituted type, but the former is manmade, whereas the latter is devised by God himself. Thus “*Marriage*” may be compared to “the mystical Union between Christ and the Church” (Eph. 5), yet the former is merely “a Sign,” *not* a type, let alone a sacrament (“as the Papists” argue), else we would have “a thousand Sacraments.” We have but two, they many; ours are “Signs of Christ already *come*”; theirs but types of Christ yet to come (58, 59). Finally, types differ from parables in that the former reveal the mind of God and carry the “*Stamp of Institution*” as a thing set apart, whereas the latter is nothing but “a *Sacred Similitude*” used to illustrate one thing or another (58, 59).³⁸

In all these cases – no matter how beautiful and expressive – Samuel Mather warns his congregation that “Men must not *indulge their own Fancies*, as the Popish Writers use to do, with their Allegorical Senses, as they call them; except we have some Scripture ground for it. It is not safe to make any thing a Type meerly upon our own fansies and imaginations; it is *Gods* Prerogative to make *Types*” (55).

Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* supplied his nephew in the American Boston with much valuable material for homiletic instructions. As in *The Work of the Ark* (1689) and in numerous other cases, Cotton Mather embedded his uncle's main points in this sermon and incorporated them as glosses into all pertinent places of *Biblia Americana*. During its thirty-year gestation period (1693–1728), this commentary increased to nearly five thousand folios and served Cotton as an encyclopedic sourcebook for hundreds of published and unpublished sermons and tracts that issued from his North- End pulpit.³⁹

To compare his uncle's Christological exegesis of Noah's Ark in *Figures* (71–77) with his nephew's homiletic adaptation in *Work upon the Ark* is to witness

³⁸ On the different views on marriage as a sacrament or metaphor, see Ralph Cudworth, *The Union of Christ and the Church; In a Shadow* (1642).

³⁹ For useful statistics on how Cotton Mather ranks among New England's published authors during his lifetime, see H. Amory, “Appendix: A Note on Statistics” (esp. pp. 517–18).

the transformation of a cut-and-dry dictionary definition into an imaginative tale told by a master storyteller. Cotton Mather makes Noah's archetypal story come alive for his maritime congregation by teasing out mystical analogies between the blueprint of shipbuilding and the gathering of pure churches, between being tempest tossed upon the billows of life and rowing in Eden of a heart in port. One example from *Work upon the Ark* must suffice:

That Noahs ARK was a Type of Gods CHURCH.

As a *Ship* is by *Humane* Ingenuity, often made a Resemblance of the *Church*; so the *Ark* which was a sort of a *Ship*; is by *Divine* Authority, exhibited as a Figure or Shadow of it. They compare the *Pump* in a *Ship* to Repentance, which fetches out the Corruption that endangers our Souls. They compare the *Sails*, to our *Affections*; in which when the *Wind* of the holy Spirit blows, we are carried swiftly on to the *Harbour* of Eternal Blessedness. The *Rudder*, that is compared unto the *Tongue* of man; the *Compass*, that may be compared unto the *Word* of God. But these *comparisons* are innumerable; as they that have read *Navigation Spiritualized*, by some Worthy English Writers, must needs be sensible; and I hope every Gracious Mariner does accustom himself to such *Reflections*. (*Work*, p. 4)⁴⁰

OBSERVATION. VIII.

There are very Different and Various *Degrees* in the Church of God. It was Enjoyed concerning the *Ark*, in Gen. 6.16. *With Lower, Second, and Third Stories, thou shalt make it*. Thus after some sort, there are *Three Stories* in the Church of God; there is the *Visible Church*, there is the *Mystical Church* on Earth, and there is the *Triumphant Church* in Heaven. These three are so many *Ascending Stories* in the *Ark* of the Lord.

APPLICATION

Let not a Room in the *Lower Story* of the Church content any of us. Count it not enough to be in the *Church Visible*; that is a part of the *Ark*, which any sorts of Creatures are often *Crouding* and *Herdning* together in. Doubtless, *Noah's* Quarters were *Above*, just under the Roof of the *Ark*. Let us *Aspire* to be in the *Church Mystical*; the Church of which 'tis said in *Mat.* 16.18. *The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*. Yea, Let us desire to be in the *Church Triumphant*; the Church described in *Heb.* 12.22. *The Innumerable Company of Angels, the Spirits of Just men made perfect, and Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant*. Get first into the middle *Story of Grace*, and so you shall step up into the upper *Story of Glory*, at the Last. (*Work*, p. 25)⁴¹

⁴⁰ Samuel Mather's original reads, "Here the Church is compared to a Ship in a Storm: And there are many things belonging to a Ship, resembling somewhat in the Church. The *Pump*, Repentance. The *Sails* Affections. *Wind* the Spirit. The *Rudder*, the Word – (*Figures*, p. 73). Cotton Mather alludes to John Flavel (c. 1628–1691), a Presbyterian clergyman of Dartmouth (Devonshire), whose highly popular *Navigation Spiritualized: Or, a New Compass for Seamen* (1664, 1677) went through many editions. Mather's dialectic approach in *Work upon the Ark* follows that of Flavel's *Navigation Spiritualized*, but Mather's analogies are those of Samuel Mather's *Figures*.

⁴¹ For much of the same – though more prosaic than Mather's homily – see *BA* (1:622).

On some level, Mather's analogies between the various floors of Noah's grand vessel and the Church Visible (saints and hypocrites), Invisible and Mystical (militant on earth), and Triumphant (in Heaven) are highly instructive of how exegetes steeped in the figural language of the Bible discovered parallels of the remotest kind between both Testaments. Whether or not the presumptive author of *Genesis* intended these analogies as prophetic types of Christ and his Church would be anyone's guess – if it were not for the unstated assumption upon which the pericope of Noah's Ark is based. For both the patriarch and his ship to pass muster as prophetic types adumbrating NT fulfillments, they cannot be mere myths, legends, or parables but must be factual and grounded in historical reality. As Samuel Mather cautions, there must be “*an Historical Verity in all those typical Histories of the Old Testament*. They are not bare *Allegories*, or parabolical Poems, such as is the Song of *Solomon*, or *Jotham's* Parable, Judg. 9.7. or *Nathan's* Parable to *David*, 2 Sam. 12. but they are a true Narrative of Things really existent and acted in the World, and are literally and historically to be understood” (*Figures*, p. 128). Factual history, not make-believe!

To be sure, “the Nature of an Allegory” is not always “*Res ficta*,” Samuel Mather reminds us, for God as “the Author of all Arts” has not set “such Rule in the Art of *Rhetorick*,” even if some rhetoricians have done so by mistake. But to turn all “allegorical and typical Histories and Providences into meer Romances and Fictions,” Mather bedevils the defenders of “the Transubstantiation of the Sacramental Elements,” is to argue that “Things could not be *Real*, and yet *Typical* too” (pp. 128–29). Even if St. Paul figuratively likens Hagar and Sarah to “an allegory” of the Covenants of Work and Grace (terrestrial Jerusalem below and celestial Jerusalem above, “the mother of us all” [Gal. 4:22–26]) – they are really type and antitype in light of the Gospel and “most fully” refer to “Christ the *Antitype*” (*Figures*, p. 129). In short, the hidden meaning behind what St. Paul himself analogically calls “an allegory” is no allegory at all by the standards of Reformed exegesis but a real OT prefigurative type of which the NT Christ and his Church are antitypes. To be sure, Samuel Mather does not contradict his earlier argument. For him, the deciding factor is that St. Paul's extended metaphor is based on real historical persons and events: Abraham's two wives, bondwoman and freewoman, and the antithetical natures of Ishmael and Isaac (*BA* 1:563, 915–16). Terminological confusion aside, *allegoresis* had a much wider girth of legitimacy in Apostolic times than the Reformed were inclined to permit in post-Reformation Europe. Or, if Hermann Melville may for once serve as a biblical commentator, “Who in Noah's rainbow can draw the line where the violet hue ends and the orange tint begins? We see the difference of the spectral colors distinctly, but where exactly does the one first blend and enter into the other? So with type and allegory. In pronounced cases there is no question about them, but in cases less pronounced, to draw the exact line of

demarcation between the four methods of the quadriga few but the most zealous exegetes will undertake.”⁴²

But undertake they did, seriously and plentifully. Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana* bears testimony to how mimetic typology in all its forms and manifestations flourished in early Enlightenment New England. In his lengthy commentary on the pericope of Noah’s flood (Gen. chs. 6–8), Mather did his utmost to ground the ancient story on the best historical, philological, and geological evidence he could muster to validate the history behind the deluge (*BA* 1:579–66). He was not satisfied with merely reciting his predecessors’ pious inferences; no, he went out of his way to supply his readers with the best scientific evidence available: Steno’s *glossopetrae* and seashells on the top of mountains the world over, giant fossils of the biblical Nephilim (Gen. 6:4) found in North America – true evidence, Mather held, that the flood was universal, not a local freshet in a valley of the Caucasus Mountains or regional inundation confined to Mesopotamia as some neoterics in his day were wont to claim (*BA* 1:582–601); the origin and quality of “*Gopher-Wood*” employed in the building of the Ark; calculations about the vessel’s shape, size, and capacity of the Ark’s interior stories and storage compartments to house Noah’s family, the animals, and provisions for the year-long journey (*BA* 1:602–24); Cartesian hypotheses, mechanistic explications, and mathematical guestimates of the antediluvian origin, its natural causation, and oceans of water necessary to cover the highest mountains on earth (*BA* 1:625–66). Skepticism was targeted with systematic evidence from the natural sciences. Those who question the candor of the Bible, Mather interjected, should turn to *Georgi Horni Arca Noae* (1666), sec. VI, pp. 26–27, by the celebrated Dutch historian George Horn (1620–1670). Here we learn that the Dutch Mennonite Peter Janslan had a ship built “according to the Proportion of *Noah’s Ark*.” Seamen and critics alike ridiculed this thing. Yet when the shipwright was done with his ark, “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.” Alas, the vessel was equipped without guns! But “in this Respect,” Mather triumphs, “it had a greater Resemblance to *Noah’s Ark*, which was not intended for a *Man of War*” (*BA* 1:623–24).⁴³

In light of this evidentialist validation, Mather could confidently construct his analogies and insists that they foreshadowed Christ and his benefits: The door of Noah’s Ark is a type of Christ’s Church: “Our Saviour saies, *I am the Door*.” The Ark had openings for “*Light and Air*, in the Upper-Story,” and fresh

⁴² The passage is adapted from Herman Melville’s unfinished novella *Billy Budd, Sailor* (1924), ch. 21.

⁴³ *Georgi Horni Arca Noae. Sive Historia Imperiorum et Regnorum à Condito orbe ad nostra Tempora* (1666), Peter Janslan, aka. Janssen, Jansien, whose “experiment” appears to have been carried out in Livorno, on the Italian coast of Tuscany. The same popular story is given in Samuel Parker’s magnificent *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1720) 1:235–36.

air diffused through “*Port-Holes*”; so “the *Church* is likewise a Place of *Light*, and from a Glorious Christ, that *Sun of Righteousness*, it fetches all its *Light*”; although there were “many *Mansions* and *Chambers*” in Noah’s vessel, “yett they all made but *One Ark*,” just like the “many particular *Congregations* and *Societies*” constitute “*One Catholick Church*.” Both clean and unclean creatures entered the Ark, so “there are in the *Church of God*, Creatures of all Natures, both Good and Bad.” And those who “visibly belong to the *Church*, ought to lay aside their *Evil Natures*”; the “*Raven*” leaving the Ark never to return? “*Apostates*” and “*Ill Birds*, that go from the Church, without Returning again unto it any more!”⁴⁴ And the dove? Well, isn’t it obvious? (*BA* 1:622–23). Careful reconstruction of all manner of historical and scientific proof of the deluge, then, established for Mather and his peers that the story of Noah’s flood was true history, not the fables and fanciful imaginings of poets and pagan mythologists.⁴⁵ As realistic history, the pericope of Noah’s Ark could thus prop up the quest for legitimate Christological correspondences between the Old and New Old Testament. As he put it in his annotation on Isa. 58:13, “Our *Bible* is, *The Book of the Messiah*. If Men would come to the Reading of the *Bible*, præpared with a Resolution, to seek the *Messiah*, in every Part of it, they would then come to the Sense of this miraculous Book, and Behold and Confess its Glory” (*BA* 5:787). Ironically, while Mather heartens his readers to look at the Hebrew Scriptures through the prism of Christological foreshadowing and fulfillment, he could – almost in the same breath – warn them against straining their eyes too much. Through ignorance of Hebrew and excessive zeal, he cautioned, many of the pious strain “a Text, beyond what it would bear, to find a Prophecy of CHRIST contained in it.” Words for the wise, indeed. To be sure, Mather did not always practice what he preached; he, too, could get carried away as he yearned for “the Approaching Age of *Light*, when the Knowledge of CHRIST, will be the special Character of the Age, and the *Sun of Righteousness* will more than ever arise upon the World” (*BA* 5:715).

* * *

Typology and Natural Philosophy

If Cotton Mather’s Christological exegesis of Noah’s Ark, its tripartite levels, and creatures of ill omen strains the credulity of modern readers, *Biblia Americana* contains numerous examples that have more in common with the kind of fanciful allegories about which Samuel Mather warns than with

⁴⁴ See Philo Judaeus, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* (2.35–39), in *Works* (825–26).

⁴⁵ See G. A. Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* (1986), highly informative discussion of the flood stories of Deucalion, Ogygos, Dardanos, Keos, in Greco-Roman mythology.

prophetic types adumbrating NT accomplishment. Cotton Mather, sometimes, appears to be aware of overreading OT signs when he indulges his penchant to discover Christ in biblical metaphors and tropes. Yet he also appears to counterbalance this propensity by embedding his argument in the language of scientific extrapolations. A case in point is his typological elucidation of the Mosaic Tabernacle to which he devotes nearly eighteen manuscript folios of double-columned commentary (*BA* 2:336-70; Exod. 25:1-27:20). Every facet of the edifice is examined in minute detail as a recondite type of Christ: its size, measurements, layout, holy instruments, furnishings, courtyards, material covering and coloring – every aspect is of mystical import to any exegete looking for signs and seals of hidden meaning. Significantly, the main parts of the Tabernacle signify (1) the medieval macrocosm of the celestial imperium and the *primum mobile* and (2) the microcosm of the body of Christ and his Church:

- (1) the Tabernacle is a type of this world; the holy of holies, a type of the third heaven; the courtyards, the earth; the table with twelve loaves, the twelve signs of the zodiac; the seven lamps of the menorah, the seven planets; the four colors of the coverings, the four elements signified by the Tetragrammaton.
- (2) the court is a type of the Church visible; the court's amplitude, the Church's enlargement; the veil at the door and the interior hangings, Church admission only for the elect and divine knowledge through the eye of faith; the brazen altar and its horns, Christ as propitiatory sacrifice and his power to redeem sinners; the fire from heaven consuming the sacrifice, God's spirit embracing the faithful; the laver and its cleansing water, repentance and tears of compunction; the golden table and its shewbread, the messiah as the bread of life; the twelve loaves, sufficient food for all believers; the seven-branched menorah, a figure of particular (Reformed) churches and their members illuminated by Christ's gospel united in the Holy Spirit.

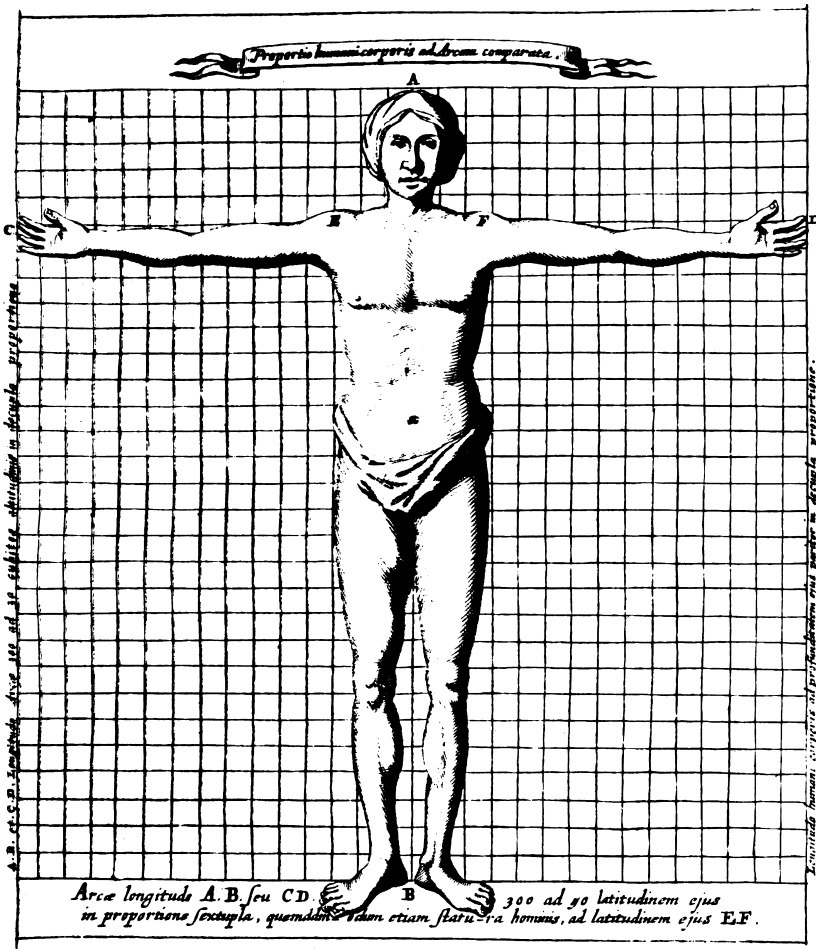
A mere summary provides but a foretaste of how Cotton Mather spiritualizes the intricate symbology of the Mosaic Tabernacle and its furnishings. Much the same can be found in his minute analyses of the High Priest's robes, the Urim and Thummim, ephods, girdle, and breastplate as types foreshadowing their antitypes (Exod. chs. 28–29). Perhaps one small aspect deserves closer attention here; it demonstrates the fertile imaginations of typologizers in their quest to trace Christ in the Hebrew Scriptures:

"The *Tabernacle*, was doubtless, a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ; particularly of His *Body*, wherein He *Tabernacled* among us." Assuming that his gloss amounts to "a Speculation worth our mentioning," Mather cannot help but explore how the dimensions of Christ's human body, his limbs, and location of organs, might be typified by the portable edifice and its appurtenances in the wilderness (*BA* 2:364–65). He had good precedent for doing so. Among the most memorable predecessors and contemporaries who correlated the measurements of the human body to Noah's Ark and the Mosaic Tabernacle are the French mathematician Johannes Buteo, aka. Jean Borrel (c. 1492–c. 1572), who had

done so in his influential *De Arca Noe, Cuius formae, capacitatisque; fuerit*, in *Buteonis Delphinatici Opera Geometrica* (1554), pp. 11–12; and the German Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), in his oft-cited *Arca Noë, in Tres Libros Digesta* (1675), lib 1, sect. 3, cap. 9, pp. 33–35. The relative dimensions of the human body and its limbs thus correspond in Kabbalistic fashion with the blueprint of the Ark and the Tabernacle – the music of the spheres in complete sync with things on earth. But Mather's case is a special one.

In the present illustration, none less than the English physiologist Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712) and his teleological *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 6, ch. 8, p. 253, came to Mather's aid. Backed by *De Architectura* (1649), lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 38, a work on the style and harmony of classical architecture, by the Roman civil engineer Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (c. 90–c. 20 BCE), Grew and Mather declare that “Without symmetry and proportion there can be no principles in the design of any temple; that is, if there is no precise relationship between its members, as in the case of those of a well-shaped man.”⁴⁶ With this architectural premise in place, the brace can go out on their analogical limb: The measurements of the principal members that prop up the weight of the human body – thighs, legs, arms, feet, fingers, toes – proportionally answer to the measurements of the boards at the sides and end of the Mosaic Tabernacle; the four pillars supporting this tent correspond to the “four Bones of the *Cubiti*” (elbows) and “the *Brachium*” (arm) to form a right angle on each side. The five pillars at the Tabernacle's entrance match the body's “Five Principal Commanders”: 2 arms, 1 backbone, and 2 legs. Next, taking the measure of “the Dimple in the *Upper Lip*” of a man's mouth, plus “the First Joint of the middle Finger” ($\frac{1}{2}$ inch and 1 inch, respectively), Mather (and his source) extrapolate the size of their Tom Thumb, whose proportions answer the relational magnitude of the Tabernacle in multiple ways. Alas, this is not all! For just as much as a man's height “from the Sole of the Foot, to the Top of the Hip” and from “the bottom of the *Os Sacrum* [sacral bone] to the Crown of the Head” stands in the same proportional dimension to the length and height of the Tabernacle as the length of a man lying stretched out and his height when sitting upright, so, too, analogically “the *Four Intrails* of the *Tabernacle*” (i. e., throne, incense, altar, table) correspond “not unaptly” to the positions of “the *Brain*, the *Heart*, the *Stomach*, and the *Liver*.” Indeed, as a type, the dimensions of the human body and of the Mosaic tent (inside and out) answer the shape, size, and soul of Jesus Christ, the larger-than-life antitype. Any questions? “The Curious,” Mather adds, might pursue this comparison further, “but at present we desist.” And so shall we – in a moment.

⁴⁶ Mather employed the same typological analogy in his *The Duty of Children* (1703), p. 39; and in his essay *The Pure Nazarite* (1723), p. 18.



Athanasius Kircher, *Arca Noë* (1675)

If we didn't know better, it might not be out of place to wonder if Drs. Cotton Mather (D.D.) and Nehemiah Grew (M.D.) are given to jesting. Get thee behind me, Satan! To be sure, Samuel Mather did issue his caveats against runaway allegories and Kabbalistic peculiarities, but when en route to the Celestial City, Mr. Zeal elopes with Ms. Piety at the crossroads of Gretna Green, a boundless bundle of mystical fancies, no doubt, will be their progeny. So here. Let's dismiss mirth and levity and send hilarity packing. But if we cannot see it *their way*, is it our place to judge?

And yet, Mather's analogy between the Tabernacle's external and internal furnishings on the one side and the physiological description of the inner and

outer man on the other deserve another look. If farfetched to our secular imagination, Mather's comparison is entirely consistent with Jewish mysticism in the Zohar, the Book of Splendor. When God created man in his image, man's inner and outer Self corresponded to the supernal mysteries above and the lower mysteries below:

What, then, is man? Does he consist solely of skin, flesh, bones and sinews? Nay, the essence of man is his soul; the skin, flesh, bones and sinews are but an outward covering, the mere garments, but they are not the man. ... all have a symbolism in the mystery of the Supernal Wisdom, corresponding to that which is above. The symbolism of the skin is as the Master has taught us in connection with the words: 'Who stretchest out the heaven like a curtain' (Ps. CIV, 2); and again 'Rams' skins, dyed red and badgers' skins' (Ex. xxv, 5, in connection with the tabernacle). These skins are a garment which protects a garment, viz. the extension of the heaven, which is the outer garment (of the Divine). The curtains (of the Tabernacle) are the inner garments, corresponding to the skin upon the flesh. The bones and the sinews symbolize the Chariots and the celestial Hosts, which are inward. ... Esoterically, the man below corresponds entirely to the Man above. Just as in the firmament, which covers the whole universe, we behold different shapes formed by the conjunction of the stars and planets to make us aware of hidden things and deep mysteries; so upon the skin which covers our body and which is, as it were, the body's firmament, covering all, there are shapes and designs – the stars and planets of the body's firmament, the skin through which the wise of heart may behold the hidden things and the deep mysteries indicated by these shapes and expressed in the human form. (Soncino Zohar, Shemoth, sec. 2, Vol. 2, p. 76a).⁴⁷

Whether or not Mather and his source are cognizant of this Kabbalistic parallel – viewing the mystical correspondences between the inner and outer man, the inner and outer Tabernacle, and the celestial and terrestrial realms – is difficult to tell at first sight. However, typology as an exegetical tool to uncover hidden analogies between OT and NT, the first and second Adam, is ideally suited to remove the veil from the soul's inner eye: the material world becomes transparent as the eye mystically absorbs rather than reflects the light of the celestial sphere.

Other examples illustrating Mather's typological proclivities in *Biblia Americana* are equally telling. They demonstrate just how wide the scope of exegesis can be stretched when biblical types, natural philosophy, and eclectic reading habits join forces. Such is the case with Mather's figurative reading of the the proverbial manna (BA 2:242-45), perhaps the best-known of all Christological types. The analogy between the sustenance God miraculously provided to the mixed multitude in the Sinai desert (Exod. 16:12-35) and Jesus Christ as the "bread of life" (John 6:35), along with the feeding of the five thousand in

⁴⁷ See also the phrenological descriptions of a man's face, lips, eyes, eyebrows, veins, forehead, hair color, palms, ligaments, and skin color, in *Soncino Zohar*, Shemoth, sec. 2 (vol. 2, pp. 74b-78b).

the NT (Matth. 14:13–21, John 6:1–14, 31–35), seems obvious enough.⁴⁸ That said, Mather's typological manna dressing bears explaining: "The *Manna* was outwardly Despicable and Contemptible, but really an Excellent Food," Mather opens his historical and literal description according to his uncle's rules. "It was but *little* on Quantity: yett it was *Angels Food*; the Figure of it was Round; the Colour of it was White; the Tast of it, like Fresh Oyl, or Wafers baked with Honey. It sustained the whole Congregation of *Israel*; They might Eat it as they found it, or they might Grind it & Bake it" (BA 2:242). With the substance of the literal type in place, Mather moves to the next level of interpretation by drawing on the trope of Isaiah's suffering servant: "The outward Appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, was in like Manner Despicable & Contemptible. [Isa. 53.3] But really Hee is the most excellent Object. [Cant. 5.16. 1 Pet. 2.7.] The *Tast* of Him, in His Promises, & in His Appointments, is very Delightful, to those that enjoy it. [1. Pet. 2.3. Psal. 119.103.] The *Sufferings* of our Lord Jesus Christ, were the Grinding & Baking of the *Manna*, to bee Food for our Faith. And now Hee satisfies our Desire of no less than, the whole *Israel* of God." Notice how Mather's literal level of grinding wheat into flour and baking the bread is amplified at once into a figurative expression of Christ's torment on the cross and into a sacramental metaphor of the life-giving host.

Next, Mather probes how the typological sign or "*Substance*" surpasses the OT "*Shadow*" on the spiritual and mystical levels. In so doing, his analogies become increasingly strained as he searches more narrowly for hidden mysteries overlooked by his peers. As the literal manna was but able to "Feed the *Body*" of the murmuring Israelites in the wilderness, only the messiah, the bread of life, "Feeds the *Soul*" of spiritual Israel; the former sustained but the "*Natural Life*"; the latter, the "*Spiritual* and *Eternal*." If this manna was concealed "in the *Dew*," it "lept up, as it were, in Two Beds of *Dew*," one above in heaven and the other below on earth. God's Word is this "Bed of *Dew*," the only "*Hidden Manna*," to be found inside his Church; there is no salvation outside the camp of spiritual Israel (BA 2:243).⁴⁹

Next, moving to the tropological, moral level, Mather's interlocutor queries his readers: How and when is this manna to be gathered? All those who seek the Lord "must go out of their *Tents*"; i. e., "out of them selves, & out of their Sins, and out of all Creatures." This manna, like Christ, must be "gathered *Early* in the Morning" of our lives and on a daily basis, because none was to be set aside for another day. In like manner, the faithful are to trust in God's providence, feed upon Christ "*Daily*," and not let any of it "ly by us, unimproved."

Finally, on the level of the anagoge, Mather knowingly relates that when the Israelites arrived in Canaan, their manna ceased; just so the Mosaic

⁴⁸ See also Mather's commentary (BA 8, John 6:31, 32, 51,71).

⁴⁹ See also Mather's commentary on Deut. 32:2 (BA 2:1229–30).

"Ordinances" will cease "when wee come to Heaven." This is cessation of manna is also typified in a Latin passage, which Mather quotes from the Latin thesis *De Oeconomia Temporum Testamentaria Triplex* (1673), by the German theologian Wilhelm Momma: "On the sixth day, the Israelites received a double measure of manna; on the seventh, none was found. So on the sixth day of the week Christ expended all his strength, and he gave his life that the work of redemption was consummated and completed. On the seventh day he was neither in the sepulcher nor to be seen or found on earth among men."⁵⁰

Alas, not every scholar trained in exegesis saw eye-to-eye on this matter. Given the miraculous appearance of manna in the wilderness (OT) and its typological signification of Christ as the bread of life (NT), Mather is dismayed to have this heuristic prop challenged by none less than Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653), the famous classical scholar and professor of Oriental languages at Leiden University. Salmasius, looking over the shoulders of Aristotle, Galen, Avicenna, Pliny, and Scaliger, claims in his *De Manna et Saccharo Commentarius* (Paris, 1664) that this manna was nothing but a coriander-like, sweet-tasting gummy substance, which was not supernatural at all but an ordinary food staple when in season and commonly found in the Fertile Crescent. In short, Salmasius demythologizes this ancient miracle as pious hyperbole – just like Spinoza would do less than a decade later in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) and Dom August Calmet in his *Dictionary* (1732).⁵¹ In thus separating the supernatural from the historic and actual realm, Salmasius's evidentialism not only undermined the mystery of the Word become flesh but also interrogated implicitly the transformative nature of the Lord's Supper. Mather's irritation at Salmasius should not mislead us into believing that the former was opposed to natural explanations

50 See Mather's commentary in *BA* 2:244n: "Sexto Die dupla Mannæ mensura dabatur; septimo non inveniebatur. Sexto Die Septimanæ Christus omnes vires impendit, et animam ipsam emisit, ut opus Redemptionis consummaret et perficeret. Septimo Die in Sepulchro jacuit, nec in terrâ inter homines visus aut inventus est," in Momma's *De varia conditione & statu Ecclesiae Dei sub Triplici Oeconomia; Patriarcharum, ac Testamenti Veteris, & denique Novi; Libri tres*. Editio secunda (1683), lib. 2, cap. 6, §17.9, p. 124. Momma's book was placed on the Index of Forbidden Books, on March 12, 1703. See *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Gregorii XVI* (Neapoli, 1862), p. 306.

51 On Spinoza's hermeneutics, see S. Nadler, "Spinoza" (827–36). Even the French Roman Catholic theologian Dom August Calmet, Abbot of Senones, in his 3-volume *An Historical, Critical, Chronological and Etymological Dictionary of the Holy Bible*. 3 vols. (1732), cites several source that testify that "still at this Day there falls Manna in several Places of the World: In Arabia, in Poland, in Calabria, in Mount Libanus, in Dauphine, and elsewhere. The most common and the most famous is that of Arabia, which is a kind of condensed Honey, to be found in the Summer Time upon the Leaves of the Trees, the Herbs, the Rocks, or the Sand of Arabia Petrea. It is of the same Figure as Moses describes. That which is gathered about Mount Sinai is of a very strong Smell, which is communicated to it by the Herbs upon which it falls. It very easily evaporates, insomuch that if thirty Pounds of it were to be kept in an open Vessel, there would hardly ten of it remain at the End of fifteen Days. This Arabian Manna is sold in the Apothecaries Shops, at Grand Cairo in Egypt" (2:122).

even when miracles seemed so much more apropos for typological interpretations. For Mather there is no conflict between teleology and natural philosophy as he asserts throughout his *Christian Philosopher: A Collection of the Best Discoveries in Nature, with Religious Improvements* (London, 1721/22). His eclectic reading in the natural sciences of his day helps him to validate his Christological exegesis of the OT just as much as it does to confirm the truthfulness of the Mosaic narrative.⁵² In fact, he could easily move back and forth with ease. After all, Theology was still the Queen of all Sciences, and Sophia, her twin sister, an instrument of reason and harmony.

Mather's lengthy annotation on Exod. 16:19–24 illustrates this point aptly. Manna was to be gathered every morning before the hot sun melted it away, according to God's directive, but none was to be kept for another day – except for the Sabbath. Those who disregarded this instruction discovered the next morning that their manna was flyblown; it “bred worms, and stank.” A miracle? Well, that depends on whether a lukewarm Cartesian like Mather allowed second causes to trigger this sudden metamorphosis or whether he had God offset the laws of nature by chasing one miracle with another.⁵³ As to miracles, Mather held with Nehemiah Grew to back him up that “*A Miracle is the extraordinary Effects of some unknown Cause, limited by Divine Ordination and Authority, to its Circumstances, for a suitable End.*” Put in a different way, miracles are less the effect of supernatural causation than the consequence of an unknown chain of events or secondary causes. For once they are located in nature, the events cease to be miraculous. Oddly enough, this definition is something like a half-way house between things above nature and the purely ordinary laws of nature. To be sure, Mather was not always happy with such demystifications. For just a few paragraphs later, he complains that “This brings too much of Nature into the Matter” (BA 2:161). Be that as it may, his lengthy commentary on Exod. 16:33 [20] allows him to bring to the table the cutting-edge insight into the age-old question of abiogenesis or spontaneous generation. He clearly wants his cake and eat it too (BA 2:248–51).

In Mather's day, the hoary belief in abiogenesis still enjoyed wide currency. Apparently posited by the Milesian philosopher Anaximander (611–547 BCE), the idea that insects, bees, hornets, and other simple organisms spring from putrefying matter, rotting vegetables, carcasses, excrements, and mud, without sexual generation, was taken over by the Greek Philosopher Aristotle (BCE 384–322), in his *History of Animals* (5.1.539a18–26; 5.19.550b3–551a7) and *Generation of Animals* (3.11.761a13–762a35) and widely circulated in the medieval academies until the early eighteenth Century.⁵⁴ The celebrated Italian

⁵² See, for example, Mather's response to the time-honored belief in “*spontaneous Generation of Insects*” (“Essay 27. Of Insects”), in *The Christian Philosopher* (1994), esp. 154–56.

⁵³ See my discussion of Mather's views on natural science, in “How to Go to Heaven” (BA 1:77–112).

⁵⁴ See E. B. Basking, *Investigations into Generation 1651–1828* (1967), pp. 18–19.

physician and naturalist, Francesco Redi (1626–1697) put this question to the test. He describes the results of his experiments with carcasses of snakes, fish, scorpions, spiders, fruit, and other dead matter in open and covered containers, in his *Experimenta circa Generationem Insectorum* (Amstelodami, 1671). Redi's conclusions? That when the container remained uncovered, flies deposited their eggs abundantly and hatched myriads of maggots and flies. However, when hermetically sealed, "no living thing was ever produced" in his test tubes. Ergo, "all those Kinds of *Putrefaction*, did only afford a Nest and Food, for the Eggs and Young, of these Insects, that hee [Redi] admitted thereunto; but produced no Animal of themselves, by a Spontaneous Formation; when hee suffered those things to putrefy, in Hermetically Sealed Glasses, and Vessels close covered with Paper" (BA 2, 2:248). Empirical observation, not ancient tradition, is victorious in this battle of the books.

But how did worms breed "in the *Intestines*, and other Internal Parts of living Creatures" like plants? Another illustrious Italian physician and biologist, Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694), founder of microscopic anatomy, demonstrated beyond doubt that insects inject a sticky substance into leaves and stems of plants and cause tumor-like growths to appear upon which the insect pupae feed once they hatch from their eggs (*Anatomus Plantarum pars altera*, in *Opera Omnia* [1686–87], tom. 2, pp. 17–42). Application? Malpighi's microscopic observation helped biblical interpreters to demystify the well-known story about King Herod Agrippa (10 BCE–44 CE), who was punished for his pride with "*Phthiriasis*" or "*Herods Disease*," when pubic lice infected his putrefying ulcers, and his majesty was famously "*Eaten by Maggots*" (Acts 12:23). Likewise, the renowned Dutch physician Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) reported in his "Epistola de 17 Octobris 1686," published in *Continuatio Epistolarum* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1696), pp. 91–112, that "Lice and Flies, which have a most wonderful Acuteness of Sense, to find out convenient Places for the nourishment of their Young[,] do mightily endeavour to lay their Eggs upon Sores; and that one laies above an Hundred, which may naturally increase to some Hundreds of Thousands, in a quarter of a Year." No wonder, then, that when some hungry doubters in the wilderness of their own mind saved up their manna for a rainy day – against Moses' explicit direction – "*it bred Worms & stank*; it is to bee understood no otherwise, than it was *Fly-blown*" (BA 2:249–50). Yet another mystery demystified. Yet in demystifying the purported miracle, was the story deprived of its typological and Christological implications? True, the Hebrew lawgiver did not write a book of science, of course, but when his sacred history is subjected to scientific tests, Mather more than hints, his narrative does hold up to scrutiny.

One more illustration of how Mather's natural philosophy and Christological typology walk hand-in-hand in *Biblia Americana* (BA 22:922–37). After all, science, travel literature, and pagan antiquity must fortify the historical evidence behind the biblical account and thus furnish exegetes with the necessary

“Sitz im Leben” as a foundation for their typological readings. Serpents, large and small, are particularly telling symbols among the ancients and moderns. So in Mather’s glosses on the book of Numbers: “What were the *Fiery Serpents*, which the Lord sent upon murmuring *Israel*?”⁵⁵ Given his wide reading in the medical lore of his day, Mather turns to *De Morbis Biblicis Miscellanea Medica* (1680), by Thomas Bartholinus (1616–1680), a distinguished Danish physician of the body and soul, to validate the biblical pericope with scientific evidence. Here, Mather comes across the “very singular Opinion” of the Genoese natural philosopher Fortunius Licetus (1577–1657), whose medical handbook *De Spontaneo Viventium Ortu* (1618) explains that these fiery serpents “were a Venemous and Malignant Sort of, *Dracunculi*, generated in the Bodies of the forward Israelites.” The sting of this “*Dracunculi*”; i. e., Guinea worms [*Filaria medinensis*] “cruelly eroded, and so inflamed, & so tormented, the Bodies, wherein they had their Generation” that those thus punished quickly succumbed.

Even the Greco-Roman biographer Plutarch (45–127 CE) knowingly tells of infected inhabitants near the Red Sea who felt “little serpents in their legs and arms, which did eat their way out, but when touched shrunk in again, and raised intolerable inflammations in the muscles” (*Symposiacs* 8.9). Likewise, the Dutch traveler Jan Huyghen van Linshoten (1563–1611), an eyewitness to such vermicular infections in Arabia and India, further confirms Mather’s story. In his *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert near Oost ofte Portugals Indien* (1596), Linshoten relates that the natives of Hormus in the Persian Gulf were frequently struck by this strange plague of worms growing in their legs. The shape of these parasites are “like unto Lute strings” and they can grow in length up to “two or three fadomes longe.”⁵⁶ The only way to get rid of these pests is to “winde them aboute a Straw or a Pin” when they poke through the skin and “binde it fast and annoynt the hole” with fresh butter. The whole procedure can take “ten or twelve days” during which time the diseased must sit perfectly still and study patience. If at any time the worms thus extracted break off, “they should not without great paine get it out of their legge, as I have seen some men doe” (*John Huighen van Linschoten, his Discourse* [1598], bk. 1, p. 16). With tangible proof from physicians and travelers in place, Mather continues to tease his readers with name-dropping and brief citations from ancient and modern luminaries of body and of soul: Æsculapius, Galen, Josephus, Ibn Ezra, Abarbanel, and Nachmanides among the ancient Greeks and medieval rabbis, to Bartholinus, Linshoten, Sir Thomas Brown, Samuel Bochart, and Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Tenison among the moderns – all contribute their expertise on this intriguing

⁵⁵ “And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died. . . . And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived” (KJV, Exod. 21:6, 9)

⁵⁶ A fathom equals 6 feet (*OCD*).

matter. However, Mather was not convinced by mere medical explanations: The fiery flying serpents stinging the wayward Israelites in the Mosaic story – nothing more than a parasitic Guinea-worm infestation? What about the brazen serpent that healed those who looked at it in faith?⁵⁷

Viewed from the vantage point of pagan superstition, Mather well knew that the ancients carried on their bodies effigies of talismanic serpents which they believed received their power from the stars and served as charms against snakebites. So, too, the ancient Babylonians, Egyptians, and Phoenician sacrificed to “a *Great Dragon*,” which they called *Αγαθοδαίμονας*, Agathodaimon, or good demon, that is, the hawk-headed serpentine Kneph of the Egyptians as described in Eusebius Pamphilus’s *Praeparatio Evangelica* (1.10.41c). Moreover, “*Æsculapius*, the God of the Physicians,” much like Hermes in Greek mythology, is represented by his winged caduceus twined by two writhing serpents. No surprise then that Egypt’s “*Isis*, or *Osiris*, or *Bacchus*” were never depicted “without a Serpent”; Alexander the Great was “begotten by a *Serpent*,” and the Indians of America, according to Jose Acosta, worshipped serpents. “The Reasons, why Serpents were thus Honoured might bee,” Mather leans on *Mensa Isiaca, qua Sacrorum apud Ægyptios ratio & simulacra* (Amstelodami, 1669), by Italian philologist of Padua Laurentius Pignorius (1571–1631), “partly because they could twine themselves into all figures; partly because of the mighty Energy of their Venom; & because of their mighty Bulk; & because they live to a great Age; are of a quick Sight, & Renew their Youth, by putting off their Skin.” We can then well imagine how “a *Saraph*, a flaming Angel in the form of a *Fiery Flying Serpent* whose Body vibrated in the Air, with Lustre,” deceived Eve who fell prey to the arch marplot of Eden who usurped the divine image and appeared to her as if “Part of the *Shecinah* of the *Logos*.” No surprise then that the ancient heathens “were overpowred by the Craft, Malice, & Pride of the *Divel*, who deluded Man in that Shape, & would as it were redeem the Loss, hee sustained, in the Curse of that Creature, by turning it into a venerable *Idol*” (BA 2:930): The serpent in Eden precipitates the Fall of mankind even as the archetype of evil is turned upside down and metamorphoses, oh *felix culpa*, into the brazen serpent of Moses, a symbol of healing and salvation. In its turn, as a type, this effigy prefigures the NT Christ, the savior of mankind.

O goodness infinite, Goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness! (10.1360–64)⁵⁸

57 Mather published a lengthy sermon on this topic: *Zalmonah. The Gospel of the Brasen Serpent, In the Mosaic History* (1725). See also his glosses on Gen. 3:1, in BA 1:477–80.

58 John Milton, *Paradise Lost. A Poem in Twelve Books* (1674), bk. 12, p. 328. First edition (1668), bk. 10, lines 1360–64.

But wait! “Whence could *Moses* bee supply’d, to make the *Brazen-Serpent*?” Mather’s reality check is intriguing, for it had become unfashionable by the late seventeenth century to resort to miracles when natural causation is called for. It must have been “a *Coper-Serpent*,” Mather responded, not one made of brass, because “*Brass* is an Artificial thing, of a later Invention, made with the *Calamy-Stone* [iron pyrite],” which the Israelites gathered in their waystation of “*Dizahab*” (Numb. 21:9) or at “*Punon*” (Numb. 33:43), famous for its copper mines but infamous as the site where the Romans in later ages worked their slaves to death in extracting the “*Phennesia Metalla*.”⁵⁹ Anachronisms, though not uncommon in the Bible, had to be ruled out as much as possible. Mather’s attention to such historical detail demonstrates that he is just as fully attuned to the history behind the biblical events as he is to their typological signification.

Typologically considered, the sting of the serpent in Eden was the OT type adumbrating the sting of the fiery flying serpents in the wilderness, its smaller historical antitype; likewise, the brazen serpent set on a pole in the camp of the murmuring Israelites prefigured Christ on the cross, the NT antitype, who cured the sting of original sin by becoming the propitiatory sacrifice.⁶⁰ But “the *Sight* of a *Serpent*, should cure the *Sting* of a *Serpent*?” Mather queries the old concept of sympathetic healing.⁶¹ It seems to be a “miracle within a miracle” that God “heals illness by means of the cause of sickness,” venomous inflammations healed by an antidote of venom, the sting of a deadly *saraph*, by the brazen effigy of a fiery *nachash* (Ramban, Commentary 4:235–36). And just as much as the brazen effigy saved the anguished Israelites who looked at this symbol of their affliction with faith, so “the *Sight* of Christ crucified, naturally filled His Crucifiers only with Anguish, when they look’d on Him whom they had pierced, & knew Him to be the *Messiah*.” And “by the Grace of God, it became their only Salvation, thro’ Faith in Him.” Thus Mather’s “Gospel of the *Brasen Serpent*” – like its metal – sounds across the chronological divide between Old and New Testaments, between Judaism and Christianity.⁶² Cacophony or no, biblical commentaries that synthesized the best knowledge available in books ceased

⁵⁹ See also Mather’s *Zalmonah* (1725), p. 5.

⁶⁰ “Verily, The *Pole* set up in the Wilderness, with a *Brasen Serpent* upon it, was a *Pulpit*, from whence a most Powerful Sermon on the *Third of Genesis and the Fifteenth* was preached unto us.” According to Mather, this pole was on a “Perch Six or Seven Foot high.” This Pole was really a “*Standard*,” which in ancient times “had a cross on the Top, and a *Robe* Extended and Expanded on the *Cross*” (*Zalmonah*, pp. 8, 28, 99).

⁶¹ See, for instance, Sylvester Rattray’s edition of *Theatrum Sympatheticum Auctum, exhibens Varios Autores* (1652), which includes tracts on the topic of sympathetic healing by such noteworthy alchemists and natural philosophers as Paracelsus, Robert Fludd, Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, Thomas Bartholinus, Athanasius Kircher, Daniel Sennert, and others. Kenelm Digby’s *A Late Discourse . . . Touching the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy* (1658).

⁶² In his sermon *Zalmonah* (1725), Mather intones: “*A sounding Braß*. Lo, *A sounding Braß*! The Gospel of the *Brasen Serpent*, is that, the sound whereof goes forth to all the World; teaches, you hear this Day, to the *American World* (2).

to be mere pious glosses assuming abiding faith in the reader. They became seismic registers of religion encountering natural science in the Age of Enlightenment (*BA* 2:925-37).

We have come full circle once again. Typology as a heuristic device to discover the nexus between OT foreshadowing and NT fulfillment enabled the apostles to graft the Good News upon the Hebrew Scriptures in one seamless whole; it empowered ministers like Cotton Mather to assuage doubters of the Bible's authenticity and of typological proof with experiments in natural philosophy that the harmony between the macrocosm of biblical history and the microcosm of experimentation is complete – the same thing told in both. However, maintaining this concord of correspondences through typological parallels and analogies across the sands of time came at a high price; and Mather's annotations easily bear this out collectively. His exegesis of types becomes more open to free-wheeling allegoresis akin to the Midrashic commentaries on the Hebrew Scriptures. And like them, Mather's interpretive methods evolved as he responded to the hermeneutic crises of his own time. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, textual, philological, and canonical criticism had become a free-for-all source of skepticism; the bane of Arianism had become acceptable if not fashionable in certain intellectual circles which rejected the Trinity; OT prophecy and NT fulfillment – hitherto the most reliable proof of Jesus of Nazareth as the true messiah – lost their luster when the divine inspiration of the Bible and revelation itself came under attack by the disciples of Hobbes and Spinoza, let alone such Deists as Chubb, Toland, Anthony Collins, and Tindal; waterproof evidence from miracles lost its authority when Cartesian mechanism and philosophical materialism almost became the norm in the Republic of Letters; and if saving faith was no longer the sole province of supernatural grace but now stipulated the ascent of reason to a proffered good, Arminianism and historical faith in Jesus Christ made short shrift with arbitrary election and limited atonement. It is fair to say that Mather, in this whirlpool of hermeneutic challenges, gave full force to his pursuit of Christ in the Old Testament. Yet by permitting allegory to take over where the literal sense tried to reign in an interpreter's run-away imagination, Mather opened the backdoor to the medieval *Quadriga* that the Protestant Reformers had tried to shut for good.

Documenting his commentary with such massive detail spread across numerous disciplines, secular and sacred, is characteristic of Mather's omnivorous reading habits. Yet it also demonstrates that over time typology as an exegetical tool required much more than mere prophetic foreshadowing and fulfillment, historical parallels, and analogical similarities. More than ever before, typology in Mather's age demanded foregrounding and backgrounding, evidence from history, empirical science, philology, textual and linguistic acumen, to move his Lockean contemporaries to prop up their faith with rational evidence. Belief is seemingly warranted when evidence is commensurate to its epistemological

purpose – else all is but the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.⁶³ No surprise then that collected in *Biblia Americana*, Mather's glosses frequently turned into full-sized essays across disciplines, essays into tracts, and tracts into a comprehensive database accessible at any time. He could repurpose these glosses for any impromptu delivery from his Boston pulpit or repackage them for any of his publishing ventures. *Biblia Americana*, then, is one of the great resources in the Republic of American Letters that registers the challenges of his age even as it bridges the intellectual gap between colony and imperial center.

63 Heb. 11:1.

Section 2

Moses or the Egyptians?¹

Amongst all the Divine Philosophers, there was none that opened a more effectual door, for the propagating of philosophic principles and light, than *Moses*, who by his writings contained in his five Books ... laid the main foundations of al that Philosophie, which first the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians*, and from them the *Grecians* were masters of.²

To deny a people the man whom it praises as the greatest of its sons is not a deed to be undertaken lightheartedly – especially by one belonging to that people. ... It might have been expected that one of the many authors who recognized Moses to be an Egyptian name would have drawn the conclusion, or at least considered the possibility, that the bearer of an Egyptian name was himself an Egyptian. ... What hindered them from doing so can only be guessed at. Perhaps the awe of Biblical tradition was insuperable. Perhaps it seemed monstrous to imagine that the man Moses could have been anything other than a Hebrew.³

We do not know if the father of psychoanalysis and formulator of the proverbial Oedipus complex appreciated the implicit irony of symbolically “killing” the father of monotheism – in denying Moses his Hebrew parentage. There is no doubt, however, that for Sigmund Freud and his contemporaries more than mere curiosity in the mythic founder of Judaism or fascination with a remote age were involved. For if Freud was afraid that publishing his “Moses ein Ägypter” (1937) might “cause psychoanalysis to be forbidden in a country [Austria] where its practice was still allowed” (132), then his anxiety reveals the subversive potential the argument about the Egyptian origins of Moses and his religion still held at the time.⁴ Of course, developments in the field of biblical criticism and the wider acceptance of a historicist-comparative approach to the scriptures

1 This section – here slightly revised – first appeared as “Eager Imitators of the Egyptian Inventions,” in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana*, edited by R. Smolinski and J. Stievermann (2010), pp. 295–335.

2 Theophilus Gale, *The Court of the Gentiles* (1676), part II, bk. 1, ch. 1, p. 15.

3 Sigmund Freud, “Moses ein Ägypter” (1937), in *Moses and Monotheism* (1967), pp. 3–15.

4 This subversive potential is illustrated by the controversy started by the German Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922), three decades before Freud published his “Moses ein Ägypter” (1937). In his famous lecture *Babel und Bible* (1902), Delitzsch posited that most of the cultic rites and creedal points of the Israelites must have been adopted from their Babylonian-Assyrian (and Egyptian) neighbors, whose civilization was significantly older and much

have since done much to defuse the explosiveness of the subject. But even today Jews and Christians who are invested in the literal truth of their sacred texts are bound to struggle with the claim about the pagan origin of the Mosaic religion.⁵ Indeed, in the words of Freud, it seems monstrous for some believers to imagine that the divine lawgiver could have been born and bred an Egyptian. For literalists, it appears blasphemous to allege that many of the Mosaic laws, rites, and customs did not originate in God's divine revelation on Mt. Horeb but were borrowed from their Israelites' Egyptian neighbors. Equally hard to accept is that the God of Israel would have Moses make use of idolatrous rites, turn them upside down, and adapt them to new uses in the service of the one true God. After all, from this perspective the truth claims of the Judeo-Christian religions – founded on supernatural revelation – would be critically undermined if they turned out to be mere borrowings of pagan sacraments.

If the modern disciples of Johann Salomo Semler (1725–91), Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), Ferdinand Baur (1792–1860), or of Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), the formulators of Higher Criticism, no longer wince at such rationalist studies of God's law, we can well imagine how Cotton Mather and his peers must have responded when they encountered such iconoclastic assertions in works by serious and well-respected contemporaries. Perhaps the most notorious example in Mather's time was *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus et Earum Rationibus Libri Tres* (1685), a thousand-page analysis of the grounds and reasons of Hebrew ritual laws, by John Spencer (1630–93), Christian Hebraist extraordinaire and master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Reprinted in The Hague (1686), in Leipzig (1705), and in a considerably expanded and revised version in Cambridge (1727), *De Legibus Hebræorum* appeared in its final imprint in Tübingen (1732), from the press of the renowned publisher Johann Georg Cotta.⁶

Spencer's *De Legibus* is a massive work of late Renaissance erudition as only scholars of immense learning and leisure could compose. In its revised and expanded edition, it consists of four books (or parts) in polished Latin, complete

more advanced than that of ancient Israel. The argument caused considerable uproar in its wake (see Lehmann).

5 More recently, the debate about an Egyptian origin of Moses and of the cultic rites of the Israelites has been rekindled by the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann, whose *Moses the Egyptian* (1998) sparked a controversy which Assmann addresses in his *Die Mosaische Unterscheidung oder der Preis des Monotheismus* (2003), the English translation subsequently appeared as *The Price of Monotheism* (2010).

6 The Tübingen edition (which constitutes the fifth edition of Spencer's work) is particularly noteworthy for its valuable "*Dissertatio Preliminaris*," a review of Spencer's critical reception among English and Continental theologians. The preface was composed by Christoph Matthäus Pfaff (1686–1760), a moderate Lutheran theologian and chancellor of the University of Tübingen, and bound with the 1732 edition. All citation references are to this Tübingen edition which, incidentally, uses identical pagination for the main text as the Cambridge edition of 1727 does.

with full-scale citations from Greek and Roman antiquity, the Church Fathers, and rabbinic literature. Here, Spencer sets forth what was then a heterodox thesis: that most of the ceremonial and cultic laws of the Levites were not given to Moses by Yahweh, the God of the Israelites, but were indeed translated (in the tradition of *translatio studii*) and adapted from their Egyptian, Chaldean, and Canaanite neighbors. Moses “was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and deeds,” as we learn from Acts 7:22.⁷ But according to Spencer, Moses was also a visionary statesman who fully understood that a new nation was not born in a day, that a nation of slaves and a mixed multitude of gentiles could not easily form a new identity as a separate people, let alone adopt a new system of beliefs and laws contrary to what they had imbibed for centuries. After more than four-hundred years in Egypt, they were fully assimilated; they were slaves not only in the sense of making bricks for their Egyptian overlord but also in worshipping their idols, whose adoration and customs they had completely internalized. To accommodate the habits of a fractious people and to indulge their penchant for pagan rituals and tangible idols, but redirect their devotions and instead offer them in the service of Yahweh, the invisible desert God of their ancestors, was therefore perfectly logical. Through this divine ruse Moses could make them embrace their unique identity as God’s peculiar possession and have them believe in a self-sufficient cult shaped in contradistinction to the idolatry of their pagan neighbors.⁸

If this evolutionary process of cultural assimilation and identity formation makes good sense to modern historians, then John Spencer’s *De Legibus* is all the more noteworthy as an early example of what in the late nineteenth century

7 All biblical quotations are from the King James Version. The Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus (c. 20 BCE–c. CE 50) of Alexandria seems to be the first to argue that Moses was brought up in the wisdom of the Egyptians. Moses was an eager scholar, who had “all kinds of masters, one after another, some coming of their own accord from the neighbouring countries and the different districts of Egypt, and some being even procured from Greece by the temptation of large presents. But in a short time he surpassed all their lessons by the excellent natural endowments of his own genius; so that everything in his case appeared to be recollecting rather than a learning, while he himself also, without any teacher, comprehended by his instinctive genius many difficult subjects; for great abilities cut out for themselves many new roads to knowledge.” Moses received lessons “by Egyptian philosophers, who also taught him the philosophy which is contained in symbols, which they exhibit in those sacred characters of hieroglyphics, as they are called, and also that philosophy which is conversant about that respect which they pay to animals which they invest with honours due to God” (*De Vita Mosi* 1.20–22, 23; *Works* 461). Mather, too, spoke of Moses’ “Education in the Court of *Egypt*; His Fellowship in the Collodge of *Diospolis* [Thebes] ... His Conversation with the wisest Men of *Arabia*, and *Idu-amaea*, and, perhaps *Phaenicia*, during his long Exile” (*BA* 1:380). See also Edward Stillingfleet’s *Origines Sacrae* (1666), bk. 2, ch. 2, pp. 119–34.

8 See especially Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1732), lib. 3, cap. 11, “*Rationes variae, cur aliqui Gentium ritus in Legem translati sunt*” (fols. 730–34).

would be called comparative religion.⁹ He examined the Mosaic ritual laws from the point of religious history, the history behind these laws, to reconstruct the historical zeitgeist and conditions that brought them forth. Instead of reading the ceremonial laws – as most Christian exegetes at the time were doing – as prophetic or typological foreshadowing of Christ in whom they were abrogated in the New Testament, Spencer insisted on historical literalism. He examined the origin of these laws in the context of the cultural and religious norms of the Egyptian and Phoenician neighbors, pagan rules which he deemed to be the true origin of the Mosaic laws. Spencer relegated the allegorical and typological applications of the ceremonial laws to a subordinate or secondary purpose, which he covers in less than sixteen folios out of more than 1,200, in a chapter entitled, “The Ritual Laws of Moses restricted to a secondary [minor] purpose” (*De Legibus*, lib. 1, cap. 15, fols. 208–23).¹⁰ Zealous interpreters are so eager to discover hidden meanings, Spencer complained, that in their hands the law becomes as malleable as a wax nose (“naseum cereum”), running this way or that just as it pleases them (208).

Although *De Legibus* was unrivalled in its academic profundity, Spencer was neither the first nor only scholar in his own day to notice the close correspondences between the cultic rituals of Israel and those of their neighbors.¹¹ Nor was he the first to argue that Moses translated the mysteries of the Egyptian religion into his own laws. What rendered Spencer’s thesis so subversive, however, is that he appeared to relinquish divine revelation as the sole basis of the Judeo-Christian religion, implicitly arguing for a gradual historical evolution from pagan polytheism – as David Hume (1711–76) would famously do in his “Natural History of Religion,” the first essay in his *Four Dissertations* (London, 1757).¹² The often vehement reactions to Spencer’s thesis are also partly explained by the charged atmosphere in which *De Legibus* was published. Cartesian, Hobbist, and Spinozist were shaking the foundation and authority of civil and ecclesiastical governments, even as such highly respected (albeit controversial) theologians as Richard Simon (1632–1712) and Jean LeClerc

9 This claim to fame is bestowed upon Bernard Picart’s *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des tous les peuples du monde* (1723–43), in nine volumes, by the Frenchmen Jean-Frédéric Bernard (1680–1744) and the engraver Bernard Picart (1673–1733), but they had many predecessors. For modern discussions, see *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion*, edited by L. Hunt et al. (2010), and its companion, *The Book that Changed Europe: Picart & Bernard’s Religious Ceremonies of the World* (2010).

10 “De legum rituumque Mosaicorum fine secundario.”

11 See, for instance, John Selden’s *De Diis Syris Syntagmata II* (London, 1617) and Athanasius Kircher’s *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Rome, 1652–54).

12 His substantially revised version was published as *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779).

(1657–1736) were challenging the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the dogma of the Bible's verbal inspiration.¹³

In Mather's period, Spencer's supporters and detractors approached the controversy from essentially three different positions: (1) Those who agreed with Spencer argued that the Israelites, an obscure and primitive people, borrowed their ceremonial rites and sacrifices from their more powerful neighbors, especially from the Egyptians, the most advanced civilization of the time. The list of proponents is relatively small and in the early modern era includes such noteworthies as Franciscus Moncaeus, Jacques Gaffarel, Athanasius Kircher, John Marsham, Samuel Parker, Charles Blount, John Toland, Augustin Calmet, and William Warburton. (2) Others who clearly recognized the value of Spencer's research but were opposed to his conclusion argued that neither the Israelites nor gentiles borrowed their religion from one another, because the cultic similarities were either accidental and natural (given the similarity of human nature) or, more likely, sprang from the fountainhead of their common ancestor: the patriarch Noah. Noah's sons – Shem, Ham, and Japheth – they argued, had carried the religion of their patriarch, the *Prisca theologia*, into all the corners of the world, before the true religion that God had taught Adam and passed down to Noah became corrupted by the passage of time, the dispersal of the people after Babel, and the admixture of human inventions and errors. It was for these reasons that many similarities can be found between the ancient myths the world over and the stories and heroes in the Hebrew Scriptures.¹⁴ (3) Predictably, the most vociferous and numerous group of theologians to oppose Spencer's thesis charged him with heterodoxy and flatly denied the validity of his argument. They employed Spencer's own evidence but reversed its thrust: The Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Romans stole their rituals and ceremonies from Moses and God's chosen people whose sacred religion, magnificent Temple, propitious sacrifices, and elaborate ceremonies were the envy of their polytheistic

¹³ See my introduction to Cotton Mather's *BA* 1:113–74.

¹⁴ Rudiments of this position can be found in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Veritate, prout distinguitur à revelatione, à verisimili, à possibili, et à falso* (Paris, 1624) and his *De Religione gentilium* (Amsterdam, 1663); Thomas Burnet's *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ* (London, 1692) and *Doctrina Antiqua de Rerum Originibus* (London, 1736); John Toland's *Letters to Serena* (London, 1704); Isaac Newton's "Theologiæ Gentilis Origines Philosophicæ" (c. 1680s, Newton Project); Jacques Basnage's *History of the Jews* (1708); and William Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated* (1738–41). David Hume, in his *Natural History of Religion* (1757), turned this argument against its original intentions and insisted that superstition and polytheism – not primitive monotheism – were the sources of mankind's religion. Pierre Jurieu, like many others, frequently occupies a middle position and accepts certain aspects of Spencer's thesis while rejecting others. On this topic, see also F. E. Manuel's *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1959); D. P. Walker's *The Ancient Theology* (1972); P. Rossi's *The Dark Abyss of Time* (1984), esp. 123–32; F. Schmidt, "Polytheism: Degeneration or Progress?" (1987), pp. 9–60; J. A. I. Champion's *Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (1992), esp. ch. 5; and J. Assmann's *Moses the Egyptian* (1998).

neighbors; the chronology of the Pentateuch and the genealogy of the patriarchs down to Moses clearly demonstrates, so they argued, that the Hebrew God was the source of all wisdom and the Bible his revealed Word from which the pagan nations derived their philosophy.¹⁵

The French Huguenot divine Jacques Basnage de Beauval (1653–1723) at The Hague, whose *History of the Jews* (1708) Mather abstracts in his “*Biblia Americana*,” succinctly sums up the variety of positions more than twenty years after Spencer published his *De Legibus* (1685). Although partially agreeing with Spencer’s position on the origin of the Mosaic laws, Basnage knew only too well that many learned men maintained

the *Heathens* took their Religion and Mysteries from the *Jews*. Some think the Patriarchs *Abraham* and *Joseph* instructed the *Ægyptians*: Others say, the *Phenicians* were the Channel that convey’d this Knowledge into the Isles of the *Ægean* Sea, *Greece* and *Sicily*, even to *Spain* and *England*, wither this nation had sent Colonies, who brought with them the Religion which their Ancestors had receiv’d from the Patriarchs. This Religion appears somewhat disguis’d, because it was receiv’d but at the secondhand, and these People being remote from the Source, understood not *Hebrew*, and could not infallibly reach the true purport of the Types of the Law; but yet there is sufficient Vindication, that these are Streams that flow’d from the *Jewish* Religion. *Lastly*, They fancy, that when the Books of *Moses* were publish’d, the *Heathens* seiz’d on them, and attempted to form a Religion like the *Jewish*, by copying the Writings of that Lawgiver. We take the quite opposite Opinion, as believing 1. That the Religion of the *Ægyptians* was much ancierter than that of the *Jews*. 2. That each Nation deified its Heroes, or made its Gods, without begging them from others. 3. That if there be any conformity betwixt the *Heathen* Religion and the *Jewish*, ’tis only in some faint Strokes that are artfully heightened. 4. But especially we are certain that the *Jews* deriv’d their *Cabbala*, and the method of teaching we are in quest of from the *Ægyptians*. (*History*, bk. 3, ch. 17, p. 207; see also chs. 18–19)

Basnage’s huge *History* is perhaps the most evenhanded discussion of the topic. It identifies the principal advocates of each standpoint, states their main arguments, and then allows ample space for their opponents to take their stand. Where more passionate minds might engage in polemics to denounce their opponents, Basnage allows reason and evidence to settle the points

15 In his “*Dissertatio Preliminaris*,” Christopher Matthäus Pfaff catalogues most of the well-known and lesser-known respondents of the day who rose up against Spencer’s thesis. Pfaff’s introductory essay is particularly useful, because he arranges the list of critics according to the particular subject and issue they target in Spencer’s *De Legibus*. Pfaff’s inventory includes detailed bibliographical information to locate each critic’s counterargument. See also A.J. Droge’s *Homer or Moses?* (1989), who demonstrates that such Jewish-Hellenist historians as Eupolemus, Artapanus, Josephus, and Philo, asserted the primacy of Moses from whom Israel’s pagan neighbors “stole” their religion and wisdom. In their steps followed the early Christian fathers Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. This argument was widely accepted in the seventeenth century, especially by Gerhard Vossius, Pierre-Daniel Huet, Theophilus Gale, Herman Witsius, and John Edwards.

dispassionately.¹⁶ So Mather. Responding to, and frequently moving between, all of the three major positions, Cotton Mather in his “Biblia Americana” rehearses, as it were *in nuce*, the controversial debate about the Egyptian origins of the Mosaic laws, rites, and customs.¹⁷

My examination will be largely restricted to Mather’s critical engagement with the first and most controversial of the three positions and its rationale. By focusing on his interpretation of several cultic instruments (Aaron’s golden calf, the polymorphous cherubim, and the ark of the covenant), we can gauge just how far Mather was prepared to go along with Spencer’s argument and where he drew the line in the sand. As I will demonstrate, Mather generally welcomed the historical contextualization of the Mosaic ceremonies, which Spencer compared to those in ancient Egyptian culture. He incorporated Spencer’s learned exegesis wherever it appeared relevant and acceptable to his own purposes and praises Spencer for his vast reading and erudition. However, Mather was hardly prepared to go along with Spencer’s radical conclusions when they appeared to threaten the divine authority of the scriptures. In order to understand Mather’s sometimes ambivalent response, we must examine Spencer’s argument in light of the contemporary intellectual debate.

John Spencer and Maimonides: Adaptation and Accommodation

“Indeed, all the *Mosaic Rites*, did in some remarkable Circumstances, vary from the *Egyptian*,” Cotton Mather confessed with amazement as he studied the piacular laws governing the sacrifice of the red heifer [BA 2, 2:903].¹⁸ He was even more surprised that God’s incommunicable name I AM THAT I AM seemed to correspond to the mysterious inscription on the statue of Isis at Saïs (Nile Delta). As Plutarch rendered the sacred name, “Ἐγώ εἰμι παν το γεγονος, και ην, και εσομενον, *I am all that is, and was, and shall be*.” This “is a plain reference to this Name of God in *Exodus*” Mather was surprised to discover. And if “the Inscription of EI, in the Temple of *Delphos*” can be trusted, then “EI, is the compleat Appellation of God.” For when we speak to God, “wee say, *Thou art*; attributing to Him, this True, Certain, & only Appellation, which agrees to Him

¹⁶ *History* (207–22).

¹⁷ See also P. Ucko and T. Champion, eds. *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions through the Ages* (2003).

¹⁸ The Lord Bishop of Gloucester William Warburton (1698–1779) – more than ten years after Mather’s death – was perhaps less surprised than cautious in endorsing Spencer’s thesis, even though the thrust of Warburton’s whole argument fully supports Spencer’s *De Legibus*. In his *Divine Legation* (1738–41), Warburton conceded, “I mean to charge myself with no more of his [Spencer’s] Opinions than what directly tend to the Proof of this Part of my Proposition, viz. that there is a great and surprising Relation between the *Jewish* and *Egyptian Rites*, in Circumstances both *opposite* and *similar*” (vol. 2, bk. 4, sec. 6, p. 299).

alone, who is called, *Being*, or, *Existing*" [BA 2:137].¹⁹ Mather's shock of recognition upon perusing Spencer's *De Legibus* is, perhaps, not all that surprising. After all, Spencer's contextual analysis explores the historical grounds and reasons for the Mosaic rites through the whole corpus of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance literature that few if any of his peers had mastered to the same degree.²⁰ To be sure, Spencer was not the first to assert that God had Moses groomed in the Pharaonic court at Heliopolis, the Egyptian city On in lower Egypt, initiated into the priesthood of the inner adytum of the temple, and trained in the esoteric and exoteric mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics.²¹ No wonder, then, that Moses was able to translate the rites of Egypt into his Levitical laws, and the mysteries reserved for Egypt's priests and pharaohs into the ceremonies of the Mosaic religion. As Spencer had put it in *De Legibus*, "Some ceremonies long practiced [among Idolaters were] reshaped and transferred into God's own worship. [That] ... when the Law was given, God suffered not a few ancient ceremonies and rites to be transferred into his worship so as to accommodate unto himself the mores and devotions of the people."²²

19 Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (9.354c, line 6). See also Basnage (*History*, bk. 3, ch. 19, pp. 216–18).

20 Spencer was not interested in the Egyptian religion per se; he was not a nascent Egyptologist like the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601–80), whose huge *Oedipus Ægyptiacus* (1652–54) testifies to his heroic, but ultimately unsuccessful endeavor to crack the hieroglyphic code. That honor, of course, belongs to Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) and his peers who, upon the discovery in 1802 of the Rosetta Stone, laid the foundation for modern Egyptology. Spencer did not have access to the scientific record of modern archeology; the only excavations he could undertake were to dig through tomes of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic manuscripts in Cambridge, Oxford, and London. Dannenfeldt (1959) illustrates the problems scholars faced during the Renaissance to access information on Egypt given the limited availability of original or translated sources in print. For those faced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Iversen (88–145).

21 See Philo Judæus (*De Vita Mosis* 1.20–22, 23; *Works* 461). As Mather put it in his gloss on Lev. 27:34, "*Moses* was adopted by a Princess of *Egypt*, & educated in the Court of *Egypt*, and all agree, that he was a Man of mighty Interest among the *Egyptians*. They counted him so admirable a Person, that they challenged him for their own; they would needs have him to be an *Heliopolitan*. Doubtless they received many Instructions from him. And when he opposed their Tyranny with such amazing Plagues from Heaven upon them, they could not but conceive a mighty *Fear* of him, *Fear*, which is no small Instrument and Incentive of *Religion* in the World. *Suidas* tells us, That there had been Prophecies among the *Egyptians*, concerning the Exploits, which this great Person was to do upon them. And they were as ready to worship what *Harmed* them, as what *Served* them" (BA 2:789).

22 The Latin original reads, "Ritus aliquos longo usu receptos reformando, eosque ad Dei ipsius cultum transferendo. [Ut] ... Deum, cum legem daret, cultus antiquitus usitati ritus & instituta non pauca tolerasse, & in cultum suum transtulisse, ut seipsum populi moribus & affectibus accommodaret" (*De Legibus*, lib. 1, cap. 13, fol. 196). In his "An Account" (xix–xxxi), John Chamberlayne, the translator of James Saurin's *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (London, 1723), extracts Jean LeClerc's trenchant review of John Spencer's thesis. LeClerc's valuable review first appeared in French, in LeClerc's *Bibliothèque Ancienne & Moderne* (1719), Tome XII, part II, pp. 237–320 (esp. 290–320).

That God saw the need to accommodate his people's addiction to their idolatrous customs can be inferred from the story of Aaron's molten calf (Exod. 32:4–8), Spencer thought. For while the divine lawgiver received the Decalogue high up on Mt. Horeb, the Israelites down below (fearing that Moses was dead) longed for the fleshpots of Egypt, reverted to the abomination (taboo) of their former masters, and fell to worshipping their golden idol. Quite obviously, their forty-year triage in the Sinai desert, as Moses quickly realized, was insufficient time to break their idolatrous habits. And to transfer their former adoration of the Egyptian god Nemur (the sacred calf Mnevis of On or the Apis bull of Noph) to Yahweh, or *Deus absconditus*, their ancestral desert God, whose most conspicuous quality was his invisibility, his proscription against carved images, and his injunction against pronouncing his ineffable name – such draconian measures seemed too much for a people raised in slavery. According to Spencer, the sacrifice of the paschal lamb (the Egyptian ram god Khnum, Amun-Ra, aka. Jupiter Hammon) at Passover, the ashes of the red heifer (sacred to the Egyptian Isis and Typhon) for ritual lustration, the scapegoat Azazel (the embodiment of Typhon) on the Day of Atonement, even the Ark of the Covenant, its cherubic statues, let alone the high priest's Ephod and the oracular Urim and Thummim – these and many more seemingly inexplicable institutions of the Mosaic religion had their origin and counterpart in Egypt, Phoenicia, and among the so-called Zabians.²³ Innumerable parallels between the rites and sacred instruments of the Hebrews and those of their heathen neighbors supply Spencer with the means to document his claims (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 1–8).

Spencer's main thesis was partly adumbrated in Maimonides's *More Nebuchim* (c. 1190; 1551; 1629), in Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* (c. 1265–74), in Franciscus Moncaeus's *Aaron purgatus sive De vitulo aureo* (1606), in John Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagmata II* (1617), in Jacques Gaffarel's *Curiositez inouyes sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans* (1629), in Gerard Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili, et Physiologia Christina, sive De Origine ac Progressu Idololatriæ* (1641), in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Gentilium* (1663), and in John

23 See esp. Spencer's *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 1–2, fols. 639–663) and John Edwards's outrage at Spencer's claims ([*ΠΙΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΛΙΟΣ ΣΟΦΛΑ*] cap. 8–9, pp. 246–59; 276–84). The designation "Zabians," also spelled "Sabians," is best translated as "pagans." The term is variously claimed to be an "invention" of Maimonides (*Guide* 3.29–30.514–23), whose study of the Chaldean book *The Nabatean Agriculture* (allegedly translated by Ibn Wahshiyya in 904) led Maimonides to argue that Moses instituted certain ritual laws to combat pervasive idolatry of the Sabians. Mather refers to the Sabians throughout his commentary on the Pentateuch and distinguishes them from the Magians and Zoroastrians of Persia, in his fifth essay, "V. *Antiqua*. Or, Our Sacred Scriptures illustrated, with some Accounts of the *Sabians* and the *Magians*." See Mather's "An Appendix," which follows his commentary on Revelation (*BA*, vol. 10). For useful discussions of Maimonides and the Sabians, see esp. Elukin's "Maimonides" and Assmann's *Moses the Egyptian* (57–68).

Marsham's *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Ebraicus Græcus* (1672).²⁴ All of these ponderous works are put to good use in Spencer's magnum opus and, ultimately, in Mather's "Biblia Americana." While Spencer's material evidence is laboriously exhumed from all the classical sources at his disposal, he does acknowledge in his "Prolegomena" his special indebtedness to the Sephardic philosopher Maimonides (1135–1204), whose מורה נבוכים *More Nebuchim, Doctor Perplexorum* (1551) had a lasting impact on many Christian Hebraists.²⁵ He praises Maimonides as his great master and his priceless book as his *vademecum*, because its rationalist foundation runs counter to the pervasive mystical and allegorical readings of the Bible alike practiced by Jews and Christians (*De Legibus*, "Prolegomena," caps. 1 and 3, sec. 4, fols. 1, 12–13).

Concerned with the preponderance of Aristotelian philosophy of his day, Maimonides tried to establish a rational foundation for the Mosaic laws, whose dual intent and utility he believed, were to lead his people to the true faith by preventing their regression into paganism.²⁶ Significantly, in *More Nebuchim* (*Guide* 3.31–33.523–34), Maimonides focuses on those ceremonial rites that appear to be without rhyme or reason. He objects to zealots and mystics who insisted that man should not enquire into the utility of God's laws because the Almighty is beyond human comprehension; the incomprehensibility of his laws is therefore proof positive of their divine origin. If man could penetrate their mystery, so they argued, God's laws would only lose their divine status and diminish our reverence because they could then have been devised by man. Maimonides's explanation takes the opposite stance: The rational benefit of the laws is the only possible proof that they are of supernatural origin. Why else would believers take pride in their wisdom?²⁷

²⁴ See especially Aquinas's discussion of the ceremonial laws (*Summa*, Pt. 1–2, Q. 101–103; 2:1051–87); for Gerard Johann Vossius, see *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. 1, cap. 29, pp. 213–20); and for Lord Herbert, *De Religione* (cap. 3). For the other authors in this list, see my discussion below.

²⁵ In the seventeenth century, Maimonides's brilliant work was available in several Latin translations. The most popular one appears to have been Johann Buxtorf's 1629 translation *Rabbi Mosi Majemonidis Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum*. Unless otherwise mentioned, all references to Maimonides's work are to Buxtorf's Latin translation of this text and to the English translation by Shlomo Pines, in *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963).

²⁶ See Pines's "Translator's Introduction" (lxi–lxxviii) and M. Friedländer's "Analysis" (xxxix–lix).

²⁷ Maimonides argues, "They [zealots] think that if those laws were useful in this existence and have been given to us for this or that reason, it would be as if they derived from the reflection and the understanding of some intelligent [human] being. If, however, there is a thing for which the intellect could not find any meaning at all and that does not lead to something useful, it indubitably derives from God; for the reflection of man would not lead to such a thing." The case is quite different, Maimonides objects, because the divine wisdom of the law is revealed in its usefulness to us (Deut. 6:24; 4:6): "Now if there is a thing for which no reason is known and that does not either procure something useful or ward off something harmful, why should one say of one who believes in it or practices it that he is *wise and understanding* and of

John Spencer welcomed Maimonides's reasoning in part because Spencer himself attempted to counter what he regarded as "Judaizing tendencies" among radical Calvinists coming out of Cromwell's Interregnum. During the Restoration, these nonconformists tried to reimpose the sabbatical labor laws, which Spencer and the Church of England at large opposed (*De Legibus*, "Prolegomena," cap. 3, sec. 2, fols. 7–11).²⁸ However, Spencer does not rest there. His larger aims are fundamentally different from those of Maimonides. On the one hand, Maimonides underscores the rational utility of God's laws because he wants to stress their abiding significance. Only in those cases where this explication fails does Maimonides allow that certain ceremonial and cultic laws were borrowed from Israel's pagan neighbors. Spencer on the other hand does his best to demonstrate that *all* ceremonies and sacrifices were instituted to countermand pagan practices. To him, these Mosaic rites originated in the temporal expediency of combating idolatry; consequently, these rites were now completely abrogated because their purpose had been accomplished. Such ceremonial institutions as the Sabbath, ritual lustrations, observations of the new moon, the ark of the covenant, the use of the Urim and Thummim in divination, and many others, Spencer claimed, derived from Egyptian customs and demonstrate the extent to which the Mosaic laws were clearly indebted to pagan institutions. Spencer's historicism – studying the history behind certain laws – thus pursues a rather negative if not destructive approach; it borders on completely disavowing revelation as the origin of the Old Testament.

Why conservative exegetes would feel threatened by Spencer's heterodox approach is particularly apparent in the first book of *De Legibus*. As indicated in its subtitle "In quo fuse agitur de generalibus legum & rituum Judaicorum causis" (lib. 1, fol. 19), Spencer is mainly concerned with rationalizing the origin of the Mosaic laws and rites, and how they served as a means of abolishing idolatry and of separating the Israelites from their pagan neighbors. Once that was accomplished, the ceremonies would become obsolete. That is why these laws served a temporal purpose only. Consequently, their abrogation would occur either when idolatry among the Israelites was eradicated through their successful separation from the nations or – as the apostles and the early Church argued – in Christ's sacrifice when all temporal laws become null and void. For these reasons, Spencer argues, the laws governing the Sabbath, circumcision, diet, lustration, neomenia, sacrifice, and blood rituals are now obsolete because

great worth? And why should the religious communities think it a wonder? Rather things are indubitably as we have mentioned: every *commandment* from among these *six hundred and thirteen commandments* exists either with a view to communicating a correct opinion, or to putting an end to an unhealthy opinion, or to communicating a rule of justice, or to warding off an injustice, or to endowing man with a noble moral quality, or to warning them against an evil moral quality. Thus all [the commandments] are bound up with three things: opinions, moral qualities, and political civic action" (*Guide* 3.31.524).

²⁸ See D. Levitin's "John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum*" (2013).

they were tied to specific times, persons, or locations, and borne out of a historical necessity no longer existent. In contrast to Spencer, Maimonides insists on the perpetuity of these laws which – though they had their origin in a particular historical necessity – remain relevant because of their intrinsic value. These laws could only be abolished by a new revelation.

Spencer's radicalism is, perhaps, most apparent in book three. In eight dissertations and great historical detail, he establishes why pagan customs were translated into the Mosaic laws: "De Ritibus e Gentium moribus in Legem translatis," "De ratione & origine sacrificiorum," "De lustrationibus & purificationibus Hebræorum," "De Neomeniarum Festis," "De origine Arcæ & Cherubinarum," "De Ratione & Origine Templi," "De Urim & Thummim," and "De Hirco Emissario, & præcipuis Expiationis *Judaicæ* Ceremoniis." Spencer's greatest contribution to the historical study of religion and religious customs is apparent in these dissertations. As he posited in his chapter on the Mosaic adaptation of pagan customs, it was fitting

that God incorporate some observances that had been customary from antiquity into His own rites and that the Mosaic law had some similarities of the worship that had been accepted earlier. ... No doubt, given the Israelites's nature and what they had been subjected to, following their recent exodus, God deemed it necessary ... to allow them the use of some old rites and to reconcile those observances with their character and capacity. For the Israelites had been accustomed to the Egyptian habits, and conditioned by their use for many years. ... The Hebrews were not only habituated to the mores of Egypt, but they were also tenacious. ... The Hebrews were a superstitious people and destitute of nearly all literature. How thoroughly they were immured in the superstitions of nations can be seen in their laws, which were imposed on them as if remedies for their superstition. Superstition is a stubborn beast, particularly when it absorbed ferociousness and obstinacy from dark ignorance. It can easily be believed that the Israelites, who were only recently liberated from the house of slavery, had no knowledge of the more humane arts, and had experienced hardly anything other than the bricks and garlic of Egypt.²⁹

With Spencer's thesis in mind, we can easily see why he shared many points of interest with Maimonides's argument and where they parted company.

29 "[U]t Deus ritus aliquos antiquitus usitatos in sacrorum suorum numerum assumeret, & Lex a Mose data speciem aliquam cultus olim recepti ferret. ... Ita nempe nati factique erant Israelitæ, ex Ægypto recens egressi, quod Deo pene necesse esset ... rituum aliquorum veterum usum iis indulgere, & ipsius instituta ad eorum morem & modulum accommodare. Nam, POPULOS erat a teneris, Ægypti moribus assuetus, & in iis multorum annorum usu confirmatus. ... HEBRÆI, non tantum Ægypti moribus assueti, sed etiam refractarii fuerunt. ... HEBRÆI superstitiosa gens erant, & omni pene literatura destituti. Quam alte gentium superstitionibus immergebantur, e legibus ... intelligere licet, quæ populo, tanquam remedia superstitionis imponebantur. Contumax autem bellua Superstitio, si præsertim ab ignorantia tenebris novam ferociam & contumaciam hauserit. Facile vero credi potest, Israelitas nuper e servorum domo liberos, artium humaniorum rudes fuisse, & vix quicquam supra lateres atque allium Ægypti sapuisse" (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 11, fols. 731, 732).

Why did Moses and Aaron, his high priest, authorize certain arcane and incomprehensible practices? Maimonides contends that fallen man is powerless to cast off practices to which he has been accustomed for centuries; his fallen nature cannot change without constant prodding. For this reason, God wisely accommodated his laws to man's limited capacity. As Maimonides explains, "the universal service upon which we were brought up consisted in offering various species of living beings in the temples in which images were set up, in worshipping the latter, and in burning incense before them." God therefore used a "gracious ruse" which "did not require that He give us a Law prescribing the rejection, abandonment, and abolition of all these kinds of worship." Knowing that sinful man – like a leopard – cannot change his spots, God wisely suffered these forms of worship to continue, "but transferred them from created or imaginary and unreal things to His own name." He therefore "commanded us to build a temple for Him" (Exod. 25:8), just as we had seen the archetype in Egypt; "to have an altar for His name" (Exod. 20:21–24), just as we used to have for the idols of Egypt; "to have the sacrifice offered up to Him" (Lev. 1:2), just as we used to do for our idols in Goshen; "to bow down in worship before Him; and to burn incense before Him," just as we used to do before the gods of our Egyptian masters. But in the Holy Land, God outlawed "the performance of any of these actions" for any other god but Himself (Exod. 22:20; 34:14). "Through this divine ruse," Maimonides reasons, "the memory of *idolatry* was effaced" and worship of the one true God established, "while at the same time the souls had no feeling of repugnance and were not repelled because of the abolition of modes of worship to which they were accustomed" (*Guide* 3.32.526, 527). By divine direction, then, many inexplicable and seemingly arbitrary laws of Moses constitute what the Egyptologist Jan Assmann has designated a counter-religion, a "normative inversion," of idolatrous practices turned upside down and re-appropriated in the worship of the true God.³⁰ To be sure, this process of re-educating his people was slow and never-ending. Change, therefore, was not effected instantaneously through a miracle, but gradually, through a long process of training and accommodation. If God had been inclined to change man's habits through a miracle, the whole Mosaic pedagogy, all the prophets, and "all giving of the Law would have been useless" (*Guide* 3.32.529).

Ironically, Maimonides's explication of the Mosaic ceremonial laws – though grounded in the need to justify their rationality – turned out to be a double-edged sword. For in explaining, for instance, why a kid must not be boiled in its mother's milk (Exod. 23:19; 34:16, Deut. 14:21), or why linens and

³⁰ During the past three decades, Maimonides's accommodationism has been re-examined by scholars from various disciplines. See A. Funkenstein (202–43) and especially J. Assmann's "The Mosaic Distinction," *Moses the Egyptian* (55–90) and his "Moses as Go-Between," *Of Gods and Gods* (127–45), and F. Parente (277–304), G. Stroumsa (19–21), and A. Sutcliffe (70–71, 199–200).

woolens or the seeds of different plants must not be mixed (Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:9, 11), why tattoos and cross-dressing are strictly forbidden (Lev. 19:28; Deut. 22:5), why the blood of slaughtered animals must be poured on the ground and covered with soil (Lev. 19:26), or why only predominantly male animals (rams, goats, and bulls) – but no females (except a red heifer) – were acceptable to God (Lev. 1:3, 10; 22:19) or, finally, why God commanded that salt be added to the meat offerings, but no honey (Lev. 2:11, 13), Maimonides claims that these rituals originated among the Egyptians and Zabians (pagans), whose rites were so pervasive that they could only be erased by turning them on their head and by doing the exact opposite.³¹ Since the ancient ram-god Khnum (Amun-Ra) was widely revered in Egypt, the Israelites demonstrated their defiance by slaughtering the sacred ram of the Egyptians. That is why the abomination (taboo) of the Egyptians was sacrificed to the one true God and the blood of the paschal lamb (ram) was smeared on the lintels of the Israelites' door as an act of defiance. "In this way," Maimonides reasons, "an action considered by them [Egyptians] an extreme act of disobedience was the one through which one came near to God and sought forgiveness for one's sins. Thus wrong opinions, which are diseases of the human soul, are cured by their contrary found at the other extreme" (*Guide* 3.46.581–82).³² Either way, this divine expedient was grounded in the temporal necessity of preventing God's people from backsliding into the abomination of their former overlords.³³

31 For the proscription against seething a kid in its mother's milk, see Maimonides (3.48.599), Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 9, fols. 333–42), Mather (*BA* 2, Exod. 23:19); against mixing linens and woolens, and seeds, see Maimonides (3.26.507; 3.37.544, 548–49), Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 33, fols. 544–51), Mather (*BA* 2, Lev. 19:19); against tattoos and cross-dressing, Maimonides (3.37.544–45), Spencer (lib. 2, caps. 19–20, fols. 403–17), Mather (*BA* 2, Lev. 19:28); against consuming blood, Maimonides (3.46.585–86), Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 15, fols. 376–84), Mather (*BA* 2, Lev. 17:1, 19:26); sacrificing male animals, Maimonides (3.46.588–90), Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 4, fols. 293–300; lib. 3, diss. 2, cap. 2, fols. 755–57), Mather (*BA* 2, Exod. 12, insert; Lev. 1:3, 17); against sacrificing honey, Maimonides (3.46.582), Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 11, fols. 345–49), and Mather (*BA* 2, Lev. 1:17, 2:11). See also Aquinas (*Summa* Pt. 102, Art. 3; 2:1057–61).

32 Maimonides asserts that the first intention of maintaining sacrificial laws is to keep God's people from "worshipping someone other than Me [God]. . . . It is for the sake of that principle that I transferred these modes of worship to My name, so that the trace of *idolatry* be effaced and the fundamental principle of My unity be established" (*Guide* 3.32.530). For a much earlier example of this form of accommodationism, see *Soncino Midrash Rabbah* (Lev. 22:8). As the parable goes, the king cures his son from eating forbidden things by having him always eat from his table. See Thomas Aquinas – with Maimonides at his side – says as much in *Summa Theologica* (Pt. 1–2. Q. 102, Art. 3; 2:1057–1061; and Art. 5; 2:1067–1070, esp. Reply Obj. 2).

33 As a resident of Egypt late in his life, Maimonides was probably familiar with the writings of the Egyptian Manetho (fl. 280 BCE), high priest of Heliopolis. Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, a history of Egypt from pre-historical times to 342 BCE, relates that in the eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1550–1292 BCE), sometimes during the reign of Amenophis, aka. Amenhotep III (c. 1388–1350 BCE), one of the priests of Heliopolis called Osarsêph, rose in rebellion against the Egyptian king and commanded his fellow rebels "that they should neither worship the gods nor refrain from any of the animals proscribed as especially sacred in Egypt, but should sacrifice

Maimonides's challenge to explain the dual function of the Mosaic ritual laws becomes apparent since neither function is rooted in divine revelation, but in the quite human need to adapt existing pagan rituals to the divine service of God. The bulwark of revelation upon which monotheistic religions built their claims to divine truth is thus seemingly relegated to the status of political expediency to control the common masses. Maimonides tries to solve this conundrum by limiting the inversions of pagan customs to those cases in which they are bound up with the polytheistic cosmology of the Israelites' pagan neighbors. Yet when the purpose of these customs can be separated from their heathen origin, he does not object to their wholesale adaptation and integration into the ceremonial laws.

His vindication of the Mosaic laws satisfied many to whom their divine origin was borne out most of all in their rational utility for man. There were many others, however, who chastised Maimonides for depriving these laws of their supernatural foundation. For instance, Moshe ben Nachman of Gerona, Spain (c. 1290–1375), Bachya ben Asher of Saragossa (c. 1255–1340), Yaakov ben Rabbeinu Asher, aka. Ba'al ha-Turim of Toledo (c. 1269–c. 1340), and many other rabbinic commentators reproached the great rabbi for questioning the mystery of divine revelation, the sole claim to the trustworthiness of revealed religion, and for relegating the ceremonial laws to little more than the farsighted policies of a statesman. According to Maimonides's rationale (so his critics argued), it was not God but man who seemed to have devised the time-honored ceremonies encoded in the Torah! "The disease of idolatry would surely have been far better cured if we were to eat [these animal-deities] to our full, which would be considered by them [Egyptians] forbidden and repugnant, and something they would never do!" Nachmanides fumed. "Far be it that they should have no other purpose and intention except the elimination of idolatrous opinions from the minds of fools" (*Commentary* 3:20, on Lev. 1:9). So, too, Rabbi Bachya ben Asher warned, "The whole subject of animal sacrifice dating back as it does to

and consume all alike, and that they should have intercourse with none save those of their own confederacy." He framed "a great number of laws like these [that were] completely opposed to Egyptian custom. ..." Osarsêph and his Shepherd allies despoiled the sacred temples, defaced the images of the Egyptian gods, and turned their temples into "kitchens to roast the sacred animals which the people worshipped: and they would compel the priests and prophets to sacrifice and butcher the beasts, afterwards casting the men forth naked." When Osarsêph incited his followers to rise up in rebellion, "he changed his name and was called Moses" (*Aegyptiaca*, fragm. 54, in *Manetho* 127, 131). Likewise, the Roman historian Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120 CE) comments on the Mosaic inversion of Egyptian rites: "To ensure his future hold over the people," Tacitus reports in his *Annals*, "Moses introduced a new cult, which was the opposite of all other religions. All that we hold sacred they profane, and they allowed practices which we abominate. They dedicated in the innermost part of the Temple an image of the animal whose guidance had put an end to their wandering and thirst, after first killing a ram, apparently as an insult to Ammon. They also sacrifice bulls because the Egyptians worship the bull Apis" (*Histories* 5.4.234–35).

the first man is a subject replete with mystical significance. It contains hidden elements of the interrelations between different parts of G'd's creation. ... All those who do understand these matters are dutybound to conceal their knowledge and not publicise it indiscriminately. This knowledge may only be revealed for the sake of the Creator's honour to selected individuals, exceptionally pious persons" (*Torah Commentary* 5:1486).³⁴

Christian theologians were generally more accepting of Maimonides's rationalism. They welcomed Maimonides because he seemed to confirm their belief that the real purpose of the ceremonial laws of Moses was to serve as prophetic types and figures of Christ in the Old Testament and whose binding force was terminated in his crucifixion in the New. The ceremonies, whose mystical function was to foreshadow the new covenant, had now accomplished their office and were no longer applicable to his Church. Why else did God employ the Romans in 69 CE to raze Jerusalem and its Temple and thus stopped all sacrifices offered on his altar? so they argued. To be sure, Maimonides would not have agreed with his Christian counterparts on any of these issues. The law that God gave to Moses would last forever.³⁵ Neither the moral, ceremonial, or any other part of the Mosaic pedagogy would ever be abrogated. In fact, once the messiah arrived, he would lead his people back to their ancestral heritage, cast out all foreign oppressors, rebuilt Jerusalem and its Temple, and once again resume the ancient sacrifices in the only locale where God allowed them to be offered.³⁶ For the most part, the Christian Church did not expect the resumption of animal sacrifices in Jerusalem even if Christian literalists shared the belief in the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. After all, Jesus Christ's ultimate sacrifice had atoned for the sins of all true believers once and for all.³⁷

³⁴ For much the same argument, see Rabbi Yaakov ben Rabbeinu Asher's *Tur on the Torah* (3:786–88).

³⁵ Many people of faith – especially those who believed in Christian supersessionism – argued that Christ's sacrifice had abrogated the perpetuity of the Mosaic law. For contemporaneous discussion of this topic, see Samuel Parker's "Occasional Annotation. VIII," in *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1725), 3:338–46.

³⁶ See esp. Goldish, Idel, Katz, Popkin (3–88), Ravitzky, and Scholem (103–98).

³⁷ Although their exoteric function had been abrogated in the death of Christ, theologians in the medieval church argued that animal sacrifices by themselves might yet be a useful tool in bringing pagans into the Christian fold. The medieval church was particularly prone to accommodate the demonology and rituals of pagan converts as long as they could be redirected and given a Christian signification. Perhaps the most prominent example of this sort of syncretism is preserved in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (731), composed by the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735), the Father of English History. Writing the history of the English Church, Bede incorporates a missive of Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540–604) to Abbot Mellitus, who was about to go on a missionary journey to Britain. The letter is dated 17 June 601 and deserves to be quoted at length; it illustrates just how far the wisdom of Moses' accommodationism was operating even in the medieval church. Pope Gregory I gives the following instructions: "We have been giving careful thought to the affairs of the English, and have come to the conclusion that the temples of the idols among that people should on no account be destroyed. The idols

To be sure, Spencer, by way of contrast, did no more than pay lip-service to typological and Christological interpretations of the Mosaic laws and rites. His interest in Maimonides's rationalizing account of the laws' evolution served as a springboard for much larger claims about the pagan origins of the Jewish religion. Spencer's own position becomes clear in the third book of *De Legibus*, which consist of eight dissertations that move well beyond Maimonides's concern in *More Nebuchim*. For instance, Spencer's explication of the festivity of the New Moon and its origin ("De Neomeniarum Festis") is particularly interesting, because it is well known that of all the sin offerings only the sacrifice offered up on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, is called "the sin offering unto the Lord" (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 4, fols. 804–28; diss. 8, fols. 1039–87). Maimonides explains that "only the *he-goat* offered on the *New-Moon* as a *sin-offering* is called in [Scripture] a *sin-offering unto the Lord*" (Numb. 28:15). This peculiar designation was devised to ensure that no one would mistake the sacrifice of a he-goat "to be a sacrifice to the moon, such as was offered by the Copts of Egypt at the beginning of the months." The purpose and common origin of this ritual thus becomes apparent. Maimonides, however, tries to rationalize the use and function of the scapegoat, the time, and day of the ceremony (first day of the new moon) by insisting that the goat is the most suitable sin offering and that it is to be distinguished from its pagan cousin by the designation "*unto the Lord*" (*Guide* 3.46.590). Spencer agrees but insists that the real reason was that Moses intended to cast aspersions on the goat, whose statue the people revered as a demonic god whom they sought to assuage through a live sacrifice. Nonetheless, the rite of the scapegoat, though originating among the pagans, served with minor variations an almost identical purpose among the Israelites (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 8, cap. 7, fols. 1059–63). Although his conclusions were certainly

are to be destroyed, but the temples themselves are to be aspersed with holy water, alters set up in them, and relics deposited there. For if these temples are well-built, they must be purified from the worship of demons and dedicated to the service of the true God. In this way, we hope that the people, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may abandon their error, and flocking more readily to their accustomed resorts, may come to know and adore the true God. And since they have a custom of sacrificing many oxen to demons, let some other solemnity be substituted there. . . . They are no longer to sacrifice beasts to the Devil, but they may kill them for food to the praise of God, and give thanks to the Giver of all gifts for the plenty they enjoy. If the people are allowed some worldly pleasure in this way, they will more readily come to desire the joys of the spirit. For it is certainly impossible to eradicate all errors from obstinate minds at one stroke, and whoever wishes to climb to a mountain top climbs gradually step by step, and not in one leap. It was in this way that the Lord revealed Himself to the Israelite people in Egypt, permitting the sacrifices formerly offered to the Devil to be offered thenceforward to Himself instead. So He bade them sacrifice beasts to Him, so that, once they became enlightened, they might abandon one element of sacrifice and retain another. For, while they were to offer the same beasts as before, they were to offer them to God instead of to idols, so that they would no longer be offering the same sacrifices . . ." (*History* 1.30.86–87). Clearly, then, Pope Gregory's directives are of a kind with those that Moses gave Aaron in the wilderness: to allow ritual sacrifice to continue but to consecrate them to the true God.

the most audacious, Spencer was neither the first nor the only Christian theologian in the seventeenth century to argue that the Israelites borrowed their ceremonial rites from their pagan neighbors, especially from the Egyptians, whose civilization was the most advanced and powerful in the hemisphere.³⁸ Thus, before we can appreciate Cotton Mather's position, it seems appropriate to offer a short survey of the early modern debate about the origins of the Mosaic laws.

All the Wisdom of Egypt: Mosaic Ceremonies and Pagan Religion

In the early seventeenth century, the learned French antiquarian Franciscus Moncaeus (François de Monceaux, fl. 1550–1600) had much to say on the issue. In *Aaron purgatus, sive de Vitulo aureo libri duo* (1606), he alleged that the winged cherubim on the ark of the covenant, the golden calves of Aaron and Jeroboam, Micah's teraphim, and many other ceremonial instruments were all borrowed from their Egyptian or Phoenician neighbors. The statues of the golden calves just like those of the teraphim, Moncaeus claimed, derived from the polymorphous cherubim and were perfectly lawful in ancient Israel. Originally, these bovine, winged cherubim were effigies of the Egyptian Apis bull set upon the ark of the covenant and served as the mercy seat upon which God is seated (*Aaron purgatus*, lib. 1, cap. 3, pp. 105–6). The cherubim were *not* angels shaped like humans – as is commonly believed – but rather winged calves or bulls (bk. 1, cap. 6, p. 111), because their purpose was to convey God like a ruler riding on steeds.³⁹ Angels in human shape would not at all be suitable for such a purpose (lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 107–110). These bovine statues were no idols at all, so Moncaeus argues, but visible representations of divine power and glory. To be sure, the cherubim themselves were not to be worshipped; that would amount to idolatry and a capital crime. However, as symbols of God's supremacy, they were legitimate instruments through which the devout – lying prostrate before his throne as they did in front of their idols in Egypt – could direct their prayers to

³⁸ The Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–83) offered much the same in his “Treatise VI. viz.” *Miscellaneous Reflections* (1711), Misc. 2, ch. 1, pp. 28–63, esp. 47–59, in *Characteristicks* (1711) 3:28–131. In fact, this argument was also maintained by some of the earliest Church Fathers, who claimed that the Mosaic pedagogy, especially the sacrificial rites, intended to break the Israelites's addiction to their Egyptian customs. See St. Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 4.14.2–15.2 and esp. 4.17.3; in *ANF* 1:479–80, 482–84); Eusebius of Caesarea (*Proof of the Gospel* 1.6.16c–17d); Tertullian (*Against Marcion* 2.18; in *ANF* 3:311–12); Theodoret of Cyrus (*Questiones on the Octateuch* 1:309; 2:3–4, 11; on Exod. Quest. 55; on Lev. Quest. 1.1–3, 5); St. Augustine of Hippo (*Letter to Marcellinus* 136.2; 138.2, 5, 8, in *NPNF* 1:473, 481–83). Stephen Benin's excellent discussion in “Cunning” and *Footprints* provide useful background on these issues.

³⁹ The shape, nature, and function of the biblical cherubim is still subject to debate in modern times. See Raanan Eichler's “Cherub: A History of Interpretation,” *Biblica* 96.1 (2015): 26–38.

the ineffable and hidden God above (lib. 1, cap. 21, pp. 154–56). Although outwardly their devotions were the same, their true disposition could be discovered when they were forced to drink the water of separation, which like the bitter water in cases of adultery, would swell their bodies in token of their guilt (lib. 2, caps. 7–8, pp. 168–72).⁴⁰ So, too, Moncaeus posited that the golden calves in Jeroboam's temples at Bethel and Dan (1 Kings 12:26–30) were really replicas of Aaron's golden calf (Exod. 32:1–4), of the mercy seat of the Mosaic ark, and of the cherubim decorating the veil of the Mosaic Tabernacle and of Solomon's Temple (Exod. 36:8, 37:6–7; 1 Kings, ch. 7–8). In Ezekiel's Merkabah 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”) of the abattoir. Had Jeroboam's golden calves not been exact copies of those in Jerusalem's Temple he tried to supplant, Moncaeus argued, the Israelites in the northern kingdom would not have accepted them but continued their thrice-annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Jeroboam was therefore *no* idolater as is commonly believed, but merely a schismatic who set up his own cultus. If Moncaeus tried to justify the use of icons, images, and statues in the Temple, his novel argument was taken quite seriously, because he dared to spell out what many had suspected all along. His *Aaron purgatus* appeared in the wake of sporadic iconoclasm that swept through Protestant countries during the Counter-Reformation. Worse yet, emphasizing the profane origin of certain Mosaic institutions, Moncaeus implicitly questioned the Bible's claim as an inspired book. Perhaps that is why he was condemned by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike.⁴¹ Surprisingly, the English and Dutch editors of *Criticorum Sacrorum* (1660, 1698) deemed his *Aaron Excused, or Concerning the Golden Calf* sufficiently noteworthy to reprint the Latin text – along with its official condemnation – in their nine-volume commentary (1:86–192).⁴²

Never quite willing to let a good controversy die without making the most of it, the French Orientalist Jacques Gaffarel (1601–81), astrologer extraordinaire and librarian to Cardinal Richelieu, published his *Curiositez inouyes sur la*

⁴⁰ Abraham Ibn Ezra (Exod. 32:20) says as much that when Moses forced the Israelites to drink the waters that contained the gold dust of Aaron's calf, “the water caused a sign to appear on the face of those who served the calf or their bellies swelled up. For otherwise, how could the Levites know who worshipped the golden Calf [?]” (*Commentary* 2:676–77). See also Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Avodah Zarah* (44a), and *Sefer Nashim, Hilchot Sotah* (3.16–17), in *Mishneh Torah* (18:220).

⁴¹ Moncaeus's *Aaron purgatus* was placed on the *Index* in 1607; see *Index Librorum prohibitorum* (p. 627). Robert Visorius, professor of theology at the Sorbonne, published his refutation *Aaronis purgati* (1609).

⁴² Sheehan (40–41) provides a brief but helpful discussion of Moncaeus. A detailed summary of the debate appears in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:480–92), on Exod. 32:1–35, and a translation appears in *Exegetical Labors* (5:349–87).

sculpture talismanique des Persans (1629), for which he was censured by the theologians of the Sorbonne and forced to retract.⁴³ *Unheard-of Curiosities* (1650), the English title of Gaffarel's book, was a popular work in its time. It went through at least three French editions before Edmund Chilmead, chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford, translated it into English. "The Cherubins, which *Moses* made to the Arke, were in the figure of Calves" in imitation of Aaron's bovine creature, Gaffarel opined with Moncaeus's work to back his claims. As *Moses'* high priest, Aaron would have done "nothing, but what he conceived *Moses* himselfe would have done." These cherubim were made "after the pattern that was shewed to *Moses*," Aaron, "and the seventy Elders" in the mount and afterwards seen by *Ezekiel*, and *St. John*: where God appeared, sitting betwixt foure Cherubins, whereof the first was in figure like a Man; the second, like a Lion; the third, like a Calfe; and the fourth, like an Eagle" – just as we find them later described in *Ezekiel's* vision (Ezek. 10:14; Rev. 4:6–7). "If the People afterwards provoked God to wrath" by venerating these tauromorphous creatures, "it was not for making the Calfe, but for worshipping it" (*Unheard-of*, ch. 1, sec. 7, pp. 20, 22). Gaffarel then takes Moncaeus's argument one step further and equates the cherubim with the teraphim. Images such as the cherubim and teraphim, Gaffarel avers, were clearly employed in divinatory rites, even in Solomon's Temple (*Unheard-of*, pp. 68–75). Like his predecessor, then, Gaffarel does not object to the veneration of images per se but only to their receiving the adoration that is due to God alone. But who can separate the idolaters of Aaron's golden calf from those who directed their prayers towards the bovine effigy as a representation of the God of *Moses*? Gaffarel wondered.

The unusual frankness of such arguments rendered the motives of Moncaeus and Gaffarel sufficiently suspect that most of their peers dismissed their scholarship as heterodox. It was quite a different matter with *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Ebraicus Græcus* (1672), by Sir John Marsham (1602–85), a learned Kentish antiquarian and chronologer. In more than six-hundred pages, he compares the history and chronologies of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Hebrews. In Marsham's reading, the similarities between the cultural, legal, and religious institutions of these peoples make obvious their close contact and mutual influence. The Egyptian civilization and its astronomical periods far surpassed those of her neighbors, Marsham argues. The Hebrews, long touted by pious believers as the most ancient civilization, received many of their religious and civil laws from the Egyptians, whose chronology and kings list of thirty dynasties

⁴³ In his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), Mather derides "the ridiculous Whim of a *Gaffarel*, who maintains, That the Stars in the *Heavens* do stand ranged in the form of *Hebrew Letters*, and that it is possible to *Read there* whatever is to happen of Importance throughout the Universe" (p. 54). Gaffarel's accomplishments as an Orientalist and his interest in iconography are discussed in H. Hirai's essay "Images, Talismans and Medicine in Jacques Gaffarel's *Unheard of Curiosities*" (2014).

surpassed those of the Old Testament by thousands of years. "Immense are the religious institutions of the Egyptians, whether we examine the most ancient worship or varieties." According to Marsham, then, "the divine and semi-divine dynasties before the flood" had to be properly arranged, "even if they contradicted the Mosaic chronology, which the superstitious people begin with the age of Enosh" (*Chronicus*, p. 54).⁴⁴ Marsham tries to reconcile these diverging chronologies by arguing that the thirty Pharaonic dynasties were not successive but simultaneous, for they reigned at the same time in different parts of Egypt. Marsham received high praise from many of his peers in England and on the Continent for having bestowed order and harmony on Egypt's preposterously long chronology and for making a comparative history with Israel and its neighboring kingdoms possible.⁴⁵

His critics were far less kind. For instance, the French Oratorian Richard Simon (1638–1712) chastised Marsham in his "Avertissement" to the Rotterdam edition of Simon's own *Histoire Critique Du Vieux Testament* (1685) for asserting that Moses borrowed his laws from Egypt: "Je veux dire l'*Histoire chronologique des Égyptiens* de Marsham, qui semble n'avoir point d'autre but que d'insinuer dans l'esprit de son lecteur que toute la religion de Moïse et des Hébreux a été prise sur celle des Égyptiens" ("Avertissement" 796–97).⁴⁶ This dismissive criticism is rather ironic because Simon himself postulated in his *Histoire Critique Du Vieux Testament* that Moses was *not* the author of the whole Pentateuch, but only of some small parts, and that much of the Old Testament was periodically rewritten by "écrivains publics" (public scribes) who were responsible for keeping the ancient records up to date (107–41; quote at 135).⁴⁷

The implications of the ecclesiastical and political debate can be seen in the work of Samuel Parker (1640–88), bishop of Oxford, who seems to have borrowed his thesis from Moncaeus and Gaffarel. In his *Reasons for Abrogating the Test Act* (1688), Parker pleaded for toleration, especially for Roman Catholics,

⁴⁴ Immensa res est Ægyptiorum Religio, seu cultus vetustatem spectemus, seu varietatem. Deorum Semideorumque Dynastias ante Diluvium collocavimus: neque refragatur chronologia Mosaica, quæ superstitionem Gentium refert ad Enosi ætatem" (*Chronicus Canon*, p. 54).

⁴⁵ *Chronicus canon* was reprinted at Leipzig (1676) and at Franeker (1696). Marsham (2–12) corrects the ancient Egyptian chronology of 36,525 years by establishing that the kings list of thirty dynasties does not signify the consecutive, but the coterminous dynastic rule in several Egyptian regions. This discovery allows Marsham to align the chronologies of Egypt with those of the Hebrews and Greeks. Basnage (bk. 3, ch. 18, sec. 5–6, p. 212) summarizes the discovery of the coterminous rule of regional and local kings. The ultimate collapse of the Bible's traditional chronology and its consequences for biblical interpretation is described by Rossi (145–52 and 158–67) and Grafton.

⁴⁶ "I should like to say that Marsham's *Chronological History of the Egyptians* appears to have no other intent than to insinuate in the mind of his reader that the whole religion of Moses and the Hebrews was taken from that of the Egyptians" ("Avertissement," pp. 796–97). See also P. Rossi (126) and D. Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom* (156–64).

⁴⁷ See also my introduction to Mather's *BA* 1:113–74.

because the use of images and statues of saints, he claimed, did *not* constitute idolatry. If modern divines would “soberly enquire into the Nature and Original of *Idolatry*,” Parker argued, they would soon discover that they completely misunderstood God’s prohibition against graven images (Gen. 20:4–5). It is “not the meer Image it self that is the Idol,” Parker opined, “but the Image as representing a false God, tho it be only a Symbol, and not a Picture of him, as most of the Heathen Images were, of the *Sun*, as the *Calf*, and the *Ram*” (79). That Moses did not proscribe effigies per se, but only images that represent *false* gods, like those worshipped by Israel’s pagan neighbors, can be seen in the use of the two polymorphous cherubim, which God instructed Moses to set upon the ark of the covenant to serve as his mercy seat (Exod. 25:20–22). Likewise, the most learned scholars – Hugo Grotius, John Spencer, Juan Bautista Villalpandus, and Samuel Bochart – concluded they were of a mixed form, “in which that of a Bullock had the biggest share; but compounded of these four shapes, a Man’s Face, an Eagles Wings, a Lyons Back, an Oxes or Bullocks Thighs and Feet” (Parker, p. 123).⁴⁸ These sphinxlike cherubim with four faces “were the most solemn and sacred part of the Jewish Religion; and therefore, tho Images, so far from Idolatry; that God made them the *Seat* of his Presence, and from between them delivered his Oracles; so that something more is required to make *Idolatry*, than the *use of Images*” (125–26).⁴⁹

It is for these reasons that Dr. Edward Stillingfleet’s polemic *A Discourse Concerning the Idolatry Practiced in the Church of Rome* (1671) does not stand up to scrutiny, Parker insisted. For when the learned doctor (later bishop of Worcester) asserted that Moses and the Israelites “only directed their Worship *towards* the Images,” but did not worship the cherubim, Stillingfleet equivocates, Parker claimed. The Israelites bowed toward these images “as the Symbols of God’s Presence, and that is to Worship God by *Images*, or to give the same Signs of Reverence to his *Representations*, as to *Himself*. . . . And if so much outward Worship may be given to Images, as Symbols of the Divine presence, it is enough to justify it” (Parker, p. 126). If anyone did not accept his authority on this matter, Bishop Parker was only too glad to refer his readers to “that admirable Book of Dr. *Spencers*, concerning the Jewish Laws and the Reason of them.” For any one who loves the wisdom of the ancients “may have his glut of Pleasure and Satisfaction” in reading Spencer’s *De Legibus* (Parker, p. 98). The

⁴⁸ See especially the description of the polymorphous cherubim in Ezek. 1:5–11, 10:10–14; Rev. 4:6–7. For much the same, see the discussion of the cherubim in *Of Idolatry: A Discourse, In which is endeavoured A Declaration of, Its Distinction from Superstition* (1678), ch. 14, part 5, pp. 336–43, 349–51, by the Anglican divine Thomas Tenison (1636–1715) and later archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴⁹ In his handbook to Reformed theology, *Institutio Theologiae Elenctica* (Genevae, 1679–86), Francis Turretin (1623–87), a Reformed theologian of Geneva, also explores the question of images and their legal use in sacred places (*Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, Topic 11, Q. X, in 2:62–66). Surprisingly, he presents some of the same arguments as Parker does.

danger which Spencer's historicist argument posed to Protestant orthodoxy then becomes all too apparent. In the hands of distracters, it might be employed for all sorts of questionable purposes, perhaps even return icons, images, and saints' statues through the backdoors of Protestant churches from which the Reformers had much ado to cast them out – almost in living memory. Ultimately, Spencer's research might even have the (unintended) purpose of breaking down the wall of separation between sacred and profane religions. Worse yet, in tracing the origin of the Mosaic ceremonies to their alleged roots in paganism, Spencer's historical parallels might yet demonstrate that polytheism – rather than monotheism – was the source of all beliefs.⁵⁰

Spencer and Mather on the Idols of Egypt

It is now high time to cross the Atlantic and sketch Cotton Mather's involvement in the controversy over the Egyptian origin of the Hebrew ceremonial laws and cultic instruments. As is well known by now, "Biblia Americana" is a vast storehouse of arcane and modern knowledge, which clearly indicates the extent to which the English colonies in North America participated in the scholarship and intellectual debates of the period. Let me single out some of the most telling examples to illustrate how Mather negotiates the conflict between what constitutes idolatry and the alleged Egyptian origin of the Mosaic ceremonies: "There ha's been an Opinion, very plausibly maintained, and with a vast Variety of Learning laboriously defended," Mather invokes the specters of John Marsham, Athanasius Kircher, and John Spencer,

That the *Egyptians* were they who had the first Rules and Rites of *Religion* among them; and that not only the *Religious Rites* of other Nations, but even [those] of the *Israelites* themselves, were derived from the *Egyptians*: And that in the Reformation whereto the Great God brought the *Israelites*, He wisely considered, how strongly they were tinctured with the *Egyptian* Superstitions; And He therefore Allowed the Continuance of many of them; only He Corrected them, He Improved them, He Applied them unto better Purposes. Tis a prodigious Ostentation of Literature, which our *Hero's* have made, in the Asserting of this Opinion. (*BA* 2:714–15)

Having thus identified the bone of contention, Mather engages Marsham and Spencer in a process of give and take. The works of Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), John Edwards (1637–1716), Herman Witsius (1636–1708), Pierre Jurieu

⁵⁰ Curiously, William Warburton (1698–1779), Lord Bishop of Gloucester, did not seem to be overly concerned about the matter of what the Mosaic accommodation of pagan ceremonies might mean for Christianity and revelation as such. In his *Divine Legation* (1738–41), he asks, "And what is it, we lose? Nothing sure very great or excellent. The imaginary Honour of being original in certain Rites, indifferent in themselves; and only good or bad as is the *Authority* that enjoys them, and the *Object* to which they are directed." Well, there it is (vol. 2, bk. 4, sec. 6, p. 355).

(1637–1713), and Thomas Tenison (1636–1715), among many others, provide Mather with much useful ammunition to combat the alleged enemies of the sacred scriptures. Mather is not content, however, with presenting a one-sided interpretation of the matter. He is prepared to give both conventional and heterodox readings a fair hearing.

For instance, John Edwards, conservative English theologian that he was, tried his utmost to defend the sanctity of the Bible by somehow palliating the story of Aaron's golden calf (Exod. 32:1–8), in *A Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693–95), a three-volume compendium to many controversial debates on the Bible in the seventeenth century. In this pericope, Edwards saw a veiled allusion to the lean and fat cows in Pharaoh's dream vision (Gen. 41:1–7, 25–31), which Joseph providentially explicated to save the people from starvation. The Egyptian Apis or Serapis bull of Memphis (Noph), Edwards opined, was really nothing but "a true Hieroglyphic of *Joseph*," whose memory was sacred to the Egyptians for saving them from catastrophic famine. Edwards enlists for support the Roman monk and historian Rufinus of Aquileia, who related that "a *Bushel* was placed on its Head [Egyptian Serapis bull]; 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" (BA 1:440).⁵¹ Edwards's argument suggests that the Israelites dancing around Aaron's golden calf revered as their savior no one else but the embodiment of the Egyptian hieroglyph of Joseph, their famous ancestor, who had saved them once before when starvation threatened Jacob's entire family. Edwards's Euhemeristic reading, the deification of Joseph, did not satisfy Mather, who revisits the story several times over. This is especially the case in Mather's lengthy synopsis of Herman Witsius's *Aegyptiaca, et Dekaphylon* (1683, 1696), one of the earliest polemics against

⁵¹ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:214–15, 216). Edwards's diatribe against Marsham and Spencer is particularly prominent in Edwards's *Compleat History* (chs. 6–8). The Greco-Egyptian Osiris-Apis or Serapis is the deified representation of the Apis bull of Memphis, according to Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (29.362c–d). Revered as lord of Hades, Osirapis (Pluto) delivered his oracles and cures through dreams. 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 hero commemorated in the Serapis cult – if Gerard Vossius (*De Theologia Gentili*, lib. 1, cap. 29, pp. 213–20), Theophilus Gale (*Court of the Gentiles* [1672], pt. 1, bk. 2, ch. 7, pp. 92–95), and their peers can be relied upon. Pierre Jurieu, however, begs to differ; 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 (*A Critical History* [1705] 2:183–89). The Roman historian Rufinus Aquileiensis (c. 345–410) describes the 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 their king and revered him in the shape of a sacred Apis bull, a bovine being the universal symbol of power.

Marsham and Spencer, which Mather incorporates at great length in his commentary on Leviticus (ch. 27).⁵² And yet, Mather agrees with Spencer (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 5, sec. 4, fol. 857–62) that “Calf-Worship” originated in Egypt and that God’s people “became eager imitators of the Egyptian inventions.” He quotes Philo Judaeus’s *Vita Mosis* affirmatively on this issue. As if to out-Spencer Spencer, Mather enlists Strabo’s *Geography*, Cicero’s *De natura deorum*, Pliny’s *Natural History*, and Pomponius Mela’s *De Chronographia* – all confirming that the Egyptian “*Apis*,” a living black bull with white markings, was “worshipped by the *Memphites*, and *Mnevis*, by the *Heliopolites*, under the Figure of *Oxen*” (*BA* 2:716 and 174). More to the point, a golden image of a bull or Βούν διαχρυσον, representing the image of Osiris’s soul, was also worshipped by the Egyptians, Mather points out with citation references to Plutarch’s *Isis and Osiris* (39.366d–f).⁵³ To back up his point, Mather consults Samuel Bochart’s trusty 1663 edition of *Hierozyicon sive Bipertitum de animalibus sacra scripturae* (pt. 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, cols. 329–60), an encyclopedic study of biblical bestiaries, which provides him with much useful information on the topic. According to Bochart, Aaron’s golden calf must have been “an Imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*,” the considerably older cousin of the *Serapis* bull, which was not known in Egypt before the time of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). Or, if Philo Judaeus can be trusted, Aaron’s bovine idol was really an effigy of the Egyptian *Typhon* (Seth), an ancient personification of Chaos, who was worshipped in the shape of a red bull (*BA* 2:423–24).⁵⁴ Whatever the origin and function of Aaron’s idolatrous calf, Mather argued, its source must be sought in Egypt, because the adoration of bovine creatures was much older than the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. These idols were the “*Abominations of the Egyptians*,” a sacrosanct taboo whose violation would have been monstrous had the Egyptians witnessed “their *Gods* made a *Sacrifice*” once the Israelites had established their own sacred rituals in the Holy Land (*BA* 2:718).

All things considered, the Egyptian origin of Aaron’s golden calf is perhaps not all that controversial an issue because the worship of bovines as symbols of divine power, in Egypt, Phoenicia, Assyria, Medo-Persia, and Babylonia, was

⁵² See Witsius’s *Aegyptiaca* (1696 ed.), lib. 3, cap. 14, pp. 280–92.

⁵³ For the same argument, see John Selden’s *De Diis Syris* (1617), synt. 1, cap. 4, pp. 46–64; and Simon Patrick’s annotations on Exod. 32:4 (*Exodus* 632–35). According to Plutarch, the *Apis* bull of Memphis is “the image of the soul of Osiris, whose body also lies there.” *Apis*, whose hide is marked with lunar symbols, “is the animate image of Osiris, and he comes into being when a fructifying light thrusts forth from the moon and falls upon a cow in her breeding-season” (*Isis and Osiris* 20.539b; 43.368c).

⁵⁴ It is intriguing that R. Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–c. 1164) seemed to exculpate Moses’ brother, positing that those who worshipped Aaron’s golden calf did not commit idolatry intentionally, because they believed that the invisible God of Moses “was to be identified with the calf” (*Commentary* 2:678) just as much as the Egyptians believed that the spirit of their gods resided in their images.

well known throughout the ages. It was a different matter, however, with the most sacred instrument in the Mosaic religion: the ark of the covenant and the winged cherubim between which the Shechinah of the Lord appeared as the visible symbol of his divine presence. Again, Spencer relates the historical evidence “of the ancient usage of the arks in the ceremonies of the gentiles,” who carried sacred chests (*cistae*) and images in their religious services and temples of their gods.⁵⁵ Furthermore, he reports that “the shape of the cherubim took their origin from the Egyptian symbols and images”⁵⁶ and were joined with the ark. The biblical description of the ark’s building material, dimension, and function was clear enough, because God had given Moses specific instructions (Exo. 25:10–22). But the cherubim seemed to be a totally different matter. Apart from their wings, posture, and position little can be discerned in the Pentateuch. Their form and appearance must have been well known to Moses’ contemporaries, Mather speculates, because the Hebrew lawgiver did not go into any detail. What was their size, shape, and function? And how come that God punished the renegade Israelites for worshipping Aaron’s calf, and then had Moses place images on the sacred ark? Did Almighty God’s Decalogue not specifically proscribe “any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth”? And did he not specifically command, “Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them”? (Exod. 20:4–5). If these laws were not explicit enough, how come that God instructed Moses to place iconic statues of cherubim at opposite ends of the ark of the covenant and centuries later permit Solomon to set up in the inner sanctum of the Temple two gigantic cherubim “each ten cubits high” and their extended wings of “ten cubits” touching in the middle and both sides of the Temple walls? (1 Kings 6:21–35) (*BA* 3:422). And lastly, what is one to make of the statues of twelve oxen carrying the laver, with graven images of lions, oxen, and cherubim decorating not only its basis, but also the embroidered veil that separates the foyer from the adytum of the inner Temple? Would the faithful Israelites not bow toward the veiled enclosure occupied by two enormous cherubim from between which God’s oracle spoke to the high priest? (1 Kings 6:21–35, 7:23–36) (*BA* 3:427–35, 438). Given Israel’s proclivity to worship visible icons of false gods, surely such prominent images in Solomon’s Temple and on the Mosaic ark must somehow be reconciled with God’s explicit prohibition against graven images unless something completely different is intended by that proscription.

Francis Moncaeus, Jacques Gaffarel, and John Spencer tackled these issues by examining the Bible for historical evidence of similar graven images and

⁵⁵ “*a cistarum usu perantiquo in Gentium ceremoniis*” (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 1, sec. 1, fol. 831 – section title).

⁵⁶ “*Cherubinatorum formas a symbolis & simulacris Ægyptiis originem accepisse*” (lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 4, p. 857 – section title; see also caps. 8–9, pp. 876–89).

linking them with parallel iconic statues and rituals among Israel's pagan neighbors. As previously stated, they speculated that Moses' winged cherubim were closely related to the talismanic teraphim which Rachel stole from her father and which King Saul's daughter Michal placed in David's bed to deceive her husband's attackers (1 Sam. 19:13) (BA 3:307). They were used for divination, Mather affirmatively cites Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (1705) on Gen. 31:19 (BA 1:1042–47), but their original was derived from the worship of dead ancestor whose effigies were placed on *kenotaphia* or empty tombs: "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*" (BA 1:1045), because the cherubim were likewise placed at opposite ends of the Mosaic ark, and the voice of God was heard to issue from between the two images standing on his mercy seat.⁵⁷ In this sense, then, the divinatory function of the teraphim in delivering oracles was alike present in the cherubim on the ark, in Solomon's Temple, as well as in the Urim and Thummim in the ephod of Aaron's breastplate.⁵⁸ They were all instruments of divine communication with the invisible world. This liminal blurring of things sacred and profane was too much for Cotton Mather, who knew only too well where such an argument might lead. "The Opinion of *Moncaus*, and *Gaffarel*, and *Spencer*, is by no means to be allow'd, That the *Cherubim* and the *Teraphim*, were the same," Mather responded with Jurieu's *Critical History* (2:99) to back him up. "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 yet 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" (BA 1:1045).⁵⁹ In Mather's way

57 Mather draws on Jurieu's *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).

58 In linking the oracular function of the cherubim with the teraphim and the Urim and Thummim, Spencer ultimately yokes sacred with profane instruments (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 7, caps. 3–4, fols. 929–94). No wonder that Mather is almost beside himself in his vehement reaction to Spencer's outrageous claims: "Now, in the first Place, I do with much Distaste *Reject* the Opinion of *Spencer*. ... And because I *Reject* it, I will not so much as *Translate* it, but give it unto you in his own Words." Just a few short paragraphs later, Mather again lashes out at him: "This harsh, and hard, (and I may say, *Horrid*) Opinion of *Spencers*, is well confuted, by a Learned Foreigner, one *Philippus Riboudealdus*, in a Book printed in *Geneva*, 1685, unto whom I refer you, if you want further Satisfaction. ... Whereas this unhappy Scholar [*Spencer*] employes a vast Learning, to make the *Urim* and *Thummim*, (that illustrious Oracle) with which the God of Heaven distinguished His ancient People, to be *Their Ordinances*, or the Diabolical Ordinances of the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites*, Imitated and Continued by the Holy *Angels* of Heaven. *Maimonides* utters more Christianity, than this Gentleman, when he asserts, *That the Jewish Rites, prescribed that People by God, were not an imitation of the Pagan Rites, but were in absolute Opposition to them*" (BA 2:386–87).

59 See also Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:327–33, 339–40) and Gaffarel (146–56). In Ezekiel's visions (Ezek. 1:6–10; 10:1, 14–22), these cherubim are mixed creatures with four faces – man,

of thinking, any functional similarity between these instruments of divination was either purely accidental or intended to be deliberately obfuscating because the devil – craving adoration – aped God’s institutions to mislead the faithful. This conventional explanation was prevalent among theologians of the day, and Mather was no exception (*BA* 1:435–36).⁶⁰ If the correspondence between sacred and pagan implements of worship pointed to their common origin, it was the wily serpent, the arch marplot of Eden, who mimicked the Lord. And if Israel’s idolatrous neighbors practiced the same rites, then, in Mather’s view, the envious pagans simply stole their ceremonies from God’s chosen people. From our modern perspective, Spencer’s massive expedition into comparative religion and iconography may have pointed in the right direction, but Mather and most of his contemporaries were unprepared and unwilling to accept the logical conclusion of their common origin. The Mosaic distinction between true and false worship, between sacred and profane, between monotheism and polytheism, was so ingrained in their mindset that they rejected offhand any evidence to the contrary. Too much depended on defending the primacy of the Holy Scriptures.⁶¹

The same holds true for the alleged Egyptian origin of the cherubim which (as previously stated) reappear not only on God’s mercy seat on the Mosaic ark, but also as enormous statues in Solomon’s Temple and in Ezekiel’s vision of God’s Merkabah. A quick glance at Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:446–47) demonstrates that the opinions of the standard authorities on Exod. 25:18 disagreed widely on the physical appearance of the golden cherubim on the ark. Junius, Ainsworth, Piscator, and Malvenda insisted they were of a human form; Munster, Menochius, Junius, and Piscator, agreeing with the standard rabbinic

lion, ox, and eagle – but all cloven hoofed “like the sole of a calf’s foot.” Each having four wings – “two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies.” Hence the shape of 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. On this, see Gaffarel (17–31, 68–75). Spencer’s examination of OT iconography climaxes in a lengthy disquisition in his *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. 5–6, fols. 829–1037). Here he claims that the images of the man-shaped teraphim were widely used in Egypt and Chaldea, and have the same function as the Mosaic Urim and Thummim used in divinatory rituals (Exod. 28:30). As if this bold claim were not enough, Spencer asserts (lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 4, sec. 1–4, fols. 857–62) 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’ desire for visible deities. Matthew Poole provides a useful summary of the controversy in his *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:446–47), on Exod. 25:18. Modern explications of the polymorphous cherubim agree in essence with those of Spencer that they were of pagan origin (*Anchor* 1:899–90).

⁶⁰ See especially *The Court of the Gentiles* (1672), by Theophilus Gale (1628–78), an ejected English nonconformist, whose huge work was designed to demonstrate that “the wisest of the Heathens stole their choicest Notions and Contemplations, both Philologic, and Philosophic, as wel Natural and Moral, as Divine, from the sacred Oracles” (“Advertisements,” sign. 2^{r-v}).

⁶¹ For recent discussions of the Mosaic distinction and its significance in the evolution of the Judeo-Christian religions, see among many others Assmann’s *Moses the Egyptian* (1–9, 57–72) and *Of God and Gods* (3–4, 84–86).

sources, thought they were in the shape of boys, because the Hebrew word for cherub כְּרוּב is derived from כָּמוֹ רֶבִיָּא *quasi puer* “like a boy.” Drusius, however, deemed this bowdlerized derivation rather feeble. He enlisted John Calvin’s *Commentary on the Four Last Books of Moses* to argue that “those who suppose the כ [kaph] to be a note of similitude, render it ‘like a boy;’ which in itself is forced, and besides it is refuted by the words of Ezekiel, (ch. i. 10, and x. 1,) who calls the forms of a calf, a lion, and an eagle by this name as well as the human form” (2:157). Yet others pointed out that if they were boys, their arms would have interfered with their extended wings. Besides, interjected Oleaster, the “face of the cherub” (Ezek. ch. 10) is distinguished from a “human face.” To Grotius (*Annotationes* 55) and many others, the cherubim were μοσχόμορφοι (*formâ vitulorum*) “in the shape of calves,” perhaps commemorating Joseph’s dream vision of the seven fat and lean cows. And what in Ezek. 1:10 is called שׁוֹר [showr] “ox” is called כְּרוּב [kerub] “cherub” in Ezek. 10:14, which to Grotius is the primary form of the living creature in Ezekiel’s Merkabah vision. And where Menochius points out that the cherubim were a composite of four animal species – “vultus hominis, alæ aquilinæ, leonis jubæ” – the face of a human, the wings of an eagle, the mane of a lion – in addition to the face of an ox, Grotius allegorizes them as symbols of God’s mystical qualities: “man a symbol of goodness, the eagle of swiftness, the lion of judgment, and the feet of the oxen slowness.”⁶² Mather is not far behind and glosses, “*The first Face, was the Face of a Cherub*: That is to say, of an *Oxe*, or, a *Calf*: A Representation of great Account among the Jewes, for the sake of their *Joseph*. It is here intimated, That the Upper Part of the *Cherubims* Head, was distinguished, & remarkable, for Circumstances, that had something *Bovine* in them. The *Second Face, was the Face of a Man*; That is to say, the whole *Countenance* was *Humane*. The *Third, the Face of a Lion*; That is to say, The *Neck*, & the *Main*, was *Leonine*. The *Fourth, the Face of an Eagle*; This was in the *Wings* added unto their shoulders” (BA 6, Ezek. 10:14).

Thus Mather’s own commentary on the Mosaic cherubim bespeaks his indecision as he vacillates between their shape as polymorphous animals and as angelic creatures with a human body. Reaching out to Jacques Saurin’s *Discours Historiques, Critiques, Theologiques et Moraux* (1720), Mather acknowledges that the cherubim are “*Hieroglyphicks*” of angelic and celestial qualities frequently symbolizing “certain Mysteries of Religion and Morality.” However, whether the shape of the Mosaic cherubim is the same as those in the visions of Ezekiel and John in Revelation (4:7) is a different matter. The question still remains whether the assorted faces merely signify “some *Likeness* to those Objects, and not the *Visage* of them” and whether they “had Four Heads, or but one, or even whether Four Half-Heads.” Trying to find a satisfactory solution, Mather

⁶² “Homo, banitatis symbolum; aquila, celeritatis; lëo, vindictæ; pedes bovini, tarditatis” (Poole 1:446).

allows John Spencer to have his say that based on Ezekiel's vision, the cherubim "had mostly, something of a *Bovine Figure* belonging to them," because the ancient Hebrew meaning of *cherub* was 'An Oxe' with its related connotation in Arabic and Syriac suggesting "To Plough." Yet Mather is still ill at ease with what amounts to an endorsement of the Egyptian bestiary on the sacred ark. At last, he cuts through this Gordian knot and invites Maimonides to settle the issue – at least for the time being: "Be the Figure what it will; it is evident, That the *Cherubim* which *Moses* made by the Order of GOD, were Emblems of ANGELS." For according to Maimonides, God's purpose "was to inculcate the Doctrine & Beleeve of ANGELS" (BA 2:340).⁶³

Angels they may well be, but might there be any other mystery hidden in their physical presence on the sacred ark? In his gloss on Rev. 4:6, Mather turns, once again, to the signification of the cherubim – this time opting for an allegorical and ecclesial interpretation. Thomas Brightman (1562–1607), an influential English millenarian and biblical commentary, serves Mather as interpreter, yet at second hand via Jeremiah Burroughs (1599–1646), whose posthumously published *Jerusalems Glory Breaking forth into the World* (London, 1675), pp. 99–101, is Mather's immediate source. Burroughs, a well-respected Independent and member of the Westminster Assembly, here paraphrases Brightman's exposition on Rev., ch. 4, in *A Revelation of the Revelation* (Amsterdam, 1615), pp. 184–88. According to Burroughs, Brightman interprets the "Four Animals" (Rev. 4:6–8) as "Four Successive States of the Church," beginning with the Primitive Church, typified by the lion who raged against the "persecuting Emperours" and their torment of the early Christians.⁶⁴ Following this train of thought, Burroughs deciphers the "Oxe" as "The Second State of the Church," a time when Antichrist set upon the faithful who were "fitt to bear Burdens" like those of the beast of burden that represents them. Next in line is the "Third State of the Church," represented by "the *Man*," who "enquires after the Reason of Things, & understands them, and affects Liberty." This third state occurs "at the Beginning of the Reformation," when "Men would not now take the Yoke of Antichrist, as they did before." If they were treated "like *Beasts*" before, "now they will be *Men*, & understand what they do." Finally, the Church arrives in its fourth and final state, fittingly represented by "the *Eagle*" and the "High Flights of Christianity." In this state, the Church and her members "shall be of Heavenly Minds, and sore up like the *Eagle*, in their Dispositions" (BA 10, Rev. 4:6).

If this allegorical solution satisfied Mather for the moment, "Biblia Americana" purports to entertain his readers with anything but the worn and

⁶³ Maimonides (*Guide* 1.49.109–10; 2.6.262; 3.45.577). See also Laura Sangha, *Angels and Belief in England, 1480–1700* (2012), esp. chs. 6 and 7.

⁶⁴ See also Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's statue consisting of different metals, typifying the sequence of empires before the arrival of the fifth monarchy (Dan. 2:31–45). See also Mather's commentary in BA 6 (Dan. 2) and his *Stone Cut Out of the Mountain* (1716).

pedestrian. His synopses of some hieroglyphic inscriptions on an Egyptian mummy, originating in Athanasius Kircher's 1676 *Sphinx Mystagoga, sive Dialectice Hieroglyphica de Mumiis* (pt. 2, caps. 2, 4, pp. 21–23, 29–35), is a case in point. Mather extracts this curious passage at second hand from Herman Witsius's *Aegyptiaca* (lib. 1, cap 9, p. 46) without mentioning Kircher. It illustrates just how far Mather was prepared to go: "The *Egyptians* had their God *Hempta*," the ram-headed god Khnum (Kneph), whom the Greeks called Jupiter Ammon. He is attended by certain guardian spirits (genii): the first is Horus, with "the Face of a *Boy*," the god of the sentient world; the second is the vigilant Anubis, with "the Face of a *Dog*," signifying the Hermetic economy; the third is Thautus, with "the Face of an *Hawk*," representing the heat of the sun and the source of the earth's fertility; finally, the fourth is the formidable deity Momphta, with "the Face of a *Lion*," presiding over the Hylean (or watery) world.

"Was not *Hempta*, the same with the God /אמת/ *Emet* [Truth], of the Israelites," whose throne is on the mercy seat of the ark of the covenant? Mather wonders. "And were not the *Cherubim*, an Imitation of *Hempta's* Attendants" with the face of a man, lion, ox, and eagle? "God forbid, we should imagine so. We have no Proof of *Hempta's* Antiquity. And neither the *Number* nor the *Figure* of his Attendants, was the same with the *Cherubim* in the Tabernacle" (BA 2:746).⁶⁵ Mather clearly wrestles with the amazing similarities between divine and pagan emblems outlined by Kircher and here borrowed from Witsius (46). To Mather, the appalling implications about pagan idols resurfacing on the sacred ark of Moses even in Ezekiel's Merkabah vision were just too much. Yet Mather was unwilling to let go. In his commentary on Acts, he revisits the topic once again in an excerpt from Archbishop Thomas Tenison's *Of Idolatry* (1678). Here Mather argues that the angelic cherubim resembled a part of God's Shechinah glory, which Aaron and the seventy elders had seen in their ascent on Mt. Horeb. Aaron modeled his golden calf on the attending angelic cherubim,

⁶⁵ Mather relies on Witsius's appropriation (46, 154) of Kircher's explication of the mystical numen Hempta (Emet, Kneph) as the supreme creator of the Egyptians (*Sphinx Mystagoga* 21, 22–23, 29, 52, 57, 66). This deity is attended by the boy-faced Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, and wards off evil (21, 23, 29, 31–32); the dog-(jackal) headed Anubis (the Egyptian Mercurius), custodian of the souls of the dead before the judge (49, 56, 61, 69); Thautus (hawk-headed Horus) associated with Ammon and Osiris (23, 29, 51, 58); finally, Momphta (Mophta), guardian of the sacred Nile, who presides over the watery world (33, 55, 68–69, 71). If Kircher's translations of the Egyptian cartouches are beyond the pale by modern standards, be it remembered that the Egyptian hieroglyphs were not deciphered, their code not cracked, until more than a century after Kircher's death and after the discovery of the Rosetta Stone in 1799. The English naturalist John Hutchinson (1647–1737) was equally fascinated by these mysterious hieroglyphs and (like Mather) transcribes numerous passages from Witsius, Vossius, and Spencer, into Hutchinson's oft-reprinted *The Covenant in the Cherubim* (1734), in *The Philosophical and Theological Works* (London, 1749), vol. 6 (misnumbered 7), pp. 385–406. The shocking depiction of the ark of the covenant with its monstrous cherubim appears on the inside of cover, but preceding the title-page of this edition. See this depiction inserted (below), in Mather's commentary BA 2:745.

who “appeared with Heads of a *Bovine Aspect*.” The Hebrew word *cherub* signifies “*A Beef*, and it was derived from the Chaldee /ברכ/ [keruwb] *He ploughed*.” Ironically, in worshipping the figure of the bovine cherub, the wayward Israelites turned the Shechinah glory “into a *Similitude*” of God’s presence and into “the Symbol of an *Angel*, which was not so much to the *Shechinah* of God, as one *Spoke* of a *Wheel* is to an Eastern Emperour in a triumphant Chariot.” The Israelites in the wilderness fell to worshipping it even as they danced around their Apis or Mnevis bull, the idol of the Egyptians (*BA* 8, Acts 7:2).⁶⁶ In stripping the cherubim of their bovine aspects, then, Mather turns the winged creatures once again into angels in human shape. In this as in many other instances, Mather acknowledges Maimonides as his master.⁶⁷ After all, the familiar appearances of winged angels and cupids, as they could be seen in myriads of medieval and Renaissance paintings and frescoes, inspired the beholder with assurance that comes with faith in the reality of things not seen. These winged messengers ascended and descended from God’s throne and comforted those who hoped for their own guardian angel to protect them from harm. They instilled in the faithful the same awe and wonder that Jacob must have felt when he beheld a ladder standing on earth and reaching all the way to heaven (*BA* 1:1018–19).⁶⁸

Mather’s frank denial notwithstanding, he seems simultaneously fascinated and troubled by the plenitude of new connections between iconography sacred and profane. Perhaps his well-known hypostatic vision of a shining angel appearing in his study is an indication why these strange and inexplicable cherubim or angels manifested themselves to the optic nerves in precisely the shape and manner as they had been imagined all along.⁶⁹ Once he recorded in his

⁶⁶ See Tenison (338–38) and Calvin (3:333–34).

⁶⁷ For their contrasting assessments of the shape, function, and origin of the cherubim, see Spencer’s *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. 5, caps. 3–10, fols. 844–89) and Maimonides’s *Guide* (1.49.108–10; 2.6.261–65; 3.45.577). Significantly, John Calvin – though agreeing that the cherubim’s polymorphous shape as described in Ezek. 1:10 and 10:14) is that of “a calf, a lion, and an eagle by this name, as well as the human form” – ultimately sidesteps the issue by arguing that the cherubim on the Mosaic ark were angels: “It is enough for me that the images were winged, which represented angels” (*Works* 2:157). R. Eichler has traced the historical debate on the shape and function of the cherubim in his article “Cherub: A History of Interpretation,” *Biblica* 96.1 (2015): 26–38.

⁶⁸ The transformation of the pantheon of the pagans into Judeo-Christian saints is illustrated in J. Seznec’s intriguing *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1972) and F.E. Manuel’s *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1959).

⁶⁹ As the Dutch philosopher Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza explains, the imagination of the prophets of old was not necessarily limited by their intellect, for ideas, when derived from the figures and metaphors of biblical discourse, are much more redolent of cultural conditioning than when they are based on rational principles: “Thus we have a clue to the fact that the prophets perceived nearly everything in parables and allegories, and clothed their spiritual truths in bodily forms, for such is the usual method of imagination. We no longer wonder that Scripture and the prophets speak so strangely and obscurely of God’s Spirit or Mind (cf. Numbers xi. 17, 1 Kings xxii. 21, &c.), that the Lord was seen by Micah as sitting, by Daniel as an old man clothed in white, by Ezekiel as a fire, that the Holy Spirit appeared to those

Diary (1684–85) a startling epiphany: “A strange and memorable thing. After outpourings of prayer, with the utmost fervor and fasting, there appeared an Angel, whose face shone like the noonday sun. His features were those of a man, and beardless; his head was encircled by a splendid tiara; on his shoulders were wings; his garments were white and shining; his robe reached to his ankles; and about his loins was a belt not unlike the girdles of the peoples of the East. And this Angel said that he was sent by the Lord Jesus to bear a clear answer to the prayers of a certain youth [Cotton Mather], and to bear back his words in reply.” Tellingly, the angel spoke to him in the metaphors of the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. 31:3–9), of the fair Cedars of Lebanon rooted by the running water of deep rivers, of majestic branches and “*thick Boughs*,” of a cedar in Eden, envied by all other trees in God’s garden (*Diary* 1:86–87).⁷⁰ Mather’s fervent prayer, the most heartfelt a young man could muster, came alive in this angelic vision.

Be that as it may, no matter his fascination with the supernatural world and Spencer’s iconoclasm, Mather’s admiration could also turn into downright hostility toward those who go where angels fear to tread. A notable instance occurs in his annotations on Numb. 10:36. Here, as in several other cases, Mather turns to parallel accounts in “Pagan *Antiquitie*” to validate the Bible’s primacy. He does Spencer the honor of accepting his evidence on Moloch’s portable ark (Amos 5:25, Acts 7:43), for as Spencer insists, the Canaanites and many other heathen nations employed sacred arks – like that of Moses – in the adoration of their gods whom they carried in chests or trunks into battle, long before the Israelites allegedly adopted the like custom (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 3, sec. 2, fol. 673–75). It is amusing to witness how Mather exploits Spencer’s primary sources as if they were Mather’s own. In one instance, Spencer cites *Commentarii in Acta Apostolorum* (1616), by Gaspar Sanctius (1553–1628), a learned Jesuit professor of theology at Alcala (Spain); in another, *Moses and Aaron, or the Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites used by the ancient Hebrews* (1678), by famous Dr. Thomas Godwin (1587–1643), rector of Brightwell (Berkshire). Both authors pinpoint similarities between pagan and Mosaic rites, but ultimately insist that the pagans had stolen theirs from Moses. With this evidence in place, Mather lashes out against Spencer:

The learned Pen, of *Spencer*, would needs perswade us, *That the Tabernacle of Moloch, was the first Original of the Tabernacle of God*; and that it is a *Vulgar Error*,

with Christ as a descending dove, to the apostles as fiery tongues, to Paul on his conversion as a great light. All these expressions are plainly in harmony with the [then] current ideas of God and spirits” (*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670), in *A Theologico-Political Treatise* (Elwes translation), ch. 1, p. 25).

⁷⁰ *The Diary of Cotton Mather* (1:86–87). Increase Mather wrote a book-length treatise on angelology, *Angelographia, or A Discourse Concerning the Nature and Power of Holy Angels* (Boston, 1696). For the debate on the date of Mather’s vision, see D. Levin’s “When Did Cotton Mather See the Angel?” (1980/81). See also K. Silverman’s *Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1984), pp. 127–30, 166, 169–70, 311–12.

to think, *That the Diuel Apes the Almighty*. But it is a wonderful thing, that so Accomplished a Person [as Spencer], should pervert his Accomplishments, to maintain such monstrous Assertions. He will never bring so *Præposterous a Scheme* to bee embraced in the Church of God! (BA 2:854-55).⁷¹

But already in the next paragraph, Mather is forced to eat his own words: “Tis true,” he concedes, “Gods *Tabernacle* was portable; and so was *Molochs*. Gods *Tabernacle* had in it, his Ark & the Images of *Cherubims*: and *Molochs* had his Image in it. God exhibited, by Audible answers, & otherwise, his peculiar Presence in His *Tabernacle*; and *Moloch* did the like in his. God appeared as a *King*, in the Circumstances of His *Tabernacle*; and *Moloch* in his, claimed a Name that signifies as much.” So far, so good – so it seems. Yet Mather was not willing to embrace the logical conclusion of this analogy: “But it is far from True, That the *Tabernacle* of God, fetched its Pattern, from that of *Moloch*; or, that the Cursed *Fiend* is Imitated by the God of Heaven. The figure, which we call, *The Cart before the Horse*, runs thro’ the Writings of some learned Authors. But, wee now add, that from the *Ark* in the *Tabernacle*, the Gentiles Worshippers borrowed, the *Little Chests*, wherein they carried about their Gods” (BA 2:855). Mather’s vociferous objection to Spencer’s thesis belies how close he came to going along with Spencer’s comparative approach to the iconography and ritual practices of ancient Israel’s powerful neighbors. For Mather and those who shared his viewpoint, the Mosaic primacy and Israel’s cultural and religious superiority was a point of nonnegotiable dogma. If Spencer’s cultural archeology piqued Mather’s intellectual curiosity enough to embrace many of his ideas, Mather’s belief in the divine origin of the Judeo-Christian religions demanded that he rise in defense of the Bible’s authority.

Just how compelling Mather found Spencer’s cultural archeology is especially evident in his commentary on Amos, where the argument from *De Legibus* once again proves irresistible. Here, Mather provides a detailed summary of Spencer’s corroboration (lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 3, sec. 1, 664–70) that confirms the prevalence of portable arks, chests, shrines, and tabernacles employed by pagan neighbors and adapted – so Spencer – by the Israelites for their own use. One of Mather’s comments seems unique. In his gloss on Amos 5:26, he goes as far as to abet Spencer by encouraging readers to “Attend now to something of *Curiosity*!” as Mather explains why, in spite of the Second Commandment, the Israelites

71 In his commentary on the prophet Amos, Mather revisits Spencer, Sanctius, and Godwin on the likeness between Moloch’s ark and that of Moses. “To this Opinion [that the devil aped God’s portable tabernacle] of *Sanctius*, of *Godwyn*, and others, I rather incline, than to that scandalous one by Dr. *Spencer*, that the *Mosaic Tabernacle* was made in Imitation of the like Sacred Fabricks, commonly used among the more ancient Pagans. And yett unto that learned Mans Lucubrations, I will be beholden, for some Illustrations of the Texts now before us” (BA 6, Amos 5:26).

superstitiously carried the effigies of their household gods Remphan and Chiun with them during their travels through the wilderness:

These *Deities* were peculiarly accommodated unto the Condition of *Israel* in the Wilderness, according to the Notions of *Paganism* then prevailing. For *Osiris*, whom they considered in *Moloch* was accounted, according to *Mercurius Trismegistus*, *The Overseer of every ones Body* και ιχθυος και ρωμης καθηγητης, *Virum et Roboris Ductor*. Now, a *Leader* giving Strength to *Travellers*, how agreeably did the Idolatry of weary Travellers pitch upon *him*, for an Object of their Adoration? (*BA* 6, Amos 5:26).

In Mather's endorsement of Spencer's account, then, Moses accommodated the Israelites' idolatrous habits by allowing them to carry with them images of Chiun (Saturn, Jupiter), the patron god of prosperity and hospitality. For a traveler carrying such an image could not be refused hospitable reception, because "*Saturn* would avenge it, if it were denied him. The *Israelites* now being Afflicted *Strangers*, behold, what they have Recourse unto!" Thus until today, Mather claims, the rabbis have a particular regard for the planet Saturn and think of him "in the *Hospitality* of their *Sabbaths*" (*BA* 6, Amos 5:26).⁷² Mather seems so drawn to Spencer's comparisons, as these passages appear to suggest, that he frequently crosses over to the other side. In penetrating the logic of Spencer's argument and in following his argument closely, Mather tends to be unaware at times how this line of reasoning relativizes the Mosaic religion as just one among many ancient creeds vying for ascendancy. Put in a different way, Spencer's study of ancient iconography and rituals constitutes an early form of comparative religion.⁷³

72 See Spencer (669–70).

73 Perhaps inspired by Spencer's allocation of proof from eyewitnesses, Mather adds to his own collection a passage extracted from the Spanish Jesuit José Acosta (1539–1600), whose 1604 *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (bk. 7, chs. 4–7, pp. 504–14) proved irresistible: "There is a strange Passage in *Acosta*, about the Indians, who came from afar, to settle about *Mexico*," Mather quotes from the English translation of Acosta's comparison between Native American religions in the Spanish colonies and his own Roman Catholic belief. "That the Divil, in their Idol, *Vitzlipultzli*, governed that mighty Nation, & commanded them to leave their Countrey, promising to make them Lords of all the Provinces, possessed by *Six* other Nations of Indians, and give them a Land, abounding with all precious Things. They went forth, carrying their Idol with them, in a Coffe of *Reeds*, supported by four of their papal *Priests*; with whom he still discoursed, in secret; Revealing to them, the Successes, and Accidents, of their Way. Hee advised them, when to *march*, and where to *stay*, and without his Commandment, they moved not. The first Thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a *Tabernacle*, for their False God; which they sett alwayes, in the Midst of their Camp, and there placed the *Ark* upon an *Altar*. When they, tired with Pains, talked of, *Proceeding no further*, in their Journey, than a certain pleasant Stage, whereto they were arrived, the Devil, in one Night, horribly kill'd them, that had started this Talk, pulling out their Hearts. And so they passage on, till they came to *Mexico* (*BA* 2 2:855–56). Obviously, Acosta's etiological description to account for the temples and rituals he witnessed among the natives of Mesoamerica is viewed through the lens of Old Testament precedent and cultural conditioning – of the Promised Land to be given to Abraham's offspring, the Israelites' carrying the Ark of the Covenant, their rebellion under Korah, and their punishment by being swallowed up by the earth (*BA* 2:894–97).

Was Mather fully cognizant of the implication of Spencer's radical thesis? His genuine admiration for Spencer's scholarship and his vociferous disapproval of Spencer's radicalism in places suggest that he was. What we can say with certainty, though, is that Mather's historical interest in the origin of and the history behind the Mosaic rituals and their parallels in paganism is evident throughout "Biblia Americana." He was fascinated by the intellectual panorama of his age, but he was reluctant to embrace its vistas. Spencer's subversive *De Legibus* is a case in point.⁷⁴ Although not the work of a Deist by any stretch of the imagination, Spencer's magisterial book was perhaps even more perilous than Charles Blount's *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680), John Toland's *Letters to Serena* (1704), *Adeisidæmon et Origines Judaica* (1709), *Clidophorus* (1702), and *Tetradymus* (1720), or ultimately, David Hume's *Natural History of Religion* (1757) – an association Mather would have vehemently disavowed.⁷⁵ The aims of Blount or Toland were all too obvious; but those of Spencer, "our Spencer," as Mather calls him in moments of unrestrained admiration, were more ambiguous. Spencer's historical scholarship opened up hitherto unprecedented glimpses into the origin of religion as religion that to a mind like Mather's were tremendously appealing and yet frightful at the same time. Whether he critiques the philological scholarship of a Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, or a LeClerc, or evaluates the accommodationist thesis of Maimonides and Spencer, Mather incorporates in his "Biblia Americana" the choice fruits of friend and foe alike. In his mind, they allowed him to plumb the depth of God's Word and to make its rich mines of wisdom accessible to readers of his commentary.

The religion of Moses, then, did not emerge in complete isolation from those of Israel's pagan neighbors – as Jewish and Christian theologians of Mather's time insisted it did – but as an evolutionary process with strong roots in the customs, ceremonies, and cultic rites of Egypt and Chaldea. To take Spencer's argument – and Mather's half-hearted assent – one step further, Christianity, then, as purported heir to Judaism equally derives its origin and legitimization from ritual and sacrificial practices with roots in paganism. But this conclusion did not become accepted until widely disseminated by German Higher Criticism in the nineteenth century. In some way, Mather must have

⁷⁴ See especially F. Parente, "Spencer, Maimonides" (2006) and D. Levin's *Ancient Wisdom* (2015), ch. 3.

⁷⁵ Justin Champion's *Pillars of Priestcraft* (esp. 133–69) and *Republican Learning* (167–212) provide excellent analyses of the subversive tendencies of the age. In his *Clidophorus* (1720), Toland specifically rejects the idea that the Egyptians received their wisdom from Moses: "But you will ask, from what Original did it [ancient philosophy] proceed? From the *Jews*, say some, who suppose that the ancient Barbaric Nations received all their Wisdom from *Moses* or *Abraham*. As for *Moses*, it appears from the Sacred Scriptures, that the *Egyptian* Wisdom was more ancient than his [Moses], and he was a Disciple rather than a Teacher of that learned Nation. ... Therefore the Wisdom of the Egyptians could not be first born with *Moses*; but we must trace its Original from a higher Spring" [Noah] (241, 243–46).

been conscious that this new type of biblical criticism was very different from the partisan bickering of Protestant sectarianism. The stakes were much higher. Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana," then, is a historical record of the Enlightenment debates that contributed to the breakdown of the old, established order, and to the destabilization of the Bible's authority. If nothing else, "Biblia Americana" reveals that in his embrace of Newtonian science as well as of philological and historical-contextual criticism, Mather had long transcended the regional scope of his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) with its focus on New-England's place in providential history. In his "Biblia Americana," then, he carved out an intellectual space in which he could converse with his European colleagues on their terms.

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Section 3

Note on the Manuscript

Cotton Mather's commentary on the Pentateuch – Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy – consists of approximately 940 out of a total of c. 4,500 folios in manuscript and contains his longest (if not most detailed) annotations on any coherent unit of the Hebrew Scriptures or Old Testament.¹ The physical condition of the bound manuscript fascicles of Exodus through Deuteronomy (*BA* 2) shows similar wear and tear as that of Genesis (see *BA* 1:194–96). Nonetheless, the huge holograph manuscript is remarkably readable for its age and state of preservation. By all appearances, Mather did not use protective coversheets for the various fascicles and gatherings of each book of the Pentateuch. Those for Leviticus and Numbers were probably inserted at the time of their second binding – after the “Biblia” holograph was given to the Massachusetts Historical Society in the early nineteenth century (c. 1809). The coversheets for Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy are missing. Most likely they were lost through excessive handling or torn out and used as scrap paper (*BA* 1:212). This is especially evident on the remaining coversheets for Leviticus and Numbers, of which about two-thirds of the blank paper below their ornately written titles are torn off. This phenomenon is all too common for manuscripts of the period; handmade paper was expensive, and anyone who perused the “Biblia” manuscript may have been tempted to repurpose blank portions for note-taking. The extant coversheets for Leviticus and Numbers now serve as title pages and bear the following inscriptions in the upper-third of the page:

Illustrations
upon L E V I T I C U S.
and, respectively,
Illustrations
upon the Book of
Numbers.

¹ The Table of Contents of the holograph manuscript in the first volume of *Biblia Americana* (*BA* 1:61–62) itemizes the approximate length of each manuscript unit.

These titles are inscribed in the same flowing hand as that on the paper pasted to the spines of the bound fascicles. Sheets of paper from the same papermill were used as front- and end paper glued to the inside of the cardboard covers for each of the six bound volumes of the “Biblia Americana” holograph manuscript (see *BA* 1:53). These inscriptions are *not* in Cotton Mather’s hand but, very likely, in that of an early MHS librarian, because they appear on sheets of paper dating to the early nineteenth century. The paper of the coversheets, end papers, and spine bear the following countersigns:

C BURBANK
1804

They are associated with the papermill of Caleb and Abijah Burbank, of Sutton, MA (Worcester County), who supplied Isaiah Thomas and many other printers with high-quality paper.

Measurements, Watermarks, and Countermarks:
Paper Use in the “Biblia” on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers,
and Deuteronomy²

Because Mather gathered material for his Bible commentary over more than three decades (1693–1728), his more than 4,500 manuscript folios underwent innumerable changes. He cancelled and interpolated whole paragraphs, replaced entire fascicles of material with new collections of notes gleaned from more up-to-date sources, and interleaved fresh extracts on whole folios and half or quarto sheets between conjugate or loose leaves, by pasting them in the margins or gutter with sealing wax. His replacement of matter is particularly apparent in the different sizes of his individual manuscript sheets.

Table of Paper Size and Watermarks

Exodus, chs. 1–40:

[1r–1v]		[2r–2v]		[3r–3v]		[4r–4v]		[5r–5v]		[6r–6v]	
H	300	H	200	H	315	H	200	H	302	H	302
W	195	W	150	W	195	W	158	W	194	W	190
G	15, 21	G	14, 16	G	25, 25	G	19, 20	G	25, 25	G	25, 25
WM:	(A)	WM:	—	WM:	(B)	WM:	—	WM:	—	WM:	—
CM:	—	CM:	—	CM:	—	CM:	—	CM:	—	CM:	—

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

[7r–7v]	[8r–8v]	[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12r–13v]
H 200	H 190	H 224	H 305	H 319	H 195
W 160	W 160	W 165	W 205	W 205	W 155
G 15, 20	G 15, 15	G 15, 15	G 20, 30	G 20, 35	G 20, 18
WM: (M)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (E)	WM: (F)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>D</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[14r–14v]	[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]	[17r–18v]	[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]
H 195	H 305	H 305	H 315	H 195	H 312
W 160	W 195	W 195	W 195	W 150	W 195
G 15, 15	G 20, 22	G 25, 25	G 20, 20	G 18, 18	G 22, 22
WM: (F)	WM: (G)	WM: (H)	WM: (I)	WM: —	WM: (J)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[21r–21v]	[22r–22v]	[23r–23v]	[24r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[27r–27v]
H 310	H 160	H 195	H 308	H 305	H 197
W 195	W 100	W 145	W 195	W 180	W 155
G 25, 25	G 15	G 17, 17	G 25, 25	G 20	G 16, 16
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (H)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>D</i>	CM: —
[28r–28v]	[29r–29v]	[30r–30v]	[31r–31v]	[Attachmt]	[32r–32v]
H 308	H 315	H 290	H 304	H 158	H 270
W 190	W 195	W 180	W 195	W 95	W 176
G 20, 20	G 22, 22	G 19, 19	G 25, 25	G 10, 10	G 20, 15
WM: (K)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: (M)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>L</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[33r–34v]	[35r–35v]	[36r–36v]	[37r–37v]	[38r–38v]	[39r–39v]
H 305	H 215	H 300	H 190	H 302	H 193
W 195	W 165	W 190	W 95	W 190	W 150
G 25, 25	G 20, 20	G 18, 18	G 25, 25	G 22, 22	G 15, 15
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (K)	WM: (K)	WM: (K)	WM: —
CM: <i>N</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[40r–40v]	[41r–42v]	[43r–45v]	[46r–46v]	[47r–47v]	[48r–48v]
H 197	H 192	H 303	H 320	H 218	H 195
W 155	W 155	W 190	W 200	W 155	W 155
G 19, 19	G 16, 16	G 18, 18	G 20, 20	G 19, 19	G 17, 17
WM: (P)	WM: (I)	WM: (K)	WM: (I)	WM: —	WM: (S)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[49r–49v]	[50r–50v]	[51r–51v]	[52r–52v]	[53r–57v]	[58r–58v]
H 303	H 300	H 195	H 190	H 310	[H 192
W 195	W 185	W 138	W 145	W 195	W 150
G 20, 15	G 15, 20	G 15, 15	G 18, 18	G 20, 20	G 15, 15
WM: (T)	WM: —	WM: (U)	WM: (M)	WM: (M)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —

[59r–59v]	[60r–60v]	[61r–61v]	[62r–62v]	[63r–63v]	[Attachmt]
H 315	H 302	H 301	H 305	H 301	H 165
W 195	W 185	W 180	W 190	W 192	W 104
G 25, 20	G 15, 15	G 17, 17	G 20, 20	G 17, 17	G 15
WM: (W)	WM: (K)	WM: —	WM: (K)	WM: —	WM: (I)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —
[64r–64v]	[65r–65v]	[66r–67v]	[68r–69v]	[70r–70v]	[71r–72v]
H 312	H 195	H 304	H 225	H 195	H 308
W 195	W 150	W 190	W 160	W 150	W 190
G 20, 20	G 19, 19	G 19, 15	G 16, 16	G 16, 16	G 27, 27
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (K)	WM: (H)	WM: (S)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[72r–72v]	[73r–73v]	[74r–74v]	[75r–75v]	[76r–76v]	[77r–77v]
H 307	H 305	H 307	H 190	H 200	H 310
W 195	W 190	W 195	W 150	W 150	W 195
G 25, 25	G 30, 30	G 20, 20	G 15, 15	G 20, 20	G 15, 15
WM: (T)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (U)	WM: (X)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[78r–78v]	[79r–79v]				
H 190	H 310				
W 150	H 195				
G 16, 16	G 20, 20				
WM: (S)	WM: (X)				
CM: —	CM: —				

Leviticus, chs. 1–27:

[1r–1v] (torn)	[2r–2v]	[3r–3v]	[4r–4v]	[5r–9v]	[10r–10v]
H 115–122	H 304	H 310	H 198	H 303	H 320
W 190	W 185	W 195	W 150	W 193	W 212
G —	G 23, 23	G 15, 15	G 16, 16	G 15, 18	G 20, 16
WM: —	WM: (G)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Y)	WM: (Ba)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —
[11r–11v]	[12r–12v]	[13r–13v]	[14r–14v]	[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]
H 303	H 200	H 196	H 303	H 300	H 315
W 100	Q 160	W 150	W 190	W 195	W 195
G 15	G 15, 15	G 15, 18	G 20, 18	G 20, 20	G 18, 15
WM: (K)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Da)	WM: (Aa)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Z</i>	CM: <i>Z</i>	CM: —	CM: —
[17r–19r]	[20r–20v]	[21r–22v]	[23r–24v]	[24r–24v]	[Attachmt]
H 304	H 315	H 304	H 270	H 195	H 120
W 200	W 212	W 194	W 165	W 159	W 70
G 20, 20	G 25, 20	G 23, 22	G 15, 15	G 15, 16	G 8
WM: (Da)	WM: (Ba)	WM: —	WM: (Ca)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —

[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[Attachmt]	[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–30v]
H 190	H 200	H 115	H 300	H 197	H 302
W 155	W 160	W 120	W 194	W 155	W 193
G 15, 17	G 15, 15	G 10	G 20, 20	G 18, 18	G 20, 17
WM: (S)	WM: (M)	WM: —	WM: (Y)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: Z	CM: R, Z
[31r–31v]	[32r–32v]	[33r–33v]	[34r–35v]	[36r–36v]	[37r–37v]
H 190	H 195	H 287	H 310	H 302	H 195
W 155	W 150	W 190	W 195	W 195	W 150
G 17, 17	G 15, 15	G 20, 20	G 20, 15	G 17, 17	G 15, 15
WM: (Y)	WM: —	WM: (Da)	WM: ?	WM: (Z)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: X	CM: —	CM: —
[38r–39v]	[40r–40v]	[41r–41v]	[Attachm]	[42r–42v]	[43r–43v]
H 302	H 205	H 300	H 174	H 195	H 303
W 187	W 165	W 185	W 60	W 150	W 195
G 18, 18	G 17, 17	G 17, 17	G —	G 17, 17	G 15, 20
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Y)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Da)
CM: R, Z	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: Fa	CM: —
[44r–44v]	[45r–45v]	[46r–46v]	[47r–47v]	[48r–49v]	[50r–50v]
H 308	H 315	H 320	H 318	H 317	H 317
W 200	W 200	W 200	W 200	W 205	W 205
G 18, 20	G 12, 12	G 15, 15	G 15, 15	G 18, 15	G 17, 20
WM: —	WM: (G)	WM: (G)	WM: —	WM: (G)	WM: —
CM: Ga	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: R
[51r–52v]	[53–53v]	[54r–54v]	[55r–55v]	[56r–56v]	[57r–57v]
H 302	H 301	H 125	H 303	H 300	H 314
W 190	W 190	W 200	W 100	W 190	W 200
G 15, 20	G 20, 20	G 25, 25	G 20	G 17, 17	G 20, 20
WM: (Da)	WM: —	WM: (K)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: Z	CM: R	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: Ha
[Attachmt]	[58r–58v]	[59r–59v]	[Attachmt]	[60r–60v]	[61r–61v]
H 190	H 302	H 300	H 150	H 188	H 304
W 78	W 195	W 190	W 85	W 150	W 175
G 18	G 15	G 20, 20	G 10, 15	G 15, 12	G 17, 17
WM: —	WM: (Da)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (T)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: D	CM: —	CM: R	CM: —
[62r–62v]	[63r–63v]	[64r–64v]	[65r–75v]	[76r–77v]	
H 195	H 308	H 310	H 310	H 305	
W 154	W 190	W 210	W 190	W 190	
G 15, 17	G 16, 16	G 18, 17	G 18, 18	G 16, 18	
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: —	
CM: —	CM: Ia	CM: —	CM: Ja	CM: Ia	

Numbers, chs. 1–36:

[1r–1v]	[2r–4v]	[5r–5v]	[6r–7v]	[8r–8v]	[Attachmt]
H 95	H 200	H 188	H 207	H 310	H 95
W 186	W 155	W 152	W 150	W 195	W 155
G 12, 11	G 16, 16	G 15, 16	G 12, 16	G 20, 18	G 17
WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —
[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12–12v]	[13r–14v]	[15r–16v]
H 317	H 197	H 187	H 308	H 330	H 194
W 195	W 155	W 145	W 195	W 210	W 153
G 17, 15	G 15, 15	G 15, 17	G 17, 15	G 10, 15	G 15, 15
WM: (Aa)	WM: —	WM: (Y)	WM: —	WM: (Ca)	WM: (M)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>la</i>	CM: —	CM: —
[17r–17v]	[18r–18v]	[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]	[21r–21v]	[22r–23v]
H 308	H 302	H 310	H 200	H 304	H 306
W 200	W 195	W 200	W 150	W 195	W 195
G 18, 18	G 20, 20	G 20, 15	G 12, 12	G 25, 25	G 20, 20
WM: —	WM: (H)	WM: (S)	WM: —	WM: (H)	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>la</i>
[24r–24v]	[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]	[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–30v]
H 192	H 305	H 307	H 194	H 192	H 318
W 150	W 190	W 195	W 150	W 155	W 200
G 15, 15	G 20, 20	G 25, 25	G 16, 16	G 16, 16	G 20, 15
WM: —	WM: (Y)	WM: (T)	WM: (M)	WM: —	WM: (G)
CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ja</i>	CM: —
[31r–31v]	[32r–32v]	[33r–33v]	[34r–34v]	[Attachmt]	[35r–35v]
H 192	H 310	H 193	H 304	H 150	H 190
W 155	W 200	W 150	W 195	W 83	W 150
G 18, 20	G 15, 13	G 17, 17	G 25, 27	G 12	G 15, 15
WM: —	WM: (X)	WM: (M)	WM: (T)	WM: —	WM: (M)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[36r–36v]	[37r–37v]	[38r–38v]	[39r–39v]	[40r–40v]	[41r–41v]
H 200	H 190	H 307	H 188	H 200	H 304
W 155	W 150	W 200	W 155	W 160	W 195
G 15, 15	G 15, 15	G 25, 25	G 18, 18	G 17, 17	G 30, 30
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (C)	WM: —	WM: (H)
CM: <i>Ka</i>	CM: <i>Ja</i>	CM: <i>La</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[42r–42v]	[43r–43v]	[44r–44v]	[45r–45v]	[46r–46v]	[47r–47v]
H 190	H 303	H 186	H 193	H 305	H 194
W 155	W 195	W 150	W 145	W 195	W 155
G 17, 16	G 24, 22	G 18, 17	G 15, 15	G 20, 22	G 17
WM: —	WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: —
CM: <i>la</i>	CM: <i>Ma</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ja</i>

[48r–48v]	[49r–49v]	[50r–5v]	[51r–53v]	[54r–54v]	[55r–55v]
H 330	H 315	H 200	H 196	H 305	MAP
W 210	W 195	W 155	W 155	W 200	H 225
G 20, 20	G 20, 20	G 15, 15	G 17, 17	G 10, 10	W 307
WM: —	WM: (Ca)	WM: —	WM: (Da)	WM: —	G —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ja</i>	CM: <i>Ka</i>	WM: —
					CM: —
[56r–57v]	[58r–58v]	[59r–59v]	[60r–60v]		
H 287	H 196	H 190	H 195		
W 176	W 155	W 156	W 155		
G 12, 12	G 18, 18	G 20, 18	G 17, 17		
WM: M	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —		
CM: <i>Na</i>	CM: —	CM: <i>Oa</i>	CM: <i>Ja</i>		

Deuteronomy, chs. 1–34:

[1r–2v]	[3r–3v]	[4r–4v]	[5r–5v]	[6r–6v]	[7r–7v]
H 197	H 305	H 195	H 314	H 185	H 304
W 155	W 195	W 155	W 190	W 150	W 190
G 16, 17	G 20, 20	G 20, 10	G 20, 19	G 15, 15	G 20, 18
WM: (P)	WM: (H)	WM: (S)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (G)
CM: <i>Ia</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[8r–8v]	[9r–9v]	[10r–10v]	[11r–11v]	[12r–12v]	[13r–14v]
H 190	H 205	H 307	H 195	H 305	H 290
W 150	W 155	W 200	W 155	W 180	W 175
G 18, 18	G 15, 17	G 22, 22	G 15, 15	G 17, 17	G 20, 18
WM: (Da)	WM: —	WM: (X)	WM: (M)	WM: —	WM: (Pa)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: <i>R</i>
[15r–15v]	[16r–16v]	[17r–17v]	[18r–18v]	[19r–19v]	[20r–20v]
H 195	H 315	H 304	H 195	H 190	H 183
W 155	W 190	W 190	W 155	W 150	W 155
G 14, 14	G 20, 20	G 25, 25	G 17	G 16, 16	G 17, 17
WM: (M)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: —
CN: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[21r–21v]	[22r–22v]	[23r–23v]	[24r–24v]	[25r–25v]	[26r–26v]
H 185	H 185	H 315	H 193	H 315	H 190
W 150	W 145	W 200	W 155	W 200	W 150
G 12, 12	G 15, 15	G 15, 13	G 15, 15	G 20, 18	G 18, 18
WM: (K)	WM: —	WM: (G)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (M)
CM: —	CM: <i>R</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Qa</i>	CM: —

[27r–27v]	[28r–28v]	[29r–29v]	[30r–30v]	[Attachmt]	[31r–31v]
H 192	H 217	H 210	H 210	H 157	H 208
W 155	W 157	W 150	W 155	W 94	W 150
G 18, 18	G 19, 17	G 17, 17	G 15, 13	G 18	G 18
WM: —	WM: (Ra)	WM: (Ka)	WM: (P)	WM: (M)	WM: —
CM: <i>Ia</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[32r–32v]	[33r–33v]	[34r–34v]	[35r–36v]	[37r–37v]	[38r–39v]
H 187	H 301	196	H 305	H 313	H 315
W 150	W 190	W 150	W 200	W 195	W 198
G 15, 15	G 17, 17	G 17, 18	G 25, 23	G 18, 18	G 20, 17
WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —	WM: (Aa)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ia</i>	CM: <i>Sa</i>	CM: <i>Ga</i>	CM: —
[Attachmt]	[40r–40v]	[41r–41v]	[42r–42v]	[43–43v]	[44r–45v]
H 203	H 312	H 191	H 304	H 250	H 310
W 80	W 195	W 150	W 195	W 150	W 200
G 14	G 15	G 16, 16	G 25, 25	G 18, 18	G 18, 18
WM: (Ta)	WM: —	WM: (Y)	WM: —	WM: (Ca)	WM: (Aa)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: —
[46r–46v]	[47r–47v]	[48r–48v]	[49r–49v]	[50r–51v]	[52r–52v]
H 300	H 310	H 305	H 310	H 307	H 305
W 195	W 195	W 200	W 195	W 195	W 190
G 18, 18	G 17, 17	G 28, 28	G 15, 15	G 18, 17	G 17, 17
WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: (T)	WM: —	WM: (M)	WM: (M)
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ja</i>	CM: <i>N</i>	CM: —
[53r–53v]	[54r–54v]	[55r–56v]	[57r–58v]	[Attachmt]	[59r–59v]
H 192	H 304	H 310	H 310	H 145	H 192
W 150	W 200	W 195	W 200	W 67	W 155
G 20, 20	G 25, 25	G 17, 17	G 23, 20	G —	G 17, 17
WM: (Da)	WM: (Ba)	WM: —	WM: (Ua)	WM: —	WM: —
CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ia</i>	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ja</i>
[60r–60v]	[Attachment]	[Attachment]	[61r–61v]		
H 300	H 157	H 145	H 195		
W 195	W 94	W 68	W 155		
G 25, 25	G 14	G —	G 15, 15		
WM: (H)	WM: —	WM: —	WM: —		
CM: —	CM: —	CM: —	CM: <i>Ja</i>		

As can be gathered from the above tables, Mather introduced innumerable changes in the “Biblia” manuscript – substantive revisions of the text as well as interpolations and excisions of whole leaves and entire fascicles. These changes are noticeable in the varying heights [H] and widths [W] of each individual leaf, as well as in the breadth of the gutter [G] or margins. The four stages of growth of the “Biblia” holograph manuscript and the approximate dates for Mather’s revisions are discussed in *BA* (1:50–66).

To simplify the process of identifying each watermark (WM) and countermark (CM), I have assigned alphabetical letters to each group of WM and keyed them to their depiction in the standard catalogues accessible in most research libraries.³ However, the process of establishing the exact WM and CM is fraught with great difficulties: Signature designs such as the London Coat-of-Arms, the Arms of England, Lilies, Cross and Lions, Post Horns, were extremely popular in Mather's time; moreover, paper makers and owners of paper mills in the Netherlands, France, England, or N America were not shy about copying each other's designs or introducing minor variants – perhaps to mislead their customers about the origin and quality of the paper. Variants of these WM were numerous and puzzling; they might only differ in some minute details such as more elaborate gowns, larger or smaller shields, crowns with straight or curved horns, or pots and vases surrounded by slightly different garlands and ornaments. If that were not enough, deciphering barely visible, smudged, or incomplete WM is a real challenge, especially when the manuscript leaves are bound into fascicles and limit access to WM and CM buried in the gutter of the binding. Much the same is true for CM that are separated from their corresponding WM. In numerous cases, reconstructing their design – let alone identifying the paper makers or year of production – amounts to informed guesswork.

The WM and CM references listed in the Tables (above) are given in alphabetical order from (A) to (Z) and from (Aa) to (Ua). CM consist mostly of the initials of names or of fanciful doodles. They are keyed to the designs reproduced in the catalogues of watermarks listed in footnote 3 (above). For a detailed description of the WM and CM, see *BA* (1:200–2002).

(C), (F), (M), (S), (Da) **London Coat-of-Arms**

The WM in (C), (M), and (Da) are most like those in Heawood (PL 78 # 466, # 473), Gravell (p. 70 # 188), and Churchill (PL CCCXIV # 243). Heawood's dates are London, 1722; Gravell's Philadelphia, 1714; and Churchill's Amsterdam, 1707. (F) and (S) are most like Heawood (PL 79 # 478), Gravell (p. 70 # 190), and Churchill (PL CCXIII # 240). Heawood's date for (F) is London, 1708; for (S) England, 1700. Gravell's for (F) and (S) is Philadelphia, 1716; Churchill's for (F) and (S) are 1692.

3 Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper used in America, 1700–1835* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1983); William Algernon Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, and France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: Menno Hertzberger, 1935; rpt. Nieuwkoop: B. De Graff, 1990); Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: Paper Publications Society, 1950; rpt. Hilversum, Netherlands: Paper Publications Society, 1981); and Alfred H. Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England 1495–1800* (Hilversum, Netherlands: Paper Publications Society, 1957).

(I) and (Q) Arms of England

The WM in (I) and (Q) are closest to the ones depicted in Heawood (PL 76 # 451) and are by him dated to England, 1694; Churchill (PL CLXXXVIII # 212) assigns the date of 1690.

(A), (H), (K), (T), (W), (Y), (Aa), and (Ua) Fleur-de-Lis

The WM in (A) is closest in design to Heawood (PL 225 # 1662); those in (H) and (T) to Heawood (PL 224 # 1651); those in (K), (W), (Y), and (Aa) to Heawood (PL 226 # 1673 and PL 227 # 1627); those in (K), (Y), and (Aa) to Churchill (PL CCLXXXIX # 390 and PL CCXCI # 395). According to Heawood, the paper of (A) was made in London, between 1678–80, but (H) and (T) are without place or date. Churchill assigns a date of 1684 for (K), (W), (Y), (Aa), and (Ua) but without place of origin.

(B), (Pa) Fleur-de-Lis

The WM in (B) – only dimly visible on the ms page – looks similar to the shield in Heawood (PL 236 # 1746) but without crown above and wreath of lilies below the shield. The WM in (Pa) closely resembles those in the preceding category, except that it lacks shield and gown. It is closest in design to Heawood (PL 210 # 1528) and is dated to 1690 (London).

(G), (J), (P), (X), (Fa), and (Ta) Horn

The WM and CM in (G), (J), (P), (X), (Fa), and (Ta) are almost identical with the design in Gravell (p. 106 # 338) and in Heawood (PL 342 # 2688 and PL 357 # 2780), except that they all differ slightly in size: (X) is the largest one, measuring 90 mm by 55 mm. All others are somewhat smaller and measure from 55 mm by 35 mm for (P) and 65 mm by 44 mm for (G), (J), (Fa), and (Ta). The CM for all of them consists of the abbreviation HG – in as far as they are not lost in the gutter or through excision. Gravell assigns the date of 1693; Heawood dates them to 1686 and 1684, respectively.

(Ca) Coat of Arms / Arms of Amsterdam

(Ca) is the most elaborate WM in the entire bundle and is closest in appearance to Heawood (PL 73 # 437), Gravell (p. 79 # 225), and Churchill (PL III # 1). Whereas Heawood assigns the date “after 1694,” Gravell dates it to 1745 and Churchill to 1635. The design’s close similarity to others in this category allows for differing conclusions.

(Ha) and (Ka) Circles

WM (Ha) consist of three horizontally aligned circles that touch the circumference of the middle circle. It is closest to Heawood (PL 49 # 317) but without crucifix. (Ka) consists of three touching vertical circles topped by

a three-pronged boxy-looking crown (like a trident). A cross – like that in Heawood (PL 46 # 250) – appears in the first circle, a capital letter L in the middle circle, and capital I in the bottom circle. The crown looks most like that in Heawood (PL 46 # 263).

(Ra) **Coat of Arms**

This WM consists of a crowned oval, a large cross inside the oval, and two spiky lions on the outside of the oval, facing each other. The design looks most like that in Heawood (PL 116 # 742) and Churchill (PL CDIV # 555) but without circles below the oval. Heawood dates this WM to 1678 (London).

(Ba) **Hats**

This WM consists of three interconnected u-shaped hats that most closely resemble the design in Heawood (PL 334 # 2599) and by him dated 1694 and made in Padua (Italy).

Alphabetical Countersigns

(D), (L), (N), (O), (R), (V), (Z), (Fa), (Ga), (La), (Na), and (Oa)

These CM are the initials of papermakers' names but difficult to match up with any of the above-named WM from which they are completely separated. The alphabetical CM – generally never larger than 15 mm by 20 mm – are HD in (D) and (R), HC in (J) and (Fa), VI in (L), GG in (N), G in (O), H in (V), DS in (Z), MC in (Ga), PC in (La), IVC in (Na), and AR in (Oa).

Symbolic and Incomplete Countersigns

(E), (Ea), (Ia), (Ja), (Ma) (Qa), (Sa)

The CM in (E) consists of the Greek capital lambda Λ (or upside-down capital V) and left-leaning D; the pointed end of Λ is linked with a short horizontal and long vertical line ending in what appears to be a heart-shaped design. The vertical line separates both capital letters. The CM in (Ea) consists of a rectangular box (8 mm by 50 mm) and contains one horn at each end and a cloverleaf without stem in the middle. CM (Ia) consists of the capital letters C and H; the letter C above the H is pierced by a single line resting on the crossbeam of the letter H. This design is closest to that in Heawood (PL 377 # 2943 and 2946). CM (Ja) is similar in design to the preceding one, except that an elongated letter P rests on the crossbeam of the letter H. This design is closest to Heawood (PL 376 # 2935). CM (Ma) consists of interlinked single-lined capital letters T and M (10 mm by 20 mm). CM (Qa) consists of a small crescent moon with what appears to be a chalice at its center. This moon-shaped design hovers over a capital letter X interlinked by two elbow-like lines on the right side. CM (Sa) looks like a rectangular numeral 3 resting on a short horizontal line.

Editorial Principles

A detailed description of the Editorial Principles that inform *all* printed volumes of *Biblia Americana* is given in *BA* (1:203–10).

PART 2

THE TEXT

Exodus.

Class. i.

2. The Twelve sons of Jacob, was taken, and
of Nusscher Twelve, any thing remarkable
in them is signified that Nusscher. 1. 1.

A. They were son of Twelve Generation, from
of first (Christians) that was Born after
of Flood.

A. In Genesis, it is said, that of Jacob, 12
sons called, the Sons of Jacob, 12
sons called, the Sons of Jacob, 12
sons called, the Sons of Jacob, 12

2. Does (Jacob) Nusscher mention any thing
of the sufferings of the Israelites under the King of
Egypt?

A. Yes; the oppressor of Israel, was the King of
Egypt, and a Tyrant of Egypt.

Not were the great acts of Joseph in Egypt
precedent to them, which were celebrated by the
Hebrews pagans. Joseph particularly

appears in that Joseph was a young
man of his brother, and that they, trading
in the land of Egypt, sold him into Egypt, where
in a little while, he became a great Pa-

triar of the King. He adds, that when
they were very poor, in the day of mourning
of the King, that found out the truth

of the truth of Joseph. The security with
which Joseph in Egypt, had for so many years
before it came. The land had prospered

of the King had not, by his having
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2. Does first of Name (Pharaoh),
to be of Royal Name of Egypt, for
of Name Conson to the King of that
country. What may be the true
Original Etymology of that Name? 1. 1.

A. Not that I know, which has been con-
monly given. I suppose
to come from a word פֶּרֶץ פֶּרֶץ
sufficient, to be at a great victory.

It is that which the King of all Ages
have, (probably) originally, when
by conquest, they have conquered
others. When Sennacherib, descended

into Israel, the King of the
King, as it was then given, and
by the King of other Nations, had

particular, out with all the colour of
of most of the King of the King.

Herodotus also, in his
-tary, will sufficiently show, that
the King of the King, and the King

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298.

Q. The *Twelve* Sons of *Jacob*, was there, besides the Number *Twelve*, any thing Remarkable in them to signalize that *Number*? v. 1.

A. They were just the *Twelfth* Generation, from the first (*Arphaxad*) that was Born after the *Flood*.²

Q. A Remark on, *The Book of Exodus*? v. 1.

A. The Book of *Exodus*, was by the Ancient Jews called, *The Book of Redemption*. And, Luk. IX.31. The Work of *Redemption* is called, *Exodus*.³

899.

Q. Does Pagan Antiquitie mention any thing of the Sufferings of the Israelites under the King of *Egypt*?

A. Yes; the Oppressor of *Israel*, was the same that the Gentiles call, *Busiris*, a Tyrant of *Egypt*, and a *Sacrificer of Strangers*.⁴

Nor were the great Acts of *Joseph* in *Egypt*, præcedent here unto, uncelebrated by the Ancient Pagans. *Justin* particularly acquaints us, That *Joseph* was the youngest of his *Brethren*, and that They, dreading his excellent Witt, sold

1 For a useful modern survey of the main historical, textual, and interpretive problems of the second book of Moses, see B. S. Childs's *Introduction* (1979), pp. 161–79, and W. H. C. Propp's *The Anchor Bible Exodus* (1998).

2 Son of Shem and grandson of Noah, Arphaxad, also Arpachshad (Gen. 11:10–13) was born two years after the Flood and is the purported progenitor of the Chaldeans. Archbishop James Ussher's date agrees with that of the KJV, in *Annals of the World* (1658), p. 3, but the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (c. 37–c. 100 CE) lists “twelve years after the Deluge” (*Antiquities* 1.6.4–5). See also *ABD*. On Ussher's chronology, see J. Barr, “Why the World” (1985).

3 Variouslly called שְׁמוֹת [*Shemoth*] or, וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת [*ve'elleh shemoth*] signifying “And these are the names” (the Hebrew opening phrase in Exod. 1:1), the second book of the Pentateuch is generally identified by its Latin title *Exodus* and signifies “the way out” or “departure” and thus by implication “redemption from captivity.” Mather here alludes to R. Moshe ben Nachman of Gerona (1194–1270), aka. Ramban and Nachmanides, whose *Commentary on the Torah* (2:626) refers to Exodus as “the Book of Redemption” /סֵפֶר הַגְּאֻלָּה/. See *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* (1:xiii). Mather's reference to Luke 9:31 alludes to Christ's death at Jerusalem (foretold by Moses and Elias), and allegorically, to the exodus of the redeemed from mortal sin through Christ's propitiation.

4 Mather mentions the legendary Busiris (Bousiris), son of Poseidon (Neptune) and Lysianassa, renowned for his cruelty to strangers. According to Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 2.5.11), Busiris sacrificed foreign visitors to Zeus, but was himself slain when Heracles (Hercules) arrived and vanquished the eponymous tyrant (Herodotus 2.45, 59, 61; Strabo 17.1.19; Diodorus Siculus 4.18.1, 4.27.2–3). See also *LCD* 124–25 and *KP* 1:974.

him into *Egypt*, where in a little while, hee became a great Favourite of the King. Hee adds, "This Man was very skilful in the doing of *Wonders*, & was the first that found out the Interpretation of *Dreams*. The Scarcity which happened in *Egypt*, hee foresaw many Years before it came. The Land had perished, if the King had not, by his Advice, laid up Corn in Store. Hee was a Kind of Divine Oracle, and consulted by the World, because of his infinite Sagacitie, his Transcendent Wisdome, and Knowledge."⁵

Q. What might bee the True Name of the *Egyptian* King, who first began to afflict the *Israelites*?

A. Dr. *Usher*, thinks, that Chronology will well allow it to bee *Ramesses Miamun*; whose Name also seems to have given Appellation unto one of the Cities in building whereof the *Israelites* were employ'd.⁶

That learned Man also thinks, that *Ramesses Miamun*, might bee the same with *Neptune*; *Mia* having affinity with *Moy*, which, according to *Josephus*, in the ancient *Egyptian* Language, signifies, *Water*. *Neptune* is also said, to bee the Father of *Busiris*, who at this Time, Tyrannizing, about the River *Nile*, cruelly slew such Strangers as came anear him. His Name was also *Amenophis*; and the Story may well enough bee taken from their Cruelty to the *Israelites*.⁷ A. *Gellius* tells us, That the Poets call'd Bloody Men, by the Name of *Neptune*; as born of

5 Justin, i. e., the Roman historian Iustinus Marcus Iunianus (3rd c. CE) is principally remembered for his epitome of Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus's *Historiae Philippicae et totius mundi originis et terrae situs*, a history of the world (late 1st c. BCE). Numerous Latin and English editions were available throughout Mather's lifetime. The Latin original of the citation appears in *Historiarum Philippicarum in Epitomen Redacti A. M. Iuniano Iustino* (36.2.6–10), which Mather also quotes (at second hand) in his commentary on Gen. 4:24 (*BA* 1:525). See also Robert Cordington's popular *History of Justin*, fourth edition (1682), pp. 251–52.

6 There is no unanimity about the time period, name, or dynasty of the Egyptian king of the Mosaic exodus – as is apparent from the various appellations and dates employed by historians in Mather's time. According to Ussher's influential chronology *Annales Veteris Testamentum* (1650), pp. 17, 18, Pharaoh Ramesses Miamun (Armesses Miammoun) ruled for more than sixty-six years (AM 2427 to 2494; or BCE 1577–1511), the length of his reign being derived from an extant fragment of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (*epitome*) (fragments 50, 51, # 16), a history of ancient Egypt, by the Egyptian priest Manetho of Heliopolis (fl. 280 BCE). However, this fragment, surviving in Theophilus's *Ad Autolyceus* (3.19) appears to be based on a chronology by Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.15.93) and identifies "Tethmosis" (Thutmose), one of the four pharaohs of that name in Dynasties XVIII/XIX (c. 1580–1293 BCE), as the king who expelled the Israelites. The Egyptian city named after Ramesses – Ussher believes – is "Raamsis" or "Ramestis" (*Annales* 18). Modern dates for Pharaoh Ramesses II's rulership over Egypt are given as BCE 1279–1212 (*ABD*, *HBD*).

7 Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.15). The (untrustworthy) linguistic derivation of names is a close paraphrase of Ussher's *Annales* (18) and derives from Suidas (*Suda*), *Lexicon* (alphabetic letter **mu**, entry 1347), which associates the root *Mōv* [*Moy*], among the Egyptians, with τὸ ὕδωρ (the water). Neptune's paternity is acknowledged by Apollodorus (2.5.11). Mather thus links the mythical story of ruthless Busiris with the Egyptian pharaoh of the Exodus saga.

the Raging Sea.⁸ Behold then a sufficient Reason, why *Ramesses Miamun* should be called so! T'was for his Inhumanity to the *Israelites*, & their Children.

There is a famous Fragment of *Manethon* quoted by *Josephus*, which makes the Name of this King to be *Timaus*.⁹

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. The marvellous *Increase of the Israelites in Egypt?* v. 7.

A. Because there are used *Six Words* in all, to express this Increase, tis concluded by some of the Hebrewes, that they brought forth *Six Children* at a Birth. Others conclude it, because the Word, *Jischretzu*, is used here; which is a Word whereby the *Increase of Fishes*, is expressed.¹⁰ (Gen. 1.20.) *Theodoric Hacsban* observes this, one of *Baal-hatturim* and *Jalkut*, & thinks, the Tradition is not to be rejected.¹¹

⁸ The Roman author Aulus Gellius (c. 125/128–post 180 CE) describes the aquatic origin of Neptune (Poseidon) in his *Noctes Atticae* (2.28.1; 13.27.3).

⁹ Manetho, *Aegyptiaca* 2.75 (fragm. 42) relates that “invaders of an obscure race” (Hyksos) overran Egypt during the reign of Tutimaecus (Timaecus), in Dynasty XIII (c. 1800–1650 BCE). This extant fragment survives in Josephus’s *Contra Apion* (1.14). See also J. Tait, “The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views” (23–37).

¹⁰ The six Hebrew words (Exod. 1:7) are פָּרוּ וַיִּשְׂרְצוּ וַיִּרְבוּ וַיִּעֲצְמוּ בְמֵאֵד מְאֹד – all linked with fertility: fruitful, swarm (prolific), become many, vast (numerous), exceedingly, mighty. מדרש תנחומא *Midrash Tanchuma* (Shemos 1:22) offers a superlative explication: Rabbi Yanai opines that the six words referring to fecundity signify sextuplets. Yet others argue that these six phrases suggest that Hebrew women “bore twelve children.” For “the multiples mentioned in the verse [Exod. 1:7] equals twelve.” The most renowned of Europe’s medieval rabbis, Solomon Jarchi, aka. R. Shlomo Yitzchaki (1040–1105), best known by his acronym RASHI, wrote an acclaimed commentary on the Tanakh (Hebrew Bible) and Talmud. According to Rashi’s reading of *Midrash Rabbah* (Exodus 1:8), “each [Hebrew] woman bore six at one birth.” (See also Rashi’s *Commentarius Hebraicus* [1710], 399–400). This hyperbolic explanation was not unanimously accepted by any means (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:5–5a). The Hebrew word יִשְׂרָצוּ (Gen. 1:20) *swarm, teem*, suggesting *abundance* [Strong’s # B10679], is here linked with the phrase וַיִּשְׂרְצוּ [wayYishretzu] *and teeming* (Exod. 1:7). The fishlike spawning or multiplication of Jacob’s offspring in Egypt is also asserted by the French Roman Catholic Hebrew scholar Franciscus Vatablus (c. 1485–1547), in his *Biblia Sacra ... Annotationibus* [1546] (1729), on Exod. 1:7: “Vox Hebraea propriè de piscibus dicitur qui foetum edunt multiplicem & numerosum” (p. 77). The Dutch magistrate and professor of jurisprudence at Franeker, Paulus Busius, aka. Buis (c. 1565–1671), affirmatively cites Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 7.3.33–34) and Caius Julius Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi libri lvii* (1.50) that septuplets were born at a single birth, in Busius, *Commentarii in Pandectas D. Justiniani* (1614). Pliny believes that “drinking the water of the Nile causes fecundity” (*Naturalis Historia* 7.3.33). In his commentary on Exod. 12:37, Mather calculates how the Israelites might have multiplied during their residence in Egypt.

¹¹ Mather’s trusty primary source is Simon Patrick’s *Commentary Upon the Second Book of Moses, called Exodus* (1697) on Exod. 1:7 (*Exodus* 3), but here draws on the philological commentary, in *Notarum Philologico-Theologicarum* (1664), 1:273–77, by the German Lutheran professor of theology and Oriental languages at the University of Altdorf, Theodoricus Hackspanius (1607–59), who published several respected linguistic studies of biblical Hebrew. The observations on the commentary פירוש בעל הטורים על התורה *Perush Baal HaTurim al HaTorah* (2:516–17), by R. Yaakov ben Raash (c. 1275–c. 1340), son of R. Asher ben Yechiel (Rosh), on

Aristotle saies, The *Egyptian* Women were so fruitful, that some at *four* Births, brought forth *Twenty* Children. Caspar Schottus, names the Wife of a Citizen in *Florence*, who had *Fifty two* Children, & never less than *Three* at a Birth. He ha's collected a vast Number of Exemples of strange Fruitfulness.¹²

No body explains the Verse more soberly than Abarbanel.¹³

They were fruitful.] None were barren. They brought forth every Year.

They increased abundantly.] They commonly brought forth more than one at a time; as *Reptiles* do. Yett

They multiplied.] They grew up to be Men & Women, & lived to have Children of their own.¹⁴

[▽] [▽ Attachment verso]

Q. How could the *Egyptians*, pretend the *Israelites*, to be *more & mightier than they*? v. 9.

A. *More* in Proportion, And, q.d. *more* than we can safely allow of. So, as Mr. *Pyles* observes, the Word, *Mimennu*, may be justly translated.¹⁵

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

Sefer Jalcut, attributed to R. Shimon HaDarshan of Frankfurt (13th c.), and on Aristotle's *De Historia animalium* (7.5), appear in Hackspan's *Notarum* (1:273–274, 276).

¹² The Greek philosopher Aristotle (BCE 384–322) similarly describes the fruitfulness of Egyptian women, who sometimes gave birth to three or four children at a time. To top it all off, he relates that “There was once a certain woman who had twenty children at four births; each time she had five, and most of them grew up” (*History of Animals* 7.5; 584b, line 35). The German Jesuit scientist Caspar Schottus (1609–66) relates the prolific story of Helienora Salviata, spouse of the Florentine citizen Bartholomaeus Friscobaldus, in his popular collection of grotesquely shaped animals and humans *Physica Curiosae* (1662), lib. 3, cap. 29, p. 470.

¹³ The “sober” explication of the Sephardic philosopher and statesman Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel (1437–1508), aka. Abravanel, can be found in his *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosi* (1710), on *Shemos* (Exod. 1:7). Abarbanel pays heed to the verbals in this verse and finds proof for the Israelites’ uncommon fertility. See also Babylonian Talmud (Berachoth 7a). For a valuable survey of Abarbanel’s contribution to biblical scholarship, see E. Lawee’s “Isaac Abarbanel: From Medieval to Renaissance Jewish Biblical Scholarship” (190–214).

¹⁴ Abarbanel argues that the four adjectives in the Torah indicate the prolific birth rate of the Israelites: “When it tells us they were ‘fruitful,’ it means that miraculously, there weren’t any barren or childless couples among them. They were like a fruitbearing tree that produces its fruit with guaranteed reliability – year in year out. ‘They teemed’ ... means, they swarmed and they produced multiple births.” According to *Midrash Yilamdeinu*, “it was not uncommon for them to have sextuplets” yet without any diminution of body or health as it often happens with children of multiple birth. “They increased” means, “these babies did not die prematurely[;] they were not victims of a high mortality rate.” Lastly, “they became very strong,” which means, they grew up to be strong and robust, with good health and an unusual resistance to disease and sickness,” thus filling the land (*Selected Commentaries: Shemos/Exodus* 2:33, 34). Simon Patrick (*Exodus*, pp. 3–5) is Mather’s primary source for his commentary Exod. 1:7, but Patrick, too, relies on the standard sources of his predecessors.

¹⁵ An Anglican prebendary of Salisbury, Thomas Pyle (1674–c. 1756) published a conservative biblical commentary and paraphrase, which greatly appealed to Mather (*BA* 1:302–07). Here, Mather draws on Pyle’s annotation in *Paraphrase ... on the Books of the Old Testament* (1717), which clarifies that the Hebrew comparative “Mimennu” מִמֶּנּוּ “than we” (Exod 1:9)

122.

Q. Wee find the Name *Pharaoh*, to bee the Royal Name of *Egypt*, or the Name common to the Kings of that Countrey: What may bee the true original Etymology of that Name? v. 11.

A. Not that, I trow, which ha's been commonly given. I suppose פרעה to come from the Word פרע which signifies, *To bee at perfect Liberty*.¹⁶ 'Tis that whereto *Kings* in all Ages have pretended, especially, when by Conquests they have *Enslaved* others. When *Samuel* described unto *Israel*, the משפט המלך or *Jus Regis*, as it was then exercised by the Kings of other Nations, hee painted it out with all the Colours, of the most Absolute & Arbitrary *Liberty*.¹⁷ *Herodotus* also, and *Plutarch* will sufficiently expound unto us, those Passages of *Samuel*.¹⁸ From hence might proceed, that Custome of, *Nourishing Long Hair*, whereby Kings

signifies that the Israelites were “*Not more numerous or stronger than all the Egyptians; but more in proportion than we [Egyptians]; or more than is safe for us [Egyptians] to allow of*” (*Paraphrase* 1:7n, second series of pagination). Pyle appears to rely on Abarbanel's argument that *Mimennu* “does not mean that the People of Israel were more numerous than the Egyptians,” only “physically taller and stronger than the Egyptians” (*Selected Commentary: Shemos/Exodus* 2:36). The multiplication of the Israelites was discussed by all the major commentators of the early modern period, who also guesstimate their numbers, in Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:317–18, and *Works* 4:18–21, 23).

¹⁶ Mather derives the title of the Egyptian kings פרעה [Strong's # 6547] “pharaoh” from פרע [Strong's # 6544] “to let go” (people) and “to unbind (hair), uncover.” Almost as a matter of policy, Mather generally does *not* provide Hebrew diacritics (cantillation marks, vowel points, or gemination marks) in part because they were late additions introduced by the Tiberian Masoretes (6th c. CE), who added interpretative diacritics to safeguard pronunciation and interpretation. Although he defended the divine inspiration of the Hebrew diacritics in his 1681 Harvard MA thesis “Puncta Hebraica sunt originis divinae” (*Diary* 1:26), Mather changed his mind when he came to accept the argument of Ludovicus Cappellus, in סוד הנקוד: הנגלה [Sod hanikud hanigleh] *Hoc est Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum Arcanum* (1624), that the vowel points were interpretative additions not original to the Hebrew Tanakh or Masoretic Text. On this topic, see Samuel Mather's biography of his father, *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather* (1729), pp. 5–6. For Cotton Mather's skepticism about the use (and abuse) of Hebrew vowel points, see especially *BA* (1:440n and 1:700–11). His uncle in Dublin concedes that the Hebrew diacritics were later inventions, by Ezra, but by necessity divinely inspired. “For to refer to it to an *humane* Original, is to overthrow the divine Authority of the Scripture” (*Figures or Types* [1705], p. 42). Cotton Mather's brother Samuel (of Witney, Oxfordshire), rehearses the whole debate in his *Vindication of the Holy Bible* (1723), bk. 5, chs. 1–3, pp. 252–313.

¹⁷ The Hebrew citation משפט המלך (1 Sam. 8:9, 11) signifies “the privilege [manner] of the king,” or the capricious laws, which (the Prophet Samuel insists) would be lorded over the people once the Israelites chose a king to rule over them (1 Sam. 8:12–17).

¹⁸ 2 Sam. 14:26. Perhaps Mather was thinking of Herodotus's description of the privileges (and duties), which the “Spartiates” granted their kings (6.56–60). They echo in many aspects those outlined by Samuel (1 Sam. 8:12–17). The Greco-Roman historian and biographer Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus (c. 46–120 CE) describes the laws and privileges of the famed Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus (*Plutarch's Lives* 1:219–35; *Lycurgus* 5–10) and of the Roman Numa (*Plutarch's Lives* 1:323–43; *Numa* 5–10). For Mather's view of these ancient lawgivers, see his *MCA* (1702), bk. 2, ch. 4, p. 8, § 1.

did anciently distinguish themselves; whereof you may Read, *Suetonius*, on *Vespasian*.¹⁹ And it is worth observing, That indeed, the very Name, *Pharaoh*, carries *Long-Hair*, in the Signification of it; & is as much as to say, *A Long Hair'd Man*. Consult the Hebrew Text, in Deut. 32.42. מֵרָאשׁ פְּרָעוֹת אוֹיֵב *De capite comatorum Inimici*; and in Ezek. 44.20. and you'll see the Evidence of what I say.²⁰ If all this will not satisfy, I may tell you, That in the Arabian Dialect, *Pharoh*, denotes the *Top*, or *Heighth* of any thing. And thus, an High *Spy-Tower*, was a *Pharos*, in the Language of the *Egyptians*. Thus also the Name agrees well, with the *Highest Man* of a Kingdome.²¹

Q. The City of *Pithom* which the *Israelites* built for *Pharaoh*? v. 11.

A. *Bochart* supposes, it may be the City, which *Herodotus* calls, πατουμος. But that was a City of *Arabia*.²² Sir *John Marshams* Conjecture is more probable; That it was *Pelusium*, the most ancient fortified Place in *Egypt*; called by *Ezekiel*; [ch. 30.15.] *The Strength of Egypt*; and by *Suidas* long after, κλεις του Αιγυπτου,²³ *The Key of Egypt*; Because it was the Inlett from *Syria*, into his Countrey. This was the Reason, as *Diodorus* tells us, that they most of all fortified, το πελουσιακον στομα.²⁴ This agrees with the Signification of *Pithom*, if D. *Chytraeus* guess right;

¹⁹ The Roman historian Caius Suetonius Tranquilius (c. 69/75–post 130 CE) served as secretary to Emperor Hadrian. Suetonius's *De Vita Caesarum* (121 CE) is his most important work; Mather refers to *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars: Vita divi Vespasianus* (8.23, p. 319), where Suetonius has Vespasian compare the tail of a comet to the length of hair of a Parthian king.

²⁰ The Hebrew original מֵרָאשׁ פְּרָעוֹת אוֹיֵב, which Mather here renders in Latin, translates “from the hairy head of the enemy,” an interpretation supported by Ezek. 44:20.

²¹ The Pharos (lighthouse) of Alexandria is perhaps the best example. See Josephus, *Wars* (4.10.5).

²² Mather here relies on Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), erudite Huguenot scholar, whose standard work *Geographia Sacra*, editio quarta (1707), lib. 4, cap. 27, col. 277 (line 16), identifies as his trusty source Herodotus of Halicarnassus (c. 484–c. 425 BCE), whose *History* (2.158, line 8) mentions Πάτουμον (Patumus), an Arabian town near Bubastis, on the shore of the Red Sea. Unless otherwise specified all references to Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* are to this edition.

²³ The renowned English chronologer Sir John Marsham (1602–85) identifies the Mosaic Pithom with Pelusium, in his *Chronicus Canon* (1672), Seculum VIII, p. 105. Marsham here relies on Manetho's excerpt in Josephus Flavius's *Contra Apion* (1.32–33); Josephus Flavius associates the city Avaris with Pelusium. See also BA 1:1104. *Suidas* (*Suda*), *Lexicon* (alphabetic letter *pi* entry 1516, line 1) has κλεις της Αιγύπτου. Nota Bene: Generally, Mather does not bother with Greek diacritics or breathing marks – even if his source text does supply them. As he argues in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), “I can't encourage you [students of theology], 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. ... One shall hardly find any *Accents* on the *Greek*, in any Manuscripts written above Eight Ages [800 years] ago: Nor was the Invention of the *Accents*, with which our *Greek* is now encumbered, of any other than a *Musical Intention*” (29–30).

²⁴ Τὸ Πηλουσιακὸν στόμα, i.e., “The Pelusiatic mouth [of the Nile Delta],” according to the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (fl. 60–30 BCE), in his *Bibliotheca historica* (15.42.2, line 6; and 15.42.4, line 3).

which is, *Pi*, and, *Tehom*, or, *The Mouth of the Deep*. The Scituation was near the Sea, at the Mouth of one of the Streams of *Nile*.²⁵

Q. That Word, *The more they grew*? v. 12.

A. In the Hebrew tis, *The more they brake forth*; namely, as Water, which beats down all Dams and Banks that would keep it in. Compare, Gen. XXVIII.14. and Isa. LIV.3, 9.²⁶

|

4220.

[1v]

Q. *Pray*, give us the Hebrew Chronology, relating to the Time of *Israels* Continuance in *Egypt*, and Deliverance from it? v. 14.

A. Behold, how the *Seder Olam* expresses the Matter!²⁷

When *Jacob* returned out of *Mesopotamia*, his Wife *Rachel* died, being about Thirty Six Years of Age. *Leah* lived until *Forty Four*. They were both of them, Twenty Two, when they married unto *Jacob*; and supposed to be *Twins*. When *Jacob* returned unto *Isaac* his Father, then *Joseph* was Nine Years old. He was at the Age of Seventeen, when sold into *Egypt*; and that Year *Leah* died. He was *Twelve Months* a Servant unto *Potiphar*, and he was *Twelve Years* a Prisoner. In the Thirtieth Year of his Age, he was brought before *Pharaoh*, and in that Year his Grandfather *Isaac* died. Seven Years of *Plenty* Rolled away. In the Second Year of the *Famine*, came *Jacob* unto him in *Egypt*; when he was Thirty Nine Years old. *Joseph* was the first who Dyed of all his Brethren, as tis intimated, *Exod. 1.6. Joseph died, and all his Brethren*. He was then One hundred and Ten Years old. *Levi* lived the longest of them all; even to the Age of One hundred & Thirty Seven. And the Children of *Israel* did not fall under Affliction as long as he lived. From the Death of *Levi*, to the Coming out from *Egypt*, there passed

²⁵ In his commentary *In Exodum enerratio* (1561), p. 89 (*Exod. 1*), the German Lutheran theologian David Chytraeus, aka. Kochhaffe (1530–1600) associates “*Phiton* פִּיתוֹם [with] *Phithom*, *os abyssi*, à תְּהוֹם *Thehom*, *abyssus*”; i. e., “the mouth of the deep.” Mather’s paragraph is an extract of Simon Patrick’s annotation (*Exodus 9*).

²⁶ See Mather’s commentary on Gen. 28:14 (*BA 1:1018*) and on Isa. 54:9 (*BA 5:818*). St. Augustine’s *City of God* (18.7) argues that the Israelites “multiplied with God-given fertility” (*NPNFi 2:364*).

²⁷ A Hebrew chronology dating to the second century CE, the *Seder Olam Rabbah* [*The Long Order of the World*], a midrashic chronology traditionally attributed to R. Yose ben Halaftha (c. 160 CE), describes the events from the creation to the time of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (76–138 CE). The first Hebrew edition was published in Mantua, 1513; a dual-language Hebrew-Latin edition, translated by Gilbert Genebrard, was printed in Paris, in 1577. Mather translates an excerpt from Johannes Meyer’s dual-language edition סדר עולם רבא וזוטא *Seder ‘Olam raba ve-Seder ‘Olam zuta, sive Chronicon Hebraeorum* (1699), cap. 2, pp. 4–9, a text which went through several editions. Slight variations occur in the lifespans assigned to Leah who, according to Gilbert Genebrard’s translation *Chronologia Hebraeorum Maior quae Seder Olam Rabba Inscriptur* (1578), cap. 2, p. 16, died at age 46.

One hundred and Seventeen Years. From the Beginning of the World unto this Time, the Years were 2448. And from the Descent into *Egypt*, 210.²⁸

Q. Of what Nation were the *Hebrew Midwives*? v. 15.

A. The learned Jewish Historian and Antiquary, deservedly judges them to be *Egyptians*.²⁹ And from several Circumstances in the Sacred Story, we may gather, that they were of the *Egyptian* Nation. Tho' they are call'd *Hebrew Midwives*, yett the Reason of the Denomination seems only to be, because, they *did the Office of Midwives to the Hebrew Women*. For such as *these* now to be struck with the *Fear of God*, was the remarkable *Work of God*!

What they Report of the Hebrew Women, was doubtless a *Truth*. An *Officious Lye* is by no means to be charged upon them.³⁰

Q. What were the *Houses*, which the Lord made for the *Midwives*, that *feared Him*? v. 21.

A. I don't know, that it is any where said, that Hee made Them Any: *Calvin* thinks, tis not said in the first Chapter of *Exodus*, where you think, you find it.

²⁸ See *Seder Olam: The Rabbinic View of Biblical Chronology* (part 1, chs. 2–3, pp. 28, 30–31, 40). Mather's chronology for Anno Mundi 2448 does not agree with that in Ussher's *Annals of the World* (1658), p. 13, which lists the year A. M. 2513 for the Israelites' departure from Egypt, nor with that in Joseph Justus Scaliger's prestigious *Opus de Emendatione Temporum* (1629), lib. 5, p. 373, which lists A. M. 2454 ("De Exodo Hebraeorum"). On Scaliger as a chronologer, see A. Grafton, "Scaliger's Chronology."

²⁹ Josephus (*Antiquities* 2.9.2). John Calvin (*Commentary on the Four Last Books of Moses* 1:32) begs to differ, arguing that the midwives were Hebrews, not Egyptian women. There is no agreement among the classic rabbinic commentators either: Rashi, for one, identifies the midwives Shiphrah and Puah (Exod. 1:15) as "Jochebed, Moses's mother" and "Moses's sister" (respectively); Ibn Ezra agrees with Rashi, adding that they "were the supervisors of all the midwives, of which there must have been more than 500. But these two [Shiphrah and Puah, i. e., Jochebed and Miriam] supervised them to make sure Pharaoh collected his tax from their fees." And so does Rashbam insisting that the phrase "Hebrew midwives" (Exod. 1:15) means "'Midwives who were Hebrews' rather than Egyptian women who were midwives for the Hebrews." Abarbanel is the most outspoken critic of this interpretation: "They were Egyptian women who were midwives for the Hebrews; how could Pharaoh expect Hebrew women to kill Hebrew babies?" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Exodus* 2:6).

³⁰ The commentators synopsized in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:319–20) were evenly divided on the identity of the midwives. Nicholas de Lyra, André Rivet, Siméon Marotte de Muis (Muisius) argue they were Hebrews; however, Giovanni Steffano Menochius, Jerome Olivier (Oleaster), and Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel believe they were Egyptian since they were to carry out Pharaoh's orders: "They were called Hebrew midwives not because they were Hebrew," Abarbanel insists, "for, how could Pharaoh trust Jewish midwives to act with such cruelty against their own sisters? ... So we should not translate [מילדת העברית] 'Meyaldos Haivriyos' as Hebrew midwives, but we should translate it as midwives of the Hebrews, and it means the Egyptian midwives [who were generally called Shifra and Puah] who helped out with the Hebrew women during childbirth, just as it says later 'when you deliver the Hebrew women' and it was to these Egyptian midwives that Pharaoh directed his words" (*Selected Commentaries: Shemos/Exodus* 2:42). See also Poole, *Works* (4:30–32).

If you look into the Original, you'll see, that, [THEM] is of the Masculine Gender, where tis said, *God made Them Houses*. Whence, except you'l absurdly make *Man-Midwives* of them, you cannot make the *Midwives* the Owners of the *Houses*.³¹

It remains then, that wee explain this Clause, *God made them Houses*, from the præceding Verse, *The People multiplied, & waxed very mighty*. So that, *The Fear of God*, which caused the *Midwives* to contribute what they could, unto the Præserva-tion of the *Israelitish* Issue, procured large Families for the People, and so the *Lord Built the People Houses*.

But then, *Patrick* answers, Tis not unusual in Scripture, when the Speech is of *Women*, to use the *Masculine Gender*. Compare, Ruth. I.8. Yea, do but go to the next Chapter to this. Exod. II.17.³²

God gave these *Midwives* a Numerous Offspring.

Their *Courage* rendered them worthy of the *Masculine Gender*.

Monsr. *Saurins* Gloss, is, Because they saved the Lives of the Hebrew Children, GOD increased the Number of *Theirs*.³³

³¹ Calvin (*Commentary on the Four Last Books* 1:36–37) insists that the pronoun “them” here refers to the Israelites as a whole, not the midwives. However, the standard commentators in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:320–21) and *Works* (4:35–39) are deeply divided on this issue, some arguing that special houses for pregnant women were established to ensure that Pharaoh’s command to keep alive only female babies were obeyed by the midwives. Mather’s terse rejection of the absurd notion of “*Man-Midwives*” reflects the changing perceptions and professional standards on midwifery in the eighteenth century. It similarly touched Lawrence Sterne’s Shandean funny bone in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759), vol. 1, ch. 18. For a discussion of the rise of male-midwives in eighteenth-century England, see Jean Donnison’s *Midwives and Medical Men* (1988).

³² Patrick, on Exod. 1:21 (*Exodus* 15).

³³ Mather greatly appreciates the scholarship of Jacques Saurin (1677–1730), Huguenot theologian and preacher in London and later in The Hague. A revised English translation of the two-volume French original (1720) served Mather throughout his *Biblia* commentary on the Pentateuch. In the present instance, Mather cites from Saurin’s *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (1723), “Dissertation XLIII” (1:354). The “List of those who have already Subscribed to this Work,” following the translator’s address “To The Reader,” indexes “*The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather of New England*” as one of the subscribers to the 1723 edition of Saurin’s work.

Q. We find *Amram* the Grandson of *Levi*, to have married *Jochebed* the Daughter of *Levi*, his Fathers Sister? v. 1.

A. So ingenuous was *Moses*, as not to conceal this, tho' it might not be for his Credit, in future Ages.

Possibly *Jochebed* was born to *Levi* in his old Age & might be younger than her Nephew *Amram*. She might be but his *Half-Sister*.

Besides, as *Patrick* observes, a *Gran\{d\}*daughter may be called a *Daughter*. They are commonly called so. Thus, *Jochebed* may be only the *Cosen* of *Amram*; however called a *Sister*. So all Objections against the Marriage do vanish.¹ But *Usher* maintains against *Scaliger* & *Pererius*, that she was really *Levi's* Daughter, & *Amrams* Aunt.²

Q. The *Daughter of Pharaoh*.] What might be her Name? v. 5.³

A. She is called, *Thermutis*, by *Josephus*. But by *Artapanus* in *Eusebius's Præparatio Evangelica* she is called, *Meris*, or, *Merris*. And this is her Name (as *Jacobus Cappellus* observes) in the *Fasti Siculi*. The same *Artapanus* reports, that she was married unto *Cenephres*, King of the Countrey above *Memphis*; but had no Child by him.⁴ *Clemens of Alexandria* reports the same; & saies not only that she

1 Extracted from Patrick's commentary on Exod. 2:1 (*Exodus* 17–18). The close consanguinity between Amram and his aunt Jochebed raised some eyebrows, and Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:320–21) and *Works* (4:41–42) list the standard Reformation and post-Reformation commentators who took sides in the debate. John Selden argues that intermarriages between siblings and other close relatives were widely practiced before the Law was given, in *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 5, cap. 9, pp. 583–84. On the significance of Selden's *De Jure Naturali*, see J. P. Rosenblatt (158–81).

2 Usher, in his *Annals of the World* (11–12) and *Chronologia Sacra* (cap. 11, pp. 179–181), avers Amram married his aunt, but the most learned man of his time, the Franco-Dutch scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), appears to disagree, in *Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii*, included in his magnificent *Thesaurus Temporum* (1658), second series of pagination (p. 32). The learned Spanish Jesuit Benedictus Pererius (1535–1610) asserts that Moses' mother Jochebed was not Levi's daughter, but the daughter of Levi's brother. Hence Amram married his uncle's daughter, or first cousin. The debate is skillfully outlined in Pererius's first disputation on Exod. ch. 2: "Prima Disputatio: De Mosis parentibus Amram & Jochebed," in his *Primus Tomus Selectarum Disputationum Sacram Scripturam: Exodi*, editio tertia (1607), pp. 33–36. See also Mather's annotation on Exod. 6:20 (below).

3 Mather erroneously lists v. 2. Here silently corrected.

4 Patrick's commentary on Exod. 2:5 (*Exodus* 20–21). Josephus (*Antiquities* 2.9.5). Bishop of Caesarea, Eusebius Pamphilus (c. 265–c. 341), in *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.27.432a), quotes from the Jewish historian Artapanus of Alexandria (3rd–2nd c. BCE), whose work survives in extracts in Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria. Pharaoh's daughter was married to Cenephres, "king of the regions above Memphis" (as Eusebius relates). The French Orientalist and professor of theology at Sedan, Jacobus Cappellus (1570–1624), in *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo*

was a married Woman, but also that she had long been childless in that State, τεκνον δε επιθυμουσα: *Very desirous to have a Child.*⁵

Take another Curiosity, by the way; *Moses* was *hid* at his *Birth*, lest he should be murdered; And he was *hid* at his *Death*, lest he should be worshipped.

We may add; There is a Tradition mention'd by *Clemens of Alexandria*, in his first Book of *Stromes*; That the Parents of *Moses*, at his being circumcised, putt on him the Name of *Joachim*; which signifies, *The Resurrection of the Lord*; foretelling that by him God would Raise & Revive & Restore His People. *Moses* also is of an Active Signification; *One who drawes out of the Water.*⁶

Q. The *Egyptian* Smiting the *Hebrew*, who, and why? v. 11.⁷

A. The *Life of Moses*, in Hebrew; and, *Schalsch Hakkabalah*, report, that this *Egyptian* had broken the Hebrewes House, & bound him, & ravished his Wife, and endeavoured now to murder him. This looks like a Tale; but (as Dr. *Patrick* observes;) it is a little better told by the Author of *Shemoth Rabbah*, & others mentioned by Mr. *Selden*; That this *Egyptian* was one of the Taskmasters, who call'd this Man out of his Bed in the Night, to go to Work, & then took this Opportunity to slip into it, & lye with *Shelomith* his Wife, who took him for her Husband. The plainest Account of all is *Philo's*; That some of *Pharaohs* Officers, little differing from the most furious Beasts, not at all mollified, but more exasperated by Entreaties, one of those Violent fellows, fell in a most outrageous Manner upon an *Hebrew*, because he did not dispatch his Work as fast as he would have had him, & beat him, till he had almost killed him.⁸

usque ad Augustum (cap. "Israelitæ in Ægypto," p. 75), agrees, arguing that "Amenophis filia, quæ Mosis aluit, in Fastis Siculis vocatur Merris," i. e., Amenophis's daughter, who suckled Moses, was called Merris." Cappellus dates the event to A. M. 2388, but acknowledges Eusebius as his source. See also *BA* 1:1111n, 1149, 1151n.

⁵ Mather refers to Clemens Alexandrinus, aka. St. Clemens of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215), an important theologian of the Alexandrian school. Clemens tells the story of Pharaoh's barren daughter, who τέκνων δε επιθυμουσα "longed for a child" (*Stromata* 1.23.152, subsec. 1, line 2) and *The Stromata* (1.23.335, in *ANF* 2:335).

⁶ All this and more are related in Clemens of Alexandria's *Stromata* (1.23.335), including Moses' Hebrew appellation "Joachim." Philo Judæus (*De vita Mosis* 1.3.9) relates that Moses' parents fed him on milk at home and kept his birth a secret for three months. Pharaoh's daughter named him "Moses," from "mos," the Egyptian word for "water" (Philo, *Works* 460). Be that as it may, "Moses," the name of the Hebrew Lawgiver, is actually part of several Pharaonic names in the New Kingdom (BCE 1550–1069) as Kamose, Ahmose, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III, Thutmose IV.

⁷ Mather's "Answer" is extracted from Patrick's commentary on Exod. 2:11 (*Exodus* 27).

⁸ According to Philo Judæus (*De Vita Mosis* 1.8.44), Moses deemed it "a pious action" to kill the abusive overseer (*Works* 463). As if to extenuate Moses' rash action, Rashi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:22), quoting *Midrash Rabbah* (Exodus 1:28), relates that Moses was so exasperated because the Egyptian taskmaster had violated Shelomith, daughter of Dibri (Lev. 24:11) and wife of Dathan, the battered Hebrew slave, whom Moses rescued (Jarchi, *Commentarius Hebraicus* [1710], 410). Much the same is related by the Italian Rabbi Gedaliah Ibn Yahya ben Joseph (1515–c. 1587), of Imola, in his *שפר שלשלת הקבלה* *Sefer Shalsbelet ha-Kabbalah* (Venice,

This *Hebrew* was probably one of the Children of *Kohath*, one of *Moses's* nearer *Brethren*.⁹

Q. How can *Moses's* Action, in killing the *Egyptian* be defended? v. 12.

A. The Hebrewes generally say, *Moses* kill'd him only with the Word of his Mouth, as *Peter* did *Ananias* and *Sapphira*. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* has this Tradition.¹⁰

Maimonides flies to a *Divine Impulse*; it being the first Degree of *Prophecy*, to be animated by God, unto some Heroic Enterprise. And *Stephen* seems to countenance this Thought.¹¹

1587), fol. 5.2, which contains among other things a genealogical history from the time of the Mosaic Lawgiver to the year 1587 CE. However, this history is frequently faulted for its many errors (*JE*). Both Rashi, Ibn Yahya, and their followers ultimately derive this story from the midrashic original found in "*Shemoth Rabbah*," i.e., *Exodus Rabbah* (1:28). Mather's source (via Patrick) is John Selden's magisterial *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 1, pp. 5–6. Philo Judaeus, *On the Life of Moses I* (8.42–44), in *Works* (463), only recounts the cruelty of the Egyptian taskmaster, nothing however, of the midrashic story of Shelomith or that of her husband.

⁹ Commentators who rely on *Midrash Rabbah* (*Exodus* 1:28) generally identify the Hebrew as Dathan, the husband of Shelomith, Dibri's daughter, of the tribe of Dan (*Lev.* 24:11), rather than Kohath, grandfather of Moses (*Numb.* 26:58–59).

¹⁰ This and the following paragraph are synopses of Patrick on *Exod.* 2:12 (*Exodus* 28). The manner of slaying the Egyptian has engaged many commentators over the centuries. According to *Exodus Rabbah* 1:29, "Moses took counsel with the angels and said to them: 'This man deserves death.' They [angels] agreed." R. Abyathar has Moses kill him with his fist. Others argue with a "clay shovel and cracked his skull." Yet other rabbinic commentators insist that Moses "pronounced God's name against him [the Egyptian] and thus slew him" – all in *Midrash Rabbah* (*Exodus* 1:29). The Jerusalem Targum on *Exodus* 2 (Etheridge 1:447) does mention that "the Holy Spirit" revealed to Moses that "no proselyte [i.e. righteous person] would ever spring from that Misraite [taskmaster]; and he killed him, and hid him in the sand." The manner of death, however, remains unclear. Rashi (Jarchi) and Ramban – following *Exodus Rabbah* – agree that Moses slew the Egyptian "by merely pronouncing the Tetragrammaton" יהוה, God's ineffable name; *Midrash Tanchuma* offers much the same: "Some say he killed him with a mud-rake that he picked up and beat out his brains. Others say that he pronounced the Ineffable Name and killed him" (*Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma: Shemos I* (3:35). Alas, Ibn Ezra begs to differ, claiming, "those who say that 'he struck down the Egyptian' by means of the Tetragrammaton are incorrect, as I shall explain. He struck him with a stone or with a spear" (Jarchi on *Exod.* 2:14, in *Commentarius Hebraicus* 411; Nachmanides, *Commentary* 2:18; Ibn Ezra, *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Exodus* 2:12). Be that as it may, St. Peter similarly punished Ananias and Sapphira (*Acts* 5:1–11) for lying about their bequest, a tradition also related by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Stromata* 1.23.154, subsec. 1), who explains that "the mystics say that he [Moses] slew the Egyptian by a word only; as, certainly, Peter in the Acts is related to have slain by speech those who appropriated part of the price of the field, and lied [Acts 5:1]" (*Stromata* 1.23, in *ANF* 2:335).

¹¹ The famous medieval philosopher R. Moses ben Maimon, aka. Maimonides, aka. Rambam (1135–1204) does not deviate from the mystical tradition of the rabbis and reasons that Moses received "divine help that move[d] and activate[d] him ... to slay the *Egyptian*." This divine prompting, when it moves an individual to a righteous or heroic act on behalf of others, is by Maimonides called "the first of the degrees of prophecy" (*Guide of the Perplexed* 2.45.396–97; and *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* [1629], 2.45.316–17). The Martyr Stephen alludes to this divine prompting of Moses, who erroneously assumed

Or else, I will Retain the famous Lawyer *Grotius*, to be of Counsel for *Moses*; who pleads the *Light of Nature* in his Vindication; *Jus Naturæ et Innocenti, et Innocentem tutanti, Jus dat, adversus nocentem*.¹²

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[2v]

Q. Moses Flying to *dwell in the Land of Midian*, after his Appearing to Redeem *Israel*: What Remark may be made upon it? v. 15.

A. It is a marvellous Passage of a Jew, in *Midrasch Ruth*, which I wish, his whole Nation would think of. *R. Berachia dixit; Sicut Redemptor primus, ita Redemptor ultimus. Sicut Redemptor primus, id est, Moyses Revelebatur, et rursus occultabatur ab eis, et demum Revelatus est; ita Redemptor ultimus, id est, Messias*.¹³

The Quæstion then being putt, How long? *R. Tanchuma*, answers, Till the End of the Forty Five Years, which make 1290, in *Daniel* to arise unto 2335.¹⁴

that his fellow Israelites somehow grasped that he was the one to deliver them from bondage: “but they understood not” (Acts 7:25). On Maimonides, see S. Stroumsa, *Maimonides in His World* (2009).

12 The renowned Dutch jurist, philosopher, and Arminian theologian Hugo Grotius, aka. Hugo de Groot (1583–1645), asserts in his annotations on Acts 7:24 that “the law of nature gives the right to the innocent as well as [to those who] protect the innocent against the one harming.” Mather here cites Grotius, *Annotationes ad Acta Apostolorum* (cap. 7:24), in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1679), tomi II, volume I, p. 595. See also *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (lib. 2, cap. 20, sec. 8), where Grotius argues on the basis of Num. 35:19, that the Mosaic talion law allows a man to revenge the injustice done to his kinsman (*Rights of War and Peace* 2:971). On Hugo Grotius as a significant biblical exegete, see especially Henning Graf Reventlow’s *Epochen der Bibelauslegung: Band III Renaissance Reformation Humanismus* (1997), 3:211–25; or in J. O. Duke’s English translation of Reventlow’s *History of Biblical Interpretation* (2010), 3:209–23.

13 Mather’s Latin citation from *Midrash Rabbah* (Ruth V:6) is most likely quoted at second hand from *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judæos* (1651), Pars 3, dist. 3, cap. 16, sec. 25, p. 668, by Raimundus Martinus (c. 1220–c. 1284), a Dominican theologian and Medieval Orientalist of Catalonia. Martinus’s *Pugio Fidei* (i.e., *Dagger of Faith*) is a Latin polemic against Judaism and Islam and draws at great length on the Talmud, Midrash, and Cabbala (see also *BA* 1:822–23). The Latin citation – adapted from *Midrash Ruth* (V:6) – can be rendered as follows: “*R. Berachia [Berekiah] said [in the name of R. Levi:], ‘Just as the first Redeemer, so will be the greatest [i.e., last]. Just as the first Redeemer, who is Moses, revealed himself and again was hidden from them, so the last Redeemer, who is the Messiah, will finally be revealed to them, and then be hidden from them.’*”

14 Mather’s “2335” years appears to be a slip of his pen, for if 45 years are added to Daniel’s 1290, the sum total is 1335 (Dan. 12:11–12). Soncino *Midrash Ruth* (V:6) supplies conflicting answers about the length of the Redeemer’s hiding: “The future Redeemer will be like the former Redeemer [Moses]. Just as the former Redeemer revealed himself and later was hidden from them (and how long was he hidden? Three months, as it is said, *And they met Moses and Aaron* [Ex. V, 20]1), so the future Redeemer will be revealed to them, and then be hidden from them. And how long will he be hidden? *R. Tanchuma*, in the name of the Rabbis, said: Forty-five days, as it is said, *And from the time that the continual burnt offering shall be taken away ... there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Happy is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand and three hundred and five and thirty days* (Dan. XII, 11–12).” *Midrash*

Q. What *Pharaoh* was he, that *Moses* fled from? v. 15.

A. *Eusebius* calls him, *Orus*, (who succeeded *Amenophis*, in whose Reign *Moses* was born,) & he is said to have Reigned Two and Forty Years.

After him, *Eusebius* makes *Acenceres* to Reign; and after him *Achoris*. Both of which died, before *Moses* returned into *Egypt*.¹⁵

Q. How may that Expression be taken, *The Priest of Midian*? v. 16.¹⁶

A. The Word, *Cohen*, indifferently signifies, either a *Priest*, or a *Prince*. Of old, the latter. See Job. XII.19. Afterwards, the Sons of *David*, are called, *Cohenim*. [2. Sam. VIII.18. with 1. Chron. XVIII.17.] Compare, 2. Sam. XX.26.

This Gentleman, was probably a Ruler of some one Province in *Midian*;

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it may best be rendred, *A Prince of Midian*.¹⁷

But of old, the *Princes* executed the *Priesthood* also. *Plato* observes, They did it among the *Egyptians*. The Consuls and Emperours of *Rome*, were ambitious of the Dignity.

Jarchi, saies, *The Word, Cohen, denotes a Divine Ministry or Function, except where there is an Addition of some particular Principality to it; as, Cohen of Midian; and Cohen of On; and there it signifies, a Prince, tho' a Priesthood might be joined with it*.¹⁸

Tanchuma (Tanḥuma), a homiletic midrash on the Torah attributed to the Palestinian scholar R. Tanchuma bar Abba (c. 350 CE), was first published in Constantinople in 1522, a revised edition appeared in Venice (1545) and Mantua (1563). Perhaps due to a printer's error, this text has *Moses* remain in *Midian* only "for twenty years, until Yisroel was worthy of redemption," in *Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma: Shemos I* (3:38). The prophetic timetable (Dan. 12:11–12) referred to here and in *Midrash Ruth* (V:6) was of great significance to all millennialists (like Mather), who were keen on deciphering God's redemptive chronology. See especially Mather's lengthy commentary on Dan. 12:7ff [BA 6] and R. Smolinski, "When Shall These Things Be?" in *Threefold Paradise* (60–78).

¹⁵ Patrick on Exod. 2:15 and 3:10 (*Exodus* 32 and 48) draws on Eusebius Pamphilus's *Chronicon* (4th c. CE). A notoriously unreliable register surviving in an Armenian and in Jerome's Latin translation, Eusebius's *Chronicle* is pieced together from Manetho (*Aegyptiaca* [Epitome], Fragm. 50, 52–53; 54) and Josephus Flavius (*Contra Apion* 1.15, 26–31), fragments that frequently disagree with the same chronology cited by Africanus and Syncellus. Be that as it may, except for the intervening list of Egyptian rulers (King's List) of the same or similar names preceding and following one another (but omitted in Mather's extract), Eusebius (*Chronicle*, bk. 1, p. 50) here appears to have in mind the pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty of the New Kingdom (c. 1580–1295 BCE), although modern historiography would assign the Exodus saga to the 19th Dynasty. The pharaoh of the Mosaic exodus, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, was Pharaoh "Amosis, who lived in the time of the Argive Inachus, overthrew Athyrta, as [the Egyptian priest] Ptolemy of Mendes relates in his *Chronology*" (*Stromata* 1.21.101, subsec. 5; *The Stromata* 1.21, in *ANF* 2:324).

¹⁶ Mather's annotation is a nearly verbatim extract from Patrick on Exod. 2:16 (*Exodus* 31–32), whose own acknowledged source is John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 647–49.

¹⁷ Patrick (*Exodus* 32).

¹⁸ Extracted from Selden (*De Synedriis*, lib. 1, cap. 16, pp. 648–49), the passage from Jarchi (Rashi) on Gen. 47:22 is by Selden quoted in Hebrew and translated into Latin. See Jarchi's

Artapanus mentioning *Moses's* Flight, saies, He came to *Raguel*, τῷ τῶν τοσῶν Ἀρχόντι, *The Ruler of those Parts*. The *Jewes* in their German Translation of the Bible, call him, *HEER*, *Lord of Midian*.¹⁹

It is most likely, he was no Idolater, but a Worshipper of the True God.

Commentarius Hebraicus (361). See also Rashi on Gen. 47:22, Gen. 41:45 (!) and Exod. 2:16, 19:6, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Genesis* 3:595, 3:523(!) and *Exodus* 1:23^b and 1:285). Rashi's annotation is based on Exodus Rabbah (1:32) and explains that Jethro as a "Cohen Midian" was "the most prominent among them [Midianite chiefs], but because Jethro "had abandoned idolatry, so they banned him from [living with] them (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:23^b). Ibn Ezra's explication is much the same, arguing that "the term *kohen* (priest) in Scripture refers to one who ministers either to the Lord or before an idol" (*Commentary: Exodus* 46).

¹⁹ The Jewish historian Artapanus of Alexandria (2nd c. BCE) relates that Raguel was τῷ τῶν τοσῶν Ἀρχόντι: "the ruler of the district" in Arabia, in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Præparatio evangelica* 9.27.19, line 1; *Preparation* 9.27.434a). Selden (*De Synedriis* [1650], lib. 1, p. 648) refers to the "Germaniensis Judæi," or "German Jews," who call Jethro "הער Heer Midian," i. e., the Yiddish word for *Lord* "Herr," rendered in Hebrew characters.

Q. What was the Mystery exhibited unto *Moses*, in the *Burning Bush*? v. 2.¹

A. I will give it you, first from the *Jews* themselves. *In elle Shemoth Rabba*, S. 3. we read; *Quærè rem istam Mosis ostendit Deus, S. B.* 'Quia *Moses in Corde suo cogitavit; Fortè Ægyptij funditus perdent Israelitas. Proptere à Deus S. B. ostendit ei Ignem ardentem et non consumentem; Dixitque ei, Quemadmodum Rubus iste, in Igne ardet, et non consumitur; sic Ægyptis Israelitas consumere non possunt.*²

But I will now give it you in the Language of *Christianitie*.³

The State of the *Church*, which was then a *Bush* in the *Fire* of sore Distresses, but was to outlive all the *Flames* of this Distressing Fire.

The Church of God, is fitly compared unto a *Bush*, for the Lowness, the Meanness, the Contempt, which commonly attends it. Hence tis compared unto a *Myrtle-Grove*. [Zech. 1.8.] Myrtles are but low and mean Shrubs. And it is fitly compared unto a *Bush*, because tis a Dangerous Thing, for any to fall foul on it. The Hebrew Word, for a *Bush* here, notes one that had *Prickles* on it; & wee are told by Travellers, the *Bushes* hereabouts are so prickly, that if a Bird light on one of them, hee can hardly {e}scape without a Deplumation. Compare Act. 9.5.⁴

1 In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (1720), AAS, Mather Family Papers (1613–1728), Octavo Vol. # 50, Mather records as his source for Exod. 3: "v. 2, 3 &c Owen on ye Glory of Christ, p. 48." The reference is to *XPICTOAOIOLA, Or, A Declaration of the Glorious Mystery of the Person of Christ* (1679), ch. 16, pp. 229–30, by the English Puritan divine John Owen. Here, Owen associates the burning bush episode (Exod. 3:2–3), the presence of God's Shechinah, with the glory of Christ. See also Owen's *Works* (1721), part 1, ch. 16, p. 120.

2 *Midrash Rabbah* (Exodus II:5), "In this Shemosh Rabba, sec. 3, we read, 'Why did God S.[anctus] B.[enedictus], the Holy One, show Moses such a thing? Because Moses contemplated in his heart that the Egyptians, perchance, might destroy the Israelites. That is why God S. B. [the Holy One] showed him a fire which burnt but did not consume; and He said to him, Just as the bush is burning and is not consumed, so the Egyptians will not be able to consume the Israelites.'"

3 Mather's Christological reading of the burning bush is perfectly consistent with his efforts to extract hidden or arcane meaning from biblical types. His uncle's work on typology, Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 132, 133, 326 may well have guided him here as it did in previous and subsequent cases. See Appendix A.

4 The English traveler and later bishop of Ossory and Meath (Ireland), Richard Pococke (1704–1765) relates his eyewitness account of many biblical sites he visited during his sojourns in Egypt and Palestine (1738–1740). His observations are published in his two-volume *Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (1743–1745). Relevant for our purposes here is Pococke's description of the bramble bush at the foot of Mt. Horeb, the purported site of Moses' burning bush (Exod. 3:1–4). Noteworthy is that Pococke clearly separates biblical archaeology from pious motives and wishful thinking, as local monks point to the brambly shrubs planted thereabouts (*Description of the East* [1743], vol. 1, bk. 3, ch. 3, pp. 143–46, 150–51).

But then, there is the *Fire* of much *Affliction*, which the Church of our Lord must encounter withal. Hence, 1. Pet. 4.12. Yea, and of *Contention* too. Hence, Prov. 26.19, 20.

Yett the Church out-lives all. The Presence of the Lord Jesus Christ (the Angel here, who is, The Lord,) with His Church, is its *Grand Praservative*. Consider, Deut. 33.16. and Dan. 3.25.⁵

Call in Isa. LXIII.9. to the Meditations on this Noble Subject.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, The *Fire* in the *Bush* here, was also an Intimation, That the Lord would meet with the *Israelites* in this Place, & give them His Law, in *Fire*, & Lightning; & yett *not consume* them. For this was the Place, where the Lord afterwards delivered the Law unto them. The Mount was called, *Sinai*, as the Jewes tell us, in *Pirke Elieser*, from this *Bush*. The Name signifies, *A Thorn-bush*. Before this, it was called, *Horeb*, from its *Drieness & Barrenness*.⁶

1911.

Q. Is there any further, and higher Mystery, of the *Burning Bush*, to bee considered? v. 2.

A. The Ancients considered, it, as a Figure of the *Messiah*, wherein the *Bush* of His *Humanity*, is possessed, & yett not consumed, by His *Divinity*, which is a *Consuming Fire*.⁷

Thus *Gregories* Gloss upon it, is; *Per succensum Rubum ostensum est, quod ex illo populo exiret, qui Igne Deitatis Carnis nostræ Naturam, quasi Rubi Spinam*

5 Mather's Christological reading is ultimately an adaptation of a similar allegory, which can be found in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 40). Its putative author, Rabbi Eliezer, son of Hyrkanus (1st c. CE), relates the fire of the burning bush to the condition of Israel: "But the fire refers to Israel, who are compared to fire, as it is said, 'And the house of Jacob shall be a fire' (Obad. 18). The thorn-bush refers to the nations of the world, who are compared to thorns and thistles. He [God] said to him [Moses]: Likewise shall Israel be in the midst of the nations. The fire of Israel shall not consume the nations, who are compared to thorns and thistles; but the nations of the world shall extinguish the flames of Israel – (these flames) are the words of the Torah. But in the future that is to come the fire of Israel will consume all the nations, who are compared to thorns and thistles, as it is said, 'And the peoples shall be as the burnings of lime' (Isa. xxxiii.12)" (pp. 316–17).

6 Mather, via Patrick on Exod. 3:2 (*Exodus* 41–42), draws on פרקי רבי אליעזר *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (1644), cap. 41, p. 108, relating that Horeb חֲרֵב [choreb], signifying "desert," would be named Sinai סִינַי [Cinyay] because of the word for the burning bush סִנָּה [cenah]. See also the Friedlander translation of *Pirke* (ch. 41, p. 321).

7 Acts 7:30–35. In his *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), pp. 132, 133, 326, Samuel Mather (1626–1671), Cotton Mather's uncle and eldest son of Richard Mather of Dorchester, graduated from Harvard in 1643, became chaplain at Magdalen College (Oxford) and, subsequently, preacher at St. Nicholas, in Dublin, Ireland. Samuel Mather is mostly remembered for his collection of sermons on OT typology, posthumously published as *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (Dublin, 1683) and twice reprinted thereafter. My citation references are to the second edition, published in London (1705).

*acciperet, et inconsumptam Humanitatis Substantiam, in ipsâ Divinitatis Flammâ servaret.*⁸

I will add the emphatical Words of Bernard. *Scrutare Scripturas, et vide quàm pulchrè et concordanter, Sanctorum mirè-facta, et mystica dicta sibi invicem concinunt, et hoc unum de Virgine, et in Virgine factum Miraculum, quot Miracula prævenerunt; quot Oracula promiserunt. Quod enim Moysi in Igne monstratum est, Aaron in Virgâ et Flore, Gedeoni in Vellere et Rore; hoc apertè vidit Solomon, in Forti mulieri, et pretio ejus; Apertius præcinit Jeremias de Fæminâ et Viro; Apertissimè Esaias de Virgine et Deo: et Gabriel tandem exhibuit ipsam Virginem Salutando.*⁹

3019.

Q. Why would the Lord chuse a little *Bush*, rather than a Plant of greater Figure, therein to exhibit himself?

A. *Athanasius* answers this Quæstion so; Our Lord would chuse a *Bush*, as tis thought by some, for its being a *Plant*, which would not afford a Stock, out of which it should be possible for the Jewes to shape an *Idol*. But hee adds, it might be ὅτι μέλλει ἐν τῇ ἐξακανθισάσῃ ἡμῶν σαρκοῦσθαι φύσει.¹⁰ *Because it would come to pass, that Christ would one day germinate in our Thorny Nature.*

2291.

Q. What Mystery may there bee, in the Order given unto *Moses*, to putt off his *Shoes, upon the Holy Ground?* v. 5.

A. *Reverence* was the Thing required. And *Gregory Nyssen* observes, that hence was derived the Order for the *Priests* to bee *Bare-foot* in the *Temple*.¹¹

⁸ The Latin gloss from *Liber Expositione Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, De Diversis Libris S. Gregorii Magni Conginnatus*, Lib. II “De Testimoniis libri Exodi,” cap. IV, “De flamma in rubo,” col. 724. [PL 079. 0724C], is by Pope St. Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), one of the most important medieval Fathers of the Church. According to St. Gregory, “by the burning bush it was shown that it went out from that people, who received the nature of our flesh by the fire of the Deity, as if the thorn of the bush should keep the undiminished substance of humanity in the very flame of divinity.”

⁹ The “Emphatical Words” are adapted from the Cistercian Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), *Sermones De Tempore. In Laudibus Virginis Matris. Super Verba Evangelii <Missus est angelus Gabriel> Homiliae Quatuor, Homilia II: In Luc. 1:26, 27, sec. 11* [PL 183. 066C–D]. Bernard admonishes, “Examine the scriptures and see how beautifully and harmoniously the wonderful deeds of the Saints and the mystic words resound reciprocally with each other, and how many miracles anticipated this one miracle about the virgin and made in the virgin; how many oracles promised [it]. For this was shown to Moses in the fire, to Aaron in the rod and flower, to Gideon in the fleece and the dew; this Solomon clearly saw in the brave woman and her worth; Jeremiah quite openly predicts about the woman and the man; Isaiah foretells very plainly about the virgin and God: and Gabriel finally showed it forth by greeting the virgin herself.”

¹⁰ The Greek citation is from *Quæstiones ad Antiochum ducem* [PG 028.0632, line 49], by St. Athanasius (c. 296–373), bishop of Alexandria, and Mather supplies the translation.

¹¹ See *De Vita Mosis* (cap. 1, sec. 20, lines 14 ff), by St. Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395), bishop of Nyssa and Cappadocian Father. However, a more likely source – one also suggested

But now, the Fathers have several fine Descants upon that Cæremony. *Origen* thinks, the Prohibition of *Shooes*, made of the Skins of *Dead Creatures*, instructed *Moses*, to putt off the *Indicia Mortalitatis*, when hee was approaching to the Immortal God.¹² And *Jerom* explains those, to bee, *Opera Mortua*, even the *Dead Works* of Sin.¹³

The Custome of *Putting off the Shoes* at the Gate of the Temple, is followed by several of the Oriental Nations. *Bartholomew Georgivez* reports it of the Mahometans; The *Abyssines* observe the same Rites, as we are told by *Zaga Zabo*, a Bishop of Theirs: who says; *Our Churches resemble the Mountain of Sinai, where GOD spake to Moses, and sayd, putt off thy Shoes.*¹⁴

Q. Had the Heathens any Traditions of this, *Burning Bush not consumed?*

A. The Heathens had Read or Heard of this Wonder, as appears by *Artapanus*, who mentions it; [In *Eusebius*:] but misreports it, as a *Fire* that suddenly broke forth out of the *Earth*, & flamed, when there was no Matter, nor any kind of Wood in the Place, to feed it. But then, another, an ancient Tragedian, [In

by Patrick (*Exodus* 44) – is Justin Martyr's *First Apology* (ch. 62), where the Apostolic Father relates that the priest's command to remove one's shoes before entering the temple was copied by "the devils," who "learning what happened to ... Moses [at the burning bush]," gave the same command "in imitation of these things" (*ANF* 1:184). Be that as it may, *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 40, p. 314) suggests as much that the sages derived this command from Exod. 3:5, that "Anyone who enters the Temple must remove his shoe, for thus spake the Holy One, blessed be He, to Moses."

12 The reference is to Origen of Alexandria's *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* (2002), "Genesis Homily VIII," p. 142, who believes the instruction given to Moses was to take off "the evidence of mortality." Much the same is suggested in *Antonii De Escobar et Mondoza, In Evangelia Sanctorum Commentarii Panegyricis Moralibus illustrati. Volumen Primum* (1658), lib. IV, sec. I, Observatio VII, p. 126, ## 54–57, by the Spanish Jesuit and voluminous author Antonio Escobar y Mendoza (1589–1669).

13 In his epistle to Eustochium (Letter XXII.19), the great Latin Father Eusebius Hieronymus Stridonensis, aka. St. Jerome (c. 342–420) submits that "when Moses and Joshua were bidden to remove their shoes because the ground on which they stood was holy [Exod. 3:5], the command had a mystical meaning" (*Letters of St. Jerome* 22.19), in *NPNFii* (6:29).

14 Mather here relies on Joseph Mede's exposition of Eccl. 5:1 "The Reverence of God's House," in *Works* (1664), bk. 2, sec. 3, pp. 442–43. In turn, Mede's source is Bartholomeo Georgievits (c. 1490s–1560), whose *De Turcarum Ritu et Caeremoniis* (1544) is an apologia and diatribe by Barthélemy Georgievitz, a Hungarian captive among the Turks. First published in Antwerp in 1544, *De Turcarum Ritu et Caeremoniis* was republished several times with the variant title *De Turcarum Moribus Epitome* (*Epitome of the Turkish Mores*). The applicable passage to which Mather here refers (via Mede) describes the Muslim custom of removing one's sandals and washing one's hands and feet, before entering the mosque for prayer. My reference is to *De Turcarum Moribus Epitome* (1558), pp. 11–12. Mede also supplies the reference (out of Damian à Goes's *De Aethiopum Moribus* [1521]) to the Ethiopian Bishop Zaga Zabo, who served as ambassador of the Abyssinian King David to John III (1502–57) of Portugal (Mede, *Works*, pp. 442–43). Republished multiple times in the 16th and 17th centuries, *Fides, Religio, More Que Aethiopum* (1540), sign. Eo-iii^r, Gii^r and Miii^r, was composed by the Portuguese writer Damião de Góis (1502–74). For much the same extract from Mede, see James Saurin's "Dissertation XLIV," in *Dissertations* (1723) 1:363–64.

Eusebius:] reports it exactly; saying just as *Moses* doth here: That *the Bush burnt in a great Fire, & yett remained entire & green in the Flame*. There is a Story something like this, in *Dion Prusæus*, where, he saies, the *Persians* relate concerning *Zoroaster*, that the Love of Wisdome & Vertue leading him to a solitary Life, on a Mountain, he found it one Day, all in a Flame, shining with Cœlestial Fire; out of the Midst of which, he came without any Harm. Ursin long ago endeavours to prove, that this was the corrupted Story of *Moses*.¹⁵

2439.

Q. *Canaan* is here called, *A Good Land & a Large*. Give mee the Character which a *Gentile Pen* ha's putt upon the *Jewish Land*, thus described? v. 8.

A. *Hecateus*, writing of the Jewes, ha's this Passage, τριακοσίας μυριάδας ἀρουρών σχεδὸν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ παμφορωτάτης χώρας νέμονται.¹⁶ *They possess Three Thousand Thousand Half-Acres, of the best & fruitfulest Land in the World*.

¹⁵ Via his primary source in Patrick on Exod. 3:2 (*Exodus* 42–43), Mather draws on *Almetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, § 10, pp. 193–94, by the French bishop of Avranches and distinguished scholar Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), who also supplies the reference to Artapanus's "misreport," in an excerpt by Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.27.434c). Ezekiel, the Jewish tragedian of Alexandria (2nd c. BCE), in his *Exagoge* (a dramatic adaptation of the Exodus saga), speaks of the τεράστιον μέγιστον, the "greatest marvel," because "A sudden mighty fire flames round the bush,/And yet its growth remains all green and fresh" (Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.29. sec. 7, lines 6–7; 440d). Not to be left out, the Roman philosopher and playwright Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 BCE–65 CE) in his *Thyestes* (line 674) mentions similar manifestations of a non-consuming fire – including an instance of St. Elmo's Fire – on the tips of Roman lances, in *Naturales Quaestiones* (1.1.12–13). Much the same phenomena are mentioned in *Pharsalia* (3.420), by Roman poet Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39–65 CE). The Bithynian rhetorician and orator Dion Prusaeus, aka. Dion Chrysostomus Prusaensis, aka. Dio Chrysostomus Cocceianus (a contemporary of Christ), relates his version of Zoroaster's beatific vision in his *Orationes* 36 (sec. 40–41). Zoroaster (Zarathustra), the founder of Zoroastrianism (c. 628–551 BCE), taught that Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), the creator god, made the world with the help of Spenta Mainyu and other benign spirits, but was embattled by Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), an evil spirit who tried to thwart him (*ODCC*). Finally, in his *Zoroastre Bactriano* (1661), esp. "Prooemium," pp. 5–8, and "Exercitatio Prima," Sec. 8, pp. 56–57, 69–72, Johannes Henricus Ursinus (1608–67), German Lutheran pastor of Regensburg, insists that Zoroaster stole his ideas from the Hebrew Lawgiver and from other portions of the OT. In this, Ursinus was not much behind the same endeavor in Pierre-Daniel Huet's magisterial *Demonstratio Evangelica Ad Serenissimum Delphinum* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 5, pp. 88–95, where Huet asserts the primacy of the Mosaic Scriptures from which Zoroaster and other founders of religions ostensibly derived their inspiration. Huet's masterpiece went through several editions. (Hereafter, all references are to the third edition of Huet's work, published in Paris, in 1690). However, the English Hebraist and professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford, Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), seems to trump them all in his *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum* (1700), which also includes a Latin translation of Zoroaster's precepts (pp. 429–88).

¹⁶ Hecataeus's description survives in Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.22.616) and can be found in *Fragmenta (Jacoby)* (Vol.-Jacoby#-F 3a, 264, F fragm. 21, lines 41–42), by Hecataeus of Abdera (c. 360–290 BCE), a disciple of Pyrrhon (skeptic) and author of several ethnographies (*OCD*).

[3v]

Q. That Phrase of, *A Land flowing with milk & honey?* v. 8.

A. By this very Phrase, the Poets express the greatest Plenty. *Bochart* brings Instances out of *Euripides*, and *Horace*, and *Ovid*.

Abundance of *Milk* and *Honey*, argue a Countrey to be well-watered, fruitful, full of fair Pastures & Flowers; From whence the Flocks may fill their Dugs with *Milk*, & the Bees their Cells with *Honey*.

Ælian, [L.III. *de Animal.* c. 39.¹⁷] saies, *The Goats of Syria*, (which includes this Countrey,) *afford such Plenty of Milk, as in no other Countrey*.¹⁸

Q. The Proposing of a *Future Miracle* to serve as a Token for the Accomplishment of a present Promise, is what seems to contradict the End of Signs & Tokens. Yett such was that which GOD here gave to *Moses*. And such another was given to *Hezekiah?* v. 12.

¹⁷ Patrick (*Exodus* 47), Mather's source, erroneously lists Aelian's chapter 35, instead of 39. Here silently corrected.

¹⁸ Mather's annotation is extracted from Patrick on Exod. 3:8 (*Exodus* 47). In turn, Patrick's trusty source is Samuel Bochart's encyclopedic *Hierozyicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 12, col. 518, which cites the Greek Athenian playwright Euripides (c. 480–407/6 BCE), whose *Bacchae* (142–43) has the Lydian mountains flow with milk, wine, and honey; the Roman lyric poet Horace, aka. Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 BCE), whose *Carmina* (lib. 2, Ode 19, lines 10–12) has his Bacchantes sing of fountains of wine, rivers of milk, and golden honey oozing from tree-trunks; and the Roman poet Ovid, aka. Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BCE–17 CE), whose *Metamorphosis* (1.111–112) describes the Golden Age as flowing with milk and honey, issuing from the veins of the earth even as honey drips from the bark of oaks. Finally, the Greco-Roman author Claudius Aelianus (c. 175–c. 235 CE) has the goats of Cyrene produce milk in abundance (*De Natura Animalium* 3.39). The cornucopia of the poets' Golden Age, Mather seems to imply, is inspired by the Mosaic hyperbole of Canaan as the "Land of Milk and Honey." That being said, Mather was well familiar with the infamous dispute between John Calvin (1509–1564) and Michael Servetus (1511–1553), which led to the latter's execution by burning for heresy, at the hands of the Swiss Reformer (see Mather's lengthy comments on Deut. 8:7). As is well known, the Spanish humanist and cartographer Michael Servetus, aka. Miguel Serveto, published an edition of *Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Geographicae Enarationii Libri Octo* (1535). Servetus 1535 edition reprinted the previous 1525 edition along with the Latin annotations by the Italian translator Jacopo d'Angelo (1406). Alas for D'Angelo's annotation, which included eyewitness accounts by merchants and travelers who described Judea as "incultam, sterilem, omni dulcedine carentem" (uncultivated, barren, and everything without charm) – anything but a land flowing with milk and honey, as the Mosaic Lawgiver had claimed (Exod. 3:8). If that was not an outright attack on Moses' veracity, the Italian annotator trumped, "Quaere promissam terram pollicitam, & non vernacula lingua laudantem pronuncies" (hence it [Promised Land] can only be so extolled in the vernacular in that it was hyped [as a land of milk and honey], not that it had much promise), in *Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Geographica* (1525), lib. 8, "Asiae Minoris," Tabula Terre Sanctae, Judaea (fol. 41). For Calvin, long perturbed by the Spaniard's anti-Trinitarianism, Servetus's reprinted annotation was the straw that broke the camel's back: To righteous Calvin, Servetus blasphemed the Holy Spirit by implicitly charging Moses with prevarication, an offense deserving nothing less than the gibbet and pyre (*Defensio Orthodoxae fidei de sacra Trinitate, contra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serveti Hispani* [1554], 58–59. On Servetus's alleged culpability and trial, see esp. W. K. Tweedie's *Calvin and Servetus* (1846).

A. Monsr. *Saurin* wonders that Interpreters have taken so little Pains to solve the Difficulty. He observes, That there have been Promises of GOD, unto which there have been Conditions annexed: And there have been Promises which have had no Dependence on any Conditions. To bring Promises of the *First Kind*, is a *Glorious* but a *Dangerous* Ministry. The Messenger may be in perpetual Fear, that they to whom he brings the Promises, may fail in the Conditions. But he to whom GOD has given a Commission of the *Second Kind*, can have nothing to Dishearten him: The Infallibility of the Event might support him against all the Obstacles he meets in his Way. *Moses* might be afraid, That the Unbelief of the *Israelites* would be a Bar to their Deliverance. To expel this Fear entirely out of his Mind; GOD makes him sensible, that the Promise He gave him depended not on any Condition, but on the Accomplishment thereof, with all the, Circumstances, was absolutely determined in His Decree: and therefore Acquaints him with the *Exact Place* in which they should pay their Homage to their Deliverer, after their Deliverance.¹⁹

600.

Q. That Name of God, I AM THAT I AM; are there any acknowledgments of it, in Pagan Antiquitie? v. 14.²⁰

A. Doubtless, *Plato's* το ον, came of *Moses's*, Ο ων, as the LXX here translate the, /אֶהְיֶה/ in the Original. As the same Philosophers, το πρωτον ον, οντως ον, Αυτο ον, answer to JEHOVAH.²¹

Yea, *Plutarch* affirms a Remarkable Thing to this Purpose; That the Inscription on the Temple of *Minerva*, in *Egypt*, was thus, Εγω ειμι παν το γεγονος,

¹⁹ Saurin, "Dissertation XLIV," on Exod. ch. 3 (*Dissertations* 365). 2 Kings 19:29.

²⁰ In his "Note Book of Authors" on Exod. ch. 3, Mather lists "v. 13, 14, 15. Preston of Gods Name." Although Mather ultimately elected to extract different sources for his gloss on these verses, he refers to *Of Love. The Second Sermon* (Gal. 5:6), in *The Breast Plate of Faith and Love* (1630), pp. 36–37 (sep. pag.), a posthumous collection of eighteen sermons by John Preston, D.D. (1587–1628), an Anglican clergyman, master of Emmanuel College (Cambridge), preacher at Lincoln's Inn (London), and early formulator (with William Perkins, Henry Sibbes, and others) of Preparationism in the Puritan Order of Salvation. (*ODNB*). In the present context, Preston expounds God's name *I am that I am* (Exod. 3:14) as follows: "I take this word, that it comes from the same roote, *Jehovah* is described by that *I am*, and by that it is best understood, when the Lord calls himselfe *I am*, whereas every man may say, I was, and I shall be, this every creature may say; but the Lord saith, *I am*: that is, whatsoever the Lord was from eternity, the same he is to eternty, there is no change in him: And that is a great excellency in him that may move us exceedingly to love him" (*Of Love*, 2nd sermon, p. 36).

²¹ According to the regnant belief in Mather's day, *Plato's* "the Being" came from *Moses's* THE BEING (LXX 3:14), as the Septuagint translates the Hebrew אֶהְיֶה [Ehyeh] "I AM." See for instance, *Plato's Timaeus* (27d–28c, 37d) and *Phaedo* (78d, lines 4–5). Aristotle also speaks of τὸ πρῶτον ὄν "the being" in his *Metaphysics* (7.1.14, Bekker page 1028a, line 14); and so do *Plato* and others of ὄντως ὄν "that which is" (*Leges* 10.894a, line 6), and again in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (3.4.1001a, line 30), αὐτὸ ὄν "being-itself" – all of which terms Mather here associates with the Hebrew God.

και ην, και εσομενον, *I am all that is, and was, and shall be*:²² which is a plain reference to this Name of God in *Exodus*. Hee also reports the Inscription of EI, in the Temple of *Delphos*, which hee thus applies; “EI, is the compleat Appellation of God; In our Answer and Speaking to God, wee say, *Thou art*; attributing to Him, this True, Certain, & Only Appellation, which agrees to Him alone, who is called, *Being*, or, *Existing*.”²³ And afterwards, hee expatiates upon the feeble and labile Nature of Man, & of all Things, in Comparison of GOD, who is most properly said, To BEE, eternally. This now is *Ehejeh*, learnt from the Hebrewes. *Eusebius* takes a great deal of Pains, (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) to prove, That *Plato* took his Notion of α, το ον αιει, γενεσιν δ’ ουκ εχον· *A Being, that is alwayes, but had no Beginning*; from these Words of *Moses*. *Numenius* the *Pythagorean* speaks it more plainly; το ον, αιδιον βεβαιον τε εστιν, αιε κατα ταυτον και ταυτον· *That which is, is Eternal and Stedfast, alwayes the very Same, without Variation*.²⁴

Tis no Wonder (saies our *Patrick*) these Men, if they mett with this Passage in *Moses*, were highly pleased with it: For *Hilary* himself tells us, that he lighting upon these Words, as he was musing about God & Religion, before he was yett a Christian, was struck with Admiration; There being nothing so proper

22 Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (354c, line 6). More accurately, ‘ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὃν καὶ ἐσόμενον’: “I am all that has been, and is, and shall be.” Mather’s slightly shortens the Greek citation and generally omits the diacritics (on this issue, see his *Manuductio* 29–30). True to his Hellenist heritage, the Greco-Roman historian and biographer Plutarch (c. 46 BCE–120 CE) argues that the statue of the Egyptian goddess Isis in the temple of Saïs (Nile Delta) is the same as the Greek goddess Athena (the Roman Minerva). As protectress of motherhood, fertility, and the new-born, Isis arrogated unto herself the cryptic title of the God of the Israelites – so Mather and his peers believed in the best manner of *Prisca theologia*. Matthew Poole’s magnum opus *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:328–29) and *Works* (4:69–70) offers the standard wisdom on the topic of God’s ineffable name. The German Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1601–80) spent much time in depicting the statue of Isis and in describing her ancient significance in his omnium-gatherum *Edipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), tom. 1, synt. 3, cap. 4, pp. 185–89. (See also BA 1:1061–62n). The Anglican divine Thomas Tenison (1636–1715) – later archbishop of Canterbury – discusses the same point in his *Of Idolatry* (1678), ch. 5, part 2, p. 52, but is *not* Mather’s source in this instance.

23 Here, as in the entire paragraph, Mather closely follows Patrick’s annotations on Exod. 3:14 (*Exodus* 51–52). In turn, Patrick’s source is, among others, Eusebius Pamphilus (c. 265–c. 341), bishop of Caesarea, whose *Praeparatio evangelica* (11.10–11; 527d–528a) in its turn excerpts the disquisition on the Transcendent Being “εἷ” [EI], from Plutarch’s *De E Apud Delphos* (392a, lines 1–9).

24 Exod. 3:14 “I am that I am” (KJV), Hebrew אֶהְיֶה [Ehyeh] or *Ehejeh* in Mather’s vocalization. The Greek passage τὸ ὃν αἰεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον appears in Plato’s *Timaeus* (27d, line 6) and is excerpted in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 11.9. sec. 4, line 4; 524b). The adapted citation from the Pythagorean Platonist Numenius of Apamea (second century CE) appears in Eusebius’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (11.10. sec. 4, lines 3–4) and reads in the original Τὸ ἄρα ὃν αἰδιὸν τε βεβαιὸν τέ ἐστιν αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτόν καὶ ταῦτόν. Like that of Plato, it is a third-hand thing which Mather extracts in abbreviated form from Simon Patrick’s commentary *Exodus* (53), which also supplies Mather with his translation.

to GOD, as, To BE. He thought it worthy of GOD, to say of Himself, I AM THAT I AM; and, HE THAT IS, *hath sent me to you*.²⁵

It is remarkable, That we still have in the Fragments of *Pythagoras*, commonly called, *His Golden Verses*; an Oath by *Him that has the Four Letters*. He makes Use of the Term, τετρακτῶε upon which *Macrobius* ha's made a Comment much more obscure than the Text itself.²⁶ Our *Selden* ha's given us a Better. Doubtless, the Name /יהוה/ the *Tetragrammaton*, is what he has an Eye unto.²⁷

[4r]

Q. Some further Thoughts on that Name of the Glorious God, I AM THAT I AM? v. 14.

A. I cannot mend them, & therefore you shall have them in the Expressions of Dr. *Arrowsmith*. [His, *Chain of Principles*.]²⁸

"I cannot but applaud the wise answer of that Philosopher, who when his Hearers said to him, *Sir, You have uttered many excellent Things concerning God, but we cannot as yett understand what he is*; told them plainly, *were I fully able to sett forth God, I should either be God myself, or God Himself would cease to be what He is*. [Si omninò ego Deum declararem, vel ego Deus essem, vel ille Deus nonforet.]"²⁹

25 Patrick's commentary on Exod. 3:15, in *Exodus* (52). St. Hilary (c. 315–67), bishop of Poitiers, expresses his amazement in *De trinitate* 1.5 [PL 010. 0028], in *NPNFii* (9:41).

26 Mather alludes to Pythagoras's *Fragmenta* (p. 170, line 15) which, like his *Carmen aureum* (line 47), mentions the τετρακτὴν; i. e., quaternion (Tetragrammaton), the mystical Four Letters of God. The poet swears an oath on "the Quaternion, or Number of Four, which is the Source of the Eternal Order of the World." According to the annotations of the French classical scholar André Dacier (1651–1722), this source "is nothing else than God himself, who has created all things" (*The Life of Pythagoras* [1707], pp. 316–17, esp. note g). See also Mather's *BA* (1:336–37, 950). In his *Commentarii Somnium Scipionis* (lib. 1, cap. 2 ad finem), the Roman grammarian and Neoplatonist philosopher Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (4th–5th c. CE) summarizes the ancient philosophic disquisitions on the gods, including those of Pythagoras of Samnos (c. BCE 570–495).

27 The English scholar and orientalist John Selden (1584–1654) traces the Tetragrammaton, the Four Letters of God's Hebrew appellation, in the context of the names of the pagan gods "Baal and Belus" of the Chaldeans, Babylonians, and Phoenicians, in Selden's *De Diis Syris Synagoga II* (1617), synt. 2, cap. 1, esp. pp. 103–15. On Selden's significance as an early modern mythologist, see G. G. Stroumsa's *New Science* (44–49).

28 Mather's extract is from *Armilla Catechetica. A Chain of Principles* (1659), a collection of exegetical exercises and aphorisms, by John Arrowsmith D. D. (1602–59), master of St. John's and Trinity College, Cambridge, professor of divinity, and member of the Westminster Assembly.

29 Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica*, Aphorism III, Exercitation 3, § 1, pp. 130–31. Arrowsmith (p. 130) states that "some" attribute this wise saying to the Stoic philosopher Epictetus of Hierapolis, Phrygia (c. 55–c. 135 CE). Mather supplies the translation of the Latin quote in the preceding italicized passage.

“Were all such Passages sett aside, as are not originally the Heathens own, but borrowed from Jewish or Christian Authors, I should not be afraid to affirm, that there is one very short Expression in Scripture, to witt this, *I AM THAT I AM*; which Reveleth more of God, than all the large Volumns of Ethnic Writers.³⁰ An Expression so framed, as to take in all differences of Time, according to the Idiom of the Hebrew Tongue, wherein a Verb of the Future Tense, as *Ehje*h is, may signify Time past and present, as well as that which is to come. Hence ariseth a great Latitude of Interpretation; for according to different Readings, it implies different Things. Reading as we do, *I am that I am*, it imports the *Supremacy* of Gods Being. The Creatures have more of *Non-Entity*, than of *Being* in them. It is proper to *Him*, to say, *I AM*. Εγώ ο ων. So the Septuagint. Or, the *Simplicity* thereof. Whereas in Creatures, the *Thing* and its *Being*, *Ens* and *Essentia*, are distinguishable; in *Him* they are both one. Or, the *Ineffability*; as if the Lord had said unto *Moses* enquiring His Name; *I am myself*, and there is nothing without myself, that can fully express my Being. Which putt *Scaliger* upon inventing that admirable Epithet, Αὐταυτός, that is, *Ipsissimus Ipse*.³¹ Or, lastly, the *Eternitie* thereof; since there never was, never will be, a Time wherein God might not, or may not say of Himself, *I am*. Whence it is, that when *CHRIST* would manifest His *goings out from Everlasting*, as *Micah* phraseth it,³² He makes Use of this Expression, *Before Abraham was, I AM*;³³ not, *I was*; for that might have been said of *Enoch*, *Noah*, and others who lived before *Abrahams* time, yett were not eternal; but, *I am*. If it be rendred, *I am what I was*, as *Piscator* would have it, then it speaks His *Immutabilitie*;³⁴ *I am* in Executing, what I was in | Promising; *Yesterday, & To Day, & the Same forever*. If, as others, *I will be what I will be*, then it denotes His *Independency*. That Essence which Creatures have, depend upon the Creators Will; None of them can say, *I will be*; not having of and in itself any Power to make itself persevere in Being, as God hath. It may perhaps intimate all these; and much more than the Tongues of Angels can utter.

[4v]

³⁰ Arrowsmith § 2 (p. 131). The term “Ethnick,” derived from the Greek ἐθνικός [heathen], is generally the term used to translate the Hebrew idiom “goy,” i. e., “Gentile” (*OED*).

³¹ Mather (via Arrowsmith, p. 132) here refers to *Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber Quinto Decimus. De Subtilitate, Ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1557), Exercitatio CCCLV: “*Entium nova partitio, admirabilis, & arcana*,” § 2 [“*De Deo*”], pp. 472^r–472^v, by Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), a distinguished French-Italian humanist, physician, and polemicist. Scaliger’s Greek Αὐταυτός, which Arrowsmith (p. 132) renders “*Ipsissimus Ipse*,” suggests “his [God’s] very own self.”

³² Mic. 5:2.

³³ John 8:58.

³⁴ The German Reformed theologian Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), professor of Oriental languages at the Reformed academy at Herborn, argues in his *Commentarium in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1643–46), on Exod. 3:14, Scholia in cap. III, p. 156, note 14, and Observationes ex cap. III, p. 157, note 10, that God’s existence before the patriarchs speaks his immutability and independency.

Verily, It is a Speech containing more in it, (as a learned Writer acknowledgeth,) than Humane Capacities can attain.”³⁵

Quæ verbulo hoc continentur omnium hominum capacitatem transcendunt.

Rivet, in loc.³⁶

“Lett me only observe, before I leave it, the notorious Impudence of Apostate Spirits. Satan, not contenting himself to have gott the Name of *Jove*, in Imitation of *Jehovah*, the Incommunicable Name of GOD, prevailed with his deduced Followers, to ascribe unto him that which the Lord of Heaven & Earth assumes to Himself, in this mysterious Place of *Exodus*; saying, *I am that I am*. For, over the Gate of *Apollo*’s Temple, in the City of *Delphi*, so famed for Oracles, was engraved in Capital Letters, this Greek Word, *ΕΙ*, which signifies, *Thou art*; whereby those that came thither to worship, or to consult Satans Oracle, were instructed to acknowledge him the Fountain of Being, & the only True God; as one *Ammonius* is brought in, discoursing at large of this very thing, in the last Treatise of *Plutarchs* Morals.”³⁷

Q. On the Glorious GOD conversing with *Moses*? v. 22.³⁸

A. *Blackwel* observes, Those Expressions in *Homer* and *Horace*, that *Minos* discoursed with *Jupiter*, and was admitted unto his Cabinet Councils, do seem to be taken from those wonderful Passages in the Scripture, which acquaint us,

³⁵ Arrowsmith § 2 (pp. 131–33). Except for some changes in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and the Greek diacritics, Mather is generally true to the original.

³⁶ Mather’s Latin citation appears in the margin of Arrowsmith’s volume (p. 133), but originates in *Commentarii, In Librum secundum Mosis, qui Exodus* (1634), p. 94 (on Exod. 3:14), by André Rivet (1572–1651), staunch Huguenot theologian, professor at Leyden, and voluminous author. Mather’s second-hand citation from Arrowsmith’s *Armillæ Catechetica* (p. 133) declares, “The things that are contained in this little phrase exceed the capacity of all people.”

³⁷ Mather, via Arrowsmith § 3 (pp. 133–34), alludes to Plutarch’s narrative of the debate between Ammonius (Plutarch’s teacher) and Lamprias (Plutarch’s brother), in Plutarch’s *De E apud Delphos*, on the multiple significations of the Greek letter *E* = *EI* (385*a*, line 3 and 385*f*, line 8), which among several other meanings suggests “thou art,” a designation applied to Apollo, who has “eternal being.” See also Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride* (9.354*c*, line 6–10) and Smolinski, “Eager Imitators” (301).

³⁸ See Appendix B. In his “Note Book of Authors,” on Exod. 3:22, Mather identifies his sources as “Dr. J. Edwards’s C. P. H. T. Exercitations”; i. e., John Edwards’s *Exercitationes Criticæ, Philosophicæ, Historicæ, Theologicæ* (1702), Exercitation III (Exod. 3:22), pp. 44–53 – Edwards’s elucidation on why the departing Israelites were justified in “borrowing” their neighbors’ “jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and rayment.” Mather probably excised his earlier extract or reference to Edwards’s *Exercitation* and (for whatever reason) replaced it with Thomas Blackwell’s gloss (see below), which would be more appropriate for an annotation on Exod. 33:11. Yet in scouting for evidence among the ancients that the pagan gods communicated with their mortal charges, Mather allocates proof that the Almighty did not deign it beneath him to speak to Moses face to face.

that *Moses* conversed with GOD, and that His Infinite Majesty spoke to that highly favoured Man *Face to Face, as a Man speaketh unto his Friend*.³⁹

39 Exod. 33:11. Mather's likely source (though something of an anachronism) is the Scotsman Thomas Blackwell (1701–57), professor of Greek at Marischal College, at Aberdeen, whose *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735), sect. 10, p. 189, points out that “of all the ancient Heroes, *Minos* alone is celebrated as the *Companion of Jove*, with whom he conversed as with a Friend. From him, tis said, he had his Laws; and to account for this Familiarity, he was afterwards called his *Son*” (189). Blackwell's footnote refers to Homer's Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστύς (*Scholia in Odysseam [scholia vetera]*, bk. 19, hypothesis-verse 178, line 2), which the Roman Horace translates as “Jovis Arcanis Minos admissus,” suggesting that “Minos was admitted to the secret councils of Jove” (*Carminum*, lib. 1, Ode 28, line 9). Blackwell's innovative study of mythology (especially in his *Letters Concerning Mythology* [1748]) posited that in removing the accretions of priestly alterations from ancient mythological tales, one can arrive at the origin of Chaldean and Phoenician sources, which also informed the Hebrew writers of the OT. Blackwell's revolutionary argument flew in the face of those of his predecessors and contemporaries, including Mather himself – see f.e. BA 1:312–16, 436–39; Theophilus Gale's *The Court of the Gentiles* [1669–78]) – who argued that the similarity between OT narratives and those found in pagan mythology resulted either from pagan borrowings from the Hebrew Scriptures or from the corruptions of the original tales passed down by Noah's offspring and disseminated in distorted versions among all peoples. (*ODNB*). In this Gale and his peers followed the claim of Clemens Alexandrinus (c. 150–c. 215 CE), who insisted that the Greeks had their philosophy and wisdom from the Hebrew patriarchs (*Stromata* 1.21–29; 2.5, 18, 22; 5.14; 6.3–5). As Sir Walter Raleigh put it, “it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the bookes of *Moses*, as by places stolen thence, almost word for word, may appear” (*History of the World* [1614], bk. 1, ch. 6, § 7, p. 93. See also H. C. Maddux, “Euhemerism and Ancient Theology” (337–59).

Q. On that Clause, *They will not hearken to my Voice?* v. 1.

A. Dr. *Gell* takes notice of a special Emphasis in the Hebraism; *They will not hear in my Voice*. There is an, *Inward Word* convey'd in the *Outward Voice*. It is a, Saying of *Anselm*, *Aliud est verbum, aliud est vox*. Many times Men are not sensible, who speaks to them, when the Messengers of God utter their *Voice*. They don't *Hearken to God in the Voice*. Our Saviour saies, *He that heareth you, heareth me*.¹

Q. Why is *Moses* bidden to *take the Serpent by the Tail?* v. 4.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* ha's this Ingenious Remark upon it.² It is worth observing, That *Moses* is commanded, to take the *Serpent by the Tail*: For to meddle with the *Serpents Head*, belonged not unto *Moses*, but unto *Christ*, that spoke to him out of the Bush. [Gen.3.15.]

And when you have observed this, you may also note, that the Rod, which at *Sinai*, became *Nahash*, an ordinary Snake, before *Pharaoh* became *Tannin* [Exod. 7.10.] a Serpent of the greater Dimensions; perhaps a *Crocodile* (*Pharaohs* own Picture!) which Beast the *Egyptians* adored; & unto whose Jawes they had exposed the poor Hebrew Infants in the River.³

¹ Extracted from *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 191 (top), a critique of the KJV translation, by the Anglican clergyman Robert Gell, D. D. (1595–1665), rector of St. Mary, Aldermary (London), and chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, Gell's *Essay* is perhaps the most detailed (though largely ignored) attack on the accuracy of the AV. The reference is to Anselmi Laudunensis, *Enarrationes in Evangelium Matthaei*, cap. 3 [PL 162. 1262B–C], by the French theologian and early scholastic Anselmus of Laon (c. 1050–1117), and translates, “One is the Word, the Other is the Voice” (Luke 10:16), based on “the voice crying in the wilderness” (Isa. 40:3–5). Mather's extract from Gell was originally intended as a gloss on verse 13, but he there cancelled Gell's passage and moved it to its present position. Mather also quotes Gell's *Essay* on several other occasions in *BA* 1:666, 671, 942, 1053–54, 1080–81. On the history and reception of the KJV (1611) translation, see D. Norton's *History of the English Bible* (2000), his “The KJV at 400: Assessing Its Genius” (3–27), and H. P. Scanlin's “Revising the KJV” (141–55).

² The following paragraphs are partially based on *An Handful of Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus* (1643), sec. 7, pp. 7–8. Subsequent references to this work are to the 1682 edition, bound with *The Works* (1684) 1:702, by the rabbinic scholar John Lightfoot (1602–75), rector of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, best known for his esteemed *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1658–78), in 6 vols. (*ODCC*). Although Simon Patrick (*Exodus* 58–59) offers much the same, Mather was more impressed by Lightfoot's Christological application – missing in Patrick.

³ The meaning of the Hebrew terms *nachash* and *tannin* were hotly debated in Mather's time (see his commentary on Gen. 3:1, 14–15; in *BA* 1:476–80, 483–84). The Chaldean word ܬܢܝܢ *Tannin* is variously rendered *a serpent* (Munster, Tigurinus) and *a dragon* (LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch, in Syriac, Arabic, by Montanus, Junius and Tremellius, Oleaster, Ainsworth, and Vatablus) – all accessible in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:342), on Exod. 7:9.

Moses's flying from the *Serpent* will not be wondrous at, by him that reads how the *Crocodile* is described, Job. 41.14, 25. *His Teeth are terrible, round about; when he raises up himself, the Mighty are afraid.*⁴

Q. That Prodigy of *Moses's* leprous Hand, what Use was there made of it, among the Pagans of those, & after Ages? v. 6.

A. *Moses*, no doubt, acted over this Prodigy before *Pharaoh*: for 't'was required here, v. 21. *Omnia illa prodigia, quæ posui in MANU TUA, facias coram Pharaone.*⁵ Well, you shall now see, how prodigiously our Blessed *Moses*, ha's been upon this Account abused. If you read *Josephus* against *Appion*, you'll find that the Ancient Historians generally spread a Story about the World, That *Moses* was a *Lepër*; altho' they otherwise acknowledged great Vertues in him; they report him διὰ τὴν λέπραν συνεξέληλαμένον, for his *Leprosy* driven with the rest of the *Israel*, out of *Egypt*.⁶ The Simplicity and Integrity of those Historians, makes mee think, that they did not forge this Fable out of pure Malice; but that from the *Egyptian* Traditions, which were made with a sufficient Partiality, they snatch'd a Peece of a Story, which ha's been with Malice enough thus disguised. It is also possible, That from the very Writings of *Moses* himself, the Gentiles took further Occasion to Reproche the whole *Israelitish* Nation, as Infected with the *Leprosy*. The Largeness & Fulness of the *Mosaic* Lawes, about that Malady, might invigorate that Reproche.⁷ Altho', I confess, it is not altogether unlikely that the oppressed Way of Living, whereto the *Israelites* were compelled in *Egypt*, might make this Distemper more common among them. Those Words in Exod. 15.26. *I am the Lord thy Healer*, would intimate, that the People had been much disordered with a Disease, whereof the Lord was now *healing* them.

Samuel Bochart's encyclopedic study of the biblical bestiary adds two more interpretations of *Tannin*: *leviathan* and *crocodile* – both applied to the Egyptian Pharaoh, in *Hierozyicon* (pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 16, col. 770, lines 20–34, and cap. 18, col. 795, lines 33–46). Philo Judæus (*De Vita Mosis* 1.77, line 3) calls it ὑπερμεγέθης δράκων “an immense serpent,” or more literally “an immense dragon” (*Works* 466). Finally, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* turns *Moses's* staff into a “fiery serpent” (ch. 40, p. 316).

⁴ See Bochart (*Hierozyicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 16 and 18). “They say that when the viper looks upon the shadow of a flying bird,” R. Ishmael glosses in his midrash (Exod. 15:22), “the bird immediately is whirled around and falls in pieces” (*Mekhila De-Rabbi Ishmael* 1:224). Mather alludes to the Egyptian Sobek, aka. Soknopais, a crocodilian Nile deity associated with the fertile soil of the banks of the River Nile (R. Wilkinson's *Complete Gods*). For the fiery flying serpents, see Mather's commentary on Numb 21:6, 8, 9 (below).

⁵ Exod. 4:21 (VUL): “All the wonders which have been put in your hand, do them before Pharaoh.”

⁶ Mather misspells συνεξέληλαμένον as συνεξέληλασμένον (Josephus Flavius, *Contra Apionem*, bk. 1, sec. 279, line 4; *Contra Apion* 1.30) “ejected, driven out.” The story of *Moses's* leprosy – which Josephus extracts from Manetho's *Ægyptiaca* (fragm. 54, sec. 26, lines 229–230; sec. 31, lines 279–80) – is also related by the Roman historian Publius Cornelius Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.4).

⁷ Mather here closely follows Manetho's account in Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.31).

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, that as *Manetho* perhaps did not maliciously devise the Story of *Moses's* having the *Leprosy*, out of his own Head, so those Historians from whom he borrow'd his Work; might have but an imperfect Tradition of the Truth, derived from this Passage of *Moses* appearing with a *Leptous Hand* before *Pharaoh*; which was presently noised about the Countrey, without the other Part, of his being immediately cured. And thus, *Helladius Besantinus*, an *Egyptian* Writer, in his, *Chresto-Mathia*, mentions one, who saies, *Moses* was called, *Αλφα*, because his Body τοις ἀλφοῖς καταστικτος ἦν: *was mark't with white leptous Spotts*. The same is affirm'd by *Philomæus Hephæstionis*.⁸

1077.

Q. The *Leptous Hand* of *Moses*, what Remarkable Intimation was there in it? v. 6.

A. The Power of *Moses* himself, to do any of these *Miracles*, was hereby disclaimed. It could not bee so Impure and Unclean an Hand, as that of *Moses*, that could work such mighty Wonders.⁹

Memorandum. Wee read not of *Miracles*, before This, done by any Prophet: and the *Miracles* of the great Prophet herein seem referr'd unto. Never any, that wee read of, cast out a *Divel*, (the old *Serpent*), or, heal'd a *Leper* (for *Elisha* did no more than Direct *Naaman*) until the Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ: who was to do these two things, for the *Soul*, as well as for the *Body*.¹⁰

1384.

Q. This Business (what you were just now saying,) That it is not altogether unlikely, the *Leprosy* might bee somewhat common among the Israelites in *Egypt*; it seems as if it might bee a Conjecture that would assist the Explication, of some further *Matters & Scriptures*? v. 6.

⁸ Via Patrick (*Exodus* 61), Mather draws on Helladios Bésantinos (4th c. CE), an Egyptian-Hellenist grammarian of Antinoupolis (Egypt), whose *Chrestomathia* is extant in fragments, in *Bibliotheca*, by the Byzantine scholar and Patriarch of Constantinople Photius Constantinopolitanus (c. 810–c. 893). (*KP*). The Greek passage is adapted from τοις ἀλφοῖς κατάστικτος ἦν and appears in Patrick, whose immediate source is *Helladion Besantinoon Chrestomatiai: cum notis Joannis Meursii* (1686), by the Flemish classical scholar extraordinaire Johannes Meursius, aka. Jan van Meurs (1579–1639). Meursius's many books on, and editions of, ancient Greek literature and history were among the tools of the trade of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century classicists. Philomæus Hephæstionis, mentioned in Meursius's notes in *Chrestomathia*, is probably the Greek grammarian of Alexandria (2nd c. CE), whose *Ἑγχειρίδιον περὶ μέτρων* consists of a fully extant representation of the system of Alexandrian (poetic) metrics (*KP*).

⁹ Similarly, *Moses's* speech impediment (*Exod.* 4:10) is frequently cited to remind believers of his mortality – else his followers might have deified him after his death in the best Euhemerist manner of the day.

¹⁰ One of the many wonders performed by Elisha, the prophet, is that of healing the Syrian general Naaman from leprosy (2 Kings 5:1–19).

A. You know the wretched and sottish Account about the *Jewish* Nation, given in the Annals of *Tacitus*.¹¹ Among other things, hee saies, “*Sundry Authors agree, that there being an Epidemical Scabies throughout Egypt, which polluted their Bodies; King Occhoris addressing himself to Hammons Oracle, and supplicating a Remedy, received this Mandate, To purge the Kingdome of that Sort of People, | which were not acceptable to the Gods and convey them into other Countreyes.*”¹² [5v] Whereupon, Inquisition being made, they were gathered together, and proscribed for a March.” – The rest of the Story is too long to transcribe. I’ll only add, that Passage from him. “They abstained from *Swines Flesh*, in Memory of their *Scabies* (whereto this Creature is very obnoxious) with which they were polluted.”¹³

Now, tho’ I beleeve a great Part of the Stuff related about the Jewes, by this Historian, just as much as I do his derivation of the Name *Judæi*, from the Mountain *Ida* in *Crete*;¹⁴ yett, for the Reasons, which I have already told you, I do suspect, there may bee so much True, That the *Scab* of *Egypt*, was very much upon the *Israelites* themselves, as well as upon the *Egyptians*, just before their first Coming out from among them. Now if this may bee Admitted, Then, altho’ you find in another Place assigning other Causes for the Law so strictly prohibiting *Swines-flesh*, yett I will here plainly confess, my Opinion, That the true Original of the *Law* against *Swines-flesh*, was not only the Ceremonial Remembrance of the *Egyptian Scab*, once epidemical among the *Israelites*, but also a Medicinal Caution against the Catching, and Breeding of this Malady, which the *Swine*, especially in those Countreyes were notorious for their frequent Infection with. And the Original of the more than ordinary Antipathy in the *Israelitish* Nation against *Swines-flesh*, was from a Commemoration of that primitive Calamity and Indignity.¹⁵

11 The story is told in Tacitus’s *Historiarum* (5.3–4), not his *Annals*, by the Publius Cornelius Tacitus (56–117 CE), Roman senator and historian.

12 Mather uses an alternate spelling of the king’s name. Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.3) calls him “Bocchoris.” Modern historians generally point to Pharaoh Bocchoris, an eighth-century BCE ruler of the 24th dynasty, whereas the Mosaic exodus is generally dated to have occurred in the thirteenth-century BCE. However, a recent historian argues that Bocchoris lived considerably earlier than is commonly assumed (see D. Ridgway’s “Rehabilitation”). The Egyptian oracle of Hammon is believed to be that in the Libyan oasis Siwah (Tacitus, *Histories*, vol. 3, p. 179, note 7). On the oracle of Hammon (Ammon), see Antonius van Dale’s *De Oraculis Ethnicorum Dissertationes Duæ* (1683), Diss. Prima, pp. 86–90; Diss. Secunda, pp. 287–88.

13 Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.4). Much the same is related out of Manetho’s *Ægyptiaca*, in Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.26–28).

14 Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.2).

15 In his comments on Tacitus’s distortions of the Mosaic history, Mather appears to lean on the same objections Josephus launches against Manetho’s version, in Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.31). The parasitic disease Trichinosis – the result of eating undercooked pork – was well known throughout history, but the infectious *Trichinella* larva was not discovered until the nineteenth century (*OED*).

Q. The *Slow Speech* of *Moses*? v. 10.¹⁶

A. The Jewes think, He had an *Impediment in his Speech*; so that he could not pronounce exactly some Letters or Words; at least not without some Difficulty; but it was long before he could bring them forth. The LXX understand it, as if he had but a weak, & small Voice; or spoke, *Voce gracili et exili*, (as it may be translated,) which rendred him unfit, he thought, for an *Ambassador*. This disagrees not, with what *Stephen* saies, Act. 7.22. He was *mighty in Words*. The Sense of what he spake was weighty, tho' his Pronunciation were not answerable. One would also think, That by Exercise he grew prompt in the Delivery of his Mind; For he made very long Speeches to the People, before he went out of the World.¹⁷

Q. Unto whom is it probable, that *Moses* referr'd, when he said, *I pray thee, send by the Hand of Him, whom thou shouldest send*? v. 13.

¹⁶ In his "Note Book on the Authors" (Exod. 4:8), Mather identifies as one of his sources "Mathers, Latter Sign. V. 8. MSS. Pat. No. X. Sermon. 63." This cryptic notation is probably a reference to Cotton Mather's own collection of short-hand notes of his father's millenarian and Christological interpretations of Exod. 4:8–9 – the Israelites' disbelief in the voice of the first and latter signs. Among Increase's eschatological publications are *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669), *Diatriba De Signo Filii Hominis, Et De Secundo Messiae Adventu* (1682), *A Dissertation, wherein The Strange Doctrine* (1708), Appendix, pp. 91–135; and *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (1709). See also Cotton Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (1995).

¹⁷ Extracted from Simon Patrick on Exod. 4:10 (*Exodus* 63–64). According to the LXX (Exod. 4:11) Moses was "weak in speech, and slow tongued." His alleged speech impediment was hotly debated by commentators throughout the ages. Rashi argues that Moses had always been a "stammerer" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:50); Ramban insists that Moses' impairment had been from his youth and that he did not implore God to cure him because "of his [Moses'] great desire not to go [on the mission]" (*Commentary* 2:46–49); Rashbam relates that Moses claimed he was "not fluent in the Egyptian spoken by the upper classes of the aristocracy," because he had fled Egypt before his education was "completed" (*Hachut Hameshulash* 4:938). Perhaps the most fanciful cause of Moses' stammering is told in R. Bachya ben Asher (*Commentary* 3:798–99): According to *Pessikta Zutrata*, Moses "burned his tongue" on a "glowing coal," when as a boy he played with Pharaoh, grabbed his crown, and threw it on the ground. When Pharaoh's advisers tried to augur the meaning of this insolence, they tested the boy's evil intent by having him choose between "a golden coin and a glowing coal." However, an angel interposed and directed Moses to grab the burning coal and place it on his tongue. For had the boy taken the gold coin instead, "this would be a sign that he was dangerous and he would have to be killed." However, mystically interpreted, Moses' burning coal placed on his lips prefigures his divine inspiration – if the like event in Isaiah's time (Isa. 6:6–13) may serve as a prophetic antitype. The Reformation and post-Reformation commentators on both sides of the aisle similarly pondered the meaning of Moses' impediment (see Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:331 and *Works* 4:80–82). Mather's own youthful struggle with stammering (*Diary* 1:2–3, 49–52) – which nearly incapacitated him to become a clergyman – was cured (no doubt) by less miraculous means, when his old Latin School teacher, Elijah Corlet, taught him to practice "a dilated Deliberation in speaking" (Samuel Mather's *Life of Cotton Mather* [1729], p. 26).

A. *Shilo*, no doubt.¹⁸ *Moses* prays, for the *Messiah* to be sent on this weighty Undertaking. He uses the same Word, that *Jacob* had used, in his Prophecy of the *Messiah*.¹⁹ Consult the *Samaritan*, the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, the *Persic*, together with the Jerusalem *Targum*, and that of *B. Uzziel*, (tho' in this last, *Phinehas* be foolishly named,) and then Judge, whether they do not all favour this Interpretation.²⁰

And *Fleming* thinks, the Consideration of the Context, will render it yett more probable; seeing here God allowes *Moses* to be a Typical *Schiloh*, and raises him above the Character of a *Prophet*, which He yett gives unto *Aaron*. See v. 16. and ch. 7.1.²¹

Q. D. "Thou shalt be a Sort of a *Shiloh*, and therefore thou art now allow'd in a Metaphorical Sense, the Character of a *God*, which belongs properly to my *Shiloh*; and *Aaron* shall be thy *Prophet*."²²

¹⁸ Far from being singular, Mather's messianic interpretation that Moses asked God to send "*Shilo*" appears to be informed by John Edwards's *Farther Enquiry* (1692), p. 14, where Mather's conservative friend and correspondent argues that the designation "*Shiloh*" is derived from the verb *Shalah*, i.e., שָׁלַח *Shalach*, the imperative verb form of "send" [Strong's # 7971]. In this messianic application, Mather (via Edwards) is supported by such Reformation divines as Vatablus, Fagius, Castalio, Schindler, Avenarius, Hottinger, and Mede. See Mather's commentary on Gen. 49:10 (*BA* 1:1129–30, note 97).

¹⁹ Gen. 49:10.

²⁰ The Targums Onkelos and the Samaritan, the Syriac, Arabic, and Persic translations of the Pentateuch – all have Moses ask God to send someone else without mentioning his name (Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:240, 241). However, the Targum Jonathan Ben Uzziel (Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 4:108) has Moses ask God to "Send now Thy sending by the hand of Phinehas, by whom it is to be sent at the end of the days"; whereas the Jerusalem Targum renders the passage, "Send now by the hand of him by whom it is opportune to send" (*The Targums* 1:453). R. Abraham Ibn Ezra (*Commentary: Exodus* 102–03) identifies Aaron as the one intended here. On the history of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its relation to the Torah, see R.T. Anderson and T. Giles, *The Samaritan Pentateuch* (2012). An intriguing, new interpretation asserting that the Samaritan Pentateuch preserves an older textual tradition than that of the Masoretic Text is advanced by Benyamin Tsedaka, in the recently published "The First English Translation of the Israelite Samaritan Torah," in Tsedaka's translation *The Israelite Samaritan Version of the Torah* (2013), pp. xxi–xxvi. The same argument about the authenticity and trustworthiness of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* is central to the thesis of William Whiston's *An Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (1722), esp. Prop. VI, pp. 164–71; and Prop. XIII, p. 329; and Appendix I, pp. i–xv (sep. pag.), in which Whiston collates the then recently printed Samaritan Pentateuch (Paris Polyglot, 1645; Walton's London Polyglot, 1657) with the Hebrew Masora and the Greek Septuagint (LXX). On the evolution of the various polyglot bibles in the early modern period, see A. Schenker, "Polyglot Bibles" (774–84).

²¹ Mather refers to *Christology. A Discourse Concerning Christ* (1705), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1, p. 123 and vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 6, pp. 609–10, by Robert Fleming (c. 1660–1716), a Presbyterian clergyman, pastor of a Scottish church in Rotterdam, and advisor to William of Orange.

²² Significantly, Fleming suggests that as an anointed high priest Aaron, too, was a type of the Messiah and of Christ (*Christology*, vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 6, p. 254). Mather's point which was to be proven (his "Q.[E.] D.") is that in Exod. 4:13, Moses asked God to send the true "*Shiloh*" to Pharaoh to redeem the Israelites from Egyptian bondage. See also his commentary on Gen. 49:10 (*BA* 1:1125–35).

Q. Upon the Difficulty of *Moses*, to undertake the Conduct of the People? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* mentions the Observation of *Plato*, L. I. *de Rep*: which *Eusebius* ha's also noted out of him; "No *Magistracy* being designed for the Profit of him that governs, but of those that are governed, I must needs conclude, *saies he*, μηδενά εθελειν εκοντα αρχειν.²³ That no *Man* (who is considerate, he means,) will voluntarily take upon him the Government of a People. For he that will use his Power well, *Never does that which is best for himself, but for those whom he governs.*"²⁴

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *Thou shalt be to him instead of God*? v. 16.

A. *Grotius* takes the Meaning to bee, Thou shalt have [*Jus gladij*] the Power of Life & Death, over him and others: And hee notes, *Nunquam hoc nomen hominibus datur, nisi ad significandum jus Vitæ ac Necis.*²⁵

[6r]

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1912.

Q. Have wee not here an Opportunity, to entertain ourselves with some *Curiosities*, concerning that great *MOSES*, whom wee find here employ'd, as a Deliverer, & a Lawgiver, to the People of God? v. 18.²⁶

A. Some do conceive *Moses*, to have been the first, who instructed Mankind, in the Mystery of *Writing*. If hee were so, hee deserves to bee *Written of.*²⁷

²³ The Greek citation μηδενά εθελειν εκοντα αρχειν appears in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (12.9.3, line 2; 582d) can be rendered "no one will voluntarily govern." The great Greek Father of Caesarea here comments on a passage from Plato's *Republic* (1.342e), which Eusebius also excerpts. As usual Mather omits all diacritics from his Greek citations (see his *MAM* 29–30).

²⁴ Mather's annotation is extracted from Patrick on Exod. 4:14 (*Exodus* 67).

²⁵ Hugo Grotius on Exod. 4:16, in *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (1642), p. 29, notes that "this name is never granted to men, except to signify the power of life and death."

²⁶ Subsequent paragraphs are extracted from John Edwards's apologetic *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693–95), vol. 3, ch. 4, pp. 159–62. Mather was very fond of Edwards's conservative exegesis and, wherever appropriate, incorporated his defense of the Bible in the *Biblia Americana*. For a useful assessment of Edwards as an Anglican Calvinist, see D. D. Wallace, Jr., *Shapers of English Calvinism* (205–42).

²⁷ Edwards, *Discourse Concerning the Authority* (3:158–60). Much the same tradition can be found in Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (1672), part 1, bk. 1, ch. 10, § 4, pp. 55–58; and in Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 4, pp. 30–34. The pious myth of Moses as the inventor of the art of writing (St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 18.39) was often extolled by conservative defenders of the primacy of the Holy Scriptures. On this issue, see Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 2, §§ 37–42, pp. 62–64; and John Edwards's discussion (ch. 8), in *Discourse* (1:268–75). In one way or the other, they all harked back to Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.21–29; 2.5, 18, 22; 5.14; 6.3–5), who claimed the

Tis true; There is no mention of any *Writing*, before the *Tables* of the *Law*, written by the Finger of God; from whence, if wee say, that *Moses* did *learn* the Use of *Letters*, & then *show* it first unto the Jewes, from whom the other Eastern People of the World Received it, it will bee agreeable enough, unto the Opinion of *Eupolemus*, and *Artapanus*, Two very Ancient Historians, quoted by *Clement of Alexandria*.²⁸

It was a general Report among the Pagans, That *Letters* were derived from the *Phœnicians*. *Herodotus*, & *Plutarch*, testify it, of the *Greek* particularly; & that therefore they were called, *Phœnician Letters*. *Lucan* therefore saies

*Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*²⁹

Now *Phœnician*, is as much as to say, *Hebrew*. And when *Pliny* professes, *Literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse*, hee points to the Countrey of the Hebrew

philosophy of the Greeks was stolen from the ancient Hebrews. Such claims became more insistent as the authority of the Scriptures became increasingly embattled by Hobbists and Spinozists in the second half of the seventeenth century. Although Mather, too, embraces this myth time and again, he seems to be aware that it is based on wishful thinking rather than actual fact. See especially his commentary on Gen. 1:1 (*BA* 1:307–16, notes 110–125).

28 Edwards (*Discourse* 3:159). Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.23) relates that “Eupolemus, in his book *On the Kings of Judea*, says that ‘Moses was the first wise man, and the first that imparted grammar to the Jews, that the Phœnicians received it from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phœnicians’” (*ANF* 2:335). There was no consensus on this issue in the Mather family either. Cotton Mather’s uncle, the Rev. Samuel Mather (1626–1671) of Dublin, Ireland, favored Moses as well, arguing that the art of writing is nowhere mentioned before Moses. And yet, if not Moses, he continues, “the invention is so admirable, that it seems to transcend all humane Wit and Industry” (*Figures or Types* [1705], pp. 37–38, see also p. 42). Yet, Cotton Mather’s brother, the Rev. Samuel Mather of Witney (Oxfordshire), disagrees with this pious claim, arguing that there are “books more ancient than the writings of *Moses*, quoted by the prophet [*Moses*] himself” (*Vindication of the Holy Bible* [1723], bk. 1, ch. 1, pp. 1–12. The editor of Shakespeare and Alexander Pope, the learned William Warburton (1698–1779), bishop of Gloucester, goes a different route and points in the direction of Egypt: “I think it highly probable that MOSES brought Letters with the rest of his Learning from *Egypt*, yet I could be easily persuaded to believe that he both enlarged the Alphabet, and altered the Shapes of the Letters” (*Divine Legation* [1738], bk. 4, sec. 4 (2:139–40). The works of Eupolemus (fl. c. 150 BCE) and of Artapanus (2nd c. BCE), both Hellenist Jewish historians, only survive in fragments in Clemens of Alexandria and in Eusebius Pamphilus. Yet as philosemites, they defended Moses as the fountainhead of all learning. See A. J. Droge’s *Homer or Moses?* (1989), 12–101.

29 Edwards (*Discourse* 3:159). Diodorus Siculus (5.74.1) summarizes the various legends about the origin of letters and the art of writing; Herodotus (5.58) relates that the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus brought their alphabet to Greece, but made “a few changes in the form of the letters” and called them “Phœnicians.” Plutarch (*Quæstiones conviviales* 738ef) has Hermes remind his confreres that “The first letters called Phœnician from Cadmus are four times four, or sixteen; and of those that were afterwards added, Palamedes found four, and Simonides four more.” The Roman historian Pliny, a.k.a. Gaius Plinius Secundus (23–79 CE) praises the Phœnicians for “having invented the alphabet and the sciences of astronomy, navigation, and strategy” (*Natural History* 5.13.67). Marcus Aeneas Lucanus (39–65 CE), the Roman poet of Corduba, registers his doubts about the origin of writing, in *Pharsalia sive De Bello Civili* (3.220–21): “The Phœnicians, if rumor can be trusted, dared to write down the fleeting word in rude letters.”

Patriarchs.³⁰ But when *Plato*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Tully*, and others, assert, that *Mercury* and *Thooth* (which are the same) was the Inventor of *Letters*; it is very certain, that *Moses* is the Person thereby intended.³¹ And why may not the very Name of *Μοῦσαι*, *The Muses*, (the celebrated Authors of Learning) refer to the Name of *Moses*; for *Plato* (than whom there was not a greater Searcher into Antiquity among the Philosophers) acknowledges, that this Word is borrowed from the *Barbarians*; and it is well-known, that the *Barbarians*, unto the *Greeks* were the *Hebrewes*. And this *Plato* adds, *That the Greeks Received their Letters from the Barbarians, who were elder than they*. Moreover, There is a notable Expression, in *Plutarch*, who saies, *The Egyptians think, that Hermes, was the Inventer of Grammar*. But our *Moses*, was the ancient *Hermes*.³²

However, if *Moses* were not hee, who did first *Reveal* the Art of *Writing*, when the Angels of God, had sett him an *Illustrious Copy* of it; yett hee was one who did at a great rate *Restore* this Art. And it is a Curiositie, That hee who was miraculously præserted in the Egyptian *Papyrus*, when an Infant, should afterwards Instruct Mankind, how to præserve in that *Papyrus*, whatever should bee memorable.³³

Other Curiosities, you shall have at another *Time*, & in another *Place*.³⁴

[6v]

4788:

Q. The Lord saies concerning *Pharaoh*, *I will Harden his Heart*. I pray, give mee, a brief, but a full, Paraphrase upon that wonderful Expression, which occurs, I think, *Nine Times* over in this Book? v. 21.³⁵

³⁰ Edwards (*Discourse* 3:160). Pliny believes that “the Assyrians have always had writing” (*Natural History* 7.56.192) and that others think this art was invented in Syria and by Cadmus brought to Greece from Phoenicia. Moreover, Pliny points to Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 5.14), who attributes the invention of this art to the Egyptian Mercury. See also B. A. Curran, “The Renaissance Afterlife of Ancient Egypt (1400–1650).”

³¹ Edwards (*Discourse* 3:160). The Greek philosopher Plato of Athens (c. 429–347 BCE) identifies Mercury, a.k.a. Hermes (the Egyptian Thoth) as the inventor of the alphabet (*Phaedrus* 274c–275b, *Philebus* 18bd); Diodorus Siculus does so in his *Bibliotheca historica* (1.9.2–6; 1.16.1–2; 1.43.6; 1.94.1–2); and the Roman philosopher and orator Marcus Tullius Cicero (BCE 106–43) links Mercury with the Egyptian “Theuth” (Thoth), in *De natura deorum* (3.22.56). See also Justin Martyr, *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, ch. 14 (*ANF* 1:279); Eusebius (*Præparatio evangelica* 1.9.32a; 1.10.36a, 40b); and St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 18.39; *NPNFi* 2:383–84) [*PL* 041.598]. For opposing views of this myth in Mather’s time, see Pierre Jurieu (*Critical History* [1705], bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 30–34) and John Toland, *Origines Judaica* (1709), §§ 2–5, 24, pp. 103–16, 193–97.

³² Edwards (*Discourse* 3:161). Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 352.3).

³³ Edwards (*Discourse* 3:161–62). Mather alludes to the papyrus basket made from bulrushes in which the baby Moses was hidden when Pharaoh’s daughter found him (Exod. 2:3–5).

³⁴ See Appendix A.

³⁵ Mather’s comment is justified considering that the word “harden” and “hardened” occur at least 18 times in Exodus: 4:21; 7:3, 13, 22; 8:15, 19, 32; 9:7, 12, 34, 35, 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10;

A. Tis most expressively paraphrased, in a little Book, entituled, *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum; Incerto Authore, è Bibliothecâ, Joannis Archiep. Eboracensis, in Lucem erutæ.*

I'll transcribe the Words, *Actionem (quæ bona est quâ est Actio) prædestinabo, Spiritum subtraham, Carnem sibi permittam, immissoque Satanâ, atque ansis peccandi præbitis, itâ peccare permittam, ut et Delicta plectam priora, Scelerique imponam modum, demum peccantem ac Peccatum, ad Fines longè saluberrimos flectam ac dirigam.*³⁶

Dr. Patrick observes, There are *Three* distinct Words used in the Story, about this Matter; First, *Chazak*, Then *Rashah*, Lastly, *Cavad*; which seem to signify a gradual Increase of his Obstinacy, till at last it grew very grievous.³⁷

Q. How did the Angel seek to kill Moses? v. 24.

A. He appeared unto *Moses*, it may be, in such a Manner, as if he were going

13:15, 14:4, 8. Mather's manuscript "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 4:21) refers to "Franzius Interp. p. 361" as a source to be consulted. The German Lutheran professor of Theology at Wittenberg, Wolfgang Franzius (1564–1628), aka. Wolfgang Franz, published his omnium gatherum with the title *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione de Sacrarum Scripturarum maxime legitima* (1619), republished in Wittenberg in 1708. In its present context of Exod. 4:21, Franzius offers a long polyglot disquisition on Pharaoh's hardened heart, titled "Oraculum XXIV Sacrum" (361–420). Franzius's tome is commonly referred to by its running title *De Interpretatione*. Mather also quoted this popular work in his annotations on Genesis, in BA (1:536, 942, 1003, 1010, 1048, 1111–12) and elsewhere.

36 Mather quotes from Antonius Scattergood's edition *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum, et in Epistolam ad Ephesios* (1653), pp. 52–53. The Latin passage from an uncertain author on Exod. 4:21 puts words into Pharaoh's mouth of to emphasize his resolve to wallow in his own sin: "I will determine beforehand the action (which is good because it is action); I shall subtract the Spirit; I shall concede to myself the flesh; and instigated by Satan, and with the opportunities of sin offered, I will grant myself to sin, so that I may even interweave earlier sins. I shall set a limit upon wickedness. Finally, I may steer and direct the sinner and the sin toward ends far more wholesome."

37 Simon Patrick on Exod. 4:21 (*Exodus* 73). Patrick's own source appears to be Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:332). Significantly, in using the infinitive "to harden" here and elsewhere, the translators of the KJV (1611) gloss over several nuances implied in the Hebrew original. Thus in Exod. 4:21, 14:4, 14:17, Josh. 11:20 God's intention "to harden" Pharaoh's heart is expressed by the infinitive חָזַק [chazaq] (Strong's # 2388), which entails both positive and negative connotations: "to strengthen, to prevail, to harden [as well as] to be courageous." In Exod. 7:3, the Hebrew adjective קָשָׁה [qashah] (Strong's # 7185), signifying "to be hard, be severe, be fierce, be harsh," stands in for the same intent: "I will harden Pharaoh's heart." In Deut. 15:7, God's mandate "thou shalt not harden thine heart" is expressed by the Hebrew infinitive אָמַץ ['amats] (Strong's # 0553), which also carries in its signification "to be strong, alert, courageous, brave, stout, bold, solid, hard." Finally, 1 Sam. 6:6 "Wherefore then do ye harden your hearts" is expressed by the Hebrew verb קָבַד [kabad] or קָבַד [kabad] (Strong's 3513), suggesting such a variety of meanings as "to be heavy, be weighty, be grievous, be hard, be rich, be honourable, be glorious."

to fall upon him; with a *Drawn Sword*, perhaps, as to *Balaam*, or, to *David*. Others imagine, only a sudden Disease inflicted on him.³⁸

Q. Why was the *Circumcision* of the Child so long delay'd? v. 25.

A. Most say, *Zipporah* was unwilling. Not from any Abhorrence of the Rite, for she was descended from *Abraham*, who first received the Commandment; But because the *Midianites* did not circumcise so soon as the *Israelites*, but imitated their Neighbours the *Ishmaelites*, who deferr'd it until their Children were, as *Ishmael*, Thirteen Years of Age. Or, she might omitt it, because of the *Journey*; intending to do it, when they came to be settled among the *Israelites*. But such a Man as *Moses*, should have trusted God with the Child, & not have been afraid of Consequences.³⁹

Q. What meant *Zipporah*, by a *Bloody Husband*? v. 25.

A. A Circumcised Person, was called by the Name of חתן, an Espoused One; *quia circumcisionis Die, Deo quasi desponsatur*.⁴⁰ This I take to be the Intendment of this Place. Our Version carries it, as if the Words of *Zipporah*, were spoken to her Husband, and as shee called him a *Bloody Husband* out of her Enmity to the Rite of *Circumcision*; But, First, The Hebrewes never call an Husband, by that Name of *Chathan*, after the Seven Dayes of Espousal are over; but *Zipporah* had been married several Years. Again, *Zipporah's* Father, being a godly Midianite, must needs keep up Circumcision in his own Family: Yea, Ancient Histories, particularly *Herodotus* as well as *Josephus* affirm, that the *Ishmaelites* in their Time used it.⁴¹ *Zipporah*, was an Arabess, and the Arabians, the Turks, at this

³⁸ Extracted from Patrick (*Exodus* 74). The confusing reference in Exod. 4:24 ("And it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the Lord met him, and sought to kill him") has engaged a considerable number of Reformation and post-Reformation theologians, because the pronoun "him," lacking a clear noun antecedent, could also apply to Pharaoh, whom Moses addresses in verse 23. See esp. John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 87–88, and Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:333–34) and *Works* (4:89–92).

³⁹ Patrick on Exod. 4:25 (*Exodus* 75–77).

⁴⁰ Patrick's source is – among other works – *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum* (1612), col. 677, voce חתן [chathan], by the Lutheran Valentin Schindler (1543–1604), celebrated professor of Oriental languages at Wittenberg and Helmstedt (Germany). However, the Latin citation, which reads, "because on the day of circumcision, he is betrothed to God," is Mather's (not Patrick's) and is adapted from Schindler's *Lexicon* (677 E). See also John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 5, fol. 55. Not to be ignored is the great Anglican divine and professor of Arabic at Cambridge, Edmund Castellus (1606–85), who provides his definition in his labor of love *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669), col. 1451: חתן [chathan], i. e., husband, bridegroom, son-in-law, daughter's husband (Strong's # 2860). Edward Pococke, in his "*Notae Miscellanea*," in *באב מוסי Porta Mosis sive, Dissertationes Aliquot à R. Mose Maimonide* (1655), *Notae*, cap. 4, pp. 52–54 (sep. pag.), supplies his linguistic derivations. On the Christian Hebraists in Reformation-era Europe, see S. G. Burnett's *Christian Hebraism* (esp. ch. 3).

⁴¹ Mather here alludes to Herodotus's conjecture (2.104) – synopsised in Josephus (*Antiquities* 8.10.3) – that the practice of circumcision spread from the Colchians, Egyptians, and

Day, are circumcised. Further, Would *Zipporah* have been so daring, as to have Reviled her Husband, when shee saw the Lord in the Room, ready to kill him? Add, The Angel went away upon her saying what shee did; Sure, not because of her Invectives against her Husband. No, shee only pronounced; the Child, *A Circumcised One*. As well the *Arabians* as the *Israelites*, use to call a Newly Circumcised Person, by the Name of *Chathan*. So then, *Zipporah* now speaks over &c unto her Child, *Thou art one espoused by Blood, unto the Church of God.*

This is Mr. *Medes* Interpretation.⁴²

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Q. Give us, if you please, *Kimchi's* Account of this Matter?

A. The *Angel*, (saies *Kimchi*) would have killed *Moses*, for not circumcising of his Son. *Moses*, who because of Illness was not able to do it himself; then caused his Wife to do it. She cast the *Foreskin* at *Moses's* Feet, saies to this effect; "If this be the Cause of thy Sickness, Behold, a Remedy! The *Blood* of the *Circumcision* recovers thee. By this *Blood* I have an *Husband* Restored unto me."

*Ob hanc circumcisionem, quasi Novus factus es Sponsus.*⁴³

Ethiopians to other peoples, including the Phoenicians and Palestinian Syrians, who acknowledge the Egyptians as the originators of the practice. Mather raises the same issue in his commentary on Gen. 12:1 (*BA* 1:862), but his source there is Johann Heinrich Heidegger's commentary on Rashi's *Aboth ראשי אבות Sive De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* [1667–71] 2 vols. (1729), 2:158, Exerc. VII, § 28.

42 Even though much the same is given in Patrick, including the reference to Mede (*Exodus* 76–77), Mather does cite from his personal copy of Joseph Mede's *Works* (1664), "Discourse XIV," pp. 70–71. See also Mather's mss. "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 4:24), where he refers to "Medes Works. B. I. Disc. 14" and to the previously cited "Franzius Interp. p. 838." The latter reference is to Wolfgang Franz's brief discussion "De instrumento Circumcisionis, Exodi 4, 25," in *De Interpretatione de Sacrarum Scripturarum* (1619), "Oraculum LXXII. Sacrum" (828). It is fair to say that although Patrick's *Commentary* is among Mather's most significant primary sources for *Biblia Americana*, Mather does appear to check his primary source against available secondary sources in his private library whenever possible.

43 Mather here draws on his own copy of Sebastian Münster's magnificent *Hebraica Biblia, latina planeq. nova*. Secunda editio (1546), fol. 119, annot. (i), and renders into English Münster's Latin translation of R. David Kimchi's Hebrew gloss on circumcision (Exod. 4:25). After circumcising her son Gershom, Zipporah tells Moses, "because of this circumcision, you have become betrothed [to me] anew." *Hebraica Biblia* remained a trusty source for many theologians without direct access to Daniel Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica* [1516–17]) or to rare Latin translations of the classic rabbinic midrashim.

Q. That Clause: *The God of the Hebrews ha's mett with us?* v. 3.

A. It may be read, *He is called upon us*. They assert their Relation to Him. Compare; Isa. XLIII.7. and Jer. XIV.9. Thus the Chaldee Paraphrase carries it, *The God of the Jews is called upon us*. We ought, as Dr. *Gell* notes upon it, much to consider, whose Name is called upon us; who owns us for his People.¹

Q. Of what Use was the *Straw*, in making the *Brick*? v. 7.

A. 'Tis variously conjectured. Some think, It was mixed with the Clay, to make the *Bricks* more solid. Others, that they only heated their *Kilns* therewith, to burn the *Bricks*. Others, who think, they were not baked in a Kiln, imagine, it served only to cover them, that they might not be crackt by the violent Heat of the Sun, wherein they were Baked. So *Vitruvius* tells us, That the Best Bricks were made in the *Spring* and in the *Autumn*; *ut uno tenore siccescant*, that they might Dry with an æqual Heat; they that were made in the *Solstice*, being too suddenly crusted over with the Sun, & left too moist within.²

I find, *Baumgarten* in his Travels, being at *Cairo*, or *Memphis*, reports; The Houses for the most Part, are of *Brick*, that are only harden'd by the Heat of the Sun, and *Mixt with Straw* to make them firm.³

Q. How shall we well apprehend the Matter, of, *The Peoples being scattered abroad, thro' all the Land of Egypt, to gather Stubble instead of Straw?* v. 7.

A. The Matter will be apprehended, if we consider, how hard it was, to acquire any Quantity of *Stubble in Egypt*. The Stalk of the Corn there, was so short, that to acquire any ordinary Measure, it required more than ordinary Labour. This

¹ Gell's note appears in his *Essay Toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 195–96. Even though Gell cites the Chaldee Paraphrase (Targum Onkelos) on Exod. 5:3, he does not appear to rely on London Polyglot, i. e., Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) 1:243, but more likely Guillaume LeJay's *Paris Polyglot* (1629–45); Mather adopts Gell's English translation (195). See also P.N. Miller's "Antiquarianization" and "Making the Paris Polyglot."

² Extracted from Patrick on Exod. 5:7 (*Exodus* 84–85). The Roman architect and engineer Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (1st c. BCE) describes the art of brick making in his *De Architectura Libri Decem* [1649], lib. 2, cap. 3, p. 22). Some Latin editions have "ut uno tempore siccescant" or, "that they may dry at one and the same time"; i. e., "uniformly," in *The Ten Books of Architecture* (2.3.2), p. 43.

³ The German nobleman Martin von Baumgarten in Braitenbach (1473–1535), whose travels took him through much of the Ottoman Empire, composed the posthumously published travel account *Peregrinatio in Aegyptum, Arabiam, Palaestinam & Syriam* (1594). At least seven English editions of this popular account appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mather here refers to *Peregrinatio* (lib. 1, cap. 18, pp. 43–45), of the Latin edition. His sentence on how the bricks were made for the houses in Cairo and Memphis is a verbatim citation from *The Travels of Martin Baumgarten*, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704), vol. 1, ch. 18, p. 443.

is discovered, by the Account that *Pliny* hath happily left unto us. [Lib. 18. Nat. Hist.] In the Corn of *Egypt*, the Stalk is never a Cubit long: because the Seed lies very shallow, and ha's no other nourishment, than from the *Mud* and *Slime* left by the *River*; under which there is nothing left but *Sand* and *Gravel*.⁴

The *Stubble* being so short, it was difficult to gett any Quantity of it. A Few Fields afforded it not. They must wander far, that would arrive to any Store of it.⁵
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⁴ Pliny describes the planting and harvesting of cereals along the banks of the Nile and the condition of the soil (*Natural History* 18.47).

⁵ See also Mather's cryptic reference in "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 5:22–23), "Cases, Deliverance-Obstruction –."

Q. How could it be said unto *Moses*, That God *was not known to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, by His Name JEHOVAH?* We know that God said expressly, to the First of these Patriarchs, *I am Jehovah*, [Gen. 15.7.] And *Abraham* saies himself unto the King of *Sodom*, *I have lift up my Hands unto Jehovah?* [Gen. 14.22.] Yea, *Moses* observes, *That Men began to call upon the Name of Jehovah*, in the Dayes of *Seth*! v. 3.

A. Endless would it be to transcribe *Dorscheus*, and *Gataker*, and a thousand more, that have made their Essayes to Reconcile this Matter, & Preserve unto *Moses*, the Priviledge of having first known God, by the Name *Jehovah*.¹

It is enough, to putt an End unto all at once, by observing, That the Hebrew Particle here used [*Lo*] is very often taken Interrogatively. [Compare Exod. 8.26. and Lam. 1.12.]

In some Copies of the LXX, the Text now before us, is rendred, *I have even manifested myself to them, by my Name, LORD*.²

And the most learned *Rabbis* have noted, That this Particle, is not absolutely *Negative*, but *Comparative*; As when it was said, [Gen. 32.28.] *Thy Name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel*. And, [1. Sam. 8.7.] *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected mee*. And, [Hos. 6.6.] *I desired Mercy, & not Sacrifice*.³ And *Moses* elsewhere saies, *Your Murmurings are not against us, but against the Lord*. One Mr. *Ross* proposes to have all these translations thus rectified.⁴ *Thy*

1 Mather's exasperation may be justified if one examines the throng of theologians who aimed at solving this conundrum, as synopsised in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (cols. 338–40). Poole (col. 340) refers to Johann Georg Dorsche (1597–1659), Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Rostock, whose *Dissertatiuncula Philologico-Theologica De Nomine Dei ... Jehova* (1642), § 7, pp. 8–9, is favorably cited and extracted in *Adversaria miscellanea in quibus Sacrae Scripturae primò* (1659), cap. 18, pp. 180–81, by Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), Anglican clergyman and member of the Westminster Assembly. Gataker's earlier *Dissertationis De Tetragrammato suae a D. Ludovici Cappelli* (1652) has much to say on the same topic and also cites Dorsche's tract (p. 54). On Dorsche, see *NDB* 4:87.

2 The Hebrew particle לוֹ [Strong's # B 4782] can indeed be used as an interrogative when it invites an affirmative answer. See also Hugh Ross, *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (1701), part 1, ch. 9, pp. 128–29.

3 See Ibn Ezra (*Commentary: Exodus* 129–35), Ramban (*Commentary: Exodus* 63–67), and *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* (1:74–77). Rashi explains the issue as follows: לֹא הוֹדַעְתִּי is not written here אֲנִי כְּתִיב בְּאֵן (I did not *make* known), but, rather הוֹדַעְתִּי (I did not *become* known) [meaning:] “I was not recognized by them by My attribute of keeping trust, the reason for which My Name is called ה' [which denotes that] I may be trusted to keep My promises” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi. Shemos* 2:57).

4 An obscure clergyman of the Church of England, Hugh Ross published a two-part *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (1701–1702). Whereas part 1, first published anonymously in

Name shall not only be called Jacob, but likewise Israel. And, *They have not only rejected thee, but they have rejected me also.* And, *I take Pleasure in Mercy, & not only in Sacrifice.* And, *Your Murmuring is not only against us, but also against the Lord.*

For the Text now before us, take your Choice of these two Readings. Either, *I have not only made myself known to them, by my Name Jehovah.* Or, *was not I even known to them by my Name Jehovah?*⁵

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[8v]

Q. The Meaning of that Phrase, *Uncircumcised Lips?* v. 12.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, That it was the Manner of the *Hebrewes*, to call those Parts *Uncircumcised*, which are inept to the Use for which they were designed, & cannot do, their Office. Thus *Jeremiah* saies of the Jewes, [Jer. 6.10.] Their *Ear was uncircumcised*; and adds the Explication, *They cannot hearken.* *Uncircumcised in Heart*, [Jer. 9.26.] are such as cannot understand. Compare, Act. 7.51. So, *Uncircumcised Lips*, are *Lips* that cannot utter Words. Perhaps *Moses* thought it some Disparagement unto him, that he was not able himself handsomely to deliver his Mind unto *Pharaoh*; Therefore he mentions this again, to move the Divine Majesty, to *Circumcise his Lips*, & remove the Impediment.⁶

Q. A Remark on what *Moses* relates, of his *Father* marrying his own *Aunt?* v. 20.

A. How sincere a Writer was *Moses*! As we said formerly on this Occasion.⁷

But then, Dr. *Patrick* adds, 'Tis observable, that *Moses* does not say one Syllable in Commendation of his Parents; tho' their *Faith* deserved the greatest

1701, acknowledges on its title page that this work was "Done out of *French*, with necessary Alterations and Additions, relating particularly to the *English* Translation," the second edition of part 1, published in 1702, drops this opaque acknowledgment altogether and attributes the authorship to "H. R. a Minister of the *Church of England*." Be that as it may, part 1 of Hugh Ross's *Essay* (1701–1702) is a free translation of *Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible* (1696), a controversial critique of the French, Geneva, and KJV translations of the Bible, by Charles Le Cène (c. 1647–1703), a Socinian Huguenot exile sojourning in England and the Low Countries after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). In turn, Le Cène's critique was countered by his fellow Huguenot countryman Jacques Gousset (1635–1704), in *Considerations Theologiques et Critiques sur le Project D'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible, Publié l'an M.DC.XCVI. Sous le nom De Mr. Charles Le Cene* (1698). To be brief, Mather's extract is from Hugh Ross, *Essay for a New Translation* (1701, 1702), part 1, ch. 9, pp. 128–29.

5 Ross (*Essay*, part 1, p. 129).

6 Patrick (*Exodus* 97).

7 See Mather's gloss on Exod. 2:1 on Jochebed (above).

Praise, as the Apostle observes unto the *Hebrewes*. J. *Capellus* notes; *Moses* did not write for his own Glory, but for the Service of God, & of his Church.⁸

⁸ Patrick (*Exodus* 100–01). Mather's remark (via Patrick) about Moses' honesty in recording his parents' consanguinity refers to a brief Latin notation on Exod. 6:20 in *Historia Sacra et Exotica* (1613), p. 79, by Jacques Cappellus, the elder (1570–1624), professor of theology at Sedan. For similar praise of Moses' honesty, see Anthony Scattergood's excerpt from uncertain authors (on Exod. 6:20), in *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum* (1653), p. 54. Mather's commentary on Exod. 2:1 (above) addresses the same issue of consanguinity among the patriarchs' parents. See also the various post-Reformation theologians who addressed this discomforting issue from various points of view, in Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:341 and *Works* 4:121–22).

Q. A few of Dr. *Grewes* philosophical Touches, if you please, upon the *Miracles* done in *Egypt*? v. 1.¹

A. The Creation of the World, tho' it be not called, *A Miracle*, yett it is the greatest of all *Miracles*, and after which, no other can bee looked upon as Incredible.²

But, it is Dr. *Grewes* Opinion, That God having made, & putt into perfect Order, a World of Instruments, or Second Causes, it seems not becoming His Divine Wisdome and Majesty, to do any thing, [I will add, *Ordinarily*,] without some Use of these Causes.³

He thinks, That God hath some Way or other established a Power in the *Vital*, over the *Corporeal* World; and as He hath made the *Minds* of Men & of other Animals, able to command their *own Bodies*, it would be strange if a superior *Mind*, an *Angel*, should not have as much Power, over *all Bodies*.⁴

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*. Accordingly, Dr. *Grew* thus defines it; *A Miracle is the extraordinary Effect of some unknown Cause, limited by Divine Ordination and Authority, to its Circumstances, for a suitable End*.⁵

He thinks, The Rods of *Aaron*, of the *Egyptian* Magicians, were not converted into *Real Serpents*; for then, God must have given them, a Mind, with all the External and Internal Organs, necessary unto Motion, Nutrition, Generation, and Sense: the doing of which had been altogether in vain, & of no Use,

1 An English botanist, physician, and member of the Royal Society, Nehemiah Grew (c. 1641–16712) published *Cosmologia Sacra: Or a Discourse of the Universe As it is the Creature and Kingdom of God* (1701), an ambitious attempt to reconcile natural philosophy (science) with the regnant biblical purview of biblical miracles (*ODNB*). Mather made ample use of this work in his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:330–36, 522–27, 531, 566, 595, 698–99, 1016–17), but did not always approve of Grew's purely naturalist and mechanical explanation of biblical miracles. Similarly, Mather spoke dismissively of Aristotle's natural philosophy, in *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (§ 9, pp. 47–48).

2 Grew (*Cosmologia Sacra*, bk. 4, ch. 5, p. 194 § 4).

3 Grew (194–95, § 5).

4 Grew (195, §§ 7, 8). On the concept of vitalism, see W.B. Hunter's "Plastic Nature" (1950).

5 Grew (195, 196, §§ 9, 10, 11, 13). Grew's definition of miracles echoes similar ones by Descartes (mechanism), Hobbes (*Leviathan*, ch. 37), Spinoza (*Theologico-Political Treatise*, ch. 6), and Locke (*Discourse of Miracles*). See my discussion in *BA* (1:105–112); R. M. Burns's *The Great Debate on Miracles* (1981); J. Earman's *Argument Against Miracles* (2000), ch. 7; and P. Harrison's "Newtonian Science, Miracles, and the Laws of Nature" (1995).

for a Creature immediately to be turn'd into its former State again. The *Rods*, he thinks, were only invested with the phantastic Image of a *Serpent*, in which the Circumstances were thus limited by God, that the *Rod* of *Aaron*, devoured those of the Magicians, and the Magicians were not able, either to Prevent it, or to Imitate it. All the Lords Holy Ends, the Hardening of *Pharaoh*, & the Confirming of *Moses*, were sufficiently obtained by such a Dispensation.⁶

The two following Signs, *The Turning of the Rivers into Blood*, and, *The Bringing the Frogs thence into the Houses of the Egyptians*; By what Means this great Corruption in the Waters was effected, is unknown to us. Dr. *Grew* suspects, That the *Pestilential Plague*, which in the Process of this Transaction, was inflicted, both upon the Beasts of the Field, and upon the Body of Man, began here in the *Waters*; And that all the Fish, small and great, with the *Hippopotamus*, and *Crocodile*, and other Amphibious Creatures, were siezed with a *Dysenteric* Murrain; by which they were constrained with their Excrements, to void so great a quantity of purulent Blood, as would serve to colour and corrupt the Waters, in most of the Rivers. And it was not impossible, for the *Divels*, having the Permission of Heaven, to inflict the like Plague, upon the Fish in those Waters, which *Aaron* had left untouched. Nor was it less easy for them, to direct the Motion of the *Frogs*, to the Houses of the *Egyptians*, as *Aaron* had done; yett herein were they limited, that when they had brought the *Frogs* thither, they could not remand them; which was reserved for *Moses*.⁷

[9v] We know not how the Dust of *Egypt* was turn'd into *Lice*, perhaps (as Dr. *Grew* thinks,) the *Eggs* of some Sort of small | Insect, here called *Lice*, being mixed every where with the Dust, and suddenly Hatched, Swarmed on the Bodies of Men and Beasts, as the *Frogs* had done upon the Land. However, their Coming was miraculously limited unto that very Season, when *Aaron* struck the Dust with his *Rod*.

The *Flies* that follow'd in *Swarms*, were probably brought by a Southern Wind, from some other Part of *Africa*; but a small Wind, & therefore not mentioned.⁸

It is likely that the same Still and Hot *African Wind*, brought the Infection, which bred the following *Murrain*. And whereas, for the ensuing *Boils*, tis said, The *Ashes*, that were sprinkled by *Moses* toward Heaven, should become small Dust, in all the Land of *Egypt*; it may seem, that hereupon there fell a *Shower of Dust*, such as often happens in such Countreyes; but it was accompanied with an infection of the *Air*, which suddenly bred the *Boils*. The *Divels* wanted not the Power to do these things, but wanted the Authority.⁹

⁶ Grew (196, § 14).

⁷ Grew (196–97, § 15).

⁸ The two preceding paragraphs are extracted from Grew (197, § 16).

⁹ Grew (197, § 17).

The *Hail*, and the *Locusts*, & the *Darkness*, that followed, wanted not their Natural Causes. But they were all under a Threefold Limitation; to the *Persons*, to the *Time*, and to the *Place*. And indeed, all the Ten Plagues, mett all together within the Compass of *Six Weeks*, or perhaps, of *One Month*, or thereabout. For they began, at a warm Time of the Year, fitt for the Breeding of *Murrains*, *Frogs*, and *Insects*. The *Hail*, the *Seventh* Plague, fell when the *Flax* was bolled, & the *Barley* eared; yett before the *Wheat* and *Rye* were grown up. And they were all finished, the Night following the Fourteenth of the Month *Abib*, or the *Julian* Fourth of *May*.¹⁰

The Transactions were so notorious, that *Jethro*, the Priest of *Midian*, came to congratulate *Moses* upon them; the *Hivites* of *Gibeon* were frighted into their Witts, to make their Peace with the *Israelites*; and the *Philistine* Priests [1. Sam. 6.6.] kept fresh among them the Memory thereof no less than four hundred Years. And *Sethosis*, the Successor to *Amasis*, or *Armais*, drowned in the Red-Sea, was, it seems, under such Astonishment hereat, that tho' his Exploits in the East, are sett down by *Manetho*, as performed in the First Nine Years of the *Israelites* being in the Wilderness, yett he dared not in all this Time, to touch that unarmed People.¹¹

Tis very ill done of *Josephus*, to compare the Passing of the *Israelites* thro' the Red-Sea, with the Passage of *Alexanders* Army thro' the *Pamphylian*. By *Strabo*, we are better informed, *That the Hill Climax lying upon the Pamphylian Sea, leaveth a Narrow Passage upon the Shore, which at a low Ebb, lies so Dry, that it may be forded on foot; But Alexander coming thither, before the Waters were gone off, was fain with his Souldiers, to wade all day long, up to the Middle*. But then, I know not how far Dr. *Grewes* Conjecture will hold, That the strong *East-Wind*, blowing athwart the *Red-Sea*, not only divided the Waters, but also Froze them with so Thick an Ice, as to bound them like a Stone Wall, on both Sides the Way it made; which emboldened *Pharaoh* to venture in; and that a *Western Wind*, which is a warm one, suddenly Thawing the Ice, Lett the Sea in upon them: However, both miraculous. This brings too much of Nature into the Matter.¹²

¹⁰ Grew (197, 198, §§ 18, 19). See also Pliny (*Natural History* 11.29). Mather (via Grew) provides the dates of both the Hebrew and Julian calendars. For his analysis of hail and its causes, see Mather's *Christian Philosopher*, Essay 15, pp. 69–70.

¹¹ Grew (198, 199, §§ 29, 21). Manetho (*Aegyptiaca*, Fragm. 50, lines 101–103) extant in Josephus (*Contra Apion* 1.15, in *Works* 612). William Whiston provides a more detailed lineage of the drowned Pharaoh, in his controversial *An Essay Towards the Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (1722), "Appendix III," pp. cxxxix–lxii.

¹² Grew (199–200, §§ 24, 25). Josephus (*Antiquities* 2.16.4–6). The Greco-Roman geographer Strabo (BCE 64/63–24 CE) describes how Alexander the Great (BCE 356–323) and his soldiers waded through the Straits of Pamphylia, Asia Minor, at low tide (*Geographia* 14.3.9). Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618), too, dismisses non-miraculous explanations of Moses' crossing the Red Sea (*History of the World* [1614], bk. 2, ch. 3, pp. 262–63, § 9). And Jean Le Clerc, in his *Twelve Dissertations* (1696), Diss. 13, pp. 319–44, struggles to have it both ways – secondary causes and miracles. Mather here criticizes Grew for confining his argument to purely

[10r]

Q. A Remark on the Affair of *Moses* & the *Magicians*? v. 10.

A. Some Ingenious Men, consider *Pharaoh*, as a Type of the *Devil*, and the *Magicians* as a Type of the *False Teachers*, which he employs for the Prejudice of the Gospel.¹³ Yea, our Blessed Apostle *Paul* countenances this Consideration. It may be pursued with much of Elegancy & Instruction. Among other Things, there is This to be observed. *Aarons* Rod became a *Living Creature*. The Work of *Grace* wrought with the Truth of the Gospel, is *Life*, & a *Spirit*, for Living unto GOD. The Souls that were as *Dead Sticks*, are turned into Living & Heavenly Creatures. The Instruments of the Devil try to imitate it & pretend unto *Spiritual Life*, and Holiness, & Love and Zeal, & Self-Denial; and whatsoever is found in the True Disciples of our SAVIOUR. The Design of these *False-Teachers*, and their Followers, is to *Discredit*, the Truth of the Gospel, and so to *Disappoint* the Design of it. They bring People to a *Loss*, which is the Right. By seeming sometimes even to *out-do* the Right, and by a wonderful *Zeal*, even for some *Good* Things, they draw People into that which is Evil.

Prosecute the Subject in your Meditations.¹⁴

Q. The Names of the *Magicians* of *Egypt*? v. 11.¹⁵

A. We read, 2. Tim. 3.8. the Principal of them, were *Jannes* and *Jambres*. And it is remarkable, That several *Jewish*, and *Greek*, and *Roman* Writers, tell us the same thing. In *Ushers* Annals, and in *Bocharts* Hierozoicon, you will find many Traditions from Antiquity, for these very Names of the *Magicians*. We will mention only the Author *Schalsch-Hakkalah*, who calls them by these Names, & saies, That in our Language we would call them, *Johannes*, and, *Ambrosius*.

secondary or natural causes thus depriving the biblical account of its emphasis on miraculous occurrences. Mather's conflicted views of biblical miracles are discussed in my introduction to *Biblia Americana* (BA 1:105–12).

13 See Samuel Mather (*Figures or Types*, p. 57).

14 Cotton Mather's recommendation to meditate on the allegorical and typological implications of this verse is consistent with his avowed purpose to extract at least one significant interpretation from each biblical verse.

15 In his "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 7:11), Mather refers to "Glanvils Proof of Apparitions, p. 32"; i.e., "Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches, from Holy-Scripture," the running title of *Saducismus Triumphatus: or, Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts* (1681), part 2, pp. 1–88, esp. secs. 12–13, pp. 38–47, by the English clergyman, natural philosopher, and apologist for the invisible world, Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680). *Saducismus*, his best-known work on the topic, went through several editions and numerous versions in the 17th and 18th centuries. Perhaps it is telling that Mather here chose his extract from Simon Patrick's learned commentary on the Egyptian magicians rather than Glanvill's popular work. After all, Mather here aims to allocate proof from pagan sources, of which Patrick is more forthcoming than Glanvill, whose pneumatical collections chiefly target the material philosophy of Cartesian and Hobbesian "Nullibists."

Artapanus, in *Eusebius*, calls them, ἱερείς ὑπὲρ Μεμφιν· *Priests at Memphis*, whom *Pharaoh* sent for to oppose *Moses*.¹⁶

2649.

Q. On the Rod of *Moses*, devouring the *Rods* of the *Magicians*, what Remark is to be made? v. 12.

A. Good old *Prosper* shall give you a Remark. *Voravit Serpens Moysis Mago- rum Serpentes, ut nostri ducis Christi Virga, doctrinæ, Omnia Paganorum Hæreti- corumque dogmata, divina Virtute consumpsit.*¹⁷

And here, Dr. *Patrick* takes notice of a Remarkable Passage, in *Numenius* the Philosopher, which is recorded by *Eusebius*, L. IX. *Præpar. Evang.* c. 8. He expressly saies, That *Jannes* and *Jambres*, were Αἰγυπτιοὶ ἱερογραμματεῖς, inferior to None in Magical Skill; & therefore chosen by the common Consent of the *Egyptians*, to oppose *Musæus* [as the Heathen called, *Moses*] the Leader of the *Jewes*; Of whom he also gives this noble Character, That he was, ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ Θεῷ εὐξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ *A Man most powerful with God in Prayer*. A

16 Mather's primary source is Patrick on Exod. 7:11 (*Exodus* 112–13), and Patrick's own is, among others, John Marsham's ample discussion of pagan magicians in *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus* (1672), speculum IX, pp. 136–40. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 30.1–6) describes the various magicians and wizards among the Greeks, Persians, Italians, Romans, Galls, and Egyptians, and how they were consulted for cures of all kinds. Perhaps the most forthcoming author on the topic of ancient magic and wizardry is the Roman writer of North Africa Lucius Apuleius of Madaurus (c. 125–c. 180 CE), who invokes his own *Apologia*. *Sive pro se de magia liber* (sec. 4, pars 90) in defense of his innocence: “Carmendas himself or Damigeron or Moses, or Jannes or Apollobex or Dardanus himself or any sorcerer of note from the time of Zoroaster and Ostanès till now.” In his annotations on the year of the world Anno Mundi 2513, Archbishop James Ussher (*Annales Vêteris* [1650], p. 20), relates how Moses at age 80 and his brother Aaron at 83 confronted Pharaoh and Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. 3:8). Samuel Bochart, in his chapter on the significance of he-goats in Hebrew theology (*Hierozoicon de Animalibus* [1663], lib. 2, cap. 53, col. 645) has much to say on magic and the Egyptian magicians Jannes and Jambres. Rabbi Gedaliah Ibn Yahya ben Joseph (1515–c. 1587), of Imola, in his ספר שלשלת הקבלה *Sefer Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (Venice, 1587), also transliterated as *Schalscheleth Hakkabbalah*, offers a Latin equivalent for the names of Pharaoh's principal magicians. In an excerpt from Artapanus, Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.27.30, line 2; 435c) relates that Pharaoh called “the priests from [above] Memphis.” The competition between Moses and the Egyptian magicians engaged the imagination of the devout, as can be seen in *The Book of Jannes and Jambres*, an apocryphal fragment referred to by Origen (on Matthew 25) and by other medieval writers. See James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2:427–42). See also D. B. Haycock, “Ancient Egypt in 17th and 18th-Century England” (133–160).

17 Attributed to St. Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390–c. 463), in *Liber de promissibus* (pars 1, cap. 35). [PL 051. 0761], the gloss suggests that “the serpent of Moses devoured the serpents of the Magi, as the rod of our leader Christ, his teaching, has destroyed all the doctrines of the pagans and heretics by divine power.” Much the same can be found in Augustin Calmer's distinction between true and false miracles and their alleged causes, in “A Dissertation Upon True and False Miracles, And the Power of Demons and Angels over Bodies,” in Samuel Parker's *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1728), 4:420–42.

plain Confession, That he took *Moses* to be, as he is called in our Bible, *A Man of God*.¹⁸

Q. What was the Occasion, on which *Pharaoh*, went forth *unto the Water*{?} v. 15.

A. Perhaps, for a Recreation. Or, To worship the *Nile*. For, as *Bochart* observes out of *Plutarch*, οὐδεν οὕτω τιμῇ Αἰγυπτίοις ὡς ὁ Νεῖλος, *Nothing was had in such honour among the Egyptians, as the River Nilus*. If it were so in *Moses's* Days, *Pharaoh* might go thither to pay his Morning-Devotions.¹⁹

Or, If he were a Magician, as the Hebrewes fancy, he might be skilled in that which they call, ὑδρομαντεία. So they say in the *Talmud*; That this carried *Pharaoh* to the River. *Jonathan* follows it, in his Paraphrase, *Behold, he goeth out, to observe Divinations upon the Water, as a Magician*.²⁰

Patrick, on Exod. 8.20. saies, He might go to worship the *Rising Sun*; For *Moses* is bidden to go forth *Early*, to meet him.²¹

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Q. Some further Thoughts on *Pharaohs* going out *unto the Waters*? v. 15.

A. Dr. *Edwards* in his very learned Essay, upon, *The Idolatry of the Gentile-World*, I perceive, inclines to the Opinion, That *Pharaohs* Intention was, to worship the *Nile*.²²

Atheneus tells us, That the *Nile* was called, *The Egyptian Jupiter*. It is an high Rant, that *Lucan* ha's concerning it;

¹⁸ Patrick on Exod. 7:12 (*Exodus* 116) quotes two passages from Numenius, extant in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.8.1, line 3 and 9.8.2, lines 1–2; 411d), arguing that Jannes and Jambres were Αἰγύπτιοι ιερογραμματεῖς “sacred Egyptian scribes” and that Moses was ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ Θεῷ εὐξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ “a man most powerful with God in prayer.”

¹⁹ Patrick (*Exodus* 119). The Greek sentence is adapted from Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (353a, lines 4–5) and reads in the original οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως τίμιον Αἰγυπτίοις ὡς ὁ Νεῖλος; but is extracted from Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 16, col. 557).

²⁰ Babylonian Talmud (Sotah 12b). The Greek noun compound ὑδρομαντεία suggests “water divination” or “divination by water.” The reference to the Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel appears in Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 16, col. 557). Significantly, the Targum Hierosolymitanum on Exod. 7:15 (Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 4:113) merely has Pharaoh “refresh himself at the river.”

²¹ The annotations on Exod. 7:15 and 8:20 are synopsized from Patrick (*Exodus* 118–19; 138).

²² Mather's commentary on verse 15 (including his citation references to Athenaeus, Lucan, and Selden) is extracted from “Discourse of the Idolatry or Polytheism of the Gentile World,” in *Theologia Reformata* (1713) 2:389, 390, by the English nonconformist and controversialist divine John Edwards, D.D. (1637–1716), whose many conservative apologetic publications Mather greatly appreciated. Pharaoh's reverence for the Nile River is mentioned in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (5.353a, line 2). On the topic of idolatry, see also J. Sheehan's article “Sacred and Profane” (2006).

*Terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis,
Aut Jovis, in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo.*²³

Pharaoh now goes to pay his Adoration unto the *River*, which was esteemed such a Deity. It seems, from what we find in the following Chapter, it was his frequent & his daily Course, to repair unto the *Nile* on this account. It was *in the Morning*; The Idolaters made it their Early Devotion. They thought themselves not blessed in the ensuing Day, if they neglected this Homage in the Morning.

Mr. *Selden*, in his Treatise of the *Syrian Gods*; Syntag. 1. gives a particular Account of the Adoration paid unto the *Nilus*.²⁴

But now, imagine, how grievous & how dreadful a *Plague*, was the first of the Ten, which our GOD inflicted upon *Egypt*! For to turn into *Blood* the Waters of the River, which they revered as a *God*!

[△ Attachment verso blank].

[△]

2650:

Q. What Remarks are to be made upon the *Ten Plagues of Egypt*? v. 16.

A. Many. But among the rest, there is a Curiosity in Old *Prosper*, so fine, and indeed so strain'd, that if it were not for the Antiquity of the Author, I would not have mention'd it.

He considers the *Ten Plagues* upon *Egypt*; and then he considers the *Ten Commandments* that God gave unto *Israel*: And in the Violation of each of those *Ten Commandments*, he finds a Spiritual Calamity upon the Children of Men, analogous unto that which each of the *Ten Plagues*, in their Order, brought upon the *Egyptians*.

The Matter may be too fancifully managed, for ought I know; but it will remain a Truth forever, That the Plagues of *Egypt*, are not so bad, as that of being left unto Sin against the Commandments of the God of *Israel*.²⁵

|

[10v]

1532.

Q. In the Plague upon the Waters of *Egypt*, what Remarkable? v. 17.

²³ Edwards, *Theologia Reformata* (2:389). The Greek rhetorician Athenaeus of Naucratis, Egypt (fl. 200 CE) relates in his *Deipnosophitae* (5.203d) that the Byzantine poet Parmenon bestows upon the "gold-flowing" river the honorific "Thou Nile, Egypt's Zeus" [Jupiter]. Isaac Casaubon's edition of Athenaeus's ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ, the Banquet of the Learned, was published in Lugduni, 1657. Lucan's praise is given in his *Pharsalia* (8.446–47) and reads, "[Your] land has no need of foreign wares or of Heaven's rain,/ so great is her reliance upon the Nile alone."

²⁴ Edwards, *Theologia Reformata* (2:390); John Selden describes the ancient veneration of the Nile (Typhon) in his *De Diis Syris Syntagma II* (1617), synt. 1, cap. 4, esp. pp. 56–60. See also *Midrash Rabbah* (Exodus IX:9).

²⁵ St. Prosper of Aquitaine's quasi typological and mystical comparison appears in his *Liber de Promissionibus* (pars 1, cap. 36, §§ 49–52) [PL 051. 0761–0763].

A. The δεκάπληγος ὄργη (as tis called by *Cedrenus*) upon *Egypt*, begins with a severe Infliction upon the *Waters*; which the *Egyptians* honoured above all the other Elements, as the Principle of all Things; and the River *Nilus* in a peculiar Manner.²⁶ *Philo* gives this as a Reason of the Plague upon the *Waters*; God sent a *Curse* upon that which they most Valued & Admired; their *Idol* proved a Plague unto them.²⁷ It is also to be observed, That the Blood of the Murdered Infants, which had been Drowned by *Pharaohs* Command, was thus repræsented by these *Bloody Waters*. The Colour of the *Waters*, now accused the *Egyptians*, of their Bloody Action, their Drowning so many Innocents.²⁸ Yea, there was an horrible Omen in this Matter; these *Red Rivers*, were a Presage of the Fate, which they were afterwards to undergo in the *Red-Sea*.

The Hebrew Doctors add one Reason more, for this Punishment; Because the *Egyptians* had hindred the *Israelites* from their wonted *Baptisms*; as tis expressed by, the Author of, *The Life & Death of Moses*; That is, saith *Gaulmyn*, from purifying themselves in the River, by *Bathing*, after they had lain in of their Children; which in the Scarcity of the Water in that Countrey, could no where be done, but in the River.²⁹

Q. A Remark on the First of the Miraculous Plagues, dispensed by *Moses*? v. 17.

A. It has been Remark'd by some; That *Moses* began his Miracles, with turning of *Water* into *Blood*. Our *JESUS* began His Miracles, with turning of *Water* into *Wine*. The *Law* brought by *Moses*, was a Dispensation of *Deadly Terror*. But the

²⁶ The Greek passage from *Compendium historiarum* (vol. 1, p. 84, line 18), by the Byzantine historian Georgius Cedrenus (fl. 11th–12th c.), calls God's punishment of Pharaoh the "ten-plagues anger."

²⁷ Philo Judaeus, *De Vita Mosis* (1.17.98) and *Works* (468).

²⁸ Mather may have in mind the English nonconformist theologian Matthew Poole (1624–79), who makes a similar statement about the blood of the murdered infants (Exod. 1:22; 7:17) in his revered *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1683–85), vol. 1.

²⁹ Simon Patrick on Exod. 7:17 (*Exodus* 121). Patrick here relies on Gilbert Gaulmin (1585–1665), a French philologist and statesman, whose notes on *Michael Psellus. De vita et morte Mosis* (1629), lib. 1, cap. 11, esp. pp. 253–55, are here paraphrased. The reference to the "Hebrew Doctors" who allegedly mention the "wonted *Baptisms*" of the Israelites is a misleading (if not a deliberate) swipe, which originates in Gaulmin's *De vita et morte Mosis* ("The Life and Death of Moses"). In the heading of chapter eleven, Gaulmin refers to the ritual cleansing of women in the Mikveh [miqveh] bath after menstruation, as "*De Baptismo Iudaeorum, Confessione, Balneum mulierum*" (lib. 1, cap. 11, pp. 252–55; see also p. 28). On second thought, Gaulmin's allusion to the ritual purification in the Mikveh may well be a pun on the Hebrew word for the "pools [reservoir] of water" (Exod. 7:19), which is rendered in the Hebrew original as מִקְוֵה "miqveh"; i. e., literally "gathering of waters," which in the first plague Moses turns into blood to punish Pharaoh. See also *Midrash Rabbah* (Exodus IX:10) for the likely origin of the connection between the ritual bath for purification and the waters of the Nile.

Gospel of our JESUS, is a Dispensation of *Grace* and *Truth*, which *makes Glad* the Heart of them that receive it. —³⁰

Q. The Time of the *First Plague*? v. 20.

A. *Ussher* makes Account, this *first Plague* was inflicted about the XVIIIth day of the *Sixth Month*; which in the next Year, and ever after, became the *Twelfth Month*.³¹

Q. Whence had the Magicians the *Water*, to try their Experiments upon? v. 22.

A. Dr. *Patrick* would have all Conjectures, to be superseded, with granting (as the History leads us to conclude,) that *Moses* did not in a Moment change all the Waters of the Countrey, but only those of the *River*, and afterwards, by Degrees all the rest; when the *Magicians* had first of all tried their Art upon some of them.³²

Q. When the Waters of *Egypt* were turned into *Blood*, it is said, *Seven Days* were fulfilled after that the Lord had smitten the *River*. What is there, that appears Remarkable, in this Period? v. 25.

A. Of Necessity, One of the *Seven Days* was that which must have been the *Sabbath*. Now upon a *Sabbath* must the *Egyptians* bee forced to Dig, & Delve, & to Toyl, for the seeking of potable Water. This was a Just Vengeance of God upon them, for denying the Liberty of a *Sabbath* unto the *Israelites* in their Servitude, who came thereby, tis probable, utterly to forgett that Ordinance of Heaven. They that had constrained others to work on the *Sabbath*, must now do it themselves.³³

Indeed, there is an Observation in Philosophy, about the Number *Seven*, in the Corruption of *Waters*; That if *Water* corrupt *Seven Times*, & are so often

³⁰ Mather's penchant for typological and quasi mystical explications is borne out in the contrasting conceptions of the Covenant of Works (Law) and the Covenant of Grace. See his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 5, part 1, p. 8; see also *A Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and practiced in the Congregational Churches in England* (1658), chs. 7 and 8, in Williston Walker (ed.), *Creeeds* (374–77).

³¹ Patrick (*Exodus* 122). According to Archbishop James Ussher's famous *Annals* (1658), p. 14, this event took place in the year of the world A.M. 2513 or according to the Julian Calendar in 3323, or 1491 BCE. On Ussher's chronology, see J. Barr, "Why the World" (1985).

³² Patrick on Exod. 7:22 (*Exodus* 124). According to R. Abraham Ibn Ezra, Aaron only turned into blood the water that could be found above ground. "He did not transform any water that was below ground. The magicians dug and brought forth water from beneath the ground and openly turned it into blood" (*Commentary: Exodus* 153–54). Although confirming that only the surface waters were affected by this plague, R. Bachya ben Asher also argues that Moses "struck only the waters of the Nile" (*Torah Commentary* 3:835).

³³ See also *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Exodus* (2:51) for the significance of the seven-day time period of this plague. Nachmanides (Ramban) believes that "the Egyptians were unable to drink from the Nile, and had to dig around it for water, until seven days had passed."

purified, they never do corrupt *any more*. But it is unto little Purpose to observe it, in this Place.³⁴

Q. In what Space of Time, is it supposed, that the *Ten Plagues* were inflicted upon *Egypt*?

A. Tis by some supposed, That in *Twenty Nine Dayes* they were all dispatched.

The First Plague, in 7 dayes.

The Second, in 3.

The Fourth, in 3.

The Seventh, in 3.

The Eighth, in 3.

The Ninth, in 3.

The Third, in 2.

The Fifth, in 2.

The Sixth, in 2.

The Last, in 1.

Thus did *a Month devour them!*³⁵

³⁴ Perhaps Mather has in mind Naaman's miraculous cleansing after he "dipped himself seven times in Jordan" (2 Kings 5:14); besides, the numerological significance of the number 7 as a holy number may be at the bottom of it all.

³⁵ A similar calculation appears in James Ussher's *Annals* (14). However, disagreements about the duration of the Ten Plagues and their outcome engaged the learned throughout the ages. R. Bachya ben Asher for one (on Exod. 7:25) insist that the interval between the plagues was generally "21 days so that a plague and its aftermath lasted approx[imately] a month" (*Torah Commentary* 3:838). Gersonides, however, believes that the ten plagues lasted for seven days each, פִּירוּשׁ עַל הַתּוֹרָה [Perush 'al Sefer Ha-Torah] (1547). Rashi insist that "each plague lasted a quarter of a month, and the other three quarters of the month Moses would exhort and forewarn them." Ibn Ezra opines that "the plague [water turning red] went on for seven days. But this does not apply to the subsequent plagues [which lasted longer," in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Exodus* (2:51).

Q. In the Plague from the *Frogs*, on *Egypt*, what Remarkable? v. 2.

A. T'was a Plague more grievous, than the former, which Turned the *Waters* into *Blood*. This Plague infested the *Land*, as well as the *Waters*; and it was unspeakably Troublesome to the People, in all their *Senses*.¹

Was there not in it also some Repræsentation of the *Sin* committed by the *Egyptians*? For, as one saies, *Vagitus Infantium neglexerant Ranarum ad Modum Reptantium*.²

It is likewise probable, that there were good Store of *Toads* among the *Frogs*.

Wee have read of other People, that have been sorely plagued with *Frogs*. The *Abderitæ*, were driven out of their Countrey by *Frogs*; and so were the *Pæonians*, and the *Dardanians*, and so the Indian *Artoryti*. —³

The Jewes add, Here was *Mensura pro Mensurâ*.⁴ For it was a Peece of their Bondage, That the *Egyptians*, when they pleased, sent them a *fishing*; & now the River spawn'd nothing but *Frogs*.

Q. *The Magicians did so, with their Enchantments?* v. 7.

A. They should rather have shown their Skill in Removing the *Frogs*, or in destroying those which *Moses* had brought. It may be thought, *Pharaoh* expected this from them; for they being unable to do it, he betook himself to *Moses*, whom he entreats, to take them away. He would never have done this, if their

1 Matthew Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:345) relates that according to Jacobus Bonfrerius, Cornelius à Lapide, and Valentinius Benedictus Pererius, this amphibious plague “severely vexed all the senses: *vision*, by their multitude and ugliness; *hearing*, by their croaking; *smell*, by the stench, either of the living, or of the dying; *taste*, by their befouling of foods; *touch*, by contact, and by lying together in the same bed” (*Works* 4:140). The miraculous multiplication of frogs is amplified by a several rabbinic scholars, in *Midrash Rabbah* (Exodus X:3).

2 “They [Egyptians] had disregarded the wails of the infants after the manner of crawling frogs.” The Latin passage is extracted from the annotations on Exod. 8:2, in *Observationes Selectae* (1723), p. 88, by Jakob Rhenferd (1654–1712), a German-Dutch philologist and professor of oriental languages at Franeker. See also Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, lib. 5, cap. 2, col. 661, line 7).

3 Samuel Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, lib. 4, cap. 13, col. 439, lines 29–38) relates how the populations of Paeonia and Dardania (modern Balkans), as well as those of a town in India, were overcome by a plague of frogs and other pests. Diodorus Siculus (3.30.3) knowingly reports that the Autariatae, an Illyrian people, believed “frogs were originally generated in the clouds, and when they fell upon the people in place of the customary rain, they forced them to leave their native homes and to flee for safety to the place where they now dwell.” Claudius Aelianus (*De Natura Animalium* 17.40) tells a similar story about a plague of scorpions driving out the good people of Lake Arrhatan, in India.

4 That God punishes his enemies “measure for measure” is affirmed in *Midrash Rabbah* (Exodus I:18, III:8). See also Maimonides, מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] Rabbi Mosi Majemonidis Liber... Doctor Perplexorum (1629), pars 1, cap. 1, p. 6. For much the same, see BA 1:491, 492 (note 39).

Power had not quite failed here. So, *Aben Ezra* observes; He call'd for *Moses*; *Because he saw, the Magicians had only added unto the Plague, but could not diminish it.*⁵

4222.

Q. In what Sense are to be taken the Words of *Moses* to *Pharaoh*, *Glory over me?* v. 9.

A. “*Glory*, that thou hast such an one as I am to stand thy Friend so far as to prevail with the Lord, for the Removal of the *Frogs* from thee. This is more than all thy *Magicians* can do for thee!” *Hanc spem de tuis magis habere non potes.* Thus *Munster* carries it.⁶ *Bochart's* Paraphrase is much approved by *Patrick*: (adding the Word, *Saying*;) “Tho’ it belongs not unto thee, to determine the *Time* of thy Deliverance, which depends wholly upon the Will and Pleasure of God; yett I, who am His Minister, give thee Leave, to take so much upon thee, as to præscribe what *Time* thou pleasest, for the Removal of this Plague.” *Glory over me, by telling me when I shall Intercede for thee.*⁷

Bonfrerius ha’s express’d in short, the literal Sense of the Hebrew Words; *Tibi hunc honorem desero, ut eligas, quando* – &c⁸

Q. Is there any Monument of Antiquity, concurring with the *Mosaic History* of the Plague of *Lice* upon the *Egyptians*?

A. *Herodotus*, (L. 2. c. 37.) saies; That the *Egyptian Priests* did on every Third Day shave their Bodies, ἵνα μήτε φθειρ, μήτε τι ἄλλο μυσσάρων – *That neither a Louse, nor any other unclean thing may be about them in their Worship.*⁹ And *Plutarch* in his *Isis*, gives this Reason for the *Linen-Garments* worn by the *Priests of Egypt*; because that Sort of Garments, was ἡκίστα φθειροποιον, *the least apt to breed Lice.*¹⁰ Now saies our most learned *Bochart*; *Quas cautiones crediderim illos habuisse in*

5 Extracted from *Patrick* (*Exodus* 129), whose source – including that of R. Aben (Ibn) Ezra on Exod. 8:3 (*Commentary: Exodus* 157) – is Matthew Poole’s synopsis on Exod. 8:8 (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:345). See also *Bochart* (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 2, col. 663, lines 20–31) – all sharing the same information.

6 Mather’s Latin citation of Sebastian Münster’s gloss on Exod. 8:9 appears in *Hebraica Biblia* (1546) 1:127, note c). Aaron taunts Pharaoh, saying “You cannot get this hope from your magicians.”

7 *Bochart's* paraphrase (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 2, col. 664, lines 7–20) and *Patrick's* annotations are extracted from *Patrick* (*Exodus* 130–31).

8 *Patrick* (*Exodus* 131) cites the annotations on Exod. (8:9) from *Pentateuchus Moysis commentario* (1625), pp. 377, by the Flemish Jesuit scholar and professor of Hebrew at Douai, Jacobus Bonfrerius (1573–1642). Mather gleans Bonfrerius’s Latin comment from *Patrick*, but does not provide *Patrick's* translation, which reads, “I will do thee the honour, that thou may’st assign the time.”

9 Adapted from *Herodotus* (3.37, line 8), which reads (with the diacritics restored) ἵνα μήτε φθειρ, μήτε ἄλλο μυσσάρων.

10 Adapted from ἡκίστα δὲ φθειροποιόν, in *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (352e, line 11).

*hujus plagæ memoriam; illâ enim verisimile est Magos et Sacerdotes gravius fuisse afflicto.*¹¹ He thinks, 't'was in remembrance of this Plague, which fell more severely on the *Magicians*, (the *Priests*) than any others.

Q. I have seen that *Question* putt, Why did God punish the *Egyptians*, with such Mean, Vile, Inconsiderable Animals, as *Lice*, rather than *Lions* or some other more devouring Monsters? v. 17.

A. I have seen an *Answer* given to it. It is old *Philo's* Answer. The Design of God was to *Correct* the *Egyptians*, & not to *Destroy* them. Had Hee designed their *Destruction*, Hee needed the Help of no Animals at all: Hee had Plagues enough to have done it.

Moreover, It was a Divine and Glorious Triumph over the Pride of Haughty *Pharaoh*, to make him stoop to a *Louse*! How could he have held up his Head, against the *Angel*, whom God sent against *Sennacherib*?¹²

We may add, (this last Observation is in Dr. *Patrick*,) That tho' we read of particular Persons, who for great Crimes, were punished with the Plague of *Lice*, yett we do not find in any Story, a whole Nation infested with them. | But there is a Dispute among Interpreters, what these Creatures were, which our Translation has called, *Lice*.¹³ The *Septuagint*, as we call it, and *Philo*, translate it by a Word, which according to *Pliny*, & *Columella*, & *Hesychius*, & *Origen*, signifies, a Sort of *Gnatts*.¹⁴ It seems unto some, to have been a New Sort of Creature called Analogically by an old & a known Name; which is the Conjecture of

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11 Says our most learned Bochart (*Hieroicoon*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 18, sec 579, lines 33–35), "I might believe that they [priests] had held these precautions to promote the memory of this plague [of lice], for it is probably that the wizards and the priests had been more seriously afflicted by it."

12 The two preceding paragraphs are paraphrase of Bochart (*Hieroicoon*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 18, sec. 578, line 74–sec. 579, line 25), who also cites Philo's answer from *De Vita Mosis* (1.19.110). According to 2 Kings 19:35, God sent his angel against King Sennacherib (BCE 705–681) of Assyria and slew "an hundred fourscore and five thousand" of his troops. On this feat, see also Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Alnetanae quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 12, pp. 198–99.

13 Patrick on Exod. 8:18 (*Exodus* 136). The Hebrew phrase לִכְנִיִּם [lekinnim] (Exod. 8:16), derived from the noun כֶּן [ken] (Strong's ## 3654, B4589), suggests "gnat, gnats, gnat-swarm," but also "lice." The former interpretation is supported by Philo, Origen, Munster, Fagius, Rivet, Vatablus, and Grotius; the latter, by Drusius, Pagnine, Montanus, Tigurinus, Oleaster, Ainsworth, and others (Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:347 and *Works* 4:149–50). Whatever loathsome vermin it might have been, the itch, assuredly, was quite real in either case.

14 The LXX on Exod. 8:17 renders it "σκνίφες" [skniphes], "lice" or "gnats." Philo Judaeus (*De Vita Mosis* 1.26.145, line 1) has "σκνίπες" [sknipes], i. e., "lice" (*Works* 472). Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 11.1.2 and 11.41.118) calls them "culices," variously signifying "fleas" and "gnats." Ancient Rome's premier writer on agriculture, Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (fl. 20–60 CE) offers remedies for fly-blown wounds in *De re rusticate* (6.33.1; 7.13.1–2) where he speaks generically of "muscas" (flies) and "pulix" (fleas). Hesychius (*Commentarius brevis*, Psalm 104, sec. 31, line 3) also has "σκνίπες" [sknipes], but Origen (*Contra Celsus* 5.7.30) spells it "σκνίφες" [skniphes], i. e., "gnats." Well, there it is.

Pererius, & approved by *Rivet*.¹⁵ Some take this to be the Reason, why the Magicians could not counterfeit or emulate this Miracle, as they did what went before.

Q. The Speech of the Magicians upon the Plague of *Lice*, *This is the Finger of God!* How do you understand it? v. 19.

A. My Dr. *Lightfoot* understands it, as an *Hideous & Horrid Blasphemy*.¹⁶

You may observe, That in the Two Foregoing Plagues, of *Blood*, and *Frogs*, *Moses* gave Warning thereof, before hand; but of this hee gave no Warning. And, that the *Lice* also fell upon the *Israelites* as well as the *Egyptians*; for wee read not of any Severing between *Goshen* and *Egypt*, until the next of the Plagues, which was that of the *Flies*.

When *Moses* turn'd the Waters of *Egypt* into Blood, the Sorcerers turn'd the Waters of *Goshen* too. When *Moses* brought Frogs upon *Egypt*, the Sorcerers brought Frogs upon *Goshen* too. And so, they still think, that their God, is as considerable as the *Jehovah* of *Israel*: altho' these two Plagues, were not felt so much by the *Israelites* perhaps, as by the *Egyptians*.

But when the Plague of *Lice* comes, it comes upon *Goshen*, from the Lord Himself: The Lord laid it as a Plague upon His own People: They had partook so much in the *Sins* of *Egypt*, that they must also partake in some of its *Plagues*.

For this Reason, the Man of God, in the *Seventy Eighth* Psalm, reckoning up the Plagues of *Egypt*, mentions not the Plague of *Lice*; because that was æqually a Plague to *Israel*, as to the *Egyptians*; and a Plague from the Lord. Indeed, the *Israelites* had *Blood & Frogs*, as well as the *Egyptians*; but not from the Lord.

The *Egyptians* acknowledged a supreme Deitie, whom they adored with, and in their *petty Deities*. They adored not an *Ox*, a *Dog*, a *Crocodile*, but the Good Useful, Helpful Qualities thereof; as *Eusebius* intimates.¹⁷

¹⁵ Benedictus (Benito) Pererius devotes a whole disputation to the debate of the origin, nature, and potency of these pesky gnats (sciniphes), on Exod. 8:18: "Tertio Disputatio: Cur Magi non potuerint facere sciniphes," in his *Primus Tomus Selectarum disputationum in Sacram Scriptura: Exodi* (1607), "Tertio Disputatio," pp. 250–52; and so does his Huguenot colleague in Leyden, André Rivet, who swats his gnats (sciniphes) in his *Commentarii, In Librum secundum Mosis, qui Exodus* (1634), p. 203, but enlists Philo, Fagius, Tremellius and Junius, Pagninus, Oleaster, Cajetan, and Origen in this itchy combat. Where's my insect repellent?

¹⁶ Mather's annotation on Exod. 8:19 is extracted from John Lightfoot's *An Handful of Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus*, sec. 13, in *Works* (1684) 1:705–06.

¹⁷ Mather, via Lightfoot (*Works* 1:706) and Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 2.1.45a–52c) dilates on the sacred bull Apis (one of the most important Egyptian deities), the jackal-headed Anubis (god of mummification and the underworld), and the crocodilian Sobek (god of the Nile). Mather was well familiar with his European colleagues' viewpoints on the Egyptian deities, which shocked them to no end: Gerard Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), Dutch theologian and classical scholar, in *Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 3, cap. 74, pp. 1126–34; the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601–80), in *Cedipus Ægyptiacus* (1652), the Dutch Calvinist Herman Witsius (1636–1708), in *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΑΙΟΝ* (1683), and with the French

Now, they accounted not, JEHOVAH, the *God of the Hebrewes*, any other than a petty God; such as every Nation had one or more of: A God able to do something, as they saw in the *Blood* & the *Frogs*; but not All things; nor, so much as Their own God was able to Do. *Who is JEHOVAH?* saies *Pharaoh*; *I know not JEHOVAH*.

So then, the Words of the *Egyptians* may seem to bee of this Importance; “When *Blood* and *Frogs* came upon us, *Moses* did from *Jehovah*, give Warning thereof; but these *Lice* came without any Warning. Hence tis plain, this is none of *Jehovahs* Doing; If it were, *Moses* would have known of it. Again, when the *Jehovah* of the Hebrewes brought *Blood* and *Frogs* upon our Land, Hee brought none upon Theirs; Hee spared His own People; but these *Lice* are upon them, as well as upon us; and this without the Doing; Wherefore This is not from *Jehovah*, who certainly would not vex His own People. But this is done by the Finger of *Elohim*, the Supream Deity of all; and *Jehovah* still is a God of no value with us.”¹⁸

Q. Some Remarks upon the Plague of *Flies*, wherewith God visited the *Egyptians*? v. 21.

A. It is amiss in our Translation, to render the Word only, *A Swarm*; Tho’ many of the Ancients (besides *Josephus*,) have done so, and left it applicable unto a *Colluvies* of *Beasts* of all Sorts.¹⁹ *Bochart* proves, That *Arob*, the Name used here, signifies one certain Animal; and indeed otherwise, how could it be said, Exod. 8.31. That *not one Arob was left*? He proves, That it was, particularly the *Cynomyia*, or the *Dog-flie*; and he shewes, That the Lord singled out this *Flie*, for the Vexation of the *Egyptians*, not only because it was a very grievous one, but also, because it was peculiarly odious unto the *Egyptians*, for its being so injurious unto the *Dogs*, a Creature by them worshipped.²⁰

*Omnigenumque Deum monstra, et latrator Anubis.*²¹

Huguenot Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), in *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (Both Good and Evil) of the Church* (1705) – all of which works Mather put to good use throughout his *Biblia Americana*. See also R. Smolinski, “Eager Imitators” and D. B. Haycock, “Ancient Egypt in 17th and 18th-Century England.”

¹⁸ The paragraph in quotation marks is a heuristic invention to dramatize Pharaoh’s stubbornness and is a close paraphrase of Lightfoot’s gloss on Exod. 8:19, in *Gleanings*, sec. 13 (final paragraph: “Fourthly”), in *Works* (1684) 1:706.

¹⁹ Josephus Flavius, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (2.303, line 1).

²⁰ The preceding paragraph is synopsised from Patrick’s commentary on Exod. 8:21 (*Exodus* 138–39), who extracts his information from Bochart’s *Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 15, col. 553–555. Both Philo Judaeus (*De Vita Mosis* 1.23.130, line 4; 131, line 2; 1.133, line 1; and 1.145, line 1) and Origen (*Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis*, bk. 10, cap. 14, sec. 78, line 4, and sec. 79, line 3) mention this κυνοψυα or *Cynomyia cadaverina*, a shiny blue bottle-fly of the blow-fly family.

²¹ Vergil’s Aeneas derides the “monstrous gods of every form and barking Anubis,” the jackal-headed god of the dead (*Aeneid* 8.698).

I add, from Dr. *Patrick*, the *Flies* were so venomous, as to leave a Poison in the Bodies they stung. Many of them Swell'd & Dy'd upon it. The Psalmist understood it so. Psal. LXXVIII. 45.²²

When *Trajan* assaulted the *Agarens*, he was so assaulted with them, as to desist from the Enterprize.²³

Q. When this Plague, forced from *Pharaoh*, a Concession for the *Israelites* to sacrifice in the Land, *Moses* answers, *Lo, we shall sacrifice the Abomination of the Egyptians before their Eyes; and will they not stone us?* v. 26.²⁴

A. 'Tis well-known, That the *Egyptians* worshipped a *Beef*. Besides the *Apis* of the *Memphites*, and the *Mnevis* of the *Heliopolitans*, a *Beef* is mention'd by *Strabo*, under this Character, *ἅπαντες κοινῇ τιμῶσιν Αἰγυπτίοι*. *All the Egyptians worship it*.²⁵ And *Herodotus* reports a *Cow* sacred among them, on the account of *Isis*.²⁶ A *Ram*, and a *Goat* were as Inviolably Sacred; for their *Jupiter Ammon* had a *Rams Head*; and *Mendes*, or *Pan*, the *Face* and *Feet* of a *Goat*.²⁷ Hence the Poet,

— *Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
Mensa, nefas illic fetum jugulare capellae*.²⁸

²² Patrick (*Exodus* 138).

²³ Mather here alludes to the epitome of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (68.31–31), which relates how Roman Emperor Marcus Ulpius Nerva Traianus Augustus (53–117 CE), upon his attack of the Arabian people of Hatra (Hagarens), thunder and lightning and hail “descended upon the Romans as often as they made assaults. And whenever they ate, flies settled on their food and drink, causing discomfort everywhere. Trajan therefore departed thence, and a little later began to fail in health.”

²⁴ Mather's “Note Book of Authors and Texts throughout the Bible” earmarks “MSS. Pat. no. 29. Sermon VII” (Exod. 8:29) and probably refers to a manuscript in his vast collection of unpublished sermon notes.

²⁵ Strabo (17.1.40, line 7) has ἅπαντες κοινῇ τιμῶσιν Αἰγύπτιοι. Consecrated to Osiris, the sacred bull Apis was particularly revered in Memphis; Mneves, the sacred black bull of Heliopolis, is associated with Atum-Ra, the sun god of the Egyptians, and bears a solar disk between his horns. In Mather's time, Diodorus Siculus (1.84.4–85.5), Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 364c), and Pliny (8.71.184) were among the most consulted classical sources to explain the rites and ceremonies of the principal Egyptian bovine gods. See also R. H. Wilkinson's *Complete Gods* (170–75).

²⁶ Herodotus (2.41) relates that cows, sacred to the goddess Isis (Demeter), are not allowed to be sacrificed. Isis is represented as a “female in form but with a cow's horns.” The center of her worship is the temple at Busiris (2.59).

²⁷ Herodotus (2.42) reports how Zeus (Jupiter, Ammon) revealed himself to Heracles disguised with a fleece of a ram and the mask of a ram's head. For this reason, “the Egyptians make an image of Zeus with a ram's head” and call him “Zeus Amon.” The shrine of the goat-headed Dionysius (Pan), associated with the cult of Osiris, centered in the city of Mendes, in the Nile Delta. See also R. H. Wilkinson (*Complete Gods* 92–97).

²⁸ The Roman Satirist Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis, aka. Juvenal (c. 60–c. 140 CE), pokes fun at those who abjure the eating of mutton or goat's meat, but do not despise human flesh: *Satire* (15.11): “No animal that grows wool may appear on the dinner-table; / it is forbidden there to slay the young of the goat; / [but it is lawful to feed on the flesh of man]” (in Ramsay's translation of *Juvenal and Persius*, p. 289). John Spencer employs the same passage from Juvenal as proof-text in *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 1, fol. 257.

R. Joshua saies, That a *Ram* was the more Holy among them, for their Opinion, that their Countrey was peculiarly under the Sign of *Aries*;²⁹ But, lett *Cicero's* account of them, serve instead of all; (in his *Tusculan Questions*.) *Ægyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum imbutæ mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius subierint, quam Ibim, aut Aspidem, aut Felem, aut Canem, aut Crocodilum violent? Quorum etiamsi imprudentes quippiam fecerint, pœnam nullam recusent*.³⁰ Accordingly *Diodorus* tells us, That he was an Ey-Witness, of the Fury with which the *Egyptian Mob*, fell upon a Roman Souldier, for accidentally killing a *Catt*.³¹ And the Zeal of Religion sometimes on this account, you find celebrated in *Juvenal*, where he brings a *Tentyrite* with a Cannibal fury devouring an *Ombite*, because one worshipped an *Hawk*, t'other a *Crocodile*.³²

Moses then had sufficient Reason to be slow of *Killing* for *Sacrifices*, the Creatures whom the *Ægyptians* worshipped as their *Gods*.

Or, If not the *Creatures*, yett the *Ceremonies* of the *Sacrifices*, would be offensive to the *Egyptians*.³³

29 R. Joshua as quoted in Ibn Ezra on Exod. 8:22 (*Commentary: Exodus* 165). "Rabbi Joshua further states that the god of Egypt was shaped like a lamb [ram] because the Egyptians believed that the constellation of the lamb ruled over their land." See also Maimonides, *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 46, p. 481.

30 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* (5.27.78): "Who does not know of the custom of the Egyptians? Their minds are infected with degraded superstitions and they would sooner submit to any torment than injure an ibis or asp or cat or dog or crocodile, and even if they have unwittingly done anything of the kind there is no penalty from which they would recoil."

31 Diodorus Siculus (1.83.8, lines 10–15). Little did the poor soldier know that he had killed the feline goddess Bastet, sacred to the people of Bubastis.

32 Juvenal (*Satire* 15.6) is bemused by the feud between the Egyptian cities Tentyra and Ombi because the former revered the ancient falcon-headed Horus (son of Isis and Osiris), whereas the latter adored the crocodilian Sobek (son of Seth and Neith), god of the Nile. See also R. H. Wilkinson (*Complete Gods*, 200–11, 218–20).

33 Mather's primary source for his annotations on Exod. 8:26 – including his citations from, and references to Roman, Greek, and Hebrew authors – is Bochart's encyclopedic *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 16, col. 559–62, esp. 559 [lines 48] to 561 [line 10]). See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:349) and *Works* (4:157–58).

Q. While the Plagues were inflicted on the *Egyptians*, there was an Exemption of the *Israelites*, from a Share in them. And there is particular Notice on this Occasion taken, of their being in the *Land of Goshen*. How did that Land ly? v. 1.

A. It lay on the East Part of the Land of *Egypt*, and was the best Part of it. It was on every Side surrounded with the Land of *Egypt*, except on the East Side, where the Red-Sea lay upon it. It was the Policy of the *Egyptian Pharaohs*, to keep the *Israelites* in such a Scituation, & so wedged in, that they could not without Leave, pluck up Stakes & be gone.¹

I will take notice of a Criticism on this Occasion. The Lord had said, ch. VIII. 22. *I will sever in that Day the Land of Goshen*. The Word implies in it, something that carries Wonderment with it. The Lord uses a Word, which renders it much as if He had said, *I will separate the Land of Goshen, & will therein do a marvellous Thing*.²

The Separation of the Christian Jews, that carried them to *Pella*, at & from the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, carried them to a Place, which harmonizes with the Word /פלא/ used here.³

Moreover, It is there said, *I will putt a Division between my People & thy People*. The Word which we render *Division*, signifies, *Redemption*. /פרת/ We are

1 The applicable source may well be *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–12), vol. 1, ch. 13, p. 369, a three-volume geography, by Edward Wells, D.D. (1667–1727), Anglican clergyman, educator, and rector in Cotesbach, Leicestershire. Mather also employs this source in his glosses on Exod. ch. 14 (below) as well as on Gen. ch. 11 (*BA* 1:836–37). According to Wells, the Land of Goshen is also known as “the *Land of Rameses*” (Gen. 47:11). The LXX renders “*Goshen*, by Ἡρώων πόλιν *Heroum urbs* [Gen. 46:28], the same which by some Writers is simply called *Heroum*, and is, by the Consent of ancient Geographers, placed in the Eastern Part of *Egypt*, not far from the *Arabian Gulf*. So that from hence it may be well inferred, that the *Land of Goshen* was situated in the Easterly Part of *Egypt*, betwixt the River *Nile*, and the Town called *Heroum*; and consequently, that therein stood the City *Rameses*” (1:369). See also Claudius Ptolemaeus (*Geographia* 4.5.54, line 4) and Eusebius Pamphilus (*Onomasticon* 94, line 11).

2 See Henry Ainsworth on Exod. 8:22 (*Annotations*, second series of pagination, p. 27). The best source is still Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:347) and *Works* (4:154).

3 Mather typologically links Exod. 9:4 “And the Lord shall sever” [וַהֲפִלָּהּ] and Deut. 30:11 “it is not hidden [separated] from thee” [נִפְלְאָתָא] with *Pella* [פלא], one of ten prominent cities of the Decapolis in Roman times (*HBD*), frequently identified as the city of refuge to which early Christians fled during the Jewish revolt (66–70 CE) just prior to the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus (39–81 CE). Mather evidently alludes to Matth. 24:15–18, the prophetic command to flee Jerusalem when “the abomination of desolation ... stand[s] in the holy place” (24:15).

here led unto Thoughts of the *Spiritual Redemption*, which our great Redeemer has wrought out for us.⁴

This may be a Reason, why the *Outstretched Arm of the Lord*, is often mentioned in the Deliverance of *Israel* from *Egypt*. The Holy Spirit would lead us to the *Redemption* wrought by our Saviour, whose Name is, *The Arm of the Lord*.⁵

Q. How did the Plague of the *Boyls* proceed? v. 9.

A. Instead of the *Ashes*, which *Moses* and *Aaron* threw up into the *Air*, there came down a small Sleet, like that of *Snow*, or the *Hoar-frost*, which scalded the Flesh of Man and Beast, & raised a Blister in every Part, on which it fell. The Poison of this penetrating into the Flesh, made sore Swellings, like those we now call *Bubo's*; Compare, Lev. 13.18, 19. with Deut. 28.27.⁶

This *Plague* was inflicted about the *Third Day* of the *Seventh Month*, according to Dr. *Ushers* Computation. Who thinks it probable (as many others do,) that from hence the Tale came to be spread among the Heathens, that the *Egyptians* drave the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, because they were scabby; lest the Infection should spread all over the Countrey. They endeavoured, in future Ages, to make it beleaved, that what befel themselves, was a *Plague* on the *Israelites*.⁷

Tis thought by some, that from hence came the Calamity, which *Trogus Pompeius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Tacitus*, and other Heathens cast on the *Hebrews*, That they were expelled {from} *Egypt*, for being Scabby and Leprous; A gross Mistake! It was for their having brought such Diseases on the EGYPTIANS.⁸

⁴ According to *Baal HaTurim Chumash* 2:595 (Exod. 8:19) פֶּדֹת [peduth] (KJV 8:23) suggests both “distinction” and “redemption” (Strong’s # 6304); the same usage also appears in Ps. 111:9, 130:7. Rashi and Onkelos fully agree (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:107–08). Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:348) and *Works* (4:155) on Exod. 8:23 list the various readings of פֶּרַת (“division,” “distinction,” “partition,” “liberty,” “redemption”) by the most significant Reformation and Post-Reformation scholars, along with those of the Syriac, Chaldean, and Samaritan versions. Mather’s preference is informed by his interest in typological foreshadowings of Christ’s redemption of the elect.

⁵ See Patrick on Exod. 8:24 and 9:3 (*Exodus* 140, 147) and Poole on Exod. 9:3 (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:349). Isaiah’s question, “to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?” (Isa. 53:1) is often associated with Christ.

⁶ Patrick (*Exodus* 150). Mather also alludes to Philo’s account *De Vita Mosis* (1.22.127), according to which the dust caused “a terrible, and most painful, and incurable ulceration over the whole skin both of man and of the brute beasts; and immediately their bodies became swollen with the pustules, having blisters all over them full of matter which any one might have supposed were burning underneath and ready to burst. ... For there was one vast uninterrupted sore to be seen from head to foot” (*Works* 471).

⁷ Patrick on Exod. 9:10 (*Exodus* 151). Although the reference to Archbishop James Ussher’s *Annals of the World* (1658), p. 7, is also borrowed from Patrick, Mather does check, whenever possible, Patrick’s sources, as is evident in the next paragraph, where Mather identifies the standard texts (not mentioned in Patrick), but here appearing in Ussher.

⁸ Ussher (*Annals*, p. 7) lists Justin (Marcus Iunius Iustinus), the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius (lib. 36), and Diodorus Siculus (lib. 40). According to Trogus Pompeius (36.2.1–16), the Egyptians were afflicted “with scabies and leprosy, and moved by some oracular prediction,

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|
Q. *The Magicians could not stand before Pharaoh, because of the Boils?* v. 11.

A. This Plague siezing on them, and in *Pharaohs* Presence too, perfectly confounded them.

Tho' since the Plague of *Lice*, which they could not counterfeit, we read of no Attempt, they ventured to make, to vie Miracles with *Moses* and *Aaron*; yett they still continued about *Pharaoh*, & endeavoured to settle him in his Resolution, not to lett *Israel* go: Perhaps perswading him, that tho' *Moses* for the Present had found out some Secret beyond their Skill, they should at last be too hard for him. Whereas now being on a sudden smitten with these Ulcers, they were so amazed, that we do not find, they appeared again, to look *Moses* in the face. For now, as the Apostle speaks, *Their Folly was manifested unto all Men*: [1. Tim. 3. 8, 9.] In that they could not defend themselves, from this terrible Stroke; which publickly siezing on them before *Moses*, in the Sight of *Pharaoh* & all his Servants, rendred them so contemptible, that we never hear more of them.⁹

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *I will send all my Plagues upon thine Heart?* v. 14.

A. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it; "Such as will make thy *Heart* Ake; not only afflict thy Body and Goods, but fill thy *Soul* with Terror, or Grief, or Rage."

All my Plagues.] Tis truly expounded by *Menochius*; *Not all that I am able, but all that I design to send for thy Destruction.*¹⁰

Q. That Passage; *For now I will stretch out my Hand, that I may smite thee, & thy People with Pestilence?* v. 15, 16.

A. We do not read of a New *Pestilence* upon *Pharaoh*. *Fagius*, and *Hacspan*, and *Junius*, translate these Words, *I had smitten thee & thy People with Pestilence*, (when I destroy'd thy Cattel with a Murrain,) *and thou hadst been cutt off from*

expelled him [*Moses*], with those who had the disease, out of Egypt, that the distemper might not spread among a greater number" (Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic History*, p. 245). Diodorus Siculus (34/35.1.1–2; 40.3.1–2) relates that the Egyptians expelled "lepers" and "aliens," who were blamed for the wrath of the gods. Publius Cornelius Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.3), referring to a consensus of writers, argues that Bocchoris, king of Egypt, consulted the oracle of Hammon and cleansed Egypt by expelling *Moses* and all those who were disfigured by the disease. Much the same is reported by the Egyptian historian Manetho (*Aegyptiaca*, fragm. 54), in a fragment extant in Josephus Flavius (*Contra Apion* 1.26–35).

⁹ Patrick (*Exodus* 151–52).

¹⁰ Patrick (*Exodus* 154). Mather here quotes Patrick's English translation of the Latin commentary on *Exod.* 9:14, by the learned Italian Jesuit and professor of theology at Milan, Giovanni Steffano Menochius (1575–1655), whose *Commentarii totius S. Scripturae ... Editio novissima* (1703), p. 32, has the following annotation: "non quas possum, sed quas destinavi immittere ad te perendum." Menochius's commentary on the Holy Scriptures went through many editions and reprints, and was also referenced (but not excerpted) in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:350) and *Works* (4:165). The 1630 edition of Menochius's commentary (Colonia Agrippinensis) is listed in the Harvard *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae* (1723), p. 22.

the Earth, (when the Boils broke out upon the Magicians.) *But I have made thee to stand*, (I have preserved thee alive,) that I may destroy thee in a more remarkable Manner.¹¹

Q. The Plague of the *Hail*? v. 18.

A. *Such as hath not been in Egypt.*] It shewes, that the Rain was not frequent in *Egypt*, yett sometimes they had both *Rain & Hail* also.

The Author of, *The Life & Death of Moses*, fancies, God sent this to punish the *Egyptians* for the Drudgery they imposed on the *Israelites*, in making them Till their Fields for them.

The Miraculousness of this Plague, did particularly appear in this, That whereas other Storms of *Hail* generally reach but a little Way, (sometimes not a Mile,) this extended over the whole Countrey.¹²

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. On that Passage; *Entreat the Lord, for it is enough*? v. 28.

A. In the Original it sounds no more than this; *And Much*. If we refer it unto the Act of Prayer, as *Arias Montanus* does, it may import *Pharaohs* Request for very much Prayer. q.d. “*Intreat the Lord*, not Negligently, Perfunctorily, Indifferently; but *Much* Earnestly, Zelously, with Importunity.” Compare, Jon. III. 8. /רַב/ is as much as, *ικανως και μεγαλως*.¹³

11 Patrick (*Exodus* 155–56). Mather (via Patrick) refers to the translation of, and annotation on, Exod. 9:15, in *Thargum hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli* (1546), sign. L⁴ and L^{4v}, by the distinguished German Hebraist at Strasbourg and Cambridge Paulus Fagius, aka. Paul Büchlein (1504–49); to Theodor Hacksan (on Exod. cap. 9), in his *Notarum Philologico-Theologicarum* (1664), pp. 324–25; and to the collaborative Latin translation of, and annotations in, *Biblia Sacra* (1593), p. 63, notes 8–11, by the Huguonot Franciscus Junius, the elder (1542–1602), and the Italian-Jewish converso Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80) – all preferring the simple past or pluperfect to solve the implied contradiction. See also Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:350) and *Works* (4:165–66), which, however, do not include the reference to Hackspan.

12 Patrick (*Exodus* 157, 158–159) and Gaulmin’s *De Vita et Morte Mosis* (1629), p. 30, # 7. Mather (via Patrick) refers to the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon 16:16, 22 – although neither verse explicitly mentions that the seventh plague covered the whole country. Patrick’s source for this reference is Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:351) on Exod. 9:24. The extraordinary magnitude of the hailstorm mixed with fire and thunder (the seventh plague) was of great interest to pious Poole, for he cites both ancients and moderns to show conflicting evidence: that it neither rains nor hails in Egypt (Claudianus Mamertus, Pliny, Josephus, and Philo); conversely, that it does rain or hail there (André Thevet and Seneca) or, in any case, that it does so only rarely (Jacobus Bonfrerius and Jacobus Tirinus). All too common, experts agree to disagree.

13 The distinguished Spanish-Jewish converso Benito Arias Montanus (1527–98), in the famous Antwerp Polyglot *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice* (1571), on Exod. 9:28, offers, “et multum, nè sint voces”; i. e., “And more, lest there be voices” (Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:351; *Works* 471). Mather’s cryptic /רַב/ [Strong’s # 7227] suggests (among others) “much,” “abundant” as well as “enough,” a signification which Mather apparently finds confirmed in Origen’s *Fragmenta in Psalmos* (Psalm 97:5–6, line 15), where the Alexandrian Father uses the Greek

Q. On that Passage; *I know, that Ye will not yett fear the Lord God?* v. 30.

A. Dr. *Gell* observes, The Word also signifies, *Prius*, or, *Before*. See Exod. I. 19.

And so it may be, as if *Moses* had said, *I know Yee are all afraid of the wrathful Face of the Lord God, before I pray*. This Disposition in the *Egyptians*, might be a good Motive unto *Moses*, to pray for them; and also bespeak the Pitty of Heaven to them.¹⁴

[△] [△ Attachment verso blank]

[13r]

Q. Wee have Occasion to touch upon the ancient *Agriculture*. We read, *The Flax & the Barley was smitten; for the Barley was in the Ear, and the Flax was bolled. But the Wheat and the Rye were not smitten; for they were not grown up*. This may seem strange unto English Observers, who call Barley, *Summer-Corn* sown so many Months after *Wheat*, and (beside *Hordeum Polystichon*, or, *Big-Barley*,) sow not *Barley* in the Winter, to anticipate the Growth of *Wheat*? v. 31, 32.¹⁵

A. But (as tis observed by Sir *Tho. Brown*,) in *Egypt*, the *Barley*-Harvest, was before the *Wheat*-Harvest. We know, that it was in *Judea* so. Of *Ruth* we read, that she *came into Bethlehem, at the Beginning of Barley-Harvest*, and staid unto the End of *Wheat-Harvest*. And it was the Custome of the Jewes, to offer the *Barley Sheaf* of the *First-fruits* in *March*, and a Cake of *Wheat-Flower* but at the End of *Pentecost*.¹⁶ *Theophrastus* observes, That the *Egyptians* also sowed their *Barley* early, in reference to their *First-fruits*; And the same Author mentions it, as a common Rural Practice; *Maturè seritur Triticum; Hordeum, quod etiam maturius seritur*. *Wheat* and *Barley* are sow'd early; but (he saies) *Barley* the earlier of the Two.¹⁷

phrase ικανώς και μεγάλως to signify “ably and powerfully.” On Montanus, see B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano* (1972).

¹⁴ Mather amends his annotations on Exod. 9:30 with an extract from Robert Gell’s *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 200.

¹⁵ Mather adapts his rhetorical question from “Observations Upon several Plants mention’d in Scripture” (Tract 1), in *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684), item 35 (*Works* 3:254), by Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82), learned English author and physician, whose works were among Mather’s favorites.

¹⁶ A close paraphrase of Browne’s “Observations Upon several Plants” (*Works* 3:254–55). Having its roots in the ancient commemoration of the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai on the fiftieth day after Passover, the celebration of Pentecost (lit. “Fiftieth”), the Greek designation for the Feast of Weeks and the sacrifice of the first-fruits of the corn harvest (Deut. 16:9), marks the fiftieth day (seven weeks) after Easter in the Christian liturgical cycle and the descent of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:1) after Christ’s resurrection. The celebration of Pentecost in the Church of England is called “Whitsunday” (ODCC).

¹⁷ Thomas Browne, “Observations” (*Works* 3:255), cites Aristotle’s successor Theophrastus of Eressos (c. 372–287 BCE), who discusses the seasonal planting of wheat and barley in Egypt,

Flax was also an early Plant. The *Israelites* kept their *Passeover* in *Gilgal*, on the Fourteenth Day of the *First Month*. And the *Spies*, which were sent from *Shittim* unto *Jericho*, not many dayes before; were hid by *Rahab* under the Stalks of *Flax*, which lay drying on the Top of her House: which argues that the *Flax* was newly gathered. For this was the first Preparation of the *Flax*, and before the *Fluviation*, or the *Rotting*, which *Pliny* tells us, was after *Wheat-Harvest*.¹⁸

The *Wheat* and the *Rye*, we read, were not now *grown up*. *Moses* understood the Husbandry of *Egypt*. Perhaps he may emphatically declare the State of the *Wheat* and the *Rye*, this particular Year. If so, the Time of the Flood of *Nilus*, and the Measure of its Inundation, is to be considered. If that were very high, and the Ground were over-drenched, they were forced unto a later Seed-time; and so the *Wheat* and the *Rye* escaped. They were Grains that grew more slowly, and by reason of the greater Inundation of the River, they might this Year be sown later than ordinary; especially in the Plains near the River.

By this Account, of the *Grains*, which were smitten, and which escaped, the Plague of the *Hail* seems to happen in *February*. This is to be collected, both from the New and Old Account of the *Seed-time* and *Harvest* in *Egypt*.¹⁹

According to *Radzevil*, the Rising of the River is in *June*; and the Banks are cutt in *September*; they sow about St. *Andrewes*, when the Flood is retired, & the Ground growing moderately Dry permitteth it. The *Barley* anticipating the *Wheat*, either in time of Sowing or Growing, might be in the Ear in *February*.²⁰

[13v]

According to *Pliny*, they cast the *Seed*, upon the Slime and Mud, when the River is down; which commonly happens in the Beginning of *November*. They begin to reap and cutt down, about the Middle of *March*, and in the Month of *May*, their Harvest is in. So the *Barley* anticipating the *Wheat*, it might be in the

in *De historia plantarum* (8.1.sec. 3, 5–6). One of the esteemed dual-language editions of Theophrastus in the seventeenth century is *Theophrasti Eresii Historia Plantarum Libri Decem Graecè & Latinè* (1644), edited by Julius Caesare Scaliger. Mather also puts Browne's material from Theophrastus to good use in *BA* (1:326, 481, 483 etc.). Much the same is related in Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 3, col. 462), which may well have been Sir Thomas's own source in this instant. See also R. David Kimchi's annotation on the maturation of wheat and barley (Exod. 9:31), cited in Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 230, note g, and of course Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:352–53) and *Works* (4:171–72).

18 Browne, "Observations" (*Works* 3:255). Josh. 2:1–6. Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 19.2.7; 19.3.17).

19 Browne, *Works* (3:255–56).

20 Browne (*Works* 3:256) refers to *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio Illustrissimi Principis Nicolai Christophori Radziwili* (1614), "Epistola Tertia," pp. 158–60 (esp. p. 160), a prized travel account through the Fertile Crescent, by Prince Nicolaus Christoph Radziwiłł, aka. Mikołaj Krzysztof VIII Radziwiłł (1549–1616), of Vilna (Lithuania). First published in Polish and appearing in a Latin translation in 1601 (Brunsbergae), the Latin edition was reprinted several times. See also *BA* (1:1038). The Feast of St. Andrews (a first-century apostle of Bethsaida) is observed on November 30th.

Ear in *February*; and the *Wheat* not yett grown up, at least unto the Spindle, or Ear, to be destroy'd by the *Hail*.²¹

The *Turning of the River into Blood*, shewes in what Month these things did *not* happen. That is, *Not* when the River had overflown; For it is said, *The Egyptians digged round about the River, for Water to drink*. This they could not have done, if the River had been up, and the Fields under Water.²²

But how can we, without some Hæitation pass over the Translation of *Rye*. The Original *Cassumeth*, is by the Greek rendred, *Olyra*; by the French and Dutch, *Spelta*; the Latin, *Zea*; and not *Secale*, the known Word for *Rye*. The common *Rye*, so well understood at present, was not well known to early Antiquity; or, at least, we have it not very distinctly described. In this Uncertainty, some have thought it the *Typha* of the Ancients.

Cordus will have it be *Olyra*; and *Ruellius* will have it some kind of *Oryza*. But we have no vulgar and well-known Name for those Grains; we embrace an Appellation of near Affinity; we tolerably enough render it, *Rye*.²³

While *Flax* and *Barley*, and *Wheat* and *Rye* are named, it may be wondred, that no mention is made of *Rice*; wherewith at present *Egypt* so much aboundeth. But it may be doubted, whether this Grain grew so early in that Countrey. *Rice* is originally a Grain of *India*, and might not be then transplanted into *Egypt*.²⁴

Q. The *Time* of this Plague?

A. *The Flax & Barley were smitten.*] Whence N. Fuller observes, That it fell out in the Month *Abib*. So Usher observes, in his *Annals*. It appears by *Pliny* and others, that *Barley* began to ripen in those Countreyes, in *March*, but *Wheat*, not until *April*.

Herm. Conringius a little differs from this Account; For he thinks, (in his Treatise, *De Initio Anni Sabbatici*;) that this *Hail* fell in the Month of *February*.

²¹ Browne, "Observations" (*Works* 3:256). Pliny, *Naturalis historia* (18.47.169).

²² Browne, "Observations" (*Works* 3:257). Exod. 7:24.

²³ Browne, "Observations" (*Works* 3:257). Browne refers to *Valerii Cordi Simesusij Annotationes Pedanij Dioscoridis* (1561), p. 42, by the German botanist, herbalist, and physician Valerius Cordus (1515–44), who discovered ether and authored an acclaimed book on pharmaceutical and herbal medicines, *Dispensatorium sive pharmacorum omnium* (1535). The French physician Joannes Ruellius, aka. Jean Ruel (1479–1537), is best known for his *De Natura Stirpium libri tres* (1536) and for publishing his Latin translation of Dioscorides's *De materia medica* (1516). Significantly, a handbook on the Latin nomenclature of plants, *Pedanij Dioscoridis Anazarbei, De Medicinali Materia Libri Sex, Ioanne Ruellio suessionensi interprete* (Franc[furt]: apud Chr. Egenolphum, n.d.), which includes both Ruellius's Latin translation of the Greek physician and pharmacologist Pedanius Dioscorides c. 40–90 CE) and the annotations of Valerius Cordus, identifies *Olyra* [*Bromus secalinus*] as a type of *rye*, and *Oryza* [*Oryza sativa*], originating in India, as *rice* (lib. 2, cap. 87 and cap. 92, pp. 125, 127, 474).

²⁴ Browne, "Observations" (*Works* 3:257).

Flax being sown here, & among the *Romans* from the *Calends of October* to the VIIth of the *Ides of December*; as he observes out of *Columella*.²⁵

25 Patrick on Exod. 9:31 (*Exodus* 161–62). See also Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:352) and *Works* (4:173–74). The English Hebraist Nicholas Fuller (c. 1557–1626), prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, insists that this plague occurred in the month of Abib (March/April), in his respected *Miscellanea Theologicorum* (1617), lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 389–90. James Ussher (*Annals* [1658], p. 14) seconds Fuller's choice. Pliny reports that in Egypt, barley is harvested "in the sixth month after sowing and wheat in the seventh" (*Naturalis historia* 18.10.60); the German polymath Hermann Conringius (1606–81) points to the month of February, when flax and barley were ripening in Egypt, in *De initio anni Sabbatici et tempore messis Ebraeorum commentariolus* (1675), pp. 174–75. Conringius (p. 175) enlists for support *De Re Rustica* (2.7; 2.8.2; 2.10.17–18), by the Roman tribune and writer on agriculture Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (4–70 CE). Mather also draws on Columella in *BA* (1:619, 655); for Mather's analysis of the formation of hail, see his *Christian Philosopher*, ch. 15, pp. 69–70. The Month of "October" and "the VIIth of the *Ides of December*" in the ancient Julian Calendar correspond to the eighth month (August) and, respectively, the seventh day (before the Ides) of the tenth month (October 15th), in our Gregorian Calendar. The latter was adopted by RC Europe in October, 1582, but Protestant England did not follow suit until January 1, 1752.

Q. A Taste, or two, if you please, of the *Egyptian Locusts*? {v. 6.}

A. There was in the Plague of *Locusts* upon *Egypt*, something extraordinary; even what *neither their Fathers, nor their Fathers Fathers had seen, since the Day that they were upon the Earth.*

I suppose, there is no need of our concluding, That the *Locusts* were of a Dimension more than ordinary; like those *Indian Locusts*, whereof some, according to *Pliny*, were Three Foot long, & some Four Cubits; and when they were Dead, & Dried, their *Legs* were used instead of *Sawes*.¹

It is enough, that they were more *Numerous*, and more *Mischievous* than ordinary.

Unto what, *Mischievous*? For we read, in the præceding Chapter, The *Hail had smote every Herb of the Field, & broke every Tree of the Field*.² Some have imagined a Years Time, to intervene between the two Plagues, of the *Hail* and the *Locusts*. Besides other Arguments to confute that Imagination, lett this be considered. From the Time that *Moses* began to work his Miracles in *Egypt*, unto the Time of his Departure out of this World, there passed præcisely *Forty Years*. [Exod. 7.7. with Deut. 34.1, 5.] And the *Israelites* were *Forty Years* in the Wilderness. (Josh. 5.6.) If *Moses* now spent a Year, in doing his Miracles in *Egypt*, there would not have been allow'd *Forty Years* for that Peregrination of the *Israelites*.

Consider then a little further, That it is here expressly said, (v. 5, 12, 15.) That the *Locusts* did *Eat the Residue of that which had escaped, and remained unto them from the Hail*; – even, *what the Hail had left*. And what was that? We read, ch. 9.31, 32. *The Wheat and the Rie were not smitten, for they were not grown up*. According to *Pliny*, the *Wheat* in *Egypt*, comes a Month after the *Barley*.³

The *Wind* which brought in the *Locusts* upon *Egypt*, (which we translate, *An East-Wind*,) was probably, *A South-Wind*. The Greek renders it, Νότον, and
[14v] Λίβα, and Καύσωνα.⁴ And so the Wind probably brought | them from *Ethiopia*; a Land very Fruitful of these horrible Plagues. Whole Nations there, as

¹ Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 11.35.103) introduces this tall tale with the caveat, “In India, it is said.” Perhaps inspired by Joel 1:2, 4, 6, Gilbert Gaulmin (*De Vita Mosis*, p. 30, # 8) believed the locusts of the eighth plague had teeth very similar to those of lions. Gerard Vossius details the voracious appetite of the locusts and their devastating effect on any and all plants (*De Theologia Gentili* [1641], lib. 4, cap. 94–95, pp. 1625–32); Samuel Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 1–8, pp. 441–96) obliges us with their biblical signification in all their variety.

² Exod. 9:25.

³ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* (18.10.60).

⁴ The LXX Exod. 10:13; 26:20 render Νότον respectively as “south [wind]” and “the south.” Exod. 27:9 and 37:7 render Λίβα as “the south”; Ezek. 17:10, Jer. 18:17, and Hos.12:1 render Καύσωνα as “east [wind].”

Agatharchides tell{s} us, are, *Acridophages*, or, *Locust-Eaters*, for the Plenty of them.⁵ The *Winds* being thus employed in bringing on, & carrying off, these *Locusts*, is but agreeable to what we find in *Pliny*, and in *Orosius*, and others.⁶ And very particularly in *Jerom*; who saies, (on *Joel*. c. 2.) *Etiam nostris temporibus vidimus agmina Locustarum terram texisse Judæam: quæ postea misericordia Domini – vento surgente, in mare Primum et Novissimum præcipitate sunt.*⁷

Q. *Pharaoh's* Relenting on this Plague? v. 16.

A. Such a Plague it was, as all Men accounted a manifest Token of the Divine Displeasure. *Pliny* saies, L. XI. c. 29. *Deorum Ira pestis ea intelligitur*. Some Copies have it; *Mira pestis*.⁸

Q. The famous *RED-SEA*? v. 19.

A. The Hebrewes call it, *The Sea of Suph*, or, *Flags*. [We Translate it so; *Exod*. 2.3.] It was full of a certain *Weed*, which the *Latins* call, *Alga*, & the *Greeks*, Φυκίον.⁹ Some Travellers affirm it to be of a *Red Colour*, & to make the Water appear, as if it were also *Red*. Some fancy it, thence called, the *Red-Sea*.

5 For a modern discussion of these ancient gourmands in Greco-Roman antiquity, see J. R. Kelhoffer's *The Diet of John the Baptist* (ch. 2, esp. pp. 60–80).

6 The Greek geographer and historian Agatharchides of Cnidus (c. 215–post 145 BCE), in *De mari Erythraeo* [excerpta] (sec. 58, lines 4–6), mentions unimaginable swarms of locusts. Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 11.32.92) relates that grass-hoppers (“tettigonia”) rather than locusts are much appreciated as food among “the Eastward races, even the Parthians.” The Spanish historian Paulus Orosius (early 5th c. CE), in *Historiarum contra gentes* (lib. 5, cap. 11, secs. 312–15) [PL 031. 0941–0942], also describes the horrific swarms of locusts that devastate vast regions in N Africa. But it is Strabo (*Geographia* 16.4.12) who relates that the Ἀκριδοφάγοι, the locust-eaters of Ethiopia, are of small stature and rarely live longer than four decades.

7 In his *Commentarium in Joelem* (lib. 2) [PL 025. 0970, sec. 195], St. Jerome (c. 342–420), the great Latin father and biblical scholar, comments, “Even during our times [4th–5th c. CE], we saw that swarms of locusts had covered the land of Judaea, which afterwards, by the mercy of God, with the wind rising, were plunged into the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.” Mather's principal source for the preceding paragraph is Bochart's indispensable *Hierozyicon* (pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 3, col. 463).

8 Patrick (*Exodus* 171) also furnishes Mather with the reference to Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 11.35.104). Patrick's Latin citation – following the standard version – reads “*Deorum ira pestis ea intelligitur*” and “*Mira pestis*” “a plague of the anger of the Gods” [or rather, “This plague is understood as a sign of the wrath of the gods”] and “a wonderful Plague.” A popular work, Pliny's *Naturalis historia* – according H. Rackham – went through numerous printed editions, the earliest known being those of Spira 1469, published in Venice, followed by that of Beroaldus, published in Parma in 1476 (Loeb Classical Library LCL 330, vol. 1, pp. xii–iii). None of the five different early editions I was able to check (including the 1561 Lugduni edition, published by Joannes Frellonius) contained “miræ pestis” – no doubt a misprint of “Deoru[m] iræ pestis,” the terminal letter “m” of “Deorum” merging with “iræ” into “miræ” – and thus the plague as “the wrath” of the gods, by way of misprint, metamorphoses into the “wonderful [or amazing] plague of the gods.” Let him who famously published on Herman Melville's “soiled serpents” of the sea eat humble pie!

9 Φυκίον, also Φύκος, suggests “rouge,” but also “seaweed” (Lat. *fucus*), and “a red colour prepared from it, rouge” (Liddell & Scott). Diodorus Siculus (3.40.4, line 1) insists that the

It is very certain, there is abundance of that *Weed* in the *Sea*, from whence it ha's the Name of *Suph*. The Inhabitants of the Coast, pulling it out of the Water, & laying it in Heaps to be dried in the Sun, it becomes so compact, that they build Houses with it; as *Bochart* ha's observed in his *Phaleg*.¹⁰

But the Name of, The *Red Sea*, had another Original. What the Hebrewes called, *The Sea of Suph*, the nearer Neighbours called, *The Sea of Edom*; from the Countrey which it washed; namely, *Idumaea*. [1. King. 9.26. Num. 21.4.] Whence, the Greeks called it, Ἐρυθρὰν Θάλασσαν.¹¹ The *Red-Sea*; because *Edom* signifies *Red*. [Gen. 25.29.]¹²

seaweed in the Arabian Gulf is so thick that the color of the water seems "green." However, Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo (excerpta)*, sec. 5, lines 35–42 (see also sec. 2) insists that the waters of the Red Sea are *not* red and that the designation is really a misnomer. Artemidorus in Strabo, *Geographica* (16.4.7, line 9) also speaks of the seaweed in the water making the crossing dangerous. More modern is the claim that the Red Sea derives its name from the *Trichodesmium erythraeum*, a naturally occurring algae bloom that can photosynthesize and turn tropical waters red. If this is so, the famous plague that turned water into blood (Exod. 7:14–24) was brought about by secondary causes. Oh, yee demythologizers!

¹⁰ Bochart, *Geographia Sacra, seu Phaleg* (1663), pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 29, col. 283, lines, 3–7.

¹¹ See Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, in Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo (excerpta)*, sec. 21T, line 3, and *Fragmenta sedis incertae* (fragm. 113, line 2).

¹² The three paragraphs (above) are extracted from Patrick (*Exodus* 172), whose own source is Bochart's *Geographia Sacra, seu Phaleg* (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 29, cols. 279–84).

Q. How can you *Excuse* the *Israelites Borrowing of the Egyptians*, without Res-titution? v. 2.

A. My Way to *Excuse* it, shall bee to *Deny* it.

The *Israelites* did not *Borrow*, but *Beg*, of the *Egyptians*. The same Word, that is here Translated *Borrow*, is [in Judg. 8.24.] translated, *Request*. And accordingly, the *Jewels of Silver*, & *Jewels of Gold*, and *Raiment*, which the *Israelites* had of the *Egyptians*, were not *Lent*, but *Given*.¹

Q. But how came the *Egyptians*, to bee so ready to part with their *Jewels* unto the *Israelites*? v. 2.

A. The Idolatrous *Egyptians*, did use to deck themselves, with *Jewels*, and *Earrings*, and *Fine things*, thereby to make themselves, as they thought, the more acceptable unto their Deity. They now thought, that since the *Israelites*, who asked for these Knick-knacks, were going to sacrifice, they might sacrifice unto the *Egyptian* Gods, as they did heretofore. Dr. *Lightfoot*, guesses, this to bee one Reason, of their Liberality, on this Occasion.²

Q. *The Maid-Servant that is behind the Mill?* v. 5.

A. None were more miserable, (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) than the Slaves, whose Work it was, to turn a *Mill* with their Hands, & grind *Corn* perpetually. Especially, when they were condemned unto this in a *Prison*, & in a *Dungeon*. That this is here intended, appears from, chap. XII. 29. *The Captive in the Dun-geon*.³

¹ Mather offers the same interpretation in his *Fair Dealing between Debtor and Creditor* (1716), pp. 6–7. However, his claim that the Israelites did not “borrow” valuable items from their Egyptian neighbors but received them as gifts demonstrates his imperative to exonerate the Israelites’ actions, which was implicitly sanctioned by Jahweh (Exod. 12:36). Mather revisits them same issue in greater detail in his commentary on Exod. 12:36 (below). Matthew Poole on Exod. 12:36 (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:368–69) and *Works* (4:241–44) illustrates how divisive this issue was among ancient and modern commentators.

² Extracted from John Lightfoot’s annotations on Exod. 12:35, 36, in what is appropriately called, *An Handful of Gleanings*, sec. 20, in *Works* (1684) 1:709–10.

³ Mather, via Patrick (*Exodus* 181), here follows the position of André Rivet on Exod. 11:5 and 12:29 in *Commentarii in Librum Secundum Mosis* (1634), pp. 257, 297, 298, and of Henry Ainsworth on Exod. 11:5, in *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627), second series of pagination, p. 33. Ainsworth glosses, that the bond-woman “behind the mill” really means “after the mill stones; that is in prison grinding at the mill ... thrusting it before them [mill stones], as they wrought” (33). This reading originates with Ibn Ezra and Rashbam, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* (1:142).

The ancient *Comœdians* often mention this. And we find an Instance of such a Drudgery, in the Story of *Sampson*.⁴

[15v]

Q. On that, *The Lord hardened Pharaohs Heart?* v. 10.

A. It is on all hands agreed, That *the Holy God is not the Author of Sin*. But then, as the *Origin of Evil*, is a most unsearcheable Mystery: so, the Holy Influence of the Divine Providence on the *Obduration* of Sinners in their *Moral Evil* can by the *Searching* of no Man upon Earth, be *Sought out unto Perfection*.⁵ We exercise ourselves, in what is *too High for us*, when we attempt a Scrutiny into this mysterious Matter; and, if some have conjectured, that it was one of the *Unutterable Things* learnt by our Apostle, when he was *caught up* into the Heavens, we may all confess, that we despair of being able to *handle the Matter wisely*, or understand it, until we come into that *Sanctuary* of God.⁶

However, we may with some Admiration take notice, how surprisingly the Holy Providence of God, presents unto Sinners, these *Objects*, whereof their corrupt Inclinations make such an Ill Use, that they are thereby *Hardened* in their Sins. In *Pharaohs Case* now before us, lett us a little, with Dr. *Arrowsmith*, consider it.

After *Pharaoh* had been freed from two or three several Plagues, by *Moses's* Prayer upon his Hypocritical Relentings; he might perhaps begin to think the God of *Israel*, such an one as might be Deceived with Fair Shews, and so the less to be feared. Again; It pleased God not to strike *Pharaoh* himself with any Plague; nor to suffer His People to rise up against him, & by main Force to rescue themselves. This might have a further Tendency to *harden* him, & putt him upon saying, *If He be so great a God, why does He not smite me in my own Person; or carry out His People, whether I will, or no?* Besides; He never saw one Plague twice inflicted; and then, he might think, that when a Plague was gone, it would never come again; and there could not come a worse; the God of *Israel* had now done His worst against him. Anon comes the last Scène of the Tragœdy. The

4 The reference to "*Sampson*," which Mather transcribes from Patrick on Exod. 11:5 (*Exodus* 181), is a translation from the Latin of André Rivet's *Commentarii* (1634), p. 259. See also Poole's *Synopsis* (1:358) and *Works* (4:200). For Sampson's plight, see Judg. 16:21.

5 See Appendix A.

6 The issue of God's hardening Pharaoh's heart raises the troubling question about the origin of sin and evil (see Isa. 45:7; Amos 3:6), for if God is responsible for Pharaoh's relentlessness, then the king is essentially blameless for his actions, for he is nothing but a pawn, and God is thus the author of sin. In his commentary on Isa. 45:7 (*BA* 5:777–78), Mather tries to solve this conundrum through a historical annotation on the ancient Iranian prophet Zarathustra (Zoroaster), who taught that Ahura Mazda (the creator god) representing light, wisdom, and truth, is locked in eternal combat with his counterpart Angra Mainyu, representing evil. Hence all evil tendencies can be attributed to the latter. Nonetheless, Mather's evasive answer (above) reveals his discomfort with the underlying philosophical dilemma. For a contrasting argument in the case of sickness, see his *Pastoral Letter, to Families Visited with Sickness* (1721), sig. A1v–A2.

Hebrews are all found in a sure Place; the Sea before them, & huge Mountains on each side of them. What an Encouragement here, unto *Pharaoh* to carry on his Persecution unto the uttermost! By 'nd by, a Way is made for the *Israelites*, thro' the Sea; He might think, *why is not the Way made for me, as well as for them?* The Prey is now in View: lett go this one Opportunity, & they are gone forever. He *passes on, & is punished!* — passes on, & perishes.⁷

⁷ Extracted from John Arrowsmith's *Armilla Catechetica* (1659), Aphorism 6, Exercitation 3, sec. IV, pp. 456–58,

662.

Q. Ha's *Pagan Antiquitie*, any Remembrances of the *Jewish Passeeover*? v. 1.

A. Yes. *Epiphanius* tells us, That the *Egyptians* had a Custom of *Marking* their *Trees* and their *Flocks*, with something of a *Red Colour*, as a Kind of *Præservative* against any *Mischief*, that might befall them.¹ [Compare *Exod.* 12.22.] Yea, and this was done by them, at the *Vernal Æquinox*, when the *Israelites* distinguished their Houses, by the *Bloody Token*. *Quære*, Whether the *Διαβατηρία*, or, *Sacrifices for Passing*, mentioned by *Xenophon*, *Thucydides*, & *Plutarch*, as usual among the *Græcians*, were not all Imitation of the Jewish famous *Pesach*, which was *Διαβασις*, a *Passeeover*? Especially, considering that the Jewish Feast, is called, not only *διαβασις*, but also *διαβατηριον*, by *Philo*, by *Cyril of Alexandria*, by *Gregory Nazianzen*, and others?²

799.

Q. The Time of *Israel's* Redemption out of *Egypt* was the Month *Abib*. What is there else to signalize this Time of the Year? v. 2.

A. It was at this very Time, that our Lord suffered. There is a Tradition among the Jewes, That as they were Redeemed from *Egypt* on the fifteenth Day of *Nisan*, so they should on the same Day bee Redeem'd by the *Messias*. How remarkably was this Accomplished!³ And yett they know it not.

1 St. Epiphanius Constantiensis (c. 315–403), bishop of Salamis, describes this custom of the ancient Egyptians in his “medicine chest” against heresies, *Panarion* (c. 374–77). The story can be found in *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (bk. 1, sec. 1, ch. 18, § 3.1–2, pp. 43–44) and is quoted at length in my note on *Exod.* 12:11 (below).

2 Mather's unnamed source for the entire paragraph is John Edwards, *A Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection* (1693), ch. 4 (1:139–40). Edwards's comparative historical approach greatly appealed to Mather, who put this three-volume work to good use throughout his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:307–09, 412–16, 430–42, 504–08, 603–06, 916–18 etc.). The Athenian historian and philosopher Xenophon (c. 430–355 BCE) mentions in his history *Hellenica* (3.4.3, lines 1–4; 4.7.2, lines 4–6) that Agesilaus as well as Agesipolis offered the customary sacrifices before engaging in their respective expedition. Thucydides of Alimos (c. 460/455–c. 395 BCE), a Greek historian best known for his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, also stresses the significance of sacrifices in his *Historia* (5.54.2; 5.55.3; 5.116.1); Plutarch (*Lucullus* 24.6–8), *Plutarch's Lives* (2:549); Philo Judaeus (*De Vita Mosis* 2.41.224; 2.43.233; *De specialibus legibus* 2.28.150; *De congressu eruditionis* 19.106.); St. Cyrillus Alexandrinus (d. 444), Patriarch of Alexandria mentions both *διάβασις* and *διαβατηριον* in his *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate* [PG 068. 1073, line 42]; the Capadocian Father St. Gregorius Nazianzenus (329–89) separately mentions *διάβασις* and *διαβατηριον* in his *De moderatione in disputando* [orat. 32] [PG 036. 0205, line 6] and in his *Epistulae* (120.1, line 5).

3 Perhaps Mather (via Patrick 184) is thinking of R. Joshua's explication that “In Nisan the world was created; in Nisan the Patriarchs were born; in Nisan the Patriarchs died; on Passover,

This Month was called, *Abib*, signifying, *An Ear of Corn*; because the *Corn* was then *Eared*. It was in After-Ages called, *Nisan*, from *Nissin*, (as *Bochart* thinks,) that is, *Banners*, or *Ensigns*; denoting this to be the Month, wherein they went out to *War*. So the Hebrewes understand that Place; 2. Sam. XI.1.⁴

Q. The *Number* that were to eat the *Lamb* of the *Passeover*? v. 4.

A. They were not to be Fewer than *Ten* Persons, nor more than *Twenty*, to the Eating of *One Lamb*. Every one must eat a *Peece*, at least as big as an *Olive*; as the Hebrew Doctors tell us.⁵

182.

Q. What was the *Precise Time* for the Killing of the *Passeover*, which is ordered in the Hebrew Text, here to be, *Between the Two Evenings*? v. 6.

A. About this Point, there ha's been a great Variety among Interpreters. But the Truth of the Matter is *This*. The Jewish *Day* consisted of *Twelve Hours*: All the *Forenoon* was counted *Morning*; and all the *Afternoon* was therefore counted *Evening*. Their *Evening* was then divided into Two; the *Former* & the *Latter Evening*. The *Former Evening*, was, *Vespera Declinationis*, and it was to be reckoned from Noon to Sun-sett. Their *Latter Evening* was *Vespera Occasus*, and it was

Isaac was born; on New Year Sarah, Rachel and Hannah were visited; on New Year Joseph went forth from prison; on New Year the bondage of our ancestors ceased in Egypt; and in Nisan they will be redeemed in time to come" (Babylonian Talmud, tractate HaShana 11a).

4 The immediate source is Patrick (*Commentary* 184), the mediate *Bochart* (*Hieroicozon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50, col. 557, lines 29–70). Philo Judaeus, for one, points out that "Moses puts down the beginning of the vernal equinox as the first month of the year, attributing the chief honour, not as some persons do to the periodical revolutions of the year in regard of time, but rather to the graces and beauties of nature which it has caused to shine upon men; for it is through the beauty of nature that the seeds which are sown to produce the necessary food of mankind are brought to perfection" (*De vita Mosis* 2:49.222; *Works* 510–11). See also Mather's gloss on 2 Sam 11:1 (*BA* 3:362). Sebastian Münster's Latin note (*a*) on 2 Sam. 11:1 begins with "Putantur" ("it is believed"): "*hoc tempus esse, quando segetes in agris inveniuntur pro equis pascentis*," in *Hebraica Biblia Latina*, tomus secundus (1534), fol. 291^r, nota (*a*) to argue that war could be waged when the fields were ripe with corn to feed horses. In his *Hieroicozon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50, col. 557, line 54–col. 558, line 41), *Bochart* supplies his proof that among the ancient Israelites, Persians, and Romans, Spring time was the time for war. Hence, נִסָּן *nisin*, id est, *militaria signa* (558, line 12); *Nissin* is the military banner of war.

5 Extracted from Patrick (*Exodus* 186–87). According to Josephus Flavius (*Wars of the Jews* 6.9.3), "a company [sharing the Passover sacrifice] may not [be] less than ten belong[ing] to every sacrifice, (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves,) and many of us are twenty in a company." See also Jarchi (Rashi) on Exod. 12:4, in *Commentarius Hebraicus* (461): "Each according to his fitness to eat, to exclude the sick and the old who cannot eat a *kezayis* (a piece the size of an olive" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi*: Shemos (2:115). R. Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah*: *Hilchot Korban Pesach* 2.3 and 8.3) notes that "if one of the members of the company was a minor, an elderly person, or infirm, he may [be counted among those] for whom the Paschal sacrifice is slaughtered if he is capable of eating an olive-size portion." According to Laws of the Paschal Sacrifice, "Even if one does not eat more than an olive-size portion, he fulfills his obligations" (*Mishneh Torah* 30:24, 74).

from Sunset, unto the End of Twilight. The *Intermedial Time* then, between the Suns Declining and Setting, was the Time, *Between the Two Evenings*.⁶

You have this Distinction of *Evenings*, in the Purification of the *Unclean*; Deut. 23.11. *It shall bee, when Evening cometh on*, (that is, the *Former Evening*) *hee shall wash himself with Water*. And *when the Sun is down* (there is, the *Latter Evening*) *hee shall come into the Camp*. Thus in 2. Sam. 11.2. *In an Evening-tide David rose from off his Bed*: The Vulgar ha's not amiss translated it, *Post Meridiem*: for it was the Custom of the Eastern Countreyes, to take Rest after Dinner. See 2. Sam. 4.5. This was the *Former Evening*. Of the *Latter Evening*, see Josh. 10.26, 27. and Mark. 1.32. You have Both *Evenings*, in Math. 14.15, 23.⁷

Accordingly, 'twas also commanded, That the Continual *Burnt-Offering*, was to bee offered, Num. 28.4. *Between the Two Evenings*. Now in the *Mishna* wee read, *That the Daily Evening-Sacrifice was killed at the Eighth hour and an Half*, (that is, Half an Hour after our two a Clock) *and offered up, at the Ninth Hour & an Half*, (that is, Half an Hour after Three.) Only, in the Evening of the *Passeover*, 'twas done sooner, by *Two Hours*. This also was (Act. 3.1.) *The Time of Prayer*; the תפלת מנחה which was an Attendent upon the Daily *Evening-Sacrifice*.⁸ If it bee objected, that the Order is in Deut. 16.6. *Thou shalt Sacrifice the Passeover at Even, at the going down of the Sun, at the Season that thou camest forth out of Egypt*: R. Solomon shall answer you, That in these Words wee have Three several Times before us. First, The Time of *Killing* the Paschal Lamb; this was, *At Even*; that is, after the Sixth Hour of the Day, & onward. Secondly, The Time of *Eating* the *Passeover*; and this is, when the Sun setts. Thirdly, The Time of *Burn-*
[16v] *ing* the | Remainder; and that is the Season in which they came out of *Egypt*.⁹

Besides, It may bee none of these Times here mentioned in *Deuteronomy*, refer to the *Passeover*, but the Evening only. As it is said in the Second Verse of this Chapter, *Thou shalt Sacrifice unto the Lord thy God, of the Flock & the Heard*; whereas, tis evident that only the *Flock* relates to the *Passeover*; the *Herd* must

6 Synopsized from *A Demonstration of the Messias* (1684), ch. 7, pp. 216–17, by Richard Kidder (c. 1634–1703), Anglican bishop of Bath and Wells (ODNB). *Vespera Declinationes* (declining evening; i.e., sunset); *Vespera Occasus* (end of the evening, i.e., dusk)

7 Kidder (*Demonstration* 217–18).

8 *Tractatus de Paschate* (5.1), in Surenhusius, סדר מועד *sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Festorum*. Pars Altera (1699), fol. 150; Babylonian Talmud (Pesachim 58a). See Appendix A.

9 Kidder (*Demonstration* 219, 220, 221, 222, 223). See R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) on Deut. 16:6, in *Commentarius Hebraicus* (1395): “Towards the evening – after six hours – slaughter it. At sunset – eat it. At the time you left [Egypt, i.e., at daybreak] – you burn it, meaning that it is disqualified as *nosar* [leftover], and must be removed to the burning site” (*Metsudab Chumash/Rashi*, Devarim (5:194). R. Bachya ben Asher (aka. Bechai), on Deut. 16:6, glosses, “the Torah here mentions three separate times. 1) ‘in the evening,’ the Passover is to be slaughtered beginning with a period which can be termed ‘evening,’ i.e., after noon [sic]. 2) ‘when the sun sets,’ this is the time when you may eat it. 3) ‘at the appointed time;’ if this time has passed any leftovers have to be burned ([Talmud, tractate] Berachot 9),” in *Commentary* (7:2542).

belong to some other Matter; and therefore the Jewes understand it of the *Chagigah*, or the other Offerings, which were offered up during the *Passeover*.¹⁰

Well, you must now lett mee observe to you, That as our Lord, was crucify'd at the *Passeover*, so Hee seems to have Dy'd at that very Moment of Time, when they were wont to slay the *Paschal-Lamb*. At the *Ninth Hour*, Marc. 15.34. Hee cries out; & presently upon that, wee read, *Hee gave up the Ghost*. All happened before the *Latter Evening*; & therefore, *Between the Two Evenings*. For, *when Even was come*, tis said, *Joseph* beg'd His Body. (See *Kidders Demonstration*.)¹¹

Q. The *Blood* of the *Passeover* was to be sprinkled on the *Upper Door-Posts*: what were the *Upper Door-Posts*? v. 7.

A. The Hebrew Word, *Maskuph*, is no where to be found, but in this Chapter. It carries in it a Signification of, *looking through*. It may induce us to think, They had *Lattices* at the Tops of the Doors, thro' which they could look, to see who knock'd, before they opened them.¹²

The *Blood* was not *sprinkled* on the *Threshold*; lest it should be, by any body *Trodden* on.¹³

This rite of *Sprinkling the Posts*, was peculiar to the *First Passeover*; There being afterwards, no Occasion to distinguish *Houses*.¹⁴

[▽ Attachment verso]

[▽]

Q. This Action of *Sprinkling the Door-Posts*; is there any Imitation of it any where at this Day? v. 7.

¹⁰ Kidder (*Demonstration* 224).

¹¹ Kidder (*Demonstration* 225). See also Bochart (*Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50, cols. 558–59).

¹² Contrary to Rashi, R. David Kimchi (aka. Radak), and R. Samuel ben Meir (aka. Rashbam), who argue that the Hebrew term *הַמַּשְׁקוֹף* [ha-mashkof], “the lintel,” suggests “upper door post [beam]” against which the door bangs when it is closed (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:153), R. Abraham Ibn Ezra (*Commentary: Exodus* 225) insists that *מַשְׁקוֹף* [mashkof] “lintel” [Strong’s # 4947] suggests “a window,” which “was in the door.” To be sure, Ibn Ezra reminds us, this lintel was *not* of the external gate of the courtyard (common to all Egyptian houses), but only on the door posts of the interior door, visible only to those on the inside. Had the Israelites tried to affront their Egyptian neighbors, Ibn Ezra reasons, “then the blood should have been placed on the entrance to the courtyard,” visible to all passers-by. “However, the blood was placed in secret, for they [Israelites] closed the gate of the courtyard ... before they slaughtered the lamb at dusk, which is close to night, so that no one would see them” (*Commentary: Exodus* 226, 227).

¹³ Ibn Ezra’s interpretation is worth noting here, for he maintains that the reason for smearing “the blood on the window and on the two side-posts” was *not* “to demonstrate publicly that they slaughtered the abomination of Egypt [Amun-Re and Khnum, two species of ram]” – in the dark no one would have seen it anyway – but “to make atonement for all those eating in the house and to serve as a mark for the destroyer to see” (*Commentary: Exodus* 226, 227).

¹⁴ Patrick (*Exodus* 190). See also Bochart (*Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50, cols. 573–74). See Appendix B.

A. Dr. Fryer, in his, *Present State of Persia*, has a Passage, not unworthy to be transcribed in this Place.¹⁵

“At the Beginning of *April*, they have a Feast, where the Emperour is to give the People of *Suffahau* a Camel, to be slain; which they lead about the Streets with a confused Noise, being dressed very Fine, with Flowers and Garlands for the Altar; & being brought unto the Priest, he cutts the Throat, & burns the Entrails; distributing to each principal Ward of the City, the several Quarters, to be eaten publickly after they are Roasted; the Head only being presented unto an old *Sibyl*, the only Relict of the Tribe, to which it appertains by Right; which she præserves till next Year, and then produces it at the Feast, for which she has a settled Pension. And the BLOOD of the Fresh Slain, is scrambled for, to besmear their *Lintels* and *Side-Posts*; signing them with the Sign of the Cross. What Relation it ha’s, to the *Passeover* ordained to the *Jews*, I could never learn from them; but they say, it is to keep their Houses free from *Evil Spirits*. It is called, *Æde-Corboon*.”¹⁶

[△] [△ Attachment verso ends]

2441.

Q. The *Passeover* was to be *Roasted with Fire*: on what sort of a *Spitt*? v. 8.

A. *Pliny* tells us, The *Spitt* used in *Egypt* on such Occasions, was a *Stick* of a *Pomegranate Tree*. (L. 13. c. 19.)¹⁷

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Q. On the *Roasting* of the *Passeover*? v. 8.

A. Dr. *Gell* ha’s this Remark; (and I perceive, would, if he could, be an Instance of it.) when Meat is *Roasted*, all superfluous Moisture is dried up; Cru-
dities and Rawnesses and Ill humes are drawn out. The *Word of God* has been

¹⁵ An agent of the East India Company, John Fryer, MD, FRS (c. 1650–1733) published his massive *A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters* (1698), a journal of his travels through India and Persia. See also *BA* (1:996).

¹⁶ Fryer’s *New Account* (Letter 5, ch. 14, p. 401) describes his eye-witness account near Isfahan (modern Iran).

¹⁷ See Appendix B. Mather may have Pliny’s description of the pomegranate tree [*Lat.* *Punica granatum*] in mind because of the aromatic unguent, which is extracted from its rind (“*mali granati cortice*”), and because its “red-leaved” variety may typify Christ’s suffering and crucifixion. The medicinal qualities of this tree were much appreciated by the ancients (*Naturalis historia* 13.2.9; 13.34.113; 23.57.106–61.114). The rabbis of the Talmud give the following instructions about roasting the Passover lamb: “We bring a spit or pomegranate wood and thrust it into the mouth [right down] as far as its buttocks, and place its knees and its entrails inside it: This is the view of R. Jose the Galilean. R. Akiba said: This is in the nature or seething, but they are hung outside it. One may not roast the Passover-Offering either on a [metal] spit or on a grill.” The Gemara recommends that the wood “of the pomegranate tree” is particularly suited for this purpose because like that of the palm, fig, and oak trees, it is “hollow” and “exudes water, so that it is boiled,” but “Its knots are smooth” (Mishnah Pesachim 74a). See also Maimonides’s explication in *Hilchot Korban Pesach* (8.10), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:76, 78).

Sodden, by Commentators & Expositors, and every one ha's left his False Glosses upon it, according to every ones Humours. But the Fire of the Holy Spirit must come, & by a sort of *Roasting*, it must consume all of these.¹⁸

Q. In the After-ages, who was to *kill* the Passeover? v. 8.

A. Every one was to kill his own *Lamb*; there being such a vast Number of them, that it was impossible for the Priests to kill them all.

Yea, as Monsr. *Jurieu* observes, even in relation to the other *Sacrifices*, every one was at Liberty to kill his own Victim: which is evident from Lev. I.5. and IV. 4.

At *Hezekiah's* Passeover, the Levites kill'd the Victims, because the People had not purified themselves.¹⁹

Q. The *Bitter Herbs*?

A. The Tradition of the Jews, is: *Figs, Dates, Raisins, Vinegar*, &c sown & sweet, stamp'd in a Mortar, & made a Thick Sauce. This, *Charosbeth*, represented, they say, their Præparing of Lime, which was their Employment in *Egypt*. In this our Saviour dip'd His Bread, at the Passeover.²⁰

[△ Attachment recto ends]

[△]

Q. There is a Command given, *To Eat the Passeover with Bitter Herbs*: what *Herbs*? v. 8.

A. *Herbs* is a Word of our Putting in. The Hebrew Word is only, *Bitterness*, or, *Bitter Things*. The *Chaldee*, the *Samaritan*, the *Arabic*, do keep the Hebrew Word, without any Addition of, *Herbs*. Here is a *General Rule* given, (as worthy Mr. *Firmin* observes,) but what those *Bitter Things* should be, whether, *Herbs, Roots*, etc. there is no Determination. Hence then (saies he) I might go into several Houses at that time, where they had prepared in one House, such *Bitter Herbs*, as *Cichory*, and *Wild Lettice*, (which they say, they used:) in another

¹⁸ Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), Sermon VII (Exodus 12:9), pp. 210, 211. Gell's detailed Christological reading of this verse particularly appeals to Mather. For a helpful discussion of the changing perceptions of the Passover sacrifice in the late Renaissance, see D. K. Shuger's *Renaissance Bible* (35–40).

¹⁹ Pierre Jurieu (*Critical History of the Doctrines* [1705], vol. 1, part 4, ch. 1, § 5, p. 458; ch. 9, § 9, pp. 487–88). For Hezekiah's Passover, see 2 Chron. 30:17–18.

²⁰ Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Chamet U'Matzah* 7.11), following R. Eliezer ben Zadok [Tzadok], argues that הַחֲרוֹסֶת “The *charoset* [Mather's *Charosbeth*] is a mitzvah [requirement] ordained by the words of the Sages, to commemorate the clay with which [our forefathers] worked in Egypt.” The recipe for the *charoset* is as follows: “take dates, dried figs, or raisins and the like, and crush them, add vinegar to them, and mix them with spices, as clay is mixed into straw” (pp. 146–148 and Halachic commentary 11). See also Talmud Mishnah (Pesachim 114a and 116a) for contrasting opinions. Mather also refers to Christ's Last Supper (John 13.26), in which he dipped his bread and gave it to Judas Iscariot. See also Bochart, *Hierozaicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50, col. 603).

House, Wormwood, and Hore-bound: in another, Centaury, and Germander: in another, Bitter Almonds, and Gentian: And perhaps twenty more Differences: Yett if Bitternesses were observed, the Rule was kept. Again, shall these Bitternesses be Raw, or Boil'd, or Beaten into a Sawce like our Mustard, as Scaliger says, the Churoseth was? Here also nothing is determined: Bitternesses is all that is required.²¹

Our Tansies at Easter have a Superstitious Relation to their Bitter Herbs. Only to shew, that we are not Jews, we have a Gamon of Bacon with them.²²

[▽ 17r] [▽ Insert 17r]

255.

Q. Altho' I look upon it as a great Injury unto our Lord Jesus Christ, & His Gospel, to Deny that the *Mosaic Cæremonies* were Types, under which were both *Vail'd*, and yett also *Taught*, our *Evangelical Mysteries*; yett I am not unwilling to Beleeve, that many of the *Mosaic Cæremonies* were likewise appointed by the All-Wise God, in Opposition unto the *Idolatries* wherein Mankind was generally then entangled. Indeed wee shall but Acknowledge and Illustrate the *Wisdom*e of the Great God, by considering, how *Both* of those Ends, were Answered, in the Institutions of the *Mosaic Pædagogy*. Wherefore, if you please, make, first, an Experiment upon the *Passeover*; see whether, confessing our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, our glorious *Paschal-Lamb*, the Antitype of all, you cannot yett also find, some Circumstances of the *Passeover*, designedly opposed unto the Idolatrous Usages of the Pagans, then prevailing in the World.²³

21 Apart from some minor phonetic spelling changes of "Cichory" (*Sichory*) and "Centaury" (*Centory*), Mather extracts this paragraph from *The Questions Between the Conformist and Non-conformist* (1681), p. 7, by Giles Fermin (1613/14–1697), an ejected English Presbyterian minister with strong ties to New England. The illustrious Joseph Justus Scaliger likens the bitter taste to that of common mustard, in his mighty *Opus De Emendatione Temporum* (1629), lib. 6, p. 572: "Vocabatur חרושֶׁת. [charoset] Id hodie conficitur ad spissitudinem illius embammatis, quod vulgo Mustaceam nonnulli, omnes autem Galli Mustardam, a sinapi vocant."

22 See Appendix B. "Tansy" [*Lat.* Tanacetum vulgare] of the Asteraceae family is an herbaceous flowering plant also known as Mugwort, Bitter Button, and Cow Bitter. (The bacon-bits paragraph was added at a later time.)

23 Mather and many of his peers were appalled when John Spencer (1630–93), the renowned English Hebraist and master of Corpus Christi College (Cambridge), appeared to denigrate the Christological and typological readings of the Ceremonial Laws of Moses, by relegating them to a mere secondary if not allegorical function. In his huge *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus et Earum Rationibus Libri Tres* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 11, fols. 178–97, Spencer took exception to the allegorical engines of pious Christian commentators who completely ignored the didactic purpose of the ritual laws and the historical context that brought them forth. These laws, Spencer insisted, served a central function in the Mosaic Pedagogy and must be understood in the ancient milieu that brought them forth. They were instituted to wean the Israelites from their addiction to the pagan rites of their Egyptian and Chaldean overlords. To break this dependence, Spencer argued, Moses allowed his people to continue practicing the ritual laws of the pagans (Zabians), but turned them upside down and redirected them to the divine service

A. Having had from you, so fair a *Confession* of the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Grand END OF THE LAW, I can with some Safety offer you, such Curiosities, as *Maimonides* first & then our most learned *Spencer*, have laboriously dug out of the Monuments of Antiquity.²⁴ Know then, That the Ancient *Chaldees*, having Apostatised from the true Knowledge and Worship of God, even before the Dayes of *Abraham*, did sett themselves to Infect the rest of the World, with superstitious Usages. These famous *Idolaters* and *Magicians*, in a Manner gave Law to the World, and there were few Nations, but what submitted unto their Superstitions. They were afterwards, perhaps not until the Dayes of *Mahomet*, called, *Zabians*, which is as much as to say, *Orientals*.²⁵ Many Writings left by some Renowned Authors, not known to *Europeans*, till our later Ages, have at last exhibited most notable Things unto us, concerning the Primitive Idolatries; from whence may bee fetched thousands of most surprizing *Illustrations* upon a considerable Part of the *Old Testament*; an Abstract whereof, I may give you, here and there scattered among our Entertainments.²⁶

But here, I shall only give you a few hints about the *Passeover*.

of the true God. As Maimonides put the issue, God in his wisdom used a “gracious ruse” and “suffered” these pagan rites “to remain, but transferred them from created or imaginary and unreal things to His own name” (*Guide* 3.32.526). In this way, God’s people suffered no hardship, for they now practiced their accustomed (albeit pagan) rites in their devotions to the true God. Beyond their primary purpose of re-educating the Israelites, Spencer insisted, the ritual laws could thus be applied to the NT Christ only in a minor, secondary, or allegorical sense. No wonder, then, Spencer’s aim to historicize the Ceremonial Laws rendered their typological abrogation in Christ more than vulnerable. For Mather’s response to Spencer’s incendiary claims, see section 2 of my introduction. On Spencer as an Enlightenment scholar, see D. Levitin, “John Spencer” (2013).

24 Maimonides (*Guide* 3.31–33.523–34). Spencer’s massive *De Legibus* (1685) went through at least five editions and painstakingly unearthed from innumerable sources of the ancients the many parallels between the ritual laws of the Zabians (pagans) and those of Moses. For Spencer’s argument that Moses “borrowed” these laws from the Zabians and adapted them in the service to God, see especially *De Legibus* (lib. 1, cap. 9–10, fols. 177–79). Counterarguments by conservative critics were not long in coming. See for instance, John Edwards, ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* (1699), chs. 8–9, pp. 246–59 and 276–84; and the collected repudiations by Christoph Matthäus Pfaff, rector of the Lutheran university of Tübingen, in his “*Disertatio Praeliminaris*” (sig. c-g^v) – refutations which did not keep Pfaff from republishing Spencer’s 1,300 folio-page masterpiece in Germany, in 1732.

25 The term “Zabians” (also: “Sabians”) is best understood as Maimonides’s generic designation for “idolatrous pagans” in ancient times. Mather wrote a brief essay on this topic, “V. *Antiqua*, Or, Our Sacred Scriptures illustrated, with some Accounts of the *Sabians* and the *Magians*,” which he incorporated in “An Appendix. Containing Some GENERAL STORES, of Illustration” and appended to his commentary on Revelation, at the end of the holograph manuscript. See also John Edwards, ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* (1699), ch. 8, pp. 243–46. For useful discussions of the Sabians, see J. Elukin’s “Maimonides and the Rise and Fall of the Sabians” (619–37) and Guy G. Stroumsa’s “John Spencer and the Roots of Idolatry” (1–23).

26 The origin and proliferation of pagan creeds and their similarities to Judeo-Christian beliefs were of great interest to Mather and his peers and generated massive tomes on the topic. See especially Gerard Johannes Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), Herbert of Cherbury’s *De*

First. The Matter of the *Passeover*, was to bee a *Lamb*, or, in want thereof a *Kid* [2. Chron. 35.7.] of the *Male* kind: Thus would the Lord rescue His People, from the *Zabian* Superstition, of the *Egyptians*; among whom, as *Juvenal* tells us, *Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis mensa*.²⁷

Thus the *Idols* of *Egypt*, must become the *Sacrifices* of *Israel*.²⁸

If any Sex must bee offered unto God, the *Zabian* Superstition would have said, *Lett it bee the Female*. So *Servius*, upon those Words in *Virgil*, – *Cæsà iungebant fœdera porcâ*, observes, *In omnibus sacris, fœminini generis plus valent victimæ*. But, behold, here how contradicted!²⁹

The *Egyptians* worshipped, their Gods, *Hammon*, and *Osyris*, under the figures of a *Ram*, and a *Bull*; Whence, the Signs in the *Zodiac* have been thus distinguished; first, *Aries*, then *Taurus*, and so the rest. Now, when the Sun was in that very Sign of *Aries*, the Lord will confront their Idolatries, by enjoining the Slaughter of that Creature. Whence, the Pagan Historian *Tacitus*,

Religione Gentilium (1663), Theophilus Gale's *The Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78), and Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1705), esp. vol. 2. Early travelers to the New World were similarly tasked with explaining the amazing similarities between Judeo-Christian and Inca ceremonies and rituals in South-Central America. The Spanish Jesuit missionary José Acosta (c. 1539–1600) is a good case in point. His oft-translated *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1588–90; English: 1604), demonstrates how he wrestled with what modern students of comparative religion consider universal rituals and beliefs. See also S. MacCormack's *Religion in the Andes* (1991) and her *On the Wings of Time* (2007)

27 Extracted and translated from Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 1, fol. 257. The line from Juvenal's *Satire* (5.15.11) ridicules the Egyptian veneration of animal deities and reads, "No animal that grows wool may appear on the dinner-table" (Ramsay translation). The Index to Spencer's 1732 edition identifies his source as "Juvenal & Persius, cum Comm. E. Lubini 4to. *Hanov.* 1603," one of many quarto editions of Juvenal's work that included a commentary and annotations by Eilhardus Lubinus (1565–1621), professor of poetics and theology, and finally, rector of the University of Rostock (NE Germany). See also D. B. Haycock, "Ancient Egypt in 17th and 18th-Century England."

28 Or, as Maimonides rationalizes the issue, "In this way an action considered by them [Egyptians] as an extreme act of disobedience was the one through which one came near to God and sought forgiveness for one's sins. ... With a view to the same purpose we have been commanded to slaughter the *paschal lamb* and to sprinkle with its blood in *Egypt* the gates from outside, so that we should manifest our rejection of these opinions, proclaim what is contrary to them, and bring forth the belief that the act, which they deemed to be a cause of destruction, saves from destruction" (*Guide* 3.46.581–82).

29 Spencer, *De Legibus* (258), quotes a line of commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.641), by Maurus [Marius] Servius Honoratus (late 4th c. CE), a Latin grammarian and commentator on the works of Virgil. The Mantuan poet relates that the regal sons of Romulus and Tatius "made covenant o'er sacrifice of swine" at the altar of Jupiter. Servius glosses, "In every sacrifice, the healthiest female offspring [are chosen] as victims." The Index to Spencer's 1732 edition of *De Legibus* identifies the source as "Virgilius, cum Notis Servii, 4to. *Paris.* 1532." This popular edition, which includes Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*, was first published in Venice and Florence, in 1471. Several other editions of this work are also listed in Spencer's Index.

when hee speaks of the Jewes, hee gives this Report, – *Cæso Ariete, velut in contumeliam Ammonis*.³⁰

And the Lords Ordering, that the Creature thus to bee slaughtered, should first stand bound in the House, for three or four Dayes together, gave the People, a full Opportunitie, with a most Reasonable Consideration, to putt off all Idolatrous Respect unto it.³¹

556.

Again; It was a special Prohibition, concerning the Passeover, *Eat not of it Raw*. T'was an usual thing among the Gentiles, in the Feast of *Bacchus*, to do, as *Julius Firmicus* ha's described it; *Illic inter ebrias puellas, et vinolentos senes, cum scelerum pompa præcederet, alter nigro amictu teter, alter ostenso angue terribilis, alter cruentus ore, dum viva pecoris membra discerpit*.³² Thus *Plutarch*, in his Treatise, about, *The Ceasing Oracles*, tells us, of the Festivals wherein there were *ωμοφαγίαι και διασπασμοι*, The Tearing and Eating of *Raw Flesh*, in Honour of the *Evil Demons*.³³ For this Cause, *Bacchus*, whose possessed Priests, would in their Furies, as *Peter Castellanus* relates it, render themselves horrible with their *Crudivorous* Rites, was called, *Ωμηστής Διονυσος*, *Bacchus* the *Crudivorous*.³⁴ But the Feasts of the other Gods also, as well as *Bacchus*, became Remarkable, for the like Extravagancies attending them. Whence *Arnobius* mentions, *Caprorum*

³⁰ Spencer, *De Legibus* (258). They are “sacrificing a ram, apparently in derision of Ammon,” Tacitus snickers (*Historiarum* 5.4). Spencer's Index lists a 1608 Paris edition of Tacitus as his source.

³¹ Exod. 12:3–6.

³² Spencer, *De Legibus* (lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 2, fol. 265). Mather, via Spencer, cites from *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* (1652), p. 10, by the Italian rhetorician Julius Firmicus Maternus (d. after 360). Probably a Sicilian by birth, Firmicus wrote this work in c. 347 CE and appealed to the fraternal emperors Constantius II (337–61) and Constans (337–50) to demolish pagan idols and temples throughout the Roman Empire (*ODCC*). Selecting a particular notorious anecdote of one Liber of Thebes, famous for his tyranny and magical powers, Julius Firmicus points at the scenes of Bacchanalian excesses: “There amid drunken girls and wine-soaked oldsters, with all his scoundrelly cortege still going on before, one hideous in a black garment, another spreading terror by displaying a snake, a third with lips blood-flecked from rending the limbs of a living animal.” No wonder, Lycurgus, the lawgiver, punished Liber by hurling him off a nearby cliff and having his body rot at the bottom of the precipice as a warning to all (*The Error*, ch. 6, sec. 8, p. 57).

³³ Plutarch (*De Defectu Oraculorum* 14.417C4) describes the frenzied celebration as follows: *ἐορτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας, ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς, ἐν αἷς ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ νηστεῖαι τε καὶ κοπετοί*: “as for festivals and sacrifices, [they] may be compared with ill-omened and gloomy days, in which occur the eating of raw flesh, rending of victims, fasting, and beating of breasts.” The same gruesome story is also related by Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 5.4.185c).

³⁴ Peter Castellanus (1584–1632), Flemish physician, antiquarian, and professor of Greek at Louvain, shudders at the rites of *Ωμηστής Διόνυσος* (“the raw-meat-eating Dionysus”), in his *ΕΡΩΤΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ, sive de festis Graecorum syntagma* (1617), p. 83.

*Reclamantium viscera cruentatis oribus dissipatis*³⁵; and even to the later Ages, *Benjamin Tudelensis*, relates the Continuance of the Cæremonies of *Raw-flesh-Eating* among the Eastern Idolaters.³⁶

Briefly, *Maimonides* assures us, That it was an Usage among the ancient Pagans, *Idolaters* to cutt off a Member of a Living Animal, and eat it with the [17v] *Blood* running about it. And *Theodoret* | assures us, That the Divels, who delight in Cruelties and Miseries, when they saw Men began to abominate sacrificing one another, invented *ωμοφαγίας*, *The Eatings of Raw Flesh*, instead thereof. For this, among other Causes, The *Passeover* might not be Eaten *Raw*.³⁷

Behold, by the way, something of the Reason, why the *Passeover* must be all eaten *within Doors*. T'was in Opposition to the pompous & public Circum- gestation of the *Raw Flesh* used by the Worshippers of *Bacchus*. And thus also, the Lord would have the *Paschal-Lamb*, to bee *Roasted Whole*, without a *Bone* of it *Broken*. T'was in Opposition to the Divulsions of the Torn Creatures, used by those Wretches, when, as *Catullus* ha's it,

Pars è divulso jactabant membra Iuenco,

*Pars sese tortis serpentibus incingebant.*³⁸

And when, according to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *ωμοφαγια την ιερομανειαν αγοντες, και τελισκουσι τας κρεωνομιας των φονων, ανεστειμμεναι τοις οφεσιν*. *They expressed*

35 The Christian apologist Arnobius of Sicca (d. 330) decries in his *Contra Gentes* (5.19.1) [PL 005. 1119A] the wild Bacchanalia, in which the Corybantic ravers “tear in pieces with gory mouths the flesh of loudly-bleating goats” (ANF 6:496).

36 The whole paragraph (by way of translation) is extracted from Spencer's *De Legibus* (lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 2, fols. 265–66). The famous Sephardic traveler of the Middle Ages Benjamin of Tudela, Navarre (fl. 1150–1200), journeyed from Italy through Greece and the Ottoman Empire all the way to India, and supplied his readers with a fascinating account, in his *Sefer ha-Massa-ot* (Constantinople, 1554). Translated into Latin, it was reprinted in many bilingual editions. Mather's reference is to *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis* (1633), p. 98, which was edited by the distinguished Dutch Hebraist Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648), professor of theology, Hebrew, and Chaldaic at the University of Leiden. R. Benjamin reports that he met with descendants of the Lost Tribes (Dan, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali) near the river Gozan in NE Persia, who are allied in war with the “Kofar al-Turak, who worship the wind and live in the wilderness, and who do not eat bread, nor drink wine, but live on raw uncooked meat. They have no noses, and in lieu thereof they have two small holes, through which they breathe. They eat animals both clean and unclean, and they are very friendly towards the Israelites” (*The Itinerary*, p. 60).

37 Spencer (*De Legibus* 266) quotes Maimonides *Rabbi Mosi Majemonidis Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 48, p. 496. Although Spencer's index lists both Buxtorf's 1629 (Basil) Latin translation and Bishop Augustinus Justinianus's 1520 (Paris) translation of Maimonides's work, neither version agrees with the Latin passage quoted in Spencer (266). The passage from Bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c. 393–c. 466) is from *Theodoret's episcopi Cyri Opera Omnia* (1642), Sermonis 10: *De Oraculis* (625C), which appears in our modern editions in Theodoretus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* (bk. 10, sec. 9, lines 9–12).

38 Spencer (*De Legibus* 267) quotes a passage from *Carmen* (62 [64].257–58) by the Roman poet Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84–c. 54 BCE), which describes a gruesome Bacchanalian rite depicted on a tapestry, in which “some [were] tossing about the limbs of a mangled steer / some girding themselves with writhing serpents.”

their Madness by Eating of Raw Flesh, and Pulling the Slaughtered Flesh asunder, crowned with Serpents.³⁹

Now, *Herodotus* tells us, that tho' the *Græcians* and *Romans* most used the *Bacchanalia*, yett the *Bacchanalia* had their Original in *Egypt*. And *Plutarch*, will mentain the same Original of those horrid Festivities. Wherefore the *Israelites*, coming out of *Egypt*, might well bee thus cautioned.⁴⁰

115.

Furthermore, Tis a further Prohibition concerning the Passeover, *Eat not of it, sodden at all with Water, but Rost with Fire*. If you read *Philochorus*,⁴¹ hee'll tell you, That the *Athenians*, who had their *Gods* and *Rites* very much from the *Egyptians*, when they sacrificed unto the *Horæ*, οὐκ ὀπτῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔψουσι τὰ κρέα, *They don't Boil, but Rost, Flesh, & Pray those Goddesses, to avert calamitous Seasons from them*.⁴² These *Horæ*, doubtless were akin to *Horus* (which *Macrobius* tells us, was the *Sun*) the Idol of *Egypt*.⁴³ Now in Opposition to those Magical Cæremories, as also, to *the Kid seeth'd in its Mothers Milk*, by superstitious Wretches, at this Time of the Year; the Lord commands the *Roasting* of the Passeover; which Commandment the *Israelites* accordingly observed, with much Stress laid upon it. [2. Chron. 35.13.] And its being *Roasted with Fire*, (whereof the proud Jewes, quoted by *Hottinger*, give this Reason, *Hæc enim est consuetudo Filiorum Regum*

39 Mather's less-than-perfect second-hand quotation (via Spencer 267) is from Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus* 2.12.2, lines 1–3), who decries the heathens for honoring Dionysius by ὠμοφαγία τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεονομίας τῶν φόνων ἀνεστεμμένοι τοῖς ὀφείσιν: “the eating of raw flesh, and go[ing] through the distribution of the parts of butchered victims, crowned with snakes” (*Exhortation to the Heathen*, ch. 2, in *ANF* 2:175).

40 Spencer (*De Legibus* 268). *Herodotus* (*History* 2.49) and *Plutarch* (*De Iside et Osiride* 355b^f and 362a^f). The index to Spencer's 1732 edition identifies Rapheleng's 1603 (Leyden) edition of *Herodotus* as the one used as well as *Plutarchi Opera* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1624).

41 Mather's holograph erroneously reads “*Prochorus*,” rather than *Philochorus* as it appears in Spencer (*De Legibus* [1685], lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 3, pp. 269–70).

42 Spencer (*De Legibus* 269–70) quotes a fragment of the Greek historian Philochorus (c. 340–260 BCE), in *Fragmenta* (Volume-Jacoby-# F 3b, 328F fragment 173, line 2) – second-hand crumbs falling off the dinner table of the *Deipnosophistæ* 14 (Kaibel paragraph 72, line 13, p. 656A), by the Egyptian Athenaeus of Naucratis (fl. 200 CE). Spencer relies on the bilingual edition by the illustrious Isaac Casaubon, *Athenaei Deipnosophistarum libri XV* (1598), lib. 14, p. 656A.

43 Son of Isis and Osiris, the falcon-headed Horus is one of the most significant deities of ancient Egypt. His hieroglyph is both that of a human eye and that of a falcon-headed man wearing the white and red crowns of upper and lower Egypt. Revered as a sky-god, he also served as protector in war. (See R. H. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods* 200–03). According to Macrobius, “Osiris is the sun [:] the Egyptians carve a scepter whenever they want to represent him in hieroglyphics: on the scepter they set the image of an eye and with this symbol signify Osiris, showing that this god is the sun and that he looks down on all things with power on high, as the ancient called the sun the eye of Jupiter. The Egyptians also call Apollo – that is, the sun – Horus, who gave his name to both the twenty-four hours [*horæ*] that a day and night comprise and the four seasons [Gk. *hōrai*] that complete the year's cycle” (*Saturnalia* 1.21.12–13). See also *Herodotus* (2.156), *Diodorus Siculus* (1.25.6), and *Plutarch* (*De Iside et Osiride* 372b).

et Principum, qui carne assâ, tanquam cibo electo, et sapido, fruuntur);⁴⁴ the Dignity of their Nation, must have *Roast-meat*, carved for it,) it might bee in Opposition to the *Egyptians*, who had other Wayes of *Roasting* their Flesh, and, as *Heliodorus* reports, in the *Sun* particularly. Thus *Plutarch* makes Enquiry, why in the *Thesmophorian Sacrifices*, they roasted the Flesh in the *Sun*, & not by the *Fire*? And *Herodotus* mentions, a *Persian* Custome, to choose *Furnaces* for this affayr; whereas the Lord here calls for an Open and a Naked *Fire* to præpare the Sacrifice. If to all this, you add *Plato's* Note, That, *Roasted Meats* are μάλιστα τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐπορα, *Militibus maximè parabilia*, the *Quickness of Dispatch*, may come in, as a Peece of a Reason, for this Law.⁴⁵

Tis added, concerning the Passeover, *That his Head, with his Legs, & the Purtenance thereof were to bee Roasted & Eaten*. This doubtless was in Opposition to the Idolatrous Rites of those Ages. For, tis certain, that the ancient Idolaters, did sett aside the *Reliques* of their Sacrifices, for superstitious & abominable Uses; to which Purpose read, if you please, the Words of *Baruch*, [chap. 6.27.] *Isaac Casaubon*, describes to us, the *Græcian* Custom, to carry home little Bits of their Sacrifices, from the Temples, as Good Omens for their Houses; whence ὑγίεια or, *Health*, was the Name, which they putt upon them. And *Herodotus* relates like Matters, of the ancient *Persians*.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Spencer (*De Legibus*, lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 3, fol. 272, § 5) quotes from סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּכָּה *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), [Book of Education], an anonymous exposition of the 613 mitzvot (precepts) of rabbinic Judaism, often attributed to Rabbi Levi Barzelonitae, aka. Aaron ben Joseph ha-Levi of Barcelona (1235–c. 1290) (*JE*), and here extracted in *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. IV, præcept. XIII: “De primogenitura et paschate,” p. 23, by Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), renowned Swiss Orientalist, variously professor of Hebrew and theology at Zurich and Heidelberg. At any rate, the citation about the culinary pleasures of the nobles reads, “For this is the custom of the sons of kings and princes, who enjoy roasted meat as chosen and savory food.”

⁴⁵ Spencer (*De Legibus* 273) quotes *Heliodorus* (*Aethiopica* 1.5.4, line 3); *Plutarch's Aetia Romana et Graeca* (298*b*, lines 10–11) describes how the Greek cities celebrated the feast of Demeter (goddess of harvest) and her daughter Persephone (goddess of vegetation) and sacrificed pigs in their honor (see also *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* 378*eff*). Mather's reading of *Herodotus* (1.132) is a bit misleading, for *Herodotus* does not mention a furnace at all. He specifically states that the Persians use neither altars nor fire in offering the victim, but stew the sacrificial meat and serve it on layers of clover. Finally, the adapted passage from *Plato* recommends, μάλιστ' ἂν εἴη στρατιώταις εὐπορα (*Respublica* 3.404*c*, line 2) that roasted meat “is the kind most easily available to soldiers,” because they can roast it on an open fire without having to be burdened with kitchenware (*Complete Works* 1041).

⁴⁶ Spencer (*De Legibus*, lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 4, fol. 274). The Apocryphal *Baruch* (6:27–28) addresses the feebleness of idols and the exploitation to which they are put by priestcraft: “They also that serve them, are ashamed: for if they [idols] fall to the ground at any time, they cannot rise up againe of themselves: neither if one set them upright can they move of themselves: neither if they be bowed downe, can they make themselves straight: but they set gifts before them as unto dead men. As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and abuse: in like maner [sic] their wives lay up part thereof in salt: but unto the poore and impotent, they give nothing of it.” Spencer (274) cites from *Animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas* (1600), lib. 3, cap. 29, p. 138, lines 41–42, by *Isaac Casaubon* (1559–1614), an erudite Swiss

Finally, upon that Passage, *Moses called for all the Elders of Israel, and said unto them, Draw out, & take you a Lamb*, the Words of *Jonathan* the Paraphrast, are, *Subtrahite manus vestras ab Idolis Egyptiorum*; In which, hee seems to consider the whole business of the *Passeover*, as a *Sacrament* of the Renunciation of the Pagan *Idolatries*. Hence, the Reforming Princes of *Israel*, when they would Recover the People from *Idolatries*, began with an Instauration of the *Passeover*.⁴⁷

It is therefore the Observation of *Heinsius*, *Nullum Festum magis a scelestis Paganorum Ritibus esse alienum; et Quod proprie adversus eorum Superstitiones et Idola, institutum sit*. And therefore in the Institution of the *Passeover*, the Lord says, *I will execute Judgment against all the Gods of Egypt*. – It was a Judgment on *Hammon*, to command the Killing of the *Lamb*; on *Apis* to command the Slaughter of another Sacrifice with this; on *Bacchus*, to forbid Raw Flesh; and on *Horus*, when the *Passeover* was to be Roasted. Tho' I do not count this the whole Design of that Scripture.⁴⁸

[△ Insert 17v ends]

[△]

[16v cont.]

2442.

Q. What was the Term, for such a *Sacrifice*, as the *Passeover*, used (not without some Imitation of the *Israelites*) among the *Gentiles*? v. 11.

classical scholar, philologist, and Christian Hebraist whose renown for learning was second to none. Herodotus (1.131–32). On Casaubon, see A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *Isaac Casaubon* (2011) and John Considine, “Philology and Autobiography in Casaubon” (2003).

47 Spencer (*De Legibus*, lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 5, fol. 276) cites Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel on Exod. 12:21. Significantly, Spencer follows the Hebrew text of Jonathan and renders the term מִצְרָאִי [mitsrai] as “*Egyptiorum*,” i. e., “*Egyptian*” rather than “*gentium*,” i. e., “*of the nations*” or “*gentile*,” as given in Walton’s Latin translation of Jonathan (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) 4:122. The Latin passage reads, “Take off your hands from the Egyptian idols.”

48 Slightly altering the text and tempus, Spencer (276) cites *Aristarchus Sacer, sive ad Nonni in Iohannem Metaphrasin Exercitationes* (1627), cap. 4, p. 122, by the distinguished classical scholar Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), professor of classical languages at Leiden University. Unlike Spencer, Heinsius denies any connection between the sacrificial rites of the Israelites and those of their pagan neighbor, insisting “that no festival is more distant from the evil rites of the pagans, and that it [Passover meal] has been instituted precisely against their superstitions and idols.” Following Maimonides (*Guide* 3.46.581–92), Spencer clearly demonstrates that many of the cultic rituals of Moses were borrowed from Egypt, but turned upside down and reclaimed in the service of the true God. Thus the ram (male lamb) of the Egyptian Amun (Hammon), the bull of Apis (Hapi-ankh) worshipped in Memphis, the crudiverous rites of Bacchus (Dionysius), and the human sacrifices honoring the falcon-headed sky-god Horus (Osiris) – all were turned on their head, purified, and redeployed in the adoration of Yahweh. Says Maimonides, God in his wisdom “suffered” these pagan rites “to remain, but transferred them from created or imaginary and unreal things to His own name, may He be exalted, commanding us to practice them with regard to Him” (*Guide* 3.32.526). See also J. Assmann’s *Moses the Egyptian* (1998) and *Of God and Gods* (2008). Herodotus (2.45–50) has much to offer on the cultic adaptation of the Egyptian deities among the Greeks.

A. They called it, A Sacrifice, *Propter Viam*, That is, as *Festus* interprets it, *Proficiscendi Gratiâ*. Tis a notable Passage in *Macrobius*, [Saturn. II. c. 2.] *Sacrificium apud veteres fuit, quod vocabatur Propter Viam; In eo mos erat, ut si quid ex epulis superfuisset, igne consumeretur. Hinc Catonis Jocus est; nam et Albidium quendam, qui sua Bona comedisset, et novissimè Domum, quæ ei reliqua erat, incendio perdidisset, Propter Viam fecesse dicebat, quod comesse non potuerat, id combussisse.*⁴⁹

If you will beleieve *Epiphanius*; The *Egyptians* had among them, something that seem'd a Memorial of the *Passeover*. At the *Æquinox*, they mark'd their *Cattel*, and their *Trees*, and one another, ἐκ μίλτεως, with *Red Oker*, or some such thing; which they fancied would be a *Præservative* to them.⁵⁰

Q. How did the Lord now *Execute Judgment against all the Gods of Egypt?* v. 12.

A. *Artapanus* in *Eusebius*, tells us, Most of their Temples were overthrown with an *Earthquake*.⁵¹

Perhaps to this Event may be ascribed a singular Feast celebrated among the *Egyptians* in the following Ages: That of *Osiris*. They rose at Midnight; the[y] lighted Candles; they sought for *Osiris* with *Groans* and with *Tears*.⁵²

[△] [16v ends]

[17r–17v inserted into 16v]

⁴⁹ Mather cites from *De verborum significatu* (284.12–14) by Sextus Pompeius Festus (fl. 3rd c. CE) of Narbo (Roman Gaul), a dictionary of important Latin phrases. “*Propter viam*” and “*Proficiscendi Gratiâ*” signify, respectively, “on account of the journey” and “departing grace,” sacrifices offered before beginning a journey. Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 2.2.4) glosses, “There was a sacrifice that the ancients used to call a ‘for-the-road,’ in which they burned any leftovers from a feast. This gave Cato the material for a joke: when a certain Albidius had eaten up his estate and then lost his house – the only thing left to him – in a fire, Cato said that he had performed a for-the-road: what he couldn’t eat up, he burned.”

⁵⁰ Finally, St. Epiphanius’s ἐκ μίλτεως (*Ancoratus und Panarion* 1.216.30ff) mentions the famous tradition among the Egyptians of “painting with red [color]” the trees and animals to protect them against evil: “the tradition of the lamb <which> was slaughtered in Egypt is still famous among the Egyptians, even the idolatrous ones. At the time when the Passover was kept there – this is the beginning of spring, at the first equinox – all the Egyptians take red earth, though without knowing why, and smear their lambs with it. And they also smear the trees, the fig-trees, and the rest, and spread the report that fire once burned up the world on this day. But the fiery-red appearance of the blood is a protection against a calamity of that magnitude and character” (*Panarion of Epiphanius*, bk. 1. sec. 1, ch. 18, § 3.1–2, pp. 43–44).

⁵¹ This version of the final plague is related by the Jewish historian Artapanus of Alexandria as extant in Eusebius Pamphilus, *Præparatio evangelica* (9.27.435d).

⁵² Mather refers to an ancient tradition related by Lactantius (*Divine Institutes* 1.21; *ANF* 7:35). In Mather’s annotation on verse 30 (below), this story is embellished in *Sacrorum Elaeo-chrismaton Myrothecium Sacroprophanum* (1625), lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 43–45, by the learned Italian antiquarian and professor of theology at Verona, Padua, and Rome, Fortunatus Franciscus Scacchus (1573–1640). The same story appears in Scacchus, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), lib. 1, cap. 6, cols. 23–24. (Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the 1725 edition of this work). See also Simon Patrick on Exod. 12:30 (*Exodus* 207). See also Mather’s gloss on Exod. 12:30 (below).

2285.

Q. The Rescue of *Israel* from *Egypt*, and their Passage thro' the *Red-Sea*, is there no Typical Consideration to bee allow'd unto it? v. 12.

A. There were *Typical Dispensations* of God, in the Dayes of the Old Testament, both for the *Deliverance* of His People, and the *Destruction* of his Enemies. Tho' there was a Real Historical Verity, in these Dispensations, yett there was also a very Destructive *Allegory*.⁵³

Thus, the Protecting Providence of God, over the *Patriarchs*, [Psal. 105. 12, 13, 14, 15.] it was a Pattern and Figure of the Protection to bee granted unto the Faithful in Future Ages.

But there are two Articles particularly proposed, in the Quæstion, that is now before us.⁵⁴

I. The Rescue from *Egypt*.

This may bee applyd, unto our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. [See Math. 2.15. from Hos. 11.1.] what was Typically done to the *Members* of the Lord Jesus Christ, was accomplished in their *Head*. As *Israel*, in the Infancy of that People, went down into *Egypt*, and was brought out from thence again: This very Thing befel our Lord in His Infancy.⁵⁵

Again, Here was a Representation of our *Spiritual Deliverance* from our Misery under Sin and Satan, in our Unregeneracy, into a State of Grace and

53 In this and the subsequent paragraphs, Mather does his uncle Samuel Mather (1626–71) of Dublin, Ireland, the honor of paraphrasing a typological disquisition on 1 Cor. 10:11, preached on May 7 and 21, 1668, and gathered in Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), pp. 154–58. In Ireland, Nathaniel Mather, Increase Mather's brother, had some ado to get this work published after the sudden death of Samuel (1671). In his letter to Increase in Boston (10th of the 2^d [April] 1683), Nathaniel complains that his English publisher would not undertake the printing of the work, unless "some here [Dublin] would subscribe towards the charge of printing at least halfe of it." The expense of printing the work (which was to "bee a folio of about 10 s. price") was not all that hampered its publication. For Nathaniel carped that the manuscript "cost mee considerable payns to fit it as it is, many places beeing [*sic*] hiulcous [i. e., broken] in his notes, & many ill written, & many things left to [be] inserted from other & loose papers" (*Mather Papers* 43, 44). Cotton Mather, too, hints at the Herculean labors it cost uncle Nathaniel to whip the manuscript into shape for publication, in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 152, § 14. Subscribers to *Figures or Types*, perhaps encouraged by the design to have the famous Puritan divine John Owen write a preface, ultimately did collect a sum of "about 35 £" as we learn from Nathaniel's subsequent missive of May 31, 1683 (*Mather Papers* 45). However, it took another three years before *Figures* was ready for distribution (*Mather Papers* 61). The book went through at least three reprints, two in Dublin (1683 and 1685) and one in London (1695), before a second edition was printed in London, in 1705, which includes a useful index, absent from all other editions. All references are to this London edition of 1705.

54 Samuel Mather (*Figures or Types*, p. 154).

55 Samuel Mather (154).

Glory. *Sin* is upon all accounts, the *Egypt* of the Soul. The Præface to the *Ten Commandments*, ha's an Eye to that *Egypt*.⁵⁶

The *Egyptians* made the *Israelites*, to *Serve with Rigor*. *Josephus* reports, the *Pyramids* to be Monuments of their Service. But the Bondage under *Sin*, is worse than that of *Egypt*. [Isa. 57.10.]⁵⁷

The *Israelites*, tho' they sigh'd under their Bondage, had none to Help them; and when Help was offered, they foolishly and frowardly Refused it. Sinners that in Terrors of Conscience, cry out of their Bondage under *Sin*, yett Refuse the Offers of Grace. [Jer. 8.4, 5.]⁵⁸

When the *Israelites* began to think of getting Free, *Pharaoh* pursued them with all his Might. And when the Soul begins to gett loose from the Bondage of *Sin*, then *Beelzebub* Roars, and falls upon the Soul with hideous Temptations. [Luk. 11.21.]⁵⁹

But notwithstanding all Opposition, God brought the *Israelites* forth, with a mighty Hand, and a Stretch'd out Arm. Hee will do thus, by the Omnipotent Power, & Irresistible Grace, of His Holy Spirit, on His Elect; in despite of all our Interior Adversaries.⁶⁰

Once more; and in the Third Place. Here was a Representation of the Deliverance of the Church in the New Testament, from the Yokes of *Antichrist*. *Egypt* is expressly assign'd, as a Picture of *Rome*. [Rev. 11.8.] *Antichristian* Bondage, is worse than *Egyptian*; because tis over the *Souls* of Men, as well as their *Bodies*. The Church brought out of *Antichristian* Bondage, therefore *sings the Song of Moses*. [Rev. 15.3.]⁶¹

But then

II. The Passage thro' the *Red-Sea*.

Baptism, as well [as] the *Outward Form*, as the *Inward Good* of it, is by this Represented unto us.⁶²

⁵⁶ Samuel Mather (155 § 2).

⁵⁷ Samuel Mather (155, 156 § 1) and Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 2.9.1). Significantly, the Dutch professor of classical languages at Leyden Jacobus Perizonius, aka. Jacob Voorbroek (1651–1715) rejects the idea that the Israelites built the pyramids since the Scriptures only mention they were making bricks (*Aegyptiarum Originum et Temporum* [1711], cap. 21, pp. 383–94). For the same argument, see George Sandys's ever popular illustrated narrative *A Relation of a Journey begun* (1615), lib. 2, pp. 127–28.

⁵⁸ Samuel Mather (156 § 2).

⁵⁹ Samuel Mather (156 § 3). The holograph ms of *BA* reads "*Belzebul*," whereas all other imprints and editions of *Figures* reads "*Beelzebub*." Here silently corrected. The poet John Donne couldn't have agreed more with this reading, for in his Holy Sonnet 14, "Batter my heart, three-person'd God," he pleads, "I, like an usurp'd town to another due,/ Labor to admit you, but oh, to no end;/ Reason, your viceroy in me, me should defend,/ But is captiv'd, and proves weak or untrue./ Yet dearly I love you, and would be lov'd fain,/ But am betroth'd unto your enemy" (lines 5–10).

⁶⁰ Samuel Mather (156 § 4).

⁶¹ Samuel Mather (156, 157).

⁶² Samuel Mather (157).

The *Element of Water*, was here applied by *Moses*, a Minister of God, unto the whole Church of God, Men, Women, and Children. The drops of *Water*, blown upon the *Israelites*, by the *Strong East-Wind*, did *Baptise* them to *Moses* in the *Sea*.⁶³

But that wee may speak more *Inwardly*. When the *Israel* of God are to make their Escape, unto their Everlasting Rest, they see before them, the Billows of the Wrath of God ready to swallow them up, and the Iniquities of their Heels, with the Powers of Darkness pursuing of them. The Lord Jesus Christ then dries up, the Floods of Divine Wrath: but causes those very Floods to overwhelm their Enemies.⁶⁴

Q. The Meaning of that Sentence, *That Soul shall be cutt off*? v. 15.

A. 'Tis, To be *sent into Banishment*. Mr. *LeClerc* ha's taken a great deal of Pains, to prove, That the Phrase means a Disfranchising, and a Banishing out of the Countrey; And not any of those Things, of which it is commonly interpreted.⁶⁵

Q. The *First Month*? v. 18.

A. Here is the Jewish Computation of Time, which may enlighten many Passages in the S. Scriptures. There are Four Beginnings of Years.⁶⁶ The First Day of the Month *Nisan*, or *March*, in the *Royal Year*, or that of the Feasts. The First Day of the Month *Elul*, or *August*, is that of the Tithes of the Flocks. The First Day of the Month *Tisri*, or *September*, is the Year of Years, or that of the Release

⁶³ Samuel Mather (157 § 1)

⁶⁴ Samuel Mather (157–58).

⁶⁵ Imposing capital punishment for violating the proscription against eating leavened bread during these holy days seemed mercilessly harsh to some of the classic rabbinic and post-Reformation commentators – according to Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:168–69, 1:366) on Gen 17:14 and Exod. 12:15. The only Kangaroo among the Beauties is Jean LeClerc (1657–1736), the Geneva-born Arminian theologian, well known for questioning the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and his unorthodox commentary on the Bible. In his *Mosis Prophetæ . . . Paraphrasi Perpetua, Commentario Philologico* [1693] (Tubingae, 1733), vol. 1 (Genesis), p. 148 (on Gen. 17:14) and vol. 2 (Exodus), pp. 59, 60 (on Exod. 12:15, 19), he argues that the Hebrew phrase וְנִכְרְתָהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ [wenikretah haNephesh] “soul shall be cut off” merely suggests that the perpetrator would be excluded from the family lineage of Israel. No doubt, LeClerc was inspired by Rashi's commentary on Exod. 12:15 where Rambam argues, “It would seem that it [the soul] is cut off from Yisrael and goes off to another nation. The Torah therefore tells us elsewhere ‘[And the soul will be cut off] from My presence’ {Lev. 22:3}, [i. e.] ‘from anywhere which is My domain’” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Shemos* 2:126). See also Rashi on Exod. 12:15, 17, in *Commentarius Hebraicus* (1710), pp. 469–70; and tractate Pisha, ch. 8, where R. Judah insists that “To be cut off merely means to cease to exist,” but R. Akiba limits this draconian sentence to “the soul acting presumptuously” (*Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* 1:47).

⁶⁶ Babylonian Talmud Mishnah (Rosh HaShana 2a) identifies the decrees of Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel about the dates of the four new years, which are explained in *Tractatus de Principio Anni* (3), in Surenhusius, סדר מועד [Seder Moed] sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Festorum. Pars Altera (1699), fol. 315.

of Captives, of the *Jubilee*, of Planting and Setting Trees & Herbs. And the First Day of *Sebat* is the Year of Trees; that is, when their Fruits may be eaten.⁶⁷

Q. The Horror of the *Night*, in which *Pharaoh* & the *Egyptians Rose*, to drive away the *Israelites*? v. 30.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, The Angel made a great Noise, when he came to give the mortal Blow; which made the *Egyptians* to start out of their Sleep, & behold the Calamity that was come upon them. Or, perhaps, the First-born gave such a lamentable *Shriek*, when they were struck, that it awakened the whole Family.

It is no improbable Conjecture, made a great while ago, by *Fortunatus Scacchus*, That the Solemn Feast among the *Egyptians*, wherein they went about with Candles in the Night, seeking for *Osiris*, with Tears and Great Lamentations, took its Original from *Pharaohs* Rising out of his Bed at Midnight, & all the *Egyptians* with him; who lighting their Candles, & finding their Children Dead, bewayled them with loud & lamentable Ejulations. And it is not unreasonable to think, as he does, that *Pharaohs* Eldest Son, who was now slain, had the Name of *Osiris*.⁶⁸ He observes out of *Apuleius*, that the Time of this Anniversary Ceremony, was when the *Moon* was at the Full. And so it was, when this Slaughter was made in Egypt.⁶⁹

[18v]

692.

Q. Is it not Unaccountable, That Seventy Souls, going down into *E{g}ypt*, should there in a Matter of two Hundred & ten Years, multiply into Six hundred Thousand, that were *Men*, besides Women & Children? v. 37.

A. Not at all. For, suppose 50 Men should Beget Children, & this not until arrived at the Age of 20; and allow them no more than 3 Sons apiece; yett, in the Space of 200 Years, the Number would bee, 2952450.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Extracted from Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (1723), "Diss. XLVIII," p. 389.

⁶⁸ The Egyptian *Osiris* is the god of death and resurrection. The various versions of this myth entailing his relationship with his spouse *Isis* and his vengeful brother *Typhon* – all offspring of *Rhea* and *Chronos* in Greek mythology – are told by many of the ancients, including *Plutarch* (*Isis and Osiris*, secs. 12–22, 356a–359ff).

⁶⁹ Extracted from Simon Patrick on Exod. 12:30 (*Exodus* 207). Mather, via Patrick, refers to Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium Sacroprophanum* (1625), lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 44, which is the running title of the magnificent Hagae-Comitum edition of Scacchus's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), lib. 1, cap. 6, cols. 23–24. Scacchus also quotes a passage from the Latin prose writer and orator of Madaurus (North Africa) Lucius Apuleius (c. 125–post 170), whose *Metamorphoses* (by Augustine dubbed *The Golden Ass*) is a Latin picaresque novel, which survives complete. Mather, via Scacchus, refers to Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* (11.1, 3–5). (ODCC).

⁷⁰ Mather's source is "Notes on the Book of Exodus" (Exod. 1:8), in *A Commentary on the Five Books of Moses*, 2 vols. (1694), 1:277, by Richard Kidder (1633–1703), Lord bishop

1500.

Q. If there were 600000 Males of the *Israelites*, able to go forth unto War, what might bee the whole Number of all the People?⁷¹

A. It appears upon Observation, That the Number of the Males among a People, from the Age of Sixteen to Fifty Six, is as 34 to an 100. By this Computation, the Males of *Israel* must bee at this Time, One Million, Seven Hundred Sixty four Thousand, & seven Hundred. Unto these add *Females*, near one fifteenth fewer; suppose, to make the Summ even, one Million, Six Hundred thirty five Thousand, three hundred; The Total is, Three Millions, and three hundred thousand; Add then Forty three thousand, for the Levites; (not included in the former Accounts:) the entire Sum will at last amount unto Three Millions, & three hundred forty three thousand Souls.⁷²

But we also find, A *Swarm* of People, (which is the proper sense of *Moses's* Expression) that followed the Children of *Israel*; either Proselytes, or the Offspring of Marriages between *Israelites* and *Egyptians*, or *Egyptians* who (as Monsr. *Saurin* expresses it) *preferr'd the Horrors of a Wilderness to the poison'd Delights of Tyranny*.⁷³

1669.

Q. I am willing to see yett another Calculation, by which the Multiplication of *Israel*, may bee Demonstrated?

of Bath and Wells. The same standard calculations and figures are given in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:317), on Exod. 1:7. Mather was given to similar calculations about the multiplication of post-deluvians in his "*Trip paradisu*" (*Threefold Paradise* 242). He had good precedent in *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1681), Third edition (1697), bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 16, by Thomas Burnet (c. 1635–1715), Master of the Charter House, London, and friend of Isaac Newton; and in *A New Theory of the Earth* (1696), bk. 3, ch. 3, pp. 175–181, by William Whiston (1669–1752), Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge and successor to Isaac Newton (Force, *Whiston* 40–54). See also Mather's gloss on Exod. 1:7 for the fishlike multiplication of the *Israelites* in Egypt.

71 See Appendix A. See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:317). Ibn Ezra seems perturbed to defend this hyperbolic figure (Exod. 13:18): "We already have enough trouble with the Islamic scholars who ask, 'How could 55 males produce 600,000 males in just 210 years, let alone doubling and redoubling that number when you include the women and children?' ... But if you consider that after 46 years Jacob had 69 male descendants, then in another 46 years his 13 sons – counting Ephraim and Manasseh in place of Joseph – would have over 700 descendants; after 92 years, over 9,300; after 194 years, over a million and a half. And that is still less than 210 years" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Shemos* 2:100).

72 The numbers are extracted from Whiston's *New Theory of the Earth* (1696), bk. 3, ch. 3, pp. 176–77. Whiston's calculations are based on *Natural and Political Observations ... upon the Bills of Mortality* (1676), Observation 84 (13), p. 86, by Capt. John Graunt (1620–74), an English statistician and member of the Royal Society of London (*ODNB*). For similar calculations, see Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684, 1697), bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 16. On Mather and Graunt, see T. McCormick's "Statistics in the Hands of an Angry God?"

73 Extracted from Jacques Saurin *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (1723), "Diss. XLIX," pp. 399–400.

A. You shall. Tis *Cappellus*'s. If but *One Man*, in the *Thirtieth Year* of his Age, begin to bee a Father, and have in all, no more than *Ten Children*; who also, with their Posterity, should Beget, at the same Age, that *One Man*, before 200 Years, would have descended from him, of the sixth Generation,

	1000000
of the fifth	100000
of the fourth	10000
of the great Grand-Children	1000
of the Grand-Children	100
of the Children	10
Summ Total	1111110

But that the *Israelites*, began to bee Fathers, before the Age of Thirty, is more than probable: Nature sometimes not requiring Half that Time.⁷⁴ [*Scaliger* saies, *Meâ Memoriâ, in civitate Lectoratensi Novempopulenâ, puer minor annorum duodecim genuit ex puellâ consobrinâ suâ, quæ nondum decimum Annum expleverat. Rem notam narro, et cujus memoria adhuc recens est in Aquitaniâ.*]⁷⁵ And there is Reason to think, That they often exceeded the Number of Ten Children. Wee

⁷⁴ Mather's staggering multiplication table is a tabular arrangement (and translation from the Latin) of Jacques Cappellus's calculation in *Historica Sacra et Exotica* (1613), cap. "ISRAELITÆ in Ægypto," p. 71A–E. One of Cappellus's historical sources is Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 7.3.34), which records that the Roman mater familias Eutychis of Tralles "was carried to her funeral pyre by twenty children and who had given birth 30 times." Lest the story sounds apocryphal, we learn from Paul Gallivan and Peter Wilkins that "The largest family in [Roman] Italy is that of Iulia Gemella of Puteoli who bore Philadelphus 18 children before dying at age 32 and 5 months." If that is an astounding record of fertility, Iulia Gemella has nothing on the obscure eighteenth-century Russian peasant woman, who – so *The Guinness Book of Records* 1994 (p. 61) – gave birth to a staggering 69 (!) children. This and more in P. Gallivan and P. Wilkins, "Family Structures in Roman Italy" (p. 245, note 12). Be that as it may, Abdon was a minor judge of Israel (Judg. 12:13–15), had forty sons, thirty grandsons, and seventy donkeys; Jair, the Gileadite only mustered thirty sons (Judg. 10:3–4); much better, polygamous Gideon, judge in Israel, had seventy (Judg. 8:30); not to be outdone is King Ahab, with three-score and ten sons (2 Kings 10:1); Danaus, son of King Belus of Libya, was blessed with one hundred children, fifty of them daughters, who married fifty of their cousins, sons of the eponymous Aegyptus (brother of Daneus) – alas, forty nine of Aegyptus's sons did not survive to tell the tale of their wedding night (*EGRM* 103). Fifty sons (and many daughters) were also among the fortunes of King Priamus of Troy and of Darius III (Codomanus) of Persia. But none were as prolific as Artaxerxes Memnon of Persia, who fathered 115 sons (not to mention daughters), and the Arabian King Hierotimus (Erotimus) with seven (not six) hundred (!) – that is, if Marcus Junius Justinus and his *Epitome of the Philippic History of Trogus Pompeius* (10.1.1; 39.5.6, pp. 88, 270) did not miss a few. I am getting lightheaded!

⁷⁵ Except for some minor variations in spelling and word order, Mather's interpolated citation from Joseph Justus Scaliger's "*Epistolâ ad [Franciscus] Gomarum Chronologicâ*" is extracted at second hand from Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan* (1707), col. 922, lines 3–7. The learned Scaliger (born in Agen, SW France) testifies to the wondrous tale long remembered in his own hometown: "By my memory, in the diocese of Lectoure [SW France] in the Novempopulania province ["the land of the nine peoples," aka. Aquitania Tertia], a boy less than twelve years old generated offspring by his female first cousin, who had not yet reached her tenth year. I am relating a well-known thing, whose memory is still fresh in Aquitania."

find in the Scripture, *Abdon* to have had 40 Sons; *Jair* to have had 30 Sons; *Gideon* to have had 70 Sons; and *Ahab*, to have had as many. *Ægyptus*, *Danaus*, *Priamus*, and *Darius*, History reports to have had, each of them, 50 Children. *Justin* saies, *Artaxerxes* had 115; and *Hierotimus*, no less than 600.⁷⁶

2962.

Lett us a little pursue this Matter.
I will offer you the Hypothesis of *Torniellus*, In *Annal. Sacris.* ad A. 2329. § 19. where he supposes, *Virum unum cum sua conjuge singulis Tricenis Annis Potuisse gignere quatuordecim liberos, partim mares, et partim fæminas, et sic deinceps singula conjugatorum paria*; and then he concludes, *proculdubio in Septimo Tercentario, h.e. in fine Anni Ducentesimi decimi posse genita esse plusquam sexies et decies centena millia, et quadraginta septem millia hominum.*⁷⁷ Here's the Scheme.

Pairs	1.	multiplied by sevens, into	7.	At Years,	30.
	7.		49.		60.
	49.		343.		90.
	343.		2401.		120.
	2401.		16807.		150.
	16807.		117649.		180.
	117649.		823543.		210.

76 Marcus Junianus Justinus, in *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (10.1.1; 39.5.6) relates that Artaxerxes of Persia had “a hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, but only three begotten in lawful wedlock, Darius, Ariarathes, and Ochus” (p. 88) The prolific heroes who scattered their Maker’s image throughout the land are all listed in Johann Leyser’s *Polygamia Triumphatrix* (1682), Thesis LXII, § 2, pp. 339–40. See especially the unnumbered Index to this work under the heading “Liberorum multitudo signum Gratiae” (indeed!) and “Hierotimus Rex Arabum.” Johann Leyser (1631–84) was a German Lutheran theologian who served as preacher in various military campaigns of the King Christian V of Danmark but was also a prolix defender of polygamy as a natural right, which he proclaimed in various German and Latin procreations of this work. Mather also offers a similar “Fish-like Multiplication” of the earth’s population in his description of the post-Confagration New Earth, “Triparadisus” (*Threefold Paradise* 275–76).

77 Mather’s calculation table is copied from Agostino Tornielli’s *Annales Sacri et Profani, Ab Orbe Condito Ad Eumdem Christi passionem redemptum* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1622), “Ab Orbo Condito Annus 2329,” § 19, pp. 250–51. Trying to prove the miraculous multiplication of the Israelites, Tornielli figures, “that one man with his wife every thirty years could have been able to propagate fourteen children, partly males and partly females, and so in succession for each of the couples.” Tornielli concludes, “without doubt, in his seventh period of thirty years, that is by the end of his two hundredth and tenth year, more than sixteen hundred and forty-seven thousand men could have been begotten.” Good luck with that!

If one Couple could afford so large an Increase, in this Time, what might be done by 70 Persons?

Johannes Temporarius, in his *Chronology*, goes another Way to work. He proceeds upon Propagation, by the Number *Ten*, as *Cappellus* did; but he begins Generation for them, at the Age of *Twenty*. And so by that Time Two Hundred & ten Years are expired, the Number arises, to so many, that, *si tota Jacobi Familia funditus interijisset, uno tantum Josepho superstite, ex hoc uno surculo armorum non solo millia 600, verum etiam supra centies centena millia, in annis 210. sine ullo Naturæ prodigio excitari potuerint.*⁷⁸

I know not whether many will entertain the Opinion of one Mr. *Tanner*, That each of the Sons of *Jacob*, had a considerable Number of *circumcised Servants* belonging to him, [As we know what their Great Grandfather had!] who were not *Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel*, and might not be turned off. The Sacred Scriptures in relating the Condition of the Church often, omitt the Circumstances, that carry any thing of worldly Pomp, & Grandeur in them.⁷⁹

[19r]

Q. *They spoiled the Egyptians.*] Lett us enquire into the Lawfulness of the Action? v. 36.

A. There is a Story told, in the *Gemara* of the *Sanhedrin*; That in the Time of *Alexander* the Great, the *Egyptians* brought an Action against the *Israelites*, desiring, they might have the Land of *Canaan*, in Satisfaction for all that they borrowed of them, when they went out of *Egypt*. Unto which, *Gibeah ben Kosam*, who was Advocate for the Jewes; replied, That before they made this Demand, they must prove what they alledged, that the *Israelites* borrow'd any thing of their Ancestors. Unto which the *Egyptians* thought it sufficient to say, *That they found*

⁷⁸ The renowned Huguenot scholar in exile Ludovicus Cappellus (1585–1658) supplies a somewhat different set of numbers for the Israelites' prolific fertility rate, in his *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamenti* (1689), pp. 609–10 (on Exod. 12:40). His slightly older brother, Jacques Cappellus (1570–1624), professor of theology and Hebrew at Sedan, offers yet another set of calculations in his *Historia Sacra et Exotica* (1613), p. 71. The conflated Latin passage is from *Chronologicarum Demonstrationum Libri Tres* (1596), lib. 2, "Canon Tertius," p. 140, by Joannes Temporarius, aka. Jean du Temps (c. 1535–c. 1580), a French lawyer of Blois. Thus Temporarius calculates, "if the whole household of Jacob should have utterly perished, with only Joseph surviving, from this one shoot [might come] not only 600,000 armed soldiers, but also above a hundred times a hundred thousand, in 210 years. They could have been brought forth without any prodigy of nature. For a modern assessment of this work and of Temporarius, see P. G. Bietenholz's *Historia and Fabula* (1994), ch. 7, pp. 289–93, and A. Marr, "A Renaissance Library Rediscovered" (428–70). Mather also puts Temporarius's *Chronologicarum* to good use in his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:586, 612–13, 618, 653).

⁷⁹ Mather's source is Thomas Tanner (1630–82), historian and rector of Winchfield (Hampshire), whose *Primordia: Or the Rise and Growth of the First Church of God Described* (1683), ch. 35, p. 256, and appended "Letter In Answer to a Question," in *Primordia* (pp. 17–18, sec. ser. pag.) explore among other things the miraculous multiplication of the Israelites in Egypt until their exodus.

it Recorded in their own Books; mentioning the Text now before us. Well then, said the Advocate, look into the same Book, and you will find the Children of *Israel* sojourned in *Egypt*, four hundred & thirty Years. Pay us for all the Labour of so many Thousand People, as you employ'd all that time, and we will Restore what we borrowed. Unto this, they had not a Word to answer. *Tertullian* makes mention of such a Controversy, between the Two Nations, as an ancient Tradition. L.II. *adversus Marcion*.⁸⁰

Besides this: 'Tis not impertinent to observe, That the | *Egyptians* were Declared Enemies to the *Israelites*. Now 'tis not unlawful to spoil such Enemies; nor may it be call'd, *A Theft*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* adds this Reason to the former.⁸¹ [19v]

But Dr. *Patrick* thinks, No body ha's express'd this matter better than Dr. *Jackson*. He considers the Great GOD, as become now the *King* of this People, in a proper & peculiar Manner. Unsufferable Wrongs had been done by the King & People of *Egypt*, unto this People of God, who were now become His *Peculiar Subjects*, or, *Proprietary Lieges*. He concludes, That this Fact was more Justifiable, even by the Course of Humane Law, or Law of Nations, than Royal Grants of *Letters of Man*, or other like Remedies, are, against such other Nations, as have wronged their Subjects, or suffered them to be wrong'd, by any under their Command, without Restitution, when they solemnly, or by way of Embassy demanded it.⁸²

In short; whatever the *Israelites* took from the *Egyptians*, they took & kept, by the *Law of Reprisal*: That is By Vertue of a Special Warrant granted, by the LORD Himself, as He was now become in Special, not only the *God* of His People, but their *King* also.⁸³

I will add a Remark of another, [Dr. *Burnett* of *Westkington*] upon it.

It had been foretold unto *Abraham*, That his Offspring should *come away* from *Egypt* with *Great Substance*. The *Egyptians* were so afraid of being destroy'd for them, they were glad of getting rid of them at any rate. Considering what the *Israelites* had suffered from them, there was all possible aequity, in the Direction

⁸⁰ Simon Patrick on Exod. 12:36 (*Exodus* 211). Patrick's primary source is John Selden's *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* (1640), lib. 7, cap. 8, pp. 820–27, where all of Mather's references to his secondary and tertiary sources can be found. The story of the lawsuit is told in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 91a), where the name of the legendary attorney for the defendant in Alexander's time is given as Gebiha ben Pesisa. However, in *Midrash Rabbah* (Genesis LXI:7), where the same apocryphal story is given, his name is indeed Gebiah, son of Kosem. Tertullian retells much the same in his *Adversus Marcionem* 2.20 [PL 002. 308–309] and in *Five Books against Marcion* 2.20 (ANF 3:313). And so does Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 4.30.2), in ANF (1:503).

⁸¹ Patrick (*Exodus* 211). Clemens of Alexandria (*Stromata* 1.23), in ANF (2:336).

⁸² Patrick (*Exodus* 211). Mather source, via Patrick, is Dr. Thomas Jackson (c. 1579–1640), president of Corpus Christi, Oxford. The material for this and the next paragraph is a close paraphrase of *The Eternal Truths of Scriptures. The Tenth Book of Comments on the Creed*, bk. 10, ch. 40, § 8, in *Works* (1673) 3:196. See also BA (1:669–70, 690, 920, 958, 1008).

⁸³ Patrick (*Exodus* 212).

& Appointment which GOD gave them on this Occasion. Here was not only some Recompence for their Sufferings in general, but some Satisfaction for what was due to them of Right for their Labours. Doubtless, having been used like Slaves, their arbitrary Masters had oppressed them in the Matter of their proper & promis'd Wages. The Matter of the *Straw*, was one flaming Instance of it. What we render, They *Borrowed*, the Word signifies, They *Demanded*: which they did, as a *Right*, tho' the *Egyptians* might call it, a *Loan*. And GOD accordingly gave them *Favour* in the Sight of the *Egyptians*; T'was His Work. T'was no Injustice in the *Israelites*; But GOD made them His Instruments, to take from the *Egyptians*, what they held by the Bounty of His Providence, & had forfeited by their Transgressions.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Mather excerpts this passage from the two-volume *The Demonstration of True Religion* (1726), vol. 2, ch. 11, pp. 191–92, 193, 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 put the same work to good use in *BA* (1:504, 815–16, 926). Whether the Israelites who “borrowed” their Egyptian neighbors’ jewels (Exod. 12:35–36) were justified in keeping them in restitution for unpaid slave labor has generated a long history of debate. The conflicting positions on justifying the ways of God to man in the post-Reformation era can be gathered in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:368–69) and *Works* (4:240–44). Mather’s gloss on Exod. 12:48, most likely excised from his earlier version of the “*Biblia Americana*” manuscript, still exists as a reference to “Arndt. Vol. 1. pag. 42” (“Note Book of Authors” on Exod. 12:48). Whatever the reason for its excision, Mather references the two-volume *De Vero Christianismo libri quatuor* (1708), 1:42, a Latin translation of *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (1610), by Johann Arndt (1555–1621), the distinguished German Lutheran pietist. Mather’s Frederician correspondent at the Hanoverian court in London, Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673–1722), translated this popular work into Latin, and Mather made it a point “every Morning before I rise, to read a Chapter in my dear *Arndt*; and communicate unto her [Mather’s third wife] the principal Thoughts occurring on it” (*Diary* 2:335–36, 348).

Q. *The Redemption of the First-born?* v. 8.

A. The Thing was not unknown to the Gentiles. *Paulus Venetus* L. I. c. 45. saies, The Inhabitants of *Tanguth* in *India*, Redeemed their Sons with a *Ram*; which they offered after the Manner of the Hebrewes. Tis probable this Law of *Moses* reached them, as well as diverse Remainders of the Hebrew Language, according to *Huetius*.¹

4223.

Q. What were the *Frontlets between their Eyes*, to be worn by the *Israelites?* v. 16.

A. We have elsewhere spoken to it. I will here only insert a little Curiositie about them. Some of the Hebrewes, will have, *Totaphot*, an *Egyptian* Word, of the same Importance with *מראות* / *Specularia seu conspicilla, quæ seniores adhibent oculis suis quo clarius videant*.² q.d. Lett them converse with the Lawes of God, continually, & as long as they can use their *Spectacles*. But now, Lett them

1 Simon Patrick on Exod. 13:8 (*Exodus* 233–34). Pierre-Daniel Huet's commanding *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 6, § 4, pp. 97–98, serves Patrick and Mather as their primary source here. This popular work went through several editions. Patrick (and thus Mather) renders Huet's marginal notation "Marc. Paul. l. 1. c. 45" as a reference to "*Paulus Venetus ... L. I. c. 45*," and thus erroneously sends busy editors on a fool's errand among the remains of the Italian logician Paulus Nicolettus Venetus (c. 1369–1429). However, Huet's source is Marcus Paulus, better known as Marco Polo (c. 1254–1324), the famous Venetian traveler, whose *IL Milione* was translated into many languages and printed in many editions. Most likely, Huet drew on one of the several Latin or French incarnations and editions of the Italian *Delle Maraviglie del Mondo vedute da Marco Paulo* (Venice, 1496). At any rate, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (1845), part 1, sec. 35 (!), pp. 246–49, relates that the province of "Tangut" was part of the W Mongol Empire at the time and that its inhabitants are a hodgepodge of "idolaters mixed with some Nestorian Christians and Saracens." At the end of the year, parents praying for the safety of their children sacrifice a sheep to their idol and afterwards eat the cooked meat and invite their relatives to the feast (247). It is this ritual that strikes a familiar cord with Mather and his peers.

2 The classical rabbinic commentators are divided on both the origin and meaning of the word *טֹפֶת* [totaphoth] and with the Hebrew *תְּפִלִּין* commonly identified as *תְּפִלִּין* "tephillin." Rashi asserts both Coptic (Egyptian) and Afriki (Phrygian) roots, while Menachem ibn Saruk and Ibn Ezra associate it with other meanings found in Ezek. 21:2, Micah 2:6, and Exod. 13:9 (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:183–85). Mather quotes the Hebrew and Latin passages from Sebastian Münster's annotations on Exod. 13:16, in *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 138 (note g), who associates the meaning of totaphot with mar'awth "things to look at [looking glasses] or places for spying out [eyeglasses], which the elders apply to their eyes by which they may see more clearly."

compound the Matter with *Metius* the Dutchman, who pretends to have been the First Inventor of those Noble Instruments.³

3947.

Q. We read, *The Children of Israel went up harnessed*. The Hebrew Word, which we render, *Harnessed*,⁴ you know carries, *Five*, in the Signification of it. For which Cause, our Margin renders it, *By Five in a Rank*. What may be the true Sense of the Word? v. 18.

A. We will pass by the Jewish Figments employ'd on this Occasion; as not worth Reciting.⁵ And we will pass by the Notion of the Gentlemen, who, following the LXX, make the *Fifth Generation*, to be here intended.⁶

³ Mather's swipe at those who are looking at the Mosaic Laws with "spectacles" probably alludes to the interpretation of the Portuguese Dominican Hieronymus Oleaster (d. 1563), who instead of following his colleagues' translation of חֲמֻשִׁים as "for frontlets," decodes the phrase as "in ocularia, seu specilla" ("for ocularies or glasses"), in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:375) and *Works* (4:267). The confusion about the invention of spectacles, telescopes, and microscopes is more than pardonable for the time. Whereas the common spectacles or glasses have been known to exist since the thirteenth century and are frequently believed to be the brainchild of Salvio degli Armati, the invention of telescopes is variously attributed to Hans Lippershey, Laprey or Lippersheim (c. 1570–c. 1619), a spectacle maker of Middleburgh (Holland), who is on record for having offered his telescope to the States General in October 1608 (*EB*). Similar claims are made for Jacob Adriaanzoon, aka Metius (c. 1571–c. 1631), who is to have done so a few weeks later. The development of the microscope is generally attributed to Zacharias Jansen, likewise a lens grinder of Middleburgh, who as early as the last decade of the sixteenth century is to have worked with concave lenses. The famous Italian Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), so the argument goes, did not invent, but merely improved the telescope. The bespectacled history is told in Pierre Borel's *De Vero Telescopii Inventore* (1655) and more recently in Henry C. King's *History of the Telescope* (1955), ch. 2.

⁴ The Hebrew word חֲמֻשִׁים [chamushim] [Strong # B3236] suggests "in battle array," "arrayed for battle by fives," and "armed." The Jacobin translators of the KJV Englished it as "harnessed," suggesting in the marginal annotation "by five in a rank" (Exod. 13:18), because "chamushim" is related to the numeral חֲמִשָּׁה. This latter interpretation is that of Piscator, Oleaster, Junius, Ainsworth, Montanus, Malvenda, Theodotian, and that of the Dutch translators (Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* 376 and *Works* 4:271–72). Rabbi Ishmael (tractate Beshallah, ch. 1, Exod. 13:18) adds, "The word *Hamushim* only means zealous, as in the passage: 'And the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half-tribe of Israel passed on zealously (*hamushim*) before the children of Israel' (Josh. 4.12–13)," in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (1:119).

⁵ Mather brushes aside Ibn Ezra (*Commentary: Exodus* 270), who argues that "the Israelites went out with a high hand (Exod. 14:8), with weapons of war and not like fleeing slaves." Nachmanides (*Commentary* 2:178) acknowledges Ibn Ezra's reading, adding that because the Israelites "still feared lest the Philistines who dwelt in the nearby cities [would] come upon them," the Israelites "were armed, as are people who go out to war."

⁶ The translators of the LXX (Exod. 13:18) interpret the problematic term "chumashim" to mean in "the fifth generation" (Septuagint), a rendition seconded by St. Augustine (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. II, § 50, col. 614) [PL 34. 614] and by Vatablus and Rivet (Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* 376 and *Works* 4:272). Rashi adds alternatively for "chumashim" (fifth) that "one of every five went out [of Egypt] and four-fifths died during the three days of darkness," because many Israelites "had no desire to leave Egypt and, so that the Egyptians not witness their demise, they [recalcitrant Israelites] died during the plague of darkness," in *Metsudah Chumash*

There is a Difficulty in conceiving how *Ranks* could be Regularly kept by *Fives*, when there belong so many *Women* and *Children* to the Company: & when the *Men* themselves newly coming out of a State of *Servitude*, were very unlikely to conform under the *Order*, (or indeed, the *Armour*) of a well-disciplined Army. *Harnessed*, says our Translation. But where should they get their Armour? *Lyra* raises this Difficulty; but {explains ?} it not.⁷

But there is no Difficulty at all, in the Account, of this Matter, which *Munster* brings out of *Sepharadi*. *Quinque Turmis ascenderunt sub quatuor Vexillis; Nam Moses cum Senioribus Israel, in medio quatuor Turmarum manebat.*⁸ They went up, in *Five Squadrons*; *Four* of them, were such as we find afterwards encamped in the Wilderness; and *Moses* with the Elders of *Israel* in the Midst of them, composed the *Fifth*. Agreeable to this, is, what *Pocock* observes in his, *Porta Mosis*. Among the *Arabians*, the Word, *Chamis*, notes, *An Army*. *Quòd ipsorum corpus, quasi è pluribus membris aggregatum, quinque partibus seu ordinibus constare soleret; Vid: Prima Acies Corde, Dextro cornu, Sinistro Cornu, et Crus seu, extrema acies.*⁹ Dr. *Gell* would have it rendred, *Girded*. This *Girdle* was wont to be worn under the *Fifth Rib*; tho *Hypochondria*, the Jews called by that Name. To be *Girded* was to be *Fifth'd*, as one may say.¹⁰

2226.

Q. The *Pillar of Cloud* and *Fire*; shall wee consider the *Typical Importance* of it? v. 21.

Rashi: *Shemos* (2:157 note 13) and *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (1:199). However, an even more severe punishment is mentioned in tractate Beshallah (ch. 1): "Some say only one out of fifty [came out]. And some say only one out of five hundred" (*Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* 1:119). Ibn Ezra begs to differ (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Shemos* 2:99–100).

7 In his unpaginated *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (1492), on Exod. 13:18 (note e), the Franciscan scholar and master of the University of Paris, Nicholas de Lyra, aka. Lyranus (c. 1270–c. 1340), opines that the Egyptians furnished arms to the renegade Israelites to protect them against robbers (!).

8 A direct quotation from Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 138 (note h). Based on a comment by the as yet unidentified R. Abraham Sepharadi, the Latin citation translates, "They went up in five squadrons under four banners; for Moses with the elders of Israel stayed in the midst of the four squadrons."

9 Mather's slightly altered citation is from *באב מוסי Porta Mosis* (1655), "Notae Miscellanea," cap. 4, pp. 54–55 (second series of pagination), by the learned English Orientalist Edward Pococke (1604–91), professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford. The famous Arabist notes, "this body of them [army], as if united with more divisions, used to consist of five parts or orders, namely, the first battle-line [cohort] in the division, with the right wing, the left wing, and the foot, or the very end of the battle-line."

10 Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 216. Gell explains that the girdle was "worn under the *fifth rib*" and thus called "*Hypocondria*," because "the *Liver* and *vesica fellea*, and the *Spleen*" are there located (2 Sam. 2:23). See also Ibn Ezra on the "fifth rib" (Exod. 13:18) and its numerical implication for the number of the mixed multitude escaping from Egypt, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Shemos* (2:99–100).

A. If you please.¹¹

It was a supernatural and miraculous *Cloud*; and it was of such Height and Bulk, as to be seen by all the House of *Israel*. It remained with the Congregation, for Forty Years together, even till they came into *Canaan*. The lower Part of it, rested on the *Tabernacle*, after the *Tabernacle* was erected; and from thence ascended like a *Pillar of Smoke*. It appeared as a *Cloud* by Day, and *Fire* by Night: Not, *Ignis Urens*, but only, *Ignis Lucens*; It consumed not the *Tabernacle*, tho' made of combustible Matter. It kept its *Form*, and was not moved by the Wind, or any ordinary Cause. And out of it, the Lord exhibited His *Oracles*, unto *Moses*, & the People.¹²

Now there was a Mystery in this *Pillar*. Isa. 4.5, 6. The *Divinity* and *Humanness* of our Lord Jesus Christ, had some Shadow in this Cloud. The *Fiery Brightness* here was *over-clouded*; there was *Cloud* as well as *Fire*. See, Rev. 1.10.¹³

The *Pillar* gave *Direction* to the People, in their Way, thro' the *Arabian Deserts*. [See Num. 9.17, 18.] Thus doth our Lord Jesus Christ mercifully Direct and Conduct His People, in their Travel, thro' the Wilderness of this World, unto Heaven. See Joh. 1.9. Joh. 14.6.¹⁴

The *Pillar* also gave *Protection* to them; sheltring them, from the Scorches of the Sun, in the burning Deserts of *Arabia*; [See Psal. 105.39.] And from the Assaults of other Enemies. [See Exod. 14.19, 20.] Every Church of Saints, is a Spiritual Army of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is a Terrible Thing to Offend or Trouble them. There is a Protecting Presence of the Lord upon them. [See Isa. 4.5, 6, and Zech. 2.5.]¹⁵

The *Pillar* was a *Glory* to *Israel*; and it was a Thing very glorious. The Lord Jesus Christ, is the *Glory* of His Church. See Isa. 4.2. And there is a spiritual *Glory*, in the meannest Assemblies of the Saints, which indeed Carnal Eyes are not able to discern. Psal. 29.9.¹⁶

In fine; The *Ordinances* of the Lord Jesus Christ, are an Antitype, unto this *Pillar*, as they are the visible Tokens of the Lords being with us. *Baptism* is

11 Deists – like the Irish freethinker John Toland (1670–1722) – were less given to mystical, typological, or miraculous explications of the famous pillar of cloud and fire, which guided the Israelites through the Sinai Desert. In his *Hodegus. Or, the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, That Guided the Israelites in the Wilderness, not Miraculous* (1720), Toland saw little more than the well-established expediency of burning bitumen carried in an iron pan at the head and rump of troops trekking through irregular terrain. At night, the bituminous fire was visible as a glowing light; during the day, as a black cloud – no more, no less. A detailed response to Toland's argument is given in *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1722), 2:166–79.

12 Extracted from Samuel Mather's sermon on 1 Cor. 10:11 (Oct. 3, 1667), in his *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 133–34. Cotton Mather's uncle assures his readers that the pillar of cloud as an occasional type was not a “*Burning Fire*,” but only [a] “*Shining Fire*.”

13 Samuel Mather (134). See also (BA 5:585–86).

14 Samuel Mather (134–35).

15 Samuel Mather (135).

16 Samuel Mather (136). See also (BA 5:583–84; BA 4:445).

particularly so. [1. Cor. 10.2.] The *Pillar* seems to have *Bedewed* the Congregation, with a Refreshing Moisture; which cool'd them from the Heat usually Raging. In like Manner do the *Dewes* of *Baptism* Refresh the Souls of the Faithful.¹⁷

This *Cloud* was, (as R. *Levi ben Gersom* speaks,) An *Emanation* from God; and (as others of the *Jewes* express it,) a *Sign*, that God was Day & Night with them, to keep them from Evil.¹⁸

There are Allusions to it; Isa. LII.12. and, Mic. II.13.

It is no improbable Conjecture of *Taubman*, in his Notes upon *Virgil*; That from hence it was, that the Poets never make a Deity to appear, but in a *Cloud*, with a *Brightness* in it; *Est autem Nimbus, Nubes divina; seu fluidum lumen quod Deorum capita tingit*.¹⁹

|

[20v]

606.

Q. Is there, in Pagan Antiquitie, any thing, referring, to the *Cloudy Pillar*, which led *Israel* in the Wilderness?

A. You know, that the *Jewes* were accused by the *Pagans*, as Worshipping the *Clouds* & the *Heavens*. Tho' the *Jewes* were not the *Cælicola*, mentioned in the Code, under the Title of, *De Judæis et Cælicolis*; for in the *Theodosian Code*, from whence *Justinian* took it, it is called, *An unheard of Name*;²⁰ whereas, according

17 Samuel Mather (136). See also (*BA* 9, on 1 Cor. 10:1).

18 Via Simon Patrick's commentary on Exod. 13:21 (*Commentary* 239), Mather quotes Levi ben Gershon, aka. Gersonides, also known by his Hebrew acronym Ralbag (1288–c. 1340), French rabbi, physician, philosopher, and mathematician, born at Bagnols (Provence). The third-hand quotation is from Gersonides's commentary on the Torah, *Perush al ha-Torah* (Venice 1547), also in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Shemos* (2:100–101).

19 Extracted from Patrick on Exod. 13:21 (*Exodus* 241–42), who cites Friedrich Taubmann (c. 1565–1613), a learned German philologist and professor of poetry and belles lettres at the University of Wittenberg. Taubmann's scholarship greatly contributed to the restoration of the works of several Roman playwrights and poets (*ADB*). Mather here refers to Taubmann's edition *Publius Virgilii Maronis Opera Omnia: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis; Ciris et Culex: Cum Commentario Frid. Taubmanni* (1618), p. 475. Taubmann's gloss is on Virgil's *Aeneid* (2:616), "*Insedit, nimbo effulgens & Gorgone seva*" (*Opera Omnia*, p. 473), where the Tritonian Pallas Athena "gleams with storm-cloud and grim Gorgon" in her battle against the Dardan army. Taubmann's gloss reads, "**N I M B O**] nube divinâ. Est enim *Nimbus* fulvidum (f. *fluidum*) lumen, quod deorum capita tinguit ..." (*Opera Omnia*, p. 475). The same comment appears in Taubmann's address to the reader "Bonarum Litterarum Candidatis," preceding his edition of Virgil's *Ciris ad Messalam* (*Opera Omnia*, p. 7, sep. pag.). At any rate, Mather's Latin extract suggests, "there is moreover Nimbus, the divine cloud, or a fluid light that moistens the heads of the gods."

20 Codified between 429–438 CE, the *Codex Theodosianus* was compiled by Byzantine Emperor Flavius Theodosius II (401–50 CE) and encapsulated all Roman laws since the time of Constantine the Great (c. 272–337 CE). Mather's third-hand reference is to *Codicis Theodosiani Libri XVI* [1586]), lib. 16, tit. 8, lex xviii [sic], p. 511. Titled "De Iudæis cælicolis & Samaritanis," the Roman emperor decreed, "Cælicolarum nomen inauditum quodammodo novum crimen superstitionis vindicavit. Hij nisi intra anni terminos ad Dei cultum venerationemque

to *Strabo*, the Jewes had that Name, in the Time of *Augustus*:²¹ Nevertheless, you know also, the Scoff of *Juvenal* upon them,

*Nil præter Nubes, et Cæli Numen adorant.*²²

Now it cannot bee imagined, that their Looking towards *Heaven* in their *true* Devotions, or their Minding the *Host of Heaven*, in their *false* Ones, would have been derided, by the Pagans, who did so themselves.²³

Learned Mr. *Selden*, thinks, that whereas the Jewes did sometimes call God Himself, by the Name of *Shamajim*, or, *The Heavens*, the Gentiles, by a Mistake, inferr'd, that they made the *Heavens* themselves to bee a Deitie. But, there being but one Place in the Bible [Dan. 4.26.] where that Name is thus used, one can hardly admitt this Conjecture.²⁴

Wherefore, I rather concurr, with my Judicious *Edwards*, in conceiving, that the chief Raillerie, in the Satyr, lay in, *The Clouds*; and, *The Heavens*, are only mentioned by the By, as the Place of them. Which invites us now to call unto Mind, That the Lord led the *Israelites* thro' the Wilderness, with a *Cloud* that went before them; to this *Cloud* they look'd continually, for their Conduct; this *Cloud* was an Object of much Reverence among them. The Report hereof

Christianam conversi fuerint, his legibus, quibus præcipimus hæreticos adstringi, se quoque noverint adtinendos"; or in our own vernacular, "The name of Caelicolists, hitherto unheard of, shall vindicate to itself a new crime; that is, the name itself shall be a crime. Unless such persons return to the worship of God and the veneration of Christianity within the limits of one year, they shall know that they also will be held subject to those laws by which We have commanded heretics to be restrained" (*Theodosian Code* 16.8.29, p. 469). Theodosius II called this new sect of gentile and Jewish Christians "Caelicolarum nomen inauditum," worshippers of heaven whose name is unheard of and who allegedly engage in unheard-of superstitions. St. Augustine also mentions them in his Epistle 44 (398 CE) to "Eleusius, Glorius, and the two Felixes," in which Augustine warns against the heresy of the "Coelicolae," who "introduced a new baptism among them, and had by this impiety led many astray" (Letter XLIV, ch. 7, §13), in *NPNFi* (1:289). Roman emperor of the East Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus, aka. Justinian (c. 482–565 CE), collected, updated, and streamlined the Theodosian Code (containing nearly 2,500 imperial laws), which Theodosius II had gathered in his *Codex Theodosianus* (438 CE) as a means to supplementing the older *Codex Gregorianus* and *Codex Hermogenianus*. In updating the Theodosian Code, Justinian "tried to restate the whole of Roman law in a manageable and consistent form" in a single, unified volume (*OCD*). For a lengthy discussion of these "worshippers of heaven," see the public debate between professors of theology Johannes Andreas Schmidt and Johannes Christianus Busmannus at the venerable University of Helmstedt (Germany), published as *Historiam Coelicolarum ad Tit. Codicis de Iudæis & Coelicolis* (1704).

21 Strabo (*Geographia* 16.2.35–36, 46).

22 The Roman satirist Juvenal (*Satyra* 14.97) scoffs at those who "worship nothing but the clouds, and the divinity of the heavens."

23 The above and following paragraphs are extracted from John Edwards, *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection* (1693), vol. 1, ch. 4, pp. 154–57. Among Edwards's own sources here is John Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagma II* (1617), synt. 2, cap. 16, pp. 277–78.

24 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:155) and Selden, *De Diis Syris* (277)

must needs bee famous among the Gentiles; who thereupon took it for granted, that the *Israelites* were *Cloud-Worshippers*.²⁵

And whereas there was *Fire* as well as *Cloud*, which now went before the *Israelites*, it makes us to suspect, that the true Reading of the Poet, should bee that which *Farnaby* & others, tell us, that some Copies have,

Nil præter Nubes, et Cæli Lumen adorant.²⁶

The *Cæli Lumen*, was the *Fire*, which led them, in the Night. [Compare Psal. 74.14. and Exod. 13.21.]²⁷

But that we may make a further Visit unto *Pagan* Antiquity, on this Occasion, we will quote a Passage from *Christian* Antiquity. Tis from *Clemens* of *Alexandria*; who saies, [L. I. Stromat.] It need not seem incredible, that the Jewes were thus led by a *Pillar of Fire*, when the Greeks consider, that they beleieve *Thrasybulus* was thus directed, πυρ εαράτο προηγούμενον.²⁸ A *Fire* went before him, and conducted him in a Dark Winternight, thro' unknown Wayes, when he brought back the *Athenian* Exiles to their Countrey; tho' that of *Thrasybulus* (if it were true) were but of a short Appearance; As was also the *Light*, which they say, shone from Heaven, to bring *Timoleon* unto his Port, when he sailed into *Italy*: whereas this led *Israel* forty Years together.²⁹

25 Via Edwards (1:156) Mather targets Aristophanes's comedy *The Clouds* (c. 423 BCE) in which the Athenian Old Comedy playwright (c. 446–c. 386 BCE) pokes fun at grumpy Socrates, head in the clouds, and stumbling over the rock at his feet in his famous "Think-ery" (ODCL).

26 Mather refers to the distinguished English classical scholar Thomas Farnaby (c. 1575–1647), whose popular edition of the satires of Juvenal and Persius first appeared in 1612 and was reprinted many times throughout the seventeenth century. Quoted at second hand from Edwards (*Discourse* 1:157), Mather's citation is adapted from Farnaby's edition *Iunii Iuvenalis et Auli Persii Flacci Satyræ: Cum Annotationibus ad marginem* (1612), p. 117 (Satyra XIII [sic], line 98). Farnaby's edition has "*Nil præter nubes, & cæli [lumen] numen adorant*" ("worship nothing but the clouds, and the [celestial light] divinity of the heavens"), but his marginal note 62 refers to "*numen*" and points out that "*Alii Lumen legunt*" ("others read *Light*"), i. e., "celestial light," and thus (arguably) alludes to God's pillar of clouds that showed the way at night.

27 Edwards (1:157) and Selden (*De Diis Syris* 277–78).

28 The third-hand quotation from Clemens Alexandrini (*Stromata* 1.24.163.2, line 2) reads in our modern edition "πῦρ ἑωράτο προηγούμενον" or "a fire appeared leading the way" (*The Stromata* 1.24), in *ANF* (2:337). Like Clemens, Mather tries to render credible the miraculous pillars of cloud that guided the Israelites through the trackless Sinai desert, by demonstrating that a similar pillar of fire led the "brave-willed" Athenian general Thrasybulus (d. 388 BCE) and the Phylitian exiles through a trackless region near Munychia. The English Deist John Toland was anything but partial to miracles and demythologized the whole matter, in his *Hodegus. Or, the Pillar of Cloud* (1720), arguing that this pillar was nothing but a pan of burning bitumen carried by soldiers to light the way. See *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1722) 2:166–79 for a detailed defense of this Mosaic miracle.

29 Simon Patrick on Exod. 13:22 (*Commentary* 242). Patrick's own primary source is Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, § 14, pp. 205–06. If Plutarch's *Life of Timoleon* is an indication of how commonplace such "miraculous" phenomena were in ancient

Clemens thinks, This Pillar signified, the το ἀνεικονιστον του Θεου. That *no Image could be made like unto God*.³⁰

Huetius thinks, That from this *Pillar*, which had Two Appearances, the *Two Pillars* were erected unto *Hercules*, in his Temple at *Tyre*; and Two likewise were sett up in the Temple of the *Sun*, in *Egypt*.³¹

1069.

Q. How long did the *Cloudy Pillar* continue unto *Israel*?

A. Until the Death of *Moses*: (except, when it was a while withdrawn, upon the Provocation of the *Golden Calf*). At the Death of *Moses*, it seems to have left them: for when they were to march thro' *Jordan*, the *Ark* led the Way; which, it never did as long as the *Cloudy Pillar* continued, but it went in the Heart of the Army.³²

But as there was a Departure of the *Cloud* at the Death of *Moses*, thus when the Great *Prophet*, who was the Antitype of *Moses* appeared, the *Cloud* again appeared. Luk. 9.34.

warfare, then the Greek general Timoleon of Corinth (c. 411–337 BCE) was also guided by the miraculous light of the goddess Persephone, who piloted the Corinthian ships across the Mediterranean to Italy (*Plutarchi vitae parallelae: Timoleon* 8.4–8), in *Plutarch's Lives* (6:279).

³⁰ Patrick (242), via Huet (*Alnetanae Quaestiones* 205), cites a phrase from Clemens Alexandrini (*Stromata* 1.24.163.6, lines 1), which reads in our modern edition “τὸ ἀνεικόνιστον τοῦ θεοῦ” or that “God cannot be portrayed” or “represented” (*Stromata* 1.24), in *ANF* (2:337).

³¹ Patrick (242) and Huet (*Alnetanae Quaestiones* 205–06). According to Strabo (*Geographia* 3.5.5), the Pillars of Hercules in his temple at the Tyrean city of Gades (probably modern Cadiz, Spain), were “bronze pillars of eight cubits” in height and guarded the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea. Mather may see their likeness in the twin pylons (or obelisks) often found at the entrance to Egyptian temples dedicated to Ra, the god of the sun, at Heliopolis (Herodotus 2.7). To Mather and his peers, the Pillars of Hercules or of Ra were little more than pagan imitations of the Mosaic pillars of cloud, which King Solomon commemorated in the twin pillars of Jachin and Boas in the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Chron. 3:15; 1 Kings 7:19, 21). Christologically interpreted, the twin pillars signify to Samuel Mather God’s “Will and Love” (Heb. 10:23) and Christ’s “Almighty Power,” for “Our Faith stands upon these two Pillars; these two do support the Church, and the Churches Faith,” in *Figures or Types* (1705), p. 363; see also p. 388.

³² Neh. 9:12–21; Deut. 31:14–15; Josh. 3:11.

[▽ Insert 23r–23v]

[▽ 23r–23v]

Q. *Pihahiroth?* v. 2.

A. *Pi* signifies, *A Mouth*. Some are of the Opinion, That by these Two Words, *Pi-bahiroth*, is to be understood a *Mouth*, or narrow Passage, between two Mountains called, *Chiroth*, or as the LXX has it, *Eiroth*; and lying not far from the Bottom of the Western Coast of the *Red-Sea*.²

Q. *They Encamp over against Baal-zephon?* v. 2.

A. *Baal-zephon* was the Name of a Town, or City; as *Ezekiel* the *Tragedian* expressly calls it.³ *Baal* was the Name of a City. [1. Chron. 4.33.] And it is likely, there being more of the same Name, this was called *Zephon*, to distinguish it, from some other *Baal* in those Parts; either because it lay *North*; or had an eminent *Watchtower* in it.

There are those, who following the Jewish Doctors, imagine there was an Image of *Baal*, sett up by the Magicians of *Egypt*, by *Pharaohs* Order, near this *Arabian Gulf*, to hinder the *Israelites* in their Passage.⁴ *Varenius* does not altogether disallow it; For he takes *Baal zephon* to have been a great Plain, into which they were to enter, by the Chops of *Pihahiroth*; where an Idol was worshipped, which looking from the *Red-Sea*, toward the North, was called, *The Lord of the North*, as *Baal zephon* imports.⁵ *Kircher* seriously maintains, it had a Power

1 See Appendix B.

2 A close paraphrase of Dr. Edward Wells, *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711), ch. 2, sec. 1 (2:83, 84). Much the same is found in Simon Patrick (*Exodus* 243) and Ainsworth (*Annotations* [1627], pp. 50–51, sec. ser. of pag.) on this verse. Rashi believes that [Pi Hachiros] is *Pisom*, but was now called *Pi Hachiros*, because there they became free men”; פִּי הַחִירוֹת signifying *freedom* (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 2:159); Abarbanel believes that *Pi-hahiroth* פִּי הַחִירוֹת refers to “the mouth of Suez” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:193a); tractate Beshallah (ch. 2), in *Mekhilta De Rabbi Ishmael* (1:127) adds several additional interpretations. Mather’s phonetic spelling “*Chiroth*” is generally transliterated as “*Hiroth*.” See also Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:377) and *Works* (4:275–76).

3 In his tragedy *The Exodus*, the Jewish tragedian Ezekiel of Alexandria calls the city near the sea “*Baal-zephon*,” extant in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.29.444d).

4 According to the Targums Jonathan ben Uzziel and Hierosolymitanum (*Exod.* 14:2), in Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:117), “*Baal-zephon*” was an Egyptian idol. Rashi agrees in his *Commentarius Hebraicus* (1710), p. 490, arguing that it was the only Egyptian idol left “in order to mislead them – so that they [i.e., Egyptians] might say that their god was [too] difficult [to defeat]” and thus give chase to the Israelites (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 2:159). Ibn Ezra does not stand on the sideline but explains that “some say that the Egyptian magicians made bronze images which drew power from the stars, and that *Baal-zephon* was a statue that no slave fleeing Egypt was able to pass by” (*Commentary: Exodus* 273–74).

5 Mather, via Patrick (244), refers to Augustus Varenius (1620–84), German Lutheran professor of Hebrew and theology at the University of Rostock (*ADB*). Varenius’s geographical

of Fascination, to stop the *Israelites* in their Journey. But there is no Cause to beleve this. For such Images made under this and that Constellation for such Purposes, were not now in Use. There is Reason to think, That *Apollonius Tyanaeus* was the First Inventor of them.⁶

It is the Opinion of many learned Men, That *Baal-zephon* (which signifies, *God Watching*) was the Name of an *Idol*, on which they depended, for his keeping the Borders of the Countrey, & hindring Slaves from running away, & making their Escape out of it. Perhaps the Idol had its Temple on the Top of an adjacent Mountain. But the Sacred Historian shows how unable he was to hinder the *Israelites* from going out of *Egypt*.⁷

Q. *It was told the King of Egypt, that the People fled.* Who told him? v. 5.

A. Some of the *Mixed Multitude* that went along with them, seeing this strange Turn, it is likely forsook the *Israelites*, & returned unto *Pharaoh*, to inform him, that they had lost their Way; and were shifting for themselves, by Flight into dangerous Places.

[23v] Or, as it is commonly Interpreted, some *Spies*, which *Pharaoh* had upon them, seeing them leave the Way to *Horeb*, whither | they desired to go Three Dayes Journey to offer Sacrifice, concluded, they never intended to Return to *Egypt*, but would run quite away from them.⁸

reading of Baal-zephon appears in his huge *Decades Mosaicae: In duos priores Libros Pentateuchi & Exodum* (1659), on Exod. 14:2. See also *BA* (1:702, 704).

⁶ Mather's source is Simon Patrick on Exod. 14:2 (*Exodus* 244); Patrick's own is John Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagma II* (1617), synt. 1, cap. 3, pp. 43–45. Devoted to deciphering the Egyptian hieroglyphs more than a century and a half before the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, the German Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1601–80), professor of mathematics and Oriental languages at the Collegium Romanum, published his colossal *Œdipus Ægyptiacus. Hoc est Universalis Hieroglyphicae* (1652–54). Mather's second-hand reference is to Kircher's discussion in *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (tom. 1, synt. 4, cap. 7: "Beelsephon," pp. 277–82). Significantly, Kircher is not as credulous as Mather (or Patrick for that matter) makes him out to be, for when Kircher mentions the idol's hypnotical power which prevents runaways from crossing the Red Sea, Kircher actually cites the Hebrew gloss of Ibn Ezra (see my note above) and records in the margin, "Beelzephon idolum averruncum sine Telesma magicum" (278), or "[Grant] Beelzephon, the averting idol, magical payment." Be that as it may, the Neopythagorean Apollonius Tyanaeus (fl. 1st c. CE) is described as a veritable magician and miracle worker in Philostratus's semifiictional *Life of Apollonius*. Apollonius even raised a young woman from the dead (4.45). Mather may have in mind the magical life-like statue of Memnon (6.4), which Apollonius visited. All of that might be pardonable had not Hierocles, one of his admirers, favorably compared Apollonius to Jesus of Nazareth – so John Lemprière (c. 1765–1824), in his immortal *Classical Dictionary* (1788).

⁷ Extracted from Edward Wells, *Historical Geography* (1711) 2:84–85. See also James Saurin, "Diss. XLIX," *Dissertations* (1723) 1:401.

⁸ Patrick on Exod. 14:5 (*Commentary* 246). See also Edward Wells conjectures that the particle "*zephon*" of *Baal-zephon* "is thought to derive from the *Hebrew* Radix *Zaphab*, signifying to *Watch*, *Spy*, and the like" (*Historical Geography* 2:85). Nicholas de Lyra (on Exod. 14:5) also mentions that scouting spies had informed Pharaoh of the Israelites' flight (*Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* [1492], vol. 1, n.p. (note g). Rashi argues affirmatively that Pharaoh had "officials"

Q. What was the Number of the *Egyptians* in the Pursuit of the *Israelites*? v. 7.
A. We read, *Pharaoh took six hundred Chosen Chariots*; the Best Chariots in *Egypt*, which were alwayes ready prepared for such Expeditions. *And all the Chariots of Egypt*; that could be gott ready on a Sudden; for he had not time to muster all his Force. He pursued them with *Chariots* and *Horsemen*, who could make larger Marches, than the *Israelites* on foot. The Strength of the Kingdome also consisted much in *Chariots*, which carried Men in them, who fought out of them. Every body knowes that *Egypt* abounded with *Horses*.⁹

We read, *There were Captains over every one of them*. It seems, to every *Chariot* there belonged a *Troop* of *Horsemen*, (we know not of what Number,) who were commanded by a Captain. The Hebrewes tell us, There were *Fifty Thousand* Horsemen; The Arabians make them as many more.¹⁰
 [△ Insert 23r–23v ends]

[△]

[21r cont.]

797.¹¹

Q. Is there no Remarkable, and Unrecited Peece of *History*, to bee gathered from the Words of *Moses*, unto the Distressed *Israelites* at *Pihahiroth*? v. 13, 14.¹²

A. The Jewes have a Tradition, that when the People were in this Distress, they were divided into *four Opinions*.

1. The Opinion of some was, To Run into the *Sea*. In Opposition hereunto, saies, *Moses*, Stand Still.

2. The Opinion of some was, To Return back for *Egypt*. In Opposition hereunto, saies *Moses*, *The Egyptians, Yee shall see them again, no more forever*.

3. The Opinion of some was, To Fight the *Enemy*. In Opposition hereunto, saies *Moses*, *The Lord shall fight for you*.

4. Lastly, T'was the Opinion of some, that by Loud Shrieks & Cries, they might confound their Adversaries. And the Words of *Moses*, in Opposition hereunto are, *Yee shall Hold your Peace*.¹³

sent along with the Israelites on their purported pilgrimage to sacrifice in the desert who then alerted the king that the Israelites “were not returning to Egypt” once the mixed multitude had “reached the point of three days [journey], which had been fixed for them to go and to return” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 2:161).

9 Patrick on *Exod.* 14:6 (*Exodus* 247).

10 Patrick (*Exodus* 247–48). The belief that “*Captains*” were placed over every chariot is first mentioned in Targum Onkelos (Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:287) and then adopted by subsequent commentators (Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:377–78, and *Works* 4:278). According to Josephus Flavius the pursuing Egyptians numbered “six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen, all armed” (*Antiquities* 2.15.3).

11 See Appendix B.

12 Mather’s “Note Book of Authors” lists “Blady’s Sermons. Vol. 2” as his purported source for *Exod.* 14:13. Both author and sermon volumes remain unidentified.

13 Mather here excerpts a passage from the tractate Beshallah (ch. 3), in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (1:142–43). A third-century CE exegetical compendium on Exodus redacted by

Q. What shall be thought of the Account given by *Josephus*, concerning the Passage of the *Israelites* thro' the *Red Sea*? v. 14.¹⁴

A. His Words are; "No body ought to look on it as an impossible thing, that Men who lived an innocent & simple Life in those First Times, should have found a Passage thro' the Sea, to make their Escape, whether it opened of itself, or whether it was by the Will of God: since the same Thing happened a long time after to the *Macedonians*, when they went thro' the Sea of *Pamphylia*, under the Conduct of *Alexander*; God being willing to make Use of that Nation to destroy the *Persian* Empire: as it is reported by all the Historians, who wrote the Life of that Prince. However, I leave to every Body, the Liberty of Judging of it, as he thinks fitt."¹⁵

Yes, And we will take the Liberty also to Judge of what you have written, Syr, as we think fitt. For my own Part, I *Judge* that this is a scandalous Passage, & chargeable with no little Folly and Falsehood. First, It is untrue, that *all the Historians, who wrote the Life of that Prince*, have mention'd the Passage of *Alexander* thro' the Streights of *Pamphylia* near *Phaselis*, as having any thing of

R. Ishmael, the *Mekhilta* (also *Mechilta*) is generally quoted by all the classical rabbinic commentators of the medieval period included in the Rabbinical Bible. See *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* (1:199b).

¹⁴ The ancient art of quoting at second, third, or even fourth remove is again brought to perfection in Mather's commentary on this verse. In the three following paragraphs, he draws on the celebrated *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Amsterdam, 1697, Rotterdam, 1702), by Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), French Huguenot philosopher and author of many respected works. Mather cribs his material and secondary sources from Bayle's article on the ancient Lycian city "Phaselis," which appeared in the four-volume English translation *An Historical and Critical Dictionary. By Monsieur Pierre Bayle* (1710) 4:2586–88. Thankfully, Bayle acknowledges his excerpted and translated sources in his margins – which intellectual honesty allows us to identify his original sources with a measure of accuracy.

¹⁵ To help his Greco-Roman audience appreciate the story of the Mosaic Lawgiver, Josephus Flavius compares Moses' miraculous passage through the Red Sea with that of Alexander the Great's at the Straits of Pamphylia (334 BCE) in his Parthian campaign. Such a legerdemain comparison, while more agreeable to Josephus's skeptical target audience, proved to be highly offensive to all people of faith, as Mather's subsequent comments clearly demonstrate. In their turn, the faithful would point to Diodorus Siculus (3.40.9), who recorded that the Ichthyophagi on the shores of the Red Sea tell an ancient story of a Tsunami "that once, when there was a great receding of the sea, the entire area of the gulf ... became land, and that, after the sea had receded to the opposite parts and the solid ground in the depths of it had emerged to view, a mighty flood came back upon it again and returned the body of water to its former place." But to return to Mather's excerpt. The English translation of Mather's citation from the Greek original of Josephus Flavius' *Antiquities* (2.347–48) is based on the French translation of Josephus's works, *Histoire de Fl. Joseph. Sacrificateur Hebrieu, mise en Francois Reveuë sur le Grec* (Paris, 1604), fol. 53, by Gilbert G  nebrard (1535–97), French Benedictine scholar and professor of Hebrew at the Coll  ge Royal. Here, I relied on the 1609 Paris edition (livre II, ch. vii, pp. 71–72) of G  nebrard's translation, which corresponds to Josephus, *Antiquities* (2.16.5), in Whiston's standard translation used throughout my edition. Except for some minor differences in punctuation and spelling, Mather's English translation of Josephus is identical with that in Bayle's *Historical Dictionary* (1710) 4:2586 D (note   ).

Miracle in it.¹⁶ *Plutarch* the greatest of them all, clearly shewes, that there was nothing miraculous on that Occasion. Had there been any such thing, it can by no Man living be imagined, but *Alexander* himself, would have mention'd it, in his Letters about the March of his Army, which we have in our Hands, and have boasted of his being a Favorite of Heaven.¹⁷ Consult our *Strabo*, & you will soon have a just Notion of the whole Matter. *Strabo* saies, that Mount *Climax* lies near the Sea of *Pamphylia*, so near, that it is only sever'd from it by a Narrow Way, which one may go afoot, when the Sea is calm; tho' it be covered with Water, when that Sea is rough. *Alexander* ordered his Army, to go thro' that Place, without waiting for the Time of the Year, when the Waters go off; & the Souldiers went over, when the Waters were up to their Bellies. Here was all the Wonder!¹⁸

Josephus discovers his great Want of Judgment, in making such a Complement¹⁹ unto his *Greek* Philosophers as he has done, in this Part of his History. *Le Tellier* does well to say, *Imperitè, ne dicam Impie, fecisse Josephus videatur*. Tis easy to see most Capital Differences, between the affair of *Moses* and of *Alexander*. He must be stark blind who sees them not. *Joachim Vadianus* in his Commentary on *Pomponius Mela*, was inexcusably wicked, for saying, *Moses* waited for the Time, when the Red-Sea, was to retire into the Ocean, & leave the Bottom dry. Tis well-known, its Channel is never dry!²⁰

16 Extracted from Bayle (*Historical Dictionary* 4:2586).

17 Bayle (*Historical Dictionary* 4:2586) cites an undetermined Latin translation of *Plutarchi vitae parallelae: Alexander* (17.4–8) – one of several handfals that appeared throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – but Mather extracts his critique from Bayle's contextual explanation why no miracle was involved in Alexander the Great's wading through the Straits of Pamphylia.

18 Mather cites Bayle's dismissive comment (4:2587) on Alexander's "miraculous" fording of the Pamphylian Straits which, according to Strabo (*Geographia* 14.3.9. lines 6–18), can be waded through near Mt. Climax with little or no trouble at all.

19 I.e., Compliment.

20 Via Bayle (4:2587), Mather extracts the Latin notation of the Jesuit scholar Michael Le Tellier (1643–1719), rector of the College of Louis Le Grand and subsequently Confessor of Louis XIV, from Le Tellier's annotated edition of *Q. Curtii Rufi De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni Cum Supplementis Freinshemii. Interpretatione et Notis Illustravit Michael Le Tellier* (1678), lib. 5, sec. 12, p. 193 (note 4). The Latin passage reads in my free translation, "Ignorant, truly wicked, of Josephus to make that comparison." Moreover, via Bayle's citation of Gèneberrard's marginalia in *Histoire de Fl. Josephhe* (livre II, ch. vii, p. 71, note *a*), Mather also censures the Swiss humanist Joachim Vadianus, aka. Joachim von Watt (1484–1551), sometime dean of the University of Vienna, doctor of medicine, friend of the Reformer Huldreich Zwingli, and finally, one of the leading proponents of the Protestant Reformation in Switzerland. Vadianus's unpardonable offense was to argue that sly Moses knew the ebb and tide of the Red Sea and had the Israelites ford the shallow waters (without a miracle) at low tide. First published in Vienna (1518), the offending passage appears in Joachim Vadianus's commentary on Pomponius Mela's description of "Pamphylia," in *Pomponii Melae De Orbis Situ Libri Tres, accuratissime emendati, una cum commentariis Joachimi Vadiani Helvetii Castigatioribus* (1540), p. 65 (note *b*). Mela and his erstwhile skeptical annotators were not the only ones who spurned wondrous explanations. For even the Hellenist historian Artapanus of Alexandria (fl. 3rd–2nd c. BCE) more than hinted in an extant fragment of his *Concerning the Jews* that "the people of Memphis [Egypt] say, that

484.

Q. Was there any Remarkable Circumstance & Accident, that might contribute, unto the Dividing of the *Red-Sea*, by *Moses* not mentioned? v. 21.

A. I suspect there *was*; and this the most Agreeable thing in the World. An *Angel* of God, was now notably exhibiting himself in the Camp of *Israel*; and an *Earth-quake* is no unusual Symptom to accompany the Descent of an *Angel*. An *Earth-quake* will quickly make *Dry-Land* appear, where the *Water* ha's been deep for Ages; now, tho' *Moses* do's not mention an *Earth quake* at this Time in *Exodus*, yett hee may do it elsewhere; and I'l tell you where. – Tis in Psal. 77.18, 19, 20. *The Earth Trembled and Shook; Thy Way is in the Sea, and thy Path in the great Waters, and thy Footsteps are not known; Thou Leddest thy People, like a Flock, by the Hand of Moses and Aaron.* —²¹

However, we are sure, the *Shechinah* was present; and the Divine Majesty employ'd His Angels in this Work. Thus you have it well express'd in *Pirke Elieser*; *The Holy Blessed God appeared in His Glory upon the Sea, and it fled back.* Yea, thus the Psalmist; *The Waters saw thee, O God, the Waters saw thee, they were afraid.*²²

[21v]

277.

Q. The Passage of *Israel*, was it overthwart the Red-Sea? If so, How many Miles was it? v. 22.

Moses being acquainted with the country waited for the ebb, and took the people across the sea when dry" (Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.27.436b). Heterodox notations such as these may have tempted the contentious Jean LeClerc into making the same claim in his *Twelve Dissertations out of Monsieur Le Clerc's Genesis* (London, 1696), "Dissertation XIII," p. 321. See also my introduction to *BA* (1:107) and M.J. Hollerich, "Moses and Constantine in Eusebius" (esp. pp. 82–85).

²¹ According to פירקי רבי אליעזר [*Pirke de Rabbi Elieser*] *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. XLII, pp. 111, God sent the Archangel Michael as "a wall of fire between Israel and the Egyptians" (*Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* [2004], p. 329.) Angelic intervention is also asserted by the eminent Swiss Christian Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf, the younger (1599–1664), in his *Exercitationes ad Historiam, I. Arcae Foederis* (1659), cap. 14, pp. 131–36. Artapanus speaks of earthquakes at the time of the Mosaic exodus, in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.27.436a).

²² Extracted from Simon Patrick on Exod. 14:19, 21 (*Exodus* 254, 256), who quotes פירקי רבי אליעזר [*Pirke de Rabbi Elieser*] *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. XLII, p. 112. The passage is well-worth quoting at length, for it magnifies God's omnipotence in the face of nature's resisting Moses' endeavor to divide the waters: "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea . . . but the sea refused to be divided." Hence, God "looked at the sea, and the waters saw the face of the Holy One, blessed be He, and they trembled and quaked, and descended into the depths, as it is said, 'The Waters saw thee, O God; the waters saw thee, they were afraid: the depths also trembled' (Ps. lxxvii.16)," in *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* [2004], pp. 329–30. The post-Reformation divines François Vatable (d. 1547) and Giovanni Stefano Menocho (1575–1655), too, assert angelic intervention in the matter, in Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:379) and *Works* (4:284).

A. The People went into the Sea, by *Megdol*, and came out again, on the other Side, in the Wilderness of *Shur*: Now according to *Thevenot*, it is but Eight or Nine Miles over, in any Place whereabout they went over. They could not come out again, on the same Side they went in, because the Tide was turned upon the *Egyptians*, which were behind; so that the Sea must have been Twice divided for them, to have come out again on the same Side.²³

Q. The Time? v. 22.

A. Our *Mede* says, It was the *Sabbath-day*. *Justin*, [L. XXXVI. c. 2.] And also, *Tacitus*, [L. V.] do seem to be of the same Opinion.²⁴

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. Some Remarks on the Ancient *Chariots*? v. 25.

A. If we may allow *Homer* for a competent Interpreter, we will a little consider, how his *Iliad* represents the *Chariots* of Antiquity.

There we find, The *Chariots* must be very low Things. We frequently see a Person who stands erect on a *Chariot* killed, (and sometimes by a Stroke on the

²³ For “*Megdol*,” see Edward Wells, *Historical Geography* (1711), vol. 2, ch. 2, sec. 1, p. 84. In his notable *Relation d’un Voyage fait au Levant* (Paris, 1665), partie 2, ch. 25, p. 315; ch. 33, p. 334, the French aristocrat and botanist Jean de Thévenot (1633–67) relates that the wilderness place called “*Shur*” in biblical times (Exod. 15:22) “is at present called *Corondel*” and that the distance between the eastern and western shore of the northern gulph of the Red Sea was nowhere “above eight or nine Miles over. This Sea ebbs and flows like the Ocean,” in Thévenot’s *Travels* (1687), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 25, p. 165, and ch. 33, p. 175. Extracted from Thévenot (*Travels* 175), much the same is given in Wells, *Historical Geography* (2:95, 97–98).

²⁴ Mather refers to Joseph Mede’s “Discourse XV,” on Ezek. 20:20, in *Works* (1664), bk. 1, p. 74. The eminent Mede tries to resolve the conflicting rationale for observing the Sabbath. For in the first version of the Decalogue (Exod. 20:11), God commands the Israelites to keep the Sabbath holy, “For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.” However, in the second version of the Fourth Commandment, (Deut. 5:15), God mandates to sanctify the Sabbath for seemingly different reasons: “And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.” Mede confesses that Scripture is silent on this issue, except that “The example of the Creation [Exod. 20:11] is brought for the *quatum*, one day of seven . . . and not for the *designation* of any day for that seventh. Nevertheless, it might fall out so, by disposition of Divine Providence, that the Jews designed [that the] Seventh day was both the seventh in order from the Creation, and also the day of their deliverance out of *Egypt*. But the Scripture no where tells us it was so, (however most men take it for granted) and therefore it may as well be not so” (*Works* [1664], p. 75). Likewise, Marcus Junianus Justinus relates in his *Epitomen Redacti* (36.2.14) that “from a seven days’ fast in the deserts of Arabia, he [Moses] consecrated the seventh day (according to the present custom of the nation) for a fast-day, and to be perpetually called a Sabbath, because that day had ended at once their hunger and their wanderings” (*Epitome of the Philippic History* (245). Finally, Tacitus (*Historiae* 5.3, 4) informs his readers that the Jews set aside the seventh day to rest from their labors because after a six-day journey, they took possession of their new country from which they evicted its inhabitants.

Head,) by a Foot-Souldier with a Sword. How readily do they light or mount on any Occasion? To facilitate which, the *Chariot* was made open behind. The *Wheels* were but small; This we learn, from a Custome they had, of taking them off & setting them on, still as they used them. When a *Chariot* was call'd for in Haste, *Then* the *Wheels* were putt on. A modern Commentator upon *Homer*, thinks that this may illustrate what we read of the *Egyptians*, *The Lord took off their Chariot-wheels, so that they drave them heavily*. The Sides were also low; for whoever is killed in his *Chariot*, throughout the Poem, constantly falls to the Ground, as not having any thing to support him. [verso] That the whole Machin was very small and light, is evident, from a Debate held, by one whither he shall draw a *Chariot* out of the Way, or carry it on his Shoulders to a Place of Safety. On the old *Græcian* Coins, the Tops of *Chariots* reach not so high, as the Backs of the *Horses*; The *Wheels* are yett lower; And the *Hero's* who stand in them, are seen from the Knee upwards.²⁵

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

Q. How did the Lord, *thro' the Pillar of Fire & Cloud, now trouble the Host of the Egyptians?* v. 26.

A. Probably, the *Cloudy* Part of the *Shechinah*, had been towards the *Egyptians* hitherto. It now turned the other side towards them; & the fiery Part appearing, both lett 'em see the Danger, into which they had thrown themselves, and by its amazing Brightness perfectly confounded them. So *Philo* understood it.²⁶

Patrick supposes, That the Glorious Light flashing in their Faces, putt them into a Great Consternation. *Josephus* adds, That there was a dreadful Storm of *Lightning* and *Thunder* from the *Cloud*. The Psalmist saies, *The Clouds poured out Water, the Skies sent out a Sound, thine Arrowes also went abroad; The Voice of thy Thunder was in the Heaven; the Lightnings lightned the World.*²⁷

Their Chariot Wheels were taken off; Perhaps, burnt with *Lightning*, or broke with *Hailstones*.²⁸

²⁵ Mather does the English poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744) the honor of extracting the entire paragraph from “An Essay on Homer’s Battels,” in Pope’s acclaimed translation of *The Iliad of Homer* (1718) 2:9–10 (sec. ser. of pag.). The ancient Greek coins to which Mather (via Pope) refers are depicted in *De Re Nummaria Antiqua. Opera Quae Exstant Universa. Tomus Tertius* (1708), “Nomismata Insularum Graeciae,” Tabula XVII: ΔΗΛΙΩΝ, # viii, ix, and x; Tabula XVIII: ΔΗΛΙΩΝ # i, ii, and Tabula XXVI: ΚΕΡΑΥΝΙΩΝ # ix (second series of tables), by the German numismatist Hubert Goltzius (1526–83), whose several tomes on numismatics almost single-handedly reawakened interest in ancient coins.

²⁶ A close paraphrase of Simon Patrick on Exod. 14:24 (*Exodus* 260); Philo Judaeus, *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* (203) and in *Works* (42.203, p. 293). See also Mather’s gloss on Gen. 1:3 (*BA* 1:320) and Paul S. Peterson’s discussion of the *Shechinah* Glory, in “Perfection of Beauty” (383–412).

²⁷ Patrick on Exod. 14:24 (*Exodus* 260) also refers to Josephus (*Antiquities* 2.16.3). Ps. 77:17–18.

²⁸ Patrick on Exod. 14:25 (*Exodus* 260).

689.

Q. The Passage of Israel through the *Red-Sea*, into the *Desert*, are there any Footsteps of it, in *Pagan Antiquitie*? v. 31.²⁹

A. *Some*: tho' the Heathen did endeavour to mince it all they could.

Justin tells us, that the King of *Egypt* followed the Jewes, when they had left *Egypt*, but was forced back, by the Rising of a Mighty and a Sudden Tempest.³⁰

Diodorus Siculus, tells us, "There is a Report spread among the *Ichthyophagi*, a People inhabiting the Shore, near the *Arabian Gulf*, [which is by Geographers called, *The Red Sea*,] that all the Place were that Gulph is, was dried up, the Waters flying back: but after the bottom had appeared, for some time, the Place, by a Reflux of the Sea, was turned into its former Condition." [A most remarkable Testimony to *Exod.* 14.21, 27, 28. tho' the *Egyptians* were willing to conceal their Disgrace in the Matter.]³¹

The Coming forth of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, is attested, by *Berosus*, by *Strabo*, by *Numenius*, and by *Justin*; the last of whom adds, That *Moses*, who led them, *Stole* from the Natives, of that Countrey, some of their Sacred Things; which any Man may see founded, on the Sacred Story. [*Exod.* 12.25 & 31.21.] Hee also reports the Travels of the Jewes, in the *Desert* of *Arabia* & the Coming of *Moses* to Mount *Sinai*.³²

The *Sea*, there, was among the Ancient Pagans, called, *Mare Erythraea* or, the *Red-Sea*: That the Colour of that *Sea*, was *Red*, is a meer fiction & falshood, confuted by all the Travellers that ever saw it. Indeed, the *Weed* growing in it, whence the Bible calls the Sea, *Jam Suph*, that is, *Mare Algosum*,³³ or, *Mare Junci*, is a Kind of *Saffron*, whence is made a *Red Colour*, called *Sufo*, by the *Ethiopians*:

²⁹ Mather's subsequent gloss on this verse is extracted from chapter 4 of John Edwards's trusty *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection* (1693–95) 1:140–44.

³⁰ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:140); Justinus (*Epitome of the Philippic History* 36.2, p. 245).

³¹ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:140–41) cites Diodorus Siculus (30.4.9) speculates that the fish-eating "Ichthyophagi handed this Report [*Exod.* 14:32, 37] to the Historian [Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus], not the *Egyptians*; though he had a Converse with these a long time, and they had Correspondence with the *Ichthyophagi*: but the Egyptians were so cunning as to conceal their Disgrace and Misfortune: and hence it is that there is so little said among the Pagans concerning the matter" (1:141). See also Mather's gloss on *Psal.* 74:14 (*BA* 4:583–84).

³² Edwards (*Discourse* 1:144). The Babylonian historian and priest of Marduk, Berosus, aka. Berossos (fl. 4th–3rd c. BCE), acknowledges in the extant fragments of his *Babylonica* many aspects of Moses and the book of Genesis, but does not mention the Exodus saga (*Babylonica* 37–38, 47, 51, 60); Manetho (3rd c. BCE), an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, mentions in extant fragments of his *Aegyptiaca* (frag. 51, 52, 53, 54) that Moses led the Israelites in their exodus from Egypt; so does the Greek geographer Strabo (*Geographica* 16.2.35–36, 39) and the Syrian Numenius of Apamea (fl. 2nd c. CE), in *Fragmenta* (sec. 1, fragm. 9, lines 1–10), as extant in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.8.411d–412a). Justinus (*Epitome* 36.2) relates that Moses "carried off by stealth the sacred utensils of the Egyptians" (245).

³³ "Mare Algosum" (*Exod.* 13:18) is the designation used by Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, in their Latin translation of the canonical books of the OT, *Testamenti Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri Canonici* (1593), p. 68.

But still, the *Sea* it self was never *Dyed* with it. Why then do the LXX style it, Ερυθρα θαλασσα; Briefly, it had a Reference to one that was Ερυθρος; and this was no other than *Esau*, who was also called, *Edom*; [Gen. 36.1.] and *Edom* in the Hebrew, is the same with Ερυθρος in the Greek.³⁴ *Philostratus* accordingly tells us, that *Mare Erythræum* was called so, from *Erythras*;³⁵ and *Strabo*, & *Curtius*, with other Historians, mention *Erythræus* as a King of the Coast thereabout.³⁶ *Esau* was called *Edom*, as from the *Ruddy Colour* which hee had at his Birth, so from the *Ruddy Pottage* for which hee parted with his Birthright: and hee became Owner of the Countrey that lay hereabout. [Num. 21.4.] so that the *Red-Sea*, is as much as to say, *The Sea of Edom*, who was thus commemorated among the Pagans.³⁷

The Sea was called *Jam-Suph*, because of the Abundance of *Sea-weed* growing in it. The Egyptian *Ichthyophagi*, who lived near it, made their Hutts, with Fishes Ribs which they covered with *Sea-weed*.³⁸ Nay, in those Parts, there is great Quantity of *Sea-weed*, heap'd up together like a Mountain, which in Process of Time is become so hard, that these People dig therein Holes, or Caves, which are their Dwelling-places.³⁹

It is usual for *Seas*, to take their Names from the Countreys they ly upon; As, The *British Sea*, the *Irish Sea*, the *German Sea*, the *Spanish Sea*, & the rest.

34 With the Greek diacritics restored, the “Red Sea” would read in the nominative Ερυθρά θάλασσα, and “Red,” Ερυθρός.

35 Flavius Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 3.50) relates that even though the Red Sea “is of a deep blue color,” it is really gets its name from King Erythra.

36 Strabo confirms that the Erythrean Sea was named after “Erythras [who] reigned as king over that region” (16.3.5), but also mentions other possibilities such as a Persian herdsman “Erythras” as well as “the son of Perseus” (16.4.20), who had been a ruler in this region. Finally, the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus (fl. 1st–2nd c. CE) snickers in his *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis* (8.9.14) that “the sea by which India is washed does not differ even in color from other seas. Its name was given it from King Erythrus; for which reason the ignorant believe that its waters are red” (*Quintus Curtius* 2:307).

37 The entire paragraph is an extract from Edwards’s *Discourse* (1:141, 142, 143). It is telling that Mather chooses to ignore James Saurin’s explicit rejection of the eponymous naming of the Red Sea after Jacob’s brother Esau or after legendary King Erythrus (*Dissertations, Historical* [1723], “Diss. XLIX,” pp. 410–11). The lugubrious debate is reduced to absurdity in Adriaan Reland’s trenchant *Dissertationum Miscellanearum* (1713), “II. Dissertatio. De Mari Rubro, sive Erythraeo,” pp. 59–117.

38 Mather has in mind the “Ichthyophagi” or “Fish-eaters” in Strabo (15.2.2). See also Herodotus (3.19).

39 This paragraph and the two following are extracted from Edward Wells, *Historical Geography* (1711) vol. 2, ch. 2. sec. 2 (pp. 88–89, 90, 91, 94, 95). Artemidorus in Strabo (*Geographica* 16.4.7, line 9) also speaks of the seaweed in the water making the crossing dangerous. Diodorus Siculus (3.40.4, line 1) maintains that the seaweed in the Arabian Gulf is so thick that the color of the water seems “green.” Likewise, Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo (excerpta)*, sec. 5, lines 35–42 (see also sec. 2) contends that the waters of the Red Sea are *not* red and that the designation is really a misnomer. See also Bochart, *Geographia Sacra, seu Phaleg* (1707), pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 29, col. 283, lines 3–7.

The Countrey of *Edom* extended unto this *Weedy-Sea*; *Ezion-Geber*, which belonged unto the Kings of *Edom*, stood on the *Weedy-Sea*.⁴⁰

The *Arabians* call it, *Buhr El Calzem*, The Sea of *Clysona*. There is a Town called so; seated much about the Place where the *Israelites* pass'd the Sea. *Clysona* signifies *Drowning*; & was probably built in Memory of what befel the *Egyptians* there.⁴¹

[22r]

Q. You know what Eumings the *Socinians*, and others make, of this Passage, *They Beleeved the Lord and His Servant Moses*: As if no other *Faith* were to be exercised by us on our *JESUS*, than what the *Israelites* placed on their *Moses*? v. 31.⁴²

A. Certainly, there is a Difference, between Beleeving the *Truth* of *Moses*, as a *Prophet*, and a *Relying* on Him, that for the *Sake* & by the *Hand* of Him, we may obtain the *Eternal Redemption*.

The *Israelites* beleeved *Moses* to be a True Prophet. But was it with such a *Dependence* on him, as is to be placed on the Glorious GOD?

It is one thing, to Beleeve that a *Man speaks the Truth*: Another thing to Depend on Him as the Bestower of *Everlasting Life*.⁴³

The Church beleeves, that the Apostle *Paul* was an Apostle of our SAV-IOUR, & Faithful in the Discharge of his Apostolate; but not, that He *was crucified for us*. Are we *Baptised* in his Name? or, Do we trust in Him for Salvation?

⁴⁰ Extracted from Wells's *Historical Geography* (2:91). For a similar rationale for how place names come about, see Edwards (*Discourse* 1:43) and William Camden's *Britain, Or A Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1610), "The Name of Britaine," p. 24.

⁴¹ Extracted from Wells (*Historical Geography* 2:94, 95), whose acknowledged source is Jean de Thévenot's *Travels* (1687), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 33, p. 175.

⁴² Mather addresses the followers of the Italian theologians Lelius Socinus (1526–62) and Fausto Socinus (1539–1604) who, broadly speaking, denied Christ's divinity and rejected Trinitarianism. The reference to "Eumings" or "Cumings" remains unidentified.

⁴³ On some level, Mather may also respond to Thomas Hobbes's equivocal distinction between faith and knowledge. In *Leviathan* (1651), part 1, ch. 7, p. 31, Hobbes argues, "When a mans Discourse beginneth not at Definitions, it beginneth either at some other contemplation of his own, and then it is still called Opinion. Or it beginneth of some saying of another, of whose ability to know the truth, and of whose honesty in not deceiving, he doubteth not; and then the Discourse is not so much concerning the Thing, as the Person; and the Resolution is called BELEEF, and FAITH: *Faith*, in the man; *Beleeve*, both of the man, and of the truth of what he says. So that in Beleeve are two opinions; one of the saying of the man; the other of his vertue. To *have faith in*, or *trust to* or *beleeve a man*, signifie the same thing; namely, an opinion of the veracity of the man: But to *beleeve what is said*, signifieth onely an opinion of the truth of the saying" (48). Likewise, Hobbes insists in part 3, ch. 43, p. 323, that "the most ordinary immediate cause of our beleeve, concerning any point of Christian Faith, is, that wee believe the Bible to be the Word of God. But why wee believe the Bible to be the Word of God, is much disputed, as all questions must needs bee, that are not well stated. For they make not the question to be, *Why we Beleeve it*, but, *How wee Know it*; as if *Beleeving* and *Knowing* were all one."

[22v] As we are to trust in a *Crucified Redeemer*, in whose Name we have been *Baptised*? and in so being, have been Dedicated unto Him; and who | has therein been owned as the *True GOD*!

It is a Passage indeed, in *Tacitus's* History. L. 5. *Mosen unum exulum monuisse, ne quem Deorum Hominumve opem expectarent, ab utrisque deserti, sed sibimet ut Duci Cælesti crederent.* But the *Israelites* did not make, a *GOD of Moses*, *Tertulian* saies, [Apol. c. 15.] *Cornelius Tacitus, Mendaciorum Loquacissimus.*⁴⁴

[▽ 23v] [▽ Insert from 23v]

Q. Some Remarks on the Places near the *Red-Sea*? v. 33.⁴⁵

A. One *Pitts* of *Exeter*, in a late Relation of a Pilgrimage to *Meccha*, ha's these Instructive Passages.⁴⁶

"Tis but a few Miles after we come out of *Egypt*, before we enter into the *Wildernesses*.

"We anchored at *Toor*, or *Eltor*, a very small Town & Port; where we refreshed ourselves with Water; for every Passenger carries his own Water. We had also here plenty of *Apricots*, & other Fruit, which were brought from *Mount Sinai*, which is called, by them, *Toor-dog*, i. e. The *Law-Mountain*; because the *Moral Law* was given there.

"After we had sailed a little further, we were shewed the Place, where, they say, the Children of *Israel* passed thro' the *Red-Sea*; which they term, *Kilt El Pharown*, i. e. The *Pitt* of *Pharaoh*; meaning, where he & his Host were drowned.

"I guess, that the Breadth of the *Red-Sea* in this Place, where the *Israelites* are said to have passed through, is about Six or Seven Leagues.

"There is no safe Sailing in this Sea by Night, unless it be in one Place of about two Nights Sail, because of the Multitude of Rocks which are so thick, that we were alwayes in Sight of some or other of them, & sometimes in the

⁴⁴ The Roman historian Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.3) reports that "One of the exiles, Moses by name, warned them not to hope for help from gods or men, for they were deserted by both, but to trust to themselves, regarding as a guide sent from heaven the one whose assistance should first give them escape from their present distress." In his *Apologeticus Adversus Gentes* [PL 1.364.420.59], the Ante-Nicene Church Father Tertullian calls Tacitus the "most loquacious and lying man" (*The Apology* 16), in *ANF* (3.31).

⁴⁵ See Appendix B.

⁴⁶ Joseph Pitts (c. 1663–c. 1739) of Exeter, an English sailor, travel writer, and sometime Algerine captive who converted to Islam, participated in a Hajj to Mecca, and eventually effected his hair-raising escape back to England. He tells his story in *A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans. In which is a particular Relation of their Pilgrimage to Mecca; the Place of Mohammed's Birth* (1704). With small variations the account went through three editions (1704, 1717, 1719) during Mather's lifetime.

Midst of a great many of them, & so near as to be able to throw a Stone to them.”⁴⁷

[△ Insert 23v ends]

[△]

⁴⁷ The preceding paragraphs are extracted from Joseph Pitts, *True and Faithful Account* (1704), ch. 7, pp. 77–78.

1250.

Q. What may one observe in general, upon the Song of *Moses*? v. 1.

A. This is the First Song upon Holy Record: And it casteth a Look, not only *Backward*, on what was done in the Deliverance from *Egypt*, but also *Forward*, on what the Lord shall do for His Church in Future Ages. The Deliverance from *Egypt*, was, as our *Charnock* expresses it, but a Rough Draught of something more excellent to bee wrought towards the Closing up of the World, when the Plagues shall bee poured out upon the Antichristian Powers, which will Revive the same *Song of Moses*, in the Church, as fitted so many Ages before, for such a Scæne of affairs. Tis observed therefore, that many Words in the Song, are putt in the *Future Tense*, noting a Time to come: And the very First Word of the Song, *Then sang Moses*, is /יָשַׁר/ *shall sing*; Implying, That it was calculated for the Celebrating of some greater Action, to bee wrought in the World hereafter. Upon this Account, some of the Jewish Rabbins, even from the Consideration of this very Remark, asserted the Doctrine of the *Resurrection* to bee meant in this Place: That *Moses*, & those *Israelites*, must Rise again, to sing the same Song, for some greater Miracles that God should work, exceeding those of the Deliverance from *Egypt*.¹

¹ Stephen Charnock, "A Discourse upon the Holiness of God," in *The Works of the late Learned Divine Stephen Charnock*, 2 vols. (1684) 1:499. Mather (via Charnock) here alludes to Manasseh ben Israel's *De Resurrectione Mortuorum Libri III* (1636), lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 7 § 5, who reads the Hebrew phrase אָז יִשַׁר "Then ... sang" as an allusion to the future resurrection of the dead. Taking issue with R. Mehir's preterit reading of Exod. 15:1, Manasseh ben Israel insists that Moses "does not say he will sing, but he will sing thereafter. From this point of the law, it appears that there will be a resurrection of the dead. Take note according to the grammarians that שָׁר is past and that יִשַׁר is future. When it is proclaimed, then Moses and the children of Israel sing of what is said. This interpretation is not without a divine mystery" (p. 7). Significantly, the classic rabbinic commentators are not at all agreed upon the meaning of the future tense of this Hebrew phrase. Rashi, for one, dismisses the use of the future tense here by arguing that the Hebrew letter ך [yud], though signaling the future tense "may serve to indicate a thought" or "express and intention." However, Rashi does acknowledge that the Hebrew sages, following the Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (91b) and tractate Shirata, ch. 1 (*Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* 1:169), maintain that this future tense "is an allusion from the Torah to the resurrection of the dead" (*Mikra'oth Gedoloth: Exodus* 1:210). Ibn Ezra, not to be left out here, is more concerned with the grammatical sense, explaining that "Biblical Hebrew frequently follows the word 'then' [אָז] with the past tense expressed by a 'future' form; e.g., Deut. 4:41, Josh. 10:12, and 1 Kings 11:7. Arabic does the same. But in my opinion this is meant to be the present tense, which does not exist in Biblical Hebrew and hence is sometimes expressed by the future and sometimes by the past" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:110–11). Not easily given to eschatological flights, the famous Dutch jurist and biblical commentator Hugo Grotius embraces Ibn Ezra's opinion on the subject (*Annotations* [1679] 32).

Q. Upon the Drowning of *Pharaoh* in the *Red-Sea*? v. 1.

A. There is a Vulgar Error, that should be a little corrected.

In our popular Discourses, we sometimes very well observe, how remarkably the *Sins* of Men are suited in their *Punishments*. But among the Examples of it, we make a Remark upon *Pharaoh*. We say, *Pharaoh*, who *drowned* the little *Sons* of the *Israelites* in the River, was *himself drowned* in the Sea. This Remark should be a little corrected.

Jacob came unto *Egypt*, in the Time of *Orus*, the Son of *Osiris*, who was a Friend & Favourer of the *Israelites*; But under *Busiris*, or *Orus* the Second, they were grievously oppressed. He it was that made the Edict of Drowning the Male-Children. After this *Orus*, there succeeded his Daughter, Queen *Thermutis*, who took *Moses* out of *Nilus*, in an Ark of Reeds. There were Two Brothers of this Lady; One of whom, namely *Rathoris*, did succeed her in the Kingdome. And his Son *Cenchres* did succeed him. This was he, who did refuse to dismiss the *Israelites*, & was drowned in the Red Sea. However, we may say, That the Offence of *Orus* & his People, was very suitably punished in the Drowning of *Cenchres* & his People.²

Q. Can you find here any Prædiction, That *God* should ever become a *Man*, and the *Son* of *God*, become *Incarnate*? v. 3.

A. Yes. Tis here said, *Jehovah* is a *Man of War*. Behold /יהוה/ becoming /איש/ *Jehovah* will bee a *Man*, for the Redemption of His People.³

² Extracted from “The Second Discourse on the First Article of the Creed,” in *Theologia Reformata* (1713) 1:111–12, by the conservative English theologian and controversialist John Edwards (1637–1716), a voluminous author and Mather’s correspondent (*ODNB*). See also Jacques Saurin’s *Dissertations Historiques* (1723) 1:350, 576. The line of descent in the list of Egyptian kings is based on the extant fragments of Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca*. As is to be expected the spelling of Pharaonic names and the periods of kingly rule differ widely. William Whiston, Mather’s erstwhile friend and correspondent, offers a more elaborate, yet different genealogy of the Egyptian ruler who drowned in his pursuit of the Israelites. Whiston proposes “Harmesses Mi-Amoun” (Ramesses the Great, “ruler of ‘the Lower Egypt’”) who was “the Grandfather of Sesostris ... when Moses was born: Amenophis III. his Son was there King after him, during Moses’s Youth; and Sethos, or Sethosis, or Sesostris the Great, the Son of Amenophis III. was so during the rest of the Servitude of the Children of Israel in Egypt; and was that very Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea,” in Whiston’s *An Essay Towards the Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (1722), Appendix III, pp. cxxxix–lxii. For the drowning of the Egyptian charioteers as punishment for Pharaoh’s edict to drown all male Israelite children, see *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (ch. 42, pp. 331–32) and the apocryphal Jubilees 48:14.

³ Rashi explains that “Wherever אִישׁ [iysh] or אִישִׁי, or אִישִׁיךָ [appear] they are translated by Targum [Onkelos] as “master of.” Thus אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה [iysh milchamah] signifies “man of war” or “master over subordinates” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi*: Shemos 2:181). Mather aims at a Christological interpretation.

Q. *Chosen Captains?*] v. 4.

A. *Henricus Valesius*, whom Dr. *Patrick* honours with the Title of, *A very learned Man*; thinks, the LXX have rightly translated the Word, by, *τριστατας*: which he Translates, *Three fighting out of a Chariot*. For, *πρωτοστατης* and, *παραστατης*, are both Words belonging to the *Military Discipline*; and he takes *τριστατης*, to be of the same Kind, & rightly rendred by *Ruffinus*, *Ternos Stator-es*.⁴

Q. How is it said, *Fearful in Praises?* v. 11.⁵

A. Mr. *Pyles* proposes, That the *Abstract* is putt for the *Concrete*. q.d. *Terrible* in such Performances as He is *to be praised for*. Thus, *Laus*, among the Latins, frequently signifies, *Atchievements*. We read,

– *sunt hic etiam sua premia laudi*.⁶

[24v]

Q. How did the *Earth* swallow them? It was the *Sea*! v. 12.

A. Compare Jon. 2.6.

The *Sea*, that swallow'd up the *Egyptians*, is in the *Dep{t}hs of the Earth*.

R. *Elieser* thinks, that they being thrown upon the *Sea-shore*, the *Earth* opened her Mouth, & swallowed them up.⁷

4 Simon Patrick (*Exodus* 271) supplies Mather with the second-hand annotation of *Henricus Valesius*, aka. *Henri Valois* (1603–76), a learned French philologist and ecclesiastical historian, whose bilingual edition of Eusebius's Church History, *EYSEBII TOY ΠΑΜΦΙΛΙΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ* (1659) was well received at the time. (My references are to the new edition of this work, printed in Amsterdam 1695). Eusebius Pamphilus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (9.9.5, line 4). However, Valesius's Latin attribution of "*Ternos Statores*" or rather "*militēs ternos*" (as the emended 1695 edition reads, p. 293[C]) suggests "three soldiers [per chariot]" but does not appear in Rufinus Aquileiensis (as both Patrick and Mather claim), but in Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mainz, in his *Commentariorum in Exodum Libri Quatuor*, lib. 2, cap. 4 [PL 108. 0068D]. Be that as it may, it is Origen (*Homilies on Genesis and Exodus* 288 n), who appears to be the first to claim that *τριστατας* [tristatas] (*Exod.* 3:4, LXX) indicates that three men occupied the chariot.

5 In his "Note Book of Authors" (*Exod.* 25:11), Mather lists "Charnock, of God. – p. 493. 1. vol." as a reference about evidently decided to go a different route in the present instance. The reference is to the *Works of the late Learned Divine Stephen Charnock* (1684), 1:499, particularly Charnock's "Discourse upon the Holiness of God" (*Exod.* 15:11; in *Works* (1:499–573).

6 Extracted from Thomas Pyle's *Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes On the Books of the Old Testament* (1717), 1:85, on *Exod.* 15:11 (n). Appearing in the same footnote, the second-hand quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.461) has Aeneas bewail the ravages of Priam's war but praise the heroism of the champions: "Here, too, virtue has its due rewards."

7 Patrick (*Exodus* 273) invokes *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 39, p. 309; ch. 42, pp. 331–32. R. Eliezer's hyperbolic explication is embraced by Vatablus and Bonfrerius, but the majority of the medieval and post-Reformation divines – Menochius, Lyra, Rivet, Junius, Piscator, and Ainsworth – argues that Pharaoh's troops were "devoured by the earth," i.e., "buried in the bed [or bottom] of the sea" (Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:383, and *Works* 4:303). Much the same is given by Ramban (*Commentary: Exodus* 203–04).

Rather, after the *Israelites* had spoiled them, the *Sea*, which had cast them ashore, afterwards, as is usual, carried them off again, & buried them in the Sand or Mud.⁸

Q. *Miriam*, the *Sister of Aaron*. Why not, of *Moses*? v. 20.⁹

A. The common Answer is, *Aaron* and *she*, lived longest together: *Moses* having been absent from them XL Years. Or perhaps, *Moses* was not by the same Mother, which *Aaron* and *Miriam* had.

She was married unto *Hur*, if we may believe *Josephus*.¹⁰

Q. *Miriams* bearing a Part in the Song of *Moses*; Can you tell of any thing thereby occasioned? v. 20.

A. From *That*, (& from the Poetic Inspiration of other Women in the Sacred Scriptures) the Poets, may have taken Occasion, to Report, that *Poetry* was of a Female Extraction & that *Calliope*, one of that Sex, was the Author of their Faculty.¹¹

Huetius conjectures, That from the Dancing of *Miriam*, and her Companions, on the Sea-shore, *Callimachus* in his Hymn to *Diana*, ascribes to her, ἐξήκοντα χορηγίδας ὠκεανίνας, *Threescore Dancers, the Daughters of the Ocean*.¹²

4224.

Q. *The Lord shewed him a Tree*.] What may be the Meaning of it? v. 25.

A. The Lord shewed him the Nature and Vertue of the *Tree*; or made him understand it. And shall I now go on with what *Munster* fetches from the Book *Zeror Hammor* on this Occasion? *Sicut et postea Solomonem docuit Naturas et Proprietates omnium Herbarum, de quibus ille quoque librum scripsit; sed quia is venit in Abusum, et multi confidentiam suam magis in Herbas posuerunt quam in Deum, abstulit Ezechias Librum illum ne posteris sui peius aberrarent et in infirmitatibus, non ad Deum principaliter, sed ad Herbas recurrerent*.¹³

⁸ Drawing on tractate Shirata, ch. 9 (*Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* 1:211–12), Rashi offers the same explanation on this verse (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi*: Shemos 2:191–92).

⁹ Again, Mather identifies “Charnock. 2. vol.” as a worthy exegesis of Exod. 15:19, 20, elaborated in Charnock’s “Discourse upon the Holiness of God” (Exod. 15:11), in *Works* (1:499–573).

¹⁰ Patrick (*Exodus* 275) and Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.2.4).

¹¹ Eldest of the nine Greek muses, Calliope (muse of epic poetry) is the daughter of Zeus and Mnemosyne. In the best Euhemeristic fashion, Mather implies that Miriam’s dance to the rhythm of her timbrel is the source for similar female enchantments among pagan authors. For a useful discussion of Euhemerism, see F. E. Manuel’s *Eighteenth Century* (pp. 103–48).

¹² Patrick (*Exodus* 276–77) cites Pierre-Daniel Huet’s *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 10, § 4, p. 148) as the source of his conjecture that Miriam was the muse to Callimachus’s song *In Dianam* (hymn 3, line 13): ἐξήκοντα χορηγίδας ὠκεανίνας.

¹³ Sebastian Münster, on Exod. 15:25, in *Hebraica Biblia Latina Planeque* (1546), fol. 143, note (k), quotes from ספר צרור המור *Sefer Zeror ha-Mor* [*Zeror Hammor, sive Fasciculus Myrrhæ*], a popular midrash on the Torah (Venetiis, 1567), by the R. Abraham Saba of Castile

Probably the Waters of *Marah*, contracted their Bitterness by its Mixture with *Nitre*, with which those Parts abound. Probably *Marah* was not far from the Place where *Hagar* apprehended she should perish by Thirst. The *Israelites* ought now to have cried unto Him who releev'd *Hagar*; But, —¹⁴

Whether the Miracle consisted in Gods Revealing to *Moses* a Wood which had really the Faculty of Sweetning the Waters, (which Monsr. *Saurin* takes to be likely,) or intended only to make the People sensible, that He could work what Miracles he pleased, by what means he pleased, it is not easy to be determined.¹⁵

The *Jews* have their Fancies about this *Wood* (by them called, *Aroofne*) which are not worth reciting.¹⁶

Demetrius, an Heathen Author, quoted by *Eusebius*, relates this History with just such Particulars, & almost the same Expressions, as *Moses*.¹⁷

Tertullian will have this *Wood*, as an Emblem for our SAVIOURs *Cross*.¹⁸

(1440–1508), (*JE*): “Just as he [God] later taught Solomon the natures and properties of all herbs, so he [Solomon] also wrote a book about herbal [medicine]. Since God is no longer revered as he used to be, and as many have placed their confidence more on herbs than on God, Hezekiah took away that book lest his descendants might stray even worse and in their weaknesses might not mainly have recourse to God but to herbs.” Münster acknowledges as one of his sources ספר צרור המור *Sepher Zeror HaMor* (Tzeror HaMor), a commentary on the Torah with emphasis on mysticism, published in Venice (1567), authored by R. Abraham ben Yakkov Saba (d. c. 1508), a Sephardic Kabbalist and biblical commentator, born in Zamora, Spain.
14 Gen. 21:14. In the following paragraphs, Mather’s principal source is Jacques Saurin, “Dissertation L,” *Dissertations* (1723) 1:416–17.

15 Saurin (*Dissertations* 1:417). For much the same, see Simon Patrick on Exod. 15:25 (*Exodus* 279). Whether the miracle consisted in the transmutation of the bitter water, or in the finding of the magical piece of wood in the desert, or in the fact that a piece of *bitter* wood could render the water potable – these issue and more are also debated in Pierre-Daniel Huet’s *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, § 16, pp. 208–09 and, of course, by the classic commentators Ramban, Ibn Ezra, *Midrash Tanhuma Buber* (4.18 Exod. 15:22, Part IV), and in tractate Vayassa’ (ch. 1), in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (1:227); *JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* (2:119–20).

16 Saurin (*Dissertations* 1:417), Mather’s source, has “*Ardofne*.” The translators of both Targums Jonathan ben Uzziel and Hierosolymitanum Latine אַרְדִּיפְנִי as “*Ardiphne*,” in Walton (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 4:132). See also Simon Patrick, Exod. 15:25 (*Exodus* 279). Guestimates about the type of wood intended include the following: wood from a cedar (Kimchi), olive tree (R. Joshua), willow tree (R. Nehemiah), “the roots of a fig tree,” “the roots of a pomegranate, since there is nothing as bitter as those. But the sages say: It was ivy wood, and there is nothing as bitter as that” (*Midrash Tanhuma* [Buber] 2:89). Mather’s dismissive remark about rabbinic commentators is informed by his quest for Christological typology in the OT.

17 Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.29.445d), cites Demetrius, who relates that when Moses did not find “sweet water, but bitter, at God’s command he cast the wood of a certain tree into the fountain, and the water became sweet” (*Preparation* 1:474).

18 In *Adversus Judaeos* (cap. 13), Tertullian typologically links this mysterious piece of wood “*Ardofne*,” which sweetened the bitter waters in the desert, with the wood of Christ’s redemptive cross (*ANF* 3:169–70).

Q. Can you tell any odd Report among the Heathen, occasion'd by this Passage; *They came to Elim, where were twelve Wells of Water, and threescore & ten Palm-trees?* v. 27.¹⁹

A. 'Tis an odd Passage, in C. Tacitus; *Cum grex Asinorum agrestium è pastu, in Rupem nemore opacam concessit, sequuntur Moses, conjectura herbidi soli, largas aquarum venas aperit.*²⁰

Bochart thinks, that the Original of this Tradition, was, the finding of *Water* at *Elim*. For *Josephus* reads the Word *Elim*, (and no doubt, many others of the Ancients took it so,) as being *Ἰλιν*, *Ilin*, and having, *Asses*, in the Signification of it. For in the Syriack, *Ilin*, signifies the *Colts* of *Asses*, or of *Wild-Asses*.²¹

The *Twelve Wells* here, lead some to consider the *Twelve Apostles* of our Saviour, as well as the *Twelve Tribes of Israel*. And the *Seventy Palm-trees*, to the *Seventy Disciples*, of our Saviour, as well as the *Seventy Elders of Israel*.²²

¹⁹ According to Targums Jonathan and Hierosolymitanum (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 4:132), there were "twelve fountains of water, a fountain for each tribe; and seventy palm-trees, corresponding with the seventy elders of [the Sanhedrin] of Israel" (*The Targums* 1:497–98). Nachmanides argues that each tribe pitched their tents near one of the wells (*Commentary* 2:215–16). If the Jewish playwright Ezekiel is a reliable source, then twelve springs issued from a single rock to supply each tribe with water (Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.29.44*Gab*). The same amplification is related in tractate Vayassa' (ch. 2), in *Mikhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (1:231).

²⁰ Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.3.3) relates that the mixed multitude following Moses in the desert were near exhaustion, "when a heard of wild asses moved from their pasturage to a rock that was shaded by a grove of trees. Moses followed them, and, conjecturing the truth from the grassy ground, discovered abundant streams of water." Mather's citation is to evince that pagan historians were inspired by the Mosaic miracle in the desert. See also Adriaan Reland's explanation on *Exod.* 16:33 (below).

²¹ Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 6, cap. 5, cols. 820–21; in Josephus Flavius, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (3.9.1) and in Whiston's translation *Antiquities* (3.1.3). See also Saurin (*Dissertations* 1:417). Both Valentin Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton* (1612) and Edmund Castellus's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669) would have supplied a Latin explication of the Syriac noun to anyone without access to Bochart.

²² See Simon Patrick, on *Exod.* 15:27 (*Exodus* 282) and *Mikhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (1:231). According to Nachmanides (*Commentary* 2:216–18), who defers to Ibn Ezra and Rashi, each tribe had its own fountain of water and each of the seventy elders his shady palm-tree; and yet (objects Patrick with John Selden to back him up), it does not appear to be likely that the High Court of the Seventy Elders had been instituted at this point in time, in Selden's *De Synedriis & Praefecturis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 15, pp. 626–30.

2278.

Q. The Typical Consideration of the *Manna*, will Illustrate the *Oracles* of God? v. 14, 15.¹

A. It will so. And you shall have it.²

That the *Manna* was a *Type*, whereof our Lord *Jesus Christ* is the *Antitype*, our Lord Himself assures us. [Joh. 6.32, 51.] see 1. Cor. 10.3.

Manna was a *Portion*, præpared by God, and bestowed from Heaven, on an Unworthy and Rebellious People. The Word, *Manna*, may bee rendred, either, *What is it?* or, *Tis a Portion prepared*. It was the *Corn of Heaven*; [Psal. 78.23, 24.] a Food, without any Cares, or Pains, or Industry of their own, granted unto them; and this when they were in a very sinful Frame of Murmuring. Thus our Lord *Jesus Christ*; Hee is a *Portion* for an Hungry Soul; Hee is *prepared by God*, and Hee is *bestowed* from Heaven, even upon the Rebellious. [Psal. 68.18.]³

The *Manna* was outwardly Despicable and Contemptible, but really an Excellent Food. It was but *little* on Quantity: yett it was *Angels Food*; the Figure of it was Round; the Colour of it was White; the Tast of it, like Fresh Oyl, or Wafers baked with Honey. It sustained the whole Congregation of *Israel*; They might Eat it as they found it, or they might Grind it & Bake it. Yett the Murmurers grew weary of it, & called it, *Light Bread*. The outward Appearance of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, was in like Manner Despicable & Contemptible. [Isa. 53.3.] But really Hee is the most excellent Object. [Cant. 5.16. 1. Pet. 2.7.] The *Tast* of Him, in His Promises, & in His Appointments, is very Delightful, to those that enjoy it. [1. Pet. 2.3. Psal. 119.103.] The *Sufferings* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, were the Grinding & the Baking of the *Manna*, to bee Food for our Faith. And now Hee satisfies the Desires of no less than, the whole *Israel* of God.⁴

But the *Substance* here, as in every other *Type*, exceeds the *Shadow*. The *Manna* did but Feed the *Body*; our Lord *Jesus Christ* Feeds the *Soul*. The *Manna* did but contribute unto the *Natural* Life; our Lord *Jesus Christ* gives a *Spiritual* and *Eternal*. [Joh. 6.49, 51, 58.]

1 For an intriguing discussion of literal and allegorical readings of manna in rabbinic and Philonic literature, see M. Kister, "Allegorical Interpretations of Biblical Narratives in Rabbinic Literature, Philo, and Origen: Some Case Studies" (esp. pp. 162–72).

2 Mather's typological reading of the celestial manna is extracted from his uncle's sermon "The Gospel of Occasional Types," preached in Dublin, Ireland, on April 16, 1668, and published in Samuel Mather's *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), pp. 137–42. See also John 6:31–48.

3 Samuel Mather, *Figures* (1705), p. 137.

4 Samuel Mather, pp. 138–39. See also Soncino Zohar Shemoth (sec. 2, p. 62b) and Mather's gloss on Psal. 119:103 (*BA* 4:716–17).

The Quantity of *Manna* to bee gathered, was an *Omer*, something less than half a Peck of our Measure.⁵ Here is at least an hundred and fifty thousand Bushels of *Manna* every Night gott ready for the People. The Vessel that Receives the Lord Jesus Christ, the Heavenly *Manna*, is the Heart and Soul. Their Manner was, when they had gathered the *Manna*, to distribute unto each Person, the Quantity of an *Homer* full. [Compare, Exod. 16.18. with, 2. Cor. 8.14, 15.] There is a Sort of Equality among all Beleevers, in this Point; That all Beleevers have an æqual Portion in the Lord Jesus Christ, the true *Manna*. [Gal. 3.28, 29. 2. Pet. 1.1. Jude. 3.] *Justificatio non Suscipere magis et minus*.⁶

Where was the *Manna* to bee gotten? The *Manna* was to bee found no where, but in the Camp of *Israel*. And if wee should find the Lord Jesus Christ, the *Bread of Life*, it must bee in His Church. *Extrà ecclesiam non est salus*.⁷

The *Manna* was hidden in the *Dew*; lept up, as it were, in Two Beds of *Dew*, the one above it, the other under it. The *Word* of God is compared unto the *Dew*. [Deut. 32.2.] The Lord Jesus Christ, is to bee in His *Word* conversed withal; Hee is there, *The Hidden Manna*.⁸

They must go out of their *Tents*, to gather the *Manna*. And they that would enjoy the Lord Jesus Christ, must go out of them selves, & out of their Sins, and out of all Creatures.

When was the *Manna* to bee gotten? The *Manna* was to bee gathered *Early* in the Morning. And wee must seek after our Lord Jesus Christ *Early*, in the Morning of our Lives, with our first Endeavours. [Prov. 8.17. Math. 6.33.] The *Manna* was to bee *Daily* gathered, and none to bee Reserved for another Day. This taught us, to depend on the Providence of God, for our *Daily Bread*, and not *bee Tortured for to morrow*. But especially our Lord Jesus Christ must bee *Daily* fed upon; Hee must not ly by us, unimproved.⁹

They were to gather a *Double Portion* of *Manna*, on the *Sixth Day*, and *None* on the *Seventh*. A Rest on the *Sabbath* was taught by This. And wee may learn, That God usually Dispenseth most of the Lord Jesus Christ unto Men, & most plentifully towards their latter End. But learn also, that if wee don't make

5 See Appendix A.

6 Lat.: "A justification not to undertake more or less."

7 Samuel Mather, pp. 139–40. The Latin passage, oft-cited and adapted, signifies, "No salvation outside the Church," and expresses the determination of the early Church Fathers to impose conformity on its members. The passage is generally attributed to St. Cyprian of Carthage (c. 200–58), in his "Epistle LXXII: To Jubaianus, Concerning the Baptism of Heretics," § 21 (*ANF* 5:384–85), and became a major issue in the debate with Bishop Jubaianus of Mauritania at the Synod at Carthage (257 CE). It is also repeatedly cited in St. Cyprian's "Epistle LXI: To Pomponius, Concerning some Virgins," § 4 (*ANF* 5:358); in St. Augustine of Hippo (345–430), in *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* (4.17.24) [PL 043. 169–70] (*NPNFi* 4:458) and, before Augustine, in Origen's *In Jesu Nave homiliae* (3.5).

8 See also Philo Judaeus, *Legum Allegoriae*, III (LIX–XI.169–74), in *Works* (69–70).

9 Samuel Mather, p. 140.

sure of Him, before this Life bee ended, all Hopes of an Interest in Him, are over forever.

When they came to *Canaan*, the *Manna* ceased. *Ordinances* will do so, when wee come to Heaven.

Yett there was a *Golden Pott* of *Manna* Reserved in the *Holy of Holies*. All the Dispensations of the Lord Jesus Christ, which we have had in this. Life, will remain in precious Remembrance with the Saints in Heaven, to all Eternity.¹⁰

I will add a Thought which *Momma* in his *Oeconomia Temporum* has upon the *Manna*.

*Sexto Die dupla Manna mensura dabatur; septimo non inveniebatur. Sexto Die Septimana Christus omnes vires impendit, et animam ipsam emisit, ut opus Redemptionis consummaret et perficeret. Septimo Die in Sepulchro jacuit, nec in terrâ inter homines visus aut inventus est.*¹¹

I suppose we shall not easily consent unto *Salmasius*, who endeavours to make us Beleeve, That this *Manna* was what usually fell in the Eastern Countreys; and that the *Miracle* consisted not in the *Creation* of any New Thing, but in the *Continuance* of it; The *Manna* in those Parts falling only at certain Seasons of the Year.¹²

¹⁰ Samuel Mather, pp. 141–42.

¹¹ Wilhelm Momma (1642–77), a student of the Dutch theologian Joannes Cocceius (1603–69), presented his thesis *De oeconomia temporum testamentaria triplex* (1673) to the theological faculty at Leiden University and thus launched a cantankerous repartee between his teacher and Samuel Maresius (1599–1673), on the issue of the economy of the covenant of grace. Momma's thoughts on the matter are grounded in his Christological reading of the OT type: "On the sixth day a double measurement of manna was given; on the seventh it was not found. On the sixth day of the week, Christ expended all his strength and gave up his spirit so that he might accomplish and complete the work of redemption. On the seventh day, he lay in the tomb, and he was neither seen nor found on earth among men." The same Latin passage also appears in Momma's *De varia conditione & statu Ecclesiae Dei sub Triplici Oeconomia; Patriarcharum, ac Testamenti Veteris, & denique Novi; Libri tres*. Editio secunda (1683), lib. 2, cap. 6, § 17.9, p. 124. Alas, on the 12th of March, 1703, Momma's opus was placed on the RC Index of Forbidden Books. See *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Gregorii XVI, Pontificis Maximi* (Neapoli, 1862), p. 306.

¹² Mather is displeased with the demystification of the biblical manna as related by Claudius Salmasius, aka. Claude de Saumaise (1588–1653), classical scholar and professor of Oriental languages at the University of Leiden. In his dissertation *De Manna et Saccharo Commentarius* (1664), pp. 1–75, Salmasius enlists an army of scholars from Aristotle and Galen to Avicenna, and Pliny to Scaliger – all demonstrating that *manna*, a coriander-like, sweet-tasting gummy substance is a common food staple naturally occurring in the Fertile Crescent. An emended version of this treatise is appended to Salmasius's magnum opus *Plinianae exercitationes* [1629] (1689), tom. 2, pp. 245–54, but references to the common existence of manna appear throughout *Plinianae* (Index II, 2:90). Even the French theologian Dom August Calmet, Abbot of Senones, in his *An Historical, Critical, Chronological and Etymological Dictionary of the Holy Bible*. 3 vols. (1732), cites several authors who admit that "still at this Day there falls Manna in several Places of the World: In *Arabia*, in *Poland*, in *Calabria*, in Mount *Libanus*, in *Dauphine*, and elsewhere" (2:122). The first French edition of Calmet's famous *Dictionary* appeared in 23 quarto volumes and was published in Paris (1707–1716). How devastating such

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Q. What might be the Reason, why the Almighty was pleased, for to feed His People with *Manna*? v. 15.

A. Many and Weighty.

As there might be the *Justice* of Heaven, to confine them unto this one simple sort of Diet, in a Way of Punishment upon them, for their Infidelity and Impatience, under their want of *Meat*; so there might be a *Kindness* of Heaven in it, particularly unto their Health, by cleansing them with that soft fine aerial Diet, from the *Egyptian* Mange, wherewith many of them, in the Time of their Bondage, could not but be more or less infected, & which a more luxurious Diet might have made so contagious, as to have spread all over the Camp. God would thus also tame their wanton Appetites, which hanker'd after *Egypt*, and sleighted the inestimable Favour of their Deliverance from thence. And He would thus prove their Faith, in that Alsufficiency, to which a *Paradise* & a *Wilderness* were all one; and His Ability, not only to *Spread* their Table, but also to *Bless*, whatever He should sett upon their Table.¹³

4225.

Q. But why would the Lord supply them (now the Bread they brought out of *Egypt* with them failed,) with *Manna*, every Day, and not once a *Week*, or once a *Month*? v. 15.

A. *Munster* mentions a Good Reason for it; – *Ut nullus transiret Dies, in quo Dei circa se non sentirent Beneficium; atque ob id Dei semper essent memores.*¹⁴

challenges could be to the divine inspiration of the Mosaic Pentateuch can be seen in an epistle, most likely written by the English deist Charles Blount (1654–93), inserted in the English translation of Thomas Burnet's *Archaeologiae Philosophicae: Or, the Ancient Doctrine Concerning the Originals of Things* (1729): "I know that Manna is now plentifully gathered in CALABRIA, and JOSEPHUS tells me in his Days it was plentiful in ARABIA; the Devil therefore made me Quaere, where was then the Miracle in the Days of MOSES, since the *Israelites* saw but that in his Time, which the Natives of those Countries behold in ours?, in C.B. "A Letter to Mr. E. Curll, Bookseller," p. viii.

13 Matthew Poole's trusty *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:387–88) may for once be quoted at length. To the question of whether this celestial manna was any different from the commonly found manna in other regions, Poole's commentator answers, "It [celestial manna] purges only gently: and in the beginning it was capable of purifying every evil humor which might have been picked up from the foods of Egypt, their cucumbers, melons, etc.; and finally to be made gradually by habit of nature an altogether suitable food. For some make use of poison with impunity due to frequent usage. Add that, since it was produced by the ministry of Angels, it was more excellent by far than what is common with respect to taste, purity, etc." (*Works* 4:323–24). See also Johanne de Mey (1617–78), Dutch Reformed clergyman and professor of philosophy at Middleburg, in *Sacra Physiologia*. Editio secunda (1655), cap. 2, Locus V. Exod. 16.14, 15, 16 (pp. 113–16).

14 Sebastian Münster, *Biblia Hebraica* (1546), fol. 145, note (c), insists that God distributed his manna daily "so that no one might pass days on which they did not feel the kindness of God around them; and on this account they would always be mindful of God."

Q. Why was a Memorial of the *Manna* præserted, in the most *Holy Place*, & no such Memorial kept of the *Water* that followed *Israel* in the Desert? v. 33.

A. Almighty God, by *Miracle* supplied His People in the Wilderness, both with *Meat* & with *Drink*. Their miraculous *Meat* was *Manna* from *Heaven*; their miraculous *Drink*, was *Water* out of the *Rock*. In the *Most Holy Place*, was reserved, a Memorial of the *Manna*; but none of the *Water*. T'was herein a Model of the Terrestrial *Paradise*; where there was a *Sacrament* for *Eating*, namely, the *Tree of Life*; but none for *Drinking*. The *Manna* being formed in *Heaven*, might very properly bee laid up in the *Most Holy Place*, that repræsented *Heaven*. But the *Water* proceeding from a *Rock* in the *Earth*, could therefore claim no Higher a Place at best, than the *Sanctuary*, which repræsented the Church on *Earth*. Moreover, The *Priest* carried into the *Holy of Holies*, not the *Flesh*, but the *Blood* of the Sacrifices: not the *Flesh*, for the *Manna* was already carried thither; but the *Blood*, inasmuch as there was none of this *Water* there, so that supply'd the Place of this. [See *Isaac Sarrau*.]¹⁵

I will here mention a Curiosity, which *Reland* ha's in his *Antiquitates Sacrae*.

The Pott full of *Manna*, was a Pott of Gold, with Two Ears. In Greek, this Vessel was called, *Ovoç*: which Word usually signifies, *An Ass*. Upon this, he saies, it was, that the Pagans accused the Jews, of consecrating in their Sanctuary, *An Ass*; by whose Means their Lives were præserted in the Wilderness.¹⁶

Monsr. *Huet*, thinks, he has found among the Heathen a Monument of the *Manna* falling in the Wilderness. He pretends, that most of the Characters, which the Heathen bestow'd on their God *Pan*, are borrowed from what the Sacred History says of *Moses*. Like *Moses*, he lived in the Wilderness; like *Moses*, he had Rays of Light proceeding from his Countenance; like *Moses*, he carried a Rod in his hand; like *Moses*, he not only follow'd a Shepherds Life, but march'd at the Head of Armies, form'd Sieges, & gave Battles. But what chiefly appears to this learned Man, taken from the Writings of *Moses*, is what the Heathen say, That their God, *Pan*, being on the Mountains, was like to perish with Hunger, but that in one of the Caves he mett with *Ceres*, who help'd him to the Food that saved his Life.¹⁷

¹⁵ This cryptic reference is to the French Reformed clergyman Isaac Sarrau (1634–1713), French Reformed clergyman at Meaux (NE of Paris), and author of *Pensées sur diverse passages de l'écriture Sainte* (1685) and *Le Paradis terrestre* (1684). Mather alludes to Sarrau's annotation on why manna and not water was preserved in the Temple: "D'où vient qu'y ayant eu de la Manne portée dans le lieu Très-Saint, on n'y conserva point de l'eau du Rocher" (Exod. 16:13), in *Pensées* (1685), pp. 34–35.

¹⁶ The Dutch scholar, cartographer, and professor of philosophy and oriental languages at Harderwijk and Utrecht, Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), relates this old chestnut in his *Antiquitates Sacrae Veterum Hebraeorum breviter delineatae* (1708), pars 1, cap. 5, sec. 15, p. 23. The story is probably based on that told by the Roman historian Tacitus (*Historiae* 5.3.3) that a statue of a donkey was set up in the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Temple. See also Mather's commentary on Exod. 15:27 (above).

¹⁷ Pierre-Daniel Huet's complete immersion in the Graeco-Roman classics and his pious

Q. An Omer of Manna; How much was it? v. 33.

A. Some learned Men have taken a deal of Pains, to Reduce these Measures, unto those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Particularly *Salmasius* in his *Epistles*; and *Conringius*, in his Treatise, *De Mensuris Hebraicis*. But Dr. *Patrick* thinks, that none have done it so exactly as Dr. *Cumberland*, in his Book of *Scripture Weights & Measures*. He computes, an *Ephah*, to have contained *Seven* Wine-Gallons, a Pottle & half a Pint. An *Omer* then, was near *Three Quarts*. But lest any imagine, this was too great a *Portion*, to be allow'd unto one Person every day; he propounds, That *Manna* was of a Globular Figure; & must needs have many Empty Spaces between every *Three* or *Four* Grains; those Vacuities may be esteemed a *Third* Part of the Vessels Capacity. It was also a light Aerial Food, & inwardly Porous, & of a Spungy Contexture. Doubtless it wasted in Dressing by *Fire*, as it melted by the *Sun*, when it grew hott. Consequently, *Three Quarts*, might be reduced unto *Three Pints* of an oily Liquid Substance; which might not bee too much for *Three Meals* a day, in an hungry Desert.¹⁸

quest for allusions to biblical heroes and their exploits as remembered in ancient stories of fabulous deities and champions is masterfully demonstrated in his magnum opus *Demonstratio Evangelica Ad Serenissimum Delphinum* (1679), a popular work which went through several editions. If the index to this work is any indication of his achievement, Huet's analogical reading of the story of Moses as echoed in pagan myths is *une fête sans pareil*. Mather here refers to Huet's rendition of the cloven-hoofed and horned Pan, Arcadian god of wild mountainous regions and patron of shepherds, whose exploits are allegedly inspired by those of the biblical Moses, in *Demonstratio Evangelica* [third edition 1690] prop. IV, cap. 8, §§ 4–5, pp. 108–09.

18 Extracted from Patrick, on Exod. 16:36 (!), in *Exodus* (308–09). The illustrious French classicist, textual critic, and prolific author Claude Saumur, aka. Salmasius (1588–1653), shares his insights into ancient Hebrew measurements in his missive of 8 Febr., 1635, to Joannes Walaeo (“Epistola LXVII”), in *Claudii Salmasii Epistolarum Liber Primus* (1656), pp. 141–47. Mather (via Patrick) wrongfully attributes *De Mensuris Hebraicis* to the German polymath Hermann Conringius (1606–81), instead of to Stanislaus Grsepsius, aka. Grzepski (c. 1524–70), a Polish mathematician and philologist. Quite possibly, Patrick misattributed this work to Conringius, whose *De Nummis Ebraeorum Paradoxa* (1675) is similarly concerned with numismatics and measurements, because Patrick had previously cited this work in his commentary on Exod. 9:31 (*Exodus* 161–62). Well, now that we have restored the plumes to its rightful owner, the treatise on converting ancient Hebrew coins, measures of lengths, areas, and capacities into their Roman and Greek equivalents appears in Grsepsius, *De Multiplici Siclo et Talento Hebraico. Item De Mensuris Hebraicis, tam aridorum quàm liquidorum* (1568), pp. 103–52. However, more accessible in its use of conversion tables than Grsepsius's treatise is *An Essay Towards the Recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights, Comprehending their Monies* (1686), by Richard Cumberland, D. D. (1631–1718), bishop of Peterborough (Cambridgeshire). Mather's reference is to ch. 3, pp. 64, 87, 88, of this work, but he also supplies future readers of *Biblia Americana* with his own conversion table: “III. Tables Of the MEASURES, WEIGHTS, and COINS, occurring in the Sacred Scriptures,” which Mather appends to his commentary on Revelation. Those of his peers who owned the six-volume set of the London Polyglot could also find such a conversion table in *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, vol. 6, “De Mensuris seu Vasis” (42–44), first series of pagination.

1472.

Q. *The Manna* unduely Reserved, *Bred Worms & Stank*: It may bee, some philosophical Disquisitions about the Generation of Insects, on this Occasion, may bee serviceable to the Illustration of the Scriptures, & particularly affect our True Apprehensions of the *Creation* therein described? v. 33.

A. Know, in general, That no Animal ever did proceed æquivocally from *Putrefaction*, but all, even the most contemptible Insects, are generated, by Parents of their own kind, *Male* and *Female*. This is a Discovery of that great Importance, that, a learned Person saies, *perhaps few Inventions of this Age can pretend unto æqual Usefulness & Merit, & it were sufficient alone, to exterminate rank Atheism out of the World*. For if all Animals bee propagated by Generation, from Parents of their own Species, and there bee no Instance in Nature of so much as a Gnat, or a Mite, spontaneously *de novo* produced, how came there to bee such Animals in Being, & whence could they proceed?¹⁹

Lett us appeal unto Experiment. It ha's been the general Tradition and Opinion, that *Maggots*, *Worms*, and *Flies*, breed in putrified Carcases; *Bees* from Oxen, *Hornets* from Horses, & *Scorpions*, from Crabfish; and the like. But it is all Fable and Mistake. The Sagacious *Francisco Redi*, made Innumerable Trials of all sorts, on Beasts, on Fowls, on Fishes, on Serpents, on corrupted Cheese, on Herbs, on Fruits, and even on Insects themselves; and hee constantly found, that all those Kinds of *Putrefaction*, did only afford a Nest and Food, for the Eggs and Young, of these Insects, that hee admitted thereunto; but produced no Animal of themselves, by a Spontaneous Formation; when hee suffered those things to putrefy, in Hermetically Sealed Glasses, and Vessels close covered with Paper, Yea, and, lest the Exclusion of the Air might bee supposed an Hindrance to the Experiment, in Vessels covered with Fine Lawn,²⁰ so as to Admitt the *Air*,

¹⁹ The learned person is none other than Richard Bentley (1662–1742), English theologian and classical scholar, who was nominated first Boyle lecturer in 1692. Mather extracts the following paragraphs from Bentley's fourth of eight Boylean lectures, *A Confutation of Atheism From the Structure and Origin of the Human Body* (1692), pp. 27–35, which was presented on June 6, 1692, at St. Mary-le-Bow, London. The italicized passage is a close adaptation of Bentley's sententious statement (p. 27). In Mather's day, the ancient belief in spontaneous generation (abiogenesis) still enjoyed wide currency. Apparently first posited by the Milesian philosopher Anaximander (BCE 611–547), the idea that insects and other simple organisms spring spontaneously from putrefying matter, rotting vegetables, carcasses, excrements, and mud, without sexual generation was taken over by the Greek philosopher Aristotle (BCE 384–322), in his *History of Animals* (5.1.539a18–26; 5.19.550b3–551a7) and *Generation of Animals* (3.11.761a13–762a35) and widely circulated in the medieval academies until the early eighteenth century. See also Mather's *Christian Philosopher* (1994), Essay XXVII. *Of Insects*, pp. 152–56; and Nicander (*Theriaca* 741–42), G. E. R. Lloyd's *Early Greek Science* (17–18), H. F. Osborn's *From the Greeks to Darwin* (33–43), E. B. Gasking's *Investigations into Generation* (18–19), and J. G. Lennox's *Aristotle's Philosophy of Biology*.

²⁰ A fine linen or silk fabric of high thread count often used in dress making; "a fine sieve, generally of silk" to strain liquids uniformly (*OED*).

& Keep out the *Insects*, no living thing was ever produced there, tho' hee expos'd them to the Action of the Sun, in the Warm Climate of *Florence*, & at the most kind Season of the Year. Even *Flies* mortified and corrupted, when inclosed in such Vessels, did never procreate a *New Flie*. But when the *Vessels* were open, & the *Insects* had free Access unto the Aliment in them, hee diligently observed, That no other Sort were produced, but of such as hee saw go in to deposit their Eggs there; which they would readily do in all Putrefaction; even in a Mucilage of bruised *Spiders*, where Worms were soon hatch'd out of Eggs, and quickly chang'd into *Flies* of the same Kind with their Parents.²¹

| As to the Worms bred in the *Intestines*, and other Internal Parts of living [26v] Creatures, the happy Curiosity of *Malpighi*, and others, hath informed us, That each of those *Tumors* of Plants, out of which there generally issues a *Worm*, or a *Flie*, are first made by such *Insects*, which wound the Tender Buds, with a long hollow Trunk, and lay an Egg in the Hole, with a sharp corroding Liquor, which causes a Swelling in the Leaf, & so closes the Orifice: and within this Tumour, the Worm is hatch't, & receives its Aliment, until it hath eaten its Way through.²² Neither need wee recur to an æquivocal Production of Vermin, in the *Phthiriasis*, and in *Herods* Disease, who was, σκωληκόβρωτος, *Eaten of Maggots*.²³ Those horrible Distempers, are alwayes accompanied with putrefying Ulcers; & it hath been observed by *Lewenhoeck*, that Lice and Flies, which have a most wonderful Acuteness of Sense, to find out convenient Places for the nourishment of their Young do mightily endeavour to lay their Eggs upon Sores; and that one laies above an Hundred, which may naturally increase to some Hundreds of Thousands, in a quarter of a Year; which may give a satisfactory Account of the *Phenomena*, in those Diseases. And whereas it is here said, That some of the *Israelites left of the Manna, until the Morning, & it bred Worms & stank*; it

21 Bentley, *Confutation* (1692), pp. 28–29, paraphrases *Experimenta circa Generationem Insectorum* (1671), a frequently reprinted discussion of experiments by Francesco Redi (1626–97), a celebrated Italian physician and naturalist. Redi surveys the origin of the ancients' belief in abiogenesis (pp. 1–26), describes the results of his experiments with carcasses of snakes and other dead matter in open and covered containers (pp. 27–51), and then analyzes the diverging results of his peers (pp. 52 ff). See also the modern translation *Experiments on the Generation of Insects* (1909).

22 Bentley (p. 31) here draws on the chapters “De Gallis” and “De Variis Plantarum Tumoribus et Excrecentiis,” in *Anatomus Plantarum pars altera (Opera Omnia* [1686–87], tom. 2, pp. 17–38, 39–42), by the illustrious Italian physician and biologist Marcello Malpighi (1628–94), founder of microscopic anatomy. Mather (via Bentley 31) here summarizes a description of how plant galls are tumor-like growths on plant leaves or stems, caused by the injection of a sticky substance upon which insect pupae feed once they hatch from their eggs. On the significance of Malpighi, see D. B. Meli's *Mechanism, Experiment, Disease* (chs. 7–9).

23 Acts 12:23 (LXX) relates how King Herod Agrippa (10 BCE–44 CE), punished by an angel, was “eaten by worms.” *Phthiriasis* is a skin infection (esp. around the eyelid margins) caused by pubic lice (*Phthirus pubis*). OED.

is to bee understood no otherwise, than that it was *Fly-blown*. It was then the Month of *October*, which in that Southern Climate, after the Autumnal Rains, doth afford a fitt Season, & a full Repast, for infinite Swarms of Insects. It was rather a Miracle, that all the rest of the *Manna* was kept untainted, than that this *Bred Worms*. If any one rigidly urge the literal Expression of *Breeding*, tis to bee answered, that in the common affairs of Life, the Language of the Vulgar is to bee used.²⁴

If wee consult the Accurate Observations of *Swammerdam*, wee shall find, that the supposed Change of *Worms* into *Flies*, is but supposed: for the most of those Members, which at last become visible to the Eye, are existent, in the Beginning, artificially complicated in one another, & covered with Membranes, & with Tunicles, which are afterwards laid aside; and all the rest of the Process, is no more surprising, than the Eruption of *Horns* in Bruits, or of *Teeth* and *Beard* in Men, at certain Periods of Age.²⁵ No, nor indeed can the meanest *Plant* bee raised without *Seed*, by any Formative Power, that is Residing in the *Seed* which may bee gathered. First, for the *Known Seeds* of all Vegetables, one or two only excepted, that are left unto future Discovery; which Seeds, by the Help of *Microscopes*, are all found Real and Perfect *Plants*, with the Trunk, & its Leaves, curiously enclosed in the *Cortex*: Nay, one single Grain of *Wheat*, *Rye*, or *Barly*, shall contain four or five distinct *Plants*, under one common Covering: A convincing Argument of the wonderful Providence of God, that those Vegetables, which were to bee the chief Sustenance of Mankind, should have that multiplied fecundity above others: And, secondly, by that famous Experiment of *Malpighi*, who a long Time enclosed a Quantity of Earth in a Vessel,

²⁴ Bentley, *Confutation* (1692), pp. 30–32. Mather (via Bentley 31) evidently refers to “Epistola de 17 Octobris 1686,” by the renowned Dutch physician and naturalist Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), whose statistical description of the multiplication of flies and their eggs was communicated to the Royal Society of London and published in *Continuatio Epistolarum* (1696), pp. 91–112. Numerous editions of Leeuwenhoek’s scientific letters to the Royal Society of London were published in Mather’s lifetime, and he put Leeuwenhoek’s work to good use in his medical handbook *Angel of Bethesda* (1972) and in *Christian Philosopher* (1721). On Leeuwenhoek’s contribution to science, see B. J. Ford’s *Leeuwenhoek Legacy*. That Mather distinguishes between arguments based on empirical evidence vs those based on subjective perception or pious belief is noteworthy. Like Galileo and Spinoza before him, he well understood that “the intention of the Holy Spirit is to teach us how one goes to heaven and not how heaven goes.” Also see *BA* (1:77–112).

²⁵ Like Redi, Malpighi, and Leeuwenhoek, the Dutch physician and naturalist Jan Swammerdam (1637–80) made significant microscopic discoveries in entomology and introduced a classification system still in use today. In concert with his peers, Swammerdam proved that insects did not spring from abiogenesis, but developed from insect eggs. He published his discoveries in the Dutch vernacular, in *Historia Generalis Insectorum, ofte Algemeene Verhandelung van de Bloedeloose Dierkens* (1669); the Latin translation appeared posthumously as *Historia Generalis Insectorum, in quaecunque ad insecta eorum mutationes spectant* (1685). Mather, via Bentley (33–34), summarizes the principal ideas of secs. 2–4 (pp. 6–50). On the significance of Swammerdam’s discoveries, see M. Cobb’s “Reading and Writing” and E. G. Ruestow’s *Microscope*.

secured by a fine Clothe, from the Small Imperceptible Seeds of Plants, that are blown about with the Winds, & had that Success of the Curiosity, to discover this noble Truth; That no Species of *Plants* can bee produced out of the Earth *de novo*, without a præexistent Seed; and consequently, they were all created, at the Beginning of things, by God the Almighty Gardener.²⁶ See Mr. *Bentleys* Confutation of Atheism.²⁷

²⁶ Bentley, *Confutation* (1692), pp. 33–35, refers to Malpighi's discussion "De Semine Vegetatione," in *Anatomus Plantarum pars altera* (*Opera Omnia* [1686–87], tom. 2, pp. 1–16), in which the venerable Italian scientists disproves the ancient belief in spontaneous generation. On the history of microscopy in the seventeenth century, see M. Fournier's *Fabric of Life*.

²⁷ Mather also put Bentley's Boylean lectures to good use in his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:350–51, 385–99).

Q. *Moses*, in the Sight of the Elders of *Israel*, smiting the *Rock*? v. 6.

A. The Fame of this, as Dr. *Patrick* thinks, reached other Nations. The Memory of it remains in several of their Fables. There is a manifest Allusion to it, in *Euripides* his *Bacchæ*; where he makes one of them smiting the Rock at *Cithæron*, & Waters gushing out of it. This is observed by *Bochart*, in his *Canaan*. *Huet* ha's observed many more such Instances, out of *Nonnus*, and *Pausanius*, and diverse other Authors, in his *Alnetanae Quaestiones*. L. II. c. 12. n. 18. And he thinks it very probable, That the Fable of *Janus*, was forged from hence; for which he alledges many Arguments (in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*;) and this among the rest; That *Albricus* describes his Image, holding a *Rod* in his left Hand, with which he smites a *Stone*, & out of it *Water* flowes.¹

Q. The *Rock* yeelding *Water* to *Israel*; was it not a *Type*? v. 6.²

A. Yes. Else the Apostle would not have said, 1. Cor. 10.4. *which Rock was Christ*.

There is in Christ, the Everlasting *Strength* of a *Rock*. [See Isa. 26.4. Isa. 33.16. 1. Pet. 2.6. Math. 16.18.]

There is also in Christ, the comfortable *Shade* of a *Rock*. [See Isa. 32.2.]³

1 The entire paragraph is from Simon Patrick, on Exod. 17:6 (*Exodus* 315–16), whose own source for the reference to Euripides's corybantic gyrations, Θύρσον δὲ τις λαβοῦσ' ἔπαισεν ἐς πέτραι, ὅθεν ὁροσώδης ὕδατος ἐκπηδαῖ νοτίς. i. e., "Someone took a thyrsus and struck it against a cliff, and out leapt a dewy spring of water" (*Bacchæ* 704–705), is Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1707), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 16, esp. fols. 431–32. In the best manner of *Prisca theologia*, the dissemination of the ancient theology, Mather (via Patrick) also alludes to the Hellenic epic poet Nonnus of Panopolis, Egypt (fl. CE 450–70), whose vivid description of the frenetically dancing bacchantes and of Dionysius striking a rock until water gushes forth (*Dionysiaca* 45.8–31, 273–331 and 48.570–89) appears to echo the well-known episodes in the Exodus saga. Likewise, *Graeciae Descriptio*, by the periegetic writer Pausanias (fl. c. 150 CE), as well as Herodotus (5.82, 83), allegedly recalls many instances of Moses' exploits in the wilderness – at least if the French Roman Catholic bishop Pierre-Daniel Huet and his disquisitions on the topic in his *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap 12, § 18, pp. 212–14, has his say on the matter. For the story of Bifrons, aka. Janus (god of doorways) as derived from the Exodus story of Moses, staff in hand, striking the rock, see *De Deorum Imaginibus*, by Alb[er]icus Londoniensis, aka. Alexander Neckham (1157–1217), abbot of Cirencester. Here, too, Huet's learned *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 9, § 2, pp. 134–35, is Mather's second-hand source used as a means to reify biblical authority by reclaiming the extra-biblical testimony of pagan authors as proof of the Mosaic miracles. For the identification of Albricus and his images of the deities, see Jean Seznec's *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (170–79).

2 The following typological explication of the famous water-spouting rock of Moses appears in Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of the Occasional types," preached in Dublin, Ireland, on April 16, 1668, and collected in his *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 142–44. See also 1 Cor. 10:4.

3 Samuel Mather, p. 143, §§ 1–2.

Hee is likewise fitly compared unto a *Rock*, for the *Offence* and *Scandal*, which the Lusts of Men dispose them, to take at Him. [See, 1. Pet. 2.8. Rom. 9.33. Isa. 8.14. and 28.16.]⁴

Again, who would have look'd for *Water* out of a *Rock*? Hence tis mentioned with such Admiration; Psal. 78.20. The *Rock*, was a Thing of no great Pomp to see to, but only a Rude Thing in a Desert. Thus the outward Meanness of our Lord Jesus Christ, made the Carnal Reason of the Jewes, not imagine it likely, that our Salvation should proceed from Him. [See, Isa. 53.3.]

And as the *Rock*, repræsented *Christ*, so the *Water* of the *Rock*, the *Spirit* of Christ; [see Joh. 7.37, 38, 39. Isa. 44.3.] The *Spirit* proceeds from Christ, as *Water* issued out from the *Rock*. [Joh. 15.26.]⁵

The *Water* came forth, out of the *Rock*, when *Smitten* with the *Rod* of *Moses*. Had not our Lord Jesus Christ been *Smitten* [Isa. 53.4.] with the *Curse of the Law*, wee had never been Refreshed, with the Consolations of the Holy Spirit.⁶

The *Spirit* of Christ followes us, in all our Changes, & all our Travels, thro' the Wilderness of this World: As the Streams flowing from the *Rock* followed the Congregation of *Israel*.

At length, God in His unsearcheable Providence ordered the Waters of the *Rock* to cease. The People then Murmur, and *Moses* himself staggers. The *Rock* must now bee broached again; and then it must bee *Spoken* to. Some have made this Reflection upon it, that Christ must not only bee *Smitten* for us; but also bee preached to us; Tis in the *Speaking* & the *Preaching* of the Gospel, that the Spirit communicated. [see Gal. 3.2.]⁷

|
4226.

[27v]

Q. What might be the Special Motive, that stirr'd up *Amalek* in making *War* upon *Israel*? v. 8.

A. *Munster* offers a very probable one. *Amalek*, was of the Posterity of *Esau*, and feared that *Israel* now coming with a mighty Force, with an Intention for the Land of Promise, would reap the full Accomplishment of that Blessing, that *Jacob* gott away from *Esau*.⁸

⁴ Samuel Mather, p. 143, § 3.

⁵ Samuel Mather p. 143, §§ 4, 1.

⁶ Samuel Mather, p. 143, § 2.

⁷ Samuel Mather, pp. 143–44, §§ 3–4.

⁸ Sebastian Münster, *Biblia Hebraica* (1546), fol. 147, note (d): Amalec.] Causa belli huius fuit, quod timebat Amalex, qui erat de semine Esau, iam implendam benedictionem, quam Iacob obtinuit & praecepit ipsi Esau, praesertim cum in magna potential venirent Israëlitaë, ut promissam occuparent terram. Videns itaque. Moses Amalec armata occurrere manu, iubet Iehosua eligere viros iustos & fortes, qui cum armis pugnarent contra hostem, ipse vero orationem illum iuuare non cessaret, donec hostis sterneretur.

Q. *Moses* lifting up his Hand? v. 11.

A. No doubt, He prayed earnestly. But the Occasion of his *Lifting up his Hand*, was to advance the *Rod of God*, which he held in his Hand, & lifted up, as their *Standard* or *Banner*, to which they should Look, & Hope for Help, from the mighty Power of God, who had done such Wonders with the *Rod*.

The Sight of the *Rod*, inspired them with such Courage, that their Enemies could not stand before them. Their Spirits flagged, when they did not see the Rod; they began to give ground, imagining perhaps that *Moses* despaired of the Victory.

This is Dr. *Patrick's* Notion of it.⁹

2652.

Q. The Prevailing of *Israel* against *Amalek*, while *Moses* held up his Hands, what might there be of Evangelical *Mystery* in it? v. 11.¹⁰

A. It is a notable Hint, that old *Prosper* ha's upon it, *Extendens Moyses manus ad Deum, Crucifixi instar expressit. Moses* used the Gesture and Posture of one *Crucified*; An Intimation, That our Victory is obtained by our *Crucified* Redeemer. And *Prosper*, making those Words of the Psalmist, *Lett the Lifting up of my Hands, be as the Evening Sacrifice*, to be the Words of our Saviour, by the *Lifting up of His Hands* there, understands His *Crucifixion*.¹¹

Q. How did *Aaron* and *Hur* stay up the Hands of *Moses*? v. 12.

A. Sometimes *Moses* held up the *Rod* in his *Right* Hand, sometimes in his *Left*; for in the Eleventh Verse we read, but of one hand used at a Time. *Aaron* and *Hur* alternately help'd him, to hold up, first one hand, then the other; For, as *Patrick* notes, If they had done it both together, they might have been as weary as he.¹²

Q. That obscure Passage of, *The Hand of the Lord, on the Throne of the Lord*; how may wee understand it? v. 16.

⁹ Simon Patrick on Exod. 17:11 (*Exodus* 318–19). The Mosaic gesture of raising Aaron's rod like an ensign-bearer is mentioned in *Commentarii in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti*. (1646), on Exod. 17:11, "Scholia in Cap. XVII" and "Observationes ex Cap. XVII," p. 192 § 11 and p. 193 § 7, by the German Reformed theologian of note Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), professor of theology at Herborn academy.

¹⁰ Mather – in his "Note Book of Authors" – identifies his manuscript collection "MSS. No. 13. p. 127" as a useful source for his gloss on Exod. 17:11.

¹¹ The Latin quote from St. Prosper of Aquitaine, which translates, "Stretching his hands up toward God, Moses portrayed the image of a crucifix," appears in *Incerti Auctoris. In Librum Promissionum et Praedictionum Dei* (pars 1, cap. 40, cols. 121–22), in *Opera Omnia* (1711), Appendix, col. 121–22. [PL 51. 0766C]

¹² Patrick (*Exodus* 319).

A. The Scituation of the famous Mount *Casius*, is well known, from the Accounts, which both *Strabo*, and *Pliny* have given of it. It was, according to *Antoninus*, about Forty Miles from *Pelusium*. *Casius*, in *Ptolomy*, is written, *Κάσσιον*, *Cassion*, and *Κασσιῶτις*, *Cassiotis*; and so it is, in *Dion Cassius*, who tells us; That *Pompey* died at Mount *Cassius*, on the very Day, whereon formerly hee Triumphed over *Mithridates*, and the Pyrates; and when from a certain Oracle, hee had Suspicion of the *Cassians*, there were no such People intending him any Hurt, but hee was murdered and Buried, at the *Mountain* of that *Name*.¹³

Now, for the Words of *Moses* here, which do so Rack Interpreters, יד על כסִיָה *Jad gual Cas-jah*; the LXX renders ‘em, Ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ πολεμεῖ κύριος, *The Lord wars with a Secret Hand*.¹⁴ Almost all other Versions render it, *The Hand upon the Throne of the Lord*; that God hath sworn. But hear Dr. *Lightfoot*. Saith hee, what if כסִיָה *Cas-jah*, be *Cassiotis*? For that Countrey, was the Countrey of the *Edomites*, but especially of the *Amalekites*, whereof *Moses* is treating in this History. Wee do but modestly propound this Conjecture; which, if it may take any Place, the Words may bee rendred without any Scruple, to this Purpose; *The Hand of the Lord, is against Cassiotis*, (the Countrey of the *Amalekites*, for) *the Lord hath War with Amalek, from Generation to Generation*.¹⁵

13 Mt. Cas(s)ius, a sandy mount, c. 50 km (c. 31 miles) E of ancient Pelusium on the NE branch of the Nile Delta, is frequently mentioned by Strabo (*Geographica* 1.2.31; 1.3.4, 17; 16.2.8, 26, 28, 32, 33) and by Pliny (*Natural History* 5.14.68). According to Pliny, “the temple of Jupiter Casius, and the tomb of Pompey the Great” (BCE 48), a Roman military leader, are found at the foot of Mt. El Kas (Mt. Casius). According to the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* (# 152.2, 4), a 3rd/4th c. CE register of distances between points of importance in the Roman Empire, the distance between “Casio” and “Pelusio” is c. 40 Roman miles (p. 69). The Greco-Roman geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus (c. 90–c. 160 CE) mentions “Kassion” in his *Geographia* (4.5.12.2, 5.15.8.3); and in his *Roman History* (42.5.5), the Roman historian Dion Cassius (150–235 CE) relates the fateful death of Pompey the Great, aka. Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (BCE 106–48) on the anniversary of the demise of Mithridates VI (BCE 120–63), king of Pontus and formidable enemy of the Romans (*Roman History* 37.13).

14 Exod. 17:16 (LXX). Mather erroneously transliterates יָהּ עַל־כִּסִּיָּהּ (Exod. 17:16) as *Jad gual Cas-jah* instead of following his source, Lightfoot’s יד על כסִיָה *Jad Al Cas-jah*, in *Works* (1684) 2:291.

15 The passages from Lightfoot are extracted from *A Chorographical Decad* [sic] *Searching into some Places of the Land of Israel: Those especially whereof mention is made in St. Mark* (ch. 1, sec. 3: *Cassiotis*), in *Works* (1684) 2:291, by John Lightfoot (1602–75), the great English rabbinic scholar and master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, best known for his six-volume *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1658–78).

Q. On what Occasion comes in the Story of *Jethro* in the Middle of *Exodus*, when the True Place of it is, between the Tenth & Eleventh Verses, in the Xth Chapter of Numbers? v. 2.

A. *Amalek* is cursed, in the former Chapter of *Exodus*. But *Jethro* lived among the *Amalekites*. [1. Sam. XV.6.] Now the Story of *Jethro* is introduced immediately, to shew, that *Jethro* found favour both with GOD & *Israel*.¹

Q. Upon *Jethro's* Rejoicing for all the Goodness that God had done unto *Israel*? v. 9.

A. *Pelican* observes, That the *Gentiles* more devoutly acknowledged Gods Mercies, when they understood them, than the *Jewes* themselves did. Our Saviour, when He came, upbraided that People with the same; finding such *Faith* among the *Gentiles*, as He could not meet withal in *Israel*.²

That Passage occurring in the Speech of *Jethro*, *In the thing wherein they dealt proudly, He was above them*; is thus expounded by the Chaldee Paraphrase; *In that very thing, wherein they thought to Judge*, (i. e. to Punish or, Destroy,) *the Israelites*, [Egyptians], *they were Judged themselves*; (i. e. Drown'd in the Sea, as they thought to Drown all the male-Children of the *Israelites*).³

1 Mather's question appears in Patrick, on Exod. 18:6 (*Exodus* 326). Patrick's own acknowledged source is John Lightfoot's *A Handfull of Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus* (1643), sec. 23, pp. 26, 27. It is Lightfoot who argues that the passage is misplaced, because the story of Jethro "should come in between the 10th and 11th Verses of that *Tent* of Numbers." It seems unlikely, Lightfoot believes, that Jethro would wait for a whole year before meeting up with Moses after Jethro learned of his son-in-law's arrival in the vicinity. (See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* [1:393] and *Works* [4:347]). However, neither James Ussher (*Annals* [1658], p. 18) nor John Selden (*De Synedriis* [1653], lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 4, esp. pp. 73–74) appears to agree with Lightfoot. Be that as it may, according to tractate Amalek (ch. 3 and 4), Jethro, the priest, teamed up with Moses *after* hearing of the battle with Amalek and the giving of the Law (*Me-khilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* 2:271, 281–82).

2 Patrick on Exod. 18:9 (*Commentary* 328) here relies on Konradus Pellicanus (1478–1556), professor of Greek, Hebrew, and Old Testament at the University of Zürich, in his *Commentaria Bibliorum, id est XXIII. Canoniorum Veteris Testamenti librorum* (1536) 1:89.

3 See Patrick, on Exod. 18:11 (*Commentary* 329–30). Mather here clarifies Jethro's seemingly contradictory statement, "Now I know that the Lord *is* greater than all gods: for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly *he was* above them" (Exod. 18:11). Since the pronoun "them" lacks a clear antecedent, it could refer either to the pagan gods, or to the Egyptians, or the Israelites themselves, an ambiguity which the post-Reformation divines (Vatablus, Fagius, Malvenda, Rivet, Munster, Tigurinus, Ainsworth, Oleaster, Junius, Tremellius, Piscator, and Montanus) hotly debated without coming to a consensus (Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:394, and *Works* 4:352). Mather cuts through this Gordian knot by consulting the Chaldee Paraphrase (*Targum Onkelos*) on this verse, in Brian Walton's magnificent *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653) 1:303. See also J. W. Etheridge, *Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel* (1:386).

1398.

Q. Upon the Settlement of Government by *Moses*, in Conformity to the Advice of his Father-in-Law, tis worth while to inquire; what was the ancient *Form of Government* among the People of God? v. 20.

A. The *Jewish Polity* seems to have been, of this fashion.⁴

First, There was in every Town, a sufficient Number of *Overseers*, to the People; who mett, upon Occasion, to do them Right. The *Families* of the *Tribes*, were Numbred by Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, Tens, & over each Division; there præsided Rulers, which were called, *Their Captains*: whose Business t'was to decide lesser Causes.⁵

There were other Officers of yett a larger Jurisdiction; called, *Princes*, and, *Heads of the Tribes*, and, *Chief of the Tribes*, and, *Officers among the Tribes*, and, *Judges & Officers throughout the Tribes*. There were Twelve of these; for every Tribe had its Præsident; and by these, the Causes of an higher Nature, were determined.

Moreover, There was a *Senate of Seventy*, chosen out of these Two Ranks; who were designed at first, as *Co-adjutors* unto *Moses*. [Num. 11.16.]

These are mentioned with the other Two, in Josh. 23.2. and 24.1. For, by the *Elders*, in both of these Places are meant, the *Seventy Seniors*, as wee may suppose; and by the *Heads of Israel*, wee are to understand the *Representatives* and *Governours of the Tribes*; and by *Officers* and *Judges* the Ordinary & Inferiour *Captains*.⁶

The Judicature of *Seventy Men*, was the most considerable. *Moses* was Præsident over it; the Jewes called it, *The Judicature of Seventy One*; and others, adding *Aaron* to the Number, say, it consisted of *Seventy Two*. This famous Council, which was at first appointed by *Moses*, in the Wilderness, was afterwards a settled Council for Governing the People in the Land of *Canaan*, & was called the *Sanedrim*, (which is a Greek Word originally, but crept into the Hebrew, as other Greek Words have done,) but to distinguish it from the lesser one, it is called, The *Great Sanhedrim*. The other Courts, had their Session in every City and Tribe; This did sitt at *Jerusalem*, and would sitt no where else. This Great Consistory, judged of All Matters, whereas the others took only Cognisance, of lesser ones. The more special Work of this Court, was to Try the most *Weighty Causes*: and the most Important Affairs of the Kingdome, & such as belong'd

⁴ Mather's here draws on John Selden's analysis of the Mosaic judiciary, in *De Synedriviis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 15, pp. 608–30. See also Eric Nelson's *Hebrew Republic* (2010), ch. 1.

⁵ See Patrick (*Exodus* 337); *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), cap. 6, pp. 58–77, by the French Reformed theologian Cornelius Bonaventure Bertramus (1531–94), professor of law, Oriental languages, and Hebrew at Cahors, Geneva, and Lausanne; and Hermann Conringius's academic exercise, *De Republica Ebraeorum Exercitatio Academica* (esp. secs. XVII–XII), in *Conringius, De Nummis Ebraeorum Paradoxa* (1675), pp. 117–20. On the revival of interest in Jewish sources, see Eric Nelson's *Hebrew Republic* (1–22).

⁶ See Bertramus, *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), cap. 5, pp. 50–57.

unto the Safety of the Public, were here considered. This Great Senate was chosen out of all the Tribes; the King, or Chief Civil Magistrate, was the Head of it. All other Courts appeal'd unto this; but from This was no Appeal. But some
 [28v] add a Fourth | Court of Justice, to wit, *The Publick Council & Congregation of all the People*. This is by some thought the Highest Court, as in the Case of *Levites Wife*. The Captains of Thousands, the Seventy Seniors, and all the Chief of the People, mett together, made this *Great Assembly*, this *Parlament*. This (they say) is that which is called, *The Congregation of the Lord*, and, *The whole Assembly of Israel*, and, *The whole Congregation*, and, *The Great Congregation*, or, *Assembly*. – These were the several Courts of Judgment amongst the *Jewes*.⁷

⁷ A synoptic extract from John Selden's analysis of the executive power structure of Moses' Hebrew Republic, in *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 15, pp. 608–30. One of Selden's principal sources (reflected in Mather's gloss) is Bertramus's *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), caps. 5–7, pp. 50–86. See also the influential study *De Republica Hebraeorum Libri III* (1617), lib. 1, caps. 12–14, pp. 98–137, by Petrus Cunaeus, aka. Pieter van der Cun (1586–1638), and the modern translation of Cunaeus's *The Hebrew Republic* (2006), pp. 47–60.

1583.

Q. How could it bee said, The *Israelites* departed from *Rephidim*, & came to *Sinai*? *Rephidim* and *Sinai*, were all one. The Mountain whereon the Law was given, was called indifferently, *Horeb*, and *Sinai*. [Exod. 19.18. with Mal. 4.4.] But when they were at *Rephidim*, they were at *Horeb*. [Exod. 17.1, 2.] So then, to go from *Rephidim* to *Sinai*, seems to go from *Horeb*, to *Horeb*. v. 2.

A. The Hill, on which the Law was given, had *Two Names*, and according to *Bellonius* also, *Two Tops*. The one side was called *Horeb*, for the *Rocky Drought* of it; being destitute of *Water*: the other was called *Sinai*, from the *Bushes* which grew upon it, one of which was by *Moses* beheld miraculously flaming; (if not from *Sini*, the Son of *Canaan*.) Now, when *Israel* lay at *Rephidim*, they lay on *Horeb* Side; & there out of the Rock, *Moses* fetch'd *Water*. Their March from *Rephidim*, is at the skirts of the Hill, from *Horeb*, to *Sinai*-Side of the Mountain. So saies *Paul*, in 1. Cor. 10.4. *The Rock follow'd them*: that is to say, The *Water* that gushed out of one side of the Hill *Horeb*, ran along with them, as they march'd at the Foot of the Hill, till they came on the other side of the Hill *Sinai*. So saies *Moses* in Deut. 9.21. *I cast the Dust of the Golden Calf, into the Brook, that descended out of the Mount*. Not that it gushed out of the Mount, on the same side, that the *Calf* was erected, but on the other, and at the skirt of the Hill, as Dr. *Lightfoot* saies, came running to *that*.¹

Q. It is here said, *Thus shalt thou say to the House of Jacob, & tell the Children of Israel*. Why are those *Two Names* used? v. 3.

A. Perhaps to putt them in Mind, That they, who had lately been as low as *Jacob*, when he came to *Padan-aram*, were now grown as great, as God made him, when he came from thence, & was called *Israel*.²

Q. A Further Thought on the Promise to *Israel*? v. 5.

¹ A nearly verbatim extract from John Lightfoot, *An Handfull of Gleanings* (1643), sec. 24, pp. 28–29. Lightfoot does not further identify the work by Petrus Bellonius Cenomanus (1517–64), aka. Pierre Belon du Mans, a notable French naturalist and antiquarian. However, the work in question is Pierre Belon du Mans, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses mémorables, trouvées en Grèce Asie, Judée, Égypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges* (1553, 1554), liv. 2, chaps. 63–64, pp. 126r–128v. A Latin translation of this work was published in Antwerp in 1589. See also Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:397 and *Works* 5:14) and Mather's second gloss on Exod. 20:26 (*below*).

² Patrick on Exod. 19:3 (*Exodus* 342).

[29v] **A.** As to that of being, *A Peculiar Treasure*, take the Gloss of *Menachem*, a Jewish Rabbi; SEGULLAH denotes that they should be exceeding Dear to God; that they should be like those Treasures which a King does not entrust | unto any of the Officers of his Crown, but takes them under his own Immediate Care. Tis the *Idæa* He gives us of the Children of Israel in the Book of Deuteronomy; THE LORDS PORTION IS HIS PEOPLE; JACOB IS THE LOTT OF HIS INHERITANCE.³

As to that being, *A Kingdome of Priests*, Monsr. Saurin remarks, it was very proper to give them an high notion of the Priviledges they were to enjoy, if they faithfully observed the Law now to be given them. They were just come out of a Countrey where the Persons of the *Priests* were Inviolable. *Joseph* left them untouched, when he purchased the Lands of the other *Egyptians*.⁴

[29r cont.]

541.

Q. Upon what accounts was the People of *Israel* to bee, *A Kingdome of Priests*? v. 6.

A. The God of Heaven, would in a very peculiar and visible Manner bee the King of that People. Hee therefore exhibited His *Glory* before them, and obtained their *Election*, and *Submission*, whereby they explicitly putt themselves under His Government. Hee thereupon claimed all the *Rights of Majesty*, in Determining their *Lawes*, their *Wars*, and their *Officers*; which rendred their Condition, wonderfully easy and happy, and less liable to *Apostasies*. They were not now at the Arbitrary Disposals of their Humourous and Ambitious *Fellow-Mortals*, nor had they any *Judges* to mislead them into *Idolatries*; whereas, after they came to have *Mortal Kings*, the Son of *Sirach* tells us, *Præter Davidem Hezekiam et Josiam, omnes Peccatum commiserunt; nam reliquerunt Leges Altissimi, Reges Judæ, et contempserunt Timorem Dei*.⁵

Now the *Kingdome* of God, over this Nation, was mentained & managed, not only by giving of those excellent *Lawes*, in the Observation whereof they were most sensibly under the Empire of Heaven; but also, by the *Oracle* of the *Urim*, which when consulted in the Difficulties of the State, gave Audible Answers, for their Direction. The Tribes of *Israel*, in their *Wars* against the *Benjamites*, twice miscarried horribly, if I mistake not, for their Engaging before

3 Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations Historicales* (1723), “Diss. LII,” pp. 436–37, quotes from the gloss of the as yet unidentified R. Menachem, on Exod. 19:5 (“*Parascha Vaisch. Jethro*, fol. 67”), the seventeenth weekly Torah portion (*parascha* or *parsha*), as quoted in Saurin, *Dissertations* (p. 437, note 5). The Hebrew word סְגֻלָּה [segullah] suggests “possession, property,” “valued property, peculiar treasure,” or plain “treasure” (Strong’s # 5459).

4 Saurin, *Dissertations* (437).

5 The Latin quote appears in the Liber Ecclesiasticus 49:5–6 (Vulgate) [PL 029. 0466C] and is translated in the 1611 edition of the KJV as follows: “All [kings], except David and Ezechias, and Iosias, were defective: for they forsooke [scorned] the Law of the most High [dreadful God], (even) the kings of Iudah failed” (Sir. 49:4).

they had first waited upon the, *Oracle*, with that Quæstion, *Whether they should engage at all, or no?*

But there was one Remarkable Way wherein the *Kingdome* of God, over them, was Administred; and that was, *The Interest of the Priesthood, in Administring all of their Affairs*. In the *Breast-Plate*, of the *High-Priest*, were laid up the *Urim*, that uttered all their *Oracles*, and unto the *High-Priest*, were all weighty Matters to bee referr'd. *Hee* was the great *Representative* of God, and *Lord-Lieutenant* of Heaven, in ordering the *Kingdome* of *Israel*. Moreover, The ordinary Priests, were also ordinarily the *Judges* of the Land; for which Office, their *Liesure* and their *Knowledge*, above other Men, did more than a little Qualify them.⁶

And this is the *Special Reason*, why the People of *Israel* are called, *A Kingdome of Priests*; they were a *Kingdome*, which God governed by the Ministry of His *Priests*. Tho' I would not exclude, a further sort of *Sacerdotal* and *Honourable* Character upon the whole Nation, as *Devoted unto the Special Service of God*, from a Room, among the Causes of this Expression.⁷

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. The *Death* for those who *touched the Mount*? v. 13.

A. This was either *Stoning*, or *Shooting*.⁸

The former of these Terms is Equivocal, and may signify likewise a being *Præcipated*, or thrown down from some Eminence. [The Word occurs, Exod. XV.4.] *Selden* thinks, it here denotes a Punishment like what was in Use among the *Romans*, who cast some Offenders headlong from the *Tarpeian Rock*.⁹ Ten Thousand *Idumæans* found this Punishment practised among the *Jews* in King

6 On this Mosaic divinatory instrument and its alleged Egyptian origin, see John Spencer's *Dissertatio De Urim & Thummim* (1669).

7 See Lev. 27:21. Mather's "Note Book of Authors" lists "MSS. No. 9, p. 203" as a potential source to be extracted for his gloss on Exod. 19:10, 11; however, he subsequently elects to omit his annotations on vv. 10–11.

8 Mather's immediate source is Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations Historiques* ("Diss. LII," pp. 438–39). Among Saurin's own sources is Patrick, on Exod. 19:13 (*Exodus* 351–52). R. Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on Exod. 19:13 sheds additional light on what should be done to the transgressor: No hand shall touch him] "The word *bo* (him) refers to the person who touches the mount. It means that no one shall enter after him to grab him. On the contrary, those who see him shall immediately stone him from where they are standing or shall shoot him through with arrows if he be distant" (*Commentary: Exodus* 380–81). See also Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:138) and Etheridge's *The Targums* (1:509): "Touch it [mountain] not with the hand; for he will be stoned with hailstone, or be pierced with arrows of fire; whether beast or man, he will not live." Tractate Sanhedrin (6.1–6, in *The Mishnah* (389–91), gives detailed instructions on how to proceed in such a case: death by lapidation. See *Tractatus de Synedriis* (6.1–6), in Surenhusius, סדר נזיקין [Seder Nezikin] sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Damnorum. Pars Quarta (1702), fols. 233–37.

9 The ancient foundation of a Sabine temple, the Tarpeian Rock (Tarpeius Mons) was a high cliff (part of the Capitoline Hill), one of the seven hills of the city of Rome, overlooking the Forum. The Rock was used for executions until Sulla's time (1st c. BCE). See Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* (6.17, 20), Lucan's *Pharsalia* (8.863), and Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.347, 652).

Amaziabs Time.¹⁰ *Saurin* says, perhaps GOD reserved immediately to Himself, the Execution of this Threatning, The *Stones* might be such as GOD would cause to roll down from the Mountain, on the Trespassers.

The Latter, might accordingly mean, *Darts of Fire*, that were to come out of the Mountain, & penetrate them, and extinguish them.¹¹

What follows, *when the Trumpett soundeth long, they shall come up to the Mount*, seems a Contradiction to the Prohibition. But *Saurin* proposes to have it rendered, *when the Trumpett ceases to sound, they may then come up to the Mount*. The Children of *Israel*, encamped for one whole Year about Mount *Sinai*; And GOD allow'd them, to ascend the Mount, and admire the Footsteps of His Presence, when the dreadful Ceremony of the Promulgation of the Law was over. It was then, a *Mount that might be touched*.¹²

[△] [△ Attachment verso blank]

[29v cont.]

Q. We read, *Moses spake*. It is not said, what he said? v. 19.

A. The People trembled before, at the Sound of the Trumpet; but now it grew so terrible, that *Moses* himself trembled. What he now *spake*, is recited by *Paul*; Heb. XII.21. *I exceedingly fear & quake*. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, that *Junius* rightly refers hither those Words.¹³

1741.

Q. The open and public Circumstances, wherein the *Law* was given; can you give mee any *Jewish Glosses* thereupon, worthy to bee considered? v. 20.

A. In the Book *Mechilta*, there is a Passage, that seems to mee, not unworthy to bee considered.

On Exod. 19.2. in that Book, tis thus written. נתנה התורה וני *Data est lex publicè in loco exposito: nam si Lex data fuisset in Terra Israelis, fuissent dicentes, Judei Gentibus Saculi; Non est vobis pars in eà. Sed data fuit in Deserto Reptabili, publicè, in loco exposito, ut omnis qui voluerit eram recipere veniat, et recipiat, potest dici, quòd data fuerit de Nocte? Docet quod non, illud quod dicitur, et Fuit in*

¹⁰ John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 5, pp. 74–78 details the process of lapidation among the ancient Israelites and Romans. See also *Tractatus de Synedriis* (6.1–6), in Surenhusius, סדר נזיקין [*Seder Nezikin*] sive *Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Damnorum*. Pars Quarta (1702), fols. 233–37.

¹¹ *Saurin's Dissertations* (“Diss. LII,” pp. 438–39). Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel, on Exod. 19:13, merely speaks of fiery arrows, perhaps implying bolts of lightning, since “hailstones” are accompanying the event (*The Targums* 1:509).

¹² *Saurin* (439) and *Patrick* (*Exodus* 352).

¹³ *Patrick*, on Exod. 19:19 (*Exodus* 354), who draws on Franciscus Junius, aka. Francois Du Jon (1545–1602), Dutch Reformed theologian at Heidelberg and Leiden, in *Biblia Sacra* (1593), p. 73, note 24. Most likely the reference to Junius comes from Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:399) and *Works* (5:25) rather than directly from Junius.

Tertio die, facto Manè. *Potestue dici, quòd data fuerit in silencio? Docet quòd non, quod dictum est, Et fuerunt Voces et Fulgura. Potestue dici, quòd non audierunt Vocem? Docet quid sit ad hoc dicendum, illud quod dicitur, Psal. 29.4. Vox Domini in Fortitudine Vox Domini in Magnificentià, Vox Domini confringens Cedros. R. Jose dixit, et ipse Deus Sanctus Benedictus dicit; Isa. 48.16. Non à principio, in Abscondito locutus sum, à tempore sui esse, Legis scilicet Mosaicæ, ibi ego.*¹⁴

But Maimonides has a Passage worthy to be noted, *The Law was given to them on a Cloudy Day, to denote the Veil which was drawn between their Eyes & the Truth.*¹⁵ Our Apostle may allude unto this Maxim, when he says, *The Veil is upon their Hearts.*¹⁶

2876.

Q. Please, among the Ancient Pagans, any Remarkable Testimony to the Lawes of Moses?

A. Yes. Particularly, *Strabo* (L. 16.) besides many excellent Things relating to the Jewish Religion, ha's these remarkable Words concerning *Moses*. ἔφη γὰρ ἐκείνους καὶ ἐδίδασκεν, κλ· *He did affirm and teach, that the Egyptians did exceedingly Err, when they attempted to Represent God, by the Images of Wild or Tame Beasts; and that the Africans and Græcians did also grievously mistake when they described Him by Humane Figures. For seeing God was no other than the Universal*

14 The second-hand Latin quote is most likely from *Opus de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis. Hoc est, In omnia difficilia loca Veteris Testamenti, ex Talmud, aliisque Hebraicis libris* [1518] (1550), lib. 2, cap. 3, p. 48, by Petrus Galatinus (1460–1540), an Italian theologian and Orientalist, who quotes the same passage in defense of the German Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin, aka. Capnio (1455–1522), to demonstrate that the truth of the Christian religion can be found in Hebrew books. The Latin translation from the Hebrew tractate Baḥodesh (*Mekhila de-Rabbi Ishmael* 2:293–94) reads, “The Torah was given in public openly in a free place. For had the Torah been given in the land of Israel, the Israelites could have said to the nations of the world: You have no share in it. But now that it was given in the wilderness publicly and openly in a place that is free for all, everyone wishing to accept it could come and accept it. One might suppose that it was given at night, but Scripture says, ‘And it came to pass on the third day when it was morning.’ One might suppose that it was given in silence, but Scripture says: ‘When there were thunders and lightning.’ One might suppose that they could not hear the voice, but Scripture says; Ps. 29.4. The voice of the Lord is powerful, the voice of the Lord is full of majesty; The Voice of God breaks Cedars. Rabbi Jose says (and the holy blessed God himself says so in Isa. 48:16), I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time, namely, that the Mosaic Law was, there am I.”

15 Mather here translates Manasseh ben Israel's comment on R. Maimonides, *Liber More Nebuchim Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 350 (*Guide* 3.9.437), in Manasseh ben Israel *Conciliator, sive de convenientia locorum S. Scripturae, quae pugnare inter se videntur* (1633), p. 137. Manasseh quips, “Lex autem, ut in direttore observat R. Moses [Maimonides], die nebuloso, ad innuendum impedimentum, sive velum, quod oculis nostris adimit prospectum veri” (*Conciliator* [1633], Exod. Quaest. XXVII, sec. 5, p. 137; and *The Conciliator* [1842], Question 97, Reconciliation, p. 150): “And as Maimonides said, the Law was given on a cloudy day, to denote the veil and impediment of latent matter that intervenes between us and Truth” (1:150). See also S. S. Kotttek, “Nishmat Ḥayyim, The Breath of Life” (146–56).

16 2 Cor. 3:15.

*Nature of things, therefore he said, That no wise Man would dare to represent Him by any Statue or Picture; and that therefore we ought to banish Images from the Worship of God, and adore Him without these, in magnificent Temples. And Strabo adds, That in this all good Men are of Moses's Opinion. Nay, he sticks not to say further, That his Institutions, are neither too great a Burden to the Purse, nor disagreeable to Reason. By which he seems to Accuse his own Pagan Rites, on both of those Accounts.*¹⁷

*Dion Cassius, in his 37 Book, which is the 3^d of those that are now extant, gives us a succinct Account of the Jewes, with more Impartiality than could be well expected from a Pagan, κεχωρίδαται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων κλ. The Jewes differ from other Nations, as in other things so chiefly in this, that they worship none of the other Gods, but adore One onely with the greatest Veneration. – Their Profession was This, that their God was ineffable & invisible. In the Worship of Him they did exceed all Mortals. – The Day, which we call Satureday, they dedicate wholly to Religion, and observe it with great Strictness, abstaining then from all Manner of Work.*¹⁸

Q. Who are the *Priests*, mentioned on this great Occasion; For *Aaron* and his Sons, were not yett consecrated? v. 22.

A. The Jewes readily answer, They were the *First-born*, whose Prærogative it was to minister, as *Priests* unto God. But this Observation is confuted, by Examples of those, who *Sacrificed*, & were not *First-born*. *Vitringa* ha's overthrown that Opinion; and so ha's *Outram*.¹⁹

Conradus Pellicanus (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) in the Beginning of the Reformation, gives a better Account, of the *Priests* here mentioned; That *they were the prime & most honourable Persons in the several Tribes*; the Elders, & such as administred the Government under *Moses*.²⁰

¹⁷ Freely adapted from Strabo's *Geographia* (16.2.35, line 5ff). The Greek opening phrase reads, "For he said, and taught, etc."

¹⁸ Adapted from Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae* (37.17.2, line 1ff).

¹⁹ Simon Patrick, on Exod. 19.22 (*Exodus* 356). With reference to the Swiss theologian Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–98), the Belgian theologian Johannes Cloppenburg (1592–1652), and the German Christian Hebraist Konrad Pellicanus (Pellicanus), the Dutch Reformed theologian Compegius Vitringa (1659–1722) insists in his *Sacrarum Observationum Libri Duo* (1689), lib. 2, cap. 2, pp. 41–42, that not those who are the first-born according to the law of primogeniture are entitled to the priesthood, but those who are esteemed most for their sanctity. His Anglican colleague across the English Channel William Owtram, D. D., aka. Outram (1626–79), is in full agreement with his Dutch colleague, in *De Sacrificiis Judaeorum, Nonnulla Gentium Profanum Sacrificia* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 42–51.

²⁰ Patrick (*Exodus* 356) cites at second hand Conradus Pellicanus, on Exod. 19:22, in *Commentaria Bibliorum* (1536) 1:91, from Vitringa's *Sacrarum Observationum* (1689), lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 42 (top).

Being thus fallen on this considerable Subject, we will bestow a further Prosecution upon it. And Monsr. Jurieu shall afford us his Assistences.²¹

It ha's been the opinion of the Jews, That among the Prerogatives of *Primogeniture* in every Family, the Eldest Son still claimed, the Dignity of being the *Sacrificer*. The *Talmud* expressly affirms it. [Tract. *Melikim*, in *Mischna*. 14.] that, *Before the Tabernacle was erected, the Use of Private Altars & High Places was permitted; and the Eldest of each Family performed the Sacrifices*.²² In *Bereschith Rabba*, fol. 7. there is this Passage; That *Jacob had a most passionate desire, to obtain the Privilege of Primogeniture from Esau, because, as we have it from Tradition, before the Building of the Tabernacle, the Use of Private Altars was not forbidden, and the Eldest was the Sacrificer of the Family*.²³ The Commentators {on} the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where the fact of *Esau* is mentioned, run into this Notion. And *Jerom* had gott the same Tradition from his Masters; who in his *Queastiones Hebraicæ* tells us, That *all the First-born since Noah, were Sacrificers, until Aaron was putt into the Privilege*.²⁴

Be sure, *Aben-Ezra* upon the Text now before us, will have the *Priests* here to be the *First-born*. And the Jews find the *First-born* of the Families, invested with the Right of *Sacrificing*, when *Moses* built an Altar on Mount *Sinai*; [Exod. XXIV.8.]²⁵ And he sent young Men of the Children of Israel, which offered. *Onkelos*, the Chaldæan Interpreter, has translated it; And he sent the *First-born* of Israel, to sacrifice.²⁶ It seems, as if the Holy Spirit alludes to this Custome, when, after He had called the Church, *A General Assembly of the First-born*, He styles it afterwards, *A Royal Priesthood*. It is also well-known, That in those times, the Supremacy in *Spiritual* and in *Civil* Affairs, was Inseparable. Without citing *Virgil*, his, *Rex idem hominum Phæbique Sacerdos* and what *Servius* remarks upon it; we find *Moses* in quality of the Prince of the *Israelites*, exercising the Sacerdotal Function.²⁷

21 The following paragraphs are extracted from Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship (Both Good and Evil) of the Church* (1705) 1:81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.

22 Mather here follows Jurieu (1:82). However, the text in question actually appears in *Tractatus de Sacrificiis* (14:4), in Surenhusius, סדר קדשים *sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Sacrorum*. Pars Quinta (1702), fol. 58. Babylonian Talmud, tractate Zevachim (112b) and Zebachim (14.4), *The Mishnah* (489).

23 *Midrash Rabbah* (Genesis LXIII:13).

24 Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:82) Heb. 12:16; St. Jerome's *Quæstiones Hebraicæ Libros Genesios* (1868), p. 24.

25 Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:82–83) cites Ibn Ezra, on Exod. 19:22 (*Commentary: Exodus* 390–91). Mather copies Jurieu's erroneous reference to Exod. 24:8, rather than 24:5.

26 Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:83); Targum Onkelos (Exod. 24:5), in Walton (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:329) and *The Targums* (1:399).

27 Jurieu's Latin citation (*Critical History* 1:82) from Virgil (*Aeneid* 3.80) translates, "King Anius – at once king of the people and priest of Phoebus." The famous Roman grammarian and commentator on Virgil, Maurus Honoratus Servius (late 4th c. CE), has the following gloss on this Virgilian passage, "Sane majorum hæc erat consuetudo, ut rex esset etiam sacerdos; unde

But if we more narrowly examine this Tradition, we shall find some Errors that should be rectified.

It is very certain, That the *Younger* Sons, as well as the *Eldest*, had the Priviledge of *Sacrificing*: yea, all Mankind were by their Birthright entituled unto it, without any Respect unto *Elder* or *Younger*. *Abel* was a *Sacrificer*, as well as *Cain*; and so was *Jacob*, on the Mountain, where *Laban* overtook him. Every Chief of a Family, had the Priviledge of *Sacrificing* for his own House. Yea after the Sacerdotal Function was annexed unto the House of *Aaron*, we still find the Heads of Families, pretending to sacrifice upon private Altars; and retaining some Footsteps of their Ancient Priviledge. *Gideon* and *Manoah*, are Instances. And when an *Israelite* brought his Victim unto the Tabernacle, he was to kill it himself; [Lev. IV.4.] which was the *First Function* of a *Sacrificer*. Interpreters have not always understood this; and so have been betray'd into Mis-translations. But *Maimonides* convinces us, that all the Jews are agreed in the Point, of Mens killing their own Sacrifices. Be sure, At the *Passeover*, as tis observed by *Philo*, (tho' he was but indifferently versed in the Antiquities of the Religion of his Ancestors,) the whole *Nation* were *Sacrificers*, and kill'd their Victims with their own hands.²⁸

The *Young Men* sent by *Moses* to sacrifice at the Foot of Mount *Sinai*, are a convincing Instance, that the Priviledge of Sacrificing, did belong to all Males, without any Distinction. Had the *Primogeniture* taken place here, there must not have been sent *Young Men*, but the Chief Men of the Tribes.²⁹

[30v]

As far as we can gather, | The Sons of a Family, while they lived in their Fathers House, could not sacrifice of their own Accord. They had nothing of their own to offer. But, as soon as a Son had left his Fathers House, & had a Family with Possessions of his own, he did himself become a *Sacrificer*. Briefly; The *First-born* enjoy'd the Right of *Sacrificing*, as they did that of *Royalty*. Now the Supremacy of the *Eldest* Son, did not impair thus far the Natural Right; but that every Chief of a Family, had a particular Authority over his own Family, Children, Servants, & Possessions; thus, the Sacerdotal Function possess'd by the *Eldest* Son of a Family, in the most eminent Degree, was yett subdivided among all the Brethren; as they were distinguished into separate Families. The *Younger Sons* of each House, were Priests only to their own Respective Families, & not unto those of their Brothers; But the *Eldest Brother*, was the Chief Priest unto all the Families of his Brethren, his Inferiours; & had the Priviledge of calling them

hodie Imperatores pontifices dicimus," in *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera, cum integris commentariis Servii, Philargyrii, Pierii* (1717), p. 504, note 79 (ad *Aeneid* 3.80). Servius's annotation reads, "Of course, this was the custom of the ancestors, that the king was also a priest; whence today we call the emperors pontiffs."

²⁸ Jurieu, *Critical History* (1:84, 85, 86). Both *Gideon* (Judg. 6:19) and *Manoah* (Judg. 13:19) sacrificed a young goat and the fruits of the field. See *Maimonides, Guide* (3.26, 32), and *Philo, De Vita Mosis* (2.30.153), in *Works* (504).

²⁹ Jurieu, *Critical History* (1:87)

together, & sacrificing for them. At a *Feast*, where all the Branches of an House came together, doubtless, the Prærogative of *Sacrificing* for the whole, belong'd unto the Eldest of them. It may be, the more advanced in Age a Patriarch was, and the more Descendents he had from his Race, he might have a more ample & general Sort of Sacerdotal Jurisdiction.³⁰

³⁰ Jurieu, *Critical History* (1:87).

Exodus. Chap. 20.

The X Commandments.¹

[31r]

3221.

Q. In the Introduction to the *Ten Commandments*, tis said, *God spake all these Words*. What is there that appears Remarkable in this Passage? v. 1.

A. Something appears Remarkable in the Word, *All*. As the Lord fore-seeing that the *Papists*, would one Day deny the Cup to the Laity, expressly made Provision, *Drink Yee ALL of it*: So, the Divine Spirit foreknew, that in after-Ages, there would arise those, that would be for taking *Some of these Words* away; the *Papists* would be for taking away the whole *Second Commandment*. Now, behold a wonderful Anticipation of it; *God spake ALL these Words*. No Humane Wisdome, could so long aforehand foretell such an Occasion for such an Intimation.²

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Q. On the Introduction to the *Ten Commandments*; – *I am the Lord thy GOD, that brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage?* v. 2.³

¹ “Note Book of Authors” (Exod. 20:1–2) identifies Mather’s preferred authors on the Ten Commandments as “J. Durham’s Exposition of the ten Commandments”; “J. Edward’s [*sic*] Exposition of the Ten Commandments”; and “Rivet on Commands” [*sic*]. The first reference is to *The Law Unsealed: Or, A Practical Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (sec. ed., 1676), by James Durham (1622–1658), a Scottish Presbyterian minister at Glasgow. Durham’s popular work reached its fifth edition by 1677; Mather’s second item refers to John Edwards’s previously cited two-volume *Theologia Reformata* (1713), vol. 2, part 3, “Of the Ten Commandments” (2:281–619); and the third to *Praelectiones In Cap. XX. Exodi, in Quibus Ita explicatur Decalogus* (1632), a huge exposition of the Mosaic Decalogue, by André Rivet (1572–1651), the French Reformed theologian and professor of theology at Leiden.

² Mather’s anti-Catholic diatribe is unusual given that the standard commentators on this verse generally debate whether God addressed Moses and the Israelites in His own voice or indirectly through the medium of an angel. Ainsworth’s *Annotations* (1627), p. 71, Grotius’s *Annotationes: Exodus* (33), Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:399) and *Works* (5:31–32), and the majority of Roman Catholic commentators incline toward an angelic communication, because Heb. 2:2, Acts 7:38, 53, and Gal. 3:19 speak of angels who communicated the Law to Moses. Those opposed point at Deut. 4:12, 5:4, 22. The classic rabbinic commentators – Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, and Abarbanel – have God address Moses and the people directly (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 2:155). See also Maimonides (*Guide* 2.33.363–66) and the Latin and Hebrew commentary on the Decalogue extracted from Abraham ibn Ezra, *In Decalogum Commentarius Doctrina et Eruditione non carens, Docti in Hebraeos Rabbini* (1568), by the RC professor of Hebrew at Paris, Johannes Mercerus, aka. Jean Mercier (c. 1510–1570).

³ Mather’s “Note Book of Authors” (Exod. 20:2–3) lists “Jean le Sennes Sermons” as the preferred source, which – alas – remains unidentified.

A. The Glorious GOD gave a *Covenant* unto *Abraham*, wherein He promised unto that Father of the Faithful, an *Offspring* in and by whom *all the Nations of the Earth* should be *Blessed*, and be *Redeemed* from the *Curse of Death*; and of a Countrey where He and his Children, should enjoy the Heavenly Blessedness of a *Deathless* and so a *Sinless* World. The Glorious One, thus becoming the GOD of *Abraham*, gave him also a Promise, to bring his Posterity *out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage*, where He would leave them for a while to undergo great Oppressions. Now, when the GOD of Heaven, here says, *I am the GOD*, who has *brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage*, it is as much as to say, *I am the True GOD, and the GOD of Abraham*. Yea, 'Tis as much as to say, *I am the GOD, that have promised the Coming of a REDEEMER, and of one that shall Raise the Dead, & bring them to all the Blessings of an Heavenly Countrey*. We *Christians* are as much concerned in this Character of our GOD, as any *Israelites* whatsoever. We consider His bringing them *out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage*, as the Proof of His being the GOD, who has made such a *Covenant*, & will certainly accomplish it.⁴

[△ Attachment verso blank]

[△]

3051.

Q. Observe you no Remarkable Harmony between the *Two Tables* of the *Law*?

A. A very Remarkable one.

The *First* begins with the Honour which wee owe to *God*, in Heaven who ha's given us our Being. The *Second* begins with the Honour which wee owe to our Parents, thro' whom tis that Hee gives us our Being.

The *First*, forbids our making any *Image* of God. The *Second*, forbids the Murder which Defaces the *Image* of God.

The *First*, forbids our *Spiritual Adultery*, on the Score of the Lords being a *Jealous* God. The *Second*, forbids *Corporal Adultery*.

The *First*, forbids our Abusing the *Name* of God. The *Second*, forbids our Slandering the *Name* of other Men.

The *First*, Requires us to *Labour Six Dayes*, that wee may live on our own. The *Second*, Rebukes our Taking from others.

The *First*, commands a *Rest of Body* on a *Sabbath*, for our *Servants*, & our *Cattel*, as well as ourselves. The *Second*, also commands, a *Rest of Spirit*, in a *Content*, without having the *Servants*, the *Cattel*, the *Possessions*, which others enjoy.

Finally, The *Love* of God, is the *first*; the *Love* of our Neighbour, is the *Second*.

⁴ Mather's argument that the opening statement (Exod. 20:2) is not a commandment but an introduction or preamble to the Decalogue is confirmed by most of the Church Fathers and post-Reformation divines, in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:400) and *Works* (5:32). See also Grotius, on Exod. 20:2 (*Annotationes: Exodus* 1:33).

Q. The Name of ELOHIM, which is the most ancient Name of God, in the Scripture, what is the Signification of it? v. 2.⁵

A. Of late learned Men derive it, from the *Arabic* Word, *Alaha*, which signifies, To *Worship*, *Adore*, and, *Serve*. *Hottinger* ha's taken a great deal of Pains in his *Hexameron*, and elsewhere, to confirm this out of that, & out of the *Ethiopic* Language also.⁶

1375.

Q. That Clause, in the *First* Commandment, *Before my Face*; what peculiar Sense, is to bee observed in it? v. 3.

A. I'l Transcribe the Words of the excellent *Jurieu* on this Occasion.

"This *Face of God*, is a lively Spring of *Light*, that swallowes up, whatever of Brightness, there is in the most excellent Creatures, in such a Manner, that they are as Nothing, in the *Presence* of GOD. There is but *one Creature*, that is not swallowed up in these Rayes, and that is, The *Humane Nature* of the Son of God: This is upheld by the Glory of the *Second Person*, to which it is supernaturally united. By reason of this, the Son may bee Invocated, *Before the Face*, and in the Presence of the Father. But it is an Abomination, to go and Worship, and Invoke, a Simple Creature, *Before the Face* of God, and at the Foot of His Throne. Wee may lawfully pray the *Saints on Earth*, to pray unto God for us; this is the Plea of some; and what greater Harm is there, to invoke them in the Heavens? The Difference is plain. The *Saints on Earth*, are conceived as *far from God*; their Rayes are not swallowed up, by the infinite Brightness of the *Divinity*; wee may give them some Homage. But to go and serve them *Before the Face of God in Heaven*, tis insolently to violate the Majesty of God. It would bee Treason, to render Homage unto a Subject *Before the Face* of the Sovereign; tho' hee may bee highly preferred, when alone."⁷

5 See also Simon Patrick's *A Brief Exposition of the Ten Commandments and the Lords Prayer* (1665).

6 Extracted from Patrick, on Exod. 20:2 (*Exodus* 360). Mather, via Patrick, refers to Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), scion of the famous Swiss Hottinger family dynasty, professor of church history and Oriental languages at the universities of Zurich and Heidelberg. Hottinger traces the origin of the designation אֱלֹהִים [Elohiym], a plural noun variously signifying rulers, judges, divine ones, angels, gods, as well as the true God (Strong's # 0430), to its variant meanings in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, and Ethiopic, in his erudite opus, KTIZIZ EΞAHMEPOΣ: [Ktisis Hexaemeros] *Id est; Historiae Creationis Examen Theologico-Philologicum* (1659), cap. 1, Quaestio X–II, pp. 19–22.

7 Mather extracts this paragraph from the millenarian firebrand Pierre Jurieu, whose *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies, or the Approaching Deliverance of the Church*. In Two Parts (1687), part 1, ch. 19, pp. 193–94, went through several French and English editions. On Jurieu's radical ideas in the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantres (1685), see R. J. Howells, *Pierre Jurieu, Antinomian Radical* (1983) and G. H. Dodge, *The Political Theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion* (1972).

Q. *Other Gods?* v. 3.

A. It may also be rendred, *After Gods*. Lett the *Arians* consider this.⁸

1056.

Q. In Gods *Visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children*, why is no further than the *Third and Fourth Generation* mentioned? v. 5.

A. What if the Reason should bee This? Tis to bee supposed, That the *Father* whose *Iniquity* is *Visited*, may live unto the *Third* or *Fourth* Generation, & thereby See with his own Eyes, the Sufferings of his *Children*, so as to suffer in them; or, at least, others that knew the *Iniquity* of the *Father*, may live, to bee Eye-Witnesses of the Divine Justice in the Punishment.⁹

1889.

Q. Tis observed, That God, in no Command, but the Second, which forbids His Worship in any Way not appointed by His Word, threatens to *Visit the Sins of the Fathers on the Children*; Why so? v. 5.

A. Because the superstitious Worshippers are of all Men most strengthened by the Traditions of their *Fathers*. They will tell us, *What? shall wee bee wiser than our Fathers?* Now because they Resolve, that they will *Sin* with their *Fathers*, God Resolves, that they shall *Suffer* for their *Fathers*. All that they can plead for their Superstitious Worship is, Their *Fathers* use to do such things.¹⁰

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[31v]

3299.

Q. How may it be said, *That God visits the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children?* v. 5.

⁸ For the rendition of “*After Gods*” Mather draws on John Gell’s *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 226–27. The Arian rejection of the Trinity (that Jesus of Nazareth as a created being is inferior to God) was a sore point with Mather as with all other Trinitarians. When William Whiston (1669–1752), Mather’s erstwhile friend and correspondent, published *Athanasius Convicted of Forgery* (1712) and several other treatises claiming that Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 196–373) had committed forgery by interpolating into the NT manuscripts passages favoring Trinitarianism, Mather composed *Goliath Detruncatus* (c. 1713), a refutation of Whiston’s Arian beliefs (*Diary* 2:230). In his late handbook for the ministry, Mather complains that even though “the Acute *Whiston* ... so excellently serves us in *Astronomy*,” yet he “so unhappily hurt[s] us in *Divinity* and call[s] into Question, (as a Dubious Problem) the Infinite and Eternal Godhead of Him FOR whom, as well as BY whom, the *Sun* and the *Stars* were created” (*Manuductio ad Ministerium*, § 10, p. 54). On Whiston’s charges, see J. E. Force, *William Whiston* (7–8, 15–18, 106–11) and M. Farrell, *Life and Work* (266–80).

⁹ Patrick (*Exodus* 364). Much the same appears in Maimonides’s *Guide* (1.54.127).

¹⁰ Maimonides reminds his readers that this draconian punishment only applies to cases of idolatry, so that “all this [is] being done with a view to blotting out traces that bring about necessarily great corruption” (*Guide* 1.54.127) because children tend to follow in the footsteps of their parents.

A. Interpreters are putt upon some Difficulty to state this Matter unexceptionably; especially to reconcile it with the express Prohibition [Deut. 14.16.] of *making the Children to Dye for the Sins of the Parents*; and the Protestations of *Abraham*, and *Moses*, and *Ezekiel*; & the constant Maxims of the Gospel, That God will *not destroy the Righteous with the Wicked*.

It is therefore proposed, whether the Præposition, *Lamed*, may not here be well translated by the English particle, *By*; since it often signifies, that the Persons or Things, which it goes before, are made the Instruments of bringing somewhat about. [Compare 1. Chron. 19.5. and Psal. 15.3.]

The Text being thus explained, we have a Remarkable Instance of it, in the Person of *David*, whom God suffered, for His Dishonouring of His Name, to be persecuted by his own Son *Absalom*, with the greatest Indignities imaginable.

If the *Iniquity of the Fathers*, might intend, only their *Iniquity*, & not the *Fathers* themselves, we shall find the Words notably verified in the History of *Ahaz* and *Ammon*, whose Idolatry was abolished by their Sons *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*. M. *Launai*, Therefore urges to have this Text rendred so; The Lord *visits the Iniquity of the Fathers by the Children*.¹¹

Or, if this may not be consented unto, why may not the Præposition *Lamed*, be rendred, *Because of the Children*? That is to say, *In Favour* of them? It is of that Signification in many Places of Scripture. God punishes *Parents*, that so *Children* may learn Instruction, and gain Piety, from their beholding of the Punishment.¹²

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Q. Some further Illustration on that Passage, of, *The Lord visiting the Sins of the Fathers on the Children, to the Third & Fourth Generation?* v. 5.

A. Dr. *Sherlock* has upon it, some good Thoughts, which I will transcribe.¹³

“All Divines grant, that the innocent Posterity of bad Men, never suffer for their Parents Sins, but only the wicked Children of wicked Parents; & that even in this Case, the Children never suffer more than their own Sins deserve, tho’ they may suffer a severer & more sudden Vengeance, than God would have executed upon them, had they not been the Wicked Posterity, of a Succession of wicked Parents. Tho’ to speak my Mind freely of this Matter, this Threatning of

¹¹ The Swiss Reformed theologian Pierre De Launay (1573–1661), author of several explications of the Bible, including *Remarques sur le Texte De La Bible; ou Explication Des Mots, Des Phrases, et Des Figures difficiles de la S. Ecriture* (1657), is Mather’s vademecum. De Launay’s proof text is “1. Rois 14.16” (1 Kings 14:16) and affirms the imputation of sins upon the children: “*Sur l’Imputation du peché des Peres aux Enfants*” (*Remarques* 518).

¹² The post-Reformation commentators highlighted in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:402–03) and *Works* (5:41–44) similarly debate the righteousness of God’s judgment in this case.

¹³ The Dean of London’s St. Paul Cathedral, William Sherlock (1641–1707), supplies Mather with the following paragraph, from a work Mather had previously consulted in his commentary on Gen. 17:12 (*BA* 1:927–36).

the *Second Commandment*, as it expressly relates only to the Sin of *Idolatry*, so it seems principally, if not wholly, to intend the Publick State of the Jewish Nation; that when they should decline to *Idolatry*, and one *Generation* after another persist in their Idolatrous Worship, tho' God might bear with them for some time, yett in the *Third* or *Fourth Generation*, when the Evil was grown so old and obstinate, that there was little or no Hope of a General Reformation, then God would punish them, either with a Final Extirpation, as He did the Ten Tribes of *Israel*, or with a long Captivity, as He did the Children of *Judah* in *Babylon*. And this is the Meaning of our Saviours Threatening; Matth. 23. 35, 36.¹⁴

And this Reconciles the *Second Commandment* with the 18th of *Ezekiel*, where God so fully declares against punishing the Children for their Fathers Sins. Others have observed, It will at once extricate us out of all Difficulties in the Interpretation of this Text, if we understand it as restrained only to criminal *Societies* and *Communities*, & not extended unto *Particular Persons*.¹⁵

I will take this Place to insert an Observation of *Maimonides*; That Visiting the *Iniquity of the Fathers on the Children*, is denounced only against the Sin of *Idolatry*; and unto the *Fourth Generation* is only mentioned, because the [verso] most that any Man ordinarily lives to see of his Offspring, is the *Fourth Generation*. A City of *Israelites* becoming *Idolaters*, was to be destroyed, with all their Offspring; Even the *Great Grandchildren*, & the Newborn Infants.

The same *Rabbi* observes; That in the Bible we never find the Words, *Augers*, *Fury*, *Indignation*, and, *Jealousy* attributed unto GOD, are never used, but in relation to *Idolatry*: Nor any called, *Haters*, & *Enemies* or *Adversaries* of GOD, but *Idolaters*.¹⁶

Q. The *Third Commandment*? v. 7.¹⁷

A. *Salvian* applies it unto the Trivial Naming of GOD, and our SAVIOUR, upon all Occasions, and sometimes upon Bad Occasions. *Nihil jam penè vanius, quàm Christi nomen esse videatur*.¹⁸

¹⁴ William Sherlock, *A Discourse Concerning the Happiness of Good Men, and the Punishment of the Wicked, in the Next World* (1704), ch. 5, sec. 4, pp. 477–78.

¹⁵ Sherlock, *Discourse* (1704), ch. 5, sec. 4, p. 479.

¹⁶ The two preceding paragraphs are based on Maimonides's *More Nebuchim* (1629), pars 1, cap. 54, p. 89; and *Guide* (1.54.127).

¹⁷ Mather's "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 20:7, 8) lists one of his sermon manuscripts "MSS. No. VIII. Sermon. 44" as well as "Jean Le Senne's Sermons" on both vv. 7 and 8.

¹⁸ Patrick, on Exod. 20:7 (*Exodus* 368), lists Etienne Baluze's Paris edition of Salvian's *De Gubernatione Dei* (lib. 4, p. 88). The first edition appeared in Paris, in 1663; the second in 1669; and the third (definitive) edition in 1684, which is also the edition used in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. The ecclesiastical writer Salvian Massiliensis (c. 400–c. 480) composed his *De Gubernatione Dei* [*On the Government of God*] in 8 books and didactically contrasts the corruptions of Rome with the virtues of the barbarians, whom God uses as a punishing rod against Rome (ODCC). The Latin passage from *Sancti Salviani Massiliensis Presbyteri de Gubernatione Dei*

But it is not my Purpose, to note such things, as occur in the Multitudes of professed Expositions on the Commandments, which we are all furnished withal.¹⁹

Q. A further Thought on the *Third* Commandment?

A. It may be rendred, *Thou shalt not Bear the Name of the Lord thy God in vain.* Arias Montanus renders it so; *Non feres.*²⁰

It may be extended, as Dr. *Gell* observes, unto all False Pretences of Goodness: and the Hypocrisy practised under a Shew of Holiness in the wicked *Art of Seeming*. The proper *Name* of GOD, JEHOVAH, signifies, *Being*; And all that *Bear His Name*, He requires, *Being; Sincerity; Reality*. – I will add, They who *bear the Name* of *Christians*, but won't lead the Life of *Christians*, are guilty of the Breach of this Commandment.²¹

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

[31v cont.]

483.

Q. The General Extent of the *Third* Commandment, wee acknowledge; but what may bee the more special Import of it? v. 7.

A. The whole First Table of the Law, is very sensibly aim'd at the Abolition of *Idolatry*. And the more Special Import of the Third Law, in this Table, may bee, *That no Name, Work, or Attribute of the true God, should bee given to a false Deity*. Hence the LXX, so translate it, οὐ λήψῃ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἐπὶ ματαιῶν.²² Now, *Ματαιῶν*, is with the LXX sometimes, the Name for, *An Idol*.²³ And hence *Tertullian* thus expresses himself in *Primâ Legis parte*; Non sumes, inquit Nomen Domini Dei Tui in Vano, *id est, in Idolo. Cecidit igitur in Idololatriam, qui Idolum Dei Nomine Seriò honoraverit.*²⁴ When the Gentiles putt the

Octo Libri Dati ad S. Salonium Episcopum, lib. 4, cap. 15 [PL 53. 0088A] can be rendered, “Nothing now seems to be emptier than the name of Christ.”

¹⁹ Mather's statement, though consistent with his promise “not to interfere” with the commentaries of either Matthew Poole or Matthew Henry (*A New Offer* [1714], p. 6; *BA* 1:32), seems a bit disingenuous since Simon Patrick's massive commentary began to appear in 1695 and was Mather's constant companion for much of *Biblia Americana*.

²⁰ The Spanish Orientalist Arias Montanus, aka. Benito Arias Montano (1527–98), was one of the editors of the Antwerp Polyglot (1568–73), the famous predecessor to Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, aka. London Polyglot (1653–57). Montanus (followed by Grotius) Latinizes the Hebrew phrase נָשָׂא אֶשֶׁן as “*Non feres*” (“not carry”), as in “thou shalt not carry in thy mouth”; i.e., take in vain, in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:404) and *Works* (5:45); Grotius *Annotationes: Exodus* (43).

²¹ Robert Gell, on Exod. 20:7, in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 227, 228.

²² Exod. 20:7; Deut. 5:11 (LXX): “Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.”

²³ See Lev. 17:7.

²⁴ Tertullian, *De Idololatria Liber*, cap. 20 [PL 001. 0691B], cites Exod. 20:7, warns (in the first part of the Law), “Thou shalt not,” saith He, ‘use the name of the Lord thy God in a vain

Names of *Elohim*, *Baal*, *Molech*, and other Names describing the Power of God they sinned against this Commandment; and so did they that *Swore by Malcham*, & by the *Calf of Samaria*.²⁵ Swearing by any other than the True God, is most particularly herein forbidden. [Mind the repetition of it, in Lev. 19.12.] For which Cause, the Ancient Indicts those, for breaking this Commandment, who, *consuetudinis vitio*, *Meherculè*, *medius fidius dicere solent*, *Ignorantes Jusjurandum, esse per Herculem*.²⁶

335.

Q. What *Seventh Day* is it, that the Fourth Commandment calls, *The Sabbath of the Lord thy God*? v. 10.²⁷

A. I will give you some of Dr. Wallis's Thoughts.²⁸ It saith not *The Seventh Day*, of the Week, as reckoned from the Creation; for tis extremely probable, that the true *Seventh Day*, is now wholly lost; yea, tis more probable that *Sunday* is that *Seventh Day*, than that *Sature-day* should bee so. But the *Seventh-Day* required for a *Sabbath*, in this Commandment, is, *The Seventh Day, after Six Dayes of Labour*. As when tis said, *A Male Child is to bee circumcised the Eighth Day*; it is not meant of an *Eighth Day* in Course from the Creation, but the *Eighth Day* from the Birth of the Infant. [Compare Exod. 12.16.] I do most readily grant, that a *Weekly Sabbath* should have been observed, even from the Creation, by all the Patriarchs; but some think, that by the horrible Degeneracy of Mankind, the *Weekly Sabbath* was utterly lost in the Church of God; and being once lost, there was no Possibility of its Recovery without a Divine Revelation. It is not very probable that the *Israelites* in their *Egyptian* Captivity and Idolatry, had any Reliques of a *Sabbath* among them. The *First Revival of the Sabbath* among them, was the *Seventh Day* after the first Raining of *Manna* about their Tents in the Wilderness. And that this was a *new Course of Sabbaths*, to them, is evident

thing,' that is, in an idol. Whoever, therefore, honours an idol with the name of God, has fallen into idolatry" (*On Idolatry*, ch. 20, in *ANF* 3:74).

²⁵ Zeph. 1:5; Amos 8:14. *Malcham*, signifying *king*, was the supreme deity of the Ammonites. The calf of Samaria, modeled on Egyptian precedent, was set up as a rivaling cult to that in Jerusalem.

²⁶ Tertullian, *De Idololatria Liber*, cap. 20 [PL 001. 0692A], reprimands those who "out of a defect of custom say, 'By Hercules,' 'So help me the god of faith [Medius Fidius];' while to the custom is added the ignorance of some, who are ignorant that it is an oath by Hercules" (*On Idolatry*, ch. 20, in *ANF* 3:74). The entire paragraph (including the Greek and Latin citations) originates in John Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 4, sec. 12, fol. 89.

²⁷ In his "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 20:9, 10, 11), Mather references "MSS. Pat. IX. Sermons 2. 3. 4. 5. 6." This collection of sermon notes remains unidentified.

²⁸ Mather here draws on the oft-reprinted *A Defense of the Christian Sabbath. In Answer to A Treatise of Mr. Tho. Bampfield Pleading for Saturday-Sabbath* (Oxford, 1692), by John Wallis, D.D. (1616–1703), Puritan divine, professor of geometry at Oxford, and founding member of the Royal Society of London. (*ODNB*). Mather also mines several of Wallis's scientific works in *Biblia Americana* (BA 1:343) and in *Christian Philosopher* (Essay 11:58, Essay 15:69, Essay 16:71).

from this; If there had been an uninterrupted Course of *Sabbaths* among them, then the *next Seventh Day* before this, would have been a *Sabbath* too; that is, the next Day before the first Raining of *Manna*. But on that very Day, we find, [Exod. 16.12, 13.] *the Quails came up, & covered the Camp, without any Prohibition, to gather those Quails*. If therefore they *might not* NOW gather *Manna* because it was a *Sabbath*, but *might* BEFORE, gather *Quails*, it should seem, that it was *not a Sabbath*.²⁹

It cannot be found by any Footsteps in History that any other Nation, but the Jewes, did for many Ages after this Time, so much as measure out their Time, by *Weeks*. And if you'll read the *Stromes* of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, you'll bee satisfy'd, they had no such Measure of Time at all. What *Hesiod*, has about the ἐβδομή ἡμέραν ἡμῶν, *the Seventh Day Sacred*, refers only to that of the *Month*.³⁰

Wherefore, if *Moses* fixed a new *Epocha*, for the Sabbath, by the falling of *Manna*, on the Earth, surely, the rising of our *Jesus*, the true *Manna*, out of the Earth, may bee a *Just Occasion* of yett another *Epocha* for our *Sabbath*; and the Apostles by his Direction, proceeded accordingly. Now the very Letter of every Clause in the fourth Commandment, speaks as much to *Sunday*, as ever to *Saturday*; and the Lord having ordered our *Six Dayes of Labour* to begin the Day after His Resurrection, (for still Hee chose on this Day to call off His Disciples from *Labour*) the fourth Commandment sais, *The Seventh Day from thence, is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God*.³¹

I suspect a Mistake in Dr. *Wallis*, when he affirms, That *Weeks* were not of such Antiquity. However, the most of his Thoughts are worthy to be considered.³²

²⁹ John Wallis, *Defense* (9, 10).

³⁰ Wallis's *Defense* (5) enlists Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 5.14.107; *ANF* 2:469), who quotes Hesiod's *Opera et dies* (770), by the Greek poet Hesiod (c. 8th–7th c. BCE), believed to be a contemporary of Homer. In his *Works and Days* (770–74), Hesiod states that the first, fourth, and seventh period of the month ("each is a holy day") is especially auspicious for the works of man. In ancient times, months were "divided into three periods, the waxing, the mid-month, and the waning, which answer the phases of the moon" (*Works and Days*, line 770, note 1).

³¹ Wallis, *Defense* (10, 14, 15). Wallis more than compensates for the anti-Sabbatarian historicization of the likes of Peter Heylyn (1599–1662), an English clergyman, church historian, and polemicist, who argued in his *History of the Sabbath* (1636) that the Decalogue's Fourth Commandment about the Sabbath belonged to the adiaphora of the Hebraic laws whose specific purpose (to wean the Israelites from Egyptian idolatry) was now abrogated because its historical and temporal purpose had been accomplished. This thesis was subsequently embraced by John Spencer (*De Legibus Hebraeorum* [1727], lib. 1, proleg., caps. 2–4, fols. 28–45), who also argued for the temporality of many Hebraic laws which were thus no longer applicable to the Church.

³² Wallis (*Defense* 4, 5) does not believe that the Sabbath was observed "from the Creation to the Flood" or that "any other Nation but the Jews did (for many Ages after this time [exodus from Egypt]) so much as measure out their time by Weeks."

Q. Some Antiquities relating to the Observation of the *Seventh Day*? v. 10.

A. *Theophilus*, the Bishop of *Antioch*, affirms, [*ad Autolycum*] *That the Seventh Day is celebrated in all Nations*.³³

Tertullian, [*ad Ration.*] tells the Pagans, of their keeping the *Saturday*.³⁴

Josephus, [*adversus Appion.*] says, *There is not a City, either among the Greeks, or Barbarians, or in any Nation, unto which there is not derived the Custome of keeping the seventh day, as we do*.³⁵

Philo, [*De Kosmos.*] says, That the *Sabbath* was observed as a Feast, all over the World; & was the only one, which deserved the Title of, πάνδημος, for the Universality of it. In his Book of, *The Life of Moses*, he repeats the Observation.³⁶

Suetonius, in the Life of *Tiberius*, mentions a Grammarian, called *Diogenes*, who did use to teach on the *Sabbath*; *Tiberius*, curious to hear him, went into the School where he taught; but found the Exercises to be expected, not until the Next *Saturday*. The Grammarian coming after this, to pay his Respects unto the Emperour, *Tiberius* only told him, he should come again seven Year{s} hence.³⁷

John Philoponus, a famous Commentator upon *Aristotle*, in the VI Century, tells us expressly, That all Nations did agree in this Point, of Seven Days belonging to their Week; *For which universal Opinion*, he says, *no Reason can be given, but that mentioned by Moses*.³⁸

The Chronology of *Georgius Syncellus*, mentioned by *Salmasius*, asserts, that the Ancients computed their Time by *Weeks*, long before the Division of *Months* and *Years* was introduced.³⁹

³³ *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Ad Autolycum* 2.12 (*ANF* 2:99). The English translation of Jurieu's *History of the Doctrines* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 16, p. 151, misidentifies the work as "Ad Anitolicum Apol. c. 16" (which error Mather takes over), but here silently corrected.

³⁴ *Tertullian*, *Ad Nationes* 1.13 (*ANF* 3:123). Again, Jurieu's English translation misidentifies the work as "Ad Ration. L. 1.c. 13."

³⁵ *Josephus Flavius*, *Against Apion* 2.40 (*Complete Works* 636).

³⁶ *Philo Judaeus*, *De Opificio Mundi* (89.4) and *On the Creation* (30.89); *De Vita Mosis* (2.209–210) and *On the Life of Moses* (2.39.209–210), in *Works* (pp. 13, 509).

³⁷ *Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus*. *Vita Divi XII Caesarum: Tiberius* (3.32.2).

³⁸ *Johannes Philoponus*, aka. John the Grammarian (c. 490–570), was a Christian philosopher, theologian, and commentator on Aristotle (*SEP*). Mather (via Jurieu 152) refers to Philoponus's commentary *In Cap. I. Geneseos, Mundi Creatione Libri Septem* (1630), lib. 7, cap. 14, p. 282: "cuius rei, quam certè aliam ratione darem possimus, praeter illam solam, quam Moyses assignavit"; Mather supplies the English translation of the Latin original (quoted here) via the English translation of Jurieu's French original.

³⁹ Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:152) may have in mind *Claudius Salmasius's De Annis Climactericis et Antiqua Astrologia Diatribae* (1648), p. 655, where Salmasius, referring to *Georgia Syncellus's Ecloga chronographica* (34.1–27) argues that the ancient Chaldeans and Babylonians computed their time by weeks of seven days each. On this topic, see Jurieu (*Critical History* 1:159–71).

The Romans look'd on the *Sabbath*, (which they styled, The Day of *Saturn*,) as an unlucky Day, on which they would not begin any Work of Moment. In *Tibullus*, it is mentioned as ominous,

*Saturni aut Sacram me tenuisse Diem.*⁴⁰

Ovid forbids an Undertaking, on,

*Culta Palæstino Septima festa Viro.*⁴¹

The Attempts of Monsr. *Jurieu*, to enervate the Inferences, drawn from hence, to the advantage of the *Sabbath*, are but feeble ones.⁴²

[32v] | [blank]

[33r] |

4227.

Q. What are the Jewish Traditions about, keeping the *Sabbath*? v. 10.

A. Some of them, have been Severe, Absurd, and Superstitious. *Munster* ha's enumerated some of them.

Non licet pomum carboni admovere ut assetur.

Non licet Allium quod edere velis decorticare.

Prohibitum est Saltantem pulicem capere.

Super Herbas cavetto gradi, ne calceamento herbam evellas.

*Non licet sonum edere quo puerum à fetu coerceas.*⁴³

⁴⁰ Tibullus (*Elegy* 1.3, line 18): "Sometimes, on Saturn's day, the festivities detained me."

⁴¹ The second-hand quote from Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (1.416) – via *Jurieu's Critical History* (1705), p. 153 – appears to be a corrupted version of "*Culta Palæstino septima festa Syro*" (not "*Viro*"). Be that as it may, Ovid confirms that "the seventh-day feast" is observed by "the Syrians of Palestine."

⁴² Although Mather appears to disagree with his Huguenot colleague, Pierre Jurieu, he does do Jurieu the honor of extracting the substance of the entire gloss on Exod. 20:10 from Jurieu's *Critical History* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 16, pp. 151, 152, 153. Jurieu is perplexed that in Genesis, Moses is absolutely "silent upon this head" (of the Sabbath): "Is it possible to imagine, that we should read there so frequently of the transactions, and worship of the Faithful of these times, of their Vows, Prayers, Altars, and Sacrifices, without meeting with as much as one word that relates to the day, appointed for their publick Devotions? It being certain, that in the whole series of this History, there is not the least circumstance which might make one in the least conceive that any one day of the Week, was selected in particular for Divine worship before the rest" (153). See also John Edwards's *Discourse Concerning the Authority* (1693), vol. 1, ch. 7, pp. 232–33).

⁴³ Extracted from Münster, on Exod. 20, in *Hebraica Biblia latina planeque* (1546), fol. 152, note (a). The Latin extract reads, "It is not permitted to place fruit on coal so that it be roasted / It is not permitted to peel garlic you want to eat. / It is forbidden to catch a jumping flea. / Be careful when you stride over the herbs, lest you tear out the herb with your shoe. / It is not allowed to produce the sound with which you restrain a boy from weeping." Although Münster does not identify the Jewish traditions with which he takes issue, he does cite and extract throughout his own work the classic Talmud-Torah commentaries, esp. of R. Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides, Rashi, and esp. Abarbanel, for their wisdom and insight. The proscription against activities on the Sabbath is illustrated in the Mishnah, tractate Shabbath (chs. 1–23).

But *Munster* tells us, That there are some among them, who write more wisely about the Observation of the *Sabbath*; and say, *Sabbathum datum est, ut advertas opera Dei et Mediteris in Lege ejus*.⁴⁴

1595.

Q. The Fourth Commandment is thus directed, *Thou, and thy Son, & thy Daughter, thy Manservant, & thy Maidservant, and the Stranger that is within thy Gates*. Why no mention of the *Wife* herein? v. 10.

A. Saies Dr. *Fuller*, “The *Wife* is Part of the Husband, comprized in him, as a Parcel of, *THOU*. Thus, Gen. 1.27. *So God created Man in His own Image; In the Image of God, created Hee him; Male & Female created Hee Them*. Why, *Him*, and, *Them*? Why is the Number altered? It is a sad Family, where this Doubt is not daily cleared. *Man* and *Wife*, (tho’ Plural in Person,) are in Affection, *One Flesh*; and being but *One*, good Reason why the Result of *Both*, should bee styled, *Him*; and not, *Her*; denominated from the more Noble Gender.”⁴⁵

864.

Q. What *Curiosities* about the *Sabbath*, can you find, in the Evangelical History of our Lord Jesus Christ; the *Life* of Him, who was *Lord of the Sabbath*? v. 10.

A. A many. But I’ll here only Touch upon Two or Three.

Never was any *Miracle*, that wee know of, wrought upon the *Sabbath-Day*, before the Coming of our Lord; It seems the special Prærogative of our Lord *Jesus Christ* Himself, to have wrought Wondrous Works on *this Day*. Accordingly wee find our Lord signaling that *Seventh Day* with His *Miracles*, diverse Times: Would you know how many Times? Truly, Just *Seven Times*. There was just that Number of *Perfection*, in the *Miracles* wrought by our Lord, on the *Sabbath Day*.

[See (I.) Luc. 4. (II.) Joh. 5. (III.) Luc. 6. (IV.) Marc. 6. (V.) Joh. 9. (VI.) Luc. 13. (VII.) Luc. 14.]

Again, Tho’ wee find several Instances in the Scriptures, of Persons *Raised* from the Dead; wee don’t find any Instance of any one Raised on the *Sabbath-Day*. Why was this? One Answer may be, Our Lord Himself was to ly *Dead* all this Day, & therefore it was not fitt that any one should bee *Raised* on it. But I have seen this Answer also given; The *Dead* were gone into a *State of Rest*, and

⁴⁴ At the end of his note (a), Munster (p. 152) insists, “the Sabbath was given to direct the mind toward the works of God and to reflect on His Law.”

⁴⁵ The Anglican clergyman Thomas Fuller, D.D. (1608–1661), Chaplain Extraordinary to Charles II, and perhaps best remembered for his popular *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662) and *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), supplies Mather with the extract from Fuller’s occasional sermon on Psal. 11:3, *Comfort in Calamitie. A Sermon preached upon a special Occasion in S. Clements Church, London*, (1654), p. 37. On Fuller, see ODNB.

the *Sabbath* being the *Day of Rest*, it seem'd not proper, on this Day, to Raise & Fetch any Person from their *Rest*, into the Travails of Humane Life.

865.

Once more; I have seen it enquired, Why wee never find any of the *Sad-ducees*, abroad, in the Synagogues or elsewhere, on the *Sabbath-Day*, when wee Read the Gospel; whereas, wee find the *Pharisees* at every Turn on that Day concerned abroad? And the Answer, which they give, is This: The *Sad-ducees*, misunderstanding the Law, in Exod. 16.29. thought it a Violation of the *Sabbath*, to go forth of their Houses on the *Sabbath-Day*; whereas the *Pharisees* were from Lev. 23.3. better instructed than so.⁴⁶

[33v]

649.

Q. In the fifth Commandment, the Sanction is, *That thy Dayes may bee long*. Is there any further Emphasis on that Sanction than wee find expressed in this Translation? v. 12.⁴⁷

A. Yes. It may bee Read, *That They may prolong thy Dayes*. THEY! Who? I answer, Thy *Father*, & thy *Mother*; THEY shall *prolong thy Dayes*, and make thee Happy, by their Blessing of thee, in the Name of the Lord, if thou carry it well unto them.

The very Heathen gave such an Encouragement unto *obedient Children*; Saying, That those Children would be *dear to the Gods both Living & Dead*. So *Euripides*.

Οστις δε τους τεκοντας εν βιω σεβει
Οδ' εστι και ζων και θανων θεοις φιλος⁴⁸

This famous *Senarius* is also mentioned by *Henricus Stephanus*, with many other notable Passages.

Ικανως βιωσκεις γηροβοσκων τους γονεις⁴⁹

⁴⁶ In his “Note Book of Authors” on Exod. 20:11, Mather refers to “MSS. Pat. No. IX. Serm. 16.”

⁴⁷ Mather’s gloss on this verse – along with his classical references – is extracted from Patrick, on Exod. 20:12 (*Exodus* 373–74). Patrick’s own source is Henricus Stephanus’s *Iuris Civilis Fontes et Rivi* (1580). In his “Note Book of Authors” (Exod. 20:12), Mather earmarks “Jean le Sennes Sermons.”

⁴⁸ Euripides (c. 480–c. 406 BCE), the classical Athenian comic playwright, insists that ὅστις δὲ τοὺς τεκόντας ἐν βίῳ σέβει, / ὅδ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανῶν θεοῖς φίλος. (*Fragmenta* (852, lines 1–2): “Whoever respects his parents ... during this life / is dear to the gods both in life and after death” (*Fragments of Unidentified Plays*, fragm. 852).

⁴⁹ Via Patrick (374), Mather’s Greek *Senarius* (a verse of six iambic feet) appears in *Iuris Civilis Fontes et Rivi* (1580), an anthology of, and compendium to, medieval Jurisprudence, by the French classical scholar and printer extraordinaire Henricus Stephanus, aka. Henri Estienne (c. 1528–98). It is a passage from the Greek New Comedy dramatist Menander Atheniensis

*Thou shalt live as long as thou desirest, if thou nourishest thy Aged Parents. Whence Children are call'd by Xenophon, & others, Γηροβοσκοί.*⁵⁰

[3013:]

Q. But May there not be some very observable Reference, (hitherto not observed) in that Admonition of the *Fifth* Commandment; *That thy Dayes may be long upon the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee?* v. 12.⁵¹

A. How often have I *Read*, and *Said*, the *Fifth Commandment*; and yett never thought of an Elegancy in it, which lies now so very plain, that I wonder all the World ha's not thought on it?

Mind it then. The *Land* which the Lord *gave* unto the *Israelites*, was, the *Land of Canaan*. The *Canaanites* were driven out of that Land, when God *gave* it unto the *Israelites*, as an Effect of the *Curse* which had long before been pronounced upon *Canaan*; the Son of *Cham*. Why was that *Curse* pronounced? It was because *Cham* did not *Honour his Father*. Now, what an Admirable *Emphasis* is there in the Sanction of the Commandment? *Honour thy Father*. The *Canaanites* which are driven out of the *Land*, that *the Lord thy God giveth thee*, have a *Curse* entailed upon them, as they are descended from one who did not *Honour his Father*. Do not thou tread in the Steps of *Cham*, the Father of *Canaan*, by forgetting to *Honour thy Father*, lest I also drive thee out of the *Land*, as I do the *Canaanites*, the Children of *Cham*. It intimates, That the Judgments of God upon Disobedient Children, should have much Notice taken of them.⁵²

Q. The *Tenth* Commandment? v. 17.

A. It is a little surprizing, to see that, *Menander* hath something like it.

Μηδε βελονης εναμμ' επιθυμης Παμφιλε
Ο γας Θεος βλεπει σε πλησιον παρων
Do not so much as Covet the Threed of a Needle;
For God sees thee, being intimately present with thee.

You may see more, in *Grotius's* Prolegomena.⁵³

(c. 344–c. 292 BCE), who adds, in his *Sententiae e codicibus Byzantinis* (365), Ἰκανῶς βιώσκεις γηροβοσκῶν τοὺς γονεῖς; i. e., “It is befitting that you nourish your parents to keep them alive.”

⁵⁰ Xenophon Atheniensis (*Oeconomicus* 7.13, line 1) and Euripides's *Supplices* (923) speak of “taking care of [one's parents] in old age.”

⁵¹ “Note Book of Authors” (Exod. 20:12–17): “Jean le Sennes Sermons”; “MSS. Pat. no. IX. Sermon. 8.9”; “MSS. No. X. Sermon. 13. 14. 16.”

⁵² See Selden, *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 13, pp. 557–58. The question of the extirpation of the Canaanites is addressed in “Occasional Annotation, III,” in *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1728), 4:463–65.

⁵³ Mather's third-hand citation (via Patrick's *Exodus* 376) from an extant fragment of Menander originates in Hugo Grotius's “Prolegomena” to his edition of Stobaeus, *Dicta Poetarum quae apud Io. Stobaeum extant Emendata et Latino Carmine reditta ab Hugone Grotio* (1623), “Prolegomena,” [o. iiij(r)]. A modern edition of Menander's *Fragmenta* (683, lines 11–12) reads, μηδε βελόνης ἐναμμι' ἐπιθυμῆσης, φίλε, / ὁ γὰρ θεὸς βλέπει σε πλησίον παρών. However,

[34r]

Q. We are here on Mount *Sinai*. The Circumstances of that Mountain reported by Travellers, may be worth reciting? v. 21.

A. Mount *Sinai*, and Mount *Horeb*, one may rather look on, as Two Different Heads of One Mountain.

However the Religions in those Parts, do now distinguish Mount *Sinai*, which they call, *The Mount of Moses*, from Mount *Horeb*; and call them Different, tho' Adjoining Mountains. And besides there is a Third, for which they have a great Veneration, called the Mountain of St. *Catharin*. To which they suppose her Body translated, after she was first of all tortured on the *Wheel* (now called by her Name,) and then Beheaded at *Alexandria*, for her converting so many to the Christian Religion.⁵⁴

For these Thousand Years, as *Thevenot* saies, the Greeks have been in Possession of the Monastery of St. *Catharin*, which the Emperour *Justinian* bestow'd upon them. It is a great and strong Monastery; and *Sandys* tells us, it is to entertain all Pilgrims; having an Annual Revenue of Sixty Thousand Dollars, from Christian Princes. It stands at the Foot of Mount *Sinai*, or, The Mount of *Moses*. There were formerly Steps from it, up to the very Top of the Mountain; and Fourteen Thousand was the Number of them.⁵⁵ And yett this is not so high by a Third Part, as the Mountain of St. *Catharin*. When *Thevenot* was there in the Month of *February*, he found much Snow upon both of them. There are several good Cisterns on the Mount of *Moses*; especially near the Top there is a very fair one. There are also Two Churches on it; one for the *Greeks*, another for the *Latins*. There is likewise a little *Mosch*; and by the side of it, a little Cave, where they tell us, *Moses* fasted Forty Dayes. And a little Grott, in which they tell us, *Moses* hid himself, when the Glory of the Lord was to pass before him.⁵⁶

Heretofore these Places were inhabited by *Hermites*, in so great a Number, that in the Mountain of *Moses*, there were at one time Fourteen Thousand of them. Afterwards the Greeks kept their Monks here, to celebrate their Divine

given the peculiar spelling of επιθυμης Παμφίλε, the passage derives more likely from Menander's extant citation in Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio evangelica* 13.13.45, lines 16–17) μηδὲ βελόνης ἔναμμι' ἐπιθυμῆς[ης] Πάμφιλε. Patrick supplies Mather with the English translation.

⁵⁴ Mather's primary source is Edward Wells, *Historical Geography* (1711), vol. 2, ch. 2, sec. 3, p. 108. Not unusual for the time period, Wells cribs for his own purposes much of what can be found in Jean de Thévenot's *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot* (1687), part 1, chs. 27, 28, 29, pp. 168–69, 170, and in *Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom 1610 Foure Bookes* (London, 1615), lib. 1, pp. 123, 124, by the English traveler George Sandys (1577–1644), whose popular travelogue went through at least nine English editions in the seventeenth century.

⁵⁵ Wells's *Historical Geography* (2:109, 112), Thévenot's *Travels* (part 1, ch. 29, p. 170), and George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey* (1615), lib. 2, p. 124. Eastern Roman Emperor Justinian (527–65) ordered the building of St. Catharine's monastery, believed to be one the oldest, continuously operating monasteries in Christendom. According to Christian tradition, the bones of the martyred St. Catherine of Alexandria were found by monks in c. 800 CE.

⁵⁶ Wells (2:113–14) and Thévenot's *Travails* (part 1, ch. 28, pp. 168–69).

Offices. But at present, the Places are much deserted; because the *Arabs* have too much molested them.⁵⁷

Sandys tells us, Mount *Sinai* has Three Tops of a marvellous Height; whereby, probably, he means, the Mount of *Moses*, the Mount of St. *Catharins* and Mount *Horeb*; This last, he represents as the most Western of the Three Tops. This agrees very well with the Sacred History. And so, Mount *Horeb* lay nearest unto *Rephidim*. From whence the *Israelites* removed into the Wilderness of *Sinai*, where *Thevenot* had shown to him, the Rock out of which *Moses* brought the Water. It is a Stone of a prodigious Height & Thickness; Rising out of the Ground. On the Two Sides of it, he saw several Holes, by which the Water has run; as may be easily known by the Prints of the Water, which has much hollowed it. But at present there issues no Water out of them.⁵⁸

Q. The Lord saies, *In all Places, where I Record my Name, I will come unto thee.* What Places are intended? v. 24.

A. The *Chaldee* seems to have given us the True Intention.

In every Place where I shall make my Glory, [that is, The SHECHINAH:] *to dwell, from thence I will bless thee*; that is, Hear thy Prayers.⁵⁹

|

[34v]

361.

Q. What's the Meaning of that Order, *An Altar of Earth, shalt thou make unto mee; and if thou wilt make mee an Altar of Stone, thou shalt not build it, of hewn Stone?* v. 24, 25.⁶⁰

A. This *Mosaic* Præcept, was not intended for the Altars of the *Tabernacle*, or the *Temple*; *Brasen* and *Golden* Altars were used there. But for *Altars* upon other Occasions elsewhere erected, the Lord forbad all Polishments about them; in Part because Hee would now have no stated *Altar* any where at a Distance from the *Sanctuary*; & in Part, because if any occasional *Altar* should bee raised elsewhere, there might bee nothing of Ornament about it, whereby the Minds of

⁵⁷ Wells (2:114–15) and Thévenot (169).

⁵⁸ Wells (2:117–18 and 2:107), Thévenot (169), and Sandys (123).

⁵⁹ Mather's source is Patrick on Exod. 20:24 (*Exodus* 382). The Chaldee (or Neo-Hebrew) term שְׁכִינָה [Shechinah], derived from שָׁכַן [shakan], i.e., "to dwell, reside," signifies "residence," or God's visible presence (*CBTEL* 9:123). The Chaldean Paraphrast Onkelos, Exod. 20:24; 25:8, 29:45 (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:315, 331, 357) employs the variant term שְׁכָנְתִּי [shakanti], or "gloriam meam," "majestatem meam," meaning "my glory," or "my majesty." Paulus Fagius translates the Chaldee term as "[maiestatem meam]," but brackets his translation as if to signify that it is a synonym rather than an accurate Latin equivalent, in his *Targum, hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica* (1546), on Exod. 20:24 (no pagination).

⁶⁰ The commentary on the shape, building material, and function of the Mosaic altar (Exod. 20:24, 25) is extracted from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, caps. 5 and 6, fols. 276–81 and from Patrick (*Exodus* 381, 385).

Weak People might bee seduced, into too much Respect unto it. Thus the *Altar* at *Sinai*, the *Altar* on *Ebal*, the *Altars* of *Gideon*, *Manoah*, *Samuel*, *David*, *Solomon* and *Elias*.⁶¹

But besides all this; by such a *Plainness* of *Altar*, the Lord would also represent the *Cross*, whereon our Lord made Himself a *Sacrifice* unto God; the *Cross*, I say, an Instrument, made still of unpolished, rough, rude Sticks, grown out of the Earth, and now again fastned into it. Moreover, if wee add, that the Wood on the *Altar*, was laid still *Decussately*, *Transversely*, and *Cross-wise*, (and the *Talmud* assures us, t'was usually the *Wood* of the *Fig-tree* too; the *Tree*, to which, you know, our first Father had his first Recourse after hee had Sinned,) I should thereby further intimate, how much the *Cross* of our Lord, had the *Altars* of old, conform'd unto it.⁶²

554.

But if wee may enquire, a little more particularly, into this Matter, Wee shall find, That these *Earthen Altars* were chiefly allowed unto *Israel*, while in their Wilderness; unto whose Travelling & Militant Condition, they were indeed most agreeable. These *Altars*, were usually made of *Green Turfs*; to which the Nations were so accustomed in their *Camps*, that *Mars* had as it were appropriated unto himself, *Aras è cespite virente*: So *Lucan* sang,

Erexit subitas congestu cespitis Aras.⁶³

Accordingly, the Lord here adds, the Intimations of His being ever at Hand, for the Relief of His People, tho' they were never so *Sudden*, yea, and never so *Homely*, in their sincere Addresses to Him. Indeed, such plain Rites, were all that were used, in the first Ages of the World. Thus *Tertullian* observes, That before the Dayes of *Numa*, there was among the Romans, *Frugi Religio, et Pauperes Ritus et nulla capitolia certantia Cælo; sed Temeraria de cespite Altaria*. — *Sciopius* pretends to a Copy that reads it, *Temporaria*. *Jamblicus* calls them, Βωμους αυτοσχεδιους, *Extempore Altars*.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Patrick (385) and Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), fol. 277.

⁶² Talmud, tractate Yoma (45a). It appears that Mather disagrees with his uncle on the typological significance of the wooden cross. Samuel Mather insists that the Church Fathers were mistaken when they “applied the Altar to the wooden Cross on which Christ was crucified; they say, Christ suffered *in arâ crucis*, upon the Altar of his Cross; but this is a weak and low Interpretation, yea indeed a dangerous mis-interpretation of this great Type.” The wood, Samuel Mather continued, had neither “spiritual Use nor Vertue in it[;] it is no Gospel-mystery; therefore no need it should be typified by so great a Type [as the altar]” (*Figures or Types* [1705], p. 368).

⁶³ John Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 5, fol. 278, brings in adapted lines from the North African writer and orator Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis (c. 125–c. 180 CE), in which bellicose Mars has appropriated unto himself an “altar out of green turf” (*Metamorphosis* 7.10); and from *Pharsalis* (9.988), in which the Roman epic poet Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39–65 CE) has a makeshift “altar raised from gathered turf,” by one of the captains of this civil-war epic.

⁶⁴ Based on Patrick, on Exod. 20:24 (*Exodus* 381), who quotes Tertullian, *Apologeticus*

As for the Prohibition of *Hewn Stone* for an *Altar*, both sacred & common History, have told us, how exact the Religion of the Jewes, ha's been in all Ages. [Josh. 8.31. and 1. Mac. 4.47.] The Native and Virgin Purity of the *Stone*, was more agreeable to the true Notions of Worship; when the Worship of God, comes to have the Art of Man, pretending to add beauty thereunto, it thereby undergoes a sort of Defiling *Adulteration*.⁶⁵

But you should permitt mee, on this Occasion, to consider that Expression, *In all Places where I Record my Name, I will come unto thee*. I am to tell you, That the Word /זָכַר/ from whence comes our Word, *Sacred*; signifies, not only to *Record*, but also, to *Worship*; which, I think, was never observed by any but by the *Polyglot Lexicographer*.⁶⁶ [Compare Isa. 66.3. and Amos. 6.11.]

Wherefore, Lett it here bee translated, *In all Places where I make my Name to bee worshipped*. And lett it not bee said, in 1. Chron. 16.4. *Hee Appointed Levites to Record*; but, *hee appointed them to Worship*. Thus, the אֶזְכָּרְתָּה or *Memorial*, as wee render it, in the Levitic *Peace-Offerings*, was thus called, because it belonged not unto the *Priest*, but pertained purely to the *Worship & Service* of God. This Consideration will correct many of our Thoughts, in Reading a Thousand Passages of the Bible.⁶⁷

Q. *Steps* of Ascent unto the *Altar*, are forbidden. Yett there were *Steps* to the *Brasen Altar* in the *Temple*, which was *Ten Cubits* high? v. 26.

Compare, Ezek. 43.17.

adversus Gentes Pro Christianis, cap. 25 [PL 001. 0430A], that before the days of Pompilius Numa (753–673 BCE), legendary king of Rome, religion “was frugal in its ways, its rites were simple, and there were no capitols struggling to the heavens; but the altars were offhand ones of turf” (ANF 3:40). Gasparus Scioppius, aka. Scioppio, aka, Kaspar Schoppe. (1576–1649), a learned German Lutheran humanist, convert to R. C. in 1598, and author-editor of numerous books on classical and theological matters, speaks of “impermanent altars.” And the Neoplatonic philosopher Iamblicus Calchidensis (c. 245–c. 325 CE) mentions “makeshift altars,” in his *De vita Pythagorica* (3.17.3–4).

⁶⁵ Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 6, fol. 281.

⁶⁶ In the holograph manuscript, Mather cancels “Schindler,” the name of the lexicographer, whom Mather consults at second hand via Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 5, fol. 280. Valentin Schindler (d. 1604) authored the extraordinary polyglot dictionary *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum* (1612), which went through several editions in the 17th c. According to Schindler (*Lexicon*, col. 484), the word זָכַר or rather זָכַר “zakar” is derived from the Chaldaic word זָכַר and זָכַר, and Arabic זָכַר “dacar,” signifying “*recordatus est, memor fuit, meminit, mentionem fecit*.” However, as established in the context of the Targum, the latter version may also suggest “*sanctificabis*” to “sanctify” or “treat as holy.” Be that as it may, Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton* devotes more than four densely written folio columns (cols. 484–88) to the quest for Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic roots of the term to arrive at definitions, examples, variants, and exceptions. Mather also defers to the authority of Schindler's *Lexicon* in *BA* (1:510, 609, 1130).

⁶⁷ Spencer's *de Legibus* (lib. 2, cap. 5, fol. 280); the Hebrew term (Lev. 2:2, 2:9) אֶזְכָּרָה [az-karah] suggests “memorial offering” (Strong's # 0234).

A. By *Steps* therefore, Dr. *Patrick* would have understood, *many Steps*, or such as the Gentiles had unto their *Bamoth*, or *High Places*.

A very Few served for *Solomons Altar*. And the Hebrew Writers tell us, they were so contrived, that there was no danger of what God intended to prevent.

Not like the High Towre of *Mexico*, to which they ascended by an *Hundred & Eighty Steps*.⁶⁸

[35r]

Q. What may bee the Design, and Meaning of that Law, *Neither Shalt thou go up, by Steps, unto mine Altar, that thy Nakedness bee not discovered thereon?* v. 26.

A. Wee know that the *Mosaic Altar* had its *Bases*; [Ezr. 3.3.] And *Villalpandus* thinks, upon good Ground, that it was Five Cubits high.⁶⁹

The Altar erected by the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, was of such an Heighth, that the Vulgar sais it was [Josh. 22.10.] *Infinita Magnitudinis*.

Villalpandus Judges, that the Altar of *Solomon*, with its *Bases*, was Twelve Cubits high.

And of *Ezekiels Altar*, tis expressly said, [Ezek. 43.17.] *It had Stairs*.⁷⁰

Yea, the very Name of *Altar*, carries *Altitude* in it.

How shall wee Reconcile this Matter? Not by the Wayes that Expositors, whether Jewish or Christian, have commonly taken. But the learned *Spencer*

⁶⁸ Mather's primary source is Patrick (*Exodus* 386–87), whose own source is John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 1, fols. 292, 293–94. For the Mayan and Aztec pyramids in Mexico, Spencer acknowledges as his vademecum the third edition of *A New Survey of the West-Indies* (1677), ch. 12, p. 113, by Thomas Gage (c. 1603–56), an English Dominican friar and preacher at Acrise (Kent), whose 1648-journal of his travels in Spanish America went through at least five seventeenth-century editions (*ODNB*). Spencer (fol. 294) translates his citation from Gage's text into Latin ("centum & octoginta"), i.e., "hundred and eighty" steps, but Gage's original only speaks of "a hundred and fourteen" (p. 113). On early European assessments of Inka and Mayan temple cities, see also José Acosta's *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604), esp. bk. 5, chs. 12–13.

⁶⁹ John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 2, fols. 294–95, cites *In Ezechielem Explanaciones et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani* (1596–1606), tomus 2, lib. 4, cap. 80: "De Altaris Holocaustorum proportione, & magnitudine, Cap. LXXX" (Ezek. 43:17), fols. 401–02, by the Spanish Jesuit scholar, architect, and mathematician Juan Bautista Villalpandus (1551–1608), and by Hieronymus Pradus (1547–95), Villalpandus's confrere and collaborator, now mostly remembered from their architectural representations of Ezekiel's visionary temple, which inspired Sir Isaac Newton's own studies of the subject. From a comparative-proportional analysis of the altar in Solomon's Temple, Villalpandus argues that the Mosaic original measured five cubits in height. Patrick, however, pointing at Exod. 27:1 (*Exodus* 386), insists it was only three. Brian Walton and his co-editors of the London Polyglot deemed Villalpandus's architectural marvel and its visual depiction of great significance and included it, along with Ludovicus Cappellus's discussion and Hugo Grotius's annotations, in the magnificent *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, tom. 6 (1657): "TPIEATION sive Templi Hierosolymitani Triplex Delineatio" (6:1–46; sec. ser. of pag.).

⁷⁰ Villalpandus, *In Ezechielem Explanaciones*, tom. 2, lib. 4, esp. caps. 78 and 80, fols. 395–97, 401–02.

offers us, this Opinion, That the Lord prohibited not *Any* Steps, but *Many* Steps, unto His Altar; Hee prohibited such pompous *Ascents* unto His *Altar*, as the Gentiles, upon many superstitious Accounts, were used unto.⁷¹

It is very certain, That the Ancient Pagans, affected an enormous *Height* of *Altars*. Those Things that are called *Altars* [Exod. 34.13.] are called *High Places*, [Num. 33.52.] And when the Lord threatens to destroy their *High Places*, in Multitudes of Scriptures, Hee intends not their *Mountains*, or Places that were by Nature High, but their *Altars*, which by Idolatrous Art were made so. Hence / בָּמָה / *Altitude*, signifies an *Altar*; and the *Targum* on Jer. 48.35. is, *Excindam offerentem super Altari*: And in Ezek. 16.16. the *High Places decked with diverse Colours*, were the *Altars* thus Adorned.⁷²

It is also certain, that the Pagans to accommodate this *Height* of *Altars*, had their / המעלות / as the Word of the Law is, that is, their Spacious and Ample *Ascents* unto them. Thus, the *Tower of Babylon*, which was once also an *Altar*, had Seventy such mighty Steps leading up unto it. And probably, that one most conspicuous *Pyramid of Egypt*, which is yett standing, if not all the rest, was a Noted *Altar* for that Countrey. This *High-Place* is accordingly *Four squared*, right *Altar-fashion*; and it has a *Square* to do the Service of an *Altar* at the Top; tis a Plain of Ten Cubits, as the Prince *Radzivilus*,⁷³ an Ey-Witness has informed us; and *Bellonius*, an Ey-Witness, gives us this Account of it; *Gradus in eà, ab Imo ad Verticem, plus minus Ducenti et Quinquaginta, numerantur; et Gradus illi Altiores sunt, quàm ut à scandentibus sine magno Negotio possint Superari*.⁷⁴ *Herodotus*,

71 Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 2, fol. 295.

72 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 1, fol. 290; and Villalpandus, *In Ezechielem Explanaciones*, tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. 79, “Nefarium,” fols. 397–401. The Hebrew designation בָּמָה [bamah] signifies “high place, ridge, height” (Strong’s # 1116). Targum Jonathan on Jer. 48:35 (Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 3:50) has בְּמָתָה [bamatha], which the Latin translators render “in excelsis,” or “in a high [eminent] place.” Mather’s Latin rendition (via Spencer 295) reads, “destroy [him that] offers upon high places.”

73 The Hebrew term / המעלות / suggests “many steps.” Mather, via Spencer (290), here refers to *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio Illustrissimi Principis Nicolai Christophori Radzivili* (1614). “Epistola Tertia,” p. 162, by Prince Nicolaus Christoph Radziwiłł of Vilna (Lithuania). See also Mather’s commentary on Exod. 9:31, 32 (above) and *BA* (1:1038).

74 The Latin quotation is a third-hand quotation from Petrus Bellonius Cenomani’s *Liber de Admirabili Operum Antiquorum et Rerum susciendarum praestantia* (1553), lib. 1, cap. 3, pp. 4, 5, here dealing with the burial rituals of the ancients. A French naturalist and diplomat, Bellonius, aka. Pierre Belon (1517–1564), travelled through the Mediterranean region, including Asia Minor, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt (1546–49), and published his account as *Les Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez et Choses Memorables* (1553). At any rate, Bellonius’s testifies that “the steps on it [pyramid], from the bottom to the top, are numbered more or less two hundred and fifty; and those steps are much taller and cannot be climbed without great effort.” Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 1, fol. 290, presents a conflated citation (here copied by Mather), which reads in the Parisian original as follows: “*Gradus in ea imo ad verticem plus minus ducenti, & quinquaginta numerantur: quorum quilibet ita latus est, ut extensis ulnis vir utrasque oras vix pertingat: altus verò circiter [p. 5] quatuor pedes cū dimidio, licet Herodotus*

who survey'd this Pyramid above Two Thousand Years ago, sais, 'Εποιήθη [δὲ ὥδε] αὕτη ἡ πυραμὶς ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον: And Kircher, who spent his Life in *Egyptian* Curiosities, tells us, That these *Pyramids* were called, *Deorum Columnas, seu Aras; ad quas* (hee adds) *per gradus Ascendebatur*.⁷⁵

The Imitation of these Things, was that which God forbad unto His People.

Accordingly, wee may call to Mind a notable Passage, to this Purpose, in Ezek. 20.29. *Then I said unto them, What is the High-Place whereunto yee go? And the Name thereof is called Bamah unto this Day.* You may take this Paraphrase upon it; “When I forbad your making of extended Steps unto my *Altar*, I declared abundantly, how little Value I had, for an *Altar* that should bee an *High-Place*, like those among the Heathen. | Wherefore I then called my *Altar* by the Name of / מִזְבֵּחַ / and not / בְּמָה / But you have been so sett upon the *Rites*, and the *Terms* of Heathenism, that you are for *High-Places*, and you retain the Word / בְּמָה / *Bamah*, a Gentile Word, among you, to this Day.”⁷⁶

Accordingly, you find that the *Altars* among the Jewes, tho’ they had *Stairs* to them, yett they were Mean, and Small, and very Moderate. Yea, at last, they came to Avoid, all *Stairs* at all; and *Josephus* tells us, that in his Time, the Ascent unto the *Altar*, was, μὴ διὰ βαθμίδων, *Non per gradus, sed Terram leniter acclivem*.⁷⁷

The old Gentiles, had their *Baalim*, and *Elohim*; their *Deos Inferos et Superos*; and their *Altars* were accordingly *Higher* or *Lower*, according to the Qualitie of the Gods, unto whom they sacrificed. *Vitruvius* ha’s thus described the Matter unto us; *Ararum Altitudines ita sunt explicandæ, ut Jovi, et Omnibus Cælestibus, quàm excelsissimæ constituentur; Vestæ, Terræ, Marique Humiles collocentur.* And

aliter triginta altitudinē eius esse scribat. Crederem eā circiter mille pedes altam esse. Cū verò gradus seu areæ altiores sint, quā ut à scandentibus sine magno negotio possint superari, artifices ad singulos pyramidis angulos tres minores gradus in qualibet arula exciderunt, quo facilius pyramis conscendi posset” (Liber de Admirabili Operum, cap. 3, pp. 4–5); See also Plurimarum Singularium & Memorabilium Rerum (1605), lib. 2, cap. 43, and Mather’s previous paraphrase from the latter work in his commentary on Exod. 19:2 (above).

75 Herodotus (2.125, line 1) relates, “This pyramid was made like stairs, which some call steps and others, tiers” (Godley transl.). And Athanasius Kircher, in his magnificent *Cædipus Ægyptiacus. Hoc est Universalis Hieroglyphicæ Veterum Doctrinæ* (1652), tom. 1, synt. 4, cap. 12, p. 310, as quoted in Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 2, fol. 290, calls the pyramid “Divine Monuments, or Altars; it [pyramid] was ascended by steps.”

76 Spencer (291). The Hebrew words / מִזְבֵּחַ / [mizbe’ach] and / בְּמָה / [bamah], the former signifying “altar,” the latter “high place” (Strong’s ## 4196, 1117).

77 Spencer (291) cites Josephus (*Antiquitates* 4.201.2), who relates that the ascent to the altar was “not by steps, but by an acclivity of raised earth” (*Antiquities* 4.8.5). The Greek passage, which means “not by steps,” is repeated in the Latin translation as well. Mather here does not do justice to Spencer’s argument, for the master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, does *not* speak of the ascent to the altar in Josephus’s time, but cites Josephus’s version of the Mosaic fiat: “Let the ascent to it [the alter] be not by steps, but by an acclivity of raised earth.”

Porphyrius ha's thus Adjusted it; The *Cælestial* Gods had, Βωμοὺς, The *Terrestrial* Gods had, Ἑσχάρας, The *Subterraneous* had, Βοθροὺς.⁷⁸

Now the Prohibition of Heaven, saved the People of God, from all these ungodly Vanities.

You know, how the *High-Places* are blamed all the whole Bible over; but you will not find them to be prohibited in any one Text of the Bible, except you take this Text for their Prohibition.

And indeed, such Pagan *Altars* had their *Stairs* ordered, in so Rising a Manner, as to require those Divarications of the Legs, in Ascending them, which make a Room for the Caution here mentioned, *That thy Nakedness bee not discovered thereon*. Such were the Altars of *Juno*, mentioned by *Virgil*,

*Ærea cui gradibus surgebant limina.*⁷⁹

Wee cannot suppose, with *Villalpandus*, a *Crime* here forbidden, but a *Chance*; not the *Crime* of a designed Exhibition in the Offerer to advance Turpitude in the Spectators of the Sacrificers; but the *Chance*, which might follow, perhaps from the Winds blowing the Clothes of the Priests. For, as *Bochart* speaks, *In Oriente, Vestes Talares Judæis in usu errant, quas ità subduci, ut corpus videretur, Ignominiosum habebatur*. So, what wee render, *the Kings Dishonour*, is called, in *Ezr.* 4.14. *The Kings Nakedness*.⁸⁰

The Impurities committed, in the Worship of *Idols* frequently, especially of *Baal-Peor*, were so offensive unto Heaven, that the least Accident, which might have a Tendency towards those Impurities, is, by the Law of Heaven, here Anticipated.

78 Mather, via Spencer (292), enlists a citation from the Elzevier 1649 Amsterdam edition of *De Architectura Libri Decem* (lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 77), by the great Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, who instructs would-be temple builders that “The heights of the altars are to be adjusted thus: for Jove [Jupiter] and all the celestials, let them [altars] be constructed as high as possible; for Vesta and Mother Earth, let them be built low” (*The Ten Books of Architecture* 4.9, pp. 125–26). And the Neoplatonic philosopher of Tyre, Porphyrius (234–c. 305 CE) knowingly relates that the celestial gods were honored with “altars on raised platforms,” the terrestrial gods with altars on “stands,” and those nether ones, with nothing but “a hole in the ground” (*De antro nympharum* 6.19, 20).

79 Spencer (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 1, fol. 293 cites Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.448) in explication of the elevation of the altars of the ancients: “Brasen was its threshold uprising on steps.”

80 Spencer (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 2, fols. 295–96, cites Villalpandus, on Ezek. 43:17, *In Ezechielem Explanaciones* (1596), tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. 79, p. 401; and at second hand via Samuel Bochart's *De animalibus* (pars. 1, lib. 2, col. 676), Spencer cites from Constantine L'Empereur's bilingual edition of קמחא בבא [Baba Kamma] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus* (1637), “Baba Batra,” cap. 8, §1, pp. 185–86. Tractate Baba Kamma (“the First Gate”), Baba Metzia (“the Middle Gate”), and Baba Batra (“the Last Gate”) originally formed part of the Talmud, tractate Nezikin (“Injuries”), in the Babylonian Talmud. L'Empereur's bilingual edition was one of the earliest translations into Latin. At any rate, Mather's Latin citation from Bochart describes the modest robes of Oriental Jews: “In the East, ankle-length tunics were used by the Jews, which were thus pulled down, as it was dishonorable for the body to be seen.”

The Poet *Martial* mentions it, as a Singular and a Reproachful Disaster, befalling a Priest, that in Sacrificing, His *Ingens Iratis apparuit Hernia Sacris*.⁸¹

⁸¹ Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 2, fols. 296–97, draws on L’Empereur’s bilingual tractate *מסכת מידות* [Masseket Middoth]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), cap. 3, sec. 4, p. 115. See also Maimonides’s *Guide* (3.46). The Roman-Iberian poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (40–c. 104 CE) pokes fun at the soothsayer of Isis, whose “enormous hernia exposed during the sacrificial rite” fell prey to the knife of a Tuscan rustic, who mistook the priest’s organ for the testicles of a billy goat (*Epigrammata* 3.24.9). For a valuable discussion of Constantine L’Empereur’s contribution to Hebrew scholarship at Leiden University, see Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinical Studies* (esp. pp. 110–31). The medical procedure of removing a hernia through castration, evidently quite common among the Romans, is discussed in Edmond Dupouy’s *Medicine and Morals of Ancient Rome* (esp. pp. 58–59).

3291.

Q. Did not other Nations borrow some of their best *Lawes* from the *Jewes*? To give some Instances of their doing so, would be a pleasant Illustration upon some of the *Mosaic Lawes*? v. 1.¹

A. The other Nations wanted not Opportunities of acquaintance with the Jewes, as well in their several Captivities, as in their Countrey; where every Seventh Year, it was required of all Strangers to be present at the Reading of the Law; which proved an Introduction to their further Acquaintance with the *Jewish Priests*. And many of their *Law-givers*, in their Travels, came among the Jewes, for this very Purpose; thus *Lycurgus* conversed with their Disciples;² *Pliny* saies of *Solon*, *Cognitionis et multarum rerum usus gratiâ, vagatum per orbem fuisse*; and *Laertius* the like of *Plato*: and it can't be imagined, that *Judea*, then so famous, was omitted.³ *Numa* was descended of the *Lacedemonians*; and the *Lacedemonians* were a Colony that issued out of *Canaan*. The most ancient Lawes of the *Romans*, were borrow'd of the *Spartans*. *Numa's* going to the Capitol on the *Tarpeian Hill*, that he might consult the *Augur* there, seems a little reference to Mount *Sinai*, & the Temple on Mount *Sion*.⁴ And the *Ten Tables* of *Roman Lawes*, digesting the *Græcian*, do in their Number imitate our *Ten Commandments*.⁵

1 In his "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 21:1–3), Mather lists "Franzius Interp. p. 1326"; i. e., Wolfgangus Franzius, *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione Sacrarum* (1619), "Oraculum CXLI. Sacrum, p. 1326, is a grammatical and textual analysis of the purchase and indenture of servants and their offspring.

2 See Appendix A.

3 The Greco-Roman biographer and philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea (46–c. 120 CE) relates in his *Parallel Lives: Lycurgus* (4.1–6) that the Spartan lawgiver (7th c. BCE) sailed to Crete, Asia, Egypt, Libya, and Iberia, studied their laws and forms of government, and digested their best rules in his own codex before he returned to Sparta. Likewise – so Plutarch – the Athenian lawgiver Solon (c. 630–c. 560 BCE) preferred travel for the purpose of acquiring learning to the quest for lucre. It is Plutarch (not Pliny as Mather erroneously argues), whose Solonic anecdote (here given in Latin) encapsulates Solon's character qualities: καίτοι φασὶν ἔνιοι πολυπείριάς ἔνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ ἱστορίας ἢ χρηματισμοῦ πλανηθῆναι τὸν Σόλωνα "and yet, some say that he [Solon] travelled to get experience and learning rather than to make money" (*Parallel Lives: Solon* 2.1, lines 5–7). In his *Lives* (3.6), the ancient Greek biographer Diogenes Laertius (fl. 3rd c.) has young Plato search for knowledge throughout the Hellenic world, including Italy and Egypt.

4 According to Plutarch's *Parallel Lives: Numa Pompilius* (1.3, 7.2, 10.1), legendary Roman king Numa Pompilius consulted the deities in the Sabine temple once located on the Tarpeian Rock of the Capitoline Hill overlooking the later city of Rome.

5 On the subject of the pagans borrowing their laws from Moses, see John Edwards, *Discourse Concerning the Authority* (1693), vol. 1, ch. 9, pp. 299–319; Theophilus Gale's *Court of the*

It was the *Athenian* Law, *Impius ne audeto placare donis, iram Deorum*.⁶ And this was the Sense of the external *Purifications*, required in the Law of *Moses*.

Our *Third Commandment* saies, 'The Lord will not hold him guiltless, who taketh His Name in vain.' As *Numa* appointed an *Oath*, for the chiefest Obligation (*Plutarch* and *Livy* tell us,) is Truth; so, 't'was the *Athenian* Law, *Perjurij pœna humana, Dedecus; Divina, Exitium*. And whereas, (*Num.* 30.2.) the punctual Payment of a *Vow* is required, *Cicero* tells us, it was another Law of the same Commonwealth, *Sanctè vota reddunto*.⁷

The *Festival Dayes* kept in the *Gentile* World, were an Imitation of those in the *Jewish*.

After Religion (saies *Plato*,) follows the Honour due to our Parents. What could be more plainly and aptly spoken of our *Fifth Commandment*?⁸

All *Aristocracies* had their Pattern in the *Jewish Eldership*.

Plato would have his well governed City, divided unto *Twelve Tribes*. Behold, an Imitation of the Division of the *Israelitish* Nation! Both he, and *Lycurgus*, would have the Fields divided by *Lott*. Was not *Canaan* so?⁹

The Rule about Inheritances, prescribed in the *Institutes of Justinian*, L. 3. tit. 1, 2. is much the same; with the Rule in the Twenty Seventh Chapter of *Numbers*.¹⁰

God, the better to show how much He abhorred *Murder*, commanded that a *Beast* which kill'd a *Man*, should be immediately killed. *Plato* ordains the same.¹¹

Gentiles (1672), part 1, bk. 3, ch. 9, pp. 87–95; Gerard Johannes Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), one of the principal sources for all 17th c. theologians engaging in this subject; and, of course, Pierre-Daniel Huet's huge, oft-reprinted *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679). In this claim, Judeo-Christian apologists are indebted to Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.21–29; 2.5, 18, 22; 5.14; 6.3–5) and his predecessors. See A. J. Droge's *Homer or Moses?*

6 It was the *Athenian* Law which, according to Cicero's *De Legibus* (2.22), decreed that "No wicked man shall dare to appease the wrath of the gods with gifts."

7 Both Plutarch, in his *Parallel Lives: Numa Pompilius* (16.1), and the famous historian of Rome, Titus Livius (BCE 59–17 CE), in his *Ab Urbe Condita* (1.21), speak of the sacredness of oaths. The Roman statesman and philosopher Cicero insists in his *De Legibus Libri Tres* (1727), lib. 2, cap. 9, pp. 107–08, that "for the perjurer the punishment from the gods is destruction; the human punishment shall be disgrace." Likewise, he believes that "Holy vows shall be scrupulously performed" (*De Legibus* 2.22).

8 Plato (*Leges* 11.930e).

9 Plato has his Magnesians model city governed by twelve groups of magistrates (*Leges* 12.946cd). According to Plutarch (*Parallel Lives: Lycurgus* 8.3), the Hellenic lawgiver Lycurgus divided the land of the Laconians among his "free provincials, in thirty thousand lots," that of the Spartans "in nine thousand lots." Similar divisions were instituted in the division of Canaan among the twelve tribes (Joshua, chs. 13–19).

10 Justinian's laws governing inheritance stipulate (like that in Numb. 27:7–11) that in intestate cases when no sons are alive, the deceased's daughter, grandson or granddaughter of a son or of a grandson are next in line as legitimate heirs (*Institutes of Justinian*, lib. 3, tit. 1, § 2, p. 266).

11 Exod. 21:28–32; Plato (*Leges* 9.873e).

The Punishment of Corporal Injuries, was *Like for Like*. [Exod. 21.23, 25.] Agreeably hereto, *Justinian* will tell you, *Pœna ex lege duodecim Tabularum, propter membrum ruptum, Talio erat*.¹² But if Satisfaction were given by a Fine, the Judges were they that sett it. [Exod. 21.22.]

So saith *Sextus Cæcilius* in *A. Gellius*; *Nolo hic ignores, hanc quoque ipsam Talionem, ad astimationem Judicis redigi, necessariò Solitam*.¹³ In Case of Damage done by a *Beast*, compare the Law of *Exodus*, with that of the *Twelve Tables*; *Si Equus calcitrosus calce percusserit, aut Bos Cornu petero solitus, Cornu petierit, noxæ dedantur*.¹⁴

Upon the Miscarriage of *Nadah* and *Abihu*, that Command was given, [Lev. 10.9.] *Do not drink Wine or strong Drink, when yee go into the Tabernacle of the Congregation, lest yee Die*. And *Plato* informs us, (*De Leg. 2.*) That by the Law of the *Carthaginians*, no Man that was to enter upon an Office, or Business of Moment, might so much as Taste any Wine; which was resembled by another of *Lycurgus*, that *Plato* much commended.¹⁵

The *Dietetic* Lawes, in the Eleventh of *Leviticus*; were imitated by *Lycurgus*, who, regulated the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Plutarch* saies, *Præscriptis Opsonijs atque Epulis*.¹⁶

The Law of *Moses*, which permitted a Man to marry his Brothers Widow, where there was no Heir, was also the Law of *Solon*, where the Husband was Impotent; and yett he allowed any Man that siezed an *Adulterer*, to do as *Phinehas* in that Case did, & forthwith to kill him. The *Julian* Law, as well as the *Solonic*, punished *Incest*, & *Sodomy*, with the same Severity, that the *Mosaic* {did}.¹⁷

12 The ancient *Lex Talionis* (law of retribution) of Roman Emperor Justinianus set forth that "The penalty [for injuries] under the law of the Twelve Tables was a limb for a limb" (*Institutes of Justinian*, lib. 4, tit. 4, § 7, p. 421). See also Mather's glosses on Exod. 21:14–32.

13 The Roman jurist Sextus Cæcilius Africanus (d. c. 169 CE), in discussing the *Lex Talionis* of an eye for an eye, tells his companion Favorinus, "I want you to realize this, that this retaliation also was wont of necessity to be subject to the discretion of a judge" (*A. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ* 20.1.37).

14 Exod. 21:35 stipulates, "If one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the money of it; and the dead ox also they shall divide." Likewise, the *Institutes of Justinian* decrees the same punishment: "If a kicking horse should kick, or an ox, apt to gore, should inflict an injury with his horns," then the animals are to be relinquished as restitution (lib. 4, tit. 9, p. 467–68).

15 Plutarch (*Parallel Lives: Lycurgus* 28.4) and Plato (*Leges* 2.674ac). Aristotle, too, had a high opinion of Carthaginian law and government (*Politics* 11.11.1272b, 25ff).

16 Lycurgus emphasized a sparse diet and physical activity for all Spartans, especially the young (*Parallel Lives: Lycurgus* 10.2–3), and "required them to steal whatever food they can" (17.4–5).

17 The proscription against marrying one's brother's wife (Lev. 18:16) does not apply in the case of a Leviratic marriage (Deut. 25:5–6), when an offspring is to be procreated for the deceased brother. The laws of Solon similarly governed cases of performing marital duties, in Plutarch (*Parallel Lives: Solon* 20.1–4). Those caught in the act of adultery were liable to be killed in Solon's time (*Parallel Lives: Solon* 23.1) – perhaps in the same manner as Phinehas did with

Lycurgus forbad the *Spartans*, as *Moses* did the *Jewes*, To marry with *Strangers*. And the Degrees of Affinity prohibited in Marriage, *secundum Jus Vetus Romanum*, [Just. Just. L. 1. T. 10.] are much the same, with those that are sett down in the *Mosaic Law*.¹⁸

The Removing of *Landmarks*, is forbidden, by *Moses*, and by *Plato*, almost, in the same Words.¹⁹

[36v] *Moses*, and *Solon*, and *Plato*, require of a *Thief*, the same Restitution. | And whereas the *Insolent Thief* was to be sold, [Exod. 22.3.] we find in *A. Gellius* too, That *Lex duodecim Tabularum*, *Furem in Servitutem tradit*. And as the Divine Law, would have no Blood shed for a Thief, kill'd in the Act, before Sun-rising; *Plato* too, would have it no Crime to kill a *Nocturnal Thief*; and the *Decemviri*, *Furem tum demum occidi permiserunt, si cum faceret Furtum, Nox esset*.²⁰

A *False Testimony*, was punished among the *Israelites*, by the Rule of *Retaliation*. The *Romans* punished it, with casting the convicted Person from the *Tarpeian Rock*. But the *Greeks*, thinking, as it seems, that God by the Third Commandment reserved unto himself the Punishment of this Crime; no Legislator, for a long Time, took further Notice of it, than to hold the Criminal in Disgrace; *Charondus* the *Catanian*, as *Aristotle* tells us, was the first that ordained a Mulct for it.²¹

his javelin to the Israelite who lay with a Midianite woman (Numb. 25:6–8). Much the same appears in *Institutes of Justinian* (lib. 5, tit. 18, § 4, p. 505). The Julian marriage laws stipulated banishment for incest and death for sodomy (*Institutes of Justinian*, lib. 1, tit. 10, §§ 1–8; lib. 4, tit. 18, § 4). Lev. 20:11–14 and Lev. 18:22; 21:13.

18 *Lycurgus* tried to suppress foreign habits and customs among his people by regulating their interactions with strangers (Plutarch, *Parallel Lives: Lycurgus* 28.3–4); Deut. 7:3. *The Institutes of Justinian* (lib. 1, tit. 10, § 2, pp. 33–34) governed that “a brother and sister are forbidden to marry, whether they are the children of the same father and mother, or of one of the two only”; Lev., ch. 18.

19 Deut. 19:14, 27:17; Plato (*Leges* 8.843a).

20 Leviticus (ch. 22) specifies the required restitution for various crimes against the property of another; Solon abolished the Draconian laws which treated every crime as a capital offense (Plutarch, *Parallel Lives: Solon* 17.1–2); Plato required restitution as well (*Leges* 9.857ab). The Latin passage adapted from Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* (11.18, lines 6–7), reads in the full text, “*Decemviri autem nostri, qui post reges exactos leges, quibus populus Romanus uteretur, in XII tabulis scripserunt, neque pari severitate in poeniendis omnium generum furibus neque remissa nimis lenitate usi sunt. Nam furem, qui manifesto furto pressus esset, tum demum occidi permiserunt, si aut, cum faceret furtum, nox esset, aut interdiu telo se, cum prenderetur, defenderet*.” But our decemvirs, who after the expulsion of the kings compiled laws on *Twelve Tables* for the use of the Romans, did not show equal severity in punishing thieves of every kind, nor yet too lax leniency. For they permitted a thief who was caught in the act to be put to death, only if it was night when he committed the theft, or if in the daytime he defended himself with a weapon when taken.” And Plato asserts that “if he [owner] catches a thief entering his home at night to steal his goods, and kills him [thief], *he shall be innocent*” (*Leges* 9.874bc).

21 The ancient Sicilian lawgiver Charondas of Catania (c. 650 BCE), according to Aristotle (*Politics* 2.12.1274b, 6–9), punished perjury with denunciation and transgressions with fines

Other Lawgivers, besides *Moses*, forbad the *Multiplying of Silver & Gold*. *Lycurgus* was one, & *Plato* was another. *Usury* was as odious, among the ancient *Persians*, and *Græcians*, and *Romans*, while they continued vertuous, as among the *Israelites*.²²

All Causes among the *Israelites*, too difficult for Inferiour Courts, were finally heard by the Supream Judges of all: Thus *Hippodamus*, the *Milesian*, ordained one *Chief Court of Justice*, to which all Causes, that appeared ill decided in any other, should be brought by Appeal. And it was the Advice which *Mecænas* gave to *Augustus*, *Nemo tam integram potestatem in Judicijs habere debet, quin ab eo provocare liceat*.²³

God required Justice to be administred indifferently unto all, and of the Afflicted. He saies, *If the Afflicted cry to Him, He will certainly Hear their Cry*. This taught *Plato*, in like Manner, to say of God, Φύλαξ διαφέρων τοῦ παθόντος γίγνεται *He becomes an Eximious Guardian to the Afflicted*. Especially, God forbad the Oppression of a *Stranger*. Which *Plato* minded so as to say, That of all Injuries, those done to *Strangers*, ἐστὶ εἰς Θεὸν ἀνηρητημένα τιμωρὸν μᾶλλον, *God took a particular Care to Revenge them*.²⁴

Thus the most Renowned Persons among the Pagans, confessed the Excellency of those Oracles, that gave *Lawes* unto the *Jewes*.²⁵

(*Constitution of Athens* 8). On the ethics of mendacity in Aristotle and Plato, see J.S. Zembaty's "Aristotle on Lying."

²² Both Plato (*Leges* 5.742ad) and Aristotle (*Politics* 1.10–11) strongly discourage usury or lending for interest. See also John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, caps. 9–10, pp. 713–24.

²³ Every town in ancient Israel had its own small Sanhedrin (court) for religious and civil matters. Appeals were referred to the Great Sanhedrin, which was the supreme authority in the land (*JE*). The Greek architect, mathematician, and philosopher Hippodamus of Miletus (498–408 BCE), "father of urban planning," established a supreme court to which all appeals could be referred for final decision (Aristotle, *Politics* 2.8.1267b, 40–41). Gaius Cilnius Maecenas (70–c. 8 BCE), renowned patron of the arts and political advisor to Augustus Caesar, aka. Octavian (BCE 63–14 CE), warned his liege that "nobody should have power so absolute in the legal processes, unless it is lawful to make an appeal to them."

²⁴ Plato (*Leges* 730a, lines 7–8; 729e, lines 4–5)

²⁵ Mather appears to have drawn this lengthy annotation from a variety of sources (including John Selden's famous *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* [1640], as can be seen in the large number of short paragraphs and one-liners. Theophilus Gale's *The Court of the Gentiles* (1672), part 1, bk. 3, ch. 9, pp. 87–95, claims that the ancient lawgivers of Greece and Rome, Lycurgus, Solon, and Numa, but also the Greek philosophers, such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle – all derived their moral and civic laws from the Mosaic Pentateuch. By travelling to Egypt and Phoenicia, they encountered learned Jews who taught them the precepts of Moses along with the philosophy of the Mosaic hexameron (*Court of the Gentiles*, bk. 3, ch. 3, pp. 34–52). Gale was neither the first nor last to posit this argument. See Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.21–29; 2.5, 18, 22; 5.14; 6.3–5).

[37r] |
2451.

Q. This Expression, *Hee shall surely be putt to Death*, (it often recurrts among the Lawes,) about what kind of *Death* are we to understand it? v. 1.

A. When tis only said, *Hee shall surely be putt to Death*, it means, by *Strangling*; But when tis added, *His Blood shall be upon him*; then *Stoning* is intended.²⁶

[37v] | [blank]

[38r] |
498.

Q. In giving of Lawes to *Israel*, why doth *Moses* begin with the Lawes about *Servants*? v. 1.

A. Because they had been *Servants* themselves; and it was very proper to begin with such things, as might mind them of their late Condition, and such things whereof they might bee further minded by their late Condition.²⁷

916.

Q. Why is the Term of *Seven Years* limited for an Hebrew Servitude? v. 2.

A. Doubtless, there is a Character of *Sabbatism* to bee considered in this Term. Nevertheless, there may seem in it also, a Consideration, and Contradiction of the Hardship, that *Jacob*, the Father of the *Israelites* mett withal. When *Jacob* was with his Hard Uncle, hee served *Seven Years*; now, in Remembrance of this Cruelty, the Children of *Jacob*, may not make one of their Nation serve more than *Six*.²⁸

Q. *If thou buy an Hebrew Servant.*] Of what Sort? v. 2.

A. Some sold themselves, by reason of *Poverty*. Of that Sort, the Hebrewes understand that Law; Lev. XXV.39.

²⁶ The phrase “he shall surely be put to death” occurs in several directives of the Pentateuch: Exod. 21:12; Lev. 20:13, 15, 16; Numb. 35:16, etc. According to Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (52b, 84b, 89a), death by strangulation was imposed when no other forms of capital punishment were stipulated. Death by lapidation was imposed for a variety of reasons: for touching Mt. Sinai when Moses received the Law (Exod. 19:13), when an ox gored someone to death (Exod. 21:28), for Sabbath-breaking, cursing God, or rebellion (Numb. 15:32–36; Lev. 24:10–16; Deut. 21:18–21), for various forms of idolatry (Lev. 20:2–5, 20:27; Deut. 17:2–7, 13:7–12), and for violating the codes of sexual conduct (Deut. 22:13–21, 22:23–24). For the handling of capital punishment in the Bible, see “Capital Punishment” (*JE*), “Punishments and Crimes” (*ABD*), and W. J. Webb, *Corporeal Punishment in the Bible*.

²⁷ A similar rationale underlies the command to observe the Sabbath as a reminder of the Israelites’ ancient servitude in Egypt (Deut. 5:15) and of the six days of Creation followed by a day of rest. This linkage is asserted by Nachmanides (*Commentary* 2:340–42) and many others.

²⁸ See John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 7, pp. 704–08.

Others were sold by the Court of Judgment; which was in Case of a *Theft*, for which they were not able to make Restitution. Of these, they interpret, Deut. XV.12. But this Sale, they say, did not extend unto both Sexes; For a Woman was not to be Sold for *Theft*.²⁹

1523.

Q. The design of the Custome, To *Bore the Servants Ear*; what was it? v. 6.

A. As a Sign of Honour to that Noble and Useful Part, the *Ear*, they did of old insert Rings of Gold, or Silver, with Jewels, into small *Perforations* of it. This was the Custom of the Orientals; according to that of *Juvenal*;

*Natus ad Euphratem, melles quod in Aure Fenestra
Arguerint.*³⁰

Hence, the Lord expressed His Bounty to His People, by that, in Ezek. 16.12. *I putt Ear-rings in thine Ears*. And it is evident, from Exod. 32.2. *Earrings, in the Ears of Sons, & of all the People*, that it was an Ornament not confined unto the Female Sex. (Compare, Num. 31.50. and Judg. 8.24.)³¹

But how came this to bee a Sign of *Servitude*, the *Boring of the Servants Ear*? Tis to bee answered, This was not a Mark of their being *Servants*; but a Testimony of their Voluntary Subjection & Obedience unto their *Masters*, & a Mark whereby they might bee known to bee *Theirs*. The great Love of the *Servant* unto his *Master*, made him to continue where hee was, and a Service, not constrained, but Loving and Cheerful, was testified, by the *Boring* of the *Ear*. The Perforation of that Organ of *Hearing*, signified, the Servants Resolution to *Hearken* unto the Voice of his Master. And probably, the *Master* did herewithal putt into the Ear of the *Servant*, a Ring of some Value, according to the Esteem, which hee had of his Faithfulness; to hang there, as a visible & perpetual *Memento*, of his Dutifulness.

The *Arabians*, from long before the Dayes of *Job*, had no mean Opinion of this Peece of Gallantry, as *Petronius* has informed us.³² Yea, *Pliny* saies, that punching a Lap of the Ear, and putting some Ornament there into, was an

²⁹ Patrick, Exod. 21:2 (*Exodus* 389) and *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* (2:336–37).

³⁰ Adapted from Juvenal (*Satire* 1.104–05), whose wealthy freedman defends his right to civil privileges even though he acknowledges his former servitude: “I was born on the Euphrates – a fact that the womanly windows [holes] in my ears would proclaim.” Mather misspells *Euphratem* as *Euphraten*; here silently corrected.

³¹ Mather’s primary source appears to be Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozaicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 6, col. 781, lines 32–40. For much the same, see Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:414).

³² The Roman satirist Petronius (c. 27–66 CE) has Giton jest, “circumcide nos, ut Iudaei videamur, et pertunde aures, ut imitemur Arabes” (*Satyricon* 102): “please circumcise us too so that we look like Jews, and bore our ears to imitate Arabians.” The Latin passage is quoted in Bochart’s *Hierozaicon* (col. 781, lines 46–48) and repeated in Poole, on Exod. 21:6, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:414, lines 23–26).

universal Practice, in the *Eastern Parts* of the World.³³ Other Authors observe the same, concerning the *Africans*; whence that Raillery in *Plautus*, *Digitos in manibus non habent; Incedunt Annulatis Auribus*: hee speaks it of the *Carthaginian* Servants.³⁴ Among the *Romans*, how wide Incisions they made, for *Ear-rings*, Lett the Poet say;

*Auribus extensis, Magnos commisit Elenchos.*³⁵

At last, they became so lavish; that *Seneca* complains, *whole Patrimonies dangled at the Ladies Ears*: which unsufferable Prodigality, was lash'd by the Christian Fathers, who complained with *Tertullian*, *Graciles Aurium cutes, Kalendarium expendant*; they laid out a whole Years Revenue in those Trifles.³⁶

[38v] | And while wee are Discoursing on this Matter, wee will here observe; That *Ears* were Bored sometimes, and Ringed, for *Idolatrous Purposes*. [Consider, Gen. 35.2, 4.] *Enchanted Rings* were usual, as wee learn from diverse Passages in History, besides that of *Gyges*: which may bee one Reason, why they were called, *Lechashim*; from *Lachash*, to whisper, to mutter, to *charm*. *Gold Rings* were a sort of *Talismans*, used, as *Petronius* relates, to Repel Diseases, and Perform Wonders.³⁷ In their *Ear-rings* they had the Effigies of their Deities, & they were the *Phylacteries of their Gods*. *Austin* reproves the execrable Superstition of the *Ligatures*, in

33 Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 11.50.136).

34 The early Roman playwright Titus Maccus Plautus (c. 254–184 BCE) captures the contemporary rivalry between the Carthaginians and the Romans, when Milphio, a servant of Agorastocles Adulescens, jokes with his master that the Carthaginian servants “have no fingers on their hands”; that is why “they go with their rings in their ears” (*Poenulus* 5.2.980–81).

35 Juvenal’s misogynist narrator rants that an indulgent woman takes all the freedom she wishes, once she “has fastened giant pearls to her elongated ears” (*Satire* 6.459).

36 Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger) vents his ire at the conspicuous consumption of the haute monde of his day: “Video uniones non singulos singulis auribus comparatos; iam enim exercitatae aures oneri ferundo sunt; iunguntur inter se et insuper alii binis superponuntur. Non satis muliebris insania viros susperiecerat, nisi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus singulis pependissent” (*De Beneficiis* 7.9.4–5). Mather provides the translation of the last sentence. Tertullian’s oft-quoted Latin passage appears in several of his works, including his *Apologeticus Adversus Gentes pro Christianis*, cap. 6 [PL 001. 0304A] and *De Cultu Foeminarum*, lib. 1, cap. 9 [PL 001. 1314B]. Be that as it may, Tertullian complains, they spend “a whole month’s worth [of money] on the fine appearance of their ear,” or more poetically, they “have every member of the body heavy laden with gold” (*ANF* 3:23). Pliny, in his *Natural History* (9.56), follows suit: Our ladies quite glory in having these [bulbs of pearls] suspended from their fingers, or two or three of them dangling from their ears. Mather has much to offer on the topic of female comportment as well in his *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion* (1691), esp. “Counsel” 4–5, pp. 49–60, a work on female conduct, including her apparel. The work went through at least four editions, the 1694 imprint being published by Thomas Parkhurst in London. See also Richard Brathwait’s *The English Gentlewoman, drawn out to the full Body* (1631).

37 Glaucon tells the story of the magical ring which renders Gyges of Lydia invisible, in Plato’s *Republic* (2.359d–360b). Petronius tells his story about golden charms in his *Satyricon* (67).

those Dayes made with *Ear-rings* which the Men wore, in *Summis ex unâ parte Auriculis, ad Serviendum Dæmonibus*.³⁸ Hee calls them, *The Mark of the Diel*.³⁹

1691.

Q. The *Mosaic Law*, allows a Man to *Sell* his *Daughter*. I have mett with a *Deist*, cavilling, that so unnatural and covetous a Practice could not bee allowed by a *Law of God?* v. 7.

A. And I have mett with an Answer of his Cavils, to this Purpose.

This is barely a *Provisional Law*, and not the *Permission* of the Thing, so much as the *Regulation* of it. And yett, in Case a Jew do such a Thing, upon an extraordinary Necessity, the Daughter was not hereby brought into the Condition of a *Servant*, but was to bee betrothed unto the Man that bought her, or unto the Son of that Man. This Restrained the Promiscuous Buying and Selling of Daughters, merely for the Satisfaction of Lust. And the Jewes tell us, This was never to bee done, but where there was a Præsumption of such a *Betrothing*. This was therefore look'd on, as a kind of Espousal of a Girle, by another taken into Wardship: Yett so, that shee were not *Betrothed*, shee was to remain her Six Years, during her Minority, unless she were Redeem'd, or, Sett free, or the *Jubilee* came, or the Master Dyed, or the Time of her Minority expired.⁴⁰

Yea, The Case of *Necessity* being supposed, it ha's been thought lawful, for *Parents* to make Advantage by their *Children*, by other Nations as well as the *Jewes*, who have been in the greatest Esteem for Wisdome. For by the Law of the *Twelve Tables* among the *Romans*, the Father had the Liberty of Selling his Son Three Times, for his own Advantage, as tis related by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.⁴¹ And before Then, it was not only in Use among the *Romans*, but in such

³⁸ Adapted from St. Augustine's *Epistola CCXLV. Augustinus Possidio, de cultu, fucis et inauribus, et de non ordinando quodam in parte Donati baptizato* § 2 [PL 033. 1061], and in C. XXXVIII. *Colorum fucis mulieres uti non debent. Item Augustinus ad Possidium, et qui cum eo sunt fraters, epist. LXXIII.* [PL 187. 1868B]. In his letter to Possidius, bishop of Calama, Augustine takes issue with men who wear "ear-rings at the top of the ear on one side" thereby "doing homage to devils" (*NPNFi* 1:588).

³⁹ On the ancient custom of boring a servant's ears, see Sir James George Frazer's *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (vol. 3, part 4, ch. 3, pp. 164–269).

⁴⁰ See Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:414–15) and *Works* (5:85–86). Representative of all the classic rabbinic commentators, Rashi glosses on Exod. 21:7, "This verse speaks of a minor [daughter]. One might think [that the verse applies] even if she shows signs [of puberty]. You must say [that this is not so] *a fortiori*: Just as one who is sold beforehand (as a minor) goes free upon showing signs [of puberty], as is written: 'She goes out free, with no repayment of money,' which we expound as referring to one who shows signs of adolescence, then one who has not yet been sold [at this age] does logic not dictate that she not be sold at all?" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 2:280) and tractate Nezikin (ch. 3), in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (2:367–68).

⁴¹ Dionysius Halicarnassus (c. BCE 60–post 7 BCE), Roman historian and rhetorician during the reign of Augustus Caesar, reveals a father's almost absolute power over his own offspring in *Roman Antiquities* (2.26.4 and 2.27.1–5). The *Leges Duodecim Tabularum*, or the Twelve Tables of the ancient Roman law allowed a father (Tab. 4, tit. 4) to sell his unmarried son up

Esteem among them, that upon the Review of their Lawes, the *Decemviri* durst not leave it out; but by one of the Lawes of *Numa Pompilius*, it was restrain'd unto the Times before *Marriage*; for in Case, the Son had the Fathers Consent to *Marry*, hee could not sell him afterwards.⁴² This Law continued in force among them, till *Christianitie* prevailed in the Roman Empire: For altho' there were a Prohibition of *Dioclesian* against it, yett that signified nothing, till *Constantine* took effectual Care, *That such Indigent Parents should bee Releev'd out of the Public Charge*.⁴³ And yett, after this, the Custome did continue, when the *Parents* were in great Want, as appears by a Law of *Theodosius*; *Omnes quos parentur miseranda Fortuna, in Servitium, dum Victum requirunt, addixit, Jugenuitati pristinae reformatur*.⁴⁴ And even in *Constantines* Time also, notwithstanding his Law, *Parents*, which thought themselves overcharged with *Children*, would still part with their Interest in them, unto others, for advantage; but it was chiefly while they were *Sanguinolenti*, as the Law expresses it; that is to say, *New-born*.⁴⁵

By the Lawes of *Athens*, before the *Time*, of *Solon*, *Parents* might sell their *Children* as appears by his *Life*, in *Plutarch*; and the same is reported of the *Phrygians* by *Philostratus*: Tis then also among the *Chinese*, at this day, if *Persons* think themselves unable to bring up their *Offspring*.⁴⁶ Two things are to bee said for it; One is, The Natural Obligation, lying on *Children* to provide for their *Parents* in their Necessity, any Way that they are able. Another is, The Probability

to three times, after which king's bargain, the son was to attain his freedom from paternal authority. *De Patria Potestate*, in *The Institutes of Justinian* (lib. 1, tit. 9, § 1, pp. 29–30), reaffirmed parental power over their children's liberty.

42 Plutarch (*Parallel Lives: Numa* 17.4) praises the Roman lawgiver Numa for amending the ancient Roman law permitting fathers to sell their sons: Numa "made an exception of married sons, provided they had married with the consent and approval of the father. For he [Numa] thought it a hard thing that a woman who had married a man whom she thought free, should find herself living with a slave."

43 Roman Emperor Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus (c. 244–311), aka. Dioclesian, is prominently remembered as a persecutor of the early Christians. Eusebius Pamphilus relates in his *Life of Constantine* (1.43, 3.48, 4.44) that the munificence of Constantine the Great (c. 272–337 CE) was boundless: "Orphans of the unfortunate he cared for as a father, while he relieved the destitution of widows, and cared for them with special solicitude" (*NPNFii* 1:494). He "bestowed abundant provision for the necessities of the poor, desiring even thus to invite them to seek the doctrines of salvation" (*NPNFii* 1:536); finally, "he also distributed lavish supplies of money and clothing among the naked and destitute" (*NPNFii* 1:552).

44 Mather cites from *Codicis Theodosiani Libri XVI* (1586), lib. 3. tit. 3, p. 42. Titled, "De Patribus qui filios distraxerunt" ("Fathers who have sold their Children"), the law stipulates that "all those person whom the piteous fortune of their parents has consigned to slavery while their parents thereby were seeking sustenance shall be restored to their original status of free birth" (*Theodosian Code* 3.3.1, p. 65).

45 *Sanguinolenti*, derived from the Latin *sanguinolentus*, "Of or pertaining to blood; tinged or stained with or containing blood," though now mostly used in pathology (*OED*) is here applied to "newborns" still stained with the blood of their mother.

46 Plutarch (*Parallel Lives: Solon* 13.2–3, 23.1–2). In his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (8.7.12), Flavius Philostratus (c. 170–c. 247 CE), the Athenian sophist, reports that the Phrygians did not consider slavery and servitude disgraceful and even sold their own children.

of better Education under more able Persons. The *Thebans* had a Law, *That Parents in Case of Poverty, were to bring their Children unto a Magistrate, as soon as they were born, & put them out unto such as were Judg'd fitt to bring them out, & to have their Service for the Reward.*⁴⁷

| [39r]
Q. The Wilful Murderer, to be *Taken from the Altar*? v. 14.

A. It seems to be determined, Deut. XIX.12. The *Elders of the City*, were the Persons, that were to *take* him. In aftertimes, the King ordered it.

If a Man Refused to come from the *Altar*, after Proof of a Capital Crime, he might be killed There; as *Ritter[s]husius* shoves, in his Book, *De Jure Asylo-rum*; where he observes, out of *Plutarch*, That *Agesilaus* declared publicly at the Altar of *Pallas*, where he sacrificed an *Oxe*, that he thought it lawful to kill one who treacherously assaulted him, even at the *Altar*.⁴⁸

Q. Why so severe a Law, against him who *Stole a Man, & Sold* him? v. 16.

A. No *Israelite* would buy him: And therefore such *Plagiaries* sold him to Men of other Nations. This made the Crime to be punished with Death; because it was a Cruel Thing, not only to take away his Liberty, but also to make him a Slave to Strangers.⁴⁹

| [39v]
Q. *He shall cause him to be thoroughly healed*? v. 19.

A. *L'Empereur* notes, that the Civil Law ha's made just such a Provision, as we find here in the Constitution of *Moses*. *Iudex computat mercedes medicis præstitas, cæteraque impendia, quæ in curatione facta sunt. Præterea operas quibus caruit, aut cariturus est, ob id, quod inutilis factus sit.*⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The Roman rhetorician Claudius Aelianus (c. 175–c. 234) relates in his *De Varia Historia* (2.7) that the Theban law forbade impoverished parents to kill their children by exposure, and decreed that these children be brought to the magistrates for adoption for a fee by foster parents who would raise them and employ them as servants or slaves.

⁴⁸ Mather, via Patrick (*Exodus* 397), refers to the Prussian jurist Georgius Rittershusius (1596–c. 1664), whose ΑΣΥΛΙΑ, *hoc est, De Jure Asylo-rum Tractatus locupletissimus* (1624), cap. 8, p. 118 (see also cap. 3, § 16, p. 33) discusses crime and punishment in the context of granting sanctuary. Plutarch (*Parallel Lives: Agesilaus* 32.3–6) narrates that Agesilaus, king of the Lacedemonians, tricked his rebellious countrymen to leave their sanctuary in the temple of Artemis and had them executed after they deemed themselves pardoned.

⁴⁹ Patrick (*Exodus* 399) and John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 668. Maimonides (*Guide* 3.41.562) equates kidnapping with murder. See also Samuel Sewall's *The Selling of Joseph A Memorial* (1700), p. 1. See also Stievertmann's "Genealogy of Races."

⁵⁰ Patrick, on Exod. 21:19 (*Exodus* 401, 402). Mather quotes directly from Constantinus L'Empereur de Oppyck (1591–1647), בבא קמא [Baba Kama] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus Liber Singularis* (1637), cap. 8, sec. 1, p. 197, who in his turn cites the *Institutes of Justinian* (lib. 4, tit. 5, § 1, p. 425): "De obligationibus quæ quasi ex delicto nascuntur." Mather's

Q. On that, *An Eye for an Eye?* v. 24.

A. Mr. *Selden* in his *Table-talk*, (and lett it pass for such!) sais, “It does not mean, that if I putt out an other Mans *Eye*, therefore I must lose one of my own: For what is he the better for that? Tho’ this be commonly received. But it means, I shall give him what Satisfaction an *Eye* shall be judged to be worth.”⁵¹

Q. The Owner of an *Ox given to push*, by which a Man was killed; must he alwayes be putt to Death? v. 32.

A. Here is Provision made, *There may be laid upon him a Sum of Money*. Tis thus expounded by *L’Empereur*. Either the Knowledge which the Owner had of the Ill Conditions of his Oxe, was certain, or uncertain. And his Carelessness in preventing the Mischief he was wont to do, was greater or lesser. And the Friends of him that was killed, pressed the strictest Justice, or were content to Remitt it. In the former Cases, if the Knowledge were certain, the Carelessness very gross, & the Friends very strict in the Prosecution, he was punished with Death. But if otherwise, he was punished only by Setting a Fine upon him. God permitted the Judges to accept of a Ransome, as they saw Cause.⁵²

Q. The Lawes about *Mischievous Cattel?* v. 32.

A. *L’Empereur* on *Bava Kama* takes Notice, that *Solon* wrote, βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμον· *A Law concerning Mischief done by Cattel*; as *Plutarch* relates in his Life.⁵³

Q. Some Reason, why these Cases, rather than some others, are here insisted on? v. 32.

A. It is probable, they were then Cases in fact, actually depending before *Moses*; For, in the Wilderness, where they lay closely encamped, & had their Flocks & Herds among them, such Mischiefs were likely enough to be of a frequent Occurrence.⁵⁴

second-hand quotation from *Institutes Iustiniani* (via *L’Empereur*, p. 197) more accurately reads in the original, “*Judex enim computare debet mercedes medicis præstitas, ceteraque impendia, quæ in curatione facta sunt. Præterea operarum, quibus caruit, aut cariturus est, ob id, quod inutilis factus est,*” and translates, “The judge ought to take into account the fees paid to the physician, and all the other expenses of the man’s illness, as well as the employment which he has lost, or will lose, by being incapacitated” (*Institutes* 425).

⁵¹ John Selden, *Table-Talk: Being the Discourses of John Selden* (1689), “Retaliation,” p. 50. See also Mather’s gloss on Exod. 21:1, on the ancient *Lex Talionis* (above).

⁵² Patrick, on Exod. 21:30 (*Exodus* 409), paraphrases *L’Empereur*’s בבה קמא [Baba Kama] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus* (1637), cap. 4, sec. 5, pp. 79–86.

⁵³ Patrick, on Exod. 21:32 (*Exodus* 410–11). Mather cites directly from *L’Empereur*’s commentary on tractate בבה קמא [Baba Kama] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus* (1637), cap. 4, sec. 5, p. 85, along with *Plutarch*’s quote, βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμον, “a law concerning the damage done by cattle,” from *Plutarchi vitæ parallelæ: Solon* (24.3, line 1), a biography of the famed Hellenic lawgiver.

⁵⁴ See Selden’s *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 2, and Maimonides (*Guide* 3.41.558).

Q. *If a Man Steal an Oxe or a Sheep, hee shall Restore Five Oxen for an Oxe, and Four Sheep for a Sheep.* Why *Five* for the *Oxe*, when but *Four* for the *Sheep*? v. 1.¹

A. For diverse Causes; but this especially; The *Labour* of the *Oxe* was hindred in this Theft; and Restitution must bee made for *That*.²

Q. But are there not several other Points of exact Justice observable in these *Mosaic Lawes*?

A. Yes; We will touch upon a few of them.

If an *Ox*, *Ass*, or *Sheep* stolen, were *found Alive* in the Hand of the *Thief*, he was to *Restore Double*: [Ex. 22.4.] to witt, the Principal, and the Value of it, for the Trouble given to the Owner. *If kill'd, or sold*, he was to *Restore Fourfold*: [v. 1.] the Trouble of obtaining Restitution thereby becoming much the greater.³

If the *Thief* could not make *Restitution*, he was to be *Sold*: [v. 3.] rather than be kept for to work it out; lest he should study Revenge: Nor had every Owner, Occasion for such a Servant.⁴

He that committed a *Nocturnal Theft*, might innocently be killed. [Ex. 22.2.] For Killing is then frequently intended by the *Thief*, rather than fail of the *Theft*, or of Secrecy therein.⁵

When the Injury was done by a *Cheat*, the Principal was to be Restored, and a Fifth Part of the Value, to be added unto it. [Lev. 6.2, 5.] A Reparation much less than what was required upon a Downright *Theft*. Because one may have his Goods to be stolen, tho' he takes Care to præserved them; whereas, if he be cheated, it was more his own Fault.⁶

If a *Beast* entrusted with any Man, was evidently Stolen, he was to make it Good. For he that entrusts any thing with another, thinks it Safer in the Trustees Hands, than in his own; and he that accepts the Trust, bids him think it so. But if it were *driven away*, no Man seeing it, he was not bound then to make it Good. [Ex. 22.10.] For that, notwithstanding any thing appearing to

1 Mather's "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 22:1–4): "Franzius Interp. p. 749"; i. e., Wolfgang Franz's *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione Sacrarum* (1619), "Oraculum LIIX. Sacrum," addresses the question of restitution for a stolen and slaughtered animal.

2 Mather here paraphrases Henry Ainsworth's annotation on Exod. 22:1, in *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627), p. 85 (sec. ser. of pag.).

3 Maimonides, *Hilchot Geneivah* (1.6, 16), in *Mishneh Torah* (19:154, 160).

4 Maimonides, *Hilchot Geneivah* (3.11), in *Mishneh Torah* (19:180).

5 *Hilchot Geneivah* (9.7, 9), in *Mishneh Torah* (19:226). See also *The JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (2:185) and tractate *Nezikin* (ch. 13), in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (2:426–28).

6 *Hilchot Geneivah* (7.2, 8), in *Mishneh Torah* (19:208, 210).

the Contrary, might be done by the Owner himself. Nor if it were Torn. [Ex. 22.13.] Because he was not bound, for the Safety of another Mans *Beast*, to venture his own *Life*.⁷

Q. Was there not a Difference between *Penitent Theeves*, & *Impanitent*? v. 1.

A. There was a Difference, between a *Thief*, who came and confessed his Sin of his own Accord, & him that stood out until he was Apprehended and Convicted of it.

In the former Case, *Moses* requires only the *Restitution* of that which was stolen, with the Addition of a *Fifth Part* of the Value, & a Sacrifice. [Lev. 6.4, 5.] This was more æqual than *Plato's* Constitutions; which for all Thefts required the same Punishment, the Payment of *Double*; *εαν μεγαλ, εαντε σμικρον, κλεπτη τις*.⁸

[40v] | [blank]

[41r] |

Q. The Law, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*? v. 18.⁹

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, This Law about *Witches*, followes the Law about *Virgins*; because *Witches*, among other Practices, did by Evil Arts, allure silly *Virgins*, to consent unto the Sollicitations of their pretended Lovers. *Epiphanius* reports, from one that saw it, such a magical Operation used by a *Jew*, to procure the Love of a *Christian*, who was præserv'd, from the *δυναμις φαρμακειας*, *Power of his Witchcraft*, by the Seal of *Christ*, wherewith she fortified herself. But such Wretches did a World of other Mischief, & were therefore to be putt to Death; whether Men or Women.¹⁰

7 Maimonides's explication of the laws pertaining to theft, in *Mishneh Torah: Hilchot Geneivah* (chs. 1–9) are echoed throughout this paragraph (*Sefer Nezikin* 152–229).

8 Maimonides, *Hilchot Geneivah* (1.5), in *Mishneh Torah* (19:154). Plato (*Leges* 9.857, line 3) insists that *ἐάντε μέγα ἐάντε σμικρόν κλέπτη τις*, the thief “*must* pay twice the value of the stolen article” (*Works* 1514).

9 “Note Book of Authors” identifies “Perkins Works, vol. 3. p. 607” as Mather’s recommended source on Exod. 22:18. The distinguished English theologian and master of Cambridge University, William Perkins (1558–1602), was highly influential in the Puritan movement during the Elizabethan period (*ODNB*). His numerous works include his oft-reprinted *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft; So Farre Forth as it is Revealed in the Scriptures, and manifested by true experience* (Cambridge, 1608). Mather’s specific page references is to this discourse in *The Works of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. William Perkins. The third and last Volume. Newly corrected and amended* (London, 1631), pp. 607–652. Perkins’s well-known essay on Exod. 22:18, on the Mosaic proscription against witchcraft, was first published in 1608. In his *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), pp. xxvii–xxix, Mather abstracts Perkins’s guidelines on the nature and culpability of witchcraft.

10 Patrick (*Exodus* 423–24). In his book on heresies, St. Epiphanius of Salamis addresses *φαρμακειας δυναμις* “the power of his witchcraft” to ensnare a person, in *Panarion* (vol. 1, cap. 30, p. 344, § 8, line 7).

The Scripture indeed mentions a *Witch* only (saies the *Gemara* of the *Sanhedrim*, C.7. n. 10.) because, for the most Part, they were *Women*, who were addicted unto *Witchcraft*. And *Maimonides* gives the same Reason.¹¹

Maimonides adds, That in all *Witchcraft* there was a Respect unto the *Stars*. There was a *Worship of the Stars* in all they did. Now the Scope of the Law, was, that all *Idolatri* should be taken out of the World; & no Vertue ascribed unto any *Star*, for *Good* or *Evil*. It followed, That *Witches* were to be putt to Death, because they were *Idolaters*. But *Maimonides* thinks, A *Witch* is rather mentioned than a *Wizard*, (tho' both are intended,) because Men are naturally more Tender towards the Female Sex, & apt to favour them. Therefore, tis as if *Moses* had said; *Thou shalt kill, even a Woman, that is guilty of this Crime*.¹²

Other Hebrew Doctors, give this Reason, why *Witches* must not *live*; "Because they directly thwarted God most Blessed, who made all things, when He created them, for such & such Purposes; which they perverted, and by Devices of their own, made to serve other Ends, which God | never designed. They could not do this, without the Help of Evil Spirits. Therefore their Crime consisted in a Familiaritie, & Confœderacy with them, whose Assistance on such Occasion they invoked. And it was a Renouncing of GOD."¹³ [41v]

This was an Impiety, which had overspread the whole World; especially the *Eastern Parts* of it. And as for the *Romans*, we find a Law, as old, as the XII Tables, against *Witchcraft*. *Apud nos in Duodecim Tabulis cavetur, nè quis alienos*

11 R. Judah explains the rabbinic tradition as follows: "Our Rabbis taught: [Thou shalt not suffer] a witch [to live]: this applies to both man and woman. If so, why is a [female] witch stated? – Because mostly women engage in witchcraft," in Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (67a). And Maimonides adds the following reasons in his מורה נבכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629) 3.37.445–46: "With regard to most of these magical practices, they [Sabian/Zabian idolaters] pose the condition that those who perform them should necessarily be women." For instance, to discover water, "ten virgins must put on ornaments and red clothes and dance and crawl, going in turn forward and backward, and point to the sun, and perform the rest of this long operation until, as they think the water goes forth. In the same way they mention that if four women lie down upon their backs, raise their legs, holding them apart, and say and do certain things while in this disgraceful posture, hail will cease falling down upon that place. And they [idolaters] recount many such fables and ravings. And you will never find them posing some condition other than that they should be performed by women. In all magical operations it is indispensable that the stars should be observed" (*Guide* 3.37.541–42).

12 מורה נבכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629) 3.37.445–46 or *Guide* (3.37.542).

13 Patrick (*Exodus* 425) translates the passage from R. Aaron ben Joseph ha-Levi of Barcelona, whose halachic explication of the Torah's 613 mitzvot ספר החינוך *Sefer ha-Chinnuk* [Book of Education] appeared in Johann Heinrich Hottinger's bilingual edition *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655). The passage in quotation marks (which Mather transcribes from Patrick) appears in the Hebrew and Latin version in *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. VI, praecept. LXII (on Exod. 22:18), pp. 71–72.

Fructus excantassit, saith *Seneca*; L. IV. Nat. Quæst. c. 7. where he mentions the like Law among the *Athenians*. The *Greeks* were extremely addicted unto it especially in *Thessaly*. *Plato* in his *Eleventh Book of Lawes*, orders Punishments for the various Wayes of it.¹⁴

Q. On that, *Thou shalt neither vex a Stranger, nor oppress him?* v. 21.

A. The first of these, the Hebrews will have to consist, in a not upbraiding of him with his former State of Paganism; or giving him any Afflicting Words, *Remember what thou wast, or which thy Father did*. The Second consisted in using him hardly in their Dealing with him, as in making him to pay for a thing more than it was worth; R. *Levi of Barcelona* observes, That Maltreating of *Proselytes*, might be a Temptation unto them, to return unto *Idolatry*.

The Jews observe, That for that Reason, this Præcept is inculcated in one & twenty Places.¹⁵

2334.

Q. What may bee the Intention of that Passage, *Thou shalt not Revile the Gods?* v. 28.

A. I'll recite unto you, the Words of a late Writer upon it.

"I never liked making Sport with any Mans Religion. Tis a very Inhumane cruelty. Perhaps that Precept in the *Mosaic Law*, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the Gods of the People*, is to bee understood in this Sense. For, when the Jewes were going into a strange Countrey, it was the most probable Way, to gain Proselytes unto their Law, rather to demonstrate the Truth of their own, than to Rail at the Heathens Religion."

¹⁴ Patrick (*Exodus* 425–26) cites from the ancient Roman Codex, the Twelve Tables, as given in L. Annaei Seneca (c. BCE 4–c. 65 CE), *Quaestiones Naturales* (4.7.2): "In our society, the Twelve Tables forbid to cast a spell on someone's crops." Plato (*Leges* 11.933e) insists that "If a diviner or soothsayer is deemed to be in effect injuring someone, by spells or incantations or charms or any other poison of that kind whatever, *he must die*" (*Works* 1586).

¹⁵ Patrick (*Exodus* 427) refers to R. Aaron ben Joseph ha-Levi of Barcelona's סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger's bilingual edition *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. VI, praecept. LXII–XIV, pp. 73–75. See also John Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 4, pp. 159–60; Talmud, tractate Berachoth (63b); Exod. 23:9, 30:33 etc., and tractate Nezikin (18), in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (2:451–54).

What I have against this (tho' I find *Philo* for it,) is; That it was *Julians* Exposition; which *Cyril* confuted.¹⁶

¹⁶ Via Patrick (*Exodus* 431) and John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 13, pp. 268–69, Mather alludes to Philo Judaeus's *De specialibus legibus* (1.53.4–5), who insists that “they [Jews] must not give a license to their jealous language and unbridled tongues, blaspheming those beings whom the other body looks upon as gods, lest the proselytes should be exasperated at such treatment, and in return utter impious language against the true and holy God” (*Works* 538–39). Philo offers the same caution in his *De Vita Mosis* (2.205.5–6) and *Works* (509). The Hellenist historian Josephus Flavius is in full agreement in his *Antiquities* (4.8.10): “let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such (*Complete Works* 96). In *Contra Julianum*, lib. 7 [PG. 76. 0217–251] Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria (c. 376–c. 444) reproaches the Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus Augustus (c. 331–363 CE), aka. “the Apostate,” for ridiculing and dismissing Christianity as a local, or Galilean, religion without any connection to the Old Testament.

Q. On that, *Thou shalt not follow a Multitude*; – v. 2.¹

A. It may also be rendred, *Thou shalt not follow the Great Ones*, the *Rich Ones*.²

Q. *If thou meet thy Enemies Oxe or Ass going astray*. – In Deut. 22.1, 2. instead of the Word, *Enemy*, we find *Moses* uses the Word, *Brother*? v. 4.

A. And therefore, as R. *Levi* of *Barcelona* tells us, the Jewish Doctors restrain the Word, *Enemy*, to an *Israelite*; as if they thought not themselves bound unto such Kindness, for one of another Nation.³

But, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, It should rather have taught them, to look upon all Men, even *Enemies*, as *Brethren*; having the same common Original, & bearing the Image of the same God.⁴

Q. *Thou shalt not wrest the Judgment of Thy Poor*? v. 6.

A. *Conr. {adus} Pellican* observes, There seems to be an Emphasis, in the Word, *THY Poor*: Importing that they had such a Relation to them, that they ought to be as much concerned for them, as any other Member of their Body.⁵

[42v] But the Jewes, fancying this | to be sufficiently included in the Third Verse, understand by the *Poor* here, A Bad Man: One who is, *Pauper Præceptorum*, not, *Pauper Facultatum*; One that wants *Vertue*, not, one that wants *Money*. To whom a Judge might not say, *He was a Wicked Fellow*, and condemn him, without any further Hearing of his Cause. For it belongs unto GOD, (saith R. *Levi Barcelonita*.) to execute Judgment upon the Ungodly; and not unto the Judges.⁶

1 Mather identifies “Taylors, Multitude no prevailing Argumt [*sic*]” as a potential source for his gloss on Exod. 23:2, in “Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible” (1720). The specific reference is to “Multitude no prevailing [*sic*] Argument” (on Exod. 23.2), a sermon preached at St. Magnus-the-Martyr, London, “at New-Years Tide in 1627,” by Thomas Taylor, D.D. (c. 1576–1632), of Richmond (Yorkshire), “sometimes Pastor of Mary Aldermanbury London.” This exegetical homily was published in Taylor’s huge collection of sermons and essays, *The Works of that Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ* (London, 1652), pp. 544–47, by Joseph Caryl (1602–1673), an ejected Puritan clergyman turned printer-publisher, at whose church Taylor had preached his sermon in 1627.

2 Patrick (*Exodus* 437). Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:430) and *Works* (5:143–44). The same argument is made by André Rivet, in his *Commentarii, In Librum secundum Mosi* (1634), pars 2, pp. 80–81; Junius and Tremellius, in *Biblia Sacra* (1593) render רַבִּים [*rabim*] as “potentiores” or “great men” (p. 76, note 3).

3 R. Aaron ben Joseph ha-Levi of Barcelona’s סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger’s *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. VII, praeept. LXVIII, pp. 82–83.

4 Patrick (*Exodus* 438).

5 Conradus Pellicanus, on Exod. 23:6, in *Commentaria Bibliorum* (1536), 1:96v.

6 R. ha-Levi of Barcelona’s סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger’s bilingual *Juris*

Q. *A Gift blinds the Eyes.*] What Gift? v. 8.

A. The Hebrew Lawyers say, That not only *Pecuniary Gifts* are here forbidden, but such *Words* also (perhaps they mean *Promises* of Reward,) as may win the Affection, and that he who gave the Present, was guilty, as well as he that Received it.

J. Coch, on the *Sanhedrin* and *Maccoth*, gives this ingenious Derivation of the Hebrew Word, *Schochad*, which we translate, *Gift*;⁷ Out of the Treatise, called, *Chetuboth*; where it is said to be as much as, *Schechu Chad*; that is, *whereby he is one*. For the Party, who receives the *Gift*, ha's his Mind so drawn to the Giver, that he *becomes one & the same with him*. And no Man is fitt to be a Judge in his own Cause.⁸ Plato thought this Law so necessary, that he expressly enacts, (L. XII. *de Legibus*,) that all Men, who served their Countrey in any Office, should, *δῶρων χωρὶς διακονεῖν*. *Perform their Duty without Gifts*.⁹ He adds; *ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἀπλῶς, τεθνάτω ἀλous τῇ δικῇ*. *He that offended against this Law, was to Suffer Death*. And this was the Law of the XII Tables among the Ancient Romans, *Iudex, qui ob rem dicendam, pecuniam accepisse convictus est, capite punitor*. In Plain English, The Judge that is convicted of having Received Money, for giving his Sentence, *Lett him Lose his Head*.¹⁰

Q. *On the Seventh Day, thou shalt Rest?*] v. 12.¹¹

A. He would have them know, That even in the *Sabbatical Year* itself, the *Weekly Sabbath* was to be kept with the usual Strictness. This may be the Reason of the Repetition here. R. *Levi Barcelonita*, observes, That this Præcept, is repeted in the Law, XII Times.

Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI (1655), sec. VII, praecept. LXIX, p. 84; and tractate Kaspā (ch. 3), in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (2:472).

⁷ Babylonian Talmud, tractates Sanhedrin (25b) and Makkoth (24a); *שַׁחַד* [shachad], i. e., “present, bribe” (Strong’s # 7810). Mather’s somewhat confusing reference to “J. Coch” is to Johannes Cocceius, aka. Johannes Koch, also Coch (1603–1669), the learned German-born Dutch Reformed theologian, Hebraist, and voluminous author, whose *Summa Doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei* (1648), is the most significant work on covenant theology of the period (EB). In the present context, Mather refers to Cocceius’s extracts and commentary on *Duo Tituli Thalmudici Sanhedrin et Maccoth* (1629). On Cocceius, see W.J. van Asselt’s *Federal Theology* (2001).

⁸ Babylonian Talmud, tractate Kethuboth (105ab); tractate Kaspā (ch. 3), in *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (2:475).

⁹ Plato (*Leges* 12.955c, line 6) insist that public servants *δῶρων χωρὶς χρῆ διακονεῖν* “perform their duties without taking bribes.” He adds (*Leges* 12.955d, line 3), *ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἀπλῶς τεθνάτω ἀλous τῇ δικῇ* “If a man [judge] disobeys and is convicted in court, the only penalty permitted is to be death” (*Works* 1604). The Latin translation concurs with the latter Greek quotation from Plato.

¹⁰ Patrick (*Exodus* 441–42). John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 13, sec. X, pp. 570–71.

¹¹ Mather’s “Note Book of Authors” (on Exod. 23:14) lists his previously cited “Franzius Interp. p. 1105”; i. e., Wolfgang Franz’s *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione Sacrarum* (1619), sec. CXXI, “De Vetere Pentecoste,” pp. 1105–1122.

As the Cautions against Idolatry, like that which next follows, are, as the same R. *Levi* observes, Repeated no less than XLIV times.¹²

[43r]

2318.

Q. The *Gospel* of the *Jewish Festivals*, may properly bee Introduced here? v. 15.

A. Then *here* you shall have it.

There were *Five Annual Festivals*. The Feast of the *Passeover*; the Feast of *Pentecost*; the Feast of *Tabernacles*; [the Two former of which, lasted *Seven* dayes together, & the last of them *Eight*; the *first* Day, & the *last* of them, were Holy Convocations; & all the *Males* must go up to *Jerusalem* at them:] and the Feast of *Trumpets*, & the Feast of *Expiation*.¹³

There were *Five General Rules*, to bee observed about all the Yearly Feasts.

First, The *Feasts* were all to bee celebrated at the Place which the Lord should choose; namely, at *Jerusalem*. An Intimation, That there are some Ordinances, which may not bee enjoy'd, but in *Church-Society*; such is the Lords-supper, which to Administer unto Persons Alone, upon their Death-beds, is unwarrantable.¹⁴

Secondly. The *Feasts* were all in the *Summer*-time, and not in the *Winter*. An Intimation, That God will have a Tenderness to the *Bodies* of His People in His Worship. And how great a Sin is it, for Men to Hurt their own Bodies!

Thirdly. They might not come unto the *Feasts* empty-handed. An Intimation, That unto the Duties of *Worship*, there must bee joined the Duties of *Mercy* and *Bounty*; Tis *Hypocrisy*, that is all for a Cheap Religion.¹⁵

Fourthly, God assured them, of a Special Protection at the Time of their *Feasts*, from the Invasion of their Enemies. An Intimation, That the Way of *Duty*, is the Way of *Safety*; *Jerusalems* being Taken at the Time of the *Passeover*; proved, That the *Passeover* was Abolished, by the Coming of the *Messiah*.

Fifthly; Those *Feasts*, were both *Commemorative* of Former Benefits, and *Præfigurative* of Future ones.¹⁶

Now more particularly.

12 Patrick (*Exodus* 444) cites R. ha-Levi of Barcelona's סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּכָּה *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, from Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. VII, praecept. LXX, LXXI, pp. 87, 88.

13 Here and in the subsequent paragraphs, Cotton Mather extracts his material from his uncle's sermon "The Gospel of the Jewish Festivals" (delivered on Feb. 14 and 17, 1668), in Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 415–34.

14 Samuel Mather, *Figures* (1705), p. 415.

15 Samuel Mather (415, 416).

16 Samuel Mather (416).

I. The Feast of the *Passeover*.

The peculiar Things in this *Feast*, were, The Killing & Eating of the *Paschal-Lamb*; the Eating of *Unleavened Bread*, for Seven Dayes; And the Waving of the *Sheaf* of the *First-fruits*, on the Sixteenth day of the Month.

The End of this *Feast*, was not only to keep Alive the Remembrance of *Israels* Deliverance, from *Egypt*, and from the Destroying Angel; but also bee a Shadow of our Redemption by our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the *Lamb of God*, that hath been *Slain* for us, and slain at the Very Time of the *Passeover*.

1. The *Paschal Lamb* itself, preached *Christ*, & proclaimed several of His personal Qualifications.¹⁷

It was to bee a *Lamb without Blemish*. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who *knew no Sin*, was expressly called so. [1. Pet. 1.19.]¹⁸

It was to bee a *Male*. The Excellency & Perfection of our Lord, might bee therein pointed at; the *Son* born unto us. [Isa. 9.6.]

It is a Creature of much *Meekness* and *Patience*. There never was display'd such, as was in the Sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ. [Isa. 53.7.]

2. The *Killing* and the *Dressing* of the *Lamb*, described the *Sufferings* of our Lord.

The *Taking* of the *Lamb*, show'd the *Siezing* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The *Slaying* of the *Lamb*, did point us unto the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, who still is to bee seen by Faith, a *Lamb as it had been slain*.

The *Roasting* of the *Lamb* in the *Fire*, was to signify the *Fire* of the Wrath of God, which fell upon our Lord Jesus Christ for our Sins; when Hee *poured out His Fury like Fire*. Yea, *Justin Martyr* acquaints us, That at the *Passeover* they *Spitted* the *Roasted Lamb*, in such a Manner, as to Resemble the Figure of a *Cross*; & he particularly tells us, *How*. If we consider, That this ancient Writer, was born & bred in *Palastine*, & well-skill'd in *Jewish* as well as *Pagan* Customes, & that he spoke these Words in Conference, which a learned Jew, who could have contradicted a Mistake, we may look on this as a considerable Passage.

Not a *Bone* of the *Lamb*, was to bee *Broken*. This was by the over-ruling Providence of God, wonderfully performed in our Lord. [Joh.19.33, 36.]¹⁹

3. There was an Analogy between the Time of the *Killing* of the *Lamb*, and the *Sufferings* of our Lord.

The *Lamb* was to bee taken up, at a *Fitt Age*, namely, that of a Year old. So was our Lord Jesus Christ, at a *Fitt Age*, and, as the Apostle speaks, *In due Time*.

The *Lamb*, tho' *Taken* the *Tenth* Day, was not *Slain*, till the *Fourteenth*. Our Lord Jesus Christ, entred on His Public Ministry, the *Thirtieth* Year of His Life, which is the *Tenth* thrice told, but suffered not until the *Four* and *Thirtieth*.

¹⁷ Samuel Mather (417).

¹⁸ Samuel Mather (417).

¹⁹ Samuel Mather (418).

The *Lamb* was to bee slain on the *Fourteenth Day* of the *First Month*. Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered at that very Time of the Year; It was at the *Passeover*.

The *Lamb* was to bee slain, between the *Two Evenings*; There was the *Evening* of the *Day*, which began at *Three in the Afternoon*; and there was the *Evening* of the *Night*, which began at Sun-sett. Thus, the Death of our Lord, fell out, about *Three in the Afternoon*.²⁰

4. In the *Blood* of the *Lamb*, there was the *Blood* of our Lord, shadowed forth unto us.

The *Blood* of the slain *Lamb*, was not spilt on the Ground, for to bee *Trodden under foot*, but kept in a Basin, as a *precious Thing*. The *precious Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, must not bee Rejected by Unbeleef, which *treads underfoot the Blood of the Covenant*.

The *Blood* of the *Lamb*, was to bee *Sprinkled*, with a *Bunch of Hyssop*. The *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, applied unto our Souls, is, *The Blood of Sprinkling*. The Promises, & Ordinances of the Gospel, with Faith, in the Hand of the Spirit, are as a *Bunch of Hyssop*, for this Application.

The *Blood* of the *Lamb*, typically made *Atonement*. The *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, Really doth so: Nothing else indeed can make our *Atonement*.

For the Sake of the *Blood* of the *Lamb*, the *Destroying Angel*, did *pass over* the *Israelites*, & spare them when the *Egyptians* were cutt off. When Unbelievers are cutt off eternally, the Faithful are saved, thro' the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, *Sprinkled upon their Consciences*.²¹

[43v] | 5. The *Eating* of the *Lamb*, was like our *Feeding* on our Lord by Faith, especially in the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*. It was to bee done, *in due Order*.

There was one Circumstance, that seems to have been peculiar unto the *First Passeover*; namely, To *Eat* it, *Standing*, with their *Staves* in their *Hands*, their *Shoes* on their *Feet*, and their *Loins girt*, which was a Posture of Readiness for *Action* and *Motion*. Thus ought wee to behave ourselves, in the *Egypt* of this World, & of Unregeneracy, & of Antichristianism; even *bestir* ourselves to gett out of it, & *follow the Lamb, whithersoever Hee goeth*.

The *Lamb* was to bee *Eaten* with *Sower* or *Bitter Herbs*. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who was a *Man of Sorrowes*, must bee *Fed* upon, with our Sorrowful Remembrance of *our Sins*, & of *His Sorrowes* for *our Sins*.

The *Lamb* was to bee *Eaten* without *Leaven*, even with an Abstinence from *Leaven* for *Seven Dayes* together. Having once laid Hold on the Lord Jesus Christ by Faith, wee must putt away the *Old Leven* of our sinful Corruptions; not for *Seven Dayes* only, but *all the Dayes of our Lives*.

The *Lamb* was to bee *Eaten*, and *none of it left*. Thus by *Faith*, wee must Receive a *whole Christ*, and all His Benefits.

²⁰ Samuel Mather (419).

²¹ Samuel Mather (420).

The *Lamb* was to bee *Eaten*, by the *whole Family*; and if the *Family* were too little, *others* were to bee called in. Both the *Communion*, and the *Enlargement* of the *Church*, is here noted unto us.

But no *Uncircumcised* Person, might *Eat* of the *Passeover*. Nor may any *Unbaptised* Person come to the *Supper* of our Lord; nor may wee admitt any apparently *Unregenerate*.²²

II. The Feast of *Pentecost*.

It was thus called, πεντεκοστή, or, *The Fiftieth*, because it was kept *Fifty* Days after the *Passeover*.²³

And it was called, *The Feast of Weeks*, because they were to reckon *Seven Weeks*, from the Morrow after the *Passeover*; & then they were to offer unto the Lord, their two *Wave-Loaves*. Now,

1. One Mystery in this *Feast*, was, To present their Thankfulness to God, for the Land of *Canaan*, and for the Fruits of that Land in their present Harvest. It is therefore called, *The Feast of Harvest*, and, *The Feast of First-Fruits*, and, *The Feast of Weeks of the First-Fruits of the Wheat-Harvest*. As in the former, the *First-Fruits* of their *Barley-Harvest*, so in this the *First-Fruits* of their *Wheat-Harvest*, must bee offered unto God.

These Lessons were herein taught unto us. *That* God must bee acknowledged in Earthly Mercies, & have the Rent of Thankfulness paid Him for the Fruits of the Earth.

That a Christian then becomes truly Thankful, when the Blood of Christ, the true *Paschal-Lamb*, ha's been first applied unto him.

That wee must *Begin betimes* in our Acknowledgements of God. When *Barley* was Ripe, they were to begin their Acknowledgments, even on the Sixteenth day of the Month; and not stay till they had gotten their whole Harvest. Wee must, *Reddere illi prima, qui nobis dedit omnia*.²⁴

And, *That* then our Acknowledgments of God must bee still Increasing. First they were to offer a *Wave-Sheaf* of *Barley*; But now Two *Wave-Loaves* of *Wheat*. Then but *One Lamb*; now, *Seven Lambs*. The greater our *Mercies* are, the greater shall bee our *Praises*.²⁵

2. A Second Mystery in this *Feast*, was, To commemorate the *Time*, when the *Law* was given; For *that* was at this Time of the Year. For a People to have the *Law* of God Reveald unto them; especially a People, who had been under

²² Samuel Mather (420, 421, 422).

²³ Samuel Mather (422): Pentecost

²⁴ Samuel Mather supplies his own translation: "we should render the first unto him who giveth all unto us" (423).

²⁵ Samuel Mather (422, 423).

the *Will* of cruel Task-Masters as a *Law*; This was an inæstimable Mercy, worthy to bee kept alwayes in precious Remembrance.²⁶

3. A Third Mystery in this *Feast*, was, To repræsent the Pouring out of the *Spirit*, which was granted in the *New Testament*, at the very *Time* that the *Law* was given in the *Old*. The *Apostles* thus furnished with the *Spirit* went forth, to *Gather* that which the *Prophets* had *Sown*. And wee were here taught, that under the *Gospel*, wee Receive the *Spirit* of *Christ*, which enables unto the keeping of His *Law*.²⁷

III. The Feast of *Tabernacles*.

It began on the Fifteenth Day of the *Seventh* Month, and lasted *Eight* *Dayes*, the First & Last whereof, where *Holy Convocations*.

The principal Cæremony, which distinguish'd this *Feast* from the rest, was, The dwelling of the People in *Booths*, or, *Tabernacles*. Now,

1. One Mystery in this *Feast*, was, To putt the People in Mind, of their *Dwelling in Tents*, when they were Travelling Forty Years together, thro' the *Wilderness*. This Teaches us, to Remember the Dealings of God with our Fathers.²⁸

2. Another Mystery in this *Feast*, was, To Instruct them, That they were but *Pilgrims* & *Strangers* here below, and Sojourned in a *Strange Land*, passing thro' it, unto a better Countrey. [Ps. 39.12.]

The Rite of this *Feast*, namely, the Sojourning in *Booths*, had been strangely neglected, for about a Thousand Years together, until their Deportation into *Babylon*, taught them, to keep it better. [Neh. 8.13.]²⁹

3. A Third Mystery in this *Feast*, was, To point the *Time*, when God Himself would come to *Tabernacle*, and *Pitch His Tent* among Men. The *First Day* of it, pointed us unto the *Nativity*; the *Eighth Day*, pointed unto the *Circumcision* of our Lord. *Thirteen* Bullocks offered the First Day, *Twelve* the next, so every Day less & less, to the End of the Feast; and on the Last Day, no more than *One*. This might shadow forth unto us, the Evanition of the *Legal Offices* by the Coming of our Lord.

[44r] The *Hosannah* then usually sung, has an Eye to the *Messiah*. *Solomons* Temple was then Dedicated, & the *Ark* brought into it. | The *Baptism* of our Lord, falling out, about this Time, it is clear that about this Time, His *Birth* also fell out.

The *December-Festival*, of *Christmas*, observed in *Christendome*, is wrong placed, as it may bee evinced, by a Thousand Arguments.³⁰

²⁶ Samuel Mather (423–24).

²⁷ Samuel Mather (424).

²⁸ Samuel Mather (424–25).

²⁹ Samuel Mather (425).

³⁰ Samuel Mather (425, 426). Cotton Mather here skips his uncle's lengthy explanation (426–34) why the birth of Christ could not have occurred either on Dec. 24th or Jan. 6th – the

IV. The Feast of *Trumpetts*.³¹

This was upon the *First Day* of the *Seventh Month*. It was kept as a *Sabbath*; It had its peculiar *Sacrifices*; It was also celebrated with the Blowing of *Trumpetts*.

The General Scope of these *Trumpetts*, was to signify, the *Joyful Sound* of the *Gospel*. The Ministers of the *Gospel*, are therein to *Lift up their Voice like a Trumpett*. Wee read therefore, That *the Tongue of the Just is as choice Silver*. (Prov. 10.20.) Perhaps, in Allusion to these *Trumpetts*, which were of *Silver*.³²

The *Grace* and *Joy* of the Holy Spirit, might bee another Thing intimated by these *Trumpetts*. A glad *Melody* is thereby made, in the Consciences of the Faithful [Psal. 98.6. with Eph. 5.18, 19.]

Moreover, These *Trumpetts* were used by Divine Appointment, in the Time of *War*. It was to call them forth unto the *War*, with an encouraged *Faith*, of their being Remembred by God, and Successful over their Enemies. [Num. 10.9. with 2. Chron. 20.21, 22.]³³

Furthermore, It was the Office of the *Priests*, to sound these *Trumpetts*. Thus the public Dispensation of the *Gospel*, is entrusted chiefly with the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, sett apart for that special Service.

As for the *Matter* of these *Trumpetts*, they were made, some of *Silver*, and some of *Horn*. There were *Cornets* used with the *Trumpetts*. [Psal. 98.6.] *Rams Horns* were employ'd, for beating down the Walls of *Jericho*. The *Meanest Gifts*, of Sincere and Godly Ministers, may, in like Manner bee accepted.

The *Number* of these *Trumpetts*, was at first, no more than *Two*; even for the *Two Sons* of *Aaron*. But in Process of Time, *David* added many other Musical *Instruments*, by Direction & Authority from God. [2. Chron. 29.25. 1. Chron. 16.42. 2. Chron. 7.6.] And in *Solomons* Time, wee read of, *One Hundred & Twenty Priests*, who did *Sound with Trumpets*. This might note, the Enlargement of the Church, & of its glad Circumstances, in the Times of the *Gospel*; even in Times of the greater *Solomon*.

But, Lastly, why was this *Feast*, on the *First Day* of the *Seventh Month*? No doubt, because of the many great Occurrences, in this Month, whereof some were past & some to come.³⁴

days commonly assigned by the Western and Eastern Churches, respectively: "So it is but lying, for Men to keep Days of their own Invention; and the Lye appears in that they pretend to do it for the Honour of God and of Jesus Christ, whereas they unspeakably dishonor him thereby. It is the framing of a Lye in Mens own Hearts when they keep such Days" (433).

31 Samuel Mather, "The Gospel of the Feast of Trumpets" (preached on Jan. 21, 1668), in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 435–50.

32 Samuel Mather (437).

33 Samuel Mather (437, 438).

34 Samuel Mather (438, 439).

V. The Feast of Expiation.³⁵

This was, *The Great Day of Atonement*, kept on the *Tenth* Day of the *Seventh* Month. It was indeed most properly a *Fast*; but it is commonly called a *Feast*, because it was a *Solemn Time*; And tho' it were a Day of *Afflicting their Souls*, yett there was *Joy* in the End of it, for their *Peace* made with God, & a *Jubilee* proclaimed.

It was indeed, with all the Administrations of it, the most compleat Shadow, of the *Great Work of Redemption*, that is under the Law to bee mett withal.

You have the Matter directed, in the *Sixteenth* Chapter of *Leviticus*.³⁶

The first thing that occurs is, The *Occasion* of the Institution. And here the Tragical Death of *Aarons* Two Sons, is particularly mentioned. Which teaches us, That there must bee an Holy Fear of Sinning, in our Approaching to God, in His Ordinances. And, That when some Dy, in and for their Sins, the Lord provides for the Salvation of others, that they do not Sin, & Dy.

But some think, That the great Sin of the Idolatry of the *Golden Calf*, was Remembred in this *Fast*. Yea, that the First *Fall* of Man, about this Time, was therein Referr'd unto.³⁷

Well, The Priest is here charged, that hee come in before God, only in such a *Manner* as God Himself hath appointed; And that Manner is thus appointed.

1. The *Priest* must *wash* himself. [Compare, Heb. 10.22.] Thus, our Lord Jesus Christ was *Baptised*, before Hee entred on His Public Ministry; & Hee was also perfectly Clean and Pure and Holy, without the least Pollution of Sin upon Him.

2. The *Priest* must bee Attired, not only in the *Holy Garments*, but also in the *Most Holy* ones; not only in his *White Garments*, but also in his *Golden* ones. An Emblem, of our *Spiritual-Cloathing*. [Psal. 132. 9, 16.] But these two Sorts of Attire, intimated the Different State of our Lord, when Hee performed the Work of Redemption for us. First Hee wore but the *White* and plain Garments of *Grace*; Innocent, tho' in the Form of a Servant. But after His Resurrection, Hee wore the *Golden* & bright Garments of *Glory*.³⁸

3. Wee pass to the *Offerings*, on this Day of *Atonement*.

First, There was to bee an *Offering* for the *Priest* himself; & for his *own House*. This Teaches us, the Imperfection and Insufficiency of the *Aaronical Priesthood*. [Heb. 5.1, 2, 3. and, Heb. 7. 26, 27, 28.]

It also shoves us, That they who ly under unpardoned Guilt *themselves*, are not fitt to bee Intercessors for *others*.

³⁵ Samuel Mather, "The Gospel of the Great Day of Atonement," preached on Jan. 24 and 28, 1668," in *Figures or Types* (450–59).

³⁶ Samuel Mather (440, § 5).

³⁷ Samuel Mather (450, 451). See also J. Sheehan's "Sacred and Profane" (2006).

³⁸ Samuel Mather (452, 453).

Now for this *Offering*, these things were to be done.

The *Priest* was to *kill* it, and so make *Atonement* with it. This represented the *Death* of our Lord.

| The *Priest* was then to bring *Incense* into the *Holy of Holies*. The *Intercession* of our Lord Jesus Christ, was herein represented unto us. Now, the *Priest* was to do this, before hee sprinkled the *Blood*, in the *Holiest of all*: Intimating, our Lords præparing His Way into Heaven, by His Prayer, in the Seventeenth of *John*. Again, The *Incense* was to bee beaten small; Intimating the Contrition, & Agony of *Heart*, wherewith our Lord, pray'd unto His Father. Once more, Hee took a *Censer* full of *Burning Coals*, from off the *Altar*, to kindle the *Incense*; Intimating, the Spirit of God, which *inflamed* the Affections of our praying Lord. Moreover, The *Cloud of Incense* was to *Cover the Mercy-Seat, that hee dy not*. If wee think to behold the *Mercy-Seat*, without the *Cloud of Incense*, wee dy. It is the *Death* of many a Soul, that in the Day, when they are *afflicting themselves for Sin*, they think, that God is merciful, & they cry to God for Mercy, but they do not look up to the *Mercy-Seat*, as covered with the Incense of the Mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ. [44v]

Hereupon, The *Priest* was to *Sprinkle* the *Blood*, upon the *Mercy-Seat*, eastward; that is, upon the Fore-Part of it. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, *with His own Blood, hath entred into Heaven for us*, to make Way for us, to come thither also. [Heb. 9.7, 11, 12. Heb. 10.19, 20.] But this *Blood* must bee sprinkled *Seven Times*; which notes a perfect & copious Application.³⁹

Secondly, There were to bee *Offerings* for the *People*.⁴⁰

There was to bee, a *Ram, for a Burn-Offering*. About this, the common Rules were observed.

But there were to bee also, *Two Goats for a Sin-Offering*.

Here, in general, *They were to cast Lotts on these two Goats*. Now, a *Lott* is a Referring of a Thing, by an Appeal, to a Determination of *Providence*. Nor was it without a Special Hand of *Providence*, that our Lord Jesus Christ was to Dy. But it is thought, that these *two Goats*, a *Slain Goat*, and a *Scape-Goat*, One was to shadow, Christ, as *Dying for our Offences*, another was to shadow Christ, as *Rising for our Justification*.

More particularly; The Actions about the *Slain Goat*, were these.

The *Blood* thereof was to bee *Sprinkled*, upon & before the *Mercy-Seat*. This was to Represent the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, as making Way, for Him & us, into Heaven.

Hereby *Atonement* was made, for the *Holy Place*, for the *Tabernacle*, because of the *Uncleanness of the Children of Israel*. This teaches us, the Defilement,

³⁹ Samuel Mather (453, 454).

⁴⁰ Samuel Mather (455).

cleaving to the very Ordinances of God, & our Holy Services, thro' our being exercised in them. If the Ordinances themselves, bee not sprinkled with the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, they never could bee Accepted, or Effectual.

The *Priest* must *Enter Alone*, into the *Holy Place*, in this Transaction. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ was *Alone*, in the Work of our Redemption: Horrible the Sin of the *Papists*, to join other *Mediators* with Him.

The *Priest* was to go out, from the *Brass Altar* of *Offerings*, to the *Golden Altar of Incense*, and Atoned it, by putting the *Blood* of the *Sin-Offering* upon the *Horns* thereof. This was to intimate, That the *Intercession* of our Lord, is founded in His *Oblation*. To separate the one from the other, is to Divide what God hath joined. It also intimates, That our Prayers, come to bee Accepted, thro' the *Sprinkling* of the Blood of the Lord.⁴¹

The Actions about the *Scape-Goat*, were these.⁴²

The *Priest* was to confess their Sins over the *Head* of the *Scape-Goat*. Thus are wee to confess our Sins, over the *Head* of a Dying Saviour, on whom *God hath laid the Iniquity of us all*.

The *Scape-Goat* then carried their Sins afar off, into the Land of Oblivion. A most lively Shadow, of the Great Mystery of the *Pardon of Sin*. [See Psal. 103.12. and Jer. 50.20.]

The *High-Priest* was now to go into the *Tabernacle*, & change his Raiment, and wash his Body, & so come forth, and offer the *Burnt-Offering*, & burn the Fatt of the *Sin-Offering*, according to the Ordinances.

All these things are Illustrated, in our Account of the *Sacrifices*.

Hee that carried away the *Scape-Goat*, must *wash his Cloathes*, & so come into the *Camp*. This not only denotes the Imperfection of the *Levitical Priesthood*, but also instructs us of the *Iniquity* of our most Holy Actions.

The *Sin-Offering* of the *slain Goat*, was now to bee *Burnt without the Camp*. Thus our Lord suffered, *without the Gate*.

Now, on this Great *Day of Atonement*, was the *Jubilee*, to bee proclaimed by the *Sound of Trumpett[s]*. Thus, after the Work of Redemption, was performed by the Lord Jesus Christ, Hee caused the *Trumpett* of the Gospel to sound, publishing & proclaiming the Glad Tidings of our Salvation, throughout the World. And it is the Performance of the Work of Redemption, that is a Foundation of the Preaching of the Gospel.

Lastly; This *Day of Atonement*, is a *Day of Humiliation*, for Afflicting of their Souls. Dayes of *Humiliation* are Dayes of *Reconciliation*. The *Affliction*. of our Souls, fitts us to Receive *Atonement*.⁴³

⁴¹ Samuel Mather (455, 456–57).

⁴² Samuel Mather (457).

⁴³ Samuel Mather (457, 458, 459).

But where these Five, all the yearly *Feasts* under the Law?⁴⁴

There seem no more to have been of Divine Appointment, that were Perpetual and Religious.

The Solemn Feast of *Solomon*, at the Dedication of the Temple, was not a standing yearly Festival.

They had also their *Fasts* of the *Fifth* & the *Seventh* Month. [Zech. 7. 3, 5.] But these were only *Temporary*. The Calamity of the Captivity occasioned them; they ceased when the Sorrowes of that were over.

| There were likewise the Dayes of *Purim*, [Est. 9.21, 22.] annually kept on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth of *Adar*. But this *Feast* seems only a political Constitution. *Peculiar Sacrifices* were appointed for all the Holy Festivals; but none for This. And there is nothing but *Civil Rejoicing*, mentioned as the Way of celebrating it. If it were a *Religious Feast*, wee must suppose that *Mordecai* had a Revelation from Heaven about it. [45r]

Wee read of *Two Feasts* more appointed in the Time of the *Maccabees*; One for the *Dedication of the Altar*, another for the *Purification of the Temple*. It is to bee doubted, that these were unwarrantable.

These were the *Israelitish Holidayes*. Two other Holy Times, occurred among them; *New Moons*, and *Sabbaths*.

They began their *Months*, at the *New Moons*, which they solemnized, with an *Holy Convocation*, Abstaining from the business of their Callings. [Amos. 8.5.] Repairing to the Prophets, for Instruction in the Word of God, [2. King. 4.23.] Blowing of Trumpetts, [Num. 10.10.] And offering peculiar Sacrifices; [Num. 28.11.] whereto wee may add, Solemn Feasts of Amity. [1. Sam. 20.5, 6.]

Doubtless, there was an Evangelical Mystery in these Institutions.

Wee were here taught, the Acknowledgment of God, in the Revolutions, & Renovations of His Creatures. Yea, God is to {be} bless'd even at the *New Moon*, when there is *Least* of the Creature to bee seen; & in the *Least* of Mercies. But Renovations in a Way of *Grace*, are especially to bee acknowledged. The Church is compared unto the *Moon*, which borrowes her *Light*, from the Lord Jesus Christ, the *Sun of Righteousness*. When the Church ha's a *New Face* of Reformation, beginning upon it, God is therein to bee glorified. And now, under the Gospel, the Illuminated Church, is to abound in the spiritual Exercises, that are the *Antitype*, of what was done at the *New Moons*. Moreover, If wee reckon from the *Feast of Tabernacles*, Thirty Eight Weeks backward, it brings us to the *Change* of the *Moon*; at which, wee know, there is a Conjunction of those two great Luminaries, the *Sun* and the *Moon*. Might not here bee a Shadow of the Conjunction of the Two Natures of our Lord, in one Person, at His Conception.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Samuel Mather (440).

⁴⁵ Samuel Mather (440, 441).

They had also their Sabbaths.⁴⁶

The *weekly Sabbath* was to be a thing of perpetual Observation. But yett, the Time for the *weekly Sabbath*, whereto the Jewes were directed, had something in it ceremonial. It was a Commemoration of their Deliverance from the Bondage of *Egypt*. And it might præfigure the Rest of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ in His Grave, on this very Day. There were more Sacrifices on this Day, than on other Dayes: To teach us, the special Degree of Holiness, that should on the *Sabbath* bee endeavoured. They might not then build the *Tabernacle*; To Teach us, That in this Life, wee have our only Opportunity to do any Work about our Salvation. *Manna* might not then bee gathered; To Teach us, That *Offers* of Christ, end with this Life.⁴⁷

Besides the *weekly Sabbaths*, there was the *Sabbatical Year*. Such was every *Seventh Year*, in which the Land was to Rest from its usual Husbandry. [Lev. 25. 4, 5.] This plainly told, That the *Land* was the *Lords*; and it instructed them to depend upon Divine Providence for Supply and Support. And because the *Poor* were not to Eat, what the Land yeilded, and *Creditors* were now to Release their *Debtors*, the great Lessons of Bounty & Mercy, were thus inculcated.

The Mystery of *Rest* by Christ, was taught also by the *Sabbatical Year*.

But especially, by the *Jubilee*, which was a *Third* sort of *Sabbaths*; a famous Year, that recurred after *Seven Sabbaths* of Years. [Lev. 25.9.] On this Year, was a general *Redemption* of such as were in any sort of Bonds. A Notable Shadow of *Redemption* by our Lord Jesus Christ. [Compare, Isa. 61.1.]

And the Sounding of the *Trumpet* this Year, to proclame Redemption, leads us to the *Great Trumpet* of the *Gospel* [Isa. 27. ult.]

But that which renders this Matter the more observable, is, That the *Death* of our Lord Jesus Christ, very probably fell out, upon the Year of *Jubilee*.

Israel came out of *Egypt*, about A. M. 2513. They were Forty Years in the Wilderness, & Six or Seven in Conquering of *Canaan*. Then began their *Sabbatical Year*; From whence, Twenty Eight *Jubilees*, bring us to A. M. 3960. the Year of the Death of our Lord.⁴⁸

It is now time for mee to acknowledge, that in these *Illustrations*, the Discourses of my Uncle Mr. *Samuel Mather*, on the *Types of the Old Testament*, have not a little assisted mee.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Samuel Mather (441, 444).

⁴⁷ Samuel Mather (444, 445).

⁴⁸ Samuel Mather's dates (in *Figures or Types* 448) for the year of the world A. M. (Anno Mundi) differ from those of James Ussher, who sets the year of Christ's crucifixion at A. M. 4037 (*Annals of the World* [1660], p. 835). The *Chronologia Sacra* of Ludovicus Cappellus – erudite and detailed though it is – juxtaposes the chronology of the Hebrew, LXX, and Samaritan version of the Torah but offers alternative numbers (Table XI), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (6:20–24, sep. pag.). See also *BA* 1:256, 263.

⁴⁹ Samuel Mather's *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705). His brother Nathaniel had much ado to get Samuel's sermon collection published (even by subscription) and

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[45v]

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[46r]

2582.

Q. After what Manner was that Law observed, *Three times in a Year all thy Males shall appear before the Lord God?* v. 17.

A. Grotius, on Luk. 2.41. conjectures, That the People in every town divided themselves into *three Parts*; and so, taking their Turns for the *Three Times*, they appeared at *Jerusalem*; one *Part* at one *Time*, appear'd; another at another, & so in a Year, they all appeared. Nevertheless, whenever any *Third* was to make their Appearance, any Devout & Pious Person, of any other *Third*, was at Liberty to make their Appearance also. And the Godly Women, tho' the *Law* said nothing of them, did *Propriâ Religione*, make their Visits unto the Temple, *once* a Year; which was usually at the *Passeover*.⁵⁰

555.

Q. What was the True Intention, and Original of that Law, no less than Three Times inculcated, *Thou shalt not see the a Kid* [or, a *Lamb*, for the Word signifies both] *in its Mothers Milk?* v. 19.

A. I must consent unto the great Bochart, That *Vix ulla sit Lex in toto Pentateucho de cujus sensu minus constet*. However, Waving the more Ordinary and Allegorical Fancies of common Interpreters, I will give you as fair an Exposition, as I can.⁵¹

Know then, That a certain Superstitious, Idolatrous, and *Magical Rite* used among the Ancient *Zabians*, is herein prohibited. A *Goat*, was alwayes of special Use, in Sacrifices to the *Divel*, who usually appeared in some *Hircine Form* unto his Votaries; and such an *Unnatural Mixture*, as a *Kid in its Mothers Milk*, was yett a more agreeable Sacrifice unto a *Demon*. For which Cause, the Jewes to this Day, do with so much Exactness avoid, all Communion with this *Rite*, that at their Tables, *Flesh* and *Milk*, must not bee seasoned with the same *Salt*; nor *Flesh* and *Cheese* cutt with the same *Knife*.⁵²

complained to his brother Increase Mather in Boston, "It is an imperfect work, being for the most part taken out of his owne notes, onely in some places filled up from his broken scraps of paper, or some other ways, which cost mee considerable payns, as also the correcting the press will doe." In "Nathaniel Mather to Increase Mather, May 31 [1683]," *The Mather Papers* (1868), p. 45.

⁵⁰ Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes: Lucam* (356), in *Opera Omnia* (1679), tom. 2, vol. 1, 356.

⁵¹ Mather extracts his material from John Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 8, fol. 298, including Bochart's quote from *Hieroicoicon, Animalibus* (1663). The Latin passage originates in Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 52, col. 635, lines 1–2, and bespeaks the wrangling among expositors: "Scarcely is there any law in the whole of the Pentateuch about the sense of which there is less agreement."

⁵² Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:435–37) and *Works* (5:162–67) provides the best

Know, Secondly, That in the Use of this *Magical Rite*, the *Flesh* of the *Kid* was not only *Seethed*, but also *Eaten*: which both *Maimonides* & *Aquinas* have long since intimated. The Jewish Expositors take this for granted; and hence also, this Law occurs once among the Lawes, about *Unclean Meats*. [Deut. 14. 19, 21.] Moreover, the *Kid-Flesh*, thus præpared, was probably meant, in Isa. 66.17. *In the Gardens, they eat Swines Flesh, and the ABOMINATION, and the Mouse*: And in Isa. 65.4. *The Brothe of Abominable Things is in their Vessels*. This *Diabolical Kid-Flesh* is doubtless meant, in those Passages, *The Abomination*, and, *Abominable Things*. And besides, To *Eat* Part of the *Sacrifice* was ever esteemed, a Sacrament of Communion with the Deity *Sacrificed* unto.⁵³

Know, Thirdly, A main Stroke, in this *Magical*, was to take the *Milk*, thus boiled, and sprinkle of it, upon *Fields* or *Trees*, for the rendring of them Fruitful, in the Year ensuing. There is a notable Testimony of this Custome, in R. *Menachem*, as well as in *Maimonides*; and the Paraphrase of *Jonathan* upon this Place, may have some reference unto it; for, hee adds, *Ne Irascatur Furor meus, et coquam Proventum Vestrum, Frumentum et Paleam Simul*. q.d.⁵⁴ lest I disappoint your Expectations, by sending the Plagues of *Sterility* upon you. It is therefore observable, That this Order is here Introduced, upon the Lords requiring of the

survey of the entire debate on this Mosaic proscription (Exod. 23:19). The majority of the classic rabbinic and early modern Christian commentators appear to follow Maimonides's argument (*Guide* 3.48.599) that seething a kid in its mother's milk was an ancient Zabian (Sabian) fertility and harvest rite and was therefore an idolatrous (if not magical) practice outlawed by God; others, however, interpret it as a prohibition against cruelty to animals (esp. unweaned kids), but that argument does not hold (some objected) since sacrificing a suckling lamb to God was specifically allowed (1 Sam. 7:9; Exod. 22:30; Lev. 22:27); a third group, addressing the culinary practices of the Fertile Crescent, read this stipulation as a dietary law against uncleanness. See tractate Kaspā (ch. 5), in *Mekhilta De Rabbi Ishmael* (2:486–92). For modern discussion of the Zabians (Sabians), see J. Elukin's "Maimonides" and G. G. Stroumsa's "John Spencer." The designation "Zabian," interchangeably spelled "Sabian," is best translated as "pagan" (gentile). *Sabian* is variously claimed to be an "invention" of Maimonides (*Guide* 3.29–30.514–23), whose study of the Chaldean/Syriac book *The Nabatean Agriculture (al-Filāḥa an-Nabaṭiyya)* – believed to be translated into Arabic in 904 by Ibn Waḥshiyya, aka. Abū Bakr 'Aḥmad bin 'Alī (fl. 9th–10th c. CE) – provided Maimonides with the grounds and reasons why Moses instituted certain ritual laws to combat pervasive Sabian idolatry, i. e., sexual fertility rites. On the significance of this work, see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila's *The Last Pagans of Iraq* (2006) and Ibn Waḥshiyyah, in *The Filāḥa Texts Project*.

53 Mather refers to Maimonides's *More Nebuchim* (1629), 3.48.496, and to *Hilchot Ma'achalot Assurot* (9.1–3), in *Mishneh Torah* (26:368–70); Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (2:1060, 1079, pt. 1–2, Q.102, A3, Reply *Obj.* 11; A6, Reply *Obj.* 4); see also Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 8, sec. 2, fols. 303, 306.

54 Via Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 8, sec. 2, fol. 305, Mather refers to the Sephardic Torah scholar, R. Menachem Ben Aharon ibn Zerach (c. 1306–c. 1374) of Navarre (Spain), whose צֶדֶה לְדֶרֶךְ [Tzedah LaDerech], i. e., *Provision for the Way*, is a renowned study of Jewish law. The passage on ritual law appears in an undated 4^o edition (fol. 83, col. 2), published in Savionet (Ferrara, 1554). CBTEL. Maimonides (*Guide* 3.48.599). The Latin passage from Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel, on Exod. 23:19 (Walton, *Synopsis Criticorum* 4:146) can be rendered, "[Do] not [make] me angry, lest I will cook for you wheat and chaff with your food."

First-fruits to be annually paid unto Him; – which *Tostatus* remarks, by subjoining this Reason, by Way of Paraphrase upon it; *Nam tanta erit Frugum Copia, quòd Ritus ille non erit Necessarius*.⁵⁵ Indeed, it still follows upon the *Feast of Tabernacles*; at which Time of the Year, the Idolaters of those Dayes did use to seek propitious | Influences for the Year ensuing; and God had commanded {that} *Kids* at that very Festival, after another Manner, to be offered unto Himself. To confirm all; Wee find full Evidence, That the Old Pagan, Roman *Husbandmen*, had an *Usage* not much unlike to This among them, after the In-gathering of their Fruits. Then, saith *Horace*: (Ep. Li. 2. Ep. 1.) [46v]

Tellurem Porcà, Sylvanum Lacte piabant.⁵⁶

The Words of *Abulensis* hereupon, are considerable; *Gentiles, ut Sylvanum (quem Sylvis et campis præponebant) placatum haberent, ad habendam frugum multitudinem, ei lac, prout et porcum Cereri, offerebant. Utrum autem in illo lacte, quod Sylvano offerebatur, Hædus aut Agnus, coqueretur, non constat è Libris Poeticis, sed satis est verisimile*.⁵⁷ And famous is the Distich of *Ovid*: (Fast. L.4. v. 742.)

Adde Dapes, mulctramque suas, dapibusque refectus

Silvicolam tepido Lacte precare Palem.

They bespoke the favour of *Pales* to their Husbandry, by *Dapes cum Lacte Tepido*.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Tis well-known, what Figure, *Milk* and *Kid*, had in the Sacrifices of *Bacchus*. Yea, At this very Day, in *Guinea*, the poor Salvages, have a *Boild Kid*, after they have Tilled their Ground; whereto inviting one another, they then walk over their Ground, with songs to their God *Fatesso* for the Prosperity of their Husbandry.⁵⁹

55 The Latin passage is adapted (via Spencer 305) from *Commentaria in Primam Partem Exodi* (1596), Quaestio XXXVI (super Exodi XXIII), p. 266v, by Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis, aka. Alonso Tostado (c. 1400–55), bishop of Avila. Tostatus's paraphrase reads, "There shall be such an abundance of harvests so that this rite will not be indispensable."

56 The second-hand quotation from Horace's *Epistola* (2.143), which reads, "by propitiating the Earth with a pig, Silvanus with milk," is extracted from John Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 8, sec. 2, fol. 306.

57 The second-hand citation from Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis (via Spencer 306) is adapted from Tostatus's *Commentaria in Primam Partem Exodi* (1596), Quaestio XXXVII (super Exodi XXIII), p. 266v: "Gentiles, to keep Sylvanus placated (whom they considered in charge of the management of forests and fields) so as to have bountiful harvests, we used to offer him milk and, proportionately, a pig to Ceres. However, there is no agreement in the poetic books whether a kidskin or lamb would be cooked in the milk offered to Sylvanus, but it is quite plausible."

58 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 8, sec. 3, fol. 308. In *Fasti* (4.745–46), Ovid has the poet entreat shepherds to offer sacrifices to Pales (goddess of shepherds): "Add viands and a pail of milk, such as she loves; and when the viands have been cut up, pray to sylvan Pales, offering warm milk to her." As Mather puts it, the ancient shepherds and husbandmen curried Pales's favor by offering a "sacrifice of warm milk."

59 Via Spencer (308), Mather paraphrases a passage from an anonymous travel account to Africa, *The Golden Coast, or A Description of Guinney* (1665), [ch. 1], p. 14. For an anthropological, folkloristic interpretation of the Mosaic proscription against seething a kid in its mother's milk, see Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the OT*, vol. 3, part 4, ch. 2 (3:111–64).

[47r]

4239.

Q. The Lord saies, *Behold, I send an Angel before thee*. What Angel? v. 20.

A. The Words do seem here to come in very abruptly. But it may be, (as Mr. *Robert Fleming* thinks) they should come in at the *Twelfth* verse of the *Thirty Third* Chapter.⁶⁰

Moses begs of God, that He would lett him know, what *Angel* or *Messenger* He would send along with him, under whose Conduct he should lead the People. He receives this Answer, That *His Presence*, [or, Face,] *should go along with him, to give them Rest*. *Onkelos* renders this, The *Shechinah*, or Majesty of God. *Moses* answers, *If thy Face*, [Thy *Shechinah*, or thyself,] *go not with us, carry us not up hence*. God accordingly answers; That He would grant his Desire.⁶¹

Now, why may not the *Angel*, in the *Twenty Third* Chapter, be the same with the *Presence*, in the *Thirty Third* Chapter? *The Angel of Gods Presence*. Compare, Isa. 63.9.

What other *Angel* can be said, to have the *Name of God in Him*, or be one with God? who else can *punish Rebellion* as he pleases? who else was to be *obey'd*, on Peril of the Divine Displeasure? who else, could lead the People into *Canaan*, & subdue their Enemies there?

Is it not in reference to what we read here, concerning this *Angel*, that *Moses* tells the People? Deut. 7.21. *The Lord their God was among them, a mighty & a terrible God*. Compare, Josh. 24. 16, 17.

You will also find, That He who is called JEHOVAH, [Exod. 13.21. and 14.19.] even He, who went before the Camp of *Israel*, in a Pillar of *Cloud* and *Fire*, is called also, *The Angel of JEHOVAH*. And so He is by *Stephen*. [Act. 7.38, 39.] And the Apostle asserts, That this *Angel* of the Lord, was CHRIST. [1. Cor. 10.9.]⁶²

But notwithstanding all this, I will take the Leave, to lay before your Consideration, another Illustration of this Text, which was made as long ago, as *Eusebius*, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, and given as the Sense of the Church in those Days. He saies, That as *Moses* gave (by Commission from God, and as Figurative & Prophetical) the Title of CHRIST, [or, The Anointed One,] unto *Aaron*, who sustained the *Priestly* Office, thus he gave the Title of JESUS [or,

⁶⁰ Robert Fleming, *Christology. A Discourse concerning Christ* (1705), vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 6, pp. 230–32 (n).

⁶¹ Fleming, *Christology* (1705), 1:231 (n). The Chaldee (or Neo-Hebrew) term שְׁכִינָה [Shechinah], derived from שָׁכַן [shakan], i. e., “to dwell, reside,” signifies “residence,” or God’s visible presence (*CBTEL* 9:123). The Chaldean Paraphrast Onkelos, Exod. 20:24; 25:8, 29:45 (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:315, 331, 357) employs the variant term שְׁכָנְתִּי [shakanti], or “gloriam meam,” “majestatem meam,” meaning “my glory,” or “my majesty.”

⁶² Fleming, *Christology* (1705), 1:230–32 (n).

Joshua, a Saviour,] to him that succeeded in the *Kingly* Office. It is plain, He was first called, *Oshea*, [Num. 13.8, 16.] But *Moses* foreseeing the Office of the *Messiah* expressed in this Name, adds a *Jod*, the first Letter of the Name, of *Jehovah* unto it, and calls him, *Jehoshua*, or, *Jah-Oshea*; As if He would have said, This is a Type of that *Saviour*, whose Name shall be *Jah*, or, *Jehovah*.⁶³

The Time of thus changing the Name of *Joshua*, is not mentioned. But probably, it was upon the Occasion of his Defeating the *Amalekites*; than | which [47v] there could be nothing more Typical of our Lords Victory over the Enemies of our Salvation; And it was a Pledge of the Victory over the *Canaanites*.

Now, according to *Eusebius*, the *Angel* here spoken of, is in the Literal Sense no other than *Joshua*, the Successor of *Moses*; whom the *Israelites* are commanded to honour and follow, with an exact Obedience, because he bare the *Same Name*, that He Himself was to be known by, when He should Assume *our Nature*.⁶⁴

If this be the Sense of it, then we may add, that the Meaning of those Words, [*He will not pardon your Sins*, or, *He will not suffer your Rebellion to go unpunished*,] will be This; That *Joshua* having only the *Executive Power* of Lawes already made, committed unto him, and not being under the Character of a Temporary Mediator, as *Moses* was, would not have the same Opportunity to go up into the Mount, or into the Immediate Presence of God, to plead with Him, for the Sparing of the People when they should Sin, as *Moses* had.

Then what followes, is easily understood. If the People did obey *Joshua*, as the Angel, or Messenger of God, he should indeed be a Temporary Saviour unto them; and then God Himself would go along with him and them, and consume all their Enemies before them.

⁶³ Mather's Christological reading – unexceptional for his time – is based on Eusebius Pamphilus (*Demonstratio Evangelica* 4.17.200; 5.19.246), in *Proof of the Gospel* (1:220, 262). Eusebius makes the same typological identification of Joshua with Jesus, in his *Church History* 1.3.4–5 (*NPNFii* 1:85). Much the same can be found in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* 106 (*ANF* 1:252). According to the annotators of Eusebius's *Church History* (1.3.4), the name "*Oshea*" signifies "Salvation," an appellation "which Joshua bore before his name was changed, by the addition of a syllable, to *Jehoshua*=*Joshua*=*Jesus*, meaning 'God's salvation' (Num. xiii.16)" (*NPNFii* 1:85 (note 4)).

⁶⁴ Eusebius's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (5.19), in *Proof of the Gospel* (1:262–63). See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:437) and *Works* 5:167–68). John Ainsworth, in his *Annotations* on Exod. 14:19 and 23:20 lists a R. Menachem as a representative of those rabbinic scholars who identify the angel with the Shechinah of God" (*Annotations* [1627], pp. 51, 95, sec. ser. of pag.). The classic interpreters of the Rabbinic Bible are divided about the identity of this angel: Rashi maintains that the reference (Exod. 23:20) to the Shechinah here points back to the worship of the golden calf, when God tells Moses that henceforth an angel, instead of God's presence, would guide the Israelites to the Promised Land. Nachmanides calls this messenger the "redeeming angel" of Gen. 48:16, who has God's name 'in him' (v. 21), i. e., 'Yah'; yet others identify this messenger as "a prophet, not a real angel (Bekhor Shor)" and proleptically with the "messenger-prophet" who (according to R. Chizkiyahu ben Rabbi Manoach's cabbalistic commentary) "is Joshua, who after the Israelites' 40-year stay in the desert and Moses' death will, take over from him" (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 2:202; and *Chizkuni* 2:565).

Quære. Whether both of these Interpretations may not well enough go together; the former, as the *Ultimate*, and the *Antitypical*; the latter, as the *Literal*, and the *Immediate*?⁶⁵

A further Consideration?

Dr. *Patrick* saies, That tho' a great many Christians, think this to be an *In-created Angel*, the Eternal Son of God; he is himself afraid to assert it. It seems dangerous unto him, to call him simply an *Angel*, a Minister, or Messenger, without some such Addition as that; III. Mal. 3. *The Angel of the Covenant*. So He was at His Incarnation; Before which, he dare not ascribe unto our Lord, such ministerial Works as those of going before *Israel*, to lead them the Way to *Canaan*. This was properly the Work of an *Angel*; To whom therefore *Moses* attributes it: XX. Num. 16. This *Angel*, was a prime Minister in the Heavenly Host, by whom he was accompanied. So he saith to *Joshua*; ch. V. 14. *I am come as Captain of the Host of the LORD*; which is the very Title of *Michael*, [Dan. X. 13, 21.]

This does not exclude the Presence of the LORD Himself, but rather confirm it. For this *Angel*, & his *Host*, was sent from the *Shechinah*; which was in the *Pillar of Cloud*.⁶⁶

Mr. *Pyles* thinks, That the *Angel* offered by GOD, for the Guardianship of *Israel*, might be the same *Angel*, that smote the First-born of *Egypt*, and by whose Voice the *Ten Commandments* were delivered.⁶⁷

[48r]

Q. Here are but *Six Nations* mentioned. Where's the *Seventh*? v. 23.

A. Some have conjectured, That the *Gergasites*, who are here omitted, had been subdued by the *Amorites*, & were mixed with them; who were the most powerful of all the VII Nations, & had spread themselves into many Parts of the Countrey. [see Gen. 14.13. Num. 13.29. Deut. 1.7, 19, 44.]⁶⁸

Q. The *Fulfilment* of that Word; *I will sent Hornets before thee*? v. 28.

A. Either before they came thither, or when they marched against the People of that Countrey.⁶⁹

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, Both may be true. Many of them were forced to quitt their Countrey, when it was infested by the *Hornetts*, which God sent in great

⁶⁵ Mather possibly alludes to the typological-mystical identification of Joshua with Christ as expounded in Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 100–03.

⁶⁶ Simon Patrick, on Exod. 23:20 (*Exodus* 452–53).

⁶⁷ Thomas Pyle, *A Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes on the Books of the Old Testament* (1717), 1:133.

⁶⁸ Patrick (*Exodus* 455)

⁶⁹ Patrick (*Exodus* 457–58)

Swarms among them. And they who remained, when they came to fight, were assaulted by these *Hornets*, which flew in their faces, and so sorely prick't their Eyes (as *Kimchi*, and *R. Solomon* take it,) that they could not see to strike a Stroke. Whence these Words | of *Joshua*, who expressly saies, That this was fulfilled, XXIV. 12. That the *Amorites* were not driven out by the *Sword* and *Bow* of the *Israelites*, but by the Sting of these *Hornets*. They seem also, to have pursued them, when they fled away, & killed them in their lurking Holes, where they hid themselves after the Fight. [Deut. 7.20.]⁷⁰ [48v]

That several Nations have been driven out of their Countrey, by such contemptible Creatures, as *Frogs*, and *Mice*, and *Snakes*, and *Gnatts*, is made good by *Bochart*, out of several Authors. And he ha's particularly shown, That by *Wasps* and *Bees*, People have been forced even to forsake their Countrey: as *Herodotus*, and *Appian*, and *Strabo*, testify. He shoves also, that the Sting of an *Hornet*, is of all other the most pernicious. It is bigger than the ordinary *Wasp*; & fiercer. *Pliny* saies, It seldome stings without putting Men into a Fever. And of *Hornets* flying in Mens *Eyes* particularly, good Authors have many Surprising Passages.⁷¹

Q. *Thou shalt make no Covenant with them.*] v. 32.

A. *Maimonides* is of Opinion, That such of the VII Nations as Renounced *Idolatry*, were to be received into their Friendship.⁷² The Law [Deut. XX.] of sending a Summons to the besieged, with an Offer of Peace, he extends unto them. [see Josh. XI.19, 20.] It may be objected, what need had the *Gibeonites* then of any Craft, to obtain a League with the *Israelites*? His Answer is, That *Joshua* had sent a Summons, with Offers of Peace, to them, and all the rest: which they Rejected, but afterwards would gladly have Accepted; and then it was not to be Admitted. Therefore they contrived that cunning Way, to be received into Friendship with the *Israelites*. Consult *Cuneus*, L. II. de Rep. Hebr. c. 20. And, *Selden*, L. VI. De Jure N. & G. c. 13. where he quotes a Passage

⁷⁰ Patrick (*Exodus* 457) enlists R. David Kimchi from Sebastian Münster's Hebrew dictionary, סֵפֶר הַשְּׁרָשִׁים עִם נִגְזָרִים [Sepher ha-Shorashim 'im Nigzarim] *Dictionarium Hebraicum, ultimo ab autore Sebastiano Munstero recognitum, & ex Rabbinis, praesertim ex Radicibus David Kimhi* (1564), Radices צָרַע (fol. bb2^v); and R. Solomon Jarchi, aka. Rashi (*Commentarius Hebraicus* [1710], p. 619. Rashi believes that the Hebrew term צִרְעָה [tsir'ah] (Strong's # 6880), generally rendered "hornet," was either a kind of reptile or an aggressive insect. Ibn Ezra believes it was a "disease of the body" (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 2:205).

⁷¹ Samuel Bochart (*Hierozoicon* [1663], pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 13, cols. 541) seems to have the last word on whether this insect was a particularly pesky wasp or hornet, by citing Herodotus's skeptical testimony (5.10.2–3) that according to the Thracians, bees are so thick N of the Ister (Danube) that no one can travel there; Appian (*Bellum civile* 2.68) reports that a swarm of bees settled on the altar upon which Pompey was sacrificing; and Pliny (*Natural History* 11.24) reports that a hornet sting causes fever, and twenty-seven stings can kill a man.

⁷² Maimonides, *Hilchot Melachim U'Milchamoteihem* (6.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:546–48).

out of the *Jerusalem Gemara*, which saies, That *Joshua* sent Three Letters to the *Gibeonites*.⁷³

Dr. *Patrick* is inclinable to the Opinion of *Maimonides*. The Place in *Joshua* favours it. So does the Story of *Rahab* & so the Practice of *Solomon*, who only putt the Remainder of these Nations under Tribute. [1. King. IX.20, 21.]⁷⁴

⁷³ Patrick (*Exodus* 460); Mather has in mind Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 20, pp. 299–301, by the Dutch Christian Hebraist Petrus Cunaeus, aka. Peter van der Kun (1586–1638). With Maimonides to back him up, Cunaeus argues that the Israelites had indeed offered peace to the Gibeonites. However, after this Canaanite tribe had rejected the peace offering, Joshua had them all exterminated, in part because the Gibeonites allegedly practiced incest against which custom the Israelites were to safeguard themselves. See Cunaeus (*Hebrew Republic* 131). John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 13, p. 736, quotes from R. Samuel ben Nachman's commentary on the three letters Joshua sent to the Gibeonites, in tractate Shebi'it (6.III.8E) of *The Jerusalem Talmud*.

⁷⁴ Patrick (*Exodus* 460). Maimonides's *Hilchot Melachim U'Milchamoteihem* (6.5) [*The Laws of Kings and Wars*], in *Mishneh Torah* (23:550–52).

2802.

Q. Wee find mention here, & elsewhere, of, *The Seventy Elders of Israel*; what Remarkable Event concerning the Scripture, ha's appeared circumstanced with that Number unto us, on the Occasion of the *Seventy Elders*? v. 1.

A. There was a famous Translation of the *Old Testament*, into the *Greek Tongue*. I suppose, the utmost, that we have certain concerning it, is, That *Ptolomy*, surnamed, *Philadelphus*, the King of *Egypt*, was gratified by *Eleazar* the High Priest, with sending him Five of the *Seventy Elders*, to form such a Translation.¹ Whether what we now have in our Hands be That, is very uncertain; and it is not certainly concluded, How large a Portion, (whether any more than the *Pentateuch*;) was then translated. But then, you know, what famous Fables we have, about the LXX, [or LXXII] Interpreters; tho' as *Zuinglius* writes, we may as well say, *Seven Thousand*.² The Fables of their Separation, in Seventy Cells, and yett their exact Harmony & Agreement in their Work, dispatching it in Seventy (or 72) dayes, have been Imposed on credulous Antiquity, and been as much beleev'd, as that of the Fish *Remora* stopping a Ship.³ I will not ostentate my little Reading, with a thousand Quotations about these things; but only tell you, that *Heinsius*, in his *Aristarchus*,⁴ conjectures the Original of the Fables concerning the *Seventy Interpreters*; to have been from the very Text that is now

1 Mather refers to the famous "Letter of Aristeas" (*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 2:12–34), ostensibly written by Aristeas (3rd c. BCE–1st c. CE), an Alexandrian Jew, to his brother Philocrates, during the reign of Ptolemy II (285–247 BCE), king of Egypt. According to this legendary account, the Egyptian ruler instructed his librarian Demetrius of Phalerum to amass copies of all the books in the world for his royal library in Alexandria. Accordingly, Demetrius sent a missive to the high priest at Jerusalem, and six scholars of each of the twelve tribes were sent to Alexandria to translate the Hebrew Bible into Greek. Legend has it, this feat was accomplished by seventy-two translators in exactly seventy-two days – miraculously developing seventy-two identical translations. See *ABD* (5:1096): "Septuagint: C." See also Bonaventura Cornelius Bertram's *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), ch. 6, pp. 62–70.

2 Ulrich Zwingli, aka. Huldreich Zwingli (1484–1531), Swiss Reformer and professor of OT at Zurich, was highly critical of the trustworthiness of Aristeas's account and wanted to put an end to such fabulous stories: "if we claimed something occurred in a miraculous way, the lying would have no end." Quoted in H. Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation* (3:109).

3 *Remora* brachyptera (Fam. *Echeneidae*: suckerfish or sharksucker). Pliny (*Natural History* 32.1.3–6) relates how such a *Remora* (Lat. *re* + *morari*; i.e., *to delay*) "stopped the flagship of [Marcus] Antonius" at Actium and "stayed the ship of the Emperor Gaius as he was sailing back from Astura to Antium." It seems that Melville's white whale and Capt. Ahab's *Pequod* have nothing on Pliny's fishy tale.

4 Dutch classical scholar extraordinaire, Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) was professor of Latin, Greek, and poetics at Leiden University. Mather refers to Heinsius, *Aristarchus Sacer, sive Exercitationes ad Nonni in Iohannem Metaphrasin* (1627), "Exercitationes Sacrae," ch. 10, pp. 206–08.

before us; And whereas, tis added, v. 11. οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἷς· hence came the Fables of their *Symphony*.⁵

It must also be Remembred, That the Jewes are alwayes to be suspected of Romances, when the Number *Seventy*, comes into their Discourses: Their Fancies do strangely luxuriate upon that Number.⁶

Q. The Translation. v. 1.

A. Tis a *Covenant*. *Moses* personated GOD Himself. *Aaron*, his two Sons, & the Seventy Elders, represented the whole Congregation. GOD allow'd them to come into one of the Eminences in the Mount. A *Monument* was erected there as there uses to be on such Occasions: In the *Twelve Stones*, wherein the *Twelve Tribes* were answered. *Sacrifices* were offered; in which the Parties mutually subjected themselves unto the Punishment, inflicted on the Victim, if they proved unfaithful in the Covenant. *Moses* took the *Blood*, and sprinkled Part of it on the *Altar*, which represented the Deity; and Part of it on the People. At the same time, he took the *Book*, which contained the Clauses of the Treaty, or Covenant between GOD and the People; And he did as you Read. The Flesh of the Victims was eaten, as was usual on such Occasions; they *Eat* and *Drank* there. But that it might appear more evidently, that GOD was a Party to this *Covenant*, He gave them a sensible Token of His Presence. *They saw the GOD of Israel, and there was under His Feet, as it were a paved Work of a Sapphire Stone*. Monsr. *Saurin* thinks, this Token was præferr'd, because the *Sapphire* was the Emblem of the Royalty & the Priesthood, among the *Egyptians*. The Reasons may be seen in the *Hieroglyphicks* of *Valerianus*.⁷

Q. *He took the Book.*] Some have made it a Difficulty, to find what Book it was? v. 7.

5 Heinsius, *Aristarchus Sacer* (p. 207), quotes a phrase from Exod. 24:11 (LXX), which translates, “not even one missing.”

6 Signifying spiritual perfection, the number *seventy* is significant in several biblical instances: Gen. 10:1–32: the table of the seventy nations; Gen. 46:27: Jacob’s seventy family members entering Egypt; Exod. 24:9–10: the seventy elders who accompanied Moses on Mt. Sinai; Ps. 90:10: the seventy years of our lives; Luke 10:1: Christ’s seventy disciples; and the seventy members of the Great Sanhedrin. According to the Talmud, tractate Shabbath (88b), God’s every Word is “split up into seventy languages.” See also Talmud, tractates Sanhedrin (17a) and Sukkah (55b).

7 A close paraphrase of Jacques Saurin’s *Dissertations* (1723), “Diss. LII,” p. 440, Mather’s excerpt here alludes to the Italian Renaissance humanist Joannis Pierri Valeriani Bolzanij Belunensis, aka. Pierio Valeriano (1477–1558). In his *Hieroglyphica, sive De Sacris Aegyptiorum, Aliarumque Gentium Literis* (1678), lib. 41, cap. 38, pp. 520–21 (“Sapphirus”), Valeriano argues that one of the reasons why sapphires were esteemed among the ancients is that they believed the gem to be a celestial stone through which the gods restored power and esteem to its possessor. Valeriano’s popular work went through many editions until the early eighteenth century.

A. It plainly refers, to v. 4. *Moses wrote all the Words of the Lord*; that is, the Commandments and Statutes, and Judgments, in the *Four* foregoing Chapters. Tho' these made no great Volumn, yett they might be called, *A Book*, in the Language of the Hebrewes.⁸ For, even the *Bill of Divorce*, which they gave their Wives, (and was very short,) is called by the Name of, *Sepher*, *A Book*. [Deut. XXIV.1.]⁹

The Apostle [Heb. IX.19.] saies, He *Sprinkled the Book*, as well as the *People*; which is not here mentioned, but supposed. For, when he went to *Sprinkle the Blood*, we must conceive, that he laid down the *Book*, to be at more Liberty for this other Action. Perhaps, he laid it on one of the *Twelve Pillars*, where it was *Sprinkled*, as *they* were together with the *People*, whom they represented.¹⁰

Q. The *Sprinkling of the Blood* on the *People*? v. 8.

A. The, *Twelve Pillars* which represented the *People*, were *Sprinkled*.¹¹ Behold, A Figurative Speech: So the *Bread* is called, The *Body* of CHRIST.

⁸ There is considerable disagreement about what is included in this Book of the Covenant. Rashi, for one, appears to be most explicit about what is meant by Moses writing down all the words of God (Exod. 24:2–4, 7): ‘the command to separate [from their wives] and the setting up of boundaries [at Mount Sinai]; the seven *mitzvos* given to the descendants of Noah [as well as the *mitzvos* of:] Shabbos, honoring one’s parents, the red heifer, and administering justice which were given to them in Marah; Moshe wrote down [everything] from Bereishis [Genesis 1:1] until the giving of the Torah [Exod. 34:28] and he also wrote down the *mitzvos* that they were commanded at Marah’ (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Shemos* 2:354, 356). R. Chizkiyahu ben R. Manoach (Exod. 24:7) clarifies this issue as follows: “It is well known that the Torah was not written in chronological sequential order. The *Mekhilta d’Rabbi Yishmael*, on the 19th chapter of the Book of Exodus, has proven this beyond any question.” For instance, in Leviticus 25:2, the Torah states “that the soil of the land of Israel is to observe a year of lying fallow, (immediately after the Israelites entering that land) and the Torah proceeds to list the laws pertaining to the *shmittah* cycles followed by the Jubilee cycles, concluding with [Lev.] 26, 46: ‘these are the statutes and social laws that G’d has given as applying to the Jewish people all of which He had revealed to Moses at Mount Sinai’” (*Chizkuni* 2:570). For the same, see *Mekhilta D-Rabbi Ishmael* (Exod. 19:10–17), tractate Bahodesh, ch. 3 (2:301–302). Abarbanel believes that Exod. 24:7 merely entails “what he [Moses] had written the night before (v. 3); he gave them a chance to sleep on it,” in *JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* (2:209). Given this disagreement, it is perhaps not surprising that in the 17th c., the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, the French Oratorian Richard Simon, the Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza, and his fellow countryman, the controversialist theologian Jean LeClerc (among others) – all claimed that Moses wrote little more than the Ten Commandments and only those (few) chapters of the whole Pentateuch in which he is specifically mentioned as writing things down. On this topic, see *A Vindication of the Holy Bible* (1723), bk. 3, ch. 1, pp. 157–75, by Cotton Mather’s brother, Samuel Mather, preacher in Witney (Oxfordshire). For Cotton Mather’s response to this challenge to the Mosaic authorship, see my discussion in “Cotton Mather: Theologian, Exegete, Controversialist” (*BA* 1:113–74).

⁹ Patrick, on Exod. 24:7 (*Exodus* 467). For the Jewish “Bill of Divorce” (“Gett”), see Maimonides’s elucidation in *Hilchot Gerushin* (*Gittin*): *The Laws of Divorce*, in *Mishneh Torah* (17:10–247); and Mishnah, tractate Gittin (*The Mishnah* 307–21).

¹⁰ Patrick, on Exod. 24:4–8 (*Exodus* 467).

¹¹ See John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 185.

Israel thus entering into *covenant* with GOD, their *Elders* draw near to Him; which could not have been done without Peril while they were out of *Covenant*.¹²

Q. On the *Paved Work under the Feet*? v. 10.

A. Nothing is described here, but what was *under the Feet* of GOD. For our Conceptions of the Glorious GOD are all below Him.¹³

[4216:]

Q. How may that Passage be understood, *On the Nobles of Israel, He laid not His Hand*? v. 11.

A. The Jewes understand it so; The Lord imparted not unto them the *Gift of Prophecy*, as He did unto *Moses*. But others carry it so; He did not slay them, according to that Rule, *No Man shall See me and Live*.¹⁴

To sett this whole Matter, in its true *Light*, The *Shechinah*, of the *Divine Majesty*, surrounded with an Heavenly Host of *Angels*, was now seen by the *Elders* of *Israel*. This Glorious Light, had no determinate *Form*, nor could it be described by any *Art*. The *Feet*, that is to say, the lower Part of it, rested, as it were, on a most glorious *Pavement*; like that *Sapphire* called, *Χρυσοστιγῆς* (whereof *Salmasius*, on *Solinus*) spotted with little Points of *Gold*, that shine like Stars interspersed in the Body of it.¹⁵ Briefly, The *Glory* of the *Lord*, appeared far above the *Glory* of the *Sun*, in its greatest Brightness; upon a *Pavement* sparkling like the *Stars* of Heaven, in its greatest Clearness. | So dazzling was the Splendor of that Glorious *Light*, that it was a singular Favour, it did not putt out their Eyes,

¹² Patrick, on Exod. 24:8 (*Exodus* 468).

¹³ Whereas Patrick indulges his penchant for a literalist reading of this passage, Mather appears to prefer a metaphoric interpretation. This *via divinae* was paved with “Sapphire stone” (Exod. 24:10). On the power of this gemstone, see Claudius Salmasius’s *Plinianae Exercitationes* (1629), 1:133(C).

¹⁴ Rashi believes that the leaders of Israel (Nadab, Abihu, and the elders) deserved punishment because “They looked at Him while engrossed in eating and drinking.” Nachmanides believes they were “authorized to see the vision that they saw, of God, and had not broken through to see ‘the Lord.’” Ibn Ezra thinks that because none of these leaders (except Moses) ‘had ever prophesied before, or seen God ... they lived and felt no fear.’ Chizkuni opines that “He did not *send* His hand” means that God “did not extend his prophecy to them, since they were busy eating and drinking.” Abarbanel agrees with Chizkuni, maintaining that Exod. 24:11 can be understood by way of a similar phrase in Ezek. 37:1 and therefore “‘The hand of the Lord came upon me,’ refers to prophecy, which the elders achieved but these leaders did not.” That is why the leaders who only saw God spiritually, not literally, did not need to avoid food, but could eat and drink as they celebrated” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 2:210–11).

¹⁵ Patrick, on Exod. 24:10 (*Exodus* 470) and Claudius Salmasius, *Plinianae exercitationes in Caji Julii Solini Polyhistor* (1629), Ad I. Epistolam, cap. V, p. 131(C–): “Sapphirum aureis guttis sparsum, χρυσοστιγῆς vocat Epiphanius” (blue “Sapphire sprinkled with specks of gold”); Epiphanius Constantiniensis, *De xii gemmis* (1.5, line 2)] intends much the same by his Greek expression.

as the *Light*, wherein *Paul* saw our Saviour did unto His. We are told, v. 17. *The Sight of the Glory of the Lord, was like Devouring Fire*. This might putt them in fear, of being scorch'd by it, when it flash'd out upon them; but they did not find the least Hurt by it. No; Instead of that, they did *Eat & Drink*. After they had *Seen God*, they Feasted with Him, on the Reliques of the *Peace-Offerings*, with the greatest Gladness. Yea, we may suppose, the *Glory of the Lord*; shone on them, as they *Satt down to Eat & Drink*, in token of their full Consent unto the Covenant now made. [for so the Custome; Gen. 24.30. & 31.54.] And they continued to Finish their Feast; not being Dispirited, [as Good Men sometimes were, with their Visions; Dan. X.8, 16, 17.] but rather Strengthened, & made more Vigorous.

The Word, *Saw*, is not the same with that in the former Verse: intimating, that the Appearance lasted for some time.¹⁶

2307.

Q. When *Moses* went up into the *Mount of God*, for to Receive the Two Tables, hee was attended with *Joshua*; might there bee any Mystery in that Matter? v. 13.

A. Yes. When *Moses* went up to Receive the Two Tables, on which the *Decalogue* was written, hee was attended with *Joshua*. When hee received the other Præcepts, hee was attended with *Aaron*, & his Sons. It was to Import, that the *Decalogue* must bee observed under the Gospel, in the Times of *Jesus*, as well as *Moses*: The other Præcepts, only during the *Priesthood* of *Aaron*.

On this Occasion wee may add; An *Ark* was prepared for the Preservation of the *Decalogue*. No such Provision was made for the *Ceremonial Law*. The *Ark* where the *Decalogue* lay, was separated for many Years from the *Tabernacle*, where all the *Ceremonial Service* was performed; & never joined again, to that which was of *Dauids* Erection. *David* made a New Tent for it, at *Jerusalem*, leaving the Old at *Gibeon*; to shew, that when *Moses's* Tabernacle, with all the *Ceremonial Constitutions* were laid aside, and a more perfect Tabernacle erected, by the Son of *David*, the *Ten Commandments* would still retain their Vigour.¹⁷

Q. *The Cloud covered it.*] Covered what? v. 16.¹⁸

A. It covered the *Glory of the Lord*, not the *Mount*; as *Aben-Ezra* observes. The *Cloud* was not the *Glory of the Lord*; but compass'd and cover'd it. For *Six* Dayes nothing but the *Cloud*, appeared unto the *Israelites*; [perhaps, a Mystery in this, referring to the *Millennium*:] till on the *Seventh Day*, the *Cloud* was Rent, or Opened; and the *Glory of the Lord*, appear'd like *Flaming Fire*. *Moses* was all that while, hidden in the *Cloud*; wrapt up in Darkness; which might have astonish'd

¹⁶ Patrick, on Exod. 24:11 (*Exodus* 470–71).

¹⁷ A related argument appears in Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 407–08.

¹⁸ See Appendix A.

him, if God had not mightily supported him. On the *Seventh* Day, (which, some think, was the *Sabbath*;) the *Glory* broke out, and appear'd unto him. And the People then also saw it. To this the Psalmist alludes; Psal. 97.2, 3. *Clouds and Darkness are round about Him, & Fire goes before Him*. This *Glory* sometimes appearing in an amazing Brightness, beyond that of the Sun; & sometimes being wrapt up in a Thick Cloud; God is likewise said, both to *Dwell in Light*, and in *Thick Darkness*. [1. King. VIII.12.]¹⁹

Q. On that, *The Cloud covered the Mount Six Dayes*, & on the *Seventh* Day *Moses* is called up into it by God? v. 16.

A. 'Tis a glorious Type, of what shall be done for us in the *Seventh Millennium*.²⁰

[....]

Q. *Moses was in the Mount, Forty Dayes and Forty Nights*; How often did *Moses* Fast *Forty Dayes*? v. 18.

A. I'll give you Dr. *Lightfoots* Observation. It is a doubt, *saies hee*, of no small Import, seeing it pleased God, to appoint the *Feast of Expiation*, in that *Month* of the *Year*, when Sin came into the World, Hee did not also appoint on the same *Day* of the *Month*, namely, the *Sixth* rather than the *Tenth*.

Hee tells us, wee must observe the *Fasts* of *Moses* in the Mount; & from the Conclusion of the *Last*, wee shall see the Reason, why this Day is pitch'd upon.

That hee *Fasted* Thrice *Forty Dayes*, is not so frequently observed, as it may bee easily concluded, from his own Words.

The *First Fast*, occurs in the Text, now before us; and at the End of these *Dayes*, they make the *Golden Calf*.

The *Second Fast*, you have in Exod. 32.30. *On the Morrow Moses said, Yee have Sinned a Great Sin, & now I will go up into the Mount*. This is explained in Deut. 9.18. *I fell down before the Lord, as at the first, Forty Dayes*.

The *Third Fast* was, when hee went up, with the *New Tables*; in Exod. 34.28. *And hee was there with the Lord, Forty Dayes*.

All which, being reckoned from the Seventh of *Sivan*, the Day after the giving of the Ten Commandments, it will bee found, that this Last *Fast*, when hee had obtained Pardon for *Israel*, & the Tables Renewed, ended on the Tenth

¹⁹ Patrick (*Exodus* 474–75) refers to Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Commentary: Exodus* (528–29). Ibn Ezra (on v. 17) glosses, "Now the mountain was entirely covered by a cloud. God's glory was on top of the mountain. God the reverend was seen there in the form of burning fire." See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:442) and *Works* (5:190–92).

²⁰ It is telling that Mather, as a millenarian, offers this interpretation, whereas his muse merely suggests that to some interpreters the event of Moses entering the midst of the cloud occurred on the Sabbath (Patrick, *Exodus* 475).

of *Tisri*, on which Day, hee came down with the glad Tidings of Reconciliation. In Memorial hereof, this Day was observed ever after, as the *Feast of Expiation*.²¹

²¹ Extracted from John Lightfoot's *Handfull of Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus* (1643), ch. 30, pp. 36–37.

855.

Q. I observe, that for the Description of the whole World, *Moses* employes, but One or Two Chapters; whereas hee employes, it may bee, Seven Times as many Chapters in describing of that one little Pavilion, the *Tabernacle*. What may bee the Reason of this Difference? v. 1.¹

A. 'Tis to Teach us, in short, That the *Church*, wherein the Service of God is performed, is much more precious than the *World*; which was indeed created for the Sake & Use of the *Church*.

Q. We have the Description of the *Ark*, in this Chapter? v. 1.

A. It is a Remark of Monsr. *Saurin* upon it; It is pretty extraordinary, that we should give this wonderful Token of the Divine Presence, the Same Name with the Vessel which *Noah* built by the Order of GOD. It would not be easy to find any One Word, that should signify Two such Different Things. The *Ark* of *Noah* was a sort of a Ship, that was made for the holding of him, & his Family, & all Animals that live in the Air, and Food for their Subsistence. The *Ark* of the *Most Holy Place* was a Coffre, or a Chest. There is no Similitude between these Two Things. The Hebrew Terms, which the Sacred History has made use of, to express them, have not the least Analogy. It was the Version which we ascribe to the LXX, which assign'd the same Name of Κιβωτός, to both of these. And this has led us all into it.²

¹ Mather employs the same passage in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), "General Introduction," § 4, fol. C^{2a}. A similar observation about the disproportionate discussion in the Mosaic creation account occurs in William Whiston's *New Theory of the Earth* (1696), pt. 1, sec. 5, pp. 50, 51, 53–54, which Mather cites in his commentary on Gen. ch. 1: "Hee [Whiston] 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 crouded into *One single Day* together" (BA 1:344; see also BA 1:83–84).

² Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), "Diss. LIV," p. 482. In the Septuagint, the term κιβωτός (Gen. 6:14; Exod. 25:9[10]) is used both to designate Noah's ark and Moses' ark, i. e., chest, coffre, or box. Mather offers much the same typological reading in his *Work upon the Ark. Meditations upon the Ark as a Type of the Church* (1689).

3001.

Q. Wee read, That for the Covering of the *Tabernacle*, there were employ'd, *Rams Skins died red, and Badgers Skins*; what were the *Badgers*, which thus afforded their *Skins* unto the *Tabernacle*? v. 5.

A. None at all!

The Hebrew Name /תחש/ *Thachas*, which we translate, *A Badger*, is not the Name of a *Creature*, but of a *Colour*, as the learned *Bochart* ha's fully demonstrated.³

The Jewes are at a Loss, what *Creature* to advance unto the Honour of being here intended; some say, a *Badger*, some a *Ferret*, some, I know not what; until at last their Doctors come to say, *Tachas, qui fuit Mosis ævo, creatura fuit specialis, de quâ Sapientes non definiverunt, utrum domestica fuerit Bestia, an Fera. Habuit autem in Fronte, Cornu Unicum, et cum oblata est Mosi, is ex illa fecit Tabernaculum, Deindè occultata est*; It was a *Creature* it seems, that vanished out of the World, as soon as the *Tabernacle* was finished.⁴

The Name *Taxus*, was first used in Translating the Hebrew Name *Thachas*, as far as we understand, in the Seventh or Eighth Century, by the Author of the *Book, De Mirabilibus Scriptura*.⁵ But the *Skins* of *Badgers* are not fitt for such Uses, as the *Thachas Skins* are here putt unto. And it is certain, That all the more

3 Samuel Bochart, *Hierozaicon* (1663), lib. 3, cap. 30, cols. 985–92, is the prime source for this and many other biblical topics during Mather's lifetime. The Hebrew word תחש [tachash] (Strong's # 8476) variously signifies "a kind of leather, skin, or animal hide 1a) perhaps the animal yielding the skin 1b) perhaps the badger, or dugong dolphin, or sheep." The term is shrouded in mystery and has occupied many scholars over the millennia (Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:443–45). Even Rashi speculates that *Tachashim* signifies "a species of animal that existed only for a [short] time, and it had many hues" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 2:409a). According to *Midrash Tanchuma* (Shemos 25:5), a dispute arose between Rabbis Yehudah and Nechemyah. The former insisted, "There was a large kosher creature in the wilderness which had a single horn in the center of its forehead, and its skin had six different hues, which they [Israelites] took and made into drapes"; the latter retorted that the animal was miraculously "created for a short moment, and it was immediately hidden away" (*Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma Shemos* 2:115).

4 Bochart (col. 988) does not identify the source of the Latin passage, which is most likely derived from a similar explication in *Midrash Tanchuma* (see preceding note). The term תחש [tachash] is variously defined by R. Nathan ben Jehiel (1035–c. 1110), in his *Baal Aruch*, an etymological dictionary of the Talmud and Midrash, by the Italian R. Nathan ben Jehiel (1035–c. 1110). This work is also one of the sources of Sebastian Münster's oft-reprinted השורשים עם נגזרים [Sepher ha-Shorashim 'im Nigzarim] *Dictionarium Hebraicum* (1539). See also BA (1:791–92). At any rate, all-knowing Bochart, too, is stymied by the meaning of *Tachas*; a unicorn, perhaps? Even the "sages have not been able to explain whether *Tachas*, which was a special creature in the time of Moses, was a domestic animal or wild beast. Moreover, it had on its forehead a singular horn, and when it was offered to Moses, he made a tabernacle out of it, whereupon it [unicorn species] vanished."

5 Mather, via Bochart (col. 988), refers to *De Mirabilibus sacrae scripturae libri tres* (c. 655), lib. 1, cap. 7, col. 2158 [PL 035. 2158], composed by an unknown Irish monk, euphemistically called Augustinus Hibernicus. See also Johann Jacob Hofmann's *Lexicon Universale, Historiam, Sacram et Profanam*. Tomus Quartus (1698), p. 362: "Taxo, Taxus."

ancient Interpreters of the Scripture, took the *Thachas*, to be a *Colour*, and not a *Creature*. Very particularly, the LXX read it, δέρματα ὑακίνθινα, *Purple Skins*, or, *Violet-Colour Skins*. The Colour meant by the Ancients, under the Terms of, *Sasgona*, and, *Hysginus*, and, *Hyacinthinus*, is the very *Thachas*, now before us. Wherefore, after the Mention of *Red Ram-skins* for the Use of the *Tabernacle*, we must suppose *Ram skins* of a further *Colour* to be called for, when we read of *Badgers skins*; namely, of a *Violet-Colour*. And such *Skins* there were, so coloured, [50v] not only by the | Art of the *Dier*, but by *Nature* also, in those *Oriental Parts* of the World. *Columella*, and *Pliny*, speak of the *Red Sheep* among the Orientals; and so does *Alcamus* the *Arabian*. And *Oppian* speaks of the *Purple* ones; and so does *Lampridius*; and so does *Constantinus Porphyrogeneta*. —⁶

2841.

Q. *Thou shalt make Two Cherubims of Gold.* Why, no more than Two? v. 18.

A. Lest they should be thought, to repræsent the *Trinity*.⁷

⁶ To verify the historicity of the purple skins covering the Mosaic Tabernacle, Bochart (cols. 990, 991, 992) enlists evidence from Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella's *De Re Rustica* (8.2.7–8) and from Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 8.78.191), who speaks of “the red fleeces [of Asia] that they call Erythrean.” Probably quoted at second hand from the *Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ, sive, Thesaurus Linguae Arabicae* (1632), a four-volume Arabic lexicon, by the Italian professor of Arabic at Milano, Antonio Giggeius, aka Giggèi (d. 1632), Samuel Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, lib. 3, cap. 30, col. 991; and lib. 3, cap. 20, col. 903) cites from the celebrated Arabic lexicon *Al-Qamūs al-Muḥīṭ* (aka. *Alcamus*, *Qamus*), a compilation of several earlier Arabic dictionaries, by Muhammad al-Fayruzabadi (1329–1414), a distinguished Persian lexicography who settled in Mecca. See Pierre Ageron's “Dans le cabinet de travail du Pasteur Samuel Bochart L'érudit et ses sources arabes,” esp. “Annexe IV” (139–43) and *BEIP* (104–105). Bochart's magnificent *Geographia Sacra* (1646) and *Hieroicoicon* (1663) remained standard handbooks for more than two centuries. As in Mather's case, Bochart was the explanatory source for the darkish rubicund color of sheep's wool, which bedecked the Tabernacle. The Syro-Græco-Roman poet Oppianus Apamensis (2nd–3rd c. CE) mentions the purple-colored fleece in his poem on hunting, ΚΥΝΗΓΗΤΙΚΩΝ (lib. 2, lines 377–79), in Conrad Rittershusius's edition *Oppiani Poëtæ Cilicis De Venatione Lib. IIII*. (1597), pp. 60, 63; the same can be found in our modern edition of Oppian, *Cynegetica* (2.377–79). Aelius Lampridius (2nd–3rd c. CE), one of the “Scriptores Historiae Augustae,” in his *Historia Augusta: Diadumenus Antoninus* (4.5), mentions that “twelve purple sheep were born” on the estate of Diadumenus's father (*Life of Diadumenianus* 2:91). Finally, the Byzantine Emperor Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959 CE), in his *De Thematibus: Asia-Europe Asia* (ch. 12, line 41), speaks of the purple-colored sheep of Phoenicia.

⁷ Mather's Trinitarian explanation, based on Patrick's commentary on Exod. 25:18 (*Exodus* 490), imposes a meaning that it could not have had in Moses' time. Even Mather's uncle Samuel, in Dublin, felt that this reading “being above their [Israelites'] comprehension” was “not included originally within the Law of their Creation” (*Figures or Types* [1705], p. 408; see also pp. 410–11). See also G. G. Stroumsa, “Le couple de l'Ange et de l'Esprit; traditions juives et chrétiennes,” *RB* 88 (1981): 42–61. Stroumsa demonstrates that in rabbinic literature, the two cherubim, signifying both the male and female, may also intent God's Son the Holy Spirit. For the ongoing debate on the shape, nature, and function of the cherubim, see R. Eichler, “Cherub: A History of Interpretation,” *Biblica* 96.1 (2015): 26–38. Also see “Cherubim” (*ABD* 1:897–98).

[▽ Insert 51r–51v]

[▽ 51r–51v]

Q. The *Cherubim*? v. 18.

A. Lett us, with Monsr. *Saurin*, call them, *Hieroglyphicks*. This is the General Name for *Figures*, that represent Cœlestial or Angelical Qualities, or certain Mysteries of Religion and Morality. This Definition of *Cherubim*, is enough to explain, why we have them represented, sometimes under one Form, sometimes under another. When we read of, *Hangings wrought with Cherubims*, it means, Embroider'd with certain Sacred Emblems. But who can determine the *Figures*, upon such an Indefinite Expression as this; *A Work upon which there were Hieroglyphicks*?⁸

We have not much Light concerning the *Cherubim*, from very many Passages in the Sacred Scriptures that mention them.

What were the *Cherubim* that were placed, *at the East of the Garden of Eden*?

What were the *Cherubim* in the Visions of *Ezekiel*? It will still be a Quæstion, whether those Words, *The Face of a Man*, or, *The Face of a Lion*, are not Hebraisms, that only signified some *Likeness* to those Objects, and not the *Visage* of them. Nor is it more easy to discover, whether those Creatures had Four Heads, or but one, or even whether Four Half-Heads.⁹

And if wee could give the Figure of the *Cherubim* seen by *Ezekiel*, this would not settle the Figure of them on the *Mercy-Seat*. For, since the *Cherubim* were no more than *Hieroglyphicks*, their Form was different, according to the Several Mysteries, of which they were the Emblems.

The Description made by *Ezekiel*, is not like that of *John*, in the *Revelations*.¹⁰

We will not here transcribe what *Buxtorf*, and *Bochart*, and *Villalpandus*, and *Spencer*, have written, concerning the *Cherubim*.¹¹

Spencer has determined it, That they {had} mostly, something of a *Bovine Figure* belonging to them. What *Ezekiel* calls, *The Face of an Oxe*, in one Place,

⁸ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), “Diss. LIV,” p. 484.

⁹ Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), p. 485. Gen. 3:24; Ezek. 1:5–11, 10:20–21; Rev. 4:7–8.

¹⁰ Ezek. 1:5–10; 10:14, 20–22; Rev. 4:7–8.

¹¹ Joseph Mede, *Works* (1664), bk. 5, cap. 12, pp. 1121–22, argues that the polymorphous shape of the cherubim – lion, ox, eagle, and man – represent the ensigns of “three Tribes to a Standard” of the twelve tribes of Israel. Based on the signification of *cherubim* in Ezek. 1:10, 10:20, Johannes Buxtorf (filius) believes that the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant had the shape of four animals each, in *Historia Arcae Foederis* (1659), cap. 9, p. 99. So, too, do Samuel Bochart, in *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 41, col. 412, lines 26–46; the Spanish Jesuit polymath Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608), in his *Postrema Ezechielis Prophetæ Visione* (1604), tom. 2, pars 2, cap. 35: “De Interioris Templi Ornamentis, & Cherubinis,” on Ezek. ch. 41, pp. 310–12, and 326–38; and John Spencer, in his ominous discussion, which sparked the whole controversy, in his *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 5: “De Origine Arcae & Cherubinatorum,” caps. 3–10, fols. 763–816. See also Hermann Witsius, *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* (1696), lib. 2, cap. 13, pp. 159–60, §§ xiv–vii.

he calls, *A Cherub*, in another. The Hebrew Word, *Cherub*, anciently signified, *An Oxe*; And the same Word in *Arabic* and *Syriac*, signifies, *To Plough*.¹²

Be the Figure what it will; it is evident, That the *Cherubims* which *Moses* made by the Order of GOD, were Emblems of ANGELS.¹³

ANGELS, who encompass the Throne of GOD; And are winged for Obedience to Him; And have their Faces towards each other, being united in One Will to serve their Lord; And have a great Reverence for the Mysteries of which the *Ark* exhibited a Type unto us.¹⁴

Maimonides observes, The Design of GOD in ordering of *Cherubim*, was to inculcate the Doctrine & Beleef of ANGELS.¹⁵ If there had been but one [51v] Cherub on the Ark, the | *Israelites* might have been too ready to take it for an Image of GOD. Or, they might have suspected, that there is no more than *One Angel*. But (he says) the Command for making *Two Cherubim*, joined with this Declaration, *The Lord our GOD is the only GOD*, putts all out of Doubt. It proves, that there be *Angels*, and that there is but *One GOD*.¹⁶
[△ End of insert]

[50v cont.]

Q. The *Cubit*, often mention'd in the Measures of the Tabernacle? v. 22.¹⁷

12 Saurin, *Dissertations* (486, 487). Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 3, sec. 1, fol. 764.

13 R. Eichler has traced the evolving views on the shape and nature of the cherubim in "Cherub: A History of Interpretation." *Biblica* 96.1 (2015): 26–38.

14 Saurin (487). How unsettling the representation of the cherubim was can be seen in the Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:446–47): To Oleaster (relying on Ibn Ezra), they were "the universal name for every figure." Josephus in Lyra argued they were "certain birds" never previously seen; Junius, Ainsworth, Piscator, and Malvenda insist they were of a "human form, but more august"; Munster believes they were "boys," or rather "winged young men," according to Menochius, Estius, Junius, Piscator. Estius thinks they are "angels," but others, especially Oleaster, take exception to this conformist reading because their "arms" would have interfered with their extended wings; besides Ezek. 10:14 specifically distinguishes between "the face of the Cherub and the face of a man." Grotius imagines the cherub "in the form of calves," because they were *μσσχόμορφοι*; i. e., "bull-shaped". After all, Grotius knows, that what is called "ox" שׁוֹר [shor] in Ezek. 1:10 is called כְּרֻב *cherub* in Ezek. 10:14. Thus the bovine shape is its "principal form," Menochius points out, but it consists of "four species of animals." Yet this composite form (rejoins Grotius), with a man's face, eagle's wings, and lion's mane, and the cloven hoofs of oxen, may perhaps signify (as in Exod. 34:6) respectively, God's goodness (man), swiftness (eagle), vengefulness (lion), and slowness (oxen), when He metes out judgment on regenerate and unregenerate alike (Poole's *Works* 5: 207–08).

15 Maimonides similarly wrestles with this knotty subject, but finally cuts through this Gordian knot by deciding that the cherubim were angels (*Guide of the Perplexed* 3.45.577).

16 Saurin (488) cites Johannes Buxtorf's Latin translation *Rabbi Mosi Majemonidis Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum: More Nebuchim* (1629), pars 3, cap. 45, p. 476 (*Guide* 3.45.577). On the seventeenth-century debate about the polymorphous shape of the cherubim – face of a human, eagle, lion, and ox – see section 2 of my introduction.

17 Actually, v. 23. In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts" (Exod. 25:22), Mather lists as his source "MSS. no. 18. p. 58."

A. There are great Disputes among the Jewes, about a *Cubit*; which is commonly thought to be Half a Yard of our Measure; or XVIII Inches. But Dr. *Cumberland* ha's taken a great deal of Pains, about the *Scripture-Measures*; And he ha's given strong Reasons, to incline us, to think, That the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* Cubit, were about XXI Inches. If it had not been so, the *Table* here, would have been Inconvenient, being but XXVII Inches; which is too low for a *Table*; whereas, according to his Account, it was about *Thirty two Inches*; which is a very convenient Heighth for a *Table*.¹⁸

Q. A Remark upon the Use of the *Ark*? v. 22.

A. Tis Monsr. *Jurieu's*.¹⁹

The *Ark* was intended as a Repository for the *Law*, which was engraved by the Finger of GOD, on the *Tables*, delivered unto *Moses* upon Mount *Sinai*. Our Divines, he thinks, have not sufficiently observed, That unto this Prærogative of containing the *Law*, or *Testimony*, was owing all the Veneration, which the *Ark* had paid unto it. It was called, *The Ark of the Covenant*; because this *Law* was a *Covenant*; And, *The Ark of the Testimony*; because the *Law* was indeed the *Testimony*. GOD was considered as peculiarly manifesting Himself there: Because His *Law* was contained in it. And for this Cause did Men prostrate themselves before it.²⁰

Why did not the Jews contrive an *Ark* for the *Second Temple*, after the Model of the former? It was because they had lost the *Tables* of the *Law*, & had no further Occasion to make a Chest for them.²¹

Why did the Holy GOD impart His Oracles from the Midst of the *Ark*? The *Law* is the Spring of Light. If Men pay a due Respect unto it, they may hope, to be always under the Direction of GOD.

Why was the *Covering* of the *Ark*, styled, *The Propitiatory*, or, *Mercy-Seat*? It covered the *Law*; and therein it was a Figure of the Satisfaction made by our Saviour, which covers our Sins against the *Law*.²²

Q. On that, *I will commune with thee from above the Mercy-Seat*? v. 22.

A. GOD caused a Voice to be heard, from the *Cloud*, which was over the *Mercy-Seat*. But some Interpreters think the *Cloud* meant here, was only the

18 Bishop of Peterborough, Richard Cumberland (1632–1718), dedicated his bestselling work *An Essay Towards the Recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights* (1686) to Samuel Pepys, then president of the Royal Society of London (ODNB). Mather's measurements appear in Cumberland's *Essay* (ch. 2, p. 34, 50, 56). See also Mather's Appendix: "III. Measures, Weights, Coins," added to his commentary on Revelation, at the end of *BA* (vol. 10).

19 Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship* (1705), vol. 1, part II, ch. 1, p. 333.

20 Jurieu, *Critical History* (1:333).

21 Jurieu (1:334). See also Mather's annotations on Ezra 1:11 (*BA* 4:7r).

22 Jurieu (1:334).

Cloud of Smoke made by the High-Priest in the *most Holy Place*, with the Incense offered on the Great Day of Atonement. See Lev. XVI.12, 13.²³

Q. The *Shew-bread*? v. 30.

A. Hebr. The *Bread of Presence*. A Sign of GODs Presence, & Communication with them.²⁴

[51r–51v inserted into 50v]

[52r]

326.

Q. We expect, that when you come to *Solomons Temple*, you will then give us the Gospel of *Moses's Tabernacle*. Yett here, a few Glances upon it, may not be unseasonable, or unserviceable? v. 40.

A. The *Tabernacle*, and the whole Service belonging to it, was a *Parable*; The Interpretation whereof, is, The Lord Jesus Christ, and His Church.²⁵

The Apostle compares His *Flesh*, unto the *Veil* which hung between the Oracle and the Sanctuary; for it is both the Parting of the Medium of Communication, between the Deity and the Church.

The *Tabernacle* was not altogether figured, as the *Temple*; but like a Body, or Trunk without Arms, or with the Arms holding together. An Intimation, That the Church, then confined unto the Jewish Nation, was to continue so, for many Ages, until the *Gentile-Branches* were engrafted.

The *Double Sockets*, on which the Boards stood, with the *Pillars*, and *Bars*; foreshewed the Stability of the Church; against which, the *Gates of Hell should not prevail*.

And the *Coupling of the Curtains*, to make all but *One Tabernacle*; shewed the *Unity* of the Church, in all Points Essential unto it.

The better to shew, that this Body was Modell'd in *Heaven*, albeit the several Parts of the Furniture, the *Ark*, *Altar*, *Table* and *Candlestick*, had so many

²³ The French Jewish philosopher R. Levi ben Gershon, aka Gersonides, aka. Ralbag (1288–1344) appears to be one of Mather's sources, for Gersonides (by drawing on Lev. 1:1, 16:2) states that "When Moses was outside the Tent, he would hear the Voice coming from inside it; once inside, he would hear it coming from above the cover (Bekhor Shor). That is, the cloud of the Lord will appear there when I speak with you, as if I were speaking to you from that place – just as the cloud appeared on Mount Sinai when prophecy came to Moses" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:222). See also Rashi, Nachmanides, Rashbam, and Ibn Ezra on Lev. 16:2 (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot*: *Leviticus* 3:118) and Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations* (1723), "Diss. LIV," pp. 499, 500, 501.

²⁴ Patrick (*Exodus* 498) and Fortunatus Scacchus (*Sacrorum Elaeo-chrismaton Myrothecium Sacroprophanum* [1625–27], in *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* [1725], lib. 2, cap. 39, cols. 484–87).

²⁵ Mather appears to extract the following paragraphs from "Sermon I," in *Le Tabernacle Expliqué, en cinq Sèrmons sur l'Epistre aux Hebr. ch. ix. vs. 2. 3. 4. & 5. Avec un Discours sur les habits Sacrez d'Aaron* (1658), by the Huguenot theologian and metaphysician Moyse Amyraldus, aka. Moïse Amyraut (1596–1664).

several sorts of Covers; yett they had all of them, one of a *Sky-Colour*; a *Clothe* wholly of *Blue*. (Num. 4.6.)

The *Candlestick* notably represented, the Seven cheef Cœlestial Bodies, of the System wherein we move. The *Shaft* in the Midst, answered unto the *Sun*; and so, unto *Christ*, who is called, *The Sun of Righteousness*. The *Six Branches* answered unto the Six greater *Planets*; that is, the Apostles, who were sent out by *Six Pairs*, and were called, *The Lights of the World*.²⁶

Or, the Six Branches, and Six lesser Lamps, represented the Twelve Apostles, who first preached unto the *Jewes*; and the biggest Lamp in the Middle, over against the Shaft, might be our *Paul*, the Apostle of the Gentiles.

The *Candlestick* stood on the *South-side* of the *Tabernacle*; answerable to the Southern Scituation of the *Ecliptic*; with respect unto *Judea*, and the far greater Part of the World. And as the said *Lights*, alwayes do shine in the Heavens, thus these did alwayes in the *Tabernacle*; and they shall never be extinguished in the Church.

The *Shew-bread* might well be called, *The Bread of Faces*. The Death of our Lord *Messiah*, was already, & constantly before the *Face* of God.²⁷

This *Bread*, was, as it were, a Perpetual *Meat-Offering*;²⁸ with which a *Drink-Offering* | was often, if not alwayes, joined; the *Priests* drank *Wine* with it: [52v] the *Bowls* belonging to the Table, could be applied unto no other Use. Behold, the Sacraments of the *Flesh* and *Blood* of our Lord! The *Priests* did thus Eat and Drink every Sabbathday. Remarkably done by the Primitive Christians also!²⁹

The Mysteries of the *Altars*, are elsewhere observed.

Next to the *Altar*, stood the *Laver*. Our Lord Jesus Christ being sacrificed, *Baptism* was next preached unto all Nations. Upon receiving of which, we are to be received, (as the *Priests* after washing,) into the *Tabernacle*, the Church; where being first Illuminated, by the *Candlestick*, or Heavenly Doctrine of the Apostles, we are then to be Admitted unto the *Shewbread*, the Communion of Saints in the *Lords-Supper*. For all whom, the *Altar of Incense*, or Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ, makes continual Intercession. Until He comes at last, from the most Holy Place, attended with *Cherubims*, to Judge the World.³⁰

²⁶ See Moïse Amyraut, *Le Tabernacle Expliqué* (1658), “Sermon I,” pp. 30–32, 35, 44. See also Samuel Mather’s *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 390–91.

²⁷ See Amyraut’s *Le Tabernacle Expliqué*, “Sermon I” (32) and Jacques Saurin’s *Dissertations* (474).

²⁸ See Samuel Mather’s *Figures*, p. 398.

²⁹ Amyraut’s *Le Tabernacle Expliqué*, “Sermon I” (44–45).

³⁰ Amyraut’s *Le Tabernacle Expliqué* (1658).

[53r]

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4191.

Q. The TABERNACLE erected in the Wilderness among the *Israelites*, for the Worship of God, is a Noble Subject; and it is well worthy to be more particularly Considered and Illustrated. We find in the Scripture, that pious Men desired & valued mightily the Privilege, to be conversant with the TABERNACLE; altho' they could not see all the *Mysteries* there, which we Christians are now better acquainted withal. The *World of Grace*, ha's in it no less Glories than the *World of Nature*. The Lord who took but *Six Dayes* to dispatch the former, took *Forty Dayes*, to describe the latter unto His Holy Servant. The Apostle *Paul*, having led us to a View of the *Mysteries* in a Part of the *Tabernacle*, concludes, there were many more, whereof, saies he, *we cannot now speak particularly*. We are invited now to enquire more *particularly* after them; for as *Amyraldus* well notes, *Quod in eo genere Apostoli prastiterunt, est tanquam exemplar, ad cuius normam omnes alij Theologi Cogitationes et Meditationes suas in eo Studio conformare debent.* v. 40.³¹

A. Our Incomparable WITSIUS, ha's entertained, me with a Dissertation, *De Tabernaculi Levitici Mysterijs*. And I will endeavour an Entertainment for my Friend, with select Matters fetched, like so many choice Dishes, from the Table wherewith he ha's feasted us.³²

But we must in the first Place consider a *Treble Tabernacle* mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. There was a *MOSAIC Tabernacle*; A Mansion erected by *Moses*, without the Camp, after the wretched Business of the *Calf*. This was called, *The Tabernacle of Meeting*; because the Lord there mett with *Moses*, & exhibited His Glory also unto the *Israelites*. [Exod. 33.7.] There was also a *DAVIDIC Tabernacle*; A Mansion erected by *David*, in *Zion*, for the Reception of the *Ark*, after it was removed from the House of *Obed-Edom*. [2. Sam. 6.17. 1. Chron. 16.1.] But there was likewise the *LEVITIC Tabernacle*; which is now to be discoursed of.³³

³¹ This and the following paragraphs are extracted from *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum Libri Quatuor*. Editio tertia (1692), lib. 2, dissertatio 1, § III, p. 396, by the greatly admired Dutch Reformed theologian Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), professor of theology at the universities of Franeker, Utrecht, and finally at Leiden. Mather's second-hand Latin citation (via Witsius, p. 396) originates in Moïse Amyraut's "Praefatio ad Lectorem" (sig. e ij"), appended (!) to Amyraut's *Paraphrasis in Psalmos Davidis una cum Annotationibus Argumentis* (1662), following p. 592. He explains "that the Apostles stood out in this way, like a model, toward whose norm all other theologians must conform their thoughts and meditations."

³² Hermann Witsius, *De Tabernaculi Levitici Mysterijs*, constitutes book two in Witsius's massive *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum Libri Quatuor* (1692), lib. 2, dissertatio 1, pp. 393–453. Mather admired his Dutch Reformed colleague openly and did him the honor of transcribing into the *Biblia Americana* large portions of Witsius's major publications. So here.

³³ Mather paraphrastically translates Witsius's *Tabernaculi* (§ IV, p. 397).

The Fate of that famous *Tabernacle* was This. After it was erected by *Moses*, it was diverse Times taken down, & carried by the Levites, thro' the several Stages of their Journey in the Wilderness. When it arrived unto the Land of *Canaan*, it was first of all sett up in *Gilgal*. [Josh. 4.18.19.] It was then transported unto *Shiloh*. [Josh. 18.1. 1 Sam. 4.3, 4.] Here it continued 328 Years, or some say, 350. When the *Ark* was taken, *Shiloh* was Forsaken and Rejected of God. [Jer. 7.12. Psal. 78.60.] The *Tabernacle* was then transferred unto *Nob*. [1. Sam. 21.10.] In the Dayes of *David* and *Solomon*, we find it at *Gibeon*. [1. Chron. 1.3.] At last, it and all the Utinsels of it, were translated into the *Temple*. [2. Chron. 5.5.] The Fate of the *Church* in this World, until its arrival unto the State of the Blessed *Chiliad*, & the *Rest which remains for the People of God*, was admirably represented in this Fate of the *Tabernacle*.³⁴

The *Materials* of the *Tabernacle*, were brought in, partly by a Voluntary, Liberal, Generous *Contribution* of the *Israelites*; partly by a Tribute of *Half a Shekel*, which all the *Men* of the Nation above Twenty Years of Age, paid for their Expiation. The *Shekel of the Sanctuary* is mentioned, as the Standard of the Money paid on this Occasion. We do not imagine, as many have done, that the *Shekel of the Sanctuary* was as large again as the *Common Shekel*; but the *Shekel of the Sanctuary* means a true, just, fair *Shekel*, fairly answering the Standard, that was reserved in the *Sanctuary*; as the Emperour *Justinian* ordered the Standard of *Weights* and *Measures*, to be laid up in the Churches of every City.³⁵ [Consider, Lev. 27.25.³⁶ and Ezek. 45.12.] All the Ancient *Shekels* extant at this Day, are of the same Weight, and make near Half an *Imperial*. But shall we now a little cast up the Summ that was thus collected? The Number of the *Israelites* was, *Six Hundred Thousand and Three Thousand and five Hundred and fifty*. The *Shekels* then paid were 301775. which made One Hundred *Talents*, and 1775 *Shekels*. The *Gold* of the Voluntary Oblations, was, *Twenty Nine Talents*, and *Seven Hundred & Thirty Shekels*. [Exod. 38.24.] One *Goeree*, quoted by *Witsius*, brings the Summ thus under modern Denomination. The *Silver* amounted unto, 362130 *Florins*, or 60355 *Flanders Pounds*. The *Gold* amounted unto 219325 *Flanders*

³⁴ A close translation of *Tabernaculi* (§ V, pp. 397–98). Mather's excised comment (following this paragraph) speaks volumes: "My *Witsius* has not here offered this History [Hint ... us], but I wish it were well pursued; perhaps I may elsewhere expand a little more upon it." See Appendix A.

³⁵ In 545 CE, Eastern Emperor Justinian ordered that henceforth the norms for all weights and measures were to be moved from the city hall and kept in the bishopric's cathedral. See J. A. S. Evans, *The Age of Justinian* (229).

³⁶ *Witsius*, *Tabernaculi* (§ VIII, p. 399). Mather erroneously lists Lev. 25:25 (silently corrected).

Pounds; or 130 Tuns, and about 5950 *Florins*. In all, about 1,300,000 Pounds Sterling. But we will give another Account in our Illustrations on Exod. 38.25.³⁷

[53v] It may well be wondred, where the *Israelites*, under the cruel Oppressions of *Egypt*, could arrive | to so much Wealth, as was produced on this Occasion. But no doubt, many *Israelites* preserved much of the Riches, which their Ancestors had left unto them. And when they went out of *Egypt*, their Neighbours bestow'd some large Quantities of Riches upon them. And the Spoils of the Drowned *Egyptians* driven ashore, were probably very considerable. We need not fly to the Conjecture of *Abarbanel*, That the Neighbour Nations managed a Rich Trade, with the Camp of *Israel*; For it seems rather, that the Destruction of the *Egyptians* and the *Amalekites*, had utterly terrified the other Nations, from seeking any Communion with them.³⁸

Lett us make a Pause. The *Materials* of the *Tabernacle*, were of many Sorts, and not all alike precious. Tis thus in the *Spiritual Building*; The States, and Gifts of Men placed by God in it, are very various. And, *Ex Tam diversis compactum, non ordinatius modò, sed et ornatus exurgit*.³⁹ The *Voluntariness* of the Offerings to the *Tabernacle*, preaches to us, what the Lord expects in all our Offerings. [Psal. 110.3. and 2. Cor. 9.5, 7.] The *Oblation* to the Service of the *Tabernacle*, was called by the Name of תרומה/ *An Exaltation*. A Notable Hint! That Part of our Estates, which we devote unto the special Service of the *most High* God, is *Honoured* and *Exalted*, by such an Improvement of it. Finally; The People contributed, not only *Materials* to the building of the *Tabernacle*, but their *Art* and *Skill* also; The very *Women* did so. Truly, Not only our Estates, but also our

37 Witsius, *Tabernaculi* (§§ VIII–X, pp. 398–99, 399–400), does not identify “Goeree,” but he probably refers to the Dutch engraver Jan Goeree (1670–1731), famous for his artistic depictions of contemporary and classical architecture, biblical motifs, landscapes, coins and medallions. Witsius (p. 400) does not further identify Goeree’s specific work.

38 Witsius, *Tabernaculi* (§ X, pp. 400–01), refers to Ibn Ezra’s and Abarbanel’s commentary on Exod. 25:5 (*JPS Migra’ot Gedolot* 2:216–17). How the fleeing Israelites in the Sinai Desert could manage to carry along building materials – especially the beams of acacia wood for the Tabernacle – is debated by several of the medieval rabbis: *Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma* (4:132) for one ventures that Jacob “planted them when he went down to Egypt,” by commanding his sons that the Lord will require of them to build a Sanctuary upon their latter-day redemption from Egypt. Thus they should “prepare and plant cedars now [in Egypt], so that when the time comes ... the cedars will be ready” to be carried out of Egypt (*Shemos II*: Terumah, ch. 9, p. 132). Abarbanel, however, deems this explanation “a little farfetched that they simply carried these large tress with them when they left Egypt ... and crossed over the Red sea.” It is therefore more likely that “Many a tradesman, and many merchants from the surrounding areas came to sell their wares to the Israelites, and to trade with them, and it was from these merchants that they bought these planks of acacia wood.” Most likely, they also supplied precious oils and related items Moses needed for the Tabernacle (*Selected Commentaries: Shemos/Exodus* 2:300).

39 Witsius (§ XI, p. 401) uses the alternative spelling of “*exurgit*.” As Witsius has it, “constructed from such different things, it [Tabernacle] rises not only more composedly, but also more splendidly.”

Internal *Faculties*, and all the *Witt* and *Strength* and *Art* and *Skill* that we have, must be laid out for the Service of God.⁴⁰

The *Form* and *Shape* of the *Tabernacle*, was according to the *Pattern* that had been shown to *Moses* in the *Mount*. [Consider, Heb. 9.23.] And not, as it ha's been sinfully maintained by some learned Men, an Imitation of what *Moses* had seen among the *Egyptians* and other Pagans. In Religion, all things must be conformed entirely unto the Præscriptions of God. [Col. 2.22, 23. Deut. 5.6.]⁴¹

First, The *Tabernacle* had a COURT. [Exod. 27.9–19. & 38.9.] It was formed with *Hangings*, fastned unto *Pillars*, with *Hooks*. The *Hangings* were *Fine Twined Linen*; but so accommodated with *Eylet-Holes*, that they who stood abroad, might thro' them see what was done within.⁴²

Quære, whether there was no more than *One Court*? *Moses* indeed speaks of but *One*; which would scarce hold the Multitude that were to be entertained there. *David* speaks of *Courts*, in the Plural Number. [Psal. 65.5. and 84.3. and 96.8.] If the Plural Number were not used only as an *Hebraism*, to denote an Excellency, we may suppose, that in *Moses's* Time, there was but *One*; where, tis doubted by the Learned, whether any but the Priests & Select Levites, without any other *Israelites* were admitted; But when they were settled in *Canaan*, the Hebrew Masters tell us, that at *Shiloh*, the *Tabernacle* had also a *Wall* made about it; However, there was Probably added a *Court* for the *People* unto that of the *Priests*; and it is plain, that in *David's* Time, the People gave Attendance there. It is very sure, *Solomons Temple* had a Couple of *Courts*; One for the *People*; and there was, at least in *Herods* Time, a Third extant, that was called, *The Court of the Gentiles*.⁴³

⁴⁰ Witsius (§ XI, pp. 401–02). The Latin passage is a direct quote from Witsius's own words, but there appears to be no solid reason for retaining the Latin original since Mather paraphrastically translates everything else in the paragraph. The Hebrew noun תְּרוּמָה [teruwmah] (Strong's # 8641) signifies "contribution, offering" as well as "oblation."

⁴¹ Witsius (§ XIII, pp. 403–04) cites at length (403) from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 1: "De Tabernaculi Origine," cap. 3, fol. 548, in which dissertation Spencer relates that the Mosaic tabernacle was inspired by like edifices among the Egyptian and other pagan neighbors. Even the abominable Moloch had his tabernacle and covenantal ark: "Unde concludit [Spencer], *Deum Israelitis tabernaculum circumgestandum concessisse, ut ritibus, antiqui moris imaginem praeferentibus, eos ad cultum suum alliceret, & arcte devinceret*," which reads in the vernacular, "Whence [Spencer] concludes that God has granted to the Israelites a tabernacle to be carried around so that, by the mirror image of their ancient custom, the rites would attract them and bind them tightly to their religion" (Witsius 403; quoting Spencer, *De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 3, sec. 2, fol. 561). Although Mather skips Witsius's citation of Spencer's shocking claims (hence the shortness of Mather's paragraph here), Mather does discuss this issue later. See also Jean LeClerc's review of Spencer's audacious claims, in "I. Discours de M. Saurin sur le Pentateuque" (1719), esp. pp. 290–320; also in John Chamberlayne's English translation, esp. pp. xix–xxi.

⁴² Witsius (§ XIV, p. 404).

⁴³ Witsius (§ XV, pp. 404–05). See also John Edwards, ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* (1699), ch. 6, pp. 184–85.

Unto the Court belonged, THE BRAZEN ALTAR. [Exod. 27.1, 2, –] The *Fire* to be daily præserv'd and maintained on this *Altar*, first fell from Heaven. Here a Difficulty occurs. The *Israelites* Travelling thro' the Wilderness, were to sweep off the Ashes from the *Altar*, and spread a *Purple Cloath* upon it, & lay upon it the *Vessels* pertaining unto it. How could the *Fire* be preserved under the *Purple Cloath*? [Num. 4.13, 14.] The Jewes fly to *Miracles* in the Case.⁴⁴ But it is most probable, That the *Fire* taken off the *Altar*, was lodg'd in *Potts* convenient for the Purpose, and kept Alive with proper Fuel, till it could conveniently again be Restored unto the *Altar*. [Consider, Exod. 27.3.] The Fable, of the *Holy Fire*, sav'd and kept in a Cave, by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, after the Destruction of the Temple by the *Babylonians*, is learnedly refuted by *Rainolds* upon the *Apocrypha*.⁴⁵

Near it stood, A BRASEN LAVER. [Exod. 30.18–21.] Pious Women, who Devoutly kept watching and praying in their Turns, at the Tent, where the Lord gave His Visits unto *Moses*, [Exod. 38.8. & 33.7.] as afterwards, it was the Manner of Devout Women to do at the *Levitic Tabernacle*, [1. Sam. 2.22.] these brought their *Looking-Glasses* of burnished Brass, at which they did use to *Dress* themselves, & consecrated them unto the Service of the *Sanctuary*, for the making of this *Laver*. Probably, there were *Spouts* in it, which lett pure Water
[54r] down, into | the Receptacle where Men washed, as often as any New Occasion of washing Recurred. Fresh Water was every Morning supplied; and the *Priests* here washed their Hands and their Feet, as often as any New Services were to be performed by them.⁴⁶

From hence, we proceed unto the TENT of the *Tabernacle*. Here was first a COVERING of Red and Purple *Ramskins*, only over the Top. And then there was a TENT about the whole, consisting of *Eleven Curtains*, which were fastened with *Loops* and *Taches*, one unto another [Exod. 26.7–14.] Under this was the TABERNACLE itself, made of *Shittim Wood*, the Boards whereof, were fastned in *Silver-Sockets*, & overlaid with *Gold*. Here the HOLY PLACE, had at the Entrance of it, a VEIL of Incomparable TAPESTRY, with Figures of *Cherubim* upon it, sustained by *Five Pillars*, of *Cedar*, which were covered with *Gold*. Within it stood the GOLDEN TABLE with SHEW-BREAD upon it; at the North-Side; and

⁴⁴ Rashi (Numb. 4:13) maintains that “the fire which descended from heaven lay below the cloth like a lion when they traveled. It didn’t burn it (the cloth), because they arched a copper vessel over it” (*Metsudah Cumash/Rashi Bamidbar* 4:37). See also Talmud, tractate Yoma (21b).

⁴⁵ Witsius (§ XVI, pp. 405–06). Though still believed by many – even today – the fable of Jeremiah’s hiding the holy fire, the utensils of the Mosaic tabernacle, and the ark of the covenant, in a sealed cave in the Temple mount or at Mt. Horeb at the time of the Babylonian captivity is recorded in 2 Macc. 2:1–8 Mather (via Witsius 406) refers to Joannes Rainoldus, aka. John Rainold (1549–1607), professor of theology at Oxford and president of Corpus Christi, in his *Censura Librorum Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti, Adversum Pontificios, inprimis Robertum Bellarminum* (1611), lib. 2, Praelectio CXXXIII, cols. 89–91. See also John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 4, cap. 2, pp. 475–79.

⁴⁶ Witsius (§ XVII, pp. 406–07).

the GOLDEN CANDLESTICK over against it, at the South-Side; and the GOLDEN ALTAR OF INCENSE, next unto the *Most Holy Place*. The MOST HOLY PLACE, was the most Sacred and Retir'd Recess of the Tabernacle; divided from the *Holy Place*, by a SECOND VEIL, not unlike the former, hung upon *Four Pillars* like unto the Former. Within this, there was the ARK, with the MERCY-SEAT and CHERUBIM: There were also the *Tables* of the *Law*, in the *Ark*; And the *Golden Pott*, with the *Manna*; And *Aarons Rod*. And the whole Volumn of the *LAW* of *Moses*, lodged in the Side of the *Ark*.⁴⁷

We have all possible Assurance, that under all these Things, there lay hid Illustrious *Mysteries*. [Heb. 8.5.] Even the Blind Jewes themselves [Isa. 29.10, 11, 12.] notwithstanding their Blindness, do acknowledge it. *Abarbanel* shall speak for the rest, who compares the *Tabernacle*, to, *A Book of Sublime Wisdome, & of Glorious Matter, to which all things in it referred*.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, they fall into Ridiculous Follies and Fables, when they come to make their Particular Commentaries. Tis near The Highest of their Flights, when they consider the *Tabernacle* as a Type of, *The World*; the *Holy of Holies*, a Type of the *Third Heaven*; the *Holy Place*, of the *Starry Heaven*; the *Court*, of the *Earth*; the *Table* with *Twelve Loaves*, of the *Twelve Signs* of the *Zodiac*; the *Candlestick* with *Seven Lamps*, of the *Seven Planets*; the *Four Colours* of the *Curtains*, of the *Four Elements*. This was *Josephus's* Opinion; That the *Tabernacle* was, προς μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὀλων φύσεως. *Ad Imitationem universitatis Naturæ*.⁴⁹ But while they see nothing of the *Messiah* in the *Tabernacle*, they make it little better than a *Tabernacle* of *Moloch*. Those carry the Point a little further and better, who consider the Great GOD as the *King* of His People, and the *Tabernacle* as His Palace. The Lord said, *Exod. 25.8. Lett them make me a Sanctuary, that I may dwell among them*. *Moses* the Son of *Nachman*, thus paraphrases upon it; *Facient Domum et Vasa quasi Sanctuarium Regis, et domum Regiam; et Ego in medio ipsorum habitabo, veluti in Domo et Solio Glorie, quod facient mihi ibi*. And the Words of *Abarbanel* are worth repeating; *In Palatio hoc fuere Mensa, et Candelabrum, et Ara Suffitus, tanquam res ad ministerium Regis mundi idoneæ. Non quòd illi, cui omnis laus, harum rerum ulla opus*

⁴⁷ Witsius (§§ XVIII, XIX, XX, pp. 407, 408). Depictions of these utensils – along with the blueprint of Herod's Temple and the external elevation of the First Temple – can be found in Walton's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1657), 6:39–52 (third ser. of pag.).

⁴⁸ Witsius (§ XXII, p. 409) quotes from *Abarbanel's* commentary on Exodus, ch. 25. The Sephardic rabbi explains that the Tabernacle served as “a miniature likeness of the entire creation, and every aspect of the tabernacle represented a particular aspect of the creation” (*Selected Commentaries: Shemos/Exodus* 2:322). Each of the fifteen items that constitute an essential part of the Mishkan (Tabernacle) refer, like shadows, beyond their materiality to divine things (2:298–328).

⁴⁹ Witsius (§ XXII, p. 409) quotes *Josephus Flavius's* opinion (*Antiquitates Judaicae*, lib. 3, cap. 123, line 2) that τὴν μέντοι διαμέτρῃσιν τὴν τοιαύτην τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὀλων φύσεως συνέβαινε εἶναι i. e., “this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world” (*Antiquities* 3.6.4). Mather's second-hand Greek extract from *Josephus* is (as usual) without diacritics.

*sit: Absit ut ità arbitremur. Sed ut populi animo penitus insideret, in Medijs Israelitarum Castris versatum esse Dominum Deum ipsorum.*⁵⁰ After all, the Words of R. Schem Tob, are the most emphatical. *Deus, cui laus, talem sibi domum condijussit, qualis esse solet Domus Regia.* He proceeds to show, How in a *Palace*, there are some that stand as *Guards*; there are others that perform *other Duties*; they prepare the *Banquets*; & they have Rooms for that Purpose; by *Singing* or *Playing*, they carry on the *Musick*; there are *Perfumes* dispersed; there is a *Royal Table*; there are *Chambers* entred by none but the Kings Peculiar Ministers and Favourites; And the Lord would in His *Tabernacle*, exhibit the like Circumstances of Royal Majesty. He concludes; *Atque hæc omnia eò spectabant, ut intelligeret vulgus, Regem, nempe Dominum exercituùm, inter nos versatum esse. Est enim ille REX Magnus, omnibusque gentibus metuendus.*⁵¹

The Thoughts are Good. But we CHRISTIANS, have more to Think of.

And in the First Place; The COURT, was a Type of the Visible CHURCH.

[54v] [Com-]-pare, Rev. 11.1, 2.] The AMPLITUDE of the *Court*, signified, the *Enlargement* of the *Church*. [Compare, Isa. 54.2.] The CURTAINS, on the *Pillars*, that separated the *Court* from the rest of the World, signified the Separation of the People of God, from the rest of Mankind, who are Strangers to His Knowledge, & Worship, & Covenant. [Num. 23.9.] The VEIL hung at the DOOR, signified, That Admission into the Church is not allowed, unto all; but only to such as profess *Faith* and *Repentance*; and that we must approach God with *Reverence*, and search into His Mysteries with *Sobriety*. The HANGINGS, which were of such a NET-WORK, that one might *Look in*, where they might not *Go in*, signified, That some Knowledge of God is granted unto them who come not so near unto Him as others do; and that with the *Eye of Faith*, and *Hope*, and *Meditation*, we should endeavour to *Behold* such things as we may not yett come to *Enjoy*.⁵²

50 Witsius (§ XXIII, pp. 409–10) cites from Nachmanides's annotation on Exod. 25:8, "Let them make Me a house and vessels as a Royal Sanctuary and seat of Majesty, that I may dwell in the midst of them in the house and on the Throne of Glory which they will make for Me there" (*Commentary: Exodus* 445). Abarbanel (on Exod. 25:8) adds, "In this palace were a table and a lampstand, an altar of incense, so to speak, things fitting for the ministry of the king of the world. Not because he, to whom be all praise, has any need of these things: By no means may we think thus. But in order that he might settle deeply within the soul of the people, the Lord their God was situated in the middle of the camp of the Israelites."

51 Witsius (§ XXIV, pp. 410–11) most likely quotes from *Sefer Moreh ha-Moreh*, a commentary on Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed*, by the Sephardic philosopher poet and prolific author Shem Tov ben Joseph Ibn Palquera (1225–c. 1290). The Latin translation from this Hebrew commentary on the *Guide* (3.45), which Mather partially renders in English, reads, "God, to whom be praise, ordered such a house to be established for him as a royal palace to which he was accustomed." The concluding sentence signifies, "And all these things were regarding him, so that the people would understand that the king, assuredly the Lord of Armies, was situated among us. For he is the great KING, and to be feared by all peoples."

52 Witsius (§ XXV, pp. 411–12). On the mystical signification of the tabernacle, courts, and sacred instruments, see also John Edwards's ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* (1699), ch. 6, pp. 192–204.

All the Orthodox World, consent, That the BRASEN ALTAR, should be a Type of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, as He Sanctified the Offering which He made of Himself unto God, for the Sins of His Elect. Indeed none of the *Mosaic* Ceremonies, could singly exhibit the *whole Mystery of Christ*, but they must join all together. The Same CHRIST, is the Priest, *Secundum Vim indissolubilis Vitae*; the Sacrifice, *Secundum Humanum Naturam quam obtulit*; and the Altar, *Secundum Vim Sanctificantem*.⁵³ [Compare, Heb. 13.10.] The MATTER of this Altar, which was Wood, covered with no nobler a Metal than Brass, noted, the *Humble State* of our Lord, when He made Himself an Offering for us. The HORNS of the Altar, why might they not signify the *Power* of Him, in whom we come to a Reconciliation with God, & who is called, [2. Sam. 22.3. Luk. 1.69.] *The Horn of Salvation*? These *Horns*, were the Refuge of Criminals; and perhaps there was an Allusion to this Custome, in those Words, Isa. 27.5. *Lett him take hold of my Strength, who would make Peace with me, and he shall make Peace*. At least, these *Horns* were to signify, That our Lord is ready & willing to have those lay Hold on Him, who with a distressed Mind fly from the Wrath of God; and this meerly out of His own Goodness and Mer{c}y; as the *Horns of the Altar*, were of the Altar itself. [See Isa. 48.9, 11.] The PLACE of the Altar, in the Open Court, was a figure of the Public and Open Circumstances, wherewith our Lord was offered, in the View of all Men. The FIRE, which came down from Heaven on the Altar, was a Figure of that *Spirit*, with which our Lord offered Himself unto God; and without which indeed, all our most zealous Performances are unacceptable, & *all they that kindle a Fire, & walk in the Light of their own Fire, shall but ly down in Sorrow*.⁵⁴

The Rites of *making Atonement for the Altar itself*, [Exod. 29.37] are worthy to be considered. They were, The Slaying {of} a *Bullock*, The Sprinkling of his *Blood*, And, An Uncction with the Sacred Oyl. The Altar being made by *Men*, whose *Hands* and *Minds* were *Sinful*, God would have an *Atonement* made for it, before it should be applied unto *Holy Uses*. He would convince the *Israelites*, That a true *Atonement* was not to be expected, from that which itself wanted an *Atonement*, but that they must fly to the Son of God, that *Holy Thing, conceived of the Holy Ghost*, which needed no Expiation. Thus the Altar considered in itself, was proclaimed one of the *Beggarly Elements*; and tho' it was a Figure of our Lord, yett it was also opposed unto Him.⁵⁵

53 Witsius (§ XXVI, p. 412). Accordingly, "The Same CHRIST is the Priest, 'in accordance with the force of indissoluble life'; the Sacrifice 'in accordance with the nature that offered the human'; and the Altar 'in accordance with the sanctifying force.'" Again no rhyme or reason can be given why Mather chose to retain the Latin original here even though he paraphrastically translates most of the remainder of Witsius's § XXVI.

54 Witsius (§ XXVI, pp. 412–13).

55 Witsius (§ XXVII, pp. 413–14).

Who can doubt, that the LAVER must lead us, to the *Purification*, which we expect from the *Spirit* of our Lord Jesus Christ? [Zech. 13.1.] The *Hands* and the *Feet*, are Symbols of all our *Actions*, which the Lord would have to be *washed*, that we may escape Eternal Death; But *Purity* is especially to be endeavoured in the *Worship* of God. Nor is the Allegory of *Gregory*, to be despised. The *Laver* made of the Womens *Looking-glasses*, was to signify, *Repentance*. By the *Looking-glass*, the *Law* which discovers our Spotts and Sins, might be signified. [Jam. 1.23, 25.] By the *Laver*, and the *Water* in the *Laver*, the *Tears* of *Compunction*. Finally, The SCITUATION of the *Laver* near the *Altar*, may invite us, to think, how nearly the *Justifying Blood*, and the *Sanctifying Spirit*, of Christ, are conjoined in Christianity.⁵⁶

[55r] Lett us pass with all possible Reverence into the TABERNACLE; the most general Signification whereof was, as The *Presence* of God with His People; so the *Dwelling* of God, in His Messiah. Thus the Lord is *for a Sanctuary*, [Isa. 8.14.] when a *Stone of Stumbling*, a *Rock of Offence*, to both Houses of Israel. More particularly, The *Tabernacle* signified, the *Humane Nature* of our Saviour; in which *there dwells the Fulness of the Godhead Bodily*. It was mean *without*, but splendid, and glorious *within*; which is notably true of our Saviour. [Isa. 53.2, 3. Psal. 22.7. But Joh. 1.14. 2. Pet. 1.17.] Here also God spoke unto His People; which He now does in and by our Saviour. [Heb. 1.1. Joh. 1.18.] And, the *Tabernacle* being taken down, was again sett up, & at length carried into the Temple, where it rested forever; which befell the Body of our Saviour. [John. 2.19] | The *Tabernacle* might also signify, The *Church* of God; For that also is the *House* of God. [1. Tim. 3.15. 1. Pet. 2.5. 1. Cor. 3.16.] And as the *Tabernacle* consisted of its *various Parts*, not all of æqual Dignity, but neatly joined one unto another, by Loops and Rings; thus the *Church* ha's Persons of all Qualities in it, variously gifted, & placed, by the Holy Spirit of God. The *Revelation* of God is also in the *Church*, as it was in the *Tabernacle*. [Eph. 3.10.] It is likewise *Mean* for its External Aspect, but all *Glorious Within*. [1. Cor. 1.26. But Psal. 45.14.] And it is carried about, unto *uncertain Seats*, in this World, until it is at last *laid up* in Heaven. The Bodies of the Saints being *taken down* by Death, shall also be *sett up* again, in Eternal Glory.⁵⁷

The MATTER of the *Tabernacle* might instruct us in many Lessons. But I may say with our *Witsius*; *Sed nos singula nondum assecuti sumus*. We will only touch upon this; That the Covering which was made of the *Skins* of Animals

⁵⁶ Witsius (§ XXVIII, p. 414). Not one to despise a useful allegory, Mather paraphrases passages from *Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo*, Homilia XVII (Lectio Evang. sec. Luc. X, 1–9), §§ 10–11 [PL 076. 1143–44], by Pope St. Gregory the Great (c. 540–604). No doubt, Mather would also have appreciated a similar explication of the symbolic significance of the Mosaic laver to the Christian church, in St. Gregory's *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, part 2, ch. 5 (NPNFii 12:13–14).

⁵⁷ Witsius (§§ XXIX, XXX, XXXI, pp. 414–16).

that had been slain, might signify, The Præservaⁿ of the Church, by the *Death* of Him, whom those Animals resembled, when He made Himself a *Sacrifice*.⁵⁸

In the HOLY PLACE, we have a Picture of the *Church Militant*; which is *Holy*, [1. Cor. 3.17. 1. Pet. 2.5. Eph. 5.27.] But in *Holiness* not æqual to what is in Heaven. [Phil. 3.12.] It is also *Separated* from the World, by its pious Observation of the Divine Præcepts, as by a *Veil* of Gods appointing. And all that have *clean Hands* and *pure Hearts*, may come into it, as all the *Priests* did in their Order, into the *Holy Place*. [Psal. 24.4. 1. Pet. 2.5. Isa. 61.6.] *Offerings* are here likewise made unto God. And as in the *Holy Place* there was *Light* and *Bread*, so the Grace of God affords unto His Church, both *Illumination* and *Satisfaction*. As there was also no Way to the *Holy of Holies*, but thro' the *Holy Place*, thus we must pass thro' the *State of Grace* to the *State of Glory*. [Heb. 12.14.]⁵⁹

Here stood the GOLDEN TABLE, with the SHEW BREAD upon it. An Exhibition of the *Messiah*, who is the *Bread of Life*. But we may say more particularly; That the *Table* was a Figure of the *Gospel*, and of the *Sacraments*, wherein the Lord Jesus Christ is exhibited unto His People. As the *Table* was *Gold* covering *Cedar*, we may say, That the Lord Jesus Christ, and His Gospel, and Sacraments, are to be præferr'd unto all the *Gold* & all the Riches of this World. Incredible was the Cost of the ancient Romans, about their *Tables*; (whereof *Pliny* and *Lipsius* relate prodigious things.)⁶⁰ But the most admirable Provision there, was nothing, to the Spiritual and Heavenly Entertainment here, *Cujus vel minima mica nullis Persarum gazis redimenda*.⁶¹ The Emperour *Justinian* erected a *Communion-Table*, in the Church of S. *Sophia*, at *Constantinople*, which is by *Cedrenus* called, *εργον αμμητον*, *An Inimitable Work*.⁶² It was composed (he saies) of

58 Witsius (§ XXXII, p. 416). And Mather says with Witsius to back him up, "But we have not yet comprehended things that are separate."

59 Witsius (§ XXXIII, pp. 416–17).

60 Witsius (§§ XXXIV, XXXVI, p. 417). Mather (via Witsius, p. 417) probably has in mind the intriguing story about the insane "table-mania" among certain affluent Romans who, like Marcus Cicero, paid "half-a million sesterces" for a costly table made from the precious wood of citrus trees. Gallus Asinius even spent "a million" on such a table, whereas King Juba auctioned off two of his hanging citrus-wood tables, "of which one fetched 1,200,000 sesterces and the other a little less." The height of decadence and conspicuous consumption, Pliny relates with some Schadenfreude, was a citrus table (lost in a blaze), which "had changed hands at 1,300,000 sesterces – the price of a large estate" (*Historia Naturalis* 13.29.92). Similar stories of excess (including those mentioned by Pliny) are related in *Admiranda, sive, Magnitudine Romana Libri Quatuor* (1598), lib. 4, cap. 7: "Pariter contra Continentiam; & luxu Romano," esp. pp. 229–36, by the Walloon humanist and philologist Justus Lipsius, aka. Josse Lips (1547–1606), rector of the then newly established University of Leiden, and later historiographer to King Phillip II of Spain.

61 Mather cites Witsius (§ XXXVI, p. 417) to explain that the sumptuous feasts of the Romans was nothing when compared to Christ's "Spiritual and Heavenly Entertainment," "whose smallest grains assuredly cannot be redeemed by any Persian treasures."

62 Witsius (§ XXXVI, p. 418). In his *Compendium historiarum* (1:677, line 7), a chronicle of the world from the Creation to the eleventh century (CE), the Byzantine chronographer Georgius Cedrenus Constantinopolitanus (fl. 11th c. CE) praises Justinianus I's legendary "Holy

Gold, and Silver, and Jewels, and the most Exquisite Materials that the Earth & the Sea, & the whole World could afford. And, Quum ex omnibus collegisset, quæ quidem optima sunt et pretiosissima, largius, quæ verò minoris pretij, parcius; fusilibus fusis arida in hæc iniecit. Atque eam in typum infusam perfecit, undè tam varia apparuit, ut intuentes in stuporem conjiceret. About the Table, there was this Inscription; ΤΑ ΣΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΣΩΝ ΣΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΟΜΕΝ ΟΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΙ ΣΟΥ, ΧΡΙΣΤΕ, ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ, Α ΕΥΜΕΝΩΣ ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΙ, ΥΙΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΕ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ· *Tua ex Tuis Tibi Offerimus Servi tui, Christe, Justinianus et Theodora; Quæ benevolè accipe, Fili et Verbum Dei.*⁶³ Witsius does not blame, this Expression of Piety, and Pious Affection; But he adds, *Dubito tamen an tam pretiosa mensa satis consultum fuerit simplicitati rei Christianæ.*⁶⁴ Be sure, the *Mosaic Table* was a very Rich one. It had a *Crown* upon it, because it was a *Royal Table*. The *Bread* there, was *Panis Potentum*; [Psal. 78.25.]⁶⁵ The Provision made in our Lord Jesus Christ for our Spirits, was there figured. The *Rings* and *Staves*, by which the *Table* was carried from one Place to another, intimated, That the Lord Jesus Christ with His Gospel, is removed from one Place to another. The *Twelve Loaves*, answering to the *Twelve Tribes*, teach us, that in our Lord Jesus Christ, there is a Sufficient Food for all His People. [Col. 3.11.] They stood before the Face of the Lord, as does the Vertue of our Sacrificed Lord. [Heb. 9.24.] They were every *Sabbath-Day* Renewed. Representations of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Preaching of the Gospel, should have such a Renewal of them. None but the *Priests* might eat of them; nor may any expect Communion with the Lord Jesus Christ, but such as do separate themselves from the World, that they may minister, unto the Lord. And as they might not be eaten in any but the *Holy Place*, even so, with none but an *Holy Frame*, are we to handle all the

Table" or altar (set up in the Sancta Sophia in Constantinople) as ἔργον ἀμίμητον, "an inimitable work" of art.

63 Cedrenus's superlative description of Justinian's altar reads, "When he [Justinian] had gathered from them all more copiously, indeed, the things which are the best and most precious, while more sparingly the things of lesser value, he infused these dry things with poured liquids. And he finished it into this form, whence it appeared so varied that it threw into amazement those gazing on." The Greek inscription (in capital letters) on the costly table donated by Byzantian Emperor Justinian I (c. 482–565 CE) and his spouse Empress Theodora (c. 500–48 CE) are a memorial to their devotion: "τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν οἱ δοῦλοί σου, Χριστέ, Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Θεοδώρα, ἃ εὐμενῶς πρόσδεξαι, υἱὲ καὶ λόγε τοῦ θεοῦ (*Compendium historiarum*, 1:677, lines 7, 14–15): These are "Your things from your things, we, your slaves, Justinian and Theodora, will bring forward, O Christ; kindly accept them, Son and Word of God." Mather's cumbersome Latin and Greek quotations are at second hand from Witsius (§ XXXVI, p. 418).

64 Witsius (§ XXXVI, p. 418) adds laconically, "I doubt, however, whether such a costly table was suitable for the simplicity of the Christian cause."

65 The showbread was a "mighty loaf of bread" (Witsius 418), in fact, "angels food" (Psal. 78:25), yet "too fine for Angells," as Mather's colleague, New England's own Edward Taylor (c. 1642–1729), cautioned his communicants in his "Meditation 8" (first series) on John 6:51.

Things of our Lord Jesus Christ.⁶⁶ | Over against the *Table* stood the GOLDEN [55v] CANDLESTICK, having *Seven Lamps*, maintained with pure *Sallet-Oyl*, and *Snuff-ers* and *Snuff-dishes* of *Pure Gold*. *Symbols of Light and Food*, have been several times joined by the Lord, in the Administration of the *Covenant*.⁶⁷ In *Paradise*, There was the *Tree of Knowledge*, and, the *Tree of Life*. In the *Wilderness*, there was the *Fiery Pillar*, and the *Manna*. In the *New Testament*, we have *Baptism*, which was called, Φωτισμὸς, by the Ancients;⁶⁸ and the *Supper* of the Lord. Thus here, we have a *Candlestick*, and a *Table*. We need both to be *Instructed*, and to be *Nourished* and *Strengthened*.⁶⁹ More particularly, The *Candlestick* might be a Figure of the *Church* enlighten'd by the Lord Jesus Christ, and affording Light unto others. [Rev. 1.20. & 2.5.] The *Faithful* are Illuminated, and Illuminators. [Eph. 5.8. Phil. 2.15, 16. Mat. 5.6.] But they have their *Light* no more from themselves, than a *Candlestick*; it all comes from the Lord Jesus Christ. [Joh. 1.8, 9. Luk. 1.78.]⁷⁰ The *Gold* whereof the *Candlestick* was composed, intimates the singular Excellency of the Faithful. [Lam. 4.2.] Of their *Wisdom*: [Job. 28.15. Prov. 3.14.] Of their *Faith*; [1. Pet. 1.7.] Of their *Holiness*; [1. Pet. 3.3, 4.] which are the Things that render them a *Candlestick*.⁷¹ The OYL, was a Figure of the *Holy Spirit*; [1. Joh. 2.27.] which is wanted by *Foolish* Professors, remaining in their Unregeneracy. His *Light*, not only *Illuminates*, but also *Sanctifies*.⁷² The *Six Branches* proceeding from *one Shaft*, and so, the *Seven Lamps*, may signify *Particular Churches*, & the Members thereof, united by the *Holy Spirit*. And then the *Ornaments* and *Instruments* about the *Candlestick*, may denote the various Ministries, whereby Service is done for the Church of God.⁷³ The *Lamps* were *Lighted* at the *Evening*; To signify, That *Light* will increase towards the *Evening* of the World. [Jer. 30.24. Dan. 12.4.] And whereas the *Lamps* did shine only in the Night, but were putt out in the *Morning*; it might intimate, as, that the *Levitic Worship* was to be laid aside, at the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, so, that the *Enlightening* of the *Church* by the *Word*, is to continue no longer, than while we are in this World. [2. Pet. 1.19.]⁷⁴ Finally, It belonged unto the *Priests*, to *Light* the *Lamps*; It is done for us, firmly by the *Rayes* of our Lord Himself; [Luk. 2.32. Isa. 49.6.] And then, by the Ministry of the Gospel. We read

⁶⁶ Witsius (§ XXXVII, pp. 418–19).

⁶⁷ Witsius (§ XXXVIII, p. 419).

⁶⁸ It was deemed Φωτισμὸς (“Illumination, light”) by such ancients as Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae* (Stephanus, 920b–945e), and the Athenian Neoplatonist Damascius (c. 460–c. 538 CE), in his *De principiis* (1:39, line 16).

⁶⁹ Witsius (§ XXXIX, p. 419).

⁷⁰ Witsius (§ XL, pp. 419–20).

⁷¹ Witsius (§ XLI, p. 420).

⁷² Witsius (§ XLII, p. 420).

⁷³ Witsius (§ XLIII, p. 420).

⁷⁴ Witsius (§ XLIV, p. 421).

concerning, *The Sons of Oyl*: [Zech. 4.3, 13.] Whereby *Witsius* thinks, the two Orders, of, *The Prophets*, and, *The Apostles*, may be intended.⁷⁵

We proceed unto the ALTAR OF INCENSE; which, in general, signified our Saviour; who was Himself an *Offering of a grateful Odour unto God*; [Heb. 13.10. Eph. 5.2.] and who *Intercedes* for us; [1. Joh. 2.1.] and by that *Intercession* makes our Prayers to be so. [Joh. 16.24.]⁷⁶ As the *Brazen Altar* figured; the *Satisfaction* which our Lord made for us, thus the *Golden Altar* figured; the *Satisfaction* which our Lord made for us, thus the *Golden Altar*, the *Intercession*, which He *ever-lives to make*. The *Wood*, in the *Matter* of this *Altar*, may note the *Manhood* of our Lord; but the *Gold*, His *Godhead*. Only *Brass* covered *that*; because while our Lord was making *Expiation* for us, He was yett in a State of *Humiliation*; but *Gold* covered *this*, to intimate that He makes His *Intercession* in a State of more *Exalted Glory*.⁷⁷ The *Square Form* of the *Altar*, notes, Christ *always the same*. [Heb. 13.8.] And His being accessible by His People, from the *Four Quarters* of the World. [Isa. 45.22.]⁷⁸ The *Place* of it, was the Inner Part of the *Holy Place*, to which none but the *Priests* might *Retire*; whereas the *Place* of the *Brazen Altar*, was, where All might look upon it. Our Saviour was *crucified* and *offered* in the Sight of all the People; but when He made His Prayers for His Church, He *Retired* where all the People saw Him not. [Mat. 14.23. Luk. 21.37.] And after His Oblation, He was not seen by the Common People, tho' He were among them. [Act. 10.41.]⁷⁹ The *Odors* here employ'd, were to signify the most Acceptable *Intercession* of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the *Prayers* of the Saints, made Acceptable by that *Intercession*. [Rev. 5.8. Psal. 141.2.] Which *Prayers* ought to be, *Daily*: [Psal. 55.18. Dan. 6.11. Col. 4.2.] And, *According to the Will of God*. [1. Joh. 5.14.] Inflamed with a *Fire of Holy Zeal*. [Rom. 12.11.] Not the *Strange Fire of Humane Wrath*. [Isa. 50.11.] And wholly Depending on the Merits of our Lord; for on the *Golden Altar* there were no *Propitiatory Offerings*. [Rev. 8.3.]⁸⁰

We arrive now to the INNER VEIL, at the Entrance of the most Holy Place. This *Veil* may signify the *Visible Heaven*, thro' which our Lord is passed into the *Third Heaven*; [Heb. 4.14.] Wither our *Hope* does follow Him. [Heb. 6.19.20.] That, like a | *Veil*, hides from us, the *Glory*, which the Lord ha's *Placed above the Heavens*. Except *Heaven* be *Opened*; we can't have a View of that *Glory*. [Rev. 4.1.] The *Curious Work* on the *Veil*, proclaimed something more curious and glorious *Within*: And so does the *Visible Heaven*. [Psal. 8.4. & 19.2.] And shall be *Rolled up like a Garment*, as the *Veil* here was, upon a Deportation and

⁷⁵ Witsius (§ XLV, p. 421).

⁷⁶ Witsius (§ XLVII, p. 422).

⁷⁷ Witsius (§ XLVIII, p. 422).

⁷⁸ Witsius (§ II, p. 422).

⁷⁹ Witsius (§ L, pp. 422–23).

⁸⁰ Witsius (§ LI, p. 423).

Revolution befalling the Tabernacle. [Psal. 102.27.]⁸¹ This *Veil* did also signify, the *Ceremonies* of the *Law*, under which there *Lay Hid*, the *Mysteries* of the *Gospel*. [Compare, 2. Cor. 3.13.]⁸² But it lastly, & mainly, signified, *The Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ*. [Heb. 10.19, 20.] This covers, & as it were conceals, the *Glory of His Deity*. [Phil. 2.6, 7.] And yett it was itself Precious and Glorious and Holy. [Heb. 7.26.] And *Angels* were very conversant, about it, as *Cherubim* were ever to be seen upon the *Veil*. By a Violence offered unto the *Veil*, there was an Entrance into the *Holy of Holies*; and by the like befalling the *Flesh* of our Lord, we gain our Entrance into the Third Heaven. [Heb. 2.9, 10. & 9.15.] Hence the *Veil of the Temple*, was *Rent*, at the Death of our Lord.⁸³

The HOLY OF HOLIES, This was a Type of that which the Scripture calls, *The Third Heaven*; [Heb. 9.24.] Where there is most *Perfect Holiness*; [Isa. 63.15.] *The Throne of God*; [Isa. 66.1.] Inconceivable *Glory*; [Psal. 8.1.] And, the Things that were signified, by the *Ark*, the *Propitiatory*, the *Cherubim*, & what else was in the *Holy of Holies*.⁸⁴

First, The ARK was here. A little *Chest*, of *Shittim-Wood*, covered with the Purest *Gold*; its *Length* two Cubits & an half, its *Breadth* a Cubit and an half; with a *Golden Crown* about it, and four *Golden Rings* in the Sides, accommodated with two *Staves*, by which it was to be carried on the Shoulders of the *Levites*. [Exod. 25.10.]⁸⁵

Herein was lodged the TESTIMONY. By this were meant, the *Tables of the Covenant*, or which were a *Testimony* of the *Covenant* which the Lord made with His People; The *Tables of Stone*, (made after those which were broken by *Moses*) whereon the *Ten Commandments* were Inscribed by the *Finger of God*. What became of the Fragments of those, which *Moses* broke, *Haud inviti ignoramus*.⁸⁶

On the Top of the *Ark*, was the MERCY-SEAT, at the Two Ends whereof there were two *Cherubim*, with their *Wings* extending to each other; the Shape of which *Cherubim* having been by *Moses* left wholly unmentioned, saies *Witsius*, *Ideo fortassis omnium erit optimum, modestam hic profiteri in scitiam*. In the Midst, between these *Cherubim*, was the *Throne of God*, from whence He uttered His *Oracles* unto those that Regularly waited upon Him for His Counsels. [Num. 7.89.]⁸⁷

⁸¹ Witsius (§ LII, pp. 423–24).

⁸² Witsius (§ LIII, p. 424).

⁸³ Witsius (§ LIV, p. 424).

⁸⁴ Witsius (§ LV, p. 425).

⁸⁵ Witsius (§ LVI, p. 425).

⁸⁶ Witsius (§ LVII, pp. 425, 426). What became of the bread fragments, Mather wonders (perhaps alluding to John 6:12), “we have no knowledge.”

⁸⁷ Witsius (§ LVIII, pp. 426, 427) confesses that since we don’t know what *Moses* had in mind, “for that reason it will be perhaps best here to freely admit a modest ignorance.” The mysterious shape of the cherubim has engaged numerous theologians, past and present.

The ordinary *Place* of the *Ark* was in the *Holy of Holies*, within the *Veil*. While the *Tabernacle* was yett standing, the *Ark* was taken out from thence, and carried with the *Israelitish* Armies, for their Comfort, and the Terror of their Enemies. After it was lodg'd in the *Temple*, it was never taken out from thence, as long as the *Temple* stood. [Psal. 132.13, 14. 2. Chron. 5.9. 1. Chron. 28.2.]⁸⁸ The Jewes entertain us with wondrous Fables, about the Fate of the *Ark*, after the Destruction of the *Temple*. They tell us, That *Solomon* understanding by the Spirit of Prophecy, that the *Babylonians* would one Day Destroy the *Temple*, he præpared certain obscure *Vaults*, where the *Ark* might be rescued & præsaved from the Common Desolation; and that *Josiah* at length perceiving, that the Time for this *Catastrophe* drew near, did seasonably hide in them the *Ark*, and *Aarons Rod*, and the *Urim & Thummim*, and the Pott of *Manna*. So they expound the Text, 2. Chron. 35.3.⁸⁹ *Putt the Holy Ark in the House which Solomon did build*. Another Story we have in *Epiphanius*, (if it be indeed *Epiphanius*) who writes, *De Vitis Prophetarum*;⁹⁰ That *Jeremiah* the Prophet, buried these Holy Monuments, under a Rock, in the Wilderness where *Moses* and *Aaron* were buried; and that they are to ly Hid there, until the Lord come a *Second Time* unto *Sinai*, & that the *Ark* will be the First Thing which will appear, at the *First Resurrection*; *Atque hoc Signum advenientis illius erit, quum videlicet gentes omnes adorabunt lignum*.⁹¹ All these things are *Apocryphal*. Tis most likely, That the *Ark* was burnt in the Fire that consumed the *Temple*. And yett it is a little Strange, that the *Chaldeans* did not carry this, with the other Sacred Vessels of the *Temple* into *Babylon*.

R. Eichler has summarized this long-lasting debate in his article "Cherub: A History of Interpretation" (2015).

⁸⁸ Witsius (§ LIX, p. 427).

⁸⁹ Witsius (§ LX, p. 427). According to 2 Macc. 2:1–6 and Babylonian Talmud (Gemara) tractate Yoma (52b), Solomon and subsequently Josiah foresaw the Israelites' captivity in Babylon and made arrangements to hide the Ark when the time would come. However, the same tractate quotes evidence to the contrary: That according to the Mishnah the Ark was not "hidden away" but "had been taken away," for according to R. Eliezer, "The Ark went into exile to Babylonia" along "with the precious vessels of the house of the Lord." This opinion is confirmed by R. Simeon b. Yohai, who insists that "The Ark went into exile to Babylonia, as it was said: Nothing shall be left, saith the Lord." Alas, the debate flared up yet again with conflicting results. See tractates Yoma (53b, 54a), Horayoth (12a), and K'rioth (5b). Meanwhile, modern archeologist keep digging through the Temple mount.

⁹⁰ The legend of the hidden Ark of the Covenant in the wilderness between the two mountains (Hor and Nebo) on which Moses and Aaron are buried is told in *De Vitis Prophetarum*, *The Lives of the Prophets: Jeremiah* (2:11–19), by Pseudo-Epiphanius (first-century CE), in Charlesworth's *The OT Pseudepigrapha* (2:388). Maimonides's legend is not far behind that of his predecessor, in his tractate *Hilchot Beit Habechirah* (ch. 4), *Mishneh Torah* (29:56): The Ark, "Aharon's staff, the vial of manna, and the oil used for anointing were entombed" in "maze-like vaults" deeply below the Temple of Solomon.

⁹¹ Witsius (§ LXI, pp. 427–28), good millenarian that he is, proclaims, "And this will be the sign of that man arriving, namely when all the nations will adore the wood [i. e., the Ark of the Covenant]."

Perhaps the Tradition of what befel the *Philistines* made them afraid, That they did not care to meddle with it.⁹²

We will not here spend any Time in giving an Account, how justly our *Witsius* does Refute, and Rebuke, | the profane Attempts of *Spencer*, to make the *Ark*, a meer Copy of an *Egyptian* Original. No Man that seriously Observes and Beleeves, the Inspired Writings of the Apostle *Paul*, & especially the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, can without Horror & Abhorrence read the *Spencerian* Profanity.⁹³ [56v]

Without Controversy, we may go on to consider the true *Mystery* of the *Ark*, & its appurtenances. And what was the *Ark*, but a *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ? The *Wood* and the *Gold*, in the *Matter* of it, leads us to the *Two Natures* in our Lord. The *Wood* sprang from *the Earth*; but such *Wood* as was not liable to *Corruption*. Such the *Humane Nature* of our Lord. The Strength, Purity, Fulgency, & Value of the *Gold*, was a fitt Emblem of His *Divine Nature*; with an Advice further, of the Value that we should sett upon Him. And whereas none of the *Wood*, nothing but the *Gold*, was to be seen, some think, there was this *Mystery* in it, That the *Messiah* was not yett exhibited in the *Flesh*; He was to be seen only in the Promises of God. The Form & End of the *Ark*, to contain Treasures in it, may mind us of the *Treasures* in our Lord. The *Golden Crown* on the *Ark*, may mind us of our Lords *Crown* & Kingdome. The *Tables of the Covenant* here, may signify, That our Lord had the *Law* of God in His Heart, & gloriously fulfilled it. The *Staves* in the *Four Golden Rings* carrying the *Ark*, may signify our Lords being in the Preaching of the Gospel, carried unto the Four Parts of the World. The *Rest* which the *Ark* had in the *Holy of Holies*, may signify what our Lord ha's in the *Third Heaven*. [Heb. 6.19, 20. Act. 3.21.]⁹⁴

92 Witsius (§ LXII, p. 428) – thus Mather – relies on Joannes Rainoldus's disquisitions on the whereabouts of the lost Ark, in his *Censura Librorum Apocryphorum Vetus Testamentum* (1611), Praelectio CXXXVI–XXXVII, esp. cols. 126–39. For the capture of the Ark of the Covenant and its return by the Philistines (along with their atoning emrods), see 1 Sam. 4:1–11; 5:1–12; 6:1–21.

93 Mather here skips the summary of “the *Spencerian Profanity*” as outlined in Witsius, *De Tabernaculi Levitici Mysteriis* (§§ LXIII–XXVIII), in *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum Libri Quatuor* (1692), lib. 2, dissertatio 1, pp. 429–41. For in his *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685), John Spencer postulated that the Mosaic Ark of the Covenant was derived from Egyptian precedent (lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 1, secs. 4–8 and ch. 2, fols. 752–62), that the two cherubim on the Mosaic ark, like their Egyptian model, were tauromorphous representations of bulls (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 3, sec. 2 and cap. 4, secs. 2–4, pp. 767–85), and that the cherubim – like their Egyptian originals – had a mystical, polymorphous appearance like that in Ezekiel's vision (1:5–15, 10:8–22). Witsius's remaining sections (§§ LXVI–XXVIII, pp. 432–41), also skipped by Mather, are devoted to refuting Spencer's thesis with references to the Egyptian, Phoenician, Etruscan, and Dionysian examples of sacred arks – yet with the proviso that the Israelites did not borrow their religious symbols, objects, and accoutrements from their pagan neighbors, but that the pagans – envying the sacred cult of the Israelites – apishly imitated their rituals and cultic utensils.

94 Witsius (§ LXXIX, pp. 441–42).

The MERCY- SEAT, covering the *Ark*, what was it, but a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ, as Reconciling us to God? This *Propitiatory* was of *Gold*, as the *Ark* was of *Wood*; pointing us to the Deity of our Lord, which gave an infinite Value & Vertue, to the Satisfaction, that He made for us. The *Tables* of the *Law* were here covered; as are our *Sins* against the *Law*. As here was a Signal Presence of the Divine Majesty, graciously answering His People; Thus, there is a *Throne of Grace* erected in the Merits of our Lord, unto which we may repair with Hope of gracious Answers. Here was a *Cloud* filled with *Bright Rayes* of the Divine Majesty; the same that the Hebrewes call, The *Shechinah*. Intimating how there *Dwells* in our Lord, *the Fulness of the Godhead Bodily*.⁹⁵

The CHERUBIM were Emblems of *Angels*. They attend upon our Lord Jesus Christ, with a *Perpetual Ministry*. And He, by His *Propitiation*, ha's brought us to be in the same Society with them. The *Bent* with which the Faces of the *Cherubim* did look upon the *Ark*, may signify the Desire and Study of the Angels, to be acquainted with the Mysteries of Redemption. [2. Pet. 1.12.]⁹⁶

The GOLDEN POTT, was here, with an *Homer* of MANNA reserved in it. The Matter of the *Urn* is not mentioned, by *Moses*; and therefore the Jewes have had their *Cold Conjectures* about it; But our Apostle ha's determined the Matter.⁹⁷ The *Precise Place* where it was lodged, is not declared. It was, *Before the Testimony*; but whether that means the *Two Tables* of the *Law*, or the *Ark* which had the *Two Tables* in it, may be enquired. The Difficulty is increased by this; That the Old Testament saies, [1. King. 8.9.]⁹⁸ There was nothing in the *Ark*, besides the *Tables of the Law*; But the New Testament saies, [Heb. 9.4.] There was in the *Ark* also, the *Golden Pott* of *Manna*, and *Aarons Rod Blossoming*. *Alting* thinks, That while *Moses* was yett living, All these *Three* were deposited in the *Ark*; and *Aarons Rod* laid upon the *Two Tables of the Law*; and that on the Opening of the *Ark*, one should see each of the *Three*, in the Order wherein the Apostle proposes them. Nevertheless, when the *Ark* was to be carried up and down, as we know, it once fell into the Hands of the *Philistines*, tis thought, the *Golden Pott*, and *Aarons Rod* were taken out, that so the Inconveniency of their Knocking against

⁹⁵ Witsius (§ LXXX, pp. 442–43).

⁹⁶ Witsius (§ LXXXI, pp. 443–44). An erotic embrace of the two cherubim is suggested in Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yoma (54a, 54b), but see Philo, *On the Cherubim* (1.6.20–9.20) and *Questions and Answers on Genesis I* (57) and in *Works* (80–83, 803).

⁹⁷ Witsius (§ LXXXII, pp. 444). St. Paul speaks of “the golden pot (Heb. 9:4). R. Bechai, aka. Bachya ben Asher, in his commentary on Exod. 16:33 explains that “when G’d told Moses to take a צִנּוֹת, Moses did not know what material that bottle was to be made of. He arrived at the correct material by deducing it from the meaning of the word, i. e., it is something cold, i. e., צוֹנֵן, something that keeps it contents cool, preserves its contents indefinitely in earth. It must therefore be an earthen vessel” (*Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya: Shemot-Yitro* 3:1007). R. Abarbanel (on Exod. 16:33; Jer. 32:14) conjectures that the golden pot “de materia urnae” was fashioned “of glass, so that the manna could be seen inside” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 2:130).

⁹⁸ Witsius (§ LXXXIII, p. 445).

one another might be avoided.⁹⁹ Others, with *Drusius*, and *Capellus*, observe, That *It*, may signify in the same Sentence, both, *Within*, and, *Anear*; and so the Words of the Apostle are solved immediately.¹⁰⁰ Now, the Apostle himself calls *Manna*, by that Name, *Spiritual Meat*; that is, as *Austin* expounds it, *Spirituale aliquid Significantem*. And certainly, our Lord ha's at large instructed us, [Joh. 6.32.] That the *Manna* was a Type of Himself. The Analogy, we have elsewhere more largely insisted on.¹⁰¹ The Reservation of the *Manna* in the *Holy of Holies*, does advise us of our Lords Condition, since His Ascension into *Heaven*. Communion with the Lord Jesus Christ, in Glory, is called, *An Eating of the Hidden Manna*.¹⁰²

About AARONS ROD, some have been of the Opinion, that it was the | same [57r] with *Moses's*. The Jewes carry on the Fiction, and say, That it was taken from the Tree that sweetened the Waters of *Marah*; which, they add, was originally a Twig taken from the *Tree of Life*, by *Seth*, upon the Direction of an *Angel*, who planted it in this Wilderness; and hereupon hangs the *Brazen Serpent*, that is to Restore Health unto the World, in the Dayes of the *Messiah*. Perhaps, they intend a Parable. Indeed, many learned and solid Men, do think, That *Aarons Rod*, was the same with *Moses's*; it being expressly called, *Moses's Rod*. [Num. 20.11.] Dr. *Owen* particularly takes up this Apprehension, from R. *Chaskouni*, & others of the Hebrew Doctors, & finds Mysteries in it.¹⁰³ Yett, it may be doubted of.

99 Witsius (§ LXXXIV, pp. 445, 446) refers to the Dutch Hebraist Jacob Alting (1618–79), professor of theology and Hebrew at the University of Groningen. Alting discusses the issue in his analytical commentary on Exod. 16:33–34, in his *Opera Omnia Theologica; Analytica, Exegetica, Practica, Problematica, & Philologica* (1685–87), 1:50. On Jacob Alting's contribution to Dutch Hebraism, see Wout van Bekkum's "Die Hebraistik in den nördlichen Niederlanden" (447–69).

100 Witsius (§ LXXXV, pp. 446, 447). The Flemish Hebraist and Protestant theologian Joannes Drusius, aka. Jan van den Driesche (1550–1616), in his commentary on Exod. 16:34 (*Critici Sacri, Sive Doctissimorum Virorum in S. S. Biblia Annotationes* [1660], 1:535), and Jacobus Cappellus, aka. Jacques Cappel (1570–1624), in his commentary on Heb. 9:4 (*Observationes in Novum Testamentum* [1657], p. 192), believe that the golden urn ("urna aureum") and Aaron's flowering rod ("virga Aaronis, quae germinavit") were in or near the Ark of the Covenant.

101 See Mather's exposition of Exod. ch. 16. St. Augustine argues that Christ as the spiritual meat is typified in the Mosaic pot of manna, which is "something spiritual and significant."

102 Witsius, § sec. 86 (p. 447). See St. Augustine's *In Evangelium Joannis Tractatus CXXIV*: Tractatus XXV, on John 6:32 (sec. 12–15) [PL 035. 1601–04].

103 Witsius (§ LXXXVII, pp. 448, 449) – hence Mather – disagrees with John Owen's explication of Heb. 9:4, in Owen's *A Continuation of the Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews. Viz. On the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Chapters* (1680), pp. 317–18 (§ 5). An English Puritan's puritan John Owen (1616–83), sometime vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, had argued that Aaron's budding rod (Heb. 9:4; Numb. 17:6–10, 20:7–11) was the selfsame rod Moses had used when he herded the sheep of Jethro (his father-in-law), when Moses encountered God in the burning-bush episode, and when he struck the rock to extract water. This rod, Owen assures us, was the one that was placed in the Ark of the Covenant in perpetual remembrance. Perhaps unbeknownst to himself, Owen (according to Witsius, p. 449) had borrowed this interpretation from *Sepher Chaskouni* [*Chiskuni*], a Hebrew

It seems more likely, That *Aarons Rod*, was one of the very same Sort, with the *Rods* of the other *Tribes*. But it seems likely, That *Moses's Rod*, which had been employ'd in so many Miracles, was (at least, for some time,) laid up also among the Sacred Monuments, from whence the Lord ordered him to take it, for the Smiting of the *Rock*; An Action for which *Aarons Rod*, full of Blossoms, looks hardly so agreeable.¹⁰⁴ The Imposturous Roman *Catholicks* tell us, They have the *Golden Pott of Manna*, and *Aarons Rod*, still to show, at *Rome*, in the Church of *S. Salvador*. Not only *Onuphrius* Reports it, in his Book, *De Urbis Ecclesijs*; but also Pope *Sixtus V.* affirms it, in his Book entituled, *Mirabilia Romæ*. But the Mischief is, The *French* have the same to show, at *Paris*; the *Spaniards* have the same, at the Church of *D. Salvador*; and the People of *Bourdeaux*, at that of *Severinus*.¹⁰⁵ To have done with it; *Aarons Rod* confirming the Authority of his *Priesthood*, was, as well as *Aaron* and his *Priesthood*, a Type of our Lord, & of His *Priesthood*. [see Isa. 11.1. and Isa. 53.8.] The Verdure, the Vigor, the Efficacy of His *Priesthood*, is eternal. [Heb. 7.16.]¹⁰⁶

Near, and By the *Ark*, was laid up, THE BOOK OF THE LAW, written by the Hand of *Moses*; to be taken thence, & Read Publickly every seventh Year, at the *Feast of the Tabernacles*. It is probable, That Copies were still taken of it, & exactly compared with the Original, before it was laid up again. And by this *Book*, we have Cause to understand, no less than the whole *Pentateuch*. A Reverence to the Word of God, is hereby taught unto us; We are taught that Resolution; [Psal. 119.11.] To *Hide the Word of God, in our Hearts, that so we may not Sin against Him*.¹⁰⁷

commentary on the Pentateuch (published in Venice, in 1524), by R. Chizkiyahu ben Rabbi Manoch, aka. Chaskouni [Chiskuni, Chizkuni, Hizkuni] (fl. 1240–60), a learned French rabbi (*CBTEL*). R. Chizkiyahu insists that when God commanded Moses to “take the staff!” (Numb. 20:8), “G’d referred to Aaron’s staff,” the one that had blossomed (Numb. 17:6–10) and would serve Moses in good stead (*Chizkuni* 4:963).

¹⁰⁴ Witsius (§ LXXXVIII, pp. 449, 450).

¹⁰⁵ Witsius (§ LXXXIX, p. 450) scoffs at Onuphrius Panvinus, aka. Onofrio Panvinio (1529–68), a learned Italian historian, antiquarian, and librarian, whose *De Praecipuis Urbis Romae Sanctoribusque Basilicis* (1570), p. 148, lists among the holy relics in Rome the “*arca foederis: in qua sunt duae tabulae Testamenti: Virga Moysi & Virga Aaron. Est ibi Candelabrum aureum, & Thuribulum aureum thymiamate plenum: Et urna aurea plena Manna. Item de panibus propositionum*” (p. 148) or the “*ark of the covenant, in which are the two tables of the Testament, the Rod of Moses and Rod of Aaron. Here is also the golden Candelabrum [Menorah], & the golden Censer filled with incense, and the golden urn filled with Manna, likewise the showbread.*” For much (and more of) the same, see pp. 146–47. Finally, Pope Sixtus V (1521–90), was probably not the author but pontifical patron under whose auspices *Mirabilia Romae* (*Wonders of Rome*) was published, a Renaissance Baedeker to Roman antiquities. The above-mentioned holy relics are itemized in *Mirabilia Romae. E Codicibus Vaticanis Emendata* (1869), p. 31.

¹⁰⁶ Witsius (§ XC, p. 450).

¹⁰⁷ Witsius (§ XCI, pp. 450, 451). Here ends Mather’s lengthy paraphrastic excerpt which he translates from Hermann Witsius’s *De Tabernaculi Levitici Mysteriis*, in *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum Libri Quatuor* (1692), lib. 2, dissertatio 1, pp. 393–453. Mather’s reference to Ps. 119:11 echoes a similar command in Deut. 6:6.

Q. What is meant by, *Cunning Work*? v. 1.

A. There were (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) Two Sorts of Work, more Artificial than Ordinary: The one called, *Choscheb*, which is here mentioned; The other called, *Rokem*, which we translate, *Needle-Work*. The Former, was the most excellent; For it was done by *Weaving*; and it had Figures on both Sides: Whereas, that by *Needle-Work*, had only on one side, as tis here noted by *Jarchi*; who saies, there was, suppose the Figure of a *Lion* on the one side, & of an *Eagle* on the other. Or, he should rather have said, The same Figure appeared on both sides, as *Maimonides* seems to take it, in his, *Kele Hammikdah*. c. 8. “Where soever any Work is called, *Rokem*, in Scripture, it is to be understood of Figures, which are made only on one Side of the Web; but the Work that is called *Choscheb*, had Figures on both Sides, before & behind.”¹

Q. The *Veil*? v. 31.

A. The Hebrew Word, *Paroketh*, which we translate, *Vail*, coming from a *Perek*, which signifies *Hardness* and *Rigour*; [Exod. I.13, 14.] it has made some conclude, That this *Vail* was of a great *Thickness*. The Hebrewes tells us, T’was *Four Fingers Thick*. This makes it the more wonderful, that it was torn in sunder at our Saviours Passion. Be sure, None could look thro’ it, into the *Holy of Holies*.²

¹ Patrick (*Exodus* 504–05). Jarchi, i. e., Rashi, distinguishes between מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֶׁב a “work of craft” and מַעֲשֵׂה רוֹקֵם a “work of embroidery,” explaining that “each and every thread was made six-fold. Hence the four materials when woven together made each strand consist of 24 threads [Yoma 71a]. . . . Cherubim were formed in them (the drapes) through weaving, and not through embroidery which is done through needlework. But, rather, by weaving on two sides, one image on one side and another image on the other side, a lion on this side and an eagle on the other side, just as silken belts are woven [nowadays], which are called *feises* (woven images) in Old French [Yoma 72b]” (*Chumash/Rashi: Shemos* 2:388). See also R. Salomonis Jarchi, aka. Rashi (*Commentarius Hebraicus* [1710], p. 645). The explication of Rambam, i. e., Maimonides, appears in his *Hilbot: K’lei HaMikdash* (8.15), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:196).

² Patrick, on Exod. 26:31 (*Exodus* 514). Rashi clarifies that the word פָּרֹכֶת [parokhet] denotes “a dividing curtain. In the language of the Sages [it is called] פְּרָגוֹד (*Chagligah*) 15a [and 25a] something that separates between the king and the people” (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* 2:441a). Gersonides, aka. Ralbag, insists that according to the sages, the curtain was “a full handbreadth thick” (*JPS Migra’ot Gedolot* 2:234), an estimate probably derived from the oral tradition of the Talmud, for R. Simeon b. Gamaliel explains that “the thickness of the veil was a handbreadth. It was formed of seventy-two strands, and each was made up of twenty-four threads” (tractate Tamid 29b). At the moment of Christ’s death, the curtain separating the Holy from the Most Holy of the Temple was “rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent” (Matth. 27:51).

[58r]

3266.

Q. The *Tabernacle*, was doubtless, a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ; and particularly of His *Body*, wherein He *Tabernacled* among us. Perhaps, it were a Speculation worth our mentioning, how far the Proportion of an Humane *Body* was observed and answered in the *Tabernacle*? v. 37.

A. We will not insist upon the Opinion of the old Mathematicians, That 4 and 6 were the most perfect Numbers; and then show what a notable Regard unto these Numbers, there was in the Affayrs of the *Tabernacle*. But the *Speculation* that you call for, you must expect from some *Physician*; and you shall have it from an excellent one, even from Dr. *Nehemiah Grew*, who hath, in his *Cosmologia Sacra*, some Hints upon this curious Matter.³

Vitruvius tells us, *Non potest Aedes ulla, (Sacram Puta) cum Symmetrià atque Proportione rationem habere compositionis; nisi uti Hominis benè figurati Membro- rum, exactam habuerit rationem.* He took his Observation from the *Greeks*, as these might easily do from the *Israelitish Tabernacle*; whereof the principal Numbers and Measures answered unto those in the *Body of Man*, the most perfect of compounded Figures.⁴

The chief Parts, that serve to support the *Body*, namely, the *Thighs*, the *Legs*, and the *Feet*, are *Six*; and the *Fingers* and *Toes*, on which the Weight of the *Body*, may Hand or Stand, are *Twenty*. Thus, the Boards at the End of the *Tabernacle* were *Six*; on each side, they were *Twenty*.

The *Four Pillars* within the Vail, answered unto the *Four Bones* of the *Cubiti*;⁵ standing at much the same Distance from the West-End of the *Tabernacle*, as these do, when so placed on the Breast, as to make Right Angles, on each Side with the *Brachium*.⁶

The *Five Pillars* at the Door of the *Tabernacle*, answer to the Five Principal Commanders of the *Body*, the Arms, the Chine, and the Legs.

The Dimple in the *Upper Lip*, is Half an Inch; the First Joint of the middle Finger, an Inch. These two measure both the whole *Body*, and all its Parts. Nine Inches make a full Span; that is Half a Cubit; the least and common Measure of all the Parts of the *Tabernacle*. And if we take an Inch, for a Span, or half a Cubit, then the Breadth of a Board, that is a Cubit and half, or three Spans, answered unto the Breadth of the Foot, which is Three Inches; and the Length

3 Nehemiah Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 6, ch. 8, p. 253 §§ 79–86.

4 Grew (p. 253, § 79) underscores the analogical symmetry between classical temples and the human body, with a Latin citation from Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem* (1649), lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 38. The passage translates, “Without symmetry and proportion there can be no principles in the design of any temple; that is, if there is no precise relationship between its members, as in the case of those of a well-shaped man,” in *The Ten Books of Architecture* (3.1.1), p. 72.

5 Elbows.

6 Arm.

of a Board, which was Ten Cubits, or Twenty Spans, to the Length of the Leg, which is commonly about 20 Inches.

Again, As the Breadth of the Foot, is to the Length of | the Foot (3 Inches [58v] to 10) so is the Breadth of the Body, to the Length of the Body; (3 times 6 Inches, to 10 times 6,) Unto which Measures, the Breadth and Length of the Tabernacle, were exactly proportioned; being as 3 times 6 Spans, or Half-Cubits, to 10 times 6.

It is further observable, That the Length or Heighth of the Pillars, was, as the Length of the Pillars of the Body, from the Sole of the Foot, to the Top of the Hip. And from the bottom of the *Os Sacrum*, to the Crown of the Head, is the same Measure; to which therefore, the Heighth of the *Tabernacle* was proportioned. That is to say, As the *Length* of the *Tabernacle*, was to a Man lying at his Full Length, so the *Heighth* of the *Tabernacle*, was to the Heighth of a Man sitting on the Ground⁷.

Nor were the *Four Intrails* of the *Tabernacle* (as they may be called) without their Analogy to our own. The *Throne*, the *Incense-Altar*, the *Table*, and, the *Candlestick*; not unaptly answering, in their Number, and Scituation, to the *Brain*, the *Heart*, the *Stomach*, and the *Liver*.

These Comparisons might be further prosecuted, by the Curious. But at present we desist.⁸

⁷ Grew, § 85, p. 253. In humans, the “*os sacrum*” (sacral bone) is the triangular bone (between the hip bones) at the lower end of the spine in the center of the pelvic bone (*OED*).

⁸ Nehemiah Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 6, ch. 8, §§ 79–86, pp. 253. Mather was fully at home in the medical lore of his time, for when his speech impediment seemed to render him unfit for preaching, he turned to the study of medicine (among other things) during his years at Harvard. See Silverman (*Life and Times* 15–17, 22, 33–38. Mather’s medical handbook, *The Angel of Bethesda* (1972), testifies to his theoretical knowledge.

Q. On the *Altar of Burnt-Offering*, there is a very Difficult Quæstion; *How was it possible to kindle great Fires, that should consume the Victims, upon an Altar made of Wood, without reducing the Wood unto Ashes?* We will allow the *Altar* to be all covered with *Brass*. But would not the Fire make this *Brass* Red-hott? And would not such *Brass* communicate its Heat unto the *Wood*? v. 1.

A. It would require abundance of Time, to Relate & Refute, but a small Part of what has been offered by Commentators do solve the Difficulty.

To make short Work, Monsr. *Saurin* proposes that we seek for an Illustration in the Text itself. – There is in the Description, the Word, *Compass*, which occurs but once in the O. T. and there are almost as many *Opinions* of it, as there are *Expositors*. But here is the Hypothesis, which he thinks, best agrees with the Text of *Moses*. The *Altar of Wood* was concave; or perhaps entirely Hollow from Top to Bottom. It is enjoined, *Hollow with Boards thou shalt make it*. In this Cavity, there were placed a Couple of Instruments, or Vessels. One was the *Grate of Nett-Work*; T’other was that which the Hebrew calls, *Carcob*, and our Versions, *The Compass*. By this *Carcob*, we may understand a large Vessel, the Form whereof is not easy to be determined; on which they putt the Flesh of the Victims that were to be consumed. It was fastened unto the Altar above the *Grate*, by Four great Rings of Brass. By the *Grate*, we understand, that on which they made the Fire; and of which we may imagine a Figure most suitable to such a Purpose. It was no Part of the *Altar*, but it hung to it. Likewise, by Four great Brass Rings. It was a *Network*, full of Holes, that the Air might foment the Fire, and the more easily keep it alive. *It went even to the Midst of the Altar*; that is, to the Middle of the great Cavity we have spoken of; to the End there might be made a Fire big enough to consume the Sacrifice. These Two Vessels might easily be unfastened from the *Altar*, when it was to be carried any where, or when it was to be cleansed.¹

1016.

Q. Of what *Fashion*, and for what *Purpose*, were the *Horns of the Altar*? v. 2.

A. About the Shape of those *Horns*, there is a great Variety of Apprehension, among Interpreters; but most probably, they were certain Brazen *Curvatures*, like the *Horns* of a *Bull*, or a *Ram*; on the Corners of the *Altar*; they were, as *Josephus*

¹ Extracted from Jacque Saurin’s *Dissertations* (1723), “Dissertation LIV. *The Building of the Tabernacle*,” p. 458.

tells us, κερατοειδεις;² and the Figures of *Altars* upon *Old Coins*, intimate as much unto us.

Tis a good Passage, uttered by *Fortunatus Scacchius*, *Expositio Sacrarum Litterarum, de Ritibus Antiquis Loquentium, difficilima est; quod Mores et Consuetudines quæ a Veteribus Judeis servabantur, tam in Sacris quàm in quotidianis Occasionibus, adeò sint Antiquate. Quamobrem ex Ethnicorum κακοζῳγία, Jure Optimo Veterum Mores explicare cogimur, et ex illis, veluti Sacrorum Institutorum prædonibus, Intelligentiam Divinorum Oraculorum, quantum conjectura concede, petere non est Incongruum.*³ And in this Way of Proceeding, wee not only find out with *Sanctius*, that all the Roman *Altars*, expressed on *Coins*, were *Horned*, after the Manner that wee have mentioned, but wee shall bee able to Dig out the Sense of more than a thousand other Scriptures.⁴

If wee now enquire, after the Use of These *Horns*; Tis very certain, They were not, for the *Priests* thereto to Tye, and Hold the unwilling *Beasts*, for *Sacrifice*: They were too *weak* for That. When tis said in Psal. 118.27. *Bind the Sacrifice with Cords, Even unto the Horns of the Altar*; it is no otherwise than so to bee paraphrased upon; and several Jewish Rabbis understand it so. *Bind the Sacrifice, then slay it, so dispatch all, that belongs to it; and leave not off until you have laid it on the Altar, and sprinkled the Horns of the Altar, with the Blood thereof.* There is an *Ellipsis* in the Words, which the *Chaldee* so supplies; *Ligate Sacrificium Catenis, donec Sacrificaveritis illud et effuderitis Sanguinem ejus, in Altaris Cornua.*⁵ Some other Uses of these *Horns* pretended unto, I shall not so much

2 Flavius Josephus, *De bello Judaico* (5.225, line 3), describes the square altar with horn-shaped (κερατοειδεις) corners.

3 Fortunatus Scacchus, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1625; 1725), lib. 2, cap. 44, col. 509BC. Depictions of horned altars on Roman coins of Tiberius Caesar are supplied at the end of lib. 2, cap. 72, cols. 670–71. At any rate, the Latin citation from the learned Italian antiquarian and professor of theology at Verona, Padua, and Rome, Fortunatus Franciscus Scacchus (1573–1640), explains that the study of pagan religions and customs help comparatists to understand the obscure rites of the ancient Israelites: “Exposition of the sacred letters, speaking about the ancient rites, is very difficult, because the customs and habits which were observed by the ancient Jews, both in sacred and everyday occasions, are so antiquated. For this reason, from the unhealthy κακοζῳγία [i. e., imitation] of the heathens, we are most justly forced to explain the customs of the ancients; and from those (as it were) pirates of the sacred practices, it is not incongruous to seek an understanding of the holy oracles, granted only by guesswork.”

4 This paragraph (including the citation from Scacchus) and the next are extracted from John Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 4, secs. 1, 2, fol. 563. Spencer also enlists the affirmation of the horned altars of Rome from *In Quatuor Libros Regum & Duos Paralipomenon, Commentarii* (1623), p. 944, by the Spanish Jesuit theologian Gaspar Sanctius, aka. Sánchez (1554–1628). See also BA 1:984.

5 Mather (via Spencer 563) quotes from the Chaldee Paraphrast, aka. Targum Onkelos, on Ps. 118:27, in Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1655), 3:276: “Bind the sacrifice with chains onto the corners of the altar, until you have sacrificed it [animal] and shed its blood.” Rashi argues that these horns “must not be made separately and attached to it,” for they would not withstand the struggling sacrificial animal. Rashbam agrees with Rashi (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 2:235–36).

as mention; but instead thereof, observe, That in the Dayes of old, an *Horn* was an *Hieroglyphic* of *Power*: [Compare Deut. 33.17.] and the Sacred Oracles, do thereby often express *Royal Power*. Hence the *Phœnicians* putt an *Horned Head*, upon their *Astarte*; and the ancient Kings of *Persia*, are seen on their *Coins* to this day, with *Horns* upon their Heads. It was also an *Hieroglyphic* of *Honour*. [Compare Job. 16.15. Psal. 75.5. Lam. 2.3. where still the *Targums* read, *Gloriam*.] And hence, whatever the old Pagans had in Veneration, their *Coins* and their *Paints*, exhibited with *Horns* about it; Wee have even *Horned Rivers* of Theirs. It was likewise, an *Hieroglyphic* of *Religion*. They Dedicated *Horns* of old, unto their *Gods* & hung them upon *Sacred Trees*; *Olaus Wormius* will tell you Stories enough, of this Purport. Yea, they represented their *Gods* themselves, as wearing *Horns*; as *Jupiter*, *Bacchus*, *Isis*, and others: and as *Lucan* expresseth it, *Stat tortis Cornibus Ammon*; whom therefore they styled, *Κριοπρωσωπος* And *Arnobius* jeers them for it.⁶

[59v] *Horns* being indeed of such an | *Hieroglyphical* Intention, the Lord indeed would have His *Altar* beautified, with no more than *Four* of them; whereas, the Gentiles, in their *Imitation*, so outwent the *Original*, that they stuck their *Altars* as full of *Horns*, as ever they could. It was not only a, – *Cornibus Ara frequens*, as *Martial* speaks, that they affected, but also a *Κερατινου βομος*, *An Altar of Horns*, whereof you read in *Plutarch* and *Laertius*: *Callimachus* mentions one, all, or most, composed of *Horns*: In Opposition whereunto, the *Horns* of the *Israelitish Altar*, were to bee, *Ex ipso* of the Materials that the *Altar* itself was. Nor would the Lord allow any more *Horns* to His *Altar*, than might serve, to receive the Aspersions of the Sacrificed *Blood*, & bee touched by those that in their *Prayers* or *Oathes*, or *Dangers* fled thereunto.⁷

⁶ Extracted from Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 4, sec. 3, fol. 566; Mather refers at second hand to the story of the sacred trees decorated with horns, as related in *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex* (1643), lib. 5, pp. 369–70, a history of medieval Denmark and Sweden, by the Danish physician and antiquarian Olaus Wormius, aka. Ole Worm (1588–1655), who is best remembered for his work on embryology. Spencer (566) also points to Lucan's description of the "firm twisted horns of Ammon" (*Pharsalia* 9.514), which deity the Greek rhetorician Lucianus of Samosata calls *κριοπρόσωπος*, i.e., "ram-faced" (*De Sacrificiis* 14.5), and to Arnobius of Sicca, who jeers in his *Disputationum Adversus Gentes* (6.13.1), "Sed quid ego diis dotas falses et fulcinas rideo? quid cornua, malleos, et galeros, cum simulacra quaedam sciam certorum esse hominum formas, et infamium liniamenta meretricum?" [PL 005. 1190–91], or in the vernacular, "But why do I laugh at the sickles and tridents which have been given to the gods? why at the horns, hammers, and caps, when I know that certain images have the forms of certain men, and the features of notorious courtesans?" (*ANF* 6:511). The Egyptian oracle of Hammon (Ammon) is believed to be that in the Libyan oasis Siwah (Tacitus, *Histories* 5.3; 5.4; and vol. 3, p. 179*n*). On the debunking of the ancient oracles, esp. that of Hammon (Ammon), see *De Oraculis Ethnicorum Dissertationes Duæ* (1683), diss. prima, pp. 86–90; diss. secunda, pp. 287–88, by the learned Dutch Mennonite physician-preacher Antonius van Dale (1638–1708).

⁷ Apollo's famous altar, which Mather – but not Spencer (568) – believes imitated that in the Mosaic Tabernacle or Solomon's Temple, is by the Latin poet Marcus Valerius Martial's

After all, Monsr. *Saurin*, is of the Opinion, that nothing obliges us to believe, that there were any things on the Corners of the *Altar*, that had the Real Form of *Horns*; But that the Barrenness of the Hebrew Language has in this Case imposed on the Learned. There is no Word whereby for the Expressing of something that rose out from the *Corners* of the *Altar*, [And, I pray, whence the Word, *Corners*?] and stood upright; Perhaps then they bestow'd upon it, the Name of the most common & well-known thing, which came nearest unto it in Likeness; and therefore they called it, *An Horn*. Thus we call a certain Fortification, by the Name of, *An Horn-Work*. This Gentleman imagines, that the Prominences, or Points that were at the Angles of the *Altar* were called, *Horns*, by reason of some Resemblance to that Part, which rises out of the Heads of certain Animals. For the same Reason; the Rays of the Sun, are called *Horns*: being painted like Points coming out of all Parts of an Head.⁸

We may also here give yett a more certain Answer.

Q. What were the *Fire-Pans*? v. 3.

A. They are commonly taken for the *Dishes* or *Censers*, in which the Priest carried *Burning Coals* from the *Brasen Altar* into the Sanctuary, to offer Incense upon the *Golden Altar*.

But, *Fortunatus Scacchus* thinks, they did not minister in the Holy Place with *Brasen Censers*. He takes these *Fire-Pans*, for a larger Sort of Vessel, wherein the Sacred Fire which came down from Heaven, was kept Burning, while they cleansed the *Altar* & *Grate*, from the *Coals* and *Ashes*; and when this *Altar* was to be carried, from one Place to another, as it was often in the Wilderness.⁹

Q. The *Lamps*; Did they burn *Day & Night* continually? v. 20.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, they did. But Monsr. *Jurieu* can't well Reconcile this, to, 1. Sam. III.3. and, 2. Chron. XIII.11.

If those Texts would admitt of this Interpretation, That they putt *fresh Oil* into the *Lamps* every Night, he would incline to *Lightfoot*. The *Lamps* burning without Intermission, would be a notable Type of the Light & Grace of the

of Iberian Rome (40–c. 102 CE) described in his *Liber De Spectaculorum* (1.1.4) as an “altar wrought of many horns” superior to the one on Mycenaean Delos. Not far behind, Plutarch sings of the Κερατῶνα βωμόν, or “Horned altar” (*Parallel Lives: Theseus* 21.2.4) and Diogenes Laertius of κρατίνου, “the horned one” (*Vita Philosophorum: Pythagoras* 8.13.11), but Callimachus intones, Ἄρτεμις ἀγρώσσουσα καρήατα συνεχῆς αἰγῶν/ Κυνθιάδων φορέεσκεν, ὃ δ' ἐπλεκε βωμόν Ἀπόλλων, / δείματο μὲν κεράεσσιν ἐδέθλια, πῆξε δὲ βωμόν/ ἐκ κεράων, κεραοὺς δὲ περικεῖ ὑπεβάλλετο τοίχους, or, “Artemis hunted and brought continually the heads of Cynthian goats, and Phoebus plaited an altar. With horns builded he the foundations, and of horns framed he the altar, and of horns were the walls he built around” (*In Apollinem*, hymna 2.60–63).

⁸ Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), “Diss. LIV,” pp. 461, 462.

⁹ Simon Patrick (*Exodus* 520) and Fortunatus Scacchus, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), lib. 2, cap. 65, cols. 630–31; caps. 71–72, cols. 662–70.

Holy Spirit, which is inextinguishible. And possibly, the ever-burning *Lamps* in the Temples of the Pagans, might from hence fetch their Original. But how can this be reconciled unto that Passage, *Ere the Lamp of GOD went out, Samuel was laid down to sleep*; that is, In the Morning, before break of Day. *Jerom* saies upon it, The *Lamps* did not burn all the Day. And *Kimchi* here saies, The *Lamps* burnt only from Evening to Morning.

Always,] here is to be taken in the same Sense, with *continual Sacrifices*.¹⁰

¹⁰ Mather's primary source is Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines* (1705), vol. 1, part 2, ch. 3, p. 343. Jurieu registers his disagreement with John Lightfoot's interpretation as mentioned in Lightfoot's *An Handfull of Gleanings* (1643), chs. 40, 41, pp. 48, 49 (and elsewhere), who maintained that the oil of the seven-pronged Menorah was lit day and night because its radiance typified God's spirit and the light of his grace. Among Jurieu's trusty sources are David Kimchi (in Johannes Buxtorf's *Biblia Hebraica cum Paraphrasi Chaldaica et commentariis rabbinorum* [1618–19], vol. 1, Exod. 27:20. vol. 1) and St. Jerome (*Quaestiones in libri Regi*), both of whom maintain that the most sacred candelabrum in the Temple was burning at night only; i.e., from sunset to sunrise. If Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:456) may be our guiding light here, the symbolic significance of the burning oil of the Temple's lampstand has cast a lot of shadows on the happiness of the ancient, medieval, and Post-Reformation scholars in more ways than one. Following such notables as Josephus (*Antiquities* 3.8.3), Hecataeus of Abdera, in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.4.408c), and Philo Judaeus (*De Vita Mosis* 2.21.102–03; *De Congressu Quaerendae* 2.8) who argue that only three of the seven lamps burned during the day, the Lutheran professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Jena, Salomon Glassius (1593–1656), in his popular *Philologiae Sacrae, Editio Tertia* (1653), lib. 3, tract. 5, canon 6, p. 694 [p. 439], uses his hermeneutical snuffer to contend that the lights were not burning "continuously" but "continually," signifying that the lights were not burning day and night, but only from evening to morning. In this Glassius agreed with his peers Lyra, Oleaster, Tostatus, Lapide, Junius, Piscator, and Grotius. However, such a flickering luminosity was disagreeable to the likes of Cajetan, Simler, Ribera, Willet, and others – all of whom insisted that the lights burning "always" meant they were ablaze day and night. Still others tried to reconcile this hermeneutical sputter by agreeing to disagree: that all the lamps were alight throughout the night, but some were extinguished during the day. In this Bonfrerius joined Josephus, who (as a priest), Bonfrerius believed, must have known best what happened in the Temple. Piscator made short shrift with it all by insisting that the Menorah (like the burnt offerings of sacrificial lambs) was ablaze only at appointed times. And if R. Levi Barzelonita be allowed to shed more light on this issue, then there burned at least one lamp in honor of the Almighty, in Johannes Heinrich Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sect. VIII, praecept XCVIII, pp. 125–26. And so it is; the argument is all aglow in Poole's brilliant vademecum *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:456) and *Works* (5:248–49).

2319.

Q. Lett us consider the *Priest*, and especially the *High-Priest*, as a *Type*; and hear something of the *Gospel* from him. v. 1.¹

A. The *Priests* were *Types* indeed of *Ministers* under the *Gospel*. [Mal. 3.3.] Tho' to call *Ministers* by the Name of *Priests*, for the same Cause that the *Papists* do it; namely, as Offerers of a *Propitiatory Sacrifice*, (in the *Mass*.) tis Erroneous & Abominable. Yea, because the Word, *Priest*, is for their Sakes justly become a Word of Reproach, it is fit now to bee laid aside; albeit it may come originally from the *Saxon* Word *Preister*, and the Greek, *Presbyters*; and so signifies no more than an *Elder*.²

Yea, wee may add That the *Priests* were *Types* of all *Beleever*s. [Compare, Rev. 1.6. and 1. Pet. 2.5, 9.]³

But they were eminently, *Types* of our Lord Jesus Christ; and most eminently, was the *High-Priest* so.

First, There were certain *Personal Qualifications*, wherein the *Levitical Priesthood* was *Typical*.

The *Priest* was to bee taken from among his *Brethren*, that is, of the *Israelitish* Nation. Thus was our Lord Jesus Christ; who had Hee not partook of our Nature, had not been a Fitt Mediator for us. [Heb. 2.16.]⁴

1 Mather's "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 28:1–4) identifies "Prideau [sic] XII. Lectiones" as his recommended source. Even though John Prideaux, D. D. (1578–1650), Bishop of Worcester, Vice-Chancellor, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford University, published several collections of his *Lectiones* (Oxford, 1625, 1626, 1648), Mather mistakenly refers to "Lectio XII. De Punctorum Hebraicorum origine," a lecture on the then raging dispute on the divine inspiration (or rabbinic invention) of the Hebrew cantillation marks and Masoretic pointing system. The topic was dear to Mather's heart, for it was the subject of his Harvard M. A. thesis (1681), in which he defended the divine-origin postulate but recanted many years later (*BA* 1:272–73, 440n 700–10). Be that as it may, what Mather was really thinking of was Prideaux's public "Oration" on Exod. 28:1–4, "Oratio Secunda Inauguralis in Promotione Doctorum," published in Prideaux's *Orationes Novem Inaugurales, De Totidem Theologiae Apicibus* (Oxoniae, 1626), pp. 25–48. Prideaux's "Oratio Secunda" holds forth on the subject of "De Vestibus Aaronis," on the vestments of Aaron as high priest, and was publicly delivered on the occasion of conferring the highest academic degree on eight of Prideaux's doctoral candidates at the University of Oxford, in 1617. This "Second Oration" was reprinted in *XIII. Orationes Inaugurales* (Oxoniae, 1642), pp. 12–22, and again in his *Opera Theologica, Omnia* (Tiguri, 1672), pp. 334–43.

2 The following lengthy extract is from Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of the Legal Priesthood," preached in Dublin, Ireland, on Jan. 31, 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), p. 493.

3 Samuel Mather, *Figures* (1705), pp. 493, 494.

4 Samuel Mather (494, 495).

The *Priest* had the same *Infirmities* with his *Brethren*, and, like the Prophet *Elijah*, had the *like Passions* with them. This was fulfilled in the Sinless *Infirmities* whereto our Lord Jesus Christ was obnoxious. [Heb. 4.15.]

The *Priest*, tho' liable to *Infirmities*, must bee free from gross *Deformities*. [Lev. 21.17.] Thus, our Lord Jesus Christ had no moral *Blemish*, in Him. [Heb. 7.26.]

The *Priest* must bee *called* unto his Office, & not *Intrude* himself into it. The Apostle finds this in our Lord Jesus Christ, illustriously exemplified. [Heb. 5.4, 5.]

The *Priest* was to Abstain from the Use of *Wine*, and *Strong Drink*, when hee was to do the Service of God in the Sanctuary. [Lev. 10.9.] Was not the sober Wisdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, herein represented unto us? Hee was never Forgetful of, or, unready for, any Part of His Office.⁵

The *Priest* might marry none but a *Virgin*. [Lev. 21.13, 14.] The Spouse of the Lord Jesus Christ should have a *Virgin-Purity* & Holiness. [2. Cor. 11.2.]

Finally; The *Priest* might not *Mourn for the Dead*; no, not for his *Father*, nor *Mother*. [Lev. 21.10, 11, 12.] *Natural Affections* were not forbidden to him; no, but hee was to regard his Duty, before any *Natural Affections*. Our Lord Jesus Christ, was the greatest Exemple, of such a glorious Temper. No *Earthly Relations*, could stand in the Way of His Duty to His *Heavenly Father*. Nor did Hee contract any *Pollution* to Himself, in His Communion with the most *Polluted Sinners*.⁶

Secondly, The *Holy Garments* of the *Priest*, were of a *Typical* Importance. [They are enumerated, Lev. 8.7, 8, 9.] But there are elsewhere, no less than Two whole Chapters, the 28th & 39th of *Exodus*, employ'd upon them.]⁷

Tis said of them, in general, They were for *Beauty* and *Glory*: No doubt, because they aim'd at an higher Glory, than what was merely External and Visible.

In the Order of putting them on, the first of the Nine Particulars enumerated, is, *The Embroidered Coat of Fine Linnen*. This Diapered Coat, was a long Linnen Garment, that came down unto the Feet. Our Lord Jesus Christ, appeared unto *John*, in such an Habit. [Rev. 1.13.] The Mystical Signification of this Garment, may bee, the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, as well that of His own Person, as that wherewith Hee clothes Beleevers. Hence the Saints are also Represented in the like Habit. [Rev. 7.9, 13, 14. Rev. 19.8.]⁸

Then follow'd, *A Girdle*; which was of *Fine Twined Linnen*, & *Blue*, & *Purple*, & *Scarlet*, of *Needle-Work*. Our Lord Jesus Christ is thus exhibited. [Rev.

⁵ Samuel Mather (495, 496, 497).

⁶ Samuel Mather (497, 498).

⁷ The following paragraphs are extracted from Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of the Priest's Holy Garments," preached on Feb, 7, 11, and 14, 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 499–520.

⁸ Samuel Mather (499, 500, 501).

1.13.] And so are Beleevers too. [Eph. 6.14.] It implies, *Truth*, sitting very close to the Heart. [Eph. 6.14.] And, *Strength* which wee enjoy thro' *Christ*. [Isa. 22.21.] And *Readiness* for *Action*, and *Expedition*, and *Perseverance* in it. [1. King. 18. ult. Act. 12.8. Luk. 17.8.]

Our Lord Jesus Christ is always *in Procinctu*, Ready for the Work of His Office. And so should Christians bee. [Luk. 12.35. and 1. Pet. 1.13.]⁹

Next ensued, The *Robe of the Ephod*. This was *Blue*, and Reached no farther than about the Knees. The Jewish Writers tell us, It had *no Sleeves*; but was divided into *two Skirts* only, which Joined *only* about the neck, but there very *Strongly*, with a *Welt*, called, a *Lip*. That which was most remarkable about it, was, *The golden Bells & Pomegranates*, that were upon the *skirt* thereof, at the *bottom* of it. The *Bells* of the *Holy Robe*, may intimate the *Voice* of our Lord Jesus Christ, in His Mediation, for us, now Hee is gone into the most Holy Place. [Heb. 5.7.] And the *Voice* of our Lord, in His Gospel, which is heard in His Church, [Rom. 10.18.] Thus also, the Ministry of the Gospel; should bee furnished, with *Golden Bells*, in the Voice of *Prayer*, & the Voice of *Preaching*. They *Dye*, if they neither *Pray*, nor *Preach*. The *Pomegranates* of the *Holy Robe*, may intimate the Sweet Fruits, and Effects, of the Voice of our Lord Jesus Christ; & the good Saviour thereof; which there ought also to bee, in the Holy Conversation of Ministers, & all Christians. There was likewise for the *Holy Robe*, an *Hole*, for the Head to bee putt in, like the *Hole of an Habergeon*. (An *Habergeon*, is a Coat of Maile, made of Twisted Wires;) Thus, Isa. 59.17.

Then came, fourthly, the *Ephod* itself: which was made of *Gold*, (first beaten into Plates, and then cutt | into Wires, & so woven into it,) and *Blue*, and *Purple*, and *Scarlet*, and *Fine twined Linen*. It seems to have been a short Coat, without Sleeves, putt upon the other Garments, to keep them close together, & reaching from the Shoulders to the Loins. There was indeed a *Common Ephod*; worn by all the *Priests*, [1. Sam. 22.18.] Yea, by some that were not *Priests*. [1. Sam. 2.18. and 2. Sam. 6.14.] But there was also a *Sacred Ephod*, which was peculiar to the *High-Priest*; And this was made not only of *Linen*, (as the former was,) but also of the Four other Materials: It had also a peculiar Ornament, of *Onyx-Stones* upon the Shoulder-Pieces of it: And none might make any thing like unto it, as *Gideon* did, unto the Ruine of his House [Judg. 8.27.23.] Now the Chief Mystery of this Garment, seems to bee *This*. There were Two Shoulder-Pieces belonging to it; in which were two *Ouches*, or Hollow Circles, wherein two *Onyx-Stones*, were fastened. On these two *Stones*, were engraved the Names of the Twelve Children of *Israel*; that the High-Priest might bear them, upon his Shoulders, for a *Memorial* before the Lord. These Things were to signify, our Lord Jesus Christ, supporting of His People; [see Isa. 9.6. and Luk. 15.5.] And presenting them unto the everlasting Remembrance of God. [See Mal. 3.16. and Eph. 5.27.] Yea,

[60v]

⁹ Samuel Mather (502). Lat. *Procinctu*: readiness.

and their Appearing before God, in the (curious & costly *Ephod*, or the) glorious *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ; not having their Names born before God, in an *Ephod* of their own Weaving.¹⁰

There succeeded, fifthly, The Curious *Girdle* of the *Ephod*. It is noted by Aynsworth, out of the *Rabbins*; “The Ephod had, as it were Two Hands, or Peeeces going out from it, in the Weaving of this Side, and on that, with the which they Girded it; and they are called [*Cheseb*] the *Curious Girdle* of the *Ephod*. This *Curious Girdle* of the *Ephod*, was tyed upon his Heart, under the *Breast-Plate*. This differeth from the other Girdle [*Abnet*] which is after spoken of, (Exod. 28.39.) and by reason of the *Gold* in this, which the other had not, it is called, *The Golden Girdle*.” For the Signification hereof, look back upon the former *Girdle*.¹¹

But then wee are, Sixthly, entertained with the cheef Thing of all; And that is, *The Breast-Plate*. Its Materials were the same with the *Ephod*. The Form of it, was Four-Square, a Span in Breadth & in Length. *Twelve Stones*, with the Names of the *Twelve Tribes*, were sett in it. It was fastned unto the *Ephod*, by four *Golden Rings*, in the four *Corners* of it. In the Two upper Rings, there were Two Chains of Gold, by which it was fastned above, unto two Golden Ouches, in the Shoulder-Peeeces of the *Ephod*; and in the Two lower Rings, there was a Blue Lace, by which it was Tyed unto two Gold Rings in the sides of the *Ephod*. [This helps to explain, 1. Sam. 23.9.] It was called, *The Breast-Plate of Judgment*, because the High-Priest, was to wear it upon his Breast, when hee gave forth a Sentence & Judgment from God, unto such as came to enquire after it. And it may bee called, *The Judgment of the Children of Israel*; because the Concernments of their Good, were there provided for. For *Judgment* is not alwayes putt for *Punishment*, but for a Wise, a Just, an accurate Administration of things: Tis a Rule; *Sæpe per Nomen Mishpat, Scriptura Significat, quicquid benè et ritè ordinatum est*.¹²

More particularly; The precious *Stones*, with the *Names* of the Children of *Israel*, do signify the whole People of God. [Gal. 6.16. and Joh. 1.47.] The Excellency of that People, may well compare them to *Precious Stones*. [Isa. 43.4. and Lam. 4.7.] There is an Insition of these into Christ; & there is a Comely Order among them. And as the High-Priest bore these in his *Breast-Plate*, for a Memorial before the Lord, so doth our Lord. [Isa. 49.15, 16. and Cant. 8.6.] The fastning of this *Breast-Plate* of Love, to the Shoulder-Peeeces of the *Ephod*, speaks the Inseparable Conjunction of the Love, and Power, and Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the great Work of our Salvation.¹³

¹⁰ Samuel Mather (503, 504, 505, 506).

¹¹ Samuel Mather (506), via Ainsworth on Exod. 28:8 (*Commentary on the OT* [1629], p. 112), quotes from Maimonides's *Hilchot K'lei Hamikdash Vihaovdim* Bo (9.9, 11), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:203–04, 206).

¹² Samuel Mather (507–08). The Latin citation from Calvin's *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses* (Exod. 28:4) can be rendered, “the word מִשְׁפָּט [*mishpat*] often signifies in Scripture whatsoever is well and duly ordered” (*Commentaries* 2:198–99).

¹³ Samuel Mather (508, 509).

The Seventh Peece of the Sacerdotal Vestments, was, *The Urim and Thummim*. There is more of Difficulty and Controversy about this, than any other Peece of all the pontifical Attire. Tis evident, they were visible Materials. The Text speaks of them in the same Terms, [as] that of the rest. And the Loss of them in the Captivity of *Babylon* is intimated. But it is also to bee supposed, That these Materials were not Things præpared by the Workmen, as the rest of the Holy Garments were; but some Choice & Rare Monuments, given immediately to *Moses*, by God Himself. There is no Direction given for the making of these, as there is for the rest. The *End* of them was, To consult God by them, and so to receive Answers, about the Affayrs of His People. The Answers were given by an *Audible Voice*; perhaps, by Angels Possessing the Sacred Images. The *Light* and *Grace* in our Glorious Lord Jesus Christ was hereby represented unto us. Wee have it from Him; and this particularly for our Direction in all our weighty Concerns.¹⁴

The Eighth Peece of the pontifical Attire, was, *The Mitre*. This was one of the Lay Garments, that were putt on. [Zech. 3:5.] It was a Sort of a *Bonnet*, (somewhat like what was worn by all the Priests,) made of *Linnen-Cloath*, wrapped about the Head, in a round & an high Fashion. The *Turbants* of the East, are like it. It is an *Ornament* of Authority and Superiority. Hence tis translated, *A Diadem*. [Job. 29.14. and Ezek. 21.16.] It points us to the princely Dignity of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁵

| The Ninth and Last Peece of the Holy Priestly Attire, was, *The Golden Plate*. It is called, *The Plate of the Holy Crown*, and was made (say some) somewhat like unto a *Crown*. The Inscription was, *Holiness to the Lord*, or, *The Holiness of Jehovah*. The Royal, the Divine, the Absolute *Holiness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, is here exhibited: who therefore appears in the *Revelation*, with a *Crown* upon His Head. And the Cause of our Acceptance with God, is here also intimated: Hee sees nothing but *Loathsomeness* in us, but looking on the Face of our Lord, there Hee sees Perfect *Holiness*.¹⁶ [61r]

¹⁴ Samuel Mather (509, 510, 511, 512) here acknowledges the controversy that divided theologians into literalists who agreed that the Urim and Thummim (Exod. 28:30) were physical objects, separate from, or identical with, the High-Priest's breastplate; allegorists who believed they were symbols of the light and truth of the Mosaic doctrine; and agnostics who felt that the terms *Urim* and *Thummim* are of uncertain origin and indeterminate meaning. The seventeenth-century debate is neatly summarized in Poole's commentary on Exod. 28:30 (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:463–65 and *Works* 5:276–83). See also Cotton Mather's long annotation on Exod. 28:30 (below).

¹⁵ Samuel Mather (514, 515).

¹⁶ Samuel Mather (515).

Thirdly;¹⁷ Their *Consecration* to their *Office*, was a Third Thing, wherein the *Priests* were *Types*. Their solemn Investiture in their Office, was performed with sundry Sacred Mystical Rites; [Which see Exod. 29.] Tis true, there must needs bee a Disparity, between the *Type* & the *Antitype*. There were *Purifications*, which rather were to render the *Priests*, fitt for being *Types*, of our Lord, than to signify the doing of any Parallel Actions by Him. When our Lord saies, I *sanctify myself*; it is to bee understood, rather of the *Effect*, than of the *Action*, rather of the *Thing* itself, than of the *Means* of doing it. Such Expressions are used, partly in relation to the *Type*, wherein a *Purified Priest* was a Figure of a *Pure Christ*; and partly in relation to the *Church*, whereof Christ is the *Head*; they terminate not in His *Person*, which never had any Defect of *Holiness*; but as Calvin saies *Meminerimus quæ de Consecratione dicuntur, non subsistere in ejus Personâ, sed referri ad totius Ecclesiæ utilitatem*.¹⁸

Come wee to the Particular Cæremonies.

The first Part of their *Consecration* was, *Washing with Water*. This intimated the Perfect Purity, & Sanctity, of our Lord Jesus Christ. [Heb. 7.26.] And the *Baptism* of our Lord was herein also pointed at. Hee was thereby *washed*, at His Entrance upon His Public Ministry.

The Second Part of their *Consecration*, was, *The Apparrelling of them with the Holy Garments*. These betokened the Excellencies which our Lord Jesus Christ is adorned withal.

The Third Thing in it, was, *The Anointing of them with the Holy Oyl*. This was to signify, the *Holy Spirit* resting on our Lord Jesus Christ [Isa. 61.1. Act. 10.38. Joh. 3.34.] Hence Hee is called, The *Christ*, The *Messias*, The *Anointed*. And as this *Holy Oyl*, stay'd not upon *Aarons* Head, but ran down in the skirts of his Garment: [Psal. 133.2.] Thus the *Holy Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, is defused unto all His Members. [1. Joh. 2.20, 27. Joh. 16] Moreover, The *Tabernacle*, and all the *Holy Vessels*, were at the same Time anointed with the same *Oyl*: To Teach us, That Ordinances and Performances profit not, unless the *Spirit*, with the Power and Presence of His *Grace*, bee in them. And, As This *Holy Oyl* might not bee putt unto any *Common Use*, thus Carnal Men have not the *Spirit*: nor may the Ordinances, nor Graces, of God, bee counterfeited, any more than that *Holy Oyl*.¹⁹

The Last Thing in it was, *Their Sacrificing, & being Sanctified with the Blood of the Sacrifice*. Accordingly, Our Lord Jesus Christ, was consecrated unto the *full Execution* of His *Priestly Office*, by His Death and Sufferings. Hee could proceed

17 From Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of the Consecration of the Priests," preached on Feb. 21, 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 520–27.

18 Samuel Mather (521–22). The Latin citation from John Calvin's *Commentary*, on Exod. 29:16, reads, "But we must remember that what is said of the consecration [of Christ] does not apply to His own person, but refers to the profit of the whole Church" (*Commentary* 2:212).

19 Samuel Mather (522, 523).

unto that Part of His *Priestly Office* which Hee is now executing in Heaven, & *save unto the uttermost them that come unto God by Him*, till Hee had suffered the Pains of *Death*. Tis true, Hee was a *Priest* before His *Death*; but it was in a State of Abasement: Hee could not execute the Triumphant Part of His *Priestly Office*, till Hee was *Consecrated thro' Sufferings*. [See Heb. 2.10. And the Greek, τελειόω, thus employ'd by the LXX. Exod. 29. & Lev. 8.] But some further apply this to the *Gospel-Ministry*: That the *Gospel-Ministry* is consecrated by the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.²⁰

Now the *Sacrifices of Consecration*, had Sundry *Rites* belonging to them, which were common to all the *Sacrifices*. These are elsewhere explained: and therefore, wee will here insist only on *those* that were more peculiar to *these*.

First, *All sorts of Sacrifices* were to bee offered; a *Sin-Offering*, a *Burnt-Offering*, and a *Peace-Offering*: To teach us, not only the Special Holiness, that should bee in such Persons, as were now concerned; but also the deepness of the Stain, & the Guilt of Sin, that required so many Expiations; and the compleat and perfect Cleansing that is afforded by the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Secondly, The *Order & Method* of the *Sacrifices* was observable; first the *Sin-Offering*, then the *Burnt-Offering*, then the *Peace-Offering*. Till *Sin* bee done away, all our Services are abominable; when wee have the Pardon of our *Sin*, then wee may offer up our whole Selves, as an *Holocaust*, fired by the Holy Spirit, unto the Service of God: Then will follow Thankfulness, in Assurance of our *Peace* with Heaven.

Thirdly; The *Blood* was to bee putt on the Tip of the *Right Ear*, the Thumb of the *Right Hand*, and the Great Toe of the *Right Foot*, of the Priests. To signify, that *Sanctification* must extend unto the *whole Man*. [1. Thess. 5.23.] There should bee in Spiritual *Priests*, a Sanctified *Ear*, to Abhor corrupt Communications, and Receive Holy Instructions; a Sanctified *Hand*, for Working, and *Foot*, for Walking, in the Wayes of God. It may bee also intimated, That the external Application of a Sacramental Sign, to some principal Part of the Body, is enough Significative of Universal Cleansing.

Lastly; *Moses* was to fill the Hand of the Priests, with certain Parts of the *Sacrifices*: which is the Reason why Consecration is called, *A Filling of the Hand*. Parts of the *Sacrifices*, were putt into their Hand, as a Symbol of their now being entrusted with the Work of *Sacrificing*. [Compare, Joh. 3.27, and 35.] Indeed no Man should undertake any Office, until the Lord *fill his Hand* with & committ it unto him.²¹

²⁰ Samuel Mather (523, 524). The Greek word τελειόω [LXX Exod. 29:33; Heb. 2:10] denotes "to make perfect, perfect, make complete." In the context of Heb. 2:10, τελειόω signifies "to make perfect through sufferings" (*LSJ*).

²¹ The preceding paragraphs are from Samuel Mather (525, 526).

Fourthly, The Last Thing, wherein the *Priests* were *Types*, was their *Priestly Ministration*. [Whereof see Num. 18.]²²

[61v] Their Work was, The Charge of the *Sanctuary*; and the *Altar*, with its *Vessels*, and the *Services* thereof. They were to *Bear the Iniquity of the Sanctuary*; that is, the Punishment of whatever should be done amiss therein. | Now, As the *Holy Vessels* were committed unto the *Priests*, thus the whole Church of God, with all the Graces, the Duties, the Comforts of it, are committed unto the Charge of the Lord Jesus Christ. [Joh. 3.35.]

As the *Priest*, was to order the *Sacrifices*; to Kill them, to Dress them, & Sprinkle the Blood of them; so did our Lord Jesus Christ, by the great Sacrifice of Himself. [Heb. 8.3.]²³

The *Priests* were to Light the *Seven Sacred Lamps* of the *Golden Candlestick*. Thus is the Church *Enlightened* by our Lord Jesus Christ. [Compare, Rev. 1.20.]

The *Priest* was to Burn Sweet *Incense* on the *Golden Altar*. This points us to the *Intercession* of our Lord Jesus Christ. [Compare, Rev. 8.3, 4.]

The *Priest* was to Set the *Shew-bread* on the Golden Table, before the Lord, every Sabbath. So does our Lord Jesus Christ, present the whole Number of His Elect before the Lord continually.

The *Priest* was to *Bless* the People in the Name of the Lord: And well hee might, when they had such Enjoyments. Thus does our Lord Jesus Christ *Bless* His People; [See Luk. 24.50. and Act. 3.26.]²⁴

Now there were Three Things, peculiar to the *High-Priest* above the rest.

Hee had a Superiority of *Jurisdiction*, over all the Ministers of the Sanctuary, Our Lord Jesus Christ, is in like Manner *Ἀρχιποιμην*, *The Cheef Shepherd*, unto the Church of God.²⁵

Hee was also cloathed with *Peculiar Garments* of *Beauty* and *Glory*. The Inferior Priests, had but Four Priestly Garments; Linnen-Drawers, and Coats, and Girdles, and Bonnets; But the High-Priest had a Breast-Plate, and an Ephod, a Robe, a Brodered Coat, a Mitre, and a Girdle, with the Urim & Thummim, and Precious Stones in his Breast-Plate, and on the Shoulders of his Ephod, and a Crown or Plate of Gold upon his Mitre. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, is *fairer than the Children of Men*.

Hee had a Third Prærogative, in His glorious Ministration on the *Great Day of Atonement*; when hee went, which none but *hee* might, into the most

²² Numb. 18:1. The sections are extracted from Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of the Ministrations of the Legal Ministry" (preached on Feb. 28, 1668), in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 527–40.

²³ Samuel Mather (528).

²⁴ Samuel Mather (529).

²⁵ 1 Pet. 5:4: *Ἀρχιποιμην* or "chief shepherd."

Holy Place. Our Lord Jesus Christ is accordingly entred into the *Holiest of all*. [See Heb. 9.12, 24.]²⁶

But wee are here to call unto Mind, That there was a Second Sort of *Temple-Officers*, namely, The *Levites*. The Lord sparing the *First-born* of *Israel*, when Hee slew the *First-born* of *Egypt*; Hee challenged the *First-born* to bee Sanctified unto Himself: but Hee afterwards took the *Levites* instead of the *First-born*. They became now Subordinate Ministers unto the *Priests*, in the *Outer* Administrations of the *Temple*; To the *Inner* Ones of the Sanctuary & the Altar, they were not Admitted; more particularly, They were to bear the *Tabernacle*, & all the Holy Vessels; (thus our Lord bears His Church:) But when the *Tabernacle* was changed into a *Temple*, that Service was at an End.²⁷

They were to Assist the *Priests*, in killing the Sacrifices, and what was præparatory to it.²⁸

In the Gospels of this, our Lord, who was the *Sacrifice*, was also *Priest* and *Levite*.

They were to *Teach* the People, in the Law of the Lord: & they were therefore dispersed among the Tribes. Our Lord still *Teaches* His People, by His Ministers.

They were to Judge Cause, & Determine Controversies. This points us to the *Discipline*, still to bee mentained in the Church.

They were to Sing the *Songs* of the *Temple*, and Manage the business of the *Temple-musick*. The Melody of the Grace & Joy of the Holy Spirit, answers it.

Some of them were *Treasurers*. [1. Chron. 26.20. –] Our *Deacons* are now our *Levites*.

Finally, others of them were *Porters*. They kept the Gates of the House of the Lord; They kept out the Unclean from Entring. As well guarded should bee the Gates of Gospel-Churches.²⁹

Lastly; A Third sort of *Temple-Officers*, were the *Nethinims*, or *Gibeonites*. [Whereof see Josh. 9.21, 23, 27.] They had Lodgings near the *Temple*, tho' their proper Dwellings were in their own Cities.

Their Work was to provide, & bring in *Water*, to the *Lavers*, and *Molten Sea*, and provide *Wood*, for the *Fire* of the *Altar*. The Time when they did it, seems to have been Early in the *Morning*, and Late at *Night*. And thus having Access into the Courts of the Temple, they came to see and know something of the Worship of the True God. Now, saies *David*, Psal. 84.10. *Better bee a Door-keeper in the House of God, than to dwell in the Tents of Wickedness*: Better bee

²⁶ Samuel Mather (530). Ps. 45:2.

²⁷ Samuel Mather (531).

²⁸ Samuel Mather (532).

²⁹ Samuel Mather (533).

but a *Gibeonite* in the Worship of the True God, than an High-Priest in the Temples of *Baal*.³⁰

But thus much for the *Gospel* of the *Levitical Priest-hood*. For which, and for that of the *Sacrifices*, I am very particularly indebted unto the Discourses, of my Uncle, Mr. *Samuel Mather*, on the *Types of the Old Testament*.³¹

Q. Had *Levi* a Stone with his Name on it, in the *Breast-Plate*, or no? v. 17.

A. Nay; who can tell?

If he had not, then *Ephraim* and *Menasseh* must be distinctly reckoned, as *Jacob* had said, they should be; And the *High-Priest* himself, being Head of the Tribe of *Levi*, sufficiently represented the Tribe. If there was a Stone for *Levi*, as tis intimated by That; They were *Engraven according to their Birth*; then *Ephraim* and *Menasseh* were one in *Joseph*.³²

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Q. It is a Direction given in that Paragraph where the Illustrious Habiliments of the *High-Priest*, are directed; *Thou shalt putt in the Breast-Plate of Judgment, the URIM, and the THUMMIM; and they shall be upon Aarons Heart, when he goes in before the Lord*. Now the *Question* is, What is the URIM, and THUMMIM? v. 30.³³

³⁰ Samuel Mather (534).

³¹ Here ends the excerpt from Samuel Mather's *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), pp. 493–534.

³² See the comments of Johannes Braunius (1628–1708), professor of theology at Groningen, who authored, בגדי כהנים *Id Est, De Vestitus Sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (1680), lib. 2, cap. 7, § 13, pp. 619–22 and lib. 2, cap. 20, § 25, p. 778.

³³ The question of the precise nature, function, and existence as physical objects of the oracle אֶת־הָאֲזִיזִים וְאֶת־הַתְּמִימִים “Urim and Thummim” divided theologians in Mather's time as much as it did the rabbinic commentators whose glosses embroider the *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (2:249–50). Literalists argue that the Urim and Thummim (Exod. 28:30, Lev. 8:8, Numb. 27:21, Deut. 33:8, 1 Sam. 28:6, Ezra 2:63, Neh. 7:65, Eccles. 45:20) are physical objects made from onyx and either inserted in the High-Priest's breastplate, or separate from, or identical with the twelve stones of the breastplate. Allegorists insist that the Urim and Thummim are not physical objects at all but symbolical representations of “truth, certainty, and integrity.” Yet others dismiss the debate altogether, insisting that the origin and meaning of *Urim* and *Thummim* are too obscure to be reliably determined. Today, the majority of modern scholars are persuaded that the Urim and Thummim were a type of lot oracle analogically to those among ancient Israel's neighbors. The best summary of the various positions until the end of the seventeenth century can be found in Matthew Poole's commentary on Exod. 28:30, in his magnificent *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:463–65) and *Works* (5:276–83). John Edwards's conservative discussion on Exod. 28:30, in *A Farther Enquiry into Several Remarkable Texts* (1692), pp. 45–80, presents an intriguing contrast. A valuable modern reexamination of the Urim and Thummim appears in Cornelis van Dam's *Urim and Thummim* (1997), esp. pp. 9–39.

A. And a great *Question* it is; nor may wee be very confident about an *Answer* to the *Question*, when we see such a *Jew* as *Kimchi* confessing, *Non Satis Expli-catum est apud nos, quid sint Urim & Thummim*: and such a *Christian* as *Munster* confessing, *Quales fuerint nemini mortalium constat*.³⁴

It is very clear, That the *Urim* and *Thummim*, were a certain *Oracle*, by Di-rections from which, the Lord exercised His *Government* over the Church and State of the *Israelitish Nation*, in the better Times of their *Theocracy*.

It seems plain, That they who consulted this *Oracle*, must be none but *Public Persons*; or, as in the *Talmud* (*Joma*. c. 7 in *Mischná*,) it is well observed; *Non consulebantur Urim et Thummim, nisi pro Rege, vel Patre Domus Judicij, vel alio quo Ecclesia opus habet*.³⁵

Nor might any Man bring the Case unto this *Oracle*, but a *Priest*; nor might every *Priest* putt on the Vestment whereto it belong'd, but one, *Super quo Spi-ritus Sanctus habitabat*, as the Jewish Writers inform us; and R. *Levi ben Gerson* in particular. Nay, it seems to have been a Prærogative peculiar unto the *High-Priest*, who alone might go in before the Lord, in the *Holy of Holies*, which is *Buxtorf's* Argument for that Opinion.³⁶

34 Kimchi's Latin translation is extracted from John Spencer's *Dissertatio de Urim & Thum-mim* (1669), cap. 4, sec. 1, § 6, p. 36. Spencer subsequently incorporated this dissertation as *Dissertatio Septima De Urim & Thummim*, in his magisterial *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, fols. 851–988. Hereafter, all citation references to *De Urim & Thummim* are to his 1685 edition of this work. Thus Mather's extracted passage appears in Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeo-rum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 3, sec. 1, § 6, fol. 864. Spencer's own vademecum is R. David Kimchi ספר השרשים *Sepher Haschoreschim, Liber Radicum* (1552), voce אור. My reference is to *Sepher Haschoreschim, Radicum Liber* (1847), p. 7, voce אור (col. 1). R. David Kimchi con-fesses, "It is not sufficiently explained among us what Urim and Thummim may be." Mun-ster adds, "What they may have been is agreed by no one among mortals." Spencer's citation (864) – here quoted by Mather – originates in Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), on Exod. 28, fol. 168, note (d).

35 The primary source text for this paragraph, as indeed for Mather's entire commentary on Exod. 28:30, is *De Historia Urim et Thummim*, in Johannes Buxtorf's *Exercitationes Ad Historiam* (1659), pars III, pp. 267–333. Mather's Latin quotation from the Talmud, tractate Yoma (71b) and the Mishna, tractate Yoma (7.5) originates in Buxtorf's *Historia Urim et Thummim*, cap. 3 (*Exercitationes*, p. 294) and reads, "The Urim and Thummim were not inquired of, but for the king, for the Court, or for one of whom the congregation had need" (*The Mishnah* 171). It is telling that Mather's Latin citation of Yoma (71b) is extracted from Buxtorf (p. 294) rather than from the variant Latin translation in John Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 1, sec. 2, fol. 857. See also *Tractatus de Die Expiationis* (7.5), in Surenhusius, סדר מועד [Seder Moed] sive *Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Festorum*, pars Altera (1699), fol. 248. On Christian Hebraism in the seventeenth-century, see S. G. Burnett, "Later Christian Hebraists" (785–801).

36 According to R. Levi Ben Gerson (Gersonides), as cited in Buxtorf's *Historia Urim & Thummim*, cap 3 (*Exercitationes Ad Historiam*, pars III, § 2, p. 295), only a priest "upon whom the Holy Spirit dwelled" could consult the oracle.

It is remarked by *Abarbenel*, *Requiritur ut Interrogatio* per Urim, *sit consilium quod spectet negotium totius populi, et non queritur de re particulari et privata alicujus Hominis*.³⁷

And this may a little help us to understand where the *Emphasis* of *Abimelechs* Purgation lies, when he pleads unto *Saul*, (1. Sam. 22.14, 15.) his Innocency from any Conspiracy with *David* against him. Would he have consulted the *Urim* for him, if he had not imagined him a Public Person, employ'd for & from the *King*? Or, would the *Urim* have answered him, if he had not been a Person, whom it was a Duty in the *High-Priest*, for to pay so much Respect unto, as to consult for him?³⁸

The Admirable *Buxtorf*, therefore lovingly corrects the Mistake of his dear Friend *Cuneus*; That it was *David* himself, who putt on the *Ephod*, and managed the Consultation for himself: tho' *Cuneus* be marvellously confident in it.³⁹

It was indeed upon all Accounts most agreeable, That it should be the Office and Honour of the *High-Priest* peculiarly, to Address this *Heavenly Oracle*. The Dignity of the *Oracle*, was thus præserted, & Men were kept from soliciting it, with such Curious, Trifling, Idle Quæstions, as those which the Impious Pagans did usually affront their Gods withal, and, (as *Lucretius* phrases it,) even *Sortes fatigare*.⁴⁰ This *Tree of Knowledge*, it was fitt should have a *Reverend Keeper*. And the Title of the *High-Priest* himself, was gloriously asserted and maintained, by the Confinement of the *Oracle* unto him. When *Moses* præferr'd his Kindred unto the *Priesthood*, we read in *Philo*, *Id Moses factum non caruit calumniâ*; the People Reproached him, *ως τους μεν χρησµους επιψευσµενου*, and as being too partial to his own Family. But the Grant of the Custody of this *Oracle* from Heaven unto them, was *their Vindication*, and Heavens Declaring on their

³⁷ Unlike in the preceding paragraph, Mather here prefers John Spencer's Latin translation of Abarbanel's commentary on Exod. 28 and Deut. 33, as provided in Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), fol. 857, to that in Buxtorf's *Historia Urim & Thummim*, cap. 3 (*Exercitationes*, p. 297), which is Spencer's acknowledged source. Spencer's Latin rendering of Abarbanel explains that "It is necessary that the questioning by means of Urim be a query concerning the business of the whole people, and it is not asked about the individual and private affair of any man." See also *Selected Commentaries. Shemos/Exodus* (2:361).

³⁸ Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), fol. 857. See also Hugo Grotius's comments on Exod. 28:30, in *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (*Opera* 1:56).

³⁹ Buxtorf, *Historia Urim & Thummim*, cap. 3 (*Exercitationes*, p. 296) "lovingly corrects" Petrus Cunaeus's confident interpretation, in *De Republica Hebraeorum Libri III* (1617), lib. 1, cap. 14, p. 132, that "recent translators have completely misinterpreted" the passage in 1 Sam. 30:7. Though "very learned," Cunaeus concedes, the translators here "seem to have dozed off or to have turned their attention to something else" (Cunaeus, *Hebrew Republic*, bk. 1, ch. 14, pp. 58–59).

⁴⁰ Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 6, sec. 1, fol. 961, here enlists evidence from *De Rerum Natura Libri Sex* (4.1239), where the Roman philosopher Titus Lucretius Carus (c. 99–c. 55 BCE) relates that infertile men and barren women "nequiqam divom numen sortisque fatigant" ("in vain they weary the gods' power and magic lots") with their burned offerings to find the cause of their sterility.

behalf.⁴¹ Hence *Diodorus Siculus*, mentions the Veneration, which the Jewes had, for their *High-Priest*, as under this Character; νομίζουνσιν αὐτον Ἀγγελον γίνεσθαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, *They look on him, as the Messenger of the Divine Oracles*.⁴² And that which after all, might have the Principal Influence upon this Matter, was, The Design of God, that the *High-Priest* should be a Type of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, our *Mediator*, who brings the *Will* of God unto us, as well as our *State* unto God. I am glad therefore to find, the learned *Spencer*, in the Midst of a thousand indefensible Things advanced by him, to assign this good Reason, for this Privilege of the *High-Priest*, *ut in eo Messiae imaginem saltem animae purgationes contemplari possent*.⁴³ And more glad I am, to find this Acknowledgment made by the most learned *Grotius*; [in Mat. 1.22.] *Deus in totâ priorum Temporum Oeconomîâ, Christum ejusque res gestas, ut pulcherrimam ac perfectissimam speciem perpetuò veluti ante oculos habens, cætera omnia ad illius instar effinxerit*.⁴⁴

Nevertheless as there were few or none of the *Mosaic Institutions*, which did not at some time or other, on extraordinary Occasions & Necessities, admitt of some *Dispensations*; *David* with his Company ate of the *Shew-bread*, when *Hunger* pressed them; and Godly *Israelites* often worshipped God in the *High Places*, and erected *Altars* far enough Distant from the *Tabernacle*; tho it had been otherwise Instituted: So it seems, as if *other Priests*, of an high Character, next unto the *High-Priest*, were allow'd in some extraordinary Circumstances, to consult the *Urim*. *Phinehas*, while his Father was yett *Living*, [Num. 31.6.] | seems to do it: For the *Holy Instruments* which he there carries to the *War*, are by the *Chaldee Paraphrase* reckoned the *Urim and Thummim*. Whether the *King* might not also be allow'd sometimes, this Access to the *Oracle* in his own Person; or whether

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⁴¹ Philo Judæus (*De Vita Mosis* 2.176.3–4) as quoted in Spencer (962) reads that “*Id Moses factum non caruit calumnia ... ὡς τοὺς μὲν χρησμοὺς ἐπιψευσαμένου*” or, “he, Moses, not without being falsely accused ... as if he had falsified the oracles of God” (*Works of Philo* 506). Spencer’s Latin quotation of Philo is from John Christopherson’s translation *Philonis Judæi, Summi Philosophi* (1561), Tom. Alter, *De Vita Mosis III* (63).

⁴² Spencer (lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 6, sec. 1, fols. 962–63) quotes *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca historica* 40.3.5.8) at second hand from Photius Constantinopolitanus (*Bibliotheca*, Codex 244, Bekker page 380b, lines 12–14): νομίζουνσιν αὐτοῖς ἄγγελον γίνεσθαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, or “they call this man the high priest, and believe that he acts as a messenger to them of God’s commandments.” (The erroneous “αὐτον,” which Mather copies from Spencer’s 1685 edition (fol. 963), is corrected as “αὐτοῖς” in the 1727 and all following editions of Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum*).

⁴³ Mather’s adapted passage praises Spencer (fol. 960, § 2) for his figural interpretation of the High Priest as a type of Christ: “so that in it [type] they might be able, at least as an image of the Messiah, to contemplate the purification of the soul.”

⁴⁴ The second-hand quotation (via Spencer 960) is adapted from Hugo Grotius’s commentary on Matth. 1:22, in *Annotationes in Quatuor Evangelica* (*Opera* 2.1:11), and reads, “In the entire management of former times, God fashioned Christ and His deeds, as if He had before his eyes perpetually the most beautiful and perfect model, and all other things according to the likeness of Him.”

so much may be gathered from *Sauls* not being Answered by the *Urim*, [1. Sam. 28.6.] I cannot say.⁴⁵

Indeed, tho' this *Oracle* might be granted unto the *Israelitish* Nation, for their Conduct in other Affayrs of *Weight*, yett the Affayrs of *War* do seem those, for which it was most eminently designed. You find this Observation confirmed, in the most Usual Application of this *Oracle*, mention'd in the Sacred Pages. This may be the Reason, why the *Oracle* of the *Urim* and *Thummim* was appointed, besides that which was heard, in Matters of Importance, from the *Mercy-Seat* upon the *Ark*, in the *Tabernacle*. The *Tabernacle* could not so well follow the *Camp*. And from this also may be suggested unto us a Reason, why we don't find *Solomon* so frequently consulting the *Oracle* of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, as we do his Father *David*. The Reign of *Solomon* was extremely *Peaceable*.

It is observable, that from the *Dayes of Joshua*, to the *Dayes of Solomon*, there was more frequent Recourse to the *Urim* for Direction, and less to the *Prophets*, mentioned. Yea, tis the Opinion, of Dr. *Spencer*, That in the *Dayes of Solomon*, this *Oracle* gave up the Ghost, and left the World. The Nation was more immediately under the *Government* of God, (who by this *Oracle* managed very much of His visible & glorious *Government*;) while God chose their *Judges* and their *Princes*. But when *Solomon* came to sitt upon the Throne, the Kingdome was become *Hæreditary*; and the *Government* which had been more immediately in the Hands of *God*, was now putt into the Hands of *Men*; and by the *Votes* of *Men* too, was it wrested into such Hands. *Abiathar* could hardly have been seduced into the Crime of High Treason, against *Solomon*, if the *Oracle* had not now been silent. And after this, if *Hilkiah* the *High-Priest*, want information about the State and Fate of the Kingdome, not the *Oracle*, but the *Prophetess*, must be his Adviser.⁴⁶

This is well-known; The *Hebrew Doctors* do generally agree, That the *Urim* were one of the *Five Things* wanting in the *Second Temple*. They, as well as *Josephus*, tell the Story, of the *High-Priest* confessing thus much unto *Alexander*, when he would have learnt by him, the Success of his Expedition into *Persia*.⁴⁷ Among other Passages in the *Talmuds* to this Purpose, This is one; *Ex quo vastata est Domus Sanctuarij prioris, cessarunt civitates Refugij, Urim et Thummim, et Rex de Domo Davidis*.⁴⁸ And *Abarbenel* gives this Reason for it; Because all the

⁴⁵ Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 3, sec. 13, fol. 979.

⁴⁶ John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, cap. 7, fols. 975–78, argues that the oracular *Urim* and *Thummim* ceased in *Solomon's* time, and fully agrees with the conclusion of Johannes Buxtorf's *Exercitationes ad Historiam* (1659), pp. 154–56.

⁴⁷ Flavius Josephus relates (*Antiquities* 11.8.5) that when Jaddua, the high priest at Jerusalem, showed Alexander the Great Daniel's prophecy [Dan. 7:6; 8:3–8, 20–22; 11:3] that "one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians," the Greek conqueror believed he "himself was the person intended." The rest is history.

⁴⁸ Mather's citation from the Talmud, tractate Sota (48b) appears in a Latin translation in Johannes Buxtorf's *Historia Urim et Thummim*, cap. 5, in *Exercitationes* (1659), pp. 321–22. It

Twelve Tribes of Israel were not in their own Land, all the Time of the *Second Temple*, but still detained in their *Assyrian Captivity*. Now, it is the Observation of a learned Man, That the Names of the *Twelve Tribes* written upon the Gems of the *Ephod*, intimated who they were, that had a Claim to the Benefit of this Renowned *Oracle*. And it is a good Note of *Buxtorf*, That the failing of this *Oracle*, was to signalize the Approach of the Time, when the *Messiah*, the *Sun of Righteousness* was to arise unto the World; and, I may add, perhaps to increase the Thirsty Desires of the Faithful after His Appearing.⁴⁹

But the main Difficulty before us, is, what were the *Urim* and *Thummim*?

Now, in the first Place, I do with much Distaste *Reject* the Opinion of *Spencer*, which is in the Main, the same with what was advanced by *Christophorus à Castro*, and which he has with a vast Variety of Reading and Learning Improved:⁵⁰ And because I *Reject* it, I will not so much as *Translate* it, but give it unto you in his own Words. As for the *Urim*, he saies; *Urim Instrumentum concavum decorè fabricatum (simulacrum forsan parvulum ad humanam similitudinem formatum) Theraphim antiquitus appellatum, fuisse videtur; quod reconditum gestavit Sacerdos, intrà concavas Rationalis plicaturas, quo mediante, Deus, aut Angelus, illius vice et Nomine, ad Pontificis interrogata respondit, eumque quid ex usu esset agere, quid non agere, quid præsens, quid futurum, voce formata docuit.* (c. 4. s. 2.) And again; *Facile in eam venio sententiam, veterem à Theraphim oracula petendi ritum, Deum in pectoralis Urim, penè invariaturum Israelitis reservasse, adeoque Judæorum Urim ejusdem cum Theraphim muneris et figuræ fuisse, sub diverso tamen nomine imagunculam.*⁵¹

reads, “When the first Temple was destroyed, [...] the Urim and Thummim ceased, there was no more a king from the House of David” (Soncino Talmud, tractate Sota 48b). However, Maimonides in *Hilchot K’Lei Hamikdash Vibaovdim Bo* (10.10) insists that “In the Second Temple, they made the *Urim* and the *Tumim* [sic] to complete the eight garments [of the High Priest] even though inquiry was not made of them.” Why not? “Because the Holy Spirit was not vested there. And whenever a priest does not speak with the Holy Spirit and the Divine Presence does not rest there, inquiry is not made” (*Mishneh Torah* 29:210).

⁴⁹ The Latin translation of R. Abarbanel’s annotations on the Urim and Thummim appears in Buxtorf’s *Exercitationes* (1659), pp. 322–23. The debunking of the oracles in the early Enlightenment, see F. E. Manuel’s excellent *Eighteenth Century* (pp. 41–53).

⁵⁰ The Spanish Jesuit theologian Christophorus à Castro Ocaniensis, aka. Cristobal de Castro (1551–1615), professor of sacred literature at the University of Complutense and Salamanca, appears to speculate about the pagan origin of the Mosaic oracle in his *Commentariorum in Duodecim Prophetas Libri Duodecim* (1615), lib. 3 “De Prophetia seu de vera futurorum prae-cognitorum praedictione,” cap. 3, pp. 41–43. De Castro’s detailed analysis of pagan oracles, esp. in bk. 1 “De Vaticinio Naturali,” and bk. 2 “De Artificio Vaticano Genere, id est de Divinatione” (pp. 1–38), pursues at its core a demythologizing objective similar to the one which govern – decades later – John Spencer’s entire *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685). Hence Mather’s protest.

⁵¹ Mather here quotes from the French theologian Philippus Riboudealdus Cabilonen-sis (fl. 1650–1700), whose *Sacrum Dei Oraculum Urim & Thummim* (1685), vociferously attacks Spencer’s *Dissertatio De Urim & Thummim in Deuteron. v. 33. v. 8* (1669). [The revised version of Spencer’s 1669 *Dissertatio* was republished in Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3,

As for the *Thummim*, (tho' the Bible sometimes mentioning *Urim* without *Thummim*, [Num. 27.21. & 1. Sam. 28.6.] implies that they were the same,) *Spencer* distinguishes it from the *Urim*; and because he finds in *Ælian*, and in *Diodorus*, That the *High Priest* among the *Ægyptians* wore a *Sapphire*, hanging at his Collar, which was called, Ἀληθεια; and he finds that Ἀληθεια is the Name [63r] which the LXX putt upon the *Thummim*, he therefore concludes, *Probè norunt | eo Interpretes, imaginem Thummim dictam, de Pontificis Judaici cervice pendentem, à Pontificis Ægyptiaci simulachro Ἀληθεια dicto, originem accepisse.* (c. 4. s. 12.)⁵²

This harsh, and hard, (and I may say, *Horrid*) Opinion of *Spencers*, is well confuted, by a learned Foreigner, one *Philippus Riboudealdus*, in a Book printed in *Geneva*, 1685.⁵³ unto whom I refer you, if you want further Satisfaction. But what needs it, when we shall find an Abundant Confutation of it, in the express Words of God unto *Israel*; *After the Doings of the Land of Egypt, wherein yee dwelt, shall yee not do: And after the Doings of the Land of Canaan, whither I bring you, yee shall not do; neither shall yee walk in their Ordinances:*⁵⁴ Whereas this unhappy Scholar employes a vast Learning, to make the *Urim* and *Thummim*, (that illustrious Oracle) with which the God of Heaven distinguished His ancient People,

diss. 7, fols. 851–988]. In his *Sacrum Dei Oraculum Urim & Thummim* (1685), pp. 6–7 (here quoted by Mather), Riboudealdus loosely paraphrases, rather than quotes, from *Spencer's Dissertatio* (1669), cap. 4, sec. 2, pp. 40–41 (*De Legibus Hebraeorum* [1685], lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 3, sec. 2, p. 866). At any rate, Mather's lengthy second-hand citation from *Spencer*, by way of Riboudealdus (pp. 6–7), signifies, "Called in ancient times Theraphim, the Urim seems to have been an hollowed instrument elegantly made (perhaps a very small effigy, shaped in a human likeness), which the priest wore hidden within the hollow folding of the oracular breastplate, with which mediating, God, or an angel, answered the questions of the High-Priest after His manner and name, and taught him with a composed voice what to do to best advantage, what not to do, what was the present, and what the future." And again, "I come easily into that opinion, regarding the ancient practice of seeking prophecies from the Theraphim, that God had reserved unto Urim of the breastplate almost without change for the Israelites, and so the Jews' Urim had been of the same function and figure as the Theraphim, a little copy yet under a different name."

⁵² Mather's references to the Roman rhetorician *Claudius Aelianus* (*Varia historia* 14.34.3–8) and to the Greek historian *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.48.6.6–7; 1.75.4.4–6.1) appear in *Spencer's Dissertatio De Urim & Thummim* (1669), cap. 4, sec. 12, p. 205, and in *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 4, sec. 1, fols. 923, 924. The Greek noun ἀλήθεια (LXX, Ps. 56:11) generally signifies "truth, truthfulness," and "righteousness." Mather's second-hand Latin quote from Riboudealdus's *Sacrum Dei Oraculum* (pp. 164, 165) is adapted from *Spencer's Dissertatio de Urim & Thummim* (1669), cap. 4, sec. 12, p. 208. See also *Spencer's De Legibus* (1685), p. 925, cap. 4, sec. 2. *Spencer* concludes from the functional similarity between the Greek ἀλήθεια, the Egyptian Theraphim, and the Israelite Urim, "The interpreters rightly knew thereby that the figurine called Thummim, hanging from the neck of the Jewish High-Priests, had received it origin from the figure known as Ἀληθεια [Truth] belonging to the Egyptian high-priests."

⁵³ This reference is to the above-mentioned *Philippus Riboudealdus*, whose *Sacrum Dei Oraculum* (1685) attacks *Spencer's* heterodox analysis of the Mosaic Urim and Thummim – onyx stones in a lot oracle, which *Spencer* links to analogical Egyptian and pagan oracles.

⁵⁴ Lev. 18:3.

to be *Their Ordinances*, or the Diabolical Ordinances of the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites*, Imitated and Continued by the Holy *Angels* of Heaven. *Maimonides* utters more Christianity, than this Gentleman, when he asserts, *That the Jewish Rites, præscribed that People by God, were not an imitation of the Pagan Rites, but were in absolute Opposition to them.*⁵⁵ And *Riboudealdus* makes it very sensible to his Readers, That the *Teraphim* (whereof he thinks, *Terah* might be the first Inventor,) were not the same with the *Seraphim*, or, with the *Urim*; and that it is much more likely, the *Gentiles* (and particularly the *Egyptians*, in the Case of *Αληθεια*, especially after the Translation of the LXX.) did imitate the *Israelites* in these Matters, than that the *Israelites* did imitate the *Gentiles*, or that (which – *horresco referens*,) Heaven did Ape the *Divel*.⁵⁶

We will pass to some further Conjectures.

And here, I will not insist upon that famous one, That the *Urim* and *Thummim*, were the *Twelve Stones* in the *Breast-Plate* of the *High-Priest*, great Numbers of learned Men, have subscribed unto this *Doctrine* of the *Talmud*.⁵⁷ But *Moses* evidently makes the *Urim* and *Thummim* distinct from the *Stones*. And tho' the Doctors go on with telling us, That a *more than ordinary Shine* of the *Stones*, was

⁵⁵ In his *Guide of the Perplexed* (3.32.525–31 and 3.46.581–91), *Maimonides* rationalizes the similarity between pagan (Sabian/Zabian) and the Mosaic rites by arguing that God accommodated the Israelites' fondness for the pagan rites of their Egyptian overlord and allowed their practice to continue as long as these rituals and sacrifices were now transferred to the true God. Through this "gracious ruse" (3.32.526), God enabled the Israelites to overcome their hankering for the fleshpots of Egypt and gradually to wipe out the memory of their pagan origin by employing their accustomed rituals in the service of the God of Israel. See especially *Maimonides's De Idololatria Liber* (1641), translated by Dionysius Vossius. On the topic of accommodationism, see J. Elukin's "Maimonides," F. Parente's "Spencer," and R. Smolinski's "Eager Imitators."

⁵⁶ See *Riboudealdus* (39, 43–44, 101–02, 138, 144, 200–01, *et passim*). Mather and his peers are indeed appalled by Spencer's "dreadful proposition" that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were not bestowed upon Moses by God but were borrowed from analogical oracles of the Israelites' pagan neighbors – as if God aped the devil's devices, Mather remonstrates. In fact, a veritable cottage industry seemed to have sprung up in the seventeenth century to prove that the remarkable resemblances between pagan and Israelite rituals arose from the gentiles' envious practice of imitating Israel's glorious religion. Theophilus Gale's enormous *Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78), Gerardus Johannes Vossius's colossal *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), and Pierre-Daniel Huet's huge *Demonstratio Evangelica Ad Serenissimum Delphinum* (1679) – all asserting Mosaic primacy – are foremost examples of this type of anxiety of influence. The early theologian of the Alexandrian school, Clemens Alexandrinus, is the likely origin of such claims (*Stromata* 1.21–29; 2.5, 18, 22; 5.14; 6.3–5). See also A. J. Droge's *Homer or Moses?*

⁵⁷ See Appendix A. Exod. 28:30. Among those who insisted that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were identical to the twelve stones on the High-Priest's breastplate were Buxtorf, Fagius, Oleaster, Rivet, Osiander, Lippomanus, and Brentius, in *Poole (Synopsis Criticorum* 1:463) and *Works* (5:277) and R. Asariah ben Moses dei Rossi (c 1513–78), in Buxtorf's *Historia Urim et Thummim*, cap. 2 (*Exercitationes* 293–94) and in Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 2, fol. 861. The Talmud, tractate Yoma (21b) and Mishnah in Yoma (71b, 72b) do not clearly distinguish the breastplate from the *Urim* and *Thummim*. See also C. van Dam's *Urim and Thummim* (1997).

the Way of receiving Answers from this *Oracle*, (which is also intimated by *Josephus*, and *Suidas* quotes more particular Curiosities, about the *Change of Colour* in the *Stones*,) we find such Answers given sometimes, as could not be expressed this Way.⁵⁸ They proceed therefore, to tell us, That the *Letters of the Names* engraven in the *Stones*, did so distinguish themselves, in the *Shine*, upon Consultation, as being putt together to make up the *Answers* of the *Questions* proposed.⁵⁹ But because *all the Letters* of the Hebrew Alphabet, were not contained in those Names, they have a fancy, that, the Names of, *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, were added, and these words /שבטי יה/ *The Tribes of the Lord*; and so there was a full Alphabet.⁶⁰ But all this is *Rabbinical Fagment*! Nor is the Notion of *Procopius* among the Ancients, & *Arias Montanus* among the Moderns, about finding the *Urim* and *Thummim* in the *Two Stones*, distinct from the *Twelve*, any better.⁶¹

I will only offer you, as fairly, but as briefly as may be, the Opinions of Three Authors; from which you may take your Choice, as you please.

The First Author, that shall bespeak your Attention, shall be Dr. *John Edwards*, who has written, *An Enquiry*, upon this Matter.⁶²

⁵⁸ Spencer (*De Legibus* [1685], lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 3, sec. 11, fol. 907) cites Suidas, *Lexicon* (alphab. *epsilon*, entry 3959, line 1) and Josephus Flavius. Josephus relates that the Urim and Thummim made from sardonyx “shined out when God was present at their sacrifices” with a splendor “not before natural to the stone” (*Antiquities* 3.8.9; see also 3.7.5). For much the same see Buxtorf, *Historia Urim et Thummim*, cap. 6 (*Exercitationes*, p. 334). That the nature, function, and origin of this Mosaic oracle divided rabbinic scholars and post-Reformation divines alike can be seen in Poole’s lengthy discussion on Exod. 28:30, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:463–65) and *Works* (5:276–83). See also “Urim and Thummim,” in *CBTEL* (10:676–79).

⁵⁹ See Rabbi Asariah, in *Meor Enajim* (cap. 46 and 50), in Buxtorf’s *Exercitationes* (281–82).

⁶⁰ According to the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yoma (73b), R. Johanan believed that the Hebrew letters of the Twelve Tribes, inscribed on the twelve stones of the breastplate, would spell out messages by projecting outward from the breastplate. Not easily convinced, Resh Lakish objected that in that case the Hebrew letter צ [tzade] would still be missing to make the alphabet complete. Perhaps to supply this want, R. Samuel ben Isaac opined that the Hebrew letters for the patriarchs אברהם [Abraham], יצחק [Isaac], and יעקוב [Jacob] were inserted as well. However, in that case the letter ט [teth] would still be missing. At last, R. Aha ben Jacob solved this problem, insisting that the phrase “The ‘tribe’ of Jeshurun” was also contained – the Hebrew word for “tribe” מטה [matteh] (Strong’s # 4294) supplying that want (Soncino Talmud, Yoma 73b). For much the same, see Buxtorf’s *Historia Urim et Thummim*, cap. 4 (*Exercitationes* 309) and Riboudealdus’s *Sacrum Dei Oraculum* (1685), pp. 235–36.

⁶¹ The Spanish RC orientalist Benito Arias Montanus (1527–98), much esteemed for his work on the Antwerp Polyglot, i.e., Christopher Plantin’s fine imprint of the *Biblia Polyglotta* (1568–73), insists that the Urim and Thummim were distinct from the twelve stones of the high-priest’s breastplate, in Montanus, *Antiquitatum Judaicarum Libri IX* (1593), lib. 6, pp. 102–06. The Christian rhetorician Procopius Gazaecus (c. 465–528) mentions the Urim, or ἀληθία [Aletheia] (Exod. 28:30, LXX) innumerable times in his *Catena in Canticum canticorum* [PG 087.2. 1545–1753] and in *Commentarii in Isaiam* [PG 087.2. 1817–2717].

⁶² Mather’s trusty vademecum is John Edwards’s conservative *A Farther Enquiry into Several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New Testament* (1692), “The Second Text enquired into, viz. Exod. 28.30,” pp. 45–80.

He supposes, That the *Urim* and *Thummim*, were *No Things* at all, but only *Words*; and particularly those Two Words, /אורים/ and /תמים/ engraved on the *Breast-Plate* of the *High-Priest*.⁶³ This, he thinks, is agreeable to the Expression, *Thou shalt putt them in the Breast-Plate*. In the Original tis, *Thou shalt give in the Breast-Plate*. Now, there are Instances enough, to show, *Giving*, a Phrase to signify *Writing*. [Ponder, Esth. 3.14. and Jer. 31.33. and Heb. 8.10, & 10.16.]⁶⁴ And we read of this very Thing done in the *Pontifical Habiliments*; when, HOLINESS TO THE LORD, was *Written* on the Plate, worn on the *Forehead* of the *High-Priest*. Why may not This on the *Breast-Plate*, be of the same Nature with that of the *Head-Plate*?⁶⁵ Since we have only the *bare Names* of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and no Directions about *Preparing* them, when we see the Inspired Historian so punctual in all the other Ornaments of the *High-Priest*, he thinks, it is a broad Hint of their being but *Bare Names*; and he argues it further, from *Josephus's* not saying a Word of them, when he spends a whole Chapter, in his *Antiquities*, upon the *Sacerdotal Garments*.⁶⁶ He finds in old *Cyril of Alexandria*, a Shrow'd Hint, that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were only γραφή εν μικρῳ πινακίῳ *An Inscription in a small Table*; and *he* was a Man very sagacious in finding out the Mysteries of the Scripture;⁶⁷ And he finds this Opinion countenanced by something in *Austin*, in *Procopius*, in *Philo*, of old; and of late, in *Salianus*, in *Bellarmino*, in *Haye*, and especially in A Lapide.⁶⁸ But how the *Answers* were made by these *Written Words*, all he saies, is, *I am not sollicitous to Resolve you*. And tho' *Edwards* do not mention it himself, but seem fond of his Opinion as a Novelty very much his own, yett I will here mention it for him, That others have conjectured the *Urim* | and *Thummim*, to have been only the *Words* written [63v]

63 Edwards, *Farther Enquiry* (1692), p. 61. The two Hebrew words are *Urim* and *Thummim*.

64 Edwards (63).

65 Edwards (64).

66 Edwards (67, 68, 69). His reference is to Josephus's discussion (*Antiquities* 3.7.1–7) of the priest's garments.

67 Edwards (73) quotes Bishop Cyril of Alexandria's *De Adoratione et Cultu in Spiritu et veritate*, ἐν μικρῷ πινακίῳ γραφὴν [PG 068. 0741, line 30], which can be rendered, "An inscription in a small table."

68 Edwards (74) refers to St. Augustine, on Exod. 28:30, in *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum Libri Septem* (lib. 2, quaest. 117) [PL 034. 637]; Procopius Gazaecus, *Descriptio imagines* (17, lines 15–17); and Philo Judaeus, *Legum Allegoriae* III.40–42.119–124 (*Works* 63–64). The German Jesuit theologian Jacobus Salianus (1557–1640) reviews the nature of the *Urim* and *Thummim* in his *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Veteris Testamenti epitome* (1664), "Moyses et Aaron" (237). The great Roman Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) has much to say on the meaning of this Mosaic oracle in his *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei Adversus huius temporis haereticos* (1721) 1:452 (3.4.38). The Scottish Jesuit John Hay (1546–1618), professor of theology at Torun (Poland), authored several works, including his polemic against his Lutheran and Calvinist peers, in *Disputationum Libri Duo* (1584). The Flemish Jesuit theologian Cornelius à Lapide (1567–163), professor of exegesis at Leuven and Rome, covers the topic in great detail in his commentary on Exod. 28:30, in his *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosis* (1616), pp. 546–49.

somewhere about the *Breast-Plate*, for to signify, That the *High-Priest* having his *Ephod* on, was endued from on High, with a *Clara Doctrina*, and a *Perfecta Veritas*, about those things whereupon there was Council asked of the Lord. You'll find it in *Jansenius*, in *Tirinus*, and in *Sherlog*.⁶⁹

But saies my *Riboudealdus*, *Hoc Frigidum et Parum Verisimile videtur*. He shall therefore be the *next Author* that shall entertain you; and we will see whether *he* do any better.⁷⁰

He brings a Conjecture, which perhaps no *Christian*, hee saies, except *Nic. Fuller* has espoused;⁷¹ (I suppose, he forgot *Vatablus*, & *Fagius*, & *Avenarius*, who, at least, say pretty much of what he does;⁷²) but he finds it embraced by the very ancient Author of the Book *Zohar*, and several celebrated *Jewes*, who are also quoted by *Buxtorf*.⁷³ It is, That the *Urim* and *Thummim*, were the *Four-Lettered Name* יהוה putt within the Folds of the *Breast-Plate*, thro' the Influences

69 According to Riboudealdus (234), the high priest, upon wearing his Ephod, was endowed with "Pure Doctrine" and "Perfect Truth." To second this affirmation (Exod. 28:30), Mather (via Riboudealdus 234) enlists the authority of the RC bishop of Ypres Cornelius Jansenius (1585–1638), in his *Pentateuchus, sive Commentarius in Quinque Libros Moyses* (1641), pp. 332–33; of the Italian Jesuit Jacobus Tirinus (1580–1636), in his *Commentarius in Vetus et Novi Testamenti* (1632), tomus 1, lib. 1, p. 197; and of the Spanish Jesuit Paulus Sherlog [Sherlock] (1596–1646), whose discussion on the High-Priest's Ephod appears in *Antiquitatum Hebraicarum Dioptra* (1651), lib. 1, diss. 4, sec. 14, pp. 168–72.

70 Mather's citation from Riboudealdus (234) to express his displeasure: "This similarity seems cold and too unlikely."

71 Riboudealdus (240) here enlists Nicholas Fuller, *Miscellaneorum Theologicorum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 172.

72 Mather's parenthetical reference is to Franciscus Vatablus's commentary on Exod. 28:30 as extracted in John Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (1660), 1:646–48; to the Lutheran theologian and Hebraist Paulus Fagius (1504–49) at Strasbourg and Cambridge on the same chapter and verse in *Critici Sacri* (1660), 1:638–43; and to Johannes Avenarius, aka. Johann Habermann (1516–90), German Lutheran professor of Oriental languages at Wittenberg and subsequently Lutheran superintendent in Sachse-Anhalt. Among his numerous works is his esteemed ספר השרשים: *hoc est, Liber radicum seu Lexicon Ebraicum* (1589). His etymological derivation of Urim אורים is defined on fols. 13, 14 (*voce* אור).

73 Although Riboudealdus (240–41) does not specify any particular Zohar passage he has in mind, Buxtorf does so in his *Historia Urim et Thummim*, cap. 2 (*Exercitationes* 279–80), who quotes Zohar on (Exodus, fol. 105, col. 4) and a number of rabbinic commentators. According to the Soncino Zohar, Shemoth, sec. 2 (vol. 2:234*b*), on Exod. 28:30, "The term 'Urim' (lit. light, illumination) signifies the luminous speculum, which consisted of the engraving of the Divine Name composed of the forty-two letters by which the world was created; whereas the Thummim consists of the non-luminous speculum made of the Divine Names as manifested in the twenty-two letters. The combination of the two is thus called Urim and Thummim. Observe that by the power of these sunken letters were the other letters, namely, the raised letters forming the names of the tribes, now illumined, now darkened. The letters of the Divine Name [Tetragrammaton] embrace the mystery of the Torah, and all the worlds are a projection of the mystery of those letters" (*Zohar*, Shemoth 2, page 234*b*; see also pp. 230*a* and 230*b*; (bracketed insertions added). The foundational work of Jewish Kabbalah and mysticism, ספר הזוהר *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*Book of Splendor*) was attributed to R. Shimon bar Yochai (2nd c. CE), but is now believed to be authored by the Sephardic Kabbalist Moshe ben Shem-Tov, aka. Moses de León (c. 1250–1305), and first printed in Mantua (1558). On the changing fortunes of the Zohar as

whereof, the *High-Priest* had Secret and Future Matters Reveled unto him. And now, saies he, *Hæc Sententia meo Judicio propius vero consonat.*⁷⁴ He thinks indeed, That the *Instrument* on which this Name was written, is *unknown*, but that it was delivered unto *Moses* by the Hand of God, Himself, and the Name also written by the *Hand* of God. It was lodged, he thinks, in the *Breast-Plate* of the *High-Priest*; which the *High-Priest* putting on, with Humble Addresses to God for *Light* and for *Truth*, in important Concerns before him, and fixing his Eyes devoutly hereupon as a *Sacrament*, God Irradiated his Mind, with infallible Operations of His Holy Spirit, and Enabled him to *Know* and *Speak* the Will of Heaven.⁷⁵

I will not here bring you the Arguments which this Gentleman ha's to confirm his Opinion; because most, or chief of them, are coincident, with what I find in *Samuel Mather*, when he comes to handle this Matter, in his Book of *The Types*; (Many Years before him.)⁷⁶

He therefore shall be the *Third Author*, to whom we will Address ourselves. And he, tho' he treat the subject with a suitable Modesty, as *being of more Difficulty and Controversy, than any other Peece of all the Pontifical Attire*, yett he surprizes us in diverse Points, with what looks little short of *Demonstration*.⁷⁷

First, He thinks, Tis evident, That the *Urim* and *Thummim* were Visible and external *Materials*: (and not meer *Allegories*, as you know who would make them.)⁷⁸ The Tenor of Speech in the Text, is full of Evidence, for this; and so is the Intimation of the Loss of these *Materials* in the *Babylonish* Captivity. Nevertheless, He thinks, that they were not Things præpared by the *Workmen*, as the rest of the *Holy Garments* were; but some Sacred & Secret Monuments given

a sacred book between the 13th and 17th centuries, see B. Huss, "Sefer ha-Zohar as a Canonical, Sacred and Holy Text" (257–307).

74 Riboudealdus (245) mentions the mystical signification of the Tetragrammaton (as does his source, Buxtorf's *Historia Urim* 284) and concludes, "This opinion is truly more in keeping with my judgment" (Riboudealdus 241).

75 Riboudealdus (241–42, 247–48), following Rashi (*Chumash: Shemos* 2:449), judges that the Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton were carved on the Urim and Thummim, not by craftsman – as in the case of the twelve stones on the breastplate, which bore the names of the twelve tribes – but by "a secret transmitted by the Almighty to Moses, and he wrote them in holiness." The Urim and Thummim "were thus of heavenly origin, and therefore they are referred to without any specification and with the definite article" (Nachmanides, on Exod. 28:30, in *Commentary* 2:481).

76 The first edition of Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* was published in Dublin (Ireland), in 1683.

77 Cotton Mather refers to his uncle's sermon "Gospel of the Priest's Holy Garment" (preached Feb. 7, 11, 14, 1668), in Samuel Mather, *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 509–11.

78 Samuel Mather may have in mind Philo Judæus (*Legum Allegoriae*, III.40.119–20), who interprets the Urim and Thummim as a "manifestation and truth . . . in the oracle of judgment," the high-priest's breastplate. However, this "oracle" means nothing more than "the organs of speech which exit in us, which is in fact the power of language." Thus Moses intended nothing more than "a well-judged and carefully examined oracle," a well approved language containing "two supreme virtues, namely, distinctness and truth" (*Works* 63–64).

immediately unto *Moses* by God Himself. This he infers, because there is no Direction at all given for the making of them, as there is for all the *Garments*. He thinks, That the Answer, which God gave herewithal, was (at least sometimes, 1. Sam. 23.11, 12.) by an *Audible Voice*; perhaps, by speaking with an *Audible Voice*, from the *Mercy-Seat*, unto the *High-Priest* appearing with the *Urim* and *Thummim* about him. Yett he grants, that God might sometimes answer, with immediate *Inspirations* and *Irradiations* upon the Spirit of the *High-Priest*, Rev-eling His Mind unto him upon his humble Enquiries after it. He thinks, That *Urim*, signifying, *Illuminations*, and *Thummim* signifying *Perfections*, may be ap-plied unto the Excellencies, which are to adorn the *Evangelical Ministry*; as also, that *Faith* and *Holiness*, which is essential to Christianity: But that all pointed unto the Lord Jesus Christ, our great *High-Priest*, in whom *Light* and *Grace* are at the Highest, and from whom we have the True *Oracles* of God. The True *Urim* and *Thummim* are in *His Pectoral*! And the Loss of the *Urim* and *Thum-mim* under the *Second Temple*, he thinks was to præpare the People of God, for the Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.⁷⁹

Thus, tho' Dr. Gell writing on *Leviticus*, have seen cause to say, *To define what the Urim and Thummim were, is none of my Business, nor indeed dare I at-tempt, that which hath puzzled all the learned Men in the World*; yett we could not pass thro' *Exodus*, without this *Illustration*, which presents to your Choice, a Variety of Thoughts upon this Noble Subject.⁸⁰

It may be worth our while, to add a Touch of Dr. *Mores*, upon the *Urim* and *Thummim*? His Words are these, "*Teraphim* and *Seraphim* being the same Words, & signifying the same that *Urim*, viz. *Ignes Splendentes*;⁸¹ and the *Tera-phem* and *Ephod*, tho' at first used lawfully by the ancient Patriarchs, being after perverted into an Idolatrous Way of Divination by the Heathen, whereby these Names may seem to have contracted a Pollution as to this Use, therefore *Urim* was putt in lieu of *Teraphim*, or *Seraphim*, denoting *Angels*, who are of a *Fiery* Nature. But now, being several *Bad Angels*, as well as *Good*, are so, *Thummim* is added, to denote their *Holiness*. [Compare, Dan. 4.13, 17.] *Urim* and *Thum-mim* are the Holy *Angels* of God, of whom the *Cherubim* over the Ark, were the Symbolical Presence; & from betwixt them He gave His Answers, when He was consulted by *Moses*, whence that most Holy Place, was called, דביר/ *Dabir*,

79 Samuel Mather, *Figures* (1705), pp. 510, 511, agrees with Rashi's account that "During the era of the second *Beis Hamikdosh* [Second Temple] there was a breastplate ... but that Name [Tetragrammaton inscribed on the Urim and Thummim] was not within it" (*Chumash/Sh-emos* 2:449).

80 Robert Gell, on Lev. 8:8, in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 259(e).

81 The Hebrew noun אֹרִיִּם [*Urim*] signifies "lights" (Strong's # 0224); hence "*Ignes Splen-dentes*," a "glittering" or "bright fire." For Dr. Henry More's discussion of the Teraphim, see his *A Modest Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity* (bk. 1, ch. 6), in *Theological Works* (400–401).

which signifies *Loquutorium*;⁸² As the High-Priests *Breast-Plate*, is translated λογείον, from, λογος, *Verbum*, because the Answer, or Oracular Word, was heard from betwixt the *Urim* and *Thummim* in the *Breast-Plate* as well as from betwixt the *Cherubim* in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*. That was the larger *Dabir*, but *Aarons* *Breast-Plate*, the lesser *Dabir*. In all Likelihood, the *Urim* & *Thummim*, were no other Shapes, than those of the *Cherubim*; nor were they διττὰ ὑφάσματα, as *Philo* seems, to intimate, but *One Cloth-Contexture*, artificially wrought with *Gold* and *Silk*, representing *Two Angelical Images* over an *Ark*, in imitation of the greater *Dabir*, where the Work was *Statuary*.⁸³

“It was placed within the *Breast-Plate*, & remained Invisible; but a *Voice* was heard coming forth as from the *Breast-Plate*, & was the sure & true Oracle of God, uttered haply by the Ministry of some inspired good *Angel*.”⁸⁴

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

And yett after all these Illustrations of the Matter; I cannot but subjoin the Words of Dr. *Humphrey Prideaux*; which are these.⁸⁵

“It will be safest to hold, that the Words *Urim* and *Thummim*, meant only the Divine Vertue and Power, given to the *Breast-Plate* in its consecration, of

⁸² Erroneous spelling of “Loquitorium” or “parlor,” here referring to the location of the mercy seat between the two cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant, from which God communicated with Moses.

⁸³ In his *De specialibus legibus* (1.88.4), Philo Judaeus explains that the high priest embroidered on the “logeum two woven pieces of cloth” (λογείου διττὰ ὑφάσματα), “calling the one manifestation and the other truth”; i. e., *Urim* and *Thummim* (*Works* 542). Jacques Saurin also associates the *Urim* and *Thummim* with the *Cherubim*, in his *Dissertations* (1723), “Diss. XXV,” p. 202.

⁸⁴ The two preceding paragraphs appear to be based on the allegorical interpretation of Aaron’s priestly vestment as an emblem of the universe, in “An Appendix to the Defence of the Philosophick Cabbala” (*Collection of Several Philosophick Writings* [1712], cap. 5, pp. 147–48, sep. pag.), by the English philosopher and Cambridge Platonist Dr. Henry More (1614–87), whose writings Mather much admired.

⁸⁵ The following quotation is extracted from his hugely popular *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews* (1716–18), vol. 1, part 1, bk. 3, pp. 152–53, by Dr. Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), dean of Norwich. Prideaux’s masterpiece went through at least fifteen editions and was republished until the end of the eighteenth century. Mather probably borrowed this copy from his Boston colleague Thomas Prince, for in an extant manuscript letter, dated 16 d. 2d. 1718, Mather acknowledges his great debt: “S^r. Many Pages would not be enough to express my Thanks I owe you, for y^e long Loan of your *Prideaux*. But I know you take Pleasure in enriching of your Friends; and will particularly do so, in my assuring you, that great Riches are added unto y^e *Biblia Americana*, by these your Communications. It was not until very lately, that I could command y^e Hours necessary for my digging & fetching & running of these Golden Matters; which I propose as my Apology for detaining the Book so long. A Trespass, which I believe, you will never find me again guilty of; particularly if you’ll favor me, by this Bearer, with a Book of, *Poetry*, you bought y^e last Week at your Booksellers. I wish you all y^e Blessings of Goodness; and am, S^r, Your Brother & Servant. Co. Mather.” (MHS Copy). Mather seems to give new meanings to Acts 20:35 that lending is better than returning books in a timely manner.

obtaining an Oraculous Answer from GOD, whenever Counsel was asked of Him, by the High-Priest with it on, in such Manner as His Word did direct; And that the Names of *Urim* and *Thummim* were given hereto, only to denote the *Clearness* and *Perfection*, which these Oracular Answers always carried with them. For *Urim* signifies *Light*, and *Thummim* signifies *Perfection*. For these Answers were not like the Heathen Oracles, Enigmatical, and Ambiguous; but always Clear and Manifest; not such as ever did fall short of Perfection, either of Fulness in the Answer, or Certainty in the Truth of it. And hence it is, that the LXX translate *Urim* and *Thummim*, by the Words, *Δηλωσιν και Αληθειον* i. e. *Manifestation and Truth*; Because all these Oracular Answers given by *Urim* and *Thummim* were always Clear and Manifest, & their Truth ever Certain & Infallible.”⁸⁶

[Attachment verso]

Mr. Pyles does insist on the same Interpretation; That the *Breast-Plate* itself, is called, *Light & Perfection*; that is to say, most Perfect Light & Information.

Most probably, the Answers given to him that appeared before GOD with the *Breast-Plate* on him, were by an Audible Voice.⁸⁷

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

⁸⁶ Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected* (1719), 1:152–53. In his “Note Book of Authors and Texts” (Exod. 28:36), Mather recommends “Tuckneyes [*sic*] 40 Sermons. p. 427” to his readers. Anthony Tuckney, D.D. (1599–1670), a learned Puritan scholar, successively master of Emmanuel College and St. John’s College (Cambridge), and Regius Professor of Divinity (Cambridge), was also a member of the Westminster Assembly (1643). Early in his career, Tuckney was a friend and associate of John Cotton (Mather’s maternal grandfather) at St. Botolph’s (Boston, Lincolnshire) and succeeded him upon Cotton’s departure for New England (*ODNB*). Tuckney’s work in question is his *Forty Sermons upon Several Occasions* (London, 1676), posthumously published by Tuckney’s son. Mather refers to “Sermon XXIV” (Exod. 28:36), which elaborates on the topic of “Holiness to the Lord,” in *Forty Sermons* (1676), pp. 427–42.

⁸⁷ The extract is from *A Paraphrase with Short and Useful Notes On the Books of the Old Testament. Part 1. In Two Volumes. Containing the Five Books of Moses* (1717), vol. 1, pp. 158, 159, by Thomas Pyle (1674–1756), an Anglican clergyman and lecturer at Lyn-Regis (Norfolk). Mather also leaned on Pyle’s conservative *Paraphrase*, designed for “The Use of Families,” in his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:302–06, 300, 402, 517, 921, 1087, 1118, 1142). Mather’s various commentators on Exod. 28:30, then, reveal the extent to which Christian interpreters differed on the meaning of *Urim* and *Thummim*. This disagreement divided the Hebrew sages just as much. Neither Rashi, nor Ibn Ezra, nor Nachmanides, nor Rashbam, nor Abarbanel, nor Gersonides could see eye-to-eye on this mysterious instrument of divination (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot: Exodus* 249–50). Perhaps the most radical of the group is Ibn Ezra, on Exod. 28:30 (*Commentary* 2:595–96), who thinks that the *Urim* and *Thummim*, when placed in the breastplate of the ephod, served as an astrological instrument to divine future events from the constellation of the celestial spheres. Significantly, Rashbam recognizes an analogical function of the ephod with that “of the oracles employed by the priests of idolatrous cults. If those had any value at all ... how much more influential would these *urim vetumim* in the sacred garments of the High Priest be in order to elicit answers to questions posed to G’d ...?” (*Hachut Hameshulash* 4:1142).

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4229.

Q. Give us a Remarkable, about the *High-Priest*, in all his glorious *Garments*? v. 43.

A. The *High-Priest* in all his priestly and glorious *Garments*, was a Remarkable Repræsentation of the *Tabernacle* and its *Utinsels*.

His *Breast-Plate* answered unto the *Ark*; and the *Shining Jewels* on *that*, unto the *Stony Tables* in *this*; and as the *Urim* was there, so the *Written Law* was here.

His *Ephod* answered unto the *Mercy-Seat*; The Two *Onyx-Stones* on that, unto the two *Cherubims* on this.

The *Golden Plate* on his *Forehead*, with, HOLINESS TO THE LORD, written on it, answered unto the *Glory of the Lord*, which dwelt in the *Holy of Holies*.

His *Undergarment* answered unto the *Veil*, and *Curtains* of the Sacred Edifice.

And so the Matter may be carried on, as *Munster* thinks, with a very lively Comparison.⁸⁸

Q. In all the *Habiliments* of the *High-Priest*, there is no mention of *Shoes*. Did the *Priests* perform the Service of the *Tabernacle Barefooted*? v. 43.

A. This very Omission, is enough to argue, that they did so.

Be sure, 'Tis a Tradition of the Jews, That there were no *Shoes* worn in the Temple; the *Priests*, there stood *Barefooted*, even on a cold Pavement. The *Talmuds* tell us, That in the Second Temple there was an Apartment, the Floor whereof was heated, that the Feet of the *Priests* might be warmed there; which Apartment was called, *The Stove*, or, *The Fire-room*. And yett they tell us, This Provision was not enough to prevent the Distempers, contracted in the Temple, by their being *Barefooted* when they did their Offices.⁸⁹ It is thought by some Christians, that our SAVIOUR alluded here unto, when He said, Matth. X.9, 10. *Provide neither Shoes, nor* —

The Ablutions præscribed unto the *Priests*, do also imply, that they were without *Shoes*, in the Exercise of their Ministry.

⁸⁸ Sebastian Münster's annotations on Exod. 28:43, in *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 168, note (d).

⁸⁹ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), Diss. LIII, "The Ninth Question," pp. 503–04. According to R. Eleazer, in the Mishnaic commentary in the Talmud, tractate Shabbath (19b), "the fire" for the oven of the Passover sacrifice "may be lighted with the chips in the pile in the chamber of the hearth." Annotation (30) to Shabbath (19b) explains that this "chamber of the hearth" was "A room where the priests warmed themselves, as they performed the service in the Temple barefoot and became cold" (Soncino Talmud).

Bynæus has given us a Treatise, *De Calceis Hebræorum*: On which I cannot forbear the Reflection of Monsr. *Saurin*.⁹⁰

“We are beholden to those who have the Patience to apply themselves unto such Dry Studies. A Dispute concerning any Custom of the Ancients, appears worthy the Attention of Great Men, how mean soever the Subject is. But where is the learned Man who would not blush, if he happened to be surprized in his Closet, examining all the different fashions of the *Shoemakers* of our own Age, and the Different Materials of which they made their *Shoes* and *Slippers*? Especially, where is that learned Man, who would seek to establish his Reputation, on the Discoveries he should make in the Shops of those that work at those Kinds of Trades? But the giving of some Light into the *Shoes* and *Slippers* of the *Hebrews*, is sufficient to gett a Name in the Commonwealth of Letters.”⁹¹

4230.

Q. Give us a General Observation of some Importance, about the *Sacrifices*? v. 43.

A. R. *Menahem de Racanati*, ha’s an entertaining Remark upon them. *Dominum potissimum exigere pro suo Sacrificio Animalia et Membra illa, quæ concupiscentijs subjiciuntur. Non Vult habere Animal infirmum; aut quod Testiculis sit privatum. Requirit Renes, qui concupiscentiæ prima sint Officina. Vult habere Epar; quod roborat Libidinem; et Adipes, qui effrænem faciunt concupiscentiam. Hæc omnia Dominus in suo vult habere Sacrificio, non quòd illum delectent Renes, aut Adipes pecudum, sed quòd mysticè significant, quòd homo mortificare debet membra sua super terram.*⁹²

⁹⁰ Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), p. 504, refers to *De Calceis Hebraeorum Libri Duo* (Dordraci, 1682), lib. 2, cap. 2, pp. 252–60, by the Dutch Reformed preacher at Piershil, Naarden, and Deventer, Antonius Bynæus (1654–98) (*BPVN*). Bynæus’s intriguing study *Of the Shoes of the Hebrews in Two Books* (pp. 252–60) explains that the high priest and his attendants were required to go barefoot in the Temple and thus were subject to all kinds of illnesses and foot sores. As if to mitigate the pains of chilblains, Bynæus takes pains to provide depictions of shoes or sandals worn by the ancients (*De Calceis*, lib. 1, cap. 6, between pp. 140–41, and cap. 7, between pp. 164–165).

⁹¹ Saurin, *Dissertations* (504).

⁹² Mather excerpts a Latin translation from the Italian rabbi and cabbalist Menachem ben Benjamin Recanati, aka Racanati, “the Ricanti” (c. 1250–c. 1310), whose cabbalistic commentary on the Torah, *Perush ‘Al ha-Torah* (1523), was translated into Latin by the Italian humanist Pico della Mirandola (1463–94) and published in Venice, in 1523 (*JE*). For a useful appraisal of Recanati as a cabbalist, see M. Idel’s *Kaballah in Italy* (2011), pp. 106–38. Whatever Mather’s primary source for his Latin extract, Recanati’s entertaining remarks read, “that the most powerful Lord demands for his sacrifice those animals and organs, which are subject to concupiscent. He does not want to have a feeble animal, or one which has been deprived of its testicles. He requires the kidneys, which are the primary sources of desire. He wants to have the liver, which strengthens desire; and the fat, which makes unbridled desire. All these God wants to have in his sacrifice, not because he loves the kidneys or suet of animals, but because they have mystical significance, that man ought to mortify his limbs while on earth.”

Q. Lett us look back on the Mystery of the *Gems*, in the *Breast-Plate* of the *High-Priest*? v. 43.

A. As the View which the Holy Spirit ha's of things is most *Extensive*; and the Use & Reach of His Word, very *Universal*; so the Things occurring in the Ancient Church of *Israel*, had a Typical Importance upon them.

The CHURCH which God will establish on the Earth in the Latter Dayes, is called by the Name of *Israel*. The Division of the *Twelve Tribes* among that People, had no doubt, those *Mysteries* in it, which will not be fully comprehended until the Happy Day arrives, that *All Israel shall be saved*.⁹³

Our Saviour made choice of *Twelve Apostles*; who, tho' they were partly employ'd for the Conversion of the *Gentiles*, yett had it promised unto them, *That they should sitt upon Thrones Judging the Tribes of Israel*.

In the Description of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, you have *Twelve Gates*, at which there sitt the *Twelve Apostles*. These *Gates* are of *Precious Stones*, and the Division of them, is like that of the *Precious Stones* here on the *Breast-Plate*. There the *City* ha's *Four Sides*; Here the *Breast-Plate* has *Four Rows*. There, as Here, on each of the *Stones*, is engraved the Name of a *Tribe*.

What we have now gain'd, is, That the *Breast-Plate* exhibited a Noble Figure of the CHURCH; especially, as it is to be circumstanced in the Dayes of the *New Jerusalem*.

God communicated His Will, of old, by the Way of the *Breast-Plate*. And in those Glorious Dayes, there shall be no Citizen of the Church, but what shall have the Will of God most intimately communicated unto them. They shall indeed, all have a Communion in the *Priesthood* of their Great Redeemer.

Moreover, The Church lies near to the *Heart* of our Saviour. He embraces it with unspeakable Affection. The *Ointment* also that is upon His Head, runs down upon it.

There will e're long be found further, & most shining Mysteries, in this *Breast-Plate*, which we may not be as yett acquainted with.

Who can tell, whether some Great *Instruments*, to be employ'd about the City of God, may not here find some Notable Representation of them?⁹⁴

Q. The *Linen-Garments*, which the *Jewish Priests* wore, was there any *Imitation* thereof among the *Ancient Pagans*? v. 43.

A. Yes; And what was among the *Ancient Pagans* was but an *Imitation* thereof. *Philostratus* testifies, that the Heathen Pontiffs, wore a *Mitre* on their Heads; and

⁹³ On this topic, see Increase Mather's *Diatriba De signo Filii hominis* (1682); *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669); *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (1709).

⁹⁴ This allegorical Christological interpretation of the high-priest's breastplate is of the same type as that offered in Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (1705), esp. pp. 508–09.

wee learn from *Valerius Maximus* & others, that a *White Vest*, or *Linen Ephod*, was the usual Apparel of their Priests, in their Holy Service. Tis more probable, that the *Egyptians* took their Cæremonies in this Matter, from the *Jewes*, than that the *Jewes* took theirs from the *Egyptians*. *Photius* intimates, that this was the Sense of the Ancients, *That the Worshippers of Idols, in Imitation of Gods Priests, clothed Theirs, with a peculiar suit of Garments, which were after the fashion of the Ephod.*⁹⁵ And the Incomparable *Bochart* agrees hereto; saying, *The Egyptians, being in many Things, Followers of the Jewes, permitted their Priests, to wear no other Vestments, but Linen ones; And hee there notes the Ignorance of Plutarch, about their true Original. Huetius also, to the like Purpose, acknowledges, The Priests of Isis, wore Linens & therein Imitated the Linen Garments of the Hebrew Priests.*⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (2.26, 4.28); the Roman historian *Valerius Maximus* (fl. 30 CE) makes mention of the fine linen garment in his *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* (1.1.7). *Photius* (c. 820–c. 892), the Byzantine patriarch of Constantinople, pulls the threads of his argument from *Heliodorus, Aethiopica* (*Bibliotheca* 73), in *The Library of Photius* (1:124), and weaves them into the vestments of his High Priest.

⁹⁶ Mather possibly has in mind Samuel *Bochart's Geographia Sacra* (1707), lib. 1, cap. 62, cols. 672–74, § 4. *Plutarch* relates that the Egyptian priests and “votaries of Isis” shaved their hair and wore “linen garments,” which are “least apt to breed lice” (*De Iside et Osiride* 352.3, 4). That the vestments of the Mosaic priests were made from linen and imitated those of the Egyptian priests is demonstrated at length in *Spencer's De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 5: “Exemplum tertium. Sacerdotum vestis lineæ,” fols. 570–83. *Pierre-Daniel Huet*, however, believed that pagan priests imitated the temple vestments of the Israelites (*Demonstratio Evangelica*, (1690), prop. IV, cap. 11, p. 155D – or as Mather put in his commentary on *Numb. 10:36* (below), “The Figure, which wee call, *The Cart before the Horse*, runs thro’ the Writings of some learned Authors.”

Q. *Aaron and his Sons, are washed with Water?* v. 4.

A. Afterwards, they were to Repeat this *Washing*, every time, they went in, to minister unto God. But now, at their First Consecration, *Water* was brought, probably, from the *Laver*, to wash them at the *Door of the Tabernacle*, before they were permitted to enter into it. Probably, Their *whole Bodies* were now *Washed*; They were now to be look'd on, as wholly *Unclean*, and therefore to be *Washed* all over. Tho' being once *Cleansed*, they needed no more such an universal *Washing*; but only to wash their *Hands* and *Feet*, when they went in, to minister.

This is according to the Words of our Saviour, Joh. XIII.10. *He that is washed, needeth not, save to wash his Feet.*¹

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[65v]

Q. *The Fatt that covereth the Inwards?* v. 13.

A. 'Tis that Part of the Beast, which is called, the *Omentum*; wherein all the *Bowels* are wrapped; It is called, Lev. 9.19. simply, *That which covereth*. This ha's a great Deal of *Fatt* upon it, to keep the *Bowels* warm; & it was much used in the Ancient Sacrifices, both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who therein follow'd the *Jewes*. Nay, the *Persians* offered their Gods, nothing but the *Omentum*, or a Part of it; as *Bochart* observes out of *Strabo*. And from the Condition and Scituation of the *Omentum*, the Heathen Diviners made their Conjectures; insomuch that some think, it had the Name of *Omentum*, because they made their Good or Bad *Omens* from thence.²

Q. *The Caul that is above the Liver?* v. 13.

A. Our Interpreters take it for the *Diaphragm* or *Midriff*, on which the *Liver* hangs. But *Bochart* ha's demonstrated, that it signifies, the greatest *Lobe* of the *Liver*, on which lies the *Bladder of Gall*. The only Argument against it, is, That this *Jothereth* (as the Hebrewes call it,) is here said to be, *Above the Liver*, & therefore it must be the *Diaphragm*, on which the *Liver* depends. But the Particle, *Al*, signifies, *Upon*, as well as, *Above*. The Reason why this *Lobe* of the *Liver* was peculiar to the *Altar*, was because of the *Fatt*, that is upon it.³

¹ Simon Patrick, on Exod. 29:4 (*Exodus* 571–72).

² Patrick, on Exod. 29:13 (*Exodus* 577) and Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, Pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 45, col. 503) quotes Strabo (*Geographia* 15.3.13.14–15) in affirmation that “according to some writers,” the worshippers of the Persian Mithras, “place a small portion of the caul [*omentum*] upon the fire.”

³ Patrick (*Exodus* 577); Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 45, col. 498, line 61) renders *Jothereth* as יֹתֶרֶת. According to Lev. 3:4, Moses instructs that in the priestly sacrifice, “the caul above the liver, with the kidneys,” shall be taken away. In the applicable passage אֶת־הַיֹּתֶרֶת



Taurobolium, oder Weihung der Priester der Cybele unter Antonius Pius (Berlin, 1797)
(Radierung von Bernhard Rode, c. 1780)

Q. Part of the *Sin-Offering* was to be eaten by the *Priest*; [Lev. 10.17.] in token, that the *Sin* of the *People*, was taken away by the *Priest*. It may seem strange, that *Moses* (who was now in the Place of a *Priest*,) must here burn all the *Sin-Offering*, & not eat any of it? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, The best Reason he ha's found, is, That it was to signify the Imperfection of the Legal Dispensation. The Sins of the *Priests* themselves, could not be taken away, by the *Priests of the Law*, or their Sacrifices. But (as Dr. *Jackson* ha's it,) they were to expect a better *Sacrifice*, or a better *High-Priest*.⁴

Q. The *Blood* putt on the *Ear* of *Aaron*, & his *Hand*, & *Foot*? v. 20.

A. *Fortunatus Scacchus* conjectures, That from hence the Pagans learnt their *Taurobolia*, and *Criobolia*. They Dug an Hole in the Ground; The *Priest* that was to be consecrated, was putt into it; They laid *Planks* over it, with many *Holes* in them; The *Bullock* or the *Ram* was kill'd over it. The *Blood* ran down; the *Priest* received it, on his *Eyes*; his *Ears*, his *Nose*, his *Mouth*; he besmeared his Body with it. This was accounted, the Highest Consecration: Thus filthily did the *Divel* pervert the Holy Rites of *Moses*.⁵

עַל־הַכֶּבֶד, the Hebrew particle preposition עַל [*al*], suggests, among other things, “upon,” “over,” and “beyond” (Strong’s # B7335).

⁴ Patrick, on *Exod. 29:14* (*Exodus* 578), cites *A Treatise of the Consecration of the Sonne of God to his everlasting Priesthood. ... Being the Ninth Book of Commentaries upon the Apostles Creed* (1638), ch. 26, p. 193, § 2, by Dr. Thomas Jackson (c. 1579–1640), president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

⁵ Patrick (*Exodus* 581); in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), lib. 2, cap. 77, col. 702, Fortunatus Scacchus draws attention to the resemblance between the Mosaic rites of consecrating a priest of Cybele and those of the Israelites’ neighbors. The “*Taurobolia*” or “*Criobolia*” involve the sacrifice of a bull or ram to Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods, who was revered in Greece and Rome. Prudentius (*Peristephanon Liber* 10.1008–50) describes this ritual at some length: When the blood gushes from the cut throat of the bull, “the priest in the pit below catches it, holding his filthy head to meet every drop and getting his robe and his whole body covered with corruption [blood]. Laying his head back he even puts his cheeks in the way, placing his ears under it, exposing lips and nostrils, bathing his very eyes in the stream [of blood], not even keeping his mouth from it but wetting his tongue, until the whole of him drinks in the dark gore. ... The pontiff comes forth from his place, a grisly sight, and displays his wet head, his matted beard, his dank fillets and soaking garments. Defiled as he is with such pollution, all unclean with the foul blood of the victim just slain, they all stand apart and give him salutation and do him reverence because the paltry blood of a dead ox has washed him while he was ensconced in a loathsome hole in the ground” (Prudentius, *Crowns of Martyrdom* 10.1030–50). See also R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium* (1969). On ritual blood sacrifice among the ancients, see K. McClymond, *Beyond Sacred Violence* (2008), esp. 44–64, 131–51.

Q. The Tax of the *Ransome-Money*, in which the Rich & the Poor paid alike, because they were guilty alike; was it laid only on pressing Occasions, or, was it every Year paid by every one? v. 12.

A. Monsr. *Saurin* observes, one cannot avoid embracing the latter Opinion.

We have no History of the Jewish Nation circumstantial enough, to discover whether this Law were execute every Year. But it is evident enough, that it was in the Days of our Blessed JESUS Humbled among us.¹

Josephus expressly says, That the Jews paid every Year Two *Attic Drachms* for the Temple of *Jerusalem*. And we know, the Version which we ascribe to the LXX calls by the Name of *Didrachma Sanctum*, that is to say, *Two Drachms*, the said *Half-Shekel*, which was rated by the Order of God. [Exod. XXX.13. Neh. X.32.]²

When the Disciples of JESUS were asked by the Tax-gatherers, *Does your Master pay Tribute?* The Answer of our Lord supposes, the *Tribute* was gathered for the Service of the *Temple*. – *Then are the Children free*. Our Lord was to be excused from the Paiment of the Tax, that was laid for the Support of the House of His Father; It was from Condescension & for Edification, that He paid it.³

In the *Mishnah*, we find the First Day of the Month *Adar*, appointed in every Town of *Judea*, for the raising of this Impost: All paid it, except Women, & Slaves, & such as were under Twenty Years old. Those that had not wherewithal to pay it, were to sell their Cloathes for it. If any Man omitted it, he was to be expunged from the List of *Israelites*, & reckoned one who had no Share in the Atonement which was made in the Sacrifices. *Philo* celebrates this *Lasting Stock* for the Support of the Temple. He says, It produced a Treasury in all their Towns, in which these Offerings were preserved, until they were carried by some Trusty Persons to the Temple at *Jerusalem*.⁴

¹ Extracted from Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), “Diss. LIV,” p. 493.

² Saurin (493, § 1). According to Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.8.2) Moses “ordained that they [Israelites] should offer half a shekel for every man, as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmae.” In *Antiquities* (18.9.1), Josephus reports that the Jews of Babylonia kept treasuries in the well-fortified cities of Neerda and Nisibis, “deposited in them that half shekel [Greek: ἡμιδραχμῶν; i.e., Didrachma] which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God,” from which places these donations were carried to Jerusalem by “many ten thousand men” (*Works*, pp. 76, 392).

³ Saurin (493, § 2).

⁴ Mather, via Saurin (493, § 3), refers to the Mishnah, tractate Shekalim (1.1), in *The Mishnah* (152). Saurin’s immediate source is John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 492–94. See also *Tractatus de Siclis* (1.1), in Surenhusius, סדר מועד [Seder Moed] sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Festorum (1699), fol. 176. That neither rich nor poor Israelites were exempted from paying this sacerdotal half-shekel – except women, slaves, and children under the age of twenty-one – is asserted in R. Levi of Barcelona’s ספר התנוד *Sefer*

Cicero relates, that *Flaccus* forbade carrying to *Jerusalem* the Gold that was raised in *Italy*, & in all the Provinces from the Jews. *Titus* reproaching the Jews for their Ingratitude, minds them, that the *Romans* had shew'd them so much Favour, as to allow their Paying of this Tribute, instead of taking it unto themselves. Nor was it until the Jews became *Slaves* instead of *Subjects*, unto the *Romans*, that *Vespasian* appropriated unto his Treasury, what had hitherto belonged unto that of *Jerusalem*. There are still some of the Emperour *Nerva's* Medals to be seen, with this Inscription; *Calumnia Fisci Judaici Sublata*.⁵

2854.

Q. On the mention of the *Shekel* here with so much Exactness, may not here be a good Occasion, to discourse upon the *Shekel*, and the other *Coins* used among the Ancient Israelites? v. 13.

A. Yes; And I will make some Use of Mr. *Samuel Clark's*, Discourse (instead of many others) on that Subject.⁶

A *Shekel*, you know, is the first Measure for the Value of things, used in the Book of God. But there is no express mention at all, of a *Shekel*, in the New

Ha-Chinnuk (1523), in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. 8, praecept. CV, p. 133. Philo Judaeus (*De specialibus legibus* 1.14.76), for one, is confident that the wealth of the Temple with its vast revenues in land and "other possession of much greater extent and importance ... will never be destroyed or diminished; for as long as the race of mankind shall last, the revenues likewise of the temple will always be preserved, being coeval in their duration with the universal world" (*Works* 541).

5 Saurin (493–94, § 4). Mather enlists Marcus Tullius Cicero (*Oratio pro Lucius Flacco* 66–69), who defends the edict of the Roman praetor Lucius Valerius Flaccus (d. 54 BCE) against the transference out of Asia of "auri illa invidia Iudaici" ("that charge about the Jewish Gold") intended for the Temple in Jerusalem. According to Josephus Flavius (*De Bello Judaico* 6.6.2), Titus Flavius (39–81 CE), the future Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (79–81 CE), reproached the people of Jerusalem for ingratitude and insubordination even though "we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God" (*Works* 584). The Greco-Roman historian Cassius Dio Cocceianus (c. 150–235 CE), in his *Historiarum Romanorum* 66.7.2 tells that after the fall of Jerusalem under Titus Flavius (69) any Jew observing his ancestral religion must "pay an annual tribute of two denarii to Jupiter Capitolanus" (*Roman History* 8:271). In his *Dissertationum De Praestantia et usu Numismatum Antiquorum* (1717), vol. alt., diss. 13, pp. 570–71, the Swiss statesman, diplomat, and numismatist Ezekiel Spanheim (c. 1629–1710) depicts a coin of Roman Emperor Marcus Cocceius Nerva Caesar Augustus (96–98 CE), which shows a palm-tree with the initial *S* and *C* appearing underneath the branches on either side of the stem. The Latin inscription here cited by Mather appears on the outer rim of the coin and can be rendered, "The Sophistry of the Jewish Treasury Destroyed."

6 Mather extracts his annotations from "The Reduction of the Jewish Weights, Coins and Measures, to our English Standards," appended to *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old Testament and the New: with Annotations* (1690), by Samuel Clark (1626–1701), nonconformist minister, rector of Grendon-Underwood (Buckinghamshire), and biblical scholar. Mather's extract is from the final pages of the huge work (sign. P¹-P^{2v}). He also mines several of Clark's other works, in *BA* (1:269–277, 475).

Testament, which probably is, because *Judæa* was then a *Roman* Province, and therefore used the *Roman Money*.⁷

And now, first, for the *Weight* of the *Shekel*, wee have the Testimonies of the Ancients, that it was æqual to the *Attic Tetradrachm*. The *Half-Shekel* that was to be paid unto the *Sanctuary*, [Exod. 30.13.] is in the N. T. called, Διδραχμα, [Matt. 17.24.] And the LXX frequently render the Word, /לִשְׁכָּל/ by διδραχμον, meaning that of *Alexandria*, (where they then resided,) which was double to the *Attic*. But for our fuller Satisfaction, *Villalpandus* weigh'd several *Shekels*, and found them still to be just a *Roman Half-Ounce*. And yett, if there had been a difference of two or three Grains, it had not been worth Quarrelling about; for, even in our English milled Money, which is the most exact that ever was coined, there often occur two or three Grains of Difference in Pieces of all Sorts, even the *Guinea's* themselves. Now the Roman Ounce, as Mr. *Greaves* hath adjusted it, from the Standard, contains 438 Grains. And this also is the exact Number of Grains in the Ounce *Avoirdupois*, among ourselves; the Half whereof is 219. The *Shekel* then is just Half an Ounce of our *Avoirdupois*.⁸

But then, for the *Worth* of it. The Ounce *Troy*, which is used in our Nation to measure the Value of *Gold* and *Silver* is just *Five Shillings* in Silver. Tho' according to the Rules of the Mint, it be coin'd into Sixty twopence, or Five Shillings, twopence, yett the odd Twopence in the Ounce (or, Two shillings in the Pound,) is allow'd for Mintage. Now this Ounce contains Four hundred & Eighty Grains; which being divided by Sixty (the Number of Pence in an Ounce,) gives Eight; so that there are Eight Grains to a Penny: And therefore a *Shekel*, weighing Two hundred and Nineteen Grains, (as ha's been prov'd,) at the rate of Eight Grains to a Penny, it comes to Two shillings three Pence, farthing, half-farthing, of the English Coin.⁹

[66v] To determine the Value of a *Shekel* in *Gold*, we must consider the Proportion between *Silver* and *Gold*. Among the *Jewes*, it was commonly Reckoned as *Ten-fold*. *David* provided therefore *Ten Times* as much *Silver* as *Gold*, for the

7 Clark, "Reduction" (sign. Pr, § 3).

8 Clark, "Reduction" (I. § 4). The Spanish Jesuit mathematician and architect Juan Bautista Villalpandus (1552–1608), with his colleague Hieronymo del Prado, published his magnificent architectural study of Solomon's Temple, *In Ezechielem Explanaciones et Apparatus Orbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani* (1596–1605). Villalpando's huge work (three volumes, folio) triggered a major debate among the learned about the physical size and appearance of the Temple (Solomon's, Ezekiel's, Zerubbabel's, and Herod's) and generated several major works on the topic. Mather's third-hand reference via *A Discourse of the Romane [sic] Foot, and Denarius* (1647), p. 120, by the English orientalist and astronomer at Oxford, John Greaves (1602–52), is to Villalpando's *In Ezechielem Explanaciones*, tomus 3, pars 2, lib. 2, disputatio 2, cap. 11: "Num Certi Quippiam Statui Possit de Romanis ponderibus, quo eorum ratio habeatur," p. 352(D–E). The Anglo-French term *avoirdupois*, i. e., "goods of weight" is based on a system of measuring the weight of silver and gold coins in terms of ounces and grains. Thus a 16-ounce coin should weigh 7,000 grains, and the half-ounce in Mather's illustration roughly 219 grains.

9 Clark, "Reduction" (II. § 5).

Temple. And it appears by several Passages in *Pollux*, in *Livy*, in *Polybius*, in *Hesychius*, and others, that the *Greeks* & the *Romans* made the same Reckoning. Yett there was no standing Rule in this Case; it was varied according to the Plenty of the several *Metals*. *Breerwood* ha's demonstrated, That sometimes it was *Ten-fold*, sometimes *Twelve-fold*, sometimes *Fourteen-fold*. With the English Nation, at this time, it is about Sixteen-fold. An Ounce *Troy* of *Silver* is worth Five Shillings; an Ounce of Gold, of the Mint-alloy, is valued by the Goldsmiths, at Four Pounds. *Gold*, by this, comes to Two-Pence a Grain; and there being 219 Grains in a *Shekel*, that comes to One Pound, Sixteen Shillings, & Sixpence. Only we must here take it for granted, That their common *Gold* of old, was much of the same Fineness with our current *Gold*; which one may reasonably do, because ours is of a middling *Fineness*; to Eleven Parts of Pure *Gold*, almost a *Twelfth* of *Alloy*. Tho' of the *Gold*, prepared for the *Temple*, was Finer than ordinary. (1. Chron. 28.18. and 29.4.)¹⁰

But may there not seem to have been a Difference of *Shekels*? For, we read of, one *After the Shekel of the Sanctuary*; And we read of one, *After the Kings Weight*. Modern Authors have hence coined a Distinction, of a twofold *Shekel*; Sacred and Civil; and the *Sacred* as much again as the *Civil*. Wee answer, There is a deep Silence in all ancient Authors, of any more than one sort of *Shekel*: and the Inscription and Impression of all the *Shekels* yett extant, exhibits but one Sort unto us. But we may supersede all other Arguments, by one that is unanswerable. Tis taken from Two Scriptures compared. First, In *Exod.* 30.13. the *Shekel of the Sanctuary* is expressly spoken of, and it is defined there to be *Twenty Gerah's*. Now, In *Ezek.* 45.9–12. Rulers are called upon to do Justice, and see that there be Just *Weights and Measures*, by which tis plain that Civil Commerce is referr'd unto; and in order hereunto, the *Shekel* is defined for such Civil Commerce, to be *Twenty Gerah's*. The *Shekel* then was called, *The Shekel of the Sanctuary*, because the *Standard* thereof was kept in the *Sanctuary*. (1. Chron. 23.29.) And that Phrase, *After the Kings Weight*, which is used but once (2. Sam. 14.26.) might be, because no doubt, there was another *Standard* kept in the Kings Court; as with us, one *Standard*, is kept in the Exchequer.¹¹

¹⁰ Clark, "Reduction" (II. § 5), cites John Greaves, *Discourse of the Romane Foot, and Denarius* (1647), p. 68. Greaves supplies evidence from Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* 9.76.6–8) that "the Gold was in a tenfold proportion to the silver," from Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 38.11), who confirms this ratio out of Polybius (*Historiae* 21.32.8.1–9.3), and from Hesychius (*Lexicon* [A–O], alphabetic letter *delta*, entry 2353, lines 1–2), to demonstrate that the Greeks and Romans employed the same ratios. Finally, the English antiquarian and mathematician Edward Breerwood, aka. Breerwood, Bryerwood (c. 1565–1613), presents his caveats in his *De Ponderibus et Pretiis Veterum Nummorum* (1614), cap. 20, pp. 48–50. Breerwood's study of antique coins was subsequently incorporated into Brian Walton's famous *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) 6:30–44. (ODNB).

¹¹ Clark, "Reduction" (III. §§ 6, 7, 8). Mather was also preoccupied with the standards of weights and measurements employed in the mercantile trade of his time. For instance, in his oft-misunderstood *Theopolis Americana. An Essay on the Golden Street of the Holy City*:

It is easy from hence to gather, what a *Talent* amounts to. We find, (Exod. 38.25, 26.) Six hundred thousand, three thousand, five hundred, & fifty Men, paying each of them Half a *Shekel*. In the Reckoning the Summ arises to an Hundred *Talents*, and a thousand Seven hundred & Seventy five *Shekels*. For first, Six hundred Thousand *Half-Shekels*, make Three Hundred Thousand *Shekels*; there's the Hundred *Talents*: And then Three Thousand, five hundred, & fifty *Half-Shekels*, make one thousand, Seven hundred, & Seventy five *Shekels*, which is the Number that is reckon'd above the Hundred *Talents*. Now every *Shekel*, being Half an Ounce *Averdupois*, and there being Sixteen Ounces in every Pound *Averdupois*, the Three Thousand *Shekels* weigh Ninety Three Pounds, twelve Ounces. And then, the Value of a *Shekel* in Silver, being Two Shillings, Three Pence, farthing, half-farthing, the *Talent* after that rate amounts unto Three Hundred Forty two Pounds, three shillings and Nine Pence. And in *Gold* it is Sixteen times as much; *viz.* Five Thousand, Four hundred, Seventy Five Pounds.¹²

Mr. *Clark* now coming to cast up the Quantities of *Gold* and *Silver*, præpared by *David* for the Temple, chuses to do it, by *Tuns* or Cart-Loads. A *Tun* is twenty Hundred Weight; reckoning Five Score and twelve Pounds *Averdupois* to the Hundred; which amounts in the whole, to two Thousand, two Hundred, and Forty Pounds Weight. Now a *Talent* being Ninety three Pounds three Quarters, to make a *Tun*, there goes Twenty Four *Talents*: which amount unto Two Thousand, two hundred & fifty Pounds; which is Ten Pounds more than a *Tun*. Accordingly, one Hundred *Talents*, are Four Tun, and four hundred & fifteen Pounds over. And a Thousand *Talents*, are Forty two Tun, wanting three Hundred & thirty Pounds. And Ten Thousand *Talents*, are Four Hundred & Eighteen Tun, & an half, and Sixty Pounds over: And an Hundred Thousand *Talents*, are Four Thousand, One hundred, Eighty five Tun, and Six hundred Pounds over. This then was in *Gold*. And a Thousand Thousand *Talents*, are Forty One Thousand, Eight Hundred, Fifty two Tun, and an half, and four Hundred Pound over. So much there was in *Silver* (1. Chron. 22.14.) The whole amounts unto Forty Six thousand, thirty Eight Tun, or Cart-Loads, wanting but almost an Hundred Weight.¹³

But if any one would have the Reckoning, in *Pounds*, *Shillings*, & *Pence*, it stands thus; The Hundred Thousand *Talents* of *Gold*, amount unto Five Hundred, & forty Seven Millions, and an half. The Thousand Thousand *Talents* of *Silver*, amount unto Three Hundred, Forty two Millions, one hundred Eighty

Publishing a Testimony against the Corruptions of the Market-Place (1710), pp. 12–23, he repeated decried the fraudulent practices of Boston's merchants. See also Mather's *Diary* (2:19).

¹² Clark, "Reduction" (IV. § 9). On Mather's use of statistics, see T. McCormick's "Statistics in the Hands of an Angry God?" (563–86).

¹³ Clark, "Reduction" (V. § 10). See also Mather's annotations on 1 Chron. 22:14 and 1 Chron. 29, in *BA* (3:681, 708–10).

five Thousand, Seven hundred & fifty Pounds. In all, Eight Hundred Eighty Nine Millions, Six Hundred Eighty five Thousand, Seven hundred & fifty Pound Stirling.

| The Immensity of the Summ, hath made it appear unto many so Incredible, that they have suspected a Difference between the *Talents* in *Moses's* Time, and in *Davids*, as if the latter had been much less than the former. [67r]

To countenance This, a Passage is quoted out of *Homer*, showing that a *Talent* was of no great Value.¹⁴

But the Scripture gives us not the least Imaginable Hint of any Difference. And about Seven score Years after *Davids* time, such was the Weight of Two *Talents* (bestow'd by *Naaman* upon *Gehazi*,) that there was Need of Two Men to carry them. A *Talent* being then a Mans Burthen, it might well amount unto the Quantity we have assigned it; Ninety Three Pounds and Three Quarters. Moreover, we read (2. Chron. 25.6.) that *Amaziah* hired a Thousand Men for a *Talent*; which being in *Moses's* Time *Three Thousand Shekels*, comes to Three *Shekels*, or Six shillings & Ten Pence, a Man. Little enough in all Conscience! Finally, we find, that a *Shekel* was exactly the same, after the Captivity, that it was in *Moses's* Time. [Exod. 30.13. with, Ezek. 45.12.] Whence we may gather, that the *Talent* might be so too.¹⁵

Wherefore, As to the Immensity, & Incredibility of the Summ given by *David*, we may answer; First, we read *Once*, (tho' but once) in Humane Story, of a greater Treasure; Namely, That of *Sardanapalus*, which by *Breerwoods* Account, amounted, in *Gold*, unto Five thousand Six hundred twenty five Millions; in *Silver*, unto Four Thousand, Six hundred, Eighty Seven Millions, & five hundred thousand Pounds. Again, Is it not very Agreeable, That the glorious Lord of all the *Gold* and *Silver* in the World, should (for once at least) have the greatest Quantity thereof, employed in Serving Him, and Building an House for Him? That *Significant* Structure, some say, was the most *Magnificent* that ever was in the World.¹⁶

¹⁴ Clark, "Reduction" (V. §10). Neither Clark nor Mather identifies anyone who quotes Homer (whom they believed to be a near contemporary of Moses) to prove that the talent in the time of the Hebrew lawgiver was of no great value. However, in the *Iliad* (23.795), Homer has Achilles add to Antilochus's award for best runner "a half-talent of gold." See also *Iliad* (9.114–20) and *Odyssey* (4:125–30). Edward Breerewood (*De Ponderibus*, caps. 20–23, pp. 48–56) cites multiple Greek and Roman sources to demonstrate that the increasing admixture of silver and other inferior metals with gold devalued the talent and denarius over time. Both Jacques Cappe's *De Ponderibus Nummis et Mensuris Libri V* (1606) and Hermann Conringius's *De Nummis Ebraeorum Paradoxa* (1675) complement these treasures.

¹⁵ Clark, "Reduction" (VI. § 11.1–3).

¹⁶ Clark, "Reduction" (VI. § 11.1–3). Breerewood (*De Ponderibus*, cap. 10, p. 30) provides the different valuations of the talents of gold and silver, which Sardanapalus (7th c. BCE), legendary king of Assyria, is to have amassed – at least if the romantic tale of debauchery in Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 2.23–28) can be trusted.

But as for the Passage in *Homer*, The *Talents* of several Nations differed so much, (as might easily be proved) that no Proof at all can be fetch'd from it.¹⁷

But now, for the other *Coins* mention'd in the Scripture, this Account may be given of them.¹⁸

1. *Maneh*, (rendred, A Pound.) This in meer *Weight*, without Respect unto *Coinage*, contained, an hundred *Shekels*: [Compare 1. Kin. 10.17. with 2. Chron. 9.16.] But in *Coin* it contained no more than Sixty *Shekels*, [Ezek. 45.12.] which is Six Pounds Sixteen Shillings, & ten Pence half-penny.

2. *Drachmon*, or, *Adarcon*, (rendred, A Drachm, 1. Chron. 29.7. Ezr. 2.69. Neh. 7.70, 71.) It was a Persian Coin, in Value about two and twenty Shillings.

3. *Stater*, (rendred, A Piece of Money, Matth. 17.27.) This was equal to a *Shekel*. *Jerom* saith, *Siclus, id est, Stater, quatuor habet Drachmas Atticas*. And so it was in Value, Two Shillings and Three Pence, Farthing, Half-farthing.¹⁹

4. *Denarius*; (rendred, A Penny.) It weigh'd about Sixty Grains; that is, Seven Pence half-penny.

5. *Assarius*, (rendred, A Farthing, Mat. 10.29. Luk. 12.6.) It was in Value, A Farthing and Half.

6. *Quadrans*, (rendred also, A Farthing, Mat. 5.26.) It was in Value, but half the *Assarius*; namely, Three Quarters of a Farthing.²⁰

Now, to save the Trouble of answering upon every Text, where the Hebrew Coins are mentioned, we will insert a Couple of *Tables*, whereto you may have Recourse on all such Occasions.

¹⁷ Perhaps *Iliad* (9.114–20; 23.795) and *Odyssey* (4:125–30). For the diverse currencies and their values among ancient nations, see Brerewood (*De Ponderibus*, cap. 9, pp. 25–28).

¹⁸ Mather's subsequent paragraphs are extracted from Clark's "Reduction" (VII. § 12).

¹⁹ Adapted from St. Jerome's *Commentariorum in Ezechielem Prophetam Libri Quatuordecim*. Lib. 1, [PL 025. 0048A]: "Siclus autem, id est, stater, habet drachmas quatuor. Drachmae autem octo, Latinam unciam faciunt: ita ut unus panis decem uncias habere dicatur, quo. . . Sextam enim partem mensurae Hebraicae, quae appellatur HIN, jubetur per singulos dies bibere. Porro HIN duos χόας Atticos." Mather's Latin quote reads, "The Shekel, that is, the Stater, amounts to four Attic Drachmas."

²⁰ Trusty Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1888) 4:3492–4507, entry "Weights and Measures," no doubt, will satisfy anyone desirous to gain greater clarity on such weighty issues than Mather here provides. That failing, *EJ*, *JE*, *ABD*, or related reference works on the Bible will satiate any further cravings for additional helpings.

Behold, A Table of *Shekels*.²¹

Shekels.	Shekels. Silver.			Value. Gold.			Weight. Averdupois	
	li.	s.	p.	li.	s.	p.	li.	oun.
1.	0	2	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	1	16	6	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	0	4	6 $\frac{6}{8}$	3	13	0	0	1
3	0	6	10 $\frac{1}{8}$	5	9	6	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	0	9	1 $\frac{4}{8}$	7	6	0	0	2
5	0	11	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	9	2	6	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	0	13	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	10	19	0	0	3
7	0	15	11 $\frac{5}{8}$	12	15	6	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	0	18	3	14	12	0	0	4
9	1	0	6 $\frac{3}{8}$	16	8	6	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	1	2	9 $\frac{6}{8}$	18	5	0	0	5
20	2	5	7 $\frac{4}{8}$	36	10	0	0	10
30	3	8	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	54	15	0	0	15
40	4	11	3	73	0	0	1	4
50	5	14	0 $\frac{6}{8}$	91	5	0	1	9
60	6	16	10 $\frac{4}{8}$	109	10	0	1	14
70	7	19	8 $\frac{1}{8}$	127	15	0	2	3
80	9	2	6	146	0	0	2	8
90	10	5	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	164	5	0	2	13
100	11	8	1 $\frac{4}{8}$	182	10	0	3	2
200	22	16	3	365	0	0	6	4
300	34	4	4 $\frac{4}{8}$	547	10	0	9	6
400	45	12	6	730	0	0	12	8
500	56	0	7 $\frac{4}{8}$	912	10	0	15	10
600	68	8	9	1095	0	0	18	12
700	79	16	10 $\frac{4}{8}$	1277	10	0	21	14
800	91	5	0	1460	0	0	25	0
900	102	13	1 $\frac{4}{8}$	1642	10	0	28	2
1000	114	1	3	1825	0	0	31	4
2000	228	2	6	3650	0	0	62	8
3000	342	3	9	5475	0	0	93	12

²¹ Clark, "Reduction" (sign. P^{2v}), appended to Clark's *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old Testament and the New: with Annotations* (1690), ultimate page.

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| Behold now a Table of TALENTS.²²

Talents	Value, SILVER			GOLD.		Weight, Avoird.	
	li.	s.	p.	li.		li.	oun.
1	342	3	9	5	475	93	12
2	684	7	6	10	950	187	8
3	1 026	11	3	16	425	281	4
4	1 368	15	0	21	900	375	0
5	1 710	18	9	27	375	468	12
6	2 053	2	6	32	850	562	8
7	2 395	6	3	38	325	656	4
8	2 717	10	0	43	800	750	0
9	3 079	13	9	49	275	843	12
10	3 421	17	6	54	750	937	8
20	6 843	15	0	109	500	1 875	0
30	10 265	12	6	164	250	2 812	8
40	13 687	10	0	219	000	3 750	0
50	17 109	7	6	273	750	4 687	8
60	20 531	5	0	328	500	5 625	0
70	23 953	7	6	383	250	6 562	8
80	27 375	0	0	438	000	7 500	0
90	30 796	17	6	492	750	8 437	8
100	34 218	15	0	547	500	9 375	
200	68 437	12	6	1 095	000	18 750	
300	102 656	5	0	1 642	500	28 125	
400	136 874	15	0	2 190	000	37 500	
500	171 093	5	0	2 737	500	46 875	
600	205 311	15	0	3 285	000	56 250	
700	239 530	5	0	3 832	500	65 625	
800	273 748	15	0	4 380	000	75 000	
900	307 967	5	0	4 927	500	84 375	
1 000	342 185	15	0	5 475	000	93 750	
10 000	3 421 857	0	0	54 750	000	937 500	
100 000	34 218 575	0	0	547 500	000	9 375 000	

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|
3250.

Q. Wee have had your Account of the *Hebrew Coins*. But may we not employ a little further Consideration thereupon? v. 13.
A. Yes truly. And, first, Wee must know, that our Unacquaintedness with the true Sense of many *Hebrew Words*, may make many things to seem odd unto us.

²² Clark, “Reduction” (sign. P^{2v}), appended to Clark’s *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old Testament and the New: with Annotations* (1690), last page.

Wherefore, I will, in the next Place, give you some Hints, from the most ingenious Dr. *Nehemiah Grew* upon this Matter.²³

No Stranger, tho' he ha's learn'd the English Tongue, yett, without being taught, can tell, what we English Men mean by, *A Penny Weight*. For, tho' a *Penny* weighs but Eight Grains, yett by a *Pennyweight*, we mean Twenty Four Grains. Thus tis said, 2. Sam. 14.26. *That Absaloms Hair weigh'd two hundred Shekels, after the Kings Weight*. By that Form of Speech, the Jewes might descend (as Dr. *Grew* thinks) as much below the reputed Weight of a *Shekel*, as we, when we say, *A Penny Weight*, ascend above the Weight of a Penny. For two hundred of these Shekels, as commonly reckoned, was fifty Ounces; whereas, there are seldome above Thirty Ounces, allowing three or four more for Waste, in the most monstrous Peruke. We are ignorant, it seems, of what is here meant, by a *Shekel*, or of the Phrase, *After the Kings Weight*.

And why not the Weight of a *Shekel*, (saies my Doctor,) as well as of a *Talent*? Of the several Kinds whereof, both among the Jewes, and in other Nations, we are still in the dark.

The *Oracle*, in the *Temple*, was an exact Cube, of Ten Yards, in Length, Breadth, and Heighth. [1. King. 6.20.] It was accordingly comprehended within 777 600 Square Inches. And both the Cieling, and the Floor, as well as the Sides, were all over-laid with Gold: [1. King. 6.20, 30. 2. Chron. 3.5.] Amounting to 600 *Talents*, [2. Chron. 3.8.] Should we then allow, what we need not to do, that the *Gold* where with it was overlaid, was, of that Thickness, for every *Square Inch*, to contain a *whole Drachm*, that is, One Eighth of an Ounce, yett it would have come, in all, but to 97 200 Ounces. Whereas in 600 *Talents*, according to the Received Account of a *Talent*, there are 900 000 Ounces; that is, above Nine Times the former Number; and it would have made the Gold, a quarter of an Inch Thick, to no Purpose.²⁴

Eupolemus, as we find him cited by *Eusebius*, Pr. Ev. 9.4. saies, *That in reckoning the Charge for the Temple, a Talent signified but a Shekel*. The *Shekel*, if it weigh'd, as we commonly suppose, Half an Ounce, there went then to overlay the Oracle, but Three Hundred Ounces. Now, an Ounce of *Gold*, answering in Quantity, to about 2 000 Leaves, Three Inches & one quarter Square, each Leaf containing a little more than Ten and an half Square Inches; such *Leaf-Gold*, as Gilders now use; Tis plain, That 21 000 Square Inches of *Leaf-Gold*, are equal to an Ounce of *Gold*; and 300 Ounces, to 6 300 000 of Square Inches. In which Number, the Measure of the *Oracle* is contained Eight Times, with a Fraction of near One Tenth. Should we then allow, that *Eupolemus* was not mistaken | in the *Talent*, nor we in the *Shekel*, what is called *Overlaying*, must have been *Gilding*, with a Sort of *Leaf-Gold*, having something more than *Eight Times* the

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²³ Dr. *Nehemiah Grew*, *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 4, ch. 4, p. 190, § 29.

²⁴ *Grew* (190), § 30.

Substance of *Leaf-Gold* now in Use. But this is inconsistent, with what we read, 2. King, 18.16. *That Hezekiah did cutt off the Gold, from the Doors of the Temple, and from the Pillars, which Hezekiah King of Judah had overlaid.* Here the *Over-laying* must be something more than *Gilding*.²⁵

Yett from *Eupolemus*, thus much may be gathered; That the *Jewes*, besides the larger *Talent*, had one that was much less. Which being so, what we read [1. Chron. 22.14.] ought no longer to seem incredible: That *David*, even in the Time of his Trouble, provided One hundred thousand Talents of *Gold*, and One Thousand thousand Talents of *Silver*; where by *Talent*, if we understand the *Greater*, there was *Gold* and *Silver* enough not only for overlaying the Temple, and all the Vessels belonging to it, but well-nigh to fill it. But if the *Less*; it was no more than what was possible, and feasible, and necessary.²⁶

Q. The *Laver* having a *Foot of Brass*? v. 18.

A. *Ludovicus de Dieu* opposes the Torrent of the common Opinion, and instead of, a *Foot*, he translates it, a *Cover*.²⁷

Monsr. *Saurin* dares not Reject the Thought, tho' he does not espouse it. For, tis likely enough, there was a *Cover* belonging to the *Laver*. Without This, the Water contained in it, and consecrated, might have contracted some Foulness, or have had the Rain-Water mingled with it.²⁸

The Ablution here was commanded by *Moses*, on Pain of Death. *Maimonides* thus paraphrases upon it. *The Priest who officiates without Sanctifying himself; that is to say, without Washing in the Morning, is in danger of being Struck Dead by the GOD of Heaven; According as it is said, They shall wash their Hands & their Feet, that they dy not. And his Administration is contrary to the Law, whether it be the High-Priest, or any Inferiour one, that shall act so.*²⁹

²⁵ Grew (190–91), § 31, cites a passage from the early Jewish-Hellenist historian Eupolemus, whose work survives only in fragments in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica*, in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, and in Alexander Polyhistor. Mather's second-hand citation of Eusebius's quote from Eupolemus (via Alexander Polyhistor) reads – as it appears in *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.34.451d) – “And Solomon sent away both the Egyptians and the Phoenicians each to their own country, having given to every man ten shekels of gold; now the shekel is a talent” (*Preparation* 1:480).

²⁶ Grew (191), § 32. Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.34.451d).

²⁷ Ludovicus De Dieu, aka. Lodewijk de Dieu (1590–1642), Dutch Reformed theologian and author of many works, including his *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti libros omnes* (1648), p. 78, on Exod. 30:18, 28, to which Mather here refers.

²⁸ Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations* (1723), “Diss. LV,” p. 463.

²⁹ Saurin (p. 464); Maimonides, *Hilchot Bi'at Hamikdash* (5.1), *Mishneh Torah* (29:253–54).

|
3251.

Q. What were the *Spices*, of the *Holy Anointing Oil*? v. 24.

A. 'Tis easier for me, to tell you what they were *Not*, than what they *were*.

We are left at great Uncertainties, about the Translation of the Hebrew Terms, for these Four Odoriferous Ingredients.³⁰

The *Myrrh*, by the Arabic Translator, is rendred *Musk*. But if it were a Gumm, as tis most likely, yett it seems not for to be That, unto which we have given the Name; The Scent whereof is *wholesome* indeed, but not *Fragrant*; whereas the *Oil* now before us, was intended for *Perfume*, and not for *Physick*.

The *Calamus* here notes a *Stalk*, and not a *Root*, such as is the *Calamus* in the Shops.³¹

The *Cinamon*, in the Hebrew, *Chenemon*, may be the same that is described by *Dioscorides*, [L. 1. c. 13.] But not the Bark we now call *Cinamon*, a Bark that growes not in *Arabia*, from whence, tis likely, the Jewes had all their *Spices*. Tho' this may so far agree in *Taste*, with the *Cinamon* of *Dioscorides*, as to be Biting, δριμύ καὶ δηκτικόν, yett of the *Dulcitude*, eminently mixed with the *Acritude*, and remaining in an Infusion, hereof in Water, when the *Acritude* is lost, he saies nothing at all.³²

The *Cassia*, cannot be the *Cassia Fistularis*, a Purge, and without any Scent; nor can it be the Bark, that is commonly called, *Cassia Lignea*, which is a Species of the modern *Cinamon*.³³

Thus anon, when we read, of *Galbanum*, (which is mentioned, Eccles. 24.15. as yeelding a pleasant Odor,) cannot be that fætid and filthy Gumm, which is now called *Galbanum*. Such a Gumm would never go into the Composition of so choice a Perfume.³⁴

³⁰ The annotations on this verse are extracted from Nehemiah Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 4, ch. 4, pp. 191–92, §§ 33–36. Rashi, Rambam, Ramban, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, and Saadia Gaon also disagree about the original composition of the aromatic spices employed in the Temple service (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:271–73).

³¹ Samuel Bochart argued that neither Moses nor Solomon are likely to have traded with remote India, where sweet-scented Calamus [acorus calamus] grows naturally. The spice must have come from Arabia (*Hierozoicon*, pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 6, col. 686–87 § VI).

³² Grew (p. 191, § 33). Dioscorides Pedanius, *De materia medica* (1.14.1, line 9), explains that cinnamon is both “sharp and bitter.”

³³ Grew (p. 191, § 33). The *Cassia Fistularis*, or *Cassia Fistula* (of the *Fabaceae* family) is variously known as “golden shower tree” or “pudding-pipe tree,” whose roots are believed to possess medicinal and purgative qualities. See Sebastian Pole, *Ayurvedic Medicine* (2006), p. 129. Likewise, the bark of *Cassia Lignea* (genus: *Cinnamomum*) is known for its laxative qualities. See also Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 12.42.89). For Mather and his peers, Claudius Salmasius's unwieldy *Plinianae Exercitationes in Caij Julii Solini Polyhistora. Pars Altera* (1629), fols. 1052–53, 1301–09, and “Addenda” (fol. 1352 B–C) is among the principal sources for the aromatic spices employed in the Temple service.

³⁴ Grew (p. 191, § 34). *Galbanum*, aka. *Ferula gummosa*, is an aromatic resin used in the Temple service (Exod. 30:34). See also Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:476–77 and *Works* 5:335)

And now our Hand is in, we may, without being at the Pains, to look out the more proper Places to insert them, here take notice, of our Ignorance, concerning the true Translation of the Hebrew Names for *Plants* also.

We read of *Solomon*, (1. King. 4.33.) *He spake of Plants, from the Cedar in Lebanon, to the Hyssop which springeth out of the Wall*; That is to say, From the *Greatest* to the *Least*. Now, among the least, are the *Ruta Muraria*, *Paronychia*, and some others, which grow upon the *Wall*. But what we now call *Hyssop*, as it is far from being one of the least, so it is no *Wall-Plant*.³⁵

Our Translators have done well, where, being at a Loss for the true English, they have kept unto the Text. But sometimes, as Dr. *Grew* notes, where the Text is plain, they venture, tho' very learned Men, to guess themselves into no Sense at all. Thus, [Cant. 1.14.] the Spouse compares her Beloved, as in our English Bibles, to a *Cluster of Camphire*; yett the Hebrew is, A *Cluster*, or *Bunch of Copher*; with which the Syriac agrees, as to the Radical Letters; and so does the Septuagint, Βότρυς τῆς κύπρου; Now, of the *Cyprus*, we read in *Pliny*, (12.24.) *Cyprus est Arbuscula, in Syria frequentissima, Coma odoratissima, ex qua sit Unguentum Cyprinum*. And in *Tirinus*; *Hujus flosculi, instar Uvarum, in Botros coeunt*. But how great is the Difference, between a Bunch of *Copher*, or *Cyprus*, that is of most fragrant Flowers; and *Camphire*, a meer Juice, and of a Scurvy Scent?³⁶

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Q. *The Art of the Apothecary?* v. 25.

A. Or, *Ointment-Maker*; of whose Art, we have an Account in *Theophrastus* and in *Dioscorides*.³⁷

and *Pliny* (*Historia Naturalis* 12.56.126).

35 *Grew* (p. 192, § 35). *Ruta Muraria* (genus: *Asplenium*) is a species of fern; *Paronychia*, existing in numerous varieties, is also known as *nailwort* or *chickweed*.

36 *Grew*, bk. 4, cap. 4, p. 192, § 36. In Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (3:430, 431), the Hebrew phrase הַכְּפֹרִי הַזֶּה is rendered "Botrus Copher" and the Syriac, "Botrus est cypru patruus." Cant. 1:14 (LXX), which Mather here cites from *Grew*, is translated as "a cluster of camphor." *Pliny*'s relates that "Cyprus is a shrub, very often found in Syria, with most perfumed foliage, from which comes the ointment cyprinum (cyprus-ointment)." Mather's third-hand quote (via *Grew*) originates in *Tirinus* (see below) and appears to be a summary of *Pliny*'s description of the different types and medicinal qualities of the leaves of the cypress shrub (*Historia Naturalis* 13.2.5, 12; 24.10.15–24; 24.61.102 etc.). Finally, in his *Commentarius in Vetus et Novi Testamenti Tomis Tribus Comprehensus* (1632), tomus 2, p. 197, Cant. 1:13 (voce: Botrus Cypri), "Capitis I. Pars Quinta," the Flemish Jesuit and biblical scholar Jacobus Tirinus (1580–1636) maintains that "they [ancients] combine this little flower into clusters, after the fashion of grapes." It is *Tirinus* who provides the Latin quotation from, but erroneous citation reference to, *Pliny*'s *Naturalis Historia* (12.24), which appears to be a paraphrase of *Pliny*'s description of the unguent Cyprinum (Oil of Cyprus). See also *Salmasius*'s annotation in *Plinianae Exercitationes in Caij Julii Solini Polyhistora. Pars Altera* (1629), pp. 466 and 1068 A–C.

37 *Patrick*, on *Exod.* 30:25 (*Exodus* 610); *Theophrastus* describes the process of making the fragrant oil of myrrh (*Historia Plantarum* 9.4. secs. 1–10) as does *Dioscorides Pedanis* (*De materia medica* 1.30.1, lines 3–4). *Patrick* (and *Mather*) would have had access to several editions

Maimonides thus describes the Manner, of making the *Ointment* here.³⁸

The *Spices* were beaten severally, [He should have excepted the *Myrrh*, which was, a Liquid:] They were mixed then together; and macerated in Pure Water, till all the Vertue of them was extracted. This being done, the *Hin* of *Oyl* was poured upon them; and all was boiled upon the Fire, till the Water was evaporated, and the *Oyl* alone remained. See *Schickard*, in his *Mischpat Hamelek*.³⁹

Q. A Little Paganism on this Occasion? v. 25.

A. *Porphyrie* has these Words, *We ought to use Incense chiefly in the Worship of the Gods; They prefer it unto Hecatombs*.⁴⁰

Lett us add one Passage out of *Plutarch*. He says, *The Egyptians were the only People who offered Incense thrice a day to their Gods: The First, which consisted of Rosin, was offered when the Sun began to rise. The Second, which was of Myrrh, was at Noon. And the Third, composed of a Drug, called Kyphi, at Sun-sett*.⁴¹

Q. How was this to be an *Holy Oyl*, throughout their Generations? v. 31.

A. The Jewes fancy, that this Individual *Oyl*, made by *Moses*, lasted unto the *Captivity*; or till the Time of *Josiah*, which may be as Fabulous a Fancy, as that of *Josiah's* hiding of it.⁴²

of Theophrastus's works, including the dual-language edition *Theophrasti Eresii Historia Plantarum Libri Decem Graecè & Latinè*, edited by Julius Caesare Scaliger (Amstelodami, 1644).

³⁸ The recipe for the holy ointment appears in Maimonides's *Hilchot K'lei HaMikdash ViHaOvdim Bo* (1.1–5), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:134–36). See also his *Guide* (3.45.579–80).

³⁹ Mather, via Patrick, on Exod. 30:25 (*Exodus* 610), draws on משפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamel-ech*] *Jus Regium Hebraeorum e Tenebris Rabbinicis erutum & luci donatum* (1625), cap. 1, pp. 23–26, by Wilhelm Schickard (1592–1635), German mathematician and professor of theology and Hebrew at the University of Tübingen. The Hebrew title suggests “the law of the king,” and the work is a compendium of rabbinic literature on the laws and duties of kingly rule.

⁴⁰ No matter what primary source Mather leaned on, he refers to *De Abstinencia* (2.17), by the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyrius of Tyre (234–c. 305 CE). Porphyrius cites Antiphanes's *Mystics* as evidence that the gods prefer frankincense to hecatombs of meat offerings: “In simple offerings most the Gods delight:/ For though before them hecatombs are placed,/ Yet frankincense is burnt the last of all./ An indication this that all the rest,/ Preceding, was a vain expense, bestowed/ Through ostentation, for the sake of men;/ But a small offerings gratifies the Gods” (*On Abstinence*, p. 54). If that is so, then Eusebius Pamphilus (*Demonstratio Evangelica* 3.3.105 and *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.11.149*bd*) has it wrong, when he insists that God Almighty cannot be pleased by such offerings: “we must neither offer by fire nor dedicate any of the things of sense; for there is no material thing which is not at once impure to the immaterial” (*Preparation* 1:163). Perhaps the German polymath Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was on to something in his 1827 poem *Three Palinodias* (1): “Incense is but a tribute for the gods, – / To mortals 'tis but poison./ The smoke that from thine altar blows,/ Can it the gods offend?/ For I observe thou hold'st thy nose – / Pray what does this portend?/ Mankind deem incense to excel/ Each other earthly thing,/ So he that cannot bear its smell,/ No incense e'er should bring./ With unmoved face by thee at least/ To dolls is homage given;/ If not obstructed by the priest,/ The scent mounts up to heaven” (E. A. Bowring, translator. *Poems of Goethe* [1891]), p. 251.

⁴¹ Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 52.372*d*).

⁴² Mather's primary source for the following is trusty Simon Patrick's commentary on Exod.

There were so many Things to be anointed with it; and especially, the *High-Priests*, who had such a Plentiful Effusion of it, that it ran down to the very *Skirts of their Garments*; that this *Oyl* could not last so long; much less, could it, without a Miracle, retain the Scent, for so many Generations.⁴³

Tis true, there was near half an hundred Weight of the *Spices*, yett there was but Five or Six Quarts of *Oyl*; & therefore the *Ointment* could not be more; the Odors of the *Spices*, being only extracted by Infusion. And such a Quantity as this, one may well suppose, it was near spent, in the Anointing of so many Things & Persons, as are here mentioned. And therefore upon Occasion, it was to be made again, as was the following *Perfume*.

It ha's been an ancient Opinion among the Jewes, *That in the Second Temple, there was no Holy Oyl*. We know not how they came to fancy it unlawful to make it. But, as Dr. *Patrick* thinks, The Omission of this *Unction* after the Return from the Captivity, seems to foretel, that there should be another, & a better *Unction*, by the Holy Spirit of God, ere long to be received.⁴⁴

Q. Why might not this *Ointment* be imitated? v. 33.

A. *Maimonides* answers well; That this Odor, being smelt no where else, Men might be more in Love with it, in the Sanctuary. And that none, by being Anointed with the like, might fancy themselves better than others; from whence might have arose Dissentions, Envies & Mischiefs not a few.⁴⁵

Q. The Materials of the Sacred *Perfume*? v. 34.

A. *Salmasius* informs us, That the *Stacte*, is the Liquid Part of *Myrrhe*, which drops from it, when it is pressed out by Art. And so *Fortunatus Scacchus* observes

30:31 (*Exodus* 611–12). Based on the Talmud, tractate Horayoth (11b), Rashi believed that from the phrase “for all your generations” the Hebrew “Sages deduced that ... the entire [שָׁמֶן] [הַמְשָׁחָה] [(anointing oil made by Moses)] will be preserved for the time yet to come (i. e., after *Moshiach* comes). The numerical value [זֶה] [*Zeh* (i. e., *This*)] [ז=7, ה=5] corresponds to the twelve logs” of Moses’ anointing oil (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 2:495–96). Through repeated miracles, this anointing oil lasted until the days of Josiah, who hid the oil along with the Ark of the Covenant, the jar of manna, and Aaron’s blossoming rod (*Horayoth* 12a).

43 Ibn Ezra is the most vociferous of the medieval rabbis to dismiss the miraculous replenishment of Moses’ anointing oil. The original quantity of twelve logs, Ibn Ezra argues, was insufficient to last for the anointments of all the furniture of the Tabernacle, the high priests, and of the Solomonic Temple; therefore, more oil had to be made as needed until Josiah’s time (*Commentary* 2:638) and *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Exodus* (2:509).

44 Simon Patrick, on *Exod.* 30:31 (*Exodus* 611–12). Tractate Makkot (2:6) of the Jerusalem Talmud explains that the anointing oil was one of the five things missing in the Second Temple. Maimonides, too, believed there was “no anointing oil [during] the Second Temple [era]”; the High Priest was therefore “installed in his office by putting on the garments of the High Priest alone,” in *Hilchot K’lei HaMikdash ViHaOvdim Bo* (1.8), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:138). See also Mather’s gloss on *Ezra* 1:11 (*BA* 4:88).

45 Patrick (*Exodus* 613); Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 45, p. 479, and *Guide* (3.45.580).

out of *Dioscorides*, who calls it, *The most unctuous Part of fresh Myrrhe, press'd out with a little Water*. This was used by the Heathens in the Perfumes of their Altars, as appears by *Euripides*.⁴⁶

The *Galbanum* sold in our Shops, is of an offensive Smell. But there was another in *Syria*, on Mount *Amanus*, of an excellent Scent. Here is a Word therefore added, *Sweet Spices*, which the vulgar Latin joins to *Galbanum*; & renders it, *Galbanum boni Odoris*; As if it had been said, by way of Distinction, *Aromatic Galbanum*.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Patrick (*Exodus* 614–15); Salmasius, *Pliniana Exercitationes* (1629), pp. 544(E)–545(A) also cites Dioscorides Pedanius (*De material medica* 1.66.3, lines 7–8); Fortunatus Scacchus, *Thesaurus Antiquitatem Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), lib. 2, cap. 8, col. 331(E), takes delight in the unctuous quality of the odoriferous myrrh, as described in Dioscorides Pedanius (*De materia medica* 1.60.1, lines 1–3). See also Scacchus (lib. 1, cap. 52, col. 262). In Euripides (*Troiaides* 1061–65), the chorus of Trojan women sings, “So then you have delivered into Achaea’s hand, O Zeus, your shrine in Ilium and your fragrant altar, the offerings of burnt sacrifices with smoke of myrrh to heaven uprising” (*Trojan Women* 1061–65).

⁴⁷ Patrick (*Exodus* 615); *Galbanum*, aka. *Ferula gummosa*, is an aromatic resin, which was used in the Temple service (*Exod.* 30:34). Scacchus (1725), lib. 2, cap. 6, col. 321(E), praises the “fragrant smelling Galbanum.” See also Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:476–77 and *Works* 5:335) and Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 12.56.126).

Q. Who was *Bezaleel*, the Overseer of the *skilful Workmen* for the Tabernacle? v. 2.

A. His Father *Hur*, is thought the Husband of *Miriam*, the Sister of *Moses*.

Then (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) the Observation of *Abarbinel* is not impertinent; God more particularly declared His Choice of *Bezaleel*, and *Moses* the more punctually remembers the Declaration, to take away all Exceptions from the *Israelites*, who might have been apt to think, that *Moses* had too much Regard unto his own kindred, if he had appointed his *Nephew* to be the Chief-Governour of this Work, without the Special Call of GOD unto it.¹

Q. *Aholiab* of the Tribe of *Dan*? v. 6.

A. It is observed by R. *Bechai*, That God chose one out of the lowest Tribe, (for so they accounted that of *Dan*,) as well as one out of the chief, which was *Judah*; That *Bezaleel* might not be lifted up, with Vain Conceit; For Great and Small, are æqual before GOD. It seems, one of the same Tribe, of *Dan*, by the Mothers side, was the most skilful Person that could be found, for the Building of the Temple, by *Solomon*. [2. Chron. 2.14.]²

Q. On that; *The Sabbaths a Sign*? v. 13.

A. The Original may be rendred, *A Sign, to acknowledge, that I Jehovah, am your Sanctifier*; that is to say, *Your God*: For as Mr. *Mede* observes, To be the *Sanctifier* of a People, and to be *Their God*, is all one. Compare, Ezek. XX.20 – read it so, *To acknowledge, that I Jehovah am your God*. The most ingenious Mr. *Derham*, in his *Physico-Theology*, observes upon it, that the Profanation of the *Sabbath*, carried in it therefore such an Affront unto God, as that the Punishment of it with Death, was a very equitable Penalty, and that altho' under Christianity, the Punishment be not made capital, yett we have not less Reasons, but rather much greater for the Observation of this Holy Day, than the Jews.³

¹ Patrick, on Exod. 31:2 (*Exodus* 619), refers to Abarbanel's commentary on Exod. 31:2, in *Selected Commentaries Shemos/Exodus* (2:412–13, 414). See also *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (2:275–76).

² Mather, via Patrick (*Exodus* 621), refers to Bachya ben Asher (Bechai), *Torah Commentary* (4:1330).

³ Again, Mather's primary source is Patrick (*Exodus* 624). Joseph Mede, *Works* (1664), "Discourse XV," pp. 73, 74. The Derham extract is from *Physico-Theology; or, a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, from his Work of Creation*, 2nd ed. (1716 [1714]), bk. 11, ch. 6, pp. 452–53, by Dr. William Derham (1657–1735), English natural philosopher, fellow member of the Royal Society and Mather's longtime correspondent. Derham's *Physico-Theology* represents the substance of his Boyle lectures, which Derham presented at St. Mary-Le-Bow

To illustrate, the Notion of, *A Sign*, or *A Mark*, which is here insisted on, the same Industrious, and Accomplished Philosopher, as well as Religious Divine, observes; That as at this Day, it is customary for | Servants to wear the Liv- [70v]
 ery of their Masters, & others to bear Badges of their Profession; thus in former Ages, & in Diverse Countreys, it was usual to carry *Signs*, and *Marks*, and *Badges*, on many Occasions. In Ezek. IX.4. such a thing was putt upon the Forehead of those that *lamented the Abominations of the City*. Compare, Rev. VII.3. and IX.4. and Rev. XIII.16.⁴

Those *Badges* were very common. *Servants* and *Souldiers* had them on their *Arms*, or *Forheads*. Those that were matriculated in the *Hateria*, or *Companies*, had the *Badges* of their Societies. And whoever listed themselves into the Societies of the several Gods, received a *Χαραγμα*, in their Bodies (commonly made with Red-hott, Needles, or some sort of Burning in the Flesh,) of the God under which they listed themselves. To *Badges* on their Flesh, or perhaps on their Cloathes, they adjoined, a Dedication of *Dayes*; as we know how the several *Dayes* of the Week were dedicated by the ancient *Romans*, & afterwards by our Ancestors the *Saxons*.⁵

Behold, the *Sign*, the *Mark*, the *Badge*, to be worn, by them who would acknowledge the glorious JEHOVAH, to be *Their God*.

Q. *Moses's Return, with the Two Tables, written with the Finger of God?* v. 18.⁶

A. It was a thing so notorious, and so much beleaved by those who were not Jewes, That other Nations pretended unto the like Divine Writings, to procure unto their Lawes, the more of Reputation and Authority.

The *Brachmans* report in their Histories, That the Book of their Law, which they call *Caster*, was delivered by God unto *Bremavius*, upon a Mount, in a Cloud; and that God gave also another Book of Lawes to *Brammon*, in the First Age of the World.⁷

Church, London, in 1711–12. In his *The Christian Philosopher* (1720/21), Mather made much use of Derham's *Physico-Theology* (1713) and *Astro-Theology* (1714).

⁴ Extracted from Derham's *Physico-Theology* (453, n. 5).

⁵ Derham (453, n. 5). The Greek noun *χαραγμα* signifies "any mark engraved, imprinted, or branded" (*LSJ*).

⁶ Master at explaining obscure passages to the perplexed, Maimonides insists that phrases like "the finger of God" or "the writing of God" are metaphors and must not be understood in a literal sense: "with regard to the coming into being of a thing, the texts figuratively use the terms *saying* and *speaking* and that it is one and the same thing of which it is said that it was *made by speech* and of which it is said that it is the *work of a finger*. Similarly the dictum *written with the finger of God* is equivalent to its saying *by the word of God*" (*Guide* 1.66.160).

⁷ Pierre-Daniel Huet devotes his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 6, pp. 95–99 (and p. 205E), to substantiating that the ancient Brahmin patriarchs of India (as well as all the other pagans) imitated the *Prisca theologia* of Moses. The story about the law of the Brahmins given to Bremavius on a mountain appears to originate in *The Discoverie of the Sect of the Bani-ans. Containing their History, Law, Liturgie, Casts, Customs, and Ceremonies* (1630), by Henry Lord (b. 1563), preacher to the East-India Company and early ethnographer. According to

The *Persians* report the same, of those of *Zoroaster*; and the *Getes* of *Xamolxis*. Nay, the *Brachmans* have a *Decalogue*, like this of *Moses*; and accurate Interpretations of it; In which there is a Prophecy, *That one day, there shall be One Law alone, throughout the World.*⁸

This argues; how well the World was anciently acquainted with those Books of *Moses*, & what an high Esteem they had of them.

Lord's *Discoverie* (chs. 2, 8), Brammon, eldest son of Pourous and Barcoutee (the first human pair), populated the eastern hemisphere and received from god a book of precepts to instruct his people in the first age of the world. After the Flood, which ended the first age of the world, Bremaw, one of Brammon's descendants, received from god in the clouds of Mount Meropurbatee the ancient precepts of Brammon, their progenitor, instructing Bremaw to teach his people, the Banians, from this holy book they called "*Shaster*," which consisted of "three Tracts" (*Discoverie*, pp. 4, 40).

⁸ Mather's source is Patrick (*Exodus* 628), who leans on Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, pp. 214–15, n. 19: "De tabulis Legis Mosi à Deo traditis." The "*Brachmans Decalogue*" consists of eight (!) precepts and is excerpted in Henry Lord's *Discoverie* (1630), ch. 8, pp. 41–43). In a second work by Henry Lord, *The Religion of the Persees. As it was compiled from a Booke of theirs ... by them called their Zundavestaw* (1630), Lord describes the religion of the "*Persee*," the second "sect" he encountered in the East-Indian city Surratt. The Parsee lawgiver "*Zertoost*" received his holy book *Zundavesta* by revelation (ch. 6, p. 27), which consists of three parts with different precepts (ch. 7, pp. 30–39). Herodotus (4.93–96) relates that Xamolxis (aka. Zamolxis, or Salmoxis) was a demon or sky-god among the Getae, i. e., Dacian (Thracian) people, in the territories of modern Romania (see Diodorus Siculus 1.94.2). In the best manner of Euhemerus, Herodotus explains that before "Salmoxis" became a deity, he was a "slave to Pythagoras" in Samos and subsequently taught his people philosophy. Plato, too, in his *Charmides* (156d–158c) speaks of Zalmoxis, the god-king of the Thracians, whose devotees could even "make men immortal." Hugo Grotius's *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, & Langobardorum* (1655) may have served Mather and his peers as one of the best sources on the ancient Getae or Goths. See also Thomas Hyde's *Historia veterum Persarum* (1700), pp. 433–36. On the idea that the gods were deified humans, see T. S. Brown's "Euhemerus and the Historians" (359–74).

Q. Why in so much Haste? v. 1.

A. The People had as yett, received no Directions, about the Service of God, for which they were called out of *Egypt*; and they thought, it was Time to desire *Aaron* to sett about it, in such a Way, as other People served their Gods. Thus *Dr. Patrick*.

They cry, *Make us Gods*, or, rather, *Make us a God*. See *Neh. 9.18*.

Nyssen elegantly compares them to *Schoolboyes*, in the Absence of their Master, carried *Ανοητοις ορμαις εις αταξίαν* By *senseless Motions, into Disorder*.¹

4231.

Q. What might be in the Mind of *Aaron*, when he said, *Break off the Golden Ear-rings* etc.? v. 2.

A. The Jewes tell us, That *Aaron* used all the Delayes, he could think of, in hopes to putt the mad People off, until the Arrival of *Moses*; and he hoped, that they would not comply with some of his Proposals.

You'll find in *Shemoth-Rabba* this Particular and Remarkable Passage. *Hur* having been Massacred for his resisting of the People, *Aaron* just ready to succumb unto their Fury, lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and said, *O Lord, I look up to thee, who knowest the Hearts of Men, and who dwellest in the Heavens: Thou art Witness, that I act against my Inclinations*.²

Q. *Aaron*, tis said, *Fashioned the Golden Calf, with a Graving Tool*. Of what Fashion? v. 4.³

A. The *Egyptians* worshipped *Apis*, or *Serapis*; a Black Bull, with a White Streak, or List, along the Back; a White Mark, in Fashion of an *Half Moon* on his Right Shoulder; only *Two Hairs* growing on his Tail; with a fair Square *Blaze* on his Forehead; and a great Bunch, called *Cantharus*, under his Tongue.⁴

1 Patrick, on *Exod. 32:1* (*Exodus* 630), cites a passage from *De Vita Mosis* (cap. 1, sec. 58, line 8), by the Cappadocian Father Gregorius Nyssenus (c. 335–c. 395), bishop of Nyssa. The Greek phrase, here translated by Patrick, reads in the original, *ἀνέτοις ὀρμαῖς εἰς ἀταξίαν*.

2 *Midrash Rabba* (*Exodus* 11:8).

3 In his "Note Book of Authors" (*Exod. 32:6*), Mather lists "Taylors, Epicurisme described"; i. e., Thomas Taylor's sermon on *Exod. 32:6*, "Epicurisme Described and Disgraced" [*sic*], preached in 1630, and posthumously published as sermon No. 10, in *The Principles of Christian Practice* (1653), pp. 107–14, bound with the previously cited *The Works of that Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Dr. Thomas Taylor* (1653).

4 Herodotus (3.28) explains that *Apis* is completely black "but has a white triangle on his forehead and, on his back, the likeness of an eagle; on his tail the hairs are double, and there is a knot [i. e., *κάνθαρος*] under his tongue" (*Herodotus* 3.28). The "*cantharus*" [i. e., *κάνθαρος*] is a knot in the shape of a sacred scarab (dung beetle), which was associated with the rising sun-god

Besides this Natural and Living *Bull*, they also worshipped Βοῦν δίαχρυσον, a *Golden Ox*, the Pourtraiture of the *former*.⁵ Hence *Aaron*, and afterwards *Jeroboam*, who lived some Years with *Shishak*, the King of *Egypt*, had their Pattern of their Calves. If you object, That the *Egyptian* Idols were *Bulls*, these, *Calves*; I answer, *Gradus non variat Speciem*. Yea, *Herodotus* calls *Apis* himself μόσχον; and with *Virgil*, *Vitula, Binos alit ubere fœtus*. But, to putt all out of doubt; What, in *Exodus* is termed, *A Calf*, is in *Psal.* 106.20 termed, *An Ox*.⁶

And unto some it seems probable, that *Aaron* with his graving Tools, here formed, the above-mentioned Privy-tokens of *Apis*. [Consult *Selden*, and *Fuller*.]⁷

2903.

But what saies *Bochart* upon it? *Bochart* saies, That here was no Use at all of a *Graving Tool* in the Case, and that its being mention'd, in the Hebrew, before the *Melting* of the Metal, is enough to make us lay aside the Thoughts of it. He therefore saies, That the Word by us rendred, *A Graving Tool*, signifies, *A Purse*, or, *A Bag*: and he reads the Clause, *And receiving them at their Hand, he laid them up in a Bag & made thereof a molten Calf*. He Illustrates it, from *Judg.* 8.24. 2. *King.* 5.23. and *Isa.* 46.6.⁸

However, *Leclerc* opposes him with Probable Reasons, that *Saurin* pleads for a *Pyrrhonistical* Criticism.⁹

Q. Whence gott the *Israelites*, the Name of, *A Stiff-necked People*? v. 9.

Khepri and thus signifying eternal renewal (R. H. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods* 230–33). According to ancient Egyptian beliefs, “the race of beetles has no female, but all the males eject their sperm into a round pellet of material [dung] which they roll up by pushing it from the opposite side, just as the sun seems to turn the heavens in the direction opposite to its own course, which is from west to east” (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 74.381a, lines 5–10). See also John Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 6, cap. 2, sec. 4, fol. 845 (1°).

5 Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 366e, line 1) relates that the priests of Isis and Osiris perform their mourning rites by draping “the gilded image” of a cow with a black linen shroud.

6 Whether the Egyptian idols were images of bulls or calves, Mather feels, makes no difference, for this “gradation does not change the species.” Herodotus (3.28) tells that according to the Egyptians, “a lightning bolt from heaven has struck the cow and so from it the calf Apis is born.” And Virgil (*Bucolica: Eclogue* 3.30) has Damoetas exclaim, “the cow ... suckles two calves.”

7 Mather, via Simon Patrick (*Exodus* 632), enlists as his authorities John Selden’s *De Diis Syris* (1617), synt. 1, cap. 4, pp. 46–65, esp. p. 51; and Nicholas Fuller’s *Miscellaneorum Sacrarum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 7, pp. 212–13, and lib. 4, cap. 10, pp. 522–29.

8 Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, cols. 334, 335.

9 Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations, historical* (1723), Diss. LIII, p. 444. Jean Le Clerc, *Mosis Prophetæ Libri Quatuor, Exodus* (1696, 1733) and *Commentarius In Exodi* (Exod. 32:4), pp. 178–80, was decried as a skeptic of verbal inspiration of the Bible. See especially Le Clerc’s *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande* (1685) and *Twelve Dissertations out of Monsieur LeClerc’s Genesis* (1696).

A. Wee know, t'was a Metaphor borrow'd from Young *Bullocks*, impatient of having a *Yoke* laid upon their *Necks*. But *Israel* never had this Name, till the Business of the *Golden Calf* had procured it for them; and there is a most Remarkable Allusion in it. The Indisposition of any *Calf* to bear a *Yoke*, makes all Men call it, a *Stiff-necked Creature*; the Addition of an Hard *Metal* in the Neck of the *Molten Calf*, here made it *Stiffer* yett.¹⁰ But the worst *Stiff-neckedness* of all, was in the People that made an *Idol* of this Creature; they show'd their own unspeakable Unwillingness to submitt unto the *Yoke* of that *Law*, which God had laid upon them. The Foolish People intended this *Calf*, as a Resemblance of *God*; but *God* would have them to know that it was a Resemblance of *Themselves*; and as *Moses* reduced this *Calf* to *Powder*, so God threatned that for this *Calf-like* Property, of their *Stiff-neckedness* Hee would *consume them in a Moment*.¹¹

2904.

Q. Are you sure, that the *Calf* made by *Israel*, was an Imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*?

A. Upon further Thoughts, I am not sure of it. *Bochart*, with his usual Acuteness, proves, That the Worship of *Serapis* in *Egypt*, was not of such Antiquity; nor indeed, known there before the Dayes of *Alexander* the Great; but that it was by *Ptolomy* brought out of *Pontus* into *Egypt*, the Story whereof we have in the Fourth Book of *Tacitus*. The same Incomparable Writer, confutes the Opinion advanced by *Philo*, That *Typhus*, or *Typhon*, worshipped in *Egypt*, was the Original of the *Israelitish Calf*.¹²

10 See Appendix A.

11 If Rashi's expertise is useful here, then the phrase "stiff-necked people" signifies that "they turn the napes of their necks stiffly toward those who try to reprove them and refuse to listen." And Ibn Ezra adds that this image is of a people "which does not listen to what is commanded. The image is that of a man walking down the road who, if someone calls him, will not turn his head" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:284).

12 Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, col. 338. Mather refers to Ptolemaeus Soter I, aka. Lagides (c. 367–283 BCE), who acceded to the throne of Egypt upon the death of Alexander the Great (d. 323). The Roman historian Tacitus (*Historiarum* 4.82–84) relates that according to some Egyptian priests a godlike youth appeared to Ptolemy I in a dream, who upon inquiry fetched the image of the Serapis bull from Pontus (a region in the SE corner of the Black Sea) to Alexandria, his new capital in Egypt. Others, Tacitus objects, believe that Serapis was brought from Seleucia (Syria) to Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy III; yet others insist that Serapis was brought from the Egyptian city Memphis and set in a newly built temple in Alexandria. Revered for his healing powers, Serapis became identified with Aesculapius, with Osiris (one of the most ancient Egyptian deities), with Jupiter, but mostly with Pluto, the Greco-Roman god of the underworld (*Historia* 4.84). Bochart (cols. 339–41) rejects the opinion of Philo Judaeus (*De Ebrietate* 24.95) that the Golden Calf was modelled after Typhon, monstrous offspring of Gaia and Tartarus, "the emblem of whom was the figure of a golden bull; around which his mad worshippers established dances, and sing, and prelude" with "melancholy and mournful lamentation" (*Works* 215). See also J. Tait, "The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views."

Nevertheless, he does grant, That *Philo* is very right so far, that *Ox-worship* was very ancient in *Egypt*; and that the *Israelites* might learn it from them.¹³

Tho' if you will turn to our Illustration upon the *Shechinah*, (in Act. 7.2.) you will find an Original for this Image, of the *Calf*, much more probable, than any that ha's been mentioned.

However, Dr. *Patrick* objects against it. He thinks, *Aaron* chose the *Oxe*, for the Symbol of the Divine Presence, in hope, the People would never be so sottish as to worship it.¹⁴

[71v]

Q. Why is the *Image* called, *A molten Calf*?

A. It was no bigger than a *Calf*, tho' the Head was like an *Oxe*, & therefore the Psalmist called it so.

When it was cried, *These are thy Gods, O Israel: Abulensis* interprets it; *His Divine Vertue resides in this Golden Body*.

Some think, That *Aaron* made Choice of an *Oxe* to be the *Symbol* of the Divine Presence; in hopes, that the People would look on it as *no more*, and not be so stupid as to worship it. For the *Head* of an *Oxe* was anciently an Emblem of *Strength*, as *Horns* were a common Sign of *Kingly Power*. Hence, when the Christian Fathers mention this *Idol*, they usually speak of no more than an *Head*. *Lactantius*, Inst. L. 4. c. 10.] only says, *They made themselves the Image of a Bullocks Head*; Not because he imagined, *Aaron* made only an *Head*, but this was the principal Part, whereby God was represented.¹⁵

13 Philo Judaeus, *De Posteritate Caini* (46.148) and *De Vita Mosis* (2:31.159).

14 Patrick, on Exod. 32:4 (*Exodus* 634); his principal source is Dr. Thomas Tenison's *Of Idolatry: A Discourse* (1678), cap. 6, parts 4–5, pp. 112–25. See also Franciscus Moncaeus's controversial *Aaron Purgatus: sive De Vitulo Aureo Libri Duo* (1604), in *Criticorum Sacrorum* (1698), 1:85–192 (sep. pag.), sign F²–M⁶, in which the French antiquarian claimed that the winged cherubim on the ark of the covenant and Aaron's golden calf were effigies of the Egyptian Apis. These bovine creatures were no idols at all but legitimate objects through which prayers could be directed toward the Most High. On this topic, see Smolinski, "Eager Imitators" (310–20).

15 The Spanish bishop of Avila, Tostatus Abulensis, aka. Alonso Tostado (c. 1400–1455) imagines that the recalcitrant Israelites worshiped the Golden Calf (Apis), because like their Egyptian overlord they believed that the power of Apis resided in the body of the statue, in *Commentaria in Secundam Partem Exodi* (1728), Exod. 32; Questio XII, pp. 202–04: "*Quaere, cum esset unus Deus metallinus, dixerunt Hebraei pluraliter, Hi sunt dii, &c?*" (ref. is to p. 203, col. 1, middle). The early Christian author Lucius Caecilianus Firmianus Lactantius, in his *Divine Institutes* (4.10), relates that when Moses "tarried forty days" in the mountains, his wayward followers "made the head of an ox in gold, which they called Apis, that it might go before them as a standard" (ANF 7:108). Matthew Poole's summary of the Reformation and post-Reformation debate on the origin, nature, and function of the Aaronic Molten Calf (Exod. 32:4–6) is highly instructive (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:481–86 and *Works* 5:352–64).

[2905:]

Q. What might be the Holy Design of Providence, in permitting it, that *Aaron* the *High-Priest* of *Israel*, should fall into the horrible Crime of *Idolatry*?

A. God would hereby give this Instruction to *Israel*; That *Reconciliation* to Heaven was not to be expected by Sinners, from the *Levitical Priesthood*. If the *High-Priest* himself, were so great a Sinner, how could he make Atonement for the Sins of *other Men*? It is a good Stroke that *Ferus* has upon it, *Quomodò unus captivus alium liberaret?*¹⁶

[4536:]

Q. Give us, if you please, a Devout Remark upon that; *They Rose up to play*?

A. Our Mr. *Strong* has one of this Importance. “*Humane Inventions* in Gods Worship are in Gods Account, no better than *Playes*, and Mimical *Dances*. *They Rose up to play*. It was that which they intended for a *Religious Worship*: but being in a way of their own Devising, the Lord calls it, *Play*. And so it is rendered, 1. Cor. 10.7. They were but *Childish Carriages*, antique Gestures, neither suitable to the Holiness of God, nor the Majesty of His Ordinances, only fitt to please Children & no more.”¹⁷

Q. How may that be understood, *I will make of thee a great Nation?* v. 10.

A. Dr. *Patrick* reads it, *I will sett thee over a great Nation*. I will make thee a Prince of a mightier Nation.

So the Word, *Asah*, signifies, 1. Sam. XII.6.

This is the Meaning; Because *Moses* urges the Promise to the Patriarchs, as failing, if the People were all destroy'd. Whereas, there would have been no Danger of that, if God had made a great Nation, to spring of *Moses*, who was of their Seed.¹⁸

¹⁶ The Latin passage from the German RC theologian Johann Ferus (1495–1554) is extracted from Samuel Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (1692), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34: “De aureis Aaronis & Jeroboami Vitulis,” col. 348 (line 62). In his *Annotationes in Exodum Numeros, Deuteronomium* (1574), annot. in Exod. cap. 32 (p. 163*), Johann Ferus asks by way of analogy, “How can someone who is only a captive liberate another?” See also J. Sheehan's “Sacred and Profane” (2006).

¹⁷ With slight alterations, Mather quotes this paragraph from William Strong's 1639 sermon on Zach. 14:9, *One Heart and One Way* (sermon 20), pp. 481–82, collected in *XXXI Select Sermons, Preached On Special Occasions* (1656), by William Strong (d. 1654), Independent clergyman of Moor Crichel (Dorset), sometime fellow of Katherine Hall (Cambridge) and, toward the end of his life, notable preacher at Westminster Abbey (*ODNB*). Mather's quote is from the “Third Use” of Sermon 20, pp. 481–82. See also *BA* (1:922, n 48).

¹⁸ Patrick, on Exod. 32:10 (*Exodus* 642–43). Although apparently excised from the “Biblia Americana” holograph manuscript, Mather does identify in his “Note Book of Authors” on Exod. 32:12 “MSS. Pat. no. 16. p. 172” as a potential source for his gloss on this verse.

Q. What Remark is to be made, on the Different Sentiment, which *Moses* and *Joshua*, had of the *Noise* in the *Camp* which they heard, when they approach'd near unto it? v. 17, 18.

A. I think tis the Observation of *Masius* hereupon, That the Tempers of Men, do præpossess them, with Opinions. *Joshua*, being more of a *Warriours* Disposition, interprets the Noise in the Camp, to be the Noise of *War*: But *Meek Moses*, interprets it, as rather the Noise of *Singing*. As Mens *Tempers* are, so they usually are (and *Err*) in their *Judgments*.¹⁹

[72r]

4232.

Q. What is it that the Jewes imagine was the true Occasion, of *Moses*'s breaking the *Two Tables*? v. 19.

A. A sufficient Occasion being mentioned in the Text; What need we enquire any further?

But some of the Jewes tell us, That the *Letters* of the *Tables* vanished, when *Moses* brought them near to so provoking a People.²⁰

Others of the Jewes tell us, That *Moses* fainted at the Sight of their Provocation and Idolatry, and had not Strength left him to carry the Tables.²¹

A Third sort of the Jewes tell us, That *Moses* intended the Humiliation of the *Israelites*, & hoped that their Hard Hearts would break, when they saw these glorious Tables broken for their sakes before their Eyes.²²

2453.

Q. What might be the Intention of *Moses*, in casting the Powdered *Calf* into the Water? v. 20.

¹⁹ The unidentified passage from Andreas Masius (1514–73), a RC humanist and Orientalist, is probably deeply buried in his *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia Illustrata Atq. Explicata ab Andrea Masio* (1574).

²⁰ According to פירקי רבי אליעזר [*Pirke de Rabbi Elieser*]. *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 45, p. 122, when Moses saw the Israelites dancing around the calf, “the writing fled from off the tables, and they became heavy in his hands, and Moses was not able to carry himself and the tables, and he cast them from his hand, and they were broken beneath the mount” *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (45.355–56).

²¹ Rashbam, following *Pirke* (45), explains that when Moses saw the calf “his strength failed him. Though he no longer had any strength, he cast the tables a little bit away from him, so that they would not hurt his feet when they fell,” in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (2:286–87).

²² See Appendix A. Whereas Abarbanel believes that Moses broke the tables of the Law “on the very spot where he had built the altar at the foot of the mountain where the covenant was made,” Nachmanides (Ramban) thinks that Moses wanted to humiliate them – like an unfaithful wife – because “the tablets of the covenant are the original marriage contract between them, which is torn up at this point” (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:286–87).

A. Some say, It had been a Rite superstitiously used in the Worship of *Apis*, that they plunged the whole Image of the *Beast*, into the River, and upon its Rising thence they worshipped it. Hence, *Papinius*;

— *Aut quo se gurgite Nili*

*Mergat adoratus trepidis pastoribus Apis.*²³

Now in Defiance of that Rite, *Moses* will have this new *Apis*, to be first pulverised, and then cast into the *Water*, beyond Possibility of *Rising* in a Figure to be worshipped.

If the Worship of *Apis* were so Ancient! —²⁴

Q. How was the *Calf powdered*?

A. Most probably, (as Dr. *Patrick*, and others,) with a *File*. *Bochart* observes, That with such *Dust*, some of old powdered their own Hair, & the Mains of their Horses; which made them glitter, when the *Sun* shone upon them.²⁵

1084.

Q. What was the Meaning of *Moses* making the *Israelites* to Drink Water, with the Powder of their Calf, sprinkled upon it? v. 20.

A. *Israel* could not bee so long without *Moses*, as *Moses* without *Meat*. Tho' the Fire was yett burning on the Top of *Sinai*, from whence they had lately Received the Law, the People suddenly, extremely, horribly, break the greatest Commandment of that Law. Of their *Egyptian Jewels*, they made an *Egyptian Idol*.

So Grievous a *Transgression* must expect a Grievous *Punishment*. Wherefore, First, The *Cloud of Glory*, their Divine Leader, departed from the *Camp*, which was now profane and unclean. Secondly, *Moses* breaks the Tables before their face, declaring them to bee most unworthy of the *Covenant*. Thirdly, The Building of the *Tabernacle*, the Evidence & Instrument of the Lords Dwelling among them, is Adjourned. Fourthly, God gives them up after this, to worship the *Host of Heaven*. Fifthly, *Moses* pulverising of the Calf makes the People

²³ The lines from *Papinius* are extracted at second hand from Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes* (Exod. 32:20), in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1679), 1:57. Grotius's source is *Sylvarum* (lib. 3, cap. 2, lines 115–16), by the Roman poet Publius Papinius Statius (c. 45–c. 96 CE), in *Publii Papinii Statii Sylvarum Lib. V. Thebaidos Lib. XII. Achilleidos Lib. II.* (1671), p. 148. The poet wonders if the Israelites baptized the golden calf “or in what flood of Nile he [*Apis*] bathes, worshipped by trembling herdsmen” (*Silvae* 3.2.115–16). John Selden puts the same *Papinius* quotation to good use in his *De Diis Syris* (1617), synt. 1, cap. 4, p. 50, and may well be the original source for both Grotius and Bochart.

²⁴ Like many of his peers, Mather is persuaded that the Egyptian *Apis* (*Serapis*) was a late arrival in the cultic worship of the Egyptians, and introduced when Ptolemy Soter I built his new capital of Alexandria (4th c. BCE). See esp. Tacitus's *Historiarum* (4.82–84), Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, col. 338), and John Edwards's *Discourse Concerning the Authority* (1693), ch. 6, pp. 214–17.

²⁵ Patrick, on Exod. 32:20 (*Exodus* 647); Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, cols. 350–51).

to drink the *Water*, wherein hee had cast the *Powder*. Here, *Spiritual Adultery* comes under the same Trial, that was afterwards appointed for *Carnal*. [Num. 5.24.] They that were guilty of this *Idolatry*, had their *Bellies* now swelling, as a Visible Token of their Guilt. The *Levites* are commanded hereupon, to slay every one, whose *Bellies* they found so swelled: which they did, with so sincere a Zeal, that they spared neither *Father*, nor *Brother* of their own, in the Action. About
 [72v] three Thousand fell, in | this first Slaughter, who had been, it seems, the *Ring-leaders* in this Abomination, & therefore were made *Exemples* in this Extermination: And upon the rest of the People, God sent a *Plague*.²⁶

Q. How did *Moses* make them drink of it? v. 20.

A. He did not constrain them (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) but they had no other Water; and so, they would not avoid, when Thirsty, to Drink of this.

The Design of *Moses*, might be, to make them sensible, how Vile a thing this *Idol* was; which was gone into their *Draught*, & mixed with their *Dung* & their *Urine*.²⁷

Q. *Aaron* said, *The People are sett on Mischief?* v. 22.

A. The Words in the Hebrew are, more emphatical; *They are in Wickedness*, or, *In Idolatry*.²⁸

Tis not improbable, That the Apostle *John* may allude unto this Passage; when he saies, 1. Joh. 5.19. *The whole World lieth in Wickedness*.

Q. How do you understand those Words of *Moses*, *If thou wilt, Forgive their Sin; and if not, Blot mee, I pray thee, out of thy Book, which thou hast written?* v. 33.

A. This is clear; No Man, having his *Name* once Written in the *Book of Life*, ever shall, or can, have it Blotted out again. The Eternal *Choice* which our God ha's made of certain Persons *Ordained unto Eternal Life*, is Eternally Unalterable. The Pagans, feigned their *Graces* to bee all of them, linked unto each other by an *Indissoluble Chain*; but the Connexions between the *Graces* of our God, are still more Inseparable. You have them, in Rom. 8.30. If any *Name* could really bee *Blotted out* from the *Book of Life*, it must bee, either because God *knowes not* certainly who will come unto *Life Eternal* at the last, or because God *could*

²⁶ See Patrick (*Exodus* 647–48). See also Numb. 19:1–22. Drinking the Waters of Separation – just like making a woman suspected of adultery drink a mixture of water and dust from the floor of the Temple to establish her innocence or guilt – are related in John Selden, *De Diis Syris* (1617), synt. 1, cap. 4, pp. 46–64; and Johann Christoph Wagenseil, *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), p. 1128.

²⁷ Patrick (*Exodus* 648). See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:488–89) and *Works* (5:373–74).

²⁸ Or בִּרְעָה [berah] (Strong 7451, B9502).

not confer the *Grace*, which is necessary to bring them unto that *Life*. But how monstrous are the Blasphemies of such Assertions!

As for the Words of *Moses*, I insist not on that which many, & especially Jewish Interpreters, assign as the Meaning of those Words; That they refer to the *Book* of the Law, or the Pentateuch, where the *Name* of *Moses* does *live* Renowned unto all Generations; q.d. *I am willing it should never bee Read, or Known, that there was a Man of my Name, in the World*. But it is possible, That the Man of God, might refer unto the *Book* of *Life Temporal*, not the *Book* of *Life Eternal*. There is a *Book* of *Providence*, which ha's in it the *Names* of such as are to *out-live* the Wasting Plagues, that are to come upon their Neighbours: Now, saies *Moses*, *Lett mee rather now Dy myself, than that thy Name should bee Dishonoured in thy Blotting out the Names of all this People, from the Number of the Living*.²⁹ This was the Sense, by *Jerom*, & others of the Ancients, putt upon those Words of *Moses*; and it is a Sense, which the Context smiles very much upon.³⁰ But suppose that the *Book* of *Election* was intended in the Words of *Moses*, the Heroic Love & Zeal of that Saint, for the People of God, might passionately propound an *Impossible Thing*, in the Pursuance of a *Possible*. Our Lord Himself, in His Agonies, mentioned such a thing; and added *If it bee possible!* What if in the Efforts of his Ardors, *Moses* might say, *Lord, Rather than this People should perish, I could bee content, if that were possible, to lose the Happiness, provided I may not also lose the Holiness, of my own Eternal Salvation*. Tis but like the Carriage of a charitable *Brother*, who beseeching his Father to bee Reconciled unto an

29 Rashi believes that if God did not pardon their sins, Moses wanted his name erased “from the entire Torah,” because “I [Moses] do not want it said of me that I am not worthy of gaining Your mercy for them.” Ibn Ezra, however, thinks that “the ‘record’ is literally that which was written ‘with the finger of God’ [31:18]. . . . “God’s ‘record’ is written in the stars, which even determine how many children one will have and how long (and how well) one will live.” Ramban strongly disagrees with Ibn Ezra’s astrological fatalism, but cannot reconcile himself to Rashi’s position either. Ramban holds that Moses intends the following: “If you will not forgive them, then erase *me* from the Book of Life *instead of them*, and I will bear their punishment.” This is like the idea expressed in Isa. 53:5, ‘He was wounded because of our sins, crushed because of our iniquities. He bore the chastisement that made us whole, and by his bruises we were healed.’ But the Holy One told him, ‘I will erase the sinner from My record, and not you, who have not sinned.’” R. Chizkiyahu seconds Ramban, proposing that “the record” from which Moses asks God to erase him “is not a reference to the Torah which had not yet been committed to writing,” but “to the ‘Book of Life’ in which every human being is inscribed on *Rosh Hashanah* if he was found deserving on the basis of his past record” (*Chizkuni* 3:628). Finally, Gersonides sets the record straight, insisting that “Moses uses the metaphor of the ‘Book of Life’ because a book mimics the reality of the world of the senses, from which it draws its existence, in just the same way as that world mimics the world of the divine intellect, from which *it* draws its existence” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 2:291). Well, there it is.

30 Mather may have in mind St. Jerome’s “Epistola XCVI. Sive Theophili Alexandrini Episcopi Paschalis Anni 401,” in *Quarta Classis Complectens Epistolas Ab Inuente Anno 401*. Epistola XCVI [PL 022. 0788].

undutiful Son, should plead, *Syr, Either Pardon this my faulty Brother, or else Run Mee thorough with your Sword!* a Thing which hee knowes will never bee done.³¹

Tis true, There is a *Negative* Deletion, out of *Gods Book*, sometimes mentioned in the Oracles of God; but not a *Positive*. When wee read such Places as Psal. 69.28. and Rev. 22. 19. about Mens being, *Blotted out of Gods Book* the Meaning of it is, That God will make it appear they have never been at all *Written* there.

Lett us recite the Words of Mr. *De la Placette* on this Occasion. [In his *Dissertations on Morality*, ch. xv.] “ – One might suspect, that he desired to sacrifice his Salvation to Theirs. But quite contrary, he desires to be *Blotted out of Gods Book*, in Case his Prayer should be rejected; FORGIVE THEIR SIN, OR BLOTT ME OUT OF THY BOOK. Now, who does not see, that as much as that would be unsupportable, if it were to be understood of Eternal *Damnation*, so much is it worthy of Praise, when explained unto an *Untimely Death*. What could be more Impious, than for a Man to say, *I will be Damned forever, if thou dost not grant me the Favour I ask?* And on the Contrary; what could be more pious, and laudable, than to say, *If thou be determined to Destroy this Nation, spare me the Grief of Surviving, and of hearing the Insults and Blasphemies of our Enemies. Take me out of this World, where I shall only lead a Life full of Bitterness; and less tolerable than Death itself?* Compare, Num. XI.11, 12.³²

After all; *The Book*, here, is only the Scrol wherein the Names of the *Israelites*, that were to enter into the Land of *Canaan*, were to be Registered. Such a *Register* we find in the Book of Numbers.

Q. On that Passage; *In the Day that I visit, I will visit their Sin upon them?* v. 34.

A. In *Sanhedrin*, fol. 102.1. there is recited a Speech of R. *Isaac*. *Non est ulla ultio*, [Seu, *Pæna*,] *quæ venit in mundum, in quâ non sit Vigesima pars, in Depressione Libræ de Vitulo Primo*. But *Nachmanides* in his Commentary on the Law, so recites the Speech of the *Rabbi's*; *Non est pæna, in quâ non est uncia de Iniquitate Vituli*.³³

³¹ The Reformation and post-Reformation divines also debated the issue and offer variants of the rabbinic positions (see above). See Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:491–92) and *Works* (5:383–85).

³² Extracted from Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations* (1723), Diss. LIII, pp. 451, 452, based on *Dissertations sur Diverse Sujets de Morale et de Theologie* (1704), Diss. 1, cap. 15, pp. 105–06, by Jean La Placette (1639–1718), Huguenot pastor of a French church in Copenhagen.

³³ R. Isaac maintains, “No retribution whatsoever comes upon the world which does not contain a slight fraction [lit. “twentieth part”] [in the sinking of scales] of the first calf [i. e. the molten calf in the wilderness], as it is written, nevertheless in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them” (*Soncino* Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin 102a). And *Nachmanides* (Ramban), quoting Shemoth Rabbah (43:3), avers, “No punishment [ever comes upon Israel] in which there is not a small part [lit. “a twelfth”] for the sin of the golden calf” (*Commentary on the Torah: Exodus* 570).

Q. *By the Mount Horeb.*] v. 6.

A. Rather, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, the Hebrew *Mehar* imports, *From the Mount*: A great Way off the Place where God appeared: As unworthy to come into His Presence.¹

Dr. *Gell* grows Mystical upon it. *From the Mount Horeb*, or, *the Law*, the People *stript themselves of their Ornament*; [the Word is of the Singular Number:] So, *From the Work of the Law* upon Men, they begin to *putt off* their own *Ornament*, their own *Righteousness*.²

2454.

Q. Wee read, *Moses took the Tabernacle, & pitched it without the Camp*. How can that bee? The *Tabernacle* was not yett Built? v. 7.

A. This *Tabernacle* was *Moses's* his own *Tent*; *quod vice fuit* (as *Grotius* notes upon it) *Sacri Tentorij nondum facti*.³

We need not suppose it; the *Tent* where he lived with his Family; But a *Tent* sett apart for his Interviews with Heaven; The *Angels* of GOD *meeting* him there.⁴

Q. Why was that; *His Servant Joshua departed not out of the Tabernacle*? v. 11.

A. Dr. *Patrick* argues; It seems not decent, that *Moses* should return alone, without his Servant attending upon him. They that say, He staid to guard the *Tabernacle*, have no Foundation for what they say; And they have not much, who say, he stayed to give Judgment in small Causes, which needed not *Moses's* Resolution. We read not, that *Joshua* was a *Judge*; but a constant Attendent on *Moses's* Person. The Words may therefore, be better translated, as they plainly

¹ Patrick (*Exodus* 658) appears to rely on Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:493), which explains that מֵהָרַב הֹרֵב [mehar Choreb] does not signify "by" (KJV) or "near Mount Horeb" (Munster's *Hebraica Biblia* [1546], fol. 179 note a), but rather "from Mount Horeb."

² Robert Gell's "mystical" interpretation that they [Israelites] "stripped themselves of their ornaments" (Exod. 33:6), in Gell's *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 233b–c, appears to echo that of the Italian Rabbi Obadiah ben Jacob Sforno (c. 1475–c. 1550), who declares that God's command to "take off your ornaments from yourself" (Exod. 33:5b) is the removal of "that spiritual preparation given to you at that honored (glorious) station (i. e., when you received the Torah) ..." (Sforno, *Commentary* 460).

³ Quoted from Hugo Grotius's *Annotiones in V.T.* (Exod. 33:7), in *Opera Omnia* (1679), 1:57. Grotius states that "the *Tabernacle*" here does not refer to the sanctuary, "which edifice of the sacred tent had not yet been made," but to Moses' own private shelter.

⁴ This reading agrees with those of Rivet and Menochius (Poole, *Synopsis* 1:494, and *Works* 5:393). See also Patrick (*Exodus* 658) and Bertramus, *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), cap. 4, pp. 45–46.

run in the Hebrew. *He turned again to the Camp, and his Servant Joshua, the Son of Nun, a Young Man.* Here we have a Stop in the Hebrew, over the Word, *Naar*, or, *Young Man*; which distinguishes these from the following Words; *He departed not out of the Tabernacle*; That is, The Lord departed not from thence; but His Presence remained there; & would not come into the Camp, as *Moses* did. And this Interpretation is the more likely; because the last Words in the Hebrew are, *Out of the Midst of the Tabernacle*. This can't refer to *Joshua*; because he did not go thither; but only *Moses*, who conversed Alone with the Divine Majesty.⁵

|
Q. Why is *Joshua* called, *A Young Man*; when he was near Sixty Years old? v. 11.
A. Perhaps, it signifies, a *Valiant Man*; for so he was. Or, He had waited on *Moses* from his *Youth*.

Maimonides tells us, 'Tis the Phrase of the Hebrew Nation, who call all Men *Young*, till they begin to Decay; as *Joseph* is called, when he was Thirty Years old. [Gen. 42.2.]⁶

200.

Q. What Singular & Special Reason, might bee given, for the Request of *Moses*, *I beseech thee, Shew mee thy Glory?* v. 18.⁷

A. Why not *This*? It might bee, That hee might Recover himself out of the Affliction, which the Sight of the *Golden Calf* had given him. *Moses* had beheld, that horrid & hideous *Object*, which was an Affront unto the *Deity*: This *Object* had given him such Terrible Transports of Soul, as broke forth into Expressions, beyond any that hee had undergone, on any other Occasion: The Provocation putt him upon Effusions of *Words*, of *Wrath*, of *Blood*. At last, the *Golden Calf* was reduced into Powder, and scattered into an eternal *Invisibilitie*: hee should

5 Patrick (*Exodus* 661–62). In his “Note Book of Authors,” Mather lists “MSS. no. XII. p. 62” as a useful manuscript source on Exod. 32:15.

6 Patrick (*Exodus* 662) and Maimonides, מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 32, pp. 286–87; *Guide* (3.32.362–63).

7 Mather refers to “Shepards Sincere Convert. p. 1” (“Note Book of Authors”) as a useful resource on Exod. 33:18. New England’s own Thomas Shepard (1605–1649), minister of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and principal founder of Harvard College, published his *Sincere Convert, Discovering the Paucity of True Beleevers And the great difficulty of Saving Conversion* (London, 1640). By the end of the 17th century, this popular work on Puritan soteriology had gone through at least 23 imprints and editions. In the present context, Mather identifies Shepard’s sermon on Exod. 33:18, which constitutes chapter 1 in *The Sincere Convert* (1640), pp. 1–24. In this chapter, the Cambridge minister addresses God’s existence, essence, providence, the Trinity, and His evidence in nature. Along with John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Richard Mather, Shepard shaped what became the New England Way. See also Cotton Mather’s biography of Thomas Shepard, in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 3, ch. 5, fol. 84–93; and more recently, A. Whyte’s still useful *Thomas Shepard. Pilgrim Father and Founder of Harvard* (1909).

see *That* no more. Nevertheless, the *Man of God*, might find his Imagination still Disturbed, with the Impressions, which that *Monster* had made upon him: hee wanted to have his Holy Soul entirely delivered from those Troublesome *Images*, which yett haunted it. Now, for the effectual Defacing of those *Images*, hee petitions for some Illustrious, & Powerful Manifestations of the Divine *Glory* to bee made unto him; that so his Quieted *Spirit*, might bee in a fitter Temper for further Conversations with the Majesty of Heaven.⁸

Q. But what was it, that *Moses* desired the Sight of? v. 18.⁹

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus expresses it; He desired to see that Glorious Presence (or, *Face of God*, as it is called,) what He promised should go with them; not veiled in a *Cloud*, but in its full Splendor and Majesty. For, hearing Him Speak, from the SHECHINAH, he supposed, perhaps, that God appeared therein, in some *Visible Shape*, which he desired to be acquainted withal. It is observable, that God Himself, in his Answer to *Moses*, calls this *Glory His Face*. And thus R. *Jehudah*, in the Book *Cosri*, seems to understand it.¹⁰

God said unto *Moses*, v. 20. *Thou canst not See my Face*. That is, Thou art not capable of Seeing my *Glory*, in the full Splendor of it.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, none ha's explained this whole Matter, better than R. *Jehudah*; in *Cosri*, p. IV. Sect. 3. "For the *Glory* mentioned in Scripture, there is one of such a Nature, that the Eyes of the Prophets could sustain it; Another all the *Israelites* saw, (as the *Cloud*, and the *Consuming Fire*,) but another so pure & bright, to such an high Degree, that no Prophet is able to apprehend it; but if he venture to look upon it, his Composition is dissolved; i. e. he dies."¹¹ Such was the *Glory* here spoken of; a Splendor so great & piercing, that none could behold it.

⁸ The classic rabbinic commentators don't agree on the meaning of *Moses*' request. Perhaps the most persuasive explication is offered by Rashbam, who wonders how the heart of *Moses* "could become so full as to desire to enjoy the radiance of the Shekhinah," when in Exod. 3:6 he seemed terrified to look at God in the burning bush. Instead, "*Moses* meant only to make a covenant with Him" in confirmation of God's two promises: "the radiance of [H]is face and the fact that He would go with the *Israelites*" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:299).

⁹ Mather's "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 33:19) refers to Wolfgangius Franzius's previously cited *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione de Sacrarum Scripturarum Maxime Legitima* (1619), p. 450; i. e., "Oraculum XXIX. Sacrum. Exodi 33.19," Franz's disquisition on God's mercy (450–74).

¹⁰ Patrick, on Exod. 33:18 (*Exodus* 666) enlists as his source the apologia for Judaism against Moslem and Christian incursions, in Buxtorf's bilingual translation of כוזרי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem De Religione* (1660), pars 4, sec. 3, pp. 259–64, by the Sephardic R. Judah ha-Levi of Tudela (c. 1075–1141). On *Liber Cosri*, see especially A. Shear's *The Kuzari* (2008), pp. 55–133.

¹¹ Patrick, on Exod. 33:20 (*Exodus* 667–68), and Judah ha-Levi's כוזרי *Liber Cosri* (1660), pars 4, sec. 3, pp. 259–64.

No Man shall See me & Live.] Accordingly, when the SHECHINAH, or *Divine Glory*, fill'd the Tabernacle, *Moses* was not able to enter into it; that is, He could not, with Safety to his Life, look upon it.¹²

Q. What meant, *I will cover thee with my Hand?* v. 22.

A. The Lord *show'd* unto *Moses*, perhaps one of the Clefts made in the *Rock*, when He brought Water out of it. This was, *Putting* him into it.

Hereupon, the Lord cast a *Cloud* about him, that he might not bee struck Dead, by the Inconceivable Brightness & Force of those *Rayes*, which came from the *Face* of the Divine Majesty.¹³

As soon as the *Face* of the Divine Majesty was pass'd by, the *Cloud* which covered him, was to be removed, and he might see the *Glory* shining with a lower Degree of Light. And yett such was the Brightness thereof, that it left Particles of *Light* upon him.¹⁴

It is observable, That this Opinion prevail'd among the Ancient Pagans; That such was the Majesty of the GODs, that they could not bee seen *Face to Face* by Men. Thus in *Homer*, – *Short as he turn'd I saw the Power appear.* – *Spondanus* thinks, *Homer* learnt this of *Moses*.¹⁵

¹² Patrick (*Exodus* 668). See Appendix B. Following the last line of this paragraph, Mather inserts at this point three carets in his holograph manuscript to position an addition to the existing text. However, neither the insertion nor separate addendum seems extant.

¹³ Patrick, on *Exod.* 33:22 (*Exodus* 668–69).

¹⁴ Patrick, on *Exod.* 33:23 (*Exodus* 669).

¹⁵ Mather alludes to Jean de Sponde (1557–95), French Huguenot humanist of Mauléon (France), who published his bilingual Greek-Latin translation in parallel columns along with a commentary, titled *Homeri quae extant omnia Ilias, Odyssea, Batrachomyomachia, Hymni, Poematia* (1583). The italicized citation probably refers to the pale fear which seized Odysseus in Hades, when he awaits the appearance of Teiresias, the ruler of Erebus, surrounded by the shades of the dead thronging toward the pit of sacrificial blood (*Odyssey* 11.36–50).

860.

Q. The *Two Tables* of Stone, whereon the *Law* was written; How long did they continue in the World? v. 4.¹

A. Till the Ruine of the *Temple*, which was a Space of above *Nine hundred* Years. But some Chronologers, do more præcisely fix upon the Space of just *Nine hundred & Thirty*.²

1 See Johannes Buxtorf's "Arcae Foederis," cap. 21, in *Exercitationes* (1659), pp. 181–86.

2 The English chronologer and antiquarian Sir John Marsham (1602–85) spoke for many of his peers who raised their hands in despair about ever harmonizing the vastly diverging chronologies of the Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, with those of the Hebrews, in his famous *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus Ebraicus Graecus & Disquisitiones* (London, 1672), p. 291: "Frustrà sunt, qui contra tam expressa contendunt" ("They who so much as expand [the chronology between the Exodus and the foundation of Solomon's Temple] cannot but be frustrated"). Competing chronologies of ancient histories were a common phenomenon in Mather's time. For better or worse, they all responded to Joseph Justus Scaliger's massive *Opus de Emendatione Temporum* (1583) and Dionysius Petavius's *De Doctrina Temporum Divisum in Partes Duas* (1627). The nearly total unavailability of archaeological evidence greatly complicated matters and forced chronologers to rely on contradictory, if not incomprehensible, manuscript materials of ancient civilizations – each with its own system of dating its calendars (see A.T. Grafton's "Joseph Scaliger"). In Mather's time, the primate of Ireland, James Ussher (1581–1656), had nearly settled the debate to the satisfaction of most Protestant theologians in the English-speaking world, in his *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650) and his *Chronologia Sacra* (1660). Yet his own work followed that of his predecessors who backtracked the lifespans of their biblical heroes to arrive at the date of the Almighty's *fiat*. However, efforts to fine-tune the data with astronomical evidence continued to prosper as empirical observations began to flourish. Sir Isaac Newton's posthumous *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728) is, perhaps, the most famous, albeit controversial, case in point. That all was not well seems clear from the London Polyglot of Brian Walton, whose editorial committee elected to append the *Chronologia Sacra A Conditio Mundo* (1655) of the Huguenot professor of Hebrew and theology at Saumur, Ludovicus Cap[p]ellus (1585–1658), rather than that of Ussher, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1657), 6:1–44. In his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:277–301), Mather lavishly excerpts *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (1702), by his erstwhile friend and correspondent William Whiston (1669–1752), an English theologian, mathematician, and Isaac Newton's successor to the Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge. According to Whiston, 480 years and 1 month elapsed from the time of the exodus to the foundation of the first Temple, and 424 years and 3 months from Solomon's Temple to its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar (totaling 904 years and 4 months) (*BA* 1:286, 290 and Whiston's *Short View* [1702], pp. 42, 69, 75, 83). In this calculation, Whiston revises in several instances Ussher's famed *Chronologia Sacra* (1660), cap. 2, p. 44, and *Annals of the World* (1658), p. 39. See also Herodotus (2.142–46). F.E. Manuel's *Eighteenth Century* (1959), ch. 3, provides a charming, albeit somewhat dated, précis of the raging debate. Perceptive discussions of the topic include C.A. Patrides's "Renaissance Estimates," J. Barr's "Why the World Was Created in 4004 B.C.," J.D. North's "Chronology," K. Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship* (90–101), and A. Grafton, "Scaliger's Chronology" (104–44).

Now this was the Age of *Adam*, the First Man. The First Man, by Breaking the *Law*, written upon the Tables of {the} *Heart*, looses the Priviledge of living out that *one Day. A Thousand Years*; And behold, the same Fate for the Sin of Man attends the Writing of the *Law* itself upon the Stony Tables. However, The *Law* endures forever!³

Q. That Clause in the Name of GOD, *And that will by no means clear the Guilty?* v. 7.

A. According to *Maimonides*, this Clause also belongs to the *Goodness* of God; signifying, That when he does punish, He will not utterly Destroy, and make Desolate. He thinks the Hebrew Words are to be literally rendred, *In Extirpating He will not Extirpate*. So the Word, *Nahah*, is used; Isa. III.26. unto the same Sense, tis expounded by many modern Interpreters: by L. *de Dieu* particularly.⁴

Dr. *Patrick* adds; we find *Moses* urging these very Words among other, why God should not Destroy the *Israelites* as One Man: Num. XIV.18. which had hardly been so proper, if God would, *by no means clear the Guilty*.⁵

1873.

Q. In the Name of GOD, here proclaimed unto *Moses*, wee have, as it were, the *Magna Charta* of the Old Testament. Can you give any Remarkable Instances, of the Faithful having Recourse unto it, in After-Ages? v. 6, 7.

A. *Many Remarkable Instances!* The Faith of the most eminent Christians in the Old Testament, still had Recourse unto this Proclamation, as the *Asylum*, in all their Distresses.

Moses himself, in after-times, does fly to it. See Num. 14.17, 18, 19.

David ha's it up Twice in one Psalm. See Psal. 86.5, 15.

See again, Psal. 145.7, 8. *All the Saints* with their Mouths full of it.

Moreover, tis very notable, in Psal. 103.7. *Hee made known His Wayes to Moses, His Acts to the Children of Israel*. By His *Wayes & Acts*, wee are to understand, *Qualiter se gerat erga suos*.⁶ Well, what were the Dispositions, which the Lord *made known* to *Moses*, & the *Children of Israel*? Why, the Psalmist in the

3 Ussher, who had happily lit upon the beginning of God's first day of creation (Gen. 1:1) as falling on "the entrance of the night preceding the twenty third day of *Octob.* in the year of the Julian Calendar, 710 [i. e., 4004 BCE]" *Annals* (1658), p. 1, calculated 930 years for Adam's lifespan (*Annals* [1658], pp. 1, 2, and *Chronologia Sacra*, cap. 2, p. 46), and the year of his death in 1640 (Julian Calendar) or 3074 before the birth of Christ. Usher dates the giving of the Law to Anno Mundi 2513/14 or 1491/90 BCE, and the loss of the Mosaic Tables in the destruction of Solomon's Temple to A. M. 3409 or 595 BCE (*Annals*, pp. 87–88). Whiston dates the latter event to A. M. 3416 (*Short View*, p. 58, § 3). For the loss of the Tables, see Mather's commentary on Exod. 25:22 (above).

4 Maimonides (*Guide* 1.54.127) and Ludovicus De Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648), pp. 80–81.

5 Patrick (*Exodus* 675).

6 Lat.: "Just as he conducts himself towards his own people."

next Verse repeats this very Proclamation: *The Lord is merciful, & gracious, slow to Anger, & plenteous in Mercy*; In which there is not only, a, *Videtur alludere ad illud Moses*, (as Calvin speaks;) but it is a plain citing of the Words, as being spoken to *Moses* by Name.⁷

Jeremiah again Quotes it. Jer. 32.18.

Joel again Quotes it. Joel. 2.12, 13.

Micah ha's it up. Mic. 7.18.

Nehemiah, almost a thousand Years after *Moses*, ha's it. Neh. 9.17.

Jonah saies, ch. 4.2. *I knew that thou art a Gracious God, & merciful, slow to Anger, & of great Kindness, & repentest of the Evil.*

How did hee *know* it? It was from this very Declaration made unto *Moses*. And it seems, hee *knew*, that wee *Gentiles* also were concerned in it; which is a very comfortable Consideration.

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. Lett us resume the Consideration of that Article, in the Name of our *Good God*; *He will by no means clear the Guilty*, &c.? v. 8.

A. There are those, whereof Mr. *Aynsworth* is one, who look upon the whole Text, as having that Scope, To proclame the *Goodness* of God. But his Words are; "This His *Justice* upon the Wicked is a Part of His *Goodness* towards His People; as it is said, *The Just shall rejoyce, when he sees the Vengeance.*" This Gloss might receive some Confirmation from the CXXXVI Psalm; where *Famous Kings*, & Enemies of the Church are *slain*, *Because the Mercy of God endureth forever*. Compare, Nah. I.7, 8.⁸

But *Ludovico de Dieu*, considers, that in other Places, particularly Zech.V. 3. the Word, *Nakah*, signifies, to *Cutt off*; & he therefore alters the Translation of the Words, and putts them into a Posture of looking yett more Directly at the *Goodness* of God. He renders them, *Succidendo non Succidet*; and makes this the sense of them; "So Great is the *Goodness* of God, that even when He is Angry, & punisheth, yett He will not utterly overthrow. He *Visits* indeed *the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children*, but it is *to the Third & Fourth Generation* only; not forever."⁹

⁷ Adapted from John Calvin's Latin commentary on Psal. 103:7, *In Librum Psalmorum Commentarius* (2:211, § 8): "Videtur alludere David ad Moses exclamationem, quae legitur Exodi 34,6. ubi in signi revelationes modo clarius quam alibi describitur Dei natura," which has been rendered, "David seems to allude to the exclamation of Moses where the nature of God, revealed in a remarkable way, is more clearly described than in other places," in *Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (part 4, p. 132).

⁸ The entire paragraph, including the citation from Henry Ainsworth, on Exod. 34:6–9 and Ps. 58:11, *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627), pp. 142–43, is extracted from Henry Arrowsmith's *Armillæ Catechetica* (1659), Exercitation 5, pp. 224, 225.

⁹ Mather's quotation from Ludovicus De Dieu's commentary on Exod. 34:8, in *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648), pp. 81, 82, is extracted at second hand from Henry

We have here then, as Dr. *Arrowsmith* supposes may be allowed, an Eighth Branch of the Divine Goodness; to witt, *Clemency in Correcting*. It is here first in general declared, That *Destroying He will not destroy*; that is, He will not utterly Destroy, or, [Jer. XLVI.28.] *make a full End*, of His People, however He may for some time correct & chasten them. Compare, Amos. IX.8. And [verso] Jer. XXX.11. And thus, in the XIV of *Numbers*, we find *Moses* taking hold on this Discovery of God, in the XXXIV of *Exodus*; and pleading it for the Præserva-tion of *Israel* from total Ruine, q.d. “Lord, If thou Resolve to punish this Peo-ple, yett remember what thou hast said, *Destroying He will not Destroy*. If their Iniquities must be visited *upon their Children*, Lord, Lett it not be forever, but only to the Third & Fourth Generation.”¹⁰ If the Clause be read in the Sense commonly received, *He will by no means clear the Guilty*, what could be the In-ference, but that all *Israel* now under a deadly Guilt, must avoidably perish? But then more particularly, *He will visit the Iniquities of the Fathers on the Children*. Children are to their Parents a Part of their Goods. When God said concerning *Job*. *All that he hath is in thy Power*, Satan, by Vertue of that Commission, slew his Children as well as his Cattle. [See Josh. V. 15, 24, 25.] But here is *Clem-ency*, as well as *Equity*. Tis only to the *Third & Fourth Generation*. The *Anger* is not *drawn out to all Generations*. Compare, Psal. LXXXV.5. and, Neh. IX.31.¹¹ And they are not all sorts of Sinners that are thus punished; It belongs chiefly to *Idolaters*, who are indeed *Adulterers*; and therefore peculiarly called, *The Haters of God*. *Deum odisse in Sacris Literis peculiariter illi dicuntur, qui falsos Deos colunt*, as *Grotius* observes; And, *Maimonides* denies, that the Term is ever used for any others. And it is rarely done, but when Children tread in the Steps of their Pro-genitors. Compare, Isa. LXV.6, 7. But it is ever done with merciful Intentions. Tis to restrain Men from Sin, by their Affections to their Children. *Chrysostom* observes, There is no Penalty more grievous, than for a Man to see Misery for his own sake brought on his Offspring.¹²

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

Arrowsmith's *Armilla Catechetica* (1659), p. 225, § 2. De Dieu believes that God in His goodness “castigates, but will not destroy,” or more literally, “cutting off, he will not cut off.”

¹⁰ Arrowsmith, pp. 226, 227, 228, 229.

¹¹ Arrowsmith, pp. 229, 230, 231.

¹² Mather's Latin citation is from Arrowsmith's *Armilla Catechetica* (1659), Exercitation 5, p. 231 (marginalia), and p. 233 (mispaginated 231). Arrowsmith's quotes Grotius's *Annotatio-nes*, on Exod. 20:5, in *Opera Omnia* (1679), 1:43, lines 39–40, stating that “In the Holy Scrip-tures, they who especially hate God are those who worship false gods.” Here, Grotius (1:43, line 40) relies on Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 1, cap. 54, p. 90; and in (1:43, lines 33–34), Grotius refers to Joannes Chrysostom's *Ho-milia* 29 (on Gen. 9). Alas, this manner of quoting at second-, third-, or even fourth remove was all too common in Mather's time.

|
488.

Q. What Remarkable Discovery ha's there been, of, JEALOUS, being peculiarly the Name of GOD; Inasmuch as it is said, *Thou shalt worship no other God; for JEHOVAH, whose Name is JEALOUS, is a Jealous GOD?* v. 14.

A. The Scripture calls the *Dæmons* of the Gentiles, by the Name of *Gods*; but never by the Name of *Jealous* ones. They had no *Zelotypie*, or, Impatience of Partnership, in the Worship that wretched Mortals have paid unto them; or, as Dr. *Spencer* ha's well worded the Observation, *Nunquam Legimus Dæmonem aliquem Idolorum aut Numinem Multitudinem Oraculo prohibuisse, vel Iratum fuisse quòd eodem Templo et Altari, cum Dæmone aliquo socio coheretur.*¹³

Q. A *Covenant* with Idolaters, is forbidden, What *Covenant?* v. 15.

A. A *Covenant of Marriage*. For *Covenants* in general, were forbidden before. v. 12.

Marriage might not be contracted, with any Idolatrous People. Consider the *Ninth* & the *Tenth* Chapters of *Ezra*; and the *Thirteenth* of *Nehemiah*.¹⁴

The *Jewes* will have this to be as old, as the Law of *Circumcision*. And hence, *Mahomet* forbids any of his Religion, to marry any one that is not a *Beleever*.¹⁵

Q. How long did the *Shining of Moses's Face*, continue? v. 29.

A. None can Resolve it. Our *Patrick* thinks, That it vanished not, until he had sett up the Tabernacle, and consecrated *Aaron* and his Sons, and delivered all the Lawes he had received about the Service of God: which are Recorded in the Book of *Leviticus*; That is, all the Time they staid near Mount *Sinai*: from whence they removed, a little more than Half a Year after this.¹⁶

¹³ John Spencer's well-worded observation appears in *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 7, sec. 1, fol. 144, and emphasizes that pagan deities did not seem to be jealous when they had to share the people's adoration with other gods: "We never read that some demon had forbidden the oracle to the multitude of idols or of gods, or that he was angry because he had been worshiped along with some other deity."

¹⁴ Neh. 13:25.

¹⁵ Gen. 34:14; Patrick (*Exodus* 680–81) and John Selden, *De Juri Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 5, cap. 12, pp. 614–15; The Moslem proscription against marrying an infidel is discussed in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eius que successorum vitae, Doctrina ipse ac Alcoran* (1550), *Azoara* III, pp. 16–19, by the Swiss Reformed theologian and Orientalist Theodor Bibliander (c. 1505–64). The first translation of the *Qur'ân* into English from the French *L'Alcoran de Mahomet. Translaté d'Arabe en Francois. Par le Sieur Du Ryer* (Paris, 1647), by the French Orientalist André du Ryer (c. 1580–c. 1660), was titled, *The Alcoran of Mahomet. Translated out of the Arabique into French; by Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and Resident for the King of France, at Alexandria. And newly Englished for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities* (London, 1649). On the availability of early Latin translations of the Alcoran and their interpretations, see T. E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ân in Latin Christendom* (esp. ch. 6).

¹⁶ Patrick, on Exod. 34:35 (*Exodus* 690–91).

2455.

Q. The Text which reports the *Shining* of *Moses's* Face, is, you know, in some Translations (as the Vulgar Latin) rendred, as if it were *Horned*? v. 29.

A. You know the Original of this Translation, & Opinion; tis the double Signification of the Word /קַרְנִי/ in the Original: And yett it is not so double neither, but that *Rayes* and *Horns* have a considerable Agreement.

The Apostle *Paul* mentioning what befel the Face of *Moses*, intimates, that the Text in *Exodus*, is to be understood (as the LXX also understand it,) of a *Glory* upon it. And yett there is Cause to think, that the *Rayes* of that *Glory* rose in the Shape of *Horns*. *Mneves* who was adored in *Egypt*, with *Horns* upon his Image, is by *Aben Ezra* supposed no other than *Moses*.¹⁷ And *Justin Martyr* (or, the Author of the *Admonition to the Greeks*) where *Diodorus Siculus* writes of Μνεύην, puttts *Moses* for it. If the Image of *Joseph*, had *Horns* upon it among the *Egyptians*, well might that of *Moses*, who was another *Joseph*.¹⁸

But *Grotius* thinks, That in the Illustrious *Horns*, which *Glorified* the Face of *Moses*, the Lord had Respect unto the Idolatry of the *Golden Calf*, lately committed; As if Hee had bestow'd this Rebuke upon them, *You will needs have a God with Horns upon him; see, whether you are able to stand before a Man that hath Horns of a Divine Lustre to adorn him*.¹⁹

I will add, methinks, the Holy & Faithful Zeal of *Moses* against the *Golden Calf*, may have a Sensible *Reward* in the *Glory* thus vouchsafed him. Hee destroy'd an Idol that had *Brutal Horns*; God *Rewards* him with *Divine* ones.²⁰

17 Abraham Ibn Ezra, on Exod. 34:29 (*Commentary* 2:726–27).

18 Justin Martyr (*Orationes contra gentes*, cap. 9), in *ANF* (1:277). “Μνεύην” (Mnevis, Menas), the sacred bull of the Egyptians at Heliopolis, was consecrated to Osiris. According to the Greco-Roman historian Diodorus Siculus, Μνεύην, the mythical god-king of Egypt, received the laws from Hermes, and the Jewish lawgiver from Iao: Μωυσῆν τὸν Ἰαῶ (*Bibliotheca Historica* 1.94.1–2; see also 1.21.10; 1.84.4–8; 1.88.4).

19 Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes*, Exod. 34:29 (*Opera Omnia* 1:58–59). The Reformation and post-Reformation commentators, too, were intrigued by the story of the “horned” Moses and found analogies not only in the fables of Bacchus but also in other stories such as that of the “two-horned” Alexander the Great, ruler of the East and West, in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:502–03) and *Works* (5:429–32); in Bochart’s *Geographia Sacra* (1.18.485B) and in Gerardus Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 2, cap. 14, pp. 374–80; lib. 3, cap. 71, pp. 1111–12.

20 Mather’s primary source for the commentary on Exod. 34:29 is Grotius’s *Annotationes* (*Opera* 1:58–59). See also Patrick, on Exod. 34:29 (*Exodus* 686–97), John Selden’s *De Juri Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 191–92, and *De Morbis Biblicis Miscellanea Medica* (1672), cap. 5, pp. 10–25, by the Danish anatomist and physician Thomas Bartholinus (1616–80). Mather owned several of Bartholin’s esteemed medical works (*BA* 1:427–28, 535, 1054). The story of the “horned” Moses is well known and (perhaps) humorously depicted in Michelangelo’s famous statue of the Hebrew lawgiver in the Vatican.

[.308.]

Q. What might bee the true Meaning of that Order, *Yee shall kindle no Fire, throughout your Habitations upon the Sabbath-Day?* v. 3.

A. It must needs undergo some Restriction; For, the Priests were to offer up the *Sacrifice* of the *Sabbath*, which could not bee done without the Kindling of *Fire*. Altho' the *Fire* which came down from Heaven, was constantly upon the *Altar*, and so continued; until it came /לְבֵית עֶזְלָמִים/ into the *House of Eternity*, or the *Temple*, where it was Renewed: [Compare 2. Cor. 5.1.] Yett it is plain, That it was daily maintained by a Supply of *New Fuel*. The *Priest* was to *lay Wood every Morning* on it; And so soon as the *Old Fire*, disjoined the Particles, & putt them into Motion, a *New Fire* must necessarily bee kindled. The *Jewes* as *Munster* notes, think this Precept is to bee observed in the Letter, & therefore they hire Christians to kindle their *Fire* on the *Sabbath*, not considering, it was lawful for the Priests, to make a *Fire* on the *Sabbath* for the daily Sacrifice.¹

Dr. *Templar* therefore Judges, That the Text under Consideration, must not bee taken in that Latitude, which at the first View it seems to have. And if it must have some Limitation, it cannot better bee Restrained, than to what is expressed in the Context. The Thing treated of, is the *Work of the Tabernacle*.

¹ Mather's second-hand reference to Sebastian Münster's annotation, on Exod. 35:3, *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 184, note (a), originates in *A Treatise relating to the Worship of God* (1694), sec. VI, pp. 393–94, by John Templer, D.D. (d. 1693), an English nonconformist clergyman at Balsham, Cambridgeshire, probably ejected after the Restoration. The principal rabbis extracted in the Rabbinical Bible seem to disagree as to the extent of the proscription against kindling fire on the Sabbath, specifically whether it also applied to the lighting of the fire in the Temple: Although Rashi does not settle the question definitively when he says that the Sages disagree on whether lighting fire on the Sabbath constitutes one of the 39 proscriptions against any form of labor (*melachah*) and thus is subject to the death penalty or a mere misdemeanor deserving lashes (*malkos*), only Ibn Ezra and Chizkiyahu ben R. Manoach explicitly state the Mosaic Tabernacle and the Temple were exempt from this restriction (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:313–14; *Chizkuni* 3:645–46). Tractate Shabbata (ch. 2) on Exod. 35:3 tries to forestall any false inference by supplying a specific illustration: "If the Temple service, which can be carried out only by means of preparations, sets aside the laws of the Sabbath, is it not logical that the preparations for the service, without which no service is possible, should set aside the laws of the Sabbath? I might therefore think that if the horn of the altar has broken off or if the knife became defective, it is permissible to repair these on the Sabbath." Yet "Scripture teaches that even such work is to be done only on week-days but not the Sabbath. . . . This includes the laws about the thirty-nine categories of work prohibited on the Sabbath which Moses gave orally." However, according to Lev. 6:9, 13, Moses decreed that "fire shall be kept burning upon the altar continually" – and that on all seven days of the week – "you may kindle it in the Sanctuary" (*Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* 2:499, 501). For the 39 categories of labor, see Mishnah, tractate Shabbath (7.1–2), in *The Mishnah* (106) and Babylonian Talmud, tractate Shabbath (97b).

Tho' many Cautions had been given concerning the Forbearance of servile Work on the Sabbath, upon any private Account, yett some would bee ready to think, that Work tending to the Preparing of Materials for the Composing of that Sacred Thing, the *Tabernacle*, might bee lawful. For the Prevention of such Thoughts, before the Description of what was Requisite is entred upon, this Precept is laid down, That in order to any such Work, whether the Melting of Silver, Gold, or any other Metal, which might bee necessary about the Sanctuary, not so much as a *Fire* should bee kindled.²

² John Templer, *A Treatise* (1694), sec. VI, p. 394.

Q. On the Prohibition of any more *Offerings*, for the *Sanctuary*? v. 6.

A. Monsr. *Saurin* has this Remark upon it. “Probably this Fitt of Zeal proceeded less from true Piety, than the Genius of the People, which attach’d them to Sensible Objects. The Notion of a *Material Temple*, and of a God who should dwell in the Midst of them Visibly, & with Splendor, soothed their Imaginations. Nothing was therefore thought too Good by them, towards such a Design. Whereas an Order purely spiritual, and disengaged from Matter, would not, tis likely, have been pursued with so much ardour.”¹

¹ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), Diss. LIV, p. 491.

Q. Some Gleanings of Curiosities, about, *The Golden Candlestick?* v. 17.

A. *Maimonides* thus describes the Offices of the *Priests* about the *Lamps* of the *Candlestick*.

“The Priest takes away the Match from each of the *Lamps*, the Oil whereof is almost consumed, and the rest of it that remains: He cleanses the Lamp, he putts in another Match, and half a *Log*, [that is, Half a Pint,] of fresh Oil, and throws into the Place where the Ashes are putt near the Altar, that which he takes out. When the Lamp in the Middle is extinguished, he kindles it again with some Fire taken from the Altar in the Court. But the rest are lighted by the neighbouring Lamps. He lights all the Lamps at once; He begins with Five, and then he stops; He performs the rest of the Service, then returns, & lights the other Two. The Priest, whose it is to light up the Candlestick, carries in his hand a little Golden Vessel, called *Cuz*, in which he collects the useless Fragments of the Oil and Matches. After having lighted five Lamps, he leaves the little Vessel before the Candlestick, & goes his Way. He then returns, kindles the Two other Lamps, takes the Vessel again, kneels to worship, & then goes away.”¹

It is a little surprising, to see how much the *Egyptians* conformed unto the *Israelites*, in their Worship of their Gods. *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, The *Egyptians* were the first, who introduced the | Use of *Lamps*, into Religious Worship. There is a memorable Passage in *Herodotus*, to this Purpose. “When they meet in the City of *Says*, to sacrifice and celebrate the Festival, they light up at night, all round the Houses, *Lamps* filled with Salt and Oil; the Cotton or Match whereof swims a top, and burns all the Night. This is called, *The Feast of Lighted Lamps*. The *Egyptians*, who can’t be present at this Meeting, don’t forbear to keep the Feast, and to light Lamps round their Houses; and by this Means they are not only light up at *Says*, but generally throughout the whole Countrey.”²

As to the *Antitype* of the *Candlestick*, I refer you to what I have offered in the Illustrations, on Exod. XXV.40.

And yett as a *Mantissa*, I will here add; That the *Word* of GOD, by which His Church is enlightened, has been by some considered in this *Candlestick*.

¹ The second-hand paraphrase of Maimonides, *Hilchot Temidim UMusafim* (3.17), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:550), appears in Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), Diss. LIV, p. 472.

² Mather’s second-hand reference to Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* (1.16), in ANF 2: 317, originates in Saurin’s *Dissertations* (1723), Diss. LIV, p. 473, including the here quoted narrative of the festival of light, celebrated in the Egyptian city of Saïs (Herodotus 2.62).

Indeed all the Revelation we enjoy in This World, is but *Candlelight*, compared with the *Daylight* we shall enjoy in the World to come. However, The Bible is a *Candlestick*, of a Matter *more to be desired than Gold, than much fine Gold*; from whence *Light* is convey'd unto the House of GOD, for them who are the *Holy Priesthood* there, to see from thence how to discharge all the Duties of the Sanctuary. This *Word* is beautified with many *Knops* and *Flowers*, which we are sure were added for Good Purpose, tho' we don't see always into the Reason for them.³

3 Paraphrase of Saurin's *Dissertations* (1723), Diss. LIV, pp. 471, 472.

Q. The *Looking-Glasses*? v. 8.

A. The Use of Brazen-*Looking-Glasses*, is very Ancient. *Callimachus* and *Pliny* will satisfy you for This. *Doughty* has in his *Analecta Sacra*, made a copious Collection on the Subject.¹

Cyril of Alexandria, tells us, That it was a Custom in *Egypt*, and particularly of the Women there, when they went unto the Temple, to wear a Linen-Garment, carrying a *Looking-Glass* in their Right Hand, and a *Timbrel* in their Left.²

Q. We read of, the Oblations of the Women, which *assembled, at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation*? v. 8.

A. The Hebrew Word, *Hattzobeoth*, signifies, That they came by *Troops*, to make this Present unto the Lord. The LXX and *Chaldee* understand it, of such Women as come together, to serve God, by *Fasting* and *Prayer*.³ [Compare, 1. Sam. II.28.] Most Interpreters think, They that made this Oblation, were very *Devout Women*, who were wont to spend much Time at the *Tabernacle*, where the Presence of God, was to be enjoy'd. *Moses's* Tent was the *Tabernacle*, till this was built.

Aben Ezra observes upon the Words, That these Women, making a *Free-Will-Offering* of their *Looking-Glasses*, wherein they did use to behold the Beauty of their Faces, and adorn their Heads, it seems to argue a very *Religious Mind*; that they despised the Vanities of this World, and delighted far more in the Service of God.⁴

Q. What was the *Tabernacle*, at the *Door* of which they assembled? v. 8.

1 *Callimachus* Cyrenaicus, in his *In lavacrum Palladis* (hymn. 5, lines 21–22), sings of fair *Pallas Athena*, attended by her *Achaean* maidens, taking her bath. Although the goddess dislikes mirrors and mixed unguents, her companion could not resist embellishing her own beauty in the looking glass: Κύπρις δὲ διαυγέα χαλκὸν ἐλοῖσα / πολλαὶ τὰν αὐτὰν δῖς μετέθηκε κόμαν, “*Kupris* took the shining bronze [speculum] and often altered and again altered the same look.” Likewise, *Pliny* testifies to the existence of mirrors among the ancients: At *Brindisi* copper utensils were coated with *stagnum* (an alloy of silver and lead) to make mirrors, which became so popular that even maid-servants fancied them (*Natural History* 34.48.160). Examples of this nature can be found in *Analecta Sacra, sive, Excursus Philologici breves* (1658), *Excursus* 44, pp. 123–25, by John *Doughty*, D. D. (c. 1598–1672), an Anglican divine, sometime lecturer at St. Edmunds, Salisbury, and subsequently prebendary at Westminster Abbey at his death. (*ODNB*).

2 *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate* [PG 068. 0629, lines 50–59].

3 Hebr. הַחֲזֹבֹת [hattzobeoth] (*Strong's* # B8237) and the LXX and the *Chaldee Targum Onkelos*, on *Exod.* 38:8, in *Walton's Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:392, 393).

4 *Patrick* (*Exodus* 705) and *Ibn Ezra* (*Commentary* 2:745). See also *Pliny* (*Naturalis Historia* 33.45).

A. There was a *Tent* which bore the Name that was afterwards given to the Real *Tabernacle*. This was the *Tent* of *Moses*; Not that in which he dwelt with his Family: But that which was destined for the Conferences between GOD and this Law-giver. This *Tent* was called, *The Tabernacle of the Congregation*; or it may be rendred, *The Tabernacle of Assignment*: or, of Meeting. There *Moses* did *meet* with GOD; and there the People did *Meet* with *Moses*, when there was Occasion of Consulting the Oracle. GOD at such times gave sensible Tokens of His Presence; we read Exod. XXXIII.10. *All the People saw the Cloudy Pillar stand at the Tabernacle Door*. A *Tent* sett up in the Camp of the *Israelites*, before the Idolatry of the *Golden Calf*. The Devout Women came hither now, to consult GOD, and be inform'd, of what might concern them in the Revelations, wherewith *Moses* was favoured.⁵

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Q. The Summ of *Gold* and the *Silver* employ'd for the *Tabernacle*, invites us to some enquiry, into the Value of the *Hebrew Money*? v. 25, 26.

A. In brief, 20 *Geruhs* make a *Shekel*.

60 *Shekels* make a *Maneh*, or Pound.

50 *Manehs* (3000 *Shekels*) make a *Talent*.

One hundred Drams, or *Adarconims*, are æquivalent unto Sixty *Shekels*, or one *Maneh*: [Compare, 1. King. 10.17. and 2. Chron. 9.16.]

The *Shekel*, exactly weigh'd by Dr. *Usher* and Mr. *Greaves*, is according to the English Standard, two Shillings and five Pence. Accordingly, One *Maneh* of *Silver*, will be 7^{lb}. 5^s. of the English Money. One *Talent* will be 362^{lb}. 10^s. which is 50 *Manehs*, or 3000 *Shekels*.⁶

Accordingly here, If 603550 Men be rated, to pay half a *Shekel* a Peece, then they paid, 301775 *Shekels*; which is recounted to bee 100 *Talents*, and 1775 *Shekels*. Thus 300000 *Shekels* which the 600000 Men paid, is æqual to 100 *Talents*, whereof each *Talent* contains 3000 *Shekels*. Which Number of *Shekels*, contained in one *Talent*, seems also probable, by the *Brass* here mentioned: whereof there not being found fully 71 *Talents*. *Moses* declares there were 70 *Talents*, and 2400 *Shekels*; whereas if there had been full 3000, it would have filled the Quantity of another *Talent*.⁷

The Proportion of *Gold* unto *Silver*, according to *Plato*, *Julius Pollux*, *Bodinus*, *Bornitius*, *Villalpandus*, *Brerewood*, and generally all learned Authors, is accounted to be *Duodecupla*. Tis *twelve* times as much in Value, as the like

⁵ See Patrick, on Exod. 33:7–10 (*Exodus* 658–60).

⁶ John Greaves's *Discourse of the Romane Foot, and Denarius* (1647), p. 77. See also Jacob Cappelus's tables of ancient measurements and monetary units appended to Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (6:36–44).

⁷ Richard Cumberland's *An Essay Towards the Recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights* (1686), ch. 4, pp. 119–122

quantity of *Silver*. It may bee here and there for several Reasons a little varied; but the *Twelfth-fold* Proportion is generally allowed.⁸

According to Dr. *Cumberland*, a *Talent* of *Silver* amounts, to Three hundred fifty three Pound, Eleven Shillings, and some odd Pence, in our Money. A *Talent* of *Gold*, (which he reckons to be about *Fourteen* times the Value,) to Five Thousand Seventy six Pound, three Shillings, & ten Pence.

According to Dr. *Cumberland*, the Summ of *Gold* here amounts unto 147, 204 Pounds, 10 Shillings. According to Dr. *Bernard*, the 29 Talents of *Gold*, amount unto 156, 600 Pounds, Sterling. The *Silver* amounts to 37, 721 Pound, 17 Shillings, and Sixpence, Sterling.⁹

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⁸ In *Hipparchus* (231d), Plato banters about the exchange value of gold and silver; Julius Polux (*Onomasticon* 9.76.6–8); the French political philosopher Jean Bodin (c. 1529–96) measures the specific gravity of gold, silver, and other metals in his *Universae Naturae Theatrum* (1605), lib. 2, p. 260; the German emblemist Jacobus Borritius (c. 1560–1625) discusses the material exchange value of gold and silver in his *De Nummis in Republica Percudientis et Conservandis libri duo* (1608), lib. 1, caps. 5, pp. 41–45. Juan Bautista Villalpandus bestows Herculean labors on determining the value of gold and silver coins among the ancient Romans, Greeks, and Hebrews, in his esteemed *In Ezechielem Explanaciones et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani* (1604), tom. 3, cap. 22–35, pp. 383–417; his conversion tables of weights and measures are appended (pp. 503–29). Last is Edward Brerewood's *De Ponderibus et Pretiis Veterum Nummorum* (1614), caps. 6 and 20, pp. 16–18, 48–50, and his applicable materials are also included in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (6:30–36, sep. pag.). See also E. W. Robertson's *Historical Essays* (1872), ch. 2, pp. 4–11.

⁹ Cumberland, *An Essay Towards the Recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights*, ch. 4, p. 120–21; Edward Bernard, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus Antiquis Libri Tres* (1688), lib. 2, pp. 175, 189.

Q. How did they *work the Gold, in the Blue, & the Purple, & the rest?* v. 2.

A. *Maimonides* tells us, the Manner of it, was thus.

“They took *One Threed* of Wire of *Gold*, and joined it with Six *Threeds* of *Blue*; & they twisted all Seven into One. And so they mingled the like Threed of *Gold*, with Six of *Purple*; and another with Six of *Fine Linen*; so that there were Twenty Eight Threeds in all.”¹

R. Solomon Jarchi thus expresses it. These Five Kinds, (Blue, Purple, Scarlet, Fine-linnen, and Gold,) were twisted into One Threed. The *Gold* being stretched into a Thin Plate, and Threeds cutt out of it, they weaved a Threed of *Gold*, with Six Threeds of *Blue*; and so they did with the rest, after which they twisted all these Threeds into One. See, *Braunius de Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebraeorum*.²

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Q. *The Plate of the Holy Crown?* v. 30.

A. *Patrick* observes on this Occasion, That the *Priests*, both Men & Women among the Gentiles, had ordinarily the Epithite of, στεφανοφόροι, from the *Crowns* they wore on their Heads; which were sometimes of *Gold*, sometimes of *Lawrel*. See *Cuperus*, in his *Harpocrates*.³

Q. How long were they in building the *Tabernacle*? v. 31.

A. It may be demonstrated, from the Two Months, that were spent between the Departure of *Israel* from *Egypt*, & the Desert; and the twice Forty Days that were spent by *Moses* in the Mount, and some other lesser Intervals, which we

¹ *Maimonides, Hilchot K'lei HaMikdash ViHaOvdim Bo* (9.5), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:200). See also Talmud, tractate Yoma (72a).

² Extracted from *Patrick*, on Exod. 39:3 (*Exodus* 711). *Solomon Jarchi*, aka. *Rashi*, in his *Commentarius Hebraicus* (1710), pp. 770–71, and *JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* (2:329); *Johannes Braunius*, בגדי כהנים *Id est, Vestitus Sacerdotum Hebraeorum, sive Commentarius Amplissimus in Exodi cap. XXVIII, ac XXXIX. & Levit. Cap. XVI.* (1680), lib. 1, cap. 17, sec. 26, pp. 412–18; and lib. 2, cap. 3, sec. 4, pp. 478–79; cap. 5, sec. 19, pp. 566–68, cap. 22, sec. 20, pp. 813–15 – two huge folios on the sacred garment of the High Priest, by *Johannes Fridericus Alstein Braunius* (1628–1708), professor of the theology at Groningen.

³ *Patrick* (*Exodus* 712) and *Harpocrates, sive Explicatio imagunculae argenteae per antiquae; quae in figuram Harpocrates formata representat Solem* (1687), pp. 137–38, by the Dutch historian and political philosopher *Gisbertus Cuperus*, aka. *Gijsbert Cuper* (1644–1716). The Greek epithet στεφανοφόροι transliterates into Latin *Stephanophorus* and suggests “crown-wearing” or “crowned.” Examining inscriptions on ancient coins and statues, *Cuperus* enlists among his several sources *Ezekiel Spanheim*’s famous work on numismatics *Dissertationum de Praestantia* (1671) and *John Selden*’s study of Greek inscriptions on ancient statuary, in *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628).

find intermixed; That the People could not begin the Work of the Tabernacle, till about Six Months after the Coming up out of *Egypt*. But it is positively said, That *in the First Month, in the Second Year, on the first Day of the Month, the Tabernacle was reared up*. Consequently, It was about Six Months in Building. This Time, as Monsr. *Saurin* observes, will not appear too short, if we consider, what a Numberless Multitude of People are capable of doing, when animated with either a False or a True Zeal of Religion.⁴

Q. *Behold, they had done it, as the Lord commanded.*] v. 43.

A. This the *Tenth Time* that *Moses* repeats this, in this one Chapter; To show, not only how exact they were in their Obedience, but also, that nothing was done according to his own Reason, but all according to the Divine Præcept. They are the Words, of the *Sepher Cosri*.⁵

⁴ Extracted from Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations* (1723), Diss. LIV, p. 499.

⁵ Patrick, on Exod. 39:43 (*Exodus* 714), cites Judah ha-Levi, כּוּרִי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem De Religione* (1660), pars 3, sec. 23, p. 194.

2862.

Q. In the Book of *Exodus*, we often find the *Jewish Measures* mentioned. It may not be amiss, in this Place, once for all, to enquire what they were? v. 38.

A. As for the *Measures of Content*, we are very much to seek, what was the Just Capacity of them.

The *Rabbinical Account* thereof, by *Eggshells*, gives a very uncertain Sound. A *Quadrant*, or *Quarter*, they say, is, an *Egg* and an *Half*.

A *Log* is Four *Quadrants*, or Six Eggs.

A *Kab*, is four *Logs*, or twenty four Eggs.

An *Hin*, is twelve *Logs*, or Seventy two Eggs.

A *Seah*, is Six *Kabs*, twenty four *Logs*, Two *Hins*, or an hundred forty four Eggs.

An *Ephab*, is Three *Seahs*, Eighteen *Kabs*, Six *Hins*, Seventy two *Logs*, or four hundred thirty two Eggs.¹

But for all these, we have only the bare Words of the *Rabbins*, which are not of the greatest Value in the World.

Wherefore Dr. *Cumberland*, in his late ingenious, *Essay, for the Recovery of the Jewish Weights and Measures*, ha's, with the greatest Satisfaction that we have yett seen, adjusted these Measures. The Measures for *Dry Things*, as by him adjusted, we will reduce to our *Corn-Measure*; but those of *Liquid Things*, we will reduce to our *Wine-Measure*.

The Measures for *Dry Things*, are

1. The *Cor*, or *Homer*; which contains *Eight Bushels*, and almost an *Half*, of *Winchester-Measure*.

2. The *Ephab*; which is Six *Gallons*, or Three *Pecks*, & three *Pints*, and something more.

3. The *Seah*; which is One *Peck*, and a *Pint*.

4. The *Omer*; which is Five *Pints*, and a little more.

5. The *Kab*; which is almost Three *Pints*.

Then for *Liquid Things*.

1. The *Homer*, or, *Cor*; contains Seventy Five *Wine-Gallons*, five *Pints*, and a little more.

2. The *Bath*; contains Seven *Gallons*, two *Quarts*, & half a *Pint*.

3. The *Hin*; contains One *Gallon*, and a *Quart*, or Five *Quarts*.

4. The *Log*; about Three Quarters of a *Pint*.

¹ Richard Cumberland, *Essay toward the Recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights* (1686), ch. 3, pp. 64, 81, 84.

As for the *Measures of Extent*, lett us only consider the *Cubit*.

Dr. *Cumberland* gathers the Length of it, by comparing it, with the *Egyptian* Cubit, which hath continued the same, from the most ancient Times until this present; as appears by the Cubits on the *Nilo-metrium*,² which was first erected by *Joseph*, as tis affirmed by diverse *Arabian* Writers. He thinks, that all the *Eastern* Nations, received this *Cubit*, from their Ancestors, the Sons of *Noah*, as being the same that was used in Building the *Ark*. The *Jewes* also living two Hundred Years in *Egypt*, it is extremely probable, they used the same *Cubit* with the *Egyptians*; nor is there any Reason to think, they altered it upon Removing from thence. *Moses* gives not the least Intimation of any Distinction in *Cubits*; And *Abulfeda*, an *Arabian* King, who was highly curious in the Doctrine of the Measures of the East, affirms, That the *Jewish* legal *Cubit*, was æqual to the *Egyptian*.³

Well, To state the Matter exactly; An *Egyptian Cubit*, (stated by Mr. *Greaves*, in his Table of the *English Foot*) contains, 1824 such Parts, as the *English Foot* contains a Thousand; That is, Twenty two Inches, wanting only a Tenth Part.⁴

Cubits Reduced unto our English Measures.

Cubits.	Feet.	Inches.	Yards	Feet	Inches.
1	1	10			
2	3	8			
3	5	6			
4	7	4			
5	9	2			
6	11	0			
7	12	10			
8	14	8			
9	16	6	Yards	Feet	Inches
10	18	3	6	0	3
20	36	6	12	0	6

2 Egyptian history gives proof of several Nilometers, the most ancient being the one located on the island of Elephantis, in the Nile River, in upper Egypt, in which the ancients measured the annual precipitation rate and subsequent floodwaters responsible for the fertility of Egypt's agricultural areas. Tradition has it that Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat and lean cows (Gen. 41:17–21) is based on Joseph's knowledge of the relationship between the Nile's annual flood levels and Egypt's agrarian output. See Strabo (17.1.3–5), Pliny (5.10.55–59), and Mather's discussion in *BA* (1:1032–33, 1090).

3 Richard Cumberland's *Essay towards the Recovery* (1686), ch. 1, pp. 6–7; ch. 2, pp. 13, 44, 51. Cumberland here leans on John Greaves's *Chorasmiae, et Mawaralnahrae, hoc est, Regionum extra fluvium Oxum Descriptio, Ex Tabulis Abulfedae Ismaelis, Principis Hamah* (1650), a bilingual Latin and Arabic translation of the geographic history of Arabia, by the Syrian Prince Abulfeda, aka. Abu al-Fida, aka. Abul-Fida' al Hamawi (1273–1331), a medieval geographer, historian, and governor of Hamah, in Palestine.)

4 Cumberland (*Essay*, ch. 1, pp. 6–7) and John Greaves (1602–52), professor of mathematics and astronomy at Oxford, in his *Discourse on the Roman Foot and Denarius* (1647), pp. 40, 41.

Cubits.	Feet.	Inches.	Yards	Feet	Inches.
30	54	9	18	0	9
40	73	0	24	1	0
50	91	3	30	1	3
60	109	6	36	1	6
70	127	9	42	1	9
80	146	0	48	2	0
90	164	3	54	2	3
100	182	6	60	2	6
200	365	0	121	2	0
300	547	6	182	0	6
400	730	0	213	0	0
500	912	6	304	0	6
600	1 095	0	365	0	0
700	1 277	6	425	2	6
800	1 460	0	486	2	0
900	1 642	6	574	1	6
1 000	1 825	0	608	1	0
2 000	3 650	0	1 216	2	0
3 000	5 475	0	1 825	0	0
4 000	7 300	0	2 433	1	0
5 000	9 125	0	3 042	2	0
6 000	10 950	0	3 650	0	0
7 000	12 775	0	4 258	1	0
8 000	14 600	0	4 866	2	0
9 000	16 425	0	5 475	0	0
10 000	18 250	0	6 083	1	0

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Q. Some Remarks on the *Work* thus *finished* by *Moses*? v. 33.

A. *Moses* at his coming down from the Mountain, told *Israel*, what a *Work* of the *Tabernacle*, was now to be proceeded on. From this they concluded, It must be along while before they removed from *Sinai*. And therefore on the Fifteenth of *Tisri*, they began to make themselves Mansions, and *Booths* to lodge in, until the intended Removal. For this, was appointed, the *Feast of Tabernacles*, to Posterity.

They begin to fall in hand with the *Work*, in the very Month when the World began.

And in it are *Six Special Works* like those of the Creation.

For Six Months are they very busy; and against the First Month of the Next Year, all is Ready.

So on the first of, *Nisan*, they begin to sett up the *Tabernacle*; And they were *Six-Days* in doing of it.

When it is finished, the *Cloud* makes a Descent upon it.

Thus ends *Exodus* in a *Cloud*; under which (as Dr. *Lightfoot* notes) we are to look for a more glorious *Tabernacle*: In which there *dwells the Fulness of the Godhead Bodily*.⁵

675.

Q. The *Tabernacle* thus finished; what became of it? v. 38.⁶

A. The *Tabernacle* travelled with the *Israelites* thro' the Wilderness.

When they came into the Land of Promise, it was placed at *Gilgal*; where, according to the Computation of the Jews, it remained *Fourteen Years*.⁷

From thence, it was transplanted unto *Shiloh*, where it continued *Three Hundred & Sixty nine Years*.⁸

It was afterwards kept *Thirteen Years* at *Nob*; from the Death of *Eli* to the Death of *Samuel*.⁹

After that, it was *Fifty Years* at *Gibeon*. Thus the Jews reckon; but it will not be easy to Justify all the Calculations, from the Scripture; which speaks very concisely about the several Stations of the *Tabernacle*.¹⁰

After the Building of the *Temple*, the *Ark* was lodg'd in the *Most Holy Place*. And the *Tabernacle* was laid by (as the Jews probably enough conjecture,) in some suitable Apartments of the *Temple*.¹¹

After the Destruction of the *Temple* by the *Chaldeans*, we can hear no more of it. *Buxtorf* the Younger has collected all that the *Rabbins* have said of it; wherein, what have we but Fabulous Narrations?¹²

Q. Beholding the *Tabernacle* Erected and Finished, Now tell mee, whether Pagan Antiquitie had any Imitation of it? v. 38.¹³

5 Mather oblique reference is to John Lightfoot, *A Handfull of Gleanings* (1643), ch. 30, p. 37, ch. 31, p. 38, and Lightfoot's *Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts of the Old Testament*, Exodus, in *Works* (1684) 1:29.

6 See John Edwards's ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* (1699), p. 197.

7 Josh. 4:19, 5:8–10;

8 Josh. 18:1; 1 Kings 6:1, Acts 13:20;

9 1 Sam. 22:11.

10 1 Chron. 16:39, 21:29. The *Tabernacle's* waystations and their duration are calculated in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Zevachim (118b): 39 years in the Sinai, 14 years at Gilgal, 57 years combined at Nob and Gibeon, and 369 at Shiloh.

11 1 Kings 8:4.

12 Mather leans on Johannes Buxtorf's "Arcae Foederis," cap. 20, in *Exercitationes* (1659), pp. 178–80.

13 Mather's subsequent answer to his rhetorical question is extracted from John Edwards's trusty *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection* (1693), ch. 5, p. 170.

A. It had. *Minutius Felix* tells us, That the Heathen had their Consecrated Places, whereof *Quædam Fana, semel Annò adire permittunt, quædam ex Toto nefas visere*.¹⁴

Pausanias instances, in particular Temples, which were opened but one Day in a Year, and of *Orcus's* hee saith, *None was permitted to enter into it, but the Priest*.¹⁵

Any Man may now see, whence this was borrowed.

Wee may add, That the *Adyta*, and the *Penetralia*, among the Pagans, were taken from the, *Holy of Holies*, among the Jewes.¹⁶

Those Places (which were the same also with their *Delubra*) are described by *Servius*; to bee Secret Recesses in their Temples; Hidden and Remote Apartments, that were Inaccessible, to all but the Priests. Whence wee have this account of them, given by *Cæsar*, – *In Occultis et Reconditis*¹⁷ *Templi, quò præter Sacerdotes Adire fas non est, quæ Græcè ἄδντα appellant*. De Bell. Civ. L. 3.¹⁸

810.

Q. Lett mee ask you one Thing more; That is, Why is the Signification of many Material *Terms* about the affayrs of the *Tabernacle*, utterly lost. The true *Colour* of what wee translate, the *Purple Hangings*, the true *Names* of the *Gems* in the Pectoral of the *High-Priest*, the true *Forms* of the Musical Instruments used

14 One of the earliest Christian apologists among the Romans, Minutius Felix Octavius (c. 2nd–3rd c. CE) has Octavius Januarius debate the virtues of the Christian religion with his pagan opponent Caecilius Natalis, in *Dialogi Christiani Octavius sive Dialogus Christiani et Ethnici Disputantium* (cap. 24.5), in *Minucii Felicis Octavius, et Caecilii Cypriani De Vanitate Idolorum Liber* (1699), cap. 24.5, pp. 88–89. The Latin citation reads, “Some fanes it is permitted to approach once a year, some it is forbidden to visit at all” (ANF 4:187).

15 According to Pausanias (*Græciæ descriptio* 6.25.2, lines 2–3), the Eleans take great care to safeguard the sacred precinct of Hades and his temple, which ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐφεῖται πέρα γε τοῦ ἱερωμένου, “are opened once every year, but not even on this occasion is anybody permitted to enter except the priest” (*Description of Greece* 6.25.2). The Eleans revere Hades (Orcus, i.e., Pluto), god of the underworld, because he had supported the Eleans in their battle against Hercules at Pylus. That they were not the only ones to worship Orcus-Hades can be seen in the temple Orcus Quietalis, at Rome (LCD). See also Pausanias (2.10.2, 7.24.3).

16 “Holy of Holies” and “Innermost Chambers.”

17 The MS erroneously reads “*Remotis*” i.e., “distant” or “remote.”

18 In *Vergilii Aenidos Commentarii* (2.225, 4.56), the Roman grammarian commentator Marcus Servius Honoratus (4th–5th c. CE) comments on the “Delubra” of Vergil’s *Aeneid* (2.225 and 4.56), best rendered as “shrines” and “temples” of the ancient Greeks (*In Vergilii carmina commentarii* 1:256 on *Aeneid* 2:225). Mather’s second-hand Latin citation (via Edwards’s *Discourse* [1693], p. 170) from *Commentariorum Libri III De Bello Civili* (3.105.4), by the Roman Emperor Caius Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE), tells of the mysterious sounds issuing from the holy of holies of the temple of Pergamos upon Caesar’s victory: “Pergami in occultis ac reconditis templi, quo præter sacerdotes adire fas non est, quæ Græci ἄδντα appellant, tympana sonuerunt.” Or “At Pergamos, in the private and retired parts of the temple, into which none but the priests are allowed admission, and which the Greeks call Adyta (the inaccessible), a sound of drums too was heard” (*Caesar’s Commentaries* 3.105).

in Divine Service, the true Ingredients of the Ointment wherewith the *High-Priests* were anointed; These, and many more such Matters, wee have the *Terms* for them in the Hebrew, but not one *Jew* this Day in the World, can determine the Signification of them. Tis utterly Lost; and, why so? v. 38.

A. Behold, the adorable Wisdome of Heaven. The God of Heaven, will have the Ceremonies of the *Mosaic* Worship abolished: and now, that it may never bee Re-established, God in His Holy Providence hath ordered, that the True Meaning of many things essential to that Worship, is buried in Eternal Oblivion. If the Jewes now should under all other Imaginable Advantage go to Restore the Law of *Moses*, yett this one Peece of Invincible Ignorance, which they are now fallen into, would render it Impracticable & Impossible.¹⁹

19 Mather's Whiggish interpretation of OT history is typified by his belief in teleological inevitability. In his "Note Book of Authors" (Exod. 40: 38), he provides a summary list of important sources to be consulted on Exodus: Targum Jonathan Ben Uzziel and Targum Hierosolymitana (both in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*); John Pearson's *Critici Sacri*; St. Athanasius Alexandrinus's *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* [PG 028. 0283–0436]; St. Augustinus's *Quaestiones Super Exodum* [PL 034. 0547–0824]; Nicolaus Lyranus's *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam cum Glossâ Ordinariâ*; John Calvin's *Opera Omnia*; Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations upon the Five Books of Moses* (1626–1627); John Jackson's *Index Biblicus* (1668); Matthew Henry's *An Exposition Of the Five Books of Moses* (1707); André Rivet's *Commentarii, In Librum secundum Mosi* (1634); Andrew Willet's *Hexapla in Exodum* (1608); Manasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator, sive De convenientia* (1633); Wolfgangus Franzius, *Interpretationes* (1688), cap. 12, p. 822. Martin Luther's "In Decalogum," *Tomus Septimus Omnium Operum* (1577), fols. 120^v–123^v; Petrus Ramus's *Commentariorum de Religione Christiana Libri Quatuor* (1594), p. 100; William Perkins's *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ. The First Volume* (1612–13) 1:459; Johannes Maccovius's *Loci Communes Theologici* (1650), cap. 9; Wolfgangus Musculus, *Loci Communes in Usus Sacrae Theologiae Candidatorum Parati* (1560).

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Mather.

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Illustrations

upon L E V I T I C U S.²⁰

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²⁰ The title page is in a different hand, written on paper with the watermark Burbank 1804.

723.

Q. What think you, of the Assertion advanced by some learned Men, *That all, or most, of the Religious Rites among the Jewes, were fetched from the Gentiles?* v. 1.²

A. In Truth, I look upon it, as a Monstrous Assertion; I can by no means consent unto it.³

It was indeed, the Assertion of the Pagan *Celsus*; but I am sorry to see some Christian and learned Writers, of late so fond of it.⁴

¹ For a useful modern synopsis of the main historical, textual, and interpretive issues of the third book of Moses, see B. S. Childs's *Introduction* (1979), pp. 180–89; yet the most comprehensive modern annotations on Leviticus are to be found in Jacob Milgrom's 3-vol. *The Anchor Bible Leviticus* (1991).

² See Appendix A. Mather takes exception to John Spencer's claim (*De Legibus Hebraeorum* [1685], lib. 3, diss. 1–8) that the similarities between the cultic rites of the Israelites and those of their Egyptian neighbors reveal that Moses borrowed his ceremonial rites from his former overlord. In this, Spencer leans – among others – on Athanasius Kircher's stupendous *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54), who more than insists on this premise by supplying graphic depictions. Mather's friend and correspondent, the English Presbyterian clergyman John Edwards (*Discourse Concerning the Authority* [1693], ch. 5, pp. 164–92 and ch. 8, pp. 268–97) was one among many who opposed Spencer's audacious thesis. Although known for historicizing the history behind the Scriptures, Hugo Grotius (Lev. 1:9) cautiously asserts to the contrary that the cultic rites among pagan nations were either stolen from Moses or by him restored to their pristine original (*Prisca theologia*) as they were handed down via Adam and Noah's sons and survived in corrupted form among the Syrians and Egyptians (*Annotationes ad Leviticum* [1644], in *Opera* [1679], 1:60). See A. J. Droge, *Homer or Moses?* (1989), R. Smolinski, "Eager Imitators" (2010), D. Levitin, "John Spencer's *De Legibus*" (2013), and Levitin's *Ancient Wisdom* (2017), ch. 3.

³ John Edwards, *Discourse Concerning the Authority* (1693), ch. 9, pp. 307–13, is Mather's primary source for the following extracts. See also John Tilotson's *Of Idolatry: A Discourse* (1678), esp. 97–143.

⁴ Edwards (*Discourse*, ch. 9, pp. 307–08). One of the earliest surviving polemics against emerging Christianity, *On the True Doctrine* (c. 178 CE) was written by the Greek philosopher Celsus (2nd c. CE), who contended that many of the Judeo-Christian doctrines and rites were completely unoriginal and were derived from the religion of Egypt and that of other countries (*On the True Doctrine*, esp. ch. 2 and 6). Most of Celsus's polemic survives in *Contra Celsus*, by Origenes Alexandrinus, who vehemently opposes the Egyptian origin thesis (*Against Celsus* 3.16–19; 4.11, 20, 34, 36, 42). Interest in Celsus's ancient thesis was revived in Mather's time. Among its major proponents were (to different degrees) the following RC and Protestant divines: Franciscus Moncaeus, in *Aaron purgatus, sive de vitulo aureo libri duo* (1606); Jacques Gaffarel, in *Curiositez inouyes sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans* (1629); Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54); Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *De Religione Gentilium* (1663); John Spencer, in *Dissertatio De Urim & Thummim* (1669) and *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685); Antonius van Dale, in *De Oraculis Ethnicorum* (1683); Thomas Burnet, in *Archaeologiae Philosophica* (1692); John Toland, *Adeisidaemon et Origines Judaicae* (1709), and many others. Among the most prominent opponents of the Egyptian origin thesis are Theophilus Gale, in *The Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78); Pierre-Daniel Huet, in *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679);

All the Demonstrations or Probabilities, which the Patrons of this Opinion, pretend for it, from Antiquitie, are very feeble ones.

And if wee go to *Authoritie*, Wee shall in all Ages, find the greatest *Authors* exploding it.

Among the *Jewes*, you have *Josephus*, with several *Rabbies* beside him, such as R. *Himman*, & R. *Solomon*, proving that the *Jewes* borrow'd nothing Sacred from the *Gentiles*, but the *Gentiles* almost every thing from the *Jewes*.⁵

Among the *Fathers*, you have *Justin Martyr*, and *Tertullian*, and others, maintaining, that the Worship of the *Gentiles* did *Ape*, that of the *Jewes*.⁶

Among the *Papists*, you have such Expositors as *Estius* (upon Deut. 12.30.) saying, *manifestum est, Ceremonias Judaicas non esse Petitas ex Gentilitate*.⁷

Among the *Protestants*, Lett a *Fagius* tell you, *All the Consent, which is between the Jewish & Gentile Rites, ariseth from the Divels Study, to deprave many things which are in the Jewish Worship of God, and Transfer them to his own*. [In Num. 7.89.]⁸

Lett a *Calvin* tell you, *It is a Wicked, & a Detestable Thing, to Imagine, that the Rites commanded in the Mosaic Law were as it were Play-games & Sports only, in Imitation of the Pagans*. [In Ex. 25.8.]⁹

Herman Witsius, *Aegyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* (1683); Philippus Riboudealdus, in *Sacrum Dei Oraculum Urim et Thummim* (1685); Pierre Jurieu, *A Critical History* (1705), and many others.

5 John Edwards (*Discourse*, ch. 9, p. 309); Josephus Flavius, *Contra Apionem* (2.280–83), i. e., *Against Apion* (2:40). Though listed in Edwards (p. 309, note *b*), R. Himman has not yet been identified. R. Solomon is R. Solomon Jarchi, aka. Rashi, whose *Commentary on the Pentateuch* Mather quotes throughout. See also Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.21–29; 2.5, 18, 22; 5.14; 6.3–5) on the argument for the Mosaic origin pagan philosophy.

6 Edwards (*Discourse*, ch. 9, p. 310); Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (16, 69–70); Tertullian, in his *De praescriptione haereticorum* (40.1–4) [PL 002. 054–055], is most explicit in blaming the devil: "The question will arise, By whom is to be interpreted [reversed] the sense of the passages which make for heresies? By the devil, of course, to whom pertain those wiles which pervert the truth, and who, by the mystic rites of his idols, vies even with the essential portions of the sacraments of God. He, too, baptizes some – that is, his believers and faithful followers; he promises the putting away of sins by a laver (of his own); and if my memory still serves me, Mithra there, (in the kingdom of Satan,) sets his marks on the foreheads of his soldiers; celebrates also the oblation of bread, and introduces an image of a resurrection, and before a sword wreathes a crown" (*Prescription against Heretics* 40.1–4; in *ANF* 3:262–63).

7 In his *Annotationes Aurae in Praecipua ac Difficiliora Sacrae Scripturae Loca* (1622), p. 132, Guilielmus Estius (1542–1613), professor of theology at Douai, glosses on Deut. 12:30, "Hinc ergo manifestum est, ceremonias Judaicas non esse petitas ex gentilitate, sed ab ipso Deo institutas." Or "From thence it is manifest that the *Jewish* Ceremonies were not taken from *Gentilism*, but Instituted by God himself" (Edwards, *Discourse*, ch. 9, p. 310).

8 Via Edwards (310), Mather quotes Paulus Fagius's gloss on Numb. 7:89. Paulus Fagius (1504–49), a renowned Lutheran professor of OT theology at Strasbourg, was a lecturer of Hebrew at Cambridge and published his highly regarded translation of Targum Onkelos (Chaldee paraphrast). Edwards borrows his robes from Pearson's omnium gatherum *Critici Sacri* (1660), 1:946–47.

9 The translation of Calvin's commentary on Exod. 25:8 (*Commentaries on the Four Last Books* 1:153) is at second hand from Edwards (ch. 9, p. 311).

Lett a Cocceius tell you, *I admitt not, that the Jewish Law, is an Imitation of the Gentile Ceremonies; For, on the Contrary tis certain, that it was made to draw off the Israelites, from many of the Pagan Rites, by those several Lawes which were in it, contrary to those Rites. So it became an Hedge, or Partition-Wall, between the Jewes & Gentiles, that they might not come near one another, as to their Ceremonies; for, from a Likeness in these, there would have followed, a mutual Converse & Communion, & consequently a Depravation.*¹⁰

And then, for the particular Ceremonies, the Testimonies of the greatest Authors, on our Side, are Innumerable. But waving all other Quotations, I'll produce one, that shall bee unanswerable. With *one Text*, I'll confute & confound mighty Volumns, which have with much pompous Ostentation of Literature, been address'd unto the World. It is that in Deut. 12.30, 31, 32. *Take heed to thyself; that thou bee not snared, by following THEM [i. e. the Heathen,] and that thou enquire not after Their Gods, saying How did these Nations Serve their Gods? Even so will I do Likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God, for every Abomination to the Lord, which Hee hates, have they done unto their Gods.*¹¹

3274. But This Matter may be a little further pursued?¹²

Between Ceremonies which are *Natural*, there might be some Similitude. In *Egypt*, and all hott Countreyes, *Bathing* is necessary. God might apply this to a Religious Use, as well as the *Egyptians*. What can be more suitable unto a *Thank-Offering* than to Rejoice? Wherein therefore God would have the *Jewes* to use Wine, tho' the *Zabians* did the like. He did not think fitt to forego His own *Law of Nature*, because Hee saw it observed by *Pagans*. But that these, or any of the rest were *borrowed*, can never be proved. For they who give us an Account of the *Egyptian* Ceremonies, as, *Ælian*, and *Apaleius*, and *Diodorus*, and *Berosus*, and *Manetho* and *Herodotus*, lived (as Dr. *Grew* notes) from 600. to 1100 Years after *Solomons* Reign, which began above 250 before the first *Olympiad*, the *Epocha* of all such prophane History, as hath any thing of Certainty in it. And *Solomon*, having built the Temple, enriched *Judæa*, and married *Pharaohs* Daughter, the *Jewes* thereupon were highly honoured by the *Egyptians* and other Nations, far and near. So *Ezekiel* tells us, (ch. 13. 14.) *Thy Renown went forth among the Heathen for thy Beauty*. The wiser Part of the *Heathen* World, had a mighty Regard, unto the *Jewish* History & Government, and now especially, began to imitate the Religious Rites of that People. Where we meet with a Resemblance, we

¹⁰ Mather excerpts Edwards (*Discourse* [1693], ch. 9, p. 311), who appears to translate a gloss on Eph. 2:14 (rather than on John 9:30 according to Edwards's footnote b), in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1689), 4:1048, by the great Dutch Reformed theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), professor of theology and Hebrew at Franeker and Leiden.

¹¹ Edwards, *Discourse* (p. 313).

¹² Originally, the following paragraph was a separate entry.

must look for the Original, in the Law of *Moses*: And the Scripture is plain. Lev. 18.3. *After their Doings yee shall not do, nor walk in their Ordinances.*¹³

1869.

Q. Well; but on the other Side, may not wee advance this Assertion, *That the Gentiles derived from the Jewes, the Most of the Names and Things used in Religion among them?*¹⁴

A. 'Tis, an Assertion, which may, with a vast Variety of Reading and Learning, bee mentained.

I will particularly at this Time entertain you, with a few *Roman Antiquities*, which one Mr. *Turner*, hath shown to bee of an *Hebrew Original*.¹⁵

As for the City of *Rome* itself, it is from *Rom*, To bee *High*: and it may signify any *High Place* whatsoever, as *Ramah*, and *Gibeon* might also have done. And *Romulus* is, The God of that *High Place*, by the Addition of, *El*, unto it. Hee was also called, *Quirinus*; not for any of the Reasons assigned by *Ovid*, in the Second, of his *Fasti*, but *Quirinus*, is *Κοίρανος*, from the Hebrew *Koren*, an *Horn*, which was with the Orientals, an Emblem of Dominion.¹⁶ | The First Place, [2v] where any Roman *Temple* was built, & where the ancient Romans preserved the

13 The preceding paragraph is from Nehemiah Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), ch. 8, pp. 275–76, § 169. Grew may have in mind the following discussions of Egyptian customs and religious believes among the ancients: Aelian (*De natura animalium* 11.10), Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, bk. 11), Diodorus Siculus (1.11.5–12, 13.1–5, 15.6–7, 17.1–20, 20.5–6, 21.1–22, etc.), Berosus (F1, F3, F4a, F5, etc.), Manetho (F3a, F5, F18–30), Herodotus (1.140, 182, 193, 198; 2.4, 35–38, 123; 4.168, 180, 186). Surprisingly, Grew forgot Plutarch's invaluable discussion of the rites of Isis and Osiris (*Moralia* 351–84).

14 Efforts to associate the names of the ancient Roman, Greek, Egyptian, and Babylonian kings and deities with the patriarchal figures of the Hebrew Scriptures were common enough in Mather's time, for they were based on the unified belief that the knowledge of the ancient theology (*Prisca theologia*) gradually degenerated as the descendants of Noah's dispersed throughout the different continents of the postdiluvian earth (Gen. ch. 10) and deified their ancestors (Euhemerism). See f.e., Mather's discussion of Noah's deification in *BA* (1:678–85) and T. S. Brown's "Euhemerus and the Historians," J. Seznec's *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (1953), and H. C. Maddux's "Euhemerism and Ancient Theology."

15 Little is known about John Turner (b. 1649), "Hospitaller of *St. Thomas Southwark*, and late fellow of *Christ's-College* in *Cambridge*," except what we can glean from the title pages of his publications. Mather here excerpts Turner's book-length treatise *Boaz and Ruth. A Disquisition upon Deut. 25.5.* (1685).

16 Turner (*Boaz and Ruth* 319) cites Ovid's *Fasti* (2.477–80), but only to dismiss his association of Romulus, mythical king of the Romans, with the early Roman god Quirinus: "but the third [day of the ancient Roman calendar] is dedicated to Quirinus. He who owns this name was Romulus before, whether because the ancient Sabines called a pear *curis*, and by his weapon the warlike god won his place among the stars; or because the Quirites gave their own name to their king; or because he united Cures to Rome" (*Fasti* 2.475–80). Believing that all languages devolved from ancient Hebrew guides Turner as much as it does Mather and his peers. Turner's philological derivation of the Greek noun *κοίρανος* (Homer's *Iliad* 7.234), suggesting "ruler, leader, commander" (*LSJ*), from the Hebrew-Aramaic term קָרֵן [qeren] (Strong's ## 7161, 7162), is based on their phonetic similarity and the metaphoric identification of animal

Images of all their Gods, & where the Capitol itself was afterwards erected, was called, *Mons Tarpeius*; not from *Tarpeius*, the supposed Governour of the Citadel, or from his Daughter *Tarpeia*, whom, for Want of a more likely Tale, they slander for betraying of it: but because the *Idols*, which the *Romans* worshipped, & which were called by the Hebrewes *Teraphim*, and in Construction, *Tarphei*, were kept in that Mountain. And *Rhea*, whom they pretend, his Mother, properly signifies, *A Priestess*, from *Rhaah*, to *See*, as the Priests & Prophets are often called, *Rhoim*, or, *Seers*.¹⁷

Numa succeeded him; and being a *Lawgiver*, had his Name accordingly. For this is the very Word, whereby God Himself in Scripture expresses His legislative Authority, *Neoum Jehovah*, or, *Thus saith the Lord*. And this is a better Derivation of *Νόμος*, and of, *Nomisma*, or, *Numisma*, derived from it, than the usual Etymology of the Grammarians.¹⁸ Neither can any thing bee a greater Confirmation of this, than that wee find Recorded in the History of *Rome*, that *Numa* Received all his Lawes from the Nymph *Egeria*; for this *Egeria* is *Hagar*, which the Apostle *Paul* tells us, in the Cabalistical Language signified, *Mount Sinai in Arabia*;¹⁹ From thence did *Numa* derive his Institutions. Among other

horns with kings and rulers (Ezek. 29:21, Dan. 7:8). See also Edward Brerewood's *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages* (1614).

17 John Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (319–320, 321). The “*Mons Tarpeius*,” or rather the Tarpeian Rock, served as the ancient foundation of a Sabine temple situated on a high cliff (part of the Capitoline Hill), one of the seven hills of the city of Rome, overlooking the Forum. The Rock was used for executions until Sulla's time (1st c. BCE). See Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* (6.17, 20), Lucan's *Pharsalia* (8.863), Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.347, 652), and Mather's commentary on Exod. 19:13 (above). Plutarch offers several tales about the origin of the eponymous place-name. The most popular one has Tarpeia, the daughter of Romulus's captain Tarpeius, betray the ancient citadel to the Sabines, for which treason she was executed and buried on the rock. King Tarquin, Plutarch relates, subsequently had her bones removed and a temple to Jupiter erected in its place. (*Parallel Lives: Romulus* 17.2–5, 18.1). Just as in the previous case, Turner links the name of Tarpeia with the Hebrew noun תְּרָפִים [teraphim] (Strong's # 8655), the family idols or images mentioned in Judg. 17:5, 18:14, 17, 18, 20. Rhea, connubial offspring of the titans Uranus and Gaia (Hesiod, *Theogonia* 467–76), wedded Kronos and became the mother of Zeus and those of his siblings. Hence, Turner's phonetic and Euhemeristic association of Rhea with the Hebrew terms רֵאָה [ra'ah] (Strong's # 7200), signifying “seers” (1 Sam. 9:9; Isa. 30:10).

18 The Greek noun νόμος (Hesiod's *Theogonia* 66, 417; Herodotus 1.61; LXX, Ps. 1:2, Deut. 33:4) signifies both “usage, custom” and “law of God” (*LSJ*). In Plutarch's version of the life of legendary Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, Numa consulted the deities in the Sabine temple located on the Tarpeian Rock of the Capitoline Hill, married the goddess Egeria, who bestowed wisdom and divine laws upon him, and became the lawgiver of his people, in *Parallel Lives: Numa Pompilius* (1.3, 4.1–2, 7.2, 9.1–2, 10.1, 13.1, 15.1–5).

19 Gal. 4:22–26: “For it is written, that Abraham had two sonnes, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bondwoman was borne after the flesh: but he of the freewoman, was by promise. Which things are an Allegorie; for these are the two Covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Ierusalem, which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Ierusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.”

things, Introduced by *Numa*, were the *Salij*, the *Ancilia*, and the *Luperci*.²⁰ The *Salij* were the Twelve Priests of *Mars*, with Targetts called *Ancilia*. They had their Name from *El*, or *Al*, which the Latines, call, *Sol*, as much as to say, *Solij*, the Priests in general, of God, or more particularly of the *Sun*, to which all the Heathen Deities have been reduced by *Macrobius*; who also tells us, that in his Time, the *Salij* did not understand their own Sacred *Hymns*; because no doubt of the Oriental Strokes that were in them. Their *Ancilia*, were so called, because the *Salij* in their *Dances*, did use in certain Measures to beat or play upon their Shields, ingeminating these Words, in Honour of their God, *Een Ca-El*, *Een Ca-El*, *There is none like God*, or, *There is none like our God*. The *Luperci*, the Priests of *Pan*, of the Plastick Nature of the Universe, whose Business t'was to run naked thro' the Streets, *Mulierum palmas uterosque caprinà, pelle ferientes, quà re fecunditatem, et facilem partum fieri putabant*, might have their Name from the Words which they pronounced, in the Performance of that Superstitious Office, *lu-parothk*, i. e. *utinam parias*.²¹

Whence, the *Capitol*, and the, *Mons Palatinus*, and the, *Mons Vaticanus*, had their Names, wee mention in our *Illustrations*, on Deut. 23.19.²²

At present, I content myself with Noting, That the *Esquilæ*, or, the *Mons Esquilinus*, had its Name from the *Groves* that grew upon it; For that is the Signification of *Eshel* in Hebrew, whence was the Latin *Asilum*; and as the Name, so the Thing itself, was derived from the *Cities of Refuge* among the Jewes: the *Pomaria* whereof, or Suburbs, (imitated by the Latines,) at the furthest Boundary of which the *Jus Asylorum* took its Beginning, were ever plough'd, (as were not the Suburbs of any other Cities of the Levites,) but were full of Shady Groves and Meadows. And thus, from *Ethel*, which is the same in *Chaldee*, that *Eshel*

²⁰ Plutarch (*Numa Pompilius* 12.3, 13.1–7, 19.5) relates that Numa established the priesthood of the *Salii* (priests of Mars *Gradivus*) in Rome, after Numa had been able to avert a plague in the eighth year of his reign. He was able to stop the scourge with the help of “a bronze buckler,” which miraculously “fell from heaven.” Numa had eleven identical copies made of this buckler, which (Plutarch explains) was called “*ancilia*” because of its curved shape (Greek ἀγκύλια [ancylia], i. e., “curved”), and thus protected Rome from calamity. Likewise, Plutarch explains that Numa set aside the month of February for “the festival of the *Lupercalia*” (purification) in honor of the dead. Macrobius says much the same in his *Saturnalia* (1.4.12–13, 1.13.3, 1.15.14; 2.12.1–7).

²¹ John Turner (*Boaz and Ruth*, pp. 321, 322–23) appears to allude to the story told in Apian's *Bellum Civile* (2.16.109), in which the *Luperci* (priests of *Pan*) ran naked through town, clad only with a goatskin about their loins, and “beat the bellies of barren women with a strap of hide cut from the sacrificial goat.” The *Luperci*, so Turner argues, might have received their name from this fertility ritual *utinam parias*, “if only [the women] give birth.” Pierre Bayle's famous *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1710), 3:2063–65, offers much food for thought on the ancient *Lupercalia*. On the concept of the “Plastick Nature of the Universe,” see S. L. Mintz, *Hunting of the Leviathan* (100–02) and W. B. Hunter, “Plastic Nature.” See also *BA* (1:375, 414, 583, 599).

²² Turner (*Boaz and Ruth*, p. 308). The *Mons Palatinus* and *Mons Vaticanus* are two of the seven hills surrounding the ancient Roman capital.

is in *Hebrew*, is the Latin *Italia*, by reason of its Fruitfulness and pleasant Scituation: which is a much better Derivation, than the Idle one from ἰταλος.²³

Lett us only Reflect upon the Names of the Two Months, added by *Numa*, to the Year of *Romulus*, and wee will have done.²⁴

Why may not *Janus*, and, *Januarius*, bee from the Hebrew, *Shanah*, that signifies, *A Year*? The Year does in this Month Return into itself. *Janus* therefore hath Two Faces. And hee was therefore called, *Clusius*, because hee *shutt up* the *Old Year*, and *Patulcius*, because hee *opened* the *New*.²⁵

As for *February*; you know, that the Rite of, *Passing thro*, the *Fire*, or, in the *Lustrations* of the Orient, was expressed by the Hebrew Term, *Yabar*; whence, the *Hajin*, being turned into the *Æolic Digamma*, as it is in many Instances, the Latin, *Februa*, is derived; by which Word, all things that were used in *Lustrations*, were signified: & not only *Februa*, but *Febris* also.²⁶

Wee will at present add no more of our *Orientalisms*; These may suffice for a Tast!

²³ Turner (*Boaz and Ruth*, pp. 309, 310, 311). The *Pomoerium*, or walls, constituted the sacred precinct of the ancient city of Rome (Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 1.26, 44). The *Jus Asylorum*, i. e., the “Laws of Asylum” pertained to the cities of refuge in ancient Israel and Judah, granting protection against blood vengeance within its walls to those who committed accidental manslaughter. See Jacobus Wiestner’s *Jus Asylorum Sive Sacrorum & Religiosorum Locorum Immunitas* (1689).

²⁴ Numa added the months of January (named after Janus, god of doorways) and February (purification) to the ancient Roman calendar (Plutarch, *Numa Pompilius* 1.18.3–4, 1.19.1–6).

²⁵ Turner (*Boaz and Ruth*, pp. 335, 336). The Hebrew term שָׁנָה [shana] (Strong’s # 8141) signifies “year.” The Latin “*Clusius*” and “*Patulcius*” are derived, respectively, from “*claudo*” (to close) and “*pateo*” (open), hence the closure of the old year and the opening of the new (Ovid, *Fasti* 129–32). As previously mentioned, during the festival of the Lupercalia, celebrated in the month of February, the ancient Romans performed their lustrations.

²⁶ John Turner (*Boaz and Ruth*, p. 340). The Hebrew term עָבַר [‘abar] (Strong’s # 5674) suggests “to pass through” (Ps. 84:6). The *silent* letter פ (ayin), Turner argues, is turned into the letter Y, because its shape resembles the letter Y; hence “*Yabar*” instead of “*abar*.” This linguistic transformation is based on the same principle, Turner argues, which governs the “*Æolic Digamma*” (“twice” the letter Γ [gamma]) in ancient Greek, because the Greek Γ, when transcribed into Latin, resembles the latter F. According to the *OED*, *gamma* was “the sixth letter of the original Greek alphabet, corresponding to the Semitic *waw* or *vau*, which was afterwards disused, the sound expressed by it having been gradually lost from the literary language. It was a consonant, probably equivalent to English *w*; in the Italian alphabets derived from Greek, it appears to have passed through the power of consonantal *v*, to that of *f*; its value in the Roman alphabet: see F. It was lost in Ionic and Attic before the date of the earliest known monuments, but it occurs in inscriptions in all the other dialects down to late times, and it was also retained in the literary remains of *Æolic*, whence the appellation *Æolic digamma* or *letter*.”

[3r]

2418.

Q. Perhaps, it will bee an Entertainment not ungrateful, if you will draw up, and cast up, a *Scheme*, of the *Stated Offerings*, constantly brought unto the Lord (besides the Numberless occasional ones) every Year in the Temple?

A. Wee will then count 365 days, 52 Sabbaths, 13 New Moons, in the Year. For, tho' the *Julian Year* differs from the *Judaical Calender*, yett, by reason of the Jewish Intercalations, the difference will bee insensible.

Now the *Scheme* is This.

	Kids.	Bullocks.	Rams.	Lambs.	Flour. Epals Homers	Oyl. Baths. Hins. Logs	Wine. Baths. Hins. Logs
The Daily Sacrifice for 365 days, 2 Lambs, per day.	0	0	0	730	73 0	30 2 6	30 2 6
Fifty two Sabbaths	0	0	0	104	10 4	4 2 0	4 2 0
Thirteen New Moons.	13	26	13	91	19 5	8 0 9	6 3 0
Passeover 7 days.	7	14	7	49	8 5	4 1 3	3 1 3
First Fruits.	1	2	1	2 7 1	1 5 0 2	0 3 9 0 0 6	0 3 0 0 0 3
First Day of the Seventh Month.	1	1	1	7	1 2	0 3 0	0 2 6
Tenth Day of the Seventh Month.	1	1	1	7	1 2	0 3 0	0 2 6
The Eight Days of the Feast of Tabernacles.	8	71	15	105	34 8	15 2 6	10 5 6
Summ Total	31	115	38	1 103	150 3	64 2 0	56 4 6

It arrives you see, unto One Hundred and Fifteen Young *Bullocks*, Thirty Eight *Rams*, One Thousand One Hundred & Three *Lambs*, and Thirty One *Kids*, all smoaking on the Altar of God. Unto which was added, for Bread and Drink, One hundred and fifty Ephahs, and Three Omers, of fine *Flour*; Sixty Four Baths, and One Hin, of pure beaten *Oyl*; and fifty six Baths, four Hins, and Six Logs, of excellent *Wine*. This was the constant yearly Sacrifice.

Now, Ten *Omers* make an *Ephah*. A *Tenth deal of Flour*, so often mentioned in the Levitical Sacrifices, means an *Omer*. An *Omer* is in our English Measure, about; One Pottle, One Pint, and Three Ounces. An *Ephah* is about Six Gallons, One Pottle, and half a Pint. Ten *Ephah's* make an *Homer*.

A *Bath* (in *Liquid Measures*, the same with an *Ephah* in Dry) is Six Gallons, One Pottle, and half a Pint. An *Hin* (which is the Sixth Part of a *Bath*) is One Gallon, & three quarters of a Pint. A *Log* (which is the Twelfth Part of an *Hin*,) is Three quarters of a Pint, wanting but the Fourth Part of an Ounce; or, Eight Ounces, & three Fourths of an Ounce.²⁷

[3v]

3506.

Q. What Remark may one make, on, *The Lords calling unto Moses?* v. 1.

A. What *Procopius Gazæus* hath well remark'd; That *Moses* appointed no Service of God, without His Order, in the House he had lately erected for Him.

We may add, That the Time, when *Moses* received Order from God, about His Worship, was, no doubt, immediately after the Consecration of the *Tabernacle*, as soon as the *Glory of the Lord* entred into it; which *Hesychius* gathers from the Conjunction, *And*, with which this Book begins.²⁸

²⁷ See Richard Cumberland, *An Essay towards the Recovery of Jewish Weights and Measurements* (1686), pp. 86, 137.

²⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 2). Several of the works of the Christian rhetorician Procopius of Gaza (c. 465–528 CE) are extant, but Mather's specific reference could not be determined. The Presbyter Hesychius of Jerusalem (fl. 5th c. CE) believes that the coordinating conjunction *And*, which opens Lev. 1:1, implies that Moses received his divine instructions immediately after he had consecrated the Tabernacle (*Commentarius in Leviticum*, lib. 1, cap. 1, v. 1, 2), in [PG 083. 791–793]. Similarly, the medieval French exegete R. Joseph ben Isaac Bekhor Shor (12th c.) explains that the particle conjunction *And*, Hebrew וַ [vaw], in the opening phrase וַיִּקְרָא [vayikra], i.e., “And He called” (Lev. 1:1), yokes the third book of the Torah to the last verse of Exod. 40:35 (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:4). In his commentary on Ezra 1:1, Mather adds a different thought. He stresses that “the direct Note of Connection, AND” at the opening of a number of OT books (from Exodus to Ezra) – although “concealed from the English Reader under the Word, NOW” – demonstrates that “several prophetic Scribes” updated earlier books and added new material. Yet “Tis all along one Body of History; connected by several prophetic Scribes that wrote it; with such proper Additions, for Explanation, as could not be originally in the Ancient Books themselves” (*BA* 4:83). See also Robert Jenkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1700), vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 9, pp. 232–33. Good old Father Richard Simon's heretical “*publick Writers*” hypothesis was finally gaining traction (*BA* 1:127–44).

3507.

Q. Why is it said in the Plural Number, *Yee shall bring?* v. 2.

A. The Hebrew Doctors, who have accurately considered these things, tell us, 'Tis to show, that *Two Men* might join together, to offer *One Thing*.²⁹

3508.

Q. What was the Matter præscribed for all the *Levitical Offerings?* v. 2.

A. *The Herd*, and, *The Flock*; That is to say, *Bullocks*, and, *Sheep*, and *Goats*. *Doves* and, *Pigeons*, were indeed allow'd, when People were not able to bring the other; But they were never allowed in Publick Sacrifices.

These Three Sorts of *Four-footed Beasts* which were chosen, were (as *Abarbanel* observes) the most excellent of all Bruit Creatures; and easily procured; for which Cause also, *Doves & Pigeons* only among Birds, were called for.³⁰

It is also likely, that the *Israelites* might be restrained peculiarly unto these, to præserve them from the Customes of the *Gentiles*. For tho' we find in *Homer*, the mention of *Hecatombs* (a Sacrifice of an *Hundred Oxen*), and of perfect *Lambs* and *Goats*, whereby *Achilles* hoped, that *Apollo* might be appeased; yett, there was no more ancient Sacrifice among the Heathen, if we may beleieve themselves, than that of *Swine*. Hence that learned Roman *Varro* derives the Word $\zeta\varsigma$ a *Swine*, from $\theta\upsilon\varsigma$, *A Sacrifice*; because it was most anciently offered unto their Gods; there not being (as, *Petrus Castellanus de Esu Carnium* tells us,) a more delicious Food, at their own Tables, than *Swines-flesh*. Afterwards they sacrificed, *Harts* to *Diana*, *Horses* to the *Sun*, *Asses* to *Priapus*, *Wolves* to *Mars*, nay, *Dogs* to *Hecate*; whereby they destroy'd the very Nature of Sacrific[i]al Feasts, in which People had Communion with the Gods whom they worshipped, by partaking at their Table.³¹

29 Patrick, on Lev. 1:2 (*Leviticus* 4). Rashi, Nachmanides, and Abarbanel are among those who agree that "any of you" (Lev. 1:2) may suggest that it makes no difference to God whether the sacrifice is offered (as Nachmanides puts it) "by a single person, by two, by ten, or by a thousand" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedoloth* 3:5).

30 Abarbanel, *Commentarius Pentateuchum Mosis* (1710) argues that "none other than a domestic animal" must be sacrificed, such as "cattle, sheep, and goats," because they "possess the finest characters of all animals in the entire animal kingdom," are docile, and herbivores. As for fowls, only two qualify: "the young pigeons and the turtledoves." Nonetheless, "the choicest sacrifices" are from the four-footed species mentioned above; they are reserved for "communal offerings," but "pigeons" or "young doves" are not suitable for "a single communal offering" (*Selected Commentaries. Vayikra/Leviticus* 3:19, 20).

31 Simon Patrick (*Leviticus* 5, 6). His primary source is $\kappa\rho\epsilon\omega\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha$ sive *De Esu Carnium libri IV* (1626), lib. 2, cap. 1, pp. 59–63, by Petrus Castellanus (1585–1632), professor of medicine and Greek literature at Louvain. Castellanus also supplies the derivation of the Greek word for "swine" (sow) from *De re rustica* (2.4.9), by the Roman historian and Latin scholar Marcus Terrentius Varro (116–27 BCE) (*OCD*). Homer's gods delight in the sacrifice of hecatombs of oxen, lambs, and goats (*Iliad* 1.53–67, 312–24, *Odyssey* 1.25). Fleet-footed Diana, Greek goddess of the hunt, is pleased with the sacrifice of deer; Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.5.24, 35; *Cyropædia* 8.3.12) tells of the Parthian custom of devoting hecatombs of horses to Helios, god of the

Q. *A Male without Blemish?* v. 3.

A. The Hebrew Word, signifies, *Perfect*; having all inward & outward Accomplishments, Μωμος, whence Αμωμος, from מום/ a *Spott*, or *Blemish*.³² Such an one in the Skin, did not render a Sacrifice unacceptable; but some other Deficiency or Redundancy. Our Saviours *Perfection* is here also typified. The Translations therefore might have well had it, *A Male of Perfection*.

What is rendred, *Of his own voluntary Will*, may be rendred, *For his Favour*, or, *his Favourable Acceptance*. Compare, v. 4. and Jer. VI.20. This is the most ancient Version of this Text, & a very frequent one.³³

3509.

Q. *How and why* was performed the Rite of *Putting the Hand on the Head of the Burnt-Offering?* v. 4.

A. Some (gathering it from Lev. 16.21.) suppose, That *both the Hands* of the Offerer were imposed; *Maimonides* adds, It was to be done *with all his Might*. This was not only, to Transfer, and to Devote unto the Lord, his whole Interest in the Sacrifice; as the Romans laid their *Hands* on their Servants, when they sett them at Liberty, and abdicated their own Right in them, with Saying, *Hunc Hominem Liberum esse vollo*: (which was call'd, *Manumission*;) but also to express the Leaning of a True *Faith*, on the Sacrifice of the Messiah. [Compare, Heb. 6.2.]³⁴

And it must be observed, That *Laying on of Hands*, was always accompanied with *Prayer*. [see Gen. 48.14, 16, 20. and Lev. 16.21.] Yea, sometimes the

sun, and so does Herodotus (1.216) of the Scythians. Calmet (1:653). Priapus, Greek patron god of fertility, is into asses (go figure); bellicose Mars, god of war, is partial to wolves; and good old Hecate, goddess of witchcraft and necromancy, to canines – all of which four-footed oblations are neatly categorized and documented in Bochart's *Hierozoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 33, col. 321, lines 14–68.

³² Lev. 24:19, Exod. 29:1: (LXX) μῶμος (momos) signifies “blemish,” and ἀμωμος (amomos) “unblemished, perfect.” Mather's Hebrew spelling of מום should be מאום [m'uw] (Strong's # 3971), suggesting “blemish, spot, defect” (Numb. 19:2).

³³ Mather's sources are Patrick (*Leviticus* 8–9) and *De Sacrificiis Libri Duo* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 9, sec. 3, pp. 102–03, by Dr. William Outram, aka. Owtram (c. 1626–79), a notable Anglican clergyman and prebendary of Westminster (*ODNB*). An English translation of Outram's *De Sacrificiis* was published in 1828.

³⁴ Maimonides, *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (3.13), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:378). Patrick's commentary (*Leviticus* 10), which is Mather's principal source here, renders the Latin ceremonial manumission pronouncement as follows: “I will that this Man be free.” This ancient Roman ceremony involved the following ritual: “The master brought his slave before the magistratus, and stated the grounds (causa) of the intended manumission. The lictor of the magistratus laid a rod (festuca) on the head of the slave, accompanied with certain formal words, in which he declared that he was a free man ex Jure Quiritium, that is, ‘vindicavit in libertatem.’ The master in the meantime held the slave, and after he had pronounced the words ‘hunc hominem liberum volo,’ he turned him round (momento turbinis exit Marcus Dama, Aulus Persius Flaccus, *Saturarum* 5.78) and let him go (emisit e manu, or misit manu, Plautus, *Captivi* 2.3.48), whence the general name of the act of manumission” (*DGRA* 730a).

Laying on of Hands in the N.T. signifies, *To pray*. [see Matth. 19.15. and Mar. 5.23.]³⁵

[▽ Insert 4r–4v]

[▽ 4r–4v]

3510.

Q. How was the *Flaying* of the *Burnt-Offering* performed? v. 6.

A. The Jewes tell us, That not the *Priest*, but the Man himself, who brought the Sacrifice, was to do this. *Abarbinel* notes, that each of them had Five Things to do. The Man that brought the Sacrifice, 1. Laid his Hand upon it. 2. Kill'd it. 3. Flayed it. 4. Cutt it up. 5. Wash'd the Inwards. And then the Priest, 1. Received the Blood in a Vessel. 2. Sprinkled the Blood. 3. Putt Fire on the Altar. 4. Ordered the Wood on the Fire. 5. Ordered the Peeces of the Sacrifice on the Wood.

That the Beast might be the more easily flayed, there were Eight *Stone Pillars*, (as the Jewes tell us in *Middoth*,) and Beams laid over them; In each of which, there were *Three Iron Hooks* fixed; that the Greater Beasts might hang on the highest, the Lesser on the Middlemost, the Least on the Lowest, & so be the more commodiously stript of their Skins.³⁶

3511.

Q. What was the *Fat* which the Priests were to lay, with the *Parts*, and the *Head*, of the Sacrifice, on the *Wood*? v. 8.

A. The Hebrew Word, *Peder*, doth not simply signify, *Fat*, (for which they have another Word, *Cheleb*;) but that *Fat* which is by itself separated from the rest of the Flesh. [So, Lev. 3.9. and 4.35.] This being thus gathered together, & thrown into the Fire, fed the Flame, and made it burn very fiercely, by which Means the Sacrifice was the easier, and quicklier consumed. *Jerom* takes it particularly for the *Fat* which adhæred unto the *Liver*. And both *Solomon Jarchi*, and *David Kimchi* observe, that this *Peder* was thrown upon the *Head* of the Sacrifice (when it was cast into the Fire) just in the Place where the Head was cutt

³⁵ Simon Patrick, on Lev. 1:4 (*Leviticus* 10, 11). See Appendix B.

³⁶ Patrick, on Lev. 1:6 (*Leviticus* 12–13). Among Patrick's sources are Abarbanel's *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis: Vayikra* (Lev. 1:5–8); *Selected Commentaries. Vayikra/Leviticus* (3:35, 42); *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:7, 8); and "Dissertationis, De Cacozelia Gentilium, Pars Specialis" (cap. 9), in *Disputationum Academicarum, præcipuè Philologicarum* (1652), pp. 254–60, by Johannes Michael Dilherr (1604–69), professor of history, poetry, and theology at the University of Jena (Saxony). The stone pillars between which the flaying of the victim occurred is described in tractate Middoth (*Talmud Babylonica*) מסכת מידות [Masseket Middoth]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), cap. 3, sec. 5, pp. 118–19. This esteemed bilingual edition and translation, by Constantine L'Empereur de Oppyck (1591–1648), a Dutch professor of theology, Hebrew, and Chaldean at Leiden, explicates the architecture, courts, and maintenance rooms of the Temple.

off from the Body; because otherwise the Gore which issued from it might have extinguished the Flame. The *Order*, wherein the Parts of the Sacrifice were to ly on the Wood, was the same as to answer the Scituation thereof in the Creature when it was alive. So *Maimonides* informeth us.³⁷

[4v]

3512.

Q. What was the *Place*, where the *Inwards* and the *Legs* of the Sacrifice were washed with Water v. 9.

A. There was a Private Room in the *Court of the Temple*, (as now tis likely there was in the *Tabernacle*) called, *The Washing-Room*; as we find in the *Mid-doth*; where, having privately washed these Parts, they brought them into the Court, & laid them upon *Marble Tables*, between the *Pillars* above-mentioned; and again more exactly washed them. *Const. L'Empereur* observes out of R. *Hobadiah*, the reason why they used to lay the Flesh upon such Tables, was because Marble made it cold and stiff, & præserv'd it from Stinking, in very Hott Weather.³⁸

3513.

Q. The Greater Sacrifices, which the Jewes called, *The most Holy Things*, had that peculiar Place assign'd them to be killed in, *The North Side of the Altar*. But the *Lesser Holy Things*, (as the *Peace-Offerings*, of particular Men; the

³⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 14–15). St. Jerome's interprets the Hebrew term יֹתֶרֶת [yothereth] (Strong's # 3508) as "adipe" (Lev. 3:4, VUL), which term the KJV renders "caul" (Lev. 3:4), i. e., "the caudate lobe of the liver of a sacrificial animal." Rashi (Solomon Jarchi) explains that Kohanim "brings up" the Peder, i. e., הַפֶּדֶר (Lev. 1:7) "with the head, and, covers the throat of the animal, [with the fat]" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Vayikro* 3:12). On Peder-Cheleb, see J. Milgram's *Anchor Bible Leviticus* (3:159). The location of David Kimchi's comments on this topic has not yet been identified, but may well be found in his סֵפֶר הַשְּׁרָשִׁים עַם נִגְזָרִים [Sepher Ha-Shorashim 'im Nigzarim] *Dictionarium Hebraicum, ultimo ab autore Sebastiano Munstero recognitum, & ex Rabbinis, praesertim ex Radicibus David Kimhi, auctum & locupletatum* (1535), voce הַפֶּדֶר. Maimonides mentions the arrangement of the animal carcass in *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (6.4), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:398). Nachmanides, too, has much to say on the topic, on Lev. 3:9, in his *Commentary* (3:39–44).

³⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 15) paraphrases L'Empereur's Latin annotations on R. Hobadiah's gloss on *Codex Middoth* (cap. 3, sec. 5), in Constantinus L'Empereur's bilingual edition מִסְכֵּת מִידוֹת [Masseket Middoth]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), fol. 120, and *Tractatus de Mensuris Templi* (3.5), in In Surenhusius, סֵדֶר קֹדֶשִׁים [Seder Kodashim] *sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Sacrorum* (1702), fol. 359. For the function of the "Washing-Room" (*Middoth*, cap. 5, sec. 2), see L'Empereur's annotations מִסְכֵּת מִידוֹת [Masseket Middoth], esp. fols. 176–77. R. Hobadiah (Obadiah) is the Italian rabbi Obadiah ben Abraham Bertinoro, aka. Bartenora (1445–1515), best known for his commentary on the Mishnah (*Ef*), reprinted with a Latin translation in Guilielmus Surenhusius's bilingual edition *Mischna sive Totius Hebraeorum Juris, Rituum, Antiquitatum, ac Legum Oralium Systema* (1698–1702), in six folios.

Paschal-Lamb; etc) might be killed in any Part of the Court, where the Altar stood. What Conveniences were there to accomplish the Slaughtering? v. 11.

A. There were certain Rings fixed, unto which the *Head*, or, some say, the *Feet* of the *Beast*, was tied, in order to the Killing of it. But they were not Perfect Rings, as *L'Empereur* observes; being rather Half-Segments of Rings, one Part of which was fastened unto the Pavement, & by the other, the Neck of the Beast was tied unto it.³⁹

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

3156.

Q. It is not amiss now and then, to take notice of a *Rabbinic Fancy*, tho' there should happen to be no great Weight in it. If it be only, that the Fancies come to us, *from afar*, and, *of old*, this may be enough to make amends for your inserting them. I pray give us one, upon that; *He shall bring his Offering of Turtle-doves, or of Young Pigeons?* v. 14.

A. I find this Observation of the *Rabbins* upon it. The Lord will admitt of *Turtles* for a *Sacrifice*, at any Age; but of *Pigeons* tis expressly required, that they be *Young*. And they give this Reason; Because *Turtles* are Savoury Meat at any Age; but *Pigeons*, when they grow *old*, they grow *Tough*, and have no good Relish in them.⁴⁰

And I find one of our Practical Writers, thus Improving this Observation.

“Truly (*saies he*) we are not born *Turtles*; none but the Sanctified are such. (Ps. 74.19.) We are *Pigeons*. Lett us Remember, That there is no acceptable Relish in *Old Pigeons*. See 2. Tim. 3.15. and Prov. 8.17.”⁴¹

3154.

Q. Give us a Moral Document of *Maimonides's* if you please, upon this Offering of *Turtle-Doves*, and *Young Pigeons?* v. 14.

A. *Maimonides* observes, That this little Sacrifice of *Birds*, was one of the Difficuldest Works in the Sanctuary. The Mind of the Priest, was kept as Intent upon the *Poorest* Sacrifice, as upon the *Splendidest*.⁴²

[4r–4v inserted into 3v]

³⁹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 16–17) and *Codex Middoth* (cap. 3, secs. 4, 5), in *L'Empereur's מסכת מידות* [Masseket Middoth]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), fols. 112–13, 118–19. Maimonides, *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (5.3), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:386).

⁴⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 17–18) and Rashi, on Lev. 1:14 (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:11). See also Maimonides's *Guide* (3.46.582) and his *Hilchot Pesulei HaMukdashim* (10.10), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:704). Samuel Bochart offers the same culinary advice on turtle doves and young pigeons, in his *Hierozoicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 5, cols. 25–27.

⁴¹ See Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:512) and *Works* (6:30–31).

⁴² Patrick, on Lev. 1:17 (*Leviticus* 19) and Maimonides's *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (5.4, 6.20–23), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:388).

[5r]

2294.

Q. The *Gospel* of the Ancient *Sacrifices*, would bee a very pleasant and useful Entertainment, for a Reader of the Scripture: And here will bee a very proper Place to bring it in? v. 17.⁴³

A. Tis very sure, The *Offerings* presented unto the Lord, according to His Commandment, in the Days of the Old Testament, were Typical of *Evangelical Mysteries*.⁴⁴

Of the Offerings, there were some offered at the *Brazen Altar*; which represented the Sufferings of our Lord. Some were offered, more near to the *Holy of Holies*; as the *Shewbread* & the *Incense*; which had respect unto the Intercession of our Lord. And some were offered in the *Holy of Holies*; which pointed at the full Attainment of the Ends of both the former.

At the *Brasen Altar*, were offered, Sacrifices [Ιλαστικά and Ευχαριστικά] *Propitiatory* and *Eucharistical*; Sacrifices of *Expiation*, & Sacrifices of *Thanksgiving*.⁴⁵

The *Propitiatory Sacrifices* were *Holy of Holinesses*, or most Holy Offerings unto the Lord, for the appeasing of His Wrath, by the Destruction of the Sacrifices, to represent the true Expiation of Sin, by the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ. The other Sacrifices were but *Holy*; For the more Immediate Relation they had unto the *Messiah*, and His Person, and Actions, and Sufferings, the more *Holy* were any of the *Levitical Objects*. Now some of the very Pagans themselves, were sensible of this, *That the Blood of Bulls & of Goats could not take away Sin*; and Satan therefore triumphing over their *Guilty Consciences*, made them seek to ease the Distress and Horror of their *Consciences*, with *Humane Sacrifices*; upon the Principle of the *Druids*, mentioned by *Cæsar*; *Quòd pro Vita Hominis nisi Vita Hominis reddatur, non posse aliter Deorum Immortalium Numen placari arbitrantur*. Our Lord Jesus Christ therefore is become our *Sacrifice*.⁴⁶

The first Institution of *Sacrifices*, was doubtless presently after the *Sin* and *Fall* of Man. Our *First Parents* had their *First Garments* of *Skins*; and there is no doubt, that the *Beasts*, from whom the *Skins* were taken, had been *slain* for *Sacrifices*. Now, as tis said, in Gen. 3.21. *The Lord God made Coats of Skins, & clothed them*; so tis plain, that *the Lord God* approved, and therefore Hee appointed,

⁴³ The following paragraphs are all extracted from Mather's uncle, Samuel Mather, whose sermon "The Gospel of the Sacrifices," was preached on June 14, 1668, and published in *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (Dublin, 1683) and republished three times. My references are to the second London imprint of *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 184–94.

⁴⁴ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (1705), p. 185.

⁴⁵ Samuel Mather (186). The Greek terms ἰλαστικούς and εὐχαριστικά suggest, respectively, signify "atonement" and "gratitude."

⁴⁶ Samuel Mather (186, 188). Heb. 10:4. According to Gaius Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* (6.16.3), the barbarous Gauls have the Druids offer human sacrifice because they believe that "unless the life of a man can be offered for the life of a man, the mind of the immortal gods cannot be rendered propitious" (*Gallic Wars* 6.16.3).

the *Sacrificing* of the Things thus *despoiled* of their *Skins*.⁴⁷ And among all the Sons of these our *First Parents*, the rite of *Sacrificing* hath been maintained every where, but where the Preaching of the *Gospel* hath abolished it. Had it been a Dictate of the *Law of Nature*, the *Gospel* would not have Abolished it, but Continued it, but Confirmed it, but Enforced it. No, It was God Himself, who appointed the *Sacrifices*, which Repenting Sinners then brought unto Him. Tis said of *Abel*, in Heb. 11.4. *By Faith hee offered unto God, a more Acceptable Sacrifice*. Had *Sacrifices* been only *Humane Inventions*, they could not have been offered in *Faith*, nor would God have called them, *Excellent*. Tis said of *Noah*, in Gen. 8.20. *Hee took of every clean Beast, & of every clean Fowl, and offered Burnt-Offerings unto the Lord; and the Lord smelled a sweet Savour*. Gods *Accepting* the *Sacrifices*, is a Proof of His *Commanding* them. And the Distinction between *clean* Creatures and *unclean*, could then refer only to such Uses for them. How unsafely soever many of the Fathers have expressed themselves on this Point, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* seems to have better determined it, That the Ancient *Sacrifices* were not *Humanely Invented*, but, *κατὰ θεῖαν ἐπινοίαν*.⁴⁸ *According to the Divine Precept*. Accordingly, when God was now Recovering the Nation of *Israel*, from the Degeneracy, wherein the other Nations of the World had wofully depraved themselves, Hee Renewed the Command of *Sacrificing*, with Supernumerary, and Innumerable Ceremonies. Indeed, by the *Edicts* of God, unto the Nation of *Israel*, Corporal *Death* was to ensue upon every *Act of Disobedience*. Now, the Lord, who was the Law-giver of *Israel*, Relaxed that Extremity as to many *Offences*, and for the Corporal Death of the *Offendor*, Hee admitted the *Death* of the *Sacrifice*. But of what Account were the *Sacrifices*, thus *Instituted*? Alas, Tho' they were thus *Instituted*, they were all *Insufficient*. [see Heb. 10. beg.] The exact *Righteousness*, the spotless *Purity*, the infinite *Grace* of God, are to bee manifested in a *Sacrifice* for our Sin. Was the *Blood* of an Abject *Bull* of *Goat* any agreeable Manifestation of the *Infinite Perfections* of God? God published His *Will* in Thunders and Lightnings and Earthquakes, and with Millions of *Angels*, which attended the giving of His *Fiery Law*. Shall the Death of a sorry *Brute*, bee enough to make amends, for the Rebellion of the *Soul* of *Man*, against that Sovereign *Will*? No Man in his Wits, can think so despicably of the Divine Majesty. What Proportion is there, between the *Sin* of a *Rational Soul*, and the *Blood* of an *Irrational MACHIN*? How can the Butchering of contemptible *Cattel*, bee a Compensation for the Disparagement, that Sin ha's done to the Almighty

⁴⁷ Samuel Mather (189).

⁴⁸ Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of the Burnt-Offering," preached June 21st and 28th (1668), in *Figures or Types* (1705), p. 195. The reference to, and quotation from, Eusebius Caesarea's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1.10.6, line 2) – not recorded in any of the four editions of *Figures or Types* – reads more narrowly *κατὰ θεῖαν δ' ἐπινοίαν*, i. e., "it was divinely suggested" (*Proof of the Gospel* 1.10.35a; 1:55). Our Bostonian Ebenezer supplies his intended meaning in the vernacular.

God, who created all the *Cattel upon a thousand Hills*? [Consider, Isa. 1.11. and Psal. 40.6.] What then were the *Sacrifices* for? Our Great *Lord-Redeemer* was to bee made a *Sacrifice*; And all the *Sacrifices* were *Nothing*, any further than they were *Figures* of that *Great Sacrifice*. In the ancient *Sacrifices*, God would have a Representation of the *Sacrifice*, wherewith our Lord-Redeemer would, in Fullness of Time, Reconcile Him unto us. This was the Use and the Scope of the *Sacrifices*: They were, but *Christ in a Cloud*, when the *Smoke* of them went up, in a *Cloud* before the Lord. —⁴⁹

Various were the *Occasions*, whereupon *Sacrifices* were offered. They were offered, by Persons under the Guilt of *Sin*, for the Obtaining of *Reconciliation*. They were offered for the Obtaining of any Needful Mercy, or the Preventing
[5v] of Threatened | and Impending Evils. The neglect thereof in great Enterprises, caused a Good Cause to miscarry. The Tribes of *Israel* engaging against *Benjamin*, committed this neglect until their Third Attempt, and prospered accordingly. Once more, They were offered in Token of *Joyfulness* and *Thankfulness* for Mercies Received; And, finally, they were offered in the *Particular Instituted Seasons* of them.

Lett us now consider;

I. The *Burnt-Offering*.⁵⁰

This (whereof all but the *Skin*, was wholly *Burned*,) was offered, not only on Providential, and Incidental Occasions, but also constantly, Every Day, *Morning* and *Evening*; the, *Juge Sacrificium*.⁵¹

The Lawes of the *Burnt-Offering*, were either concerning the *Matter* of it, or the *Actions* to bee performed about it.

No Wild Beasts or Fowls, none that were Carnivorous, Prædatory, & Ravenous, were allow'd for Sacrifices: No Furious Animals, were fitt for *Sacrifices*, but such as were more Innocent, Serviceable, and Profitable. These were Mans more peculiar Propriety & Possession; and these were the fittest of all, to express the Vertues of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His People. The Degenerate Pagans, transgress'd in this Point; but their Transgression was Abominable. [see Isa. 66.3. & 65.4.]⁵²

There was,

1. The *Burnt-Offering* of the *Herd*.

This was, a *Bullock*, a *Male without Blemish*: The most perfect Offering was fittest for so great a God! Wee should serve Him, with the best wee have. Our

⁴⁹ See Samuel Mather (193), *Use* 2.

⁵⁰ The following section is synopsized from Samuel Mather's sermon "Of the Burnt-Offering. Yola," which he preached in Dublin, Ireland, on June 21st and 28th (1668), in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 194–209.

⁵¹ Samuel Mather (194). Lat.: *Juge Sacrificium* means "continual sacrifice."

⁵² Samuel Mather (195, 196).

Lord Jesus Christ was a Sacrifice, *unblemished*, and of absolute Purity and Perfection. [1. Pet. 1.19.]⁵³

The Offerer was to *bring the Sacrifice unto the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the Face of the Lord*. Here was a *Voluntary Act* of the Offerer.⁵⁴ *Hee brought*, but was not *Himself brought*. It expressed the *Voluntariness* of our Lord Jesus Christ, in coming to offer a Sacrifice for us. [Eph. 5.2. Joh. 10.18.] And what *Voluntariness* is to attend all our Services. [2. Cor. 9.7.] Moreover, wee are taught, that all our *Acceptance* with God, is on the Account of the Lord Jesus Christ. If our Offerings are not brought unto Him, as unto the *Door of the Tabernacle*; [Joh. 10.7. Heb. 8.2. & 9.11.] And as the *Altar*, which *sanctifies our Gift*: [Heb. 13.10.] wee shall bee *cutt off*. But, as this was to bee done *before the Face of the Lord*, or, before the *most Holy Place*, where was a Special Presence of God, so wee are to eye God in all our Services, and act as in His Presence.⁵⁵

Again; The Offerer was to *lay his Hand upon the Head of the Sacrifice*:⁵⁶ (when the Sacrifice was only of *Beasts*; not of *Birds*.) The Priest was to lay *on both his Hands*; that is, both for his own Sins, and the Peoples too: but the Sinner laid on, only *one*, and as it should seem, the *Left*. This intimated, the *Translation* of the *Guilt* of the confessed Sin, unto the Sacrifice. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, hath *Born our Sins*, [Isa. 53.4, 5.] And *Sin confessed* with *Faith* in Him, is thro' His *Blood* Forgiven. [1. Joh. 1.7, 9.]⁵⁷

Moreover; The *Sacrifice* was to bee kill'd and slain on the North-Side of the *Altar*. The *Priest* was to do This; but the *Levites* were added unto them, for their Assistance in doing it. Thus, the *Messiah*, was to bee *slain*. [Dan. 9.26. Isa. 53.10.] And this on *Mount-Calvary*, which was on the *North-West Side* of *Jerusalem*; as the Jewes have a Tradition, that the *Morning-Sacrifice* was killed, at the *North-West Horn* of the *Altar*. *Quere*, whether the Prevailing of the Gospel of Christ crucified, most in the *Northern Hemisphere* of the World, may bee at all here pointed at?⁵⁸

Furthermore; *The Blood of the Sacrifice must bee poured forth at the foot of the Altar, and spinkled upon it round about*.⁵⁹ Almost all things in the Law, were cleansed by *Blood*. [Heb. 9.22.] Thus, the *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, was *poured forth*, for the Satisfaction of Divine Justice. [Isa. 53.12. Math. 26.28.] And this *Blood* is then *sprinkled*, in the Application of the Holy Spirit. [Heb. 12.24.] The *Altar* typed out unto us, the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. The *Sprinkling* of the *Blood* upon the *Altar*, leads us to consider the Conjunction of

⁵³ Samuel Mather (196).

⁵⁴ Lev. 17:4.

⁵⁵ Samuel Mather (197).

⁵⁶ Lev. 1:4, 5; 3:2.

⁵⁷ Samuel Mather (198, 199).

⁵⁸ Samuel Mather (199).

⁵⁹ Adapted from Lev. 4:6–7.

the Manhood unto the Godhead of our Saviour, in His Bloody Sufferings for us, and the Influence of that Conjunction into the Vertue of the Sufferings. Were not the *Blood* so near unto the *Altar*, it could have no Soul-Redeeming Efficacy. [Act. 20.28.] The *Blood* was also *Sprinkled* upon the *Book*. The *Scripture*, and *Ordinances*, must bee *Sprinkled* with the *Blood* of the Lord, if ever they bee made effectual to us for our Good. And the *Blood* was in like Manner *Sprinkled* upon the *People*. This intimated, that the *Blood* of the Lord must bee brought home unto our *Souls* and *Consciences*.⁶⁰

In the Next Place; *The Priest was to flay the Sacrifice, & cutt it into its Peeeces*.⁶¹ The *Skin* was the Priests Portion; the Body was not meerly chop't in Peeeces, but cutt asunder at the several joints, in Order. The great Sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, were thus Hinted unto us. [Compare Mic. 3.2, 3. Psal. 22.15, 16.]⁶²

And where shall wee have our *Spiritual Cloathing*? Our Lord Jesus Christ, having Died for us, hath left us a *Garment of Righteousness*. [Rom. 13.14.] And as the *Inward Parts* of the *Sacrifice*, were now discovered unto open View, so is our Lord Jesus Christ openly discovered in the Preaching of the Gospel. [Gal. 3.1.] And God sees the *Inwards* of Every *Sacrifice*, that wee worship Him withal. [Heb. 4.12, 13.] But whereas, there was hardly any *Sacrifice* under the Law, whereof the *Priest* had not a *Part*, wee are thence taught the Maintainance of the Ministry. [1. Cor. 9.13, 14.]⁶³

Farther still; *The Peeeces of the Sacrifice were to bee salted*.⁶⁴ This Rule was general, to every *Sacrifice*. The Perpetuity of the *Covenant of Grace*, may herein bee intimated. [Compare Lev. 2.13. Numb. 18.19. 2. Chron. 13.5.]

[6r] And wee have an Instruction, to | beware of Corruptions, in our Devotions. [Weigh Col. 4.6. and Eph. 4.29.]⁶⁵

To proceed; *The Leggs and Inwards of the Sacrifice, must bee washed*.⁶⁶ These were the Fowlest Parts of the Beast. Our *Spiritual Washing* was herein taught unto us. [Heb. 10.22.]

To pass on; *The several Parts of the Sacrifice, must bee laid upon the Altar, and burnt with Fire, till it bee consumed, & burnt to Ashes*.⁶⁷ The Fire that once fell from Heaven, was continually preserved upon the *Altar for that Purpose*. The *Wrath* of God is the *Fire*, and *Sin* is the Wood that feeds it. Every *Part* of our Lord Jesus Christ, suffered affliction from that *Fire*.

⁶⁰ Samuel Mather (200).

⁶¹ Lev. 1:6.

⁶² Samuel Mather (201, 202).

⁶³ Samuel Mather (202).

⁶⁴ Mark 9:49.

⁶⁵ Samuel Mather (203).

⁶⁶ Lev. 1:9, 8:21.

⁶⁷ Lev. 1:8, 9.

Finally; *The Ashes of the Sacrifice, must bee carried out of the Camp, into a clean Place.*⁶⁸ Thus, the crucified Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, was not buried within the City, but *carried into a clean Place*, even, into a *New Sepulchre, where never any Man lay before.* [Joh. 19.41. Heb. 13.11, 12, 13.]⁶⁹

There were indeed some other *Actions* about the *Burnt-Offering*. There was that of *Binding the Sacrifice with Cords, to the Horns of the Altar.* [Psal. 118.27.] But that seems an Action rather of *Natural Necessity*, than of any *Special Mystery*.⁷⁰

2. The Burnt-Offering of the *Flock*.

The Lord appointed lesser Sacrifices; namely *Sheep*, and *Goats*, and *Birds*, as *Turtle-Doves*, and *Young Pigeons*. Hee did it, that so none might plead Excuse to bee exempted from Serving Him; even that none may think themselves excused by their *Poverty*; and that the Meanest may not bee discouraged, by the Meanness of their Capacities and Abilities.

About the Offering of the *Lesser Cattel*, there are præscribed no *Peculiar Ceremonies*.⁷¹

About the *Birds* to bee offered, wee may note, That they were such as *Doves*, not *Ravens* and *Vultures*. The *Harmlessness*, and *Innocence*, that was in our Lord Jesus Christ, and should bee in all Beleevers on our Lord Jesus Christ, is here taught unto us.

There were *Three Ceremonies* more particularly belonging to *Them*.⁷²

First, The *Priest* was to *wring off the Head of the Bird*.⁷³ But this aimed at the same general *Scope*, with the Killing of the *Cattel*: To represent the *Suffering* of the Lord Jesus Christ for our Sins, and the *Violence* therein done unto Him.

Again; The *Priest* was to *pluck away his Crop, with his Feathers, & cast it beside the Altar, on the East Part, by the Place of the Ashes*.⁷⁴ Why to the *East*? There they had a Place to carry the *Ashes*. This was the furthest from the *Holy of Holies*. The *Temple* stood *West*; And in reverence of the Divine Majesty, the *Filth* of the *Sacrifices* was carried as far from the *Ark of the Testimony*, as might bee. Wee must abandon all *Filthiness*, when we come into the Special Presence of God. [Psal. 26.6.]⁷⁵

Thirdly; The *Priest* was to *cleave it, with the Wings, but not divide it asunder*.⁷⁶ *Cleave it*; that is, long wayes, leaving a Wing on each Side. Thus also, the

⁶⁸ Lev. 6:11.

⁶⁹ Samuel Mather (203, 204)

⁷⁰ Samuel Mather (204–05).

⁷¹ Samuel Mather (205).

⁷² Samuel Mather (206).

⁷³ Lev. 1:15.

⁷⁴ Lev. 1:16, 17.

⁷⁵ Samuel Mather (206, 207).

⁷⁶ Lev. 1:17.

Head and the *Body*, were not altogether Disjoined, but only the *Neck* pinched with the *Nail* of the *Priest*. The *Ceremony* was very ancient. [Gen. 15.10.]

Thus, *Not a Bone* of our Lord Jesus Christ, was to bee *Broken*.⁷⁷ Moreover, The Divine and Humane Nature in our Lord, were never totally *separated*, tho His Soul were *separated* from His Body. His Deity, as the *Head*, or principal Part, was never Divided from His Humanity. Nor was Hee who is the *Head* of His Church, Divided from His Mystical Body, in His Afflictions.⁷⁸

II. The *Meat-Offering*.⁷⁹

All Propitiatory Sacrifices being referr'd unto *Zebach*, and *Mincha*, [Psal. 40.6.] which the Apostle reads, θύσια, and, πρόσφορα, [Heb. 10.5.] the *Mincha*, or, *Meat-Offering* was of Things that could not bee slain; *Meats* or *Drinks*, to bee offered only with *Ignition*, and *Effusion*.⁸⁰

Wee will consider,

1. The *Materials* of the *Meat-Offering*.

First, There was *Corn*; either *Wheat*, or *Barley*. The *Wheat*, was either *ground and sifted into Flower*, without any further Præparation; or, Dressed and Cooked into *Cakes and Wafers*; or, *Baked*; or, *Fried in a Frying Pan*.⁸¹ The *Barley* was not so much as ground into Meal or Flower, only *Dried* and *Beaten*; and the *First Fruits* were of that *Species*, because *Barley* was the *First-ripe* in *Palestine*. The First Month was called, *Abib*, q. *mensis spicarum*, the Month of *Ears of Corn*.⁸²

These Things are to bee Remark'd upon it. The *Corn Meat-Offering*, was to bee *Fine Flower*, *purged from the Bran*. This intimated the *Pure Estate* of our Lord Jesus Christ. And it instructs us, to have all our Services, as much as may bee, purged from the *Bran* of Corruption.

Again, The *First-fruits* were to bee a *Meat-Offering*. But our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, ha's the Character of the *First Fruits* upon Him. [1. Cor. 15.20.]

Moreover, The *Meat-Offering* must undergo a various *Contusion*; Grinding, Sifting, Baking, Frying, Beating, and the like. Thus did our Lord Jesus Christ,

⁷⁷ John 19:36.

⁷⁸ Samuel Mather (207).

⁷⁹ Samuel Mather, "The Gospel of the Meat-Offering," preached July 5th, 12th, 19th, 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 210–26.

⁸⁰ Samuel Mather (210–11). "*Zebach*" and "*Mincha*" suggest, respectively, "meat-offering" and "meal-offering." In the Greek NT, the Apostle Paul speaks of "sacrifice" and "offering" (Heb. 10:5). John Edwards (1637–1716), Cotton Mather's oft-quoted English Calvinist divine, begs to differ on this account. He insists that *Mincha* – a collective term for burnt offerings – "should rather be rendered a *meal* or *flower* [flour] *Offering*. ... [T]he *Mincab* [sic] was a *Cake* made of fine Meal, Oil, and Frankincense, and baked" (ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* [1699], cap. 5, p. 156).

⁸¹ Lev. 2:7; Luke 22:31.

⁸² Samuel Mather (211, 212). The month of "*Abib*" (signifying "Barley") roughly corresponds to the month of April.

for our Sins. [Isa. 53.5.] And His Members also, must expect like *Ignatius*, to bee ground, as a Meat-Offering, for the Entertainment of Heaven.⁸³

Secondly, There was *Oyl*. This was to bee mingled with the *Flower*. The Quantity is not expressed; but it was expected, there should bee a, *Quantum sufficit*.⁸⁴ This, in general, signified the Graces & Comforts of the *Holy Spirit*, which our Lord Jesus Christ Received without Measure. And something of this *Oyl* there should bee in all our Services.⁸⁵

| Thirdly, There was *Frankincense*. The Use of this was, to make a *Sweet Perfume* in the Air; when an *Ill Savour* might have arisen from some other Things. It figured the Acceptableness of Beleevers, & of their Services to God, thro' the Mediation & Intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ. [See Cant. 3.6. and Jer. 6.20.] There was no *Frankincense*, in the *Sin-Offering*, or in the *Jealousy-Offering*, because it was a Memorial for *Sins*, & not for *Services*. [6v]

Fourthly, *Salt* was another Ingredient. This was to teach, the Perpetuity of the *New Covenant*; and the Savoury Carriage & Walking, of those that converse with God in it.

The Summ is, Our Good Works, Anointed with the Spirit & Perfumed with the Intercession of our Lord, are accepted of God, thro' His unchangeable Faithfulness in His Covenant.⁸⁶

2. The *Actions* about the *Meat-Offering*. They were these.

The *Meat-Offering* must bee *brought unto the Priests*. It imports, That wee must make Use of Christ, in all our Services and Approaches unto God, & bee altogether voluntary in them.⁸⁷

Again, The *Priest* was to *burn the Memorial of it upon the Altar, before the Lord*.⁸⁸ Thus Heaven is putt in *Remembrance* of the Covenant with us, thro' our Lord. [Consider, Psal. 20.3. and Act. 10.4. and, Neh. 13.14, 22.]

Lastly, The *Remnant* was to bee *the Priests*; and to bee *Eaten in the Sanctuary*. Only the *Meat-Offering* of the *Priests*, might not bee *Eaten*, but was to bee all *Burnt*, for a *whole Burnt-Offering*. This pointed out unto us, a Participation of Christ, for all His Faithful People; For they are all an Holy, & a Royal *Priesthood*. [1. Pet.2.5, 9.] And they *Feed* on the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our *Meat-Offering*. [Joh. 6.33.] As the *Meat-Offering* was partly *Burnt on* the Altar, partly *Eaten* by the *Priests*: Thus our Lord, having offered up Himself, once for

⁸³ Mather alludes to the *The Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians*, ch. 1 (ANF1:49), by the early Church Father Ignatius, aka. Theophorus (c. 35–110), martyred bishop of Antioch.

⁸⁴ "Sufficient quantity."

⁸⁵ Samuel Mather (212).

⁸⁶ Samuel Mather (213).

⁸⁷ Samuel Mather (213).

⁸⁸ Lev. 2:16.

all, doth alwayes continue a *Food*, for the Faith of His People. The *Maintenance of the Ministry* also, is here again taught unto us: The *Priests* had something out of *Every Offering*.⁸⁹

3. The *Ends* of the *Meat-Offering*.

It was to bee an *Offering made by Fire, of a Sweet Savour unto the Lord*.⁹⁰

First, It figured the *Expiation of Sin*, both by the Active, and Passive Obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ. [See 1. Sam. 3.14.] Hence, when our Lord came, Hee caused, both *Zebach*, and *Mincha*, to *cease*; [Dan. 9.27.] both the *Slain-Sacrifices*, and the *Meat-Offerings*. It is said of the poor Mans *Meat-Offering*, [Lev. 5.11.] *He shall make Atonement*. And this may bee intended in the Apostles Limitation, [Heb. 9.22.] *under the Law, almost all things were purged by Blood*: For it was not alwayes done by *Slain-Sacrifices*, but sometimes by *Meat-Offerings*. In the *Meat-Offerings* there was an Adumbration of our Lords *Active Obedience*; For, *It was His Meat to do the will of Him that sent Him*.⁹¹ And then, of His *Passive Obedience*; For there was a destroying of Part of the *Meat-Offering* by *Fire*, & pouring it forth.

Secondly; It signified also the *Persons* of Beleevers; who thro' Christ are sanctified, for to bee a Pure *Meat-Offering* unto God. [Compare Isa. 66.20. with Rom. 15.16. And consider, Phil. 2.17. and 2. Tim. 4.6.]

Thirdly, And their *Services*, as well as their *Persons*. The Services of the Faithful are called, *Fruits*; [Phil. 1.6. & 4.17.] which were sometimes the *Meat-Offering*. *Prayer* is particularly a *Mincha*. [Psal. 141.2. and Mal. 1.10, 11.] And so is *Praise*. [Joel. 2.14.] Yea, And some Analogy to the *Lords Supper* appeareth in the *Meat-Offering*. It consisted of *Bread* and *Wine*; and the *Priests* eat of it. But then the *Lords Supper* is not a *Sacrifice*. Finally, *Alms* are an Evangelical *Meat-Offering*. [Heb. 13.16. and Phil. 4.17.]

Fourthly, The *Acceptation* both of our *Persons* and of our *Services*, was here also signified. [Phil. 4.17, 18.] *Frankincense* was therefore an Ingredient of the *Meat-Offering*. [See Hos. 9.4.]

4. The *Additions* forbidden unto the *Meat-Offering*.

In *Fire-Offerings* at the *Brazen-Altar*, both *Leaven* and *Honey* were forbidden. *Leaven* was indeed permitted in *Thank-Offerings*, and in the Offerings of the *First-Fruits*. *Honey* also is Numbred among the *First-Fruits*. But neither of these might come upon the *Altar*. Amos. 4.5. *Offer by burning a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving with Leaven*: But it is a Reproof and a *Sarcasm* upon the People, for doing so.⁹²

⁸⁹ Samuel Mather (214).

⁹⁰ Gen. 8:21; Exod. 29:18; Lev. 26:27, 31; Numb. 28:2, 6, 8, 13, 24, 27; Eph. 5:2.

⁹¹ John 4:34.

⁹² Samuel Mather (217, 218).

First, for *Leaven*, The Sowing, and Swelling and Spreading Property of it, is known to all the World. [Math. 13.33. Gal. 5.9.] A. *Gellius* tells us, The Roman Priest, must not, by their Canons, touch any *Leavened Meal*; and *Plutarch* assigns the Reason, Because *Leaven* comes from *Corruption*, & also causes *Corruption* where it comes.⁹³ The Prohibition of *Leaven*, teacheth us,

Orthodoxy in Faith. [Math. 16.6, 11.]

Sanctity of Life. [1. Cor. 5.6, 7, 8. A *Discontented* Mind, is called, A *Leavened* one. Psal. 73.21. A *Malicious* Man, is called, A *Leavened* one. Psal. 71.4.]

Sincerity of Heart. [Luk. 12.1, 2.]

Purity of Church-Communion. [1. Cor. 5.6]

Secondly, for *Honey*; from the Prohibition of it, wee may learn,

That God will bee worshipped according to His *own Will*. Inventions of our own, tho' sweet like *Honey*, are loathsome to Him.

That wee should maintain an Holy Equability of Spirit, in all Conditions and Vicissitudes. Neither too much of *Sowreness* nor too much of *Pleasure*.

That in our Lord Jesus Christ, our *Meat-Offering*, there is, tho' an inexpressible Sweetness, yett none such as you may bee taking too much of, none such as will Turn unto Loathing.⁹⁴

| 5. The *Drink-Offering*, which was an Appurtenance to the *Meat-Offering*. [7r]

This is not mentioned, as a Distinct Species in the Enumeration of the *Offerings* under the *Law*. [Lev. 7.37.] And altho' before the *Law*, wee read of *Drink-Offerings* alone; [Gen. 35.14.] yett after the Regulation & Reformation of the *Offerings* by *Moses*, wee read of no *Drink-Offerings*, but alwayes in Conjunction with the slain Sacrifices, to compleat the *Meat-Offerings* belonging unto them. [2. Chron. 29.35.]⁹⁵

The *Matter* of the *Drink-Offering* was *Wine*. Even *Strong Wine*. [Hos. 9.4.] Hence in *Jothams* Parable, *Wine cheereth God*; namely, in the *Sacrifices*. The Pagans fell into the horrible Corruption, of mingling *Blood*, in their *Drink-Offerings*. [Psal. 16.4.]

The *Manner* of the *Drink-Offering*, was by *Pouring* of it forth, before the Lord. [Num. 28.7.] Where? Probably, beside the *Altar*, where the *Blood* of the Slaughtered Sacrifices was *poured* forth. God permitted not their *Drinking* of it, lest it might have been an Occasion of Intemperance. Tis observable, There was no Piece of the Worship under the *Law*, wherein the People were commanded

⁹³ Both Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 10.15.19) and Plutarch (*Aetia Romana et Graeca* (289, sec *e*, line 7 to sec. *f*, line 6) explain that the priest of Jupiter, "*Flamen Dialis*," is prohibited from touching "either flour or yeast," because when yeast is mixed into the dough, "the process of leavening seems to be a form of putrefaction" (*Roman Questions*, N° 109). (CBTEL: "Leaven").

⁹⁴ Samuel Mather (218, 219, 220).

⁹⁵ Samuel Mather (220, 221).

the Drinking of *Wine*: But it was indeed expressly prohibited unto them that went into the *Sanctuary*.⁹⁶

The *Mystery* of the *Drink-Offering* was doubtless considerable. Else the Psalmist would not have called it, [Psal. 116.13.] *The Cup of Salvation*.

Wine signified sometimes the Joyes of the Holy Spirit. [Consider, Psal. 104.15. with Eph. 5.18.]

Again, The *Blood* of the Saints, *poured out*, in the Cause of the Lord Jesus Christ, is compared unto a *Drink-Offering*. [Phil. 2.27. 2. Tim. 4.6.] And so in a much higher Sense as the *Blood* of our Lord Himself. The *Meat* and the *Wine* in the *Meat-Offering*, may therefore bee a Type of His *Flesh* and *Blood*.⁹⁷

6. The *Occasions* of the *Meat-Offering*.

Hereabouts, there hath been much Controversy or Inadvertency, among the Readers.

Wee are to note, That some *Offerings*, which were *Meat-Offerings* as to the Matter of them, yett came not under the Rule of the *Meat-Offerings*. There bee Three Instances.

The *Wave-Sheaf*.

The Two *Wave-Loaves*.

These were of the *Fruits* of the Earth, and there is agreed with the *Meat-Offering*. But they were not Offerings to bee *Burnt*, nor were they *most Holy*, to bee eaten by the Priest alone, in the *Holy Place*; and they were to bee made with *Leaven*. In all these things, they differed from the *Meat-Offering*.

And, The *Jealousy-Offering*.

This was not *Fine Flower*, but the *Bran of Barley*; the coarsest sort of Bread: And no *Oyl*, nor *Frankincense*, was in it. Nor was it for *Expiation*, but for *Exploration*.

But of the True *Meat-Offerings*, there were two Sorts.

There were *Separate Meat-Offerings*.

Of these there were Two signal Instances.⁹⁸

There was the *Poor Mans Trespass-Offering*; wherein the Demand of *Cattel*, was Dispensed withal, because of his *Poverty*. It was, *The Tenth Part of an Ephah of fine Flower*.

And, there was the *Shew-bread*; whereof an *Handful* of the *Flower*, was burnt, for the whole.

And, There were *Meat-Offerings conjoined with other Offerings*.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Samuel Mather (221).

⁹⁷ Samuel Mather (222).

⁹⁸ Samuel Mather (223).

⁹⁹ 1 Pet. 2:21–23.

The Rule was; That they were conjoined with *Burnt-Offerings* of *Cattel*; and with *Peace-Offerings*; But not with, *Burnt-Offerings* of *Fowle*; nor with *Sin-Offerings*, nor with *Trespass-Offerings*.

Hence, as there was a Daily *Burnt-Offering*, so there was a Daily *Meat-Offering*. And sometimes, the Lord gave signal Testimonies of His Accepting it. [2. King. 3.9, 10, 20.]

It was also annexed unto the *Wave-Offering*, of the *Sheaf* of the *First-Fruits*.

And there was a *Meat-Offering* with the *Feast* of the *Passeover*, tho' not with the *Paschal-Lamb*. And in the Peculiar Case of the *Cleansing* of the *Leper*, there seems to bee a *Meat-Offering* annexed unto the *Sin-Offering*.¹⁰⁰

III. The *Peace-Offering*.¹⁰¹

This was a Sacrifice of *Peace* among all Parties. *God*, and the *Priests*, and the *People*, were all Partakers of it, as being all *Agreed*. It was *Hilastical*, and *Eucharistical*, and *Euctical*.¹⁰²

One End of it was, The *Retribution* of *Peace* enjoyed. [See Psal. 107.22.] Another End was, The *Impetration* of *Peace* Desired. [see Judg. 20.26.]¹⁰³

This was the *Offering*, whereof the People of God, often made *Vowes* in their Distress. [Psal. 56.12. Jon. 2.9.] The *Tenth* vow'd by *Jacob* unto God, was to bee a *Peace-Offering*. The Difference between a *Vow*, and a *Free-Will-Offering* was only This; In the *Free-Will-Offering* they did present the Thing itself unto the Lord, but in a *Vow*, they did only *Promise* it, not being yett in a Capacity to *Perform* it.

The *Sacrifice* of *Peace-Offering*, was often added under the *Law*, to other *Sacrifices*. Because, beside the *Expiation* of Sin, by the *Sacrifice* of our Lord Jesus Christ, there must bee an effectual Application of the Atonement, in a way of *Actual Communion* with God, and *Grace* and *Peace* thro' our Lord Jesus Christ.

Besides the *Occasional Peace-Offering*, there were more *stated Seasons* for this *Offering*, at the Consecration of the *Priests*, at the Expiration of a *Nazaritical Vow*, and in the Feast {of} the *First-Fruits*. It was very | particularly employ'd, [7v] at the Dedication of the *Tabernacle*, & of the *Temple*. As for the *Passeover*, it was a *Peculiar Sacrifice* by itself; and so was the *Sacrifice* for the Purification of the *Leper*.¹⁰⁴

The *Matter* of the *Peace-Offering*, was either of the *Herd*, or of the *Flock*. There was no *Peace-Offering* of *Fowles*; probably, because it was to bee Divided

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Mather (224).

¹⁰¹ Extracted from Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of the Peace-Offering," preached on 26th July and on the 6th and 9th August 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 226–43.

¹⁰² Thus the sacrifice was *hilastical*, i. e., "propitiatory"; *eucharistical*, i. e., "thankful"; and *euctical*, i. e., "supplicatory."

¹⁰³ Samuel Mather (227, 228). *Impetration* suggests "entreating, requesting."

¹⁰⁴ Samuel Mather (228, 229).

among so many; which a small Bird could not easily bee. It might bee either *Male* or *Female*: whereas, the *Burnt-Offering* was limited only to the *Male*.

Thus in the Spiritual State of the *Church*, there is neither *Male* nor *Female*. [Gal. 3.28.] *Women* are accepted in the Service of the Lord Jesus Christ; As one saies, *They are not excluded from His Love, and should not count themselves exempted from His Law.*¹⁰⁵

The Rites of the *Peace-Offering*, which were *common* with other *Offerings*, have been already Interpreted.

It must bee brought unto the Door of the *Tabernacle*. The Owner must lay his *Hands* on it. It must bee *killed*. The *Blood* must bee shed, & sprinkled, round about the *Altar*. And It must bee burnt upon the *Altar*.¹⁰⁶

But then, there were some Sacred Rites, *peculiar* to the *Peace-Offering*. Lett us here note.

First, The *Peace-Offering* was to bee Divided. All the *Suett*, and the *Fatt* of the Inwards, the Two *Kidneyes*, the *Cawl* upon the *Liver*, or the *Midriff* and all their *Fatt*; were to bee *Burnt* before the Lord. And in the *Peace-Offering* of *Lambs*, the whole *Rump* was added; which *Pliny* tells us, in the *Sheep* of those *Countreyes* was very *Fatt* and *Great*. Tho' some take it, as an Instruction, That there is not the meanest Part of the Creature, but God hath a Right unto it. This was Offered, (as tis read by some,) *upon the Burnt-Offering*; as being superadded, (with other Offerings) unto it. Wee learn from it, That wee are first for to bee Reconciled unto God, by the Death of His Son, Applied and Received by Faith, before any Oblation of ours, can bee Acceptable unto Him. This Part of the *Peace-Offering*, so sacrificed, is called, *The Bread of God, and of the Altar*; because the Fire of the Altar consumed it; As that of *Divine Justice* will do the Sinner.¹⁰⁷

Well; God and the Altar, being thus first Satisfied, the Rest of the *Peace-Offering* was Divided between the *Priest* and the *Owner* that brought it. The *Priest* was to have the *Breast*, and the *Right Shoulder*; the *Owner* was to have all the rest. The *Priests Part*, again teaches us, The *Maintainance* of the *Evangelical Ministry*.¹⁰⁸ But some have accommodated it a little more particularly. The *Priests* are to bee *Breasts* and *Shoulders*; that is to say, Counsellors and Supporters to the People. Or, the *Breast* was allow'd them, to note their Compassion, their Tenderness, their Bowels towards the People, and their Bearing them on their *Hearts* in their Prayers before the Lord: And the *Shoulder*, because of their Bearing the People, and Carrying them and their Sacrifices unto God.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Samuel Mather (229, 230). See also Cotton Mather's *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion* (1692) and H. K. Gelinas, "Regaining Paradise" (463–94),

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Mather (230).

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Mather (230, 231) refers to Pliny (8.72.187–190).

¹⁰⁸ On the topic of clerical maintenance, see Cotton Mather's *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum* (1726), pp. 19–22, and S. S. Green's *Use of the Voluntary System in the Maintenance of the Ministers* (1886).

¹⁰⁹ Samuel Mather (231, 232).

The *Owners Part*, his Friends partook with him in it. This was an Exercise of Communion, [1. Cor. 10.21.] wherein they *Rejoiced* before the Lord. [See Deut. 12.6, 7.] Wee should learn to enjoy all that wee have, in and for the Lord; and Rejoice also in Communion with Him, at His Table. *Eating*, the *Peace-Off-fering*, is Feeding upon the Lord Jesus Christ by Faith, and Holy Rejoicing in Him. The Benefits of the Lord Jesus Christ, are not communicated unto the *Priests* alone; they are for the *People* also. But the *Unclean* were very strictly excluded, from *Eating* the *Peace-Off-fering*, or so much as *Touching* it. It is a dangerous Thing for *unworthy Persons*, to participate in the Feasts of the Lord; they do it in their *Uncleanness*. [1. Cor. 11.27, 28, 29.] And as no *Peace-Off-fering* belonged unto the *Unclean*, so, *There is no Peace, saith my God, unto the Wicked*.¹¹⁰

You will here mind, That the *Peace-Off-fering* is not called, *Most Holy*, as the other Five Sorts are. The Reason may bee, Because Part of them were Eaten by the *People*.

Secondly. The *Time*, for *Eating* the *Peace-Off-fering* was limited. The Parts belonging to the *Priest*, & the *Offerer*, must be Eaten the *Same Day*, or the *Next*, at farthest; but if any were left unto the Third Day, it must bee Burnt with Fire. If it were a *Peace-Off-fering*, for *Thanksgiving*, it must bee Eaten the *Same Day* that it was offered: but if it were for a *Vow*, the *Next* might serve. To eat any of it afterwards, was abominable, and incurr'd Extermination.¹¹¹

This teaches us, That wee should *make Hast*, and use no Sinful Delays, in our beleiving on Christ, & our Obeying of God, & our Communion, with Him. [Heb. 3.12, 13, 15. Psal. 119.60.] Such a Rule there was about Eating the *Passeover*; Teaching us, to lay Hold on the Present Opportunities, and make a good Use of the *Day of Peace*, which when expired, *Peace-Off-ferings* will not bee accepted.

Moreover, why may it not have Respect unto the Day of our *Lords Resurrection*? This was the *Third Day*. On this Day, His Work and State of Humiliation, for the Redemption of Man, was *Finished*. Hee had now no more to do in a Way of Sacrifice and *Peace-Off-fering* for the Sins of Men. Memorable Things occur still, on the *Third Day*, in the Oracles of God. *Isaac* is then offered. [Gen. 22.4.] The *Law* is then Received. [Exod. 19.10, 11.] The Motion of the *Ark* is then Terminated. [Num. 10.33. and Josh. 1.11.] The *Unclean* is then Purified. [Num. 19.12.] *Hezekiah* then is Recove{re}d. [2. King. 29.5.] Compare Hos. 6.2. But the greatest of all the Dispensations on this Day, was the *Resurrection* of our Lord.¹¹²

Thirdly; With the *Peace-Off-fering* there was *Leavened Bread* also to bee offered. By this wee may see, Tis meerly the *Will* | of God, that renders any thing [8r]

110 Samuel Mather (232).

111 Samuel Mather (233).

112 Samuel Mather (234, 235).

to bee *Good* or *Evil*, in His Worship. *Leaven* in any other Offering, rendered it odious unto God; but if Hee required *Leaven* in the *Peace-Offering*, there it was pleasing unto Him. *Honey* forbidden in the other Sacrifices, was in the *First-Fruits* commanded.

Leaven sometimes is taken in a *Good* Sense; namely, for the spreading Efficacy of the Gospel and Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, on the Souls of Men. The joining of *Leaven* to the *Peace-Offering*, may thus intimate, the *Leaven of Grace*, wherewith our Services are to bee seasoned.

But *Leaven* sometimes is taken in an *Evil* Sense; namely, for Sinful Corruption. The *Peace-Offering* accepted with *Leaven*, thus intimates, That God accepts the Sincere Services of His People, tho' there bee a Mixture of Sinful Corruptions in them.

Or, if wee take *Leaven* for *Sorrow*; *Sowre Leaven* in the Feasts, may teach us, That in all worldly Joy, there will bee some *Sorrow*; there is no Prosperity so entire, but it hath some Affliction with it. Yea, *Spiritual Joy*, is accompanied with *Godly Sorrow*; and there should bee some of That in all our Thanksgiving.¹¹³

Fourthly; They might not Eat the *Fat*, but must give it wholly to the Lord. The *Fat* thus forbidden, was only the *Fat* that was to bee sacrificed; namely, the *Suet*, and the *Fat* of the *Kidneyes*. Of the other *Fat*, that was diffused thro' the rest of the Flesh, there was no Restriction. [See Neh. 8.10.] And it was meant only concerning the Three Kinds of Beasts, that were appointed for Sacrifice; for they were permitted the *Fat* of other *Clean Beasts*. [See Lev. 7.23, 25.]¹¹⁴

Now, as a *Similitude*, is *Typus Arbitrarius*, thus a *Ceremony* is, *Typus Destinatus*: The only Difference of a *Ceremony*, from a common *Similitude*, is the Destination of it by God, unto such an Use. Lett us go then, to the Allegorical Sense, that *Fat* ha's in the Scripture. There wee find *Fat* in a *Good* Sense; Namely, for the Best Things. [Psal. 63.5. Isa. 25.6. Gen. 45.18. Num. 18.12. Gen. 4.4.] Wee are here therefore Instructed, by the Lords Calling for the *Fat*, That wee must serve God with the *Best* wee have, the *Best* of our Time, of our Strength, of our Endeavours. And yet, when wee have brought our *Best*, it is not accepted for our own Sakes, but thro' the Lord Jesus Christ; The *Fat* of the *Peace-Offering*, was *Burnt* on the Altar, & on the *Burnt-Offering*, for a Sweet Savour unto the Lord. Wee find *Fat* in a *Bad* Sense also; Namely, for an Hard, Stupid, Senseless Heart. [Psal. 119.70. Deut. 32.15. Isa. 6.10.] Now the *Fat* being burnt on

113 Samuel Mather (235, 236). New England's Tenth Muse, the poet Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672), dwells on the same theme in her “Meditations Divine and Moral” (38): “Some children are hardly weaned; although the teat be rubbed with wormwood or mustard, they will either wipe it off, or else suck down sweet and bitter together. So it is with some Christians: let God embitter all the sweets of this life, that so they might feed upon more substantial food, yet they are so childishly sottish that they are still hugging and sucking their empty breasts, that God is forced to hedge up their way with thorns, or lay affliction on their loins, that so they might shake hands with the world before it bid them farewell” (*Works* 279).

114 Samuel Mather (236, 237).

the *Altar*, teaches us, That our Corruptions must bee Burnt up, by the Spirit of God; Even the *Fat* of the Inwards, the *Liver*, & the *Kidneyes*, which are the Seat of *Concupiscence*. Not only open Sins, but *Inward Lusts*, must bee mortified, and Burnt before the Lord. God searches the *Heart*, & the *Reins*.¹¹⁵

Fifthly; All Manner of *Blood* was forbidden. The Prohibition of *Blood*, unto *Noah*, seems to have been of *Living Blood*. But the Prohibition unto *Moses*, extends unto all Manner of *Blood*. Here are two Reasons [Lev. 17.11.] expressed for the Prohibition.

1. *Because the Blood is the Life of the Beast*. It is the *Vehicle* of the Spirits, the *Chariot* of the Soul. *Cruelty* is here forbidden. It renders Men Savage and Cruel, to drink *Blood*. *Cruelty* is abominable at all Times; especially when wee come with our *Peace-Offerings* before the Lord. Wee are then especially to Beware of *Harshness* towards our Bretheren. How can Men ready to Drink the *Blood* of their Brethren, expect *Peace* from God? A persecuting Spirit, is an abominable Spirit; Violence offered unto Conscience, is Drinking of *Blood*.

2. *Because I have given you the Blood upon the Altar, to make Atonement for your Souls*;¹¹⁶ That is Typically, as Representing the *Blood* of the Messiah, so that here is a Mystical Intimation of Reverence to that precious Blood, for to keep Men in a reverent Expectation of it. And as *Drinking* signifies Communion, so the Forbidding of *Blood*, may figuratively further Forbid, all ascribing & assuming to ourselves the Work of Redemption, which is only by the *Blood* of the *Messiah*. To take this unto ourselves, is as it were to *Drink* the Blood, which the Lord will not endure. Moreover, In the Prohibition of *Blood*, the Lord aimed at præserving His People from the Customes of the Heathen *Idolatries*.¹¹⁷

IV. The *Sin-Offering*.¹¹⁸

The *Matter* of this, was the same with the former Sacrifices; and the general *End* & *Use* the same, namely for *Expiation*; as tis at least *Four* Times mentioned in the *Fourth* Chapter of *Leviticus*. The Sacred Rites about it also were many of them, the same with those of the *Burnt-Offering*, & the *Peace-Offering*. It must bee brought unto the *Door* of the *Tabernacle*, the *Offerer* must lay his *Hand* upon it, it must bee *Kill'd*, and *Burnt* (at least Part of it) on the *Altar*. The Mysteries in these things have already been Illustrated. Wee are now therefore to touch upon only the more peculiar Points of the *Sin-Offering*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Samuel Mather (237, 238).

¹¹⁶ Lev. 17:11.

¹¹⁷ Samuel Mather (239, 240).

¹¹⁸ Extracted from Samuel Mather's "The Gospel of the Sin-Offering," a sermon preached in his Dublin congregation on August 13th, 16th, and 23rd, 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 243–58.

¹¹⁹ Samuel Mather, *Figures or Types* (244).

First. What was the *Special Intention* of it? Writers do not write clearly about it. But, the *Sin-Offering* may bee taken, either in a larger Sense as including the *Trespass-Offering*; or in a straiter Sense, as distinguisht from it. In the [8v] *Larger Sense*, the *Sin-Offering* extended unto any *Sin* | whatsoever, that was *Pardonable*; any Sinning but the *Prasumptuous*, for which the Law provided not a *Sacrifice*. But in the *Straiter Sense*, the *Sin-Offering* differed from the *Trespass-Offering*. The *Sin-Offering* was for Sins of Ignorance, of Infirmity, of greater Surprisal by Temptation. The *Trespass-Offering* was for Sins against Knowledge, and Crimes of a more grievous & heinous Nature; there being Sins against Knowledge, which yett are committed thro' such Inadvertency, & thro' such Violence of Temptation, that they do not amount unto *Prasumptuous* ones.¹²⁰

Secondly. The *Matter* of the *Sin-Offering*, was various, for *Four Sorts* of Persons.

The *Sin-Offering* for the *Anointed Priest*, was a *Young Bullock*. Probably, all the *Priests* are included under this Title, & the Word, *Anointed*, intends no more than *Dedicated*, or, *Consecrated*. What else would have become of the Inferiour *Priests*?

The *Sin-Offering* for the *whole Congregation* was a *Young Bullock*. The same that was appointed for the *Priest*. Tho' in *that*, the *Priest*, but in *This*, the *Elders*, as in the Name of the *People*, were to lay their *Hands* on the Head of the *Sacrifice*.

The *Sin-Offering* for the *Ruler*, was a *Kid*, a *Male*. All Civil Rulers were concerned in it.

For any of the *Common People*, the *Sin-Offering* was, a *Kid*, a *Female*, or, a *Lamb*, a *Female*.¹²¹

Behold here; The *Anointed Priest* may *Err*. And therefore, why not the *Pope*? A Sinful Creature, whose *Leprosy* is written in his forehead & who by the Noise of his *Nephewes* in all *Gazets* declares his *Sin*, like *Sodom*.¹²²

Wee see likewise, That there are *Degrees* of *Sin*. It was a Mistake of the Stoicks, That *Peccata sunt equalia*.¹²³

The *Blood* of the *Sin-Offering* for the *Priest* and the *Congregation*, was to bee sprinkled before the *Vail*, & upon the *Altar of Incense*. That for the *Ruler*, & for *Private Persons*, was only sprinkled upon the *Altar of Burnt-Offering*. The former Sins were more heinous, & required a more solemn Atonement. And

¹²⁰ Samuel Mather (244–45).

¹²¹ Samuel Mather (247, 248).

¹²² Samuel Mather (248) probably alludes to his contemporary, Pope Alexander VII (1599–1667), whose pontificate of a dozen years gave new meaning to the word *nepotism*, by elevating his nephew (Cardinal Flavio Chigi) to the position of “cardinal-nephew” and his own relatives to powerfully lucrative positions in the Vatican. (CE).

¹²³ Samuel Mather (249). According to Cicero’s relation of the creed of the Stoicks, “All sins are the same” (*Paradoxa Stoicorum*, paradoxon 3.20–22). On this great leveling subject, see M. L. Colish’s *Stoic Tradition* (1985), esp. vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 126–32.

it is here particularly observable, That the *Priest* must have as great a Sacrifice for a *Sin-Offering*, as the whole *Congregation*. The Sins of a *Minister*, are greater than the Sins of other *Men*. If the *Minister* fall into filthy *Wantonness*, or beastly *Drunkenness*, or scandalous *Coveteousness*, wee are on those doleful Occasions, to Humble ourselves, as if the *whole Congregation* were become thus abominable before the Lord. But how much then ought they themselves, that have brought the *Congregation Low*, ly very *Low*, & call upon the *Congregation*, *Calcate me insipidum falsum calcite me*.¹²⁴

Wee see again, That the *whole Church* may *Err*. The Church of the Jewes did so, when they crucified the Churches Lord. And the Church of *Rome*, is become an *Harlot*, a *Babel*.

Wee see further, That *Elders*, and Publick Persons, are to act for the *People*. The *Elders* were to lay their *Hands* upon the *Peoples Offering*. Their Acts involves the *People*. And therein wee see a Reason, why God sends Calamities on a *People*, for the Sins of the *Rulers*.¹²⁵

Thirdly, The *Blood* of the *Sin-Offering* was to bee, in a Threefold Manner disposed of.

The *Priest* was to dip his Finger in the *Blood*, and *Sprinkle* it *seven Times* before the Lord; that is, before the Vail of the Sanctuary towards the Holy of Holies. Indeed, on the Great Day of Expiation, hee was to sprinkle it *Within the Vail*; but at other Times only *Towards the Vail*. This might bee to Teach us, That there is no Entrance into Heaven, but by the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ effectually applied. [Heb. 9.11, 12, 24, 25, 26. Heb. 10.19, 20. Eph. 1.14.] And that there is a *Perfect Cleansing* obtained by the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ; for *Seven* is a Number of *Perfection*, & often therefore used in the Divine Mysteries. [Heb. 9.13, 14. Heb. 10.14.] And this further, That the Action of *Sprinkling* may bee significative enough, of the Vertue in the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ.¹²⁶

Another Part of the *Blood*, was to bee putt upon the *Horns*, of the *Golden Altar* of *Incense*. This was used only in the *Sin-Offering* of *Bullocks*; In that of *Lambs* or *Kids*, it was only poured & sprinkled on the *Brazen Altar*. The Instruction herein was this; That the *Intercession* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is founded in the Satisfaction of His *Blood*. Our Lord, above with *Incense* of His *Intercession* concern'd for us, hath carried Mention and Merit of His of His *Blood* thither with Him.¹²⁷

The rest of the *Blood* was to bee poured forth as the Bottom of the *Altar* of *Burnt-Offering*. Truly, The *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath been *poured forth*; Tis said, *Hee hath poured out His Soul unto Death*, when *Circumcised*,

¹²⁴ The Latin citation (not included in *Figures and Types*) is supplied by Cotton Mather and can be Englished, "Trample me, foolish and false, under foot, tread on my deceit."

¹²⁵ Samuel Mather (250, 251).

¹²⁶ Samuel Mather (251, 252).

¹²⁷ Samuel Mather (253).

when *Buffeted* in His Agony, when *Scourged* with Thongs, when *Crowned* with Thorns, when *Fastned* with Iron unto a *Tree*, when *Pierced* with a *Spear*, in all these, His precious *Blood* was *Poured forth*. But the Efficacy of this *Blood*, that which renders it so precious, is Its nearness to the *Altar*. Our Lords *Deity* is that *Altar*, from which the Vertue of His *Blood* arises. Were not the *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the *Bottom of that Altar*, it would have no Vertue, & small Value in it.¹²⁸

- [9r] | Fourthly, The *Sin-Offering* was to bee *Burned*; the *Inwards* of it, on the *Altar*; all the whole *Carcase* beside, in a *clean Place without the Camp*, or, *without the City-Gates*. Only the *Burning* of the *Sin-Offering* of the *Sheep* or *Goat*, thus abroad, was not Required; It was required only for the *Bullock*, whose Blood was carried into the *Tabernacle* for Atonement. Thus The Wrath of God, like a Formidable *Fire*, siezed on our Lord Jesus Christ; It was a *Fiery Trial* that came upon Him: His very *Inwards* were all on a Light *Fire* under the Wrath of the Most High. This horrid *Fire* cast all His *Inwards* into such an Anguish, as caused a *Bloody Sweat* upon Him. Then was our Lord *carried forth, without the Gates of the City*: Tis said, *They carried Him out of Jerusalem, to Golgotha*. [See the Apostle at large explaining this Matter, in Heb. 13.11, 12, 13, 14.] And as the *Carrying of our Lord forth*, was a Part of the *Reproach* cast upon Him; even so, wee should bee willing to undergo *Reproach* with Him, and for Him. If wee cannot bear to bee *Reproached*, as *Hereticks*, and *Fanaticks*, and *Schismaticks*, and Enemies to *Cesar*, wee refuse to *go forth unto our Lord, without the Camp, bearing His Reproach*. But whereas, hee that performed this Ministration about the *Sin-Offering*, was to bee *unclean until the Evening*, it show'd the Imperfection of the *Levitical Services*; the *Priests* themselves, that præpared the Means of Sanctification for the Church, were themselves polluted in præparing of them. This also teaches us, That there is an *Iniquity* even in our most *Holy Things*; our best Services have Defilements in them. *Lava meas Lachrymas, Domine*.¹²⁹

Fifthly, The *Sin-Offering*, (for the Ruler, & the Private Person,) had these Rules about it.

The *Priests* were to *Eat it in the Holy Place*. [Compare, Lev. 10.19, 20.] The *Priest* thus Typically bore the Iniquity of the Sinner, and abolished it. It intimated our Communion with the Lord Jesus Christ, our *Sin-Offering*, whom wee by Faith feed upon.

Again, *whoever touch'd the Flesh thereof was to bee Holy*. This Teaches us, the *Holiness* that should bee in them, who have any thing to do with the Lord Jesus Christ.

¹²⁸ Samuel Mather (254).

¹²⁹ Samuel Mather (254, 255, 256). The Latin passage, which in Samuel Mather's original reads "*Lava lachrymas meas, Domine*" (p. 457) suggests, "Wash away my tears, O Lord."

Finally, The *Vessel* wherein it was boiled was to bee *cleansed*, by *Rinsing it with Water*, or by *Breaking it in Peeces*. The *Earthen Vessels* were to bee *Broken*, for they were not costly. The more *Costly Vessels* were to bee *Rinsed*. Out of this, wee may spell the Deep Defilement & Contagion of *Sin*.

Wee find Men, both Bad and Good, compared unto *Earthen Vessels*. The former shall bee *Broken*, that is to say, Destroy'd, by the Vengeance of God. [Jer. 19.11. Psal. 2.9. Jer. 48.38.] The latter, are *Broken*, into a Contrition of Heart, thro' *Godly Sorrow* for Sin; and when *Broken* by Death, shall have their *Sin* all extinguished.¹³⁰

V. The *Trespass-Offering*.¹³¹

This points at our Lord Jesus Christ, who is expressly called, Isa. 53.10. the *Trespass-Offering*.

It was in Diverse Manners præscribed for Diverse Cases.

First. There was the Case, of a Mans concealing his *Knowledge*, when called to bear his *Testimony*: This teaches us, That a Man may bring upon himself the Guilt, of other Mens Sins, by concealing them.¹³²

And, There was the Case of Ceremonial *Uncleaness*; when a Man knew it not, & much more when hee did know it. This teaches us, that wee are to seek Pardon for *Secret Sins*; And that as soon as ever God convinces the Conscience of any Defilement contracted by Sin, a Man must make Hast, in a more explicit Repentance.

And, There was the Case of Swearing to do an *unlawful Thing*; like *Dauids Vow*, and *Jephthahs*, and *Herods*.¹³³

The Remedy in these Cases, was, The *Confession* of the Sin, with a *Trespass-Offering*. The *Trespass-Offering* must bee, A *Lamb* or a *Kid*, a *Female*. But if a Man were not able to compass these, it was to bee *Two Turtle-Doves*, or, *Two Young Pigeons*: the one a *Sin-Offering*, for the peculiar Sin that burdened his Conscience; the other a *Burnt-Offering*, for all his Sins in general. Thus the Lord graciously condescends unto the necessities of His poor People. For, Lastly, if a

¹³⁰ Samuel Mather (256, 257). See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (8.11), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:418).

¹³¹ The following paragraphs are extracted from Samuel Mather's "The Gospel of the Trespass-Offering," a sermon preached on Aug. 27th and Sept. 6th, 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 259–70.

¹³² Samuel Mather, *Figures or Types* (259).

¹³³ Samuel Mather (260). David vowed to "finde out a place of the Lord: an habitation for the mightie God of Jacob," i. e., to build God a permanent Temple (Psal. 132:2–6). According to Judg. 11:30–39, Jephthah vowed that in exchange for giving the Ammonites into his hands, he would offer up as a burned offering whatever would come out of his house to meet him. It turned out to be his own daughter. Charmed by the alluring gyrations of Salome, Herodias's daughter, Herod Antipas vowed to grant Salome "Whatsoever thou shalt aske of me, I will give it thee, unto the halfe of my kingdome." She required the Baptist's head (Mark 6:21–28).

Man were not able to compass this then hee was to bring, the *Tenth Part of an Ephah of Fine Flower*.¹³⁴

Secondly, There was the Case of *Trespassing Ignorantly* against the *Holy Things of the Lord*; or the Thins Dedicated unto the Lord, e. g. They might not *Eat* within their *private Gates*, the *Tythe* of their *Corn, Wine, Oyl*; They were to *Sanctify all the Firstling Males*.¹³⁵

The Remedy in this Case, was, *A Ram for a Trespass-Offering*; and *Restitution* with the *Addition of a Fifth Part*.¹³⁶

Thirdly. There was the Case of *Sins* that never came to bee certainly *known*. The Remedy in this Case, was, *Hee shall bring a Ram*.

Fourthly, There was the Case of horrible *Scandals*; In *Injustice* and *Robbery*; In *Violence* and *Oppression*; In *lying Deceit*; And, In *Perjury*.

The Remedy in this Case was, *Restitution*. For, *Non remittitur peccatum, nisi restituitur Ablatum*.¹³⁷ And, *The Addition of a Fifth Part*, which the Sinner was himself to render of his own Accord, from his own Conscience; The Magistrate being able to demand no more than *Fourfold*. And finally, *A Ram for a Trespass-Offering*.¹³⁸

[9v] | Behold Encouragement for the *greatest Sinners*, to come unto the Lord Jesus Christ!

Thus wee have Illustrated, the *Five Sorts of Sacrifices*, described and prescribed, in the Beginning of *Leviticus*.

There was a *Sixth*; namely, *The Offering of Consecrations*: whereof there is mention in another Place.

But were there no *Offerings* besides those of *Atonement*? Yes; The Offerings at the *Brasen Altar*, were of Two Sorts; *Holiness of Holiness*, and, *Holiness of Praises*; or, *Sacrifices of Atonement*, and of *Thanksgiving*.

The Latter, were not made by *Fire*, as the others were. And there were Two Sorts of them; The *Heave-Offering*, and the *Wave-Offering*.

In the *Offering of Consecrations*, wee find, the *Shoulder*, and *Heave-Offering*, and the *Breast*, a *Wave-Offering*. [Exod. 29.24, 26, 27. See also, Lev. 7.34.] Wee also read of a *Wave-sheaf* of the *First-fruits* of the *Harvest*, on the Morrow after the Sabbath of the *Passeover*; And fifty dayes after, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, they were to offer Two *Wave-Loaves*.

¹³⁴ Lev. 5:11.

¹³⁵ Exod. 13:2, 12; Deut. 15:19.

¹³⁶ Samuel Mather (261, 262).

¹³⁷ Lat. "The sin is not forgiven, unless restitution is made." Samuel Mather (262) offers a slightly different version from the one supplied by his Boston nephew: "*non remittitur furtum, nisi restituatur ablatum*: The Theft is not forgiven, without Restitution."

¹³⁸ Samuel Mather (262).

Waving, was Moving to and fro round about, unto the Four Points of the Compass.

Heaving, was Lifting up towards Heaven. The Design of these *Actions*, was to express the *Dedication* of the *Objects* unto the Lord. [Num. 8.11.]

The Original Word for *Waving*, sometimes is used, for Sifting in a Sieve. [Isa. 30.28.] It may signify *Afflictions*. [Luk. 22.31. See also, Isa. 10.32. and 13.2. and 30.28.] And so, some think, tis here intimated, That *Christians*, and especially *Ministers*, are Priests *consecrated* unto the Lord, thro' *Sufferings*. [Heb. 2.10. and 2. Cor. 6.4, 10.]

But the great Meaning of the *Heave-Offering*, and the *Wave-Offering*, was, that with a Thankful Spirit, wee should give up ourselves, with all that wee have, unto the Lord.¹³⁹

4233.

Q. Lett us have the Sense of Antiquity, upon the ancient Sacrifices?

A. *Munster*, a Gentleman singularly well acquainted with Hebrew Antiquity, ha's this notable Passage;

*Finis præcipuus Sacrificiorum fuit, ut homines grati essent Deo Misericordi pro proximo illo Beneficio, quod expectabatur per Christum exhibendum, in Quem omnia Sacrificia Legis respiciebant. Et parentes Spiritu Sancto pleni et illuminati cognitione Venturi Christi, hanc ipsam spem Liberationis filijs suis proponebant, et hortabantur eos ad gratitudinem Deo præstandam, fungentes Officio Sacerdotum, non tantum scilicet alentes liberos suos, et instituentes ad presentem Vitam, sed et solliciti existentes de salute animarum ipsorum, monentes ut à peccato caverent, in Timore Dei ut Viverent, et ejus benignitate se consolarentur, futurum ut post hanc vitam longè meliorem inveniant.*¹⁴⁰

I will add,

Another Passage of *Munster*, if you please, on this Occasion?

¹³⁹ Samuel Mather, "The Gospel of the Offerings and Sacrifices," preached on Sept. 10th, 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 271, 274, 275,

¹⁴⁰ Sebastian Münster, in *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 199, annot. (b), presents a traditional Christological interpretation of the OT sacrifices: "The special end of the sacrifices was that people might be grateful to merciful God for that exceptional kindness, which was anticipated and to be shown through Christ, unto whom all the sacrifices of the law were looking. And parents, full of the Holy Spirit and enlightened by the knowledge of Christ to come, were proposing this very hope of deliverance to their children, and exhorted them to surpassing gratitude to God, fulfilling the duty of the priests, not only of course feeding their children and preparing them for the present life, but also manifesting concern about the health of their very souls, warning them to guard against sin, to live in fear of God, and to console themselves with his kindness, so that they may find a far better future after this life." Amen.

In his Notes on the first Chapter of *Leviticus*, he has these memorable Words; *Fuit apud veteres, oblatio Holocausti, concio quædam de morte Christi, quâ nos a peccatis, per Fidem, purgati sumus.*¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 197 [misnumbered as 297], annot. (c): "There was among the ancients an oblation of the whole burnt offering, which foreshadowed the death of Christ, by which we have been purged of our sins, by faith."

3511.

Q. What Remark to be made upon, the *Meat-Offering*, being of a *sweet Savour unto the Lord*? v. 2.

A. There being the very same said of this that had been said of the foregoing, which were vastly more chargeable. [ch. 1.9, 13, 17.] *Procopius Gazæus* made this Observation; *True Piety is not demonstrated by Greatness of its Presents. The Way of Piety is open & easy unto all; For Gods Commandment is exceeding Broad.* And he that makes the *smallest Signification of it, if it be Sincere, differs nothing from him, who shoves it by the largest Gifts.*¹

3515.

Q. We read of, *A Meat-Offering baken in a Pan*. What sort of a *Pan*? v. 5.

A. A *Flatt Plate*. *Maimonides* tell us, This was the Difference, between *Maccabath* (which is the Hebrew Word in this Place,) and *Marchesheth*; that the former was a *Pan* or *Plate*, without any *Rim* about; and the other had one, as our *Frying-Pans* have. And *Abarbinel* observes, out of *Jarchi*, That there was a Vessel in the Temple, which was only flat and broad, but had no Rising on the Sides of it; so that the *Oil* being poured upon it, when it was sett on the Fire, did run down and increase the Flame, and harden the Cake.²

Q. Both *Leven* and *Honey*, excluded from the Offering? v. 11.

A. *Leven*, {I} suppose, for its excessive *Soureness*; *Honey*, for its excessive *Sweetness*.

Our *Aynsworth* saies, Tis to shew, that in the Saints, there should neither be *Extremity of Grief*, nor of *Pleasure*, but a *Mediocrity*.³

1 Simon Patrick (*Leviticus* 23–24) paraphrases Procopius Gazæus's commentary on Exod. 1:9–17 [PG 087. 699–700].

2 Patrick, on Lev. 2:5 (*Leviticus* 25); In *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (13.7), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:466–68), Maimonides distinguishes between the two types of frying-pans. Abarbanel on Rashi in *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis*, and Rashi on Lev. 2:5, 7. See also *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:15).

3 Henry Ainsworth (on Lev. 2:7), in *Annotations on the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627), annot. p. 12 (third series of pagination).

3515.⁴

Q. Why no *Leaven* to be in any *Meat-Offering*, Part whereof was offered on the *Altar* of God? For No Part of the *Leavened Bread* offered in *Eucharistical Sacrifices*, [Lev. 7.13.] nor the Two Loaves offered in the Feast of *Pentecost* [which are mistaken by some, to be an Exception unto this Præcept,] were offered on the *Altar*, but given entirely to the Priests, as their Portion? v. 11.

A. Both Jewish and Christian Writers, give many moral Reasons for it. Unto all which may be added, what *Maimonides* gives; That God would thus root out the Idolatrous Customes of the *Zabians*; who offered unto their Gods, no *Bread*, but what was *Leavened*. And then, what *Abarbinel* adds; who thinks, *Leaven* was forbidden, because it would have made a *Delay*, if they had waited at the Tabernacle, until the Fermentation was perfected.⁵

[10v]

Q. The Reason of that Prohibition, *No Honey, in any Offering of the Lord, made by Fire?* v. 11.⁶

A. It was not, as old *Plutarch* saies, in his *Symposiacs*; Because the Jewes worshipped *Bacchus*, & the Joining of *Honey* to the *Wine* accompanying their Sacrifices, would, by its hard Qualities, have offended him.⁷ For *Ovid*, & *Horace* rather tell us,

– *Baccho mella reperta ferunt*

and,

*Forti miscebat mella Falerno.*⁸

⁴ Mather mistakenly uses the same numeral twice (see Lev. 2:5, above) to indicate the sequential order of his entries.

⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 27, 28); Maimonides (*Guide* 3.46.582) famously rationalizes many of the more opaque Levitical precepts as countermeasures to the idolatrous rites of the Zabians (aka. Sabians), whose “teachings ... were generally accepted,” all of whom, “except a few men were idolaters” (*Guide* 1.63.153). Abarbanel adds that leaven and honey are prohibited “for opposite reasons: leaven, because it might tempt the priests to delay the offering while they wait for the leavening action to take place and because it symbolizes the evil inclination; honey, because it might prompt the priests to rush an offering before its time (since honey can actually begin the digestive process) and because it weakens the intellect. Also, the priests might be tempted to lick the sanctified honey off their fingers” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 3:16).

⁶ The following paragraphs – including the references to, and citations from, classical sources – are adapted from John Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib 2, cap. 9, sec. 1, fols. 309–10.

⁷ Plutarch, in *Quaestiones Conviviales* (672b, lines 4–6) and *Symposiacs* (4.6.2), has Meneragenes explain to his fellow symposiacs (Symmachus among them) that “the Jews use no honey in their religious services [i.e., sacrifices] because they believe that honey spoils the wine with which it is mixed; and they used honey as libation and in place of wine before the vine was discovered” (*Table-Talk* 4.672b).

⁸ Spencer (309) has Ovid chime in that “honey was discovered by Bacchus” (*Fasti* 3.736) and Horace confirm that unwisely “[Aufidius] used to mix his honey with strong Falernian [wine]” (*Satires* 2.4.24).

Nor will we produce the Allegorizers of this Law, who, after *Theodoret*, inform us, διὰ τοῦ μέλιτος, τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀπαγορεύεσθαι, That *Pleasure* is under the Name of *Honey* here forbidden; and after *Jerom*, *Quia nihil voluptuosum, nihil tantum suave, apud Deum placet; nihil nisi quod in se habet mordacis aliquid Veritatis*.⁹

But the true Reason, may be fetch'd from these Considerations.

The Ancient Idolaters, in their Sacrifices, had Respect unto the *Palates* of their Gods; & for that Cause *Maimonides* tells us, *Victimas suas melle inungebant*. Thus, none of their *Idols* went without Sacrificed *Honey*. [Ezek. 16.18, 19.] *Pausanias* finds the whole Fifty Altars in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, thus furnished. And the Author of the Hymn to *Mercury*, calls *Honey*, Θεῶν ἡδείαν ἔδωδῆν, the *Sweet-meat of the Gods*. And the *Mouse* in the *Batrachomyomachia* brings of his *Honey*, – τὸ καὶ μάκαρες ποθέουσιν, *The Gods desire it*. Now to confute such a mean Opinion of the Deitie, the Lord will have μελισπονδα, *Mellite Matters*, banished from His Altars.¹⁰

Moreover, Among many of the *Pagans*, *Honey* was an Offering peculiar, to their *Dii Inferi*, their *Dead Hero's*; they had a Mixture of *Honey*, *Milk*, & *Wine*, which they called, *Χοῆ*, described in *Euripides*, and *Æschylus*, for these inferiour sort of Gods.¹¹ It would be too long, to recite the Testimonies of Antiquitie to this Purpose; but these, μελίγματα, were the *Placations* Dedicated unto *Orpheus*; the *Infernal* Gods were μελίχιοι θεοί: the souls of the *Dead*, were μέλισσαι: and

9 Mather provides his own translation from *Theodoret* of *Cyrus's Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (*Questiones in Leviticum*, Qu. I, p. 157, line 21; *Questions on the Octateuch* 2:13) and enlists St. Jerome seemingly to confirm the proscription against honey (Lev. 2:11), in his "Epistola XXXI. Ad Eustochium. *De Munusculis*" (1) [PL 022. 0445] on the grounds that "nothing that is simply pleasurable or merely sweet can please God. Everything must have in it a sharp seasoning of truth" ("Letter XXXI," in *NPNFii* 6:45). If Philo Judaeus is trustworthy on this account (*De specialibus legibus* 1.291, 292), then honey is to be excluded because the honey bee is considered unclean, "inasmuch as it derives its birth, as the story goes, from the putrefaction and corruption of dead oxen, just as wasps spring from the bodies of horses. Or else this may be forbidden as a figurative declaration that all superfluous pleasure is unholy, making, indeed, the things which are eaten sweet to the taste, but inflicting bitter pains difficult to be cured at a subsequent period, by which the soul must of necessity be agitated and thrown into confusion, not being able to settle on any sure resting place" (*Works* 562).

10 Samuel Bochart, *Hierozaicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 12, cols. 517–33; Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 9, sec. 2, fol. 310. Patrick, on Lev. 2:11 (*Leviticus* 28). *Maimonides*, *More Nebuchim* (1628), pars 3, cap. 46, p. 481, tells us that the Zabian idolaters "seasoned their sacrifices with honey" (*Guide* 3.46.582); *Pausanias* (*Graeciae descriptio* 5.15.10, lines 2–3) has none of the gods miss out on their mellifluous treats; the singer of the *Hymni Homerici*, *In Mercurium* (line 562), chants, Θεῶν ἡδείαν ἔδωδῆν, that "the gods' sweet food" inspires their imagination. Engaged in a mock-battle with frogs the *Batrachomyomachia* mouse tweets, "and the happy gods crave it [honey]" (*Batrachomyomachia*, line 39). But unlike *Plutarch's* bibulous deities who are hooked on "drink-offerings of honey" and a concoction of "honey, wine, [and] raisins" with a pinch of thirteen other ingredients (*Quaestiones convivales* 2.464c, 672b, line 10; *Iside et Osiride* 383e, lines 1–2), the Lord God of Moses will have none of it, i. e., take nothing sweetened with honey.

11 Spencer (311). *Euripides*, in *Orestes* (lines 115 and 1322) and *Aeschylus's Persae* (line 609) celebrate the "pouring" (Χοῆ) of libations to the dead heroes.

μελίσσεσθαι, is *Mel in Mortuorum Sacris fundere*. Now the *Living God* would not have in *Sacrifices*, any thing that should carry the least Communion with these wretched Superstitions; nor give any Occasion unto His People to fall into them.¹²

Finally, The Majesty of Heaven, would bee served, with what should bee *Pure, Simple, Sincere*; and Offerings that were so circumstanced, had a Tendency to begett & præserve, in the Minds of Men, right Notions of Him.¹³

[Compare 1. Cor. 5.8.]

3516.

Q. Why is it said, *Neither shalt thou suffer the Salt of the Covenant of thy God, to be lacking from thy Meat-Offerings?* v. 13.

A. As Men of old, made their *Covenants* by *Eating* & by *Drinking* together; (and *Salt* was never wanting at their Tables;) Thus God, by the *Sacrifices*, and the *Feasts* upon them, did ratify His *Covenant*, with those who partook therein. *Salt* itself, being a concomitant of all *Feasts*, the ancients counted it, *A Symbol of Friendship*, and used the proverbial Expression accordingly. The *Salt* used in Offerings to God, is therefore called, *The Salt of the Covenant*. And this explains the Passages, whereabout some have more vainly laboured, in which the Words are inverted [Num. 18.19. & 2. Chron. 13.5.] *A Covenant of Salt*.¹⁴

The Heathen did not use any *Salt* in their *Sacrifices*. Therefore, saies *Maimonides*, *God commanded us with great Seriousness, to use Salt in all our Sacrifices*; That is, as R. *Levi* of *Barcelona* explains it, The *Flesh* of all *Sacrifices* was to be *Salted*, and the *Meal* of all *Mincha's*. *Abarbinel* as well as he, gives two Reason; First, because nothing is grateful to the Palate without *Salt*, it was of importance that the Sacrifice should be so to God. And then *Salt* præserves things from Corruption, as the *Sacrifices* did their Souls from Destruction.¹⁵ The Heathen,

¹² Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 12, col. 317–18; Spencer (312) has “sweet propitiations” dedicated to the musical poet Orpheus. If Dionysius Halicarnassus can be trusted, then the “Infernal Gods” were “gentle spirits” (*Antiquitates Romanae* 6.68.4, line 1). The souls of the dead, methinks, are like “a swarm of bees.” At last, the seers in *Orphica* (*Lithica* 306) croon that the souls of the infernal gods were “bees: and to use soothing words is to pour honey on the consecrated things of the dead.” Thus the Living God, Mather concurs with Maimonides, turns pagan sacrifices upside down but redeploys them in his own ceremonies: “Through this divine ruse,” Maimonides rationalizes, “the memory of *idolatry* was effaced” and worship of the one true God established, “while at the same time the souls had no feeling of repugnance and were not repelled because of the abolition of modes or worship to which they were accustomed” (*Guide* 3.32.526, 527).

¹³ Spencer (312).

¹⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 30, 31) is Mather’s muse for this brief paragraph and the one following.

¹⁵ Maimonides (*Guide* 3.46.582); R. Levi of Barcelona’s סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger’s *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. VIII, praecept, CXVI–XVII, pp. 144–47. Abarbanel (*Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis: Vayikra* 3:13). According to the French tosafist of Orleans Joseph ben Isaac Bekhor Shor (12th c.), “Salt is an enduring substance and was commanded as part of the offerings to demonstrate that the offerings are an enduring

in after Ages, did learn of *Moses*, to have *Salt*, in all their Sacrifices; as *Ovid* and *Pliny* have informed us. No *Sacrifices* were offered, *Sine molâ salsa*, or those which the Greeks called οὐλᾶς and οὐλοχύτας. The *Salt* among the Jewes, was not brought by him who offered the Sacrifice, but was provided at the Publick Charge; there being a Chamber in the Court of the Temple, called, *The Chamber of Salt*: (one of the Three Rooms on the North Side of the Court:) where the *Flesh* of the Sacrifices was powdered, as the *Meal* of the *Minchas* was at the Altar. If the Priest neglected it, he was Beaten, for his Neglect.¹⁶

covenant of expiation. Once a man has brought an offering, knowing that he is clean, he makes sure not to soil himself with sin again, just as one who puts on freshly laundered clothes is careful not to dirt them" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:16–17).

¹⁶ Ovid (*Fasti* 1.128, 335) and Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 31.41.89) testify to the proof of the pudding that no sacrifices be offered "without salted meal." To be sure, Homer adds to the recipe a generous sprinkling of οὐλᾶς and οὐλοχύτας, i. e., "barley grains" (*Odyssey* 3.441, 3.445, 447; *Iliad* 2.410, 421). The rabbis of מסכת מידות [*Masseket Middoth*]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), cap. 5, sec. 2, p. 173, and L'Empereur (pp. 173–77), mention the chamber of salt in the Temple. Finally, the learned John Selden devotes a whole chapter to the penalties for various infractions and allots a sound flagellation for offering propitiation without salt (*De Synedriis* [1653], lib. 2, cap. 13, sec. 8, § 45, p. 549). See also Lev. 2:13 and Maimonides (*Guide* 3.46.582).

3518.

Q. Why were the *Peace-Offerings* called so? v. 1.

A. *Abarbinel* saies, *Because they made* (or, say rather, They show'd, and seal'd,) *Peace, between the Altar, the Priest, & the Owner.* But *Patrick* thinks, the best Account given of it, is, Because, *Peace* in their Language, signifyes *Happiness*, and *Prosperity*, and these were thankful Acknowledgments of what *Prosperity* they had received from the Bounty of God. And the *Laying on of the Hands*, by the Owner, (or by the *Heir* of him who had vow'd it, and died before he had performed his Vow,) was, with an Acknowledging of the Mercies, that were the Occasion of it. Thus *Conradus Pellicanus* glosses upon it: *Laying on of Hands, signifies Devotion and Faith, with Acknowledgment of the Divine Benefits.* In this action every Man was bound alwayes to turn his Face towards the *Sanctuary*; making his Acknowledgments to the Divine Majesty in that Posture.¹

3519.

Q. Why no *Birds* allow'd for *Peace-Offerings*? [v. 6.]

A. Because *Peace-Offerings* being to be divided between, God, the Priest, & him that brought them, the Portion of each would have been so small, that it would have made the *Feast* upon it so very Meagre and Jejune, that it would have been contemptible.²

¹ Patrick on Lev. 3:4 (*Leviticus* 34–36); Abarbanel's exordium on the "Zebach shelamim" (peace offering) appears in the preface to Leviticus, in his *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis: Vayikra* (1710). Rashbam is most explicit: "More accurately, this is 'a sacrifice of fulfillment.' This is not a burnt offering, so it is not entirely consumed on the altar. It is simply an otherwise unspecified offering, falling under the category of 'He vowed and must fulfill his vow.' In such cases, the procedure to be followed is as described in this chapter. ... For everyone's well-being is increased by such a sacrifice: the sacrificial parts go to the One on high, the breast and thigh to the priest, and the rest of the meat is eaten by the one who brought the sacrifice" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:18). Conradus Pellicanus (1478–1556), professor of Greek, Hebrew, and the Old Testament at the University of Zürich, glosses in his commentary on Lev. 1:4, in *Commentaria Bibliorum, id est XXIII. Canonorum Veteris Testamenti librorum* (1536), 1:120, "Impositio manuum devotionem significat & fidem, cum agnitione beneficij divini, quo non de suo quicquam offerre potest, sed referre potius & reddere accepta, ut gratiarum actionem intelligamus esse maximam hostiarum nostrarum, & insuper agnitionem nostrorum peccatorum, pro quibus satisfacere per nosipsos non possumus, sed alium de iustificationem aucupari, nempe per sacrificium crucifixi Christi domini, per hoc legis sacrificia significati. Non enim quaecunque sacrificia offerentium placant sine fide & devotione mentis in dominum." Mather provides the gist of Pellican's gloss (above).

² Patrick (*Leviticus* 38); Maimonides, *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (1.11), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:358).

|
1503.

Q. Was not the Prohibition hard upon the Jewes, *To Eat no Fat?* v. 17.

A. The Jewes were forbidden to Eat *Fat*. But what *Fat*? Not the *Fat*, which is mingled with the Body of the *Flesh*. The Prohibition reached only to that *Fat*, which is called, *The Lords*. As here, *The Fat which is upon the Two Kidneyes, the Caul, & all the Fat of the Inwards, the Priest shall Burn upon the Altar; All that Fat is the Lords*. And it seems as if it chiefly, if not only meant, the *Fat* of such Beasts, as were used in *Sacrifice*. Elsewhere in *Leviticus*, the Prohibition seems limited, unto the *Fat* of *Beasts* that were torn to Peeeces, or dyed of themselves, or were offered in *Sacrifice*.³

³ Patrick, on Lev. 3:16 (*Leviticus* 40). Maimonides's *Guide* (3.48.598) and *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (1.17), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:362). Lev. 17:24, 22:8.

3520.

Q. What were the more notable Qualifications of, *The Sins of Ignorance*, for which a *Sacrifice* was appointed? v. 2.

A. Besides its being Ignorantly committed, it was (as the Jewes note) a Sin against a *Negative* Præcept; or, [*Concerning those things which ought not to be done.*] As for the *things that ought to be done*, they might be performed some other Time, when Men had better bethought themselves; which was more acceptable to God, than offering a Sacrifice for the *Omission*. It was also, a *Fact* committed; not a meer *Word* or *Thought*. [*And shall do against any of them.*] As for the Sins which Men might imprudently committ in *Word* and *Thought*, they were so many, that no *Flocks* or *Herds* could have sufficed for their Expiation, & no *Altars* could have contained the Sacrifices.¹

2925.

Q. What may be intended in that Expression, *If the Priest that is anointed, do Sin according to the Sin of the People*? v. 3.²

A. The Chapter treats only about *Sins of Ignorance*; And what we have translated, *If the Priest Sin according to the Sin of the People*, should be translated, *If the Priest Sin to the Sin*, (or *Guilt*) *of the People*; That is to say, To make them Sinful or Guilty; (or, to *Cause them to Sin*, as tis well rendred by the LXX) by *giving them a Matter of Offence, either by Doctrine or Exemple*, as *Tremelius* explains it. This, tho' it be done out of *Ignorance*, requires a greater Offering, than is ordered for the *People*, or for the *Ruler*. Even *Ignorance* in a *Priest*, is more culpable, than in all the *World* beside.³

Because it runs, *If he Sin to the Guilt of the People* (or, to the making them guilty,) *R. Solomon* interprets it, If he hide any thing from the *People*, whereby they may err. *Jerom* gives the Words this Version, *Delinquere faciens populum*.⁴ To this Purpose, *Vatablus*, and *Piscator*, and the *Tigurin* Version, & others, more

1 Patrick (*Leviticus* 34–35). In *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot*, in *Mishneh Torah* (29:352 ff), Maimonides lists ten positive and thirteen negative mitzvot, which regulate the dos and don'ts of the sacrificial procedures.

2 Mather's commentary on Lev. 4:3 is extracted from Robert Gell's *An Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659), pp. 246–47.

3 Immanuel Tremellius and Francisco Junius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra ... brevibusque Scholiis illustrati* (1593), on Lev. 4.3, p. 94, annot. (2).

4 R. Solomon Jarchi, aka. Rashi, *Commentarius Hebraicus* (1710), pp. 802–03, and *JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* (3:21); St. Jerome's Vulgate (Lev. 4:3) renders the phrase, *delinquere faciens populum*, in *Divina Bibliotheca* 03. *Liber Vajecra Qui Dicitur Leviticus* [PL 028. 0339d], or “making the people offend” (Douay-Rheims); i. e., “when blame falls upon the people.”

than there is any need of now repeting. *Castellio* reads it, *Si deliquerit in noxiam Populi*. – And explains it, By whose Fault the People may be made Guilty: as the Disease of the Head may reach the Body.⁵

The Lord often complains of the *Priests & Prophets*, as undoing the People by their Sin. Their Sin, as Dr. *Gell* observes, is, *peccatum pecans*, a Brooding Sin.⁶

3521.

Q. A further Stroke, if you please, about, *Laying the Hand on the Head* of the *Sacrifice*? v. 4.

A. There is a Good Gloss upon it, in that very Ill Book, entituled, *Nitzachon*; – *When a Man sacrificed a Beast, he was to think in his Mind, I am more a Beast, than this here present. For I have Sinned, and for the Sins I have committed, I offer this. But it were more just, that he who hath Sinned, should suffer Death, than this Beast. Therefore thus a Man, by the help of this Sacrifice, began to Repent.*⁷

5 Franciscus Vatablus, though listing Jerome's translation as one of several possibilities in a parallel column of his *Biblia Sacra, cum Duplici Translatione* (1584), fol. 63^r, renders it, "Si sacerdos qui unctus est peccaverit, delinquere faciens populum" or "if the priest who anoints the sacrifice makes a mistake he harms the people." Similarly, the distinguished French theologian Sebastian Castellio, aka. Castalionis (1515–63) offers, "Si pontifex unctus deliquerit in noxiam populi," or "if the high priest fails in his duty to add oil [it is] unto the injury of the people," in *Biblia Interprete Sebastiano Castalione* (1556), col. 106. Mather's source – Robert Gell's *Essay* – rephrases the excerpt from Vatablus and Castellio in summary fashion: "in delicto populi" ("in accordance with the people's fault"). Johannes Piscator, in his *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), fol. 257, tenders the equivalent of "unto the guilt of the people" (*Scholia in cap. IV*). The "Tigurin Version," aka. *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris & Novi* (Tiguri, 1543), a Latin translation by the Swiss Reformer Leo Jud (1482–1542), and continued upon his death by the Reformed theologians Theodor Bibliander (1509–64), Rudolf Gwalther (1519–86), and Konrad Pellikan (1478–1556), was the first "Reformed" Bible. It became known as the Tigurin Bible or Tigurin Version because it was published in Tiguri, the Latin place name for Zurich (*CBTEL*, *BBK*). At any rate, the Tigurin Version on Lev. 4:3 reads, "ad delictum populi" (fol. 45^v), "to the fault of the people." See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:520) and *Works* (6:63–64), and John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 16, sec. 14, pp. 652–54.

6 Gell (247).

7 Patrick (*Leviticus* 37) supplies Mather with the translated excerpt from the ספר נצחון ישן נושן [Sepher Nizzachon Yashan] *Liber Nizzachon Vetus*, an anonymous Jewish polemic (13th c.) often misattributed to Yom-Tov Ben Solomon Lipmann-Mühlhausen (d. post-1420). A medieval philosopher and Talmudist, R. Lipmann wrote a book with the same title ספר נצחון [Sefer Nizzachon], which like its anonymous predecessor is a polemic against Christianity and Karaism to countermand the tide of conversion to Christianity (*JE*). The German Hebraist at the University of Altdorf, Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705), provides a Latin translation of ספר נצחון ישן נושן [Liber Nizzachon Vetus, sec. 10 [לך לך], in *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) 2:1–260 (sep. pag.). Mather's English translation reads in his Latin source, "Hunc in finem Deus Sacrificia imperavit: Quando homo pecudem sacrificat, in animo suo secum cogitate, ego magis bestia sum, quam haec praesens. Etenim ego peccavi, & ob peccatum quo ego commisi, hanc offero. Scilicet, magis aequum erat, ut homo qui peccaverat, quam ut bestia mactaretur: Sic igitur homo ope sacrificii poenitere occipit" (*Tela Ignea Satanae* 2:11). All references to the

[12v]

3522.

Q. It was a Rite peculiar to the *Sacrifice* for the Sin of the *Priest*, & that for the Sin of the *whole Congregation*, To *sprinkle the Blood Seven times before the Lord*? v. 6.

A. To signify, perhaps, (as Dr. *Patrick* notes,) That their Offences were more heinous, and could not be so easily expiated, as those of other Men. The Number *Seven*, every one knowes, was of great Account in Religious Actions. As *Elisha* bad *Naaman* go wash *Seven times* in *Jordan*, for the Cure of his *Leprosie*; so *Apuleius* mentions dipping the Head *Seven Times* in the Sea, for Purification; and he gives the Reason, *Quod eum Numerum præcipuè Religioni aptissimum Divinus ille Pythagoras prodidit*. In all Probability, *Pythagoras* learnt it, from the more Divine *Moses*.

Read *Jerom*, on *Amos*. 5.3.⁸

3523.

Q. The *Blood* poured at *the Bottom of the Altar*, what became of it? v. 7.

A. After the Building of the Temple, there were two Holes, one on the *West Side* of the Altar, another on the *South-Side*, (as the Jewes tell us in *Middoth*,) by which it was convey'd into a Canal under Ground, thro' which it ran into *Kidron*. Only the *Blood* of the *Sin-Offering*, they tell us, was poured only into that one the *West-Side* of the Altar. The Jewes also affirm; That the *Gardeners* bought this *Blood*, of those that were the *Treasurers*, of the Temple, to enrich their Ground with it; as *L'Empereur* ha's informed us. But all the while, they had only a moveable Tabernacle, it is most likely, they had *Receptacles* made under

Nizzachon Vetus (*Nitzachon*) are to Wagenseil's edition. See also D. Berger's translation in *The Nizzachon Vetus*, sec. 10, pp. 46–47.

⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 38, 39). Naaman's story is related in 2 Kings 5:1–19. The Roman writer Lucius Apuleius (c. 125–c. 180 CE) believes that the reason for dipping the head seven times into the sea is that “this special number is agreeable to religion and divine things, as Pythagoras has stated” (*Metamorphoses* 11.1). In Mather's day, the Latin edition *L. Apuleii Madaurensis, Metamorphoseos Libri XI* (1650), edited by John Price and subtitled “*De Asino Aureo*,” was in wide use. Mather's second-hand Latin citation appears on p. 238 of this edition. The Greek philosopher, mathematician, and founder of a religious sect, Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570–c. 495 BCE), is believed to have traveled widely in his youth, but little is known about his actual life or his philosophy except what was written down in distorted accounts centuries later. That Pythagoras and all the other ancient philosophers and lawgivers received their wisdom from Moses was still widely held in Mather's time by those who insisted on the dispersion of the *Prisca theologia* (BA 1:357–68). Theophilus Gale's massive *Court of the Gentiles* (1669–70) is one of its best examples in the English language, but his thesis is indebted (like all others who came before and after him) to Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.21–29; 2.5, 18, 22; 5.14; 6.3–5) who was the first to posit this claim. See also Justin Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (1992), pp. 133–70. For St. Jerome's commentary on Amos 5:3, see his *Commentariorum in Amos Prophetam libri tres*, lib. 2. [PL 025. 1037–38].

Ground, with Conveyances to some distant Place, where the *Blood* sank into the Earth; or t'was covered with Dust. [as Lev. 17.13.]⁹

3524.

Q. We find a very laborious Proceeding about the *Sacrifice* now before us. What is to be learn'd from it? v. 11.

A. So laborious a *Sacrifice*, wrought a greater Detestation of *Sin*.

And Nachmanides ha's an Observation; "All a Man doeth, being performed in *Works*, in *Words*, or in *Thoughts*, God commanded them, when they brought an Offering for Sin, That they should *lay their Hand* on it, which had respect unto the *Works* they had done; and *make Confession* over it, which had Respect unto their *Words*; and burn the *Inwards* and *Kidneyes*, which are the Organs of *Thoughts* and *Desires*; The *Legs* also, had a Respect unto a Mans *Hands* and *Feet*, by which he does all his *Works*, & the *Blood* sprinkled on the *Altar* signifies his own *Blood*. While a Man did these things, he was putt in Mind, how he had sinned with *Body* and *Soul*, & deserved to have his *Blood* shed, & *Body* burnt; unless the Mercy of the *Creator* had accepted a Price of Redemption for him, namely, a *Sacrifice*."¹⁰

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[13r]

Q. Both Jews and Christians are puzzled to find the Difference, between the *Sin-Offerings*, and the *Trespass-Offerings*? v. 12.

A. M. Reland, in his *Antiquitates Sacrae*, thinks, that comparing the Scripture, with *Josephus* and *Philo*, will give some Light into the Matter. He saies, The Former, were for the Expiation of Sins that were more *notorious*. The Latter, were to expiate the Sins, which only the *Conscience* of the Sinner could Reproach him withal.¹¹

But see v. 15.

3525.

Q. If the whole Congregation of Israel, sin thro' Ignorance; who may be meant by, *The whole Congregation*? v. 13.

⁹ Patrick, on Lev. 4:7 (*Leviticus* 39–40), paraphrases *Codex Middoth* (cap. 3, secs. 2–3), according to L'Empereur, מִסְכֵּת מִידוֹת [Masseket Middoth]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), pp. 107–08, 109–10. See also L'Empereur's annotations, pp. 108–112.

¹⁰ See Nachmanides on Lev. 3:9, 4:2 (*Commentary* 3:39–44, 45–47).

¹¹ Adriaan Reland (aka. Hadriano Relando), in his *Antiquitates Sacrae Veterum Hebraeorum Delineatae ab Hadriano Relando* (1715), pars 3, cap. 3: "De Sacrificiis piacularibus" (p. 301), cites Josephus Flavius (*Antiquitates* 3.204–205, 230, 238–24; 18.117) and Philo Judaeus (*Vita Mosis* 2.107–08). The sin-offering was not cut into portions to be eaten and sacrificed on the altar (like the peace-offering), but fully consumed by fire outside the walls.

A. The Jewes generally understood by the *whole Congregation* the Great *Sanhedrim* who repræsented the whole People of Israel. So *Maimonides*, and so R. *Levi* of *Barcelona*.

We may rather think, with Mr. *Selden*, that the Sacrifice here, was offered by the *Sanhedrim* indeed, but for the whole People. For we find the *whole Congregation* here, plainly distinguished from the *Elders of the People*.¹²

Q. May not the Translation, of the Thirteenth, & the Twenty second Verse, as well as of the Second be mended? v. 13.

A. *Against any*, in the Original, *From amongst all*. And there is no need of inserting those Words of Supply, *concerning things*. The Word, /מצות/ signifies as well a *Negative Præcept* as an *Affirmative*; not only a *Præcept – Do*, as the Rabbin's express it, but also a, *Præcept – thou – shalt – not – do*. The Fifteenth Psalm has more Negatives than Affirmatives; yett it concludes, *He that doth these things*. Thus, Zech. VIII.16, 17. *The things which ye shall do*, are, *The Things to be left undone*.¹³

The *Tigurine Bible*, has well express'd the Sense of these Places; *If a Soul sin thro' Error in all the Prohibitions of the Lord*, which *Ought not to be done*, but he hath done one of them. So *Vatablus* and others.¹⁴

[13v]

3526.

Q. Upon the *Offering*, for one of the *Common People*; why is it here said, *It shall be for a Sweet Savour unto the Lord*: whereas the like is not said upon any of the Foregoing *Sin-Offerings*? v. 31.

A. Dr. *Patrick* suggests, whether it might not be, to comfort the *Lowest Sort of People*, with Hope of Gods Mercy, tho' their Offering was mean, in Comparison of those offered, by others. *Abarbinel* gives this Reason for it; Because a *Sin of Ignorance* being a less Fault in a *Common Man*, it was a Sign of great Probity

¹² Patrick, on Lev. 4:13 (*Leviticus* 51–52); Maimonides (*Guide* 3.41.564); R. Levi of Barcelona, ספר החינוך *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum* (1655), sec. VIII, praecept. CXVIII, pp. 147–48; John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 14, § 4, pp. 591–92.

¹³ The Hebrew term מצות [mitzvot] signifies “commandments” (Strong’s # 4687). According to Maimonides’s *Sefer HaMitzvot*, Moses decreed 613 mitzvot at Mt. Sinai – 365 negative ones “corresponding to the days of the solar year,” and 248 positive ones, “corresponding to the organs of the human body” (*Mishneh Torah* 21:221).

¹⁴ Mather’s synoptic translation of the Tigrin Bible (Lev. 4:13) is a free rendition of what reads in the original, “Quod si totus coetus Israel errore peccaverit, res vero haec coetum latverit & fecerint quidpiam ex omnibus prohibitionibus DOMINI, quae facere non debebant, atque delinquerint, quum notum fuerit factum peccatum quod peccarunt, adducet coetus iuvenum ex bubus pro peccato, & adducent illum ante tentorium constitutionis.” In *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris & Novi* (1543), p. 45°. For Vatablus, on Lev. 4:13, see *Critici Sacri* (1660), 1:734, and Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:521) and *Works* (6:68).

in him, to bring a Sacrifice for the Expiation of it. It was an higher Crime for a *High-Priest*, or *Senate* or *Ruler*, to be *Ignorant* of the Law; & no Commentation for them, to look after in Expiation.¹⁵

3526.¹⁶

Q. *And the Priest shall make Atonement for his Sin.* What if in the Same Error, he had committed Several Sins? v. 35.

A. A Distinct Atonement must be made for every one of them. There are no less than *Forty Three* sorts of *Sins of Ignorance* enumerated by *Maimonides*. If a Man had committed them all in *One Error*, there must have been so many *Expiatory Sacrifices*, as *Maimonides* resolves it. Such Things, made this Law, [Act. 15.10.] *A Yoke which they were not able to bear*.¹⁷

¹⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 57–58). Abarbanel, *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis: Vayikra* (1710).

¹⁶ Mather erroneously uses the same numeral twice.

¹⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 58). Maimonides, *Hilchot Shegagoth* (4.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:214).

3527.

Q. What was the *Iniquity*, of *Not uttering*, when one *hears the Voice of Swearing*? v. 1.

A. The Judges had Power, to use *Adjurations* upon such as were before them, either to draw a proper *Confession*, or to force a faithful *Testimony*. [Of the Former, see 1. King. 22.16. and 2. Chron. 18.15. Of the Latter, see 1. King. 17.31. Prov. 29.24.] In these Cases, a Man was bound as much to answer the Truth, as if they were under a solemn *Oath* to do so. To suppress the Truth, was a great *Iniquity*; and a *Sacrifice* is here appointed for it.¹

Selden observes, That the Jewes make Four sorts of *Oaths*. *Rash Oathes*, and, *Vain Oathes*, and, *Oathes of Trusts*, and this, which they called, *The Oath of Testimony*; & which, they say, every Man was bound for to give before the Sanhedrim, when the was required; and this, with this Distinction: In pecuniary Causes, a Man was not bound for to come & testify, except the *Plaintiff* or *Court* should cite him. In Capital Causes, & in such things as the Law prohibited, a Man must come of his own Accord, without any Summons.²

Plato, L. IV. *de Legibus*, saies, That he who knew of a Fact, or had certain Information of it, και μὴ ἐπεξιών, & doth not prosecute the Person who did it, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνεχέσθω νόμοις, *Lett him be liable to the same Punishment*.³

3528.

Q. It is here said, *If a Soul swear* to do any of the things, that are comprehended under the general Name of *Good*, or, *Evil*; *And it be Hid from him*? what means, its being *Hid from him*? v. 4.

A. He did not rightly understand or consider the thing, about which he sware; as, whether it was in his Power to do it, or, whether he might lawfully do it.⁴

1 Patrick (*Leviticus* 59–60). Among his sources are Hugo Grotius, on Matth. 26:63 (*Operum Theologicorum* 2.1:260), and A *Paraphrase and Annotations Upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1659), fol. 134, by the renowned Anglican divine Henry Hammond, D. D. (1605–60).

2 John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 11, § 8, pp. 503–07.

3 Plato's counsel (*Leges* 6.9.762d, line 4) is actually much harsher than Mather's citation makes it out to be: "and fails to bring a case, *the same laws* should be invoked against him," and he must be punished with greater severity than his juniors" (*Works* 1437). The erroneous citation reference to "Plato, L. IV," which Mather extracts via Patrick (*Leviticus* 60), actually appears in book VI of *Leges*. It does come as a surprise that Mather copies the Greek diacritics as well, although he generally omits them. See his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), pp. 29–30.

4 Patrick (*Leviticus* 62).

3529.

Q. It is added, *He shall confess, that he hath Sinned in that thing?* v. 5.

A. And Abarbinel adds, (to which all the Hebrew Doctors agree,) *That Confession was necessary to be added unto every Sacrifice for Sin.*

Indeed, it was a Notion among the Heathens themselves, That an Offering without a Prayer, was to no Purpose. *Quippe victimas cædi, sine precatone, non videtur referre, nec Deos ritè consuli;* saies Pliny. [Nat. Hist. L. 28. c. 2.]⁵

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3530.

[14v]

Q. Where lay the Nice Difference between *Asham*, a *Trespass-Offering*, and *Chattah*, a *Sin-Offering*, and the Offences (called by the same Names also) which were the Occasions of them? For learned Men have exceedingly differed hereabout? v. 15.

A. We will omit the Conjectures of the most learned Men hereupon, which have been generally liable to Exceptions: and only propose the Opinion of the learned *Outram*, who had much & long considered the Matter. He saies, An *Offence* was peculiarly called, *Asham*, (as well as the *Offering*) about which either a Man was dubious, or which did a manifest Damage to other Men. There was no *Asham* commanded by the Law, but for such Offences as were so committed against God, that their Neighbours also were injured by them. The Case indeed of the Defiled *Nazarite*, & *Leper*, which called for a *Sin-Offering* as well as a *Trespass-Offering*, it comes not so plainly under that Consideration.

It is by some carried thus,

A *Sin-Offering* was for a thing done indeed Ignorantly against one of the *Negative Præcepts*, and now known to be certainly done. But a *Trespass-Offering* was for a Thing done indeed, but it remained still Doubtful whether a Præcept was violated by the Action, and the Party was not yett certain whether he Trespass'd or not; and yett he was to bring a *Trespass-Offering*, that he might be secured against the Penalty of *Cutting Off*, which he was otherwise expos'd unto. If once he came to know, that he did offend against a Commandment in the Action, then he was to Atone by a *Sin-Offering*.

Different Ceremonies attended these Two Offerings.

Moreover, *Sin-Offerings* were offered for the *whole Congregation*. *Trespass-Offerings* were only for private Persons.⁶

5 Patrick (*Leviticus* 62–63) and Abarbanel on Lev. cap. 16, in *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis: Vayikra* (1710). Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 28.3.10) believes, “In fact the sacrifice of victims without a prayer is supposed to be of no effect.” Patrick’s second-hand Pliny citation originates in Dr. William Owtram’s *De Sacrificiis Libri Duo* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 15: “De Ritibus quibusdam sacrificialibus,” sec. 9, pp. 167–68.

6 Simon Patrick (*Leviticus* 69–70) and Owtram’s *De Sacrificiis Judæorum* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 13: “De Sacrificiis piacularibus,” sec. 8, pp. 143–45. Bochart’s *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2,

3531.

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage; *He hath certainly trespassed against the Lord?* v. 19.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it should be translated; *A Trespass-Offering certainly unto the Lord.* Q. D. In this Doubtful Case, Lett him take a sure Course, by offering the Sacrifice here præscribed. The very Suspicion of Guilt, required a Sacrifice. As for all those Offences which might be committed by Men, who had no Suspicion of them, they were expiated, by the stated Sacrifices, which were offered for the whole Congregation.⁷

cap. 33, col. 319) was the likely muse for both Patrick and Owtram. Maimonides (*Guide* 3.46.588) also distinguishes between the offence of “a *guilt-offering*” אֲשָׁם [‘asham] (Strong’s # 0817) and a “*sin-offering*” חַטָּאת [chatta’ah] (Strong’s # 2403). Nonetheless, the required sacrifices for the one as for the other offense are “*be-goats* [se’irim].” See also Abarbanel (on Lev. 5:14, 15) in *JPS Miqra’ot Gedoloth* (3:30).

⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 72). Mather’s “Q. D.” (also “Q. E. D.”) is an abbreviation for “Quod erat demonstrandum” (“which was to be proven”).

3532.

Q. What might be the Meaning of, *The Fellowship*, in which it may be supposed that a Man may lie unto his Neighbour? v. 2.

A. The Hebrew Expression is, *Putting of the Hand*; by which Action they commonly made a *Contract*. The Case then is, The Denying of a *Bargain*, and *Contract*. There is reason to think, That the Case here, is much of the same Nature, with what goes just before it; The Denying of a *Trust*: Because, when the Restitution is presently spoken of, This is not Repeated. What was deposited with another, if it were *Money*, t'was called, *Pikkadon*; if it were any other Goods, t'was *Tesumah Jad*.¹

3533.

Q. What {is} meant by, *Deceiving a Neighbour*? v. 2.

A. The Hebrew Word imports, The Wronging of him, with a False Accusation. *Jerom* always translates the Word *Calumny*.²

I'll here insert a Passage from one of the pious Fathers. *Absit hoc ab Ecclesiâ Dei*; and again, *Absit, Absit inquam, ut hæc ego de aliquo Fidelium Sentiam*; He would not imagine, that such a Crime could be committed in the Church of God. He supposed these Enormities could not in the Letter concern the Church of Christ. So the *Depositum* delivered *to be kept*, is what every one ha's; the *Soul*, and *Body*, & the *Image* of God imprinted on it. This *Depositum* is to be rendered unto God. It is embezzel'd, what the *Image* of God is lost, & that of *Satan* brought in the room of it.³

3534.

Q. How do you take that Clause, *And is Guilty*? v. 4.

1 Patrick (*Leviticus* 75); Constantinus L'Empereur's bilingual בְּבֵא קָמָא [Baba Kama] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus Liber Singularis. Ex Ebraeorum Pandectis Versus & Commentariis Illustratus* (1637), cap. 9, § 7, pp. 244–53, offers a lengthy discussion on the Hebrew pandects of the Mishnaic tractate Baba Kamma (*The Mishnah* 9.7.345), which stipulates additional fines for breach of contract. The Hebrew terms פִּקְדוֹן [pikkadon] and תְּסוּמַת יָד [tesumah yad] are rendered by L'Empereur (p. 246) as “*depositum*” (“money placed for safe keeping”) and “*positio manus*” (“placed in the hand”).

2 St. Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca* 03. *Liber Vajecra Qui Dicitur Leviticus* [PL 028. 0342b], renders it *aut calumniam fecerit*, i.e., “or commit oppression.”

3 In his *Homiliae in Leviticum* (4.2) [PG 012. 0436a], Origenes exclaims, “God forbid, [let this be absent] from the Church of God,” and “God forbid, God forbid, I say, that I should think these things of someone of the faithful” (*Homilies on Leviticus*, p. 71).

A. *And owns himself Guilty.* Otherwise the Expression would be superfluous; For, who can doubt the *Guilt* of one that hath sinned so grievously?

And this Reconciles a Contradiction, which there would else be between this Law, and that in the Twenty second of *Exodus*. There the Thief was to Restore *Double*; Here only a simple Restitution is exacted, with the Addition of a *Fifth Part*. Why? In *Exodus* the Thief was one convicted by Witnesses in the Course of Law; But here, he is one touched with a Remorse of his Theft, and acknowledging a Crime, whereof no one had convicted him; for him a lesser Punishment therefore is ordered, & an Expiation by Sacrifice; for he might not think (by the way) that the Restitution made Expiation.⁴

[▽ 16v] [▽ Insert from 16v]

2906.

Q. For a *Trespass-Offering*, why so small an Offering, as, *A Ram without Blemish*? v. 6.

A. *Bochart* answers, *Contrariie contrariis esse curanda*. A *Trespass* was a Sin committed thro' *Froward Pride*. A *Sheep* is a Meek, a Mild, an Humble Creature. The Offering of such a Creature, at the same time admonished the Sinner, to conform himself unto the Creature that was offered.

Festus has a Passage to this Purpose, *Maximam Hostiam Ovilli pecoris appellabant, non ab amplitudine corporis sed ab Animo placidiore*.⁵

[△] [△ Insert ends]

2535.

Q. The *Burning upon the Altar all Night unto the Morning*, how and why was it carried on? v. 9.

A. The *Priests* watched all Night, and putt the *Sacrifice* upon the Altar, Peece by Peece; that it might be consumed by a slow and gentle Fire: This for the *Evening Sacrifice*. For the *Morning-Sacrifice*, That was consumed with a Quicker Fire, that there might be Room for other Sacrifices, which were commonly

⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 77); L'Empereur's *בבא קמא קמא* [Baba Kama] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus. Liber Singularis* (1637), cap. 7, § 1, pp. 136–41; and cap. 9, §§ 1, 5, 7, pp. 225–27, 238–41, 244–53; and Maimonides (*Guide* 3.41.559–60). See Appendix B.

⁵ Mather paragraph – including the citation from *Bochart* and *Festus* – are extracted from Samuel *Bochart's Hierozoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 33: “De Boum usu in Sacris,” col. 319, line 42–43 and lines 49–50. *Bochart's* insists that “the opposite must be cured with the opposite.” The citation from *De Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* (1880), p. 126, line 13, by the 3rd-c. CE Roman grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus of Narbo (Gaul), confirms that “they used to say that the greatest sacrificial victim was the sheep, not from the size of the body, but from its more peaceful spirit.” Festus, *De Verborum* is an abridgment of *De Significatu Verborum*, a collection of quotations preserved by the grammarian Marcus Verrius Flaccus (c. 55 BCE–20 CE), survives in yet another abridgement of Festus's word hord by the Italian historian and biblical commentator Paulus Diaconus (c. 720–c. 799). (EB).

offered after it, & were never offered but in the Morning. But if there were no other Sacrifices, to succeed in the Morning, then tis likely, that this also was kept burning till the *Evening Sacrifice*; because Gods Altar must always have Meat upon it.⁶

The *Wood* for the *Altar*, is here called, *Woods*, in the Plural Number. R. *Levi* of *Barcelona*, saies, There were Three Bundles brought in every Day.⁷ The *Misna* speaks of *Seven Gates* belonging to the Great Court of the Sanctuary; Three on the *North*, and Three on the *South*, and One on the *East*. The First, on the South Side was called, *The Gate of Burning*; because at that *Gate*, they brought in the *Wood*, which was to præserve the *Fire* perpetually on the *Altar*.⁸ Yea, there was, it seems, a certain sett Time, when the People were obliged, for to carry Wood thither; which made a Kind of a Festival, called by *Josephus*, τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτῆς, *The Feast | of Wood-Carrying*.⁹

[15v]

How the Pagans imitated this, in their Care, to præserve in their Temples, *An Eternal Fire*, α, πῦρ ἄσβεστον, the Extinction whereof, they thought would threaten ἀφανισμόν τῆς πόλεως, *The Destruction of the City*; tis known to all the World.¹⁰

2536.

Q. Who carried away the *Ashes*? [v. 11]

A. If the *Priests* did it, yett we find, they did it not in their *Priestly*, and Sacred *Garments*.

Chiskuni, is of the Opinion, That such of the Family of the *Priests*, as were both excluded from their Ministry in the Sanctuary, & from wearing the Holy Garments, by reason of some Defect in their Bodies, were permitted to perform this Office, of carrying away the *Ashes*.¹¹

⁶ Patrick (*Leviticus* 80).

⁷ R. Levi Barzelonitæ, *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. VIII, praecept. CXXV, pp. 164–65.

⁸ L'Empereur's קמא בבא [Baba Kama] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus Liber Singularis* (1637), cap. 9, § 7, pp. 249–50. *The Mishnah: Nezikin*: Babba Kamma ("The First Gate"), Baba Metzia ("The Middle Gate"), Baba Bathra ("The Last Gate").

⁹ Josephus Flavius, *De Bello Judaico* (2.425, line 1) and *Jewish Wars* (2.17. 6).

¹⁰ The Greek phrases, of which Mather supplies his own translations, appear in several sources, including Strabo's *Geographica* (15.3.15, line 6), LXX (Acts 36:8), Claudius Aelianus's *De natura animalium* (11.3, line 3); and, respectively, in Strabo (13.1.42, line 2 and 19) and Eusebius's *Demonstratio evangelica* (8.2.14, line 2).

¹¹ See Appendix B. Patrick, on Lev. 6:11 (*Leviticus* 82), leans on John Selden's *Synedrion* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 11, sec. 6: "De vestitum sacerdotalium usu" (p. 180), who quotes from the folio edition of R. Chizkiyahu ben Rabbi Manoach's commentary on the Torah. Glossing on Lev. 6:3, 4 (*OJPS*), i. e., Lev. 6:10, 11 (*KJV*), the French rabbi comments that "to remove the ashes the priest must first put on the garments described here ["his linen garment, and his linen breeches shall be put upon his flesh" (*OJPS* Lev. 6:3; (6:11)). He is not allowed to wear street clothes even for performing this procedure." However, "the absence of the word 'the priest' [Lev. 6:4 (6:11)], here is an indication that even a priest who is disqualified from performing

[▽ 16r] [▽ Insert 16r]

1053.

Q. What have wee to Illustrate, the *Linen-Garment* appointed for the *Priest*? v. 10.¹²

A. The *Imitation* of this Garment among the Gentiles, may bee some *Illustration* of it. Now, *Cluverius*, and *Bulenger*, and *Saubertus* have so abundantly proved that the Priests in all the Four Parts of the World, *Europe, Asia, Africa, & America*, have accustomed themselves to perform their Sacred Rites, in *white Garments*, that I need only refer you to those Authors, for the full Account hereof.¹³

But there were none more Notable for their *white Garments* in their Worship, than the *Egyptians*. The Rites of *Isis* there, bee mentioned by *Suetonius*, as performed, *In Linteâ Religiosâque Veste*. And *Silius Italicus* reports about the Priests of *Ammon*, – *Velantur Corpora Lino*. And *Lucan* speaks of *Osiris*, as, *Tectum Lino*. Altho' other Nations also had the like Ceremony for their Sacred Garments; – particularly, in the Worship of *Ceres*, tis by *Ovid* mentioned,

– *Vestes Cerealibus Albas*

Sumite; Nunc pulli velleris usus abest.

However, sometimes the Priests of the Idols officiated in *Black*, and were therefore called, *Chemarim*, which is, as much as to say, *Black-Coats*.¹⁴

other procedures in the Temple due to physical blemishes, may perform this procedure" (*Chizkuni* 3:682).

¹² This whole discussion (below) is extracted from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 5, sec. 1–2, fols. 571–75.

¹³ Via John Spencer's *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 5, sec. 1, fol. 571), Mather refers to the discussion of the white linen tunics donned by priests in all known continents, in *Germaniae Antiquae Libri tres* (1617), lib. 1, cap. 35, pp. 290–307, by the German historian and geographer Philipp Cluver (aka. Cluver, Clüver) of Danzig (1580–1622); to *Opusculorum Systema Duobus Tomis digestum. Prior continent libros tres de instrumento templorum* (1621), tom. 1, lib. 1, cap. 34, by Julius Caesar Bulenger, aka. Jule Caesar Boulenger (1558–1628), professor of theology at the University of Pisa; and to *De Sacrificiis Veterum Conlectanea Historico-Philologica* (1659), cap. 9, pp. 185–213, by Johannes Saubertus, the younger (1638–88), Lutheran professor of theology, and orientalist at the University of Altdorf (*BBK*). Mather's European colleagues would have had access to Father José Acosta's popular *Historia Natural y Moral delas Indias* (1590), a cultural history of Meso-American Indians and the continent's natural resources, also published in English (1604) and French (1617) translations, among other European languages. Acosta describes the elaborate tunics of the priests of Huitzilopochtli (bk. 5, ch. 29).

¹⁴ Spencer (571). Suetonius (*Vita Othonis*, cap. 12) describes the "sacred linen vestments" of the priests of Isis; the Roman statesman and poet Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus (c. 28–c. 103 CE) sings of Ammon's priests, whose "bodies are veiled in linen" (*Punica* 3.24); Lucan (*Pharsalia* 9.159) tells of the "linen draped" busts of Isis and Osiris; and Ovid (*Fasti* 4.619–20) prods his fashionable Romans: "put on white robes at Ceres's festival; now no one wears dun-coloured wool." But sometimes, as Johannes Buxtorf, the younger, reminds us in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* (1639), cols. 1051–52, *voce* קָמֵר, certain priests sport atrabilious vestments in black.

The *Egyptian Priests*, are by *Juvenal*, called, *Grege Liniger*; by *Ovid*, called, *Linigera Turba*; by *Martial*, called, *Linigeri Calvi*; by *Seneca*, called, *Linteati Senes*: And their Goddess *Isis*, is, by the Poets called, *Linigerous*. Thus, Our Lord putting on a *Linen Cloath*, to wash the Feet of His Disciples, *Tertullian* calls it, *Propriam Osiridis Vestem*. And *Suidas* mentioning *Heraiscus*, buried in *Linen*, calls it, Ὀσίριδος ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι περιβόλας.¹⁵

The *Linen Garment* of the *Priest*, in *Israel*, was, *Talaris*, or, as both *Josephus*, & the Apocryphal Author, of the Book of *Wisdom* expresses it, Χιτῶν ποδῆρης, *A Coat reaching down to his Feet*. *Maimonides* affirms, *Longitudo Tunicae erat usque ad superiorem calcanei partem*. Compare *John's* Vision of our Lord, the *High-Priest* of the Church. Rev. 1.13.¹⁶

Now, such also was the *Garment* worn by the *Egyptian Priest*. Hee was covered, saith *Apuleius*, *Candido Linteamine, ad usque Vestigia demisso*. And the *Sacrificers* in other Nations, had the like; as there is mentioned, you know, in *Virgil*,
– *Longa cum Veste Sacerdos*.¹⁷

Again, The *Linen Garment* of the *Priest* in *Israel*, was, *Textilis*, or, as it is expressed in *Exodus*, *Of Woven Work*. Yea, *Josephus* tells us, It was not ἐξ δυοῖν περιτμημάτων *Of Two Pieces, nor had it any Sutures on the Shoulders, & Sides; but it was, unica Tela* in *Longum Contexta*. Thus the *Garment* of the *Egyptian Priest* also, was ἀρραφόν. Compare 2. King. 23.7. *Pausanias* mentions *Women*, whose *Business* t'was, to weave such *Vestments*, for the *Idols*.¹⁸

Once more, The *Linen-Garment* of the *Priest* in *Israel*, was a *Strait Garment*; It was to have no *Foldings* in it.

Antonius Millieus has given us a Description of it, worth Reciting.

Tunc Tunicam duplici è bysso, tortâque nitentem,

15 Spencer (572, 573). *Juvenal* (*Satire* 6.533) mocks the “linen-wearing horde” of priests, *Ovid* (*Metamorphoses* 1.747) “the linen-robed throng,” *Martial* (*Epigrammaton* 12.28.19) the “linen-draped bareheaded” priests of *Isis*, *Seneca* (*De Vita Beata* 26.4.8) the “old men clothed in linen”; the poets, including *Ovid* (*Ex Ponto* 1.1.51), “linen-wearing *Isis*,” *Tertullian* (*De Corona*, cap. 8 [PL 02. 0088A]) “*Isis*’ very own vestment,” and finally, the venerable lexicon *Suidas* (*Suda*, alphab. letter *eta*, entry 450, line 18) speaks of the corpse of faithful *Heraiscus*, the Alexandrian neoplatonic philosopher (5th c. CE): Ὀσίριδος ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι περιβόλας “whom someone wrapped like that of *Osiris*.”

16 Spencer (574). The Greek description of the priest’s tunic Χιτῶν ποδῆρης, appears in *Josephus* (*Antiquitates* 3.159, line 3) and in LXX (*Wisd. Sol.* 18:24). So, too, *Maimonides* mentions “the long garment [tunic] reaching down to the feet.” Perhaps, *Maimonides* (*Hilchot K’Lei Hamikdash ViHaOvdim Bo* (9.3), says it best: “The length of the garment reached down to the upper part of the heel.”

17 Spencer (574). Mather’s adapted citation from *Apuleius* (*Metamorphoseon* 11.10) relates that the priests of Egypt were clothed “with white surplices hanging down to the ground”; and *Virgil* (*Aeneid* 6.645) knows of the Thracian “priests clothed in long robes.”

18 Spencer (574–75). *Josephus* (*Antiquitates* 3.161, line 1) tells us that the priest’s vestment was not ἐκ δυοῖν περιτμημάτων “composed of two pieces,” nor was it sowed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was “one long continuously woven vestment” (*Antiquities* 3.7.4). *Pausanias* (*Graeciae descriptio* 6.24.9–10).

*Inductam collo, ad Talos, à Vertice fundit.
Non Rugis, non illa Sinu, non follibus undat;
Sed Manicis habiles artus ad Munia stringens
Tenditur, et Membris hæret concinna movendis,
Seu campestre sagum, tegitur quo miles in Armis.*¹⁹

Wherein the Poet may refer to the Words of Jerom, who saies of this *Garment*, *Hæc adhæret corpori, et tam Arcta est, et Strictis manicis, ut nulla omnino in Veste sit Ruga, et usque, ad crura descendat. Solent Militantes habere Vestes Lineas, quas Camisias vocant, sic aptas Membris, et astrictas Corporibus, ut expediti sint, vel ad cursum, vel ad prælia. – Ergò et Sacerdotes Parati, in Ministerium Dei, utuntur hâc Tunicâ, ut habentes pulchritudinem vestimentorum, Nudorum celeritatem discurrant.* And herein Jerom was instructed by Josephus, who saies of this *Garment*, It was περιγεγραμμένος τῷ σώματι, *close to the Body*: and κολπoutai μὲν οὐδαμόθεν, *It was no where Folded*.²⁰

In such a *Garment* likewise did the *Priest of Egypt*, perform his Ministry. *Corpori Arctè et Sine Rugis adhærebat*, saies Beroaldus upon Apulejus. As the Richer People among the old *Germans*, according to Tacitus, For the like Reason, of *Expedition* in their Business, *Veste, non fluitante, sed Strictâ, ac Singulos Artus Exprimente, distinguebantur*.²¹

19 Mather (via Spencer 575) quotes from *Moyses Viator: seu, Imago Militantis Ecclesiae Moisaicis* (1636), lib. XIII, sec. 16, p. 465, by the French Jesuit Antoine Millieu of Lyon. Mather also copies Spencer's spelling (line 1) "*Tunc*," rather than "*Tum*," and (line 6), "*Seu*," rather than "*Ceu*," as they appear in Millieu's epic poem, but also adds his own customary capitalizations. At any rate, Millieu's recitation reads, "Then he extends from the head a garment of doubled linen, resting upon a twist, worn from the neck to the ankles. It does not billow with wrinkles, nor any fold, nor puffs; but it is stretched from the sleeves, binding the nimble limbs to their official duties, and the tunic hangs fittingly with the moving of the limbs, rather than like the coarse apron mantle with which a soldier in arms is covered."

20 St. Jerome composed his "Epistola LXIV. Ad Fabiolam. 'De Veste Sacerdotali'" for the Roman patrician convert Fabiola (d. c. 399), in 386, who visited a monastery in Bethlehem. Via Spencer (575), Mather here focuses on the mystical significance of the priest's vestment as related by Jerome [PL 22. 0614]: "This [tunic] clings to the body and is so confined, and with sleeves constrained, that there is no wrinkle at all in the clothing, and it goes right down to the feet. Soldiers are accustomed to have linen clothes, which they call shirts, so fitted to their limbs, and bound up to their bodies that they are unimpeded either to running or to battles. – Therefore, priests also, prepared for the service of God, wear this tunic so that they may run about, having beauty of clothing [and] the speed of the unclothed." And Josephus Flavius explains in his indispensable *Antiquities of the Jews* that the vestment was worn "περιγεγραμμένος τῷ σώματι (*Antiquitates* 3.153, line 4) "close to the body" but κολπoutai μὲν οὐδαμόθεν (*Antiquitates* 3.156, line 4) "was nowhere folded."

21 Spencer (575–76). Says the Italian humanist Philippus Beroaldus of Bologna (1453–1505) on Apuleius's *Metamorphoseos* (11.10), in *Apuleius cum commento Beroaldi. Et figuris noviter additis* (1510), fol. CCXXII, "It was fitting tightly to the body, and without wrinkles." And the adapted passage from Publius Cornelius Tacitus's *De origine et situ Germanorum* (17) explains that the wealthier among the ancient Germans "are distinguished by a vest, not flowing loose, but girt close, and exhibiting the shape of every limb" (*Germany and The Agricola* 17).

Moreover, Tis not unlikely, that the *Sacerdotal Garment*, in *Israel*, might have Ornamental Flowers and Figures inwrought into it, albeit, so, as that the Native Colour of the *Linen* was not thereby extinguished. Hence, the *Chaldee* understanding the *Forty fifth* Psalm, concerning the *Garments of the Sanctuary*, thus explains the fourteenth & fifteenth Verses of it; *Omne pulchrum et Desiderabile – offerent Sacerdotibus, quorum Vestes intertextæ sunt Auro Optimo; in Vestibus Acu-pictis, offerent oblationes suas, coram Rege Orbis*. Nor was the *Egyptian Garment*, without affectation of such Ornament.²²

But there was a Difference between them in Two Things. The *Egyptian Priest* wore his *Linen* every Day; as *Jerom* observes; And, when hee came to worship, hee was, as *Juvenal* speaks, of the, *Grege Calvo*; hee shaved himself all over. But when God præscribed the *Holy Garment* unto the Priest of *Israel*. [See Ezek. 44.17, 18, 19, 20.] Hee made express Provision against both of these Usages.²³
[△ Insert 16r ends]

[△]

[15v cont.]

3537.

Q. Why is it said of the *Meat-Offering*, *With unleavened Bread it shall be Eaten?* v. 16.

A. There is no, *With*, in the Hebrew; It is to be taken so, *Unleavened it shall be Eaten*.²⁴

3538.

Q. Why is it said of the Offerings, *Every one that toucheth them shall be Holy?* v. 18.

A. It was not sufficient for the Eaters, to be descended of *Priests*, but they must also be free from all Defilement. But these very Words, which we here translate, *Every One*, we translate, v. 27. *Whatsoever*. And then the Meaning is, *Every thing that toucheth them, shall be made Holy by them*. The very *Dishes* and *Spoons* and *Knives*, were never to be employed unto any other Use.²⁵

22 Spencer (576). The Latin citation is from the Chaldaean Paraphrase of Ps. 45:14–15, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (3:156), according to which "Everything is beautiful and desirable – they will present to the priests, whose garment are woven with finest gold, in embroidered clothes, their offering in the presence of the King of the world."

23 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, cap. 5, diss. 1, sec. 2, fol. 577, invokes St. Jerome's *Commentariorum in Ezechielem* (44:17), who contrasts the linen-clad priests of Egypt and their shaven heads with the habit of God's high priest: "Vestibus lineis utuntur Ægyptii sacerdotes non solum intrinsecus, sed ei extrinsecus. Porro religio divina [Christiana] alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi" [PL 025. 0437c]. At last, Juvenal (*Saturæ* 6.533) pokes fun at the "shaven heads" of Anubis's linen-clad crew, who mutter incantations to assuage the wrath of Osiris.

24 Patrick (*Leviticus* 86).

25 Patrick (*Leviticus* 88).

3539.

Q. Why must the *Meat-Offering* for the *Priest*, be *wholly Burnt*? v. 23.

A. *Abarbinel* thinks, That the *High-Priest* only, was bound every Day to offer this *Meat-Offering*; (*Josephus* tells us, He did it Twice a Day, and at his own Charges.) And every other *Priest* was to offer it once in his Life; namely, when he began his Ministry.

Now, t'was fitt it should be *wholly Burnt*. *Maimonides* observes, T'was unseemly for him to offer it unto God, & yett eat of it as if it were his own. R. *Levi Barcelon*{a} adds, The Scope of the Sacrifice, being to Raise the Mind of him that offered it unto God, it was not fitt, he should think of Eating any Part of his own Offering; which would have taken his Mind off from God.²⁶

3540.

Q. *Garments* that happened for to be *Sprinkled* with the *Blood* of a *Sacrifice*, were to be *washed in the Holy Place*? v. 27.

A. Where there was a Room (after the *Temple* was built,) which was called, *Lischath Hagullah*, The *Chamber of the Spring*, or, *Well*; out of which *Water* was drawn for the Use of the Court of the Sanctuary. Probably, these *Garments* were washed there.²⁷

3541.

Q. The *Earthen Vessel* wherein the *Sin-Offering* was *Sodden*, [By the way, it appears, that nothing was *Roasted* in the Sanctuary, all was *Boiled* there,] was to be *Broken*: Why, and How? v. 28.

A. It being very porous, it might so deeply imbibe a Tincture from the Flesh, that it could not be washed out, but the Smell might remain a long Time. And it being a thing of small Value, it was no great Loss to have it broken, rather than any thing that was Holy remaining in it, might be profaned. What became of the Broken Shreds of those *Earthen Vessels*, is a Doubt among the Hebrew Doctors; for it was not fitt to throw them into a profane Place, nor to heap them up in the Sanctuary: & they therefore fancy, that the Earth opened & swallowed them up. Why may n't we say, They were thrown abroad into a clean Place, after

²⁶ Patrick, on Lev. 6:20–23 (*Leviticus* 88–91). Abarbanel suggests as much in his gloss on Lev. 10:1, while commenting on the death of Nadab and Abihu: “The problem was that, though the High Priest may offer incense whenever he wishes, ordinary priests only do so when chosen for it by lot; and no priest does so twice in his lifetime” (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedoloth* 3:61); see also Abarbanel's *Selected Commentaries: Vayikra* (3:62, 63). *Josephus Flavius (Antiquities* 3.10.3); *Maimonides Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (13.4b), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:466), and *Guide* (3.46.584). R. *Levi Barcelonitae's ספר התנודות Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, in Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. XI, praecept. CXLI, p. 193.

²⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 92–93). מסכת מידות [Masseket Middoth]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), cap. 5, sec. 3, pp. 177–88, esp. 181–82.

they were broken, crumbled, powdered; & dealt with like the Ashes that came from the Altar.²⁸

[16r inserted into 15v]

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[16v]

4234.

Q. Has your Friend *Munster* no Good Hint of *Jewish Divinity* about the *Sacrifices* here commanded? v. 30.

A. I will quote you from him, a Good Hint of *Christian Divinity*, if you please. He saies, That the faithful *Patriarchs*, when they offered *Sacrifices*, had the Faith of their Souls Relying upon a *Sacrificed Messiah*, who was in the Fulness of Time to be expected. He saies, That the *Gentiles*, preserved the external Tradition, from *Noah*, and his Sons; but that applying the *Sacrifices* to *Idolatry*, they lost the Right Use of them. He saies, They fell at length upon *Humane Sacrifices*; which tho' it were a most cruel Instigation of the *Divel*, yett it was occasioned by the broken Remembrance of what the Fathers had preached, That a *Man* should come, & by the Sacrifice of Himself make Expiation for the Sins of Men.

It is Remarkable, That since our *Lord-Messiah* ha's been actually made a *Sacrifice*, by the Providence of God, it is come to pass, that the Use of *Sacrifices* has been generally laid aside not only by the *Jewes*, but almost every where by the *Gentiles* also; *Ut hoc tempore* (saies *Munster*) *ne Reliquiæ quidem Corum Sacrificiorum in ullâ publicâ Gente in toto orbis, supersint; Id quod maximum Argumentum A Christum venisse et Sacrificium suum, in quod omnia alia respexerint peregrisse.*²⁹

²⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 93) may have in mind the pious tradition that broken vessels of earthenware no longer suitable for Temple services were "swallowed up in their place," Soncino Talmud, tractate Yoma (21a) and Zevachim (96a). See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Ma'aseh Ha-Korbanot* (8.11), *Mishneh Torah* (29:418); and Johann Christoph Wagenseil's Hebrew-Latin translation, *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), Mishna, cap. 2, sec. 2, pp. 354–60.

²⁹ Sebastian Münster, in *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fol. 206, annot. (d), comments on Lev. cap. 6, that the use of sacrifices has been discontinued since the death of Christ, as at this time only a few remnants of their sacrifices survive in any public race in the whole of the world; [this is] the greatest evidence that Christ has come and has accomplished his sacrifice to which all other things have referred."

3543.

Q. The *Blood* of the *Burnt-Offerings*, was to be *Sprinkled round about upon the Altar*; and so was the *Blood* of the other *Offerings*. But with any Difference? v. 2.

A. Yes. There was a Scarlet Threed, or Line, which went round about the *Altar* exactly in the Middle; The *Blood* of the whole *Burnt-Offerings* was sprinkled round about, *Above* the Line; The *Blood* of the *Sin-Offerings*, the *Trespass-Offerings*, and the *Peace-Offerings* was *Below* the Line. Thus we are informed by the *Middoth*, and by *L'Empereurs* Annotations.¹

Q. As the *Sin-Offering*, so the *Trespass-Offering*; what {is} the Difference between a *Sin*, and a *Trespass*? v. 7.

A. In another Place we may speak further to it. I will here only observe, That it is very plain, there is a Difference. But it is not as plain, what is the Difference. One of the Ancients, makes /חטאה/ *Peccatum*, to be the committing of *Evil*, and /אשם/ *Delictum*, to be the Forsaking of *Good*. And indeed we find this Distinction; Jer. II.13. Another makes /חטאה/ A *Sin* against *Knowledge*; and /אשם/ A *Trespass* of *Ignorance*. The Ancients have given us diverse other Distinctions. Dr. *Gell* gives us one more; That /חטאה/ may be a *Sin* whereinto a Man falls *of himself*; and /אשם/ a *Trespass* whereinto a Man falls being drawn *by Another*.²

But see what we say on Lev. 5.15.

3544.

Q. Why must the *Skin* of the *Burnt-Offering*, fall to the *Priest*? v. 8.

A. This was all that was left.

Probably, t'was (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks) in Conformity to the Condition of *Adam*, to whom God gave the *Skin* of the first Sacrifices, to make him a *Garment*.

This Custome of the *Jewes* was imitated by the *Gentiles*; Among whom the *Priests*, employ'd the *Skins* thus falling unto them, unto very superstitious Purposes. They lay upon them in their *Temples*, hoping thereby to obtain Divinatory, & Oracular Dreams. This is observed by *Dilheirus*, upon those Words in *Virgil*;

¹ Patrick, on Lev. 7:3 (*Leviticus* 95), draws on L'Empereur's annotations in his bilingual edition of *Codex Middoth* (cap. 3, sec. 1), in *מסכת מידות* [Masseket Middoth]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), pp. 99–100.

² Robert Gell, on Lev. 7:7, in his *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 256(b-d).

– huc dona Sacerdos

*Quum tulit, et Cæsarum, Ovium sub nocte Silentii
Pellibus incubuit Stratis, Somnosque petivit,
Multa modis Simulacra vidit variantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque Deorum
Colloquio. –*

And he observes, (*Dissert. De Cacozelia Gentililum*. C. 9.) from *Suidas*, That in the *Eleusinia*, the *Didachus* putt on the skin of the Beasts, which had been Sacrificed unto *Jupiter*; which were called, Διὸς κώδια, *The Fleece of Jupiter*.³

3545.

Q. Why must the *Flesh of the Sacrifice of the Peace-Offering for Thanksgiving*, be *Eaten the same Day that it is offered?* v. 15.

A. Lett old *Philo* (in his Book of *Sacrifices*) answer the Quæstion.

“It was not fitt, that these Holy Things should be putt into their Cupboards, but immediately sett before those, who were in Need; For they were no longer his, that offered them, but his to whom they were offered; who being himself most Liberal and Bountiful, would have Guests invited unto His Table, to partake with those that offered the Sacrifice: whom He would not have to look upon themselves as Masters of the *Feast*, ἐπίτροποι γὰρ εὐωχίας εἰσὶν, οὐκ ἐστιάτορες, *For they are but the Ministers of the Feast, not the Masters*, or Entertainers. That belongs to God Himself, whose Bounty ought not to be concealed, by præferring sordid Parsimony before generous Humanity.”⁴

The Sum is; All the Sacrifice was Gods, who graciously granted unto him that offered it, a Part of it, wherewith to | entertain his Friends, and the Poor; whom He would have to be forthwith invited, that no Part of it might be converted unto any other Use, but that which God, who made the Feast, appointed.

[17v]

But then, the *Peace-Offerings*, which had more of the Nature of *Prayers* in them, as being *Vowes* to obtain Mercies; These were not so Holy as the former, & therefore might be Eaten on the Morrow, as well as on the same Day they were offered; tho’ they must begin immediately to Feast upon the *Sacrifice*.

3 Patrick (*Leviticus* 97–98) quotes Johannes Michael Dilherr’s “Dissertationis, De Cacozelia Gentilium, Pars Specialis,” in *Disputationum Academicarum, præcipuè Philologicarum. Tomus Novus* (1652), cap. 9, pp. 255–56 (sec. series of pag.). Mather’s third-hand citation from Virgil (*Aeneid* 7.86–91) illustrates the ancient rite of offering fleeces to the gods – ostensibly in imitation of the Levitical rites turned upside down: “hither the priestess brings the offerings, and as she lies under the silent night on the outspread fleeces of slaughtered sheep and woos slumber, she sees many phantoms flitting in wondrous wise, hears voices manifold, holds converse with the gods.” And the *Suidas* lexicon (alphab. letter *delta*, entry 1210, line 2) speaks of the initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter and her daughter Persephone, as the torch-bearing Daduchus, priest of Ceres, modeled the fleeces of rams Διὸς κώδια for Jupiter (Zeus). Mather’s “*Didachus*” reads “*Daduchus*” in Patrick (98).

4 Patrick (*Leviticus* 101–02) cites at length from Philo Judæus (*De specialibus legibus* 1.40.221, lines 6–7) and *Works* (555).

Philo notes, That pure Acknowledgments for Mercies already received, must make Men have their Hearts more Enlarged and Quickened in their Bounty to others.⁵

3546.

Q. It is said of the *Peace-Offering*, *All that be clean shall Eat thereof?* v. 19.

A. The *Priest* had the Right Shoulder, and the Breast; And he that brought the Sacrifice, had the rest. Of the former, the whole Family of the Priest might Eat; not only his Sons, but his Wife, & his Daughters who were not married; or being Widowes, were come back to their Father again, if they had no Children; or if those they had, were begotten by Priests; Yea, his Servants, born in his house, or bought with his Money. And the rest, he that offered, it might Eat it, with all his Family, and his Friends, excepting those who had any *Unclean-ness* upon them.

There is frequent mention of these Feasts, in the Sacred Scriptures. [1. Sam. 1.4. and 1. Sam. 9.13, 24. and 1. Sam. 11.15. and 1. Sam. 16.3, 5. and 1. Chron. 16.3. and, 1. King. 8.65. and Neh. 8.19.]⁶

3547.

Q. How far might extend the Prohibition against *Eating any Manner of Blood?* v. 27.

A. The Jewes distinguished between, *The Blood of the Soul*, and, *The Blood of the Member*. The former, which ran out freely, when the Beast was killed, is the *Blood prohibited*. The other, which remained in the several Parts of the Beast, they look'd upon, as belonging to the *Flesh*, & therefore might be Eaten with it.⁷

3548.

Q. What is the Import of that Passage; *He that offereth the Sacrifice of his Peace-Offerings unto the Lord, shall bring his Oblation unto the Lord, of the Sacrifice of his Peace-Offerings?* V. 29.

A. The Meaning may be this; That before he, and his Friends, Feasted together, he was to take due Care, to *bring his Oblation to the Lord*, or, see, that the Lord had His Part of the *Peace-Offering*; for, till that was offered, none might meddle with the rest.

But, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, If the Import of the Hebrew Words be well observed, they seem to have further Meaning; which is, That whensoever any Man

⁵ Patrick, on Lev. 7:16 (*Leviticus* 102), and Philo Judaeus (*De specialibus legibus* 1.41.225, lines 3–4) and *Works* (555).

⁶ Patrick (*Leviticus* 105).

⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 108–09) and R. Levi Barcelonitae's סֵפֶר הַחִנּוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, in Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. XI, praecept. CXLVIII, pp. 200–03. See also Rashi and Ibn Ezra, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:47).

brought the *Sacrifice* (which in the Hebrew is here called, *Zebach*) of his *Peace-Offerings*, he should also bring his *Oblation* (which in Distinction from the other is called, *Korban*,) that is, a *Mincha*, or, *Meat-Offering* together with it; That the *Feast* which was to be made, might be compleatly furnished with *Bread* and *Wine*, as well as the *Flesh* of the *Sacrifice*.⁸

⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 109). See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (1.17; 2.1–2), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:362, 364).

665.

Q. The *Lustrations*, *Purgations*, and *Purifications* used among the *Jewes*; were there any Imitations thereof, among the *Pagans*? v. 1.

A. Yes; When the Practice of the *Jewes* came to bee known abroad in the World, the *Pagans* presently, were by the Apishness of the Divil, sett upon imitating of it.

The *Priests* were to wash their Hands & Feet, before they touched the Holy Things, among the *Jewes*; and they had *Lavers* in the Temple, for that Purpose; and the *Purification* of others, was by *Ablution* or *Aspersion*, likewise to bee performed.

Hence wee read of the *Washings* and *Sprinklings* among the *Pagans*.

*Idem ter Socios purâ circumtulit undâ,
Spargens Rore Levi, et Ramo felicitis Olive,
Lustravitque Viros.* Virg. Æn. 6.

And *Macrobius* assures us, concerning the Gentile Devotionists, *constat Djs superis, sacra factarum Corporis ablutione purgari; cum verò Inferis litandum est, satis actum si Aspersio sola contingat.* Saturn. L. 3. c. 1. Hence, it became a Rule among them, τα ἱερά καθαρώ ὕδατι περιαγνίζεν; as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* ha's it, *That all Sacred Things must bee sprinkled with pure Water*; And they had Vessels, which contained the consecrated Element, for this Purpose. Moreover, For the most Part, they sprinkled, the Worshippers, as they went into their Temples.¹

I perfectly concur, with my learned *Edwards*, and many more, in holding, That it is no Wayes probable, that in the Religion, which God instituted among the *Jewes*, Hee would make the Rites of the *Pagans* their Exemple; This Imagination, were unworthy of the Holy & Jealous God, and of His Religion. The Cæremonious Observances commanded unto the *Jewes* were not originally

¹ Mather's primary source is John Edwards, *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection* (1693–95), 1:160 (ch. 5), which also supplies the citations from Roman antiquity. Virgil (*Aeneid* 6.229–31) relates that Aeneas's companion Corynaeus, having performed the rites of cremation for the fallen warriors, "with pure water thrice encircled his comrades and cleansed them, sprinkling light dew from a fruitful olive-bough." Macrobius adds, "It's agreed that someone intending to sacrifice to the heavenly gods washes his body clean, whereas to sacrifice acceptably to the gods of the underworld it is considered enough merely to sprinkle oneself" (*Saturnalia* 3.1.60). The rule in matters of purification, says Dionysius Halicarnassus in his *Antiquitates Romanae* (7.72.15, lines 4–5), is, ἱερά καθαρώ περιαγνίσαντες ὕδατι, that after handwashing, the priests "purified the victims with clear water" (*Roman Antiquities* 7.72.15).

practised by the *Pagans*; but by the *Pagans* derived from the *Jewes*.² Particularly, As for the *Purifications* now before us, emphatical are the Words of *Justin Martyr*, who commenting on that Passage, Isa. 1.16. *Wash yee, make yee clean*; saies, “When the *Divels* heard of this *Washing*, spoken of, by the Prophet, they caused this, to bee the Effect of it; namely, whenever they go into their Temples, or approach near them, or, are about to bee employed in their Sacrifices, & Offerings, they sprinkle Water on themselves.”³

3550.

Q. When it is said; *Gather thou all the Congregation*; who are meant by, *All the Congregation*? v. 3.

A. All the *Elders* of the People, with the great Officers, who were sett over *Thousands* and *Hundreds*. [Compare, Num. 25.7. and 35.12. and Josh. 20.6. and Judg. 21.10, 13, 16.]⁴

3551.

Q. In what Manner, and with what Action, was the *Anointing of the Tabernacle*, and its *Vessels*, performed? v. 10.

A. There being several Wayes of *Anointing* an Object; either by Pouring *Oyl* upon it, or by Putting it upon them with the Finger, or by Sprinkling; it is not an improbable Conjecture of *Fortunatus Scacchus*, [*Myrothec. 2. Sacr. Elaeochrism. c. 70.*] That *Moses* anointed the Tabernacle & its Utinsels, by Dipping his Finger in the *Oyl*, & Putting it upon them. Only the *Altar*, must be *Sprinkled* Seven Times with *Oil*, as well as Anointed, in token of its extraordinary Sanctity.⁵

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..59.

[18v]

Q. About the *Order* of the *Sacrifices* used in the Consecration of the *Priests*, what Remark is there made in the *Jewish* Writings? v. 23.

A. *R. Levi ben Gersom* remarks, That it was a very Rational Order. For, first there was a *Sacrifice for Sin* offered, before they could be worthy to have any Present, which they made unto God, received by Him. Upon their Expiation, a whole *Burnt-Offering* was accepted; and after that followed a *Peace-Offering*,

² See also John Edwards, ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* (1699), ch. 8, pp. 246–54.

³ Edwards (*Discourse* 1:161–62) cites from Justin Martyr’s *Apologia* (62.1) and *First Apology* (62), in *ANF* (1:183–82).

⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 113–14).

⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 116). *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium* is the running title of Fortunatus Scacchus, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), lib. 2, cap. 70, cols. 658–62. Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the 1725 edition of this work, which was first published in Rome (1625–27).

that it might appear, they were so far in the Favour of God, as to Eat with Him, of His Meat from His Table.⁶

2758.

Q. What is there observable in that Passage; *Moses took of the Anointing Oyl, and of the Blood which was upon the Altar, and sprinkled it upon Aaron, and his Sons?* v. 30.

A. The *High-Priest* had the Ointment *Poured* upon his *Head*; [v. 12.] so that it Ran down to his *Beard*, & the Border of his Garments. [Psal. 133.2.] But the other *Priests* were only *sprinkled* with this *Anointing Oyl*. This was to Type out our Saviour, who was *Anointed with the Oyl of Gladness, above His Fellowes*. [Psal. 45.8.] Hee ha's a *Fulness* of Grace. Our Grace is in but a lesser *Measure*. However we are unto God, the *Sweet Savour of Christ*. [2. Cor. 1.5.]⁷

3553.

Q. *Seven Dayes* must be spent, in the *Consecration* of the *Priest* unto his Office. How was it in the *Antitype?* v. 34.

A. Behold, a wonderful Harmony! Our Great High Priest, the Lord Jesus CHRIST, who was perfected by *One Sacrifice* of Himself, spent *Seven Dayes* in his Consecration to His Office. As *Aaron* is commanded to attend at the Tabernacle so many Dayes together, in like Manner our Lord, (as Dr. *Jackson* observes, upon the *Creed*;) attended the Temple, five Dayes one after another before His Death; and having purged it, on the first or second of those Dayes, from the Profaneness that was exercised in it by Merchandizing, and afterwards hallowed it by His Doctrine, and by His Divine Presence, which appeared in several miraculous Cures, He went the *Sixth Day* into His Heavenly Sanctuary, into *Paradise* itself, to Purify it, & Sanctify it, with His own Blood, as *Moses* at *Aarons* Consecration did the material Sanctuary, & Altar, with the Blood of the Sacrifices. And having Rested the *Seventh Day*, He finished all, by His Resurrection early the next Day in the Morning.⁸

⁶ Patrick (*Leviticus* 121) refers to Ralbag's *Perush al ha-Torah* (1547), by R. Levi ben Gershon (Gersonides). See also S. Feldman, "Levi ben Gershom/Gersonides."

⁷ See Patrick, on Lev. 8:12 (*Leviticus* 117–18).

⁸ Mather extracts his material from Dr. Thomas Jackson's *Treatise of the Consecration of the Son of God* (1672), bk. 9, in *Works* (1673), tom. 2, bk. 9, sec. 4, ch. 25, pp. 1025–26.

3554.

Q. What Remark to be made, upon *Taking a Kid of the Goats, for a Sin-Offering?* v. 3.

A. The Hebrew Word signifies, *An He-Goat*. *Maimonides* delivers this, as his Opinion hereupon. All *Sacrifices for Sin*, whether of *Private Persons*, or of the *whole Congregation* at the *Three Principal Feasts*, the *New Moons*, and the *Day of Expiation* were *He-Goats*; For this Reason, (he saies) because the greatest Rebellion of those Times was, Their Sacrificing to *Dæmons*, which appeared in that *Form*. He quotes, Lev. 17.7. *They shall no more offer their Sacrifices unto Divels*; where the Hebrew Word is, *unto He-Goats*.

He adds, That the Sin of the whole Congregation, was therefore expiated by *the Kid of a Goat*, (as their Wise Men think) because all the Family of *Israel* sinned about a *Kid*, when they sold *Joseph* into *Egypt*.

He saies, That such things must not be look'd upon as Trifles; for the End & Scope of them, was, to imprint and ingrave on the Mind of Sinners, the Offences they had committed, that they might never forgett them: According to that of *David*; Ps. 51.5. *My Sin is ever before me*.¹

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[19v]

3555.

Q. Some Remarks upon, *The Fire coming out from before the Lord?* v. 24.

A. The *Sacrifices* for the Initiation of the *Aaronical Priesthood* probably were offered after the *Morning Sacrifice*, & they took up a considerable deal of Time. Whereupon *Moses* went with *Aaron* into the Sanctuary, to instruct him in such things, as were to be performed there. Doubtless they staid there, until the Time of the *Evening Sacrifice*, when they came out, and after the Offering of that *Sacrifice* dismissed the People with a *Blessing*.²

The *Glory of the Lord*, which had before this, filled the *Tabernacle*, now appeared openly upon it, in the Sight of all the People, as *Moses* had foretold, that it would.

Fire now proceeded, probably in Flashes from that excellent *Glory*; (if not from the *Holy of Holies*;) which testified an Approbation of the *Aaronical Ministry*, by consuming the *Burnt-Offering* of the *Sacrifice* upon the *Altar*.

¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 127–28). *Maimonides*, *Guide* (3.46.588–89) and *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (1.5–6, 15), *Mishneh Torah* (29:354–56, 360). Following the master, Nachmanides offers the same reason for the choice of a goat, in *JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* (3:57).

² The following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Leviticus* 135–37).

That *Sacrifice* was in all Probability, the *Evening-Sacrifice*. The Place that God chose for His Worship & Service, in the Days of *David*, was designed after this very Manner. And it was at the Time of the *Evening-Sacrifice* too.

When *Solomon* built the Temple in that Place, it was consecrated after this very Manner; and that also appears to have been at the Time of the *Evening-Sacrifice*.

The Authority of *Elijah* to restore the True Religion of God, was Justified after this very Manner; and that likewise we know was at the Time of the *Evening-Sacrifice*. [Compare, Psal. 141.2.]

So notorious were these things, that *Julian* himself acknowledges, that *Fire* came down from Heaven, in the Days of *Moses*, and of *Elijah*, Τὰς θυσίας ἀναλίσκον· *Consuming the Sacrifices*.³

This gave such Authority to the Jewish Religion, that it is no Wonder if the Pagans endeavoured some Reputation to theirs, by the like Reports, of a *Fire*, from an Invisible Power, consuming their Sacrifices: which Dr. *Patrick* thinks, might sometimes really be done, by the *Prince of the Power of the Air*. There are several Instances of this, in *Pausanias*, in *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, in *Valerius Maximus*, & in *Pliny*.⁴ But *Servius* may serve instead of all; who upon that in *Virgil*, *Æn.* 12.

– *Fœdera Fulmine Sancit*,

saies, That anciently they did not kindle *Fires* upon their *Altars*, sed *Ignem divinum precibus eliciebant*; they procured by their Prayers a *Divine Fire*, which inflamed their Altars. And *Solinus* tells us, That the *Flame* sprung out of the Wood, by a Divine Power; *Si Deus adest, Si Sacrum probatur, sarmenta, licet viridia, ignem sponte concipiunt*; – the Faggots, tho' Green, kindled of themselves, and a Flame was raised by the Deity, to whom the *Sacrifice* was offered;⁵

[Compare, *Judg.* 6.21.]

³ Roman emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus (331–63 CE), a philosopher in his own right, but better known by the moniker, Julian the Apostate, readily accepts such marvels as unexceptional in his day (*Contra Galilaeos*, p. 227, line 1).

⁴ Miraculous consumption by fire of sacrificial victims were phenomena common enough in ancient times, it seems, and legion are the instances in books sacred and profane. The Bible records numerous prominent examples (f.e., *Judg.* 6:21, 1 *Kings* 18:38, 2 *Chron.* 7:1). Yet to maintain their verity, Mather and his peers could not but relegate parallel cases in pagan histories to the power of Lucifer – since dismissing them outright might also undermine credence in the Bible. Hence Mather disparages such cases as recorded in *Pausanias* (*Description of Greece* 10.23.2, 10.31.4), *Dionysius Halicarnassus* (*Antiquitates Romanae* 7.72.15, lines 13–14), *Valerius Maximus* (*Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 9.2), and *Pliny* (*Naturalis historia* 16.8.24).

⁵ With his right hand outstretched and eyes raised toward heaven, Aeneas invokes the name of Jupiter, who “sanctions treaties with his thunderbolt.” On this line from Vergil’s *Aeneid* (12.200), Maurus Servius Honoratus (*In Vergilii carmina commentarii* 12.200) comments that in ancient times, they did not kindle fire on their altars, but “drew down sacred flames through their prayers.” The Latin grammarian Gaius Julius Solinus knowingly adds in his *De mirabilibus mundi* (cap. 5, line 23), “if god be present, if the sacrifice be accepted, the brushwood (though green) catches fire on its own accord.”

J. *Delherrus*; and especially *Huetius*, will give us more of these things.⁶

It cannot be determined (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks) whether this *Fire* which now came from the Lord, *Instantly* consumed the *Sacrifice* of *Aaron*, or only sett it into a Flame that consumed it liesurely in the Sight of all the People. The Jewes do suppose the latter. They suppose, that the Heavenly Fire was now kindled, which continued ever after, by constant Supply of the Fuel, which kept it continually burning.

It is to be observed, That this Law of keeping alive the *Fire* perpetually, is ordered to be putt in Execution, at the *Evening-Sacrifice*; which may incline one to think, That the Cœlestial *Fire* now came, at the *Evening-Sacrifice*, and consumed the *Burnt-Offering*.⁷

⁶ Johannes Michael Dilherr's "Dissertationis, De Cacozelia Gentilium, Pars Specialis," in *Disputationum Academicarum, præcipuè Philologicarum. Tomus Novus* (1652), cap. 11, pp. 265–74 (sec. ser. of pag.), and Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Alnetanae Quaestiones de Concordia Rationis et Fidei* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, pp. 215–19 (sec. 21) supply Patrick and Mather with numerous examples from pagan histories. For a modern discussion of such ancient pyrotechnics, see S. Brock's *Fire from Heaven* (2006), esp. pp. 229–43.

⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 127–28).

Q. What was there occurring Remarkable, in the Time of *Nadab* and *Abihu*'s Death? v. 1.¹

A. There were several Intimations, accompanying the first Promulgations of the Ceremonial Law, That without the *Messiah to come*, all that *Law* would bee of none Effect.²

I will not insist upon, the *first Oracle*, which was uttered from the *Mercy-Seat*, & which was about *Sacrifices*: That there the Letter /**א**/ in the first Word of the Book, is written less than all the rest; which is to hint, that tho' this were a *glorious Oracle*, yett it was a very *small One*, in Comparison, of what was to come, when God would speak to His People, by His own Son, whom the *Mercy-Seat* then represented.³

But I will invite you to consider the Death of *Nadab & Abihu*.⁴

The Tabernacle being sett up, there followed *Seven Dayes of Consecration* for the *Priests*. And the Death of *Nadab & Abihu*, fell out on the very *first Day* that the Service of the *Altar* began; even on the *Eighth Day* after the Seven of the Consecration; when the *Priests* offered *Sacrifices* for themselves & the People. Thus, the Service of the Sanctuary, began with a Terrible *Death*; a Sad Intimation, that *Life* was not to bee obtained or expected from that Service; no, tis our Lord Jesus Christ alone, who is *the Truth, & the Life*.⁵

1 In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (Lev. 10:1, 2), Mather recommends "Arndt. Vol. 1. Pay. 120"; i.e., Johann Arndt's *De Vero Christianismo libri quatuor* (1708), cap. 21, p. 120, on the true worship of God.

2 Much the same conclusion is offered by Junius and Piscator, in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:534) and *Works* (6:141).

3 Mather may have in mind the tradition of R. ben Mari, who in debating whether a sin offering precedes a burnt offering, insists that "Because an Aleph is wanting in the Hattath [חטאת] for idolatry, the written form being le-Hatth [לחטאת]" (Numb. 15:24), the sacrifice for a sin offering has precedents over the one for a burnt offering, in Soncino Talmud, tractate Horayoth (13a).

4 Sons of Aaron, Nadab & Abihu ignited the censers by themselves without waiting for God to do so and offered unsanctified incense on the altar. In essence, they disregarded God's prerogative (Lev. 10:1–2).

5 The explanations for why the two brothers were consumed by God's fire on this inaugural day differ as widely as the oscillations of the hermeneutical compass which guides the sages in this matter. Henry Ainsworth for one adds in his esteemed *Annotations Upon the Five Bookes of Moses: Leviticus* (1626), p. 49, "This transgression of the priests, in the beginning of their administration, sheweth the weakness and imperfection of that priesthood; and for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof, it was afterwards *disannulled*; and a better priesthood of Christ (who was *holy, harmless, undefiled, and separated from sinners*,) is come in place thereof: for the law made nothing perfect, Heb. 7.18.19.26. So in the practice of the moral law, the people, even at the first, fell into open impiety, Exod. 32." Gersonides offers that "what made their fire they 'took' alien was that it was not taken from the right place on the outer altar, but from

3556.

Q. What were the Errors of *Nadab*, and *Abihu*?

A. *Abarbanel* supposes the Calamity now before us, to have hap'ned on the last Day of their Consecration, when *Fire* came down from Heaven.⁶

He reckons it, as one Error in them, That without any Order from God, they would adventure to go & burn *Incense*, in the *Sanctuary*. For, tho' this did not belong unto the *High-Priest* alone, yett upon this Day, *Aaron* only was commanded to perform the whole Service, as he was, upon the Day of Expiation. *Bochart* gives the same Accounts of their Offence, That *Sine vocatione Thus obtulerunt*.⁷

He reckons it another Error, That *Both* of them went about this Work; whereas the *Incense* was to be offered only by One, and not by *Two* at a Time. And *Procopius Gazæus*, adds, That they took a wrong Season too; and attempted it neither, in the Morning, nor in the Evening, which were the only Season.⁸

But the main Error was, *They offered Strange Fire before the Lord*. Here *Abarbanel* finds Two Sins more. One was, That they brought Fire from another Place, without the Sanctuary; & they took it not from off the *Altar*. Another was, That they attempted to go into the most *Holy Place*, which may be {interpreted} by these Words, Before the Lord. The Latter is not so probable; for *Aaron* himself had not yett gone in the *Holy of Holies*. The Former is the Opinion also of *Aben-Ezra*, & other Learned Men among the Jewes; who by *Strange Fire*, understand, *Fire which did not go out from before the Lord*; [Lev. 9.24.] that is, which was not taken from the *Altar of Burnt-Offering*, where *Fire* from Heaven lately consumed their Offerings. And thus R. *Bechai* adds; They imagined that the *Fire* on the *Altar of Burnt-Offerings*, was only for the Consuming of *Sacrifices*, & therefore they fetched some from without, for the *Burning of Incense*.⁹

elsewhere." Abarbanel thinks that in burning incense both Nadab and Abihu arrogated unto themselves what belonged unto the High Priest only, for "ordinary priests only do so when chosen for it by lot. ... On this inaugural day of all days, the High Priest was supposed to perform each part of the ritual, and especially the incense ritual, which was the most spiritual. ... [I]t was a criminal offense for two priests to offer incense simultaneously" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:61).

6 The following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick, on Lev. 10:1 (*Leviticus* 139–41). Abarbanel here agrees with the Sages (Chazal) that the "inauguration of the Mishkan [Tabernacle] began seven days before the new moon, [on] Rosh Chodesh – the first of Nissan." On this auspicious day (the 8th day of the ceremony), "Aaron and his sons were initiated in the service of the holy Mishkan" (*Selected Commentaries Vayikra/Leviticus* 3:87–88). Ibn Ezra concurs that this mishap occurred on the last (or eighth) day of the ceremony, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:61).

7 Abarbanel agrees with the Sages that at the climax of the dedication ceremony, Moses ordered "that the entire service of this day should be performed by Aaron exclusively" (*Selected Commentaries Vayikra/Leviticus* 3:88). Samuel Bochart, *Hierozycon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 49, p. 537, line 30, spells out their offense: "without calling they offered frankincense."

8 Procopius Gazæus, *Commentarius in Leviticus* [PG 087.1. 0721–0724].

9 Abarbanel, *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:61). R. Bechai, aka. R. Bachya ben Asher, on Lev. 10:1, in *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya Torah Commentary* (5:1589).

The Jewes do some of them say, The Controversy of Heaven with them was, because they would not *marry Wives*. The Scripture indeed saies nothing of their *Children*.¹⁰

3557.

Q. It is very *strange*, that the Error about *Strange Fire*, should be committed, by Two such excellent Men, who had received the Honour to be called up unto God, when He appeared on Mount-*Sinai*, and have a Sight of Him, and *Eat* and *Drink* in His Presence; and now sustained a very great Figure among the People of God?

A. It is highly probable, That at the Feast upon the *Peace-Offerings*, they did Eat and Drink too liberally; which made them forgett themselves, & fall into this gross Mistake.

Hence tis, that the Prohibition of Drinking, when the Priests were to go into the Sanctuary, immediately follows the Sad Story of this Matter.¹¹

3558.

Q. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, how were they *Devoured*? v. 2.

A. Not reduced unto Ashes, nor so much as their Cloathes burnt; but kill'd as Men sometimes are, with *Lightning*; their Vital Parts were penetrated, and their *Breath* was taken away in a Moment.¹²

[20v]

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3559.

Q. Why was this Order given unto *Aaron*, and his Sons in their Affliction, *ye shall not go out from the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation*? v. 7.

¹⁰ Abba Hanin, in *Midrash Rabba* (Leviticus XX:9), opines that Nadab and Abihu were struck dead “because they had no wives, for it is written, *And [he shall] make atonement for himself, and for his house* (Lev. XVI,6) and ‘his house’ signifies his wife.” And R. Levi adds, the brace of perpetrators was “arrogant” about their distinguished pedigree. “Many women remained unmarried waiting for them,” in *Midrash Rabbah* (Leviticus XX.10). Be that as it may, whatever the reason – their drunkenness, forwardness, presumption, or violation of the Holy of Holies – R. Abarbanel’s response seems best: “Since the Sages have propounded so many contradictory and unsatisfactory explanations, there is nothing improper in our questioning them,” in *JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* (3:62). See also Abarbanel’s *Selected Commentary Vayikra/Leviticus* (3:84–88).

¹¹ Patrick, on Lev. 10:1 (*Leviticus* 141). Rashi quotes R. Ishmael who argues that Nadab and Abihu, Aaron’s sons, “went into the sanctuary drunk.” The proscription against drinking any intoxicant before entering the Tabernacle or Temple is stated in Lev. 10:9. See Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 3:65).

¹² Patrick (*Leviticus* 141). Rashbam, Chizkuni, and Gersonides – all agree (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 3:62). R. Bachya ben Asher adds that the body and soul of Nadab and Abihu “underwent a ‘surgical’ separation, the fire entering their bodies through their nostrils separating soul from body.” Yet only their body – not their soul (i. e., “their claim to the hereafter”) – was burned (*Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya Torah Commentary* 5:1591).

A. Either the Dayes of their *Consecration* were not quite ended, or they had begun some other Ministration in the Sanctuary.

The *Hebrew's* think, This Law, did not only bind *Aaron*, and his Sons, at this Time, but their Posterity forever; That if they heard of the Death of any of their Kindred, when they were ministering in the Sanctuary, they should not stir from their Duty; for that would have been to show a greater Affection unto a *Dead Friend*, than unto the *Living God*.¹³

3560.

Q. What Remark is to be made upon That; *the Lord spake unto Aaron?* v. 8.

A. So pleased the Lord was, with *Aarons* Obedience and Submission unto Him, that He Himself now spake unto *Aaron*, whereas He had formerly unto him only by *Moses*.¹⁴

3561.

Q. *Do not Drink Wine, nor Strong Drink.* What is meant by *Strong Drink?* v. 9.

A. By *Wine*, every one knowes is meant, that Liquor which is pressed out of *Grapes*. And by *Strong Drink* [*Schechar*,] is meant such Liquors, as were made in imitation of *Wine*, of *Dates*, and *Figs*, and many other sorts of Fruits; and that which was made of *Honey*, by us called, *Mead*, and *Metheglin*.¹⁵ There are many sorts of such Liquors mention'd by *Pliny*, which he calls, *Vina factitia*.¹⁶

The Jewes tell us, T'was no Offence against this Præcept, if before they went into the Sanctuary, the *Priests* drank no more than the Fourth Part of a *Log*, which contained an *Egg-shel* and an half. If they exceeded this Measure, their Ministry (they say,) was profaned; & they were liable to Death by the Hand of Heaven.¹⁷

13 Patrick (*Leviticus* 148). Nachmanides offers several explanations, the most forceful being that "it was an ongoing command, that they not leave the Tent in the middle of the priestly ritual." Nonetheless, Nachmanides's alternative interpretation is, "this really might have been a command for that day alone – that, like their father [Aaron], they [his sons Eleazar and Ithamar] stay inside out of respect for the celebration – in which case the ongoing commandment for all priest through the ages is that given in [Lev.] 21:12": anointed priests are to attend to God's sanctuary before all else (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:65).

14 Patrick (*Leviticus* 149).

15 Ibn Ezra offers the same explanation (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:65). The Hebrew noun שֶׁכָּר [shekar] signifies "strong drink, intoxicating drink, fermented or intoxicating liquor" (Strong's # 7941).

16 Patrick (*Leviticus* 149). Lat. "artificial wine" or "aromatic wine." Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 14.19.107–21.115) provides a goodly number of intriguing recipes which, no doubt, cheered the hearts of the bibulous among the ancients.

17 Patrick (*Leviticus* 149–50). R. Levi Barzelonitae (*Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* [1655], sec. XII, praecept. CLVIII, pp. 217–18. In *Hilchot K'Lei HaMikdash ViHaOvdim Bo* (1.17, note 51), Maimonides explains "seven containers of liquid measures" – including the one for "a fourth of a *log*," which is a halachic measure of "approximately 86 cc or 150 cc" (*Mishneh*

There was a Law, in some Heathen Countreyes, That no Magistrate, all the Year he was in Office, nor any Judge, while he was in Action and Employment, should Οἶνου γεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν. *So much as Taste a Drop of Wine.* So much Plato tells us; and Eusebius compares this Law of Moses with it. And Charemon the Stoick, describing the Diet of the Egyptian Priests, tell us, *That some of them drunk no Wine at all, & others very little.* They looked on the *Drinking of Wine*, to be, *An Impediment unto the finding out of the Truth.*¹⁸

3562.

Q. Moses, upon Inquisition found, That the Priests had burnt upon the *Altar* those Parts of the *Sin-Offering*; which they should have eaten themselves. Whence came this Mistake? v. 16.

A. It was the easier for them to mistake the Directions of Moses; because the *Sin-Offering* which had been offered for Aaron himself, was just before, *wholly burnt* without the Camp. And all the *Sin-Offerings* for the *High-Priest*, and for the *whole Congregation*, were ordered so to be. If their *Blood* was carried into the *Holy Place*, nothing of them was to be eaten. [Lev. 6.30.] Otherwise, their *Flesh* was to be eaten, in the Court of the Tabernacle, as it is expressly commanded. [Lev. 6.26.] This Distinction they did not well observe, when it was delivered; or being oppressed with Sorrow, for the Loss of *Nadab* and *Abihu*, they did not think it fitt, to *Feast* at this Time, upon the *Flesh* of this Offering.¹⁹

3563.

Q. Moses rebukes Eleazar and Ithamar, & would say nothing to their Father, as being lothe to add unto his Grief, (or, because the Neglect was chiefly on their Part:) But their Father (as perhaps being more able to do it,) makes their Excuse for them. What was the Excuse? v. 19.

A. He pleads, That they had not wholly violated the Command of God; but performed the *Substance* of it, tho' they had failed in a *Circumstance*. For they had not only offered the *Sin-Offering* for the People (which is here meant, by *Their Sin-Offering*;) but also their *Burnt-Offering*; and that in the Place, where the Lord ordered them to be offered. After this was done, there followed the

Torah 29:140–42). Patrick's principal source here is William Owtram's *De Sacrificiis Libri Duo* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 6, sec. 9, pp. 70–71.

¹⁸ See Appendix A. Patrick, on Lev. 10:9, 10 (*Leviticus* 150, 151). Plato's *Leges* (2.674b, line 2). Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 12.25.599bc). Finally, Porphyrius of Tyre (*De Abstinencia* 4.6 lines 43–44) cites a history of Egypt, composed by the Stoic philosopher-historian Chaeremon of Alexandria (fl. 1st c. CE), librarian at the famous library of Alexandria: οἶνου γὰρ οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγιστα ἐγεύοντο, "some of them drank no wine at all; and others, very little." And belying the ancient truism of "in vino veritas," Chaeremon explains that the Egyptian priests viewed imbibing wine as ἐμπόδιον εἰς εὑρεσιν "an obstacle to the discovery" of truth (*De Abstinencia* 4.6 lines 46–47).

¹⁹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 153–54).

Tragical Death of *Nadab* and *Abihu*; whereupon it was no wayes fitt for him to Feast, with *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* upon the Sacrifice; and so he suffered them to burn it.²⁰

²⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 155–56). Eleazar and Ithamar were the two remaining sons of Aaron chosen for the priesthood. See also Mather's annotations in *BA* 7 (Mark 7:26).

509.

Q. Of all the *Creatures* forbidden to the *Tables* of the Jewes, there was none so abominable to them, as the *Swine*.¹ They cannot bear so much as to speak the Name of that Beast; but call it, דְּבַר אָחֵר, *Rem Aliam, sive, Nefandam*. The Story of the *Maccabees* has exemplified unto us, what miserable, and unspeakable *Torments*, they have undergone rather than Tast one Bitt of it. After the Dayes of *Antiochus* it became a severe Law among them, *Ne quis vel alat Porcum*.² Their *Adversaries*, have noted this Jewish Disposition, with both Mockage & Wonder. *Caligula* with his Courtiers, derided it into the *Jewes* of *Alexandria*; and *Plutarch* will produce you other Scoffers at it; and their Persecutors would still bring a Dish of *Pork*, as the cheef *Temptation*, with which they still fell upon that Nation.³ When the *Pagans* have reflected upon this Jewish Abstinence from *Swines-Flesh*, they have argued strange Things upon it. *Tacitus* ridiculously tells us, *Sue abstinent Judei, memoria cladis, quòd eos scabies quondam Turpaverat; cui id Animal obnoxium*. *Porphyrius* foolishly saies, T'was, ὅτι οὐδ' ὧλως ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐφύετο, because those *Regions* bred not those *Animals*. *Petronius* profanely saies T'was this,

1 This and the following paragraphs are mined from John Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 5, secs. 4, 5, fols. 115, 116, 117, 121, 122.

2 Spencer's source (115) is Wilhelm Schickard's מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ [*Mishpat Hamelech*] *Jus Regium Hebraeorum e Tenebris Rabbinicis erutum & luci donatum* (1625), cap. 5: "De Bello," pp. 148, 149. The Latin rendition of the Hebrew quote from Schickard (p. 148) translates "Another thing which is nefarious." The story of the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215–164 BCE) is well known; it can be found in Josephus Flavius's *Antiquities* (12.6–11) and in the apocryphal 1–4 Maccabees. Setting up statues of pagan gods in the Temple of Jerusalem, outlawing upon pain of death the possession of Torah scrolls, circumcision, and traditional sacrifices, Antiochus set up his own high priests in the Temple and imposed Hellenic customs on the Jewish population. Mattathias (d. 165 BCE) and his sons ultimately lead a successful revolt against their Seleucid overlord and established the Hasmonaeen dynasty which fitfully governed Judea for a century until 63 BCE when Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BCE) and his Roman armies captured Jerusalem and turned Palestine into a Roman province. The Hasmonaeans came to an end in 37 BCE when Rome set up Herod the Great (73 BCE–4 BCE) as king over Judea and Palestine (*AB*). At any rate, the law established by the sons of Mattathias threatened severe punishment "lest anyone raise hogs."

3 Spencer's source (117) is Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica Hebraeorum Libri III* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 24, pp. 332–51. The hatred for the Jews, which Roman Emperor Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, aka. Caligula (37–41 CE), and his courtiers incited, along with their many atrocities, are remembered in Philo Judaeus, *De Virtutibus et Legatione ad Caium* (1640), p. 1042. See also *De Legatio ad Caium* (sec. 361, lines 2ff) and *On the Embassy to Gaius* (16.–18.114–126), in *Works* (767–68). Plutarch tells his story in his *Quaestiones Conviviales* 4.5 (669, sec. c, lines 11–13; sec. e, line 9 – sec. f lines 1–6).

*Judeus, licet et porcinum Numen adoret.*⁴

And when the *Christians* have Reflected on the same thing, they have as much miss'd the Mark. Some, with *Cunæus*, have given a physical Account of it; As if they were afraid of contracting *Leprous Affects*, by meddling with such a Diet. Others, with *Novatian*, and *Lactantius*, have gone to mystical Reason; as if *Uncleanesses* were hereby significantly avoided!⁵

But will you please to assign, the True Cause of the Thing? v. 7.

A. My Doctor *Spencer*, shall for mee. First, the *Swine* evidently fails, in one great Article, belonging to the Character of a *Clean Creature*, by the Appointment of the Law. [Lev. 11.7.] Again, The *Swine* is a Beast, which naturally converses more with Sordid & Filthy Matters, than any other Creature. [See 2. Pet. 2.22.] And the Cæremonial Part of the Law, given to the *Israelites*, a People whose Education had been, in the Mud of *Egypt*, had oftentimes a special Respect unto the Documents of *Cleanliness* and *Neatness*, among the People.⁶

⁴ Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.4.5) laughs, "They abstain from pork, in recollection of the plague, for the scab to which this animal is subject once afflicted them." Yet Porphyrius (*De Abstinencia* 1.14, lines 20–23) objects (ignorantly) that "no hogs were raised in the whole region" (see Mark 5:11, Luke 8:32), but the Roman satirist Titus Petronius Arbiter, in an extant fragment (*Poems* 97.24), reviles, "The Jew may worship his pig god."

⁵ The "physical account" given in Petrus Cunæus's *De Republica Hebraeorum Libri III* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 24, pp. 346–47, reads, "The people of Israel were at one time extremely vulnerable to the same sicknesses from which most of the Syrians and Egyptians suffered (according to the greatest medical authorities, these nations had boils, mange, and disgusting sores, their own personal plagues as it were). Moses included these, and any diseases that were more or less similar to them, under the heading of 'leprosy.' On the other hand, when pigs have scabs or blemishes this is not a defect but a natural occurrence. So the Jews, who wanted to make sure their bodies would not be disfigured by some other kind of infection (whether through eating or touching), have shunned pigs even a bit more superstitiously than god's law might ask of them, or than was customary among the other nations" (*Hebrew Republic* 149). The Roman theologian Novatian (fl. 250 CE), antipope, heresiarch, and founder of an eponymous sect, espoused the eternal barring of lapsed Christians from the Church. Mather (via Spencer 118) refers to Novatian's *Epistola De Cibus Judaicis*, ch. 3, in which he allegorizes the physical attributes of clean and unclean animals. In respect to the proscription against eating pork, Novatian states, "It [the law] assuredly reproves a life filthy and dirty, and delighting in the garbage of vice, placing its supreme good not in generosity of mind, but in the flesh alone" (*On the Jewish Meats*, ch. 3, in *ANF* 5:647). Lactantius adds (*Divine Institutes* 4.17.119), "For when God commanded them [Israelites] to abstain from this [flesh of swine], He wills that this should be especially understood, that they should abstain from sins and impurities. For this animal is filthy and unclean, and never looks up to heaven, but prostrates itself to the earth with its whole body and face: it is always the slave of its appetite and food; nor during its life can it afford any other service, as the other animals do, which either afford a vehicle for riding, or aid in the cultivation of the fields, or draw wagons by their neck, or carry burthens on their back, or furnish a covering with their skins, or abound with a supply of milk, or keep watch for guarding our houses. Therefore He forbade them to use the flesh of the pig for food, that is, not to imitate the life of swine, which are nourished only for death; lest, by devoting themselves to their appetite and pleasures, they should be useless for working righteousness, and should be visited with death" (*ANF* 7:119).

⁶ Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 5, sec. 4, fol. 119.

Thirdly, There were many Oriental Nations, enumerated by *Bochart*, whose Antipathy to the lothesome *Swine*, might well inflame the like Hatred thereof among the Jewes. Both *Ælian*, and *Herodotus*, do particularly report this Disposition, in the old *Egyptians*.⁷

Fourthly, T^h was very significantly done of the Jewes, to single out the Dislike of the *Dirty Swine*, as the Ceremony, whereby they would peculiarly signalize, their Addictedness unto *Judaism*. This *Juvenal* noted as the Special Distinction of that Nation,

*Et Vetus indulget Senibus Clementia Porcis.*⁸

Lastly, That which of all things, might render *Swine*, the most abominable to the People of God, was, the Use, which the *Pagans* made thereof, in their *Lustrations*, their *Sacrifices*, their *Magical Mysteries*, and their *Festivities*.

For their *Lustrations*, consider what you have, in Isa. 66.17.⁹

For their *Sacrifices*, Lett *Varro* tell you, that, *Sus*, or *ŷς*, was of old, *θύς*, from the Word *θύειν*, to *Sacrifice*, and that among other Customes, one was, for, a New Married Couple to *Sacrifice* a *Swine*. *Athenæus* ha's the like Intimations; and *Ovid* sings,

*Prima Ceres avida gavisa est Sanguine Porcæ,
Ultra suas Meritâ cede nocentis opes.*

And *Horace* ha's it,

— *Immolet æquis*

Hic porcum Laribus. —

Indeed some Nations did offer *Swine* in *Sacrifices*, particularly to obtain a sound Mind. *Antiochus*, Syrnamed — *ἐπιμανής*, or, *The Furious*, chose this Kind of *Sacrifices* very much, by *Piacular Swine*, to expiate his *Madnesses*.¹⁰

For their *Magical Mysteries*, consider, that Passage, in Isa. 65.4. *They lodge in the Monuments, eat Swines Flesh, & Broth of Abominable Things, is in their*

7 *Bochart, Hierozoicon, De Animalibus* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 57, col. 702, 703, supplies Spencer (119–20) and Mather with pertinent discussions in Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 10.16, lines 1–5) and in Herodotus (2.47) — both describing the Egyptians' antipathy for pigs.

8 Spencer (120); Juvenal (*Satire* 6.160) pokes fun at Agrippa's "incestuous sister," who wore a huge agate stone as an ornament in Judea, where "their traditional mercy is kind to elderly pigs" (proscription against eating pork).

9 See Mather's gloss on Isa. 66:17 (*BA* 5:857).

10 Varro (*De Re Rustica* 2.4.9) tells us that "the Greek name for pig is *ŷς*, once called *θύς*, from the verb *θύειν*, that is, to sacrifice," for sacrificing a pig at the nuptials of eminent Etruscans (Etruscans) was a customary rite. Much the same is told by Athenæus (*Deipnosophistae* 9.64, lines 14–17). Ovid (*Fasti* 1.349–40) sings, "The first to joy in blood of [a] greedy sow was Ceres, who avenged her crops by the just slaughter of the guilty beast." Horace (*Satires* 2.3.164–65) laughs at wealthy misers like Opimius who, in spite of his hoard of gold and silver, lives like a pauper. To cure himself of his insane miserliness, "Let him slay a hog to the kind Lares," guardians of home, domestic property, and fertility. The Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes received the moniker "the furious" or "the madman" for his Drakonian efforts to Hellenize Judea, in Athanaeus of Naucratis's *Deipnosophistae* (5.21). See also Diodorus Siculus (34/35.1.1–5).

Vessels. It seems that *Swines Flesh*, or *Swines Broth*, eaten, was a Sacrament, whereby the Wretches Dedicated themselves unto the *Dive*; and so they became Δαιμονολήπτοι.¹¹

For their *Festivities*; In their *Sacred* ones, you find *Athenæus* mentioning a *Swine*, employ'd on the Holiday to *Venus*; In their *Civil* ones, you find *Juvenal* crying up a *Swine* for a Dainty,

Moris erat quondam, Festis Servare Diebus,

Sicci Terga Suis. —

Yea, Their *Covenants* often had this *Rite* belonging to them;

— Casa Jungebant Fœdera porcâ:

saies *Virgil*.¹²

And a *Swine* carried in the Roman Banners, was made a Token of *Peace*.

| Now *Idolatries*, were, both as to Name and Thing, *Abominations*, among [21v]
the People of God.

And, if you'l say, that a long Tradition & Opinion of *Ancestors*, made the *Swine* to become yett more *Abominable*, I beleeve, you will not say amiss.

Briefly, As Doctor *Spencer* expresses it:

*Odium illud, quo Judæi porcum olim Hodièque prosequabantur, Lex quidem plantavit, Nativa porci Fœditas rigavit, eique Præjudicium, Traditione et Usu confirmatum, dedit Incrementum.*¹³

2432.

Q. But can't you give a shorter Account, why *Swines-flesh* was forbidden to the *Israelites*?

A. What the *Egyptians* did use to Eat, the *Israelites* might *not* Eat; that so they might be effectually cured of, & secured from, the Manners of that Countrey, wherinto they had in their Captivity been so much Degenerated.

Thus, God enjoined the *Israelites* to Eat no *Swines-flesh*, because there were no Four-footed Animals on whose Flesh the *Egyptians* fed, but This; reckoning other Creatures to be sacred, as *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, and others testify; and as tis intimated in Gen. 43.32. and 46.34. which Places are carried this Way

¹¹ Or, "demon-possessed," as the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates (c. 1155–c. 1215) says in his *Orationes* (8.79, line 4). See also Mather's gloss on Isa. 65:4 (*BA* 5:847).

¹² Spencer (121). Athenæus's *Deipnosophitæ* (3.49, lines 15–16). Juvenal (*Satire* 11.83, 82) laughs, "in those times, it was their custom to keep a back of dried pork for festivals." And Virgil (*Aeneid* 8.641) reminisces that in the days of Romulus's sons, they "made covenant over sacrifice of swine" before the altar of Jupiter.

¹³ John Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 5, sec. 5, fol. 122, says "That hatred, with which the Jews formerly and today malign the pig, the law indeed planted, the innate foulness of the pig watered, and to it prejudice, strengthened by tradition and habit, gave growth." Spencer's tricolon faintly alludes to 1 Cor. 3:6–8.

not only by the chief ancient & modern Expositors, but also by the famous *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*.¹⁴

3564.

Q. How far ha's the Abhorrency of *Swines-flesh* been propagated?

A. Unto far distant Countreyes & Ages. The *Mahometans* have it; and particularly as far off as *Mindanao*, among the *Philippine* Islands; where, *Dampier* in his Relation of a late Voyage round the World, informs us, if any one have touched one of these Creatures, he is not permitted to come into any Bodies House, for many Dayes after. He also relates, That the *Sultans* Brother, having a Pair of *Shooes* made him, (which they seldome wear there) by one of their Ships Crew, he fell into a great Passion, when he was told, the Threed with which the Shooes were sewed, was pointed with *Hogs-Bristles*, and would not wear them.¹⁵

3565.

Q. There were some Things, that *whatsoever touched them, when they were Dead, was unclean*; it might not be used, until cleansed?

A. *R. Levi* tells us, The Jewes called these things, *The Fathers of Pollutions*; because, by their Contact, they defiled other things.

The Reason, why these Creatures made things *unclean* more than others, he acknowledges, is not manifest; but he gives us, a Pious Admonition thereupon;

"If by our Reason (*saies he*) we be able to discern the Usefulness of some Præcepts, Lett us be very Thankful for it; but if we cannot find, how they, are

¹⁴ Herodotus (2.47); Diodorus Siculus (5.62.5. For a modern discussion of the topic, see J. D. Rosenblum, *Food and Identity* (2010), pp. 48–58. Mather's reference to Targums Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel (Gen. 43 and 46) in support of his claim that the Egyptians ate no four-footed animals but pigs is misleading, for the applicable passages in the two Targums merely state that "the Mizraee [Egyptians] might not eat bread with the Hivraee [Yehudae, Israelites], because the animals that the Mizraee worshipped the Hivraee did eat" (*The Targums* 1:138, 312). See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:271, 279) and *Works* (3:390, 430–32). That the Egyptians abstained from eating pork, see Herodotus (2.47), Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 57, cols. 702–03; and Petrus Castellanus, *Κρεωφαγία sive De Esu Carnium libri IV* (1626), lib. 2, cap. 4, pp. 76–83.

¹⁵ Patrick, on Lev. 11:8 (*Leviticus* 166). William Dampier, *A New Voyage round the World* (1697), ch. 12, describes his 1686 visit to Mindanao, the capital of the second-largest island of the same name in the E Philippines. His anthropologically interesting description of Muslim customs (pp. 324–44) and the Sultan's abhorrence of a pair of leather shoes spoiled by the touch of "Hogs bristles" (p. 344) serve Mather to test the extent to which the antipathy for hogs has spread throughout the world. However, the case is different in America. That reasons other than religious proscriptions are responsible for the Algonquians' hatred for New English hogs is explained in Mather's *Life of John Eliot*. Commenting on Eliot's endeavor to discover any link between the Lost Tribes of Israel and New England's Native Americans, Mather explains, "They [Indians] have too a great unkindness for our *Swine*; but I suppose that is because our *Hogs* devour the *Clams* which are a Dainty with them [Indians]," in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 3, part III, p. 193.

any Way profitable to us, Lett us beleeve, that God, in His infinite Wisdome, saw the Benefit, we should receive by it, & therefore commanded it.”¹⁶

|
496.

[22r]

Q. What was the True Reason, for the, *Difference of Meats*, assigned by the Law of *Moses*? v. 8.

A. When wee consider, on the one Side, with what *Religion*, even to *Martyr-dome*, the ancient Saints of God among the Jewes, would abstain from all Meats, by the Law pronounced *unclean*; and on the other Side, with what Contempt that Law is mentioned by the ancient Writers that were *Strangers to the Commonwealth of Israel*; wee cannot but count this Matter, worthy of an Enquiry;

Now, in answer to this Enquiry.¹⁷

Shall wee say, That purely out of Respect unto the *Health* of His People, the Lord ordered a Distinction of *Meats* for them? and that the *Ruminating Animals* were particularly allowed because things were better Digested in them? Indeed, *Grotius* do's herein seek for Natural Causes, *Ex Bono vel Malo Nutrimento*: and *Anastasius Sinaita*, sais, the *Forbidden Creatures*, were πλείονα τὸν ἰὸν ἐχόντα, *Such as had in them, the most of Poison*. But surely, our God is as much concerned, for the *Health* of us *Christians*, who are also a *Chosen Generation*, a *Royal Priesthood*, an *Holy Nation*, as ever Hee was for the *Jewes*? Besides, among the *Forbidden Creatures*, wee shall find some, which all Antiquity, ha's justly pronounced, as *Wholesome*, as *Toothsome*. *Cyril* tells us, that the Primitive Beleevers, in that Opinion, fed on all sorts of Things. And *Plutarch* wonders, that the *Rab-bet* should bee disallowed, when all Mankind agreed it, so fine a Nourishment. *Artemidorus* makes a Dream of a *Swine*, an happy Præsaige, because Ἀριστα πᾶσι τὰ χοίρεια, *Optimæ Omnibus carnes porcinæ*. *Athenæus* will scarce ever lett a *Swan* bee wanting at the Table of the *Deipnosophists*. *Aristotle* reckons young *Hawks*, among his Delicacies.¹⁸

¹⁶ Patrick, on Lev. 11:32 (*Leviticus* 182–83), translates the passage from R. Levi Barcelonitæ's סֵפֶר הַחִנּוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, in Heinrich Hottinger's dual language edition *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI* (1655), sec. XII, praecept. CLII, p. 208.

¹⁷ Mather's answer in the following paragraphs is extracted from John Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 5, secs. 1–2, fols. 97–104.

¹⁸ Spencer (97). In his *Annotaciones ad Leviticum*, Lev. 11:3, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1679), 1:63, the famous Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius looks for natural causes why animals provide “good or bad sustenance” for human consumption. The passage, for which Mather provides his translation, appears to be adapted from *Questiones et Responsiones* (Question 26, sec. 2), by the Greek theologian and abbot of Mt. Sinai monastery Anastasius Sinaita (fl. 7th c.), aka. “the new Moses” (CA). Cyril Alexandrinus (*Contra Julian* 9); Plutarch (*Symposiacs* 4.5.3). The Greek diviner of dreams, Artemidorus Daldianus (fl. 2nd c. CE), opines in his dreamy *Oneirocriticon* (1.70, line 11) that “of all things, the meat of a hog is the most pleasant.” Athenæus (*Deipnosophistae* 3.49, 9.64) deems it fit for the gods. And Aristotle (*Historia animalium*

Or, shall wee say, Secondly, That some Sorts of *Meat* were determined *Unclean*, because they Imparted some *Uncleanness* unto the *Minds* of the *Eaters*? That their gross *Juices* contributed unto grosser *Vices* in the *Souls* of *Men*? Either more *Mediately*, by infecting of their *Bodies*, or more *Immediately*, by polluting the *Spirits* themselves? The *Pythagoreans* thought the former, & the *Pharisees* the latter; but with Reason little enough. For the *Allowed* Creatures left the *Devourers*, as Internally Vitious, as the *Forbidden*. Besides, Eating of them once in a way, or so, might still have been permitted, without the Danger of such an Effect. Good Reason then was there, for the Saying of the *Christians*, who are by *Porphyrius*, when hee quotes it call'd *Barbarians*; *Non inquinant nos cibi, uti neque mare Fluminum Sordes*.¹⁹

Or shall wee say, Thirdly, That the *Egyptians* worshipped some *Animals* as *Numinous*, and consulted other *Animals*, as *Oraculous*; and for this *Cause* God ordered some of them for the *Tables* of His People, but others of them Hee Banished thence? Thus *Basil*, thus *Theodoret*, thus *Origen*, have elegantly discoursed; tho' wee may not stand now to quote the Passage. But it will enfeeble this Ingenious Conjecture, to consider, that the *Patriarchs* had their Distinction of *Sacrificeable* Creatures from others, before the *Egyptian* Superstitions and Idolatries, were so far come in Play. And a *Dog* was venerated by the *Egyptians*, as well as an *Ox* or a *Ram*; and yett they come not into the same rank in the divine Prohibitions. And, *Moses* determines *Cleanness* & *Uncleanness*, according to but one general Rule for it.²⁰

Or, shall wee say, Fourthly, That the Distinction of *Eateables*, was made upon *Symbolical* Accounts; and that in the *Hare*, was forbidden *Cowardise*, in the *Swine*, *Filthiness*, in the *Owl*, *Ignorance*, in the *Hawk*, *Rapacitie*, and in the *Camel*, as *Novatian* speaks, *Vitam Enervem, et Criminibus Tortuosam*. A Thousand Witty Sentences, might bee cited from the *Ancients*, to show how they Indulged themselves, in such *Allegories*. But what shall wee say, when wee see it

564a, lines 3–5) appears to fancy young hawks because they “also get palatable and fat” (*History of Animals* 6.7.564a, 4).

19 Spencer (99). Porphyrius of Tyre (*De Abstinencia* 1.42) disparages the Christian barbarians who say “we are not defiled by food, neither is the sea by the filth of rivers” (*On Abstinence* 1.42.34).

20 The Greek Bishop Basilus Seleuciensis (d. c. 458–460) discusses clean and unclean animals in his *Sermones* XLI. [PG 085. 0093, lines 9–19]; Theodoretus Cyrensis (*Questiones in Octateuchum*, p. 154, lines 5–6) mentions several of the species of animals revered and deified in Egypt; and Origen (*Contra Celsum* 4.93, lines 1–8) admires Moses’ acumen, “having observed the varying natures of animals, and having either learned from God what was peculiar to them, and to the demons which are kindred to each of the animals, or having himself ascertained these things by his own wisdom, has, in arranging the different kinds of animals, pronounced all those which are supposed by the Egyptians and the rest of mankind to possess the power of divination to be unclean, and, as a general rule, all that are not of that class to be clean” (*ANF* 4:538). The Egyptians revered Anubis, the dog-like jackal, god of the underworld; Apis, the bull-deity revered in Memphis; and Khnum, the ram-headed creator god.

impossible to brand some of the prohibited Creatures, with any *Scandalous Resemblances*? Nor were so dull Capacities, as the Hebrew ones, to bee thus mystically warned against Miscarriages. And luxuriant Fancies here take Occasion, to debase the august Edict of Heaven, with a World of Trifling Mysteries.²¹

Or shall wee say, Fifthly, That God Revived the Usages of *Elder Ages*, and of *Other Nations*, in Distinguishing of *Meats* for His People? So indeed saith *Grotius*. But it will not do. For no other People had *These* Distinctions, before or after; and God made them, on Purpose to separate His own, from *All* other People.²²

Or shall wee say, Sixthly, That God required His People to Distinguish their *Meats*, on Purpose, to furnish them with daily Provocations unto the Remembrance & Obedience of their great *Lawgiver*? *Justin Martyr* does indeed apprehend so, in His Dialogue with *Tryphon*. But, the People had other Admonitions enough to have minded them of their *God*, if they would have taken due Notice thereof. And the *Authority* of God, was more needful to bee minded, for the Obliging of this Distinction, than the Practicing of this Distinction to mind them of that *Authority*.²³

Or, shall wee say, Seventhly, That the *Sovereign Will & Pleasure* of God, was all the Cause of the Commandment for the Distinguishing of *Meats*, to bee enquired after; the thing being Arbitrarily Imposed, according to *Spanhemius*, *Gentis rudiocis coercere Libertatem, et exercere Obsequium*. So indeed *Cunæus* founds all, in *Incertâ Numinis Voluntate*. But wee may give this Honour unto the Wisdome and Goodness of God, as to suppose, that no large Number of *Arbitrary Lawes* enacted by Him, for His People. And some other Lawes would have been more agreeable to the meer Design of *Tying* and *Curbing* the Hebrew Nation.²⁴

| Or, shall I say, Eighthly, That all the Distinction of *Meats* commanded, was only to Teach a luxurious Generation of Men, *Temperance & Abstinence*? Tertullian ha's this Notion of it. But methinks, there would have been some of the [22v]

21 Spencer (100). Novatian, in his *Epistola de Cibus Judaicis* (ch. 3), allegorizes the proscription against eating a camel, because the exempla of this animal “condemns a life nerveless and crooked with crimes” (ANF 5:647).

22 Spencer (100); Grotius, on Lev. 11:3, in *Annotationes* (1.1:63).

23 Spencer (101); Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (20), in ANF 1:204.

24 Spencer (101) cites from *Dubiorum Evangelicorum. Pars Tertia* (1639), Dubium CXVII, p. 588, by Frederic Spanheim, the Elder (1600–49), professor of philosophy and theology at Geneva, and father of two distinguished scions who followed in his steps. In his chapter (CXVII) on the abrogation of the distinction between clean and unclean foods, Spanheim wonders if the institution of the dietary laws of Moses God intended “to curb and cultivate the rude people's liberty and obedience.” Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica Hebraeorum Libri III* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 24, p. 341, founds all on the “uncertainty of the divine will and purpose.”

Pleasanter Meats then Inhibited, & some of the *Loathsomer* would have been Recommended.²⁵

It seems none of all These things may bee *said*. But what shall wee say then?

Say, That God had Separated the Nation of *Israel* to bee a *Peculiar People* unto Himself: and that, as an Intimation of such a Separation, Hee would forbid unto their *Tables* diverse things that were used by all *other People*. Consider exactly, Lev. 20.24, 25, 26. and you'l *Say* This. By this Rite as *Davenant* expresses it, they were to Recognize it *that they were a People peculiarly sanctified unto God from the uncleanner Nations of the World*.²⁶

Say again; That the singular Dignity & Excellence, whereto God had Raised the *Israelitish* Nation required, in the Singularity of their *Diet*, some Token of it. Ponder Exod. 22.31. and Deut. 14.2, 3. with v. 21. and you'l *Say* This also. And in a Commemoration hereof, *Agobardus* tells us, that in his Time, All Flesh not laudable was by the proud Jewes rejected, under the Title of, *Christiana Pecora*.²⁷

Say further; That God, by a Special Distinction of Meats, taught his People many Lessons of *Holiness*. Hee taught that they served an *Holier God* than the Pagans did. [Weigh, Lev. 11.44, 45.] Yea, that they served Him, on the Score of His being so, The *Holy One of Israel*, would not lett His People Touch many things, which were even offered on the *Altars* of the *Gentiles*.²⁸

Such Lessons of *Holiness*, this Way insinuated suited well enough with the puerile State of the Church, under the *Mosaic Pædago*gy.

25 Spencer (102); In his *Adversus Marcionem* (2.18), Tertullian maintains, “et si Lex aliquid cibis detrahit, & immunda pronunciat animalia quae aliquando benedicta sunt; consilium exercendae continentiae intellige, & fraenos impositos illi gulae agnosce, quae cū panem ederet Angelorum, cucumeres & pepones Ægyptiorum desiderabat. Agnosce simul & comitibus gulae, libidini scilicet atque luxuriae, prospectum, quae ferè ventris castigatione frigescent. Manducaverat enim populus, & biberat, & surrexerat ludere” [PL 002. 0306A]. I.e., “When, again, the law took somewhat away from man’s food, by pronouncing unclean certain animals which were once blessed, you should understand this to be a measure for encouraging continence, and recognize in it a bridle imposed on that appetite which, while eating angels’ food, craved after the cucumbers and melons of the Egyptians. Recognize also therein a precaution against those companions of the appetite, even lust and luxury, which are usually chilled by the chastening of the appetite. For ‘the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play’ [Exod. 23:6]” (ANF 3:311).

26 Spencer (lib. 1, cap. 5, sec. 2, fol. 103) quotes from *Expositio Epistolae D. Pauli, ad Colossenses* (1627), p. 292, on Col. 2:17, by John Davenant (c. 1572–1641), Lady Margaret professor of divinity and subsequently bishop of Salisbury.

27 Spencer (104). Agobardus Lugdunensis (c. 779–840), archbishop of Lyon and vociferous opponent of the Jews, claims in his “*De Insolentia Iudaeorum*,” in *Opera* (1605), p. 59, that Jews rejected non-kosher meat under the title of “the Christian herd” [PL 104. 0073B].

28 Spencer (104).

And, wee know well, that even among the Gentiles themselves, there were Pretences to *Purity*. Sometimes, in this very Way, instructed. An *Egyptian* would not use the *Knife, Spitt, or Pott*, of a *Græcian*.²⁹

Say, That as the *Cleanness* of the *Israelites*, thus the *Uncleanness* of the rest, of the untaught, & misled World, was in this Distinction testified unto. [See Lev. 20.24, 25, 26.] By the same Token, when *Peter* saw all sorts of *Meats* tendered him, to bee Eaten, hee made this Use of it, *God hath shewed mee, that I should not call any Man, common or unclean*.³⁰

Yea, Say, That God would hereby render His People *unsociable*, to those, whose *Evil Communications* might else quickly have *corrupted their Good Manners*. Hence wee find the rest sometimes objecting to the *Jewes* their, τὸ ἄμικτον, τὸ ἀσύμφυλον, τῆς διαίτης ἀμειξίαν, *Insociabilem vivendi rationem*.

Thus to Say, my Doctor *Spencer* ha's Instructed mee.³¹

Q. For that Rule, *Whatsoever parteth the Hoof, and is Cloven-footed, & cheweth the Cud, among the Beasts, that yee shall eat*: And that Rule, *Whatsoever hath Fins & Scales in the Waters, them shall yee Eat*.³² What Reason?

A. If you hear what the Tribe of *Allegorizers* have to say of it, you'l hear Fancies enough to tire you.³³

But waving all pretended *Reasons* for this *Rule*, the true Account that is to be given of it, is; That God so ordered the *Rule* for the *Distinction of Meats*, as to bee an Effectual *Partition-Wall* between His own People and other Nations. Had meer *Salubritie* been considered as the Reason why this was *Allowed*, and that was *Forbidden*, others had been more likely to have come unto some Agreement with the *Israelites*, in the *Regulation of their Tables*. And already, among the *Egyptians*, the Student of *Purity* abstained from all *Fish* whatsoever; as to *Beasts*, they conformed their Abstinence according to some Circumstances of their *Horns & Hoofs*; as to *Birds*, their Abstinence was only from the *Carnivorous*; Now the *Rule of Abstinence* among the *Jewes*, was contrived with such a Contradiction to the *Egyptians* as to Rescue them from all the superstitious Conceits in *Egypt*, wherein the Abstinence of the *Fanaticks* there had been founded.

²⁹ Spencer (106).

³⁰ Spencer (107).

³¹ Spencer (107). The Greek quote appears to be an adaptation of Josephus Flavius, *Antiquitates* (11.212, line 3; 13.246, line 1) and describes how Jews survive by a relentless method of self-segregation: "the incompatible, unsuitable, abstinence of a way of life"; hence their "unsociable way of life."

³² Lev. 11:4, 10.

³³ Among the post-Reformation allegorizers is Estius, who argues that the proscribed animals have a figurative signification, for unclean animals – so Menochius, Estius, and Lyra – represent human vices: "the pig signifies luxury; the camel, pride; the hare, timidity." But "the ox signifies tameness; the lamb, innocence" (Poole, on Lev. 11:2, in *Synopsis Criticorum* 1:537 and *Works* 6:156).

And the erroneous Whimseys of the other Gentiles who also had their *Abstineneces*, among them, were in this Manner likewise Anticipated; *Lucian*, *Ælian*, *Plutarch*, tell you enough of them, to make you weary; but especially, I wonder at what *Cæsar* tells of our Ancestors, *Leporem*, *Gallinam*, *et Anserem gustare, fas non putant*.³⁴

If any Man will further urge, that the *Creatures* permitted unto the *Israeli-tish Diet*, had *Naturally* in them some *Dignity*, or *Mundity* above others, I will consent, that it may bee *generally* True.³⁵

But now, *Manum de Tabulâ*.³⁶

[23r]

1452.

Q. I perceive, you are not fond of being too curious, about the Lessons of *Mys-tical Divinity*, in the Lawes about *Clean* and *Unclean* Meats. However, methinks, there may some Lessons bee afforded from them?

A. Perhaps, I have been less Fond, than I should have been, of this Matter. For, I am very sensible, That the Ancient and Eastern People were very much given to have their Doctrines delivered in such *Hieroglyphicks* and the *Hieroglyphicks*, of *Egypt*, from which Countrey the *Israelites* came, were a famous Way of Teach-ing whereof the Memory is yett preserved.

However, the most obstinate Refuser of *Hieroglyphical* Reasons, for the *Dis-tinction of Meats* imposed upon the Jewes, cannot but acknowledge, that there are some good Lessons to bee learnt from the Prohibitions. Among those, I'll give you one at this Time:

It is, methinks, a very good Note, made more than Four hundred Years ago, by old *Raymund Martini* in his famous, *Pugio Fidei*.

Hee is going to oppose his Adversaries, the Philosophers; and hee thus makes his Introduction.

³⁴ Lucian, *De Syria Dea* (54, lines 1–4), shakes his head in disbelief: The Gauls “sacrifice bulls and cows and goats and sheep. Swine alone they neither sacrifice nor eat because they consider them unclean. But other men deem them not unclean but holy”; Aelianus, *De natura animalium* (9.65, 10.23), observes that the initiates in the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter and Persephone “will not touch Dog-fish, for (they say) it is no clean food, since it gives birth through its mouth”; however, those better informed know that the dog-fish merely hides its hatchlings in its mouth when danger approaches; yet these more enlightened adepts will “not taste of a Red Mullet,” for they are sacred to Hera at Argos (9.65). Alas, the Egyptian women of Coptos, when in mourning, “worship and deify the female gazelle, though they sacrifice the male,” because (they say) “the females are the pets of Isis” (10.23). Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (354a, lines 1–5), relates that the “only sacrifice and eating of a pig [occurs] at the time of the full moon” for Typhon, Osiris’s nemesis. Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* (5.12), smiles, “they [Britons] do not regard it lawful to eat hare, and the cock, and the goose.”

³⁵ Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 5, sec. 3, fol. 112.

³⁶ “Take your hands off the table.”

*Cùm in lege, [Deuter. 14. Vers.7] Dominus vellet ostendere Immundiciam Cameli, et Leporis, et Cuniculi, et Porci, quod erat in eis laudabile præmisit, quod autem vituperabile subjunxit. Camelus, ruquet, et Lepus, et Cuniculus, quia ruminant, sed ungulam non findunt, immunda sunt tibi. Porcus verò, quia ungulam quidem findit, sed non ruminat, immundus erit tibi. Nos ergò exemplo ipsius Domini, quæ in Philosophis fuerint commendabilia, præmittamus; quæ verò digna vituperio, evaginato pugione Deo Juvante, jugulemus.*³⁷

3262.

Q. But why may we not suppose, That the Lord præscribed and provided for the *Health* of His People, in His Prohibitions of *Meats* unto them?

A. I am now willing to grant it; especially since my Reading Dr. *Grewes* excellent *Cosmologia Sacra*. He thinks, That the *Earth* and *Air*, & so the *Vegetable Diet*, being in a worse Condition, after the *Flood*, *Animals* were therefore allow'd then to be eaten; and the rather with respect unto the *Colder Climates*, which probably was not so much inhabited before the Flood, & wherein there is a less Variety of Delicious *Plants*, and *Flesh* is more Necessary & Desireable. He thinks likewise, that Gods Intent of reducing the *Life* of Man to a shorter Measure, was herein answered; but withal, to give more Vigour to the *Minds* of Men, | tho' that of their Bodies were abated. For, of *Land-Animals*, the Carnivorous, we know, are the most sagacious. However, the Eating of *Raw-Flesh* was then forbidden; & much more the Eating of *Blood* alone. Partly because *Raw-Flesh* would have been insuperable to the Stomach in most Countreyes; especially those which are very Hott; as in *Persia*, where they roast it, until it fall from the Bone. Partly, because it would have yielded an Ill sort of Nourishment; infecting the Mind, with melancholy, cruel, and savage Conceits; & causing an unequal Growth of the Body; for, besides Man, there is no Creature ha's the *Rickets*, but a *Butchers* Dog, that lives much upon Blood.³⁸ [23v]

And now, the Law about *Meats*, comes under a further Digestion, as delivered by *Moses*; who is the first *Dietetic Writer* in the World. Even the Author, who denies, that God had regard unto the *Health* of His People, in forbidding

³⁷ Mather cites from the anti-Semitic polemic, *Pugio Fidei Adversus Mauros, et Judæos* (1651), pars 1, cap. 5: "De secta philosophorum" (p. 166), by old Raimundo Martini (fl. 13th-c.), a Spanish Dominican. Martini's *Dagger of Faith* (c. 1270) aimed to convert Jews and Muslims. Mather's citation reads, "Since in the law [Deut. 14:7] God wanted to show the impurity of the camel, and of the rabbit, and of the pig, he sent ahead something which was praiseworthy among them and also added something blameworthy: the camel, the hyrax, the hare and rabbit, because they ruminate, but do not have a split hoof, will be unclean to you. The pig, indeed, because it assuredly has the cloven hoof but does not ruminate, will be unclean to you. Let us therefore, by the example of the Lord himself, allow things that have been commended among the philosophers; things truly deserving of blame, let us destroy with dagger unsheathed, with God's help." A useful study of Martini is R. Harvey's *Raymundus Martini and the Pugio Fidei* (2008).

³⁸ Nehemiah Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 4, ch. 7, p. 233, § 25.

certain *Meats* unto them, in the next Page allowes, that some were præferred, *propter Salubrem Succum*. Why might not the Almighty make *Lawes* for the *Health* of His People, as well as work *Miracles* for it. Why not *Lawes* for their *Health*, as well as for their *Goods*?³⁹

Indeed there were *Spiritual Reasons* for these *Lawes*; That must not be denyed; but there was one *Temporal End* of them, & that was the *Health* of the People. The *Fat* not mixed with the *Flesh* might not be eaten; It is injurious to the Stomach. *Blood* especially in Hott Countreyes, yeelds an *Atrabilarious Chyle*. On the *Feast of Tabernacles*, one *Bullock* was to be deducted, every day, the better to beware of a Surfet. The *Birds*, the *Beasts*, the *Fishes*, here permitted, are supposed by all Civilized Nations, to be the most wholesome.⁴⁰

Swines-flesh was indeed a Dainty among the *Romans*; but they lived further from the Line than *Judea*, in a more Temperate Climate. Nor was *Italy* ever so full of Diseases, as after they grew luxurious in *Diet*, especially in *Swines-flesh*. This *Flesh* is very apt to breed the *Leprosy*, & other Diseases, in Hott Countreyes. It was therefore, as *Herodotus* tells us, abominable to the *Egyptians* also. *Plutarch* notes, that the *Milk* of the *Swine* drunk, produces the *Scab*. *Hippocrates* observes, That if the *Flesh* be not well-roasted, it produces *Choleric Disorders*. If it be not well-salted, as well as Roasted, even in *England* itself, it produces many a *Diarrhæa*, yea, and many a *Feavour* too. Had the *Jewes* used it with *Salt*, it would have caused a *Scab*. And it would have tempted them to *Salt* other *Meats*; which is little used, (as not wholesome) in those Parts of the World. *Salt* was therefore præscribed, for the Seasoning of none but *Meat-Offerings* (which consisted of none but *Vegetables*,) in the *Mosaic Law*.⁴¹

Wee will add one Hint more. The *Jewes* were, as *Tacitus* expresses it of them, *Projectissima ad Libidinem Gens*. God therefore lessened their *Variety* of *Meats*, which is an Incentive to *Venery*; and he especially forbad those that stimulate, as all shelled and flying *Insects*, which in {a} hott Countrey, partake more or less, of the fiery and provoking Nature of the *Cantharides*. Thus they were fitted, for begetting an Healthier and Stronger Breed, & so for becoming more populous.⁴²

39 Grew (bk. 4, ch. 8, pp. 239–40, § 18) tells us that some meats were preferred “on account of their wholesome juice.” Who that contrarian is I have not been able to determine.

40 Grew (bk. 4, ch. 8, p. 240, § 19). “Atrabilarious” or rather “Atrabiliarious Chyle” is, according to good old Claudius Galen, a “black-biled” “fluid or humor, concocted and already elaborated, but still needing its concoction to be completed” (Galen, *Usefulness* 1:205), or, in plain English, a milky predigestive juice formed in the stomach and intestines.

41 Grew (bk. 4, ch. 8, p. 240, § 20). Herodotus (2.47); Plutarch, *Iside et Osiride* (354a, lines 1–3). Hippocrates, *De morbis popularibus* (5.1.10).

42 Nehemia Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), bk. 4, ch. 8, p. 241, § 22, quotes Cornelius Tacitus (*Historia* 5.5), who claims that “although as a race, they [Jews] are prone to lust, they ‘abstain from intercourse with foreign women.’” The fashionable aphrodisiac that aroused the passions in Mather’s time, says Grew, was “Cantharides” or “Spanish fly.”

|
2347.

Q. The learned *Bochart* hath acquitted himself so well, & with so much Demonstration of Learning & Reading, in rectifying our Translation of the Names of the *Quadrupeds*, and *Reptiles*, in the Bible, that we may now readily accept his Opinion and Correction of the Names of the *Volatils*, without your being at the Pains, to transcribe his Reasons. Give us therefore, if you please, his Translation of the Names of the *Unclean Fowle*, as they ly, in *Leviticus* and in *Deuteronomy*? v. 13.

A. It shall be done.

1. /נֶשֶׁר/ *Neser*, is by general Consent, *The Eagle*, the King of the winged People: The Etymology of whose Name, carries in it, (as *Bochart* proves, having rejected other Conjectures,) *A Tearing of his Prey with his Bill*.⁴³

2. /פֶּרֶס/ *Peres*, which we render the *Ossifrage*, is not rendred amiss. The Etymology countenances it. Or, we may rather with *Bochart* call it, *The Osspray*.⁴⁴

3. /עֹזְנִיָּה/ *Oznijah*, which we render the *Osspray*, is by *Bochart* proved sufficiently to be the *Melanæetus*, the *Aquila valeria*, (so called from its wonderful Strength;) or, *The Black Eagle*.⁴⁵

4. /דָּאָה/ or, /רָאָה/ *Daah*, or, *Raah*, is truly, *The Kite*; we render it, *The Glade*. The former Name, it has from the Strength of its *Flight*, the latter from the Strength of its *Sight*.⁴⁶

5. /אֵיָּה/ *Ajah*, which we render, the *Kite*, is with *Bochart*, *The Smirle*, or *Merlin Hawk*.⁴⁷

6. /דָּיָה/ *Dajah*, which we render, *The Vulture*, is by *Bochart* referr'd unto a special kind, which he calls, *The Black Vulture*.⁴⁸

7. /עֹרֶבֶת/ *Gnorab*, all the World agrees to be, *The Raven*. That Name, (and, *Crow*,) as well as the Latin *Corvus*, is plainly derived from the Hebrew.⁴⁹

8. /בַּת־יַעֲנָה/ *Bath-Jaanah*, which we render, *The Owl*, is by *Bochart* proved for to be the *Shee-Ostrich*; against all the Attempts of the learned *Fuller*, to secure the Name for the Bird of *Athens*.⁵⁰

⁴³ Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoicon De Animalibus* (1663), pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 1, col. 164 (line 54 ff).

⁴⁴ Bochart, *Animalibus*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 5, col. 186 (line 35 ff).

⁴⁵ Bochart (pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 6, col. 188).

⁴⁶ Bochart (cap. 7, col. 191).

⁴⁷ Bochart (cap. 8, col. 192).

⁴⁸ Bochart (cap. 9, col. 195).

⁴⁹ Bochart (cap. 13, col. 214) has /עֹרֶבִים/ *Orebim*. Mather's transliteration does not match his Hebrew orthography here.

⁵⁰ Bochart (cap. 14, cols. 217, 220). And Nicholas Fuller, *Miscellaneorum Theologicorum* (1650), lib. 6, cap. 7, pp. 1712–16.

9. /תחמס/ *Thachmas*, which we render, The *Night-Hawk*, our *Bochart* will have to be the *Male-Ostrich*.⁵¹

10. /שחף/ *Sacaph*, which we render, The *Cuckow*, is with *Bochart*, the *Sea-Gull*.⁵²

11. /נץ/ *Nets*, which we render, The *Hawk*, is generally agreed unto; as coming from the Swiftness of that Bird in its flying. The Name *Nisus*, derived from hence, more particularly determines what Bird it is.⁵³

12. /כוס/ *Chos*, which we render, The *Little Owl*, is with *Bochart*, The *Bittern*; The Name seems to come from the *Cup*, or large Vessel, which it ha's under its Bill.⁵⁴

13. /שלך/ *Salach*, which we render, The *Cormorant*; He showes to be, The *Catarrhacta*. I think, we may keep our English Name.⁵⁵

[24v] | 14. /ינשוף/ *Jansuph*, which we render, The *Great-Owl*; may be still so rendered; for it is the *Bubo*, which is also called, The *Eagle-Owl*.⁵⁶

15. /תנשמת/ *Thinsemeth*, which we render, The *Swan*, must by no means be allowed so to be rendered; The *Swan* must not be thought an *Unclean* Bird. It is the *Nochna*, or the *Little Owl*. It has its Name, from the *Obstupefaction* of the other Fowles at the Sight of it; for as *Dio Chrysostom*, (and others,) notes, Θαυμάζει την γλαυκα τα ορνεα: *Noctuam Mirantur Aves*.⁵⁷

16. /קאת/ *Kaath*, which we render, The *Pelican*, *Bochart* will call the *Bit-aur*; but it seems Dr. *Gell*, will have it to be The *Cuckow*; and Mr. *Lee* thinks this last the most probable.⁵⁸

17. /רחם/ *Recham*, which we render, The *Grer-Eagel*, is by *Bochart* proved with abundance of Curiosity, to be, The *Bald-head Vulture*.⁵⁹

18. /חסידה/ *Chasida*, is agreed for to be, The *Stork*; tho' there ha's been a Variety of Translations upon it. The *Piety* of the Bird, (from whence it ha's its Name) does not secure it, from the Character of *Unclean*, because it feeds upon Serpents, & other venomous Creatures.⁶⁰

51 Bochart (cap. 15, col. 231).

52 Bochart (cap. 18, col. 263).

53 Bochart (cap. 19, col. 265).

54 Bochart (cap. 20, col. 272).

55 Bochart (cap. 21, col. 277).

56 Bochart (cap. 22, col. 281).

57 Bochart (cap. 23, cols. 285, 290). *Dio Chrysostom*, *Orationes* (12.1, line 8), Θαυμάζει την γλαυκα τὰ ὀρνεα: *Noctuam Mirantur Aves*, "the birds admire the little owl."

58 Bochart (cap. 24, col. 292); Robert Gell, on Lev. 11:18, in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 273e–274c. Mather probably refers to *Orbis Miraculum, Or the Temple of Solomon* (1659) by the Rev. Samuel Lee (1625–91), the father of Lydia Lee George, Mather's third wife. The Mathers purchased numerous books from Lee's library when it was offered for sale in Boston after Lee's death. See *The Library of The Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee* (1693) – among them such treasures as Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646) and *Hierozoicon Animalibus* (1663).

59 Bochart (cap. 25, col. 297).

60 Bochart (cap. 28, col. 321).

19. /אנפה/ *Anapha*, which we render, The *Hern*, *Bochart* will have to be that Sort of *Eagle*, which is called *Zummug* by the *Arabians*, and ἀνόπαια by the *Gracians*. It is a Bird prodigious for the Passion of *Anger*, (which its Name intimates;) perhaps it may be the *Falco Montanus*, which is of so Touchy and Angry an Humour, as to Fly upon his Feeder with a strange Fury, at the least Provocation; & if the Provocation proceed, hee'll fall down Dead in his Fury.⁶¹

20. /דוכיפת/ *Dukiphath*, is the *Lapwing*.⁶²

21. /עטלף/ *Gnataleph*, is the *Bat*. Our Translation of these two, remains uncontested.⁶³

3643.

Q. But why were these *Birds* forbidden to the *Israelites*?

A. Why not (in Part, at least,) for Mystical Reasons?

The Ancients are very Ingenious in their Descants upon these Reasons: only that they sometimes mistake the *Names* of the *Birds*.

Barnabas in his Epistle, saies, Οὐδε μὴ φάγῃς κλ· *He saies, Thou shalt not Eat the Eagle, the Hawk, or the Crow; that is, οὐ μὴ κολληθῇς ἀνθρώποι τοιοῦτοις, — Thou shalt not adjoin thyself to those Men, who do not live by the Sweat of their own Labour, but rapaciously by Iniquity sieze upon the Possessions of other Men.*⁶⁴

Origen ha's many Strokes this way. The Men who pretend Acquaintance with *Heaven*, but abandon themselves, to *Dead Works*, he compares to *Eagles* and *Vultures*, *Quæ de excelsis ad Carnes Mortuas et fætidas delabuntur*. And he adds, *Quedam non tam Rapacitatem quàm obscuritatem et Tenebras amant. Omnis enim qui male adagit odit Lucem*. *Novatianus* writing, *De Cibis Judaicis*, flourishes this Matter with good Ingenuity.⁶⁵ So does *Clemens Alexandrinus*; and so *Cyril*. Nor does any of them come behind *Aquinas*; who following the Version of *Jerom*, ha's these among other Passages. *In Aquila, quæ altè volitat, prohibetur superbia. In*

61 *Bochart* (cap. 30, col. 335, 337). *Homer, Odyssey* (1.320) has *Athene* fly away "unseen," "unnoticed." According to *Aristarchus*, ἀνόπαια is a type of "eagle" or "heron" (*LSJ*).

62 *Bochart* (cap. 31, col. 343).

63 *Bochart, Hierozoicon: Animalibus* (1663), pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 32, col. 349, transliterates the Hebrew phrase as "atalleph, rather than Mather's "Gnataleph."

64 *Bochart, Hierozoicon: Animalibus*, pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 33, col. 355. *Barnabae Epistula* (10.3b, lines 1–2): Οὐδε μὴ φάγῃς οὐ μὴ κολληθῇς ἀνθρώποι τοιοῦτοις. Mather supplies his own translation.

65 *Bochart* (cap. 33, col. 356). *Origen's "Homilia septima in Leviticum" (7.7)* [PG 012. 0492A–B] allegorizes evildoers, insisting that they are like eagles and vultures, "which sink down from the heights to dead and stinking flesh. ... Some are [characterized] not such by greed as by love of obscurity and darkness. 'For everyone who does evil hates the light.'" (*Homilies on Leviticus* 7.7.2, p. 152). Discussing the allegorical meaning of unclean animals which must not be eaten, *Novatian* asks in his *Epistola De Cibus Judaicis*, Who would eat "the raven? But it holds accused crafty wills. Moreover, when it forbids the sparrow, it condemns intemperance; when the owl, it hates those who fly from the light of truth; when the swan, the proud with high neck; when the sea-mew, too talkative an intemperance of tongue; when the bat those who seek the darkness of night as well as of error" (*On the Jewish Meats*, ch. 3, in *ANF* 5:647).

*Halæeto, qui posutur minuti Avibus, significantur illi qui Pauperibus sunt molesti. In Milvo, qui maxime Infidijs utitur, significantur Fraudulenti. In Vulture, qui sequitur exercitum, expectans comedere Cadavera Mortuorum, significantur illi, qui mortes et sitiones Hominum affectant, ut inde lucrentur.*⁶⁶

See more, *Thom.* 1.2.9. 102. art. 6.⁶⁷

So elsewhere, I have read this Thought. The *Swan* is a Bird Fair to look upon; but the *Flesh* is Black and Hard. An Emblem of those whose Works appear fair to Men, but their Hearts are naught.⁶⁸

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Why the *Eagle* should be forbidden, *Origen* ha's given a notable Account.⁶⁹

The *Wisdom* of GOD in *Moses* understood what Creatures were look'd on as *Prophetical* by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations; and these were therefore forbidden to the *Jews*. Among these he expressly mentions, the *Eagle* and the *Hawk*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, That the People of *Thebes*, worship the *Eagle*, esteeming it a Royal Bird, & worthy of *Jupiter*. And *Julian* in his Oration, on the *Mother of the Gods*, intimates, That there were *Sacred Birds*, which might not be fed upon.⁷⁰

The *Stork*, notwithstanding its *Piety*, so much celebrated, and which is the very Import of the Name in the Original, might be prohibited, because it feeds

⁶⁶ Bochart (cap. 33, cols. 355, 356); Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 5.5, 7, in *ANF* 2:450–52, 454); Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Adversus Julianum*, lib. 9. [PG 076. 0983c–991b]); St. Thomas Aquinas, who follows St. Jerome's Vulgate, interprets Moses' proscription against certain unclean birds as allegories of specific sins: "In the eagle which flies at a great height, pride is forbidden. The osprey, which feeds on very small birds, signifies those who oppress the poor. The kite, which is full of cunning, denotes those who are fraudulent in their dealings. The vulture, which follows an army, expecting to feed on the carcasses [*sic*] of the slain, signifies those who like others are to die or to fight among themselves that they may gain thereby" (*Summa Theologica* 2:1078, pt. 1–2. Q.102, A6, Reply *Obj.* 1).

⁶⁷ Like the other Church Fathers cited in Mather's paragraph, St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (2:1076–81, pt. 1–2, Q.102, A6, 1–11) discusses the allegorical signification of clean and unclean animals.

⁶⁸ Other explications of the swan are offered in Poole's *Synopsis* (1:546) and *Works* (6:184).

⁶⁹ This and the following three paragraphs lean on Patrick's commentary on Lev. 11:13 (*Leviticus* 169). Gerhard Vossius, in his *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 3, cap. 77, pp. 1144–49) opines that the eagle must not be used as food for natural and moral reasons (the meat is tough; it is a rapacious bird), Origen (*Against Celsus* 4.86, 87, 90, 93) also attributes to the eagle (and to other unclean animals) some of the worst qualities, which allegorically signify man's predatory and aggressive nature.

⁷⁰ Diodorus Siculus (1.87.9, lines 1–2) confirms that the eagle was honored by the people of Thebes (Egypt) as a regal bird, probably the zoomorphic Horus falcon (R. Wilkinson 202). Mather (via Patrick 169) refers to Ezekiel Spanheim's edition of *Juliani Imperator. Opera quae supersunt omnia* (1696), Oratio V, p. 177b–c. Emperor Flavius Claudius Augustus (the Apostate) charges that St. Peter (Acts 10:11–16; 11:5–10) violated the dietary laws established by Moses (Lev. 11:3ff). The same can be found in our modern edition of Flavius Claudius Imperator, *Eis tήν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν* (sec. 17, lines 30–32).

upon *Serpents*; Tho' on this account it was had in Honour by the *Egyptians*, and the People of *Thessaly*.⁷¹

[△ Attachment verso blank]

[△]

[25r–26r inserted after 26v]

[▽ Insert from 26r]

[▽ 26r]

Q. The Law, (in *Deuteronomy* thus expressed, ch. 14.19.) *Every creeping thing that flies, is unclean to you*. What might be the Intention of it, in *Hieroglyphick*, and in *Morality*? v. 23.

A. I have seen this Note upon it. So are *proud Men*, pretending to what is beyond their *Place* and *Reach*. *Ambition* join'd with *Ignorance*, is an *unclean thing*.⁷²

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

|

[26v]

3006.

Q. Among the *unclean Reptiles*, wee read of /חלד/ *Choled*, which we render, *The Weasel*; should it be rendred so? v. 29.⁷³

A. No; The Learned *Bochart* proves, That *Choled* should be translated, not, *The Wesel*, but, *The Mole*. He brings the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Languages to confirm his Interpretation. And its being here joined with the *Mouse* he takes to be some Confirmation of it. He shoves, that the Verb /חלד/ *Chalad*, from whence the Name is derived, signifies, To *Dig*, & by *Digging* to Penetrate into dark Places: which is the very business of the *Mole*. The *Syriac* Paraphrase, on that of the Apostle, 2. Tim. 3.6. *They creep into Houses*; uses a Phrase alluding hereunto. Perhaps the /חלדי/ *Chaldii*, or *Chaldeans*, (not those of *Babylon*, but the *Chalybes*) that are thought the first, who Dug Iron out of the Earth, may be therefore called so. That the *Talmuds* call a *Wesel*, by the Name of *Choled*, is nothing with *Bochart*, who saies, *Talmudici sæpè falluntur et fallunt*. But then, the *Thinsemeth*, in the next Verse, which we translate, *The Mole*; what shall that be? I'll tell you another time.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Patrick, on Lev. 11:19 (*Leviticus* 173–74), refers to *Bochart's* disquisition on the stork חסידה [chaside], in *Hierozoicon: Animalibus* (1663), pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 29, cols. 326, 328, lines 53–74.

⁷² Allegorical readings of this type are legion in Origen's *Against Celsus* (4.86–93), Lactantius's *Divine Institutes* (4.17), Aquinas's *Summa* (2:1055–81, pt. 1–2, Q.102), and Novatian's *Epistola De Cibus Judaicis* (ch. 3). New England's own “Tenth Muse” offers some delightful examples of her own in her collection of “Meditations Divine and Moral,” in *The Works of Anne Bradstreet* (1967), pp. 272–91.

⁷³ *Bochart* (pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 34, col. 1021) has חולד.

⁷⁴ In his preface to the reader, *Bochart* (*De Animalibus* [1663], pars 1, “Praefatio ad Lectorem,” p. 33, last line) warns that the “Talmuds, because they slip up, are disappointing.” For “*Thinsemeth*,” see Mather's annotation on Lev. 11:30 (below).

3008.

Q. Among the *unclean Reptiles* is also mentioned, *The Tortoise, after its Kind?* v. 29.

A. But *Bochart* proves by many Arguments, and by the Authority of Antiquity, That /צב/ *Tsab*, is no other, than the *Land-Crocodile*; a Creature, about which he brings many Curiosities, from *Arabian Monuments*. It is a Creature of the *Lizard-kind*. Its *Tail* ha's one & twenty knotts. Its *Teeth* are joined. It lives in the driest Places, and abhors Water. It feeds on Vine-roots, and the Fruits of Thorny Shrubs. It lodges in rocky Places, or near some Tree, by which it may recover its Lodging, which else it easily forgetts.

It layes fourscore Eggs at a Time, which being hatched (in forty dayes time,) it horribly devours many of them. It is very long-lived, and at last not easily killed. Many more such things, does that Author fetch concerning this Creature, from the Writings of the *Arabians*; and he saies, much Use must be made of those Writers, in describing the *Oviparous Quadrupeds* mention'd in the Sacred Oracles; *Quia pleraque hæpestes, à nobis nè de Nomine quidem cognitæ, in eorum solo nascuntur.*⁷⁵

[End of 26v]

[End of 26v]

[▽ 25r–26r]

[▽ Insert from 25r–26r]

Q. Since *Bochart* ha's laboured so exquisitely & successfully to give us a true Account, *De Animalibus S. Scripturæ*, I pray, Lett us have some more of him; and particularly upon the *Reptiles*, that we find here together, *The Ferret, and the Chameleon, and the Lizard, and the Snail, and the Mole?* v. 30.

A. My *Bochart* shall correct our Translation, in every one of them.

First, for the /אנקה/ *Anaka*, (which we render, *The Ferret*;) *Bochart* shewes, That it is a Sort of *Lizard*, not so well known among us, as in the Countreyes about *Arabia*. The Name is given from the *Bitter Noise*, like that of *Mourning*, which is made by the *Animal*. More particularly, Tis a Sort of *Stellio*, or *Evet*; the same that in the *Proverbs* is called *Semamith*, & by us corruptly rendred, *The Spider*.⁷⁶

Secondly, for the /כח/ *Coach*, (which we render, *The Chameleon*;) *Bochart* shewes, That this is another sort of a *Lizard*; and the very same, that is in the Orient known by the Name of, *The Guaril*. The Name intimates, That it is the *strongest* of its Kind: And accordingly, the *Arabians* note of the *Guaril* peculiarly,

⁷⁵ Bochart, "Praefatio ad Lectorem" (fol. 34), reports from his Arabic sources that these egg-laying quadrupeds "are born in the soil [and carry] illnesses, not even known to us by their name."

⁷⁶ Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 2, cols. 1063–72.

Neque ullum est Animal eo fortius, ad Serpentes occidendos. If we have any Name for it, in our Language, we must call it, *The Green Lizard*.⁷⁷

Thirdly, for the /לִטְאוֹה/ *Letaa*, (which we render, *The Lizard*,) Bochart shows, That it is the Sort of *Lizard*, which the *Arabians* call, *Wachara*; a Creature something resembling the *Stellio*, and envenoming all the Meats, which it sett's its Claws upon. And indeed the /ל/ *Lamed* greater than ordinary, in the Name of it here inserted, Buxtorf saies, *Litera majuscula denotat, inter reliqua Reptilia vel maximè ab hoc Reptili esse cavendum.* We may venture to call it, *The Salamander*.⁷⁸

Fourthly, for the /חֹמוֹט/ *Chomet*, (which we render, *The Snail*,) Bochart shows, that it means quite another thing; and that it is that sort of *Lizard*, which is called, *The Sand-Lizard*; and the same, that is called *Chulacu* by the *Arabians*: A little Animal, whereof they say, Tis, *Animalculum in arenà degens, ut piscis* (in Aqua); *quod, cum sentit Hominem, in Arenà volvitur, atque in eà immergitur*.⁷⁹

Finally; for the /תִּנְשֵׁמֶת/ *Thinsemeth*, (which we render, *The Mole*,) It is demonstrated by Bochart, for to be no other than the *Chameleon*. The very Name of it, (from /נָשַׁם/ *To Breathe*,) carries it unto this Creature, above any; which, as *Pliny* expresses it, is, *Hianti semper ore*; and according to *Solinus*, *Hia-tus ejus æternus*; and *Ovid*,

Id quoque, quod ventis animal nutritur et aura.

And so *Tertullian* saies, of this Creature, *De vento Cibus*.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Bochart (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 3, cols. 1069, 1070) quotes from an Arabic manuscript, which he identifies as *Merveilles de créatures*, by the Arab naturalist Alkazuinius, aka. al-Qazwîni, and partially translates into Latin. According to Alkazuinius, there are many species of raptors that kill snakes, but “no animal is stronger for the purpose of killing serpents” than the “guaril” which, like the mongoose, engages any reptile. For an excellent discussion of Samuel Bochart’s Arabic and Persian manuscript collection at the University of Caen, see P. Ageron, “Les Manuscrits Arabes” (p. 90). See also *BA* (1:422).

⁷⁸ Bochart (pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 4, col. 1073). Mather’s second-hand Latin quotation (via Bochart col. 1075, lines 3–5) is from *Tiberias Sive Commentarius Masoreticus* (1620), cap. 14, p. 158 (voce /הִלְטָאוֹה/ Lev. 11:30), by the distinguished Hebraist at the University of Basel, Johannes Buxtorf, the elder (1564–1629). The Latin explanation of the linguistic derivation from the Hebrew phrase /וְהִלְטָאוֹה/ [veha-leta’ah] (Strong’s # 3911) warns that Hebrew “capital letters [such as ל lamed] signify that one should beware of this reptile to the utmost degree among other reptiles.”

⁷⁹ Bochart (cap. 5, cols. 1075, 1076). The Latin translation, which Bochart’s derives from the *Qāmūs al-muḥit, sive, Thesaurus Linguae Arabicae* (1632), a celebrated four-volume Arabic lexicon, by the Italian professor of Arabic at Milano, Antonio Giggeius, aka Giggèi (d. 1632), is based on the Arabic lexicon *Al-Qamus al-Muḥit* (aka. *Alcamus, Qamus*), a compilation of several earlier Arabic dictionaries, by Muhammad al-Fayruzabadi, aka. al-Firuzabadi (1329–1414), a distinguished Persian lexicography who settled in Mecca. At any rate, Bochart’s Latin extract from the lexicon *Qamus* explains, that “the little animal spending time in the sand, like a fish [in the water], burrows in the sand in which it is immersed, when it senses a person.”

⁸⁰ Bochart (cap. 6, cols. 1078, 1080) believes that the Hebrew designation /תִּנְשֵׁמֶת/ has its root in /נָשַׁם/ (to breathe) and therefore properly signifies the “chameleon” because, as *Pliny* argues in

[25v]

3566.

Q. Tho' Dr. *Spencer* have perswaded you, not to insist on *Origins* Account of the Reason for the Prohibition of *Unclean Meats*, yett it may not be amiss to give us Dr. *Patrick's* Opinion about it?

A. He thinks, That it is not amiss, to take in this Consideration, That the Creatures, which are here pronounced *Unclean*, were most of them such as were esteemed *Sacred* among the Heathen; As, the *Swine* to *Venus*, the *Owl* to *Minerva*, the *Hawk* to *Apollo*, the *Eagle* to *Jupiter*, and even the *Dog* to *Hecate*. *Origen* therefore falls into a just & high Admiration of *Moses's* Wisdome, who so perfectly understood all Animals, and what Relation they had unto *Demons*, that he pronounced all those to be *Unclean*, τὰ νομιζόμενα παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων μαντικά· which were esteemed by the Egyptians, and other Nations, to be the Instruments of Divination, & those to be clean which were not so. And if in *Moses's* Time, such Creatures were not sacred unto *Demons*, it is yett a greater Wonder, that he should mark out those for *Unclean*, that proved so *Sacred* in the After-Ages; As a great Number of *Birds*, mentioned by *Porphyrie*, who saies, the Gods used them as *Κήρυκες*, to declare their Mind unto Men; & several other Creatures, mention'd by other Authors, as peculiarly appropriated unto other Deities.⁸¹

Q. Won't that Change you have made, in the Translation of the Names of the *Unclean Creatures* afford a Matter of some Reflection?

his *Naturalis historia* 8.51.122), this creature "always has its mouth wide open," for it derives its nourishment from the air. Solinus (*De Mirabilibus Mundi* 40.22) confirms that its mouth is "eternally gaping." Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 15.411) adds that this strange creature not only changes its gender and coloration at will, but "it also gets its nourishment from wind and air." Finally, Tertullianus, in *De Pallio Liber*, cap. 3, [PL 2. 1038A], clinches the argument, saying that the chameleon's "food is wind" (air). Basta!

⁸¹ John Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 5, sec. 1, fol. 99, rejects Origen's argument (*Contra Celsum* 4.93) that Moses outlawed the consumption of certain species of animals because they were believed to have certain numinous and divinatory qualities. Simon Patrick, on Lev. 11:2 (*Leviticus* 160), however, likes Origen's justification, which Mather quotes here. (Patrick spells νομιζόμενα with an omega instead of omicron). At any rate, the Greek citation from Origen's *Contra Celsum* (4.93, lines 6–8) explains that Moses pronounced all those animals as unclean "which are supposed by the Egyptians and the rest of mankind to possess the power of divination" (*ANF* 4:538). Porphyrius thinks the gods used these numinous animals as "messengers" (*De Abstinencia* 3.5, line 26). An interesting organic argument is added by R. Levi Barcelonitae, who observes that certain meats are designated unlawful because God, who knows that the soul draws on the nourishment consumed by the body, did not want the soul to be unfitted by ill blood and contrary desires which are caused by the natural qualities of unclean animals, in R. Levi's סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, in Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum* (1685), sec. VII, praeept. LXXIX, pp. 100–01. On this rationalization, see especially Maimonides, *Guide* (3.48.598–601).

A. Yes. *Aben-Ezra* confesses, *Neither the Eight Sorts of creeping things, nor the Birds here mentioned, are known to us, but by Tradition.* Which is as much as to say, They are not known at all. For the *Talmuds* acknowledge, there is no *Tradition* at all about them; No, they send us, to be informed, by those that are Masters in the *Art of Fowling*.⁸²

This might convince the Jewes, That the *Difference of Meats* is now ceased; because they know not what is forbidden, & what not, in many Cases. Consequently, the *Messiah* must be come; to whom there must be the *Gathering of the People*, and no longer a Separation. All Nations, *Gathered* in One Body, must now converse together, at one Table, without Hazard, of being defiled. *Idolatry* being abolished, there is not such need, of keeping up a Discrimination between *Jewes* and *Gentiles*; wherefore, some of the Ancient Jewes have said, that in the *Dayes of the Messiah*, it should not be unlawful to eat *Swines-Flesh* any more than there was, while they were subduing the Land of *Canaan*.

Abarbanel himself owns it in his *Rosch Amanah*.⁸³

| I will take Notice of one Curiosity more.

[26r]

The *Hare*, is mentioned among the Creatures that *Chew the Cud*. The Illustrious *Bartholinus*, in his Dissection of an *Hare*, found but *one Stomach*; which at first made him to wonder, at *Moses's* enumerating This among the Creatures that Ruminant. But anon, he found that what was wanting in the simple Stomach, was abundantly supplied, by the Largeness of the *Intestinum Cæcum*; in one Part of which he found a white Liquor, like to *Chyle*, as if it were another Stomach; while the other Part leading towards the *Ileon*, was full of blacker Excrements.⁸⁴

[△ End of Insert 25v–26r]

[△]

⁸² Patrick, on Lev. 11:30 (*Leviticus* 181). Aben (Ibn) Ezra admits that of these animals, “we cannot identify any of the following eight names for certain. Even the birds of vv. 13–19 we know only by tradition” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 3:78). Similarly, R. Isaac acknowledges, “For the eating of clean birds we rely upon tradition. A hunter is believed when he says ‘My master transmitted to me that this bird is clean’” (Babylonian Talmud, tractate Chullin, 63b).

⁸³ Patrick, on Lev. 11:30 (*Leviticus* 181, 182). Acts 10:12–15. R. Isaac Abarbanel, in his *Principles of Faith*, ספר ראש אמנה *Sefer Rosh Amanah. Liber De Capite Fidei* (1638), cap. 13, p. 52, appears to agree that in the days of the Messiah, certain ceremonial and dietary laws would be repealed: “Everything the Prophets and Sages did in every generation, whether as a special dispensation, or as a hedge, whether by adding to or taking away from what is clearly written in the Torah, as well as the changes which they predicted would occur in the days of the Messiah – the abolition of the festivals, the permission to eat swine’s flesh, etc. – are all from the Torah itself and all were given and commanded to Moses at Sinai, either by a particular or general command, to perform them in their [proper] time” (*Principles of Faith*, ch. 13, p. 133). Efforts to allegorize unclean animals are made in Wilhelm Schickard’s המשפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamel-ech*] *Jus Regium Hebraeorum e Tenebris Rabbinicis* (1625), cap. 5, theorem 18, esp. pp. 148–53.

⁸⁴ This curiosity appears, via Patrick, on Lev. 11:6 (*Leviticus* 163), in *Historiarum Anatomiarum Centuria I et II* (1654), cent. 2, cap. 86: “Leporis Anatome,” pp. 193–95, by the renowned Danish physician and anatomist Thomas Bartholin (1616–80). Mather owned several of his medical works and quotes them in his medical compendium *Angel of Bethesda* (1972) and in *Biblia Americana* (BA 1:427–28, 535, 1054).

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Q. A General Remark, upon the *Eatables* among the *Hebrews*? v. 40.

A. *Lewis* has one. To exercise the Office of a *Butcher* with Dexterity, was among the *Jews*, of more considerable Reputation, than to understand any of the *Liberal Sciences*; And this Art was to be attained by much Reading & long Experience. They have a *Book of Shamble-Constitutions*: And in Cases of Difficulty, they apply to some learned Rabbi for Advice: Nor was the Practice of this Art allow'd unto any, without a *License in Form*, which gave the Man upon Evidence of his Abilities, a Power to *kill Meat*, and others to *eat* what he kill'd; provided, he carefully Read over the *Book of Shamble-Constitutions*, every *Week* for one Year, and every *Month* for the next Year, and once a *Quarter* during his Life.

Many Particularities relating hereto, might be offered; About the Figure of their *Knives*, and the Method of their whole Proceedings; But it is not worth our while, to croud them in, among our more Instructive & more Important *Illustrations*.⁸⁵

[△] [△ Attachment verso blank]

⁸⁵ *Origines Hebraeae: The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick* (1725), vol. 3, bk. 6, ch. 20, p. 216, by Thomas Lewis, M.A. (1689–post 1737), religious controversialist and vociferous participant in the Bangorian controversy (1716–20) over church governance and the divine right of kings (*ODNB*). Whatever “*Book of Shamble-Constitutions*” Lewis has in mind, it probably deals with the rules governing cosher meats. Mather, in his “Note Book of Authors” (Lev. 11:49), lists “Esprit Flechier Sermon. 1” as a potential source. The reference is to Esprit Fléchier (1632–1710), a French preacher and pulpit orator, by Louis XIV appointed bishop of Lavaux and subsequently of Nîmes. In addition to several collections of sermons, orations, and letters, his publications include *Histoire de Théodose le Grand* (1679), *Histoire du Cardinal Ximènes* (1692), and his popular two-volume collection of his sermons and orations *Panegyriques et autres Sermons* (1696). Mather here refers to Fléchier’s “Sermon pour le jour de la Tous-Saints” (on Lev. ch. 11), in *Panegyriques* (1696), 1:1–37, a sermon preached in 1682 in the Chapelle de Fontaine-Bleau, in the presence of Louis XIV. For biographical background on Fléchier, see *Recueil des Oraisons Funebres Prononcées Par Messire Esprit Flechier; Evêque de Mismes. Nouvelle Édition*. Paris, 1744.

514.

Q. There were Seven sorts of *Cæremonial Uncleanesses*, from which the Lord of old required, the Purification of His People.

I. *Immundities Puerperæ*. II. *Immundities Menstruatæ*. III. *Immundities Concubitus*. IV. *Immundities Lepreæ*. V. *Immundities Funeris*. VI. *Immundities Somnii*. VII. *Immundities Contactus*. What might bee the true Reason, why the Lawes, about all these *Uncleanesses*, were Imposed? v. 1.¹

A. First, A Greater Desire to, and Reverence of, the *Sanctuary*, was doubtless hereby enkindled in the Minds of the People. If *Gods House* had been as Accessible by the People, as *Their own*, probably their *Zeal* for the Enjoyments of it, would have been cold enough. Now saies old *Maimonides*, *Si quis liber sit à contactu Cadaveris, vix tamen effugere poterit, ne contactu alicujus ex Immundis octo Reptilibus, quæ subindè in Domos, Vias, Cibos, et Potum incidunt, contaminetur. Et si hoc effugiat, fortè non evadet à cantactu Mulieris menstruatae, vel Sanguinis profluvio laborantis, aut Leprosi, vel ad minimum cubilis aut lecti ipsorum. At licet ab istis quoque conservetur, non tamen evitabit forsitan Amplexum Uxoris suæ, vel casum et pollutionem Nocturnam. Quamvis autem Mundus sit ab istis etiam pollutionibus, tamen non Permissum est ei ingredi Sanctuarium, donec occubuit Sol ejus; neque etiam Nocte postquam Sol ipsius occubuit. Illà autem Nocte, quam facile fieri potuit, ut vel cum Uxore suâ se commisceat, vel nova aliqua Immunditiei causa ipsi contingat, ità ut manè in eâdem surgat Pollutione, ut Die præcedente. Hæc enim omnia efficiunt, ut Homo à Sanctuario abesse cogatur; nec quovis Tempore illud Calcare vel Intrare possit.* All these Difficulties, in coming at it, might render the *Sanctuary* more precious to the People of God.²

¹ In his *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 8, sec. 1, pp. 161–62, John Spencer itemizes the seven types of ceremonial uncleanness: 1. from childbirth, 2. menstruation, 3. sexual intercourse, 4. leprosy, 5. burial, 6. dreams, and 7. uncleanness from contact (with unclean objects).

² Mather, via Spencer (lib. 1, cap. 8, sec. 2, fols. 162–63), extracts this passage (with slight changes) from Johannes Buxtorf's Latin translation of Maimonides *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 47, p. 491, which translates as follows: "For even if one were preserved from touching a carcass of a beast, one might not be preserved from touching one of the eight creeping animals, which often fall into dwellings and into food and drink upon which a man often stumbles in walking. And if one were preserved from that, one might not be preserved from contact with a menstruating woman or a woman or a man having a running issue or a leper or their bed. And if one were preserved from that, one might not be preserved from sexual intercourse with one's wife or from nocturnal pollution. And even if one were cleansed from these kinds of uncleanness, one would not be allowed to enter the Sanctuary till after sunset. Nor was one allowed to enter the Sanctuary at night, and on that night in most cases the man in question would have intercourse with his wife or one of the other courses of uncleanness would befall him, and he would find himself on the following day

Secondly, *Pellican* sais truly, *Format hæc Lex homines ad Munditiam et Humanitatem, Barbaros Mores, Feralesque componit*. A People, brought up, among the Dirty Brick-kilns of *Egypt*, were hereby Raised up unto that *Neatness, Humanity, Civilitie*, which they had lost, in their barbarous Education.³

Thirdly, Why might not the Lord punish the *Idolatrous Dispositions* of the People in the Wilderness, by laying such *Heavy Burdens* upon them? [Consider, Ezek. 20.24, 25, 26.] Hence, when they were once gotten out of the Wilderness, into the Promised Land, they might live in their Pollutions, from one Week to another, except they were to visit the *Sanctuary*, or celebrate a *Festival*.⁴

Fourthly, By this Discipline, the People, were taught the Lessons of all *Moral Purity*; Yea, they were taught hereby to consider themselves as a Nation of *Nazarites* devoted unto God.⁵

Fifthly, Tis not unlikely, that the *Uncleannesses* observed among the Ancient *Gentiles*, might bee corrected, in those of the *Israelites*. There were the *Zabian*, & the *Egyptian* Usages, about *Uncleannesses*, elder, as it seems, than the Dayes of *Moses*; But they were altogether *Arbitrary*, and *Superstitious*. Whereas, in *Moses*, the Number and the Nature of *Uncleannesses* is determined, & the Notion of them Rectified. Thus for the *Uncleannesses of Men*.⁶

Hence, About the *Law* for the *Uncleannesses of Things*, also the Words of *Maimonides* are, *Lex hæc nullà alià de causâ venit, quàm ut minuat Cultus et Labores circa Res Sacras; et si quid sit, quod Molestiam et Defatigationem aliquam habere videtur, id non aliundè provenit, quàm ex eo, quod nos Ignoremus Ritus, et consuetudines in illis Temporibus, usitatas*.⁷

Indeed, the Lawes about the *Uncleannesses of Things*, were some of them, given in Opposition to the Fond Conceits of the Pagans. Wee'l Instance in one. T'was the Law, [Num. 19.15.] *Every open Vessel, which hath no Covering bound upon it, is unclean*.⁸

in the same position as on the day before. Thus all of this was a reason for keeping away from the Sanctuary and for not entering it at every moment" (*Guide* 3.47.593–94; italics omitted).

3 Spencer (163) cites from *Commentaria in Bibliorum* (1536), 1:133', on Lev. 11:31, by the German Reformed theologian and Christian Hebraist Conradus Pellicanus, aka. Konrad Pellikan, aka. Kürsner (1478–1556). (*ADB*). According to Pellicanus, "this law [Lev. 11:31] leads men toward cleanliness and humanity, and settles wild and barbarous behavior."

4 Spencer (164).

5 Spencer (164).

6 Spencer (164–65).

7 Spencer (lib. 1, cap. 8, sec. 4, § 2, fols. 174–75) adapts the passage from Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (pars 3, cap. 47, p. 490): "This Law was given for no other reason than to facilitate the actions of worship and to lighten the burden; and all the things in it that you may perhaps imagine to involve unpleasantness or heavy burden appear so to you only because you do not know the usages and teachings that existed in those days" (adapted from *Guide* 3.47.592).

8 Spencer (fol. 175, § 3).

Hear now the Words of *Aquinas* upon it. *Erat hoc præceptum* (sais hee) *ad Declinandam Idololatram; crediderunt enim Idololatræ, quòd si Mures et Lacertæ, vel aliquid hujusmodi quæ dicabant Idolis, caderent in Vasa, vel in Aquas, quòd essent Dijs gratiosa. Adhuc etiam aliquæ Mulieres Vasa dimittunt discooperta, in obsequium Nocturnorum Numinum, quæ Janas, vocant.*⁹

Moreover; By these Lawes, the God of Heaven made an Effectual *Separation*, between His own People, and the Nation of the World. All Intimate *Commerce* between them, was thus Interdicted, by the Fear of *Pollution*. And probably the Apostle alludes to this Matter, [2. Cor. 6.17.] when hee so translates the Words of the Prophet [Isa. 52.11.] *Bee yee Separate saith the Lord, & Touch not the unclean Thing.*¹⁰

|
3263.

[27v]

Q. A *Bearing Woman*, was to continue *Separate*, for some Dayes, from all Company. The Lawes about this Matter, might be Illustrated a little?

A. Such a Separation, was necessary to prevent the Alienation of her Husbands affections from her. For the *Purgations*, are very Ill-scented; most of all, about the Beginning, by reason of that Humour, which may be called, *Fluor Viridis*. Especially, in those, who are of a swarthy Complexion, as the *Jewish Women*; and most of all, in hott Countreyes. But while the Husband absents, no Harm can follow; for the Women are the better for it.

It is observed by *Hippocrates*, That Coition in the Time of these Purgations, is in *Greece*, very mischievous; causing a *Prolapsus Uteri*. And why not also in *Judæa*? And impressing some *Impurity* on the Conception, it is æqually injurious to Posterity.¹¹

9 Spencer (fol. 175, § 3) cites from the 1614 Duaci, folio edition of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* (1a, 2. Q.102, Art. 5, p. 331). Aquinas's (adapted) words are, "this command [Lev. 19:15] aimed at the prevention of idolatry. For idolaters believed that if mice, lizards, or the like, which they used to sacrifice to the idols, fell into the vessels or into the water, these became more pleasing to the gods. Even now some women let down uncovered vessels in honor of the nocturnal deities which they call *Janæ*" (2:1071, pt. 1–2, Q.102, A5, Reply *Obj.* 4).

10 Spencer (176, § 7).

11 The ancients among the Fathers of Medicine were widely available in numerous translations, extracts, and medical handbooks of the period. Here Mather refers to *Liber De Natura Puerperio. Hippocrates Coi, Medicorum Principis, Liber prior De morbis mulierum. Mauricio Cordæ Rhemo Interprete et Explicatore* (1585), by the celebrated "Father of Medicine," Hippocrates of Cos (c. BCE 460–c. BCE 375). The medical condition of the "collapsed uterus," which extrudes from the womb, is described in *Liber prior de morbis mulierum*, lib. 1, comment. 2, p. 67 (bottom) of the above edition. A modern translation appears in "Nature of Women," in *Hippocrates* (10.4–7, 316–22). See also J. Delaney et al. *The Curse. A Cultural History of Menstruation* (1988), esp. pp. 37–53. Mather also alludes to the famous Persian physician-philosopher Avicenna, aka. Ibn Sīnā, aka. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā (980–1037), whose encyclopedic *Al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* was translated from Arabic into Latin by the Italian scholar Gerard of Cremona (c. 1113–1187), published in Venice (1493–95), and republished in many

The Time for the Separation of a Bearing Woman is very fittly sett; upon the Birth of a *Female*, double to that of a *Male*. The Climate there made such a Difference; & in both, required more Time, than in Countreyes remoter from the Line, & from the Influences of the Sun and Moon. In *Greenland*, the Women have no menstruous Purgations. In *England*, they continue, at the most, but a Week; and the Bearing Purgations, are seldome any more than Fourteen Days. In *Greece*, they compleat Thirty Days for a *Male*, and Forty two for a *Female*, as is noted by *Hippocrates*. And why not a longer Time in *Judea*, & other more Southern Countreyes? *Avicen* seems to affirm as much.¹²

[28r]

3568.

Q. A Puerperous Woman, must be *unclean Seven Dayes*? v. 2.

A. For the first *Seven Dayes* after the Birth of the Child, she was neither to partake of any Holy Thing, nor to have common Conversation with others; Her Husband himself was not permitted to Eat or Drink with her, all this Time; and they that attended her, became *unclean* also.¹³

Dilherrus observes out of *Plautus*, That among the Heathen too, they that assisted at a Labour, solemnly washed their Hands, and had a Sacrifice offered for them, on the *Fifth Day* after Delivery.¹⁴

Here was one Reason for not *Circumcising* the Child, until the *Eighth Day*; the Child was all this while *unclean* also.¹⁵

subsequent editions (*EB*). Avicenna's disquisitions on conception, pregnancy, the uterus, and female diseases, are covered in *Avicennae Arabum Medicorum Principis, Canon Medicinae. Ex Gerardi Cremonensis versione, & Andrea Alpagi Belunensis castigatione* (1608), lib. 3, Fen 21, tract. 1–4, pp. 906–46. On Avicenna's historical and cultural milieu, see J. McGinnis, *Avicenna* (2010), esp. 3–26.

¹² Perhaps more soteriological than medicinal, Mather's advice for pregnant women can be found in his medical handbook *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), capsula LIII, pp. 235–48.

¹³ Patrick (*Leviticus* 190–91). See also R. Levi Barcelonitae, סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּכָּה *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger *Juris Hebraeorum* (1685), sec. XIII, praecept. CLXVI–LXVII, pp. 230–34.

¹⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 191) cites from *Dissertationis De Cacozeria Gentilium, Pars Specialis* (cap. 3), In *Disputationum Academicarum. Tomus Novus* (1652), p. 216, by the Lutheran professor of theology at Jena and Nuremberg, Johannes Michael Dilherr (1604–1669) (*DNB*). Dilherr here quotes from the Latin playwright Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184 BCE), who in his comedy *Truculentus* (2.4.424) has the harlot Phronesium declare that at the festival of Amphidromia she will celebrate the birth of a newborn, “[Quin] dis hodie sacrificare pro puero volo / Quinto die quod fieri oportet” or “Today I want to sacrifice to the gods for the boy, which ought to be done on the fifth day” (*Plautus* 5.312–13). Much the same advice about female sequestration after childbirth is given in *De Puerperio Syntagma* [1604] (1785), chs. 6–7, pp. 21–28, by the Dutch classical scholar and polymath Johannes Meursius, aka. Jan van Meurs (1579–1639), who extracted his antiquarian knowledge about the treatment of pregnant and menstruating women from the works of classical antiquity.

¹⁵ Patrick, on Lev. 12:3 (*Leviticus* 191). See also Mather's discussion of circumcision on the eighth day, in *BA* (1:862, 941–42).

Monsr. *Jurieu* observes, That the Seven Days appointed for the Purification of the Woman in Child-bed, must not be reckoned from the Moment of her Delivery, but from the Time that the Flood ceased.¹⁶

3569.

Q. When the *Dayes of Purification* were over, a *Sacrifice* was to be offered? v. 6.

A. It was in Gratitude unto God, for making her the living Mother of a living Infant, and Restoring her Strength, to come abroad unto the Sanctuary. By this Offering also, she recommended herself & her Child, (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) unto the Blessing of God, & implored His Assistance in its Education. There was indeed nothing that the People of God, could more desire, on such Occasions, than that He would mercifully take their little ones, in His Tuition; & give His *Angels* the Charge over them that can take so little Care of themselves. This is an Hint of, *Conradus Pellicanus* upon this Place; who thence infers, how necessary tis, that People should be admonished frequently to commend their Children unto God, by both private and publick Prayers, and be careful of their Instruction, *lest they become like the Horse & the Mule, that have no Understanding*.¹⁷

It may likewise be conceived, That Persons, from whom a *Sacrifice* of *Purification* was expected, had some way offended God, before or under their State of *Separation*; and therefore a *Sin-Offering* was demanded from them.

R. *Bechai* gives yett another probable Account of it; That this *Sacrifice* was offered, not so much for her own Sin, as for the Sin of her *First Parent*, the Mother of all the Living, who brought Sin, & Sorrow into the World. We have our Share in that Sin; and God might require such a *Sacrifice*, to mind us of the *Expiation*, which that called for.¹⁸

| [blank]

[28v]

¹⁶ Pierre Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 24, p. 548.

¹⁷ Patrick, on Lev. 12:6 (*Leviticus* 194); Conradus Pellicanus (on Lev. 12:7), in *Commentaria Bibliorum* (1536), 1:134^v.

¹⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 194, 195); R. Bachya ben Asher (Bechai), in *Torah Commentary* (5:1639) offers several explanations, including that the oblations of a childbearing woman is not for her own sake but for that of “her ‘mother,’ i.e., the first woman Chavah [Eve], who had committed the first sin as a result of which all women subsequently had to endure painful deliveries, pains of menstruation, separation from their husbands, etc. ... This woman who gave birth now may be perceived as the branch of a contaminated root, daughter of a corrupted mother and as such some of the mother’s contamination was transmitted to her.”

3570.

Q. Some Thoughts, if you please, upon, *The Plague of Leprosy?* v. 2.

A. We will be beholden to Dr. *Patricks* Notes upon this Matter.¹

If we may beleeve *Pliny*, this Disease was peculiar to *Egypt*, which is by him called, *Genetrix talium vitiorum*. And if we may beleeve *Artapanus* in *Eusebius*, the *Pharaoh* who sought to kill *Moses*, was the first that ever felt this Disease, and he died of it. This may be as true, as the Story of *Manetho*, who, to hide the true Cause of the *Israelites* Departure out of *Egypt*, saies, That they were a Company of Leprous People chased out of *Egypt*, under their Captain *Moses*. Out of *Egypt*, it is likely, the Distemper spred into *Syria*, which is noted likewise to have been infested with Eruptions in the Skin, whereof the Names are very various, as *Cuneus* observes; but all comprehended under that of, *The Leprosy*.²

But *Moses* here distinguishes the true *Leprosy*, & seems to instruct the *Israelites*, that the *Leprosy* which he speaks of, was no common Disease, but inflicted by the Hand of Heaven.

Thus the Hebrew Doctors understand it. *R. Levi Barcelonita* saies, *A leprous Man ought not to look upon his Disease as a casual Thing; but seriously Consider and Acknowledge, that some grievous Sin is the Cause of it*. The Book *Cosri* therefore magnifies the Knowledge of the *Priests*, in being able to distinguish what was *Divine* in the *Leprosy*, and what was meerly *Natural*. The Story of *Naaman* confirms us, that there was in it, something *Divine*; for [2. King. 5.7.] the King

1 Mather's commentary on Lev. 13:2 is derived from his muse, in Patrick (*Leviticus* 198–99).

2 Pliny (26.3.4) believes “the parent of such diseases” (leprosy) came from Egypt. The Jewish historian of Alexandria, Artapanus (fl. 3rd–2nd c. CE), is remembered for his romanticized *Concerning the Jews*, extant only in extracts by Eusebius Pamphilus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Clement of Alexandria. According to Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.27.434b), Pharaoh Chenophres, who sought after Moses' life, was the “very first person attacked by elephantiasis [!]; and he is said to have incurred this misfortune because he ordered the Jews to wear linen garments and not to wear woollen clothing, in order that they might be conspicuous, and be punished by him” (*Preparation* 2:464). Several versions of Manetho's story, extracted from his *Aegyptiaca*, survive. Mather here refers to *Aegyptiaca* (fragm. 54), extant in Flavius Josephus's *Contra Apionem* (1.26–31). Josephus relates that Manethon, the Egyptian priest who translated the sacred books of the Egyptians into Greek, claimed that the Jews were expelled from Egypt because of leprosy. Josephus, however, wants to clear the record, arguing that Manethon tried to hide the true cause of the Israelite exodus, by “interpolating improbable tales in his desire to confuse with us a crowd of Egyptians, who for leprosy and other maladies had been condemned ... to banishment from Egypt” (*Manetho*, fragm. 54, p. 121). In his *De Republica Hebraeorum Libri III* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 24, esp. p. 347, Petrus Cunaeus speaks of “Vituligines enim, psorasque, & tetra ulcera jam olim illis gentibus, velut proprias pestes, adscripsere summi medicorum,” or, “according to the greatest medical authorities, these nations had boils, mange, and disgusting sores, their own personal plagues as it were” (*Hebrew Republic* 149).

of *Israel* plainly declares, That none but *God* could cure a *Leper*. They therefore look'd on the *Leper*, as one *Smitten of God*. They called it, *The Plague*, and beleev'd an extraordinary Hand of *God* in it.³

It is observed by Rabbi *Menachem*, that the Jews allow'd not the Use of Medicines in the *Leprosy*, but left the Cure to *GOD* alone. An Intimation that *GOD* alone, by His peculiar Grace, cleanses it from the *Leprosy* of Sin.⁴

3571.

Q. Which of the *Priests*, were to Judge of the *Leprosy*?

A. Mr. *Selden* observes, out of the *Talmud*, That the *Leper* might resort unto any *Priest* whatsoever, tho' he were a *Maimed* one, & unfit for Service at the Altar, provided his *Eyes* did but still continue good. And the Inspection might be made on any Day of the Week, but the *Sabbaths*, and the *Festivals*; yett not in the Night, nor in any Hour of the Day, but the IVth, Vth, VIIIth, and IXth.⁵

3572.

Q. *It is but a Scab*. What sort of a *Scab*? v. 6.

A. A *Scurf* short of the *Leprosy*. Such (Dr. *Patrick* thinks) as is now in *Guam* and *Mindanao*, described by *Dampier*, to be, A Dry *Scurf* all over the Body, which causes great Itching, and raises the outer skin in small white Flakes, like the Scales of little Fish, when they are raised on End, with a Knife. But he did not perceive, that they made any great Matter of it; for they did not refrain any Company for it.⁶

3 R. Levi Barcelonita's סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּךְ *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum*, sec. XIII, praecept. CLXVIII, p. 237; Judah ha-Levi, כּוּזָרִי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem De Religione* (1660), pars II, sec. 58, pp. 123–24. On *Liber Cosri*, see A. Shear's *The Kuzari* (21–54). For leprosy as a divine punishment, see Mather's gloss on 2 Kings 5:3, 10, 18, 27 (*BA* 3:571, 572, 573). In his *Angel of Bethesda* (1722), *Trip Paradise* (1995), pp. 122–26, and *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), pp. 28–38, Mather explains how – in spite of Descartes's mind-body dualism – a spiritual sin affects the physical body via the Nishmath-Chajim.

4 Rabbi Menachem could either be (1) R. Menachem ben-Zerach of Estella, Spain (1306–74), principal of the Yeshiva at Alcala, and author of *Provision for the Way* (Ferrara, 1554), a book on Jewish rites and ceremonies in 327 chapters; or (2) R. Menachem of Merseburg, Germany (fl. 1360), a revered medieval scholar and author of נְמוּקֵי מַתְנֵי *commentary on rabbinical decisions*, published in Venice (1549) and Hanau (1610). (*CBTEL*).

5 Simon Patrick, on Lev. 13:2 (*Leviticus* 199); John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, synt. 2, cap. 14, sec. 5, pp. 592–96. Maimonides, in *Hilchot Tum'at Tzara'at* (9.2–12), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1:358–64), has much to say on the priest's necessary qualifications and the circumstances under which he must examine the physical blemishes of an infected person.

6 Patrick, on Lev. 13:6 (*Leviticus* 202). William Dampier (1652–1715) describes his observations of the Muslim inhabitants of Mindanao, a large island in the eastern Philippines. His account of the local lepers appears in his oft-reprinted *A New Voyages round the World* (1697), ch. 12, p. 334. Mather's point is to trace the spread of a disease believed to have originated in Egypt at the time of the Exodus.

3573.

Q. *He shall be seen by the Priest again.* But what if he were so profane, as carelessly to neglect going to the *Priest*? {v. 7.}

A. *Maimonides* tells us, His Punishment was to have his *Leprosy* cleave to him forever.⁷

[29v]

3574.

Q. What is the Meaning of that strange Præcept, *If the Leprosy break out abroad in the skin, and the Leprosy cover all the skin of him that hath the Plague, from his Head, even to his Foot, – He shall pronounce him clean?* v. 12, 13.

A. He calls that the *Leprosy*, which was not really so, but was by some Thought so, because of a Likeness to it.

This Breaking out, from Top to Toe, was not to be look'd upon, as the *Leprosy*; It was rather a *Releef* to the Body, than a *Disease*. There was no Danger in this Eruption. It was only Nature discharging those putrid Salt Humours, which are in the Blood. As among us, when the *Measels* and *Small-Pox* come out well, the Patient is like to do well.⁸

3575.

Q. We read of a *bright Spott White, and somewhat Reddish?* v. 19.

A. The Hebrew Word, (which we translate, *Reddish*,) is *Adamdameth*. *Bochart* makes it evident, That such a *Doubling* of the *Radicals* in any Word, increases the Sense. If therefore there be, *Redness*, in the Signification of this Word, it must signify, *very Red*: Which how a *White* thing should be, is not easily conceivable. It should then be rendred, *very glistering*; for the Word, *Adam*, also implies, to *Glister*, as well as to be *Red*. Accordingly, we read in the Scripture, of *Leprous* Persons being, *As white as Snow*. [Exod. 4.6. Num. 12.10. 2. King. 5.27.]⁹

7 Patrick (*Leviticus* 202); Maimonides, *Hilchot Tum'at Tzara'at* (9.3), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1:358). For a discussion of Maimonides views on leprosy, see J. A. Diamond, "Maimonides on Leprosy."

8 Patrick (*Leviticus* 204). Measles and smallpox were no uncommon visitors in Mather's Boston, and Mather did his best to serve as a physician of body and soul during such epidemics. On the measles epidemic of 1713–14, which devastated his own family, see his *Diary* (2:248–60, 291), *Letter About a Good Management* (1713), *Wholesome Words* (1713), and *Perfect Recovery* (1714). His publications on how to combat the smallpox epidemic of 1721–22 include *An Account* (1722), *Some Account* (1722), and his "XX. Variolae triumphatae," in his *Angel of Bethesda* (93–116), and *Diary* (2:618–62).

9 Patrick (*Leviticus* 206). For Bochart's etymological explication of the Hebrew phrase (Lev. 13:19) אֲדָמַת לְבָנָה לְבָנָה [baheh'reth lebanah adamdameth] (Strong's ## 0125, B4824, 0934), see his *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 6, col. 688, line 59 ff. The Halachic parameters are given in *Mishnah Tohoroth*: tractate Nega'im ("Leprosy-Signs"), *The Mishnah* (676–97). In his "Note Book of Authors" (Lev. 13:23), Mather recommends "T. Fullers. 1. Reconciler"; i. e., "The First Reconciler," a sermon on Lev. 13:3, explicating a priest's power to pronounce a

3576.

Q. What is the Meaning of that, *If there be any Flesh in the Skin, whereof there is an hot Burning?* v. 24.

A. The Hebrew runs thus; *or the Flesh, when it shall be in the Skin, a burning Fire.* That is, when there is an Inflammation made in the Skin & the Flesh, by an hott burning Coal, or some such thing falling upon it. In the foregoing Paragraph, he speaks of *Ulcers*, which arose of themselves, from bad Humours in the Body; And here, of such as were made by *Fire*.

Here, if the Spott were bright, very shining, or white, it was a Sign of the *Leprosy* broken forth in that burnt Place, which otherwise would have looked *black*.¹⁰

3577.

Q. What was the *Plague upon the Head or Beard?* v. 29.

A. Such a Disease, *Pliny* saies, came into *Italy*, in the Middle of the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, which they called, *Mentagra*, because it commonly began in the Chin; and so Filthy it was, *ut quacunque mors præferenda esset*. [*Nat. Hist.* L.XXVI. c. 1.]¹¹

|
2291.

[30r]

Q. A Few Touches upon the *Gospel* of the *Ceremonial Uncleanesses* under the *Law*, may bee useful to Illustrate the Holy Oracles? v. 1.¹²

A. See the Summ of that *Gospel*, in Heb. 9. 13, 14. –

There were *Ceremonial Uncleanesses* under the *Law*, which figured out the *Moral Uncleanesses* of *Sin* against the *Law*.

I. There were *unclean Touchings*. There were certain *Animals*, which might not bee *Touched* or *Tasted*. Such as parted the *Hoof*, were clean; which may intimate

leper “unclean.” This sermon is the first item in *A Triple Reconciler, Stating the Controversies* [1.] *Whether Ministers have an Exclusive power of Communicants from the Sacrament.* [2.] *Any persons Unordained may lawfully Preach.* [3.] *The Lords Prayer ought not to be used by all Christians* (1654), pp. 1–56, by Thomas Fuller, D. D. (1608–1661), a English Reformed theologian and historian who of the first order. Fuller’s *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), his popular biographies, *The Historie of the Worthies of England* (1662), and his oft-reprinted *Historie of the Holy Warre* (1632), a history of the crusades, were well received. (EB).

¹⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 207).

¹¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 208); Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* (26.3.3, 1.1) reports that a new, hitherto unknown, disease appeared in Italy “in the middle of the principate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar [c. 25 CE], when a Roman knight of Perusia ... Introduced the infection from Asia Minor.” Though painless and not life-threatening, it was so defacing “that any kind of death would be preferable.”

¹² Mather refers to the title of his uncle’s sermon “The Gospel of the Ceremonial Uncleaness and Cleansings,” on Heb. 9: 13, 14, preached on Sept. 13th and 20th, 1668; in Samuel Mather’s *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), pp. 282–83.

that God requires a Distinguishment of Things in His People. [see Phil. 1.9, 10.] And such as chewed the *Cud*, were also clean; By which a Ruminat[i]on and Meditation on the Things of God, is commended unto us. [See Psal. 1.2.] There were some Creatures likewise *unclean*, that had Ill-Properties in them, affording of good Documents to those that considered them [See 2. Pet. 2.22.] God, by instituting this *Difference of Meats*, did erect a *Partition-Wall* between His People, and the other Nations of the World. But the *Uncleanness* of certain *Animals* moreover taught these Two Things. First that there is a Difference of *Persons*; there are *Men*, clean and unclean. Wicked Men are compared in the Scripture unto *unclean Beasts*. Weigh *Peters* Vision; and *Daniels* Representation of the Four Monarchies. And then, Secondly, that there are Persons, with whom wee must forbear *Communion*. A *Not Eating* is a Restraint of *Communion*. Our *Communion* with our Lord Jesus Christ, is expressed by, *Eating His Flesh*. Men of unclean Lives, wee must abstain from Communion with them. Saies the Lord, *They shall teach my People the Difference between the Holy & Profane*.¹³

II. There were *unclean Issues*. As a Man contract, *Uncleanness* from *without*, so hee also suffers *Uncleanness* from *within*.

III. There was the peculiar *Uncleanness* of the *Leprosy*.

Behold, our wonderful Pollution by *Sin*! An ungodly Man, defiles all that hee meddles with. *To the Unclean, every thing is unclean*. And one wicked Man horribly infects another. Yea, our *Original Sin*, is a fountain of Corruption, continually flowing in the *Issues* of Actual Abominations. [Isa. 1.5, 6.] And every Man ha's a *Leprosy* within him. [1. King. 8.38.] Such therefore are incapable of Conversing with Holy Things, or Drawing near to God, in Special Ordinances, until their *Uncleanness* bee taken away. How is this done? But by the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, apply'd by *Faith*?¹⁴

The *Purifications* for these *Uncleannesses*, were several.

For the *Uncleanness* by *Touchings*, the *Purification*, was by a Sacrifice of a *Red Heifer*, whereof wee speak elsewhere.¹⁵

For the *Uncleanness* by *Issues*, the *Purification* was by Two *Doves* or *Pigeons*, one a *Sin-Offering*, t'other a *Burnt-Offering*; or, a *Lamb*, and a Young *Pigeon*. The Rites thereof are handled in our Discourses on those Offerings.

The *Leprosy* deserves a particular Consideration.¹⁶

2296.

Q. The *Gospel* of the *Leprosy*?¹⁷

13 Ps. 58:3–4, Acts 10:11–15, Dan. 2:31–35, Ezek. 44:23.

14 Samuel Mather, *Figures or Types* (1705), p. 283.

15 See Lev. 27:34 and Numb. 7:89, 19:2 (below).

16 Samuel Mather, *Figures* (313).

17 This is the title of Samuel Mather's sermon preached on April 12th, 1665, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 291ff.

A. The *Leprosy* is a very horrible Distemper. Tis indeed among *Diseases*, as the *Elephant* among the Beasts, for the Magnitude of it; and therefore fitly called, The *Elephantiasis* on *That*, as well as other Accounts. It is almost a *Cancer* of the whole Body: The several *Parts* of the Body are Spotted, and Swelled with it: the *Skin* growes Rough; the *Flesh* growes Lean; the *Face* growes Ugly; the *Mouth*, and *Legs*, and *Feet*, are *Tumified*; the *Voice* is hoarse; their *Breath* becomes unsavoury; the very *Bones* are vitiated in it; and the *Animal Spirits* have a melancholy Cloud upon them. An Inexpressible Malignity in the Humours of the Body, is the *Cause* of all these dismal Symptoms.

Now, *Original Sin*, scandalously discovered, is that *Leprosy*, which must not bee endured in the Church of God. Indeed all *Sin*, may bee fitly compared unto a *Leprosy*; the *Lothesomeness*, and *Painfulness*, and *Infectiousness* of a *Leprosy* is in every *Sin*. Hence one who had been a *Sinner*, cried out like a *Leper*, Psal. 51.2. *Cleanse mee from my Sin*. But that *Original Sin*, which is the Cursed and Hellish Fountain of all our other *Sin*, this is by way of Eminency, to be esteemed a *Leprosy*. That *Sin* which is elsewhere called, *The Plague of the Heart*, is a *Plague of Leprosy*. *Original Sin* hath rendred the Sinner, Isa. 1.6. *From the sole of the Foot, even unto the Head, having no Soundness, but Wounds, and Bruises, & putrifying Sores*.¹⁸

But the *Leprosy* that must not bee endured in the Church of God, notes, not merely *Original Sin* yett existing; where that *Leprosy* is complained and combated, and every day under a fair Prospect of *Cure*, the Person must not for *That* bee *shutt out of the Camp*. No, Tis *Original Sin*, scandalously discovered, that calls for so severe a Proceeding with it; when one hath upon him, the *Spott*, which is *not the Spott of the Children of God*; when one does those things, under which a Man that Lives and Dies Impænitent, *cannot Inherit the Kingdome of God*; Then, There is that *Leprosy* that must bee *shutt out of the Camp*. The Rule was, *The Leper shall dwell alone, without the Camp*. The Lesson of it is, That the Church of | God must *Reject* and *Expel*, ungodly Sinners, from Communion in *Special Ordinances*. The Shutting of the *Leper* out of the *Camp*, was a *Figure* of an Holy Action, to bee done in the Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ; an *Action* for which wee have an Institution of our Lord; even the Action of an *Excommunication*. This, what is it? But, A solemn *Rejection* from the *Communion* of the Church in *Special Ordinances*, and this, by a *Sentence* passed in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a dreadful Token & Emblem, of a more dreadful Sentence, to bee passed by the Lord Himself, in the Day when Hee shall Judge the World. The Ancients well call it, *Futuri Judicij prejudicium*; and the Institution for it, is That; 1. Cor. 5.13. *Putt away from among yourselves, that wicked Person*.¹⁹

¹⁸ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (288).

¹⁹ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (292, 314). Tertullian, *Apologeticus Adversus Gentes Pro Christianis*, cap. 39 [PL 001. 0469A], speaks of an "Anticipation of the judgment to come" (*Apology* 39, in *ANF* 3:46).

When wee thus go to shutt a *Leper* out of the Camp, wee should seriously & thoroughly examine, whether sufficient Convictions of a *Leprosy* bee found upon them. *Excommunication*, is a Thing of such a Terrible Consequence, that it should not bee used for meer *Infirmities*, which will not *shutt* Men out from Heaven at the Last; nor should it bee used for any *Disputable* or *Indifferent* Matters. To use it on these accounts, is but a *Prostitution* of a Tremendous Institution. It must bee used only for such Things, as Illuminated Christians generally agree to bee scandalous, & for those things, from whence hee who Turns not, shall not Enter into the Kingdome of God. There is a *Leprosy* in the *Head*, which renders a Man *utterly unclean*. This lies in Fundamental *Heresies*. [Consider Tit. 3.10.] And there is a *Leprosy* in the *Hand*. This lies in Abominable *Practices*. [Consider 2. Thess. 3.6.] Now the Circumstances of either *Leprosy* should bee well-examined.

There were *Five Rules*, for Judging of a *Leprosy*.²⁰

First; *If it bee but Skin-deep, it is not Leprosy, hee is clean; but if deeper, hee is unclean*. There are Faults, in a Mans *Walk*, like *Spotts* in the *Skin*; but if his *Heart* appear untainted, & the *Spirits*, & *Vitals* of the Sinner bee not deeply infected, it is comfortable.

Secondly; *If it stand at a Stay, hee is clean; if it spread, hee is a Leper*. If a Mans Corruption don't *spread*, and if God bee mortifying of it, and instead of proceeding further, tis decaying every day, this is a Good Sign, that God intends Good unto him.

Thirdly. *If there bee Proud, Raw Flesh, in the Rising*, the *Leprosy* is evident, there is no Suspense about it. *Præsumption* in Evil, and *Impatience* of Reproof, is proud *Raw Flesh* rising in the *Leprosy*. To take *Reproof* well, is well; but it is bad, when a Sinner won't bear to bee Touch'd, but is high, and can't bee told of his Miscarriages, without flying out into *Invectives* against the *Reprovers*.

Fourthly; *If all bee Turned white, a Man is clean*. Possibly, the Meaning might bee, that the Strength of Nature, having expelled the Disease into the outward Parts, the Breath was no longer so infectious as before. But wee may carry it unto this mystical Sense; If a Sinner do not see himself *all over vile*, hee is yett under the Power of his *Leprosy*. Hee must see his own *overspreading Vileness*, & fly to the Lord Jesus Christ, in Conviction of it, that *in his Flesh, there dwells no Good Thing*.²¹

Fifthly, *If the Leprosy bee in the Head, hee is doubly unclean*. Men of Corrupt Judgments are of all the most hopeless *Lepers*; They that will Justify themselves in their Impieties, have a very confirmed *Leprosy*.²²

²⁰ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (293–95).

²¹ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (294).

²² Samuel Mather, *Figures* (295).

Now, the *Methods* of shutting a *Leper* out of the *Camp*, are to bee slower or swifter, according to the *Degrees* of the *Leprosy*. In some Cases, & ordinarily, there is to bee a more *Gradual Procedure*; The Sinner is to bee only suspended with an *Admonition*; until it appear, that the Sinner does not *Hear the Church*. A Sinner is not Ripe for an *Excommunication*, until it appear that hee *Rebel presumptuously*. But there are more Atrocious and Flagitious Crimes; Crimes that wast the Conscience, & cry to Heaven for Vengeance. The Church cannot Rationally Beleeve, That a Sinner does *Repent* of these Crimes, till they see some Remarkable Fruits of *Repentance* in his Conversation, which cannot presently bee seen. What shall bee done, until a Sinner can make it credible, that hee hath truly Repented? And what shall bee done, for the Honour of the Lord, & His Church; Yea, and for the Welfare of the Sinner himself? Wee are to *Admonish* him, in the Censure that is pass'd upon him; nevertheless, Lett the *Censure* go on, with an wholesome Severity, to an awful Extremity. [See Lev. 13.46. with 1. Cor. 5.13.]²³

But now, what must bee done, in and for the Cleansing of the *Leper*?

The detected *Leper*, was to *Rend his Cloaths*, and *Bare his Head*, and *Cover all his Lip*, (all Actions betokening both *Grief* and *Shame*) and hee was to cry, *Unclean, Unclean*; giving Warning unto others to shun him; and finally, hee was to *dwell alone*, or bee excluded [from] fellowship with the People of God. [2.Chron. 26.20.]²⁴

Now for his *Cleansing*.²⁵

1. Hee *must bee brought unto the Priest*. [See Math. 8.4.] Now the True *Priest*, is our Lord Jesus Christ. Hee healed many *Leper*s in the dayes of His Flesh; and our Souls must bee still brought, with the *Leprosy* of Sin upon them, for Him to Heal them.

2. The *Priest must go forth, out of the Camp, to the Leper*. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ goes forth unto Sinners, when in their Distance from Him; His Office is, to *Seek, & to Save, the Lost*. [Compare Luk. 15.20.]

3. The *Priest* was to pass a *Judgment* on the *Leprosy*, whether it were Healed or no. It will one day bee done, by the Lord Jesus Christ, who is *our Judge*.

And then, for the Purification of the *Leper*, there followed;²⁶

1. A *Sacrifice of two Birds*, (thought to bee *Sparrowes*,) together with *Cedar*, *Scarlet*, & *Hyssop*; By the two Birds, both the Natures of our Lord, were intimated: The *Living Bird*, of His eternal *Deity*, the *Dying Bird*, of His mortal *Humanity*. And our Lords twofold State, of *Death* first, and then *Life*, may bee also intimated. As for the Killing of the *Bird* over *Living Water*, it seems to represent,

²³ See Samuel Mather, *Figures* (296).

²⁴ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (295).

²⁵ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (314).

²⁶ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (314–15).

the *Sanctification*, which accompanies our *Justification*, by the *Blood* of our Lord. [Compare, 1. Joh. 5.6.] This was to bee in an *Earthen Vessel*. Soul-cleansing *Blood* and *Water*, issue from the Blessed Body of our Lord Jesus Christ. His *Body*, was a Brittle *Earthen Vessel*, and Broken by Death.

[31r] | As for the *Living Bird*, This was to bee dipt in the *Blood* of the *Slain Bird*. The Union of the *Divine* Nature, to the *Humane*, in our Lord Jesus Christ, & the influence of that Union, on the Concernments of our Peace, is here excellently represented. The *Dipping* of the one into the other, ha's made the Sufferings of our Lord, for to bee called, *The Blood of God*.²⁷

But the *Cedar*, *Scarlett*, & *Hyssop*, were also to bee *dipped* with it. All the Concernments of our Salvation, receive a Tincture, from the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. [Of these things, wee speak more particularly, where wee Discourse on the *Sacrifice* of the *Red Heifer*.]²⁸

At last, the *Living Bird* was to bee *lett loose into the open Field*. This represents, not only our Lords escaping from Death to Life, after Hee had Humbled Himself to Death; but also the open Publication thereof, in the Open Firmament, & the View of all Men. [Rev. 14.6.] And the Setting of the *Leper* free, from his Restraint, was likewise attended with This, as an *Hieroglyphic* of it.²⁹

Finally, For the *Leper* himself; The *Priest* was to *sprinkle him Seven Times*, & *pronounce him clean*. The Application of the *Blood* of our Lord, is herein taught unto us; without This, all is nothing. And this must bee particularly made, frequently, & perfectly, & over & over again.

Again, Hee was to *wash his Cloathes*, & *himself*, & *shave his Hair*, & *then come into the Camp*; yett *not into his Tent*. The Parting with Corruptions, & bathing in the Spirit of Grace, & bathing even the *Garment spotted by the Flesh*, is here pointed at. And yett there did remain some danger of Infection still.

Wherefore, After *Seven Dayes*, hee must use the same *Ceremonies* again. *Cleansing Work* must bee Renewed from Time to Time. Our *Mortification* is a *Gradual Work*. And it is especially to bee performed on the *Seventh day*, or the *Sabbath*.³⁰

2. A *Sacrifice* of *Three Lambs*; namely, Two *Hee-Lambs*, the one for a *Burnt-Offering*, the other for a *Trespass-Offering*; and an *Ew-Lamb*, for a *Sin-Offering*, and a *Log of Oyl*.³¹

The *Sacrifices* were to bee *slain*, & *offered* according to Institution. The *Rites* of that, are elsewhere explained.

²⁷ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (315, 316).

²⁸ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (316). See Lev. 27:34 and Numb. 7:89, 19:2 (below).

²⁹ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (317, 318).

³⁰ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (318–19, 320).

³¹ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (320).

But then, the *Priest*, must putt some of the *Blood* of the *Sacrifices* on the *Tip of the Right Ear*, of him that is cleansed, & some on the *Thumb of his Right Hand*, and on the *Great Toe of his Right Foot*. The *Sprinkling* of these *Parts*, was to represent the *Sprinkling* of the *whole Body*. And by that, the universal *Cleansing* of the *whole Person* was also represented. Thus in *Baptism*, wee use a *Sacramental Synecdoche*.

Here, some Gloss it, the *Ear* is to bee sanctified, for Holy *Hearing*, the *Hand* for *Working*, & the *Foot* for *Walking*.³²

Finally. The *Priest* was to take the *Oyl*, and *Sprinkle Part of it before the Lord*, and *with Part Anoint the Leper, his Ear, Thumb, & Foot*, where the *Blood* had been putt before; and *Pour the rest upon his Head*. The mystical *Oyl*, in continual Use under the Law, typified the Holy Spirit. [Isa. 61.1. and, Act. 10.38.] Therefore, the putting of the *Oyl* on these *Parts*, was to signify the *Graces* of the | Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, whereby those are *Sanctified*, that have been *Justified* by His *Blood*. And whereas, *Blood* must bee first applied, and then *Oyl*, this teaches us, that our *Sanctification* flows from our *Justification*.³³ [31v]

Upon the whole; what if a *Leper* could not gett all the *Sacrifices*, and Requisites, for his *Purification*? The Answer is: The Lord made a gracious Provision for the *Necessities* of His People, by lesser *Sacrifices*. Instead of *Three Lambs*, Hee allowed, *One Lamb & two Turtle-doves*, or else *two Young Pigeons*, which were most easy to bee gotten. Instead of *Three Omers of fine flowre for a Meat-Offering*, Hee accepted of *One Omer*, (about a Pottle,) and a *Log of Oyl*, which was about half a Pint. Behold, the *Condescension* of God! see 2. Cor. 8.12.³⁴

[Misplaced Lev. 14:4, inserted in 33r]

| [32r]
3578.

Q. We read concerning, *The Plague of Leprosy in a Garment*. What should it be? v. 47.

A. This is a Matter, which (as Dr. *Patrick* saies,) we do not now understand. The *Leprosy* appearing thus, in *Insensible Things*, the *Syrians* and *Egyptians* might perhaps then understand (as *Cunæus* expresses his Opinion of it,) but we are now *Ignorant*.³⁵

³² Samuel Mather, *Figures* (320, 321).

³³ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (321).

³⁴ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (322).

³⁵ The following paragraphs are from Patrick (*Leviticus* 213–14); Petrus Cunæus, *De Republica Hebræorum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 24, p. 348: “Cujusmodi autem id vitium in rebus fuerit inanimatis, Syri fortasse & Ægyptij tunc intellexerunt; nos hercle ignoramus”; or “Though the Syrians and Egyptians of that time may have understood what sort of disease it was that could infest inanimate objects, I most certainly do not” (*Hebrew Republic* 149).

Indeed, it seems to have been a Divine Stroke; as *Moses* himself signifies: [Lev. 14.32. Compare 2. King. 5.7, 27. and 15.5.] And so the Jewes have alwayes understood it. *Maimonides* particularly saies, *That this Change in Garments and Houses, did not proceed from Natural Causes, but was a Sign & Miracle in Israel;* That is, An extraordinary Punishment inflicted by God, as a Token of His High Displeasure.³⁶ And it is not at all incredible, that such a strange Plague should infest them, which is not now known in the World. There have been Diseases, unknown to former Times, and those Diseases have also vanished, so that they are now to be found only in Books. *Pliny* mentions diverse New Diseases, *Omni priori ævo incognitos*; concerning which, he did not know what he should say, but only This; *What shall we call this? or, from what Anger of the Gods doth it proceed, that the Diseases which already certainly infest Mens Bodies, (and that are in Number above Three hundred) should not be sufficient, but New ones are still to be feared?* [Nat. Hist. L. 26. c. 1.]³⁷ The last Century was famous for such an extraordinary Plague (as *Johannes Wierus*, who then lived, often calls it,) when the *Scurvy*, which was confined before, unto some Northern Regions near the Sea, over-ran the *Low-Countreyes*; being at that time unknown in *Germany, Italy, France*, and *Spain*, which were intirely free from it.³⁸

[32v]

3579.

Q. It is said, *If the Plague be Greenish, or Reddish?* v. 49.

A. *Maimonides*, with much Reason, saies, That the Hebrew Word, *Jerakrak*, (doubling the Radicals,) should be interpreted, *A most intense Green*; such as is in the Wings of a *Peacock*, or the *Leaves* of a *Palm-tree*. As the Word, *Adamdam* (of the like Form) signifies, a *Redness* as deep as that of *Scarlet*.³⁹

³⁶ See *Maimonides*, *Hilchot Tum'at Tzara'at* (14.1–15, 16.10), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1:396–402, 412).

³⁷ *Pliny's Naturalis Historia* (26.1.1, 6.9) “to all unknown in the past.”

³⁸ Mather refers to *Medicarum Observationum rararum Liber I* (1567), lib. 1, sec. 1 “De Scorbuto,” p. 8, by *Johannes Wierus*, aka. *Johann (Jan) Wier*, *Weyer* (1515–88), a Dutch physician and demonologist, mostly remembered, today, for his pioneering *De Praestigiis Daemonum, et Incantationibus, ac Venificijs, Libri V* (Basileae, 1563) and its addendum *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* (Basileae, 1577) – books against the existence of witchcraft and against the persecution of witches. *Wier's Medicarum Observationum* went through several reprints and translations in the 16th and 17th centuries.

³⁹ *Patrick* (*Leviticus* 215); *Maimonides*, *Hilchot Tum'at Tzara'at* (12.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1:382).

Q. Some General Remark, on the Law of *Cleansing the Leper*? v. 1.

A. Mankind excluded from the *Paradise* of God, is a *Leper*.

Our Great *High-Priest* has condescended so far, as to *go forth*, for the Visiting & Releiving of the *Leper*.

The *Period of Seven* used in the *Cleansing* of the *Leper*, leads us to the Great *Sabbatism*, at the coming of our Saviour, when Mankind shall be restored unto *Paradise*.

But what is most surprising is, That even after the *Leper* is returned into the *Camp*, he must wait yett *Seven Dayes*, before his Purification is Finished. Here is a Mystery, that ha's not been yett considered. The *Saints* in the *Paradise* of the *Millennium*, are still in a State of *Progress towards Perfection*. They will have something still remaining to be done by them & on them, ere they pass into those Full Fruitions of that Heavenly & Eternal World, wherein God will be *All* in *All* unto them. Of this Mystery, I give you the Sense of Christian Antiquity, in our Illustrations on the V Chapter of *Matthew*.¹

3586.

Q. For the *Cleansing* of the *Leper*, there were to be taken, *Two Birds alive, that were clean*. What Birds? v. 4.

A. The Margin of our Bibles, reads, *Two Sparrowes*. And some have their pretty Conceits thereupon; particularly, That it signifies him, who had lately satt alone, *like a Solitary Sparrow on the House-top*, (as the Psalmist speaks,) to be now admitted into the Society of others again.

But *Origen* takes these *Birds* to have been *Hens*, (and so *Scaliger* shows out of *Nicaner*, that the Greek Word Στρουθος, anciently signified;) And the LXX read only, δύο ὀρνίθια, *Two little Birds*, of any Sort whatsoever, provided they were *Clean*, or Lawful to be Eaten, as the *Vulgar* truly interprets it. For to restrain it unto *Sparrowes* may seem absurd; because it had been in vain to say, *Two Sparrowes that were clean*, when the whole Species were so, by the Law.²

¹ See Mather's commentary on Matt., ch. 5, in *BA*, vol. 7, and his discussion of the Raised and Changed Saints, in "The New Heavens" and "The New Earth," in "Trip Paradise" (*Three-fold Paradise* 244–94).

² Patrick (*Leviticus* 219–20). Origenes's *Homiliae in Leviticum* (*Werke*, p. 409, lines 19, 22). Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber Quintus Decimus* (1557), Exercitatio CCXXX: "De Struthiocamelo," pp. 302^v–303^r, cites from *Alexipharmaca* (line 535), by Nicaner of Colophon (c. 2nd c. BCE), the Greek physician-poet and grammarian, but ultimately consults Aristotle to confirm his interpretation. LXX (Lev. 14:4, 49). Rashi, Nachmanides, Ibn Ezra, and Chizkuni – all agree that the term "tzippor" merely signifies "bird" in general, but one that is clean and can be eaten. The Reformation and post-Reformation theologians abstracted

3587.

Q. But why must the *Purification* of the *Leper* be made with *Cedar-Wood*, and *Scarlet*, and *Hyssop*? v. 4.

A. *Maimonides* professes, he could never understand the Reason. But *Abarbanel* adventures to guess at the Reason; and he imagines, That these *Four Things*, the *Living Birds*, the *Cedar*, the *Scarlet*, and the *Hyssop*, signified, the *Leper* to be cured of the *Four Evils* under which he had laboured; in his *Flesh*, his *Humours*, his *Colour*, and his *Smell*, which were now represented by those *Four Things*, & were now all become Sound & Good. The *Living Birds*, he thinks, were a Sign, that his *Dead Flesh* was restored unto Life, and Health, and Vigour. The *Cedar Wood*, which is not liable to Corruption, denoted the Cure of the Putrefaction, which the *Leprosie* had made in the Humours of his Body. The *Scarlet Threed* or *Wool*, was an indication of the good Complexion restored unto him: for this is a vivid and grateful Colour, as that of the *Leprosy* was livid and loathsome. And lastly, the *Hyssop*, which in that Countrey, was a very odoriferous Plant, signified, that the nasty Stench of the Disease was gone.³

Be these things how they will, the Jewes were possessed with so great a Detestation of the Filthy *Leprosy*, that it was necessary they should be very strongly perswaded (as *Pellicanus* observes) of a Mans Purification from it, by great many prolix, public, & laborious Ceremonies, e're they could count him fitt for their Society.⁴

in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:562) and *Works* (6:248–49) are divided on the particular kind of bird intended here.

³ Patrick (*Leviticus* 220–21); Maimonides (*Guide* 3.47.597) argues that “the reason why purification from it [leprosy] was effected by means of cedar wood, hyssop, scarlet thread, and two birds, is given in the *Midrashim*; ... and up to now I do not know the reason for any of these things.” Abarbanel offers the following answer: the four symbolic offerings represent “one of the four aspects of leprosy: the birds, that his flesh is no longer dead but once again alive; the cedar, which (as experience confirms) does not decay, that his infection is gone; the crimson, that his blood is once again healthy; and the hyssop, that his foul smell is gone” (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 3:101 and *Selected Commentaries Vayikra/Leviticus* 126). *Midrash Rabbah* (*Leviticus* VII) offers several reasons why God singled out these precepts for the purification of a leper: (1) since God created everything for his glory, he has determined these items for his own purpose; (2) “The hyssop, for instance, appears to be of no worth, yet its power is great in the eyes of God, who put it on a level with cedar in numerous cases. ... [1 Kings 5:13 is] to teach you that the small and the great are equal in the sight of God. He performeth miracles with the smallest things, and through the hyssop which is the most lowly of trees, did He redeemed Israel”; (3) the bunch of hyssop dipped in blood is to remind the Israelites that through Abraham's circumcision, the Passover sacrifice, and the blood on the lintel, they were united into a brotherhood unto God and through the shedding of this blood He saved them from slavery (*Leviticus Rabbah* VII.2, 3).

⁴ Conradus Pellicanus, on Lev. 14:9, in *Commentaria Bibliorum* (1536), 1:136^r.

[▽ Insert from 31v]

[▽ 31v]

2456.

Q. A Further Touch, if you please, upon the *Cedar-Wood*, and *Scarlet*, & *Hyssop*, employ'd, in *Cleansing* of the *Leper*? {Lev. 14:4}

A. Wee find *Leprosy* to have been in a special Manner, the Punishment of *Pride*. *Miriam*, and *Gehazi*, and *Uzziah*, are Instances of its being so.

Now, saies *Grotius*, *Hanc superbiam cedrus significat; Vermiculus, sive coccinum, peccatum; et Hyssopus oppositam Virtutem ταπεινοφροσύνην; Humi enim nascitur, et Virtutem habet purgatricem.*⁵

In short, the lofty *Cedar* might mind the *Leper* of his *Pride*. The *Worm-dyed Scarlet* might mind him, of the *Sin* in it, & of the *State* it had brought him to, & in which {midst ?} he alwayes really was. The *Lowly Hyssop* was to teach him the *Humility*, & *Lowliness* of *Mind*, whereto he was now called, in his *Recovery*.⁶

[△ End of insert]

[△]

3582.

Q. What is the Meaning of it, that *One of the Birds* must be killed, in an *Earthen Vessel*, over running *Water*? v. 5.

A. There seems to be a Transposition (as is very usual) in these Words. The Sense is, *over an Earthen Vessel, that hath running Water* (i. e. Spring Water) *in it*. Thus *R. Levi Barcelonita* describes the Cæremony. The Priest takes a New *Earthen Vessel*, & pours into it *Living Water*, until it be a Quarter-full. This was the Measure of the Water, according to the Tradition of the *Scribes*: who add, That the bigger and fatter of the Two Birds, was killed over the Water, & the Blood pressed out so long, that the Water was discoloured with it; and then he digged an Hole, and buried the *Dead Bird*, before the *Leper*.⁷

3583.

Q. It followes, *As for the Living Bird, he shall take it, and the Cedar-Wood, & the Scarlett Wool* – v. 6.

A. *R. Levi Barcelonita*, and *Maimonides* thus describe the Rite.

⁵ Mather miscopies the latter part of Hugo Grotius's gloss in *Annotationes ad Lev. 14:4* (*Opera Omnia Theologica* 1.1:64). Grotius comments that leprosy was a punishment for pride: "The cedar indicates this pride; scarlet worm or cochineal, sin; and hyssop the contrary virtue, humility; for it is born on the ground and has purifying power." The omitted part of Grotius's sentence reads "... nascitur, & vim habet purgatricem hyssopus" and suggests "hyssop grows and has purgative power."

⁶ See Appendix A. Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 22, cols. 150–57, offers a number of mystical explanations.

⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 221–22); *R. Levi Barcelonitae, סֵפֶר הַחִיּוֹט Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum*, sec. XIV, praecept. CLXXIII, pp. 250–51.

Hee took a Stick of *Cedar-Wood*, which was a Cubit long, and tying the *Bird* unto it, with its Tail uppermost, together with a Bunch of *Hyssop*, of an handful long, and as much *Scarlet Wool* as weighed a Shekel. He then dipt the Birds Tail and Wings, with the Hyssop and Scarlet-Wool, in the Water tinctured with the Blood of the other Bird.

[33v] The Manner of the Priests *letting the Living Bird loose*, was this, (as R. *Levi* relates:) The Priest going into the City, threw the Bird over the Walls, towards the Wilderness. It show'd, that the *Leper* was restored unto a free Conversation among his Neighbours, as the *Bird* was with the rest of its Kind. | *Hascuni* alledges an Ingenious Reason, for the Ceremony of letting the *Bird* fly. The *Leper*, after having lived solitarily & separately, did now return to the Society of Mankind, as the Released Bird returned into the Air, among the Birds of its own kind, with which it formerly associated.⁸

3584.

Q. *He shall be clean.*] what was he until he became so? v. 9.

A. He was called, *Mechussar Kapparah*; one that needed Expiation.⁹

3585.

Q. The Priest was to putt the *Blood* of the *Trespass-Offering*, on the *Tip of the Right Ear*, of him that was cleansed; and, on the *thumb of his Right Hand*; and, on the *Great Toe of his Right Foot*. How was this performed? v. 14.

A. The Priest standing within the Court, at the Entrance of it, and the Man standing still without; the Man thrust his *Head* within the Gate, and the Priest putt some of the Blood; which he *held* in his Hand; upon the Tip of his Right Ear. After this, the Man stretch'd out his *Right Arm*, and the Priest putt some of the Blood, upon the *Thumb of his Right Hand*; And, next, his *Right Leg*; On the *Great Toe* of which he likewise putt more of the Blood. *Maimonides* adds yett more particularly, That the *Blood* was putt upon Half of the Flap of the Mans *Ear*; upon the whole Breadth of the Top of his *Thumb*, and *Great Toe*.

Abarbanel thinks, That here was an Intimation, that the *Leprosy* began in those Parts of the Body (which are less Fleшы and Fatt,) and these were now therefore particularly declared clean.¹⁰

⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 222); R. Levi Barcelonitae, in Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum*, praecept. CLXXIII, pp. 252–53. Maimonides, *Hilchot Tum'at Tzara'at* (11.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1:374–76). Hascuni (Chizkuni) argues that “if the bird that had been released would return, the affliction would also return and the person who had brought all these sacrifices would not have become ritually pure” (*Chizkuni* 3:731 and *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:101).

⁹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 224). Maimonides calls him מְחַסֵּר כִּפָּרָה [Mechussar Kapparah], “one lacking atonement” (*Hilchot Mechusrei Kapparah* 1.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:303).

¹⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 226–28); Maimonides, *Hilchot Mechusrei Kapparah* (4.2, 5.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:326–28, 330). Abarbanel provides physiological reasons: “these organs [ear, thumb, toe] are more susceptible to be infected with Tzaraas [leprosy] because they are

3586.

Q. But *Oil* was also applied unto these Parts, as well as *Blood*? v. 17.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Note is, That here might be a Token of *Pardon* by the *Blood*, and of *Healing* by the *Oil*.¹¹

2596.

Q. The Lord saies, *I putt the Plague of Leprosie upon an House*? v. 34.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, These Words may be a good Ground to think, that this *Plague* was a supernatural Stroke; not like the Contagion, which now adheres to the Houses and Garments of those that have the *Pestilence*. *Abarbanel* so understands it. “When He saies, *I putt the Plague*, it shewes, the Thing was *not Natural*; but proceeded from the *Special Providence and Pleasure of the Blessed God*.¹² And the Author of *Sepher Cosri* saies, *God inflicted the Plague of Leprosy, on Houses and Garments, as a Punishment for lesser Sins, and when Men continued still to multiply Transgressions, then it invaded their Bodies*.¹³ *Maimonides* will have this *Plague*, to have been most particularly, the Punishment of an *Evil Tongue*, (i. e. of Destruction and Calumny,) which began in the Walls of the House, and went no further, but vanished, if he Repented of his Sin: But if he persisted, it proceeded unto his Household-Stuff; If he still persisted, it invaded his Garments; And at last, his Body.¹⁴ *Abarbanel* adds, That the Intention of this *Miracle*, was to be a Caution from God, that the Man might be converted from his Sins; as if the *Stone of the Wall had cried out, & the Beam out of the Timber answered it*, unto the Master of the House, saying, *Turn unto the Lord thy God, O Israel; Behold, the Plague is come into thy House, and if thou wilt not be converted, it shall abide upon thee & thy Children*. This, he saies, is the Opinion of their *Rabbis*.¹⁵

extremities and thus have less access to the body's immune system. The immune system which is normally carried by the blood as it circulates through the body, works best in those areas where the circulation is best which is closer to the heart. Not so with the extremities which are farther away from the heart” (*Selected Commentaries Vayikra/Leviticus* 3:132).

¹¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 228). *Maimonides, Hilchot Mechusrei Kapparah* (5.3), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:330).

¹² Patrick (*Leviticus* 235–37). *Abarbanel (JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:106).

¹³ Judah ha-Levi, כוזרי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem De Religione* (1660), pars II, sec. LVIII, p. 124. Buxtorf's Latin translation of Judah ha-Levi's commentary reads, “*Paenam leprae in Parietibus aedium, & Vestimentis primū se exservisse ob peccata pauciora; in Corporibus autem hominum ipsis, peccatis multiplicatis, eo respicit ad id.*” Mather's English translation is supplied by Patrick.

¹⁴ *Maimonides (Guide* 3.47.596–97) and *Hilchot Tum'at Tzara'at* (16.10), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1:412).

¹⁵ *Abarbanel* adds, “One should not think this is a natural phenomenon; a ‘plague,’ caused by infection of the blood, cannot naturally occur in a house, which has no blood. This is something that God does to urge people to repent of their sins. As Hab. 2:11 puts it, ‘For a stone shall cry out from the wall, and a rafter shall answer it from the woodwork’” (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:106).

Q. The *Pulling down* of the *Leprous House*, what signified it? v. 45.

A. *Abarbanel* ha's a notable Fancy, That this *Plague* in their *Houses*, was an Emblem of the *Idolatry*, they would practise there, when they came into *Canaan*; And the *Pulling down* of their *Houses*, was a Sign of the Destruction to come on the Sanctuary itself, because of their Iniquities. At least, we may suppose, the Proceedings of God against the Sinful Jewish Nation, until He ha's utterly *carried them forth into an unclean Place*, is here admirably represented.¹⁶

¹⁶ Patrick (*Leviticus* 240–41); *Abarbanel Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis: Vayikra* (1710).

[▽ Insert from 36r–36v]

[▽ 36r–36v]

3588.

Q. The Lord saies, *I will appear in the Cloud upon the Mercy-Seat*; what *Cloud*? v. 2.

A. One would think, the *Cloud* intended, were the *Cloud* wherein the Divine *Glory* resided. But the most understand it of the *Smoke* of the *Incense*, which the *High Priest* burnt, when he went into the *most Holy Place*. And there is Reason for this Opinion. For, if there had been a *Cloud* in the most Holy Place, over the *Mercy-Seat*, before the *High-Priest* entred, what need had there been, to make a New *Cloud* of *Smoke*, when the Divine *Glory* was already sufficiently obscured. The *Cloud* belonging to the *Shechinah*, was now without the *Tabernacle*; only the *Glory* was within. Indeed, when it is said, That, *God will dwell in Thick Darkness*, it seems to import, that the Divine *Glory* was wrapt up in a *Cloud*. But be that Matter how it will; what we here translate, *I will appear in the Cloud upon the Mercy-Seat*; may very well be translated, *I will be approached in a Cloud*; [i. e. of *Incense*.] For as *Vitringa* hath observed, the Word which we render, *Appear*, is used [Exod. 23.15.] not for *Gods Appearing* unto us, but for *our Appearing* before Him.²

3589.

Q. How do the Jewish Traditions describe the Coming of the *High-Priest* into the *Holy Place*? v. 3.

A. They tell us, He was for no less than *Seven Dayes* before, separated from his own House and Family, dwelling apart from them, in a Chamber of the Temple; that he might be the better præpared for the Offices of this Day, by *Sprinkling the Blood* of the *Daily Sacrifice*, and *Burning of Incense*, and the like. And lest he should be ignorant of his Duty, or forgettful, the *Sanhedrim* sent some to Read before him the Rites of this Day; who adjured him also to perform every thing according to the Command of God. The Night before, they lett him eat but little, that no Accident in the Night, might make him unfitt for to officiate, in the Day following; and that he might Awake the Sooner, and Begin the Service of the Day betimes, as they did upon all great Solemnities. All this is Related in

1 In his “Note Book of Authors” on Lev. ch. 16, Mather lists “Irwin. Advers. Sacr.” as a vademecum.

2 Simon Patrick, on Lev. 16:2 (*Leviticus* 258–59) relies on *Sacrarum Observationum* (1689), lib. 1, cap. 11, pp. 157–58, by the Dutch Reformed theologian at Franeker, Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722). On Vitringa’s exegetical method, see C. Telfer, *Wrestling with Isaiah* (2016).

Codex Joma. c. 1. and thence transcribed by Dr. *Patrick*. And Mr. *Selden* hath observed, out of *Sepher Schebat Jehuda*, with what a magnificent Pomp, the *High-Priest* was conducted from his own House, when he went unto the Temple, Seven Dayes before *The Day of Atonement*, accompanied by the King, & the whole *Sanhedrim*, the Royal Family, and the whole Quire of Priests, and the rest. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ, our Blessed *High-Priest*, was in Triumph conducted unto *Jerusalem*, five Dayes before He offered Himself there, for the Sins of the World.³

3590.

Q. When the *High-Priest*, offered *his Bullock of the Sin-Offering*, which was for *himself, & for his House*, how did he proceed in it? v. 6.

A. It was not now killed; That was done anon. (v. 11.) He now only presented it before the Lord, for to be anon Sacrificed. This was done with a Solemn Prayer, wherein He besought the Lord, that He would be propitious unto him and his. We read of it in *Massechet Joma*. c. 3. s. 8. He laid his *Hand* upon the *Head* of the *Bullock*, & said, *I have done amiss, and have been Rebellious, & have Sinned before thee, I and my House. I beseech thee now, O Lord, remitt my Rebellion, and my Sin, which I have committed, & my House.*⁴

[36v]

3591.

Q. What was the *Presenting* of the two *Goats*? v. 7.

A. This was the same, with the *Offering* of the *Bullock*, in the Verse præceding; or, a solemn *Consecration* to be *Sacrificed*. According to this Pattern (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) our blessed Saviour, a little before His making Himself a *Sacrifice* on the Cross, voluntarily *offered* Himself to Dy for our Sins. This is the Meaning of that Passage, Joh. 17.19. *For their Sakes I Sanctify myself*; that is, *Offer* myself to Dy as an *Expiatory Sacrifice* for them. For that ἀγιάζειν signifies as much as προσφέρειν, Dr. *Outram* has demonstrated. And accordingly, *Chrysostom* so

3 Patrick (*Leviticus* 259) draws on Robert Sheringham's translation of *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), cap. 1, and his annotations, pp. 1–22. John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 11, § 7, pp. 185–86, cites from שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae R. Salomonis Fil. Virgae* (1680), pp. 376, 382, a history of the Jews, by the Italian R. Salomon ibn Virga (1460–1554). The work was translated into Latin by the Christian Hebraist Georgius Gentius (1618–87), a student of Constantin L'Empereur and of Jacob Golius at Leiden, and subsequently professor of Oriental languages at the University of Freiburg, Germany. None less than R. Manasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam commissioned Georgius to translate ibn Virga's שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae* into Latin. On Gentius, see P. T. van Rooden's *Theology* (1989), pp. 193–94; and M. J. Heller's *Seventeenth-Century Hebrew Book* (2011), 2:565.

4 Patrick (*Leviticus* 264). *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), cap. 3, sec. 8, p. 61, and Sheringham's annotations, pp. 61–65.

expounds these Words, I sanctify myself; by, προσφέρω σοι θυσίαν, *I offer thee a Sacrifice*.⁵

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

[34r cont.]

1763.

Q. The Law, about That which wee call, *The Scape-Goat*; Bestow some Illustration upon it? v. 7.

A. The learned *Spencer*, shall supply us, with Notes, to Illustrate that *Law*, whereof the Wise Men among the Jewes, as *Maimonides* tells us, *Judge, Quod causam quidem et usum habeat, nobis tamen, vel propter Imbecillitatem Mentis nostræ, vel propter Imperfectionem Sapientie, incognitum*; and which is by *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* reckoned among the δυσπρόσιτα και δυσχερῆ πρὸς διασάφησιν, *Perplexa et Explicatu difficilia*, of the *Mosaic Institutions*.⁶

Now, In the first Place, wee find here *Two Goats*, coming under *Two Lots*: One for the *Lord*, and the other for *Azazel*. And wee are therefore in the First Place, to enquire, what is meant, by that *Azazel*? Of this wee say; Tis not probable, that *Azazel*, should bee the Name of the *Mountain* whereto the *Goat* was

⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 265); William Outram, aka. Owtram, links ἀγιάζειν with προσφέρειν, in his *De Sacrificiis Judaeorum* (1677), lib. 2, cap. 3, pp. 307–08, suggesting that “consecrated” and “sacrificial offer” (John 17:19) are closely related. Outram offers proof from Chrysostom’s exposition in *In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1–88), homilia 82 [PG 059. 0443, line 1].

⁶ See Appendix A. Mather, via Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 8, “præfatio,” fol. 989, raises a fascinating issue about the rational foundation for the Mosaic Law. Maimonides, for one, believed that the dual intent and utility of the ceremonial laws was to purify the morals of the people and to lead them to the true faith by preventing their regression into paganism. In his famous *More Nebuchim* (*Guide* 3.31–33.523–34), he focuses on those ceremonial rites that appear to be without rhyme or reason. He objects to those among the zealots who insist that man should not enquire into the utility of God’s laws because God is beyond human comprehension and the incomprehensibility of his laws is therefore positive proof of their divine origin. If man can penetrate their mystery, so they argue, these laws would only lose their divine status and diminish our reverence because they could then have been devised by man. Maimonides’s explanation takes the opposite stance: The rational benefit of the laws is the only possible proof that they are of supernatural origin. Why else would believers take pride in their wisdom? Mather’s adapted citation from Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), lib. 3, cap. 26, p. 414, explains that the majority among the Hebrew sages judge “that there indubitably is a cause and useful end for them but that it is hidden from us either because of the incapacity of our intellect or the deficiency of our knowledge” (adapted from *Guide* 3.26.507). Although Mather (via Spencer) attributes the Greek passage to St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, it is actually adapted from the *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* (tom. 1, vol. 1, pt. 4, pag. 40, lines 14–15) of the *Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431* (*Concilium Oecumenica*), the First Council of Ephesus in 431 CE, which anathematized Nestorianism. Advocated by Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the doctrine questioned the unity of Christ’s dual nature, human and divine. In his dispute with Nestorius, Cyril of Alexandria gained the support of the RC Pope Celestine I, but the ecumenical council, which convened in Ephesus, did anything but save the unity of the Church (CE). Be that as it may, the phrase reads, “the intricate and hard-to-explain interpretations” of the Mosaic Law.

to be carried; which is the Opinion, both of the *Arabian*, and *Hebrew*, Writers, and occurring in the *Talmuds*. No such *Mountain*, is found in *Palestine*, and *Moses* could as easily have said, Mount *Azazel*, as Mount *Ebal*. Nor is it probable, That *Azazel* is the Name of the *Goat* itself, and so to be rendred, as in our Translation, *The Scape-Goat*: or as by *Symmachus*, Τράγος ἀπερχόμενος, or as by *Aquila*, Τράγος ἀπολελυμένος: or, as by the LXX, ἀποπομπαίος: who are herein generally followed by the Ancients. Why should there be a Compound Word used in this Matter, /עז/ and, /אזל/ when there are hardly *seven* more in all the Old Testament? Besides, the former of these is of the *Feminine* Gender, & the latter of the *Masculine*. And the Word occurs, in the Præscription, before any Order for the *Emission* of the *Animal*, is yett once hinted. And /שעראזל/ would have been a fairer Word, fetched from the very Context for it, than /עזאזל/. Nor does the Sense run clear, in giving two Senses to the Præfix, /ל/ if the *Goat* be one of the Objects, for whom the *Lot* is intended.⁷

Wherefore, *Azazel* is most certainly, the Name of no other than, *The Divel*.⁸ *Jonathan*, *Onkelos*, the *Samaritan*, and many other Interpreters, leave the Name wholly *uninterpreted*; which intimates that they took it for a *Proper Name* of such

7 See also Mather's linkage of Azazel with demonology in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 6, ch. 7, fols. 66–67. Spencer, *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. 8, cap. 1, sec. 1, fols. 990, 991), leans on Bochart, *Hieroicoicon: Animalibus* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 54: “De Hirco *Azazel*, qui vulgò *emissarius* dicitur” (cols. 650–61). The London polyglot renders the Arabic translation of “Azazel” (Lev. 16:8, 10) as “*monte Azaz*,” i. e., Mt. Azaz. The Talmud has the ancient rabbis associate Azazel, the second of the two goats, with “a Zok” (mountain peak) from which the he-goat was to be cast down. R. Baraitha taught that “Azazel” signifies “the hardest of mountains” (Yoma 67b). Ibn Ezra, drawing on Saadia Gaon, offers much the same: The term denotes “the *mighty* mountain” (Ps. 36:7) or, literally, “mountains of El,” which some located “near Mt. Sinai” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 3:120). Significantly, whereas the Hebrew original retains the designation עֲזָאזֵל [‘aza’zel] (Strong’s # 5799), Symmachus (fl. late 2nd-c. CE), the Ebionite (or Samaritan), and Aquila of Synope (fl. early 2nd-c. CE), both of whose Greek translations of the OT (here: Lev. 16:8) were incorporated in Origen’s *Hexapla* [PG. 015. 0624–0625], gloss the term “Azazel” as “he-goat [which is] sent-off” (Symmachus), as “he-goat [which is] released into the desert” (Aquila), and as he-goat which “carries away evil,” i. e., “scapegoat” (LXX). The composite /עֲזָאזֵל/ [‘aza’zel] is derived from /עז/ (she-goat) and /אזל/ (to depart). This is the explanation offered by Paulus Fagius, on Lev. 16:8, in *Critici Sacri* (1:808) and by Johannes Buxtorf, in *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* (1639), col. 1592, on which Spencer relies. With Spencer at his elbow, Mather argues that /שעראזל/ [sa’ir’azel] or rather /שְׁעִיר/ [sa’iyr], a variant of /שְׁעִיר/ [sa’ir], signifies “he-goat (hairy one)” even “satyr, demon (with *he-goat’s* form or feet)” (Strong’s # B9788, B9791). Mather correctly points to the problematic prefix /ל/ “el,” which can function as an adjective and signify “mighty” and as a preposition, suggesting “to, for,” denoting a direction. (CBTEL, ABD).

8 Spencer (sec. 2, fols. 992, 993, 994, 995). That “Azazel” may indeed signify an evil spirit, demon, or the devil, no less, involves an age-old debate, which Spencer revives in his *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. 8, fols. 990–1044). R. Eliezer, in his פְּרָקִי רִבִּי אֱלִיעֶזֶר *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 46, p. 125, associates “Azazel” with “Sammael,” an arch-demon (*Pirkê de R. Eliezer*, ch. 46, p. 363).

a Signification.⁹ Yea, the Ancient *Jewes*, in that Fragment of Writing, which is carried about under the Name of *Enoch*, do reckon *Azalzel*, (the Corruption of *Azazel*) among the Princes of the *Fallen Angels*.¹⁰ And from these, the *Cabalists*, talk much of, *Azazel*, as the Name of those *Dæmons*, which haunt the *Sepulchres* of the Dead.¹¹ Among the Ancient *Christians* also, *Origen*, to prove that they had Notions of the *Divel* in the Age of *Moses*, writes, *That which in Leviticus is called, ἀποπομπάιος, but by the Hebrew Scripture Azazel, οὐδείς ἕτερος ἦν was no other than the Divel*.¹² And *Epiphanius*, quotes out of *Ireneus*, the Verses of a Christian Poet, against *Mark the Valentinian*, which tell him, that hee did his *Miracles*,

Δι' Ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζήλ ποιεῖν.¹³

by the Help of *Satan*, or *Azazel*.

Azazel, for the Etymology of the Name, is from /עז/ *Fortis*, and /אזל/ *Abiens*, *Recedens*, *Fugiens*. The *Piacular Goat*, having all the *Sins* of the People now laid upon him, did become so Filthy, that hee was fitt for nothing, but to bee sent into a Desert, whither that *Fugitive Spirit*, the *Divel* does most resort, and there to bee Company for the *Dæmons*, which for their affecting to appear in an *Hircine Form*, used to bee called /שעירים/.¹⁴

9 Jonathan Uzziel, the Persian, the Chaldean Onkelos, and the Samaritan Targums, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (3:209, 1:475).

10 Spencer (1992) refers to the apocryphal 1 Enoch, published for the first time in *Georgii Syncelli Chronographica. Ab Adamo usque Diocletianum* (1652). My reference is to the Venice 1729 edition (pp. 10, 19, 20), where Azazel is spelled "Aza'el." See also the Ethiopic Book of Enoch: 1 Enoch 6:7, 8:1, 9:6, 10:4, 13:1 (*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 1:15, 16, 17, 19), where the name "Azazel" is used.

11 Mather (via Spencer 1992) refers to *In Genesin Primum Mosis Librum, sic a Graecis Appellatum, Commentarius* (1598), "Praelectiones," p. 88 (C), by the French RC theologian Johannes Mercerus, aka. Jean Mercier (c. 1510–70), professor of Hebrew at the prestigious Collège Royal, in Paris. According to Mercier, "Cabalici hoc exponunt quò Satan, de quo postea in sensu mystico agemus, non posthac sic habiturus potestatem in animam, sed in corpus tantum quod pulvis est. Unde iniqui daemones et malignos spiritus in sepulchris maximè, ubi sunt cadavera, versari, id quod verum est, & hujusmodi daemonem *azazelum* appellant" (p. 88 C).

12 Origen, *Contra Celsum* (bk. 6, sec. 43, lines 14, 15), argues that the ancients in Lev. 16:8 (LXX) yoked Azazel (i. e., "carrying away evil") with the devil.

13 St. Epiphanius of Salamis (*Panarion* 2.23, line 14) cites lines from an obscure Christian poet (probably Pothinus), preserved in St. Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses* (1.15.6) against Marcus (2nd c.), a Christian missionary and disciple of the Gnostic theologian Valentinus of Alexandria (c. 100–c. 160 CE), who came in conflict with Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon (CE). The derisive ditty reads, "Marcus, thou former of idols, inspector of portents,/ Skill'd in consulting the stars, and deep in the black arts of magic,/ Furnishing signs unto those involved by thee in deception,/ Wonders of power that is utterly severed from God and apostate,/ Which Satan, thy true father, enables thee still to accomplish,/ By means of Azazel, that fallen and yet mighty angel, – / Thus making thee the precursor of his own impious actions" (ANF 1:340). The second to the last sentence (before the dash) translates Mather's Greek quotation.

14 Spencer (1994) consults Johannes Avenarius's *Sefer Hashborashim: ספר השבששים hoc est, Liber radicum seu Lexicon Ebraicum* (1589), p. 15, voce אָזֵל. The terms /עז/ *Fortis*, and /אזל/ *Abiens*, *Recedens*, *Fugiens*, signify, "strong, powerful" and "depart, move away, go into exile."

That the *Divel*, may bee called, *A Potent One*, according to the first Part of this compound Word, was the Opinion of his Worshippers, to whom hee was [Dan. 11.38.] /אֱלֹהֵי מַעְיָדִים/ *Deus Fortitudinum*. As the God of Heaven is called, /עֶזְזוֹ/ thus the *Divel* was, among the *Phœnicians* called, Ἀζίζος, i. e. *Fortis*. Yea, in the *Scripture of Truth* itself, the *Divel* is called, Ἰσχυρὸς, [Luk. 11.21.] and his *Angels* are called, ἀρχαὶ and ἐξουσίαι. [Eph. 6.12.]¹⁵

That the *Divel* is a *Fugitive*, there is enough to bee said. His early Departure and Defection from God, renders him worthy to bee called so. By the *Rabbins*, hee is therefore styled, /מְרוֹדֵד/ *The Apostate*.¹⁶ And as the *Good Angels* are, /עֲזִימִים/ *Fortes Stantes*, [Zech. 6.5.] thus the *Evil Ones*, are /עֲזִימִים אֲזִלִּים/ *Fortes Abeuntes*: for, as wee read, *They left their own Habitation*. Moreover, They *Fly* much into Desarts, and Places remote from the Conversation of more civilized Mankind. For which Cause, they are called, /שְׂדֵימִים/ *Solitarij, Agrestes*; They are ἀφρητορες, *Insociable*. [Consider also, Job. 2.2. and Math. 12.43. and 1. Pet. 5.8. and Jam. 4.7.]¹⁷

Thus, in Job. 26.13. The *Divel* is called /נָחָשׁ בְּרִיחַ/ *The Fugitive Serpent*. It may bee translated, *His Hand hath slain, the Apostate Serpent*. Even the same, that *Ignatius* calls, τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην. Compare the LXX. To this Passage alludes the Prophet *Isaiah*, in chap. 51.9. *Thou hast wounded the Dragon*. But much more, in chap. 27.1. *Leviathan, that Fugitive Serpent*. LXX. δράκοντα ὄφιν φεύγοντα.¹⁸

The *Jewes*, instead of *Azazel*, use the Name of *Samael*; which according to [34v] *Cocceius*, is /סַר מַאֵל/ *Recedens à Deo Forti*, or ὁ ἀποστάτης. | Moreover, you find Ἀζαήλ, in the *Sibylline Verses*.¹⁹ Is *Uziel*, mentioned by the Chaldee Paraphrast,

15 Dan. 11:38: "God of strongholds" (JPS); the devil was called /עֶזְזוֹ/ [ˈizzuwz] (Ps. 24:8) "powerful, mighty" (Strong's # 5808) and Ἀζίζος, i. e., *Fortis* ("strong"). Mather's "divel" is called Ἰσχυρὸς (Luk. 11:21) "strong, mighty" (Strong's # 2478), and his angels ἀρχαὶ and ἐξουσίαι (Eph. 6:12), "principalities" and "powers" (Strong's ## 746, 1849).

16 Spencer (1994) employs Valentin Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum* (1612), p. 1036 (C), voce: מְרוֹדֵד apostata, daemon, qui à Deo defecit.

17 Spencer (1994–95). As the "*Good Angels*" are "powerfully steadfast," the "*Evil Ones*" are "greatly restless." For haunting the lonely deserts, these demons are called, "solitary, savage."

18 Spencer (sec. 3, fols. 995–96). Ignatius, *Epistolae interpolatae et epistolae suppositiciae (re-censio longior)* (Epistle 6, ch. 6, sec. 4, line 4), condemns those who believe that Jesus Christ is a mere mortal. Such an infidel, Ignatius insists, has "the apostate dragon dwelling within him" (*Epistle to the Philadelphians*, ch. 6, in ANF1:83). The Greek passage from Isa. 27:1 (LXX), suggests, "the dragon, even the serpent that flees."

19 Spencer (1996) cites from Johannes Cocceius's "Explicatio Epistolae ad Hebraeos," cap. IX, p. 564, § 24, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1689), tom. 5, p. 564. With Ibn Ezra as a backup, Cocceius associates Azazel with סַמְאֵל, i. e., Samael [Sam(m)ael] (a fallen angel), whose name is supposed to be derived from סַר מַאֵל [sar ma'el], which Spencer renders "*Recedens à Deo Forti*," i. e., one who is "departed from Almighty God," and Cocceius translates as ὁ ἀποστάτης, i. e., "an apostate." The *Oracula Sibyllina* (2.215) lists "Azazel" among the archangels Βαρακιήλ (Barakiel), Ραμιήλ (Ramiel), Οὐριήλ (Uriel), and Σαμιήλ (Samiel). Barakiel, Ramiel, Azazel, and esp. Sammael, are among the host of fallen angels in the apocryphal 1 Enoch 6:7–8 (OT

(on Gen. 6.4.) nothing akin to it? The Book *Zohar*, treating of the *Fallen Angel*, writes, *Deus eos ad inferiora præcipites egit, concatenatos; Illi autem fuerunt, Aza et Azael*. And in an Old Book, *De morte Mosis*, wee read, *Angeli, Aza et Azael, cælo descendentes, viam suam corruperunt*.²⁰

But now, Let us in the next Place enquire, Why this *Goat*, is thus for *Aza-zel*? And, first, Wee must by no means imagine it, intended as an *Oblation* to the *Divel*; or, as R. *Elieser* thought it, a Present unto *Samael*, on the Day of Propitiation, that hee might not render their *Oblation* unto God, ineffectual.²¹ Thus wee read, in the Book entituled, *Caphthor*; That the Jewes, on the Day of Expiation, presented a Gift unto Satan, *ut illius oculos præstringerent, nè ab illo accusarentur; quia scriptum est, Munus excæcat oculos videntis*.²² The Error of those, who thought this *Goat*, an Offering, ἀποποιῶν τινι καὶ πονηρῷ, καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ δαίμονι, *Ad Avertendum aliquem, et malum, ac impurum Dæmonem*, is rebuked well by *Cyril of Alexandria*. And *Procopius* afterward writes upon it, *Hæc opinio superstitione haud vacat*.²³ However, *Postellus* in the former Age, undertook the Patronage of it: which wee need not wonder at, when wee call to Mind, That

Pseudepigrapha 1:15–16). See also *Pirkê de R. Elieser* (chs. 13, 21, 31, 32, 45, 46, pp. 92, 150, 228, 233, 355, 363–64), which tells a lurid tale about Sammael and his escapades. On Mather's view of the Sibylline Oracles, see his *Threefold Paradise* (194–99) and his annotations on the NT (BA 7, Matth. 1): Q. What were the Oracles of the Sibyls, concerning the Lord Jesus Christ?

²⁰ The Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel gives the names of the fallen angels who procreated with the daughters of man (Gen. 6:4) as שְׁמַחְזַזַּי וְעֻזִּיָּאל “Schamchazai & Uziel,” in Walton's *Biblia Sacrae Polyglotta* (4:11). According to the *Zohar*, “God cast them down to the underworld in chains; they were, however, Aza & Azael” (see Soncino *Zohar*, Bereshith, sec. 1, p. 126a). Spencer refers to the Hebrew edition appended to Gilbert Gaulmin's *De Vita et Morte Mosis* (1629), p. לג, but Mather only employs Spencer's Latin translation: “The angels Aza and Azael descended from heaven [and] corrupted their way.”

²¹ Spencer (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 8, cap. 2, fol. 998); Bochart, *Hierozyicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 56, col. 652, lines 39–59); *פרקי רבי אליעזר Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 46, p. 125 – all expound on Sam(m)ael-Satan's exploits. See also BA 1:487.

²² Spencer's quotation from *Caphthor*, aka. *Sefer Kaftor Vaferach*, a topographical geography of the Holy Land, composed in 1322 by the French-Spanish R. Ishtori Haparchi, aka. Ashtori ha-Parchi (1280–1355), and published in Venice in 1549, appears in *Synagoga Judaica, Auspiciis Authoris jam olim Latinitate donate, Nunc primum in vulgus emissa* (1641), cap. 21, pp. 373–74, by Johannes Buxtorf (the Elder). The second-hand Latin citation relates that on the Day of Atonement, Jews present gifts (the goat Azazel) to Satan “to blind his eyes, so that he will not accuse them, as it is written [Ex. 23:8] Gifts make blind those who can see” (*Juden-schül* [sic], ch. 21). *Synagoga* first appeared in 1603 as *Jüden Schul* (Basel) and went through more than two dozen editions and translation until the end of the 18th century. See also Bochart (*Hierozyicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 56, col. 652, lines 59–63).

²³ The Greek citation from Cyrillus Alexandrinus is adapted from his *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* [PG 069, 0585, lines 42–43]. Cyril rebukes “the Error of those, who thought this *Goat*, an Offering ‘to some spirit, escorting away and oppressed and impure to some averting deity, evil, and impure.’” And *Procopius Gazaeus* (*Commentarius in Leviticum* 16:12 [PG 87.1.0748]) insists that “this opinion is by no means free from superstition.”

Origen himself was in this Error, that the *Goat* was, ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι, for the *Appeasing* of the *Divel*.²⁴ No, wee must not imagine, that thus

*Imperium Divisum cum Jove Satan habet.*²⁵

The Holy God, who every where *Forbad* unto His People, any Sacrificing unto *Dæmons*, would not now *Command* it. *Julian* had no Reason from hence to Brag, That *Moses* favored the Rites of Paganism, & wrote ὑπὲρ {δὲ} ἀποτροπαίων, *pro Avertuncis*.²⁶ Both of the *Goats*, were to bee presented before the Lord, as an Intimation, that they were both offered unto Him Alone, tho' they were in Two Several Wayes disposed of. Nor would *Azazel*, that Roaring Lion, have been content with One of the *Goats*; hee would still have been as fierce against Mankind as ever. Wee may rather Judge, That God ordered the *Goat*, laden with all the Sins, of the People, & become cursed and loathsome, to bee carried unto *Azazel*, that, as tis well said, by *Guil. Parisiensis*, *Eos Immundoes esse ostenderet, adeoque populum à Coloquio et Familiaritate ipsorum elongaret*.²⁷

But after all, I suppose, this Action had these Two Intentions.

One was, To signify unto the People, what would bee the miserable Condition of Them, who did not by Faith, in the *Messiah*, gett the Guilt of their Sins Removed. They that have their Sins lying upon them, and are led forth with the Workers of Iniquity, must become a Prey to *Azazel*, even to *Satan*, unto whose Temptations, they did in their Sinning, yeeld Obedience: Ungodly Souls, that carry their Sins upon them, when they go out of this World, shall, as the Psalmist speaks, (it may bee with some Ey, to the *Hircus Emissarius*) bee, a Portion for Foxes, yea, for Divels. And it is doubtless, with some Allusion, to this Levitical Goat, that our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Day of Judgment, [Math. 25.33, 41.] sends the *Goats*, that have their Sins upon them, to bee with the *Divel* and his Angels.

But Another, and a Greater, might bee, (what, I wish Dr. *Spencer* had considered) To repræsent a main Article in the dreadful Sufferings, which were to

²⁴ Mather alludes to *De Etruriae Regionis, Quae Prima in Orbe Europaeo Habitata est, Originibus* (1551), cap. 18, pp. 86, 180–81, by the famous French Renaissance astronomer, linguist, and cosmographer Guillaume Postel (1510–81). Origen (*Contra Celsus* 6.43, lines 15–17) believes that Azazel to whom the goat was sent in the desert, “was none other than this [Satan]; and it was necessary to send it away into the desert, and to treat it as an ‘expiatory sacrifice,’ because on it the lot fell” (*Against Celsus* 6.43, in *ANF* 4:592–93).

²⁵ A parody on the well-known line “Divisum imperium cum Jove Caesar habet,” Mather’s adapted citation (frequently attributed to Virgil) reads, “Satan divides the world with Jove [Jupiter].” See also *Spencer* (lib. 2, cap. 14, sec. 5, fol. 367).

²⁶ In *Contra Galilaeos* (p. 217, line 14), Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus (Julian the Apostate) charged that Moses wrote “for Avertuncus,” a deity that wards off harm. See Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 5.12.14) and Varro (*De Lingua Latina* 7.102).

²⁷ Mather’s adapted line (via *Spencer* 999) is from “De Legibus,” cap. 9, in *Guilielmi Alvernii Episcopi Parisiensis Opera Omnia* (1674), tom. 1, p. 40 (G–H), by William of Auvergne (c. 1180–1249), bishop of Paris. According to William of Paris, “He [Moses] showed that they [who sacrifice to demons] are unclean, and in the same way he kept the people [Israelites] aloof from conversation with those people [idolaters].”

befall our Lord *Messiah*, when Hee should come to suffer for our Sins.²⁸ I am far from saying with *Cyril*, that the *Sacrificed* Goat was a Prophecy of *Jesus crucified*; but the *Dismissed* Goat, a Prophecy of *Barabas Released*.²⁹ I rather choose to say; when our Lord Jesus Christ, underwent His Humiliation for us, this Point was very considerable in it; Hee was carried into the *Wilderness*, and there Hee was exposed unto the *Buffetings* and *Outrages* of *Azazel*. The *Assaults* that *Satan*, then and afterwards made on our Lord Jesus Christ, producing a most horrible Anguish in His Mind, made so great a Figure in His Conflicts for us, that they were well worthy of a most particular *Prefiguration*.

The next Thing that occurs to our Notice is, That the *Goat* for *Azazel*, must bee sent into the *Desart*. Lett us a little enquire, into the Reason of That.³⁰

Now, wee must know, That in the Dayes of *Moses*, *Desarts*, were counted very much an Habitation of *Divels*. This is one Cause, why the *Israelites* were commanded so strictly, to bring every Creature that they killed, unto the *Door of the Tabernacle*. [Lev. 17.3.] even, lest they should sacrifice unto *Divels*, the *Blood*, of what they killed. This Command obliged them only in the *Wilderness*; not after they came into *Canaan*. And hence also, the Phrases of sending the *Goat*, unto *Azazel*, or, into the *Wilderness*, are here used promiscuously; as if in the *Wilderness*, an *Azazel* could not bee missed of. Yea, *Desarts* really were, what they were counted. For which Cause tis, that the *Divels*, are called /שְׂדִים/ [Deut. 32.17.] either from /שָׂדֵד/ *Vastavit*, because they choose *Desolate* Places; or, from /שָׂדֵה/ *Ager*, because the *Champaign Fields*, are affected by them. They are also called, /צִיִּים/ [Isa. 34.14.] which is derived from /צִיָּה/ *Siccitas*.³¹ Because they prefer *Dry Places*, which for the Drought of them, are Forsaken of all other Inhabitants. Compare, what you find in Math. 12.43. of the *Evil Spirit*, seeking *Dry Places*, hee walks, δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων.³² Tis not said, ξηρῶν, but ἀνύδρων, i. e. *Aquis Carentium*, as *Erasmus* notes, *nam hujusmodi loca ferè sterilia sunt*, | *et ob id Desolata*.³³ And *Maimonides* mentions it, as the Opinion of the ancient

[35f]

28 Mather is unhappy with Spencer's exclusive concern in *De Legibus Hebraeorum et Ritualibus* with the historical origin and context of ancient Israelite sacrificial rituals rather than with the typological and allegorical application of OT ceremonies to the NT Christ. Barabbas (Matth. 27:15–26, Mark 15:6–15, Luke 23:13–25, John 17:38–19:16) is the individual whom Pontius Pilate released instead of Christ.

29 See Cyrilus Alexandrinus (*Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*, Lev., cap. 16) [PG 069. 587–590].

30 The following paragraphs are synopsized from Spencer (lib. 3, diss. 8, cap. 3, fols. 1000–03).

31 The Hebrew noun /שְׂדִים/ [shed'im] (Deut. 32:17), signifying “demon” (Strong's # 7700), is either from /שָׂדֵד/ *Vastavit* (“lay waste”) or from /שָׂדֵה/ *Ager* (“field”). The Hebrew noun /צִיִּים/ [tsiyiy] (Isa. 34:14), denoting “wild beast, desert-dweller” (Strong's ## 6728, B8391), is derived from /צִיָּה/, which Mather renders *Siccitas*, “dryness, drought.”

32 Matth. 12:43: “through waterless places.”

33 Spencer (1001). Mather consults the famous Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1469–1536), editor of the Greek NT, which became part of the Complutensian Polyglot. My reference is to Erasmus's annotation on Matth. 12:43, as preserved in Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (1660), tom. 6, p. 362. At any rate, Erasmus's commentary reads, “Non est ξηρῶν,

*Zabians, Quòd Deserta loca, careant Aquis, et Dæmones horrendi loca illa incolant.*³⁴ The Scriptures, therefore foretelling *Desolations* to these and those Places, do still make the *Divels* to bee their Inhabitants. [See Isa. 13.21. and Isa. 34.13, 14. and Jer. 50.39. with the Translation of the LXX. and Rev. 18.2.] Hence, *Magicians*, to obtain the Conversation of *Divels*, did frequent *Forsaken Places*. Wee read, Isa. 65.4. *They lodge in the Monuments; /בְּצִוְרִים/ tis by Schindler, thus explained; Manent in Locis Desertis, noctu, ut videant Dæmones.* The Hebrew Word, elsewhere is taken for, *Desarts*.³⁵

Had my learned Friend, Dr. *Spencer*, still been living, It might have been suggested unto him, why *Desarts* may bee so agreeable to *Divels*. It was not, and is not every Countrey, before which the *Divels* do præfer the *Desarts*. Regions, in which the *Divels* are much served, by those Usages either in *Worship* or *Manners*, which are pleasing to them, are by those doleful Creatures enough Resorted unto: Yea, if Sin much abound any where, at the *Divels* entreat, that they may *not bee sent from thence into the Wilderness*.³⁶ But Regions, like the Land of *Israel*, where the True God is continually *prayed* unto, and where the *Word* of God is continually *Sounding*, are filled with such Things as are very uneasy to the *Divels*: the *Divels* often retire much from thence into the *Wilderness*; as in the Haunted House of Mr. *Perreaud*, the *Divel of Mascon*, would say, *while you go to Prayer, I'll go take a turn in the Street*.³⁷

ἀνὴρ ἄνυδρος, i.[e.] *aquis carentia, & siticulosa.* Nam hujusmodi loca ferè sterilia sunt, & ob id Desolata: "Not 'dry, [but] 'waterless,' & 'parched.' For these places are generally barren, & on account of their desolateness."

34 Mather's condensed quote from Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 30, p. 428, is to confirm that Mars, the god of war (as the books of the Zabian idolaters write), had been furious with "the desert places, which [therefore] lacked water, and these places were [therefore] inhabited by dreadful demons" (see *Guide* 3.30.522).

35 Mather's second-hand citation from Valentin Schindler's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1612), col. 1154(D), which is adapted from the original "Esa. 65. v. 4. *Qui sedent in sepulchris וְבְצִוְרִים* & *in destructis pernctant: in locis desertis. Noctu, ut videant dæmones Lxx,*" translates as follows: "they abide in desert places, [and] appear as demons at night."

36 Master of Corpus Christi College (Cambridge), John Spencer died at the age of 63, on May 27, 1693 (*ODNB*). That devils and demons may be more adept in one place than another is also suggested in Mather's *Memorable Providence* (1689): "Some Devils may keep more constantly to *one* country, and some to *another*. Hence we read of some in *Marc.* 5.10. *They besought our Lord much, that He would not send them away out of the Countrey.* But still the *High-places* of our *air* be the Receptacles of the *wicked Spirits*" (p. 3, sec. ser. of pag.).

37 The references is to *The Devill of Mascon. Or, A true Relation of the chiefe things which an unclean Spirit did, and said at Mascon in Burgundy* (1658), p. 24, by François Perrault (1577–1657), French Reformed minister of Mascon. According to the introduction by the translator Pierre du Moulin, the uncanny event was recorded in 1612 but not published until 1653 – perhaps just in time to repudiate the materialism of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651). Perrault's popular *Devill* went through at least five English editions in the seventeenth century and was excerpted and commented on numerous times in Joseph Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1681), Cotton Mather's *Late Memorable Providences* (1691), Richard Baxter's *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (1691), and in many other places.

Hence an *Uninhabited Land* is here assigned unto the *Goat*, who being laden with all the Sins of the People, they sent him away, as far as they could send him. And indeed, by the *Terra Abscissa*, some do more particularly understand some *Island*. Saith *Lucretius*,

*Hæc loca capripedes Satyros Nymphasque tenere,
Finitimi fingunt, et Faunos esse loquuntur;
Quorum Noctivago strepitu, ludoque jocanti,
Affermant vulgò taciturna silentia rumpi.*³⁸

And *Alexander Hales* reports, *Magus quidam, in Libro suo de Magicis, dicit, se transisse causâ philosophandi, ad loca destituta omnio habitatore; habitasseque ibi cum inhabitantibus lucem sex lustris Annorum, et ab eisdem didicisse, quæ in eodem libro conscripsit.*³⁹ And in *Lucian*, the famous Magician, *Mithrobarzanes*, with his Companions, betook themselves εἰς τι χωρίον ἔρημον, καὶ ὕλῳδες, καὶ ἀνήλιον, into a *Desart, woody, shady Region*, for a Conversation with Spirits.⁴⁰

But why was this *Goat* left *Alive*, after this Action? Even for the Reason, that is mentioned by *Abulensis*; *Non Immolabatur Hircus iste Azazeli, id est, Dæmoni*. The Lord would not have his People entertain the least Imagination, That this *Goat*, was intended as a *Sacrifice* unto the *Divel*.⁴¹

And by the way, I know not, but the *Law* about the *Two Sparrowes*, one kill'd the other lett Fly, at the Purification of the *Leper*, (whereof *Maimonides* confesses, *Purificationis Lepre duobus passeribus factæ, mihi ne in Hodiernum*

³⁸ Spencer (1002). A place like the “*Terra Abscissa*,” i. e., אֶרֶץ אֲבִיסָסָה, a “land which is cut off” (Lev. 17:22); Mather hopes to illustrate such a locale with his citation from *Lucretius, De Rerum Natura* (4.580–83): “Such places the neighbours imagine to be haunted by goatfoot satyrs and nymphs, and they say there are fauns, by whose night-wandering noise and jocund play they commonly declare the voiceless silence to be broken.”

³⁹ The principal work by Alexander of Hales (De Ales, Halensis, Alensis) (c. 1185–1245), an English Franciscan theologian and philosopher at the University of Paris, is *Summa Universae Theologiae* (4 vols.), an important commentary on Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*. Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) held Alexander of Hales in great esteem and dubbed him “Doctor Irrefragibilis.” In his *Summae Theologiae, Pars Tertia* (1575), *Questio LV: “De Praeceptis Cœremonialibus In Speciali”* (p. 204v), the “incontrovertible doctor” reports, “A certain magician says in his book about magical arts that he has gone across for the sake of philosophical research to the places deprived of every inhabitant, and that he has lived there for six five-year periods [30 years] with those dwelling in the light, and that he has learned from those same persons the things that he has written in the same book.”

⁴⁰ In *Lucianus’s Menippus sive necyomatia* (sec. 9, lines 11–12), Menippus implores the magician Mithrobarzanes, a white-haired, long-bearded Chaldean, to show him the way to the underworld. Like Odysseus in Hades waiting for Teiresias, Menippus encounters the shades of the dead at the meadow of Asphodel flitting about him as Menippus and the magician wend their way to the court of Minos.

⁴¹ Spencer (lib. 3, diss. 8, cap. 4, fol. 1004). The Spanish bishop of Ávila, Alfonso Tostadus Abulensis states that “the he-goat, which is not sacrificed, is sent to Azazel, a demon,” in *Commentaria in Levitici et Deuteronomi. Operum Tomi III* (1613), Lev. 16, Quaestio XV, p. 277 (F). See also Mather’s *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 6, ch. 7, fols. 66–67.

Diem vera constat Ratio;) may receive a notable Illustration, from the *Law* about the *Two Goats* now before us.⁴²

It should seem indeed, by some old Jewish Writers, that in the Latter Times of *Judaism*, their Custome was, to break the Neck of the *Goat*, by throwing him over a Precipice: tho' *Jonathan* saies, This was done by *Whirlwind* and *Thunder*.⁴³ If it were so, perhaps, t'was the Want of Breadth of Land, or, it may bee, a *worse Cause*, that inclined them to an Action, for which they had no Institution. The Pagans dealt so, by their καθάρματα. Yea, *Strabo* and others, will tell you, of the *Devoted Men* so handled among them.⁴⁴

The Sense of the Remaining *Rites*, about this *Goat*, is obvious. And indeed, wee have the like occurring in the *other Sacrifices*. As for the Rites Invented by the *Jewes*, I know, no Occasion, that wee have to Trouble ourselves with them. They Ty'd a *Woollen Scarlet String*, to the Head of this *Goat*. Thus *Tertullian*, enumerates *Hircum Coccino Circumdatum*,⁴⁵ among the Figures of our Lord Jesus Christ: And the *Talmuds* report, *Alligabat Sacerdos Linguam Coccineam ad Caput Hirci Emissarij*: Which *Lingua* is described by *Maimonides* to bee, *Lanei staminis instar, rubro Aucta*.⁴⁶ In this they had an Eye, to that in Isa. 1.18. *Your*

42 The conflated citation from Maimonides is adapted from his *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 47, p. 494, has Maimonides confess that "the true reason for the purification of leprosy with two birds is not clear to me even now."

43 See the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yoma (37a and 67b). Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (Lev. 16:22), in Walton's *Biblica Sacra Polyglotta* (4:210), reveals that the goat bearing the sins of the people is taken into the desert of "Beth-hadurey," and as it climbs the mountains, "a tempestuous wind from the presence of the Lord will carry him away, and he [the goat] will die" (Etheridge 2:198).

44 Mather's pagans dealt with their καθάρματα, or "refuse of a sacrifice," by discarding it. Strabo (*Geographia* 8.3.19, lines 20–25) relates that the waters of the Anigrus river had special curative powers, because (so the ancients believed) the Centaurs there cleansed themselves off the Hydra's poison. Melampus, the ancient healer of Argos, used these medicinal waters for "the purification of the Proetides," the daughters of King Proetus of Argolis, when in their madness (perhaps like that of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. 4) they deemed themselves bovines and roamed through the plains and wastelands of Arcadia.

45 Spencer (cap. 5, fol. 1006); Tertullian identifies the "he-goat begirt with scarlet" (*Answer to the Jews*, ch. 14, in ANF 3:173) and *Adversus Judaeos* (cap. 14) [PL 002. 0640B–C] and *Adversus Marcionem Libri Quinque* (3.7) [PL 002. 0331A] as a figure of Christ, the typological scapegoat.

46 Spencer (1009) quotes from *Joma. Codex Talmudicus. [Mishna Seder Moed]*. *In quo agitur de sacrificiis, caeterisque ministeriis diei expiationis* (1648), cap. 4, p. 78, § 2, and annotations (pp. 81, 83) translated by Robert Sheringham (1602–78), an English royalist, Christian Hebraist, and proctor at Cambridge University. Sheringham's translation of the Mishnah, tractate Yoma, was superseded by that of Edward Pococke (*ODNB*), but Surenhusius integrated Sheringham's translation in his edition of the *Mischna* (1698–1703). Here, see Surenhusius, סדר מועד [Seder Moed] *sive Legum Mischnicarum* (1699), pars altera (*De Die Expiationis* 227). At any rate, the Latin translation in Sheringham's *Joma* (cap. 4, pp. 78, 81, 83) reads, "the priest tied a purple string to the head of the he-goat that is to be sent away." According to Sheringham's Latin translation, Maimonides describes the string as "a thread of crimson wool." See tractate Yoma (4.2, and 6.6), in *The Mishnah* (pp. 166, 170); and Maimonides, *Hilchot Shekalim* (4.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (9.2.400). See also Babylonian Talmud, tractates Rosh HaShana (31b) and Yoma (39a)

Sins like Scarlett, shall become as Wool. And they have a Fiction, that the *Scarlet Threed*, upon the Dismission of the *Goat*, instantly turned *White*. I doubt, that herein they too much aimed, at imitating the Manners of the Pagans, among whom, saith *Virgil*,

Medio Stans Hostia ad Aras,

Lanea dum niveâ circumdatur Infula Vittâ.⁴⁷

Alexander ab Alexandro tells us, That for a smaller Creature to be sacrificed, *Infulâ Laneâ et Candidâ Vittâ Circumdata, ante Aras sistebatur.*⁴⁸ Wee have a thousand Intimations of this Usage, in Antiquity. The *Infule* were, as *Varro* tells us, *Velamenta è Lanâ, intrâ hostiarum Cornua:*⁴⁹ and *Ravisius*, in his *Epithetes*, will satisfy you, from the Poets, how much a *Vitta Purpurea*, was used on this Occasion.⁵⁰ The Testimonies, in *Bernart*, in *Paschalius*, in *Sheringham*, to this Purpose, are Numberless.⁵¹ Moreover, T'was their Manner to load this *Goat* with all the *Curses* they could throw upon him. Hee was, as *Tertullian* saies, *Maledictus, et Consputus, et Convulsus, et Compunctus*, and so, à *Populo extrâ Civitatem abjiciebatur in perditionem.*⁵² *Jerom* also speaks of him, as, *Consputus et maledictus.*⁵³ And the *Talmuds* affirm, *Quòd ei crines vellicarent.* Yea, *St. Barnabas*, reciting of the Appointment in *Leviticus*, makes this a Part of it; ἐ[μ]πτύσατε

47 The third-hand lines from *Virgil's Georgics* (3.486–87), which read, “the victim, standing by the altar, even as the woollen fillet’s snowy band was passed round its brow,” are by *Spencer* extracted from *Alexander ab Alexandro's Genialium Dierum Libri Sex* (1673), lib. 4, cap. 17, p. 1076 (note 2), as is the adapted citation from *Varro's De lingua Latina* 7.3.1 (below).

48 The quotation is adapted from *Genialium Dierum Libri Sex* (1673), lib. 4, cap. 17, p. 1076, by the renowned Neapolitan jurist and classicist *Alexander ab Alexandro* (c. 1461–1523). According to the renowned Neapolitan, the smaller animal, “surrounded by a woollen fillet and bright ribbon, was presented before the altars.”

49 The modified citation from *Varro's De lingua Latina* (7.3.1) is a third-hand thing from *Alexander ab Alexandro's Genialium Dierum* (1673), p. 1076 (note 2), who explains that “coverings of wool [decorated] the horns of the victims.”

50 *Mather* refers to *Epithetorum Ioannis Ravisii textoris Epitome* (1553), p. 397, entry “Vitta,” a popular thesaurus of synonyms, by *Joannes Ravisius*, aka. *Jean Tixier de Ravisi* (c. 1480–1524), a French humanist and rector of the University of Paris. *Mather's* quote reads, “purple fillet.”

51 *Bernart*, probably the medieval French troubadour *Barnart de Ventadour* (c. 1135–1194), is believed to have originated the popular genre of the *canson*, or song in three parts. The French historian and biographer *Caroli Paschalius*, aka. *Carlos Pasquale* (1547–1625), discusses hircine sacrifices in his *Coronae. Opus quod nunc primum in lucem editor X. libris* (1610), lib. 4, cap. 17, p. 256; lib. 6, cap. 28, p. 444. And *Robert Sheringham* does much the same in his translation and annotations in *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), pp. 136, 140, 145, 148.

52 In his *Adversus Marcionem* (3.7), *Tertullian* likens Christ to the scapegoat, which was expelled amid “cursing, and spitting, and pulling, and piercing,” and so “driven by the people out of the camp into the wilderness [perdition]” (*ANF* 3:327). See also *Adversus Judaeos*, cap. 14 [PL 002. 640B–C].

53 In the sermon “De Resurrectione Domini Sermo” (p. 201), attributed to *St. Jerome*, the great Latin Church Father likens Christ to the scapegoat spat upon, cursed, and driven into the wilderness: “Ad extremum noster hircus ante domini immolator altare; illorum hircus antichristus consputus & maledictus projicitur [sic] in solitudinem,” in *St. Jerome's Tomus Quartus in Cuius Prima parte reperis erudita quaedam, sed hactenus falso inscripta Hieronymo* (1530), p. 201.

[35v] πάντες κλ. *Conspuite | Illum omnes, ac Lancinate, et Imponite Lanam Coccineam circa Caput ejus, et sic in Desertum emittatur.*⁵⁴ One would guess by this, that there was more in the Ancient Greek *Pentateuch*, than in the *Modern*. However, tis very sure, the old Pagans thus treated their *Piacula Publica*; whereto *Budæus* thinks, the Apostle alludes, in 1. Cor. 4.13. *Wee are made as the περικαθήματα of the World.* q.d. Wee are Despised, Reproached, Abhorred, Hated, and Cursed, as much as those miserable Creatures, which the People drove out of their Cities as Piacular, under public Execrations.⁵⁵ But, I hope, this brings to your Mind, the Sorrowes endured by our Lord Jesus Christ: as it brought the same unto *Tertullians*, who saies, that this *Goat*, was herein, *Manifestis indè notatus insignibus Dominice passionis.*⁵⁶

But now at last, Behold, how notably the Law of the *Two Goats*, was contrived, for the Eradication of the *Idolatry*, into which the *Israelites* were fallen, by their Conversation among the *Egyptians*. The *Egyptians* had *Hircine* Statues for their Idols, in their Temples. Their God, *Pan*, they called *Mendes*, which signifies a *Goat*, as you'll find in *Herodotus*; and they thought it honourable, to bee from thence called, *Mendesians*.⁵⁷ And that the *Israelites* did worship, *Dæmons* appearing in *Hircine* figures, called therefore /שְׂעִירִים/ is evident from that Passage, in Lev. 17.7. *They shall NO MORE offer their Sacrifices, to such Divels:* which Passage is improved unto this Purpose, by *Maimonides*.⁵⁸ All Antiquity reports

54 The Talmud, tractate Yoma (6.4), affirms “because they condemn every hair.” In Sheringham’s Latin edition *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), cap. 6, sec. 4, p. 132. St. Barnabas is believed to have been a companion of St. Paul and one of the earliest Jewish Christians. The Greek citation from *Barnabae epistula*, ch. 7, sec. 8a (line 2), emphasizes that Christ was “spat upon from every side, etc.” The Latin translation, which continues the Greek original from the Epistle of St. Barnabas (7:8), exhorts, “And all of you spit upon it, and pierce it, and encircle its head with scarlet wool, and thus let it be driven into the wilderness” (*ANF* 1:141).

55 Mather and his peers believed that the ancient pagans who sacrificed their “public sin offerings” were imitating the Mosaic atonement rituals. Guilielmus Budaes, aka. Guillaume Bude (1467–1540), French classical scholar, librarian of King Francis I, and “secret adherent of the Reformation” (*CBTEL*), says in his *Annotationes Reliquae in Pandectas Altera Aeditio* (1562), p. 124, that in 1 Cor. 4:13, St. Paul alludes to the ancient pagan practice of casting their sins upon the piacular victim, when the Apostle declares, “we are made as the περικαθήματα [i. e., *sacrificial filth*] of the world.”

56 Spencer (1011). Finally, Mather’s densely crowded paragraph is punctuated with a quote from Tertullian’s *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 3, cap. 7 [PL 002. 0330B], which establishes the typological link between the OT prophetic type and its larger antitype abrogated in the NT: the goat was “thus marked with all the signs of the Lord’s own passion” (*ANF* 3:327).

57 Spencer (lib. 3, diss. 8, cap. 7, fol. 1014). Herodotus (2.46) explains that goats are sacred to the *Mendesians*, citizens of Mendes in upper Egypt. They depict the god Pan, “with a goat face and he-goat’s legs.” In the language of the Egyptians, so Herodotus, “the he-goat and Pan are both called Mendes.”

58 The Hebrew noun /שְׂעִירִים/ [sa’yirim] suggests “he-goats,” “satyrs, demons (with *he-goat’s* form, or feet)” [Strong’s # B9788, B9791] and is thus linked to the Greek Pan and to the horned, goat-footed devil in medieval Christianity. Tellingly, the KJV translates the term as “devils” (Lev. 17:7). In his *Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 46, p. 480, Maimonides asserts that “certain sects of the Sabians [Zabians] worshipped the jinn [demons]

the Most Frequent Appearance of *Dæmons*, with some *Hircine* Members, about them. And *Selden* further tells us, *Qui Solemnia Sagarum Conciliabula aperiant, ii Dæmonem Principem, qui præsidet, Hirci Figuram præ se ferre tradunt*.⁵⁹ Which Report you will find abundantly confirmed, in *Remigius*, and others that have written of such Matters.⁶⁰ Yea, the *Tragolatri*, upon which the *Egyptians* were so *mad*, that not only as *Diodorus* relates, τὸν {δε} τράγον ἀποθέωσαν, but also their *Priests* were first of all Initiated unto this God, had so diffused itself thro' the World, that it was very common, even in *Spain* itself, as *Torquemadus*, a Spanish Author testifies.⁶¹

Now, what a Contradiction to this *Tragolatri*, was there, in the Institution of God? That which was the *God* of other Nations, must bee made a *Curse* with *Israel*; and an Object for all possible Contempt and Outrage. The other Nations, thought that the *Divel* was a Sort of an *Evil*, but a *Mighty, God*, who was the Author of all their Calamities, & must therefore bee appeased: but *Israel* must bee taught, that their *Sins* confessed over the Head of the *Goat*, were the cheef Cause of their Calamities, without which the *Divel* could not come from the Wilderness to do them any Damage.

And if they were *Kids* rather than *Goats*, as indeed the Word is to bee understood, one of them now being to bee slain, with the old *Zabians* in the other Nations, it was, as *Juvenal* saies

– *Nefas illic fætum jugulare capellæ.*

and believed that they assumed the outward forms of goats and therefore called the jinn *goats*. This teaching was very widespread in the days of *Moses our Master: And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto the goats* [שְׁעִירִים], and so on. [Lev. 17:7]. Hence these sects also used to prohibit the eating of goats" (*Guide* 3.46.581). See also Bochart's *Hieroicoicon: Animalium* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 53, cols. 640–46; pars 2, lib. 6, cap. 7, cols. 828–29).

⁵⁹ Not unfamiliar with ancient practices of witchcraft, the renowned English Hebraist John Selden knowingly relates in his *De Diis Syris Syntagma II* (1617), prolegomena (cap. 4), p. xxxix, that "those who open solemn assemblies of witches say that the chief spirit who presides appears in the likeness of a goat."

⁶⁰ This report is given in *Daemonolatreiae Libri Tres* (1595), lib. 1, cap. 23, p. 156, by Nicolas Remigius, aka. Nicolas Rémy (1530–1612), the infamous witch-finder extraordinaire of Lorraine and contemporary of Jean Bodin (1530–96), whose popular *De La Demonomanie des Sorciers* (1580) became a vademecum for witchcraft detection. It was translated into German and Latin, appearing as *De Magorum Daemonomania Libri IV* (1581).

⁶¹ Spencer (1016); Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.88.1) explains that "they [Thebans] have deified the goat," because of its procreative proclivities. Not even the Spanish Antonio Torquemada of Léon (c. 1507–69) was surprised to discover the hircine devil all over Spain, claims Nicolas Remigius in his *Daemonolatreia* (1595), lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 143, note 9. The French witch-finder leaned on *Hexameron, ou Six Journées* (1582), a French translation by Gabriel Chappuys Tourangeau, of Torquemada's Spanish original. Torquemada's third journey, "Troisiesme Traitane des Phantosmes, Visions, Esprits Incubes, et succubes, enchanteurs, empoisonneurs, sorciers, salveurs," and assorted delectable stories about energumen can be found in his *Hexameron* (1582), pp. 184–282.

Now *Israel* must go do that, which *they* took to be the Highest Crime that could be.⁶²

And wee may carry on the Illustration of this Matter, with an Observation of Maimonides, *Cùm Aaron præcipuè Lapsus est circà Vitulum, oblatio tum ipsius, tum omnium è semine ipsius exurgentium, fuit Juvencus et Vitulus: cùm autem ab Ecclesiâ peccatum esset circà Hircum, præceptum est ut Hirci pro toto cætu offerantur.*⁶³

However, if the least Inclination, to those Bloody *Sacrifices of Men*, (called by the Græcians, Ἀποτρόπαιοι, κατάρτικοι, ἀποπομπάιοι, ἀναθέματα, περὶ ψήματα, καθάρματα, by the Romans, *Victimæ Piacularæ, Vicarij, Sacri*,) used by the Pagans, arose among the *Israelites*, this Law of the *Emissary Goat*, was enough to take them off.⁶⁴

In fine, from these Things, there seems a Rise given, to an *Usage*, and a *Proverb*, among the *Pagans*. It was a Proverbial Speech, κατ' αἶγας ἀγρίας, *In Capras Sylvestres*, – or, Lett it fall upon the Wild Goats.⁶⁵ Erasmus proves out of *Athenæus*, that it is, *Abominantis sermo et malum deprecantis, inque Sylvestres capras avertentis.*⁶⁶ In *Bochart*, you'll find more of this. And thus, when the *Plague* infested the Grecians, *Palamedes* advises, *Ulysses*, to supplicate *Apollo*, (you have it in, *Philostratus*,) τῇν νόσον {δὲ} ἐς αἶγας τρέψαι, *To Turn the Plague upon the Wild Goats.*⁶⁷

62 Spencer (1017); Juvenal (*Satire* 15.12) pokes fun at the Thebans, where “it’s a sin to slaughter a goat’s young,” but human flesh is quite acceptable – so he laughs.

63 In *Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), lib. 3, cap. 46, p. 487, Maimonides adds, “in Aaron’s case, for when he went astray in the action of the [golden] calf, it was prescribed that he and those of his descendants who would replace him, should sacrifice a bullock and a calf. When the act of disobedience ‘against the Church’ concerned a kid of goats, ‘it was ordered that a goat be offered on behalf of the whole community’” (adapted from *Guide* 3.46.589). The passages in single ‘quotation marks’ are not part of the Latin translation of Maimonides’s *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629) or of the English translation in the *Guide*.

64 Spencer (1020). The Greek words suggest, “sacrifice averting evil,” “break in pieces,” “[scapegoat] carrying off evil,” “votive offering set aside,” “wiping clean [of sins],” “purification.” The Romans call them “atoning sacrifice,” “substitute,” and “sacrifice.”

65 The Greek version of the proverb can be found in a number of places, including Pausanias’s Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγῇ (alphab. letter kappa entry 16, line 1) and Hesychius’s *Lexicon* (A–O), alphab. letter kappa entry 1123, line 1; and in Suda, *Lexicon* (alphab. letter kappa entry 888, lines 1 and 2).

66 Samuel Bochart (*Hieroicoicon: Animalibus*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 54, col. 661) supplies Mather (via Spencer 1025) with the proverb collected in Erasmus’s *Adagia* (1540), chiliades 3, centuria 3, adagio 2178. My reference is to *Les Adages D’Érasme* (2178. III.ii, 78, p. 1583). Erasmus proves out of Athenæus’s *Deipnosophistae* (epitome), vol. 2.1, p. 8, line 25 (Brill ed., 1939) that this proverbial speech “is the discourse of one detesting and pleading against evil, and turning goats away into the woods.”

67 Spencer (1025); Perhaps inspired by Sophocles’s *Oedipus Rex*, the Athenian sophist Flavius Philostratus (c. 170–250 CE) has Palamedes, a hero of the Trojan War, tell Odysseus (Ulysses) to supplicate Apollo, the bringer of health and sickness, to remove the pestilence from the people and to cast the plague on the wild goats, in *Heroicus* (Olearius, page 711, line 1).

Quære, whether the *Ninety First* Psalm, had no Relation to this Action on the Day of *Expiation*, or, were not Judged proper to bee sung on that Occasion?⁶⁸

[36r–36v inserted into 34r]

[36v cont.]

3592.

Q. *His Hands full of Sweet Incense, beaten small.* How much *Incense*? v. 12.

A. With his left Hand, he took as much of the *Incense*, [mentioned, Exod. 30.34, 36.] as his Hand would hold; (besides the *Incense* which he burnt every Morning & Evening, which was a whole Pound;) and putt it into a Cup.⁶⁹

3593.

Q. And his *Putting the Incense upon the Fire before the Lord*, how was it managed? v. 13.

A. He entred, as the *Misna* tells us, with his Face towards the South; and so he went Side-Wayes, (for he might not look upon the *Ark*, where the Divine *Glory* was) till he came to the Staves of the *Ark*. There he sett down the *Censer*, and putt on the *Incense*; and having filled the House with a *Cloud* of Smoke, he went out backward, out of Reverence to the Divine Majesty, into the Holy Place, without the *Vail*. Where, when he was come, he made a short Prayer of this Importance; *May it please thee, O Lord God, that this Year may be Hott and also Wett; that the Scepter may not depart from the Family of Judah, nor thy People Israel want Food; and that the Prayer of the Wicked may not be heard.* Then he presently went out of the *Sanctuary*, and showed himself unto the People; that they might not suspect, he had miscarried in his Office. For, they say, that sometimes the *High-Priest*, having violated the Rites appointed by God, was immediately struck Dead, at the Holy Place.⁷⁰

3594.

Q. We read, *The Blood he shall sprinkle upon the Mercy-Seat.* How was it? v. 14.

A. The Maxim of the Jewes, is, *The very Root* (or Essence) *of a Sacrifice, lies in the Sprinkling of the Blood.* And one would think, by this Translation, that the High-Priest *sprinkled the Mercy-Seat* itself, with some of the *Blood*. But all the Jewes understand it quite otherwise.⁷¹ And indeed the Hebrew is, *Al pene*, over against the Face; that is, as they interpret it in the *Misnah Towards* the

⁶⁸ Mather appears to suggest as much in his explication of Ps. 91 (*BA* 4:635).

⁶⁹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 271).

⁷⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 272–73); Mishnah, tractate Yoma (5.1), in *The Mishnah* (167).

⁷¹ Mishnah, tractate Yoma (5.5–6).

Mercy-Seat.⁷² And so it followes, in the next Words, *And before the Mercy-Seat shall he sprinkle*. Only this Difference there was in the *Sprinkling*; that this Particle, *Al*, they think, imported, that he was to make the *First Sprinkling*, toward the Top of the *Mercy-Seat*. Then followed *Seven more Sprinklings*;⁷³ But the *Gemara* on this Place, and *Maimonides*, and *Obadiah Bartenoca*, tell us, *The Drops of Blood came not upon the Mercy-Seat, but fell upon the Ground*.⁷⁴

[37r]

3595.

Q. What Occasion to *make an Atonement for the Holy Place*? v. 16.

A. The Clauses that follow, do intimate; That the many Sins in which the People had been transgressing the Holy Lawes of God, the Year before, had made them so unclean, that it provoked Him to leave them, & count the *most Holy Place* unfit for His Habitation among them, except He should be Reconciled.

The whole *Tabernacle of the Congregation* must therefore have the Blood of the *Sacrifices*, to be sprinkled before the *Vail* of it; for being surrounded by a Sinful People, which were full of Impurities; and as *Maimonides* observes, it could scarce be avoided, that some Ignorantly, and others Præsumptuously, would offend against the Lawes of the Sanctuary; God for this reason commanded the Expiation to be made for the Pollution of the *Sanctuary*, and its Utensils.⁷⁵

3596.

Q. How did the *High-Priest* spend his Time, when he *went in to make Atonement, in the Holy Place*? v. 17.

A. Some of the Time he spent in Prayer to God, for *himself*, & his *house*, & his whole *People*. In Conformity hereto, our Lord Jesus Christ, when He consecrated Himself to be a *Sacrifice* for us, He first commended *Himself* to God,

⁷² This is Rashi's position (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:122).

⁷³ John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 16, pp. 426–27. Ibn Ezra introduces an important distinction: “We might think that the phrases ‘upon the ark-cover’ and ‘in front of the ark-cover’ are to be understood literally. However, the Exegetes have said [Yoma 53b; Yoma 54a] that ‘upon the ark-cover’ means ‘between the poles’; while the true meaning of ‘in front of the ark-cover’ is known only from their words [Yoma 55a]” (*Commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra* 3:76).

⁷⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 274–75); his principal source here is William Outram's *Sacrificiis Judaeorum* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 16, § 4, pp. 178–80. Via Patrick, Mather refers to the oral tradition of the Gemara, the commentary on the Mishnah, tractate Yoma (5.3–7); the Sages of the Talmud (Yoma 55a) debate the issue of whether the blood is sprinkled “before” or “upon” the ark-cover, but appear to settle that “before” here means “on the ground.” See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Ma'aseh HaKorbanot* (5.12–16) and *Hilchot Avodat Yom HaKippurim* (3.5), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:392–94, 808–10); and R. Obadiah ben Abraham of Bertinoro, Italy (c. 1455–c. 1517), who wrote a popular commentary on the Mishnah, commonly referred to as “The Bartenura” (Venice, 1549) (*JE*). Mather's (mis)spelling of “Bartenoca” (rather than “Bartenora”) is copied from Patrick. See also Sheringham's *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), cap. 5, secs. 3–6, pp. 107–24.

⁷⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 276, 277). Maimonides (*Guide* 3.47.597).

in Prayer; and then His Apostles, who were His *House*, and for all that should Beleeve on Him, even His whole *People*. [Joh. XVII.]⁷⁶

3597.

Q. The *Confession* made over the *Head* of the *Goat*? v. 21.

A. A *Confession* must have been understood here, if it had not been expressed. *Imposition of Hands* was always accompanied with Prayer, of one sort or other, according to the Occasion of it. The Jewes have a Saying, as Dr. *Outram* notes; *where there is no Confession of Sins, there is no Imposition of Hands*.⁷⁷

It is observable, That the *High-Priest* made *Confession*, *Three* several Times on this Day; First, for himself; and then for his Brethren, the Priests; and now, for the whole Congregation. We read, in *Joma*, he pray'd unto this Purpose; *I beseech thee, O Lord; This People, the House of Israel have done wickedly, & been Rebellious, & Sinned before thee. I beseech thee, now O LORD, expiate the Iniquities, the Rebellions, & the Sins, which thy People the House of Israel have done wickedly, transgressed & sinned before thee: According as it is written in the Law of Moses thy Servant, On that Day he shall make an Atonement for you, to cleanse you, that you may be clean from all your Sins before the LORD. This last Word, LORD, as soon as all the Priests & People heard it pronounced by the High-Priest, they bowed, & fell down flatt upon their Faces, & worshipped; saying, Blessed be the LORD, Lett the Glory of His Kingdome be forever*.⁷⁸

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[37v]

3598.

Q. The *Scape-Goat*, was evidently a *Sin-Offering*. Is there any notable Circumstance not commonly observed, wherein he was a Type of our Saviour? v. 22.

A. It was a notable Circumstance that (as Dr. *Jackson* thinks, with some good Chronologers,) That our Saviour entred upon the Execution of His Office, to make *Atonement* for us, upon this *Great Day of Atonement*. On this very Day, was our Lord *Baptised*. Even *Jansenius* and others of the *Roman* Communion, don't follow the *Roman* Tradition, of its being on the Sixth of *January*; but Judge it more probable to have been on the *Tenth* of *September*. In the Beginning of which Month, when they celebrated the *Feast of Blowing of Trumpetts*, even then *John Baptist* began to *Lift up his Voice like a Trumpett*, & call the Jewes

⁷⁶ Patrick (*Leviticus* 277–78).

⁷⁷ William Outram, aka. Owtram, *De Sacrificiis Judaeorum* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 15, § 8, pp. 166–67, quotes from the Hebrew edition of *Ad Siphra in Diburath, ha-Chataoth* (Venice, 1609), fol. 95, a commentary on Leviticus, by ר' אהרן בן חיים R. Aaron ben Chajim (16th–17th c.), president of a synagogue in Fez (Marocco). (CBTEL). Outram cites from the Hebrew original and supplies his own Latin translation: “*Ubi non est peccatorum confessio, ibi non est impositio manuum.*”

⁷⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 282–83); Sheringham's *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), cap. 6, sec. 2, p. 128.

unto Repentance. Our Saviour being *Baptised* by him, on the *Day of Atonement*, He was immediately *driven by the Spirit into the Wilderness*: A manifest Indication unto *John Baptist*, That He was the Redeemer of the World, præfigured by the *Scape-Goat*, who went into the *Wilderness* on the Day of Atonement. And whereas *Aaron* on this Day, had his Body *washed* in the Holy Place, Behold, how our Lords *Baptism* on this Day, had a Præfiguration very remarkable.⁷⁹

3599.

Q. Of the *Bullock* for the *Sin-Offering*, & of the *Goat*, we read, *One shall carry them forth*: How could *One* do it? v. 27.

A. They were first ripped up, and the *Jumrim*, as they call them [Lev. 4.8, 9,] taken out to be burnt on the Altar. And then the Priest dissected them, not into Pieces, as was wont to be done in *Burnt-Offerings*; but made only deep Incisions, letting the Parts hang still together. Which being done, *Four Men* (saies R. *Solomon*) carried them forth upon two Staves or Bars. It was too much for *One* to do it. Accordingly the LXX read the Words, ἐξείσουσι, *They shall carry forth*; but *One Person*, tis likely the principal Care to see them burnt; which is the Reason, that he only is mentioned.⁸⁰

3600.

Q. The *High-Priest* washing so often, did it not expose his *Health*? v. 28.

A. When his *Dayes Work* was done, he entertained his Friends with a *Feast*, for Joy of his own Welfare, Safety, and *Health*. For by Shifting his Garments, & Washing so often, he was in danger to catch *Cold*; and as *Cuneus* observes out of *Maimonides*, they did fall into various Diseases on this Occasion; (and some died in the Holy Place, for not having duely performed the Service.)⁸¹

⁷⁹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 286); Dr. Thomas Jackson, *A Treatise of the Consecration of the Son of God, To His Everlasting Priesthood* (1672), bk. 9, in *Works* (1673), tom. 2, bk. 9, ch. 24, sec. 4, pp. 1019–20 (§ 3), 1021–22 (§§ 5, 6). Cornelius Jansenius, aka. Corneille Janssens (1585–1638), a RC bishop of Ypres in Flanders, was the father of Jansenism, a Christian movement (mostly in France) with emphasis on doctrines that had much in common with Calvinism: original sin, depravity, predestination, and grace (*CE*). Luke 3:21–22, 4:1–3; Lev. 8:6; Rev. 1:5.

⁸⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 295–96). Sheringham's *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), cap. 6, sec. 7, p. 145, cites R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) on the Mishnah, arguing that it would take four men to carry the carcass of the victim to the altar. The Greek ἐξείσουσι (LXX, Lev. 16:27) from ἐκφέρω: "carry out or bring out."

⁸¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 298). Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 14, p. 260: Cunaeus comments on Maimonides's *Hilchoi K'lei HaMikdash ViHaOvdim Bo* (7.14), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:186): "Maimonides says that the priests fell victim to many illnesses. They ate mostly meat, and they performed their sacred duties dressed only in linen clothes which they had to put on and take off whenever they set aside their jobs or went back to them. Besides, they were always standing on the pavement, and they were forbidden to sit anywhere in the courtyard where they performed the rites. All of this led to weakness, and swelling of the veins and a thousand other problems" (*Hebrew Republic* 114).

516.

Q. What is the true Reason, that in those two Chapters, the Seventeenth of *Leviticus*, and the Twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, where the Lord requires all *Sacrifices* to bee offered, *In the Place, which Hee shall choose*, Hee does also give so many Charges, about *Blood*; that *Blood* should not bee *Eat* or *Drank*,¹ but poured out on the Earth, & covered? v. 1.

A. The Appointing of a *Tabernacle*, a *Temple*, a *Determinate Place*, for the Offering of *Sacrifices*, was intended as many Wayes a Prevention of *Idolatry*. It cutt off, Communion with the *Idols*, & the *Altars* of the *Pagans*; & it extinguished the Pagan Errors, of Prayers being more audible in *High Places*, than in *Low* ones; and that, as *Libanius* urged in his Oration, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν: *Anima Agrorum, O Imperator, Templata sunt: και τοῖς γεωργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἐλπίδες, et Agricolarum in ipsis Spes omnis, de Viris, Uxoribus, Liberis, Bobus, et Satis Plantatis.*²

But there was one special Rite of *Idolatry* and of *Divel-Worship*, which was this way Anticipated. The old *Idolaters*, that they might Recommend themselves unto their *Dæmons*, did use to Receive the *Blood* of the *Sacrificed Animal*, into a *Dish* or a *Pitt*, about which they satt eating the *Flesh* of the *Sacrifice*. They imagined that *Blood*, thus was the repast of the *Dæmons*, with whom they now show'd their Fellowship, in eating the *Flesh* whereto it belonged. Thus, they supposed, a *Friendship* to, bee contracted between their Gods, and themselves.³

For this Cause, the Prohibition sometimes runs, *Non Comedetis* על־הדם / *AD vel APUD Sanguinem.*⁴

¹ I.e. eaten or drunk.

² Patrick, on Lev. 17:5 (*Leviticus* 310). Mather cites from *Orationes* 30 (title, lines 1–2, and 30.10, lines 1–2), by Libanius (c. 314–c. 394), the Hellenic rhetorician of Constantinople, friend of Julian the Apostate, and teacher of John Chrysostom. In the passage from his *Orationes* (30.10), Libanius touts the value of pagan temples: “The soul of the country, O Emperor, are the temples. In them are all the husbandman’s hopes, concerning men, and women, and children, and oxen, and the seeds and the plants of the ground” (*Oration* 30: *Pro templis*, pp. 77–78).

³ The locus classicus of this communion ritual between the living and the dead – as every sophomore in Mather’s age would have known – is set in Homer’s *Odyssey* (11.23ff), where Odysseus summons the shades of Hades around a pit filled with libations to the dead: milk and honey, sweet wine, water besprinkled with barley meal, and the dark ovine blood gushing from the cut throats of black ewes: “Then there gathered from out of Erebus the ghosts of those that are dead. . . . These came thronging in crowds about the pit from every side, with an astounding cry. . . . And I myself, drawing my sharp sword from beside my thigh, sat there, and would not allow the strengthless heads of the dead to draw near to the blood till I had inquired of Teiresias,” ruler of the Underworld (11.25–50). See also Mather’s commentary on Lev. 19:26 (below).

⁴ John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, Diss. in Act. 15:20, cap. 3, sec. 4, fol. 504. Lev. 19:26: “Eat not [anything] with the blood.” The Hebrew phrase עַל־הַדָּם

Well, The *Command* now given, for all Sacrifices to be offered, *In the Place which the Lord should choose*, was to prevent these *Bloody Divellisms*; and the frequent Practise of these *Diabolisms*, was one Reason, both of this Command, and of the Command about *Blood* so frequently accompanying of it.⁵

3601.

Q. Did not other Nations besides the *Israelites* come to see the Necessity of having public Places for Worship? {v. 4.}

A. Yes. In future Times, the Pagans came to enact the very same Law, that is here enacted. *Plato* in the Latter End of his *Tenth Book of Lawes*, ha's these memorable Words: "Ἐστω νόμος κλ· *Lett this be a Law imposed absolutely upon all, that no Man whatsoever have a Sacred Place in a Private House; but when he hath a Mind to offer Sacrifice, Lett him go to the Public Temples, & deliver his Sacrifice to the Priests, whether Men or Women, whose business it is to take care that these things be performed in an holy Manner.*"⁶

3602.

Q. It seems, t'was the Custome of old, for the People, to *offer their Sacrifices in the open field*? v. 5.

A. Yes. The Pagans here erected their *Altars*, to procure the *Fruitfulness* of their *Fields*. How old this Idolatry was, we cannot certainly tell; but it continued a long Time among the *Israelites*, as we learn from the Prophets, [Jer. 13.27. and Hos. 14.11.] who tell us, *Their Altars were as Heaps in the Furrowes of the Field*. Among the Gentiles, *Festus* tells us, They offered Sacrifices to the *Terrestrial*

[al-hadd'am] addresses the proscription against eating anything "with the blood."

5 See Appendix A. Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 46, p. 484, well explains the rationale of Sabian blood rituals and how, by turning pagan rites upside down, Moses could wean his mixed multitude from idolatry even as his Chosen held on to the same ceremonies – yet in the name of God Almighty: The Sabians (Zabians) deemed blood "the food of the devils," Maimonides avers. Thus slaughtering an animal, these idolaters collected "its blood in a vessel or in a ditch," ate the flesh of their oblation "close by its blood," and "imagined that the jinn [demon] partook of this blood, this being their food, whereas they [idolaters] themselves ate the flesh." In this manner, they fraternized with demons by eating at the same table. Yet when HaShem gave His Law to Moses and "prohibited the eating of blood" as an idolatrous ritual, El Shaddai "pronounced the blood to be pure and turned it into a means of purification for those who come near it: *And sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments . . . and he and his garments shall be hallowed* [Exod. 29:21]." In this way, Scripture requires "the sprinkling of blood upon the altar and causes the whole act of worship to consist in pouring it out there, not in gathering it together: *And I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement* [Lev. 17:11]" (*Guide* 3.46.585, 586). As Maimonides adds elsewhere, the Lord God accommodated His people's infirmities through a "gracious ruse" by suffering such worship rituals "to remain, but transferred them from created or imaginary and unreal things to His own name, may He be exalted, commanding us to practice them with regard to Him" alone (*Guide* 3.32.526).

6 Patrick (*Leviticus* 307–08); Plato, *Leges* (10.61.909d, line 6–909e, line 3).

Gods, *In Terrâ*, on the very Ground; (or, as the Hebrew Phrase here is, *On the Face of the Fields*) But to the *Infernal* Gods, *In Terrâ Essossâ*, in Holes or Pitts, dug in the Earth; And to the *Cæstia*l Gods, *In ædificijs à Terrâ Exaltatis*, in Buildings exalted above the Earth; namely, upon *Altars*, which according to *Servius* also, had their Name, *Ab Altitudine*.⁷

3603.

Q. Why are only *Peace-Offerings* here mentioned? v. 5.

A. All other Sacrifices are also intended. But only these are mentioned; because these were of all the most common; being offered, not only for the *Mercies* they had already *received*, but for those which they still *desired*; as tis observed by *Abarbanel*. Men were more forward also to bring those Offerings than any other, because they were to have their Share of them, and Feast upon them.⁸

|

[38v]

3604.

Q. The *Eating of what was torn of Wild-beasts*, is here forbidden, even to a *Stranger*? v. 15.

A. That is, a *Stranger* that had embraced the Jewish Religion; for other Gentiles might eat such things. Nay, the *Israelites* themselves (as *Maimonides* observes,) when they went to War, entred the Countreyes of the Gentiles & subdued those Countreyes, might *Eat that which died of itself*, or *was torn of Beasts*; Nay, *Swines-flesh*, and such like Food, when they were hungry, & could find no other Meat.

See *Schickards Mishpat Hammelek*. c. 5. Theor. 18.⁹

⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 310–11). Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De Verborum Significatione* (1699), lib. 1, p. 20 (*voce*: Altaria sunt); Maurus Servius Honoratius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* (*Eclogues* 5.66).

⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 312); Abarbanel, on Lev. 17:2, in *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosi: Vayikra* (1710), and *JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* (3:127).

⁹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 321–22); Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 48, pp. 495–96; Wilhelm Schickard's bilingual edition of משפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamelech*] *Jus Regium Hebræorum* (1625), cap. 5, theorem 18, pp. 149–50, translates the passage from Maimonides's *Hilchot Melachim U'Milchamoteihem* (8.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:572), which Mather here summarizes.

3605.

Q. The Prohibitions of *Incestuous Conjunctions*, run in those Terms, *None of you shall* fall into them? v. 6.

A. The Hebrew Words of this Clause are, *Isch, Isch*; or, *Man, Man*. That is to say, No Man. The Talmudists carry it, as if it had been said, Neither *Jew* nor *Gentile*; For all Mankind, (they say) are, comprehended under the Lawes against *Incest*. The very *Karaites*, who adhære only to the Scripture, & reject all Talmudical Expositions, are of this Mind, as tis observed by our *Selden*, in his *Uxor Hebraica*.¹

3606.

Q. Who are meant by, *Any that are near of Kin* unto a Man? v. 6.

A. These Words do not sufficiently express (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) the full Sense of the Hebrew Phrase; which is, *One who is the Remainder of his Flesh*; That is to say, *So near of Kin to the Man, that nothing comes between them*. This is properly the *Nearest of Flesh* here spoken of. She that is immediately born of the same *Flesh* that a Man is, or she out of whose *Flesh* he is born, or she that is born out of his *Flesh*; or, in plainer Words, a Mans own *Sister, Mother, or Daughter*. These are a Mans own Immediate Relations, which the *Karaites* call, as Mr. *Selden* saies, *The Foundation and Root of all that is here forbidden*; or, for the Sake of whom, the rest here mention'd are Forbidden.²

The Degrees forbidden are in these Verses. *Nata, Soror, Neptis, Matertera, Fratrís et Uxor, et Patrus Conjux, Mater, Privigna, Noverca, Uxorisque Soror, Privigni nata, Nurusque, Atque Soror Patris, Conjungi Lege vetantur*.³

1 Simon Patrick (*Leviticus* 325–26); John Selden, *Uxor Ebraica, Seu De Nuptiis & Divortiis Ex Jure Civili* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 5, pp. 28–36. See also Johann Heinrich Hottinger's *Discursus Gemaricus De Incestu, Creationis, et Currus Opere* (1705), pp. 1–7. The Mishnah, tractates Yebamoth (3.1–10), Sanhedrin (7.4), Makkoth (3.1), in *The Mishnah* (221–23, 391, 405), like the Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (51a–b, 53ab, 54a, 55a, 57b, 69b, 74a, 75ab, 76ab, 81a, 87b), are explicit about what constitutes incest and its punishment. Karaism is a sectarian movement within post-exilic Judaism (c. 9th c. CE) which subscribes only to the Torah (Pentateuch) as divinely inspired and rejects the oral tradition (Talmud) of Rabbinic Judaism (*EB*). Selden's *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 1, caps 3–4, pp. 10–27, focuses on the Karaite views on incest.

2 Patrick (*Leviticus* 326–27); John Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* (lib. 1, cap. 2, pp. 6–9).

3 Mather's Latin summary of forbidden conjugal relations appears in the matrix established in John Selden's *Uxor Hebraicae* (lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 5) and proscribes marriage between a man and his "daughter (child), sister, granddaughter, maternal aunt, brother and wife, and father's wife, mother, stepdaughter, stepmother, and wife's sister, child of stepmother, daughter-in-law, as well as father's sister – the laws of forbidden [sexual] conjunction" Selden explicates each of the above in his subsequent chapters. See also Selden's *Uxor Ebraica* (lib. 1, cap. 2, pp. 7–9,

3607.

Q. Besides the General and Righteous Reasons, for the Prohibitions here before us, what more special one may we think of?

A. *Maimonides* gives this as one Reason; for the forbidding of all these Marriages; Because the Persons here Forbidden to be so joined together, are all, in a Manner, such as are wont to live together in the *Same House*, & who might the more easily be Tempted unto Lewdness one with another, if even thus *marrying* together were not severely forbidden.⁴ Thus, that Passage, *Near of Kin*, the LXX translate, *πρὸς οἰκείαν σαρκός*, or, as other Copies, *πρὸς οἰκεῖαν σαρκός*, *To those who are so near akin, that they usually dwell in the same House*; as Parents and Children; Brothers and Sisters; and the Brothers and Sisters of our Parents. *Mahomet*, as lewd a Fellow as he was, had not the Impudence to controul these Lawes; but in the Fourth Chapter of his *Alcoran*, expressly forbids to his Followers, a great many of the *Marriages*, that are here forbidden.⁵

3608.

Q. What may be the Meaning of that Phrase, *whether she be born at home, or born abroad?* v. 9.

A. The *Talmudists* expound it, whether legitimately born, in Wedlock; or Illegitimately, out of Wedlock.⁶

cap. 3, p. 26, cap. 4, 19–21, cap. 6, 42–43) and his *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 5, cap. 1, pp. 537–41; cap. 10, p. 590. The Great Dutch philosopher of jurisprudence, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), has much to say on the same issues in his *De Jure Belli & Paci* (1626), lib. 2, cap. 5, sec. 13–14, pp. 170–75; i. e., *Rights of War and Peace* (2:531–41, esp. 535).

⁴ Maimonides, *Hilchot Ishut* (1.6), in *Mishneh Torah* (16:14–16). See also Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yevamoth (21a, 21b).

⁵ Patrick, on Lev. 18:7 (*Leviticus* 328–29), LXX (Lev. 18:6), refers to André Du Ryer's *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (1649), ch. 4, pp. 48–49, an English translation based on Du Ryer's *L'Alcoran de Mahomet Translaté d'Arabe en François* (1647), a French version of the Arabic *Al-Qur'ân*. Ahmed Ali's modern English translation of the Arabic original reads, "Unlawful are your mothers and daughters and your sisters to you, and the sisters of your fathers and your mothers, and the daughters of your brothers and sisters, and foster mothers, foster sisters, and the mothers of your wives, and the daughters of the wives you have slept with who are under your charge; but in case you have not slept with them there is no offence (if you marry their daughters); and the wives of your own begotten sons; and marrying two sisters is unlawful. What happened in the past (is now past): God is forgiving and kind" (*Al-Qur'ân*, sura 4:23, pp. 76–77). On Du Ryer's translation and European interest in Orientalism, see A. Hamilton and F. Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France* (2004). See also A. Bevilacqua, "The Qur'an Translations" (2013).

⁶ Patrick (*Leviticus* 330); Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yevamoth (23a); Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 591.

[39v]

3609.

Q. That Law, *The Nakedness of thy Fathers Wifes Daughter, begotten of thy Father (she is thy Sister) thou shalt not uncover her Nakedness?* This Prohibition seems to be the same with that in the Ninth Verse. And therefore the Hebrewes expound it, concerning the *Daughter* of a *Mother-in-Law*, begott by another *Father*. And *Selden* observes, the Words may be thus translated; *The Nakedness of the Daughter of thy Fathers Wife, (for she that is born of thy Father, is thy Sister) thou shalt not discover.* With this the Greek, and several other Versions agree; and it is the Sense of the Principal Men among the *Karaites*? v. 11.⁷

A. But, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, This is against the constant Sense of the Hebrew Doctors, who say, Tis Lawful to marry the *Daughter of a Mother-in-Law*, which she had by another Husband; for there is no *Nearness of Flesh* at all, between these two. Wherefore, as in the *Ninth Verse*, the *Marriages* of all *Brothers* and *Sisters* in general are forbidden, so here more particularly, the Marriage with a *Sister* by the same *Father*, tho' not the same *Mother*. This express Prohibition was necessary, because, as *Buxtorf* tells us, The Sons of *Noah* thought it lawful to marry an *Half-Sister* by the Fathers Side. And this was the ancient Law of *Solon* among the *Athenians*; That they might marry *ὁμοπατρῖους*, their *Sisters* by the same *Father*, but not *ὁμομητρῖους*, their *Sisters* by the same *Mother*; as we are informed by *Joh. Meursius*, in his *Themis Attica*. If the one of these had not been in so many Words prohibited, as well as the other, the Jewes might have been in Danger of continuing in the Practice.⁸

3610.

Q. The Marriage of a *Man* with his *Aunt*, or of an *Uncle* with his *Neece*, what thought the Pagans of it? v. 12.

A. Tho' among the *Romans* it was practised, after *Claudius* married *Agrippina*, till the Time of *Constantine*; yett it was a New Thing, as *Claudius* himself acknowledges in *Tacitus*; *Nova nobis in Fratrum Filias Conjugia*. All he could say for it, was, That it was common in other Nations, *Nec Lege ellâ prohibita*. The Newness of it so frighted *Domitian*, he would not meddle with it.⁹

7 Patrick (*Leviticus* 332–33); John Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 26; on the Karaite proscription, lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 28–29.

8 Patrick (*Leviticus* 333); among his sources are Johannes Buxtorf, *Dissertatio De Sponsalibus et Devortis* (1652), pp. 15, 16; John Meursius, *Themis Attica Sive De Legibus Atticis* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 18, pp. 48–50. See also Samuel Petitus, *Legis Atticae* (1635), lib. 6: “De Connubiis,” tit. 1, p. 440.

9 Patrick (*Leviticus* 334). John Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 5, cap. 2, p. 605–06, supplies both Patrick and Mather with the classical references to Cornelius Tacitus's *Annales* (12.6). Here the Roman historian relates that in Rome, “marriage with a brother's child ... was a novelty.” It was common elsewhere, and “prohibited by no law.” Indeed, marriage between cousins and second cousins over time became a regular occurrence. Roman

3611.

Q. What means, the *Taking a Wife to her Sister, to vex her, in her Life time?* v. 18.

A. Tho' *two Wives* at a Time, were permitted in those Dayes, (and the best King, who *studied the Law, Day and Night*, did not otherwise understand this Law,) yett they might not be *Sisters*. Nor might a Man make a *Wife* of one *Sister*, & a *Concubine* of the other; (so the Vulgar Latin does understand this Text,) which could not but beget horrible Discords.¹⁰

Nor may we, with the *Talmudists*, infer from this Clause, *In her Life-time*, that a Man might marry another *Sister*, after the Death of the First. The *Karaites* conclude it utterly unlawful, as being directly against the Scope of all these Holy Lawes; and especially that which we have two Verses before. The Words, *In her Life-time*, do not refer unto, *Take*, but unto, *Vex*. And *Chaskuni*, according to the *Targum*, gives this as the sense of it; *Lest they should both be afflicted Widowes as long as they live*. No body would marry either of them, after they had been defiled with such an Incestuous Conjunction, for which God cutt off their Husband.¹¹

Among the ancient Christians, if a Man married the *Sister*, of his Dead Wife, he was, by the *Tenth* Canon of the Council of *Eliberis*, to be kept from the Communion *Five Years*.¹²

Emperor Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (BCE 10–54 CE) married his niece Julia Agrippina II (15–59 CE), who became his fourth wife. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus, aka. Constantine the Great (272–337 CE), who governed the Eastern Roman Empire for the last thirty years of his life, was allegedly converted to Christianity on his death-bed. Roman Emperor Titus Flavius Caesar Domitianus Augustus (51–96 CE) – his bad reputation as a bloody persecutor of Jews and Christians notwithstanding – evidently had misgivings about such consanguinity in marriage.

¹⁰ This and the two following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Leviticus* 338, 339). Patrick's own source is Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 23, pp. 328–31.

¹¹ The mediate source for this paragraph is Selden's *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 18–27. The Karaites are practicing Jews who accept the authority of the Torah (Pentateuch) only, not however such later additions as the Mishnah, Talmud, or any other commentaries. Mather refers to the previously cited Rabbi Chizkuni (Hizkuni), who glosses “the result would be that both these women (the sisters) would be widows in the house of their husbands while the husband is alive, as he is forbidden to have marital relations with either one of them” (*Chizkuni* 3:759; see also *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:137).

¹² Patrick (*Leviticus* 339). The Council of Eliberis (i. e., Elvira) convened in the Roman province of Hispania Baetica (S. Spain) in c. 305 CE. The Canons issued by the Council governed, among other issues, the proscription against intermarriages between Christians, pagans, and Jews; they imposed clerical celibacy, and they punished with exclusion from communion anyone who married the sister of his dead wife. Canon LXI, titled “*De his qui duabus sororibus copulantur*,” decrees, “Si quis post obitum uxor suae sororem eius duxerit, et ipsa fuerit fidelis, quinquennium a communion placuit abstineri, nisi forte velocius dari pacem necessitas coegerit infirmitatis,” in *Concilium Eliberitanum* (pp. 333–34). Canon X, to which Mather erroneously

It is observable, How severely the Holy GOD, forbids to the Children of *Jacob*, such a *Marriage* as there had been in their *Fathers Family*!¹³

[40r]

Q. A Remark upon the *Forbidden Marriages*? v. 18.

A. The Jews look'd upon the Prohibition of the Forbidden Degrees, as proceeding from a *Positive Law*.¹⁴ And Monsr. *Jurieu*, thinks, That the *Christians*, who hold these Degrees forbidden by the *Law of Nature*, entangle themselves in no small Difficulties.¹⁵

But it is observable, That the *Eastern Nations*, have all along had less of Scruple about these Incestuous Marriages, than the *Western*. The Marriages of *Brothers* to their *Sisters*, were frequent in the *East*; in the *West* they have been a Rarity. The *Magians* boasted of their being born from Incestuous Marriages; and they married not only their *Sisters*, but their very *Mothers*. *Patricides*, an Arabian Author, tell us; "From the time of *Nimrod*, the *Magians* began to worship the *Fire*: And the Name of him that was appointed by *Nimrod*, to attend this *Fire*, was *Andicham*. When this Priest sacrificed, the Dæmon spoke from the Flames, and told him; *No body is qualified to attend my Altars, & to perform my Sacrifices, except he who lies with his Mother, his Daughter, & his Sister*. *Andicham* did as he had been commanded by the Divil; And ever since that time, such among the *Magians*, as officiate as Priests, took up a Custome of lying with their *Mothers*, their *Daughters*, and their *Sisters*."¹⁶

The Custome horribly prevailed at the Time, when the pretended *Clemens Romanus*, wrote his *Recognitions*.¹⁷

refers, governs cases of divorce – not the five-year abstinence from consummating a man's marriage to his deceased wife's sister stipulated in Canon LXI.

13 According to Gen. 20:12, Abraham married his half-sister Sarah, the daughter of his father Terah. In marrying his nieces Leah and Rachel, even Jacob would have violated the Levitical proscription against marrying the two sisters (Gen. 29:15–30).

14 Maimonides, *Sefer HaMitzvoh* distinguishes between 248 Positive Commandments and 365 Negative Commandments, in *Mishneh Torah* (vol. 21).

15 Pierre Jurieu, *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 21, pp. 204, 207.

16 Mather translates the passage from Edward Pococke's bilingual Arabic-Latin edition of Eutychius's *Nazām al-jawhar*, i. e., *Annales* (1656), vol. 1, pp. 63–64, by Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (877–940), also known by his Graeco-Arabic name Saidus Patricides (Sa'id ibn Batriq), who wrote his history in Arabic. (CE). Pococke's edition reads "*Andeshan*" rather than "*Andicham*," the alleged name of this high priest of the Magians, or Zoroastrian fire worshippers of Medo-Persia. On the Magians, see also Mather's *Appendix V. Antiqua: Sabians and Magians*, appended to Mather's commentary on Revelation, in vol. 10 of *Biblia Americana*.

17 Pope Clement I (fl. late 1st c. CE), also known as Clemens Romanus, is believed to be one of the first Apostolic Fathers and earliest bishops of Rome. *Clementine Recognitions*, a religious romance with Clemens as the principal hero, is extant in two versions: the *Clementine Homilies* (20 books) and the *Clementine Recognitions*, both addressed to the bishop of Jerusalem, James the Just (d. c. 62 CE), one of the siblings of Jesus Christ. (CE, JE). Mather may have in

The *Greeks* observed a greater Decorum in their Marriages, and the *Romans* a yett greater in theirs. It is observable, That the Remoter any Countrey was from the *East*, the Remoter they were from these Impure Copulations. When the Emperour *Claudius*, was resolved upon espousing his Nice *Agrippina*, he did by *Vitellius* make an Excuse to the Senate; And because the thing was a Novelty, he would not bring home his espoused Lady; But tho' he gave great Encouragements unto others, to follow his Footsteps, that the Exemple of others might authorise his Crime, he could not meet with any that would imitate him; except one miserable Wretch, a Roman Knight whose Name is not worth Remembring.¹⁸ *Plutarch* tells us, The Ancient Romans were so over-nice in this Point, that they would not allow a Marriage, in any Degree of Consanguinity, tho' it were as Remote as could be. He saies, [*Quæst. Rom.* 6. and, 108.] *It was very long, before they would allow Cousins to marry one another.*¹⁹ The First who did it, was a Man of Quality, much beloved, & one who espoused a | very Rich [40v] Heiress; However he was accused before the People for the Crime.²⁰

mind the various forms of superstitions and immorality alluded to in *Recognitions of Clement* (4.27–31), in *ANF* (8:140–41).

18 Mather refers to this old chestnut of a story. Roman Emperor Claudius (BCE 10–54 CE) married his niece Agrippina II (15–59), who became his fourth wife. Lucius Vitellius the Elder (c. BCE 5–51 CE), father of the future Emperor of the same name, served as Roman Censor at the time of Agrippina's marriage to Claudius, and was in charge of maintaining the census, public morality, and state finances. It would have been the task of Vitellius's office to defend what his contemporaries regarded as an incestuous marriage between Agrippina and her uncle, the emperor.

19 Plutarch, *Roman and Greek Questions* (6 and 108), in *Moralia* (4:17, 161).

20 See "Consanguinity (in Canon Law)" (CE). Mather cancels the following passage for unknown reasons. It appears significant to retain it in this footnote to draw attention to Mather's emerging views on this issue:

Q. The Prohibition of, Taking a Wife to her Sister, to vex her? v. 18.

A. Many Eminent Writers, following the marginal Reading, [one Wife to another,] conceive, That a Plurality of Wives is expressly forbidden by this Law. And so the Karaites interpret it.]

But it is well known, that as Polygamy was indulged before the Law, so it was after it. And Moses himself supposes it, when he provides, that a Man should not prefer a Child he had by a Beloved Wife, before one by her whom he less esteemed, if he were the Eldest Son. We find expressly, That the Hebrew Kings might have Many Wives, tho' not a Multitude. [Deut. XVII.27.] And the best of their Princes, who readd the Divine Law Day & Night, and could not but understand its Meaning, took many Wives without any Reproof. So far from That, we find God giving more Wives to him than he had before. [2. Sam. XII.9.]

The Meaning therefore is, That tho' Two Wives, or more, at a time, were permitted in those days, yett it was not permitted unto any Man, to take Two Sisters, (as Jacob had formerly done,) whether Legitimates or Illegitimates.

There use to be great Jealousies in Emulations between Wives, which between Two Sisters would have been more Intolerable than between Two other Women; who (as Cunæus remarks) not being of the same Consanguinity, might live more quietly together under the same Husband. Besides, no one would afterwards marry either of the Sisters, being Widows, because they were defiled with such an Impious Conjunction, for which the Husband might by the Law have been cutt off.

Q. The *Punishment* for these *Incestuous Mixtures*? v. 18.

A. It was *Death*.

The Kind of *Death* is expressed but in one Place; and that is, when a *Man Takes a Wife and her Mother*; [Lev. XX.14.] All three were to be *Burnt with Fire*.²¹ And this probably was the Punishment, in the other Cases of *Incest*.

If a Man lay with his *Uncles* or *Brothers* Wife, besides the Punishment of *Death*, it is added by the Law, *They shalt Dy Childless*. This may mean, that whatever Issue proceeds from such Incestuous Converse, was to be esteemed spurious, & be deprived of succeeding to the Fathers Inheritance.²²

[41r]

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971.

Q. The Law, which forbad Mens *Passing their Seed thro' the Fire unto Moloch*, may with some Curiosity doubtless, bee enquired into. I would therefore, in the first Place ask you, *What was Moloch*? That famous *Divel*, who was hee? v. 21.²³

A. I will not, with *Selden*, and *Grotius*, & others, urge, that *Moloch* was the same with *Saturn*; the *Dæmon* whom the *Phœnicians* chiefly served with their horrible *Teknothysies*: Because, in Act. 7.43. hee seems distinguished, from *Chiun*, whom wee take for *Saturn*.²⁴

And I will not, with *Kircher*, say that hee was the same with *Mars*; tho' hee had a *Coptical* Commentary on the *Acts*, where the Names of all the Planets being Recited in Order, in the Place of *Mars*, there is *Moloch*.²⁵

²¹ Talmud, tractate Yevamoth (94b) and Sanhedrin (76b).

²² Talmud, tractate Yevamoth (55a); Mather's probable sources – at first or second hand – are Theodor Hacksan's *Notarum Philologico-Theologico in Varia et Difficilia Loca Scripturae* (1664), pp. 443–48, on Lev. 18:18; Hacksan's *De Locutionibus Sacris Disputatio Tertia* (1639), note 29; and Johannes Buxtorf's *Dissertatio de Sponsalibus et Divortiiis* (1652), sec. XV, pp. 28–31.

²³ The following extracts are from Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 10, sec. 1–4, fols. 314–26; Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1705), vol. 2, part III, treatise II, chs. 1–7, pp. 1–48, is similarly fulsome on the rites of Moloch.

²⁴ Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagma II* (1617), synt. I, cap. 6, p. 90; and Grotius, on Deut. 18:10, in his *Annotationes (Opera 1:92–93)*, are Spencer's sources (314) here and provide the most detailed information. Because Saturn (Cronos) swallowed his own children the moment they issued from the womb of his own mother Rhea, Hesiod (*Theogony* 453–73), Cicero (*De Natura Deorum* 2.25), and Lactantius (*Divine Institutes*, 1.20–21) link the Phœnician Moloch, to whom human sacrifice was offered, with the ancient Greek story (in *ANF* 7:34–37). Mather's "Teknothysies" (i. e., "child-sacrifice") is a transliteration of St. Athanasius's τεκνοθυσίαις (*Contra Gentes* 25.23), where the same story is rehearsed (*NPNFII* 4:17).

²⁵ Polymath Athanasius Kircher, in his *Ædipus Ægyptiacus* (1652–54), vol. 1, synt. 4, cap. 15, pp. 330–34, links the Roman deities Saturn and Mars with the Ammonitish Moloch and Chiun (Amos 5:26; Acts 7:43). He lays the linguistic foundation for this association of these deities in his trilingual Coptic lexicon, *Prodromi et Lexici Copti Supplementum*, cap. 3: "De Nominibus Dei," p. 527, appended to Kircher's *Lingua Ægyptiaca Restituta Opus Tripartitum* (1643). Here, the renowned German Jesuit draws on the Vatican manuscript "Commentario quodam Copto in vii. Caput Actuum Apostolorum, Vaticano" to connect the Coptic ΡΗΦΑΝ with Rephan (Egyptian host of heaven), who corresponds (so Kircher) to the ancient Greek

And, I will not say, with *Arias Montanus*, that hee was the same with *Mercury*: tho' *Malach* do signify, what they made *Mercury*, a *Messenger*.²⁶

Nor will I say, with *Cyril*, that *Lucifer*, or, *Venus*, was, by the Ancients, worshipped under the Name of *Moloch*: nor, with *Sanctius*, that *Moloch* was an Idol peculiar to the *Ammonites*; nor, with some others, that some certain *King*, who might, by way of Eminency bee called, *A King*, which *Moloch* signifies, was hereby intended; tho' the particular Name of the Gentleman bee now forgotten.²⁷

Wee will rather think, with our most learned *Spencer*, that *Moloch*, was a Name common to all the Gods (especially the *Sun*) worshipped in the Images of the Ancient *Pagans*.²⁸

The Prophet, speaking to the Idolatrous *Israelites*, uses the Term [Amos. 5.26.] of, *your Moloch*: as if there were other *Molochs* else where, and all the Idols abroad in the World were *Molochs*.

Moreover, *Baal*, which was a Name common to the False Gods, is promiscuously used, for *Moloch*. Compare Jer. 19.5. with Jer. 32.35. and, if I don't mistake, you'll find it so. And an Ancient Inscription, at this Day, in the *Farnesian Garden* at *Rome*, which was brought unto *Rome*, A. C. 236. ha's ΜΑΛΑΧ ΒΗΛΩ in it, both Names brought into one. Monsieur *Petit*, maintains this Opinion, That as *Baal*, or *Bel*, was a general Name, for the Gods, who were further distinguished by Annexed Epithites, thus was *Moloch*, *Molech*, & *Melech*.²⁹

There is indeed a double Original of this Name. For it signifies a *King*, and imports *Government*, *Majesty*, whereof tis no Wonder, that the Divil is

Kronos and the Roman Saturn, hence with the fiery Μολόχ (Moloch). A tall order this! The same association is made in *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta Opus Tripartitum* (1643), sec. 2, *Scala Magna*, porta 2, cap. 3, p. 49, where Kircher identifies the Egyptian-Coptic PHΦAN with the Latin Saturnus and Arabic ڤن. On this intellectual somersault, see also H. A. W. Meyer's notation on Acts 7:43, in his *Handbook to the Acts of the Apostles* (1889), pp. 152–53.

26 Mather refers to the Spanish Orientalist Arias Benito Montanus, whose *Commentaria in Duodecim Prophetas* (1671), “Amos Prophetam Commentaria,” cap. 1, pp. 304–05, is the mediate source in question. The Roman deity Mercurius, like the Greek Hermes, wore two hats: messenger of the gods and patron of commerce.

27 Cyrillus Alexandrinus, in his commentary on Amos 5:25 (*Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 1:476, lines 4–5), associates shining Lucifer and lusty Venus with Moloch. The Spanish Jesuit Gaspar Sanctius (aka. Sánchez) identifies Moloch as an Ammonite idol, which he links with Saturn and Rephan (Remphan), in his gloss on Acts 7:43, in *Commentarii in Actus Apostolorum* (1616), p. 167, § 86. The Hebrew-Aramaic מֶלֶךְ [melek] (Strong's # 4428), signifying “king” is associated with the idol Chiun (Amos 5:26).

28 Spencer (315).

29 Spencer (315–16) derives the ancient inscription from John Selden's *De Diis Syris* (1617), synt. II, cap. 1, p. 136; the Farnesian Gardens in Rome (Orti Farnesiani sul Palatino) were established by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (c. 1550) as a private botanical garden, the first of its kind in Europe. The Greek inscription reads, MALACH BELO. Samuel Petit, *Variarum Lectionum Libri IIII* (1633), libri 1, cap. 1, pp. 3–7, interprets the designation moloch מֶלֶךְ [melek] (Amos 5:26) as a title signifying “king” (Strong's # 4428) and anciently used as a suffix in “Hammelech.”



From Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54), vol. 1, synt. 4, cap. 15, p. 334.

Ambitious. But more than so; 'Tis likely, that /מֹלֵךְ/ the Root of this Name, did of old signify, not only, To *Reign*, but also, to *Worship*, to *Adore*, to Reckon as a *God*. Indeed the *Lexicons* take no Notice hereof; but it is very certain, that the *Ethiopic* Language, which is near enough akin to the *Hebrew*, does yett Apply the Name to such a Signification. There, the Word, /מֹלֵךְ/ in *Hiphil*, is, as L. *De Dieu* tells us, the same with Σεβεσθαι. *Non Dubito* (saies hee) *quin inde Hebrais quoque Rex /מֹלֵךְ/ dicatur, quasi qui à subditis, veluti Terrenum aliquod Numen, colitur et servitur.* Thus, the *Kings of Hamath*, and *Arphad*, [Isa. 37.13.] are called, the *Gods of Hamath* and *Arphad*. [Isa. 36.19.] So, the *Gods of Sepharvaim*, are called [2. King. 17.31.] *Adramelek*, and, *Anamelek*. *Adramelech*, is interpreted in that Phrase, of the *Philistines*, *The Mighty Gods*. And *Anamelech*, is, *Deus Respondens*, or, *Jupiter Oracularis*. *Hercules* was called Μελικαρθος, or *Melicerta*, by the *Sidonians*; that is, /מֹלֵךְ קרתא/ *The God* [Tutelar] *of the City*. [See also 2. King. 19.13. with 2. King. 18.34.] Hence, the old Gentiles, called, a God, *Moloch*, because it was their σέβασμα, they *Worshipped & Adored* it.³⁰

³⁰ Spencer (316) draws on Ludovicus De Dieu's gloss on Exod. 7:1, which appears (along with the Latin citation) in his *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (1648), p. 55; on Johann Heinrich Hottinger's "Dissertatio IV. De nominibus Dei Orientalium," in *Dissertationum Theologico-Philologicarum Fasciculus* (1660), diss. IV, sec. 22, pp. 297–98; and on Nicholas Fuller's *Miscellaneorum Theologicorum* (1650), lib. 3, cap. 17, pp. 372–76 – all of which are woven into Mather's excerpt from Spencer's paragraph. Anyway, Le Dieu opines, "I doubt not (saies hee)

And *Moloch*, did belong to many Gods; else the Name had not been so frequent, either in itself, or in such as were but *Flexions* of it.³¹

972.

Well; And what was, *Passing thro' the Fire to this Moloch*?³²

Tis very certain, That some of the Pagans, especially when certain Distresses were upon them, did use an *Immolation* of their Children unto *Moloch*. If you consider the Words of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, in chap. 16.20, 21. And compare Jer. 7.31. with Jer. 32.35. you'll find that Signification of, *Passing thro' the Fire*. And, as we read of the *Sepharvites* [2. King, 17.31.] That they *Burnt their Children* unto *Adramelech* and *Anamelech*: So, there are other Historians, who relate such horrid Practices to have been usual among the *Canaanites*. *Josephus* tells us, that such bloody *Holocausts* were, κατὰ τὰ Χαναναίων ἔθη, *According to the Canaanitish Customs*. And the Author of, the Book of *Wisdom*, therefore calls the *Canaanites*, τέκνων φονέας ἀνελεήμονας, *Unmerciful Murderers of their Children*; and objects against them, their τεκνοφόνους τελεταίς, or *Puericidal Ceremonies*.³³ The Ambiguity of the Diabolical Oracle, that required the Rite, may have been one thing that betray'd the woful People into it. As when *Apollo* demanded of the *Pelasgians*, τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα, because φῶτα might signify, either a *Man* or a *Torch*, there was a Dispute, which must bee intended.³⁴ Thus difficult it was to understand /העביר באש/. The *Israelites* learn't of these *Canaanites*. [Ps. 106.37. Jer. 19.5. 2. King. 23.10.]³⁵ | But it is also certain, That the *Februation* of their Children to *Moloch*, was more frequently used among the

[41v]

but that from this [word] /מֶלֶךְ/ [melek] "king" is derived by the Hebrews, as if one who is honored and served by subjects, just like some earthly deity." The same is true for the name Σεβεδαι (Zebedee). The Latin designations "*Deus Respondens*" and "*Jupiter Oracularis*" respectively signify "god's answer" and "Jupiter's oracle." Hercules was dubbed *Melicerta*, the name given to the son of Athamus and Ino, King of Thebes (*KP*). Finally, σέβασμα suggests "an object of awe or worship" as in Dionysius Halicarnassus's *Antiquitates Romanae* (1.30.3, line 5) and in Acts 17:23 (*LSJ*)

31 Here, *Flexions* are inflections (variants) of Moloch's name.

32 The following paragraphs are from Spencer's *De Legibus*, lib. 2, cap. 10, sec. 2, fols. 317–18.

33 *Josephus Flavius* (*Antiquities* 9.12) relates how Ahaz emulated his predecessors and sacrificed 'his own son as a burnt-offering,' "according to the practices of the Canaanites" (*Works* 209). Mather refers to the infanticidal sacrifices mentioned in the apocryphal ΣΟΦΙΑ ΣΑΛΩΜΩΝ (*Wisdom of Solomon*), in LXX (*Wisd. Sol.* 12:5, 14:23).

34 Spencer (sec. 3, fol. 319); Dionysius Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.19.3, line 9) relates that according to the inscription on the tripods in the temple of Zeus, Apollo's demand of the Pelasgians was "to send to the sire [Saturn] a man" in exchange for protection. The Greek φῶτα [phota] variously signifies "light" (candle light) and "man," and could thus imply human sacrifice – if so interpreted. See also Macrobius (1.7.28).

35 Spencer (317, 318). The Hebrew phrase העביר באש ("to pass through the fire") is derived from Deut. 18:10: בְּנוֹ זִבְחוֹ בָּאֵשׁ בְּמַעְבְּרִי בְּנוֹ זִבְחוֹ בָּאֵשׁ to make "his son or daughter pass through the fire." On the oracle of Apollo in general, see Antonius van Dale's *De Oraculis Ethnorum* (1683), diss. prima, pp. 59–63. See also F. E. Manuel's discussion of the debunking of the oracles, in *Eighteenth Century* (esp. pp. 41–53).

Pagans.³⁶ Two Pyles were kindled, and Persons that were carried thro' them, in Token of their Consecration to *Moloch*, had a Sort of *Lustration* in their being so. And hence, the LXX [as in Deut. 18.10.] render /מַעֲבִיר/ by, περικαθαίρων.³⁷ It is likely, that the *Hard Word*, which the elder Ages had understood, in the Harder Sense, of a, *Combustion*, the later Ages, in the Dayes of *Moses*, had found out, a softer Sense of *Purgation*, for it; and they began to think, that *Moloch*, would bee content, as *Tertullian* speaks, *Traducto corpore flammâ*.³⁸ And thus, tho' tis said of *Ahaz*, 2. King. 16.3. hee caused *his Son to pass thro' the Fire*: yett wee find the Son, surviving this *Traduction*; It was *Hezekiah*, who afterwards proved so notable a Destroyer of these Idolatries. Make a Pause here, Sir, upon the *Sovereign Grace* of Heaven! — Briefly, There can bee nothing more to this Purpose, than the Words of *Theodore*: “*Josephus* tells us, (quoth hee) that *Ahaz* made one of his Sons, a *Burnt-Offering to Baal*; But I beleieve, what is here spoken, signifies but that Sort of Error, which is continued, even unto our Time. Εἶδον γὰρ ἐν τισὶ πόλεσιν, For, (saies hee,) I have seen it, in some Cities, that once in a Year, they kindle *Bonfires* in the Streets, and not only *Boyes* but *Men* do *leap thro' those Fires*; and *Children* are by their *Mothers* carried through them. It seem'd a sort of *Expiation*, or *Purgation*; And this, I conceive, was the Sin of *Ahaz*.”³⁹

I pray, bestow now, some of *your own Thoughts*, upon the Rites of *Bonfires*, in our Dayes: Especially, when you also think of what *Varro* saies, *Palilia, tam privata, quàm publica, sunt apud Rusticos, ut, cum Fæno coniectis stipulis, Ignem Magnum transiliant, his Palilibus se expiari credentes*: And of what *Ovid* saies,

Moxque per Ardentis stipulæ crepitantis Acervos,
Trajicias celeri strenua Membra Pede.⁴⁰

³⁶ As John Milton put it in *Paradise Lost* (1674), bk. 1, p. 14, “First *Moloch*, horrid King besmeard with blood/ Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,/ Though for the noyse of Drums and Timbrels loud/ Their childrens cries unheard, that passed through fire/ To his grim Idol” (1:392–96).

³⁷ Deut. 18:10 (LXX) “one who purges” or “performs purification rites” (with fire).

³⁸ Spencer (318). Tertullian is quoted as saying that in later ages, pagans were content to “pass body over the fire.”

³⁹ In his *Quæstiones in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon* (on 4 Kings 47) [PG 080. 0780, lines 21–30] Theodoretus Cyrrhensis paraphrases Josephus Flavius’s reference to Ahaz, who devoted his own son to the flames as a burnt sacrifice (*Antiquities* 9.12.1). The Greek passage from Theodoretus, which Mather here translates, reads, “I have seen it in some cities.”

⁴⁰ Spencer (lib 2, cap. 10, sec. 3, fol. 320) cites at second hand from Grotius (*Annotaciones* on Deut. 18:10; *Opera* 1:93) one of the scholiasts’ explanatory commentaries on Horace in which Varro is cited as an illustration for the Palilia festival celebrated in ancient Rome on April 21. Peasants built a bonfire and passed through the flames, believing their sins would thus be expiated. Much the same appears in Pierre Jurieu’s *Critical History of the Doctrines* (1705), vol. 2, part 4, treat. 2, ch. 2, pp. 23–24. At any rate, the scholiasts’ Latin commentary on Horace explains how Pales, the protectress of herds and shepherds, is celebrated: “The feast of Palilia, both private and public, is held among the countryfolk, with the grass-stubble thrown together with hay; they leap over a great fire, believing that with these rites they are being purified.” (Varro apud Scholiasten Horatii). Ovid adds in his *Fasti* (4.781–82) that the celebrants “anon leap with nimble foot and straining thews across the burning heaps of crackling straw.”

And when you think, how the *Trullan* Synod, and *Chrysostom* on the *Nativity of John*, have Damned the Rite, now discoursed of.⁴¹

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Well, And why did the God of Heaven forbid this, *Passing thro' the Fire*?⁴²

Why, First, For the *Burning* of Children in the Fire, to *Moloch*, it was an *Inhumane* Business, altogether contrary to the Law, the Light, the Love of *Nature*; & Ruinous to Mankind. Hence *Pliny* applauds the civilized *Romans* for this Thing; *Non satis aestimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur, quòd sustulere monstra, in quibus Hominem occidere, Religiosissimum erat.* And *Euripides*, in one of his Tragedies, declaring, that Men should not ἀνθρωποκτονεῖν, but βουθυτεῖν, shoves how abominable it was to the civilized *Græcians*. Moreover, There was an horrid *Sacrilege* in it, for the *Israelites* thus to *sacrifice* the Children, which were peculiarly claimed by the *God of Israel*. Consider, *Ezek. 23.37.* and *Lev. 20.2.*⁴³

You may add, That this Damnable Practice was a *Magical* one; it was a Peece of Consultation with *Dæmons*, to obtain from them the Knowledge of Secret and Future Things. Hence, tis joined with *Divinations*; *Deut. 18.10.* *2. King. 17.17.* *2. King. 21.6.* *Lev. 20.4, 5, 6.* Thus *Tacitus* reports of the *Druids*, *Excisi luci sevis Superstitionibus Sacri; Nam cruore captivo adolere Aras, et Hominum Fibris consulere Deos, fas habebant.*⁴⁴ It was likewise a *Propitiatory* Sort of a

⁴¹ Via Spencer, Mather refers to Canon LXV, of the Council of Trullo (which convened in 692 CE), and explicitly condemns the hoary rites of passing through fire: “The fires which are lighted on the new moons by some before their shops and houses, upon which (according to a certain ancient custom) they are wont foolishly and crazily to leap, we order henceforth to cease. Therefore, whosoever shall do such a thing, if he be a cleric, let him be deposed; but if he be a layman, let him be cut off” (*The Canons*, in *NPNFi* 14:394). Perhaps Mather has in mind Chrysostom’s *Homilies on the Gospel of John* (18.4) where the venerable archbishop of Constantinople warns against meddling with fire: “For so he who meddles with fire must needs be injured, so wills the weakness of our nature; yet nature does not therefore draw us to the fire and to the injury thence arising; this can be only from deliberate perversity. I beseech you, therefore, to remove and correct this fault, that you may not of your own accord cast yourself down... nor run of yourselves to the blaze, lest we place ourselves in jeopardy of the fire prepared for the devil” (*NPNFi* 14:66).

⁴² The following paragraphs are extracted from Spencer, lib. 2, cap. 10, sec. 4, fols. 321–26.

⁴³ Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 30.4.13) applauds the accomplishments of Roman civilization for having wiped out the more heinous rites of the ancients: “It is beyond calculation how great is the debt owed to the Romans, who swept away the monstrous rites, in which to kill a man was the highest religious duty [and for him to be eaten a passport to health].” Both Spencer and Mather omit the bracketed phrase in Pliny’s account. In his tragedy *Hecuba* (260–61), Euripides has Hecuba wonder whether it was Fate who encouraged man to offer “human sacrifice” (ἀνθρωποσφείν rather than ἀνθρωποκτονεῖν) at a funeral where “bull sacrifice” (βουθυτεῖν) was more appropriate. Spencer’s citation, however, is not from Euripides’s tragedy but from one of the scholia. My reference is to the modern *Scholia in Euripidem* (Sec. **Sch** hyp-scholion 260, line 4–5).

⁴⁴ Spencer (322). Tacitus (*Annales* 14.30) relates how during the reign of Nero Roman forces established a beachhead on the shores of Britain. After building a garrison among the Druids of Britain, the next step was “to demolish their groves consecrated to their savage cults; for

Business; intended for the Averruncation of the Wrath of the offended Gods, & the Averting of grievous Calamities. The most excellent Creatures, were by the Gentiles, then thought proper for their *Altars*; even, Humane Infants. Thus, the *Carthaginians* in their Distresses, from *Agathocles*, offered up the Sons of their Nobles.⁴⁵ And *Philobiblius*, tells us, out of *Sanchoniathon*, Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς κλ. It was the Manner of the Ancients, in their terriblest Calamities, for the cheef Commanders, to sacrifice the dearest of their Children, *ut exitium publicum Domestico Redimerent, & averterent*. *Eusebius* has a Passage to this Purpose, in his Praises of *Constantine*. Compare, Mic. 6.7. Finally, T'was *Divellish* all over; & full of Cruelty: such Cruelty; that by the Beat of *Drum*, the Yells of the Tormented Infants, must bee drowned.⁴⁶

But then, for the *Dragging* of Children thro' the Fire to *Moloch*; It was done as a *Lustration, Purgation, Expiation* of them, that they might not bee obnoxious to the Strokes of any *Demon*, or any *Ill Eye*, by their Native Impurities. This is what *Maimonides* mentions, as an Opinion introduced by the *Fire-Worshippers*.⁴⁷ Indeed *Fire* was the main Thing used in the *Februations* of the Heathen: πυρῶν, was, to *Purge*; and *Sulphur* much used therein, was therefore called Θεῖον; and *Ovid* sings,

*Omnia purgat edax Ignis.*⁴⁸

they [Druids] considered it a duty to consult their deities by means of human entrails." On the Druids, see also *MCA* (1702), bk. 4, p. 129(b) and *BA* (1:884–85).

45 Mather (via Spencer) refers to Agathocles (361–289 BCE), the Greek tyrant of Syracuse (Sicily). During Agathocles's campaign in N Africa, the Carthaginians, remorseful for having neglected their human sacrifices to Cronos (Moloch), "resolved to take two hundred children of the highest rank and offer them; while another three hundred, who were suspected of having escaped unduly, came forward, by their own will or their fathers', and gave themselves up to death" (*History of Agathocles*, ch. 4, pp. 116–17). Spencer's source for the Carthaginians' child-sacrifices is the summary account in Lactantius (*Divine Institute* 1.21), in *ANF* (7:35).

46 Spencer's third-hand citation of Philo Byblos's extract from the pre-Homeric Sanchuniathon (a Phoenician priest) is extant in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (4.16.11, line 3; see also 1.10.44, line 2). The Greek extract, which Mather (via Spencer) continues in Latin, can be rendered as follows: "It was a custom of the ancients" in utmost crises to sacrifice their own children "as a ransom" to assuage vengeful demons "as a means to avert the destruction of their state or household" (cf. Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.16.156d). In his *De laudibus Constantini* (cap. 13, sec. 7, lines 4–7), Eusebius deplores the cruel madness of pagan worshippers who "sacrifice the dearest objects of their affection to their gods, regardless of all natural ties, and urged by frenzied feeling to slay their only and best beloved children" (*Oration in Praise of Constantine* 13.7), in *NPNFii* (1:601).

47 In his *Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 37, pp. 448–49, Maimonides explains, "Now it is known that it is the nature of men in general to be most afraid and most wary of losing their property and their children. Therefore the worshippers of fire spread abroad the opinion in those times that the children of everyone who would not *make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire* [Deut. 18:10] would die" (*Guide* 3.37.546).

48 Spencer (324). Θεῖον (brimstone) was used to πυρῶν (purge) or purify. Ovid's *Fasti* (4.785) sings, "devouring fire purges all things."

And *Theodorus Balsamon* tells us, of the old Græcians, *They kindled Great Fires before their Shops, and Houses, & Leaped over them, imagining, δια; τοῦτο τὰ προσυμβαίνοντα ἴσως αὐτοῖς δωσχερῇ κατακαίεσθαι, That the Mischiefs impending over them were hereby consumed.* But you may read more, concerning the *Flamma Piacularis*, in, *Sanctius's* Commentary on the Book of *Kings*. Furthermore, The old Idolaters, made this *Passing thro' the Fire*, a Rite of *Initiation*; whereby their Children were Dedicated unto *Moloch*. Hence, wee still find, they were *Children*, yett in the Power of their Parents, which this Rite was chiefly employ'd upon.⁴⁹

[▽ Attachment recto]⁵⁰

[▽]

This *Fire* was much used among them, in their *Initiations*. And so *Suidas* tells us, That the *Initiated* of *Mithra*, did, διὰ πυρὸς παρελθεῖν καὶ διὰ κρύους, *per Ignem transire et per Frigus*; before they were Admitted among the ἐποπταῖ. ⁵¹ Quære, Whether it were not in a Sort of Opposition hereunto, that our Lord would have His Apostles, by a Baptism, as well *Fire* as *Water*, Initiated unto the Mysteries of His Kingdome. [Math. 3.11. Act. 3.4.] The *Parents* were the Administrators of this Rite, under the Direction of the *Chemarim*; & thereby Resigned unto *Moloch*, the Right which they had in their Children. To bee, wholly *Addicted unto the Service* of the Idol, was doubtless the primitive Signification of the Word, /העביר/ here made use of; as, προσέρχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ [Heb. 11.6.] signifies, To bee a *Proselyte*, or, a *Man devoted unto the Worship of God*.⁵²

To conclude; The Old *Zabians*, by this Rite, of a Diabolical Præscription, expressed their Worship, first of the *Fire*, & then of the *Sun*, as a *God*. What Veneration the first Idolaters had for the *Fire*, is intimated in the Name of the most ancient Instruments of *Idolatry*, [Lev. 26.30. 2. Chron. 34.4.] חמנים/ Πυρεῖα, *Ignis Fana*. This *Fire-Worship*, is to this Day retained among the *Persians*, who have their Πναθεῖα, or Πυρεῖ, *Temples* in Honour of the *Fire*. And *Benjamin*, in

⁴⁹ Mather quotes from the Byzantine canon lawyer and patriarch of Antioch Theodore Balsamon (c. 1130–1195) (*EB*), who (according to Spencer's marginalia, fol. 324, note *q*) refers to Canon 65 of the Council of Trullo (692 CE), which outlawed lighting and leaping through bonfires in front of their shops and houses at new moon to ward off evil (*The Canons*, in *NPNFii* 14:394). Mather provides his own translation. The renowned Spanish Jesuit Gaspar Sanctius expounds on the expiatory fires of the ancients in his commentary on 4 Kings 16:1, in his *In Quatuor Libros Regum & Duos Paralipomenon* (1623), lib. 4, cap. 16, pp. 1538–41.

⁵⁰ The entire paragraph is written on a slip of paper and attached with four wax waivers (now loose) at the bottom of [42v], column 2.

⁵¹ The citation from the lexicon *Suda* appears in Pseudo-Nonnus, *Scholia mythologia* (orat. 4, hist. 6, line 9) and explains that to be initiated into the mystery rites of the Persian Mithras among the Zoroastrians, a novice must “pass through fire and frost” to be admitted among the “visible”; i. e., “the highest initiates.”

⁵² The Hebrew nouns חמנים (Lev. 26:30) and חמנים (2 Chron. 34:4) are associated with the idolatrous worship of the “sun-pillar” חמן (Strong's # 2553). Hence Mather's Greek and Latin translation suggest “fire-worship” among the Zoroastrians.

his *Itinerary*, finds these *Fire-Worshippers*, in *Taprobane*, still practising the Rites of *Moloch*.⁵³

[Attachment verso]

The Heathen, who called the *Moon* the /מלכות/ *Malcuth*, or *Queen of Heaven*, [Jer. 7.18.]⁵⁴ called the *Sun*, by the Name of *Moloch*, or, *The King*. And the Distance of the *Sun* from them, caused them to take the *Fire*, for a Symbol of him. Hence that Passage of *Isidore*, *Nimroth gigas Persas Ignem colere docuit, nam omnes in Illis Partibus Solem colunt*.⁵⁵ Compare 2. King. 17.16, 17.

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

⁵³ The Sephardic traveler R. Benjamin of Tudela (1130–1173) mentions the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers of Taprobana, or “Insulas Chenerag” (Sri Lanka) in his famous *Itinerary* של מסעות רבי בנימין *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis* (1633), pp. 108–09, and in L’Empereur’s note, p. 216. See also Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 6.24.89) and R. Benjamin’s description of the fire-worshippers of “Ibrig” or “Ibriag,” in *The Itinerary of Benjamin Tudela* (1907), pp. 92–94.

⁵⁴ Or rather מלכת השמים [meleketh ha-shamayim] (Strong’s ## 4446, 8064), better known as “the Queen of Heaven.”

⁵⁵ At last, the citation from St. Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), bishop of Seville, Spain (*CE*), as adapted in Archbishop Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo Libri Viginti Duo* (pars 2, lib. 12, cap. 4: “De regionibus”) [PL 111. 0336D], is to affirm that “the giant Nimroth taught the Persians how to tend fire, for all in those parts worship the sun.”

3612.

Q. That Command, *Thou shalt not wholly Reap the Corners of thy Field*, etc. How was it understood, and how observed? v. 9, 10.¹

A. They left about a *Sixtieth* Part, and that in some obvious Corner of the Field, that so the *Poor* might know where to come at it. Tho' *Selden* also shoves, from the *Talmudists*, that they added something more, according to the Largeness of the Field, the Greatness of the Crop, or the Multitude of the Poor.²

Nor might they *gather the Gleanings of the Harvest*. That is to say, (as *R. Levi Barcelonita* saies,) If an *Ear of Corn* or two fell, out of the Sheaves, as they were cutting of it, or binding of it, or from under the Sickle, they might not gather them up from the Ground, but leave them for the Poor, as oft as they fell; But not if there fell *Three Ears* at a Time, as the *Talmudists* determine it.³

And then, for the *Vineyard*; when they had cutt off the Great Bunches, they might not examine the *Vine* over again for the Small Clusters. Nor might they take up such as fell to the Ground, if they were no more than One or Two Clusters. The *Corners* of the *Vineyard* also they left uncut.⁴

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[42v]

3613.

Q. What is meant by *putting a Stumbling-block before the Blind*? v. 14.

A. A thing of so great Malice, that the Hebrew Doctors think Men incapable of it. They therefore expound it, of giving bad Counsil to Simple People, and advising them to their Damage. So. *R. Levi*. Tho' this is rather a greater Sin, (as

¹ The following paragraphs are extracted from Simon Patrick (*Leviticus* 352, 353).

² John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 6, pp. 691–92, draws on Maimonides, *Hilchot Matnot Aniyim* (1.1–15), in *Mishneh Torah* (28:104–10), which governs the laws of the gifts to the poor). Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), a notable Anglican Hebraist and dean of Norwich, translated Maimonides's tractate into Latin, which appeared as *De Jure Pauperis et Peregrini Apud Judaeos* (1679). The reference is to ch. 1, pp. 1–12 of Prideaux's translation.

³ *R. Levi Barcelonitae*, ספר החינוך *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum* (1685), sec. XVI, praepcept. CCXIV, pp. 317–18. Babylonian Talmud, tractate Shabbath (113b) and Baba Kama (69a, 69b).

⁴ *R. Levi Barcelonitae*, ספר החינוך *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum*, praepcept. CCXXX–CXXXI, pp. 344–46. See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Matnot Aniyim* (1.5, 7), in *Mishneh Torah* (28:104–06).

Dr. Patrick observes) than the other; because it abused the *Minds* of the People, and injured their *Souls*.⁵

[▽ 43r] [▽ Insert from 43r]

3614.

Q. That Præcept, *Yee shall do no Unrighteousness in Judgment*; How do the Jewes understand it? v. 15.⁶

A. As an Admonition unto the Judges, to have an æqual Regard unto *Plaintiff* and *Defendant*. The Words are thus explained in their *Siphra*. *Thou shalt Judge thy Neighbours justly, not letting one Party stand, and bidding the other sitt; nor suffering one to speak as much as he pleases, and bidding the other be short.*⁷

But *Maimonides* is very large in Explaining it; in his whole XXI Chapter of the *Sanhedrim*. He descends to many Particulars; whereof it may be worth our while, to mention some; inasmuch as t'wil Illustrate the Words of the Apostle *James*. [ch. 2.2, 3, 4.] *If two Parties appear in a Cause, one of which is clothed in precious Garments, the other is Ragged, or in a Poor Habit; Lett it be said unto him that is the more Honourable, "Either do you bestow upon your Adversary, as Good Apparel, as you have on yourself, or else putt on such as he wears, that you may be both alike, & then appear before the Court of Judgment." By no means lett the one sitt, & the other stand: but lett them both be commanded to stand: or, if it please the Judges to give them both Leave to sitt, lett not one of them sitt in an High Place, the other in a Low; but both on the same Bench, one by the Side of the other.*⁸

It is the Observation of R. *Levi Barcelonita*, That Mankind are præserted by Righteous Judgment; & therefore, if a Judge was found to have given an unjust Sentence, he is as condemned to make Restitution unto him, whose Cause he had perverted.⁹

[△] [△ Insert ends]

5 See Appendix B. Patrick (*Leviticus* 357); R. Levi Barcelonitæ, in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum*, præcept. CCXL, pp. 361–62.

6 Patrick (*Leviticus* 358–59) is Mather's primary source; Patrick's is John Selden's *De Synedriis* (lib. 2, cap. 13, sec. 10, pp. 567–71).

7 Selden *De Synedriis* (567, 568, 569). *Siphra* or "*Sifra* is the Halakic midrash to *Leviticus*," often attributed to R. Hiyya bar Abba (c. 180–230 CE), a Hebrew sage of the amoraic era, in Tiberius, who is now believed to be the editor rather than author of this midrash. Frequently quoted in the Talmud, the *Sifra* was first published in Venice (1545) and thereafter reprinted many times and translated into Latin (*JE*).

8 Maimonides commentary on man's equity before the law and the judges' impartiality appears in *Hilchot Sanhedrin V'Haonshin Hamesurim Labem* (20.4, 5; 21.2, 3), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:160–62, 166–68).

9 R. Levi Barcelonitæ, in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum*, præcept. CCXLII, pp. 363–65; Selden, *De Synedriis* (cap. 14, sec. 2, pp. 584–86); and Wilhelm Schickard, משפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamelech*] *Jus Regium Hebraeorum* (1625), cap. 4, Theorem XIV: "Habeat enim (cërta moderatione) Jus vitæ & necis illorum," pp. 96–105.

4255.

Q. It is prohibited, *Thou shalt not go up & down as a Talebearer among thy People*. What signifies the Word used for *Talebearer*? v. 16.

A. It properly signifies a *Pedler*, or petty Chapman, that buyes Goods, (it may be stolen ones,) at one Place, & sells them at another, taking care to make his own Marketts of them. So a *Talebearer*, he makes his visits, to pick up at one Place, & utter at another, that which he thinks, may lessen his Neighbours Reputation, that he might build his own upon the Ruine of it. [The Words of Mr. M. Henry, in a Sermon, concerning the *Right Management of Friendly Visits*.]¹⁰

2488.

Q. That Passage, *Thou shalt in any wise Rebuke thy Neighbour, and not suffer Sin upon him*: how else may it bee Advantageously Translated? v. 17.

A. Very Advantageously and Instructively, it may be thus translated, *And not bear Sin for him*. Compare Eph. 5.11.¹¹

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[43r]

Q. How do the Jewes interpret that Prohibition; *Thou shalt not Avenge, nor bear any Grudge, against the Children of thy People*? v. 18.¹²

A. The Jewes give us a Notable, and an Exquisite Exposition of it. *To Avenge*, is to Deny a *Benefit* unto a Petitioner, who formerly Deny'd a *Benefit* unto us. *To bear a Grudge*, is to Do a *Kindness* unto one who formerly Deny'd a *Kindness* unto us, but to do it with *Exprobation*.

Simeon denies his *Ax* to *Reuben*, who would have borrow'd it. *Simeon* afterwards would borrow an *Ax* of *Reuben*; who saies, *Ne expectes à me, id quod mihi negasti*. This is /נָקִימָה/ *Ultio*. But if *Reuben* do now send his *Ax* to *Simeon*;

¹⁰ A Sermon concerning the *Right Management of Friendly Visits* (London, 1704), p. 28, is a homily by the English Presbyterian Matthew Henry (1662–1714), Mather's erstwhile correspondent, best known for his vastly popular commentary on the Bible. See also Mather's *BA* (1:475, 779, 948) and Patrick (*Leviticus* 360).

¹¹ See Appendix A. Patrick (*Leviticus* 362). Another way of rendering is “incur no guilt because of him” (*NJPS*). Nachmanides suggests as much in his gloss: “For you would owe a guilt offering if he is going to sin and you fail to reprove him”; as does Ibn Ezra, “You would be punished on his account if you suspected him unfairly and did not bring the matter out into the open” (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 3:149). In his “Note Book of Authors” (Lev. 14:17), Mather refers to the manuscript sermon “MSS. no. 15. p. 38.”

¹² Mather provides two different versions of his gloss on this verse. The first one (which he canceled) is a verbatim extract from *Moses and Aaron. Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites, Used by the ancient Hebrewes* (1625), lib. 5, cap. 3, pp. 227–28, by Thomas Godwin, aka. Goodwin (c. 1586–1642), English schoolmaster, private chaplain to James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells, and finally rector at Brightwell (Berkshire). Goodwin's *Moses and Aaron* appeared in at least fifteen different editions and reprints in the seventeenth century.

and say, *En Accipe; non agam tecum, quemadmodum tu mecum*. This is /נְטִירָה/ *Rancoris Servatio*.¹³

3615.

Q. Much is Commanded, & much is Forbidden, relating to our *Neighbour*; It remains a Quæstion; who is meant by the *Neighbour*? For the *Israelites* would Restrain it unto themselves, and not allow to a *Stranger*, the Regards which are demanded in the Lawes of God, for a *Neighbour*?

A. But, O uncharitable *Israelites*; Have you forgotten the express Words of your Law-giver, *Moses*; [Here, v. 34.] *The Stranger who dwells with you, shall be unto you, as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself*? And what say you to the Tenth Commandment, which when it forbids you to *covet* the *Wife* of a *Neighbour*, certainly does not allow you to *covet* the *Wife* of a *Gentile*? A *Neighbour* is every other Man. An *Egyptian* was a *Neighbour*. [Deut. 22.16. and Exod. 11.2.] D. *Kimchi* very honestly saies, upon Psal. 15.3. *A Neighbour is every one, with whom we have any Dealing or Conversation*. This Justifies our Saviours making the Command of *Loving a Neighbour*, to reach unto all Men with whom we are concerned. [Luk. 10.27, 28.]¹⁴

13 Reuben says to his brother Simeon, “Don’t expect from me that which you have denied me. [This is] revenge.” But if Reuben now sends his ax to Simeon and says, “Come on, accept; I shall not deal with you in the same way you did with me. [This is] the observance of rancor.” Mather’s Latin extract is from Goodwin’s popular work *Moses and Aaron*, which the German Lutheran theologian Johann Heinrich Reitzius translated into Latin and published in Bremen with the title of *Moses et Aaron seu Civiles & Ecclesiastici Ritus, Usitati Antiquis Hebraeis* (1679). Although this Latin translation supplies the Hebrew diacritics (missing in all English editions), why Mather subsequently elected to cancel in the “Biblia Americana” manuscript his near verbatim extract from the English edition and replaced it by the Latin translation (1679) seems curious, all the more so because Mather retranslated his Latin extract back into English, retaining only the Latin phrases put into the mouths of Simeon and Reuben, along with the Hebrew diacritics. Thus Mather’s annotation of Lev. 19:18 is based on Reitzius’s Latin translation *Moses et Aaron* (1679), lib. 5, cap. 3, pp. 409–10. For ease of comparison, Mather’s canceled English version is here reproduced in brackets:

[**Q.** *Thou shalt not Avenge, nor bear any Grudge*, [or thus, *Nor be mindful of Wrong*]. How do the Hebrewes explain these, & the Difference between them? v. 18.

A. They say, *To Avenge*, is to Deny a good Turn unto one who formerly denied Him. *To be mindful of Wrong*, is, to Do a good Turn unto one, who formerly would not do so much for him, but at the doing thereof, to upbraid him with his former Unkindness. They thus illustrate it; when *Reuben* said unto *Simeon*, lend me thy Hatchet, he answereth, I will not lend it. Afterward, *Simeon* upon Occasion saith unto *Reuben*, lend me thy Hatchet: *Reuben* saith unto him, I will not lend it, Thou wouldest not lend me thine: This is /נְקִימָה/ *Nekima*, or, *Avenge-ment*. Again, *Reuben* saith unto *Simeon*, lend me thy Hatchet; he answereth, I will not lend it. Afterward *Simeon* saith upon Occasion unto *Reuben*, lend me thy Hatchet; *Reuben* saith, Lo, I will lend it thee, I will not deal with thee, as thou dealedest with me. This is /נְטִירָה/ *Netira*, or, *Mindfulness*. Both of these were sinful; but not liable to Mans Judgment.] See also Appendix A.

14 Patrick (*Leviticus* 364). David Kimchi’s commentary on Psalms 15:3 (*Sefer Tehillim*) appears in Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum*, on Lev. 19:18 (1:583–84) and *Works* (6:347). And

[43v inserted into 45v]

|

[44r]

988.

Q. The Meaning of that Law, *Neither shall a Garment mingled of Linen & Woolen come upon thee?* v. 19.¹⁵

A. Wee will not concern ourselves, with the Account hereof, given by *Philo*, That such a Mixture in the *Garment*, would have been a Damage to the Strength of it, & have caused ῥήξιν μάλλον ἢ ἔνωσιν, a *Fraction* rather than an *Union*: Or, by *Josephus*, That such a Garment was peculiar to the *Priesthood*; who indeed never wore such mixt Clothes, unless, as Mr. *Selden* saies, *Ministerij sui Tempore*;¹⁶ Or, by *Isidore Pelusiota*, That God would thus eliminate Curiosity, and Effæminacy of Ornament, from the Minds of the People, & introduce an Honest Gravity among them: or, by *Calvin*, That it was *Ne paulatim ad Majorem licentiam delapsi, Gentium moribus, et Justitutis [tandem] se addicerent*.¹⁷ Or, by *Theodoret*, That herein was a mystical Instruction, πράξεις ἐναντίας μηδαμῶς ἐπιτηδεύειν. *Non esse dandam operam contrarijs Actionibus*: To which Purpose is that of *Bochart*, *Veteribus assentior, qui Deum volunt suos hoc ritu vocasse, ad morum simplicitatem*: Or, lastly, by *Maimonides*, who saies, *Hæc est ratio præcepti quòd videlicet Temporis illius Sacrificuli Idololatrarum ità sole- rent incedere*.¹⁸

in Ambrosius Janvier's Latin translation *Rabbi David Kimhbi [sic] Commentarii in Psalmos Davidis Regis et Prophetæ* (1666), p. 57.

¹⁵ The following paragraphs are excerpted from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 11, sec. 2–3, fols. 432–37. See also Patrick (*Leviticus* 365–67).

¹⁶ Philo Judæus, *De specialibus legibus* (4.207, line 4; 208, line1), or “to tear rather than to unite” (*Special Laws* 4.207), in *Works* (636). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 4.8.11, see also 4.8.20); Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:11. John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 139, 140–41, points out that a priest would never wear garments made from mixed fabric unless “within the time of their own ministry.”

¹⁷ St. Isidore of Pelusium (d. c. 449–50) was an Alexandrian monk and voluminous author (*CE*). Mather (via Spencer 433) paraphrastically translates a passage from Isidore Pelusiota, *De Interpretatione Divinae Scripturae Epistolarum Libri V* (1638), lib. 3, epist. 84: ad Agatho Presbyterio, p. 289; John Calvin is represented with his commentary on Deut. 22:11, in *Opera Omnia in Novem Tomos Digesta* (1671), Primum praeceptum, Ex Deut. XIV, p. 384, lines 19–21. He comments that God would not permit such mixtures “lest, sinking by degrees to greater license, they [His people] should at length addict themselves to the practice and customs of the heathen” (*Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 49).

¹⁸ In his *Quæstiones in Octateuchum* (Quæstiones in Leviticum, XXVII, p. 180, line 14), Theodoretus Cyrrhensis maintains that the law considered mixed garments of wool and linen impure; to instruct the faithful they should “by no means engage in contrary practices” (*Questions on the Octateuch* 2:64). Bochart (*Hierozoicon: Animalibus*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 45, col. 491, lines 12–13) chimes in with “the ancients agree that God wants to name these rites to maintain moral simplicity.” Lastly, in his *Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 37, p. 447, Rambam explains, “This is also the reason for this precept (against mixed cloth) because it was clearly the usage of these idolatrous sacrificing priests” (adapted from *Guide* 3.37.544).

Wee will rather assert, That the Ancient *Zabians*, wore linsey woolsey *Garments*, as a Mark of their Superstition & Idolatry; & as a Way particularly to promote the Growth of *Wool*, and *Flax* among them; and that they especially officiated in these *Garments*, when the Ceremonies of their *Nocturnal Devotions* were to bee performed. *Maimonides* intimates their magical Designs, in having both a *Vegetable* [Flax.] and an *Animal* [Wool] united in the same Garment. And wee are by Dr. *Pocock* informed, from some *Arabian* Writings, That the ancient *Zabians*, on the first Hour of the Day assigned unto *Saturn*, his Votaries invested with *Garments* peculiar unto him, and a *Seal* of his Figure, did with agreeable *Forms of Prayer*, imagine that they obtained what they pleased of him.¹⁹

Tis very certain from *Herodotus*, as well as *Moses* (and from Ezek. 44.1.) that *Linen* and *Woollen* *Garments*, were still distinctly used among the Nations. But these *Mixt* *Garments*, being here joined with other Confusions, excogitated for the Use of *Divel-Worship*, tis likely that they were *all of a Piece*.²⁰

A *Conformity* unto the Pagans in their *Clothes*, was, by the Hebrewes alwayes apprehended, as a Step towards Conformity unto them in their *Minds* also. The Word, /מִדּוֹת/ signifies both *Garments* and *Manners*. Hence, when the Lord threatens in Zeph. 1.8. to visit those that wore *Strange Apparel*, it was not the meer Levity of often changing their *Fashions*, that was threatned; but the bringing in of *Strange Gods*, and *Strange Rites*, with their *Apparel*. Wherefore *Jerom* interprets, the, *Clothed with Strange Apparel*, thus, *Qui pro Dei cultu Venerati sunt Idola*; and *Jonathan* the Chaldee, thus turns it, *Animadvertam in omnes Magnates, in eos denique qui perstrepunt ad Cultum Idolorum*.²¹ And the Version of the LXX, intimates, that the Crime of the ἐνδύματα ἀλλότρια, lay in the Service Θεοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, therewith Intoduced and accompanied. It is indeed an Observation among Politicians, That there is an *Omen* of some fatal Mischief at hand,

19 Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 21, sec. 3, fols. 434–35) here summarizes Maimonides's notion that the popular practices of Zabian idolaters were targeted by the Levitical laws (*Guide* 3.37.544). Edward Pococke's *Notae In Quibus Aliquam-Multa Quae ad Historiam Orientalium* (1648), p. 140, appended to his *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (1650), supplies supportive evidence from Arab histories on the Zabians and their worship of Saturn.

20 Herodotus (1.195) describes the clothing of the Armenian merchants in Babylon: They wear long linen tunics above which they display a woollen one, but "wrap themselves up in a small white cloak." With their long hair and "peacked cap or turban," they dowse themselves with myrrh and carry "a carved staff" with images of apples, roses, lilies, or "of an eagle" carved on it.

21 Spencer (436). According to St. Jerome (Hieronymus), those who are "clothed with strange apparel" (Zeph. 1:8) are "those who have venerated idols instead of worshiping God," in *Operum Divi Hieronymi, Commentarios in Duodecim Prophetas* (1533), Sextus Tomus, "Commentarii in Sophoniam" (cap. 1), p. 93^r (H); or more accessible, in *Commentariorum in Sophoniam Prophetam Liber Unus* [PL 025. 1346B]. The Chaldean Targum Jonathan (Sophon. 1:8), in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (3:96, sep. pag.) renders it, "I shall blame all the powerful ones, those finally who make much noise at the worship of idols."

and an alteration of *Lawes, Tempers, & Customes*, threatned, in the Alteration of long-used *Habits*. It was therefore a Law among the *Switzers*, *Ut, qui avitum vestimentorum Habitum mutârît, peregrinumque assumpserit, à Publicis Honoribus, Muneribus, et Magistratibus, excluderetur, et exsors viveret.*²²

But now, for the *Conjunction* of *Linen & Woollen*, tis likely that there was therein also a Respect had, unto a *Conjunction* of *Stars* (as well as of *Gods*) in the Heavens, thus Implored for their Benign Influences upon their Husbandry. *Thomas Aquinas* has a notable Hint this Way; *Omnes illæ commixtiones, in Agriculturâ sunt prohibite ad literam, in Detestationem Idololatriæ; quia Egyptij, in venerationem Stellarum, diversas commixtiones faciebant, et in Seminibus, et in Animalibus, et in Vestibus, representantes diversas conjunctiones Stellarum.*²³ And *Gulielmus Parisiensis* hath another; *Idololatræ volebant insinuari, per hujusmodi commixtiones et conjunctiones, Agricolas et Pastores ad Stellarum Servitium obligatos, quia Stellarum Favore et Beneficio, putabant, et Lanæ copiam in Animalibus, et Lini in Agris, provenire. Propter hoc ergò Lanam et Linum simil in Vestibus conjungebant, ut ipso Habitu hanc superstitionem profiterentur, et utramque copiam à Stellis provenire confiterentur. Utrumque autem istorum erant Stellarum Servitium, videlicet tam professio, quam confessio antedicta: Eoque magis, quia hujusmodi conjunctiones Lanæ et Lini in Vestimentis, faciebant cum observatione conjunctionis Stellarum.*²⁴

For this Reason, when the Jewes beheld any one wearing these *Mixt Garments*, they would fly upon him, like Dragons, & pour out their Zeal upon him, as [**** torn] | such a Man, saies *Maimonides*, *Etiamsi in plateâ incederet, insilibat* [44v]

22 The LXX (Sophon. 1:8) also speaks of “strange apparel” in the service of “strange gods” (Zeph. 1:8). Finally, the sumptuary laws of the Helvetians, as quoted in Philip Camerarius (1537–1624), German jurist and counselor to the Republic of Noricae, in *Operæ Horarum Subcisivarum ... Centuria Tertia* (1658), cap. 76, p. 284, stipulate that “he who has laid aside the ancestral style of their clothes and has adopted a strange one should be excluded from public honors, duties, and live deprived of them.”

23 In his magisterial *Summa Theologica in qua Ecclesiae Catholicae Doctrina Universa ... Explicatur* (1614), 1a, 2. Q.102, art. 6, Aquinas’s reply to objection 9, reads, “All these minglings were forbidden in agriculture; literally, in detestation of idolatry. For the Egyptians in worshipping the stars employed various combinations of seeds, animals and garments, in order to represent the various conjunctions of the stars” (*Summa Theologica*, Pt. 1–2, Q.102, Art. 6, Reply *Obj.* 9, p. 1081).

24 In his “*De Legibus liber unus*, cap. 13, p. 43 (C–), in *Opera Omnia* (1591), tom. 1, p. 43 (C–), the French Dominican Guilielmus Alverni Parisiensis, aka. William of Auvergne (1437–1485), claims that “Through jumbings and comminglings of this type, the idolaters desired to initiate peasants and shepherds into serving the stars, because they [idolaters] believed that abundance of both wool in the animals and of linen in the fields are bestowed by the favor and benefit of the stars. Consequently, they therefore joined wool and linen together in their clothes at the same time, so that by their very apparel they might declare this superstition and might avow that every bounty comes from the stars. Moreover, everyone of the men were bound to serve the stars and stick to their previously stated declaration and avowal. See also C. Burnett, “Images of Ancient Egypt in the Latin Middle Ages.”

*in eum, vestemque dilacerabat illico super eum, idque etiamsi esset Magister ejus, qui sapientiam eum doceret.*²⁵

[45r]

986.

Q. The Meaning of that Law, *Thou shalt not sow thy Field, with a mingled Seed?* v. 19.

A. From the Repetition of this Law, in Deut. 22.9. you must note, that the *Field*, in which this Action was interdicted, was no other than a *Vineyard*. And accordingly, the LXX render the Word here ἀμπελώνα, which they do not any where else, tho' the Word occur in the Scripture, an hundred Times over.²⁶

Now, if *Theodoret* inform us, that the Design of this Law, was to Retrench τὴν ἀπληστίαν, the *Insatiable Avarice* of the People; and if *Philo* inform us, that it was, to prevent the Seeds Hurting one another, τῶν ἐτέρων τὴν τροφὴν παρασπώμενα: *Subtracting of Nourishment from one another*; and if *Josephus* tell us, that it was to forbid the Cruelty, of exacting from the Earth, too rich a Tribute, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀράτρου πόνων ἀπηλλάχθαι and *vexing it with the Labours of the Plough*, when it yeelded them enough otherwise: Every Husbandman, will bee able to show you the Insufficiency of all these Accounts. And as for *Josephus*, it is too True and Just a Character, that the great *Bochart* gives of Him, *Josephus, utut Sacerdos, Judaicarum tamen Legum, Interpres quandoque pessimus.*²⁷

Wee will rather beleeeve a Peece of *Idolatry* forbidden, in this Law. For tho' *Bonfrerius* do object, That the *Permixtion of Seeds*, in Honour to some *Dæmon*, or *Star*, can bee proved by no Author, to have been among the Ancient Idolaters, you shall rather hear *Maimonides*, affirming, that hee had Read this Usage to have been among the old *Zabians*, They sowed *Barley* and *Raisins* together, in their *Vineyards*, to make them *Fortunate*.²⁸ And R. *Joseph*, an old *Wizzard*,

²⁵ Maimonides, *Hilchot Kilayim* (10.29) insists that when someone sees his friend wear *kilayim* (forbidden mixtures) “even if [his friend] is walking in the market place, he should jump up and rip the garment off him immediately; [this applies] even to his teacher from whom he has learned wisdom” (*Mishneh Torah* 28:96).

²⁶ This and the following paragraphs are extracted from Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 18, secs. 2, 3, fols. 413–14, 417–18). The LXX (Deut. 22:9) renders the Hebrew term כֶּרֶם [kerem], signifying “vineyard” (Strong’s # 3754) as ἀμπελώνά [ampelona].

²⁷ Spencer (413, 418); Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (Quaestiones in Deuteronomium, XXIII, p. 246, line 18). Philo Judaeus, *De specialibus legibus* (4.211, line 2) and *Works* (637). Josephus Flavius, *Antiquitates* (4.228, lines 2–3) and *Antiquities* (4.8.20). Samuel Bochart’s negative assessment of Josephus Flavius is that “although a priest, [he] is a very bad interpreter of Jewish laws” (*Hieroicoicon: Animalibus*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 45, col. 491, lines 26–28).

²⁸ Spencer (417) cites Jacobus Bonfrerius’s *Pentateuchus Moysis commentario illustratus* (1625), p. 664 (on Lev. 19:19). Bonfrerius questions the rationale that the Mosaic proscription against the mixing of seeds was instituted to combat pagan idolatrous practices. Although Bonfrerius does not specifically single out Maimonides’s *Liber More Nebuchim* (3.29.425; 3.37.444–52)

by him quoted, instructs Men how to sow *Wheat, Barley, & Raisins*, with one Cast of the Hand, for such superstitious Purposes; and hee adds, *Nullum mihi Dubium est, quin illud hauserit ex vijs Amoræorum*.²⁹ And Mr. Selden proves a thing almost like it, among the *Athenians*, who, πᾶν σπέρμα εἰς χύτρον ἐψήσαντες: *Boiling all sorts of Seeds together in a Pott, sacrificed them to Bacchus & Mercury*.³⁰

Briefly, T'was the Usage of the Old Idolaters, to join together a *Male God*, and a *Female*, in their Acknowledgments. The *Greeks* worshipped *Jupiter* and *Juno*, *Saturn* and *Rhea*: The *Sidonians* worshipped *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth*; The *Egyptians* worshipped *Osiris* and *Isis*; The *Arabians*, worshipped *Lucifer* and *Venus*: The *Romans* worshipped *Mars*, and *Ilythia*, *Neptune* and *Thetis*; and, to approach nearer yett, the *Syrians* worshipped *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. {Demosthenes} therefore begins his Orations, with calling upon *Gods* and *Goddesses* together. And Varro writing *De Re Rustica*, saies, that the most prosperous Way of Tillage, is To Invoke solemnly *Twelve Deities*, whereof six Male, & six Female, who were especially *Agricolarum Duces*.³¹

as the source for this rationalist claim, the great rabbi does identify the Arab author Abū Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Wahshiyya, who is to have translated the Zabian book *al-Filāḥa an-Nabaṭiyya*, i.e., *The Book of Nabatean Agriculture* (c. 904), from Chaldean/Syriac into Arabic (*Guide* 3.29.518, note 25). According to this book, the mixing of seeds was an ancient fertility rite of the Zabians. It is this spurious work upon which Maimonides bases his claim. See also R. Smolinski's "Eager Imitators" (302–03) and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila's *The Last Pagans of Iraq* (2006).

29 Spencer (415) quotes Maimonides (*Liber More Nebuchim* [1629], pars 3, cap. 37, p. 452), who expresses his surprise at R. Josiah's legally binding dictum that sowing "a vineyard with diverse seeds" does *not* constitute an infraction "unless one sows together, in one throw of the hand [a mixture of], wheat, barley, and pips of grapes" (*Guide* 3.37.549). R. Josiah (Mather has "R. Joseph") seems unaware that his fellow sages in the Babylonian Talmud anathematize *any* mixture of seeds as an idolatrous practice, in tractates Berachoth (22a), Kiddushin (39a), and Chullin (82b, 136b). Accordingly, Maimonides is taken aback by R. Josiah's mistaken claim, adding, "Doubtless he [R. Josiah] had learned that this custom had its origin in the *Amorite usages*" (*Guide* 3.37.549).

30 Mather (via Spencer 417) quotes from John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 266. Selden, in turn, leans on his contemporary equivalents to our modern *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*Scholia in Acharnenses*) (Hypothesis-epigram-scholion **sch ach** [sic] verse 1076a, line 7) and *Suda* (*Lexicon*), alphab. letter **chi**, entry 622, line 2.

31 The lost manuscript passage in braces { } is reconstructed from Spencer (418). If for good reason Demosthenes calls upon the gods and goddesses in tandem, Plato (*Timaeus*, Stephanus p. 27c, line 6) has Timaeus remind Socrates that any reasonable person who dares to probe the origin of the universe "must needs invoke Gods and Goddesses" alike to crave their approval. Not far behind, Varro (*De re rustica* 1.1) knows that calling upon all of the Twelve Olympians combined (Zeus, Hera, Demeter, Athena, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Ares, Hephaestus, Aphrodite, Hermes, Dionysus) is especially propitious, because they are the particular "patrons of husbandmen." No doubt, the ancient philosophers would have applauded Blaise Pascal's "Wager" (*Pensées* # 233, p. 67), when the great French poet-philosopher reasoned – tongue-in-cheek – that worshipping God one way or the other makes good sense: For if God does exist you may have a chance at life eternal; if not, you haven't lost anything. Thus adoring your God (whichever you choose) is always propitious.

Doubtless, then, the old Idolaters conceiving the God of the *Vine* to be a *Male*, and the God of the *Grain* to be a *Female*, would by the Rites of *mixt Seeds* thrown into their Vineyards, *unite* them; that so they might have an happy Vintage.³²

Q. What is apprehended by the Jewish Rabbi's to be the Meaning of this Law, against the *Mixture of Seeds in the Fields*? v. 19.

A. They say, There is a Mystery in it; And that it signified, *Quòd in populo Dei non debeat esse* / ערבוב / Mixture, *sed* / אחדות שלמה / unitas et concordia perfecta.³³

[45v]

Q. The Meaning of that Law, *Thou shalt not lett thy Cattle gender, with a diverse kind*? v. 19.³⁴

A. It is Judged, that no other *Cattel*, but the *Beef* and the *Ass*, are nextly and strictly intended in this Prohibition. It is a Law, very nearly Related unto that which forbad the Joining of these two Creatures together, in the *Yoke*. [Deut. 22.10.]

For tis very certain, that *Mules*, procreated of an *Ass* and a *Mare*, were in very common Use among the *Israelites*; especially about the Dayes of *David* and *Solomon*. [See 1. King. 1.33. and 2. Sam. 13.29. and 1. King. 10.25.] If the Ancient *Israelites* had understood the Law, as forbidding the Propagation of *Mules*, there had never been such *Multitudes*, or such *Improvements* thereof among them. Now *Philo* tells us, That they præferr'd *Mules* above all *Cattel*, for their Compact & Nervous Bodies; & that they kept great *Asses*, which they called, κήλωνας, *ad Gignendam ijs sobolem*.³⁵

Wee say then, that the *Divel* extremely Delighting in those *Confusions*, wherein the Order of Nature is Inverted, imposed on miserable Mankind, the confounded Conjunction of a *Bull*, and an *Ass*,³⁶ as a Sacrament, whereby they might obtain the Prosperity of their Tillage. It was a *Zabian* Rite, and it required so much Filthy, Odious, and Immodest Labour in them who observed it, that it agreed well with such an Impure & Absurd Spirit as the *Divel*. The *Divines*

³² Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 18, fol. 412; Bacchus (Dionysius) and Ceres (Demeter) – if conjoined in a vineyard – cannot but become one prolific family, even if their mingling is prohibited.

³³ See Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 20, fol. 426). The mystery of the unidentified passage reads, “That in the people of God there ought not to be mixture / ערבוב / Mixture, but / אחדות שלמה / oneness and perfect union.”

³⁴ Spencer (428) is the muse for the following paragraphs and secondary sources.

³⁵ In his *De specialibus legibus* (3.47.4), Philo Judaeus specifically mentions that this cross-breeding of species violated Mosaic law, yet acknowledges that the Israelites preferred the stout and strong “celones, in order that they may breed with the mares” (*Works* 599). The Latin passage “ad Gignendam ijs sobolem” (“breed them as offspring”), is from John Christophersen’s translation *Philonis Iudaei, Summi Philosophi* (1561), tomus alter, p. 147.

³⁶ See Appendix A.

of the Synagogue among the Jewes, made a Decree, *Vapulat quispiam non solum cum Manu suâ intromisit, ut stylum in Calamum, sed si duntaxat marem provocavit ad conscendendum, in Fæminam, aut Voce suâ incitavit, percutitur percussione Rebellionis*, i. e. Fustigatione. *Licet tamen in uno stabulo claudere duo Animalia, et qui videt concumbere non tenetur ea separare.*³⁷

Now, what but an Instinct of a *Divel*, could make Men bee at such Nasty Pains, as would bee necessary to procure the *Conjunction* forbidden in the Law before us? The Thing was *Possible* to be accomplished; Hence *Philo* saies, the Shepherds of *Israel* were punished, if they permitted βούν ἰππῶ ἐπιβαίνειν.³⁸ Nevertheless t'was doubtless very *Troublesome*. Wherefore, the *Idolaters*, perhaps used the Rite of *Conjugation*, upon these Creatures, mentioned in *Deuteronomy*, to express the like Devotion to the *Divel*. Where, if any cavil, that the Words in *Deut.* 22.10. /שור/ and /חמור/ are both of the *Masculine* Gender, Lett him turn to *Exod.* 34.10. and hee will find /שור/ to bee sometimes of the *Feminine*; and at *Exod.* 13.13. hee will find /חמור/ also to bee an *Epicæne*.³⁹ These Detestable Actions, the Lord forbids unto His People, because Hee would have not the least Appearance of Unholiness among them. [^{**} torn] the Worship of *Priapus* and *Venus* hee thus also Damned. Particularly, Hee would not have them to go to plough, in the *Divels* Name; and there were further *Divellisms* herein likewise inhibited, if *Guilielmus Parisiensis* may bee credited; The *Idolaters*, hee saies, *Istas conjunctiones Animalium Diversorum Generum, in operibus suis facerent, juxtâ conjunctiones planetarum, et quasdam alias constellationes: credentes ex hoc opera prosperari. Ideoque voluit Deus remove vanitatem credulitatis ipsius à cordibus eorum, tanquam Radicem Idololatriæ, nè per eam, Creatore Relicto, ad Stellarum Servitia traherentur.*⁴⁰

37 Spencer (427) appears to lean on Bochart's *Hieroicoicon: Animalibus* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 22, col. 245, lines 19–25). Maimonides, *Hilchot Kilayim* (9.1, 2), glosses that a person is not subject to whipping, “until he actually inserts one animals organ into the other’s. If, however, he merely placed one on top of the other or encouraged them verbally, he is given stripes for rebellious conduct; i. e., Punishment. It is permitted to place two species of animals in one corral. If one sees them mating, he is not obligated to separate them” (adapted from *Mishneh Torah* 28:78).

38 Philo Judæus (*De specialibus legibus* 3.46.4, 5) warns that Jewish shepherds were punished if they endeavored “to cross a cow with a horse.”

39 *Deut.* 22:10: שור [showr] and חמור [chamowr] signify “ox” and “(he)ass” (Strong’s ## 7794, 2543). Mather’s erroneous reference to *Exod.* 34.10 should be *Exod.* 34.19. The error also occurs in Spencer (429). Indeed, *Exod.* 13.13 חמור [chamowr] is an epicene word which is the same for both a male and female ass. That’s asinine.

40 Spencer (430); Guilielmus Alverni Parisiensis (William of Auvergne), *De Legibus liber unus*, cap. 12, p. 42 (F–G), in *Opera Omnia* (1591), tom. 1, p. 42: The idolaters “made those conjunctions of different types of animals in their own works, in accordance with the conjunctions of the planets and certain other constellations, trusting by this effort to prosper. Consequently, God wanted to remove the vanity of their credulity (the root of their idolatry) from their hearts, so that after leaving God they would not be enticed to the service of the stars.

Q. That Law, *That when Trees for Food were planted, the Fruit thereof was to be counted uncircumcised, for Three Years*; Lett us have some Illustration upon it? v. 23.

A. Sir *Tho. Brown* observes, That the Vulgar expresses it⁴¹, To *take away the Prepukes* from such Trees, during that time.

Now, if *Auferre præputia*, be taken, as many learned Men have thought, to pluck away the *Bearing Buds*, before they proceed unto *Flowers* or *Fruit*, you will readily apprehend the Metaphor, from the Analogy and Similitude of those Sprouts and Buds, that resemble the præputial Part, by shutting up the Fruitful Particle.

You may also find herein a Peece of *Husbandry*, not mentioned in *Theophrastus* and *Columella*. For, by taking away the *Buds*, and hindring Fructification, the Trees were made more vigorous, both in Growth, and in future Production.

By such a Way, King *Pyrrhus* gott a lusty Race of *Beeves*, and such as were desired all over *Greece*, by keeping them from Generation, until the Ninth Year.

And, you may also discover a physical Advantage of the Goodness of the Fruit, which becomes less Crude, and more Holesome, on the Fourth or Fifth Years Production.⁴²

[▽ 43v] [▽ Insert 43v]

3616.

Q. *Neither shall Yee use Enchantment*: what may be meant by *Enchantment*? v. 26.⁴³

A. The Hebrew Word, signifies a superstitious Observation, whereby Men made *Omens*, and guessed what should happen to them; either from their *Sneezing*; or from their breaking of a *Shoe-latchet*; or, from the Name of a Man they mett withal; or from some Creature crossing their Way, or passing on their Right Hand, or their Left. The LXX, & those who follow them, think that here is a special Respect unto *Divination by Birds*; But *Bochart* shewes that it refers rather to the ancient ὀφιομαντεία, or, *Divination by Serpents*, than to their ὀρνιθομαντεία, or *Divination by Birds*.⁴⁴ And that this was frequent, may be gathered, from the VIIth *Iliad* of *Homer*, where *Chalcas* beholding a *Serpent* swallow *Eight Sparrowes*

⁴¹ By "Vulgar," Mather designates the Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible.

⁴² Sir Thomas Browne, "Observations Upon several Plants mention'd in Scripture" (Tract 1), in *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684), sec. 40, in *Works* (3:263). The Latin phrase "*auferre præputia*" means, "to remove the foreskin." Theophrastus's *De historia plantarum* (4th–3rd c. BCE) and Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella's *De arboribus* (1st c. CE) were among the most significant ancient treatises on agricultural plants, shrubs, and trees. King of the Greek Molossians, Pyrrhus (c. 319–272 BCE) acquired the scepter of Epirus and Macedonia and waged war against early Roman hegemony in the Adriatic. See Plutarch's *Parallel Lives: Pyrrhus*.

⁴³ The following extract is from Patrick (*Leviticus* 373–75).

⁴⁴ Samuel Bochart, *Hierozaicon: Animalibus* (pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 3, col. 19, line 35).

with their Dam, divined how long the *Trojan War* should last.⁴⁵ R. Levi *Barcelonita* refers it unto any Kind of *Divination*; as by the *Staff* falling out of the Right Hand, by a *Serpent* creeping on the Right Hand, or, a *Fox* going by the Left, which made Men forbear any Work they were then about. But, he thinks, it may also signify, as we translate it, *Enchantment*. For instance, To cure Wounds by Reading a Verse of the Law; or, Laying the Book of the Law or a Phylactery, upon a Childs Head, to procure Sleep;⁴⁶ such Superstitions as are in use with Christians also, who hang the First Verse of *Johns* Gospel, about Peoples Necks, to cure an Ague. Yett methinks, tis a little too early to suppose these things intended by *Moses*, who had not yett given a Copy of the Law unto the People.⁴⁷

Maimonides gives many Instances of superstitious Observations, used among the Heathen; some of which are mentioned by *Theophrastus*, in his Characters of *Superstition*; and by *Plutarch*, in his Book on the same Subject; and are derided by *Terence*, in his *Phormio*.⁴⁸ Even the greatest Persons were anciently much infected with them; and (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) they were so settled in Mens Minds, that when they became *Christians*, they could not presently shake them off, as appears by the frequent Reprehensions, which *Chrysostom* gives unto them. We find particularly, in his VIIIth *Homily* upon the *Colossians*, he chides his People severely for calling in old drunken Women, with their *Salt* and *Ashes* and *Soot*, to free those that were bewitch'd. And more especially, in his VIth *Homily* against the Jewes, he rebukes those that used *ἐπωδαί, και περιπτα, Charms*,

45 Chalcas, the Argive seer, was foremost in divining the will of the gods by interpreting the flight of birds. When Cronos sent a sign of a red-backed serpent swallowing eight sparrow nestlings and their wailing mother on the top of a tree, Chalcas augured that the Achaeans would battle the Trojans for nine years, but Priam's fortress would fall in the tenth. The story is sung in Homer's *Iliad* (2:303–32), not in the VIIth book of Homer's epic.

46 R. Levi Barcelona's ספר ההגנות *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum* (sec. XVI, praecept, CCLIII, pp. 386–88).

47 John 1:1 contains the famous passage of the Word's incarnation: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." The therapeutic intent of hanging a scroll with this verse around a person's neck bespeaks a superstitious belief in magic, Mather argues, one that Moses could not have had in mind because the Torah had not yet been written at this stage of the chronology.

48 Mather (via Patrick 374) refers to Dionysius Vossius's bilingual edition of Maimonides's *De Idololatria Liber* (1641), cap. 11, secs. 4–18, pp. 145–66. See also Maimonides's *Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V'Chukkoteibem* (11.4–16), *Mishneh Torah* (3:200–15). Among the superstitious practices Maimonides mentions are soothsaying, studying omens, divining or consulting a diviner, telling fortunes or consulting with a fortuneteller, casting spells, using incantations, inquiring from the dead or a sorcerer. The Greek philosopher Theophrastus of Eresos (c. 371–287 BCE), perhaps better known for his *History of Plants* than for his book on human character types, details the obsessive-compulsive behavior of a superstitious man in his *Characters* (16.79–83). Plutarch's *Superstitione* (secs. 1–14) is filled with illustrations of superstitious practices, which (Plutarch argues) are the result of "our great ignorance of the Divine Beings" (*Superstitione* 1.1). The Roman comic playwright Publius Terentius Afer (c. 195–159 BCE) has Antipho and Geta banter about such prodigies as a black dog entering the house, a snake coming through the sky-light, crowing hens, and diviners and soothsayers giving advice (*Phormio* 4.4).

and things *hung about the Neck*, to cure *Agues*, whereby they gott a worse Disease in their Souls, & wounded their Consciences. And in other Places [Tom. VI. p. 610, 611. *Edit. Savil.*] he reprehends their Using of *Omens*, Good and Bad, whereof some were very strange ones.⁴⁹

3617.

Q. *Nor observe Times*: what might be the *Observation of Times* here forbidden?⁵⁰

A. Why may it not be, To take Notice of *Dayes*, according to the *Præcepts of Astrologers*, who made some to be *Lucky*, & others to be *Unlucky*. The Hebrew Word here used, the Jewes, (as R. *Levi* particularly,) do generally look on it, as derived from *Onah*, which signifies *Time*. Superstitious People thought some certain *Time* to be most fitt for Business; another Not. This Opinion should have been extinguished in the People, by Gods Appointing the *Sabbath*, as the only Day of the Week, wherein Business is to be laid aside.⁵¹

Others rather derive *Teonenu*, from *Anan*, a *Cloud*; imagining *Moses* to forbid their marking of the *Clouds* or their making Observations from the Motion thereof, which was a thing usual among the Gentiles.

But *Maimonides* mentions another Notion of this Word, from *Ajin*, an *Eye*; and saies, That Juglers, who delude the Sight of Men in playing their Tricks, are comprehended under the Name of *Meonim*.

And some derive the Word, from *Anak*, which signifies, *To Answer*; thinking, that intends *Fortune-tellers*.⁵²

It is very certain, The Superstition of *Astrology* was very ancient. The *Genethliacal* Sort of it, was much in Use among the old *Chaldeans*. However *Strabo* tells us, The best *Astronomers* in that Countrey rejected them; and so did the best *Philosophers* in other Countreyes, as we learn from *Tully*, who calls their Pretences, *Chaldaeorum Monstra*. No wonder that God caution'd His People against them. [Compare, Jer. 10.2, 3.]⁵³

[△] [△ Insert of 43v ends]

⁴⁹ The Greek Father St. John Chrysostom, in his *In Epistulam ad Colossenses* [PG 062. 0358], Homily 8, on Col. 3:5–7, condemns those who cast out Christ and practice idolatry by employing charms, telling “old wives’ fables,” and prefer “a drunken and silly old woman (*NPNFi* 13:298). *Orationes VIII Adversus Judaeos* [PG 048. 0936, 0938]. Mather (via Patrick) refers to S. *Joannis Chrysostomi Opera. Graecè: octo voluminibus*. Editio Sir Henry Savile. Etonae, 1611. Vol. 6, pp. 610, 611.

⁵⁰ Patrick, on Lev. 19:26 (*Leviticus* 375–77).

⁵¹ R. Levi Barcelonita, *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, in Hottinger’s *Juris Hebraeorum* (sec. XVI, precept. CCLIV, pp. 388–90).

⁵² Maimonides, *De Idololatria Liber* (1641), cap. XI, secs. 8–10, pp. 152–54; *Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V’Chukkoteihem* (11.8–9), *Mishneh Torah* (3:206). See also *Sefer HaMitzvot II* (neg. com. 32), in *Mishneh Torah* (21.2:21–22). According to the Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (65b), the designation “*Me’onen*” – [signifies] this is one who captures the eyes.”

⁵³ Strabo (*Geographia* 16.1.6) mentions the Chaldaean γενεθλιαλογεῖν “genethlialogists,” i.e., those who profess “to be astrologers, or to know how to cast nativities.” And in his *De*

[46r–46v inserted into 47v]

|

[47r]

976.

Q. That Law, *Yee shall not eat with the Blood*, you know, tis in the Original / **עַל־הַדָּם** / *Supra, vel Juxta Sanguinem*;⁵⁴ I suppose, it means not the bare Eating of *Blood*, which is in other Terms elsewhere forbidden. [Deut. 12.16. & 15.23.] Nor does it mean merely **κρέας ἐν αἵματι**, *Flesh* reeking hot with its *Blood*: [As the LXX, in Gen. 9.3.] Nor *Suffocated* Things, wherein the *Blood* ha's been stagnated; as our English Translation seems to take it.⁵⁵ Tho' there is this to bee said, That *Strangled Meats* are directly prohibited no where in the Law, if not here; yett there is this to bee said, That they are sufficiently implied, in those other Texts, where *Blood*, & things *Dead* of themselves, or *Torn* by wild beasts, come under an Inhibition. Wherefore I look for a further Meaning; Will you please to give it mee? v. 26.⁵⁶

A. Furnished, from the learned *Spencer*, I shall endeavor it:⁵⁷

First then; You must know, That according to the very credible Account of *Maimonides*, Tho' the Ancient *Zabians*, did reckon *Blood*, an unclean Thing, yett, reckoning it the Food of *Demons*, they did sometimes eat it, in Pursuance of a Communion with their *Demons*; & obtain from them the Communication of Secret and Future Things. But some of them, having so much *Humanitie*, as to abhor this Eating of *Blood*, yett killing a *Beast*, & pouring the *Blood* of it, either into a *Dish* or a *Pitt*, they would sitt about it, & there Eat the *Beast*, which they had killed; imagining that the *Demons* fed upon that *Blood*, while they themselves fed upon the *Flesh*. Hereby, they contracted & mentained a cursed Friendship, Fraternity, Familiarity, with *Demons*; they feasted with them, & now hoped for many Sorts of Services from them.⁵⁸ And the Author of the Book

Divination (2.42.87), Tully Cicero speaks of the “Chaldaeorum monstra” or “Chaldean manifestations”; i. e., Chaldean astrology, against which Plato's disciple Eudoxus specifically warned that “No reliance whatever is to be placed in Chaldean astrologers when they profess to forecast a man's future from the position of the stars on the day of his birth.”

⁵⁴ The phrase from Lev. 19:26 with the Masoretic diacritics (which Mather here omits) reads **עַל־הַדָּם** or “with the blood.” Mather's more literal Latin translation suggests, “over, or near the blood” apparently alluding to the pagan custom of consuming blood sacrifices over (or near) the pits of blood set aside for demons during the incantation process – as Maimonides relates (*Guide* 3.46.585–86). See also Odysseus's blood sacrifice in Hades, in Homer's (*Odyssey* 11.23–50).

⁵⁵ Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25.

⁵⁶ Mather's rhetorical question and the following paragraphs are abstracted from John Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 11, fols. 326–38.

⁵⁷ Spencer (327). Indicative of his great admiration for Spencer's scholarship, Mather here calls him “the most exquisitely & Incomparably learned *Spencer*. Yet upon revisiting Spencer's daunting challenges to the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, Mather cancels the honorific which he frequently bestows on him. See Appendix A.

⁵⁸ Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.46.484) and *Guide* (3.46.585–86). See also Mather gloss on Lev. 17:1 (above); Odysseus in Hades, in

Zohar, who wrote some Ages before *Maimonides*, does give the like Account of the *Egyptians*, when hee reports the Magical Incantations, wherein these Wretches, hee saies, *went beyond all Mankind besides*. Adding, that, [according to Lev. 17.7.] the *Israelites* learn't these divellish Practices of the *Egyptians*; and that when they were doing them, *Congregabantur isti Spiritus maligni, et apparebant ipsis, instar Hircorum hirsutorum, et notum faciebant illis quicquid quærent.*⁵⁹ And unto the like Purpose, wee have an Account from *Josephus Albo*, who telling us, why the Slaying of any thing, but before the *Tabernacle*, was Interdicted unto the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt*, saies, It was, *propterea quod tunc immersi, essent in cultu Dæmonum, et comederent super Sanguinem, et comederent Adipem, et Sanguinem.*⁶⁰

That, and *What*, these Hellish Customes, of, *Eating upon Blood*, were, wee have several Scriptures, Declaring to us. Lett us a little Touch upon Two or Three of them, with some Curiositie of *Illustration*.

Wee read in Ezek. 33.25, 26. *Yee eat with the Blood, /עַל־הַדָּם/ and lift up your Eyes toward your Idols, & shed Blood, and shall yee possess the Land? Yee stand upon your Sword, yee work Abomination.* The Particle *עַל* signifies, *By*, or, *At*, or, *On*, rather than, *With*. And *Vatablus*, ha's this proper Gloss hereupon, *post-eaquam, vos Sacrificastis Idolis, vos comeditis carnes Sacrificiorum, juxta Sanguinem Victimarum illis immolatarum.*⁶¹ The Idolaters eating thus, by the *Blood* which they *shed* [compare Lev. 17.4.] did *lift up their Eyes unto their Idols*, with a Confidence, that the *Dæmons* whom they had thus Invited, Invoked, & Entertained, would bee propitious to them. And in doing thus, they *stood upon their Sword*. What was the Sense of *That*? Why, It was a Received Opinion among

Homer's *Odyssey* (11.23–50); and Jurieu's *Critical History* (1705), vol. 1, part I, ch. 25, pp. 244–51; vol. 2, part IV, ch. 11, pp. 298–300.

⁵⁹ Spencer (328). The Latin translation from ספר הזוהר *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*Book of Splendor*) warns that “those evil spirits were swarming together, and they were appearing to them in the guise of hairy goats, and they revealed to them whatever they asked.” See Shemoth (sec. 2) and Vayikra (sec. 3), in *Soncino Zohar* (2.237a; 3.63a). In Mather's time, scholars still believed in R. Shimon bar Yochai (2nd c. CE) as the author of the *Zohar*. It is now widely attributed to the Sephardic Kabbalist Moshe ben Shem-Tov, aka. Moses de León of Guadalajara (c. 1250–1305). On the proscription against ingesting blood as a means to commune with demons (Lev. 17:5–7 and 19:26), see also Rashi, Nachmanides, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Radak, Gersonides, and Abarbanel (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:128–29, 154).

⁶⁰ Spencer translates a passage from ספר עקרים [*Sefer Ikkarim*] *Book of Principles* (1522), sec. 3, cap. 16, by the Iberian rabbi and philosopher Joseph Albo (c. 1380–c. 1444). In this chapter, Albo addresses the question of whether or not certain Mosaic Laws and principles are applicable in perpetuity or are subject to abrogation when their original purpose becomes null and void (*SEP*). First published in Italy, Soncino (1485), Rimino (1522), Paris, (1561), and Venice (1618), ספר עקרים was widely available in several seventeenth-century editions. The Latin translation reads, “because they were plunged into service to demons, ate over [pits of] blood, and consumed lard and blood” (See *Sefer Ha-Ikkarim* 3:147).

⁶¹ Franciscus Vatablus's gloss, excerpted in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (2.2:1277), explains the forbidden rite: “After you have sacrificed to the idols, you eat the meats of the sacrifices [and] in like manner [ingest] the blood of the victims sacrificed to them.”

them, that the brandishing of a *Drawn Sword*, would give a Fright & Flight unto the *Dæmons*, or Spirits, that were about them. Wherefore, when the Magicians called forth, the *Souls* of the *Dead*, with the Rites of *Eating by Blood*, they armed themselves with a *Sword*, that they might behave themselves with more Courage in their Putting of *Questions* unto them, as well as that they might chase away the *Souls* that had not been called for. You have this whole Matter, notably described, in the Eleventh Book of *Homers* *Odyssees*, where you find *Ulysses* consulting with the Ghost of *Tiresias*. *Ulysses* then stood

ξίφος οξυ ερυσσάμενος παρα μηρου

with a *Sharp Sword*, upon his *Thigh*, to keep off any others of the *Dead*, from touching of the Sacrificed *Blood*, until *Tiresias* had first been consulted with.⁶² Anon, sais hee,

ἐφ' αἵματι φάσγανον ἰσχων

I held a Sword over the Blood; namely, to keep off Intruders;⁶³ And when *Tiresias* comes, hee prays *Ulysses*, To stand away from the *Pitt*, & to take away the *Sword*,

Αἵματος ὄφρα πῶ, καὶ τοὶ νημερτέα εἴπω,

That so (sais hee) *I may drink the Blood, & speak the Truth*.⁶⁴ And *Silius Italicus* ha's a remarkable Passage of this Import,

— contende Tueri,

Eductumque tene Vaginâ interritus ensem,

Quæcunque autè Animæ tendunt potare cruorem,

Disjice. —⁶⁵

Well therefore, might the Prophet add, That this was, *To work Abomination*. It was not a *murderous*, but this *Magical, Shedding of Blood*, that is here intended.⁶⁶

Again, Wee read in Lev. 17.4, 5, 7. *Whosoever kills a Creature, & brings it not unto the Door of the Tabernacle, — hee hath shed Blood, — that Man shall bee cutt off. — And they shall no more offer their Sacrifices unto Dives*. The Creatures

⁶² Spencer (329). The citation from Homer's *Odyssey* (11.48) reads with diacritics, ξίφος ὀξύ ερυσσάμενος παρά μηρού. Odysseus relates what while in Hades, "drawing my sharp sword from beside my thigh," he cut the throats of black sheep and offered the crimson liquid to the shades of the underworld as they surge around him to imbibe the lifeblood; yet he kept them at bay with his sword until Teiresias had partaken of the blood.

⁶³ Homer (*Odyssey* 11.83): [ἐγὼ μὲν ἀνευθεν] ἐφ' αἵματι φάσγανον ἰσχων, "[I on one side] holding my sword over the blood."

⁶⁴ But Odysseus, fending off the swarming ghosts of the dead at the point of his drawn sword, waits until Teiresias, ruler of the Underworld, addresses him: Take away your sword αἵματος ὄφρα πῶ καὶ τοὶ νημερτέα εἴπω (*Odyssey* 11:96) "that I may drink of the blood and speak the truth to you."

⁶⁵ The Latin epic poet Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus (c. 26–102 CE) in his epic on the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE), echoes the Homeric original: As Scipio is surrounded by the shades of the dead in Erebus, Proserpina commands, "Fix your gaze firmly upon them all [ghosts in Erebus], and grasp your sword undaunted. If any spirits press forward to drink of the blood ... hew them to pieces" (*Punica* 13.441–43).

⁶⁶ Ezek. 33:25, 26.

they killed, for their daily Food, must bee killed, like *Peace-Offerings*, before the *Tabernacle*. It was, as *Maimonides* very truly tells us, *Quia in Rebellione et Contumaciâ suâ perrexerunt Israelitæ, et in eo, in quo educati fuerunt, continuè progressi sunt, sociosque se Dæmonibus præbuerunt, circa Sanguinem comedendo*, —⁶⁷ It was to prevent the *Diabolism*, which they had been used unto of serving *Dæmons* by pouring out the Blood of Animals unto them. And therefore, this *Præcept*, continued in Force no longer than the *Israelites* continued in the Wilderness | and had their *Egyptian* Tang upon them. Indeed, it is justly beleaved, That those Desart-Places, were peculiarly Inhabited by *Dæmons*, who chose to make, even visible Apparitions there, more then in Places that were better peopled with Humane Inhabitants.⁶⁸ There was therefore, a singular Occasion, for the Lord, *thus* to putt a Timely Stop, unto the Magical Idolatries of the *Israelites*. Methinks, *Abarbinel* speaks well upon it; *Vir ille, qui sic mactat, in causâ est, ut Homines Accedant, et comedant ibi, super Sanguinem effusum in Agris, ex illâ mactatione, quod est è cultu Dæmonum: eratque mactator ille, ac si mortem et excisionem attulisset omnibus, qui Sacrificabant in eo Die*.⁶⁹

Hence also, t'was required, in Lev. 17.13. *Whosoever catcheth any Beast, or Fowl, hee shall poure out the Blood thereof, & cover it with Dust*. [See Deut. 12.16, 24. & 15.23.] Orders that seem so Trivial, why were they so much Inculcated? It was to obviate the Oriental Superstitions, who thought, the *Blood* of Beasts or Birds, repositied in fitt Receptacles, to bee an Entertainment for *Dæmons*. Alluding to this Perswasion of the Gentiles, is that in Psal. 50.12, 13. *If I were Hungry, I would not tell thee; — will I eat the Flesh of Bulls, or Drink the Blood of Goats?*

67 Spencer (330) cites *Maimonides*, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.46.485). The great philosopher explains that this rule was instituted “because they [recalcitrant Israelites] continued in their disobedience and in following the generally accepted usage in which they had been brought up of fraternizing with the jinn [demons] through eating around the blood” (*Guide* 3.46.586).

68 See also Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 8, cap. 6 and 9, fols. 1012–14, 1023–25; and John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 12, pp. 197–202.

69 Spencer (330). *Abarbanel* explains that the proscription (Lev. 19:26), “You shall not eat anything with its blood,” was intended to keep the Israelites from adopting the idolatrous fertility rites of the Canaanites. For to increase and speed up the fruitfulness of newly planted trees, the Canaanites “used to pour blood on the roots of the tree,” planted “new trees according to the [propitious] position of the heavenly constellations,” and cut their hair dedicated to their idol and bury it with the seeds, lacerate their own bodies until blood ran to the ground, and “when grafting a branch from one tree onto another,” have a beautiful young maiden perform sexual acts under the tree” (*Selected Commentaries Vayikra/Leviticus* 3:186, 187, 188, 189). These idolatrous rituals were practiced by the ancient Sabians in Chaldea, *Maimonides* claims, and recorded in the ancient book on “The Nabatean Agriculture” and translated by Abū Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Wahshiyya (*Guide* 3.29.516–18). More specifically, *Abarbanel* holds violators of this proscription accountable: “That man who thus sacrifices is responsible for enticing others to draw near and to eat there over the blood poured out on the fields by that slaughter. [This idolatrous practice] is from the worship of devils; and that man was a killer, as if he had brought death and destruction to all who were sacrificing on that day.” See also Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (63a).

Briefly, The Lord would not have His People court the favour of *Dæmons*: And as R. Moses, well expresses it, *Præcepit Deus, ut omnium Ferarum et Volucrum licitarum Sanguis, ubi mactata fuerint, Pulvere operiatur, ita ut non possint Homines circa illum convenire et commessari; atque ita irrita reddatur Fraternitas inter illos, quos in Rei Veritate Dæmon possidet.*⁷⁰ Out of him, I suppose it was, that *Thomas Aquinas*, gives the very same Account of this Matter. [Prim. 2. Qu. 102. Art. 6.]⁷¹

Tis many Wayes evident, that Almighty God, had a Respect unto this Diabolical Usage, in the Law, that is now before us. Hence tis, that the LXX render it, *Yee shall not Eat ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων, upon the Mountains.*⁷² It is an immodest Thing, in any Criticks, to say, that they read /הרים/ for /הדם/ as ha's been asserted by some, who, as Dr. *Spencer* saies well, *nescio que menda suspicari solent, ne quid ipsi nescire videantur.*⁷³ Compare Ezek. 33.25. with Ezek. 18.5, 6. and you may gather that the Rite of, *Eating over Blood*, was a Sort of Idolatry, at least akin to, *Eating upon Mountains*: as indeed the Book *Zohar* tells us, they mostly chose *There* to do *It*.⁷⁴ It is a Passage of *Isidore, Apud Majores, potentes aut in Montibus [in domibus], aut sub Montibus, sepeliebantur. Indè tractum est, ut postea super Cadavera, aut Pyramides fierent, aut ingentes columnæ collocarentur.*⁷⁵ And thus *Lucan* writes,

70 Spencer (331) cites Maimonides's *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.46.485): "God commanded that when any of the *wild beasts* or *birds* whose flesh it is permitted to eat has been slaughtered, its blood should be covered up with dust so that people should not gather to eat around it. Thus the aim was achieved and the purpose realized: namely, *to break the brotherhood* between those truly possessed and their jinn" (*Guide* 3.46.587). See also Jurieu (*History of the Doctrines*, vol. 1, ch. 13, pp. 125–27).

71 Thomas Aquinas, leaning on Maimonides's *More Nebuchim*, says much the same in his *Summa Theologica*: "Blood was forbidden ... in order to shun the idolatrous rite whereby it was customary for men to collect the blood and to gather together around it for a banquet in honor of the idols, to whom they held the blood to be most acceptable. Hence the Lord commanded the blood to be poured out and to be covered with earth (Lev. xvii.13)," in *Summa Theologica* (2:1078, pt. 1–2, Q.102, A6, Reply *Obj.* 1).

72 Lev. 19:26, line 1 (LXX).

73 Spencer (332) criticizes those who misread /הרים/ for /הדם/ as follows: "I do not know what faults they are accustomed to mistrust; they themselves don't even seem to know that."

74 *Zohar* Vayikra (sec. 3) relates that "When the Egyptians desired to consort with the demons, they used to go out to certain mountains and offer sacrifices and make trenches in the ground and pour some of the blood around the trenches and the rest into them and put flesh over it, and bring offerings to the demons. Then the demons used to collect and consort with them on the mountain. Israel, being subject to the Egyptians, learnt their ways and went astray after them; hence God said to them, 'After the doings of the land of Egypt in which ye have dwelt shall ye not do', and also, 'And they shall no more sacrifice their sacrifices unto the satyrs after whom they go a-whoring', since, as we have learnt, the demons used to appear to them in the form of the he-goats," in *Soncino Zohar* (3:70a),

75 The oft-cited Latin passage is adapted from *Etymologiarum sive Originum* (15.11.4): "De Aedificiis et Agris" [PL 082. 0552], by the Spanish archbishop of Seville, St. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi (c. 560–636). It also appears in Maurus Honoratius Servius's *In Vergilii Aeneidos Commentarius* (11:849), Servius's annotation on Virgil's *Aeneid* (11:849), "monte sub alto"; i. e.,

*Et Regnum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.*⁷⁶

It seems it was the Ancient Custome, to bury *Hero's* upon *Mountains*; As you know, *Moses*, and *Aaron*, and *Joshua*, were so Buried.⁷⁷ Now the Idolaters, Beleaving the *Souls* of their *Hero's*, to hover much about their *Graves*, did usually repair to such *Mountains*, that by *Eating over Blood* there, they might receive Oracles from the Dead. Hence tis, that, *Eating upon Mountains*, is often branded for a very great Impiety. [Ezek. 18.6, 11, 15. chap. 22.9. and chap. 33.25.] Again, *Aquila* renders, *Yee shall not Eat*, ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος, *Upon the House-top*: And Interpreters do miserably vex themselves about that Version: *Drusius* after all, *cutting* the Knot which hee can't *untie*, & saying, that the Scribes, mistook δώματος for αἵματος. But *Aquila*, wee conceive, had an Eye to the same thing that wee have in the *Septuagint*.⁷⁸ The *Idolaters*, performed their Ceremonies upon the *Tops of Houses*, as well as upon the *Tops of Mountains*. [Consider 2. King. 23.12. and Jer. 19.13. and 39.29. and Zeph. 1.5.]⁷⁹ And *Witches* took the like Places, for their *Witchery's*: for which Cause, in the Glossary, counted *Isidores*, you find, *Witches*,

"Under the mountain height." St. Isidore explains, "Among the ancestors, distinguished ancestors were buried either in the mountains [in houses] or under the mountains. It followed from this that later either pyramids might be built over their corpses or massive columns placed there."

⁷⁶ In his Roman epic *De Bello Civili*, Marcus Annaeus Lucanus tells the woe-betide Pharaoh-Ptolemy (last of Lagus's line) that although he preserves the ashes of many "Pharaohs [who] rest beneath a mountain of masonry [pyramids]" (*De Bello Civili* 8.695), he will lose his crown to his sister in Pompey's struggle with Caesar.

⁷⁷ According to Deut. 34:1, 5–6, Moses went "unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah" overlooking the plains of Moab. However, Moses was buried "in a *valley* in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor." Aaron died on Mt. Hor (Numb. 20:24, 27–28); Joshua on Mt. Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash" (Josh. 24:29–30).

⁷⁸ Spencer (333). Mather is here interested in the more literal rendition of the Hebrew phrase אֶל-הָרִים לֹא אָכַל "not eaten upon the mountain" (Ezek. 18:6, KJV), which phrase the LXX renders ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων οὐ φάγεται "shall not eat upon the mountain." St. Aquila of Sinope (fl. 2nd c. CE), a convert to Christianity and subsequently to Judaism, translated the Hebrew Scripture into Greek. Intended to replace the Septuagint (3rd c. BCE), Aquila's more literal rendition of the Hebrew original served Origen and St. Jerome as an invaluable commentary on opaque Hebrew passages they sought to explicate. The most user-friendly version of Aquila's rendition is preserved in *Origenis Hexaplorum qua supersunt* [PG 015–016, pt. 1–3]. In his *Veterum Interpretum Graecorum In Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta* (1622), p. 642 (on Ezek. 33:25), Johannes Drusius (1550–1616), Dutch Reformed theologian and professor of Hebrew at Franeker, turns to the Hebrew original and renders the phrase עַל-הַדָּם "with [upon] the blood" as τοῦ αἵματος (Ezek. 33:25, KJV). Significantly, Ezek. 33:25 does not exist in the LXX. Since Aquila's Greek translation renders the Hebrew original (Ezek. 33:25) as ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος "upon the housetop" instead of ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵματος ("over the black-pudding"), Drusius attributes this contradiction to a scribal error since αἵματος ("blood-broth") and δώματος ("housetop") allegedly look alike. See also *Critici Sacri* (4:5961).

⁷⁹ Mather here refers to 4 Kings 23:12 (LXX), which speaks of the "roof of the upper chamber." His reference to Jer. 39.29 erroneously reads 32.29 in the holograph manuscript, an error which Mather copies from Spencer's text (333), but here silently corrected.

called by the Name of *Tegularia*.⁸⁰ *Jerom* describes to us, the Houses of the Orient, after this fashion; *Orientales non habent in Tectis Culmina; sed ijs Domata, quæ apud nos Tecta, Romæ Solaria, vocantur*.⁸¹

You may add, That besides what wee have in *Maimonides*,⁸² it is a memorable Remark that wee have in *Fagius*, upon this Law. *Sunt, qui scribunt, Israelitas obtulisse in Egypto, Sacrificia Dæmonibus, quos Schedim vocant, et postea, juxta Effusum Sanguinem, quo Magis Dæmones placarent, comedisse Reliquias, Sacrificiorum; et hunc Ritum Idololatriam hîc vetare Deum*.⁸³ And it is well-known, that the Hebrew Particle /עַל/ does most accept such a Signification, as wee have now putt upon it. For which Cause, tis not Improbable, that this was the *Provocation*, which King *Saul*, did so much Rebuke and Resent, and Prevent, when, in 1. Sam. 14.33. – *It was told Saul, Behold the People Sin against the Lord, in that they Eat with the Blood*. Tho' wee do not altogether so much contend for this Exposition of it. But, when this *Law* is given, there is not assigned a Reason for it, as there is for the *Law* of not *Eating Blood* at all. The Reason of that Silence, may bee, because this *magical Idolatry*, was then well-known to all the World. And therefore you find the *Law* given here, in the Midst of *Lawes* referring to other *Zabian* Superstitions; & the Rites of *Divination*. Why, *Maimonides* truly advises us, That the Idolaters in this very Rite, proposed unto themselves, a *Divination*; even, that the *Dæmons* fed by this *Blood*, would in their *Sleep* at least, appear unto them; and serve them, in many Instances. Yea, there was a *Necromancy* in it, and an Evocation of Departed *Ghosts*.⁸⁴ Thus *Austin* tells us, of this *Necromancy* among the *Persians*, *Quo, adhibito Sanguine, etiam Inferi suscitantur*.

⁸⁰ In his *Glossarium*, St. Isidore of Seville speaks of the “*Tegullaria maleficia, eo quod supra tegulas sacrificient*” or “roof-top sorcerers, who offer their sacrifices on roof-tops.” Spencer’s source for witches who perform their sorcery on roof-tops is Πεντηκονταρχος sive Quinquaginta Militum Ductor (1622), cap. 27, p. 225, by Laurentius Ramirez de Prado, aka. Lorenzo Ramirez (1583–1658), a Spanish humanist, Castilian politician, antiquarian, and “Familiar del Santo Oficio” (Member of the Holy Inquisition).

⁸¹ St. Jerome, in his “Epistola CVI ad Sunniam et Fretelam (§ 63) [PL 022. 0859], describes the houses of the Mediterranean Orientals as follows, “Eastern peoples do not have [any] gables on their buildings, but [flat] roofs, which among our people are known as ceilings, in Rome as sun-terraces.”

⁸² Mather alludes to Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.46.485), whose gloss on Deut. 12:27; 12:16, 24; Lev. 19:26, reads, “And it commands pouring [out] the blood of every beast that is slaughtered, even if it was not offered up in sacrifice; it says: *Thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water*. Thereupon it forbids gathering around the blood and eating there, saying; *Thou shalt not eat round the blood*” (*Guide* 3.46.586).

⁸³ Spencer (333–34). Paulus Fagius’s gloss on Lev. 19:26 (in Pearson’s *Critici Sacri* 1:834), explains that “there are those who write that the Israelites in Egypt had offered sacrifices to devils, whom they call ‘shedim,’ and that afterwards, they ate the remains of the sacrifices near the poured-out blood, by which they attracted evil spirits. In this place [Lev. 19:26], God prohibited this idolatrous rite.”

⁸⁴ Spencer (337); Maimonides (*Liber* 3.46.484) and (*Guide* 3.46.585–86).

That *Clemens* mentions those as the worst of *Idolathytes*, over whose *Blood*, ψυχὰι ὑπ' ἐξ ἐρεβους, *Souls came from the Dead*.⁸⁵ Thus *Horace*,

– pullam divellere mordicus Agnam
Cæperunt, cruor in fossam diffusus, ut indè
Manes elicere Animas Responsa daturas.⁸⁶

But of this enough.

[▽ 46r–46v] [▽ Insert from 46r–46v]

977.

Q. That Law, *Yee shall not Round the Corners of your Heads, neither shalt thou marr the Corners of thy Beard*: I pray, give mee a few *Spencerian* Illustrations upon it? v. 27.⁸⁷

A. Tis true, The old pagans did use to *Shear* or *Shave*, their *Hair*, orbicularly about their Heads, leaving above, or behind, a *Curle*, consecrated either to *the Sun*, or to *Saturn*. And whole Synods of great Men, besides *Bochart* and *Grotius*, have thought, that this Law forbad the *Israelites* to symbolize with the Pagans, in such a Ceremony.⁸⁸ The *Seventy* do accordingly call the Thing here interdicted, *Sisoë*; which, being the same with, *Sisith*, signifieth such a *Curle*, as has been described.⁸⁹ It was the *Curle*, or, *Lock*, for which the *Thracians* were called,

⁸⁵ In his *De Civitate Dei* (7.35) [PL 041. 0223], St. Augustine draws on Terentius Varro, who believes that the Persians, followed by the Pythagoreans, introduced this type of necromancy in which the sorcerers “inquire at the inhabitants of the neither world, and make use of blood” (*City of God* 7.35.142), in *NPNFi* (2:142). Likewise, Clemens Alexandrinus alludes to Homer’s *Odyssey* (11.37) and relates in *Paedagogus* (2.1.8.3, line 4) that to the blood fly ψυχὰι ὑπ’ ἐξ ἐρεβους “Souls from Erebus of inanimate corpses” (*Instructor* 2.1.239), in *ANF* (2:239).

⁸⁶ The final word is here given to Horace (*Satire* 1.8.27–29), who has black-robed Canidia and her companion Sagana frenziedly “tear a black lamb to pieces with their teeth; the blood was all poured into a trench, that therefrom they might draw the sprites, souls that would give them answer.” Shakespeare’s three witches *Macbeth* (4.1) have nothing on Horace’s hags, so it seems.

⁸⁷ John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 1, fols. 339–49, supplies Mather with the raw material for his own annotations in the subsequent paragraphs. In his “Note Book of Authors” (Lev. 19:27), Mather recommends “Athanasius, in Op. To. 2. p. 399.” It is uncertain which of the several Greek-Latin editions of St. Athanasius’s works Mather refers to. The French Benedictine scholar Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741) produced a highly respected three-volume folio edition of the Alexandrian Church Father’s *Opera Omnia quae Extant vel qua ejus nomine Circumferuntur, Ad mss. codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos* (Parisiis, 1698). (CE).

⁸⁸ Spencer (339); Samuel Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (1707), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 6, cols. 361–62; and Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes* Lev. 19:27, in *Opera* (1:67).

⁸⁹ Mather provides the nominative case of the Greek LXX (Lev. 19:27) σισόη *Sisoë*, i. e., “curl of hair,” rather than the accusative case σισόην *Sisoën*, as it appears in his primary source (Spencer 339) and in Bochart (362, line 1). The transliterated “*Sisith*” from the Hebrew תִּצִּיחַ [tsitsith] suggests “curl” or “lock of hair.”

Ἀκροκόμαι:⁹⁰ and many other Nations of Idolaters, have been, yea, still are, famous for it: as wee are informed, by other Authors, besides *Herodotus*, who tells us, that the *Arabians*, in Conformity to *Bacchus*, affected the Wearing of such a *Lock*.⁹¹ The old *Phœnicians*, had the Name of τροχοκούριδες, for this *Lock*, and the old *Græcians* called it ἐκτόριον κουράν. But it is not likely, that any Man in *Israel*, would commit so *Capital* an Offence, as to appear in Public, with an *Head* thus openly Devoted unto an Idol.⁹² Wherefore, the Author of the Things called, *Apostolical Constitutions*, urging of Modesty in Apparel, brings this Law, as forbidding all *Curiosity* about Hair at all.⁹³ But the Law being here placed in the Midst of *Superstitions*, wee must seek a further Sense for it. Now, tis very certain, that the *Israelites* did use an *Orbicular Cutting* of their *Hair*, which they counted not unlawful. When the old Poet *Cherilus*, mentions, the τροχοκούριδες, that lived near the *Great Lake*, *Josephus* tells us, that he doubtless meant the *Jewes*, living about the *Lake Asphaltites*.⁹⁴ Now, whether *Josephus* expound the Poet right or no, yett hee may bee credited as a competent Relator of that Peoples Manners and Customes. And Antiquity counted an *Orbicular Tonsion* of the *Hair*, to bee a venerable Fashion. *Varro* saies of the Children, *Alij sunt circumtonsi*; *Agathias* tells of the *Franks*, περίτροχον κείρονται, i. e. *In orbem tondentur*. And *Sidonius Apollinaris* mentions it, as a Piece of Neatness, *Crinis in Rotæ speciem accisus*. Or, shall wee say, That the *Theseian Tonsure* is here prophibited.⁹⁵ So saies *Maimonides*

90 Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* (2.28, line 7). Ἀκροκόμαι, an epithet for the Thracians, suggests “those with hair on their crown.” According to Homer’s *Iliad* (4.533), the Thracians wore “their hair long at the top” but may have “shaved all their head except the crown” (*LSJ*).

91 Herodotus (3.8, lines 12–15) tells of the Arabians who, when making a pledge, invoke Dionysus (Bacchus) and Aphrodite (Venus). The Arabians deem these two deities as the supreme ones, Herodotus relates, and “cut their hair in circular shape and shave the temples” in imitation of Dionysus.

92 Choerilus Samius’s *Fragmenta epica* (fragm. 6, line 4) and Eusebius Pamphilus’s *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.9.1, lines 5–9) have τροχοκούριδες, “close-cropped hair” or “shorn all around” (*Preparation* 9.9.412b). Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* 2.29.9–30.1) has Ἐκτόρειον ... κουράν, or “a foreign [strange] haircut.”

93 Spencer (340); *Constitutiones Sanctorum Apostolorum Per Clementem Episcopum et Civem Romanum* (1724), vol. 1, lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 205. See also *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* (1.2.3), in *ANF* (7:392). On Mather’s views on hair styles, wigs, and related hirsute matters, see R. E. Brown’s “Hair Down to There” (495–514).

94 Mather alludes to the Greek epic poet Choerilus Samius (5th c. BCE), author of the epic *Persica*, which recounts the Greek struggle against the Parthians at the Battle of Salamis (Ζαλὺμοις) (*EB*). The reference is to the extant *Fragmenta epica* (fragm. 6, line 4) where the bard mentions those who are “shorn all around.” In his *Contra Apionem* (1.173, line 4), Josephus Flavius cites the same fragment from the epic poet Choerilus Samius and tells of a people who spoke “the Phœnician tongue,” dwelt in the “Solymean mountains, near the broad lake,” had sooty heads with “round rasures,” and looked like “nasty horse-heads” (*Against Apion* 1.22), in *Works* (615).

95 Marcus Terentius Varro, as quoted in an extant fragment in *De Compendiosa Doctrina ad Filium* (lib. 2, p. 190, lines 6–7), by Roman grammarian Nonius Marcellus (4th–5th c. CE), says that “some [children] are “shorn all around.” The Byzantine poet-historian Agathias Scholasticus (c. 536–c. 582), in his *Historiae* (p. 13, line 11), speaks of the Franks, whose hair is “clipped

upon this Law; *Ne quis, Gentilium ritu, capillis sit promissis; ne utrinque, tondeatur, relictis in Medio Capillis; nec a fronte præcidat Capillos, ab unâ Aure ad Alteram, relictâ occipitis Comâ*; This, hee saies, was the Prohibition of this Law. But yett, wee must own, that the *Galileans*, who probably would keep this Law, are by *Nonnus*, on the Second of *John*, called, σπισθοκόμους: they wore *no Hair* before, and *long Hair* behind.⁹⁶

Wee must therefore enquire a little further.

First then, wee are to know, That it was a *Funeral Solemnity*, among the Ancient Nations, to Tear or Cutt off the Hair of their *Heads* or *Beards*, & cast the same upon the Corpse, or Tomb, of the *Dead*. Thus in *Homer*, you have *Achilles* thus performing his Parentation to the Ghost of Dead *Patroclus*,

Στας απανευθε πυρης, ξανθην απεχειρατο χαιτην,

*Standing by the Pile; hee cutt off his Shining Hair.*⁹⁷ And elsewhere, hee saies; That *Miserable Mortals* can do no more for their *Dead Friends*, but this,

Κειρασθαι τε κομην, βαλλειν τ' απο δακρυ παρειων,

To cutt our Hair, & shed our Tears, for them.⁹⁸ *Apollonius* mentions this Rite, among those at the Funeral of *Jason*. And that this Rite obtained among the *Romans*, wee find in *Ovid*,

Non mihi te licuit lachrymis perfundere Justis,

*In Tua nec tonsas ferre Sepulchra Comas.*⁹⁹

in a circle.” And the Roman poet and bishop St. Gaius Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris of Lyon (c. 430–489), in his *Epistolae* (4.13) [PL. 048. 0519], speaks of “the lock of hair cut in the likeness of a wheel.” The Greek hero and mythical founder of Athens, Theseus, wore his hair closely cropped to prevent his fellow combatants from holding on to his pate, hence “*Theseian Tonsure*,” or κοῦρὰ δὲ Θησῆως, in *Polyaeni Strategicon libri octo* (lib. 1, p. 9, line 10), by the Macedonian author Polyaeus (2nd c. CE), best known for his *Stratagems in War*, which he dedicated to the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

⁹⁶ Spencer (341, 342); Maimonides, *De Idololatria* (cap. XI, § 2, p. 143), in Gerardus Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (1641) 1:143. A modern translator renders it in *Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V'Chukkoteihem* (11.1), “We may not shave our heads from the sides and leave hair in the center as they [gentiles] do. This is called a *blorit*. We may not shave the hair on the front of our faces from ear to ear and leave a growth at the back of our heads as they [gentiles] do” (*Mishneh Torah* 3:198). In his *Paraphrasis sancti evangelii Joannei* (fort. auctore Nonno alio), *Demonstratio* (2, lines 6–7), the Greek epic poet Nonnus Panopolitanus (4th–5th c. CE) here paraphrases the Gospel of John. See also his *Dionysiaca* (13.420) on “wearing the hair long behind.”

⁹⁷ Spencer (343). With Mather's omitted Greek diacritics restored, his quotation from *Homer* (*Iliad* 23.141) reads, στας ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαιτὴν and relates how noble Achilles “stood away from the [funeral] pyre and cut off a golden lock.”

⁹⁸ Likewise, the bard has Peisistratus, old Nestor's son, explain to Menelaus, the best way to lament the death of mortals, is to κείρασθαι τε κόμην βαλλέειν τ' ἀπὸ δάκρυ παρειῶν, “cut our hair and let a tear fall from our cheeks” (*Odyssey* 4:198).

⁹⁹ Spencer (344). In his *Argonautica* (4.1533–34), the Greek epic poet Apollonius of Rhodius (3rd c. BCE) tells that at the death of Jason, the Argonauts and the maidens gathered around his body and ἐμοιρήσαντο δὲ χαιτάς αὐτοὶ ὁμῶς κοῦραί τε, “they cropped their flowing hair and bewailed” dead Jason's suffering. Likewise, *Ovid* (*Epistolae Heroidum* 11.116–17) has Canace (offspring of Enarete and Aeolus) bemoan the demise of her beloved Macareus: “Fate did not permit me to shed o'er thee the tears I owed, nor to bear to thy tomb the shorn lock.”

Yea, so deep root it ha's taken in the Minds of People, that it is to this Day practised: as you may find in the Relation which *Cotovicus* gives of the *Cretian* Women.¹⁰⁰

Secondly, In thus divesting themselves of their *Hair*, the Manner of the Pagans was to endeavour, an *Orbicular Tonsion*. You have *Cointus Smyrnaeus* particularly asserting this, when hee reports, how they offered their *Hair*, at the Funeral of *Achilles*: hee saies,

— ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίτας
Μυρμιδόνες ἐκείραντο —
— *Capillos autem*
Myrmidones circumtendent. —¹⁰¹

And so, the Poet *Statius*, describes the Mourning of *Archemorus*, for his Dead Son,

— *Tergoque et pectore fusam,*
Cæsariem ferro minuit, sectisque jacentis
Obnubit tenuia ora comis. —¹⁰²

Herodotus likewise tells us, the *Scythians* did thus, in the Funerals of their Kings. It was not because they thought an *Orbicular Figure* more acceptable to their Gods, than another, but because they would withhold nothing from them, that grew upon their Heads.¹⁰³ *Electra* was therefore Angry with *Helena*, in *Sophocles*, because in the Funeral of *Clytemnestra*, shee dealt *πανουργίᾳς*, *Deceitfully*, in sparing her more *Curious Locks*.¹⁰⁴ Whence *Artemidorus* tells, that for a Person

100 The Dutch traveler Johannes Cotovicus, aka. Jan van Kootwick, aka. Cootwijk (d. 1629), in his *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (1619), lib. 1, cap. 13, p. 84, describes the funeral rites of the Cretans as follows: “Hæc omnes in luctu suos quosque defunctos veteri Ethnicorum more plangunt, & maioris doloris declarandi causa uxores in primis, matres, sorores, ac proximæ quæque capillum sibi manum discindunt, comam evellunt, eamque cadaveribus injiciunt; fletu oculos corumpunt, frontem genasque lacerant, deturpantque.” For our purposes, “according to the old custom of the pagans, all these women beat their breasts in grief for each of their own dead; and by displaying great grief, wives in the first rank, mothers, sisters, and females next of kin, each rend their hair with their own hands, pull out their hair, and throw it on the corpses; they spoil their eyes with weeping, they tear and disfigure their forehead and cheeks.”

101 The Greek epic poet Cointus Smyrnaeus, aka. Quintus Smyrnaeus (fl. 4th c. CE), embellished Homer's epic on the Trojan War. In his *Posthomerica* (3.685–86), Quintus has it that Ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίτας / Μυρμιδόνες κείραντο “the Myrmidons shore all their hair” as they covered the corpse of Achilles with their tresses.

102 Statius Papinius (*Thebaid* 6.194–96) has the Nemean Archemorus (son of Lycurgus and Eurydice) grieve over the funeral pyre of his infant son. Pain-stricken, Archemorus “with the sword cuts short [his own] hair that fell o’er back and breast” and spreads his shorn tresses over the child’s features.

103 Not to be outdone by Statius’s Archemorus, the Scythians wail over their dead king by cutting off “a piece of ear, shave their hair, cut their forearms, tear forehead and nose, and drive arrows through their left hand” (Herodotus 4.71).

104 Mather may have Aeschylus’s *Oresteia* in mind (rather than any tragedy by the Greek playwright Sophocles), for it is in Aeschylus’s *The Libation Bearers* (1.42 ff) where Electra

to *Dream* of his thus *Polling* himself, is a Sign of *Mourning* & *Mischief* at hand; for, sais hee, Persons in such Cases, *ἐαυτοὺς ἀνάγκη περικεῖρουν*, *Do necessarily poll themselves*.¹⁰⁵

Thirdly, The Design of the Pagans, in thus Disposing of their *Hair*, was, to make a *Sacrifice*, either *to*, or *for*, the Dead, and provide the *Ghosts* of the Departed with a *Peace-Offering*. *Paganinus Gaudentius*, thinks it was, *Ut Heroi, tanquam Deo, res digna Deo, et solita Dijs offerri consecratur absumenda*.¹⁰⁶ Hence, the Greek Poets, do mention this *Hair* as, *χοας*, *Inferias*; and so does *Heliodorus* in his *Ethiopic History*. Tis a Passage, which they all have in *Seneca*, –

{Placem}us Umbras: capitis exu{uias cape,
Laceraque frontis accipe abscissam comam.}¹⁰⁷

[46v] | Briefly, the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* expressly tells us, *That they thus cast their Hair upon Sepulchres, that by this Expression of their Grief, they might render the Dead, Benevolent & Propitious unto them*.¹⁰⁸

Now, if you'll examine the Context here, you'll see Cause to think, that the Clause, *For the Dead*, is to bee applied unto this Rite, as well as unto that, whereto it is more immediately annexed. Compare also, Deut. 14.1. and Lev. 21.1, 5.

Castalio therefore ventures to render this Text so, *Ne vobis In funere verticem deraditote*.¹⁰⁹

Sometimes, indeed they did not manage this Funeral Solemnity, with a Total Desolation of their *Hair*, but, only pared off the *Extremities* of it. So *Helena*,

(Orestes's sister) short-shrifts the obligatory ritual by placing only a single lock of her hair on Agamemnon's tomb.

¹⁰⁵ In his *Onirocriticon* (1.22, line 19), Artemidorus Daldianus (2nd c. CE), the Greek diviner of dreams, reveals that to dream of pulling one's hair in grief is an omen of bad things to come.

¹⁰⁶ In his book on the ancient funeral rites in the Roman Empire *De Evulgatis Romanis Imperii Arcanis* (1640), pars 2, *De Funere Heroum*, cap. 6, p. 82, the Italian poet-historian Paganinus Gaudentius of Pisa (c. 1595–1649) relates that at a funeral “to a hero as to a god, a thing worthy of a god, and a thing usually offered to the gods to be consecrated, must be destroyed.”

¹⁰⁷ Spencer (345). See, for example, Euripides's *Orestes* (line 96), where Helen of Troy tells Electra to place “an offering” of hair for the dead on her mother's tomb. And Heliodorus mentions such an offering in his *Aethiopica* (7.14.6, line 8). The Roman playwright Seneca the Younger has Phaedra address the mangled corpse of Hippolytus, saying, “Let me ‘appease thy shade; take the spoils of my head, and accept this lock from my wounded forehead’” (*Phaedra* 1181–82). The Latin passage in braces {}, lost by defacement of Mather's holograph manuscript, is reconstructed from Spencer's quotation.

¹⁰⁸ Mather (via Spencer 345) refers to one of the Scholiasts on Sophocles, whose scholion Σχολία Παλαιά is appended to *Sophoclis Tragoediae VII* (1669), sep. pag.

¹⁰⁹ Spencer (346) cites Sebastian Castelleio's annotations on Lev. 19:28, in *Biblia Sacra Ex Sebastiani Castellionis* (1573), p. 160, which renders the text as follows: “Do not shave off the top of your head as part of the funeral rites.”

ακρας απεθριξε τριχας,
*Crinium summitates detruncavit.*¹¹⁰

And the Hebrew Word, /תֵּנֶפֶס/ here, signifies, *Ends*, rather than *Corners*; for who ever counts it proper, to say, *Corners*, of *Hair*?¹¹¹

Indeed, they used several Kinds, and Wayes of *Tonsure*. Sometimes, with their *Nails*, or, *Scissors*, they fetch'd off their *Hair*; sometimes they took the *Razor* to do it; and then off went the *Hair* of the *Ey-browes* too. Compare, Deut. 14.1. and Lev. 21.5.¹¹²

But then never called in the Help of *Barbers* for it; it was to bee done by their own *Hands*; The Impatience of *Grief*, would admitt no other.

[Consider, Job. 1.20. where, a, *Vulsura Comæ*, seems to bee meant, as used by *Job*, on the Death of his Children.]¹¹³

It was the Doing of this, as a *Sacrifice for the Dead*, that was forbidden, in the Law now before us. *Theodoret* thus expounds the Law, in *Deuteronomy*, – because, ταύτας προσέφερον τοῖς νεκροῖς; And so, among the Moderns, does *Fagius*, & out of him, *Scultetus*, – *Nonnullæ gentes, Capillos Capitis secare solebant, et Defunctis offerre.*¹¹⁴

For otherwise, the Ancient Hebrewes, did count it lawful, to celebrate *Funerals*, with cutting off their *Hair*. Compare Isa. 15.2. Jer. 16.6. Isa. 7.20. Jer. 48.37. And *Jerom* tells us, they did so in *his* Dayes, when their Zeal for the *Law*, had for some Ages conquered, their Inclinations to follow Pagan Usages. Yea, the Prophets foretelling many *Deaths*, did it, by calling for *Baldnesses*: [Jer. 7.29. Mic. 1.16. Ezek. 7.18.] but would the Lord seem to *exhort* them, unto a breach of His Law?¹¹⁵

[△ Insert 46r–46v ends]

[△]

110 In Euripides's *Orestes* (128), Electra complains about Helen's careless observation of the funeral rites for the dead Agamemnon: ἀρκας [ὥς] ἀπέθρισεν τρίχας; she "cut off her hair only at the ends."

111 Lev. 19:9. From תֵּנֶפֶס [pe'ah], suggesting "corner, edge, side, quarter, extremity" (Strong's # 6285 and B7792).

112 Spencer (346, 347).

113 Job 1:20 (KJV) relates that Job "shaved his head." Mather prefers a more drastic rendition: "Pluck out [his] hair."

114 Spencer (348); Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, in Question 13 on Deuteronomy (*Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 242, line 5), explains that the funeral rituals of the pagans were outlawed because they cropped the hair of their head, beard, or eyebrows and "sacrificed [it] to the dead." In his *Targum, Hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia* (1545), fol. sign. O¹, the German Hebraist Paulus Fagius comments on Deut. 14:1, "Some people were accustomed to cut the hair of the head and to offer it to the dead." Spencer (348) quotes a slightly adapted version of Fagius's gloss, which appears in *Exercitationes Evangelicae* (1624), lib. 2, cap. IV, p. 157, by the German Reformed theologian Abraham Scultetus (1566–1625), professor of OT at Heidelberg, representative at the Synod of Dort (1618), and court preacher of the erstwhile "winter" king of Bohemia, Frederick V (1619–20).

115 Spencer (349) and St. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Jeremiam Prophetam Libri Sex* (lib. 4, on Jer. 22:12) [PL 024. 0814].

[48r]

981.

Q. God forbad His People, to *print any Marks upon them*. I pray, Ransack the Treasures of Dr. *Spencer*, as well as your own, to find mee some *Remarkable* Curiosities, about the *Marks* here forbidden? v. 28.¹¹⁶

A. Lett us begin with some Account, concerning the various *Kinds of Marks*, or *Brands*, mentioned in the *Scriptures*, as used among the *Ancient Nations*. A great Number of *Scriptures*, will thus in a few Words bee Illustrated.

First, There were *Marks of Honour*, as I may call them; even such as *Mercer*, on the Word /קעע/ tells us, were worn by the Noblemen & Gentlemen, & the *Honourables*, among the *old Babylonians*.¹¹⁷ Thus in Ezek. 23.23. the /קוע/ /Koa, which is by *Jerom* rendred, *A Leader*, properly signifies, a Man that had certain *Characters* instamp'd upon him.¹¹⁸ Accordingly, *Herodotus* tells us, that among the *Thracians*, τὸ ἐπίστικται εὐγενὲς κέκριται, *It was counted a Peece of Good Breeding to bee Branded, in the Forehead*.¹¹⁹ And, *Claudian* mentions a *Gelonian*, as valuing himself upon this,

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Mather's following paragraphs are based on John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 14, sec. 1, fols. 358–68.

¹¹⁷ Johannes Mercerus (Mercier), אוצר לשון חקדש *Hoc est, Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae. Sive Lexicon Hebraicum* (1577), 2:2504 voce קעע.

¹¹⁸ St. Jerome's rendered the Hebrew קוע [Qowā] (Strong's # 6970) as "principes"; i.e., "leaders." Significantly, although the Hebrew noun is by Strong associated both with a "he-camel" as well as with a geographical region in Mesopotamia, the KJV and JPS merely transliterate קוע as "Koa," signifying the obscure meaning of the term.

¹¹⁹ Herodotus (5.6). Mather miscopies his second-hand Greek transcription of ἐπίστικται as ἐπίστικαι – the holograph revealing several attempts at correction. Perhaps Mather attempts to "improve" Spencer's Greek ἐπίστικται for his own purposes by linking his own ἐπίστικαι with the Greek ἐπιστίλω, a "mark with spots on the surface" or "speckle." Though generally rendered ἐπίστικται, i.e., "tattooed," Mather's translation of the word as "branded" is less accurate than indicative of his disdain for tattoos and their idolatrous origin. Be that as it may, the passage reads in our modern editions, τὸ μὲν ἐπίστικται εὐγενὲς κέκριται "Being tattooed is among them a mark of high birth." Our own Hermann Melville (if anachronisms be allowed once again) knew as much when he ridicules French efforts in the Marquesas to bestow civilization and decorum on their colonial charges. In the following instance, the queen of Nukuheva and her royal consort violate all decorum during their festive reception on board a French man-of-war ship. Imagine the consternation of the polite French captain, officers, and crew (Melville's narrator laughs at the regnant notions of the White Man's Burden), "when all at once the royal lady, eager to display the hieroglyphics [tattoos] on her own sweet form, bent forward for a moment, and turning sharply round, threw up the skirts of her mantle, and revealed a sight from which the aghast Frenchmen retreated precipitately ... and fled the scene of so shocking a catastrophe" (*Typee* [1846], ch. 1, final paragraph).

¹²⁰ Spencer (359). Enlisted as evidence of the prevalence of tattoos among the ancient pagans, Mather cites a line from the Latin poet Claudius Claudianus (c. 370–404 CE), a member of Emperor Honorius's court at Mediolanum. In his poem *In Rufinum* (1:315), Claudian describes the medley of bellicose warriors in Rufinus's army, including a Persian tribe, "the Gelani who tattoo their limbs" (*Against Rufinus* 1:315).

Tertullian also mentions it, as an *Usage* among the *Britains*, *Insignia eorum fuisse Stigmata*.¹²¹

Secondly; There were *Marks of Service*, or the *Servorum Stigmata*; the *Brands* which *Masters* putt upon their *Slaves*, as notes of *Distinction & Propriety*. *Caelius Rhodiginus*, *Turnebus*, *Lipsius*, *Ursin*, and abundance more, have handled the *Stigmata Servilia*.¹²² They were mostly imprinted on the *Foreheads* of the *Servants*. Whence *Ausonius* took Occasion to Jeer a fugitive Scribler,

*Ergò notas Scripto tolerasti; Pergame, Vultu;
Et quas neglexit Dextera, Frons Patitur*.¹²³

Hereto may allude that Passage, in Rev. 14.1. where, the *Servants* of God, have the *Name of God written on their Foreheads*. That it was not unusual among the *Jewes*, thus to *Brand* their *Servants*, is intimated in Zech. 13.6. *One shall say unto him, what are these Wounds [or, Brands] in thine Hands? Then hee shall answer, Those with which I was Branded in the House of my Friends*. That is, As *Grotius* paraphraseth it; These *Brands* don't refer to any *Idol*, but they are the *Marks* of my Relation to some certain Man of Power, to whose Patronage I have committed myself.¹²⁴

Thirdly; There were *Marks of Souldiery*. For, as *Ambrose* expresses it, *Characterē Domini inscribuntur Servuli, et Nomine Imperatores Signantur Milites*.¹²⁵ It was common, for *Souldiers* to have the *Marks*, or perhaps the *Names*, of their *Commanders*, Branded upon them. *Vegetius* is an unquæstionable Author for it, *Victuris in cute punctis, milites scripti, et matriculis, inscripti, Jurare Sudent*; and

¹²¹ An adapted passage from the early Christian writer *Tertullian* comes in whose *De Virginitibus Velandis* (cap. 10) describes the ancient Britons, whose “ensigns of dignity are marks imprinted” on their bodies [PL 002. 0903B].

¹²² *Spencer* (359). The Renaissance philologist and classicist Lodovico Caelius Rhodiginus, aka. Ludovico Ricchieri (1469–1525), professor of Greek and Latin at several Italian universities, comments on the branding of slaves, in his oft-reprinted *Lectionum Antiquarum Libri XXX* (1542), lib. 7, cap. 31, pp. 274–76, and lib. 25, cap. 24, p. 978. The French classical scholar Adrianus Turnebus, aka. Adrien Turnèbe, Tourneboeuf (1512–65), professor of Greek at the Collège Royale in Paris, does much the same by alluding to *Ausonius*, in *Adversariorum Libri XXX*. (1604), lib. 14, cap. 12, p. 261. The Flemish humanist and classical scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) follows suit in his *De Militia Romana Libri Quinque* (lib. 1, dialog. IX, p. 52), in *Opera Omnia, Tomus Tertius* (1675) 3:52. Perhaps the most detailed account on the use of tattoos and branding for religious and military reasons appears in *Analectorum Sacrorum Libri Sex* (1668), lib. 1, secs. 60–61, pp. 95–99), by Johannes Henricus Ursinus, aka. Johann Heinrich Ursin (1608–67), German humanist, Lutheran theologian, superintendent at Regensburg. The latter work appears to be *Spencer*’s primary source.

¹²³ Decimus Magnus *Ausonius* (c. 310–c. 394), Greco-Roman poet and rhetorician, born of Greek parentage in Bordeaux, flippantly reminds his captured runaway servant Pergamos, “Therefore thou hast felt letters branded, Pergamus, upon thy face, / and those which thy right hand neglected thy brow endures” (*Epigrams*, lib. 19, Epigr. 36, lines 3–4).

¹²⁴ Hugo *Grotius* *Annotaciones ad Zachariam* (13:6), in *Opera Omnia* (1.1:563).

¹²⁵ The archbishop of Milan, St. Aurelius Ambrosius Mediolanensis (c. 340–397 CE), furnishes the Latin passage from *De Obitu Valentiniani iunioris consolatio* (58) [PL 016. 1376–77], which Mather translates himself.

so is *Ætius*, *Stigmata vocant, quæ in Facie, vel in aliâ Corporis Parte inscribuntur, qualia, sunt Militum in Manibus*.¹²⁶ And *Ælian* tells us, that these *Brands*, did use to bee, ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, *In their Hands*. Hereby they were hindred from turning, *Deserters*.¹²⁷ With an Eye to this Usage, is that Passage, in Rev. 13.16. *The Beast causeth all to Receive a Mark in their Right Hand*. In *Lipsius* and in *Aloysius Novarinus*, you may find enough about these, *Militum Stigmatismi*.¹²⁸

Fourthly, There were those, which Dr. *Spencer* calls by the Title of, *Stigmata Zelotarum*. There were Persons, who were so inflamed with *Zeal* for the Service of the True God, that they consecrated themselves thereunto, by stamping upon their Skin, some Intimations of it.¹²⁹ So, what wee translate in Isa. 44.5. *Hee shall subscribe with his Hand unto the Lord*, the LXX render, ἐπιγράφει τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰμι. *Hee shall Inscribe on his Hand, I am Gods*. Even as the Souldiers of old, had in their Hand, the Name of their General. Nor is it unlikely, that as the Vassals of *Satan*, did brand their Bodies, in Token of their being so, thus, the Servants of *God*, might zealously practise the like Rites, in Token of their contrary Devotion unto Him. Accordingly, among the Primitive Christians, t'was not unusual, for the *Name*, or the *Cross*, of JESUS, to bee, by some Artifice Imprinted on the Bodies of the Faithful. *Tertullian* speaks of the *Signum Christi*, contrary to the *Signum Diaboli*; and so does *Austin* after him.¹³⁰

126 The obscure Roman historian Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus (fl. 5th c. CE), in his popular *De Re Militari Libri* (1607), lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 33, explains that “Soldiers tattooed with prickings on their skin and inscribed on public registers are accustomed to swear”; thus *Ætius Amidenus* confirms that “they call these tattoos marks, which are inscribed on their face or in another part of their body; [they are] the kind [of tattoos] that are on the hands of soldiers.” Vegetius’s popular work was printed in numerous Latin editions in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Latin translation is adapted from the Greek original in *latricorum libri VIII* (8.12, lines 75–77), by the Byzantian medical writer *Ætius Amidenus* (fl. 5th–6th c. CE).

127 The Greek passage, which appears in *Spencer’s* margin (359 note *b*), is from *Aetius, latricorum* (8.12, line 77), rather than from the Roman historian *Claudius Aelianus*. Although a similar passage appears in *Aelianus’s* original Greek *De natura animalium* (8.7, line 11), *Aelianus* does not speak of the brand marks on the hands of deserters, but of the blisters raised in the hands of anyone who comes in contact with a certain poisonous marine animal.

128 The Veronese *Aloysius Novarinus*, aka. *Luigi Novarini* (1594–1650), RC theologian and member of the Theatine Order, spends a whole chapter on the “brand marks of deserting soldiers,” in his popular *Electa Sacra* (1629), lib. 3, cap. 14, pp. 425–27. And so does the previously mentioned *Justus Lipsius*, in his *De Militia Romana Libri Quinque* (lib. 1, dialog. IX, p. 52), in *Opera Omnia, Tomus Tertius* (1675), 3:52.

129 *Spencer* (359) discusses the bodily “marks of a zealot.”

130 *Tertullian, De Idololatria* (19) [PL 001. 0767B], speaks of the “standard of Christ,” of the Prince of Peace, who took away the sword from those enlisted under His standard: “There is no agreement between the divine and the human sacrament [*sacramentum* here signifies ‘a military oath’], the standard of Christ and the standard of the devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness. One soul cannot be due to two masters – God and Caesar” (“On Idolatry,” ch. 19), in *ANF* (3:73). In like manner, St. Augustine, in *In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV* (Tract. VII, cap. 7) [PL 035. 1441], reminds his hearers that they cannot serve two masters, for Christ does not want to share with his enemy: “Behold, if one dies to whom one of these remedies [grace] has been given ... with what confidence does the spirit go forth to God? He

And *Procopius* upon the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, newly cited, reports this very Custom, as an Explication of it; διὰ τὸ στίλβειν ἴσως πολλοὺς, ἐπὶ χαρπῶν, ἢ βραχιόνων, ἢ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ σημεῖον, ἢ τὴν Χριστοῦ προσηγορίαν, *They branded themselves, on the Wrist, or on the Arm, either with the Sign of the Cross, or with the Letters of the Name of CHRIST.*¹³¹ Compare, Rev. 13.16. and 14.1.

Lastly, There were the *Marks of Idolatry*. Those, by which *Idolaters* dedicated themselves, unto the Service of some *Dæmon*. *Grotius*, upon the Text aforesaid, in Zech. 13.6. saies, *Plagæ, sunt Stigmata manibus inusta, per quæ solebant Dijs Gentium se mancipare, inscripto eorum Signo, Nomine, aut Numero.*¹³² *Prudentius* calls them *Sp[h]ragitidas*. The Prophet here foretells, That *False-Prophets*, and *Idolaters* would cease, & hee adds, That the People would suspect every Man that should look that Way, & presently examine him about the *Brands* upon his *Hands*; whether those *Brands* were not the *Symbols* of his Dedication to some *Idol*? Consider again, that in Rev. 13.16. *Grotius* tells us, That the *Magicians* procured of *Trajan*, to forbid all *Heteriæ*, or, Sodalities, or Societies, but such as were undertaken under the Name of some *Pagan Deity*. After which, whoever was made free of any Company in the Empire, did receive *In corpore suo χάραγμα aliquod*, i. e., *Dei alicujus Signum, aut literis expressunt, aut Numeris Dissimulatum.*¹³³

has lost the sign of Christ, and has received the sign of the devil. Perhaps he may say that he has not lost the sign of Christ. Thou canst have then, the sign of Christ along with the sign of the devil. Christ does not desire community of ownership, but he desires to possess alone what He has purchased. He has bought at so great a price that He may possess alone: thou makest Him the partner of that devil to whom thou didst sell thyself by the sin. 'Woe to the double-hearted,' to those who in their hearts give part to God and part to the devil" (*On the Gospel of St. John*, tract. 7, sec. 7), in *NPNFi* (7:50–51). Or, as the Dean of St. Paul's, the poet John Donne (1572–1633), put it in his Holy Sonnet X, "I, like an usurt town, to another due / Labour to admit you ... / But am betroth'd unto your enemy," in *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* (1633), p. 38.

131 Spencer (360). *Procopius Gazæus, Commentarii in Isaiam* [PG 87.2.2401, lines 29–31]. The translation is Mather's.

132 Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes ad Zachariam* (13:6), in *Opera Omnia* (1.1:563), explains, "the wounds are marks burnt on the hands, by which they [idolaters] are accustomed to deliver themselves to the gods of the heathens, with their sign inscribed as a name or number." Grotius (in the same annotation) is also the source for Mather's second-hand reference to the Christian poet Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348–c. 405) of Roman Spain, whose *Peristephanon Liber* (10.1076) mentions how the "sphragitidas" or "aspirant to holiness" (novices) are marked with red-hot needles.

133 Hugo Grotius's annotations on Rev. 13:16, in *Annotationes ad Apocalypsin* (*Opera Omnia* 2.1:1205), are the source for the Latin citation, whose wording Spencer (360) and Mather here adapt for their own purposes. In Roman Emperor Trajan's time (98–117 CE), Grotius relates, the pagan magicians achieved a proscription against membership in any religious brotherhood or society ("hetaerae"), but those related to pagan deities. An aspirant therefore received "on his body, they imprint some inscription, i. e., the mark of some god, either with letters or disguised with numbers."

[48v] | It is now time to observe unto you; That they were none but the *Idoltrous Brands*, which were, in his Law forbidden unto the People of God. Those *Idoltrous Marks* were of two Sorts.

First, There were the *ordinary Stigms of Idolatry*, by branding of their *Bodies* wherewithal, the ordinary *Servants*, or at least, *Prophets*, of these and those *Idols*, expressed their Devotion thereunto. Of these *Lucian* speaks, when he saies, about the Ministers of the Syrian Goddess; *στιζονται δὲ πάντες κλ.* *They are all Branded; some in the Hand, some in the Neck.*¹³⁴ And *Primasius*, expounding those Words of the Apostle, Rom. 1.24. *They Dishonour their own Bodies*; mentions this among the rest, *Sibi characteres et ustiones infligunt, in consecrationibus Idolorum.*¹³⁵ Thus do some take that Passage, about wicked *Jehojakim*, in 2. Chron. 36.8. *The Abominations which hee did, & that which was found on him, behold, they are written in the Book of the Kings.* The Words of *Jerom* upon it are, – *Etiam hoc fecit in corpore suo, quod Dominus prohibuit, dum diceret, Non facietis Stigmatam Corporibus Vestris, quæ postquam Mortuus est, in corpore ejus Inventa sunt.*¹³⁶ These *Marks* were found on the Body of that *Idolater*, as *Laertius* tells us, the like were upon the Dead Body of *Epimenides*. The old Norwegian Chronicles, report of their *Odin*, that when hee drew near his End, hee caused his Body to bee all over mark'd with New Scars, which they called *Geirs Odde*, in former Times.¹³⁷ And *Gabriel Sionita*, relates that the *Arabians* mark'd their

¹³⁴ Lucianus, *De Syria dei* (59, line 1), relates that “they [Assyrians] all tattoo themselves.”

¹³⁵ Bishop of the N. African city of Hadrumetum, *Primasius* (d. c. 560 CE) is best known for his Latin commentary on the Apocalypse. Mather’s second-hand quotation (via Spencer 361) from *Commentaria in Epistolam St. Pauli* [PL 068. 0420B], a spurious work attributed to *Primasius*. He frowns, “they [idolaters] inflict on themselves characters and burnings, by way of dedications to idols.”

¹³⁶ The Latin passage is attributed to St. Jerome, in *Quæstiones Hebraicæ Libri Dabrejamin sive Paralipomenon Partis Secundæ* (2 Chron. 36:8), in *Operum* (1735), tomus tertius, pp. 821–22. Jerome [PL 023. 1402] relates that “he [wicked *Jehojakim*] also did this on his body, which the Lord forbade, saying, ‘You will not make marks on your bodies.’ [Nonetheless], these marks were found on his body after he died.” It is by Louis Ginzberg identified as having originated in Leviticus Rabbah XIX:6 (*Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern* (1899), p. 115, where the Hebrew sages speculate that on the dead body of renegade King *Jehoiakim*, “an etched-in inscription was found engraved on his flesh,” in *Midrash Rabbah* (Leviticus XIX:6).

¹³⁷ Spencer (361) probably has in mind *Diogenes Laertius*’s short biography of the Cretan poet-philosopher *Epimenides* of Knossos (7th–6th c. BCE), the ancestor of all those mythical figures who – like Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1122–1190) or, for that matter, Washington Irving’s Rip van Winkle – fell asleep in a cave of the Kyffhäuser Mountain (Thuringia), Irving’s Kaatskills, roused years later, and found everything changed. However, whether or not the body of this *Epimenides* was marked with religious insignia is not apparent in *Laertius*’s *Vitæ Philosophorum* (1.109–16), even though *Epimenides*’s corpse (we are told) was revered by the Lacedæmonians. The “Norwegian Chronicles,” by *Stephanius* attributed to the Islandic poet-historian *Snorre Sturlaesonius*, aka *Sturluson* (1178–1241), renders the cicatrized Runic insignia on *Odin*’s body as “*Geirs odde*.” The excerpt of the chronicle appears in *De Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio* (1670), cap. 12, p. 244, by Robert Sheringham (c. 1604–78), an English Hebraist, lecturer at Caius College, Cambridge, and translator of the Mishnah, tractate Joma. In his *De Anglorum Gentis*, Sheringham posits that the English

Forheads, Cheeks, Lips, & Arms, *Cærules Coloris Notis, acu tenui factis*.¹³⁸ That the making of these *Brands*, in Honour to some Idol, is the Thing here prohibited, wee have no less a Testimony than that of *Theodore*; The Grecians did with Needles prick certain Parts of their Bodies, and poured Ink into the Wounds, εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν δαιμόνων, *For the Reverence of Demons*; and This, hee saies, *the Divine Law prohibits*.¹³⁹ And *Oleaster* ha's things to the like Purpose. It is therefore here joined with other Customes, belonging to the Worship of *Demons*;¹⁴⁰ and in the parallel Text, of Deut. 14.1. there is this Reason assigned for the Prohibition, *Yee are the Children of the Lord your God*: For this reason, they must not wear the Brands of Salves to Divels.

Secondly, There were the *Extraordinary Stigms*, which the Idolaters branded upon their Bodies, in way of *Parentation* to their *Dead Friends*; Tho' no Author, *Greek* or *Latin*, do mention this *Branding*, as a *Funeral-Rite*, yett there is an *Hebrew* one, *Aben-Ezra* by Name, who saies, *est aliquis, qui signat Corpus suum, figurâ aliquâ certâ, per Ignem, et quidem ob Mortuum*.¹⁴¹ They made these *Brands*, to testify their Affection to the Deceased, or as *Præservatives* against the Mischiefs of Departed Spirits, or, to Atonement the Ghosts, by the Pains whereto they putt themselves; or finally, to keep alive the Memory of the Dead. Now tis observable, that in our Context here, that Clause, *For the Dead*, may seem referrible to diverse Clauses, both Afore & After; and this among the rest: and probably in the *Repetition* of the Law, Deut. 14.1. only *Cuttings for the Dead*, are mentioned; as probably comprising of these *Brandings* in them. So that wee may reasonably conclude, with *Bonfrerius*, *Nusquam apud Autores Legi, qui sibi Stigmata inusserint Causâ Funeris, etsi de his malim hanc legem intelligi*.¹⁴² Unto these things,

people are descended from the Getae (Goths) who, in turn, had sprung from Noah's son Shem rather than Japhet (*ODNB*).

¹³⁸ The Maronite Gabriel Sionita (1577–1648) is the distinguished translator into Latin of the Arabic and Syriac portions of the Parisian Polyglot Bible. Mather's reference appears in *De Nonnullis Orientalium Urbibus* (cap. 1, p. 6), appended to Gabriel Sionita's Latin translation of Idrisi's *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619), by the Arab geographer Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi (c. 1099–c. 1166). The Latin phrase from Gabriel Sionita's *De Nonnullis* (cap. 1, p. 6), relates that Arab Bedouins tattooed their faces "with dark blue marks, made with a fine needle."

¹³⁹ Spencer (362); Theodore, on Lev. 19, in *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (Questio XXVIII, p. 181, line 10), knowingly relates that to honor (or ward off) the demons (souls) of the dead, these idolatrous worshippers "would pierce their limbs with needles and tattoo themselves with black ink. These are the practices forbidden by the Law of God" (*Questions on the Octateuch* 2:67).

¹⁴⁰ Mather refers to *Commentari in Leviticum* (1557), p. 41^v (B), Lev. (cap. XIX) annotatio ad literam, by Portuguese Dominican Hieronymus Oleaster, aka Jeronimo da Azambuja (d. 1563), famous Hebraist and Inquisitor extraordinaire.

¹⁴¹ Spencer (361); Ibn Ezra, on Lev. 19:28, glosses that "there are some [who] would burn a certain symbol into their skin in memory of the dead person" (*Mikra'ot Gedolot: Leviticus* 155).

¹⁴² Via Spencer, Mather adapts the gloss of Jacobus Bonfrerius, on Lev. 19:28, in his *Pentateuchus Mosis Commentario Illustratus* (1705), p. 674: "Nowhere have I read [this] among the ancestors, although I should prefer that this law about these things be understood."

Lett mee annex the notable Words of *Novarinus*, which will also illustrate a Text in the *Canticles*, very considerably. *Scriptum reperi in Libro quodum M. S. Chaldaeos in Carne suâ Sculptere Solitos Imaginem suorum Majorum. Huc itaque flectere hæc Verba possumus, ut inhibeat Deus, super Mortuo Carnem incidere, et figuras in eo impressas deferrent. Hunc ritum abolere Sponsus voluit, ac Sanctori commutare, cum Sponsam alloquens, dixit, Pone me ut Signaculum super Cor tuum, ut Signaculum super Brachium [Cant. 8.6]. Ac si apertius diceret: Noli majorum Imagines deferre: Potius eorum obliviscere, et illorum Loco me Cordi adprime, adprime Brachio, ut mei Imaginem circumferas in Amoris Signum et Argumentum.*¹⁴³

If you would now bee more particularly informed, concerning the Form, of the *Marks* thus imprinted upon the Bodies of the old *Idolaters*, *Maimonides* reports, that they made *Incisions* into their *Flesh*, and then with *Ink*, or *Paint*, infected those Incisions.¹⁴⁴ But these τῆς κακίας χαρακτῆρες, as they are called by *Synesius*, wee may rather Beleeve, were made by *Hott Needles*, or, other *Irons*;¹⁴⁵ they made *Inustions*, as *Philo* expresses it, σιδήρῳ πεπυρωμένῳ.¹⁴⁶ They *Branded* themselves, as *Muhammed Ben Isaac* tells us, the ancient *Zabians* did, *Ignem notam*

143 The Latin passage (via Spencer 362) is adapted from *Electa Sacra* (1629), lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 436, by the Italian Theatine theologian of Verona, Aloysius Novarini, aka. Luigi Novarini (1594–1650). Novarini admits that “I have found it written in a certain manuscript book that the Chaldeans have been accustomed to carve on their own flesh the image of their ancestors. And so we can turn these words in this direction, so that God prevents to carve the flesh on a dead person, and to carry forms inscribed to the dead. The betrothed man wanted to abolish this rite and change it entirely to a more holy rite, when he said, addressing the betrothed woman, ‘Place me as a seal over your heart, as a seal on your arm’ [Songs of Songs 8:6]. Now as if He were saying more plainly, ‘Do not carry images of ancestors; better to forget them and in their place press me close to your heart, press me to your arm, so that you may carry around my image as seal and evidence of love.’”

144 Spencer (363); Maimonides, *De Idololatria* (1641), cap. 12, §§ 10–11, pp. 168–69. Or, *Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V’Chukkoteihem* (12.11): “The Tattooing which the Torah forbids involves making a cut in one’s flesh and filling the slit with eye-color, ink, or with any other dye that leaves an imprint. This was the custom of the idolaters, who would make marks on their bodies for the sake of their idols, as if to say that they are like servants sold to the idol and designated for its service.” Lashes are the punishment for those breaking the law (Lev. 19:28), Maimonides adds, and punishment is meted out regardless of the transgressor’s gender (*Mishneh Torah* 3:226–28).

145 The Greek bishop of Ptolemais (Pentapolis), *Synesius* (c. 373–c. 414) explains in his letter to his friend Herculian (*Epistulae* 143, line 40) that “these pictures of evil” (*Synesius’s* criticism of those sophistical teacher who pretend to a knowledge of philosophy) should not be shown to his associates, lest they feel personally criticized. Mather’s second-hand quotation from *Synesius* describes tattoos as evil pictures or hieroglyphic characters in honor of certain demons.

146 Philo Judaeus (*De specialibus legibus* 1.58, line 5) reprimands those idolaters who use a “burning iron” to tattoo themselves with symbols of their devotion to their idols, for these images “remain ineffaceably” permanent and “are not dimmed or weakened by time” (*Special Laws* 1.10.58), in *Works* (539).

sibi inurere.¹⁴⁷ Thus among the Egyptians, we find *Ptolomæus Philopater*, commanding the Votaries of *Bacchus*, *χαράττεσθαι διὰ πυρὸς*, *To bee marked with Fire*.¹⁴⁸ And *Prudentius*, describes the Consecration of the Priests of, *Cybele*, to bee *Notâ Fervente*.¹⁴⁹ And *Lucas de Linda*, saies, the old English *Tenellis infantibus, notas certasque figuras Animalium ardenti ferro imprimebant*.¹⁵⁰ It is also likely that sometimes, they tinged the Places thus *Branded*, with such *Colours*, as they thought agreeable. But of what *Figure* were the *Marks* thus instamped?

Consider, that Place, in Rev. 13.17. And, now take an account.

First, Sometimes they *Branded* themselves with the *Mark* of their *Idol*, as a Token of their Ascription into the Service of that Idol. Their *Gods*, had their several *Marks*, their *χαράγματα*, their *παράσημα*.¹⁵¹ A *Thunderbolt* was the *Mark* of *Jupiter*; and *Helmet*, of *Mars*; a *Trident*, of *Neptune*; a *Caduceus*, for *Mercury*; and an *Ivy*, of *Bacchus*. Wee read in the Book of the *Maccabees*, that the Apostate Jewes were commanded by *Ptolomy Philopater*, to bee *mark'd with the Brand of Bacchus*, which was an *Ivy-Leaf*.¹⁵² And the Etymologist, relates, that there was the like Brand on the *Skin* of *Ptolomy* himself; that hee, was called, *Gallus*, for his Imitation of the *Galli* in this Matter. Persons thus *Branded* for *Bacchus*, were usually called, *Thyrsigeri*, and *Ναρθηκόφοροι*.¹⁵³

| Secondly, Sometimes they *Branded* themselves, with the *Name* of the *Idol*, whereto they would bee Devoted: It may bee, *Ζεὺς*, *Ἀρες*, *Διόνυσος*; or, [49r]

147 Spencer (364); the third-hand quotation is from the as yet unidentified Arab historian Muhammed ben Isaac, as quoted in Heinrich Hottinger's *Historia Orientalis* (1651), lib. 1, cap. 8: *De Religione Sabaeorum, Nabataeorum, &c. veterum Arabum* (pp. 197–98), who provides a translated extract from Muhammed ben Isaac, *Historia de Charranaeis* (lib. 1, p. 20), on Lev. 21:5. The historian explains that the idolatrous Zabians (Sabians) “brand tattoo-marks on themselves with a hot iron.”

148 An apparent reference to 3 Macc. 2:29 (line 1), which reads *χαράσσεσθαι διὰ πυρὸς*, or “be marked [with fire]” on their bodies for Dionysus (Bacchus). As the story goes, the Egyptian King Ptolemaeus IV, Philopater (221–203 BCE), unsuccessfully tried to force the Jews of Egypt to adore Dionysus (Bacchus). See Edwyn R. Bevan (*House of Ptolemy* 229–30).

149 The Christian poet Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, in his *Peristephanon Liber* (10.1079–80), mentions that “quamcumque partem corporis ‘fervens nota / stigmatit,’ hanc sic consecratam praedicant” or “and whatever part of their body is ‘branded with the mark of the hot iron’ they claim to be thus consecrated” (*Prudentius* 2:299).

150 The Italian traveler Lucas de Linda (1625–60), in his chapter on the “Morals of the Anglo-Saxons,” in his oft reprinted *Descriptio Orbis et Omnium Rerumpublicarum* (1665), lib. 5, p. 379, knowingly relates that the old Anglo-Saxons “were pressing certain notable animal figures on delicate little infants with a burning iron.”

151 Both words suggest “insignia” and “tattoo-marks”

152 3 Macc. 2:29 (line 1). See note above.

153 The “Galli” were the eunuch priests of Cybele, the mother goddess of the Phrygians (EB). The “*Thyrsigeri*” are the bearers of Bacchus’s “thyrsus” or “staff,” and their Greek counterparts are the “*Narthekephoroi*,” or “rod-bearers” (thyrsus) of Dionysus. See *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *πi*, entry 843, line 3), Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.19.92.3, line 4; 5.3.17.4, line 2), and (*OEAGR*).

/ בעל / בעלת / עזיז / מרנס / *Bel, Beltis, Azizus, Marnas*.¹⁵⁴ The Jewes tell us, that on the Body of Dead *Jehojakim*, was found, *Codonazer*, the Name of his *Dæmon*.¹⁵⁵ *Abulensis*, gives us a Jewish Tradition, *That the Idolaters did use to take a Golden Plate, carrying the Name of their Idol upon it, & apply it so burning hott unto their Flesh, that the Name would thereby bee deeply Branded there*.¹⁵⁶ Now you know, that the High-Priest, of *Israel*, was to have upon his Forhead, a Plate of Gold, with, HOLINESS TO THE LORD, upon it: in Opposition doubtless, to the Usage of Idolatry, wherein the Name of the *Idol*, was enstamped on the Things consecrated thereunto.

Thirdly, Sometimes, they *Branded* themselves, with the *Number of the Name* of the *Idol*. The *Idols* among the Gentiles, had their *Mystical Names*, which were known only unto such as were Admitted into a more Intimate Communion with them. These *Names*, they expressed by *Numbers*, containing the Summ, which was comprehended in the Letters of the *Names* by which they were vulgarly distinguished.¹⁵⁷ Thus *Martianus Capella*, tells us, that the *Mystical Name* of the *Sun*, *Ad Numerum octo et sexcentorum perveniebat*: It was thus characterized, XH.¹⁵⁸ Hence, in the *Sibylline* Writings, the *Name* of our Lord CHRIST, is expressed, by *Mystical Numbers*; tho' learned Men are not agreed, what *Name* it is.¹⁵⁹

But on what *Part* of the Body, were these *Marks* usually imprinted? Antiquity ha's left us much in the Dark about it. But the Poet *Prudentius*, mentions,

154 The Greek deities read Zeus, Ares, Dionysus. Mather provides the Latin transcription of their Hebrew equivalents. According to *DDD*, "Azizus" (Azizos) is a Syrian deity, the equivalent of the Greek Ares and the Roman Mars (god of war); "Bel" (i.e., "Lord") is associated with the Babylonian Marduk (ruler of the universe); "Beltis" is associated with the Egyptian Osiris (god of the afterlife); and "Marnas" remains unidentified.

155 This story about the idolatrous markings "Codonazer" on the corpse of King Jehojakim is mentioned in *Historia Scholastica*, on 4 Regum 39 (Questio XXXIX) [PL 198. 1421BC], by Petrus Comestor (d. c. 1178), a Parisian theologian, whose *Historia Scholastica* is a historical narrative of certain OT and NT books designed for students.

156 The Spanish exegete Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis, bishop of Avila, offers this story in his *Commentaria in Levitici et Deuteronomi. Operum Tomi III* (1613), Quaest. 27, p. 347 (on Lev. 19).

157 This type of numerology is also called Gematria: each letter of the Hebrew or Greek alphabet is associated with a numerical value.

158 Believed to be a Latin prose writer and jurist in Carthage (N. Africa), Martianus Capella (5th c. CE) is credited with having established the Seven Liberal Arts. The Latin passage, which is a paraphrase rather than a direct quote, appears in *Martianus Capella* (lib. 2:192.5, p. 49), and explains that the mystical name of the sun "was reaching the number six hundred and eight." The Greek numeral XH signifies 1,100 and would have likely served to identify a date, year, or period of time, in which a certain event was to occur.

159 Spencer (365); Mather refers to the annotations in Johannes Opsopaeo Brettano's bilingual Greek/Latin edition of *ΣΙΒΥΛΛΙΚΟΙ ΧΡΗΣΜΟΙ. Hoc est Sibyllina Oracula* (1599), pp. 11–12 (2nd. ser. of pag.). For Mather's use of and views on the Sibylline Oracles, see his "Trip Paradise," in *Threefold Paradise* (194–98).

Quamcunque Partem Corporis, as thus Idolatrously *Brandeable*.¹⁶⁰ And *Lucian* and many others do mention diverse Parts of the Body, the *Handwrist*; and *Forehead* especially, as having these *Brands* upon them.¹⁶¹ *Epiphanius* tells us, that the *Carpocratian* Hereticks, in Conformity to the Gentiles, did Brand, ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν λοβὸν τοῦ ὠτός, *the Bottom of the Right Ear*.¹⁶² *Delrio* tells us, that Witches usually have upon their *Pudenda*, the Brand of *Dæmons*.¹⁶³ But after all, the *Scriptures* mention chiefly the *Handwrists*, and *Foreheads* of Men, as being often Idolatrously Stigmatized. [See Rev. 13.16. with the Remark of *Grotius*.]¹⁶⁴

And, finally, for what *Reasons*, were these *Marks* forbidden? Truly, these *Brands*, were evil in themselves, & not received without such miserable *Smarts*, as it is not pleasing unto the *Father of Mercies*, to see us torment ourselves withal. *Prudentius* elegantly saith,

Has pœnas ferre cogitur Gentilitas:
Hac Dî coercent lege cultures suos:
Sic Dæmon ludit nos quos ceperit:
Docet execrandas ferre contumelias:
*Tormenta inuri mandat infelicibus.*¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ The passage from Aurelius Prudentius Clemens's *Peristephanon Liber* (10.1079) reads, "and whatever part of their body."

¹⁶¹ Lucianus, *De Syria dei* (59, lines 1–2) mentions such a custom among the ancient Assyrians.

¹⁶² The reference is to Epiphanius Constantiensis (Epiphanius of Salamis), in his *Panarion (Adversus haereses)*, vol. 1, p. 308, line 5. According to Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 1.15), the Car-pocratian heretics were a gnostic sect who rejected the divinity of Christ, because he was the son of Joseph and a mere mortal, albeit endowed with divine powers from God – Socinianism before its time.

¹⁶³ The Flemish Jesuit Martin Anton Del Rio, aka. Delrio (1551–1608) of Antwerp, successively professor of philosophy and theology at Douai, Louvain, and Salamanca, is famous for publishing his *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri Sex* (1599–1600), a three-volume handbook on witchcraft and magic. This popular work went through very many reprints and editions, and became a vademecum for witchcraft inquisitors of all stripes and religious persuasions – even at the Salem debacle of 1691–93 (*CE*). The 1611 Venice edition of this work was available at Harvard (*Catalogus Librorum* [1723], p. 44). Mather here alludes to the popular belief that the body of a witch exhibits the devil's mark on her external genital organs. (To be sure, Mather rejected such marks as culpable evidence.) See Del Rio's *Disquisitionum* (1608), lib. 2, Questio IV, p. 57.1C; Questio XXI, p. 103.1D; Questio XXII, p. 105.1E; and lib. 3, P I, Questio IV, p. 200.1C. Perhaps inspired by Del Rio and Spencer, the British anthropologist M. A. Murray argued in her influential *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921), ch. 3, sec. 6, that such markings on the witch's pudenda were actually tattoo marks and insignia of membership in pagan cults.

¹⁶⁴ Grotius, *Annotationes ad Apocalypsin* (Rev. 13:16), in *Opera Omnia* (2.1:1205).

¹⁶⁵ Spencer (366); Prudentius, *Peristephanon Liber* (10.1086–90): "Such are the sufferings pagans are compelled to bear, such the law their gods impose on their worshippers; this is how the devil himself makes sport of those whom he has taken captive, teaching them to suffer accursed indignities and ordaining that marks of torture be branded on his luckless victims" (*Prudentius* 2:300).

Moreover, These *Brands* carried with them, *Consecrations* to *Dæmons*; which could not bee allowed by the *Holy One of Israel*.

So saies the Poet,

*Quamcunque, partem corporis fervens Nota.
Stigmatit, hanc sic consecratam prædicant.*¹⁶⁶

There are at this Day, Exemples of such a Signification, among us in *America*, as well as in the other *Hæmisphære*.¹⁶⁷

Once more, The peculiar Glory of *Circumcision* had been lost, if God had permitted His People, to have annexed any *Diabolical Brands* thereunto.

Furthermore, Those *Brands* were mightily Subservient unto the Divels Kingdome in the World. For, they *left no Place unto Repentance*; as *Philo* saies of them, that had them, *Ne Receptum quidem ad penitentiam sibi Reliquum faciunt*.¹⁶⁸ They were Everlasting and Indelible Obligations to *Idolatry*. And yett also, some could endure themselves, to bee *secretly marked*, who yett had not the face *openly* to Worship Divels.

These *Brands*, were singularly odious therefore, to the true-hearted *Israelites*. But the *Heathen* made wonderfully much of them, as very considerable *Sacraments*. And the *Parts*, which they *branded*, were, after their Death, covered with *Golden Plates*, as being more sacred than the rest.

*Insignis auri Lamina insignivit cutem,
Tegitur Metallo quod perustum est Ingibus.*¹⁶⁹

[49v] | [blank]

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978.

Q. What were the *Cuttings in the Flesh for the Dead*, forbidden to the Living, and, *why* forbidden? v. 28.¹⁷⁰

A. When you read *Herodotus*, reporting of the *Scythians*, that at the Funerals of their Kings, they would *cutt their Arms, pull off their Ears & wound their*

¹⁶⁶ Spencer (367); In his poem *Peristephanon Liber* (10.1079–80), Prudentius explains, “and whatever part of the body is branded with the mark of the hot iron, they claim to be thus consecrated” (*Prudentius* 2:300).

¹⁶⁷ Mather may have in mind José de Acosta’s *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604), bk. 7, ch. 15, p. 539, where young warriors had their shins lacerated with lancets as a sign of their valor.

¹⁶⁸ Spencer’s Latin translation of Philo Judaeus’s *De Monarchia* (lib. 1, p. 175) in *Philonis Iudaei, Summi Philosophi* (1561), tomus alter, p. 175, reads that these idolaters who branded themselves with the images of their gods “left themselves no retreat or way to repentance” (*De specialibus legibus* 1.10.58; *Works* 539).

¹⁶⁹ Spencer (368); Prudentius asserts in his *Peristephanon Liber* (10.1084–85) that as “plates are laid along these same parts [of the body], a splendid sheet of gold spreads over the skin, and what was burned with fire is covered with metal” (*Prudentius* 2:300).

¹⁷⁰ The following paragraphs are excerpted from Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 13, fols. 352–57.

*Forheads & Noses, & pierce their Left Hands with Arrowes;*¹⁷¹ And when you read *Ovids, Parce tamen lacerare genas*, or, *Tibullus's Teneris parce genis*: you'll see a little, the Manner of the old Idolaters.¹⁷² The Lamentations of the old Pagans over their Dead Friends, were managed with so much Fury, that when they grew a little more Civil, among the *Græcians*, wee find *Solon* making a Law, against these Inhumane *Self-Lacerations* at the Funerals; and among the *Romans*, after his Exemple, this *Detestabile Lugendi Genus*, (as *Tully* calls it) *Laceratio Genarum*, was forbidden by that Law, in the Twelve Tables, *Mulieres Genas ne Radunto*.¹⁷³ Well may wee then read a Prohibition of it, in the Diviner Law of *Moses*. This Rite, was performed, for the most Part for the *Dead*; whereof, *Bonfrerius* upon this Text, will give you Exemples enough.¹⁷⁴ The Heathen, imagined by these *Bloody Doings*, either to give some *Consolation* unto the Departed Ghosts, or by some *Expiation* to render these Ghosts propitious unto the Surviving.¹⁷⁵ The *Cuttings* here condemned, are by the LXX styled, ἐντομίδες,¹⁷⁶ which, as *Hesychius* expounds them, are, *Scissuræ in Vultu, aliisque Corporis partibus factæ*; nam τοιαῦτα ἐιώθασι ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτῶν οἱ ἄπιστοι, *the Infidels used such Things for the Dead*.¹⁷⁷ Yea, as *Plutarch* tells us, they proceeded so far as *Amputations* of their Members on those *Occasions*, δοκοῦντές τι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν, *Beleeving that they gratified the Dead*, by their doing so.¹⁷⁸

171 Herodotus (4.71)

172 Ovid mourns his exile from Rome in his elegiac poem *Tristia*, and in his letter to his wife he expresses hope to be buried in his native soil: Won't you be heart-broken when I am dead, he asks, "yet mar not your cheeks" in anguish? (*Tristia* 3.3.51). Likewise, the Roman elegiac poet Albius Tibullus (c. 55–c. 19 BCE) has Delia's lover beseech her "to spare her cheeks" when she bewails her dead paramour (*Elegies* 1.68).

173 Spencer (354). According to Plutarch's *Parallel Lives: Solon* (21.4), the Greek lawgiver forbade "Lacerations of the flesh by mourners, and the use of set lamentations." Likewise Tully Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations* 3.26.62) decries the "odious forms of mourning" especially of female mourners' "rending of the cheeks." Cicero (*De Legibus Libri Tres* 2.23.59.1–2, 2.25.64.11–12) quotes from the ancient Roman law (5th c. BCE) *Duodecim Tabularum Leges* (Tabula X): "mulieres genas ne radunto neve lessum funeris ergo habento," or "women shall not lacerate their faces nor wail during a funeral." See *Duodecim Tabularum Fragmenta* (Tabula X, Fragm. 3.4), in P. Cumin's *Manual of Civil Law* (1865), p. 26.

174 In his *Pentateuchus Moysis* (1625), pp. 673–74 (Lev. 19:28), Jacobus Bonfrerius provides numerous references to like sources, including Herodotus (4.71), Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (113b, line 10–12), Tertullian's *De Spectaculis*, Homer's *Iliad*, Servius on Virgil, and Macrobius's *Saturnalia* (1.8). But here's enough!

175 The source for this passage appears to be Maimonides, *De Idololatria* (1641), cap. 12, sec. 13, p. 271. Or, *Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V'Chukkoteihem* (12.13), in *Mishneh Torah* (3:230).

176 Spencer (355) and Lev. 19:28, 21:5; Jer. 16:6 (LXX) have ἐντομίδας, i. e., "incision," "cuttings," or "gashes."

177 The Latin translation of the Greek passage from Hesychius's *Lexicon* (A–O), alphabetic letter *epsilon*, entry 379, lines 2–3, reads, "cuts made on the countenance and on other parts of the body; for the unbelievers were accustomed to do such things on the bodies of their dead."

178 Mather provides his own translation of Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (113b, lines 11–12).

Such Usages were Interdicted unto the *People of God*, for this Reason [Deut. 14.1, 2.] because they were *His People*. Hee would have them to avoid all Conformitie unto the *Idolatries* of the *Gentiles*. You know what Butcherly Practices, the Priests of *Baal* used upon themselves. [1. King. 18.28.] The Worshipers of *Isis*, used the same, according to the Report of *Herodotus*; τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι.¹⁷⁹ And *Menochius*, and *Vossius*, and *Saubertus*, and *Ouzelius*, will tell you how many other Gentiles used the like.¹⁸⁰ By such horrid Spectacles, they proposed unto themselves, to invite the Compassions of their *Deities*. Hence these Usages, forbidden unto all the *Jewes*, were forbidden unto the *Priests* among the *Jewes* in a Peculiar Manner.¹⁸¹

Read *Servius* on those Words in *Virgil*,

— *flavos Lavinia crines et Roseas Laniata Genas*, —¹⁸²

And what *Varro* saith hereupon, *Mulieres in exequijs et luctu, ideo Solitas ora lacerare, ut ostenso Sanguine Inferis Satisfacerent*. And what *Servius* elsewhere saies, *Laniantes Genas suum effundebant cruorem, ut Rogis horum Imago restitueretur*.¹⁸³

Such præposterous *Mournings* for the *Dead*, were not allowed unto the *People of God*; as well as that they might not, like others, *mourn without Hope*, as that they might avoid all Communion with the Worship of *Idolaters*: who indeed, thus wounded themselves, in the *Dæmonolatry* of their Funerals, but not *Then* only; they did it on some other Occasions. Wee read of them, in Hos. 7.14. *They Howled upon their Beds, they Assemble themselves for Corn & Wine*: Rather, as the LXX, κατετέμνοντο, *They cutt themselves*.¹⁸⁴ *Theodoret* upon the Place, interprets it, of the ἐντόμιδες,¹⁸⁵ *Cuttings*, which the *Idolaters* made upon their Bodies, in the Temples of their *Idols*. You may be confirmed in this Exposition, from

179 Spencer (356); *Herodotus* (*Historiae* 2.61, line 7) tells us that the Carians, whom he believes to be foreigners in Egypt, “cut their foreheads with knives.”

180 Johannes Stephanus Menochius's *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1648), lib. 4, cap. 1, § 18; Dionysius Vossius in his bilingual edition of Maimonides's *De Idololatria* (1641), cap. 12, sec. 13, p. 271; Johannes Saubertus, *De Sacrificiis Veterum* (1659), cap. 27, pp. 706–07; Jacobus Ouzelius, aka. Jacques Oisel, or Oesel (1631–86), was born in Danzig (Prussia) and became professor of law at Groningen University. Mather refers to Ouzelius's annotations, in *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius cum integris omnium Notis ac Commentariis novaque Recensione Jacobi Ouzeli. Cujus & accedunt Animadversiones* (1652, 1672), p. m. 141.

181 Lev. 21:5.

182 Virgil has the grief-stricken “Lavinia tear her golden tresses and roseate cheeks” (*Aeneid* 12:605–06).

183 The Roman grammarian and commentator on Virgil, Maurus Honoratius Servius (*In Vergilii carmina commentarii* 1:349, on Virgil's *Aeneid* 3:67) cites his famous predecessor, the Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro, in affirmation that “during funeral processions and grieving, women habitually lacerated their faces as a means to satisfy the dead by a show of blood.” Likewise, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* (2:627), Servius glosses on *Aeneid* (12:606) that “cutting their cheeks they were pouring out their blood, so that in the funeral pyres the image of these might be restored.”

184 Hos. 7:14 (LXX) or “they pined for oil and wine.”

185 Both Spencer (357) and Theodoret (*Interpretatio in xii prophetas minores* [Hos. 7:14]) [PL 081. 1592, line 37] read ἐντομιδας (“incision,” “cuttings,” “gashes”).

a Passage in *Minutius Felix*, who sais, *Qui Sanguine suo libat, et Vulneribus suis supplicat, non profanus melius esset quàm sic Religiosus?*¹⁸⁶ Moreover, Tis an odd Passage in *Maimonides*, *Qui Carnem lacerat, propter Ruinam Domus, aut propter Navim Mari submersam, liber est. Neque enim vapulat quis, nisi se Defuncti, vel Idoli ergò, carpserit.*¹⁸⁷

What Apology will bee now found, for the *Jewes*, of whose usual Practices, you read in Jer. 41.5. and Jer. 47.5. and Jer. 48.37. and Isa. 15. and Jer. 16.6. On which last Place, *Jerom* saies, *Mos fuit apud Veteres, et in quibusdam permanet Judæorum usque hodiè, ut in luctibus incidant lacertos, et Calvitium faciunt.*¹⁸⁸ I shall not concern myself to enquire. Perhaps, they thought, that they might employ *Self-Lacerations* for their Dead Friends, provided they had in them, no such *Idolatrours Intention*, as that with respect whereto they were first of all forbidden.

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[50v]

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[51r]

3618.

Q. Give us a Jewish Strain, upon that Passage, *Do not prostitute thy Daughter, to cause her to be a Whore?* v. 29.

A. That I will, and a very Hard one too. R. *Elieser* and R. *Akiba*, say; A Man prostitutes his Daughter, who did not gett her an *Husband*, when shee was marriageable, or, who married her unto an *old Man*.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Minucius Felix shakes his head at the ancients' blood-letting rites during their mourning ceremonies. Think about the futile self-mutilations of mourners, "Or take the man who pours libations of his own blood, and from his own wounds draws supplication – would he not be better without religion than religious in his fashion?" (*Octavius* 22.9). Tertullian certainly thought so in his *Apologia* (23), where he upbraids those engaged in obscene rites to curry favor from demons or angels: "You make a distinction of places, I suppose, regarding as gods in their temple those whose divinity you do not recognize elsewhere; counting the madness which leads one man to leap from the sacred houses, to be something different from that which leads another to leap from an adjoining house; looking on one who cuts his arms and secret parts as under a different furor from another who cuts his throat. The result of the frenzy is the same, and the manner of instigation is one" (*ANF* 3:37).

¹⁸⁷ Maimonides, *De Idololatria* (cap. 12, sec. 16, p. 174), or "A person who {makes a bald spot on his head or} gouges his flesh because his house falls or because his ship sinks at sea is not held liable. One is lashed only [if he carries out these acts] for the sake of a deceased person or if he gashes his flesh for the sake of an idol" (*Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V'Chukkoteihem* (12.16), in *Mishneh Torah* (3:234). In the "Biblia" manuscript, the passage in braces {} is omitted. Mather considers Maimonides's comment "odd" because by the rabbi's reasoning, inflicting gashes on oneself is condoned as long as cutting oneself in this manner is not done for idolatrous purposes.

¹⁸⁸ Spencer (354). In his *Commentariorum in Jeremiam Prophetam* (lib. 3, cap. 16, on Jer. 16:6) [PL 024. 0782BC], St. Jerome remarks, "There was a custom among the ancients, and among certain of the Jews it persists until today, that in grievings they cut open their arms and make a bald spot."

¹⁸⁹ Simon Patrick, on Lev. 19:29 (*Leviticus* 381). The two sages of the Talmud interpret the Mosaic proscription as follows: "As it has been taught: Do not profane thy daughter to cause

3619.

Q. What is meant by, *Having Familiar Spirits?* v. 31.

A. The Word, *Ob*, signifying a *Bottle*, or hollow Vessel, [Job. 32.19.] the Jewes think, that *Oboth* here, may signify such as are by the Greeks called, ἑγγαστριμῦθοι,¹⁹⁰ who had a Spirit or a Dæmon, speaking out of the Belly, or Chest, with an hollow Voice, as if it came out of a Bottel. The *Witch* whom *Saul* consulted, is called, *Baalath Ob*, a *Mistress of such a Spirit*. It is plain, *Ob* signifies the *Spirit*, or *Dæmon*; and he or she that had Familiarity with it, was called, *Baal*, or *Baalath*, a Master or Mistress, who possessed it, & gave answers by it, with a Voice that seemed as if it came from the lower Parts of the Belly.¹⁹¹ The LXX once translates it, οἱ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντο [Isa. 19.3.] *They speak out of the Earth*; because, as Mr. *Selden* explains it, the Voice coming from the lower Parts of the Person owning that Spirit, seemed for to come out of the Earth.¹⁹²

Some think, such Persons had the Name of *Oboth*, because they were swelled with the Spirit, as a *Bladder* when it is blown. However it was, we find in the Dayes of the Gospel, [Act. 16.16.] one who had the Spirit of *Python*; which was the same with an ἑγγαστριμῦθος, as *Plutarch* informs us.¹⁹³ The famous *Pythia*, who delivered the Oracles of *Apollo*, satt over an Hole, and by her Secret Parts, received the *Spirit* that swelled her, and made her utter *Oracles*; as tis remark'd particularly by *Origen* against *Celsus*, & by *Chrysostom* in his *Homilies* on the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*.¹⁹⁴

her to be a whore; R. Eliezer said: This refers to marrying one's [young] daughter to an old man. R. Akiba said: This refers to the delay in marrying off a daughter who is already a bogereth" [i. e., one who has attained puberty], in Soncino Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (76a). In his "Note Book of Authors" (Lev. 19:30), Mather refers to "J. Prideau [*sic*] vii Lectiones"; i. e., "Oratio Septima. Inauguralis in Promotione Doctorum," on "De Sabbato." This augural lecture on Lev. 19:30, in honor of conferring the degree of D. D. on three of Prideaux's doctoral candidates, was delivered in Oxford, in 1622, and published in *Orationes Novem Inaugurales* (1626), pp. 129–51. Given that Mather refers to a work appearing in "J. Prideau vii Lectiones," Mather appears to have drawn on the "Oratio VII," as reprinted in Prideaux's *Viginti duæ Lectiones de totidem Religionis Capitibus ... Quibus accesserunt Tredecim Orationes Inaugurales* (1648), pars 2, Oratio, VII, pp. 60–69 (sep. pag.).

190 ἑγγαστριμῦθοι suggests "ventriloquism" (*LSJ*). Hence Lev. 19:31 (LXX) speaks of the ἑγγαστριμῦθοι "those who have in them divining spirits" or 1 Kings 28:8 (LXX) "familiar spirit." See also Hippocrates et Corpus Hippocraticum: *De morbis popularibus* (= *Epidemiae*) 5.1.63, line 6.

191 See also Mather's annotations on 1 Sam. 28:14, 25 (*BA* 3:326–32) and P. Wise, "Cotton Mather and the Invisible World" (234–38).

192 Patrick (*Leviticus* 384) cites John Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagma II* (1617), Synt. I, cap. 2, pp. 39–42.

193 Plutarch, *De Defectu Oraculorum* (414e, line 3): ἑγγαστριμῦθοι, those who have a divining spirit (ventriloquists).

194 Patrick (*Leviticus* 384–85). Origen's *Against Celsus* (7.3), in *ANF* (4:611–12). Chrysostom, on 1 Cor. 12:1–2, *Homily* (28.2), in *NPNFi* (12:170). See also R. Levi Barcelonitae, ספר החינוך *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*. (1523), in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum* (1655), sec. XVI, praecept. CCLVIII, pp. 393–94.

There are those, who will have no Credit given unto these old Stories; But *Aug. Eugubinus*, affirms, That he himself had seen these *Ventriloquæ*.¹⁹⁵ And *Cælius Rhodiginus* affirms, That not only he himself had seen such Women, but innumerable other People; not only at *Rhodigium*, but in a Manner thro' all *Italy*; who had with all the Strictness imaginable, examined the Matter, & found that it was no Counterfeit.¹⁹⁶ *Oleaster*, also [on Isa. 24.4.] saies, He saw such an one at *Lisbon*, which readily answered unto whatever was asked.¹⁹⁷

An *Energumen* whom out of compassion to her Afflicted Parents I took home unto my own Family, would, when we went unto Prayer, be, by the *Dæmons* laid for Dead, wholly Senseless, and (unto appearance) Breathless, with her *Belly Swell'd like a Drum*. And there would be Crooking Noises in her; Yea, there would come a Big and a Low Voice from her, wherein the Spectators could not see her Mouth to move, but yett the *Dæmons* would utter astonishing things.¹⁹⁸

3620.

Q. And, *Wizards*? v. 31.

A. Those whom we call, *Cunning-Men*; or, *Fortune-tellers*. These mostly were *Men*, as the former were *Women*.

Jedeonim, are as much as *Joadim*, which is as much as *Futurorum Conscij*, as tis observed by Mr. *Selden*. *Maimonides* will have them, obtain their Knowledge, by putting the Bone of a certain Bird; called, *Jadua*, into their Mouthes, with certain Fumes and Adjurations: which made them fall into an *Ecstasie*, & foretel things to come.¹⁹⁹

195 The Italian humanist, OT scholar, and Vatican librarian Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, aka. Agostino Steuco (1497–1548), in his *Veteris Testamenti ad veritatem Hebraicam Recognitio* (1531), pp. 511–12 (on Lev. cap. 19), affirms having witnessed such ἐγγαστριμύθους, i. e., “Ventriloquæ mulieres,” or “female diviners,” although Steuco does not mention when and where he witnessed the event. On Eugubinus, see also BA 1:1035.

196 Mather (via Patrick 385) refers to the previously mentioned Caelius Ludovicus Rhodiginus, whose *Lectioinum Antiquarum Libri XXX* (1542), lib. 8, cap. 10, pp. 295–96, comments on the divining women he had seen in Italy. The ancient Roman city Rhodigium (modern Rovigo) is in NE Italy, near Venice.

197 Patrick (*Leviticus* 385) also enlists Hieronymus Oleaster, aka. Jeronimo da Azambuja (d. 1563), *Commentari in Leviticum* (1557), p. 44; Lev. (cap. XIX), annotatio ad literam, and *In Isaiam Prophetam Commentarii* (1622), pp. 473–76.

198 See for Mather's own eyewitness account in his *Memorable Providences* (1689), sec. XXIX, p. 36 (first ser. of pag.). Mather here describes the contortions of Martha Goodwin (age 13), eldest daughter of John Goodwin of Charlestown, who manifested psychosomatic fits after an altercation with Ann Glover, an Irish laundress and housekeeper, in 1688. Mather took the girl into his home for observation, and through a regimen of fasting, communal prayer, and reassurance succeeded to restore her.

199 Patrick (*Leviticus* 386). The Hebrew noun יָדְעֹנִי [yidde'oniy] signifies “a knower, one who has a familiar spirit,” but also “a familiar spirit, soothsayer, [and] necromancer,” hence “wizard” (Strong's # 3049). A *Futurorum Conscij* is “one who has knowledge of the future.” Selden's *De Diis Syris* (1617), Synt. 1, cap. 2, pp. 40–41 is Patrick's source. Rashi explains that “an יָדְעֹנִי [is] one who put the bone of an animal whose name is *Yadu'a* יָדוּעַ into his mouth, and the bone

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3621.

Q. What were the Thoughts and Wayes of old, about, *Rising up before the Hoary Head?* v. 32.

A. The Usage was to Rise up unto them, when they were at the Distance of *Four* Cubits; and assoon as they were gone by to Sitt down again; that it might appear, they Rose up purely in respect unto them. *Nature* itself directed civilized People unto this; who, as *Juvenal* writes,

*Credebant hoc grande nefas, et morte piandum,
Si Juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat.*²⁰⁰

And such a Law was established among the *Lacedæmonians*, τοὺς γέροντας αἰσχυνέσθωσαν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ πατέρας;²⁰¹ *That Aged Persons should be revered, no less than if they were their Fathers.* And thus *Plato*, orders; *Let every one Reverence him that is elder than himself, in Deed & in Word.* And he ha's this memorable Saying, *That Youth should glory more in Obeying well, than in Ruling well; And first of all, in Obeying the Lawes; for, this is all one with Serving of God: And next, in giving Honour to old Men; and to those especially, who have passed their Dayes Honourably, & with Glory.*²⁰²

There was also in the Jewish Nation a Special Reason, for much Reverence to be shown unto old Men; for there was little else, but *Age & Experience* to distinguish them; Their Quality, their Profession, their Education, & their Wealth, being much upon a Level.²⁰³

3622.

Q. Well, but who is the *old Man*, whose *Face* is to be *Honoured*?

A. Why should it not be rendred, *The Elder*; and refer to them, who were skilful in the Law, as the Jewes interpret it? For the Law speaks of meerly *Aged Persons* before. *Selden* prosecutes this more at large. And the Words of *Maimonides* are observable. *If such as taught the Law, had not been honoured before Men, no*

'talks'" [ventriloquism] (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Vayikro* 3:270–71). Likewise, *Maimonides*, *Sefer Hamitzvot* II (9), in *Mishneh Torah* (21:8) clarifies that according to the Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (65a), a "'Yidoni' . . . is one who places in his mouth the bone of a *yidoo*, which speaks of itself." Anyone guilty of violating this negative commandment (Lev. 19:31) is "liable to stoning or *kareth* for willful transgression."

²⁰⁰ *Juvenal* (*Satire* 13.54–55) explains that in the Golden Age, "They [people] considered it a major outrage, punishable by death, if a young man didn't stand up for an older man."

²⁰¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 387) appears to quote from Johannes Stobaeus Anthologus (*Anthologium* 4.2.25.106), which reads in our modern editions τοὺς γέροντας αἰσχυνόνται οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ πατέρας.

²⁰² The first part of the translation from *Plato* is from his *Leges* (9.879c, lines 6–7). The "memorable Saying" remains to be identified, unless it is a paraphrastic summary of *Plato's* surrounding passages, including *Leges* (7.823c).

²⁰³ Mather's source is Patrick (*Leviticus* 387–88). See also *Maimonides* (*Guide* 3.36.539).

body would have minded their Words, nor have received what they propounded, about things to be known or done. And R. Levi Barcelonita shows, The Law made no Difference of what Age he was, in this Case; for it appears by *Daniel*, that some *Elders* were not Aged.²⁰⁴

3623.

Q. Why is that Clause added; *And fear thy God*?

A. God ha's imprinted a venerable Character of His Aged & Useful Servants; & the *Fear of God*, is to be the Fountain of all our Good Carriage.

But some of the *Hebrewes* think, That in this Verse, there are *Three Degrees* of *Honour* enjoined unto *Three Orders* of Men. One to the *Aged*; Another to the *Learned*; and a third unto the *Judges*; who may be here meant by *Elohim*.²⁰⁵

3624.

Q. What is the *Judgment*, in which there might not be done any *Unrighteousness*? v. 35.

A. The *Hebrewes* refer it unto all the following Particulars. Whoever *Measures*, or *Weighs*, ha's therein the Office of a *Judge*; and if he commit any Fraud in his *Measures* & *Weights*, he is (as R. Levi Barcelonita notes,) *A Corrupter of Judgment*; & is called, Wicked, Abominable, Execrable. He adds, That such Men bring *Five Mischiefs* upon the Places where they live; They *Defile the Law*; They *Profane the Name of God*; They *Remove the Presence of the Divine Majesty*; They *Bring a Sword upon the People*; And at last, They *Cause them to be carried Captive out of their own Countrey*. These are the Mischiefs, which they Impute unto *Unjust Judges*. The Emperour *Justinian* ordered such Offendors, to be beaten *ισχυρῶς ὡς ἀσεβεῖς*, *very Sorely, as being very Impious*.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Patrick, on Lev. 19:32 (*Leviticus* 388), draws on John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 14, esp. pp. 545–47. Selden insists that rulers, titled dignitaries, magistrates, judges, elders, women are to be included in this Levitical law to honor your elders. Maimonides's explanation appears in *Guide* (3.36.539–40). And R. Levi Barcelonita, in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum* (1655), sec. XVI, praecept. CCXXII, pp. 330–32, provides the rabbinical perspective on why respect for one's elders (or superiors) is based on position in society, irrespective of age. Mather may have Dan. 2:46–48 in mind, when Daniel interpreted King Nebuchadnezzar famous dream vision (Dan. 2:31–45), the king “fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel,” and appointed young Daniel ruler over Babylon and “chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon.”

²⁰⁵ Rashi (Lev. 19:32) glosses that both an older person is considered an “elder” (“even an ignorant old man”) – hence deserves respect – and “one who has acquired wisdom is [called] an elder (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Vayikro* 3:271). Maimonides (*Guide* 3.36.538) includes the “bearers of the Law.” See also Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 14, p. 549, which includes judges (“Judices”).

²⁰⁶ Patrick (*Leviticus* 391); R. Levi Barcelonita's סֵפֶר הַחֲנוּכָּה *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* (1523), in Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum* (1655), sec. XVI, praecept. CCLX, pp. 395–97; the *Institutes of Justinian* (4.18.11) directs that the *Lex Julia repetundarum* (dating back to the time of Julius Caesar),

3625.

Q. These Constitutions of *Moses*, what Remembrance of them in Antiquity?

A. The Name of *Moses* was famous among other Nations, on the account of them. Very particularly, we find that one *Lucius Ampelius* (a rude kind of Writer, but one who had collected much out of better Authors,) tells us, That *Mochus* was the Inventer of *Scales* and *Weights*; and that his Memory is preserved in the Constellation called, *Libra*. For *Mochus*, if we read *Moschos*, it is the very Name of *Moses*, in the Hebrew [*Moscheh*,] and as *Huetius* observes, He is called so by other Authors.²⁰⁷

“punished judges for receiving bribes.” However, such cases “do not carry with them the punishment of death, but lesser punishments, against offenders” (p. 508).

²⁰⁷ Patrick, on Lev. 19:36 (*Leviticus* 363); Pierre-Daniel Huet’s *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 8, sec. 16, p. 123, is Patrick’s (and Mather’s) source for “Mochus,” the alleged pagan name for the Hebrew Lawgiver Moses. Huet points to the obscure Roman historian Lucius Ampelius, of uncertain date (c. 3rd or 4th c. CE), whose *Liber Memorialis* (2.7) identifies “Mochos” with the constellation *Libra*. One of the earliest authoritative editions of this work is that appended to Claudius Salmasius’s edition *L. Annaeus. Florus. CL. Salmasius, addidit Lucium Ampelium* (1638), p. 305. Associating Moses with the ancient Sidonian Mochos, Moxos, Mochus, Moshus, etc., was wishful thinking not only in Mather’s time. See also John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali* (1640), lib. 1, cap. 2, pp. 22–23; Ralph Cudworth’s *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), bk. 1, ch. 1, sec. 9–10, pp. 12–13; and Mather’s *BA* (1:359–61, 383, 527, 531).

3626.

Q. After what Manner was the Punishment of *Stoning* inflicted? v. 2.

A. J. *Wagenseil* thus describes the Manner of it, out of an Hebrew Manuscript.

The Malefactor was to be stript Naked, having only a Covering before; (A Woman was only stript unto her Shift,) and sett upon an High Place, having his Hands bound, and attended with the Witnesses against him. One of the Witnesses then giving him a strong push, threw him down Headlong from thence. If this Fall kill'd him, there was an End; But if Life remained in him, the Witnesses took up a *Stone*, which was laid there on Purpose, as big as two Men could lift, and threw it upon him; and before he quite expired, all the People that stood by, threw *Stones* at him, according to the Law.¹

3627.

Q. Give us a Jewish Account of the, *Cutting off*, so often threatned? v. 3.

A. R. *Bechai*, and others, observe in the Law, a Threefold *Cutting off*. One is, The Excision of the *Body*; that is, the Shortning of the Life; which is threatned unto Six Sins, in the Scripture. The Second is, The Excision of the *Soul* only; which is threatned by *Moses* Twenty Six Times; & particularly to Incestuous Marriages. The *Third* is, The Excision both of *Soul* and *Body*; which is threatned unto Fifteen Sins; & particulary to that of giving Children to *Molech*.²

Q. It is here said, *For every one that curseth his Father, or his Mother shall surely be putt to Death*. The Particle, *For*, is Rational. It brings on a *Reason* of what went before. And yett here we see no Shadow of a *Reason* for, or any Relation to what went before. All the Divine *Ætiologies* have a Weight in them? v. 9.

¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 397–98); Johann Christoph Wagenseil's *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), cap. 3, sec. 7, p. 455. The Hebrew manuscript to which Mather refers is by Wagenseil identified as "MS. Ez Hechajim Hilch. Dine Mammon. Unephash, cap. 6."

² Patrick (*Leviticus* 398) leans on John Selden, who in his *De Jure Naturali* (1640), lib. 7, cap. 9, pp. 828–29, identifies as his source R. Bechai, i. e., R. Bachya ben Asher, and evidently refers to R. Bechai, sive Bachie ben Ascer *Biur al Hatorah. Elucidatio in Legem Moysis* (1544), fol. 149, col. 1. In *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya Torah Commentary* (Lev. 18:29), R. Bachya ben Asher glosses, "The *karet* penalty appears in the Torah in three different guises. There is a *karet* penalty which is applicable only to the body of the guilty party. There is also a *karet* penalty which applies only to the soul; finally, there is a *karet* penalty which applies both to the body and the soul of he sinner in question" (5:1720). The venerable rabbi elaborates on each of the three constituencies in his subsequent paragraphs (5:1720–28).

A. It is mistranslated. The Particle /כִּי/ is not only *Rational*; [1. Chron. XIII.11.] but also *Discretive*. [Gen. XLV.8.] And more than so, Tis *Conditional*. [2. Sam. VII.1.] It is accordingly here to be translated, *When*, or, *If*.³

3628.

Q. How was the Sentence of *Death* understood & executed, according to the several Phrases used for it? v. 10.

A. When wee meet with this Phrase; *They shall surely Dy*, and the Law add no more, the Jewes tell us, the Death was then by *Strangling*. If these Words be added, *Their Blood shall be upon them*, then, they say, the Death was to be by *Stoning*.

The *Strangling*, as they describe it, was not such a *Punishment*, as our *Hanging by the Neck*; but the Criminal, being stuck up to the Knees in Dung, they tied a Napkin about his Neck, & so, drawing it at both Ends, they choaked him. There was then such a thing, as *Hanging Men* on a *Gallows*, but it was after they were Dead, and only of such as had been Stoned, for Blasphemy, or Adultery.⁴

It seems, That the Punishment of *Adultery*, according to the Jewes, was only *Strangling*, [but the Daughter of a *Priest* playing the *Adulteress*, was to be burnt:] but if a Man lay with a *Virgin* espoused unto another Man, & not yett married, *Stoning* was the Punishment expressly provided for them. How shall we reconcile this, with the Words, of the Jewes, about that Woman in the Gospel, Joh. 8.5. *Moses, in the Law, commanded us, that such should be stoned*. It may be answered, That this Woman was *espoused* only, and not *married*; and so fell under the Penalty in *Deuteronomy*. [Ch. 22.23, 24.]⁵

If it seem absurd, That the Adultery of one *espoused*, should be counted a greater Crime, than of one *married*, it may be considered, That the Love of those, who were newly *espoused* was commonly more fervent, than theirs who were *married*; especially among the Jewes, who for light Causes would be divorced from their *Wives*.⁶

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3629.

Q. Was not the Intention of the Blessed God, in præscribing a *Difference of Meats*, unto the Jewish Nation, very glorious? v. 25.

3 Mather's vademecum is Robert Gell's discussion on Lev. 20:9, in *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 300.

4 Patrick (*Leviticus* 403).

5 Patrick (*Leviticus* 403); John Selden's *Uxor Ebraica, Seu De Nuptiis & Divortiis* (1646), lib. 3, cap. 2, pp. 326–30, is the authoritative source on this issue.

6 Patrick (*Leviticus* 404).

A. Yes; This Nation, from whom the MESSIAH was to spring, was (as Dr. Patrick well notes,) hereby kept pure, & free from all Mixture with any other Nation or People. Nothing more contributed hereunto, than the *Difference of Meats* imposed upon them; which made it not easy for them to contract an Acquaintance with other Nations. And indeed, unless the People from whom the *Messiah* was to come, had been kept separate from other Nations, either all Hope of Him would have been lost, or many in every Countrey, to the Destruction of Mankind, would have pretended for to have been the Person. Whereas, by keeping them a People Distinct by themselves, it came to pass, that all the Countreyes thereabouts, were filled with a Report, That the Lord of the World shall come out of *Judea*.⁷

3630.

Q. In the Law for *Stoning* them that *had a Familiar Spirit*; there is express mention of the *Woman*, as well as the *Man*, that shall become obnoxious to the *Law*. Why so? v. 27.

A. Take the Account given by *Maimonides*. “The greater Part of such Evil Arts, being practised by *Women*, towards whom *Men* are naturally pitiful, *Moses* therefore saies in this Place, *A Man also, or a Woman, that hath a Familiar Spirit*; like to which, we find not in any Præcept, no, not about the Profanation of the *Sabbath*. But in this Case, it was necessary expressly to mention *Women* as well as *Men*; because of Mens natural Tenderness & Clemency towards *Women*.” Thus he, in, *More Nevochim*.⁸

⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 411) draws on Johann Christian Wagenseil’s “Carminis R. Lipmanni Confutatio,” a vitriolic polemic against: ליפמן: זכרון ספר נצחון דר’ [Zikron Sefer ha-Nizzachon] *Carmen Memoriale Libri Nizzachon*, by R. Yom Tob Lipmann-Mühlhausen, a Talmudist and Kabbalist of Thuringia and Bohemia (fl. late 14th to early 15th c.). The latter rabbinic work is a summary in verse of the anonymous apologia סקר הנצחון *Sefer Ha-Nizzachon* (before 1406), a defense of Judaism against Christian and Karaite incursions, attributed to R. Lipmann, and published in Theodor Hacksan’s edition *Liber Nizachon Rabbi Lipmanni* (1644). Mather affirmatively refers to Wagenseil’s annotations on Lev. 20:25–26, in Wagenseil’s “Carminis R. Lipmanni Confutatio” (*Tela Ignea Satanae* 1:554), where Wagenseil maintains that God decreed Jewish separation from the gentiles to preserve the clear line of the Messiah’s descent from David. The first bilingual edition of ספר נצחון *Liber Nizachon Rabbi Lipmanni* (1644) was translated and published by Theodor Hacksan (1607–1659), a Lutheran Hebraist at the University of Altdorf (Germany). See S. W. Baron’s *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (1969), ch. XXXIX, p. 295, note 13; and S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu Nach Jüdischen Quellen* (1902).

⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 412) translates the passage in quotation marks from the Latin edition of Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 37, pp. 445–46.

3631.

Q. Did Pagan Antiquity at all imitate the *Mosaic Institution*, which prohibited the *Mourning* of a *Priest*? v. 1.

A. Yes. The *Romans*, as *Bochart* observes out of *Seneca*, would not have their *Pontifex* to look upon a Funeral; And the *Flamen Dialis* might not go into the Place where the *Coffin* was. For this Reason, as we are told by *Servius* upon *Virgil*, they ordered a Bough of a *Cypress-Tree* to be stuck at the Door of the House, where a Dead Body lay, that the High Priest might not ignorantly go into it. It appears also by *Plato*, that it was thus likewise among the *Greeks*.¹

3632.

Q. Must every *Daughter of a Priest playing the Whore*, have been *Burnt with Fire*? v. 9.

A. The Hebrew Doctors understand it, only of one *married*, or, at least, *espoused*. *Aben-Ezra* and *Solomon Jarchi*, (for which consult *Selden* in his *Uxor Hebraica*) expressly say, *our Rabbins confess with one Mouth, that one not espoused, is not concerned in this Law*.²

¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 414) extracts his material from Samuel Bochart's encyclopedic *Hierozaicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 4, cols. 757, 758. In turn, Bochart supplies Patrick with the material from Roman philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca. Seneca's *De Consolatione ad Marciam* (15.3) relates that when Tiberius Caesar presided over the funeral of one of his sons, he had a curtain drawn on one side of the bier to shield the eyes of the high priest (whom Bochart polemically associates with "Pontifex," the bishop of Rome) from looking at the corpse. Bochart also is Patrick's vademecum for the reference to the Roman grammarian and historian Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae* (10.15.24–25). In this commonplace book, Gellius reminds us that the ancient "Flamen Dialis" ("high priest of Jupiter") must not enter a cemetery or touch a corpse, but he may attend a funeral ceremony. Bochart is likewise the source for the reference to Maurus Servius's annotation in his *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* (3.64), which mentions the Cypress-tree branch at the doorpost as a sign of mourning. Finally, Plato, in his *Leges* (12.947d, lines 3–7) instructs that at the funeral of the "Scrutineer" (magistrate), "the Priests and Priestesses will bring up the rear [of a funeral procession]; they are of course banned from other funerals, but provided the oracle at Delphi approves, they shall attend this one, as it will not defile them."

² Patrick (420); R. Aben Ezra, i. e., Abraham Ibn Ezra glosses that an unchaste daughter of a priest (kohen) desecrates "her father's honor – she will be burned (but only if she was married or betrothed)" (*Commentary 3: Leviticus* 110–11). R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) posits that Lev. 21:9 applies to a priest's daughter whether she is "already bound to a husband, whether by marriage or simply by engagement. Our Sages disputed the details of the matter, but everyone agrees that 'harlotry' does not apply to a woman who is not spoken for" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:167–68). Patrick's primary source is John Selden's *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 39–40, and lib. 3, cap. 23, pp. 488–89.

3633.

Q. If the *Priest* were in the *Sanctuary* when he heard of the *Death* of his *Father* or *Mother*, he might not stir out from thence, until he had Finished his Ministry. Where was he to stay? v. 12.

A. He had a little House, (after the Temple was built) within the Præincts of it, where he commonly remained all the Day-time; which was called, *Lischath Cohen gadol*, or, *The Parlour of the High-Priest*; as *Cunæus* observes. At night he went unto his own Dwelling-House, which was in *Jerusalem*, & no where else. There he might perform all the Offices of a Mourner, except those which are here forbidden; And the People came to comfort him, (as *Maimonides* relates) and sitting on the Ground, while he sat in his Chair at the Funeral Feast, they said, *Lett us be thy Expiation*; that is, Lett all the Grief that is on thee fall on us; To which he answered, *Blessed be yee from Heaven*.³

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[53v]

518.

Q. Why might no *Priest*, that had any *Natural Blemish* on him, do the Service of the *Sanctuary*? v. 17.

A. Doubtless, for the same General Reason, that the *Marriage* and the *Mourning* of a *Priest*, might not bee like That of other Men; and that God *Cloth'd* them, and *Fed* them, in such a peculiar Manner as hee did.

Briefly, The *Honour* of their Sacred Office in the Eyes of the People, was thus to bee præserted. For, tho' *Bodily Deformities* are oftentimes most richly compensated with *Mental Perfections*, yett the Vulgar do commonly Judge κατ' ὄψιν, and are prone to despise, even the *Office*, as well as the *Person*, of the Defective.⁴ For which Cause, it ha's been usual with other *Oriental Nations*, as well as the *Persians*, to lett their Imperial Crown, bee worn by None that were notable for any Natural Infirmity. And among the *Romans*, wee know that *Horatius Cocles* and *Mutius Scaevola*, were for certain Mutilations judg'd incapable of the Magistracy.⁵ It is truly noted by *Curtius*, *Plerisque gentibus ingens in corpore*

3 Patrick (*Leviticus* 422); Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 3, pp. 195–96, mentions the לשכת כהן גדול “conclave Pontificis,” or “Chamber of the High Priest.” Maimonides, *Hilchot K'lei HaMikdash ViHaOvdim Bo* (5.7), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:170, note 17). In *Hilchot Beit HaBechirah* (5:17), it is called “The Chamber of Wood,” as well as “the Chamber of Parhedrin” (i. e., “officer of the king”), *Mishneh Torah* (29:88–89, note 109).

4 In this context, the Greek passage can be rendered “by sight” or “appearances” (*LSJ*).

5 According to Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (2.9–13), Publius Horatius Cocles (aka. one-eyed Horatius) heroically defended the Sublician Bridge across the Tiber against a surprise attack by the Etruscan king (c. 509 BCE) in the war between Rome and Clusium. Dionysius Halicarnassus adds in his *Roman Antiquities* (5.25.3) that the Romans honored their great hero with a gift of land, consulship, and military command, but Horatius's debilitating physical injuries rendered him unsuitable for such offices. Likewise, according to Livy (2.12–13), Mutius Scaevola (Gaius Mucius Scaevola) demonstrated his bravery in the Clusian War and his defiance of

*veneratio est, magnorumque operum non Alios capaces putant, quàm quos specie egregià et eximià Natura donavit.*⁶

But, I beleeve, a more Special Reason, of this *Levitical Order*, was, To repræsent the complete *Sufficiency* and *Amiability* of the Lord Jesus Christ unto the World. The *Priests* were Types of our Eternal *Priest*, in whom Nothing is Wanting, Nothing is Amiss.⁷

4236.

Q. The *Blemishes* that rendred a *Priest* incapable for *Services*, in the Reckoning of he *Jewes*, how many were they? v. 17.

A. They were all *Exteriour*: And yett the *Jewes* reckon up *One hundred and Forty* of them. And particularly, –

In the Head,	8.
In the Neck,	2.
In the Ears,	12.
In the Eylids & Eybrowes,	15.
In the Eyes,	19.
In the Nose,	6.
In the Lips & Mouth,	9.
In the Belly,	3.
In the Back,	3.
In the Genitals,	17.
In the Hands & Feet,	12.
In the Legs,	15.
In the whole Body,	<u>4.</u>

It were a Tedious and an Useless Work, to explain all these *Blemishes*. And indeed in some of them, they were very curious and critical; as, when they reckoned an *Hawk Nose* one of them, or, a *Nose* a little *too big*; or one *Eye* a little Bigger than another; or, a *Watry Eye*; or a *little Eye*; or, a *Swarthy Skin*; or, a *Skin* having some *Wrinkles* in it.⁸

physical pain by plunging his arm into the altar fire of the Etruscan enemy. Though rewarded and honored for his bravery and act of defiance, Mucius lost the use of his right arm (hence the moniker “Scaevola”), which rendered him useless in military combat. See also Dionysius Halicarnassus (5. 27–31, 35).

⁶ Adapted from Quintus Curtius Rufus’s *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis libri qui supersunt* (6.5.29), Mather’s citation reads, “most people immoderately feel admiration for a [majestic] body, and believe that only those are capable of great deeds whom nature has endowed with extraordinary physical attractiveness.”

⁷ John Selden, *De Successione in Pontificatum Ebraeorum* (1636), lib. 2, cap. 5, pp. 226–37, itemizes the various types of deformity, which would render a candidate ineligible for the office of the high priest. Mather’s typological reading in the last paragraph speaks volumes.

⁸ See Rashi, Nachmanides, Rashbam, Iban Ezra, Chizkuni, Gersonides, and Abarbanel on Lev. 21:17–21, in *JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* (3:170–71). John Selden has much to say on these physical disqualifications in his *De Successione in Pontificatum Ebraeorum* (1636), lib. 2, cap. 5,

But *Munster* makes a Good Conclusion upon the whole: *Colligimus ex his, quàm Integros et Immaculatos Dominus voluit habere Ministros.*⁹

Q. Upon the *Sacerdotal Blemishes*? v. 17.

A. Such Inferiour Priests as had any Blemish in their Birth, contrary to the Statutes of the Law, had a *Black Suit* given them, & were turned out of the Court. But those whose *Birth* was unblemished, & yett had some Corporal Defects, were appointed for to pile up the Wood, & examine it, whether it were fitt for their Service or not.¹⁰ Lastly, They that were without any Blemish, were dressed in *White Vestments*, & had this Thanksgiving pronounced over them; *Blessed be GOD, Because the Seed of Aaron, ha's been found without Blemish, and because he has chosen Aaron & his Sons, to appear in His Presence, & to perform the Service before Him.*¹¹

3634.

Q. The *Priest* with a *Blemish* might not *come nigh the Altar*; no, not go to the *Altar of Burnt-Offering*, which was in the *Court of the House of the Lord*. What was he to do? v. 23.

A. He was to sitt in the *Wood-room*, where he was employ'd in picking out all the *Wood*, which had any *Worms* in it, that it might be laid aside, & not carried unto the Altar; as *Maimonides* and others relate.¹²

pp. 226–37. Perhaps the definitive discussion of what physical blemishes disqualify anyone from serving as priest in the Temple is Maimonides, *Hilchot Bi'at HaMikdash* (chs. 6–8), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:262–80).

9 Sebastian Münster's detailed enumeration of the various disqualifications appears in his annotation on Lev. 21, in his *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), fols. 241–42. Mather slightly modifies his quote of Münster's concluding sentence on the topic: "We gather from these [laws] how pure and spotless the Lord wanted to have his ministers be" (fol. 242).

10 Maimonides, *Hilchot Bi'at HaMikdash* (6.12), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:266).

11 Maimonides (*Guide* 3.45.579); see also his disquisition in *Hilchot K'Lei HaMikdash Vi-HaOvdim Bo* (8.1–5), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:190–94).

12 Patrick (*Leviticus* 432–33). Maimonides, *Hilchot Bi'at HaMikdash* (6.12), *Mishneh Torah* (29:266).

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100.

Q. The Offerings of *Beeves* were to have no *Blemish* in them; what then, were any *Oxen* ever offered in Sacrifice unto God? v. 21.

A. No, Sure; What wee Translate, *The Ox*, throughout the whole Old Testament, should bee Translated, *The Bull*. God had forbidden a Sacrifice of any Creature, that had any Blemish; yett how many times dos our Version make mention of such Defective and Mutilous Things, as *Oxen*, sacrificed unto the Lord?¹

[55r] | [blank]

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292.

Q. A Creature to bee sacrificed, was to bee *Seven Dayes*, under its *Dam*; And from the *Eighth Day*, & thence forward, it might bee accepted for an Offering. Why this *Eighth Day* so much considered? v. 27.

A. The Ancient Jewes have a Saying, *That the Sabbath gives a Firmitude and Strength to all the Affayrs of this World*. Tho' the later Jewes do abuse that Saying, yett there is a Truth in it, for it may bee understood concerning the Blessing of God, on the due Observation of His Worship, on that Day. Hence it was, they say, That any young Beast, that was to bee offered in Sacrifice, must continue *Seven Dayes with the Dam*, not offerible til the *Eighth*: and hence also a Child, might not bee *circumcised* until the *Eighth Day*: It was, that there might bee the Interposition of a *Sabbath*, for their Benediction. And it was not unlikely, that

¹ Mather's point is an excellent one – one that appears to have escaped the attention of some of our modern translators. Since the castration of a bull constitutes a blemish, defect, maiming, or injury (Lev. 22:21, 24), “an ox” (per definition) is disqualified from being an acceptable offering. Significantly, whereas the NJPS renders the Hebrew masculine, singular noun בָּקָר [baqar] as “ox,” the OJPS uses the term “bullock.” The KJV's collective, gender-neutral noun “beeves” appears to reflect the choice of the LXX, which has βουκολίων (“herd of cattle”), even though collective nouns per definition are singular in number. See Strong's ## 1241 and B1429, and Lev. 22:21, 23, 27, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:175, 176, 177). None of the post-Reformation commentators excerpted in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:598) and *Works* (6:413–14) seem to have made the connection even though they have much to say on the issue of what constitutes animal castration (Lev. 22:24). See also Samuel Bochart's *Hierozoicon: Animalium* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 46, cols. 522–23.

the *Eighth Day* was also signalized hereby, as that which was to succeed in the room of the Seventh, for the Christian *Sabbath*.

[See Dr. *Owen*, Of the Sabbath.]²

² Extracted from *Exercitations Concerning the Name, Original, Nature, Use and Continuance of the Day of Sacred Rest* (1671), "Fourth Exercitation," p. 255, § 19, by the Puritan's Puritan and Nonconformist clergyman John Owen, D.D. (1616–1683), sometime vice-chancellor of Oxford University and voluminous author of significant works still reprinted today (*ODNB*).

3635.

Q. That Word, *The Feasts of the Lord*, may it not be otherwise translated? v. 1.

A. The Word, *Moed*, which we translate, *A Feast*, properly signifies, *An Assembly*. So *Thorndyke* urges (and that not without Reason) to have it Translated. For the Name, *Feasts*, is proper to the Solemnities, which are to be celebrated with Joy and Cheerfulness. Whereas, *Moed*, is a Name here applied unto the *Day of Atonement* also, which was to be observed, with the greatest Affliction that was possible.¹

3636.

Q. What was the Difference, between the Inhibition of *Work* on the *weekly Sabbath*, & on the *other Solemnities*? v. 3.

A. The Jewes have a Saying, (mentioned by *Aben-Ezra*.) *That whosoever does any Work on the Sabbath-day, denies the Work of Creation*. Accordingly, about the *weekly Sabbath*, and the *Day of Atonement*, it is said, *Thou shalt do no Work upon it*; but of the other Solemnities, it is, only said, *Thou shalt do no Servile Work therein*; only such Work, as they did use to putt their Slaves unto, was prohibited. *Aben-Ezra* ha's this Observation; *Of none of the solemn Assemblies, besides the Sabbath, & the Day of Atonement, is it said, No Manner of Work; only of the Passeeover He saith it, and addeth an Exception of, The Meat of the Soul; That is, what was requisite for the Sustenance of Nature.*²

1 Patrick, on Lev. 23:2 (*Leviticus* 452). Via Patrick, Mather paraphrases Herbert Thorndike's *Of Religious Assemblies, and the Publick Service of God* (1642), ch. 2, p. 8. An Anglican theologian, biblical scholar, Hebrew lecturer at Trinity College (Cambridge), and friend of the metaphysical poet George Herbert, Herbert Thorndike (c. 1597–1672), advocating Episcopacy and noninterference of the state, rendered himself obnoxious to the leading Puritan members of parliament in the years before and during the English Civil War. Nonetheless, his knowledge of Semitic languages was of considerable value to Brian Walton and the team of editors who compiled the London Polyglot toward the end of the Interregnum (*ODNB*). The Hebrew noun מוֹעֵד [mow'ed] (Lev. 23:2) is variously translated as “sacred place, appointed time, meeting,” as well as “set feast” and “appointed season” (Strong's # 4150). See also *The Mishnah* (second division), *Moed*.

2 Patrick (*Leviticus* 454); Thorndike, *Of Religious Assemblies*, ch. 2, pp. 10, 11. Ibn Ezra, on Exod. 12:16, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (2:82), *Commentary: Exodus (Shemot)* 2:235–36, and *Commentary: Leviticus* (3:119–28).

[▽ Insert from 57r–57v]

[▽ 57r–57v]

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[57r]

1251.

Q. The Law, about *Offering the First Fruits unto the Lord*; please to Illustrate it unto mee, with Passages of Antiquity? v. 10.³

A. The *First Fruits*, were of Three sorts; and not I, but old *Augustin*, shall give you the *Distinction*, with a *Description* of them. *Hæc autem Tria* (saies hee, *Quæst.* 18. in *Num.*) *itâ discernuntur*, πρωτότοκα *sunt primitivi Animalium Fœtus, etiam Hominum*; πρωτογενήματα *verò, primi Fructus de Terrâ sumpti, vel de Arbore, vel de Viti*; ἀπαρχαὶ *autem, de Fructibus quidem, sed redactis ab Agro, sicut de Massâ, de Dolio, de Lacu, de Cupâ, quæ primitus sumebantur.*⁴

The Offering of these *First Fruits* unto God, seems to have been one of the *First Rites*, practised with Good Men in the World; The Eldest Sons of *Adam*; wee find, made Conscience of it. Their *Offering* hereof, was in their Opinion, as *Philo* expresses it, τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν αἰτίῳ τῆς εὐκαρπίας ἀμοιβῇ δικαιοσύνη. *A most Just Retribution, to the True Author of all Fruitfulness.*⁵ Now, this Law, the Lord Revives unto *Israel*, with several Ceremonies, whereof wee find notable Resemblances and Remembrances in Pagan Antiquity. And indeed, the Lord seems to have had a most Special Regard unto it; For Hee not only Inculcates frequently, His *Desire of the First-Ripe Fruits*, but whereas Hee Instituted *Three Anniversary Festivals* among His People, the Oblation of the *First-Fruits* was a principal Rite, in each of those Festivals; The *Barley*, at the *Passeover*; the *Wheat*, at the *Pentecost*; the *Vine* and other Trees, at the Feast of *Tabernacles*. Nor was there a smaller Stress laid upon this Matter among the *Pagans*; when *Porphyrus* particularly, makes the τίνες οὐδεμίαν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ποιοῦμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς. Those who *did not Religiously offer their First-Fruits*, the profanest of Men; and adds, a Tragical Story, of the Atheistical People, called, *Thoës*, in the Confines of *Thracia*, who neglecting this Piety, were suddenly snatch'd away from the Midst

³ John Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 9, fol. 607ff is Mather's muse here and in the following paragraphs.

⁴ St. Augustine (Numb. 18:13), in *Questionum in Heptateuchum Libri Septem*, lib. 4, quaest. 32 [PL 034. 0732], explains the difference between the overlapping meanings of בכור (bik-kuwr), i.e., "first-fruits" and "first-offering" [Strong's # 1061]. However, since the bishop of Hippo draws on the LXX and Vulgate, not the Torah, the Hebrew term is variously rendered into Greek and Latin with three different designations to distinguish between first-fruits of animals, field, tree, or vine. Thus he glosses, "So these three terms are distinguished in this way: πρωτότοκα are the first offspring of animals, including humans beings; πρωτογενήματα, however, are the first fruits taken from the earth or from a tree or from a vine; primitiae [ἀπαρχαί] is indeed applied to fruits, but ones already gathered from the field and consumed for the first time, whether from a supply of flour, a barrel of wine, a cask, or a vat" (*Questions*, bk. 4, sec. 32).

⁵ Philo Judaeus, *De specialibus legibus* (2.171.6–172.1) and *Works* (584).

of Mankind, by some unaccountable Judgment of Heaven, so that, *nec Incolas, nec urbem, nec ædium fundamenta, quispiam invenire poterat*.⁶

That the Gentiles of old, consecrated their *First-Fruits*, the Proofs are too many to be recited. But particularly, *Diodorus Siculus* reports of it of the *Egyptians*, that they offered their *First-Fruits* unto *Isis*; which the *Greeks* also did unto Δημήτηρ, or, *Ceres*, who was the same with *Isis*.⁷ And *Meursius* tells us, the Name, of, Θαύσια, therefore, was putt upon their Festival, wherein they did it; as was the Name of Ὠραία too, according to *Hesychius*.⁸ They had likewise, a Feast unto *Apollo*, and *Diana*, called, Θαργήλια, wherein, *Suidas* tells us, they presented their *First-Fruits* unto the God Θαργήλιος, [thus called, ἀπὸ τοῦ θέρειν τὴν γῆν, from his *Warming of the Earth*,] that is to say, The *Sun*,⁹ That this was the Usage of the Romans, is evident from the Words of the Poet;

– ut primas Cereri dare cultor aristas

Posset, et Intacto Bromium [i. e. *Bacchum*] *perfundere vino*.¹⁰

6 Spencer (612–13); Mather provides his own translation of the Greek passage from Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia* (2.7.20–21). The Latin rendition from the same text *De Abstinencia* (2.8) relates that all traces of the Thoës of Thracia have been wiped out by the angry gods, and “neither the inhabitants, nor the city, nor the foundations of the houses, could by any one be found” (*On Abstinence* 50). When the sacrifice of the first-fruits of the field was no longer esteemed by the Athenians, Porphyrius opines, profane men cruelly slaughtered sacrificial animals, and thus defiled the altars. Animal sacrifice was introduced when man began to taste blood when reduced by famine and war. If anyone knows more about the disappearance of the ancient Thoës of Thracia, then Hesiod, in his *Opera et Die* (133–43), believes that “they could not restrain themselves from wicked outrage against each other, nor were they willing to honor the immortals or to sacrifice upon the holy altars of the blessed ones, as is the established right for human beings in each community. Then Zeus, Cronus’s son, concealed [i. e., wiped out] these in anger, because they did not give honor to the blessed gods who dwell on Olympus” (*Works and Days* 133–43). Much like the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the Thracian city of Thoës was wiped out without a trace; in the aetiologies of the ancients in which there is no room for pure accidents, historians – sacred or secular – are rarely at a loss to imagine the causes why the gods were offended.

7 Well at home in ancient Egyptian and Greek history, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Bibliotheca historica* (1.14.2–4), explains that wheat and barley stalks were offered at the “Festival of Isis,” the goddess who had discovered these cereals for mankind’s use. Like her Egyptian counterpart, the Greek Demeter (Δημήτηρ), goddess of harvests and cereals, gave laws to her people and is therefore called “Thesmophorus” or lawgiver. See also J. Tait. “The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views.”

8 Mather’s mediate source is Joannes Meursius, *Graecia Feriata* (1619), lib. 4, cap. Θαύσια, pp. 142–43. Meursius cites as his sources *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, cap. Περὶ λαλιᾶς (391, lines 16–18), by the Greek rhetorician Menander Laodicensis (3rd c. CE). The Greek lexicographer Hesychius (*Lexicon* Π–Ω, alphab. letter *omega*, entry 284, line 1) speaks of Ὠραία (Oraia) or any of the four “seasons.”

9 According to *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *theta*, entry 49, lines 1, 4), Θαργήλια (Thargelia) was an Athenian festival held in honor of Artemis and Apollo in the month of Thargelion, thus named “from the warming of the earth.”

10 The Roman pastoral poet Titus Calpurnius Siculus (fl. mid-1st c. CE) sings in his *Bucolica* (Eclogue 4.122–23) that the farmer “can give to Ceres his first corn-ears and to Bromius [Bacchus] pour libation of wine.”

And with how much Religion, it was observed, *Pliny* tells us, *Ne gustabant quidem novas Fruges aut Vina, antequam Sacerdotes primitias Libassent*. *Isis* was thus acknowledged among the *Egyptians*; as *Diodorus* tells us for a μαρτύριον τῆς εὐρέσεως, τῶν καρπῶν a *Testimony of her being the first Finder of those Blessings*.¹¹ And there is a Passage in the seventh *Idyls of Theocritus*, which is of the same Importance, with an Invitation unto the *Thalysia*, on that Consideration.¹² The Heathen also hoped, by this Homage, towards this and other Gods, to procure the Blessings of much Fertility, unto them. *Eustathius* therefore tells us concerning the *Thalysia*, That they were ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ εἰς ἔπειτα θάλλειν τὰς ἀρούρας, That *their Fields might flourish for the Time to come*. And *Celsus* tells us, That these Respects were paid unto *Demons*, ὡς ἂν φιλανθρώπων αὐτῶν τυγχάνοιμεν, *ut ipsos habeamus praesentes ac propitios*.¹³ *Diodorus* acquaints us, That this Usage was, τὸ τηρούμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίων νόμιμον *Institutum a Sæculis ami quioribus observatum*; and *Porphyrus* acquaints us, That it was, Ἄπ' ἀρχῆς. And *Aristotle* acquaints us, That these were Αἱ ἀρχαῖα θυσίαι.¹⁴

Now, for the Rites used in this Action, It was the Usage of the *Gentiles* as well as of the *Jewes*, therein to carry about (θάλλους, they call'd 'em, that is,) *Branches* encompassed with *Wool*, on which were Hanged Fruits of all Sorts in abundance; and they had their *Dance* with those *Branches* in their Hands. Like the *Jewes*, they had likewise a *Feast*, on this Occasion; which *Hierom* tells us, was among the *Gentiles*, *In cunctis urbibus Idololatriæ Vetus consuetudo*. And *Plutarch* reports the *Jewes* to have been Worshippers of *Bacchus*, for what they thus

11 *Pliny*, in his *Naturalis Historia* (18.2.8), comments on the fervor of the ancient Romans in *Romulus's* time, that "people used not even to taste the produce of a new harvest or vintage before the priests had offered a libation of the first-fruits." So, too, the adapted line from *Diodorus Siculus's Bibliotheca historica* (1.14.2, lines 1–2) reports of the devotions of the *Egyptians* to the goddess *Isis* for discovering grains for man's use.

12 The Greek father of pastoral poetry *Theocritus Syracusanus* (c. 310–c. 250 BCE) invites *Lycidas* to join their revelries: "This our journey is to a harvest-home; some friends of ours make holiday to the fair-robed *Demeter* with first-fruits of their increase, because the goddess hath filled their threshing-floor in measure so full and fat" (*Idyllia* 7.31–34).

13 In his *Commentarii ad Homerum Iliadem* (2.791, lines 5–6), the Byzantine Metropolitan *Eustathius Thessalonicensis* (d. 1194), Greek humanist and chronicler, glosses on the Homeric bard that the revelers in the Greek harvest festival *Thalysia* honored *Demeter* so that (in *Mather's* translation) "their Fields might flourish for the Time to come." (*EB*). Likewise, the Greek Platonist *Celsus* (fl. late 2nd c. CE), remembered for his opposition to Christianity, reminds his opponents in his *Ἀληθῆς λόγος* (8.33.4) – as extant in *Origen Against Celsus* (8.33) – that we must offer thanks, first-fruits, and prayers to demons who are the guardians of this world that "they may prove good and kind" (*ANF* 4:651).

14 The preceding paragraph is based on *Spencer* (lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 9, fols. 607, 608, 609). *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.14.2, lines 2–3) explains that this harvest offering of the first-fruits was an "ancient custom which the people [*Egyptians*] still observe." The previously cited *Porphyrus* adds in his *De Abstinencia* (2.27, line 1) that it was so "from the beginning." Finally, *Aristotle* offers the last word on this issue in his *Ethica Nicomachea* (8.9.1160a, line 26), that these were "the ancient sacrifices."

did, at the *Feast of Tabernacles*.¹⁵ The *Pomp* of the Festivities, among the *Gentiles*, bringing their *First-fruits*, did, with many Imitations Resemble theirs; their *Iseia*, were ἐν τῇ πομπῇ saith an old Writer of them.¹⁶ After their *Sacrifices* were over, they took a great Liberty for *Drinking*; and perhaps, their Entertainments were called, Σάβιοι, from /אָבִי/ *Ebrius fuit*.¹⁷ Altho' till then, they were very abstemious. Thus, *Peter* proved, that hee and his Friends, could not bee *Drunk*, (Act. 2.15.) because t'was yett but the *Third Hour of the Day*; the Hour of *Sacrifice* was not over yett.¹⁸

[57v] The *Jewes*, in this Action, presented an Handful of *Ears of Corn* before the Lord. And the *Gentiles* then also presented their δράγμα which is the very Word used, both by the LXX, for the *Jewes*, and by *Callimachus* for the *Gentiles*. And among the *Jewes*, there was a *Basket* of much Importance, herein employ'd; *Maimonides* | talks much of it. Thus not only the *Egyptians* had their πυθμένας, but the *Græcians* also had their *Baskets of Grain and Fruit*, which they did now pompously κانهφορεῖν. And the *Virgins* who did it, were called, κانهφόροι.¹⁹ Some *Ears of Corn*, were now, by the *Jewes* also roasted in the *Fire*: the *Corn* was stripp'd off the Husk [* torn]. The Law, is thus to bee translated, Lev. 2.14. *Ejectionem spica viridis, offeres Mincham primitiarum tuarum*. The *Gentiles* did so too; and the Name of *Ceres*, accidentally *Geres*, may bee from /אָרֵר/ *ejicere*,

15 In a passage adapted from St. Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam* 65.10 [PL 024. 0639B], Mather tells us that among the Egyptians “idol worship was an ancient practice in the whole city [of Alexandria].” And Plutarch conjectures in his *Quaestiones Conviviales* (4.6.671d, lines 8–10 to 671e, line 3), “it is very probable that they [Jews] perform the rites of Bacchus. First they have little trumpets, such as the Grecians used to have at their Bacchanalia to call upon their Gods withal. Others go before them playing upon harps, which they call Levites, whether so named from Lusius or Evius, – either word agrees with Bacchus. And I suppose that their Sabbaths have some relation to Bacchus; for even at this day many call the Bacchi by the name of Sabbi, and they make use of that word at the celebration of Bacchus’s orgies. . . . Nor would it be absurd, were any one to say that the name Sabbath was imposed upon this feast from the agitation and excitement (σάβησις) which the priests of Bacchus indulged in. The Jews themselves testify no less; for when they keep the Sabbath, they invite one another to drink till they are drunk; or if they chance to be hindered by some more weighty business, it is the fashion at least to taste the wine” (*Quaestiones Conviviales* 4.6).

16 The old writer is Diodorus Siculus, who confirms that the Egyptians honor Isis by carrying wheat and barley offerings “in the procession” (1.14.3, line 1–2).

17 “Bacchanals” (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales* 4.6.671f) and riotous “drinking bouts.”

18 The preceding paragraphs are synopsized from Spencer (609, 610).

19 The gentiles presented their “stalks [sheaf] of first-fruits”; Lev. 23:12 (LXX); Callimachus, *In Delum* (hymn 4.283) and *In Cererem* (hymn 6.19). Maimonides, *Hilchot Bikkurim* (3.7–9), in *Mishneh Torah* (28:620), and *Guide* (3.39.551–52). Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.14.3, line 1–3) speaks of the Egyptians who offered “sheaves of first-fruits” (wheat and barley). The Greeks were “carrying” their baskets pompously, and the virgins who did so were called “basket-bearers” (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 646).

extrudere, expellere; this was, The *Feast of Extrusion*, in which the Corn, extruded, was offered.²⁰

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

[56r cont.]

3637.

Q. *Seven Sabbaths shall be compleat*; So the Feast of *Pentecost* arrived. How were the Dayes counted of old? And how are they at this Day? v. 15.

A. They reckoned Seven whole Weeks; reckoning that Day from which the Account begun, for the First Day of the First of those Weeks; which made *Forty Nine* Dayes in all.²¹

Maimonides thinks, it was for the Honour of this Great Day of *Pentecost*, that they were to count the Dayes till it came; just like a Man, saith he, who expects his best Friend; he is wont to tell the Dayes and Hours till he arrive.²²

Wherefore the Modern Jewes, begin the Supputation, with a Prayer, saying, *Blessed art thou, O LORD our God, the Lord of the World, who hast sanctified us with thy Præcepts, & commanded us to number the Dayes of Harvest; And this is the First Day.* And thus they go on to pray, till the *Seventh Day*; when they add, *Now there is One Week*; and so they proceed in those Prayers, to the Evening of *Pentecost*. Which Feast, they not being able now to keep, as the Law appoints, they pray to God every Day, after they have done counting, that He would Restore *Jerusalem* and the *Temple*; and then they promise to do all that is here præscribed. And this Counting sometimes is performed publickly in their *Synagogues*; yett so that every Master of a Family is bound every night for to do it at home.²³

|

[56v]

3638.

Q. At the Arrival of the *Fiftieth Day*, they were to *offer a New Meat-Offering* unto the Lord: of *New Corn* made into *Loaves*, which was the *First-fruits* of *Wheat-Harvest*. But by what Remarkable ha's this Day been signalized? v. 16.

²⁰ Spencer (611–12). Mather's forceful retranslation of Lev. 2:14 reads, "You will offer the casting out of the green ear of grain, the *Minchah* (grain-offering) of your first-fruits." Mather's mediate source is *De Oggi Christiano, Libri Tres* (1640), Lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 86; Lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 108, and cap. 6, p. 114, by the French Capuchin theologian Jacobus Bolducus, Jacob Bolduc, aka. Balduc (d. 1646). The Hebrew word גֶּרֶשׁ [geres] signifies "a crushing," "that which is crushed" (Strong's # 1643, B1958) which (according to Vatablus) is derived from גָּרַס [geres] "to crush, to pound, to expel." See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:515) and *Works* (7:45).

²¹ See also Rabbeinu Bachya ben Asher's *Torah Commentary* (5:1791–93) on Lev. 23:15–16.

²² Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 43, p. 471, and *Guide* (3.43.571).

²³ Patrick (*Leviticus* 462–63); Johannes Buxtorf (the Elder), *Synagoga Judaica* (1641), cap. 15: "De Judæorum Pentecoste," pp. 315–20.

A. Our Blessed Lord, being slain at the Feast of the *Passeover*, the whole *Sabbath* following, (which was the First Day of Unleavened Bread) He rested in His Grave. The next Day after that *Sabbath*, the *Sheaf* or *Omer* of the *First-fruits* of the *Barley-Harvest*, was offered unto the Lord; when our Lord *Rose from the Dead*, & became the *First-fruits of them that slept*. From this Day was taken the Account of the *Seven Sabbaths*, or Weeks; and upon the Morrow after the Seventh, (that is, upon our LORDS DAY,) was celebrated, *The Feast of Weeks*; which is called, *The Day of the First-fruits*, [Num. 28.26.] because then were offered the *First-fruits* of their Second, or *Wheat-Harvest*; and therefore called, *The Feast of Harvest*; [Exod. 23.16.] because then was the Principal, and the Conclusion of the whole *Harvest* of the Year. Upon which, the Apostles, having themselves received the *First-fruits of the Spirit*, begat Three Thousand Souls thro' the Word of Truth; and presented them as the *First-fruits of the Christian Church* unto God, & unto the Lamb.²⁴

[▽ 57v] [▽ Insert from 57v]

Q. The *Memorial of Blowing of Trumpets*; Of what was it a *Memorial*? v. 24.

A. As *Maimonides* will have it instituted, for the Awakening of People out of *Sinful Sleep*, and calling of them unto *Repentance*: Being to putt them in Mind of the *Great Day of Expiation*, which follow'd Nine Days after.²⁵

It seems more probable, That as all Nations made great Rejoicings in the Beginning of the Year, at the First *New-Moon*, in hopes that the rest of the Year would prove, the more prosperous; GOD ordained this Festival among His People, or in Honour of Himself, upon the Day of the First *New Moon*; that Hee might præserve them from the Worship of the *Moon*, and make themselves sensible, that He alone gave good *New Years* unto them.

²⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 463–64). Mather's Christological reading is in stark contrast to the literalism of Rabbeinu Bachya ben Asher's explication of *Shavuot*, the Feast of Weeks, which not only celebrates the wheat harvest but also commemorates the anniversary of Moses' receiving the Torah on Mt. Sinai: "The most important aspect of the commandment to count in our verse [Lev. 23:15] is that one must begin the count on the 16th of the month of Nissan. This is the first day of the reaping of the barley harvest. The first cut barley (of good grade) is offered as a communal offering as a gift to the Lord as described in verses 12–13. The number 50 (of counting) comes to an end with the harvesting of the first wheat from which again an offering is brought in the form of two loaves of bread which are baked as leavened loaves (as spelled out in verses 18–20). The principal part of the whole commandment is the ritual of the offering of these two loaves. The accompanying animal sacrifices were precisely that, they did not constitute the principal part of the combined offering. If, for some reason, no new wheat was available on that date the accompanying animal sacrifices mentioned here would not be offered" (*Torah Commentary* 5:1791–92).

²⁵ Patrick, on Lev. 23:24 (*Leviticus* 469); Maimonides (*Guide* 3.43.570). Maimonides's *Jad Chazaka, sive Pandectas Talmudicas concinno ordine exhibens, Hebraice* (Book of Repentance), was first published in Mantua (1566), Venice (1615), and with a Latin translation in Amsterdam (1702). Mather alludes to Maimonides, *Hilchot Teshuvah* (3.4), in *Mishneh Torah* (4:56–58).

Some have Remark'd, That GOD putt peculiar Honour on this Month, because it was, *The Seventh*. As every *Seventh Day* was a *Sabbath*: and every *Seventh Year*, was a *Rest* for the Land; So every *Seventh Month* should be a *Sabbatical* Month, and have more Solemn Days observed in it, than all the Year besides. The *Blowing of Trumpetts* might be to awaken the People unto the Observing of them, with the proper Cæremonies.

But after all, as *Lewis* notes, The Thing whereof this *Blowing of Trumpetts* was designed as a *Memorial*, was most probably, *The Creation of the World*; which was at this Time of the Year. Thus they confessed the Divine Goodness also in Blessing the *Past Year* & bringing them to the Beginning of a *New Year*; which they pray'd that GOD would make Happy to them.²⁶

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

3639.

Q. What Remarkable about the *Eighth Day of the Feast of Tabernacles*? v. 39.

A. On this Day, they sojourned not in *Tabernacles*; as they did on the *Seven* præceding. The Seven Dayes for their Lodging in *Booths*, (wherein they were excused, if the Rains or Colds proved excessive,) being ended, they returned unto their Houses, & kept a very great Solemnity there, unto another Purpose, than that for which those Dayes (which carried a Commemoration of their Condition in the Wilderness) had been appointed. Then they not only made great Feasts in their Houses, but also sang the Praises of God at the Temple, with Trumpets & Instruments of Musick. In that Service, tis said, they sang those Three Psalms, which have the Title of *Al-hagittith*, [namely, The *Eighth*, the *Eighty first*, and the *Eighty fifth*.] For *Gath* signifies, A Wine-Press; & therefore they think the Psalms to be sung, in the Time of the *Vintage*. That they use to Sing and Shout at their Vintage, is intimated, in sundry Scriptures. [Judg. 9.27. Isa. 16.9, 10. Jer. 48.32. Hos. 2.15.] The Gentiles, imitated it; who when they pressed their Grapes, sung a Song to *Bacchus*, which was thence called *Ἐπιλήνιος*, *The Song of the Winepress*. This being a Time of such great Rejoicing in both Respects, it led *Plutarch* into a Fancy, [*Sympos*. L. 14. *Probl*. 3.] That the Jewes did celebrate a double Feast unto *Bacchus* at this Time.²⁷ If you'l read *Plutarch*, it will doubtless

²⁶ The preceding paragraphs are extracted from Thomas Lewis, *Origines Hebraeae* (1724), vol. 2, bk. 4, ch. 19, pp. 592, 593–94.

²⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 480) has “*Symposiacs*, *Lib*. IV, *Probl*. 3.” Mather mistakenly transcribes “IV” as “14.” In *Plutarch's Symposiacs* (4.6.2), Symmachus, one of the three speakers, links the Greco-Roman adoration of Bacchus, with the Hebrew thanksgiving: “When all the company requested and earnestly begged it of him; first of all (says he), the time and manner of the greatest and most holy solemnity of the Jews is exactly agreeable to the holy rites of Bacchus; for that which they call the Fast they celebrate in the midst of the vintage, furnishing their tables with all sorts of fruits, while they sit under tabernacles made of vines and ivy; and the day which immediately goes before this they call the day of Tabernacles. Within a few days after they celebrate another feast, not darkly but openly, dedicated to Bacchus, for they have a feast amongst them called *Kradephoria*, from carrying palm-trees, and *Thyrsophoria*, when they enter into

incline you to think, That the Gentiles corrupted this Holy Festivity (as they did other Divine Institutions) turning it into their profane *Bacchanalia*. Dr. Patrick takes notice, that this is no improbable Conjecture of *Dilherrus*, in his Dissertation, *De Cacozelia Gentilium*.²⁸

3640.

Q. What Remarkable Action of the Jewes, at the *Feast of Tabernacles*, have you mett withal, besides those that are more commonly observed, countenancing of Christianity? v. 40.

A. They celebrated the Festival with Singing *Hosanna's*. And we find in their *Minhagim* (or, Books of Rituals,) that they then often repeated these Acclamations.

For thy Sake, O our Creator, Hosanna.

For thy Sake, O our Redeemer, Hosanna.

For thy Sake, O our Seeker, Hosanna.

the temple carrying thyrsi. What they do within I know not; but it is very probable that they perform the rites of Bacchus. First they have little trumpets, such as the Grecians used to have at their Bacchanalia to call upon their Gods withal. Others go before them playing upon harps, which they call Levites, whether so named from Lusius or Evius, – either word agrees with Bacchus. And I suppose that their Sabbaths have some relation to Bacchus; for even at this day many call the Bacchi by the name of Sabbi, and they make use of that word at the celebration of Bacchus's orgies. And this may be made appears out of Demosthenes and Menander. Nor would it be absurd, were any one to say that the name Sabbath was imposed upon this feast from the agitation and excitement (σάβησις) which the priests of Bacchus indulged in. The Jews themselves testify no less; for when they keep the Sabbath, they invite one another to drink till they are drunk; or if they chance to be hindered by some more weighty business, it is the fashion at least to taste the wine. Some perhaps may surmise that these are mere conjectures. But there are other arguments which will clearly evince the truth of what I assert. The first may be drawn from their High-priest, who on holidays enters their temple with his mitre on, arrayed in a skin of a hind embroidered with gold, wearing buskins, and a coat hanging down to his ankles; besides, he has a great many little bells hanging at his garment which make a noise as he walks the streets. So in the nightly ceremonies of Bacchus (as the fashion is amongst us), they make use of musical instruments, and call the God's nurses *χαλκοδυσταί*. High up on the wall of their temple is a representation of the thyrsus and timbrels, which surely can belong to no other God than Bacchus. Moreover they are forbidden the use of honey in their sacrifices, because they suppose that a mixture of honey corrupts and deadens the wine. And honey was used for sacrificing in former days, and with it the ancients were wont to make themselves drunk, before the vine was known. And at this day barbarous people who want wine drink metheglin, allaying the sweetness of the honey by bitter roots, much of the taste of our wine. The Greeks offered to their Gods these sober offerings or honey-offerings, as they called them, because that honey was of a nature quite contrary to wine. But this is no inconsiderable argument that Bacchus was worshipped by the Jews, in that, amongst other kinds of punishment, that was most remarkably odious by which malefactors were forbid the use of wine for so long a time as the judge was pleased to prescribe." Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales* (4.6.671c–672b).

²⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 478, 479, 480); Johannes Michael Dilherrus, *Dissertationis De Cacozelia Gentilium, Pars Generalis*, cap. 3, in *Disputationum Academicarum* (1652), pp. 181–82. The title of Delherrus's previously cited work speaks loudly of what he thinks of this type of comparative religion: *Dissertation on the Flawed Imitations of the Pagans*.

Just as if they besought the Glorious *Trinity*, to *Save* them, and *Send Help* unto them.²⁹

3169.

Q. What might be the Original for the Custome of *Drawing Water*, at the *Feast of Tabernacles*? [whereto tis thought, our Saviour alludes, Joh. 7.37.]

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Account. His Words are: “I have not mett with any one, that gives a tolerable Reason of this Custome; which I take to have been in Memory of that *Water*, which followed them all the Time they were in the Wilderness, without which they had perished; And in Thankfulness to God, that He had brought them to a Land of *Brooks of Water, of Fountains, & Depths, that spring out of the Valley & Hills*. [Deut. 8.7, 8.]³⁰

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. Can we come at any knowledge of those *Plants*, which are mentioned in the Scripture, without any *Names* assign'd unto them? As here we read; In the *Feast of Tabernacles*, the Law was, *Thou shalt take unto thee Boughs of Goodly Trees, Branches of the Palm, & Boughs of Thick Trees, and Willows of the Brook*. Now what might they understand, by, *Goodly Trees*, and, *Thick Trees*? v. 40.

A. *Maimonides* will tell you, that for a *Goodly Tree*, they made Use of the *Citron Tree*, which is indeed a Goodly one, & prospers in that Countrey. And for a *Thick Tree*, they used the *Myrtle*; which was not rare among them, & much larger than what we have in our Gardens; the Leaves whereof grow very *Thick*, and almost cover the Stalk; and *Curtius Symphorianus*, in his Description, makes it, *Folio densissimo senis in ordinem versibus*.³¹

Thus we read, The *Paschal Lamb* was to be eaten, with *Bitter Herbs*. But the Jewish Writers tell us, they used *Succory* and *Wild Lettuce*: If you think them too bitter, & prickly, you may consider, the *Passeover* was in the Spring, when

²⁹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 481). *Minhagim* מנהגים or *Customs* (traditions), probably refers to the *Sefer Minhagim*, by the Ashkenazi R. Jacob Levi Molin of Mainz (d. 1427), whose *Book of Customs* served the Ashkenazic communities of Central and Eastern Europe for a very long time. *Minhagim* are nonbiblical rituals or customs, which became sacred through time-honored practice. The oldest *Hoshana Rabbah* dates to Talmudic times and is observed on the seventh day of Sukkot, or Feast of Tabernacles (*JE*).

³⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 483–84); among his sources are John Lightfoot's *The Temple Service* (1649), ch. 16, sec. 4 “*Their pouring out of water*” (182–87).

³¹ Maimonides, *Guide* (3.43.572–73). Mather quotes from *Hortorum libri triginta in quibus continetur arborum historia* (1560), lib. 21, cap. 21, “*Mystri consideratio*” (fol. 489), of Benedictus Curtius Symphorianus, aka. Benoît de Court (fl. 1530–60), a learned French horticulturalist, whose book on horticulture greatly influenced Sir Thomas Browne's *Garden of Cyrus* (1658) and John Evelyn's “*Elysium Britannicum*” (c. 1650s–1700s). Symphorianus's endows the stalks of the myrtle tree, “with the thickest leaves of the old one in ordered rows.” See also Johannes Buxtorf (the Elder) *Synagoga Judaica* (1641), cap. 16, pp. 320–35; and Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, ch. 16, sec. 3, “*Their Pomecitron apples*” (180–81).

Plants were more Tender and less Unpleasant. Besides, the *Herbs* were dipped in the *Charosheth*, or Sauce made of Raisins stamp'd with Vinegar. They were also eaten with *Bread*; and they were obliged unto no larger a Quantity than an *Olive*, & they had Four Cups of Wine allow'd unto them.³²

[Attachment verso blank]

[57r–57v inserted into 56r and 56v]

³² Exod. 12:8, the “bitter herbs” or “maror” symbolizes the bitterness of Egyptian slavery. According to the Mishnah, tractate Pesahim (2.6), these herbs may consist of “lettuce [Romaine], chicory, pepperwort, snakeroot, and dandelion” (*The Mishnah* 138). The *Charosheth* or *haroseth* (Pesahim 10.3) consists of “nuts and fruit pounded together and mixed with vinegar. The bitter herbs were dipped into this [mixture] to mitigate their bitterness” (*The Mishnah* 150, note 6). See also *JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* (2:79–79)

3642.

Q. It must be *Pure Oil-Olive, beaten*, for the *Lamps* of the Sanctuary? v. 2.

A. *Fortunatus Scacchus* endeavours to make out, That the *Oil*, to make it more *Pure*, & free from Dregs, passed thro' two Strainers, into the *Lamps*.¹

3643.

Q. There were *Twelve Cakes* of the *Shew-bread*? But was not this Number diminished, after the Apostasy of the *Ten Tribes*? v. 5.

A. No. Because there was a Remnant of true *Israelites*, yett among the *Jewes*. And this was a standing Testimony against the Apostates; Inviting them to Return unto the Right Worship of God in that Place; where they were assured, their Sacrifices would be Acceptable, and no where else.

It was for this Cause, that *Abijah*, mentioned this unto *Jeroboam*, and the *Ten Tribes*, as what should induce them to Repent of their Forsaking the Lord, & His Dwelling Place. [2. Chron. 13.9, 10, 11.] *The Priests, the Sons of Aaron minister, and the Levites wait on their business: – the Shew-bread also they sett in Order upon the pure Table*.²

3644.

Q. On the Top of each *Row*, of *Cakes*, (of the *Shew-bread*,) there was a *Golden Dish*, with an Handful of *Frankincense* in it. What for? v. 7.

A. It was to be, *On the Bread*, or, you may read it, *For the Bread*. It was offered unto God, instead of the *Bread*; which was to be given unto the *Priests*, who waited on Him, at His Table, for their Portion. The *Frankincense* being sett on the *Bread*, they seem to be considered as one thing; Part of which was to be offered unto God, & the rest, was to be given unto His Ministers. The *Frankincense* was burnt every Week; when the *Bread* was eaten, It is evident, the *Bread* is called, *One of the Offerings of the Lord made by Fire*; because this *Frankincense*, that stood upon it, was burnt as an Oblation to Him.³

The *Shew-bread* was præpared on the Evening before; and then, on the Sabbath, four Priests went in, to fetch away the *Old Loaves* and *Frankincense*,

¹ Mather's second-hand reference to Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeo-chrismaton Myrothecium* [1625], in *Thesaurus Antiquitatum* (1725), lib. 1, cap. 10, cols. 50–55, is borrowed from Simon Patrick, on Lev. 24:2 (*Leviticus* 487). The straining process of the oil is emblematically depicted in Scacchus's superbly illustrated book, on cols. 54–55, 60–61, 62–63.

² Patrick (*Leviticus* 488–89).

³ Patrick (*Leviticus* 490–91).

that had stood there all the Week before. And other *Four* followed after them, to carry *New* ones, and *Frankincense*, in their Stead. There were *two*, who carried the Two Rows of Bread, and there were Two, who carried the Two Golden Dishes with the Frankincense.⁴

[58v]

3645.

Q. What might be the Occasion of the Controversy between the *Egyptian* and the *Israelite*? v. 10.

A. It seems to have happened, while the Lord was delivering the foregoing Lawes unto *Moses*. The Jewes tell us, the Controversy was this. The *Egyptian* looking upon himself, as having a good Right unto it, by his *Israelitish* Mother, endeavoured for to sett up a Tent among the Children of *Dan*, where the Tents of that Tribe were pitched. This was opposed by one of that Tribe, who told him, the Right of his *Mother* would not serve him, unless his *Father* had been an *Israelite*; for the Law was, [Num. 2.2.] That every Man of the Children of *Israel*, should pitch by his own Standard, with the *Ensign of their Fathers House*. This Law, tho' given afterwards, yett was the *Rule* before, by which this Man was condemned, by those that heard the Cause, to be in the Wrong. Sentence being thus given against him, he uttered *Blasphemous Words* against the Lord JEHOVAH Himself, and *cursed* his Judges also.⁵

4237.

Q. Whom do some others among the Jewes imagine this *Blasphemer* to have been?

A. They imagine him to have been the Son of the Man killed by *Moses* in *Egypt*; and they Imagine, that when he Blasphemed God, he also Reviled *Moses*, in Revenge of his Fathers Death; and they Imagine, that some Words in the Text intimates the Lords, concern more to have the Reviling of *Moses* punished, than the Blaspheming of Himself; for the Lord saies, *Bring forth him that hath Reviled*; not, – *him that hath Blasphemed*.⁶

It has been the Remark of some, that a Son of *Egypt*, was here taught Inclinations towards a Crime, which was too common in *Egypt*.⁷ *Porphyrie* tells

⁴ Patrick, on Lev. 24:8 (*Leviticus* 491).

⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 493). For much the same see Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides, Abarbanel, Bekhor Shor, Gersonides, and Chizkuni – all in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Vayikra* (3:196–97).

⁶ This is the position of Rashi and Chizkuni, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:197). See also Rashi's annotation on Exod. 2:11–12, that this man was the son of the Egyptian taskmaster who had raped Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, while her husband had been forced to work at night (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 2:12).

⁷ According to the French tosfist R. Joseph ben Isaac Bekhor Shor of Orleans (12th c. CE), "It was his Egyptian ancestry that caused him to blaspheme, for the Egyptians are scornful of

us, The *Egyptians* were great Blasphemers.⁸ They demanded Favours of their GODS, with Menaces to punish them; if they did not grant what they ask'd. This was indeed the Vice of the Heathen in general; especially of their *Hero's*. *Homer* has diverse of them.⁹ A modern Poet thus express'd the Spirit of *Blasphemy*, in the Death of *Pompey*, – *et de[s]daigne de voir le Ciel qui le trahit*, or, *He scorned to look up to the Gods that betray'd him*.¹⁰ Wherein consisted the Blasphemy of This unhappy Man, *Moses* has not related. The same Scruple which always hinders a Man from committing a Crime, (as Monsr. *Saurin* observes) often hinders him from *Relating* the Circumstances, of what is committed by others.¹¹

3646.

Q. Why was the God of Heaven so particularly consulted about this affair? v. 12.

A. Mr. *Selden* observes it, as noted by a famous Commentator among the Jewes; That God was consulted about this Matter, *because they did not know, whether he was to Die for this Crime, or, whether his Judgment was to be expected from the Hand of Heaven or otherwise*.¹²

heaven,” in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:197). See John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. I, sec. 2, pp. 5–11.

⁸ St. Prophyrius, bishop of Gaza (c. 346–c. 420), comments on the invocation of demons among the Egyptians (and the ancient Greeks) in his *Porphyrii Epististola ad Anebonem Ægyptium*, in Thomas Gage's edition of Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Liber* (1678), sign. b₂–d₂.

⁹ Homer, *Iliad* (3.365–66). Menelaus, the son of Atreus, invoked Zeus's help to take revenge on Alexander, son of Priam, but when Menelaus's spear and sword proved ineffective, Menelaus cursed the Greek god: “Father Zeus, [there is] no other god more baneful than you.”

¹⁰ Mather's “modern Poet,” here quoted at second hand from Saurin (*Dissertations* 536), is the great seventeenth-century French playwright Pierre Corneille (1606–84). Mather's citation is from Achoree's response to Cleopatra, in *La Mort de Pompée* (1644), act 2, scene 2, line 60; the English translation of the quote is that of John Chamberlayne in Saurin's work.

¹¹ The preceding paragraph is based on Jacques Saurin's *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (1723), diss. LVII, pp. 536–37. Mather comment on the nature of the man's blasphemy seems confusing, for Lev. 24:11 explicitly states that the son of the Israelite woman, dismayed that he was not considered a true Israelite, uttered “the Name [of God] and blasphemed [אֶת־הַשֵּׁם וַיִּקְלַל HaShem]” (*OJPS*), or as Rashi puts it, he pronounced “the Explicit Name” of God: שֵׁם הַיְהוָה [Shem YHVH], the ineffable Tetragrammaton (*Metsudah Chumash! Rashi: Vayikro* (3:346, note 381, 382).

¹² John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. I, sec. 2, pp. 8–10, consults among others the Chaldee Paraphrast Onkelos; R. Eliezer ben Jacob, in *Soncino Talmud*, Sanhedrin (66a); and Jarchi (Rashi) on Lev. 24:12 (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:198). It is Rashi's position that Mather outlines here: “they knew that the man was to be put to death but ‘it was not clear what should be done to him’ (Num. 15:34) – they did not know which of the four methods of execution [stoning, burning, beheading, or strangulation] was to be applied. Here, they did not even know whether or not he was to be put to death” (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:198). On the four methods of execution, See *Midrash Rabbah* (Genesis LXV:22) and tractate Sanhedrin (49b).

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, They only doubted, what Kind of *Death* he was to Dy; about which *Moses* consulted the Divine Majesty.¹³

3648.

Q. Why must the Witnesses, *lay their Hands upon the Head* of the Malefactor? v. 14.

A. The Rite was peculiar to this Case. *Hands* were not laid upon the Head of any Man condemned by the *Sanhedrim*, except only a *Blasphemer*. By that Ceremony, they solemnly declared, that they had given a true Testimony against him, & thought him worthy of the Death, to which he was condemned. Perhaps they also prayed unto God, that the Punishment of the Sin, might fall upon the Man himself, & not upon them, nor the rest of the People. The Jewes tell us, their Manner was to say, *Lett thy Blood be upon thy own Head, which thou hast brought on thyself by thy own Guilt.*¹⁴

3649.

Q. Unto the *Law*, and *Act*, of *Stoning* the *Blasphemer*, why is this Edict added, with such a Repetition; *He that killeth any Man, shall surely be putt to Death?* v. 17.

A. *Procopius Gazæus* thinks, a *Murderer* is joined with a *Blasphemer*, because they have the same Mind and Intention; The one desiring to Destroy God, if it were possible, as the other doth his Neighbour. *Therefore the Law putteth them together; just as on the Contrary, when it commands the Love of God, it couples with it the Love of our Neighbour.*¹⁵

¹³ Patrick (*Leviticus* 494–95).

¹⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 495–96); Ibn Ezra, Bekhor Shor, Abarbanel, and Rashi, on Lev. 24:14 (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:198). In his “Note Book of Authors” (Lev. 24:16), Mather lists “Franzius Interp. p. 926”; i. e., the previously cited work by Wolfgangus Franzius, *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione de Sacrarum Scripturarum* (1619), “Oraculum CIII. Sacrum. Levitici 24, 16,” pp. 926–39.

¹⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 497–98). Procopius Gazæus, *Commentarius in Leviticus*, on Lev. 24:17 [PG 87.1.0781–82]

4238.

Q. What Remarkable Intention might there be, in the Institution of the *Sabbatical Year*, according to the Jewish Apprehensions of it? v. 4.

A. The *Jewes* have a Good Hint, of one Reason for the *Sabbatical Year*.

Namely, That *Rich Men* may look up to *Heaven*, and consider the Necessities of the *Poor*; That when they were in the *Seventh Year*, at a Loss what they should Eat or Drink, and how they should be provided for; they might consider the *Poor* who are every Year in the same Anxiety, & neither *Sowe* nor *Reap*; & so might be the more liberal to the *Poor*, for the other *Six Years*.¹

There was a further Consideration, whereof the Words in the Book *Sanhedrin* are very memorable. *Sex Millibus Annorum durabit mundus; et uno millenario desolatus erit. Duobus millibus durabit Devastatio ejus* (i. e. inculta hominum Vita,) *et duobus millibus Lex, atque duobus millibus Dies Messiæ*. This is a most wonderful Passage, to occur in the Jewish Writings! They add, *In Septimo millenario suscitabuntur mortui, et gaudebunt cum Messiâ suo*.²

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. When did the *Sabbatical Year* begin? In *Tisri*, or *Nisan*? v. 7.

A. Doubtless, in *Tisri*, or *September*; when all their Harvest, which began in *March*, was over. If it begun in *March*, they could not have reaped the Harvest of the *Sixth Year*.

Whatever grew of its own, or without their Labour, in the *Sabbatical Year*, they might not look as peculiarly *Theirs*, for growing in their Ground, but all was to be in common. The Owner and his Family were not Forbidden to take their Share; but they might not lay up any thing of it separately for themselves.

Yea, the Increase of the *Sabbatical Year*, was to be in common for the Beasts also; that is to say, The Tame Ones: For Wild-beasts might be driven out of their Field, for they made such Waste, as would have been a Damage for the Future.

¹ Nachmanides (Ramban) has much to say on this issue (Lev. 25:5–7) in his *Commentary on the Torah* (3:414–34).

² Probably adapted from the explications of R. Kattina and Tanna debe Eliyyahu, in Soncino Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (97a). *Talmud Babylonicum*. 10 vols. Amstelodami (1644–47). The Latin citation reads, “Six thousand years shall the world exist, and one thousand it shall be desolate. Two thousand years it shall also endure desolation (i. e., uncultivated and avoided by man), and two thousand years the Law [shall flourish], together with two thousand years of the Messianic era.” The addition translates, “In the seventh thousand year the dead will awaken and rejoice with their Messiah.”

The Law said nothing of *Gardens*. The Discharge of Debts this Year, was not for Debts contracted by Sale of Lands or Goods, to such as were able to pay: but of Money lent unto a Neighbour, meerly to releve his Poverty; – not for to make a Purchase, or carry on a Trade.

[▽] [▽ Attachment verso]

Q. Behold, an Invitation to consider the *Sabbatical Year* a little further, and the mystical Intentions of it?

A. There are several observed by *Reizius*.

I. The Church is to pass thro' *Six Periods*, and then comes, *The Great Sabbatism*; the *Acceptable Year of the Lord*. [See, Isa. 63.4. and, Luk. 4.19.]

II. Then the *Messiah*, of whom it is foretold, *Butter and Honey He shall eat*, will bring thy People to enjoy a *wondrous Plenty* of all things.³

III. The *Bruitish Gentiles*, [ponder, Act. 10.12, 35.] shall then partake with the People of God, in the Fruits of their Fields; the *Cattel* and the *Beasts*, shall eat of the *Increase* thereof.

IV. And those poor *Cattel* shall not then draw under the *Yoke* of the *Mosaic Law*.

V. The *Jewes* that were the Servants of the *Law*, and the *Gentiles* that have been the Servants of the *Divel*, shall then be sett at Liberty, by our Great Redeemer. Nor shall there be *Exactors of our Debts to the Law*, then to demand upon us.⁴

Moreover, as *Cocceius* observes, The Lord would afford His People a *Sabbatic Year* of

Liesure, that so they might have a precious Opportunity, to Read, and Search, and Study the Lawes of God; & have nothing else to mind but the Devotions of Religion.⁵

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

3 Isa. 7:15. After Mather abandoned his belief in the restoration of National Israel at or before the Second Coming, he revised this annotation and interlined “thy People” above the cancelled phrase “ye Israelitish Nation.” On his eschatological revisionism, see his *Threefold Paradise* (295–318).

4 The German Lutheran theologian Johann Heinrich Reizius, aka. Reitz (1655–1720) furnishes Mather with the “mystical Intentions” of the Sabbatical Year, in Reitz’s Latin translation and annotations of Thomas Goodwin’s *Moses et Aaron seu Civiles & Ecclesiastici Ritus ... Nunc autem cum versione Latina accesserunt perpetuae notae* (1679), lib. 3, cap. 9, pp. 303–04, note (2). Reizius’s Latin translation went through several reprints in the 17th and 18th centuries.

5 Mather refers to the famous Dutch Reformed theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), successively professor of theology at Bremen, of Hebrew and theology at Franeker, and subsequently of theology at Leiden University. Among his major works are *Lexicon et Commentaries Sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici* (1669) and his great work on Federal Theology, *Summa Doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei* (1648). Mather’s paraphrase of Cocceius is based on Reizius’s above-mentioned annotation on Goodwin’s *Moses et Aaron*, p. 304 (note 2), which in turn relies on Cocceius’s gloss on Lev. 25, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1675), tom. 1, pp. 52–53.

3650.

Q. Was there not some *Spiritual Mystery*, in the Year of *Jubilee*? v. 10.

A. The Jewes themselves are not so stupid, as to be wholly insensible of it. *Abarbanel* discovers a little Sense of it, on this very Verse. For those Words, *Yee shall return every Man to his Possession*, he saies, belong to the Body. But those Words, *And every Man to his Family*, he saies, belong to the Soul, and its return to God.⁶

If Dr. *Lightfoot* hath made a right Computation, the last Year of our Saviours Life, who by His Death wrought an Eternal Redemption for us, & restored us to the Heavenly Inheritance fell in the Year of *Jubilee*; and the very last that ever was kept. If we count from the End of the Wars of *Canaan*, which held Seven Years, after they came into it; there were just *Fourteen Hundred Years*, to the *Thirty Third* of our Lord Jesus Christ; That is, just XXVIII. *Jubilees*. And it is the Confession of the old Book, *Zohar*; That the *Divine Glory should be Freedome and Redemption in a Year of Jubilee*.⁷

3651.

Q. *A Jubilee shall that Fiftieth Year be unto you.* It is a quæstion, whether the Year of *Jubilee*, was the Year following the *Forty-ninth* Year, or, whether the *Forty-ninth* year was the *Jubilee*; which, reckoning the foregoing *Jubilee* for one, was the *Fiftieth* Year? v. 11.⁸

A. *Joseph Scaliger*, in his Fifth Book, *De Emend. Temp.* and several other great Men, are of the last Opinion; to avoid a great Inconvenience, which would otherwise ensue; Namely, That the *Forty-ninth* Year, being the *Sabbatical* Year, in which the Land was to *rest*, if the next Year to that, had been the *Jubilee*, two *Sabbatical* Years would have come immediately one after another; for the Land was to *rest* also in the Year of *Jubilee*. One would have expected therefore, that in the *Forty-Eighth* Year there should have been a *Special Promise*, that the Land should bring forth Fruit for *Four* Years, and not for *Three* only; as the Blessing is promised every *Sixth* Year. Thus *Jacobus Capellus* reasons.⁹

⁶ See R. Abarbanel on Lev. 25:10, 13, in *Selected Commentaries Vayikra/Leviticus* (3:245–46, 260–61). See also *Miqra'ot Gedolot: Leviticus* (206).

⁷ Simon Patrick, on Lev. 25:10 (*Leviticus* 508–09). If John Lightfoot can serve as our guide here, this feast of the Tabernacles was observed “in the year of the World 3960, and [when] the year of *Christ* begun: both entering in this very moneth,” in *Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the New-Testament* (1655), sec. 59, p. 49 (on John 7:11 to chapter's end) and *Soncino Zohar* (Shemoth, sec. 2, pp. 22a, 83b, 211a).

⁸ This question was hotly debated among Reformation and Post-Reformation divines, as can be seen in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:607–08) and *Works* (6:458–63).

⁹ Patrick, on Lev. 25:11 (*Leviticus* 509–10); See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Shemitah V'Yovel* (10.7), in *Mishneh Torah* (28:810). Mather (via Patrick) enlists Joseph Justus Scaliger's authority to address the issue to his satisfaction. In his *De Emendatione Temporum* (Joseph Scaliger, *De Emendatione Temporum* (1629), lib. 5, cap. “De Primo Anno Sabbatico,” pp. 374–76, the

As for the Letter of the Law, *Yee shall hallow the Fiftieth Year*, P. Cunæus thinks, It is of no great Moment either Way; for it is usual in common Speech, *Septimanam Octiduum appellare*. And so Hospinian saies; Because we reckon in, *Utramque Dominicam*. And the greatest Writers anciently called an *Olympiad*, which contained the Space of but Four compleat Years, by the Name of *Quinquennium*.¹⁰

On the other side, we have the general Consent of the Jewes; who accurately distinguish between the *Schemitta*, or the Year of Remission, and, *Jobel*, or the Year of Jubilee. The Jewes are full of the Opinion, that the Year of *Jubilee* differed from the *Sabbatical Year*.¹¹

It is Remarkable, what the Jewes observe; That the mention of the *Deliverance from the Bondage in Egypt*, is mentioned in the Book of the Law, just *Fifty Times* over.

The *Israelites* began their First Account of the *Jubilees*, from the Fourteenth Year after their Entrance into *Canaan*; For they were seven Years in *Conquering*

great Dutch classical scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger presents his chronology of the first Sabbatical Year; it differs from that of his colleague Jacobus Cap(p)ellus, in *Historia Sacra et Exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augustum* (1613), cap. XVI–V, Jubileorum, pp. 91–94, who dates this Sabbatical Year at Anno Mundi 2549 (Anno Domini 1451); or rather 1396 BCE, if James Ussher's popular *Annals of the World* (1658), p. 28, be preferred. Chronologers, whether R Catholic or Protestant, frequently arrived at vastly different calculations depending on whether they relied on the chronology of the LXX, Masora, Samaritan Version, Vulgate, or on Ptolemy's astronomical calendar. See also A. Grafton's "Scaliger's Chronology" (104–44) and "Isaac La Peyrère" (204–13). On the textual and chronological differences between the Masora, the LXX, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see B. Tsedaka's *The Israelite Samaritan Version of the Torah* (2013), pp. xxi–xxvi, and Appendix A and B, pp. 491–503.

¹⁰ Patrick (*Leviticus* 510); Petrus Cunæus, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617), lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 42, argues that it is quite common "to call the seventh 'eighth'" (as in 'eight days of a week') and thus the forty-ninth year to be called the fiftieth; hence the ancient practice of calling the Olympic year, which occurred every four years, "quinquennium," or "a fifth-year festival" (*Hebrew Republic* 26). And in his *De Origine, Progressu, Ceremoniis et Ritibus Festorum Dierum Iudaeorum* (1592), lib. 1, cap. 9: "De anno Iubilaco," pp. 25–26, the Swiss Reformed theologian, pastor, and teacher Rudolph Hospinian, aka. Rudolf Wirth (1547–1626), says, "we call a week *octiduum* (eight days) because we reckon *utramque Dominicam* both the LORD's days," in Patrick (510).

¹¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 510). See also Petrus Cunæus, *Hebrew Republic* (25–26). The sages of the Talmud, tractate Rosh HaShana (8b, 9a) are indeed divided on this issue of when the Jubilee year begins and ends. R. Baraitha insisted [Lev. 25:2], "It is the Jubilee. What is the point of these words? – Since it says, And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year [Lev. 25:8–13], I might think that, just as it is sanctified from its inception onwards, so it remains sanctified [for a time] after its termination. And there would be nothing to wonder at in this, seeing that we [regularly] add from the profane on to the holy. Therefore it says, it is a Jubilee to you, the fiftieth year, [to show that] you are to sanctify the fiftieth year, but not the fifty-first year. [9a] And the Rabbis [– what do they make of these words]? – [They say]: You are to count the fiftieth year, but you are not to count the fifty-first, to exclude the view of R. Judah, who said that the fiftieth year is reckoned both ways [i.e., the fiftieth year is counted as the end of the last and as the beginning of the new jubilee cycle]." See also tractate Nedarim (61a) and Arachin (12b, 33a).

the Land, and Seven Years in *Dividing* it. The First Sabbatical Year, was in the one & twentieth; and the First *Jubilee* in the Sixty fourth Year after they came into the Land of Promise. They numbred Seventeen *Jubilees*, from thence to their Captivity in *Babylon*, which fell out in the End of a *Sabbatical Year*, and the Thirty-Sixth of the *Jubilee*.¹²

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[59v]

3652.

Q. In the Year of *Jubilee*, every Man *Return'd unto his Possession*. What Remark on it? what Reason for it? v. 13.¹³

A. So famous a thing this was, that the Heathen themselves took notice of it. Thus *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, (L. ii.) It was not lawful for the Jewes, τοὺς ἰδίους κλήρους πωλεῖν. *To sell their own Inheritances*. Meaning, as Mr. *Selden* expounds it, To sell them quite, so as to alienate them from their Families.¹⁴

The most obvious Account that can be given of this Law, is, That hereby God fixed the Jewes to the Land of *Canaan*, since all their Possessions were so entailed, that the right Heir of any of them could never be wholly excluded from his Estate, but it would entirely return to him, after a certain Number of Years. By this Means also they preserved a distinct Knowledge of their several Tribes and Families, to which they belonged: for which End, their Genealogies were of Necessity to be carefully kept, that they might be able to prove their Right unto the Inheritance of their Ancestors. And thus, as *Menochius* notes, it would be certainly known, of what Tribe and Family the *Messiah* was, when He came into the World. M. *Alix* also take notice, that God so ordered things, that they should have the Means of preserving their Genealogies, by not suffering them to continue in Captivity out of their own Land, for the Space of Two whole *Jubilees*. They were but LXX Years in *Babylon*, in which time their Genealogies could not easily be confounded.¹⁵

¹² This paragraph is a close paraphrase of Maimonides's explication in *Hilchot Shemitah V'Yovel* (10.2–3), in *Mishneh Torah* (28:806–08). See also Soncino Talmud, tractate Zevachim (118b).

¹³ See Petrus Cunaeus, *Hebrew Republic* (27) and Maimonides, *Hilchot Shemitah V'Yovel* (10.16), in *Mishneh Torah* (28:814).

¹⁴ Patrick (*Leviticus* 511–12); *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca historica* 40.3.7, line 8); John Selden, *De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti* (1636), cap. 24, pp. 80–81, is the source for the entire paragraph, including the citation from *Diodorus Siculus*.

¹⁵ Patrick (*Leviticus* 512–13) refers to Joannes Stephanus Menochius, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1648), lib. 3, cap. 11, secs. 3–4, col. 295, by the Jesuit theologian and professor of theology at Milan Giovanni Stefano Menochio (1575–1655). The learned French Huguenot Pierre Allix (1641–1717), pastor of a French Reformed church in London, has much to say on why the preservation of Hebrew genealogies were important to the identity of the Messiah, in *Reflections Upon the Books of the Holy Scripture* (1688), vol. 1, chs. 16, 18–19, esp. pp. 219–22, 228, 235–40. Allix was universally admired for his learning, and Mather also put Allix's *Reflections* to good use in *BA* (1:285, 486–87).

3653.

Q. *The Land shall not be sold forever.* What Criticism had the Jewes upon it? v. 23.

A. That Clause in this *Lex Agraria*, which we render, *Forever*, may be rendred; *For cutting off*, or as the LXX. εἰς βεβαίωσιν. By an *Alienation* that might not be rescinded.¹⁶

Yett, say they, this is to be understood only of *Absolute Alienations*, without any mention of Time. For, if a Man sold without Fraud an Estate unto a Neighbour for *Sixty Years*, it returned not unto him or his Heirs, at the *Jubilee*, which arrived before the Expiration of the *Sixty Years*. In the *Jubilee*, only that returned, which was sold forever.¹⁷

3654.

Q. Upon that Clause, *One of his Brethren shall Redeem him.* What notable Stroke have the Jewes given us? v. 48.

A. Saies R. *Bechai*, This *Redeemer* is the *MESSIAH* the Son of David, of the *Tribe of Judah*. It is plain, the Jewes have thought some Divine Sense to lye under the Law of the *Jubilee*.

The same R. *Bechai*, speaking about the Section of the Law, now before us, ha's these Words; *It contains a Sign & an Hope to Israel, of Redemption from the Captivity of the Four Monarchies.*¹⁸

¹⁶ Lev. 25:23 (LXX).

¹⁷ Patrick (*Leviticus* 517). In *Hilchot Shemitah V'Yovel* (11.1 and 2), Maimonides glosses on Lev. 25:23 that the land divided among the twelve tribes "can never be sold permanently. ... If one sells the land in perpetuity, both [the buyer and the seller] violate a negative commandment [*Sefer Ha Mitzvot*, neg. 227, and *Sefer HaChinuch*, mitzvah 339]. Their deeds are of no consequence and the land reverts to its [original] owner in the Jubilee year." However, "when a person sells his field for 60 years, it is not returned in the Jubilee year. For [the only property] that returns in the Jubilee year is property that is sold without qualification or property that is sold in perpetuity" (*Mishneh Torah* 28:814, 816),

¹⁸ Patrick (*Leviticus* 532); R. *Bechai*, aka. Bachya ben Asher, *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya: Leviticus* (5:1839). However, *Rabbeinu Bachya* does not speak of the "Four Monarchies" (Dan. 2:36–45), but "the four exiles and the redemptions to follow" (5:1838).

3138.

Q. It may be a considerable Service unto the Christian Religion, to take some Notice of one thing in the Style of the *Chaldee Paraphrasts*. You know, That we *Christians* do call our Messiah, *The Word of God*, and the ancient *Jewes* were they who taught us to call Him so. Now if we find the *Chaldee Paraphrasts* attributing to the *Word of God*, the same things that we attribute unto our *Messiah*, and that the Old Testament attributes unto *God* Himself, it will afford no little Satisfaction unto us, & a very great Confutation unto our *Messiahs* Adversaries? v. 1.¹

A. Tis very True. The Chaldee Paraphrasts are of great Esteem among the *Jewes*. *Onkelos* is greatly & justly commended by *Maimonides*. He is very ancient, & his Biblical Style speaks him to be so.² Now, Gen. 9.12. *The Covenant which I make between me and you.*³

Onkelos renders it, *Between my Word and you*. So Gen. 17.2, & 7.⁴

Gen. 15.1. God saies, *I am thy Shield*.

Onkelos renders it, *My Word is thy Strength.*⁵

v. 6. *He beleaved in the Lord.*

Onkelos renders it, *He beleaved in the Word of the Lord.*⁶

¹ The following paragraphs are extracted from Richard Kidder's *Demonstration of the Messias* (1700), part 3, ch. 5, pp. 235–43.

² In *Hilchot Tefilah* (12.10), *Mishneh Torah* (1:142–44), Maimonides explains that when the returning Israelites from Babylon had lost their ability to understand their ancient Hebrew language, the following procedure was adopted: “From the time of Ezra, it was customary that a translator would translate to the people the [passages] read by the reader from the Torah, so that they would understand the subject matter. The reader should read one [Hebrew] verse alone and remain silent while the translator translates it [into Aramaic]. Afterwards, he should read a second verse. The reader is not permitted to read to the translator more than one verse [at a time]” (*Mishneh Torah* 1.2:142–44). In his *Guide for the Perplexed*, Maimonides cites Onkelos at least twenty-two times. To the rabbis cited in the Babylonian Talmud, the Targum Onkelos was authoritative. On Maimonides's views on the Chaldee Paraphrast Onkelos, see S. M. Wagner's “Translation,” and Israel Drazin, *Maimonides* (ch. 14).

³ Kidder's subsequent illustrations from Targum Onkelos, Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel, and Targum Hierosolymitanum originate in ספר יצירה *id est Liber Iezirah Qui Abrahamo Patriarchae adscribitur* (1613), by Johannes Stephanus Rittangelius, aka. Johann Stephan Rittangel (1606–052), a German Lutheran Orientalist and professor at Regiomontium in the East-Prussian capital Königsberg. Defending the Trinity against Socinian and Arian attacks, Rittangel uses parallel texts from the Chaldean Targums to substantiate that the Aramaic translations (Onkelos, Jonathan, and Jerusalem) of a large number of Hebrew verses denote a Trinitarian interpretation.

⁴ Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) 1:63; and Paulus Fagius's *Thargum. Hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia* (1546), tom. 1, fol. C^{2v}.

⁵ Fagius, *Thargum*, fol. C^{iv}.

⁶ Fagius, *Targum*, C^{iv}.

Lev. 26.9. God saies, *I will have Respect unto you.*

Onkelos renders it, *I will look upon you in my Word.*⁷

The other *Paraphrasts* are agreeable to *Onkelos*.⁸

Gen. 19.24. *The Lord rained.* Both *Jonathan* and the *Jerusalem Targum* render it, *The Word of the Lord sent Rain.*⁹

Thus in the Chapter now before us; Lev. 26.12. *I will be your God.*

Jonathan paraphrases it, *And my Word shall be unto you God the Redeemer.*

Thus, v. 11. *I will sett my Tabernacle among you, and my Soul shall not abhor you.*

My Soul, is by *Onkelos* turned, *My Word*.¹⁰ This is very observable. And it must needs be understood of the Essential, and θειος λογος, or, *Divine Word*. And then, these Words, *I will sett my Tabernacle among you*, are wonderfully agreeable to those, Joh. 1.14. *The Word was made Flesh, & He Tabernacled among us; and we beheld His Glory.* אֶשְׁכְּנֶנּוּ, the Word used here, ha's a great affinity with /שכן/ Behold, the *Shechinah* pointed out!¹¹

Again; Isa. 48.15. *I, even I, have spoken.*

The Chaldee Paraphrast hath it, *I, by my Word, have made a Covenant with Abraham your Father.*¹²

Thus, v. 13. *Mine Hand hath laid the Foundation of the Earth.*

The Chaldee hath it, *I have founded the Earth by my Word.*

And v. 16. *Come yee near unto me,*

The Chaldee hath it, *Come near unto my Word.*¹³

Onkelos does in many Places turn the Word /יהוה/ by, /מימרא די/ *The Word of the Lord.*¹⁴

Thus he renders it,

Gen. 28.21. *The Word of the Lord shall be my God.*

Gen. 31.49. *The Word of the Lord watch between me & thee.*

Exod. 16.8. *Your Murmurings are not against us, but against the Word of the Lord.*

7 Fagius, *Targum*, A^{sr}.

8 Rittangel, ספר יצירה *id est Liber Iezirah* (1613), p. 111.

9 Rittangel, p. 93. See also Targum Jonathan Ben Uzziel and Targum Hierosolymitanum, on Gen 19:24, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:33), and in J.W. Etheridge, *The Targums* (1:217).

10 Rittangel, ספר יצירה *id est Liber Iezirah* (1613), p. 111; Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel and Targum Onkelos, on Lev. 26:11, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:229 and 1:521).

11 Kidder, *Demonstration of the Messiah* (1700), part 3, ch. 5, p. 237. The Greek ἀσκησεν suggests "to tabernacle" or "to pitch a tent." The Hebrew שכן, derived from מִשְׁכָּן [mishkan], i. e., "dwelling place, tabernacle" (Strong's # 4908), signifies "to tabernacle."

12 Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (3:130).

13 Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (3:130).

14 Kidder (238–39). With the Masoretic vowel points restored, Targum Onkelos, on Deut. 5:5 reads מִימְרֵי דִי in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:739).

| Lev. 26.46. *Between His Word & the Children of Israel.*

Num. 11.20. *Yee have despised the Word of the Lord.*

Deut. 20.1. *The Word of the Lord thy God.* So Deut. 5.5.¹⁵

Agreeably the *Targum of Jerusalem*.¹⁶

Gen. 1.27. *The Word of the Lord created Man.*

Gen. 3.9. *The Word of the Lord called.*

Gen. 30.22. *The Word of the Lord remembred.*

But here are Places enough quoted for our present Purpose.¹⁷

It is most certain, That these Paraphrasts could not mean a meer *Speech* of God, in this Expression. The *Antitrinitarians* have no Shadow of Proof to Justify what they say, That /מימרא/ the Word used by the Targumists, does answer to the Hebrew /דבר/ which means a *Speech*; a *Command*, a *Decree*. Yea, *Rittangelius* in his *Jetzira*, ha's proved, That what they say is absolutely False.¹⁸ We are sure, The *Chaldees* have another Word, by which /דבר/ is rendred; and this is the Word /פתגם/ or /פתגמא/ as is demonstrated by *Elias Levita*, who very well understood the Matter.¹⁹

There is a Remarkable Place; Deut. 5.5. *I stood between the Lord and you, at that time, to shew you the Word of the Lord.* The Chaldee thus reads it; *I stood between the Word of the Lord and you, at that time, to shew you the Word of the Lord.*²⁰ In this Version, *Word*, occurs twice, but in *different* Senses. In the former Part of the Verse, it is putt for, *The Lord*, and means the *Essential Word*; and accordingly it is expressed by /מימרא/ In the latter Part of the Verse, it signifies *Commandment*, or the Reveled Will of God, which /דבר/ signifies; and this is in the Paraphrase express'd by /פתגמא/ as answering unto it.²¹

Rittangelius urged this Argument so closely upon his *Anti-Trinitarian* (who had Skill in this Kind of Learning,) That after all his Evasions, he was forced

15 Rittangel, ספר יצירה *id est Liber Iezirah Qui Abrahamo Patriarchae adscribitur* (1613), pp. 85, 87, 89

16 Targum Hierosolymitanum, on Gen. 1:27, 3:9, 30:22, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:3, 6, 57).

17 Rittangel, ספר יצירה *id est Liber Iezirah* (1613), p. 93.

18 Rittangel's bi-lingual ספר יצירה *id est Liber Iezirah Qui Abrahamo Patriarchae adscribitur* (1613) is here employed to support Mather's Trinitarian rendition of numerous OT passages as provided in the Chaldean Targums. See esp. Rittangel, pp. 81, 83, 96, 99, 100, 104–05, 112–13.

19 Kidder (241). R. Elias Levita, aka. Elijah ha-Levi (1469–1549) of Neustadt was a famous Hebrew scholar, poet, and grammarian, perhaps best known for his *Tishbi* (1541) and *Sefer Methurgeman* (1541) – both Aramaic-Latin dictionaries of words from the Talmud, Midrash, and Targum. Here Mather refers to ספר מתורגמן [Sefer Methurgeman] *Lexicon Chaldaicum Authore Eliia Levita* (1541), voce חגם.

20 Rittangel, ספר יצירה *id est Liber Iezirah* (1613), p. 89; and Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:739).

21 Rittangel's annotations appear on pp. 96–98, 99, 100, 104–05.

formally to declare, If this were the Sense of these Words, *Actum est de nobis; vestra enim Fidei firmissima propugnacula indè suppeditari videntur.*²²

See Dr. Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah.²³

[61r]

3655.

Q. Diseases are threatned; and one under the Name of, *Terror*. What should that be? v. 16.

A. It comes from a Word, importing *Haste*, and *Præcipitancy*. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it signifies, *The Falling Sickness*; a Malady that so surprizes the miserable Subjects of it, as to throw them sometimes into the *Fire*.²⁴

[▽ 62r]

[▽ Insert 62r]

Q. Upon those Passages; *If yee walk contrary unto me, then I will walk contrary unto you, in fury?* v. 24.²⁵

A. The Word *קרי/* does not signify, *Contrariety*, but *Contingency*. Nor does *עמי/* signify, *To me*, but, *With me*. Accordingly, our marginal Reading is, *At all Adventures with me*.²⁶

The learned Jews explain it, *In the Way of Chance*.²⁷

People are guilty of this Evil, in many Instances.

They are so, when they do not by *Choice* take the Way of Piety. If they do any thing in Piety, tis meerly by *Chance*. They are by some *Accident* led into it. They cannot say; *I have chosen the Way of Truth*.²⁸

And what other are they, whose *whole Reason* for the *Religion* they embrace, is, because it was their *Chance* to be born & bred in it? They can give no *Rational Account*, why they *choose* the Religion they make Profession of.

But then, there is another thing wherein this Guilt is contracted; and it may call to have more Notice taken of it. *They walk in the Way of Chance*, who

²² Kidder (243). The Latin passage is a second-hand citation from Rittangel (112). The recalcitrant Anti-trinitarian finally admits that if this sense be true, "we relinquish our argument, for the strongest defence of your faith is thereby bountifully furnished."

²³ Richard Kidder, *The Demonstration of the Messiah* (1700), part 3, ch. 5, pp. 235–43.

²⁴ See Appendix B. Patrick (*Leviticus* 543) and Samuel Bochart, *Hierozaicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 18, cols. 263–65.

²⁵ In his "Note Book of Authors" (Lev. 26:23), Mather lists "MSS. no. V. Sermon. 3." And on Lev. 26:23, 24, he references "MSS. no. 22. Sermon. 25" – both references to unidentified sermon manuscripts. Furthermore, on Lev. 26:25, he recommends "Case's Quarrel of ye Covenant –"; i.e., *The Quarrell of the Covenant, with the Pacification of the Quarrell* (1643), by Thomas Case (1598–1682), preacher in Milk Street (London), at his death in 1682, "the last surviving dissenting member of the Westminster assembly," in Michael Mullett, "Case, Thomas (bap. 1598, d. 1682)," (*ODNB*).

²⁶ Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), "Sermon VIII," p. 329c.

²⁷ Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi – all agree. See *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:225).

²⁸ Gell, *An Essay* (330a, 333e).

don't look above *Chance*; in the Events which in their *Walk* they meet withal; They who don't consider and Acknowledge the *Providence* of God in all Events; they who don't see a Wise, Just, Holy *Providence* dispensing every Article of their *Prosperity* or *Adversity*; they who do not refer themselves to the Direction of the Divine *Providence* in all their Ways.

It is the rare thing for People to ascribe the *Good* or *Evil* that befalls them, to *Fortune*, a *Blind Fortune*, rather than to the Glorious GOD.

Indeed some tell us, τύχη, *Fortune*, was never esteemed a *Deity*, till *Homer* made it one. *Hesiod* mentions no such *Deity* in all his Θεογονία.²⁹

Chance, tis true, had long before, some Notice taken of it. [1. Sam. VI.9.] But not as a *Deity*. *Homer* having so dignified it, Lett the following *Poets* alone to add unto the Invention, & give unto *Fortune*, a Sovereignty over all Humane Affairs. Yea, the *Orators* came into the Fiction. *Demosthenes* comes to this, το ολον η τυχη εστι προς απαντα τα των ανθρωπων πραγματα· *Fortune is all in all, as to all the affaires of Men*. Yea, *Tully* saith as much; *Magnam Vim esse in Fortunâ*.³⁰

But what the Apostle saies of every *Idol*, is very particularly true of this; *It is nothing in the World*.³¹

And yett the People of God fell into this Crime of *Walking in the Way of Chance*. We read, Isa. LXV.11. *They prepared a Table for Gad*; that is, | for *Fortune*. [62v] So the Vulgar Latin well renders it. And as the *French Bible*, and *Vatablus* and *Castalio*, have it in the Margin, that *Spanish Bible* & our old English *Coverdale*, have it in the Text. *Sic Te, Nos facimus Fortuna, Deum*.³²

²⁹ *Fortuna*, the goddess of (good or bad) Luck or Chance, was called τύχη (Tyche) among the Greeks. As a personification, however, she was not known to *Homer*, although her name first appeared in the *Hymni Homerici*, *In Cererem* (420), *Hymn 2 to Demeter* (420) as one of the nymphs. *Hesiod* (*Theogonia* 360–62) identifies her as one of the daughters of *Tetyhus* and *Oceanus*. With the rise of Hellenist power in the Mediterranean world, her cult became widely popular. Tyche appeared in various guises – standing on a sphere, she held a rudder, a wheel, a child, or cornucopia. In Roman religions, Tyche attained great significance as the goddess *Fortuna* (both good and bad). Temples and altars were dedicated to her cult, and she was given different by-names depending on the particular fortune she meted out among her devotees. (*OCD*). On personification in classical literature, see S. C. Stroup, *Catullus, Cicero, and a Society of Patrons* (2010), ch. 8, pp. 242–51.

³⁰ The Greek orator and statesman *Demosthenes Atheniensis* (384–322 BCE) characterizes her capriciousness in his *In Epistulam Philippi* (15.4) as follows: τὸ ὅλον ἡ τύχη ἐστὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα·. Although supplied in Gell's *An Essay* (336*b–d*) along with the English translation, Mather omits the Greek diacritics. *Tully Cicero* knowingly relates in his *De Officiis* (2.6.19), “*Magnam vim esse in fortuna in utramque partem, vel secundas ad res vel adversas, quis ignorat?*” or, “Who fails to comprehend the enormous, two-fold power of Fortune for weal and for woe?”

³¹ 1 Cor. 8:4.

³² Mather's rather complex annotation in this paragraph requires explanation: *Isaiah 65:11* relates the prophet's displeasure with the recalcitrant Israelites who, instead of worshipping the true God, offer food and drink sacrifices to “Gad” (i. e., גַּד) and “Meni” (i. e., מְנִי) – both personifications of *Fortuna* or good-luck deities in ancient Semitic cultures, the equivalent to the Greek Tyche (*DDD* 338–39, 566–67). The rendition of the King James translation of 1611 is

Now a People thus criminal, will find the *Lord walk with them also in the Way of Chance*. That is to say, He will not proceed with them on the Terms of His Gracious *Covenant*. And He will take no more Notice of their Prayers, than if there were nothing but a *Chance* to govern their Affaires.³³

Dr. Gell enlarges on such Thoughts as these.³⁴

[△] [△ Insert ends]

[61r cont.]

2457.

Q. What may bee the Meaning of that Passage, *I will cutt down your Images?* v. 30.

worth citing here. It illustrates the wrangling of the translators to come up with a satisfactory solution: “But yee *are* they that forsake the LORD, that forget my holy mountaine, that prepare a table for that troope, and that furnish the drinke offering unto that number.” (“Gad” appears in the margin as an alternative for “troope,” and “Meni” [i. e., Mercury] for “number”). Given the KJV’s euphemistic circumlocution of “troope” for “Gad” and “number” for “Meni,” Mather turns to several other contemporary translations to find a more accurate (if not satisfactory) rendition. Jerome’s Vulgate renders the Hebrew “Gad” as “fortuna” and “Meni” as “eam” (i. e., “them”) in the text – without explications in the margin. The French Orientalist Francisus Vatablus (d. 1547) follows Jerome’s precedent and offers “fortuna” and “eam” in his Latin *Biblia Sacra cum Duplici Translatione* (1584), vol. 2, p. 91v; neither his marginalia nor scholia address the issue. The French Reformed theologian Sebastian Castalio, aka. Castellio, Chataillon (1515–63), published his Latin and French translation of the Bible in 1551 and 1554, respectively. An outspoken critic of religious persecution and defender of separation of church and state, he ran into conflict with John Calvin in Geneva and died in poverty in Basel in 1563. Castellio’s Latin translation of Isa. 65:11, in his *Biblia Sacra Latina Ex Sebastiani Castalionis* (1551, 1573), p. 991, offers “Gad” and “Meni” in the text, but “fortuna” and “Mercurius” in the margins. Castellio’s French translation, *La Bible: Nouvellement Translatée* (1555), p. MDXLV, follows suit with “Gad” and “Meni” in the text and “fortune” and “Mercure” in the margins. It is unclear which Spanish translation of the Bible Mather refers to. The popular “Biblia del Oso” (“Bible of the Bear”), so named after the frontispiece of a bear eating honey from a hive, was translated into Spanish by Casiodoro de Reina, aka Reyna (1520–94), a Spanish theologian and convert to Lutheranism who died in exile in Frankfurt (Germany). In his *La Biblia que es, los sacros libros del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento* (1569), the same passage reads, “Mas vosotros que dexays à Iehova, q̄ oluidays el Monte de mi sanctidad, q̄ poneys mesa à la Fortuna y cumplis el numero de la derramadura.” (“Gad” is listed in the margin as an alternative for “la Fortuna,” and “Meni” for “numero”). Finally, the first printed English Bible translated by Miles Coverdale (c. 1488–1569), an English friar, chaplain to Edward VI, bishop of Exeter, and finally rector of St. Magnus, London, provides the following rendition in his *The Byble, that is the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament* (1535): “But as for you, ye are they, yt haue forsaken the LORDE, and forgotten my holy hill. Ye haue set vp an aulter vnto fortune, & geue rich drink offerings vnto treasure.” Coverdale’s 1535 renders the Hebrew “Gad” as “fortune” and “Meni” as “treasure” in the text – without any marginal annotation on this issue. Mather’s commentary then illustrates his quest for a more accurate translation of the King James Bible – and the vanity of human wishes: How appropriate then his Latin quotation from Juvenal’s *Satyra* (10.365–66): “So you, Fortuna, we make a goddess of thee.” See also Mather’s annotation on Isa. 65:11 (BA 5:848–49).

³³ Gell, *An Essay* (337b–c).

³⁴ Gell, *An Essay* (329–37).

A. What if you should read it, *I will cutt off your Fire-Places*? The original Word used here, will Invite you to that Opinion. And when you attentively read, Isa. 17.8. and Ezek. 6.4. where you read of, *Sun-Images*, you'll be confirm'd in the Opinion. The Idolaters, had Places wherein they kept *Sacred Fires*; called, *πυραθεία*, by *Strabo*, and, *πυρεία*, by others.³⁵ The Name and Thing, some derive from *Ammon*, who is the same with *חם*/ Cham, which is the Root of the Word used in the Text before us. R. *Bechai* tells us, That those *Fires* were not at first, altogether of such an Idolatrous Character and Intention; but were intended as Expressions of *Thanksgiving* to God for the Benefits of the *Sun*.³⁶ You have in *Procopius*, a Description of a *πυρεῖον* (Lib. 1. Persicor.) *Chasroes* "went from the *Assyrians*, to the Land of the *Ardabiganians*, which lies to the *Northward*. Here is a great *πυρεῖον*, or *Fire-House*, which the *Persians* worship above all other Gods; where the *Magicians*, keeping a *perpetual Fire*, perform their Chief Rites, with greatest Exactness, and on the greatest Occasions make Use of it as an *Oracle*."³⁷ You have another Description of such a *πυρεῖον*, in *Benjamin*, when he comes to *Chenaraga*; and he saies, That the *Fire* there, is called, *אלוהותא*/ *A Divinity*.³⁸ Others do speak of them. *Teixera* saies, That even to his Time, they were

35 Strabo (*Geographica* 15.3.15, line 5) calls them *πυραθεία* or "temples of fire-worshippers" among the Parthians. The fire is kept in *πυρεία* or "fire-pans" and "pans for coals," as mentioned in Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates* (5.238, line 1), Numb. 4:14 (LXX), in Joannes Chrysostom (*Adversus Judaeos* [PG. 048. 0913, lines 3 and 6), and elsewhere.

36 R. Bachya ben Asher (Lev. 26:31) in insists, "the fact that the Torah still refers to these buildings [of the fire-worshippers] as 'sanctuaries,' is to teach us that even when they have been destroyed their sites retain their original sanctity" (*Rabbeinu Bachya* 5:1857).

37 In his eminent *History of the Wars of Emperor Justinian I*, the Byzantine historian Procopius Caesariensis (c. 500–c. 565 CE) describes his first-hand experience with General Flavius Belisarius (d. 565 CE) in the battles of Justinian I (c. 462–565 CE) against the Persians, Goths, and Vandals. Mather's second-hand reference is to Procopius's *De bellis Persicorum* (2.24.1–2, lines 1–4), which here relates how Sassanid Emperor Chosroes I, aka. Khosrau, Kasra (501–79 CE), in his invasion of the Roman domains (543 CE), came through the territories of the Adarbiganians (N.B. Mather's alternate spelling is borrowed from Grotius's citation) to "the great sanctuary of fire" revered by the Persians. In this temple, Procopius explains, "the fire is guarded unquenched by the Magi, and they perform carefully a great number of sacred rites, and in particular they consult the oracle in those matters which are of the greatest importance. This is the fire which the Romans worshipped under the name of Hestia [Vesta] in ancient times" (*History of the Wars* 2.24.1:473).

38 In his *מסעות של רבי בנימין* [Massa'ot shel Rabbi Binyamin] *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis* (1633), pp. 108–09, the medieval Sephardic traveler R. Benjamin of Tudela (fl. 1150–1200) describes the practice of fire-worship among the people of Khulam, aka. Cholan (Quilon), an ancient Indian city S of Bombay, on the coast of Malabar. Descendants of Cush, Benjamin believes, "they worship the sun, and they have high places everywhere outside the city about half a mile. And every morning they run forth to greet the sun, for on every high place a solar disc is made of cunning workmanship, and as the sun rises the disc rotates with thundering noise, and all, both men and women, offer incense to the sun in censers in their hands. ... In front of the high place of their temple there is a deep trench, where they keep a great fire alight all the year, and they call it Elahutha" (*Itinerary* 64–65). The Hebrew noun *אלוהותא* [Elahutha] (*Itinerarium* 108), which Mather miscopies from Grotius, as *אלוהותא* (*Opera* 1.1.71), signifies "divinity."

continued among the *Persians*. They were huge *Furnaces* kept with superstitious Rites, in Honour of the *Sun*.³⁹

3656.

Q. It is Threatned, *The Land shall rest, because it did not rest in your Sabbaths, when yee dwelt upon it.* v. 35.

A. It should have Rested, every *Seventh Year*.

It is a remarkable Passage, in *Procopius Gazæaus*, “In those Four-hundred & ninety Years, when they were under the Government of Kings, there were *Seventy Years* to be kept as *Sabbaths*; which, that the Land might enjoy its Sabbaths, were spent in the Captivity of *Babylon*.”⁴⁰

Indeed we don’t expressly read of this profane and horrid Neglect, while they dwelt in their Land. But the Prophet *Jeremiah* complains, That they did not in his Time give their Servants Liberty at the *Seventh Year*. [Jer. 34.17.] And he gives this as one Reason, why God gave them up to Slavery. So we may understand those Words, Lam. 1.3. *Judah is gone into Captivity, because of Affliction, & because of great Servitude*. From hence we may conclude, the same Distrustful and Covetous Humour, would not suffer the Land to rest that Year. [Consider 2. Chron. 34.21.]

Some think, both the Kingdome of *Samaria*, & the Kingdome of *Judah*, were destroy’d in the *Sabbatical Year*.⁴¹

3657.

Q. It is threatened unto the sinful Jewes, *I will send a Faintness into your Hearts, in the Land of your Enemies; and the Sound of a shaken Leaf shall chase them*. What Remarkable Accomplishment ha’s been given unto it? v. 36.

A. The Timorousness and Cowardise of the Jewes, renders them very despicable. They are noted at this Day, to be very mean-spirited & faint-hearted. It was hardly ever heard, that a *Jew* listed himself a Souldier, or engaged in the Defence of the Countrey where he lived.⁴²

³⁹ The Portuguese traveler and explorer Pedro Teixeira (d. 1641) published his *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira* (1610), an account of his travels by land to Persia and India. Mather (via Grotius) refers to *Relaciones* (1610), fol. 4. A partial translation of this work into English was published as *The Travels of Peter Teixeira from India to Italy by Land* (1710). The entire paragraph originates in Hugo Grotius, *Annotaciones* (Lev. 26:30), in *Opera* (1.1.71). The same material appears in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:615) and *Works* (6:497–99).

⁴⁰ Translated from Procopius Gazaecus, on Lev. 26:34, in *Commentarius in Leviticus* [PG 87.1.0789–90].

⁴¹ Patrick (*Leviticus* 555–56) supplies Mather with the material in the three preceding paragraphs.

⁴² Patrick (*Leviticus* 556–57).

Q. Why are, *Seven Times* assigned so often, for the *Punishment* of the Rebellious *Israelites*? v. 39.

A. We had a sad Period assign'd by Two Prophets, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*. First, you have a Period of 390 Years, and then 40 Years more, in the Visions of *Ezekiel*.⁴³ The Commencement of these 430 Years, is from the Time, when the Ten Tribes made their Schism, & fell into an Idolatry, that soon hurried them into their long Captivity.

Just on the Expiration of this Term, there followes in the Visions of *Daniel* another Period of 2300 Years; which brings us to the *Last End of the Indignation*.⁴⁴ When they have thus long born their Iniquity, God will then *Remember His Covenant*.

These two Summs together, make up, 2730. Years.⁴⁵

Now, tis Remarkable, If you multiply 390 by 7, it makes that very sum of, 2730.⁴⁶

1135.

Q. The Lord will bee favourable to the Jewish Nation, when their *Uncircumcised Hearts bee Humbled*, & they then *Accept the Punishment of their Iniquity*. What may bee meant by their *Accepting the Punishment of their Iniquity*? v. 41.

A. Why mayn't it mean, their *Accepting* of the *Messiah*, whom the God of Heaven has provided for them, and whom they have hitherto rejected?

Wee know, that of the *Messiah* tis said, in 2. Cor. 5.21. *God made Him to bee Sin for us*. Yea, that wee may keep close to the Word in the Text before us, tis said in Isa. 53.6. *The Lord laid on Him the Iniquity of us all*. The *Sacrifice*, upon whom the *Punishment of our Iniquity* does fall, is that of the *Messiah*; and the Name therefore is very agreeable to Him. When the Jewes come to leave off their Thoughts & Hopes of any other *Sacrifice*, or their Dreams of making Satisfaction by bearing the *Punishment* of their own *Iniquity*, but *Accept the Messiah*, as

⁴³ Ezek. 4:5–6, 9.

⁴⁴ Dan. 8:14.

⁴⁵ The holograph ms. reads “3730. Years” (here silently correct), a clear mistake given his next paragraph.

⁴⁶ Mather's annotation on Lev. 26:39 appears to be misplaced, for it would be more appropriately listed under Lev. 26:18, where God threatens to punish the Israelites for disobedience: “I will punish you seven times more for your sins.” The same sevenfold punishment is threatened repeatedly in Lev. 25:8, 26:18, 26:21, 24, 28, as well as numerous times in other OT books. Be that as it may, Mather's commentary reveals his life-long preoccupation with prophetic calculations. His book-length manuscript “Triparadisus,” esp. part 3, chs. 11–12, in *Threefold Paradise* (1995), pp. 295–347, and the table of “Cotton Mather's Chronometry of the Prophecies” (*Threefold Paradise*, p. 73), best illustrate his evolving eschatological conjectures as they stood in the last decade of his life.

the only Releef of their Souls, against all the Guilt of their Sins; THEN will the Lord *Remember His Covenant!*⁴⁷
 [62r–62v inserted into 61r]

⁴⁷ Mather's Christological reading goes hand-in-hand with his eschatological calculations of Christ's Second Coming. By the standards of *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:230) and Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:616) and *Works* (6:504–05), Mather's interpretation is unique.

3658.

Q. How come the *Lawes* about *Vowes* to be inserted in this Place, rather than any other? v. 1.

A. It might be supposed, That some Religious People, touched with a Sense of the *Promises* and *Threatenings* in the foregoing Chapter, would think of giving themselves wholly unto God, or vowing some of their Goods unto Him. Directions about such Things are therefore very properly inserted here.¹

3659.

Q. What is here meant by a *Singular Vow*? v. 2.

A. An *Extraordinary Vow*; called by *Philo*, εὐχὴ μεγάλη, *The Great Vow*; Namely, when a Man vowed himself, or his Children, wholly to the Service of God in the *Tabernacle*. Such was the Devotion of some, that they were willing to help the *Priests* of God, in the meanest Ministry; such as, bringing in *Wood*, carrying out *Ashes*, sweeping away the *Dust*, and the like.

By the Provision here made, we see, that God would not Accept the *Persons* themselves, as they desired; but the *Value* of them for His Service; because there was a sufficient Number of Persons peculiarly designed for all the Work of the *Tabernacle*; which He would not have encumbered by more Attendants there, than were needful.²

3660.

Q. Why was a *Woman* valued at but *Thirty Shekels*, when a *Man* was valued at *Fifty*? v. 4.

A. *Women* could not be so serviceable as *Men*; & therefore were valued at a less rate. All that they could do, was to *spin*, or *weave*, or make *Garments*, or *wash* for the *Priests* and *Levites*.³

1 Patrick (*Leviticus* 563).

2 Patrick (*Leviticus* 563–64). Philo Judaeus's εὐχὴ μεγάλη (*De specialibus legibus* 1.248, line 1) suggests “a great vow,” “prayer,” or even “curse.” Rashi confirms that such a vow is as much as to “give the Lord the value of a person's life” (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:232). The topic also garnered diverse responses from the principal Reformation and post-Reformation commentators, as is apparent in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:617–18) and *Works* (6:508–12).

3 Patrick (*Leviticus* 564). Abarbanel is much more forthcoming by insisting that “one would expect it [a woman's value] to be half, 25 shekels, but a female in this category may produce children, so her equivalent is boosted by five shekels” (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 3:233). If this mercenary valuation bespeaks the patriarchal misogyny pervasive among the ancients, then Cotton Mather's enlightened view of women is a shining example of how much he was ahead of his time. See especially his popular *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion* (1691, 1694, 1741),

3661.

Q. Tis observable, (the Hebrewes at least think so,) That in their Youth, *Males* were valued near double to *Females*; but in old Age, they were almost of æqual Value? v. 7.

A. *Old Women* continue very serviceable in many things, when *old Men* are not. Whence they have a Saying, *An old Woman in an House, is a Treasure in an House.*⁴

3662.

Q. It is said, *If a Man shall sanctify unto the Lord, some Part of a Field.* Why only *some Part*? v. 16.

A. It seems to signify, That it was not lawful for a Man to *Vow* his *whole Field*; that is, All his Estate: Because God would have no Mans Family undone & made Beggars, to enrich His Sanctuary.⁵

[63v]

3663.

Q. We read of, *Men Devoted*, which were not to be *Redeemed*. Some learned Men have, you know, from these Words asserted, That *Parents* and *Masters* among the *Jewes*, had such a Power over their *Children* and *Servants*, that they might even *Devote* them to Death, and Kill them according to their *Vow*; only the Sentence of the *Priest* was to concur, to whom every Devoted Thing fell, as his Portion? v. 29.⁶

A. This is maintained indeed by, *Ludovicus Capellus*; But it is confuted by *Selden*, who observes, That such a Power would have too much entrenched on the *Sixth Commandment*.⁷

pp. 1–9, 35–41, 46–49 (my page references are to the 1741, or third, edition), Anna Maria Schurman's *The Learned Maid* (1659) and, of course, François Fénelon's *Traité d'Éducation des Filles* (1687). The status of women in early America has been assessed by many scholars, including C. H. Dayton's *Women before the Bar* (1995), H. K. Gelinas's "Regaining Paradise" (463–94), I. Klaiber's "Women's Roles" (303–30), A. Porterfield's *Female Piety* (1992), W. J. Scheick's *Authority and Female Authorship* (1998), P. A. Treckel's *To Comfort the Heart* (1996), and L. T. Ulrich's *Good Wives* (1982) and her "Vertuous Women Found" (20–40).

4 Patrick (*Leviticus* 565) probably paraphrases Rashi and Bekhor Shor, who say much the same, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (3:233).

5 Patrick (*Leviticus* 570–71) draws on Johannes Stephanus Menochius's *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1648), lib. 2, cap. 19, quest. 7, pp. 237–39.

6 Mather's primary source is Patrick (*Leviticus* 576–77, 578).

7 Ludovicus Cappellus (1585–1658), French Reformed theologian and professor of Hebrew at Saumur, refers to the tragic case of Jephthah's daughter (Judg. 11:29–40), which affirms the power of masters and parents over their children and slaves, in Capellus's extensive annotations on Judg. 11:41(!), in *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689 ed.), fols. 422–25. Selden's repudiation of Ludovicus Cappellus appears in *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640),

But then, there might be a *Cherem* of *Men* as well as of *Beasts*.⁸ For, besides a Sacred Gift, which was devoted unto Sacred Uses, there might be *Men* devoted unto Destruction and Perdition, by the Right of War, or upon the Account of Capital Enmities. We have an Exemple of it in *Jericho*. [Josh. 6.17.] Thus, the *Great Sanhedrim*, called in the Scripture, *The whole Congregation*, might make a *Cherem* of those, who going to the Wars, did not obey the Orders, & perform the Charges laid upon them. We have an Exemple of it. [Judg. 21.5. and 1. Sam. 14.24.]⁹

And this is the *Cherem* here mentioned by *Moses*.

The *Slaves* (which alwayes were *Gentiles*;) in the Possession of the *Hebrewes* were in their Power, as much as their *Beasts*, to give or to sell. But to take away their Life, or give them to be slain, was not in their Power; All the Effect of the *Cherem* upon them, was, that the whole Right, which they had unto the Service of such *Slaves*, was transferred by him, who devoted them, unto the Service of the *Priests*; & Sacred Uses. However, tho' they might not devote their *Slaves* to Death, they might their *Enemies*, before they went out to War with them; and such of their own People also as did not observe the military Lawes. [Consider, Num. 21.2. and Judg. 21.9, 10.]¹⁰

3664.

Q. How did the *Tithe* of the Cattel, *pass under the Rod*? v. 32.¹¹

A. *Maimonides* tells us, They were all brought into a *Sheep-Cote*, in which there was but one Gate, or Door, and that so narrow, as to suffer no more than *one* to come out at *once*. The *Dams* being placed without, and the Gate opened, the young ones were invited by their Bleatings, to press to gett out unto them; and as they passed by, one by one, a Man who stood at the Gate with a *Rod*, coloured with *Oker*, told them in Order, and when the Tenth came out, whether

lib. 4, cap. 6, pp. 500–01. On Selden's *De Jure Naturali*, see J. P. Rosenblatt's *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi* (158–81).

8 A Cherem, or חֶרֶם is “a thing devoted, thing dedicated,” even “(appointed to) utter destruction” (Strong's # 2764).

9 Nachmanides (*Commentary* 3:480–81) appears to be the original source here.

10 The mitigation of this *cherem* here proposed by Mather (via Patrick 578) does not agree with Rashi's explication, which asserts that “If a person is going to be executed [(cherem, i. e., something or someone “consigned to be put to death” or “destruction”)] and [some] one [, on seeing him,] said: ‘His worth is on me’ [(“i. e., I obligate myself to donate his worth to the Temple treasury”)] – he has said nothing [(“i. e., his vow has no effect.”)] [B]ehold, he is going to die, [and] therefore he cannot be redeemed; he has no worth, and no [vowable] value” (*Met-sudah Chumash/Rashi Vayikro* 3:441–42). Nachmanides, though acknowledging Rashi's draconian interpretation, points to the vast disagreement among the sages on this narrow reading, citing several palliating circumstances (*Commentary* 3:479–83). See also Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium*, lib. 2, caps. 7–10, pp. 502–30.

11 Patrick (*Leviticus* 581–82). See also Philo Judaeus, *De congressu eruditionis gratia* (94), in *Works* (312).

it were *Male* or *Female*, sound or scabbed, he mark't it with his Rod, and said, *Lett this be Holy in the Name of the Tenth.*¹²

This Account R. *Solomon* and others give of this Matter; of which notion they are so fond, that R. *Bechai* makes *Jacob*, who vowed the *Tithe* of all that God should give him, to have decimated his Children, on this Manner, beginning with *Benjamin*, & so *Levi* fell to be the Tenth; on which they are a little fanciful.¹³

But *Bochart* thinks, that *Moses* does not speak here, about the *Rod* of the *Tithes*, but of the *Shepherds Crook*; and so doth *Aben-Ezra*, and the *Syriac*, & the *Vulgar*. The Flock passed under the Rod, as oft as he numbred them; which was every Morning and Evening, if he were a *Good Shepherd*.¹⁴

Compare Jer. 33.13.

It is a Passage in *Ezekiel*, alluding hereunto; ch. 20.37. *I will cause you to pass under the Rod.* *Kimchi* notes, tis the same Phrase with this in *Leviticus*; and as much as to say, *As he that telleth his Sheep, holdeth a Rod in his Hand, & telleth them one by one, and brings out the Tenth for the Tythe, so will I number you, and the Sinners shall perish.*¹⁵

[64r]

1256.

Q. That Law, *The Tenth shall bee Holy unto the Lord*, what Illustrations of it, can you fetch from the *Pagan Antiquities*? v. 32.¹⁶

A. Tis very certain, that the Ancient Pagans did use to *Decimate*, both of their *Fruits*, & of their *Spoils*, for Sacred Uses. *Pliny* tells us, That among the *Arabians*, they made no Merchandise of their *Frankincense*, until the Priests had still siezed the *Tenths*, for their God *Sabin*. And *Xenophon* tells us, That among the *Græcians*, there stood a Pillar near the Temple of *Diana*, on which was an Inscription, requiring, *την μεν δεκατην καταθυειν εκαστου ετους*. To *Sacrifice the Tenths of every Years Production*.¹⁷ *Pausanias* tells us of these Nations,

Τὴν δεκατην νικας εινεκα τω πολεμω;

¹² Maimonides, *Hilchot Bechorot* (7.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:174).

¹³ R. Solomon ben Isaac (Shlomo Yitzchakhi), aka. Rashi, on Lev. 27:32, in *JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* (3:238), and R. Bachya ben Asher, on Numb. 18:19, in *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya* (6:2124).

¹⁴ Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoicon De Animalibus* (1692), lib. 2, cap. 4, col. 459, lines 20–34, cites Ibn Ezra, on Lev. 27:32, in *Commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra: Leviticus* (3:159), and the Vulgate as well as the Syriac translation. For the latter, see also Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:530).

¹⁵ R. David Kimchi, as quoted in Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, lib. 2, cap. 4, col. 459, lines 68–73). The English translation of Bochart's Latin quotation is Patrick's, in *Leviticus* (582).

¹⁶ The following paragraphs are mined from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 10, secs. 1–2, fols. 615–25.

¹⁷ Spencer (*De Legibus* 615). Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 12.32.63) adds that “this tithe is drawn on to defray what is a public expenditure,” when their god “graciously entertains guests at a

The *Tenth* of their *Prey*, they dedicated unto *Jupiter*, as a Monument of their Victory.¹⁸ *Diodorus Siculus*, reports, of their Making a Golden *Tripod*, of a *Tenth Part*, of what they took in War from the *Persians*, & presenting it unto *Apollo*.¹⁹ Yea; *Cedwalla*, the King of our *West-Saxons*, consecrated a *Tenth Part* of his *Prey*, to an *Unknown God*. But a whole Army of Authors, besides *Doughty*, have related this Matter unto us.²⁰

In these *Decimations*, the Pagans, did not concern themselves, with any one God alone. *Festus* affirms, that several of their *Gods* were thus acknowledged; and *Scaliger* (like himself) proudly, and basely, abuses *Festus*, for thus affirming; and hee adds, *Uni tantum Herculi hoc fiebat*.²¹ *Scaliger* was mistaken; or else *Herodotus*, when hee asserts the Consecration of *Tithes*, to *Pallas*; and *Lucian*, when hee asserts them, to *Mars*; Tho' Tis True, among the *Romans*, they did most of all, *Pollucere*, i. e. offer Tithes to *Hercules*; and they were therefore called, *Herculanea*.²²

banquet" several times per year. And Xenophon, the biographer of Alexander the Great, similarly reports the practice of tithing in his *Anabasis* (5.3.13, lines 4–5). On this ancient practice, see John Selden's *Historie of Tithes* (1618).

18 Pausanias adds in his *Graeciae descriptio* (5.10.4, line 11), τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ, "the tithe offered for victory of war." More often than not, Mather omits the Greek (and Hebrew) diacritics – even if they are given in his sources.

19 Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 11.33.2, lines 1–3) complements Pausanias's explanation, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενοι κατεσκευάσαν χρυσοῦν τρίποδα, καὶ ἀνέθηκαν εἰς Δελφοὺς χαριστήριον τῷ θεῷ, or "The Greeks, taking a tenth part of the spoils, made a gold tripod and set it up in Delphi as a thank-offering to the God."

20 Among Spencer's sources are John Selden's *Analecton Anglo Britannicon Libri Duo* (1615), lib. 2, cap. 3, p. 71, and John Doughty's *Analecta Sacra* (1658), Excursus 8 and 123, pp. 24–27 and 322–24. According to the Venerable Bede's *Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum* (4.12, 15–16; 5.7), Cedwalla (c. 659–689) – variously spelled Ceadwalla and Cædwalla – was king of the Gewisse and through conquest united under his rulership the territories of the East-, West-, and South-Saxons. After his conversion to Christianity in 688, he travelled to Rome but died on the day of his baptism (April 10, 689), by Pope Sergius I (687–701). See B. Yorke, "Cædwalla (c. 659–689)."

21 Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De Verborum Significatione Lib. XX* (1699), lib. 4, p. 114, line 8. In his annotation on Festus, *De Verborum* (1699), p. 114, notae "Decima quaeque," Joseph Justus Scaliger's castigates Festus: "Vide quantum juris Barbarus ille sibi sumserit in hoc loco mutilando. Uni enim tantum Herculi hoc fiebat"; i. e., "See how much that barbarian took for himself in mutilating this place. For this was done only for Hercules alone." On Scaliger's view of Festus, see A. Grafton's "Scaliger's Festus," in *Joseph Scaliger* (1983), 1:134–60.

22 Spencer (*De Legibus* 616); according to Herodotus (5.77), the Athenians took many prisoners in their campaigns against the Chalcidians and Boeotians, and extracted from them a rich ransom of "two minas apiece." Consecrating "a tenth of the ransoms" to Pallas Athena, the victors "built a four-horse chariot of bronze" which in Herodotus's time still stood "on your left as you first enter[ed] the Propylaea on the Acropolis" in Athens. Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–post 180 CE), to whom Περὶ Ὀρχήσεως: *De Saltatione* has been attributed (KP), relates that the Roman Salii, "a priesthood drawn from the noblest families," perform a dance "of a particularly solemn and sacred character" in honor of Mars, god of war (*Of Pantomime* 21). For the reference to Lucian, the "pollucere" or "lesser offering" of Plautus, and the gifts to Hercules by the old Romans, Spencer (616) draws on *Petri Fabri Liber Tres Semestrium* (1616), lib. 2,

Yea, the *Tithes* of the *Flock* and of the *Field*, were sometimes paid as a Tribute also unto *Magistrates*. [Compare, 1. Sam. 8.13, 15, 16. and, 1. Macc. 11.35.] *Aristotle* mentions this as a *Babylonian Law*. And *Strabo* finds a Practise among the *Indians*, as well as *Diodorus* among the *Arabians*. *Aristophanes* finds it among the *Athenians*, and *Cicero* among the *Romans*. Hence, among the Greeks, *δηκατευν*, was the same with *τελωνειν*.²³ And among the Romans, *Decumanus*, was the Name for a *Collector*.²⁴

That this Custome, among the Pagans, was very Ancient, is evident from the Advice, which *Cræsus*, gives to *Cyrus*, in *Herodotus*, about the safest Way; for his Officers to gather the *Tenths*.²⁵ Very True, is that Saying of old *Festus*, *Decima quæque veteres Dijs suis offerebant*.²⁶ And it ha's been observed, That tho' there were some among the Pagans, that were *αθυτοι*, & made no Conscience of *Sacrificing*, wee can find none that were *ἀδεκατευτοι*, or made no Conscience of *Decimating*.²⁷

Among the *Israelites*, the *Tithes* of all were demanded, for the Great JEHOVAH, both as Hee was Their *God*, and as Hee was their *King*. Yea, and long before *Moses*, wee find *Jacob*, and *Abraham* himself, paying the Homage of *Tithes* unto the Lord.²⁸

It was no doubt, the *Spirit* of the Almighty, that first Instructed the Faithful, thus to acknowledge Him; and no Wonder, that the *Evil Spirit*, laid Claim unto the same Rights, when once hee came to bee, The *God of this World*, and, The *Prince of this World*.

There are some, who go to discover singular & curious Reasons, why the Number *Ten*, hath been in this Matter pitch'd upon.

cap. 3, p. 43, by the French jurist Petrus Fabri, aka. Pierre Du Faur de Saint-Jory (1530–1600), president of the parliament of Toulouse.

²³ Aristotle (*Oeconomica* 1352b, lines 27–32), Strabo (*Geographica* 15.1.51, lines 15–17), and Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 5.42.1, lines 1–5). Aristophanes (*Equites* 300–01) and Cicero (*Onatones in Verrem* 1.8). The Greek *δηκατευν* signifies “to tithe, decimate, divide into 10 parts”; *τελωνειν* suggests “pay toll, customs, tribute.” On this topic, see especially John Selden’s *Historie of Tithe* (1618), ch. 3, pp. 24–34, which provided Mather (via Spencer) with much useful information from the ancients on this topic.

²⁴ A Roman *Decumanus* was a tax collector who bought the right to tithe citizens.

²⁵ Renowned for his wealth King Croesus of Lydia (595–46), captured by Cyrus, advises his Persian overlord that all the plunder taken from the Lydian city should be tithed, because “one tenth of it must be dedicated to Zeus” (Herodotus 1.89).

²⁶ Sextus Pompeius Festus’s bon mot appears in the previously cited *De Verborum Significatione Lib. XX* (1699), lib. 4, p. 114, line 8, and reads, “they offered the tenth to each of their old gods.”

²⁷ And yet, Mather seemingly shakes his head, there were some who were *αθυτοι*, who offered no sacrifices, but none that were *ἀδεκατευτοι*, who did not offer tithes.

²⁸ Of the spoils of war, Abram paid his tithes to Melchizedek, “King of Salem” and “Priest of the most high God” (Gen. 14:18, 20).

They say, with *Grotius*, *Numerus Denarius Gentibus fermè cunctis, numerandi finis est*.²⁹ And perhaps, the Way of Men to Number by their *Fingers*, might first Introduce the Rule, of making *Ten* the last Number. It is the Philosophers Problem, Δια τι παντες ανθρωποι κλ. *Why all Men, in all Nations, do Number still until Ten*, και ουκ εις αλλον αριθμον.³⁰ But *Philo*, speaking of the Ten Commandments, tells us, *Decas verò ultrà omnes habenda, quæ omnes Numeros diversæ virtutis ac perfectionis intrà se habet*. Hee also tells, τον δε περι δεκαδος λογον επιμελως μεν ηκριβωσαν μουσικων παιδες. *Musicians have accurately considered the Reason of the Number*, Ten, which hath been so consecrated in the Rites of *Moses*.³¹

Tis very sure, *Ten*, beginning the greater Numbers, & concluding the smaller, is a Number, not Improper, for the Great Lord, who is the *First Cause*, and the *Last End*, of all. A *Decad*, saies *Philo*, προς θεον οικειοτις εστιν. *Aliquid cum Deo cognati habet*. With a *Seventh Day*, they acknowledged God, as the *Creator*, and with a *Tenth Part*, they acknowledged Him, as the *Possessor*, of all Things. For their neglects of this God, His People were in Captivity *Ten Sevens*, or, *Seven Tens* of Years; and when they returned unto God, their *Sabbaths* and their *Tithes*, were the most Religious Instances, as the Book of *Nehemiah* informs us, of their doing so.³²

Wee may add, That the Number *Ten*, is *Even*, whereas an *odd Number*, ha's been usually more agreeable, to Superstition and Idolatry. The Numbers in *Homer*, usually countenance this Notion; and *Plutarch* tells us, Αει τω περισσω αριθμω χρηται, ως κρεισσονι. *Hee uses the odd | Number, as the Better*. The Number *Ten*, which is *Even*, was much used by the Lord, in His Holy Matters; as, The *Tabernacle*, must have *Ten* Curtains, *Ten* Pillars, the *Temple* must have *Ten* Lavers, *Ten* Tables, *Ten* Candlesticks; and there are *Ten* Times *Ten* other Instances.³³

[64v]

²⁹ Spencer (617), citing Hugo Grotius's commentary on the Decalogue on Exod. 20:2, in *Annotationes (Opera* 1.1:36, lines 25–37), argues that “the number, containing ten, is the end of counting for almost all peoples.”

³⁰ *Aristoteles et Corpus Aristotelicum, Problemata* (910b, lines 23–24) reads with diacritics Δια τί πάντες άνθρωποι ... καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄλλον ἀριθμόν. Mather weaves his translation into his sentence.

³¹ Spencer (625). The Latin paraphrase from Philo Judaeus's *De congressu eruditionis gratia* (sec. 90) rationalizes, “all mankind have the number 10, which of all the diverse numbers contains within itself virtue and perfection.” Philo Judaeus adds, τὸν δὲ περὶ δεκάδος λόγον ἐπιμελῶς μὲν ἠκριβώσαν μουσικῶν παῖδες, “the sons of the musicians have accurately investigated the question” (*De congressu*, sec. 89, lines 1–2).

³² Mather adapts Spencer's citation (624) from Philo Judaeus's *De congressu* (sec. 94, line 5), which reads in our modern editions, δεκάδος πρὸς θεὸν οἰκειότητα, i. e., “the appropriateness of the number 10 to God” (*Works* 312).

³³ For this paragraph – including the citation references to Homer and Plutarch – Spencer (618) draws on Johannes Meursius's numerological study *Denarius Pythagoricus* (1631), cap. 2, p. 15. The Greek passage from *Vitae Homeri <Plutarchi> De Homero* (2, line 1768), reads in our modern editions αἰὲ δὲ τῷ περισσῷ ἀριθμῷ χρηται ὡς κρείσσονι. Mather provides his own translation.

These Things, may perhaps, give more Satisfaction, than the Conjecture of *Peter Bungus*; *Attende, quòd Creatura Decima, inter Intellectuales, Creaturas, est Homo; quia Angeli in Novem ordinibus consistunt; Decimus autem ordo est Hominum, et Hominis est Decimam soluere, ut Ruinam Angelorum valeat supplere, et Decimum ordinem adimplere. Ad quod, respiciens Legislator, et Animalium et Omnium Terræ Fructuum Decimas, Domino Consecrat.*³⁴

But after all, the most satisfactory Way, will bee to Resolve it, into the Direction of our *Sovereign Lawgiver*.

Q. Lett us a little more particularly enquire into the *Tithes*, that were paid among the Ancient *Israelites*?³⁵

A. Many *Christians* have thought, That *Four* several Sorts of *Tithes* are mentioned in the Scriptures.³⁶

First, The *Annual Tithes*; To maintain the *Levites*. [Lev. 27.30. Num. 18.21. Deut. 14.22. and, 16.12. 2. Chron. 31.5. Neh. 10.37. Heb. 7.8, 9.] This *Tithe* was paid by the *Husbandman*, leaving a *Gleaning* of a *Sixtieth Part* in the Fields, and paying also the *Therumah Gedolah*. This was called, *Decima Prima*.³⁷

³⁴ The citation is from the oft-reprinted study of numerology *Numerorum Mysteria* (1599), “De Numero X,” p. 366, by the learned Italian classicist Petrus Bungus of Bergame, aka. Pietro Bongo (1500–1601): “Note that the tenth thing created among creatures of understanding is man, because Angels stand in nine ranks. The tenth rank, moreover, is of men, and it is the mark of man to bring the tenth part, so that he can complete the displacement of the Angels, and fulfil the tenth rank. Looking to that end, the lawgiver consecrates to the Lord tithes both of animals and of all the fruits of the earth.” On Bungus’s numerology, see I. B. Cohen’s *Triumph of Numbers* (2005), pp. 60–63.

³⁵ Mather’s annotations in the following paragraphs are based on Sixtinus Amama’s *De decimis Mosaicis* (1r–4v), appended to John Drusius’s *Ad Loca Difficiliora* (1618), yet mediated via Johann Heinrich Reitzius’ annotated Latin translation *Moses et Aaron* (1679), by Thomas Godwyn, aka. Goodwin (c. 1586–1642), whose English original, *Moses and Aaron. Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites, used by the ancient Hebrewes*, was first published in London (1625) and went through numerous reprints and editions in the seventeenth century. This layering of sources, excerpts, translations, paraphrase, and annotations reveals the complexity of how works and ideas were disseminated in Mather’s time; it also pinpoints the challenges Mather’s editors are faced with in establishing even a rudimentary provenance of his sources.

³⁶ See John Selden’s *Historie of Tithes* (1618), ch. 2, pp. 10–24.

³⁷ The תְּרוּמָה גְּדוֹלָה or “terumah gedolah,” i. e., “great offering” (“*Decima prima*,” i. e., “first tenth”) is the largest portion of the produce harvest generally given to the Levite priest, because the tenth part is sequestered before any other tithe is set aside from the harvest. According to tractate Terumoth 4.3 (*The Mishnah* 56), “The proper measure of Heave-offering, if a man is liberal, is one-fortieth part (the School of Shammai say: One-thirtieth); if he is liberal in medium degree, one-fiftieth part; if he is mean, one-sixtieth part.” *Tractatus de Primitiis* (4.3), in Surenhusius, סדר זרעים [Seder Zeraim] sive *Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Seminum* (1698), fol. 213. See also the Talmud, tractate Berachoth (47a–b), and Maimonides, *Hilchot Berachot* (1.19–20), in *Mishneh Torah* (8:32–35). See also Mather’s source (via Rei(t) zius’s Latin translation of John Goodwin’s *Moses et Aaron* (1679), lib. 6, cap. 3, pp. 476–78) and Sixtinus Amama’s *De decimis Mosaicis* (3^v).

Secondly, The *Tithes of the Tithes*, which the *Levites* paid unto the *Priests* at *Jerusalem*; tho' they received theirs in their several Cities. [Num. 18.26. Neh. 10.38.]

Thirdly. The further *Annual Tithes* which the *Husbandman* carried, either in *Specie*, or in *Money*, to *Jerusalem*; there to be spent with the *Levites*, before the Lord. This was called, *Decima Secunda*; and was paid at the *Sanctuary*; whereas the former was paid at home. [Deut. 14.22, 26. Lev. 27.30, 33.]³⁸

Fourthly. The *Tithes of the Poor*, or the *Tithes* of the *Third Year*; which the *Husbandman* did not carry to *Jerusalem*, but distributed, besides the *Former Tithes*, at home, to the *Orphan*, and the *Stranger*, and the *Poor*, as well as to the *Levite*. This was called, *Decima Tertia*. [Deut. 14.28, 29.]³⁹

But after all, the learned *Burman* ha's most learnedly demonstrated, That there was but *One Tithe*, which is in all the several Texts of Scripture still referr'd unto; Tho' we seem to find *Three Sorts* of *Tithes*, all these *Three* are but *One*. All the Difference is, That the *Tithe* which was given wholly to the *Levites*, in the *First* and *Second*, and the *Fourth* and *Fifth* Year, was in the *Third*; and the *Sixth* Year, given to the *Orphan* and the *Stranger*, and the *Poor*, as well as the *Levites*; For the *Levites* had enough without it, and might well enough spare it unto those other Objects.⁴⁰ As to what the *Talmuds* write about the *Second Tithes*; tis prov'd by *Cocceius*, That they were some of the Δυσβάστακτα φαρισαίων φορτία. And not required in the Scripture.⁴¹

The Demand of the Clergy to receive all the *Tithes*, from the Dues of the *Levites*, is much enfeebled by their Observation. *Reizius* notes well upon it, That a *Liberal Maintenance for the Ministry*, may from the Dues of the *Levites* be well argued for; but adds, *Ità tamen ne nimio stipendio distendantur, et tota Ecclesie Gazophylacia in ipsos effundantur, ut sit in pontificatu Romano, ubi episcopi nimio pastu Saginati torpent ac vitulantur; neque pauperes omni Alimento fraudentur.*⁴²

38 "*Decima Secunda*" or "Second tithe" (tenth). See also the Mishnah, tractate Pesahim 2.5 (*The Mishnah* 138) and tractate Maaser Sheni, chs. 1–4 (*The Mishnah* 73–80).

39 "*Decima Tertia*" or "Third tithe" (tenth), which is for the poor. See the Talmud, tractate Rosh HaShana (12b, 14b).

40 Mather's mediate source (via Reitzius's annotations on Godwyn's *Moses et Aaron*) is *Synopsis Theologiae, & speciatim Oeconomiae Foederum Dei*. Tomus Primus (1671), lib. 4, cap. 12, pp. 646–49, sec. XII–XII, by the Dutch theologian Franciscus Burmannus, aka. Frans Burman (1628–79), professor of theology and church history at Utrecht.

41 Via Reizius's annotations on Godwin's *Moses & Aaron* (1690), lib. 6 cap. 3, p. 470, annot. (3), Mather refers to Johannes Cocceius's commentary on Amos 4:4, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1689), tom 3, p. 497 § 10. Cocceius paraphrases Matth. 23:4 (Luke 11:46) that these second tithes were some of the "Pharisaical burdens grievous to be borne."

42 Mather quotes from Johann Heinrich Reitzius's Latin translation and annotation of Thomas Goodwin's *Moses & Aaron, seu Civiles & Ecclesiastici Ritus* (1679), lib. 6, cap. 3: "De Decimis," p. 478, annot. (2). Reitzius (via Goodwin) cautions, "do not let them [priests] be filled with an immoderate contribution, and the whole offering boxes of the Church be poured into them, as it is in the Roman high priesthood, where bishops are idle, fattened by excessive feeding, and rejoice with glee; neither let the poor be cheated of all their nourishment."

The same *Reizius*, takes notice, That our Saviour often taxed the *Covetousness* of the *Priests* and *Levites* (the *Pharisees* were often such,) which arose from the *Wealth* flowing in upon them; Yea, he brings diverse probable Arguments, that the *Rich Man*, [Luk. XVI.] was a *Priest*; and the *Rich Fool*, [Luk. XII.] was a *Levite*. The *Habit* as well as the *Diet*, of the Wretches intimate it. And the *Debtors* which the *Unjust Steward* in the adjacent Parable deals withal, seem to bee, *The Poor*, who ought to have received the *Tithe* of the *Oyl* and the *Wheat*.⁴³

[65r]

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Q. There ha's been an Opinion, very plausibly maintained, and with a vast Variety of Learning laboriously defended, by such learned Men as *Marshall*, and *Kircher*, and *Spencer*; That the *Egyptians* were they who had the first Rules and Rites of *Religion* among them; and that not only the *Religious Rites* of other Nations, but even of the *Israelites* themselves, were derived from the *Egyptians*.⁴⁴ And that in the Reformation whereto the Great God brought the *Israelites*, He wisely considered, how strongly they were tinctured with the *Egyptian* Superstitions; And He therefore Allowed the Continuance of many of them; only He Corrected them, He Improved them, He Applied them unto better Purposes.⁴⁵

⁴³ Extracted and translated from Sixtinus Amama's *De decimis Mosaïcis* (1v) via Reizius's Latin annotations of Godwin's *Moses & Aaron* (1679), lib. 6, cap. 3, pp. 476–78, annot. (2).

⁴⁴ Mather lists the most prominent critics who each in their own way asserted that the Israelites, a small, obscure, and weak people, adopted much of their religion and temple rites from their pagan neighbors, especially from the Egyptians, the most advanced civilization at the time. The first item in Mather's list of authors is *Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus Ebraicus Graecus & disquisitiones* (1672), a study of ancient chronologies, which aims to reconcile Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek chronologies, by Sir John Marshall (1602–85), a learned English antiquarian and chronologer. Next are *Cedipus Ægyptiacus. Hoc est Universalis Hieroglyphicae Veterum Doctrinae temporum iniuria abolitae instauration* (1652–54) and *Sphinx Mystagoga, sive Diatribe Hieroglyphica De Mumiis* (1676), two massive, multi-volume tomes on the ancient Egyptian religious cults, deities, and their significations, by “the last man who knew everything,” Athanasius Kircher (1601–80), a German Jesuit polymath at the prestigious Jesuit Collegio Romano. Finally, *Dissertatio De Urim & Thummim* (1669) and *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus Et Earum Rationibus* (1685), by John Spencer (1630–93), a learned English Hebraist and master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge. It is Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), which generated a huge outpouring of criticism (see esp. Christoph Matthäus Pfaff's “*Dissertatio Praeiminaris*”) and Herman Witsius's book-length attack, which Mather excerpts below. On John Marshall, see S. B. Black's “Sir John Marshall” (ODNB); on Athanasius Kircher, see D. Stolzenberg's *Egyptian Oedipus* (2013), J. Glassie's *A Man of Misconceptions* (2012), and P. Findlen, ed. *Athanasius Kircher* (2004); on John Spencer, see D. Stolzenberg's “John Spencer” (129–63), and D. Levin's *Ancient Wisdom* (2017) and his article “John Spencer's *De Legibus*” (49–92).

⁴⁵ R. Moses ben Maimon puts it well in his *Guide of the Perplexed*: God knew all too well that man's nature – like a leopard's spots – is hard to change. The Almighty therefore “suffered” his people to continue the accustomed rites, animal sacrifices, and worship of images they used to practice in Egypt, yet He “transferred them from created or imaginary and unreal things to His own name, may He be exalted, commanding us to practice them with regard to him. ...

Tis a prodigious Ostentation of Literature, which our *Hero's* have made, in the Asserting of this Opinion. But yett we have often lett fall our Indisposition to entertain an Opinion so Contrary to the Holy Word of God, so Derogatory to His Infinite Holiness. Now, inasmuch as that excellent Man of God, the admirable Dr. *Witsius*, ha's in his *Egyptiaca*, cultivated this noble Subject, and sett the dark Matter in a true Light, it will be worth our while, to extract from that Work, such Things as may have a Tendency to Illustrate the Heavenly Oracles? v. 34.

A. It shall be done. And we will produce the *Witsian* Assertions, in the Order, wherein the Incomparable Author ha's offered them.⁴⁶

I. The First Assertion.

It must be owned, That the *Israelites* did imbibe very much of the *Egyptian Idolatry*, while they were in their *Egyptian Captivity*. [Consider, Josh. 24.14. and Ezek. 20.7, 8. & 23.3, 19.] There was an Instance of this, in the *Calf-Worship*, first countenanced by *Aaron*, and afterwards Introduced by *Jeroboam*. Of *Aarons* Action tis truly observed by *Philo*, Ζηλωται των Αιγυπτιακων γενονται πλασματων· *Æmulatores facti sunt Figentorum Ægyptiacorum*.⁴⁷ Of the Ancients, we have *Lactantius* and *Jerom* and *Austin*, and *Basilius Seleuciensis*, & of the Moderns, without Number; who make this Observation, That which the Author of the *Mirabilia Scripture* ha's about the Commemoration of *Joseph*, in that *Idol*, is founded on very uncertain Conjectures;⁴⁸ & yett *Witsius* thinks, this as likely,

Through this divine ruse it came about that the memory of *idolatry* was effaced and that the grandest and true foundation of our belief – namely, the existence and oneness of the deity – was firmly established, while at the same time the souls had no feeling of repugnance and were not repelled because of the abolition of modes of worship to which they were accustomed" (*Guide* 3.32.526, 527).

⁴⁶ The following manuscript pages [65r–77v] are abstracted from *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ. Sive de Ægyptiacorum sacrorum cum Hebraicis collatione libri tres* (1683, 1696, 1717, 1739), lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 60, to lib. 3, cap. 15, p. 299, by Herman Witsius (1636–1708), a distinguished Dutch theologian, successively professor of theology at Franeker, Utrecht, and Leiden, whom Mather greatly admired. Witsius's massive work on covenant theology, *De Cæconomia Foederum Dei cum Hominibus libri quatuor* (1677), was widely praised at the time and went through many editions and translations for more than a century. Witsius's *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* was one of several rejoinders to the thesis of John Marsham, Athanasius Kircher, and especially of John Spencer that the Mosaic religion was largely derived from the pagan creed and practices of the Egyptians. On Mather's involvement in this cross-Atlantic debate, see my introduction, section 2. See also F. Parente's "Spencer, Maimonides," G. G. Stroumsa's "John Spencer," D. Stolzenberg, "John Spencer," and D. Levitin, "John Spencer's *De Legibus*." My subsequent references to Witsius's *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* are to the 1696 Amsterdam edition.

⁴⁷ Philo Judæus (*De Vita Mosis* 2.162, line 1) argues that when Aaron made the golden calf, the Israelites Ζηλωται των Αιγυπτιακων γίνονται πλασμάτων "became eager imitators of the Egyptian inventions" (*Works* 505).

⁴⁸ Among the ancients are Lactantius (*Divine Institutes* 4.10), in *ANF* (7:108); St. Jerome, on Hos. 4:13–14, in *Commentariorum in Osee Prophetam Libri Tres* [PL 025. 0850–853]; St.

as that of *Moncaeus*, That *Aaron* intended the Imitation of the *Cherub*, which the Elders of *Israel* had seen, (tho' there's no mention of it,) in their Vision of the God of *Israel*: [Tho' I confess, for my own Part, I greatly incline to *Moncaeus*'s Opinion;]⁴⁹ Why should we not rather think, of what *Strabo* tells us, of *Apis* worshipped by the *Memphites*, and *Mnevis*, by the *Heliopolites*, under the Figure of *Oxen*. *Tully*, and *Pliny*, and *Mela*, all tell us, of this *Apis*, A *Beef* worshipped by the *Egyptians* as a *God*.⁵⁰ And what can look more agreeably, than the Sense which *Pererius* has expressed of it? *Viderat superstitiosa Gens Hebræa, Ægyptiorum in Bovis Cultu Solemnitates, dum in Ægypto commorans ijs commisceretur; vidit et causam tantè Cultus, nimirum Bonorum terrenorum indè redundantiam: Quarè dum duriora in Deserto subirent, eos sibi subito Deos, qui inopie remediari possent, quales ipsi cum Ægyptijs Apides existimabant, adscivere*.⁵¹ It is clear, That the

Augustine (*City of God* 18.4–5; in *NPNFi* (2:363–64), Basilius Seleuciensis, *Sermones XLI* (In Noe Oratio vi) [PG 085. 0092, line 35 to 0093, line 9]; and Augustinus Hibernicus, *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* (lib. 1, cap. 15) [PL 035. 2163–2164], the Irish monk, not the one of Hippo. Among the representatives of “the moderns” is the French scholar and bishop of Soissons Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), who relates in his prized *Demonstratio Evangelica ad Serenissimum Delphinum* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 7, sec. 3, pp. 101–02, that the Egyptians conflated their sacred bovine images with that of Joseph, whom they honored for saving Egypt from a great famine by properly interpreting Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat and lean cows (Gen. 41:1–57). Much the same appears in Hugo Grotius's annotation on Exod. 25:18 (*Annotatio-nes* 1:55), and in Poole's valuable summaries of criticism on Exod. 32:4, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:481–85) and *Works* (5:354–61). See also Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (1:327–33, 339–40). Of course, Spencer discusses this issue at length in his *De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 8, sec. 2, pp. 805–07. On Aaron's golden calf, see also Mather's annotations on Exod. 32:4, 9 ff (above) and his *BA* (1:315, 440).

49 Witsius, *Ægyptiaca* (1696), lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 3, p. 61, refers to the learned French author from Arras Franciscus Moncaeus, aka. François de Monceaux (fl. late 16th c.). His *Aaron Purgatus sive De Vitulo Aureo, Libri duo* (1606) was placed on the RC *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1607, because Moncaeus argued that the Mosaic cherubim (like Aaron's molten calf) were of the same polymorphous shape – man, lion, ox, and eagle – as those in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 1:6–10; 10:1, 14–22) and were also present in Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 6:21–35; 7:25). The applicable passages to which Mather refers (via Witsius 61) appear in *Aaron Purgatus* (1606), lib. 1, caps. 4–7 and 16, pp. 46–71 and 199–209. See also *BA* 1:1045 note (147).

50 Strabo (*Geographica* 17.1.22, lines 7–9), Tully Cicero (*De Natura Deorum* (1.29.82), Pliny (*De Naturalis Historia* 8.71.184), and Pomponius Mela – the latter in Isaac Vossius's edition *Observationes ad Pomponium Melam De Situ Orbis* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 13, lines 66–70, of the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela (fl. 1st c. CE). Mela reports that “*Apis* – a black bull, marked by particular spots and different from other bulls in his tail and tongue – is the divinity of all the Aegyptian peoples. He is born only rarely, conceived not from mating cattle, as they say, but miraculously in a celestial fire. The day of his birth is particularly festive to the whole people” (*Description of the World* 1.58.51).

51 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 5, p. 62). Witsius's Latin excerpt is most likely from his paraphrase of “Disputatio IX et Disputatio IX,” in *Selectarum Disputationum Exodi* (1607), pp. 54–59, by Benedictus Pererius (Valentin Benito Pereira, Pereyra), a Spanish Jesuit philosopher and theologian at the prestigious Collegio Romano. Pererius maintains that “the superstitious Hebrew race had seen the solemn rites of the Egyptians in the worship of the ox. While residing in Egypt, it was intermixed for them [with their own belief]; they saw also a reason for such great worship, of course, the abundance thence of earthly goods: For this reason, while they were

Collegij Societa: Jesu Monachij. 1606.



Franciscus Moncaeus, *Aaron Purgatus Sive De Vitulo Aureo Libri duo*. Atrebatii, 1606.

Worship of *Bruites*, and particularly of *Beeves*, among the *Egyptians*, was more ancient, th{an} the Going of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*. [Consider Exod. 8.25, 26. with Exod. 24.5.] These are called, The *Abominations* of the *Egyptians*, because they were their *Idols*; and it would have been *Abominable* unto them, to have seen their *Gods* made a *Sacrifice*; which is the *Chaldee Paraphrase* upon the Place; and according to the Joke of *Anaxandrides*,

*Tu Bovem adoras; Ego eum Dijs Sacrifico.*⁵²

It is also clear, That they used the *Images* of the *Creatures* in their *Worship*, as well as the *Creatures* themselves. For this, we have a greater *Authority*, than that of *Strabo*, and of *Mela*, who saies, *Colunt Effigies multorum Animalium, atque ipsa magis Animalia*:⁵³ Even that of *Moses*, who, [Deut. 4.16, 17, 18.] forbad unto the *Israelites*, the *Likeness of any Beast*; inasmuch as He had brought them out of *Egypt*; and particularly, *The Likeness of Male or Female*; which may refer to the Two *Sexes* of *Beeves*; whereof, the *Males* were dedicated unto *Osiris*, the *Females* unto *Isis*. There is no need of thinking, That the whole *Fable* of *Osiris*, and *Isis*, and *Typhon*, told by *Plutarch*, was older than *Moses*; it might afterwards be interpolated with many *Things* from the very *History* of *Moses*.⁵⁴ Tis enough, That a *Golden* (or *gilded*) *Image* of a *Beef*, was then worshipped. Compare, Act. 7.39,

undergoing rather hard times in the wilderness, they selected suddenly for themselves those gods who could remedy their want, like the oxen, they had esteemed along with the Egyptians.”

52 The Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos (Exod. 8:25–26, 24:5), in Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:259, 329) relates the following: “But Moshe said [to Pharaoh], It will not be right to do so; because we shall take sheep, which are the abomination of the Mizraee [Egyptians], and offer them before the Lord our God. Behold, if we offer the abomination of the Mizraee before them, they would stone us with stones as an act of justice.” And Onkelos (on Exod. 24:5) reads, “they offered burnt offerings and consecrated oblations of oxen before the Lord” (Etheridge, *Targums Onkelos* 1:465, 524). In a fragment of Anaxandrides (fl. 4th c. BCE) – extant in Athenaeus Naucratis’s *Deipnosophistae* (bk. 7, Kaibel paragr. 55, line 16) – the Athenian comic poet pokes fun at the Egyptians: βούν προσκυνεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ θύω τοῖς θεοῖς. (*Fragmenta* 39, line 4). Witsius (63) presents the Latin translation only: *Tu Bovem adoras; Ego eum Dijs Sacrifico*, or, “You worship the bull, and I sacrifice your gods.” For a variant, see John Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1732), lib. 1, cap. 7, sec. 2, fol. 124.

53 Witsius (*Aegyptiaca*, lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 8, p. 63) quotes from Isaac Vossius’s edition, *Observationes ad Pomponius Mela* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 13, line 63. The Latin passage translates, “They pay cult to the images of many animals and even more to the animals themselves” (*Description of the World* 1.58.51). Strabo (*Geographica* 16.2.35) identifies Moses as “one of the Aegyptian priests” in “Lower Egypt” who “taught, that the Aegyptians were mistaken in representing the Divine Being by the images of beasts and cattle.”

54 Mather alludes to the etiological story of Isis and her husband Osiris, who was killed by his brother Set (Typhon). According to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 365b.38–367c.40), the marriage of Isis (mother earth) and Osiris (river Nile) represents the fecundity of the soil when the annual floodwaters of the Nile replenish the earth. Typhon (drought) shutting Osiris (water, moisture) in a coffin and thus killing him, Plutarch’s naturalistic explication signifies the cessation of the annual floodwaters of the Nile leading to a dangerous drought. Mather dismisses this ancient myth as an allegory younger than Moses because it is a distortion of the Exodus saga.

40, 41. The Education of *Jeroboam* in *Egypt*, inclined him to the like Imitation. [Compare 1. King. 12.28. with Exod. 32.4. And consider, Ezek. 23.8.]⁵⁵

There was another Instance of this in the Worship of *Tammuz*. The Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* observes well, *Thammuz* to bee the same with *Adonis*.⁵⁶ And *Jerom* concurs to the Observation; adding, That according to the Fable of the Pagans, in the Month of *Junæ*, a fine young Gentleman with whom | *Venus* was in Love, was killed by a Boar; and again brought unto Life; Hence the Month of *June* was called by his Name; & Women in this Month, first *wept* for the Death of the *Spark*, and then *sung* for his Resurrection. *Adonis* was a *Phœnician* Deity; the Name *Adon* signifies a *Lord*, in the Language of the *Phœnicians*.⁵⁷ They had it from the *Egyptians*; among whom it was *Osiris*; and the whole Scene of the Worship of *Thammuz*, was laid in the Mourning upon the, Ἀφανισμος *Osiridis*.⁵⁸ On the same Day that the *Byblienses* in *Phœnicia*, celebrated their Ἀδωνιασμος, the *Alexandrians* in *Egypt*, annually including an Epistle in some little Paper-Vessel, which *Lucian* calls, Βυβλινην κεφαλην, with certain Ceremonies, they sent it out to Sea, and of its own Accord, it perpetually arrived at *Byblus* in Seven Dayes Time; where upon, the Women that had satt mourning for *Adonis*, were transported into a more than ordinary Acclamation, for the finding of their *Adonis*.⁵⁹ [65v] [*Procopius* understands this Usage, as intended,

55 According to Moncaeus (*Aaron Purgatus*, lib. 1, caps. 7–9, pp. 66–96), King Jeroboam, educated in Egypt, set up the worship of a golden calf at Dan and Bethel in imitation of Aaron's bovine statue in the wilderness (1 Kings 11:40, 12:28–29; Exod. 32:4; Ezek. 23:8). Mather's entire paragraph is a synopsis of Witsius's *Ægyptiaca* (lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 8–13, pp. 63–65).

56 The anonymous *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (*Chronicon Paschale*) is a 7th-c. Greek chronology of the world from the creation of Adam to the reign of the Greek emperor Heraclius (610–41 CE). Mather follows well-established precedent and identifies the Sumerian shepherd god Thammuz with the Greek Adonis, associated with rebirth (*Chronicon Alexandrinum* 1:244, line 2). Much the same is reported in Theodoretus Cyrrensis on Ezek. 8:14 (*Interpretatio Ezechielem* 8.14) [PG 081. 0885, lines 23] and in Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* [PG 070. 441, line 27].

57 St. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem Prophetam Libri Quatuordecim* (lib. 3, cap. 8, vers. 13, 14) [PL 025. 082–083].

58 Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 371b.49, line 6) mentions the ἀφανισμός “disappearance” or “destruction” of Osiris. As the old story goes, Set (Typhon) and seventy-two co-conspirators tricked Osiris (ruler of Egypt) to lie down in a wooden box which, when sealed with lead and cast into the Nile, drifted to Byblus on the Phœnician shore, where it became lodged in a tree trunk (*De Iside et Osiride* 356A.13–357D.16). Plutarch's interpretation of the ancient myth as a representation of the Nile's seasonal floods illustrates his fusion of Euhemerism and the deification of nature: The story of Osiris's imprisonment in the wooden chest signifies the seasonal cycle of the low water level of the Nile “in the month of Athyr [November], at the time, when owing to the complete cessation of the Etesian winds, the Nile recedes to its low level and the land becomes denuded” (*De Iside et Osiride* 366d.39). See also T. S. Brown's “Euhemerus and the Historians.”

59 The Greek satirist Lucianus of Samosata ridicules human credulity in his *De Syria dea* (sec. 7), where he pokes fun at the Ἀδωνιασμος, the corybantic wailing of women over the death of Adonis. The Adonia (the feast of Adonis) involved elaborate rites of lamentation observed

in Isa. 18.1.] The Mystery of it was; The *Sun* had been after a sort murdered, by a rough Winter; but was now gott back again to the Summer *Solstice*.⁶⁰

There were other Instances, wherein the *Israelites* were Apes of the *Egyptians*. But what shall we say? So they were of all their other Idolatrous Neighbours. [Consider, Jer. 3.2. and Ezek. 16.15, 25, 28, 29.]⁶¹

As an Appendix therefore to this Assertion, we must add, That the *Egyptians* were not the First Inventors, of all the *Idolatries* & *Superstitions* followed by the *Israelites*. The *Original* of the *Teraphim*, is particularly by *Kircher* amiss ascribed unto them.⁶²

The *Teraphim* were a Sort of *Domestic Idols*. The Use of them was most certainly displeasing to God. [Consider 1. Sam. 15.23. and 2. King. 23.24. and Zech. 10.2.] It is plain, that *Laban* the *Syrian*, in the *Dayes of Jacob*, counted them his *Gods*. But it is not so, that he learnt the Use of them from *Abraham*, or his Family, returning with them out of *Egypt*. Tho' *Kircher* saies, *Abraham* returned into *Mesopotamia*, *Paul* saies, he *did not*.⁶³ [See Heb. 11.15. and compare, Gen. 24.5, 6, 7.] Or, suppose he *did*, yett it is not likely, that his Family, would so take up the *Idolatries* of the *Egyptians*, as to become even the Teachers thereof unto the *Chaldeans* themselves. [Consider, Gen. 18.19.] *Kirchers* Author *Abenephius*, is too modern, to have his Credit in this Matter, of any Significancy.⁶⁴ His Countreyman *Maimonides* is of more Authority than *he*: And

by women when the waters of the Phoenician Adonis River turned red in the spring or early summer. Lucian judges, however, that this mournful feast does not commemorate the death of Adonis, but that of the Egyptian Osiris, who (the good people of Byblus believed) lay buried in their city. Thus Lucian reports the story of a human head, Βυβλίνην κεφαλὴν (7, line 12), i. e., "the head of Byblus," which miraculously floats from Alexandria (Egypt) to Byblus (modern Lebanon) during a seven-day journey. Mather believes the Septuagint alludes to this ancient myth of the ἐπιστολὰς βυβλίνας, the "letters to Byblus," in its punning reference to ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος (LXX Isa. 18:2), the "paper letters sent on the water." For other references to the Adonis River, see also *BA* (1:444–45).

60 Procopius of Gaza (*Commentarii in Isaiam* 18:2) [PG 87.2.2131, lines 14, 32]. Mather appears to prefer Plutarch's naturalistic interpretation of the ancient Adonis/Osiris myths. Witsius (*Aegyptiaca*, lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 14–15, pp. 65–67).

61 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca* (lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 20, pp. 68–69).

62 Witsius (*Aegyptiaca*, lib. 2, cap. 3, secs. 1–2, pp. 69–70) takes issue with Athanasius Kircher's *Cedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), tomus 1, syntagma IV, cap. 3, p. 258, who argues that the Teraphim, or statues of family gods – like those which Rachel stole from her father Laban (Gen. 31:30–35) – were of Egyptian origin. See also Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History* (2:77–109) and, of course, Jacques Gaffarel's *Unheard-of Curiosities* (1650), part 2, chs. 6, pp. 146–98. Mather also discusses the nature and function of the Teraphim in his annotation on Gen. 31:19 (*BA* 1:1040–47). Modern scholars, however, disagree on the origin, shape, and function of the Teraphim תרפים, a plural noun, which occurs 15 times in the OT (*DDD*).

63 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 3, sec. 3, pp. 70–71); Kircher (tom. 1, synt. IV, cap. 3, pp. 258–59).

64 Kircher (259) cites at length a passage from an Arabic manuscript of Abenephius, aka. Rabbi Barachias Nephi of Babylon, who had translated into Arabic a series of Egyptian hieroglyphs engraved on an obelisk. According to Abenephius, the Teraphim was an image of a boy,

he makes these Talkative *Teraphim*, to be of a *Zabian* Original. *Zabij erexerunt Stellis Imagines; Soli quidem aureas, Lunæ verò argenteas. Deindè Sacella ædificaverunt, Imaginesque in illis collocarunt, in quas vires stellarum influere arbitrabantur, easque intelligendi Virtutem habere, hominibusque donum, Prophetiæ largiri, ac, denique, quæ [ipsis] utilia sunt ac salutaria indicare.*⁶⁵ He saies, That *Abraham* was brought up in this Religion of the *Zabians*; but after this *Pillar of the World*, (as he calls him,) had learn't the true Knowledge of God, he not only Rejected their Vanities, but also publickly opposed them. The Opinion of *Kircher*, is well censured by our *Witsius*; *Tam immane dictu est, ut ipso propemodum sono horrorem audienti incuria.*⁶⁶ And with that Censure, I will supersede, all the Labour of otherwise confuting it. These *Penates*, were doubtless first used among the *Chaldeans*. And their Name of *Teraphim* is probably derived by *L. De Dieu*, from the Arabic *תרף* / *Uberem et affluentem reddidit. Hinc forte תרפים* / *Dij qui rem familiarem abundare faciunt.*⁶⁷

II. The Second Assertion.

In *Principles and Practices*, approved by God, wherein the *Egyptians* had some *Agreement* with the *Israelites*, the *Agreement* was not so great as learned Men pretend it was.

No Christian can think, but that *Apollo* lyed, when he referred unto the old *Egyptians*, for the Knowledge of True Happiness, and the Way leading to it. We are sure, the *Way* which God præscribed unto the *Israelites*, was opposed unto the *Way of the Egyptians*. [Lev. 18.3. and Ezek. 20.7. & 23.27.] *Marsham* cannot be allow'd, That the *ἡ τῶν μακαρῶν ὁδός*, which *Apollo* commends the *Egyptians*

who was called "the Egyptian Serapis" and employed in divinations (*Kircher* 259). With this key in hand, the venerable Jesuit set out to crack the code of the ancient Egyptian pictographs (hieroglyphs), in his *Obeliscus Pamphilius* (1650), lib. 1, caps. 2, 4, pp. 13, 45; lib. 2, caps. 6, 10, pp. 124, 130–34, 163–64; lib. 4, pp. 260, 272, 299, 306, etc.; and in *Kircher's Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta* (1643). On the intricate history of translating this manuscript, a prized possession in the library of the learned French antiquarian Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (*Lettres de Peiresc*, vol. 12, pars 2, p. 488, [note I]), see D. Stolzenberg's *Egyptian Oedipus* (71–103) and J. Glassie's *Man of Misconceptions* (64–67, 81–86).

⁶⁵ Mather leans on *Witsius's* slightly altered quotation from Buxtorf's translation of *Maimonides's Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 29, p. 423: "The Sabians set up statues for the planets [stars], golden statues for the sun and silver ones for the moon. And they built temples, set up the statues in them, and thought that the forces of the planets overflowed toward these statues and that consequently these statues talked, had understanding, gave prophetic revelation to people and made known to people what was useful and wholesome to them" (adapted from *Guide* 3.29.516).

⁶⁶ *Witsius* (lib. 2, cap. 3, sec. 5, p. 72) censures his Jesuit colleague, Athanasius Kircher: "to make such a huge noise, that for someone hearing the very sound of the horror, amounts to carelessness."

⁶⁷ *Witsius* (sec. 12, pp. 75–76) quotes from Ludovicus De Dieu's annotation on Gen. 31:19, in *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamentum* (1648), pp. 41–42; rpt. De Dieu's *Critica Sacra* (1693), p. 18. De Dieu derives from the Arabic *תרף* / [teraph] 'it rendered rich and plentiful.' Hence, perhaps, *teraphim* signifies "gods who bring about an abundance of family fortune."

for finding out, was, *The Way of the Lord*, whereof we read so often in His Holy Oracles.⁶⁸ The Verses which are thus assigned unto *Apollo*, have upon them the Symptoms of being rather the Fiction of some Knavish *Græcian*. They agree well enough with the Verses of *Diphilus*, which mention the *Two Wayes to Hades*;

Μιαν δικαίων, χατέραν ἀσεβῶν οδόν.⁶⁹

They seem to be an Imitation of the *Ascrean Stroke*,

Μακρός δὲ καὶ ὀρθίος οἶμος κλ’

Silius in a Manner translates the Lines of *Hesiod*, when he tells us how,

*Ardua saxoso perducit semita clivo.*⁷⁰

And thus in *Cicero*’s Academical Quæstions, we read of a, *Via Vitæ*. So that others, as well as the *Egyptians*, had the *Term*; and about the *Thing*, there were none that err’d more bruitishly than the *Egyptians*. *Austin*, in his Book, *De Civitate Dei*, saies very justly of that Nation, *Solet falsò et inaniter de suarum Doctrinarum Antiquitate gloriam.*⁷¹ | But, he very truly shoves, That our Patriarchs are of

[66r]

68 John Marsham, *Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus* (1672), lib. 2, seculum IX, pp. 149–50, adapts a fragment of Porphyrius’s *De philosophia ex oraculis* (140, lines 1 and 6), extant in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.10.2, line 12). Here, Apollo’s oracle sings of the knowledge of ἡ τῶν μακάρων ὁδὸς, “the heavenward paths,” which the Phoenicians learned from the Egyptians.

69 Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 13.13.47, lines 7–8) attributes the following lines to the comic poet Diphilus: καὶ γὰρ καθ’ Ἀιδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν, / μίαν δικαίων, ἑτέραν δ[ὲ] ἀσεβῶν εἶναι ὁδόν, “For two ways, as we deem, to Hades lead – / One for the good, the other for the bad.” This oft-quoted variant, which also appears in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 5.14.121, subsec. 1, lines 7–8) is now attributed to the Greek comic poet Philemon Syracusanus (c. 360–c. 264). Mather’s second citation from Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 3, p. 77) agrees with Philemon’s version, which reads, μίαν δικαίων χατέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδόν (*Fragmenta* [Kock], fragm. 246, lines 7), or “one for the just, but the other for the ungodly.”

70 The “Ascrean strokes” of Hesiod (born in the Boeotian hamlet of Ascrea) appear in his *Opera et dies* (290–91), where this old adage reads, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρθίος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον. This second-hand citation from Witsius (78), rehearses the truism that “the path to [Excellence] is long and steep, and rough at first.” It also charmed Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 4.2.5, subsec. 2, lines 4–5) and others, and in Mather’s day was generally accessed in Johannes Stobæus’s *Anthologium* (3.1.205b, lines 23–24). The Roman consul, orator, and epic poet Silius Italicus (c. 26–102 CE) says much the same in his epic *Punica* (15.102), where personified Virtue reminds her companion that Rome was brought low by its pursuit of luxury and pleasure. To attain honor, glory, and victory, however, one has to follow “a steep track [which] leads by a rocky ascent.” Says Milton’s wily serpent, “Hard are the ways of truth, rough to walk, / Smooth on the tongue discourst, pleasing to th’ ear / ... / most men admire / Vertue, who follow not her lore” (*Paradise Regained* 1.478–79, 482–83).

71 Witsius (78) loosely refers to the “*Via Vitæ*” or “journey through life,” a mode of striving for virtue, discussed, for instance, in Cicero’s *Academica* and *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* (bk. 3). The proof-text from St. Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* (18.39) [PL 041. 0599] is to affirm that the Israelites possess the oldest form of wisdom, the *Prisca theologia*, which God bestowed upon Adam and from him passed down in a direct line of succession via Noah, Shem, and Heber to Abraham and Moses. That is why not even Egypt will “falsely and vainly glory in the antiquity of her doctrines.” And as far as philosophy is concerned, “which professes to teach men something which shall make them happy,” Mather claims, it already prospered in the days of the thrice-great Mercury Trismegistus (Hermes Trismegistus), long before Greece received its

greater Antiquity, even than *Isis*, before whose Time the *Egyptians* do not pretend unto any thing of Letters. And as to that Philosophy, which professes to teach, *Undè fiant homines Beati*, he saies, it was introduced about the Time of *Mercurius Trismegistus*; and this, he showes, was after the Dayes of *Moses*, who lived before the Time of this *Mercurius's* Grandfathers Father.⁷²

There are great Pains taken, to prove that the *Egyptians* worshipped but *One* Supreme God; and that the rest were but *Mediators*, to bring them unto that One God. It seems not so proper to call these, by the Name of, *Medioxumi*; For the, *Dij Medioxumi*, were so called, from their *Middle State* of Dignity, between *Superi* and *Inferi*, rather than from any *Mediatorial* Character & Employment.⁷³ Thus *Plautus* divides them into, *Superi atque Inferi et Medioxumi*.⁷⁴ *Gyraldus* tell us, *Latini Medioximos vocitarunt, qui quidem omnes minus lucide splendideque naturæ, quàm illi cælestes, sunt; nec tamen ità corpulenti sunt, ut hominum capiantur obtutu*.⁷⁵ *Servius* observes therefore, that *Hercules* was on this Account called, *Communis Deus*, and *Medius fidius*. But, we lett this pass, and say, That if the *Egyptians* may be defended, by this Notion, there is no Abomination in

philosophy, but certainly after the time of *Moses* (*City of God* 18.39), in *NPNFi* (2:383–84). *Mather* and his peers also speculated whether *Mercurius Trismegistus* was no one else but the Hebrew lawgiver *Moses* (*BA* 1:308, 314, and esp. 1065). On the line of descent of ancient theology from *Adam* to *Moses*, see H. C. Maddux's "Euhemerism and Ancient Theology."

⁷² Witsius, *Ægyptiaca* (1693), lib. 2, cap. 4, secs. 1–5, pp. 77–79.

⁷³ *Mather* here draws on Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 6, p. 79; lib. 1, cap. 2, sec. 4, p. 6) and on *Marshall's Chronicus Canon* (1672), lib. 2, secul. IX, § I, pp. 155–56). Citing *Tacitus's* contrast between the Hebrews' conception of the deity and that of the Egyptians (*Historia* 5.5) and *Porphyrius's* explanation in *De Abstinencia* (4.9), *Marshall* believes that the "*Medioxumi*" (intermediaries) or "*Dij Medioxumi*" (demigods) are, like the angels in the Judeo-Christian pantheon, mere agents midway between the Supreme Deity and man. In the Egyptian cults, they are represented as various types of sacred animals and in shapes personifying nature's elemental forces (*Porphyrius, De Abstinencia* 4.9). *Plutarch*, too, reports that according to the Egyptian priest *Manetho* and *Hecataeus* of *Abdera*, the Egyptians worshipped their supreme god *Amoun* (*Ammon*), "whom they believe[d] to be the same as the Universe, as if he were invisible and concealed" (*De Iside et Osiride* 9.354d). On these "intermediaries," see also *Maimonides* (*Guide* 1.36.83–84).

⁷⁴ In his *Cistellaria* (2.1.200), the Roman playwright *Titus Maccius Plautus* (c. 254–184 BCE) has *Alcesimarchus* invoke all the deities "above and below, and of the middle rank [demigods]."

⁷⁵ Witsius (79) quotes at second hand from *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (lib. 2), by the Latin prose writer and jurist *Martianus Minneus Felix Capella* (fl. 5th c. CE). The second-hand passage appears in *De Deis Gentium Libri sive Syntagma XVII* (1565), by the Italian Renaissance poet-scholar *Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus*, aka. *Giglio Gregorio Giralaldi* (1479–1552), friend of *Pico della Mirandola*, and author of *De Deis Gentium Libri sive Syntagma XVII* (1565). My page reference is to *Gyraldi's Opera Omnia Duobus Tomis* (1696), tom. 1, synt. XV: *De Dæmonibus, Geniis, Laribus caeterisque*, col. 437(F). Anyway, *Giralaldi* states, "The Latins habitually called them middlemost [gods], all of whom are indeed less of a bright, shining nature, than those heavenly ones; nor, however, are they thus [visibly] embodied, so that they may be captured by the gaze of men."

Paganism incapable of Defence.⁷⁶ However, the Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, particularly as described by *Diodorus*, had no Manner of Agreement with the Theology of the *Israelites*.⁷⁷ The Zeal of the *Egyptians* for the *Traditions of their Fathers*, which they tell us, was resembled by that of the *Israelites* against *עבודה זרה* / *A Foreign Worship*, was as remarkably found in almost all other Nations.⁷⁸ It is remarked by *Servius*, what a Caution there was both among the *Athenians* and the *Romans*, *Ne quis novas Religiones introduceret*.⁷⁹ Among the *Athenian* Lawes, *Petit* gives us this as the Second, & of Eternal Authority, That the Gods were to be worshipped, *νομοις πατριοις*, *Secundum patrias consuetudines*.⁸⁰ The *Roman* Lawes were very severe against *New Gods*, as *Tully* notes. And *Posthumius* in *Livy*, makes an Oration, wherein he argues how much the introducing of New and Strange Rites had a Tendency to the Dissolution of all Religion.⁸¹ *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* tells us, how careful the City was about this Matter. And *Mæcenas* thus (in *Dion Cassius*) advised *Augustus*, about the Worship of God; *Αυτός τε σεβου κατὰ [τὰ] πατρία, και τους άλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκαζε*. *Ipse cole juxta Leges Patrias, et ut alij colant effice*. And *Suetonius* tells us, how *Augustus* followed the Advice.⁸² But indeed what Nation was ever otherwise disposed? Memorable is the Saying

76 In his *Servii Grammatici in Vergilii Aeneidos Commentarius* (1532), p. 508 (g–h), the Roman grammarian Maurus Servius Honoratius glosses in his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.268–79) that Hercules became revered as “God of the community” and “loyal mediator” (see also Georg Thilo's Teubner 1883 edition of Servius, 2:235, # 275).

77 Diodorus Siculus (1.12. secs. 9–13) speaks of the celestial and eternal deities of the Egyptians, who “visit all the inhabited world, revealing themselves to men in the form of sacred animals, and at times even appearing in the guise of men or in other shapes.”

78 The Hebrew phrase *עבודה זרה* / [Avodah Zarah], or “foreign worship” (idolatry), is also the title of the Talmud, tractate in *Seder Nezikin* (*Order of Damages*). See also Dionysius Vossius's Latin translation of and annotations on Maimonides, *De Idololatria Liber* (1641).

79 In his commentary on the *Aeneid* (8.187), *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* (1883), p. 226, # 187, Servius glosses that the ancient Greeks and Romans were vigilant, “lest anyone introduce a new religion.”

80 Via Witsius (81), Mather provides a shortened quotation from Samuel Petit's *Leges Atticae* (1635), lib. 1, tit. 1, p. 2, who in his turn cites from the ancient law of the proverbial Draco, as extant in Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia* (4.22, lines 33–34). At any rate, Draco (7th c. BCE), first lawgiver of Athens, decreed that the eternal gods are to be worshiped according to the “law of the patriarchs” and “attended by the customs of the fathers.” Both Witsius (81) and Petit (2) read “*sanctiones*” (laws, ordinances) instead of Mather's “*consuetudines*” (customs, traditions).

81 Tully Cicero (*De Legibus* 2.19) has Marcus invoke the vengeance of heaven against anyone who dishonors the deities, temples, or groves of the state or introduces new gods. Likewise, Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 39.16) reminds his audience that their fathers outlawed the performance of any foreign religion, expelled prophets and jugglers from the city, burned their books of divination, and stopped sacrifices contrary to Roman law.

82 In his *Antiquitates Romanae* (2.19.2–4), the Greco-Roman rhetorician Dionysius Halicarnassus marvels that the Roman Republic neither neglected the ancient gods of Rome nor ever countenanced in public those of the foreign peoples under her dominion. Thus Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae* (52.36.1, lines 3–4) has Maecenas counsel Augustus Caesar, *αὐτός τε σεβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια και τους άλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκαζε*. “Do you not only yourself worship the Divine Power everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our father, but compel all others to honour it.” And Suetonius (*Vita Divi Augusti* 93, line 1) approvingly reports

of Aristotle, τα πατρια εθη παρα πασι παραβαινειν αδικον εστι· *Patrios Ritus violare ubique gentium nefarium habetur*.⁸³

Plutarch mightily cries up the Doctrines of the *Egyptians*, as not having in them any thing, *Unreasonable*, or *Superstitious*, or *Fabulous*. And yett in another Place, he reproaches *Herodotus*, for corrupting the Gravity and Purity of the Greek Rites, των Αιγυπτίων ἀλαζονείαις και μυθολογίαις, *Superbijs et Fabulis Ægyptiorum*.⁸⁴ And the whole World is against *Plutarch*, as being sensible that there could be nothing so foolish & sottish as the *Egyptians*. The Poets derided them; as *Antiphanes* does in a Satyr upon them, for making a God of an *Eel*. In *Philostratus* we have *Apollonius* laughing at the ridiculous *Images* and *Animals* wherein they sought their *Deities*. And tho' *Kircher* in our Dayes ha's found profound *Mysteries* in their *Madnesses*, *Philostratus* declares that in his Dayes, the *Egyptians* could give no Manner of Reason for what they did.⁸⁵ And how does *Juvenal* satyryze them?

*Quis nescit qualia demens Ægyptus portenta colat?*⁸⁶

Cicero writing, *De Naturâ Deorum*, explodes, *Ægyptiorum Dementiam*. It was very late before the Romans, would permit the *Sacra Ægyptiaca*, to be brought into their City. They are called, *Monstra*, by *Virgil*. *Varro* could not bear, that at *Rome* any Respect should be shown them.⁸⁷ *Augustus* in his Travels thro'

that the Roman emperor dismissed the religious ceremonies of foreign peoples but strictly observed the ancient customs of Rome.

⁸³ The memorable sayings of almighty Aristotle are not given in his own words, but in the paraphrase of the Greek historian and rhetorician Anaximenes Lampsacenus (c. 380–320 BCE): τὰ πατρια ἔθνη παρὰ πᾶσι παραβαίνειν ἀδικόν ἐστι (*Ars rhetorica vulgo Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 2.3, line 6), which is in our vernacular, “[all men regard as] unjust to transgress the customs of our forefathers” (*Rhetoric to Alexander* 2, lines 34–35). Compare with Aristotle's *De virtutibus et vitiis* 1251a, lines 36–37): “It belongs to injustice to violate ancestral customs and laws, to disobey enactments and rulers” (*On Virtues and Vices* 7, in *Complete Works* 2:1984–85).

⁸⁴ Mather complains that Plutarch in his *De Iside et Osiride* (353e, lines 5–6) rants οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλογον οὐδὲ μυθῶδες οὐδ' ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας that the Egyptians have “nothing that is irrational or fabulous or prompted by superstition,” but Plutarch contradicts himself in his *De Herodoti malignitate* (857c, lines 1–2) by sneering at τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἀλαζονείαις καὶ μυθολογίαις, “the arrogance and rubbish of the Egyptians.”

⁸⁵ Antiphanes (c. 408–c. 330 BCE), the prolific Greek comic playwright of Chios laughs, in an extant passage (Fragm. 147, lines 1–7), at his Egyptian interlocutor: “Your idol is my idol too, but in a different way. You Egyptians worship the eel as a deity, but I as a dainty dish.” Likewise, Flavius Philostratus, in his *Vita Apollonii* (6.19, lines 2–8), has Thespision (the Gymnosophist) get quite denuded when Apollonius sarcastically asks what possessed the Egyptians to deify their gods in the shape of irrational and contemptible animals. In their turn, Witsius (83) and Mather laugh at Athanasius Kircher's endeavor in *Obeliscus Pamphilius* (1650) and his huge *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (1652–54) to extract – like Swift's Laputans “Sun-Beams out of Cucumbers” – divine mysteries from Egyptian hieroglyphics.

⁸⁶ Juvenal is given center stage with his needling question to his Bithynian friend Volusius, “Is there anyone who doesn't know the kind of monsters that crazy Egypt worships?” (*Satire* 15, lines 1–2, Braund translation).

⁸⁷ The divine Cicero charges, “With the errors of the poets may be classed the monstrous doctrines of the magi and the insane mythology of Egypt” (*De natura deorum* 1.16.43). Witsius

Egypt, would not step once out of his Way, for a Sight of *Apis*; for, he said, he worshipped not *Beeves* but *Gods*.⁸⁸ *Persius* complains, That *Isis* had found the Way to *Rome*. *Suetonius* is very sharp upon the *Priests* of *Isis*.⁸⁹ *Lampridius* both *Fretts* and *Flouts*, at *Commodus*, for that, *Sacra Isidis coluit, ut et caput raderet, et Anubim portaret*. Yea, & *Commodus* himself made a *Play* of the *Matter*.⁹⁰ *Tertulian* tells, How the *Idols* of *Egypt*, were driven out of the *Capitol*, & chased away from the *Court of the Gods*. And *Suetonius* tells us, How *Tiberius* restrained all *Devotions* to them, and condemned unto the *Fire* all the *Instruments* of those *Devotions*.⁹¹ Yea, *Plutarch* himself confesses, That the *Egyptian* *Gods* and *Rites*, exposed all *Religion* to *Derision*; & begatt a *Superstition* indeed in weaker *People*, but in the *δριμύτεροι* and *θρασύτεροι*, *People* of more *Spirit* and *Boldness*, a *Bruitish Denial of a God*, and a *Total Irreligion*.⁹² | Indeed so horrid and stupid, were the *Idolatries* of *Egypt*, that they not only placed the *Heads* of *Dogs*, and *Catts*, and *Asses* and *Serpents*, upon the *Shoulders* of their *Gods*; but (besides what *Origen*, & *Jerom*, and *Casarius*, and *Clemens*, and others lay to their Charge,) *Minutius Felix* reproaches them; *Quod non Isidem magis, quàm ceparum Acrimonias metuant; Nec Serapidem magis, quàm strepitus per pudenda corporis expressos contremiscant?*⁹³ Yea, the *Mendesians* worshipped a *Living Goat*, & prostituted their most beautiful *Gentlewomen*, to an infandous *Conjunction* with their *God*.⁹⁴ *Herodotus*, and *Pindar*, and *Strabo*, and *Ælian*, and *Aristides Rhetor*, are *Vouchers* for this horrible *Story*; And *Asclepiades* writes in the

(84) here relies for his references to Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.698) on Terrence Varro's *De Lingua Latina* (5.10.57–58) in Servius's annotation in *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* (Georgius Thilo's edition 2:302). Be that as it may, Virgil (*Aeneid* 8.698) dismisses the "monstrous gods" of the Egyptians, and Varro (*De Lingua Latina* 5.10.57–60) scorns their sky-gods whose origin he traces to natural phenomena.

88 In his *Vita Divi Augusti* (93), Suetonius commends Augustus Caesar for disregarding the Egyptian *Apis*, and Caesar's grandson Gaius for doing the same in Jerusalem.

89 Sextus Aurelius Propertius (*Elegiarum* 2.33a) has Persius poke fun at the cow-headed goddess *Io* (*Isis*, *Hathor*), asking her, "Isn't Egypt with its dark foundlings enough for you? Why have you chosen the long journey to Rome?" (*Complete Elegies* 219). And biting Suetonius (*Vita Domitiani* 1.2) speaks of the "fickle superstitions" of the priests of *Isis* (*Lives* 2:345).

90 The Roman Aelius Lampridius, in his *Life of Commodus* (1.9.4), snickers that the son of Marcus Aurelius, Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus (161–192 CE), "practiced the worship of *Isis* and even went so far as to shave his head and carry a statue of *Anubis*," the jackal-headed deity (*Historia Augusta* 1:288).

91 Tertullian (*Apologeticus Adversus Gentes*, cap. 6.8 [PL 001.0355–356], *Apology* (6), in *ANF* (3:23). Suetonius (*Vita Tiberi* 36), in *Lives* (1:345).

92 Witsius (84–85). Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (379e, line 4) fears the *δριμύτεροις* and *θρασύτεροις*, the "cynical" and "bold" who will fall prey to rationalism and atheism.

93 An early Latin apologist for Christianity, Marcus Minutius Felix reproaches the Egyptians "who are not more afraid of *Isis* than they are of the pungency of onions, not of *Serapis* more than they tremble at their bodies" (*The Octavius* 28), in *ANF* (4:191).

94 Herodotus (2.46) relates that the *Mendesians* (Egyptians who worship their hircine god *Mendes*, aka. *Pan*), submitted women to coupling with he-goats as a public spectacle.

Defence of it.⁹⁵ Now, τοιαυτη η Αιγυπτίων ασχημων αθεοτης μαλλον η θεολογια, as Eusebius well expresses it; This, *Divinitatis omnis ejectio potius quàm Theologia*, why should any learned Christians, go to compare it with the Divinity of the *Israelites*?⁹⁶

It will be pleaded, That the *Egyptian* Divinity, was all *Symbolical* and *Ænigmatical*.⁹⁷ Certainly, It was not *all* so. The *Mendesian* Part at least, was not. But in reality, It was an hotch potch of such Confusion, that Posterity growing perfectly *Ashamed* of it, began to stretch their Witts, that they might find *Mysteries* in it: An Argument well prosecuted by Eusebius.⁹⁸ And their odd *Gods*, many of them were but Gentlemen who had once merited well of the Commonwealth; A Thing observed by *Philo Biblius*, and *Plutarch*, and others. Their *θεοποια*, was a Celebration of their *Dead Hero's*; the *Mysteries* found in it, were the Invention of later Ages. Or, If they had any *Mysteries*, they rose no Higher, than what concerned *Nature* and *Body*; the Highest Flights whereof, you will find in the Authors quoted by Eusebius.⁹⁹ And herein also the *Egyptian* Subtilty, fell very short of the *Græcian*. Vossius ha's ingeniously detected the *Fraud* of *Plutarch*, in dressing up the *Egyptian* Religion, with a *Græcian* Subtilty. When we have read the *Hieroglyphicks* of *Horus*, what are we the Wiser?¹⁰⁰ All the vast Endeavours of

95 Witsius's primary source (86) for Herodotus (2.46); the Boeotian Pindar (*Fragment incertorum* 201); Strabo (*Geographica* 17.19); Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 3.23; *Historia* 7.19); the Greek orator Aelius Aristides Rhetor (117–81), in his fragment *Agyptios* (361) – is Samuel Bochart's *Hierozoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 53, cols. 640–42). Furthermore, Asclepiades of Mendes is to have defended some such incidents in his *Θεολογουμένων*; i. e., if we take Suetonius's words for it in his *Life of Augustus* (94.4). On this topic, see J. E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within* (2011), pp. 66–80.

96 Lastly, Eusebius Pamphilus, in his *Praeparatio evangelica* (2.1.51, line 1), shakes his head: τοιαυτη [καί] ἡ Αἰγυπτίων ἀσχήμων ἀθεότης μᾶλλον ἢ θεολογία, adding “*Divinitatis omnis ejectio potius quàm Theologia*”: “such is the unseemly theology, or rather atheism, of the Egyptians,” adding, this “whole system of divinity is degrading even to oppose” (*Preparation* 2.1.51d).

97 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 18, pp. 86–87) draws on John Marsham, *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus* (1672), lib. 2, secul. 4, § III, p. 57), who speaks of the arcane theology of the Egyptians.

98 Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 2.1.52a).

99 Mather here invokes the ancient Euhemerist claim (fl. 4th c. BCE) that the deities of the Greeks, Egyptians, and Chaldeans were nothing but deified kings and lawgivers who in aftertimes were revered as gods. See also H. C. Maddux's “Euhemerism and Ancient Theology.” Both (H)eren(n)ius Philo, aka. Philo Byblius, Philon Byblos (c. 64–141 CE), a Hellenic historian mostly remembered for his extracts from Sanchuniathon's lost Phoenician history, in *Fragmenta* (Jacoby-F 3c, 790F, fragm. 1, lines 69–83); and Plutarch, in *De Iside et Osiride* (359e, lines 2–5) assert that according to tradition the ancient gods such as Hermes, Typhon, and Osiris were “but mortal men” (line 5). Thus, Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 3.3.21, lines 1–3) passes judgment: “their whole manufacture of gods consists of dead men; and their physical explanations are fictitious. For what need was there to model figures of men and women, when without them they could worship the sun and moon and the other elements of the cosmos?” (*Preparation* 3.3.91bc)

100 Witsius (89); Johannes Gerardus Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili: De Idololatriae* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 5, pp. 35–36, cites Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (363d, lines 5–12), who reveals that

Kircher in his *Oedipus*, have this just Censure bestowed by Witsius upon them; *Ea prudentiores inania plerumque commenta esse hominis ingenio atque otio suo abutentis, vident et rident.*¹⁰¹

Well, But the Doctrine of the *Trinity* in the *Unity* of the Godhead, was of old known to the *Egyptians*.¹⁰² And one *Mercurius*, (a Contemporary with *Abraham*,) called by the Name of *Trismegistus*; if you will believe *Suidas*, from his *Illuminations* in the *Mystery* of the *Trinity*, wrote Books about the *Contemplation of Divine Things*, afterwards translated into the *Greek Tongue*, wherein we have *Traditions*, about, *The Coming of Christ*, the *Universal Judgment*, *The Resurrection of the Dead*, *The Glory of the Blessed*, and particularly, *The Mystery of the Trinity*.¹⁰³ Mightily does *Franciscus Flussus Candalla*, magnify one of these Books, (namely, *Poimander*,) which he published in *Greek* and *Latin*, A. C. 1574. In his *Dedication* to *Maximilian* the Emperour, he prefers his *Mercury* before *Moses* himself.¹⁰⁴ *Hannibal Rosselus* wrote long *Volumns* of *Commenatries* on

skeptics doubt the existence of the deities because they appear to be allegories of nature: Chronos symbolizes Time; Hera Air, Hephaestus the metamorphosis of Air into Fire; the Egyptian Osiris represents the Nile (water), Isis the Earth, and Typhon the sea, which swallows up the Nile River. Well, there it is.

101 Witsius (90) censures Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54): “The more prudent see that those things are commonly empty inventions of clever and idle man who takes advantage of the [ignorant], and the prudent see [the scheme] and laugh.”

102 Witsius (lib. 1, cap. 3, sec. 2, p. 9; lib. 2, cap. 5, secs. 1–2, pp. 91–92) acknowledges Kircher's interpretation of the *Tabula Bembinae* (Bembin Table) as a representation of the Trinity, in *Sphinx Mystagoga* (1676), pars 2, cap. 3, pp. 24–29, and in *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54), vol. 3, pp. 78–79. A predecessor of Kircher, Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631), an Italian antiquarian of Padua, published *Vetustissimae Tabulae Aeneae Sacris Aegyptiorum* (1605), better known by the title of the Amsterdam edition *Mensa Isiaca* (1669), an attempt to interpret the hieroglyphics of the Bembin Table, named after its owner Cardinal Pietro Bembo. See Y. Bonnefoy's *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies* (262–64) and D. Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus* (143–50).

103 Witsius (91–92) enlists the famous *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of 42 books on Egyptian divinity, attributed to Mercurius Trismegistus, aka. Hermes Trismegistus, allegedly a contemporary of Abraham, Zoroaster, or Moses. Hermes or Mercurius Trismegistus (the thrice great) is associated with the Egyptian Thoth (Thought), the purported lawgiver of the Egyptians (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.22; Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio evangelica* 1.9.31d–32a). According to the 10th–c. CE Greek lexicon *Suda* (alphab. letters *iota*, entry 77, and *epsilon*, entries 3038–3039), the thrice-great Hermes authored many books, which such early Church Fathers as Lactantius and St. Augustine, as well as such Renaissance authors as Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, believed contained pagan mysteries and versions of the teachings of Moses, and those foreshadowing Christ. Mather has much to say on this topic in *BA* (1:308–16). Composed in Roman Egypt, the *Corpus Hermeticum* was attributed to the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus and his follower Asclepius. On the history of this document, see G. Fowden's *Egyptian Hermes* (1993) and Brian Copenhaver's edition *Corpus Hermeticum* (1992).

104 Franciscus Flussus Candalla, aka. François de Foix-Candale (1512–94), a French alchemist, humanist, and Renaissance mathematician, translated and published his bilingual Greek-Latin edition as *Mercurij Trismegisti Pimandras utraque lingua restitutus* (1574), which he dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (1527–76) of the Habsburg dynasty.

this *Poimander*, into which he crouded all the Speculations of the *Schoolmen* about the *Trinity*.¹⁰⁵ But it is all *Sham*; and it is a Wonder, that learned Men will suffer themselves to be *Shamm'd* with such Peeces of pretended Antiquity.¹⁰⁶ The old *Mercury*, whom the *Egyptians* call'd, *Thout*, and the *Græcians*, Ερμης, wrote no Books at all; but only left certain *Engraved Pillars*, which as *Pausanias* tells us, are lodg'd in Subterraneous Places about *Thebes*, which they call, The *Syringes*; whereas *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, the Gentlemen that had Skill in the Ancient Rites, having Apprehensions of a Flood, which might endanger the Loss of them, have with Engraved *Hieroglyphicks* preserved the Memory of them.¹⁰⁷ The Second *Mercury*, who rose after the Dayes of *Moses*, they say, composed his Books, from these *Hieroglyphicks*. And in the Books of the Second *Mercury*, (the Son of *Agathodemon*) we have, it seems, what *Sanchoniathon* turned into the *Phœnician Tongue*, and what *Manethos* into the *Græcian*. But the Books of the Second *Mercury*, are indeed as little in our Hands, as of the *First*.¹⁰⁸ The Forty two

An earlier translation was that of the Italian Renaissance humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), whose Latin translation appeared under the title of *Pimander* (1469–71). See B. P. Copenhaver's *Hermetica*, "Introduction" (xl–lv).

105 Mather refers to the Capuchin monk and hermeticist Hannibal Rosselus (fl. 16th c.), professor of philosophy and theology at Crakow (Poland), whose *Pymander Hermetis Mercurii Trismegisti, cum commento* (1584–90) was published in six massive folios. The applicable volume is *Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti. Liber primus de SS. Trinitate* (1585), republished in Cologne as *Divinus Pymander Hermetis Mercurii Trismegisti, cum commentariis fratris Hannibalis Rosseli Calabri* (1630). It is this latter edition to which Witsius (92) refers.

106 Although the *Corpus Hermeticum* was long believed to be trustworthy, the Swiss-English philologist extraordinaire Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), in his *De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI* (1614), esp. Exerc. 1, sec. 10, pp. 70–87, demonstrated on philological grounds that the *Corpus Hermeticum* was an early Christian fraud. See A. T. Grafton and J. Weinberg, 'I have always loved the Holy Tongue' (30–42).

107 The Ibis-headed Thoth (Thouth), god of knowledge, whose wisdom was hidden in hieroglyphs, is frequently associated with the Greek Hermes or Mercury. In his *Graeciae descriptio* (1.42.3, line 4), Pausanias speaks of τὰς Σύριγγας καλουμένας or "the so called Pipes," or colossal stelae of the Ethiopian Memnon, whom the Thebans believed to be "Phamenoph" and others to be Pharaoh Sesostris. Whichever the true original of the statue, the stelae were inscribed with hieroglyphs. Broken into two pieces by Medo-Persian Cambyases, Pausanias reports, the statue "at the rising of the sun ... makes a noise" (*Description* 1.42.3). The Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (*Rerum Gestarum* 22.15.30) mentions "subterranean fissures and winding passages called 'syringes,'" which the Egyptians (fearing a flood might destroy the memory of their ancient ceremonies and rites) had dug into the ground and decorated the cavernous walls with "many kinds of birds and beasts, and those countless forms of animals which they called hieroglyphic writing."

108 Witsius (93) here draws on a spurious fragment of Manetho's Epistle to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309–246 BCE), king of Egypt. According to this fragment, extant in Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga chorographica* (41, lines 10 ff), Manetho (3rd-c. BCE), an Egyptian historian and priest of Sebennyos (Heliopolis in Lower Egypt), gathered his history from the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt's temples, "traced ... in sacred language and holy characters by Thoth, the first Hermes, and translated after the Flood." These inscriptions had been compiled into a history (the "*Book of Sôthis*"), by "Agathodaemôn, son of the second Hermès," and by Manetho translated into Greek and dedicated to King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (*Pseudo-Manetho*).

Ιερατικά βιβλία, *Sacerdotales Libri*, ascribed unto *Mercury*, in the Time of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, were Collections of a very uncertain Original.¹⁰⁹ Be sure they are very unworthy of the Character, that *Kircher* would sett them off withal. Be sure, to seek for Divine Wisdome of the highest Character, in the Midst of such Dung, is the most *Præposterous* & *Impertinent* thing that can be imagined. No *Mercury* was the Author, of what *Kircher* ha's given us, as from him, about the *Trinity*.¹¹⁰ If ever *Mercury* wrote any thing, tis lost. His Name | was of great Account among the *Egyptians*; & therefore every Scribbler that would have his Writings of any Account, gott his Name to be some Way or other concerned in them. As the Books of a *Medical* Importance carried about, under the Name of *Mercury*, in the Dayes of *Galen*, have this just Censure of a learned Man upon them, Εὐδῆλον ὅτι λῆρος εἰσι καὶ πλάσματα τοῦ συνθέντος, *Manifestum est Nugas esse, et Figmenta ejus qui Librum composuit*.¹¹¹ So *Poimander* ha's evident Marks upon it, of its being *Spurious*. *Casaubon* ha's demonstrated, that the Doctrine therein contained, is not *Egyptian*, but partly *Græcian*, & partly *Christian*.¹¹² That old *Mercury* was Ignorant of the Evangelical Matters contained in it, must be own'd by all that will not betray the grossest Ignorance in themselves. [And forgett, 1. Cor. 2.7, 8, 9; and Rom. 16.25. and Eph. 3.4, 5.]

Tis true, There was in the *Egyptian* Theology, a mention of a *Trinity*; but, what an one, lett *Plutarch* inform you; and how unworthy to be compared with the *great Mystery of Christianity*.¹¹³

Sanchoniathon (Sanchuniathon, Σαγχουνιάθων) is an ancient Phoenician priest, whose history records the teachings of the priest Hierombalos. According to Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.9.30d–31d), Sanchoniathon lived before the Trojan War (13th c. BCE), taught in Tyre, and published his *Phoenician History*, which Philo Byblos (Herennius Philo) translated into Greek.

109 Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 6.4.37.2, lines 1–2) explains that the governor of an Egyptian temple has to “τὰ ἱερατικά καλούμενα δέκα βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει,” i. e., “memorize the ten books called ‘Hieratic,’” i. e., the *Books of the Priests*, which include the divine laws and the training rituals of the priests (*ANF* 2:488).

110 Witsius (94); Athanasius Kircher, *Obeliscus Pamphilus* (1650), lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 213, and lib. 5, cap. 3, pp. 409–44.

111 Claudius Galen's censure in his *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus libri xi* (vol. 11, p. 798, lines 6–7) reads with diacritics restored, εὐδῆλον ὅτι πᾶσαι λῆρος εἰσι καὶ πλάσματα τοῦ συνθέντος, “It is obvious that they are nonsense and inventions of the composer.” And Mather's Latin version reads, “It is clear that they are trifles and figments of him who wrote the book.”

112 In *De Rebus Sacris & Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI* (1614), Exercit. I, sec. 10, Apparatus. Num. XVIII, esp. pp. 77–82, Isaac Casaubon dismisses the *Poimander* and the *Corpus Hermenticum* at large as a pious forgery by early Christians. An English translation of parts of the *Corpus Hermenticum* appeared as *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Trismegistus, in XVII Books* (1650).

113 Witsius (95); Plutarch's trinitarianism, in *De Iside et Osiride* (373ef), appears to be too close for Mather's comfort: “The better and more divine nature consists of three parts: the conceptual, the material, and that which is formed from these, which the Greeks call the world. Plato (*Timaeus* 50cd) is wont to give to the conceptual the name of idea, example, or father,

For the other Points of *Moral Discipline*, which *Diodorus* pretends to find among the *Egyptians*, it is well observed by J. *Capellus*, that the Story is like the *Cyropædia* of *Xenophon*, & relates, not what *was*, but what the Author thought it *should have been*; and he concludes, *Memineris tam Fallaces esse Ægyptios, quàm veraces sunt Sacri Scriptores*.¹¹⁴

Marshall himself grants; that the *Hebrew* Lawes, *De illicito concubitu*, were very contrary to the *Egyptian* Customes. Particularly, when the *Egyptians* allowed a Man to *marry his own Sister*; which as *Diodorus* himself grants, was, *παρά το κοινόν εθος των άλλων ανθρωπων, Prater communem aliorum hominum Morem*.¹¹⁵ *Philo* does justly Reproach this Usage of the *Egyptians*, and observes how Abominable it was to our *Moses*.¹¹⁶ Tho' in the first Family of the World, the Marriage of *Brothers* to *Sisters* was necessary, yett as *Austin* expresses it, *Quantò est Antiquius compellente Necessitate, tantò postea factum est Damnabilius, Religione prohibente*. And *Epiphanius* well observes, The Prohibition was more

and to the material the name of mother or nurse, or seat and place of generation, and to that which results from both the name of offspring or generation. One might conjecture that the *Egyptians* hold in high honour the most beautiful of the triangles, since they liken the nature of the Universe most closely to it as *Plato* in the *Republic* (546bc) seems to have made use of it in formulating his figure of marriage. This triangle has its upright of three units, its base of four, and its hypotenuse of five, whose power is equal to that of the other two sides. The upright, therefore, may be likened to the male, the base to the female, and the hypotenuse to the child of both, and so *Osiris* may be regarded as the origin, *Isis* as the recipient, and *Horus* as perfected result."

114 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 6, sec. 1, p. 97, and lib. 1, cap. 5, pp. 19, 20, 21, 22) cites *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca* 1.69.6–72.6, 80.3), who speaks admiringly of Egypt as "the most prosperous [land] of the whole inhabited world." Under the rulership of well-educated and benign kings, the *Egyptians* enjoyed "most excellent customs and laws and . . . institutions which promote culture of every kind" (1.69.6–7). To *Mather* and his French Reformed colleague *Jacobus Capellus* (*Historia Sacra et Exotica* [1613], Anno Mundi 1931, p. 47), such praise for Egypt's long line of enlightened rulers is of a kind with that in *Xenophon's Cyropædia* (a didactic biography of the Persian *Cyrus* the Great), which does not present facts as they are but as they ought to be. Thus *Capellus* concludes, "Remember that the *Egyptians* were as deceitful as the holy writers are truthful" (p. 48).

115 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 6, sec. 2, pp. 97–98; lib. 1, cap. 5, sec. 7, p. 20) refers to *Marshall's* discussion of "*De revelatione Turpitudinum, sive Concubitu illicito*" (*Chronicus Canon* [1672], lib. 2, secul. IX, sec. 4, pp. 164–70), "*Of the revelation of Shame*, or unlawful Sexual Intercourse," which Witsius contrasts with the *Hebrew* laws against incest. Even *Diodorus Siculus*, who praises the wholesome laws of Egypt, admits that on the basis of *Isis* marrying her brother *Osiris*, the *Egyptians* made laws *παρά τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν [ἄλλων] ἀνθρώπων* (*Bibliotheca* 1.27.1) "contrary to the general custom of mankind."

116 Witsius (98–99); *Marshall* (164). In his *De specialibus legibus* (3.22–24), *Philo* *Judæus* explains that the *Egyptians* laughed at "the cautious timidity of others" like that of *Solon*, the Athenian lawgiver, who "permitted men to marry their sisters by the same father, [yet] he forbade them to marry those by the same mother"; or like that of the *Lacedæmonians* who allowed "marriages between brother and sisters by the same mother, but forbade those between brothers and sisters of the same father." *Moses*, however, rejected "all those ordinances with detestation" (*Works* 596).

ancient than the Dayes of *Moses*.¹¹⁷ The Relation of *Sarah* to *Abraham*, before their Marriage, is among the Learned, not yett agreed upon. And, if she were the Sister of *Abraham*, yett it is not safe, *In uno facto jus commune fundare*. The Clemency of God suffered also in some of the Ancients, many things which His Holiness never approved. Plato damned these Marriages, as μηδαμῶς οσια καὶ θεομιση. *Nequaquam Sancta, Sed Deo Invisa*. And *Seneca* calls them *Impious*.¹¹⁸

Marsham adds, The Allowance given to *Fornication*, as a notable Resemblance between the *Egyptians* & the *Israelites*. But we can more easily grant it, for the former, than for the latter.¹¹⁹ Tis a vile Inference of *Maimonides*, from the Story of *Judah*; *Quod coitus cum scorto, antè Legem datam fuerit sicut coitus hominis cum Uxore sua*.¹²⁰ God at first united One to One. [Consider, Mal. 2.15.] The Institution of God is violated, if the Persons in this Conjunction bee not considered as, *One Flesh*; which is not intended by *Fornicators*. And the Apostle decries *Fornication*, as an Alienation of the *Body*, from the Service of the Lord, unto the Service of Satan. [1. Cor. 6.13, 15, 16, 18.] *Chrysostom* notes, That the Pagans themselves never came from such a Business, without washing themselves all over. And the Apostle fetches his Arguments against *Fornication*, not from any Positive Præcept against it, but from the Natural Turpitude of the Sin, and its Deviation from the Primitive Institution. Tis also to produce an *Offspring*, which the Parents most unnaturally make the Objects, not of their *Love* & their *Care*, but of their *Shame*. The Confusion which it brings upon *Families*, is by *Maimonides* himself acknowledged.¹²¹ We may add, That long before the Law, the Sons of *Jacob*, look'd on the Name of, *Harlot* as a Term of *Reproach*. [Gen. 34.31.] *Thamar* herself, satt covered, when she betray'd *Judah*; from whence

117 St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (15.16. [PL 041.0457–0458]) explains that among the children of Adam and Eve, marriage between brothers and sisters was “as much dictated by necessity in these ancient days as afterwards it was condemned by the prohibitions of religion” (*City of God* 15.16, in *NPNFi* 2:297); Epiphanius (*Panarion* 2:77, lines 9–11).

118 Witsius (101) quotes from Plato's *De legibus* (8.838b, line 10), who insists that incest is μηδαμῶς οσια [καὶ] θεομιση “absolutely unholy [and] an abomination in the sight of the gods” (*Complete Works* 1500); and from an extant fragment of Lucius Annaeus Seneca's *Senecae Philosophi Scripta quae extant: Hac Postrema Editione Doctissimorum Virorum* (1599), fragmenta, p. xxviii. The passage from Seneca (the Elder), which rejects incestuous marriages as “unnatural,” survives in a citation of St. Augustine's *City of God* (6.10.120), in *NPNFi* (2:120). Witsius's second-hand quotations originate in Hugo Grotius's famous *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (1670), lib. 2, cap. 5, § 13, sec. 6, p. 155.

119 Marsham, *Chronicus Canon* (lib. 2, secul. IX, sec. 4, pp. 166–67).

120 Witsius (101–02); Maimonides (*Liber מורה נבוכים Doctor Perplexorum* [1629], pars 3, cap. 49, p. 500) justifies Judah's intercourse with Thamar (whom Judah mistakes for a prostitute) by insisting that “before the giving of the *Torah* sexual intercourse with a harlot was regarded in the same way as sexual intercourse with one's wife” (*Guide* 3.49.603). Wait a minute!

121 Maimonides (pars 3, cap. 49, p. 498) and *Guide* (3.49.602) condemns relations with harlots, “because through them lines of ancestry are destroyed,” when a child is born out of wedlock. “No one knows to what family group he belongs, and no one in his family knows him; and this is the worst of conditions for him and for his father.”

Vatablus gathers, *Non fuisse tunc tam effrænem scortandi licentiam, qualis nunc obtinet.*¹²² And Judah himself, was afraid of *Contempt*. The Permission, which the Gentiles gave to *Fornication*, was a Sin against Reason. The Roman Lawyer saies, of the *Harlots*, *Meretrices turpiter facere quòd meretrices essent.*¹²³ And *Tacitus*, adds, *Pœnam esse in ipsâ professione Flagitij.*¹²⁴ The Permission of them, was a Judgment of God, whereof we have an Account, in the First Chapter to the *Romans*. *Grotius* (on Mat. 5.27.) reckons up Instances, of *Gentiles* condemning every thing venereal, | except what attends a Lawful Marriage.¹²⁵

[67v]

In the Matter of *Theft* likewise, the *Ægyptians* and the *Israelites*, are to be opposed, rather than compared. The *Ægyptians* did not punish, but rather commend, some sorts of *Theft*, as you will find in *A. Gellius*, and in *Diodorus Siculus*. But the *Israelites* inflicted a Severe Punishment upon it.¹²⁶

The Measuring of *Time*, with *Years* and *Months*, is from *Herodotus*, & from *Diodorus*, by *Marshall* falsely ascribed unto the *Ægyptians*, as the Inventors of it.¹²⁷

122 Witsius (105) adapts Franciscus Vatablus's annotation on Gen 38:15, which appears in John Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (1660), 1:342. Whichever original Witsius relied upon, Vatablus's comment on Tamar's betrayal of Judah bespeaks his effort to interpret the action according to the mores of ancient Israel: "that the liberty to associate with harlots was not then so unchecked as it is now."

123 Although Witsius (106) attributes the Latin passage to Prudentius, the quotation is based on Ulpian's summary of Roman Law, in *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* 12.5.4.3 (Editio Theodorus Mommsen), 1:378. The passage translates, "Prostitutes shamefully did what prostitutes were."

124 Tacitus (*Annales* 2.85) thinks that for immoral women "it is a sufficient punishment to acknowledge their shame."

125 Mather alludes to Rom. 1:24, 26–27, and enlists Hugo Grotius's *Annotationes* (Matth. 5:27), in *Opera Omnia* (2.1.47–48) for the last word on the subject.

126 Witsius (108); Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 11.18.16) mentions that he read somewhere in the jurist Aristo that among the ancient Egyptians, "thefts of all kinds were lawful and went unpunished." Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.80.1–2) is much more specific and relates a peculiar custom among the Egyptians, in which a thief was not punished, but was required to register his "profession" with "the Chief of the Thieves" and deliver his loot to him, where the rightful owner could redeem it for a fourth of its value. Wall Street ought to put the Sicilian on its payroll.

127 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 7, sec. 1, p. 109; lib. 1, cap. 6, secs. 2–5, pp. 23–34) rejects John Marshall's widely held claim (*Chronicus Canon* [1672], lib. 2, secul. X, pp. 236–37) that the Egyptians measured time according to years, months, and days. Herodotus (2.4) deemed the Egyptian system of measuring time far superior to that of the Greeks. "The Egyptians," Herodotus insisted, "were the first of mankind to invent the year and to make twelve divisions of the seasons for it." This division "was based on the stars" and named after "twelve gods." "By allotting thirty days apiece to each of the twelve months (and adding five days outside of the number in each year)," the Egyptians made "the cycle of the seasons come out to the same point as the calendar." Likewise, Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.50.2) agrees and adds that the Egyptians "do not reckon the days by the moon, but by the sun, making their months of thirty days, and they add five and a quarter days to the twelve months and in this way fill out the cycle of the year." Much the same is reported by Strabo (17.1.29, lines 20–23), Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 12.355de), and others of the ancients. For the different chronologies and measurements of time among ancient civilizations, see P. Rossi's *Dark Abyss of Time* (chs. 19–20, 22–24).

For in the *Mosaic History*, we find it an Antediluvian Matter.¹²⁸ And if it were worth our while, we might from *Eusebius*, bring a whole Army of ancient Authors, who make *Abraham* the Instructor of the *Egyptians* in it.¹²⁹ Be it, as it will; great was the Dissimilitude between the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites*, in ordering of it; very particularly, in the Business of *Intercalation*, of which the *Egyptians* were great Enemies, but the *Israelites* greatly studious. The *Civil* and the *Sacred Year* of the *Egyptians*, does not correspond at all, with that of the *Israelites*. Among the *Egyptians* they were the same. Among the *Israelites*, the *Sacred Year*, began at the *Vernal Equinox* by the Appointment of God; & the *Festivals* all turned upon it; as upon the *Civil Year* turned the Account of the Age of the World, the *Sabbatical Years*, and the Years of *Jubilee*. God by thus ordering the *Year*, at the Coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, proclaimed His Government over them. In Imitation whereof, *Julius* in the Commonwealth, & Pope *Gregory* in the Church, of *Rome*, changed Times.¹³⁰ And God would have *Israel* to look upon the Month *Nisan*, as being after a Sort, the Month of their Nativity; & lead a *New Life*, upon their being thus asserted into a *New State*, by their Deliverance. The *Month* was called *Abib*, among the *Hebrewes*; which signifies, *A New Ear of Corn*; as the Greeks called it, *μηνα των νεων*, [supply, *καρπων*] *The Month of New Fruits*. Among the *Chaldees*, tis called, *Nisan*; from *נִסָּן* *warly Ensigns*; as the Romans called it, *Martius*, [*à Marte*.]¹³¹ The *Israelites* were taught, by this

128 Mather alludes to Gen. 7:2, 24; 8:3–5, 13.

129 Witsius (110) enlists for his counterargument numerous authors extant in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.16.417b–9.18.420c): Josephus Flavius, Berossus, Hecataeus of Abdera, Nicolaus Damascenus, Alexander Polyhistor, Eupolemus, and Artapanus – all asserting that a Chaldean, whom some identify as Abraham, taught the Egyptians their knowledge of astrology. On the apologists' endeavor to credit the Patriarch Abraham or Moses as purveyor of science and culture to Egypt, see A. J. Droge's *Homer or Moses?* (1–48).

130 Roman Emperor Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE) instituted a reform calendar in 45 BCE, which remained in effect throughout the Roman Empire and in much of the Western hemisphere until Pope Gregory XIII (1502–85) abolished the Julian Calendar in 1582. Because this ancient Roman calendar consisted of 365 days yet without intercalation of an extra day every four years, the Julian Calendar was about 6 hours short per annum in its alignment with the solar year. This annual difference of 6 hours amounted to 10 full days by 1582, when Pope Gregory instituted his Gregorian Calendar, which sought to realign the celebration of Easter with the vernal equinox (c. 21 March) as established by the Council of Nicea (325 CE). March 11, 1582 therefore became March 21, 1582. Of all the Protestant kingdoms and principalities in Europe and America, Great Britain and its American colonies resisted this innovation until 1752, when it adopted the Gregorian Calendar on September 2, 1752, by dropping eleven full days. Thus September 3 (“Old Style”) became September 14, 1752 (“New Style”). Furthermore, the beginning of the New Year, which in the ancient Julian Calendar began on March 15 (“Ides of March”), henceforth officially began on January 1. The first edition of the King James Version of 1611 (Authorized Version) includes in its front matter two tables which establish a combined Soli-Lunar calendar for the entire year along with the applicable biblical passages to be read during morning and evening prayers. More significant, it also provides a perpetual calendar “To finde Easter for ever.”

131 For *μηνα των νεων* (“the month of new corn”), and *καρπων* (“fruits” [of the earth]), see for instance Deut. 16:1, Gen. 4:3 (LXX), and Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.3.20,

Emblem; That from the Time of our belonging unto God, we must bring forth *New Fruits*, for His Honour & Service; and lift ourselves under the *warly Ensigs* of our Saviour, against the Enemies of our Salvation. A Blind Jew, quoted by *Cartwright*, in his *Mellificium*, yett saw so far, as to Declare, That in this Month, *Israel* was to be Redeemed by the *Messiah*.¹³²

There are some other Matters, in which the Reverence we owe to Religion should forbid our making any Comparison between the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites*.

The *Brasen Serpent* is one of those Matters. It is to be confess'd, That of old, the *Egyptians*, the *Marsians*, and the *Psyllians*, and other People of the Orient, had their *Talismanical* Figures, to save them from *Serpents*. *Arnobius* mentions them; & the *Nubian* Geographer tells of a whole City, namely *Emesa*, so *Talismanised*, that no *Serpent* or *Scorpion* could enter it, but he presently died upon the Spott. But the *Brasen Serpent* in the Wilderness, had about it no magical Ceremonies, (which indeed the Lord had strictly forbid unto His People;) It was erected by the Special Command of God, upon the Prayer of *Moses* for His Distressed People; and a Type of our Blessed Saviour. *Hell* is not more Distant from *Heaven*, than the Magic of *Egypt*, from this wondrous Work of God. *Aben-Ezra* did well to say, *Absit, Absit ut hoc dicamus*.¹³³

line 3). The first month in the Canaanite calendar was Abib (March/April) which was renamed ניסן Nisan in the religious calendar of the Hebrews to signify the month of the Israelites' exodus and the observation of the first Passover (Exod. 13:4, 23:15; Deut. 16:1) (*HBD*). The Roman month *Martius* is named in honor of Mars, god of war. In the holograph manuscript, Mather misspells /ניסן/ Nisan as /ניסן/ – here silently corrected.

132 Witsius (111–12) quotes from Christopher Cartwright (1602–58), an Anglican clergyman and controversialist, whose *Mellificium Hebraicum* (1660) (*ODNB*) can be described as a “rabbinical gloss” on the NT and OT. Published posthumously, Cartwright's *Mellificium Hebraicum* appeared in Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (1660) 9:2943–3128. Mather here alludes to an excerpt from Shemoth Rabba (sec. 15, folio 130, col. 3), as quoted in Witsius (111–12). On Cartwright, see G. F. Moore's “Christian Writers on Judaism” (216–17).

133 Witsius's muse on the sacred serpents of the ancients (in *Ægyptiaca*, lib. 2, cap. 8, secs. 1–2, 4, pp. 112–13, 114; lib. 1, cap. 9, sec. 6, pp. 48–49) is Marsham's *Chronicus Canon* (1672), lib. 2, secul. IX, pp. 142–43; and Samuel Bochart's magnificent *Hierozoicon Animalibus* (1663), pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 6, cols. 387–88). If Pliny's extract from Agatharchides can be trusted (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 7.2.14–15), the Psyllians of Libya (N. Africa) were snake-charmers who had developed in their own bodies “a poison deadly to snakes.” They rendered their children immune to the deadliest snakebites by “exposing their children as soon as they were born to the most savage snakes and of using that species to test the fidelity of their wives, as snakes do not avoid persons born with adulterous blood in them.” Likewise, the Marsians (descendants of Ulysses's father Agrius and of Circe, living in Italy) are also immune to snake bites. In fact, the saliva of the Marsians is deadly to snakes. Arnobius (*Against the Heathen* 2.32) mentions that instead of turning to God, the pagans buy from the Psyllians or Marsians certain “laminæ” (thin plates) or amulets to protect themselves against snakebites (*ANF* 6:446). The “Nubian Geographer” – so called because the Arab geographer Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi was famous for his *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619) – describes Emesa, or rather “Hems,” as a city in Palestine, in which the people used charms to protect themselves against the venomous bite of snakes and the sting of scorpions (Climatis Tertii, Quinta Pars, pp. 118–19). The

The *Red Heifer* is another of these Matters. It must be *Red*, they say,¹³⁴ because in the *Rites* of *Typhon*, who was of that Colour, the *Egyptians* allowed *Beeves* of no other Colour. But is no earlier a Testimony than *Plutarchs*, of Antiquity enough, to satisfy us, that the *Red Heifer* whereto the *Israelites* were directed, was of this Original?¹³⁵ How much more does it become a Christian, to have recourse unto the Higher, the Divine Mysteries of the Gospel, in this Institution. Rather than find the *Rites* of the *Red Heifer* first in *Egypt*, one would as easily find them among the *Gaurians*, the Reliques of some old superstitious *Persians*, mention'd by *Tavernier*, as persecuted unto this Day by the *Mahometans*; but frequent in *Carmania*, & *India*; among whom the *Urine* of an *Heifer* is continually employ'd as the greatest of all their *Lustrations*.¹³⁶

The *Goat* for *Azazel*, is another.¹³⁷ God had expressly forbidden *Sacrifices to Divels*; and therefore we may be sure He would not now command the *Israelites* to sacrifice a *Goat* unto a *Divel*, or like the *Egyptians*, & we know not who, unto some *Numen Avertuncum*. Tho' *Azazel* may signify the *Divel*; yett

Brazen Serpent of Moses (Numb. 21:4–9; 2 Kings 18:4) saved anyone from the bite of a venomous snake if the victim looked upon the statue of the Brazen Serpent with faith. Aben Ezra (Ibn Ezra), in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch: Numbers* (169), is shocked that many believe the brazen image of the fiery serpent, which Moses set upon a pole, was a talisman that received divine powers from God. “Far be it, far be it” (i. e., God forbid, God forbid) “that one should say so,” because God commanded Moses to make this effigy.

134 Mather here takes aim at John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 15, sec. 2, fols. 376–77, and lib. 3, diss. 3, pp. 677–714, in which the master of Corpus Christi (Cambridge) argues that Moses adapted the rite of lustration (ashes of the red heifer) from the Egyptians who revered Typhon as a red bovine.

135 Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 31.363b) reports that the Egyptians believe that Typhon (Set) was red-complexioned and therefore sacrifice to this gruesome deity the best of their red cattle. See also Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.88.4).

136 Witsius (116) employs *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier* (1676), pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 8. This famous itinerary by the French traveler (1605–89) was translated into many European languages. My reference is to the first English translation, entitled *Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier* (1678), bk. 4, cap. 8, pp. 16–68. Tavernier mentions the “Book of the Gaur,” composed by the Persian prophet “*Ebrahim-zer-Ateuchi*,” of whose fourteen books received from heaven only seven are extant. The last king of the Gaur, *Sha-Iesherd*, Tavernier reports, was driven out by Mahomed's successor Omar II. On Tavernier, see also *BA* (1:463).

137 In his *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (lib. 3, diss. 8, caps. 1–12, fols. 989–1045, Spencer argues that the Hebrews adapted the concept of the sacrificial scapegoat *Azazel* (Lev. 16:8–10) from the rite of the Sabians and Copts, who sacrificed a he-goat to the devil to ward off evil. The phrase “to send it [scapegoat] off into the wilderness for *Azazel*” is one of those biblical conundrums upon which scholars part company. See also Babylonian Talmud (Yoma 39a); the Mishnah, tractate Yoma (4.1–6.8), in *The Mishnah* (166–70); *Tractatus de Die Expiationis* (4.1–6.8), in Surenhusius, סדר מועד [Seder Moed] sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Festorum (1699), fols. 226–44. See also *ABD*. Mather also links *Azazel* with the devil in his discussion of *Thaummatographia Pneumatica*, in *Magnalia Christ Americana* (1702), bk. 6, ch. 7, fols. 66–67.

the *Divel* was not now considered as *Genius aliquis malorum Avertuncator*.¹³⁸ In a Word, I beleieve, my *Witsius* has well compounded the Matter, by saying upon it; *Non fuit caper emissarius Diabolo oblatas, sed voluntati Dei expositus vexandus Diabolo*.¹³⁹ But the Rites about it, must not be fetch'd from *Typhonic* or from *Rabbinic* Fooleries; no, but *Ex intimis Christianismi penetralibus*.¹⁴⁰ The Throwing of the *Goat* over a *Præcipice*, as the *Coptites* did their *Ass*, in hatred of *Typhon*, *Marsham* himself durst not affirm to be *True*, but *Bochart* positively does affirm to be *False*.¹⁴¹ An Imprecation | upon the Head of the Victim, was indeed, as we learn from *Herodotus*, an *Egyptian* Rite; but other Nations as well as they, used it upon their *Ἀντιψυχα*; and *Bochart* makes no *Doubt*, that they learnt it of *Moses*.¹⁴² The *Græcians* used it, not only upon *Beasts*, but also upon *Men*, who fell under a *piacular* Character & Intention among them. The *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes*, describes these *καθάρματα*, and *Suidas* gives us the Form of the *Imprecation* used upon them; *περιψηματα ἡμῶν γενου, ἥτοι σωτηρία καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις*.¹⁴³ And so they threw the Man into the *Sea*, as an Offering to *Neptune*. And *Servius* upon *Virgil*, relates what was done this Way among the *Massilians*.¹⁴⁴ [68r]

But it was a great Shame for *Samuel Petit*, to derive the *Frontlets* appointed for the *Israelites*, from the *Shameful Amulets* of the *Egyptians*. We find

138 Witsius (120) speaks of the “*Numen Avertuncum*” or “deity averting harms” and that at that time the devil was not yet considered as “some tutelary deity, a spirit warding off evil.”

139 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 9, sec. 3, p. 120) argues that “the scapegoat was not offered to the devil, but exposed to the will of God to be vexed by the devil.”

140 According to Witsius (sec. 4, p. 120) the sacrifice of the scapegoat must be read Christologically derived “from the deepest recesses of Christianity.”

141 Witsius (lib. 1, cap. 7, sec. 14–15, pp. 35–36); Marsham, *Chronicus Canon* (1672), lib. 2, secul. IX, pp. 197–201; Bochart, *Hieroicozon Animalibus* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 64, cols. 650–61, esp. col. 651.

142 Herodotus (2.39) has the Egyptians place a curse on the head of the sacrificial animal, intoning their anathema as follows: “Whatsoever evil there is to be for us who are sacrificing or for all the land of Egypt, let it fall upon this head.” See also Bochart (cols. 657–58). Eusebius Pamphilius (*Demonstratio Evangelica* 1.10, secs. 7, 11, and 14) speaks of the *ἀντίψυχα* or substitutionary sacrifice, of one life (animal sacrifice) for another (human). Lucian (*Lexiphanes* 10, line 20) says it best by identifying the sacrifice with *χρήματα ἀντίψυχα* “blood-money” (ransom).

143 Witsius (121); the commentators in *Scholia in Aristophanem*, *Scholia in equites* (*scholia vetera et recentiora Triclinii*), (1136c) [2Tr], lines 1–7, describe the *καθάρματα* or “outcast” (piacular sacrifice) upon whom the sins of the community are laid. The imprecation upon the victim, as recorded in *Suda*, *Lexicon* (alphab. letter *πi*, entry 1355, lines 2–3), reads with Greek diacritics restored, *περίψημα ἡμῶν γενού[.] ἥτοι σωτηρία καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις*, and suggests that the scapegoat was the “offscourings of our race, the true deliverance and redemption.”

144 Finally, Servius Grammaticus comments *In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* (*Aeneid* 3.57) that the Massilians, whenever they labored under a pestilence, singled out from amongst themselves an impoverished but honest man, supplied him with food from the public rations for an entire year, and afterwards consecrated him with sacred garments, laid upon him the execrations of the entire community, and – like a scapegoat – threw him into the sea (Thilo edition 1:346).

the *Totaphot*, but thrice mentioned; [Exod. 13.16. and, Deut. 6.8. and Deut. 11.18.] But from the *Chaldee* Application of the Name elsewhere, we find them to have been *Ornaments*, both of the *Forehead*, & of the *Hands*; *Ornaments*, and not *Amulets*, much less things of a *Phallous* Turpitude.¹⁴⁵ And the Lord seems not so much to say, That He would have the *Israelites* to make & use their *Totaphot*, as to say, That the great Works by Him done for them should be instead of their *Totaphot*; That is to say, That they should always have their Eyes and their Thoughts upon them. It is a Proverbial Expression. [Compare Prov. 1.8, 9. and, 3.3. and, 6.21.] *Witsius* also approves the Opinion of *Pfeiffer*, as not improbable; That the *Phylacteries* used among the *Jewes*, were not of so ancient Use, as the *Dayes of Moses*, but came into Use first after the *Babylonish* Captivity; when their Doctors, began to grow more superstitious in their Expositions.¹⁴⁶ However, he is in the Right on't, That it were better that there had not been left unto Posterity, the least Memory of the *Egyptian Amulets*, & *Phallous* & foolish and filthy Images, than that any Man should go to make a Comparison, between the most Holy Appointments of God, and those Wretched & Beastly Trifles. *Kircher* himself, when he comes to handle them, thus begins; *Restat ut aliquid de Phallophorijs &c quamvis non nisi valde Sobire & Jejune, dicamus. Præstat enim enormia illa, non Sacra, sed Scelera; non Cæremonias, sed Iniquitates; Sacra, inquam, ignominiosissima, veras Diaboli ad animas in omne genus vitiorum præcipitandas adinventiones, æternis tenebris damnare, quam illis recitandis, castis Auribus officere.*¹⁴⁷

Well; But must we not assert the *Urim*, to be *Images* of the same Office and Figure, with the *Teraphim*?¹⁴⁸ No; By no Means. 'Tis confessed by all, That the *Teraphim* of the Gentiles were an Abomination unto the Lord.

¹⁴⁵ *Witsius* (lib. 1, cap. 9, sec. 2, pp. 46–47; and lib. 2, cap. 9, secs. 7–11, pp. 122–25) refers to Samuel Petir's *Variorum Lectionum IV* (1633), lib. 2, cap. 3, pp. 111–12, who points out that the Egyptians employed such amulets as a protection against sexual infertility. The use of amulets for the same purpose, Petit acknowledges, are also mentioned by the Syrian Paraphrast and Hesychius (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *kappa* entry 3521, line 1) where this totaphot (phylactery) is considered an aphrodisiac and symbol of Priapus.

¹⁴⁶ *Witsius* (124) draws on *Dubia Vexata Scripturae Sacrae*. Editio Quarta (1699), Centuria Prima, Locus XCII: De Totaphot sive Phylacteriis, pp. 227–29, by August Pfeiffer (1640–98), Lutheran professor of oriental languages, theology, and Hebrew, successively at Wittenberg and Leipzig.

¹⁴⁷ In his chapter on the ceremonies and sacred rites among the Egyptians, Athanasius Kircher (*Cedipus Aegyptiacus*, tomus I [1652], syntagma III, cap. IX, p. 227), cautions, "There remains, however, something that we should say about Phallus-bearers etc. [but] not unless extremely temperately and abstinently. For it is better that to condemn those irregularities not as sacred rites, but crimes; not ceremonies, but injustices; to condemn to eternal darkness these most disgraceful rites, I say, inventions for hurling true souls of the Devil into every type of vice; to obstruct with chaste ears those repeating them."

¹⁴⁸ *Witsius* (lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 37–45; lib. 2, cap. 10, pp. 125–31) – and Mather – here target Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. VII, caps. 1–8, fols. 851–988, esp. cap. 4, fols. 921–36;

A Divination by an Impure Spirit was thereby maintained. [Consider, Ezek. 21.21. and, Zech. 10.2. and, 2. King. 23.24.] That the *Teraphim* were a sort of *Penates*, or Household Gods, is evident from the Story of *Laban*. And from the *Syrian Philosophy*, we are instructed by *Kircher*, How they placed them upon Pillars; offered unto them *Sacrifices*, and *Incense*; and the *Divel* at certain times from them, gave Responses unto such as consulted them, Revealing unto them Secret and Future Matters; *Atque sic quam plurimas decipiebant Animas, quas rerum Novitate in Servitio suo miserè detinebant*.¹⁴⁹ The *Rabbins* tell us of the *Magical Arts* used in composing them, & consulting them. Yea, in the *Capitula* of R. *Eliesar*, tis affirm'd, That they were made of the *Head*, of a *First-born Son*, who was kill'd; which Head was pickled in *Salt* and *Oyl*; and had in its Mouth a *Golden Plate*, on which was the Name of a *Dæmon*; and placing this against the Wall, they lighted Lamps before it, & fell down, & requested & received Answers.¹⁵⁰ The Author of the *Jerusalem-Paraphrase* affirms the same; and *Kircher* does not oppose it.¹⁵¹ Whether all this were done or no, We are sure, That the *Speaking Faculty* of these Images, was owing to a *Magical Original*. Even the *Pseudo-Mercurius*, quoted by *Austin*, in his, *De Civitate Dei*, very truly grants it; That the *Souls* of *Dæmons* or *Angels* were by certain Rites, called

and Spencer's earlier *Dissertatio de Urim & Thummim* (1669) subsequently incorporated in his *De Legibus*.

149 Condemning the ancient use of Teraphim as oracles, Witsius (126) and Kircher, *Edipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), tom. 1, syntag. 4, cap. 3, p. 258, warn that they could not be trusted: "and thus they were deceiving as many souls as possible, which they were grimly keeping back in his servitude with the novelty of things [fortune telling]."

150 Mather alludes to Solomon Jarchi's commentary on 2 Kings 23:24, where Rashi explains that these teraphim are "images that speak through sorcery; likewise, in Lev. 19:31, Rashi glosses that "one [who] turns to a 'familiar spirit' (yid'oni) ...[places] the bone of a yado'a (a kind of animal) inside one's mouth, from which location the bone speaks" (*Mikraoth Gedoloth*: 2 Kings, 422; and *JPS Miqr'ot Gedolot* 3:156). See also the Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (65b). In פרקי רבי אליעזר [*Pirkê de Rabbi Elieser*]. *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 36, p. 91, the venerable rabbi explains those who make a Teraphim kill a firstborn son, "pinch off his head, and salt it with salt, and they write upon a golden plate the name of an unclean (spirit), and place it under his tongue, and they put it in the wall, and they kindle lamps before it, and bow down to it, and it speaks unto them" (*Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer, The Chapters*, ch. 36, pp. 273–74). See also Mather's annotations on Gen. ch. 31 (*BA* 1:1040–47).

151 Although Kircher (257) identifies the Targum Hierosolymitanum as the source of his Hebrew citation, the passage appears, instead, in Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (Gen. 31:19–20), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57) 4:60: "And Laban had gone to shear his flock; and Rahel stole the images [*Tsalamania*]. For they had slain a man, a first-born, and had cut off his head; they salted it with salt and balsams, and wrote incantations on a plate of gold, and put it under his tongue, and set it up in the wall, and it spake with them; and unto such their father [Laban] bowed himself" (*The Targums* 1:265). Tellingly, this intriguing passage is absent from the Masoretic texts (Gen. 31:19–20) and makes the origin and function of Laban's Teraphim a dark secret. Kircher most likely did not use Brian Walton's London Polyglot – too late for Kircher's use here – but the Antwerp Polyglot (1569–72) or Le Jay's Paris Polyglot (1645). For Kircher's depiction of the Hebrew Teraphim, see below.

in to possess these Images.¹⁵² And *Marsilius Ficinus* alluding to that Passage of *Trismegistus*, tells us, That these Images were made, *Arte magicâ*.¹⁵³ Indeed *Jamblichus* talks of them as, *Θειας μετουσιας αναπλεα*, *Simulacra communicatæ Divinæ Essentiæ plena*; But our Apostle *Paul* tells us, The Gods were *Divels*.¹⁵⁴ And *Cyprian* speaks but the Truth, when he saies, *Hi Impuri Spiritus sub Statuis et Imaginibus consecrates delitescunt, hi afflatu suo vatum pectora aspirant*.¹⁵⁵ They that worshipped the True God therefore treated them with the greatest Contempt Imaginable. The Hebrewes, even with a Mistake of the *Etymology*, will have the Name of *Teraphim* given them as a Note of *Turpitude*. Is it at all probable, That the Holy God would adopt these Instruments of detestable *Idolatry*, and apply them to His own Worship among His People, unto whom [68v] He forbade every thing that might carry in it any Temptation to the | Idolatry of their Neighbours. The Lord had another Way, to sett His People in Point of *Oracles*, above the Nations round about them, without an Imitation so full of Scandal & of Danger. The bare Change of the Name of *Teraphim*, into *Urim*, if the *Thing* were left, would have been a poor Defence of the *Israelites*, against their falling into the Use of the *Teraphim*, so frequently & severely Damned in the Word of God. Yea, The *Second Commandment* clearly forbids the Making of any such *Images*. Of all, there were none more strictly avoided according to the Understanding which the *Israelites* had of that *Commandment*, as Mr. *Selden* observes, than those of an *Humane Shape*.¹⁵⁶ Whoever made such an one, tho' it were only for *Ornament*, underwent a sharp Scourging among them, & was *beaten with many Stripes*. 'Tis true, They had their *Cherubim*; Nevertheless as R. *Isaac Mosaiques* remarks upon it, In the *Form* of the *Cherubim*, there was not

152 Mather, via Witsius (127), refers to the Pseudo-Mercurius (Corpus Hermeticum) as extant in St. Augustine's *City of God* (8.26), in *NPNFi* (2:164).

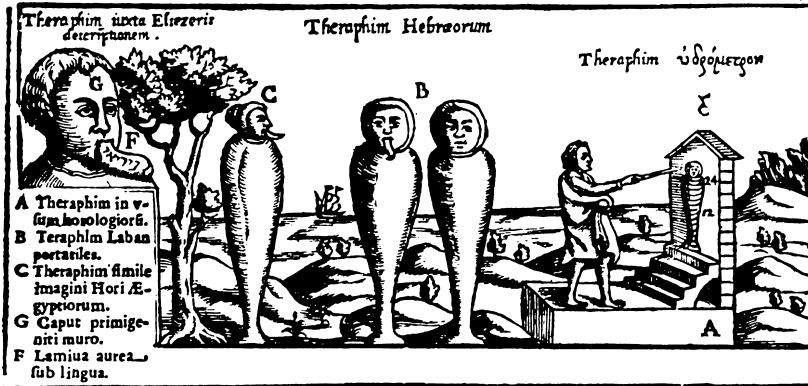
153 Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), the renowned Italian Renaissance humanist and translator of Plato's discourses on the immortality of the soul (*Theologia Platonica*), compiled a bilingual Greek-Latin edition of the Corpus Hermeticum, *Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Potestate et Sapientia Dei* (1493). A copy of the Paris 1554 edition of *Mercurii Trismegisti Poemander* was accessible at Harvard (*Catalogus Librorum* [1723], p. 51). Mather's Latin paraphrase signifies that the images were made by "magical arts."

154 The Greco-Latin passage is probably adapted from Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* (5.21). Iamblichus talks about them as "images full of the shared divine essence." But the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. 10:20) rejects such pagan tripe: "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils."

155 The third-hand quotation is adapted from *De Idolorum Vanitate Liber* (sec. 4, pp. 157–58), by Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus (c. 200–58 CE), bishop of Carthage (N Africa), and appears in the version in which it is here partially quoted in Minutius Felix's *Octavius* (ch. 27), in *Minucii Felicis Octavius, et Caecilii Cypriani De Vanitate Idolorum Liber* (1699), p. 101. At any rate, the passage reads, "These impure spirits consecrated under statues and images, lurk there, and their afflatus is breathed into the breast of the soothsayer" (*Octavius* 27), in *ANF* (4:189–90).

156 Witsius (130); John Selden, *De Juri Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 185, 187–88, 191–92, 196–200.

the *Form* of any Thing in the *Upper or Lower World*; There was no Creature of such a Form. And God, the Law-giver, expressly directed the Making of the *Cherubim*; we find no such Direction for the Making of *Teraphim*.¹⁵⁷ Handsomely does *Tertullian* express himself on this Occasion. *Si eundem Deum observes, habes legem ejus; Ne feceris similitudinem. Si et præceptum postea factæ similitudinis respicis, scilicet ænei Serpentis, et tu imitare Mosem, ne facias adversus legem simulachrum aliquod, nisi et tibi Deus jusserit.*¹⁵⁸



Athanasius Kircher, "Teraphim of the Hebrews," *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (Rome, 1652), 1:261.

The Instances that *Spencer* brings of a Respect paid by the Ancients unto the *Teraphim*, will not help his Opinion. Who can tell, what was the true Reason, why *Rachel* stole her Fathers *Teraphim*?¹⁵⁹ Some think, she did it with a pious Intention, to Recover her Father from his Idolatry. Others think, she did it, so that she might prevent her Fathers Discovering of their present

¹⁵⁷ Witsius (130–31) quotes at second hand from Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 187) the following passage which Mather paraphrases in English: "*Non comprehensa est formatio Cherubinatorum in generali interdicto, quoniam scilicet eorum figura non reperitur in re aliqua sive superioris sive inferioris mundi partis*" (187). Selden credits the as yet unidentified R. Isaac Mosaides, whose original Hebrew quote (also given by Selden) appears in "*Aqueda*, Shair, 45, fol. 149, col. 1. & Shair 48." The title of the work *Aqueda* אֶקְוֵדָה suggests "*The Binding*" and may be a work that elaborates on Abraham's binding of Isaac (Gen. 22). John Spencer quotes the same passages in his *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. V, cap. 4, sec. 2, fol. 774.

¹⁵⁸ Tertullian's handsome response in *De Idololatria* (cap. 5) [PL 001. 0743–0744] warns, "If you reverence the same God, you have, His law, 'Thou shalt make no similitude' [Exod. 20:4]. If you look back, too, to the precept enjoining the subsequently made similitude, do you, too, imitate Moses: make not any likeness in opposition to the law, unless to *you*, too, God have bidden it" (*On Idolatry*, ch. 5), in *ANF* (3:64).

¹⁵⁹ Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 9, pp. 131–33); Spencer (*De Legibus*, lib. 3, diss. VII, cap. 3, sec. 8, fols. 897–99) maintains that the ancients employed these Teraphim as oracles and that Rachel probably stole them because of her greed.

Undertaking.¹⁶⁰ *Pererius* imagines, That she took the *Teraphim*, for the Sake of the precious *Metal* whereof they were composed, that so she might compensate the Injustice that she had suffered from her Father. But, suppose that *Rachel* had a Religious Respect for them. Her Education in a Family where Superstition had been so long practised, was enough to betray her into it. *Jacob* was better taught; & would have taught the Family better, but the Women, who are naturally superstitious, were not easily brought from the Vanities *received by Tradition from their Fathers*.¹⁶¹

To surmise that *Jacob* had any Veneration for these Tools, is to Reproach the Good Man, without any Shadow of Reason. He expresses an Anger at any of his Family, that should go to steal things of so little Use to his Family; and his Contempt of Gods that would suffer themselves to be stolen. When he found them (as *Josephus* tells us,) he buried them, with the rest of such Implements, under the Oak at *Shechem*.¹⁶²

As for the Story of *Micah*, every thing in it, is of an Idolatrous and an Unlaudable Aspect.¹⁶³ The Hasty Passions of a furious Woman, were the original Occasion of *Micah's* Action. It was done in a Time Remarkably licentious; and what he did was directly against the Law of God, in the express Terms of it. [Exod. 20.4. Deut. 4.15, 16. Deut. 27.15.] His *Teraphim* therefore he called, *His Gods*; and his pretending the Honour of *Jehovah* in them, was no more an Excuse for them, than for the *Golden Calf* in the Wilderness. The Fancy, that *Micha* would have his House to be sanctified with *Two Cherubim*, is a very Arbitrary one. And if it were so, yett he did sinfully; to bring into his own private Habitation, what peculiarly belonged unto the Tabernacle of God. [Lev. 17.1, 9. Deut. 12.14, 26, 27. & 15.20.] He added unto the Sin, by making his own Son a *Priest*; when the Priesthood was confined unto the *Aaronic* Family. [Num. 3.10.] The Effect was Agreeable, and very Lamentable. The *Danites* carried on the Idolatry, which *Micah* had thus begun; and it continued until the *Captivity of the Land*; That is to say, until the Time, when the *Ark* was taken by the *Philistines*; in which Calamity, there was a *Transmigration of the Inhabitants of the Land*: [so the Word imports;] either captivated by, or escaping from, those Troublesome Invaders. *Kimchi* very Judiciously refers hither the Words of the Psalmist; Psal. 78.58 – *They moved Him to Jealousy with their GRAVEN IMAGES*; [These of *Micah*:] – *so that He forsook the Tabernacle of Shiloh, – and delivered His Strength*

¹⁶⁰ Mather offers several explanations on her reasons for stealing her father's Teraphim in his commentary on Gen. 21 and 35 (*BA* 1:975, 1062). See also Poole's commentary on Gen. 31:19, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:224–25) and *Works* (3:175–77).

¹⁶¹ Benito Pererius treats the topic exhaustively in his *Commentariorum in Librum Genesis*. Quartus Tomus (1599), Gen. XXXI, pp. 253–59.

¹⁶² Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities* (1.19.10, 11); Gen. 35:2–4. See also *BA* (1:1040–47, 1058, 1067–77).

¹⁶³ Mather here targets Spencer's explication of the story of Micah's bovine Cherubim, in *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. VII, cap. 3, sec. 4, fols. 873–80).

into Captivity. It is true, when the *Danites* enquired about the Success of their Expedition, there was an Answer, which had the Name of *Jehovah* in it; but the Answer came not from the Glorious *Jehovah*; it came from a Knavish *Levite*, who was willing to humour the Wretches, in what they were adoin. Or, the Lord might permitt a lying *Demon*, to possess the *Teraphim*, & from thence to utter some true Prædictions.¹⁶⁴

Well, but in the Family of *David* we find a *Teraphim*! Yes; but *Rivet* brands *Genebrard* with the blame of *Intolerable Boldness*, for saying, | *Statuam hanc fuisse Sacram, et tales in sua Domo, quasi Lares et Penates, Davidem habuisse.*¹⁶⁵ [69r] Much more in the right is *Ribera*, who observes, That the *Image* used by *Michal*, was not any *Idol*; (*neque enim Idola erant in Domo Davidis*;) Nor was it one of the *Astronomical Images* which the *Rabbins* talk of. But it was a Statue, of an Humane Shape; *Quales Tauris objici solent in circo, aut in hortis poni ad Aves terrendas*; The Cloaths of a Man were stuff'd, and the Hair of *David* was imitated.¹⁶⁶

And ha's there not been enough said now to satisfy us, That the *Teraphim* were not the same with the *Urim*, the most Sacred Part of the Pontifical Habili-ments among the *Israelites*? Indeed *Spencer* makes a mighty Argument, of what we read threatned about the *Israelites* in their long Exile; Hos. 3.4. *They shall be without an Ephod & Teraphim*. But, why may not the *Teraphim* here, be Instruments of *Idolatry*?¹⁶⁷ The Lord in the Context saies, concerning the State of *Widowhood*, wherein the *Israelites* are to remain *many Dayes*; *Thou shalt not play the Harlot*. Cast off by the Lord, they should not fall into the Communion of any other God; but so remain, till God should see His Time to marry Himself

164 Witsius (134–39). R. David Kimchi (Radak), on Ps. 78:58–60, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Psalms* (2:306).

165 The French Huguenot André Rivet (1572–1651), professor of theology at Leiden, in his *Theologicae & Scholasticae Exercitationes CX in Genesin* (1633), Exercitatio CXXXII, p. 651, takes exception to Gilbert Genebrard's annotation on Ps. 73:8, *In Psalmos Davidis Vulgata Editione Commentariorum* (1607), Argumentum in Psal. LXXIII, p. 434(d). Rivet chastises his French colleague for claiming that "this statue [1 Sam. 19:13] was sacred, and that David had similar ones in his house, like those of household gods."

166 The third-hand citation from *In Librum Duodecim Prophetarum Commentarij* (1593), in *Hoseam Prophetam Commentarii* (cap. 3, p. 74, # 21), by the Spanish Jesuit theologian Franciscus Ribera (1537–91), reads, "neque enim Idola erunt in Domo Davidis," but is by Witsius (141–42) taken at second hand from Rivet's *Exercitationes* (p. 651). At any rate, Ribera argues that Michal's image in King David's bed was neither an idol (*Teraphim*), "nor, in fact, did an Idol exist in David's house." To be sure, Mather insists, this statue was in the shape of a human being, such an one "that were accustomed to being thrown to the bulls in the circus, or to be placed in gardens in order to frighten birds [i. e., scarecrow]." Witsius (141–42) quotes Ribera (p. 74, # 21) at second hand from Rivet (p. 651). 1 Sam. 19:13–16. See also Mather's commentary on 1 Sam. 19:13 (*BA* 3:307).

167 John Spencer, *Dissertation de Urim & Thummim* (1669), cap. 4, sec. 3, 4, pp. 68, 74. For a modern discussion of Israelite divinatory practices, see C. van Dam's *Urim and Thummim* (1997), pp. 9–38.

again unto them. Hence, the Instruments both of *True* Worship, and *False*, were to be withheld from them, for these *many* *Dayes*.¹⁶⁸

It is added in the Prophecy, *They shall be without an Image*, or Statue. The Word may signify, *A monumental Stone*; like that erected by *Jacob*. *Jacob's* Action was Pious, and Approv'd of God. [Gen. 31.13.] And yett it seems to have been a *Stone of Stumbling* unto the *Canaanites* in the Neighbourhood. The Jewes tell us, That the *Stone* became hateful to God, because the *Canaanites* at length paid an Idolatrous Respect unto it. And the *Phœnicians* did in Imitation of that, sett up other *Stones*, which were called *Betylia*, and *Betyli*, in Conformity to the Name of *Bethel*. We find them in Antiquity called, λίθους ἐμψυχους, *Animated Stones*, and perhaps *Prastigious Demons* might give the People Occasion to count them really so.¹⁶⁹ *Damascius* a superstitious Pagan, in the *Dayes* of *Justinian* writes, That he himself saw, τον Βαιτυλον δια του αερος κινουμενον· *A Betylian Stone moving in the Air*. And *Isidore* the Philosopher, saies, It was moved by a *Demon*.¹⁷⁰ The Lord, that He might save His People, from such Superstitions of the Gentiles, commanded, them to overthrow all such Monuments. [Exod. 23.24. and 34.13. and Deut. 12.3.] And forbad their Erecting of any such themselves. [Lev. 26.1. and Deut. 16.22. and 1. King. 14.24.] We need not enquire, If these Monuments were *Criminal Things*, how & why, it should be a Threatning unto the *Israelites*, *That they should be without them?* The Carrying away of the *Calf* at *Bethel*, by *Salmanassar* is putt into a Threatning. [Hos. 10.5, 6.] If a Thing be Good in the *Opinion* of a People, tho' it be not in *Reality* so, the Taking of it away may be Matter for a *Threatning*. For a Nation to have their *False Gods* Triumphed over, is more than (what *Spencer* calls it,) *A phantastical Punishment*.¹⁷¹ [Compare, Isa. 46.1, 2. Jer. 48.7. and 49.3. and Amos. 1.15.] Besides, There is no need of our Looking on it as a Commination, That *Israel* should be *without an Image & without a Teraphim*. Tis but an Explication of that Clause, *Thou shalt not play the Harlot*.¹⁷²

168 Mather takes exception to Spencer's audacious argument (*De Legibus* [1685], lib. 3, diss. VII, cap. 3, secs. 2–3, 7–8, fols. 866–73, 888–900) that the Urim and Thummim (Exod. 28:30), objects in the breastplate of the High Priest, were not only used for divination, but were similar to, if not identical with, the Teraphim that were employed for many of the same purposes.

169 The Palestinian grammarian and historian Herennius Philo of Byblius (*Fragmenta*, vol.-Jacoby # F 3c, 790, F, fragm. 2, line 132) mentions the βαϊτύλια, i.e., "Baetylus" or "sacred stone" (Gen. 28:11–19) among the ancient Phoenicians, who believed (says Sanchoniathon) the λίθους ἐμψυχους was an "animated stone" made by the god Uranus. The last master of the Athenian Academy, the Greek Neoplatonist philosopher Damascius (fl. early 6th c. CE) describes the βαϊτύλον διὰ τοῦ αἰέρος κινούμενον as "a stone flying in the air" (probably a meteorite), in his *Vita Isidori* (fragment 203, line 1). *KP* (1:1371).

170 And Damascius says (*Vita Isidori*, fragm. 203, line 28) that according to the Neoplatonist philosopher Isidore of Alexandria (c. 450–520 CE), a student of Photius in Athens, this sacred stone or εἶναι γὰρ τινα δαίμονα τὸν κινούμενον "was moved about by a demon."

171 John Spencer, *Dissertatione de Urim & Thummim* (1669), cap. 4, sec. 3, p. 56.

172 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 12, pp. 145–46, 150).

The Cherubim or Figure of the Great Ones. ^{Heavenly Writings Perfect}



*The Christian Covenant in Hieroglyphicks.
and the Origin of all Such among the Heathens.*

John Hutchinson, *The Covenant in the Cherubim* (London, 1749), frontispiece.

From *Teraphim* let us pass to *Cherubim*.¹⁷³ The *Egyptians* had their God *Hempta*; and he had certain *Genius's* Attending him; One had the Face of a *Boy*; Another, the Face of a *Dog*; A Third, the Face of an *Hawk*; A Fourth, the Face of a *Lion*. Well; And now, was not *Hempta*, the same with the God /אֵמֶת/ *Emet*, of the *Israelites*? And were not the *Cherubim*, an Imitation of *Hempta's* Attendants? God forbid, we should imagine so. We have no Proof of *Hempta's* Antiquity; And neither the *Number* nor the *Figure* of his Attendants, was the same with the *Cherubim* in the Tabernacle. But the *Cherubim* now falling under our Consideration, Let us be more particular about them.¹⁷⁴

The First Mention we find of the *Cherubim*, is upon the Expulsion of our *First Parents* out of *Paradise*. [Gen. 3.24.] *Angels* were doubtless intended; but in what Form they appeared, is not mentioned. [Only compare, Num. 22.22, 23. and Josh. 5.13. and 1. Chron. 21.16.] Tis not improbable, That *Moses* might

173 In his annotation on Gen. 31:19, Mather waxes prickly: "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*" (BA 1:1045).

174 Witsius (lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 46; lib. 2, cap. 13, p. 154) leans on Athanasius Kircher's *Sphinx Mystagoga, sive Diatribe Hieroglyphica de Mumiis* (1676), pars 2, caps. 2, 4, pp. 21–22, 29–35; pars 3, caps. 3, 4, pp. 56–57, 66, 68–69; and on Spencer's *Disertatione de Urim & Thummim* (1669), cap. 4, sec. 13, pp. 222–23. It is intriguing that Mather excerpts this paragraph from Witsius (p. 46) without mentioning Kircher, who explicates the mystical numen Hempta (Emet), as the ram-headed Khnum (Kneph), the supreme creator god of the Egyptians, whom the Greeks called Jupiter Ammon (Kircher, *Sphinx*, 21, 22–23, 29, 52, 57, 66). He is attended by certain guardian spirits (genii): the boy-faced Horus (son of Isis and Osiris), god of the sentient world (Kircher 21, 23, 29, 31–32); the jackal-headed Anubis (the Egyptian Mercurius), custodian of the souls of the dead before their judgment (Kircher 49, 56, 61, 69); hawk-headed Thauustus, associated with the heat of the sun and the source of the earth's fertility (Kircher 23, 29, 51, 68); and finally, the lion-faced Momphta (Mophta), guardian of the sacred Nile, who presides over the watery world (Kircher 33, 35, 68–69, 71). Mather here wrestles with the astonishing similarities between divine and pagan emblems outlined by Kircher (but here borrowed from Witsius), for the four attending genii of the Egyptian Hempta seem akin to the attending cherubim in Ezekiel's Merkabah vision (Ezek. 1:10–11; 10:14): "As for the likeness of their faces, they [sic] four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side, they four also had the face of an eagle. Thus were their faces: and their wings were stretched upward; two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies" (Ezek. 1:10–11). Mather's gloss on Ezek. 10:14 reads, "The first Face, was the Face of a Cherub: That is to say, of an Oxe, or, a Calf: A Representation of great Account among the Jewes, for the sake of their Joseph. It is here intimated, That the Upper Part of the Cherubims Head, was distinguished, & remarkable, for Circumstances, that had something Bovine in them. The Second Face, was the Face of a Man; That is to say, The whole Countenance was Humane. The Third, the Face of a Lion; That is to say, The Neck, & the Main, was Leonine. The Fourth, the Face of an Eagle; This was in the Wings added unto their shoulders" [BA 6: Ezek. 10:14]. See also Mather's commentary on Acts [BA 8: Acts 7:2] and my introduction, section 2.

write his Book of *Genesis*, in the Wilderness, after the *Tabernacle* was erected, with all its Furniture. *Cherubim*, were Part of that Furniture, & the Name refers not so much to the *Shape* of the Emblem, as to the *Thing* signified under it; the Ministry of the Holy *Angels*. [Compare, Psal. 18.11.] The *Shape*, of the *Cherubim* ha's diverse things remarked by *Moses* concerning it; [Exod. 25.18, 19, 20.] from whence we learn, That they were *Flying Animals*; but of what Sort they were, how many *Wings* they had, & how many *Faces*, & what was the Form of the rest of their Body, *Moses* is wholly silent. However, tis plain, That *Moses* took not his Pattern from the *Idols of Egypt*, ut from what he saw on the Holy Mountain. We perceive also, That the *Cherubim* in *Solomons Temple*, differed somewhat from those in *Moses's Tabernacle*. [1. King. 6.27.] | Their *Looks* and their *Wings*, were another Way. And all that we can hitherto learn, is, That they were *Statues*, with *Wings*, *Large* and *Spread*. But when we come to *Ezekiels Temple*, the Description proceeds a little further. Two *Faces* are seen upon the *Cherubim*; And *Humane* and a *Leonine*. [Ezek. 41.20, 21.] Nevertheless they are here but as exhibited on a *plain Wall*; & so but Half of their *Faces* are in the Exhibition. In *Ezekiels Vision*, we see them with Two more *Faces*; a *Bovine*, and an *Aquiline*; and now, their *Wings* were neither *stretch'd Forward*, as were those of the *Mosaic Cherubim*; nor *stretch'd Sideways*, as were those of the *Solomonic Cherubim*; But, they *lifted upwards* Two of their *Wings*, & with Two they covered their *Bodies*. [Ezek. 1.5.] From *Ezekiels* Particularity, in giving an Account of his *Cherubim*, one would think, they should not be just the same, with those in the *Tabernacle* and the *Temple*; the Form whereof was well known to all the People of *Israel*. Nevertheless, the Form of those *Cherubim*, is to be gathered from something in these; especially from one Clause, [Ezek. 10.14.] where, *The Bovine Face*, is by way of Peculiarity called, *The Face of a Cherub*. And the Name comes from כְּרֻב / כֶּרֶב which signifies, *To plough*. A *Cherub* is, Βούς Ἀρωτήρ.¹⁷⁵

Upon the whole, Dr. *Witsius* thus defines the *Cherubim*; They were, *Animantia insolita, Bovini corporis speciem quoad maximam sui partem representantia, instructa grandibus Alis, incertum quot, et binis ad minimum Faciebus, Leoninâ atque Humanâ; Creatures of a strange Composition;*¹⁷⁶ in their Bodies for

175 The Hebrew term כְּרֻב or כֶּרֶב [keruwb] suggests "cherub, cherubim, an angelic being, as guardians of Eden" (Strong # 3742). Although of uncertain derivation, "cherub" is here associated with the infinitive "to plough." Hence a cherub is a βούς ἁρωτήρ or "plowing oxen," and the cherubs on the Mosaic Ark of the Covenant (Exod. 25:19) as creatures of bovine shape. See also Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations* (486, 487), Spencer's *De Legibus* (lib. 3, diss. 5, cap. 3, sec. 1, fol. 764), and Mather's annotation on Exod. 25:18 (above). In Mather's day, Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, caps. 28–42, cols. 274–416) is the standard source for all discussions relating to the significance of calves, bulls, and other assorted bovine figures revered among the ancients.

176 Witsius explains these cherubim were "unusual animals, manifesting the shape of a bovine body in respect to the largest part of them, equipped with full-grown wings; it is unclear how many, and along with at least two faces, leonine and human." Mather subsequently paraphrases Witsius's description.

the most Part repræsenting an *Oxe*; but furnished with great Wings; and having at least those *Two Faces*; the one, of a *Man*, the other, of a *Lion*. This is all we know of them; The Traditions and Additions of the modern Masters, are Vain and False, or, at best, uncertain, and perhaps the wretched Fancies of a Jewish Brain. *Josephus* the Jew, is more modest than any of them; who thus defines the *Cherubim*, ζῶα πετεινα κλ. *Flying Animals, like nothing seen among Men, but like what Moses did see under the Throne of God.*¹⁷⁷

Akin to these, *Cherubim* of *Ezekiel* were the *Animals* in the Visions of *John*. The Notion (brought by *Mede*.) of an Allusion therein, unto the *Ensigns*, in the *Banners*, of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, is confuted by *Launæus*, by *Bochart*, by *Heidegger*; as a Figment of a very late Invention. But now, what *Ezekiel* saw compacted into one Animal, *John* saw distinguished into Four. *Grotius* gives an elegant Reason for it; *Quarè id? Quia omnia in Novo Testamento distinctius quam in vetere noscuntur*. And *Cornelius à Lapide* has the same Gloss upon it. But *Launæus* will have the Form of each Animal beheld by *John*, to be just the same, with what was beheld by *Ezekiel*.¹⁷⁸ Only *John* described the *Face*, of each, that was looking towards him, as they were *Standing* about the *Throne*: But *Ezekiel* saw them in *Motion* to & fro, upon the Execution of the Divine Commands; & so had Opportunity to see every *Face*, that was upon each of them. *Ezekiels Cherubim* had but *Four Wings*; *Johns* had *Six*, and so had *Isaiahs*. *Johns* and *Isaiahs* were *About the Throne*; and so they needed a *Pair of Wings* for the Covering of their *Faces*; (yett not so, but that they might bee seen:) But *Ezekiels* were *Below the Throne*; where they had not the same Occasion.¹⁷⁹

177 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 13, sec. 15, p. 159). *Josephus Flavius* (*Antiquitates* 3.117, line 2) describes the cherubim as ζῶα πετεινὰ “flying creatures.” See also *Antiquities* (3.6.5 and 8.3.3).

178 Witsius (160–61, 162–63); *Joseph Mede*, *Works* (1664), bk. 5, cap. 12, pp. 1121–22, argues that the polymorphous shape of the cherubim – lion, ox, eagle, and man – represents the ensigns of “three Tribes to a Standard” of the twelve tribes of Israel. The French Reformed theologian Pierre Launæus, aka. de Launay, Sieur de la Motte et Vauferian (1573–1661), pseudonym Jonas le Buy, associates the cherubim with God’s glory, in *Paraphrase et Exposition sur les Epistres*. Seconde Partie (1650), pp. 559, 567; see also his annotations on Rev. 4:6–9, in *Paraphrase et Exposition sur L’Apocalypse* (1651), pp. 121–32. Samuel Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 41, col. 412, lines 26–46; lib. 3, cap. 6, col. 770); and Johann Heinrich Heidegger’s *אֲבוֹת רַשִׁי Sive De Historia Sacra* (1729), 1:105, Exercit. IV: De Adamo et Eva, § 70; and 2:381–82, Exercit. XIX: De Dudaïm Rubenis, 2:381, § 13. Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes* [Exod. 25:8, in *Opera* 1.1.55) argues that the four creatures – man, eagle, lion, and oxen – are respectively symbols of goodness, swiftness, vengeance, and slowness.” Still not satisfied, Mather wonders with Grotius at his side, “Why is that? Because all things are known more distinctly in the New Testament than in the Old.” So, too, does *Cornelius à Lapide*, who is magically drawn to these symbolic animals and offers a nearly exhaustive analysis of the shape and significance of the cherubim, in his commentary on Exod. 25:18 (*Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosis* [1659], pp. 508–14). See also Mather’s annotations on Exod. 25:18 (above) and the main contestants in the debate as synopsized in *Poole’s Synopsis Criticorum* (1:446–47) and *Works* (5:205–07).

179 Witsius (163–65).

Hitherto, our Discourse is more Barren of useful Thoughts than we would have it. Lett us fly, & soar up, to a more profitable Conversation with the *Cherubim*.

The *Cherubim* that were placed over the *Mercy-Seat* upon the *Ark*, doubtless were to represent the *Angels* of God. Hence we read, Psal. 68.17. *Sinai is in the Sanctuary*. That is to say, Those that were truly on *Sinai*, were Symbolically represented, in the *Sanctuary*. There the Son of God appeared with His Holy *Myriads* of *Angels*, for the Giving of His Law. And here the Lord as it were satt on a Throne, with *Angels* about Him, and the *Book* of the *Law*, laid up in His *Ark*. The Attendance, which the *Angels* give unto our Lord-Redeemer, was hereby signified. The Excellency of the *Angelical Nature*, was intimated in the *Gold*, whereof the *Cherubim* were composed. Their Contiguity with the *Mercy-Seat*, & their Composition of the same Matter & Metal with it, intimated, That by the *Propitiation* which our Lord-Redeemer ha's made, *Elect Men* come to be united in the same Heavenly Commonwealth, with the *Angels* of God. Their Extending of their *Wings* over the *Mercy-Seat*, intimated, That the *Protection* which the *Angels* of God give unto us, is owing to the *Propitiation* made by our Lord. They *Both* did *Bend* their *Faces*, towards the *Ark*; To intimate their studious Enquiries into the *Mystery of Christ*; & how their Exemple is followed by the conjunct Endeavours of the Saints, who have obtained *the like precious Faith* under *both Testaments*.¹⁸⁰

| The *Cherubim* seen by *Ezekiel*, were also to intimate the Ministry of *Angels*. [Compare Zech. 6.6.] The *Four Parts* of the World, the *Four Sides* of the Temple, the *Four Gates* of the New Jerusalem, are answered in the Number of them; They are enough to perform the great Works of God, both in the World, & in the Church. The *Wheels* under their Management, intimate the *Revolutions* made in the Divine Providence. The Colour of the *Wheels*, being the mixt Colour of a *Sardonyx*, *White* and *Red*; it intimates the Temperament of *Mercy* and *Justice*, in the Divine Dispensations. The *Eyes* in the *Wheels*, intimate, the watchful Wisdome of Heaven, wherewith all things are carried on. The *Dreadful Heighth* of the *Rings*, intimates the Unsearcheableness of the Counsels and Judgments of God. A *Wheel within a Wheel*, may note the Admirable Agreement in the Works of the Lord. The *Faces* of the several Animals, may intimate something Analogous to the Properties of the Animals, here which wear the like *Faces*. We may add This; Two of the *Faces* belong to *Wild Creatures*; Two, to *Tame*. This may be, for the *Terror* of the Wicked, & for the *Comfort* of the Godly. The *Lion* seeks his Prey *below*; the *Eagle* seeks it *Above*. Not only *Sinners* upon Earth, but also *Wicked Spirits in High Places* feel the Restraints of the *Angels*. The *Man*, and the *Ox*, are both of them *Terrestrial* Creatures; We need the

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180 Witsius (166–67).

Help of the *Angels* only while we are in our Terrestrial Circumstances; not after we come to Heaven. *Bochart* fetches these Hints, out of *Launeus* (or, *Jonas Le Buy*), upon the *Revelation*.¹⁸¹ The *Bovine Foot* of the *Cherubim*, notes the Steadiness of the Angelical Administration; their not being *Hastily* produced, nor *Easily* diverted. And their *Sparkling like the Colour of Burnished Brass*, intimates the Charity, the Sanctity, the Zeal for the Divine Glory, in all their Motions. Their *Wings* intimate the Celerity of their Obedience in the Commands of God. The *Hands* under the *Wings*, intimate, their Good, Wise, Regular, Conduct, accompanying the Celerity. Their *Two Wings*, lifted *Upwards*, intimate their continual Respect unto God, & Concern to have the Elect of God carried up unto Him. Their *Two Wings* with which their *Body was covered*, intimate, shall we say, their Modesty, or their Invisibility. Their *going strait forward*, intimates, *In Vijs Dei non retroceditur; non est Via curva*. There is a Regularity also in all the *Angelical* Actions; Nothing to be recalled, nothing retracted.¹⁸²

The *Cherubim* in the Visions of *John*, are of the same Importance. Tis much better to understand them, of the *Angels*, than of the *Church*; the Things attributed unto them are Angelical. That Clause, about, *Redemption by the Blood of the Lamb*, in the Song, [Rev. 5.9, 10.] may without any Difficulty, be restrained unto the *Four & Twenty Elders*. Tis a Rule, *Prædicata suum monstrant Subjectum*. [See Examples, Neh. 12.1, 2. and Jer. 21.7.]¹⁸³

Finally; Tis the Duty of the *Faithful* to Imitate the *Angels*; *quo ii qui Angelis aliquandò similes se futuros esse sperant in Glorâ, ijsdem etiam similes sint in Sanctimoniâ*.¹⁸⁴

III. The Third Assertion.

Those Points, wherein the *Israelites* agree with the *Egyptians*, are for the most part such as the *Egyptians* had in common with *other Civilized Nations*; & such as flow'd from the same Common Fountain of Natural Reason, or of

181 Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 6, col. 770, lines 45–48) synopsisizes Pierre de Launay's annotations on Rev. 4:6–9, in *Paraphrase et Exposition sur L'Apocalypse* (1651), exposition de chapitre IV, esp. pp. 121–32.

182 Witsius (167–68). With Witsius (168) at his side, Mather proclaims that “In the ways of God there is no going back; the way is not crooked.”

183 Witsius's rule (169) is “Preordained things make known their own matter.”

184 Witsius's concluding thought (169), that it behooves us to imitate angels, exhorts his readers, “for those who hope that they would be in glory like angels one day may also be like them in sanctity.” This evasive answer bespeaks Witsius's exasperation more so than it does his satisfaction with finding a watertight solution. Yet in cutting through this Gordian knot of figural bestiaries, he has good precedence in Maimonides (*Guide* 1.49.109–10; 2.6.262; 3.45.577). As Mather put it, “Be the Figure what it will; it is evident, That the *Cherubim* which *Moses* made by the Order of GOD, were Emblems of ANGELS.” For according to Maimonides, God's design “was to inculcate the Doctrine & Beleaf of ANGELS” (BA 2:340).

General *Tradition*; both of which also were more pure & clear among the *Israelites*, than among the other Nations.¹⁸⁵

We will begin with the Doctrine of the *Creation*. The *Egyptians* had nothing laudable in their Thoughts about it, but what was to be found among the other Gentiles. *Plato* was not the only Pagan, who held, the World, δια την του θεου γενεσθαι προνοιαν, *was made by the Providence of God*; but as *Lactantius* tells us, *Uno Spiritu et Pari voce restantur, et inter philosophos penè universos convenit*.¹⁸⁶ *Strabo* tells, that the *Ancient Indians* beleaved that God was the Creator & Governour of the World; and how remarkably tis beleaved by the *Modern Indians* in *America*, is now known to all the World.¹⁸⁷ As the Λογος δημιουργος, or, Creating WORD, was acknowledged by the *Egyptians*, thus was the, Νους and Ἀυδη, the *Mind*, & the *Voice*, that made all things among the *Gracians*.¹⁸⁸ The Quotations wee might bring to this Purpose, would be enough to overwhelm us. There are

¹⁸⁵ Mather alludes to the traditional belief that the similarities between pagan and Mosaic cults are grounded in their common origin in the traditions passed down through Noah's offspring and dispersed the world over.

¹⁸⁶ In his *Timaeus* (30b, line 8–30c, line 1), *Plato* maintains that διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν, “divine providence brought our world into being” (*Complete Works* 1236). Steeped in the philosophy of *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, and the *Peripatetics*, *Lactantius* (*Divinarum Institutionum* 2.9) [PL 002. 0302] calls to his aid *Trismegistus* and the *Sibyls* to confirm that the world is the workmanship of God and that all the prophets “bear witness with one impulse and with harmonious voice ...; [in fact] even the philosophers almost universally agree” (*Divine Institutes* 2.9), in *ANF* (7:55).

¹⁸⁷ *Witsius* (lib. 2, cap. 14, p. 171); *Strabo* (*Geographica* 15.1.59, lines 47–52) relates that the *Brachmanes* (*Brahmins*) of *India* agree with the *Greeks* “that the universe was created and is destructible ... that it is spherical in shape, and that the god who made it and regulates it pervades the whole of it; and that the primal elements of all things else are different, but that water was the primal element of all creation; and that, in addition to the four elements, there is a fifth natural element of which the heavens and the heavenly bodies are composed; and that the earth is situated in the centre of the universe.” *Witsius's* source on the “*Modern Indians in America*” is *Tobias Pfanner's Systema Theologiae Gentilis Purioris* (1679), cap. 5, § 11, p. 156, and cap. 21, §§ 6, 19, p. 464, 467, 471, who cites from *Descriptio Novum Anglorum* (pars 1, cap. 4, p. 76), by *Richardus Waitbornius*, probably *Richard Whitbourne* (1561–1635), an English merchant adventurer and colonist, whose *Descriptio* was reprinted in *Theodor de Bry's Historiae Americae sive Novi Orbis, continens in XIII. distinctis partibus. Decima tertia pars Historiae Americanae, quae continent exactam et accuratam descriptionem Novae Angliae, Virginiae, Brasiliae, Guianae et Insulae Bermuda* (1634), pars XIII, lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 76. Thus *Pfanner* (1641–1716), a German Lutheran theologian and jurist, supplies *Mather* (via *Witsius*) with the third-hand reference to the beliefs of the indigenes of *New England* and *Guiana*. No doubt, *Mather* had access to more immediate sources on the religions of *Native Americans*; any number of *John Eliot's* tracts or, at the very least, *Roger Williams's Key into the Language of America* (1643), would have done the job. Circuitous as the network of information remained in *Mather's* day, this meandering form of source citations was still commonplace.

¹⁸⁸ *Mather* (via *Witsius* 171, 172) imaginatively links the τὸν δημιουργὸν λόγον, “the Creating Word” of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (fragm. 28, line 3–4), with the ancient concepts of the “*Mind*,” in *Diogenes Laertius's Life of Anaxagoras*, in *Vitae philosophorum* (2.6, lines 1–5), and with “*Voice*,” in *Pseudo-Justinus Martyr (Cohortatio ad gentiles* 16B, line 3–4). In this way, *Mather* imaginatively joins Prov. 8:22–30 with John 1:1–3.

enough of them collected by *Elias Schediūs*, in his Treatise, *De Dijs Germanis*. And the Words of *Maximus Tyrius* are singularly emphatical.¹⁸⁹

Whatever the *Egyptians* have about the *Order of the Creation*, agreeable to the *Mosaic* Account, we find also among the *Græcians*. As *Moses* begins the *Creation*, with the Making of *Heaven* and *Earth*, so does *Plato*, with *Fire* and *Earth*. Answerable to the *Tohu Vabohu*, is the Poets, *Rudis indigestaque moles*. *Thales* ha's the *Dark* præceding the *Day*; and so ha's *Aristophanes*, as well as *Moses*.¹⁹⁰

Well; But the *Græcians* learnt these things from the *Egyptians*. Lett it be so.
[70v] But from whom did the *Egyptians* learn them? Surely, | Not from the Sagacity of their own Invention.¹⁹¹ Why might not both of them, learn from the pious Posterity of *Shem*, whom God had made the Depositories of His Truth? Learned Men have admirably cultivated this Assertion. Yea, why might not the Wise Men of all the Nations, derive their Wisdome, from the *Chaldeans*, whom *Cicero* calls, *Antiquissimum Doctorum genus*? *Orpheus* in his Verses, refers to them.¹⁹² And *Clemens* upon those Verses, makes *Abraham* to be in a peculiar Manner

189 Mather refers to *De Dijs Germanis, sive Veteri Germanorum, Gallorum, Britannorum, Vandalarum Religione* (1648), Syn. 1, cap. 12, pp. 221, by *Elias Schedius* (1615–41), a learned German Lutheran whose posthumously published work is among the first scholarly studies of Germanic mythology. See J. Bolte, “Schedius, Elias” (*ABD* 30:662). The Greek philosopher-rhetorician *Maximus Tyrius* (2nd c. CE) has much to offer on such numinous topics as the Egyptian Jupiter Ammon, the creator of the world (*Dissertationes* XXV, 2:48–58). See also *Witsius, Aegyptiaca* (1696), lib. 2, cap. 14, pp. 170–76.

190 Through *Witsius* (173), Mather hitches to his wagon *Plato's Timaeus* (31b, lines 6–7; 42e, lines 9–10): ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς (“out of fire and earth”); then the *Mosaic* מוֹחַ וְבוֹהוּ *tohu vabohu* (Gen. 1:2): “without form and void”; then *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1.7), chaos, “a rude and indigested mass”; then the tongue-in-cheek response of the pre-Socratic philosopher *Thales* of Miletus (c. 624–546 BCE): “ἡ νύξ,” εἶπε “μῶν ἡμέρα πρότερον” (“The night earlier by one day”), who addresses the question, whether night or day existed first (*Diogenes Laertes, Vita philosophorum* 1.36, lines 2–3); then the rear is brought up with *Aristophanes's Aves* (693–94): Χάος ἦν καὶ Νύξ Ἐρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον καὶ Τάρταρος εὐρύς γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἄρ' οὐδ' οὐρανός ἦν. (“Only Chaos, Night, dark Erebus, and deep Tartarus existed in the beginning; earth, the air, and heaven had no existence”) – all this to evince that the *Egyptians* had nothing on their Mediterranean neighbors.

191 See *Hugo Grotius, De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (1627), lib. 1. § 16. *The Truth of the Christian Religion* (1719), bk. 1, sec. 16, pp. 27–68.

192 *Witsius* (174–75); the Latin quotation is not from *Cicero* but from a summary statement in an encyclopedia entry on “Philosophia,” in *Johann Jacob Hofmann's Lexicon Universale, Historiam Sacram et Profanam* (1698), tom. 3, p. 722. Here the author argues that the ancient philosophy was by *Abraham*, the *Chaldean*, taught to the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*, who in their turn passed it on to *Greeks*. Be that as it may, the Latin passage, which *Witsius* attributes to *Cicero* (one of *Hofmann's* several sources), explains that the *Chaldeans* are an “ancient race of wise men.” See *Cicero's De Divinatione* (1.1.1–3). The divine singer *Orpheus* knew, so *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Stromata* 5.14.123.2) and *Eusebius Pamphilus* (*Præparatio evangelica* 13.13.50, lines 1–14; 685ac) relate in an extant fragment, that the invisible God was known to one *Chaldean*, of whom *Orpheus* chants, “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, how the winds/ Their chariot guide o'er air and sea” (*The Stromata* 5.14), in *ANF* (2:472).

intended. And, by the way, *Orpheus* was counted the Son of *Musæus*, (that is to say, Of *Moses*;) because he learn'd all his Theology of *Moses*, probably *Orpheus* himself designs *Moses*, in that Stroke.

Ὡς λόγος αρχαίων, ὡς υδογενῆς διατάξεν·

Moses, one *Drawn out of the Water*, was very agreeably called, υδογενῆς.¹⁹³

Nor were the *Egyptians*, the only People, that beleev'd, *The First man* to be made out of the *Earth*, with a *Spirit* infused into him of God, which imprinted the *Image* of God upon him. *Socrates*, and *Zeno*, and *Plato*, affirmed, the Original of Man to be of the *Earth*; and say, that this is ἐν των παλαι λεχθεντων· *Ex ijs quæ ab antiquo memorentur*.¹⁹⁴ Yea, *Vossius* will have *Adana* the ancient City of *Cilicia*, built by the *Syrians*, to retain in it, the very Name of the First Man, *Adam*. The Greeks not having any Words, that end in M, they pronounced the Name, Ἀδαν.¹⁹⁵ And *Epicharmus* in *Plutarch*, taught, That the *Soul* of Man is inspired from Heaven; πνευμα δε ανωτι.¹⁹⁶ *Grotius* brings us the like out of *Euripides*;¹⁹⁷ Yea, and *Ovid* finds Man made, in *Effigiem moderantum cuncta*

193 Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 13.12.5, line 36) cites Orpheus from a fragment extant in Aristobulus: Ὡς λόγος αρχαίων, ὡς υδογενῆς διατάξεν, ("So men of old, so tells the Nile-born sage"). The υδογενῆς, i. e., "water-born" or "Nile-born" sage is, according to Eusebius, none other than Moses, who was pulled from the Nile by pharaoh's daughter (*Praeparatio* 13.12.666d; see also 9.27.432b). On the efforts of Jewish apologists – Eupolemus, Artapanus, Josephus, and Philo of Byblos – to crown Abraham, Joseph, and Moses as the original conduits of wisdom, culture, and religion to Chaldaea, Egypt, and Greece, see A. J. Droge, *Homer or Moses?* (1–48). See also Mather's *BA* (1:307–16, 358–69, 380–83).

194 Witsius (lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 176); In Plato's *Politicus* (269b, line 4) an interlocutor asks if it be true that man was "born from the earth" rather than procreated through generation. Young Socrates responds, Καὶ τοῦτο ἐν των παλαι λεχθέντων, "This too is one of the things that have been told through the ages" (*Complete Works* 310). By enlisting the pre-Socratic philosopher Zelon Eleates (c. 490–c. 430 BCE) in his train of authorities, Mather probably has in mind Plato's *Parmenides*, in which Parmenides, his companion Zeno, and the young Socrates, converse about the reality of imperceptible "Forms" (atoms) in nature (*SEP*). Mather erroneously copies the second-hand quotation of Plato as "ἐν των παλαι λεχθέντων"; the missing Greek iota in παλαι is silently restored.

195 Gerard Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 38, p. 279.

196 Witsius (177). The works of the Greek poet-philosopher Epicharmus (c. 539–c. 440 BCE) survive only in fragments of Plutarch, Eusebius Pamphilus, Diogenes Laertes, and Clemens Alexandrinus. The garbled citation from Epicharmus of Kos (c. 540–450 BCE), adapted from Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (110a, line 10–110b, line 1), πνεῦμ' ἄνω, suggests that the "soul [is inspired] from Heaven."

197 Grotius on Gen. 1:16, in *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (p. 2), in *Operum Theologorum* (1679), tom. 1, p. 3, adds for evidence a fragment from the Greek Euripides's *Aeolus* (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 27, lines 1–5) as extant in Plutarch's *De Fortuna* (98e): ἡ Βραχὺ τοι σθένος ἀνέρος· ἀλλὰ ποικιλία πραπίδων δεινὰ μὲν φύλα πόντου χθονίων τ' ἀερίων τε δάμναται παιδεύματα [βουλεύματα], or "Slight, of a truth, is the strength of man; and yet / By his mind's resourcefulness / Doth he subjugate the monsters / Of the deep, and the purposes / Of the denizens of the air" (*Plutarch's Moralia* 2:80, 81). See also *The Truth of the Christian Religion* (1719), lib. 1, § 16, pp. 29–31 (n) – where Grotius provides many similar references.

Deorum;¹⁹⁸ That *Likeness* to God, *Plato* finds in the *Soul*, which he pronounces, *ζυγγενή τω τε θείω και αθανάτω, και αιει οντι*. *Cognatam Divino et Immortali et Sem-piterna*.¹⁹⁹ And the *Likeness* he more particularly finds in the *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of the *Soul*; *ομοιωσις δε δικαίον και οσίον μετα φρονήσεως γενέσθαι*. *Similitudo autem Dei est Justum Sanctumque esse cum Prudentiâ*.²⁰⁰ How agreeable to the Gospel! But had not *Plato* these things out of *Egypt*? No; If you'l Beleeve *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, he was *παρα τινων τότε λογίων αναδιδαχθεις*, *Doctus ab aliquibus, quæ tunc errant Divinis Oraculis*.²⁰¹ Yea, *Plato* himself acknowledges, That there was a *more Safe & Sure Way*, to have such Truths conveyed unto us, and that was, a *Λογος Θειος*, *A Divine Word*.²⁰² And where shall we meet with it, but in our Sacred Scriptures?²⁰³

T'was falsely done of *Herodotus*, to make the *Immortality of the Soul*, an Invention of the *Egyptians*. *Eusebius* well shewes, how *Moses* implied it, when he brings in the *Soul* made after the *Image of God*. And both *Plato*, and *Porphyrie*, approved the Argument.²⁰⁴

These Traditions were derived from the first Parents of Mankind, unto all Civil Nations, as well as the *Egyptians*. This is evident from the Poems of *Homer*; yea, from the *Druids* in the West, and the *Brachmans* in the East; whereof *Strabo* gives us an Account; And from the Nations in both the *India's*, whereof we have an Account in the Modern Travellers.²⁰⁵ It is well observed by *Seneca*, *Quum*

198 Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 1.83) tells his readers that the god Iapetus "moulded [man's divine substance] into the form of the all-controlling gods."

199 Plato (*Republica* 10.611e, lines 2–3) pronounces the soul *συγγενής οὔσα τῷ τε θείῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ὄντι* "akin to the divine and immortal and what always is" (*Complete Works* 1215).

200 Plato (*Theaetetus* 176b, lines 2–3) believes that a man becomes like God *ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι*, "when he becomes [like Him] just and pure, with understanding" (*Complete Works* 195).

201 Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 2.19.100.3, line 5) insists that according to Plato, happiness consists of likeness to God as much as possible, either by assenting to the law or when *παρὰ τινων τότε λογίων ἀναδιδαχθεὶς* "instructed by certain oracles of the time" (*Stromata* 2.19), in *ANF* (2:369).

202 And Plato (*Phaedo* 85d, line 3) believes that the safest way to have truth conveyed to us is *[τῇ] λόγου θείου* "by [some] divine doctrine" (*Complete Works* 74).

203 Witsius (177–78).

204 Witsius (13–14, 178); John Marsham's *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. IX, § 9, pp. 216–27. Herodotus (2.123) relates that the Egyptians were the first to extol the immortality of the soul – along with metempsychosis – into another body during a cycle of three-thousand years. Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 11.27.1, lines 2–3; 550d). In the same work (11.28.1–2), Eusebius cites from Porphyrius's *Answer to Boëthius Concerning the Soul* (11), in which the Neoplatonist philosopher of Tyre comments that Plato, too, deemed the soul immortal. "For if she [soul] is like that which is divine, and immortal, and invisible, and inseparable, and indissoluble, and essential, and firmly established in incorruption, how can she fail to be of the corresponding class to the pattern?" (*Preparation* 11.28.554c).

205 Homer (*Odyssey* bk. 11) seems implicitly to embrace the continuation of the souls of the dead when he has Odysseus visit the shades in Hades. Strabo (*Geographica* 4.4.4) considers

de Animæ Immortalitate loquimur, non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus Hominum. He calls this, *Persuasio publica*. And, why should *Egyptians* run away with the Praise of it?²⁰⁶

The Fancy about, *The Transmigration of Souls*, we are content, that the *Egyptians* may challenge it, if our Authors please. But about, *A Receptacle for Departed Souls*, the Traditions were so general among all Nations, even the most Barbarous, that we must needs behold them, as having their Source no lower, than in the Instructions of *Noah*, and the oldest Patriarchs, to their Posterity.²⁰⁷

It is an Abuse, to maintain, That the *Egyptians*, had more Knowledge of the *Future State*, than the *Israelites*, under the Teaching of *Moses*. The *Sadducees* among the *Israelites*, were accounted *Hereticks* and *Atheists*, who forfeited an Interest in the Glory of the *Future State*. The Hebrew Doctors make the *Resurrection of the Dead*, not only to be a *Fundamental Article*, but also, to be *Found in the Law*.²⁰⁸ *Solomon Jarchi* has a notable Passage; *Etiamsi quis credat propter Traditionem, aut Rationem, futuram esse Resurrectionem, sed dicat; Non extare in lege, tamen est Apostata, nec habet partem in futuro Seculo. Quid enim nobis cum fide ejus, si non confiteatur eam in lege extare?*²⁰⁹ *Origen* against

the Druids of Gallia exceptionally honorable and studied in natural philosophy. They believe “that men’s souls, and also the universe, are indestructible.” If Julius Caesar’s report in *De Bello Gallico* (6.14) can be trusted, the Druids also believed in metempsychosis, an account which Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 5.28.6) confirms. See also Gerhard Vossius *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 10, pp. 70–79. For the dispersion of knowledge among the Brahmins of India and the Celtic Druids, see also *BA* (1:362). Among the “Modern Travellers” who confirm the same belief in the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru are – among others – the Dutch historian and traveler Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563–1611), whose *Itinerario. Voyage ofte Schipvaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (1596) provides much useful cultural information. An English translation of the work appeared as *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into the Easte and West Indies* (1598). And so does the Spanish Jesuit missionary José Acosta, in his popular *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604).

206 Witsius (179). Mather’s third-hand Latin quotation – via Witsius (179) and Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (1642), lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 70 – from Seneca’s *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* (117.6), reads, “When we discuss the immortality of the soul, we are influenced in no small degree by the general opinion of mankind.” Seneca calls it, “this general belief” (117.6).

207 Mather has much to offer on the *ubi sunt* of the departed souls before the resurrection, in his *Trip Paradiseus* (*Threefold Paradise* 112–51).

208 Witsius (180); according to the Mishnah, tractate Sanhedrin (10.1), “All Israelites have a share in the world to come, for it is written, *Thy people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands that I may be glorified* [Isa. 6:21]. And these are they that have no share in the world to come: he that says that there is no resurrection of the dead prescribed in the Law, and [he that says] that the Law is not from Heaven, and an Epicurean” (*The Mishnah* 397). Manasseh ben Israel, the great Jewish scholar and teacher of Spinoza, asserts the immortality of the soul as a fundamental article of the Torah, in his *De Resurrectione Mortuorum Libri III* (1636), lib. 1, cap. 10, pp. 64–74.

209 The Latin citation from Solomon Jarchi’s (i.e., Rashi’s) commentary on the Mishnah (cap. 2, fol. 90) appears in Guilielmus (Willem) Vorstius’s translation of Yitzchak Abravanel’s ספר ראש אמנה *Sefer Rosh Amanah. Liber De Capite Fidei* (1638), cap. 21, p. 103. Referring to Rashi’s commentary on tractate Sanhedrin (10.1), Abravanel glosses, “even if one believes in

Celsus assures us, That the *Children* among the *Jewes*, did suck it in *with their Mothers Milk*.²¹⁰

Nature might teach the *Egyptians* to beware of *Blasphemy*. But other Nations were so taught it, no less than they. *Socrates* in *Plato* professes, to mention the *Names* of the *Gods*, with alwayes more than an Humane Reverence.²¹¹ And *Plato* ha's an Advice, which one would think Transcribed from the Tables of *Moses*; *Tis alwayes a Good & a Just Thing*, Θεων ονοματα μη χραινειν ραδιως, *Not easily to pollute the Name of God; or toss it to & fro; but præserve pure & chaste all that belongs to Him*.²¹² | And *Plutarch* mentions it, as a particular Vertue in *Socrates*; Ου γαρ ειρωνευμενος τε και παιζων προσεχρησατο αν [τ]ω του θεου ονοματι. *He never used the Name of God, in a Speech that was not serious*.²¹³

The Religion of an *Oath*, was famous among all Nations. Tho' that Part of the *Twelve Tables* which had it, be lost, yett *Cicero* ha's rescued this Clause from Oblivion; *Perjurij pæna Divina, Exitium; Humana, Dedecus*. It is worth our while, to descend unto some other things, recommended by the Light of Nature, whereof the *Egyptians* asserted nothing, but what was as well, or better, asserted among other Nations.²¹⁴

Holidayes and *Festivals*, were not peculiar to the *Egyptians*. They were perpetual Concomitants to the Worship of God. *Hospinian* will find you, a *Tēmpus fixum Religioni*, among the most barbarous Nations.²¹⁵ *Macrobius* com-

the resurrection on the basis of tradition, or because of his speculation, but says that it is not from the Torah he is a heretic and has no portion in the world to come[,] for 'what need have we of his faith' if he does not admit that it is from the Torah?' (*Rosh Amanah*, ch. 21, p. 188).
 210 Witsius (181); in his *Contra Celsum* (5.42, lines 24–28), Origen wonders, "And how great was the advantage which they [Jews] enjoyed in being instructed almost from birth, and as soon as they could speak, in the immortality of the soul, and in the existence of courts of justice under the earth, and in the rewards provided for those who have lived righteous lives! These truths, indeed, were proclaimed in the veil of fable to children, and to those whose views of things were childish" (*Against Celsus* 5.42), in *ANF* (4:562).

211 In Plato's *Philebus* (12c, lines 1–3), Socrates tells his friend Protarchus, "I always feel a more than human dread over what names to use for the gods – it surpasses the greatest fear" (*Complete Works* 400). And yet, in his *Cratylus* (400d, lines 4–10), Socrates paradoxically admits "that we know nothing about the gods themselves or about the names they call themselves – although it is clear that they call themselves by true ones. ... [Thus] we hope the gods are pleased by the names we give them, since we know no others" (*Complete Works* 119).

212 Mather points at the similarity between the Second Commandment of the Decalogue and Plato's warning in *Leges* (11.66.917b, lines 4–5) that we should think twice before taking Θεων ὀνόματα μη χραινειν ῥαδιως "the names of the gods in vain" (*Complete Works* 1571).

213 Plutarch (*Platonicae quaestiones* 999c, lines 4–5) avows that Socrates, Οὐ γὰρ εἰρωνευόμενός τε καὶ παιζὼν προσεχρήσατ' ἂν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματι "Never used the name of God, in a speech that was not serious." Witsius (cap. 16, sec. 1, p. 182).

214 Witsius (182). Mather invokes the punishments for breaking an oath once outlined in the Twelve Tables of the Romans, *Leges Duodecim Tabularum*. Cicero (*De Legibus* 2.9.22) quotes from the Tables, "For the perjurer the punishment from the gods is destruction; the human punishment shall be disgrace."

215 Witsius (183). In his off-reprinted *De Origine, Progressu, Ceremoniis et Ritibus Festorum Dierum Iudaeorum, Graecorum, Romanorum, et Turcarum* (1592), lib. 1, cap. 2, pp. 2–7, the

mends *Numa*, for inventing a Distinction of *Dayes*; into, *Dies Festi*, which were dedicated unto the *Gods*; *Dies Profesti*, which were allowed unto *Men* for the administration of their own affairs; and, *Dies Intercisi*, which had certain Hours consecrated unto the *Gods*, and the rest might be applied by *Men*, unto what Uses they pleased.²¹⁶ The *Roman Holidays* were indeed thus distinguished; There were *Stativæ*, wherein all the People were concerned, & whereof the Times, the *Months*, and the *Dayes*, were stated in their Calenders; There were also *Conceptivæ*, which the Magistrates, with the Priests, agreed upon, for certain Times, or uncertain; There were likewise *Imperativæ*, indicted by the *Consuls* or *Pretors* at their Pleasure; And there were *Nundinæ*, which were the *Fairs* agreed among the Countreymen. The *Light of Nature* taught the Pagans, a *Public Worship* of God, on their Holidays, and a *Sacred Rest* from all that was Disagreeable to the *Dayes*.²¹⁷ It was among the *Athenian Lawes*, That upon an Holiday, no *Injury* should be done, either privately or publickly; μηδὲ χρηματίζειν, ο, τι αν μη περι εορτης η, *Neve habeatur concio de alijs Rebus, quàm ijs quæ ad Festorum Religionem pertinent*.²¹⁸ Among the *Roman Lawes*, this is one quoted by *Cicero*, *Ferijjurgia amovento; easque in Famulis operibus patratis habento*; which he explains, That the *Children* of the Family should then bee free from all Contest and Chiding; and the *Servants* free from all Service and Labour.²¹⁹ In *Macrobius*, the Priests affirm, *Feris pollui, quoties, ijs indictis conceptisque, opus aliquid fieret*. And yett *Equity* permitted this Αργια, to have some *Exception* among them. They allowed, a Work to be done, either, *Ad Deum pertinens Sacrorumque Causa*, or, *Ad urgentens vitæ utilitatem respiciens*. Accordingly, *Scævola* being asked, what might be done upon an Holiday, answered, *Quod prætermisum noceret*. Behold, the Law of the *Sabbath*, imitated among the Pagans!²²⁰

Swiss Reformed theologian Rudolph Hospinian, aka. Rudolf Wirth (1547–1626) traces the “fixed times of the religious cults” among the Israelites and their pagan neighbors (*NSHE*).

216 Witsius (184); Hospinian (*De Origine*, lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 30); Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.16) does so for the *Dies Festi* (“feast days”), *Dies Profesti* (“ordinary days”), *Dies Intercisi* (“days of intercession/prayer”) among the Romans established by Numa, the Roman lawgiver.

217 Furthermore, the Romans observed *Dies Stativæ* (“fixed holy days”), *Dies Conceptivæ* (“occasional” or “proclaimed holidays”), *Dies Imperativæ* (“days commanded by the governors”), and *Dies Nundinæ* (“market days”).

218 Witsius (184) quotes from Samuel Petitus’s bi-lingual *Leges Atticae Collegit, Digessit, et Libro Commentario Illustravit* (1635), Tit, 1, leg. 11, p. 2. According to Demosthenes Atheniensis (*In Timocratem* 29, line 10), the ancient Athenian laws decreed that μηδὲ χρηματίζειν ὁ τι αν μη περι της εορτης η *neve habeatur concio de alijs rebus, quam iis quæ ad Festorum Religionem pertinent* “a standing law that at such a time [religious holiday] we shall do one another no wrong either in private or public life nor transact business that does not concern the Festival.”

219 In Cicero’s *De legibus* (2.8.19), Marcus explains to Atticus, his interlocutor, “On holidays they shall refrain from law-suits; these they shall celebrate together with their slaves after their tasks are done.”

220 Witsius (184). Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.16.9–11). The priests affirmed “that religious festivals became polluted as often as any work was undertaken once they had been proclaimed and formally scheduled.” Equity, however, allowed some exception to a religious holiday or rest

The Use of *Water* in *Lustrations*, need not have been learnt of *Egyptians*. Nature tells us of nothing more agreeable. *Jacobs* Action, [Gen. 35.2.] was before his Acquaintance with the *Egyptians*. There was hardly any Nation under Heaven, tho' never so Barbarous, but what had a Sacred *Baptism* in Use among them. *Clemens Alexandrinus* will tell you, of their, λουτρον. And among the *Athenians*, there was an ὕδρανός, who by *Baptism*, initiated People in the *Eleusinian* Mysteries.²²¹ Tho' *Marsham* quotes *Diodorus*, to prove that the *Eleusinia* came from the *Egyptians* to the *Athenians*, the Design of *Diodorus* was only to exhibit unto the Knowledge & Judgment of his Reader, the Brags of the *Egyptians*, and he mentions this Boast of theirs, as, φιλοτιμότερον ἤπερ ἀληθινότερον, *having more of Boast, than of Truth in it*.²²² Among the *Græcians* there were some odd Instances of, (Δευτεροποτμοι, as they called them, whereof See *Hesychius*,) Men that had been reckoned for *Dead*; but the *Dead* being look'd upon as profane & unclean, when these returned unto Humane Conversation, they were *Baptised* with *Lustral Waters*, like *New-born Infants*.²²³ One *Aristinus*, was from the *Delphian* Oracle, directed unto such an Action.²²⁴ A *Baptism* was the First Rite, among the Fourscore Sacred Initiations of *Mithras*, among the *Persians*. Indeed, in the Religion of *Mithras* there was a great Resemblance of so many things in Christianity,

(ἀργία) to a person who “served the gods or their sacred rites” or “performed some action that met a vitally pressing need.” Scaevola, the high priest, answered that on holidays those things are permitted “what would cause harm if neglected.”

221 Witsius (185–86); *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Stromata* 5.11.71.1, line 1) relates that lustrations (baptisms) were as important to the Greeks as was the λουτρόν (“laver”) among the Barbarians (*Stromata* 5.11; in *ANF* 2:461). Likewise, among the Athenians, *Hesychius* tells us in his *Lexicon* (ΙΤ–Ω), alphab. letter *upsilon* entry 74, line 1, there was an ὕδρανός: ὁ ἀγνιστῆς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων, a “baptizer or purifier among the Eleusinian mysteries,” who initiated novices into the cult of Demeter and her daughter Persephone.

222 John Marsham, *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. X, “Eleusinia,” pp. 248–51, enlists *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca* 1.29.5, lines 1–3) to trace the Eleusinian harvest and fertility rites from the Egyptians to the Greeks. However, with Witsius (186) at his side, Mather implicitly charges Marsham with quoting his source out of context. *Diodorus* only wanted to demonstrate that the Egyptians’ claim to having colonized the Eleusinians was spoken more φιλοτιμότερον ἤπερ ἀληθινώτερον “out of a love for glory than with regard for the truth.”

223 Some of the Eleusinian initiation rituals included instances of δευτερόποτμος “seeming deaths” (cases of suspended animation), yet they were only taken for πινὼν ὑστερόποτμος “supposedly dead, and then appearing alive” – as *Hesychius* (*Lexicon* Α–Ω, alphab. letter *delta* entry 746, line 1) defines the terms.

224 Mather pokes fun at the Eleusinian rite of symbolic death, rebirth, and lustration, as related in Plutarch’s *Aetia Romana et Graeca* (265ae). As the story goes, *Aristinus*, for whom funeral rites had been performed because he was believed to be dead, was not admitted into the temple because the dead would pollute the sacred precinct. Inquiring of the Delphian Pythia how to solve his dilemma, he was told to do as mothers do who have given birth to an infant. *Aristinus* accordingly performed the rite of purification as follows: he had himself washed, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and suckled like a baby. No doubt, Karl Marx did *not* have *Aristinus* in mind when the German philosopher declared in his *Kritik des Gothaer Programms* (1875), “Jeder nach seinen Fähigkeiten, jedem nach seinen Bedürfnissen” (“Each according to his ability, each according to his needs”).

that if the like had been found among the *Egyptians*, our Learned Folks would never have done crowing upon it.²²⁵ The *Roman Lustrations* are known to Schoolboyes; and their *Sprinklers*, of either *Lawrel*, or *Olive*, as the *Hebrew* were of *Hyssop*. Yea, *Ovid*, (and *Virgil*, and *Juvenal*,) do sing of a *Treble Aspersions*; *Ter caput irrorat*.²²⁶ The *Brachmans* of *India* too, have their *Lustrations*. And in the *Fortunate Islands* of the Atlantic Ocean, where there were no Footsteps of either *Christianity* or *Mahometanism*, *They Solemnly Baptise their Infants*. They do so upon the Coast of *Coromandel* in the *East-Indies*.²²⁷ And by *Hornius*, you will find the like done in the *West-Indies* too.²²⁸ So that we may well demand, What was there so very singular in the *Egyptian Lustrations*, that the *Israelitish* Ones must needs be derived from them? How much more agreeable was the Sense which *Tertullian* had of the Matter; *Diaboli sunt partes intervertendi veritatem, qui ipsas quoque res Sacramentorum Divinorum, in Idolorum Mysterijs emulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam utique Credentes et Fideles suos. Expiationem Delictorum de Lavacro repromittit?*²²⁹

225 Mather, via Witsius (186–87), points to the rites of Mithras as synopsized in *Abraxas, seu Apistopistus; quae est Antiquaria de Gemmis Basilidianis Disquisitio* (1657), paragr. 3, pp. 11–15, by the Flemish Canon at Aire-sur-la-Lys (Artois) Johannes Macarius (c. 1540–1604). Extracting his evidence from Clemens Alexandrinus's *Stromata*, Tertullian's *De Praescriptionibus Adversus Haereticos*, and Justin Martyr's *Apologia II pro Christianis*, Macarius describes ABPAΞΣ (Abraxas), the symbol of the Ur-god Abraxas, from whom issued Spirit, Word, Providence, Wisdom, and Power (the five primordial forces), as taught by the Alexandrian Gnostic Basilides (c. 85–c. 145 CE), who is believed to have been a follower of Persian Zoroastrianism. (BBK).

226 Ovid (*Fasti* 4.315) relates how chaste Claudia Quinta performed her rites of lustration by letting the purifying water “thrice drip on her head.” Likewise, Vergil (*Aeneid* 6.229–31) relates how Corynaeus purified the bones of his dead companions with clean water by “thrice encircling his comrades and ... by sprinkling light dew from a fruitful olive-bough.” So, too, Juvenal, in his *Satire* (6.522–26), has his frenzied devotees of Bellona, the old Roman goddess of war, undergo purification in the frozen Tiber by submerging themselves three times.

227 The vademecum on the subject of lustration among the ancients and moderns, in India and the among the Muslims of Ottoman Empire, is *Epimenides, sive, De Veterum Gentilium Lustrationibus* (1681), by Johann Georg Lohmeyer (c. 1625–80), German Lutheran and professor of Greek at Rinteln (Westphalia). In ch. 20, pp. 199, Lohmeyer mentions that the Brahmins of Culcutta use a mixture of gall and blood for their lustrations.

228 In his *De Originibus Americanis* (1652), lib. 1, cap. 5, pp. 38–44, Georg Horn (1620–70), a German historian and professor of theology at Leiden, argues that the Mesoamerican peoples are descended from the Scythians and Phoenicians who migrated to America through an isthmus now submerged. Consequently, they carried their cultic practices with them in their proverbial backpacks – or so the argument goes. Much the same can be found in José Acosta's *Natural and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604), bk. 1, chs. 16, 18–25; bk. 5, chs. 1–31.

229 In his *De Praescriptionibus Adversus Haereticos*, cap. 40 [PL 002. 0054] Tertullian explains that the devil, imitating the rites of God, leads his followers into idolatry and heresy: It is “the devil to whom pertain those wiles which pervert the truth, and who, by the mystic rites of his idols, vies even with the essential portions of the sacraments of God. He [Satan], too, baptizes some – that is, his own believers and faithful followers; he promises the putting away of sins by a laver [of his own]” (*On Prescription against Heretics* 40), in *ANF* (3:262). Witsius (186, 187, 188).

[71v] | The Distinction of *clean* and *unclean* Creatures, could not be fetched from *Egypt*; for we find it at the Time of the *Flood*. And the Sacrifices of the other Nations had as much Resemblance to the *Israelitish*, as had those of the *Egyptians*. Yea, the *Egyptians* were different from them all, in that they never sacrificed any *Females*.²³⁰

The Offering of nothing to God, but what is *perfect*; is no more than what all Nations are taught, by the Light of Nature & of Reason. *Achilles* in *Homer*, brings an Offering of *Unmaimed*, and *Unblemish'd* Lambs and Goats; whereupon *Eustathius*, τοῖς Θεοῖς ὡς τελείοις προσάγειν χρη̃ τέλεια, *Dijs tanquam perfectis, perfecta sunt offerenda*.²³¹ Such were called, Ἀφελῆ, by *Solon*, as we are informed by *Pollux*. And thus *Jason*, would offer, βόας εὐ κρίνα[ν]τας, *well-chosen Beeves*.²³² *Megasthenes*, and *Strabo*, and *Arrian*, tells us, how Impious the *Indians* reckon'd it, for to offer unto God, any thing that had a *Defect* in it. And *Pliny*, mentions the Care, *Non litare Vitulum claudicantem*.²³³ *Macrobius* notes, That a Sacrifice was to be EXIMIUM, which, he saies, was not a *Poetical* but a *Sacerdotal* Word; The Offerings were to be, (as *Veranius*, by him quoted, expresses it,) *Quæ eximuntur é' grege; vel quod eximia specie quasi offerenda Numinibus eligantur*.²³⁴

The Hatred of *Swine*, was no more among the *Egyptians*, than among other Nations; No, nor so much. For None but *Egyptians* used their *Swine* in sowing their *Fields*; *Eudoxus* in *Ælian* tells us, That by the Feet of an Herd of *Swine* driven over their *Fields*, they struck their Seed into the moist Ground, that the *Birds* might not come at it.²³⁵ But the rest of Mankind abhorr'd *Swine*, as

230 Witsius (33, 188–89) Herodotus (2.41), Marsham (*Chronicus Canon*, secul. IX, “Sacrificia,” pp. 194–97).

231 Achilles hopes to assuage the anger of Phoebus Apollo by offering “the savor of lambs and unblemished goats” (Homer, *Iliad* 1.66). Eustathius Thessalonicensis (*Commentarii ad Homerum Iliadem*) glosses upon the passage, τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς τελείοις προσάγειν χρη̃ τέλεια, or, “perfect gods are to be offered perfect gifts.”

232 The grammarian Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* 1.29, line 7) calls them ἀφελῆ “artless, simple” (in a positive sense) as decreed by Solon, the Greek lawgiver. Jason, in Apollonius of Rhodius’s *Argonautica* (1.356), would only offer βόας εὐ κρίναντας, “well-chosen cattle.”

233 The *Indica* of the Greek historian Megasthenes (c. 350–c. 290 BCE) is the main source on India for Strabo (*Geographica*) and for the Greco-Roman historian Lucius Flavius Arrianus (c. 86–c. 160 CE) in his *Anabasis Alexandri*, a hagiographical account of the life and exploits of Alexander the Great. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 8.70.183), as paraphrased in Bochart’s (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 33, col. 322, line 65–65), mentions the care with which the priests selected an appropriate sacrifice that “no lame calf be offered.”

234 Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.5.6), quoting from the Roman general Quintus Veranius Nepos (d. 57 CE), notes that a proper sacrifice was to be CHOICE, and the offerings (according to Veranius), are considered “choice” when they are removed from the herd, or because they are selected for their ‘choice’ appearance, as worthy of being offered to the gods.”

235 Witsius (190). In his *De Natura Animalium* (10.16), Claudius Aelianus reports that according to the Greek astronomer Eudoxus of Cnidus (4th c. BCE) the Egyptians drove herds of swine over their fields to have their trotters bury the seeds in the soil.

Enemies both to their *Corn*, & their *Vines*; for which they were sacrificed both to *Ceres*, and *Bacchus*, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* observes, *ὡς λυπαντικοὶ τοῖν θεοῖν δωρημάτων*. *Ut quæ utriusque Dei dona dependunt.*²³⁶ *Ovid* saies, This was the *First* of all *Sacrifices*;

— *Prima putatur*

Hostia sus meruisse mori, quia Semina pando

*Eruerit Rostro, Spemque interceperit Anni.*²³⁷

Bochart also will give you a mighty Catalogue of People, who abstained from Eating of *Swines-flesh*.²³⁸ The *Filthiness* of the Creature, might be the Reason of it: For the *Mud*, as *Varro* expresses it, *Est illorum Requies, uti Lavatio Huminum.*²³⁹

The Use of *Lights*, in Worship, and on Holidayes, (even in the *Day-light*), among very many Nations, wee may read in *Lipsius*, and more largely in *Fortunius Licetus*'s excellent Work, *De Lucernis Veterum*.²⁴⁰ *Josephus* will have the Use to have been first among the *Israelites*; *Clemens Alexandrinus* will have it first among the *Egyptians*, but at the same time, he falsely ascribes the First Invention of some other Things (as the Division of the Year into Months,) unto them.²⁴¹ *Kircher* brings those unto us, who hold, That the *Three Dayes Darkness* which was one of the *Ten Plagues* upon *Egypt*, was the Original of their Setting up *Lights* in their Sacred Ceremonies; and he adds, *Quibus non dissentis; præsertim quum ostenderimus pleraque Ægyptios ab Hebræis mutuara sui juris fecisse, tametsi alijs et alijs fabulis commentisque depravata.*²⁴² *Johannes Baptista Casalius*,

²³⁶ Whatever *Witsius*'s source, *Mather* follows *Witsius*'s mistranscription of the scholiast. *Scholia in Aristophanem. Scholia in ranas* (Argumentum-scholion **sch-ran** verse 338, lines 12–13) glosses on *Aristophanes*'s croaking *Ranae* (Act. 1, Scene 7): *ὡς λυμαντικοὶ τῶν θεοῖν δωρημάτων*. or, "so that they [swine] would not destroy the gods' gifts [corn and wine]."

²³⁷ *Ovid* (*Metamorphoses* 15.111–13) explains "that it is thought that the sow was first condemned to death as a sacrificial victim because with her broad snout she had rooted up the planted seeds and cut off the season's promised crop."

²³⁸ Samuel *Bochart* (*Hierozaicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 57, cols. 695–710) mentions the Egyptians, Arabs, Phoenicians, the Cyrenaicans of N Africa, the Ethiopians, and the people of India – all despising porkers.

²³⁹ Marcus Terentius *Varro* (*De Re Rustica* 2.4.8) complains that hogs wallow in mud, which "is their form of refreshment, as bathing is to human beings."

²⁴⁰ The Flemish humanist Justus *Lipsius* enlightens us on the subject in his *Electorum Liber Primum* (356–58), in *Opera Omnia quæ Ad Criticam proprie spectant* (1600), lib. 1, cap. 3, pp. 356–358. And so does the Genoese physician and natural philosopher Fortunio *Liceto* (1577–1657), who casts much light on this luminous subject in his huge *De Lucernis Antiquorum Reconditis Libri Sex* (1652). See also John *Marshall*'s *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. IX, pp. 201–05.

²⁴¹ *Witsius* (48, 190); *Josephus Flavius* (*Contra Apionem* 2.282); *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Stromata* 1.16.74.2), in *ANF* (2:317).

²⁴² *Witsius* (191); and the last man who knew everything, the German Jesuit *Athanasius Kircher*, in his omnium gatherum *Cedipus Ægyptiacus* (1654), Tomis 3, syntagma XX, cap. 1, p. 532, divines that the use of lights during sacred services originated in the plague of darkness. *Kircher* argues, "You will not disagree with these [arguments]; especially when we have shown

in his Book, *De Profanes Ægyptiorum ritibus*, concludes, That the *Holy-day of Lights*, kept by the *Egyptians*, with Tears, and Mourning and Howling, was a Commemoration of the *Black Night*, wherein the Angel of Death destroy'd the *Firstborn of Egypt*.²⁴³ Perhaps, the *Firstborn* of King *Pharaoh*, was called, *Osiris*. *Apuleius* tells us, That this *Holiday* was kept at *Full Moon*; which, you know, falls out agreeably.²⁴⁴

But we are upon a Subject, on which we might easily be so copious, as to tire the Reader.

IV. The Fourth Assertion.

In those Points wherein we find some Agreement between the *Israelites* & the *Egyptians*, (and Points perhaps less clearly directed by the *Light of Nature*, common to both,) it never can be proved, that the elder Antiquity was on the Side of the *Egyptians*.

There are learned Men, who with mighty Violence maintain, that the Lawes of *Israel* were later than the Wayes of *Egypt*, and therefore, wherein there was any Conformity between them, those Lawes ow'd their Original unto these Wayes. But this Controversy turning upon Matter of Fact, it must not be determined by Subtil Flourishes, or Saucy Conjectures; It calls for *proper Witnesses*, who lived in those Ages, or near unto them.²⁴⁵

that the Egyptians had taken most of their own law from the Hebrews, even though altered by the admixture of other stories and other falsehoods."

243 In his *De Veteribus Ægyptiorum Ritibus* (1644), in *De Profanis Ægyptiorum, Romanorum et Sacris Christianorum Ritibus* (1681), pars I, cap. 25, pp. 45–46, Bishop Johannes Baptista Casalius (1578–1648), of Belluno, Italy, links the use of candles in sacred services with the darkness during the last of the ten plagues (Exod. 12:29–30).

244 Mather, via Witsius (191), refers to the Roman rhetorician Lucius Apuleius, whose *Metamorphoseos* (11.1, 27, 30) is quoted in Casalius, *Veteribus Ægyptiorum Ritibus* (1681), cap. 25, p. 46, to demonstrate the nexus between the Mosaic story and ancient Egyptian lunar rites – though Casalius's proof-text as employed by Witsius is something of a stretch: "*Circa primam ferme noctis vigiliam expectatus pavore subito [video] praeimicantis Lunae candor nimio completum orbem, commodum Marinis emergentem fluctibus. Nactusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta, certus etiam summam deam praecipua maiestate pollere resque prorsus humanas ipsius regi providentia, nec tantum pecuina et ferina, verum inanima etiam divino eius luminis numinisque nutu vegetari*"; or "About the first watch of the night I awoke in sudden fright and saw, just emerging from the waves of the sea, the full circle of the moon glistening with extraordinary brilliance. Surrounded by the silent mysteries of dark night, I realized that the supreme goddess now exercised the fullness of her power; that human affairs were wholly governed by her providence; that not only flocks and wild beasts but even lifeless things were quickened by the divine favour of her light and might" (*Metamorphoses* 11.1; 2:238, 239).

245 The issues here raised are crucial, for if the Egyptian cults markedly shaped those of Moses and the Israelites, the doctrine of divine inspiration of Moses and the prophets is seriously impugned. Among post-Reformation polemicists who asserted Egypt's status as a considerably older culture, one that powerfully shaped the religion of the Israelites, are (in chronological order) Franciscus Moncaeus, *Aaron Purgatus* (1606); Jacques Gaffarel, *Curiositez Inouyes* (1629); Gerard Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (1641); Athanasius Kircher, *Edipus Ægyptiacus* (1652–54); Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *De Religione Gentilium* (1663); John Marsham,

Now whatsoever we have concerning the most ancient Institutions of the *Egyptians*, (besides what is mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures,) it is fetched from *Dion Cassius*, and *Lucian*, and *Plutarch*, and *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Cheremon*, and *Herodotus*, or certain Fragments of *Manethon* and *Sanchuniathon*. And lett us now enquire into the Antiquity of these Authors; to see whether their Authority be enough to determine us, in so important a Point as is now before us.²⁴⁶

Dion Cassius lived late enough; Even in the Dayes of *Marcus Antoninus*, & *Commodus*, and the next ensuing Emperours, a Gentleman of the *Senatorian* Dignity: *Alexander* the Son of *Mammæa*, advanced him to the Consulship, & unto that *Alexander* he continued his History. But the Learned quote him in our Case, for nothing, but the Calling of the Dayes after the Names of the *Planets*, as | an Invention of the *Egyptians*. A Trifle not worth contending about!²⁴⁷

[72r]

Lucian was his Contemporary. What he affirms of the *Egyptians*, in the Beginning of his *Dea Syria*, That they were the *First* in the World, who had the Knowledge of God, is a manifest Falshood. The *Mosaic* Writings would have taught him otherwise. And even he, when he relates the Jewish Brags of Antiquity, concludes, τοὺς ἐγὼ πάντας μὲν ἔρω, δεχόμεναι δὲ οὐδαμᾶ. *Quos ego omnes referam, haut quaquam autem approbo.*²⁴⁸

Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus (1672); Charles Blount, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680); John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685); Thomas Burnet, *Archaeologiae Philosophicae* (1692) and *Doctrina Antiqua* (1736); John Toland, *Adeisidaemon et Origines Judaicae* (1709); William Warburton, *Divine Legation* (1738–41). Among the apologists who sought to refute their claims are Theophilus Gale, *Court of the Gentiles* (1669–78); Thomas Tenison, *Of Idolatry* (1678); Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679); Herman Witsius, *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* (1683); Philippus Riboudealdus, *Sacrum Dei Oraculum* (1685); John Edwards, ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ. *A Compleat History* (1699); Pierre Jurieu, *Critical History* (1705), and a host of many other defenders of the faith.

²⁴⁶ Witsius, *Ægyptiaca* (1696), lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 194. Through a process of cancellation, Mather upholds the authenticity of Moses' primacy by dismissing the Greco-Roman-Phoenician-Egyptian historians as unsound if not downright mendacious. They lived more than a millennium after Moses and thus were of no account.

²⁴⁷ The Roman consul and historian Dion Cassius, aka. Cassius Dio Cocceianus (c. 150–c. 235 CE), best known for his *Roman History*, covers the founding of Rome from the mythical Aeneas to the early third century CE. Mather here refers to Roman Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (121–180 CE) and his successor Commodus, aka. Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus (161–192 CE). Son of Julia Avita Mamaea (180–235 CE), Alexander Severus was Roman emperor from 222–235 CE. Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 1.6) bestows the honor of designating the names of the months in the Roman calendar on the legendary Roman King Numa Pompilius (753–673 BCE), who named the month January after the bifrons Janus, god of beginnings and endings.

²⁴⁸ Witsius (194–95); the Greco-Roman historian and satirist Lucianus of Samosetanus (c. 125–c. 180 CE) concludes in his *De Syria dea* (II, line 6), τοὺς ἐγὼ πάντας μὲν ἔρω, δέκομαι δὲ οὐδαμᾶ that although he has heard many fabulous stories from the priests about the age of the Syrian temples, “I shall repeat all of these tales, but I do not believe them in any way.”

Plutarch lived in the Dayes of *Nerva*, and of *Trajan*; and what he tells about *Isis*, and *Osiris*, and *Typhon*, was a great Part of it, fetched from the History of *Moses*, & mixed with many foolish Fables.²⁴⁹

Indeed *Strabo* was in *Egypt*, and he wrote his Geography there; but it was in the Reign of *Tiberius*.²⁵⁰

Diodorus Siculus lived in the Dayes of *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus*. The *Egyptian Matters*, before the *Trojan* War, by him written, he confesses that he could find, οὐδεν παραπλήγμα πιστευομενον, *No foundation worthy of Credit*, for them. He prudently observes also, That most Nations, whether *Græcian* or *Barbarian*, were of a Disposition to boast themselves the first Inventors, of Noble and Useful Things, & that they were mighty Pretenders to *Antiquity*. Wherefore, about the Quæstion, who had the best Claim to *Antiquity*, he saies, οὐκ ἂν διορροσσαιμεθα, *Certi nihil definiemus*. Only he Taxes the peculiar Ambition of *Egypt*, for such Pretences, especially in Matters of Religion.²⁵¹

Charemon, so often commended by *Porphyrie*, we may learn from *Vossius*, what he was. He was an *Egyptian*, and he wrote of *Egyptian* affayrs. He was the Tutor of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, who taught from the Time of *Nero*, to the Time of *Trajan*.²⁵² *Strabo* tells us, He followed *Ælius Gallus* into *Egypt*. But others,

249 The Greco-Roman Platonist philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea (c. 45–120 CE) was a contemporary of Roman Emperors Marcus Cocceius Nerva (30–98 CE) and his adopted son Marcus Ulpius Traianus (53–117 CE). Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* on the worship of the Egyptian deities Isis and her fraternal husband Osiris is a prime source on the religious rites of the Egyptians.

250 The Greek geographer Strabo (c. BCE 64–c. 24 CE) wrote an invaluable cultural geography in seventeen books. His lifetime is roughly coterminous with that of Roman Emperor Tiberius Julius Caesar (BCE 42–37 CE).

251 The Greek historian of Sicily Diodorus Siculus (fl. 1st c. BCE) composed his invaluable *Bibliotheca historica* in c. 60–30 BCE. He was a contemporary of Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE) and of Emperor Augustus Octavianus Caesar (BCE 63–14 CE), the founder of the Roman Empire. The Trojan War of Homeric fame (12th or 13th c. BCE) was a fixed point in the historiographical annals of Mather's time (*BA* 1:306–16) by which the greater antiquity of Moses and the Pentateuch were measured. Diodorus Siculus confesses that as far as the time before the Trojan War is concerned, he cannot be exact because μηδὲν παράπληγμα παρειληφέναι περὶ τούτων πιστευόμενον “no trustworthy chronological table covering them has come into our hands” (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.5.1, lines 3–4). Besides, as to giving precise dates, οὐκ ἂν διορροσσαιμεθα “nothing can be determined with certainty” (*Bibliotheca historia* 1.5.1, lines 3–4; 1.9.4, lines 3–4). As previously mentioned, Mather generally omits Greek and Hebrew dialects.

252 Chaeremon of Alexandria (fl. 1st c. CE) was an Egyptian priest, Stoic philosopher, and historian who wrote a Greek history of Egypt, its religion, and astronomy (*OCD*). As chief librarian, he supervised Ptolemy's famous library of Alexandria. Chaeremon tutored Dionysios Glaukou (*KP*), his successor at the library, and the young Nero, the later Roman Emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (37–68 CE). Porphyrius of Tyre (*De Abstinencia* 4.6; *Epistula ad Anebonem* 2.8b–15c) relates that Chaeremon was highly regarded and steeped in the knowledge and mysteries of Egypt's religions. Gerard Vossius, however, appears to have had a low opinion of Chaeremon, in *De Historicis Graecis Libri IV* (1601), lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 165.

beside *Josephus*, taxed him for a *Vain*, a *Proud*, and an *Ignorant* Writer. *Strabo* tells us, That professing Skill in Philosophy, and Astronomy, he made himself the Laughing-Stock of the World, by his *Ignorance* and his *Arrogance*.²⁵³

Herodotus is the oldest of all the Greek Historians, that are extant. But he is many Ages later than *Moses*; flourishing in the Dayes of *Darius Hystaspida*, and *Xerxes*, and *Artaxerxes Longimanus*.²⁵⁴ But the Character of his Writings about the *Egyptian* Concerns, you may take from *Josephus*; who saies, πολλά Ηροδοτον των Αιγυπτιακων υπ' αγνοιας εψευσμενον, *Herodotum frequenter in Aegyptiacis Ignorantione mentitum*.²⁵⁵ And from *Diodorus*, who mentioning the portentous Relations of *Herodotus*, & others, who wrote about the *Egyptian* affairs, affirms, That they did, μυθους πλαττειν ψυχαγωγιας ενεκα, *Voluptatis gratiâ Fabulas blaterare*. *Aelian* tells us, That one *Harpocraton* wrote a Book, περι του καταψευσθαι την Ηροδοτου ιστοριαν, *De Mendacii arguendâ Herodoti Historiâ*.²⁵⁶

We may now appeal to any unprejudiced Minds under the Cope of Heaven, Whether the Authority of so late Writers, (& these too by knavish *Egyptian* Priests imposed upon,) be enough to establish the *Antiquity* of the *Ceremonies* practised among the *Egyptians*, before that of those which the Lord præscribed unto His *Peculiar People*?

Well; But *Manethon* may be a little more to be relied upon. Lett us understand who *Manethon* was. He was of a *Sebennitic* Extract, for his Nation; and for his Function he was as *Eusebius* tells us, *An High Priest of the Egyptian Idols*; or, as tis express'd by *Syncellus*, των εν Αιγυπτω μιαιρων ιερων αρχιερευς, *Impurorum*

253 *Strabo* (*Geographica* 27.2.29) relates that Chaeremon accompanied the Roman Praefect Gaius Aelius Gallus to Egypt (alas, this event took place in c. 26 BCE, long before our Chaeremon was born). Whichever Chaeremon *Strabo* has in mind, the one he mentions here “pretended to some knowledge of this kind [sacred rites of the Egyptians], but was generally ridiculed as a boaster and ignoramus.” Finally, *Josephus Flavius* (*Against Apion* 1.32–34) dismisses Chaeremon’s history (relating to the Mosaic Exodus) as downright false.

254 The Father of History, *Herodotus* of Halicarnassus (c. 484–425 BCE) composed a famous history admired throughout the ages. In Mather’s reckoning, this Greek historian lived nearly a thousand years after the Hebrew Lawgiver. Archbishop James Ussher lists *Moses* birth in “The year before Christ 1571” (*Annals of the World* [1658], p. 12). *Darius Hystaspes* was king of Persia (521–486 BCE); his successor, *Xerxes*, king of Persia (486–465 BCE), was followed by the “dextrous, long-handed” *Artaxerxes I Longimanus* (465–424 BCE).

255 *Witsius* (196–97); *Josephus Flavius* (*Contra Apionem* 1.73, lines 5–6) echoes *Manethon*, the *Egyptian* priest, arguing that he πολλά τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον “also finds great fault with *Herodotus* for his ignorance and false relations of *Egyptian* affairs” (*Against Apion* 1.14).

256 Seconding *Josephus*’s opinion, *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.69.7, line 4) affirms that *Herodotus* and his ilk preferred μυθους πλαττειν ψυχαγωγιας ενεκα “marvellous tales and invented myths.” *Suda*, *Lexicon* (alphab. letter **alpha** entry 4013, line 3) states that according to the Roman rhetorician *Claudius Aelianus* (c. 175–235 CE) the Alexandrian *Valerius Harpocraton* (2nd c. CE) wrote a book titled Περὶ τοῦ καταψεύσθαι τὴν Ἡροδότου ἱστορίαν “Of the Lies proven against *Herodotus*’s history.” Another case of the pot calling the kettle black?

in *Ægypto Sacrorum Summus Sacerdos*.²⁵⁷ What he wrote of the *Egyptian* History and Theology, he translated into the Greek Tongue. He lived under *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, to whom he Dedicated his History; and he comes later than *Herodotus*. *Ptolomy* being accommodated, with the *Mosaic Antiquities*, called upon *Manethon* to produce from the Archives of *Egypt*, what Monuments the Priests could supply him withal. But lett *Josephus* inform you, what *Old Wives Fables*, were under this Pretence imposed upon the World. *Manethon's* Hatred and Envy to the *Jewes*, caused him to Invent many things for the Honour of *Egypt*; and being a *Priest of Divels*, he envied every thing that might reflect Honour upon the God of *Israel*. There needs no more to do *Manethon's* business, than to read what he writes, about the Coming of the *Israelites* into *Egypt*, and their Going out of it.²⁵⁸

But is not *Sanchuniathon*, more Ancient, than *Manethon*, and more Accurate and Credible? *Sanchuniathon*, as *Theodorus* tells us, out of *Prophyræ*, in the *Phœnician* Tongue, signifies, φίλαληθς, *A Friend of Truth*.²⁵⁹ He writes a *Phœnician History*, wherein are many both *Egyptian*, and *Israelitish* Curiosities. He is of a venerable Antiquity, it seems; He lived before the *Trojan War*, & near the Age of *Moses*. But, without puzzling ourselves about the gross *Parachronisms* of several Historians on this Occasion, they can by no means make an earlier Date for their *Sanchuniathon*, than Four Hundred Years after *Moses*; and *Scaliger* and *Vossius*, prove him to have been | yett much later than so.²⁶⁰ And is he a fitt Wit-

257 Georgius Syncellus (*Ecloga chronographia*, p. 18, line 22) calls Manethon ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μαρῶν ἱερῶν, "a filthy high priest consecrated to the Egyptian religious rites."

258 Witsius (197–98). A contemporary of King Ptolomæus II Philadelphus of Egypt (309–246 BCE), Manethon of Sebennytos (lower Egypt) composed his famous history *Aegyptiaca* in Greek along with several other works on the Egyptian cults. Josephus Flavius excerpts Manethon's history at some length in his *Against Apion* (1.26–32), but takes him to task for (among other things) his prejudicial portrayal of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt, which occurred (so Manethon) because the Egyptians expelled the disease-ridden Israelite slaves.

259 The Phœnician historian Sanchuniathon (Σαγχουνιάθων, Sanchuniathon) is to have lived in the 13th c. BCE (hence before the Trojan War), but the little we know about him is only extant (along with fragments of his writings) in the work of Philo Byblos (c. 64–141 CE) and in those of the Caesarean bishop Eusebius Pamphilus (c. 260–c. 340 CE). Theodoretus (not Theodorus) Cyrrhensis (*Graecarum affectionum curatio* 2.45, line 2), quoting from a fragment of Porphyrius of Tyre (*Contra Christianos*, fragm. 41, line 10), praises the accuracy of Sanchuniathon's Phœnician history and dubs him φίλαλήθως, "a friend of truth."

260 The great Dutch philologist Joseph Justus Scaliger debates the issue at some length in his "Notae in Fragmenta" (p. 40), appended to his massive *Opus De Emendatione Temporum* (1629); Gerard Vossius, who does so in his *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 22, pp. 164–69, also deems Sanchuniathon a reliable source. Following Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646), lib. 2, cap. 17, pp. 858–60, Pierre Jurieu, in *Critical History* (1705), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 5, p. 52, believes Sanchuniathon to be a contemporary of Gideon, the Israelite judge (Judg. 6–8), roughly two-hundred years after Moses. So, too, Richard Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough (1632–1718) surmises that the ancient Phœnician writer was a contemporary of Gideon, in his *Sanchuniathos's Phœnician History. Translated from the First Book of Eusebius De Praeparatio Evangelica* (1720), p. 10. See also *BA* (1:309, note 114).

ness, of Matters that were before the Dayes of *Moses*? It may be said, That he composed his History out of the most *ancient Monuments*. But, what have we to assure the Faith of those Monuments? And wheresoever *Sanchoniathon* had his Traditions, who is there that now can show us a *Sanchoniathon*? All that he wrote in the *Phœnician Tongue* is perished. One *Philo Byblius*, a Pagan, who lived in the Dayes of *Adrian*, Translated him into *Greek*. But with what Faith, or Skill, who can say? Nor have we any thing of that *Philo*, but some Fragments, in *Eusebius*, or one or two more. Nor do these afford any thing, to maintain the cruel Opinion, of the *Israelitish Religion* derived from the *Egyptian*.²⁶¹

If after all, *Marsham* will bring an Oracle of *Apollo*, to strengthen that Opinion, 't'wil be Answer enough, to return the Words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; Μανικά ταυτα ως αληθώς ανθρωπων απιστων σοφιστηρια· *Sunt hæc verè Insana hominum infidelium commenta*.²⁶²

Nay, We may combate *Marsham*, & the rest of the Gentlemen in his Opinion, with those very Authors, whom they chiefly rely upon; and from those very Authors, we may prove that the greatest *Antiquities* in Religion among the *Egyptians*, are not so ancient as those of the *Israelites*.

The Oracle of *Apollo*, affirm'd; *The Way to Heaven*, to be known by the *Phœnicians*, and, *Assyrians*, and *Hebrewes*, as well as the *Egyptians*.²⁶³ And *Porphyrie* brings us another Oracle of *Apollo*, which said;

261 Witsius (201). A contemporary of Roman Emperor Publius Aelianus Traianus Hadrianus (76–138 CE), Philo Byblius, aka. Herennius Philo (c. 64–141 CE) was a Greek lexicographer who translated Sanchoniathon's history into Greek. The original and Philo's translation are no longer extant except that which was preserved in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* and in some other sources. It should be quite obvious by now that in this section Mather's strategy is to refute John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685) by attacking the trustworthiness – if not authenticity – of the only textual sources upon which both ancients and modern were able to build their respective cases. The modern discipline of archaeology had not yet been born to furnish external evidence one way or the other. In fact, in Mather's time, the Greek noun *ἀρχαιολογία* (archaeologia) still signified “ancient history generally; systematic description or study of antiquities” (*OED*), as instanced in Theophilus Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* (1672), part 1, bk. 3, ch. 6, p. 69, where the author writes, “First *Plato* here mentions the words of a certain *Egyptian Priest*, telling *Solon*, that the *Grecians* were ignorant of the account of true *Archeologie* or *Antiquitie*; having only some *Fables* or *shadows* of those *real stories*, which were lo[d]ged amongst the *Egyptians*.” In short, in Mather's time, *archaeology* meant exhuming textual proof from ancient documents – not unearthing material artifacts or ruins in the desert.

262 Mather (via Witsius 201) brushes aside Marsham's *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. IX, pp. 149–50, for relying on pagan oracles, and makes him eat his words with counter-evidence from Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus* (2.11.3, lines 2–3). The pathetic ravings of the Pythian oracles, the Alexandrian carps, are of a kind with the mysteries of the Egyptian temples: nothing but Μανικά ταυτα ως αληθώς ανθρωπων απιστων σοφιστηρια “Insane devices truly of unbelieving men” (*Exhortation* 2), in *ANF* (2:175).

263 In his *Philosophy from the Oracles*, Porphyrius (*De philosophia ex oraculis*, p. 140, lines 6–7) explains – as quoted in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.10.2, lines 12–13) – that the gods revealed the way to heaven and the source of all wisdom to those “who Nile's sweet waters drink/ From them the heavenward paths Phœnicia learned,/ Assyria, Lydia, and the

Μουνοι Χαλδαιοι σοφίαν λαχον, ἡδ' ἀρ' Ἐβραιοι
 Αυτογενεθλον Ἀνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεον ἀγνῶς·
Chaldaeo Hebraëque unis Sapientia cessit,
*Qui casto æternum venerantur Numen honore.*²⁶⁴

Sanchuniathon it seems, must have this in common with *Manethon*, that they compiled their Books, from the ancient Monuments, of *Thout*, Ἑρμης, or, *Mercury*.²⁶⁵ *Austin* will have this *Mercury* to be later than *Moses*. But *Artapanus*, a very old Author, of whom we have some Fragments in *Eusebius*, will have *Mercury* to be no other than *Moses*.²⁶⁶ And *Huetius* has very notable Strokes, to explain the *Parallel* between them. So then, what is valuable in the Writings of *Sanchuniathon* and *Manethon*, may be fetched from the *Mosaic* Monuments.²⁶⁷ For, tho' crafty Men in after Ages, might use the Name of *Mercury*, for a thousand of their own Follies, yett there may be found some Reliques of *Moses*, in the heap of Rubbish. Such particularly may be those, which *Manethon* calls, Γενεκα του Ἑρμου, & which a learned Man understands, to be, *Moses's Book of Genesis*; the Title whereof among the *Jewes* themselves is, as tis noted by *Scaliger*, ספר תולדות/ *Liber generationis*.²⁶⁸ We are also informed, that *Sanchuniathon* was in his Writings assisted by, τα υπομνηματα Ιερομβалуου του Ιερεως του Θεου Ιαω· Or,

Hebrew race." Tellingly, if Porphyrius intended the Egyptians "who Nile's sweet waters drink," it is Eusebius who believes the Israelites are here meant.

²⁶⁴ Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 2, sec. 2, p. 203). Apollo's oracle, according to Porphyrius (*De philosophia oraculis*, p. 141, lines 8–9), announces, Μούνιοι Χαλδαίοι σοφίην λάχον ἡδ' ἄρ' Ἐβραίοι, / αὐτογένεθλον ἀνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνῶς: "Only Chaldees and Hebrews wisdom found / In the pure worship of a self-born God" (Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio* 9.10.413c).

²⁶⁵ Witsius (204); Thout, Thaautus, or Thoth is the Egyptian Ibis-headed god (guardian of scribes and scholars), recorder of all knowledge; hence his association with the legendary Hermes (Ἑρμης) or Mercury, whom Mather and his peers frequently endeavor to identify as Moses in Egyptian garb (*BA* 1:308, 365). See also R. H. Wilkinson (*Complete Gods* 215).

²⁶⁶ St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 18.39) [PL 041. 0599] believes that "At that time, indeed, when Moses was born, Atlas is found to have lived, that great astronomer, the brother of Prometheus, and maternal grandson of the elder Mercury, of whom that Mercury Trismegistus was the grandson" (*City of God* 18.39), in *NPNFi* (2:384). The historian Artapanus Alexandrinus (2nd c. BCE), whose work is extant only in fragments in later writers, related that the Egyptians loved Moses, and pharaoh's priests looked up to him like a god and therefore called him "Hermes [i. e., Mercury], because of his interpretation of the Hieroglyphics" (Eusebius Pamphilus, *Praeparatio* 9.27.432c).

²⁶⁷ Witsius (206); Pierre-Daniel Huet makes his pitch in his learned *Demonstratio Evangelica ad Serenissimum Delphinum* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 4, § 2, p. 73c, but he also associates Moses (in the same volume) with choice other deities, demigods, and immortals such as Anubis, Apis, Apollo, Bacchus, Janus, Mnevis, Musaeus, Orpheus, Horus, Osiris, Pan, and many many more.

²⁶⁸ Devotion to the Hebrew-Christian Scriptures being the principal reason for his low opinion of Manetho, Mather (via Witsius 206) refers to Manetho's book Γενικοῖς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ *Book of Generation* (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 5c, line 54), which is here associated with the Mosaic Genesis or rather תולדות ספר [Sepher Tol'doth]. Mather probably refers to Joseph Justus Scaliger's "Notae in Fragmenta" (p. 40), appended to Scaliger's *Opus De Emendatione Temporum* (1629), but the second-hand reference does not appear in Scaliger's *Opus* verbatim. See also R. Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto's *Sefer Yohassin: The Book of Lineage* (c. 1480–c. 1505).

as Eusebius writes it, Ἰεῦω *The Commentaries of Jerombalus, the Priest of the God JAO*.²⁶⁹ Who was this JAO, but our Glorious JEHOVA, whom the famous Oracle of *Apollo*, in *Macrobius*, acknowledges by that Name?²⁷⁰ *Jerombalus* was doubtless *Gideon*, who was called *Jerubbaal*. Tho' he were not a *Priest*, a *Stranger* might easily count him one, from the Story of his *Ephod*; or, from the Mistake of the Word /כֹּהֲנִים/ as *Bochart* thinks, which the Hebrewes used for all their *Chief Men*, as well as their *Priests*.²⁷¹ A *Judge* might be called so. The Monuments of *Moses* might be ascribed unto *Gideon* on this Occasion. *Gideon* might have some Covenant and Commerce with the *Berythians*, who were *Sanchoniathons* Countreymen; and the *Berythians* coming to some Knowledge of the *Israelitish* Religion by the Means of *Gideon*, might easily make him an Author. The *Baal-Berith*; which the Apostate *Israelites* worshipped after the Death of *Gideon*, was *Baal* the Idol of *Beryth*, the Town of *Sanchoniathon*.²⁷² Indeed it is abundantly evident, That our Fabulous Author *Sanchoniathon*, had the Traditions of the *Mosaic* Monuments to help him in his Writings; tho' they are involved in wondrous Fables, and Confusions. Read what *Bochart* offers in his *Geographia Sacra*, and you'll see the Evidences.²⁷³

If we consider the Account that *Manethos* gives of the *Israelites*, we shall see, that the most Ancient *Egyptian* Traditions, are gross Follies and Fables, and of a much later Date than the *Mosaic History*; and ridiculous Depravations of a Matter so old, as to be almost utterly lost in Oblivion; and from thence we may infer, how impertinent it is, to rely upon those Traditions, for an Account of things in the Dayes of *Moses*; *Manethos* makes one *Timaus*, to have been the King of the *Israelites*, who with his Cruelty, made sad Ravages on the *Egyptian* Province, whereof without much Resistance, they became the Masters. There followed (according to him) several Princes, whom they called, *Hycsos*, that is to say, *Royal Shepherds*.²⁷⁴ At last | there arose a King, whose Name was *Alisfragmuthosis*, under

[73r]

269 The oft-cited fragment appears in Porphyrius's *Contra Christianos* (fragm. 41, lines 5–6), as well as in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.9.21; 10.9.12), Herennius Philo's *Fragmenta* (Vol.-Jacoby#F 3c, 790, F, fragm. 1, lines 16–17), and Theodoretus's *Graecarum affectionum curatio* (2.44, lines 3–4) – all insisting that the Phoenician priest Sanchoniathon τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ἱερομβάλου τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰαώ, “received his records from Hierombalus the priest of the god Iao.” Tellingly, only in Theodoretus is the name of this god spelled “Iao” – in all others it is Ἰεῦω (Ieuo).

270 According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.18.19, 20) – who cites *De Oraculo Apollonis Clarii*, authored by the Roman theologian and historian Cornelius Labeo (c. 2nd–c. 3rd CE) – Apollo was asked for the name of the god of gods; Apollo answered, Φράξο τὸν πάντων ὑπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἰάω (*Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Oracula*, Epigram 135, line 3), “the supreme god of all gods is Iao.” (*DGRB, OCD*).

271 Witsius (206–07); Samuel Bochart, *Geographia* (1646), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 859. The Hebrew term כֹּהֲנִים [*kohanim*], or *Cohen*, signifies *priests*.

272 Judg. 8:33.

273 Bochart (*Geographia*, pp. 858–60).

274 Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 1.14) excerpts the story from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (2) about the invading Hyksos (shepherds), whom Manetho and his peers associate with

whom these *Royal Shepherds* who were called also *Captive Shepherds*, were conquered; & shutt up in a Placed called *Avaris*, containing in Measure *Ten Thousand Acres*. *Themosis* the Son of that *Alisfragmuthosis*, did with an Army of no less than Four hundred & Eighty Thousand Men besiege them there; but not prospering to his Mind in the Siege, it was agreed, that they should yett March out of *Egypt*, & go wither they would. Hereupon, Two Hundred & Forty Thousand of them, with their Families and Possessions, left *Egypt*, and went thro' the Desert into *Syria*, & there in the Land now called *Judæa*, they build a City capable of containing their Number, called, *Jerusalem*.²⁷⁵ Elsewhere our Author, Forgetting himself, (as *Josephus* thinks,) tells another Story; That *Amenophis*, the King of *Egypt*, was advised to gratify the Gods, by chasing all the *Lepers* out of *Egypt*; whereupon he gathered Fourscore Thousand of them; whom, with the *Learned*, but *Leprous*, Priests among them, he ordered to accept a Repose, in a Forsaken City, which once had belonged unto the *Shepherds*, called *Avarim*.²⁷⁶ This Place proving favourable to their Intention of a Rebellion, they constituted for their Leader, one, *Osarsiphus*, a Priest of *Heliopolis*, whose Name was changed into that of *Moses*. He bound them in an Oath, *to such Things as were most contrary to the Customes of Egypt*, (so saies *Manethos*!) & so they took up Arms against *Amenophis*. He then entred into a Covenant with the *Shepherds*, whom *Themosis* had chased into *Syria*; and in Conjunction with them, he drove *Amenophis* into *Ethiopia*; & with Fire and Sword wasted the Cities of *Egypt*, until *Amenophis* returning with a great Force out of *Ethiopia*, drove them all away as far as the *Syrian* Borders. In the Midst of all this wretched Stuff, we may find some few Footsteps of Ancient Verity.²⁷⁷

Manethos makes them *Phœnician Shepherds*, who came into *Egypt*. *Abraham*, with his Numerous Family, (accompanied perhaps, with many other *Canaanites* as *Josephus* intimates flying from the Famine then raging,) were

Phoenicians or Israelites who settled in Memphis, lower Egypt (Manetho, *Fragm.* 9). This alternative view of the Israelite exodus from Egypt was widely known among the ancients and moderns. See Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio* 10.13.500d) and the account of John Greaves, professor of Astronomy at Oxford, in his *Pyramidographia* (1646), p. 21 – all drinking from the same fountain.

²⁷⁵ Witsius (210, 213); Josephus (*Against Apion* 1.14); see also John Marsham (*Chronicus Canon* [1672], secul. VIII, pp. 98–107). If Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), part 1, bk. 2, ch. 2, § 18, p. 246, and his own sources for the Egyptian Kings List be admitted as reliable (via Manetho and Eusebius Pamphilus), then the Egyptian pharaoh under whose reign the Israelites escaped was not called Ramesses or Amenophis, but Alisfragmuthosis. Drawing on the great Dutch cartographer Gerardus Mercator, Sir Walter believes that the phonetic spelling of Alisfragmuthosis is merely a permutation of Pharatates (a contemporary of the Israelites patriarch Isaac). For "from Alisfragmuthosis to Phnragmuthosis, Pharmuthosis, Pharetasis, or Pharatates, the change is not great." Yet the majority of learned writers agree with Manetho's extant Kings List, says Sir Walter, that "*Chencres* was the king who was drowned in the red Sea" (*History* 246).

²⁷⁶ Witsius (210–11); Josephus (*Against Apion* 1.33)

²⁷⁷ Josephus (*Against Apion* 26, 31).

Shepherds.²⁷⁸ *Polyhistor*, out of *Artapanus*, relates, That not a few of those, who went with *Abraham* into *Egypt*, were enticed by the Fruitfulness of the Countrey, to continue there.²⁷⁹ What *Manethos* writes, That they possessed *Egypt*, *ραδίως* και *αμαχητι*, *easily*, and *without Fighting* for it, was well enough to be written of *Abraham*; who by the advantage of the Learning, which he imparted unto the *Egyptians*, (as tis agreed among the Ancients), and the Respect which the Beauty of his Wife obtained for him, grew so rich among them, that he might be said for to have spoiled the *Egyptians*.²⁸⁰ And whereas *Manethos* tells us, This was under the King *Timeus*, with whom God was Displeased; who sees not in this *Timeus*, that *Pharaoh*, whom the Lord visited with Plagues because of *Sarah*?²⁸¹ *Manethos* tells us, That they brought great Calamities on *Egypt*. His Mistake was, That he did not ascribe them, to *Pharaohs* Intemperance. The Calamities, according to *Josephus*, were, A *Pestilence*, and a *Sedition*;²⁸² *Philostratus* tells us, They were unusual and very painful Diseases.²⁸³ Nor is it impossible, but that afterwards, the Offspring of those *Phœnicians*, who accompanied *Abraham* into *Egypt*, might in Length of Time, combine into a Body, that might vex the *Egyptians* with cruel Robberies. This People, who were called *Shepherds*, we read in *Manethos*, that in their own Sacred Books, they were called *Captives*; This falls out well enough to answer the Character of the *Israelites*; even *Joseph* himself was a *Prisoner*, and all the *Israelites* were in *Captivity*. That the conquered *Shepherds*, according to *Manethos*, made fearful Desolations upon *Egypt*, but were shutt up at length in one particular Place, under *Alisfragmuthosis*; There was in the Truth, a little Foundation for the Story. While *Joseph* was alive, the *Israelites* were in a sort Masters of all *Egypt*; when he died, they were shutt up in *Goshen*; a narrow, but a fruitful Countrey. The Force employed by *Themosis*, for the reducing of them, was answered in the Oppressions that *Pharaoh* used upon the *Israelites*. The Rest of the Story, tis plain, to every Reader, what gave Occasion for it.²⁸⁴ *Grotius* upon the whole, talks very well upon it; That the Relations of *Manethon*, and *Lysimachus*, and *Cheremon*, about the *Israelites* going out of *Egypt*, were full of Lyes, invented by the known Enemies of the Nation, from whom *Tacitus* also took his Invidious Memorials. Nevertheless, tis to be gathered from these

278 Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.8; *Against Apion* 14); Marsham, *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. VIII, pp. 89–107; Bochart, *Geographia* (pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 4, pp. 374–75).

279 Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio* 9.18.420b–c) quotes from Alexander Polyhistor's excerpt of Artapanus.

280 Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.13.2, line 3), quoting from Josephus's excerpt of Manetho, relates that the Hyksos king Timaeus with men from the East took Egypt *καὶ ῥαδίως* *μαχητὶ* "and without a battle" (*Praeparatio* 500d).

281 Gen. 12:17.

282 Josephus (*Antiquities* 2.11).

283 Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.7, lines 1–3) out of Eupolemus – not Alexander Polyhistor – hints at venereal diseases.

284 Witsius (213); Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 1.14, 15).

Relations, That the *Israelites*, who had their Original among the *Assyrians*, did enjoy a Part of *Egypt*, & lead the Lives of *Shepherds* there; but afterwards finding Oppressions multiplied upon them, they went out of *Egypt*, with some *Egyptians* in their Company, under the Conduct of *Moses*; who carried them thro' the *Arabian* Desarts, into the *Syrian Palestine*; *Ibique Instituta eos secutos Ægyptiorum* | *Institutis contraria*; And there the Institutions which they followed, were quite contrary to those of the *Egyptians*. But then, saies *Grotius*, tis excellently demonstrated by *Josephus*, how many Ages, these Relations fall short of the *Mosaic Writings*, for the Antiquity of them.²⁸⁵ *Nicolas Abram*, a learned Historian and Chronologer, (a *Jesuite*,) hits the Nail on the Head; showing, That the *Egyptians*, in that Part of the Story of the *Israelites*, which imported any thing of Infamy upon their Nation, contrived a *Fabulous Turn* for it.²⁸⁶ And whereas they tell us, of Two Expeditions which they made out of *Egypt*, the former was that of the *Ephraimites* against the *Philistines*; [mentioned, 1. Chron. 7.21.] The other, (which was not of *Shepherds*, it seems, but of *Lepers*,) was that under *Moses*. But in feigning the *Israelites*, to be smitten with the *Leprosy*, they do, *Quemadmodum Itali luem Veneream, eo tempore exortam, quo Galli Neapolim obtinebant, Morbum Gallicum, Galli contra Morbum Neapolitanum, appellant*.²⁸⁷ *Artapanus*, we know, affirms, that the *Pharaoh*, who sought the Death of *Moses*, was the First, that ever died of a *Leprosy*.²⁸⁸ And *Pliny* writes, *Ægypti peculiare hoc malum, et quum in Reges incidisset, populis Funebre; Quippè in Bal[i]neis solis temperabantur humano Sanguine ad medicinam*.²⁸⁹

The Fable of *Osiris*, and of *Typhon*, related by *Diodorus*, and much more largely by *Plutarch*, was taken, a great Part of it, out of the History of *Moses*.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁵ Witsius (214); Hugo Grotius, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 25, note 86), in *Opera Omnia* (1679), 3:25, glosses that Moses, joined by some of the Egyptians, went to "Palæstine Syria, and there established rites in opposition to those of the Egyptians."

²⁸⁶ Mather refers to *Pharus Veteris Testamenti* (1648), lib. 8, cap. 3, § 7, p. 200, by the Jesuit historian Nicolaus Abramus (1589–1655), professor of theology at the University of Pont-à-Mousson (France). Mather uses the same source in his commentary on Gen. 12:1 (*BA* 1:839, 841, 842, 843).

²⁸⁷ Abramus, *Pharus Veteris Testamenti* (1648), lib. 8, cap. 3, § 8, p. 201, knows that when things go wrong, each side blames the other: "Just as the Italians call the venereal infection, arisen at the time when the French were occupying Naples, the French disease, the French on the contrary call it the Neapolitan disease."

²⁸⁸ Witsius (215). Artapanus as quoted in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio* 9.27.434b) reports that Pharaoh Chenephres was "the very first person attacked by elephantiasis [leprosy] ... because he ordered the Jews to wear linen garments and not to wear woollen clothing, in order that they might be conspicuous, and be punished by him."

²⁸⁹ Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 26.5.8) writes about leprosy, "that this plague is native to Egypt. When kings were attacked [with leprosy], it was a deadly thing for the inhabitants, because the tubs in the baths used to be prepared with warm human blood for its treatment."

²⁹⁰ Witsius (216–17). Diodorus Siculus tells the old chestnut of Osiris's dismemberment by his brother Typhon, in his *Bibliotheca historica* (1.21.1–22.7); Plutarch, in *De Iside et Osiride* (13.356b–22.359d).

Not that the whole Fable was later than *Moses*; for the Idolatry of the *Calf* in the Wilderness, was fetched from that of *Osiris*. But the old Fable was augmented with many Additions, whereof *Bochart* has given us an Account, with wonderful Sagacity.²⁹¹ *Typhon*, the Brother of King *Osiris*, (tho' not having the same Father with him,) made Attempts against the King, with *Seventy two* joining in the Conspiracy, and assisted by the Queen of *Ethiopia*. After various Exploits, he made his Escape upon an Ass; and when he had escaped; he begat Two Sons. *Hierosolymus*, and, *Judeus*. *Moses* lies hid in the Fable; *Moses*, the Adopted Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter; *Moses*, who consulted with the *Seventy* Elders of *Israel*, in order to their Deliverance. The Queen of *Ethiopia* was the Wife of *Moses*, whom we find mentioned as an *Ethiopian* Lady. The Flight of *Typhon*, was the Departure of *Moses*. [Compare Exod. 4.20.] And every body sees the Meaning of the Ridiculous Mistake, about *Hierosolymus* and *Judeus*; a People came to Inhabit *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, by the Means of *Moses*. But it is impudently done of them, to impute unto *Typhon*, or *Moses*, the Crimes of their King. In *Plutarch*, tis *Osiris*, whom *Typhon* exposes in an Ark, upon the River *Nilus*. He tells us, That *Osiris* was thus cast, at the *Taanitic* Mouth of the River.²⁹² *Moses* was found hereabouts, [Psal. 78.12.] where the Royal Palace then stood. He saies, It was carried unto *Byblus*. The Ark of *Reed*, (or *Papyr*,) wherein *Moses* was laid, is called by *Josephus*, πλέγμα βυβλινον· And by *Suidas*, κιβωτιον εκ βυβλου.²⁹³ They ascribe a *Red Colour* to *Typhon*; perhaps, confounding, *Jewes* with *Idumæans*; which was often done. But *Artapanus*, in *Eusebius*, Reports *Moses* to have been μακρον και πυρραχη· *Tall* and *Red*.²⁹⁴ This was the Ancient Beauty [1. Sam. 16.12.] Thus *Festus*, upon the Name *Rutilius*, adds, *Cujus coloris studiosæ etiam antiquæ mulieres fuerunt*.²⁹⁵ The Fancy of *Typhons* tearing *Osiris* into Fourteen Peeeces, was moralized in what *Moses* tore from the Body of the Kingdome. There were *Thirteen Tribes* of the *Israelites*; and for a *Fourteenth* we may well reckon the *Mixed Multitude* that went up with them. The *Rabbi's* tell us, There were *Forty Thousand* of this last Sort; and *Jannes* and *Jambres* were their Leaders.²⁹⁶ The Supplying of *Typhon* with Evil and Noxious Creatures, was but *Moses's* Plaguing the *Egyptians*,

²⁹¹ Samuel Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, cols. 339–45).

²⁹² Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 13.356b–16.357d).

²⁹³ Witsius (218); Josephus Flavius (*Antiquitates* 2.220, line 3) reads πλέγμα βίβλινον “ark of bulrushes” (*Antiquities* 2.9.4); Suda, *Lexicon* (alphab. letter *theta* entry 382, line 1) has κιβωτιον εκ βύβλου “a chest out of papyrus.”

²⁹⁴ Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.27.37, line 6): μακρόν και πυρραχή “tall and ruddy” (*Praeparatio* 9.27.436d).

²⁹⁵ Sextus Pompeius Festus (*De Verborum Significatione* [1699], lib. 16, p. 465, line 8) adds, “of that color even women of the past were admirers.”

²⁹⁶ Witsius (219); *Midrash Tanchuma* (Parashas Ki Sisa 19), in *Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma: Shemos II* (pp. 277–78): “the forty thousand [of the mixed multitude] who came up [out of Egypt] gathered, and two Egyptian sorcerers who were with them; their names were Yunus and Yombrus [Jannes and Jambres], and they had made all the magic in Pharaoh's presence.” See also 2 Tim. 3:8.

with *Frogs*, and *Lice*, and *Flies*, and *Locusts*. The Shadow of the Earth, in which the *Moon* is eclipsed, they call by the Name of *Typhon*; In Memory doubtless of the Three Dayes Darkness, which *Moses* brought upon *Egypt*. The *Egyptian* Priests curse the *Sea*, and they call *Salt*, the Froth of *Typhon*, which they therefore will not have stand upon the Table. Doubtless in Memory of what befel the King of *Egypt* at the *Red-Sea*. As the Word /צוף/ *Tzuph* among the *Hebrewes*, thus among the *Syrians* /טוף/ *Tuph*, signifies, *To overflow*; *Tuphan* both among the *Syrians* and the *Arabians*, is, An *Inundation*. The *Egyptians* borrowed many Names of these their Neighbours. Behold, How *Moses* came to have the Name of *Typhon*. Thus, In the Night when the *Israelites* came forth; from among the *Egyptians*, God executed His Judgments upon the Gods of *Egypt*. [Exod. 12.12. Num. 33.4.] The *Chaldee* Paraphrase pretends to specify the Judgments; That the *Idols* of *Metal* were melted; those of *Stone*, were broken; those of *Earth* were shattered; & those of *Wood* | were turned into *Ashes*.²⁹⁷ But it is enough to observe, That the False Gods of *Egypt*, were conquered in those Irresistible *Plagues*, which the Lord sent by the Hand of *Moses*, on the *Egyptians*; the Memory whereof was continued, tho' Disguised with many Fables, for many Ages among them. They tell us, That their Gods, for fear of *Typhon*, lay hid in the various Forms, of we know not how many *Animals*. Probably, the *Egyptians* hid their *Idols* in Stables and Dunghils, when the Fear of *Moses* with an high Hand carrying the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, was upon them. These Thoughts are much more likely than those of them, who pretend, That the Sacred Rites of *Israel* were borrowed from the *Typhonicks* of *Egypt*.²⁹⁸

The Antiquity of the *Israelitish* rather than of the *Egyptian* Traditions, is likewise to be inferred, from the little Story which *Lucian* ha's given us, of his *Dea Syria*.²⁹⁹ He describes his *Deucalion* so, as to leave no room for Doubt, of his being our *Noah*. And this *Deucalion* instructing first of all the *Assyrians* in Religion, it wounds the Pretences of the *Egyptians* to the Earlier Antiquity. *Lucian* does also mention some Special Rites of the old *Assyrians*, which have a mighty Resemblance of the *Mosaic* Institutions in them; as particularly, That of a Purification after the Touch of a Dead Carcase.³⁰⁰ Upon which, and some other Instances mention'd by *Lucian*, it is mighty well noted by *Jacobus Micylus*; — *Propemodum credi posset, ex Judaeorum observationibus et sacris, pleraque illa transumpta, sed Tempore postea usuque adulterata, ac depravata fuisse; sive hoc populorum vicinitate atque commercio factum demus, sive Barbari, ad eorum*

²⁹⁷ Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (Exod. 12:12), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57), 4:122.

²⁹⁸ Moses as the Egyptian Typhon is yet another honorific in Mather's Euhemerist endeavor to link biblical patriarchs and heroes with the deities or rulers in pagan mythology.

²⁹⁹ Witsius (220–21); Lucianus, *De Dea Syria* (12–13).

³⁰⁰ Lucianus, *De Dea Syria* (52) speaks of the Galli (not the Assyrians), who have to undergo extensive rites of purification after they touched a corpse.

*exempla quæ à Judæis, tunc quum in Assyria captivi erant, Videbant fieri, suos quoque ritus conformarunt.*³⁰¹

The Fifth Assertion.

On the other Side, it is extremely probable, That the *Egyptians* derived many of their Sacred Customes, from *Abraham*, and *Joseph*, and *Moses*, and *Solomon*, and the *Israelites*.

What shall we say particularly of *Circumcision*?³⁰² We need not wonder, that *Herodotus*, or *Diodorus*, ascribe the first Use of it, unto the *Egyptians*.³⁰³ But for *Christians*, who know the History of *Abraham*, to do so; this is Wonderful; yea, tis Abominable. There cannot be a Shadow of a Reason given, why the Great God should be solicitous to have His Faithful & Aged Servant *Abraham*, take up such a Custome from the *Egyptians*.³⁰⁴

The Original of *Circumcision*, ha's been truly declared, by Him, who is Truth itself; Joh. 7.22. *Moses gave unto you Circumcision, not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers.* Behold, A double Period of *Circumcision*; the *Domestic*, in the Family of *Abraham*, and the *Catholic*, on the Nation of *Israel*; and the elder of these, is not *of the Egyptians*, but *of the Fathers*. *Abraham* was the First that received it; about the Year of the World, 2107. and 406 Years before the going of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. And thus, *Theodotus* in *Eusebius*, mentioning the *Circumcision* of the *Shechemites*, ascribes the first Original of it, unto *Abraham*.

Αυτος απ' ουρανοθεν κηλετ' ανερα παντι συν οικω
 Σαρκ' αποσυλησαι ποσθης απο, και ρ' ετελεσσειν
Cælitus hunc tota jussit cum stirpe recurvo,
Glande sub extrema, præputia demere ferro.
Paruit. —³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 5, pp. 221–22). Finally, the citation from the introduction to the Latin translation of Lucian's *De Syria Dea*, appears in *Luciani Samosatensis Opera ... per Iacobum Miccyllum ... translata* (1538), "Argumentum," fol. 313' (sign. gg), by Jacobus Miccyllus, aka. Jakob Moltzer (1503–1558), the German Renaissance humanist and professor of classics at the University of Heidelberg (NDB). Miccyllus's Latin translation of the Greek original went through several editions and reprints. Be that as it may, Miccyllus tries to account for the many similarities between the laws and ceremonies of the Hebrews and those of their pagan neighbors: "It can almost be believed, from the observations and sacred rites of the Jews, that most of those things were adopted, but in the time afterward spoiled by use and corrupted; whether it was finally done by this proximity and trade of peoples, or whether the barbarians conformed their rites also to the examples that seemed to be made by the Jews when they were captives in Assyria."

³⁰² The following "Assertion" targets John Spencer's claim (*De Legibus Hebraeorum* [1685], lib. 1, cap. 4, fols. 37–59) and that of John Marsham (*Chronicus Canon* [1672], secul. V, pp. 72–74, that circumcision was widely practiced among the Egyptian elites long before Abraham adopted it and before Moses constituted this rite among the Israelites.

³⁰³ Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 6, pp. 223–24); Herodotus (2.104) and Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.28.3, 55.5).

³⁰⁴ Mather debates the same issue in *BA* (1:860–64).

³⁰⁵ Mather (via Witsius 225) follows the chronology of James Ussher's *Annales Veteris*

It was a Mistake in *Herodotus*, That the *Cholcians* had *Circumcision* among them from the Beginning. For the *Cholcians* were the *Casluchim*, which were a Colony, that went forth out of *Egypt*, before the Dayes of *Abraham*.³⁰⁶ From them arose the *Philistines*, which possessed the Seats of the expell'd *Avites*, in *Palestine*; with the *Sachims*³⁰⁷ of whom we find *Abraham* entring into Confœderacies. These *Philistines* were *Uncircumcised*; but the *Cholcians* who remained at home, knowing their own *Egyptian* Extract, many Ages afterwards received the rite of *Circumcision*, from *Egypt*, their Mother-Country. A thing expressly affirmed by *Diodorus*!³⁰⁸

It was another Mistake in *Herodotus*, That the *Syrians* inhabiting *Palestine*, confessed, that they received their *Circumcision* from the *Egyptians* & the *Cholcians*. No Inhabitants of *Palestine*, but the *Jewes*, were *circumcised*, as *Josephus* tells us; But the *Jewes* are far from confessing any such Matter. No; They affirm, that the *Egyptians* had their *Circumcision* from *Joseph*. Notable are the Words of *Artapanus*; That the *Ethiopians* themselves had such a Veneration for *Moses*, as to receive the Rite of *Circumcision* from him.³⁰⁹

[74v] And that all the *Egyptian Priests* | practised it. You must note, That *Circumcision* was not used by all the People, among the *Egyptians*, as it was among the *Jewes*; as you may learn from the Exemple of *Josephus's* Friend *Apion*, who was an *Egyptian*.³¹⁰

It was a Third Mistake of *Herodotus*, That the *Phœnicians* received *Circumcision* from the *Egyptians*. By the *Phœnicians*, as distinguished from the *Syrians* inhabiting *Palestine*, you will find in *Ammonius*, writing, *De Verborum Differentijs*, That the *Idumæans* are intended. Now all the World knowes, That these received *Circumcision* from their Father *Esau*.³¹¹

The True Progress of the Matter, is this. *Abraham* received the first Institution of *Circumcision*, from God. From *Abraham*, thro' *Ishmael*, the *Arabians* received it, & perhaps the *Ethiopians*. Other Nations received from him, thro'

Testamenti (1650), pp. 9, 19 in assigning the years Anno Mundi 2107 for Abraham's circumcision and A. M. 2513 for the Israelites' Exodus. Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.22.7, lines 3–4) enlists Theodotus to attest that the God of Abraham, Αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανὸθεν κάλεσ' ἀνέρα παντὶ ὄνι οἴκῳ / Ζᾶρκ' ἀποσυλῆσαι πόσθης ἅπο, καὶ ῥ' ἐτέλεσεν. "Bade him, from heaven to set the blood-stained seal/On flesh [prepuce] of every male; and it was done" (*Praeparatio* 9.22.428b).

³⁰⁶ Herodotus (2.104).

³⁰⁷ Mather here employs a term designating an Algonquian chieftain of New England.

³⁰⁸ Witsius (226); Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheka* 1.28.4). On the origin of the Colchians and their relationship with the Egyptians, see Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646), lib. 4, cap. 31, pp. 323–29.

³⁰⁹ Josephus (*Antiquities* 8.10.3); Artapanus as quoted in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Preparation* 9.27.433a).

³¹⁰ Josephus (*Against Apion* 1.22).

³¹¹ Josephus (*Antiquities* 8.10.3; 13.9.1); *De adfinium vocabulorum differentiam* (lexical entry 243, lines 4–7), by the Greek philosopher Ammonius Saccas Alexandrinus (3rd c. CE), the teacher of Plotinus (*DCBL*).

his Posterity, by *Keturah*. By *Isaac*, it was derived unto the *Edomites*, and the *Israelites*. Tis not easy to say, how it was derived unto the *Egyptians*; whether thro' the *Arabians*, or thro' the *Israelites*. From the *Egyptians*, it came among the *Cholcians*. From the *Arabians*, it came down unto the *Saracens*, and from the *Saracens* unto the *Turks*, who do to this Day maintain it.³¹²

It is an Observation, of *Pierius*, in his *Hieroglyphicks*; That the most *Sacred* sort of *Apes* among the *Egyptians*, were by that *circumcised* People esteemed so, because of a *Natural Circumcision* to be observed on those Animals. But, as for the Assertion of them, who hold, that the *Jewes* took up *Circumcision* from the *Egyptians*, *Eorum hæc est Fabula, qui Divinarum Literarum Historiam, tam Longa Annorum Serie, apud Populos Nationesque omnes receptam, obscurare conati sunt.*³¹³ He adds, That the Residence of so excellent a Person as *Abraham*, in *Egypt*, might afford us Occasion to think, That the Practice of *Circumcision* among the *Egyptians*, might be first owing to him. Nevertheless that *Circumcision* was not for diverse Ages after this commonly practised among the *Egyptians*, is plain from this, That *Pharaohs* Daughter knew the exposed Infant *Moses*, to be an Hebrew Infant, because the Marks of *Circumcision* were to be seen upon the Child. It seems, as if hitherto none but the *Priests* were *Circumcised* among the *Egyptians*.³¹⁴

There ha's been much Discourse, about the *Humane Sacrifice*, whereto the Patriarch *Abraham* was called of God. It ha's been maintained, That *Ἀνθρωποθυσία* was in Use among the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians*, & other People. [A Thing Forbidden by God. Lev. 20.2.] *Marsham* will have the Command given unto *Abraham*, to be a Conformity unto what was then usual among the other Nations.³¹⁵ However, he does but play upon his Readers, when he brings *Philo Judæus* his Authority for it: For *Philo* expressly argues, That *Abraham* could not have the Custome of any other Nations, to encourage him in his Action; but

312 Witsius (227).

313 The quotation from Johannes Pierio Valeriani's huge folio *Hieroglyphica. Sive De Sacris Aegyptiorum Literis Commentarii* (1556), lib. 6: "Circumcisio," fol. 48^r (top), tries to dismiss the claims of the ancients who claimed that circumcision was widely practiced even before Abraham adopted this rite: "This is the story of those, who tried to becloud the history of the divine writings, accepted among all peoples and nations, with such a long succession of years." A learned Renaissance humanist of Belluno (Italy), Giovanni Piero Valeriano (1477–1558) shared a great fascination for everything Egyptian with his latter-day sage Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), who (two generations after Pierius) became famous for his bulky works on Egyptology and his Wunderkammer curiosities exhibited in Rome. See D. Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus* (2013).

314 Witsius (228).

315 John Marsham's discussion of *Παιδοθυσία* or "child-sacrifice" was a specific type of *Ἀνθρωποθυσία* "sacrifice of humans" well attested among the ancients, and appears in his *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. V, pp. 76–78. Much the same is asserted by his fellow "conspirator" John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 10, fols. 313–26.

that, αὐτος ἐμελλε πρῶτος ἀρχεσθαι καινοτάτου καὶ παρηλλαγμένου παραδειγματος, *Ipse primus Auctor futurus erat novi et inusitati exempli*.³¹⁶ But perhaps *Philo Byblius* may from *Sanchuniathon*, satisfy us, That *Saturn* introduced the Practice of *Sacrificing Children*.³¹⁷ *Bochart*, after *Becanus*, & *Vossius*, and others, ha's demonstrated the *Saturn* of the Poets, to be no other than our *Noah*.³¹⁸ But we are sure, he sacrificed none of his Children. After all, It was the Manner of the *Poets* to confound Things; And it is plain, That the *Saturn* of *Sanchuniathon* was {the} very *Abraham* himself. For he ascribes unto that *Saturn*, the Institution of *Circumcision*; & saies, That the *Phœnicians* called him *Israel*. And the Son of *Saturn* was called, JEUD; which probably was the same with JEHID, /יהיד/ the Name of *Isaac*. [Gen. 22.1.] The Nymph *Annobret*, the near Kinswoman of *Saturn*, who was the Mother of that Son, was the fair *Sarah*, /חַן־שְׁבֶרֶת / *Ex Gratiâ Concipiens*.³¹⁹ In a Word, The whole Fable of that *Saturn* ha's a Foundation in the Story of *Abraham*. It need not be made an Objection, That the *Jeud* of *Saturn* was really killed, whereas the *Isaac* of *Abraham* was not so. The *Divel* was willing to have such a Thing Beleeved, that so an *Exemple* might be made of it. Yea, the Lord Himself accepted the Offering of the only Son, as if it had been Actually performed. [Gen. 22.12. and, Heb. 11.17.] *Philo Judeus* notes, That even the Minds of them that Read the Story, have the *Idea* of *Isaac* as actually sacrificed, strongly engraven on their Minds.³²⁰ And *Gregentius* in his famous Disputation

316 Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 230); Philo Judaeus (*De Abrahamo* 193, lines 3–4) claims that it was not the custom in Chaldaea, the country of Abraham's nativity, to sacrifice human beings, but that αὐτὸς ἐμελλε πρῶτος ἀρχεσθαι καινοτάτου καὶ παρηλλαγμένου πράγματος "he himself was about to be the first to set the example of a novel and most extraordinary deed" (*Works* 427). The Latin translation is that of John Christopherson's *Philonis Iudaei, Summi Philosophi* (1561), tomus prior, *De Abrahamo* (326).

317 Herennius Philo, aka. Philo Byblos, as extracted in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio* 1.10.36d, 40d; 4.16.155b–156d) tells the ancient legend of Uranus (Cronos, Saturnus), who swallowed his own children the moment they issued from their mother's womb. The same myth can be found in many other places including Hesiod's *Theogonia* (453–91). See also *BA* (1:917–18, 992–97).

318 Witsius (231). Like many of his fellow Euhemerists, Samuel Bochart (*Geographia Sacra* [1646], pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 1, pp. 1–11) musters a string of sources to equate Noah and his offspring (and several other patriarchs) with the deities of Chaldea, Phoenicia, Egypt, and Greece, whom the pagans remembered in a muddled and distorted manner. The Flemish scholar Joannes Goropius Becanus, aka. Jan Gerartsen van Gorp (1519–72) has his say on the topic of Noah as Saturn in his nearly twelve-hundred-page folio *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569), lib. 4, pp. 372, 406–08. Much the same proof appears in Gerard Vossius, *Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 18, esp. pp. 140–43.

319 Mather erroneously transcribes חַן־שְׁבֶרֶת (Witsius 231) as /חַן־עֹבֶרֶת/ misreading the letter ש (shin) as ע (ayin waw). Excerpting Philo Byblus and Porphyrius, Eusebius (*Preparation* 1.10.40d; 4.16.157d) has Saturn (Cronos) sacrifice upon an altar his "only begotten son" Iedud (Ieoud, Jeud) by the nymph An(n)obret. If Anobret is the mother of Jeud, then Sarah, at 90, "conceived by grace" her son Isaac. See also Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (2.25.64) for a variant of this story.

320 Witsius (233); Philo Judaeus (*De Abrahamo* 177, line 1 to 178, line 1).

with, *Herbanus*, thus expresses the Action of *Abraham*, | εσφάξεν, και ουκ εσφάξεν, [75r] *Jugulavit et non Jugulavit*.³²¹ And the *Mahometans*, when they speak of *Isaac*, still call him, *The Sacrificed of God*. The Fabulous Gentiles also confounded the Story of *Abraham*, with that of *Jephthah*.³²² According to *Dictys Cretensis*, there was a Substitute provided for *Iphigenia*; And tho' *Calchas* in *Virgil*, saies, *Sanguine placastis Ventos, et Virgine Cæsa*; upon, *Virgine Cæsa*, the note of *Servius*, is, *Non verè, sed ut videbatur. Et sciendum in Sacris Simulata pro veris accipi*.³²³

But *Suppose*, that the Pagan *Saturn* had no Relation to our *Abraham*. In what Age did their *Saturn* live? *Theophilus* writing to *Autolycus*, does from *Thallus*, make him so few Centuries before the *Trojan War*, that he must hardly be so early as the Days of *Moses*.³²⁴ And thus *Arnobius* runs down the Pagans, that

321 Mather enlists Pseudo-Gregentius, *Dialexis* (cap. 1., lines 76–78), by St. Gregentius (d. 552) archbishop of Taphar (Yemen), according to whom Abraham “cut the throat and did not cut [Isaac’s] throat,” suggesting that God took Abraham’s will for the act. Best remembered for the legendary debate between Gregentius and the Jew Herbario, the archbishop miraculously succeeded to convert five million Jews all at once and had them baptized. Published in a bilingual edition, *S. Patris Nostri Gregentii Archiepiscopi Tephrensis, disputatio cum Herbario Iudæo* (1586), the work was republished at least six times between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Mather also drew on the story in his eschatological treatise “Triparadisi,” alternately embracing (and rejecting) the miraculous conversion of Homerite Jews of Arabia in the fourth century CE, to accommodate his changing expectation of the National Conversion of the Jewish people at the Second Coming (*Threefold Paradise*, pp. 164, 228, 309). See also *BA* (5:715–16).

322 The issue is less clear-cut than Mather’s statement makes it seem, for according to the Qur’ân, surah 37:99–113, two of Abraham’s sons are implied: the one to be sacrificed and the other for whom the patriarch received the good news that Isaac would be a prophet. On this topic, see *EJ* (“Ishmael”). The story of Jephthah’s daughter (Judg. 12:11–40) is well known – according to which the Gileadite sacrificed his daughter to fulfill his vow to God to offer up anyone who would come out of his own house to meet him if the Almighty gave Jephthah victory over Ammon.

323 Witsius (234). According to *Dictys Cretensis*, mythical companion of Idomeneus during the Trojan War, Agamemnon did not sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to appease the goddess Artemis (Diana), but used a beautiful stag as a substitute (*Fragmenta*, vol. Jacoby#-F 1a, 49 F fragment 5, lines 1–10; *The Chronicles* 1.20). Vergil seems to have followed the version presented in Euripides’s *Iphigenia at Aulis*, for it is Calchas, the Argive prophet, who tells Agamemnon what needs to be done to placate Artemis (Diana). Vergil (*Aeneid* 2.116) has Calchas, the seer, convey the message from the oracle of Phoebus: “With blood of a slain virgin [Iphigenia] ye appeased the winds” to sail to Ilium, and another human sacrifice is required of the Argives to return home. The gloss of Servius, Vergil’s commentator, reads, “Not truly, but so it seemed. And it must be known that falsities were accepted in the sacred rites in place of truths” (Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* 1:237–38, # 116, G. Thilo).

324 Witsius (234–35); St. Theophilus Antiochenus (later 2nd c. CE) (*ODCC*), bishop of Antioch, writes to his friend Autolycus, that according to the chronology of the LXX, the creation of the world took place 5,698 years before the death of Emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus (d. 169 CE). The venerable Antiochian therefore argues that according to the Greek historian Thallus (who covers the period from the Trojan War, c. 13th or 12th c. BCE, to the 167th Olympiad, c. 112–109 BCE), Belus and his contemporary Saturn lived “322 years prior to the Trojan war.” Moses, however, “lived somewhere about 900 to 1000 years before the Sack of Troy” (*Ad Autolychum* 3.28–29), in *ANF* (2:120). In Mather’s age – as indeed today – the horological

objected against us, the Novelty of our Religion, with Asserting, That the oldest of their Gods, was then hardly Two Thousand Years old. He tells the several Ages of them, in a fine Discourse, whereon *Christianus Schotanus* has written a learned Commentary.³²⁵

We will annex a few Thoughts upon the *Jus Levirationis*; or, The Law of a Younger Brothers marrying the Widow of his Elder Brother, who died childless. *Marsham* would faign fetch this Custome from *Egypt*.³²⁶ The first mention we have of it, is in the Family of *Judah*; but we find it so mentioned, as to render it evident, That it was no New Practice, but that it had before this been practised, in the Families of the *Patriarchs*. The Hebrewes will have it introduced by the Earliest among the Sons of *Noah*; but as not belonging to the *Greater* or the *Lesser Precepts*, nor as any otherwise than a Part of the *Civil Law*. But our Folks go yett Higher, and, as *Heidegger* has it, not only, The *Consistorium Semi*, as the Hebrewes called it, but *Adam* himself, they think, had it from Divine Revelation.³²⁷ What signifies it, that in the Emperour *Zeno's* Time, there were some few Persons in *Egypt*, who did something akin to it?³²⁸ If it had been the very *Same Thing*, yett here had been but small Proof of its Antiquity there. Much more to the Purpose, is the Discourse of *Junius*, upon the Fact of *Onan*; who mentioning the *Leviratic Law* in *Deuteronomy*, saies, *Lex illa Deuteronomij non recens Institutio est, sed antiquae observationis confirmatio et obsignatio. Hujus autem observationis Auctor idem qui confirmator ducendus est. Atque haec res quidem Cæremonialis, qua indè a Conditu Orbis Dignitas CHRISTI, qui Primogenitus est inter multos Fratres, fuit adumbrata*.³²⁹ *Rivet* harmonizes with *Junius*; That

and chronometrical conjectures could swing as widely as the magnetic needle of any compass passing points of attraction. See especially A. T. Grafton's "Joseph Scaliger" and "Scaliger's Chronology."

325 Witsius (235–36). The Christian apologist Arnobius of Sicca, in his *Disputationum Adversus Gentes Libri Septem* (2.71), dismisses the pagan gods as of no validity because they are less than "two thousand years" old. Thus the pagan religion and its deities to which Arnobius's challenger adheres "are young and little children, who should still be fed with their mothers' milk" (*Against the Heathens* 2.71), in *ANF* (6:461). Witsius's predecessor at Franeker, Christian Schotanus (1603–71), Dutch Reformed theologian and professor of classical philology at Franeker (J. C. van Slee, "Schotanus, Christian"), dates the origin of the Roman gods Janus and Saturnus to the time of the traditional founding of Rome (8th c. BCE) and, by implication, long after the Mosaic period, in his *De Peregrinatione Israëlitarum* (lib. 1, cap. 19, subsec. 2, p. 263), in *Bibliotheca Historiae Sacrae Veteris Testamenti* (1662), vol. 1, p. 263 (4th series of pag.).

326 Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 8, pp. 237–38); John Marsham, *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. IX, sec. 4, p. 166.

327 Johann Heinrich Heidegger's אֲבוֹת רַאשֵׁי [Rashi Aboth] *Sive De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1729), 1:14, Exerc. I, § 16. The "Consistorium Semi" is the "consistory of semen," i. e., Adam, as the first man, to whom the Leviratic law was revealed.

328 Byzantian Emperor Flavius Zeno Augustus (c. 425–91 CE) was emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire from 474–91 CE.

329 In his *Libri Geneseos Analysis* (1596), p. 178, Franciscus Junius (1545–1602) argues that Onan's eponymous sin (Gen. 38:9) was such that it did not dare to speak its name even among

this Usage was not first of all taken up, from the *Canaanites*, or other Nations in the Neighbourhood; but an Appointment of God, wherein the Glory of the Lord-Messiah was considered.³³⁰

But might not the Division of *Time* into *Weeks*, and consequently the Recurrence of a *Sabbath*, be an *Egyptian* Invention? By no means. Tis more truly asserted by *Philo*, That it was πανδημος και του κοσμου γενεσιος, *Ab omnibus Gentibus recepta, ac mundo Coeva*.³³¹ *Salmasius* observes from the Chronology of *Syncellus*, That the old Fathers used *Weeks*, before *Months* and *Years*, in their Computations. The Annals of *Michael Glycas*, will have *Seth*, to have been the first Inventor of *Weeks*.³³² But R. *Jehuda*, in the Dialogue entituled, *Sepher Cozri*, ascribes them to *Adam*, from the very Day, that he was expelled out of *Paradise*.³³³ We may allow the *Egyptians*, to have been the First, that putt *Planetary Names*, upon the Dayes of the *Week*; and yett assert the *Week* itself, to have been of a much earlier Original. It is well noted by *Philoponus*, That there was no

the Gentiles, but was blissfully plied by the Gnostics, as Epiphanius knowingly relates. Says Martial in his *Epigram* (9.42), “Veneri servit amica manus” or “A loving hand is a servant to sexual appetite,” in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:253) and *Works* (3:303). Be that as it may, Franciscus Junius argues, “that law of Deuteronomy is not a fresh custom, but a verification and seal of ancient observance. The creator of this observance moreover is the same that is held as its establisher. And this matter, indeed ceremonial, by which thence from the founding of the world the dignity of CHRIST, who is the firstborn among many brethren, has been outlined.”

330 The renowned Huguenot professor of theology at Leiden, André Rivet (1572–1651), trying to maintain harmony among the tribes of befuddled commentators, is convinced that the practice of Leviratic marriage was appointed by God (*Scholasticae & Theologicae Exercitationes CXC in Genesin* [1633], Exercitatio CLII [Gen. 38], pp. 736–37). Witsius (lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 20; lib. 3, cap. 8, pp. 237–40).

331 Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 241). Herodotus (2.4) bestows this honor on the Egyptians. Philo Judaeus adds that the division of time into six days followed by a seventh, a holy day, is a festival for all the world. Thus he explains in his *De Opificio Mundi* (89, lines 5–6) that ἡν κυρίως ἄξιον και μόνην πάνδημον ὀνομάζειν και τοῦ κόσμου γενέθλιον “it is proper to call [the seventh day] the day of festival for all people, and the birthday of the world” (Mather’s second-hand citation is an adaptation of the preceding). On the different divisions of time among the ancients, see John Jackson’s “Concerning the ancient Years, Æras, and Computations of Time,” in *Chronological Antiquities* (1752), 2:1–94.

332 Georgius Syncellus (*Ecloga Chronographia*, p. 34, lines 9–25); Claudius Salmasius, *De Annis Climactericis et Antiqua Astrologia Diatriba* (1648), esp. pp. 654–55. Michael Glycas (12th c. CE) was a historian, theologian, and astronomer of Byzantium (Constantinople) (*EB*), and ascribed to Seth the invention of writing, astrology, and the division of months into weeks, which divine arts were revealed to him by the angel Uriel (Othniel), in Glycas’s *Annales. Nunc Primum Latinam in linguam transcripti & editi per Ioannes Lewenclaium* (1572), pars 2, “De Caianitarum Secta,” pp. 167–68.

333 According to Judah ha-Levi’s ספר כוזרי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem De Religione* (1660), pars 2, § 20, pp. 88–89, the calendar was begun six days after the creation, when Adam was expelled from Eden and transferred to Palestine, his new abode. Here he began to name the days of the week in the same manner as he had done the animals and all else.

Reason for making the *Week* to consist of *Seven Dayes*, η μόνον ον εἰρηκε Μωυσης, *But only that which Moses ha's assigned us*, in his *History of the Creation*.³³⁴

Tis with much Hæsitiation, that *Herodotus* and *Lucian* ascribe the first Original of *Temples*, unto the *Egyptians*. *Hospinian* reckons up above Seventeen uncertain Opinions about the first Original of *Temples*.³³⁵ But *Lucian*, will have the *Temple* of his *Dea Syria*, built by *Deucalion*; and *Apollonius* will have *Deucalion* to be the first Author of *Temples*; that is to say, Our Father *Noah* himself.³³⁶ *Giraldus* in his *Sepulchralia*, mentions it, as the Opinion of most, That *Sepulchres* gave the first Original to *Temples*. And thus *Prudentius*;

*Et tot Templâ Deum Romæ, quot in urbe Sepulchra
Heroum, numerare licet.*³³⁷

[75v] We will not envy unto the *Egyptians* | the Glory, of turning into *Temples*, the *Sepulchres* of their Kings, whom they worshipped; which *Philo Byblius* testifies of them, & of the *Phœnicians*.³³⁸

As Mankind improved in their *Numbers* and *Manners* and *Riches*, they built *Houses*, wherein they might come together for the Worship of God; you have

³³⁴ In *Cap. I. Geneseos, De Mundi Creatione Libri Septem* (1630), lib. 7, cap. 14, p. 281, we learn from pagan grammarian turned Christian apologist Joannes Philoponus of Alexandria (c. 490–c. 570) (*SEP*) that Moses named the days of the week after the seven planets (!): the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. Joannes Philoponus, *De opificio mundi* (7.14, p. 307, line 3): η μόνον ον εἰρηκε Μωϋσῆς. Mather supplies his own translation.

³³⁵ At issue is John Spencer's claim (*De Legibus Hebraeorum* [1685], lib. 3, Diss. 6, caps. 1–2, fols. 817–50) that the design and blueprint of the Solomonic Temple is derived from Egyptian models. Mather, here following Witsius (lib. 1, cap. 6, sec. 8, p. 25; lib. 3, cap. 10, p. 243–44), rebuffs this allegation and brands John Marsham's *Chronicus Canon* (1672), secul. I, p. 34, as audacious. Herodotus (2.4) believes that the Egyptians not only were the first to divide the year into twelve months, 365 days, and seasons, but also to name months after twelve gods, assign altars to them, and build temples in their honor. Lucianus (*De Syria Dea*, secs. 2–3) confirms that the Egyptians were the first to receive revelations from the gods, build temples and altars in their name, and introduce religious festivals. Alas, the Reformed theologian of Zurich, Rudolpho Hospinian, begs to differ in his 1,200-page opus *De Templis: Hoc est, De Origine, Progressu, Usu et Abusu Templorum, ac omnino rerum omnium ad Templum pertinentium, Libri V*. 1595 (Editio Secunda. Tiguri, 1603), lib. 1, cap. 5, pp. 22–28; he lists as many different opinions on the subject of firsts as he was able to muster. A copy of Hospinian's *De Templis* was in the Mather Family Library (Tuttle, "Libraries," pp. 15, 18).

³³⁶ As if to contradict himself, Lucianus (*De Syria Dea*, sec. 12 cf. secs. 2–3) reports that the people believe the Scythian Deucalion or Sisylthus built the temple in Babylonia after the great flood. Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 3.1087–89) bestows those laurels on the Noah of the Greeks as well. Wonder what Utnapishtim of Gilgamesh renown would have to say about this?

³³⁷ In his *De Sepultura ac Vario Sepeliendi Ritu Libellus*, in *Opera Omnia Dubis Tomis Distincta* (1696), 1:689–90, the Italian scholar Liliud Gregorius Gyrardus of Ferrara, aka. Giglio Gregorio Giraldu (1479–1552) (*EB*), like a true Euhemerist, believes that the first temples arose from the tombs of deified kings. And Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (*Liber Contra Oratationem Symmachi* 1.190–91) knows that all earth-born divinities were gathered into a single home, "and you may count as many temples of gods in Rome as tombs of heroes in all the world."

³³⁸ Philo Byblius (Herennius Philo) testifies to this fact in an extant excerpt in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio* 1.9.31d–33b).

it well expressed by *Tranquillus*, & repeated by *Isidorus*, That Men fell into this Point of Devotion, *Quum [enim] primum [homines] exuta feritate rationem vitæ habere cæpissent*.³³⁹ But no Man alive, can tell, or guess, what Nation it was, or whether it were not more than one, that began the Practice. For the *Temple* of *Jerusalem*, tis an unhappy Mistake in *Chrysostom*, to intimate, That the Disposition of a People *newly coming out of Egypt*, was therein accommodated.³⁴⁰ We don't find, That when *David* first meditated the Building of the *Temple*, there was any Thought of *Egypt* in his Mind. Yea, on that Occasion, the Lord expressly declares, That in His now giving a Direction for the Building of the *Temple*, He had no regard unto any thing they had seen in *Egypt*. Nor have we in the *Sacred Scriptures*, the least Hint, of the *Tabernacles* being made, according to the *Pattern* seen in *Egypt*; *Extrà que in hisce rebus sapere, est nihil sapere*.³⁴¹ The true State of the Case, was this. The Government of *Israel* was, as the Jewish Historian well observes, A THEOCRACY.³⁴² [See Judg. 8.33.] In Conformity to Royal Circumstances, *Jerusalem* was made the *Metropolis* of the *Kingdome*; and the *Temple* was the *Palace* of the Great King; where, the *Priests* were His *Ministers*, and the *Sanctuary* His *Presence-Chamber*; the *Altar*, His *Table*; and the *Levites* His *Musicians*. Thus R. *Schem Tob*, commenting upon *Maimonides*, having said, *Deus, cui laus, talem sibi Domum condi jussit, qualis esse solet Domus Regia*; proceeds in making an Elegant Comparison, between the *Temple*, and a *Palace*; concluding, *Atque hæc omnia eò spectabant, ut intelligeret vulgus, Regem, nempe Dominum exercituum, inter nos versatum esse. Est enim ille Rex Magnus, omnibusque Gentibus metuendus*.³⁴³ Moreover, The *Tabernacle* and the *Temple*, had many

339 Witsius (244). Quoting a fragment of the Roman biographer Tranquillus Suetonius (*De poetis*, fragm 2.1), in Suetonius, *Vitæ Duodecim* (1845), p. 386, Isidorus Hispalensis, in his *Etymologiarum sive Originum* (8.7.1) [PL 082. 0308], maintains that “when people first began to possess a rational way of life,” they gained self-knowledge and devised poetry to worship their gods with lofty rhymes.

340 Joannes Chrysostom, *In diem natalem* [PG 49. 0354, line 58–0355, line 4].

341 That the Mosaic Tabernacle derived its precedent from Egyptian models is, of course, the thesis of John Spencer (*De Legibus Hebraeorum* [1685], lib. 3, Diss. I, cap. 3, fols. 548–62), which Mather, Witsius, and their peers are trying to refute. Thus Mather piously claims with Witsius's *Ægyptiaca* (1696), lib. 3, cap. 10, sec. 6, p. 246, at his elbow that there is not the least indication in the Bible that Moses relied on Egyptian precedents, and that “beyond what anyone can know of this thing is to know nothing.”

342 Josephus Flavius (*Antiquitates* 4.223, lines 1–4). Both Witsius (246–47) and Mather take some liberties with Josephus's Mosaic edict, for according to the Greek original, the Jewish historian speaks of *Ἀριστοκρατία*, i. e., Aristocracy, not *Θεοκρατία* Theocracy! Thus in Whiston's famous translation (*Antiquities* 4.8.17), Josephus says – with his contemporary audience narrowly in mind – that “Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution: and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God.” Mather's reference to Judg. 8:33 is a less-than-trenchant proof-text. See also Mather's gloss on Judg. 8:33, in *BA* (3:182).

343 Mather's third-hand quote (via Witsius 247–48) appears in R. Schem Tob's commentary on Maimonides (*More Nebuchim* 3.45.), as rendered into Latin in William Outram's *De*

Mysteries in the Appurtenances of them; They were, as *Abarbanel* truly expresses it, *A Book of the Sublimest Wisdom*.³⁴⁴ And it is a great Mistake, That the *Idea* of them, was taken from what the *Israelites* had seen in *Egypt*; We are positively told in the Word of God, That it was Received from the Blessed God Himself. [See *Exod.* 25.9. and 2. *Chron.* 38.11, 12.] And hereby, He taught the *Israelites*, how unacceptable it is unto Him, to be worshipped by the Inventions of Men. It is true; The *Temples* of *Egypt*, as described by *Strabo*, had some Resemblance to that of *Jerusalem*.³⁴⁵ Nevertheless, there is no Pretence that *those* were more Anc[i]ent than *That*. And the great Fame of *Solomons Temple*, might well enough occasion some Imitation & Emulation in the Neighbourhood. This we know, The *Christian Temples* of old especially those of the *Greek Churches*, did mightily Imitate that of *Solomon*; of which you may consult *Procopius*.³⁴⁶ And *Pollet*,

Sacrificiis Libri Duo (1677), lib. 1, cap. 3, pp. 35–36. Outram's source is the commentary of the learned Spanish Rabbi Schem Tobh Ben-Joseff Abenfalauerra (1225–90) on Maimonides, which was published in the Venice edition of *Rabbi Moses Maimonides. Doctor Perplexorum. Cum commentariis R. Schem Tobh et R. Ephodaei* (1551), lib. 1, cap. 3. Stating that "God, to whom be praise, ordered such a house to be founded for him as was wont to be a palatial home," the rabbi concludes, "and all these things were regarding him thereby that ordinary people would understand that the King, assuredly the Lord of Hosts, was situated among us. For he is that great King, to be feared by all people."

344 R. Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel (*Exod.* 25:8–9) argues that "It is inconceivable that this Ohel Moed (Tent of Meeting) with all its vessels and furnishings is just an ordinary tent without having any special meaning to it. G-d of the hosts, who had designed it and its contents, surely had some profound reasons for the way He designed it." Although he admits that many of his fellow commentators – ancient and modern – have much to say on this topic with which he disagrees, Abarbanel does accept the notion that "the Mishkan [tabernacle] was a miniature replica of the entire universe" of God's creation, "and every aspect of the tabernacle represented a particular aspect of the creation" (*Selected Commentaries Shemos/Exodus* 2:313, 321, 306).

345 Witsius (249–50); Strabo (*Geographica* 16.2.34–35) relates that "the most prevalent of the accredited reports in regard to the temple at Jerusalem represents the ancestors of the present Judaeans, as they are called, as Egyptians. Moses, namely, was one of the Egyptian priests, and held a part of Lower Egypt, as it is called, but he went away from there to Judaea, since he was displeased with the state of affairs there, and was accompanied by many people who worshipped the Divine Being."

346 Procopius Caesariensis (*De aedificiis* 1.4.12, lines 9–16) gives a detailed description: When the ancient building of the church dedicated to the Apostles became unsound, "the Emperor Justinian pulled it down entirely, and he was at pains not simply to restore it, but to make it more worthy both in size and in beauty. He carried out his effort as follows. Two straight lines were drawn, intersecting each other at the middle in the form of a cross, one extending east and west, and the other which crossed this running north and south. On the outside these lines were defined by walls on all of the sides, while on the inside they were traced by rows of columns standing above one another. At the crossing of the two straight lines, that is to say at about the middle, there was set aside a place which may not be entered by those who may not celebrate the mysteries; this with good reason they call the "sanctuary" (hierateion). The two arms (pleurai) of this enclosure which lie along the transverse line are equal to each other, but the arm which extends toward the west, along the upright line, is enough longer than the other to make the form of the cross. That portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary, as it is called, is built, in the centre at least, on a plan resembling that of the Church of Sophia, except

in his, *Historia Fori Romani*, will satisfy you, That the *Pagan Temples*, among the *Romans*, had a great Resemblance hereunto.³⁴⁷ It is particularly Remarkable, That *Vitruvius*, describing the Rules for *Sacred Edifices*, does extremely conform to those of *Solomons Temple*. *L. Capellus* will at large, give you the Demonstrations of that *Conformity*.³⁴⁸ But, what Man will be so foolish, as to say, That *Solomon* took his Measures of *Doric Architecture* from the Temples of the *Dorians*? We have Reason rather to Beleeve the Learned *Villalpandus*; That the Rules of *Architecture* taught by the *Græcians* to the *Romans*, & at length collected by *Vitruvius*, were first of all fetched from the *Temple at Jerusalem*.³⁴⁹ We shall have our *Selden* consenting with us.³⁵⁰

There has been much Discourse about the *Urim* and *Thummim*; and *Spencer*, as well as others, has more shown his own *Witt*, than brought any *Truth* to Light concerning them.³⁵¹ He that Reads *Philo Judæus*, and *Flavius Josephus*, will think, That the Knowledge of them was utterly lost under the *Second Temple*. It was not without a wise Intention of Heaven, that *Moses* passes over them

that it is inferior to it in size. The arches, four in number, rise aloft and are bound together in the same manner, and the circular drum (kykloteres) which stands upon them is pierced by the windows, and the dome (sphaeroeides) which arches above this seems to float in the air and not to rest upon solid masonry, though actually it is well supported. Thus, then, was the central portion of the roof constructed. And the arms of the building, which are four, as I have said, were roofed on the same plan as the central portion, but this one feature is lacking: underneath the domes (sphairikon) the masonry is not pierced by windows" (*Buildings* 1.[2].4, pp. 50–51).

347 Witsius (250–51); Mather refers to the oft-reprinted *Historia Fori Romani Restituta* (1572), lib. 1, cap. 3, esp. pp. 25–26, by Franciscus Polletus, aka. François Pollet (1516–48), a learned French jurist of Douai.

348 Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem* (1649), lib. 4, cap. 1–7, pp. 59–77. See also "Templi Jerosolymitani, Forma, structura, situs, atque delineatio," in *Historia Apostolica Illustrata* (1634), pp. 153–62; (1691 ed.), pp. 265–284, by Ludovicus Capellus (1585–1658), distinguished philologist and professor of theology at Saumur, whose description of the Temple is derived from that of Josephus Flavius. The editors of the London Polyglot deemed irresistible Capellus's elegant visual reconstruction of what purports to be Solomon's Temple and reprinted it in Brian Walton's magnificent *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (6:1–49, sep. pag.)

349 Juan Bautista Villalpando, in his three huge folios on ancient architecture, *In Ezechielem Explanaciones et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani* (1604), tom. 2, pars 2, lib. 5, diss. 1, cap. 13, pp. 536–37, believes that "Omnes Basilicae construendae leges ex hac una Salomonis mutuatus est Vitruvius," or loosely, "All basilicas are constructed on the basis of the [architectural] laws [of proportion] which Vitruvius derived from Solomon's Temple." Alas, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (1st c. BCE), in his handbook to classical architecture *De Architectura* (1649), lib. 6, cap. 5, 109–13, appears to speak of the Graeco-Roman, and Egyptian temples, not their architectural derivation from Solomon's in Jerusalem.

350 John Selden, *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 26, takes Villalpando at his word and also claims that Vitruvius followed the design of the Temple in Jerusalem. Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 10, pp. 243–52).

351 Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 253–54); John Spencer, *Dissertatio De Urim & Thummim* (1669), reprinted in a slightly expanded version in his *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. 7, caps. 1–8, fols. 851–988.

with so much of Brevity.³⁵² And our *Prideaux's* Admonition upon it, is worthy to be considered; *Sufficit observasse, Urim et Thummim, à Deo tradita, à Mose recepta, et inter Rationalis Duplicitatem, veluti in Theca quadam fuisse inclusa. Ultra qui temere quid asseruerit; videat, ne venditando scientiam, tam imperitis, quam sagacioribus debeat ludibrium.*³⁵³ It is an Assertion well maintained by the excellent *J. Alting*, | That the *Urim* and *Thummim*, were a peculiar Workmanship, formed by the Immediate Hand of Heaven, & lodged by *Moses* in the *Pectoral* of the *High-Priest*, and perhaps never seen so much as once, by any of the *Israelites*. They were Symbols of the Divine Presence, Irradiating the Mind of the High-Priest, & furnishing him with Knowledge & Utterance, to Direct the People of God, in their weighty Affairs. The Greek Terms, *Δηλωσις*, and, *Αληθεία*, represent the Intention of them; for a *Light* from Heaven making a *Manifestation* to the *High Priest*, there was *Truth* delivered for the *Satisfaction* of the People.³⁵⁴ As the *Urim*, was not the same with the *Teraphim*, among the ancients; thus, the *Thummim*, was not the same, with the little *Image*, which *Ælian*, and *Diodorus* tell us, hung about the Neck of the *Egyptian High-Priest*, with ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ engraved upon it. *Diodorus* and *Ælian* themselves, are not agreed, what that Ornament was; One saies, *It was an Image made of a Sapphire*;

352 Exod. 28:30. Philo Judaeus allegorizes the Urim and Thummim, in his *Legum Allegoriae* (3.40.119), but see his *Vita Mosis* (2.24.122). In the former, Philo argues that the Urim and Thummim signify “manifestation and truth,” which are nothing else but “the organs of speech” and “the power of language” to speak “judiciously and well approved” or “inconsiderate[ly], and such as will not stand examination.” Yet in his *Vita Mosis* (2.24.122), Philo waxes astrological by adding that “the two round stones” are to some “emblems of those stars which are the rulers of night and day” (moon and sun), even “emblems of the two hemispheres (above and below the earth) or a “nearer approach to truth.” Josephus Flavius prefers a more supernatural explanation and identifies these “stones” as “sardonyxes,” which were worn on the shoulders of the high priest: “The one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices ... bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendor yet was not before natural to the stone” (*Antiquities* 3.8.9).

353 The Latin quote is extracted from *Opera Theologica, Quae Latine extant Omnia* (1672), *Oratione II*, “De Vestibus Aharonis,” sec. 3, p. 338, by Johannes Prideaux (1578–1650), Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and bishop of Worcester: “Suffice it to observe that Urim and Thummim had been handed over by God, accepted by Moses, and confined between the doubleness of the rational just as in a certain sheath. The one who has rashly defended the thing should beware lest by offering knowledge for sale, he become the laughingstock as much to the inexperienced as to the more sagacious.” On the topic of the Urim and Thummim, see also Humphrey Prideaux’s *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews* (1716–18), vol. 1, part 1, bk. 3, sec. 3, pp. 151–158, by the Dean of Norwich, Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), distant relative of the former (*ODNB*).

354 Jacobus Alting’s assertion about God’s workmanship appears in his “De Vestimentis Summi Sacerdotis propriis: III Ephod & Pectorale,” in *Academicarum Dissertationum Heptades Duae* (1671), pp. 424, 426. The Greek terms *Δηλωσις* and *Αληθεία*, representing the two stones Urim and Thummim, signify “Interpretation, Explanation, Urim” and “Truth” (LXX Exod. 28:50; Lev. 8:8; Esdras 5:40).

The other saies, *It was made of several precious Stones*.³⁵⁵ And if God ordered an *Egyptian Ornament* for His *High-Priest*, why not the Name also, which was used in *Egypt*; from which that of *Thummim* is very different? The *Egyptian Ornament* belonged unto their *High-Priest*, only as he was the Chief *Judge* of the Land; Among the *Israelites*, it was at the Liberty of the *Sanhedrim*, as *Maimonides* tells us, whether they would admitt, their *High-Priest* so much as to sitt among them.³⁵⁶ Nor had the *Thummim* such a *Place* assigned for it as the *Egyptian Ornament* had, which was hung in open View, to conciliate among the People, a Reverence for the Gentleman that wore it. And after all, what Proof have we, that this *Αλθθεια* of *Egypt*, for its Antiquity came near to the *Thummim* of *Israel*? The Writers that lived before *Diodorus* and *Ælian*, say nothing of it.³⁵⁷ About this, and the other *Sacerdotal Vestments*, there are some good Passages, in an Oration of Dr. *Prideaux*, on that Subject; wherein he shoves, how the Pagans have *Aped* the Church of God.³⁵⁸ The Summ whereof we will now rather take in the emphatical Words of *Grotius*; *Imitati hoc sunt, sed up pueri, virorum res imitantur, Ægyptij*.³⁵⁹

But whereas tis pretended by some learned Men, so Improbable, so Impossible a Thing, for the *Egyptians* to be Imitators of the *Israelites*, Lett us a little enquire into the Disposition of the *Egyptians*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* observes, That it was the Humour of the *Pagans*, & especially of the *Egyptians*, to Θεολογεῖν, advance into the Number of the *Gods*, those that had obliged the World, by giving

355 Witsius (lib. 1, cap. 6, sec. 13, p. 28; lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 255–56); Claudius Aelian (*De varia historia* 14.34, lines 8–9) believes the *Αλθθεια* [Aletheia] was a “sapphire”; Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheka* 1.75.5, line 2; 1.75.7, line 6) thinks it was an undetermined precious stones.

356 Maimonides, as quoted in Petrus Cunaeus’s *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617), lib. 1, cap. 12, p. 106; and *Hebrew Republic* (1.12.49). In *Hilchot Sanhedrin V’Haonshin Hamesurim Lahem* (2.4) *Mishneh Torah* 23:22, Maimonides points out that while a king of Israel is not permitted to sit in the Sanhedrin (kings must not be contradicted), the High Priest can participate “if his knowledge makes him fitting.”

357 Whereas the Greco-Roman historian Diodorus Siculus lived in the 1st c. BCE, the Roman historian Claudius Aelianus lived more than a century before his Sicilian colleague from c. 175–c. 235 CE.

358 Prideaux, “Oratione II: De Vestibus Aaronis,” in *Opera Theologica, Quae Latine extant Omnia* (1672), p. 341, § 7, is neither the first nor last to make such claims. Theophilus Gale, in his *The Court of the Gentiles*, in 4 parts (1669–78) and, of course, Gerard Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana* (1641) are prime examples. In fact the argument that the Egyptians, hence the Greeks and Romans, derived their culture, religion, and laws from Moses and the Patriarchs is at least as old as the Jewish apologists Eupolemus (2nd c. BCE), (pseudo-) Eupolemus, Artapanus (2nd c. BCE), and Flavius Josephus (*Contra Apionem*) – all of whom wrestled with the preponderance of Greek philosophy in their day only to insist on the Mosaic primacy. See also A.J. Droge’s *Homer or Moses?* (1989).

359 The sublime Hugo Grotius, in *De Veritate Religione* (lib. 1, § 17 annot. 111), in *Opera Omnia* (1679), 3:28, offers the following rationale: “The Egyptians imitated this, just as children imitate men.” Witsius (258, 261).

of good *Lawes* and *Rules* unto them.³⁶⁰ *Diodorus* observes the Manner of the *Egyptians*, thus to Recompence their Benefactors. And they thus acknowledge, not only their own Countreymen, but Strangers also, whom *Virtue* had rendred conspicuous and considerable. The Respects they paid unto *Darius*, the Father of *Xerxes*, are an Instance of it; for even, while he was yett living, his *Virtue* moved them to *Deify* him.³⁶¹ Now, is it unlikely that Men so renowned for *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, as *Abraham*, and *Joseph*, and *Moses*, Men whom no Age could æqual, should not among the *Egyptians* find a more than ordinary Veneration? We know, how Honourable *Abraham* was in the Court of *Egypt*. *Eupolemus*, in *Polyhistor*, quoted by *Eusebius*, amplifies upon his admirable Character; whereof the *Egyptians* could not but be sensible.³⁶² *Nicolaus Damascenus* also celebrates his powerful and perswasive Conferences among them. And there is as much Reason to beleeeve these Gentlemen, as to beleeeve *Herodotus*.³⁶³ The Merit, the

³⁶⁰ Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 263). Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.15.67.3–68.2) quotes Plato's *Symposium* (209e) to affirm that the wise men and lawgivers among the barbarians were deified (ἐθεολόγησαν) and honored by having temples reared in their names. And so did the Brahmins, Odrysians, the Getae, and especially the Egyptians, along with the Chaldeans and Arabs of Palestine. Perhaps better known as "Euhemerism," the historical apotheosis of famous lawgivers or rulers was common enough.

³⁶¹ Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.90.2, lines 7–11) relates that the Egyptians – above all others – give thanks to their benefactors because "they hold that the return of gratitude to benefactors is a very great resource of life." So in the case of Darius, father of the Persian Xerxes, who revered the Egyptian temples, studied their sacred books with the priests of Egypt, and followed the example of the great pharaohs. "For this reason," Diodorus adds (1.95.5, lines 8–11), Darius "was the object of such great honour that he alone of all the kings was addressed as a god by the Egyptians in his lifetime, while at his death he was accorded equal honours with the ancient kings of Egypt who had ruled in strict accord with the laws."

³⁶² Witsius (264). The Greco-Jewish historian Eupolemus, whose *Concerning the Jews of Assyria* is extracted by the Greek historian Lucius Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor (fl. 50 BCE) and copied in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.17.419c), reveals that "Abraham dwelt with the Egyptian priests in Heliopolis and taught them many things; and it was he who introduced astronomy and the other sciences to them, saying that the Babylonians and himself had found these things out, but tracing back the first discovery to Enoch, and saying that he, and not the Egyptians, had first invented astrology."

³⁶³ In another excerpt from the prolific Greek historian-philosopher Nicolaus Damascenus (c. 64–after 4 BCE), extracted by Josephus Flavius, and quoted in Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.16.417c–418b), the Caesarian bishop asserts that "Abraham was king of Damascus" and revered among the Egyptians as "a very wise man, and strong not only in intelligence but also in persuasive speech on whatever subjects he undertook to teach." Better yet, Abraham taught the Egyptians "the science of arithmetic, and also communicate[d] to them the facts of astronomy. For before Abraham's arrival the Egyptians were ignorant of these subjects; for they passed from the Chaldees into Egypt, and thence came also to the Greeks." Mather clearly trusts the sources sanctioned by Eusebius and the early Church Fathers more than he does those of the pagan Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Manethon, or Plutarch, who maintained that all the arts, sciences, and the gods came from Egypt, the most advanced civilization in the region. Put in another way, by reviving the ancient debate among Jewish and Greco-Roman apologists about the primogeniture of culture and philosophy, Mather and his peers aim to refute the charges of the likes of John Selden, Herbert of Cherbury, John Spencer, John Marsham, Athanasius Kircher, Thomas Burnet, John Toland, and William Warburton, who gave new life to this

Figure, the Authority of *Joseph*, among the *Egyptians*, is well-known to all the World. We are divinely informed, That he *taught their Senators Wisdome*; And no doubt, *Religion* must be no little Part of that *Wisdome*. What if we should think, That from the Time of *Josephs*, marrying into a *Sacerdotal Family*, the Priests of *Egypt* conformed unto the Rite of *Circumcision*. *Moses* was adopted by a Princess of *Egypt*, & educated in the Court of *Egypt*, and all agree, that he was a Man of mighty Interest among the *Egyptians*. They counted him so admirable a Person, that they challenged him for their own; they would needs have him to be an *Heliopolitan*. Doubtless they received many good Instructions from him. And when he opposed their Tyranny with such amazing Plagues from Heaven upon them, they could not but conceive a mighty *Fear* of him; *Fear*, which is no small Instrument and | Incentive of *Religion* in the World. *Suidas* tells us, [76v] That there had been Prophecies among the *Egyptians*, concerning the Exploits, which this great Person was to do upon them. And they were as ready to worship what *Harmed* them, as what *Served* them.³⁶⁴

We may further observe, That the Fame of the Lawes uttered by GOD, with so much awful Solemnity, unto the *Israelites*, Did fill the Nations in the Neighbourhood, with High Thoughts concerning this People, and the Lawes observed among them. [Deut. 4.6, 8. Josh. 2.9, 10, 11.] And the Victories gained by the *Israelites* under *Joshua*, had yett a further Influence, to raise the Reputation of the Nation, & of its Religion. But their Flourishing State in the Reign of *David* and of *Solomon*, rendred their Credit yett greater in the World, & procured vast Numbers of *Proselytes* unto them. [1. King. 8.41, 42. and, 1. King. 10.1.] And there can be no Quæstion, but that the Illustrious Condition of *Daniel*, of *Nehemiah*, of *Mordecai*, did contribute unto the Esteem of the Nation, & of the things professed & practised among them. It is a great Mistake, to think, That the Institutions of the *Israelites*, were not *known* beyond the Bounds of *Palastine*, or were but *mock'd* where they were *known*. *Origen* against *Celsus* very well notes, That the Great Creator of the World, made the Lawes which He had given unto this His Chosen People, to have no little Fame and Force throughout the World.³⁶⁵ Certainly, The *Egyptians* did not look on the *Israelites* as their Slaves, when King *Solomon* married *Pharaohs* Daughter!

snake-in-the-grass that Moses had adapted the laws and customs of the superior Egyptians (their former overlord) and those of their more cosmopolitan neighbors.

364 Witsius (267). Suda, *Lexicon* (alphab. letter *iota* entry 176, lines 1–10, *voce* Ἱερογλαμματοῖς) prominently mentions the Lawgiver Moses (“Μωϋσέως”).

365 Witsius (269). In his polemic against Celsus, the Church Father Origenes Alexandrinus (*Contra Celsum* 1.18, lines 24–26) notes that whereas the wisdom of the pagans – along with their poetry – has perished, the Mosaic Laws and the knowledge of the true God has flourished, even among the pagans. “For it became the Creator of the universe, after laying down the laws for its government, to confer upon His words a power which might subdue all men in every part of the earth” (*Against Celsus* 1.18), in *ANF* (4:404).

The Sixth Assertion.

The *Græcians*, as well as the *Egyptians*, derived their Wisdome from the same *Fountain of Israel*. The most ancient Writers do still join the *Hebrewes*, with the other Philosophers of *India*, as the first Authors of the *Græcian* Philosophy. So particularly does *Megasthenes*, an old Historian, who lived in the Dayes of *Seleucus Nicanor*.³⁶⁶ And *Clearchus* brings in *Aristotle*, as using the Name of, *A Jew*, to signify the same with, *A Philosopher*. *Numenius* also, and *Porphyrius*, join the *Jewes*, with the *Brachmans*, and the *Magi*, in the fame of the ancient Philosophy.³⁶⁷ This Fame caused the *Jewes* to be visited by learned Men of all Nations, that from them they might learn their Wisdome. *Aristobulus*, the Tutor of *Ptolomæus Philometor*, does Report this of *Pythagoras*; (and so does *Josephus*;) The same Report he gives of *Plato*; yea, he affirms, That the *Peripatetic Philosophy*, & *Aristotle* the Author of it, had Countenance from the Law of *Moses*.³⁶⁸ *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes no Doubt of the Truth in the Words of *Aristobulus*, about *Pythagoras*;³⁶⁹ yea, both he, and *Theodoret*, affirm the *Circumcision* of *Pythagoras*; and our *Selden* inclines to beleieve them; inasmuch as *Laertius* relates, that he was Initiated in the *Mysteries* of the *Barbarians*; whereto *Iamblichus*

366 Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 271). The Greek historian Megasthenes (c. 350–c. 290 BCE), author of *Indica*, and diplomat to the court of Seleucus I Nicator (c. 358–281 BCE), declares the following in an extant fragment in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.15.72.5) and Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.6.5): “All that was said about nature by the ancients is said also by those who philosophise beyond Greece: some things by the Brahmins among the Indians, and others by those called Jews in Syria” (*Stromata* 1.16), in *ANF* (2:317).

367 The Peripatetic philosopher Clearchus of Soli (4th–3rd c. BCE) brings in Aristotle, his teacher, in a citation extant in Josephus Flavius (*Contra Apionem* 1.179, lines 2–4), stating that according to Aristotle a learned Jew taught the Greeks philosophy. This man “was by birth a Jew, came from Celesyria; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians *Calami*, and by the Syrians *Judaei*, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judea” (*Against Apion* 1.22; *Complete Works* 615). The Neopythagorean philosopher Numenius of Apamea (2nd c. CE), as quoted by Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio* 9.6.411a, 9.7.411c), wonders, “What is Plato, but Moses speaking in Attic Greek?” And more ambiguously, that all the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato should be squared with “all that the Brachmans, and Jews, and Magi and Egyptians arranged.”

368 Mather’s source is Witsius (272), whose vademecum is John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 14. See also J. P. Rosenblatt *Renaissance England’s Chief Rabbi* (158–81). The Hellenist Jewish philosopher Aristobulus of Paneas (fl. 2nd c. BCE), believed to have been the teacher of King Ptolomæus VI Philometor (c. 185–145 BCE) of Egypt, is quoted at second hand in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.6.411a) as saying that “Plato too has followed our [Mosaic] legislation, and has evidently studied carefully the several precepts contained in it.” Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 1.22) adds that Pythagoras of Samos was greatly esteemed as “a person superior to all philosophers, in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our [Hebrew] doctrines, but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them” (*Complete Works* 614).

369 Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 5.14.97.7) paraphrases Aristobulus’s assertion that “there were abundant books to show that the Peripatetic philosophy was derived from the law of Moses and from the other prophets” (*ANF* 2:467).

consents, and adds his Conversation with the *Phœnician Priests*.³⁷⁰ *Ambrose* tells us, That *Pythagoras* not only Derived his Philosophy from the *Jewes*, but also was originally one of that Nation. *Clemens* calls *Plato*, τον ἐξ Εβραίων φιλοσοφον, *Ex Hebraeis Philosophum*.³⁷¹ And he saies, That the Greek Philosophers were *Theeves*, who stole all the Good they had, out of *Moses*, & the *Prophets*, and never acknowledged it. *Ambrose* also saies, That *Plato* went into *Egypt*, that he might learn the *Mosaic* Actions and Oracles.³⁷² *Pythagoras* lived about the Time (as *Austin* observes,) when the *Jewes* returned from their Captivity.³⁷³ Some have thought, That *Nazaratus*, (or, *Zabratus*) the Assyrian Tutor of *Pythagoras*, was no other than our Prophet *Ezekiel*.³⁷⁴ Be sure, when *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*, there were *Jewes* enough there; yea, our Prophet *Jeremiah*, or at least the fresh Memory of him, was then living among them. It is not likely, That he who Travelled upon Enquiries would enquire nothing of these. *Austin* also tells us, That *Socrates*, & by Consequence *Plato*, lived after *Ezra*.³⁷⁵ They both of them conversed with the *Jewes* in *Egypt*; whereof tis evident from the *Forty fourth* Chapter of *Jeremiah*, that Multitudes had been settled there, time out of Mind. And we may observe by the way, That the Communication between the *Jewes* & the *Egyptians*, was not so shutt up, as *Marsham* & Company, would have us to imagine. In fine, what saies *Tertullian*? *Quis Poetarum, quis Sophistarum, qui non omninò de Prophetarum Fonte potaverit? Inde igitur Philosophi sitim ingenij sui rigaverunt*.³⁷⁶

370 Selden (*De Iure Naturali & Gentium* [1640], lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 15) cites Theodoretus's *Graecum affectionum curatio* (1.15–16) to affirm that Pythagoras, to be initiated into the Egyptian mysteries, underwent circumcision. The same affirmation appears in Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae philosophorum* 8.2. lines 9–10), Iamblichus (*De vita Pythagorica* 3.14), and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.15), in *ANF* (2:315).

371 Witsius (273). Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.1.10.2): ἐκ Εβραίων φιλόσοφος “the philosopher [who learned] from the Hebrews” (*ANF* 2:301). In his letter to Irenaeus (*Letter XXVIII*. A.D. 387) St. Ambrosius, bishop of Milan (c. 340–97), relates that Pythagoras was greatly influenced by the wisdom of the Hebrew Bible (*Letters of St. Ambrose*, XXVIII.1, p. 196).

372 St. Ambrose, *Sermo XVIII.4* [PL 016. 1453].

373 St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (18.37), in *NPNFi* (2:382).

374 Witsius (274); John Selden, in his *De Iure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 18; and *De Diis Syris Syntagma* (1617), synt. 2, cap. 1, pp. 119–20, calls him Zabratus. Porphyrius (*Vita Pythagorae* 12, lines 15–11) mentions Zaratus, teacher of Porphyrius in Babylon. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.15.70, line 2) says that according to [Cornelius] Alexander's *On the Pythagorean Symbols* [*Fragmenta* 138a, line 2] “Pythagoras was a pupil of Nazaratus [Nazaratus] the Assyrian [and that] (some think he is Ezekiel; but he is not, as will afterwards be shown), and he [Alexander] will have it that in addition to these, Pythagoras was a hearer of the Galatae and the Brahmins” (*ANF* 2:316). Archbishop James Ussher, in his *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650), p. 151, is certainly one among those who identify this Nazaratus as the prophet Ezekiel. And if Pierre-Daniel Huet be allowed to have the final say on this matter, then this Zabratus, Na-Zaratus, or Zaratus was none other than the famous Zarathustra of the Persians, also known as Zoroaster (*Demonstratio Evangelica* [1690], prop. IV, p. 90B). Well, there it is.

375 See St. Augustine (*City of God* 8.2–4), in *NPNFi* (2:145–47).

376 The firebrands are John Marsham, in his *Chronicus Canon Aegytiacus* (1672), and John Spencer, in his *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), along with those already mentioned (above).

[77r] | But the Testimonies of the *Pagans* themselves, concerning themselves, one would think, should end the Matter. *Hermippus*, a most ancient Writer of the Life of *Pythagoras*, affirms, That he received many things from the *Jewes*, which he translated into his *Philosophy*.³⁷⁷ Yea, elsewhere he ascribes the whole *Philosophy* of *Pythagoras*, to a *Jewish* Original; you find the Passage quoted by *Origen* against *Celsus*.³⁷⁸ And *Porphyrie* saies, That *Pythagoras* obtained the principal Part of what Wisdome he had, by repairing to the *Hebrewes* & the *Chaldees*.³⁷⁹ With *Numenius* the *Pythagorean* also *Plato* is no more than Μωσῆς Ἀττικίζων, *Moses* expressing himself in the Language of *Athens*; He saies, That what *Plato* writes about *God*, and the *World*, he *stole* from the *Mosaic* Writings.³⁸⁰ And *Clearchus* the *Peripatetic*, affirms, That he himself knew the *Jew*, that was *Aristotles* Companion and Instructor.³⁸¹ *Origen* also mentions one *Hecataeus* and Historian, & an *Abderite* who wrote an History of the *Jewes*, with such Applause of their Wisdome, that *Herennius Philo* suspects him to have been hired by the *Jewes* to write in their favour.³⁸² The Force of all these Testimonies, is not enervated, by one flourish of *Lactantius*, to the Contrary.³⁸³ For besides these Testimonies, we

Tertullian's rhetorical question (*Apology*, ch. 47) sums it all up: "What poet or sophist has not drunk at the fountain of the prophets? Thence, accordingly, the philosophers watered their arid minds" (*ANF* 3:51).

377 Witsius (274–75). The Peripatetic philosopher Hermippus Smyrnaeus (3rd c. BCE), in a fragment (*Fragmenta* 22, lines 1–11), extant in Josephus Flavius (*Adversus Apionem* 1.22.163), reveals in his history of Pythagoras (bk. 1) that the great philosopher confessed to having incorporated into his philosophy "the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians." Josephus proudly adds, "it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy" (*Against Apion* 1.22.614).

378 Origenes (*Contra Celsus* 1.15, lines 8–10) discloses that "It is said . . . that Hermippus has recorded in his first book, *On Lawgivers*, that it was from the Jewish people that Pythagoras derived the philosophy which he introduced among the Greeks" (*Against Celsus* 1.15), in *ANF* (4:402).

379 Porphyrius (*Vita Pythagorae*, sec. 12, lines 5–10).

380 In an extant fragment in Eusebius Pamphilus, the Neopythagorean Numenius declares, "Τι γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων, or, "For what is Plato, but Moses speaking in Attic Greek?" And in the same anthological collection, the Hellenist-Jewish philosopher Aristobulus – as quoted by Clement of Alexandria and excerpted by Eusebius – admits that Plato and Pythagoras "transferred many of our [Hebrew] precepts into his own system of doctrines" – all in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.6.411a).

381 According to Clement Alexandrinus – as quoted by Eusebius – "Clearchus the Peripatetic says that he knew a Jew who associated with Aristotle" (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.6.410b).

382 Origenes (*Against Celsus* 1.15) says that "there is extant a work by the historian Hecataeus [of Abdera], treating of the Jews, in which so high a character is bestowed upon that nation for its learning, that Herennius Philo [Philo Byblus], in his treatise on the Jews, has doubts in the first place, whether it is really the composition of the historian [Hecataeus] . . . [or derived from] the plausible nature of the Jewish history" (*ANF* 4:402–3).

383 Throwing a monkey wrench into this intricately woven net, Lactantius wonders that when Pythagoras and subsequently Plato quested for truth even among "the Egyptians, and Magi, and Persians," they did not approach the Jews only, in whose possession alone it [truth] then was, and to whom they might have gone more easily[?]." Answering his own question,

have the Remarkable Agreement between the *Mosaical* and the *Pythagorean* Præcepts, to confirm what is asserted in them.³⁸⁴

The Seventh Assertion.

The Design of God, in Instituting the Ceremonies observed by the *Israelites*, was not, that He might indulge a Stiff-necked People, in some Conformity, to the Customes of their Neighbours, from which it was not easy to dissuade them: [According to the Political Maxim, *Arcanum Novi Status, Imago Antiqui*.]³⁸⁵ In such a Vain Imagination, poor Mortals go to make the Blessed *God altogether such an one as themselves*. No, The whole Constitution of the Divine Worship, even in the smallest Circumstances of it, præscribed unto the *Israelites*, was given from Heaven, to *Moses* in the Mount; and nothing was left unto meer Humane Determination; all was directed, required, imposed, with this as a sufficient Reason for all, *I am JEHOVAH*. What can be more positive, than these Words of the Great God? Deut. 12.30. 31, 32. *Take heed, That thou enquire not after their Gods, saying, How did these Nations serve their Gods? Even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God. What thing soever I command you, observe to do it; Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.* Compare, Lev. 18.2, 3, 4.³⁸⁶ Yea, tis well done of *Maimonides*, to maintain, That many *Lawes* were given to the *Israelites*, for which tis not easy to find any Reason but this; Their *Contrariety* to the Wayes of the old *Egyptians*, and *Zabians*, and *Canaanites*.³⁸⁷ And *Abenophius*,

Lactantius adds, “But I think that they were turned away from them [Jews] by divine providence, that they [Pythagoras and Plato] might not know the truth, because it was not yet permitted for the religion of the true God and righteousness to become known to men of other nations” (*Divine Institutes* 4.2), in *ANF* (7:102).

³⁸⁴ Witsius (276–77).

³⁸⁵ Mather and Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 282) here again single out John Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. 1, caps. 1–12, fols. 519–638, who compares the religious ceremonies of the pagan nations, especially those of Egypt, with the ones among the *Israelites*, and postulates that *Moses* and the priests adapted the rites of the pagans to their own purposes (see esp. lib. 2: “In quo de Legibus Mosaicis, quibus Zabiorum Ritus occasionem dedere, fusè differitur,” pp. 235–470). Be that as it may, the political maxim (attributed to *Tacitus*) suggests that “the Secret of setting up a New Government is to retain the Image of the Old.” Put in another way, for innovations to be acceptable to the *hoi polloi*, they have to have the appearance of the old.

³⁸⁶ Witsius (283–84).

³⁸⁷ *Maimonides*, מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 29, pp. 424–25. In short, Mather argues that *Moses* established a “counter-religion,” which turned certain rites of the idolatrous *Zabians* and *Canaanites* upside down – not by outlawing them per se, but by redirecting them to the service of the true God. As *Maimonides* put it, God in His wisdom employed a “gracious ruse,” knowing that human nature cannot change on a sudden. The Lord therefore did not prescribe “the rejection, abandonment, and abolition of all these kinds of [pagan] worships,” but allowed them to remain and “transferred them from created or imaginary and unreal things to His own name ... commanding us to practice them with regard to Him.” Consequently, “through this divine ruse it came about that the memory of idolatry was effaced and that the grandest and true foundation of our belief [that God is

quoted by Kircher, carries the Matter so far, as to say, *Tota lex opponitur Erroribus Antiquorum*.³⁸⁸

Indeed, the best Way of Confuting the *False Causes* of the *Mosaic Institutions*, will be by assigning the *True Causes* of them.

And, first, it was very agreeable unto the Condition of that People, to hold them under so severe a *Servitude*, as was in the Rites of *Moses* imposed upon them. God, by such *Worldly Elements*, very agreeably begun His Discipline upon the Minds of a People, sunk into the Spirit of this World. The *Yoke* was many Ways useful to them; & it served also as a *Wall*, or a *Tower*, including this Peculiar People, with a Separation from the other Nations of the World. Yea, there was a sort of *Enmity* thereby produced; the *Jewes* who had the Lawes of Heaven, despised the *Gentiles* who were enslaved unto the *Divel*: And the *Gentiles* look'd with Contempt and Hatred on the Practices of the *Jewes*; as in the Writings of *Diodorus*, & of *Tacitus*, you will find sufficient Expressions of it.³⁸⁹ The Apostle tells us, That the Lawes of the *Israelites*, were to make a Distance between them & the rest of the World; but *Marsham* and *Spencer* and our Modern Gentlemen, tell us, The Lawes were so accommodated as to make a Resemblance & a Communion between them. I suppose, we are not at a Loss now, which of these we are to believe!³⁹⁰

One] ... was firmly established, while at the same time the souls had no feeling or repugnance and were not repelled because of the abolition of modes of worship to which they were accustomed (*Guide* 3.32.526, 527). On the Mosaic "counter-religion," see especially J. Assmann's *Moses the Egyptian* (55–90), F. Parente's "Spencer, Maimonides" (277–304), and R. Smolinski's "Eager Imitators" (303–10).

388 Witsius (285) translates into Latin a passage from Abenophius's Arabic *De Mysteriis Egyptiorum*, as quoted in Athanasius Kircher's *Edipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), syntag. I, cap. 4, p. 249. The passage reads, "The whole Law is opposed to the errors of the ancients." If Daniel Stolzenberg is correct, then Abenophius, aka. "Abenephius Arabs," aka. "Rabbi Barachias Nephi of Babylon," is probably a fictive name devised by Kircher to establish the authorship of an obscure Arabic text he was long in translating (Stolzenberg's *Egyptian Oedipus*, pp. 71–88).

389 Witsius (288). Forms of anti-Semitism already existed in ancient times, if Diodorus Siculus' fragmentary account in *Bibliotheka* (34/35.1.1–2) is a trustworthy report: The councilors of Antiochus VII Evergetes advised him that when laying siege to Jerusalem, he should "wipe out completely the race of Jews, since they alone of all nations avoided dealings with any other people and looked upon all men as their enemies." So the Roman historian Tacitus, in his *Historia* (5.4.1–20; 5.4.5.1): "Moses introduced new religious practices, quite opposed to those of all other religions. The Jews regard as profane all that we hold sacred; on the other hand, they permit all that we abhor. They dedicated, in a shrine, a statue of that creature whose guidance enabled them to put an end of their wandering and thirst, sacrificing a ram, apparently in derision of Ammon. They likewise offer the ox, because the Egyptians worship Apis. They abstain from pork, in recollection of the plague, for the scab to which this animal is subject once afflicted them. ... the other customs of the Jews are base and abominable, and owe their persistence to their depravity."

390 Witsius (lib. 3, cap. 15, sec. 4, p. 294).

We must add, That in the *Mosaic Rites*, there were admirable Figures of Evangelical & Coelestial Mysteries. But is it likely, that the Lord would go to *Hell*, to borrow from thence the Figures?

| What tho' some of the *Christian Fathers*, have lett fall unwary Passages, that countenance the sinful Assertion, which we have been all this while refuting? *Spencer* himself confesses, That the Words of *Chrysostom* are too lavish. Nor is their *Authority* of much Weight in such a Matter, if there be not good *Reason* to support it, & enforce it.³⁹¹ *Spencer* also brings these into the field against us, which rather are on our Side; *Maimonides* especially, who saies, *Horum omnium una et eadem est Intentio, videlicet, Ne colamus ipsum eo modo quo Idololatæ fictitia sua Numina colere solebant.*³⁹² [77v]

Origen against *Celsus*, affirms, That the *Rites* of the *Jewes*, were acceptable to them, on the *Score* of their *Contrariety to an Impure and Impious World*; and that there was in them, *A Representation of the Heavenly City.*³⁹³ And if *Grotius* have said any thing elsewhere, that may seem to favour the Opinion, That the *Rites* of the *Jewes* were borrowed from the Pagans, & *corrected*, he does in his Book, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, overthrow it all.³⁹⁴

But so much for this Noble Subject. The wretched Assertion, That the Lawes of *Israel*, were derived from, & conformed to, the Manners of the *Gentiles*; An Assertion maintained with such pompous Pretence of Reading and Learning, by the luxuriant Pens of some in our Dayes; It ha's been but a *Fine*, and perhaps the *Last*, Essay of Satan, to introduce Irreligion into the World, & countenance the growing Infidelity of the Age. I desire my Reader, to join with me, in giving Thanks to Heaven, for Inspiring & Assisting, such rare Persons as our WITSIUS, to refell that wicked Assertion. And I count myself happy, That

391 I have been unable to locate Spencer's "confession."

392 Witsius (296). Maimonides *Libor מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), lib. 3, cap. 45, p. 477, says, "In all this there is one and the same purpose, namely, that we should not worship God in the form of the particular cults practiced by idol worshippers" (adapted from *Guide* 3.45.578).

393 Witsius (297). Origenes, *Contra Celsum* (5.42, lines 11–16).

394 Witsius (299). Hugo Grotius, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ* (1.15), in *Opera* (3:9), gives credit to the truth of Moses and his writings because ancient tradition acknowledge him as God's greatest prophet and because the Lawgiver humbly confessed his own errors: "All which plainly show, that he had no occasion to falsify his History; as the Style of it further evinces, it being free from that Varnish and Colour, which uses to give Credit to Romances; and is very natural and easy, and agreeably to the Matter of which it treats. Moreover, another Argument for the undoubted Antiquity of *Moses'* Writings, which no other Writings can pretend to, is this; That the *Greeks* (from whom all other Nations derived their Learning) own, that they had their Letters from others; which Letters of theirs, have the same Order, Name and Shape, as the *Syriack* or *Hebrew*: And further still, the most antient *Attick* Laws, from whence the *Roman* were afterwards taken, owe their Original to the Law of Moses" (*Truth of the Christian Religion* [1719], pp. 25–26).

his ÆGYPTIACA have been by the good Providence of Heaven brought into my Hands; from whence I have collected the Things, which, thus becoming AMERICANA, I have now putt into the Hands of my Readers.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ Here, then, ends Mather's lengthy abstract of Witsius's oft-reprinted refutation *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ. Sive de Ægyptiacorum sacrorum cum Hebraicis collatione libri tres* (1683, 1696), a three-hundred-page quarto, which Mather reduces to roughly twenty-five double-columned folios. In his "Note Book of Authors" (Lev. ch. 27), Mather lists what he deems to be among the most important authors and works to be consulted on Leviticus: Targums Jonathan ben Uzziel and Hierosolymitanum – both in the fourth volume of Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57), Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1669–76), St. Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, in *Opera Omnia*. Tomi 4 (1569); Lyranus, *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria ... Et postilla Nicolai Lyrani*. Tomi 6. (1617); Franciscus Vatablus's *Biblia Sacra, cum Duplici Translatione* (1584); John Calvin's *Opera Omnia* (1671); Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1626–27); John Jackson's *Index Biblicus* (1668); Andrew Willet's *Hexapla in Leviticum That is, A Six-Fold Commentarie upon the Third Booke of Moses, called Leviticus* (1631); Gervase Babington's *The Workes ... Containing Comfortable Notes upon The Five Bookes of Moses* (1615), by Gervase Babington (1549/50–1610), Elizabethan theologian, bishop of Worcester, member of the Hampton Court Conference and opponent of the Puritan cause. See J. S. Macauley's biographical essay, "Babington, Gervase (1549/50–1610), (*ODNB*); Matthew Henry's *An Exposition Of the Five Books of Moses* (1707); and Manasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator, sive De convenientia locorum S. Scripturae* (1632).

Illustrations of
Scripture
by
rev. Cotton Mather, D.D.
6 vols.¹

¹ Not in Mather's hand: This leaf is pasted on the inside cardboard cover (verso), which was added during the final binding process. The MS paper bears the watermark of C. Burbank 1804. See my discussion in "Note on the Text" (*BA* 1:191–96).

[1r] |

Illustrations
upon the Book of
Numbers.

[1v] | [blank]

Q. Some Account of the Method used by the Ancient *Hebrews*, in Computing their *Months* and *Years*, may be very agreeably introduced here? v. 1.

A. In all *Civil Matters*, the *Hebrews* did, like the other Nations, begin their Year about the *Autumnal Equinox*; and so they did their *Sabbatical Years* and *Jubilees*. But their Deliverance out of *Egypt* happening about the *Vernal Equinox*, they did from thence begin their *Ecclesiastical Year*, & from thence they did calculate their *Festivals*.²

But the *Form* of the *Year* they made Use of, was, as Dr. *Prideaux*, after many others, observes, very Inartificial.³ It was made up of *Lunar Months*, which were sett out by the Appearance of the *Moon*. When they saw their *New Moon*, then they began their Months, which sometimes consisted of 29 Days, and sometimes of 30, according as the *New Moon* did appear sooner or later. The Synodical Course of the *Moon*, (that is, from New Moon to New Moon) being 29 Days and an half, the Half-Day which a Month of 29 Days fell short of it, was made up with adding it unto the Next Month, which made it consist of 30 Days; and so their Month consisted of 29 Days, and of 30 Days alternately. None of them had fewer than 29 Days; and therefore they never looked for the *New Moon* before the Night following the 29th Day; and if they then saw

1 A modern synopsis of the main historical, textual, and interpretive issues of the fourth book of Moses is provided in B. S. Childs's *Introduction* (1979), pp. 190–201. See also W. H. C. Propp's *Anchor Bible Exodus* (1998).

2 The following paragraphs are extracted from the “Preface” of Humphrey Prideaux's popular *Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews*, Second Edition (1716), vol. 1, part 1, preface, pp. v–i. This multivolume work went through at least ten editions in the eighteenth century and was reprinted until the middle of the nineteenth century.

3 Prideaux (Preface, p. v) benefited from the chronological calculations of several of his predecessors, most significantly from those of the Dutch scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the French Jesuit Dionysius Petavius (1583–1652), and the learned Anglican Hebraist John Selden (1584–1654). In an effort to align the differing chronologies employed by the ancients with those used in the Hebrew Bible, Scaliger collated the various lunar, solar, or lunisolar calendars in use among the peoples of the Fertile Crescent, using as his fixed point the astronomical calculations of the First Olympiad (776 BCE) and Claudius Ptolemy's astronomical treatise *Amalgest* (2nd c. CE). For the present purpose, see Scaliger's *Opus De Emendatione Temporum* [1583] (1629), lib. 2: “De Anno Lunari,” pp. 64–187. Dionysius Petavius, Scaliger's colleague, published his *De Doctrina Temporum Divisum in Partes Duas* (1627), introduced AD 1 as a fixed date for Christ's birth, and established the concepts of AD and BC as a means of ordering historical events before and after Christ's birth. See esp. tom. 1, lib. 2: “De Anno Lunari,” pp. 89–250. John Selden – a favorite in *Mather's Biblia Americana* – published a work on the civil, i.e., solar-luni, calendars in use among the ancient Israelites, Greeks, and Near-Eastern peoples, titled *De Anno Civili Veterum Judaeorum et de Macedonum et Asianorum Anno Solari* (1683). See also A. T. Grafton's “Joseph Scaliger and Historical Chronology,” P. Rossi's *Dark Abyss of Time* (137–67), and J. Evans's *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (1998).

it, the next Day was the First Day of the following Month. Neither had they any of their Months more than 30 Days; and therefore they never look'd for the New Moon after the Night following of the Thirtieth Day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded, that the Appearance was obstructed by the Clouds, and without any further Expectation made the Next Day to be the First Day of the Month ensuing. And of *Twelve* such *Lunar Months* their *Common Year* consisted. But the *Twelve Lunar Months* falling short *Eleven Days* of the *Solar Year*, every one of those common Years began *Eleven Days* sooner than the former; which in Thirty Three Years time would carry back the Beginning of the Year thro' all the Four Seasons, to the same Point again; and gett a *Whole Year* from the *Solar Reckoning*, as it is now done in *Turkey*.⁴ For the Remedying of this, their Usage was, that sometimes in the *Third Year*, and sometimes in the *Second*, they cast in *another Month*, and made their Year to consist of *Thirteen Months*; whereby they constantly reduced their *Lunar Year*, as far as this Intercalation could effect it, unto that of the *Sun*; and they never suffered the one, for any more than a Month, at any time to vary from the other; And unto this they were forced, for the sake of their Festivals. Their *Passeover*, the First Day whereof was always fixed unto the middle | of the Month *Nisan*, being to be celebrated, by their Eating of the *Pascal Lamb*, and the Offering up of the *Wave-Sheaf*, as the *First-Fruits* of their *Barly-Harvest*; And their *Pentecost*, which was kept the *Fiftieth Day* after the *Sixteenth* of *Nisan*, when the *Wave-Sheaf* had been offered; being to be celebrated, by the Offering of Two *Wave-Loaves*, as the *First-Fruits* of their *Wheat-Harvest*; And their *Feast of Tabernacles*, which was always begun on the *Fifteenth* of *Tisri*, being fixed unto the Time of their Gathering in all the Fruits of the Earth; Hence, the *Passeover* could not be observed, before the *Lambs* were grown fitt for to be eaten; and the *Barly* fitt for to be reaped; Nor the *Pentecost*, until the *Wheat* was ripe; Nor the *Feast of Tabernacles*, until the Ingathering, of the Vineyard and Olive-Yard were over. And therefore, these *Festivals* being fixed unto such *Sett-Seasons* of the Year, the making of the *Intercalation* was necessary, for the keeping of them, within a Month sooner or later to them. The Rule for doing it was this:⁵ Whenever according to the Course of the common Year, they foresaw the Fifteenth Day of *Nisan* (which was the First Day of *Unleavened Bread*, and the First Day of the *Paschal Solemnity*) would happen to fall before

4 Prideaux (Preface, pp. v–i). Mather's erroneous "now down *Turkey*" emended for "now done in *Turkey*."

5 Prideaux (Preface, pp. vii, xii). The complexity of establishing the "New Year" among the ancient Hebrews can be seen in the Mishnah, tractate Rosh Ha-Shannah (1.1): There are four 'New Year' days: on the 1st of Nisan is the New Year for kings and feasts; on the 1st of Elul is the New Year of the Tithe of Cattle (R. Eleazar and R. Simeon say: The 1st of Tishri); on the 1st of Tishri is the New Year for [the reckoning of] the years [of foreign kings], of the years of Release and Jubilee years, for the planting [of trees] and for vegetables; and the 1st of Shebat is the New Year for [fruit-]trees (so the School of Shammai; and the School of Hillel say: on the 15th thereof)," in *The Mishnah* (188).

the Day of their *Vernal Equinox*, then they Intercalated a Month, and the *Paschal Solemnity* was thereby carried on a Month farther into the Year, and all the other Festivals with it. For, according as the *Paschal Festival* was fixed, so were all the rest. Here also tis to be observed by the way, That the *Barly-Harvest* was before the *Wheat-Harvest*, in *Judæa*, as it was likewise in *Egypt*. [See *Exod. IX. 31, 32.*]⁶

The Hebrew Months were as followeth:

1. <i>Nisan.</i>	March / April.
2. <i>Ijar.</i>	April / May.
3. <i>Sivan.</i>	May, / June.
4. <i>Tamuz.</i>	June / July.
5. <i>Ab.</i>	July / August.
6. <i>Elul.</i>	August / September.
7. <i>Tisri.</i>	September / October.
8. <i>Marchesvan.</i>	October / November.
9. <i>Cisleu.</i>	November / December.
10. <i>Tebeth.</i>	December / January.
11. <i>Shebat.</i>	January / February.
12. <i>Adar.</i>	February / March.

In their Intercalated Years, here was another Month, which they called, *Ve-adar*, or, The Second *Adar*; and then they had Thirteen Months in their Year.⁷

| But this Inartificial Way, of their forming their Months and their Years, was [3r] in Use among them, only while they lived in their own Land; and there might easily receive Notice of what was ordained in this Matter, by those who had the Care and Ordering of it. For when they became dispersed through all Nations, they were forced to make Use of Cycles, and Astronomical Calculations, for the fixing of their *New Moons*, and *Intercalations*, and the Times of their Feasts, and Fasts, and other Observances; that so they might every where be uniform in them. The first *Cycle* they used for this Purpose, was that of *Eighty Four Years*; By which, as *Bucherius* has instructed us, they fixed the *Paschal Festival*, and the whole Year besides. From them, the *Primitive Christians* borrowed the Use of it, and for some of the First Centuries, fixed their *Easter* every Year according to it. But after some time, this being found faulty, *Meto's Cycle* of Nineteen Years, was after the Council of *Nice*, brought into Use by them for this Purpose instead of the other. And the *Jews* following their Exemple, almost about the same time, came into the same Usage also; and upon this Cycle is founded the present Form of their Year.⁸

⁶ Prideaux (Preface, pp. vi–ii).

⁷ Prideaux (Preface, p. viii).

⁸ Prideaux (Preface, p. ix) refers to *Tractatus De Antiquo Paschali Judaeorum Cyclo*, in *De*

The First, who began to work it into this Shape, was R. *Samuel*, Rector of the Jewish School, at *Sora* in *Mesopotamia*. R. *Adda*, who was much of an *Astronomer*, pursued the Scheme.⁹ After him, R. *Hillel*, about the Year of our Lord, 360, brought it unto that Perfection, in which now it is; And being the *Nasi*, or *Prince* of their *Sanhedrim*, he gave it the Authority of a Sanction; and by Vertue thereof it ha's been ever since observed, by them, and they say, tis always to be observed, unto the Coming of the *Messiah*.¹⁰

According to this Form, within the Compass of the said Cycle of *Nineteen Years*, there are *seven Intercalated Years* consisting of Thirteen Months, and *Twelve Common Years* consisting of Twelve Months apeece. Their *Intercalated Years* are, the *Third*, the *Sixth*, the *Eighth*, the *Eleventh*, the *Fourteenth*, the *Seventeenth*, and the *Nineteenth* of that *Cycle*. When one Round of the *Cycle* is over, they begin another; and so constantly according to it, fix their *New Moons*, (at

Doctrina Temporum Commentarius (1634), pp. 315–432, by Aegidius Bucherius Atrebatius, aka. Gilles Bouchier (1576–1665), a Belgian Jesuit and chronologer. The Greek mathematician and astronomer Meton Atheniensis (fl. 450 BCE) discovered that a cycle of 235 synodic (lunar) months almost completely equals 19 years (*EB*). It became the basis of the lunisolar Attic calendar (432 BCE) and is believed to have been incorporated into the Hebrew calendar by R. Hillel the Nasi (c. 330–65 CE), prince (or president) of the Sanhedrin, as a means to fix the observation of the Passover (*EJ*). The Council of Nicea (325 CE) followed suit and adopted the Metonic cycle as a means to fix the date of Easter on the first Sunday after the first full moon of the Vernal Equinox, which in the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches was fixed as March 21 in the Julian, and April 3 in the Gregorian Calendars (*EB*). According to St. Ambrosius of Milan's "Epistle XXIII" to the bishops of Aemilia (A. D. 386), the Council of Nicea fixed "the day of the celebration of Passover" based on "a plan for nineteen years with the aid of the most skillful calculators, and constituted a sort of cycle to serve as a pattern for subsequent years. This cycle they called the nineteen years' cycle, their aim being that we should not waver in uncertain and ungrounded opinions on such a celebration, but ascertain the true method and so ensure such concurrence of the affections of all, that the sacrifice for the Lord's Resurrection should be offered everywhere on the same night" (*The Letters* 166–67). The first edition of the King James Version (1611) printed in its preface a perpetual calendar "To finde Easter for ever."

9 Rav Samuel (d. 250 CE) was a distinguished Babylonian amora, astronomer, and preceptor at the celebrated academy of Sora (aka. Matha Mahasia), which was founded by the renowned Rav Abba Arekka (d. 243 CE). According to tradition, Rav Samuel "fixed the solar year at 365 days and 6 hours," yet his equally famous colleague and fellow astronomer Rav Ad[d]a Bar Ahaba (b. 183 CE) improved upon Rav Samuel's calculations by computing "the solar year at 365 days, 5 hours, '997 [milli minutes] and '048 [moments]," in "Ada" (*BD* 1:266–67). See also J. W. Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova* (1856), pp. 156–58. Maimonides mentions this calculation in *Hilchot Kiddush HaChodesh* (9.2), in *Mishneh Torah* 9.2:500).

10 Prideaux's primary source (Preface, pp. ix–) for the discussion of the Hebrew Calendar as fixed by Rabbis Hillel Ha-Nazi, Samuel, and Adda is *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum* (1631), Exercit. I, cap. 3, pp. 31–54, by Joannes Morinus, aka. Jean Morin (1591–1659), a notable French biblical scholar and theologian. See also R. David Ganz, צמח דוד [Zemach David] *Chronologia Sacra-Profana. A mundi conditu ad annum M. 5352 vel Christi 1592, dicta צמח דוד Germen Davidis* (1644), pp. 83–84, 112, 116–17, 280–81. For a useful extract of Morinus's sources, see "Tractatus de Temporibus et Festis Diebus Hebraeorum," pars 1, cap. 8, p. cccxcix–cxccc [429–30], in Blasius Ugolini's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum* (1744).

which all their Months begin,) and all their Feasts and Fasts for every Year. This Form of their Year, is well enough contrived; and as Dr. *Prideaux* observes, *It may be reckoned, the greatest Peece of Art and Ingenuity, that is to be found among that People.*¹¹

| *Maimonides* Tract entituled, *Kiddush Hakkodesh*, translated by *Du Veil*, under the Title, *De Consecratione Calendarum*, gives a fuller Account of it.¹² It is a Remark justly added by Dr. *Prideaux*, That since the Jewish Kalender was fixed by R. *Hillel*, Tables may be made, which may point out unto which Day in that *Kalender*, every Day in the *Julian Year* shall answer.¹³ But this cannot be done, for the Time that went before. Nor, when we find the Day of any *Jewish Month* mentioned in the *Sacred Scriptures*, can we reduce it exactly to its Time in the *Julian Year*, or there fix it any Nearer, than within the Compass of a *Month*, sooner or later.¹⁴ [3v]

Kepler indeed holds, That the *Jewish Year* was a *Solar Year*, consisting of *Twelve Months*, of *Thirty Days* each, and an Addition of Five Days after the last of them. And our *Usher* and *Lydiat*, go into that Opinion. Such a Year was in Use among the *Chaldeans*, from *Abraham* descended; and among the *Egyptians*, with whom the *Israelites* lived. The Time of the *Flood* is manifestly constituted by it, in the Book of *Genesis*; where an 150 Days are made equal to 5 Months; which is 30 days for a Month. But after the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt*, the *Mosaic Law* obliged them to Months purely *Lunar*; and so there must be an *Inter-calary Month* to reduce the Year unto the *Solar Form*.¹⁵

11 *Prideaux* (Preface, p. x).

12 *Maimonides's Kiddush Hachodesh* (i. e., *The Sanctification of the New Moon*), was translated by Ludovicus de Compiègne de Veil, a French Jewish converso to Christianity (1655), who translated into Latin several tractates of *Maimonides's* commentaries, and later became librarian to Charles II in England (*CBTEL*). Mather here refers to *Ex Rabbi Moses Majemonidae opera, quod Secunda Lex, Sive Manus Fortis inscribitur Tractatus de Consecratione Calendarum, & de Ratione Intercalandi* (1669). See also John Selden's *De Anno Civili Veterum Judaeorum* (1663), cap. 7, pp. 35–45.

13 I. e. R. *Hillel* the *Nasi* (see note above).

14 *Prideaux* (Preface, p. x).

15 *Prideaux* (Preface, pp. xi–ii) praises both Archbishop James *Ussher's Chronologia Sacra* (1660), Thomas *Lydiat's Praelectio Astronomica De Natura Coeli & Conditionibus Elementorum* (1605), and *Lydiat's* posthumously published *Emendatio Temporum* (1654) and *Canones Chronologici* (1675). A now almost forgotten English astronomer and chronologer, Thomas *Lydiat* (1572–1646) shared “the developing belief in a fluid universe, and, like [the German astronomer *Johannes Kepler*] [(1571–1630)], he abandoned the established astronomical principle of circularity [of the planetary orbits] in the face of empirical observation. He was one of the first to state that the sun ‘describes a segment, not of a circle, but of an oval line’ (*Praelectio astronomica*, cap. 7, p. 64). He remained harnessed to scripture, however, arguing that creation, while fluid, was finite, being ultimately contained within a sphere surrounded by water and controlled by God,” in P. *Sherlock*, “*Lydiat, Thomas* (1572–1646)” (*ODNB*).

[4r]

Q. On that, *All that are able to go forth to War in Israel, thou and Aaron shall Number them by their Armies?* v. 3.

A. Dr. Gell moves to have the Translation mended. In the Hebrew Text, there is nothing that answers to, *Able*. And /צבא/ here signifies a *Going forth*, not to *Fighting*, but from *Egypt*. It should be read, *Every one that went forth from Egypt*. And /פקד/ which we render, to *Number*, signifies, To *Visit*, or, more properly, To *Muster*; An *Armilustrium*, a Viewing of Souldiers, & Weapons, & Harness.¹⁶

2930.

Q. What is there observable, in the *Numbers* of the People of *Israel*? v. 46.

A. Altho' the Great God is not bound unto *Numbers*, yett He ha's admirably limited & signalized some *Numbers* in His Dealings with His People. There are Singular and surprizing *Speculations*, wherewith one might entertain you, on this admirable Subject. But I shall at present forbear. However, No doubt, you observe That when the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt*, there was taken an Account of their *Numbers*; and all the Men above twenty Years of Age, were found 603 550. [See *Exod.* 38.26.] In this Account the *Levites*, (whose *Numbers* were somewhat Remarkable 22 000) were comprehended. Well, now the best Part of a Year after this, the *Israelites* have an Account again taken of their *Numbers*, in which Time tis much if Mortality had not been doing its Part in several Instances & Accidents. From the Second Account, the *Levites* are wholly left out: And yett the *Numbers* proved præcisely the same that they were before; 603 550. Behold the Proportion observed by God, in the Multiplication of His People.¹⁷

All I will add is, That the *Number* of the *Elect*, is determined by God; it can have no *Addition* or *Subtraction* befalling of it. But I will proceed no further in the Contemplation.

¹⁶ Mather's vademecum is Robert Gell's *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 349d, 350a (on Numb. 1:3). In his linguistic battle of the books, Gell enlists as his hosts Vatablus's *Biblia Sacra* (Salamanca, 1584), the Tigurine (i. e., Zurich) *Biblia Sacrosancta* (Tiguri, 1543), Tremellius's *Testamenti Biblia Sacra* (Londini, 1593), and Piscator's scholia *Commentatorium in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti* (Herbonae Nassoviorum, 1643–1646).

¹⁷ Mather's annotation echoes the conflicting interpretations of Gersonides and Abarbanel, who argue that "The fact that the two census totals are exactly the same demonstrates that the Levites were not counted during the first census either (Gersonides). The Levites were indeed counted in the first census, since they had not yet been chosen from among the people; that is why the total for the second census does not record the natural growth of the population" (Abarbanel), in *JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* (4:9). For a modern account of how the numbers do add up in Numb. 1:46, see C.J. Humphrey's illuminating article, "The Numbers in the Exodus from Egypt."

3666.

Q. But are you sure, that the *Levites* were comprehended, in the first Numeration of the *Israelites*, which was made *Seven Months* ago, in order to their Taxation for the *Tabernacle*? [v. 45, 46.]

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, They were *not*; but that the *Levites* | were the Persons, [4v] who took the Account of the rest, & had before then consecrated themselves unto the Lord; whereupon, he observes it, as a thing observable, That not one Man should among all that mighty People Dy, for *Seven Months* together. For the Man then stoned for Blasphemy, was not an *Israelite*, by the side of his Father. *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, belonged not unto the Tribes that were numbred.¹⁸

3667.

Q. The Exemption of the *Levites*, from the Numbers of the People; what Imitation of it, can we find among the *Gentiles*? [v. 49.]¹⁹

A. From this Exemple, Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it was, that the Heathen learn't to exempt all these who ministred unto their Gods, from all other Services; particularly, from *War*. *Strabo* notes this Custome to have been as old as *Homers* Time; For in all his Catalogue, there is no mention of any Ship, that went against *Troy*, from *Alalcomenou*; because that City was sacred unto *Minerva*, who thence is called by *Homer*, Ἀλαλκομενης Αθηνα. The same is observed by *Cesar*, of the ancient *Druids*; That they were freed, both from *War*, and from *Tribute*.²⁰

Our *Basil* challenges this Priviledge, as belonging to the Clergy, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον. According to the Ancient Law. [Ep. CCLXIX.] And *Nazianzen* does the same in many Places; particularly in his Letter to *Julianus*. [Ep. CLXVI.]²¹

¹⁸ Simon Patrick (Numb. 1:45, 46), in *A Commentary on the Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers* (1699), p. 12. Nadab and Abihu belonged to the tribe of Levi. For the one stoned for blasphemy, see Lev. 24:23.

¹⁹ Extracted from Patrick (*Numbers* 13–14).

²⁰ Strabo (*Geographica* 9.2.36) explains that Homer (*Iliad* 4.8) does not mention the Boeotian city Ἀλαλκομεναί, i. e., Alalcomenae in his “Catalogue” of places from which warriors against Troy were drawn, because – says Strabo – “the men of Alalcomenae” were deemed sacred and thus “excused from the expedition.” The Greeks deemed the city sacred because they believed the Ἀλαλκομενίς Ἀθήνα, “Alalcomenian Athena” was born there, if her ancient temple in that place is any indication thereof. According to Julius Caesar’s *The Gallic Wars* (6.13) the Druids, a priestly class among the Gauls, neither go to war nor pay taxes because their sacred office exempts them from military duties and other obligations.

²¹ One of the Cappadocian Fathers, St. Basil of Caesarea Mazaca (c. 329–379 CE) alludes to this ancient exemption in his *Epistulae* (104.1, lines 17–18) and elsewhere, as does the Archbishop of Constantinople Gregory Nazianzen in his Epistle IX, § 5, to Amphilochius, the Younger. Nazianzen is incensed that Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate (c. 331–63 CE) had abolished the tax-exempt status of the Church, which his predecessor Constantine the Great (c. 272–337 CE) had established (*NPNFii* (7:466–67). A copy of this imperial grant is reprinted in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Church History* 10.7), in *NPNFii* (1:383). Mather’s Roman numerals refer to those given in Patrick’s commentary (*Numbers* 13–14).

3668.

Q. The *Stranger* (tho' an *Israelite*) that came nigh the *Tabernacle*, to do any of the peculiar *Levitical* Offices, was to be *putt to Death*. How? v. 51.

A. The Author of *Schebet Jehudah*, saies, There was a *Golden Sword* hung up in the Gate of the *Temple*, with this Inscription, *The Stranger that comes nigh, shall be putt to Death*.²²

²² Patrick (*Numbers* 15). The Spanish historian Solomon ibn Verga, aka. Virga (c. 1460–1554) is the author of שֵׁבֶט יְהוּדָה *Shebet Yehudah*, i. e., “*The Scepter* [Staff, Rod] *of Jehudah* (c. 1550), a history of the persecution of the Jews in different countries and periods. A Spanish translation was published in Amsterdam in 1640; Georgius Gentius published his Latin translation of ibn Verga’s work under the title of *Historia Judaica, Res Judaeorum* (1651) (*JE*). Perhaps inspired by the sword of Damocles, the story of the golden sword hangs on a proverbial strand of hair in Gentius’s Latin translation of Ibn Verga’s *Shebet Yehudah* (p. 372).

2938.

Q. Wee have before us, the Tribes of *Israel*, marshalled into *Four Squadrons*. Now, you know, we have a famous Tradition, received by all the World, concerning the *Four Banners* of the Squadrons, and the *Animals* exhibited in them. *Aben-Ezra* gives us the exact Report. *Ante cessores nostri dixerunt, fuisse in Reuben vexillo Figuram Hominis, juxtà vim symbolicam mandragorarum; et in vexillo Judæ figuram Leonis; quia illum Jacob Leoni comparavit; et in vexillo Ephraim, figuram Bovis; quia dicitur, Primogeniti Bovis illius decor est ei; et in vexillo Dan, Figuram Aquile; ut similes sit Cherubinis, quos vidit Ezekiel propheta.* The like you find, in *Chizkuni*, and *Bar Nachman*, on Num. 3. And what think you now of this Tradition? v. 1.¹

¹ Mather's source for this and the following paragraph is Herman Witsius's *Ægyptiaca, et ÆKAΦΥΛION* [1682] (1696), lib. 2, cap. 13, §§ 17–18, pp. 160–61, whose own source, in turn, is Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 5, § VIII, cols. 772–73. Much the same appears in Johann Heinrich Heidegger's *ראשי אבות Sive De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* [1667–71] (1729), 2:381–82, Exercit. XIX: De Dudaim Rubenis (§ 13). Be that as it may, Rabbi Ibn Ezra's gloss on Numb. 2:2 reads, "The ancients said that the standard of Reuben had the form of a person on it [*Ba-Midbar Rabbah* 2:6] (based on the symbolic strength of the mandrakes [Gen. 30:14]), and Judah's flag had the figure of a lion, for Jacob had compared him to a lion [Gen. 49:9]; Ephraim's banner had the image of an ox [Deut. 33:17], because of the saying, 'his first-born bull is pleasing to him'; and the standard of Dan had the figure of an eagle; so that they were similar to the [shape of the] cherubim, which the prophet Ezekiel saw [Ezek. 1:10; 10:14]"; see *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch: Numbers* (11). The French medieval Rabbi Chizkiyahu ben Rabbi Manoach, aka. Chizkuni, aka. Hizkuni (fl. c. 1240–60), glosses in his cabalistic commentary on Numb. 2:2 that the flags had the Hebrew initials of the Patriarchs' names inscribed upon: On Reuben's "was an inscription א"י, the respective first letters of the names of the patriarchs יעקב, יצחק, אברהם [Jacob, Isaac, Abraham]. On the second flag (there were four flags, for each army group of four tribes) there were inscribed the letters בצ"ע, the second letter in the names of each of the three patriarchs. The third flag had the letters רח"ק representing the third letter in the respective names of Avraham, Yitzchok and Yaakov, and the fourth flag the letters מ"ק, representing the last letters each in their names. The letter ה which had been added to Avraham's name, would be represented by the protective cloud that rested above the Israelites and protected them against nosy intruders during all the years they were in the desert." As an alternative interpretation Chizkuni also offers the traditional reading that the four banners (one for each group of three tribes) either exhibited the shape of a human in red (reminiscent of Reuben's mandrakes), the red color representing the gem stone on Aaron's breastplate; the outline of a lion in turquoise (Judah); of an ox in the colour onyx (Ephraim); and of an eagle, variously colored "iridescent, as the gemstone that represented the tribe of Dan on Aaron's breastplate" (*Chizkuni* 3:851–52; see also *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:10). Bar Nachman, aka. Nachmanides (Ramban) offers much the same but in more detail in his *Commentary on the Torah: Numbers* (4:20–23).

A. I think with *Bochart*; *Hoc commento putidius nihil quidquam est*.²

For, besides more particular Objections against it, It is not likely, that *Moses*, would have putt *Images* into the Banners of a People, whom he saw so monstrously prone unto *Idolatry*. Moreover, We find, That when *Vitellius* would have led his Army, thro' *Judea*, against the *Arabians*, the *Jewes*, (as *Josephus* tells us,) objected against it, because *Banners* with *Images* in them, (which *his* were) might not be seen in their Countrey.³ Why should the *Roman Eagle* be so offensive to them, when they had them of their own? In short; Neither the *Scripture*, nor *Josephus*, nor the Books of the *Life of Moses* in *Philo*, nor any one Place of all the *Talmuds*, do mention this Tradition. And I wonder, how Posterity three Thousand Years after, should become so acquainted with the Secret.⁴

[5v] | [blank]

2 Mather agrees with Samuel Bochart's dismissive remark in *Hierozaicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 5, § VIII, col. 772, line 74, that "this silly figment [of Vitellius complying with the Jewish proscription against images on Roman ensigns] is not worth mentioning to anyone."

3 Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 18:5.3) relates that the Roman Consul Aulus Vitellius (15–69 CE), the later Roman Emperor (for 8 months), had his army against the Arab Aretas "march along the great plain" to avoid offending the Jewish leaders who reminded him that the images in the Roman ensigns were offensive to the law of the land.

4 See also Patrick (*Numbers* 17–18), who drank from the same fountainhead: Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 5, cols. 772–73. Neither Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities*, Wars) nor Philo Judaeus (*Life of Moses I–I*) mentions the incident.

1554.

Q. Why are the Persons here enumerated, called, *The Generations of Aaron*, & *Moses*; when they were the Sons of *Aaron* only? v. 1.

A. They were the Sons of *Aaron* by Nature, and the Sons of *Moses*, by Education. The Jewish Rabbins tell us, They are called, The Sons of *Moses*, *Quòd eos Moses legem docuisset*.¹

In the Scripture, *Disciples* are called, *Children*. [see 2. King. 2.5, 12.]²

3002.

Q. Well; But *Moses* had Sons of his own; And why did none of them succeed in the *Priesthood*; when as we find, (Psal. 99.6.) *Moses* himself among the *Priests*?

A. Here was a Glorious Demonstration, that *Moses* designed not the Advancement of his own Family, in his Conduct about the People of *Israel*; and therefore, be sure, he could be no *Impostor*.³

But the old Author, of the Book *De Mirabilibus Scripturæ*, assigns another Cause, for the Exclusion of the Sons of *Moses* from the *Priesthood*; He places it unto their *Mothers* Account. *Hæc quæstio rationem dando vincitur, cum Filij Moysi de Gentili Matre, peregrinationis causa generantur*.⁴

¹ Mather here quotes from Rashi's commentary (Numb. 3:1) that they are called the sons of Moses "because he taught them the Law [Torah]." Rashi adds, "This teaches that the text considers teaching your friend's son Torah to be the equivalent of fathering him" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:14).

² The Hebrew term in 2 Kings 2:5 is בן [ben], which (according to Strong's # 1121) can have the signification Mather suggests here. "Disciples," however, might be more indicative of the Greek μαθητής [mathetes] (Matth. 10:24). Mather's reference to v. 12 appears to be misplaced.

³ A likely reference to the anonymous *Traité des trois Imposteurs* (1768), published by Marc-Michel Rey, but previously circulating in manuscript and rumored to be the infamous medieval tract *De Tribus Impostoribus* or possibly *De imposturis religionum* (1598) – an attack on the religious founders of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. See A. Anderson's edition *The Treatise of the Three Imposters* (1997).

⁴ Mather cites *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, lib. 1, cap. 25 [PL 035. 2170], a spurious work now attributed to the Hibernian Augustinus: "This question is addressed by giving the [following] reason: the sons of Moses were begotten from a heathen mother for the purpose of their peregrination."

[6v]

2808.

Q. Here is a sort of Difficulty, that seems to want a good Solution. Wee read,
 in v. 39. that the *Levites* numbred, were 22000.
 And yett, if you cast up the three Families,
 v. 22. of the *Gershonites*, 7500.
 v. 29. of the *Kohathites* 8600.
 v. 34. of the *Merarites*. 6200.
 You'l find the Sum total is, 22300.
 Well, anon v. 43. you find all the *First-born* of the *Israelites*,
 to be, 22273.

And it is added, v. 46. That the *First-born* of the *Israelites*, were 273 more than the *Levites*. How shall this Matter be Reconciled? v. 15.

A. R. *Solomon*, and *Aben Ezra* help us here; Those learned Rabbins, did six hundred Years ago see the Difficulty. And as the Writings of the Rabbins, are often very helpful to us, they are in this Case particularly so. They tell us, That the *Three Hundred*, above the *Twenty two Thousand*, in the Number of the *Levites*, that so encumber our Account, were the *First-born* of the *Levites*. And these being the Lords already, the thirty ninth Verse, very justly leaves them out of the Account.⁵

5 R. Solomon Yitzchaki, aka. Jarchi, aka Rashi (on Numb. 3:39) reasons, "there are dots over [the word] אֲהֲרֹן [Aaron], to teach that he was not included in the counting of the Levites. When counting them individually, however, one discovers three hundred extra: the sons of Gershon, seven thousand five hundred; the sons of Kehos, eight thousand six hundred; the sons of Merori, six thousand two hundred [hence 22,000]. Why aren't they included among the rest to redeem the firstborn, thus exempting the two-hundred seventy-three overlapping firstborn from redemption? Our sages answered, in *Maseches Bechoros* [5a], that the three hundred Levites were, themselves, firstborn. It was sufficient for them to release themselves from redemption" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Bamidbar* 4:29). Abraham ibn Ezra is even more forthcoming in his *Commentary: Numbers* (3:39): "When you add up the figures you will find that they come to three hundred above the figure given in Scripture [3:22, 28, 34]. Some say that Scripture is being brief and mentions only the thousands and neglects the hundreds. However, this cannot be the case. Scripture mentions less than three hundred over and above the round number [v. 43]. The truth is in according with tradition which states that a first-born does not free a first-born [see *Bekhorot* 5a]. The meaning of our verse thus is, all that were numbered of the Levites with the exception of the first-born [were twenty and two thousand]. Judah the Persian [an early Karaite scholar] calculated to prove, from the number that the first-born of the Levites were one seventy-third of the Levites [22,000 divided by 300 comes to 73 and a fraction]. He went on to say that if you divide the number of Israelites [603,550 (Numb. 2:32)] by seventy-three [equals 8,267], and take the number of Levites who came to serve in the tabernacle [8,580 (Numb. 4:8)] rather than the number of Levites age one month and above [22,273], then the number will be close [8,580 – 300 = 8,267]. However, all this is nothing. The Israelites were counted from twenty and above. No other fixed unit was used. However, the Levites were counted from twenty to fifty. There is a large difference between them. We will rely only on tradition [that the 300 were first-born]." For the substance, see also *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:19–20). Though apparently not Mather's source, the Reformation and post-Reformation

3669.

Q. Upon the Number of the *Levites*, what is there peculiarly observable?

A. It is observable, That the *Number* of the *Levites*, was the smallest of any Tribe; They were no more than 22300; from a Month old & upward: when some Tribes were Twice, nay, Thrice as many; not reckoning the *Children*, but only the *Men*, from Twenty Years old, & upwards. The *Divine Providence* herein was most conspicuous; which intended the Dedication of this Tribe unto the Lord. Whereas if the Tribe had grown proportionably to the rest, there would have been more *Levites* by far, than the *First-born* of all the Tribes.⁶

Q. Is it not somewhat strange, That from above *Six hundred thousand* Men, there should not be more than 22273 *First-born* Sons?

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, it must be considered, that thus many were born, since the Slaughter of the *Egyptian First-born* (which was not much above a Year ago?) after which time, all the *First-born* of *Israel* became the Lords; but not those that were born before.⁷

3645.

Q. There being 273 *First-born*, more than there were *Levities*; accordingly there could be no Exchange of *Levites* for them. Wherefore *Five Shekels* apiece by the Pole were demanded for them, which Money was properly enough given to *Aaron* & his Sons. Now, 't'was a Difficulty to determine, which of the *First-born* should be *Redeemed* by paying this Money. No doubt, every one of the *Israelites*, was desirous rather to have his *First-born* Redeemed by a *Levite*, than by paying *Five Shekels* for him?

A. The Jewes, (particularly R. *Solomon*,) think, there was no way to satisfy this Doubt, like that of a *Lott*. Whereof, they tell us, *Moses* took 22000 Scrolls of Parchment, & wrote in them the Words, *A Son of Levi*; and 273 more Scrolls, wherein he wrote, *Five Shekels*. Then putting all together in an Urn, and shaking it, to mingle them; he commanded every one of the *First-born* to come, and putt in his Hand, & draw out a Schedule. To him, who drew of the former sort, he said, *A Levite hath Redeemed thee*; if the latter, he said, *Pay thy Price*.⁸ This is the Story in the *Gemara Babylon*: and it is probable enough, unless we suppose

divines canonized in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:626–27) and *Works* (7:51–52) are equally circuitous in their reasoning (Numb. 3:39), although neither Rashi nor Ibn Ezra seem to have been in their purview here.

⁶ Patrick (*Numbers* 40).

⁷ Patrick's gloss on Numb. 3:43 (*Numbers* 42),

⁸ Rashi on Numb. 3:50, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:21), paraphrasing Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 17a).

the Congregation to have Redeemed the 273 *First-born* out of a common Stock; which was a shorter way, but as Dr. *Patrick* saies, not so Divine.⁹

⁹ According to the Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (17a), “Moses reasoned: How shall I act toward Israel? If I say to a man, ‘Give me [the 5 shekels for] thy redemption,’ he may answer, ‘A Levite has already redeemed me.’ What did he do? He [Moses] brought twenty-two thousand slips and wrote on each, ‘Levite’, and on another two hundred and seventy-three he wrote, ‘five shekels’. Then he mixed them up, put them into an urn and said to the people, ‘Draw your slips.’ To each who drew a slip bearing the word ‘Levite’, he said, “The Levite has redeemed thee.’ To each who drew a ticket with ‘five shekels’ on it, he said, ‘Pay thy redemption and go.’” Mather’s source is Patrick on Numb. 3:47 (*Numbers* 43–44).

3646.

Q. It is here said of the *Levites*, *From Thirty Years old & upward, even until Fifty Years old*, they were *to do the Work in the Tabernacle of the Congregation*. But it is elsewhere said, Chap. 8.24. *From Twenty five Years old and upward, they shall go in, to wait upon the Service of the Tabernacle*. Here seems to be a Contradiction? v. 3.

A. And it is but a *Seeming* one! They are two Distinct Præcepts. The former præscribes the Age of 30, *Ad faciendam Functionem*; the latter, the Age of 25, *Ad subministrandum Ministerium*. From 25 to 30, they served a Sort of Apprenticeship.¹

The Jewes, in the *Gemara Babylonica*, thus reconcile the Matter; *They were admitted to Learn their Duty at Five & Twenty, & to Do it at Thirty*.² So saies *Aben-Ezra*. *They were Probationers, and might do some Service at Five & Twenty, but not all*.³

3671.

Q. Why is it said, *Putt in the Staves thereof*? They were never taken out? v. 6.

A. The Hebrew should be translated, *Putt the Staves thereof*; that is, upon their Shoulders. Thus *Aben-Ezra* expounds it; or, *Fitt* them, *Dispose* them, *Order* them; that is, a *Chaskuni* expounds it, so run them in the Rings, that they may

1 John Selden's *De Successione in Pontificatum Ebraeorum* (1636), lib. 2, cap. 4, esp. pp. 221–25 appears to be the primary text for the debate on the age at which a Levite may serve as an apprentice in the Temple and when he can assume full responsibilities. At age thirty, the full “execution [of his service] can be carried out” and at age twenty-five he can begin as “a helper [apprentice] in the [Temple] service.”

2 The *Gemara* (i. e., Teaching) in the (Soncino) Babylonian Talmud, tractate Chullin (24a) solves the apparent contradiction as follows: “At the age of twenty-five [the Levite enters the service] for training, and at the age of thirty he performs service. Hence the dictum: If a student does not see a sign of blessing [progress] in his studies after five years, he never will.”

3 Ibn Ezra (on Numb. 8:24), in *Commentary: Numbers* (62); the French tosafist R. Joseph ben Isaac Bekhor Shor of Orleans (mid 12th c. CE) is more specific on what an apprentice can do from age twenty-five to his maturity at age thirty: “they begin to join in the lighter task of singing in the chorus and flaying the sacrificial animals, but they do not begin the portorage described here [Numb. 4:4–49] until age 30” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:21). Mather’s vademecum for the first and last paragraph of this gloss is Patrick (*Numbers* 45–46). John Lightfoot goes into greater detail on this issue in his *The Temple Service As it stood in the dayes of our Saviour* (1649), ch. 6, sec. 1, § 2, p. 42.

fall into the Two Notches which were in the Staves, to keep the Ark from sliding up & down.⁴

On this Occasion I may observe to you, That there are several Words in this Chapter, whereof the *Translation* seems to call for some *Correction*. As now, –

[7v] In v. 10. the Word, *Bar*, should | rather be *Bier*. It signifies, an Instrument, whereby things are carried from one Place to another, and intimates also a Breadth in the Instrument; for here, the *Candlestick* was carried upon it.⁵

In, v. 23. *To perform the Service*, is to be translated very properly, *To war the Warfare*.⁶

⁴ Patrick (*Numbers* 49); Ibn Ezra offers two possibilities on the issue of the staves: “They removed the staves until the ark was covered. Some say that they shall set the staves upon the shoulders of the bearers.” R. Chizkiyahu ben R. Manoach (on Exod. 25:15) offers several possible explanations based on the Talmud, tractate Yoma (72a). Mather confines himself to the first one, which reads in translation, “It appears that the purpose was to insert these staves only when the need arose to carry the Ark. This could only be done if they were to be inserted from time to time when the occasion demanded this. The staves in the process of lifting the Ark or lowering it would slip out of the rings! How could the commandment never to remove them be possible to be observed? Answer: The staves were thicker at their respective ends so that they could only just fit through the rings, whereas in the middle they were thinner” (*Chizkuni* 2:578–79).

⁵ Mather’s improvement is supported by the explication of the French exegete R. Joseph ben Simeon Kara of Troyes (c. 1065–c. 1135), who insists that Exod. 4:10 cannot signify a “bar” or “pole” but must be “a carrying frame” (Mather’s “bier”) to accommodate the objects resting on this stretcher-like contraption. Kara’s interpretation, though disputed by Rashbam, is now the standard rendition in both the *OJPS* and *NJPS* (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:23).

⁶ This is also the explanation in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:628) on Numb. 4:3 and in *Works* (7:59, 68), which (7:68) renders the Hebrew לָעָבָד צָבָא as “to war the warfare.”

3672.

Q. *Every Leper, & every one that had an Issue, & whosoever was defiled by the Dead;* was to be *Putt out of the Camp.* What *Camp*? v. 2.¹

A. It is observed by *Maimonides*, & many others mentioned by our *Selden*, That there were *Three Camps*. There was the *Camp* of the *SHECHINAH*, or of the Lord; namely, the Sanctuary, with the Courts of it, which are called, [1. Chron. 31.2.] *The Tents of the Lord*. There was then, the *Camp* of the *Levites*, who, with the *Priests*, made a *Camp* about the Tabernacle. And, finally, there was the *Camp* of *Israel*; which encompassed all. Answerable to these, when the *Temple* was built, they reckoned the *Temple* itself, from the *East-gate*, to be the *Camp of the Lord*; and the *Camp of the Levites* to be from the Entrance of the Mount of the House of the Lord, to the East-gate of the Temple; and the *Camp of Israel*, they thought extended from the Entrance of *Jerusalem*, to the Mount of the House of the Lord.²

Now, *Lepers* were so unclean, that they were not admitted into any of these *Three Camps*, but shutt out of them all. He that *had an Issue*, was only shutt out of the *Two First Camps*; but he might be in the *Camp of Israel*. He that was *defiled by the Dead*, was only excluded from the First, & not from the other Two.³

3673.

Q. What means, *Any Sin that Men commit*? v. 6

A. The Hebrew is, *Any Sin of Man*. That is to say, Any Sin against another Man, or against a Neighbour. As Joel 3.19. *Violence of the Children of Judah*, is truly translated, *Violence against the Children of Judah*. The Context here plainly shoves, the Speech to be, of Offences against our Neighbours, which indeed are (as it followes,) *A Trespass against the Lord*.⁴

1 Patrick (*Numbers* 64–65) is Mather's primary source for the following paragraphs.

2 John Selden, *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Iuridicis Veterum Ebraeorum* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 1, sec. 5, pp. 24–25 is the source text for Patrick and Mather. Selden's own is, among others, Maimonides's *Hilchot Bi'at HaMikdash* (3.1–4), in *Mishneh Torah* (29:230–32). Abarbanel's comment is most illustrative here: "It is from the three uses of the word 'camp' in vv. 2–3 that the whole notion of three 'camps' derives. The camp of the Levites is within that of the Israelites, and the camp of the Shekhinah is within that, like the heart inside a living body – and, like the heart, requiring that nothing but the cleanest and choicest get anywhere near it" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:30).

3 See also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:631) and *Works* (7:75–76) for the Reformation and post-Reformation commentators on this issue.

4 Patrick (*Numbers* 66).

Q. Why was the *Law of Jealousies* instituted? v. 12.

A. The Great God would hereby declare Himself privy to the most *Secret Crimes*. And He show'd His Respect unto the Præservation of *Conjugal Faith*, Chastity, & Honesty, as a very great Interest of Humane Society. He show'd likewise His Concern to protect *Innocence*; And, in fine, He show'd His Will that *Man & Wife* should live Happily together.⁵

3674.

Q. The Occasion for the administration of *The Water of Jealousy*, was, *If any Mans Wife go aside*. What was meant by that *Going aside*? v. 12.

A. Being private for some Time, with another Man, whose Company her Husband had charged her that she should not keep; & his therefore suspecting her for an Adulteress. It is plain, that by a Wife that *goes aside*, (which the Hebrewes call *Sota*) is not meant, one that hath certainly committed *Adultery*; but one that is with some Reason suspected of the Crime. It is a Rule among the Jewes, *The Bitter Waters, never are used, but in a dubious Case*.⁶

3675.

Q. The *Husband* brings an *Offering* for the suspected Wife: (I say, *For her*, as the Text plainly intimates; for, as *Abarbanel* notes, *He had done nothing that needed a Sacrifice*.) The Intention of it was, (as *Wagenseil* observes,) to supplicate the Divine Majesty, that He would clear the Womans Innocence, if she were causelessly suspected, or otherwise, direct and punish her Guilt.⁷

But why must the Offering be of *Barley-Meal*, and this also coarse, and not sifted from the Bran? whereas, the common offering of this Kind, was, of the *Wheat-flower*, and tho' there was one Offering of *Barley*, [Lev. 23.10.] yett it was Fine Flower, well- sifted, from the *Bran*? v. 15.⁸

[8v] **A.** The *Mischnah* gives this Reason, | for it; The Woman was supposed, for to have committed the Act of a *Beast* (which is not confined unto one,) therefore the Food of a *Beast*, was to be her Sacrifice; for so *Barley* was in *Judea*. Many such pretty Conceits are collected out of their Authors, by *Simeon de Muis*, in

5 See also John Selden's influential *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 3, cap. 15, pp. 401–11.

6 Patrick (*Numbers* 69–70).

7 Patrick, on Numb. 5:15 (*Numbers* 72), here mines Johann Christoph Wagenseil's translation and detailed explication of the Mishnah, tractate Sotah, in *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), cap. 2, sec. 1, p. 349, "Annotata l. Maritus," which is also the source for R. Abarbanel's Hebrew-Latin comment as Englished by Patrick and here excerpted by Mather. See also Abarbanel's *Selected Commentaries Bamidbar/Numbers* (4:61–62).

8 Abarbanel's answer is to the point: "The man brings barley as her offering because he wants the Lord to be angry with her" (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 4:36).

his *Varia Sacra* upon this Place. But with Dr. *Patrick*, the simplest Reason seems to be, that a, *viler Sacrifice* was most suitable to her *vile Condition*.⁹

3677.

Q. But why must they *pour no Oyl, & putt no Frankincense*, on this Offering?
A. The Reasons given by the Jewes for this Prohibition, are some of them *Fanciful*, but sometimes *Ingenious*. As, That a *Good Name* is compared unto *Oyl*; [Eccl. 7.1.] It is here omitted, because the Woman had lost her *Good Name*. A little more Judicious is *Maimonides*, who looking on the *Oyl* and *Frankincense*, as added unto Sacrifices for the Dignity of them, he thinks, God would have that *Splendor* (as his Word is) to be wanting unto such a Womans Offering, because of the Baseness of her Behaviour, which had been the Occasion of it.¹⁰ But none (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks) gives a better Account of it, than *Chrysostom*, [*Orat. V. adv. Judæos*]; Because the Woman was loaded with *Sorrow*, & heavy Accusations, & evil Suspicions, ἐμίμειτο τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς οἰκείας θυσίας τὸ σχῆμα. *The Form of the Sacrifice imitated the Domestic Calamity*.¹¹ For every one knows, that *Oyl* and *Frankincense*, were Signs of *Joy* and *Gladness*; Therefore not fitt for so sad an Occasion as is now before us.¹²

Q. On, *The Dust of the Floor of the Tabernacle*? v. 17.

A. Of the *Holy Water*, taken out of the *Laver* in the Court, the Priest was to take the Quantity of half a *Log*, or about three Eggs. After the Building of the Temple, where the Floor had no *Dust*, as Monsr. *Jurieu* observes, They left loose a Marble Stone, which they lifted up with the Help of a Ring. From under the Stone, they took the *Dust*, which being putt upon the Water, swam upon the Surface; and it must be drunk without any Stirring of it.¹³

⁹ Patrick (*Numbers* 73) on Mishnah, tractate Sotah (2.1); here Rabban Gamaliel is quoted as saying, "Since her deed was the deed of cattle, her offering is the food of cattle" (*The Mishnah* 295). The French Hebraist at the Collège du Roi, Siméon Marotte de Muis, aka. Muisius (1587–1644), was a controversial but highly respected biblical commentator who defended the vowel points of the Masora against the critics involved in Le Jay's 10-volume Paris Polyglot (1645). Mather refers to De Muis's commentary on Numb. 6, in *Variorum Sacrorum Specimen Variis e Rabbinis contextum* (1634), pp. 386–94, which presents various rabbinic views on the applicable topic.

¹⁰ Maimonides, in his מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 46, p. 486, comments that oil and frankincense were forbidden as "the oblation of an unfaithful wife," because "the disgracefulness of her action renders her sacrifice "a most defective condition" (*Guide* 3.46.588).

¹¹ Mather quotes at second hand from Joannes Chrysostom's *Adversus Judæos* (*Orat.* 7) [PG 048. 0917, line 23] and supplies Patrick's translation (*Numbers* 74).

¹² Mather's principal sources here are Patrick (*Numbers* 73–74) and indirectly Wagenseil's *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischmicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), cap. 2, sec. 9, pp. 351–52: "Annotata: Nec oleum, nec thus admittebat."

¹³ Pierre Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship*s (1705), vol. 1, part 3, ch. 25, p. 554, § 4. See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Sotah* (4.12–13), in *Mishneh Torah* (18:230) and

Q. One thing in the Plague of the *Adulteresse*, is, *Thy Thigh to Rott!* v. 22.

A. Both *Bochart* and *Heinsius* give many Instances, to prove, that the *Thigh* means the *Secret Parts*.¹⁴ Thus we read, in the Passion of *Perpetuana*, and *Fælicia*; That when *Perpetuana* was thrown to the Beasts, and lay on the Ground, she drew back her Coat, which was torn from her side, *Ad velamentum Femoris*; being *Pudoris magis memor quam Doloris*.¹⁵ The *Mischna* here notes, *With what Measure, Men mete, it shall be measured unto them again*. For in that very Part that offended, the wretched Woman suffered for her Offence.¹⁶

3679.

Q. The Effects of the *Water of Jealousy*, how soon did they follow? v. 22.

A. Presently. The Woman presently grew Pale, with her Eyes ready to start out of her Head; so that they cried out, *Carry her forth! Carry her forth! Lest she de-file the Court of the Temple!* by dying there; as the *Mischna* relates it.¹⁷ The *Adulterer* also, as the Jewes assure us, dyed the same Day & Hour. Only the *Gemara* affirms, That if the Womans husband had been an *Adulterer*, then these Effects followed not.¹⁸

So the Jewes invite us to read it; v. 31. *If the Man shall be guiltless from Iniquity, then the Woman shall bear her Iniquity*.¹⁹

602.

Q. The *Water of Jealousy*, præscribed among the *Jewes*; was there any *Imitation* of it, among the *Gentiles*? v. 22.

A. Yes. The old Greeks tryed their *Shee-Priests*, or, *Nuns*, who were suspected of *Whoredom*, with a *Draught* which they tendered them to Drink; and the Party

Wagenseil's *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), cap. 2, sec. 2, pp. 359–60, “Annotata,” §§ 11–12.

14 Samuel Bochart, in his *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 15, p. 758, lines 14–70, discusses the “femur” or “thigh-bone,” whose neck is closest to the human genitals and thus euphemistically refers to the “*Secret Parts*” here alluded to. The previously cited Daniel Heinsius, in his *Aristarchus Sacer* (1627), pars 2, Exercitationes, cap. 1, pp. 13–14 (sec. ser. of pag.), provides similar euphemisms from the ancients.

15 In 203 CE, the noblewoman Perpetua and her slave Felicity of Carthage (N Africa) are to have been executed – along with several other early Christians – during the birthday celebrations of Roman Emperor Publius Septimus Geta Augustus (189–211 CE). Uncertain author of the martyrology *Passio Sanctorum Perpetua et Felicitatis* (cap. 6, sec. 3, § 20) [PL 003.0055] tells us that Perpetuana made sure “to cover her upper thigh [pudenda],” because she was “mindful more of shame than pain.”

16 Mishnah, tractate Sotah (1.7), in *The Mishnah* (294). Patrick (*Numbers* 82).

17 Mishnah, tractate Sotah (3.4), in *The Mishnah* (296).

18 Wagenseil, *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), cap. 5, sec. 1, pp. 594–96.

19 Patrick, on Numb. 5:27, 31 (*Numbers* 86, 89).



Johann Christoph Wagenseil, *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (Altdorfii Noricorum, 1674)

Drinking, was presently struck Dead, if shee were guilty. *Philostratus* also tells us, That they had another *Water* to try *Perjury*; which might bee of the same Original: namely, the Waters in *Cappadocia*, that were sacred unto *Jupiter*.²⁰

²⁰ John Selden, in his *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Juridicis Veterum Ebraeorum* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 11, sec. 3, pp. 459–67, cites several Greek and Roman examples of such judicial practices. John Spencer argues that the trial by “aqua zelotypiae” or “the water of jealousy” was a common practice among pagan nations in the Fertile Crescent even before the Levitical laws adopted this practice. See Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. I, cap. 2, sec. 3, § 5, fols. 539–41. Samuel Bochart, in his *Geographia Sacra* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 28, pp. 589–90, supplies Mather (via Patrick 81–82) with the reference to the Athenian sophist Philostratus. In his *Life of Apollonius* (1.6), Philostratus relates that near the Cappadochian city of Tyana, a cold spring, sacred to Zeus, bubbles from the ground. Anyone who has perjured himself and is made to drink from its waters is instantly struck with a wasting disease.

3458.

Q. Some further Footsteps of this *Ordeal*, imitated among the *Heathen*? v. 22.²¹

A. Polemon in his Book, *De miris Sicilia*, speaking of the *Cups* of the *Palicians*, ha's this Passage; "The *Adjurors*, having a Writing before them, go before the *Adjured*, with the Matters upon which an *Oath* is required. Hee that is *Adjured*, flourishing a Branch of an *Olive-Tree*, being crowned, & ungirt, & having only a little Coat on him, touching the *Cup*, utters the *Oath* dictated unto him. And if the Gods approve the Things that are sworn, the Man goes away without any Damage: but if the Man that swears, hath contemned the Gods, hee *Dyes immediately*."²² And in the Book, of *Wonderful Things*, which goes under the Name of *Aristotle*, wee read of such a Matter as This. "There is a Manner of *Swearing*, which is accounted very *Sacred*. The Things which a Man *Swears*, hee writes on a *Table*: The *Table* is cast into the *Water*: If he have *Sworn* right, the *Table* swims; if otherwise, the *Table* sinks, and the Man is burnt."²³

Consult the XI Book of *Diodorus Siculus*.²⁴ *Pliny* also ha's the like, L. 31. c. 2. *Amnis Olachas in Bithynia, Brietium alluit: Hoc est et Templo et Deo Nomen, cujus gurgite perjuri notantur pati, velut flammam urentem*.²⁵ *Porphyrie* writing about the Waters of *Styx*, ascribes this Force unto them; φῦσιν ἔχον ἀμύνεσθαι

²¹ In the following paragraphs, Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes ad Numeros* 5:17), in *Opera Omnia* (1:73) is Mather's vademecum.

²² Mather translates Hugo Grotius's Greek citation from, and Latin translation of, *De Miris Siciliae* (*Fragmenta* 83, lines 16–23), by the Athenian Platonist Polemon Iliensis, head of Plato's Academy (c. 314–c. 269 BCE), whose works are extant in fragments in Diogenes Laertius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Cicero. According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.19.19), Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 11.89.1–4), and Polemon (*Fragm.* 83), the Palician citizens of Palike, an ancient settlement in the interior of Sicily near Palagonia, made use of the sulfuric waters of the Lago dei Palici for divinatory and judicial purposes. This lake, they believed, was the abode of the twin-gods Palikoi whom the Palicians revered in a nearby temple (*KP*).

²³ Aristotle's *Mirabilium Auscultationes* (843*b*, lines 11–15). As in the preceding paragraph, Mather supplies his own translation.

²⁴ Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 9.58.3) relates that the Greek general and politician Themistocles (c. 524–459 BCE), who had fled to Persia for protective custody, was so esteemed for his heroic exploits that he extracted from the Persian King Artaxerxes I (465–424 BCE) an oath not to launch another campaign against Greece unless Themistocles himself were allowed to lead the expedition. A bull was sacrificed to seal the oaths taken. However, when Themistocles filled "a cup with its blood, [and] drank it down ... [he] immediately died" and thus Xerxes relinquished his plan to attack Greece, because "Themistocles by his voluntary death left the best possible defence ... [and] played the part of a good citizen in all matters affecting the interest of Greece."

²⁵ Mather second-hand quote from Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes Numeros* 5.17) is based on Johannes Frellon's undated and unpaginated incunabula edition of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (31.18.23). Our modern editions render the Latin passage as follows: "Amnis Alcas in Bithynia Bryazum adluit – hoc est templo et deo nomen – cuius gurgitem periuri negantur pati velut flammam urentem," or, "The river Alcas in Bithynia flows by Bryazus – this is the name both of a god and of his temple – the current of which perjured persons are said to be unable to endure, as it burns like a flame."

τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ ψευδῶς ὁμόσαι τολμήσαντας. *They have the Nature, to punish those who swear falsely by them.*²⁶ Solinus writing about the Fountains of Sardinia, has this Passage; *Coarguentis valent Furibus: nam quisquis sacramento raptum negat, Lumina aquis attrahat; ubi perjurium non est, cernit clarius; si perfidia abnuat, detegitur facinus cecitate, et captus oculis admissum tenebris fatetur.*²⁷ Moreover, Statius, and Eustathius, have some Things of the like Importance.²⁸

Huetius thinks, The Fable of the *Stygian Lake*, & several other Rites to find out secret Crimes, were invented by the Greeks from this Exemple.²⁹

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. Is there any further Modern Imitation of the *Bitter Waters* in the ancient Pædagogy? v. 22.

A. In *Dampiers Voyage round the World*, there is this Passage.

“On the *Gold Coast of Guinea*, when Men or Women are taxed for a Crime, be it of what nature it will, but especially Adultery, and the Matter cannot be proved by Evidence, the *Fetissero* or *Priest*, decides the Difference, by giving a Portion of *Bitter Water*, to the Person accused: which, if they refuse to take, they are supposed to be guilty without further Proof: But, if they drink it off, the Event is said to be, that if the Persons be *Guilty*, this Water immediately *Swells their Bodies* till they burst; but if *Innocent*, they are not hurt thereby. What Tricks the *Fetissero*’s may play, in compounding this Water, I know not: But this Kind of Trial is frequent among them, & seems to be a Remainder of the old *Jewish Trial* by the *Waters of Jealousy*, spoken of in the fifth Chapter of *Numbers*. A Guilty Person does ordinarily so dread the being brought unto this Trial, that for the most

²⁶ By Grotius (*Opera Omnia* 1:73) erroneously attributed to the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyrius of Tyre (c. 234–c. 305 CE), the passage apparently originates in a fragment of the Greek grammarian Apollodorus Atheniensis (c. 180–c. 120 BCE), *Fragmenta* (10, lines 60–63), and is also quoted by Johannes Stobaeus (*Anthologium* 1.49.51, lines 3–5). Mather furnishes his own translation.

²⁷ Gaius Julius Solinus (*De Mirabilibus Mundi* 4.5) relates that the medicinal waters of the Sardinian springs can heal broken bones, dispel poison, and cure diseases of the eye. More wonderful yet, it can also make people confess their guilt: “Whosoever denies a theft with an oath and washes his eyes with these waters sees more clearly, provided he has not perjured himself. If a man falsely denies perfidy, his crime is revealed by his blindness; captured by his eyes, he is driven to confess his dark deeds.”

²⁸ Statius (*Achilleid* 270, 469–72) relates the story of Achilles, whom the Nereid Thetis made invulnerable as a baby by leading him through the Stygian waters. Eustathius Thessalonicensis, in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* (lib. 7, 8, 9, 11), tells similar stories of magical liquids and their impact on those who tested their powers.

²⁹ Patrick, on Numb. 5:22 (*Numbers* 82). Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 11, sec. 2, pp. 155–58, cites numerous examples of this kind, but ultimately dismisses them as fables (p. 158AB). Huet also offers an impressive collection of like stories from Tacitus, Eustathius, Aristotle, Pliny, Ovid, Porphyrius, Hesiod and Homer, in which the use of juridical waters decided the fate of ostensible culprits, in Huet’s *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 22, pp. 219–23.

Part, he or she choose rather to suffer the Punishment of the Countrey; which is, To be sold to the *Europæans* as Slaves. This Potion is called, *Bitter Water*; and tis given by Way of Trial, upon any light Suspicion, even of a small Injury.”³⁰

[Attachment verso]

I will take this Occasion, to insert a Remarkable Occurrence, which lately happened in my own Countrey.

A Woman had her First-born Child brought forth so early after her Marriage, that a *Fornication* was charged upon her. She did with a Solemnity not short of an *Oath*, assert her Innocency unto the Church that in their *Jealousy* quæstion’d her upon it. Soon after it she was taken with a strange Swelling, & the Tumour with inexpressible Dolour proceeded unto such a Degree, that the very Ribs were torn from her Backbone. In a bitter Agony, an anguish that could not be born, she sent for the Minister, & own’d her Guilt & Crime; and died.³¹

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

³⁰ William Dampier’s *Voyages and Descriptions in Three Parts* (1700), vol. 2, part 1, ch. 4, p. 83 relates the experience of the great French traveler to the Kingdom of Tonkin (N. Vietnam) in the Gulf of Tonkin. Finding evidence for the use of “Bitter Water” all over the world, Mather believes, underscores the verity of the biblical original and supports the concept of *Prisca theologia* that Noah’s sons dispersed throughout the world and thus spread the knowledge of the true God among their descendants far and wide. Hence the universal similarities of religious rites, practices, and beliefs among peoples the world over.

³¹ Unidentified. Associating premature births, fetal malformation, death in childbed, or disease with transgressive behavior – moral, social, or religious – was not an uncommon response to marvelous occurrences and prodigies. There were no such things as chance or accidents in a world still governed by providential rewards and punishments. Well-known cases include those of Antinomian Anne Hutchinson and Quaker Mary Dyer as described in John Winthrop’s *Journal* (for March 27, 1638), pp. 253–56. On providence in general, see Increase Mather’s *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684), and Cotton Mather’s *Thaumaturgus: vel i. e. Liber Memorabilium*, in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 6, fols. 1–88. On the topics of seduction, pregnancy, and “fallen” women in the colonies of English North America and in Old England, see L. T. Ulrich’s classic, *Good Wives* (1980), esp. chs. 5 and 7; as well as her *A Midwifes Tale* (1990); S. Juster’s *Disorderly Women* (1994); K. M. Brown’s *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, & Anxious Patriarchs* (1996); and J. Crawford’s *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (2005).

1042.

Q. Your *Illustrations* upon that Rite of *Nazaritism*. The (first) *Nourishing*, and (then) *Shaving* and *Burning*, the *Hair*, of the *Nazirite*? v. 21.¹

A. The *Ceremonies* appointed, and observed among the ancient People of God, receive no little *Illustration*, from the like *Ceremonies* found among the ancient Pagans. Whether wee think, That the Lord, in Compliance with the *Egyptian* Disposition of His People, did *Retain*, but at the same Time, *Correct*, many of their Heathen *Ceremonies*; which is an Opinion, by some learned Men much contended for; or, That the Divil, who takes a particular *Pride*, in having Divine Homage paid unto him, did therefore choose, to teach the Pagans the *Ceremonies* of *Israel*, as those, which in their *Divel-Worship*, were upon that Impudent Account, more agreeable to him, than any other; to which Opinion I do myself Incline: Still they will *Illustrate* one another wonderfully; And I will bee beholden, to Dr. *Spencer*, here, as well as elsewhere for those *Illustrations*.²

Now, for the *Rites* that concerned the *Hair* of *Nazaritism*, *Eustathius* ha's told us, That the *Greeks*, who at all other Times Nourished their *Hair*, did, cutt it off in Times of Mourning; and that when *Young Men* came to their *τελείας ηλικίας*, *Perfect Stature*, they did in like Manner cutt off their *Hair*, & offer it, unto *Apollo*, the *Juvenum Altor*, and unto the *Rivers*.³ It may bee proved by Innumerable Instances, That what *Theodore*t saies, was True. *It was the Manner of the Gentiles, to lett the Hair of their Children grow, και τουτους μετα χρονον ανατιθεναι τοις δαιμοσιν· and afterwards dedicate it unto Divils*.⁴ The *Scholias*t saies as much,

1 A Nazirite – one who is separated, consecrated, or set apart – is a person who has taken a vow to abstain for a period of time from any food or intoxicants related to grapes, from cutting his or her hair, and from any form of impurity, especially from touching a corpse or even a tomb. The vow renders the Nazirite “holy unto the Lord” (Numb. 6:8) and was generally taken in fulfillment of a particular wish or request requiring divine agency (*JE*). According to the *Mishnah* (tractate *Nazir* 1.3, 4), if “vowed without a fixed duration,” the Nazirite is bound “for thirty days.” However, if he or she says, “I will be a Nazirite like as the hairs of my head,” or, ‘like as the dust of the earth’, or ‘like as the sand of the sea’, he becomes a lifelong Nazirite, and he must cut off his hair every thirty days” (*The Mishnah* 281).

2 As Mather’s introductory response illustrates, he does not brush aside John Spencer’s thesis, but presents diverse viewpoints of the debate. In *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. I, cap. 6, sec. 1, fols. 583–85, Spencer argues that such vows (as those taken by the Hebrew Nazirites) were common among the Egyptians and other pagans and that Moses adopted this practice from the Israelites’ former overlord.

3 *Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (1:255, line 3), glosses that when boys attained their manhood or *τελείας ηλικίας*, “fully grown manhood,” they cut off their hair in sacrifice to *Apollo*, “the young man’s foster father” or “nourisher.”

4 In his commentary on Lev. 28, *Theodoretus Cyrrhensis (Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 181, lines 6–7) glosses that the pagans let their children’s hair grow long, *και τουτους μετὰ*

of the *Sisoī* then used, which was a *Weaved Lock*, a *πλέγμα*, *Consecrated unto Saturn*.⁵ And it is by *Diodorus Siculus* affirmed, That *Osiris* was the first Author of this *Coma Votiva*; and that from his Exemple, The *Egyptians* undertaking a *Journey*, would keep their *Hair* untouched, until they Returned.⁶ *Arrianus* also, affirms, the *Indians* to have been taught by *Bacchus*, in the first Ages, the like Usages.⁷ But there is a whole *Synod* of learned Men, that have written of this Matter; *Hadrianus Junius*, and *Sardus*, and *Meursius*, and *Stellartius* and *Petrus Castellanus*, and *Montacutius*, and *Lindenbrogius*, and *Lipsius*, and *Heinsius*, and *Casaubon*, and *Ouzelius*, and *John Doughty*, and *Stanley*, have all handled the Subject of *Coma Sacrata*; and it would bee an Immense Labour, to quote all the Testimonies from Antiquity, which they have brought concerning it.⁸

The *Israelites*, under the Vow of *Naziritism*, did not only *keep* their *Hair*, but also *Broid* it, *Fold* it, *Weave* it, and *Curle* it with much of Curiositie. The *Seven Locks* of *Sampson*, do intimate so much unto us.⁹ The LXX call them, *Σειραι*.¹⁰ Now *Σειραι*, according to *Eustathius*, are the same with *πλέγματα*.¹¹ And

χρόνον ἀνατιθέναι τοῖς δαίμοσιν “and, after a while, dedicate it to demons” (*Questions on the Octateuch* 2:67). Mather’s rendition of pagan gods as “*Divels*” is consistent with biblical tradition.

5 See for instance, *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *kappa* entry 2489, line 1), *πλέγμα*, a lock of “plaited hair.”

6 *Diodorus Siculus* (*Bibliotheca* 1.18.3) argues that *Osiris* “offered his hair in fulfillment of a vow,” not to cut his hair (*coma*) until his return to Egypt. This custom (so *Diodorus*) “was observed among the Egyptians until recent times.”

7 *Spencer* (584–85). *Lucius Flavius Arrianus* of *Nicomedia* (c. 86–c. 160 CE) was a distinguished Greco-Roman historian and philosopher, whose *Indica* describes customs of the Indians and other peoples in the region of the Persian Gulf (*EB*). Mather here refers to *Arrianus’s Historia Indica* (7.7–9), which describes the Dionysian customs among Hindus in India.

8 We shall here follow Mather’s example and only list the authors and their respective works, which contain hair-raising discussions on the “coma sacrata” or “consecrated hair” among the ancients: *Hadrian Junius’s De Coma Commentarium* (1556), cap. 4, 5, 6, pp. 350–90. *Alexander Sardus, De Moribus et Ritibus Gentium* (1599), lib. 1, cap. 12. *Joannes Meursius, Graecia Feriata* (1619), lib. 3, pp. 125–29 (*voce* ΕΦΗΒΙΑ), and lib. 5, pp. 237–40 (*voce* ΠΡΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ). *Prospero Stellartius, De Coronis et Tonsuris Paganorum* (1625), lib. 1, cap. 5, pp. 18–20. *Petrus Castellanus, EOΠΤΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ, sive de festis Graecorum syntagma* (1617), pp. 27–29 (*voce* ΑΠΙΛΟΓΙΑ). *Richardus Montacutius* (Richard Montagu), *Diatribae on the first part of the late History of Tithes* (1621), ch. 3, pp. 533–34. *Henricus Lindenbrogius, Censorini Liber De Die Natali* (1614), cap. 1, p. 6 (*nota*: *Statius, Thebaid*, lib. 2). *Justus Lipsius, Ad Annales Cornelius Taciti Liber Commentarius, Sive Notae* (1627), p. 536. *Daniel Heinsius, Aristarchus Sacer* (1627), pars 2, cap. 4, pp. 107–10. *Isaac Casaubon, Theophrasti Characteres Ethici* (1592), pp. 37–38 (*voce* ΜΙΚΡΟΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣ). *Jacobus Ouzelius, in M. Minucii Felicis Octavius Cum integris omnium Notis ac Commentariis* (1672), pp. 178, 179, 188. *John Doughty, Analecta Sacra, sive, Excursus Philologici breves super diversis S. Scripturae* (1658), Excursus LVI, pp. 159–62; Excursus LXIV, pp. 184–87. *Thomas Stanley, ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ ΕΠΤΑ Æschyli Tragediæ Septem* (1663), pp. 815, 816, 820. And now, off to the barbers.

9 See also Mather’s annotations on *Judg.* 16:13 (*BA* 3:221).

10 *Judg.* 16:13 (LXX): ἐὰν ὑφάνης τὰς ἑπτὰ σειρὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς μου σὺν τῷ διάσματι, etc. “who-soever weaves the seven locks of my head with the web.” *Σειρά*, *σειρὰς* signifies “chain, rope,” also “web.”

11 The phrase *Σειραι πλέγματά*, suggesting “twisted rope,” or “web” appears in Archbishop

the Pagans did the same; they had the *πλοχμος* or *σκολυς*, or *Chain of Hair*, mentioned by *Julius Pollux*. *Euripides* calls it, a *πλοκη τριχων*.¹² The *Locks* that People call *Elves-Locks*, are much of the same Fashion with them.¹³

Among the *Israelites*, they were *Young Men* mostly, which were concerned in the Vow of *Naziritism*; [Compare, Amos. 2.11. and Lam. 4.7.] In *Dei κουροτροφου Honorem*.¹⁴ Now the *Pagans* likewise did chiefly aim at this; For their *Young Men* to offer the *First Hair* of their *Head* and *Face*, unto some Deity, in token of their Gratitude. *Plutarch* tells us, the *Young Men* of *Athens* did thus unto *Apollo Pythius*.¹⁵ And *Xiphilinus* reports of *Nero*, that hee kept the *Juvenalia*, and the first Time of his being shaved, hee consecrated his *Hair* in a Golden Box, unto *Jupiter Capitolinus*.¹⁶ And *Martial* in one of his Epigrams, do's mention to *Esculapius*, the *Hair*, which – *misit ab urbe puer*.¹⁷

An *Israelitish Nazarite*, when the Time of his Vow, was out, was to shave himself, before the *Door* of the *Temple*, and burn his *Hair*, in the *Fire* of the *Sacrifices*; by which Rites, they were secured, from falling into the Superstitions of the Pagans, who dedicated their *Hair*, (and their *Heads* with it) unto *Idols*, and *Rivers*, and *Nymphs*, and *Trees*, and what not? – and, *Capillum, ubi tondebantur, in ejus Dei Templo consecrabant, in cujus Honorem se gestasse professi sunt*.¹⁸

Eustathius Thessalonicensis's *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (4:695, line 18), but is in Mather's text at third hand (via Spencer 585) from Johannes Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* (1639), p. 390, voce שֵׁרָטָה, which Buxtorf renders "*Filum, Funis Densus*"; i. e., "a thread" or "thick rope."

12 Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* 2.30, line 4) speaks of *πλοχμὸς ἢ σκόλλυς*, of which Mather provides his translation. The Greek comic playwright Euripides, in his *Bacchae* (494) and *Phoenissae* (308), speaks of the *πλόκαμος*, "lock" or "braid of hair," and *τριχῶν*, i. e., "curly locks."

13 Spencer (*De Legibus* 585).

14 In his *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (2:788, line 27; 3) and elsewhere, Eustathius speaks of "rearing children in honor of God."

15 Plutarch (*Theseus* 5.1) explains that "since it was still a custom at that time for youth who were coming of age to go to Delphi and sacrifice some of their hair to the god, Theseus went to Delphi for this purpose, and they say there is a place there which still to this day is called Theseia from him. But he sheared only the fore part of his head, just as Homer [(*Iliad* 2.542)] said the Abantes did, and this kind of tonsure was called Theseis after him." The priestess Pithia of the Oracle of Delphi presided over Apollo's temple, whose prophecies she imparted to his devotees.

16 The story is related in Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae* (*Xiphilini epitome*) (Dindorf-Stephanus page S157, lines 7–9), an epitome made by the Byzantine monk Joannes Xiphilinus (11th CE), which includes this anecdote of the future Roman Emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (37–68 CE), whose lock was kept in the grandest of the ancient Roman temples on the Capitoline Hill.

17 Martial (*Epigram* 9.17, line 4) sings, "your boy has sent you from the city [Latium]" the locks dedicated to Aesculapius, god of healing. Spencer (586).

18 Spencer (587) second hand quote is from the previously cited Petrus Castellanus's *EOPTOAOΓION, sive de festis Graecorum syntagma* (1617), p. 27. The passage relates like the Hebrew Nazirites, pagans who had "consecrated their hair were being shaved in the temple of the God in whose honor they declared that they had worn it." See also Lev. 17:5–7.

The *Divel* had his *Nazirites*; thus the Prophet saies, [Hos. 9.10.] *They went to Baal-Peor, and became Nazirites* (for so I read it) *unto that Shame*. The Nourishing of their *Hair*, was a *Sacrament*, by which they signified their Devotion. But now, among the *Israelites*, a *Nazirite* is called still, *One Holy unto the Lord*.¹⁹

Tis very sure, That among the *Gentiles*; t'was usual, for a Man, when hee took a Journey, to consecrate his *Hair* (and under that Cæremony, *Himself*) unto some *God*; and leaving his *Hair* untouch'd until hee Return'd, at his Return hee offered it up unto his *Idol*. So, saies the Poet, in his *Argonautics*,

*Tectus et Eurytion Servato colla Capillo,
Quem Pater Aonias reducem tondebit ad Aras*.²⁰

And in *Petronius Arbiter*, one of the Speakers ha's that Expression, *Cui Deo crinem vovisti, Pharmace? Responde*.²¹ And *Homer*, in his Twenty Third *Iliad*, brings in *Achilles*, before his *Trojan* Expedition, vowing his *Hair*, to the River *Sperchius*, for the Success of his Undertaking.²² When *Maimonides* writes, *That a Jew might have no Concerns with a Gentile, on the Day of his Returning from Sea*, tis thus explained by *Vossius*: *Post peregrinationem, Deorum Templā adibant Ethnici, gratias Acturi pro Incolumitate; comam quoque tum præscindebant, ac Dijs dicabant*.²³

Now wee find Exemples of the like Matter among the *Jewes*. There is the Exemple of *Absalom*: [2. Sam. 15.7, 8.] And besides that, there is the Exemple of *Paul*; [Act. 18.18.] a thing of much Torture, to and from Interpreters.²⁴

¹⁹ Spencer (587).

²⁰ Spencer (588). In his unfinished epic *Argonautica* (1.378–79), the Roman poet Gaius Valerius Flaccus (fl. c. 70–90 CE) sings of the labors of the Argonauts in their quest for the Golden Fleece. To curry the favor of the gods, “Eurytion, [has] his neck covered with the hair he let grow, until he return and his father crop it at the Aeonian altars.” On this hairy business among aboriginal peoples, see also Sir James George Frazer’s *Golden Bough*, ch. 21, sec. 6–8, pp. 269–76.

²¹ The reputed author of the novel-like *Satyricon*, Gaius Petronius Arbiter (fl. 27–69 CE) has Elcopius, the narrator of the satire, upbraid his faithless lover Giton: “What God had the promise of your hair? Answer me, poisonous fellow!” (*Satyricon* 107).

²² Homer (*Iliad* 23.139–51) has Achilles “cut off a golden lock, the rich growth of which he had nursed for the river Spercheius, and in agitation he spoke . . . : “Spercheius, in vain did my father Peleus vow to you that when I came home there to my dear native land I would cut my hair to you and offer a holy hecatomb, and would sacrifice fifty rams, males without blemish, into your waters on the spot where is your precinct and your fragrant altar. So vowed that old man, but you did not fulfill for him his intent. Now, therefore, since I will not return to my dear native land, let me give this lock to the warrior Patroclus to take with him.”

²³ Mather, via Spencer (588), cites from Dionysius Vossius’s Latin translation of, and commentary on Maimonides’s *De Idololatria* (1641), cap. 9, § 4, p. 126. Vossius’s gloss reads, “After a pilgrimage, the pagans were approaching the temples of the gods to give thanks in return for their safety; then they cut their hair and dedicated it to the gods.”

²⁴ On this topic, see Mather’s gloss in *BA* 8 (Acts 18:18) and in *BA* (9:262–80) on 1 Cor. ch. 11; see also R. E. Brown’s “Hair Down to There” (495–514).

| But *Oecumenius* hath a good Hint upon the Place; *To cutt ones Hair, with a Vow*, Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἦν *was a Jewish Custom*.²⁵ When the Apostle begun his Journey to *Corinth*, hee did according to the Custom of his Nation, make a Vow of keeping his *Hair*, till his Journey were finished: Accordingly, having prospered in his Journey, hee did, in Token of his owing *Himself* unto God, the Author of his Prosperity, there cutt off *His Hair*, & hee seems therein to consider the good Success of his further Journey to *Jerusalem*. As for the *Strict Point* of offering up the *Hair*, at the Door of the Temple, the *Mischna*, as well as *Maimonides*, gives us to understand, that in the latter Times, they did not so strictly stand upon it.²⁶

What the *Gentiles* thus did, with relation to a *Journey*, they also did with relation to any Remarkable *Distress*. A Deliverance from a *Storm* at Sea, would Occasion the making & paying a *Vow* of *consecrated Hair*. *Lucillius* ha's a Passage to this Purpose, thus Interpreted;

*Naufragio sospes Lucillius, hosce capillos
Dedico; nil aliud quod superesset habens.*²⁷

And this *Rasure*, is by *Petronius* called, *Naufragorum ultimum Votum*.²⁸ And this will help you to expound the Words of *Juvenal*, – *Gaudent ubi Vertice Raso, Garrula Securi narrare pericula nautæ*.²⁹ *Diodorus* likewise relates, That the *Egyptians*, make *Vowes* to their Gods for the Rescue of their *Children* from Death, ξυρῆσαντες τὰς τρίχας. *With cutting their Hair*.³⁰ And *Artemidorus* tells us, upon being saved from *Shipwreck* or *Sickness*, ξυρώνται οἱ ἀνθρώποι. *Men are shaved*.³¹

²⁵ Although by Spencer (588) attributed to Oecumenius (c. 990), bishop of Trikka (Thessaly) (CE), the citation (partially translated by Mather) appears in *Catenae (Novum Testamentum)*, *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)*, p. 351, line 1, p. 352, line 5. The Greek Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἦν suggests, “a Jewish [custom].”

²⁶ Acts 18:18; Spencer (588–89); Mishnah, tractate Nazir (6.7–8), in *The Mishnah* (288–89); Maimonides, *Hilchot Nizirut* (6–8), *Mishneh Torah* (27:282–314).

²⁷ Spencer (589); the Greco-Roman Epigrammatist Lucillius (fl. 60–70 CE) was renowned for his satirical caricatures of his contemporaries. The fragments of his work are extant in the collection of ancient Greek poetry *Anthologia Graeca*. (OCD). Escaping death by drowning, grateful Lucillius invokes Glaucus, Nereus, and Melicertes – all offspring of the gods – vowing, σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους Λουκίλλιος ὧδε κέκαρμαι / τὰς τρίχας ἐκ κεφαλῆς· ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχω (*Anthologia Graeca* 6.164, lines 3–4); rendered in the vulgar tongue, Mather (via Spencer) gives us “*Naufragio sospes Lucillius, hosce capillos / Dedico; nil aliud quod superesset habens*.” Either way, we learn, “I, Lucillius, saved from shipwreck, offer these locks clipped from my head, for I have nothing else.”

²⁸ Petronus (*Satyricon* 103) has Emolpus and Giton disguise themselves as runaway slaves by undergoing a close shave of their hair. To a superstitious bystander, their rasure looked like “the last offering of a doomed crew” of mariners who dedicated their locks to Neptune.

²⁹ Juvenal (*Satyræ* 12.81–82) has his “sailors [in the safety of the harbor] shave their heads and delight, in garrulous ease, to tell the story of their perils.”

³⁰ Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.83.2, lines 6–7) with diacritics reads, ξυρῆσαντες τὰς τρίχας or “shave off their hair.”

³¹ Artemidorus (*Onirocriticon* 1.22, line 8) relates that in gratitude for recovery from sickness or disaster, ξυρώνται οἱ ἀνθρώποι, “men are shaved” and offer their hair to the gods.

And *Censorinus* tells us, *Quidam pro cæterâ bonâ Corporis valetudine, crinem Deo sacram pascebant*.³² And the *Sicyonian Women*, as *Pausanias* tells us, did use to sacrifice their *Hair*, to *Hygia*, (or *Health*) the Daughter of *Esculapius*.³³

Now among the *Jewes* wee shall find something of the like. I'll only quote you, *Josephus*, who mentioning the Coming of *Berenices*, after sore Disasters, to *Jerusalem*, and performing her *Vowes* there, saies, *T'was the Manner, for them that were distressed with Sickness, or any other Calamities & Perplexities, to make a Vow, & for thirty Dayes before they slew their Sacrifices, to abstain from Wine, and at last, ξυρησασθαι τὰς κόμας To shave their Hair*.³⁴

Finally, Both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* agreed, in wearing their Nourished Locks of *Hair*, as a Token, of their *Devotion* to some God, and their *Dependence* on the Protection and Assistance of that God continually; The *Jewes*, of the *True*; The *Gentiles* of a *False*. And all that I now desire is, That they may *Illustrate* one another.³⁵

2189.

Q. What further Thoughts may one entertain about the *Law*, and the *State*, of the *Nazirites*?

A. I'll recited unto you, Dr. *Lightfoots* Thoughts. Hee saies, When I more narrowly consider that severe Interdiction, by which the *Nazarite* was forbidden, the Total Use of the *Vine*, I cannot but call to Mind;

I. Whether the *Vine* might not bee, the *Tree in Paradise*, that had been Forbidden to *Adam*, & by the Tasting whereof, hee sinned. The Jewish Doctors positively affirm This, without any Scruple.³⁶

³² The third-century Roman grammarian Censorinus, in his "birthday book" *De Die Natali Liber ad Q. Caerellium* (1.10) relates that "some even, in thanks for continued good health, used to let their hair grow as sacred to the god" (*Birthday Book*, p. 3).

³³ Pausanias's story of the Sicyonian women, citizens of the vanquished city of Sicyon, near Corinth, is a bit more gruesome than Mather (via Spencer 589) has us believe. In mythical times, the Sicyonians offered human sacrifice and the hair of their children to a statue "in the likeness of a woman frightful to look upon" near the tomb of Medea's children. Yet after the Romans had devastated the region, these sacrifices ceased. Nonetheless, "images of Asclepius and of Health [Hygia]" were common enough among the Corinthians (*Description of Greece* 2.3.6–7, 2.4.5, 2.11.6).

³⁴ During the time of the Jewish revolt against the Roman overlord (66–70 CE), Julia Berenice (c. 28–c. 92 CE), daughter of King Herod Agrippa I (BCE 10–44 CE), came to Jerusalem to fulfill her vow to God (66 CE). When she witnessed the slaughter of her people, she petitioned Gessius Florus, procurator of Judea (64–66), to command his soldiers to desist, yet without avail. According to Josephus Flavius (*Jewish Wars* 2.15), Berenice dwelt in Jerusalem for thirty days before offering her sacrifice. Meanwhile she abstained from wine and did as the Nazirites: ξυρήσεσθαι τὰς κόμας "shave the hair of [her] head" (*De Bello Judaico* 2.313, line 5; *Wars of the Jews* 2.15.1).

³⁵ Spencer (590). For a discussion of locks worn by both sexes in Mather's time, see R. E. Brown's "Hair Down to There" (495–514).

³⁶ Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (70a–b) tells the following story: "And Noah

II. Whether the Law about the *Nazarites* had not some reference, to *Adam*, while hee was under that Prohibition, in the *State of Innocency*. If the Bodily, and Legal Uncleanesses, about which there are such strict Præcepts, especially the *Leprosy*, the greatest of all *Uncleanesses*, did excellently decipher the State and Nature of *Sin*; might not the Lawes about *Nazarites*, which concerned the greatest Purities, in a most pure Religion, bee something in Commemoration of the State of Man before his Fall?³⁷

2190.

Q. If the *Nazarites* were to *Drink no Wine*, how could they conform to some other Lawes of Heaven? By those Lawes, there was, the /יין מצורה/ *Wine of Command*, as the Jewish Doctors call it. Such was the *Wine of Tithes*; (Deut. 12.17, 18.) And such was the *Wine of the Passeover*. The *Nazarite*, now, if hee Drink, hee violates the Command of his Order; if hee Drink not, hee breaks another Command. What shall hee do?

A. You have propos'd a Jewish Difficulty; pray, accept a Jewish Solution. All that I can find said by the Jewes upon it, is, *Lett Elias untie this knott, when hee comes*.³⁸

Q. What may be meant by, *The Liquor of Grapes*, interdicted unto the *Nazarites*?

A. That was forbidden, when *Wine* was forbidden.

Wherefore, the /משרה/ in this Pro{hi}bition, means *Water*, wherein *Grapes* have been steeped; *Water* tintured with *Grapes*; or wherein *Grapes* have been moistened. *Arias Montanus* renders it, *Madefactionem*.³⁹

began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard, – R. Hisda said in R. 'Ukba's name ... The Holy One, blessed be He, said unto Noah: 'Noah, shouldst thou not have taken a warning from Adam, whose transgression was caused by wine?' This agrees with the view that the [forbidden] tree from which Adam ate was a vine. For it has been taught: R. Meir said: That [forbidden] tree from which Adam ate was a vine, for nothing else but wine brings woe to man."

³⁷ The above paragraphs are extracted from John Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae & Talmudicae*, or, *Hebrew and Talmudical Explications upon the Evangelist St. Luke* [ch. 1:15], in *The Works* (1684) 2:382.

³⁸ Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae* (on Luke 1:15), in *The Works* (1684) 2:382: יתרצ אליהו. The expression that Elijah will solve all paradoxes upon his return can be found in many tractates of the Talmud. See f.e., tractate Berachoth (35b), Baba Metzia (37a), Menachoth (63a), Eiruvin (43b).

³⁹ The glosses (Numb. 6:3) of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Rashbam, Gersonides, Abarbanel, and Sforno are in full agreement, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:38). Mather's source appears to be Arias Montanus's gloss "madefactionem," i. e., "the moistening," as incorporated in Poole, on Numb. 6:3, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:636) and *Works* (7:101).

[10r]

2274.

Q. The Typical Consideration of *Nazaritism*, will bee of Use to Illustrate the Oracles of God, with some Evangelical Thoughts, as wee Read them? v. 21.

A. Indeed the *Nazarites* were an Order in much Esteem, among the ancient People of God. See Amos. 2.11. and Lam. 4.7. Some were *Nazarites* all their Life; like *Sampson*. Others, like *Paul*, were *Nazarites* for no more than a particular Term of Time; of which, the Jewes tell us, a *Month* was the shortest.⁴⁰

Now, the *Nazarites* were Types of our Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed, Hee was not literally a *Nazarite*; for Hee Drank *Wine*, at other times, as well as His *Last Supper*. But, Hee was, *Jesus of Nazareth*: And so, at least Allusively, Hee was called a *Nazarene*, (some think, as the Antitype of Judg. 13.5.) And, Hee was an *Holy Thing*, and the *most Holy One*, and entirely separated unto God.⁴¹

But the *Nazarites* were also Types of all the *Saints*, who are an *Holy People*, under a peculiar *Separation unto the Lord*.⁴²

And under the Order of the *Nazarites*, there was an adumbration of the *Benefits*, which the *Saints* do receive by the Lord Jesus Christ.

The *Nazarites* were Persons Devoted unto God; All Beleevers are so.

As the *Nazarites* were to forbear the Use of *Wine*; thus Beleevers are to bee Temperate, and Moderate, and Mortified; and instead of *Wine*, to bee filled with the *Spirit*.⁴³

As the *Nazarites* might not cutt their *Hair*; Thus Beleevers are to nourish the Growth of their *Divine Graces* in them.

As the *Nazarites* were by no means to *Touch the Dead*; thus, Beleevers are as much to Abstain from *Dead Works*. And as they might not *Mourn for the Dead*, so much Magnanimity must Beleevers express, in the Loss of their dearest Comforts.⁴⁴

If a *Nazarite* were by Chance Defiled, hee was to begin all again upon a *New Score*; This taught the absolute Purity & Perfection of the *Divine Law*, which will not admitt the least *Failing* whatsoever. [Gal. 3.10. Jam. 2.10.]

And when a *Nazarite* had fulfilled his *Vow*, hee was to bring a *Sacrifice of Atonement*. This taught the Secret and Unseen Guiltiness, which cleaves to the

⁴⁰ Based on Numb. 6:5, Bekhor Shor argues that according to Gematria “the numerical value of ‘he shall be’ is 30.” Thus “the basic nazirite term lasts for 30 days” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:38).

⁴¹ The source for the two preceding paragraphs is Samuel Mather’s sermon “*Who is the Type or Figure of him that was to come*, Rom. 5.14,” preached in Dublin, Ireland, on 26 Sept. 1667, and published in his *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), p. 120.

⁴² Samuel Mather, *Figures or Types* (1705), p. 121 (§ 2).

⁴³ Samuel Mather (p. 121, §§ 3, 1).

⁴⁴ Samuel Mather (pp. 121–22, § 2).

Best Men in their *Best Works*; which without *Atonement* by the Blood of Christ; cannot bee pleasing in the Sight of God. [1. Cor. 4.4.]⁴⁵

| [blank]

[10v]

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[11r]

3109.

Q. In the Form of *Blessing* præscribed unto the *Priests of Israel*, there is the Name of God *Three Times* repeted. From this Repetition, and its Conformity, to several Passages in the New Testament, (especially, 2. Cor. 13.14.) we *Christians* do readily apprehend an Intimation of the *Trinity*. But how, if you could find any thing in the Writings of the *Jewes*, to countenance this our Doctrine of the *Trinity*, it would be very serviceable? v. 24, 25, 26.

A. I can find very much.

Indeed R. *Bechai*, in *Pentat.* fol. 169. col. 2. [Edit. Crac.] upon these Words, in the Book of *Numbers*; He observes the Name *Jehovah*, repeted *Three Times*, with respect unto the Three several Times, the *Present*, the *Past*, & the *Future*, which the Divine Being, ha's a Power over. Now, I pray, compare this with those Words, Rev. 1.4. *Grace be unto you, and Peace, from Him which is, & which was, & which is to come.*⁴⁶

Somewhat more material unto our present Purpose, will it be, to take notice, of what the *Jewish* Writers observe, in the very ancient Book, *Bahir*, on this *Occasion*.⁴⁷ That Book, [as you'l find own'd by R. *Bechai*, ib: And R. M. *Markanti*, in Leg. fol. 173. col. 1. Edit. Ven.] It saies, That the Repeating *Jehovah* Three Times in this Place, teacheth us, *That these Names of the Blessed God, are Three Powers*, and adds, *ושמא כשמו דומה לחברד ושמה כשמו* Every Distinct Power, is like to each other, and hath the same Name with it. That is to say, *Every one is, & is called Jehovah*. The same Author adds [*Ibid.* col. 3.] That in the Words of the Psalmist, where it is said, *The Lord reigneth; the Words bear Witness of the*

⁴⁵ Samuel Mather (p. 122, § 1–2).

⁴⁶ Mather refers to *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya*, by R. Bachya ben Asher (Bechai) on Numb. 6:27 (*Torah Commentary* 6:1936). Here, R. Bechai, drawing on *Sefer ha-Bahir* (items 107–09), argues that “the three verses [Numb. 6:24, 25, 26] respectively contain 15, 20, and 25 letters each and that the 60 letters arrived at in such an ascending number, each verse having five letters more than the preceding one[,] alludes to G'd's presence having extended over past, present, and future, but that His presence is also felt in an ever increasing measure starting with the past progressing into the future.” There are at least two Cracow (Poland) editions of R. *Bechai*, sive *Bachie ben Ascer Biur al Hatorah* (Cracow, 1592, 1610). On the three benedictions, see also Johann Christoph Wagenseil's *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii Suspecta* (1674), on Mishnah, cap. 7, sec. 6, p. 671 (annot. 1).

⁴⁷ Attributed to R. Nehuniah ben HaKana, *Sefer ha-Bahir* (item 111), as quoted in R. Bechai's *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya* (6:1935–36), is one of the oldest classic commentaries on the *Kabbalah*. The first printed edition of *סֵפֶר הַבְּהִיר* *Sefer ha-Bahir* (*Book of Illumination* or *Brightness*) appeared in Amsterdam (1651). For a modern edition of this work and the applicable pages, see Aryeh Kaplan's translation *The Bahir Illumination* (1979), pp. 40–42.

Three /היות/ or Subsistencies, which are in the Blessed Creator. And what is said, That all is closed with Jehovah, the peculiar Name of God, intimates That He is the Fountain of all, & from Him are the Emanations of all. He adds, That it is said in the Book Zohar, That in these Words, The Lord Reigneth, there is a great Mystery.⁴⁸

Compare, Isa. 33.22. and Dan. 9.19.

3683.

Q. You are then satisfied, That here is a Respect unto the *Trinity*?

A. Yes. R. *Menachem* observes, That the Repetition of the Name, JEHOVAH *Three Times*, in these *Three Verses*, & that with a Different Accent in each of them, hath made the *Jewes* themselves to think, that there is a *Mystery* in it; And, we Christians understand the *Mystery* better than they. It may well be
[11v] look'd upon, by us, as having a Respect unto the *Three Persons* in {the} | *Trinity* beleev'd by us; This *Mystery*, as *Luther* wisely observes (In Psal. V.) is here, *occultè insinuatum*, tho' not plainly Revealed. And, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, Tis not hard to show, how properly, God the *Father*, may be said to, *Bless us & Keep us*; and God the *Son*, to *be Gracious unto us*; and God the *Holy Spirit*, to *give us Peace*.⁴⁹

The *Jewes* think it utterly unlawful, to add a *Fourth* Benediction unto these *Three*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ R. Bechai, *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya* (6:1935–37). “R. M. *Markanti*” is Rabbi Menachem ben Benjamin Rakanatensis (Recanati), an Italian Kabbalist (c. 1250–c. 1310), author of the kabbalistic commentary פירוש על התורה *Perush 'Al ha-Torah* (Venetii, 1523). The Italian Renaissance humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94) engaged the Jewish converso Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada to translate Recanati's commentary on the Torah into Latin (*Ef*). His commentary on Numb (ch. 6) is paraphrased in Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1627), on Numb. 6:21, 23, 24, 26 (pp. 41, 42, 43). For R. Menachem, see Johannes Buxtorf's *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis* (1696), p. 136 (sec. pag.).

⁴⁹ Patrick (*Numbers* 109, 110) extracts his material from R. Menachem ben Benjamin Rakanatensis's *Perush 'Al ha-Torah* (1523) on Numb, ch. 6, as paraphrased in Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1627), on Numb. 6:23, p. 42. The German Reformer Martin Luther speaks of the mystery “secretly insinuated.” The Latin quotation appears in Martin Luther's Lecture on Psalms 5 (“De Nomine Dei Tetragrammaton”) in *Opera Omnia* (1600), tom. 2, p. 62'.

⁵⁰ Patrick (*Numbers* 110).

3681.

Q. What were the *Covered Wagons*, (& for what?) that the Twelve Princes of *Israel*, presented before the Lord? v. 3.

A. In the first Place, they made a Present for the *Tabernacle* itself, & the Service of it; Namely, that such Parts of it, as were most cumbersome, might be more conveniently carried, & be kept free from Dust, Rain, or Hail.

The *Covered Wagons* the LXX call ἀμάξας λαμπηνίκας. Now, as *Pollux* reckons λαμπήνη among the *Wagons* and *Chariots* then used, so *Hesychius* tells us, it signifies, that sort of *Wagons* which Illustrious Men & Women used; and were (as tis here said,) covered overhead.¹

No doubt, they were sumptuous, inasmuch as *Two Princes* joined in presenting *One Wagon*.

From each of the Princes, there was *one Ox*; that there might be a *Pair of Oxen*, to draw each *Wagon*; & probably they were yoked, when the *Two Princes* drew near with their Offering.²

3682.

Q. When did the *Twelve Dayes* begin, for the Solemn Dedication, that is here before us? v. 11.

A. It is not easy to determine. But it seems a Reasonable Computation, that is made by *Fortunatus Scacchus*; [in his *Myrothec. Sacr. Elaeochrism.*]³

The *Tabernacle* being erected, the first Day of the first Month of the second Year after they came out of *Egypt*, *Seven Dayes* were spent in the Consecration of it, & of what belong'd unto it. On the *Eighth Day*, *Moses* began to consecrate *Aaron* and his Sons; which lasted *Seven Dayes* longer. Then the *Fifteenth Day* of that Month, was the *First Day of Unleavened Bread*; which God commanded, to be observed in the First Month, & lasted until the *Two and Twentieth Day*. The rest of the Month, we may well suppose to be spent in Giving, and Receiving, & Publishing the Lawes mentioned in the Book of *Leviticus*. After this, on the *First Day* of the *Second Month*, he began to Number the People, according to the Command in the Beginning of this Book. This we may suppose to have lasted *Three Dayes*. On the *Fourth* were the *Levites* numbred. On the *Fifth*, we

¹ Numb. 7:3 (LXX): ἀμάξας λαμπηνίκας “covered wagons.” Both Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* 10.52.2) and Hesychius (*Lexicon A–O*), alphab. letter *lambda* entry 261 (line 1), have λαμπήνη or “covered chariot.” See also Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:640) and *Works* (7:117–18).

² Patrick (*Numbers* 112–13).

³ Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium* (1625), in *Thesaurus Antiquitatum* (1725), lib. 2, cap. 74, cols. 677–86.

may conclude, they were offered unto God, & presented unto the *Priests*. On the *Sixth*, they were Expiated and Consecrated. On the *Seventh*, their several Charges were parted among them. After this, the *Princes* began to offer, upon the *Eighth* Day of the Second Month, for the Dedication of the Altar; which lasted until the *Nineteenth* Day inclusively; and on the *Twentieth* Day of this Month, they removed from *Sinai*, to the Wilderness of *Paran*.⁴

3683.

Q. Why is not *Nahshon* called, *The Prince of the Tribe of Judah*; when the Leader of every other Tribe, is expressly called, *The Prince*? v. 12.

A. He may be called only, *Nahshon of the Tribe of Judah*, for a Reason, which you will find among our *Illustrations* on the *Genealogy* of our Saviour.⁵

But, besides that; one Reason of this Omission may be (what is offered by Dr. *Patrick*;) Because he offered first; This was *Honour Enough*; and there needed no more to be said of him.⁶

3684.

Q. Well, but the Nature and Intent of the *Offering*? v. 13.

A. The *Silver Charger & Bowl*, were plainly, by their Metal, for the Use of the Altar of *Burnt-Offerings*, in the Outer Court; for all the Vessels of the *Sanctuary*, were of *Gold*.

Probably, the *Charger*, (or, *Platter*) was to receive the *Flesh*, which was offered at the Altar, or the Fine Flour for the *Meat-Offerings*. And the *Bowl* received the *Blood*, or was used for pouring out of *Wine*.⁷

The *Golden Spoon* was plainly for the Use of the *Golden Altar*.

[12v] | The *Burnt-Offering* then, is first mentioned; being the most *ancient* sort of Sacrifice, long before we read of any other.

But in Likelihood, the *Sin-Offering* was now offered before it.⁸

The *Peace-Offerings* were more numerous, than the *Burnt-Offering*, or the *Sin-Offering*, because the *Priests*, and the *Princes*, and as many of the People as they invited, had their Share of them, & Feasted before the Lord upon them, with great Rejoicing.

⁴ Scacchus (col. 678) and Patrick (*Numbers* 116–17). According to Numb. 2:3, Nahshon, the son of Aminadab, of the tribe of Judah, offered his sacrifice on the first day.

⁵ Son of Aram, “Aminadab begat Naasson” (Matth. 1:4, 16–17) and was thus part of the male line of Joseph, husband of Mary, the mother of Jesus of Nazareth. See also Mather’s commentary (*BA*, Matth. 1, p. 5^v) where Mather addresses the issue of the immaculate conception of Christ.

⁶ Patrick (*Numbers* 117).

⁷ Patrick (*Numbers* 117–18).

⁸ Patrick on Numb. 7:14, 15 (*Numbers* 118).

This Custome, as Mr. *Selden* observes, flowed from hence, to the *Gentiles*, who Dedicated their Altars, Temples, & Statues, with much of Ceremony; and the ancient *Greeks*, πολυτέλεστέρους ἱερείοις, *with more sumptuous Sacrifices*; but the ancient *Romans*, with publick *Largesses* also, as well as *Feasts* and *Playes*. At last, the *Holidayes* became *Anniversary*; as the *Feast of Dedication* among the *Jewes*, was, after the Times of *Antiochus*; in which there was, λυχνοκαΐα, *Illuminations*, or Setting up of *Candles*, in token of Joy.⁹

3685.

Q. What is there to be observed, in General, of the *Offerings* now before us? v. 88.

A. There is no Difference in the Offerings of these *Princes*; but all offered Plate of æqual Weight & Worth, and an æqual number of Sacrifices, without the least Variation. This was either by common Agreement, or by Divine Appointment; that the *Vanity* of *Vying one with another*, might be prevented; & none might brag of their out-doing their Brethren; and all might be confident, that they were æqually interested in the Altar, & accepted by the Divine Majesty.¹⁰

3686.

Q. Why does *Moses*, distinctly, and at Length, sett down the Offerings of the Princes, of every Tribe, tho' they were the very same, without any Difference? v. 88.

A. It was prudently done; That an honourable mention being made, of every one apart, none might think themselves, in the least neglected.¹¹

3687.

Q. Are there no moral Documents to be learned, from what was done, by the *Twelve Great Men of Israel*? v. 88.¹²

A. Hear *Conradus Pellicanus*, upon this Matter.

“Great Men should learn to be devoutly Religious, & so possess the Fear and Reverence of the LORD GOD, in their Breasts; to be Strong in Faith: far from Covetousness: Unanimous in their Endeavours to Honour God: to give

⁹ Patrick on Numb. 7:17 (*Numbers* 119) draws on John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1655), lib. 3, ch. 14, sec. 3, p. 261, arguing that Israel's pagan neighbors enviously imitated the Mosaic cultic rites – pious arguments widely proliferated among Christian apologists but challenged by such post-Reformation controversialists as Lord Herbert of Cherbury, John Marsham, John Spencer, Athanasius Kircher, John Toland, William Warburton and others. See P. Rossi's *Dark Abyss of Time* (123–32, 236–45) and D. Levitin's fine article “John Spencer's ‘De Legibus Hebraeorum’ and ‘Enlightened’ Sacred History” (49–92) and Levitin's *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of Science* (113–229).

¹⁰ Patrick on Numb. 7:19 (*Numbers* 120).

¹¹ Patrick on Numb. 7:24 (*Numbers* 120).

¹² Patrick on Numb. 7:84 (*Numbers* 121–22).

a Good Exemple of Faith & Good Works to others: to seek the Profit of their Subjects: assist the Servants of God: lend their Helping Hand to the Proficiency of true Piety: provide the Ministers of the Church with all things necessary, that Religion be not neglected & contemned by their Poverty; for the Sake of God whom they serve, to do them Honour by Word & Deed, & follow their Godly Admonitions.”¹³

Behold, what a *Key* you have, to render this Chapter a thousand times more profitable, than it appears to thousands who Read it without any Profit at all.

3688.

Q. What Reflection may one make upon, the *Articulate Voice of God*, so audibly speaking to *Moses*, from between the *Two Cherubims*? v. 89.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus reflects upon it.

“This Voice from God, which was perceived by Humane Ears, represented God, as if He was Incorporate: And may well be look’d upon, as an Earnest of that great Mystery, *God manifested in Flesh*; who in the Fulness of Time, became a Man, and spake to all the *Jewes* familiarly in their own Language.”¹⁴

[13r]

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1613.

Q. The *Lustrations* used among the ancient People of God, now call for your *Illustrations*? [Ponder, Heb. 9.10.]

A. The *Israelites* used certain *Purifications*, which were chiefly, [*Ad Munditatem*,] To præserved their *Daily Cleanness*: Washings Imposed on them, who were polluted from the Touch of a *Dead Body*, of a *Menstruate*, of a *Reptile*, & on them who laboured under *Unclean Fluxes*, or touch’d them who did so. Hereto may allude, Zech. 13.1. *A Fountain shall bee opened, for Sin & for Uncleanness*: And the Pool of *Siloam*, seems to have been particularly Designed for that Purpose; for which Cause, tis call’d by the *Syriac*, *Locus Baptisterij*. Yea, they had Private *Washing-Places*, therefore as well as Public Ones: whereof consult, Lev. 11.36.¹⁵

¹³ Conradus Pellicanus, on Numb. 7:88, in *Commentaria Bibliorum* (1536), 1:165.

¹⁴ Patrick’s Christological reading (*Numbers* 124) illustrates his typological concern with OT evidence foreshadowing Christ’s incarnation. Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:641) and *Works* (7:129) reveal that the manifestation of oracular voices had become less than trustworthy, especially in parallel cases in pagan sources (Plutarch, *Plutarch’s Lives*: Numa 8:1–15).

¹⁵ Mather’s query is based on John Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. III (“*De Lustrationibus & Purificationibus Hebraeorum*”), cap. 3, sec. 1, fols. 691–92. Here, Spencer’s source is John Lightfoot’s explication of John 5:2, in *Horae Hebraicae, Impensae In Evangelium S. Johannis* (1671), pp. 97–98. The Syriac translation of John 5:2, in the Latin rendition of Brian Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1658) 5:418, reads “in Jerusalem locus quidem baptisterii quo vocatur Hebraicè, Beth Hesdo, *domus misericordiae*” or, “Jerusalem is certainly the place where the baptistry is located, which in Hebrew is called Beth Hesdo, *house of mercy*.”

Of the peculiar *Lustral Water* made with the Ashes of the *Red-Heifer*, wee have elsewhere discoursed.¹⁶ Wee shall here only note, the Imitations, which there were of these *Lustrations*, among the ancient Pagans; among whom there were, as *Porphyrus* tells us, ἀγγεῖαι οἰκεῖαι καθ' ἑκάστον Θεόν, *Purifications, peculiar for each particular God*.¹⁷ *Maimonides* informs us, about the old *Zabians*, *Eos labores magnos habuisse circa pollutiones*; and hee thinks, that the Lord, in His Institutions, about their *daily Lustrations*, did propose to ease His People of Numberless & Cumbersome Rites, therein used among the Pagans.¹⁸ My Dr. *Spencer* Judges, that the *Egyptians* did refuse to *Eat* with the Sons of *Israel*, [Gen. 43.31.] for fear of contracting Impurity from their Communion with People, not enough purified with *Lustrations*, then commonly practised. Whether that were so, or no, it should seem, that of old, when the Nations Return'd from *War*, there was one special Occasion, on which these *Lustrations* were used among them. Consider Num. 31.19, 20.¹⁹

Thus *Amphitruo* saies to *Hercules*, in *Seneca*;

– *Manantes prius*

Manus cruentâ Cæde, et Hostili, expia.

And, *Eneas* in *Vergil*, saies;

Me, Belle stanto digressum et Cæde Recentis,

Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine Vivo

Abluero. –²⁰

But then the *Israelites* used further *Purifications*, which were, [*Ad cultum*,] To præpare for *Sacred Worship*.²¹ When they addressed themselves unto their *Prayers*, they first *washed* their *Bodies*, or, at least, their *Hands*. *Judith* did so, in

16 Mather touches upon this issue in his commentary on Lev. 27 (69v–70r); see especially Spencer's discussion of the sacrifice of the red heifer, in *De Legibus* (lib. 2, cap. 15, secs 3–5, fols. 382–93).

17 Spencer (693) conflates two portions of two sentences from Porphyrius (*De Abstinencia* 4.7, lines 24–25): ἀγγεῖαι οἰκεῖαι καθ' ἑκάστον Θεόν, or “purifications adapted to the several divinities” (*Selected Works*, p. 117).

18 Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 47, p. 492, argues that the Zabians (pagans), “had unpleasant things imposed on them in cases of uncleanness” (adapted from *Guide* 3.47.594).

19 Spencer (693, 694). Israelite warriors were commanded to purify themselves, their captives, and any object and garment that had come in touch with any person killed (Numb. 31:19–20).

20 Spencer (694). The passages from Seneca's *Hercules Furens* (4.1.919) has the horrified Amphitruon admonish Hercules, who approaches the altar with bloody hands: “first purify thy hands, dripping with thy slaughtered foeman's blood.” On the topic of ritual purity after acts of warfare, see J. J. Lennon's “Pollution, Religion and Society in the Roman World” (52–54). Likewise in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.717–20), the poet has Aeneias address his parent: “Father, do thou take in thy hand the sacred things and our country's household gods; for me, fresh from such a conflict and recent carnage, it were sin to handle them, until I have washed me in a running stream.”

21 Spencer (695). Lat. *Ad cultum*, “for worship.”

her Story; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentioning this Custome among the *Gentiles*, adds, That the *Jewes* were so Accustomed hereunto, ὡς καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ κοίτῃ βαπτίζεσθαι, *quod sæpè vel in lecto Jacentes Tingerentur*.²² Thus Dr. *Pocock* informs us, how *Washing at Rising*, became a *Law* among them, with an Opinion, That when a Man betook himself unto his Morning *Prayers*, God look'd not on him as *Pure*, *Antequam manus Aquâ perfuderit*.²³ A very old Poet, in *Clemens* hath celebrated this Usage of the *Jewes*;

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἰρουσιν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὠλένας ἀγνάς κλ.
At contrà puras tollunt ad sydera palmas,
Manè ubi de lecto veniunt, se virgine lymphæ
*Semper mundantes.*²⁴

To which, no doubt, alludes the Apostle, when he bids us *Pray*, 1. Tim. 2.8. *Lifting up pure Hands*. And *Philo* ha's a Passage to the like Purpose; For a Man to pray,

καθαρὰς καὶ παρθένους χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνας²⁵

And that, these *Euctical Washings*, are at this Day in Use among the *Jewes*, is well known to all Mankind. But now, among the *Gentiles*, we find an *Imitation* of them; Yea, so early an Imitation, That one may think, our Father *Noah*, and the Inspired Patriarchs, to have been the first, who, not without a Divine Warrant, Introduced such Cæremonies.

The Poet saies of *Telemachus*,
 Χειρας νηψάμενος πολὺς ἄλος, εὐχετ' Ἀθηνῇ·
Ablutis manibus pelago spumante Minervæ
*Oravit.*²⁶

And for the *Salt Water* thus used by the *Gentiles*, we find in *Aristæas*, that it was used by the *Jewes* also, To wash their Hands in *Sea-Water*, ὡς ἂν ᾔψαντο πρὸς τὸν

22 In the apocryphal book *Judith* (10:3; 12:7), the heroine washes and anoints herself before she separates drowsy Holofernes from his head. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Stromata* 4.22.142.3, line 1) adds in the dual-language rendition, that it was customary among the Jews "to wash frequently after being in bed" (*The Stromata* 4.22, in ANF 2:435).

23 The citation from Edward Pococke's *Notarum Miscellanea* (1654), ch. 9, p. 388, affirms that a man was not pure "until he washed his hands in water."

24 In his *Protrepticus* (6.70.2, lines 5–8), *Clemens Alexandrinus* upbraids Plato, claiming that the Egyptians taught him geometry, the Babylonians astronomy, the Thracians healing, and the Assyrians many other things; the Hebrews, however, taught him ritual purity: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἴρουνσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὠλένας ἀγνάς κλ. "But [they] raise to heaven pure arms etc.:/ When they rise from bed, purifying themselves with water,/ And worship alone the Eternal, who reigns for ever more" (*Exhortation to the Heathen*, ch. 6; in ANF 2:192).

25 The adapted passage from *Philo Judæus's De virtutibus* (sec. 57, line 5) advises that a man should "stretch his pure and virgin hands towards heaven."

26 *Spencer* (696) asserts with *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Stromata* 4.22.142.2, line 3) that *Odysseus's* son *Telemachus* Χειρας νηψάμενος πολὺς ἄλος, εὐχετ' Ἀθηνῇ "having washed his hands in the hoary sea, prayed to Athene [Minerva]" (*The Stromata* 4.22, in ANF 2:435) and *Homer's Odyssey* (2.261).

Θεόν.²⁷ Yea, sometimes, according to *Euripides*, they thus washed all their *Bodies*, as well as their *Hands*.

υδασι ποταμιοις λευκον χροα

Ελουσατ' κλ.

– *Aquis fluvialibus candidam cutim*

Lavit. –²⁸

Hesiod assures us, That the Usage was very *Ancient*.²⁹ *Apuleius* finds it among the *Egyptians*; *Discussà pigrâ quiete, alacer exurgo, meque purificandi studio, marino lavacro trado; septiesque submerso fluctibus capite, letus et alacer Deum prepotentem sic apprecabar.* *Homer* finds it among the *Græcians*; unlawful to worship,

Χερσι δ' ἀνιπτοισιν.³⁰

Plutarch finds it among the *Romans*; telling us, that *Marius* made his Vowes, νηάμενος τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχών *Washing his hands, & Lifting 'em up to Heaven*.³¹

Thus *Ovid* also saies, prays

Spargit et ipse suos Lauro rorante Capillos,

*Incipit et Solitâ fundere voce preces.*³²

And thus *Turnus*, in *Virgil*;

27 Spencer (696) quotes from the fabled Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates (2nd c. CE), which relates the story of the Hebrew Bible's translation into Greek (Septuagint). Spencer here relies on Aristeas's Letter as quoted in Humphrey Hody's *Contra Historiam Aristee De LXX Interpretibus Dissertatio* (1684), cap. 19, p. 288. Perhaps the strangely garbled Greek passage might best be rendered, "before they offered up prayers to God."

28 A maid in Euripides's tragedy *Alcestis* (159–60), first performed at the Dionysian festival in Athens (438 BCE), relates to the chorus that when Alcestis heard that her hour of death had arrived, she "ὑδασι ποταμιοις λευκὸν χροά / Ελούσατ' κλ., "bathed her fair skin in flowing water."

29 Spencer (697) believes that lustrations were ancient practices and points to Hesiod's warning (*Opera et Dies* 737–39): "do not cross on foot the fair-pouring water of everflowing rivers before you have prayed, looking into the beautiful stream, and washed your hands with lovely, clear water: whoever crosses a river, unwashed is evil and in his hands, against him the gods feel resentment, and they give him pains afterwards."

30 Spencer's adapted quotation from Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (11.1.14–16, 18–19) has Lucius, roused from his nightmarish sleep at full moon, narrate, "I shook off my sluggish sleep and arose eagerly. Desiring to purify myself I went at once to bathe in the sea, plunging my head under the waves seven times. Then, joyfully and eagerly, I prayed to the mighty goddess [Isis, Queen of Heaven]" to be returned to my human shape. *Homer* (*Iliad* 6.266) has Hector of the sparkling helmet decline the cup of honeyed wine, for he dares not offer libation to Zeus with Χερσὶ δ' ἀνιπτοισιν, "hands unwashed."

31 In his campaign against the invading Germanic Cimbri (109–102 BCE), the Roman general Gaius Marius (c. 157–86 BCE), according to Plutarch's *Vitae parallelae: Marius* (26.3, lines 1–2), chased the invaders and "after washing his hands, lifted them to heaven," and pledged one hundred head of cattle to curry the favor of the gods (*Life of Marius* 26.2).

32 Spencer's Latin quotation (698) is adapted from Ovid's *Fasti* (5.679–80). On the Ides of March, the narrator, calling upon Evander (grandson of Atlas), dips his laurel bough into the sacred water, "sprinkles, too, his own hair with the dripping laurel / and begins his prayer in a voice accustomed to confirm."

– *Ad undam*

*Processit, summosque hausit de gurgite lymphas,
Multa Deos orans, oneravitque aethera Votis.*³³

Finally, *Tertullian* complains, of these *Lotions*, as a Peece of Gentilism, crept into the Christian Church. Reprehending the Rites, which in his Time, were gott in among the Christians, hee ha's this Passage; *Hæ sunt veræ munditiæ, non quas plerique superstitiosè curant, ad omnem orationem, etiam cum lavacro totius corporis, Aquam sumentes.*³⁴

What the *Jewes* did thus, before they presented their *Prayers*, they much more did, before they Approached their *Altars*. When the *Priests* came to *sacrifice*, they were *washed*, according to Institution. [Exod. 30.18, 19, 20.] And that the vulgar *Israelites* also *washed* before a *Sacrifice*, is evident from that Passage in the Book of *Judith* [ch. 16.18.] ἡνίκα ἐκαθαρίθη ὁ λαὸς – *when the People were purified, then they sacrificed.*³⁵ Thus *Philo* also reports, that only *washed Hands* might bee laid on the *Head* of a *Victim*. Compare *Psal.* 26.6.³⁶

Now, so early was this Usage, that wee find *Jacobs* Family *washing* themselves, [Gen. 35.2.] before their *Sacrificing* at *Bethel*. Yea, and among the *Gentiles* too *Diodorus Siculus*, gives us this as the first Thing done, in a Morning by the *Kings of Egypt*, *They washed themselves & so they sacrificed.*³⁷

[13v] | Yea, *Plutarch* did fill a Volumn with respect to the Ceremonies of this Usage among all Nations, found in the *Archives of Antiquitie*.³⁸

Nor was it only when they came to the *Altar*, but also whenever they came to the *Temple*, that the *Jewes* did such a Thing. The *Priests* had a well-known *Laver* to this Purpose: And when the *Psalmist* saies, [Psal. 134.2.] *Lift up your Hands in the Sanctuary*; some understand it, with the special *Emphasis*, of, *Washed Hands*. And that the vulgar *Israelites* likewise *Washed* on this Occasion,

33 Sworn enemy of Virgil's hero Aeneas, young Turnus, king of the Rutuli, implores the goddess Iris in prayer. Upon finishing his invocation, he "went onward to the river, and took up water from the brimming flood, calling oft on the gods and burdening heaven with vows" (*Aeneid* 9.23–24).

34 The Latin citation from Tertullian's *De Oratione* (13.5–7) reads, "This is the true cleanliness, not that which certain persons are superstitiously careful of, rinsing their hands at every prayer, even when they have just come from a bath of the whole body."

35 LXX Judith (16:18, line 2).

36 Philo Judaeus (*De specialibus legibus* 1.198, lined 4–5) exhorts, ἔπειτα δ' ἀπονιψάμενος ὁ προσάγων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιφερέτω τῇ τοῦ ἱερέου κφαλῇ, "Let him who brings it [sacrifice] wash his hands, and lay his hands on the head of the victim" (*Works* 552).

37 Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca* 1.70.4, lines 6–8) reports that ἔπειτα λουσάμενον καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς συσσήμοις μετ' ἐσθήτος λαμπρὰς κοσμήσαντα τὸ σῶμα θύσαι τοῖς θεοῖς "After he [king of Egypt] had bathed and bedecked his body with rich garments and the insignia of his office, he had to sacrifice to the gods."

38 In his *Roman Questions*, Quest. 4 (264d), the Sabine priest Cornelius instructs Antor Curiatius that an ancient custom of the Sabines requires "to bathe in the Tiber" before Antor can sacrifice his beauteous heifer to Diana on the Aventine (*Plutarch's Moralia* 4:11).

wee have plentiful Assurances both from *Josephus* and from *Philo*.³⁹ Therewith compare Act. 24.17, 18. The *Gentiles* did the same. Saies *Euripides*,

– καθαραις δὲ δρόσοις
 Αφύδρανάμενοι, στείχετε ναούς·
 – *Purâ verò Aquâ*
Abluti, Ite in Templum.⁴⁰

Saies *Apuleius*, *Me prius sueto lavacro traditum, circumrorans abluit Sacerdos, rursumque, ad Templum reductum, ante ipsa Deæ vestigia constituit. Saies Porphyrius, Sacraria puritate operam non dantibus, nequaquam a denuda*.⁴¹ *Sozomen* finds the like among the *Gracians*, and *Ovid* among the *Romans*.⁴²

Sheringham speaking of the *בית הטבילה* / *House of Washing*, for them who entred the Jewish Temple, saies, *Hoc purgationis genus ceteræ quoque gentes à Judæis arripuerunt, quæ ad eorum Imitationem suas lustrationes et lavandi Ritus habuerunt, cùm Templâ sua Ingrederebantur*.⁴³ Allow, that the Jewish Nation, derived much of these Rites, from their Holy *Antemosaic* Ancestors, (with whom, *Wash'd*

³⁹ Spencer (701); *Josephus Flavius* (*Antiquitates Judaicæ* 8.96, lines 4–5; *Antiquities* 8.3.5–6); *Philo Judæus* (*Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis* 8, lines 1–4) assures his readers that “it is foolishness to imagine, that it is unlawful to enter into temples, unless a man has first washed his body and made that look bright, but that one may attempt to sacrifice and to pray with a mind still polluted and disordered.” More to the point, “shall any one endure to approach God without being purified as to his soul, [and] shall any one while impure come near to the purest of all beings, and this too without having any intention of repenting? *On the Unchangeableness of God* (8), in *Works* (158).

⁴⁰ In his tragedy *Ion* (96–97), *Euripides* has *Ion*, founder of Asia, call on the supplicants: – καθαραις δὲ δρόσοις / Αφύδρανάμενοι στείχετε ναούς “come to the temple [of *Phoebus*] when you have bathed in the pure waters [of the whirlpools of *Castalia*].”

⁴¹ Spencer (702); *Apuleius's* hero *Lucius*, about to be initiated into the sacred rites of *Isis*, first has to undergo the traditional ablutions: “When I had taken the customary bath, the priest began by asking the gods’ favour and then cleansed me with purificatory sprinkling” (*Metamorphoses* 11.23; *Hanson’s* translation). Spencer provides a conflated quote from *Porphyrius* of *Tyre*, *De Abstinencia* (4.6), who reports that “the sanctuary was inaccessible to anyone not purified and [had not devoted himself] to perform divine works.”

⁴² Spencer (703). The Christian lawyer *Salaminius Hermias Sozomenus* of *Constantinople* was born near *Gaza* (c. 380–c. 450 CE), in *Palestine*, but wrote his *Historia ecclesiastica* (6.6.5, lines 1–3) in *Constantine’s* new capital of the eastern Roman Empire. *Sozomenus* tells the following story: Before *Valentinian I* (321–75 CE) was crowned Roman emperor, he accompanied *Julian* (the apostate) to a pagan temple in *Gaul*, where a priest “sprinkled water . . . with the branch of a tree” upon the entering visitors. “A drop fell upon the robe of *Valentinian*; he scarcely could restrain himself, for he was a Christian, and he rebuked his asperser; it is even said that he cut off, in view of the emperor, the portion of the garment on which the water had fallen, and flung it from him” (*Ecclesiastical History* 6.6; in *NPNFii* 2:350). *Ovid* (*Metamorphoses* 1.371–73) has *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrrha* – sole survivors of the great flood – take drops of water from *Cephisus’s* stream and “sprinkle them on head and clothing” before prostrating themselves before the shrine of *Themis*.

⁴³ Spencer (701) quotes from *Robert Sheringham’s* annotations on *Joma. Codex Talmudicus* (1648), cap. 3, pp. 47, 48: “The rest of the nations took up this kind of purification from the Jews and had their rites of lustration and washing in imitation of them, when they entered their temples.” See also tractate *Yoma* (3.3–4), *The Mishnah* (164).

Hands, were a Token of Innocency; because, as *Aristæas* notes, *πᾶσα ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεταί*, *All Business is done by the Hands*,) and I shall consent thereto, much rather than to the learned *Spencers* Opinion.⁴⁴ As for the Pagans, I content myself with *Justin Martyrs* Account, who on those Words of the Prophet, [*Wash yee, make you clean*,] saies, *when the Dæmons heard this Washing required by the Prophet, they caused their Votaries, coming to them, with any of their Devotions, to lustrate themselves with Sprinkling of Water, yea, to wash all their Bodies*.⁴⁵

There were Three Wayes of *Lustrating* with *Water*, used among the *Hebrewes*. One was, by *Immersion of the Body*; This was /טבילה/ λούσις. Another was, by *Ablution of the Hands & Feet*; This was /קדש/ νίψις. A Third was, by the *Aspersion of Water*; This was /נדה/ or /הזיה/ ραντισμός. On the Two former, wee have had some Reflections; Beholden to, tho' Opposing of, Dr. *Spencer* in them. In the like Manner, wee will make a few more particular ones now upon the Third.⁴⁶

The *Gentiles* did use to carry the *Lustral Water* about the Person to bee *Lustrated*, and *Sprinkle* him *Around*. In *Virgil*,

— *ter socios purâ circumtulit undâ*,

there *circumferre*, is used for, *purgare*; and hence the *Præposition*, *περι*, is commonly præfixed unto Words, wherein there is a *Lustration* signified.⁴⁷ Now, *Quære*, whether the *Jewes* did the like? For the LXX used the Words *περιεῤῥαντίθη* and *περιῤῥαίνων*, in the Business of the *Sacred Aspersions*.⁴⁸

Moreover, The *Gentiles* did practise *Aspersion*, just after an *Immersion*, or an *Ablution*, præceding it. Besides what *Apuleius* intimates of This, there is a *Devotion* employed by *Theophrastus*, upon his Bigot, for going forth ἀπονιψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ περιῤῥανόμενος, *Manibus elotis, et Aquâ lustrali Aspersus prodiret*.⁴⁹

44 Mather provides his own translation of the passage from *Aristæas's* famous letter, *Aristæae epistola ad Philocratem* (sec. 306, line 4), insisting all along that whatever similarity exists between Jewish and pagan rites is because all peoples inherited their share of *Prisca Theologia* from their common, antemosaic ancestor Noah, whose descendants carried the essence of true religion into all the world during their dispersion.

45 Mather translates *Spencer's* Greek quotation (703) from *Justin Martyr's Apologia* (62.1, lines 1–4).

46 *Spencer, De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. III, cap. 4, fol. 704, argues that the Israelites and their descendants imitated the custom of ablution from their former Egyptian overlord. See Numb. 8:7, 19:19; Ezek. 36:25.

47 *Spencer* (704); *Aeneas* and his men weep for their dead comrade Misenus as his body is cremated on the pyre; *Corynaeus*, meanwhile “thrice encircled his comrades and cleansed them with pure water” (*Virgil's Aeneid* 6.229). *Spencer's* explanation that “circumferre” (“encircle”) metaphorically signifies “purgare” (“cleanse”) is based on the annotation on *Aeneid* 6.229, in *Servius's* compendium *In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* (2:42).

48 The LXX appears to suggest that the term “purify” (Numb. 19:13) signifies to cleanse by “sprinkling” (literally: casting aspersions) water on the unclean (Numb. 19:18, 19, 21).

49 *Apuleius* tells of many such lustral sprinklings in his previously cited *Metamorphoses* (9.23; 11.1.14–16, 18–19). The Greek philosopher *Theophrastus* likens a superstitious man to a person

Pythagoras visited these *Jewes*, inquiring this Thing, [for] the *Jewes* did what was much akin; whereto the Apostle alludes, in Heb. 10.22. *Having our Hearts sprinkled from an Evil Conscience, and our Bodies washed with Pure Water.*⁵⁰

Indeed, the *Usage* among the *Gentiles*, was degenerated into that horrid Superstition, mentioned by *Macrobius*; *Constat, Dij superis sacra facturum corporis Ablutione purgari; cum verò Inferis litandum est, satis actum videtur, si adpersio sola contingat.*⁵¹ *Aeneas* therefore does refer to the Rites of the *Dij Superi*, when hee saies,

– *Donec me Flumine Vivo*

Abluero. –

But *Dido* refers to the *Dij Inferi*, saying,

Annam, cara mihi nutrix huc siste sororem,

*Dic corpus properet Fluviali spargere lymphâ.*⁵²

There were likewise Remarkable Differences, between the *Aspersions* of the *Jewes* and of the *Gentiles*. The *Holy Water* of the *Jewes*, was made with the Ashes of a *Red-Heifer* infused: The *Gentiles* made *Theirs*, with Quenching therein a Firebrand, which they took off the Altar. The *Jewes*, for a *Sprinkler*, had a Bunch of *Hyssop*; with the *Gentiles*, t'was, according to *Virgil*,

*Spargens Rore levi, et Ramo felicitis olivæ.*⁵³

These were the *Ordinary Purifications* among the *Jewes*. Lett us bestow a Touch or Two, upon the *Extraordinary*.⁵⁴

who would not begin his day until he had “washed his hands and sprinkled himself with water [at the Nine Springs]” (*Characteres* 16.2, lines 1–2).

50 Spencer (704–05) relies on Diogenes Laertius’s *Life of Pythagoras* (*Vitae Philosophorum* 8.33), in which the famous Greek philosopher reportedly speaks of how those who approach the gods must first attain purity through penitence, baths, and aspersions, and by abstaining from touching corpses, from having sexual intercourse of any kind, and from consuming meat of perished animals. The similarities of these rites of lustration and purity with those of Moses, it is commonly believed, suggest that Pythagoras learned of these practices from the Jews of Palestine or from the priests of Egypt into whose cult he had been initiated (*Vitae* 8.2–3).

51 Spencer (705); Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.1.6) distinguishes between the ablutions for celestial and infernal deities: “It’s agreed that someone intending to sacrifice to the heavenly gods washes his body clean, whereas to sacrifice acceptably to the gods of the underworld it is considered enough merely to sprinkle oneself.”

52 Virgil’s Aeneias, too, believes that he cannot well sacrifice to the celestial gods “until I have cleansed myself in a flowing stream” (*Aeneid* 2.719–20). However, Queen Dido of Carthage does not believe that the infernal gods are as demanding, when she summons her servant: “My dear nurse, bring my sister here to me: tell her to quickly sprinkle her body with river water” (*Aeneid* 4.634–35) – both quotations from Virgil appear in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.1.6, 7) and are here offered by Mather via Spencer (705).

53 Spencer (706); Virgil has Corynaeus, Aeneas’ comrade-in-arms, “sprinkle light dew from a fruitful olive-bough” (*Aeneid* 6.230).

54 The following paragraphs are extracted from Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. III, cap. 5, fol. 706 ff.

The *Purifications* of the *Priests*, did consist in, first, an *Ablution*: [Exod. 29.4. and 30.19, 20.] especially, if they had contracted any late Impurity. [Lev. 22.2, 3. Deut. 23.10, 11. Lev. 22.4.] Secondly, an *Aspersion*, of the *Lustral Water*. [Num. 19.13, 20.] Thirdly, a *Tinging*, and *Sprinkling* with *Blood* of the *Sacrifice*. [Exod. 29.19, 20.] Fourthly, an *Abstinence*; particularly, from all *Venery*: [1. Sam. 21.4.] And from *Wine*: [Lev. 10.9. and Ezek. 44.21.] Of which latter, both *Josephus* and *Philo* speak notably;⁵⁵ and it is a Passage in *Hecatæus*, That the Jewish Priests, τὸ παράπαν οἶνον οὐ πίνειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, *did always abstain from Wine, when they were employ'd in the Temple*.⁵⁶ And finally, From all *Funeral Rites*, and every thing that had *Uncleanness* in it.

Now the *Gentiles* had the like *Ceremonies* among *Them* also. Else *Arrianus* would not have said, That a Man was to come unto the ancient *Ceremonies*, μετὰ θυσίας, καὶ μετ' εὐχῶν, καὶ προηγνευκότα, *with Sacrifice, and Prayers, and Chastity*.⁵⁷ The *Aspersion* with the *Blood* of the *Sacrifices*, used among the *Gentiles*, is abundantly mentioned by *Suidas*, by *Schaccus*, by *Wormius*, by *Pocock*, and others.⁵⁸ The *Abstinence from Women*, required of them, that were to celebrate their *Mysteries*, is noted by *Porphyrie*, as well as others; who putts, α, πρὸ δὲ πάντων, an, *especially*, upon this Point, – *Abstinence* from ἐμυλίας γυναικείας, *the Conversation of Women*.⁵⁹ As for *Wine*, Lett *Apuleius* tell you, How being a Candidate of the Religion of *Isis*, hee was kept, *Invinius*, (an elegant Word for, one, *without Wine*.) Ten Dayes together.⁶⁰ *Plutarch* also will tell you, That the *Egyptian Priests*, οἶνον οὐκ εἰσφέρουσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, *carried no Wine* into the | Temple, {πολλὰς δ' αἰνους ἀ}γνείας ἔχουσιν, *Multus autem Invinias exercent castimonias*.⁶¹

55 Both Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.12.2) and Philo Judæus (*De ebrietate* 32.126–29; *Works* 218) address the Mosaic proscription against priests imbibing wine.

56 Hecatæus Abderita (*Fragmenta*, Jacoby # F 3a, 265, F, fragm. 21, line 61) as extant in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.4.5, line 2). Mather translates the Greek passage.

57 Spencer (708) identifies Arrianus (*Epistola* 3.21) as the source of this citation, but the passage is actually extant in *Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* (3.21.14, lines 3–4) by Epictetus Hieropolis (c. 55–c. 135 CE), a Greek stoic philosopher and teacher of the Roman historian Lucius Flavius Arrianus Xenophon (c. 86–c. 160 CE), best known for his highly popular biography of Alexander the Great, *Anabasis Alexandri*.

58 Suidas (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter *theta* entry 302, 303), *voce* θεός Ἄρης. Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochristaton Myrothecium Sacroprophanum* (1625–27), in *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), pars 2, cap. 77–78, fols. 701–15; Olaus Wormius, *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex* (1643), lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 7; Edward Pococke, *Notae In Quibus Aliquam-Multa Quae ad Historiam Orientalium* (1648), appended to *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (1650), pp. 100–01.

59 Porphyrius of Tyre (*De Abstinencia* 4.7, line 31).

60 Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 11.23), as previously cited, had to abstain from all pleasures, especially from those of wine, until his day of consecration to the goddess Isis.

61 Spencer (708); Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 353a, lines 11, 12; 353b, lines 2–3). The Heliopolites who revere their god “bring no wine into the temple,” because they deem it unseemly to imbibe in vino veritas during the day, when their king watches them (353a, lines 11, 12, 13);

But it is to bee Remark'd, That the *Gentiles*, in their *Purifications*, outwent the *Jewes*, with many Difficult, and Troublesome, Circumstances. The *Priests* of *Egypt* were, as *Porphyrie* saies, *Forty Dayes*, or more, a *Purifying*: And, τρις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπελούοντο ψυχρῶ, *They washed Thrice a Day in Cold Water*.⁶² The *Priests* of *Israel*, had their Matters dispatch'd *at once*. The *Aspersion* undergone in *Tau-robolijs et Criobolijs*, by some of the *Priests*, among the *Pagans*, intended for *Isis*, or *Ceres*, was abominable. *Prudentius* informs us, That they were lett down into a Pitt, covered with *Planks*, which were bored full of *Holes*: On these Planks, was kill'd a *Bull*, or a *Ram*, so that the shed *Blood* of the Creature, might run thro' those *Holes*, on every Part of the poor Knaves in the Pitt.⁶³ The *Aaronic Priests*, had only an Ear, a Thumb, a Toe, lightly touch'd with Blood. The *Heathen Priests*, did not seldome with *Castration* præserve *Chastity*, or, by Juice of *Hemlock*, not so much Flie from *Lust*, as Putt it unto Flight. The *Jewish Priests*, knew none of these Hardships!⁶⁴

Nor were the *Common People* among the *Israelites*, without their extraordinary *Purifications*, at the Approach of extraordinary *Solemnities*. [Consider, Joh. 11.55. on which Place, take *Theophylact* for an Expositor, *They that had sinned, willingly or unwillingly, kept not the Passeover, except they were first purified, according to the Custome; by Washing, and Fasting, and Shaving, and Offering the Appointed Sacrifices*, — ἐι μὴ πρότερον ἡγνίσθησαν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, hee saies.]⁶⁵ R. Isaac therefore saies, *Tenetur unusquisque ad se purificandum antè Festum*. And in *Mohed Katon*, you have the Rites of it; *Hi se tondent intrà Festum*, — *ijdem etiam lavant Vestes intrà Festum*.⁶⁶ And if any special *Pollution* had happened

however, others among the Egyptian priests who indulge but moderately "have many periods of holy living [i. e., abstinence]" devoted to their studies (353*b*, lines 2–3).

62 Porphyrius of Tyre (*De Abstinencia* 4.7, lines 32–33).

63 Prudentius (*Peristephanon Liber* 10.1008–50) describes this sanguine initiation ritual at some length. The "*Taurobolia*" or "*Criobolia*" involve the sacrifice of a bull or ram to Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods, who was revered in Greece and Rome. See also R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium* (1969).

64 Spencer (709). Exod. 29:20–21. In his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacro-Prophanarum* (1725), lib. 2, cap. 77, col. 702, Fortunatus Scacchus draws attention to the resemblance between the Mosaic rites of consecrating a priest and those of the Israelites' neighbors.

65 Spencer (710–11) attributes this passage to Theophylact (probably Theophylact [c. 1055–c. 1107], archbishop of Ohrid [Macedonia] and biblical commentator); however, it appears to be based on a rendition by the Presbyter Hammonius, in *Catena in Joannem (catena integra)* (e codd. Paris. Coislin. 23 + Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T. I.4.), in *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum* (2:323, lines 15–17). Be that as it may, the Greek passage reads, "if they did not purify beforehand according to the custom."

66 R. Isaac instructs that "A man should purify himself for the festival" (Babylonian Talmud, tractate Rosh HaShannah 16*b*). The sages of the Mishnah, tractate Moed Katan (3.1–2), explain that "These [alone] may cut their hair during mid-festival — and these also wash their clothes during mid-festival" who come from the regions of the gentiles, or from captivity, or have been reinstituted after excommunication (*The Mishnah* 209).

unto them, *Then*, as *Eulogius* tells us, ἁμαρτάνοντες πρότερον μὲν ἡγνίζοντο.⁶⁷ *when they fell into Sin, they first purified themselves; they then were washed with Water; and so they offered Sacrifices for their Sins.* That the *Gentiles* did the like, all *Ages* Testify. Wee will now quote no Testimony, but one from *Tertullian*; *Penes veteres, quisquis se Homicidio infecerat, purgatrice Aquâ se expiabat.*⁶⁸

From the *Purification* of *Men*, if wee pass to the *Purification* of *Things*, wee shall find that *Sacred Things* among the *Jewes* were *Purified*, partly by *Dedication*, or, *Consecration*, partly by a proper *Mundification*. A *Dedication*, or *Consecration*, to Divine Uses, was performed, by the Sprinkling of *Blood* on them; [Heb. 9.22] and by the Pouring of *Oyl* on them; [Lev. 8.10, 11.] A *Mundification* from Impurities, was accomplished, by *Washing*; [Lev. 1.9.] and by Removing all that was Filthy. [1. Mac. 4.44, 45, 46.] *Civil Things* were *Purified*, by passing thro' either *Fire*, or *Water*, according to the Capacitie of the Things themselves, to bear the *Lustration* Imposed upon them. What Conformitie there was to some of these Rites, among the old *Gentiles*, it would bee either an *Hard*, or a *Long*, Work to Relate. But I am sure, wee find *Unctions* for *Purification*, in the Highest Antiquity. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, mentions the *Gentiles*, as, πᾶν ξύλον καὶ πάντα λίθον λιπαρὸν προσκυνούτας, *Worshipping every Stock and Stone, that was Anointed.*⁶⁹ Thus *Arnobius*, mentions, *Lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine ordinatum*; *Apuleius* mentions, *Lapidem unguine delibutum*; *Lucian* speaks of, *Ara oleo perfusa.* —⁷⁰

Compare Gen. 28.18. — with the Words of *Mercer* thereupon, *Hic Ritus non à Jacobo primum institutus, sed jam olim, à patribus acceptus fuerat.*⁷¹

[14v] | [blank]

67 The shortened Greek passage from the Greek Patriarch St. Eulogius of Alexandria (d. 608), as quoted in Photius's *Bibliotheca* (Codex 280, Bekker page 540b, lines 23–24), signifies, “when they [the Hebrews] fell into sin.”

68 Tertullian (*Liber de baptismo*, cap. 5, col. 1205A) explains that the use of purifying waters among the heathens was customary, especially “among the ancients, whoever had defiled himself with murder, was wont to go in quest of purifying waters” (*On Baptism*, ch. 5, in *ANF* 3:671).

69 The Greek quote is adapted from Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 7.4.26.2, lines 1–2) and *Stromata* (7.4), in *ANF* (2:529).

70 Arnobius of Sicca (*Disputationum Adversus Nationes* 1.39) [PL 05. 0767] confesses that whenever he saw “an anointed stone and one bedaubed with olive oil,” he adored it (*Against the Heathen* 1.39), in *ANF* (6:423). So does Apuleius (*Libro Floridorum* 1.5), in *L. Apulei Mad-aurensis floridorum* (1865), p. 1, who speaks of “stones anointed with fat.” And Lucianus Samosatenus, in his *Deorum concilium* (12.7) speaks of, Βωμὸς χρησμοδεῖ, ὃς ἂν ἐλαίῳ περιχυθῇ or “the altar imbued with oil.”

71 Finally, In *Genesisin Primum Mosis Librum* (1598), p. 495C, Johannes Mercerus (Jean Mercier) comments, “This rite was not first instituted by Jacob, but was now accepted by the Fathers.” The two preceding paragraphs are extracted from Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. III, cap. 6, fol. 713.

Q. What we render, *Water of Purifying*, is there any need of using such a Trope, as we use, in so rendring of it? v. 7.

A. No; none at all. The True Translation is, *Waters of Sin*, or as we may say; *Sin-Waters*. *Arias Montanus* renders it, *Aquas peccati*. So the *Tigurin Bible*, and so *Vatablus*. *Luther* putts both into one Word, *SUNDWASSER*; *Piscator* and *Aynsworth* do the like.¹

3689.

Q. When tis said, *Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord*; the Hebrew Words are, *Aaron shall wave the Levites before the Lord, for a Wave-Offering*. And we know, that an Agitation to & fro, before the *Altar*, was a Solemn Consecration of a Thing to God, as a *Sacrifice*. But it was impossible for *Aaron*, to *wave* them, as he did some Parts of a *Sacrifice*? v. 11.

A. And therefore, it is probable, that *He*, lifting up his hands, & turning about unto all sides (as he did, when he offered a *Wave-Offering*.) *They*, at his Command imitated his Motion; & so were offered up unto God, & became wholly *His*.

This is Dr. *Patricks* Notion of it.²

Monsr. *Saurin* has this Thought upon it. The same Term that is employ'd to signify a certain External Act of Religion, is often made Use of also to denote the Internal Act, whereof the other is only a Type, & draws all its Efficacy from it. Thus, because that *Sacrifices* represent *Prayers*, and the former are of no Validity without the latter, for this very Cause, *Prayers* are called *Sacrifices*. In like Manner, the Act of *Waving* the things offered, imported their Consecration to GOD. For this Reason probably, the Consecrating of the *Levites* to the Lord, is express'd here, by a Word that imports *Waving*, in the primary Signification of it.³

1 "Aguas peccati" ("sin-waters") is the term used by Arias Montanus, in Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:642); in the *Tigurin Bible*, aka. *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris & Novi* (1543), on Numb. 8:7 (p. 64^v); and in Franciscus Vatablus, *Biblia Sacra Bibliorum Sacrorum* (1584), p. 88^r (Scholia in Cap. VIII). The marginal annotation on Numb. 8, in Martin Luther's German *Biblia: Das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrifft* (1545), reads "Sündwasser" (Mather's rendition omits the *Umlaut*); Johannes Piscator, *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), p. 327 (Scholia in cap. VIII). Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1627), on Numb. 8:7, p. 52 (sep. pag.)

2 Simon Patrick (*Numbers* 129).

3 Pierre Saurin, *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (1723), Diss. LV, p. 529.

[15v]

Q. The *Levites*, how might they spend their Time, after they were by Age discharged from the laborious Part of their Service? v. 25.

A. They had then Time to apply themselves unto Learning & Study; by which Means, they became Expert (as Mr. *Lewis* remarks in his *Origines Hebraeae*;) in *Medicine* and *Policy*, and other Liberal Arts. Thus they became able to do Good among their Neighbours, & govern Schools for the Education of Youth, & qualified for high Posts in the Governments; and many of them were advanced unto the principal Offices in the Commonwealth.⁴

3690.

Q. What is there to be observed concerning the Ministry of the *Levites*, who were, as you know, to be a Sort of Guard unto the *Tabernacle*, but cease to do any laborious Work, after *Fifty*? v. 26.

A. When there was no further Occasion to carry the *Ark* and the *Tabernacle*, then *David* made of {them} *Singers* in the Temple, and *Porters*. For this they were counted fitt at *Twenty Years* of Age; but continued their Employment no longer, than till *Fifty*, (as the *Jewes* tell us,) when their Voice began to decay.⁵

Whence that Observation of *Abarbinel*, upon this Chapter; *Age makes Levites unfit for Service, not Blemishes in their Bodies: But Priests are unfit by Blemishes in their Bodies, not by Age.*⁶

The *Priests*, it seems, continued their Service, as long as they lived. And tho' they did not begin it, until *Twenty Years* of Age, yett no Law of God forbad them (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks,) to begin it sooner.⁷

The *Levites* were discharged at *Fifty*; because their Service was an hard Labour; and because the Voices of the *Singers* were then under some Decay.

Monsr. *Jurieu* observes, They had no *peculiar Habits*; their Garments were like those worn by the rest of the People. *Josephus* tells us, under the Reign of *Agrippa*, the *Levites* obtained from the King, & the *Sanhedrim*, a Priviledge of wearing Linen Tunicks, like the *Priests*, but they did not enjoy it long, the Destruction of the Temple being so near at hand.⁸

⁴ Thomas Lewis, *Origines Hebraeae* (1724–25), vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 11, p. 169.

⁵ See also Babylonian Talmud, tractate Chullin, Gemara (24a)

⁶ Don Isaac Abarbanel, quoting Rashi on Numb. 8:25, argues that a Levite who was to carry the holy vessels of the temple, had to be a “minimum of thirty years old and not older than fifty.” Once he had reached the age of fifty, he “was forbidden to carry the holy Tabernacle’s artifacts on his shoulder, but he continued to perform all the rest of the Levite tasks, such as singing, closing and opening the gates, and perform guard duties, and help loading and unloading the wagons, for as long as he was physically fit” *Selected Commentaries Bamidbar/Numbers* 4:95, 96). See also Talmud, tractate Chullin (24a).

⁷ Patrick (*Numbers* 134–35).

⁸ Mather’s source for Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 20.9–10) is Pierre Jurieu’s *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 9, p. 440, which also supplies Mather with the detail of this concluding paragraph.

3691.

Q. It is required, That *the Passeover be kept, in its appointed Season, according to all the Rites of it, and according to all the Ceremonies thereof.* What may be the Difference, between *Rites* and *Ceremonies*? v. 3.

A. If there be any Difference we may suppose, the *Rites* to be, the *Unleavened Bread*, and the *Bitter Herbs*, & some other things in the *Twelfth* of *Exodus*: But the *Ceremonies*, to be, their Eating it *in Haste*, with their *Loins* girt, their *Shoes* on their feet, & their *Staves* in their Hands; unto which they were not bound, when they came into the Land of *Canaan*, and were no longer *Travellers*; but no doubt, these were observed, while they were in the *Wilderness*.¹

3692.

Q. Where did they gett *Flocks* and *Flour*, to observe the *Passeover*, in the *Wilderness*? v. 5.

A. They might easily purchase from their Neighbours, who lived not far from them. But after they removed from *Sinai*, where they rested about a whole Year, they were so uncertain in their Motions, that they did not *circumcise* their *Children*; who consequently, could not eat of the *Passeover*. Indeed we never do read of a *Passeover* kept, after this, during the *Forty Years* Peregrination in the Wilderness. Nor had they now kept this, which we find in the Chapter now before us, without a special Command for it. But there are Christian Writers, who deliver it as the Opinion of the *Hebrewes* themselves, that they kept another *Passeover*, a little before they Ended their Wandrings in the Wilderness; namely, in the first Month of the Year, wherein *Miriam* died.²

3693.

Q. Did they also keep the whole *Feast of Unleavened Bread* for *Seven Dayes* following the *Passeover*, in the Wilderness?

A. Probably, No. It would have been hard for to have gott Bread enough.³

¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 137).

² Patrick (*Numbers* 138) synthesizes John Selden's discussion in *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Juridicis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 1, pp. 57–62.

³ Interestingly, Mather here disagrees with Patrick on Numb. 9:5 (*Numbers* 138). With reference to Numb. 4:7 to back him up, Patrick believes that flour and bread were not hard to come by in the Sinai desert, because these supplies could be bought from neighboring peoples in this wilderness.

[16v]

3694.

Q. About the *Time* of keeping the *Passeover*, there was Provision for a Man in a Journey afar off. What was counted, a Journey afar off? v. 10.

A. The *Mischna* reckons this *Derek rechokah*, to be, *Fifteen Miles*, from *Jerusalem*, or the *Tabernacle*;⁴ For, as *Maimonides* notes, a Man might under that, afoot reach to *Jerusalem*, time enough to keep the *Passeover*.⁵ But if so small Distance, might have been a good Reason, to have excused their Absence, most of the Nation might have made some Excuse to stay away. *Philo* determines the Distance much better, when he saies, *The Second Passeover was permitted, unto such, who were hindred by their Travels into Countreyes a great Way off*, [τοις μακρᾶς χάριν ἀποδημίας κωλυομένοις:] *from Sacrificing with the rest of their Neighbours*.⁶

I will only add; The *Jewes*, who are called, *Karaites*, as Mr. *Selden* observes, expressly tell us, That at the *Second Passeover*, they were obliged unto no more than *Eating the Lamb*, with *Unleavened Bread & Bitter Herbs*; & not unto the Feast of *Unleavened Bread for Seven Dayes*, because they might do that, in the *Passeover* of the *First Month*; the *Unclean* were not prohibited from that Action.⁷

If Persons were hindred from the *Passeover* in the *Second Month* also, they were hindred altogether; they could not keep it, the *Third & Fourth*, lest they confounded one Feast with another.⁸

3695.

Q. Wee read of that coelestial & wonderful *Cloud*, which abode upon the *Tabernacle* in the *Wilderness*; whether it were two Dayes, or a Month, or a Year, that the

⁴ According to the *Mishnah*, tractate *Pesachim* (9.2), the distance from *Jerusalem* in “a journey afar off” or דֶּרֶךְ רַחוּק [derek rachowq] is defined as that “Beyond Modiith [i. e., Modaith, Modiin; possibly modern Mediyeh, c. 17 miles NW of Jerusalem] or a like distance in any direction.” R. Eliezer explains that this distance is to be measured from “the threshold of the Temple Court” (*The Mishnah* 148). R. Jose hints at an allegorical signification of this symbolic distance: That the Masoretic point above the letter ה teaches, “Not because it is really afar off, but [when he is] from the threshold of the temple court and without [he is regarded as being ‘afar off’]” (*Soncino Talmud*, *Pesachim* 93b). The rabbinic commentary (Gemara) on the Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Pesachim* (93b) explains that according to the notable Talmudist Ulla (3rd–4th c. CE), “From Modi'im to Jerusalem is fifteen miles” (c. 2,000 cubits or ¼ of a parasang).

⁵ Maimonides, *Hilchot Korban Pessah* (5.8), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:52).

⁶ Philo Judaeus (*De vita Mosis* 2.232, lines 1–2) glosses that “those who are travelling in a foreign land, or dwelling in some other country, do no wrong [by offering oblations in common with their Jewish neighbors], so as to deserve to be deprived of equal honour with the rest, especially since one country will not contain the entire nation by reason of its great numbers, but has sent out colonies in every direction” (*Works* 512). Patrick (*Numbers* 143).

⁷ In his *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Juridicis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 1, sec. 7, pp. 34–42, John Selden details the diverging halakhic rites observed by the Karaite Jews as recorded in the Torah.

⁸ Patrick on Numb. 9:11 (*Numbers* 144).

Cloud tarried upon the Tabernacle, remaining thereon, the Children of Israel abode in their Tents, & journeyed not; but when it was taken up, they journeyed? v. 22.

A. Saies *Maimonides*, These Words may seem superfluous unto those, who do not consider the Intention of *Moses* in this Relation: which was, to confute the Conceit of profane People, who imagined, the Reason of the *Israelites* continuing so long in the Wilderness, to be, because they lost their Way. The *Arabians*, he saies, in his Dayes, called this Wilderness, *The Wandring Desert*; fancying the *Israelites*, to have been so bewildred here, that they wandred like Men in the Dark, not knowing which Way to turn themselves. Therefore the Scripture punctually shoves, That all their Removals (which were Irregular,) and the Time they rested in any Place, (which was very unæqual, being sometimes for *Eighteen* Years, & sometimes only for one Day or Night,) were all ordered by a Special Direction of God.⁹

The Way from *Horeb*, to *Kadesh-barnea*, was [a] Plain, Known, Beaten Road, of about Eleven Dayes Journey; which it was not easy for them to miss. The Cause therefore of their going about, & staying *Forty Years* in the Wilderness, is here declared by *Moses*.¹⁰

⁹ Maimonides, מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 50, pp. 512–13, and *Guide* (3.50.617).

¹⁰ The preceding paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Numbers* 149–50).

3696.

Q. Here is an Order given, for the Making & Sounding of *Trumpetts*. What Footsteps of 'em in Antiquity? v. 2.¹

A. There were several Sorts of *Trumpetts*, of different form, among the Ancients. *Eustathius* upon *Homer* tells us, there were Six of them. The Second of these, was called στρογγύλη, *Turned up round* like a *Rams Horn*. This, he saies, the *Egyptians* used (it being found out by *Osiris*) when they called the People to their Sacrifices; Χρῶνται δι' αὐτῇ πρὸς θυσίαν καλοῦντες τοὺς ὄχλους δι' αὐτῆς. It was called in their Language, Χνουή.² Now in this, *Moses* opposed the *Egyptians*; [which, saies Dr. *Patrick*, they would do well to take notice of, who make their Customes, to be of the greatest Antiquity:] For those here ordered by *Moses*, were *Long*, such as we use at present. *Josephus*, who gives us a large Description of them, [Antiq. L.III.c.11.] tells us, They were a *Cubit* long, & narrow like a Pipe; but wider, as ours, at the bottom.³

Tho' only *Two*, were ordered now to be made, in *Solomons* time we find no less than an *Hundred & Twenty Priests* furnished with them. *Josephus* mentions a vast Number more. [Antiq. L.8.c.2.]⁴

3637.

Q. Who was *Hobab*? v. 29.

1 Mather's answer – including the quotations from Eustathius and Josephus – is extracted from Patrick (*Numbers* 151–52).

2 Eustathius Thessalonicensis (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 4.165, lines 10–11); a nearly identical version appears in *Scholia in Iliadem* (Iliad 18.219b1, lines of scholion 6–7). At any rate, the shrill clarion call is sounded when a besieged city is about to fall, Eustathius explains. The Egyptians “sounded this trumpet [ram's horn] when they called the people to their sacrifices.” They called it Χνουή [Knoue], or “summons.”

3 Patrick (*Numbers* 152). Josephus Flavius, in his *Antiquities* (3.12.6), narrates that Moses devised two trumpets made of silver. They were a “little less than a cubit” [long], their mouthpiece consisting of “a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute,” and “ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets.” In Hebrew, their sound was called “*Asotra*” and summoned the chief elders when one of the trumpets sounded or the multitude of people when two were sounded. They were also sounded when Moses instructed the Levites to transport the disassembled tabernacle, and when sacrifices were offered on the altar. Rashi offers much the same (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:65).

4 Josephus gives the number of trumpets, which Solomon had made for the Temple, as “two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses” (*Antiquities* 8.3.8), a Plinyism? See also Mather's “Appendix: XI *Psalmes*, or, The Ancient Music and Poetry of the Hebrews” (appended to his commentary on Revelation).

A. *Theodoret* understands him, to be *Moses's* Brother in Law; His Wifes Brother. He is called, *The Son of Raguel*. Many take *Raguel* and *Jethro* to be the same. Or, if *Raguel* were *Jethro's* Father, as others think, then *Hobab* was the Grandson of *Raguel*.⁵

What we read, *Father-in-Law*, in this Verse, may be translated, *Brother-in-Law*; & so it may refer to *Hobab*. The Hebrew Word, signifies often, a very near Kinsman. It cannot without great Straining be otherwise expounded, in Judg. 1.16. and, 4.11.

After *Jethro* was gone back to his own Countrey, his Son *Hobab* staid still with his Sister *Zipporah*; & accompanied *Moses* all the Time he staid near *Sinai*; which was not far from *Midian*. He thought he would return thither; now the *Israelites* were marching away from that Neighbourhood. But –⁶

Q. The True Reading of the Words used, at the *Moving*, & the *Resting*, of the *Ark*? v. 36.

[17v]

A. In that Clause, *Lett them that hate thee, flee before thee*, the Hebrew Expression should be retained in the English; *Before thy Face*. The *Face of the Lord*, is an Expression of so much Consideration in the Scriptures, that it ought not to be covered. The *Tigurin Bible*, and *Vatablus*, and *Pagnin*, and *Munster*, and *Tremellius*, and *Piscator*, keep it in the Text before us.⁷

And then, that Clause, which we render, *The many Thousands of Israel*, is in the Original, *The Myriads*, the *Ten Thousands Thousands*; which Expression

5 In his "Questions on Judges, IV," *Theodoret of Cyrus* raises the same issue: "Why is the lawgiver's father-in-law called Hobab in this passage [Judg. 1:16], but Jethro [Exod. 3:1; 4:18] and Reuel in the earlier narratives [Numb. 10:29]?" *Theodoret* glosses, "I have already remarked that Hobab was Reuel's son. Nonetheless, he is called πενθερόν (penthéron), an 'in-law,' since he was the brother of Moses' wife. Even today, many people call these relatives πενθερίδες (penthērides), or 'brothers-in-law.' So Hobab's children were Jethro's grandchildren" (*Questions on the Octateuch* 2:313). The classic Jewish commentators don't seem to see eye-to-eye on the identity of Hobab either. For instance, *Rashi* explains that Hobab is no other than Jethro, who had "several names: Jethro, because he left behind (*jathar*) a passage in the Torah, and Hobab, because he clearly loved (*chibeb*) the Torah." *Nachmanides* argues that "Hobab was the name that Jethro took after he converted to Judaism (as is the custom of converts): 'But His servants shall be given a different name' (Isa. 65:15)" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:69).

6 Patrick (*Numbers* 162–63).

7 The following Latin translations of Numb. 10:35 read, "à facie tua" ("before thy face"): *Tigurin Bible*, aka. *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris & Novi* (1543), p. 65^v; *Franciscus Vatablus, Biblia Sacra, cum Duplici Translatione, & Scholijs Francisci Vatabli* (1584), p. 89^r; *Xantis (Sanctus) Pagninus, Biblia Hebraica, cum interlineari interpretatio Latinâ* (1613), p. 446; *Sebastian Munster, Hebraica Biblia, latina planeq* (1546), fol. 284; *Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, Testamenti Biblia Sacra* (1593), fol. 127; *Johannes Piscator, Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), p. 331 (*Scholium in cap. X*). Significantly, *Henry Ainsworth's conservative Annotations on the Five Books of Moses* (1627), fol. 61 (sep. pag.) provides "from thy face," but neither *John Pearson's popular Critici Sacri* (1660) nor *Matthew Poole's Synopsis Criticorum* (1669–76) carries the literalist rendition "à facie tua."

our Interpreters do seem to have been afraid of; lest so many People should not be found in *Israel*. But no need, Syrs, of being so shy. The Words contain a glorious Prophesie in them; which is in the Latter Dayes to have its Accomplishment. The Prayer of *Moses*, will then be answered, in both the Senses of it. First, God will *Return the ten thousands of thousands*, of His *Israel*, unto Himself, & unto one another, & unto their ancient Possessions. And, secondly, [As the Word, *unto*, is here a Supplement;] God will Return unto the *Ten Thousands of Thousands*, of His *Israel*, & Exhibit Himself gloriously among them. The Full Number herein præserted by *Pagnin*, and the Spanish Bible, & our *Aynsworth*.⁸

669.

Q. The Carrying about of the *Ark*, in the Wilderness, was there any thing like it, in Pagan *Antiquitie*? v. 36.

A. Yes. The Pagans carried about their *Gods*, in little *Tabernacles*, or, portable Temples. As you know, there was, *The Tabernacle of Moloch*. [Amos. 5.25. Act. 7.43.]

Hear the Words of *Gaspar Sanctius*; “The Tabernacle of *Moloch* (saith hee) was a certain Bier, on which *Moloch* was carried about, in a Solemn Pomp; whom they carried with them, whithersoever they went, in a Religious Manner, and for Protection-sake; even, as the Jewes of old, carried the *Ark*, and in it, the Divine Oracle, thro’ the Wilderness.”⁹

And, Hear the Words of *Doctor Godwyn*. “The bearing, or taking up, of this Tabernacle, (saith hee) may seem to have its Original among the Heathen, from an unwarrantable Imitation of *Moses*’s Tabernacle; which was nothing else, but a *Portable Temple*, to bee carried from Place to Place, as Need Required. For it cannot bee Denied, that many Superstitions were derived unto the Heathen, from the true Worship of God, which Hee Himself had præscribed unto His People.”¹⁰

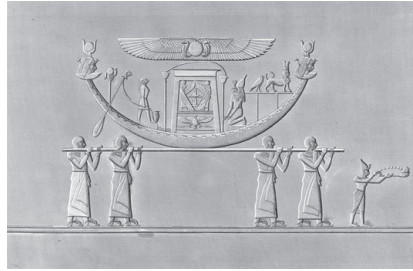
The learned Pen, of *Spencer*, would needs perswade us, *That the Tabernacle of Moloch, was the first Original of the Tabernacle of God*;¹¹ and that it is a *Vulgar Error*, to think, *That the Divil Apes the Almighty*. But it is a wonderful Thing,

⁸ Mather’s primary source for two preceding paragraphs is Robert Gell’s trusty *Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659), Sermon IX, p. 445d–e. Although not further identified, Gell’s sources are Pagninus’s *Biblia Hebraica* (1613), fol. 446, which preserves the more literal “millium millia decim”; the Spanish translation *La Biblia. Que es, Los Sacros Libros Del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento* (1602), 46° gives the number as “á los millares de los millares”; Henry Ainsworth’s annotation on Numb. 10:35 explains that the phrase “the ten thousands ten-thousands” is based on Onkelos’s Chaldee Paraphrase, which has “ten thousands” (p. 66).

⁹ Mather provides a paraphrastic translation of the gloss on Acts 7:43, by the Spanish Jesuit Gaspar Sanctius, aka. Sánchez (1553–1628), in *Commentarii in Actus Apostolorum* (1616), cap. 7, p. 171, § 94.

¹⁰ Quoted from Thomas Godwyn (Goodwin), *Moses and Aaron* (1625), lib. 4, cap. 2, p. 182.

¹¹ See Appendix A.



“Sculptures du portique du grand temple et du premier pylône” (Île de Philae), in *Description de L'Égypte, ou Recueil Des Observations et des Recherches* (Paris, 1839), vol. 1, pl. 10–11.

that so Accomplished a Person, should pervert his Accomplishments, to maintain such monstrous Assertions. Hee will never bring so *Præposterous* a *Scheme* to bee embraced in the Church of God!¹²

Tis true, Gods *Tabernacle* was portable; and so was *Molochs*. Gods Tabernacle had in it, his Ark & the Images of *Cherubims*; and *Molochs* had his Image in it. God, exhibited, by Audible answers, & otherwise, his peculiar Presence in His Tabernacle; and *Moloch* did the like in his. God appeared as a *King*, in the Circumstances of His *Tabernacle*; and *Moloch* in his, claimed a Name that signifies as much.

But it is far from True, That the Tabernacle of God, fetched its Pattern, from that of *Moloch*; or, that the Cursed *Fiend* is Imitated by the God of Heaven.

The Figure, which wee call, *The Cart before the Horse*, runs thro' the Writings of some learned Authors.

But, wee now add, that from the *Ark* in the Tabernacle, the Gentile Worshipers borrowed, the *Little Chests*, wherein they carried about their Gods.

And there is a strange Passage in *Acosta*, about the Indians, who came from far, to settle about *Mexico*.

“That the Divil, in their Idol, *Vitzlipultzli*, governed that mighty Nation, & commanded them to leave their Countrey, promising to make them Lords

¹² Here and in the following paragraphs Mather takes issue with John Spencer's daring argument in *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, Diss. 1, cap. 3, sec. 1–2, fols. 550–62, that Moses borrowed the idea for his portable Ark of the Covenant from Phoenician and Egyptian precedents; see also Mather's commentary on Lev. 18:21 (above), on Amos [BA Amos 5:26], and my introduction, section 2.

of all the Provinces, possessed by *Six* other Nations of Indians, and give them a Land, abounding with all precious Things. They went forth, carrying their Idol with them, in a Coffe of *Reeds*, supported by four of their papal *Priests*; with whom hee still discoursed, in secret; Revealing to them, the Successes, and Accidents, of their Way. Hee advised them, when to *march*, and where to *stay*, and without his Commandment, they moved not. The first Thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a *Tabernacle*, for their False God; which they sett alwayes, in the Midst of their Camp, and there placed the *Ark* upon an *Altar*. When they, tired with Pains, talked of, *Proceeding no further*, in their Journey, than a certain pleasant Stage, whereto they were arrived, the Divil, in one Night, horribly kill'd them, that had started this Talk, pulling out their Hearts. And so they passed on, till they came to *Mexico*.¹³

13 This paragraph was added to the preceding commentary at a later time. See also Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), pp. 139-40. Perhaps inspired by Spencer's allocation of comparative evidence, Mather adds to his own collection an adapted passage from the Spanish Jesuit José Acosta (1539-1600), whose story of the Mexican serpent-headed god Vitziliputzli (Huitzilopochtli) is detailed in the English translation *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604), bk. 7, ch. 4, pp. 504-5. "The chieftest idoll of *Mexico*," Acosta explains, this "*Vitziliputzli* ... was an image of wood like to a man, set upon a stoole of the colour of azure, in a brankard or litter, at every corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpents head. The stoole signified that he was set in heaven" (bk. 5, ch. 9, p. 352). Both Increase and Cotton Mather mined Acosta's history for diverse purposes.

3698.

Q. What might bee the *Fire of the Lord*, & what might mean the *uttermost Parts of the Camp*, where it consumed the People? v. 1.

A. The *Lightning* is eminently a *Fire of the Lord*. But some take the Phrase to mean only, A very *great Fire*.

Quere, might it not rather be a *Fire* darted from the Pillar of *Cloud & Fire* over the Tabernacle?

In the *uttermost Parts of the Camp*, were the Mixt Multitude, who came out of *Egypt*, & probably now stir'd up the *Israelites*, to complain of their tedious Journey, which had not yett brought them near to the Land of *Canaan*. And it may be, some of them lagg'd behind, on Purpose, that they might complain of Weariness, or of Want of stronger Food.

But *Bochart* has demonstrated, That this Word, which we translate, *The uttermost Parts*, rather signifies, *In all*, or, *Throughout*. [Of which he gives Instances, from *Lud. de Dieu*, upon Ezek. 33.1. See, Gen. 19.4. & 47.2.] wherefore it should here be rendred, *Consumed some in every Part of the Camp*.¹

Q. What we render, *The People complained*, in the Original is, *The People were like the Murmurers*. v. 4.

A. The Meaning of it, is to be fetch'd from the Fourth Verse ensuing. The People were like the *Mixt Multitude*, who were the *Murmurers* there appearing on this Occasion. This is Dr. *Gells* Illustration upon it. The People, that *Mixt Multitude* which came up out of *Egypt*, they began the *Murmuring* and were punished for it. And the *Israelites* became *like* them; did so too.²

169.

Q. The *Israelites* make a fearful Stir with the Remembrance of, the *Onions* and *Garlick*, which they enjoy'd in *Egypt*? v. 5.³

A. *Herodotus* tells us, that the First King who built a *Pyramid* in *Egypt*, was *Cheops*: and that the biggest *Pyramid* was Twenty Years in Building, by no fewer than an Hundred Thousand Workmen; and that for the Diet of the Workmen, the Price of only the *Onions* and *Garlick*, amounted unto Sixteen Hundred

¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 170–71); Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 34, col. 357 (lines 8–10), refers to Ludovicus De Dieu's annotation on Ezek. 33:1, in *Animadversiones ad Veteris Testamenti* (1648), pp. 622–23.

² Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 458–59.

³ See Appendix A.

Talents of Silver. You see what Occasion, the poor Slaves had, to Remember their *Onions* and *Garlick*.⁴

3699.

Q. But must the Word necessarily be translated, *Onions*?

A. The Hebrew Word, *Chatzir*, properly signifies, *Grass*: which not being any Part of Humane Food, the LXX render the Word, *Onions*.⁵ But the learned *Ludolphus* thinks, they had no other ground so to render it; & therefore, out of the *Arabian* Language, he rather interprets it *Lettice*, or, *Sallets*, in general; which in *Egypt* were very excellent.⁶

Q. A Remark on the Distress of *Moses*? v. 10.

A. I'll transcribe the Words of Monsr. *Saurin* upon it. "It is a Matter worthy of Consideration, that this same *Moses*, to whom nothing appeared difficult, after he had accepted the Commission of Law-giver to the People of GOD, lost all Courage assoon as ever these unhappy Creatures fell into any great Crime. The Sins of a Nation, are more terrible, than the most Invincible Armies."⁷

3700.

Q. What may be the Import of that Expression, *unto me*, when it is said, *Gather unto me*? v. 16.

A. The *Talmuds* interpret it as an order for a *Standing* Council, to endure throughout all Generations. Wherever they meet with this Word, *לִי* *unto me*, they think, it signifies, a thing to be established by God, unto all Generations. — They bring many Instances.⁸

⁴ Herodotus (2.124, 125).

⁵ The Hebrew noun *חֲצִיר* [chatsiyr] variously signifies "grass, leek, green grass, herbage" (Strong's # 2682), which the LXX renders *πράσον* ("leeks") or *κρόμμυον* ("onions"), in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1657) 1:586.

⁶ Patrick on Numb. 11:5 (*Numbers* 175); the German polymath Hiob Ludolphus, aka. Iobi Ludolf, Hiob Leutholf (1624–1704), in his *Appendix Secunda ad Historiam Aethiopicam Iobi Ludolfi continens Dissertationem de Locustis* (1694), pars 2, cap. 14, p. 27 (note *h*), insists that the LXX, which interprets the Hebrew term as *πράσον* ("porros"), i. e., "leeks," should rather be rendered (according to the Arabism) as "*lactucas vel olera*," i. e., "lettuce or [generically as] *vegetables*." Ibn Ezra agrees, arguing that although the Hebrew term *חֲצִיר* (Psal. 147:8) signifies "grass" (Numb. 11:5), it should be rendered generically as "greenery" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:74).

⁷ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations, Historical, Critical* (1720), Diss. LVIII, p. 548.

⁸ Patrick's muse (*Numbers* 181–82) is John Selden's *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Juridicis Veterum Ebraeorum* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 2, p. 110, which identifies many parallel passages — Exod. 20:24, 25:18, 28:41, 30:31; Lev. 25:55; Num. 3:12, 13, 11:24, 28:2; 1 Sam. 16:1 — in which the Hebrew particle *לִי* "unto me" is to be understood in an eternal sense. See Babylonian Talmud, tractates Yoma (28b) and Sanhedrin (3b), (17a), (110b).

Q. How comes there to bee a New *Sanhedrim*, (if we may call it so?) constituted for Israel, after that in the twenty-fourth of *Exodus*? v. 16.

A. The State of the Israelites had hitherto been governed, especially in Religious Matters, by a Council of LXX Elders; to whom, that they should the more willingly comply with *Moses*, God vouchsafed a Manifestation of His *Glory*. *Exod.* 24.9, 10, 11. But they growing Proud, False, or Lazy, lett the People fall several Times into Murmuring & Rebellion; which to avoid for the future, God commanded *Moses* to choose LXX other Elders, among the *Schoterim*, or Inferiour Ministers, who had faithfully Acquitted themselves, in their former Employment of Instructing the People; that so, by the Rise of these Deserving Persons, the Public Affayrs might bee the better managed, & the Negligence and Corruption of their Predecessors punished.

This is a Jewish Account of it.⁹

|
3701.

[18v]

Q. About the same Time, that a *Sanhedrim* was thus erected among the *Israelites*, was there any thing like it erected among the *Gentiles*?

A. 'Tis a little observable! About the same time, that this Number of *Seventy Judges*, was here constituted in the Wilderness, the Great Judicature in *Areopagus* was constituted among the *Græcians*; to wit, in the Reign of *Cecrops*, the First King of *Athens*, after the *Ogygian* Flood; when, according to *Eusebius*, the People of *Israel* were brought out of *Egypt*.¹⁰ The *Marmora Arundeliana* indeed say, This Court was erected, in the Time of *Cranaus*; but that makes little Difference: for he was the Successor of *Cecrops*.¹¹ We do not find, of what Number

⁹ Patrick (*Numbers* 182–83); Selden's *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 5, pp. 144–51 (esp. pp. 145–47); R. Bachya ben Asher (Bechai) argues that the seventy elders God commanded to be gathered (*Numb.* 11:16) “were not the same as the ones with whom we are familiar [*Exod.* 24:8]. Those 70 elders had died in Taveyrah having been slated to die already from the time at Mount Sinai mentioned in *Exod.* 24, when they had feasted their eyes on a vision of G'd and had continued to eat and drink as if nothing extraordinary were taking place. ... These seventy people now [*Numb.* 11:16] selected plus *Moses*, i. e., a total of 71, corresponds to a similar quorum in the celestial spheres where 70 angels presided over by G'd Himself function as the highest tribunal” (*Torah Commentary* 6:1992).

¹⁰ According to Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea (*Chronicon*, bk. 1, pp. 62–67), the autochthonous *Cecrops* Diphyes (“the two-formed” human with a snake-like body) became the first king of Athens about 190 years after Deucalion's fabled flood in Thessaly, in Ogyges's time. *Cecrops* is to have ruled for fifty years, established the first census, instituted the alphabet, gave the Athenians their laws, introduced the cult of Chronos and Rhea, and set up an altar to Zeus Hypatos (*KP, LCD*). Eusebius claims that “[a]t this time, *Moses* had become recognized amongst the Hebrews” (*Chronicon*, bk. 1, p. 66).

¹¹ A renowned seventeenth-century collection of classical Greek sculptures and inscriptions, the “Arundelian Marbles” were first collected by the English courtier Thomas Howard, twenty-first Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), and are now housed in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. In his catalog of the famous marbles, *Marmora Arundelliana* (1629), “*Canon Chronicus*

it consisted; but we find for certain, That it was the Highest, πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑλλήσι Συνεδρίων, *Of all the Courts among the Græcians*.¹² And it is no less Remarkable, That as that Court began about the same Time with the Constitution of this among the *Israelites*, thus (as Mr. *Selden* shoves) then both ended in the Reign of the Emperour *Vespasian*.¹³

3704.

Q. What is the Meaning of that Expression, Of their *Eating Flesh until it come out at their Nostrils*? v. 20.

A. 'Tis a Phrase for, *A Vomit*. They should *Vomit* it up so violently, that it would come out, not only at their Mouth, but at their *Nostrils*.¹⁴

3705.

Q. It is said of the New Judges here, *They prophesied, and they ceased not*. What may be the Meaning of their *Not Ceasing*? v. 25.¹⁵

A. Their *Prophecy*ing, was, Their Setting forth the Praises of God, in such a Strain, as none could imitate; or giving such admirable *Instructions* to the People, as manifested their being Raised above themselves. A Power from God, carrying Persons beyond their Natural Capacity, & all this, while they were waking, & in the full Vigour of their Senses;¹⁶ This may seem to be the Gift of *Prophecie*, now falling from Heaven on these *Elders*, as a Testimony that God had Accepted

ad Graecorum Epochas," pp. 92–93, John Selden dates the period of the reigns of Cecrops and of his successor Cranaus to c. 1582–1529 (BCE). See also Selden's *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 16, sec. 10, pp. 691–93.

¹² Patrick (*Numbers* 183); Selden, *De Synedriis* (lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 12, pp. 212–13, 214, 215), adapts a line from *Areopagiticus* (Orat. 7, sec. 37, line 10), by the Greek rhetorician Isocrates (436–338 BCE), who praises the wisdom and nobility of the Council of the Areopagus, which excels "all the [other] councils of Hellas" (*Isocrates* 7.37.10).

¹³ According to John Selden (*De Synedriis*, lib. 2, cap. 16, sec. 10, pp. 691–93), the Great Sanhedrim and the Athenian Areopagus both ended during the reign of Roman Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus (69–79 CE). Among Selden's principal sources on the Greek legislative body are *Areopagus*, sive *De senatu areopagitico* (1624, 1669) and his earlier *Cecropia: Sive, De Athenarum arce, & ejusdem antiquitatibus* (1622), by the Dutch classical scholar Joannes Meursius, aka. Jan van Meurs (1579–1639).

¹⁴ Patrick (*Numbers* 187).

¹⁵ The two following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Numbers* 191).

¹⁶ Mather (via Patrick's *Numbers* 191) possibly alludes to Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan* 3.32.256–57) and Benedict de Spinoza (*Theologico-Political Treatise* 1–2.13–42), who impugn the reveries of the ancient prophets as delusional at best. See my discussion of this issue in *BA* (1:149–55). Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), subsequently bishop of Worcester (1689), was one of the earliest theologians to rise in defense of the trustworthiness of biblical prophets, in his oft-reprinted *Origines Sacrae* [1662] (1666), bk. 2, chs. 1–6, pp. 138–204. He insisted that the prophets and seers were not wild-eyed ranters but scholars educated in "Schools of the Prophets" and "Seminaries"; the leading prophets until King David's time, Stillingfleet argued, "were the Presidents of these Colledges" who "selected out the choicest and most hopeful of the young Levites, and here educated them, together with the Nazarites which came out of other tribes."

them. This Power was peculiarly called *The Holy Spirit*. And as in the New Testament, the *Prophets* are placed next unto the *Apostles*; thus here, these Persons were next unto *Moses*.¹⁷

In that Passage, *They ceased not*, our Translation follows the *Chaldee Paraphrasts*.¹⁸ But the LXX translate it, *And they added no further*; (which the Hebrew Words will well bear;) meaning, That they *Prophesied* that Day, but not afterwards. This is the Sense of the *Talmudists*; particularly of *Jarchi*, who saies, *All these Elders prophesied only this first Time, that the Spirit rested on them as they stood about the Tabernacle; but they did not prophesie after that*.¹⁹ Indeed the Spirit was not sent upon them, to make 'em *Prophets*, but *Judges*; & therefore this Gift was only to procure them Reverence among the People. *Theodoret* therefore saies, *The LXX did not prophesie beyond this Day, because God promoted them not to Prophesie, but to Govern*.²⁰

3703.

Q. How came *Eldad* & *Medad* thus to continue in the *Camp*? {v. 26.}

Truth to tell, “it was Gods ordinary method to call those persons out of these Schools, whom he did employ in the discharge of the propheticall office” (pp. 152, 156, 157).

¹⁷ Acts 2:3, 1 Cor. 12:26.

¹⁸ The concluding clause “they prophesied, and did not cease” (*KJV* Numb. 11:25) has divided the experts for some time. Whereas the Chaldee Paraphrast Targum Onkelos renders the Hebrew phrase וְלֹא יָסְרוּ (“nec ultra cessaverunt”) “but they [the seventy elders] did so no more” as וְלֹא יָסְרוּ (“nequaquam cessaverunt”), “they ceased not”; the LXX renders it καὶ ἐπροφήτευσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσέθεντο (“and they prophesied and no longer continued” [i.e., “they ceased”], in Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:591, 590), implying that the prophetic spirit, which passed from Moses to the seventy elders, ceased after its initial manifestation.

¹⁹ Jarchi (Rashi) clearly distinguishes between the Hebrew and Chaldaic (Onkelos) renditions: “They did not prophesy, except for that day alone – this is clearly stated by Sifri. But Onkelos renders ‘and did not cease’ – prophesy [sic] did not cease from them” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 4:152) and *Commentarius Hebraicus* (1710), pp. 1109–10. However, Ibn Ezra, referring to a parallel passage in Deut. 5:22, argues that the phrase literally means “they did not add’ a second occurrence,” suggesting that it means, “The LORD spoke those words – those *and no more*” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:81). Alas, Chizkuni glosses, “they prophesied;’ but they did not continue to do so with the help of Moses. The word: וְלֹא יָסְרוּ is to be understood as if the Torah had written ‘they added,’ the word is used in this sense also in Leviticus 5:7” (*Torah Commentary Chizkuni* 3:906–07). Ergo: three rabbis – five opinions. See also Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (17a) and John Selden’s *De Synedriis* (lib. 2, cap. 5, n. 2, esp. pp. 110–18). Last but not least, the whole debate on the topic among the post-Reformation theologians – who agreed to disagree as well – is ably rehearsed in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:652–53) and *Works* (7:188–90).

²⁰ Mather cuts the Gordian knot by embracing the solution of Theodoretus Cyrrhensis (*Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, Numeri, Qu. XX, p. 209, lines 1–8), who addresses this conundrum as follows: “Why did the seventy prophesy immediately after being appointed but never again? Because he appointed them not for prophecy but for administration, which is another of the Spirit’s charisms. Thus, along with apostleship, prophecy, teaching, and gifts of healing, St. Paul included assistance and leadership. This is the charism that was accorded to the seventy. It was only so that the people would realize that they had received the divine gift that they immediately spoke in prophecy” (*Questions on the Octateuch* 2:121, 123).

A. Out of Modesty; saying, *They were not æqual to such a Dignity*, as the Words are in the *Gemara Babylonica*. Or, perhaps, they loved a private Life, as being afraid of being envied by the People; whom they saw to be unruly, that it made them decline the Burden, like *Saul* hid among the Stuff.²¹

We don't find the Names of any of the LXX, but only these two; who, as *Jonathan* saies, were *Moses's* brothers, by the Mothers Side. *Jerom* ha's this Tradition: but there is no Certainty in it.²²

It may be, they are mention'd in honour of their vertuous Modesty which made them think themselves unworthy of such Dignity.²³

3702.

Q. Who was the young Man, who *ran to tell Moses, that Eldad & Medad prophesied in the Camp*? v. 27.

A. The Jewes, who will seem ignorant of nothing, say, It was *Gershom* the Son of *Moses*, who carried the Tidings to his Father.²⁴

2819.

Q. *Joshua*, is called, *the Servant of Moses, & one of his young Men*. Certainly, He was now of a considerable Age; and he had before this, been the Lord-General of the *Israelitish* Armies? v. 28.

A. It may be translated, *Joshua, the Servant of Moses, from his Youth*.²⁵

[19r]

3027.

Q. Some Remarkables relating to the *Quails*, bestowed upon the *Israelites*, (a little *Breakfast*, if you please upon those *Quails*,) may be acceptable? v. 31.²⁶

²¹ *Soncino Talmud Babylonica*, tractate Sanhedrin (17a).

²² *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (Numb. 11:26) relates that Eldad and Medad are "the sons of Elhaphan bar Parnak, whom Jokebed the daughter of Levi bare to him when Amram her husband had put her away; and to whom she had been espoused before she gave birth to Mosheh" (Etheridge 2:374). St. Jerome says much the same in his *Quaestionibus seu Traditionibus Hebraicæ*, in *Librum Paralipomenon primum* (1:892, sec. CD), as does the notable Spanish RC theologian Agostino Tornielli, in his *Annales Sacri, et Ex Profanis* (1620), vol. 1, p. 410, secs. 2, 3, and p. 552, sec. 56.

²³ Patrick's source for Numb. 11:26 (*Numbers* 192–93) is Selden's *De Synedriis* (lib. 2, cap. 4, sec. 3, pp. 118–22).

²⁴ Patrick (*Numbers* 195); Rashi points out that "Some say this was Gershom, the son of Moshe" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 4:153). R. Bachya ben Asher is more certain than Rashi about Gershom being the young man in question (*Torah Commentary* 6:2004).

²⁵ Mather here follows Ibn Ezra's rendition, which also informs the translation of the Jewish Publication Society, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:82).

²⁶ The subsequent paragraphs are synopses of Samuel Bochart's discussion of "coturnicibus" ("quails"), in his learned *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 15, cols. 97–107. Much the same is rehearsed in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:653–55) and ably Englished – thanks to

A. It seems clear, that *Quails* were twice afforded unto the murmuring *Israelites*. They had *Quails* on the fifteenth Day of the Second Month, in the Desert of *Sin*, a little after their coming out of *Egypt*, & before their coming to *Sinai*. (Exod. 16.13.) And they had *Quails* again, at *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, which was after their coming out of the Desert of *Sin*, (Num. 33.16.) even Three Days after it.²⁷ (Numb. 10.33.) Now This was at least 1 Year after the former (Num. 10.11.) The former Time, they had *Quails* for no more than one Day; the latter Time, they had *Quails*, for no less than a Month together; *Josephus*, therefore ha's the Matter Twice over in his *Antiquities*. And thus we have determined one Point, whereabout Interpreters have been puzzled.²⁸

It hath been quæstion'd, whether *Quails* may be a wholesome Foule to feed upon; inasmuch as they Feed upon *Hellebore*, and other venomous Plants; as is observed by *Galen*, and *Lucretius*, and many others of the Ancients.²⁹ But nothing hinders us from concurring with *Aloysius Mundella*; *Coturnicis Nutrimendum, Laudandum potius quàm Damnandum censeo*.³⁰ And because they are particularly good for the *Falling-Sickness*, and helped *Hercules* when he was troubled with that Sickness, the Pagans had a Fable, (which you may read in *Athenæus*;) That *Hercules*, being slain by *Typhon*, was restored unto Life, by the Scent of a *Quail* applied unto him.³¹

But, whence came the *Quails* unto the *Israelites*? We read, *There went forth a Wind from the Lord, and brought Quails from the Sea*.³² Many of the Ancients, because it was not easy to say, whence these, *Aves Migratoriæ*, came, imagined

Steven Dilday – in *Works* (7:192–98). See also the contemporaneous discussion of why God chose “quails” rather than any other species for this purpose, in “Occasional Annotation, III,” in *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1728), 4:129–31.

27 Kibroth-Hattaavah, or “the graves of lust” (*KJV*, 1611 ed.)

28 Bochart (col. 97); Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.1.5; 3.13.1)

29 Galen (*De theriaca ad Pisonem* 14:277, lines 14–15) knowingly relates that “hellebore is the food of quails”; Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura* 4.640–41) agrees, stating, “hellebore is rank poison to us, but given to goats and quails makes them fat”; and so does Sextus Empiricus (c. 160–210 CE), the Greek philosopher-physician of Alexandria who gave Pyrrhonism a bad name. Mather refers to *Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes* (1.57, lines 1–2), which states that poisonous hemlock makes quails fat!

30 Bochart (col. 99); Aloysius Mundella (d. c. 1553), Swiss professor of philosophy and Galenic medicine in Basel, wins the day with his verdict, “the raising of quail, I think, is to be praised rather than condemned.” The Latin citation appears in Mundella’s oft reprinted *Epistolae medicinales* (1543), epist. 6, p. 66.

31 Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, cols. 97, 99); Athenaeus Naucratis (*Deipnosophistae* 9.47, lines 30–36) tells the old story preserved in a fragment of *The Description of the Circuit of the Earth* (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 284a–b), by the Greek astronomer Eudoxus Cnidius (c. 408–c. 347 BCE). The Phoenicians – so the legend goes – offered meat of a quail to mighty Hercules (son of Asteria and Jupiter) because, when hideous Typhon (progenitor of all Greek monsters) slew Hercules, the Theban Iolaus (Hercules’s nephew) revived him by holding a quail to his nose.

32 Numb. 11:31.

them really to come *out of the Sea*.³³ But they came no otherwise out of the Sea, than *Pliny* saies of the *Doves*, That they did, *In Agrum Volaterratum Palumbium vim è Mari quotannis advolare*.³⁴ The *Quails* then that visited the *Israelitish* Camp, were such as flew thither out of *Egypt*, over the *Red-Sea*. This is intimated by *Josephus*;³⁵ and it is a notable Passage in *Diodorus*, concerning the Region thereabouts, (L. 1. p. 38.) *That near the Shore, they spread Nets for many Furlongs, wherein they catch Quails*, (φερονται γαρ ουτοι κατ' ἀγέλας μείζονας εκ του πελάγους, the very same Phrase that is used by *Moses* here;) *which fly thither in great Flocks, out of the Sea*.³⁶

Well; but how shall we Reconcile this, with what the Psalmist saies? Psal. 78:26. *He caused an East-Wind to blow in the Heavens, & by His Power He brought in the South-Wind; He Rained Flesh upon them*. What need of an *East-Wind*, for to bring the *Quails* over the *Egyptian* Sea unto the *Arabian* Coast? A *West-Wind* would have been more agreeable; *Jerom* therefore translates the Words of the Psalmist so, *He Took away the East-Wind out of the Heavens, & by His Power He brought in the South-West-Wind*. And the *Greek Version*, and the *Vulgar Latin*, countenance this Translation. The Hebrew עֹרֵם/ is according unto them, to be rendred, ἀπήρεν *abstulit*.³⁷ But *Bochart* makes Objections against the Proposal; and goes another way to work. The *Israelites* were now in the Desart of *Paran*, gone three Dayes Journey beyond *Sinai*. The Bay of *Arabia* was now therefore to the *Southward* of them; and it might well be esteemed by the Psalmist, a *South-Wind*, that brought the *Quails* from thence unto them.³⁸ Now both *Aben-Ezra* and *Kimchi* inform us, That this Wind was called קַדִּים/ *Kadim*, as

33 From the point of view of those standing on the shore, the “*Aves Migratoriae*” (migratory birds) crossing the Mediterranean into Africa (and vice versa) appear to come out of the sea. Ibn Ezra glosses that the quails possibly came “from the direction of the sea” (*Commentary: Exodus* 16:13).

34 Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 10.41.78) relates that “a quantity of pigeons every year fly from the sea to the district of Volterra” (Tuscany, Italy).

35 According to Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.1.5), “a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in the Arabian gulf than anywhere else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them [Israelites], till wearied with their laborious flight, and, indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food.”

36 Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.60.10, lines 5–6): φέρονται γὰρ οὗτοι κατ’ ἀγέλας μείζονας ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. (“these [quails] are driven in large coveys from the open sea”). It is unclear which of the several 16th or 17th editions of Diodorus Siculus’s *Bibliotheca historica* Mather (via Bochart, col. 100) draws upon.

37 Bochart (col. 101); St. Jerome (*Divina Bibliotheca* 28. *Liber Psalmorum Iuxta Septuaginta Emendatus* Ps. 78:26) [PL 029, 0261, 0262]. Poole’s rendition (as translated by S. Dilday) is useful here: “Thus Jerome and the Greeks [LXX] and the Vulgate, who render עֹרֵם ἀπήρεν, *to lead away, transtulit, to transfer, or abstulit, to carry away*; in which sense הִסִּיעַ occurs here and there.” Ps. 78:26: “He caused to blow (עֹרֵם) an east wind in the heaven (בְּשָׁמַיִם): and by his power he brought in (הִסִּיעַ) the south wind. ... עֹרֵם signifies *to pull up, or to set out*; in the Hilphil conjugation, *to cause to set out*” (*Works* 7:193, note 5).

38 Bochart (col. 102, lines 16–26).

well as /תִּימָן/ *Theman*; *East* as well as *South*.³⁹ But why so? Not because it was, as they say, The *Euro-notus*, or *South-east* Wind; but for another Cause. Tho' there be *Four Cardinal Winds*, which are subdivided into many more; yett in the Books of the Ancient *Philosophers* and *Physicians*, you will find them all divided only into, τὰ βόρεια, and τὰ νότια, The *Northern* and the *Southern*.⁴⁰ Thus *Aristotle* very particularly, in his *Meteorology*. To the *Northernly*, as the *Colder* Sort of Winds, they reckoned the *Westernly*; To the *Southernly*, as the *Hotter* Sort of Winds, they reckoned the *Easternly*.⁴¹ *Aristotle* in his *Politicks* using this as a Similitude, for his Distribution of Governments, ha's this Passage; τὸν μὲν ζέφυρον τοῦ βορέου τοῦ δε νότου τὸν εὐρον· *Zephyrum esse Borææ, Austri verò Eurum*.⁴² Hence the Verse in *Lucillius* (as Restored by *Salmasius*),

*Rex Cotys ille duos Ventos, Austrum atque Aquilonem,
Novisse ajebat solos se Demagis.*⁴³

In the Words of the Psalmist then, the *East-Wind*, and the *South-Wind* are synonymous; and, *Kadim* signifies no more than the following *Theman*.⁴⁴ And it is to be observed, That the Scripture assigns to the *Kadim* usually those Destroying Effects, that are more peculiar to the *Theman*. *Jonathan* and *Onkelos* particularly understand this *Wind*, by the *Fire*, in Deut. 32.22. Yea, *Kadim* is commonly rendred, Νότος, by the Greek Interpreters.⁴⁵

39 See *JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* (4:83) and Poole (*Works* 7:194).

40 Again, Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:654) as translated by S. Dilday (*Works* 7:194) is right on target: "The ancient Physicians and Philosophers, although they reckon four principle winds, yet they name only τὰ βόρεια, the *Northern winds*, and τὰ νότια the *Southern winds*." Mather's and Bochart's muse (col. 102, lines 30 ff) for Aristotle and Theophrastus is Claudius Salmasius's *Plinianæ exercitationes in Caji Julii Solini Polyhistora* (1629), 2:1250 (B–E), mis-numbered as 1240.

41 Aristotle (*Meteorologia* 2.6.364a, lines 18–24) explains that "more generally these winds [Aparctias, Thracias, Meses, Caecias, Phoenicias, Argestes] are classified as northerly or southerly. The west winds are counted as northerly, for they blow from the place of sunset and are therefore colder; the east winds as southerly, for they are warmer because they blow from the place of sunrise. So the distinction of cold and hot or warm is the basis for the division of the winds into northerly and southerly" (*Meteorology* 1:590).

42 Aristotle (*Politica* 4.3.1290a, line 19): τὸν μὲν ζέφυρον τοῦ βορέου, τοῦ δε νότου τὸν εὐρον, or "just as among the winds we make the west a variation of the north, and the east of the south wind." More briefly, "*Zephyrum esse Borææ, Austri verò Eurum*," the west is the north, and the east is the south wind.

43 Salmasius's *Plinianæ exercitationes in Caji Julii Solini Polyhistora* (1629), 2:1250 (D), (mis-numbered as p. 1240), supplies Bochart (col. 102) with the second-hand quote from a fragment of *Satirarum* (16.3), by early Roman satirist Gaius Lucilius (c. 180–102 BCE), in *A Persius Flaccus cum Interpretatione Latina Lectionum Varietate Adnotationibusque Novis* (1830) 3:380. At any rate, Lucilius quotes a saying of Cotys (probably the ally of Perseus [2nd c. BCE]) that "King Cotys knew these two winds, the south wind and the north wind, very much more than others" (*Satires* 16.544–46).

44 That is, "East wind" as well as "South wind."

45 Bochart (col. 103); *Targum Onkelos* and *Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel* (on Deut. 32:22), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:855, 5:382). Both "*Kadim*" and "*Nóτος*" suggest "*south wind*" (*LSJ*).

Indeed the Writers of Natural History, as *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, as well as *Aristotle* assert, That *Quails* will not fly, while the *Southerly* Wind is blowing. But all that can truly be gathered from their Assertion, is, That in such a Wind, the *Quails* fly with more Difficulty and are more easily taken.⁴⁶

[19v] | And this falls in very sensibly with the Case now before us, wherein the *Wind* not only *brought in*, but also *struck down* the *Quails*, and make them very Takeable by the *Israelites*.

In so vast a Number they were now taken, that the Psalmist saies, they were *as the Sand of the Sea*.⁴⁷ *Moses* tells us, They were not only scattered, thro' the *whole Camp* of *Israel*, but also a *Dayes Journey*, (which wee may take to be *Twenty Miles* at least,) on both *Sides* of the *Camp*. It is added, They were, *as it were two Cubits High, upon the face of the Earth*.⁴⁸ What! Shall we imagine, That the whole *Earth* was covered every where *Two Cubits Thick*? Both *Jerom*, and *Jonathan*, carry that Passage, as only meaning, That the *Quails* did *Fly Two Cubits High above the Earth*;⁴⁹ And *R. Selomo*, notes, *Volabant ad Humanis pectoris Altitudinem, ne quisquam in earum collectione se attollendo aut deprimendo fatigaret*.⁵⁰ *Philo* therefore takes notice of such a Flight ordered for the *Quails*, ες ευθηρον, That the *Israelites* might have the more *easy Fouling* of it. Nor is this Disagreeable to the Condition of the *Quail*, which, as *Pliny* remarks, *Cum ad Nos venit, Terrestris potius quàm sublimes est*.⁵¹ But *Bochart* seems to præfer another Sense of it; Namely, That there were scattered and Numberless Heaps of *Quails*, (they lay in Dispersed *Heaps* every where not far asunder) *Two Cubits High*. The *Angels* of God, by the force of the *Winds*, caused them to light in *Heaps*, as being, (because Tired) unable to fly any further.⁵²

It is said, *Hee that gathered least, gathered Ten Homers*. But the Lord promising the *Quails* to the People, for no more than a Month, each particular Person had no Need of Scrambling for *Ten Homers* to be his particular Portion; a *Third Part* of *One Homer* might have served for one Man. For the Quantity of *Manna*

46 Bochart (col. 103); *Pliny* (*Naturalis historia* 10.33.66), *Solinus* (*De Mirabilibus Mundi* 11.21, 12.6), and *Aristotle* (*De Mundo* 4.395a, line 3–5).

47 Psal. 78:27. Bochart (col. 105).

48 Numb. 11:31.

49 St. Jerome (*Divina Bibliotheca Pars Prima: Liber Numerorum* 11:31) [PL 028. 0364B]; Jonathan ben Uzziel, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:260).

50 R. Selomo is no other than R. Salomon (Shlomo) Jarchi (Rashi), whose rational approach speaks volumes: "They [quails] flew to a height which corresponded with a person's heart [or breast], so that it would not be tedious to gather them, neither to rise nor to bend" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 4:155). See also R. Salomonis Jarchi, *Commentarius Hebraicus in Pentateuchum Mosis* 1110), pp. 1111–12.

51 Philo Judaeus (*De Vita Mosis* 1.209, line 6) renders it, "to be easily caught" (*On the Life of Moses* 1.37.209), in *Works* (478); *Pliny* (*Naturalis historia* 10.33.65) explains that, although the quail is small, "when it has come to us remains on the ground more than it soars aloft."

52 Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, col. 105, lines 58–65).

that served for one Man *per* Day, among the *Israelites*, was no more than the *Tenth Part* of an *Ephah*; and an *Ephah* was but the *Tenth Part* of an *Homer*. [Ezek. 45.11.] An *Homer* of *Quails*, by that Proportion might have sufficed one Man, for an *Hundred Days* together. Wee need not then suppose every Individual Person to be a Gatherer of *Quails* on this Occasion; but that so many did gather; as there was Occasion. *Bochart* now rather thinks, That the /עשרה חמרים/ are not, *Decem Cori*, but, *Decem Acervi*; rather, *Ten Heaps*, than *Ten Homers*.⁵³ Do but compare the Hebrew, in Exod. 8.14. about, *The Heaps of Frogs*, (where the same Word is used,) and you'll see, that *Bochart* is not without some good Pre-*tence* for his Interpretation. Yea, *Onkelos*, and, the *Arabic*, do so render, even that very Text that is now before us.⁵⁴ Lett it be likewise Remembred, That the Definite Number of *Ten*, is in Scripture often putt for the Indefinite Number, of *Many*; (I can give you *Ten* Instances of it!) It will then come to This, That *Moses* here only saies, *He that gathered least gathered many Heaps of them*, which may for ought I know, satisfy you as well as if you should be at the Pains to compare the præcise Number of *Quails*, that were gathered by the *Israelites*; As *Cornelius à Lapide* did, and found them to be, *Twelve Thousand Millions*.⁵⁵

A Vast Number of *Quails* may be Reasonably allow'd on this Occasion. *Varro* tells us, That the *Quails* visited *Italy*, at the Season of them, *Immani Numero*.⁵⁶ And *Pliny* and *Solinus* add, That such was the Number of *Quails* then flying over the *Mediterranean*, as to endanger, yea, and sometimes oversett (*non sine periculis Navigantium*;) the *Vessels* at Sea, upon which they would, sometimes thro' Weariness alight.⁵⁷ But there was no where a greater Plenty of *Quails*, than in the Land of *Egypt*, from whence the Lord now brought them unto the *Israelites*. Many ancient Writers tell us, They were so many in their Seasons, that

53 Bochart (col. 106, lines 10–20); The ancient Hebrew “homer,” measuring capacity (volume), amounts to c. 100 liters or c. 26 US liquid gallons (*ABD* 6:903–4).

54 Bochart (col. 106, lines 19–20); Targum Onkelos and *Versio Arabica* (Numb. 11:32), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:593); Bochart relies on Guy Michel Le Jay's Paris Polyglot (1629–45), which – like Walton's London Polyglot (1655–57) – included an Arabic version.

55 Cornelius à Lapide, on Numb. 11:32, in *Pentateuchum Mosis Commentaria* (1626), p. 785, guesimates that the meandering *Israelites* “collegerint duodecim millia millionum coturnicum” – an unimaginable multitude rivaling the vast flocks of American Passenger Pigeons wiped out in the late 19th century. For Mather's essays on this lost species of pigeons, see the informative articles by A. W. Schorger's “Unpublished Manuscripts by Cotton Mather on the Passenger Pigeon” (1938), F. T. Lewis's “The Passenger Pigeon as Observed by the Rev. Cotton Mather” (1944), and Lewis's “Cotton Mather's Manuscript References to the Passenger Pigeon” (1945). Mather sent his description of, speculations on, the American Passenger Pigeon to the Royal Society of London, “5 [June, 1714] ‘The Pigeons,’” in his unpublished collection of “*Curiosa Americana*” (Second Series, 1713–14). See T. J. Holmes, *Cotton Mather. A Bibliography* 1:202, 203.

56 Bochart (col. 107); the Roman historian Varro (*De re rustica* 3.5.7) speaks of “tremendous numbers” of quails, which seasonally pass across Italy.

57 Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 10.63.5): “not without danger to seafarers”; Solinus (*De Mirabilibus Mundi* 11.20); Claudius Salmasius, *Plinianae exercitationes in Solinus* (1629), 1:150 (C).

the *Egyptians* not able readily to Devour them, salted them up; and yett *Theocritus* tells us, There were *Thirty Thousand* Towns in that *Country*; And *Josephus* affirms, There were Seven Hundred & Fifty *Myriads* of People there, besides the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*.⁵⁸

[20r]

3706.

Q. But after all; what if there should be no *Quails* at all in the Case? v. 33.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That no body he ha's mett withal, hath laboured so much to give a clear Explication of this History, as *Job Ludolphus*, in his most learned Commentary upon his *Ethiopic History*.⁵⁹

There he ha's a long Discourse to show, That the *Hebrewes* take not the Word *Selav* (used here) to signify *Quails*; but we take the Translation only from *Josephus*.⁶⁰

Notwithstanding all that is produced by the most learned *Bochart*, there seem to be several Things in the History, which by no means can agree to *Quails*. *Ludolphus* will therefore have *Selav*, to signify, *Locusts*; by which, it is easy to give a plain Explication, of all that is here said concerning them.⁶¹

Tis very certain, That *Locusts* were not only used for *Food*, in those Parts of the World; but that some of them were very *delicious Meat*, in several Countreys. They that have eaten them, compare them to Young *Pigeons*; or to a Fresh *Herring*; or to a *Crab*, or *Lobster*, (which they resemble in their Figure:) And they are several Wayes præpared, and accounted very *wholesome Food*, when they have thrown away the Heads, and Wings, and Legs. *Pliny* saies, That some Parts of *Ethiopia* lived upon them; & that they were præserted, *Fumo et Sale*,

⁵⁸ Theocritus Syracusanus (*Idyllia* 17.82–84); Josephus Flavius (*De Bello Judaico* 2.177) reports that Egypt “hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenue of the [Roman] polltax” (*Jewish Wars* 2.16.4; *Complete Works*, p. 489).

⁵⁹ Patrick, on Numb. 11:31 (*Numbers* 198) enlists *Historia Aethiopica* (1681), lib. 1, cap. 13, § 16, by Hiob Ludolphus, the German Orientalist and grammarian of the Ethiopic language Amharic.

⁶⁰ Hiob Ludolphus, in his *Appendix Secunda ad Historiam Aethiopicam Iobi Ludolphi continens Dissertationem de Locustis* (1694), pars 2: *De Locustis*, cap. 1, §§ 1–5, argues that the Hebrew noun לָשָׁלַב which he transliterates as “*Selav*” (Exod. 16:13, Numb. 11:35) should not be rendered “*coturnicibus*” (quails) but “*locustis*” (locusts). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.1.5 and 3.13.1), however, holds fast to “quails.”

⁶¹ Bochart, *Hieroicozon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 15, col. 107 (line 70) – col. 108 (line 23) speculates (with reference to the Vulgate’s and the LXX’s *Sapientia* 16:2; 19:10–11) that God miraculously created a “new creature” and flesh “with a strange taste” such as a bird that migrates with the quails (“ortygometa”) to feed the Israelites. However, Ludolphus, *Appendix Secunda ad Historiam Aethiopicam* (1694), pars 2: *De Locustis*, cap. 1, §§ 1–5, believes they fed on locusts (not quails) – even without a miracle.

by being dried in the Smoke, and salted, for their nourishment, throughout the whole Year.⁶²

Now all that occurs in the History before us, (he thinks) will have an easy Meaning, if we follow this Interpretation. But not, if we take them for *Quails*, or *Pheasants*, or *Sea-fowl*. As for Exemple; what we read concerning a mighty *Wind* sent by the Lord, is not hard for to be understood, if we suppose it spoken of *Locusts*, which all Authors tell us, are brought with a *Wind*. But it was never heard, That a *Wind* brought *Quails*, which cannot fly High nor Far; much less, so far, as from the Sea, to the Middle of *Arabia Petraea*.

Probably, they came out of *Africa*, where they abound.

Which Way soever the *Israelites* went, for *Sixteen* or *Twenty* Miles together, (which at least, were the Dimensions of the Camp,) there lay *Heaps* of them upon the Ground. If we understand this, of *Quails*, it cannot be conceived without *Heaps* of *Miracles*. And if we resort thither (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks,) what need was there of any *Wind*, for the bringing of them, when it must be supposed, That God miraculously created them, as He did the *Manna*. But the thing will be found less Wonderful, & very Natural, if it be understood of *Locusts*, who come in thick & vast Clouds, which darken the Sky, as all Authors tell us.⁶³

That Clause, of their being *Two Cubits high upon the Face of the Earth*, is by Interpreters look'd upon as impossible.⁶⁴ The *Quails* must have been unavoidably choaked & stifled, | if they had been heaped so deep one upon another. [20v] And therefore they have devised the Addition of a New Word, & refer it not unto their falling upon the Ground, but their *flying in the Air* two Cubits high above the Ground, that so they might the more easily be taken by their Hands. But there is nothing of this in the Text; and it is contrary to what the Psalmist saies, *They fell in the Midst of their Camp*; and they *came down like Rain*, which alwayes falls upon the Ground.⁶⁵ There are some other Difficulties in it, also mention'd by *Ludolphus*.⁶⁶ And therefore, it seems better to expound it of

⁶² Patrick (*Numbers* 199); Pliny (*Natural History* 6.195) has groups of Ethiopians solely live on "smoked and salted" locusts; alas, "these people do not live beyond the age of forty." Well, too much of a good thing is not a balanced diet!

⁶³ Patrick, too, is weary of resorting to miracles to explain these events (*Numbers* 200).

⁶⁴ Numb. 11:31. Whereas Ramban, Kimchi, and Bachya ben Asher remain silent on this issue, Ibn Ezra, Abarbanel, and Bekhor Shor do not seem to take exception to a literal signification of this quantity. See Ramban (*Commentary: Numbers* 112), Bachya ben Asher (*Commentary* 6:2006), and *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:83). Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1: and *Works* 7:197–87), though mentioning the disagreement among interpreters, follows Bochart's authority, in *Hierozycon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 15, cols. 104–08, which discourages miracles. If the Cyprian bishop Epiphanius Salamiensis (c. 315–403 CE) is correct, then the ancient biblical cubit – measuring the length from the elbow to the end of the middle finger – amounts to c. 45.7 cm (c. 18 inches), in *Treatise on Weights and Measures* (sec. 60).

⁶⁵ Psal. 78:27, 28.

⁶⁶ Hiob Ludolphus, *Appendix Secunda ad Historiam Aethiopicam* (1694), pars 2: *De Locustis*, caps. 48–49: "Sexta Controversia," pp. 48–49.

Locusts; who, tho' they fall one upon another, to a great Depth, are not thereby suffocated, by reason of their *Legs* being so *Long*, & their *Wings* being so *Thin*.

It is evident, that what the People *gathered*, was *Lying on the Ground*, & not *Flying in the Air*.

Every Master of a Family *gathered Ten Homers*. A vast Quantity, if they were *Quails*! It would have served them, not for a *Month*, but for a *Year*, or two; as is observed by *Ludolphus*. Besides, we don't use to *Measure Fowl*, but *Number* them. And therefore, *Bochart* being sensible of this Impropriety, takes the Word, *Homer* here, to signify, only, *An Heap*. But *Ludolphus* ha's confuted him.⁶⁷

Whereas it follows, *They spread them all abroad for themselves*. This is another Indication that they were *Locusts*; which they spread, so to Drie them in the *Sun*. The Spreading of *Quails* would have been præposterous, & but the sooner have made them stink. Interpreters therefore ordinarily pass by this Passage; they don't care to meddle with it; and the Vulgar Latin, omitts the Word, *spread*. Whereas all Authors tell us, This is the principal Way of præparing *Locusts*; & præserving them for a Month or more; which they then boil'd, or otherwise Dress'd, as they had Occasion.⁶⁸

From almost æqual Probability, for *Borchart*, & for *Ludolf*, Monsr. *Saurin*, infers, *The Vanity of Sciences*; And, *How great Men can give themselves much Trouble, & can propose Opinions full of Erudition, upon Matters of very small Moment, & of no less Uncertainty*.⁶⁹

3707.

Q. In the Conclusion of the Month, we find, *The Lord smote the People with a very Great Plague*. What sort of *Plague*? v. 33.

A. *Aben Ezra* supposes, The Pestilence.⁷⁰ Others think, They wasted away in a Consumption; their Vomiting, perhaps, continuing so, that they never could retain any Meat until they died; This they gather from that; Psal. 106.15. *He sent*

⁶⁷ Patrick (*Numbers* 202); Bochart (cols. 105–06); Ludolphus, *Ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* (1691), pp. 190–92, §§ 109–12; and Ludolphus's *Appendix Secunda* (1694), pars 2, caps. 54–55, pp. 51–52. The ancient Hebrew “homer,” measuring capacity (volume), amounts to c. 100 liters or c. 26 US liquid gallons (*ABD* 6:903–4) – no doubt a huge quantity if each family gathered 10 homers of quails or locusts. No wonder Mather's reality check bespeaks his enlightenment zeitgeist which spurns miracles if rational explanations can be devised.

⁶⁸ Ludolphus, *Appendix Secunda* (pars 2, caps. 97–98, p. 69).

⁶⁹ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations, Historical, Critical* (1723), Diss. LVIII, p. 556, rehearses much the same argument as here provided by Mather (via Patrick), but is given the last word on the vanity of human wishes.

⁷⁰ Abraham ibn Ezra believes “It was the plague of murrain” (*Commentary: Numbers* 92). Rashi adds that the wrath of Adonoy upon their gluttony was so quick that they had no time “to cut it” (digest their meat) before they perished (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Bamidbar* 4:156).

*Leanness into their Soul.*⁷¹ But *Bochartus* and *Menochius* think, That the Lord burnt them up with a *Fire* from His Presence; – grounding it on Psal. 78.21. *A Fire was kindled in Jacob.*⁷²

Is it not rather probable, That it was a suffocating Distemper, like the *Squinancy*, that choak'd them while they were eating, or very soon upon it?

Compare, Psal. LXXVIII.30, 31.⁷³

⁷¹ Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses: Numbers* (1627), p. 73 (sep. pag.), appears to be the source of this interpretation.

⁷² Bochart (*Hieroicoicon* [1663], pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 15, col. 109, lines 1–10); Joannes Stephanus Menochius (*Commentarii Totius S. Scripturae* [1703]), 1:63. Yet punishment by fire for murmuring is dismissed by Cornelius à Lapide (*In Pentateuchum Mosis Commentaria* [1626], p. 785, because – he argues – that on a previous occasion of murmuring (Exod. 16:2), they were not punished by fire; thus there would have been a contradiction in judgment. See also Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:656) and *Works* (7:202).

⁷³ Patrick (*Numbers* 203) and Mather (*BA* 4:596). According to *OED*, *Squinancy* is an archaic term for *Squinsy* or *Quinsy*, and is defined by Ephraim Chambers, Mather's contemporary, as an alternative word for “*Esquinancy*, by the *Latins*, &c. call'd *Angina*, and by us, popularly *Quinzy*, a Disease which stops the Freedom of Respiration and Deglutition,” which is an “Inflammation of the Throat and particularly of the Muscles of the Larynx” (*Cyclopædia* [1728], 2:117, sec. ser. of pag.).

191.

Q. Who was the *Ethiopian Woman*, married unto *Moses*, upon whose Account his Brother & Sister quarrel'd {with} him? v. 1.

A. The Ancients, both Jewish & Christian, have a Tradition, That *Moses*, while employ'd in the Court of *Egypt*, made an Expedition against the *Ethiopians*, and obtained a Victory by means of a Correspondence, with *Tarbis*, Daughter to the King of *Ethiopia*, who thereupon became a Wife unto our victorious *Moses*.¹

But wee will rather suppose, That *Zipporah*, is the Woman here called, *An Ethiopian*. And while some tell us, That the Blackness of her Colour, was made the Reproche of her Husband; Others tell us, That shee was called, *An Ethiopian*, κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, because of her contrary & exceeding Beauty;² and that His Relations were Angry at him for his no more Loving and Minding of her. Tis in Conformity to this *Gamatrie*, that the Targum of *Jerusalem* on this Place, is to this Purpose, *Et locuti sunt Miriam et Aaron cum Mosé, propter Negotium Ethiopissæ quam duxerat; et ecce, Zippora, uxor Mosis, non erat Ethiopissa; sed quemadmodum Ethiops differt carne suâ ab omni creaturâ, talis erat Zippora, uxor Mosis, decenti forma, et Pulchra Aspectu, et diversa operibus bonis, ab omnibus mulieribus illius etatis*.³ But after all; The Wife of *Moses* is not indeed called,

1 This ennobling story is told in Josephus Flavius's *Antiquities* (2.10.2).

2 Although a Medianite, Zipporah was pejoratively called an *Ethiopian* contrary to her stunning beauty. Rashi clarifies this seeming oxymoron thus: Calling Zipporah a Cushite "teaches that everyone agreed to her beauty, just as everyone agrees to the blackness of the Cushite." Or, "Because of her beauty, she was called 'Cushite' like a man who calls his attractive son 'Cushite' to ward off the power of the evil eye over him." Put in another way, "her beauty was as singular as the blackness of the Chushite," in *Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Numbers* (4:157, 158). Ibn Ezra follows suit (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 4:84–85). See also the wrangling among post-Reformation divines in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:656–57) and *Works* (7:205–08). Given the nature of this ancient debate, associating desirable or undesirable shades of skin color with biblically sanctioned or disapproved lines of descent (Cush being a son of Ham) evinces how the origins of early concepts of race are deeply rooted in, and informed by, biblically sponsored norms. On this topic, see for instance D.M. Goldenberg's *The Curse of Ham* (2003), S. R. Haynes's *Noah's Curse* (2002), B. Isaac's *The Invention of Racism* (2004), C. Kidd, *The Forging of Races* (2006), and J. Stievernann, "The Genealogy of Races" (2010).

3 This second-hand citation from Targum Hierosolymitanum, on Numb. 12:1, is from the Parisian Polyglot, whose Latin rendition here given by Mather is nearly identical to that in the London Polyglot of Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:260). Either way, the passage reads, "And Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses about the Ethiopian [Cushite] woman whom he had taken; and observe, Zippora, wife of Moses, was not an Ethiopian, but of a flesh different from every creature, whereas Zippora, the wife of Moses, was of a comely form and beautiful countenance, and more abundant in good works than all the women of her age" (adapted from Etheridge's translation, *The Targums* 2:377). Much the same is rehearsed in Paulus Fagius's

An Ethiopian, here at all. *Zippora* is intended; and the Term of *Cushite*, which we have rendred, *An Æthiopian*, here, in Truth, but, *A Midianitess*. The Incomparable *Bochart*, ha's proved, that in the Scripture, it is not כוש but לוד that is the Name of *Ethiopia*.⁴ The Name כוש intends *Arabia*; and by the *Chushites* are meant these People, that were once called *Scenites*, but since that, *Saracens*.⁵ But having thus rescued *Zippora*, from the Defamations of a *Blackamoor*, what the Quarrel of her Friends about her was, we must leave to further Enquiry. Nay, Why may it not bee sufficiently expressed in the Text itself; The Wife of *Moses*, being not an *Israelitess*, but a *Midianitess*, this was thrown in his Dish, as a Reproch unto him; when they could find nothing else to Revile him with.⁶

3706.

Q. What? When he had already been *Forty Years* married unto her? Certainly, a better Account of the Quarrel & Clamour now raised against *Moses*, may be thought of? v. 1.

A. I find a good one, in Dr. *Patricks* Commentary on the Place.

Probably, they were Jealous of *Moses's* being too much ruled by his Wife, & by her Relations; For it was by her Fathers Advice, that he made the *Judges*, mention'd in the Eighteenth of *Exodus*. And perhaps they imagined, that she and *Hobab*, had an hand in choosing the Elders lately made; which make the Story in the foregoing Chapter connected unto This. It is evident, those Elders were nominated, without consulting either *Aaron*, or *Miriam*, about it. These taking themselves to be neglected, in so great an Alteration made of the Government, without their Advice, were very Angry. But because they durst not charge *Moses* directly, with this Neglect of them, they fall upon his Wife; whom in Scorn they call, *A Cushite*, or *Arabian Woman*. These were in after-times counted a *Vile People*: [*Amos*. 9.7.] For that Countrey was inhabited by diverse Nations, mingled together; *Ishmaelites*, *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, & the like. Some think, they were from this Mixture called *Arabians*; For, *Ereb*, in Hebrew, signifies a *Miscellaneous Company*, or, a *Mixture of many People*. These very People are called by that Name. [*Jer.* 25.20, 24.]⁷

annotations on Numb. 12:1 in his *Thargum. Hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia* (1546), sign. D^{7v}-D^{8r}.

⁴ Mather here draws directly on *Bochart's Geographia Sacra* (1707), lib. 4, cap. 2, col. 211 (lines 6–24); cap. 26, col. 264 (63–68), and col. 272 (lines 7–32), who argues that in this case it is not כוש [Chush] but לוד [Lud], which is the name for Ethiopia, for כוש [Chush] signifies *Arabia* (lib. 4, cap. 2, col. 211, lines 6–24).

⁵ *Bochart (Geographia Sacra*, lib. 4, cap. 2, col. 213 (lines 15–17ff).

⁶ Alas, John Selden, too, spills much black ink on Zipporah's ethnicity, in his *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 3, cap. 26, esp. pp. 521–25; and so do the post-Reformation theologians as recorded in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:656–57) and *Works* (7:204–08).

⁷ Patrick (*Numbers* 205–06).

Q. The Translation here? v. 1.

A. It is thus most conformed unto the Hebrew. *And Miriam spake, and so did Aaron, against Moses.* The Spirit of God intimates, That *Miriam* first offended; & then drew her Brother *Aaron* into the same Offence.⁸

2340.

Q. One of the Cavils, made by Deism, against the Writings of *Moses*, is, His commending himself. v. 3.⁹

A. I know no Damage that would ensue; if wee should suppose the *Parenthesis* here, in Commendation of *Moses*, added by some other Prophet, in the Transcription. But if such a Thing should not bee supposed, yett this were no Argument against the Writings being genuine.¹⁰ How often doth *Xenophon*, in his History of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, relate his own great Skill in managing the Army, & great Fame among the Souldiery, and Contempt of Money, & the like? How often doth *Cæsar*, in his *Commentaries*, make Fetches, to blazon his Fortitude & Clemency?¹¹ *Josephus*, in his History of the *Jewish Wars*, declares himself to bee, *The Wisest of all the Jewes*; that hee was *admired by the Roman Chiefs for his Virtues*; that *Titus wondered at his Fortitude under Affliction*.¹² Which is as much as what *Moses* writes of himself, *That hee was the meekest Man upon the*

⁸ See Patrick (*Numbers* 1); all the classic rabbinic commentators (Rashi, Abarbanel, Ibn Ezra, Bekhor Shor) agree that since Miriam's name is given first, it was she who took the lead (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:84–85); Rashi adds that the phrase “Miriam spoke,” is further proof of her instigation because the word “דָּבַר” [dabar] always connotes harshness,” in *Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Numbers* (4:156).

⁹ The alleged inconsistency of Moses' self-avowed humility in Numb. 12:3, “(Now the man Moses was very meeke, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth),” has been subjected to textual scrutiny only since the 17th century. Tellingly, this contradiction is completely ignored (or glossed over) even by the most illustrious rabbinic exegetes excerpted in Bomberg's famous *Biblia Hebraica* (1516–17), now better known as the *מִקְרָאוֹת גְּדוּלוֹת Miqra'ot Gedolot*. King James I's authorized committee of translators of the KJV (1611) appeared to signify their discomfort with this self-reflexive panegyric by enclosing Moses' self-praise in parenthesis. Although not the first to raise serious doubts about the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, Thomas Hobbes, in his *Leviathan* (1651), part 3, cap. 33, pp. 199–206, openly disavows the authenticity of the Israelite Lawgiver's composition, and opened the floodgates to those who followed in his steps – Benedict Spinoza, Jean LeClerc, Richard Simon, Charles Blount, John Toland, Anthony Collins and many more. Of the huge body of criticism on the topic, see, for instance, Diego Lucci's *Scripture and Deism* (2008).

¹⁰ On the “Deist” controversy about the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, see R. Smolinski, “The Integrity of the Bible's Histories” (*BA* 1:117–44).

¹¹ Mather has in mind Xenophon's Greek *Anabasis*, a laudatory history of Cyrus the Younger's campaign against his brother Artaxerxes II of Persia; and Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* and his campaign against the Gauls.

¹² According to Josephus Flavius (*Wars* 5.7.4), Titus and his Roman armies admired the fortitude of the beleaguered Jews in the face of Jerusalem's destruction.

Earth. And *Moses* was here under a sufficient Provocation, from his Brother and Sister, to speak as much as this comes to.¹³

Q. Dr. *Lightfoots* Remark on the Murmuring about the Wife of *Moses*? v. 4.

A. *Jethro* comes not unto *Moses*, until Now; because of the Distaste he took at *Moses*, for sending *Zipporah* back, when he went for *Egypt*.

Aaron, & *Miriam* now murmur against *Moses's* Heathenish Wife, which was but newly come among them.¹⁴

|
3709.

[21v]

Q. When the Lord saies, *He made Himself known to the Prophets in a Vision*; what may be the Import of the Word *Vision*? v. 6.

A. God herein represented things unto the Prophets, when they were Awake, as if they had perceived them by their Senses, which yett at the same Time were locked up; and all was transacted by a Divine Operation upon their Mind & Imagination. [See Dan. 8.1, 15.]¹⁵

Abarbinel mentions one, who observes, That the Word *Marah* [the *Plural* whereof, *Maroth*, signifies, *Looking Glasses*, Exod. 38.8.] is a different Word from *Mareh*, which is commonly used for, *Vision*; and teaches us, That all the Repræsentations made in this Way to the Prophets, were only as the *Images* of Things represented in a *Glass*; in which we behold the outward *Shape*, or *Shadow*, (as we may call it,) but not the Thing itself.¹⁶ And so the Apostle *Paul* seems to have understood this Word, (if he alludes to this Place, as *Grotius* thinks he does,) when he saies, 1. Cor. 13.12. *We now see thro' a Glass darkly*.¹⁷

3710.

Q. What were the peculiar Preheminencies of *Moses*, in his Conversation with Heaven? v. 8.

A. *Abarbinel* mentions *Four*.¹⁸ First, God spoke to others, by a Mediator, (or, an Angel;) but unto *Moses*, by Himself. Secondly, Others never prophesied, but

13 William Bradford's famous log *Of Plymouth Plantation* also problematizes the position of Bradford as a third-person narrator who evaluates his own performance as colonial governor.

14 John Lightfoot's *Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts of the Old Testament*, "The Book of Numbers" [Exodus (!) XVIII], in *The Works* (1684) 1:33–34.

15 This and the following paragraph are excerpted from Patrick (*Numbers* 211).

16 Abarbanel, on *בְּהַעֲלֵךְ יְיָ בְּמִדְבָּר*, in *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Mosis* (1710), *Beha'alotekha*. Rashi adds (Deut. 12:6, 8), "The presence of My name does not reveal itself to him [Moses] through a glass clearly, but in a dream, a vision," adding that the Lord spoke to Moses "plainly and not in riddles" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:87).

17 Hugo Grotius, on Numb. 12:6 and 1 Cor. 13:12, in *Opera Omnia* (1:75, 2:814). See also Mather's annotation on 1 Cor. 13:12, in *BA* (9:294).

18 Abarbanel, on the thirteen principles of faith, *סֵפֶר רֹאשׁ אֲמָנָה* [*Sefer Rosh Amanah*] *Liber De Capite Fidei* (1638), cap. 1, pp. 5–6.

their Senses were all bound up in Dreams, or Visions; but *Moses* was perfectly Awake, as we are when we discourse with one another. Thirdly, Others, after the Vision was over, were often left so Feeble, that they could hardly stand upon their Feet; but *Moses*, had a Conversation with the Divine Majesty, without any Consternation or Alteration, like what one Friend ha's with another. Fourthly; No Prophet could understand the Mind of God when he pleased; God communicated Himself unto them only when He thought good. Whereas *Moses* might at any time resort unto God, & enquire of Him, & receive Answers from Him. To this Purpose also *Maimonides*, in his Book, *De Fundamentis Legis*.¹⁹

744.

Q. Why was not *Aaron* smitten with a *Leprosie*, as well as *Miriam*, when both of them together, began to Rebel against the Authoritie of *Moses*? v. 10.

A. It was a remarkable Circumstance, by the Providence of God, attending the *Leprosie* of old, That the Priest, who was to be Judge of the *Leprosie*, could never bee tainted with it. And for this Cause, *Aaron* here escapes it.

I will take the Liberty to transcribe the Words of Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke* upon this Matter.

"Both were in the same *Sin*; what was the Reason why only *Miriam* is in the *Punishment*? Is GOD partial? GOD forbid. What then might be the Reason? Surely, methinks, *Chrysostom* gives a passing good one. [Hom. 3. ad Coloss.]²⁰ That *Aaron* was not smitten with *Leprosy*, for the Dignity of the Priesthood; lest the inflicting of such an unclean Disease on his *Person* should redound to the Dishonour of his *Office*, GOD did forbear him. GOD had a Respect unto the Holiness & Honour of the *Priesthood*; GOD would not therefore have His *Priest* infected with *Leprosy*. He that was to judge of *Leprosy* in others, & to separate others for the *Leprosy*, he himself was not to be *Leprous*. Tho' I find *Leprous Kings*, yett I find not a *Leprous Priest* in all the Scripture."²¹

1791.

Q. Was there any singular Mystery, in the *Leprosy* of *Miriam*, and her *Exclusion* from the Camp *Seven Dayes*, on the Score of that *Leprosy*? v. 14.

¹⁹ Mather, via Patrick (*Numbers* 213), refers to Abarbanel's annotations on Maimonides, הלכות יסדי חתורה רבי משה בן מיימוני *Constitutiones De Fundamentis Legis Rabbi Moses Maïmon* (1638), cap. 7, pp. 87–109.

²⁰ Via his citation from Jeremiah Dyke, Mather paraphrases a line from Joannes Chrysostom's *In Epistulam ad Colossenses* (*homiliae* 1–12), hom. 3 [PG 062. 0323, lines 38–39]. See also *Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, On the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Colossians*, "Homily III" (NPNFi 13:274).

²¹ Jeremiah Dyke (c. 1584–1639), Anglican clergyman, minister at Epping (Essex), who supported the nonconformist Thomas Hooker (later founder of Hartford, Connecticut) in a 1629 petition to Bishop William Laud of London (ODNB). Mather quotes from Dyke's sermon preached at White-Chapel, *A Caveat for Archippus* (1619), p. 38.

A. I am exceedingly pleased, with a Note, which *Ferus* ha's upon this Matter. *Ut symbolum sit hoc Judeorum, qui prophetis suis Turgidi, Christum aspernantur, ac tantisper exulant ab Ecclesià, dum gentium advenit plenitus.*²² Master Wild here speaks very soberly.

Tis clear, That *Miriam*, was a Type of the Church of *Israel*.

And this Church, is now, like *Miriam* shutt out, under the *Leprosy* of Unbeleef. The Occasion of the *Excommunication* with which this Church ha's been censured, is the same with *Miriams*; a not acknowledging the great Leader of the Congregation.²³

More than all this; If you Turn to the Twenty sixth Chapter of *Leviticus*, you'll see the sad Condition of the exiled Jewes, terminated by the Number of, *Seven Times*. The *Seven Dayes* of *Miriams* Exile, seem to bee propheticall thereof.

I will add a further Curiosity upon it. The Action of *Moses* in espousing a *Midianitess*, was a Type of our Saviours espousing a Church of the Gentiles. And the Murmur of the Jews, against this Action of our Saviour, ha's a Share in procuring for them the Leprosy under which they now stand excluded from the Camp of God.²⁴

Q. The *Wilderness of Paran*? v. 16.

A. We find *Ishmael* settled here; Gen. XXI.21. And since the *Ishmaelites* did not molest the *Israelites* in their Marches, they seem to be more Friendly unto them than the Descendents of *Esau*.

In a larger Sense, the *Wilderness of Paran*, seems to denote all the Desert and Mountainous Tract, lying between the *Wilderness of Shur* Westward, or *Egypt*; and *Mount Seir* Eastward, or *Edom*; *Canaan* to the Northward, & the *Red-Sea* to the Southward. So it comprehended the *Wilderness of Sin* in it. And so it is to be understood, when we read, Deut. I.19. of, *That Great & Terrible*

22 Mather refers to Johannes Ferus, aka. Johann Wild (1497–1554), a German Franciscan, biblical commentator, and popular cathedral preacher, whom Pierre Bayle identifies as a “warden of the Franciscans at Mentz [Mainz] . . . one of the greatest preachers of the XVIth century.” Bayle adds, “There are no more than a few writers of the Romish communion more esteemed by the Protestants than Ferus” (*Dictionary Historical and Critical* [1736], 3:44). The Latin passage appears to be a paraphrase of Ferus’s allegorical interpretation of Numbers, ch. 12, in *Annotationes Piae et Doctae in Exodum, Numeros, Deuteronomium* (1571), “Annotationes in Numerorum,” pp. 51 (sep. pag.). A copy of Ferus’s 1571 edition is listed in the *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini* (1723). Mather’s Latin quote addresses the issue of removing the wall of separation between Christians and Jews at the Second Coming. Until that time, Miriam’s leprosy, a type of the exclusion of the Jewish Church, remains active: “That it may be a symbol to the Jews, who puffed up with their own prophets, despise Christ, and in the meantime they are banished from the Church until the wholeness of all peoples has arrived.”

23 See Samuel Mather’s “The Gospel of Leprosy” (preached April 12, 1665), in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 301–02.

24 See Samuel Mather’s “Who is the Type or Figure of him that was to come, Rom. 5.14” (preached Sept. 26, 1667), in *Figures or Types* (1705), p. 118.

Wilderness. In the stricter Sense, it seems not so *Great and Terrible*; For so, it was more peculiarly that Part of the Desert of *Stony Arabia*, which lies between Mount *Sinai*, and *Hazereth* to the West, and *Mount-Seir* to the East. We find a City in these Parts near the *Red-Sea*, called *Pharan*; which probably gave Name to the adjacent *Wilderness*.²⁵

²⁵ The preceding paragraphs is a near verbatim extract from Edward Wells, *Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711), vol. 2, ch. 2, sec. 4, pp. 126–27; See also Wells’s map of the area (folded between 2:78–79). This map of the geographic description of the Israelites’ meanderings is most likely based on the oft-reprinted map *Terra Sancta Sive Promissionis, olim Palestina* (1659) of Nicolaes Visscher, the Elder (1618–79), a Dutch cartographer and printer. The map’s English title is “The Forty Years Travels of the Children of Israel out of Egypt through the Red Sea and the Wilderness in to Canaan, or the Land of Promise” (Imprint, c. 1688). Instructions generally recommended to “Place this Mappe at the 33 Chapter of Numbers” – a recommendation which Mather heeded by attaching (with sealing wax) an excised copy of Visscher’s map to fols. 54^v (below) of his annotations on Numb. 33:49 and his “An Appendix, to the ILLUSTRATIONS on the Stations in the Thirty third Chapter of NUMBERS.” See also *BA* (3:124).

3711.

Q. How come the Names of the *Spies* to be in that Order, wherein we find them here placed? v. 10.

A. There can be no Account given of the Order; except perhaps it should be This; They being to disperse themselves, when they entred the Countrey they were to search, & think it not Prudence to go above Two at the most, in a Company; they cast *Lotts* who should be associated; and the *Lotts* fell, as we find them here enumerated.

The Names of all the Wretches are here particularly remembred, as it should seem, for the Sake of those two worthy Men, *Caleb* and *Joshua*, whose Names must be embalmed, for their Faithfulness in the Midst of such a Crooked & Perverse Generation.¹

3712.

Q. The Names of *Abiman*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmi*, the Sons of *Anak*, what might they signify? v. 22.

A. *Bochart* thinks, That *Anak* signifies as much as the *Roman* Name, *Toropiatius*; being like to that *Gaul*, who was vanquished by *Manlius*. And *Abiman* signifies as much as, *who is my Brother*? Importing that there was none to be compared with him. *Sheshai* he takes to be much the same with *Sixtius*, one *Six Cubits* high, as *Goliath* was. *Talmi* he derives from *Talam*, a *Furrow*; as if he seem'd in Length to æqual a Furrow in the Field.²

4202.

Q. What ingenious Flourish have the Ancients, upon the *Cluster of Grapes* carried between Two? v. 23.

A. 'Tis a pious & a witty Meditation, which *Augustin* ha's upon it; *Duo Viri qui Uvam detulerunt, significant duo Testamenta; item duo præcepta, quibus diligitur*

¹ Mather here commemorates Caleb and Joshua (Exod. 13:30; 14:6–9), who – unlike their fearful fellow spies bringing grapes of wrath – returned to Moses with a huge cluster of grapes from Eshcol, and defended the Lawgiver's plan to invade Canaan.

² Patrick (*Numbers* 226–27) draws on Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 1, fols. 363(E)–364(A), or col. 348, lines 2–18 (1707 edition). Either way, Bochart offers "*Torquatium*" and "*Sextium*" (rather than "*Toropiatius*" and "*Sixtius*" as listed in Patrick and Mather) as etymological significations for "*Anak*" and nickname for the size of the Gallic giant. Bochart refers to the Roman consul Titus Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus (fl. 4th c. BCE), who accepts the challenge of a giant Gallic warrior, and David-like kills his Goliath in single-handed combat while the armies of both sides are watching the spectacle. The story is told in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (7.10).

*Deus et Proximus; item Judaicum populum et Christianum; Judæus præcedit, sequitur Christianus, salutarem suam Uvam, Christum scilicet, antè conspectum suum gerens.*³

3713.

Q. The *Cluster of Grapes*, which was *carried between Two*. What is there in Antiquity, to Countenance the Report of it? v. 23.⁴

A. A great many Authors mention *Vines* and *Grapes* of an extraordinary Greatness, in the *Eastern* and *Southern* Countreys. We need only refer to *Strabo*, who saies, The Vines in *Margiana*, and other Places, were so big, that a Couple of Men could scarce compass them in their Arms; and that they produced βότρυς δῖπυχυν, *A Bunch of Grapes of Two Cubits*.⁵ This is in Part justified by *Olearius*, in his Travels into *Persia*; where he saies, That not far from *Astracan*, he saw *Vines*, whose Trunks were so thick, that a Man could do no more than grasp them about, with both his Arms.⁶ And *Forsterus*, in his *Dictionarium Hebraicum*, saies, There was a Preacher at *Norimberg*, called *Achacius*, who lived as a *Monk* Eight Years in *Palastine*; & who told him upon his Sick-bed, That in his Time, there were Clusters of Grapes at *Hebron*, of such bigness, that one Single Kernel was enough to Quench his Thirst a whole Day, when he was there sick of a Tympany.⁷ *Dietericus* has collected a great deal more unto this Purpose, in his

3 Mather's quotation appears to be an adaptation of St. Augustine's pious meditation, in *Sermones Suppositios*, in *Quatuor Classes Subjecto Nunc Primum Ordine Digestos. Classis I. De Vetero Et Novo Testamento*, Appendix tomi quinti, *Sermones XXVIII* (a), [PL 039. 1799, 1800(a)]. "The two men who have taken down the grape signify two testaments along with two precepts, by which we are to love God and our neighbor. This image typifies the Jewish people and the Christian: the Jew goes first, the Christian follows, bearing their own grape safe, namely Christ, before their view."

4 The following extract (except for Mather's concluding sentence) is from Patrick (*Numbers* 228–29).

5 Strabo (*Geographica* 2.1.14, line 39; 11.10.2, line 7).

6 The German mathematician and geographer Adam Olearius, aka. Oelschläger (1599/1603–1671), whom Duke Frederick III of Holstein (1597–1669) sent on a diplomatic mission to Moscow and Persia (1635–39), published his popular travel log *Beschreibung der Newen Orientalischen Rejse* (1647), which was translated into several European languages (*ET*). It was translated into English by John Davies and published as *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by the Duke of Holstein to the Great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia, In Seven Books* (1662). Mather refers to *Voyages* (1662), bk. 7, p. 394, where Olearius expresses his amazement at the huge size of the vines, which he first encounters in the city of Astrachan (bk. 4, p. 171), a Russian city on the Volga River near the Caspian Sea, which reminds him of Strabo's account: "The Vines in these parts are so big, that they exceed a man's bulk. I have said as much before, though I believe some will hardly believe it: but besides that all who travell'd with us, are ey-witnesses [*sic*] of this truth, I may allege, to make good what I affirm, the Authority of *Strabo*, who saies the same of the Vines of *Margiana*, which is part of the Province of *Chorasan*" (bk. 7, p. 394), in what is modern Turkmenistan.

7 The third-hand story is related in *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum* (1557), # 1624, p. 848 (misnumbered p. 862), by Ioannes Fosterus, aka. Johann Forster, aka. Förster (1496–1558), German Lutheran theologian, Reformer, collaborator with Martin Luther in the translation of

Antiquitates Biblicae;⁸ and since him *Huetius* in his *Quaestiones Alnetanae*; where, he observes; that Islands of the *Archipelago* afford Bunches of Grapes, weighing Forty Pound.⁹ Just now, I find a celebrated Gardener in *England*, showing a Bunch of Grapes that measures half a Yard in Length, & above an Ell in Circumference, & the Grapes in Proportion as large. —¹⁰

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[22v]

4203.

Q. But how is the Land of *Canaan* circumstanced, for its *Grapes* at this Day? v. 23.

A. Thro' the Curse of God it is come to pass, that as *Lyserus*, quoted by *Dietericus*, tells us, There are now scarce any *Vineyards* at all in all the Countrey. He saies, That *one Ass* were able to carry all the *Grapes*, in the biggest Part of *Palæstine*. *Dietericus* thus expresses the Condition of the Land; *Vitibus quæ olim instructa abundabat, nunc Spinis et Dumis, ubi quondam arbusta et vineta optime culta, nunc Spineta et Dumeta horrida*.¹¹

the Bible into German, and professor of theology and Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg (*NDB*). I was unable to discover the identity of Achacius, the monkish preacher at Nuremberg, whose story is also quoted in Joannes Conradus Dietericus's *Antiquitates Biblicae* (1671), p. 249 (see below), and there attributed to Aegidius. Achacius suffered from tympanites, a distended abdomen caused by the buildup of gas (*MedTerms Medical Dictionary*).

⁸ Joannes Conradus Dietericus, aka. Johann Conrad Dieterich (1612–67/9), was a German Lutheran divine, professor of Greek and history at the University of Giessen, and author of numerous books (*CBTEL*), including his *Antiquitates Biblicae* (1671). In his lengthy commentary on Exod. 13:24 (*Antiquitates Biblicae*, pp. 249–50), Dieterich cites many ancient and modern eye-witnesses who testify to the huge clusters of grapes in Palestine: Nicolaus Radzivillius, Leo Africanus, Mercator, and many others.

⁹ Pierre-Daniel Huetius, in his *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 23, p. 224, lists the islands of Crete, Chios, and others in the Aegian, where such bounties of grapes are abundant.

¹⁰ No telling whose georgic Mather has in mind, Albion – though not renowned for the sweetness of her grapes by any means – is by Mather added to validate the Mosaic story of Caleb's giant cluster of grapes in the Land of Milk and Honey. And yet those of Hampton Court Palace in London were celebrated in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. According to *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Nov. 1801), vol. 71, part 2, p. 1046, we learn that "The two celebrated grape-trees of *Hampton Court* and *Valentines* in Essex have been amazingly productive this year (1801); the former having yielded one ton 650 lb. weight, the latter one ton 227 lb. For one year's crop of the latter the late Mr. Weltje, about fifteen years ago, gave 400 guineas. That at Hampton Court entirely fills a grapery, 24 yards long and six wide. The tree is 30 years old; and had upon it in 1798 eighteen hundred bunches of grapes, supposed to weigh a pound, one with another, and to be worth altogether at least 400 l. [*£ sterling*]."

¹¹ Although Patrick (*Numbers* 229) refers to Joannes Conradus Dietericus, Mather quotes directly from Dieterich's commentary on Exod. 13:24, in *Antiquitates Biblicae* (1671), p. 250 B (lines 21–24). Mather's query addresses the seeming contradiction between Canaan as a land of milk and honey and Palestine's present condition as an arid desert: The Holy Land "once abounded with grape vine, now with thorns and bushes; where once shrubs were well cultivated, now thickets and grim thorn bushes." Via Dieterich's *Antiquitates Biblicae* (p. 249A, lines

3714.

Q. How might *Calebs* endeavour to *still the People*, as it is said, *Before Moses*, be managed? v. 30.

A. The *Spies*, if you mind the Report they make, their Intention was to represent, unto the People, That whether they Invaded the Land by the *Southern* Parts, or the *Eastern*, they would find both of them to be guarded strongly by a mighty People, in force much superiour unto them.¹²

The People hereupon falling into a Mutinous Disposition, *Caleb* endeavours to *still them*, as tis said, *Before Moses*. The Hebrew Phrase *El Moscheh*, may signify, that he stilled them, as they were coming towards *Moses*, in a Seditious Manner; or as we render it, *In his Presence*, namely, when they were just ready to fly in his Face.¹³

One of the Doctors in the *Gemara*, saies, That *Joshua* being about to speak, they bitterly reproached him, and would not suffer him to proceed. *Caleb* thought good therefore to give them a great many Blandishing Words, & to call *Moses*, *This Son of Amram*, which look'd like a Contempt of him; whereby he so stilled them, as to dispose them to listen to him. He then proceeded, *Is not he the Person that brought us out of Egypt; that divided the Red Sea for us to pass thro' it; that gave us Manna from Heaven? What if he should bid us make Ladders, and climb up into the Skies? Should we not obey him?*¹⁴

58–59), Mather refers to Polycarp Lyserus, D.D., aka. Polycarp Lyser (1552–1601), a German Lutheran divine, professor at Wittenberg, and author of *Josephus, Hoc est, Theologica Expositio Sexta & Ultimatae Partis Geneseos* (1609). According to Lyser's explication of the history of Jacob's son Joseph (Gen. ch. 49; John 2:11), pp. 497–98, the soil of Palestine was subjected to a curse when the Messiah was rejected; that is why "*hodie ex toto illo tractu non posse vel unum asinum uvis onerari, quod olim ex una vite factum fuit*" (*Josephus, Hoc est, Theologica Expositio Sexta*, p. 498). That such matters were not to be dealt with lightly is evident in the doleful case of the Spanish physician Michael Servetus (1511–53), whom none less than John Calvin condemned to burn at the stake. As the oft-debated story goes, in annotating his new edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* with eyewitness accounts of travelers in Palestine, Servetus appeared to call Moses a liar, for these latter-day travelers confirmed Ptolemy's portrait of Judaea as barren and arid – not a land of milk and honey at all. Fake news? Ask the Genevan Reformer. See R. Willis, *Servetus and Calvin* (1877), bk. 2, ch. 3, pp. 324–26 et passim. See also Mather's gloss on Numb. 20.5 and Deut. 8:7 (below).

12 Patrick, on Numb. 13:29 (*Numbers* 233).

13 Patrick, on Numb. 13:30 (*Numbers* 234). The preposition אֶל [el] in the Hebrew phrase אֶל-מֹשֶׁה [el-mosheh] denotes "motion *to* or *unto* a person or place after every kind of verb expressing motion" (Strong's # B 472). Or, as Rashi put it, Caleb "silenced them [complaining spies] all. To hear what he would say about Moshe" (*Chumash/Rashi: Numbers* 4:176), they stopped shouting because they believed Caleb, Amram's son, would deliver the coup de grâce.

14 Patrick (*Numbers* 234–35); the italicized passage from the *Gemara* appears in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sotah (35a).

3715.

Q. What Occasion might the Wretches have, to give that Report of the Land, *It eats up the Inhabitants thereof?* v. 32.

A. The Hebrewes, who love to excuse the Sins of their Fore-fathers, do suppose, That there was at this Time a *Great Plague* in the Countrey. However, they made a very malignant Use of what they saw. If they saw the People of the Countrey every where as they passed along, carrying their Neighbours to their Graves, they should have ascribed it unto the Providence of God, who sent this Mortality, that they might have the fewer Enemies to oppose them, and the *Spies* might freely pass, with the less Observation. But they most wickedly ascribe it unto the Badness of the *Air*, which being unhealthful to the *Natives*, might much more be so to *Strangers*.¹⁵

¹⁵ Via Patrick (*Numbers* 236), Mather here paraphrases the explication of Raba in the Talmud, tractate Sotah (35a). On the sentence, "It is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof [Exod. 13:32]," Raba glosses, "The Holy One, blessed be He, said I intended this for good but they thought it in a bad sense. I intended this for good because wherever [the spies] came, the chief [of the inhabitants] died, so that they should be occupied [with his burial] and not inquire about them. (Others say that Job died then and the whole world was occupied with mourning for him.) But they thought it in a bad sense. It is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof" (Sotah 35a). Maimonides, in his *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), lib. 1, cap. 30, pp. 36–37, and *Guide* (1.30.63–64) offers a linguistic interpretation of the passage. Mather employs the same annotation in his *Successive Generations* (1715), p. 14. On his use of demographic statistics and mortality rates as a soteriological and hermeneutic device in his sermons, see T. McCormick's "Statistics in the Hands of an Angry God" (563–86).

438.

Q. What Remarkable is there, in that Plea of *Moses*, *Lett the Power of my Lord bee great?* v. 17.

A. The Jewes find a Letter of a greater Figure than usual there; to intimate, they say, something of an extraordinary *Greatness* in the Matter. But what is it? It followes, *Pardon, I beseech thee*. None but one that ha's the *Great Power* of a God, can *Pardon Sin* and our God gloriously delights to show His *Greatness* in our *Pardon*. That *Power* must bee *Great*, and the *Patience* and the *Goodness*, must bee *Greatly Powerful*, that shall *Pardon* such *Great Sinners* as the People of God, must sometimes acknowledge themselves to bee.¹

[23v]

|

1874.

Q. How are wee to understand that Syllable, in the Name of our God, *By no means clearing of the Guilty?* v. 18.

A. There is nothing said of, *The Guilty*, in the Original.

Why may not wee thus understand the Clause? *The Lord is of Great Mercy, Forgiving Iniquity & Transgression, and Clearing Hee will not clear*, – (that is, tho' Hee Forgive, yett Hee will chastise, & not altogether leave unpunished.)²

However, tis here intimated, That when the Lord *Forgives Iniquity & Transgression*, Hee will *not clear* the Sinner, with a *meer Clearing*; Hee will *not clear* the Sinner, without a *Sacrifice*: The *Vengeance* of God must proceed; the *Surety*

¹ Matthew Poole's own explication of Numb. 14:17, in *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible* (1683–85), vol. 1, n.p., appears to inform Mather's extract. And yet, Ibn Ezra and Rashi say it best when they discern God's power of forbearance in this verse and the following: "*Let the power ... be great* connotes being slow to anger, for all who are long-suffering have the great power to break their anger. *As Thou hast spoken*, that you are slow to anger is proof of this" (Ibn Ezra, *Commentary: Numbers* 109–110); Rashi furnishes a remarkable story about Moses' negotiation with the Almighty in Heaven: "When Moshe ascended on high, he found the Holy One, Blessed is He, sitting and writing. 'God is slow to anger.' He (Moshe) said to Him, 'to the righteous?' The Holy One, Blessed is He, said to him, 'even to the wicked!' He (Moshe) said to Him, 'let the wicked perish!' He said to him 'by your life, you will need this thing.' When the Israelites sinned with the [golden] calf and the spies, Moshe prayed before Him with 'slow to anger.' The Holy One, Blessed be He, said: 'But you said to Me 'to the righteous'? He (Moshe) said to Him: 'But You said to me, 'Even to the wicked'" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Bamidbar* 4:184). See also Sanhedrin (111a).

² See Exod. 34:6–7.

for the Sinner must endure it. God *clears* the Sinner, but it is in *Punishing*, it is in *Revening*, it is in *taking Satisfaction*, upon the Oblation substituted for him.³

3717.

Q. What was the præcise Day of the Month, when the heavy Doom was passed upon the *Israelites*, That *they should not enter into the Promised Land?* v. 23.

A. As *Moses Kotzensis* reports the Opinion of the Jewish Doctors, They tell us, it was on the *Ninth Day* of the Month *Ab*, which answer to our *July*. On this very Day, they also tell us, both the *First* and *Second* Temple were levelled with the Ground; and on the same Day, again the Jewes with their King *Ben Coziba*, were horribly destroy'd, and their City of *Pritter* sack'd. And to render this Day the more dismal, *Turnus Rufus*, plough'd up the Ground on which the Temple, & the buildings about it, stood, on this very Day.⁴

Q. That *Encomium* upon *Caleb*, *He hath followed me fully?* v. 24.⁵

A. The Original runs, *He hath fulfilled after me*. There is an Emphasis in this Word, *After me*, which as Dr. *Gell* observes, no Translation takes notice of. You must observe, That it is CHRIST who speaks in this Place. The Will of God is

3 Mather's implicitly Christological reading (Christ as the only true substitutional oblation) echoes a similar explication in the Gemara: "Only the undoubted guilt-offering [atones], but not the suspensive one? But is not the word 'forgiveness' written with regard to it too [Lev. 5:18]? – These [others] procure complete atonement, the suspensive guilt-offering does not procure complete atonement. Or else, As for these [others] [i. e., the sin-offering and certain guilt-offerings] another can effect their atonement, whereas in the case of the suspensive guilt-offering nothing else can effect their atonement. For it was taught: If those who were liable to sin-offerings, or guilt-offerings [for the] undoubted [commission of offences] permitted the Day of Atonement to pass, they are still obliged to offer then, up; but in the case of those who are liable to suspensive guilt-offerings, they are exempt" (Talmud, tractate Yoma 35b).

4 Patrick (*Numbers* 250–51) translates his paragraph (here extracted by Mather) from the bilingual Hebrew/Latin version of the commentary on the Gemara, by R. Moses ben Jacob Kotzensis (Cotzensis, Kozensis), aka. Moses ben Jacob of Coucy, aka. Moses Mikkotsi (13th c.), a French Tosafist, Halakhic scholar, and author of *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol. Liber Magnus Praeceptorum* [*Large Book of the Commandments*] (Soncino, 1488) (*JE*). Patrick's English translation is based on a Hebrew/Latin passage of *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol* (Semag. folio 248, col. 3) as extracted in Johann Christoph Wagenseil's *Sota, hoc est Liber Mischnicus De Uxore Adulterii suspecta cum* (1674), cap. 7, sec. 10, nota 8, "Excerpta Gemara," p. 736. King Ben Coziba is Simon ben Kosiba, better known as Bar Kokhba (d. 135 CE), leader of the Jewish uprising against Rome during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (130–136 CE), which was crushed by the Roman governor of Judea Turnus Rufus, aka. Quintus Tineius Rufus (c. 90–post-132 CE). The Roman siege of Jerusalem under Hadrian and the razing of the Temple is discussed in Eusebius Pamphilus's *Church History* (4.6.1–6), in *NPNFii* (1:177–78); and esp. in Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (69.12). The story of Turnus Rufus's ploughing up of the Temple grounds is also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Ta'anitha (29a), and in Josephus Flavius (*Wars of the Jews* 6.10.1; 7.1–2).

5 In his "Note Book of Authors" (Numb 14:24), Mather recommends "Burroughs of Gracious Spirit"; Jeremiah Burroughs's *The Excellency of a Gracious Spirit* (1639).

fulfilled, in our walking *After Him*; or doing as He does; or following of His Example.⁶

631.

Q. Tis said, *That none save Caleb and Joshua, should come into the Land of Canaan.* And yett wee read, *That Eleazar, and some others did come into that Land.* [Josh. 14.1. chap. 22.13.] This is objected by some, as a Passage Derogatory to the Truth of the Scripture. What can you say, to clear it? v. 24.

A. I say, Lett this Holy Book, bee read with the same Ingenuitie, that wee read other Authors; in whom nothing is more common, than to leave a *Latitude* for the Understanding of Things that are spoken with *Restriction*; which *Latitude* shall bee express'd and explain'd when they come to speak to the Particulars of those Things.

Caleb and *Joshua*, were the only Persons among the *Chief Leaders* that had the Priviledge to enter into *Canaan*, and it is to bee understood also exclusively of the Tribe of *Levi*. It is evident, that the *Levites* were not among the *Murmurers*; and it was Threatned only unto the *Murmurers*, That *THEY should not see the Land*. Wherefore, *Eleazar* and some others of the Priestly Tribe, were exempted from the Threatning. Briefly, the *Levites* were not comprised in the *Number* of the Congregation, taken half a Year ago. The *Levites* therefore are not comprehended in the heavy Sentence here denounced, any more than the Children under Twenty Years old, or the Wives of the Men that murmured. There might [be] some others, who had no Share in the Provocation.⁷

Q. The Glorious GOD sais here, *My Servant Caleb, had another Spirit.* Why is *Joshua* not so spoken of? v. 24.

A. Some think, that *Caleb* was at first, the more forward of the Two in speaking; *Joshua's* Dependence on *Moses* might make him say the less, that it might not be suspected, he spoke to gratify *Moses*. Others think, that *Joshua* might be a Penman to *Moses* in writing this History, & so suppressed what concerned himself. These Hints occur in Mr. *Burroughs* his Gracious Treatise of, *A Gracious Spirit*. But why may it not be enough to say, *Joshua* was one of so unquæstion'd and established a Character, there was no Need of saying any thing about him.⁸

⁶ Robert Gell, on Numb. 14:24, in his *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 468a.

⁷ Patrick, on Numb. 14:24, 29 (*Numbers* 251, 254). Ibn Ezra confirms as much, saying that "The Levites and the priests too did not fall under this oath [of exclusion], for there was no spy representing them. Moreover, they were not among those 'who were recorded in your various lists from the age of twenty up' (v. 29). Admittedly, there were next to no priests, but there were a lot of Levites" (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 4:103).

⁸ The English Independent Jeremiah Burroughs (c. 1600–1646), tutored at Emmanuel College (Cambridge) by none less than Thomas Hooker, later founder of the Hartford, Connecticut, colony, authored many works, including *The Excellency of a Gracious Spirit* (1639), a

1497.

Q. The Lord sentences the *Israelites* to wander *Forty Years* in the Wilderness. In how many Dayes might their Journey to *Canaan* from *Egypt*, have been performed? v. 33.

A. When the *Israelites* were in their Journey from their *Chaldaean* Captivity, tis said in Ps. 107.7. *The Lord led 'em in a Streight Way*. But in their Journey from their *Egyptian* Captivity, it was a very *Crooked*, and *Winding Way*, wherein the Lord led 'em; the *Cloudy Pillar*, with a *Crooked Way* chastised the *Crooked Heart* of that People. Their Journey might have been performed in passing over, but *Ninety Two Miles*, from the Border of *Egypt*, unto the most Southern City of *Canaan*. For *Pelusium*, or, *Sin*, in the Land of *Sinzin*, the last City of *Egypt*, was distant but *Ninety Two Miles*, from *Rhinocurura*, or *Nahalmizraim*, the first City of *Canaan*, on the South of *Simeons* Tribe, call'd in the Scripture, *The River of Egypt*: (Isa. 27.12.) This appears, by the Itinerary of *Antonine*, the Emperour; And now, at the rate of Ten Miles a day, which might tho' by so great a Multitude, bee complied withal, it was but *Nine Dayes Journey* to arrive at the Land of Promise. Yett in how vast Wandrings, must they roll about; for forty Years together!⁹

| **Q.** An Observation on the *Forty Years*, assign'd for the Wandring of the *Israelites* in the Desert? v. 34. [24r]

A. 'Tis Dr. *Gells* Observation, That the merciful God in His *Punishments* usually *does less* than His *Threatenings*. *Chronologers* find the Wandring of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, to fall short several Months of *Forty Years*.¹⁰

And the Holy People, who are commanded an Imitation of God, being directed, that they should *not exceed Forty Stripes*, for the greatest Fault, they still *Remitted One* of the *Forty*.

But in bestowing of Blessings, the merciful God, usually *exceeds* His *Promises*. Thus in the XXXV of *Isaiah*, when the Lord foretels the Miracles to be wrought by the Son of God, in the Dayes of His Flesh; we read not about the

lengthy exegesis of Numb. 14:24 (ODNB). Mather refers to part 1, ch. 1, p. 4 of this sermon, which identifies Nicolai Serarius (1555–1609), a French Jesuit theologian and historian, who argues that Joshua was Moses' amanuensis in writing down the account. Serarius does so in his huge commentary *Josue; ab utero ad ipsum usque tumulum, e Moysis Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio* (1610), tom. 1, lib. 1, cap. 4, Q. 3, p. 103 (B–D).

⁹ The distances are based on the *Itinerarium Antonini* (4th c. CE), an ancient Roman road-map, which recorded the distances between significant settlements throughout the Roman Empire (EB). Rhinocurura, aka. Rhinocolura, is a settlement on the Egyptian and Palestinian border. See BA (1:583–84), Livy (45.11), and Pliny (5.14.68).

¹⁰ Robert Gell's *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), Sermon X, pp. 492e, 493a.

Curing of *Lepers*, & the Casting out of *Divels*; Both of which were done very frequently.¹¹

Q. Upon that Passage; *Ye shall know my Breach of Promise?* v. 34.

A. Tis a Translation, by no means to be endured.¹²

I don't press for the *Vulgat*, or *Pagnines* Translation, *Cognoscetis ultionem meam*;¹³ nor *Munsters*, *Irritationem meam*;¹⁴ nor the *Tigurin*, *Prohibitionem meam*;¹⁵ nor *Coverdales*, — *when I withdraw my Hand*.¹⁶

I am content, that, *Breach*, be the Word. Lett it be, if you please, as *Tremellius* would have it; *Abruptionem meam*.¹⁷ Only then take *Piscators* Gloss upo n it; *Ye shall know how great an Evil it is, when a Man breaks off from me*. And then add, if you please, what will follow, *Ye shall know how great an Evil it is, when I break myself off from any one*.¹⁸

The last French Translation is much better than ours; *Vous connoistrez*¹⁹ *que j'ai comme rompu le cours de mes benedictions sur vous*.²⁰

11 In his gloss on Isa. 35:6 (*BA* 5:739), Mather refers to Pierre Allix's *Reflexions sur les Cinq Livre de Moyse* (1687), translated into English and published as *Reflexions Upon the Books of the Holy Scripture* (1688), vol. 2, ch. 10, pp. 237–38, 241–42. Here, the venerable Huguenot minister argues that Isaiah identifies four types of miracles by which the coming Messiah could be identified: healing the blind and the lame, raising the dead, turning water into wine, and casting out demons. For good measure, Christ “also conferr'd upon his Disciples a power of doing greater Miracles than himself ever did” (2:242).

12 Except for Mather's citation of the French translation, his source text is Gell's *Essay* (1659), p. 494(b-d).

13 Whereas Jerome's well-known Vulgate reads, “scietis ultionem meam” (“you will know my vengeance”), Sanctus Pagninus, *Biblia Sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione* (1542), on Numb. 14:34: “Cognoscetis ultionem meam,” p. 32^v (C) (sep. pag.): “You will recognize my vengeance.”

14 Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia, Latina Planeq.* (1546), fol. 292, reads, “cognoscetis irritationem meam” (“you will recognize my provocation”).

15 Tigurin Bible, aka. *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris & Novi* (1543), on Numb. 14:34 (p. 67^v): “prohibitionem meam” (“my prohibition”).

16 Miles Coverdale's translation in his famous *Biblia. The Byble, that is the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully translated in to Englysh* (1535), p. lxij, “The iiij boke of Moses. The xiiii Chap.” reads, “when I withdrawe my hande” (according to the original spelling).

17 Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, *Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri Canonici* (1593), p. 130, have “cognoscatis abruptionem meam” (“you will recognize my breaking off” [separation, divorce]), but also offer an alternate translation in the margin (note p), “abruptionem a me” (“breaking off by me”).

18 Johannes Piscator, *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), p. 340 (*Scholia in cap. XIV*): “Ut cognoscatis quantum malum sit, quum ego me abrumpo ab aliquo.” Mather provides his own translation (above).

19 Mather's misspelling of “connaîtrez.”

20 “The last French Translation” is that of the revision of the French *Bible de Genève* (Geneva Bible) by the French Protestant theologian David Martin (1639–1721), pastor of a Reformed Walloon church in Utrecht, whose *La Sainte Bible* (1707) reads, “vous connaîtrez que j'ai comme

|

3072.

Q. We read, *The Canaanites came and smote the Israelites, & discomfited them, even unto Hormah.* Whereabouts was that *Hormah*? v. 45.

A. Indeed we read of a Place called *Hormah*; but it had not its Name until very long after This, and upon a very Contrary Occasion; [you have it, Num. 21.3.]

But *Hormah* in the Text now before us, is an *Appellative*, and no *proper* Name. This is in Part intimated by the /ח/ præfixed unto it;²¹ a Præfix which does not use to be before any *proper* Name. The English of the Word is, *Utter Destruction*; and so it should be rendred here. The pagan Victors, as it seems, push'd on their Conquest unto Extremity; even as *Moses* had foretold, they would.²²

rompu le cours de mes bénédictions sur vous" ("you will know that I have broken the manner of my blessings of you").

²¹ The prefix /ח/ is "*He*."

²² Mather's source for this annotation is *Commentarium in Sacram Scripturam una cum Nova de Verbo Ad Verbum, ex Heb. translatione*. In *Opera Omnia* (1601), Tom. 1, p. 637, by Thomas Malvenda (1566–1628), a highly respected Spanish Dominican scholar (*CE*), whose prized commentary was also extracted in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1669–76). However, long before Malvenda argued that הַחֹרְמָה "ha-chormah" is not the name of a Canaanite town but signifies "utter destruction," Ibn Ezra stated that "Some think this is not a place name but a word meaning 'to destruction,' that is, they [Amalekites and Canaanites] dealt them [murmuring Israelites] such a shattering blow that they destroyed them" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:107).

3718.

Q. Might a *Stranger* bring the same *Sacrifices* with an *Israelite*? v. 14.

A. No *Stranger*, but one that was become entirely subject unto the *Law* of *Israel*, might offer the Offerings here enumerated. Nevertheless, another *Proselyte*, who worshipped the True God, but was not circumcised, might bring a *Burnt-Offering*; but it was without a *Meat-Offering*, & a *Drink-Offering*; & no *Peace-Offering*, were accepted from him.¹

3719.

Q. With what Limitations was this Direction understood; *One Law, and One Manner, shall be for you, and for the Stranger that sojourneth with you.* v. 16.

A. This General Rule was made for the Encouragement of *Strangers*, to become *Proselytes* unto the Jewish Religion, & for the Engaging of the *Jewes* to be kind unto the *Proselytes*. The *Proselytes* were admitted unto an *ἰσοτιμία*, as *Philo* calls it, with them.² Yett they tell us, it was to be understood & practised with some Distinctions. For the Lawes of *Moses* concerned, either the Duties they owed unto God, and one another; or they concerned Magistracy, & Matrimony, & their Civil Polity. Those of the First Sort, belonged unto *Proselytes*, as well as unto *Jewes*; yett, as Mr. *Selden* shewes, with some Temperament. But in those of the Second Sort, they had not an æqual Priviledge; They were not admitted unto any sort of Command, civil or military; they might not marry with the Priests; & certain Marriages were permitted unto them, which were forbidden unto the *Israelites*.³

[▽] [▽ Insert]

3720.⁴

[25v] **Q.** Here appears a Difficulty. A *Son of Ignorance* wherein the *Congregation* was concerned, is here expiated somewhat | otherwise, than the *Same Sin*, in the *Fourth Chapter* of *Leviticus*? v. 24.

¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 268).

² Philo Judæus (*De specialibus legibus* 1.52, line 1) and *Works* (538) explains that proselytes were given "equality of privilege" or "equal rank."

³ Patrick (*Numbers* 269); John Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib 2, cap. 4, esp. pp. 166–68.

⁴ See Appendix B.

A. Dr. *Outram*, after a long Consideration of the Matter, comes to this Conclusion; That in *Leviticus*, the Lord requires a *Young Bullock* to be slain for a *Sin-Offering*; when the *whole Congregation*, tho' adhæring to the true Worship of God in every thing, were led ignorantly, to do something against some *Negative Precept*, that is, to practise what God had forbidden. [This appears to be the Import of the Words, in Lev. 4.13, 14.] But the *Kid of the Goats* here mentioned, for a *Sin-Offering*, together with a *Young Bullock* for a *Burnt-Offering*; was to be sacrificed, when all the People, forgetting the Holy Rites præscribed by *Moses*, (which often happened under Bad Kings,) fell by a common Error into Idolatrous Worship: which agrees very well, with what is said in the Two Verses foregoing, where he speaks of not observing the Holy Rites about *Sacrifices*.⁵
[△ Insert ends]

[△]

[25r cont.]

2459.

Q. Who is meant by the Sinner, which *does presumptuously*, or, *acts with an High Hand*? v. 30.

A. *Grotius* thinks, 'Tis the *Atheistical Sinner*, *Qui præfractè negat esse Deum, aut Legem à Deo datam*. But then, hee thinks, tis the *Impenitent Sinner* too; hee adds, *Eodem Nomine appellatur, qui monitus in Legem committere pergit*.

And for the *Cutting off here denounced unto such a Sinner*, *Grotius*, by comparing Deut. 13.13. and Josh. 22.31, 33. thinks, the Meaning to bee, That such a Sinner should not be carried unto the *Judges*, but bee kill'd by any Man that saw him, as *Phinehas* kill'd *Zimri*: And his *Goods* be made an *Anathema*.⁶

Q. But the further Emphasis of, *Sinning with an High Hand*? v. 30.

A. Dr. *Denison*, in a Sermon, thus paraphrases it; "Even Erecting with an *High Hand*, the *Flag of Defiance* against God, as the Metaphor imports."⁷

5 Patrick's muse (*Numbers* 272–73) is William Outram's *De Sacrificiis Judæorum* (1677), lib. 1, cap. 14, § 2, pp. 150–52.

6 Hugo Grotius, in his *Annotationes ad Numeros* (*Opera* 1:75), thinks it is the atheistic sinner, "who obstinately denies that there is a God or that the law was given by God" But then, he thinks, tis the "impenitent Sinner too"; hee adds, "[who] is called by the same name, who having been warned by the law continues to commit crimes." See also Maimonides's *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 41, pp. 465–67; Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 11, esp. pp. 257–60; and Selden's *De Synedriis & Præfecturis Juridicis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 101.

7 John Denison, D. D. (c. 1569–1629), was an Anglican clergyman, variously headmaster of a free school, vicar of three churches in Reading (Berkshire), and "one of His Maiesties Chaplains" (*ODNB*). Mather quotes from Denison's *The Sinne Against the Holy Ghost Plainly described* (1620), bound with Denison's collection *Nine Sermons Preached by John Denison* (London, 1624), p. 126. A copy of this collection was part of the Mather Family Libraries (Tuttle, "Libraries," p. 57).

Indeed many Translations render it, *with an High Hand*. And it is Dr. Gells Paraphrase; “As if no Man should Display an Ensign, erect a *Hand of Impiety*.”⁸

1505.

Q. That Sentence, *For the Soul of a Man to bee cutt off*, pronounced upon the Præsumptuous Offendor, what was the Meaning of it? v. 30.

A. Wonderfully various are the Opinions of the *Learned in the Law*, about this Matter.

Some of the Jewish Doctors reckon this Cherith to bee peculiar unto the Jewish Oeconomy.⁹ But [Gen. 17.14.] we find it a Punishment provided before the Days of *Moses*.

The Hebrew Expositors, all agree in this, that by this *Excision*, is meant, some Judgment immediately sent by God; but they agree not about the particular Kind of it.¹⁰

With R. *Saadias*, it signifies a *Sudden Death*; who expounds it, by those Words, [Psal. 55.23.] *They shall not live out Half their Days*.¹¹

Solomon Jarchi, understands it of Want of Children, & not having Posterity.¹²

Some of the *Jewes* think, Eternal Torments in another World, are here intended.

Others, that an untimely Death, to cast Men into those Torments, is likewise Included.¹³

8 Among the translators who render it “*in manu excelsa*” (“*with an High Hand*”) is Sanctus Pagninus (on Numb. 15:30), in *Biblia Sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione* (1542), p. 32*(D). See also Joannes Piscator’s *Commentarii in Omnes Libros in Veteris Testamenti* (1646), “Scholia in Cap. XV,” p. 343. Mather’s trusty source says as much in Robert Gell’s *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 501(e).

9 The Hebrew concept of כְּרִית or כְּרִיתָ [koreis] or [cherith] signifies “cutting off.”

10 In his *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 41, pp. 461–62, 464–65, Maimonides distinguishes between four categories of transgressors: “the first being that of the *compelled transgressor*; the second that of the *inadvertent transgressor*; the third that of the *deliberate transgressor*; the fourth that of *him who transgresses in a high-handed manner*.” However, only the latter is to be considered “a *deliberate transgressor* who acts with impudence and audacity and makes his transgression known to the public.” In effect, “*He reviles the Lord*” and “must indubitably be killed” (*Guide* 3.41.563, 565).

11 Mather refers to the Talmudic scholar and philosopher R. Sa’adiah ben Joseph Gaon (c. 882–942), in his commentary on Psalms כתאב אלתסבִי [Kitāb al-Tashbīl], aka. “Book of Praise” (Psal. 55:23). See H. Malter’s *Saadia Gaon* (1921), p. 320. See also Mather’s gloss on Psal. 55:23 (BA 4:517–18).

12 Solomon Jarchi, aka. Rashi, on Lev. 20:20, argues that “koreis” or “cutting off” signifies “the punishment of remaining childless.” So, too, “[If] he has children, he buries them; [if] he does not have children, he dies without children,” in *Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Vayikro* (3:284).

13 The above positions are all presented by Nachmanides, on Numb. 15:31 (*Commentary: Numbers* 154–55): this scripture means, “*their blood shall be upon them* [Lev. 20:27], *they shall bear their sin; they shall die childless* [Lev. 20:20]; *he hath uncovered his sister’s nakedness; he shall bear his iniquity* [Lev. 20:17]. ... Now I have seen in the Pirkei Derech Eretz [the following

Maimonides carries it unto the *Annihilation* of the *Soul*, and a Perdition like that of a *Beast*.¹⁴

Some *Christians* understand it of a *Capital Penalty*, inflicted by the Magistrate.¹⁵

Others take it for an *Ecclesiastical Excommunication*.

Some Suppose it, an *Immature Death*; and some further suppose, *Eternal Damnation*.¹⁶

After all; *Quare*, Whether this Punishment must not bee differently expounded, according to the Different Subject-Matter, which it is applied unto. Where *cutting off* is threatned for of such an Offence, as was not punishable by the *Jewish Law*, it may mean some *Divine Plague*, inflicted by the Hand of God Himself. But where tis denounced for a Sin, which the *Law* took notice of, it may mean, a being dealt withal according to *Law*, whether by an *Execution*, or by an *Excommunication*.

[25v inserted into 25r]

text]: 'What is [the meaning of the expression], *his iniquity shall be upon him*? It teaches us that the soul is cut off, and [yet] its iniquity is upon it.' That is to say, the sin attaches to it [the soul] even after it is cut off, and it is punished in suffering forever, similar to [the verse], *for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched* [Isa. 66:24]." See also the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Shevu'oth (13a).

¹⁴ Maimonides, *Liber Doctor Perplexorum* (3.41.465–66) and *Guide* (3.41.565). The same is argued by Ibn Ezra, on Numb. 15:31 (*Commentary: Numbers* 122).

¹⁵ This is also Henry Ainsworth's viewpoint (Numb. 15:30), in *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627), p. 94 (sep. pag.).

¹⁶ See Poole on Numb. 15:30–31, in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:671) and *Works* (7:276–77).

41.

Q. How came they to bee *Reubenites*, that were Mutineers in the Rebellion against *Moses*? v. 1.

A. *Reuben* had been, *Unstable as Water*; as Water cannot hold itself, but as it is held in a Vessel, so *Reuben* could not contain himself within the Bounds of Chastity. His Curse therefore was, *Thou shalt not excell*: Whereupon came such a Dearth of eminent Persons in this Tribe, that neither King, Judge, Priest, nor Prophet, in all the Bible, descended thereof. Yea, few famous Men; only two that were Infamous, namely *Dathan & Abiram*, Generals of the Mutineers against *Moses*; haply in hope thus, because of their Extraction, to Recover the lost Birth-right unto their Tribe.

In this business there may bee also seen, the Infection of Company. The *Levites* of *Kohath*, & the *Reubenites*, were near Neighbours, on the Southside of the Tabernacle. Hereupon, it came to pass, that *Korah*, the Grandchild of *Kohath*, the Levite, conspired with *Dathan & Abiram*, against *Moses*; the Vicinity of their Habitation afforded them the Conveniency of Intercourse & Privacy in their Conspiracy. R. *Solomon* makes this Reflection upon it; *Wo to the Wicked, & Wo to his Neighbour!*¹

Q. How are we to understand this: *Korah*, – and *Dathan & Abiram*, – and *On*, – took Men? v. 1.

A. The Translators misplace the Word, *Took*, and the Word, *Men*, is not in the Original. By this Mistake, the Design of the Holy Spirit is overlook'd; which is, to putt a Difference between the principal Offendor, and those who were drawn into the Rebellion. Tis only *Korah*, that is the Nominative Case to, *Took*. This is Dr. *Gells* Criticism; And the Spanish Bible, and *Munster's*, & *Pagnines*, countenance it.²

1 Patrick on Numb. 16:2 (*Numbers* 288–89); R. Solomon (aka. Rashi): "אוי לרשע אוי לשכנו" ("Woe to the wicked, woe to his neighbor!"), in *Metsudah Chumash/Rashi*: 4:213), appears to be a quote from מדרש תנחומא [Midrash Tanchuma], Parashas Korach 4 (*Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma*: Bamidbar II:15).

2 Robert Gell, on Numb. 16.1, in his *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 507d, 508c. The Spanish Bible treats this issue in *La Biblia. Que es, Los Sacros Libros Del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento* (1602), folio 48^v; Sebastian Münster, in *Hebraica Biblia, Latina Planeq* (1546), fol. 298 (note a); and Sanctus Pagninus, in *Biblia Sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione* (1542), fol. 33.

The Word, which we render, *Took*, imports a *Schism*, a *Division*, a *Sedition*. The Chaldee Paraphrase renders it therefore, *Et divisus est Core*. The Geneva Translation is, *He went apart*.³

It is remarkable, That the *Schismatics* are punished alike in the *Nature*, but not in the *Degree* of their *Punishment*. The Sin of *Korah* was not so heavy, as that of *Dathan* and *Abiram*. He was of the Tribe of *Levi*; They were not so. Their Children were swallowed up with them; so were not his. Of *Korah* came *Samuel*; and others that served the Sanctuary.⁴

Q. A Few Illustrations on the amazing History of *Korah*, fetch'd out of the Incomparable *Witsius* his Dissertation, *De Seditone et Exitio Coræ?* v. 1.⁵

A. The *Reubenites* are by *Korah* drawn into the Conspiracy, not only from the Advantage of their Scituation, but also from the Discontent arising among them on their being denied the Right of *Primogeniture*.

*Tam facile ex scintilla exigua magnum repente oritur Incendium!*⁶

It is a little surprising to see, how a People, that very lately in their *Slavery*, seem to have lost all Sense of *Liberty*, have an inordinate ambition of *Liberty* now siezing on them!⁷

Korah was as near akin to the Patriarch *Levi*, as *Aaron*.

The Flourishes of *Josephus* here describing the Outrages of the People, have in them something of a *Græcanica solertia, in homine importunam sæpe eloquentiam ostentante*.⁸

Moses would Speak and Act nothing till he had first addressed the glorious GOD with ardent and prostrate Supplications; and this in the View of the People. *Quamvis precibus ad Jactantionem nunquam usus est, non tamen earundem ipsum puduit*.⁹

3 Gell, in *Essay toward the Amendment*, p. 507e, quotes both the Chaldee Paraphrast and the Geneva version (1560).

4 Gell, *Essay* (508).

5 The following extracts are from Hermann Witsius's "Dissertatione I: De Seditone et Exitio Corae," in his *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), pp. 249–73.

6 Witsius argues, in *Meletemata Leidensia* ("Dissertatione I," sec. 5, p. 253), that "so easily from a tiny spark arises a great fire of a sudden!"

7 Witsius ("Diss. I," sec. 6, p. 253).

8 Mather's Latin quote from Witsius ("Diss. I," sec. 10, p. 256) is slightly altered; Mather complains about Josephus's bowdlerization "as a Greek ingenuity in a man who often displays annoying eloquence." Josephus Flavius dressing up the story of Corah's rebellion, in *Antiquities* (4.2–3). It is unclear which of the numerous Latin editions of Josephus's *De Antiquitatibus ac De Bello Iudaico* Witsius here employed. Complete Latin translations of Josephus's Greek original were available in print at least as early as 1502.

9 Witsius ("Diss. I," sec. 12, p. 257): "Although he [Moses] never used prayers for boasting, nonetheless he was not embarrassed when he did so."

Why was the *Offering of Incense* the Point of Probation pitch'd upon, and not slaughtered Sacrifice? It was an *easier Action*, and sooner dispatch'd; and it was also the *more worthy Part* of the Sacerdotal Ministry: yea, and it was the Point, in which the Sons of *Aaron* miscarrying a little before had been dreadfully punished.¹⁰

Unto the Speech of *Moses*, then is added by *Josephus*, his mention of the Neglect which he had shewed of his own Family. His own Sons had nothing singular done for them. They took their Station among the common Levites. The Spirit of GOD elsewhere sett's a Remark on This; 1. Chron. XXIII.14. *As for Moses the Man of GOD, his Sons were (only) named of the Tribe of Levi.*¹¹

[26v] *Dathan & Abiram say, we will not come up.* R. *Solomon* has an elegant Hint upon it. It was an ominous Word, *We will not* |¹² *Go up!* No, Wretches, you shall not *go up*; your Portion will quickly be to *Go down into the Pitt!*¹³

The Occasion of *Moses* using that Expression, *I have not taken one Ass from them*, seems to be the Conspirators charging him with an affectation of *Tyranny*. The *Manner of Kings* was that, 1. Sam. VIII.16. *He will take your Asses & putt them to his Work.* *Moses* declares, that he never demanded the Tribute of *one Ass* from them.

Compare *Samuels Vindication*. 1. Sam. XII.3.¹⁴

Tostatus is at a mighty Loss, where they should find so ready their *Two Hundred & Fifty Censers*.¹⁵ My *Witsius* thinks, t'was easy to find them, thrown by among the Tribes of *Israel*, among which they had been used before the Priesthood became confined unto one Family. They might be the Reason to use these, because they were Monuments of their ancient Liberty.¹⁶

I may add, These Kind of Sacred Vessels were anciently very common in private Families. *Cicero* says, That in *Sicily* there was not an House without

¹⁰ Witsius (sec. 13, pp. 257–58).

¹¹ Witsius (sec. 14, p. 258).

¹² At the opening of MS [26v], Mather cancels already existing entry [3421.] but restores its substance several paragraphs later. The canceled passage reads, Q. How comes it, there is no mention of *On*, among ye Accomplices in *Corahs* Conspiracy? We find him no where but in the First Verse of the Story. What? Was he so Inconsiderable, that no further notice must be taken of him? v. 24.

A. Or, Lett us charitably hope, that he had forsaken ye Conspirators, as *Moses* wished all the People to do, on which Condition God promised that He would pardon them. [**]. See Appendix A.

¹³ Witsius (sec. 17, p. 260) invokes the gloss of R. *Solomon Jarchi* (Rashi) on the phrase, “We will not go up” (Numb. 16:12): *אֵלֶּא וְיִרְדּוּ לָהֶם עַל־יָדָא שְׂאִין הַכְּשִׁילָם* or, “Their own words caused them to stumble – they will have nothing but a downfall” (*Metsudah Chumash/ Rashi* 4:222).

¹⁴ Witsius (sec. 19, p. 261).

¹⁵ Alphonso Tostatus's long-winded response appears in his *Commentari in Primam Partem Numerorum, Operum Tomus Quintus* (1728), commentary on “Numb. Ch. 16, Quaestio VI–X,” pp. 362–66.

¹⁶ Witsius (sec. 21, p. 262).

them. *Demosthenes* affirms the same, of *Greece*; And *Athenaeus*, of *Egypt*. The *Israelites* might have enough of them from the *Egyptians*.¹⁷

The *Fire* for their *Censers*, doubtless They, as well as *Aaron*, took from the Altar of *Burnt-Offering*. But considering whence *That* came, & what a Testimony its coming from Heaven gave to the *Aaronic Priesthood*, it is a Wonder that it awakened no more Horror in them.¹⁸

The Piety of *Moses* and *Aaron* express'd, in their Essays to avert the Anger of GOD from the Congregation. *Novum, prorsusque eximium incredibilis prope-modum pietatis exemplum*.¹⁹

The *Two hundred & fifty* that were with *Korah*, standing with *Censers* before the *Tabernacle*, were consumed by *Fire* issuing forth from the *Tabernacle*, while they were offering their *Incense*.²⁰

What became of *On*, the Son of *Pelet*, who had been mentioned amongst *Korah's* accomplices? Tis thought by some, a *Seasonable Repentance* delivered him. Or, else the Lowness & Smallness of his Quality may be the Reason why there is no further Notice taken of him.²¹

This is very sure; *The Sons of Korah* so far withdrew from the Crime of their Father, that they did not perish with him.²²

There is a Problem, what became of *Korah*? was he consumed by the Fire of GOD? or was he swallowed up in the Earth, with *Dathan* and *Abiram*.²³

Witsius inclines unto the latter Opinion. The *Israelites* are bidden to depart from the Tents of *Korah*, as well as of *Dathan* & *Abiram*, that they may not be swallow'd up. There were only Two hundred & fifty devoured by the Fire: And so many there were without *Korah* in the Numbers; yea, tis expressly said, Num. XXVI.10. *The Earth swallowed them up, together with Korah*. It seems that *Korah* retired from the *Tabernacle* to his Tent, at the time when *Moses* with the Elders went with the Warnings to the Tents of *Dathan* and *Abiram*.²⁴

17 Mather interpolates a paragraph from Augustin Calmet's *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testaments*. 23 vol. (Paris, 1707–16). My page reference is to Calmet's commentary on Numb. 16:6, in the Latin edition *Commentarium Literale in Omnes ac Singulos tum Veteris cume Novi Testamenti Libros* (1734), p. 186. In his Oration against Gaius Verres, pro-praetor of Sicily (c. 74 BCE), Cicero expresses amazement about "how many beautifully wrought censers there were" in Sicily (*Secondary Orations against Verres* 2.4.46); Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* (11.40), cites Hellanicus's *History and Manners of the Egyptians*, which comments on the "brazen φιάλη" cups (censers) found in Egyptian houses; Demosthenes, *Contra Timotheus* (22, 32, 62–64), mentions the great value of these silver censers (bowls).

18 Witsius (sec. 22, pp. 262–63).

19 Witsius (sec. 24, p. 263) praises Moses and Aaron as "a new, absolutely extraordinary example of almost unbelievable piety."

20 Witsius (sec. 32, pp. 268–69).

21 Witsius (sec. 33, p. 269).

22 Witsius (sec. 34, pp. 269–70).

23 Witsius (sec. 35, pp. 270–71).

24 Witsius (sec. 36, 37, pp. 271–72).

3722.

Q. The Lord saies of the *Tabernacle*, – *where I will meet with you*. With whom? v. 4.

A. With *Moses*, by whom He communicated His Mind unto the People. He mett neither with them, nor with *Aaron*, there, any other Way, but by *Moses*.

Indeed here *Meeting with them*, is nothing but the Lords declaring His Mind unto them all, by what was here done upon *Aarons Rod*.

And for this Reason, tis called, the *Tabernacle of Meeting*: (Not of *Mens Meeting* there, as is commonly supposed, by our Translating it, *The Tabernacle of the Congregation*;) but of *Gods Meeting* there with *Men*. For so the Lord Himself gives the Reason of the Name, here, and Exod. 29.42. and 30.36.¹

[27v]

Q. The *Blossoming of Aarons Rod*? v. 8.²

A. An *Almond Rod* was of all the most properly taken. Here it miraculously *Budded*, and *Flowred*, and brought forth *Almonds*, in a Night. It is naturally of all Trees the most precocious. Its original Name implies a *Speedy Efflorescence*. [Which by the way gives us the Emphasis, of Jer. 1.11. *What seest thou? and he said, A Rod of an Almond Tree. Then said the Lord unto me, – I will hasten the Word, to perform it.*] It naturally flowers in *February* and shewes its Fruit in *March*. But here, *Miracle* vastly outdid *Nature*.³

We may now more easily apprehend the Expression in *Ecclesiastes*; Eccles. 12.5. *When the Almond-tree shall flourish*. That is, when the *Head*, which is the prime Part, and first sheweth itself in the World, shall grow *white*, like the Flowers of the *Almond-tree*: whose Fruit, as *Athenæus* tells us, was first called, *καρηνον*, or *The Head*, from some Resemblance, and covering Parts of it.⁴

How properly was the *Priority* here, confirmed by a *Rod* or *Staff*?

The *Rods* and *Staffs* of Princes, were the *Badges* of their Places; A kind of *Sceptre* in their Hands; a Sign, a Cognisance of their Dignity. In old Pictures, the

1 Patrick (*Numbers* 320).

2 Mather extracts his annotations on this verse from Sir Thomas Browne's "Observations Upon several Plants mention'd in Scripture" (pp. 238–40, § 24), in *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684), in *Works* (3:218–80). The question why God chose the rod of Moses for some miracles and that of Aaron for others is explored in "Occasional Annotation, IV," in *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1728), 4:234–37.

3 Browne (*Works* 3:238–39).

4 Browne (*Works* 3:239); Athenæus's variously describes the *καρηνον* (head, bulb), virtues, and appearance of Almonds and Almond trees in his *Deipnosophistae* (2.38–43, 3.24).

Gods and Goddesses, ordinarily have the *Staff of Divinity* in their Hands. The *Trojan* and *Græcian* Princes were not without the like; which the Shoulders of *Thersites* felt from the Hand of *Ulysses*. *Achilles* in *Homer*, as by a desperate Oath, swears by his *Woodden Sceptre*, *which should never bud nor bear Leaves again*. That Oath of *Achilles*, illustrates and advances the Miracle of *Aaron*. And if it could be well made out, that *Homer* had seen the Books of *Moses*, in that Expression of *Achilles*, he might allude unto this Miracle.⁵

In this Miracle, the *Leaves* which come after the *Flowers*, and before the *Almonds*, (that middle Germination,) seem to be omitted.

In the Medals, which pass among us by the Name of the *Jerusalem-Shekel*s, it is judg'd by Sir *Thomas Browne*, that the *Rod of Aaron* is improperly laden with many *Leaves*. That which they show under the Name of the *Samaritan Shekel*, seems most conformable unto the Text, which describes the *Fruit* without *Leaves*.⁶

5 Browne (*Works* 3:239); Homer (*Iliad* 1.234–39) has Achilles swear a great oath: “by this staff here – that will never again put out leaves or shoots since it first left its stump in the mountains, nor will it again grow green, for the bronze has stripped it of leaves and bark, and now the sons of the Achæans that give judgment bear it in their hands, those who guard the laws that come from Zeus; and this shall be for you a mighty oath.” During the Trojan War, the Greek soldier Thersites exhorts the Argives to board their long ships and revenge Paris’s abduction of Helen (wife of Menelaus) whose ravishing face launched a thousand ships (*Iliad* 2.135ff).

6 Sir Thomas Browne (*Works* 3:240); Juan Bautista Villalpandus depicts several specimen of flowering trees on Hebrew and Samaritan shekels in his three-volume *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani* (1596), tom. 3, lib. 2, disp. 4, cap. 21, pp. 380–81.

Q. The *Best of the Oyl*, and the *Best of the Wine*? v. 12.

A. What we render, *The Best*, is in the Original, *The Fatt*. There is in these, a *Lentor*, & an *Unctuousity*, which may agreeably enough be called so. However, I don't quarrel with the Version, as Dr. *Gell* would have me.

But then, the other Words; they strictly signify, *New Oyl*, and, *New Wine*. And, the Gentleman aforesaid, would have the difference betwixt *New* and *Old* in these, preserved; otherwise, how shall we distinguish them in our *English*, when they differ in the *Hebrew*? As Prov. XXI.17.¹

3723.

Q. The *Maintenance* allowed unto the *Priests*, methinks, it was very liberal? v. 20.

A. Yes. Without any Share in the Land, their Portion was far Richer, than that of any other Persons whatsoever.

As they had yearly, the *First-fruits* of the whole Countrey, which was at least the *Sixtieth* Part of the Fruits it produced: And the *Tenth* Part of the *Tithe* given to the *Levites*: And all the *Free-Will Offerings*; Together with the *Money* which arose out of *Persons* and *Things* devoted unto God: And all the *Firstlings* of *Cowes*, and *Sheep*, and *Goats*: And the *Redemption-Money* for the *First-lings* of such Creatures as were unclean: So, they had all the *Meat-Offerings*, Offerings for Sin, and Trespass-Offerings; Together with the *Breast* and *Shoulder* of all *Peace-Offerings*, and the *Skins* of all *Burnt-Offerings*; And the Loaves made of the *First Dough*, and the *Shew-bread*; And [as *Josephus* and others expound, Deut. 18.3.] a considerable Part of every Beast, that was killed for private Use: Besides the Cities and Land about them, which were assigned unto the *Levites*.²

[28v] If all this be well weigh'd, there will appear a vast difference between the *Priests*, and the rest of the *People*. For the *First-fruits* alone, if they | were not less than the *Sixtieth* Part of the Product of the Countrey, might seem sufficient; especially if the *Firstlings* be added: The *Priests* not being the *Sixtieth* Part of the *People*, no, nor the *Hundredth* Part, as other learned Men, besides *Bonfrerius*, have computed it.³

¹ Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 516b, e.

² Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 3.6.6).

³ Patrick (*Numbers* 344–45); Jacobus Bonfrerius, on Numb. 18:20, in his *Pentateuchus Moysis Commentario Illustrata* (1625), fol. 820.

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Q. The Lawes, about the Sacrifice of the *Red Heifer*, seem to bee some of the most unaccountable, among all the *Mosaic* Institutions. Why a *Female*? Why a *Young* one? Why a *Red* one? Why not slain at the *Door of the Tabernacle*? Why not its *Blood* poured at the Foot of the *Altar*? Why none of it *Eaten*, but all *Burned*, without the *Camp*, that so a *Water of Separation* might bee made of its *Ashes*, for the Purification of the *Unclean*? And why, yett, if a clean Person touched either Water, or Ashes, or Flesh of this Creature, hee contracted thereby a *New Pollution*? These things have so amazed the Jewes, that R. *Solomon* saies more than once, they were, *Absque ullâ Ratione*;¹ and they declare that King *Solomon* himself did not know the *Reason* of them. Yea, they proceed unto such Fabulous Blasphemy, as to say, *Eâ horâ quâ Moses ascendit in Altum, invenit Deum Sanctum Benedictum, studentem in illâ Sectione Legis, quæ est, De Vaccâ Rufâ*.² And among our Christian Interpreters, the Ablest profess with *Calvin*, *Nescire malo, quam Dubium aliquod asserere*.³ and, *Simeon De Muis, Tutius ac melius est*

1 R. Solomon Jarchi, aka. Rashi, wonders about the rational foundation of certain ritual laws that seem arbitrary and “without any reason.” He concludes, God-given statutes are not to be questioned: “Therefore, the Torah referred to it as *חֻקֵּה* a statute,” signifying, “I [the Lord] have decreed it, and you are not permitted to question it” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 4:251). See also Tanchuma, Parashas Chukas 7 (*Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma: Bamidbar* II:103). See also ספר העקרים [Sefer Ha-Ikkarim] (1522), lib. 3, cap. 24, by the Spanish philosopher R. Joseph Albo (c. 1380–1440) of Soria, Castile (*SEP*). Albo explains that the Torah contains certain strictures, which express God’s inscrutable will. “They go by the name of ‘statutes,’ and embrace all those commandments whose reason is not known, such as the prohibition of swine’s flesh, or of wearing garments of wool and flax mixed, or of sowing diverse seeds, or so on, which are royal fiats, things which God willed after He commanded them” (*Sefer Ha-Ikkarim: The Book of Principles* [1946], vol. 3, ch. 24, p. 208). Likewise, R. Moses Maimonides famously tries to discern the rationale for certain divine statutes for which there seem to be no apparent reason (*Guide* 3.29–30.514–23; 3.31–33.523–34). See also my introduction, section 2.

2 Mather’s second-hand quotation (via Spencer’s *De Legibus* [1685], fol. 369) originates in Theodor Hackspan’s notations on his Hebrew/Latin edition of ספר נצחון *Liber Nizachon Rabbi Lipmanni* (1644), “De scriptorum Judaicorum in Theologia usu vario & multiplici Tractatus,” cap. 1, p. 260. The citation reads, “At that hour when Moses went up upon high, he found holy and blessed God give attention to that section of the law which concerns the red heifer.”

3 Via Spencer (369), Mather quotes from John Calvin’s “Appendix Alia De Censu Solvendo ex Exodi III.” Numer. XIX, 1. Primum Praeceptum, sec. 1, *Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia* (24:333). To the question, “Quid sibi vult rufus color in vaccâ?” (“What, then, is the meaning of the red colour?”), Calvin’s responds, “nescire malo, quàm dubium aliquod asserere” (“I prefer confessing my ignorance to advancing anything doubtful”), in *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses* (2:39).

*fateri, istius statuti causam prorsus ignorari.*⁴ Doubtless, with the Help of your learned *Spencer*, you may give mee some Notable *Illustrations* of these *perplexed Lawes*? v. 2.⁵

A. I'll Try. But you must give mee Leave to advise with some others, besides that learned Man, and in some Things Dissent from him.

First; Lett us enquire, why a *Female*, an *Heifer*, was appointed for this wonderful Sacrifice; when a *Male* was generally præferred for Sacrifice; yea, a *Male* was opposed unto a, *Corrupt Thing*?

Now, you must know, That Authors enow have told us, of the *Egyptian* Superstition, which *Herodotus* particularly thus describes; *They sacrifice male Beeves & Calves, τὰ δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφιν ἔξεστι θύειν, But it is not lawful for them to sacrifice the Females, for they are sacred unto Isis*: And in another Place, *Βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται, The Egyptians, do all of them worship female Beeves*.⁶ And *Porphyrie* also refers to it, when hee saies, *That among the Egyptians & Phœnicians, they would sooner meddle with Mans-Flesh, than with Cowes-flesh*.⁷ Now, in Affront, & Contempt of that *Egyptian* Superstition, the Lord commands the *Israelites*, to Slay and Burn, the Creature to which they offered a Sacred Honour. To this Purpose you have a Passage in *Thomas Aquinas*, It was, *forte ideo quia Vaccas in morem Ægypti coluerunt. Secundum illud Hosea, Vaccas Bethaven coluerunt*.⁸ And another Passage in *Josephus de Voisin*, It was, *Ut ita ab Idololatriâ Hominum Animi averterentur, dum ea sacrificarent quæ apud Idololatræ sacra errant, et in veneratione habebantur*.⁹ Tis very certain, and such Authors as

4 Simeon De Muis, on Numb. 19, in *Variorum Sacrorum Specimen Variis e Rabbinis contextum* (1634), p. 441, echoes Calvin's diffidence, saying "It is safer and better to admit entirely to not knowing the reason for this statute."

5 The preceding and following paragraphs are synopsized from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 15, fols. 369–93.

6 Spencer (*De Legibus* [1685], lib. 2, cap. 15, sec. 2, fol. 373); Herodotus (2.41, lines 2–3, 5–6)

7 Porphyrius (*De Abstinencia* 2.11, lines 5–6): *παρὰ γοῦν Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξι θᾶπτον ἂν τις ἀνθρωπείων κρεῶν γεύσαιτο ἢ θηλείας βοός*. Mather provides his own translation.

8 St. Thomas Aquinas here leans on Maimonides's explanation (*Guide* 3.26.506–10, 3.30–32.522–31) and comments on "*Israel hath gone astray like a wonton heifer*" (Hos. 4:16). St. Thomas believes that Hosea's words indicate that "this was, perhaps, because they worshipped heifers after the custom of Egypt. [Secondly, according to Hos. 10:5, they] *have worshipped the kine of Bethaven*" (*Summa Theologica*, pt. 1–2.Q. 102, art. 5, *Reply Obj.* 5 (1a-IIae 2:1072). Cotton Mather bought a duplicate copy of Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* (1614) from Harvard College, see C. S. Bringham, "Harvard College Duplicates, 1682" (p. 411).

9 Mather's second-hand quote (via Spencer 373) is from *Liber de Lege Divina Secundum Statum Omnium temporum* (1650), cap. 15, p. 247, by the RC priest Joseph de Voisin, a French Hebraist of Bordeaux, and author of several Hebraic studies, including *Theologia Judaeorum* (1647) and *De Jubilæo* (1655) (CBTEL). A study of the Mishnah, De Voisin's *Liber de Lege Divina* in the present context examines the Sixth Division (Tohoroth) on ritual cleanliness, sec. 4: Parah ("Red Heifer"), and cites Maimonides's *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.46.480–90) as evidence that the Zabian (pagan) cultic rites informed many Levitical Laws. De Voisin's Latin passage explains that the worship of the red heifer (Egypt

Origen, and Theodoret, as well as Jonathan and Maimonides, have noted it, That such Creatures, as the Egyptians Idolized, the Lord ordered His Israelites, either to Butcher them in Sacrifices, or to Banish them from all Sacred Uses whatsoever.¹⁰ Yea, Tacitus complained of the Jewes, *Prophana illis omnia, quæ apud Nos Sacra*.¹¹ And, old Manethon gives this report of Moses, as Josephus tells us, *Hee commanded the Jewes in the first Place, that they should not Abstain from the Creatures that were most sacred among the Egyptians, πάντα τὲ θύειν καὶ ἀναλοῦν· but bring them under Sacrifice & Destruction*.¹² From hence might arise Part of the Rage, with which the Egyptians usually treated the Jewes, in after-ages. Briefly, The Lord, would bring the Heifer to the same Level, with other Creatures, in Opposition to the Heifer-Worship of the Egyptians, among whom the Israelites had so long been conversant, that Philoponus truly calls them, τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων σεβασμασι συναναπεφυρμένον γένος· *Ægyptiorum Cultibus et Idolis Aspersum et Commixtum Genus*.¹³ Shall wee also say this further upon it? Plutarch informs us, that the Egyptians did sacrifice a Red Ox to Typhon; and now, that the Rites of Typhon might not run too much in the Minds of the People, the Lord would have a Creature of the Cow-kind, & not of the Ox-kind, sacrificed unto Himself. Indeed all the Mosaic Rites, did in some remarkable Circumstances, vary from the Egyptian.¹⁴ Yea, Tis not unobservable, That the Sacrifice of this Heifer, was a Purification for Sin; even, for the Sin of Heifer-Worship, which they had committed in Egypt, as also, for their Worship of that Hee-Calf in the Wilderness; It is a Note of Maimonides, That, *Quanto peccatum aliquod fuit gravius, tanto vilioris*

Isis) had a powerful hold on the Israelites. Thus the red heifer was completely burned outside the camp of the Israelites “so that the minds of men might be turned from idolatry, while they sacrificed that which is wrongfully deemed sacred and held in esteem among the idolaters.”

10 Origen (*Contra Celsum* 4.93), in *ANF* (4:538–39); Theodoretus Cyrrensis, “Sermo VII: De Sacrificiis,” in *Opera Omnia*, 4:584 (CD); Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (Lev. 9:3–4), in Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:194); Maimonides (*Guide* 3.30.522–23).

11 Tacitus (*Historiarum* 5.4) and *Histories* (5.4.234–35) complains that they “regard as profane all that we hold sacred,” adding that the Jews allow everything we abominate.

12 Josephus Flavius (*Contra Apionem* 1.239–240, lines 3–4) and *Against Apion* (1.26.618); Manetho, *Ægyptiaca Fragmenta* (Fragm. 54, lines 65–66).

13 Spencer (374) quotes a line from *De opificio mundi* (160, lines 15–16), by the Greek Christian grammarian and commentator Joannes Philoponus Alexandrinus (490–570 CE). The quotation is adapted in the bilingual edition *In Cap. I. Geneseos, De Mundi Creatione Libri Septem* (1630), lib. 4, cap. 1, p. 145, by the Belgian Jesuit of Antwerp Balthasar Corderius, aka. Cordier (1592–1650), professor of theology at the University of Vienna, Austria (CE). Philoponus argues that “a people sprinkled and mixed up with the worship and idols of the Egyptians.”

14 Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 31.363b) explains, “The Egyptians, because of their belief that Typhon was of a red complexion, also dedicate to sacrifice such of their neat cattle as are of a red colour, but they conduct the examination of these so scrupulously that, if an animal has but one hair black or white, they think it wrong to sacrifice it; for they regard as suitable for sacrifice not what is dear to the gods but the reverse, namely, such animals as have incarnate in them souls of unholy and unrighteous men who have been transformed into other bodies. For this reason they invoke curses on the head of the victim and cut it off.” See also Herodotus (2.38) and Diodorus Siculus (1.88).

*speciei fuit ejus oblatio. Hinc pro errore Idololatriæ, Capra tantum, et pro cæteris peccatis Hominis alicujus privati, Agna et Capra offerenda fuit: quia femella vilior habetur mare in omnibus speciebus: nullum autem peccatum majus Idololatriâ, et nulla species vilior Caprâ.*¹⁵ It is likewise a Note of this Maimonides, That the Expiation bore a Character of the *Transgressions*. Aaron sinned about a *Calf*, and the Sacrifice for him, & his Children, was accordingly such a *Calf*: And whereas all the *Sin-Offerings* at their Three principal Festivals, were of *Kids*, hee adds, *Hujus Rei causa hæc mihi videtur esse, quod maximum peccatum et gravissima tum Temporis Rebellio esset, quod Hircis sacrificarent.*¹⁶ Thus the Israelites, that had sinned by *Heifer-Worship* in *Egypt*, must now sacrifice an *Heifer*.

[29v] | But then, if a *Female*, why an *Heifer*, a *Calf*, & not a *Cow*? The Hebrew Name, signifies one that is not gone beyond Three Years old; *Lorin*, and *Ainsworth*, as well as old *Cyril*, & abundance more, do mistake, when they assert a, *Vacca Triennis*, to bee herein required; And our English Translation, *An Heifer*, ha's indeed well corrected the most of the former Translations.¹⁷ Now this also was, to oppose the Institutions of the *Gentiles*; among whom generally, a *Calf*, was a Sacrifice peculiar to the *Moon*; as among the *Egyptians*, it was particularly sacred unto *Isis*. *Jeroboams* Conversation in *Egypt*, was that which therefore learnt him, his *Calf-Worship*; his *Idols* the Seventy, as well as *Josephus*, call δαμάλεις χρυσᾶς, and *Hosæah* [ch. 10.5.] remembers, *The Calves of Beth aven*.¹⁸ Tis not likely, that hee made the *Cherubim*, of the Jewish Temple, his *Idols*, to make his unhappy *Superstition*, and *Separation*, the more specious: *Bochart* ha's enough confuted *That*:¹⁹ God would have that Creature fall under *Execration*,

15 Maimonides's *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.46.486) notes that "the greater the sin that had been committed, the more defective was the species from which the sacrifice offered up for it was taken. Therefore only a *she-goat* is offered up for an act of *idolatry* committed *inadvertently* [Numb. 15:27], and *other sins of a private individual* require a *ewe-lamb* or a *she-goat*. For a female is in all species more defective than the male, and there is no sin greater than *idolatry*, and no kind more defective than a *she-goat*" (*Guide* 3.46.587–588).

16 Maimonides, in *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.46.487), adds, "[This] is the reason, in my opinion, that their greatest act of disobedience consisted at the time in sacrificing to the *se'irim* [i. e., 'he-goats' and 'devils']" (*Guide* 3.46.588). See also Lev. 17:7.

17 Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 15, sec. 1, fol. 370); the French Jesuit theologian and biblical commentator Joannes Lorinus, aka. Jean de Lorin (1559–1634), argues in his long commentary on Numb. 19:2, in *Commentarii in Librum Numeri* (1623), p. 698(D), that the red heifer must be three-years old; and so do Henry Ainsworth (*Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses*, p. 117, sep. pag.) and Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Expositio in Psalmos*) [PG 069. 1176, line 29].

18 Both the LXX (3. Kings 12:28, line 2) and Josephus Flavius (*Antiquitates* 8.226, line 1) relate that Jeroboam made two "golden heifers" for his temples at Bethel and Dan (*Antiquities* 8.8.4) to keep the Ten Tribes of the N. kingdom from their pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem, the capital of their rivals in Judah.

19 See Appendix A. Samuel Bochart, in *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 41, col. 410, line 33–58, insists that the red heifer must be younger than 3 years old. On the significance of sacrificial calves, see esp. pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 30, col. 290 ff.

as an Instrument of *Expiation*, among His People, that was an Object of *Adoration* among the Pagans.

But, why must the *Heifer* bee entirely *Red*? For, tis very clear, that the Qualification of /תְּמִימָה/ *Perfect*, here signifies, the *Perfection* of the *Reddish*; or as *Josephus* renders it, ξανθὴν, *Yellow, Colour* in it.²⁰ The Jewes took it so; & would therefore as *Maimonides* writes, pull out every *Black or White Hair*, that could bee found upon the Creature: with *Superstition* enough.²¹ And so saies *Lyra*, *Vox*, *Integra*, *refertur ad Colorem Vaccae, quae debebat esse Rubea integraliter*.²² Tho' learned Men oppose it, yett wee will subscribe to *Munster*, who also saies, *Rufa Integra*, here notes, *Omninò Rufa, et quae nullos nigros habet pilos*.²³ Well: Shall wee now say, that it was because the *Red Colour*, was the most common among that Sort of *Cattel*? So *Pindar* indeed more than once intimates.²⁴ But the Lord would not have mentioned any *Colour* at all, if hee had therein aimed only at the *Attaineableness* of the Offering. Or, shall wee say, that the *Red Colour* had a Singular Gratefulness therein, to *Men*, & therefore to *God* also? Indeed *Homer*, and *Libanius* intimate as much; and *Mahomet*, after his Manner, speaking of this Matter, saies, *The Oblectation of the Eye was therein proposed*.²⁵ But this is altogether of an Arbitrary Strain. The *Jewes* then think, that the *Gold Colour* of *Aarons Calf*, was herein referr'd unto; the Crime of which *Calf*, the Lord would

20 Spencer (371); Heb. תְּמִימָה [tamiym] signifies “complete, whole entire, sound” (Strong’s # 8549). Josephus Flavius (*Antiquitates* 4.79, lines 1–2) and *Antiquities* (4.4.6): After Miriam’s burial, Moses purified the Israelites by slaughtering “a heifer that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry, that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean” (*italics* added).

21 In his הלכות פרה אדומה רבי משה בן מיימון. Hilchot Parah Adumah: Tractatus de Vacca Rufa (1711), cap. 1, § (א), pp. 4, 5, Maimonides explains, “The Torah’s description of [this heifer] as ‘perfect’ means ‘perfectly red,’ not perfect in stature. Even if it is dwarf size, it is acceptable, as is the law regarding other sacrifices [*Bechorot* 45(b)]. If it had two white hairs or black hairs growing from one follicle or from two cavities and they are lying on top of each other, it is unacceptable” (*Hilchot Parah Adumah* 1.2), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1), p. 200.

22 The Latin citation from Nicholas de Lyra’s annotation on Numb. 19:2, in his *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (1492), tom. 1, sign. Yv^o (nota f), translates, “the voice, pure, is related to the color of the cow, which ought to be completely red.”

23 Spencer (372); Sebastian Münster, on Numb. 19:2, in *Hebraica Biblia, Latina Planeg* (1546), fol. 304, glosses, “*Perfectly red* [here means] entirely red, and without any black hair.”

24 Spencer (375). In the hall of Pelias, king of Iolcus, Jason (questing for the Golden Fleece) invokes Poseidon and swears, “I leave you the flocks, and the golden herds of cattle.” Later in their journey across the sea, Jason and his Argonauts arrived at the holy precinct of the Earth-Shaker, and there saw nestled “a heard of red Thracian bulls” (*Pindar, Pythian. Ode* 4.148, 205).

25 Spencer (376); Homer (*Iliad* 13.703–4) chants, how Aias (son of Oïleus) and Aias (son of Telamon) battled side by side – just like “two wine-dark oxen with one accord strain at the jointed plough.” Likewise, in his *Progymnasmata* (12.2.6, line 4), Libanius Antiochenes explains that the Phoenicians cherished the reddish color of heifers. Even the Archangel Gabriel, who appeared to the prophet Muhammad, reminds the faithful what the Israelites said to Moses when he commanded to sacrifice a cow: “[P]ray unto thy Lord, that he shew us of what colour it [the cow] ought to be. It must, said he [Moses], be of a bright, yellow colour, that it may delight the eyes of the beholders” ([Sura 2:69], in Du Ryer’s *The Alcoran* [1649], ch. 2, p. 6).

have to bee kept in perpetual Memory.²⁶ And may not wee *Christians* also think, that the *Bloody Sufferings* of the *Messiah* to come, were in this *Colour* also exhibited? Both *Fathers* and *Moderns*, have been, whole Thousands of them, thus perswaded. But, because *Plutarch* reports, (as well as *Diodorus Siculus*) that the *Egyptians*, did sacrifice *Red Cattel*, to *Typhon*, whom they esteemed *Red*, & upon whose account they hated the *Red Colour*, in Man & Beast, inasmuch as hee had killed their *Osiris*;²⁷ therefore Dr. *Spencer* thinks, that the *Egyptian Rite*, was considered in this Law of *Israel*: God would show, that a *Red Heifer* was of as much account with Him, as any other Creature of *Sacrifice*.²⁸ The *Creature*, which the *Egyptians* most Honoured, namely an *Heifer*, God would have to bee Destroy'd with Fire; and the *Colour* which the *Egyptians* most Abhorred, God chose to putt a Respect upon. Indeed, if I were satisfied, That the Original Story of *Typhon*, were not of later Date, than the *Ante-Mosaic* Ages, tho' I freely allow their *Heifer-Worship* to have been before, or, That the *Divels*, which had the Government of *Egypt*, did not in many Superstitions Ape the Institutions which God first gave unto His People, not withstanding the Antipathy which the *Egyptians* themselves, had unto Hebrew Customes; I should myself bee altogether of this Opinion. But because I am not so fully of that most learned Mans Judgment in that Point, I rather make you a Tender of the Two Conjectures, which immediately præceded *This*. Altho' doubtless, the *Spencerian* Account of these things, is well worthy to bee considered.

But, why must the *Heifer* bee one that never came under the *Yoke*? Of this, I need only to say, That it præserv'd the *Reverence & Majesty* of Heaven, to have *that* offered thereunto, which had never been putt unto any other Uses. (Hence the *Ass* on which our Lord Rode, & the *Grave* wherein our Lord lay, must bee such, as had never been used before.) Thus, among all the Ancient Nations, Creatures that were *δεδαμασμενα*, *Tamed*, were counted (as *Chæremôn* the *Egyptian*, speaks in *Porphyrie*) unfit for Sacrifice.²⁹ Thus, the Sacrificers in *Homer* promise to *Pallas*, Βουν ἀδμητην· *Vaccam Indomitam*.³⁰ And *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*,

²⁶ Rashi and Abarbanel on Numb. 19:2 (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 4:138).

²⁷ Spencer (377); Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 31.363b, lines 1–5); Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.88.4).

²⁸ Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 15, sec. 2, fol. 378) sums up his argument: “Legis hujus originem huic occasioni tribuendam esse, rationibus in medium jam producendis evinci potest.”

²⁹ Spencer (381). According to a fragment of *The Life of the Ancient Priests*, by Chæremôn the Stoic, Egyptian priest, and librarian at Alexandria (1st c. CE), Porphyrius Tyrius relates that the Egyptian priests (as indeed those among the Persians and Indians) abstained from all manner of meat: “Thus, of oxen, they rejected the females, and also such of the males as were twins, or were speckled, or of a different colour, or alternately varied in their form, or which were now tamed, as having been already consecrated to labours, and resembled animals that are honoured, or which were the images of any thing [that is divine], or those that had but one eye, or those that verged to a similitude of the human form” (*On Abstinence* 4.7).

³⁰ Homer (*Iliad* 10.292, 293) has Diomedes swear to Attrytone (better known as Athena) that he would “sacrifice a yearling *heifer*, broad of brow, *unbroken* which no man has yet led beneath the yoke” (emphasis added).

Seneca, tell us, that the Romans made such their Sacrifices;³¹ *Vitulas Injuges*, does Macrobius, call them.³² Arnobius tells us, *Minervæ Virgini; Virgo Cæditur Vitula, nullis unquam Stimulis, nullis operis exercitata conatu*.³³ An Institution, doubtless, of what had been required by the Lord.

For my own Part, I do with all Thankfulness Enjoy and Improve, the Vast Reading, with which the Writings of Dr. *Spencer*, are on these Points adorned.³⁴ Nevertheless, I cannot go on, with any further Delibations from the Writings of that most Learned Man, until I first give you a more *Evangelical Account* of the whole *Sacrifice* before us.

I say then, a *Red Heifer* was called for; to repræsent the *Bloody Passion* of the *Messiah* to come; and perhaps also to repræsent His *Humane Nature*, derived from *Adam*, who was made out of *Red Earth*.³⁵

It must bee an *Heifer*, not only *without Blemish*; which was to note the Purity of the *Messiah*; but also, on *which never came* {a} *Yoke*, to note, the *Freedome* of the *Messiah* from the Bondage of Sin; & His refusing to submitt unto the Invention of Men in the Worship of God; & His Voluntariness in Suffering for us.³⁶

This *Heifer* must bee *slain without the Camp*. The Apostle does [in Heb. 13.10, 11, 12, 13, 14.] largely Expound & Apply this Action with Relation to the *Messiah*; who was carried forth to *Golgotha*, and slain without the City.³⁷ When the Jewes were settled in the Possession of the Promised Land, they would then carry out the *Heifer*, as the | *Talmuds* tell us, to bee offered upon the Top of Mount *Olivet*. The Mount, where you know, (it is *L'Empereurs* Reflection also) [30r] our Lord endured His Agony.³⁸ This was a *Sacrifice* more than ordinarily *Piacular*; and it is remarkable, in the Law of *Sacrifices*, That, *Quo magis Immundæ essent, et quasi peccatis oneratæ, eò Longius à Sanctuaris et Præsentia Numinis*

31 Mather, via Spencer (382), here leans on Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 33, col. 322; Vergil (*Georgics* 4.550–51), Horace (*Epod* 9.21–22), Ovid (*Fasti* 3.375–76), Lucius Aeneas Seneca, the Younger (*Agamemnon* 353–55).

32 Spencer (382); Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.5.5) speaks of “unyoked heifers,” i.e., heifers never before yoked.

33 Even Arnobius of Sicca (*Adversus gentes* 7.22.2) tells us, “To the virgin Minerva is slain a virgin calf, never forced by the goad to attempt any labour” (*Against the Heathen* 7.22), in *ANF* (6:526).

34 Mather's genuine admiration for John Spencer's vast learning (esp. in *De Legibus Hebraeorum*) does not render him uncritical of Spencer's heterodox thesis that Moses borrowed many of the Egyptian cultic rites and adapted them to his own purposes.

35 See Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), p. 307 (§§ 1–3).

36 See S. Mather's *Figures*, p. 495 (§ 3).

37 See S. Mather's *Figures*, p. 308, (§ 1).

38 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 15, sec. 3, fol. 384, refers to Constantinus L'Empereur's annotations on מִסְכֶּת מִדְּוֹת [*Masseket Middoth*]. *Hoc est. Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth sive De Mensuris Templi* (1630), cap. 2, sec. 4, p. 58.

exularent. The *Heifer* was eminently a, *Chattath*, a *Sin-Offering*; & so to bee Burned *without the Camp*.³⁹

If you should bee inquisitive, why *Eleazer* the Son, & not *Aaron* the Father, must have the Ordering of this Matter; for so I understand the Text, that the *Heifer* must bee *slain*, in His (& His Successors) Presence, by some Hand, which *Hee* should assign: Dr. *Spencer* inclines to think, there was a Reason for it, *In peculiari aliquâ sæculi illius circumstantiâ, quam vetustas jam oblitteravit*: and hee does not much admire the Reason offered by *Tostatus*, *Quia ista Immolatio non exat valdè Honorabiles et Excellens*.⁴⁰ But perhaps, if you'll attentively consider the Agency & the Qualitie of the *High-Priest*, about the Death of the *Messiah*, you may see something of the Mystery, herein signified.

The *Blood* of the slain *Heifer*, was to bee *Sprinkled Seven Times*, towards the *Tabernacle*. *Bochart* observes, that *Exodus*, & *Leviticus*, mentions no Victims, but such wherein, *Toties sacerdos spargit Sanguinem ad Altare circumcircuit*.⁴¹ Compare Heb. 9.21. and 1. Pet. 1.2. And it is a Canon among the Jewes, *Radix* (i. e. *Essentia*) *Sacrificij est in Aspersione Sanguinis*.⁴² The *Sacrificer*, by *Sprinkling towards the Tabernacle*, declared that hee sacrificed unto none but the True God. But the *Tabernacle* was also a *Type* of *Heaven* and so wee are here taught, that our Access into Heaven, is only by the *Blood* of the *Messiah*. *Seven*, is a Number of *Perfection*, which the Great God chose, to bee *Sacred* unto Himself; and it was much used, in the mystical Dispensations of the Scriptures. Compare *Naamans* washing *Seven Times*. Moreover, As wee are *Perfectly* cleansed, by the Blood of the *Messiah*, so wee must have it *Frequently* applied, no less than *Seven Times* over, unto our Consciences.

For the *Burning*, of the *Heifer*, wee need say no more, than what wee do, when wee speak of the other Sacrifices. But, why must it bee burn't, with *Cedar*, *Hyssop*, and *Scarlet*, cast into the Fire? My Uncle, Mr. *Samuel Mather*, in his Discourses on the *Types*, ha's these Remarks upon it.⁴³

"*Cedar* is noted, for an excellent Kind of Timber, the Cheef of the Trees; and the Scripture doth sometimes apply it unto Christ, Cant. 5.15. *Excellent as*

39 Spencer (384 §1) glosses, "by this the more unclean, as if laden with sin, are thereby exiled further from the sanctuaries and protection of God's presence."

40 Spencer (384) comments, "In some special circumstances of that age, which the passage of time has now wiped out." The Spanish theologian Alphonsus Tostatus adds, on Numb. 19, in his *Commentari in Primam Partem Numerorum* (*Opera* [1728], tom. 5, Numb. 19, Quaestio VI, p. 415(A), "that this sacrifice does not come out very honorable and extraordinary."

41 Spencer (385); *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50, col. 574, lines 56–57, maintains that "the priest sprinkles the blood around the altar as often [as seven times]."

42 *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50, col. 574, lines 64–65), adds that "the root purpose [i. e., essence] of the sacrifice is the sprinkling of the blood." See Maimonides, *De Paschate* (2.6), Hilchot Korban Pesach (2.6), in *Mishneh Torah* (30:26).

43 The two following paragraphs are nearly verbatim extracts from Samuel Mather's sermon "The Gospel of Legal Purgation," preached on Sept. 20. 1668, in *Figures or Types* (1705), pp. 309–10.

the Cedars. It is a durable Tree, not subject unto Putrefaction. Therefore some Interpret this Law, as a shadow of the perpetual efficacy of the Death of Christ, — who *by his Offering, perfected forever, them that are sanctified.*” {Heb. 10.4}

“As for *Hyssop* there must bee a *Bunch* thereof to sprinkle with. Hence *David* prayes, *Psal. 51.7. Purge mee with Hyssop.* Some Apply it thus; That the *Bunch of Hyssop*, wherewith they sprinkled the *Blood*, is the *Word of Promise*, by which Christ is applied to the Soul, or it signifies the *Instrument* of that Application; which is, Faith laying Hold on a Promise. This must bee cast into the Burning. It is by the Sufferings of Christ, that the Promises are made effectual, & that they have the Vertue of Cleansing us from our Sins. And then, for *Scarlet*, it is *Red*; and wee read of *Scarlet Sins.* *Isa. 1.18.* The Death and *Blood* of Jesus Christ, *cleanseth us from all Sin.* {1 Joh. 1.7.}” Thus *Hee.*⁴⁴ But lett us for a fuller Illustration of this Matter observe; That for the Quantity of the Materials thus thrown into the Fire, wee may safely take the Report of the Jewes, who, by the Pen of *Maimonides* tell us, *Sacerdos sumebat lignum Cedrinum, et Hyssopum, ad plamē Magnitudinem, et Lanam cocco Tinctam, ad pondus quinque siclorum.*⁴⁵ As for the Meaning, of these Materials, The Jewes themselves refer the Knowledge thereof, until the Coming of *Elias*; & *Maimonides* confesses, *Mihi ne in Hodiernum Diem ullius ex illis vera constat Ratio.*⁴⁶ But first; Lett it bee considered, That each of these Materials, did in the common Sense of Mankind, wear the Notes of *Purification* upon them. Besides, the Vertue of the Cedar this Way, *Hyssop*, is by Authors, as old a *Chermon*, in *Porphyrie*, magnified, for its *Virtus Purgatrix*, which made the *Egyptians* use it in their purifying Exercises.⁴⁷ The great Etymologist, calls it, Βοτάνην καθαρτικὴν *Purgatricem*; and *Hesychius*, Βοτάνην σμήχουσαν *Abstergentem.*⁴⁸ *Austin*, on the fifty first Psalm, calls it; *Herbum Humilem Medicinalem, purgandis pulmonibus aptam*; which I suppose, hee learnt out of

⁴⁴ I.e., Samuel Mather (309–10).

⁴⁵ Spencer (*De Legibus Hebraeorum* [1685], lib. 2, cap. 15, sec. 4, fol. 387) enlists Maimonides’s *Hilchot Parah Adumah* (3.2) to explain how “the priest takes a [branch of] a cedar tree and hyssop that is at least a handbreadth long, and wool dyed crimson weighing five *selaim*” (*Mishneh Torah* 24.1:216). According to R. Eliyahu Touger, “a *sela* was a coin used in the Talmudic era. *Shiurei Torah* states that five *selaim* are equivalent to 101 or 96 grams” (24.1:217). Mather’s second-hand Latin citation reads “*siclorum*” (“*shekels*”). Mather cancels the following passage after “*siclorum*”: The *Scarlet* was a Peece of Rag, or Thread, as ha’s been, commonly thought, but ye Apostle himself informs us in Heb. 9.19. It was a Peece of Wool.

⁴⁶ Spencer (388) quotes Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.47.494), who confesses, “Up to now I do not know the reason for any of these things” (*Guide* 3.47.597).

⁴⁷ Porphyrius (*De Abstinencia* 4.6) quotes Chaeremon, the Stoic philosopher, who claimed that the Egyptians priests attributed a “purifying power” to hyssop.

⁴⁸ The great lexicographer Hesychius Alexandrinus gathers from Hippocrates the phrase φάρμακον καθαρτικόν (“purging drug”), in *Lexicon* (A–O), alphabetic letter **epsilon**, entry 1889, line 1; and Βοτάνην σμήχουσαν (“purging herb”), in *Lexicon* (T–Ω), alphabetic letter **upsilon**, entry 841, line 1.

Dioscorides.⁴⁹ And then *Wool*, by the Beauty of a *Red Colour* made yett more fitt, for the service of Sacred Worship, every Body counted proper, *ad corporis sordes abstergendas*.⁵⁰ Nor are wee Ignorant, that such Materials, were therefore (and perhaps with some Imitation of the *Mosaic Rites*) used in Sacrifices, among the Ancient Pagans. *Aldrovand* saies, *Nulla fuisse veterum sacrificia, in quibus arbores, earmuve partes, partem haud exiguam sibi non vendicarint*.⁵¹ *Ovid* saies, *Ara dabat fumos Herbis contenta*.⁵²

And *Sophocles*

Ἦν μὲν γὰρ οἶος μαλλὸς
Sacro inerat ovium vellus.⁵³

Nevertheless, I think, wee may come yett a little nearer to the Matter. I say then, that the Sprinkling Instrument, (the *Aspergillum*) was formed after this fashion.⁵⁴ A *Bunch of Hyssop* (which by the Smallness of the *Leaves*, is very fitt for a *Sprinkler*) | was fastned unto a *Cedar Handle*, with a *Scarlet String*. Compare Lev. 14.4, 19. and you'll bee satisfied, that the *Sprinkler* used in their Lustrations, was made after such a Manner. Thus, the Apostle, in Heb. 9.19. mentions these Materials, in the famous Aspersions of *Israel*, tho' the Story in Exod. 24.7, 8. makes no mention, either of *Cedar*, or of *Scarlet*: because hee knew, the *Sprinkler* was by Law, thus to bee composed. Now, this *Aspersory* must bee thrown

49 St. Augustine's commentary on Psalm 50/51, v. 12 (*Enarationes in Psalmos* [PL 036. 0593]), reads, Hyssop is "a herb humble but healing, proper for purging the lungs" (*Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, Psal. 51, in *NPNFi* 8:194–95, sec. 12). Dioscorides Pedanius (*De material medica* 3.25.1–2) is Augustine's alleged muse. Andreas Christoph Zeller appears to have sipped from the same fountain, in his commentary on, and Latin translation of, Maimonides's הלכות מיימון פרה אדומה רבי משה בן מימון [Hilchot Parah Adumah Rabbi Moshe ben Maiimon] *Tractatus de Vacca Rufa Latinitate donates & subijuncta ampliore huius ritus explicacione* (1711), p. 395.

50 Spencer's citation (388) from Gerardus Joannes Vossius's *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana* (1668), lib. 5, cap. 23, p. 51 (sep. pag.), reads, "until the vile body will be wiped clean."

51 Spencer (389). In his in *Dendrologiae Naturalis scilicet Arborum Historiae Libri Duo* (1667), lib. 1, p. 139 (A), the Bolognese naturalist, botanist, and entomologist Ulisse Aldrovandi, aka. Aldovrandi (1522–1605), illustrates how aspersion rituals were customary among the ancient pagans – just as much as they were among the Hebrews. Aldovrandi explains "that there had been no sacrifices of old among which trees, or their parts [branches] did not claim a small measure for themselves."

52 Ovid, *Fasti* (1.343), invokes the Golden Age, when the benevolence of the gods for mankind could still be won with simple oblations, and "the altar was content to smoke with herbs" like savine.

53 Likewise, the Greek tragedian Sophocles (*Fragmenta* 398, line 1) as quoted in Porphyrius's *De Abstinencia* (2.19, line 6) seems to long for the simplicity of the ancient gods whose favor could be carried with "the skins of sheep in sacrifice."

54 Maimonides's *Hilchot Parah Adumah*. *Tractatus de Vacca Rufa Latinitate donates* (1711), c. 11, § 1, pp. 117, 118 and *Hilchot Parah Adumah* (11.1), in *Mishneh Torah* (24.1:272), describes in detail how the "aspergillum," made from three stalks of hyssop, was to be bound and employed in the process of casting aspersions during the ritual sprinkling.

into the *Fire*, that no further Use might bee made of it, and that the cleansing Efficacy of all, may bee declared thus, to bee in the Sacrifice.⁵⁵

Well; Hee who did these things, was to bee *Unclean until the Evening*. Thus it was in the *Sin-Offering*. [Lev. 4. with Lev. 16.27, 28.] This does, as Mr. *Mather* expresses it, *hold forth the Imperfection of all Legal Sacrifices, and the Iniquity that cleaves to our Holy Offerings*.⁵⁶ But lett us carry the Matter a little further. All Creatures under the Law sett apart for the taking away of *Uncleanness*, brought a *Cleanness* indeed unto the *Offerers*, but the greatest *Uncleanness* unto themselves; like Water washing of the Dirty. Thus the *Uncleannesses* of the People, did seem transferr'd, unto the *Red Heifer*, and so a Sort of *Uncleanness* might seem contracted by the Person, who should now touch a Creature so *Unclean*.⁵⁷ I am sure, They were a Crue of *Unclean* Wretches, by whom the *Messiah* was crucified! But wee find, this Notion among the Pagans too; They Religiously Forbore to *Touch* a Victim offered for the *Atoning* of a Deity.

But there is one thing more still to bee enquired after. The *Ashes* of the *Red Heifer*, were præserved; that so, being upon Occasion mingled, with *Water*, it might by Aspersions, purify the ceremonially Unclean. Tis called, Num. 5.17. *Holy Water*. This was to signify the *Sprinkling* of the *Blood*, and *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ upon us, for our *Justification*, and our *Sanctification*. *Tostatus* well observes, That the common *Uncleannesses* came upon Men too often, to bee every Time removed by a *Sacrifice*; & therefore the Lord appointed this more easy Way for those *Uncleannesses*; which had some Analogy to the *Sprinkling of Blood*, accompanying every *Bloody Sacrifice*.⁵⁸ The Heathen bestow'd upon the Initiated in their Mysteries, a Lustration of *Water*, in which there was Quenched a *Fire-Brand* fetch'd from the *Altar*; or otherwise *magically* præpared. The *Holy-Water* of *Israel*, must bee pure from all such Superstitions. When the *Egyptians* burned *Red Creatures*, & particularly *Red Persons*, whom they called, *Homines Typhonios*, as *Manethon* tells us, they scattered their *Ashes* in the Wind, with all Contempt. But the *Israelites* were not so to treat the *Ashes* of their καθαριματα. And now, so much for the *Red Heifer*.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Spencer (390).

⁵⁶ Samuel Mather (*Figures or Types* [1705], p. 310).

⁵⁷ S. Mather (*Figures* 290).

⁵⁸ Spencer (391); *Tostatus* (*Commentaria in Primam Partem Numerorum* [1728], “Quaestio IV,” p. 384).

⁵⁹ Spencer (392) quotes the Egyptian priest Manetho at second hand from Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (73.380d), who relates that in the Egyptian city Eileithyia, “they used to burn [red-haired] men alive, as Manetho has recorded; they called them Typhonians, and by means of winnowing fans they dissipated and scattered their ashes.” Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 1.88.4) confirms that red-haired men “of the same colour as Typhon, were sacrificed, they say, in ancient times by the kings at the tomb of Osiris.” Mather interjects that contrary

I know not whether you will now in my Favour pronounce,
Vitulâ tu Dignus.
 But you know, whose *Heifer*, I have cheefly *plough'd* withal.⁶⁰

3725.

Q. Well; but the *Ashes* of the *Red Heifer*, must not yett be thrown aside. Lett us have a further *Illustration* upon those *Ashes*?

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, Dr. *Jackson*, was not led by *Fancy*, but by a solid *Judgment*, when he considered these *Ashes*, as a notable Figure of the *Everlasting Efficacy* in the *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which you know, is discoursed by the Apostle in the *Ninth* Chapter to the *Hebrewes*. If the frequent Occasion, for the Use of the *Water of Purification*, had not spent all the *Ashes* of the *Heifer*, now Slain and Burnt by *Eleazar*, they might have been præserted for this Purpose, without any Danger of *Putrefaction*, for a longer Time than the Law of Ceremonies lasted. For *Ashes* being well kept will never perish; and therefore are an Emblem of *Immortality*.⁶¹

Indeed, the frequent Use of these *Ashes*, might exhaust, the whole Stock of them, that was made at this Time; and make it necessary for the Priests to burn another *Heifer*. However, the Jewes tell us, this *Red Heifer* was killed but *Nine Times*, while their State lasted. First, by *Eleazar* here in the Wilderness; which was not repeated until after the Destruction of *Solomons* Temple, which was more than a Thousand Years. [Oh! Glorious Type, of the Power in the *Blood* of our Saviour, to purify us forever, without the Repetition of it continually!] The *Second* time, it was burnt by *Ezra*, after their Return from the *Captivity of Babylon*: And but seven times more, till the Destruction of the *Second* Temple. Since then they have not adventured, for to make these *Ashes*, but expect the *Tenth* making thereof by the King *Messias*. Poor Jewes! Tis done, *Once for all*, and you know it not!⁶²

Here was the Excellence of this *Purification*! The *Ashes* were not made by burning an *Heifer*, every time the People had Occasion for them: No, but the *Ashes* of this one *Sacrifice* (as we may call it) were sufficient for the Use of *many Generations*. Accordingly, the Apostle saith, Our Saviour, καθαρισμὸν ποιησάμενος, *Having made a Purification of our Sins, sat down at Gods Right Hand*: [Heb. 1.3.] which *Purification* there; doth not signify One Act, or Operation, but implies that by this One Act of *Sacrificing* Himself, He was consecrated for

to the Egyptians, the Hebrews did not discard their καθαματα, or “refuse of a sacrifice”; i. e., ashes of the red heifer (*LSJ*).

⁶⁰ Mather humorously adds, “heifer, you are worthy,” and thus acknowledges Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 15, fols. 369–92, as his source for the lengthy extract.

⁶¹ Patrick, on Numb. 19:4 (*Numbers* 361) quotes Dr. Thomas Jackson, *Works* (1673), vol. 3, bk. 10, ch. 55, p. 311 (§11).

⁶² Patrick, on Numb. 19:9 (*Numbers* 364–65).

to be a perpetual *Fountain of Purification*; being still, the *Propitiation for our Sins*.⁶³

|
Q. What Plant may be that, which we translate, *Hyssop*, in the Garden of the Sacred Scriptures? v. 6.

A. The /אֶזוֹב/ *Ezob*, so often mention'd in the Sacred Scriptures, differs from our, *Hyssop*, we may say, *Toto Genere*.⁶⁴ For that is a, *Tree*, whereas ours is an, *Herb*. Consider well, 1. King. IV.33.⁶⁵

The only thing that ha's moved our Translators, to render it, *Hyssop*, is the Similitude of the Sound, between that, an *Ezob*. Whereas, you will presently see, there is no Cogency in this Conjecture. For, by the *Confusion of Tongues*, tis come to pass, that Names of the like Sound, & perhaps derived from one another, in diverse Languages, are of a very different Signification. Thus, from /אֶרִיָּה/ *A Lion*, comes, *Aries*, a Ram. From, *καπρος*, a *Boar*, comes *Caper*, a Goat. From *γην*, a *Goose*, comes our *Hen*. From *Vulpes*, a *Fox*, comes our *Wolf*. From such a Similitude of Sound, our Translators chose, at Matth. XXIII.23. to render, *Ανηθον*, *Anise*, whereas it should be *Dill*.⁶⁶

[31r]

⁶³ Patrick (*Numbers* 366–67). The Greek phrase from Heb. 1:3 signifies “having made [through himself] a cleansing.”

⁶⁴ The Hebrew noun אֶזוֹב ['ezowb] signifies *altogether generically* “hyssop, a plant used for medicinal and religious purposes” (Strong’s # 0231).

⁶⁵ This and the following paragraphs are extracted from Robert Gell’s exposition of Numb. 19:6, in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 518c.

⁶⁶ Gell’s objection is right on target, for the mere homonymic similarity between the sound of the Hebrew noun אֶרִיָּה [‘aryeh], “lion” (Strong’s # 0738) and the Latin “aries” (ram) is as unreliable as that of the Greek noun *καπρος* (boar) giving rise to the Latin “caper” (“he-goat”). The same is true for the Greek *γην* (tame goose) and the noun “hen.” According to the *OED*, the Old English feminine noun *henn*, corresponds “to Old Low German **henna* (Middle Dutch *henne*, Dutch *hen*), Old High German *henna* (German *henne*) < West Germanic **hannja*, derivative of *hano*, Old English *hana* cock” (modern High German: Hahn). Gell’s criticism – which Mather here follows – takes to task the ancient belief that because the language of Adam and Eve in Paradise prevailed among their fallen offspring until the time of Nimrod and the confusion of tongues at Babel, Noah’s offspring and therefore all mankind after the Flood spoke the same language. Only after God confounded their language to prevent the Babylonians from completing their design did the several languages begin to change. Based on this conception, the attempt to trace the evolution of disparate languages through homonyms is perfectly rational. Ironically, Mather debates the ancient story of Babel and the confusion of tongues (Gen. 11:6–7) in *BA* 1:806–24 (see also *BA* 1:728–29), but is clearly undecided. Significantly, in his lengthy discourse on Gen. ch. 10, the dispersion of Noah’s sons giving rise to traceable geographical place names derived from the names of Noah’s offspring (*BA* 1:693–804), Mather still follows the time-honored path, especially as outlined in Samuel Bochart’s *Geographia Sacra* (1646). In adopting Robert Gell’s critique of the inaccuracies of the translators of the King James Bible, Mather embraces philological trends emerging in the early Enlightenment period. Though still several steps removed from our present etymological conception of the Indo-European language tree, Mather’s *Biblia Americana* demonstrates his broad-mindedness to give the moderns fair quarter.

Dr. Gell will by all means have the, *Ezob*, to be *Rosemary*. This is a *woody* Substance, and answers the *Genus*, of a *Tree*. And there could be nothing more agreeable, to make an *Aspergillum*, or, a *Sin-Water-stick*, than a small Handful of this, consisting of three Stalks, four Inches long, tied unto a Cedar-handle of a Foot & half long.

This Plant growes best *by a Wall*. And so should be rendred, 1. King. IV.33. It *growes by the Wall*; not, *out of the Wall*.⁶⁷

I conclude with the Words of *Georgius Venetus*. *Inter plantas, Rosmarinus nobilissima est, et magis quam existimatur, excellens, quamvis Multitudine et Frequentiâ vilescat. Est enim semper virens, nulli nocens, et multis infirmitatibus inimica, — et tantò in majora mala prævalet, quantò majori gaudet tutelâ, et favore cælesti, à quo omnis virtus consovetur.*⁶⁸

[31v]

Q. A Remark or two further, on the *Water of Separation*? v. 12.

A. It was designed chiefly, if not only, to purify from that *Great Pollution* which arose from Touching the *Body of the Dead*.

The Person thus defiled, was reputed *Unclean* for Seven Days. And so was he who touched the Bone or the Grave of a Dead Man.

Upon the Third Day he was to Begin his Purification, by being sprinkled with it; and on the Seventh he was again sprinkled; and *then* he was clean.

The *House* likewise, or *Tent*, wherein a Person died; was under a legal Uncleaness, and must be purified by Sprinkling.⁶⁹

Every Vessel, in the House, that was open and without a Covering, was defiled, and was made clean by the Sprinkling of this Water; Because the Air in the House, which it might be supposed, was tainted by the Dead Body, came freely into such a Vessel.

Aquinas is of Opinion, That this Law was for the Prevention of *Idolatry*; For the old Heathens thought, that if a Mouse, or a Lizard, or any such Creature which was dedicated unto their Idols, fell into a Vessel, or into Water, they thereby became very Acceptable to their Gods. He says, The Superstition

⁶⁷ Robert Gell, on Numb. 19:6, in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 518e–519a, 520b.

⁶⁸ Gell's Latin quotation (pp. 521e–522a) from *De Harmonia Mundi totius Cantica tria* (1545), tom. 7, cap. 27, p. 153, by Italian Franciscan friar, philosopher, and kabbalist Franciscus Georgius Venetus (1460–1540), spells out that “Among the plants, rosemary was the noblest, and it is esteemed more than excellent, although in number and multitude it becomes worthless. For it is always flourishing there, harming none, [but] hostile to many illnesses – and against the greater evil it prevails as much as it rejoices in greater protection and support from heaven, from which all virtue is imbued.” Oddly enough, *De Harmonia Mundi* was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum ac Expurgandorum* (1747), and a lengthy list of objectionable and heterodox passages are identified on pp. 428–37.

⁶⁹ Patrick, on Numb. 19:11–14 (*Numbers* 368–70).

continued until his Days; when it was usual with some Women, to leave their *Vessels* uncovered, on Purpose in Observance of the Nocturnal Deities, which they called, *Jana's*. To abolish such a Superstition, he thinks, that God required all Vessels left uncovered where the Dead lay, should be polluted, & unacceptable to God, and unfitt for to be employ'd in any Uses.⁷⁰

70 Patrick, on Numb. 19:15 (*Numbers* 370); St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologia*, pt. 1^a–II^{ae} Q.102.Art. 5, Reply Obj. 4, vol. 2, p. 1071, here follows the strictures of Maimonides's *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.47.491) and (*Guide* 3.47.593, 594) and interprets Hebrew cultic rituals as countermeasures to “Zabian” (i. e., idolaters) customs; hence Mitzvoh 561, 562 (Lev. 11:29–35).

3728.

Q. How came the *Water* of the *Rock* now to fail the *Israelites*? v. 2.

A. In their last Station before this, the *Israelites* were at *Ezron-Geber*. The *Water* that had follow'd them in all their Journeyes thither, there fell into the *Red-Sea*, and so was it swallowed up. And they were now to Return towards *Canaan*, by Places, where *Water* might be procured without a Miracle. For, being on the Edge of the Land of *Edom*, when *Aaron* died in the next Removal, we read expressly, that they presently after came to a *Land of Rivers of Water*. [Deut. 10.7.] Yea, we find in the next Chapter to this, that they came to *Oboth*, a name that signifies *Bottles*, where probably they mett with *Water*, with which they filled their *Bottles*. Then they came to *Ije-abarim*, or, *Heaps of Fords*. Then to the Brook *Zered*. Then to the River *Arnon*. Thence to *Beer*, where they dug a famous Well.¹

1962.

Q. Why do the *Israelites*, at *Kadesh*, complain of it, That it was no Place of *Seed*, and *Figs*, and *Vines*, and *Pomegranates*? v. 5.

A. Wherever they encamped, they were Fed by *Manna*. The Complaint here arose not so much from any Inconvenience they now suffered in the Place, as from the Prejudice which the Place gave them of the like Barrenness in the Land of Promise, whereof this *Kadesh* was the *Porch*. Accordingly, when they came hither first, about Thirty Eight Years before, they argued at such a rate as This; *Does the first Entrance of the Land of Promise now promise no better? There is little Hope of the Land itself, if the Beginnings bee such as these. It is convenient, that we send Spies, to bring us Word whether the Land bee worth our Pains in going any further after it.*²

And now, after so long a Time returning back to that very Place, they fall into the same Distrust, the same Complaint.³

For this *Kadesh*, will after all appear to bee the same with *Kadesh Barnea*. Tho' this *Kadesh* bee in the Desart of *Zin*, and *Kadesh Barnea* bee in the Desart of *Paran*, yett it bee Remembred, that the *Spies*, departing from *Kadesh Barnea*, are said, to go out of the Desart of *Zin*. [Num. 13.21.] *Paran* was the general Name of that horrible Desart; *Zin* was only one Part of it.

¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 376–77). Numb. 21:10–11, 16–18; 33:28, 36, 37; Deut. 2:13–14, 10:7.

² Patrick (*Numbers* 378). The italicized passage is Mather's own heuristic recreation to give voice to the murmuring Israelites. See also Mather's gloss on Numb. 13:23 (above) and Deut. 8:27 (below).

³ See Numb. 14:3–4.

It will be easy to avoid Confusion, in the Encampments of *Israel*, by reducing Deut. 10.6, 7. to its true Sense, and into Agreement with Num. 33.31, to 41.

That *Kadesh*, to which they came in the Fortieth Year, (called also, *Meribah*, Num. 20.13.) is the same with *Kadesh barnea*, is clear; because *Meribah*, in *Kadesh*, is assigned for the Southern Border of the Land, Ezek. 47.19. which Border of old was *Kadesh barnea*. Num. 34.4. Josh. 15.3.⁴

Wherefore tis not well done in the Maps, to make a Double *Kadesh*, in the Southern Parts of *Canaan*.

But I perceive some are for having Two *Kadesh*'es, in Two several Places.⁵

Q. What might be the Sin of *Moses* and *Aaron*, in the Matter of the *Smitten Rock*? v. 11.

A. Whether God pointed *Moses* to a *Rock*, which was then in their Sight, (as He did at *Horeb*, Exod. 17.5, 6.) or left him to chuse any stony Place, is not certain.

It is a meer fancy of some of the *Jewes*, that because God here ordered their *Speaking* to the *Rock*, *Moses* offended God in *Smiting* of it. For, to what Purpose was he to take the *Rod*, if he was not now to *Smite* the *Rock*, as he had formerly done?⁶

R. *Gedaliah* in *Schalschelet Hakkabala*, saies, That he had gathered no less than Eight & Twenty different Opinions, in various Writers, about this Matter. But he preferred this before any of them; That whereas God bad{e} *Moses* gather the *Edah* together, that is, the Assembly of the People, he gathered the *Kahal*, that is, the Congregation of Princes and Elders, whose Faith needed no Confirmation.⁷

Abarbanel has also collected many Opinions, of the Jewish Doctors, about this Matter.⁸

⁴ Patrick, on Numb. 20:8 (*Numbers* 379–80).

⁵ See Mather's copy of Nicolaes Visscher's "The Forty Years Travels of the Children of Israel" (c. 1688), placed after Mather's commentary on Numb. 33:49 (below).

⁶ Abraham Ibn Ezra (*Commentary: Numbers* (159–64) summarizes the principal interpretations of the lapse of judgment for which God punished Moses and Aaron, and so does Nachmanides (*Commentary: Numbers* 209–211), who is even more forthcoming. See also Psal. 105:41 and Numb. 21:16–20 (the song of the water at the well). Philo Judaeus offers an allegorical reading of this water from the rock as God's wisdom or a stream of hidden knowledge (*On Drunkenness* 29.112, *On Dreams* 2.41.271, in *Works* 217, 407). See also St. Paul's allegorization, in 1 Cor. 10:1–4.

⁷ Patrick, on Numb. 20:8 (*Numbers* 380); R. Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah ben Joseph. ספר שלשלת הקבלה *Sefer Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (1587), fol. 12a, במדבר חקת, as extracted in Johann Heinrich Hottinger's *Smegma Orientale* (1658), cap. 8, pp. 450–51.

⁸ Virtually every one of the classic rabbinic commentators puzzles over God's draconian punishment of Moses for striking the rock twice (Numb. 20:11–13), barring him and his brother Aaron from entering the Holy Land. For according to Genesis Rabbah (IX:11) and Mishnah, tractate Sotah (1.7), "the punishment for any given sin must be measure for measure and

But Dr. *Patrick* prefers a plainer Account, which none of them take notice of: That the *Water* now ceasing, at the same Time that *Miriam* died, *Moses* was very sad, both for her Death, & perhaps for the Ceasing of the Water. And being unexpectedly assaulted by the People, who should have had more of Reverence for him, in a Time of Mourning especially; it putt him into a greater Commotion of Indignation, than was usual with him. This gave him such Disturbance of Mind, & so disordered his Thoughts, that when God had him, take the *Rod*, and speak to the *Rock*, he fell into some Doubt, whether God would really grant them again, the Favour which He had formerly granted them; either because they were so wretched a People, | that it was not fitt, God should be any further favourable to them; or, because perhaps, he thought, Water might otherwise be procured for them. Doubtless, it was because of this Doubting, that upon the first *Smiting* of the *Rock*, *no Water* came forth: God might order that Circumstance, for his further Trial: And hereupon his *Diffidence* might increase into still a greater *Unbeleef*, and a firmer *Perswasion*, that they should have *no Water* at all. His Anger at such a *Rebellious Generation*, it is likely, made him the more Distrustful, that God would do nothing for them. For both of these are mentioned by the Divine Writers, who touch upon this History; That he *did not Beleeve*, and that *thro' Provocation of Spirit, he spoke unadvisedly with his Lips*: [Psal. 106.32, 33.] which was, when he spoke those Words, *Must we fetch you Water out of this Rock?* That is, Is that a *likely Matter?*⁹

Dr. *Lightfoot* ha's another Conjecture; That *Moses* and *Aaron*, began to Distrust Gods Promise of entring into the Promised Land, at the End of *Forty Years*; Imagining, that if they brought *Water* again out of the *Rock*, it must follow them, as long as the other had follow'd them. He makes this Sense of their Words;

"What, *Yee Rebels*; Must we bring *Water out of a Rock*, as we did at *Horeb*? Are all our Hopes of getting out of the Wilderness, come to this? Whenever fetch't you *Water out of a Rock* but once, and that was because yee were to stay a *long Time* in the Wilderness. Now that is gone, must we fetch *Water* out of *another Rock*? O *Yee Rebels*, Have yee brought it unto this pass, by your Murmurs, that we must have a *New Stay* in the Wilderness? Are we to begin our Abode here again, when we thought, we had been at the End of our Travels? At this rate, we shall never gett out."

Whereupon, he presently smote the *Rock*, twice, in a Fume, & with Expressions of Diffidence & Impatience, which did not suitably Realize and Reverence, the Holiness of the Lord.¹⁰

proportionate with the sin." See also Abarbanel's *Selected Commentaries Bamidbar/Numbers* (212–37).

⁹ Simon Patrick, on Numb. 20:12 (*Numbers* 383–84, 385).

¹⁰ Mather, via Patrick (*Numbers* 385), cites John Lightfoot comments in *A Chronicle of the Times* (on Numb. 20), in *The Works* (1684) 1:35–36.

It is no improbable Conjecture of a Jewish Doctor; That the Divine *Glory* not now appearing upon this *Rock*; as it appeared upon that at *Horeb*, (which perhaps they expected,) this might give some Occasion to their Unbelief.¹¹

We will Add, tho' it be only for the Curiosity of it, a Jewish Account of the Matter?

You have it in *Munster*.

The *Sin* of *Moses* was, *Quod Israelitæ voluerunt habere aquam de Petrâ unâ; Moses autem ex aliâ educere voluit, dicens. Nunquid de Petrâ istâ educemus vobis aquas? Undè populus cogitare cepit, quòd Deus ex unâ posset educere Aquam, et non ex Aliâ. Et hujus peccati Aharon quoque fuit particeps, quòd in illo periculo tacuit, et Mosen Fratrem non redarguit, dicendo; Non refert de quâ Petrâ elicueris Aquam, quum potentia Domini equalis sit in omnibus locis.*¹²

In fine, I'll conclude with the Words of Monsr. *Saurin*. "A dreadful Example, to all those, whose Calling requires them to deliver the Commands of GOD unto the rest of Mankind! *Paul* alludes thereto, perhaps, in those Remarkable Words: *I keep under my Body, lest that by any Means, when I have preached unto others, I myself should be a Castaway.*"¹³

3730.

Q. We read here, about, *The King of Edom*; what *King*? v. 14.

A. When the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt*, *Moses* then speaks of *Edom*, as governed by *Dukes*. Not long after, it seems, their Posterity became *Kings*. And now, they were still under *Kingly* Government. This *King*, to whom the Messengers are now sent by *Moses*, our Dr. *Usher* takes to have been *Hadar*, the last of those mentioned by *Moses*; [Gen. 36.39.] who, for his Inhumanity to the Children of *Israel*, was quickly after punished with Death, and the Kingdome turned again into the Government by *Dukes*. For *Moses* (as he thinks) writing the Book of *Genesis* in the latter End of his Life, or then adding what was necessary, to

¹¹ Patrick, on Numb. 20:12 (*Numbers* 386), parenthetically attributes this "Conjecture of a Jewish Doctor" as appearing in his "*Book of the Death of Moses*"; Mather probably refers to Gilbert Gaulmin, aka. Gaulmyn (1585–1665), a learned French magistrate of Moulins, who translated into Latin the anonymous: ספר דברי הימים של משה רבינו ע"ה (Parisiis, 1628), which, a year later appeared with the title דברי הימים ופטירתו של מרעה [Divre hayamim upetirato shel Mosheh] *De Vita et Morte Mosis, Libri Tres* (1629), esp. pp. 108–13.

¹² Sebastian Münster, in his *Hebraica Biblia, Latina Planeq* (1546), fol. 306 (note *a*), comments on the ensuing quarrel: "That the *Israelites* wanted to have water from one rock; *Moses*, however, wanted to have it come from a different rock, saying, 'Sure we will not get water from that rock?' Whence the people began to ponder that God could have water come from one rock and not from another. And in his sin *Aaron* was also a participant, because in that danger he said nothing, and he did not help his brother *Moses*, by saying, 'It does not matter from which rock you extract water, when the power of the Lord is equal in all place.'"

¹³ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations Historical, Critical* (1723), Diss. LXII, pp. 582–83, who drinks from the same fountains as Mather does.

what he had written before, he reckons immediately after *Hadar*, several *Dukes*, reigning all at one time, in several Parts of the Countrey, which they had shared among them.¹⁴

¹⁴ Patrick (*Numbers* 387–88); James Ussher, *Chronologia Sacra* (1660), pars 2, cap. 11, p. 176.

3732.¹

Q. It is here said, *That King Arad the Canaanite*, [In the Original, it is, *The Canaanite King Arad*; and why may not we take it, *King of Arad*, since we find a City of such a Name, Josh. 12.14. and Judg. 1.16.] *heard that Israel came by the Way of the Spies*. What *Spies*? v. 1.²

A. Many suppose them to be the *Spies*, which were sent by the King, to bring him Intelligence, which Way the *Israelites* marched. For, it was *Thirty Eight Years* since the *Spies*, that were sent by *Moses*, went that Way; and it is probable, they went so secretly, that it was not known which Way they went. But there is no Necessity of taking the Hebrew Word *Atharim*, to signify, *Spies*; It may as well be the Name of a Place, as the LXX understood it, by whom it is translated Αθαρεϊμ.³ And if the Scituation would agree to it, one might probably conjecture, the Place to be so called from the *Spies*, that went from thence by the Order of *Moses*, to survey the Countrey.⁴

3733.

Q. What is meant, when it is here said, *The Israelites utterly destroy'd the Canaanites, and their Cities*? v. 3.

A. It means, That they utterly *Devoted* them unto *Destruction*; They did not now actually *Destroy* them; they were yett Remaining, when *Joshua* came to *Canaan*, who executed this *Cherem* or Curse upon them. Had it now been executed, they must have entred into the Land of *Canaan* at this Time, from whence we cannot imagine, that they would have Returned, for to march further about, before they gott into it, but have gone on to prosecute their Victory, by subduing the Countrey, as they had begun.⁵

Q. This *Light Bread*? v. 5.

A. Tho', *Light*, may signify, what is [*of little Esteem*;] yett the Term applied unto *Bread*, rather heightens the Estimation of it, than depreciates & undervalues it. This is observed by Dr. *Gell*, as well as by *Cajetan*. Therefore, The *Tigurin*

¹ See Appendix A.

² Patrick, on Numb. 21:1 (*Numbers* 397)

³ LXX (Numb. 21:1). Ibn Ezra's gloss is useful here: "Some say that 'A-' of 'Atharim' is simply a prefix, and that they were coming by the same route that the *tarim*, the scouts, had taken when they came to spy out the land" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot Bamidbar* 3:143).

⁴ Patrick (*Numbers* 398).

⁵ Patrick (*Numbers* 399). The biblical justification for the Canaanite genocide is explored in "Occasional Annotation, III," (*Bibliotheca Biblica* [1728], 4:463–65).

Bible, and *Vatablus*, and *Munster*, and *Castellio*, express it by, *Vilis*.⁶ *Piscator* turns it, *Nothing worth*; *Luther*, & the Low-Dutch, *Vain*, or *Empty*.⁷

[▽ 34r] [▽ Insert from 34r]

17.

Q. What were the *Fiery Serpents*, which the Lord sent upon murmuring *Israel*? v. 6.

A. *Fortunius Licetus*, an Author by *Bartholinus* called, *Fortunatissimus in Mysterijs Veterum Indagandis*, ha's a very singular Opinion about those *Fiery Serpents*: That they were a Venemous and Malignant Sort of, *Dracunculi*, thro' the Vengeance of Heaven, generated in the Bodies of the froward Israelites, which Animals thus generated, cruelly eroded, and so inflamed, & so tormented, the Bodies, wherein they had their Generation.⁸ For this Opinion wee have the Authority of *Plutarch*, who sais, Lib. 8. Sympos. Quæst. 9. *Maris Rubri Incole, affectionibus novis, et nunquam auditis tentati sunt; nam Dracunculi quidam parvi, crura et brachia edentes, eruperunt, qui, si tangebantur, statim emergebant, atque musculis infixi, minimè tolerabiles Inflammationes pariebant*.⁹ Thus also, *Actuarius* tells us, of these *Dracunculi* bred in the Bodies of Men throughout the Regions

⁶ Lat.: *vile, worthless*.

⁷ Robert Gell's *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 530c; Thomas de Vio Caietanus, aka. Tommasso de Vio Gaetani Cajetan (1469–1534), RC cardinal, philosopher, and exegete, one of the greatest Counter-Reformation theologians (CE), renders it “defectum tum panis & tum aquis,” in his *Commentarii illustres planèq; insignes in Quinque Mosaicos libros* (1539), p. cccxxviii; Johannes Piscator's *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), fol. 356 (*Scholia in cap. XXI*); Tigurin [i. e., Zurich, Switzerland] Bible, aka. *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris & Novi* (1543), on Numb. 21:5 (fol. 71^r); Franciscus Vatablus's translation in *Biblia Sacra* (1584), fol. 96^r (Numb. 21:6); Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia Latina planèq* (1546), fol. 306; see also Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:692) and *Works* (7:376–77). Sebastian Castellio's *Biblia; Interprete* (1556), fol. 152(BC); Dutch Statenvertaling: *Biblia, Dat is: De gantsche H. Schrifture* (1637), on Numb. 21:6, has “hier is geen brood, ook geen water” [here is no bread, nor any water]; finally, Martin Luther's *Biblia das ist die gantz Heilige Schrift* (1534), fol. xcviij, has “kein brod noch wasser hie” [no bread nor water here].

⁸ Mather quotes directly from Thomas Bartholinus's *De Morbis Biblicis Miscellanea Medica. Editio secunda correctior* (1680), cap. 6, p. 25; the distinguished Danish physician of body and soul dubs his Genoese colleague Fortunius Licetus, “the luckiest who tracks down the ancient mysteries.” The Italian physician and natural philosopher of Genoa Fortunius Licetus, aka. Fortunio Liceto (1577–1657), discusses Moses' fiery serpents, in his *De Spontaneo Viventium Ortu* (1618), lib. 3, cap. 51, esp. p. 243; Gerard Johannes Vossius, in his *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana* (1641), lib. 4, cap. 56, p. 1499, similarly invokes the expertise of Licetus.

⁹ Plutarch (*Symposiacs* 8.9) as quoted in Bartholinus's *De Morbis* (1680), p. 25, tells that according to Agatharchides, “the residents about the Red Sea, besides other strange and unheard diseases, had little serpents in their legs and arms, which did eat their way out, but when touched shrunk in again, and raised intolerable inflammations in the muscles.”

above *Egypt*.¹⁰ *Galen* speaks, of Places in *Arabia*, thus infected & infested.¹¹ *Aetius*, tells of Places in *Ethiopia* & *India* labouring under the like Mischiefs.¹² And the *Portugals* travelling beyond the Line, have been acquainted with them. *Linschoten* tells of them; & some returning into *Europe*, have had their Joints thus *Verminating*.¹³ Altho' *Galen*, *Aetius*, & others, relate, that *Children* are chiefly liable to this Misery; yett, wee may suppose, that God in the Wilderness, might for the Punishment of extraordinary Sinners Improve Nature into somewhat more than ordinary.¹⁴ Authors that write of them, resemble them to the, *Lumbrici lati ventris*;¹⁵ And whoever considers, how commonly our Blood *Vermiculates*, in the Fevers that break in upon us, will yet more easily favour this

10 Via Bartholinus (*De Morbis* 25) – whom Mather puts to good use in his medical handbook *Angel of Bethesda* (1972) – Mather refers to *De Methodo Medendi* (lib 4, cap. 16), a Latin translation of a Greek original in *Opera Omnia Actuarii collecta prodierunt libri sex* (1556), by Joannes Zacharias Actuarius (c. 1275–c. 1328) (*DGRBM*), a renowned Byzantine physician and author of several medical works. This collection summarizes the best medical knowledge of the time, and *De Methodo Medendi* (*Opera*, lib. 4) focuses on pathology and therapeutics. For a helpful assessments of Actuarius, see P. Pioreschi's *History of Medicine* (2004), 4:91–95; and A. Hohlweg, "John Actuarius' *De Methodo Medendi*."

11 The father of ancient medicine, Claudius Galenus mentions the prevalence in Arabia of this vermicular disease [Lat. *filaria medinensis*, i. e., "guinea worms"] in his *De locis affectis libri vi* (lib. 6, cap. 3), in *Claudii Galeni opera omni* (8:392–93).

12 Bartholinus (*De Morbis* 25) likewise refers to the Byzantine physician Aetius Amidenus (fl. 5th–6th c. CE), author of several significant medical treatises. The work in question is *Aetii Medici Graeci Contractae ex Veteribus Medicinae Tetrabiblos* (1542), Quartae, sermo 2, cap. 85: "De brachorum ac crurum dracunculis, Leoniae" (pp. 815–16), in which Aetius describes the "Dracunculi" (guinea worms) prevalent among children in Ethiopia, India, and countries below the equator.

13 The Dutch traveler and assistant to the archbishop of Portuguese Goa, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611), recorded his valuable observations about the geography, flora and fauna, and the customs of the indigenous peoples of Arabia and India in his *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert, van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (1596). English, Latin, and German translations appeared in short order (*EB*). Bartholinus (*De Morbis* 26) draws on van Linschoten's description of the widespread guinea-worm infestations among the people in the Persian Gulf (*Itinerario*, ch. 6, p. 12): "There is in Ormus a sickness or common Plague of Wormes, which growe in their legges. ... These wormes are like unto Lute strings, and about two or thrée fadomes longe, which they must plucke out and winde them aboute a Straw or a Pin, everie day some part thereof, as longe as they feele them creepe: and when they hold still, letting it rest in that sort till the next daye, they binde it fast and annoynt the hole, and the swelling from whence it commeth forth, with fresh Butter, and so in ten or twelve dayes they winde them out without any let, in the meane time they must sit still with their legges, for if it should breake, they should not without great paine get it out of their legge, as I have seen some men doe" (*John Huighen van Linschoten, his Discours* [1598], bk. 1, p. 16). See also A. Saldanha's "The Itineraries of Geography."

14 Galen and Aetius (in Bartholinus's *De Morbis* 26).

15 Aetius (*Tetrabiblos*, Quartae, sermo 2, cap. 85, p. 815, last line) mentions that this disease is caused by parasites and is "non dissimilis lumbricis latis ventris" ("not unlike extensive stomach worms [tapeworms]" found chiefly in children in Ethiopia and India.

Conjecture. However, it being but a *Conjecture*, I shall say no more on't: as being indeed myself not satisfied with it; I rather take up with the *Common Opinion*.¹⁶

[△] [△ Insert ends]

[33v]

3734.

Q. Wherein lay the Vertue of the *Brasen Serpent*? Some *Jewish* Acknowledgments about it, may be very grateful unto Christianity? v. 8.

A. *Aben-Ezra* takes notice, that some superstitious People, fancied that the *Serpent* thus erected in the Wilderness, was a Sort of a *Talisman*, made for to receive I know not what, Influences from the Stars. "But, God forbid," saith he, "God forbid, that we should have any such Thought. This was made by the Divine Order, the Reason of which, lett us not scrupulously search."¹⁷ They thought, you see, there was in it something extraordinary. *Jonathan* in his *Paraphrase* here declares it; *He shall be healed, if he direct his Heart, unto the Name of the WORD OF THE LORD*.¹⁸

Yea, the Jewes generally have so much Understanding, as to say, That the meer beholding of the *Serpent*, cured them not, but that they were to look up

¹⁶ Bartholinus (*De Morbis* 26, 27). That New Englanders were not without such plagues can be seen in Mather's medical handbook *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), cap. XLIV: The *Vermine-Killer*. Upon, *Worms*" (pp. 203–07). In his "Note Book of Authors" (Numb. 21:7ff), Mather refers to "Chrysostoms 7. In Op. To. 5. P. 659" and to "7. P. 448"; i. e., *S. Joannis Chrysostomi Opera Graecē: octo voluminibus* (1610–13).

¹⁷ Patrick (*Numbers* 406); Abraham Ibn Ezra comments on the superstitious views of fellow believers: "Many err. They say that this [Moses' brazen serpent] was an image that had the capability of receiving powers from on high. Far be it, far be it [for one to believe such a thing], for this thing was made by God's command. We should not investigate why Moses was commanded to make the form of a snake" (*Commentary: Numbers* 4:169). R. Abba tells a somewhat different story, which was told him by his own teacher: "There was a man in the land of Israel whom they used to call "Plucked Hair" (*Merutah*). They told of him: Once he went up to the top of a mountain to gather wood and he saw a serpent that was sleeping. And though the serpent did not see him, the hair of his head immediately fell out. And unto his dying day no hair ever grew on his head. Therefore they called him Merutah" (*Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* 1:225). Be that as it may, iconic serpent deities, both good and evil, are well known in the religion of Egypt. For instance, evil Αποφίς (Apophis), representing chaos and destruction, served as "the nemesis of the sun god [Re]," who himself was protected by Mehen, a coiled serpent god, who accompanied "Re on his nightly journey through the underworld." In the funerary iconography of King Tutankhamun, Mehen encircles the sun god Re, suggesting both a cycle of death and rebirth (R. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, pp. 220, 223). As similar iconographic depiction can be found on the famous headstone of Susanna Jayne (1776), in Marblehead, Massachusetts. Death, personified as a skeleton, is crowned with the laurel of victory, carries the scythe of the grim reaper, and is encircled by a serpent swallowing its own tail. A symbol of eternity, death holds sun and moon in its skeletal hands. Winged souls (resurrection) in the upper corner and bats (wicked spirits) in the lower corners suggest that death conquers all. See A. I. Ludwig, *Graven Images* (78) and *BA* (1:1065–66).

¹⁸ Mather reads this Targum's paraphrase Christologically; *Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel*, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:280).

unto God, when they beheld it, and expect a Cure from Him.¹⁹ So the Author of, *The Book of Wisdome*. [Ch. 16.7.] *He that turned himself toward it, was not healed by the Thing which he saw, but by the {e} that art the Saviour of all*. And therefore he calls it, in the foregoing Verse, *A Sign of Salvation, to putt them in Remembrance of the Commandment of the Law*.²⁰

3735.

Q. Is it not much, that the *Sight of a Serpent*, should cure the *Sting of a Serpent*? v. 9.²¹

A. The Jewes, (as *Nachmanides*,) think, this to have been a considerable Addition unto the Miracle. For they who are bitten by venomous Beasts, (according to the Præscriptions of the Physicians) must not see the *Image* of the Beast, by whom they are bitten. But this was commanded by God, that the *Israelites* might know, both their *Malady* and their *Medicine* came from God.²²

Naturalists do particularly tell us, That the Sight of *Brass* is hurtful to those who are bitten with *Serpents*; yett from hence the *Israelites* now received their Cure. As the Sight of Christ crucified, naturally filled His Crucifiers only with Anguish, when they look'd on Him whom they had pierced, & knew Him to be the *Messiah*; but (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) by the Grace of God, it became their only Salvation, thro' Faith in Him.²³

19 *Nachmanides's* comment is to the same effect: God “commanded that the cure be worked precisely through both the image and the name that would have killed them in the ordinary course of nature – to demonstrate that it is God who ‘deals death and gives life’ (1 Sam. 2:6)” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:155). So, too, R. Bachya ben Asher explains that “instead of an antidote to the snake and what it looks like[,] the people had to look at an even more deadly looking snake. Red copper, the material Moses’ snake was made of[,] symbolises the planet Mars associated with war and death. In this instance by looking at ‘death’ the people were cured. In other words, there occurred what our sages describe as a ‘miracle within a miracle’” (*Torah Commentary* 6:2177–78).

20 *Patrick* (*Numbers* 407); Mather here quotes at second hand from the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* (16:6, 7) as printed in the first edition of the KJV (1611). Although no author is mentioned, tradition ascribes the apocryphal (or deuterocanonical) book to King Solomon, who is the implied speaker in *Wisd. Sol.* 9:7–8. One of Mather’s favorite sources, Jacques Saurin’s *Dissertation Historical, Critical* (1723), Diss. LXIII, p. 587–88, offers much the same, but *Patrick* is clearly the source for both.

21 In his “Note Book of Authors” (*Numb.* 21:9), Mather references “*Ursin. Advers. Sacr.*” This work, most likely by the German Lutheran theologian and superintendent of the Lutheran church Johann Heinrich Ursinus (1608–1687), remains unidentified.

22 Mather preached a series of sermons on the topic, beginning on April 18, 1725, and subsequently published as *Zalmonah: The Gospel of the Brasen Serpent, In the Mosaic History* (1725). *Nachmanides* on *Numb.* 21:9 (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:155), but see the full discussion in *Ramban’s Commentary* (4:235–36). The same rationale is offered by R. Bachya ben Asher (*Torah Commentary* 6:2177).

23 *Patrick* (*Numbers* 408). In his *Religio Medici* (1643), part 1, sec. 19, Sir Thomas Browne rejects the ancient idea of sympathetic healing, which was believed to be effected by *like attracts like*, because in this instant it would cast aspersions on Moses’ miraculous cure: “Thus having perused the *Archidoxes* and read the secret Sympathies of things, he [devil] would dissuade my

[34r]

1176.

Q. What can you see observable, in the Plague of *Serpents* upon *Israel*, & the Cure of that Plague? v. 9.

A. Abundance of Things. But unto mee, tis particularly observable, That the Stings of the *Fiery Serpents* were the last visible Means, that God used for the cutting off of the *Generation*, against which Hee had *sworn in His Wrath*. For wee now hear no more of them, til they bee passed over the River *Zared*, but only that they Removed unto *Oboth*, unto *Ije Abarim*, & so over the River. And the *Miracle* done in the Matter of the *Brazen Serpent* was the last *Miracle* done by *Moses*, as long as hee lived: His *First*, and His *Last* Miracle, were about *Serpents*.²⁴

3056.

Another observable?

Aben-Ezra notes, That a sinful Tongue is called, *A Serpent*; (Eccl. 10.11.) And the *Israelites* for sinning with their Tongues, were agreeably chastised with *Serpents*.²⁵ Compare, Psal. 140.9.

The *Jerusalem-Interpreter* has another Stroke upon it, that is much more Fanciful. The *Serpent* had been *cursed* with a Confinement unto *Dust* for his Food; And yett he *murmured* not. The *Israelites* murmured tho' they had *Manna* for their *Food*. Whereupon the Almighty said, *Lett the Serpent then take Vengeance on them!*²⁶

3057.

Q. What, then, are there any *winged Serpents*? v. 9.

A. Yes. Wee find, that *Serpentes Alata*, are mentioned by *Cicero*, & by *Josephus*, as flying out of *Libya*, into *Egypt*;²⁷ and by *Herodotus*, by *Mela*, by *Lucan*, by

belief from the miracle of the Brazen Serpent, make me conceit that Image worked by Sympathy, and was but an *Aegyptian* trick to cure their Diseases without a miracle" (*Works* 1:32).

²⁴ Exod. 7:10–12; Numb. 21:9.

²⁵ Ibn Ezra, on Numb. 21:6, glosses, "The following is a midrashic interpretation. Scripture states, *If the serpent bite before it is charmed, Then the charmer hath no advantage* (Eccles. 10:11). These people [murmurers against Moses and God] sent their tongues to bite [speak evil]. They were repaid with snakes being sent against them" (*Commentary: Numbers* 3:168); See also Daniel Bomberg's מקראות גדולות [Miqra'ot Gedolot, *Biblia Rabbinica*] (1524–25), vol. 4, קהלת [Qohelet], אבן עזרא [Ibn Ezra]; and *Mikraoth Gedoloth*: The Five Megilloth (2:137).

²⁶ Targum Hierosolymitanum (Numb. 21:6), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:279) and J. W. Etheridge, *The Targums* (2:410).

²⁷ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* (1.36.101), laughs at the Egyptians' reverence for the snake-devouring ibis, which "protects Egypt from plague, by killing and eating the flying serpents that are brought from the Libyan desert by the south-west wind"; Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 2.10.2) adds that the Israelites encountered a "multitude of serpents" in the desert, "some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at

Solinus, and by *Ammianus*, as flying thither out of *Arabia*; and by *Ælian*, as flying thither out of, both Places.²⁸ *Bochart* from the Eldest of these Writers, proves, That the form of these *Flying Serpents*, was οἷα περ τῶν υἱδρῶν, *Qualis Hydrorum*.²⁹ It was then, the Serpent *Hydrus*, most probably, that infested the *Israelites*. That *Serpent*, tho' bred in marishy Places, when the Heat of the Summer ha's dried them (as it was now about the latter End of *August*,) becomes the *Chersydrus*; and then he stings with more Venome, & more Danger, than ever.³⁰

[H16:]

Q. Why were the Serpents called *Fiery, Flying Serpents*? v. 9.

A. I'll recite you a Curiosity of Dr. *Tennison*,³¹ Tis his Conjecture, That the *Seraphim* and *Urim*, were Images, or Symbols of Ministring Angels, in the form of *Fiery, Flying Serpents*; as *Cherubim* were such Images, with the Faces of *Oxen*; So the Word *Saraph* is used; Num. 21.6, 8. Deut. 8.15. In *Egypt, Arabia*, and *Lybia*, and other Places, where are *Fiery Flying Serpents*. *Isaiah* mentions such Creatures. Isa. 14.29. And *Abarbanel* saith of such *Flying Serpents*, they were *Reddish*, after the Colour of *Brass*. If that were their Natural Colour, great Addition might be made unto it, by the swift Motion of their Wings, & the Vibration of their Tails, in the bright *Atmospheres* of *Arabia & Egypt*. And so they were called *Fiery*, not only because of the Heat of their Venom, causing extraordinary Inflammations in the Body, bitten by them, but also because they appeared such, when they flew in the Air.³²

unawares, and do them a mischief." But Moses combated this plague in the same manner as the Egyptians did: "he made baskets, like unto arks, of sedge, and filled them with ibes [ibis], and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they [serpents] fly from them when they come near them."

28 Herodotus saw with his own eyes "the bones and backbones of serpents past all telling for numbers" in a narrow mountain pass in Arabia, where (according to "a story") "winged serpents fly from Arabia into Egypt" in the spring but are obstructed by "the ibis birds" which kill and eat them. Much the same is mentioned in Mela's *Description of the World* (3.82); Lucanus's *De Bello Civili sive Pharsalia* (6.670–80); Solinus's *De Mirabilibus Mundi* (27, 30); Ammianus Marcellinus's *Rerum Gestarum Libri Qui Supersunt* (22.15.25–27); and Claudius Aelian's *De natura animalium* (22.38). A modern archaeological view of the matter is presented in K. Radner, "The Winged Snakes of Arabia and the Fossil Site of Makhtesh Ramon in the Negev."

29 Bochart here quotes Herodotus (*Historiae* 2.76, line 11): Τοῦ δὲ ὄφιοις ἡ μορφή οἷα τῶν υἱδρῶν· Πτεῖλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐμφερέστατα. ("The form of the snakes is that of the water snake, but their wings are not feathered but are pretty much like the wings of the bat." Mather's Latin rendition reads, "like the water snake.")

30 Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 3, cap. 13, cols. 422, 423). "Chersydrus" or "water snake." That merry old England was not without its "flying serpents" can be seen in the anonymous *The Flying Serpent, or Strange News out of Essex* (1669).

31 See Appendix A.

32 Patrick (*Numbers* 410) mines the previously quoted *Of Idolatry: A Discourse* (1678), ch. 13, pp. 351–52, by the later ABC Thomas Tenison (1636–1715), who also supplies Patrick with the reference to Abarbanel's commentary on the Torah (fol. 305), as quoted in *Exercitationes Sacrae De Æneo Serpente, Ex Num. XXI. 4–10* (1675), Exerc. 2, cap. 2. Sec. 11 (not paginated),

96.

Q. Whence could *Moses* bee supply'd with *Brass*, to make the *Brazen-Serpent*? v. 9.

A. Many Wayes. But some learned Men, have thought of One Way above the rest. – Among the Stations of *Israel*, there was one known by the Name of *Dizahab*. See Deut. 1.2. The Name carries *Gold*, in the Signification of it: and indeed there was both *Gold & Silver* found in the Mountains thereabouts. Now as for the *Brazen-Serpent*; it was indeed, a *Coper-Serpent*; for *Brass* is an Artificial thing, of a later Invention, made with the *Calamy-Stone*: And hence, by the way, whenever you find *Brass*, or *Brazen*, in the Scripture, it should bee translated, *Coper*. But it is Judged by some, That the *Coper* for the Serpent, was dug in that Station of *Israel*; *Coper, Gold & Silver*, are to bee expected from the same Mines.³³

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

3058.

Q. A little more, if you please, on the Place, where the *Coper-Serpent* was erected? v. 9.³⁴

A. The *Israelites* removing from that Place, pitched in *Oboth*. [Num. 21.10.] It is evident from hence, That they were now at *Punon*. [Num. 33.43.] This was a Place of *Idumæa*, famous for *Coper-Mines*. The Ancients often mention it, under the Names of, *Phæno*, and *Phennen*, and *Fenon*, and, *Metallo-fenon*; and hence come the *Phænesia*, or, *Phennesia Metalla*.³⁵ Thus *Eusebius* tells us, That *Sylvanus*, the Bishop, and near forty more, had their Heads cutt off, *κατὰ τὰ ἐν φαίνοι χαλκού μεταλλὰ*: *Adæris Metalla, quæ in Phæno*.³⁶ And in the Epistle of *Athana-*

but paginated in the second edition (Leipzig, 1686), p. 37, by Georgius Moebius (1616–97), aka. Georg Möbius, D. D., Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Leipzig. However, Mather's immediate source here is neither Patrick nor Tenison (then bishop of Lincoln), but John Shower (see below), whose *A Discourse of Tempting Christ* (1694), sec. 4, pp. 16–25, is the work in question. Truth to be told, such circuitous handling of primary sources at the nth remove was common practice in Mather's day. Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 25, pp. 225–26, and Huet's huge *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 8, sec. 19, esp. pp. 129–30, offer much on the topic of the Mosaic copper serpent to the same effect.

33 Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 13, col. 427 lines 42ff).

34 See also Mather's *Zalmonah* (1725), p. 5.

35 See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (p. 97).

36 Bochart's clipping from Eusebius Pamphilus (*Historia ecclesiastica* (8.13.5, lines 3–4) relates that Silvanus, bishop of Gaza, was martyred in c. 305 CE, during the Maximian persecutions in Palestine. The Greek excerpt from Eusebius's *Church History* (8.13.5) explains that Silvanus was beheaded, *κατὰ τὰ ἐν Φαίνοί χαλκού μέταλλα* "at the copper mines of Phæno," a hamlet in Arabia Petraea, near Petra, at the S extremity of the Dead Sea (*NPNFii* 1:334).

sius, Ad Solitarios, we read of *Eutychius*, condemned unto the *Mines of Phæno*.³⁷ *Epiphanius* writes of *Meletius* and many others, banished, & condemned unto the *Phænesian Mines*.³⁸ *Theodoret* speaks of some condemned unto those very *Mines*; and expressly saies, ἐστὶ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ χαλκοῦ, *That they were Coper-Mines*.³⁹ But *Jerom* yett more expressly, saies, *Fenon, castra Filiorum Israelis in Deserto, — nunc viculus in Deserto, ubi aris Metalla Damnatorum supplicijs effodiuntur*.⁴⁰

Probably hence came the *Coper*, whereof *Moses* made the *Serpent*. And *Bochart* thinks that there was this Mystery in it, That the *Body* assumed by our Saviour, was not brought from another Quarter, but form'd *there* where He was *manifest in Flesh*.⁴¹

[△ Attachment verso blank]

[△]

|

[34v]

[HH7:]

Q. You said, you took up with the *Common Opinion* about the *Serpents*, that vexed the People in the Wilderness. Yett no doubt, you have some further *Uncommon Curiositie* about them, which you'l please to communicate? v. 9.⁴²

A. The Wisdome of the Divine Providence, appeared, in taking this Way, to Rivet into the People, the Sense of the *first Evil* done to Mankind, by the Divel, when the *Serpent* beguiled our *First Parents*. And it might bee of Use also, to rectify the Error of some of the Jewes, derived from Heathen Idolaters, of the *Gods appearing in the Form of Serpents*; For, as my Friend, Mr. *Shower*, observes,

37 St. Athanasius Alexandrinus (*Historia Arianorum*, cap. 60, sec. 1, line 1–4) tells the story of Eutychius, “a Sub-deacon, a man who had served the Church honourably,” whom the Manichean followers of Sebastianus “scourged on the back with the leather whip, till he was at the point of death” and then sent to his execution to the mines – “not simply to any mine, but to that of Phaeno, where even a condemned murderer is hardly able to live a few days” (*Historia Arianorum*, pt. 7, cap. 60), in *NPNF* (4:292).

38 St. Epiphanius Constantiensis (*Panarion* 3.143, lines 14–22) relates similar stories of martyrdom under heinous torture, especially that of Meletius, a military leader in Galatia under Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE).

39 Theodoretus Cyrrensis (*Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 4, cap. 19, p. 258, lines 16–17): ἐστὶ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ χαλκοῦ.

40 St. Jerome, in *Liber de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum Incipit Liber. De Genesi* [PL 023. 0897C], more expressly says, “Fenon [is] the camp of the sons of Israel in the desert – now a small village in the desert – where copper is excavated as a punishment of the damned.”

41 Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 13, cols. 427, lines 42–col. 428, line 16) supplies Mather with all the references to the Church Fathers in the preceding paragraph.

42 Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 1–14, pp. 348–440) is probably the most exhaustive source on this topic, for he also examines all the other types of serpents and amphibians (real and imagined) mentioned in the Bible. Mather's source for his annotation on v. 9, including his references to secondary sources, is *A Discourse of Tempting Christ* (1694), sec. 4, pp. 16–25, by John Shower (1657–1715), a notable English nonconformist clergyman, pastor at Curriers' Hall (London) and lecturer at Salters' Hall (*ODNB*). In the following paragraph, Mather refers to “Mr. Shower,” as “my Friend,” a toned-down endearment from Mather's excited “my worthy Friend,” in the holograph manuscript.

the *Babylonians* worshipped a *Great Dragon*, and in *Egypt & Phœnicia*, they sacrificed unto *Dragons*, calling them, *Ἀγαθοδαίμονας*.⁴³ *Æsculapius*, the God of the Physicians was worshipped under that Form; to his Image, a *Dragon* is usually annexed. The superstitious *Romans*, placed the Head of a *Dragon*, at the Entrance into their Houses, imagining thereby to conciliate the favour of the Gods. And *Alexander* the Great is represented as begotten by a *Serpent*, which they likewise feigned of other Great Men among the Gentiles.⁴⁴ “In the earliest Ages, & inhabited Countreys of the World (saith Dr. *Tennison*) the Creatures on Earth principally Reverenced, were *Oxen*, and *Serpents*. *Serpents* were lately worship’d in *America* as appears from *Acosta* & others, and of old they were Sacred in *Egypt*: wee see no Table of *Isis*, or *Osiris*, or *Bacchus*, without a *Serpent*. [And among how many other Nations, read *Pignorius*, *De mensâ Isiaca*.]⁴⁵ The Reasons, why *Serpents* were thus Honoured might bee, partly because they could twine themselves into all figures; partly because of the mighty Energy of their Venom; & because of their mighty Bulk; & because they live to a great Age; are of a quick Sight; & Renew their Youth, by putting off their Skin: Lastly, By reason that the Heathen, were overpowred by the Craft, Malice, & Pride of the *Divel*, who deluded Man in that Shape, & would as it were redeem the Loss, hee sustained, in the Curse of that Creature, by turning it into a venerable *Idol*. If the *Seraphim* (or Good Angels ministring in the World) had not appeared in some such Form, it would bee difficult, to give an Account of the Temptation of *Adam* and *Eve*, by a *Dæmon* in the Shape of a *Serpent*. That *Serpent* is ridiculously painted in the form of a *creeping one* before the Fall: It is impossible to conceive our First Parents so stupid, as to have entred into a Dialogue with such a Creature, without any astonishment. But being used unto the *Shecinah* of the *Logos* & to the Appearance of ministring *Angels*, shewing themselves in some such winged Form, it is easy to conceive, upon the Supposition, how they might entertain some familiar Discourse with a Creature, assuming that Image, in a very

⁴³ The adoration of the great dragon, the Egyptian serpent “Agathodaimon” (“good demon”), is described in *Historia Alexandri Magni* (lines 1383–87), but here mediated by John Shower (pp. 20–21), who consults Tenison’s *Of Idolatry* (353). On Agathodaimon as the Egyptian hawk-headed, serpentine Kneph, see Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.41c).

⁴⁴ The mythic exploits of the Macedonian conqueror are told in the anonymous Greek poem *Historia Alexandri Magni* (1st c. CE), frequently attributed to Alexander’s court historian Callisthenes, and survives in several translations and versions. Pierre-Daniel Huet has much to offer on this subject in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679), prop. 4, sec. 6, pp. 89–91.

⁴⁵ Shower (*Discourse* 21–22) as extracted from Tenison (*Of Idolatry* 352–53); José Acosta, *Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies* (1604), bk. 5, chs. 4, 9, 13, pp. 337, 352, 353, 361–64. *A New Survey of the West-Indies* (1677), ch. 12, pp. 116–17, by Thomas Gage (c. 1603–1656), an obscure English traveler and preacher at Deal (Kent), who holds forth on the golden snakes associated with the Aztec deities Tezcatlipoca (god of the night sky) and Vitzilopuchtli, aka. Huitzilopochtli (the gory god of the sun, war, and human sacrifice). Laurentius Pignorius, *Mensa Isiaca, qua Sacrorum apud Aegyptios ratio & simulacra* (1669), cap. 3, pp. 23–24.

splendid & glorious Manner.⁴⁶ The Text assures us, the *Form* is now changed by Gods *Curse*, most probably from that of a splendid, fiery *Saraph*, to that of a mean *creeping Serpent*; not moving aloft in the *Air*, but licking the *Dust*. And a Part of the Punishment of *Adam & Eve*, may confirm this.⁴⁷ For it is said, God guarded Paradise against them, by a *Cherub*, & a *flaming Sword*, which was esteemed by the Jewes a Second Angel;⁴⁸ and may bee aptly imagined, a *Saraph*, or flaming Angel in the form of a *Fiery Flying Serpent* whose Body vibrated in the *Air*, with Lustre, & may bee fitly described, by the Image of such a *Sword*. *Tertullian* saith that the *Serpent from the Beginning* was one that *sacrilegiously usurped the Divine Image*.⁴⁹ This sounds, as if the Divel in *Serpentine* Form had represented Part of the *Shecinah* of the *Logos*, & that *Eve* conceived him to have been an *Angel* appertaining unto his glorious Presence, & a Minister of His Pleasure, & one that was come forth from Him.”⁵⁰

[3741:]

Dr. *Patrick* saies, He knows not whence *Justin Martyr* concluded this *Brasen Serpent* for to have been made in the Form of a *Cross*, unless we conceive it was made with Wings at the Bottom of its Neck, which might give it that Figure.⁵¹ But his Observation in another Place is very considerable; That there must needs be a Mystery in it, that God, who forbad all Manner of *Images*, should now command one to be made; of which, he saith, one of the *Jewes* confessed, he could never hear a Reason from their Doctors. How should they understand it until they beleve in a Crucified Christ?⁵²

This *Lifting up of the Brasen Serpent*, was a thing so publick; and so well known to all the Neighbour Nations, that the Fame of it, in all Likelihood went into *India*; where they still sett up an *Idol*, in form of a wreathed *Serpent*, upon a Perch, Six or Seven foot High, which they solemnly worship; and carrying it

⁴⁶ Ezek. 1:4–15.

⁴⁷ Gen. 3:14.

⁴⁸ Gen. 3:24.

⁴⁹ Shower (p. 24); Tenison (p. 356); Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos*, cap. 2 [PL 002. 0544–45], *Against the Valentinians* (ch. 2): “In brief, ‘the dove’ has usually served to figure Christ; ‘the serpent,’ to tempt Him. The one even from the first has been the harbinger of divine peace; the other from the beginning has been the despoiler of the divine image” (*ANF* 3:504).

⁵⁰ The passage in quotation marks originates in Thomas Tenison’s *Of Idolatry* (1678), ch. 14, pp. 352–53, but is here quoted at second hand from John Shower’s *Discourse of Tempting Christ* (1694), sec. 4, pp. 23–25. Following the terminal quotation marks in the holograph manuscript, Mather cancels [3377.] **Q.** A further Look, if you please, unto the *Brasen Serpent*? v. 9. and inserts the subsequent extract from Patrick’s commentary on Numb. 21:9. See Appendix A.

⁵¹ Justin Martyr, *First Apology* (ch. 59), in *ANF* (1:183)

⁵² Patrick (*Numbers* 409–10); Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* (ch. 91), in *ANF* (1:244–45).

along with them in their Travels, they sett it up every Morning for the Company to pay their Adorations to it; as *Tavernier* informs us.⁵³

664.

Q. Of the Israelites being infested by *Fiery Serpents* in the Wilderness, ha'd *pagan Antiquitie* any Remembrances? v. 9.⁵⁴

A. Some. *Herodotus* mentions the fiery Flying Serpents in *Arabia*.⁵⁵ But besides this; Many *magical Rites*, afterwards taken up among the Heathen, were Derivations from, and Imitations of, some Sacred Observances in *Religion*, enjoined by God upon His People. Among the Instances hereof, lett the *Brasen Serpent* pass for one; from whence foolish Pagans afterwards fetched their, *Τέλεσματα*, their *Talismans*; or, Images of Things, to avert Mischief by those Things; the same that are by Roman Authors called, *Averrunci* and by Hebrew Doctors called, *Scuta Davidis*.⁵⁶ The Mistake of, *Leunclavius*, that the Invention of *Talismans*, was not until the Time of *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, was occasioned by the Words of *Justin Martyr*, who calls them, *τα του Απολλωνιου τέλεσματα*, which only imports, that they were præpared, and employed, not that they were *Invented* by that famous Conjuror.⁵⁷ These *Telesmatical Images* among the Pagans,

53 Patrick (*Numbers* 410); John Baptista Tavernier, *The Six Voyages* (1678), part. 2, bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 28.

54 The following paragraph was grandfathered by the learned English theologian and rabbinic scholar John Selden, in his *De Diis Syris Syntagma* (1629), syntagma 1, cap. 2, pp. 116–17, in the amplified and emended edition by the distinguished Dutch Renaissance scholar, poet, and editor of ancient texts, Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655). (*EB*).

55 Herodotus (2.74–75) relates that near Thebes (Egypt) there are sacred, albeit harmless, horned serpents, sacred to Zeus, and buried in his temple when they die. In Arabia, near the city of Buto, Herodotus saw the skeletal remains and backbones of winged serpents “past all telling for numbers; there were heaps of backbones, great heaps and lesser” strewn about everywhere. According to one story, Herodotus remarks, these “winged serpents fly from Arabia into Egypt” every spring, but “the ibis birds meet the serpents at this pass [and] will not suffer the snakes to come through, but kill them.” That is why the Egyptians hold the ibis sacred.

56 The ancient Roman deity Averruncus, according to Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 5.12.14), could ward off evil if an appropriate sacrifice was offered to placate him. Hence the *Shield of David* to turn away harm befalling harvests. See also Mather's *Zalmonah* (1725), pp. 28–29.

57 In his expanded edition of Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagma* (1629), synt. 1, cap. 2, pp. 116–17, Heinsius refers to the German orientalist and commentator on things Turkish, Johannes Leunclavius, aka. Hans Lewenklaue, Löwenklau, Leonclavius (1541–1594), whose *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, De Monumentis Ipsorum Exscriptae, libri XVIII* (1591), was, in its time, a standard handbook on the mighty Ottoman Empire. Curiously, this work was deemed sufficiently dangerous that it was placed on the R. C. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgandorum Novissimus* (1657), lib. 1, p. 632. Be that as it may, in its present context, Mather's excerpt (via Selden 116–17), refers to Leunclavius's *Pandectes Historiae Turcicae*, appended to Leunclavius's *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (1588), Pandect 130, p. 334, where the author claims that these images were not in use until the time of Apollonius Tyanaeus (15–100 CE), a contemporary of Jesus of Nazareth and Greek Neopythagorean. It is the Graeco-Roman philosopher Lucius Flavius Philostratus of Athens (c. 170–c. 245 CE), who praises Apollonius as a great occultist miracle worker, but denies that the Tyanean was a wizard (*Life of Apollonius*

were formed with a World of Superstitious Regard, unto the coelestial Bodies, and Aspects; and the *Divels* found a mighty Use of them to amuse & abuse Mankind, and serve many Idolatrous Purposes. But this I say, The *Brasen Serpent* in the Wilderness was that, from which, the *Ape of Heaven*, copied them all.⁵⁸

|

[35r]

2283.

Q. The Gospel of the *Brasen Serpent*? v. 9.

A. Lett us first consider the *Malady*; and then the *Remedy*.⁵⁹

The *Malady*, inflicted on the *Israelites*, was, A Being stung with *Fiery Serpents*, for their Ingratitude.

Satan is the *Old Serpent*. [Rev. 12.9.] His appearing first in that Shape to manage his Temptations upon our *First Parents*; makes the Continuance of the Resemblance for him, very Agreeable.⁶⁰

And the *Divels* may very fitly bee called, *Fiery Serpents*. Of such wee read, Isa. 14.29. & 30.6. From the Hebrew Word, *Saraph*, here used for them, some derive the Greek Word *Prester*, (called also *Dipsas*, and *Causon*,) wherewith hee that is bitten is Tormented with a *Burning Heat* and Thirst, that never can bee quenched. The ancient Physicians, as you find in *Dioscorides*, gave over their Bites, as Incureable. They were likewise from their *Colour* termed *Fiery Serpents*; They had a Shining, & a Glist'ring Aspect. The *Divels* are *Serpents* of the most Venomous and Terrible Kind. [Compare, Rev. 12.9. the *Great Red Dragon*.] They are indeed, the Debased *Seraphim*.⁶¹

Now, *Sin* is the *Sting* of the *Serpent*. [1. Cor. 15.56.] Hence, the Temptations of Satan, are called, *Fiery Darts*. [Eph. 6.16.]

And *Sin*, the *Sting* of the *Serpent*, is a Painful, and a Deadly *Poison*. Tho' perhaps, the *Poison* may seem sweet at first: [Job. 20.12, 13, 14.] It will at length putt the Conscience, into a Terrible *Anguish*.⁶²

1.1–2). According to Mather (via Selden 116–17), this mistake occurred because of a misunderstood passage in Pseudo-Justinus Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (Morel page 405, sec. D, lines 1–9), Ἀπόκρισις κδ' (Responso 24): τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τελέσματα. On Leunclavius, see also Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1741), 3:49–50, and N. Berman, *German Literature* (86–88).

58 Mather and his contemporaries still attributed similarities between Mosaic and pagan rites to the devil who aped God's decrees to mislead his followers.

59 Again, Mather obliges his uncle Samuel Mather, whose serialized sermon *The Gospel of the Occasional Types*, on 1 Cor. 10:11 (preached between October 3, 1667 and May 7 & 21, 1668), supplies the typological explication of the brazen serpent as an occasional type of the Christ as healer, in *The Figures & Types* (1705), pp. 127–64.

60 Samuel Mather (*Figures* 146).

61 S. Mather (146) refers at second hand to Dioscorides Pedanius's *De materia medica* (6.38, 40) as quoted in Henry Ainsworth's gloss on Numb. 21:6, in *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627), p. 133 (sep. pag.).

62 S. Mather (147).

The Occasion of the Lords Inflicting Misery on the People, by the *Fiery Serpents*, was, their Sleighting the *Manna*, wherewith Hee had Fed them from Heaven. God lett's loose the *Fiery Serpents* of Hell, to sting the Souls of Men, partly with Lusts, & partly with Fears; Tis for their Contempt of the Lord Jesus Christ, & of His Gospel-Mercies.⁶³

The *Remedy* in this Case, was the *Brazen Serpent*: wherein our Lord Jesus Christ is to bee notably mett withal. [Joh. 3.14, 15.]

It was made of *Brass*, (or, *Coper*,) a Metal of inferior Value, tho' Strong and Bright; and in the Form of a *Serpent*, tho' it were not a *Real Serpent*. Tho' the Lord Jesus Christ bee *Strong* and *Bright*: [Rev. 1.15, 16. Heb. 1.3.] Yett Hee was for His outward Appearance, Despised in the World. [1. Cor. 1.23, 24.] Yea, Hee appeared in the *Likeness of Sinful Flesh*, tho' it were not Really *Sinful Flesh*. [Rom. 8.3.] Hee had no Sin. [Heb. 4.15. 2. Cor. 5.21.] Yett Hee was dealt withal, as a *Sinner*. Hee fell under the *Curse* due to Sin; the *Curse* belong'd unto the *Serpent*. [Gal. 3.13.]⁶⁴

The *Brasen Serpent*, was a Cure provided by God, in meer Sovereign *Grace*, for ungrateful, ungodly, unworthy Rebels; when some of them were so stung to Death, as to bee ready to perish, for their Contempt of *Manna*, and others were already Dead and Gone, Past all Recovery. In like Manner, God gives His *Christ* unto us; of His Meer, Free, and Rich *Grace*, even when wee were Enemies unto Him; and it was done without and against all Merit in us; when a great Part of Mankind, is perished in Sin, especially for their sinful Contempt of the Gospel. [Joh. 3.16.]

The *Serpent* must bee *lifted* up, upon a Pole, that all might see it, at whatever Distance. Compare, Joh. 3.14. and Joh. 12.32, 33. and Gal. 3.1. and Eph. 2.17.⁶⁵

[35v] And the *Serpent* must bee *looked* at, by all that | hoped for any Benefit from it. Compare, Joh. 3.15. and Isa. 45.22. and Isa. 65.1.

It is observable, that the *Syriac* Word used by our Saviour in the III of *John*, signifies, both to *lift up*, and to *crucify*.⁶⁶

The *Serpent*, in this Way gave Healing to the *Stung*, that had Recourse unto it. *Moses*, and his Law could not Heal them. Compare now, Mal. 4.2. and Psal. 103.3. and Act. 4.12.

Finally; The *Brazen Serpent* retained its Vertue, only while Instituted by God, for that End. And therefore, when the Sacred Stamp of Institution was

⁶³ S. Mather (147).

⁶⁴ S. Mather (148).

⁶⁵ S. Mather (148).

⁶⁶ This interpretation is based on *Versio Syriaca cum Interprete Latina* (John 3:14), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:408).

taken off, wee read of no more Miracles wrought by it, but *Hezekiah broke it in Peeces*.

Now this Part of the History cannot bee applied unto our Lord Jesus Christ, any otherwise than Thus; The same Things, in the Ordinances of God, which are useful while Instituted by God, become Abominable, when the Stamp of the Divine Institution upon them ceases. Wee may carry this, unto the *Hierarchy* of the Old Testament; and the *Garments* of their Ministry; and the *Festivals* of Israel.⁶⁷

[3054.]

We will carry on the Parallel with the Addition of a Stroke or two from the learned *Bochart*.⁶⁸

Brass is a very *Sounding Metal*. (1. Cor. 13.1.) saies *Claudian*, – *Ære sonoro*. The *Sound* of Christ *crucified*, is *gone forth into all the World*. (Rom. 10.18.)⁶⁹

And tho' the *Israelites* had the Remedy at hand, yett they were not so foolish & foolhardy as to provoke the *Serpents* to sting them. Thus, tho' we have a Remedy for our Sin, laid up in the Lord Jesus Christ, yett we must not of our *own Accord*, fall into Sin or throw ourselves into Temptations to Sin, upon that Præsumption.⁷⁰

3055.

Q. Is there any thing remarkable in the Jewish Writings, to countenance our making the *Messiah*, the Antitype of the *Brasen-Serpent*? v. 9.⁷¹

A. There is a famous Text, Isa. 14.29. *Out of the Serpents Root shall come forth a Cockatrice, and his Fruit shall be a Fiery flying Serpent*. K. *Uzziah* had been a sore Scourge to the *Philistines*, upon his Abdication, and in the dayes of *Jotham* and *Ahaz*; the *Philistines* revived, & became very *troublesome unto the Jewes*. But upon the Succession of *Hezekiah* to the Throne, the Prophet foretels, that the *Philistines* would have no Cause to rejoice, for their Deliverance from *Uzziah*, for from the Root of *Uzziah*, there would proceed *Hezekiah*, who should now act the Part of a more terrible *Serpent* upon them, than his *Predecessors*.⁷²

⁶⁷ S. Mather (149).

⁶⁸ Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 12, col. 416, lines 3–9). Originally planned as a separate entry, Cotton Mather combined the following paragraphs with those of his previous entry.

⁶⁹ Claudius Claudianus, *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti* (8.149), speaks of the clanking of the “brazen shields” of Cybele’s Corybantes.

⁷⁰ Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, col. 416)

⁷¹ Mather supplies the translated abstract of the three subsequent paragraphs from Bochart’s *Hieroicoicon* (pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 10, cols. 405–06).

⁷² Isa. 14:28–29, 15:2; 2 Chron. 26:6, 28:18–19; 2 Kings 18:8. Also see his annotations on Isa. 14:29, in *BA* (5:654).

It is no new thing, for a *King* to be resembled unto a *Serpent*. Among the *Egyptians* particularly, who were near Neighbours unto the *Philistines*, we find in *Ælian*, That their Kings in their *Diadems* wore painted *Asps*, to signify their Power. For, saies he, of those that have been bitten by *Asps*, ου μνημονευεται ουδεις εξαντης γεγονεναι του κακου.⁷³ *It is not remembred, that ever any one escaped*. Read much more in *Horus* to this Purpose.⁷⁴

Now, the *Basilisk* in the Text before us, ha's been thought a Picture of the *Messiah* as well as of *Hezekiah*. *Jonathans* Paraphrase upon it therefore is, *De Filijs Filiorum Jesse exhibit Messias*. In that Paraphrase, the Name of *Jesse* is putt for /שנח/ *Nachash*, which signifies, a *Serpent*. *Kimchi* observes, That this was indeed one of *Jesses* proper Names. Thus, 2. Sam. 17.25. *Abigail, the Daughter of Nahash*, is indeed, the *Daughter of Jesse*.⁷⁵

Upon the whole, the Descent of the *Messiah* from *Jesse*, is here intimated; and there is therewithal intimated, His being the Antitype of the *Mosaic Serpent*.⁷⁶

[36r]

Q. A Remark on, *The Pole*, whereon the *Brasen Serpent* was exhibited? v. 9.

A. Dr. *Gell* observes, That it should not be rendred, *A Pole*, as it is by our Translators, Nor *A Mast*, as it is by *Diodati*. But, a *Banner*, or *Ensign*, as most of our old *English* Translations have it, and the *Low-Dutch*, and *Luthers*. Thus, with *Arias Montanus*, it is, *Varillum*; And in the *Spanish*, tis, *Vandera*.⁷⁷

73 Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium* (6.38, lines 1–2): ου μνημονεύεται ουδεις εξαντης γεγονεναι του κακου.

74 Bochart (col. 406, line 74–col. 407, line 3); Horapollo (aka. Horus Apollo), presumably one of the last Egyptian priests, flourished during Zeno's reign (474–91 CE) and translated hieroglyphs into Greek. The first edition was published by Alduys Manutius (1449–1515), in Venice (1505). Via Bochart, Mather refers to *Hieroglyphica (translatio Philippi)*, lib. 1, sec. 59, lines 1–2: Βασιλέα δὲ κράτιστον δηλοῦντες, ὅφιν ζωγραφοῦσι κοσμοειδῶς ἐσχηματισμένον, οὗ τὴν οὐρὰν ἐν τῷ στόματι ποιοῦσι, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν μέσῳ τῷ εἰλίγματι γράφουσιν, αἰνιττόμενοι γράφειν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ κόσμου κρατεῖν· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ ὄφeos παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἐστὶ μεῖσι. "To denote a very powerful king, they depict a serpent in the form of a circle, whose tail they place in his mouth, and they write the name of the king in the middle of the coil, intimating that the king governs the world. The serpent's name among the Egyptians is Meisi" (*Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous*, p. 80).

75 Targum Jonathan (Isa. 11:1), in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (3:32): "From the son of Jesse's son sprouts forth the Messiah"; or more poetically, "Out of the root of Jesse shall come forth the Messiah." David Kimchi (*Mikraoth Gedoloth: Isaiah* 1:106). Mather provides a similar gloss in his commentary on 2 Sam. 17:25 (*BA* 3:377).

76 Bochart (col. 407).

77 The Swiss Reformed theologian Giovanni (John) Diodati (1576–1649), in his *Pious Annotations, upon the Holy Bible* (1643), p. 99 (on Numb. 21:8), writes, "The serpent was a figure of Christ who was sent into the world in the likeness of sinfull flesh: *Rom.* 8.3. the pole was a figure of the Crosse, upon which he was raised, and the looking upon the serpent represented Faith in our Saviour, *John* 3.14, 15." Wycliffe (c. 1395) has the copper serpent set "for a signe" (1395); Tyndale (1530) "for a sygne"; Coverdale (1535) as "a token"; *The Geneva Bible* (1560) on

Briefly, There was an Eye to the *Third of Genesis and the fifteenth.*

Perhaps, when we come to write of *Hezekiahs Nehushtan*, this Matter will be more fully explained.⁷⁸

1537.

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.⁷⁹

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*.⁸⁰

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?⁸¹

Numb. 21:8, 9, renders it "a signe"; the Dutch *Biblia Statenvertaling* (1637), has "een stange" ("a pole," "stake") and offers alternatives in the margins: "stake, sperre, and, tot een teecken ... eene banier" ("stake," "spear," "a stick," and "as a banner"); Martin Luther's *Biblia* (1534) avoids the issue altogether and has Moses make a snake "zum zeichen" ("as a sign"), without further specifying if the copper serpent was placed on anything at all. Arias Montanus renders it "varillum" ("standard") in his interlinear *Biblia Hebraica* (1613), fol. 484; finally, the Spanish *La Biblia. Que es, Los Sacros Libros* (1502), fol. 50^r, as translated from the Hebrew and Greek, opts for "la vanderá" ("banner").

⁷⁸ Robert Gell (on Numb. 21:9), in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 534^e. According to 2 Kings 18:4, Hezekiah destroyed the high places and groves of Astarte (Ashtoreth), goddess of love, along with the bronze serpent (Nehushtan) to which the Israelites made offerings.

⁷⁹ Mather's efforts to "recover" the "*Book of the Wars of the Lord*" as a "draft" of sorts of the book of Judges is telling.

⁸⁰ Mather courageously grapples with the gnarled question of the "lost" books of the Bible – an issue that along with the challenges to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the redaction of the Torah into its present shape by Ezra – had been forcefully debated at least since Thomas Hobbes, Benedict Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Jean LeClerc had pronounced their *mene tekel* in the second half of the 17th c. On the problems of textual composition, transmission, and redaction of the Pentateuch, see my discussion "The Lost Books of the Bible" (*BA* 1:127–44).

⁸¹ This future-tense (prophetic) solution offered here is also maintained in the Samaritan and Syriac versions of Numb. 21:14, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:638, 639). Jerome's Vulgate, too, opts for future tense "sic faciet": "He [Moses] shall do." Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:694–95) and *Works* (7:384–85) ably synopsize the variety of critical responses to the "lost-book" question from the Church Fathers to the post-Reformation divines.

[1536:]

Q. Some further Thoughts, if you please, upon the Quotation here, from *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*? v. 14.

A. *Moses* (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks) here makes an Allegation, from an Authentick Record, in those Countreyes, containing the History of all the *Wars* that had been in those Parts; which are here called, *The Wars of the LORD*, because He is the great Governour of the World (as *Abarbinel* interprets it,) *From whom and by whom are all things; who putteth down one, & setteth up another* (as the Psalmist speaks) *at His Good Pleasure*.⁸² This Book, he thinks, (and so thinks *Nachmanides*,) was written by some of the Wise Men of those Nations, who looking upon this Conquest made by *Sihon*, as a very memorable thing, inserted it in their *Annals*; which (after the Way of those Countreyes) he thinks written in a |
[36v] poetical Manner. *Moses* justifies what he writes, concerning this Conquest, out of their own Books; which he quotes, as the Apostle does one of the Greek Poets.⁸³

The Meaning of the Words here quoted, is, That the King of the *Amorites* took all these Places, by a sudden & furious Invasion; which *Moses* therefore punctually recites, to show, that the Countrey of the *Moabites*, now reached no further than *Arnon*; All the Brooks, or Torrents, and all the Effusions of Water, as far as *Arnon* (i. e. all the Countrey about them,) being taken from them by the *Amorites*, in whose Possession it now was, and probably had been a long Time. And therefore the *Israelites*, took nothing from the *Moabites*, when they conquered this Countrey; nor from the *Ammonites* neither, Part of whose Countrey the *Amorites* also had gott from them [Deut. 3.11.] and the *Israelites* took from

⁸² Abarbanel (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:156–57). Ibn Ezra's frank explanation seems very modern here. The Book of the Wars of the Lord, he argues, "was a separate book in which all the wars of the Lord for the benefit of those who fear him were recorded. It may have existed as far back as the time of Abraham, for many writings have been lost and are no longer extant, such as 'The History of Nathan' (1 Chron. 29:29), 'The Chronicle of Iddo' (2 Chron. 12:15), 'The Annals of the Kings of Israel' (1 Kings 14:19), and the 3,000 proverbs and 1,005 of Solomon (see 1 Kings 5:12)," in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:156).

⁸³ Patrick (*Numbers* 413); Nachmanides, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:156–57), offers an intriguing intertextual explanation: "There were sages in those generations who recorded the stories of the great wars. It is the same in every generation. The authors of these books were referred to as *moshelim* ('bards'; see v. 27), for they were the creators of the *meshalim* – that is, the figures of speech – in which the events of these wars (which seemed so miraculous to them) were ascribed to the Lord (and in truth the miracles were of course His). Sihon's mighty deeds against Moab seemed equally miraculous to them and they wrote them down (see vv. 26–28), using such poetic phrases as Waheb in Suphah, 'come to Heshbon' (v. 27), and the like. ... When Sihon captured the cities of Moab, the bards recorded all this in a book that they called *The Wars of the Lord*, saying that Sihon brought a storm of destruction upon Waheb." The NT was not without its intertextual references to pagan sources. For instance, St. Paul (1 Cor. 13) is to have paraphrased an aphorism of the Greek elegiac poet Tyrtæus of Sparta (7th c. BCE), best known for his elegies about the Second Messenian War (c. 660 BCE) (*EB*), and popularized in the Greek schools in Apostolic times.

the *Amorites*, when they conquered *Sihon*, and *Og*, and it fell to the Share of the *Gadites*. [Josh. 13.25.]⁸⁴

[3135:]

Q. What may be the true Meaning of that Clause; *What he did in the Red-Sea?*

A. It should be thus translated; *He came* (some such Word must be understood,) *against Vaheb* (a King of the *Moabites*,) *and overthrew him in Suphah*, (a Place in the Frontiers of *Moab*. Deut. 1.1.) What follows; *And in the Brooks of Arnon*, should be translated, *And with* – q.d. In the same Manner he smote the *Brooks of Arnon*; on which he fell as a Tempest carrying all before him.

The next Passage, *And at the Streams of the Brook*, ha's a good Account given of it, by *Nachman*, who hereby understands either a *Cliff*, from whence the Torrents flowed, (as *Aschdod* and, *Happisgah*, [Deut. 3.17.] are the Hills, from whence the Springs gushed;) or the Valley thro' which the Torrents ran, where they made a great broad Water, which is here called, *An Effusion of Torrents*, as R. *Levi ben Gershom* interprets the Hebrew Words.⁸⁵

3738.

Q. Why is that Passage introduced, *For the Border of the Children of Ammon was strong?* v. 24.

A. 'Tis not mentioned, as the Reason why the *Israelites* did not sett upon their Countrey, (for they were expressly forbidden to do it, Deut. 2.19.) but why *Sihon* had conquered none of the *Ammonite* Countrey beyond *Jabbok* (as he did all from *Arnon* thither,) because their Frontiers, on that Side of their Countrey, were very strong, by the Fortifications, which it is likely, they had made upon the River.⁸⁶

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[37r]

[3739:]

Q. What may be the Intention, of what *Moses* here quotes, as *being spoken in Proverbs?* v. 27.

A. In the Hebrew, the Words are, *Wherefore the Proverbialists* (that is, the Poets, whose Composures in those Dayes, were very sententious,) *say*, – The

⁸⁴ Patrick, on Numb. 21:15 (*Numbers* 415), here follows Nachmanides (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:156–57).

⁸⁵ Patrick, on Numb. 21:14, 15 (*Numbers* 414). Mather here revises the KJV rendering “And at the stream [Hebrew: נַחֲשֶׁד ('ehshed)] of the brooks” (Numb. 21:15) by following Nachmanides, who says that this noun refers to “the slope of the brook, because the streams [of water] flow down continuously from the slopes of Pisgah [Deut. 4:49]” (*Commentary on the Torah: Numbers* 237). The commentary on the Torah *Perush al ha-Torah*, of the French R. Levi ben Gershom, aka. Gersonides, aka. Ralbag (1288–1344), was published in Venice (1547).

⁸⁶ Patrick (*Numbers* 421).

Song seems to have been composed by some of the *Amorites*, upon the Victory that *Sihon* obtained over the *Moabites*; particularly, upon the taking of *Heshbon*, which, it may be supposed, he besieged immediately upon the Routing of their Army. *Moses* would insert this in his History, as an Evidence, that this Countrey belonged unto the *Amorites*, when the *Israelites* conquered it. Thus elsewhere, he quotes a common Saying about *Nimrod*, for to Justify what he writes of his Greatness. [Gen. 10.9.]⁸⁷

Come into Heshbon, – q.d. Lett us fall to repair the Ruines, which have been made in it by the War, that it may become the Royal City of our Countrey.⁸⁸

For there is a Fire gone out of Heshbon. – The Poet now rises into a Rapture, and prophesies the Conquest of the whole Countrey, by the Army of *Sihon* marching out of *Heshbon*. Desolations by War, are still compared unto Fire, which consumes all it comes anear.

It hath consumed Ar of Moab. He speaks, as if he already saw the Thing done, which he foretold; tho' it never came to pass. They did not conquer *Ar*, (the Capital City of *Moab*;) it was in the Possession of *Moab*, in *Moses's* Time, – [Deut. 2.9, 18, 29.]⁸⁹

[37v]

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[3740.]

Q. That Passage, *we have shott at them; Heshbon is perished. Even unto Dibon?* v. 30.

A. The Hebrew Words, may be as well translated; *Their Light is perished*, (or, taken away) *from Heshbon unto Dibon*. That is, Their Glory is gone, from one End of the Countrey to the other.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ According to this interpretation, *Moses* was not above quoting from the heroic songs of the *Israelites's* enemies.

⁸⁸ Patrick (*Numbers* 422).

⁸⁹ Patrick, on Num. 21:28 (*Numbers* 423).

⁹⁰ Patrick (*Numbers* 425) is consistent with the post-Reformation divines, in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:698–99) and *Works* (7:402–03).

3741.

Q. We read about, *The Elders of Midian*; what, then was the Title of *Elders* given to the principal Men in other Countreyes, as well as among the *Israelites*? v. 4.

A. Yes; The Same that are called, *The Elders of Moab*, are therefore also in the next Verse called, *The Princes of Moab*.

It is evident, this was the ancient Language among the *Egyptians*; [Gen. 50.7.] and it is very likely, it was the ancient Language of *Phœnicia*, and the Countreyes thereabouts; & perhaps in much remote Parts. For it is a known Story, That when the *Phœnicians* fled before *Joshua*, & forsook the Land of *Canaan*, they fixed in *Africk*; where they left this Name of *Elders* among the *Carthaginians*.¹

3743.

Q. What sort of a Man, may we take *Balaam* to have been? v. 5.

A. The Jewes are generally of the Opinion, That he had formerly been a Better Man, than he was Now; yea, they take him, as *Jerom* tells us, to have been the same, that in the Book of *Job*, is called, *Elihu*.²

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That *Balaam* (who by the Apostle *Peter* is called, *A Prophet*,³ and appears as one in the Sacred History:) while he continued in the Service of the True God, he blessed & cursed no other Way, but by Prayer to God, & by Imprecations in His Name. Which was imitated by other great Men; particularly by *Cambyses*, in his Speech to the *Persians*, recorded by *Herodotus* in his *Thalia*: *If you do what I require, then lett your Land bring forth plentifully, & your Wives & your Flocks be fruitful, & yourselves enjoy your Liberty; but if you do not, I imprecate the quite contrary things, to these to fall upon you*.⁴ But when

¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 431) leans on John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650), lib. 1, cap. 14, p. 587.

² Patrick (*Numbers* 433). 2 Pet. 2:15; The great scholar of the Mishnah, R. Akiba ben Joseph, glosses on Job 32:2, "Elihu is Balaam the son of Barachel, who came to curse Israel but blessed them. Nevertheless the Lord your God would not hearken to Balaam [the Buzite]" (Deut. 23:5). [He was called] 'the Buzite,' for his prophecy was despised (BZZ)," in Jerusalem Talmud, tractate Sotah (5.6, 1:2a). St. Jerome (on Job 32:2) follows suit, in *Commentarii in Librum Job* [PL 026. 0721–0722D], arguing that Balaam descended from Buz (son of Nahor, the brother of Abram [Gen. 22:21]) and can be identified with Elihu (son of Barachel the Buzite), one of Job's inquisitors, in Job (32:6). See also *St. Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (pp. 181–82).

³ 2 Pet. 2:16.

⁴ Herodotus (3.65) has Cyrus the Great's son Cambyses II (d. 522 BCE) tell his Persian soldiers of the vision he had had and how the Magian soothsayers tricked him into killing his own brother Smerdis. Cambyses, presaging his own death in the Medianite city of Ecbatana,

Balaam degenerated into a False Prophet, and became a *Diviner*, then he used Spells and Incantations and Ceremonies, that were the Invention of wicked Spirits; which the Jewes fancy, that *Pharaohs* Magicians used for the Stopping of the *Israelites* at the *Red-Sea*.⁵

It is thought, that *Balaam* had at first, Familiarity with God, & His Holy Angels; but he abused the Honour that God putt upon him, in making him a Prophet, by Employing it to serve his vile Coveteousness. And God here upon gave him up, to the Delusion of Evil Spirits, of whom he learn'd Enchantments.

And yett here God was pleased again Himself to appear unto him, for the Good of His People *Israel*, and over-rule his bad Inclinations; Insomuch that *Moses* tells us, at last, he did not go as he had done, to *seek Inchantments*; but for the Present gave him up unto the Conduct of the Spirit of God.⁶

[▽ 39r] [▽ 39r Insert]

Q. A further Consideration upon that Quæstion; what is to be thought of *Balaam*? v. 5.

A. Monsr. *Jurieu* observes, That we may discover in *Balaam* all the Characters of a very Ill Man, yea, perhaps of one falling into the *Unpardonable Sin*; But not, of a *False Prophet*; or an *Idolater*.⁷

Unto the Messengers of *Balak*, he professes to have no Correspondence, but with the Lord JEHOVAH.

Yea, He appeals to GOD, and with the Language of a *True Prophet*, reflects an *House full of Silver & of Gold*.⁸

His adherence to the Number *Seven*, in the *Sacrifices* offered by him, shows his Regard unto the GOD of *Israel*, who had sanctified that Number. Whereas, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Horace*, *Tibullus*, & others, give us the Number *Three*, for sacred, among the Pagans. And *Aristotle* celebrates the Number *Three*, as used in Sanctifications, & the Worship of the Gods.⁹

therefore binds his soldiers with a mighty oath never to allow the Medes to regain supremacy over Persia: "If you do this, may the earth bear you its fruits, may your women and your flocks and herds be fruitful, and may you live for all time as free men! But if you do not recover the power to yourselves, nor make any effort to do so, I pray upon you the contrary of these good things and that, besides, the end of every man in Persia may be such [gangrene] as has now overtaken me" (*The History* 3.65.241).

5 Patrick, on Numb. 22:6 (*Numbers* 436–37); Exod. 14:2–3.

6 Patrick, on Numb. 22:9 (*Numbers* 440–41). Numb. 24:1.

7 Pierre Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines* (1705), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 5, p. 48 § 1.

8 Jurieu (*Critical History*, p. 49, § 2); Numb. 22:18.

9 Jurieu (49, § 3), citing Numb. 23:4, insists that Balaam at the time was true to the God of Israel, because he did things by sevens ("He built 7 Altars, and upon them Sacrificed 7 Oxen, and 7 Sheep, and that to the true God, and not to the Idols"). Pagans, however, sacrificed in threes as evidenced in Virgil's *Eclogue* (8.75): "In an uneven number heaven delights"; *Aeneid* (6.229): Corynaeus, gathering the bones of his dead mates in an urn, cleansed them "with pure water [and] thrice encircled his comrades." Ovid has an old hag, honoring Tacita ("the mother of the public Lares" [line 615]) "with three fingers" as the witch "puts three lumps of incense

Yea, we find GOD putting Words into his Mouth. And when did the Spirit of Prophecy utter more glorious Things, than thro' the Mouth of *Balaam*? It is true, that in the Book of *Joshua*, this Wretch is called, *Chesem*, a *Southsayer*, which Word is never taken in a good Sense. But it is no Wonder, if the Holy Spirit putt such a Mark of Infamy, upon a Person who made so ill an Use of the Gift of Prophecy, by Serving with it the Designs of a *Filthy Lucre*, as do the *Southsayers*.¹⁰

And whereas we read, Num. XXIV.1. *He went not as at other times to seek for Enchantments*: The Real Truth is, not that having sacrificed unto the True GOD, with an Intention to prosecute His Commands, he went aside for the Consulting of Divels. But he knew, That GOD seldom disclosed His Intentions unto the Prophets in Publick; the Revelations required Solitude & Secrecy. On this account *Balaam*, after the Sacrifices, retired, that he might receive Direction from GOD. In this Retirement indeed, he left nothing untried, that he might obtain from GOD, an Answer suitable to his Desires. He might intermix also some Superstitions with his Prayers. | Tho' his main Intention was to consult GOD in private, yett the whole Action was criminal, because the End was evil, and there were Superstitions accompanying of it. *Moses* might very well, call his *Devotions*, by the Name of *Enchantments*, because they were used for such Purposes as *Enchantments* are generally used for; even the Affliction of the Neighbours.¹¹ [39v]

Monsr. *Jurieu*, is of the Opinion, That *Shem* living till about fourscore Years before the going of the Family of *Israel* into *Egypt*, it is probable, that GOD for a long time did præserve Reminders of His Holy Religion, in the Countrey where that Patriarch lived. Neither is it improbable, that the *Spirit of Prophecy* might continue a considerable while in the Eastern Countreys, & have something of a Church præserted there. The Grace of GOD left not the Nations, but by Degrees; and the Holy Spirit withdrew not from the other Nations, to reside in a peculiar Manner with *Israel*, until that People was grown into such

under the threshold" of a house before she utters her incantations (*Fasti* 2.573); likewise, in his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid has Medea cast her spells and rejuvenate Jason's old father Aeson, whose "worn-out body" lay in front of the altar: "Thrice she purified the old man with fire, thrice with water, thrice with sulphur" (7.261). Horace (*Epistles* 1.1.37) addresses his patron Maecenas and promises that he will be able to overcome his avarice, "if with cleansing rites you read the booklet [of charms] thrice." Tibullus (*Elegies* 1.2.56) tells Delia how the sorceress Medea gave him "a charm" to deceive her husband: "chaunt it thrice and spit thrice when the spell is done." Finally, our peripatetic Aristotle knowingly relates of the Pythagoreans who believe "the universe and all that is in it is determined by the number three, since beginning and middle and end give the number of the universe, and the number they give is the triad. And so, having taken these three from nature as (so to speak) laws of it, we make further use of the number three in the worship of Gods" (*De Coelo* 1.1.268a, lines 10–15).

¹⁰ Jurieu (53).

¹¹ Jurieu (53, 54).

a Condition, as to make a Figure in the World. Perhaps *Balaam* was the last of the True Prophets that lived among those Nations, which did not belong to the People of *Israel*; and he might close the Prophecy of the Church before *Moses*, as *Malachi* did the Prophecy of the Church before the Coming of our SAVIOUR.¹²

[△] [△ Insert ends]

[38r cont.]

[.....]

Q. *Curse me this People.* What was the Opinion that lay at the bottom of the Proposal? v. 6.

A. It seems, they had an Opinion in those Dayes, which prevailed much in after-times, That some Men had a Power, by the Help of their Gods, to blast, not only particular Persons, but whole Armies, & render them incapable of effecting their Designs.

This, tis said, they did, sometimes only by bare Words of Imprecation, whereof there was a Sett-Form among some People, which *Æschines* calls, διοριζομένην ἄραν, *The Determinate Curse*.¹³ And sometimes they also offered Sacrifices, & used Ceremonies with solemn Charms; as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Crassus*, that *Attejus*, the Tribune of the People, made a Fire at the Gate, out of which *Crassus* was to march into the War against the *Parthians*; into which, he threw certain things to make a Fume, & offered Sacrifices to the most angry Gods, with horrid Imprecations; which, he saies, according to ancient Tradition, had such a Power, that no Man, who was loaded with them, could avoid being undone.¹⁴

[285-]

Q. Why was the Anger of God kindled against *Balaam*, for going with the Princes of *Moab*; whereas it is expressly said, *That God came to him at Night, and said, If the Men come to call thee, Rise up, and Go with them?* v. 20, 22.

A. Wee know that the King of *Moab* sent for *Balaam* to come & curse *Israel*, but God would not permitt him to go. Upon a second Importunity, God suffered it; yett with a *Proviso*, *The Word, that I say unto thee, That thou shalt do.* Now it appears that *Balaam*, who is elsewhere called, *A Lover of the Wages of*

¹² Jurieu (55, 56).

¹³ The "curse" is adapted from *In Ctesiphontem* (sec. 119, Line 9), by the Attic orator *Aeschines Atheniensis* (389–314 BCE), in his speech against his fellow orator *Ctesiphon* (4th c. BCE), who opposed Alexander the Great's wars of expansion.

¹⁴ Patrick (*Numbers* 435–36). In his *Life of Crassus* (16.3–5), *Plutarch* relates the story of the Roman general *Marcus Licinius Crassus* (115–53 BCE), whom the Roman tribune *Ateius* tried to inhibit with a ritual omen from going to war against the *Parthians*, with whom the Roman Republic had established a peace treaty.

Unrighteousness,¹⁵ had a Design to Alter the Word, which hee should receive of the Lord, & so order Matters as to secure his own Interest and Promotion, with the King of *Moab*: Hence t'was, that the Angel said, *Thy Way is perverse before mee*,¹⁶ and putt him | in Mind again of the Restriction in his Commission, *Go with the Men, but the Word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak*.¹⁷ [38v] Here was no Contradiction all this while, in the Lord but a Reprehension of a *covetous* Wretch, who for a little Riches and Honours, would fain have been *cursing* the People of God.¹⁸

[1235:]

Q. What Account give the Jewish Writers of it? v. 22.

A. *Respondent Hebraei, Quòd abierit animo nocendi.* And this is intimated, when we read of *Balaam*, That he *perverted his Way*; He went his *Way* with another Mind, than the Lord had allow'd him.¹⁹

[3745:]

Q. Upon *Gods* coming & speaking to *Balaam*, What Remark to be made? v. 22.

A. It may be Remark'd, (& is by Dr. *Patrick*,) That all Nations, of whom we have any Knowledge, have been possessed with this Opinion, That *God* was wont frequently to appear unto Men; especially, *Cum recentes à Deo essent*, (as *Seneca* speaks, in Ep. XC,) when they were newly come out of His Hand; and that He was pleased also to Reveal His Mind & Will unto them, as long as there was any Goodness left among them.²⁰ Tis admirably express'd by *Catullus*,

*Præsentes namque antè domos invisere castas
Sæpius, et sese mortali ostendere catu
Cælicolæ, nondum sprete pietate, solebant.*²¹

¹⁵ 2 Pet. 2:15.

¹⁶ Numb. 22:32.

¹⁷ Numb. 22:35.

¹⁸ *Patrick* (*Numbers* 445, 446). See also *Saurin, Dissertations Historical, Critical* (1723), Diss. LXIV, pp. 597–610, who spills much ink on sorting out *Balaam's* counterintuitive motivations.

¹⁹ The Latin passage (also quoted by *Sebastian Münster*, *Paulus Fagius*, and *Isidorus Clarius*) is anthologized in *Critici Sacri, sive, Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes & Tractatus* (1660), 1:1049, 1051, 1053, and can be rendered, “the Jews answer, ‘Because he [*Balaam*] departed from the way intending to do harm.’” *Nachmanides (JPS Migra’ot Gedolot* 4:168) explains *God's* anger to that effect.

²⁰ The italicized Latin phrase is adapted from *Seneca the Younger's Epistle to Lucillus* (90.44), in which the Roman philosopher reminds his friend that in the tranquil Golden Age, “when men were fresh from *God*,” they were closer to perfection, especially their mental faculties.

²¹ Lamenting the loss of piety, *Gaius Valerius Catullus*, in this slightly modified passage from “Poem LXIV” (lines 384–86), looks back at the good old times when the spirits of the saints and heroes of yore would manifest themselves on earth: “For in bodily presence of old, before

Indeed, no Account can be given, how it came into the Head of *Homer* and the other Poets, to bring in the Gods appearing so oft, as they do, upon every Occasion, if God had not been wont, in ancient time, so to manifest Himself. As Dr. *Jackson* ha's observed, If they had never heard nor read of such a Thing, all the Witts in the World, could not have thought of bringing in the Gods, in a visible Shape upon the Stage, or interlacing their Poems, with their frequent Apparitions.²²

639.

Q. When *Balaams* Ass first spoke Articulately to him, wee have no Intimation at all, of his being Affrighted at it? v. 26.

A. Some give this Account; Hee was a *Wizzard*, who could, by his *Magical* Invocations ordinarily sett mischievous *Divels* upon his Enemies, to confound them with many sorts of Disasters. Accordingly, when his *Ass* first spoke to him, wee have no Intimation of his being Affrighted at it. Why? Hee had been so *Familiar* with *Demons*, that hee Thought, it might bee one of *Them*, who now Addressed him.²³

1758.

Q. Is there any thing, that occurs in *Pagan Antiquity*, like the Speaking of an *Ass*? v. 26.

A. 'Tis observeable, That *Josephus*, the Jewish Historian, was mighty careful, in his History to mince those Matters, which might look paradoxal unto the *Heathen*, and so to Qualify Things, that they might pass among the *Heathen* underided. But in the Relation of *Balaam*, hee uses no Dissimulation; hee durst plainly say, *The Dumb Ass forbad the Madness of the Prophet*. The Speaking of an

religion was despised, often the heavenly ones [heroum] were wont to visit pious homes of heroes, and show themselves to mortal man."

²² Patrick's muse (*Numbers* 439, 440) for Mather's citation references to Seneca (*Epistle to Lucillus* 90.44), Catullus ("Poem LXIV," lines 384–86), and Homer (*Iliad* 1.194–98) is Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Alnetanae* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 1, p. 174. In his *On the Eternal Truth of Scripture and Christian Belief... The First Book of Comments upon the Creed*, in *Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 11, p. 39 (§ 2), Dr. Thomas Jackson gives an illustration from Homer's *Iliad* (1.194–98) to demonstrate that the ancient Greek deities (as imagined by the poets) stole their ideas from the Hebrew Scriptures. For instance, Homer has Athena descend from heaven, grab Achilles by the hair, and allowed "herself to be seen by him alone, [but] of the rest no one saw her" (*Iliad* 1.194–98). If nothing else, Mather appears to be saying, deities or angelic beings visibly manifesting themselves to mortals (as in the story of Achilles or that of Balaam's ass) were no extraordinary occurrences in those early days.

²³ See Patrick on Numb. 22:23 (*Numbers* 446–47); Rashi comes to a somewhat different conclusion, arguing that Balaam could not see the angel because he had been blinded by his previous meddling with demons. The ventriloquism of Balaam's ass – along with that of some other loquacious animals – is explored in "Occasional Annotation, V" (*Bibliotheca Biblica* [1728], 4:253–57). The debate is not asinine at all – as some moderns might think.

Ass, was indeed a strange Thing; but why not an *Ass*, as well as an *Ox*? This often happened in the Roman State; and once especially, *Livy* reports, that unto the Terror, of the Consul *Domitius*, an *Oxe* uttered those Words, *Roma, Cave Tibi*. (Lib. 35.)²⁴

[39r–39v inserted into 38r]

|

[40r]

2893.

Q. Perhaps *Balaams Ass*, may be a Subject affording some Remarkables unto us? v. 26.

A. No doubt of it.²⁵

It is wonderful to see an *Angel* doing here by an *Ass*, as the *Divel* once did by the *Serpent*.

When tis said, *The Lord opened the Mouth of the Ass*, we must understand, That tho' an *Angel* formed the Words, yett the *Organs* of the *Asses* Mouth, were præternaturally used in the Pronunciation of them. Otherwise we might as well say, That an *House speaks*, when an *Angel* speaks in the *House*.²⁶

The Jewes observe a Mystery in *Balaams* giving *Three Strokes* to the *Ass*, when he was going to Curse & Blast the People, whose Præservation in their *Blessedness* was brought about, by their keeping *Three Feasts* in the Year unto the Lord.²⁷

²⁴ Josephus (*Antiquities* 4.6.3) is ambiguous, for although he has Balaam's she-ass "by the will of God" make "use of the voice of a man," the Jewish historian appears to imply that the voice came from an angel who stood in front of the mule: "And when he [Balaam] was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him. ..." (*Works* 91). Such phenomena of speaking animals were no uncommon phenomena, it seems, even aside from Aesop's fables, for the Roman historian Livy, too, relates the prodigy of a loquacious ox, which warned Roman Consul Gnaeus Domitius (d. 104 BCE), "Rome, for thyself beware" (*Ab urbe condita* 35.21). And if Sextus Propertius can be trusted, then Arion, the winged stallion of Adrastus, was endowed with human speech as well (*Elegies* 2.34.1–94). Should we then be surprised that Thomas Hobbes ridicules this OT prodigy in his customary sardonic manner, in his *Leviathan* (1651), part 3, cap. 37, p. 233?

²⁵ Samuel Bochart's marvelous examination "De Asina Balaami," in *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 14, esp. cols. 193–98) and Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 26, pp. 227–29 supply both Patrick (*Numbers* 448–49) and Mather with parallel cases from ancient histories (below). Significantly, whereas Patrick here extracts his material from Huet, Mather (in this case) resorts to his own copy of Bochart's *Hieroicoicon*.

²⁶ Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 14, cols. 191–92).

²⁷ Bochart, col. 193 (lines 61–71) identifies these feasts as "*Paschatis nempe, & Pentecostes, & Tabernaculorum*." However, Rabbi Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) does not identify the specific festivities in question. He points to Midrash Aggadah in Tanchuma (*Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma: Bamidbar* II, caps. 8, 9, pp. 188–90), which furnishes Rashi's explication of the three strikes, representing the three places in which Balaam's ass stopped. Rashi asks, "Why did he [ass] see fit to stop in three places? He showed him the signs of the patriarchs [These three times (lit. legs).] He hinted to him: You seek to uproot a people which celebrates three pilgrimages a year"

It is a good Stroke of R. Solomon, upon Balaam, saies *Balaam, I would there were a Sword in my Hand, for now I would kill thee*. Saies my Rabbi, *Ibat, ut ore suo gentem Intergram perderet, et Armis opus habuit ad hanc Asinam interimendam*²⁸ He was going to Destroy a *People*, & was not Able to Destroy an *Ass*. And the Hierosolymitan Paraphrast, indeed putts these Words into the Mouth of the Ass; *Wo to thee, O Wicked Balaam; who hast no Knowledge nor Wisdome in thee! Behold, I am an unclean Beast, & I am to Dy in this World, & never to come into the World to come. Yett with all thy Learning and Wisdome, thou art not able to bring a Curse upon me. How then wilt thou curse the Children of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, for whom the World was made?*²⁹

Rabba also upon the Book of *Numbers*, ha's this Note, upon the *Lords opening the Mouth of the Ass*; It was, *Ut Balaamum doceret, os et linguam penes se esse, adeoque os Balaami, si quæreretur Israeli maledicere*. *Balaam* hence might learn, That his Cursing Mouth, was in the *Hand* of the Lord.³⁰

The Speech of the Ass, *Am not I thine Ass, upon which thou hast Ridden, ever since I was thine, unto this Day?* is in that Clause of it, *ever since I was Thine*, scarce translated exactly from the Hebrew. The Hebrew is, *Ex quo Tu es*,³¹ That is to say, *ever since Thou wast a Rider*. From whence *Rabba* gathers, That *Balaam* was not an old Man, for his *Ass* was older than he. Or at least; many of the Ancient Versions, read it, *In thy Youth*. We may add, That *Pliny* allows an *Ass* to live unto the Age of *Thirty*.³²

(*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Bamidbar* 4:309). Midrash Tanchuma is Rashi's source in the following: "By making these three separate appearances [to stop Balaam's ass], the angel was indicating to Bilom [Balaam] that the merit of the [three] Patriarchs would protect Yisroel [from being harmed by him]." The obstreperous ass reproached Balaam, "'What have I done to you, that you have hit me these three times?' [Numb. 22:29]. The donkey hinted to him, 'You seek to uproot a people who celebrate three Pilgrimage Festivals during the year?'" (*Metsudah Tanchuma: Bamidbar* II, cap. 9, p. 190).

28 Bochart (col. 194, lines 18–19); Rashi, Mather's R. Solomon, says, "This man is en route to kill an entire nation verbally [through a potent curse], yet, for this donkey, he requires weapons of war!" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Bamidbar* 4:310). As before, Rashi's source, is *Metsudah Tanchuma: Bamidbar* II (cap. 9, p. 191).

29 Bochart (col. 194, lines 34–58) quotes from the Targum Hierosolymitanus in Hebrew (Numb. 22:30), but provides his own Latin translation, which Mather here renders into English (Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 4:284). See also Etheridge's translation of the Jerusalem Targum, in *The Targums* (2:421).

30 Bochart (col. 193, lines 51–54) probably quotes from R. Rabba b. bar Hana's commentary on Numbers (sec. 20): It was "to teach Balaam that he had at his disposal a mouth and tongue, just as the mouth of Balaam, if he wanted to curse Israel."

31 Numb. 22:30: Heb. מְעוֹדְךָ "all your life" denotes "from the day he was born" (*Metsudah: Midrash Tanchuma Bamidbar* II, p. 192, note 11).

32 Bochart (col. 194, line 61–col. 195, line 14). To the question of Balaam's age, R. Hanina answers that Balaam was "thirty-three or thirty-four years old." His interlocutor rejoined, that he knows for a fact from "Balaam's Chronicle, in which it is stated, 'Balaam the lame was thirty years old when Phinehas the Robber killed him'" (Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin 106b).

The Lord said unto *Balaam*, *Thy Way is perplexed*, or *Intricate*; So *Bochart* renders it. And he explains the obscure Hebrew Word /טד/ from the *Arabic*, of the like Importance; which signifies, To fall into those Troubles, (like deep Mire,) from whence one cannot *extricate* ones Self.³³

| As for the Speaking of the *Ass*, *Bochart* amasses Instances, not only in the [40v] Ancient & Fabulous *Poets*, agreeable to it; as *Bacchus's Ass* particularly; and *Phrixus's Ram*, (which might probably be taken from the Story of *Isaac*;) and *Achilles's* famous *Horse*, *Xanthus* (in *Homer*) and *Europa's Bull*: but also in Real Histories.³⁴

Eusebius writes, that a *Sheep* spoke in *Egypt*, under the Reign of *Bocchoris*. Consult *Suidas* in Ἀρνίον And, *Ælian*.³⁵

Julius Obsequens relates, That when *C. Marius*, and *C. Flaccus* were Consuls, a *Dog* spoke at *Ariminum*.³⁶ Both *Valerius* and *Livy* relate that an *Ox*, said,

Whatever the trustworthiness of this chronicle, Numb. 31:6–8 merely states that Balaam, son of Beor, was slain in the annihilation of the Midianites. For the life-expectancy of an ass, see Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 8.68.168).

33 Bochart (col. 196, lines 10–40) discusses the Arabic root at some detail.

34 Bochart (col. 197). Garrulous donkeys seem to be popular mouthpieces for the ancient gods, for in *Astronomica* (2.23), by the Roman writer Gaius Julius Hyginus (c. 64 BCE–17 CE) (*EB*), we learn that in the Zodiac of Cancer, Liber (Libra) is depicted with two stars (asses), one of which carried him to the temple of the Dodonaean Jove, whereupon Liber (in gratitude) endowed the ass with “a human voice.” The ass was sacred to Dionysius (Bacchus). Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 1.253–60, 763–67; 2.1140–55; 3.190–93) tells the story of how a ram with a golden fleece rescued Phrixus and his sister Helle (offspring of King Athamas of Boeotia and Nephele, a cloud nymph) from certain death at the hands of their stepmother Ino (queen of Thebes). Alas, for the kindly ram, which Phrixus sacrificed to Zeus and bestowed its golden fleece upon King Aetes of Colchis, who hung the treasure in a tree – which prize, of course, launched Jason and his Argonauts on their quest. Homer (*Iliad* 19.404–17) has the white-armed goddess Hera give Xanthus, Achilles's fleet-footed horse, the power of speech and prophesy his master's death. So, too, the bucolic poet Joannes Moschus of Syracuse, Sicily (fl. 150 BCE), has the Olympian Zeus, in the guise of a bodacious bull, abduct bathing Europa (*Europa* 153).

35 Instead of asses, rams, or bulls, Eusebius Pamphilus (*Demonstratio evangelica* 1.10) tells the story of a voluble lamb. Eusebius excerpts the tale from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (Fragment 64, line 3; 65, line 2) – as extant in Syncellus (*Ecloga chronographica* 82, line 27) – which chronicles the prodigy of a prophetic lamb in the reign of the Egyptian Bocchoris of Saïs (24th dynasty c. 720–c. 715 BCE), when “a lamb spoke” (ἄρνιον ἐφθέγγετο). To Eusebius, the lamb presages Christ as the sacrificial oblation. The story is also mentioned in *Suidas* (*Lexicon* alphab. letter *tau*, entry 723): ἄρνιον (lamb). From Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 12.3), we learn that the Egyptians tell the legend of a lamb in the days of famous Bocchoris “born with eight feet and two tails, and that it spoke. They say also that this Lamb had two heads and four horns.” No telling how many lives it had.

36 The Roman author Julius Obsequens (fl. 4th c. CE?) is remembered for his *Julii Obsequentis ab anno urbis conditae quingentesimo quinto prodigiorum liber*, a collection of 505 prodigies he had gleaned mostly from Livy's *Roman History*. First published in Venice (1508), Obsequens's *Liber de prodigiis* enjoyed great popularity and was reprinted in many subsequent editions. Bochart mentions “Arimini canis locutus” (“a dog speaks at Ariminum”) during the consulships of the Roman statesmen Gaius Marius (c. 104–100 BCE) and Gaius Valerius Flaccus (c. 104 BCE), in which the prodigy of the speaking canine occurred in the Roman city

*Cave Tibi, Roma.*³⁷ Livy saies also, That an Ox was heard speaking in Sicily, and another at Privernum. And another, In Agro Romano; Another, In Agro Campano. Plutarch in his *Marcellus*, relates the Speaking of an Ox; And elsewhere, he mentions the Speech uttered by Porus's Elephant. Julius Obsequens ha's diverse Exemples of *Speaking Oxen*.³⁸ And Virgil mentioning the Prodigies at the Death of Cæsar, saies, L.i. *Georg.*

– *Pecudesque Loquntæ*

Infandum. –³⁹

And Pliny saies, L. 8. c. 4. *Est frequens in prodigijs priscorum Bovem loquntum; quo nunciato Senatum sub dio haberi solitum.*⁴⁰ Bochart thinks it very unreasonable, to look upon all these as Fictions; but hee adds, *Hac in parte planum est Diabolum se præstitisse Dei simiam.*⁴¹

It may not be amiss, to conclude these Illustrations, with the remarkable Prayer of Zuinglius,⁴²

Ariminum (modern Rimini), in NE Italy. The matter-of-fact one-liner appears in *Julii Obsequentis De Prodigijs Liber* (1679), p. 54, # CIII ("Prodigy 103").

37 The story of a prophetic ox, ominously uttering, "Rome, for thyself beware," definitely gains credence, it seems, upon multiple repetitions in Valerius Maximus (*Factorum et dictorum memorabilium* 1.6.5) and in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (35.21). In fact, Livy's *Ab urbe condita* – though otherwise more than trustworthy – seems full of prodigious wonders, the least of which are chatty bovines, in Sicily (24.10), in Privernum (27.11), in a Roman field (28.11), and in a field in Campania (41.13). Not to be left out is Plutarch, who relates the miracle of an ox who "had uttered human speech" (*Plutarchi vitae parallelæ: Marcellus* 28.2), and *Life of Marcellus* (5:514). Elsewhere, speaking of the Battle of the Hydaspes, Pseudo-Plutarchus (*De fluviis* 1.4. 1–13) relates how Alexander the Great, in his campaign against the giant Indian king Porus (326 BCE), encountered Porus's trusty elephant who defended his injured master not only by intelligently shielding him with his huge body and tusks but also by uttering human speech. No wonder, the Macedonian conqueror was impressed and treated both beast and master royally (*Life of Alexander* 60.12–15).

38 Julius Obsequens mentions several Italian bovines communicating in Latin, in his *De Prodigijs Liber* (1679), XXXIV, p. 18 (one in Sicily); XXXVIII, p. 21 (in Privernum); XLI, p. 23 (in a Roman field); LXIII, p. 30 (near the Tiber); LXIII, LXVI, pp. 36, 37 (two in Campania); LXXIV, p. 41 (in Frosinone); LXXXV, p. 45 (in Numantia); LXXXVI, p. 46 (in Amiterno), and for good measure, a loquacious dog, in CIII, p. 54 (in Ariminum). *Credat Cottonus Maderus, non ego!*

39 Let's not forget the portent of speaking animals at the death of Caesar, in Vergil's *Georgics* (1.478–79) "pecudesque locutæ, / infandum!" ("and beasts – O portent, terrible! – [spake as men].")

40 Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 8.70.183) adds to the pile of wonders: "It frequently occurs among the prodigies of old times that an ox spoke, and when this was reported it was customary for a meeting of the senate to be held in the open air." (Not much seems to have changed since).

41 Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, lib. 2, cap. 14, col. 198, lines 52–53) is persuaded that "in this part it is plain that the devil showed himself like the ape of God." Well, there it is.

42 Finally, Mather closes his collection of prodigies with his translation of a shortened, conflated quotation from the epistle *Ad Matthaeum Alberum de coena dominica epistola* (16 Nov. 1524), by the Swiss Reformer Huldrych Zwinglius (1484–1531), to the Lutheran divine Mattheus Alberus (1495–1570), of Reutlingen: "Deum ergo [O]ptimum [M]aximum precor, ut

Deum O. M. precor, ut vias nostras dirigat, et sicubi simus Bileami, in morem veritati pertinaciter obluctaturi &c “I beseech Almighty God, to direct our Ways; and if *Balaam*-like, we shall willfully withstand the Truth, to send His Holy Angels, who with the Dint of his Drawn Sword, may dash this *Ass* (our Blindness & Boldness,) to the Wall, that we may feel our *Feet* (our carnal Affections) to be crush’d, and ourselves kept from speaking ought amiss of the God of Heaven.”⁴³

vias nostras dirigat; ac sicubi simus Bilaam [Numb. 22:24] in morem veritati pertinaciter obluctaturi, angelum suum opponat, qui machaerae suae minis hunc asinum – inscitiam et audaciam dico nostrum, si saltem ex audacia gloriaeque cupiditate quicquam nobis his agitur – sic ad maceriam adfligat, ut fractum pedem, hoc est: impurum illotumque carnis sensum auferamus, ne ultra blasphemus nomen domini dei nostri” (*Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke* 3:342).

⁴³ Mather’s own translation (above) may suffice here – though much the same prayer quoted from Zwingli’s epistle, allegorizing the story of Balaam’s headstrong ass, appears in the *Annotations upon the Old and New Testament* (1662), 1:377 (on Numb. 22:32), by the Anglican clergyman John Trapp (1601–69), vicar of Weston-upon-Avon, Gloucestershire.

3746.

Q. Why *Seven Altars* erected by *Balaam*? v. 1.

A. Why may we not say, That here might be some Conformity to the Superstition of the Heathen, who worshipping the *Sun* (principally meant by *Baal*,) offered also unto all the *Seven Planets*?¹

But it is *Fortunatus Scaccus*'s Conjecture, (I know not, whether more lucky or no,) That as *Moses* erected *Twelve Pillars*, according to the Number of the Children of *Israel*, when he entred them into the Covenant of God; [Exod. 24.4.] So *Balaam* ordered *Seven Altars* to be erected, according to the Number of the principal Houses of *Moab*.²

3742.

Q. *They offered on every Altar a Bullock and a Ram*; The Quæstion is, To whom? v. 1.

A. It may be, *Balak* supplicated *Baal*; and *Balaam*, tho' with superstitious Usages, like those employ'd by the Worshippers of *Baal* (in one of whose High Places they were now offering,) might make his Prayer unto the Lord. It may also be supposed, That *Balaam* telling *Balak*, he could not effect any thing without the Lord, the God of *Israel*, perswaded him to join with him, at present in his Worship, that they might prevail with Him, to withdraw His Presence from the

¹ The use of biblical numerology does not appear to be a reliable heuristic technique, especially when the same numbers can accrue multiple significations, both positive and negative. In his excerpt from Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines* (1705), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 5, p. 49 § 3 (see annot. on Numb. 22:5, above), Mather appears to signal that Balaam's practice of sacrificing in sevens (7 oxen, 7 sheep, on 7 altars etc.) purports that Balaam served the true God of Israel at some point in time. However, Mather's present query, based on the conjecture of Fortunatus Scacchus, is here turned against Balaam. Similar conflicting interpretations of Balaam's character can be found among post-Reformation divines, in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:741–42) and *Works* (7:433–44), as well as among the classic rabbinic commentators. For instance, whereas both Ibn Ezra and Nachmanides acknowledge "profound mysteries" suggesting that a perfect number of seven offerings on seven altars is pleasing to God, Nachmanides adds that Balaam wanted to ensure that God would remain steadfast to him: "That is why he [Balaam] made the same offering to each of the seven lower *sefirot*" (kingship, strength, kindness, beauty, splendor, victory, and foundation). Perhaps inspired by this kabbalistic reading, Abarbanel adds his own astrological interpretation: "The seven altars were an attempt to harness the power of the seven planets," in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:173–74).

² Patrick, on Numb. 23:1 (*Numbers* 456), and Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium* (1625), in *Thesaurus Antiquitatum* (1725), lib. 2, cap. 59, cols. 598–99(F–B).

Israelites. There is no Reason to think, That *Balaam* would go to enquire of the Lord, after he had sacrificed unto other Gods.³

303.

Q. What may bee the Reach of that Phrase, diverse times here occurring, *The Lord putt a Word in Balaams Mouth?* v. 5, 12, 16.

A. 'Tis very probable, that *Balaam*, as *Cajaphas* afterwards, did not understand the Genuine Force & Sense, of the Prophecies, which his *Mouth* uttered.⁴ However, 'tis very certain, his *Heart* was not Holily affected, with what was expressed by his *Mouth*. And, perhaps, *This* may bee intimated, by that Phrase, of, *Putting a Word into Balaams MOUTH*; a Phrase never used about the Inspiration of any Holy Prophets. Possibly, our Lord might have some Eye particularly to these Prophecies of *Balaam*, when Hee mentions those Castawayes, who at the Day of Judgment shall say, Math. 7.22. *Have wee not prophesy'd in thy Name?*⁵

3461.

Q. Why does *Balaam* single [out] that *Proportion*, rather than any other, for his *Comparison*; *who can count the Number of the Fourth Part of Israel?* v. 10.

A. *Israel* in the Wilderness, was divided, you know, into *Four Squadrons*. *Balaam* was now looking upon *One* of the *Squadrons*, which was, *The Fourth Part of Israel*.⁶

[3748:]

Q. How may that Passage be taken, *Lett my last End, be like His?* v. 10.

A. *Lett my Posterity*, (or those that come after me,) be like unto his Descendents. [Compare Psal. 109.13. and Dan. 11.4.]⁷

Tho' the Common Gloss, must not be excluded.⁸

³ Patrick, on Numb. 23:2 (*Numbers* 457).

⁴ In a case of unconscious irony, High Priest Caiaphas uttered a prophecy which, unbeknownst to him, was applicable to Christ (John 11:49–52).

⁵ For a similar argument, see Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations Historical, Critical* (1723), Diss. LXV, pp. 599–600.

⁶ Patrick (*Numbers* 463).

⁷ Henry Ainsworth, based on his reading of the LXX (on Numb. 23:10), appears to originate the interpretation that Balaam intended his own posterity, who he wished would receive the same blessings as the Israelites did (*Annotationes upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1626), p. 152 (sep. pag.).

⁸ The “common gloss” suggests – in the words of Nachmanides – that Balaam wished his death to be like that of the righteous among the Israelites, who are to receive eternal life in Paradise. Bekhor Shor takes Balaam’s dying wish as evidence that the Israelites in Moses’ time did belief in life after death for the righteous: “This proves that the idea that Jews have a place in the World to Come, in Paradise, is found in the Torah. Balaam was speaking here through the Holy Spirit – if (God forbid) the Jews got no reward after death, why would he [Balaam] care whether he died of the death of the upright or the wicked?” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:176).

[41v]

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3749.

Q. How may we understand that Passage; *And the LORD mett Balaam?* v. 16.

A. This is never said before. It had hitherto been only said, That *God* mett him; namely, by His *Angel*, as the *Jewes* interpret it. But now, the LORD mett him; That is, there was a glorious Appearance of the SCHECHINAH to him; (tho' not in such Lustre, perhaps, as when it appeared unto *Moses*,) which so amazed him, that after this he never went so much as to enquire what he should say or do. For, tho' he doubted perhaps of what the Angel said, yett now he was fully assured, the *Israelites* must be blessed.⁹

554.

Q. The *Antinomians* in our Dayes, use to say, *That God sees no Sin in Beleevers, whatsoever Sins they commit*: which Assertion, tho' there bee a true Evangelical Sense, wherein wee may glorify *Free-Grace* by mentaining of it; yett cannot bee mentained in so licentious a Sense, as they Express it; and Apply it. However, their Defense for it, is in the Words of *Balaam*, *Hee hath not Beheld Iniquity in Jacob, nor seen Perverseness in Israel*. What can you say, to rescue these Words, from the *Iniquity* and *Perverseness* of the *Antinomians?* v. 21.¹⁰

A. Mr. *Gataker* hath industriously vindicated this Text; & after a critical Search into it, hee tells us, it is in the Original Word for Word thus, *Hee hath not beheld wrong against Jacob, nor hath Hee seen Grievance against Israel*. That is, Hee did not with any Approbation, look upon the Wrongs, which others did unto His People. But without having any recourse to that Interpretation, we

The same proof is offered in Judah ha-Levi's כוזרי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem De Religione* [Buxtorf's Latin translation] (1660), pars 1, sec. 115, pp. 69–72; and H. Hirschfeld's English translation *Judah Hallevis Kitab al Khazari* (1906), part 1, esp. pp. 80–81.

⁹ Patrick (*Numbers* 466). Nachmanides (Numb. 23:4) comes to a similar conclusion (*JPS Migra'ot Gedolot* 4:174).

¹⁰ Although applicable to many other Antinomians in the seventeenth century, Mather appears to single out the followers of Anne Hutchinson (1591–1643), who in the early days of the Massachusetts colony nearly caused the collapse of the emerging New England Way and almost sent John Cotton, Mather's grandfather, packing. For Mather's treatment of Antinomianism (that the moral law is no longer binding on the elect), see his "Hydra Decapitata: Or, The First Synod of New-England, quelling a Storm of Antinomian Opinions," in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 7, ch. 3, pp. 14–21. That Antinomianism – as Mather and his peers saw it – was an ongoing threat to New England's covenant theology, can be seen in Mather's *Pillar of Gratitude* (1700), pp. 22–23; *Seasonable Testimony* (1702); *The Man of God Furnished* (1708), esp. Essay V, pp. 103–14; (2nd ed. 1721, pp. 50–62); *The Old Paths Restored* (1711, 1712); and *Diary* (1:429–30; 572–73). To date, the best documentary history of the subject is D. D. Hall's *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638* (2nd ed. 1990). A. Schrager-Lang's *Prophetic Woman* (1989) is one of the best studies of Anne Hutchinson's role in the Antinomian crisis. On the same topic, see E. LaPlante's *American Jezebel* (2004) and M. P. Winship's *Times and Trials* (2005).

may consider, that the Words, which we translate, *Iniquity*, and, *Perverseness*, do emphatically mean, *Idolatry*; *Balaam* accordingly gives this as the Reason, why God had *Bless'd*, and he could not *Curse*, the *Israelites*; Because they were free from *Idolatry*; unto which, unless they could be seduced, there was no Hope of their being delivered unto the Power of their Enemies.¹¹

4240.

Q. How may those Words be taken, *Surely there is no Enchantment against Jacob?* v. 23.

A. It may be read, *In Jacob*. 'Tis a Gloss that *Munster*, helps us to; *Tho'* Jacob came out of Egypt, a Country full of Enchantment & of Divination, yett there are no such things found in Jacob; The inspired Prophets of the Lord alone shall tell Jacob, what God ha's wrought.¹²

¹¹ The Anglican clergyman-scholar Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), minister at Rotherhithe, Surrey, was deeply engaged in the doctrinal debates of the Westminster Assembly, especially on the doctrine of justification, which became a major focus in his learned tracts. Mather's extract is from Gataker's *Gods Eye on his Israel. Or, A Passage of Balaam out of Numb. 23.21.* (1644), pp. 8–9, in which Gataker argues that Balaam was not able to act on Balak's plot to curse the Israelites because they had not engaged in *idolatry* (rather than any mere morally sinful acts). The Antinomians' assertion that Free Grace absolves them from adherence to the moral law, Gataker insists, is therefore based on a misreading of Numb. 23:21. See also Gataker's *Antinomianism Discovered and Confuted* (1652).

¹² Sebastian Münster, *Hebraica Biblia, Latina Planeq* (1546), on Numb. 23:23, fol. 313 (note e): "*Non est augurium in Iacob, &c. hunc habet sensum: Licet Iacob ex Aegypto ascenderit, quae plena est augurijs & divinationibus, haec tamen non sunt in Iacob, sed isto tempore dicitur eis à prophetis quid dominus operetur, & in future operaturus sit.*"

Q. The Sense of, *He went not as at other times, to seek Enchantments?* v. 1.

A. Monsr. Saurin chuses to read the Words with such a Paraphrase as This. *Now Balaam having seen, that the Lord was resolved to bless Israel, he did not go forth at this time to meet; — that is, to meet GOD. It is said before, That he went to meet GOD. But this time, he went to seek Enchantments. He lift up his Eyes, & saw Israel abiding in his Tents, according to their Tribes.* He went now, probably, to pronounce Infernal Curses against that People; But, the Spirit of GOD exercising that Power, which He has over the Minds of the Prophets, caused him to fall into a Trance; during which time, he was compelled unto the Pronouncing the Blessings, which he had himself the utmost Aversion for.¹

3331.

Q. Be a little critical, if you please, upon, *The Trees of Lignaloës?* v. 6.²

A. *Ahalim*, the Word used here, the LXX, the *Vulgar Latin*, the *Syriac*, and the *Arabic*, render, *Tents*; and such is the Signification of it, in other Scriptures; and *Balaam* in the preceding Verse admires the Tents of *Jacob*; and the Word *planted*, which follows here, may be rendred, *pitched*; and there grow no *Aloes-tree* in *Mesopotamia*, where *Balaam* lived, or in *Moab*, where *Balaam* was now uttering his Prophecies.³

Indeed, no ancient Author speaks of, *The Wood of Aloes*; *Actius*, *Dioscorides*, *Paul Ægineta*, *Serapion*, and certain modern *Arabians*, are the first that mention'd

¹ Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations Historical, Critical* (1723), Diss. LXIV, p. 606.

² The following paragraphs are excerpted from the anonymously published *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (1701–1702), part 2, ch. 8, pp. 153–58, by the obscure Anglican minister Hugh Ross, whose work is an embellished translation of *Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible* (1696), by the French Huguenot theologian in exile Charles Le Cène, aka. Le Cèsne (c. 1647–1703) (ODNB). The French Oratorian Richard Simon offers useful comments on the difficulties of how such a project should be undertaken, in his magnificent *Histoire Critique Du Vieux Testament* (1685), lib. 3, caps. 1–4, pp. 352–71). Mather also put Hugh Ross's *Essay* to good use in *BA* (1:1076). That not everyone was pleased with Le Cène's *Projet* can be seen in *Considerations Theologiques et Critiques sur le Projet D'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible* (1698), by the Jacques Gousset, professor of theology at Groningen.

³ Although the first edition of the KJV has "*Lign-Aloes*," the LXX, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic render אֶהָלִים [ʾahaliym] as *tents* – the four latter sources are all accessible in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:652, 653). Rashi's gloss may explain why the term was rendered *tents*: "Elsewhere aloes are *ahalot* (see Ps. 45:9), but here [Numb. 24:6] they are *ahalim*, making it possible to read the word also *ohalim*, 'tents.' They are like the sky, which is stretched out like a tent. In Hebrew, one can 'plant' a tent." Abarbanel adds an allegorical dimension: "The four images [like palm-groves, gardens, aloes, cedars] refer to Israel's extent, beauty, strength, and stature, and perhaps also to the four places in the land where the Tabernacle would reside: Gilgal, Shiloh, Nob, and Gibeon" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:183).

it, and give that Word the Name of *Agalloah*, or *Xylaloes*, that is, *The Wood of Aloes*, because it resembles the *Aloes* in Colour; or perhaps, because they could find no Word nearer the *Arabic* Word, *Agagluyen*, or the *Indian* or *Arabic* Word, *Ahala*. However what we now call, *The Wood of Aloes*, comes only from the *Indies*.⁴

The LXX, *Vulgar Latin*, *Geneva-Version*, and others, render *Ahalim*, only *Aloes*, in Prov. 7.17. and Psal. 45.9. and Cant. 4.14. But the Author⁵ of the late *Essay for a New Translation*, observes, That it is a manifest Mistake, and clearly destroyes the Sense of the Texts. For as *Junius*, *Tremelius*, *Piscator*, and J.H. *Ursin* observe, *Aloes* is of an ungrateful Smell, & cannot enter among the Perfumes which are mentioned in those Places;⁶ and *Cornelius à Lapide* is grossly mistaken, when he cites *Dioscorides*, to prove its Flowers have a very sweet Smell; for that Author saies no such thing.⁷ He only observes, after *Pliny*, that it is a most excellent Purgative, rather fortifying of the Stomach, than offending of it.⁸ Its true t'was used of old, in Embalming of Dead Bodies; but as *Mathioli* observes, after *Mesuae*, t'was to *præserve* them, not *perfume* them.⁹ | [42v]

4 Hugh Ross, in his *Essay for a New Translation* (part 2, ch. 8, p. 154) refers to the as yet unidentified Actius, to the previously quoted Dioscorides Pedanus (*De materia medica* 3.3, 3.22, 4.137, 4.170), and to the Alexandrian obstetrician and medical doctor Paul Aegineta (c. 630–70 CE), who is mostly remembered for his medical handbook *Opus De Re Medica* (1532). The latter work influenced several Byzantine and Arabic medical treatises, was translated into several European languages, and reprinted throughout the 16th and 17th c. Aegineta describes the medicinal virtues of aloes and its applications in his *Opus De Re Medica* (1532), lib. 7, cap. 3, p. 6; 7.4.73; 7.17.134. See also *The Seven Books of Aegineta* (vol. 3, bk. 7, cap. 3, p. 34). (P.E. Porman). Often mistaken for the 9th-century Arabic writer on medicine Yahya ibn Sarafyun, Serapion the Younger, aka. Joannes Serapionis Arabis (fl. c. 12th c. CE) is remembered for his *De Simplicibus Medicinis opus praeclarum & ingens* (1531). His discussion of the origin and medicinal virtues of aloes appears in *De Simplicibus Medicinis* (1531), sec. 201, pp. 136–38. See also Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber Quintus Decimus* (1557), Exercit. CXLIII, sec. 6, pp. 203^v.

5 I.e., Hugh Ross, who translated Charles Le Cène's *Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible* (1696).

6 Franciscus Junius and Immanuel Tremellius, in *Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri Canonici* (1594), on Numb. 24:6, fol. 138 (note 8); Johannes Piscator, *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti* (1646), tom. 1, fol. 364 (*Scholia in cap. XXIV*, note 6); the most detailed discussion of the issue appears in Johann Heinrich Ursinus, *Arboretum biblicum* (1663), cap. 3, sec. 2 (*"Ahalim"*), pp. 72–73; cap. 43, secs. 1–10, 559–75, and in his *Continuatio Historiae Plantarum Biblicae* (1685), lib. 3. "*Hortus Aromaticus*," cap. 2 "*De Ahalim & Aloë*," pp. 194–202.

7 Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosis* (1616, 1659), on Numb. 24:5–6, fol. 889.

8 Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 27. 5.14, 16) relates that the aloe "has an oppressive smell, and a bitter taste. The most valued kind is imported from India, but it also grows in the province of Asia. This kind is used only for wounds, the fleshly gathered leaves, or the juice, having a wonderful power of uniting." It is chiefly used "to relax the bowels, for it is almost the only laxative that is also a stomach tonic, no ill effects whatever resulting from its use."

9 Mather (via Hugh Ross) refers to *Commentarii Secundo Aucti in Libros Sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De Medica Materia* (1558), lib. 3, cap. 26, pp. 365–67, by the Italian physician, naturalist, and herbalist Pietro Andrea Gregorio Mattioli, aka. Matthioli of Sienna (1501–77),

Wherefore *Junius*, *Tremelius*, *Buxtorf*, and *Piscator*, abandon that Signification of the Words *Ahalim*, and *Ahaloth*; (which Words may intimate, that there was both a *Male* and *Female* of this *Perfume*.) Nevertheless they have succeeded no better, in translating them, *Santal*; a Wood unknown to the ancient *Hebrewes*.¹⁰

As for the Indian, *Agalloch*, or, *Wood of Aloes*, none of it growes near *Judæa*, or *Arabia*. And, tho' *Solomons* Fleet might bring some of it, from *Taprobane*, yett the Book of *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, & the *Canticles*, may seem composed, before the Setting out of that Fleet. And even in the, *Indies*, one Pound of that Wood, costs as much as three hundred Weight of the best *Frankincense*, because, as *Garsias* observes, the Place where it growes, is, horribly full of *Tygres*.¹¹ Nor is it likely, that in *Solomons* Time, they would have mixt it, with *Myrrhe* and *Cinnamon*; for the *Agalloch* is too odoriferous, to need any Mixture with it.¹²

There is yett another Wood, which is called, *The Wood of Aloes of Syria*; or, of *Rhodes*, and of *Candia*; called otherwise, *Aspalatha*; which is a little Shrub, covered with *Prickles*, of the Wood of which, Perfumers, having taken off its Bark, make Use, to give a Consistency unto their Perfumes, which otherwise would bee too Thin and Liquid. *Cassiodorus* observes, That it is of a very sweet Smell, and that in his Time, they burnt it before the Altars, instead of *Frankincense*. *Levinus Lemnius* saies, That it resembles very much the *Agalloch*, or, *Wood of Aloes of India*. All which Considerations render it probable, that *Ahalim*, and *Ahaloth*, should be rendred, *The Wood of the Syrian Aloes*.¹³

physician to Holy Roman Emperor of Austria Maximilian II (1527–76). Matthiolus acknowledges the oft-reprinted *De Re Medica Libri Tres* (1553), by Johannes Mesuae, aka. Mesuë, aka. Ar Yûchanna ibn-Mâsawayh (d. 857), a highly respected Persian Christian physician, and points out that this aloë was used not only as a medicinal ointment to dress wounds, but also as an unguent to embalm and preserve bodies.

10 Ross (*Essay* p. 155); Junius and Tremellius, in *Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri Canonici* (1594), on Numb. 24:6, fol. 138 (note 8); Johannes Buxtorf (the Elder), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (1639), col. 2029, voce קִיר; Piscator, *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), tom. 1, fol. 364 (*Scholium in cap. XXIV*, note 6).

11 The Spanish Dominican Fray Georgio Garcia of Cózar (c. 1556–1627) mentions that fierce tigers are roaming in area of Taprobane, the location where Solomon's fleet anchored, in *Origen De Los Indios De El Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales* (1607), second edition (1725), lib. 1, cap. 2, sec. 3: "De la navegacioa, que la Flota de Salomon hacia à Ophir, i què Region es Ophir?" (pp. 15–17).

12 Ross (*Essay*, part 2, p. 157). See also Martin Lippenius's *Tractatus De Navigatione Salomonis Ophiritica* (1682), cap. 8, sec. 4, pp. 691–92.

13 The Roman statesman Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (c. 490–c. 583 CE), serving under the Ostrogoth King Theodoric the Great (454–526 CE), comments on the sweet-smelling unctuous quality of myrrh and aloë, in his *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* (cap. 4), in *Opera Omnia Cassiodori* [PL 070. 1079C–D]. The Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius (1505–68), in his famous *Herbarum atque arborum quae in Bibliis* (1566), cap. 21, pp. 55–56, insists that the "*lignum aloës*" ("wood of aloës"), which is called "*Agalochum*," is also called "*lignum Rhodium*" ("wood of Rhodes") and "*asphalatum*."

|
3750.

[43r]

Q. What may be the import of that Passage, *His Seed shall be in many Waters?* v. 7.

A. Or, *By many Waters.* That is, In a Ground well watered; & consequently bringing forth a plentiful Crop. [Isa. 32.20.]¹⁴

But there are those who refer these Clauses, to a Numerous Posterity; *Procreation of Children*, being express'd by the Metaphors of *Waters*, and *Fountains*, and *Cisterns*;¹⁵

And both the LXX, and *Onkelos*, interpret this of one particular Person, that should arise of their Seed. The former thus; *There shall come a Man out of his Seed, who shall Rule many Nations*: The latter thus; *There shall be a great King, who shall be anointed of his Children, & shall have Dominion over many People*. Which the *Hierusalem Targum* saies expressly, is, *Christ*.¹⁶

¶968.†

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, in the Prophecy of *Balaam*, concerning *Israel*; *His King shall bee Higher than Agag?* v. 7.

A. A most Remarkable Prædiction of *Agag*, by Name, the King of the *Amalekites*! It foretels the Destruction of *Agag* by *Saul*. *Saul* was the First King that ever *Israel* had; and hee overcame *Agag*, the King of the *Amalekites*.¹⁷

[▽ Insert 44r]

[▽ 44r]

Q. A Paraphrase of Mr. *Whiston*, on the Prophecy of *Balaam?* v. 15.¹⁸

A. Who can that Person be, that *Balaam* expected himself to *See*, & to *Behold*, a long Time after he was *Dead*; but that great *Redeemer*, whom *Job* expected, also to *see out of his own Flesh*, at the End of the World.

The Noble Prophecy, is by Mr. *Whiston*, thus Paraphrased.

¹⁴ This and the following paragraphs are from Patrick (*Numbers* 482–83).

¹⁵ Among those who interpret the clause metaphorically to suggest a “numerous posterity” are the following pre- and post-Reformation divines Vatablus, Ainsworth, Castalio, Menochius, Lapidé – all in Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:713–14) and *Works* (7:469–70).

¹⁶ The Septuagint (LXX), the Targum Onkelos, and the Jerusalem Targum (see Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:652, 653; 4:288) speak in generic terms of a king who will arise above Agag. Mather’s Christocentric reading does not come as a surprise. The classic rabbinic commentators are much more circumspect. Rashbam and Chizkuni, for instance, apply the poetic prophecy to King Saul, who will vanquish Agag, i. e., generically, the ruler of the Amalekites. Likewise, Ibn Ezra argues that “this is a prophecy about Saul, the first king of Israel. Before him, Israel was ruled by ‘judges,’ not kings.” Only Rashi, though agreeing with his peers, suggests that “the metaphor [“their boughs drip with moisture”] implies (as Onkelos explains) that the king to be anointed from among his sons will be great and will rule many nations” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:183, 184).

¹⁷ Patrick (*Numbers* 483). See Appendix B.

¹⁸ See Appendix A.

"I shall See that Great and Divine Person, whom God will send to be the Savior and Patron of *Israel*, the *Messias*, but not until the Latter End of the World. For He shall certainly come, as the great *Shiloh*, the *Sent* of God, out of the Posterity of *Jacob*; as a *Star*, and as a *Scepter*; as a Glorious and Potent King and Conqueror. He shall not only bring all the Parts of the Countrey of *Moab*, and *Edom*, and *Seir* under His Subjection, and the Subjection of His own People *Israel*; but He shall have an universal Dominion over all Mankind, & have Power to *Rule* all His Enemies, wherever they are, with a *Rod of Iron*, & to *dash them all in Pieces like a Potters Vessel*.¹⁹ This great *Seed of Israel*, shall at the Last, in the Upshott of Things, have a compleat Dominion; and He shall in particular overthrow that Grand Mother of Idolatry, the Great City of *Rome*, with its Tyrannical Empire, which will then be the Grand Opposite Monarchy, to His universal Kingdome. As for *Amalek*, that once most famous Nation, it shall at last be also utterly destroy'd, and its Land given to the Children of *Israel*: which will also most certainly be the Final Fate of the *Kenites* also. Tis true, in Ages long Future, thou thyself, O *Israel*, wilt be carried captive into *Assyria*; which will be a sore & most heavy Affliction. Nay, after that time, the *Romans* from *Italy*, shall Conquer and Afflict, not only the *Assyrians*, who carry them captive, but the captive *Jewes* themselves, & those also, who shall be returned from the same Captivity. But then, at the last of all, to make Way for that universal Dominion of the King of the *Jewes*, in the End of the World, of which I before spake, this *Roman* Empire, with its *Metropolis*, shall be utterly destroy'd; and so no Kingdome in the World, shall be able to hinder the Spreading, or to oppose | the Authority of this Great Kingdome of the Jewes, or of the *Messias*, the Everlasting King of that Nation."²⁰

[44v]

[The Time, when they came from the Coast of *Chittim*, or *Italy*, and afflicted and subdued *Assyria*, was in the Reign of *Trajan*; as their Afflicting the *Hebrewes*, was in the Reigns of *Vespasian*, & *Adrian*, & others.]²¹

[△] [△ End of Insert]

¹⁹ Psal. 2:9.

²⁰ Mather's extract is from *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (1708), Sermon VIII, sec. 16, pp. 217–18, by his erstwhile friend and fellow millenarian William Whiston and protégé of Sir Isaac Newton.

²¹ Whiston, *Accomplishment* (1708), p. 220, acknowledges Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra: Phaleg* (1646), pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 5, pp. 178–83, as his source for the discussion of "*Chittim*." *Chittim* is biblically associated with the territories of Italy and Greece. Roman Emperor Marcus Ulpius Traianus (54–117 CE) conquered the Parthian Empire and annexed Armenia and Mesopotamia just before his death in 117 CE. His predecessor, Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (9–79 CE), subjugated Judea in 66 CE, before being chosen Caesar in 69 CE. Publius Aelius Hadrianus Augustus (76–138 CE) quashed the Bar Kokhba uprising in Judea (132–36 CE).

[43r cont.]

[3516:]

Q. Of whom is that Prophecy to be understood; *There shall come a Star out of Jacob?* v. 17.

A. A *Star*, be sure, denotes a Great Person; and being understood of *Christ*, it denotes His Heavenly Original. Now both *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, and the *Hierusalem-Targum*, take the *Messiah* to be here meant;²² and so doth R. *Moses Haddarsan*, and *Bereschith Rabba*; and a great many Christian Interpreters.²³ Particularly *Eusebius*, and *Cyril of Alexandria*; who confutes *Julians* Exposition of these Words, as belonging to *David*, and his Successors;²⁴ and replies, That if *Balaam* had spoken of *David*, and the Kings of *Israel*, he would have said, *There shall come Stars out of Jacob*: whereas he speaks of but one alone οἶον ἐν ἄστροις ἐκπρεπῇ, *As very Illustrious among the Stars*; which, it is evident, can be none but *Christ*. Unto which, Dr. *Patrick* thinks worthy to be added, the Words of a later Writer of the Jewish Nation, one R. *Isaac*, in his, *Illuminatio Fidei*, | sett forth [43v] not long ago, by the learned *Wagenseil*; That this cannot be understood of *David*,

²² Targums Onkelos, Jonathan ben Uzziel, and Hierosolymitanum, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:655; 4:289) – all declare that (according to Balaam's prophetic blessing) a mighty king (a star) would come forth from the House of Jacob who will become the "Anointed" Messiah of the House of Israel. The classical rabbinic commentators – Rashi, Nachmanides, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Abarbanel, even Sforno – agree that this anointed king will be the Messiah, although they would vehemently disagree with their Christian comperes on his identity (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:186).

²³ The French rabbi and scholar Moses Haddarsan, aka. Haddarshan (משה הדרשן), aka. Moshe ha-Darshan (fl. 11th c. CE), president of the Narbonne yeshivah, was a prominent member of a distinguished family of rabbis in France (*JE*). His commentary on the Torah, especially on Midrash *Bereshit Rabbah Major* and *Bereshit Rabbah Rabbati*, is extant mostly in quotations by Rashi, and (because of its Christian Messianic flavor) in numerous extracts in *Pugio Fidei* (c. 1280), a massive Christian polemic against Judaism, by Friar Raimund Martinus (fl. 13th c.), a Spanish Dominican theologian of Catalonia. Martinus's *Pugio Fidei* was edited by Justus Scaliger and Joseph de Voisin and first printed as *Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum Adversus Mauros, et Judaeos* (Paris, 1651). R. Moses Haddarshan's gloss on *Bereshit Rabbah* (esp. Gen. 24:67, 40:9, 41:1, 49:9–11 etc.) and Numb. 24:17, as it appears in *Pugio Fidei* (1651), pars 3, distr. 3, cap. 8, sec. 1, p. 591; cap. 9, pp. 598–99; cap. 17, sec. 2, p. 680; cap. 19, sec. 2, p. 685; cap. 20, sec. 9, pp. 689–90, appeals to Christian interpreters because of the many mystical identifications of the Hebrew Messiah with Jesus Christ. Alas, as is all-too-common in Mather's day, the fourth-hand quotation reference (via Patrick, *Numbers* 488) to R. Moses Haddarshan is not directly to *Pugio Fidei*, but is derived from Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. VII, sec. 9, p. 338.

²⁴ Eusebius Pamphilus (*Demonstratio Evangelica* 9.1.1–2) identifies Balaam's prophecy of a star rising out of Israel with Jesus Christ. However, in his *Contra Galilaeos* (p. 212, line 15–p. 213, lines 1), Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Augustus Julianus (aka. Julian the Apostate) insists that Balaam's prophecy (Numb. 24:17–18) applies to King David, not to the Christian Messiah. Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Contra Julianum* 2.20 and 2.46; *Commentarii in Joannem* 2.295, lines 1–6) applies Balaam's prophecy of the rising star to the Christ. This Messianic interpretation is also offered in Maimonides's *Hilchot Melachim U'Milchamoteihem* (11.1–4), but he specifically rules out that either Simon Bar-Kokhba (whom he calls "King Bar Kozibah") or Jesus of Nazareth is intended here (*Mishneh Torah* 23:608–16).

or any other King of *Israel*; because none of them ever have Reigned over all the Earth (i. e. *over all the Children of Seth*;) but he concludes, it is meant of the *Messiah*, who is compared unto a *Star*, because of the Perennity of His Kingdome, & the Splendor of His Dominion, and His great Acts throughout the World.²⁵

We may observe, That as long ago, as the Time of the Emperour *Adrian*, this was understood by the Generality of the *Jewes*, to be a Prophecy of the *Messiah*. For then they applied this Prophecy, unto a False *Messiah*, whose Name was, *Cocab*, or, *A Star*.²⁶

[1798:]

Q. When tis said, *Hee shall Destroy all the Children of Sheth*, who are meant, by, *The Children of Sheth*? v. 17.

A. Some think, the *Moabites* are here called so, because one of their Progenitors, famous in his Time, was called, *Sheth*.

But I find one, who takes it Appellatively; *The Children that are now Behind mee. Filios Sedis, seu postica partis*. Hee means, The *Ammonites*, which were now *Behind* him, when hee had his Face towards the Tents of *Israel*.²⁷

David was the *Star*, by whom, as a Type, these things were gloriously accomplished; Hee was *The Light of Israel*. But that hee may bee acknowledged for no more than a Type, his Dying Words, foretel yett another, & a brighter *Star* to come. See 2. Sam. 23.4.

Some have putt a *Mystical Sense* on *The Sons of the Toyl*. —²⁸

25 Patrick refers to the Lithuanian R. Isaac ben Abraham of Troki (c. 1525–c. 1586), ספר חזקוני אמונה אשר חבר יצחק בן אברהם [Sefer Hizzuk Emunah] *Liber Munimen Fidei*, a polemic against Christian attacks on Judaism. Mather, via Patrick (*Numbers* 24:17), points to R. Isaac's gloss (lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 72–73; cap. 11, pp. 80–81), in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) 2:71–72, 80–81. R. Isaac's rare work is among several such works (including *Libellus Toldos Jeschu*), which the Lutheran Hebraist at Altdorf Johann Christoph Wagenseil targets in his anti-Semitic *Tela Ignea Satane. Hoc est: Arcani, & horribiles Judaeorum adversus Christum Deum* (1681). The explication of a “star out of Jacob, and a scepter rises out of Israel” (Numb. 24:17) appears in *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) 1:276–77; 2:71–72, 80–81. On R. Isaac ben Abraham, see S. Schreiner's article, “Isaiah 53 in the *Sefer Hizzuk Emunah* (“Faith Strengthened”) of Rabbi Isaac ben Abraham of Troki” (418–49).

26 Patrick (*Numbers* 488–89) relates that according to R. David Ganz' ספר צמח דוד *Sefer Tzemach David: Chronologia Sacra-Profana*. (1644), the famous Jewish philosopher R. Akiba applied Balaam's prophecy (Numb. 24:17) to Simon Bar-Kokhba (Aramaic: “Son of a Star”), who led a bloody revolt against the Roman occupiers (132–135 CE). The Hebrew noun כּוֹכַב [kowkab] (Mather's *Cocab*) suggests “star [of Messiah]” (Strong's # 3556). Patrick's source appears to be Henry Ainsworth's gloss on Numb. 24:17, in *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1627), pp. 158–59 (sep. pag.). See also Mather's annotations on Deut. 28:49 and 28:62.

27 Mather leans on the gloss of Junius and Tremellius, in *Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri Canonici* (1593), on Numb. 24:17 (note 20), but provides his own translation. More literally, “the children of the seat, which [are] now behind.” See also Jacob Alting's “Parallelismi Vaticiniorum Veteris Testamenti Quae citantur in Novo” (Sec. III: Matt. 2: v. 2, 9 & Numb. 24:v. 15–23; fol. 8, col. 2), in *Opera Omnia* (vol. 2, fol. 8 sep. pag.).

28 Mather deploys a double-typological interpretation of Balaam's prophecy: In its first

[2822.]

Q. But a farther Touch upon this Prophecy?

A. An eminent Hebrician renders it, *A Sceptre, shall Unwall all the Children of Seth*: That is, Break down the *Partition-Wall* between *Jewes*, and *Gentiles*.²⁹

2738.

Q. What might be the Intent of *Balaam* in that Exclamation, *Alas, who shall live, when God doth this?* v. 23.

A. It hath been commonly carried, as if the Time for the Accomplishment of the Things foretold by *Balaam*, would be so *lamentable*, there would be no *Living* in them. I now rather take it, The Time would be so *Desireable*, that the Prophet wishes, hee might *live* to see *God do this*. *Vitam sibi tam diu prorogari optat, ut Diem Christi Incarnati videre possit*: So *Zehner*, in his *Adagia Sacra*, understands it.³⁰

Balaam had a little before complained, v. 17. That the Time of the *Messiahs* Coming was yett far off, that he could not hope to *live* to see Him. He now seems again to Bewayl it. Compare Luk. 10.24.

Constantine in his Oration, recited by *Eusebius*, brings a Verse of the *Erythraean Sibyl*, wishing to this Purpose;

Εἶθε με γηραλέον ζωντά τ' εἴχε νηδυμος ἰσχύς.³¹

And he brings *Virgil* as thus translating it,

*O mihi tam longæ maneat pars ultima Vitæ.*³²

instance (or smaller type), it refers to King David as the “Star,” but in its larger fulfillment to Christ. In this manner, Mather develops a double fulfillment of the OT prophetic type and NT antitype, a heuristic device that allows him to argue for multiple fulfillments. He lays the theoretic groundwork for this type of exegesis in his “A Golden Key to open the Sacred Prophecies,” in *Threefold Paradise* (pp. 162–93). See also J. Stievermann’s *Prophecy, Piety* (part V).

²⁹ Mather’s allegorical reading (Numb. 24:17) appears to echo Richard Baxter’s allegorization of the Calling of the Jews (Rom. ch. 11), in *The Glorious Kingdom of Christ* (1691).

³⁰ This and the following paragraphs are from *Adagia Sacra sive Proverbia Scripturae* (1601), a commentary on biblical proverbs, by Joachim Zehner, Lutheran pastor, superintendent, and rector of the Gymnasium (prep-school), in Schleusingen, Thuringia (Germany). Mather’s extract is from *Adagia Sacra* (1601), Adagium VI, pp. 19–20, and has Balaam reverse himself: “He desires that life be prolonged, long enough as that he can see the day of Christ incarnate.” The Latin citation appears on p. 19.

³¹ Zehner (*Adagia Sacra*, p. 19) adapts the Greek passage from the Erythraean Sibyls, extant in *Constantini imperatoris oratio ad coetum sanctorum* (20.10., line 18) of Eusebius Pamphilus, who recorded the address of Roman Emperor Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus (272–337 CE) to the “holy assembly” of the bishops at the Council of Nicaea (325 CE) (CE). Returning the Greek diacritics (which Mather customarily omits), the adapted passage reads, Εἶθε με γηραλέον ζωντά τ' εἴχε νηδυμος ἰσχύς “Would that, upon me living, aged, sweet strength was pouring.” A similar version of the Erythraean Sibyl appears in a similar version in *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Oracula* (Epigram 264, line 54).

³² Zehner’s quote (p. 19) from Vergil’s *Eclogue* (4.53) translates, “O that then the last days of a long life may still linger for me.”

Like this was the pious Wish of *Mantuani* about the Reformation of the Church;
O utinam me fata dies patiantur in illos
*Vivere, et hos nostra gentis spectare triumphos.*³³

Q. How were the Circumstances of the *Kenites*, mentioned in *Balaams* Prophecy accomplished? v. 21, 22.

A. By their *Nesting in a Rock*, besides the local Position of their Dwelling, we may understand their Confœderacy & Association, with the Jewes, in the true Religion; for they were Proselytes. Hence also, they shared with the Jewes in the same Success, the *Assyrian* carried them Captive into *Babylon*; and when the Jewes Returned from that Captivity, these were also Restored with them. See 1. Chron. 12.55. And we may conceive these *Kenites*, to be the Same, with the Abstemious Family of the *Reckabites*.³⁴

1969.

Q. What was the Prædiction of, *Ships coming from the Coasts of Chittim, to afflict Ashur*? v. 24.

A. It wonderfully foretels the Conquest of *Alexander*. By the *Coasts of Chittim*, are to be understood, the *Coasts of Greece*, from whence, *Alexanders* Army was Transported into *Asia*: For, *Alexander* came out of the *Land of Chittim*: [1. Mac. 1.1.] and *Perseus*, is called, *King of the Chittims*, or *Macedonians*. [Chap. 8.5.]³⁵

[44r–44v inserted into 43r]

³³ The Latin distich, “Would that the fates allow me to live into those days and to see these triumphs of our people,” is probably from the philosophical debate about Fate and Free Will, in the posthumous publication *Petri Pomponatii Mantuani libri quinque de fato, de libero arbitrio et de praedestinatione* (1556, 1557), by the Italian philosopher and sceptic Petrus Pomponatius, aka. Pietro Pomponazzi of Mantua (1462–1525) (*SEP*). This, like several others of his works – see for instance his mortalist *De Immortalitate Animae* (1516) – are directed against the Roman Pontiffs Julius II (1443–1513) and Leo X (1475–1521) in their fierce debate during the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17), esp. session 8 (19 Dec. 1513), in which the teachings of Pomponazzi about philosophical materialism, the (im-)mortality of the soul, predestination, free will, and the proposed reforms of the RC Church were condemned. It is intriguing that Mather merely identifies the author of his quote from Pomponazzi work as “the pious Wish of Mantuani” – as if to pun on the Mantuan Vergil, whose prolocutor voices the same desire in Mather’s preceding paragraph. All things considered, Mather probably did not want to invoke Pomponazzi’s name, of whose philosophical skepticism he disapproved.

³⁴ The ancient nomadic tribe of the Kenites lived in Palestine during the time of Abraham and Moses (Gen. 15:19; Judg. 1:16; Exod. 18:12ff) and may have given rise to the Medianite priest Jethro, Moses’ father-in-law (Numb. 4:29). Balaam (Numb. 24:21–22) also mentions the Kenites who were united with the tribe of Judah (1 Sam. 30:29; 27:10) and were renowned for their art of bronze and iron smithery (*JE*).

³⁵ Patrick (*Numbers* 495). The apocryphal 1 Macc. 1:1 and 8:5 calls Philip II (382–336 BCE), father of Alexander III (356–323 BCE) of Macedonia (Alexander the Great), and Perseus (c. 212–166 BCE), last of the Macedonian kings, “kings of Chittim” (Citim, Chetitim). See also Samuel Bochart’s *Geographia Sacra: Phaleg* (1646), pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 5, pp. 179(A).

3323.

Q. Upon the Occasion of that Word, *Israel abode in Shittim*; one would enquire, what might be the true *Shittim-Wood*, whereof we read so often in the *Pentateuch*? v. 1.¹

A. We have generally kept the Word in the Original. *Fagius* having observed, That the Jewish Doctors take this Tree, some for the *Cedar*, some for the *Wild-Pine*, & others for the *Box-tree*, concludes only with saying, That the Opinion of *Aben-Ezra* is most probable, who thinks, that this Kind of Tree, did grow near to Mount *Sinai*. *Hiskani* saies almost the same; adding, That in the Desarts, there were whole Forrests of these Trees, of which the *Israelites* made their *Tabernacles*; according to what is here said, *Israel abode in Shittim*; that is, according to him, In *Tents* made of that Wood. But this is too general to give us any Satisfaction.²

The LXX are more particular, when they translate *Sittah*, the *Box-tree*; Isa. 41.19. But since they translate *Sittim*, the *Mastick-tree*; Mic. 6.5. and, *Incorruptible Wood*, in all other Places, they also leave us at an Uncertainty.³

After all, there is now not any other Tree, in all the Desart of *Arabia*, but the *Acacia*, from which the *Arabians* take the *Gum*, which we call, *Gum Arabick*, as *Balon*, who travel'd that Countrey, relates. *Jerom* seems to have come the nearest unto the true Signification of the Word, when he observes, That the Hebrew *Sittah*, is a sort of a Tree, which growes in the Desart, resembling the *White-Thorn*, or *Brier*, both in Leaves and Colour; but withal so large, that it

1 As in his commentary on Numb. 24:6, Mather here mines Hugh Ross's two-part *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (1701–1702), an embellished translation of Charles Le Cène's *Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible* (1696). See also Mather's conjecture (Gen. 6:14) that Noah's ark was built from "*Shittim Wood*" (BA 1:602) as explained in Mather's letter to John Woodward of the Royal Society, and abridged in "An Extract of several Letters from Cotton Mather, D.D.," in *Philosophical Transactions* 29 (1714–16) 63.

2 Hugh Ross, *Essay for a New Translation* (part 2, ch. 8, sec. 2, pp. 149–50); Paulus Fagius's gloss on Exod. 25:5, appears in his *Targum. Hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia* (1546), on Exod. 25, voce "Ligna Schittin" (fol. P^{3v}). Abraham Ibn Ezra, on Exod. 25:5, in *Commentary on the Pentateuch: Exodus* (pp. 534, 335, 336) is not entirely satisfied with the ancient tradition that "Jacob planted acacia trees [Shittim-wood] in Egypt" and that Moses had it carried out again during the Israelites' exodus. Ibn Ezra therefore speculates that when Moses had the Tabernacle constructed he used the wood of "a forest of acacia trees next to Mount Sinai." However, during their long residence at the foot of the mountain, "they cut the entire forest down." Rabbi Chizkiyahu ben Rabbi Manoach, aka. Hiskani, aka. Chizkuni, furnishes a similar explanation (*Parashat T'rumah* 25:5): "there were forests in the desert in which these [acacia] trees grew. This is why the Israelites were described as dwelling at *Shittim* [Numbers 25:1]. The wood of these trees is light in weight and pleasant to look at" (*Chizkuni Torah Commentary* 2:575).

3 Ross, *Essay* (151).

can furnish the greatest Planks, & surpasses all other Wood, in Strength, Beauty, and Lightness. But he is deceived, in saying, That this Tree is only to be found in *Arabia*, since it is common in *Egypt*, and in *Europe* too; tho' it have not all the same Qualities.⁴

However, the Author of the late *Essay for a New Translation*, will have it no longer doubted, that this Tree, is the *Acacia*. Hottinger observes, the Word, *Shittah*, and *Shittim*, evidently comes from the Word, *Shet*, which signifies among the *Arabians*, *That which is long*.⁵ Whence the Rabbi's call a Line or Verse of a Book, *Sittah*, because of its *Length*, as tis remark'd by *Schindler*.⁶ And the Hebrew *Schotet*, signifies, a *Staff*, or a *Rod*, or a *Scourge*; [Josh. 23.13.] And the Greek Word, *Acacia*, comes from the Verb, *Acazo*, which signifies, *To sharpen*; because the *Acacia* is covered round with sharp and large Prickles.⁷

Nor was there any *Wood* more proper, for making the *Ark*, and a great Part of the Materials of the *Tabernacle*; which were to be very durable. Tis affirmed, by *Theophrastus*, and *Matthiolus*, and *Prosper Alpinus*, & others, that the black *Acacia*, is so very solid, that it almost never corrupts; & they employ it therefore to make the Sides and Ribs of Ships.⁸

There not being any other Trees in the Desert, it is probable, that *Moses*, being so well supplied at hand, would not send any further a field, for Materials, to make the Sacred Buildings.

⁴ Ross, *Essay* (150–51). St. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam Prophetam* (ad Isa. 41:19) [PL 024. 0417].

⁵ See Johann Heinrich Hottinger's annotation on the Mosaic Tabernacle, In *Thomae Goodwini Moses et Aaron seu Civiles & Ecclesiastici Ritus ... studio Johannes Heinrichus Hottingeri*. Editio Secunda (1716), pp. 319, 329, 339.

⁶ Valentin Schindler, *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1612), col. 1845B–C: שִׁטָּה *sitta*, species cedri excellentissimæ, *abies*: PL. שִׁטִּים *sittim abietes*. Schindler argues that *Shittim*, derived from the Hebrew word *sitta*, is "a species of most excellent cedar" (juniper), "fir tree."

⁷ Ross, *Essay for a New Translation* (part 2, ch. 8. p. 151).

⁸ Ross, *Essay* (151–52); Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* (4.2.8), distinguishes between the white and black acacia (ἄκανθα), the former being soft and decays quickly; the latter considerably stronger, less likely to decay, is therefore used in shipbuilding. The Italian physician and naturalist Petrus Andreas Matthiolus of Siena (1501–1577) provides an illustrated disquisition on acacia trees and their many uses, in his *Commentarii Secundo Aucti in Libros Sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica Materia* (1558), lib. 1, cap. 115, pp. 129–30, an annotated edition on Pedanius Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica* (c. 65 CE), an influential book on natural history, herbalism, and botany composed during the first century CE. Likewise, the Venetian physician and botanist Prosper Alpinus, aka. Prospero Alpini (1553–1617), who spent three years in Egypt, is best known for his oft-reprinted *De Plantis Aegypti Liber* (Venetiis, 1592). My reference is to the annotated edition *Prosperi Alpini De Plantis Aegypti Liber. Cum Observationibus & Notis Ioannis Veslingii* (1640), cap. 4: "De Acacia" (pp. 9–14) by Johannes Veslingius, aka. Johann Vesling (1589–1649), a German anatomist, botanist, and professor of anatomy and surgery at Padua.

And probably, the last Camp of *Israel*, in the Land of *Moab*, was called, *Shittim*, or, *Abel-Shittim*, or *Nahal Shittim*, or, the *Valley of Shittim*, because it was full of *Acacia*.⁹

[▽ Insert 46r]

[▽ 46r]

3751.

Q. *The Daughters of Moab, called the People unto the Sacrifices of their Gods:* How do the Jewish Doctors tell the Story? v. 2.

A. The ordinary Charms unto Idolatry were *Good Victuals* and *Bad Women*. The Feasts upon the Sacrifices among the Heathen, were very magnificent; being accompanied with Musick, and with Dancing, and sometimes with pompous Processions, which inticed youthful Minds to partake of them. Here, the *Israelites* casting their Eyes upon the Daughters of *Moab*, (which doubtless on this Occasion appeared in the richest Ornaments,) were smitten with their Beauty, & courted them. The Ladies would not yield unto them, except upon Condition, that they would first worship their Gods: whereupon (as the Jewish Doctors tell the Story) pulling a little Image of *Peor*, out of their Bosom, they presented it unto the *Israelites* to kiss it, & desired them to eat of the Sacrifices that had been offered unto them.¹⁰

It has been indeed observed by the Writers of the Church; That Women have been the most dangerous Seducers of Men, from the True Religion; being, from the Beginning, the Spreaders of the old Hæresies. For, *Simon Magus* advanced his Hæresies, *Helena Meretricis adjutus auxilio*. *Nicolaus* of *Antioch* also, *Choros duxit femineos*. The famous *Marcion* sent before him some *Roman Ladies*, to præpare his Way. *Apelles*, (and *Montanus*,) and *Arius*, and *Donatus*, all took the same Course, as tis related by *Jerom*, in his Book, *Adversus Pelagianos*.¹¹

⁹ Ross (*Essay* 152–53).

¹⁰ Patrick (*Numbers* 499). A version of this tale of seduction appears in Talmud Sanhedrin (64a). See also Talmud Sanhedrin (60b), Rashi, Nachmanides, Ibn Ezra, Rashbam – all have much to say on this idolatrous seduction of the Israelites and their summary execution, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:190–91) as does Rabbeinu Bachya ben Asher's *Torah Commentary* (6:2232–35), among others.

¹¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 500); St. Jerome derides the errors of the following heretics: Simon Magus, the magician who was reproached by St. Peter [Acts 8:9–24] for advocating proverbial “simony,” is to have been in league with Helen, an alleged prostitute of Tyre; Nicolas of Antioch, one of the seven first diacons accused of being a Gnostic, allegedly preached that adultery and eating food sacrificed to idols are adiaphora; Marcion of Sinope was an early Christian bishop who denied Christ's duality and argued that not the God of the Hebrew Bible, but Jesus Christ was the only true deity; Apelles, a Marcionite, was charged with making common cause with Philumene, an Alexandrian prostitute and visionary; the schismatic Montanus (2nd c. CE) is to have lead Priscilla, Maximilla, and their followers into preaching poverty and an imminent judgment day; Arius of Alexandria (c. 250–336 CE) rejected the emerging doctrine of the Trinity and insisted on the superiority of God above the Christ; the N African schismatic bishop Donatus Magnus of Carthage (d. c. 355 CE) rigorously excluded lapsed (but repentant) Christians who under persecution had compromised Christian beliefs; finally, the Pelagians

3752.

Q. *The Lord said unto Moses, Take all the Heads of the People, & Hang them up.* How must we understand it? v. 4.

A. The plain Meaning seems to be, That he should cause to be Apprehended the Rulers of Thousands and Hundreds, & other principal Persons in their Tribes, who had been guilty of this foul Idolatry; and by their Execution putt a stop to the Peoples Leudness, when they saw these Great Men made publick Examples.

Yett a great many famous Doctors and Writers, take the Word, *Otham*, (*Them*, who were to be hanged up,) to refer, not unto the Heads of the People, but unto such as had joined themselves unto *Baal-Peor*; and they interpret the foregoing Words, as if he had been bidden, to *take unto him* (for his Assistance,) *the Heads of the People*, to carry on that Execution.¹²

A Thousand Persons underwent this Capital Execution. This Reconciles *Paul* and *Moses*. *Paul* speaks of this Crime, as issuing in the death of *Twenty three thousand*; [1. Cor. X.8.] *Moses* makes them amount unto *Twenty four thousand*.¹³

The Greatness of this Plague appears from the Difference found in the Numbring of the Tribe of *Simeon*; in the *Second* Chapter of this Book, and in

(disciples of the monk Pelagius [c. 354–c. 440]) against whom St. Jerome directs his letter to Ctesiphon, rejected the doctrine of the imputation of original sin and held that human volition is able to embrace good without the help of grace (*ABD*, *CE*, *HBD*, *ODCC*). In Mather's day, this belief was also imbibed by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his *De Religione Gentilium* (1663), ch. 1. Be that all as it may, Mather's second-hand passage from Patrick (*Numbers* 500) is a partial excerpt and translation from St. Jerome's "Epistola CXXXIII. Ad Ctesiphontem. *Adversus Pelagium*," in *Epistola Secundum Ordinem Temporum* [PL 022. 1153], and reads in translation, "It was with the help of the harlot Helena that Simon Magus founded his sect. Bands of women accompanied Nicolas of Antioch that deviser of all uncleanness. Marcion sent a woman before him to Rome to prepare men's minds to fall into his snares. Apelles possessed in Philumena an associate in his false doctrines. Montanus, that mouthpiece of an unclean spirit, used two rich and high born ladies Prisca and Maximilla first to bribe and then to pervert many churches. Leaving ancient history I will pass to times nearer to our own. Arius intent on leading the world astray began by misleading the Emperor's sister. The resources of Lucilla helped Donatus to defile with his polluting baptism many unhappy persons throughout Africa" (*Letter CXXXIII. To Ctesiphon*"), in *NPNFii* (6:275).

12 Patrick, on Numb. 25:4 (*Numbers* 502–03). This is also the position of Ibn Ezra (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:190).

13 Patrick, on Numb. 25:9 (*Numbers* 508). According to Rashi (Numb. 25:5), "each of the Israelite judges executed two men, and there were eighty eight thousand Israelite judges" [Sanhedrin 18a] (*Metsudah Chumash Rashi* Bamidbar 4:344). However, Nachmanides raises a reasonable objection about the number of executed idolaters: "I do not understand how the guilty – God forbid – could amount to more than 150,000, over a quarter of all the Israelites. Even a single capital case cannot be tried without a Sanhedrin of 23 members. But even if each group of 23 could kill two men (rather than each individual judge), this would still be an enormous slaughter, and there is no trace of such a massacre in the census of ch. 26. ... To say that Moses asked each 'man' (singular) to slay 'his men' (plural) simply means that each court was to judge its own tribe (or its own unit of 1,000)," in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (190–91)

the *Twenty Sixth*. In the former they make *Fifty nine thousand, & three hundred*; In the latter, no more than, *Twenty two thousand, & two hundred*.¹⁴

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

|
1895.

[45v]

Q. The Action done by *Phinehas*, in slaying of *Zimri*, can it bee vindicated? v. 11.¹⁵

A. Why not? The Crime of *Zimri* was extraordinary; It was a Capital Crime, & complicated, *Idolatry*, and *Adultery*: It was perpetrated in the very Sight of the Chief Magistrate, & his Council, & the General Assembly of *Israel*; Tis not unlikely, that *Phinehas* had their Concurrence, for the Striking of these Criminals with Death. Hee was a great Man, who committed this *Rebellion*; one doubtless, who thought himself too great for to bee meddled with; and there seems to have been a Peece of *Sedition* intended in it; If the *Rebels* had not been Dispatch'd with a Quick Stroke, who can tell, what it might have come to? Briefly, This Blade, thus bringing in his *Midianitish* Whore, at this Juncture, in this Manner, made himself a *Midianite*; the *Israelites* now being at War with the *Midianites*, and all in a Ferment, thro' a War that Heaven, was on the account of the *Midianites* making on them, I see not, why any private *Israelite* might not have killed such a *Renegado*.¹⁶

One ingeniously saies upon it, *Zimri*, and *Cosbi*, were more *Beasts*, than any that *Phinehas* ever sacrificed; & the Shedding of their Blood, was as Acceptable a Sacrifice as ever he made.¹⁷

[46r inserted into 45r]

[▽ Insert 46v]

[▽ 46v]

[3759:]

Q. We find, *A Covenant of Everlasting Priesthood*, here made with *Phinehas*; And yett after some Successions, we find, the Priesthood came into the Line of *Ithamar*; and God sett aside the Line of *Phinehas* for some Years, till the Sons of *Eli* became so wicked, that in the Dayes of *Solomon*, it was restored unto that Line again? v. 13.

¹⁴ Patrick, on Numb. 25:8, 9 (*Numbers* 508).

¹⁵ In his "Note Book of Authors" (Numb. 25:11), Mather identifies "MSS. no. 7. p. 10" as a source to be consulted.

¹⁶ See Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral* (1723), Diss. LXV, pp. 615, 616.

¹⁷ Zimri, son of Salu, and the Midianite princess Cozbi, daughter of Zur, were killed by Phinehas in the act of love-making. Mather hints that in joining in the worship of Baal-peor (a Midianite deity worshipped through sexual acts in public), the Israelite Zimri and the Midianitess Cozbi behaved worse than beasts. See Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (64a, 82a, 106a).

A. We know not what Sin it was, that provoked God against the Line of *Phinehas*. The Jewish Doctors, are some of them, so bold as to say, it was because *Phinehas* would not absolve *Jephthah* from his Vow. But it is more probable, that the Successors of that great Man, had committed the Offence: for his Posterity held the Priesthood for four Generations; as *Josephus* & others, (mentioned by *Selden*) make Account.¹⁸

Aegidius Camartus in his Book, *De Rebus Eliae*, and, *Cornelius Bertramus*, in his Book, *De R. P. Jud.*: imagine, That in those confused Times, none of the *Priests* were found fitt, for to Administer the Affayrs of the Nation, but *Eli* alone: and therefore he was appointed by God unto it. [1. Sam. 2.30.] But *L'Empereur* thinks, That there was also some Offence committed in the Race of *Phinehas*, which was the Cause of their Losing their Dignity.¹⁹ The Promise of God, had not been interrupted, but for some Disobedience in them. But yett, so constant was God unto His Promise, that He præserv'd his Line, in a continued Succession of *Twelve Persons*, from *Phinehas* to *Azariah*, who executed the *Priests Office* in the Temple, that *Solomon* built in *Jerusalem*. [1. Chron. 6.4–10.] From which Time, to the Captivity in *Babylon*, there were *Nine* more. And after the End of the Captivity, unto the Time of *Antiochus Eupator*, the Jewes reckon *Fifteen* more; the last of which, *Onias*, was killed by *Lysias*. And after him were *Eight* of

18 Patrick (*Numbers* 510–11). Mather refers to the puzzling question that although God had made a “covenant of an everlasting priesthood” with *Phinehas* and his offspring to be high priests forever, his offspring were passed over for this priestly office for several generations (1 Chron. 24:1–6). According to the tradition of *Midrash Rabbah*, *Phinehas* did not absolve *Jephthah*, the Gileadite, from a vow that inadvertently required the sacrifice of his daughter (Judg. 11:30–40). *Phinehas*, though in Gilead at the time, was too proud to come to *Jephthah*’s aid. “*Phineas* said: ‘He [*Jephthah*] needs me, and I am to go to him! Moreover, I am a High Priest and the son of a High Priest, shall I then go to an ignoramus?’ While *Jephthah* said: ‘Am I, the chief of Israel’s leaders, to go to *Phinehas*!’ Between the two of them the maiden perished.” Their punishment? *Jephthah* died piecemeal by losing one limb after another, whereas *Phinehas* “was deprived of the divine afflatus” (*Genesis Rabbah* LX:3). *Josephus Flavius* (*Antiquities* 5.7.10). The profoundly learned English Hebraist John Selden, in his *De Successione in Pontifacum Ebraeorum* (1636), lib. 1, caps. 2–3, pp. 115–26, combs numerous rabbinic and Arabic sources to explain the shift from the line of *Phinehas* to that of *Ithamar*.

19 Aegidius Camartus, aka. Gilles Camart (1571–1624), a French Franciscan, who authored *Elias Thesbites sive De Rebus Eliae Prophetæ* (1631), ch. 3, secs. 2–5, pp. 72–85, feels that during these early times, before the priestly institutions were fully worked out, none of the offices were filled by truly qualified persons. Constantinus L’Empereur maintains that God punished the disobedience of *Eli*’s sons *Hophni* and *Phinehas* (1 Sam. 1:3, 2:12–34; 4:17–18) by removing the priesthood from the House of *Eli* in *Solomon*’s day and by elevating *Zadok*, of the House of *Eleazer*, to the high priesthood (1 Kings 2:26–35). L’Empereur discusses the circumstances of *Phineas*’s disobedience and the devolving of the priesthood to the family of *Eleazer*, in his *Annotaciones* (pp. 411–18), appended to Bonaventura Cornelius Bertramus, *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641). Bertramus outlines the succession of the high priesthood and their assistants in ch. 15 (esp. pp. 239–71), as does Selden, *De Successione in Pontifacum Ebraeorum* (1636), lib. 1, caps. 4–7 and 11, esp. pp. 129, 134–35, 138, 141, 145, 152–53, 172–79.

the Family of the *Asmonæi*; the *last* of which, *Aristobulus*, was killed by *Herod*, who after that made whom he pleased.²⁰

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

²⁰ Chronology: From the Babylonian Captivity (c. 605–538 BCE) to young King Antiochus Eupator (164–162 BCE), offspring of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE). During the internecine warfare of the period, Lysias, Antiochus Eupator's guardian, murdered the rightful High Priest Onias III (c. 190–c. 172 BCE), and Onias's brother, Menelaus, took over the priestly office. Conflicting versions of this internecine family feud exist, but Mather (and his sources) follows Josephus's account in *Antiquities* (12.9.6–7). King Herod the Great (c. BCE 73–4 BCE) had Aristobulus, the son of Alexander Jannaeus (by Alexandra) and brother of Herod the Great's wife Mariamne, drowned (35 BCE) during a failed plot against Herod (*ABD*). See Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 15.2.5–3.3).

[▽ 47v] [▽ Insert from 47v]

[3754:]

Q. How comes the *Daughter of Asher*, namely, *Sarah*, to be so particularly mentioned? v. 46.

A. She is elsewhere called, *Serah*. [Gen. 46.17.]

It is not here said, That a Family sprang from her; which appears probable, unto *Cornelius Bertramus*, to have been, instead of some that were lost.

But it is likely, that she was a Woman, as eminent in this Tribe, as any of her Brethren, for some Vertue or other.¹

The *Kabalists*, in the ancient Book *Zohar*, part the Heavenly Region, where the Souls of Holy Women are, into Four *Palaces*; and make Four Great Women to be *Presidents* over them; Namely, *Pharaohs* Daughter, who educated *Moses*; and this our *Serah*, the Daughter of *Asher*; with *Jochebed* the Mother of *Moses*; and *Deborah*, the famous Prophetess.²

[△] [△ Insert ends]

4241.

Q. *The Land shall be Divided by Lott*; How do the Jewes tell us, that *Lott* was managed? v. 52.

A. The Hebrew Account of the *Lott* is this; On *Twelve Schedules* they wrote the Names of the *Twelve Tribes* of *Israel*. On *Twelve other Schedules*, (perhaps of a different Colour or Figure,) they wrote their *Twelve Divisions* of the *Holy Land*. These were mingled in a *Box*, and the Princes of the *Tribes* took out successively, a Couple of *Schedules*; which determined the Matter.³

[47v inserted into 47r]

1 Patrick (*Numbers* 526); Cornelius Bertramus, *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), cap. 6, esp. pp. 69–71.

2 Patrick (*Numbers* 526); ספר הזהר [*Sefer Ha-Zohar*] (1558), Midbar (fol. 167, 168); *Soncino Zohar*, Shemoth, sec. 2 (11b, 12a, 46a); Bereshith, sec. 1 (32b). John Selden, in *De Jure Naturali & Gentium, Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 4, pp. 164–65, is Patrick's (and Mather's) source. Exod. 2:5; Numb. 26:46, Exod. 6:20; Judg. 4:4. On Mather's enlightened view of women, see H. Gelin, "Regaining Paradise."

3 Rashi, Nachmanides, Chizkuni, and Abarbanel (Numb. 26:52–56) give much the same information, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (4:201–02), as does John Selden, *De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti, Ad Leges Ebraeorum* (1636), caps. 21–22, pp. 65–71.

629.

Q. The Observation of the *New Moons*, among the *old Jewes*, calls for some Illustration? v. 11.¹

A. The *Neomenia* among the Hebrewes, were either *Common*, at the Beginning of every Month, or *Special*, at the Beginning of the Seventh; Briefly, They were either *Menstrual*, or *Annual*.² And *Ribera* seems to assign a Good Reason for them; *Neomenia solemnitas fiebat, quodd prout Rerum & Terris nascentium primitias, sibi Deus offerri voluit, ita etiam voluit Temporis primitias; atque ideo primos quosque mensium Dies elegit*.³

The former Sort of *New-Moon Holiday*, wee find in great Request among the *Israelites*. We will first consider These.

Tis very certain, that the Observation of *New Moons* among the *Pagans* was very Ancient. *Homer*, tis thought, lived in the *Dayes of David*; now *Herodotus* relates, that *Homer*, ταῖς νομηνίαις προσπορευόμενος πρὸς τὰς οἰκίας τὰς

1 The following extracts are from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 4, cap. 1, sec. 3, fols. 722–36, and compare the Israelites' sacrificial rituals during the celebrations of the new moon (neomenia) to those of the nations. Spencer posits that Moses and the Israelites adopted these celebrations from the lunar festivities of their pagan neighbors. To rebut this claim, Mather argues that Spencer is "putting the cart before the horse." It was Moses, Mather argues, who first introduced these rituals, which were then copied by envious pagans.

2 Ibn Ezra and Abarbanel appear to disagree on how often these neomenia are to be observed. Ibn Ezra, for one, argues that according to Moses Gikatilla [Sephardic grammarian (11th c.) of Cordova] "your' [Numb. 28:11] new moon must refer specifically to the new moon of Nisan, the only month of which we are told, 'This month shall mark for *you* the beginning of the months' (Exod. 12:2). Only later will we be told that this shall also be the monthly burnt offering 'for each new moon of the year' (v. 13). And his explanation is correct. One might argue that our phrase refers to 'new moons' in the plural. But we see (from 1 Sam. 20:5) that *hodesh* by itself means 'new moon.' So the *rosh hodesh* of our verse must mean the 'chief,' most important new moons – those of Nisan. He is therefore quite correct." Abarbanel, however, disagrees, insisting that "All the new moons of the year" are meant here. "Had it said merely 'on the new moon' it could have been interpreted as referring to the special new moon, the new moon of Nisan" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:212).

3 Not included in Spencer, the interpolated passage (which appears in the left-hand margin of the "Biblia Americana" ms.) is Mather's conflated quotation from *De Templo, & de iis quae ad Templum pertinent* (1593), lib. 5, cap. 2, pp. 295, 296, by the distinguished Spanish Jesuit Francisco Ribera (1537–1591), professor of theology at the University of Salamanca (CE). Ribera explains the sacrificial rituals at the solemn occasion of the new moon as follows: "The festival of the new moon was established, because just as the first-fruits of things grow on the land, God wanted them to be offered to himself, so he wanted the first-fruits of the season, and thereby he chose all the first days of the months."

εὐδαιμονεστάτας, ἐλάβανέ τι· *At New Moons visited Rich Mens Houses, & received their Civilities.*⁴ *Hesiod* lived Half an Age before *Homer*; and hee saies,

πρωτον ενη, τετρας τε, και εβδομη, ιερον ημαρ·

*Primum Novilunium, quartaque, et septima, Sacra dies.*⁵

And *Euripides* calls these Holidayes, ζαθέους σελήνας, *Divinas Lunas*; affirming that the *Trojans*, who were elder than either of the former Poets, observed them Twelve Times in a Year. [Compare the LXX, at Exod. 40.2.]⁶

The Testimonies of this Usage among the ancient *Gentiles*, you shall find in *Meursius*, in *Petit*, in *Doughtie*; unto all which, you may subjoin that of *Isidore*, *Apud Veteres, omnium mensium principia colebantur, sicut et apud Hebraeos.*⁷ Being Ignorant of *Astronomy*, their Measuring of Times, by *Moons*, was managed with some Festivities. Even at this Day, Travellers find the *Heathen* doing so.⁸

The Jewes of old, Reckoned & Observed their *New Moons*, not from the Time of the *Moons* Conjunction with the Sun, But the Time of the *Moons* first Appearance after the Change. *Philo* saies, Νουμηνία ἄρχεται φωτίζειν αἰσθητῶ φέγγει σελήνην [ὁ] ἥλιος, ἡ κάλλος ἀναφαίνει· *At the New Moon, the Sun begins to illustrate the Moon with sensible Splendor, and shee discovers her beauty to Spectators.*⁹

4 Spencer (lib. 3, diss. 4, cap. 1, sec. 1, fol. 716); *Vita Homeri, Vita Herodotea* (463–64): Mather mistranscribes the following phrase from Spencer as ἑκτίας τὰς εὐδαιμονεστάτας, which should read οἰκίας τὰς εὐδαιμονεστάτας (here silently corrected). According to Archbishop James Ussher's *Annals of the World* (1658), pp. 34–35, 39, *Homer* lived in the 10th-century BCE; King *David* in the 11th c. BCE. See also *BA* (1:334, note 170).

5 Spencer (716). Believed to have flourished c. 700 BCE (*EB*), *Hesiod* explains that the observation of certain days in the week were instituted by the gods: πρῶτον ἐνῆ, τετράς τε, καὶ ἐβδόμη, ἱερὸν ἡμαρ· “to begin with, the first, the fourth, and the seventh, a holy day” (*Opera et dies* 770).

6 Spencer (717); see *Euripides* (*Helena* 114 and the chorus in *Troïades* 1075): “Sacred Moons.”

7 Joannes Meursius, in his *Graecae Feriatae. Sive, De Festis Graecorum, Libri VI* (1619), lib. 5, pp. 210–14 (*voce*: Νουμηνία), provides a detailed list of classical Greek sources which mention the celebration of the new moon. Samuel Petitus, in *Leges Atticae Collegit, Digessit, et Libro Commentario Illustravit* (1635), lib. 1, pp. 85–88 (“*Mensium Kalendis sacra facito*”), explains the function of this celebration and the role of the magistrates. Joannes Doughtieo, aka John Doughty, in his *Analecta Sacra: sive Excursus Philologici*, pars posterior (1660), pars 2, Excursus 87, pp. 249–43, views the neomenic festivities from the vantage point of Col. 2:16. And Isidore Hispalensis Episcopi, aka. St. Isidore of Seville, comments on the festivities for each month of the year, in his *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, lib. 5, cap. 33 [PL 082. 00219–00220]. The Latin quotation from the latter work (cap. 33, § 13, col. 220) explains that “among the ancients, the beginnings of all the months are worshipped, just as among the Hebrews.”

8 In his *Itinerarium ad Regiones sub Aequinoctiali Plaga Constitutas* (1631), lib. 9, esp. pp. 149–50, the Italian Renaissance humanist Alexander Geraldinus, aka. Alessandro Amelia (1455–1524), and later bishop of Vulturara e Montecorvino (S. Italy) and Santo Domingo (West Indies), describes the lunar celebrations among the aborigines of the Caribbean. See also Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis* (1651), lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 162–203, who details the observation of the new moon among the Sabeans, Nabateans, and Arabs; and Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 7, pp. 99–104, who does so among the ancient Thracians, Germans, Gauls, British, Spanish, and American peoples.

9 Philo Judaeus, *De specialibus legibus* (2.141, lines 2–4).

The Words of Scaliger are full to this Purpose. *In Pandectis Digestorum Talmudicorum, capite Ros haschana, omnino scriptorum est antiquitus, Neomenias ἀπὸ τῆς φάσεως indici solitas.* And elsewhere, *Certè major pars priscorum Judaeorum in eà sententiā est, quòd sanctificabant Neomeniam, /על פי הדאיה/ Secundum visionem.*¹⁰

The Words of Maimonides are to the like Purpose, *Hæc est constitutio Mosis in monte Sinai, quòd quandiū duraret Sanhedrin, Neomenias constituerent, secundum Lunæ φασιν.*¹¹ And the Words of an Ancient Writer, preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus, are to the like, *The Jewes keep not their New Moons, ἐὰν μὴ σελήγη φανῇ if the Moon appear not.*¹² But indeed, there is a whole Army of Writers; to testify it. *Palestine* was advantaged with a *clear Air*; And Spies were to wait upon an Hill, for the Sight of the *Moon*, which being obtained, they gave a Signal, and the *Sanhedrim* issued out their Orders accordingly. If the Sky were so cloudy, that no *Moon* could bee seen, they took Leave to pitch upon the End of the *Thirtieth Day*, from the former. Persons were liable to much Fallacy in this Matter. Hence the Poet,

*Qualem primo qui surgere mense,
Aut videt, aut vidisse putat, per Nubila Lunam.*¹³

Scaliger therefore tells us, That the Jewes kept a double Festival, for their *New Moons*; *Nam non solum Diem visionis, quæ dicitur, /חֹדֶשׁ /vel הַלְבָנָה/ Renovatio Lunæ, sed etiam ἔτην καὶ νέαν antecedentis diei observabant; eamque vetus lingua Bibliorum /כֶּסֶא/ vocat.* The Double Feast mentioned in the Scripture [1. Sam. 20.24, 25, 26, 27.] is thus accounted for.¹⁴

10 Spencer (lib. 3, diss. 4, cap. 1, sec. 2, fol. 718); the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew passages from the illustrious scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Opus De Emendatione Temporum* (1629), lib. 2, p. 102: "De Periodo Iudaeorum Alexandria"; and from *Isagogicorum chronologiae canonum libri tres* (1658), lib. 3, cap. 6, p. 232, read as follows: "In the Digest of the Talmudic laws, under the heading 'Rosh hashana' [New Year], there is mentioned that in ancient times, the neomenia were wholly revealed by prophecy." And elsewhere, "certainly the greater part of the ancient Jews is of the opinion that they were honoring the new moon as holy /חֹדֶשׁ /vel הַלְבָנָה/ after its visible appearance."

11 Mather (via Spencer 718) cites from Maimonides's tract on the sanctification of the new moon, in *Hilchot Kiddush HaChodesh*, which discusses the methods of the astronomical calculations of the new month, in *Sefer Zemanim (The Book of Seasons)*. The passage reads, "This concept is a halachah [law] communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai. When there is a Sanhedrin, the monthly calendar is established according to the sighting of the moon" (*Mishneh Torah* 9.2:474).

12 Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 6.5.41.3, line 1), in *ANF* (2:489).

13 Spencer (721). In his *Aeneid* (6.453–54), Vergil has Aeneas recognize Phoenician Dido's "dim form amid the shadows – 'even as, in the early month, one sees or fancies he has seen the moon rise amid the clouds.'"

14 In his *Isagogicorum chronologiae canonum libri tres* (1658), lib. 3, p. 231, Joseph Justus Scaliger speaks of a double festival among the Jews: "In fact they were not only observing the day of [the moon's] appearance, which is called /חֹדֶשׁ הַלְבָנָה/ the renewal of the moon, but also the previous and the new during the preceding day; and the old language of the Bible calls it /כֶּסֶא/ [full moon]."

The Practice of the *Gentiles* was in this Point conformable to That of the *Jewes*. All the World, agrees, That the *Græcians* did like the *Jewes*, herein. That the *Romans* did so, is evident from that of *Macrobius*, *Priscis Temporibus, pontifici minori hanc provinciam delegatam fuisse, ut Novæ Lunæ primum observaret Aspectum, visamque Regi Sacrorum nunciaret*.¹⁵ That the *Arabians* did so, is evident from that of *Selden*, out of *Alfraganus*, *Voluerunt Arabes à vesperâ Diem auspicari, quoniam à phasi Lunari incipiunt numerare dies mensium*.¹⁶ The *Mahometans* at this day, therefore celebrate their *New Moons*, from the first View of the *Horns* thereof. The *Eastern Indians* do the like.¹⁷

The *Antemosaic Patriarchs*, do seem to have worshipped God (no doubt, from some Institution of His) with special Devotions, at the Beginning of every Month, when the *New Moon* appeared. For, as *Hospinian* remarks, *In Sacris Literis expressè demonstrari non potest, à quo et quandò hæ feriæ institutæ fuerint*.¹⁸ *New Moons* therefore are not mentioned, among the *Israelitish* Festivities, in the Twenty Third Chapter of *Leviticus*. Indeed wee find the Lord Appointing what *Sacrifices* Hee would have to bee offered on that Solemnity, in the *Levitic Lawes*; but the Solemnity itself seems to have been Appointed & Observed before those *Lawes*. Hence also, the Scripture seems alwayes to distinguish the *New Moons*, from the *Feasts* which the Law required. [Consider, 2. Chron. 2.4. & 31.3. Ezr. 3.5. Isa. 1.13, 14. Neh. 10.33. and Col. 2.16.] And my Dr. *Spencer*, upon whose Collections I do much subsist, in these Matters, thinks, that the Remarkable *New Moon* of the *First Month*, is called, in Psal. 81.3. *A Time Appointed*, in Distinction from the rest throughout the Year.¹⁹ Or, if wee should acknowledge, That there is an *Express Institution*, [Num. 10.10.] for the Celebration of the *New Moons*, yett the Time for it, whether at the *Appearance*, or at the *Conjunction*, is left wholly uninstituted. Tho' the *Talmuds* tell us, the former was

¹⁵ Spencer (720); Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.15.9). The adapted passage reads, "In earliest times, it was a lesser pontiff's duty to watch for the first appearance of the new moon and to report the sighting to the king [priest] who performs the sacrifices."

¹⁶ Spencer (719); John Selden, *De Anno Civili Veterum Judæorum* (1683), cap. 3, p. 14, cites from the famous Arab astronomer Abu al-Abbas al-Farghani, aka. Alfraganus (c. 820–post 861) (*ODMA*). Selden probably relied on the dual language edition *Muhammedis Filii Ketiri Ferganensis, Qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa Astronomica, Arabicè & Latine* (1669), translated and published by Jacob Golius (1596–1667), a distinguished Dutch mathematician and Orientalist. According to Selden, "the Arabs wanted to take the signal for the day from the evening, since they begin to number the days of the months from the lunar phase." On Mather's views on Islam and Orientalism, see M. A. Isani, "Cotton Mather and the Orient" (1970).

¹⁷ Spencer (719); Scaliger, *Isagogicorum chronologiae canonum libri tres* (1658), lib. 3, p. 313.

¹⁸ Spencer (722); In his *De Origine, Progressu, Ceremoniis et Ritibus Festorum Dierum Iudæorum* (1592), cap. 4, p. 15, Rudolpho Hospinian remarks: "In the sacred writings, it cannot be expressly demonstrated by whom and when these feast days were established."

¹⁹ Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 4, cap. 1, sec. 3, fol. 722.

unquæstionably *Traditio Mosis è Monte Sinai*, and *Abarbanel* confirms what they say, yett the Scripture seems wholly silent about it.²⁰

But now, the *Gentiles*, depraved, and perverted unto very Idolatrous Purposes, a Rite, which doubtless had the Divine Countenance upon it, in its first Original. They designed a Special Honour, to that Noble and Useful Creature, the *Moon*, at the monthly New Exhibition of it. Hence likewise, they wore *Ornaments* of Respect unto the Creature, which they thus made an *Idol*. The *Ornaments* on *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, [Judg. 8.21, 26.] the LXX render, μηνίσκους, *Lunulas*, little *Moons*; It seems to have been the Custome of the *Midianites*, to honour the *Moon*, with such *Ornaments*.²¹ The *Figure* of a *New Moon*, was therefore stamp'd on the Egyptian *Apis*. And the *Arabians* have a Zeal to bee called, as the Nubian Geographer tells us, *Filii Hilal*, the *Sons of the New Moon*.²² From whom, the *Mahometans* at this Day, tho' Haters of *Images*, yett use those of the *New Moon*, with much Devotion.²³ *Marinus* reports | concerning his *Pro-* [48v]
clus, Then when the *Stars* and *Moon* appeared, ὑπολυσάμενος αὐτόθι ἃ ἦν αὐτῷ ὑποδήματα, τὴν θεὸν ἡσπάζετο. *Pulling off what shooes hee had on, hee saluted the Goddess*. The Superstition of *Proclus*, will tell us, what was practised among the ancient *Gentiles*.²⁴ They thus expressed their Joy, for their Goddess Restored unto them; they applied unto this Purpose, an Humour, like that of the *Egyptians*, who, as wee learn from *Jamblicus*, of their *Mysteries*, Rejoiced while the *Moon* was in the *Increase*, and Lamented when shee was in the *Wane*: or, like that which *Tacitus* reported of the Roman Souldiers, *qui prout obscurior aut*

20 According to Spencer (723), the Babylonian Talmud mentions that according to the “tradition of Moses from Mount Sinai,” the new moon was celebrated at the first appearance of it (cf. *Shabbath* 86b, *Pesachim* 3a, and *Rosh HaShana* 20a). This tradition is confirmed by Don Isaac Abarbanel, who adds that the Israelites could tell apart the different signals of the sounds of the trumpets, whether calling for collective action in war or for the festivals of the new moon, because the bugle sounds “were accompanied by blasts of the ram’s horn” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 4:67).

21 Spencer (sec. 4, fol. 724). Two Midianite kings, Zebah and Zalmunna invaded Israel but were routed by Gideon (Judg. ch. 8). In his gloss on Judg. 8:21, Mather explains that this ancient custom of wearing ornamental moons probably came from the Phoenician “Worshippers of *Astarte*; that is, the *Moon*” and from them spread to the Arabs, Turks, and to India (*BA* 3:179).

22 Mather (via Spencer) cites from *Geographia Nubiensis id est Accuratissima Totius Orbis in Septem Climata Divisi Descriptio* (1619), climatis 2, pars 5, p. 48, by Abu Abdullah Mohammed Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi, better known by the moniker “Nubian Geographer.” Spencer’s own source is Bochart’s *Geographia Sacra* (1646), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 19, p. 125 (c–).

23 Spencer (724) and Scaliger’s *Isagogicorum chronologiae canonum libri tres* (1658), lib. 3, p. 245.

24 Spencer (724–25); *De Vita Procli*, in *Procli Successoris Platonici in Platonis Theologiam Libri Sex* (1618), fol. Cⁱ, lines 39–40, by the Hellenic philosopher Marinus Neapolitanus of Samaria (5th c. CE), student of the Greek Neoplatonist philosopher Proclus Lycaeus Atheniensis (412–85 CE), and his successor at the Athenian academy. The abbreviated quotation can also be found in our modern edition of Marinus (*Vita Procli sive de felicitate*, lines 281–82).

*splendidior iret Luna, mærebant aut lætabantur.*²⁵ Yea, they carried on the Superstition, to an Imagination, That a Feast of the *New Moon*, was a *Good Omen* for all the Month. [Consider, Jer. 44.17.] Thus the old *Græcians*, would, at the *New Moon*, hold a Feast, unto her, under the Name of *Hecate*, as a Goddess, averting Evils from them. And hence, it was their Manner, to begin their more notable and important Businesses, at the Change of the *Moon*. *Tacitus* testifies of the old *Germans*, *Agendis rebus, hoc auspicatissimum Initium credunt.*²⁶ *Cotovicus* testifies the like of the modern *Turks*; and there are too many *Christians* that herein do imitate them.²⁷ Yea, The Superstition proceeded so far, as to bee a Companion and Occasion, of many *Diabolical Rites*, and Magical Incantations, and Abominations, and Idolatries. *Chrysostom* reproves the Observers of *New Moons* in this Time, for the Expectations of Prosperity, which they thence entertained. It may bee, the *Galatians*, whom the Apostle reprehended, for their being Observers of *Dayes* and *Months*, were touch'd with the like Expectations.²⁸ Τὸ θύειν κατὰ μῆνας, *Monthly Sacrifices*, are therefore mentioned by *Geminus*, in his *Elements of Astronomy*, as the Customes of the Idolatrous.²⁹

The particular *Cæremonies* used at the *New Moons* among the *Hebrewes*, were not a little Imitated and Æmulated among the *Gentiles*.

The *Sacrifices*, which the *Jewes* offered at their *New Moons*, were Numerous; even much beyond those of the weekly *Sabbaths*. [Num. 28.11, 12, 13, 14.] The *Greeks* also offered *Sacrifices*, at their *New Moons*. Tis a Passage in one of *Libanius*'s Declamations, ταῖς Νουμηνίαις νόμῳ μὲν πόλεως ἐθύομεν. Their *Sacrifices* were called, Ἐπιμήνια, their *Sacrificers* were called, Ἐπιμήνιοι.³⁰ And that the *Romans*

25 Mather probably refers to Thomas Gale's edition of Iamblicus's *De Mysteriis Liber* (1678), sec. 1, cap. 17 and sec. 8, cap. 4, pp. 29 and 153–54. Tacitus (*Annalium* 1.28) testifies to the superstition of the Roman soldiers, who raised a clamor with their brazen instruments "with joy or sorrow, as the moon brightened or grew dark."

26 Tacitus (*De Origine et Situ Germanorum*, cap. 11) explains that when important decisions were to be made among the old Germanic peoples, their chiefs assembled, at new or full moon, which they believed "the most auspicious season for the transaction of business."

27 Spencer (725); Johannes Cotovicus, aka. Johannes van Cootwijk (d. 1629), was a Dutch doctor of Civil and Canon Law at Utrecht, and Knight of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. His highly prized *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (1619), which contains rare maps of the Holy Land, was reprinted several times. Mather refers to *Itinerarium* (lib. 4, cap. 6, esp. p. 445), which here records Cotovicus's experience as a traveler through the Ottoman Empire in 1598–99.

28 Joannes Chrysostom, *In Kalendas* [PG 048. 0954, lines 41–45]; Gal. 4:10.

29 Spencer (lib. 3, Diss. 4, cap. 1, sec. 5, fol. 726); the Greek astronomer and mathematician Geminus Rhodius (fl. 1st c. BCE) speaks of the monthly sacrifices among the ancients in his *Elementa astronomiae* (ch. 8, sec. 7, lines 1–4). The Ἐπιμήνια were "monthly offerings" (Herodotus 8.41); those who made such supplications, the Ἐπιμήνιοι were the priests or "monthly officers" (*LSJ*).

30 Spencer (727); the quotation from Libanius (*Declamation* 30, subdiv. 1, sec. 17, lines 10–11), which reads, "we were sacrificing at the times of the new moon by the law of the city," and is at second hand from Samuel Petitus's *Leges Atticae* (1635), lib. 1, tit. 1, p. 85. Their sacrifices were called "monthly" and their sacrificers, "monthly officers."

did the like, is evident from that of *Macrobius*, *Romæ Kalendis omnibus Pontifex Romanus, rem divinam Iunoni facit*.³¹ Yea, they were many and mighty *Sacrifices*, which the *Gentiles* there offered. *Æmylius*, as *Plutarch* tells us, *Ut primum renitescere Lunam conspexit, ei Juvenas undecim immolavit*.³² *Clearchus*, (whom the Oracle pronounced, *Deorum cultorem optimum*) did then σπουδαίως θύειν.³³ And *Proclus* did, τὰς νομηνίας λαμπρῶς ἐπιτέλειν.³⁴

The *Jewes* particularly sacrificed a *Goat* at their *New Moons*; The *Gentiles* did so too; but they propounded the Figure of the *Moon* itself, to bee considered, in the *Horns* of that *Animal*.³⁵ *Suidas* therefore, (*ad vocem Ἀνάστατοι*) saies also, *That they sacrificed an Ox, whose Horns were κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς πρωτοφυῶς σελήνης*.³⁶ And *Horace* has a Passage of that Importance; *Fronte curvatos imitatus Ignes*.³⁷ *Grotius* thinks, that the special Intimation, of the *Sacrifices* were required, by being לַיהוָה / *To the Lord* [Num. 28.15.] might bee, to mind them, that they were not now to sacrifice unto the *Moon*, as the Degenerate Pagans did, which hee had out of *Maimonides*.³⁸

Moreover, the *Jewes* had their Solemn and Publick *Prayers* at the *New Moons*. *Horace* therefore brings in *Fuscus Aristius*, who was, by Nation a *Roman*, but by Religion a *Jew*, thus discoursing with him.³⁹

Hor. *Certè, nescio quid secretò velle loqui Te Aiebas mecum*. Fusc. *Memini benè, sed meliore Tempore dicam. Hodìe Tricesima Sabbata. Vin' Tu Curtis Judeis,*

31 Adapted from *Macrobius* (*Saturnalia* 1.15.19), the passage reads, “At Rome, on every Kalends, the Roman pontiff sacrifices to Juno.”

32 Spencer quotes from the bilingual Greek and Latin edition of *Plutarch's Opera Omnia*. 2 vols. (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1624). *Plutarch* relates that the Roman general *Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus* (c. 229–160 BCE) (*EB*) tried to curry favor from the goddess *Luna*, for “*Aemilius* at the first appearance of the moon sacrificed eleven heifers” and many more besides during the day to *Hercules* (*Plutarch's Life of Aemilius* 17.10, in *Parallel Lives* 6:401).

33 In his *De Abstinencia* (2.16, line 28), *Porphyrus* calls the Spartan general *Clearchus* (c. 450–401 BCE) “the greatest supporter of the gods” and has him “diligently sacrifice” to them, especially by bedecking with garlands *Hermes*, *Hecate*, and the other statues of his ancestral deities.

34 Spencer (727); in his *Vita Procli sive de felicitate* (lines 473–74), *Marinus Neapolitanus* (Samaria) relates that the Greek Neoplatonist philosopher *Proclus* of Athens (412–85 CE), τὰς νομηνίας λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλει, “celebrated the New Moon in great solemnity” (*Life of Proclus* 19).

35 Spencer (727–28).

36 *Suda* (*Lexicon*, alphabetic letter *alpha*, entry 2082, line 15) confirms at entry Ἀνάστατοι (i. e., “upsets,” “destroys”) that the pagans sacrificed an ox whose horns were “mimicking the first rise of the [crescent] moon.”

37 *Horace* (*Odes* 4.2, line 56) has his panegyrist promise *Augustus* that *Caesar's* sacrifice of bulls and cows will be complemented by one of his own, a young calf on whose “forehead it has a bright crescent like that of the moon.”

38 Spencer (728); *Hugo Grotius* (*Annotationes ad Numeros* [Numb. 28:15], in *Opera Omnia* 1.1:80), although he acknowledges *Maimonides* as his muse, does not identify the exact source, which is *Maimonides*, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 46, p. 488 (*Guide* 3.46.590).

39 *Horace* (*Satires*, bk. 1, *Eclg* 1.9, lines 67–72).

oppedere? Hor. *Nulla mihi, inquam, Religio est. Fusc. At mi: sum paulò infirmior, Unus Multorum. Ignosces, aliàs loquar.* —⁴⁰

Fuscus was of a more *Infirm*, or Tender Conscience; whereas, *Horace* had no Regard at all to any *Jewish Rites*. *Horace* meets him, near *Vesta's Temple*, *Quartâ jam parte Diei, præteritâ*, at Nine a clock.⁴¹ *Fuscus* was then going to, the *Proseucha*, which *Philo* saies was, on t'other side of *Tiber*; going thus to celebrate the *Tricesima Sabbata*, or the Feast of the *New Moons*, with the Devotions then before him, would not now stay to talk of tedious & profane Matters, with *Horace*, an Epicurean Gentile. The *Jewes* then, it seems, made their *Prayers*, for an *Happy Month*; and their *Peace-Offerings*, were therewithal to the like Purpose then presented.⁴² [Compare 1. Sam. 20.5.]⁴³ *Balsamon* saies, They did then, γονυκλιτεῖν ὡς ἂν τὸ μηνιαῖον διάστημα ἐντυχῶς διέλθωσι. *Genuflectere, ut Totum mensem feliciter transigerent.*⁴⁴ The *Gentiles* now also did the like. *Demosthenes* remarks it, That at the *New Moons*, ἕκαστος τοῖς θεοῖς εὔξεται *Every one made his Prayers to the Gods, for the Welfare of the City, and his own.*⁴⁵ *Horace* ha's that Expression,

⁴⁰ In *Satire* (1.9), *Horace* engages in a banter with an unwelcome acquaintance, whom he tries to shake off, when *Aristius Fuscus*, a Roman Jew, hurries by to attend to the Passover celebration before sundown: *Horace*.: "Surely you said there was something you wanted to tell me in private." *Fuscus*: "I mind it well, but I'll tell you at a better time. To-day is the thirtieth Sabbath. Would you affront the circumcised Jews?" *Horace*: "I have no scruples." *Fuscus*: "But I have. I'm a somewhat weaker brother, one of the many. You will pardon me; I'll talk another day." The "thirtieth Sabbath" (April 15) is observed on the 30th week starting from the Jewish New Year (Sept. 1).

⁴¹ More literally, "the fourth part of the day," which is the ninth hour before the night (9 PM).

⁴² *Spencer* (728) extracts his explication of the Jewish observation of the New Moon on the "thirtieth Sabbath" (to which *Horace* here alludes) from *Tractatus De Antiquo Paschali Judaeorum Cyclo*, in *Aegidius Bucherius Atrebatius, De Doctrina Temporum Commentarius* (1634), pp. 389–90. *Philo Judaeus* (*De Legatione ad Gaium* [Caligula] 23.155) reports that Roman Jews lived "on the other side of the river *Tiber*" where they attended their "*Proseuchae*" or synagogues (*Works* 771). *Joannes Buxtorf* (the Elder) has much to say on the celebration of the New Moon, in his *Synagoga Judaica: Das ist Jüden Schul* (1603), ch. 22, pp. 535–40 (or, pp. 471–81, in the third Latin edition, 1680). As an Epicurean, *Horace* believed in the random formation of the universe and of all its creatures (atomic materialism), as well as in man's free will; he rejected belief in teleology as superstition.

⁴³ *Spencer* (729); on the preparations for the Passover, see *Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica* (1680), cap. 17, pp. 383–404.

⁴⁴ *Spencer* draws on *Theodorus Balsamus* of Constantinople (d. c. 1200 CE), canon of the Greek Church and later patriarch of Antioch, who compiled a commentary on the Canons of the Apostles and Church Councils. Specifically, *Mather* here refers to *Balsamus's* commentary on *Canones Concilii Sexti in Trullo. De Sexta Synodo* (Canon 65, p. 234), in *Guilielmus Beveregius, SYNOΔΙΚΟΝ sive Pandectae Canonum SS. Apostolorum, et Conciliorum ab Ecclesia Graeca receptorum* (1672), tom. 1, div. 1, pp. 234, first published in Paris in 1615, in 2 folios (CBTEL). *Balsamus* comments that they did then "kneeled, so that they may pass the whole month with good fortune."

⁴⁵ *Mather's* adapted passage from *Demosthenes's* oration 25 (*In Aristogitonem* 1, sec. 99, lines 5–6) asserts that the ancient Athenians ascended to the Acropolis on the first day of every month and craved a blessing for their city and themselves.

*Cælo supinas si tuleris manus,
Nascente Lunâ.*⁴⁶

Whereupon the Scholiast saies, *Solent rusticæ mulieres, in initio prima Lunæ, voce cælo effundere preces.*⁴⁷ Lucian refers to this Practice, when hee joques upon *Empedocles*; ἐν ταῖς νομηγίαις πρὸς τὴν σελήνην τρεῖς ἐγγανὼν προσεύχεσθαι. In *Noviluniis*; *Ter ad Lunam inhians, vota facere.*⁴⁸ Ἱερομηγίαι, therefore in *Dion*, signify, *Supplications.*⁴⁹ Among the Romans, At the *Kalends* of all the Months, from *March* to *December*, *Junoni* (that is, to the *Moon*) *Die Kalendarum supplicarunt.*⁵⁰

Furthermore the *Jewes*, did signalize their *New Moons*, with the Sounding of *Cornets*, or *Trumpets*. [Num. IV. 9, 10.] The, *Curtis Judæis oppedere*, mentioned by *Horace*, is thus expounded by *Selden*.⁵¹ *Oppedere, est planè προσπέρδεν vel καταπέρδεν (vocabulum apud, Aristophanem obvium), id est, ventris crepitu, sive sonorus emissio, sive petulantius simulato, Judæos, buccinis Arietinis, Neomeniam pro more celebrantes, Contumeliosius et Ludibrio habere.*⁵² The *Gentiles* did the same; as *Geuffræus* tells us, The *Turks* do at this Day; And *Huet* reports of some other Nations.⁵³

46 Horace (*Ode* 3.23) exhorts Phidyle, a rustic maiden, that “If you raise your upturned hands to the sky when the moon is born anew,” the gods will bless your crops with fruitfulness.

47 Whereupon the Roman grammarian and scholiast Helenius Acron (3rd c. CE) offers the following gloss in *Opera Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini, grammaticorum antiquiss. Heleni Acronis, et Porphyrii commentarii illustrata* (1555), voce “nascente Lunæ” (*Carmina* 3.23): “At the beginning of the first moon, country women are accustomed to pour out prayers to heaven with their voice.” See also F. Hauthal’s *Acronis et Porphyrii Commentarii* (1864), 1:348.

48 Lucianus (*Icaromenippus* 13, lines 24–25) has Menippus reveal to his credulous interlocutor a dreamlike conversation with the sooty philosopher Empedocles, whom he had met in his imaginary flight to the moon and to whom he promised for his kindness “on the first of every month to open my mouth at the moon three times and make a prayer” in honor of the great philosopher who now resides in the moon.

49 In his *Historiæ Romanæ* (43.42.2, line 5; 48.33.3, line 4 etc.), Cassius Dio explains that “sacrifices” (thanksgivings) were offered during the “sacred month.”

50 Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.15.18) adds that the Romans “offer supplication” to the goddess Juno “on every Kalends” (the first of the month) from March to December.

51 Spencer (730); in Horace’s satire (*Sermones* 1.9.70), Aristius Fuscus, who is hurrying to the Passover Seder, objects to being detained in an unwelcome conversation, asking, would you “affront the circumcised Jews?”

52 John Selden, in his *De Anno Civili Veterum Judæorum* (1683), cap. 21, pp. 114–15, expounds on this passage in Horace: “to affront [lit. fart at], is plainly (vocabulary found in the works of Aristophanes, obviously), that is, by a noise of the stomach, whether noisily emitted or copied cheekily, that Jews, celebrating the new moon day by their custom with the horns of a ram, behave insultingly and mockingly.”

53 Mather refers to the celebration of the New Moon among the Ottoman Turks, as described in *De Turcarum Caeremonis, Religione, Natura, & Moribus*, in *Aulæ Turcicae, Othomannicque Imperii Descriptio* (1577), lib. 2, pp. 53–54, by the French traveler, historian, and Chevalier de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, Antonius Geuff(f)raeus, aka. Antoine Geuffroy (1500–99) (*CERL*). This popular work about the Ottoman Turks and the Islamic religion was first published in Basel (1573) and translated into other European languages. Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 7, sec. 6, pp. 102–04, provides a detailed list of peoples who worshipped the goddess Luna among the ancients and moderns.

Yea, the *Jewes* at their *New Moons*, did putt off all Sorrow & Sadness, and give themselves to Dancing, Feasting, & all sorts of Jollitie. [Compare Num. 10.10. and Hos. 2.11. and 1. Sam. 20.5.] Thus when tis said, in Hos. 2.7. *A Month shall consume them*, /שִׁחִי/ Tis by *Aquila* rendred νουμηνία· q.d. They shall bee brought unto such a low and mean Estate, that | the Feast of one *New Moon*, would consume all they have.⁵⁴ *Buxtorf* affirms, that the *Jewes* to this very day are thus disposed.⁵⁵ Nor have the *Gentiles* come behind them. [Compare, Jer. 44.17. where, what wee render, *It was well with us*, is rendred, by *Pagnin*, and by *Tremelius*, *Hilares eramus*.]⁵⁶ *Horace* therefore calls for this,

Da Lunæ properè Novæ,

*Da Noctis mediæ, poculum.*⁵⁷

The *New Moons* are called, ἑορτώδεις ἡμέραι, in *Demosthenes*; that is, *Feasting Dayes*.⁵⁸ And in *Plautus*, the *Epulæ menstruales* are spoken of.⁵⁹ *Synesius* tells us, of the *Playes* then used.⁶⁰ A *Canon* of a *Council* at *Trulla*, forbids them.⁶¹ Tis a Stroke in *Plutarchs* *Invectives* against *Usurers*, That they made the *New Moon*, which was the most *Sacred* of all *Dayes*, to bee the most *Sorrowful*, ἀποφράδα καὶ στύγιον.⁶² And *Libanius* could say, *Scis quàm Lætus esses, quandò te Novilunijs deducebamus ad Templā*.⁶³

Upon the whole, memorable are the Words of *Elias* the *Karaite*, quoted by *Selden*; *Nullibi reperimus in Scripturâ Præceptum hoc, peculiare fuisse Terræ*

54 The Hebrew noun /שִׁחִי/ [chodesh] (Strong's # 2320) signifies "the new moon, month, the first day of the month," and "the lunar month," which in *Aquila* of *Sinope's* literalist LXX translation is rendered νουμηνία; i. e., "new moon" (*Origenes, Hexaplorum Origenis quæ supersunt. Opera Omnia* [PG 16.3.2928], on *Hosea* 2:11).

55 Johannes Buxtorf (the elder), *Synagoga Judaica* (1680), cap. 17, esp. pp. 397–99.

56 Pagninus, *Biblia Sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione* (1542), fol. 170; Tremellius and Junius (*Biblia Sacra* (1593), on Jer. 44:17 (note g): "eramus hilares" ("we were cheerful").

57 Mather slightly alters the lines in *Horace's Carmina* (Ode 3.19, lines 9–10, 12): "Prepare a toast to the new month, to midnight, a cup."

58 The Greek phrase, ascribed to the great Athenian orator Demosthenes (384–322 BCE), appears in *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos* (159, lines 6–7), by Valerius Harpocration Alexandrinus (2nd c. CE), purported tutor of Roman Emperor Lucius Verus (130–69 CE) (*OCD*).

59 The Roman comic poet Titus Maccius Plautus (*Plautus: Captivi*, act 3, scene 1, line 483) jokes that an impromptu slapstick story he dished up gained him "free board for a month."

60 Synesius (*Calvetii encomium*, sec. 13, line 25–26) speaks of καθ' ἑκάστην ἑορμηνίαν, or the great festivals "during the time of the sacred months."

61 *De Sexta Synodo: Canones Concilii sexti in Trullo* (Canon 62), in Guilielmus Beveregius, *ΣΥΝΟΔΙΚΟΝ sive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apostolorum* (1672), tom. 1, div. 1, pp. 230–32.

62 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 4, cap. 1, sec. 6, fol. 733; Plutarch, in *De vitando aere alieno* (828a, lines 8, 9) complains that greedy usurers make the high holidays "unlucky and Stygian." Mather shortens his second-hand quote from Spencer.

63 And a Latin translation from Libanius Antiochenus's *Declamationes 1–51* (*Declamatio* 40) is added for good measure, reading, "you know how happy you were, when we were leading you down to the temples during the new moons."

*Israelitica; sed verò manavit à seculis vetustissimis, adeoque à Tempore Noachi, et Abrahæ Patris nostri, (quibus pax) mos ille sanctificandi Lunam, quocunque locorum.*⁶⁴

But there was a further Sort of *New-Moon Holiday*, kept among the *Israelites*; the first *New-Moon* in the Year, or, the *first Day* of the *first Month* in the Year, they observed, with a more than ordinary Festivité. They began *Tisri*, with Sacrifices, that had the Jubilation of *Trumpetts*, to sett them off. *Vociferations*, and *Acclamations* then accompanied their Sacrifices: They were called, in Psal. 27.6. *Sacrificia Vociferationis*. Herein also the *Gentiles* did follow the *Jewes*; as *Casaubon*, and *Montague*, at large will satisfy you.⁶⁵ Yea, *Maffæus*, *Trigautius*, and others report the like Usages, among the *Chinois* of later Ages;⁶⁶ and *Selden*, of the *Persians*; and *Paulus Venetus*, of the *Tartarians*.⁶⁷

But so much may suffice for our present Entertainment.

⁶⁴ Spencer (734); in his *De Anno Civili Veterum Judæorum* (1683), cap. 10, p. 62, John Selden quotes a passage from *Seder* (1.10), a Hebrew and Latin gloss on the celebration of the New Moon, by the as yet unidentified Elias ben Moses, a Karaite, who rejected the authority of the Talmud (oral tradition) in religious laws (halakha). Spencer's third-hand quote reads, "Nowhere do we find in Scripture that this statute has been specific to the land of the Israelites; but, indeed, that custom of sanctifying the moon, in whatever place, has flowed from the oldest centuries, and thus far from the time of Noah and our father Abraham (peace be upon both of them)."

⁶⁵ Spencer (cap. 2, fol. 736); Mather refers to the annotation of the great Isaac Casaubon, in his classic edition of *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores VI. Cum integris Notis Isaaci Casauboni* (1671), tom. 1, p. 541 (note 5), which glosses the joyous festivities of the neomenia at the Roman New Year. The eirenic Richard Montagu, aka. Montacutius (1577–1641), Anglican bishop of Hereford and, later, of Norwich, in *De Originibus Ecclesiasticis Commentationum Tomus Primus* (1636), tom. 1, pars prior, pp. 127–29, secs. 134–35, a major work on Patristics, supplies Mather with additional references to the Roman new-moon celebrations in the Julian calendar as discussed in Ovid, Prudentius, Pliny, Lucianus, Herodianus, and others.

⁶⁶ The Italian Jesuit Joannes Petrus Maffei, aka. Giovanni Pietro Maffei (1533–1603), biographer of Ignatius of Loyola, was actively involved in the Society of the Orient, whose correspondence he directed. Mather quotes from *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI* (1605), lib. 6, pp. 155–59, which (among many other things) discusses the observation of the New Moon among the Chinese (*JL*). The Flemish Jesuit missionary Nicolaus Trigautius, aka. Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628), of Douai, procurator of the Jesuit mission to China, spent nearly twenty years of his life in China, translated many pertinent works into Latin and Chinese, and published (among other works) *Regni Chinensis Descriptio* (1639). Mather here alludes to ch. 7: "*De Sinarum ritibus nonnullis*" (142–91), of this work, which treats various religious customs among the Chinese, including the legendary celebration of the Chinese New Year. See also L. M. Brockey's *Journey to the East* (2007) and C. Dehaisnes's *Vie du Père Nicolas Trigault* (1861).

⁶⁷ John Selden contributes his discussion of religious rites and celebrations among the Persians, in his *Uxor Hebraica* (1646), lib. 2, cap. 22, pp. 229–32. And (at long last), Mather's quest for the new moon among the ancients and moderns arrives at his journey's end (before lunacy overtakes us): the descriptions of the famous Venetian traveler to the Orient and Asia, Marcus Paulus Venetus, better known as Marco Polo (c. 1254–1324), whose *De regionibus Orientalibus Libri III* (1671), lib. 2, cap. 15, pp. 73–74, describes the neomenia and related festivities of the Great Khan among the Mongols (Tartars).

Q. A Remark upon the Sin-Offering, said here to be, *Unto the Lord?* v. 15.

A. It is a Remark of *Grotius*; That The Law appointing at *this Time* a *Goat* for a *Sin-Offering*, speaks expressly, That it shall be, An Offering *unto the Lord*. It was to putt them in Mind of the *Right Object* of Worship, when they were in danger to offer Sacrifices unto the *Moon*, after the Manner of the *Heathens*. This is the more to be regarded, because a *Goat* being appointed for an Offering on two other Solemnities, and for a Sin-Offering, it is not said, (tho' certainly so meant) *unto the Lord*; Because there was nothing at those Times to lead their *Sacrifices* unto a Wrong Object, as there was upon the *New Moons*; when the Heathens offered a *Goat* unto the *Moon*; it being a Creature, whose Horns are Sharp, resembling those of a *New Moon*. *Maimonides* Remarks on this Occasion; That tho' *Burnt-Offerings*, being wholly consumed, might properly be said, *unto the Lord*; whereas the *Sin-Offerings* were eaten by the Priests; yett the *Sin-Offering* here is peculiarly said for to be, *unto the Lord*; lest this *Goat* should seem to be a Sacrifice unto the *Moon*, after the Manner of the *Egyptians*.⁶⁸

[49v] | [blank]

[50r] | [blank]

⁶⁸ Simon Patrick, on Numb. 28:15 (*Numbers* 560–61); Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes (Opera Omnia* 1.1:80); Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 3, cap. 46, pp. 488; and *Guide* (3.46.590).

2781.

Q. What Reason, do the Jewes assign, for the *Daily Diminution* of the Offering, in the *Feast of Tabernacles*: on the first Day 13 Young Bullocks, on the Second, 12, on the Third, 11, and so forward? v. 13.

A. The Jewes tell us, The whole Number of *Bullocks* to be offered, being *Seventy*, according to the Languages of the *Seventy Nations*, into which they divide the World, and for whom they suppose these Sacrifices to be performed;¹ this *Daily Diminution* of them, was to signify a *Diminution* of those Nations, until all things were brought under the Government of the *Messias*.²

| [blank]

[51r]

¹ Mather appears to lean on Ainsworth's Christological reading, in *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1626–27), on Numb. 29:13, 17 (*Numbers* 181–82). According to פרקי רבי אליעזר [*Pirkê de Rabbi Elieser*] *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 24, p. 55, God descended with seventy angels upon Nimrod's Babel and changed the people's common speech into seventy languages and separated them into seventy nations, a tradition also maintained by a rabbi of the Talmud (Shabbath 88b). See also *Pirkê de Rabbi Elieser* (2004), ch. 24, p. 177 (note 6).

² The rabbinic commentators differ widely on this point. Rashi (Bamidbar – Pinchas 29:18) glosses, “There were seventy festival bulls, representing the seventy nations, which were progressively diminishing, symbolizing their destruction. During the time of the Sanctuary [Temple], [however,] These sacrifices shielded them from suffering” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 4:394); *Midrash Tanchuma Bamidbar II* (Pinchos 16, pp. 295–87) offers much the same; Chizkuni (Pinchas 29:17, 32) believes that if the number of sacrifices for “the communal *mussaph* offerings” had not diminished during the seven-day celebration, the people who had to pay for the sacrifices “might have resented” the expense; the total of seventy bullocks offered during “the seven days of *Sukkot*” “corresponded to the fifty two Sabbath days in the year, seven days of Passover, one day of Shavuot, one day of the New Year, one day of Atonement, and eight days of *Sukkot/Shmini Atzeret*” (Chizkuni, *Torah Commentary* 4:1019). Yet another reading is offered by Abarbanel (Numb. 28:18), “The 70 bulls represent the 70 years of life. But note further that a total of 28 animals is offered every day, making four sevens, representing the seventh-day Sabbath, the festivals of the seventh month, the seventh-year sabbatical, and the jubilees year that follows seven sabbatical cycles” (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:215–16). Mather's Christological interpretation is, perhaps, the ineluctable conclusion of Abarbanel's reading. The English Baptist John Gill (1697–1771) follows on his heels, in his erudite gloss on Numb. 29:13–34 (*Exposition* 1:846).

3755.

Q. A Vow made by a Wife, *Her Husband may establish it, or her Husband may make it void.* v. 13.

A. *Maimonides*, in his *More Nevochim*, ha's a notable Discourse, to show how Reasonable this is. He observes, That as the Law prohibited certain *Meats*, thus there were pious People, who sometimes did vow to forbear some that were not prohibited; that so they might learn Contentment with a little, or Continenence, & give a Check to an immoderate Appetite. From whence, there was a Saying among the Doctors, That *Vowes are the Hedge of Separation*, that is to say, a great Guard unto an Holy Life. But since, thro' the Vehemence of their Passions, many Women are prone to act unadvisedly, if *Vowes* were wholly in their Power, great Inconveniencies, Dissensions, and Confusions might arise in Families, while the same Sort of Meat was lawful to the *Husband*, but unlawful to the *Wife*; lawful to the *Mother*, but unlawful to the *Daughter*. For this Reason, saies he, this Authority was given to the Governours of Families, in all things to order them, as they said would be for their Advantage or Detriment.¹

It followes, *Then he shall bear her Iniquity.* *Paulus Fagius* thinks, the Meaning is, That if the *First Day* he heard of her *Vow*, he did not disannul it, but attempted the next Day, or the Third Day after, to do so, he should bear the Blame of the *Vowes* not being made good.²

¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 582); Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* 1648), pars 3, cap. 48, p. 497; *Guide* (3.49.600).

² Mather here summarizes Paulus Fagius's annotations on Numb. 30:13, in *Targum. Hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica* (1546), fol. (I^{2v}).

3756.

Q. Something, if you please, upon the Death of *Balaam, slain with the Sword?* v. 8.

A. *Balaam* had seen such a mighty Success of his wicked Council, that præsuming the *Israelites* were forsaken of their God, he adventured to go along with the *Midianites* unto this *Battel*;¹ Hoping, he might curse the *Israelites*, now that *Iniquity* (i. e. Idolatry) was found among them; which he could not do, while they were free from it. Thus he perished by his own Devices; and was so far from having his Wish, *To Dy the Death of the Righteous* (that is, To live long,) that, as the Jewes tell us, He was slain in the Thirty fourth Year of his Age.² The Doctors, in the *Gemara* of the *Sanhedrim*, ask, *what he did there?* To which *R. Johanan* makes Answer, He went to receive his Reward, for the Death of the Twenty four thousand *Israelites* which he had procured.³ And thus, saith another, it happened unto him, according to the Proverb, *The Camel went to desire Horns, and they cutt off his Ears.*⁴

| **Q.** The Severe Injunction for such an Universal Slaughter? v. 17. [52v]

A. It seems to have been a Kind of *Self-Defence*; A Destroying of Adversaries that were Idolaters, lest they should be drawn by them into the Snares that would bring Destruction on themselves.⁵

¹ See Appendix A.

² Numb. 23:10. When asked how old Balaam was at his death, R. Hanina answered, "It is not actually stated, but since it is written, 'Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days' [Psal. 55:23] [it follows that] he was thirty-three or thirty-four years old." The interlocutor responded, "Thou hast said correctly, I personally have seen Balaam's Chronicle, in which it is stated, 'Balaam the lame was thirty years old when Phinehas the Robber killed him'" (Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin 106b).

³ Patrick (*Numbers* 589). R. Johanan (Sanhedrin 106a) refers to Numb. 25:9.

⁴ Whether or not this wily "ship of the desert" had one or two humps, this proverb is quoted by Mar Zutra b. Tobiah (Sanhedrin 106a).

⁵ Patrick (*Numbers* 592–93). Abarbanel adds, "it was proper to kill them in order to visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the sons" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:226). More often than not, genocide is sanctioned in the OT when idolatry is involved. If anachronistic annotations are permissible, this justification of what amounts to an act of genocide was not shared by Mather's latter-day countryman Elihu Palmer (1764–1806), a Presbyterian clergyman (graduated Dartmouth 1787) turned deist and founder of the Deistical Society of New York (1796). In his best-known work, *Principles of Nature* (1801), he charges Moses with committing heinous massacres of defenseless people: "Believers in Christianity, in reading the history and conduct of Moses, ought to blush for his crimes, and spurn at his blasphemy in attributing these crimes to the God whom he pretended to adore. He issues orders for the indiscriminate massacre of men,

women, and children, in a defenceless condition, making an exception only of that part of the captives whose sexual predicament invited the passions of man to indulge in the gratification of criminal desires ...[Numb. 31:18ff]. But this is only a single specimen of the murdering temper of this meek man of God!" (*Principles*, 3rd ed. [1806], ch. 21, p. 200). In this particular chapter Palmer may have had in mind the heretical tract *De Tribus Impostoribus*, an attack on the three monotheistic religions, of uncertain origin and anonymous authorship. See Abraham Anderson's translation *The Treatise of the Three Impostors* (1997).

3757.

Q. In the first Verse of the Chapter, the Children of *Reuben* are first mentioned, because *Reuben* was the First-born of *Jacob*. Whereas, in the rest of the Chapter, the Children of *Gad* are constantly first mentioned: and, why so? v. 1.

A. Because, as the *Hebrewes* conjecture, the Children of *Gad*, were the first Movers of the Matter, that is here prosecuted.¹

And in the two first Verses, there is no mention of the Children of *Menasseh* (half of which had their Portion in the Countrey here siezed upon,) because they did not move in this Matter, nor were any Contrivers of it; but had a Lott assigned them here, because these Countreyes were too much for the other Two Tribes alone, and they of *Menasseh* had much cattle also.²

3758.

Q. How comes *Caleb*, to be called, *The Kenezite*? v. 12.

A. Some take Pains to prove, that it was because his Fathers Name was *Kenaz*. They urge, that *Othniel* was *Calebs* Brother: (*Josh.* 15.17.) his younger Brother: (*Judg.* 1.13. & 3.9.) and *Othniels* Father was *Kenaz*. Their Father then must have Two Names, *Kenaz* and *Jephunneh*.

But then, tis very strange, that *Caleb* is no where called, The Son of *Kenaz*, but constantly, The Son of *Jephunneh*; even where *Othniel* is just before called, The Son of *Kenaz*: (*1. Chron.* 4.13, 15.) Nor is *Othniel* any where called, The Son of *Jephunneh*, but alwayes of *Kenaz*.

And the Marriage of *Othniel* to the Daughter of *Caleb*, would have been utterly unlawful by the Law of *Moses*; if they two had been Brothers.

Others therefore think it more probable, That *Othniel* was one of *Calebs* Brothers younger Sons; (for Uncles & Nephewes are often called *Brethren*, as *Abraham* and *Lot* were.) But yett it were absurd for us to think, that *Caleb* was called, a *Kenezite*, because his younger Brothers Name was *Kenaz*.

1 Patrick (*Numbers* 605). Ibn Ezra concurs, and Nachmanides adds, "The Reubenites came first in v. 1, as they should have – Reuben was Jacob's first-born and also the son of his chief wife. ... [Yet] the Gadites always come first. It was they who came up with the plan to ask for this land as their holding, and they who first broached it to Moses. They were bolder than the Reubenites – [Deut. 33:20] – and so were not afraid of staying by themselves amid the non-Israelite inhabitants of this region" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:231, 232).

2 Patrick on Numb. 32:2 (*Numbers* 606).

It is more probable therefore, that *Kenaz* was a common Ancestor, both of *Othniel*, and *Caleb*; and that *Othniel's* Father took also his Name from him. Accordingly, we find *Jephunneh* too, called, *A Kenezite*. [Josh. 14.14.]³

[53v]

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3759.

Q. It is imposed upon the *Reubenites* and *Gadites*, To go armed before the Lord, to War? v. 20.

A. To go before the Lord, was to go before the *Ark*, which they still carried with them into the War.

And it is to be observed, That these two Tribes, *Reuben* and *Gad*, always lay encamped before the Sanctuary. When the Camp removed, they still marched Immediately before it. All that is required of them here, is, To hold their usual Place: which they did accordingly. [Josh. 4.12, 13.]⁴

³ Patrick (*Numbers* 610–11).

⁴ Patrick (*Numbers* 613, 614).

1533.

Q. The *Forty Two Stations*, and Removes, of *Israel*, in the Wilderness, was there any *Mystery* in them? v. 3.¹

A. The Church of *Israel*, being delivered from the *Egyptian* Oppression, soon fell into a sad Apostasy; & their first Apostasy, lay in the Idolatry of the *Golden Calf*, pretending to Represent the God who Delivered them; and *Aaron*, the High-Priest, was deeply guilty in this Idolatry.² In like Manner, the Christian Church, being delivered from the *Pagan Persecution*, quickly were guilty of the *Pagan Idolatry*; which they disguised, under Honour, to God, & Christ, and Saints, by whom they had been delivered from their Paganism: And a most noted *Priest* among them, (Hee of *Rome*,) was deep in this Idolatrous Degeneracy.

Now, the *Forty Two* Encampings of *Israel* in the Wilderness, were so many Delays of their Entering into *Canaan*. Thus the Church must continue in the Wilderness, *Forty two* Months; which are so many Stops, e're the Appearance of the Hundred & Forty four Thousand, on Mount *Zion*, in that *Rest which remains for the People of God*.

The *Taking off the Cloud*, which was upon the *Tabernacle*, still was a Direction, for a *New Motion* of the Congregation towards the *Promised Land*. In like sort, from Time to Time, when the *Cloud of Antichristian Darkness*, was in any Measure taken off, there was a *New Essay* of Reformation, in the Christian Church.

But in the last Part of *Israels* Peregrination, some few of the Tribes, did Begin to enter into the *Promise Land*; or, lay their Claim unto it before the Rest. The Two Tribes, and an Half did so. However, they must not yett enter into a state of *Rest*; they still must *go up to War*, along *with their Brethren*. This was answered by the Churches, concerned in that *Half-Reformation*, of the former Century; but such of them, as go to take Rest, Splendor & Grandeur to themselves, their *Sin will find them out*.³

1 In his "Note Book of Authors" (Numb. 33:2), Mather records "Bedles Journal. p. 1-". This work and its author remain unidentified.

2 See Appendix A.

3 Mather's allegorical gloss on the numerological significance of the Israelites' forty-two removes in the wilderness is noteworthy; it appears to lean on David Chytraeus's "Allegoria XLII. Mansionum, exponens, quibus gradibus Christianus, relictis vicijis, duce Christo, perveniat ad perfectam pietatem, Autore D. Ieronymo," in *In Numeros* (1572), pp. 505–50. The Lutheran Chytraeus himself acknowledges as his own muse St. Jerome's allegorization of Psal. 77 (LXX), in *Breviarium In Psalmos* [PL 026. 1044–1054], and Christ's declaration (Matth. 13:35), "I will open my mouth in parables" (KJV, Psal. 78:2). Numb. 32:23.

Q. Why no mention here, of the Encampment at *Kadesh-barnea*? v. 3.

A. We find it expressly asserted, Deut. I.46. *They abode in Kadesh many days.* It is likely, they made several Movements, during their Stay in the Neighbourhood of *Kadesh*. And so their Encampment at *Kadesh*, may comprehend under it, the Removes mention'd under several Names hereabouts.⁴

Q. Tis possible, that the *Names*, of the *Times*, of the Stations of the erratic Church, may afford unto us, *Mysteries* of some further Curiositie? v. 3.

A. Tis possible, that wee may bee too curious, in our Pursuit of those *Mysteries*, and our Speculations may bee too fine and nice, for more Judicious Considerers.

Nevertheless, t'wil really add unto the Glories of this miraculous Book, our *Bible*, if wee can discover notable, Figurative, & Prophetical Hints, in the most unobserved Passages of it.

The very *Letters* of the Words used in the sacred Oracles, considered as *Numerals*, do sometimes offer most Remarkable Hints unto us; and argue, that the Providence of God, ha's extended itself unto the minutest Matter in the World.⁵

When the 430 Years of *Israel's* Bondage are out, *Israel* first arrives at *Rameses*. The very Name of *Rameses* contains, 430, the Number of the Years then & there expired. [As do the Letters, of the Hebrew Word, *Shekel*, first used, when the Cave was purchased, whereby the Patriarch took Possession of the Land, which at the End of the 430 Years, his Children were to bee brought forth unto.]⁶

From *Rameses*, they came to *Succoth*; or, *Tabernacles*. The Name contains 480, the Number of Years, from the *Tabernacle* to the *Temple*.

4 R. Chizkuni's gloss (Parshat Massey 33:1) may have some bearing here: "whenever a paragraph commences with the word: אלה ["these were" (Numb. 33:1)] the reason is to tell the reader that what follows is not connected to what was written previously. What this means here in practical terms is that only the journeys listed from here on in, but not עטרות and דבון, of which the Torah wrote in Numbers 32,2 and the locations mentioned there, are included in what follows" (*Torah Commentary* 4:1036). Abarbanel adds (Numb. 33:2), "No one should be disturbed by the differences between some of these names and those found elsewhere; it is not unusual for a city to be called by more than one name. As for the places here that have not previously been mentioned at all, they are likely places where nothing special happened, because the Israelites camped there only for a day or two" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 4:238).

5 Calculating the value and significance of words based on the value of their individual alphabetic letters (gematria) was a widespread means to arrive at the hidden, mystical sense in sacred writ among the ancients, esp. the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans.

6 The ancient Hebrew numerological calculation (gematria) supplies the following values for *Rameses* רַעַמְסֵס [Ra'mecce] (Numb. 33:3, 5): ר (200) + ע (70) + מ (40) + ס (60) + ס (60) = 430. This value suggests to Mather and his peers the number of years the Israelites remained in Egypt from Jacob's arrival to their Exodus from the city of *Rameses* in the Nile Delta (Exod. 12:40). Mather offers a similar chronology in the introduction to Genesis (*BA* 1:283). For *Shekel* שֶׁקֶל [sheqel] (Gen. 23:16), the values are (from right to left) 300+100+30=430. Significantly, the Hebrew term used in Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23:9) reads כֶּסֶף [keceph] and suggests "silver, money," but also in a wider sense "shekels" (Strong's # 3701).

From *Succoth*, they came to *Etham*. It signifies, *I shall bee cutt off*. So the *Temple* was, in 441 Years, which is the Number of the Letters in *Etham*. It also signifies, *I shall bee perfected*. This was their *Third Station*. *Quære*, whether our Saviour alludes not hereunto, when Hee saies, *On the Third Day I shall bee perfected*. The *Glory* of the Lord was exhibited, at *Etham*, in the Pillar, of Cloud.

Abundance of these Curiosities might bee observed.

| We will add,⁷ one more at least, that shall be unexceptionable?

[54v]

The Wandring of *Israel* in the Wilderness Forty Years, foreshadowed the Removeable State of the Church, from one Kingdome and Countrey to another; many Places, wherein the Beautiful Tents of the Church, were once pitched, are now horribly Desolate.

And from their Fighting out their Way at last into *Canaan*, we must expect, That the nearer the World is to an End, Religion will meet with so many more, and those more dangerous Enemies. But the *Warfare* is follow'd with the *Sabbatical Year*.⁸

Q. What Use do the Jewes make, of the *Record*, here made by *Moses*, of the *Israelitish* Travels, thro' the Wilderness.

A. The Use they make of it, is; To keep up their Spirits, under their present long Captivity, wherein they now are languishing, & have long been wandering uncertainly, *from Mountain to Mountain, from Kingdome to Kingdome, from Banishment to Banishment* (as they themselves do speak) until their *Messiah* come to Redeem them.

This He may do, when their Eyes are open to see, what one of their Ancient Rabbins (*Moses Hadarschan*) ha's told them, as he is quoted by *Paulus Fagius*, That *the Redeemer was born before him who reduced Israel into this last Captivity*.⁹

Q. An Allegorical Remark upon *Punon*? v. 42.

A. Among the Journeyes of the *Israelites*, thro' the Wilderness, they pitched once at *Punon*, or *Pinon*; old *Ambrose* will tell you, The Name signifies, *oris*

⁷ See Appendix A.

⁸ Whatever the original source which jogged Mather's heuristic intent, his numerological hankering (gematria) for the mystical sense of even the most mundane and accidental events mentioned in Holy Writ bears witness to his ability to combine the medieval mysticism of, say St. Jerome's "Allegoria XLII," in *Breviarium In Psalmos* [PL 026. 1044–1054], with the cutting-edge Newtonian science of his own day whenever and wherever appropriate. See also David Chytraeus's *In Numeros* (1572), pp. 505–50, and Mather's "An Appendix" at the end of the present chapter (below).

⁹ Patrick, on Numb. 33:20 (*Numbers* 630). In his gloss on Numb. 33, in *Thargum, hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica* (1546), fol. (I^{8v}), Paulus Fagius quotes the original Hebrew passage of the French R. Moses Hadarshan, aka. Moses ha-Darshan (fl. 11th c. CE), president of the Narbonne Yeshiva, probably from an extant citation in Rashi (*JE*). Mather quotes Patrick's English translation (*Numbers* 630).

parsimoniam; To be sparing in Speech. He adds a good Admonition; *Curemus igitur et nos nostram hic habere stationem*.¹⁰

Q. A Remark upon, *Abel-Shittim*? v. 49.

A. It is probably the Place that is elsewhere called, *Shittim*. [Num. XXV.1. Jos. II.1. & III.1.] Or, *Shittim* was the Place; and *Abel-Shittim* the Plain adjoining to it. We read [Joel. III.18.] about *The Valley of Shittim*. However, the Word, *Abel*, signifies, *Mourning*, And therefore some think, this Place to be called so, in regard of the great Lamentation here made by the *Israelites*, on behalf of the Great Number of their Brethren; who died here for their *Moabitish* Idolatries.¹¹

1981.

Q. Upon that Passage; *They encamped by Jordan, from Beth Jesimoth, even unto Abel-Shittim*, what Remark? v. 49.

A. From hence the Jewes confirm an Opinion Received among them. They tell us, in the *Talmuds* over & over again, *From Beth-Jeshimoth to Abel-Shittim, were Twelve Miles*. And they conclude, That the Tents of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, contained a Square of *Twelve Miles*.¹² The *Targum* of *Jonathan*, on Num. 2.2. saies, *The Encamping of Israel, was Twelve Miles in Length, and Twelve Miles in Breadth*.¹³ The *Gemarists* have a Tradition upon it; *It is forbidden to a Scholar, to Teach a Tradition before his Master, Yea, not to do it, until hee bee Twelve Miles distant from him, according to the Space of the Encamping of Israel*.¹⁴

But the best Commentary upon the *Itinerary*, which *Moses* ha's given us of the *Wilderness*, will be a Plain MAP of the Countrey. This accordingly is now laid before you.

[55r] | Fold out MAP OF THE HOLY LAND¹⁵

¹⁰ St. Ambrose, in his *De Mansionibus Filiorum Israel* (XXXVI mansion PHINON 36, col. 36C) [PL 017. 0036C], adds, "Let us take care, therefore, that we also hold our station here."

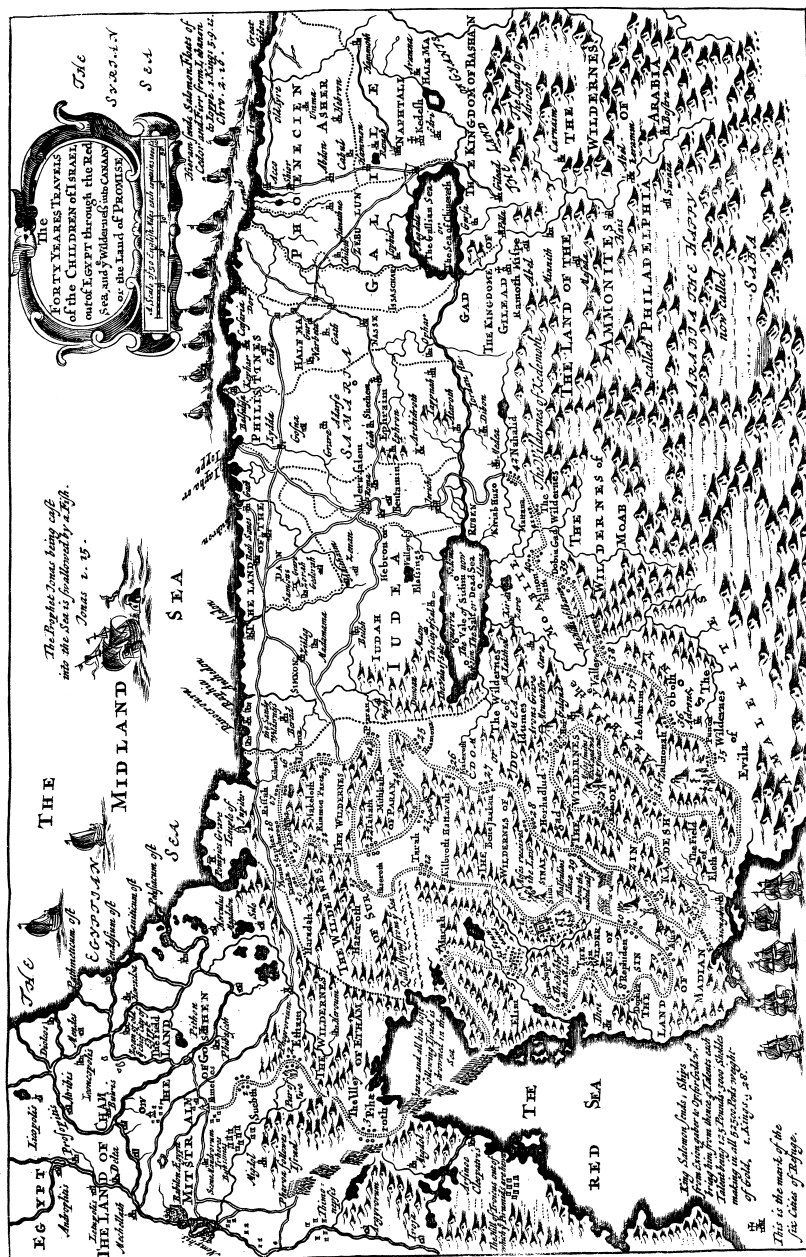
¹¹ See Patrick (*Numbers* 635).

¹² Talmud, tractate Eruvin (55b); see also Rashi (*Chumash/Rashi: Bamidbar* 4:442–43) and tractate Yoma (75b).

¹³ Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel, Numb. 2:2–3, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:237), and J. W. Etheridge (*The Targums* 2:342–43).

¹⁴ Perhaps an allusions to the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sotah (46b).

¹⁵ Apparently cut from a copy of an English Bible, the Map of the Holy Land, titled "The Forty Years of Travels of the Children of Israel out of Egypt" (c. 1688), is based on a map by the distinguished Dutch engraver and mapmaker Nicoleas Visscher I (1618–79) and is inserted at this point in the holograph manuscript of the "Biblia Americana." This map of the Holy Land appeared in many different versions and translations, and was to be inserted in the Bible at the end of Numbers, ch. 33. Mather must have appreciated the detail of Visscher's map, for he inserted yet another copy, this time a Latin version, from Visscher's *Terra Sancta Sive Promissionis, olim Palestina* (1659), between Josh, chs. 13 and 14 (BA 3:124).



Nicolaes Visscher, "The Forty Years of Travels of the Children of Israel out of Egypt"
(c. 1688)

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An Appendix,
to the ILLUSTRATIONS on the
Stations in the
Thirty third Chapter of
NUMBERS.

A Religious Gentlewoman,¹⁶ desirous to Read the *Thirty third* Chapter in the Book of *Numbers*, with more Profit than it is commonly readd withal, desired me to Interpret the *Names* of the Places and Stations there mentioned; with some *Instructions* raised from them. When I sett about it, I consider, That tho' I cannot say, the History was written upon the *Design* of Directly giving these *Instructions*, or, that such *Fancies* as those of an *Everard*, are always the *Doctrines* which are delivered us, in the Signification of the *Names* that occur in the Bible:¹⁷ Yett it is for the Honour of the *Sacred Scripture*, and for the Glory of the *Holy Spirit*, who ha's His *Deep Things* in every Part thereof, to make every Line & Word in the BIBLE as useful to the Intentions of PIETY as may be. If such an Use as I am now going upon, may serve a little to furnish us with Allusive Expressions for the Embellishment of our Language, and may pass for a Sort of *Serious Witticisms*, yett it will also be of an higher Tendency, to be an *Occasion* for such *Sentiments of Piety* as the BIBLE is always a Friend unto. If I mistake not, there are such *Allusions* here and there to be found among the *Elegancies* of the BIBLE itself, as may countenance the *Essay*, which I now proceed upon. And, if a like Essay were made on the *Names of Persons* and *Places*, in the Books of *Genesis*, and *Joshua*, and the *Chronicles*, where would be the Harm of it? The Reviving of such *Pious Thoughts* in the Mind of a Reader, when he comes athwart those Names, would be no disservice to that *Holiness* for which these Oracles are calculated.

Behold, A *Specimen* of such an Undertaking!

RAMESES. *Trembling or Trouble brought unto an End.* [*Jacob* arriving here found it so.] Or, *A Thing broken in Sunder of a Moth.*

¹⁶ Any number of studious gentlewomen may be intended here. Apart from his religious instructions of his daughters, esp. Katharine ("Katy"), Mather's second wife, Elizabeth Hubbard Mather, may be a likely candidate, for he singles her out for pious instructions (*D* 2:112, 132, 210 etc.). See also Mather's funeral sermon for his daughter Katy, *Victorina* (1717), and K. Silverman, *Life and Times* (pp. 266–68, 291–92).

¹⁷ Perhaps an allusion to John Everard, D.D. (c. 1584–c. 1641), an English controversialist, sometime RC convert and recusant, latter-day separatist, and conventicler (*ODNB*), the ostensible translator of *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Trismegistus, in XVII Books. Translated formerly out of the Arabick into Greek, and thence into Latine and Dutch, and now out of the Original into English; By that Learned Divine Doctor Everard* (1650).

When shall I see the True *Rameses*, and all my *Trembling & Trouble* brought unto an End? Verily, This *Rameses* is not in the *Egypt* of This World. It is in the *Goshen*, which is the *Inheritance of the Saints in Light*.

In the mean time, and while I am here, methinks, the Sense of my *Frailty*, makes me an Inhabitant of a *Rameses*; I feel myself ready to be *Broken in Sunder of a Moth continually*.

SUCCOTH. *Tents, or, Tabernacles.*

The finest & strongest Habitations here, are but *Succoth*; no better than *Tents*; meer *Tabernacles*.

Yea, All the *Bodies* I see, are but so many *Succoth*. What must the *Men of Succoth* look for?

ETHAM. *Strong.*

I have read of a *Strong City*, where my GOD will show His *marvellous Loving-kindness* to His Chosen; [After they have left their *Succoth*!] Oh! when shall I come to that *Etham*!

PIHAHIROTH. *The Mouth of the Furious [or, Burning] Mountains.* To have to do with some Folks, is to stand at *Phihahiroth*; even, the *Mouth* of some *Furious Mountains*. Oh! For the *Meekness* and *Wisdom*, to be used before such *Vulcano's*!

MIGDOL. *A Towre.*

When I fly to the *Scriptures*, or to the *Mercies*, of the Glorious GOD, I am in a *Migdol*; The *Strong Towre* which the *Righteous* run unto.

MARAH. *Bitterness.*

How often am I brought unto the Waters of *Marah*, in *Bitter* Circumstances! A Glorious CHRIST well-applied, will *Sweeten* them.

ELIM. *Valiant Ones.*

When I see what *Oppositions* the *Truth* and *Cause* of CHRIST meets withal, I wish myself at *Elim*, among the *Valiant Ones*, that will be the *Defenders* of it.

The Wilderness of SIN. Or, *Cold.*

When I feel how *cold* I am in my *Devotions*, and in all right *Affections*, I can't but bewayl myself as in a *Wilderness of Sin*.

How does the *Love of many wax cold* in this rueful *Wilderness*!

DOPHKAH. *A knocking.* Or, *An Impulse.*

Under the Word of GOD, sometimes I am in a *Dophkah*; under the *Knocking* of the *Hammer that breaks the Rock to Peeces*.

But it will not be my *Safety*, to be too much a Dweller in *Dophkah*, and be too much under the Power of meer *Impulse*, as a Rule for my Proceedings.

ALUSH. *A Mixture.*

My Condition, I may call it that of an *Alush*, for the *Mixture* in it.

REPHIDIM. *Lodgings.*

In the *Heavenly World* only, do I look to find my *Rephidim*; The *Lodgings* wherein alone I can propose to *ly down* with Comfort, are *There*.

[56v] | Wilderness of SINAI. Or, A *Bramble-bush*.

The *GOD of Glory* that appeared in the *Bush of Sinai*, will not suffer the *Burning-Bush to be consumed*. But they shall be horribly *Torn* that will be pulling at it.

KIBROTH HATTA AVAH.¹⁸ *The Graves of Lust*.

How is this miserable World filled with *Kibroth Hattaavah*! The *Graves of Lust* are daily devouring of Mankind. The *Graves* insatiably still cry, *Give! Give!* And we, with *Madness in our Hearts*, do *give* ourselves unto them.

HAZAROTH. *Palaces, or, Court-Yards*.

When I am in *Churches*, where the Pure Worship of GOD our SAVIOUR is maintained, methinks, I am at *Hazaroth*; Here are *Palaces*. The *Goings of God our King* are here. Yea, These are the *Court-Yards* of Heaven.

RITHMAH. *A Noise; or, A Sound*.

Some Disputations and Conferences I hear, wherein I am at *Rithmah*; I can hear nothing but a *Noise* at them.

And there are Preachers of *Rithmah*; with whom, a *Sound* is the main thing, that we can take any notice of.

RIMMON PAREZ. *Advancement with a Breach*. [Or, A Division of a Pome-granate.]

I should be lothe to have my Station at *Rimmon Parez*; and be *Advanced* unto any Dignity or Employment, with a *Breach* made on the Occasion of it.

LIBNAH. *White*, [as the *Moon*:] or, *Brittle*.

Should the Children of Men be never so *white*, and even like *the Moon walking in her Brightness*, they will still be found at *Libnah*, and be but *Brittle* Things.

RISSAH. *The Dropping of an House*.

The Infirmities of Age, quickly bring us to *Rissah*; we shall quickly feel the *Dropping of an House* upon us.

KEHELATHAH. *A Congregation*.

To them who slothfully spend their Time elsewhere, when they should be at the *House of GOD*, it may be said, They had better be at *Kehelathah*; more Good might they gett in the *Congregation* of the Faithful.

Mount SHAPHER. *The Mount of Delight*.

When I am waiting on the glorious GOD in His Institutions, I am on Mount *Shapher*; Tis a *Mount of Delight* unto me: *Tis good to be here!*

HARADAH. *Fear & Trembling*.

In my Pilgrimage, how often am I at *Haradah*? How must I *fear always*! How must I *pass the Time of my Sojourning here in Fear*! How must I *work about my own Salvation with Fear & Trembling*!

MAKHELOTH. *Assemblies called together*.

¹⁸ See also Mather's thoughts on the same subject in his medical handbook *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), cap. XXI, pp. 116–20.

What *precious & pleasant Things* are to be found sometimes in *Makheloth*; In *Assemblies* which GOD *calls together*! Especially in *Instituted Churches* of Christians, *called out of this World*!

TAHATH. *A Descent*; or, *A Terror*.

When I come to *Tahath*, I wish that it may be no *Tahath*; And that my *Descent* into the Grave may be no *Terror* to me.

TARAH. *A Delay*, or, *An Hindrance*.

For good Purposes, tis pitty to be ever kept in *Tarah*; and meet with what shall *Delay* and *Hinder* a Progress.

How many *Procrastinators*, and slothful Dwellers at *Tarah*, are to be seen among us!

MITHCAH. *Sweetness*.

When we pass from *Creatures*, to CHRIST and *Heaven*, we leave *Moriah* and come to *Mithcab*: Nothing but *Sweetness* here!

HASHMONAH. *The Hastening of a Gift*; or, – *of a Reckoning*.

In *giving* my *Heart*, and my *Self*, unto *the Good One*, and unto that which is Good, I desire to be at *Hashmonah*, and *hasten my Gift*.

They who Sin, especially in some Sort of Crimes, will find themselves at *Hashmonah*; There will be an *Hastening of the Reckoning* upon them.

MOSEROTH. *Discipline, and Instruction*; or, *Bonds*.

How gladly would I dwell at *Moseroth*, under the *Discipline* and *Instruction* of my SAVIOUR! Yea, I cheerfully come to the *Moseroth* of my SAVIOUR; cheerfully take His *Bonds* upon me; and I would not *Imagine* such a *Vain Thing*, as to *Break His Bonds asunder*.

BENE-JAAKAN. *Sons of Sorrow*; or, – *of Labour*.

Where am I, and where should all Sinners, like me, be, but at *Bene-Jaakan*; among the *Sons of Sorrow*?

There are some *Works* (which I am not altogether a Stranger to) wrought at *Bene-Jaakan*; and found only among the *Sons of Labour*.

| HOR-HAGIDGAD. *The Hill of Felicity*.

[57r]

When I am raised unto some Enjoyments, especially those of *Religion* and those of *Erudition*, where am I, but gott upon *Hor-hagidgad*; An *Hill of Felicity*!

JOTBATHAH. *His Goodness*.

Travellers to a Better World, must be found at *Jotbathah*; and *Goodness* must be conspicuous in them.

EBRONAH. *A Passing along*.

This World is a *Transitory World*; I am in it, but at *Ebronah*; Tis but a *Passing along* to an Eternal World.

EZION-GABER. *A Tree* (or, *Staff*) *of a strong Man*.

A strong *Argument* brings a Man to an *Ezion-gaber*; Tis the *Staff of a strong Man*; and it will make all fly & fall before it.

Wilderness of ZIN; *Thorns*, which is *KADESH*; *Holiness*.

The *Afflictions* which I meet withal, render my State, *A Wilderness of Zin*; for the *Thorns* which I am *torn* withal. Oh! May I find myself at *Kadesh* among them; and may I be *made Partaker* of more *Holiness*, by the Things which are not *Joyous*, but *Grievous* to me!

HOR. *An Hill for Showing.*

One can't but wish to be upon that *Hor*, the Mount that will *show* to us, the Things, with the View whereof our Minds would be most *highly* gratified.

Aaron dies upon Mount *Hor*. At our *Death* indeed there will be a *Showing* of wonderful Things unto us!

ZALMONAH. [Where the *Brasen Serpent* was erected.] *A Likeness*, or, *A Gift of a Shadow*.¹⁹

It mightily contributes unto the Reception of Truth, to take a Step now & then unto, *Zalmonah*, and exhibit it in a *Similitude*.

When there is nothing but the Good of *This World* given to us, we are but at *Zalmonah*; Tis but a *Gift of a Shadow*, that we are putt off withal.

PUNON. *A precious Stone.*

When some sort of Good Thoughts are brought unto me, methinks, I am at *Punon*; I am arrived unto a *precious Stone*: The *Jewel* enriches me & gratifies me wonderfully.

OBOOTH. *Desires. Or, Dragons.*

While I am in this World, I am in *Oboth*; in the *undesireable* Seat of *Desires*. I don't possess, I don't enjoy, what I would have. *That* is all elsewhere. Yea, In *Piety* too, I am gott little further than *Oboth*, and can pretend unto little more than *Pia Desideria*.²⁰

I wish, I had not Cause to complain, that I am in a *Place of Dragons*.

JIEABARIM. *Heaps of such as are passing over.*

What are all the *Burying-Places* that we see, but *Jieabarim*; or, *Heaps of People passed over* into Eternity!

DIBON-GAD. *An Abundance of Understanding.*

He that studies the *Oracles of GOD*, but above all, He that acquaints Himself with the *Mystery of CHRIST*, Covered and Reveled in them, will arrive to *Dibon-gad*; They find an *Abundance of Understanding*, even *All the Treasures* thereof, to be there mett withal.

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM. *An hidden Cluster of Figs.*

There are those, whose Worth is not known: They are an *Almon-Diblathaim*: There is an *Hidden Cluster of Good Fruits* in them.

Mountains of ABARIM. Such as were to be passed over.

¹⁹ See also Mather's homily *Zalmonah* (1725).

²⁰ The title of Philipp Jacob Spener's classic *Pia Desiderata: Oder Herzliches Verlangen, Nach Gottgefälliger besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirchen* (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1676), a Lutheran Pietist manual for church reform, which inaugurated the Pietist movement in Germany

There are *High Mysteries*, which cannot be called, The Mountains of *Abarim*: There is no *Passing over* them.

NEBO. *Prophecy.*

Some are always at *Nebo*; and employ their whole Studies on the *Prophecies*.

BETH-JESHIMOTH. *An House of Solitariness.*

There are those, whose *Retirement* buries them at *Beth-Jeshimoth*, A *Solitary Habitation*.

ABEL SHITTIM. *A Mourning for Declensions.*

When we see, what a *Declining* there is, from the Primitive *Piety*, and *Principles*, and *Practices*, where can we place ourselves, but at an *Abel-Shittim*, and in a *Mourning for Declensions*!

What? Must we do This, at the End of our *Journey*? Consider it.

| [blank]

[57v]

| [blank]

[58r]

3761.

Q. What Remarkable, in the Account of the Names of the Persons, who were the *Heads of the Tribes*, by whom the Land of *Canaan* was to be divided? v. 19.

A. The Tribes are not mentioned in such Order, as they were at their *First* Numbring, or at their *Second*. Yett a most particular Direction of God, may be noted in here placing of them. For they are sett down exactly, according to the Scituation, which they had afterwards in the Land of *Canaan*, as if *Moses* fore-saw, who should be next Neighbours to one another. They are sett down, just as their Lotts afterwards fell unto them. An Evidence that *Moses* was guided by a Divine Spirit in all his Writings!¹

¹ Patrick (*Numbers* 647).

Q. The Gospel of the *Cities of Refuge*? v. 12.¹

A. The Gospel of a pursued Man-slayer flying to a *City of Refuge*, & finding Safety there, seems to be this; A Soul finding Safety in a Blessed JESUS, when under apprehension of the Divine Revenger. That which leads one to this Thought, is that Expression, Heb. VI.18. *Fled for REFUGE, to lay hold upon the Hope sett before us.*

The Jews inform us, The Senate of *Israel*, every Spring exerted their Cares about the Wayes leading to the *Cities of Refuge*; To sue, that no Hill, nor Dale, nor Stone of Stumbling, might be any Obstacle in those Wayes; that every Brook in the Wayes, might have a Convenient Bridge over it; and that, at the Partition of the Wayes there should be a Pillar sett up, with, REFUGE, REFUGE, written upon it, for the directing of any one, that might be in hazard of missing the Wayes. All this, is a little Shadow, of the Cares, which the Ministers of the Gospel should use, to direct & assist the Motions of Distressed Souls, towards their only Saviour.

The *Distresses*, upon a Soul, awakened unto a Sense, being obnoxious to the *Revenues* of God, are like those upon a pursued Man-slayer. His *Conscience* distresses him, and therein does the Office of an *Avenger of Blood*. Without such a Distressed Soul, there will be no Flight unto the only Saviour.²

But now, the Blessed JESUS appears as the *Refuge*, to which the Distressed Soul makes a *Flight*. *Faith* is the *Flight*. Compare, Isa. IV.6.³

The *Cities of Refuge* were upon *Hills*; upon mountainous Places; that so the Distressed Person running thither, might as much, & as soon as could be, have them in his View to comfort him. The *Promises* of the Gospel are so many *Mountains*. Our Blessed JESUS now stands upon those *Mountains*; and from thence, His lovely Voice unto us, is that; Isa. XLV.22. *Look unto me, & be saved*: And He adds, *Run unto me, that you may find Refuge and Safety in me.*

But then, a *City of Refuge* will tell us, what a Saviour or Blessed JESUS will be unto the Distressed Souls of Men.

¹ In his "Note Book of Authors" (Numb. 35:11), Mather lists "Ursin. Advers. Sacr." – which remains unidentified. On the "Cities of Refuge," see also Mather's anonymously published sermon *City of Refuge. The Gospel of the City Explained*. Boston, 1716.

² See Samuel Mather's *Figures or Types* (1705), p. 326. This allegorical reading speaks volumes, for it turns the Hebrew Bible into a Christian document per se.

³ See also *BA* (5:586).

[59v] | *He that Runs may Read* such things as these.

First. A *City of Refuge* was a Place of *Safety*, to the Man that made his Flight unto it. Soul, make thy Flight unto the only Saviour; Thou shalt find *Safety* there. See, Jude. 1.

Again; *Strangers* as well as *Natives* were welcome to a *City of Refuge*. Both *Jews* and *Gentiles* are welcome in the only Saviour. See, Eph. II.17.

Thirdly. The *Death* of the *High-Priest*, restored the *Man-slayer* in the *City of Refuge* unto perfect *Liberty*. Oh! the glorious *Liberty*, which the *Death* of our JESUS, [our *High-Priest* becoming our *Sacrifice*!] ha's procured for us! Consider, Heb. II.14, 15.

Briefly. All Sinners are liable to *Death*. And they have no way to escape a *Death* under the Revenges of God, but by Running to the Blessed JESUS. Yea, but then they ought to *Run*, & make all the Haste imaginable; & say to their Saviour, Lord, I fly to thee as my Eternal Refuge. [Psal. CXIX.60.] The *Cities of Refuge* were so scituated; that no Man was above *Half a Day's* Journey from one or other of them. A *Flight* unto the only Saviour, should not be neglect so much as *Half a Day* by any Man in the World.⁴

[60r] | **Q.** A Good Thought, upon the Law, That the *Manslayer* should be confined unto one of the *Cities* of Refuge? v. 13.⁵

A. It happened, that in the Dayes of Mr. *Cotton*, a Gentleman belonging to his Church here in the *American Boston*, left the Church, and went and lived in a Plantation, which did not maintain the Institutions of our Glorious Lord. This Gentleman, by some unhappy Sort of *Chance-Medley*, did happen to kill an *Indian*. On that Occasion the venerable old Man wrote unto him a Letter full of wise and grave Admonitions, which I happen at this Instance to be entertain'd withal. In one of his Admonitions, I find an *Illustration*, which indeed I thought worth Transcribing and Præserving. It runs in these Terms.

"In the *Law*, it was appointed, that he who *slew a Man unawares*, should fly to a *City of Refuge*, (which was a *City of Priests*,) and there abide. Num. 35.25 to 28. Which did argue (tho' it were a *Judicial Law*) that such a Man as had been left of God to *Manslaughter*, (though unawares) had not walked so close with God, and with his Ordinances, as was meet, and therefore God left him to do

⁴ See Patrick, on Numb. 35:6–15 (*Numbers* 651–57).

⁵ Mather's "Note Book of Authors" (Numb. 35:15) recommends "Fullers Pisgah-Sight. p. 58–." On Numb. 35:16, Mather lists "MSS. no. 8. p. 31." Thomas Fuller's historical geography *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 2, p. 58, briefly discusses the locations and functions of the cities of refuge in ancient Israel, which allowed a person who accidentally killed his neighbor to seek refuge from reprisal by the dead person's family (*Lex Talionis*).

such a Mischief, and now (upon Peril of his Life) required him to live among the *Priests* all his *Dayes*, that he might grow more spiritual, by living among them. We know, the *Law* is abrogated; yett surely the *Equity* still continueth, both in the *Cause* of the | Mischief, & in the *Cure*. We beleeve, this Evil fell upon you, [60v] and by you upon the poor Pagan; because your Heart sate loose from the Ordinances of the Lord. And now, we beleeve that if God give you to clear yourself from Guilt of Innocent Blood, the Lord then calleth you with a strong Hand, to live in the Fellowship of His Ordinances, and not to wander still like a *Lamb* in a large Place, or like a *Sheep* without a *Shepherd*.”

Thus, my Grandfather.⁶

3762.

Q. We read, *The Murderer shall be putt to Death, by the Mouth of Witnesses*. Who were accounted competent Witnesses? v. 30.

A. According to the Hebrew Doctors, there were Ten Sorts of Persons incapable to be Witnesses; viz, *Women, Servants, Minors, Fools, the Deaf & Dumb, the Blind, Impious and Audacious People, Near Relations*, and those that *had been* convicted of bearing *False Witness*.⁷

3763.

Q. And what if there were but *One Witness*?

A. It is an established Rule in the Civil Law; *Ubi Numerus Testium non adjicitur, sufficiunt Duo*.⁸

Yett where there was but *One Witness*, or not two, who both together saw the Man killed, so that he who was accused of the Murder could not be putt to Death, he was thrown into a very strait Prison, and there fed with Bread and

⁶ Mather's biography of his maternal grandfather, John Cotton (1585–1652), one of the principal founders of the New England Way, appears in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), lib. 3, cap. 1, pp. 14–32. Mather's extract of his grandfather's letter to the recalcitrant parishioner appears to have escaped the attention of Sargent Bush, Jr., in his fine edition *The Correspondence of John Cotton* (2001).

⁷ Patrick (*Numbers* 669–70); John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 13, sec. 11, pp. 571–75; Maimonides, on *Hilchot Edut* (9.1–12), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:250–54), can be regarded as the ultimate rabbinic authority here.

⁸ Patrick, on Numb. 35:12 (*Numbers* 670); Deut. 17:6, 19:15. The Latin dictum, which Patrick translates as “where the number of Witnesses is not mentioned, two suffice,” is attributed to The Rule of Ulpian (*Digest*, lib. 22, tit. 5, lex. 12), by the famous Roman jurist Gnaeus Domitius Annianus Ulpianus (d. 228 CE), whose codex occupies a substantial part of Justinian's *Pandects*. My reference is to S. P. Scott's *The Civil Law* (1932), 13:49. John Selden, in his *De Iure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 4, cap. 1, p. 467. Selden lists Maimonides's gloss on Halacha Rotzach (4), i. e., Rotseah uShmirat Nefesh (4.8), and Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin 9 – although Sanhedrin (30a) seems more pertinent here.

Water of Affliction, till his Bowels were sorely pinched, if we may beleieve the Jewish Doctors, mentioned by *Selden*.⁹

9 Patrick, on Numb. 35:12 (*Numbers* 670). According to Hilchot Rotze'ah Ush'mirat Nefesh (4.8), "a person [who] kills people, but the witnesses did not observe his act together – instead one saw him after the other did: a person killed in the presence of witnesses, but a warning was not given; or the witnesses to a murder contradicted each other with regard to the fine points of the testimony, but not with regard to the fundamental questions. All those murderers should be forced to enter a *kipah* [i. e., 'a small arch-shaped room the size of a person's body (*Sanhedrin* 81b)']'. There they are fed parched bread and small amounts of water until their digestive tract contracts. Then they are fed barley until their bellies burst because of the extent of the sickness [and they die]" (*Mishneh Torah* 19:532). John Selden, in his *De Iure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 4, cap. 1, p. 467. In his "Note Book of Authors" on Numbers, Mather recommends the same guides for consultation that he also listed on Exodus and Leviticus – with one exception; he adds one more to this list: "Attersol"; i. e., William Attersoll (d. 1640), an English Puritan clergyman and rector of Isfield, Sussex (d. 1640), whose *A Commentarie upon the Fourth Booke of Moses, called Numbers. Containing, The Foundation of the Church and Common-wealth of the Israelites* (1618), is perhaps his most noteworthy of several commentaries and books he published (*ODNB*). See V. Larminie, "Attersoll, William (d. 1640)."

Q. On the Design of the Book of *Deuteronomy*? v. 1.

A. It is called by the learned Jews, *A Book of Rebukes*.²

3764.

Q. In our Translation tis here said of *Israel*, They were now *over against the Red-Sea*. Is the Translation to be approved of? v. 1.

A. There is no Word in the Hebrew Text, for, *Sea*; It should be read, *over against Suph*; which was a Place in the Countrey of *Moab*; [See Num. 21.14.] over against which they now lay encamped; but they were so far distant from the *Red Sea*, that here can be no Respect unto it.³

And the *Paran* that followes, means not the *Wilderness of Paran*, frequently mentioned in the foregoing Book; but a Place also in the Countrey of *Moab*.⁴

Q. The Meaning of the Recapitulation of *Places* here? v. 1.

1 B. S. Childs provides a helpful modern survey of the principal historical, textual, and interpretive issues of the fifth book of the Pentateuch, in *Introduction* (1979), pp. 202–25. See also M. Weinfeld's *The Anchor Bible Deuteronomy* (1991).

2 The Hebrew title of this Mosaic book דְּבָרִים [devarim] from דָּבַר [dabar] (Strong's # 1697) is derived from the first words of the opening line of the book and suggests "speech, word, speaking." Rashi glosses, לְפִי שֶׁהֵן דְּבָרֵי תוֹכַחזוֹת "Because these are the words of admonishment"; hence "'Devorim' always denotes admonishment" (*Chumash/Rashi Devarim* 5:1, note 1). The Targums Jonathan ben Uzziel and Hierosolymitanum, sec. 44, cap. 1 (Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 4:315) are more outspoken, calling it "Sefer Haddebarim" (the book of reproofs), in Etheridge, *The Targums* (2:557). The Greek title *Deuteronomy*, however, is derived from Δευτερονόμιον, which signifies "Second Law" (also "Secondary Law") and refers to the repetition of the Ten Commandments (Deut. 5:6–21; cf. Exod. 20:2–17) and the Deuteronomic code (Deut. 12:1–26:16). Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:751) and *Works* (8a:11–16), and Robert Gell's *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 587–758, highlight the historical and textual problems of this fifth book of the Torah, and inform the works of Simon Patrick, Cotton Mather, and their peers.

3 Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:712–13, 4:315). Ironically, the Syriac and Persic translators – perhaps better versed in the geography of the region – transliterate the Hebrew designation סוּף "Suph" (1:712; 4:315), whereas all others, including Textus Hebraeo-Samaritanus and Targum Onkelos (1:713), erroneously render the term as "Red Sea." Interestingly, neither Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel nor Targum Hierosolymitanum uses either designations (4:315).

4 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 5) and Gell (*Essay* 589–90). These geographical (dis-)locations also raised a lengthy debate among Reformation and post-Reformation divines as highlighted in Poole (*Synopsis* 1:751–52) and *Works* (8a:14–16). Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 14, sec. 2, p. 175, also adds much valuable information on the different interpretative positions, as does Hermann Witsius, *Miscellanea Sacra* (1692), lib. 1, cap. 14, sec. 46, pp. 128–30.

A. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* opens the Business.⁵ Here is the Argument of the whole Book. *Moses* reproves *Israel*, for the Sins committed in each of the Places mentioned. In all these Places, they remarkably *Tempted God*. He interprets *Dizahab*, for the Place and Crime of the *Golden Calf*; the Name signifying, *Sufficientiam Auri*.⁶

Munster & others pursue this Thought. And *Rupertus* brings this to explain, Num. XIV.22. —⁷

3765.

Q. The *Fortieth Year, the Eleventh Month, the First Day of the Month*; when fell it out? v. 3.

A. *Moses* was to Dy, before the Year was out; And the Speech, which begins at the Sixth Verse of this Chapter, & concludes, at the Fortieth Verse of the Fourth Chapter, Dr. *Usher* thinks, he made unto the People, on the *Twentieth Day of February*, and on the *Sabbath-Day*.⁸

3766.

Q. Why did *Moses* begin to declare this Law? v. 5.

A. To revive what any one had forgotten, & explain what any one had not understood.

Thus *Maimonides* expounds these Words, in *Seder Zeraim*.

“In the End of the fortieth Year, in the beginning of the Month *Shebat*, *Moses* called the People together, saying; The Time of my Death drawes near; if any one therefore have forgott any thing that I have delivered, lett him come &

5 Targum Onkelos, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:713).

6 “An abundance of gold.” *Midrash Devarim Rabbah*, as quoted in Rabbi Bachya ben Asher's commentary, offers an intriguing annotation. According to this midrash, the words דיִזָּהָב [Dizabab] suggest that “the word זָהָב is an acrostic of the 6 days in which G'd created the world, the four directions of the globe, and the Ten Commandments. Moses meant that if the comments of the Israelites had been restricted to these three subjects they would not have been guilty of any misdemeanour, they would have been as pure as gold” (*Torah Commentary* 7:2350).

7 Mather's primary source is Robert Gell's *Essay* (1659), pp. 589e–590b. The Latin quotation “Sufficientiam Auri” (“an abundance of gold” or “enough gold”), i.e., καταχρύσεια or “gold-mines” (LXX), appears in Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia, latina planeq* (1546), fol. 345, and is by Jacobus Bonfrerius (*Pentateuchus Moysis Commentario* [1625], fol. 906B) given as the Latin translation of the Hebrew phrase דִּזְהָבִי [Dizabab], which is also the name of a place near the border of Moab (Strong's # 1774). Mather probably refers to Rupertus Meldenius, aka. Petrus Meiderlinus, aka. Peter Meyderlin (1582–1651), a Lutheran theologian at the University of Tübingen and advocate of the Augsburg Confession (BBK), rather than to the Benedictine theologian abbot Rupertus Tuitensis, aka. Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075–1129). In either case, it is unclear which work Mather has in mind.

8 Patrick (*Numbers* 7) and Archbishop James Ussher's *Annals of the World* (1658), p. 24, calculate that Moses gave his penultimate speech “upon the 5 day of the 11 month [*sic*] (*Feb.* 20. *falling upon our Saturday*) in the 40 year [*sic*] after their departure out of Egypt, in the plain of Moab.”

receive it; or if any thing seem dubious, lett him come that I may explain it. And so they say in *Siphri*; *If any one hath | forgotten any Constitution, lett him come & hear it the Second time; if he need to have any thing unfolded, lett him come & hear the Explication of it.*" For which he quotes this Verse.⁹ [1v]

Q. On that, *The Lord God make you a thousand times more, as ye are?* v. 11.

A. One observes, The Promise to *Abraham*, was of a Twofold *Seed*. One, that it should be as the *Dust*; Gen. XIII.16. or the *Sand*, Gen. XXII.17. The other, that it should be as the *Stars of Heaven*; Gen. XV.5. and, XXII. 17. – The former, is fulfilled, in *Israel*, concerning the *Flesh*; the latter, in *Israel* according to the *Promise*.

Of the latter, says Dr. *Gell*, is this Prayer of *Moses*. And it runs thus, *The Lord God of your Fathers add, besides you, as it were you, [or such as you,] a thousand, such as you are.*¹⁰

3767.

Q. *Your Cumbrance, & your Burden, & your Strife.* What may be the nicest Sense of the several Words? v. 12.

A. The last Word, may signify, *Suits at Law*, as the two former may signify other Differences; which arose between one Man and another, about such things as are mention'd in the *Twenty first*, & the *Twenty Second*, & the *Twenty Third* Chapters of Exodus.

The First Word, which we translate, *Cumbrance*, according to *Hottinger*, signifies, *Tædiosam litigantium serrat*; the Tedious Pleadings of those that manage Causes before a Judge; as, by Bills, and Answers, and Rejoinders, &c.¹¹

3768.

Q. *Hear the Causes between your Brethren.* What special Inference do the Jewes make, from the Manner of Expression? v. 16.¹²

⁹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 9); although Patrick attributed the passage in citation marks to Maimonides's commentary on *Seder Zeraim* (*Order of Seeds*), a collection of eleven tractates in the first division of the Mishnah, the excerpt appears neither in this collection nor in the Babylonian Talmud, Jerusalem Talmud, nor in Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah: Sefer Zeraim*. Patrick's attribution is probably faulty. However, the story of Moses' deathbed account and patient reiteration of his precepts (Deut. 1:5) does appear in *Sifre Devarim*, or *Sifre to Deuteronomy* (Pisqa IV:II, p. 30), a collection of halakhic exegeses of the fifth book of Moses.

¹⁰ Robert Gell (*Essay* 593, 594). Gell's literalist translation of the KJV, which Mather prefers, is one of the very few major critiques of the KJV's accuracy published in the 17th c. See D. Norton's *History of the English Bible* (2000), p. 103.

¹¹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 12); Heinrich Hottinger, in *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 94, insists that the Hebrew word טָרַח [torach], signifying "burden," "cumbrance," and "trouble" (Strong's # 2960), is a synecdoche denoting "a wearisome burden of litigants."

¹² In his "Note Book of Authors" (Deut. 1:17), Mather recommends "Brady's Sermons Vol. 2," an exposition of Deut. 1:17, on why judges must be objective without favoring the

A. The Jewes infer, That it was not lawful, to hear any Man, when his Adversary was Absent; but both Parties were to be present. And they were also to be heard speak for themselves, if they pleased. This was Part of the Oath, which *Solon* ordered all the *Athenian Judges* to take; Ἀκροασομαι τοῦ τε κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν. *I will hear the Accuser & the Defender, both alike.*¹³

3769.

Q. *Incourage him.* Why must *Moses* encourage *Joshua*? v. 38.

A. It intimates, That *Joshua* might be afraid of being excluded from the Service of leading *Israel*, as well as his Master.¹⁴

rich or poor, the mighty or the powerless, by Nicholas Brady (1659–1726), English poet, Anglican minister of Richmond (Surrey), and Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Anne. Simply titled “A Sermon. Deut. 1. Ch. 17. V [sic],” the homily was delivered at the Assizes held at Kingston upon Thames (March 7, 1703) and subsequently published in a two-volume collection of Brady’s *Fifteen Sermons Preach’d on several Occasions* (1706) 2:391–409. See J. Sambrook “Brady, Nicholas (1659–1726).”

¹³ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 15); This Solonic directive appears in Demosthenes’s *In Timocratem* (sec. 151, lines, 1–2) and is here translated by Patrick. Impartiality is a standard principle insisted on by all classic rabbinic commentators (*JPS Migra’ot Gedolot Devarim* 5:9–10).

¹⁴ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 25). In a parallel passage (Deut. 3:28), R. Judah ben Bathyra explains that “one should encourage only those who are already courageous and stimulate only those who are already on the alert” (*Midrash Rabbah*: Numbers VII:6).

Q. Why must not *Israel*, go to take Possession of *Edom*? v. 5.

A. I'll translate you, a Passage which the Jewes have, in *Bereschith Rabba*, on Gen. 25.28. *Isaac loved Esau, because his Venison was in his Mouth.* Tis to this Purpose.

"It is a great Thing to *Honour* ones *Parents*. For the Sake of that *Honour*, that *Esau* paid unto his *Father*, the *Israelites* might not extirpate the *Edomites*. God gave them a Longævity in this World; yea, the coming of Salvation to us, by the King *Messiah*, ha's been for their Sakes delayed; even that they might first have the Reward of the Honour, which *Esau* rendred unto his Father. *Moses* tells the *Israelites*, *you have compassed this Mountain long enough.* Why, Because *Esau* compassed a Mountain in Hunting for his *Father*."¹

3770.

Q. The *Israelites*; How did they spend their Time, while they were in the *Wilderness*? v. 15.

A. It seems here intimated, That a very great deal of the Time, in the *Thirty Eight Years* of their Peregrination, might be spent, in their *Burying* of their Dead, and their *Mourning* over them.

A very melancholy Account!²

|

[2v]

Q. *The City that is by the River*; called, Josh. XIII.9. *The City that is in the Midst of the River*; what City? V. 36.³

1 Mather's second-hand reference to "*Bereschith Rabba*, on Gen. 25:28" is misleading, for the reference to this Torah text that "*Isaac loved Essau, because he [Isaac] did eat of his Venison*" (Gen., 25:28) appears in *Midrash Rabbah* (i. e., Bereshith Rabba) LXIII:10. Mather's cited passage is perhaps based on the explanation of R. Hanina, in Soncino *Midrash Rabbah* (Deut. I:15, 17), but this venerable rabbi appears not to offer any Messianic interpretation either. The latter is perhaps hinted at in *Midrash Rabbah* (Gen. LXVI:7 or LXXVIII:14). Rashi seems to be more forthcoming in his gloss on Deut. 2:5: "A Midrashic explanation: Until the day comes when there will be footsteps upon the Mount of Olives, as it is said, 'And his feet shall stand' [Zech. 14:4]" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 5:342). R. Bachya ben Asher's messianic reading is even more explicit: "A *Midrashic* approach mentioned by *Rashi*: the word **וַי** [ad] is understood as indicating a time in history, i. e., until the day comes when the Lord's 'feet' are described as standing on the Mount of Olives ushering in the redemption and the destruction of Edom and all it stands for [Zech. Ch. 14]" (*Torah Commentary* 7:2366).

2 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 36). Mather alludes to the tradition that the generation of Israelites who left Egypt died off during their forty-year sojourn through the desert, for only their offspring were allowed to settle in the Holy Land.

3 In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts" (Deut. 2:30), Mather lists as an informative guide, "Franzius Interp. p. 420"; i. e., "Oraculum XXVI Sacrum," in Wolfgang Franzius, *Tractatus*

A. While some take it for a distinct City from *Aroer*; others take it for the same; which consisted of Two Parts; one lying on the Bank of the River *Arnon*; the other, *In the River*; that is, on a Spott of Ground surrounded by the River, or on a little Island made by the *Arnon*. This Opinion seems to be countenanced, from the very Name of *Aroer*; which seems to come from the Word /עִיר/ that signifies, *A City*, doubled; and so to import, that *Aroer* was a *Double City*, or as it were, Two Cities joined.

In 2. Sam. XXIV.5. we read, *They pitched in Aroer, on the Right Side of the City, that lies in the Midst of the River of Gad*. This last Clause may explain, on which side or Part of *Aroer* they pitched. The *River of Gad* was probably no other than the *River Arnon*; which rose in the Eastern Borders of *Gad*, and ran along the same for a considerable Way, till it came to the South Border of the Tribe of *Reuben*.⁴

Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione de Sacrarum Scripturarum Maxime Legitima (1619), pp. 420–29.

⁴ In his *Pentateuchus Moysis Commentario Illustratus* (1625), fol. 916 (Deut. 2:36), Jacobus Bonfrerius – referring to Adrichomius's *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum* (1590), a descriptive map of Palestine by the Dutch RC theologian Christian Kruik van Adrichem (1533–85) – insists that the towns of *Aroer* (Deut. 3:12, 4:48; Josh. 13:9) and *Ar* (Numb. 21:14–15, Deut. 2:18) are two separate settlements, the former being at the time under Amorite rule, the latter under the dominion of the Moabites. Thomas Malvenda (*Commentaria* [1601], fol. 748) and Franciscus Vatablus (*Biblia Sacra* [1584], fol. 108) concur, emphasizing that *Aroer* is located “on the brink” of the river *Arnon*, whereas *Ar* is located “in the valley” or “torrent” [Mather's “*in the Midst*”] of the river *Arnon*. See also Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:760) and *Works* (8a:54–55). The *ABD* (1:321, 399–400) greatly complicates matters, but also speaks of separate strongholds.

... 6.

Q. The Story of the Giant OG, what Footsteps have you of it, in Pagan Antiquity? v. 1.

A. Doubtless you have heard of an horrible Serpent, called, *Python*, which crept out of the filthy & slimy Matter, left by *Deucalions* Flood; employ'd by *Juno*, to persecute *Latona*, after *Jupiter* had sett his Affections on her, and at length Destroy'd by *Apollo*, whereupon the Words *Jō Pean*, were frequently heard in the Air. Perhaps, you may as easily suppose *Pythagoras* turn'd into a *Cock* or a *Frog*, as conceive OG turned into this horrid *Serpent*. But there is an Ingenious Gentleman, whose Name is *Dickinson*, that ha's offered us very fine Sentiments upon it.¹

You must know, that *Python*, is the very same with *Typhon*; to Justify which, besides the common Use of such Anagrams, among the most Ancient, both Jewes, and Greeks, wee have also, the Intimations of *Homer*, in his Hymn to *Apollo*, declaring *Typho* killed by *Apollo*, which *Typho*, sais hee because the Sun

¹ As he had done on previous occasions (*BA*, vols. 1 and 3), Mather here mines the popular *Delphi Phoenicizantes*, sive, *Tractatus, in quo Graecos, quicquid apud Delphos celebrare erat* (1655), by Edmund Dickinson (1624–1707), an English physician, alchemist, and philologist, who links the heroes in Greek mythology with those in the Hebrew Bible (*ODNB*). In this effort, Dickinson's tract (twice reprinted: 1669, 1670) was only surpassed by that of his countryman, the nonconformist and benefactor of Harvard Theophilus Gale (1628–78), whose massive *The Court of the Gentiles* in four parts (1669–78) set out to prove that the gods and heroes in pagan religions are all corrupt imitations of those of the Hebrew Bible. Yet both Dickinson, Gale, and most others for that matter drank deeply from the fountainhead of Gerard Johannes Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana, sive De Origine ac Progressu Idololatriæ* (1641). In the above paragraph, Mather yokes the story of the giant Amorite Og (king of Bashan), ostensible survivor of Noah's deluge, with that of the monstrous giant Typhon, who arose from the mud of the Nile after Deucalion's flood (Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.434–40). According to the Babylonian Talmud, tractates Niddah (61a) and Zevachim (113b), Og, whose iron bedstead was nine cubits long and four wide (Deut. 3:11), survived Noah's flood by wading through the waters (*Midrash Rabbah*: Deut. XI:10). So, too, in Ovid's version, Typhon, an autochthonous creature with a reptilian body, sprang from the mud of the Nile. Ovid relates that the goddess Juno, Jupiter's wife, employed Typhon to chase Jupiter's paramour Latona (mother of Diana and Apollo), who fled to Lycia (Asia Minor), where local peasants prevented her from quenching her thirst at a local pond. Enraged by their heartlessness, Latona cursed the rustics ("Live then for ever in that pool"), who turned into croaking frogs and were forever condemned to swim in its muddy waters (Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.434–47; 6.160–381). Mather thus casts aspersions on the Samian Pythagoras (c. 570–c. 490 BCE), semi-mythical Greek philosopher, metaphysician, and founder of a religious sect at Croton (S. Italy), who was forced to flee when local peasants vilified him and attacked his followers (*SEP*). So much for the "croaking" Pythagoras.

[ἔπυσε] did *putrefy* him. Ἐξ οὗ νῦν Πυθὼ κικλήσκεται: – Hee is therefore now called, *Pytho*.²

Well; consider now the Name of, *Typho*; *Hesychius* and *Eustathius* will assure you that it signifies, *A Burner*. And what is OG? *גוג* from *גוג Adussit*? OG, was a *Giant* that of old fought against the God of Heaven; and *Hell*, is called, *The Congregation of the Giants*. Accordingly, the Pagan Authors, make *Typhon* a *Theomachous Giant*, whom then

– *Tenebrosa in Tartara mittunt*.

Yea, I suspect, their Fable of *Typhon* cast into the Lake *Serbonis*, or the River *Orontes*, was formed from that Passage in Job. 26.5. *Gigantes gemunt sub Aquis*.³

Add, The Enemies to the People of God, (such as OG was,) are still distinguished in the Scriptures of God, by the Characters of *Serpents*; accordingly *Strabo* tells us, *Typho* was called, sometimes a *Serpent*, sometimes a *Dragon*. But inasmuch as the Name for a *Serpent* is *Pethen*, פתן/ among the Hebrewes; thus *Typhon*, becomes *Python* among the Heathen. And whereas, the Hebrewes, among whom the same Word שחן/ is both for a *Serpent*, & for *Divination*, used

2 Mather's second-hand Greek citation from Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (cap. 1, p. 4) originates in *Hymni Homerici, In Apollinem* (hymn 3, line 372) and here summarizes the myth of Typh(a)on and Pytho, which survives in several versions in Hesiod's *Theogony*, Pindar's *Olympian Odes*, Homer's *Iliad*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In the version cited by Dickinson, the giant Typhaon (monstrous offspring of vengeful Hera), endowed with a serpentine coiling body, consorts with Pytho, a female dragon. The brace mets out death and destruction to anyone approaching their lair near Delphi, until divine Apollo Phoebus (with Helios's help) kills Pytho by having her body putrefy. Alas, surviving Typhaon – not long in lamenting his loss – fathers canine offspring upon Echidna, an Ophidian nymph (*Hymn 3, To Apollo*, lines 335–70; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.501; 7.408). This meandering myth probably accounts for the merging of the monsters Typhon and Pytho. Be that as it may, the Greek passage reminds us that “the place [where it happened] is now called Pytho” (*Hymn 3, To Apollo*, line 372).

3 Dickinson, *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (cap. 2, pp. 7, 8, 9) probably refers to Hesychius Alexandrinus, *Lexicon* (T–Ω), alphab. letter *tau*, entry 1694, line 1, and to Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (1:243, lines 12–13), but in either case, Dickinson's etymological derivation is tenuous. In his efforts to associate the monstrous Τυφών (Typhon) with the Hebrew גוג ['Owg], i. e., the Amorite giant Og, king of Bashan, Dickinson (pp. 7–8) argues that the Greek designation τυφειν actually signifies καίειν, which in Latin means *urere* (“to burn”). Likewise, in Dickinson's etymology the Hebrew name גוג ['Owg], suggesting “long-necked” (Strong's # 5747), derives from גוג, which in Latin means *adussit, ustulavit* (“scorch, burn, singe, char,” etc.). That is why, Dickinson's Og – last of the antediluvian nephilim of the race of Rephaim – is here associated with the Greek Titans, the immortal generation of primeval giants, whom Zeus and his fellow Olympians (in Hesiod's version of the myth) vanquished by confining them to Tartarus (Hell). This locale, which Prov. 21:16 calls קהל רפאים [qahal rapha'im], or “congregation of the shades [dead],” is by Ovid called “tenebrosa in Tartara missa [mittunt]” or “sent to the dark land of death” (*Metamorphoses* 1:113) to which abode the Theomachous, or god-battling, Saturn/Typhon is banished, unleashing the second, or Silver Age, of mankind. If that tenuous link between pagan and Hebrew myths does not hold, Dickinson hopes, then surely the similarity will do between Job 26:5 (“where the giants groan under the water”) and the fable of Typhon whom Zeus cast into Lake Serbonis, at Mt. Casius (near the border between Palestine and Egypt), or submerged in the waters of the Orontes River, in Syria, might do (Apollonius Rhodius 2.1210–15; and Herodotus 3.6).

Serpents for their *Auguries*, tis no Wonder that the Heathen made so much of their *Pythian Oracles*.⁴

More closely yett. OG was hee that would have hindred *Joshua*, in his Passage to *Shiloh*, where the *Ark* was to bee lodg'd in the Tabernacle; and in like Manner, they tell us, that *Pytho* would have stop'd *Apollo* in his Passage to *Delphos*: hence *Typho* was also called Βέβων and Σμὺ, which according to *Plutarch*, signify, *Detention* or *Inhibition*.⁵

Homer tells us, (*Iliad*. 2.) the Land where the Gods gave Battel, to a *Typhon*, was Ἐν Ἀρίμοις, *In Arimis*;⁶ now turn to *Strabo*, and hee will tell us, τοὺς Σύρους Ἀρίμους δέχονται, *Arimorum Nomine Syros intelligunt*.⁷ You know, *Aram* the Son of *Shem*, was the Father of the *Syrians*; and *Syria* was called, *The Land of Aram*. *Orontes* also, the River, called as well *Ophites*, as likewise *Typhon*, is in

4 Dickinson (*Delphi*, cap. 2, pp. 9–10); Strabo (*Geographica* 16.2.7) relates the old story of how the *Orontes* River used to be called the *Typhon*, because in mythical times, *Typhon* was “a dragon” who, when struck by lightning, “fled in search of a descent [or] underground.” In this quest, “he not only cut the earth with furrows and formed the bed of the river, but also descended underground and caused the fountain to break forth to the surface.” Dickinson’s linguistic derivation of the Greek Πυθών (*Python*) from the Hebrew יִתְּנָה [pethen], from the root meaning “to twist” like a contorting asp or adder (Strong’s # 6620), is based on the belief still current in Mather’s time that all languages – Greek included – derived from Hebrew, the original language of Paradise, but was divided into seventy two languages after Babel (see also *BA* 1:728–29, 806–16). The Hebrew שָׁחָה [nāchāsh], signifying “snake” and “serpent” is here linked with the Chaldaic שַׁחַשׁ [nachash] “incantation” and “augury” (Strong’s ## 5175, 5172, 5173) and is by Dickinson associated with the *Pythian Oracles* of *Delphi*, in which *Apollo*’s priestess *Pythia*, sitting on her tripod and inhaling sulphurous vapors from a subterraneous fissure, uttered her divine revelations. See *Plutarch’s De Pythiae Oraculis* (397cd, 406d) and *De Defectu Oraculorum* (435a). Mather has much to say on the ancient oracles in his commentary on Gen. 10:1 (*BA* 1:693–96). Before the development of modern philology, wordsmithery (like that of in Dickinson) was quite standard. The common belief was that the language of paradise passed through the cauldron of Babel and yielded an infinite variety of homonyms that could be put to good use in yoking languages and ancient myths with those of the Hebrews. See also Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages, and Religions through the chiefe parts of the world* (1614). M. Olender, *The Languages of Paradise* (1992).

5 Dickinson (*Delphi*, cap. 2, pp. 10–11); the story of the conquest of Canaan, its division among the twelve tribes, and the resistance of *Og*, king of *Bashan* (Josh. 12:4–6, 18:1, 16), is here fortuitously linked with the one in *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* (371c, line 1–4), in which *Manetho*, the priestly historian, is quoted as saying that the evil Egyptian god Σήθ (*Seth*) is also called Τυφών (*Typhon*), denoting “the overmastering” and “overpowering,” but also Βέβων (*Bebon*), which signifies “restraint” or “hindrance.” Alas, the Egyptian *Seth*, aka. *Typhon*, aka. *Bebon*, is also known as Σμύ (*Smu*) – all names indicating “some forcible and preventive check or opposition or reversal” (*De Iside et Osiride* 376b, lines 1–3). The same ideas appear in *Theophilus Gale’s Court of the Gentiles* (1672), part I, bk. 2, ch. 4, pp. 50–51.

6 Dickinson (*Delphi*, cap. 2, p. 12) quotes *Homer’s Iliad* (2.783) in support of his argument that *Typhon*’s haunts are in the eponymous region of *Typhoeus*, among the Syrian *Arimi*, a people in *Mysia* and *Lydia* (*LCD*).

7 Strabo (*Geographica* 13.4.6, line 28) explain that some historians “understand that the *Syrians* are *Arimi*” and are now identified with the *Aramaeans*.

Cælo-Syria.⁸ Behold, the very Countrey of OG designated! *Homer* intimates, the Seat of these Transactions, to have been ὕδη; but where shall wee find this *Hyda*?⁹ Learned Men have sought it so long, that at last, they have said it was in *Cimmeria*; as much as to say, No Man knew where.¹⁰ Whereas indeed ὕδη ha's been but the long Mistake of Scribes, for Ἰουδα; or more probably, for Ἰοδα, which in *Homers* dayes, was the *Attic* Way of Writing.¹¹ And when *Homer* sais, Twas Χώρα ἐνὶ δρυόεντι, i. e. *In Regione quercubus abundanti*; they who remember the *Oaks* of *Bashan*, the Region whereof OG was the *King*, will bee further satisfied: and yett further, when they remember, that according to the Poets, They, by whom *Typhon* was combated, came out of *Egypt*.¹²

Wee'l proceed; you forgett not the Remark, which the Bible putts upon *OGs* great *Bedstead of Iron*.¹³ And what, think you, is meant by *Homers* Τυφώος εὐνά; *Typhonis Cubilia*?¹⁴ *Virgil* did not understand *Homer*, (whom hee often translates) when hee makes a *Sepulchre* of that *Bed*, and renders ἐν Ἀρίμοις, *Inarime*. *Æn.* L. ix.715.

*Tum Sonitu prochyta alta tremit,
Durumque cubile,*

*Inarime, Jovis imperijs imposta Typhæo.*¹⁵

The true Story of *OG*, and of *Typhon*, came to bee at length, extremely disguised; and then *Typhon* came *Ethically*, to signify, *Vain-glory*; and *Elementally*, the *Fiery Spirit* of the Creation; and, so they disposed of him, in I know not what Burning

⁸ Dickinson (*Delphi*, cap. 2, pp. 12–13). The Orontes River, famous in ancient history, is located NE of the Lebanese city Tripoli, and disappears in Lake Qattinah, near modern Homs.

⁹ ὕδη or rather Ἰδῆ, i. e., Hyde (Homer, *Iliad* 20.385; *Scholia in Iliadem*, 385a2 line of scholion 1).

¹⁰ Mather (via Dickinson) appears to pun on Chimera, a thing or creature which only exists in the imagination.

¹¹ Dickinson (*Delphi*, cap. 2, p. 14). To associate mythical places of the ancients with biblical locales on the basis of even faint similarities in sound or spelling was still conventional in Mather's time.

¹² Dickinson (*Delphi*, cap. 2, p. 16); Eustathius Thessalonicensis (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1:543, line 19): Χώρα ἐνὶ δρυόεντι "in a country rich in oaks." Og, the Amorite king of Bashan, at whose sizable bedstead the Israelites marveled (Deut. 3:11). The oft-mentioned Egyptian Typhon, source of all evil and nemesis of Isis and Osiris, looms large in the Greek and Egyptian myths recorded in Plutarch's *Iside et Osiride* (356c) and in Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1712), pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 32, col. 292; pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 28, cols. 527–28. Mather here associates Typhon with the giant Og.

¹³ Dickinson (*Delphi*, cap. 2, pp. 17–18); Deut. 3:11.

¹⁴ Mather, via Dickinson (p. 18), links Homer's Τυφώος εὐμέναι εὐνάς (*Iliad* 2.783) the "bed of Typhoeus" with that of Og, king of Bashan (Deut. 3:11), to underscore the traditional belief that the Egyptians and Greeks borrowed their ancient stories from the Hebrew Bible.

¹⁵ Employing a back-formation of Homer's (*Iliad* 2.783) εἰν Ἀρίμοις "[the country] of the Arimi," so Mather vaguely hints, Virgil (*Aeneid* 9.715–16) intones how the isle of Prochyta (Inarime's bed), off the shore of Campania, is rocked by the turbulent seas: "then at the sound lofty Prochyta trembles, and Inarime's rugged bed, laid by Jove's command above Typhoeus." See Frederick Ahl's *Virgil. Aeneid* (p. 418, annot. line 715).

Mountains. But, I tell you, t'was nothing but OG, *in the Original*; and when you consider, what I may elsewhere intimate, concerning *Joshua*, the true *Apollo*; and the Way wherein the Persons, and Actions, of the Bible, came to be the Themes of *Poesy* among the Gentiles, you'l subscribe, to my Conjecture.¹⁶

Q. Upon *Rabbah*? v. 11.

A. The Word imports *Great* and *Populous*. It is applied unto some other Cities. And hence for Distinction it is here called, *Rabbah of the Children of Ammon*.

Stephanus tells us, it was once called, *Ammana*. But we have greater Certainty, that in After-Ages it was called, *Philadelphia*; from *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, who having made himself the Master of these Parts, and liking the Situation of this Place, Repaired | and Beautified it, and called it *Philadelphia*. It never occurs under this Name in the Scriptures.¹⁷ [3v]

The City seems to have consisted of Two Parts; One whereof was more peculiarly called, *Rabbah*; The other, *The City of Waters*; as better watered than the other, and more pleasant; For which Cause the King seems to have had his Palace here; on which account it is also called, 2. Sam. XII.26, 27. *The Royal City*. The Waters, whence this Part of *Rabbah* took its Name of, *The City of Waters*, are thought to be those of the River *Jabbok*. Indeed *Eusebius* tells us, This River or Brook, runs between *Philadelphia* and.¹⁸

[2823:]

Q. About the Magnitude of the Giant OG, what can be gathered, from the Dimensions here assigned unto his *Iron Bedstead*; That *Nine Cubits* was the *Length* thereof, and *Four Cubits* the *Breadth* thereof, *after the Cubit of a Man*? v. 11.

16 Dickinson's *Delphi* (cap. 3, p. 20ff); Mather refers to his commentary on Josh. 1:1, in which he identifies the biblical hero as "the *Apollo* of the Ancients!" (BA 3:83). The "Burning Mountain" is the Italian volcano Mt. Aetna – if Ovid's *Fasti* (4.491–92) and *Metamorphoses* (5.346–55) are consulted. The link between the Amorite giant Og with the fabulous Typhoeus is also rehearsed in Gerard Vossius's compendium *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), lib. 1, cap. 30, pp. 189–90. For an intriguing analysis of Og, king of Bashan, in the context of extra-canonical texts, see A. Hessayon's "Og King of Bashan, Enoch and the Books of Enoch" (2006). See Appendix A.

17 Mather's primary source is Edward Wells's three-volume *Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–12), vol. 2, ch. 3, § xii, pp. 175, 176, for this and the next paragraph. Wells apparently drew on Samuel Bochart's preface "Authoris in quatuor Libros Phaleg Praefatio" to Bochart's *Geographia Sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan* (1707), pars 1, Praefatio, p. 42; see also pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 5, col. 360, lines 1–20. Bochart consults *Ethnica (epitome)*, p. 665, lines 8–13, by the famous Greek grammarian Stephanus Byzantius (fl. 6th c. CE) of Constantinople. Stephanus explains that the Ammonite city of Ammana (modern Amman in Jordan), was renamed Philadelphia by the Macedonian king of Egypt Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus (308–246 BCE) (KP).

18 Wells (vol. 2, ch. 3, p. 176); the Roman theologian and historian Eusebius Pamphilus supplies this geographical detail in his *Onomasticon* (p. 102, lines 19–22), a lexical-geography of the place-names of the Holy Scriptures.

A. No less a Man than *Schickard*, pretends, by Rules of *Geometry*, That the Giant OG, was as Tall, as *Four* ordinary Men; and by consequence, that he required as many Cloathes as would serve *Sixteen* other Men; and that he could not be much lighter than *Sixty* other Men.¹⁹

I will not give myself, nor you, the Trouble of examining *Schickard's* Rules, by which he determines these Proportions for the Terrible *Giant*. For if we are not content with the Allowance of this Magnitude for him, The Jewes (who aggravate the Matter, as if the *Giant* had been growing ever since, unto this day,) will come in, and face you down, That he was *Five Hundred Cubits* high. *Baal Turim*, on the very Text now before us, particularly affirm, That *Moses*, being Twelve Cubits in Heighth, leap'd unto the Heighth of Ten Cubits more, holding in his Hand a Weapon Ten Cubits long, and yett was able to wound this Giant, no higher than his Ankle. The *Talmud* gives you the Story more at large, in the last Chapter of *Beracoth*. Pardon me, that I divert you, with a little of the *Talmud*.²⁰

3771.

Q. Why is it said about *OG's Bedstead of Iron*, That it was *in Rabbath of the Children of Ammon*? You know, some do make this Passage, a considerable

19 Wilhelm Schickard, Sr. (1592–1635), a distinguished Lutheran theologian and professor of Hebrew and astronomy at the University of Tübingen (Germany), published several works on rabbinic commentaries. Here, Mather extracts a passage from Schickard's *בחנית הפירשים* [*Bechinath Happeruschim*] *Hoc est Examinis Commentationum Rabbinicarum in Mosen Prodrumus* (1625), *Disputatio Sexta*, cap. VI, sec. 2, pp. 120–21, in which Schickard (responding to Christopher Oertlin) argues that it is evident from the Targum Onkelos that the measurement of Og's gigantic size is based on the Babylonian cubit.

20 Let's not be put off by Mather's tongue-in-cheek skepticism but see what Schickard offers: some imagined the giant Og, king of Bashan, to be 504 cubits tall, which (at the rate of 1 Babylonian cubit equaling c. 50 cm) amounts to c. 252 meters (c. 827 feet). To be fair, Schickard does point out that the tall tales told by the ancient rabbis must allow for hyperboles. Be that as it may, R. Yaakov ben Raash, aka. Jacob ben Asher (c. 1270–c. 1340) elucidates in his eponymous *Baal HaTurim Chumash* that “Moses, who stood twice five cubits tall, and jumped ten cubits with his ten-cubit-long weapon ... struck Og on his ankle, which measured ten cubits” (5:1841). Much the same is told by R. Simeon b. Lakish, in the Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Berachoth (54b), except he adds that Moses “killed him.” Skeletal remains of dinosaurs – a species of animals nowhere mentioned in the Bible – inflamed the imagination of the ancients just as much as they do today. The story told by Abba Saul illustrates this point: “I was once a grave-digger,” he began. “On one occasion, when pursuing a deer, I entered the thigh-bone of a corpse, and pursued it for three parasangs [c. 3.5 miles/5.6 km] but did neither reach the deer nor the end of the thigh-bone. When I returned I was told that it was the thigh-bone of Og, King of Bashan” (Babylonian Talmud, tractate Niddah (24b). Ever the rational philosopher, Maimonides concedes that “*The Torah speaks in exaggerated language* – that is, hyperbole,” and brings Og back down to earth – to a mere “six cubits or a little more” (*Guide* 2.47.407, 408). Lest we sneer at the gullibility of the ancients, see A. Mayor's *First Fossil Hunters* (2000) and her *Fossil Legends of the First Americans* (2005), as well as P. Semonin's *American Monster* (2000) and D. B. Weishampel's *Dinosaur Papers 1676–1906* (2003). Cotton Mather makes no bones about it in his glosses on the giant nephilim (*BA* 1:581–99).

Objection against *Moses* being the Author of this Book; For, say they, How could this *Bedstead* come to the Children of *Ammon*, in the Dayes of *Moses*? v. 11.²¹

A. As if *OG*, fearing the worst, might not send his *Bed*, and his best Furniture, unto the *Ammonites*; knowing that they would be in Safety there, because the *Israelites* were forbidden to make War upon the *Ammonites*. Or, *Moses* having made a Conquest of the Countrey, might sell this *Bed*, among other Goods then taken from the Enemy, to the Children of *Ammon*, who præserv'd it in their Capital City. *Huetius* ha's offered these thoughts unto us; and they are very Reasonable. *Masius* ha's another Conjecture, which ha's in it nothing of Unreasonableness or of Improbability; That when the *Ammonites* drove out the monstrous People of that Neighbourhood, [Deut. 2.21.] *OG* might possibly escape; and so it is here said, He was *left of the Remnant of the Giants*; But flying hither to the *Amorites*, he was made their King, because of his goodly Presence, & his mighty Valour. But the *Ammonites* kept his *Bedstead*, and show'd it as a Monument of that illustrious Victory, which they gott over the *Rephaim*, or, as they called them, the *Zamzummim*, of that Countrey.²²

3772.

Q. Why is the *Measure*, as well as the Matter, of *Ogs Bedstead*, so punctually mentioned? v. 11.²³

A. An *Iron Bedsted*, was no unusual thing in the Dayes of old, tho' much later than *Og*. *Thucydides* tells us, That when the *Thebans* took *Platea*, they made Beds of the Brass and Iron they found there, which they dedicated unto *Juno*. And Beds of *Silver* and *Gold*, are mentioned by diverse Authors, as *Huetius* observes, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*.²⁴ But we may now argue the Stature of *Og*. For a *Bedstead*, according to the common Custome, is made a Third Part longer than the Person that lies in it; and thus, as *Maimonides* computes, *Og* must be Six Cubits high; which is a more sober Account, than what the Jewes do ordinarily

²¹ Extracted from Simon Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 46, 47).

²² Patrick's own sources are Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 14, sec. 7, p. 177; and Masius's *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia Illustrata* (1574), part 2, *Commentariorum in Iosuaam* (Josh. ch. 12), "Item terminus Og, regis Basan, de reliquiis Gigantum &c." pp. 223–25 (sec. ser. of pag.), by Andreas Masius, aka. Maes (1514–73), a Flemish RC theologian, humanist, Syriacist, and major contributor to the printing of the Syriac NT, in Christopher Platin's famous Antwerp Polyglot (*ADB*). On Masius, see R. J. Wilkinson's *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah* (2007), pp. 63–94.

²³ Patrick's *Deuteronomy* (46, 47) is the muse for Mather's following paragraph.

²⁴ Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 14, sec. 7, p. 177, refers to the iron bedsteads mentioned in Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (3.68.4), and to Quintus Curtius Rufus, in his *Life of Alexander* (8.8.9; 9.7.15). The latter deplores how certain upstarts "now sleep on silver couches," but admires Alexander for setting up "a hundred golden couches" to feast the ambassadors and petty kings of the barbarian nations.

give of him.²⁵ Tho', since *Homer* makes *Tityon*, when he was dead, to have lain stretch'd out, (not *Nine Cubits*, but) *Nine Acres* of Ground,

— επ εννεα κείτο πέλεθρα.²⁶

That *Hyperbole* may a little excuse the Jewish Rabbins, when they say, That *Og*, was *Nine Cubits* long, when he lay in his Cradle.²⁷

4242.

Q. *That Goodly Mountain.* How do the Jewes understand it? v. 25.

A. Mount *Moriah*, on which the Temple was to be built.²⁸

[4r]

Q. Some Account of *Lebanon*? v. 25.

A. This Mountain is by the Greeks called, *Libanus*. It extends from the Neighbourhood of *Sidon* westward, to the Neighbourhood of *Damascus* eastward.²⁹

It consists of Two principal Ridges or Ranges, whereof the one is by the Greeks called, *Libanus*, the other, *Antilibanus*. They are not only Opposits, but also parallel to one another, and exactly Resembling; But which of the Ridges was called, *Libanus*, and which *Antilibanus*, Writers have not agreed. *Ptolomy*, and the LXX, make that Part of Mount *Lebanon*, which lies next unto the Holy Land, *Antilibanus*.³⁰ But it appears from *Le Bruyn*, and *Maundril*, that the Inhabitants in our Dayes will have the more Northern of the Ridges to be *Antilibanus*.³¹

25 Maimonides (*Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* [1629], lib. 2, cap. 47, p. 325), adds in his chapter on the hyperboles and metaphors of the prophets that Og's size should be measured according to the saying "'after the cubit of a man,' [which] means according to the cubit of an individual from among ... the rest of men – and not according to the cubit of *Og*. For all individuals have mostly proportionate members; accordingly it says that the length of *Og* was twice that of other men or a little more. This is doubtless anomalous for the individuals of the species, but is by no means impossible" (*Guide* 2.47.407–08).

26 Homer (*Odyssey* 11.577) and *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera*), *Book of Iliad* (15.9, of scholion 1): ἐπ' ἐννεά κείτο πέλεθρα. i. e., "over nine plethora" (c. 900 feet) – not too bad either – for Tityos, the son of Gaea. Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (1690), lib. 2, cap. 12, pp. 179–84 and, for good measure, the "*Gigantomachia*" of the Flemish physician Joannes Goropius Becanus (1519–72), in his *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569), lib. 2, pp. 137–226, esp. pp. 207–12, will satisfy anyone who is looking for more gargantuan among the ancients.

27 Rabbi Sh'muel ben Meir (Rasbam), in his commentary on Deut. 3:11, identifies Og's iron bedstead as "his crib when he was still growing up" (*Hachut Hameshulash* 6:1475); and Rashi, *Metsudah Chumash Rashi: Devarim* (5:47, note 241). See also H. Liss, *Creating Fictional Worlds* (2011), pp. 240–42.

28 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 54); Matthew Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:762) and *Works* (8a:68).

29 The following paragraphs are gleaned from Edward Wells, *Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–12), vol. 1, ch. 1, pp. 3, 4, 6–7; vol. 3, ch. 5, secs. xxv–xxv, pp. 259–73.

30 Wells, *Historical Geography* (2:259–60); Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* (5.15.8). See also Samuel Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (1646), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 377D.

31 Via Wells's *Historical Geography* (2:259 ff), Mather refers to *A Voyage to the Levant: or Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor* (1702), an English translation of Reizen van Cornelis de

A Part of this Mountain, which a modern Traveller finds Barren and Desolate, by its exceeding Height proves a Conservatory for Abundance of *Snow*; which, Thawing in the Heat of the Summer, affords a supply of Water, to the Rivers and Fountains, in the Valleys below. In the Winter, the *Snow* before Sunrise, will be almost as hard as Ice, & make Travelling very Tiresome. And yett one must make Haste; For, anon the Heat of the Sun melts it, and then one runs a great Risk; The too long Stay of the Curious ha's cost them their Lives; and they have been drown'd in the Water of the *Snow*, which is on all Sides like so many Mountains. *Le Bruyn* tells us, on the Top of this, Mountain, there was nothing to be seen, but the Sky and Mountains of *Snow*; which is in so great Plenty, that many of the *Cedars* are almost covered with it; and were it not for the Wind, they would be quite buried under it.³²

The *Cedars*, those Noble Trees, *Maundril* tells us, grow amongst the *Snow*, near the highest Part of the Mountain. Some of them are very *old*; and of a prodigious Magnitude. One which he measured, was Twelve Yards and Six Inches, in Girt, and Thirty Seven Yards in the Spread of its Boughs. At about five or Six Yards, from the Ground, it was divided into Five Limbs, each of which was æqual to a considerable Tree. *Le Bruyn* had the Curiosity to measure Two of the *Cedars*, whereof the one was Fifty Seven Spans about, the other Forty Seven.³³

When the Trees are almost all over covered with *Snow*, yett they are always green. The little Leaves of the Branches shoot upwards; while the Fruit much like to a Pine-Apple, hangs downwards.³⁴

There is a very deep Rupture in the Side of *Libanus*, running at least Seven Hours Travel up directly into the Mountain. It is on both Sides exceeding Steep and High, clothed with Fragrant Greens | from Top to Bottom; and refreshed every where with Fountains falling down from the Rocks in pleasant Cascades. These delicate Streams uniting at the Bottom, they make a rapid and mighty Torrent, the agreeable Murmuring whereof is heard over all this Place, & adds much to the Pleasure of it. To these *Waters* there seems a Reference in Cant. IV.15. *A Well of Living Waters, and Streams from Lebanon*.³⁵

[4v]

Canobine stands on the Northside of this Chasm; on the Steep of the Mountain, about the Mid-way between the Top and the Bottom; where *Theodosius* the Great, built a Church. *Le Bruyn* reckons its *Wines*, to be the finest & the richest in the World. They are of a Sweet Red Colour; and so oily that they

Bruyn door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia (Amsterdam, 1698), by the Dutch traveller Cornelis de Bruijn, aka. Bruyn (1652–1727); and *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), p. 118, a popular travel log by the Anglican clergyman Henry Maundrell (1665–1700), who served as chaplain to the Levant Company's merchants at Aleppo (Turkey). (DNB).

32 Wells (2:262–63); *Le Bruyn* (*Voyage*, ch. 57, pp. 221, 222).

33 Wells (2:263–64); Maundrell (*Journey* 138, 140); *Le Bruyn* (*Voyage*, ch. 57, p. 221B).

34 Wells (2:264); *Le Bruyn* (*Voyage*, ch. 57, p. 221B).

35 Wells (2:265–66); *Le Bruyn* (*Voyage*, ch. 75, p. 280B).

stick to the Glass. The Prophet alludes to them; Hos. XIV.7. *The Scent thereof shall be as the Wine of Lebanon.*³⁶

The North-East Part of this Mountain, adjoining to the Holy Land, is in the Scripture distinguished by the Name of *Hermon*. The *Sidonians* called it, *Sinon*; and the *Amorites* called it, *Shenir*. In Deut. IV.48. instead of *Sinon*, it is called, *Sion*; very different from the *Zion*, at *Jerusalem*. And in Josh. XI.17. instead of *Shenir* it is called *Seir*.³⁷

It is probable, that this Mount *Hermon*, is the same that is called, Mount *Hor*, [Num. XXXIV.7, 8. compared with Josh. XIII.5.]

There was indeed another Mount *Hermon*, on the West of the River *Jordan*, and not far from Mount *Tabor*. [Whereof, see Psal. LXXXIX.12. CXXXIII.3.]³⁸

³⁶ Wells (2:266, 267–68); Maundrell (*Journey* 141) relates that the Maronite convent of Canobine was founded by Theodosius the Great, aka. Roman Emperor Theodosius I (347–95 CE); Le Bruyn (*Voyage*, ch. 72, p. 274*B*).

³⁷ Wells (2:270–71); Le Bruyn (*Voyage*, ch. p. 205*B*)

³⁸ Wells (2:271, 272, 273); Maundrell (*Journey* 56, 113, 114). See Mather's annotations on Ps. 89:12 and 133:3, in *BA* (4:628, 748).

3773.

Q. *Which shall hear of all these Statutes.*] A little before, we read of both *Statutes*, and *Judgments*; where *Statutes* may mean, the Lawes which concern'd the *Worship* of God, and *Judgments*, those which concerned their *Dealing* with one another. But now, we have none but *Statutes* mentioned? v. 6.¹

A. *Abarbinel* hence infers, That even those Lawes, which depended wholly on the Will and Pleasure of God, & for which they could give no Reason, would procure them very great Honour, if they were carefully observed. For the Nations, beholding how wonderfully they prospered, would be apt to impute their Prosperity, unto the extraordinary Præscriptions, which they followed: Just, saith he, as a Physician who cures desperate Maladies, by some despicable Remedies (as they seem to others) is highly applauded for his profound Knowledge.²

But *Maimonides*, takes the Word *Statutes*, to comprehend all the Lawes of God, & undertake to show, that all the *Six hundred & thirteen* Præcepts, have a wise End in them, for the Benefit of those that observe them; either to beget some wholesome Opinion, or pull out a perverse one; either to institute some good Order, or take away some Iniquity.³

607.

Q. *Moses* tells the *Israelites*, That their keeping the *Statutes* of God, would bee their *Wisdom*, in the *Sight of the Nations*, who would hear of the said *Statutes*,

1 For this and the following two paragraphs, Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 59–60) is Mather's primary source. The italicized phrase with a closing bracket is from Deut. 4:6.

2 The rational or suprarational foundation of the Mosaic Law was hotly debated among medieval and early modern rabbis, especially those who attacked Maimonides for asserting that the divine origin of the Laws is recognizable not in their unintelligibility but in their usefulness either for redressing an injustice or for correcting an unhealthy practice (*Guide* 3.31.524). Isaac Abravanel's defense of Maimonides's 613 Principles of the Law and their rational basis – especially as attacked by R. Chasdai Crescas in his *Or ha-Shem* and by R. Joseph Albo in his ספר העקרims [*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*] – can be found in Guilielmus Vorstius's Latin translation of Abravanel's ספר ראש אמנה [*Sefer Rosh Amanah*] *Liber De Capite Fidei* (1638), cap. 22, pp. 104–07; and in M. M. Kellner's modern translation *Principles of Faith* (*Rosh Amanah*), ch. 22, pp. 190–93.

3 Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), lib. 3, cap. 31, pp. 429–30; and his elucidation of the 613 precepts, in *The Commandments* (2 vols.). Much the same support on the rational foundation of the Laws admired by the Israelites' neighbors appears in Rashi, *Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* (5:57), R. Bachya ben Asher, *Torah Commentary* (7:2388), as indeed in Ramban (*Commentary* 5:52–53). See also Smolinski, "Eager Imitators" (304, note 18).

& say, *Surely this great Nation is a Wise People*. What Accomplishment had this Prædiction? v. 6.⁴

A. It is well-known, That from the *Israelites*, there were communicated unto the Gentile-World a great Part of that *Learning*, and that *Worship*, & all the *Light* that there was among them. As the Greek *Alphabet*, was taken from the *Hebrew*, and the *Græcians* themselves confess, that they had their Letters from the *Phœnicians*: thus the *Statutes* of *Israel* also were carried unto the *Sight of the Nations*. If you ask, *How?* The *Jewes* had their Commerce with the Neighbour-Nations, *Chaldeans*, *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and others; especially in the Dayes of King *Solomon*; who thereupon espoused not a few of the *Jewish* Usages and Opinions. And *Greece* trading much with these Nations, the Greek Authors came to have many Footsteps of their Traditions them.⁵

Yea, the Divine Providence did so Disperse the Hebrewes all the World over, especially by the *Assyrian* and the *Babylonian* Captivitie, (& afterwards by the Mischiefs of *Pompey*) as also, in the Times of the *Maccabees*, when some of them freely left their Countrey, to make Proselytes in *Egypt*, that, carrying the *Holy Writings* with them, the main Passages thereof must needs bee imparted unto the World.⁶

4 In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts" (Deut. 4:9), Mather lists "MSS. Pat. no. 23. Sermon. 35. Sermon. 36." Although these manuscript sermons remain unidentified, Mather's abbreviation "Pat.," likely for "Pater" (father), may refer to Increase Mather's sermons in manuscript or Cotton Mather's sermon notes taken down in short-hand when his father delivered his discourse. The pious conviction that Moses and the Torah were the source from which pagan philosophers derived their wisdom was still current until the eighteenth century. Mather could draw on many works to substantiate this widespread belief: among them Theophilus Gale's huge *The Court of the Gentiles: Part II. Of Philosophie* (1672), esp. bk. 2, chs. 1–2, pp. 88–112 (sep. pagination); Gerard Vossius's learned *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), and John Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), bk. 1, ch. 2, pp. 12–37.

5 Mather's source for this and the following paragraphs is John Edwards's *A Discourse Concerning the Authority* (1693), vol. 1, ch. 8, p. 275 ff. The argument that the biblical Patriarchs passed on their ancient wisdom, along with the Hebrew alphabet, to the Phœnicians, and from them to the Greeks and throughout the Mediterranean world, was supported by the best of scholars in Mather's day. See esp. Brian Walton's disquisition "Prolegomena I: De linguarum natura, origine, divisione, numero mutationibus, & usu," in *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1657), vol. 6, pp. 1–6 (sep. pag.); Gale's *Court of the Gentiles: Part I* (1672), bk. 1, chs. 10–12, pp. 50–85.

6 Mather alludes to Roman Consul Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BCE), whose intervention in the civil war raging in the Hasmonean dynasty between King and High Priest of Judea Aristobulus II (66–63 BCE) and his brother Hyrcanus II (63–40 BCE), who succeeded him, led to the destruction of Jerusalem (63 BCE) and the assumption of the high priesthood and kingship of the latter. According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 14.3–4), Pompey and his men entered the Holy of Holies of the Temple, but respected the sacred vessels and treasures, and restored Hyrcanus to his priestly and dynastic office. On the topic of the Jewish diaspora, the distinguished Huguenot scholar-theologian Jacques Basnage, FRS (1653–1723), published in his Dutch exile an acclaimed multi-volume work in French, *Histoire de Juifs* (1706–15). Translated by Thomas Taylor and published in English as *The History of the Jews* (1708), the original French edition was continuously expanded with various supplements until Basnage's death. The

Moreover, The Writings of *Moses*, were translated into *Greek*, in the Time of the *Persian* Monarchy, if not before it (as *Eusebius* reports out of *Megasthenes*, one well-skill'd in History, who lived with *Seleucus*.) For there was a Greek Translation of a considerable Part of the Old Testament, before the Time of *Alexander* the Great; as is testified by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*.⁷ And accordingly, *Demetrius Phalereus*, Library-keeper to King *Ptolomie*, Sirnamed *Philadelphus*,⁸ in an Epistle to him, cited by *Eusebius*, affirms, that before the Septuagint-Version, many Things were translated out of the Bible. But by this, & by what followed, the Knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, was to admiration spread among the *Gentiles*.⁹

Finally; what most makes for the Illustration of the Text before us, is this: The *Wise Men* among the Pagans, were very Inquisitive after the *Wisdom* of the *Israelites*. Of *Pythagoras*, we are told by *Laertius*, That hee left his Countrey, being desirous to learn the *Mysteries* of the *Barbarians*; – and of *Chaldaea*, in particular. *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Porphyry*, also testify of this Philosopher, that hee went into *Chaldaea*, & conversed with the *Jewes* then in their Captivitie.¹⁰

dispersion of the Jews in pre- and post-Christian times is covered in bks. 6 and 7 (pp. 465–744) and details their state in the various European kingdoms until the late 17th century. Mather incorporates a large extract of Basnage's work in his "Appendix to the Book of, *The Acts*," in *BA* (vol. 8). For helpful discussions of Basnage's history, see L. A. Segal's "Jacques Basnage" (1983), G. Cerny's essay collection *Theology* (1987), and J. M. Elukin's "Jacques Basnage" (1992).

7 Mather's source is John Edwards, *Discourse* (1:276–77); Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.6.410d–411a) quotes at second hand from Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata* 1.15, in *ANF* 2:316–17) a passage from *Indica* (lib. 3), by the Greek ethnographer Megasthenes (c. 350–290 BCE), ambassador to India of the Macedonian Seleucus I Nicator (c. 358–281 BCE), founder of the Seleucid dynasty after the death of Alexander the Great. According to Megasthenes, "all that has been said about nature among the ancients is said also among the philosophers outside Greece, partly among the Indians by the Brachmans, and partly in Syria by those who are called Jews." From a copy of Aristeeas's famous narrative of the Hebrew Scriptures' translation into Greek (Septuaginta), as Eusebius explains in his *Praeparatio* (8.2–5.350a–355b), we learn that Demetrius Phalereus (c. 350–c. 280 BCE), Athenian orator and sometime librarian in Alexandria of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (309–246 BCE), supervised the translation of the Septuagint; yet that "others before Demetrius, and prior to the supremacy of Alexander and of the Persians, have translated both the narrative of the Exodus of our fellow countrymen the Hebrews from Egypt, and the fame of all that happened to them, and their conquest of the land, and the exposition of the whole Law." Accordingly, both Pythagoras (and Plato after him) "borrowed much" and "transferred many of our precepts into his own system of doctrines. 'For what is Plato,'" ask the Pythagorean Numenius, "but Moses speaking in Attic Greek?" (Eusebius, *Praeparatio* 9.6.410c–411a; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 1.22, in *ANF* 2:334–35).

8 Surnamed; Mather's follows Edwards's spelling.

9 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:277). See also Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), Prop. IV, cap. 2, secs. 19–30, pp. 59–61; and cap. 16, pp. 95–96.

10 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:277–78). Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 8.1.2–3) cites the Attic orator Antiphon of Rhamnus (480–411 BCE), *On Men of Outstanding Merit*, that Pythagoras learned "the Egyptian language," was initiated into "all the mysteries and rites not only of Greece but also of foreign countries," and hobnobbed with "the Chaldeans and Magi." Origen (*Against Celsus* 1.15) cites the Greek historian and grammarian Hermippus of

Ludovicus Vives, will have him acquainted with the Prophet *Jeremiah* in *Egypt*; and Mr. *Selden* holds, that hee was acquainted with *Ezekiel*, & learn'd from him the *Tetragrammaton*, and other Matters.¹¹

Austin tells us, 't'was beleev'd, that *Plato*, was the Prophet *Jeremiahs* Auditor in *Egypt*, & read the Oracles of the Bible there. Indeed the Works of that Philosopher, do evidently prove him to have been a Student of the Inspired Compo-sures; and the Ancients think, That tho' hee had Imbibed the Sentiments of the Jewes, yett hee forbears mentioning their Name, only because their Name was grown odious to other Nations, and might have caused his Books to find the less Entertainment in the World. Nevertheless, hee seems to hint, that hee had his Notions from the Jewes, when hee speaks of Σύριοις, and Φοινίκιοις μυθοι: for the [5v] *Syrians*, the *Phœnicians*, and the *Jewes*, generally | passed, the one for the other.¹²

Lett *Laertius* and *Diodorus*, and some of the *Christian* Fathers, as *Eusebius* and *Cyril*, inform you, how many of the other *Philosophers*, travelled into those Regions, for Instruction; where they perused the *Mosaic* Records, which were of great Account among them.¹³

Smyrna (c. 250 BCE), in *Fragmenta* (22), as extant in Josephus (*Apion* 1.22; *Complete Works* 614), that Pythagoras derived his philosophy "from the Jewish people" (*ANF* 4:402). Both Clemens of Alexandria (*Stromata* 5.4–5), in *ANF* (2:449–51) and Porphyrius of Tyre (*Vita Pythagorae* 1) pinpoint an Egyptian and Chaldaean influence on Pythagoras.

11 John Edwards, *Discourse* (1:278–79, see also 1:229–31); Juan Luis Vives, aka. Joannes Ludovicus Vives (c. 1492–1540) was a Spanish scholar and humanist of Valencia, taught at Louvain (Flanders) and Corpus Christi (Oxford) under Henry VIII, and published numerous works on philosophy, theology, and education (*SEP*). Edwards probably has in mind Vives's *De Veritate Fidei Christianae Libri V* (1543), lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 243B–44B, that from Pythagoras on down the Greeks acquired their philosophy from Egypt: "Non Pythagoras & Eudoxus & Plato, & reliqui Graeci philosophi, qui Ægyptum institutionis gratia penetrarunt: non iidem ipsi Ægyptiorum numinum sacerdotes." John Selden, *De Jura Naturali et Gentium* (1640), lib. 1, cap. 2, pp. 17–19, is persuaded that Pythagoras was familiar with the teachings of Jeremiah (Hieremias) in Jerusalem and Egypt, and with those of Ezechiel in Babylonia. This apologetic argument is rife in St. Augustine's *City of God* (8.11), in *NPNFi* (2:151–52) and *On Christian Doctrine* (2.28), in *NPNFi* (2:549).

12 John Edwards, *Discourse* (1:278–79). In his *De Doctrina Christiana* (2.43), St. Augustine claims that "Plato made a journey into Egypt at the time when Jeremiah the prophet was there" (*On Christian Doctrine* 2.28.43), in *NPNFi* (2:549). However, after checking his chronology, St. Augustine retracted his error (*Retractions* 2.4) and confessed in his *City of God* (8.11) that "Plato was born about a hundred years after the time in which Jeremiah prophesied, and, as he lived eighty-one years, there are found to have been about seventy years from his death to that time when Ptolemy, king of Egypt, requested the prophetic scriptures of the Hebrew people to be sent to him from Judea" to have them translated into Greek. Thus "Plato could neither have seen Jeremiah, who was dead so long before, nor have read those same scriptures which had not yet been translated into the Greek language, of which he was a master." Unless Plato studied the Hebrew Scriptures through an interpreter, Augustine admits, he could not have known about Jeremiah's prophecies (*NPNFi* 2:151).

13 Edwards, *Discourse* (1:280); Diogenes Laertius states that the famous philosophers among the Greeks – such as Solon, Democritus, and Heraclitus sojourned into Egypt and Babylon (*Lives of the Philosophers* 1.2.40; 9.7.34; 9.1); Diodorus Siculus (1.96; 4.25); Eusebius

Yea, the Jewes being Renowned for the Glories & Effects of an High Religion among them; the learned Men among foreign People, were desirous to know their Lawes, and their Wayes; and whole Nations were forward in the Imitation of them. This was the Thing prophetically Intimated in the Words, of Moses, which, this Morning, wee have been Illustrating.¹⁴

3774.

For yett a further Illustration, upon this Passage, lett it be observed; This Nation did abound and flourish in all Manner of Prosperity, while they Religiously continued in the Worship of God. Their Lawes were fitted admirably to unite them unto God, & one another; & consequently to make them appear a Wise People, in the Eyes of other People.¹⁵

And accordingly the Writers among other People, have highly magnified Moses; yea, their Lawgivers have transcribed several of his Lawes into their Constitutions. The old Attick Lawes, & the Lawes of the Twelve Tables, do demonstrate it.

The Oracle reported by Porphyrie, in Eusebius his *Præparatio Evangelica*, (L. 9. c. 10.) thus extols this Nation.

Μουνοι Χαλδαιοι σοφίαν λαχον, ηδ' αρ' Εβραιοι

Αυτο γενεθλον Ανακτα σεβαζομενοι Θεον αγνωσ.¹⁶

The Chaldæans and the Hebrewes (who came from Chaldaea,) are the only wise People, who worship God, the Eternal King, in a pure Manner.

And the Oracle of Apollo Clarius recorded by Macrobius, (L. 1. c. 18.) is no less remarkable;

Φραζεο τον παντων υπατον Θεον εμμεν Ιαω.¹⁷

Acknowledge Jao (so they pronounced the Name Jehovah,) to be the Highest God of all. For tho' Macrobius fancied the Sun here to be called Ιαω, (no body can tell

Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.8.480b–482c); Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Adversus Julianum* 1.519–22).

¹⁴ Edwards, *Discourse* (1:281).

¹⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 60–61) is Mather's muses for this and the following paragraphs to the end of his commentary on Deut. 4:6.

¹⁶ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 60) cites a Greek passage from Porphyrius as quoted in Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.10.4, lines 3–4), which reads in our modern editions Μούνιοι Χαλδαίοι σοφίαν λάχον, ηδ' αρ' Έβραίοι, / αύτογένεθλον άνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεόν άγνώσ, and translates, “Only Chaldee and Hebrews wisdom found / In the pure worship of a self-born God” (*Preparation* 9.10.413c; see also 3.3.6, lines 10–11). Whereas Patrick supplies the Greek diacritics, Mather as usual dispenses with such niceties.

¹⁷ Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.18.19–20) quotes Apollo Claros (the bright-eyed Apollo of the Ionian city Claros, near Colophon, on the west coast of Asia Minor) as saying that when asked who is the greatest of the gods, Apollo responded, Φράζεο τόν πάντων υπατον Θεόν έμμεν Ιαω, “say that the greatest god of all is Ιαδ.” Much the same appears in *Oracula* (Epigram 135, line 3).

why:)¹⁸ *Diodorus Siculus* acknowledges Ιάω, to be the God, from whom it was that *Moses* pretended his Lawes; That is, JEHOVAH.¹⁹

3150.

Q. It is said, *Yee saw no Manner of Similitude, on the Day that the Lord spake unto you*: what might be the special Intention of such a Dispensation? v. 15.

A. You know, That the Determinate Figure of any thing, determines it for to be *that one thing*, and *nothing else*. As, a *Star*, a *Tree*, a *Man*; If you see the Figure of a *Tree*, then tis a *Tree*, you know, and not a *Star*. Now, the Great God is *Al-Sufficient*; He is *All* that is excellent; *All* Glories belong unto Him. If God had appeared in any one *Determinate Figure*, the People might perhaps have imagined, That the Excellency of that *One Thing* were in Him, and of nothing else. The Infinite God would have His Peoples thoughts of Him, to be more *unlimited* than so; He would have no one Figure to sett *Limits* unto Him. If I don't mis-remember it, I have heretofore mett with an Hint unto this Purpose, in a French Discourse of Monsieur *Abbady*, about, *The Knowledge of ones Self*.²⁰

[6r]

3775.

Q. *The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, and all the Host of Heaven* the Worship whereof is here forbidden, [And *Gisbertus Cuperus*, by the way, ha's demonstrated, That there was not any God, or Goddess among the ancient Gentiles, but what had a Respect unto the *Sun* or the *Moon*.] it is here said, *The Lord thy God ha's divided them unto all Nations under the whole Heaven*: what is the Sense of these Words? v. 19.²¹

¹⁸ Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.18.18) claims that it was the singer Orpheus who called the sun by the moniker Jao.

¹⁹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 60–61); Diodorus Siculus (1.94.2) explains that “among the Jews Moyses refers his laws to the god who is invoked as Iao,” a version of “Yahu” or “Jah” (Psal. 68:4).

²⁰ Mather, who had taught himself French, refers to the oft-reprinted *L'Art De Se Connoître Soy-Meme, Ou La Recherche des Sources De la Morale*, in 2 vols. (1692), by the French Protestant divine Jacques Abbadie, aka. James Abbadie (c. 1654–1727), who after a sojourn of several years in Prussia's Berlin became dean of Killaloe, in Ireland (ODNB).

²¹ This and the following paragraphs are from Patrick, on Deut. 4:19 (*Deuteronomy* 68, 69, 70). Gisbert Cuper (1644–1716), Dutch historian, professor of classical literature at Deventer, Utrecht, and Leiden, and member of the Republic of Letters, published his *Harpocrates seu Explicatio Imagunculae Argenteae Antiquissimae* (Amsterdam, 1676; Utrecht, 1687), a study of the origin of the Egyptian deity Harpocrates, the figure of a young boy, holding a finger to his lips. Associated with the Egyptian child god Horus (offspring of Isis and Osiris) and representing the rising sun, Harpocrates is a Hellenist appropriation of the Egyptian deity. An elaborate analogy between Egyptian, Syrian, and Greek deities – all based on classical texts, statuary, and ancient coins – Cuper's *Harpocrates* focuses on the worship of the celestial bodies. Mather here alludes to Cuper's discussion on pp. 87–89, 108–17. On this subject, see also Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Gentilium, errorumque apud eos causis* (1663), esp. caps. 4–9.

A. Very plain; That *all Nations under the whole Heaven*, have the Benefit of the Sun, Moon, & Stars; and therefore we are to worship that LORD of them all, who ha's made them to be Ministers unto us.

There was no Reason, that R. *Salomon*, who saw this, yett should fall into the vain Fancy of the Generality of the Jewes, That God having distributed the Nations of the World, under the Government of several Stars, which Stars are under the *Government* of Angels, the *Jewes* are left under the Government of *God alone*, and not subject unto any *Planet*.²²

But some great Men have taken this to be the true Meaning of the Words; That God for their Sins, had *given the Nations up* to the Impiety of worshipping the Host of Heaven.

But *Chalak*, which we render, *Divide*, signifies also, to *Blandish*. q. d. God places these great Luminaries in the Heavens, to invite & allure all Nations, to admire and adore Him, the Creator of them.²³

2314.

Q. That Passage, *Hee brought thee out, in His Sight, with His mighty Power, out of Egypt*: what Mystery may bee contained in it? v. 37.

A. Behold the mystery of the *Trinity*! It had been said, Two Verses before, *Jehovah* is *Elohim*; And here wee have the *Elohim*.

God the *Father*, is the, *Hee*, here bringing His People out of their Captivity. But with whose Concurrence?

Here is the Concurrence of His *Presence*. This Name, (namely, *Panim*,) is the Name of the *Messiah*: who is elsewhere in *Deuteronomy* called, *The Presence of God*; and in *Isaiah*, *The Angel of His Presence*. Hee is *our* great *Pan*.

But then, here is also the Concurrence of His *Power*. Now, *Power*, is the usual Epithit, for the *Spirit* of God.²⁴

22 Mather, via Patrick's *Deuteronomy* (69–70), refers to R. Salomon Jarchi (Rashi), *Commentarius Hebraicus in Pentateuchum Mosis* (1710), p. 1329, where Rashi appears to claim that God made the stars available to the nations not only as lights but also as deities “in order to banish them from the world” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 5:60–61). Much the same appears in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:766) and *Works* (8a:83–84).

23 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 70). The Hebrew infinitive כָּלַךְ [chalaq] signifies “to divide, share, plunder, allot, assign” (Strong's # 2505).

24 Mather's Trinitarian interpretation – not found in any of the major commentaries of the period – may have been prompted by the rise of Arianism among English Deists. His major work on the topic “Goliathus Detruncatus” (*The Trinity of Persons, in the One most Blessed and Glorious God*. . . . *In an American Letter to the Learned Mr. William Whiston*) was a response to William Whiston's anti-Trinitarian publications (*Diary* 2:230). Although having made plans to have this work published in London, Mather also toyed with the idea of sending copies to “Cambridge [i. e., Harvard], to be perused by the principal Members of the Colledge there” to strengthen them in the embattled doctrine (*Diary* 2:247). “Goliathus Detruncatus” (c. 1713) never saw the light of print, for Mather's manuscript, sent to his English friend and correspondent Dr. John Edwards (1637–1716), was lost when Edwards died. “Goliathus” was intended as a companion to Edwards's defense of the embattled doctrine of the Trinity, *Some Brief*

[6v]

3776.

Q. *That it may be well with thee, & that thou mayst prolong thy Dayes upon the Earth.* Did the better Sort of Jewes, rest in this, as a Promise only of *Temporal Blessings*? v. 40.

A. No. From this Word, *Prolong*, they extended their Hope, as far as the other World. Thus *Maimonides* tells us, They were taught by Tradition, to expound these Words; *That it may be well with thee*, in the World, which is, all Good, and *mayest prolong thy Dayes*, in the World, which is all long, (or, never ends.)²⁵

Q. The Evangelical Mystery in the *Cities of Refuge*? v. 43.

A. The pious *Arndt* ha's a Thought, not unworthy to be inserted here. Tis above an hundred Years old.

*Christum tres illæ civitates efficaciter adumbrarunt.*²⁶

Bezer signifies a *Strong Tower*.

Compare what we read of our Saviour; Prov. XVIII.10.

Ramoth signifies, *Exalted*.

Compare; Isa. LII.13. & LVII.15. Phil. II.10.

Golan signifies, *An Heap of Favours*.

Compare, Psal. CXXX.7. and, Rom. X.20.²⁷

Observations and Reflections on Mr. Whiston's late Writings, Falsly Entitul'd Primitive Christianity Reviv'd (1712) and *Some Animadversions on Dr. Clark's Scripture-Doctrine* (17s12). See also Samuel Mather's *Life of Cotton Mather* (1729), p. 73, and T.J. Holmes's bibliography *Cotton Mather* (1:416).

²⁵ Patrick, on Deut. 4:40 (*Deuteronomy* 80). In his introduction to *Perek Helek*, Mishnaic tractate Sanhedrin (ch. 10), Maimonides explains (Deut. 4:40) that the highest good a Jew can attain is to have his soul eternally involved with the Creator, which (Maimonides insists) is the meaning of Deut. 4:40, in *Maimonides's Commentary on the Mishnah: Tractate Sanhedrin* (ch. 10). The great philosopher's commentary was first published by Marco Antonio Giustiniani with the title *Perush ha-Mishniyot mi-ha-Rambam: Sanhedrin* (Venice, 1547).

²⁶ The Latin passage (along with his elucidations), which Mather quotes from Anthon Wilhelm Boehm's Latin translation of Johannes Arndt's *De Vero Christianismo libri quatuor* (1708), tom. 1, lib. I, cap. 21, p. 128, § 16, may be rendered, "Christ is signified to good effect by those three cities." This popular work by the German Lutheran Pietist theologian Johann Arndt (1555–1621), was first published as *Wahres Christenthum* (1605) and translated into several European languages. Mather not only warmly recommended Arndt's mystical book to all candidates of the ministry ("whereby Hundreds of Thousands have been bro't into the Life of GOD"), in *Manuductio ad Ministerium* [1726], p. 38, but also felt it would "greatly serve the Interest of Piety in my excellent Consort [the wily Lydia Lee George Mather], if I should use, every Morning before I rise, to read a Chapter in my dear *Arndt*; and communicate unto her the principal Thoughts occurring on it." Similarly, he made the work the subject of his "Table-talk" in his family and had one of them read from it every morning for the edification of the whole Mather household, including his "Domesticks." He also donated a copy "unto our poor Colledge" and wrote to Boehm (6 d. VI m. [August,] 1716) that Arndt's works are among "the most valuable Things" he extracted for inclusion in his *Biblia Americana* (*Diary* 2:335–36, 348, 413).

²⁷ Arndt, *Vero Christianismo* (128–29).

Q. What is the Mount *Sion*, here spoken of? v. 48.

A. Not the *Sion* so famous in after times, when *David* made it his Royal Seat. This was on the other Side [of] *Jordan*, & written with other Letters.

But in all Probability, *Sion* here is a Contraction of *Sinon*; which is the Name, whereby the *Sidonians* called *Hermon*.²⁸

3778.

Q. Why does *Moses* often repeat his mention of the inexorable *Anger* of God, in denying him an Entrance into *Canaan*?²⁹

A. That the *Israelites* might be the more deeply sensible of the Danger of Sinning against God; since one Fault brought, such a Wrath, upon such a Man.

He would also magnify the Goodness of God unto them, who tho' great Offenders, enjoy'd a Privilege which was denied unto him.

It went very near to his Heart, we see. But he adds, That he would have them reckon *Gods Promise* unto them, as irrevocable, as *His Threatning*, to *him*.

²⁸ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 82–83); Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:767) and *Works* (8a:95). See also Poole's commentary on Deut. 3:9 (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:761) and *Works* (8a:60).

²⁹ After God had shown Moses from across the Jordan River the land he had promised to Abraham's descendants, God told the Israelite lawgiver, "thou shalt not go over thither" (Deut. 34:4).

623.

Q. You may observe, that when the *Decalogue*, is Repeted, there is an observable *Difference*, in the *Reason* of the fourth *Commandment*. In *Exodus* tis, *For in Six Dayes the Lord made all things, & Rested the Seventh Day*. In *Deuteronomy* tis, *Remember, that the Lord thy God brought thee out of Egypt; Therefore Hee commanded thee, to keep the Seventh Day*. What [is] the *Reason* of this *Difference*? v. 6.

A. Have you Read the Epistle of *Ludovicus Carretus*, a famous and a learned Jew, converted unto *Christianitie*, who directs unto his own Children an Epistle, by himself entituled, *Liber Visorum Divinorum*, to recommend *Christianitie* unto them? However, I'll now give you some Extract of it; whereby I shall both answer *your* Quæstion, and give you some other Curiosities.¹

This Gentleman, *Lewis* [but, before his Conversion, *Theodore*] *Carret*, was an eminent Physician in *Florence*; and so circumstanced, that in his Conversion, hee could propose no Temporal Effects, but such great *Crosses* and *Losses*, as hee afterwards mett withal.²

A Night came, wherein this Gentleman Dreamt himself in a most spacious Valley where hee beheld himself surrounded with a Number of *Aged* and *Shining* Persons, who had *Illustrious Diadems* upon their Heads. The Splendor of the *Seven Dayes* concurring in *One*, would not have been more *Illustrious*, than the Lustre which, from above, accompanied, these Heavenly Persons; and these Words hee beheld written about them, *The Sun shall bee no more thy Light by Day, neither for Brightness shall the Moon give Light unto thee; but the Lord shall bee unto thee an Everlasting Light, and thy God, thy Glory*.³ While hee was, with Admiration contemplating these Objects, two Men, hee thought, hee saw walking in the Valley; unto whom hee Repairing, the one said unto the other, *Expound unto this Man his Dream*; and the other then turning to him, said, *Come to*

¹ Mather's extracts this and the subsequent paragraphs from an as yet undetermined edition of Carreto's Hebrew-Latin conversion narrative אגרת שלח ללודוויקו קארטיו *Epistola Ludovici Carreti ad Iudaeos, quae inscribitur Liber visorum Divinorum* (1553), by the Genoese physician and Jewish converso Ludovico Carret(t)o (fl. c. 1500–c. 1553), aka. Todros ben Joshua ha-Kohen, brother of Joseph ben Joshua ha-Kohen, the distinguished Jewish chronicler (*EJ*). Carretto's *Letter to the Hebrews* was reprinted several times and translated into Italian and other European languages. Here, all references are to the second edition (Paris, 1554). For bio-historical background on Carreto, see Robert Bonfil, "An Infant's Missionary Sermon Addressed to the Jews of Rome in 1553" (141–74). See my discussion of Carretus in *BA* (1:161–63).

² Mather renders the Latin and Hebrew given names "Ludovico" and "Todros" as "Lewis" and "Theodore."

³ Isa. 60:19.

morrow unto my House, and thou shalt hear the Word of the Lord! So hee Awaked, in Distress, about the Meaning of these Occurrences.⁴

On the Morning after, hee giving a Visit unto a Spanish Commander, then under his Care, hee mett some of his Friends, who told him, *they* were going to visit a celebrated *Astrologer*, who was the most matchless Fellow in the World, for wondrous and exact *Predictions*; and they would needs have him for to accompany them. When accordingly hee come to view this *Fortune-teller*, it smote him with horreur, to find, that hee fully answered the Shape of the Man, that had spoken to him, in his Vision, the *Night* before. The Man bid him, *Come near*; and looking stedfastly on his face, hee said, *Friend, I have Good Newes for you, to Day; for you shall quickly become a New Man, and a Christian; The Lord shall cause His Face to shine upon thee; that so, converted unto Jesus, thou mayst obey Him forever!* Whereupon, our Jewish *Doctor*, fell into a *Distempered Rage*, and call'd him, *A Lying Rascal*, and left the House with Indignation.⁵

But when hee was gone, his Heart smote him, in the Remembrance of what hee had seen the *Night* before; and in his *Distress*, hee cried unto the *Lord*, who saw it, 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*. Thereupon, hee sett himself to Read the *New Testament*; especially the Epistles of *Paul* where hee found all Things *contrived* and *expressed* after a most excellent Manner, and suited unto the Great Law of *Love* to God, & our Neighbour; and the Lord so Illuminated him, that hee not only *Received*, but gloriously *Defended & Maintained*, the *Christian Faith*. But hee ascribed not his *Conversion* unto his *Dreams*; all the Use of *Them*, hee saies, was, to *Quicken* his Diligent Enquiries, and Researches, into the *Word* of God. And, as for the *South-Sayer*,⁶ with whom hee had been thus concerned, hee saies, the Lord made Use of him, as Hee did, of *Balaams Ass*; for the Man did not know what hee said, *Himself*.⁷

While this Renowned *Jew*, was under the Means of his *Recovery*, hee was willing to consider, whether not only the *Scriptures* of the *Old Testament*, but also the *Writings* of the *Ancient Rabbins*, did not countenance these Principles, wherein the *Christians* differed from the *Jewes*. How many most significant Things occur'd unto him, in the *Comparing* of these Matters, I will not now Recite; but only single out, a few of the *Curiosities*, wherewith several Texts, are by him herein Illustrated.⁸

The *Doctrine* of the *Trinitie*, is one thing, wherein the *Christians* Beleeve otherwise than the *Jewes*, at this Day. But our *Carret* produces *Rabbins* confessing,

⁴ Ludovico Carreto, *Epistola* (1554), p. Bi.

⁵ Carreto (*Epistola*, pp. Bi, Bii).

⁶ Soothsayer.

⁷ Carreto (*Epistola*, pp. Bii, Biii). Numb. 22:21–38.

⁸ Carreto (*Epistola*, pp. Biiii, Ci).

That there are Three Lights, but all of them one God. [See Jam. 1.17.] So, that all the Difference between us is, about, the *Names* of the *Trinitie*.⁹ And the Cabbalists call the, *First Number*, who is *Eternitie*, by the Name of, *The Father*; which, you know, implies, *A Son*. The *Second Number*, they call, *Wisdom*, even that whereby the World was *created*. The first Clause of the Bible is rendred by *Jonathan*, *In Sapientiâ creavit Dominus*. This is, with *Christians*, *The Word*. The *Third Number*, they call *Intelligence*. Which with *Christians* is, *The Spirit*; from whom come all the Gifts of *Understanding*.¹⁰

[7v] The *Godhead* of the *Messiah*, is another thing, wherein the *Jewes* at this Day, beleve otherwise than the *Christians*. But our *Carret* offers *Rabbins*, who expound that Place, | *Extolletur, et evehetur, et eminebit multum*, [Isa. 52.13.] thus, *Hee shall bee exalted above Abraham, Hee shall bee extolled above Moses, Hee shall bee very High, above the Angels of God*. Now, if so, Hee can bee no less than *God* Himself. And that unutterable *Union* of *God* and *Man* in our Saviour, hee thinks, intended in *Jer. 30.21*. *Their Governour shall proceed from the Midst of them, and I will cause Him to Draw near, and Hee shall Approach to mee. For, who is this, that engaged his Heart, to approach unto mee; saith the Lord*. Sais hee, It notes, *Unitionem tam Admirabilem, ut Narrata, non credatur*.¹¹ And hee gives us the Words of R. *Gequetilia*; *Mesia unitus est cum Numero, secundo; nempè Sapientiâ; ut Scriptum est, et Spiritus Domini requiesat super eo, Spiritus Sapientia*.¹²

About the Manner of the Lords Coming, first more *obscurely*, then more *gloriously*, there is a *Third* Controversie between the Two Faiths. But our *Carret* shewes, that the *First* Coming of the Redeemer, must not bee after the Manner of a Conquerour. [Zech. 9.9.] Accordingly, the Talmudists do speak terrible things about, *The Torments of the Messiah*. And that the Reduction of *Israel*, is Reserved for His *Next* Coming. [Zech. 12.10.] Here hee takes Occasion to

⁹ See Appendix A.

¹⁰ Carreto (*Epistola*, pp. Ci-Cii). "The Lord created through Wisdom." Prov. 8:1, 22–30. See also Mather's gloss on Prov. 8:30 (*BA* 5:188–89).

¹¹ Carreto (*Epistola*, pp. Cii, Ciii) expresses his surprise at "a union so wondrous, as recounted, it may not be believed."

¹² Carreto (*Epistola*, p. Ciii): "The Messiah was united with a second number; surely with wisdom; as it was written, even the Spirit of the Lord rests over it, the Spirit of Wisdom." Carreto quotes from *Sha'are Orah: Portae Lucis*, a classic Kabbalistic text of Jewish mysticism, by Spanish Rabbi Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla of Medinaceli (1248–c. 1325), variously spelled Chiquitilla, Gequetilia, Castiliis, a student of Abraham Abulafia (1240–c. 1292), progenitor of ecstatic Kabbalah, i. e., revealed tradition. Gikatilla's *Portae Lucis* (1516) was translated into Latin by the German Jewish converso Paulus Ric[c]ius (c. 1480–1541) (*DB*) and included in *Artis Cabalisticæ* (1587), 1:138–331, by Johannes Pistorius (1546–1608). Riccius's Latin translation made available for the first time Gikatilla's systematic study of the Sefirot, the ten emanations of God. A. Weinstein furnished the first English translation: *Gates of Light: Sha'are Orah* (1994). On Gikatilla's kabbalism, see Elke Morlok, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics* (2011). On Paulus Riccius's paraphrastic Latin translation of Gikatilla's *Portae Lucis*, see Bernd Roling, "Conversio and Concordia" (53–64) and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann's *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala* (235–41).

intimate that, in that Clause, [Hos. 3.5.] *They shall fear the Lord, & His Goodness*; by, *His Goodness*, is meant, *His Christ*; and that the same is intended, where the Psalmist says [Psal. 85.12.] *The Lord shall give the Good Thing*. But that, *The Christ*, must be Born of a *Virgin*, hee argues, not only from the celebrated *Mem clausum*, [Isa. 7.14.] but from that in Psal. 116.16. *O Lord, I am the Son of thine Handmaid*; that is, *In quo semen paternum non est*. Moreover, The *Two Comings* of our Lord, hee conceives to be signified, in that Repetition, [Psal. 96.13.] *Rejoice before the Lord, for Hee cometh, for Hee cometh to Judge the Earth*.¹³

The *Keeping of the Law*, is a Fourth Article of Controversie between us. But here, our *Carret* proves from Exod. 13.3. and Lev. 23.43, that all the *Law* of the *Festivals*, belonged unto the Deliverance of *Israel* from *Egypt*; the Memory of which, is now Superseded, & Abolished. As for the *Law* of *Meats*, hee finds *Israelitish* Doctors, who in Psal. 146.7. *Deus solvit Vincitos*, do not Read *Vinctos*, but, *Vetita*; because, *Post Adventum Christi, cibi vetiti permitti debuerunt*. As for the *Law* of *Sacrifices*, hee finds many Wise Men of *Israel* (and among the rest, *Gequetilia*, in his *Porta Lucis*) holding, *That Oblations are to cease after the Coming of the Messiah*.¹⁴

Only two Precepts of the *Law* yett stuck with him. One was, *The Law of Circumcision*. But here, hee soon perceived, That the Coming of the *Promised Seed*, rendred that Rite Insignificant. Nevertheless, hee Relates a very surprising Passage here; Namely, That at the Request of the Queen of *Shaba*, Twelve Thousand *Israelites*, a Thousand out of each Tribe, were sent by *Solomon*, to accompany her: and that, as the *Annals of Judaea* assure us, the Posterity of these Transplanted *Israelites*, became, like the Sand of the Sea, Innumerable.¹⁵ Hee sais, *These*, altho' *Christianized*, are still *Circumcised*; but only as a Testimony of their Love to *Jesus*, who underwent *Circumcision* for our Sakes. T'other was, *The Law of the Sabbath*. About which, being in much Agony of Mind, hee cried mightily unto God, for an *Extrication*. In Answer whereto, as hee was one Day returning from his Visiting of a Patient, a little Child mett him in the Street, and unto his Astonishment accosted him, saying, *My Father, my Father!* Hee replied, *Well, What wouldest thou have, my Child?* The Child answered, *I pray, Syr, why are the Ten Commandments Twice Recited in the Bible, and Recited with so much Difference? Difference!* Replied hee; *Pray, my Child, what is the Difference?*¹⁶ 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,*

13 Carreto (*Epistola*, p. Ciii) invokes the immaculate conception of Christ: "In which there is not the father's seed."

14 Carreto (*Epistola*, p. Di) here quotes the Jewish sages who in Psal. 146:7 "God freed the oppressed" do not read "oppressed," but "the forbidden," because "after the arrival of Christ, forbidden foods had to be allowed." Carreto again draws on Gequetilia, aka. Gikatilla, *Portae Lucis* (1516), or *Sha'are Orah, Gates of Light*, a kabbalistic interpretation of the Sefirot.

15 Carreto (*Epistola*, pp. Di, Dii).

16 Exod. 20:1–17, Deut. 5:4–21.

tis said, KEEP THE SABBATH-DAY TO SANCTIFY IT, – AND REMEMBER THAT THOU WAST A SERVANT IN EGYPT.¹⁷ Our *Carret*, astonished, now cried out, *Out of the Mouths of Babes, and Sucklings, O Lord!*¹⁸ Hee now saw, hee saies, that *Moses* considered these 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. And, altho' the *Cæremonial Ordinances*, are called, *Everlasting*, hee saies, hee found sometimes, No very long Time called so. Tis said of a certain Servant, *Serviet ei in Eternum*, and yett it was to bee no longer than until the Year of *Jubilee*. So, hee thought, the Coming of the Lord, might well bee reckoned a *Jubilee*, for the Release of them that had been under the Servitude of the *Everlasting Ceremonies*. Wherefore, *Jeremiah*, foretels, *A New Covenant*.¹⁹

And that the Precepts of the *Law*, were to bee abrogated, hee reckons it a thing acknowledged, by the old Wise Men of *Israel*, when they distinguished the Ages of the World, into Two Thousand Years *before* the *Law*, Two Thousand Years *under* the *Law*, and Two Thousand Years, for the *Messias*.²⁰

But so much for *Carret*. I will not give you some of his *Cabalistical* Curiosities; tho' I can scarce forbear mentioning *That* one, That the first Letter of the Three first *Patriarchs*, and their *Wives*, of whom the *Messiah* was to come,

17 Carreto (*Epistola*, pp. Dii, Diii).

18 This dexterous story appears to echo the confessions of St. Augustine who, when at war with himself and in contrition of his heart, heard the voice of a child speak to him: "Lo, I heard the voice as of a boy or girl, I know not which, coming from a neighbouring house, chanting, and oft repeating, Tolle Lege, "Take up and read; take up and read." Immediately my countenance was changed, and I began most earnestly to consider whether it was usual for children in any kind of game to sing such words; nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So, restraining the torrent of my tears, I rose up, interpreting it no other way than as a command to me from Heaven to open the book, and to read the first chapter I should light upon." What illuminated his mind as he wrestled with Apollyon can be found in Rom. 13:13–14. "No further would I read, nor did I need," Augustine remembers wrestling with Apollyon, "for instantly, as the sentence ended, – by a light, as it were, of security infused into my heart, – all the gloom of doubt vanished away" (*Confession of St. Augustine* 8.12.29), in *NPNFi* (1:127–28).

19 Carreto (*Epistola*, p. Diii). Jer. 31:31–34. Carreto refers to the debate between a Christian and a Jew on the issue of whether Moses' Ceremonial Laws were to last for all eternity or only until their abrogation at the arrival of the Messiah. In that case, the term "forever" would *not* mean "eternal" but only for "a certain duration of time" (Exod. 21:1–6). Carreto's doubts about the eternity of certain Mosaic rites appear to have been allayed by consulting *De Veritate Fidei Christianae Libri Quinque* (1543), lib. 3, cap. 5 ("De abrogatione legis"), p. 198, by Joannes Ludovicus Vives, aka. Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540), in which the Spanish humanist resolves this shift in meaning "*Serviet ei in Eternum*" ("he shall be a slave forever") as illustrated in Mather's excerpt. Vives's polemic *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* went through many subsequent editions and like its famous predecessor *Pugio Dei Adversus Mauros et Juudeos* (1651), by the Spanish Dominican theologian Raimundo Martini, aka. Ramón Martí (fl. 13th c.), aimed at winning Sephardic Jews and Muslims over to Christianity.

20 Carreto (*Epistola*, p. Diii) invokes the Tradition of the House of Elias the Prophet, in the Babylonian Talmud, tractates Sanhedrin (97a) and Avodah Zarah (9a).

do compose the Name of *יִשְׂרָאֵל*/Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebeckah, Jacob, Leah. But here's enough, to make you one curious Entertainment.²¹

|
8779.

[8r]

Q. What Remarks may one make on the Design of the *Four first Commandments*? v. 7.

A. It is observed by *Grotius*, [L. 2. *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, c. 20. § 45.] That all true Religion, was ever built on these *Four Principles*. First, That there is a *God*, and that He is but *One*. Secondly, That God is nothing of those things, that wee see with our Eyes, but something more sublime than them all. Thirdly; That He takes care of Humane Affairs, & most Justly Judges them. Fourthly; That he is the Maker of all things whatsoever.²²

These *Four Principles* are explained in the *Four first Præcepts* of the Decalogue.

The *Unity* of the *Godhead*, is delivered in the *First Place*.²³

The Ground of the *Second Commandment*, which prohibits our making any *Image* of God, is, That the Nature of God is Invisible. The best of the Hea-then for that Reason, gave the like Prohibition, Ὡς οὐκ ἐφάπτεσθαι Θεοῦ δυνατόν ἄλλως ἢ νοήσει. *Because it is impossible to conceive God otherwise, than by the Mind alone*;²⁴ as *Plutarch* reports the Sense of *Numa*, among the *Romans*, which was also the Sense of *Antisthenes* among the *Greeks*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports it; Ὁφθαλμοῖς οὐχ ὁράται, οὐδενὶ ἔοικεν, διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνης. *He is not seen by the Eyes, nor is like any thing; and therefore none can learn any thing of Him by an Image*.²⁵ It may be, the *Vulgar* themselves would not have been kept so long to worship *Images*, as they were, if it had not been for bold Fictions; That some of them were Διοπετῇ, *Fallen down from Heaven*, and that all of them were, Θεῖα, καὶ θείας μετουσίας ἀναπλᾶ. *Divine Things, &*

²¹ Carreto (*Epistola*, p. Fiii). The Hebrew initials signify "Israel."

²² Mather's vademecum is Simon Patrick's *Commentary upon Deuteronomy* (1691), on Deut. 5:7–15, pp. 85–89. Patrick's own muse is one of the many annotated editions of Hugo Grotius's *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (1625) from which the following paragraphs are extracted almost verbatim. My reference is to the 1670 Amsterdam edition, of Grotius, *De Iure Belli* (lib. II, cap. XX, § XLV, sec. 1–4, pp. 346–47; and "Annotata," p. 366).

²³ Patrick, on Deut. 5:7 (*Deuteronomy* 85).

²⁴ Patrick's Greek quotation from *Plutarchi vitae parallelæ*: *Numa* (8.8, lines 5–6) and *Lives* (1:334) is at second hand from Grotius, *De Iure Belli et Pacis* (1670), lib. II, cap. XX, § 45, sec. 2, p. 346). Mather adopts Patrick's translation.

²⁵ Patrick's second-hand Greek quotation (via Grotius, p. 346) is adapted from an extant *Fragment varia* (40b and 40d) of the Athenian philosopher and rhetorician Antisthenes (mid 5th–mid 4th c. BCE) (*OCD*), as rendered by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus* 6.71.1) and by Theodoretus (*Graecarum affectionum curatio* 1:75, lines 4–5).

[8v] *full of a Divine Communication*, as it is expressed by *Iamblichus*.²⁶ | To procure the more of *Reverence* for them, while some of them were Ἐμφανῇ, conspicuous to all the People, others were kept secret, in the inmost Part of their Temples, as *Proclus* upon *Timæus* expresses it. *Ezekiel Spanhemius* thinks, This was done, in imitation, of what *Moses* declared, concerning the *Presence* of God upon the *Mercy-Seat*, in the *Holy of Holies*.²⁷

The *Third Commandment*, is founded in the *Third Principle*; That all things, & our very Thoughts, come under the Notice of God, by whom a *False Oath* will be severely punished.²⁸

The *Fourth Commandment* is to establish the *Fourth Principle*. Indeed, here is a New Ground assign'd for the Observation of the *Sabbath*; namely, The Deliverance of *Israel* from *Egypt*. The Day which God appointed for the *Sabbath*, at the giving of *Manna*, was the very Day on which *Pharaoh* was overthrown in the *Red-Sea*.²⁹ But then, the Memory of the Creation of the World, obliged them to keep One Day in Seven. Some have distinguished between the *Rest* of the *Sabbath-Day*, and the *Religion* of it. The *Rest* was in Remembrance of the Deliverance from *Egypt*; the *Religion* of it, was in Remembrance of the Creation of the World; & so it was observed from the Beginning, by the *Patriarchs*. And that possibly may be the Meaning of the Words here used in *Deuteronomy*; [*As the Lord thy God commanded thee.*] It refers to the *Command*, & the *Reason* of the *Command*, given both in *Genesis* and *Exodus*. To preserve this Way, the Sense of Gods being the Maker of the World, was of so great Moment; that the *First Sabbath-breaker*, was punished with *Death*; because a præsumptuous Violation of the *Sabbath*, contained in it, a Denial, that the World was created by God.³⁰

²⁶ Patrick's second-hand Greek citation is from *Ezechielis Spanhemii in Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (1697), "Observationes in Hymnum in Lavacrum Palladis" (v. 52), p. 587, an analytical commentary on Callimachus, a Greek scholar poet of Libya at the library of Alexandria, Egypt, by Ezekiel, Freiherr von Spanheim (1629–1710), a distinguished Swiss-German scholar, philologist, and diplomat. The Greek passage Θεῖα, καὶ θείας μετουσίᾳ ἀνάπλεα – here translated by Patrick – is by the Greek lexicographer Photius (*Bibliotheca*, Codex 215, Bekker page 173b, lines 6, 8) attributed to Iamblichus, but appears in its present form in Spanheim's *In Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (p. 587).

²⁷ Patrick, on Deut. 5:8–10 (*Deuteronomy* 85–86), draws on Spanheim's *Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (p. 587) for the reference to *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria* (1:273, line 11–12) by the Greek Neoplatonist philosopher Proclus Lycaeus (412–485 CE), who refers to the Ἐμφανῇ, or "visible" icons in the ancient Greek temples.

²⁸ Patrick, on Deut. 5:11 (*Deuteronomy* 86).

²⁹ For the giving of manna, see Exod. 16:4–5; for Pharaoh's drowning in the Red Sea, see Exod. 14:27, 28; 15:19, and Psal. 136:15.

³⁰ Patrick, on Deut. 5:12 (*Deuteronomy* 87, 88).

3780.

Q. What Lawes among the Pagans were there, conformable to our *Fifth* Commandment? v. 21.³¹

A. Many. Particularly, the *Lawes of Solon*, made those Children infamous, who did not afford Sustenance to their Parents, and provide them an Habitation. By the ancient Laws of *Athens*, he that Reproached his Parents was disinherited; If he struck them, his Hand was cutt off; If he left them unburied, he lost his Estate, & was banished his Countrey: Yea, this Ingratitude was punished with Death. J. *Meursius* in his *Themis Attica*, shoves, That by Parents they understood not only Father and Mather, but Grandfather, and Grandmother; nay, Great Grandfather, & Great Grandmother, if they were yett Alive; as *Isæus* ha's told us.³² The Ground of all these Lawes was, as *Æschines* tells us, That Men ought to honour their Parents, as they did the Gods, οὐς ἐξ ἴσου δέ τιμαῖν τοῖς θεοῖς.³³ Whence, *Hierocles* calls Parents, Θεοὶ ἐπιγύνιοι *Earthly Gods*; and *Philo*, Θεοὶ ἐμφανεῖς *Visible Gods*; How properly first mention'd after the Second {Commandment.}³⁴

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[9r]

3781.

Q. What acknowledgements did the Pagans pay to the other Commandments of the *Decalogue*? v. 21.³⁵

³¹ Patrick, on Deut. 5:16 (*Deuteronomy* 89, 90).

³² Patrick refers to Johannes Meursius, *Themis Attica sive De Legibus Atticis Libri II* (1685), caps. 2, 3, esp. pp. 8–9. A Dutch legal scholar, Meursius (Jan van Meurs) provides a detailed analysis of the Solonic and ancient Greek law, drawing parallels with numerous codices of the ancient world. Mather's juxtaposition of the Mosaic Decalogue and the Solonic laws is to underscore the verity of the Mosaic Laws and their influence on the lawgivers of the neighboring pagan nations. Mather (via Patrick and Meursius) refers to Isæus, *De Ciron* (sec. 32, lines 4–7), an oration by the Athenian rhetorician Isæus Chalcidicus (c. 420–c. 350 BCE), whom Meursius quotes in *Themis* (p. 9). Mather here paraphrases Isæus's advice on the treatment of aged parents and grandparents. See also E. S. Foster's translation *Isæus*, "On the Estate of Ciron" (8.32).

³³ Samuel Petitus, *Leges Atticae et Libro Commentario* (1635), lib. 3. tit. 3, p. 260 (bottom), supplies Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 90) with the citation from *In Timarchum* (sec. 28, lines 6–7), by the Greek statesman and orator Aeschines Atheniensis (389–314 BCE). Aeschines insists that anyone who mistreats his parents "whom he ought to honor as the gods," is disqualified from public office (*Aeschines* 1.28).

³⁴ Patrick's citation (*Deuteronomy* 90) from the Greek Neoplatonist philosopher Hierocles of Alexandria (fl. 5th c. CE) is probably an adaptation of a fragment extant in *Hierocles (Fragmenta ethica*, p. 57, line 1) as preserved in Johannes Stobaeus's *Anthologium* (4.25.53, line 5). Philo Judæus, in his *De decalogo* (120, line 2) invokes the phrase in a negative sense, arguing that some audacious interpreters "magnify the title of parents, saying that the father and mother are 'evident gods,'" because like God they bring forth living beings (*Works* 529).

³⁵ The perennial interest in the similarities between the laws of the Israelites and their pagan neighbors is addressed in "Occasional Annotation. III," (*Bibliotheca Biblica* [1735], 5:95–112).

A. For the *Sixth*.

If a Man killed another Involuntarily, he was banished by the Lawes of *Athens*, from his Countrey for a Year; but if he killed another, ἐξ προνοίας, as *Demosthenes* expresses it, with Forethought, and with Design, he was putt to Death. We may read more to this Purpose, in *Samuel Petitus, in Leges Atticas*. Yea, so detestable was *Murder* accounted, that even τὰ ἄψυχα *Liveless Things*, as Wood, or Stone, or Iron, were ordered by *Draco*, to be thrown out of their Coasts.³⁶

For the *Seventh*.

The Lawes of *Draco* punished *Adultery* with Death. *Solon* indeed, left it unto the Liberty of the Injured Husband, either to kill the *Adulterer*, or lett him Redeem his Life with a Summ of Money. But if after this, he lived with the *Adulteress*, he was infamous, as *Demosthenes* tells us; who adds, That she might not publickly come into their *Temples*; If she did, any Man might there affront her, as he pleased without killing her. So odious was she, as to be thrown, Ἐκ τε τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἐκ ἱερῶν τῶν τῆς πόλεως, *Both out of the House of her Husband, & out of the Holy Places of the City*. Nor might she go abroad with any Ornaments, (Μὴ ἐξεῖναι κοσμεῖσθαι) according to the Law of *Solon*; If she did, any one might strip her of them, & beat her.³⁷

For the *Eighth*.

The Lawes of *Draco*, punished all Stealing with Death. *Solon* thought this too severe, & therefore changed the Punishment, into Satisfaction by a double Restitution. Yett he made it Capital, if any Man stole above such a Value or took any thing, tho' of never so little Value, out of the Publick *Baths* and such like Places.³⁸

For the *Ninth*.

At *Athens*, an Action lay, both against False Witnesses, and him that produced them. There was a Fine upon them, & they were made Infamous. If they were found Thrice in the same Fault, τούτους ἔδει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων ἀτίμους εἶναι as *Andocides* expresses it: *Both they themselves and all their Posterity were made Infamous*.³⁹

³⁶ Patrick, on Deut. 5:17 (*Deuteronomy* 91), via Samuel Petitus, *De Legis Atticae* (1635), lib. 7, tit. 1, pp. 508, 512, 523, cites Demosthenes Atheniensis's oration *In Midiam* (sec. 43, lines 6–7) and his *In Aristocratem* (76, line 5). More generally, Demosthenes argues in the latter text that “if it is not righteous to deny a trial even to a lifeless and senseless thing,” according to the severe laws of the Greek lawgiver Dracon Atheniensis (c. 650–c. 600 BCE), a man, who may be guiltless, should not be cast out without a hearing and verdict (*Demosthenes* 23.76).

³⁷ Patrick, on Deut. 5:18 (*Deuteronomy* 91), again leans on Petitus's *De Legis Atticae* (lib. 6, tit. 4, p. 466), for his quotations from Demosthenes's *In Neaeram [SP]* (sec. 86, lines 11–12) and *Demosthenes* (59.86); the Draconian law of expelling the adulteress without her ornaments is mentioned in Plutarch's *Plutarchi vitae Parallelae: Camillus* (10.5, line 9).

³⁸ Patrick, on Deut. 5:19 (*Deuteronomy* 91–92).

³⁹ Patrick, on Deut. 5:20 (*Deuteronomy* 92), via Petitus, *De Legis Atticae* (lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 377), cites from *De mysteriis* (sec. 74, lines 4–5), by the Greek orator Andocides Atheniensis (440–390 BCE); *On the Mysteries* (1.74).

[3782:]

Q. In *Exodus*, the Tenth Commandment runs thus: *Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours House, thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours Wife*. In *Deuteronomy*, the Order is altered, *Thou shalt not Desire thy Neighbours Wife, neither shalt thou covet thy Neighbours House*. What might be the Reason of this Alteration? v. 21.

A. Behold, a Wonderful Thing. The Holy Spirit of God, foresaw, that there would arise a Generation of Men, who being stung by it, would wickedly take away the *Second Commandment* out of the *Decalogue*; but because there must be *Ten Words* in the *Decalogue*, this Impudent Generation would splitt the *Tenth* into *two*: So that with them, the *Ninth Commandment* would be, *Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours House*; and the *Tenth Commandment* would be, *Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours Wife*. Now, Behold! On Purpose to cast *Confusion* on these Wretches, the Holy Spirit in *Deuteronomy*, sett's the *Wife* before the *House*; This demonstrates, That the Prohibition of *Coveting* the *Neighbours Wife*, can't be the *Ninth Commandment*; For that which they would have to be all the *Tenth*, here comes before it.⁴⁰

|

[9v]

3782.

Q. Is there any thing observable, in the Order of the Præcepts in the Second Table? v. 21.⁴¹

A. Yes; There is a Remarkable Order.

First, such Offences are placed, as are consummate, and then such as are only commenced & not consummate.

Of the former Offences, the Lord proceeds, from those that are more Heinous, to those that are less Grievous.

Those Offences are the greatest, which disturb the Public Order, & do Mischief unto a great many. Such are those committed against *Rulers*, who are comprehended under the Name of *Parents*, by whose Authority Humane Society is præserted.

And then among Offences against particular Persons, those are the greatest, which touch a Mans *Life*. Next, those that wrong his *Family*, the Foundation of which is *Marriage*. Then those that wrong him in his Goods; either directly, by *Theft*; or more craftily, by *bearing False Witness*.

In the last Place are mentioned, the Sins which are not perfected, and are gott no further than *Desire*: To *Desire* and *Covet*, what is another Mans.⁴²

⁴⁰ Mather compares the two versions of the Decalogue as given in Exod. 20:1–17 and Deut. 5:4–21.

⁴¹ In his “Note Book of Authors” (Deut. 5:29), Mather refers to “MSS. Pat. No. X. Serm. 33. MSS. No. 1, p. 43.”

⁴² Patrick, on Deut. 5:21 (*Deuteronomy* 92–93).

Q. Can you find any thing in the Old Testament, to *Illustrate* the Doctrine of the *Trinity*? v. 4.

A. Yes; To *Demonstrate* it.

A *Plurality* of Persons in the God-head, is intimated, where God speaks of Himself in the plural Number. [Gen. 1.26. Gen. 3.22. Gen. 11.7.] This is not spoken by God, after the Manner of earthly Princes; for elsewhere intending to Declare the Greatness of His Majesty, Hee describes Himself in the Singular; *I am the Lord Jehovah*, and, *I am the Almighty God*. Nor was it the Custome of the Oriental Princes, to use any other Number; *Pharaoh* & *Nebuchadnezzar*, kept that Style, *I Pharaoh*, *I Nebuchadnezzar*. Besides, that Expression, *As One of us*, makes it evident that more than *One* Person is intended. And others do so speak of God. *Moses*, hee said, in Gen. 19.22. *The Lord Rained from the Lord*. Sais *Job*, ch. 35.10. *Where is God my Makers*? *David* sais, Ps. 149.2. *Lett Israel Rejoice in those that made him*. *Solomon* sais, Eccl. 12.1. *Remember thy Creators*. And the Prophet, Isa. 42.5. calls God, *The Explainers of Heaven*.

But now, for a *Trinity* of Persons in the God-head, tho' there are many plain Scriptures: As in Ps. 45.8. there is, a Divine Person, *Anointing*, a Divine Person *Anointed*, and one, who is the *Oyl of Gladness*. And in Isa. 48.16. there are *two Persons*, *Sending*, and then, another Divine Person *Sent*, who is *the First & the Last, the Maker of Heavens & Earth*. And, in the Sacerdotal Blessing Num. 6.24, 25, 26. the Name *Jehovah*, is thrice over employ'd. And, in Psal. 67.6, 7. There is *God*, and *our God* and again *God*. Yett there is no Text more emphatical, than what wee have, in Deut. 6.4. *The Lord, Our God, the Lord, are One*: for *So* tis to bee Translated. Here are evidently *Three*. And it is remarkable, that *Moses* here stirs up his Auditors, to expect some special Mystery. Yea, and of the Jewes themselves, R. *Simeon Ben Jochai*, in *Zohar*, explains these Words, by saying, That here is a *Mystery* Revealed by the Holy Ghost, *Ad Sciendum, quod Tres Illi, יהוה / אלהינו / יהוה / Sit unum*.¹ And indeed, the Second Person here more eminently chooses to bee called, *Our God*, because Hee

¹ YHVH Elohenu YHVH. *The Zohar* (Book of Splendor) is attributed to R. Simeon ben Jochai (Yohai), student of Akiba (2nd c. CE). In Soncino *Zohar*, Bereshith, Sec. 1 (15b), “‘The Lord our God the Lord’ (*Tetragrammaton Elohenu Tetragrammaton*) represent three grades corresponding to this deep mystery of *Bereshith bara Elohim*. *Bereshith* represents the primordial mystery, *Bara* represents the mysterious sources from which the whole expanded. *Elohim* represents the force which sustains all below.” Much the same is recorded in *Zohar*, Shemoth, Sec. 2 (9a, 134a), and (see below), in *Zohar*, Shemoth, Raya Mehemna (43b) – suggesting a tri-une manifestation of God. The Latin phrase signifies, “By Wisdom, which is three in one.” On the changing reputation of the *Zohar*, see Boaz Huss, “*Sefer ha-Zohar*” (257–307).

would more especially be *Ours*, by taking *Our* Flesh & Blood upon Himself, & becoming *our* Lord-Redeemer.²

3110.

This Text may very profitably receive some further Illustration, from the *Jewish Writings*?

And It shall have so.³

And lett it not pass for nothing, That the Testimony out of *Zohar*, for the *Trinity*, is brought by a Jew.⁴ And, tho' the Jewes are prone to suspect the Quotations of *Christians*, yett methinks, they should have no Suspicion of what is quoted by the *Jewes*. [*Markanti*, in *legem*. fol. 194. col. 3.] That Author gives an Account of these Words, & explains them in the Order, as they ly in the Text before us; [where the *Pesik*, between /יהוה/ and /אחד/ requires a *Pause* between them.]⁵ He begins with *Jehovah*, first mention'd: And thus he saith; *Jehovah is the Head* (or, Beginning) *of all things*, in Splendor, Antiquity, & Holiness; and He is called, The FATHER. *Elohenu*, i. e. our God, is the *Profundity of Rivers & Springs, which go forth & flow unto all things*. And then, he adds, of the *Jehovah* last mentioned, That he is the *Tree*; Tis præsumed, he speaks of the *Kabbalistical Tree*, which is one of the Divine *Sephiroth*, by whom the World was created; the /בינה/ or /תבינה/ by which the | World was made.⁶ Compare, Prov. 3.19. [10v] [See Buxtorf. *Lexic. Talmud.* /אֵילֶן/] Our Author goes on, *And all is One, One is*

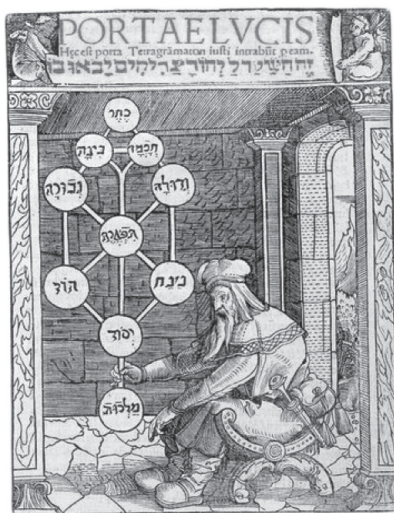
2 See also Mather's commentary on Gen. 1:1 (*BA* 1:317, n 128). On the doctrine of the Trinity as derived from Deut. 6:4 in the *Zohar*, see Y. Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar* (1993), esp. pp. 140–50.

3 Mather's primary source for the following paragraphs is Richard Kidder's *Demonstration of the Messiah*. Part III (1700), ch. 4, pp. 182–83. Originally intended as a separate Q. & A., Mather decided to add the extract from Kidder as a continuation of Mather's annotation on Deut. 6:4.

4 In the Soncino *Zohar*, Shemoth, Raya Mehemna (43b), the kabbalistic exposition of “the Faithful Shepherd,” offers the following gloss on the Shema (Exod. 6:4) “Hear, O Israel יהוה יהוה אלהינו [TETRAGRAMMATON] Elohenu [TETRAGRAMMATON] is one’.” How can the three Names be one? Only through the perception of Faith: in the vision of the Holy Spirit, in the beholding of the hidden eyes alone ... the mystery of the threefold Divine manifestations designated by TETRAGRAMMATON Elohenu TETRAGRAMMATON – three modes which yet form one unity.”

5 *Markanti* is an alternate name for the Italian R. Menachem ben Benjamin Recanati (c. 1250–c. 1310), whose commentary on the Torah פירוש על התורה *Perush 'Al ha-Torah* (1523) was published in Venice by Daniel Bomberg and translated into Latin (now lost) by the Jewish converso Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (Flavius Mithridates), on the behest of the Italian humanist Pico della Mirandola. The folio reference to Markanti's (Recanati's) commentary on the Decalogue is probably to the 1595 Lublin edition (fol. 194, col. 3). The *Pesik* is a “cutoff” or “pause”: /יהוה/ and /אחד/, i. e., *Jehovah* and *Echad*, i. e., *One*.

6 Kidder (Part III, ch. 4, p. 183); the Hebrew words /בינה/ *Binah* or /תבינה/ *Ta-Binah* signify the *Understanding*, the third element of the first triad of the Sephiroth, and constitutes part of the beginning of the emanation of God's name. For a useful explication of the ten Sephira, see D. C. Matt's *Essential Kabbalah* (7–11).



R. Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla (1248–c. 1325), *Portae Lucis, haec est porta Tetragrammaton, iusti intrabunt per eam* (Augsburg, 1516), on the Sephirot, the ten emanations of God's name in the Kabbalah.

knitt to the other, & there is not found any Separation, but All are One. He tells us afterwards, That this Mystery was to be Reveled in the Dayes of the *Messias*.⁷

R. *Bechai*, a celebrated Author among the *Jewes*, discoursing of the Word *Elohim*, and of the import and meaning of it, [*In Legem. fol. 4. col. 1. Edit. Cracov.*] adds these Words; *According to the Kabbalistical Way, this Name Elohim is two Words; viz. El Hem, i. e. They are God. But then the Explication of the Jod (which is wanting in these two Words,) is to be fetch'd from Eccl. 12.1. Remember thy Creators. He that is prudent will understand it.* These Words do sufficiently prove the *Kabbala* among the *Jewes*, that tho' the Divine Nature was but *One*, yett there was some Kind of *Plurality* in this Divine Nature.⁸

⁷ The Swiss Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf, the younger, in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* (1639), col. 103, *voce* אֵלָרְ אֵלָרְ *Arbor* [tree], associated the Hebrew term with the "*Arbor cabalae*," the kabbalistic tree of the ten Sephiroth, as illustrated on the cover of *Portae Lucis*. The German Lutheran Hebraist Theodor Hacksan (1607–59) offers much the same in his *Hoc est ONOMA TETRAPAMMATON* (1640), pp. D^{3v}–D^{4r}, §§ 50–51.

⁸ Kidder, *Demonstration* (Part III, ch. 4, pp. 170–71), cites a passage on Gen. 1:1, from R. Bechai (Bachya) ben Asher's 1632 Cracow edition (folio) of his *Perush ha-Torah* [*Torah Commentary*] ביאור על התורה [Be'ur al ha-Torah], fol. 4. col. 1, ad vocem אלהים (Gen. 1:1), originally published in Venice (1546), by the famous printer Daniel Bomberg. Rabbeinu Bachya argues that "From a mystical point of view, i. e., קבלה [kabbalah], the word אלהים [Elohim] is composed of two separate words אל Him [El Him]. The first word is a name for G'd in the possessive form, the second word הם describing all the other attributes G'd employed when creating the universe. ... As to the letter ' [jod] in Kohelet 12,1 [Eccl. 12:1] וזכור את בוראך 'and remember

A late learned Writer, [J. Henr. Maij *Synops. Theolog. Judaic.* p. 31.] brings a Passage out of the *Zohar*, [*Zohar, in Levit.* fol. 29. col. 4. lin. 25. Edit. Cremon. Ed. Sulzbac. col. 106.] which is admirable. *The Mystery of Elohim, is this; There are Three Degrees and every one of these Degrees subsisteth by itself; and yett all of them are One, & knitt together in One; nor can one be separated from the other.*⁹ The same Author does quote several other Passages to the same Intent; which do intimate some Kind of *Plurality* in the Divine Nature; & sometimes a *Trinity*. Thus after a Stroke this Way on the *אלהים קרבים* in Deut. 4.7.¹⁰ he takes Notice of the Text, which is now under our Consideration, (Deut. 6.4.) and saies, *These are Three Degrees, with respect unto the High Mystery in the Beginning*, Barah Elohim. And elsewhere, the same Author on the same Occasion, (p. 47.) adds; “This is the Unity, which is called, The *first Jehovah, Our God, The Jehovah*. Behold, *all is One*. And therefore it is said *אחד*/ One, intimating, that these *Three Names* are *One*; And therefore we read *אחד*/ One, intimating, that they are *One*. This is known so to be, by the Revelation of the Holy Ghost: However it be otherwise also apparent, That THESE THREE ARE ONE.”¹¹

There is One Place more of the above-named Author (cited by Dr. Kidder, in his *Demonstration of the Messias*), who speaking of this famous Text, (p. 56.) adds, the following Explication.¹² *This is the Mystery of Him, who was before the Rocks, and is united with the Head, the Stem, and the Way. By Jehovah* (i. e. the first *Jehovah*, in Deut. 6.4.) *is meant Sovereign*, or, First, Beginning: *By the Stem, is meant the Stem spoken of*, (Isa. 11.) *the Stem of Jesse*: *By Jehovah* (i. e. the Last mention'd in Deut. 6.4.) *is meant, the Way*. Any Man may perceive, That by the *Second* of these, is meant, The *Messias*: (of whom the Words in Isa. 11.1. are understood.) And it might be easy, to show, why the *Holy Spirit* is called, *The Way*.

your Creator,’ where the letter ’ appears to be extraneous at first glance. ... The author contents himself with the enigmatic words: ‘the intelligent student will understand what I mean’” (*Torah Commentary* 1:3). G. Scholem’s *Kabbalah* (1974) is still one of the most perceptive studies of the *Kabbalah*.

9 In his *Synopsis Theologiae Judaicae, Veteris et Novae* (1698), Locus II: De Deo Uno et Trino, § 5, pp. 31–32., the German Lutheran Orientalist Johannes Henricus Majus, aka. Johann Heinrich Mai (1653–1719), professor of theology and philology at the University of Giessen, quotes from both editions of R. Simeon ben Jochai (Yohei)’s exposition on the designation *Elohim*, in *Zohar* (fol. 29, col. 4, line 25) of the 1559–60 Cremona edition and from Christian Knorr von Rosenroth’s 1684 Sulzbach edition (vol. 1, fol. 106), and his *Kabbalah Denudata* (1677), pp. 420–26. See also Boaz Huss, “The Text and Context of the 1684 Sulzbach Edition of the *Zohar*” (117–38). On von Rosenroth’s Kabbalism, see K. Reichert, “Christian Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century” (1997), pp. 127–47.

10 Majus, *Synopsis Theologiae Judaicae* (1698), Locus II, pp. 34–35, *אלהים קרבים Elohim propinquus*, “God [is] approaching.”

11 The entire paragraph is from Kidder, *Demonstration* (part III, ch. 4, pp. 171–72), who translates excerpts from Majus, *Synopsis Theologiae Judaicae* (1698), Locus II, pp. 31–32, 34–35, 46, 47.

12 Mather’s parenthetical page references in this and the preceding paragraph are to Majus’s *Synopsis* (pp. 55–56).

Compare Psal. 143.10. *Teach me to do thy Will, for thou art my God: Thy Spirit is Good; Lead me into the Land of Uprightness.* Our Saviour tells His Disciples, Joh. 16.13. *That the Spirit shall GUIDE them into all Truth.* 'Tis 'Οδηγήσει. He shall be the Way to the Truth.¹³

3783.

Many of the Ancient Fathers,¹⁴ (as Dr. Patrick notes) particularly, *Theodoret* and *Greg. Nyssen*, think, There is a plain Intimation of the Bl[essed] *Trinity* in these Words. And some of the Jewes themselves, have thought, there was in it something extraordinary, that the Name of *God*, should be *Thrice* mentioned, as it is in this Sentence. It signifies *Three Middoth*, or Properties, they confess; which they sometimes call *Three Faces*, or *Emanations*, or, *Sanctifications*, or *Numerations*; tho' they will not call them, *Three Persons*; as tis observed by *Joseph de Voysin*, against his *Antitrinitarians*.¹⁵ The *Cabalists* tell us of *Ten Sephiroth* in God, (which they take to be something different from the *Essence* of God, and yett, not Creatures, but Emanations from it, as *Menasseh-ben Israel* explains their Words;) and they make the *Three First* of them, to be more than the other *Seven*, and they call them, the *Primordial*.¹⁶ The First, they call, *The Wonderful Intelligence*, and, *The first Intellectual Light*, (as the Apostle *James* calls God, *The Father of Lights*,) and, *The First Glory*. The Second, they call (among other

¹³ Kidder, *Demonstration* (pp. 172–73). See also *BA* (5:630).

¹⁴ Originally a separate Q. & A. introduced with "Q. Some further Touches, if you please?" Mather cancels this introductory query and joins the "A." answer section as an addendum to the previous paragraph.

¹⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 100) alludes to Theodoret's *On the Holy and Life-giving Trinity* and to *On the Incarnation of the Lord* (extant in fragments in Cyril of Alexandria's *Dialogues on the Trinity*); to Gregory of Nyssa's defense of the Trinity, prominent in his *Against Eunomius*, "On the Holy Trinity," and "On 'Not three Gods'" (*NPNFII* 5:33–248, 326–30, 331–36). Patrick gleans his materials from the French Hebraist Joseph de Voisin (1610–85), whose *Disputatio Theologica Orthodoxa De Sanctissima Trinitate adversus Disceptationem Haeretici, Antitrinitarij Anonymi* (1647), targets rabbinic tractates by arguing for the presence of the Trinity in Hebrew Kabbalistic writings. He brought to bear his knowledge of rabbinic literature on the first printed edition of Raymundi Martini's diatribe *Pugio Fidei Adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (1651), to assert the Tri-une Person of God (Tertia Pars. Dist. I, Caput V, fol. 406). In the present context, Mather (via Patrick) refers to de Voisin's *Disputatio Theologica Orthodoxa* (1647), § 8, pp. 58, 63, 71, 72. See also Kidder (*Demonstration*, Part III, 177), who says that "the Jews do call these three *Middoth*, in the Book *Jezirot* והיזירות, and in the Book called the *Shaare Tsedek* פנים חפנימים, i. e., *Hypostases* or *Persons*."

¹⁶ The great Jewish scholar and diplomat Manasseh ben Israel addresses the significance of the Sephirot in Dionysius Vossius's Latin translation of Manasseh's *Conciliator, sive De convenientia locorum S. Scripturae* (1633), Genesis, quaestio LXIV (Gen. 48:16 and Exod. 20:3, 22:19), pp. 85–87; which, in E. H. Lindon's translation, appears in *Conciliator* (2000), pt. I, quest. 67, pp. 90–93. The first three emanations in the Sephirot are כְּתֹר [Keter], i. e., *crown*; the second is חֻכְמָה [chochmah], i. e., *wisdom*; the third is בִּינָה [Binah], i. e., *understanding*. The Book *Jezirot* סֵפֶר יֵצִירָה [Sefher Yetzirah], i. e., *Book of Creation*, attributed to the OT Patriarch Abraham or R. Akiba ben Joseph (2nd c. BCE), is believed to be the oldest mystical book of the *Kabbalah*. A useful guide is A. Kaplan's *Sefer Yetzirah. The Book of Creation* (1997).

Names,) *The Illuminating Intelligence*; (as the Evangelist *John* saies, The Eternal WORD *enlightens every one that cometh into the World*;) and, *The Second Glory*. The Third, they call, *The Sanctified Intelligence*; probably they mean, *The Holy Intelligence*; which is the very same with, *The Holy Spirit*. All this we find in the Book *Jetzira*, which they fancy was made by *Abraham*. From whence we learn, that they had an obscure Notion of the *Trinity*; and that the Apostles used such Language about it, as was usual among the Jewes.¹⁷

The best of them, are so sensible ob such Things, that they think, we Christians are not *Idolaters*, for beleeving Three Persons in the Godhead, (tho' they fancy it inclines to *Polytheism*;) inasmuch as we beleeve the Unity of God; & therefore may be saved as well as they. Thus, *Wagenseil*, in his Annotations on *Sota*; and *Arnoldus* in his *Spicilegia* after him.¹⁸

|
[4243:]

[11r]

Q. How do the Jewes Interpret that Summ of the Law, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy Heart, & with all thy Soul, and with all thy Might?* v. 5.¹⁹

A. *Munster* gives us the Summ of their Interpretations.

Dilige, ex toto corde; quod solum opus tuum, bonum vel malum facit.

Deinde, ex totâ Animâ; ut etiam si causa requirat, non trespides pro eo exponere Animam, id est corporalem vitam.

*Et tertio, ex totâ Virtute tuâ, ut scilicet potius omnium rerum tuarum pendium incurrere veliss, quàm ab amore, Dei deflectere.*²⁰

17 Patrick, on Deut. 6:4 (*Deuteronomy* 100–101). As Manasseh ben Israel explained the mystery of the Sefirot (the emanations of God) analogically, “the author of ‘Sahar Ora’ [i.e., R. Joseph Gikatilla’s *Sha’are Oraḥ*] draws the comparison of a king who, desirous of remunerating one for a good deed performed, sends him to his treasurer, or for justice to the judge acting under his authority, making use of different ministers for various purposes, according to the object; so for prayers to be properly and perfectly made, it is first necessary to address the petition to the King of kings, and then to invoke his aid through that attribute or Sefira by which he acts, according to the nature of the prayer” (*Conciliator* [2000], part I, Quest. 67, p. 92; [1633], Quaestio LXIV, p. 87).

18 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 101) leans on Johannes Christoph Wagenseil’s annotations on the Mishnah (cap. 7) and the Gemara (cap. 17), in his *Sota. Hoc est Liber Mischnicus* (1674), cap. 7, pp. 750–52. Mather appears to have in mind *Spicilegium Post Messem longioris epistolae instar* (1661), a learned defense of the Pentateuch, by the Nuremberg Lutheran divine, professor of history, rhetoric, and Greek Christophorus Arnoldus (1627–1685), appended to Johannes Henricus Ursinus, *De Zoroastre Bactriano* (1661), 1–71 (sep. pag.). Whatever the nature of the controversy, Arnoldus’s *Spicilegium* was deemed sufficiently heretical to be listed in the Roman Catholic *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Gregorii XVI* (1884), p. 64. On Christopher Arnold, see R. Häfner, “Shaping Early Modern Comparative Studies” (2010).

19 Mather lists “MSS. no. V. Sermon. 4” in his “Note Book of Authors” on Deut. 6:5.

20 In his Hebrew-Latin edition *Hebraica Biblia, Latina planq* (1546), on Deut. 6:6, annot. (a), fol. 356, Sebastian Münster glosses, the sum of God’s law is as follows: “love with all your heart, because your sole action creates good or evil. / Then, from all your soul, so that even if

Q. On that, *The Words which I commanded thee this Day?* v. 6.

A. Dr. Gell is fond of having it read, *The Words which I am commanding thee*. God has given Commandments, and He still continues giving of them. I may say, every Man is to judge himself as really & actually commanded by God, as if, the Voice on Mount *Sinai*, were uttered over again, & particularly directed unto him.

Gells Observation upon it is, That others when they have done their Work, leave it unto the Care of others; Not so, our God. When He ha's done any Spiritual Work, He still goes on doing of it.

Thus, *Gods Building*, 1. Cor. III.9. is by Pagnin and Beza turned, *Edificatio*; a Work yett adoring. The Word of Grace is also said, *εποικοδομησαι*, *Further to build us*.²¹

[▽ 11v] [▽ Insert from 11v]

Q. The Injunction, *To write the Law on the Posts of the House, and on the Gates?* v. 9.

A. The Jews are very scrupulous about the *Words* to be written, & on what Part of the *Posts* and *Gates* they were to Place them. This Writing they call *Mesusah*; and it was generally fixed upon the *Right Side* of their *Gates*. It is by some written upon little *Rolls*, which they fasten upon all their *Gates*. But others enclose them in a *Case*, which they fasten to the *Door-Post*, or putt into an Hole in the Wall. All who pretend unto Religion, whenever they go in and out, lay their Hands on this Place, and say, *The Lord preserve my going out & my coming in*.²²

Huet notes, It was the Usage of other Nations, to write their Laws upon their *Gates*.²³ Tis probable they did it, in imitation of the *Jews*; who to this Day,

the case requires it, you may not tremble to expose your soul for it, that is, your bodily life. / And thirdly, with all your courage, it is better to run into the expense of all your things than to deviate from the love of God." Rashbam adds, that to love God with all your soul means "with all your life," that is, even if they should take your life." Rashi agrees and points out that "Obeying out of love is completely different than obeying out of fear." Nachmanides warns, "one must observe the commandments not for the sake of reward but out of the love of God"; and Ibn Ezra insists that "'Heart' refers to the mind; it is a metaphor for the rational soul, for which it serves as the vehicle. ... 'Soul' refers to the spirit of the body, the vegetative soul with its appetites, a phenomenon of the liver. ... [and] 'might' [signifies] with all your maximum" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Devarim* 5:47–48). Mather addresses the same topic in his gloss in *BA* (vol. 7, Matth. 22:37).

²¹ Robert Gell, on Deut. 6.6 (Sermon XIV), in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 659, 660*d*, enrolls Xantis Pagninus's own Latin translation of the Old and New Testaments, in *Biblia sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione* (1542), fol. 39^v, along with *Annotationes Maiores in Novum DN. Nostri Iesu Christi Testamentum* (1594), on 1 Cor. 3:9 (fol. 168r), by Theodore Beza (1519–1605), the Swiss Reformer, professor of theology at Geneva, and disciple of Calvin. See Appendix B.

²² Psal. 121:8.

²³ Pierre-Daniel Huet acknowledges this custom among the ancient Jews, in *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. IV, cap. 2, § XV, p. 58 (Deut. 6:9).

have written in a Parchment, Deut. VI. from v. 4. to v. 10. and, XI. from v. 13, to v. 20. which they roll up, and writing on it the Word *Shaddai* (one of the Names of GOD,) putt it into a Peece of Cane, or other hollow Wood, and fasten it unto the Doors of their Houses, & of each Room in them; and as often as they go in & out, they make it a Part of their Devotion, to touch this Parchment, & to kiss it.²⁴

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

[3753:]

Q. We are dehorted from *Idolatry*, by this Consideration, *Lest the Anger of the Lord thy God be kindled against thee?* v. 15.

A. We never do read, either in the Law, or in the Prophets, the Word, *Charon* [i. e. Fury,] or *Aph* [Anger,] or *Caas* [Indignation,] or *Kinah* [Jealousy,] ascribed unto God, but when mention is made of *Idolatry*. This is *Maimonides's* Observation.²⁵

[11v inserted into 11r]

²⁴ According to the Exod. 6:3, God was not known to the patriarchs by the name אֱלֹהֵי שַׁדַּי [al shadday] (Strong's ## 0410, 7706), which the KJV renders "God Almighty." Based on the root word שָׁדַד [shadad], the designation signifies "to destroy" and to "overpower." The first letter of "Shaddai" [שַׁדַּי], ש [shin], is thus a shorthand for "the Law of God" given to Moses, and is carved on the lintel of the "mezuzah" (doorpost), which on a parchment contains the lines from Deut. 6:4–9 and 11:13–21, the "Shema Yisrael" (Ef).

²⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 107) and Maimonides's 1629 *More Nebuchim Doctor Perplexorum* (1.36.52–53) and *Guide* (1.36.82–83). On the question of idolatry, see J. Sheehan's "Sacred and Profane: Idolatry" (2006).

Q. Upon that; The *Faithful God, which keepeth Covenant & Mercy with them that Love Him, & Keep His Commandments, to a Thousand Generations?* v. 9.

A. You know, The Term of *Seven Years*, is with us, accounted, *a Generation*. It looks, as if this Passage had some Aspect on the *Seventh Millennium*. The *Faithful God*, will *keep His Covenant* with the Religious Patriarchs, by præserving the *Israelitish Nation thro' a thousand Generations*; and then doing for them all that He ha's promised in His Covenant. And when the *Thousandth Generation* arrives, there will be a Generation that will gloriously *love God*, and *keep His Commandments*. God will gloriously *keep His Covenant & Mercy* with that *Generation*.¹

3785.

Q. Why is it said, concerning *Idolaters*, That God will *Repay them to their Face?* v. 10.

A. The Meaning, is, They should themselves *live* to see and feel the Punishment of their Idolatry. So the Chaldee paraphrases it, *Becajehon*, i. e. In their Life.

Wherefore, when God threatens, to punish them unto the *Third* and *Fourth* Generation, the Meaning is not, That He will only punish their Posterity, but Them with their Posterity, whom they should see destroy'd before their Face. For the *Fourth Generation* (as *Maimonides* observes,) is as much as the oldest Men commonly live to see.²

Q. Why is the *Out-stretched Arm of God*, so often mentioned in the Redemption of *Israel* out of *Egypt?* v. 19.

Compare ch. IV.34. V. 15. Exod. VI.6. And many other Places.

¹ Mather's application of Deut. 7:9 to the descendants of the ancient Israelites reflects his early eschatology which entailed the conversion of the Jewish Nation just before or at the Second Coming of Christ. Mather's later allegorization of this pre-millennialist mainstay is reflected in his "Tri-paradise" (part III, Sec. XI), in *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather* (1995), pp. 295–318, and in my introduction to this work (21–37). See also D. Komline, "The Controversy of the Present Time" (439–59).

² Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 117–18). The Chaldee Paraphrase (Targum Onkelos), on Deut. 7:10, renders the phrase /בְּחַיֵּיהֶן/ [Bechajehon] i. e., "in vita eorum retribuit eis" ("in their life will he punish them"), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653) 1:749. Maimonides addresses the questions of how God will punish idolaters and their offspring among the Israelites until the fourth generation (*Guide* 1.54.127). See also (1.36.82–85).

A. Our Blessed JESUS is expressly called, *The Arm of the Lord*. [Isa. XL.10. LI.5. LIII.1. compared with Joh. XII.38.] He is to bring His People *Again* out of *Egypt*. [Psal. LXVIII.22.] The Holy Spirit would here lead us to consider the *Redemption* wrought by our Glorious JESUS, who is, *The Arm of the Lord*.³

1392.

Q. *The Lord thy God will send the Hornet among them, and they shall Hide themselves from thee*; What is the Meaning of that? v. 20.

A. God Fights for His People, by sending *Fear*, *Amazement*, *Confusion*, *Distraction*, & *Astonishment*, into the Hearts of the Enemy. This, in Scripture, is called, Gods *Hornet*; which, like Beasts, that are stung with a *Garabee*, or *Hornet*, made Men run, they did not *know whither*, nor *wherefore*; nor did they know, where to be safe, they were in such a *Consternation*.⁴

[3082:]

Q. The first Author cited for such a Sort of Interpretation was *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*; and *Austin* follow'd him, tho' not without some *Hæsitatio*. The *Arabic* Interpreter goes that Way; *Rabanus Maurus*, *Lyranus*, & others of their Class take up with it; so do *Borrheus*, *Piscator*, and *Lavater*, learned Germans; *Willet* and *Aynsworth*, learned Englishmen; *Diodati*, a learned Italian, and, *Junius*, a learned Frenchman. But why may not the *Hornet* be literally understood? The Author of, *The Book of Wisdome*, [ch. 12.8. understood it literally. So did *Theodoret*, so did *Procopius*, and so did all the Ancient Jewes, and most of the Modern ones do so [v. 20].⁵

3 Rashi (Deut: 7:19) interprets "the outstretched arm" as "a reference to the sword of the plague of (the Egyptian) first born" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Devarim 5:93–94*).

4 Leaning on R. Simeon ben Lakis (Talmud Sotah 36a), Rashi adds, "הַצִּירֹה [ha-tzir'oh] ... is a flying insect which injected a poisonous substance into them, and castrated them and blinded them in every place where they would hide" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Devarim 5:94*). And Babylonian Talmud tractate Sotah (36a) knowingly relates that "the hornet did not pass over [Jordan] with them" but stayed on the banks of the river to ward off enemies.

5 Mather's list of Church Fathers and of Reformation and Post-Reformation divines who offer a metaphoric interpretation of the terms "hornet" or "wasp" (Exod. 23:28, Deut. 7:20, Josh. 24:12) is extracted from Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon, sive De Animalibus* (1663), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 13 ["De Vespiis & Crabronibus"], cols. 537–538 [misnumbered as cols. 535–536] (lines 68 ff). In addition to the theologians mentioned here (see Index), Mather (via Bochart) refers to Martinus Cellarius, aka. Borrhæus (1499–1564), German professor of rhetoric and theology at Basle (*CBTEL*); Johannes Piscator, *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), fol. 409 (*Scholia in cap. VII*); and Ludwig Lavater (1527–86), a Swiss Reformed theologian of Zurich (*BBK*). Only the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon (12:8), Theodoret, and Procopius interpret the term "hornet" in a literal sense. Recent historians argue that "hornet," as employed in Exod. 23:28, Deut. 7:20, and Josh. 24:12, is a veiled reference to the Egyptian campaigns against the Canaanite city states in the 15th and 14th c. BCE. See O. Borowski, "The Identity of the Biblical *sir'a*" (315–19).

A. And why not? *Bochart* observes very justly, That it would make sad Havock upon all the *Histories* in the World, if such plain Passages as this, may be turned into *Metaphors*. What tho' all the Circumstances of this Matter, are not Related in the particular Places, where we might look to find their Accomplishment? There are many other Things, which we find occasionally mention'd in the Bible, whereof yett there is a total Silence in that Paragraph, where one would have expected the first mention of them. It is probable, That in every Battel of the *Israelites* against the *Canaanites*, God might favour them, with the Auxiliary *Hornetts*, which He had promis'd them, tho' we don't find them still distinctly spoken of. Compare *Josh. 24.12*.⁶

Both *Athenæus* and *Eustathius*, relate (from elder Authors,) That the People near *Peonia* and *Dardania*, were compelled by *Frogs* multiplying upon them, to leave their Countrey.⁷ Those are the People that are called, *Autariate*, or, *Aph-tariate*, by *Agatharchides*, by *Diodorus*, & by *Ælian*. The like happened in *France*; where *Pliny* saies, *Marcus Varro auctor est ab Ranis Civitatem in Galliâ pulsam*. And of the *Abderites* in *Thracia*, we read in *Justin*, *Propter Ranarum muriumque multitudinem, relicto patriæ solo, sedes quærebant*.⁸

[12v] The *Trojans*, whom the *Græcians* could not conquer in a War of Ten Years | were conquered by *Mice*, if you'l beleeeve *Pliny*, who saies, *Plurimi (Mures) ità ad Trojam perveniunt, ut jam indè fugaverint incolas*.⁹ Diverse Nations in *Italy*, were compelled by *Mice* devouring their Corn, to change their *Seats*, as *Ælian*,

6 Samuel Bochart's *Hierozoicon, sive De Animalibus* (1663), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 13 ["De Vespis & Crabronibus"], col. 538 (misnumbered as 536).

7 Mather alludes to the same amphibious story in his "Life of John Winthrop," *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. II, ch. 4, § 8, p. 12. See also Josephus Flavius's relation of the infestations of frogs consuming Egypt as one of the ten plagues (*Antiquities* 2.14.2).

8 Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoicon, sive Animalibus S. Scripturæ* (1663), pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 2, col. 661 (line 62) – col. 662 (line 58). According to Athenæus Naucratis, the Paeonians and Dardanians were so inundated by frogs raining from the clouds that they were not able to keep them out of their houses, or out of their cooking utensils, let alone their drinking water (*Deipnosophistæ* 8.2.333a–b). And the Byzantine archbishop and scholar Eustathius of Thessalonica (c. 1115–1195) says much the same in his *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* (vol. 1, p. 58, line 28). For good measure, the story is confirmed by Agatharchides of Cnidius (*De mari Erythraeo [excerpta]*), sec. 59, lines 13–14, by Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 3.30.3, lines 5–6), and by Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 17.41, lines 8–10). According to Pliny (*Natural History* 8.43.104), "Marcus Varro states that a tribe in Gaul was put to flight by frogs." Marcus Junianus Justinus (Justin) reports in his *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (15.2.1) that the Abderites, or rather the Antariatas (according to Diodorus Siculus, 20.19), an Illyrian tribe of warriors fighting against the Macedonians (4th–5th c. BCE), "abandoned their [ancestral] country on account of the vast number of frogs and mice that infested it, [as they] were seeking a settlement."

9 Bochart (*Hierozoicon Animalibus*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 34, col. 1019, lines 1–15); Pliny (*Natural History* 10.85.186) – if we believe him – reports that "Vast numbers [of field-mice] thus appear in the Troad, and they have by now banished the inhabitants from that country." Fake News? Wonder what the Pied Piper of Hamelin would say about that?

after *Agatharchides*, and *Diodorus*, has Reported unto us.¹⁰ And *They*, (or, *Flies*) dislodged the Inhabitants of *Megara*. *Heraclides* Reports the *Chalcidians* to be driven out of their Seats, by *Mice* of such horrible Teeth, as that *Iron* itself could not stand before them; *κατήσθιον και τον σιδηρον*.¹¹ And *Theophrastus* (with others) reports the like, about the People of the Island *Gyarus*. *Antigonus* therefore saies, *Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μύες διατρῶγουσι τον σιδηρον*.¹²

How many Places have been dispeopled by *Serpents*, it would bee too long to relate. We will fetch no Stories out of *Libya*: *Herodotus* affirms, that even among the Snowes of *Sarmatia*, the *Neurians*, were forced by *Serpents* growing upon them, to leave their Countrey.¹³ *Varro* and *Pliny* tell us, of the like befalling *Amyclæ*, in the very Midst of *Latium*. *Rhodes*, and *Chios*, and *Tenos*, and *Salamis*, (Islands) were all deserted, because of the *Serpents* there growing too many for them.¹⁴ And *Pliny* speaks of a mighty Countrey in *Ethiopia*, whereof he saies, *Latè deserta Regio est, à Scorpionibus et Solpugis gente Sublatâ*. Other Authors likewise, besides *Pliny*, mention it. Especially, *Diodorus* and *Strabo*.¹⁵

¹⁰ Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 12.5, lines 21–23), Agatharchides of Cnidius (*De mari Erythraeo [excerpta]*), sec. 63, line 19), and Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 3.30.3, lines 1–2).

¹¹ The Greek historian, statesman, and scholar Heraclides Lembus of Alexandria (2nd c. BCE) (*OCD*), extracting earlier sources, relates in his *Excerpta politiarum* (62a, lines 1–3) that in the ancient Greek city of Elymnion in Euboea, on mount Atho, the residents were driven out by mice, which devoured everything with their iron teeth: *κατήσθιον και τον σιδηρον*, or “they even eat up iron.”

¹² According to Pliny (*Natural History* 8.82.222), Theophrastus of Eresus (*Fragmenta*, fragm. 6, sec. 15) relates that on the Aegean island of Gyara mice had not only driven out the inhabitants but also “gnawed iron” and even gold in the mines of the Chalybes who, in cutting open the rodents’ stomachs, could thus harvest the precious metal. Likewise, the Greek writer Antigonus Carystius (3rd c. BCE), in his *Historiarum mirabilium collectio* (ch. 18a, sec. 1, lines 1–3), knowingly relates, *ἐνταῦθα οἱ μύες διατρῶγουσιν τον σιδηρον* “then the mice gnaw through the iron.” The entire paragraph is again supplied by mighty Bochart, who provides Mather and his peers with pertinent information on the infestations of rodents among the ancients (*Hierozoicon Animalibus*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 34: “De vulgari Mure,” cols. 1018–1019).

¹³ Herodotus (4.105) narrates that shortly before the Persian king Darius I (522–486 BCE) invaded Scythia, the Neuri, a Scythian people, were driven out of their own country by swarms of snakes, “until in their suffering the Neuri left their own land and settled in with the Budini.”

¹⁴ Pliny (*Natural History* 8.43.104) refers to the Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro (c. 116–c. 27 BCE), according to whom the ancient Italian city of Amynciae (*also* Amyclae) – probably a mistaken reference to the Laconian Amyclae, an ancient settlement in Sparta (*GAW* 599) – “was completely destroyed by snakes.”

¹⁵ Likewise, Pliny (*Natural History* 8.43.104) tells us that in Ethiopia is “a wide belt of desert where a tribe was wiped out by scorpions and poisonous spiders.” Diodorus Siculus (3.30.1–2) and Strabo (*Geographica* 16.4.12, lines 11–13) relate similar stories that make the heart of any arachnophobe skip a beat or two. As in the previous instance, Mather consults Bochart’s *Hierozoicon Animalibus* (1663), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 13: “De Vespis, & Crabronibus,” col. 540, lines 10–25.

The Gnatts rising from their New *Marishes*, destroy'd the *Myusians*, as we read in *Pausanias*. The *Moschito's* that putt *Sapores* with his Army, to Flight, are famous in History; *Theodore*t calls them, *θεῖα βελή*, *The Divine Weapons*.¹⁶

We have no Cause then, to doubt; That *Hornetts*, or *Wasps*; might be employ'd by the Hand of God, as a sore Plague upon the *Canaanites*. And that this Plague may have yett a *closer Illustration*, I may now observe to you; That *Herodotus* tells us, *Bees* made the Countrey beyond the *Ister* unpassable; and the *Themiscyrians* fought the Armies of their Besiegers, by turning Swarms of *Bees* upon them.¹⁷ *Iamblichus* reports the *Babylonian* Forces putt to Flight, *τῶ τῶν μέλινων πολέμῳ πονοῦμενοι*, *Apum insultu divexatae*.¹⁸ It is reported in the *Cretica* of *Antenor*, That the City of the *Rhaucians* was broken up, thro' the insupportable Vexation that infinite Numbers of *Bees* gave unto them.¹⁹

In fine; what is most of all unto our Purpose is, The Report of *Ælian*, *That the Phaselites were driven out of their Seats by Wasps*.²⁰ By *Phaselites*, are meant the *Solyimi*, or the Inhabitants of the *Solyman Hills*, which were about the City *Phaselis*. We find in *Strabo*, *ὑπερκεῖται δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρος*, *Huic imminent Solyimi montes*.²¹ Now you must know, That these *Phaselites* were of a *Phœnician*

16 Bochart (*Hierozoicon Animalibus*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 13, cols. 540–541) refers to Pausanias Lydius, *Graeciae descriptio* (7.2.11, lines 5–6), who records that when the river Maeander turned an inlet of the sea into a muddy lake, “gnats in vast swarms bred in the lake until the inhabitants were forced to leave the city, [and] they departed for Miletus” (*Description of Greece* 7.2.11). Even the army of Persian king Sapores Nisibin, aka. Shapour II (309–379 CE) (*KP*), was routed by swarms of pesky mosquitoes, as we learn from Theodore, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (2.25). When cursed by the Christian divine Jacobus, Sapores’s men were overcome by “clouds of mosquitoes and gnats,” which “filled the hollow trunks of the elephants, and the ears and nostrils of horses,” until “past endurance they broke their bridles, unseated their riders,” and sent the Persians packing in head-long flight (*NPNFii* 3:92).

17 Herodotus (5.10) questions this Thracian claim that bees make the entire area on either side of the Ister (Danube) impassable: “Their explanation does not seem to me likely,” Herodotus adds, “for the creatures are very sensitive to cold. Indeed, I think it is the cold that renders the countries to the north uninhabited” (*History* 359). The Greek historian Appianus Alexandrinus (c. 95–c. 165 CE), in his *Mithridatica* (secs. 346–347), reports that during the Third Mithridatic War (73–63 BCE) against King Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus (132–63), when the Roman army of Lucius Licinius Lucullus had dug tunnels under the walls of Themiscyra on the Thermodon River, the embattled Themiscyrans “thrust beasts and other wild animals and swarms of bees into [the tunnels] against the workers” (*Roman History* 12.11.78).

18 Although both Bochart and Mather attribute the Greek passage to Iamblichus, it actually appears in Patriarch Photius Constantinopolitanus (*Bibliotheca* 94, Bekker page 74b, lines 5–6) and reads with Greek diacritics, *τῷ τῶν μέλισσῶν πολέμῳ πονοῦμενοι*, or “an attacking swarm of bees drove them apart.”

19 Finally, the obscure Greek historian Antenor Creticus (c. 2nd CE) (*DGRBM*) in his history of Crete (*Fragm.* 1, line 2–4), extant in Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 17.35, lines 1–6), has the last word on the potency of bees to scatter armies. All of the above and more is carefully outlined and cited in Bochart (*Hierozoicon Animalibus*, pars 2, lib. 4 cap. 13, col. 541).

20 Claudius Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 11.28, lines 1–4).

21 Strabo (*Geographica* 14.3.9, lines 1–4) explains that *ὑπερκεῖται δ’ αὐτῆς τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρος* “above [the city Phaselis] lies Solyima, a mountain.”

Original; they were originally *Canaanites*. *Plutarch* therefore calls their Country, *Phœnicia*; and *Smyrnaeus* calls it, φοινικος εδος, *Phœnicium Solum*.²² And even to the Days of *Xerxes*, the People there kept their *Phœnician Tongue*; The Poet *Chærilus* describes them from it.

Γλώσσαν μὲν Φοινισσαν ἀπο στομάτων ἀφίεντες.²³

And there is Cause to think, That this Colony of the *Wasp-driven Phaselites*, was planted about the Time of *Joshua*; for in *Homer*, and others, we find *Bellorophon*, who lived not long after *Joshua*, fighting against them. The *Stings* of the *Hornets*, which drove this People out of *Canaan*, were so Sharp it seems, that the Remembrance thereof continued Fifteen Hundred Years after, even until the Days of *Ælian*.²⁴

²² Plutarch (*Plutarchi vitae parallelae: Alexander* 17.6, 9). In his extant epic (14 books) on the Fall of Troy, the Greek bard Quintus Smyrnaeus (c. late 3rd to early 5th c. CE) (*ODB*) sings in his *Posthomerica* (8.106) of the Trojans' death, those who huddled "around Phœnice's towers" (*Fall of Troy* 8.106).

²³ The Greek epic poet Choerilus Samius (late 5th c. BCE) (*OCD*) in an extant fragment, probably from his *Persica* (*Fragmenta epica* 6, line 2), intones, Γλώσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφίεντες, or "emitting [the accents of the] Phœnician language from their mouths."

²⁴ Homer (*Iliad* 6.155–203), Hesiod (*Theogony* 319 ff), Pausanias (2.4.1) – all celebrate handsome Bellerophon who, blessed by the gods with beauty and manliness, slew the fire-breathing monster Chimaera, lion in front, serpent in back, and goat in the middle. Be that as it may, Archbishop James Ussher (*Annales* [1650], pp. 37ff) dates Joshua's succession to Moses to 1451 BCE. If Bochart is credible (*Hierozoicon Animalibus*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 13, cols. 541–542), then Claudius Aelianus (c. 175–c. 235 CE) remembered this ancient tale (Exod. 23:28) nearly seventeen hundred years later in his *De historia animalium* (11.35, 28), but probably in a different context.

Q. It was an Article exhibited against the miserable *Servetus*, That in his Præface to *Ptolomies* Geography he said, *The Fruitfulness of Judæa had been wrongfully cried up; since Travellers tell us, that it is a barren & poor Countrey*; and that *Moses* was by him called, *Præco Vanus*, on that Occasion. Whereas, *Calvin*; quoting the CVII *Psalms* upon it; would have the present *Barrenness* of that Countrey, ascribed unto a Remarkable Malediction from GOD upon it; and that *Judæa* is, *Hodie nobis illustre Divinæ Maledictionis Speculum*.¹ We are not altogether Strangers to what the Infidels of our Days cavil upon this Matter, in Derogation of the Sacred Scriptures. Acceptable and Serviceable would be a few Agreeable Thoughts upon it? v. 7.

A. In the first Place, I will Judge it not amiss to transcribe the Words of the *Bibliothèque Angloise* upon it. "*Palestine* is not now, properly speaking a more Barren Countrey than it was in former times; were it improved & cultivated, it would be as Fruitful as it was in the time of the *Israelites*. Mr. *Maundril*, who Travelled in that Countrey, does not ascribe its Barrenness to a Divine Punishment, but a Want of Culture."

1 Mather invokes the conflict between the Swiss Reformer John Calvin (1509–64) and the anti-Trinitarian Michael Servetus of Navarre (1511–53), who was subsequently burned alive for heresy in Geneva (*ODCC*). The specific issue here is the disagreement between Servetus and Calvin on the alleged fertility or barrenness of the Holy Land. In his preface to his edition of *Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Geographicae Enarrationeis, Libri Octo* (1535), Servetus had allegedly claimed that Moses was a "praeco vanus" (an "empty crier"), because contrary to the Hebrew Lawgiver's avowal, the Promised Land was not a land of milk and honey but a barren, infertile, and arid land. Calvin deemed Servetus's audacity heretical and – coupled with his anti-Trinitarianism – worthy of death. The Latin citation, which may be rendered "until today, Judea is unto us a clear illustration of the divine curse," appears in Calvin's apologia *Defensio Orthodoxae fidei de sacra Trinitate contra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serveti Hispani* (1554), p. 59. See also Calvin's annotations on Psal. 107:33, in *Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (4:260–61) and Mather's glosses on Exod. 3:8 and Numb. 13:23 (above). W. K. Tweedie's *Calvin and Servetus* (1846) – denominational wrangling aside – is as illuminating as ever on Calvin's part in the execution of Servetus.

2 A French Huguenot, Michel de La Roche (fl. 1710–42) converted to Anglicanism after his escape to England for religious persecution in France. He became the editor of the first five volumes of *Bibliothèque Angloise, ou Histoire Littéraire de la Grande Bretagne*, a periodical of literary and philological criticism published in Amsterdam. After being accused of anti-Calvinist sentiments, the editorship of the journal was transferred to Armand de La Chapelle. Mather's extract in quotation marks is from *Bibliothèque Angloise* (1717), tom. 2, première partie, "Article VII. "Histoire de Michel Servet" (122–26), which excerpts the 1705 French translation of Henry Maundrell's *Voyage d'Alep à Jerusalem en 1697*. The passage in quotation marks is Mather's own translation from *Bibliothèque* (p. 122); however, his subsequent extracts from Maundrell are from the published English translation of Maundrell's *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A. D. 1697* (1703), pp. 63–65, which Mather puts to good use throughout *Biblia Americana*.

The Passage being instructive & curious, it shall be here at Length inserted. "All along from *Kane-Leban* to *Beer*, as also as far as we could see round, the Countrey discovered a quite different Face from what it had before; presenting nothing to the View in most Places, but naked Rocks, Mountains, & Præcípices. At Sight of which, Pilgrims are apt to be much astonished, and baulked in their Expectations, finding that Countrey in such an Inhospitable Condition; concerning whose Pleasantness and Plenty, they had before formed in their Minds such high Idæas, from the Description given of it in the Word of GOD; inso-much that it almost startles their Faith, when they reflect, how it could be possible, for a Land like This, to supply Food for so prodigious a Number of Inhabitants, are said to have been polled in the Twelve Tribes at one time; the Sum given in by *Joab*, amounting to no less than Thirteen Hundred Thousand fighting Men, besides Women and Children. But it is certain, that any Man who is not a little biased to Infidelity before, may see, as he passes along the Arguments enough to support his Faith against such Scruples."³

"For, it is obvious for any one to observe, that these Rocks and Hills, must have been anciently covered with Earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute unto the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, no less than if the Countrey had been all Plain; nay, perhaps much more: Forasmuch as such mountainous and uneven Surface affords a larger Space of Ground for Cultivation, than this Countrey would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect Level."

"For the Husbanding of these Mountains, their Manner was, to gather up the Stones, and place them in several Lines, along the Sides of the Hills in form of a Wall. By such Borders they supported the Mould from tumbling; or being washed down, and formed many Beds of excellent Soil, rising gradually, one with another, from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountains. Of this Form of Culture, you see evident Footsteps, wherever you go in all the Mountains of *Palastine*. Thus the very Rocks were made Fruitful. And perhaps there is no Spott of Ground in this whole Land, that was not formerly improved to the Production of something or other, ministring to the Sustenance of Humane Life."⁴

"For than the plain Countreys nothing can be more Fruitful; whether for the Production of Corn, or Cattel and consequently of Milk. The Hills, tho' improper for all Cattel, except Goats; yett being disposed into such Beds, as are before described, served very well to bear Corn, Melons, Gourds, Cucumbers, and such like Garden-Stuff; which makes the principal Food of these Countreys for several Months in the Year. The most Rocky Parts of all, which could not well be adjusted in that Manner for the Production of Corn, might yett serve

³ 2 Sam. 24:9. Maundrell's *Journey* (1703), pp. 63–64.

⁴ Maundrell (64).

for the Planting of Vines and Olive-trees, which delight to extract, the one its Fatness, the other its sprightly Juice, chiefly out of such dry & flinty Places.”⁵

“And the Great Plain joining to the Dead Sea, which by reason of its Salt-ness, might be thought unserviceable both for Cattle, Corn, Olives & Vines, had yett its proper Usefulness for the Nourishment of Bees, and for the fabric of *Honey*; of which *Josephus* gives us his Testimony: And I have reason to beleieve it; because when I was there, I perceived in many Places, a Smell of Honey and Wax, as strong as if one had been in an Apiary.”⁶

[13v] “Why then might not this Countrey very well maintain the vast Number of its Inhabitants; being in every Part so productive of either Milk, Corn, Wine, Oil, or Honey, which | are the principal Food of these Eastern Nations? The Constitution of their Bodies, and the Nature of their Clime, inclining them to more Abstemious Diet, than we use in *England* and in colder Regions.”⁷

The Author of the *Bibliothèque* adds, That what is written by Mr. *Reland* upon the *Barrenness* of *Judæa* now, and its *Fruitfulness* in ancient Times, *n'est pas moins Judicieux que temple d'Erudition*, as full of *Judgment* as it is of *Learning*. And therefore Lett us now go to Mr. *Reland*, who instructs us in such things as these.⁸

The *Waters* and *Fountains* of *Palæstine* were sufficient for the Occasions of the Inhabitants; and the plentiful *Rains* which fell there, had also *Cisterns* præpared for the Reception of them. For this Cause *Procopius* of *Gaza* præfers *Palæstine* unto *Egypt*, where such *Rains* were wanting; – *Arida nec pluvio supplicet herba Jovi*.⁹

Be sure, for *Oil* and *Wine* we find *Egypt* not comparable unto *Palæstine*. They had *Oil* in *Egypt*, its true; as it appears from *Theophrastus*; But nothing so good. Hence, in *Echa Rabbati* we read, The *Ten Tribes* of old, sent *Oil* into *Egypt*. And *Jerom*, in his *Commentary* on *Hosæa* says, That *Egypt*, had its best

⁵ Maundrell (64–65).

⁶ La Roche, *Bibliothèque Angloise* (1717), tom. 2, première partie, “Article VII,” p. 125; Maundrell, *Journey* (1703), p. 65; Josephus Flavius, *Wars of the Jews* (4.8.3).

⁷ Maundrell, *Journey* (65). On the ancients’ appreciation of honey, see “Occasional Annotation. VII,” in *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1735), 5:213–17.

⁸ Michel La Roche (*Bibliothèque* 126) praises his Dutch colleague Adrian Reland (1676–1718), a Christian Hebraist and professor of Oriental languages at Utrecht, whose writing on the topic “is no less wise than a temple of erudition.” For the following paragraphs, Mather translates Hadriani Relandi’s *Palaestina, ex Monumentis veteribus illustrate* (1714), lib. 1, cap. 57, pp. 380–91.

⁹ The Latin quotation from Adrian Reland, *Palaestina* (1714), lib. 1, cap. 57, p. 380, which Reland attributes to the Christian sophist and rhetorician Procopius Gazæus, is actually from the *Elegies* (1.7, line 26) of the Roman poet Albus Tibullus (c. 54–c. 19 BCE), who in *Elegiae* (lib. 1, sec. 7) celebrates the triumph of Roman general Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 BCE–8 CE) over the Aquitani of SW Gaul (27 BCE). In fanciful metaphors Tibullus compares his friend’s glorious victory to the stupendous inundations of the River Nile, which saturates Egypt’s fertile soil so that no “parched blade [of vegetation needs to] bow to Jove the Rain-giver.” See G. A. Simcox, (*History of Latin Literature* 1:325).

Oil from *Ephraim*, whose Land abounded in it. The *Talmud* in *Menacoth*, assign the best Oil more particularly unto *Tekoa*. And we read, There were Twenty Camels-Loads of Pure Oil, in the Annual Present of *Solomon* unto the King of the *Tyrians*.¹⁰

Egypt had no Vines, but lived on a Drink of Water & Barley, or a Sort of Beer, as we do. This is testified by *Herodotus*; Οἶνω ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένω διαχρέωνται. They lived, says he, on a Wine made of Barley. The *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt*, might well therefore be surprised with the Grapes of *Canaan* brought unto them. *Rabshakeh* owned it, A Land of Wine, & of Vineyards for the Wine-cellars.¹¹

Lett us pass to *Meals* and their *Condiments*. The *Asphaltite* Lake, afforded unto the People Salt enough; which *Galen* tells us, was the best in the World, Wheat and Barley abounded there; It is in *Deuteronomy* called, A Land of Wheat & Barley. And *Solomon* sent unto *Hiram*, no less than twenty Thousand Cors of Wheat at a Time: And a Cor was a Measure of Thirty Bushels. One would think, Six hundred Thousand Bushels, a pretty handsome Quantity! The *Talmuds* treating on the *Tythes* of the Fruits, & on the Rights of the *Sabbatic Year*; say enough upon it.¹²

Beeves, and *Sheep*, and *Goats*, and *Birds*, they had vast Numbers of. The *Sacrifices* consumed not a few. And the *Pastures* for feeding of Cattel, on the Eastern

10 Reland (*Palaestina* 380–81); Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum* (6.8; 6.12). According to *Midrash Echa Rabbati* (fol. 85.3), aka. *Eichah Rabbah* (JE), one of the oldest haggadic expositions of the book of Lamentations ascribed to R. Kahana and first published in Pesaro, Italy (1519), the Ten Tribes “exported [olive] oil to Egypt and brought back foodstuffs which they sent to Babylon [Assyria], so that if their enemies should advance, these [‘Egyptians and Assyrians’] should come to their assistance” (IV.17, and notes 3, 4), in Soncino *Midrash Rabbah. Lamentations* (IV:20). Jerome (on Hos. 12:3) praises the oil of Ephraim, in *Commentariorum in Osee Prophetam Libri Tres ad Pammachium*, lib. 3 (PL 025. 0923C). Quoting the Mishnah, tractate Menachoth (8.3), Abba Saul, in Babylonian Talmud, tractate Menachoth (85b), insists that the small town of “Tekoa [Hos. 1:1] ranks first for the quality of its oil.” According to 1 King 5:11, King Hiram of Tyre gave Solomon 20,000 measures of wheat and 20 measures of oil annually.

11 Reland (*Palaestina* 381); Herodotus, *Historia* (2.77, line 14), knowingly relates that Οἶνω δὲ ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένω διαχρέωνται “The wine they use is made of barley.” See also Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum* (6.15). The Assyrian messenger Rabshakeh (both a place name and the title of an ancient cupbearer) tells the Israelites not to listen to Hezekiah but to enter into agreement with the king of Assyria and henceforth enjoy “a land of corne and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oile Olive, and honie, that yee may live, and not die” (2 Kings 18:31, 32).

12 Reland (*Palaestina* 381); Galenus (*De victu attenuante* 43, line 3). Deut. 8:8; 1 Kings 5:11. According to CBTEL, a kor כֹּר (Gr. κόρος), signifying “round vessel” and “measure,” amounts to 10 ephahs, or baths, containing 6.25 bushels, or 220 liters. Following 1 Kings 5:11, Reland (380) speaks of “quotannis 20000 coros tritici” (“a quantity of 20,000 coros”), which in Mather’s fortuitous calculation signifies five times more than seems warranted. On the various types of cereal and fruit offerings, see especially Mishnaic tractates Terumoth, Hallah, Orlah, Bikkurim, as well as Menachoth, in *The Mishnah* (52–66, 83–98, 491–513). For the Sabbatic Year, see tractate Shebiith (*The Mishnah* 39–52).

Side of *Jordan*, and *Sharon*, and the Fields about *Lydda* and *Jamnia*, and elsewhere, were enough to rear Herds & Flocks innumerable.

Jordan, and the *Sea of Galilee*, abounded with *Fish*: and so did many Rivers. From the *Mediterranean Sea* also, they carried *Fish*, even to *Jerusalem*; where we therefore find a *Fish-Gate* belonging to the City.¹³

Here was a Plenty of *Honey*, besides what the *Bees* carried home to their *Hives*. The *Woods* were full of it. The *Trees* yeilded it. *Reland* will have *This* to be, the *Μέλι αγριον* that *John the Baptist* subsisted on; and not, as *Bochart* would have it, such as had been deposited by the *Bees*, in their Collections.¹⁴ *Tis* mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, who says of the *Nabateans*, They had *απο των δενδρων*, *born from the Trees* a Plenty of *Honey*, which they called *Μέλι αγριον*, and of which they made a *Drink mingled with Water*. *Dioscorides* mentions the *Ελαιομελί* of *Syria*. *Pliny* says, *Eleomeli ex ipsis Oleis manta*. And elsewhere, speaking of the Syrian *Eleomeli*, he says, *Manat ex Arboribus pingue*, *Crassius melle*, *Resina tenuius*, *sapores dulci*. *Reland* thinks this was the *Honey*, whereof *Maundril* perceived the Flavour.¹⁵

The *Palmtrees* of *Judaea* are celebrated in Ancient Writings. *Pausanias* mentions their *εδωδιμον καρπον*. While *Strabo* denies to those of *Egypt* any *καρπον ευβρωτον*. *Horace* talks of the *Pinguia Palmeta*, in his Countrey. *Theophrastus* writes of those here, which were the only ones capable of being præserved.¹⁶

¹³ Reland (*Palaestina* 381–82).

¹⁴ Reland (382) claims that John the Baptist (Matth. 3:4) did not feed on wild honey, the nectar of bees – as Samuel Bochart argues, in *Hieroicoicon Sive bipertitum opus De Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (1712), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 12, cols. 518–19 (lines 56ff) – but from the naturally occurring *μέλι ἄγριον* (Lat. *mel sylvestre*), a so-called wild honey from shrubs. Also known as “tamarisk-manna,” it is a sweet gum-like substance exuded from the *Tamarix gallica* (French tamarisk), possibly the manna of the Israelites (Exod. 16:14–15). Herodotus (*Historia* 7.31) relates that the craftsmen of Callatebus (Lydia) make “honey of tamarisk and wheat” (*History* 481).

¹⁵ Reland (382). According to Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historia* 19.94.10, lines 2–3), the Nabataeans had *ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων μέλι πολὺ τὸ καλούμενον ἄγριον*, or “plenty of the so-called wild honey from trees,” served as a drink when mingled with water (*History* 19.94, p. 91). Dioscorides Pedanius (*De materia medica* 1.31.1, line 1) calls it *ἐλαιόμελι κατὰ Πάλμυρα τῆς Συρίας*, or the “Elaeomeli [olive-honey] of Palmyra in Syria.” Pliny (*Natural History* 23.50.96) says, this “Olive honey exudes from the olive trees themselves” and tastes like honey. Elsewhere, speaking of the Syrian “olive honey,” Pliny (15.7.32) relates that “it trickles from trees, [is] of a substance thicker than honey but thinner than resin, and having a sweet flavor.” Reland thinks that this is the substance which Henry Maundrell tasted, as the latter relates in his *Voyage d'Alep à Jerusalem* (1705), p. 109; *Journey* (1703), p. 65.

¹⁶ Reland (382). Whereas Pausanias *Graecia descriptio* (9.19.8, line 2) mentions that the palm trees bear *ἐδωδιμον καρπὸν* “edible fruit,” Strabo (*Geographica* 17.1.51, line 2) denies that the Egyptian palms bear *καρπὸν εὐβρωτον* “fruit that is good to eat.” Horace (*Epistularum Liber Secundus* 2.184; *Epistles* 2.2.184) speaks of “rich palm-groves,” which the Roman vassal King Herod I, the Great (c. 74–4 BCE) had planted near Jericho. Finally, Theophrastus (*De historia plantarum* 2.6.8) tells us that of the many kinds of fruits in the region, “the only dates that will keep, they say, are those which grow in the Valley of Syria, while those that grow in Egypt and Cyprus and elsewhere are used when fresh” (*Enquiry Into Plants* 2.6.8.141).

The *Balsam* (*Tree*, shall we say, or *Shrub*,) that grew about *Jericho*, in the Valley of *Aulon*, is commemorated, by him, and by an Army of other Authors. *Dioscorides* and *Pliny*, as well as *Josephus*, affirm, the *Balsam* grows here, & no where else. Tis no *Confutation* of this, that *Prosper Alpinus* and *Peter Bellonius*, affirm, That now it grows not in *Judea*, except it be cultivated in Gardens, and | that the Nations now fetch it from *Arabia*. Soyls may in Seventeen hundred [14r] Years have some Changes upon them.¹⁷

The *Flax* and the *Wool* of *Judea*, we have heard of.¹⁸

But what shall we say? We are sure, that *Judea* had, as *Josephus* is not the only Author that assures us, *A vast Plenty of People*. And these were a People not much given to *Merchandise*, but must subsist mostly on the Produce of their Country. So it must be a Country whereof the Fertility must be admirable.¹⁹

The Soyl of *Palestine*, its *Mountains* and *Valleys*, and Shores on *Salt-Water*, and Banks on *Fresh-Water*, are to be considered. The Words of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* in his *Roman Antiquities*; L. i. admiring the Land of *Italy*, might be used much more to applaud the Land of *Judea*: but I shall not be at the Pains to transcribe them; nor describe the *Pure Air* of his Country, præferrible to what *Theophrastus* finds in *Egypt*.²⁰

What *Josephus* relates concerning the Fertility of this Country, may be relied upon; for he had more Witt than to write, what Millions of People then Living would have known to have been a Falsehood. Among other things, he says, ενεργος ὁλη και συνεχης εστι καρποφοροι

Tota culta, et fructuum ferax.

The *Talmuds* tell us wonderful things upon it.²¹

17 Reland (383). Dioscorides Pedanius (*De materia medica* 1.19.1), Pliny (*Natural History* 12.54.115–123), and Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 14.4.1; 15.4.2) – all mention that balm grows near Jericho. In his *Dialogus de balsamo* (Venice, 1591), cap. 7, fols. 23^v–25^r, the Venetian physician and botanist Posper Alpinus (1553–1617) draws on Pierre Belon du Mons (Petrus Bellonius Cenomanus), who provides a detailed description of the aromatic balm (balsam; Fr. Baume) in his *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez* (1554), liv. 2, ch. 39, pp. 110^v–111^v. However, he remarks that without cultivation it no longer grows in Judea (liv. 2, ch. 86, p. 144^v). See also Sir Thomas Browne's *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1681), tract 1, item 34 (*Works* 3:253–53); Humphrey Prideaux's *The Old and New Testament connected* (1718), vol. 2, part 2, bk. 6, pp. 435–36 (“Anno 63. Hyrcanus II.1.”), and Eleni Manolaraki “*Hebraei Liqueores: The Balsam of Judaea*” (633–67).

18 Reland (384).

19 Reland (384). Josephus Flavius (*Wars of the Jews* 3.3.1–4).

20 Reland (384–85). Mather's partiality for the Land of Milk and Honey notwithstanding, Dionysius Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.36.3, lines 4–1.37.2, line 1) begs to differ: “I am not unaware that I shall not be believed by many when they reflect on Egypt, Libya, Babylonia and any other fertile countries there may be. . . .” Yet, “I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility and diversity of advantages beyond any other land” (*Roman Antiquities* 1.36.3, p. 117). Be that as it may, Theophrastus Eresius (*De causis plantarum* 6.18.3) sings Egypt's praise.

21 Reland (385–86). In his *De bello Judaico* (3.44.2–3), Josephus Flavius argues that no matter what people say about Galilee's size, ενεργος ὁλη και συνεχης εστιν καρποφορος, *tota culta, et fructuum ferax*, it is “all capable of cultivation, and is everywhere fruitful” (*Wars* 3.3.3; see

There was an *Aristæas*, an old Gentleman quoted by *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, who mightily cries up the Incomparable Fertility of this Countrey. To him we might join *Hecataeus Abderites*, who says, That the Jews possessed near *Ten Times three hundred thousand Acres*, of as Fruitful a Soyl as was to be found any where on the face of the Earth; And *Polybius*, who tells, what an easy Subsistence the Army of *Antiochus* found in the Northern Parts of it.²²

In *Tacitus*, we find the *Uber Solum*, of this Countrey, celebrated, with *Ammianus Marcellinus*, tis, *Cultis abundans terris et nitidis*. *Jerom*, who was an Inhabitant of *Bethlehem*, in his *Commentary* on *Ezekiel*, speaks of it as an undoubted Thing; *Inclutam esse Terram Judea, et cunctis Terris fertilior*.²³

But unto the Reports of the Sacred Scriptures; 2. King. XVIII.32. Isa. XXXVI.17. Num. XIII.28. Zech. VII.14. Gen. XLIX.11. Deut. VIII.7. Exod. III.8. Ezek. XX.6. Joel. II.3. (And of these profane Writers,) there are those who will needs oppose the Reports of the modern Travellers; That a great Part of the Countrey is now horrid Rocks and Swamp. There are *few* cultivated Fields; Rivers and Fountains, almost *None*.

But it must be considered, That since the Jews are for their Sin driven out of their Land, the Land it self must carry Marks of the Divine Indignation upon it; And especially since the Times of that which we call, *The Holy War*; when the Countrey has become a perpetual Theatre of Desolations. Lett the best Countrey in the World become Deserted, and what will become of it? In a Word,

also 3.3.2–4 and 3.10.8). R. Johanan asked the wise men of Israel why the region of the Sea of Gennesaret is called Kinnereth: They answered, “Because its fruits are sweet like the music of a harp [kinnor]” (Babylonian Talmud, tractate Megillah 6a).

22 Reland (386–87). *Josephus* (*Antiquities* 12.2.2–5; *Against Apion* 1.12, 22; 2.4) mentions *Aristeas*, one of King Ptolemy Philadelphus’s “most intimate friends” or body guards, who is sent to bring “first-fruits” to the Temple in Jerusalem. This *Aristeus* does not appear to be the same as the famous writer of the so-called “Letter of *Aristeas*” (*KP* 1:555–56), who relates to his brother *Philocrates* the miraculous translation of the Septuagint. This latter *Aristeas* mentions how the inhabitants of Samaria and Idumaea bestow much labor on their soil which, in turn, is highly productive (“Letter of *Aristeas*” §§ 107–114). *Eusebius Pamphilus* (*Preparation for the Gospel* (8.2, 4, 5, 9); *Hecataeus Abderita* (*Fragmenta* [Jacoby], vol. # F 3a, 264, F, fragm. 6, lines 40–51), extant in *Diodorus Siculus* (40.3.7–8), reports that during the conquest of Canaan, Moses annexed much land and divided it up among the people in equal lots, forbidding them to sell the land to others. Finally, *Polybius* (*Histories* 5.71–72, 79) relates how the Seleucid King *Antiochus III*, aka, the Great (c. 241–187 BCE), vanquished the cities of Samaria (218–17 BCE) and was able to feed his troops without problems in his campaign against *Ptolemy IV Philopater* (221–204 BCE) (*KP* 1:388).

23 Reland (387–88). *Cornelius Tacitus* (*Historiarum* 5.6) praises the health of the inhabitants of Palestine, and relates that even though it rarely rains, “the soil is fertile.” So, too, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (*Roman History* 14.8.11) explains to *Caesar Flavius Claudius Constantius* (c. 325–54 CE) and *Consul Gallus* that Palestine “abounds in cultivated and well-kept lands.” But *St. Jerome* clinches the argument in his *Commentariorum in Ezechielem Prophetam* (lib. 6, col. 188A), on Ezek. 20:5–6 [PL 025.0188A], adducing his proof that “the land of Judea is celebrated for all its fruitful soil.”

This Countrey is now given up to those whom our Bible calls by the Name of *Locusts*; and what can be expected there?²⁴

Indeed, *Strabo* does not well agree with *Moses*, in what he writes about Part of this Countrey. But this is not the only Instance, of the Mistakes, whereof *Strabo* is guilty when he has the affairs of *Judea* before him. And if we should grant him, the Soyl about *Jerusalem* for Sixty furlongs, to be *υποπετρον*, a *Rocky Soyl*, it signifies nothing to prove that it must be *Barren*; and, I pray, what signifies This, for the rest of *Palæstine*?²⁵

And now, Master *Reland*, I thank you, for the Help you have afforded us on this Occasion.²⁶

| [blank]

[14v]

|

[15r]

3786.

Q. *Fed thee with Manna.*] What saies the Great *Salmasius* (as they call him,) about the *Manna*? v. 15.

A. *Salmasius*, in a Treatise on Purpose about *Manna*, saies abundance, to prove, that the *Manna*, which God sent unto the Jewes, differed not in its Form or Substance, from that which commonly fell in those Countreyes, and still falls at this Day. But the *Miracle* about it, consisted, in the Lords giving it in such Quantities and Proportions, & every Morning, and at all Seasons. This made it a *Divine Manna*; for the common falls, but a little of it, and only at some Times in the Year.²⁷ | But such Insinuations as those of Monsr. *Saumaïse*, ought to be

[15v]

²⁴ Reland (388–89). Rev. 9:3: “And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth, and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.” By these locusts of the fifth trumpet, Mather more than hints, are meant “the Turks and Saracens,” and has Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (4:1792–93) and its worthy authorities to prove it.

²⁵ Reland (390). *Strabo* (*Geographica* 16.2.36, lines 4–13) could not have agreed less with *Moses*’ claim about Canaan’s superlative fertility when the Graeco-Roman geographer argues that it was easy enough for the Hebrew lawgiver and his men to take possession of this land “since it was not a place that would be looked on with envy, nor yet one for which anyone would make a serious fight; for it is rocky, and, although it itself is well supplied with water, its surrounding territory is barren and waterless, and the part of the territory within the radius of sixty stadia is also rocky [*υπόπετρον*] beneath the surface.”

²⁶ Here ends Mather’s extract of Hadriani Relandi’s *Palaestina, ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata* (1714), lib. 1, cap. 57, pp. 380–91. When Enlightenment criticism threatened the authority of the Holy Scriptures, travel narratives such as Reland’s were invaluable tools to uphold the sacrosanct status of the Bible with eyewitness accounts of ancients and moderns alike.

²⁷ Patrick, *Deuteronomy* (131) leans on Claudius Salmasius, *De Manna et Saccharo Commentarius* (1663), esp. pp. 9–17. Because Salmasius – drawing on Theophrastus and others of the ancients – details the naturally occurring “manna,” which grows in small quantities on bushes in Arabia Petraea and elsewhere, he appears to limit – though not explicitly deny – the miraculous feeding of the mixed multitude of wandering Israelites in the desert. To Salmasius, then, the miracle lay in the vast quantities of this gummy substance gathered on a daily basis – not in its supernatural occurrence.

well examined before they be entertained. There is a latent Venom in them. And anon, we shall have a Detestable *Toland* come, and make Nothing of the Great Works done by the Glorious GOD, for the People whom He distinguished with peculiar Displays of His Providence and His Government.²⁸

²⁸ To Mather, Masius's naturalist explanation smacks of the Deist dismissal of biblical miracles, as for instance in John Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious* (1696), esp. sec. 3, ch. 4, §§ 69–76, pp. 150–57; and in his *Hodegus. Or, The Pillar of Cloud and Fire* (1722). According to Toland, miracles are little more than natural occurrences of which causes we are ignorant. For a contemporary response to Toland's naturalist explanation in *Hodegus*, see "Occasional Annotation, VI," in *Bibliotheca Biblica* (1722), 2:166–79. On Toland, see J. Champion, *Republican Learning* (2003). In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts" (Deut. 8:18), Mather recommends "Collings, thirteen Sermons, p. 45"; i.e., "Sermon III. Deuteronomy 8:18," *Thirteen Sermons Upon Several Subjects*. London, 1684. pp. 45–62, by John Collinges, D. D. (1623/24–1691). An ejected clergyman, graduate of Emmanuel College (Cambridge), vicar of St. Stephen (Norwich), and later a commissioner at the Savoy Conference. After the Restoration of King Charles II, he was ejected but continued preaching to various groups of Independents and Presbyterians. Various lawsuits and controversies marked the remainder of his life until James II's Declaration of Indulgence (Liberty of Conscience) in 1687, which allowed Collings to work for the establishment of the United Brethren, the union between Congregationalists and Presbyterians until his death in 1691. See S. Wright, "Collinges, John (1623/24–1691)."

Q. The *Sons of Anak*; are there any Remembrances of those *Anakims*, among the ancient Gentiles? v. 2.

A. There are. 'Tis probable, that the *Tyndaride* or Διοσκουροι, whereof *Tully* will inform you, that there were more than *Castor* and *Pollux*, that were called by that Name; who, by the Greeks were called, *Ανακες*, had their Name from those Great Men, who were the Offspring of *Anak*.

These being, by *Joshua*, driven out of *Palæstine*, when hee overcame the Countrey, it is likely, went into Greece; and from them, the *Ανακες* of *Athens* and *Sparta* descended.

Probably, the Name of *Ανακτες*, hence also came to bee given unto great, principal, eminent Men.¹

Q. The *Golden Calf*, we find here, *Burnt with Fire, and Stamp'd & Ground very small*. Here our Adversaries think, they find a great Advantage against these Holy Writings; Forasmuch as all the Experiments made upon *Gold*, even by keeping it whole Months in our Strong Fires, have alwayes hitherto taught us, that it can only be melted, and not burnt in such a Manner as to be Beaten into Dust? v. 21.

A. The Incomparable Dr. *Nieuentyt*, adds to the Answers which the Learned have made unto this Exception.²

First, Tho' *Gold* in itself & alone, be incombustible, and incapable of being reduced by our Fire into such a Condition as to be stamp'd into Dust, yett the Chymists all know, it may be done by the Addition of some other Matter. They

¹ John Edwards, *Discourse Concerning the Authority* (1693), ch. 6, pp. 193–94, supplies Mather with the entire paragraph including the reference to Tully Cicero's *De natura deorum* (3.21.53). According to Cicero, the ancient Greeks employed various titles of honor to the Dioscuri [Διοσκουροι], the sons of Jupiter: "The first set, called Anaces at Athens, the sons of the very ancient King Jupiter and Proserpine, are Tritopatreus, Eubuleus and Dionysus. The second set, the sons of the third Jove and Leda, are Castor and Pollux." Plutarch (*Theseus* 32.2.1–4 and 33.1.3) associates armies of the Tyndaridae (Dioscuri) with Castor and Pollux, who came against the city of Athens. See also Simon Patrick's commentary on Deut. 9:2 (*Deuteronomy* 135). Mather thus validates the biblical account of the giant Anakim with parallels in classical literature even as he underscores the euhemeristic origin of pagan deities. See Harry Clark Maddux, "Euhemerism and Ancient Theology."

² Mather also praises Dutch anti-Cartesian scientist Dr. Bernard Nieuwentijdt, aka. Nieuwentyt or Nieuentyt (1654–1718), whose 3-vol. *The Religious Philosopher* (Amsterdam, 1717; London, 1718–19) Mather also cites in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), p. 51, in *BA* (1:327–28, 667), and elsewhere. In *Religious Philosopher* (1718), vol. 2, Contemplation 20, secs. 16–17, pp. 562–64, Nieuwentijdt argues that contrary to those who claim that Moses could never have pulverized Aaron's Golden Calf, Enlightenment science proves that this precious metal can be amalgamated with glass and thus ground to dust.

colour Glass, & counterfeit Jewels, by mixing of *Gold* with them; & make them looke like Rubies. These, together with the mixed *Gold*, can be beaten to Powder. Now it is not said, that *Moses* used no *Additional Matter*, to bring the *Gold* unto such a State.³

[16v] But then, Mr. *Tschirnhaus*, the Inventor of some late *Burning Glasses*, | relates, in the *History of the Royal French Academy*, 1699. That all Metals, being placed in the *Focus* of the *Burning-Glass*, will run into Glass; and *Gold* in its Vitrification, assumed a fine Purple Colour there.⁴

Mr. *Hombergh* in his Observation upon *Gold*, in the pure Fire of the *Sun*, 1702. shoves, that by the Collection of the Rays of the *Sun*, in a *Focus*, or very near it, *Gold* is evaporated, and is turned, partly into *Fumes*, and partly into *Glass*; The Author calls it, *A Real Conversion of this heavy Metal, into a lighter Glass*.

Now certainly, upon such a Vitrification, *Gold* may be stamp'd & ground unto *Dust*.⁵

We need not say, That *Moses* did make Use of such a *Burning-Glass*. The first mention we find of these Instruments, is made by *Aristophanes*; But they were very Imperfect Things. However, we may say, He might have the Knowledge of such pure and strong *Fires*, as are in the Rays of the *Sun* thus collected.⁶

3 Nieuwentijdt (2:562).

4 Nieuwentijdt (2:563) quotes from “Effets des Verres Brulans de Trois ou Quatre Pieds de Diametre,” by the German physicist, mathematician, and philosopher Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708), who developed optical lenses for “burning glasses” (magnifying glasses) and methods of making porcelain by vitrifying a mixture of silica (quartz) and the clay mineral kaolin (*NDB*). Von Tschirnhaus’s article on the vitrification of glass appeared in the famous French scientific journal *Histoire de l’Academie Royale des Sciences Année 1699* (Paris, 1702): 90–94 (my page reference is to the third edition, published in 1732). Like the German monthly *Acta Eruditorum* (1682–1782) and the English *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1665–), the French *Histoire de l’Academie Royale* (1666–1793) was among the most distinguished scientific journals of the time. An abridgment of the *Histoire* (1699–1720) was translated into English by John Martyn and Ephraim Chambers, and published as *The Philosophical History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Science at Paris* (1742).

5 Nieuwentijdt (2:563–64) refers to the Dutch-German natural philosopher, physician, and alchemist Wilhelm Homberg (1652–1715), who (like von Tschirnhaus and his peers) experimented with transmuting inferior metals into gold and in the process made many significant discoveries in the emerging science of chemistry. Nieuwentijdt appears to have in mind Homberg’s two-part article “Essais de Chymie. Des principes de la Chymie en general” and “Sel principe Chymique,” in *Memoire de l’Academie Royale*, appended to *Histoire de l’Academie Royale des Sciences*. Année MDCCII. Third edition (1743): 33–52, esp. 43–44 (second series of pagination). More specifically, Homberg’s article “Sur la Vitrification de L’Or,” in *Histoire de l’Academie Royale des Sciences*. Année MDCCVII. Third edition (1730): 30–31, describes the vitrification of gold.

6 Nieuwentijdt (2:564) here draws on the anonymous article “Sur les Verres Ardents des Anciens,” in *Histoire de l’Academie Royale des Sciences*. Année MDCCVIII. Third edition (1730), pp. 112–15, esp. p. 113, which extracts a passage from the French translation of Aristophanes’s comedy *The Clouds* (lines 765–772) to demonstrate that the magnifying and burning virtues of rock crystals (“burning glasses”) were known to the ancients. See also Pliny’s *Natural History*

Q. *Moses* prays, That the Lord would not *Look unto the Stubbornness of the People, nor to their Wickedness, nor to their Sin*. What may be the special Import of each of those Words? v. 27.

A. *Stubbornness* may relate unto the evil Disposition of their Minds; *Wickedness* may relate unto their undutiful Murmurings. And, *Sin*, to their Idolatry; which is often in the Scripture called by the peculiar Name of *Sin*; It being the Highest Provocation, from whence there sprang all Manner of Impiety. Thus tis said of *Jeroboam*, *He made Israel to sin*.⁷

(36.67.199; 37.10.28). Thus drawing on cutting-edge scientific accounts, Mather as a physico-theologian validates the letter of the biblical story.

⁷ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 143). Jeroboam, ruler of the northern Kingdom of Israel, set up his own temples at Bethel and Dan along with statues of golden calves (1 King 12:26–30).

194.

Q. It is here said, *The Children of Israel took their Journey, from Beeroth, of the Children of Jaakan, to Mosera; There Aaron Dyed, & there he was Buried.* v. 6. Whereas, if you turn to the Thirty Third of *Numbers*, you'll find *Aaron Dyed & was Buried* in Mount *Hor*, which was at least Seven Mansions distant from *Mosera*. And there is another Difficulty; in that here the Israelites Journey from *Beeroth of the Children of Jaakan*, to *Mosera*, whereas there the Israelites Journey from *Moseroth to Bene Jaakan*. How will you Reconcile this Business? v. 6.¹

A. Not as *Capellus & Grotius* do; by reckoning this Text, among the Ἀδιάλλακτα, which cannot be solved without granting an Error in the Scribes.²

¹ Mather here addresses the alleged contradiction about the location of Aaron's burial site and the precise location of Mt. Hor (Numb 20:26–29, 33:30, 38–39 and Deut. 10:6, 32:49–50). Whereas according to Deut. 10:6, the event occurred at “the 26th of the 40” way stations of the Israelites at *Moserah* [מוֹסֶרָה] in the desert (between Jaakan and Gudgodah), *Moseiroth* [מֹסֵירוֹת], pl. of *Moserah* (Numb. 33:30–31), however, is the location of the thirty-first way station of the Israelites (between Hashmonah and Bene-jaakan). In Mather's time, commentators tried to solve this contradiction by arguing that Moserah and Moseroth are identical places, or that Moses here (Deut. 10:6) listed their campsites in reverse order, or that *Moserah* is the name of the wilderness at the foot of Mt. Hor, or that (most radically), the text of the Hebrew Pentateuch (Deut. 10:6) is here corrupted, especially when compared to the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Sir Isaac Newton's fellow Arian William Whiston, for one, insisted in his distinguished Boyle lecture *Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecy* (1708), p. 70, that the passages in Ex. 10:6–7 are misplaced because they appear to be out of context; yet his more conservative colleague, the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity (Cambridge), Robert Jenkin (1656–1727) begs to differ in his *Remarks on some Books* (1709), pp. 82–85. Undeterred, Whiston repeats his argument in his controversial *Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (1722), pp. 65–66. The latter work, as is well known, launched Anthony Collins's Deist attack, in *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724) and *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered* (1727) – all of which triggered an exegetical controversy of major proportions. On the displacement of Deut. 10:6, compare Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations* (1626–27), p. 37, sep. pag., with the trusty explications of Edward Wells's *Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711), vol. 2, ch. 2, secs. 5–6, esp. pp. 136–139, 143–51; with Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:778–79). See also *ABD*, *CBTE*, Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:760, 761), and B. Tsedaka, ed., *The Israelite Samaritan Version of the Torah* (2013), p. 431, which renders the English translations of the Samaritan and Hebrew Masoretic Texts in parallel columns.

² Matthew Poole provides the standard synopses of the contemporary debate and its combatants on Deut. 10:6 in his magnificent *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:778–779). In their annotations on Deut. 10:6, both the French Huguenot Ludovicus Capellus (*Critica Sacra* [1650], lib. 6, cap. 7, sec. 11, p. 413) and his distinguished Dutch colleague Hugo Grotius (*Opera Omnia Theologica* 1:86) argue that irreconcilable problems (Ἀδιάλλακτα) or errors occur at this point, stopping short of arguing that the text of the Hebrew Pentateuch is corrupted. The Samaritan Pentateuch (edited by Jean Morin) did not become widely available in Western Europe until its first publication in Guy Michel Lejay's *Paris Polyglot* (1645) and in Brian Walton's *London Polyglot* (1657).

But this Way; First *Mosera* was a certain Place in Mount *Hor*: it was a Tract in the Desert of *Moseroth*, where the mountainous Parts of *Hor* made a Figure. The very Name of *Moseroth* in the plural Number, shewes that there were several *Mosera's*. And this *Mosera* in *Deuteronomy* is to bee distinguished from the Mansion in that Part of *Moseroth* mentioned in the Book of *Numbers*. Consult, if no more, yett the Jewish *Aben Ezra*, & the Christian *Varenius*, upon this Point of Geography. And then, you must note that the *Beeroth* [or, Wells] of the Children of *Jaakan*, are not the same with the City of those *Bene Jaakan*. The Sons of *Jaakan* had Remarkable Wells of Water, a considerable Way from their City; and the Israelites might very easily sitt down, first at *Beeroth Benejaakan* then at the *Mosera* of Mount *Hor*, where *Aaron* dyed; and afterwards go from a Station in the Wilderness of *Moseroth*, to *Benejaakan* itself.³

|

3788.

[17v]

Q. How comes in this Passage here; *There Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar, his Son, ministred in the Priests Office in his Stead?* What Connexion ha's it with the Context? v. 6.

A. Dr. *Patrick*, in his Commentary on *Deuteronomy*, saies; All the Satisfaction that he can give to it, is This. *Moses* having told them, that he putt the Tables, of the Testimony, or Covenant into the Ark, as a Token that God was Reconciled unto them; and that they still were there as the Lord commanded, he putts them out of all Doubt of it by telling them, that tho' *Aaron*, (who had the special Care of the Holy Place, and all things in it, committed unto him) was Dead, yett *Eleazar* his Son, was alive still, who was able to testify, that those Holy things remained, as when *Moses* first placed them there. He had been consecrated unto

3 R. Aben (Ibn) Ezra (*Commentary on the Pentateuch* 5:46–47) draws attention to this confusion and offers various explanations of Deut. 10:6. “This verse is inserted here because Moshe had said ‘I also prayed for the sake of Aaron at that time’ [9:20]; Scripture accordingly informs us that Aaron did not die, until the fortieth year.” Furthermore, Ibn Ezra argues that “Our ancestors asserted [Palestinian Talmud Yoma 1:1 (38b)] that they [Israelites] backtracked to a previous encampment.” However, this explication, the venerable rabbi objects, does not jibe with the place reference “there” in the comma “there Aaron died, and there he was buried.” Thus, the solution offered by the Sephardic R. Isaac ben Yehudah ibn Ghiyyat, who translates “there” as “then” (as in Gen. 49:24) does not satisfy either. “But in my opinion,” Ibn Ezra concludes, “none of this is needed,” because “Beerot-Bené-Yaaqan is not the same as ‘Bené-Yaaqan’ [Numb. 33:31],” just as “Moserah is not the same as ‘Moserot’ [Numb 33:30],” for “Beerot-Bené-Yaaqan is another name for Qadesh, and Moserah is the name of the desert region surrounding Mount Hor.” See also Manasseh ben Israel’s similar solution in his *Conciliator* (1633, 2000), part 1, quest. 169 (Num. 33:31, 37 & Deut. 10:6), pp. 270–72, which rehearses the same debate. Well, there it is. The German Lutheran theologian August Varenius (1620–84), professor of theology and Hebrew at the University of Rostock, published widely. The most likely text to which Mather refers is Varenius’s *Decades Biblicae, In V Librum Mosis. Qui Deuteronomium* (1675), an examination of difficult places in the fifth book of Moses. See also Wells, *Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711) 2:96–162.

the Priests Office, instead of *Aaron*; and in this very Mount, (Num. 20.25, 26.) which is the Occasion of mentioning that Station here, when most of the rest are omitted.⁴

Q. Upon that Expression, *What doth the Lord thy God Require of thee?* v. 12.

A. Dr. *Gell* does laboriously solicit, for the Term [*Entreat*] rather to be used here, than the Term, [*Require*.]

The Latin Criticks distinguish *peto*, and, *posco*, and *postulo*. *Petimus prece*. This is the Act of an Inferior. *Poscimus pro Imperio*. This is the Act of a *Superiour*. *Postulamus Jure*. The *Demand* is an Act, that is common to all who have any Right.⁵

Dr. *Gell* observes; that the Word [*Require*.] answers to the Two latter Significations.⁶ Whereas, the Glorious God, who has the most Sovereign *Authority* over His Creatures, and an independent & undisputed *Right* unto them, yett here, does not so much as *poscere*, or *postulare*, but, *perere*; he does *Intreat*, and *Beseech*. Oh! The wonderful Condescension of the most High God. This Text will be admirably illustrated by comparing it, with, 2. Cor. V. 20.⁷

Q. Remarks on that Expression, *As the Stars of Heaven for Multitude?* v. 22.⁸

A. It is very sure, That such a *Multitude of Stars* could not be seen in the Heavens, while they had not the Use of *Telescopes*. *Hipparchus*, in his Catalogues of *Stars*, has transmitted unto Posterity, the Number of 1026. Our Great Astronomer *Hevelius*, increased them to 1888.⁹

⁴ Simon Patrick, *Commentary upon the Fifth Book of Moses, Called Deuteronomy* (London, 1700), pp. 147–48.

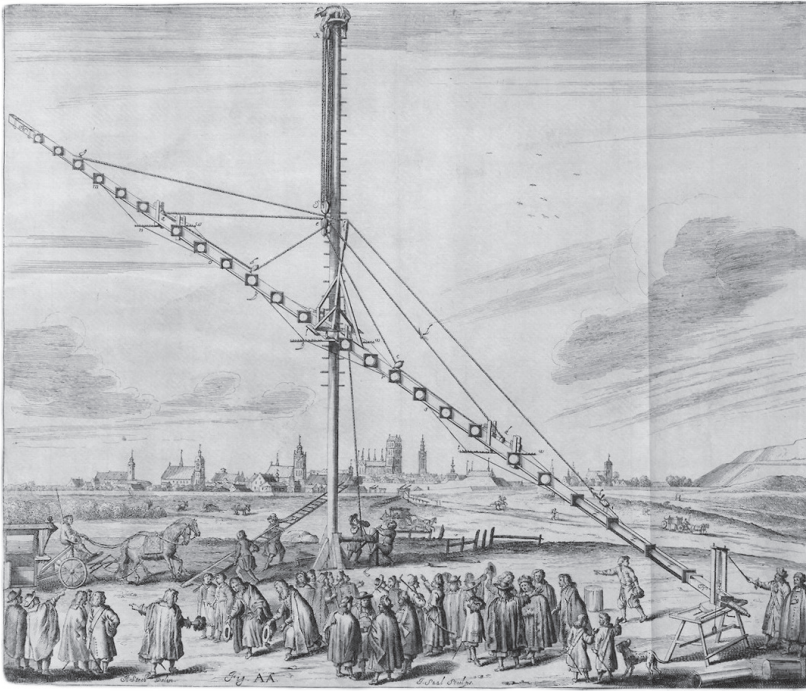
⁵ The Latin critics distinguish between “entreat,” “demand,” and “require.” This form of petitioning, Mather argues, “aims at a request” and is done by inferiors – not persons in command. Those with authority “demand according to their supreme power.” They “demand by right.” Both Gell and Mather thus underscore the merciful longsuffering of God who, though the supreme commander, “entreats” and “beseeches” his beloved people.

⁶ See Appendix A.

⁷ Robert Gell, on Deut. 10: 12 (Sermon XV), in his *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), pp. 683c–e, 684b. See also Mather’s gloss on 2 Cor. 5:20 (BA 9:352).

⁸ The following paragraphs are extracted from Bernard Nieuwentyt’s teleological proof of God’s divine creation, in his popular three-volume *Religious Philosopher* (1718–19), 3:819–20, secs. 50–51. Compare with Mather’s *Christian Philosopher* (1720/21), “Essay 3: Of the Fixed Stars,” pp. 29–35 (Solberg’s edition).

⁹ The Greek astronomer and mathematician Hipparchus of Bithynia (d. post 127 BCE) is renowned for his astronomical observations, especially his famous *Catalogue of Stars* (no longer extant), in which he recorded, among other things, his measurements of the magnitude and celestial longitudes and latitudes of nearly a thousand stars. In his astronomical manual *Amalgest* (c. 150 CE), the Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy picked up where Hipparchus left off. Ptolemy catalogued 1,022 stars in 48 constellations (*Amalgest*, bks. 6–7, pp. 321–417) and arranged them according to their constellations, magnitudes, and coordinates – data which historians believe Ptolemy cribbed from Hipparchus’s lost *Catalogue* (EB). The German Lutheran astronomer Johannes Hevelius (1611–87), mayor of Danzig (Poland), member of the



Johannes Hevelius's telescope (46 m long), from Hevelius's *Machinae Coelestis. Pars Prior: Organographiam, Sive Instrumentorum Astronomicorum omnium*. (Gedani, 1673). (fold-out between pp. 410–11).

But the *Telescopes* have now discovered, That the *Milky Way* is formed from a Collection of numberless little *Stars*; which is found also true in the Southern *Magellanic Little Clouds*.¹⁰

It is also found, as Mr. *Huygens* observes, That for one *Star* that we see with the Naked Eye, several others offer themselves unto the *Telescope*.¹¹ According to the Remarks of *Cherubin d'Orleans*; In the only Constellation of *Orion*, more

Royal Society of London, and councilor to King John II Sobieski of Poland, added more than six hundred new stars he discovered with the help of his Keplerian telescope. In his *Catalogus Stellarum Fixarum* (1687), posthumously published in his *Prodromus Astronomiae* (1690), Hevelius listed a total of 1564 stars – not 1888 as Mather (via Nieuwentyt) claims. Mather provides considerably more detail on the number of stars discovered by ancient and modern stargazers in his *Christian Philosopher* (“Essay 3: Of the Fixed Stars”).

¹⁰ See also Mather's *Christian Philosopher*, p. 29.

¹¹ The Dutch physicist and astronomer Christiaan Huygens (1629–95), famous for developing his wave theory of light, argues in his *ΚΟΣΜΟΘΕΩΡΟΣ* (1698) that millions of more stars can be discovered with the help of a telescope than with the naked eye. A simultaneously published English translation appeared as *The Celestial Worlds Discover'd* (1698). The reference here is to bk. 2, pp. 147, 155.

Stars, and according to the Observations of *Rheita*, related by *Zahn*, Twice as many, shew themselves, as are seen by the Eye only in the whole Heavens.¹² Tho' we don't say with *Jordanus Brunus*, That the Number of the *Stars* is *Infinite*, yett the modern Observations, by the Help of Instruments, assures us, That there is no counting of them.¹³

The Incomprable Dr. *Nieuentyt*, sais upon it; "Lett an Infidel tell how it is, that *Moses*, if he had not been divinely Inspired, could have pronounced the *Stars* to be *Innumerable*; since it was so many Ages after, that this excessive Multitude has been, upon the Discovery of *Telescopes*, experimentally known to Mankind?"¹⁴

12 In his *La Dioptrique Oculaire* (1671), the French Capuchin friar and astronomer Michel de Lassere (1613–97), better known by his nom de plume Le Pere Cherubin d'Orléans, describes his improvement of existing telescopes. His invention of the binocular microscope is described in his *De Visione Perfecta* (1678). In *La Dioptrique Oculaire*, he details the techniques and tools used in grinding lenses for telescopes. The venerable Cherubic friar relates the discovery of a greater number of stars in the constellation Orion, in his *La Dioptrique Oculaire* (1671), pars 3, sec. 9, p. 270, and sec. 11, ch. 1, p. 313. Mather (via Nieuwentyt's *Religious Philosopher* 3:819) alludes to Anton Maria Schyrllaes Rheita (1597–1660) of Bohemia, a Capuchin priest and astronomer living in Ravenna (Italy). Rheita invented an optical device which greatly improved the Keplerian telescope. He describes his invention in his *Oculus Enoch et Eliae sive Radius sidereomysticus* (1645). In 1642, Rheita publicized his observations on sunspots and was subsequently involved in a dispute with Galileo Galilei and his fellow astronomers about mapping the terrain of the moon. The German astronomer and mathematician Johannes Zahn (1641–1707), canon of Oberzell monastery, considerably improved the *camera obscura*, an optical device instrumental in developing photography, and devised the first hand-held binoculars (1702). Mather alludes to Zahn's *Oculus Artificialis Teledioptricus, sive, Telescopium* (1685), p. 209. Zahn's *Specula Physico-Mathematico-Historica Notabilium ac Mirabilium Scien-dorum* (1696) is a hodgepodge of natural history and mathematics. For useful background, see R. Taton et al., eds. *Planetary Astronomy from the Renaissance to the Rise of Astrophysics* (1989).

13 Even though he was well familiar with Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle's popular *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds* (1686), Mather implicitly denies Giordano Bruno's controversial claim of cosmic pluralism, a limitless universe filled with an infinite number of stars and galaxies. For this and other heresies Jordanus Brunus, i. e., Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), was executed by burning at the stake (1600). Christiaan Huygens, too, looks diffidently at Bruno's theory of innumerable galaxies in his *ΚΟΣΜΟΘΕΩΡΟΣ* [Cosmotheoros] (1698), bk. 1, p. 138, yet Nieuwentyt is convinced that "modern Observations made by the help of these Instruments [telescopes] does sufficiently evince, that the Stars are not to be counted" (*Religious Philosopher* 3:820). Mather's erstwhile friend and correspondent William Whiston postulates, in his *Praelectiones Astronomicae* (1727), scholia 3, p. 23, § 7, that the ever increasing number of fixed stars discovered through telescopes could never be counted.

14 Bernard Nieuwentyt, offers his teleological proof in his popular *Religious Philosopher* (1718), vol. 3, secs. 50–51, pp. 819–20.

2460.

Q. *Egypt* is called, *A Land watered with the Foot*. After what *Fashion* was that *Watering* managed? v. 10.

A. *Philo* describes it. He calls it, An *Helix*. This ὑδρηλὸν ὄργανον, or, *Water-Work*, hee saies, hath in “the Middle of it, certain [βαθμοί:] *Degrees*, which the Husbandman ascends, when he waters his Fields. But they are so made that hee must *Necessarily* fall: Nevertheless that he may not fall *Immediately*, he laies hold on the Next *Stay*, with his *Hands*, wherewith he supports his Body. In the mean, holding fast with his *Hands*, hee falls to *Work* with his *Feet*; The *Hands* do the *Work* of the *Feet*, & the *Feet* of the *Hands*. With the *Feet* he works, with the *Hands* he stands.”¹

Vitruvius makes mention of this Instrument; and saies, *Pinnae quaedam cogere versari rotam et sine operarum calcaturâ ipsius Flumine impetu versatas, praestare quod opus est ad usum*.²

I don’t perfectly comprehend *Philo*’s Engine. But I can easily understand, that when *Water* is carried in the *Hands* of *People*, to their *Gardens*, the Land is *watered with the Feet* of the *Carriers*.³

3789.

Q. What Account, about the *Watering of Egypt*, is given by the *Ancients*? v. 10.

A. *Pliny* mentions, the *Rigua Nili*, which were the *little Rivers*, and the διώρυγες, or *Cutts*, made to derive *Water* from the *Nile*, into Places at a distance

¹ Mather translates the entire paragraph from Philo Judaeus, *De Confusione Linguarum* (10.38.3–9), *On the Confusion of Tongues* (10.38), in *Works* (237). Mather’s holograph manuscript reads ὑδρηλὸν instead of ὑδρηρὸν, i. e., hydrostatic.

² The Latin passage quoted from Vitruvius Pollio’s *De Architectura* appears in several variants and adaptations. For instance, Ludovicus Elzevir’s widely available 1649 Amsterdam edition of *De Architectura* (10.10, p. 217) differs from the adaptation cited by Mather and from the standard 1934 Loeb edition of *De Architectura* (10.5.1). The Latin passage signifies, “certain paddles, which are being turned by the force of the river, cause the wheel [hydraulic screw] to turn without workmen to tread the wheel and supply the force needed for its use.”

³ The contraption hard to understand appears to be a treadmill of sorts, a ὑδρηρὸν ὄργανον (“hydrostatic machine” or “water screw”) consisting of “rungs of an inclining ladder” (βαθμοί), which the farmer mounts. In treading, he turns the water wheel and raises water from the river to the higher land to irrigate his fields. Thus, “[i]nstead of his hands he uses his feet, and instead of his feet he uses his hands; for he stands on his hands by means of which, actions are usually done, and he acts with his feet on which it is natural to stand,” in Philo Judaeus, *On the Confusion of Tongues* (10.38), in *Works* (237).

from it, as it is observed by *Salmasius* upon *Solinus*. *Hesychius* calls them, *δοχὰς ὑδάτων*, *Receptacles of Water*, Ditches, or Dikes, or Canals.⁴

The Words of *Strabo* may serve as a good Commentary upon the Words of *Moses*.

[18v] “Nature, *saies he*, does much for *Egypt*, by the *Nile*; but Industry and Art about that River does a great deal more. For the higher it flowes, the more Ground it naturally Waters, & makes Fruitful. Ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια πολλάκις καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐξίσχυσεν ἐπιλειπούσης κλ. *But Industry sometimes hath prevailed, when Nature hath failed*: insomuch, that as great a Part of the Countrey hath been watered, in the smallest | Rise of *Nile*, as in the highest, which was effected, διὰ τῶν διωρύγων, καὶ τῶν παραχωμάτων, *by the Cutts and Banks*, which were made by Art.⁵ For before the Time of *Petronius*, he saies, there was the greatest Fruitfulness, when the *Nile* rose *Fourteen* Cubits; and when it Rose only *Eight*, there was a Famine. But in the Time of his Government, there was as great Plenty, when it rose only *Twelve* Cubits; and no Man felt any Want, when it rose only *Eight*. This was by the Care and Industry of the People, who were forced also sometimes to carry Water from these *Cutts*, as well as from the River, in Vessels, to moisten the Ground, when the Mudd left by the *Nile* was baked into a Crust, by the great Heat of the Sun.”⁶ So that the Ground of *Egypt*, might properly be said, to be, *watered by the Foot*, as we water our Gardens, when there wants Rain.⁷

1986.

Q. How is it said, That *Gerizzim*, and *Ebal*, were over against *Gilgal*? When *Gilgal* is intended? v. 30.

4 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 160). Pliny the Elder describes the harmful impact of salt on the quality of water for drinking and irrigation (*Natural History* 31.52.29). The “*Rigua Nili*” are rivulets or tributaries to the Nile. So, too, Strabo (*Geographica* 16.1.9, lines 18–19) speaks of the “trenches” and “canals” cut into the Nile to divert its waters for irrigation. The superb commentary *Plinianae exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* (1629), fol. 588D, by the learned French classical scholar Claudius Salmasius, is the source for both Mather and Patrick on the canals and ditches cut into the Egyptian Nile to water the fertile region; Hesychius, the lexicographer of Alexandria, defines *δοχὰς ὑδάτων* as *εὐρίπους* (*εὐριπος*), as a “canal” or “ditch” – cut into rivers for irrigation purposes.

5 According to Strabo (*Geographica* 17.1.3, lines 54–55), plenty of rain and rising rivers watering the fields foster more crops, “but diligence has oftentimes, even when nature has failed, prevailed.” Mather’s *ἐπιλειπούσης* from *ἐπιλειπω* (via Patrick) should read *ἐπιλιπούσης* (has failed). Strabo (*Geographica* 17.1.3, line 57) continues, arguing that fields can be irrigated “through the means of canals and embankments.”

6 Strabo remembers (*Geographica* 17.1.3) that before the time of Gaius Petronius, Roman prefect of Egypt (25–21 BCE) – not his namesake, the author of *Satyricon* – the Nilometer on Elephantine Island, measuring the annual flood levels of the Nile, could thus forecast the bounty (or lack thereof) of seasonal harvests.

7 Patrick on Deut. 11:10 (*Deuteronomy* 160–61). See also Henry Hammond’s annotations on Psal. 1:3, in his *Paraphrase and Annotations Upon the Books of the Psalms* (1659), p. 7 (col. 2).

A. The Jewes, do all seem to understand it, of that *Gilgal*, which *Israel* took, the first Night after their Passage over *Jordan*. [Josh. 4.19.] *Josephus* reports that *Gilgal* to bee distant only *Fifty Furlongs* from *Jordan*; But the *Gemarists*, to fix *Gilgal* unto *Gerizzim* and *Ebal*, according to these Words of *Moses*, do make it more than *Fifty Miles*. They say, *The Journey at this day, was more than Sixty Miles, from Jordan to Gilgal*.⁸

But certainly, saies Dr. *Lightfoot*, The *Gilgal* whereof *Moses* here speaks, is to bee understood, of some other, than that which *Joshua* [ch. 5.9.] named so.⁹ For, when *Moses* uttered those Words, the Name of *Gilgal*, near *Jericho*, was not at all. Nor can that which wee read, [Josh. 12.23.] about, *The Nations of Gilgal*, bee applied unto that *Gilgal*, when it had obtained that Name. Therefore, in both Places, by *Gilgal*, seems to bee understood, *Galilee*. The Names are of a near Sound, and of the very same Root. And in *Joshua*, when some Kings of certain particular Cities in *Galilee*, are enumerated, as, *Kedesh, Jokneam, Dor*, the King of the Nations of *Gilgal*, is one who Ruled over many Cities in *Galilee*. The LXX therefore do so render it. And what *Josephus* calls, *Arbel a City of Galilee*, the Book of *Maccabees*, makes to bee in *Galgala*, or, *Gilgal*.¹⁰

⁸ Gilgal is generally believed to be near Mts. Gerizim and Ebal, near Shechem, yet the Gemarists (the rabbinical commentators on the Mishnah) disagree, arguing the reference applies to the region of Gilgal, in a different location. According to Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sotah (33b), R. Judah agrees with his peers that what is meant is “the land of the Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah – i. e., mount Gerizim and mount Ebal where the Cutheans [Samaritans] dwell. Over against Gilgal – [this means] near Gial.” According to the modern Soncino annotator, this Gial is not the one “east of Jericho, but another place of that name identified with Juleijil, east of Mt. Gerizim.” Much the same can be found in R. Solomon Jarchi (Rashi), *Commentarius Hebraicus in Pentateuchum Mosis* (1710), fol. 1361 (notes † and 104). See also Jerusalem Talmud, tractate Sotah (7:3). *Josephus* (*Antiquities* 5.11.1); R. David Kimchi, on Josh. 4:19, guestimates the distance as more than 60 miles, which the invading Israelites travelled that day, in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*: Joshua (26). See also Mather’s gloss on Josh. 5:9 (*BA* 3:92–93).

⁹ Mather’s holograph erroneously copies *Joshua* [ch. 4.9.] – here silently corrected. The lexical confusion appears to arise from the meaning of “Gilgal,” which connotes among other things “pillars of stone,” which Joshua set up in several different locations.

¹⁰ *Josephus* (*Antiquities* 12.11.1); 1 Macc. 9:1. John Lightfoot’s *Chorographical Century of the Land of Israel*, ch. 88, in *The Works* (1684) 2:79–80, is Mather’s vademecum for all we read in the two preceding paragraphs.

3241.

Q. It is here said, *The Nations served their Gods under every green Tree*. Can you in Antiquity find any good Commentary upon it? v. 2.

A. Lett *Pliny* be a Commentator upon *Moses*. In the Twelfth Book of his *Natural History*, concerning *Trees*, he begins thus; *Hæc fuere Numinum Templa*;

“Those were the *Temples* of the Gods; and even now, the simple People, after the ancient Rites, dedicate unto God, such *Trees* as excel the rest. Nor do we more adore the Images glittering with Gold and Ivory, *quàm lucos, et cuijs silentia ipsa*, than we do the *Groves*, and the solemn *Silence* therein.”¹

He then reckons, what *Trees* were peculiarly sacred unto *Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva*, & the rest; concluding, That several of their Gods, and some of the Nymphs, had their Names from the Woods.

This was a thing so notorious, that in their most sacred Solemnities, they were wont to present the Gods whom they worshipped, with a Crown, or Garland, made of the Boughs and Leaves of such *Trees*, in which they were thought to Delight. As, to *Jupiter*, a Crown of *Oak*; to *Apollo*, a *Laurel*; to *Minerva*, of *Olive*; to *Venus*, of *Myrtle*; to *Bacchus*, of *Ivy*; to *Rhea, Pan, Neptune*, and *Vulcan*, of *Pine*, etc.²

|

3792.

Q. *The Place which the Lord your God shall chuse, to cause His Name to dwell there.*] Why would not the Lord please any wherein His Law, to declare where that Place was to be; but tho’ He often determined them to One Place, yett He leaves the Place undetermined? v. 11.

A. *Maimonides* imagines, it may be for Three Reasons.

First, Lest the *Gentiles* might gett Possession of it, and make War upon that Account.

Secondly, Lest they in whose Hands it was, might endeavour to destroy it.

¹ Pliny (*Natural History* 12.2.3) relates that in times immemorial, trees “were the temples of the deities” and that the Romans show more obeisance to their images of gold and ivory “than to the groves and the solemn silences they contain.”

² Pliny (*Natural History* 12.2.3–4) is Patrick’s source for his annotation on Deut. 12:2 (*Deuteronomy* 172–73. Patrick also draws on Ezechiel Spanheim’s annotations on the Hymn to Diana (v. 200), in his “Observationes in Hymnum in Dianam,” *In Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (1697), p. 264.

And, Thirdly; [which is the truest Reason,] Lest every Tribe should be desirous, to have it in their Lott, & Strife should arise among them about it.³

³ Maimonides, on Deut. 12:26, in his *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.45.475) and *Guide of the Perplexed* (3.45.576). Patrick (*Commentary* 180).

Q. A Remark on, *Thy Friend which is as thy own Soul*; putt in the last Place? v. 6.

A. I'll transcribe the Words of Dr. *Patrick*, in a Funeral-Sermon.

"A True FRIEND may sometimes be more dear, than the nearest Relation which we have; and there is a *Friend that sticks closer than a Brother*,¹ or whatsoever Name of Love there is in the World. And therefore it is observable, that in *Deuteronomy*, he is putt in the *last Place*, as the *Chiefest* of all Relations. – It is very cleer, that *Moses* rises up by Steps, from the Lowest to the Highest; from a *Brother*, to a *Child*, and then to a *Wife*, and at last to a *Friend*; as the Highest of all. And it is likely cleer, that a Man and *Wife* are but *One Flesh*, but a Man and his *Friend* are *One Soul*: and therefore, unless They be *Friends*, as well as Man and *Wife*, there is a greater Love than *Theirs*: But when both of these conspire together, the Relation of a, *Friend*, & of *Consorts* too, then it is the highest of all Love, and the Image of the Love that is between CHRIST & His Church."²

Q. *Entice thee secretly*. – A Difficulty rises here: How to prove a Man guilty, who *enticed* another *secretly*, and not before Evidence? v. 6.

A. The *Jews* make this Answer. He who was *enticed* was to dispose in a *secret* Manner some, who should ly conceled near the Place of the next Meeting, & overhear the whole Conversation, & be able to give in their Testimony before the Judges.³

[20v] Yett, if upon Admonition, | the *Enticer* desisted, & came to Repentance, and came over to the Worship of the true GOD, the Evidence might then desist from giving in the Information.⁴

¹ Prov. 18:24.

² Although the funeral sermon preached by Simon Patrick remains unidentified, his anonymously published *Advice to a Friend* (1673), ch. 10, pp. 211–34, develops much the same theme.

³ See Patrick, on Deut. 13:9 (*Deuteronomy* 201), and John Selden's *De Synedriis Veterum Ebraeorum Liber Tertius* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 6, pp. 72–80.

⁴ Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (67a) and Mishnaic tractate Sanhedrin (7.10). Enticing someone to abandon the worship of the true God and to worship idols is punishable by stoning.

2792.

Q. It is required, *Thou shalt truly Tythe all the Increase of thy Seed.* – It may be edifying to know, the Manner of their *Tything*? v. 22.
A. Here is a *Synopsis*, by *Sixtinus Amama*, taken out of *Scaliger*, which may a little Illustrate it unto us.¹

The Husbandman had growing,		
In one Year,	Bushels,	6000.
Hee paid unto the Priest, for the First-Fruits of the Threshing Floor,	}	Bushels. 100.
There now remained unto the Husbandman,	Bushels,	5900.
He paid for the First Tithe, to the Levites,	Bushels,	590.
Hereof, the Levites paid the Priests, the <i>Tithe of the Tithes.</i>		59.
There now remained unto the Husbandman,	Bushels	5310.
He paid hereof a Second Tithe,		531.
There then remained unto the Husbandman,		
as his own, –	Bushels	4779.
The Summ of both Tithes joined together, is,	Bushels	1121.
This is above a Sixth Part of the whole namely Nineteen out of an Hundred. ²		

¹ Mather’s table of applicable amounts of tithing to be paid to the Israelite priests and Levites is extracted from “*Commentariolus de Decimis Mosaicis*” (an unpaginated commentary on tithing), by Sixtinus Amama (1593–1629), Dutch Reformed professor of Hebrew at Oxford and Franeker. Amama’s “*De Decimis*” (“Of Tithing”) is appended to Johannes Drusius’s *Ad Loca Difficiliora* (1618), at the end.
² Amama here leans on Joseph Justus Scaliger’s “*Diatriba de Decimis in Lege Dei*,” in Scaliger’s *Opuscula Varia Antehac* (1610), pp. 61–70. The original of the Hebrew-Latin table, of which Mather provides his translation, appears in “*Diatriba De Decimis*” (p. 65), via Amama’s *Commentariolus* (1618). See also Amama’s annotation on Deut. ch. 26, in *Criticorum Sacrorum Sive Annotatorum ad Pentateuchi Tomum Primi Pars Secundi ad Leviticum, Numeros et Deuteronomium* (1660), fol. 213 (third ser. pag.).

[3742:]

Q. Some Remark, if you please, on that Passage, *The Tithe of thy Corn, of thy Wine, and of thine Oyl?* v. 23.

A. The Observation of R. *Bechai* upon these Words, is a little curious; but, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, it has a great deal of Truth in it. If thou pay the *Tithe*, saies he, then it is *Thy* Corn; if thou do not, then it is *my* Corn, and not *thine*. [Compare, Hos. 2.9.] They forfeited the *whole*, who did not pay the *Tenth*, which was the Rent, that God reserved unto Himself.³

R. *Bechai* observes, The Law is very merciful. For the Fashion of the World, is, if a Man have Ground of his own, to lett it out unto Tenants, for a *Third*, or an *Half*, or at what rate he pleases. But it is not so, with the Almighty, whose the *Earth* is, & who makes it fruitful; He requires but One Part of *Ten*, for His own Uses.⁴

[21v]

Q. The *Tithes* are here demanded from the *Israelites*, on that Consideration; *That thou mayst learn to fear the Lord thy God alwayes*. What is the Connexion? v. 23.

A. By these *Tithes* were supported the *Levites*, who were the Teachers of the People, and were to instruct them in what belonged unto the Fear of God, & His True Religion.⁵

Q. A Remark upon that; *That the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the Work of thy Hand, which thou doest?* v. 29.

A. In the *Midras Tillim*, there is a Note of R. *Eliezer*, not unworthy to be considered.

Nonne benedicet tibi, Quamvis fortasse otiosus sederis? Minimè. Nam expresse dictum est, IN OMNI OPERE MANUS TUÆ. Si operam suam navaverit, erit

³ R. *Bechai*, i.e., R. *Bachya ben Asher* (*Torah Commentary* 7:2529) glosses the text as follows: "It is only 'your' grain harvest, if you tithe it; if not it is 'My' grain harvest. The same applies to the grape harvest and the 'oil' harvest. This interpretation is based on Hoseah 2, 11 [2:9]: 'Assuredly I will take back My new grain in its time and My new wine in its season, etc.'"

⁴ *Patrick*, on Deut. 14:23 (*Deuteronomy* 218–19). Rabbeinu *Bachya* cites a midrashic approach from *Yalkut Shimoni* (892): "it is customary that when a person rents a field he has to give the owner at least a third or even half of the harvest. Seeing that we are 'renting' the land from G'd and He provides rain clouds, dew, manure, etc., and demands only 10 % of the harvest as His due we really have nothing to complain about" (*Torah Commentary* 7:2527–28).

⁵ *Patrick* (*Deuteronomy* 218) comes to a different conclusion: "This [Deut. 14:23c] cannot be meant of the Tithe paid to the *Levites*; of which the People were not to partake: but only the Priests, to whom the *Levites* were to give a Tithe. Therefore it must be understood of the *second Tithe*, separated (after the other was paid) for this holy use.

Benedictus; Sin minus, non erit Benedictus. It seems, we may not expect the *Blessing* of God, in a Way of *Idleness*; but in the Way of the *Work of our Hand*.⁶

⁶ See Psal. 90:17. *Midrash Tehillim* (on the Psalms, Ps. 1–118), a haggadic explication of the Psalms and collection of parables, proverbs, stories, and homilies on the Psalms (compiled and redacted by a number of medieval rabbis in the 9th c. CE), was first published in Constantinople (1512) (*Ej*). Although Mather's source for his second-hand quotation from R. Eliezer remains unidentified, this venerable medieval commentator is frequently cited on *Midrash Tehillim* in John Viccars, *Decapla in Psalmos: sive Commentarius ex Decem Linguis* (London, 1639, 1655). Mather extracts Viccars's *Decapla* at great length in *BA* (vol. 4). R. Eliezer admonishes, "Will he bless you, although perhaps you are idle? Not at all. For it has been expressly shown in EVERY WORK OF YOUR HAND. Whoever has performed his task diligently will be blessed; if less, he will not be blessed."

Q. How is it said, *Thou shalt sacrifice the Passeover unto the Lord thy God of the Flock, & the Herd*? Certainly, the *Lamb* of the *Passeover*, could not be changed into any thing of the *Herd*? v. 2.

A. *Moses* here speaks compendiously, of the *Passeover* itself, & all the *Sacrifices* for the Days of *Unleavened Bread* annexed thereunto.

Dr. *Gell* propounds therefore, that the Word, [of] be left out.¹

3431.

Q. Why is *Unleavened Bread*, called, *Bread of Affliction*? v. 3.

A. Because tis a Sort of *Bread*, that they who are *Afflicted* with Poverty, by reason of pressing Hunger, do eat; not staying, or able to stay, until it be *Leavened*.

You may add, if you please; It is Insipid, and sits heavy on the Stomach.²

3294.

Q. It is said, *Thou shalt rejoice in thy Feast, thou and Thy Son and thy Daughter, and thy Man-Servant & thy Maid-Servant*. Was there any Imitation of this among the Pagans? v. 14.³

A. There was the like Law at *Athens*; where (as *Macrobius* tells us) King *Cecrops* ordained, the Master of every Family, should after *Harvest*, make a Feast for his *Servants*, and eat together with them, who had taken Pains with him, in Tilling of his Ground; *Delectari enim Deum honore Servorum, contemplatu Laboris*; For God is Delighted in the *Honour* done to *Servants*, on Consideration of their *Labour*.⁴ This, tis likely, he might learn of *Moses*; for he reigned at *Athens*, much about the Time that *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; *Eusebius* affirms, He was the first, who taught the Greeks, to call God, by the Name of Ζεῦς, which we may interpret, *The Living God*.⁵ Tho' there he seems a little mistaken; For *Pausanias* more than once, tells us, He was the First, who Διὰ ὀνόμασεν ὕπατον, called, *Jupiter*, by the Name of *The most High*. The same we read in *Cyrl*, against *Julian*.⁶

1 Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 695*b*, is one of the first to publish a whole book on problematic translations of the King James Bible of 1611.

2 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 237).

3 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 242).

4 The Roman historian Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, in his *Saturnalia* (1.10.22), praises the serpentine King Cecrops, the Greek mythical founder of Athens, for his humane treatment of his servants. Mather provides the translation of the Latin quote.

5 Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 10.9.486 *cd*) and *Preparation* (2:521).

6 Pausanias (*Graecia description* 8.2.3, lines 2–3) argues Cecrops was the first Διὰ τε ὀνόμασεν ὕπατον πρώτος “to name Zeus the Supreme God.” The Patriarch Cyrillus Alexandrinus (*Contra Julianum* 1.11, lines 13–14) says much the same in his debate with Julian the Apostate.

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[3785:]

Q. *Judges* and *Officers*; what {is} the Difference between *Schofetim*, and *Schoterim*? v. 18.⁷

A. *Moses de Cotzi*, makes the former, [*Judges*,] to be *Senators* in the several Courts, who decided the Causes: And the latter [*Officers*] to be no more than Ministers attending the Court, for to keep the People in Order with a Staff and a Whip; & execute the Decrees and Orders of the Judges; And they were appointed, not only in the Court, but also in the Street, looking after Weights and Measures, in the Market, and correcting Offenders.⁸ *Maimonides* also makes them the same with our *Apparitors*; or those who in Roman Law, are called, *Officiales*, as *Constantine L'Empereur* observes, upon *Cornelius Bertram*, (who mistook them for *Judges*;) and in the Digests, *Executores*; and, in the New Testament, *πράκτορας*, *Exactors*. [Luk. 12. 58.]⁹ *Josephus* makes them to have been *Publick Criers*. [Deut. 20.8. and Josh. 1.11.] But then, some of them at least, seem to have been an Honourable Sort, like our *Heralds*. [Josh. 23.2.] And all of them were Men of Authority, tho' but young Men, (as *Maimonides* describes them,) who had not attained the Age & Knowledge of the Doctors of the Law, and therefore were unfit for to be *Judges*.¹⁰ The Jewes place them next under their Wise Men,

Mather's sources (via Patrick) are all provided in Johannes Meursius, *Regnum Atticum* (1633), lib. 1, cap. 9, pp. 41, 42.

⁷ In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts" (Deut. 16:16, 17), Mather lists "Medes Works. B.I. Disc. 45"; i. e., Joseph Mede's "Discourse XLV. Deuteronomy 16. 16, 17," in *The Works* (1664), bk. 1, disc. 45, pp. 343–47.

⁸ In his *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol. Liber Magnus Praeceptorum* (1488), a commentary on the 613 commandments in the Torah, the thirteenth-century French Tosafist R. Moses ben Jacob Cotzi (aka. Kotzensis) describes the functions of the judges and officers of a Hebrew court of law (*JE*). Mather (via Patrick, *Deuteronomy* 245) quotes from Constantinus L'Empereur ab Oppijck's Latin translation of R. Cotzi's Hebrew observation on Deut. 16:18, as reprinted in L'Empereur's "Annotationes" (pp. 362–64), appended to his edition of *De Republica Ebraeorum, Recensitus Commentarioque illustratus* (1641), by the French Huguenot Orientalist Bonaventura Cornelius Bertramus (1531–94).

⁹ L'Empereur ("Annotationes," pp. 362–64) takes issue with Bertramus's claim (*De Republica Ebraeorum*, cap. 5, pp. 50–51) that the שוטרִים [*shoterim*], or rather שְׁפָטִים (Deut. 16:18) are also שְׁפָטִים [*shaphatim*] "judges," rather than "prefects" and "apparitors" (civil officers in the employ of the judiciary). *Maimonides*, in his *More Nebuchim Doctor Perplexorum* (1629) 3.35.440 and *Guide* (2:536), argues that in the sixth class of the Torah's 613 commandments (divided into fourteen classes), Moses distinguished between "*Judges and officers*" (Deut. 16:18). So, too, the *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (42.1.15), the *Digest* of Roman Emperor Justinian I's *Institutes*, mentions "magistrates" or "upright officers" who see to it that the "judges" do not administer the law arbitrarily. The Greek NT (Luke 12:58) distinguishes between a magistrate as κριτής (*judge*) and πράκτωρ (*officer*).

¹⁰ See Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 4.8.14). In *Hilchot Sanhedrin V'Haonshin Hamesurim Lahem* (1:1 and 2:1), *Maimonides* explains that "the term 'Judges' refers to magistrates whose [attendance] is fixed in court, before whom the litigants appear. 'Enforcement officers' refers to those equipped with a billet and a lash who stand before the judges and patrol the market place and the streets [to inspect] the stores and to regulate the prices and the measures. They

or Doctors, and above their Scribes and Clerks.¹¹ But that they were *Under-Officers* & not *Judges*, there is a further Intimation; In that *Solomon* on this Account commends the *Ants*, that they carefully do their Business, tho' they have no *Schoter* over them; [Prov. 6.7.] No ῥαβδούχος or ἐργοδιώκτης to force them, or fright them unto it.¹²

[23r]

984.

Q. What was the Meaning & the Reason of that Law, *Thou shalt not plant thee a Grove of any Trees, near unto the Altar of the Lord thy God?* v. 21.¹³

A. Besides a proper *Grove of Trees*, intended in the Hebrew Name /אֲשֵׁרָה/ here used; there are diverse other Significations of the Word.

It signified, a *Wooden Image* of a *Grove*. Thus, wee choose to read it, *A Grove over the Altar*, in Judg. 6.25. cutt down by *Gideon*. Thus tis said of *Josiah*, in 2. King. 23.6. *Hee brought but the Grove from the House of the Lord*; which probably was the *Sculptile Luci*, by *Menasseh* hanged there.¹⁴

Yea, sometimes it signifies, a *Single Tree*, as well as a whole *Grove* of them. *Kimchi* tells us, *Omnis Arbor, quæ colitur et quæ plantatur, in honorem Numinis quod colunt Idololatræ, dicitur /אֲשֵׁרָה/*.¹⁵

inflict corporal punishment on all offenders. Their deeds are controlled entirely by the judges." Furthermore, "only men of wisdom and understanding, of unique distinction in their knowledge of the Torah and who possess a broad intellectual potential. [They should also] have some knowledge concerning other intellectual disciplines, e.g. medicine, mathematics, the fixation of the calendar, astronomy, astrology, and [also] the practices of fortune-telling, magic, sorcery, and the hollow teachings of idolatry, so that they will know how to judge them" (*Sefer Shofetim*, *Mishneh Torah* 23:14, 20).

¹¹ Mather's source for this passage (via Patrick 245) is "A Review," in *Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State* (1649), pp. XCIII–CIV (sep. pag.), by Herbert Thorndike (c. 1597–1672), an Anglican theologian and biblical scholar whose defense of episcopacy provoked the ire of the members of the Long Parliament (*ODNB*).

¹² Mather, via Patrick (245), extracts his material from Constantinus L'Empereur's "Annotations" (pp. 362–64) on *Bonaventura Cornelius Bertramus, De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), cap. 5, pp. 50–51. Wise Solomon (Prov. 6:6–7) tells those who are given to idleness, "Goe to the Ant, thou sluggard, consider her wayes, and be wise. Which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, Provideth her meat in the Summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest." Thus ants have no "enforcer" (ῥαβδούχος) or "overseer" (ἐργοδιώκτης) to drive them on.

¹³ The following annotations on Deut. 16:21 are extracted from John Spencer's magnificent *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 16, "De lege lucos prohibente," secs. 1–2, fols. 396–401.

¹⁴ Spencer (*De Legibus*, lib. 2, cap. 16, sec. 1, fol. 396, § 1). Manasseh, king of Judah, had violated the Mosaic proscription against planting /אֲשֵׁרָה/ [asherah], graven images devoted to Astarte (Ashtoreth), a Canaanite fertility goddess. King Josiah destroyed the "sculptile luci" or "graven image of the grove" (2 Kings 21:7; 23:6), which Manasseh, Josiah's idolatrous predecessor, had hung up in the Temple.

¹⁵ Spencer (§ 2). R. David Kimchi, ספר השרשים *Sepher Hashoreschim, Liber Radicum Commentarius* (1535), sign. e^{5v}–e^{6r} (voce אֲשֵׁרָה). See also *Rabbi Davidis Kimchi. Radicum Liber sive Hebraeum Bibliorum Lexicon* (1847), p. 30 (col. 1). Kimchi's gloss on the term אֲשֵׁרָה [asherah]

Yea, sometimes it signified, *A Temple*. How else could it bee said, in 1. King. 14.23. *They Built Groves under every Green Tree*. It is therefore a Passage of *Strabo*, *Poetæ propter consitarum Arborum juxta Templâ perpetuam consuetudinem, omnia Templâ ἄλση καλοῦσι Lucos appellant, etiam Arboribus carentia*. And so the Temple of *Trivia*, is in *Virgil* called, *The Grove of Trivia*. *Iam subeunt Triviæ Lucos*.¹⁶

Yea, Dr. *Spencer* finds, by comparing the Greek, with the Hebrew, of Three Texts, namely, Judg. 2.13. & Judg. 3.1. and 1. Sam. 7.4. — that the Image of *Ashtaroth*, or *Astarte*, varied less in *Sense*, than in *Sound*, (which also is very little) from the *Asherah*, which wee translate a *Grove*. And therefore the next Clause, *Any Manner of Tree*, is added but exegetically hereunto.¹⁷

But, if wee enquire into the Occasion of this Prohibition, wee shall find, That the ancient Idolaters did consecrate *Groves* unto their *Gods*. [Consider, Exod. 34.13. Deut. 12.3. Judg. 6.25. 2. King. 21.3. & 23.6. 2. Chron. 34.7. Isa. 17.8. & 27.9. Ezek. 6.13. 2. Chron. 17.6.] A Town in *Bæotia*, that had a *Grove* so consecrated in it, was called *Ascra*, as *Heinsius* judges from the Name *Asherah* used in Scripture for a *Grove*;¹⁸ for *Hesychius* interprets it, as being, δρῦς ἄκαρπος.¹⁹ It was in *Cadmus* his Colony. And indeed, this Religion of *Groves* was frequent not only in *Phœnicia*, from whence *Cadmus* traveled, but also among the *Græcians*, the *Romans*, the *Germans*, the *Britons*, and whom not? The *Amenitie* of *Groves* was one thing which decoyed, & enchanted, the Minds of Men, to worship in such Places: especially in Countreyes where the *Sun* gave much Heat unto the Climate. They chose these Places, tis said, in Hos. 4.13. *Because the Shadow thereof is Good*. And so saies the Poet,

Lucus in urbe fuit media, letissimus umbra.
Hic Templum.²⁰

explains that “Every tree that is cultivated and propagated from cuttings in honor of god and devoted to idolatry is called /asherah/.”

16 Spencer (397, § 3) cites Strabo (*Geographica* 9.2.33, line 5), arguing that “the poets embellish things, calling all sacred precincts near temples ‘sacred groves,’ even if they are bare of trees.” Virgil (*Aeneid* 6.13) has Aeneas and his shipmates dock on the shores of Euboean Cumae, and “now they pass under the grove of Trivia,” where in Virgil’s day stood the temple of Diana.

17 Spencer’s argument (397, § 4) about the similarities of sound between Hebrew and Greek is based in the then still regnant belief that all languages derive from Hebrew, the language of paradise as spoken by Adam and Eve. See *BA* (1:433, note 29; 1:728–29, 810–16), D.C. Allen, “Some Theories” (5–16), and P. Rossi, *Dark Abyss of Time* (195–206),

18 Spencer, *De Legibus*, lib. 2, cap. 16, sec. 2, fol. 398) affirmatively cites *Aristarchus Sacer, Exercitationes* (1627), cap. 1, p. 21 (sec. pag.), by Daniel Heinsius, professor of classical languages at Leiden, that the name of the Boeotian city Ascra was derived from the Hebrew word asherah (grove).

19 Spencer (398); the Alexandrian lexicographer Hesychius (*Lexicon* [A–O], alphab. letter *alpha*, entry 7719, line 1) defines it as a “barren tree.”

20 Spencer (398, 399). According to Herodotus (*History* 2.145), Cadmus (mythic founder of the Boeotian Thebes) is to have lived “sixteen hundred years before my [Herodotus’s] time” (c. 2,000 BCE). Herodotus credits Cadmus for having introduced the Phoenician alphabet to Greece (*History* 5.58). On the goddess Astarte adored in groves (Asherah), see John Selden’s

Whereof the *Trees* of these *Groves*, were for the most Part, as tis reported by Cyril of Alexandria, Not fruit-bearing ones, ἀλλὰ μόνον τέρψεως χάριν, ἄκαρπα ξύλα. *Solummodò, delectationis causâ ligna infrugifera.* And Origen has the very same Words, in his Illustration upon those Words of Jeremiah, *under every Green Tree.*²¹ To Justify, whose Account, wee have *Herodotus*, long before them, describing these *Trees*, as οὐρανομήκεα δένδρεα, *Arbores in Cælum enutes.* These *caliginous Places*, as they were a thousand Ways accommodated unto the absurd & obscæne Rites, with which the Divel was worshipped, so the very *Procerity*, and *Antiquity* of the *Trees*, with the *Silence* among them did naturally begett in Men, a sort of Devout Veneration. *Ovid* therefore mentions a *Grove*, under this Character,

*Quo possis viso dicere, Numen inest.*²²

And *Seneca*, saies, *Illâ proceritas Sylvæ, et Secretum Loci, et Admiratio umbræ, in aperto tam densæ atque continuæ, fidem tibi Numinis facit.* And *Virgil* sings,

*Hoc Nemus, hunc (inquit) frondoso vertice collem,
(Quis Deus, incertum) habitat Deus.* – ²³

Tis likely, that a special Respect unto *Groves* might have an Innocent Original. Wee may carry it as high as *Abraham*, who served God in one, and was there visited by the Angels of God. It is therefore a Passage of the most learned *Huet*, who saies of *Abraham*, *Ex Nemore quod plantavit in Bersabee, ut invocaret ibi Nomen Domini, propagata videtur apud Ethnicos, lucorum ad profanos Deorum Cultus et Sacrificia conserendorum consuetudo.*²⁴ Yea, what if wee should carry it as High as *Adam*. It is Mr. *Medes* Observation, That as God placed Man at first in a *Grove*, so Men afterwards chose Religiously to plant *Groves* for God. There

De Diis Syris Syntagmata II (1617), synt. 2, cap. 2, pp. 142–71. *Virgil* (*Aeneid* 1.441) has Aeneas marvel at Queen Dido's mighty Carthage, where stood Juno's temple: "Amid the city was a grove, luxuriant in shade, the spot" where stood Juno's shrine.

²¹ Mather here copies Spencer (399), who mistakenly switches the Greek citation of Origenes, *In Jeremiam* (Homily 4, sec. 4, lines 38–39) with that of Cyril of Alexandria, who in his *Commentarii in Joannem* (2:548) offers a similar description. Be that as it may, Origen's citation, erroneously attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, reads, respectively, "But only the grace of delight, barren wood" and "Only fruitless trees for the purpose of delight."

²² Spencer (399); *Herodotus* (*Historiae* 2.138, line 17) mentions the "trees towering to the sky" alongside the road leading to the temple of *Hermes*. *Ovid* (*Fasti* 3.296) celebrates the oaken grove of *Aventine* (one of the Seven Hills of Rome), "at whose sight you might say, "There is a spirit here."

²³ Spencer (400, § 2) enlists the *Epistulae Morales* (4.41.3) of the Roman statesman, Stoic philosopher, and playwright *Seneca* (the Younger), to describe the grove of an unknown god: "the loftiness of the forest, the seclusion of the spot, and your marvel at the thick unbroken shade in the midst of the open spaces, will prove to you the presence of deity." Likewise, *Virgil* (*Aeneid* 8.351–52) has Aeneas point at the grove in front of his men, "This grove," he [Aeneas] cries, "this hill with its leafy crown, – though we know not what god it is – is yet a god's home."

²⁴ Spencer (440, § 3) cites Pierre-Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679), prop. IV, cap. 11, sec. 2, col. 2, fol. 157 (B), who says that "from the wood, which he [Abraham] planted in Beersheba to invoke the name of the Lord, there seems to be propagated among the pagans a custom of planting groves for the profane sacrifices and worship of the gods."

was herein a Commemoration of *Paradise*, which was a *Grove*. And so saies *Cluverius*, *Lucorum consecratio ex vetustissimo more, atque adeò ab ipso Adamo, profluxit*. But *Idolatry* in later Ages, making these *Groves* to become the meer *Stows* of *Divels*, the Lord forbad any further Use of them in Worship, among His People.²⁵

Tis very certain, That *Groves* were, for the most Part consecrated unto the Worship of *Baalim*, that is to say, of *Dead Hero's*. Hence wee find *Graves* joined so often with *Groves*, in the Scripture. [See 2. King. 23.15, 16. and Isa. 65.3, 4.] Hence *Virgil* saies,

— *Luco tum fortè parentis*
*Pilumni Turnus Sacrata valle sedebat.*²⁶

So *Cicero* saies, *Vos Albani Tumuli, atque luci, | vos inquam, imploro atque obtestor*. And the old Pagans, imagined that the Ghosts of their Dead Friends, did Inhabit *Groves*; [23v]

Nulli certa Domus, lucis habitamus opacis,
saies the Poet.²⁷

And *Servius*, upon those Words of the Poet, *Lucus in urbe fuit*, makes the Annotation, *Ubicumque Virgilius lucum ponit, sequitur consecratio. Dicuntur enim Heroum Animæ lucos tenere.*²⁸ Wherefore *Nic. Perot* observes well, That a *Grove* is not *Cæduus ut Sylva*, but rather, *Manu consitus Religiosusque, et alicui Deo, vel alicujus Hominis cineribus consecrates;*²⁹ that it was therefore either *circa*

²⁵ Spencer (401, § 4) cites a Latin passage from Joseph Mede's *Disertationum Ecclesiasticarum Triga* (1653), cap. 8, p. 37, which Mather translates in summary fashion. Mather read Mede's *Works* avidly and responded to many of his interpretations and conjectures in the *Magnalia* and in *Tripardisus*. The German geographer, historian, and antiquarian Philipp Cluverius, aka. Clüver (1580–1623), taught geography at Leiden and oversaw its university library (*ADB*). In his *Germania Antiquae Libri tres* (1616), lib. 1, cap. 27, p. 283, lines 10–11, Cluverius claims that “the consecration of the groves has flowed from a very ancient custom, and thence from Adam himself.” On Cluverius's book, see Toon van Hal, “One continent, one language?” (2014).

²⁶ Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 16, sec. 3, fol. 402, § 1); Virgil (*Aeneid* 9.3) has Prince Turnus, leader of the Rutuli of Latium, valiantly fight against Aeneas's Trojans intent on settling in Latium. Imploring the goddess Juno for help, Turnus is “seated within a hallowed vale, in the grove of his sire Pilumnus,” when his prayers are answered by a messenger from the gods.

²⁷ In his *Oratio pro Milone* (31.85), his speech on behalf of Titus Annius Milo, Cicero praises the immortal gods for their divine intercession: “For to ye now, hills and groves of Alba, to ye I say, I appeal and pray.” And Virgil (*Aeneid* 6.669) summons the shades of the underworld who tell the Sibyl that “[a] Fixed home hath none [of us]. We dwell in shady groves.”

²⁸ In *Vergilii carmina commentarii* (1.1:144), Virgil's annotator, Maurus Servius Honoratus, glosses on the phrase “Amid the city was a grove” (*Aeneid* 1.441), “And wherever Virgil put a grove, there follows a consecration. After all, the spirits of heroes are said to protect the groves.”

²⁹ The second-hand Latin quote (via Spencer 402) derives from “*Notae in Martialis*” (lib. 2), probably deeply buried in *Cornucopia seu Latinae Linguae Commentarii* (1529), by the learned Italian humanist, grammarian, and archbishop of Siponto, Niccolò Perotti, aka. Nicolas Perot (1429–80). Perotti's study on the evolution of modern Latin was highly esteemed, and his posthumously published *Cornucopia* (1499), which includes detailed notes on Marcus Valerius

Delubra, or, *circa Sepulchra*; and that it was called *Lucus*, à *Luce Sacrificiorum*. This gives you the Reason, why *Baalim*, and *Groves*, are so much together in the Bible. And for this Cause, it was that the *Cypress Tree* was præferr'd for *Groves*, a Tree from all Antiquity much concerned in Ceremonies about the *Dead*.

It is also certain, that the Heathen chose *Groves* to worship in, for the Conveniencies which they had therein, to practise all such Libidinous Rites as did use to accompany the Worship of *Bacchus*, *Venus*, *Priapus*; & the other *unclean Divels*, by whom they *were led*. [See 1. King. 14.23, 24.] And unto this Purpose Dr. *Spencer* translates, 1. King. 15.13. *Insuper, et Maacam Matrem ejus, amovit, nè esset princeps*, in Sacris Priapi, *et luco eius quem consecraverat*.³⁰ Those Groves were the *Brothel-houses*, where the Heathen did securely committ, all their *Religiosa Delicta*, as wee may after *Cyprian*, call them. Compare Isa. 57.4, 5. *Inflaming yourselves* (that is, to Venery) *with Idols, under every Green Tree*. And Jer. 2.20. and Hos. 4.13, 14. Thus *Eusebius* writing of a *Phœnician Grove*, saies, It was a *Σχολή κακοεργίας*, *A School of Wickedness, opened unto all Impure Men, for them there to corrupt their Bodies*.³¹ And *Horace* could style these Places, *Parum castos lucos*. Now, the Lord would have no Obscurities of *Groves* about His Altars, because, as *Philo* expresses it, *verum Templum non postulat Amenitates, sed severam castimoniam*.³²

Martial's *Epigrams* and other works, was highly prized; it went through numerous editions and reprints. Mather's contemporary Pierre Bayle reviews Perotti's accomplishment in his *Dictionary historical and critical of Mr. Peter Bayle* (1737) 4:585–88. See also J. P. Sullivan, *Martial* (265–66). At any rate, Mather (via Spencer and Perotti) tells us that a grove is not “fit for cutting, as a wood” but rather “planted by a pious hand and consecrated to some god, or to the ashes of a man”; that it was therefore either “near the shrines, or near the graves”; and that it was called “grove” from the light of sacrifices.”

30 Spencer (403 § 2) glosses, “Moreover, he [King Abijah] also removed his mother Maakah, so that she should not be chief in the sacred rites of Priapus and his grove, which she had consecrated.”

31 In his “Epistola Prima. Ad Donatum” [PL 004. 0212A], St. Cyprian (Cyprianus Carthaginiensis) complains about the “*religiosa delicata*” of the pagan gods depicted in various stages of consummating their lusts: “Men imitate the gods whom they adore,” Cyprian knowingly relates, “and to such miserable beings their crimes become their religion” (“Epistle I,” sec. 8, in *ANF* 5:277). Not to be left out on this topic, Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea denounces the licentious practices of the pagans (*Vita Constantini* 2.55.3, lines 1–2). In his *The Life of Constantine the Great* (3.55), Eusebius is dismayed at the sexual rituals performed at Aphaca (Phoenicia): In the grove dedicated to the fertility goddess Venus, men give themselves to effeminate practices: “It was a school of wickedness for the votaries of impurity, and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving of the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon [Venus] by their effeminate conduct; here too unlawful commerce of women and adulterous intercourse, with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a place beyond scope and restraint of law” (*NPNFii* 1:534–35).

32 In his *Carminum* 1 (*Ode* 1.12.59–60), Horace invokes the wrath of Saturn, who will “*parum inimica mittes fulmina lucis*” “hurl your bolts of wrath upon groves that are ritually polluted.” In Mather's adaptation (via Spencer 403), Horace styles pagan shrines “polluted groves.” Writing in Greek, Philo Judaeus in his *De specialibus legibus* I (13.74) reminds his fellow

Yea, It is further certain, That at last, the very *Trees* themselves in the *Groves* became the Object of Worship, among the miserable People. Such was the Sottishness of *Idolatry*. *Curtius* affirms of the old Indians in the East, *Deos putant quicquid colere cæperunt; Arbores maximè, quas violare, capitale est.*³³ And so *Theophylact* bewails it, that Mankind was arrived unto such Madness, ὥστε καὶ δένδροις ὠραίοις, δια τὸ κάλλος δύνειν, *ut Arboribus speciosis, ob pulchritudinem, sacrificarent.*³⁴ And *Zonaras* relates, that even as late as the *Dayes of Justinian*, there was this Ethnicism still used, ἄλση καὶ τὰς ὕλας ἐσέβοντο, *Lucos Sylvasque colebant.*³⁵ They would Solemnly Devote a *Tree*, to such or such a Deity; and then adorn the Tree with Garlands and Candles; and make their Vowes at it, & hang up their *Votiva Tabellæ* there; & there deposit the Spoils of their Enemies; and Inscribe the Names or Images of their *Gods* thereupon, & reckon it the horriblest Crime imaginable to violate it. For the mentaining of this *Idolatry*, they had those Creatures which are called, in 1. King. 18.19. *The Prophets of the Groves*. *Gutherius* mentions an old Inscription to one, BETUO SACERDOTI LUCORUM, which will a little give Light unto this Matter.³⁶

And thus at last, *Idols* and *Groves*, grew in a Manner synonymous; & are in the Scripture putt one for another.

When you have laid all these Things together, you'll see, why *Groves* came to bee so Inhibited.³⁷

Romans that unlike the groves and temples of pleasure dedicated to their gods, an edifice which is "truly a temple [like that in Jerusalem] does not aim at pleasure and seductive allurements, but at rigid abstinence" (*Works* 541). Mather's Latin citation (via Spencer) is derived from the Latin translation *Philonis Iudæi scriptoris eloquentissimi gravissimique libri quatuor* (1553), translated by John Christopherson (d. 1558), the learned English Bishop of Chichester and examiner of several important Marian Exiles (*ODNB*). Christopherson's Latin translation became a standard work and was reprinted many times thereafter. My page reference is to Philo's *De Monarchia*, lib. 2, sign.^M (sep. pag.), in *Philonis Iudæi, Summi Philosophi, Ac Scriptoris eloquentissimi* (1561), tomus alter, p. 177 (sep. pag.).

33 In his *Historiae Alexandri Magni* (8.9, lines 34–35), the Roman historian and biographer Quintus Curtius Rufus reports that the various peoples along the Ganges (NE India) "regard as gods whatever they have begun to care for, especially trees, the violation of which is a capital offence."

34 Spencer attributes this passage to Theophylact, *Commentaria in S. John* cap. 4, p.m. 616, who bewails that mankind had arrived at such madness "that they would sacrifice to splendid trees, on account of their beauty."

35 The Byzantian historian and hagiographer Joannes Zonaras Constantinopolitanus (fl. 12th c.) (*EB*) relates in his *Epitome historiarum* (vol. 3, p. 250, lines 28–29) that "they were worshipping the groves and the woods" and adorned them with tablets or terracotta relief hung up in a tree or placed on a wall in gratitude for the god's answering their prayer.

36 The French jurist and historian Jacobus Gutherius, Jacques Goutière (1568–1638), wrote numerous works on ancient Roman history, law, and religious rituals. Mather's third-hand Latin quote (via Spencer 404 § 3) from a votive tablet in the grove of the goddess Diana reads, "To Betuo, Priest of the Grove," and appears in Gutherius, *De Veteri Jure Pontificio Urbis Romae* (1612), lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 253.

37 Here ends Mather's extract from Spencer's *De Legibus*, lib. II, cap. 16, fols. 396–404. On the subject of how the ancients worshipped their gods in sacred groves, see also John Selden's

*Mantissa.*³⁸

There is one, who has in a Manner mean enough, published, *An Account of a Journey thro' some Provinces of Germany*. 1698. From which I will however take the present Occasion to transcribe this Passage.

As they traveled along, he sais, "There were little Buildings of Brick, in which we could see thro' a Grate, there stood an Altar, and over it an Image, of the Virgin *Mary*. By every one of these, we should see at least one fair flourishing Tree, tho' there were not perhaps another in several Miles round about; so that we knew, and could expect before we came to it, that we should after a while see, a Chappel, by seeing at first only, the Top of a Tree. This Way of honouring a sacred Place with Trees, which were sacred too, is an old Custome derived from the Heathen, who in their Notions of the Matter had corrupted Religion; For they pretended, that a sort of Deities were lodged in those Trees, & dwelt there as long as the Trees lasted. For which, and perhaps other Corruptions, GOD forbid the Jews the Planting any Trees about His Altars."³⁹

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De Diis Syris Syntagma II (1617), syntag. 1, cap. 2, pp. x–xvi, 17–43; his *De Jure Naturali & Gentium, Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 6, pp. 184–208; and Ezechiel Spanheim's *Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (1697) – all previously cited by Mather.

³⁸ Added at a later time.

³⁹ Mather's extract is from Theophilus Dorrington (1654–1715), Anglican clergyman and rector of Wittersham (Kent), who was known for his acerbic attacks on Independents and Presbyterians (*ODNB*), hence Mather's pejorative remark. His trip to the continent (1698) is recorded in his *Observations concerning the Present State of Religion in the Romish Church* (1699). Mather's excerpt (pp. 219–220) records Dorrington's description of the little roadside chapels or stela containing an image of the Virgin Mary or of a saint found in most every Roman Catholic region of Europe.

[2837.]

Q. What [is] the Reason of that Prohibition to the King of *Israel*, *He shall not multiply Horses to Himself?* v. 16.¹

A. If we should assign this for one Reason of it, That so the King & his Courtiers might præserve a due Temper of *Humility*, it would be countenanced in the Action of *Plato*, who presently Dismounted from his Horse, μή ἵπποτυφία λεφθῇ· *Ne Equino fastu corripetur.*² Or, if we should assign for a Reason of it, *Ne fidat Equitatu suo, quia multus est, aut Equitibus suis, quia sunt maxime fortes; Sed Fiduciam suam habeat, in Solius Dei Nomen;* we shall have *Ramban* to Countenance it.³ [And the Scripture too, Psal. 20.8. and Prov. 21.31. and Isa. 31.1.] Or, if we should assign this for a Reason; lest the King should make himself too burdensome unto the Subject, for the *Pomp*, which would soon come this Way to be occasion'd; This would have some Countenance, in the Story of *Diomedes* the King of *Thracia*, who, they say fed his *Horses*, with the Flesh of his People; meaning, that he exhausted their Treasures, with his Taxes, for the Maintaining of his *Horses*.⁴ But, finally, the chief Reason, was that which is here hinted in the Prohibition itself. *Egypt* was then the chief Countrey in the World, for

1 In his "Note Book of Authors" (Deut. 17:13), Mather points to "MSS. Pat. no. VIII. Sermon 9." And for Deut. 17:19, he recommends "Cripplegate Supplement, p. 161." By this cryptic reference he means Mr. Watson's Sermon VIII: "How may we Read the Scriptures with most Spiritual Profit" (Deut. 17:19), in the second edition of *A Supplement to the Morning-Exercise At Cripple-Gate* (1676), pp. 161–73, a collection of 31 sermons edited by Samuel Annesley (c. 1620–1696), an ejected Presbyterian clergyman, graduate of Queen's College (Oxford), doctor of civil law (DCL), sometime lecturer at St. Paul's (London), and lecturer at Salters' Hall. See "N. E. Key's "Annesley, Samuel (*bap.* 1620, *d.* 1696)." See also *BA* (1:948, n. 125). The following paragraphs in Mather's gloss on v. 16, including its source citations, are extracted from Samuel Bochart's *Hierozaicon Sive Bipertitum opus De Animalibus* (1663), pars I, lib. 2, cap. 9, col. 173.

2 In his *Vitae Philosophorum* (3.39, line 4), Diogenes Laertius relates that when Plato was in a fit of anger with his disobedient slave, Plato resisted his impulse of beating him because he did not want to let his passions get the better of him. The philosopher – conscious of his heroic act of self-control – reportedly dismounted from his horse because he did not want to get "infected with horse-pride."

3 Ramban, the Sephardic Rabbi Moses ben Nachmanides, glosses (Deut. 17:16) that the Hebrew Lawgiver commanded that the king "should not put his trust ... *in his horsemen, because they are exceedingly mighty* [Isa. 31:1], but his trust shall be in the Name of the Eternal [Jer. 17:7]" (*Commentary: Deuteronomy* 209–10).

4 If Pseudo-Apollodorus (2.5.8) provides a trustworthy history of Hercules's eighth labor imposed upon him as penance for killing his wife and children in a fit of rage, then Hercules (Herakles) was to bring the man-eating steeds of King Diomedes (son of Ares and Cyrene) of warlike Thracia to Mycenae. Mather's allegorical reading of the story – that the anthropophagian steeds signify the high expense of maintaining Diomedes's equestrian staples – is applicable to

the Breeding of *Horses*. And God would mercifully forbid unto His People, the Occasions of too much Converse with the Idolatrous People of *Egypt*. Had an *Horse-Trade* been maintained between *Israel* and *Egypt*, it would have been upon many accounts, a Snare to the Religion of *Israel*.

The Quæstion will then be started, whether the *Horse-Trade* that *Solomon* sett up with *Egypt* might not be criminal?⁵

The Jewish Writers, I know, do generally condemn him.⁶ Nevertheless *Bochart* attempts his Vindication; inasmuch as there were then some Circumstances, that rendred *Solomons* Action to be not against the *Design* of the Law, so much as it was against the *Letter* of it. Hee adds, That *Solomon* had this Peculiarity in his Condition, that God would have him to exceed other Kings in Splendor, as a more express Type of the *Messiahs* Kingdome.⁷

How little *Solomon* after all depended on his *Horses*, you may gather from Prov. 21.30.⁸

the story of Solomon's own case. For the costly steeds and mares (the pride of kings) had to be imported from Egypt to supply him with horses for warfare and stately ceremonies.

5 According to Deut. 17:16, God appears explicitly to command that the king "shall not multiply horses to himselfe, nor cause the people to returne to Egypt, to the ende that hee should multiply horses: for as much as the Lord hath said unto you, Yee shall hencefoorth returne no more that way." Alas, kings need stately horses for ceremonies and warfare, and Egypt at the time appears to have been the only place from which they could have been imported. Thus, in sending horsetraders to Egypt, theologians wondered, did Solomon violate God's edict? Ancient and modern sages seem deeply divided on this issue; they fall into two basic camps of interpreters: those who insisted on a strict reading of God's proscription that no Israelite should return to Egypt (let alone live there) and those who offered broadly defined exceptions. See Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:809–10) and *Works* (8a:293–95). N. B. Mary, Joseph, and the infant Jesus, too, went to Egypt – for safety (Matth. 2:13–23).

6 Rationalist that he was, RASHI for one argued that (with Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin 21b in the back of his mind) it was *not* permissible, "Except as required for his riding entourage" (*The Metsudah Chumash/Rashi* 5:210). Nachmanides seconds Rashi's explication, adding that exceptions are to be allowed because Deut. 17:16(a) only rules out the multiplication of horses "to himselfe," for to increase the number of horses and equestrians is "the main desire of kings." In fact, says Nachmanides, Pharaoh granted Solomon "the right to export horses, meaning that he could take them out at will," sell them to kings and countries, and "keep the tax." Moreover, Solomon "also had merchants stationed in Egypt buying all horses and sending to their lord [Solomon] those that he wanted and selling the others to kings of other countries" (*Commentary: Deuteronomy* 5:210). R. Bachya ben Asher mostly concurs, adding that the stricture (Deut. 17:16(b)) "Yee shall hencefoorth returne no more that way," was applicable "only during the period when it was promulgated. It was intended to ensure that Israelites traveling to Egypt would not learn to copy the abominations practiced in that country ... This does not mean that there is a permanent prohibition for Jews to reside in Egypt" (*Torah Commentary* 7:2570). R. Abraham ibn Ezra is more careful: "Because of Solomon's need for their horses, he caused the people to sin and to return to Egypt. Obviously, it is a disgrace to return to Egypt after GOD has redeemed us from there" (*Commentary* 5:82).

7 *Bochart's Hierozoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 9, cols. 173–75).

8 See also Mather's gloss in *BA* 5:288.

538.

Q. Our Lord Jesus Christ, being promised, under the Notion of, *A Prophet like unto Moses*, it invites mee to Request your Consideration of that Renowned Person, in his Typical Capacitie. I think, you have already given mee, all the *Personal Types*, which our Lord had *before the Law*: except you'l say, The famous & patient *Job*, should bee referr'd unto that Company; being sett up as a *Type* of our Lord, for the *Gentiles* to bee affected withal. And indeed, The *Afflictions* of *Job*, his profound *Submission* to his Afflictions, his glorious *Deliverance* from his Afflictions, were notable Repræsentations of what was to befall our Lord. But passing to the *Personal Types* of our Lord *under the Law*, it seems fitt, that *Moses*, by whom *the Law came*, should lead the *Van*; wherefore, I pray, say something of him. v. 9.¹

A. I say, That,

I. *Moses* was a *Type* of the *Law*.²

Indeed, the *Mosaic Pædagogy*, was not Really a *Covenant of Works*: Men were then saved, in the *Wayes* & on the *Terms*, of the Gospel; but yett there was in *It*, and in *Moses* himself, a Marvellous Figure of that Covenant.

In *Moses*, you may see the *Terror* of the *Law*. When the *Law* was given, there was a Terrible *Light*; *Moses* himself counted it so. [Heb. 12.21.] Thus, tis a Terrible Thing, to bee under the *Covenant of Works*.³

In *Moses*, you may see the *Power* of the *Law*. Wee read of *Moses*, at a great Age [Deut. 34.7.] *His Natural Force was not Abated*; Men that are under the *Covenant of Works*, will find the *Force* of it passing a *Condemnation*, & causing a *Consternation*, to the Soul, not *Abated* all their Dayes.⁴

In *Moses*, you may see the *Weakness* of the *Law*. Of *Moses*, wee are informed, [Num. 20.12.] That *One Error*, *One Failing*, barr'd him out of the Promised Land. The *Rising Generation* of *Israel*, committed the *Same Sin*, at the *Same Place*, for which, and at which, the *Former Generation* had provoked the

¹ Mather's reference to Deut. 18:9 seems odd, for (if anything) verse 15 would be more appropriate: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me [Moses], unto him ye shall hearken." See also John 1:45.

² Samuel Mather's sermon on Rom. 5:14, "*Who is the Type or Figure of him that is come*" (preached Aug. 22, 1667), published posthumously in his *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683), is Cotton Mather's vademecum for his typological examination of Moses. This intriguing book went through three editions; my references are to the second edition (London, 1705), p. 93. In this instance, Cotton Mather only distills his uncle's main points and adds his own thoughts.

³ Samuel Mather, *Figures* (93).

⁴ *Figures* (94).

Almighty to Destroy them. Hereupon, *Moses* was not Sinfully, & Frowardly Afraid, that God would also take the same Advantage of this Generation. For this *One* Mistake, was hee kept from the *Canaan* of the Lord. Thus the *Covenant of Works*, will Damn a Man, for *One* Miscarriage; *except a Man continue in all Things*. –

In *Moses*, you may see the *Abrogation* of the *Law*. The Body of *Moses*, was buried so, that it could never bee found again. Tis true, Tis Intimated that the *Divel* would fain have disclosed where it was, but the *Archangel* hindred him. The *Covenant of Works* ought in like Manner to bee *Buried* with us; *Buried*, not in the Grave of *Moses*, but in the Grave of *Jesus*. Tis true, The *Divel* would Re-vive this *Covenant* in the Spirits of Men, but the *Saviour* does oppose him in it.⁵

Lastly, In *Moses*, you may see the *Preparation* of the *Law*. When *Moses* had *prepared* the People for it, hee then committed them into the Hands of *Joshua*. This is the Business of the *Law*: It *prepares* us, for *Union & Communion* with our *Jesus*. Tis, a *Schoolmaster*, to *bring us unto Christ*. The *Covenant of Works*, Humbles us, Affrights us, Kills us, and so wee are *made Ready a People prepared for the Lord*.⁶

But besides all this, I also say, That,

II. *Moses* was also a Type of the *Lord*.

This Matter may bee thus Illustrated.⁷

The Parents of *Moses*, what were they? Honest, but obscure, *Brickmakers*. Thus, the Real *Mother* of our Lord; Shee was one of *Low Estate*. The Reputed *Father* of our Lord; hee was a poor *Carpenter*, & they say, a *Yoke-Maker*. When *Moses* was Born, what Sort of *Cradle* had hee? His *Cradle* was a Dirty, Dawbed *Ark* of Bulrushes. And when *Jesus* was Born, had *Hee* a better *Cradle*? The *Of-fering* of *Joseph* and *Mary* show'd their *Poverty*; two *Doves* or *Pigeons* was all they could bring, when a *Lamb*, was the *least*, that the more Able People offered. When the Oppression of the *Egyptians*, had made all *Israel* very low, then was *Moses* born; and when the Oppression of the *Romans*, had made all *Israel* very low, then was *Jesus* born into the World.

Pharaohs Cruelty pursued *Moses*, and *Herods* Cruelty pursued *Jesus*, immediately upon their Nativity. *Moses* was præserved by a *Mother* that *Adopted* him; *Jesus* was præserved by a *Father* that *Adopted* him; and in *Egypt* it was that this befel both of them. Wonderful Providences thus delivered *Them* that they might afterwards deliver other Men.

⁵ *Figures* (94–95).

⁶ *Figures* (95).

⁷ For the next couple of paragraphs, Mather distills phrases and passages from his uncle's *Figures* (95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). See also Laurence Howel, *A Compleat History of the Holy Bible* (1716), vol. 3, "The Proem," pp. xiv–vi, for a similar typological juxtaposition following hereafter.

As for *Moses*, hee had an extraordinary *Knowledge*. [Act. 7.22.] But our Lord much more. [Isa. 11.2.] As for *Moses*, hee had an extraordinary *Vision* too. [Num. 12.6, 7.] But much more our Lord. [Joh. 1.18.]

Of *Moses*, tis said, Num. 12.3. *The Man Moses was very meek*. Never did any Man Endure, and Forgive, more Injuries, than this Man did, for *Forty Years* together. But when the *Cause* of God was Concerned, and the *Name* of God Reproached, and the *Law* of God Violated, then was *Moses* all on a light Fire, and then hee called for a *Sword*. This was the Character of our Lord. [Math. 11.29.] This *Lamb* of God, was *meek as a Lamb*. When wicked Men Revil'd Him, Slandred Him, Yea, Plundered Him, and Muredred Him, all the Notice Hee took of it was, *Father, Forgive them!* But when the *House* of God was profaned, & the *Work* of God opposed, Hee spoke *Thunder & Lightning*, yea, Hee took a *Scourge* in Hand.

Wee have this Comparison between *Moses* and *Jesus*. [Heb. 3.5, 6.] *Moses* did *Faithfully* discharge his Trust; but *Jesus* does much more *Faithfully* discharge *His*, in the House of God.

There were many *Lawes* and *Ordinances*, wherein *Moses* instructed the Church of God. They are now Abolished by our Lord; but others are Instituted in the Stead thereof. [Heb. 3.2.] The Church of the Old Testament, was the House of *Moses*; and *Moses* as a Law-giving Mediator, ordered the Observation of many *Sacraments*, *Caremonies*, *Devotions* in it. The Church of the New Testament, is the | House of *Jesus*: To which Hee ha's enjoined such & such Methods of Devotion, as God will now Accept at our Hands. Hence now arises, this Great Principle, *That no Man, or Party of Men, may Appoint any Parts, or Means of Worship, which the Lord Jesus Christ, hath not in the Bible given a Warrant for.*⁸

[25v]

It was by the Hand of *Moses*, that *Israel* was brought from the Land of *Egypt*, and the House of *Bondage*. And, by the Hand of *Jesus* it is, that our Souls are fetch'd from under the Calamities of a Natural Estate, & the great *Pharaoh* of Hell hath no more Dominion over us. [Isa. 61.1.]

It was by the Hand of *Moses*, that *Israel* was carried thro' the *Howling Desert*. And, by the Hand of *Jesus* it is, that wee are supported in all the Difficulties which here attended us. [Psal. 103.3, 4, 5.]

Of *Moses*, wee read, Exod. 17.11. *When Moses held up his hand, Israel prevailed*. Thus, our Lord, *held up His Hands*, while Hee was Hanging on the *Cursed Tree*. Hee had not a *Rod in His Hand*, but His *Hands on a Cross*, elevated for our Good. From hence ensued, a Victory over the *Amalek* of Hell; hence, the Success of the Armies of *Israel*.

⁸ On organizing a church and its discipline solely on scriptural warrant (*sola scripturae*) is also at the heart of Mather's *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum* (1726), art. 2, p. 34; art. 5, p. 85; and art. 8, p. 141.

When *Moses* was to Deliver the *Law*, hee *Fasted* Forty Dayes and Forty Nights together. Thus, when our Lord was to Deliver the *Gospel*, Hee also *Fasted*; and it was *Forty Dayes* with *Forty Nights*. *Fasting* must bee the Præface to *weighty Undertakings*!

Of the Great *Moses*, tis affirmed, in Deut. 34.11. *God sent him to do Signs & Wonders*. But it is also the Glory of our Lord in Act. 2.22. *A Man Approv'd of God, by Miracles & Wonders & Signs*. The Four Evangelists record about five & forty *Miracles*, wrought by our Saviour, in the *Three Years & an Half* of His public Ministry. By these was the *Broad-Seal* of Heaven, as it were annexed unto His Commission to bee, *The Lord of all*.

On a *Mountain* was *Moses* Transfigured, so that the People could not bear to look upon the Splendour and Brightness of his *Face*. Thus, there was a *Mountain*, on which our Lord was *Transfigured*; with a *Face shining as the Sun*, & a *Raiment white as the Light*. [Math. 17.2.]

It is reported of *Moses*, *That hee married an Ethiopian*, or more truly, an Arabian, *Woman*; a Proselytess of no less *Piety* than *Quality*.⁹ Shall wee say, After the Death of *Zipporah*? Truly, our Lord ha's now married himself, unto a Church out of the *Gentile World*; a Church, that may say, *I am Black, but Comely*.¹⁰

Finally, God, said unto *Moses*, *Go up & Dy*. Hee *Goes*, Hee *Dies*, How cheerfully! But as it should seem, quickly after, Hee *Rose*, Hee *Ascended*, the Body of *Moses* may bee now in Heaven, with *Enoch*, & *Elijah* there. All this befell our Jesus too; Hee *Dy'd* willingly, Hee *Rose* presently, Hee *Ascended* very gloriously.

If you will take the Pains to consult Antiquity, turn to *Eusebius's Præpar. Evang.* L. 3. and you'll find the Parallel between *Moses* and our Lord, excellently shown, in Sixteen or Seventeen Particulars.¹¹

But pursuing the *Anthithesis*, [as one *Howel*, ha's lately done, in a small Performance, which he calls, *A Compleat History of the Holy Gospel*:] you will see, how wondrously *Moses* was excelled by his Glorious Antitype.¹²

⁹ See Appendix A.

¹⁰ Song of Solomon (1:5).

¹¹ Eusebius Pamphilus (*Proof of the Gospel* 3.2.90–94, pp. 103–08) draws about two dozen typological parallels between Moses and Christ. Mather's source for this reference is Laurence Howel or Howell (c. 1664–1720), an Anglican nonjuror who was arrested, tried, and pilloried in 1717 for circulating his seditious pamphlet *A Case of Schism in the Church of England Truly Stated* (c. 1716). (ODNB). See note below.

¹² Laurence Howel's three-volume *A Compleat History of the Holy Bible* (London, 1716) had gone through at least four editions by the end of Mather's lifetime. Only the third volume is titled *A Compleat History of the Holy Gospel* (1716). Mather specifically refers to "The Proem to the New Testament (3:xiv–vi), in which Moses and his acts are programmatically juxtaposed as types of Christ and his works.

[▽ Insert from 26r to 27v]

[▽ 26r]

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[26r]

3796.

Q. Who may be meant, by him *that useth Divination?* v. 10.¹³

A. Of *Divination* there were very many Sorts. One was by raking into the Bowels of their Sacrifices, particularly, Humane Sacrifices. Yea, they offered little Children on Purpose, that thereby they might make their *Auguries*; as *Geusius* ha's observed, in his Treatise, *De Victimis Humanis*.¹⁴

Unto this Divination there may be a special Respect, in this Place; For, most of the Things here mentioned, are elsewhere joined, with *making their Children pass thro' the Fire*. [Particularly, 2. King. 21.6. 2. Chron. 33.6.] And the Prophet *Ezekiel* seems to intimate, that thereby they Divined, when he charges the *Israelites* with this Crime; [Chap. 20.26, 31.] For he adds, *Shall I be enquired by you, O House of Israel?* who have enquired, that is by *making your Children pass thro' the Fire*.¹⁵

We may add, that the Hebrew Words, *Kosem Kosemim*, (which we translate, *useth Divination*) are thought by many, to intend a Divination, by Casting or Drawing of *Lotts*. And as Dr. *Castel* observes, the Word is used in the *Arabian* Language, for, *Distribution of Lotts*.¹⁶ A Sort of Divination, much in Use

13 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 285–88) is Mather's "Eleventh Muse" for all annotations on this verse (the "Tenth" being his fellow New Englander, Anne Bradstreet). In his "Note Book of Authors" (Deut. 18:10, 11), Mather lists as authoritative references "H. Mores Letter to Glanvil. p. 19" and "Dr. J. Edwards's C. P. H. T. Exercitations." The former is "D^r H. M. [Henry More] his Letter, with the Postscript To M^r J. G. [Joseph Glanvill]" (May 25, 1678), published in Joseph Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1681), pp. 19–57. In his "Postscript," the Cambridge Platonist, philosopher, and theologian Henry More (1614–1687) takes issue with *The Displaying of supposed Witchcraft* (1677), by John Webster (1610–1682), an English physico-theologian, alchemist, and outspoken critic of the belief in witchcraft. Like his friend and fellow theologian Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), More belittles Webster's reading of Deut. 18:10–11 that the Hebrew phrase קוסם קסמים [*Kosem Kesamim*] "merely signifies 'a diviner,' or someone who 'by natural Knowledge or humane Prudence and Sagacity' can foretell the future or say soothe (Henry More, in Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus* [1681], p. 21). Mather's latter reference is John Edwards's previously cited *Exercitations Critical, Philosophical, Historical, Theological* (1702), Part I, Exercitation IV: "The several Species of the Diabolick Arts" (Deut. 18:10, 11), pp. 54–70.

14 The Dutch physician Jacobus Geusius, aka. de Geus (d. 1671), studied theology and medicine at Groningen University. His 1663 inaugural dissertation on ancient religious practices, especially human sacrifice, was published in its expanded version as *Victimæ Humane* (1675), which went through at least three editions (BBK). Mather here refers to *Victimæ Humanæ* (pars 1, cap. 21, pp. 331–56; pars 2, cap. 5, pp. 103–20). See also *BA* (1:835).

15 Patrick (286); Geusius (*Victimæ*, pars 1, cap. 21, p. 331).

16 Deut. 18:10. The Anglican divine and professor of Arabic at Cambridge, Edmund Castellus, D.D. (c. 1606–85), derives his translation of קוסם קסמים [qōšēm qesāmim] from the infinitive קָסַם קָסַם "to practice divination" [Strong ## 7080, 7081], in his *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669), cols. 3389–90: "*Divinavit*" and "*Divinatio, sagacitas, oraculum*." Castellus's own source

among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; & probably before them, among the Nations of the *Orient*. Nothing is more known, than the *Sortes Praenestinae*, and *Pativinae*, among the *Romans*; and the *Dodonaë*, and *Dindymenae*, and many others, among the *Greeks*: particularly, that at *Bura* in *Achaia*, where there was a Cave, in which was the Image of *Hercules*;¹⁷ before which, they who resorted thither, to enquire Directions in any Case, or the Successes of any affayr, use to fall down, & say their Prayers; and after that, throw Four Dice upon the Table, and by the [26v] Letters or Marks upon which they fell, the *Divination* | was made; as *Pausanias* describes it in his *Achaica*. In other Places they went after a different Manner to Work.¹⁸ The *Arabians* divined by *Arrowes*, as Dr. *Pocock*, hath told us, but they performed it before some *Idol*; and therefore it was forbidden by *Mahomet* in his *Alcoran*, as a Diabolical Invention.¹⁹ *Mahomet* herein seems willing to have imitated *Moses*; who may be thought here to forbid such Kind of Divination.

It is also to be noted, That as Dr. *Windet* observes, out of the *Sanhedrim*, & *Maimonides*, they did use to Divine by a *Dead Mans Skull*. The *Greeks* followed

is Edward Pococke's *Notae in Quibus Aliquam-Multa quae ad Historiam Orientalium* (1648), appended to *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (1650), "Notae," pp. 329–30.

17 Throughout the ancient world, centers of divination attracted many who consulted the gods for advice on any number of mundane or existential questions. Among locales in ancient Latium were the temple and grotto of Praenestina and Pativina (E of the city of Rome), Dodona and Dindymenae among the Greeks (Asia Minor), and Bura, one of the twelve cities of Achaia, where stood the temple of Demeter, Aphrodite, Dionysius, and Eileithyia (Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 7.25.9). Just like the ancient priests of Israel who consulted the Urim and Thummim (lodged in the high priest's breastplate), pagan priests and priestesses used similar practices such as casting lots, dice, and tablets (Mather's "*Sortes Praenestinaei*"), shooting arrows, interpreting the flight of holy doves and eagles, listening to the sound of rustling leaves of holy oak trees, hydromancy (water divination), spells, or ecstatic visions pronounced by priests who served the ancient oracles (*KP*, "Orakel"). Such techniques of consulting the invisible world were certainly important to Mather and his peers, for they were directly related to witchcraft practices. See Mather's gloss on Saul consulting the Witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28:25), in *BA* (3:329–32) and Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship* (1705), 2:110–15. See also Paul Wise, "Cotton Mather and the Invisible World" (227–57).

18 The Greek geographer and historian Pausanias in his *Achaica*, book 7 of his *Graeciae descriptio* (2nd- c. CE), relates that on the banks of the river Buraicus, near Bura (Achaia), a small cave was dedicated to Heracles (Hercules), surnamed Buraicus: "Here one can divine by means of a tablet and dice. He who inquires of the god offers up a prayer in front of the image, and after the prayer he takes four dice, a plentiful supply of which are placed by Heracles, and throws them upon the table. For every figure made by the dice there is an explanation expressly written on the tablet" (7.25.10). Sir James G. Frazer's detailed annotation on this topic, in *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (4:172–74), is well worth consulting.

19 In his "Notae" on his Latin translation of Gregorius Abdul-Farajus's *De Origine & Moribus Arabum*, in Pococke's *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (1650), pp. 327–30 (Azlam = arrow), the Oxford professor of Arabic establishes that the ancient Arabs used divining arrows [Al-Azlam] to inquire the future. Three arrows, each with separate inscription ("Do," "Do not"), except that the third did not carry any message, were shot into the sky in front of their idol. Mahomet, the prophet, outlawed this practice as idolatry in his *Al-Qur'ān*, Sura 5 (*Al-Mā'idah*): "O believers, this wine and gambling, these idols, and these arrows you use for divination, are all acts of Satan; so keep away from them. You may haply prosper" (5:90).

the Custome; For *Palladius* relates how *Macarius* enquired, πρὸς τὸν ξηρὸν κρανίον. *At a Dry Skull*.²⁰

There were a World of other Tricks, used by the Diviners, among the *Edomites*, and *Moabites*, & other Nations, who in the Dayes of *Jeremiah* deceived the People with Divinations, Dreams, Prophecies, Enchantments, & Sorceries. [Jer. 27.3, 9.]

|
3797.

[27r]

Q. Who may be meant by, *A Charmer*? v. 11.

A. The Hebrew, *Chober Chaber*, seems to import, something of a *Society*, or *Conjunction*. Some therefore translate it, *A Fortune-teller*, who by the *Conjunction* of the Planets does foretel, Secret Things; others take the Wretch, for one, who hath a *Society* with Evil Spirits.²¹

Job Ludolphus is thought by Dr. *Patrick*, to give the plainest Account of the Words; which he translates, *Congregans Congregationem*.²² It was an ancient Way of *Enchanting*, for to bring various *Beasts*, into one Place. The Rabbins distinguish it, into, *The Great Congregation*, and, *The Little Congregation*. The *Great*

²⁰ Via Patrick (287), Mather paraphrases a passage from מנחה בלילה sive ΣΤΡΩΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΣ *De Vita Functorum statu* (1664), sec. 1, p. 5, by James Windet, M.D. (d. 1664), an English physician, Latin poet, and friend of Sir Thomas Browne (*ODNB*). Windet's מנחה בלילה [Mincha belulah] is a learned epistle in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, and includes assorted quotations in Oriental languages that are addressed to Dr. Samuel Hall, with whom he discusses the *ubi sunt* of the souls (good and wicked) after the death of the body. Like Mather in his *Triparadisus* (112–152), Windet relegates these souls to a middle state (or “Second Paradise”), where the good and wicked souls are kept in separate aviaries of sorts before their physical resurrection at judgment day. Windet – no slouch in his knowledge of theology and ancient rituals – quotes from Dionysius Vossius's Hebrew-Latin edition of Maimonides's *De Idololatria* (1641), cap. 6, sec. 2, p. 74; and Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (65b) and Gemarah (65b). See also tractate Sanhedrin (82a). Soothsayers (Yidd'oni) and Baal worshippers communicated with demons and the souls of the dead through a variety of rituals, including consulting a human skull – an idolatrous practice punishable by stoning. Mather's third-hand Greek quotation (via Patrick 287) relating to Macarius's consulting πρὸς τὸν ξηρὸν κρανίον (“at a dry skull”) and by Patrick extracted from Windet (5) is not from Palladius Episcopus (368–c. 431), bishop of Helenopolis (Bithynia) and author of *Historia Lausiaca* (a historical and biographical account of the monks of Egypt and Palestine) (*CE*), but from Joannes Damascenus, *Oratio de his qui in fide dormierunt* [PG 095. 0256, lines 10–11]. It is Damascenus who loosely attributes it to St. Macarius (c. 300–391), variously called Macarius of Egypt and Macarius the Elder. Interestingly, in his *Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi* (67, line 8–9), Palladius Episcopus does mention the skull of a dead man found in the desert, but not Macarius himself. Palladius appears to have in mind the apocryphal chestnut of St. Macarius who, when he moved the skull in the sand with a stick, the cranium of a pagan priest began to speak to the Desert Father about the torments of hellfire to which all idol worshippers and wicked Christians are subjected. On the story of the loquacious cranium, see B. Ward's *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, p. 38.

²¹ Patrick (288). Hebr. חָבַר [chabar], “to unite, join,” and “be a charmer” (Strong's # 2266).

²² Lat. “gathering together a company.”

was, when they Assembled a great Company of the *Larger* sort of Beasts. The *Little* was, when of the *Less*; as of *Serpents*, and *Scorpions*, and the like.²³ *Telezius* tells us, This is in Use at this Day, in the Eastern Countreyes. For so he describes the Election of the King of *Gingir*; that he stood, compassed about with *Lions*, *Tygres*, *Leopards*, and *Dragons*; which by magical Arts were gathered together, as his Guard, and Courtiers.²⁴

But the Common Interpretation, which the Jewes give of *Chober Chaber*, is, That he is one who makes Use of strange Words, which have no signification; but are pretended for to be of Power to charm (for instance) a *Serpent*, that it shall not sting; or to preserve People from some other Harm. So *Maimonides*.²⁵ This is a Sort of Superstition, whereto the World has been so addicted, that the Præcept of *Moses* could not sufficiently warn the Jewes against it; But when they threw away other Charms, they used the Words of Scripture instead of them. They would cure Wounds by reciting that Verse of the Law, *Exod. 15.26. I will putt none of these Diseases upon thee*. So we find themselves acknowledging, in *Sanhedrim*; c. 2. s. 1.²⁶

23 Patrick's third-hand source (via Ludolph's *Commentarius* 216) is R. David Kimchi's סֵפֶר הַשְּׂרָשִׁים עִם נִגְזָרִים [Sepher Ha-Shorashim 'im Nigzarim] *Dictionarium Hebraicum, ultimo ab autore Sebastiano Munstero recognitum, & ex Rabbinis, praesertim ex Radicibus David Kimbi* (1535), sign. O³, radice חָבֵר [chaber] ("incantator").

24 Patrick (288) paraphrases a passage from Hiob Ludolphus, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* (1691), lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 216, a commentary on his *Historia Aethiopica* (1681), a history of Abyssinia, by the German Orientalist, author of the first grammar of the Ethiopian language Amharic, and man of letters. The passage in question appears in Ludolph's commentary (p. 216) and relates the story of the African King Gingiro who – during his coronation – surrounded himself with wild animals, large and small, which he summoned by incantation. This is how the pagans practice their magic to this day, the Jesuit Father Balthasar Tellesius of Lusitania (Portugal) explains – so Ludolph, who appears to doubt Tellesius's veracity, in his preface to *Historia Aethiopica*, "Proemium" (9–13).

25 Maimonides *Avodah Zarah* (11:12–13), in Maimonides, *De Idololatria Liber* (1641), cap. 11, sec. 12–13, pp. 155–56. According to Mitzvah 35 (Negative Commandment): "By this prohibition we are forbidden to practice the art of the charmer (*chover*); that is, to recite charms which are supposed to have certain good or bad effects. It is contained in His words (exalted be He), *There shall not be found among you ... a charmer* (*chover chaver*) [Deut. 18:10–11], on which the Sifré says: '*Chover chaver* means a charmer of snakes or of scorpions' [Deut. 28:11]: that is to say, he recites charms over them so that, as he fancies, they will not bite him, or, if already bitten, so as to deaden the pain." The punishment is whipping, in Maimonides, סֵפֶר הַמִּצְוֹת *Sefer HaMitzvoth* (35 neg.), *Commandments* (2:35).

26 In the Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrim (101a), R. Abba is quoted as saying, "it is written, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians, for I am the Lord that healeth. But since He hath brought no [disease], what need is there of a cure? He replied: Thus hath R. Johanan said: This verse is self-explanatory, because the whole reads, And he said, if thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God: thus, if thou wilt hearken, I will not bring [disease upon thee], but if thou wilt not, I will; yet even so, I am the Lord that healeth thee."

Maimonides condemns this; For, saies he, *the Words of the Law are turned hereby to another Use, than God intended in them; which was not for the Healing of the Body, but the Curing of the Soul.*²⁷

It is as great a Crime, to use the *Schem Hammephorash*, to such Purpose tho' the Jewes are so wicked as to think, that *Moses* wrought all his Miracles by the Vertue of it. *Maimonides* indeed, had the Sobriety to reject this vain conceit of his Countreymen.²⁸

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[27v]

[3798:]

Q. Who, the *Necromancer*?²⁹

A. The Woman whom *Saul* consulted, had a Spirit called, *Ob*: and she was one of them. Their *Spirit*, it seems, taught them, to call for the *Dead*.

But wherein differs the *Necromancer*, from him that had a *Familiar Spirit*? It may be, some had not such a Spirit, who yett consulted the *Dead*, by going down to their Graves in the Night, & there lying down, and muttering certain Words with a low Voice, that they might have Communion with them, either by Dreams, or by their Appearing to them. Unto this, tis thought, the Prophet *Isaiah* alludes. [Isa. 8.19. and, 29.4.]

Maimonides thus describes a *Necromancer*. He is one, who having afflicted himself with Fasting, goes to the Burying-Place, and there lies down, & falls asleep; and then, the *Dead* appear to him, and inform him, what he desires. There were some also, who putt on a certain Garment, spoke some uncouth Words, made a Fume, and lay down alone, that the dead whom they desired, might come & confer with them. To this Purpose, *Aben Ezra*.³⁰

²⁷ *Maimonides*, *De Idololatria* (1641), cap. 11, secs. 11–12, pp. 154–55. Whereas *Maimonides*, in *Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V'Chukkoteihem* (ch. 11, sec. 11) appears to allow the recitation of incantations as a sort of placebo effect over a person stung by a scorpion or snake “in order to settle his mind and strengthen his feelings,” *Maimonides* anathematizes this practices if in addition to the recitation of a Bible verse, “a Torah scroll or *tefillin*” is placed on the person’s wound. For in that case, the healer becomes a dangerous “soothsayer or one who cast[s] spells.” By implication, soothsayers who use this ritual deny the Torah (*Hilchot Teshuvah* 3:8), “because they relate to the words of the Torah as if they are cures for the body, when in fact, they are cures for the soul, as [Proverbs 3:22] states: ‘And they shall be life for your soul’” (*Mishneh Torah* 3:208, 209, note 29).

²⁸ מורה נבכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1.62.110) proscribes against the use of the Tetragrammaton or its twelve-letter substitute as a charm, because, says R. Simon the Just, “*libertines*” used it irreverently when God’s ineffable name should have remained “*inaudible*” (*Guide* 1.62.151). *Schem Hammephorash*, שם המפורש [*Shem HaMephoras*], signifies “the ineffable Name” of God.

²⁹ Patrick, on Deut. 18:11 (*Commentary: Deuteronomy* 289–91) supplies Mather with his primary and secondary material.

³⁰ *Maimonides* (*Avodah Zara* 11:15), in *De Idololatria* (1641), cap. 11, sec. 15, p. 158; and *Hilchot Avodat Kochavim V'Chukkotheim* (11.13), in *Mishneh Torah* (3:210). See also ספר המצוות *Sefer HaMitzvot* (35 neg.), *Commandments* (2:37–38). In his gloss on Deut. 18:13–14,

The *Gentiles* were very prone to this *Necromancy*. It was reckoned so High an Attainment, that *Julian* the Apostate, who was ambitious to be acquainted with all the Heathen Mysteries, did practise this *Νεκρομαντεία*, in the most Retired Part of his Palace; cutting up the Bodies of Boyes and Virgins, to bring up the Dead unto him.³¹

The Talmuds (in *Beracoth*) tells us, That such kind of People did use to burn the *Secundine* of a *Black Catt*, when she had her first Kitlings, and beating it very small, putt some of the Powder on their Eye, whereupon *Dæmons* appeared unto them. See *Greg. Nazianzen's* Invectives against *Julian*, and *Chrysostom's* Oration upon *Babylas*.³²

This Impiety, as it was privately practised among the *Gentiles*, thus there were also public Places, whereto Men resorted, that they might consult the Dead. Particularly, At *Thesprotis*, near to the River *Acheron*, where Herodotus mentions a *Νεκρομαντήϊον*. And *Plutarch* mentions another at *Heraclea*; which *Pausanias* addresses in his *Distress*; as he related in the Life of *Cimon*.³³

[△] [△ Insert ends]

Abraham ibn Ezra (Aben Ezra) argues that “whenever a man relies on his own crafts to learn the truth or predict the future, and not on GOD, he is therefore spiritually imperfect as well as mistaken. Let him who wishes to inquire, inquire of God through a prophet” – not a soothsayer (*Commentary: Deuteronomy* 5:86).

31 In his *Lexicon* (A – O), # 264, Hesychius provides both spellings: *νεκρομαντεία* as well as *νεκρομαντεία*. Anyway, the Greek noun *Νεκρομαντεία* [necromancy] or the raising of the spirits of the dead is related to *Νεκρομαντεία* [necyomancy], from *νεκρς*, “a corpse,” and *μαντεία* “a descent into the underworld of the dead” (*CBTEL*), reportedly a common practice among the ancients. Julian the Apostate, i. e., Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus Augustus (330–363 CE) allegedly was obsessed with all forms of divination, including necromancy (Philip F. Esler, ed. *The Early Christian World* 12–55).

32 According to the Soncino Talmud, tractate *Beracoth* (6a), R. Raba argues that if anyone wants to see the demons that surround us, “let him take the after-birth [secundine] of a black she-cat, the offspring of a black she-cat, the first-born of a first-born, let him roast it in fire and grind it to powder, and then let him put some into his eye, and he will see them [demons].” If that recipe don’t fetch them, Mark Twain’s Duke of Bilgewater would have argued, I don’t know my Arkansas. Anyway, the invectives against Julian can be found in Gregory Nazianzen’s *Contra Julianum imperatorum* 1–2), [PG 035. 0561–0712] and in Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Babyla contra Julianum et Gentiles* (secs. 68–127).

33 Herodotus (*Historiae* 5.92, eta, lines 7–10) reports that Periander, son of King Cypselus of Corinth, had sent messengers to the Thesprotians (one of the 14 Greek tribes of Epirus), near the river Acheron, to inquire of the *Νεκρομαντήϊον*, the Oracle of the Dead, about the hiding place of a treasure given to his father for safekeeping (*History* 5.92.398). In his *De sera numinis vindicta* (Stephanus page 555, C–), Plutarch relates that Pausanias (d. c. 470 BCE), Lacedemonian general of the Hellenic league against the Medes during the Persian Wars (499–449 BCE), was haunted by frightening visions after he had stabbed Cleonice, a virgin of Byzantium, whom he had intended to rape. To appease the ghost of the young woman, Pausanias traveled to the oracle of the dead at Heraclea and offered sacrifices. Much the same is told in Plutarch’s biography *Cimon* (6.4–6).

[25v cont.]

3799.

Q. How does it appear, that the *Prophet*, whom the Lord was to *Raise up, like unto Moses*, must be our Blessed JESUS? [v. 15].

A. If the Oracle here mean, a constant Succession of *Prophets*, (to divert the *Israelites* from seeking unto *Sorcerers*,) yett it was inexcusable in them, to reject our Blessed JESUS, who had all the Characters of one upon Him.³⁴

However, that Word, [*like unto me*] shewes, that the Oracle here speaks of a Single Prophet. If *Joshua* wrote the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, or it were done by any other inspired Hand, it is there denied, that he was like unto *Moses*.³⁵ And tho' *Abarbinel* mention Fourteen Things, wherein *Jeremiah* was like unto *Moses*, yett he confesses him, to have been inferiour unto *Isaiah*; yea, & that *Ezekiel* was to be præferred before him.³⁶ Now, *Joshua*, and *Jeremiah*, are the only two of whom the *Jewes* make to be the *Single Prophet* here intended. But of the *Messiah*, they have a Note upon this very Verse, which, tho' weakly founded, yett may be worth mentioning. The Verse begins and ends with the Letter, *Nun*, which is the Numeral Letter for *Fifty*; importing, that unto the Prophet here promised, there should be opened the *Fifty Gates* of Knowledge; *Forty-nine* of which only were opened unto *Moses*. The Verse also consists of *Ten Words*; to signify, *That they were to obey this Prophet no less than the Ten Commandments*.³⁷

34 Patrick, on Deut. 18:15 (*Deuteronomy* 293, 294). Abraham ibn Ezra (Aben Ezra) glosses on 'a prophet in your midst': "This is Joshua, as evidenced by the pronouncement 'to him you shall listen,' and the subsequent confirmation 'the children of Israel listen to him' [34:9]. Moreover, we find no other prophet, besides Joshua, who entered with Israel into the land. However, this verse also presents the paradigm for all future prophets who might arise after the time of Moshe" (*Commentary* 5:86).

35 Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan* [1651], part 3, ch. 33, p. 200) – and many before and after him – argued that it is not enough to claim that Moses wrote the Pentateuch because this collection is called "The Five Books of Moses"; for like Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, the Pentateuch is named after its epic hero, not its author. Mather here refers to the problem of Moses' death and burial (Deut. 34:5–12). If these passages were added by Joshua (Moses' successor), he must also have written verse 6(b): "And hee buried him in a valey in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre *unto this day*" (emphasis added). However, Joshua and his contemporaries would surely have known where they buried Moses' remains. Thus the phrase "but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre *unto this day*" suggests that a long time must have passed since his burial, because the writer of these passages has no knowledge of the whereabouts of the tomb. On the controversial debate about the authorship of the Pentateuch, see Smolinski, "Authority and Interpretation" (175–203).

36 For Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel's commentary on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, see his *Perush 'al nevi'im 'aharonim* (1979). Ibn Ezra (*Commentary* 5:86) for one argues that Deut. 18:15 speaks of Joshua and the several prophets that would follow in Moses' steps. This reading is also confirmed by Rashbam (R. Sh'muel ben Meir), in *Hachut Hameshulash* (6:1538), by Rashi (*Metsudah Chumash: Devarim* 5:223), and Nachmanides (*Commentary* 5:222).

37 According to Baal HaTurim's cabalistic reading of "a prophet from your midst" (Deut. 18:15), "This verse begins and ends with the letter נ [nun] (= 50). [This is] to indicate that he knew the [Torah which contains within it] fifty gates of understanding" (*Baal HaTurim*

Moreover, this Word, [*like unto me*] shows, that the Prophet here promised, must be a *Lawgiver*; which none of the Prophets were, till the Arrival of that Great ONE, our Saviour.

And how emphatically was He *Raised up from the Midst of them*? For He was extracted out of a Pure Virgin, as the first Woman was out of the Man, by the Almightyes own Immediate Hand. The *Resurrection* of our Lord was also eminently, *in the Midst of them*; it being at *Jerusalem*, the *Metropolis* of *Judæa*.³⁸

Whereas it follows, *whosoever will not Hearken to my Words which He shall speak, in my Name, I will require it of him*. Compare Joh. 12.49, 50. and Hab. 4.27, 28, 29. and you have a Notable Commentary.

[26r to 27v inserted into 25v]

[28r]

Q. Might there be any special Intention of the *Spirit of Prophecy*, in the Warning here given concerning a *False Prophet*? v. 20.

A. My excellent *Alting* thinks there is.³⁹

In the Words immediately preceding, there is a Prophecy concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, the great *Prophet* of the Church.

It is now intimated, That after the Coming of the *Messiah*, there shall arise a remarkable *False Prophet*, who shall *presume to speak in the Name of the Lord, such a Word as the Lord ha's not commanded him to speak*; and who shall *speak in the Name of other Gods*. How Remarkably is this Accomplished in the Pope of *Rome*? 'Tis the very Character of that *Antichrist*. Every Protestant knowes how to demonstrate it. May the last Clause of the Prophecy have its Accomplishment hastened; *He shall Dy!*

And if *Mahomet* come in, for a share in the Character, this also may be worthy of Consideration.⁴⁰

[28v]

Q. Is not the *Failing of a particular Prediction*, here assign'd, as an infallible Mark to discover and determine a *False Prophet*? v. 22.

Chumash: Devarim 2025). According to Babylonian Talmud, tractates Rosh Hashanah (21b) and Nedarim (38a), God created fifty gates of understanding – Moses received all but one. Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 295, 296, 297).

³⁸ Patrick (294)

³⁹ The Dutch theologian, philologist, and professor at the University of Groningen, Jacobus Alting (1618–79) furnishes Mather with his annotation on Deut. 18:20, from Alting's *Opera Omnia Theologica; Analytica, Exegetica, Practica, Problematica, & Philologica* (1685–87), tom. 1, fols. 572–73.

⁴⁰ Alting, too, like most of his Protestant peers, identifies Mahomet as the “magnus Propheta,” who “arrogantly” and falsely speaks in the name of God – just like “Papa Romanum,” the Roman pope (*Opera*, tom. 1, fol. 573b).

A. An Ingenious Gentleman, who writes on, *The Wayes of GOD Reveling Himself to the Prophets*, does propose rather a Suspension of this Perswasion.⁴¹ He so translates the Passage; *When a Prophet speaketh in the Name of the Lord, if the WORD [Haddabar] shall not be, nor come, that is the Word the Lord hath not spoken; the Prophet hath spoken it præsumptuously*. In those numerous Texts, where we read, *The Word [Haddabar] of the Lord came* to such and such, it cannot mean, That the Thing prædicted was Fulfilled; but that the essential WORD of GOD, or the Divine Power commissionating the Prophet with some *Visible Manifestation* came unto him. *The WORD of GOD in them*, [Jer. V. 13.] is the Definition of the Call given to the Prophets. Compare, Jer. XXVII.18. A certain evident conspicuous *Power* plainly proceeding from Above, to commissionate the Prophet seems here, to be, *The WORD coming* to him: And not the Accomplishment of his Prophecy assign'd, for the Proof of his Claim to the Acceptance of one coming from GOD.

For, the Design of the Text is, to præscribe, how one shall know a Divine Message *at the Time* of its being delivered. *WHEN a Prophet speaketh*. Now to make the *Accomplishment* of a Prophecy, the Proof of a Divine Message, *at the Time* of its being spoken, is an Inconsistency.⁴²

Again; There are many Instances of a *Divine Message*, in which nothing at all is *foretold*. And so, how could this Rule to know a *Divine Message*, have any Place in such Cases?⁴³

Lastly. A *Divine Message* which *foretells* any thing, ought to be received before the Thing does come to pass: else the *Intention* and *Advantage* of it is lost among the Children of Men, to whom the *Divine Message* comes.

41 Mather's "ingenious Gentleman" is John Lacy (c. 1664–c. 1730), an English merchant, millenarian, and self-styled prophet who became a leader among the French Prophets (Camisard) in England. Given to trances, prophetic utterances, and ecstatic healings, Lacy was a sometime member of the Tothill Street Congregation (Westminster), and supporter of Edmund Calamy, D.D. (1671–1732), an English Arminian nonconformist and historian (*ODNB*). Lacy's notorious ecstasies, prophetic announcements, and attempts to raise a dead man in Bunhill Fields (1708), led to his increasing isolation and ultimate end in Bridewell Hospital. Mather quotes from Lacy's anonymously published *The General Delusion of Christians, Touching the Ways of God's revealing Himself, To, and By the Prophets* (1713), part 3, ch. 2, art. 13, p. 297, but does not identify its author – perhaps for good reason. That Mather knew Lacy and his prophetic ecstasies is apparent from Mather's letter (8 Oct. 1718) to Lacy, in which he praises his *Ways of God* – even though Mather pretends ignorance about Lacy's authorship. Mather's letter bespeaks his sympathy for Lacy's cause, his longing for God's pouring out His spirit, revival of piety, Christ's Second Coming, but warns him to beware of Satan's snare in the matter: "In the meantime, whether the Sovereign Lord has permitted you to be assaulted by a *Satan transformed*, or no, – I cannot but love the excellent piety which I suppose working in you" (Silverman, *Selected Letters* 271). On Lacy and the French Prophets, see also Humphrey Lee's *Historical Backgrounds* (ch. 3), Hillel Schwartz's *French Prophets* (1980), and esp. Lionel Laborie's *Enlightening Enthusiasm* (2015), ch. 2.

42 See also John Selden's *De Synedriis Praefecturis Iuridicis* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 6, pp. 73–80.

43 Lacy's *Ways of God* (298).

But now, if this Text be understood of a *Visible Supernatural Agency* upon the Prophet, it is what the *Prophetic Age* of the Jews was well acquainted withal.

Otherwise, what happened on *Isaiahs* Prædiction to *Hezekiah*, and on *Jonahs* to the *Ninivites*, is well known unto us.

Compare, Ezek. XII.22.

Num. XIV.30, 34.

1. Sam. II.30.

Jer. IV.10. & XV.18.

Judg. X.11, 13.

Gen. XIII.14, 15, 17. with Act. VII.5.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Lacy (298–90).

3800.

Q. It is observable, That there were as many *Cities of Refuge* in the *Two Tribes & an half*, as there were in all the other *Nine Tribes & an half*; Does there not seem herein to be some Inæquality? v. 3.

A. The Hebrewes fancy, a Reason for it; And it is this; That there were *frequent Murders* like to be committed there, by reason of the fierce Nature of the *Gileadites*. [Ponder, Judg. 10. and, 11. and Hos. 6.8.]¹

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[29v]

Q. On that *If thou keep all these Commandments to do them?* v. 9.

A. The Word is in the singular Number. And it should be read, *If thou keep all that Commandment to do it, which I am commanding thee this Day, To love the Lord thy God.*

Indeed, this is observed, by *Pagnin*, by *Vatablus*, by *Castellio*, by *Tremelius*, by *Munster*, by *Piscator*, by the *Tigurin Bible*, & by our *Ainsworth*.²

It leads us directly to that *First & Great Commandment*.

I have Dr. *Gells* hint for this. That Gentleman ha's his Whimsey's & Errors; but some valuable Thoughts are intermixed with them.

And such is that which I am going to transcribe.

"This discovers Mans wonderful Apostasy from the *Love* of his God; who, tho' He be the *Chief Good*; & therefore naturally most amiable & lovely, yett the Lord sees it needful, to *command* Man to love Him."³

¹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 309).

² Xantis Pagninus, *Biblia Sacra* (1542), fol. 42; Vatablus (*Criticorum Sacrorum sive Annotatorum ad Pentateuchum* (1660), tom. 1, pars 2, col. 137; Sebastian Castellione, *Biblia Interprete* (1556), col. 204; Immanuel Tremellius, *Biblia Sacra* (1593), fol. 165; Sebastian Münster, *Hebraica Biblia, Latina planeq* (1546), fols. 379, 381(a); Johannes Piscator, *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus* (1646), p. 431, (*Scholia in cap. XIX*). Tigurin Bible, aka. *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris & Novi* (1543), on Deut. 19:9 (fol. 88^v); Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations on the Five Books* (1626), p. 77 (sep. pag.).

³ Robert Gell, Deut. 19:9 (Sermon 16), in *An Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), p. 703(d).

1914.

Q. When the *Israelites* were going to begin a Battel, the *Priest* was to make a Speech unto them. What was the Title commonly worn by that *Priest* of the Lord? [v. 2]

A. *Maimonides* ha's told us, in his Treatise, *Of Kings*, c. 7.

*Præficiunt sacerdotem qui loquatur ad populum Tempore Belli; eumque unguunt Oleo Unctionis; et hic est qui vocatur משיח מלחמה / Unctus Belli.*¹

Hottinger produces a notable Discourse, out of *R. Levi Barzelonita's* Catechism, to show the Office of this πολεμόχριστος, *Anointed for the War*; and the Reason, why he was appointed unto it. For, saies he, Souldiers in the Time of War, have great Occasion to be heartened & confirmed in their Resolution: And, because the more Honorable any one is, the more Willingly Men hearken to him, therefore the Law required, that he who was to encourage others, should be a Select Person himself, & a Priest, unto whom they would be likely to pay a great Reverence.²

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Q. Some Remarks upon, *The Priest of the War?* v. 2.

A. He was a Deputy & Substitute unto the *High-Priest*, and carried with him the *Ephod* & *Breast-Plate*, that he might consult GOD with *Urim* and *Thummim*, in difficult Emergencies. For this Purpose, there was a *Cofer* made in which the *Ephod* and *Breast-Plate*, was carried on the Shoulders of the *Levites*, like the *Ark of the Covenant*.³ That this Person might be Qualified the Better to act in

1 In his משפט המלך [Mishpat Hamelech] *Jus regium Hebraeorum e Tenebris Rabbinicis* (1625), cap. 5, theorem 18, pp. 139–40, Wilhelm Schickard (1592–1635), German Lutheran professor of Hebrew and astronomy at Tübingen, quotes from Maimonides, *Hilchot Melachim* (7.1): “A priest is anointed to address the nation before the battle. He is anointed with the oil of anointment and is called, the *meshuach milchamah* [the one anointed for the war],” *Mishneh Torah* (23:560, 561 note 5).

2 Mather, via Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 319), cites from *Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti* (1665), tom. 6, saec. 16, pars 2, cap. 3, pp. 689–90, by Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), the distinguished Swiss Reformed theologian, professor of church history and Oriental languages at Zürich and Heidelberg. Hottinger's discourse is on Deut. 20:5–8, as glossed in *R. Levi Barzelonita's* ספר התנועה *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk* [*HaChanuk*] (1523), precept 496 – a catechism of elementary instructions on the 613 precepts in Judaism (*BD* 1:12). See also Hottinger's bilingual translation of R's Levi's *Sefer Ha-Chinnuk*, in *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI. Juxta Νομοθεσίας Mosaicae ordinem, atque seriem depromptae, & ad Judaeorum mentem; Ductu Rabbi Levi, Barzelonitae* (1655).

3 See also John Spencer's *Dissertatio de Urim & Thummim* (1669), caps. 2–3.

the Place of the *High-Priest*, on this Occasion, he was consecrated unto his Office by the Holy *Anointing Oil*; and so called, *The Anointed for the Wars*. How he received his Answer, tis not easy to determine. For there was no *Mercy-Seat* in the Camp: And yett we find Oracles given in the Camp. *David* by the *Ephod* & *Breast-Plate* ask'd Counsel several times, and had it with an Audible Voice given to him; Thrice in the Case of *Keilah*; Twice at *Ziklag*.⁴ The *Priest Anointed for the Wars*, probably had a Tent in the Camp, erected on Purpose for this Use; in which, there was a Part separated by a Veil; resembling that of the *Holy of Holies* in the Tabernacle. When he asked Counsel of GOD in the Camp, he appeared there, before that *Veil*, [verso] and the Answer was given from behind it, tho' no *Mercy-Seat* were there.

[△ Attachment ends]

[△]

3801.

Q. Here are several Words of Encouragement made Use of, unto an *Israelitish Army*, going to engage in a Battel. What Fancy have the Jewish Doctors upon the Words? v. 3.⁵

A. The Jewish Doctors fancy, that the *Four* several Words used here, are opposed unto so many Actions of their Enemies, whereby they hoped for to strike Terror into them.

Lett not your Hearts faint,] when your Enemies brandish their Swords, & clash them one against another.

Fear not,] when you hear the Pransing of their Horses, and the Terrible Rattling of their Chariots.

And do not Tremble,] when they shout, as if they were sure of the Victory.

Neither be yee terrified;] when yee hear the Trumpets sound an Alarum to the Battle.

Thus, *Moses Kotzensis*. You have it in *Schickard*; And such a Passage *Wagenseil* observes out of *Philostratus*; upon the *Gemara*, of *Sota*.⁶

⁴ 1 Sam. 23:1–29; 1 Sam. 30:7–8.

⁵ The following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Commentary* 320–21).

⁶ R. Moses ben Jacob Kotzensis (Cotzensis, Kozensis Mikkotsi, Coucy), *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol. Liber Magnus Praeceptorum* (1488), neg. precept 231, as quoted in Wilhelm Schickard's מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ [Mishpat Hamelech] *Jus regium Hebraeorum* (1625), cap. 5, theorem 16, pp. 114–15. Johann Christoph Wagenseil, in his *Sota hoc est Liber Mischnicus* (1674), cap. 8, annot. 2 (on Gemara, cap. 8, sec. 2), pp. 876–77, cites from Flavius Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* (2.11, lines 20–22): εἴαν ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸν ἵππον, ὅτε δουπήσειεν ἀσπίς ἢ ἀστράψειαν αἱ κόρυθες ἢ παιανίζόντων τε καὶ ἀλαλζόντων βοή γένοιτο· that a skillful horseman must pursue the enemy, “and not let the horse shy at the clang of a shield, the flash of plumes, or the noise of men chanting in victory or giving a war whoop.”

[30v]

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[3802:]

Q. It was proclaimed, *what Man is there, that is fearful and fainthearted?* Who were counted such? v. 8.

A. Some of the Jewes understand it of a Natural Timorousness, which makes Men Quake at every Danger. Others refer it unto old Age, in which the Vigour that makes Men valiant is abated. If we may beleieve *Maimonides*, They would not admitt one who had no Children, to go to War, because he was not thought masculine enough; or, at least, because they would not cutt off all Hope of his having Posterity.⁷

But there are those, who understand this, of the Terrors of an Evil Conscience. “For (as Dr. *Patrick* saies) “they did not do, as we are wont in these Dayes, (who send the wickedest Villains into the Wars,) but if they know any Man to be guilty of a great Crime, they thrust him out of the Army, lest they should all fare the worse for having him among them.” See *Schickard*, in his *Jus Regium*.⁸

3803.

Q. *Peace* was to be *proclaimed* by the *Israelites*, unto a City before they fought against it. Was this to be understood about every *War*, even the *War* with the *Canaanites*, as well as others? v. 10.

A. *Maimonides* and *Moses Kotzensis*, will have it so. Only they think, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* were to be excepted: [Deut. 23.6.] And yett, they temper it thus; That if those Nations desired Peace of themselves, it was to be granted them. The most ancient Writers of the Jewes, tell us, That *Joshua* sent *Three* Messages to the *Seven* Nations of *Canaan*, before he invaded them; tho’ he understood the *War*, with a Command from God to destroy them; That is to say, If they did not submitt unto the Summons which he sent them, They must either *Flee*, or make *Peace* on the best Terms they could. This was the Subject of the two first Messages; on which followed a final Denunciation of *War* against them; as they inform us in the *Jerusalem-Talmud*. *Maimonides* was of the Opinion, that the *Gibeonites* had not heard these Proclamations; which made them use Craft, that they might procure Mercy from the *Israelites*.⁹ But P. *Cunæus* thinks, it more

7 *Maimonides, Hilchot Melachim U’Milchamoteihem* (7:15), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:570).

8 *Patrick (Deuteronomy 325); Schickard, in his משפט המלך [Mishpat Hamelech] Jus regium Hebraeorum* (1625), cap. 5, theorem 17, p. 124, comments on *Maimonides, Hilchot Melachim* (7) and *Moses Kotzensis, in Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (precept 120) that – according to R. Akiba – wicked men or those with a bad conscience should be expelled from the army, lest God punish them all for the crimes of these men.

9 *Wagenseil, Sota hoc est Liber Mischnicus* (1674), cap. 8, annot. 6, pp. 844–45, quotes from *Maimonides* on the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud in affirmation that *Joshua* sent three messengers to the *Canaanites* offering peace, but whereas the *Gergesites* fled, the *Gibeonites*

probable, that they had refused at first, to submit unto *Joshua's* Summons. But seeing him victorious, they betook themselves to that Artifice, whereof we read in the Book of *Joshua*; when they could not hope for Peace by any other Means.¹⁰

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[3804.]

[31r]

Q. *Thou shalt utterly destroy them.*] What Opinion have the Jewes had of this Commission? v. 17.¹¹

A. Some of the Jewes have been so merciful, as to think this, not a *Commandment*, but a *Permission*. They thought it might *Warrant* their killing of all without any Distinction, but not *Enjoin* it, and that they might, after their taking a City, spare such as Repented, & Offered to become *Proselytes of the Gate*. *Selden* observes, that one would think this to have been the Opinion which anciently prevailed; inasmuch as we find the Reliques of these People so often mentioned in the Bible.¹² 'Tis also agreeable to the Law of Nations, that such as beg Mercy should be spared.¹³ It was thought that such Persons had an ancient Right unto it, as *David Chytraeus* observes out of *Thucydides*; and the known Verse of the Oracle,

either did not hear Joshua's proclamation or they pretended to accept his peace offering to trick him. John Selden, in his *De Jure Naturali Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 13, pp. 735–37, cites Maimonides, *Hilchot Melachim* (cap. 6); Moses Kotzensis, *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol* (precept 118); Nachmanides, on the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud (*Shebiith seu de Juribus anni septimi*, cap. 6, fol. 35, col. 3), and other authorities who argue that the Canaanites either ignored the peace offering or resorted to a ruse by pretending peace and – consequently – were utterly destroyed.

10 The Dutch jurist Petrus Cunaeus, aka. Pieter van der Cun (1586–1638), was one of the first Christian scholars to study Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* in depth. In his *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 20, pp. 298–304, Cunaeus argues that according to Maimonides the Gibeonites – like all the other Canaanite tribes – rejected the peace offering of Joshua's ambassadors. Later, however, when the Gibeonites discovered that their Canaanite allies were all vanquished, they tricked Joshua into making peace with them by pretending they lived far away from Canaan (Josh. 9:1–27; 11:19). When Joshua discovered their ruse, he did honor his peace agreement with the Gibeonites, but made them subservient to the Israelites (*Hebrew Republic* 2.20.130–31).

11 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 330–31) stands in again for Mather's own annotations. See also "Occasional Annotation V," on God's injunction against sparing anyone who resists, in "Occasional Annotation. V." (*Bibliotheca Biblica* [1735], 5:145–50).

12 John Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 16, pp. 744–45; Rashi (*Met-sudah Chumash: Devarim* 5:246) says much the same, as does Moses Kotzensis, in *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol* (neg. precept 225), but see Maimonides, *Hilchot Melachim* (5:1–5), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:534–38).

13 So argues the famous Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius, in his *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (1626), lib. 2, cap. 21, sec. 5, p. 415; and lib. 3, cap. 7, sec. 1, pp. 541–42. This particular law of nations, Grotius appears to argue, only applies to those who were captured in an unjust war (perpetrated against a peaceful nation) and to those (like slaves) who were forced to fight in a war against their will.

Μήδ' ἰκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἰκέται
ἱεροί τε καὶ ἄγνοί·

*The Humble Supplicants, not to Hurt, but Spare,
Who Sacred, and Clear from Offences are.*¹⁴

Indeed, he does not mention the Place, where this Oracle was uttered; but *Ezekiel Spanhemius* has lately observed out of *Pausanias*, that it was at *Dodona*. And he notes, that *Jupiter* was called, Ἰκέσιος, because he was accounted an implacable Avenger of all Violence done to *Supplicants*; But they are *Supplicants* [31v] (quoth *Chytraeus*,) who confess their | Sin, & their Desert of Punishment, & give themselves up to the Pleasure of the Conqueror; but beg the Punishment may be mitigated by Clemency.¹⁵

[3806:]

Q. How come the *Girgashites* here to be omitted; who were mentioned before [Deut. 7.1.] as one of the *Seven Nations*? v. 17.

A. *Maimonides* thinks, the Reason to be, that they upon the first Summons of *Joshua*, fled the Countrey, into *Africa*; and therefore they were not named [Josh. 9.1, 2.] among them, that *gathered themselves together, to fight against Israel*. Or, as *Dr. Patrick* thinks, The *Girgashites* were a People mixed among the most; they lived not in a separate Part of the Countrey by themselves; it is evident, that some of them, at least, opposed *Joshua*, & were delivered into his Hand. [Josh. 24.11.]¹⁶

[32r]

|
3146.

Q. The Law-giver allows the *Israelites*, in besieging a City, to cutt down the *Trees that bear no Fruit*, and therewith *build Bulwarks against the City, until it be subdued*. What *Bulwarks*, what *Engines* may be intended? v. 20.

¹⁴ The German Lutheran professor of theology at Rostock, David Chytraeus (1530–1600), in his commentary on Deut. 20:17, *In Deuteronomium Mosis Enarratio* (1575), p. 390, mistakenly attributes the Greek passage to Thucydides. The Greek quote Μήδ' ἰκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἰκέται δ' ἱεροί τε καὶ ἄγνοί, i. e., “Wrong not suppliants. For suppliants are sacred and holy,” is actually from Pausanias’s *Graeciae descriptio* (7.25.1, line 10).

¹⁵ *Ezekiel Spanhemius*, *In Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (1697), “*Hymnus in Dianam*” (verse 123), p. 221, adduces evidence from Pausanias (7.21.2–4 and 7.25.1) that Diana’s oracle was at Dodona, and that Jupiter (Zeus) of Dodona was called Ἰκέσιος, “God of Suppliants.”

¹⁶ *Patrick* (*Deuteronomy* 331) erroneously refers to *Maimonides’s Hilchot Melachim* as his source for the claim that the *Girgashites* fled to Africa. Actually, R. Samuel ben Nachman, in *Midrash Rabbah: Leviticus* XVII:6, is the one who opines that when Joshua sent three proclamations to the Canaanite kings, offering peace in exchange for submission, “The *Girgashites* rose and left of their own accord, and as a reward there was given them a land as good as their own land (as it is written [with regard to Israel], *I shall come and take you away to a land like your own land*, etc. (Isa. XXXVI, 17), namely, [some place in] Africa.”

A. Tho' *Lipsius* and *Terduzzi* think, That here was only meant Stakes and Palisado's for Ramparts and Sconces, yett (the wicked) Sir *James Turner* in his *Essayes on the Art of War*, saies, One may without Hæresy beleeeve, that the *Vineæ* and *Plutei*, of which we read in *Latin Histories*, may be meant in the Text; and the *Ram* also, wherewith *Joshua* may have battered the Walls of the Cities, which he had no Authority from the Almighty, to beat down with the Sound of *Rams-horns*, as he did the strong Walls of *Jericho*.¹⁷

The *Vinea* and *Pluteus*, are often confounded by Authors, and made one thing. According to others, the Difference was this; The *Pluteus* was made for to sloop only on one Side; the *Vinea* sloop'd on both. But *Vegetius* makes them to differ in this; That the *Pluteus* had Wheels, the *Vinea* none. They were made of small Timber, & rais'd on Legs, & being interwoven with Twigs, sometimes of the *Vine-tree*, they represented Arbours, and from thence were called, *Vinea*. Above they were covered with Hair-cloath, and Raw Hides, to save them from Fires cast upon them, as also with Hurdles; but below them, with strong Boards, where great Opposition was expected. They had within them Rafters, on which was a Gallery, wherein the Besiegers were sheltered from Stones, Darts, and Arrowes, when they made their Approaches to the Ditch, and out of these they endeavoured for to chase the Defendents from their Walls and Parapets, with all Manner of Missile Weapons.¹⁸

17 *Pallas Armata. Military Essayes Of the Ancient Grecian, Roman, and Modern Art of War. Written in the Years 1670 and 1671* (1683), by Sir James Turner (c. 1615–c. 1686), a Scottish army officer, soldier of fortune during the Thirty-Years War (1618–48), knighted by King Charles II, and promoted to Lt.-Colonel to suppress Presbyterian dissidents in SW Scotland. His *Pallas Armata* is a historical examination of warfare, military strategies, and arms used among the ancients and moderns of his own time. Most likely, Mather dubs him “wicked” because Sir James, a royalist, not only fought against the Presbyterian cause in Scotland, but also maintained that for mercenaries it does not matter if the cause of war be just as long as their pay is commensurate (*ODNB*). Mather's extract is from *Pallas Armata* (1683), bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 9–10; via Turner he compares the defensive strategies and ordinances described in *Poliorceticæ sive De Machinis, Tormentis, Telis* (1596) and *De Militia Romana Libri Quinque* (1595), by the Flemish classical scholar Justus Lipsius, aka. Joost Lips (1547–1606) (*SEP*), with *Delle Machine Ordinanze, et Quartieri Antichi, et Moderni* (1601), by the learned Hungarian soldier Achille Tarducci, aka. Terduzzi (1550–1601), in a discourse between Tarducci and General Giorgio Basta on their battles with the Ottoman Turks in Transylvania. Tarducci also published two more works on the Transylvanians' defense against the incursions of the Ottomans: *Il Turco Vincibile in Ungaria, discorso appresentato à tre supremi Capitanei dell' Effercito confederate contra il Turco* (1601) and *Successo delle Fattioni occorse nell' Ongaria vicino a Vacia, nel 1597. & la Battaglia fatta in Transilvania contra il Valacco nel 1600* (1601). Latin translations appeared in Frankfurt (Germany). At any rate, “Vinea” and “Plutei” are protective movable contraptions or breast-work often on wheels to shield soldiers from flying projectiles – all plowshares and pruning-hooks beaten into swords and spears.

18 The Roman military expert Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus (fl. 4th c. CE) authored one of the most influential books on ancient warfare: *Rei militaris instituta*, aka. *Epitoma rei militaris* (c. 384–386). It remained the standard handbook on all manner of soldiery, military tactics, ordinances, and weaponry until the early eighteenth century, and anyone writing on the subject was measured against Vegetius's accomplishment. Turner, *Pallas Armata* (1683), lib. 2,

The *Agger* was likewise used on these mischievous Occasions. This was a Rampart of Earth and Hurdles, with which they environ'd the Towns which they besieged. They fortified this Rampart both within and without, with Stakes or Palisadoes. In certain Places of the Rampart, at a convenient Distance one from another, they built Sconces, which they call'd Castles and Towers. The Use of these *Aggeres* was known in the World, before the Name of *Rome* was heard of.¹⁹

Moscoli were another Sort of lesser Engines, made of strong Boards, covered with Raw Hides, & moving on Wheels. Men were sheltered under them, when they approached unto the Walls. Tis thought by some, That the proper Use of this *Musculus*, was to help in drawing forward, the great *moving Tower*, & cleanse and clear its Way. And so it had its Name from that Fish, which they say, goes before the *Whale*, as a Guide unto it, in discovering Rocks and Shelves. This answers the Description of it in *Vegetius*; But others, and particularly *Cæsar*, makes it a lesser *Testudo*, by him described at length, in the Second Book of the *Civil War*. Others write, It had a Snout like a *Mouse*, wherewith it pickt Stones out of Walls, & was therefore called, *Murusculus*, and correctly and corruptly, *Musculus*.²⁰

[32v] The *Testudo*, or Tortoise, was made of what Bigness the General of the Army or Artillery pleased. Within it was a great | Beam, which sometimes had on the End of it, an Iron Hook or Grapple, which they shott forth when they were to draw Stones out of a Wall, or for other Uses, & pull'd the Beam in again, when they pleased; and therefore they gave it the Name of that Creature, which can thrust his Head in and out at Pleasure.²¹

Which leads us to the *Aries*, or the *Ram*. This was a formidable Machin; and they who yeelded not, before this Touch'd the Wall, had the worse Quarter for it. *Cæsar* gives this as the Reason, why he gave some of the *Gauls* their Lives, Because they surrendered before the *Ram* had begun to batter.²²

Achilles Terduzzi thus describes it. It was a great Beam, and of a great Length, two hundred foot and more, made like the mast of a Ship, and it had a great, huge, ponderous Head of Iron, sometimes resembling a *Ram*, sometimes of some other Shape. This Beam was supported by two others, which meeting above in an Acute Angle, kept the *Ram* suspended in an *Æquilibrie*. It was managed by Souldiers behind, and as many on both Sides, as could be lodged in

cap. 4, pp. 49–50. Turner relies on Justus Lipsius' *Poliorceticwn* (lib. 1, dialog. 7–8, pp. 35ff) and on Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (lib. 4.13, 15). Joshua's conquest of Jericho is described in Josh. 6:1–27.

¹⁹ Turner, *Pallas Armata* (1683), lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 50; Vegetius (*Epitome* 4.15, 28); Lipsius, *Poliorceticwn* (lib. 2, dialog. 3, pp. 83ff).

²⁰ Turner (50); Vegetius (*Epitome* 4.13, 16); Lipsius, *Poliorceticwn* (lib. 1, dialog. 9, p. 49; lib. 2, dialog. 3, pp. 83ff).

²¹ Turner (51); Vegetius (*Epitome* 4.14, 16). Lipsius, *Poliorceticwn* (lib. 1, dialog. 5, pp. 18ff; dialog. 8, pp. 46ff).

²² Turner (51); Vegetius (*Epitome* 4.14, 23)

Moscles, or *Tortoises*, or other *Pent-houses*. No Strength of Walls could resist the continued & reiterated Verberations of this Engine, as we may learn from *Josephus*, and many others. In the Time of its Battery, Baskets full of Earth, & raw Hides; on both Sides with *Moscles*, Vines, and *Tortoises*, from under which, the Besiegers incessantly cast their Missiles against the Defendents. And they at the Approach of the *Ram* to the Wall, beat it with huge great Stones, or heavy Lumps & Weights of Lead, tied with strong Ropes, or Chains of Iron, to a Crane or *Telenon*. Those who maintained and managed the *Ram*, endeavoured to gripe those Ropes or Chains, with long Hooks or Grapples; and on the other side, the Besieged essay'd with long Scythes to cutt the Cords, which governed & sustained the *Ram*. The Defendents also used to hang over the Walls, Beds, and great Sacks fill'd with Straw; Feathers, or Wool, which broke the Force of the Strokes, before they came to the Wall.²³

The *Ambulatory Tower* was also an horrid Thing. Who can read *Vegetius* describing it, without Astonishment? It was built after the form of an House, Thirty, forty, fifty foot broad; and so high as to æqual to Heighth of the Towers on the Wall. *Vegetius* describes one Three Stories High, in the Lowest whereof he lodges a *Ram*, with Men to order it; In the Third, he places the *Velites*, who afflicted the Defendents with Darts and Arrowes, & pelted them with Stones out of their Batton-Slings; In the Midst, he places a Bridge, one End whereof being laid on the Wall, Bands of armed Men pass'd over, and then, *Ilico capta est Urbs*. This is the *Turris Vegetiana*.²⁴ But what shall we say of those that were 180 foot high, & 60, or 70 foot broad, wherein might be Eighteen or Twenty stories? *Livy* mentions one in his 32^d Book out of which a *Roman Consul* sent whole *Cohorts* of Legionaries, one to sustain another, against a *Macedonian Phalanx*, that stood ready to receive them within the Walls; & yett the *Cohorts* were 500 strong. These moving Towers were covered with Raw Hides, and some of them faced with Iron.²⁵

They moved on many Wheels, pushed forward with the Strength of many Men, applying of Leavers. They were sometimes drawn with Beasts of Carriage. The Besieged, either by desperate Salleyes, or by undermin[ing] the Ground, or by Fire, endeavoured their defence.²⁶

²³ Turner (51); *Vegetius* (*Epitome* 4.14); Flavius Josephus *Jewish Wars* (1.7.3); Lipsius, *Poliorceticwn* (lib. 3, dialog. 1, pp. 126ff).

²⁴ Once the *Turris Vegetiana* or Vegetian tower has been wheeled to the wall of the besieged city, the “*Velites*” or lightly armed foot-soldiers can climb up the wooden tower and descend upon the parapet: *Ilico capta est Urbs*, “immediately, the city is captured.”

²⁵ Turner (54); *Livy's Ab urbe condita* (32.17); Lipsius, *Poliorceticwn* (lib. 2, dialog. 4, pp. 94ff).

²⁶ Sir James Turner, *Pallas Armata* (1683), lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 55.

3806.

Q. For the Discovery & Expiation of *Secret Murders*; was there any ancient Law, æqual to that of *Moses*? v. 1.

A. No; The very best Law the Pagans had, was that of *Plato*; which enacts no more but this; “That if a Man were found Dead, & he that killed him, after a diligent Search could not be heard of, publick Proclamation should be made, that he who was guilty of the Fact, should not come into any Holy Place, nor any Part of the whole Countrey; For, if he were discovered, he should be putt to Death, & be thrown out of the Bounds of the Countrey, & have no Burial.”¹

3807.

Q. Here is abundance of Solemnity, used by the Elders, for clearing themselves from the Murder of the Dead Man found in the Field? v. 7.²

A. The *Mischna* adds, That they further said, [For how can any one think, that *Elders* would be *Murderers*?] *This Man did not come into our City, that we know of, & dismissed without necessary Provisions; Nor was he seen by us, & permitted to go away without Company.*³ *Maimonides* expresses it more largely; representing the Wisdome of this Law, in these Words.

“The *Elders* called God to witness, that they had not neglected to secure the Wayes; nor to sett Watches to examine diligently, those who travelled; saying, as our *Rabbins* express it, *This Man was not killed, thro’ any Negligence or Forgetfulness, which we were guilty of, in not observing our publick Constitutions: nor do we know, who killed him.* Now by this Inquisition into the Fact, by this going forth of the Elders, & the striking off the Heifers Head, etc. a great deal of Discourse necessarily arose about this Business, which made the thing publick; and was a probable Means of discovering the *Murderer*, by some or other, who were there,

¹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 336); Plato (*De Legibus* 9.51.874b) argues that the corpse of the executed perpetrator must be ejected to purify the land. Mather’s purpose is to suggest that the ancient Greeks adapted their laws from those of the Hebrew Lawgiver. In this assumption he follows time-honored tradition. See, for instance, Gerardus Joannes Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana, sive De Origine ac Progressu Idololatriæ* (1641, 1668); Theophilus Gale’s massive *The Court of the Gentiles* (1669–1678); and John Spencer’s opus *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus Et Earum Rationibus* (1685, 1720, 1732).

² See John Selden, *De Synedriis* (1655), lib. 3, cap. 7, sec. 2, pp. 83–85, for the procedure of the Hebrew elders.

³ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 342–43); the question of culpability is address in (among others) the Mishnah, tractate Sotah (9.6.5), in *Tractatus de Uxore adulterii suspecta*, in Surenhusius, סדר נשים [Seder Nashim] sive *Legum Mischnicarum* (3:288); and tractate Sotah (9.6), in *The Mishnah* (304).

or should hear of all this. And if any one came, & said, He knew the Author, then they forbore to behead the *Heifer*; but the Man being apprehended, if the *House of Judgment* did not putt him to Death; the *King* had Power to do it; if he neglected it, the *Avenger of Blood* might kill him, wherever he mett him.”⁴

Unto the Discovery of the *Murderer*, this also contributed; That the Place, where the *Heifers Head*, was struck off, might never be ploughed or sowed after it; which made the Owners of the Ground employ their utmost Diligence, to find out the *Murderer*, that their Land might not ly waste forever. Indeed, they might not so much as plant a Tree upon it!⁵

[554]

Q. What were the *Capital Punishments* among the Ancient *Israelites*? v. 9.⁶

A. 1. *Killing with the Sword*, or, *Beheading*, was among them. Tho’ wee find not this *Directed* in the Law, wee find it *Practised* by the People. *Ishbosheth* [2. Sam. 4.7.] was the first, that wee find actually thus executed: And whereas, tis said, *They Smote him*, & *Slew him*, and then *Beheaded him*; the Severing of the Head from the Body, was a Consequence of some foregoing Violence. Indeed, it was usual to cutt off the Head of the Person slain, & bring it in a Way of Trophy; as is evident from the Instances of *Sisera*, of *Goliath*, of *Saul*, of *Sheba*. Perhaps, in those Dayes, the Beheading of Persons alive, was not usual; but they rather took off their Heads, with *Sword*, or *Axe*, after they had been dispatched some other Way. The *Decollation* was only for *Pomp*, & that they might expose the Malefactors. Nor in the Account of *John Baptists* Death, is there any thing, to disprove, that his Life was taken away by the Executioner first, & then his *Head* cutt off,

4 Maimonides, מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.40.458–59) and *Guide* (3.40.557).

5 Tractate Sotah (9.5) seems less rigorous in its directives here than Mather claims; for after the sacrificial heifer’s neck was broken to atone for the murder, the place where the victim was found was forever tainted and “forbidden for sowing and tillage,” although it was still “permitted to comb out flax there and to quarry stones there” (*The Mishnah* 304). The proscription against using the field in which the corpse was found was to ensure that the community would leave no stone unturned to discover the murderer. Ramban, on Deut. 21:4, in *Commentary: Deuteronomy Shoftim* (5:245), says much the same.

6 According to the rabbis of the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Berachoth (8a), “Nine hundred and three species of death were created in this world. For it is said: The issues of death, and the numerical value of Toza’oth is so. The worst of them is the croup, and the easiest of them is the kiss. Croup is like a thorn in a ball of wool pulled out backwards. Some people say: It is like [pulling] a rope through the loop-holes [of a ship]. [Death by a] kiss is like drawing a hair out of milk.” Be that as it may, the four principal forms of capital punishment are stoning, burning, beheading, and strangulation. On this topic, both David de Sola Pool’s *Capital Punishment among the Jews* (1916), pp. 1–15, and Samuel Mendelsohn’s *Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews* (1891), esp. chs. 1 and 4, remain as illuminating as ever.

to bee brought in Triumph. When tis said, *James was killed with the Sword* [Act. 12.2.] tis probably meant of the *Killing*, which preceded *Beheading*.⁷

The Hebrew Masters inform us, That this was the Deadly Penalty of *Murderers*, & *Apostates*, or *Seducers*, to *Idolatry*.⁸

2. *Stoning*. This was usually, begun by the *Witnesses* against the Malefactor, and then all the *People* finish'd it. Such a *Lapidation* was used upon *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Incestuous Persons*, *Witches*, *Profaners of the Sabbath*, *False Teachers*, *Children* that *cursed their Parents*, or were *Incorrigibly Rebellious*. *Achan*, and *Adoram*, and *Naboth*, and *Zechariah*, suffered this Kind of Death. So did *Stephen*, and it was attempted against our Saviour, & against the Apostle *Paul*. This was the most general Punishment, for notorious Criminals; & this is meant sometimes, by the Indefinite Expression of, *Putting to Death*. [Compare Lev. 20.10. with Joh. 8.5.]⁹

7 Mather refers to the famous story of Jael, Heber's wife, who killed the Canaanite general Sisera by driving a tent peg through his temples before cutting his head off (Judg. 4:18–22); to young David, who killed the Philistine giant Goliath with a sling shot and subsequently severed his head (1 Sam. 17:48–51); to Saul and his three sons, whose corpses were decapitated after their bodies were discovered among the dead Israelites (1 Sam. 31:6–9); and to Sheba, son of Bichri, who involuntarily parted with his head after an unsuccessful uprising against King David (2 Sam. 20:1–7, 21–22). Finally, to John the Baptist, who lost his head to Salome's gyrations and had it delivered to Herodias on a platter (Matth. 14:1–11).

8 The Mishnah, tractate Sanhedrin (9.1, and 6.3) imposes death by beheading (decollation), Hebr. הֶרֶג [hereg], for murderers and apostates (Numb.35:16; Deut. 13:15), in *The Mishnah* (395). The Soncino Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 52b) explains that "Execution by the sword was performed thus: The condemned man was decapitated by the sword, as is done by the civil authorities." *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael*, tractate Nezikin (4, lines 24, 31–35), invokes Deut. 21:4, 9 to confirm that "shedders of blood [are] to be [treated] like the heifer whose neck is to be broken. Just as the latter is killed by cutting off its head, so all shedders of blood are to be killed by decapitation" (2:379).

9 Executions by stoning, Hebr. סְקִילָה [sekilah], are imposed for such crimes as incest, homosexuality, bestiality, blasphemy, idolatry, offering one's "seed to Molech," being possessed by "a familiar spirit," soothsayers, profanation of the Sabbath, cursing one's parents, leading people astray to worship idols, sorcery, and intractability of "stubborn and rebellious son[s]," in the Mishnah, tractate Sanhedrin (7.4), *The Mishnah* (391–92), and *Tractatus de Symedriis* (7.4), in Surenhusius, סֵדֶר נִזְקִין [Seder Nezikin] *sive Legum Mischnicarum* (4:248–49). Achan, son of Carmi, was stoned along with his children and livestock for withholding the spoils of war consecrated to the Temple in Jerusalem (Josh. 7:1, 20–26); Adoram (Adoniyram) was lapidated by the rebellious ten northern tribes who refused to pay tribute to Rohoboam (1 Kings 12:18); Naboth, falsely accused of blasphemy by King Ahab's henchmen, died by lapidation because he did not want to sell his patrimony (vineyard) to Ahab and his Jezebel, Lady Mascara (1 Kings 21:14); the prophet Zechariah was stoned to death by a mob fomented by King Jehoash for inciting God's wrath against him and his people (2 Chron. 24:20–21); St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, incurred death by stoning for what the Sanhedrin considered blasphemy (Acts 7:52–58); finally, St. Paul was dragged out of town by an enraged crowd of Antiochians who pelted him with stones, yet he escaped (Acts 14:19).

3. *Burning*. This was inflicted on those that vitiated their *own Daughters*, & on the *Daughters of Priests* committing Whoredome, and on some other Offenders. Tis by some thought, that they were *Burnt alive*; but others think, they were *Strangled* first, and then melted Lead was poured down their Throats, and afterwards their whole Bodies were consumed in the Fire. *Burning* seems to have been a *Secondary Penalty*; as it was in the Exemple of *Achan*. [Josh. 7.25.] Moreover, before the Law, *Whoredome* was thus punished. *Judah* pronounces this Doom against his Daughter, *Lett her bee Burnt*. And it is reasonable to think, that *shee shall bee utterly | Burnt with Fire*. Rev. 18.8.] is an Allusion to this ancient Punishment of *Whordome*; seeing that *Babylon*, there most signally stiled, a *Whore*; and her *Fornication* is often mentioned.¹⁰ [33v]

4. *Hanging*. But in this, they were Hang'd up, by the *Hands*, not by the *Head* or *Neck*: And the Suspension was not while they were *Alive*, but after they were *Dead*. It was therefore used, in Conjunction, with some other *mortal Punishment*, that went before; mostly, either *Stoning*, or *Strangling*. And the Design of it was to expose them, for a Warning & a Terror unto others. Hence, at *Sunset* when they could no longer bee a Spectacle, they were taken down. [see Josh. 10.26. & Josh. 8.29. – The same is to bee thought of *Sauls* seven Sons. 2. Sam. 21.9.]¹¹

Some reckon *Suffocation*, among the Capital Punishments. Did *Job*, refer to this, when hee said, *Hee chose Strangling*? [ch. 7.15.] The Hebrew Doctors tell us, that this is meant in those Parts of the *Pentateuch*, where tis commanded, that the Criminal shall bee *putt to Death*. [Thus, Lev. 20.10. and Exod. 21.15. and Deut. 22.22. the Targum of *Jonathan*, interprets of *Suffocation*.] The Way of

¹⁰ Death by burning, Hebr. שָׂרֵפָה [serefah], was imposed in those cases listed in Mather's paragraph (Lev. 21:9, 20:14; Gen. 38:24). Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (52a, b) and Gemara (52b) detail the procedure of burning illustrated in the woe-betide case of a priest's adulterous daughter thus executed: the culprit is buried in a dung heap up to the knees, a towel is wrapt about the neck and pulled in opposite directions by the witnesses "until he opened his mouth." Next, "a wick [or boiling lead] was kindled" and shoved down his throat to "burn his entrails," in Mishnah, tractate Sanhedrin (7:2), in *The Mishnah* (391) and *Tractatus de Synedriis* (7.2), Surenhusius סֵדֶר נִזְקִין [Seder Nezikin] sive *Legum Mischnicarum* (4:237).

¹¹ Capital punishment by strangulation (choking), Hebr. חֲנֹק [chenek], or hanging, was imposed for any crime "worthy of death" (Deut. 21:22–23). Tractate Sanhedrin (11.1) mets out punishment by strangling on anyone who "strikes his father or his mother" by wounding them, "steals a soul from Israel" (Deut. 24:7), i.e., abducting or kidnapping and selling the victim into slavery; elders who rebel "against the decision of the court"; and anyone who prophesies "in the name of a strange god," commits adultery, or bears false witness against a priest's daughter (*The Mishnah* 399). The corpse of the criminal is hanged on the gallows by its hands – not neck – "as the butchers do," but taken down at sunset and buried on the same day (Mishnah, Sanhedrin 6.4), and *Tractatus de Synedriis* (6.4), סֵדֶר נִזְקִין [Seder Nezikin] sive *Legum Mischnicarum* (4:235). See also Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (46a).

Strangling, was with a Towel, Napkin, or any Linen Cloth, putt about the Male-factors Neck, & so drawn by Two Men with Force, contrary Wayes.¹²

Submersion also, [Math. 18.6. and Mark. 9.42.] is by *Jerom*, and *Buxtorf*, and *Casaubon*, reckoned among the Punishments of the Jewish Nation; the Condemned hereunto were called, *Men adjudged to bee Drowned*.¹³

3808.

Q. Is there any thing observable, in the Place of Introducing the Law, about *A Stubborn & Rebellious Son*? v. 18.¹⁴

A. By a *Stubborn Son*, the Jewes understand one that will not do what he is bidden; and by a *Rebellious*, one who doth what he is forbidden. And they imagine, the Law annexed unto the foregoing, about the Marriage of a Souldier to a captive Woman; because the Issue of such a Marriage commonly proved Refractory, or at least, gave much Trouble to the Parents. This is observed, by *Schickard*, out of *Tanchuma*. And they confirm it, by an Exemple out of Scripture; Namely, The two Children of *David*, *Absalom* and *Tamar*, who were both born of a captive Woman, made a Proselyte: The *Former* of these conspired the Death of his Father; the other, being ravished by *Amnon*, was the Occasion of Death, to some of her Brethren.¹⁵

¹² Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (Lev. 20:10, Exod. 21:15, Deut. 22:22), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:142), does indeed mention "suffocation," but in the same place Targum Jonathan speaks of "strangulation" (4:216, 358) – the end result, alas, is the same.

¹³ Based on Matth. 18:6, "Whoso shall offend one of the little ones which believe in me [Christ], it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea," St. Jerome claims that death by submersion with a stone hanging from the culprit's neck was a punitive measure practiced among the ancient Jews (*Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei* lib. 3, cap. 18, v. 6) [PL 026. 0129]. For more on this subject – along with Joannes Buxtorf and Isaac Casaubon's expertise – see John Selden's *De Synedriis* (1650–53), lib. 1, cap. 5, esp. pp. 72–80; lib. 2, cap. 13, pp. 527–77; and Selden's *De Iure Naturali & Gentium, Iuxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (1640) – all impressive studies of the juridical practices in the ancient Middle East.

¹⁴ Mather certainly knew firsthand how difficult a prodigal son could be, for his eldest son Increase, nicknamed "Cressy" or "Creasy" (1699–1724), ran off after allegedly impregnating a Boston girl and ultimately died at sea (*Diary* 2:484, 489–90, 753–54, 771). Mather's funeral sermons speak loudly: *The Words of Understanding* (1724) and *Tela Praevisa* (1724). See also his *Help for Distressed Parents* (1695).

¹⁵ Via Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 354), Mather draws on Wilhelm Schickard's משפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamelech*] *Jus Regium Hebraeorum e Tenebris Rabbincis erutum & luci donatum* (1625), cap. 5, theor. 17, pp. 137–38. Schickard extracts a gloss from *Midrash Tanchuma*, Parashas Ki Seitzei [Ki-Tetze], part 1 (Deut. 21:18), which directs that wayward and rebellious sons should be sent to Beth Din, the House of Judgment, to preempt unforeseen consequences – like those following the rape of Tamar by Amnon, and Absalom's fratricide: "If a man has a wayward and rebellious son." [This teaches us that] whoever marries a beautiful woman [from captivity] will produce a rebellious son. For it is written concerning Dovid [David], that he had lusted for Ma'achah [Maacah] the daughter of Talmi the king of Geshur, when he went out to war, and [this union] produced Avshalom [Absalom], who ultimately sought to kill him! ... And

3809.

Q. Does not the Sentence of *Death* upon the Prodigal Son, seem a little severe? v. 18.¹⁶

A. Dr. *Patrick* therefore thinks, That the Parents look'd upon such a Son, to be so debauch't, that he would not only spend all their Estate, if he had it, but was inclined also to kill them, that he might gett it into his own Hands.¹⁷

[Compare, Exod. 21.15, 17.]

on account of him tens of thousands of Jews died. He caused a rift among the people Yisroel, and Shimi the son of Gera, Sheva the son of Bichri and Achitophel were killed" (*Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma Devorim* 8:213–14). Absalom and Tamar – David's offspring by the captive princess Maacah – proved to be nothing but a curse, for while Absalom caused sedition and civil war leading to the split of the twelve tribes, David's firstborn son Amnon raped his half-sister Tamar (2 Sam. 13:1–37), a conflict that led to fratricide when Absalom revenged his sister's dishonor and had Amnon killed. Wayward and rebellious sons, Rabbi Yosi therefore argues, are good for nothing and should be sent "to *beis din* [house of judgment] and be stoned" to prevent mischief. That is why the Torah recommends "it is better that he [rebellious son] died innocent than he die guilty, for the death of the wicked is beneficial for them and beneficial for the world" (*Tanchuma Devorim* 8:215). This story and its dire consequences – one sin begetting another – is confirmed in R. David Kimchi's note on 2 Sam. 3:3 (Schickard, cap. 5, theor. 17, p. 138) as well as in Maimonides, *Hilchot Melachim* (8.8), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:578–79, esp. notes 48–50). Those were the days. See also Mather's commentary on 2 Sam. 3:3 and 13:13–28, in *BA* (3:344, 369–70).

16 Mather's rhetorical question bespeaks his compassion and enlightened viewpoint on matters of child-rearing. In fact, his manual on the subject, "Some Special Points, Relating to the Education of my Children," says it all: "The *first Chastisement*, which I inflict for an ordinary Fault, is, to lett the Child see and hear me in an Astonishment, and hardly able to beleeve that the Child could do so *base* a Thing, but beleeving that they will never do it again. I would never come, to give a child a *Blow*; except in Case of *Obstinacy*: or some gross Enormity. To be chased for a while out of *my Presence*, I would make to be look'd upon, as the sorest Punishment in the Family. ... The *slavish* way of *Education*, carried on with raving and kicking and scourging (in *Schools* as well as *Families*), tis abominable; and a dreadful Judgment of God upon the World" (*Diary* 1:535–36). Mather's enlightened attitude is also noticeable in his *A Family Well-Ordered* (1699), *Parental Wishes and Charges* (1705), and *Bonifacius* (1710), pp. 52–67. See also E. B. Schlesinger, "Cotton Mather and His Children." P. Greven, *Protestant Temperament. Patterns of Child-Rearing* (1977), chs. 1–2; and K. Silverman, *Life and Times*, pp. 263–69.

17 Patrick, on Deut. 21:21 (*Commentary* 356–58); *Midrash Tanchuma* is explicit about how to deal with rebellious sons: It is not the prodigal's squandering of his father's wealth that warrants stoning, but the son's insatiable lust for more: "he will still seek to satisfy his habit, but when he sees that he is unable to, he will venture out to the crossroads and kill and blunder people." From this we learn "that one transgression leads to another transgression" (*Tanchuma Devorim* 8:214–15). Most of the great medieval rabbis who comment on a son's recalcitrance (Deut. 21:18) agree that severe punishment is called for: Rashi (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Devarim* 5:254–55), Ramban (*Commentary Deuteronomy, Ki Theitzei* 5:258–59), R. Bachya ben Asher (*Deuteronomy* 7:2619–20); and most important, Rambam, in *Hilchot Mamrim* (7.7): If the wayward son does not reform after repeated reprimands by the judges, they will determine if he is old enough to be held fully culpable: "[the youth] is examined to see if his pubic hair surrounded his entire male organ. If that is not the case and it is not three months after [he became thirteen], they [judges] complete the judgment against him as is done with all those executed by the court and he is stoned to death. He is not stoned to death unless the three judges who originally [sentenced him to be lashed] are present" (*Mishneh Torah* 23:390).

Other Nations were very severe, in their Punishment of such wicked Children, as are here described. Particularly, the *Romans*, after the Lawes took away from the Parents, the Power to sell them, or putt them to Death, and committed the Censure of them unto the Magistrates.¹⁸

And among the *Athenians*, (as *Lysias* tells us, in his Oration against *Agoratus*.) he who did beat his Parents, or did not maintain them, & provide an Habitation for them, when they were in Want, ἀξιός ἐστι θανάτῳ ζημιωθῆναι, *was thought worthy to be putt to Death*.¹⁹ Indeed, the Law did not inflict that Punishment, but only said, Ἄτιμος ἔστω, *Lett him be Infamous*.²⁰ That is, as they expound it; He might not come into the Public Assemblies, nor enter into their Temples, nor wear a Crown in their public Festivals; and if any such Persons presumed so to do, they were brought before the Magistrates, who sett a Fine upon their Heads, & committed them unto Prison, until they paid it. No Wonder then, that *Moses* ordained such a Punishment for a Son, who endeavoured to undo, his Parents. It has been followed by some States, in these latter Ages. *David Chytraeus* tells us, At *Zurich* in the Year 1550, he saw a Disobedient Son beheaded, who had *cursed* his Mother, & *beaten* her.²¹

¹⁸ The distinguished French classical scholar and printer Henricus Stephanus, aka. Henri Estienne (c. 1528–98), supplies Mather with a treasury of extracts from Roman Civil Law on the topic, in Stephanus's *Iuris Civilis Fontes et Rivi* (1580), sec. "Extensio ad Castigationem" (16–21). Excerpted in Estienne's work, the Civil Law Codes of Roman Emperors Severus Alexander (208–235) and of Publius Licinius Valerianus Augustus (200–260), also applicable under the latter's son and co-regent Publius Licinius Egnatius Gellienus (c. 218–68), as well as those furnished by Roman Jurist Domitus Ulpianus (170–223), are as stringently unambiguous as those of the ancient rabbis on how disobedient sons are to be punished.

¹⁹ In his thirteenth oration against Agoratus (c. 399 BCE), the Attic orator Lysias (c. 445–c. 380 BCE) reasoned that a recalcitrant son – whether natural born or adopted, "deserves the death penalty" (*In Agoratum*, sec. 91, line 9). Fortune (or her Greek equivalent, the goddess Tyche) had turned on Agoratus who – son of a slave – was first honored for participating in the murder of Phrynichus (the Attic oligarch), received citizenship as a reward, but after denouncing the opponents of the Spartan peace treaty, Agoratus himself lost his head (*KP*). Whistle-blowing, so it appears, remains a dangerous undertaking – then as now.

²⁰ In his *Pro Polystratus* (sec. 4, line 1), *Kata Nikidou Argias: Oratio* 113 (fragm. T. 246, line 2), Lysias condemns Polystratus (c. 410 BCE) for his subversive acts. Mather's third-hand source (via Patrick) appears in Samuel Petitus's commentary *Leges Atticae* (1635), lib. 2, tit. 4, p. 163.

²¹ David Chytraeus (1530–1600), the German Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Rostock, witnessed the decapitation of a young man (in the month of December, 1550) for abusing his mother. His beheading was to serve "*ac exemplum huius severitatis in decollando filio inobediente*," *In Deuteronomium Mosis Enarratio* (1575), cap. 21, p. 398.

4245.

Q. Was *Crucifixion* a Punishment ever used among the Jewes? v. 23.

A. No. If the Jewes had not been Assisted and Governed by the *Romans*, our Lord had not been at all *Hanged Alive* upon a *Tree*, but had first been *Stoned* to Death.²²

3810.

Q. Why is it said, *He that is Hanged is Accursed of God?* v. 23.²³

A. The *Hanging* was on a Peece of Timber struck into the Ground, (as the *Sanhedrim* tells us,) out of which came a Beam, whereto the Mans Hands were tied. So that his Body hung in the Posture of the *Crucified*.²⁴

That such an one was *Accursed of God*, is commonly interpreted by the Jewes, as if the Meaning were, That he was *Hanged, because he Blasphemed God*.²⁵

But the Apostle *Paul*, as well as the LXX, ha's otherwise translated it. They observed, what the Jewish Doctors did not, That *Moses* here doth not give a Reason, why the executed Man was *hanged up*, but why he was *taken down*.²⁶

22 *Tractatus de Synedriis* (6.4), in Surenhusius, *Mischna* (fol. 4), סדר נזיקין [Seder Nezikin] sive *Legum Mischmicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Damnorum* (1702) 4:235. Crucifixion was not practiced among the ancient Hebrews. A culprit was first executed by stoning and then his corpse was hanged in the following manner: "They put a beam into the ground and a piece of wood jutted from it. The two hands [of the body] were brought together and [in this fashion] it was hanged. R. Jose says: The beam was made to lean against a wall and one hanged the corpse [by the hands] thereon as the butchers do." Yet the body was taken down before sundown and buried the same day (*The Mishnah* 390).

23 See Pierre Jurieu's *Critical History of the Doctrines* (1705), vol. 1, ch. 29, pp. 580–81.

24 Patrick (*Commentary* 359). In his משפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamelech*] (1625), cap. 4, theor. 14, p. 99, Wilhelm Schickard quotes Maimonides (*Hilchot Sanhedrin* 15.6–8) to confirm that the corpse hung up on the crossbeam in a crucified posture by the hands (not neck).

25 See, for instance, *Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Devarim* (5:257–58) and Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* (45b). As Ramban puts it (Deut. 21:22), "the law is according to the Sages that no offender [executed by] stoning is hanged save the blasphemer and the idolater. This is the sense of the phrase, *for he that is hanged is a reproach unto G-d* [Deut. 21:23] – because people will say, 'Why was this person hanged? Because he blasphemed G-d or worshipped a particular idol ...'" (*Commentary* 5:260). Identifying "blasphemy" as the reason for the culprit's execution and hanging is also given in the Chaldaic Targum Onkelos and Textus Hebraeo-Samaritanus (Deut. 21:23), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:805). So, too, John Selden's *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Juridicis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 13, pp. 536–39 (*nota* 4).

26 The confusion appears to arise because the Mosaic stricture (Deut. 21:22–23) speaks *in general* (rather than in the specific case of the profligate son) that anyone who is condemned and executed for a capital crime should be hanged "on a tree" and buried on the same day, because a hanged man is "accursed of God: that thy land be not defiled." See also LXX (Deut. 21:22–23). [Significantly, the 1985 Torah translation by the New Jewish Publication Society (JPS) renders תְּחַלֵּית אָתּוֹ עַל־עֵץ "you shall hang him on a tree" as "you [shall] impale him on a stake" (Deut. 21:22). "For an impaled body is an affront to God: you shall not defile the land that the LORD your God is giving you to possess" (JPS Deut. 21:23)]. Be that as it may, Mather is concerned with a much more important, albeit related issue: Was Jesus merely hanged on

Yea, but what Consequence is there in this? *Lett the Man be taken down, & buried, because he is Accursed of God!* It must be understood, That such Persons are said here to be *Accursed of God*, not because they were *hanged up*; no, but because of their *Sin*, which deserved, that they should be thus exposed. So saies *Jerom: Non ideo maledictus quia pendet, sed ideo pendet quia maledictus.*²⁷ *Hanging up* was a Token, that a Man had committed an horrid Crime, whereby he had incurred the Displeasure of the Almighty. Every one who saw him *Hanging up* in that fashion, was to conclude, *This Man was under the Curse of God for Sin*. And unless he had undergone this *Curse*, he could not have been buried, nor putt into the Condition of other Men. When he had undergone it, it would have been a Sin in the People, if they had not then taken him down, or to have prolonged the Suspension any further, than God Imposed this Curse upon him. The Land had been defiled, if after this Suffering, which God had appointed, they had not buried him. This is the Opinion of *Abarbinel*; who confutes other
 [34v] Accounts of | this Matter; particularly, that of *Solomon Jarchi*; who thinks, the Man might not hang any longer than the Evening, because it would have been a Dishonour unto the Sovereign of the World, after whose Image Man was made: And this is the only Reason that *Grotius* also gives of it.²⁸

It is to be further noted, That they say, (in the Tract entituled *Sanhedrim*,) That not only the Malefactor, but all the Instruments of Punishment, were to

the cross for “blasphemy” or for atoning the sins of mankind. St. Paul specifically raises this question and applies the Deuteronomic stricture to Christ’s propitiatory sacrifice as it relates to the question of redemption by works (observation of the Law) or by faith: “For as many as are of the works of the lawe, are under the curse: for it is written [Deut. 27:26] Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the booke of the Law to doe them. ... Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being a curse for us: for it is written, [Deut. 21:23] Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree: That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles, through Iesus Christ: that wee might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith” (Gal. 3:10–14). On the crux of these distinction, see John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 2, cap. 12, pp. 261–67; and Johann Heinrich Hottinger’s *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 6, sec. 3, pp. 96–97. Mather has more to say on this topic in his glosses on Gal. 3:13 (*BA* 9:417–18).

²⁷ That Latin passage is adapted from Jerome’s Greek original and appears as a play on words in an expanded version in St. Jerome, *Commentaria in Epistulam ad Galatas*, lib. 2, cap. 3, (Vers. 14) [PL 026. 0361A–0363D]: “None are therefore cursed because they are hanged, but they are hanged because they are cursed.”

²⁸ R. Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel (Abravanel), Deut. 21:23, insists that “God has not decreed that he [corpse] remain impaled permanently or for any length of time, but only that he undergo the procedure of impalement.” The gloss by R. Salomonis Jarchi (Rashi) on the same verse is not too far removed from that of Abarbanel: “It is a denigration of the king [because] Humankind is made in His likeness and Israel are His Children.” Rashi offers a parable to explain his meaning: “There were two brothers, twins who resembled each other. One became king; the other was caught in banditry and impaled. Everyone who saw him said, ‘The king has been impaled!’ The king ordered him taken down” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 5:146); Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1626), lib. 2, cap. 19, sec. 4, pp. 354–55, offers a similar distinction in his lengthy gloss on this issue. See also Grotius’s annotation on Deut. 21:23, in *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*, in *Opus Theologicorum* (1679) 1:96–97.

be buried, at the going down of the Sun. Even the Tree itself, upon which the Man was hanged, was to be buried; *That no Memory of so foul a thing might be left in the World, nor any might say, Behold, this was the Tree whereupon such an one was hanged.*²⁹

[38H.]

Q. What intends that Passage; *That the Land be not defiled, which the Lord thy God giveth thee?* v. 23.

A. Namely, by the Stench of the Body after it is putrified, as *Abarbinel* expounds it; who observes, That the Dead Body of no Creature corrupts into Stench, sooner than that of Man.³⁰

For this Cause, he tells us, the Book *Siphre* determines not only that all Malefactors be buried, as soon as the Law orders, (that they might not imitate the Manners of the *Egyptians* and *Philistines*, & such like People, who lett Bodies rott in the Air, after they were hanged up,) but that every Man should bury his Dead, the same Day they died, or be deemed to have transgressed a Negative Præcept.³¹ This may pass for a Good *Natural Reason*, as Dr. *Patrick* saies; But, he truly adds, there is more in it, respecting a *Legal Pollution*, under which their whole Countrey lay, as long as an *Accursed Thing* hung openly among them. Just, as all that entred into the Tent where a dead Body lay, and all that was in it, were made unclean by it. [Num. 19.14, 15.]³²

Upon that Score, the Apostle *Paul* might well apply this Passage to *Christ crucified for us*: Not only because He bore our Sins, & was putt to Death, & exposed to such a Shame as these Sinners were, who were *Accursed of God*: but was also *taken down in the Evening*, in token that now the Guilt was removed:

²⁹ According to Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (45b), “[H]as it not been taught: The stone with which he [the condemned] was stoned, the gallows on which he was hanged, the sword with which he was beheaded, or the cloth with which he was strangled, are all buried with him? ... ‘They are all buried with him.’ Surely it has been taught: ‘They are not buried with him!’ – R. Papa explained: What is meant ‘by him?’ In the earth surrounding his corpse,” which soil is considered part of the corpse and must be removed. See also (Babylonian Talmud, tractate Nazir 64b) and Maimonides, *Hilchot Sanhedrin* (15.9) for the same.

³⁰ This and the following paragraphs are from Patrick (*Commentary* 362–63). Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:830–31) and *Works* (8b: 62–66) offer the diverse views of the post-Reformation divines on the subject.

³¹ Two of the six-hundred thirteen Mitzvot are applicable here: Mitzvah 66 (Negative) exhorts “against leaving the body [of the one who has been executed and hanged] overnight on the tree” to avoid conjuring up in the mind of the spectator the capital crime of blasphemy against the Most High. According to *Sifre* (*Kit Tetze*), “‘You shall not leave his body overnight on the tree’ – this is a negative commandment,” in *Mitzvot Lo Tāseh*, Maimonides, ספר המצוות [Sefer HaMitzvot] 1–2 (2:42). Likewise, Mitzvah 231 (Positive) commands “to bury those who have been executed by *beth-din* on the day of their execution.” This is why *Sifre* (*Ki Tetze*) stipulates, “‘But bury shall you bury him’ – a positive commandment,” in *Mitzvot Aseh*, Maimonides, ספר המצוות [Sefer HaMitzvot] 1–2 (1:232).

³² Patrick (*Commentary* 362).

as the *Curse* upon the Man that was hanged, ended at the going down of the Sun; and as the Land of *Israel* was pure & clean, after the Dead Body was taken down & buried, with the Tree upon which it was hanged. *John Coch*, hath well explained, in his Notes upon the *Sanhedrim*, to this Purpose. *As our Blessed Saviour, while He hung upon the Cross, was made a Curse & an Execration; so, when, according to the Law He was taken down, & buried, both He ceased to be a Curse, & all they that are His.*³³

³³ Johannes Coch, aka Cocceius (1603–69), the German-Dutch Calvinist theologian at the University of Leiden, was much admired for his works on federal theology, on the covenants of works and grace (*TRE* 8:132–40). Via Patrick (*Commentary* 363), Mather here refers to Cocceius's extensive commentary *Duo Tituli Thalmudici Sanhedrim et Maccoth* (1629), "Excerpta Gemarae Talmudicae," tractatus de Synedrio, cap. 6, sec. 5 (Nota 5), pp. 252–55. See also Cocceius's related commentary on Gal. 3:13–14, in *Opera Omnia Theologica Exegetica* (1689), tom. 4, pp. 904–10, §§ 106–67. For Mather's interest in Cocceius, see J. Stievermann's *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity* (2015), pp. 361–81. W. van Asselt's *Federal Theology* (2001) is the standard work on Cocceius.

331.

Q. The Lord here gave a Law to *Israel*, about the Recovery of *Lost Goods*; How was that Law observed in *Israel*? v. 1, 2, 3.

A. I can tell you, how it was observed in *Jerusalem*. There was a *Great Stone* in *Jerusalem*, [mentioned by the *Gemara*, in *Baba Metzia*] the Name whereof was, אבן טועין, or, *The Stone of the Strayes*, and of that *Stone* there was this *Law*. *Hee that had lost or found any thing, was to Repair thither; Hee that had found, was to stand there & produce it; Hee that had lost was to tell the Marks and Signs of it.* Moreover, *Hee that had taken up any thing, was to cry it three times; and after Seven Dayes, once more.*¹

3812.

Q. But if no body could prove a Right in the *Beasts* that were found, whom did they fall to?

A. They became *His*, who found them. Nevertheless, he did piously, if he gave the Value of them to the Poor, (and so the Law was in many Places,) but he was an honest Owner of them, if he kept them to himself. This is *Grotius's* Observation.²

[▽ Insert from 36r–36v]

[▽ 36r–36v]

108.

Q. Unto what referr'd, that Prohibition, *The Woman shall not wear, that which pertaineth unto a Man, neither shall a Man putt on a Womans Garment*? v. 5.

A. *Maimonides* tells us, That it was the Custom among the Ancient Idolaters, for *Men* dressed in *Womens* Apparel, to sacrifice unto *Venus*, & for *Women*

¹ Mather's mediate source is John Selden's *De Jure naturali Genitum juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 4, esp. pp. 681–84. According to Talmud, tractate Baba Metzia (28b), "There was a Stone of Claims in Jerusalem: whoever lost an article repaired thither, and whoever found an article did likewise. The latter stood and proclaimed, and the former submitted his identification marks and received it back. And in reference to this we learnt: Go forth and see whether the Stone of Claims is covered." Likewise, Mishnah, Baba Metzia (2.6), stipulates that according to R. Judah, the finder was not the keeper of the lost item until he had advertised his find "at the three Feasts and for seven days after the last Feast, to allow [to him that lost it] three days to go back to his house, three days to return, and one day wherein to proclaim [his loss]," *The Mishnah* (349). See also Maimonides, *Hilchot Gezelah Va'Avedah* (13.1, 8) for much the same. The Hebrew phrase אבן טועין suggests "stone of losses" or "erring."

² Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres* (1670), lib. 2, cap. 10, sec. 11, p. 220. See also Simon Patrick on Deut. 22:2 (*Deuteronomy* 364).

dressed in *Mens* Apparel to sacrifice unto *Mars*.³ And *Philochorus*, & from him also *Macrobius* tells us, That the like Rites were used in their Sacrificing to the *Moon*, which was esteemed both a *Male*, & a *Female* Deity.⁴ 'Tis probable, That these Idolatries, may bee first Intended in the *Mosaic* Prohibition. Altho' there is a Confusion, also upon civil Accounts herein forbidden; for to use the Words of *Ambrose*, *Cur Vir mentiris Fæminam? Aut Tu Fæmina Virum? Suis unum quemque sexum Natura induit Indumentis*.⁵ Yea, I may add, An Inversion in Temper, Order, & Office, may bee here forbidden, as well as in Garment. Such as *That*, which made the Poet complain of *Men*,

*Animum geritis Muliebre*⁶

And *That* which made the Ancient complain of *Women*, *Matronæ et Mulieres sunt senatus noster; quæ dominantur in Ecclesijs, et de sacerdotali Gradu Favor Judicat Fæminarum*.⁷

That the Rites of *Idolatri* were especially intended in this Prohibition, will bee evident, from the many Instances of such Rites, which Antiquity ha's given us. Lett *Servius* on *Vergil* tell us of the Image of *Venus*, at *Cyprus* (where *Bochart* proves the *Phœnicians* to have had their Colonies) formed, *Corpore et veste muliebri; cum Sceptro et Naturâ Virili, quod ἀφροδίτων vocant: cui, viri in veste muliebri, et mulieres in virili veste, sacrificant*.⁸ Lett *Julius Firmicus* tell us of

3 Maimonides, מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (3.37.447) and *Guide* (3.37.544–45).

4 Bochart, *Opera Omnia, Geographia Sacra Hoc est Phaleg* editio tertia (1692), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 19, col. 110, lines 28–31. John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebræorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 17, sec. 1, p. 408. According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.8.3), the Greek historian Philochorus of Cynus (c. 340–260 BCE) (*OED*) relates in his *Atthis* (no. 328 fr. 184, *FGrH*) that the Roman Venus, goddess of fertility, “is also the moon and that men sacrifice to her in women’s dress, women in men’s, because she is held to be both male and female” (59).

5 In his Letter to Irenæus (Epistola LXIX, § 1 [PL 016. 1232C]), St. Ambrose of Milan explains the severity of the Mosaic stricture against cross-dressing (Deut. 22:5): “Why do you play the woman, or you, O woman, the man? Nature clothes each sex in their proper raiment” (*Letters of St. Ambrose Letters*, 1–91), “Letter LXIX,” p. 410.

6 Illustrating how best to gain the admiration of his audience by denigrating his opponents, Cicero’s orator offers the following taunt by way of ridiculing cross-dressing: “Vôs enim, iuvenes, ánimum geritis mûliebrem, illa’ virgo ‘viri,’” *De Officiis* (1.61): “For ye, young men, show a womanish soul, yon’ maiden ‘a man’s.” Needless to say that the context of Cicero’s taunt is quite different from that to which Mather puts his quote.

7 St Jerome’s annotation on Isa. 3:12, in *Commentariorum in Isaiam Prophetam libri Duo-deviginti*, lib. 2, [PL024. 0066C–D], rehearses ancient misogynistic complaints: “Married women and wives are of our senate; they dominate in the churches, and the favor of women judges the priestly rank.”

8 Mather’s principal source for this and the following extracts is John Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebræorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 17, sec. 1, fols. 408 ff. Maurus Servius Honoratius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* (1:312), item 632, on Virgil (*Aeneid* 2:632), assures us that a statue of Venus was revered in Cyprus, and that “with feminine body and clothing; with male scepter and nature, which they call Aphroditos [male Aphrodite]: To her men sacrifice in female clothing and women in men’s clothing.” Samuel Bochart provides the historical underpinnings for

the *Venus* worshipped among the *Assyrians*; wherein, *Sacerdotum suorum chorus, ei aliter servire non potest, nisi effæminent vultum, cutem poliant, et virilem sexunt ornatu muliebri dedecorento exornant muliebriter nutritos crines, et delicatis amicti vestibis vix caput lassâ cervice sustentant.*⁹ Lett *Hesychius* tell us, of the *Ithyp[h]alli*, among the *Græcians*, who worshipped *Bacchus*; γυναικείαν ἔχοντες στολήν· *Muliebrem induti stolam.*¹⁰ Lett *Proclus* tell us, how the *Οσχοφόρια* were celebrated among the *Athenians*, by νεάνια κατὰ γυναικας ἐστολισμένοι· *Adolescentes muliebri veste induti.*¹¹ Lett *Polyænus* tell us, how the *New Moons* were observed among the *Argives*, by *Women* with *Mens Coats & Cloaks*, & by *Men* with *Womens Vailes*, upon them.¹² *Tacitus* also will inform us, of this Rite among the old *Germans*, *Apud Naharvalos antiquæ Religionis lucus ostenditur: præsidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu.*¹³ And *Plutarch* will inform us, that among the *Coans*, the Priest of *Hercules* officiated, γυναικείαν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐθήτα, *muliebri indutus veste.*¹⁴ And in his *Roman Questions* too, you'll see, that on the *Ides of January*, the *Fidlers*, that sang before the *Sacrifices*, did walk about the *City*, with *Womens Clothes* upon them.¹⁵

It is remarkable, that in the Hebrew Original here, They are *Arms* of a *Souldier*, כלי גבר, / *Arma Bellicosi*, which are forbidden to the *Woman*; and

the *Phœnician colonies* in the *Mediterranean world*, including those on the island of *Cyprus*, in *Geographia Sacra* (1692), pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 3, cols. 352–56.

9 Mather's quote (via Spencer's *De Legibus* [1685], fol. 408) is a conflated citation from Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* (1652), pp. 6–7. Appalled at the Syrian and Carthaginian rites of windy Coelestis-Venus, in which cross-dressing men prostitute themselves in her temples, Firmicus exclaims, "Ah! the band of priests can minister to [Coelestis-Venus] only when they have feminized their faces, rubbed smooth their skin, and disgraced their manly sex by donning women's regalia, [...] nurse their tresses and pretty them up woman-fashion, dress in soft garments, [and] can hardly hold their heads erect on their languid necks" (*The Error*, ch. 4, sec. 2, p. 50).

10 Hesychius, *Lexicon* (A–O), alphab. letter *iota* entry 424, lines 1–2, mentions the Ithyphalli who, sporting their membrum virilis in their Bacchic processions, are "dressed in womanish garment."

11 Photius, *Bibliotheca* (Codex 239, Bekker page 322a, lines 14–15, quotes from a fragment of Proclus's *Chrestomathia* (87–92), by the Greek Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus Atheniensis (412–495 CE). The *Οσχοφόρια* (Oschophoria) was a Dionysian autumnal celebration honoring Athena and Dionysius (*DGRA, BNP*), in which a chorus of two "young men clothed in female garb" carried clusters of grapes from the grove of Dionysius to the shrine of Athena.

12 The Macedonian rhetorician Polyænus Macedo (fl. 2nd c. CE) (*EB*) holds forth on the celebration of the new moon among the Argives, in his *Strategemata* (8.33.1, lines 10–12).

13 The Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus, in his *Origine et Situ Germanorum* (43), reports that "Among the Naha[na]rvali," a Germanic tribe, "is shown a grove, the seat of a prehistoric ritual: a priest presides in female dress."

14 Plutarch's *Aetia Romana et Graeca* (263d–304f) reviles he-man Hercules for "attiring himself in female outfits" (Stephanus page 304, sec. C, line 5).

15 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 17, sec. 1, fol. 408. The Roman Ides of Ianuarius (full moon) always fell on the thirteenth (not fifteenth) of January.

they are the *Clothes* of a *Female* /שמלת אשה/ *Stola muliebris*, forbidden to the *Man*. *Mars*, the God, *Armorum*, and *Venus*, the Goddess *Amorum*, the *Idolaters* thought (as *Gulielmus Parisiensis* tells us hee found, in a *Book* of a certain *Cacogræcus*) thus to accommodate themselves unto. They thought, they would make their *Sacred Rites*, agreeable to their *Deities*, by the *Habits*, in which they performed them.¹⁶

[36v] And there was a *Sort of Magic* oftentimes intended in these *Rites*. *Credebant* (saith *William of Paris*) *decepti viri, applicatione vestium muliebrium, maxime in sacris Veneris, conjungi sibi, ac conciliari amore fortissimo corda mulierum, propter quas hoc faciebant: Similiter et deceptæ, id ipsum credebant de viris, et virilibus vestimentis*.¹⁷ However there was alwayes *Mischief* in these *Rites*: | *Modesty* was horribly *Renounced* in them, and a *World* of confounded *Impudencies*, and *Impurities* perpetrated. Hence *Philostratus* tells us of *Comus*, Κῶμος, [The *Dæmon* of *Luxury*] that this *Comus*, permitted the *Woman* to play the *Man*, & the *Man* to bee habited like the *Woman*.¹⁸ Moreover, they thus confirmed themselves in their *Impious Notions* of *Different Sexes*, in their *Deities*: which *Impious Notions* were the *Foundation* of many *Absurdities* and *Abominations*. And, at the same *Time*, there was thus *Introduced* the *Imitation*, as well as the *Invocation* of those *Deities*. If a *Man* appeared in a *Womans* *Ornaments*, annexed unto his own *Weapons*, hee openly declared, his *Devotion* to *Venus* ὀπλοφοροῦσα, or her *Cousin* *Frigga*, the *Saxon Idol*, which was, *Muliebri Habitu amicta, sed Arcu gladióque Armata*, as wee are informed by *Sheringham*. And so, if a *Woman* putt on *Virile Accoutrements*, *Mars* was therein openly declared for.¹⁹

¹⁶ Extracted from *Spencer, De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap 17, sec. 1, fols. 407, 408; sec. 2, p. 410. Deut. 22:5: כְּלִי-גֵבֶר [keliy geber], (*Strong's* ## 3627, 1397), "the thing of a man"; i. e., "a man's attire." שְׂמֹלֶת אִשָּׁה [simlah 'ishshah] (*Strong's* ## 0802, 8071), "woman's garment." Via *Spencer* (410), Mather refers to the bishop of Paris, *Guilielmus Alverni Parisiensis*, aka. *William of Auvergne* (c. 1180–1249), whose oft-reprinted *Opera Omnia* (1591, 1674) Mather quotes hereafter. In his *Tractatus De Legibus* (cap. 13, fol. 44), in *Opera Omnia* (1674), 1:44 (*G*, tertia causa), the venerable bishop of Paris extracts a passage from *De libro maledicto* (*Book of Curses*), by *Cocograecus*, aka. *Cacograecus*, its ostensible author, who describes the six stages of adoring *Venus* (and *Mars*), in which men in female attire (and women in male regalia) engage in rites of obeisance for their favorite deity.

¹⁷ According to *William of Paris*, credulous men "believed fervently, through the use of women's garments, that they were married to each other in the sacred rites of *Venus*, and that the hearts of women were united by the strongest love, for whom they were doing this; beguiled also in the same way, the women believed the same about men, and men's garments," in *Tractatus De Legibus* (cap. 13, fol. 44), in *Opera Omnia* (1674), 1:44 (*H*, sexta causa).

¹⁸ *Spencer, De Legibus* (411) cites *Flavius Philostratus* of *Lemnos* (c. 2nd–3rd c. CE), son of *Verus*, *Imagines* (1.2.1–5, esp. sec. 5, lines 7–9).

¹⁹ *Spencer, De Legibus* (411). Cross-dressing men in arms were devoted to *Aphrodite oplophoroussa* (armed *Venus*). See *Scholia in Apoollonium Rhodium* (p. 67, lines 6–7). The English linguist and student of Anglo-Saxon language and literature *Robert Sheringham* (1602–1678) (*ODNB*) invokes the German medieval chronicler *Adamus Bremensis* (fl. 11th c. CE) about *Aphrodite's* cousin, *Frigga* (*Frigg*, *Freya*), old *Saxon* goddess and *Odin's* wife, who was "draped

It is evident, from the *Trullan*, and *Asterian* Councils, that *Men* did use to appear abroad like *Women*, especially near *New-Years Day*, when they worshipped their Gods, with a more zealous Imploration of their Favour.²⁰

Wherefore, well might the Lord, pronounce this, a most *abominable* Practice.

[4314.]

Q. In what Sense did the Ancients take this Prohibition? v. 5.²¹

A. Many learned Men, of the Moderns, as well as of the Ancients, conceding, That it had a special Relation to *Following the Camp*? This is particularly the Account that *Josephus* gives of it. φυλάσσετε δε μαλιστα εν ταις μαχαις. *Cavete, maxime in Bello, neque Mulier, Habitu Virili utatur, neque Vir stolâ muliebri.* Amazonian *Women*, would fly to the Camp in Armour; cowardly *Men* would fly from it in a Manteau.²²

But the Ancients were mainly on the Allegorical Stroke in this Matter. Thus *Clemens of Alexandria*; *Quam Rationem habet hæc lex? Annon vult nos esse viros, et nec corpore, nec factis, nec mente, nec verbis effeminari?*²³ Thus *Ambrose*; *Arbitror, quòd non tam de veste, quàm de moribus dixerit hæc lex, vel de Usibus, atque Actibus, quòd alius Virum, alius Fæminam deceat Actus.*²⁴

in female clothing but armed with a curved sword [scimitar],” in Sheringham’s *De Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio* (1670), cap. 14, p. 314. See also Maimonides (*Guide* 3.37.544).

²⁰ Spencer (411). Cross-dressing was anathematized as a form of pagan worship (*Canon* 62 and 65) (*CE*) at the Council of Asterio (494) by Pope Gelasius (492–496), and at the Council of Trullo (Constantinople), in 692, by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (669–711).

²¹ Mather’s source for the following paragraphs on the proscription against cross-dressing is the commentary on Deut. 22:5, in *Antiquitates Biblicae* (1671), fols. 276–77, by Johann Conrad Dieterich (1612–67), German Lutheran historian, librarian, and professor of philology at the University of Giessen.

²² Dieterich, *Antiquitates Biblicae* (1671), fol. 276, quotes Flavius Josephus’s *Antiquitates Judaicae* (4.301, line 1): φυλάσσετε δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. Mather’s Greek and Latin quotations combined read, “Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman” (*Antiquities* 4.8.43).

²³ Clemens of Alexandria allegorizes the Mosaic proscription against cross-dressing (*Stromata* 2.18.81, sec. 3), as if this issue were a matter of gender roles rather than of idolatrous worship of Ashtarte (Aphrodite, Venus) – as Moses had intended. Clemens asks, “What reason is there in this law [Deut. 22:5]? Is it not that it would have us to be manly, and not to be effeminate neither in person and actions, nor in thought and word?” (*Stromata* 2.18), in *ANF* (2:365).

²⁴ Dieterich (276) quotes St. Ambrose’s Letter to Irenaeus, *Epistola* 69.5 [PL 016. 1233A–B]. He addresses the appropriate actions of men and women in church and society at large: “I conceive however that it [Deut. 22:5] is spoken not so much of garments as of manners, and of our habits and actions, in that one kind of act becomes a man, the other a woman” (Letter 69.5), in *The Letters* (411).

It is a proper Admonition given by *Mancinellus*, De IV. *Virtutibus*.
Fæmineos Cultus, et Gestus sumere molles,
Vir putet indignum ridiculumque simul.
Quid magis est contrà Naturam, sive Decorum,
*Quàm sub Fæmineâ vivere veste Virum?*²⁵

[△] [△ Insert ends]

[▽] [35r cont.]

3813.

Q. What was the Occasion, what the Intention, of the Law about a *Birds-Nest*? v. 6.²⁶

A. It seems given to breed in the Jewes, a Sense of a Divine Providence, extending itself to all Creatures; and to teach them the Exercise of their Dominion over them, without any Kind of *Cruelty*. It was unreasonable also, that Men should consider only their own *present Interest*, without Regard unto *Posterity*; unto whom the breed ought to be continued by letting the old Bird go free.

Unto this, the Verses commonly ascribed unto *Phocylides*, have Respect;

Μηδετις ορνιθας καλιης αμα παντας ελεσθω,

Μητερα δ' εκπρολιπης, ιν' εχης παλι της τε νεοττους·

*Lett no Man take all the Birds together out of a Nest; but lett the Mother go, that thou mayst have Young Ones again of her.*²⁷

On the *Prosperity* annexed unto the Observation of this Precept, the *Mischna* has a good Remark.²⁸

25 Finally, Mather (via Dieterich 277) quotes four lines from *Libellus de quattuor virtutibus* (1484), by the Italian poet Dominicus Mancinus, aka. Mancinellus (fl. 1478–1491), whose epic poem on the four virtues went through a least 29 editions between 1516 and 2016 (*OCLC WorldCat Identities*). The quoted lines from *De IV Virtutibus* (6.379–382) intone, “A man may think it unworthy and at the same time ridiculous to take on female refinements and soft carriage. What is more against nature or propriety than that a man live in feminine clothing?”

26 Patrick, on Deut. 22:6–7 (*Deuteronomy* 366, 367).

27 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 366) supplies the quotation from Pseudo-Phocylides’s *Sententia* (lines 84–85), along with the translation. Little is known about the Greek gnomic poet Phocylides of Miletus (b. c. 540 BCE), who is mostly remembered for his quotable moral aphorisms, extant in fragments (*EB*). Mather omits the Greek diacritics (which Patrick does provide): Μηδέ τις ὀρνίθας καλῆς ἀμα πάντας ἐλέσθω, / Μητέρα δ’ ἐκπρολίποις, ἵν’ ἔχῃς πάλι τῆσδε νεοσσούς. The translation is Patrick’s.

28 The Mishnah on tractate *Hullin* (12.3, 5) stipulates that “a man may not take the dam with the young for the sake of cleansing the leper [for whose purification two birds were required, one to be slaughtered and the other to be set free into the open field (Lev. 14:4)]. If in respect of so light a precept, which deals with that which is but worth an issar [farthing], the torah said, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days (Deut. 22:7), how much more [must be the reward] for the observance of the more difficult precepts of the Torah!” For the same, see Babylonian Talmud (*Chulin* 142a).

If in a light Precept concerning a thing that is hardly worth a farthing, the Law says, *That it may be well with thee, & thou mayst prolong thy Days*, how much more may this be expected from obeying more Important Matters, of the Law?²⁹

[▽ Insert from 37r–37v]

[▽ 37r–37v]

[957:]

Q. The Design of that Law, *Thou shalt not plough with an Ox & an Ass together?* v. 10.³⁰

A. Taught by Dr. *Spencer*, I do not think with *Josephus*, and *Jonathan*, & *R. Selomo*, and some other Hebrew Doctors, That the Yoking together of all ἐτερόζυγα, Creatures of diverse kinds, or, as *Maimonides* takes it, the Yoking of any *Clean* Creature, with an *Unclean*, is herein forbidden; or, with *Maimonides* and *Rasi* and *Bechai*, & others of them, that other Actions besides that of *Ploughing*, are intended.³¹ It is a Scandal to mee, to see, how *Nice* the Jewes generally are, in Expounding & Applying the *Lawes* of *Morality*, not a Jot further than the express Letter of the Text; but how *large* they are in Interpreting the *Lawes* of *Ceremony*, as far as any Analogy will carry them. In this *Law*, lett us keep close to the *Words*: And lett us Beleeve, That the Conjunction of an *Ox*, and an *Ass*, Animals of so unæqual a Nature, Size, and Strength, in the same Yoke, was a *Magical Rite*, invented by the *Divel*, to bee used by Men in token of their Dependence upon him, for the fruitfulness of their Fields.

Tis very certain, That such an *Unæqual Yoke*, was indeed so much against common *Reason*, that no *Reason* can bee found for it, but in a magical *Idolatry* and *Superstition*. *Calphurnius* notes it, as every bodies Observation, That, *Ne*

²⁹ Mishnah, tractate Hullin (12.5), in *The Mishnah* (529). For the benediction, Mather (via Patrick, *Deuteronomy* 366, 367) alludes to Jacobus Bonfrerius, *Moyses Commentario Illustratus* (1625), fol. 995A. Mather's last two paragraphs were added at a later date.

³⁰ Mather's primary source for his commentary on Deut. 22:10 is John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 19, fols. 419, 420, 421, 423.

³¹ Spencer (419, 420) cites Flavius Josephus (*Antiquitates* 4.228, lines 3–4) on the Mosaic stricture, "You are to plough your land with oxen, and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them" (*Antiquities* 4.8.20). Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel on the same verse, in *Targum Triplex* (Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* [1656] 4.357) affirms this mitzvah, as does R. Selomo – one of the many variant spellings of Shlomo, Solomon, Salomon – who is none other than R. Shlomo Yitzchaki, aka. RASHI. Rashi's gloss (Deut. 22:10) reads, "This applies, as well, to any two species in the universe, and applies, as well, to leading them together, harnessed as a pair, in transporting any kind of burden" (*Metsuda Chumash Rashi: Devarim* 5:263); see also Talmud Baba Kama (54b) and *Sifre* (22:79, 80). The Greek adjective ἐτερόζυγα suggests "unevenly yoked" (as of animals of a diverse kind). Maimonides (Rambam) expands this Mosaic proscription to include clean and unclean animals as well as interbreeding two different species of animals, in his guide מורה נבוכים [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629) 3.49.504–505; *Guide* (3.49.608–609), and his *Hilchot Kilayim* (9.7–8), in *Mishneh Torah* (28:80–82). And so does Bechai, aka. R. Bachya ben Asher, in one of the many editions of his ביאור על התורה [Be'ur al ha-Torah] *R. Bechai, sive Bachie ben Ascer Biur al Hatorah* (1544), in Bachya's *Torah Commentary* (7:2637–38).

*pecora quidam, eodem in Jugo, nisi paria, succedunt.*³² Euclio in Plautus, a Poor Man, speaking of marrying his Daughter to a Rich Man, saies,

*Nunc si filiam locassem meam tibi, in mentem venit
Te Bovem esse, et me esse Asellum; ubi Tecum conjunctus siem
Ubi onus nequeam ferre pariter, jaceam ego Asinus in luto.*³³

Paulinus writing to Ausonius, ha's this Passage,

*Namque pares subeunt Juga. Nemo valentes
Copulat infirmis; neque sunt concordia fræna,
Si sit compulsis mensura Jugalibus Impar.
Si Vitulum Tauro, vel Equum committis Onagro.*³⁴

Homer will have none but *Boves* ἰσοφόρους in the same Yoke.³⁵ And Palladius writes, *Illud antè universa curandum est, ut viribus ad Trahendum Boves comparentur æquales.*³⁶

You know, that when *Ulysses* personated a *Madman*, hee did it, by yoking an *Horse* and an *Ass*, together.³⁷ *Common Sense* would have diverted the *Israelites* from this Peece of *Madness*, if there had not been *Magic* designed in it. The

32 Spencer (421) primary source for the following paragraphs is Samuel Bochart's *Hierozoicon Animalibus* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 13, col. 187. Thus via Spencer and Bochart, Mather quotes from the *Declamationes* (29), by the Roman rhetorician Calpurnius Flaccus (fl. 1st–2nd c. CE) (*NCDGRB*). The passage appears in *Calpernii Flacci Excerptae* (1680), p. 407, and explains that herders “do not hitch cattle in the same yoke, unless they are of equal strength.”

33 In his *Aulularia* (2.2, lines 228–30), the Roman playwright Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184 BCE) has the Athenian miser Euclionis respond to Megadorus's proposal of joining their families through marriage of Euclio's daughter Phaedra: “Now if I were to give my daughter in marriage to you, it springs to mind that *you* are the ox and *I* am the donkey. When I'm hitched up to you and can't carry my burden the same way, I the donkey, would lie in the mud.”

34 A renowned Roman poet and senator and convert to Christianity who became bishop of Nola (Campania, Italy), St. Paulinus of Nola (c. 354–431) was also known for his many poems, sacred and prophane (CE). Via Spencer (421), Mather quotes from one of Paulinus's poems to his early teacher and fellow poet Ausonius of Aquitaine, in *Poemata* (Poema 11.32–35): “No man joins a strong partner with a weak, and it is no harmonious pair if those forced together are unevenly balanced. If you join a calf to a bull, or a horse to a wild ass ... [then you can compare me with you]” (*Poems*, p. 71).

35 Homer (*Odyssey* 23.245): ἰσοφόρους (of equal strength).

36 Spencer (421); Bochart (*Hierozoicon Animalibus* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 13, col. 187; in his *De Re Rustica Libri XIII* (1543), lib. 4, Martius, Tit. XI, p. sec. 99, p. 101, the Roman writer on agriculture Palladius Rutilius Taurus Æmilianus (4th–5th c. CE) recommends that when cattle are hitched in teams for plowing or pulling, “That [it] is to be principally regarded, that they are equal in strength for the purpose of drawing, lest the strength of the more powerful one turn out to be destruction of the other” (*On Agriculture* 186).

37 Pretending insanity, Odysseus yokes an ox and a horse and plows his field to avoid being dragged into the Trojan War, in *Fabula* (95), attributed to the Roman writer of Iberia, Gaius Julius Hyginus (fl. 1st c. CE): Ulixes: Itaque cum sciret ad se oratores venturos, insaniam simulans pileum sumpsit et equum cum bove iunxit ad aratrum. “When he [Ulysses] learned that spokesmen would come to him [to join their expedition against Troy], he pretended madness, and yoked a horse and an ox to the plow” (*Fabulae* 95).

Divel singularly delights in *Confusion*; the *Seething a Kid in its Mothers Milk*,³⁸ the *Sowing of Diverse Seeds*,³⁹ the *Wearing of Apparel | belonging to another Sex*,⁴⁰ [37v] the, *Præternaturalis Fæminam vitiandi modus*, a Maimonide Memoratus (Mor. Nevoc. p. 451) Disturbances given to the Order of Nature, and things that the *God of Order* calls Confusions, these Rites were Agreeable to the Divel.⁴¹ The *Ox* was a Sacrifice, to the *Dij Superi*, the *Ass* to the *Dij Inferi*: Both Sorts of Deities, were sacramentally call'd upon, for the Success of the Plough, when these were in the Yoke together. Such Mixtures pleased the Divel wonderfully.⁴² *Quære*, whether the Name of a Witch, *Mecasseph*, carry not an Intimation of this, in the signification of it. The Divel would, *Eà conjungere, quæ Natura simul et usus separasset, ut Deo et Homini se contrarium ostenderet*. Now all that practised so Absurd a Rite, openly declared their Acknowledgment of its Diabolical Author.⁴³

Baal-Hatturim seeks a further Mystery in this Prohibition; hee saies, *In-nuitur, nihil Justo cum Improbo, debere esse commercij*. And *Bochart* inclines to think, that the Apostles Direction, 2. Cor. 6. 14. *Bee not unaqually yoked with Unbelievers*, is allusive hereunto.⁴⁴

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

38 Deut. 14:21; Exod. 23:19.

39 Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:11.

40 Deut. 22:5.

41 Spencer (420, 421–422); Wisdom 14:26. Spencer here appears to refer to *Rabbi Mosis Maimonides. Doctor Perplexorum. Cum commentariis R. Schem Tobh et R. Ephodaei* (Venetiis, 1551), p. 451, rather than the more widely used 1629 Latin translation by Johannes Buxtorf. At any rate, Spencer refers to the Zabian fertility rites and “the method of preternaturally despoiling a woman,” remembered in Maimonides’s *More Nevochim*. The euphemism appears to cover up such magical rites as the following: “if four women lie down upon their backs, raise their legs, holding them apart, and say and do certain things while in this disgraceful posture, hail will cease falling down upon that place” (*Guide* 3.37.541). Maimonides argues that the Mosaic purity laws were instituted to combat the alluring fertility rites of the Zabians (Sabians). See *BA* (1:878–79, n183).

42 Spencer (421).

43 Spencer (420); Mather’s *Quære* (query) – not in Spencer – possibly alludes to the Cambridge Platonist Henry More’s “Postscript,” in Joseph Glanvill’s *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1689), “The Postscript” (32). Here, More draws on Johannes Buxtorf and R. Ibn Ezra explication of the Hebrew מכשף [mecasseph, mekashaph] (Strong’s # 3784), commonly translated as “witch,” “sorcerer,” “seducer.” Thus the devil likes to “join that which nature and custom at the same time have separated to show himself contrary to God and man.”

44 Spencer (lib. 2, cap. 19, fol. 423); Baal ha-Turim, aka. R. Jacob ben Asher (Rabbeinu Asher) of Cologne, Germany (c. 1269–c. 1343), is best known for his principal work on Jewish law (*Ef*). His explication of Deut. 22:10 mystically suggests that “a righteous man should not enter into partnership [of any kind] with a wicked man” (*Baal HaTurim Chumash* 5:2065); Bochart, *Hieroicoicon Animalibus* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 13, col. 187); Mather added this final paragraph at a later time.

[▽] [35r cont.]

142.

Q. It has been objected, That the *Tryal of Virginity*, directed in the *Mosaic* Law is both *Immodest*, and *Uncertain*, & therefore Unbecoming the Wisdome of God. What can you say of it? v. 13.⁴⁵

A. Many *Customes* of the *Elder Times* & the *Eastern Parts*, may seem strange to us, that are not so well acquainted with the *Reasons* of those *Customes*.⁴⁶

If wee are offended at the *Literal Sense* of these Words, many of the Jewes themselves, do say, they are to bee understood *Figuratively*, of the *Evidence*, that that was to bee brought & laid open, before the Judges, on the behalf of the Defamed Person. To countenance this Apprehension, both *Josephus* and *Philo*, omitt the Circumstance of, *Laying open the Cloth*.⁴⁷

But if you take the Law, in the plainest Sense, a learned Man, will advance you at least, these two Vindications of it.

First, However *Uncertain* some Physicians have thought this *Way of Trial* to bee among ourselves; yett the *Oriental*, and especially the *Arabian* Physicians, do assure us, that it generally holds in those Countreyes. And hence, a Practice of this Nature, is by good Authors, reported, as observed among the *Egyptians* also, and other *Africans*, as well as the *Arabians*. Moreover, Tis possible that sundry Particulars, as to the Practice of this *Law*, are not here fully expressed; most particularly The *Age* of the married Persons; which among the Jewes, was commonly very early; even at Twelve Years old; which would give more Certainty to this Experiment.⁴⁸

Secondly. And that this *Way of Trial*, was not altogether so *Immodest* as you think for, you are to consider, The Law was Intended for the *Præservaion* of Persons, from undue & unjust Imputations; and so, such a Course was pitched upon, as would bee most likely to deter all Persons from such unworthy Defamations. Men would have been more prone to such Defamations, because of the *Liberty of Divorce*, & the Advantage they had, in saving the *Dower*, if they could prove the Party vitiated before Marriage; therefore all the Proof of that Nature, was to bee passed soon after the Consummation of Marriage; which being agreed then, by all the Friends, there was to bee no Liberty left for Defamation afterwards; but in Case any Man should bee guilty of it, the Producing of those

⁴⁵ The standard sources on this unsavory, ancient custom (alas, still practiced in many parts of the world) are Selden's *Uxor Ebraica* (1645), lib. 3, caps. 1–2, pp. 317–30, which supplies quotations from pertinent Hebrew and Arabic sources.

⁴⁶ Mather's attempt to mitigate the horrors of this demeaning custom speaks loudly in his literal and figurative explication of Deut. 22:13–21.

⁴⁷ Flavius Josephus *Antiquities* (4.8.23) and Philo Judæus (*Special Laws* 3.14.79–82), in *Works* (602).

⁴⁸ Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* (1645), lib. 3, cap. 1, pp. 322–23.

Evidences, which before they were Agreed upon, should bee a sufficient Vindication of the Accused Innocent.⁴⁹

In fine, Wee may look on this *Law*, as the *Jewes* do on that of the *Rebellious Son*, of which they say, That there is no Instance of its ever being practised; the Penalty threatned, being so effectual to prevent the Occasion of it.⁵⁰

|
[3813.]

[35v]

But Lett us Transcribe, if you please, Dr. *Patricks* Commentary on this Matter: His Words are these.⁵¹

“Tho’ such Tokens of *Virginity*, as are commonly understood by these Words, might alwayes be found in those Countreyes, (being very consonant unto the Opinion of the chieftest *Arabian* Physicians, as Mr. *Selden* observes out of *Avicenna*, & of the *Africans*, and other People at this Day, as many Authors testify.⁵² See *Joh. Geusius de Victimis Humanis. Part. 1. cap. 9. and P. 2. c. 2.* and *Wierus L. Medicarum observationum; sect. de Hymene*.)⁵³ especially in such

⁴⁹ See the Talmud, tractate Kiddushin (46a).

⁵⁰ See Johann Christoph Wagenseil’s *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus De Uxore* (1674), cap. 3, sec. 8, annotata, pp. 456–57.

⁵¹ Patrick, on Deut. 22:17 (*Deuteronomy* 375–77).

⁵² Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* (1645), lib. 3, cap. 1, pp. 322–23, quotes from *The Canon of Medicine* by the renowned Iranian physician Abu Ali al-Husayn ibn Abd Allah ibn Sina, better known as Avicenna (980–1037). A medical handbook translated from Arabic into Latin, *Avicennae Medicorum Arabum principis, Liber Canonis, De Medicinis Cordialibus, et Cantica* (1556) appeared in many editions and reprints. Avicenna’s holistic medicine was widely appreciated throughout medieval Arabia and Europe and remained popular even beyond Mather’s lifetime. Via Selden (323), Mather refers to a medical description of the vaginal hymen in Avicenna’s *Liber Canonis* (lib. 3, Fen Quarti Canonis 21, cap. 1) and to that in Al-Razi’s *Paraphrasis in Nonum Librum Rhazae Medici Arabis Clariss, ad Regem Almansorem* (1537), lib. 1, cap. 26. The latter work, by the Arab physician Al-Razi, aka. Rhazes (854–925), is a paraphrastic translation prepared by the Flemish physician and anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514–64), whose groundbreaking study on human anatomy appeared as *De humani corporis fabrica librorum epitome* (1543). On Avicenna, see Mones Abu-Asab et al. *Avicenna’s Medicine* (2013); on Al-Rhazes, see Abdul Haq Compier’s “Rhazes in the Renaissance of Andreas Vesalius.”

⁵³ Via Patrick (376), Mather refers to Jacobus Geusius (fl. 1660–75), a Dutch theologian and physician, whose 2-volume *Victimae Humanae pars prima-altera* (1675, 1691) is an anthropological study of ancient Jewish, Christian, and pagan cultural practices. See *Victimae* (pars 1, cap. 9; and pars 2, cap. 2) on the Jewish custom of preserving the blood-stained cloth as proof of a young woman’s loss of virginity on her first night. So, too, Mather refers to the Dutch physician Joannes Wierus, aka. Johann Weyer (1515–1588), now best remembered for his enlightened publications against the belief in demons and witches, whose *Medicarum Observationum rararum liber* (1567) Mather also refers to in his *Christian Philosopher* (169). My reference is to Wier’s segment “*De Hymene*” (which also includes a depiction of a speculum), in *Medicarum Observationum* (1660), lib. 1, pp. 939–42, in *Opera Omnia* (1660), pars 5, pp. 939–42. See also his “*Hymenis membranae, qua omnes muniuntur virgines*,” in *Opera Omnia* (1660), pars 3, *De Lamiis*, cap. 20, pp. 230–31 (a brief segment buried within his lengthy discussion on witches and human monsters).

Virgins, as the Jewes say, were here meant, who were under *Thirteen* Years of Age; and tho' all that some Physicians and Lawyers in these Parts of the World, have said unto the Contrary, is of no Consideration; yett there are weighty Reasons to incline us to think, that no Man of common Sense, would bring such an Action against his Wife, wherein he was sure to be cast, whether his Cause was Right or Wrong, if these were the Evidences whereby it was to be tried. For, if he Accused her falsely, he knew, her Friends were able to produce the Sheet wherein they lay, when they were married, with such Tokens upon it, as would disprove him, & render him guilty of Defamation. And if he had a just Ground to Accuse her, because he knew, they could produce no such Tokens; yett this was no Proof she had been vitiated, since she had been espoused to him; for she might have been corrupted before; and then he could not attain his End, which was to be rid of her, not by Way of Divorce (for then he must have given her a Dowry, which he was desirous to save,) but by having her putt to Death as an Adulteress, which v. 21. shoves to be the present Case. Such evident Reasons as these, have constrained the Jewes to understand these Words, not according to the very Letter of them, but Figuratively; of such Witnesses produced by her Parents, as convinced the other of Falsity, so evidently, that they made it appear as plainly as a Peece of Cloth, that is unfolded, & laid before Mens Eyes to view it.⁵⁴ And they think, the Hebrew Word, *Simlah*, which we translate, *The Cloth*, favours this Expression. For it never signifies, a *Sheet*, or a Linnen Cloth, (which is wont to be called, *Sadin*, Judg. 14.12. and Prov. 31.24.) but such Cloth as Mens Garments are made of; which commonly is Woollen, not Linnen.⁵⁵ And so it is used in this Book; ch. 10.18. and in this very Chapter, v. 5. So that the Sense is, *They shall produce evident Proofs, & lay them before the Court, like a Peece of Cloth, which is spread for all that please, to look upon it.*"

"Whether this be the Truth, or no, I will not dispute; but refer the Reader, to Mr. Selden, Lib. III. *Uxor. Hebr. cap. 1, 2.*"⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Rashi argues that "Let them spread the cloth" (Deut. 22:17) "is figurative – [signifying] the matter is as clearcut as cloth" or "they lay out the facts as one might spread a cloth," in *Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Devarim* (5:265) and *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (5:75). Whereas Nachmanides acknowledges Rashi's rendition as originating with R. Yishmael (*Sifre* 22:92) and Mechilta (*Nezikin* 13), Ramban disagrees with Rashi: "But there is no need for it [figurative expression]. For *this was the custom in former time in Israel*: [Ruth 4:7] they would bring the groom and bride into the bridal chamber and examine them, and the witnesses would guard them outside. ... When they separated, the witnesses would enter and take the cloth on which he laid [*sic*] with her and see the proof of her virginity" (*Commentary on the Torah* 5:274, 275).

⁵⁵ Deut. 22:17: שִׁמְלָה [simlah] (Strong's 8071), a "wrapper," "mantle," "cloth"; Judg. 14:12: קָדִינ [cadiyn] (Strong's # 5466) suggests a "linen wrapper" or "rectangular piece of fine linen worn as outer, or at night, as a sole garment."

⁵⁶ Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* (1645), lib. 3, caps. 1–2, pp. 317–30.

3815.

Q. *If a Man be found lying with a Woman married to an Husband, then they shall both of them Dy.* It is not said, what Sort of Death? v. 22.

A. The Jewes tell us, They were to be *Strangled*. This is an Opinion so settled among them, that *Buxtorf* saies, He never saw any Hebrew Book, which assigned any other Punishment for Adultery. Indeed, *Stoning* was the Punishment of her, that after her Espousals, plaid the Whore, before Marriage. But after the Marriage was compleated, *Strangling* was the Punishment.⁵⁷

[36r–37v inserted into 35r]

⁵⁷ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 379–80); Johannes Buxtorf (filius), *Dissertatio De Sponsalibus et Divortiis* (1652), secs. 24–25, pp. 30–34. See also Grotius's gloss on John 8:5, in *Annotationes in quatuor Evangelia* (*Opera Omnia* 2.1:515–16).

2464.

Q. In that Law, *A Bastard shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord*, what is meant, by, *A Bastard*, and what is meant by, *entering into the Congregation*? v. 2.

A. The *Mamzer* [or, Bastard] here interdicted, is by *Grotius* thought, one born of a *Conjunction* so criminal, that either *Death*, or *Excision*, was the Punishment for it. And so the Hebrewes understand it. And by *entering into the Congregation*, *Maimonides* understands an Admission to, *Jus Connubij*, among the *Israelites*; to marry with an *Israelites*.¹

3294.

But the Prohibition of *Eunuchs*, and *Bastards*, and *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, to *enter into the Congregation*, until the *Tenth Generation*; or, the Children of the *Edomites*, until the *Third*: needs a little further Illustration?²

They who exclude these Persons, from the Liberty of being present at Religious Assemblies, are grossly mistaken. *Strangers* had by the Law of God, the same Liberty with *Israelites*, to be present at His Worship.³ To say, That the Prohibition intends only the *Inner Court* of the Tabernacle, where none but the *Clean* might enter, will not fully reach the Case. The Generality of Interpreters therefore, after the Rabbins, understand it, That the Heathens might not marry with the *Israelites*, who are called, *The Congregation of the Eternal*. But yett, the Lord allow'd *Free Proselytes*, and their Children, to marry with them; and they

1 Mather's source is Hugo Grotius's annotations on Deut. 23:2 (*Opera Omnia* 1.1.97–98), which narrows the meaning of the Hebrew word *Mamzer* מַמְזֵר (Strong's # 4464), which generally signifies a "bastard, child of incest, illegitimate child," but also one "born of a Jewish father and a heathen mother or vice versa." To Grotius, a *mamzer* is the offspring of an antinomian union, punishable by כרת "excision." To Maimonides (Rambam), the "*Jus Connubij*" or "Law of Marriage" entails a proscription against admitting a *mamzer* into the congregation of the Lord (Deut. 23:2, 3), which stipulation is "to deter people from *illicit unions*, [for] a *bastard* is forbidden to marry a *daughter of Israel* [Deut. 23:3]; so that the adulterous man and adulterous woman should know that by committing their act they attach to their descendants a stigma that can never be effaced. ... [T]he *seed of Israel* is regarded as too noble to mix with *bastards*" (*Guide* 3.49.611). Rambam says much the same in his *Hilcoth Issurei Bi'ah* (15.1–2, 7, 9–10), in *Mishneh Torah* (26:182, 184, 186). His interpretation is seconded by those of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and most of the other classical rabbis, in *The JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (5:154). See also John Selden's *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* (1640), lib. 5, cap. 16, pp. 627–32.

2 Deut. 23:4, 7–8; Neh. 13:1–2. Selden, *De Successionibus* (1636), lib. 1, cap. 3, pp. 9–17; lib. 2, cap. 2, pp. 209–210; *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* (lib. 5, caps. 14–15, pp. 620–27). See also Johann Christoph Wagenseil's annotation on Talmud, tractate *Uxore Adulterii Suspecta*, Excerpta Gemara (16), in his *Sota hoc est Liber Mischnicus* (1674), lib. 1, pp. 142–43, annotata 4.

3 Maimonides, *Hilcoth Issurei Bi'ah* (12. 17–19. 22–25), in *Mishneh Torah* (26:156, 158, 160).

were accounted to be of the Tribe, to which they were allied. And why should there have been any Lawes about the Marriage of *Eunuchs*, who were not capable of it?⁴

Wherefore it must be at length observed; That for to *enter the Congregation of the Lord*, signifies, To be Members of the *Government*, and officiate in the Publick Administration of Affayrs. When tis said, *The Priests enter into the House of the Lord*, it means, They perform the *Public Exercise* of Religion in that House. And the *Judges of the Jewes*, are expressly called, *The Congregation of God*. [Psal. 82.1.]

Here then it might be rendred, *They shall not enter into the Council of the Lord; or into the Magistracy*.⁵

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

Q. That Law; *Thou shalt not deliver up a Servant unto his Master, which is escaped unto thee from his Master: He shall dwell with thee, thou shalt not vex him*. It seems a little strange, except we know, what *Servant* is intended? v. 15.⁶

A. The Chaldee has determind that, by adding, *A Servant of the People*; that is to say, of the Gentiles. Our *Ainsworth* gives a true Exposition; It means one who for the Religion of God, comes from his Master to the Church of *Israel*. Tis noted by *Maimonides*, *This Servant that flees to the Land of Israel, is a Righteous Stranger*; that is to say, a Proselyte come unto the Faith and Covenant of God.⁷

It is a Remark which our *Ainsworth* further ha's upon it; That by this Law God shewed His Love in Christ, towards all Strangers, even in their basest Estate, who do in Faith come unto Him; For *there is neither Bond nor Free, but all are one in Christ Jesus*. And he has this Remark also; That we have here a Figure of the Grace of God unto Sinners; who *were the Servants of Sin*, but *obeying from the Heart the Doctrine of God*, are *made Free from Sin*.⁸

That this Law might shine in its full æquity, the *Hebrewes* tell us, *The Master was to be spoken unto, to write for this escaped Servant, a Bill of Manumission, and he again was to write him a Bill of Debt for his Price, until he was able to pay, and then he paid him*. This you have in *Maimonides's* Treatise, *Of Servants*; who adds,

⁴ See Babylonian Talmud, Berachoth (28a), Yevamoth (44b, 68a, 76b), Mishnah Yabamoth (8.1); Maimonides (*Guide* 3.49.611) and "Proselyte" (*JE*).

⁵ Mather's semi-allegorical exposition is worthy of inclusion in *Midrash Rabbah* and Talmud!

⁶ The following extracts are from Henry Ainsworth, on Deut. 23:15, in *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* (1626–27), p. 101 (sep. pag.).

⁷ Maimonides, *Hilchot Avadim* (8.10), in *Mishneh Torah* (12:712), glosses that a "Slave who fled to *Eretz Yisrael* is a righteous gentile. Scripture adds a specific warning for anyone who would desire to deride him, for he is even more humble-spirited than a convert. Therefore, Scripture [Deut. 23:17] issues a command with regard to him: 'He shall dwell with you, in your midst, in one of your cities that he desires. You shall not abuse him'." See also *Hilchot Mechirah* (14:16) and *Sefer HaMitzvot* (Negative Commandment 255) and *Sefer HaChinuch* (Mitzvah 569).

⁸ Ainsworth, on Deut. 23:15, in *Annotations* (101), sep. pag. Gal. 3:28.

That among the Hebrewes, if a Man sold [verso] *his Servant unto the Heathens, he was to be compelled to Redeem him again, & Lett him go out free.* If a Man sold his Servant out of the Land, he was to be sett Free.⁹

And whereas, it is here added, *Thou shalt not vex him*; This was Law for all *Strangers*, [Exod. XXII.21.] and forbad all Manner of Vexation in Word or Work. The *Hebrews* add; *The Scripture adds this Admonition concerning him, because he is of a more humble Spirit, than another Stranger; And whoso vexeth this Stranger, transgresses against Three Prohibitions.* Lev. XXVII.17.¹⁰ Exod. XXII.21. Deut. XXIII.16.¹¹

[△] [△ Attachment ends]

389.

Q. *There shall bee no Whore of the Daughter of Israel, nor a Sodomite of the Sons of Israel:* The special Design of this Law? v. 17.¹²

A. Wee have the Testimony of *Athanasius* for it, That the *Phœnician Women* of old prostituted themselves before their Idols, imagining that by so offering up their Virginity, their Gods were made propitious; and, that ἄνδρες [δὲ] τὴν φύσιν ἀρνούμενοι *the Men abdicating their Sex, behaved themselves no more as Men*, but affecting to bee used like *Women*, they thought they thereby did Honour to the *Mother* of the Gods.¹³ The Wretches exposed themselves to bee thus Abused, it seems, by the next Comers, in the *Temples* of their Divels, proposing to gratify those unclean *Dæmons* by such Horrid Actions. It is likewise a Passage in *Herodotus*, That the *Babylonians* had this *filthy Law* among them; That the *Women* once in their Lives, at the Temple of *Venus*, [or, *Mylitta*] prostituted themselves to ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ, to some *Strange Man* or other, that should meet them there threw down a Peece of Money more or less, which was given to the Temple.¹⁴ The *Women* sat down in the Temple distinguished from one another, by little Cords, which the Man might break if the Woman seem'd coy, & carry her out of the Temple in a Corner. And the Epistle of *Jeremiah* tells us, that there were *Whores* Devoted unto *Bel*, among the *Babylonians*.¹⁵ Moreover,

⁹ Maimonides, *Hilchot Avadim* (8.1, 6, 10–11), in *Mishneh Torah* (12:707–708, 710, 712).

¹⁰ Lev. 25:14 is probably more appropriate than the one Mather copies from Ainsworth: Lev. 27:17.

¹¹ Ainsworth, on Deut. 23:15–16, in *Annotations* (101), sep. pag.; Maimonides, *Hilchot Avadim* (8.11), in *Mishneh Torah* (12:712). See also Selden's *De Iure Naturali* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 711. See also D. M. Cobin's "A Brief Look at the Jewish Law of Manumission" (1995).

¹² The following is extracted from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 22, fols. 440–41.

¹³ St. Athanasius, *Contra Gentes* (sec. 26, lines 4–5); *Against the Heathen* (26), in *NPNFii* (4:17).

¹⁴ Herodotus, *Historiae* (1.199, line 3).

¹⁵ The deuterocanonical Epistle of Jeremiah, which is appended to the Apocryphal book Baruch (ch. 6) and included in the *KJV* (1611), was allegedly written by the OT Prophet Jeremiah. The Epistle of Jeremiah (Baruch 6:43) dismisses the Babylonian gods, their priests, and rites:

Strabo reports of *Comana*, in *Cappadocia*, That in the Temple sacred unto the Moon, πλῆθος γυναικῶν τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὧν αἱ πλείους εἰσιν ἱεραὶ—there was a Multitude of *Women*, who prostituted their *Bodies*; whereof the most were *Sacred*; wherein, hee saies, the Place was like to *Corinth*, for the Multitude of *Whores* that were *Sacred* unto *Venus* there.¹⁶ And of *Corinth*, accordingly *Alexander ab Alexandro* saies, *Corinthi suprà mille prostitute in Templo Veneris assidue degere, et inflammata libidine questui meretricio operam dare, et velut Sacrorum ministræ Deæ famulari solebant*.¹⁷ Agreeable to which abominable Custom, be that which *Alexander Sardus* relates, *Antè Nuptias Solebant Heliopolitæ in Veneris Templo prostare; Amorrhæ septem diebus in Syriâ; Armeniæ in Templo Deæ Tanaidis, aut Anaitidis*.¹⁸

Now the Hebrew Words used in the Text before us, do carry some *Consecration* to Idol-Worship, in the Signification | of them. Compare 1. King. 14.24. [38v] and 2. King. 23.7. And what *Grotius* writes, upon the *First* of the *Romans*. And the Words here used by the LXX, intimate a Devotion to the *Sacred Mysteries* of Idolatry.¹⁹

The Law parallel to this, in Lev. 19.29. Mr. *Selden* judges to refer unto the old Rites of *Mylitta*, wherein Persons were diabolically prostituted. Hence the Reason given is, *Lest the Land fall to Whordome, & the Land become full of Wickედness*.²⁰ There were *Whores* always in the Land; the Book of *Proverbs* declares as much. But if once, the notion of *Whoring* under a Religious Character, & of

“The women also with cordes about them, sitting in the wayes, burne branne for perfume: but if any of them drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow that she was not thought as worthy as her selfe, nor her cord broken.”

16 Strabo, *Geographia* (12.3.36, lines 8–9), “There is a multitude of women who make gain from their persons, most of whom are dedicated to the goddess [Aphrodite].”

17 Mather (via Spencer 440) extracts this passage from *Genialium Dierum* (1673), tom. 2, lib. 6, cap. 26, p. 753, by the learned Neapolitan lawyer Alexander ab Alexandro (1461–1523). First published in Rome (1522), this curious philological and historical miscellany was very popular and went through at least ten editions – with and without the valuable commentaries and notes by Andreas Tiraqueau and others. The two-volume Leyden edition of 1673 is most useful. The review of this work and of some of its editions, in Pierre Bayle’s 10-volume *General Dictionary* (1735–1741) 1:483–85, offers much valuable information. Be that as it may, the Latin citation from the learned Neapolitan translates, “At the temple of Venus in Corinth, more than a thousand prostitutes ply their trade, and ever inflamed give their lives of lust to the profit of harlotry and to serve their goddess as handmaidens of their rites.”

18 Spencer (440) slightly conflates his Latin quotation from *De Moribus ac Ritibus Gentium libri tres* (1557), lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 4, by the Italian historian and archivist Alexander Sardus (Alessandro Sardi) of Ferrara (c. 1520–c. 1599). See M. Saccenti, “Sardi, Alessandro.” Thus Sardi adds, “Before weddings, the Heliopolites were accustomed to whoring in the temple of Venus; the Amorites in Syria for seven days; the Armenians in the temple of the goddess Tanaid, or of Anaitis.”

19 Spencer (441); Hugo Grotius’s gloss on Rom. 1:24–27, in *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (Opera 2.2.679–80).

20 Lev. 19:29; John Selden, *De Diis Syris Syntagma* (1617), Syntag. 2, cap. 7, p. 228, out of Herodotus (1.199).

Libidinous Practices being Acceptable to God, should have been at all entertained, the Poison of that Notion, would in a little Time have prodigiously infected *all the Land*: As *Athanasius* in his Oration against the Pagans, [says] excellently.²¹ And I suspect, that the Crime of those two Wretches, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, partly lay, in Endeavours to *Introduce* Divellish Villanies under such a Notion: or, at least, to *Imitate* them.²²

When wee read the Inhibition given to the Priest, in Lev. 21.7. *Hee shall not take a Wife that is profane*; I suppose it means one of these Women; one, *Quam aliquis, sub Religionis pretextu, et in Numinis alicujus profani Honorem corrumpisset*. Such an one, tho' shee came to lead a New Life, was yett *Profane*, and the Priest of the True God might not marry her. *Women* Consecrated, or Initiated, unto an Idol, *Actu meretricio* were βεβηλωμεναι, or, *Profane*.²³

[39r]

993.

Q. The Sense and Scope of that Law, *Thou shalt not bring the Hire of a Whore, or the Price of a Dog, into the House of the Lord thy God, for any Vow?* v. 18.²⁴

A. This double *Abomination*, must bee distinctly spoken to.²⁵

For the former of these Abominations, It is very certain, that the ancient Pagans, did make a Gain of *Prostitutions*, with which Gains, their *Temples* were supported. Many are the Testimonies, which Antiquitie gives hereunto. Tis a Passage in Mic. 1.7. *All the graven Images thereof, shall bee beaten to Peeeces, and all the Hires thereof shall bee burnt with Fire; – for shee gathered it, of the Hire of an Harlot, & they shall Return to the Hire of an Harlot*. *Jerom* expounds it, That their Idolatrous Treasures, which being obtained by *Harlotry*, should bee carried into *Ninive*, a City compared unto an *Harlot*.²⁶ And you may add, if you please,

21 St. Athanasius, *Oratio contra Gentes* (27); *Against the Heathen* (26), in *NPNFii* (4:17–19).

22 Sons of Eli (high priest of Shiloh), Hophni and Phineas were members of the priesthood but committed idolatrous acts with the serving women and were killed in the Battle of Aphek (1 Sam. 2:12; 4:11–18). Significantly, the rabbis of the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Shabbath (55b) and the Gemarists, in tractate K'rithoth (28a) disagree about their guilt or innocence; as does R. Jonathan in the Chaldaean paraphrase Targum Jonathan, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:206, 208).

23 Mather's Latin quote is from Spencer's *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 22, fols. 442–43. According to Lev. 21:7, priests must not marry "[a woman] whom someone has corrupted under the pretext of religion and in honor of some divine power." Thus women consecrated unto an Idol, *Actu meretricio* by "an act of prostitution" were βεβηλωμένην (Lev. 21:7; LXX) profane or "desecrated."

24 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 23, sec. 1, fol. 444.

25 Maimonides, *More Nebuchim* (3.46.481–482) and *Guide* (3.46.583): "This is also the reason for the prohibition against offering up *the hire of a harlot or the price of a dog* [Deut. 23:19], because both are vile." See also John Selden's *Historie of Tithes* (1618), cap. 5, p. 57; and Selden's *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (1640), lib. 5, cap. 4, pp. 553–57.

26 St. Jerome, *Commentariorum In Michaeam Prophetam Libri Duo* (lib. 1, cap. 1 [Micah 1:6ff]) [PL 025.1157AB].

the Report of *Athenæus*, that the Gentiles did sometimes offer unto *Whores*, the Gifts that had been offered unto their *Gods*.²⁷ The Apocryphal Epistle of *Jeremiah* annexed unto *Baruch*, Chap. 6.42, 43. gives a full Relation of this Matter.²⁸ And, the Words of *Herodotus* are very particular, Ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης: *Ad Templum Veneris sedent multæ mulieres, nodis corollisque Tempora revinctæ, è quibus aliæ accedunt, aliæ discedunt. Nam diverticula undecunque sic funiculis distincta, adytum præbent externis ad mulieres illas, quam cuique libuerit eligendam. Porro cùm semel illic consederint, non priùs Domum Regrediuntur quàm Hospitum aliquis pecuniam mulieri in sinum conjecerit, et cum eâdem, à fano seorsim abductâ, rem habuerit. Hospitem autem illum, qui pecuniam obtulit, dicere oportet. Tanti ego tibi Deam Mylittam imploro. At verò pecuniam illam, quantulacunque sit, non est fas rejicere: siquidem in Sacrum convertitur usum*.²⁹ And *Vincentius Leblanc*, in his Travels, tells us, that near an *Arabian Town*, called *Masar*, there stood of old, a Temple Dedicated unto *Venus*, where the young Women prostituted themselves. But a more Noted Whore than the rest, named *Ameliga*, was noted for this, that shee would never take any Hire from the *Rich*, but oblige them to bestow something upon the *Poor*, using these Words, *Worship the Goddess Ameliza, to whom these Things are offered*.³⁰ How t'was among the *Phœnicians*, tis declared by *Austin*, who speaks of the, *Venus meretricum, cui Phœnices donum dabant, de prostitutione Filiarum, antequam jungerent eos Viris*.³¹ How t'was among the *Africans*, is declared by *Valerius Maximus*, who saies, that at *Sicca*, a Colony of that

27 Spencer (444); Athenæus Naucratis, in his *Deipnosophistae* (13.3–5), describes the sacred temple prostitution among the ancients.

28 The deuterocanonical Epistle of Jeremiah constitutes the sixth chapter of the Apocryphal Baruch. Chapter six details the idolatrous practices of the Babylonian religion as a warning for the captive Jews. Mather specifically refers to Baruch 6:42–43.

29 Spencer (444–45); according to Herodotus (*Historiae* 1.199), “Ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης”: “Most of the women sit in the sacred precinct of Venus [Aphrodite] with a garland round their heads made of string. There is constant coming and going, and there are roped-off passages running through the crowds of women in every direction, through which the strangers walk and take their pick. When once a woman has taken her seat there, she may not go home again until one of the strangers throws a piece of silver into her lap and lies with her, outside the temple. As he throws a coin, the man says, ‘I summon you in the name of the goddess Mylitta.’ The greatness of the coin may be what it may, for it is not lawful to reject it, since this money, once it is thrown, becomes sacred.”

30 The French traveller Vincent Le Blanc of Marseille (1554–c. 1640) records his imaginative and semi-fictional explorations of “64” parts of the world, including India, Persia, Pegu (Burma), Marocco, Guinea, South Africa, as well as in North and South America. The first edition of his *Les Voyages Fameux du Sieur Vincent Le Blanc Marseillois* (Paris, 1649) was reprinted in 1658 and translated into Dutch (Amsterdam, 1654), English (London, 1660), and various other European languages (François Angelier, *Dictionnaire* 428). Via Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 23, sec. 1, fol. 445, Mather paraphrases Spencer’s Latin extract, the original of which appears in *Les Voyages Fameux* (1649), partie 2, ch. 23, pp. 172–73.

31 In his *Civitate Dei* (4.10) [PL 041. 0121], St. Augustine speaks of the “harlot Venus to whom the Phenicians offered a gift by prostituting their daughters before they united them to husbands” (*City of God* 4.10), in *NPNFi* (2:70).

Countray, there was *Fanum Veneris, in quod se matronæ conferebant, atque inde procedentes ad quæstum, dotes injuriâ corporis contrahebant*.³² How t'was among the *Egyptians*; lett *Lucian* inform us; Hee sais, The Women among them, that would not bee shorn, to *Adonis*, Τοῖνδε ζήμιαν ἐκτελέουσι. *Talem pænam exolvunt. Unum quidem Diem, ad quæstum corpore faciendum, foro prostant: forum autem illud solis peregrinis, exhibetur: et quod indè mercedis auferunt, hoc Veneri in sacrificium datur*.³³ Both *Justin*, and *Julius Firmicus*, tell us of the like basenesses among the *Cyprians*.³⁴ *Athenæus* tells us, of the *Temples*, or *Idols* raised among the *Græcians*, by such *Prices* of *Whoredome*.³⁵ *Arnobius* twits them of it: and *Clemens* of *Alexandria* remembers it. And there wants not Proof of the same Usages among the *Romans*.³⁶

Now the Holy God of *Israel*, would have His Worship, wholly kept clear of all such abominable *Impurities*. Nothing that should bee contrary to the purest Chastity, would bee allow'd by the Holy One of *Israel*. Whereas, how ready would corrupt Nature have been, to have committed all the filthy Things imaginable, if once a Pretence of *Religion* might have given Countenance thereunto. How infamous, would all the Gains of *Harlotry* have been, & how disagreeable to the *Reverence of the Sanctuary*?³⁷

For the latter of these Abominations, I will not insist on the Opinion of *Abarbinel*, and *Junius*, & many more, that by a *Dog* here, is meant the *Sodomite* in the Context spoken of, who is in the *Apocalypse* also called a *Dog*; as *Martial* does likewise putt that Name upon a Man of much *Impudence* in Wickedness:³⁸

32 Spencer (445); Valerius Maximus, in his *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* (2.6.15) relates that at Sicca there is a "temple of Venus, where married women used to gather and issuing thence for gain to collect dowries by outraging their bodies."

33 Lucianus, *De Syria dea* (6, lines 14–15) explains, "The women who refuse to be shaved have to submit to the following penalty, viz., to stand for the space of an entire day in readiness to expose their persons for hire. The place of hire is open to none but foreigners, and out of the proceeds of the traffic of these women a sacrifice to Aphrodite is paid" (*The Syrian Goddess* 46). See also Herodotus (1.199) and Strabo (11.14.16) for much the same.

34 Spencer (445–46); in his *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, Marcus Junianus Justinus (18.5, line 5) reports that it was the custom among the Cyprians to send their virgins before marriage to prostitute themselves on certain days to gain money for their oblations to the temple of Venus. Likewise, Julius Firmicus Maternus, in his *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* (1652), p. 15, derides Cinyras of Cyprus in whose Venus temple unspeakable whoredoms are performed as sacred rites (*The Error*, ch. 10, pp. 65–66).

35 Spencer (446); in his *Deipnosophistae* (13.3–5) Athenæus Naucratis describes the sexual histrionics of conquerors and their gods among the ancient pagans.

36 Arnobius (*Adversus Gentes* 6.22–26) and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrepticus* 3.45.4–5) have much to say on the Cyprian temples devoted to Aphrodite and the ventry of her devotees.

37 Lev. 19:29–30

38 Spencer (449) enlists Franciscus Junius's commentary on Deut. 23:19, in *Opera Theologica Sacrarum Literarum* (1613), tom 1, pp. 583–84; see also Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:841–42) and *Works* (8b, p. 111), which mention the Lutheran divine Johannes Gerhard, the Jesuit Jacobus Bonfrerius, the Lutheran Johannes Piscator, and the Jesuit Joannes Stephanus

For Bochart saies well, *Legislatores Tropis et Metaphoris uti non solent*.³⁹ Nor will I insist on the Opinion of *Josephus*, herein followed by *Castalio & Bonfrerius*, That a Price for Liberty to keep a Dog, whether *Pastoral*, or *Venatic*, is here treated as an abominable Offering; which indeed, may agree well enough with the Context, but wants the Countenance of any *ancient Usage* to confirm it.⁴⁰ Nor will I insist on the Opinion of *Austin, Lyra, Abulensis, Cajetan*, & I know not who, that the *Redemption* for the *First-born* of a Dog, is Rejected in this Edict of Heaven.⁴¹ For in a Litter of many Whelps, brought forth in a Dark By-Place, who could say which was the *First-born*? And indeed the Law about Redeeming the *First-born* of unclean Animals, did not extend unto all Sorts of them; such pitiful Things (for Instance) as *Cats & Apes* were not therein comprehended.⁴²

But wee must know, that the old *Zabians*, & especially the *Egyptians*, did mightily worship, a Dog.⁴³ *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that Σέβονται ἐν τῶν ζώων

Menochius as post-Reformation theologians who also interpret the link (Deut. 23:18) between a prostitute and a canine as a reference to Sodomites. Gersonides and Abarbanel (Deut. 23:19) opine that “the reasons that dogs are mentioned in this context, and compared to whores, is that homosexuality is rampant among them. . . . Dogs are among the lowliest of animals” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 5:158–59). Not much behind is the Roman poet Marcus Valerius Martialis, in his *Liber de Spectaculorum* (4.53), who likens Cosmus, a lonely, old man begging for food and lingering on the threshold of Minerva’s temple, to a dog – punning on the Greek word κυνικός [kunikos], i. e., *Cynic*, suggesting “dog-like.” Rev. 22:15 lumps together dogs, sorcerers, whore-mongers, murderers, idolaters, and liars – all of whom are excluded from the City of God.

39 Mather, via Spencer (450), draws on Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozoicon, sive Bipertitum Opus de Animalibus* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 56, col. 690 (line 71), and insists that “lawgivers are by no means in the habit of using tropes and metaphors.”

40 Bochart (col. 690, lines 55–51) also supplies Spencer with the reference to Josephus Flavius’s *Antiquitates Judaicae* (4.206, lines 3–5), who glosses that “no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God” (*Antiquities* 4.8.9). Much the same appears in the gloss on Deut. 23:18, in Sebastian Castallio’s *Biblia Interprete* (1556), col. 208, lines 48–50; and in Jacobus Bonfrerio’s *Pentateuchus Moysis Commentario Illustratus* (1625), fol. 1003.

41 St. Augustine, on Deut. 23:19, in his *Questiones in Heptateuchum Libri Septem* (lib. 5, quaest. 38) [PL 034. 0759]; Nicholas de Lyra’s *Postillae litteralis in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (1492), on Deut. 23:18; Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis’s *Commentaria in Deuteronomium* (1596), fol. 123rd; and, at last, Cardinal Thomas de Vio Cajetan, in his *Commentarii illustres* (1539), fol. ccccxliii–ccccxliii.

42 Mather’s muse for this paragraph is Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, lib. 2, cap. 23, sec. 2, fols. 449–50.

43 Spencer (451); Maimonides, in his *More Nebuchim* (1629) 1.36.52–55; 3.29–31.421–30, and *Guide* (3.29–31.514–23) has much to say on the Zabians (Sabians) – a generic term for pagans – and their idolatrous rites, which the tractate Avodah Zarah (*The Mishnah* 437–45) anathematizes. On Mather’s discussion of the Sabians, see his “Antiqua. Or, Our Sacred Scriptures illustrated,” in Mather’s “Appendix. Containing Some General Stores,” ch. 5, appended to his commentary on Revelation (*Biblia Americana*, vol. 10). Humphrey Prideaux’s oft-reprinted *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations*, 2nd edition (1716), vol. 1, pt. 1, bk. 3, pp. 177–79, 216–28, 241–42, 529–30), informs Mather’s extract in “Antiqua.” For Maimonides’s views of the ancient Sabians, see J. M. Elukin, “Maimonides.” The ancient Egyptian reverence of a “dog” is part of the cultus of the Jackal-headed

καθ' ὑπερβολὴν· *They extravagantly worshipped some Animals, even when they were Dead, as well as when they were Alive, as Cats, Ichneumons, Wesels, & Dogs.*⁴⁴ And *Plutarch* tells us, That among them, τὰς μεγίστας τιμὰς ὁ κύων ἔσχεν· *The Dog had the greatest Honours of any.* And hence tho' one thing were worshipped by some, [39v] & another by others, wee are told by *Strabo*, They all worshipped the *Dog*.⁴⁵ | *Juvenal* therefore Jeers them,

*Oppida tota canem venerantur, Nemo Dianam.*⁴⁶

And whereas, upon the Death of a *Cat* in an House, *Herodotus* tells us, the Inhabitants express'd their Sorrow by shaving their *Eyebrowes*, on the Death of a *Dog*, they shaved πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν· their whole *Bodies*, & their *Heads*: which *Diodorus Siculus* also relates of them.⁴⁷ There were many other Points of *Dog-Worship* among them, which doubtless were mentioned, in that Book of *Labeon, De Dijs Animalibus*, quoted by *Servius*, but the Book is lost.⁴⁸

Anubis, guardian of the dead, who presides over the judgment of the heart (R. H. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods* 187–92).

44 Mather translates his second-hand Greek quotation from *Diodorus Siculus* (1.83.1, lines 3–4), via Spencer (451), and lambastes the ancient Egyptians for their deification of animals: the feline Bastet (protectress of the dead) at the temple of Bubastis; the scorpion-like goddess Hedetet (or Serket), protectress of motherhood (perhaps even the scarab-headed god Khepri, associated with the rising sun); the mongoose-like Mafdet, variously associated with magic spells to countermand harmful creatures; and finally, the Jackal-headed Anubis (Wilkinson, *Complete Gods* 177–78, 196–97, 230–35, 187–92). *Herodotus* (2.66–76) has much to say about these zoomorphic deities of Egypt.

45 Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* (368f, lines 2–4) explains that Shackal-headed Anubis, born of Nephthys (“that which is beneath the earth and invisible”) and cherished by Isis (“that which is above the earth and visible”), is associated with the arc of the horizon, which touches both heaven and earth. Like all canines, Anubis is able to see by night and day. Strabo (*Geographia* 17.1.40, lines 6–8) knowingly relates that Anubis was especially revered at Cynopolis, the City of Dogs, where canines were regularly fed dainties in sacred rituals. “Certain animals,” Strabo continues, “are worshipped by all Egyptians in common” such as the “three land animals, bull and dog and cat, and two birds, hawk and ibis, and two aquatics, scale-fish and oxyrynchus, “a fish with a pointed snout” (*OED*), associated with an eponymous city on a tributary of the upper Nile.

46 Juvenal (*Satire* 15:8) mocks that in Egypt near Memnon and Thebes, “entire towns venerate a dog, but no one worships Diana.”

47 Mather's quote (via Spencer 451) is from *Herodotus* (2.66 line 17–2.67, line 1). The Greek Sicilian explains that “In whoever's house a cat dies naturally, those who dwell in the house all shave their eyebrows, but only these; if the dead animal is a dog, they shave all their body and head. The dead cats are carried away to sacred houses where they are buried, as soon as [they are] mummified, in the city of Bubastis” (*The History* 160). Not far behind *Herodotus*, the Roman historian of Sicily, *Diodorus Siculus* (1.87.3, lines 5–8) reports that some believe “that dogs guided Isis during her search for Osiris and protected her from wild beasts and wayfarers, and that they [dogs] helped her in her search, because of the affection they bore for her, by baying; and this is the reason why at the Festival of Isis the procession is led by dogs.”

48 In his famous commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*, the learned Roman grammarian Maurus Servius Honoratius alludes to the household gods among the ancient Trojans whose sacred canine rites are to have shaped those of the Egyptians – that is if *Servius's* reference to *Cornelius Labeo's* now fragmentary *De Diis Animalibus*, a treatise on the Euhemeristic Penates and Lares (household gods) among the ancient Etruscan deities, can be trusted. This and more can be

Now one Reason of this *Dog-Worship* among the *Egyptians*, might bee that whereof *Ælian* takes notice: That upon the Rising of the *Dog-Star*, to their Observation, the fructiferous Inundations & Irrigations of *Nilus* do also begin; & so they worship the *Dog-Star*, ὡς ἄγοντα τὸδε τὸ γόνιμον ὕδωρ, καὶ παρακαλοῦντα. *Ut Aquæ fertilis Inductorem*; and the living *Dog* itself in Communion with it.⁴⁹ Moreover, a *Dog* was among them the Symbol of their *Anubis* or *Mercury*. And therefore, that wee may approach yett nearer to the Matter, the Price of a *Whore* and of a *Dog*, are forbidden, out of a Design to affront the Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, wherein that noted Couple, *Isis* and *Anubis* were adored; all the Rites, belonging to the Worship of those two *Egyptian* Idols, are thus Damn'd by the God of Heaven. Among the *Egyptians*, as well as other Nations the *Worship* of *Isis* was a Divellish *Whoredome*, and the Lucre of that *Whoredome* was employ'd upon her Temple.⁵⁰ Hereto may refer those Words of *Ovid*,

*Nec tu Niligenam fieri quid posit ad Isin Quæsieris.*⁵¹

And those of *Juvenal*,

– *Jamque expectatur in Hortis,*
*Aut apud Isiacu potius sacraria Lenæ.*⁵²

found in Servius, *In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidos Commentarius* (Thilo ed., vol. 1), lib. 3, sec. 168, p. 373. The Latin writer Cornelius Labeo, aka. Labeón (c. 2nd half of the 3rd c. CE), was the author of several works on religious subjects, including *De Oraculo Apollinis Clarii* and *De Diis Animalibus* – extant only in fragments (D. Briquel, “Cornelius Labeo” 345–56).

49 The Roman Sophist Claudius Aelianus explains in his *De natura animalium* (10.45, lines 15–17) – here quoted at second hand from Spencer (451–52) – that the Egyptians revere the dog of Orion (like the Nile), “for bringing and summoning this fertilising water” and for inundating the arable soil every year in early summer.

50 Mather provides a paraphrastic translation of Spencer’s *De Legibus* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 23, secs. 2–3, fols. 453, 454. Spencer’s muse in much of this section is Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozoicon De Animalibus* (1663), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 56, col. 691.

51 Ovid, *Amores* (2.25–26), teases, “Nec tu linigeram fieri quid possit ad Isim, quaesieris,” i. e., “Don’t ask what happens at linen-clad Isis’ temple.” Mather’s second-hand quote is from Spencer (454), who substitutes “linigeram” (linen-clad) with the variant reading “Niligenam.” This well-known punning substitution can be found in several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century annotated Ovid editions. “Niligenam” amounts to a double pun suggesting “Nile-born,” “brought forth by the Nile,” but also alluding to “nilum genere” or “born from nothingness” and “giving birth to something of no value.” This punning substitution alludes to Ovid’s hilarious story of the lecherous Jupiter/J Zeus who – to cover up his dalliance with the beautiful mortal Io (aka. Callithya, priestess of Zeus’s jealous wife Hera/Juno) – turns Io into a milk white heifer but claims that the fair form sprang from the earth. Hera, not easily outfoxed, suspects the ruse, has gadflies pester the heifer Io, until the beauteous bovine wanders off to Egypt, where she gives birth to Epaphus on the banks of the Nile (Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 1.567–746). Ovid draws on a Greek variant myth of the Egyptian Isis (Io) and her sacred companion, the bull Apis (Epaphus) (EB).

52 And Juvenal (*Satire* 6.489–490), ridiculing the wiles of a genteel woman and her amorous affairs, laughs at her hurriedly getting ready “when she is already expected in the park, or rather at the sanctuary of Isis.”

Whereon the Scholiast expounds it, *Apud Templum Isidis, Lenæ conciliatricis; quia in Hortis Templorum ejus Adulteria committuntur*.⁵³ And then, for the Worship of Anubis, they gave him, as *Diodorus Siculus* assures us, κυνὸς κεφαλὴν· the Head of a Dog;⁵⁴ for which Cause, *Lucian* called him, κυνοπρόσωπος Ἑρμῆς· and *Athanasius* called him, κυνοκέφαλος Ἄνουβις.⁵⁵ and *Virgil* speaks of,

Omnigenūmq̄ Deūm Monstra, et Latrator Anubis.⁵⁶

Which is interpreted by *Servius*, Quòd Canino capite pingitur.⁵⁷

Moreover, the *Familiaritie* shall I call it, or *Affinitie* between *Isis* and *Anubis*, was abundantly testified by that *Egyptian* Pillar, erected unto *Isis*, which had these Words upon it, *I am Isis, the Queen of this Region*, ἡ παιδευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ· *Instructed by Mercury*;⁵⁸ and *shee that Rises with the Dog-Star*, &c. And in the Poms of *Isis*, a Dog, for *Mercury*, went first: and this Dog was made the Image of *Mercury*, according to *Servius*, because, *Canæ nihil sagacius*.⁵⁹ And indeed, among the *Egyptians*, a Dog was the *Hieroglyphic* for a *Prophet*, a *Scribe*, or any singularly learned Person; for which as *Horus* tells us, κύνα ζωογράφουσι· *Canem pingunt*.⁶⁰

53 The scholiast of the *Scholia Vetustiora* on Juvenal's Satire (6.489) glosses, "Near the temple of Isis, a bawdy brothel-keeper meets [her customers] in the pleasure garden to commit adultery." The traditional glosses of the classical scholiast can be found in *Decimi Junii Juvenalis Satiræ Ad Codices Parisionos* (1810), p. 276, on v. 489. See also Alan Cameron, "The Date of the *Scholia Vetustiora* on Juvenal" (2010).

54 *Diodorus Siculus* (1.87.2) reports that since the dog both protects man and helps him hunt, the Egyptians depict Anubis, guardian of Osiris and Isis, with a "dog's head."

55 *Lucian* (*De Sacrificiis* 14, lines 5, 6), not to be outdone, speaks of the "dog-faced Hermes"; and so does St. Athanasius, in his *Contra Gentes* (22, line 9), who mentions the κυνοκέφαλος Ἄνουβις, the "dog-headed Anubis."

56 *Virgil* (*Aeneid* 8.698) sings of "Monstrous gods of every form and barking Anubis" fighting against Neptune, Venus, and Minerva. See also G. Rosati's article, "Latrator Anubis." Alien Divinities in Augustan Rome and how to tame Monsters through Aetiology," in *Paradox and the Marvellous* (268–87).

57 *Servius*, *Virgil's* scholiast, adds, "everyone depicts [barking Anubis] with a canine head" (*In Vergilii Aeneidos Libros VI–III Commentarii*, p. 302 (on *Aeneid* 8.698). See also *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (368f, lines 1–2), which states that to some Anubis is no other god but the all-conceiving Titan Kronos, who is revered as a dog.

58 According to *Diodorus Siculus* (1.27.4, lines 2–4) the inscription of the stele of Isis reads, "I am Isis, the queen of every land, she who was instructed of Hermes [Mercury], and whatsoever laws I have established, these can no man make void."

59 *Servius*, on *Virgil's Aeneid* (8.698), explains that "nothing [no one] is more keen-scented than a dog" (*In Vergilii Aeneidos Libros VI–III Commentarii*, p. 302).

60 Mather's second-hand quote (via Spencer 455) is derived from David Hoeschel's edition of *Hieroglyphica Horapollinis* (1590), p. 48. The Greek description of hieroglyph # 39 (Temple of Horapolis) indicates that Egypt's sacred scribes or prophets are "depicted [in the shape of] a dog [jackal]" (the Egyptian Anubis). However trustworthy this interpretation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, reliable translations of the ancient Egyptian cartouches did not become possible until the discovery of the famous Rosetta Stone in Egypt, which the French philologist Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) managed to decipher. The Rosetta Stone bears the decree of King Ptolemy V (c. 196 BCE) and is engraved on the stele in three different languages or scripts: hieroglyphic, Demotic (hieratic), and Greek.

Except you'll say, that as *Taa*t was the Name of *Mercury* among the *Egyptians*, and they cryed likewise, *Taa*, or *Tao*, when they called a *Dog*.⁶¹

1088.

Q. Why is *Usury* forbidden in the Law of *Moses*? v. 19.

A. You may bee sure, only upon *political Grounds*; for tis added, *Unto a Stranger thou mayst lend upon Usury*: whereas God would never have said, *with the Wife of Stranger, thou mayst committ Adultery*.⁶²

Dr. *Stillingfleet*, ha's well expressed it. "It pleased God, to fix their Habitation, not upon the *Sea-side*, where *Tyre* and *Sidon* stood: but within Land, where they had no Conveniences of Trading, but the Riches of the Nation lay in *Agriculture* and *Pasturage*: In which, the Returns of Money, are neither so Quick, nor so Advantageous, to make sufficient Compensation for the Interest of the Money, in the Time they have it: For the main thing valuable in Money, is, the Advantage the Borrower makes of it; and where that is great, it seems Reasonable, that the Person, whose the Money is, should have a proportionable share of the Advantage made by it: But where Persons borrow only for present Occasions, to supply their Necessities, there it is only an Act of kindness to lend, & it would bee unreasonable to press upon, or take advantage by Anothers Necessities.⁶³ And this seems to have been the Case among the *Jewes*; They were only the *Poor*, that wanted Money for present Necessities; the *Rich* had no way to employ it in Trading, unless that they lent to the *Tyrian Merchants*, which it was lawful, by their Law to do. Now, if they took *Usury* of their own People, it must bee of those, whose urgent Necessity, and not Hopes of a mighty Increase by it, made them borrow; and therefore it was a very Just and Reasonable *Law*, to forbid *Usury* among them; which I beleeeve Hee would never have done, if

⁶¹ According to Lorenzo Pignoria's *Mensa Isiaca, Sacrorum apud Aegyptios ratio* (1669), pp. 81–82 (first ser. of pag.), the Egyptian Thoth (Thoyt, Taa*t*, Taa*ut*us), variously associated with judgment, learning, and writing, was depicted in several guises, including that of an Ibis-headed man, dog-faced ape, or baboon, holding a writing palette and pen. Neither Spencer nor Mather can resist to poke fun at the Egyptian Thoth, whom Eusebius Pamphilus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.9.31*d*–32*a*) calls Taa*ut*us, thus mocking his name with "*Taa*, *Tao*" or "*To*, *To*," the alleged expression used when the ancient Egyptians summoned their dogs in the vernacular. At last, here ends for now Mather's excursus into Spencer's *De Legibus* (lib. 2, cap. 23, fols. 444–55). See also *BA* (1:308*n*113, 365).

⁶² R. Bachya ben Asher answers the first part of the question as follows: "The whole reason for the prohibition of charging interest is based on our obligation to keep fellow Jews alive, to relate to them with deeds of loving kindness seeing the Torah wrote וחי אחיד עמך 'ensure that your brother will be able to live alongside you' (Leviticus 25:36). No such directive exists concerning Gentiles" (*Torah Commentary* 7:2651).

⁶³ Maimonides is explicit on this issue in *Hilchot Malveh V'Loveh* (1.1–5) that it is a Positive Commandment (*Sefer HaMitzvot* 197) "to lend money to the poor among Israel" [Exod. 23:24; Deut.15:8] and not a mere act of charity (*Mishneh Torah* 24:208).

Hee had placed the *Jewes* upon the *Coasts* of *Phœnicia*, where Trading was so much in Request.”⁶⁴

[40r]

Q. Some Remarks on the Law of *Usury*? v. 19.

A. Some that *Lewis* has collected.⁶⁵

The Law forbad the *Israelites* to contract, for more Money than they lent. But their Wise Men made this Addition; That they should not beforehand receive a Gift, for the inducing of them to lend; or any thing by Way of Gratiuity afterwards to express their Thankfulness. But *Maimonides* remarks, that this last was permitted in the Loan of *Orphans* Money.⁶⁶

No *Usury* was to be taken for Money lent unto *Proselytes*.⁶⁷ And whereas, by some tis maintained, that here is an *Affirmative Præcept*, requiring *Usury* to be taken of a *Stranger*, others more modestly maintain, That tho’ there is a Permission of *Usury* on a *Stranger*, yett they might not practise it, except it were to provide for themselves that they might subsist among the Nations. They give this Reason; lest the Jews by this Way of Traffick should grow too familiar with

⁶⁴ Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), Anglican theologian and bishop of Worcester, was well-known for his keen insights and numerous publications, perhaps the best know being his oft-reprinted *Origines Sacrae* (1662). His disquisition on usury appears in his *A Letter to a Deist* (1677), pp. 118–123, where the venerable bishop took his anonymous deist interlocutor to task for claiming (among other things) that Moses allowed usury. The work was popular enough to be reprinted at least four times in the 17th century. The topic of usury in all its forms among Jews, Christians, Moslems, and pagans was handled to near exhaustion in two of Claudius Salmasius’s works: *De Usuris Liber* (1638) and its companion *De Modo Usurarum Liber* (1639). See also Christopher Jelinger, *Usury Stated Overthrown* (1679).

⁶⁵ A religious controversialist and Anglican apologist, Thomas Lewis (1689–c. 1737) published several multi-volume works including *Origines Hebraeae: The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic*. 2 vols. (1725). Mather’s extracts are from *Origines* (vol. 2, bk. 6, ch. 12, pp. 183–86). (ODNB).

⁶⁶ Lewis, *Origines Hebraeae* (2:184, 187–90); Maimonides argues that the property of orphans can be used as a security if the investment is “likely to profit and unlikely to lead to loss.” Thus “if there is a profit,” the trustee is to “give them [orphans] a portion of the profit. If there is a loss,” the trustee is to “suffer the loss [himself]” (*Hilchot Malveh V’Loveh* 4:14). Put in a different way, “our Sages felt that the need to protect the financial future of orphans takes precedence over safeguards for the prohibition against taking interest” (*Mishneh Torah* 24.246, 247n65). John Selden has much to say on the topic of usury in his *De Jura Naturali Gentium Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (1640), lib. 6, cap. 9, pp. 719–20.

⁶⁷ According to Maimonides’s *Hilchot Malveh V’Loveh* (5:6), “[The following laws apply when] a Jew borrowed money from a gentile at interest and then [the gentile] converted. If a reckoning was made [principal and interest] before he converted, [the convert] may collect the principal and the interest. If a reckoning was not made until after he converted, [the convert] may collect the principal, but not the interest.” Yet [Different rules apply when,] by contrast, a gentile borrows money from a Jew at interest [and then converts]. After a reckoning is made, even if it was made after the conversion, [the convert] is required to pay the entire sum, the principal and the interest. [This measure was instituted] lest people say that the person converted for the sake of his money. Even after he converted, the Jew can collect the entire sum of interest for which he became liable while he was a gentile” (*Mishneh Torah* 24:250, 252).

the Gentiles, & learn their Manners. Only Men that studied the Law, might lend their Money on Usury; & enrich themselves, if they could.⁶⁸

Six times, as they observe, it is forbidden in the *Law* to lend unto their *Brethren* on *Usury*; Nothing was more Just, than that their Neighbours, who made Gain by Merchandise, the *Tyrians*, the *Sidonians*, the *Egyptians*, & the rest, should not borrow Money of the *Israelites* for nothing: So, it was as Just, that the *Israelites* themselves, whose chief Profit was by *Husbandry*, should have Money lent them freely by one another without Interest.⁶⁹

Nevertheless; It was lawful for an Hebrew, to take a *Pledge* for Money lent, that he might secure the Payment of it. However, he might not go unto the House of the Debtor, to take what he pleased. He was to stand without, & to take what the Borrower could spare, & would chuse, to give. If the Man were so poor, as to pawn his Bed-clothes, or what contributed unto the Præservaⁿtion of his Life or Health, his Pledge was to be returned before night.⁷⁰

See also; Deut. XXIV.6, 7.⁷¹

⁶⁸ As Maimonides explains in the preceding footnote, usury, though not permitted when a Jew lends money to a fellow Jew, is permissible if money is lent to a gentile. See also *Sifre to Deuteronomy*, ch. 112:4, 113:1(A), in *Sifre* (1:285–286). Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides, and Abarbanel – all agree that while it is not permitted to charge (or receive) interest from a fellow Jew, lending at interest to gentiles is allowed (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 5:159–160). As Rabbi Bachya ben Asher glosses on Deut. 23:21, “to the Gentile you may (or must) charge interest.” The prohibition of charging a Jewish borrower interest is at the same time a positive commandment to charge a Gentile interest on loans extended to him. R. Bachya ben Asher, in *Hilchot malveh veloveh* (5.1) rules that our verse is definitely a positive commandment, not merely permission to accept interest from a Gentile borrower” (*Torah Commentary* 5:2640). Maimonides agrees with this exposition, but also warns against excess in *Hilchot Malveh V'Loveh* (5:1–2). Johann Christoph Wagenseil addresses this issue in his polemical *Carminis R. Lipmanni Confutatio*, in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) 1:598–601.

⁶⁹ Lewis, *Origines* (184–185). On trading and monetary relations between the Hebrew farmers and their Tyrian, Sydonian, and Egyptian neighbors, see Hugo Grotius's *Annotaciones* on Luk. 6:35 (*Operum Theologicorum*, tom. 2, vol. 1, p. 382), who argues that borrowing and lending for interest was permissible.

⁷⁰ Lewis's *Origines Hebraeae* (185–86). Maimonides, *Hilchot Malveh V'Loveh* (1:5, 7; 2:2; 3:5, 6) specifically addresses the laws governing a debtor's right to retain absolute necessities even if he defaults on a loan: “An agent of the court who comes to take collateral should not take articles that a person cannot give as collateral – e.g., the garment he is wearing, the utensils with which he eats, or the like. He should leave a bed and a mattress for a rich man, or a bed and a straw mattress for a poor man. Whatever possessions [the debtor] has besides these should be taken as collateral. [The creditor will then] return to him an article [f.e., tools] used by day during the day, and an article used at night during the night” (3:6), in *Mishneh Torah* (24:232).

⁷¹ Neither a millstone nor an ox for ploughing was allowed to be requisitioned as a security for the loan because doing so would prevent a man from earning a living to support his family (*Hilchot Malveh V'Loveh* 3:3), in *Mishneh Torah* (24:226).

[1867:]

Q. The Law forbidding *Usury*, unto the People of *Israel*; what was the True Intention and Original of it? v. 19.

A. *Usury* was forbidden to the Jewes, only upon a political Account; the Reason of it was, the Partition of Inheritances among them, which by the Practice of *Usury* would have been destroy'd: they were permitted therefore the Practice of *Usury* upon the Stranger, where this Partition was not concerned.⁷²

It is observable, that in those Countreyes where æquality of *Inheritances* was præserv'd, the Exercise of *Usury* was prohibited. *Seneca* observes of *Solon*, That hee making all things, in the State of *Athens* to bee *æquo Jure*, after a sort of *Gavel-kind*, did likewise forbid *Usury*, by a Law which hee called, Σεισάχθεια.⁷³ *Laertius* particularly describes the Σεισάχθεια, to bee, A *Releasing of the Bodies and Estates of those, that were in Bondage, by Mortgages to their Creditors*. *Solon*, hee saies, led the Way himself, by Forgiving Seven Talents that were due unto him.⁷⁴ That this was no other than an Eastern Law, brought by him into the Practice of the *Athenian* Republic, appears by an Observation of *Menagius*, who tells us out of *Diodorus Siculus*, That the *Egyptians* likewise, by whom, (as Mr. *Turner* well notes) wee are to understand the *Jewes*, had such another Constitution, and that *Solon* received his from thence.⁷⁵

The Partition of Inheritances, established by *Moses* and *Joshua*, allotting to every Tribe & Family, a Proportion of Land, which it was not in their Power to alienate from themselves any longer, than till the Year of *Jubilee*, seems to have

72 John Turner (b. c. 1649/50), hospitaler of St. Thomas, Southwark, sometime fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, and author of a work on Jewish and Roman antiquity, supplies Mather with the source material extracted from Turner's *Boaz and Ruth: A Disquisition upon Deut. XXCV.5* (1685), pp. 365–66.

73 In his *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (*Epistulae Morales* 90.6), Lucius Aenaues Seneca (the Younger) points out that to prevent vice and tyranny from corrupting a kingdom, wise Solon established “just laws” for Athens.

74 Diogenes Laertius, in his *Life of Solon* (2.45), established for Athens the “Law of Release” (σεισάχθεια) to prevent the poor who “borrowed money on personal security” from falling into serfdom if they had fallen in arrears. Solon set an example by cancelling his sizable loan to his father Execestides of Salamis, in *Vitae philosophorum* (1.45, 1–7). Apropos, I wished the back-alley lenders who dealt in toxic subprime mortgages before the housing bubble burst in 2007 had been held accountable.

75 Mather, via John Turner's *Boaz and Ruth* (1685), pp. 237–39, tells the well-known story that the wisdom of the Greeks, like the laws of Solon, were borrowed from those of the Egyptians (or rather – as the story goes – from the Jews who were mistakenly identified as Egyptians), among whom Solon had studied. This is also the generally accepted opinion of the learned French classicist Aegidius Menagius, aka. Gilles Ménage, aka Egidio Menagio (1513–1592), whose *Observationes et Emendationes in Diogenem Laertium* (1663) quotes from Diogenes Laertius's *Bibliotheca* (1.98.1–4) as proof of the Egyptian influence on the laws of ancient Greece. My reference is to Menagius's annotations reprinted in the three-volume London edition *Laertii Diogenis De Vitis Dogmatis et Apothemgmatis* (1664) 1:17, 21DE (3rd ser. of pag.). See also Isaac Casaubon's annotations on the origin of Solon's laws, in the same London edition 1:22AC (1st ser. of pag.).

been much destroy'd, at the Time, when the Two Kingdomes of *Judah* and *Israel* were divided from one another. And one Consequence of this Alteration, seems to have been, that *Usury* once forbidden, must now, of necessity begin to obtain.⁷⁶

This *equality of Inheritances*, was not only observed, as *Plutarch* tells us, among the *Lacedemonians*, but also among the *Romans*, in their Beginnings, as is well proved from *Varro*, by *Sigonius*, and by all their Colonies, as is every where in *Livy* declared. But the Practice of *Usury* still destroy'd it.⁷⁷

If you consult the *Fifth* Chapter of *Nehemiah*, you will see, That when the old Partition of Inheritances was destroy'd, they were driven to subsist upon *Usury*.⁷⁸

Now the *Usury* then practised, was an Increase both of *Money*, and of any other Things necessary to the Support of Humane Life. | It was called, *Neshech*, [40v] from a Word that signifies, *To Bite*, because in Time it quite *Ate* thro' their Estates; and thus, all Extortion, is called, *Eating*, by the *Turks* at this Day; this also is the very Word, whereby *David* describes the Oppressors; *Psal. 14.4. – who eat up my People, as they would eat Bread*. And as with Relation to the *Borrower*, it was called, *Neshech*, so with regard unto the Lender, it was called, *Tarbit*, and, *Marbit*, which signifies, *Improvement*.⁷⁹ Being Reduced unto Want, they

76 Turner (292–93).

77 Turner (294, 295) draws on *De Antiquo Iure Civilum Romanorum Libri Duo* (1560), fol. 2, cap. 2, by the learned Italian humanist Carolus Sigonius (c. 1524–1584) of Modena. This massive compendium on Roman and Italian jurisprudence appeared in various reprints and editions over the following century and a half. Turner refers to this work by the title of *De Antiquo Iure Italiae* (1694), an edition of unknown origin. My reference is to *Antiquo Iure Populi Romani Libri XI* (1715), lib. 2, cap. 2 “*De Coloniis*,” p. 628, where Sigonius refers to Plutarch’s discussion of Lycurgus’s redistribution of land to alleviate the inequality among the classes and to raise the *hoi polloi* out of poverty. Turner also incorporates (via Sigonius 628), a quote from Varro’s *De Re Rustica* (1.10), which relates that before the Punic War, the Romans measured land by “*iugera*,” the amount of land a peasant and his oxen could plough in a single day. Two “*iugera*” make up a “*haeredium*,” a portion of land that Romulus is to have allotted to each citizen in his times. Finally, Turner alludes to Livy, whose *History of Rome* (7.21) explains how Roman dictator Publius Valerius Publicola (344 BCE) and his fellow Consul Gaius Marcius Rutilus (4th c. BCE) settled the discontent among the Romans about the oppressive practices of usury by appointing five impartial commissioners (a thing impossible in the US Congress these days!) to address the complaints of lenders and debtors fairly. This issue was rather close to Mather’s own heart, for his property was bonded in payment for the debts he assumed for his third wife Lydia Lee George and her daughter Katherine Howell. See Mather’s *Fair Dealing between Debtor and Creditor* (1716) and *Diary* (2:745–46).

78 Turner (302–303). *Neh. 5:1–19*.

79 Turner (304–305); Maimonides argues (*Hilchot Malveh V’Loveh* 4:1), “*Neshech* and *marbit* are one in [*sic*] the same [i. e., interest], as [Leviticus 25:37] states: ‘Do not give him your money with *neshech* and do not put forth your food at *marbit*.’ And further on, [Deuteronomy 23:20] speaks of: ‘*Neshech* from money, *neshech* from food, *neshech* from any substance that will accrue.’ Why is [interest] called *neshech*? Because it bites. It causes pain to one’s colleague and consumes his flesh. Why did the Torah refer to it with two terms? So that one would commit a twofold transgression when violating this prohibition” [*Sefer HaMitzvot*, Negative

mortgaged, what they had, until the Year of *Jubilee*; & sometimes, they sold, their Sons till the Seventh Year, and their Daughters even till the Year of *Jubilee*.⁸⁰ The *Principal*, was called, *Caput*, which is manifestly, the Hebrew, *Gabbouth*, whereby any sort of Eminence, or Hill, or Top, was aptly signified; [and thus, the *Capitol*, was called, not, à *Capite Toli*, as the Roman Etymologists, tell us, but it was as much as *Gabbouth el*, or, *Gabbouth al*, which is *The Hill of God*: And so, by the way, the *Mons Palatinus*, was not, à *balando*, as the Roman Grammarians tell us, but from the Hebrew, *Phillel*, whence, *Tephillah*, and it was as much as to say, *The Mountain of Prayer*; and the *Vatican Mountain*, was as much as, *Har Hayatik*, the *Old Mountain*, where the first Planters of that Colony, seem to have worshipped God: *Gnajin* being changed into an *Æolic Digamma*, which answers to the Latin Consonant, *v*, and, *f*: And perhaps *Vates*, may be from hence, because the *Prophets* were generally, *old Men*.]⁸¹ It was also called, *Sors*; which is from the Hebrew, *Joresb*; an Inheritance; Inheritances being divided by *Lott*, *Sors* likewise, is a *Lott*, or *Chance*. The *Interest*, was called, *Fenus*: which was, *Hanoush*, from, *Hanash*, to Impose a *Fine* or a *Mulct*: And, another Term used for it was, *Utor*, (from the Chaldee, *Hathar*,) *Usus*, and, *Usura*, from *Hasar*, which in Hebrew signifies, *A Tenth*; for *Usury* was, *Ten in the Hundred*.⁸²

The Degree of it, was thus managed. The Eastern Year, anciently, did consist of Ten *Months*.

— In Anno,

Constituit menses quinque bis esse suo.

The Reason of it was, from the Time of *Child-bearing*.

Quod satis est utero matris dum prodeat Infans,

*Hoc anno Statuit Temporis esse satis.*⁸³

245], (*Mishneh Torah* 24:234). For much the same, see Claudius Salmasius, *De Usuris liber* (1638), cap. 7, pp. 187–89; cap. 20, pp. 611–16; and his *De Modo Usurarum Liber* (1639), ch. 8, pp. 318–23.

⁸⁰ Turner (304–306).

⁸¹ Turner (307–309). Turner (308) has “*har Habatik*” and “*hajn*.” The “*Æolic Digamma*” is the archaic Greek letter *ϕ*, in the Aeolic dialect pronounced “*vau*” and referred to as “*digamma*” (double gamma) because its original shape *ϕ* resembled the Greek letter *Γ* (gamma). See Victor Emil Gardthausen’s *Griechische Palaeographie* (1911–1913) 2:41 ff.

⁸² Turner (311–13). To be sure, John Turner’s etymological derivations are not to be trusted, for they are based on the then regnant belief that all languages are derivations – if not corruptions – of ancient Hebrew as spoken in Paradise. On this topic, see Mather’s *BA* 1:433n29, 1:728–29n92, 1:806–16. P. Rossi’s *Dark Abyss of Time* (137–52) and D. C. Allen’s “Some Theories.”

⁸³ Turner (313–14, 315–16, 317); Ovid (*Fasti* 1.27–28, 33–34) reports that better suited for the sword than for reading the stars, Romulus (mythical founder of Rome) when setting the Roman calendar, “ordained that there should be twice five months in his year,” ostensibly because, “The time that suffices for a child to come forth from its mother’s womb, he deemed sufficient for a year.”

This Period of *Ten Months*, was called, *The Time of Life*. Consider, Gen. 18.10, 14. and 2. King. 4.16, 17.⁸⁴ The Quarters of this Year, the Greek properly called, καιροῦς;⁸⁵ – The *Chaldeans* had anciently Three several Wayes of measuring Time; their Σάροι, their Νεῖροι, and their Σῶσοι. Their First Kings, they tell us, Reigned One hundred & Twenty *Sari*; but they tell us not what Σάρος was.⁸⁶ *Hesychius* contents himself to tell us, that it was, Ἀριθμὸς τὶς παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους. *A certain Number of Time among the Babylonians*.⁸⁷ But a Fragment of *Abydenus*, preserved in *Eusebius*, gives us a more particular Account, That Σάρος ἐστὶν ἑξακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια ἔτη, a Σάρος contains Three Thousand Six Hundred Years; and *Berosus*, and *Alexander Polyhistor* agree with *Abydenus*: Thus of their Ten First Kings, one King with another must Reign Forty three Thousand, two hundred Years apeece.⁸⁸ For this Reason, *Anianius* and *Panodorus* concluded these Babylonian Years to bee indeed no more than *Dayes*: (as, every Revolution of any of the Heavenly Bodies, so as to describe an entire Circle, & End where it began, was, *Shanah*, ἐνιαυτὸς, *Annus*;) A whole *Saros* contained Ten of their perfect Years, which had no more than 360 days.⁸⁹ Its Name is from the Hebrew,

⁸⁴ Turner (316–17).

⁸⁵ Turner (318). καιροῦς from καιρός, “a measure of time,” “season” (of the year). Gen. 1:14, line 4 (LXX).

⁸⁶ Turner (323–24). Σάροι from Σάρος, “a Babylonian cycle of 222 months” (Suidas, *Lexicon*, alphab. letter *sigma*, entry 148, line 1); Νεῖροι from Νεῖρος or νείαιρᾱ “lowest,” “in the lower part” (Lycophron, *Alexandra*, line 896); Σῶσοι, in *In Platonis Gorgiam commentaria* (38.2, lines 6, 16), a commentary by astrologer and alchemist Olympiodorus of Alexandria (c. 495–c. 565); Σάρος “a Babylonian cycle of years (3600),” in Hesychius, *Lexicon* (Π – Ω), alphab. letter *sigma*, entry 226, line 1; and in Abydenus (*Fragmenta* 1, line 6), the fourth-century (BCE), disciple of Aristotle and Greek historian who authored the valuable *History of the Chaldeans and Assyrians*, extant mostly in fragments in Eusebius Pamphilus, Alexander Polyhistor, Syncellus, and Cyril of Alexandria.

⁸⁷ Hesychius, *Lexicon* (Π – Ω), alphab. letter *sigma*, entry 226, line 1; and in Abydenus (*Fragmenta* 1, line 6).

⁸⁸ Turner (324) quotes from the fourth edition of *An Exposition of the Creeds* (1676), article 1, p. 59, by John Pearson (1613–1686), bishop of Chester, whose *Exposition* (first published in 1659), went through many editions and was republished until the late nineteenth century. Turner (via Pearson 59) attributes the Greek fragment of Abydenus’s *History* (*Fragmenta* 1, lines 5–6) to Eusebius Pamphilus, as preserved in his *Chronicon* (in the Armenian tradition) and in the *Ecloga Chronographica* (p. 38, line 29 to p. 39, line 27) of the Byzantine chronographer Georgius Syncellus (8th–9th c. CE). The *History of Babylonia*, composed by Chaldean priest and astrologer Beros(s)us of Babylonia (fl. c. 290 BCE), is extant in fragments only. Berossus (*Babylonia*, bk. 2, Fragm F4a), extant in Syncellus’s *Ecloga Chronographica*, lists the reigns of ten Babylonian kings, whose total lifespans amounted to “120 *saroi* or 432,000 years until the Great Flood.” According to this calculation, then, one *saros* equals 3,600 years. This chronology is confirmed, among others, by Alexander Polyhistor (*Berosos and Manetho* 49). See also Abydenus (*Fragmenta* 1, lines 1–27); Apollodorus (*Fragmenta Müller*, Fragm. 67e, lines 20–30), and Berosus (*Fragmenta* 6, lines 1–32).

⁸⁹ Turner (324–25), via Pearson (*Exposition* 59), mentions Anianius (4th–5th c. CE) of Campania, the translator of Chrysostom (*CBTEL*), and Panodorus of Alexandria (fl. 400 CE), an Egyptian monk, historian, and chronologer. They are believed to have introduced the concept of chronological eras (Anno Mundi) and calculated that from the beginning of Adam to

Hasar. Their Νεῖρος was an Interval of Six hundred Dayes, or Two *Times of Life*; or Periods of Ten Solar Months; and their Σῶσος, was of Sixty Dayes, or Two such Months. *Neiros*, was from the Hebrew, *Nechirim*, the Two *Nostrils*; as here were Two æqual Periods of Time. *Sosos* was from the Hebrew *Shish*, which the Chaldæans might call *Shoush*, signifying *Sixty*.⁹⁰

Now, in the *East*, the *Usury* of Money, & other Things was paid every *Month*: whence it followes, that supposing the Year to consist of *Ten Months*, the *Usura Centesima*, was, Ten in the Hundred. J. G. *Vossius* therefore tells us, *Antiquis moris erat, pecunias calendis credere, et usuras exigere, undè est, quod Plutarchus, libello de non Fenerando, ait, Neomenias ac Calendas, Dies sacratissimos, a Feneratoribus reddi nefandos ac detestabiles*;⁹¹ and unto this Purpose hee applies that of *Horace*,

– *Tristes misero venere Kalendæ.*

Tho', as *Horace* elsewhere saies,

*Fenerator Alphius
Omnem relegit Idibus pecuniam,
Quærit calendis ponere.*⁹²

Vossius adds, *Quòd Feneratorum is fuerit mos, ut quanquam Calendis usura deberetur, tamen in Idus concederent dilationem*.⁹³

The *Hundredth Part* in the *Usury* mentioned by *Nehemiah*, if you understand it of the *Year*, was next kin to no *Usury* at all, & could not bee the Cause of such loud Complaints. But it was, *One* in the *Hundred* for a Month; and

Panodorus's own time (412 CE) 5,904 years had passed (*NSHE* 4:163). Suidas (*Lexicon*, alphab. letter **sigma** entry 148, lines 1–3). The Greek ἐνιαυτός and Latin *Annus* suggest *anniversary*, *cycle*, *period* and *year*.

⁹⁰ Turner (323–25, 326, 327, 328, 329). On the uncertainty of these early chronologies, see Edward Stillingfleet's popular *Origines Sacra* (1666), bk. 1, ch. 6, pp. 89–106.

⁹¹ Extracted from Gerhard Johannes Vossius's commentary on the topic of "Calendæ," in his *Etymologicon Linguae Latinae* (1662), fol. 93. Vossius tells us that "It was the custom of the ancients to loan money during the Kalends [first day of the Roman month] and to demand interest, whence there is – as Plutarch says in a little treatise about usury – that new moons or Kalends are the most sacred days made sacrilegious and detestable by usurers."

⁹² Horace (*Satire* 1.87) pokes fun at one who shuns his friend for a small office, just like a wretched debtor who "at the coming of the sad Kalends" knows he cannot cough up even a quarter of the principal, let alone of the interest. In his *Epodes* (2.67, 69–70), Horace has "the money-lender Alfius [having fallen in love with the pastoral beauty of country-life] call in all his money on the Ides [of March], intending to put it out again on the Kalends [first day of the Roman months]."

⁹³ The preceding paragraph (including the Latin quotes from Plutarch and Horace) is extracted from Vossius's *Etymologicon Linguae Latinae* (1662), fol. 93. Here Vossius comments on Horace's foolish money lender Alfius: "That it has been the custom of lenders, that although interest ought to be paid on the Kalends, they nonetheless grant a postponement until the Ides." On Johannes Gerard Vossius, see C. S. M. Rademaker's *Life and Works of Gerardus Johannes Vossius* (1981).

there being then Twelve Months in the whole Year, t'was *Twelve* in the *Hundred*; which would produce dismal Effects.⁹⁴

For this Cause, the *Tenth* of all things was paid unto the *Priests*; *They* being the Family of God, who is the great *Proprietor* of all Things. The *Tenth* was paid unto Him, as an *Usury*.⁹⁵

And whereas, *Nehemiah*, writes of their Selling their *Sons & Daughters into Bondage*, the like Usage was among the *Romans*; only t'was more cruel and severe, because they had no *Jubilee*: and they that were thus enslaved, were called, *Nexi*, and, *Addicti Corporibus*, and, *Nexu Vinciti*, in *Livy*, who Tragically describes their Condition.⁹⁶

There also arose a Difference between the *Usury* of *Money*, and other Things, as *Corn* and *Oyl*, and the like. The Use of *Money* mostly comes within the Compass of the *Centesima*; if it exceeded the Imperial Edicts, yett extant, Restrained it. But in other things, the Borrower was to Refund a Third Part Increase, or an Half of the Whole; e. g. hee that borrowed Two Bushels of Corn, was to refund Three. This was called, *Usura Hemiolia*; of which there are several Imperial Lawes yett extant.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Turner (362); Neh. 5:11.

⁹⁵ Turner (362–63); Neh. 13:12.

⁹⁶ Turner (364–65); Neh. 5:5. “*Addicti Corporibus*” suggests “confiscating (binding) a person for debt” or “sentencing a person to debt slavery” – credit cards and all! According to Titus Livy (*History of Rome*, 2.23.8) “*nexu/nexi vinciti*” signifies “to bind, fetter” a bondman or debtor. Livy reports how in 495 BCE, bondsmen and debtors rose up in the Forum and implored the Quirites for protection against their being sold into bond-slavery by usurers.

⁹⁷ Turner (364). According to the *Codex Theodosianus* (2.33.1), Roman Emperor Constantine I (274–337) decreed that a maximum of 12 percent (*centesima*, per cent, per one hundred) interest could be charged annually on a monetary loan but that a whopping 50 percent (*hemiolia*, i. e., consisting of three halves as much) could be charged (extorted!) annually on loans in kind. Turner relies on the *Codex Theodosianus cum Perpetuis Commentariis Iacobi Gothofredi* (1665) 1:232–33, by the distinguished Swiss jurist Jacques Godefroy (1587–1652) of Geneva (EB). In his commentary on *Codex* (2.33.1) *De Usuris* ¶ *De Modo usurarum*, tom. 1, pp. 232–33, Godefroy discusses the extortionist practices of usury allowed by Constantine I. Thus *usura hemiolia* suggests charging interest at half, or at 50 percent of the value of non-monetary loans. Or as Mather renders it, “hee that borrowed Two Bushels of Corn, was to refund Three.” See also *The Theodosian Code* (2.33.1, p. 61): “If a person should lend farm products, either liquid or dry, to those who need them, he shall receive a third additional part as interest; that is, if the sum credited should be two measures, he shall gain a third additional measure. 1. But if, on account of the advantage of the interest, a creditor should refuse to accept payment of the debt when he is formally notified, he shall be deprived not only of the interest but also of the principal of the debt. 2. This law shall pertain to farm products only, for a creditor is forbidden to receive more than one percent [per month; that is twelve percent a year].”

Q. Upon the *Law of Divorce* here given? v. 4.

A. Our Saviour having said several times, *It hath been said*, [τοις αρχαιοις] *To or By them of old time*, leaves out the τοις αρχαιοις, and only saies, [Matth. V. 31.] *It ha's been said, If a Man putt away his Wife, Lett him give her a Bill of Divorce.* Why? The Speech was not said, *to or by them of old Time.* Compare, Matth. XIX.8.¹ But therefore, as Dr. *Gell* takes notice, The three Verses here, are, *Sententia pendula*, an imperfect Sentence, which is to be compleated in the Fourth Verse:

If [or, when] a Man has taken a Wife, and [IF] he write a Bill of Divorce; and [IF] she go & be another Mans, &c – Then her former Husband may not take her again.

Now, *suppositio nihil ponit in esse.* Compare, Jer. III.1.²

Thus the LXX express the Sense, of these Four Verses. Yea, so the Chaldee Paraphrase.³

3816.

Q. Why is there that Expression used; *Remember what the Lord thy God did unto Miriam, by the way?* v. 9.

A. It seems to be mentioned, That the People might not think much to be shutt up Seven Dayes, when they were suspected for to have the *Leprosy*, and Seven Dayes more upon further Trial; & to be putt out of the Camp, when it appear'd plainly that they had it; since that so great a Person as *Miriam*, was excluded so long from the Society of the People of God. [Num. 12.15.] It might

¹ As on previous occasions, Mather avails himself of *An Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English Translation of the Bible* (1659), a massive critique of the translation of the KJV, by the Anglican clergyman Robert Gell (1595–1665) at St. Mary Aldermary parish (ODNB). Mather loosely paraphrases Gell's annotations on Deut. 24:4 (*Essay* 725A–B [misnumbered 723]). Characteristically, Mather omits the Greek diacritics, which do appear in Gell: τοις αρχαιοις, Thus Mather follows Gell's argument that Matth. 5:31 should read, Ἐρρέθη τοις αρχαιοις "And it has been said [to them] of old." Instead, verse 31 begins, Ἐρρέθη δέ: "And it has been said." Likewise, Matth. 19:8, retains the formulaic, "but from the beginning it was not so."

² Gell (724B–E). Mather's extract is a bit cryptic; Gell reads, "So that all the three first verses are but a *condition* of the *Antecedent* in order to the *consequent*; a *supposition* of somewhat which possibly might be; and if it so come to pass, then the *consequent* will take place. For *Suppositio nihil ponit in esse*; *A Supposition makes nothing to be*" (724C). Or, as the Jer. 3:1 (LXX) has it, "If a man put away his wife, and she depart from him, and become another man's, shall she return to him any more at all? shall not that woman be utterly defiled? yet thou hast gone a-whoring with many shepherds, and hast returned to me, saith the Lord" (Brenton translation). See also Mather's Christological application of Jer. 3:1 (BA 5:867).

³ Gell (723A–C); Chaldaic paraphrase of Deut. 24:1–4 (Targum Onkelos), in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:815).

be also an Admonition unto them, to take heed, that they did not *Speak Evil of Dignities* (which brought this Punishment on *Miriam*;) or disobey the *Priests*, (which might bring such a Punishment on them.)⁴

[3264.]

Q. The Lawes about *Pledges*, might have a little *Illustration*? v. 12—

A. *Pledges* were to be restored by Sun-sett; And, if they were Garments, it is asked about him that gave them, [Ex. 22.26.] *wherein shall he sleep*? Why, Because in Hott Countreyes, tis very Dangerous to sleep ill-covered in the Night.⁵

Moreover, He who took the *Pledge*, might not go into his Brothers House to take it, but must receive it without Doors. This was, that he might not see the Nakedness of his Brothers House, nor covet any *other Pledge*, than what he could best spare unto him.⁶

[3820.]

Q. Might there not be a further Intention, in the Law about a *Pledge*?

A. The Law seems intended, for to keep them, from taking any *Pledge* at all, of a very poor Man; For, to what Purpose, should they every Morning fetch a *Pledge*, & every Evening return it? A thing that would create 'em a deal of Trouble.⁷

| [blank]

[41v]

4 Simon Patrick on Deut. 24:9 (*Deuteronomy* 423–24). Rashi argues that Miriam was afflicted with leprosy because she slandered her brother: “If you intend to take precautions to avoid suffering *tzora’as*, do not engage in slander” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi Devarim* 5:283); Nachmanides adds, “Rashi takes this as a precaution to avoid harmful speech, but I believe it is as literal a commandment as ‘Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy’ (Exod.20:8). . . . It is a prohibition against harmful speech, framed as the positive commandment to remember what God did to Miriam. Even though that righteous prophetess spoke only out of profound love for her brother, did not shame him to his face, did not speak about him publicly but only to her holy brother Aaron in private, and all her actions were for the best, this did her no good” (*JPS Migra’ot Gedolot* 5:163).

5 Maimonides’s explication is to the point in *Hilchot Malveh V’Loveh* (3:5): “Do not go to sleep while his collateral is in your possession”; this refers to a garment worn at night. With regard to articles that he wears or uses to perform work during the day, [Exodus 22:25] states: ‘Until the setting of the sun, return it to him’ – this teaches that he must return it to him throughout the day” (*Mishneh Torah* 24:230). See also *Sefer HaMitzvot* (Neg. Commandment 240).

6 Maimonides (*Hilchot Malveh V’Loveh* 3:4): “Even an agent of the court who comes to collect security [pledged for a loan] should not enter [the borrower’s] house to collect the security. Instead, he should stand outside. The borrower should go into his [own] house and bring out the security for him, as [Deuteronomy 24:11] states: ‘You shall stand outside’” (*Mishneh Torah* 24:228). See for the same in the Mishnah and the Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Baba Metzia (113a).

7 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 424–25).

237.

Q. What was the *Law*, and what the *Way*, of *Scourging* Malefactors among the Jewes? v. 2, 3.

A. It is very plain, That the *Law* allowed *Forty Stripes*: but the *Way* among them was to give but *Nine and Thirty*. Hence *Paul* saies, in 2. Cor. 11.24.¹ *Of the Jewes, Five Times Received I, Forty Stripes, save One*. Tho' *Erasmus Schmidius*, I confess, will have that *παρὰ μίαν*, to bee supply'd with *ἡμέραν*, as if the Apostle had been scourged with *Forty Stripes*, five times in One Day.² But inasmuch as the Apostle was now among the Jewes, wee may rather suppose him treated after the *Jewish Manner*: which was to omitt giving the *Last* of the *Forty Stripes* allowed. And This Omission was not only because, the Letters of the Hebrew Word *תִּיבָא*, *Thy Brother* do number *Thirty Nine*; but the more effectually to prevent an Heedless *Executioner* from *Exceeding* the Number *Forty*, which was expressly forbidden; whereas, t'was not forbidden to *Abate* it. Nor was this all; but they herein Accommodated themselves to the fashion of the *Scourging Instrument* in aftertimes Invented among them.³

The fashion of the whole was this.

The *Executioner* stript the *Malefactor*, of all his Clothes, as far as his Thighs; and hee ty'd the Mans Hands unto a Fast Block, about a Cubit and Half high, from the Ground; so that the Man must lean and stoop forward upon that Block. The *Executioner* then standing upon a Stone, had in his Hand, a *Tool*, thus composed; the *Handle* was little more than an *Hands Breadth*; unto this there was fastned a long Thong of *Neats Leather* on the Sides of which, there was fastned a Couple of shorter Thongs, made of an *Asses Hide*: so that every Blow must give *Three Lashes* to the Delinquent: The *Bull-Thong*, in the Middle reached

1 Mather's manuscript erroneously reads "2. Cor. 11:44."

2 The German Lutheran Erasmus Schmidt (c. 1570–1637) served as professor of philosophy, Greek, and mathematics at the University of Wittenberg and published among several other learned works his *Notae & Animadversiones*, in *Opus Sacrum Posthumum* (1658). Schmidt's annotations (on 2 Cor. 11:24), reads "*ἡμέραν, alternis diebus*" ("one after the other [on one] day") instead of *παρὰ μίαν* ("save one"), in *Notae* (fol. 1138).

3 Schmid refers to an unspecified "*Lexicon*" as his source; if by this reference he means Valentin Schindler's widely used *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum* (1612), col. 57, *voce* *אֶחָד*, then Schmid's translation (to which Mather takes exception) is borne out in the Syriac rendition of *כָּל אֶחָד* *continens omnia* ("immediately one after the other"). Maimonides's account is authoritative on this topic, in *Hilchot Sanbedrin V'Haonshin Hamesurim Lahem* (17:1–5), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:124–28). *Tractate Makkoth* 3.9–14 (*The Mishnah* 407–408). See also Selden's *De Synedriis Praefecturis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 12, sec. 6, pp. 540–43; Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (4:644).

the Mans Breast, & the Two *Ass-Thongs*, on each Side, reached the upper and lower Parts of his Back, in the Laying on. The *Executioner* smote but *Thirteen* Times, which, multiplied by *Three*, make *Nine and Thirty*: in the mean time, there must bee present Three Judges of the *Lesser Council*; whereof One Read all the Time of the Punishment, those Three Texts, Deut. 28.58. *If thou wilt not observe to do all the Words of this Law, that are written in this Book, that thou mayst fear this Glorious and Fearful Name, THE LORD THY GOD; then the Lord will make thy Plagues wonderful*: And Deut. 29.9. *Keep therefore the Words of this Covenant, and do them, that yee may prosper in all that yee do*: And, Psal. 78.38. *But Hee being full of Compassion, forgave their Iniquity, & destroy'd them not*: This was partly for the Admonition, and partly for the Consolation, of the chastised Criminal: and the *Scourging* ended with the *Reading*: The Second Numbred the Strokes, and the Third still cry'd out, הַכֵּהוּ *Smite him!*⁴

Q. What were their Base Ways of *Muzzling the Oxe*? v. 4.

A. It was a Custome among the Hebrews (as well as among the *Egyptians* and *Gracians* and *Romans*) to use *Oxen* in treading out their Corn, either with their Feet, barely, or by drawing a Cart or other Instrument over it. And while they were at Work, there were some who *muzzled* them; others daubed their Mouths with *Dung*; others hung a woodden Instrument about their Neck, which hindered from stouping down, or putt Sharps into their Mouths, or kept them without Drink, or covered their Corn with Skins to prevent them coming at it. *Moses* forbidding this Inhumanity, instructs People in the Duties of Benignity & Compassion to one another.⁵

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[42v]

[3412.]

Q. *Her Husbands Brother shall go in unto her*. What Brother? v. 5.

A. The Hebrew Doctors understand it of the eldest Brother surviving; and only of a Brother that was by the same Father. Tho' their Mother were the same, yett if their Father were not the same, no Obligation lay upon him: *For Brethren* (saies *Maimonides*) *by the Mothers Side, are not accounted Brethren; either in the*

⁴ Mather's source appears to be Wilhelm Schickard's משפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamelech*] *Jus Regium Hebræorum e Tenebris Rabbinicis erutum & luci donatum* (1625), cap. 2, Theo. 7, pp. 56–59. Among Schickard's sources is Maimonides, *Hilchot Sanhedrin V'Haonsbin Hamesurim Lahem* (16.8–11), in *Mishneh Torah* (23:120–22).

⁵ Patrick (*Commentary* 434–35) also refers to Samuel Bochart's commentary on "Leges de Bobus," in *Hieroicoicon* (1692), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 40, lines 18ff, which also provides parallel discussions in Greek and Roman sources of how the treatment of domestic animals, like oxen, was regulated.

*Matter of Inheritances, or of Marrying a Brothers Wife: but they are, as if they were not Brethren; for there is no Fraternity which is not from the Father.*⁶

Schickard observes, That the King was excepted from this Law.⁷

This was a Law among the Patriarchs, before the Dayes of *Moses*, and it is plain from the Case of *Onan*, that the Law of *Moses* here brings in a Mitigation of it & a Dispensation with it.⁸

Q. The Gospel of the Law, about *Leviratic* Marriages? v. 5.

A. Gregory in his *Pastoralis Cura*, ha's a notable Illustration upon it.

Who should the *Dead Brother*, be, but, the Blessed JESUS, who after His Resurrection from the Dead, said, *Go tell my Brethren*. He dies without Children; Because His Elect are not yett brought in unto Him. The Care of His Church, & of raising up the Children of His Family, is committed unto Persons qualified for the Evangelical Ministry. The Face of him ought to be spitt upon, *quisquis ex muneribus quæ perceperit, prodesse alijs non curat*. And the *Shoe* is to be loosed from one of his Feet. Ministers are to have their *Feet shod with the Preparation of the Gospel of Peace*. He who minds only his own Repose & Pleasure, & not the public Service, ha's but *one Shoe* on. *Qui suam cogitans utilitatem proximorum negligit, quasi unius pedis calcea mentum cum dedecore amittit.*⁹

6 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 435–36) refers to Johann Heinrich Heidegger's אֲבוֹת רֵאשִׁי *Sive De Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (1667), vol. 1, Exercitatio Prima de Œconomia Patriarcharum, sec. 16, pp. 20–22; the specific reference is on p. 21. Deut. 25:5–10. See also John Selden's *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 12, pp. 79–90. Leviratic marriages were to ensure that an offspring was to be procreated by the brother of the deceased who was to marry his brother's widow. Maimonides, *Hilchot Yibbum VâChalitzah* (1:7), maintains that “Maternal brothers are considered to be brothers only with regard to the laws of mourning (*Hilchot Aveilut* 2:1) and the laws of witnesses (*Hilchot Edut* 13:1). With regard to the laws of inheritance (*Hilchot Nachalot* 1:6), and the laws of *yibbum* and *chalitzah*, [maternal brothers] are considered as if they did not exist. For fraternity is derived from the father alone (Talmud, tractate Yevamot 17b),” in *Mishneh Torah* (18:16).

7 Wilhelm Schickard's משפט המלך *Jus Regium Hebraeorum* (1625), cap. 2, p. 56.

8 Heidegger, *Historia Sacra* (1:20). Mather alludes to the story of Onan, Judah's son, who refused to marry his brother's (Er's) widow Tamar (Gen. 38:6–10).

9 The early Church was hardly less stringent when Leviratic marriage became applicable. According to *Regula Pastoralis Liber* (Pars 1), cap. 5, Pope St. Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), [PL 077. 0019B–19C] – following Jewish precedent – decreed that if the surviving brother refused to marry his brother's widow, the woman should spit in his face, “because whosoever cares not to benefit others out of the gifts which he has received” should be upbraided. “But he who, meditating his own advantage, neglects that of his neighbours, loses with disgrace one foot's shoe” (*Pastoral Rule*, part 1, ch. 5, pp. 4–5 (NPNFii 12:4–5). Eph. 6:15. On the topic of Levirate marriages, see also John Selden's *Uxor Ebraica* (lib. 1, caps. 14–15, pp. 96–117). On the ignominy of having one's shoe removed, see Maimonides, *More Nebuchim* (3.49.500) and *Guide* (3.49.603); for much the same, see Wagenseil's annotations on the Mishnah (tractate Sotah 4), in his *Sota. Hoc est Liber Mischnicus* (1674), pp. 663–64; and on Yibbum and Chalitzah (Ibum and Calitzah), in *The History of the Rites, Customs, and Manner of Life, of the Present*

[▽ Insert 43r–43v]

[▽ 43r–43v]

Q. A Further Elucidation of the *Leviratic Marriages*? v. 10.¹⁰

A. Monsr. *Jurieu* ha's cultivated this obscure Subject, in his, *History of the Doctrines & Worship of the Church*.¹¹

In relation to the Law of the *Levirate*, we have nothing more Ancient, than what occur'd in the Family of *Judah*. There are not the least Footsteps of this Custome to be found among the Pagans. It seems a Law given only for the Posterity of *Abraham*. *Philo* is mistaken, when he insinuates that it was founded upon an ancient Law among the *Canaanites*. The Law of *Solon* quoted from *Diodorus Siculus* of this aspect, has no Respect at all unto it.¹²

The Holy One declares, he gave this Law, that the Name of the Dead might not be putt out of *Israel*; and that a Dead Brother might have one to succeed in his Inheritance. There might be also moral & mystical Reasons, the Discovery whereof, Monsr. *Jurieu*, thinks, *will be very difficult*.¹³

I shall here wave them, & only take notice of one, that ha's been sometimes offered. The *Widow* is a figure of the *Jewish Church*; The *Husband* who dies without Issue, is the *Law*, whereof the only Effect is Damnation; The *Gospel* that succeeds the Law, is the Brother, who descends from the same Race, & acknowledges the same Origin, even the Blessed GOD Himself. This Brother ha's raised up Seed unto his Brother; The *Gospel* ha's performed, what the *Law* could not; & saved Mankind unto Everlasting Life.¹⁴

But, Lett us make some Observations upon the Law of the *Levirate*, partly from the Sacred Scriptures, & partly from the Jewish Traditions.¹⁵

Jews (1650), part 4, ch. 7, pp. 193–201, by the Venetian R. Leone Modena, aka. Yehudah Aryeh Mi-modena (1571–1648) (*EJ*).

10 See Appendix B.

11 Pierre *Jurieu*, *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship* (1705), vol. 1, part 1, ch. 24, p. 236ff is the source of Mather's abstract.

12 Diodorus Siculus does not really discuss Levirate marriage in any Hebraic sense. He only describes how the Greek lawgiver Solon revised the decree of the renowned legislator Charondas of Catana, in Sicily (fl. second half of 6th c. BCE) (*KP*), who had stipulated that the next of kin marry a wealthy heiress and “likewise an heiress be assigned in marriage to her nearest relative, who was required to marry her or, if she were poor, to contribute five hundred drachmas as a dowry of the penniless heiress” (*Bibliotheca Historica* 12.18.3). Plutarch, in his *Life of Solon* (20) tells much the same. In his *Guide* (3.49.603), Maimonides specifically points out that “as for the reason for the *levirate*, it is literally stated [in Scripture] that this was an ancient custom that obtained before the *giving of the Torah* (Gen. 38:8) and that was perpetuated by the Law (Deut. 25:5–6).” Perhaps this is what Philo Judaeus has in mind when he compares pagan practices with those instituted even before Moses (*Special Laws* 3.4.22–24), in *Works* (596).

13 *Jurieu* offers several opinions on this issue but cannot bring himself to embrace any of the reasons offered by his fellow divines: “I can't comprehend that this reason [mystical – see below] should be weighty enough to engage God to the Establishing of a *Law*, directly opposite to the Law of Nature” (*Critical History* 1:238).

14 *Jurieu* (*Critical History* 1:237).

15 *Jurieu* (1:237).

If the Person who died without Issue, had several Brothers, the Eldest was he, who was under Obligation to marry the Widow; she was not at Liberty to chuse which of them she pleased.

If the Second Brother died without Issue, the Third succeeded; And if he did so, then the Fourth; & so on. But the Child born of the Woman, was considered as the Offspring of the eldest Brother, & not of any of the others.

If the Deceased Person had no Brothers, his next Kinsman, was in this Way to retrieve the alienated Estate of the Deceased.

We don't find, that the Brother or Kinsman, was to act in this Case, if he himself were married already.¹⁶

The Jews further affirm, That the Law of the *Levirate* only took place with Brothers of the same Father.¹⁷

[43v] In Case the Deceased Person left behind him a Daughter, or any Grand-children, the Widow was under no Obligation to marry her | Husbands Brother; she might then dispose of herself as she pleased. Nay, If her Husband left only a Bastard; provided he were born of a Jewish Woman, there was no Occasion for the Raising up of Seed unto him.¹⁸

In Case the Deceased left behind him, either a Son, or a Daughter, and the Offspring died immediately after the Father, the Brother was not obliged then to marry the Sister-in-Law.¹⁹

If the Eldest of the Brethren refused his Duty, Application was to be made unto the Second. And if he refused, the Eldest must then either marry the Sister-in-Law, or suffer the *untying of the Shoe*, according to Law.²⁰

They could not proceed unto the Consummation of the Second Marriage, until after the Expiration of Three Months at least, since the Death of the Husband; for fear of her being with Child, by him that was departed.²¹

He who thus married the Widow, was putt in Possession of the whole Estate of his Deceased Brother; But only in quality of Guardian to the Next Child. If diverse Children were procreated of this Marriage, only the eldest Son of this Woman was considered as the Son, and absolute Heir of the Deceased. On the Death of the Eldest the Second succeeded. If they had no more than one Son

¹⁶ Jurieu (1:238) refers to the case of Ruth, who married her next-of-kin Boaz (Ruth 2:1–4:15).

¹⁷ Jurieu (1:239) and Maimonides (*Hilchot Yibbum Va'Chalitzah* 1:1, 7; 6:1, 7–8), in *Mishneh Torah* (18:12, 104, 106–108).

¹⁸ Jurieu (1:240); Selden *De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti* (1646), lib. 1, cap. 3, esp. pp. 15–17; Maimonides (*Hilchot Yibbum Va'Chalitzah* 1:3), in *Mishneh Torah* (18:14).

¹⁹ Jurieu (1:241).

²⁰ Jurieu (1:241); for this mark of infamy of having one's shoe untied, see Mather's preceding gloss on Pope St. Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*, part 1, ch. 5, pp. 4–5 (*NPNFii* 12:4–5). Eph. 6:15.

²¹ Jurieu (1:241).

between them, he was considered as the Son both of the Deceas'd, & of the Living Father.²²

Since the Establishment of the *Mosaic Law*, there appears no Necessity imposed on either Party, for entering into these Marriages. They might be declined on certain Penalties. If the Woman declined, she was treated as an undutiful Woman, and was turned out of doors without a Dowry. If the Man declined, the Book of *Deuteronomy* has determined, what was to be done unto him. He & his Posterity were to be branded with a Mark of Infamy. And yett in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, we find the Mark of Infamy ceased; what was done, signified no more, than a Renunciation of the Brother-in-Law, and a Surrender of his Right unto the Next akin.²³

The Jews also inform us, of certain Circumstances, under which the Brother-in-Law, might fairly decline marrying the Widow, without having the *Shoe pull'd off*. As, If the Widow were old, & past Child-bearing, or known to be naturally Barren: If she were unchaste, or convicted of any enormous Crime.

It seems, the Custome of *Pulling off the Shoe*, was not known in the Time of *Judah*. The Families of the Patriarchs, were not Numerous in those Dayes; and so, GOD had not yett given the Dispensation.²⁴

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

[42v cont.]

Q. The Reason for such Severity to the *Amalekites*; when the *Edomites*, who were of the same Race, were more favourably dealt withal? v. 17.

A. *Abarbanel* mentions diverse Reasons. First; When Men undertake a War against others, it is either to *Defend* their own Countrey, or to *Subdue* the Countrey of their Enemies. But the *Amalekites* had neither of these Pretences. The *Israelites* neither Invaded them, nor had any Land of their own; Here was nothing but petulant Malice, with an Intention to make Slaves of the *Israelites*. He might have added; Their Barbarity was much aggravated, by assaulting them, when but newly delivered from grievous Oppressions; and without any Provocation.²⁵

Secondly; All Countreys, by the Law of Nations, before they *Begin* a War, do *Denounce* it, and shew the Grounds of it. But the *Amalekites* treacherously fell upon the *Israelites*, altogether unexpectedly. They assaulted them, says one of the *Rabbins*, like a *Bear* in the Way, to devour the Mother of the Children.²⁶

²² Jurieu (1:241).

²³ Jurieu (1:241–42); Maimonides (*Hilchot Yibbum Va'Chalitzah* 4:6–8), in *Mishneh Torah* (18:58–60).

²⁴ Jurieu (1:243–44).

²⁵ Simon Patrick, on Deut. 25:17 (*Deuteronomy* 444–445); Abarbanel (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 5:170).

²⁶ Patrick, on Deut. 25:18 (*Deuteronomy* 445). In פרקי רבי אליעזר [*Pirkê de Rabbi Elieser*]. *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 44, esp. pp. 217–18, the rabbi is identified as R. Joshua filius Karcha (R. Joshua, son of Korchah), who was outraged that Amalek took advantage of the

Thirdly; They did not offer to the *Israelites* a pitch'd Battel, but fell basely on the Rear, to cutt off such as were obliged necessarily thro' Weariness to be lagging there.²⁷

Lastly; They knew how wondrously the *Israelites* had been delivered from their Bondage; and yett casting of all Sense of a GOD, they attempted a New Bondage for them; yea, tho' they had the glorious *Cloud* protecting of them.²⁸

The Injunction to destroy *Amalek*, was deeply imprinted on the Minds of the *Israelites*. They say, when the Officers proclaimed Freedom from War, to such as the Law excused, they always excepted the War against *Amalek*, which every one was bound unto.²⁹

Q. Upon the Inserting of this Passage here, *Thou shalt blott out the Remembrance of Amalek from under Heaven*; what is there observable? v. 19.

A. 'Tis an Observation of *Abarbinel*, that in this Paragraph about *Amalek*, the Injunction which God gave to *Moses*, Exod. 17.14. *Write this for a Memorial in a Book*; was fulfilled by him. No other Book, saith he, is hereby meant, but the Book of the Law; which when *Moses* wrote, he was bound to mention this Precept about *Amalek*; which he does in this Place accordingly.³⁰

[43r–43v inserted into 42v]

exhausted Israelites, whose Egyptian bondage and strenuous journey through the desert rendered them vulnerable. In a way, the Amalekites, whom R. Asariah identifies as descendants of Esau, violated the sacred rite of hospitality [the precept of 'Honour'], because "he who comes from a journey should be met on the way with food or drink." Instead, Amalek "stood by the way like a she-bear, bereaved by man (and eager) to slay mother and children" (*Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 44, pp. 345–46). See also Abarbanel (preceding reference), who denounces the treachery of the Amalekites.

²⁷ Patrick (445)

²⁸ Patrick (446);

²⁹ Patrick, on Deut. 25:19 (*Deuteronomy* 447). Among those excused from war were young married men who had not yet consummated their marriage.

³⁰ Patrick (448); Abarbanel, on Deut. 25:17, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (5:170).

3819.

Q. In what Sense was it said, *A Syrian ready to perish was my Father?* v. 5.

A. *Jacob* was *ready to perish*, or, very poor, & reduced unto great Straits, when he fled from the fury of his Brother, & lived as a Servant under an hard Uncle and Master.

But *Onkelos* takes the Words, which we translate, *Ready to perish*, in an Active Sense, for him *who destroyes another*. By, the *Syrian* here, he understands *Laban*; [compare, Gen. 28.5.] as if the Meaning were, *The Syrian* (that is, *Laban*,) *sought to Destroy my Father*.¹ For, as he used him very barbarously, when he was with him, so he pursued him, when he went away, with a Design to Ruine him. Thus *Menasseh-ben-Israel* understands it; & many others mentioned by *Fesselius*: which is the Sense also of the Vulgar Latin, *Syrus persequabatur patrem meum*.²

[994.]

Q. When the *Israelites*, presented the *Tithes of their Increase* before the Lord, they were to make a *Threefold Profession*, whereon I pray you to bestow some Illustration? v. 14.

A. The first *Profession* was,
I have not eaten thereof, in my Mourning.³

1 Targum Onkelos (Deut. 26:5) indeed reads לָבָן--אֲרַמְאָה בְּעָא-לְאוֹבְרָא ית "Laban Syrus [Arammah] quæsitit perdere" but offsets the Chaldaic passage (but not the Latin rendition) in dashes, in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:821). Paulus Fagius's *Thargum. Hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica* (1546), fol. R^v, is more faithful in this respect and places the reference to Laban, the Aramaean (Syrian), in brackets.

2 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 453–54); The Latin passage from Jerome's Vulgate reads, "A Syrian attacked my father." R. Manasseh ben Israel, the famous liaison between Jews and Christians in the Netherlands, glosses in his *Conciliator* (1633), Quaest. 52, p. 77 (Gen. 28:5, 29:5), "The scripture terms, *grandchildren*, *children*, are clearly shewn in Question 39; therefore Laban might be called the son of his grandfather Nahor, although his father was Bethuel; or, according to Nachmanides and R. Bechayai, Bethuel was a man of no note, and therefore Laban was known in the land from his grandfather Nahor, who, as the brother of Abraham, was a person of consequence; and therefore that the shepherds might understand at once who he inquired for, Jacob said "Know ye Laban the son of *Nabor*?" (*The Conciliator*, Quest. 55(!); 1:82). Via Patrick, Mather references the oft-reprinted *Adversariorum sacrorum. Tomus II* (1650, 1657), tom. 2, lib. 8, cap. 2, § 11, pp. 237–39 (sep. pag.), by Daniel Fesselius, aka. Fessel (1599–1676), a German Lutheran theologian and superintendent of the Lutheran consistory at Küstrin, Brandenburg (CBTEL)

3 Although Simon Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 460) cites John Spencer as his source, Mather's annotations on Deut. 26:14 are extracted directly from John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 2, cap. 24, sec. 1, fol. 456.

Now *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, of this mad Custome among the old *Egyptians*, κατὰ τὸν θερισμὸν.⁴ *In the Time of Harvest, the Egyptians, offering their First-fruits, do use to mourn over the Sheaves, & call upon Isis; in Honour of the Goddess, by whom those things were first found out.*⁵ And *Julius Firmicus* informs us, *In Adytis habent Idolum Osiridis, Sepultum: Hoc Annuis luctibus plangunt, radunt capita, ut miserandum [casum] Regis sui Turpitudine debonestati defleant capitis, tundunt pectus, lacerant lacertos:*⁶ – they counted, it seems, as hee adds, that the Seeds of the Plants were *Osiris*, and the Earth *Isis*, & the Separation thereof, was a lamentable Business. *Eusebius* likewise relates the like Rites, among the *Phœnicians*, That when the Time of the Lands leaving off to yeeld the *Fruits*, which they worshipped as *Gods*, arrived, they wept and howl'd, and ἔλεον, καὶ οἶκτον, καὶ κλαυθμὸν.⁷ – they consecrated, *Mercy, Pity, Tears with Ejulations, to the Aged Fruit of the Earth*. Indeed, the οδυνη, wherewith /ἦν/ is here translated by the LXX, well expresses the *Travail-Anguish*, with which the Pagans deplored the Death of *Osiris*, [or, which *Heinsius* will tell you, is all one, *Adonis*] repræsented in the Fruits of the Earth now failing.⁸ For as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports, the *Adonia* were most mournfully celebrated at that Season of the Year; *quod in adulto flore sectarum est Judicium frugum*. And *Lucian* reports, that in these Rites of *Adonis*, μεγάλα πένθεα. *Great Mournings were introduced thro' the whole Region.*⁹

⁴ Spencer (456).

⁵ *Diodorus Siculus*, *Bibliotheca historica* (1.14.2, line 4); Mather only copies the Greek phrase but supplies the remainder of Spencer's Greek extract in his own English translation.

⁶ Spencer (456) cites from *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, *De Errore Prophanarum Religionum* (1652), cap. 2, p. 4, in which the Sicilian astrologer (mid-fourth c. CE) turned Christian apologists, reports that "Buried in their [innermost] shrines they keep an image of Osiris, over which they [Egyptian worshippers] mourn in anniversary lamentations, wherein they shave their heads, beat their breasts, tear their upper arms, so that the ugliness of their disfigured polls may show their grief for the pitiful lot of their king" (*The Error*, ch. 2, sec. 3, p. 45).

⁷ Spencer (456) cites *Eusebius Pamphilus* (*Praeparatio evangelica* 1.9.5, line 7), but Mather's English translation follows Spencer's Latin rendition rather than the Greek. Mather's shortened Greek extract reads more closely, "pity and lamentation and weeping" (*Preparation for the Gospel* 1.9.27b).

⁸ Mather (via Spencer 457) refers to *Aristarchus Sacer, sive ad Nonni in Iohannem Metaphrasin Exercitationes* (1627), cap. 1, pp. 8–9 (sep. pag.), by Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), a Dutch Reformed theologian and representative at the Synod of Dort, whose *Exercitationes* is appended to Heinsius's dual Greek-Latin edition of *Antiquissimi Scriptoris, S. Evangelii Secundum Iohannem Metaphrasis*, a metaphrastic translation of the Gospel of John, attributed to Nonnus Pannopolitanus (c. 400 CE), Upper Egypt (CE). LXX (Deut. 26:14) ἐν ὀδύνῃ "with sorrow"; from ἦν [aven] (Strong's # 0205) "sorrow."

⁹ Spencer (457) reminds us that according to Roman historian *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his *Rerum Gestarum* (22.9.15), the worshippers of handsome *Adonis* (who in his youthful prime was gored by the tusk of a boar) mournfully observe his festival "which is symbolic of the reaping of the ripe fruits of the field." Even the Graeco-Roman rhetorician and satirist *Lucianus Samosatensis* relates in his *De Syria Dea* (sec. 6, line 8) that in the temple of *Venus* at *Byblos* – according to his eyewitness account – the devotees "in the whole region mournfully beat their breasts" bewailing the untimely death of *Adonis* by a tusky boar.

The *Israelites* now were to Renounce and Avoid, all these Idolatrous Usages. And it might bee partly in Opposition to this Idolatry, that the *Harvest* among them were still kept with such Demonstrations of *Joy*; the whole Town being then *Illuminated*, and Men *Dancing* and *Singing* (as Dr. *Lightfoot* assures us) and Playing on all sorts of *musical Instruments*.¹⁰ They would not imitate the *Gentiles*, of whom, tis related by *Plutarch*, That at the Time of the Year, when they saw the Earth Deserted of all its Fruits, πολλὰ θάπτουσιν [ν]ῶμοια καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἔπραττον. *Multa in morem Sepelientium et Lugentium agitant*;¹¹ and it is related by *Eusebius*, That when they saw the special *Fruits* of the Earth, which they adored as *Gods*, failing, they signalized the Time of the Year, with hideous *Lamentations*.¹² Indeed, there were many *Lugubrious Rites*, with which the Gentiles worshipped their Deities; [***] of the {*Egyptians*,} | whence *Philo* saies, that the *Israelites* when they worshipped the Calf, just coming out of *Egypt*, did, *Hymnos lamentis similes concinuisse*.¹³ And *Bacchus* (the Egyptian *Osiris*) is by some derived, of בכה/ *Lamentari*, *ululare*.¹⁴ [44v]

10 As the illustrious John Lightfoot explains in his *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae. Impensae in Evangelium S. Johannis* (1671), cap. 7, p. 116 (3rd ser. of pag.), on John 7:2, “the Levites with Harps, Psalteries, Cymbals, and other instruments of musick without number,” marched through the Temple’s courts until they came to the east gate, where “they turn’d their faces from the East to the West, and said, ‘Our Fathers in this place turning their backs upon the Temple, and their faces toward the East worship’d the Sun; but we turn our faces to God, &c.’” (*Works* [1684] 2:555–56).

11 Spencer (458); as *Plutarch* puts it in his *De Iside et Osiride* (70.379a), the Paphlagonians, when they planted their seeds in spring, “did many things like persons at a funeral in mourning for their dead.”

12 With *Diodorus Siculus* (1.11) at his elbow, *Eusebius Pamphilus* adds that in the Phoenician religion, their earliest “physical philosophers knew no other gods than the sun, the moon, and besides the planets, the elements also, and the things connected with them”; and that to these the earliest of mankind “consecrated the productions of the earth, and regarded them as gods, and worshipped them as the sources of sustenance to themselves and to following generations ...” But pity and lamentation and weeping they consecrated to the produce of the earth when perishing, and to the generation of living creatures at first from the earth, and then to their production one from another, and to their end, when they departed from life” (*Preparation for the Gospel* 1.9, 28ab).

13 Spencer (458); in his *De Vita Mosis* (2.162, line 4), *Philo Judaeus* knowingly relates that when the *Israelites* had escaped from their Egyptian thrall, they eagerly imitated their former master’s religion, made themselves a golden calf to which they offered sacrifices, instituted dances, and “sang hymns which differed in no respect from dirges” they used to offer to the Egyptian *Apis* (*Works* 505).

14 If *Bacchus*, eponymous god of the Dionysian bacchanalia, has the same origin as the Egyptian *Osiris* (both Virgin-born), then we can take *Plutarch’s* word for it, who tells us that “*Osiris* is identical with *Dionysus* [*Bacchus*]” (*De Iside et Osiride* 35.364e). Hence the etymological derivation of the name *Bacchus* from the Hebrew בכה [baca] signifying “ululare aut lamentari” (with “howling or wailing”) – as *Daniel Heinsius* has it in his *Aristarchus Sacer* (1627), cap. 1, p. 7 (sep. pag.), which is *Spencer’s* source (458).

The Second *Profession* was,
*Neither have I taken away ought thereof, for any unclean Use.*¹⁵

It means not, as the Jewes interpret it, That it was unlawful for any one under their *Uncleanness* to eat thereof; why? They had already said, That they had otherwise employ'd them.

It rather intends, That as they had not concealed any of their *First Fruits* in an *Unclean Place*; or employ'd them in a *Private Place*, where, by the Law of *Draco*, in *Porphyrie*, the Pagans were to offer their First Fruits unto their Gods: or, in an *Idols Temple*, where, according to *Maimonides*, the *Zabians* offered theirs: Thus also, they had not putt any of their First Fruits, to any Profane, Impure, *Superstitious* Use whatever. There were *Magical*, & other Carnally *Unclean* Uses, whereto *First Fruits* were abused, by the Worshipers of *Isis*, and *Osiris*; to whom *Julius Firmicus* therefore saies, *Pone propter Fruges vota reddi Numinibus illis, quid addis Incestum, quid Adulterium.*¹⁶

The Third *Profession* was,
*Nor have I given ought thereof for the Dead.*¹⁷

It means not, as the Jewes interpret it, That they had not employed any of them, to bear the *Funeral Expences* of their Dead Friends. What need of saying so?

But there was an Ancient Folly among the Pagans, which *Austin* in his *Dayes* complained of, *Mirror, cur apud quosdam infideles, hodiè tam perniciosus Error increverit, ut super Tumulos Defunctorum Cibus et Vina conferant; quasi egressæ de corporibus Animæ, carnales cibos requirant.*¹⁸ And, if I mistake not, our

15 "*Nec separavi ea in qualibet immunditiâ*," as John Spencer renders it in his *De Legibus* (1686), lib. 2, cap. 24, sec. 2, p. 459, quoting from the Vulgate (Deut. 26:14).

16 Spencer (460, 461) draws on Porphyrius (*De Abstinencia* 4.22, lines 34–35) about the ancient Athenian lawgiver Draco (7th c. BCE), whose eternal law to all citizens of Attica decreed the adoration of their gods and heroes in public and private places and to sacrifice to them "the firstling of fruits, and annual cakes" (*On Abstinence* 4.22.138). Quite to the contrary, Maimonides, in his *More Nebuchim* (3.37.449) and *Guide* (3.37.540–42) anathematizes the fertility rites of the Zabian (Chaldaean) idolaters, who, to protect life, limb, and property, established a law "that one tree, namely, the *asherah*, should be consecrated to the object of their worship and that its fruits should be taken, part of them serving as an offering while the rest should be eaten in an idolatrous temple" (*Guide* 3.37.546). And Julius Firmicus Maternus asks, in his *De errore Prophanarum Religionum* (1652), cap. 2, p. 4, "suppose it is because of growing things that vows are paid to those divinities [Isis and Osiris]: why add incest, why adultery [to your devotions]?" (*The Error*, ch. 2, sec. 7, p. 46).

17 Spencer, *De Legibus* (1686), lib. 2, cap. 14, sec. 3, fol. 461; Deut. 26:14.

18 At second hand from Thomas Malvenda's *Commentaria in Sacram Scripturam* (1601) 1:843, on Deut. 26:14, Spencer (461) quotes St. Augustine, who wonders "why among some unbelievers today folly and error have grown up [to such an extent] that they bring food and wine together over the graves of the dead, as if those spirits, having gone out of their bodies, need fleshly food" (*Sermo* 190. In *Cathedra S. Petri* I, § 2) [PL 039. 2101].

Indians, in *New England*, use to bury *Food*, with their *Dead*, for their *Support*.¹⁹ *Malvenda* thinks, that such a *Setting of Meat* for the *Dead*, is the *Superstition* here protested against.²⁰ Nevertheless, we may rather suppose, that the *Offering* of their *First-fruits* unto their *Departed Hero's*, [*Gods* called, *The Dead*, in *Psal.* 106.28. – Compare *Isa.* 8.19.] is the thing here condemned. And of these *Baalim*, singularly and emphatically, the *Dead*, *Osiris*, of *Egypt*, may be intended; whose *Feast*, they kept, with a *Sacrifice*, like *Adonis's*, call'd, *Καθέδρα*: after a very sorrowful fashion.²¹

¹⁹ Mather would have known about Native American burial rites from any number of sources, including Roger Williams's *A Key into the Language of America* (1643), ch. 32, p. 203. As a commissioner of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), Mather was directly involved in promoting Christianity among native tribes in New England and would have known about their customs from personal observation and conversations with John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, and from others. Mather's publications on Indian affairs include his dual-language *An Epistle to the Christian Indians* (1700), *A Monitory, and Hortatory Letter* (1700), *Hatchets to Hew Down the Tree of Sin* (1705), as well as his catechism, *Another Tongue brought in* (1707), published in English, Dutch, Iroquis, and Latin. See also Silverman, *Life and Times* (237–43).

²⁰ Thomas Malvenda (*Deut.* 26:14) in his *Commentaria in Sacram Scripturam* (1601) 1:844. ²¹ Spencer (462, 463); the Egyptian Osiris, brother and spouse of Isis and father of Horus (Adonis), fulfilled various functions in the Egyptian religion: ruler of the underworld, god of the afterlife, and god of rebirth and resurrection. One of the well-known Osiris myths is reported in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (12.355e–22.359f). The Greek lexicographer Hesychius associates the feast of “kathedra” or throne with the rite of Adonis, in *Lexicon (A–O)*, alphabetic letter *kappa* entry 99, line 1. For more on such niceties of Graeco-Egyptian syncretism, see *ΕΟΡΤΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ, sive de Festis Graecorum syntagma* (1617), cap. “Adonia,” pp. 7–8, by the Flemish antiquarian and physician Petrus Castellanus, aka. Peeter Vande Castele (1585–1632).

3872.

Q. Upon the *Great plastered Stones*, there were to be written, *All the Words of this Law*. What may be thereby intended? v. 3.

A. Some think, The whole Book of *Deuteronomy*: And therefore *Great Stones* were to be provided. Some think, only the *Ten Commandments*; which were the principal *Words of the Covenant*. But *Josephus* is of Opinion, that he means the *Cursings* which here follow, from the fifteenth Verse to the End of the Chapter. And this is no improbable Opinion; the last of these *Curses* respecting the whole Law of *Moses*.¹

3821.

Q. Could not the *Curses* thus written, effectually deter all People from committing any Wickedness in the Sight of them?

A. No. *Abimelek* wickedly usurped a Kingdome, after the Murder of his Brethren, in the Plain of the Pillar which was in *Shechem*, [Judg. 9.6.] that is, by this very Pillar, which had the *Curses* of the Law written upon it. Whereupon *Jotham*, (you know) gott upon Mount *Gerizzim*, & from thence pronounced *Curses* upon the Men of *Shechem*. It shoves, that the Tops of these Mountains, were not so far distant from one another, but what was said upon the one, might be heard, by those who were on the Top, & Sides of the other. And yett, such a

¹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 467). The issue is a bit more complex than what it appears to be at first sight, for it involves several questions. (1) What does Moses mean when he instructs his people to write upon the great plastered stones “all the words of this Law”? (2) Did he intend the Chumash or Pentateuch of Moses, commonly referred to as “the Law”? (3) Did he only mean the Book of Deuteronomy (i. e., *Second Law* or *Devarim*), or (4) did he merely intend the Ten Commandments? More confusing yet, perhaps Moses only meant the “blessings and curses” carved on the stones of the altar he set up between Mts. Gerizim and Ebal upon which the tribes were assembled (Deut. 27:11–13). The question has engaged numerous scholars, past and present, who try to solve this conundrum by examining the logistics and utility of the “great stones” upon which the Law was to be written. If the interpretation of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus is normative, then Moses only “wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar, on each side of it; where he says also the people stood” (*Antiquities* 4.8.44). The commentators on *Seder Olam* (ch. 11, pp. 109–12) similarly disagreed. Matthew Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 1:852–53) pinpoints some of the principal advocates of each position; Pierre-Daniel Huet’s *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1690), prop. 4, cap. 2, sec. 15, fols. 56–59, provides greater detail. Perhaps the Italian antiquarian Fortunatus Scacchus (1573–1640), professor of theology at Verona, Rome, and Padua, is the most restrictive of them all in his *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium Alterum* (1627), Myrothecii Secundi, cap. 57, pp. 562–67, where he argues that what is meant here are only the words of God’s Covenant with Israel (Deut. 27:9–10). (*CERL-T*).

Valley there was between them, that they could not presently come at *Jotham*, to apprehend him.²

[3822:]

Q. With what Respects, are the Tribes marshalled, that were to appear upon Mount *Ebal*: & the Tribes, for Mount *Gerizzim*? v. 13.³

A. On Mount *Ebal*, were the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Asher*; and *Zebulun*, *Dan*, and *Naphthali*. Four of these were Children of the Handmaids; and *Reuben* had lost his Dignity, by the Crime we have heard of; and *Zebulun* was the Youngest of the Sons of *Leah*; who was therefore chosen, rather than another, to make up the Number, for this less Honourable Employment.⁴

[1861:]

Q. Can you give mee nothing *Talmudical* about Mount *Gerizzim*, and *Ebal*?

A. I'll translate you a short Passage, in J. H. *Otho's* History of the Doctors of the *Misna*.⁵

"Mount *Gerizim*, had a Couple of Tops; whereof one was called *Gerizim*, a delicate Place, for *Fountains* and *Gardens*, the other was called *Ebal*, a Place horribly craggy and stony. *Gerizim*, was on this Account, a very Agreeable Place, to have the *Blessings* pronounced upon it. And for this Cause, the *Samaritans* erected their *Temple* there. *Ebal* was a Place, wherefrom what but *Curses* could bee expected? The Places were about Sixty Miles from *Jordan*. Here the *Israelites* obliged themselves for one another, at such a rate, that, as *Raschi* speaks, from hence one Man was punished for the Sins of another.⁶ The *Samaritans* had a Tradition among them, that *Gerizim*, was not overflowed in the Waters of the Flood. Hence was the Discourse between a *Samaritan*, and R. *Jonathan*, recited

² Patrick, on Deut. 27:13 (*Deuteronomy* 474). Since Moses had six tribes pronounce blessings from Mt. Gerizim and six pronounce curses from Mt. Ebal, the tribes on the two mountains must have been within hearing distance of one another (Deut. 27:11–14).

³ In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts" (Deut. 27:14), Mather identifies "Fullers Pisgah-Sight, – p. 191" as a useful source. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 2, ch. 9, § 33, p. 191, lists the twelve tribes and their order as they assembled on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal after Joshua had conquered Canaan.

⁴ Patrick (on Deut. 27:13–14) paraphrases Ibn Ezra's annotations on these verses, that the Levites of the six tribes gathering on Mt. Ebal "recite the blessing toward the children of Jacob's full wives [on Mt. Gerizim], and they recited the curse toward the children of the maid-servants. The latter group, however, was two tribes short, because Leah had had so many sons; so the oldest and the youngest of Leah's sons were chosen to join the sons of the maidservants" (*Commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra* 5:126).

⁵ Mather's muse is Johann Heinrich Otho (1651–1719), Swiss Reformed professor of Philosophy at Lausanne, whose שלשלת חכמי המשנה [Shalshet chakme ha-Mishnah] *Historia Doctorum Mishnicorum* (1672), sec. 6, pp. 18–19, is here extracted by way of translation.

⁶ Otho, *Historia Doctorum Misnicorum* (19), quotes Rashi's gloss on Deut. 28:29, on Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin (29b). See also Rashi's gloss on Talmud, tractate Sotah (32a). Likewise, see tractate Mishnah Sotah (7.5–7), in *The Mishnah* (300–301).

in *Bereschit Rabba*. *Non satius esset* (said the Samaritan) *te adorare in hoc Monte Benedicto, quàm in illa Domo vili?* (meaning, the Temple at Jerusalem:) *Respondit illi, Quarè est hic Mons Benedictus? Regessit, Quia non fuit inundatus Aquis Diluvij.*⁷

“The Samaritans had not their Temple here, above Two Hundred Years; for *Johannes Hyrcanus* then destroy’d it. But the Hatred, which the Jewes and they, bore one another, for this as well as other Causes, yett ceased not; and therefore they never permitted it, *ut post Cuthæi Benedictionem Amen responderet Israelita.*”⁸

[45v]

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[3823:]

Q. How was the Action upon the Two Mountains to be performed? v. 15.

A. The People on the Mountains, being to *Bless* as well as to *Curse*, the *Mishna* rightly explains it: That first the Priests turning their Faces towards Mount *Gerizzim*, did proclaim with a Loud Voice, *Blessed be the Man that maketh not any graven or molten Image*; unto which all the People that stood there, answered, *Amen*. And then, turning their Faces towards Mount *Ebal*, they said these Words: *Cursed be the Man that maketh any graven or molten Image*. To which they that stood there, made the same Answer.⁹

7 *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* (32:10) relates the story of R. Jonathan en route to Jerusalem to worship God in the Temple on Mt. Zion. As R. Jonathan “passed the Palatinus” (as the Samaritans called their sacred mountain Gerizim), he was accosted by a Samaritan, who asked him, “Wither are you going?” “To worship in Jerusalem,” replied he [R. Jonathan]. “Would it not be better to pray at this holy mountain [Gerizim] than at that dunghill [Mt. Zion in Jerusalem]?” he [Samaritan] jeered. “Wherein is it [Gerizim] blessed?” inquired he [R. Jonathan]. “Because it was not submerged by the Flood,” retorted the Samaritan. Upon this audacious claim, R. Jonathan was momentarily struck speechless, but his servant took over and reminded the Samaritan, “If it is of the high mountains ... then it is written, AND ALL THE HIGH MOUNTAINS WERE COVERED [Gen. 7:20]. While if it is of the low ones, Scripture ignored it” (*Bereshith Rabba* 32:10). More to the point, Mather’s slightly altered quote from Otho’s *Historia Doctorum Mishnicorum* (19) reads, “Is it not better to worship on this blessed mountain [Gerizim] rather than in that worthless building [in Jerusalem]?” the Samaritan taunted. “The former [R. Jonathan] responded, ‘Why is this mountain [Gerizim] blessed?’ ‘Because it was not submerged by the flood waters,’ replied the Samaritan.”

8 Mather’s Latin quote from Otho’s *Historia* (19) reads in the context of Josephus’s *Antiquities* (13.9.3–10.3) that the Samaritans never kept their temple on Mt. Gerizim for more than 200 years, because after its destruction by the Hasmonean ruler and high priest John Hyrcanus (164–104 BCE), the Jews never permitted “the Israelites to respond with ‘Amen’ after the Cuthæan-Samaritans said their blessings.” For the efforts in Mather’s time to assess the textual differences between the Samaritan, Masoretic, and LXX renditions of the Pentateuch, see *An Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (1722), “Appendix I” (pp. i–xv), by William Whiston, who held the Samaritan Pentateuch in high esteem. See also P.N. Miller’s “A Philologist, a Traveller and an Antiquary rediscover the Samaritans” (2001): 123–41.

9 *Mishnah*, tractate Sotah (7.5), in *The Mishnah* (300).

Q. On that; *Cursed is he who takes a Reward, to slay an Innocent Person?* v. 25.

A. Dr. *Gell* wishes for this Translation, which more keeps Touch with the Original; *Cursed he that taketh* [or, is taking,] *a Reward, to slay the Soul, the Innocent Blood,* [or, the Blood of the Innocent.] *The Soul,* and, *Innocent Blood;* are to be joined by Apposition; *Soul* and *Blood,* signify the Same. Compare, Gen. IX.4.¹⁰

But then, this Gentleman pungently extends the Point of the Sharp, upon them, who have *Stipends* and *Wages* to be the Teachers of others, but grievously corrupt them, and so reduce them as to destroy their *Souls*. The Thought is very solemn and awful!¹¹

¹⁰ Robert Gell, on Deut. 27:25, in his *Essay toward the Amendment* (1659), “Sermon 17” (747D).

¹¹ Mather appears to lash out against all the misguided (salaried) theologians who (like King Jeroboam of Samaria) lead their followers into sin and destruction (Gell 747–48).

[.....]

Q. If you consider such Passages of Scripture, as ly there before us [and Exod. 21.23, 24, 25, 26. and Lev. 26.3, 4. and, Deut. 6.24. and 7.12, 13.] you'l see the *Promises* and *Threatenings* used by the Lord, unto the People of *Israel*, still of a *Temporal* Aspect. Why are they generally of such a Strain? v. 1.

A. 'Tis Answer enough, that these *Promises* and *Threatenings* were Sanctions of a *Covenant* made with a *People*, even as they were a *People*. Now in the *Judgment* of the *World to come*, there shall no *Peoples* bee Judged, as such; the Judgment will bee of *Persons* only. *Temporal Recompences*, are most fitly propounded unto a *People*. It may bee a further Answer, That the Wisdome of God, then treated His *People*, with multiplied *Shadowes*; it was then a Day of *Shadowes*. Wherefore, when the biggest Part of their *Worship* was made up of *Shadowes*, t'was not amiss that there should bee *Shadowes* in the *Promises* and *Threatenings* that enforced it; *Spiritual* and *Eternal* Things lay covered, under the *Figures* used on this Occasion.

But wee will proceed unto more of Answer. The *Israelites* by their Conversation among the *Egyptians*, were confirmed in their stupid, and sensual, Disposition of Soul; they were become so like unto the Creatures which they might not eat of, that the *Pearls* of that *Better Hope*, which is now *brought in*, would have been trampled by their Dirty Inclinations. *Theodore*t has well expressed this Matter. *The Jewes having*

Χαμαιπετέες καὶ Χαμαιῆλλον φρόνημα¹
a Mind only creeping on, & caring for, the Earth,
God mentioned but earthly Benedictions and Maledictions to 'em.

The Lord suited their Baser Wishes, as

— *pueris dant crustula Blandi*
*Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.*²

Again. What was the true Root of *Idolatry*, in the other Nations, as well as that of *Israel*? *Maimonides* reports truly to us, *That the Prophets of the Idols,*

¹ John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1685), lib. 1, cap. 3, fols. 32, 33, 34, 35, is the source for Mather's gloss on Deut. 28:1 in the following paragraphs. On the question relating to Deut. 27:11–28:68, "Why did he [God] subject them [Israelites] to curses and blessings?" Theodoreus, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (Quest. 34, p. 251, line 15), responds by contrasting the spiritual perfection Christ promises his followers in the kingdom of heaven with the curses and blessings God bestows upon carnal Israel on earth, in relation to "their earthly and groveling mentality" (*Questions on the Octateuch* 2:225).

² Quoting Horace, Mather explains that in the Mosaic economy, God accommodates the Israelites according to their frame of mind, just like "teachers sometimes [do by] giving cookies to children to coax them into learning their alphabet" (*Satires* 1.1.25–26).

did use to preach in their Assemblies, this Doctrine above any other, that the Worship of those Idols, procured them, the Rains of Heaven, the Fruits of Earth, a long Life, & a freedome from Diseases.³ [Compare, Hos. 2.5, 8, 9, 12. with chap. 9.1. which the Chaldee Paraphrase thus renders, *Dilexistis servire Idolis, pro Ardis Frumentii*.]⁴ Hence Paul preaching to the Idolatrous Greeks, presently falls upon the true Original of their *Fruitful Seasons*. [Act. 14.17.] What were the Gods of those Idolaters, but such as they served, according to the Confession of *Prodicus Chius*, διὰ τὴν ἀπ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν, as the Egyptians did their *Nilus*.⁵ Yea, they ascribed all the Conveniences of Life, & especially those that arose from Agriculture, unto the Rites of their *Dæmonolatrie*.⁶ [Compare Jer. 44.17, 18.] Whence Julian, addressing the Alexandrians, on the behalf of their old Worship, as they called it, had this Passage; *You don't Remember the old Felicitie, which wee enjoy'd, while all Egypt, mentained their Communion with the Gods, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπελαύομεν ἀγαθῶν, and wee lived in all abundance of good Things*.⁷ And Celsus discoursing on all the Comforts of Corn, Fruit, Wine, & a wholesome Air & Water, said, *Do not Men receive each one of these Benefits, from some one or other of the Dæmons, οἷς κατὶ μέρος τὸ ἐπιμελὲς ἐκάστω προστέτακται, unto whom is allotted the Care of these things*?⁸ Now, inasmuch as this Opinion, had beyond the force of any *Philtre*

3 Referring to “The Nabataean Agriculture” (attributed to Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Wahshiyya), Maimonides warns in his *More Nebuchim* (3.30.428–29) and *Guide* (3.30.522–23) against the practices of the Sabians (aka. Zabians) whose prophets attributed all earthly blessings to practice of fertility rites and the worship of idols. See also Dionysius Vossius’s Latin rendition of Maimonides’s *De Idololatria Liber* (1641), cap. 1, § 3, in Gerard Vossius’s *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), 1:7–8.

4 Spencer (33) demonstrates that praying for bountiful harvest and performing obscene rituals was an all-too-common phenomenon. The Latin quotation (Hos. 9:1) is from Targum Jonathan (Chaldee Paraphrase, fol. 16, in Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 3:16 (sep. pag.), and reads, “You loved serving idols, in proportion to shortages of grain.”

5 Via Spencer (34), Mather quotes from *Adversus mathematicos* (lib. 9, sec. 18, line 4), by the Greek Pyrrhonist philosopher Sextus Empiricus (c. 160–c. 210 CE) of Alexandria. So, too, Archbishop Amphilochius Iconiensis (c. 339–c. 403 CE), (CE), in *Contra haereticos* (line 237) argues that “idols were worshipped for gain.” The same passage appears in Emperor Flavius Justinianus’s (*Novellae* 73, line 38) and in several other places. Whether they all had in mind the Greek Sophist Prodicus of Ceos (c. 460–c. 399 BCE), a wealthy Attic lecturer and businessman of whom Plato admiringly speaks in his *Dialogues*, *Hippias Maior* (282c) and *Cratylus* (384b), is a different matter.

6 Mather has in mind Maimonides’s strictures against the agricultural fertility rites among the Sabians as described in the book “The Nabataean Agriculture” (mentioned above).

7 It is ironic that Mather enlists Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus (c. 331–363), better known as Julian the Apostate, to address Egyptian paganism. Anyway, the quote from Julianus, *Epistulae* (111, line 20) reads, “in all abundance of good things.”

8 Spencer (34). Likewise, Mather’s extract from *Ἀληθὴς λόγος* [*The True Word*], an attack on early Christianity by the Greek philosopher Celsus (2nd c. CE), is to underscore the temptations of paganism to which the Israelites were exposed; hence Moses’ blessings and curses (Deut. chs. 27–28). At any rate the Greek quotation from Celsus’s *Ἀληθὴς λόγος* [*The True Word*] (ch. 8, sec. 28, line 9–10) as rendered in Origen’s *Contra Celsum* (8.28, lines 12–13) has Celsus explain that man has always depended on supernatural beings (daemons) who mediate between man

strongly fascinated the Minds of the Jewes, it was infinitely proper, to strike at the *Root* of their *Idolatries*, by entailing upon the true Worship of the Ever True God, all those very things, by the Expectations whereof, those cursed *Idolatries* had been hitherto supported.⁹

[3824-]

Q. You have quoted *Maimonides*; perhaps on this Occasion you may fetch another Quotation from him, that may carry some Illustration in it? v. 1.

A. In his Preface to *Perek Chelek*, in which he treats of the *Foundations* of the Jewish Religion, he has this pertinent Passage: “This is the Meaning of the Promises and Threatenings in the Law; that if they were obedient unto the Præcepts of God, He would furnish them with all good things that should further them therein, & remove from them all that should hinder them. For no Man can serve God, as he ought, when he is *Sick*, or oppressed with *Famine*, or vexed with *Wars*. Therefore, God promises to Remove all those things, & to give them Health and Tranquillity, that they might perfect their Obedience, & be worthy of the Life to come. For this is not the End of the Law, to make the Earth bring forth plentifully, & to prolong Mens Life upon the Earth, & give them Healthful Bodies; but that by all those things they may be help’d and encouraged to perform Obedience unto it.”¹⁰

[46v]

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3825.

Q. Bestow some Illustrations, if you please, upon the *Plagues* threatened unto the Disobedient *Israelites*.¹¹

and the gods, οἷς κατὰ μέρος τὸ ἐπιμελὲς ἐκάστων προστέτακται, or “to whom they [pagans] have assigned these different provinces of nature” (*ANF* 4:649).

⁹ A *philter* is nothing else but a potion or drug that irresistibly attracts persons to their desired object.

¹⁰ Mather’s extract is from *Perek Chelek*, aka. *Perek Helek*; i. e., Maimonides’s introduction to the tenth chapter of the Mishnah, tractate Sanhedrin (10). Rambam composed this document in Judeo-Arabic, i. e., in Arabic yet written in Hebrew letters. It addresses eschatological questions about the soul, life after death, the rewards and punishments in the hereafter, and the famous thirteen dogmas of the Jewish Creed (*Ef*). My reference is to J. Abelson’s English translation, published in “Maimonides on the Jewish Creed” (1906). Mather’s citation appears in Abelson’s translation (40–41) and deals with the quite material rewards and physical punishments a common believer is expected to receive for practicing – or failing to practice – Judaism. Maimonides, however, insists that the blessings and curses God bestowed on the Israelites (Deut. chs. 27–28) intended to accommodate the expectations of more worldly believers.

¹¹ In his “Note Book of Authors” (Deut. 28:18), Mather recommends “Franzius Interp. p. 915” as a useful commentary on v. 18. The Lutheran theologian Wolfgang Franz here offers his polyglot comments on the maledictions to be bestowed on those who disobey, in *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus, De Interpretatione Sacrarum* (1619), “Oraculum C. Sacrum” (915–16).

And first, upon that; *The Lord shall make the Pestilence cleave unto thee?*
v. 21.¹²

A. The Author of *Schebet Judah* confesses, That after they had been wasted, & broken in Peeces by Wars, they that fled into *Spain*, in the Time of *Alphonsus*, were swept away in great Numbers, by a *Plague*, and he introduces one applying these very Words as a Prophecy of it.¹³

But indeed this Part of the Prophecy doth not belong to what hath befallen them since the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*. We find accordingly, that before then God often sent a *Pestilence* to destroy them. [2. Sam. 24.15. Jer. 14.12. & 21.6, 7, 9. & Ezek. 5.12. & 6.11, 12. & Amos. 4.10.]

It must also be acknowledged, That the Greeks call such *unseasonable Weather* that destroyes the Fruits of the Earth, by the Name of *Λοιμὸς*; *Pestilence*. Thus *Plato* notes, That which is called, *A Disease*, in Bodies, is called, *λοιμὸς*, *A Pestilence*, in the Seasons of the Year. The *Murrain* also in Cattel, is called by the same Name; which even the Pagans thought sent by the Anger of God for the Sins of Men; as we learn from *Callimachus*, in his Hymn to *Diana*.¹⁴

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3827.

[47r]

Q. It is said, *Thy Heaven, that is over thy Head, shall be Brass*; or have no more Moisture in it than *Brass*. What *Emphasis* here? v. 23.

¹² Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 492).

¹³ The Spanish historian and physician Salomon ben Verga, aka. Solomon ibn Virga (1460–1554) is the author of *שבת יהודה* *Shebet Yehudah*, a Jewish martyrology narrating the events of 64 pogroms, Sephardic customs in Portugal, Spain, and other European countries, and a description of the shape of Solomon's Temple. First published in Istanbul (c. 1550), *Shebet Yehudah* was translated into Latin by Georgio Gentio, and published in Amsterdam with the title *Historia Judaica Re Judaeorum* (1651). The second Latin edition of this work appeared with the title *שבת יהודה* [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (1680). Mather refers to Verga's description of the persecution of Jews in Savoy, Piedmont, Longobardia, Sicily, Russia, as well as in Florence (Italy) in the year 5250 (1490 CE) in the Jewish calendar, in *Shebet Jehuda* (1651, 1680), § 11, pp. 108–110. Verga interprets this widespread pogrom and its subsequent pestilence in the context of Deut. 28:65: "And among these nations shalt thou finde no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foote have rest: but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, & sorrow of minde" (KJV, 1611). Significantly, Mather rejects the application of this Mosaic prophecy to Verga's time, but insists on multiple historical fulfillments in OT times.

¹⁴ The reference to *λοιμὸς* (plague, pestilence) appears in *Scholia in Platonem (scholia vetera)*, Dial. *Min* (Stephanus page 321a,bis, line 9), in Plato's *Symposium* (201d, line 4), and in his *Leges* (10.906c). In the latter work, Plato has an Athenian remind his interlocutor Clinias that *λοιμὸς* is called "acquisitiveness" when a person is in pursuit of lucre and ill-gotten gains; it is called *λοιμὸς*, "disease" when it appears in flesh and blood"; it is called "plague" when brought by the seasons or at intervals of years"; yet when it occurs in government and society at large, *λοιμὸς* is called "injustice" (Stephanus page 906c, lines 4–5). Finally, even Callimachus, in his Hymn to Artemis (*In Dianam* 3.125), has the divine huntress send plagues to feed on their cattle and on humans – young and old – as the towns are ravaged by disease.

A. It is Remarkable and Emphatical, that it is not said, *The Heaven*; that is, the Air, or Clouds: But, *Thy Heaven*; That is, The Clouds which hung over their Countrey, should be Dry, tho' they dropt upon other Lands.¹⁵

3828.

Q. How was the *Rain of the Land*, to become *Powder and Dust*? v. 24.

A. There should be so long Droughts, that instead of Rain, Showres of *Dust*, blown up into the Air by the Wind, should fall down from Heaven upon them.

Yea, there seems an Intimation, as if there should fall *Showres of Ashes*, which have sometimes fallen in great Quantities, as good Historians testify. Clouds of *Ashes*, vomited from *Etna*, have laid all the adjacent Countrey desolate.¹⁶

There is a Passage in honest Mr. *Terry's Account of Indostan*, which may be agreeably taken and entred here. "Sometimes [*he saies*] the Wind blowes very high, in the hott and the Dry Seasons; rising up into the Air a very great Heighth, thick *Clouds of Dust and Sand*, which appear like Dark Clouds full of Moisture, but they Deceive, like *Jobs Brook*, that *has no Water in it*."¹⁷ These *Dry Showres*, which Almighty God threatens to send among People as an heavy Judgment, Deut. XXVIII.24. *The Rain of a Land Powder & Dust*. – most grievously annoy all those among whom they fall; enough to smite them all with a present *Blindness*; filling their *Eyes, Ears, Nostrils*; and their *Mouthes* are not free, if they be not also well-guarded; searching every Place, as well within as without; so that there is not a little *Key-hole* of any Trunk or Cabinet, if it be not covered, but it receives some of that Dust into it. The *Dust* is forced to find a Lodging any where, being so driven & forced as it is by the extreme Violence of the Wind."¹⁸

¹⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 494), Jer. 14:1–22, and Maimonides's *More Nebuchim* (3.30.428–29) and *Guide* (3.30.522–23).

¹⁶ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 495); Jacobus Bonfrerius, in his *Pentateuchus Moysis Commentario* (1625), fol. 1026 (Deut. 28:24) refers to such of the ancients as Nicephorus (15.20), who describes the showers of volcanic ashes descending on Constantinople; and Procopius, Seneca, Cicero, Pliny, and others who tell of the pumice, dust, and ashes from the eruptions of Aetna and Vesuvius devastating the regions – perhaps the most notable one being the eruption Mt. Vesuvius (79 CE), which wiped out Herculaneum, Pompei, and other SW Italian cities.

¹⁷ Job 6:15.

¹⁸ Profuse in his description of East-India (modern state Uttar Pradesh, N India), Edward Terry (1590–1660), chaplain to Sir Thomas Row, accompanied the Jacobean ambassador to the Mogul Empire (1615–1619). In the passage Mather quotes from *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), sec. 4, pp. 125–26, Terry holds forth on the blistering winds in the torrid zones from April through June. It reminds him of the doom God threatens upon his people Israel if they did not abide by his commandments.

[3829:]

Q. What was, *The Botch of Egypt?* v. 27.

A. Some take this to signify, *The Leprosy*, unto which they were very subject in *Egypt*. Others take it, for that *Boil breaking out with Blains*, whereof we read in the *Ninth of Exodus*; for that is called, *Schechin*.¹⁹

The *Hierusalem Targum* reads this Text, *The Word of the Lord shall smite thee*. Might it not be to suggest, That He being the Conductor of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, was the Person concerned more especially to punish them for their shameful Ingratitude unto their Deliverer.²⁰

[3830:]

Q. How was that Threatening fulfilled; *The Lord shall smite thee with Madness and Blindness and Astonishment of Heart*. v. 28.²¹

A. Such was the *Madness* of this People oftentimes, that they did not know what Course to take for their Safety; such their *Blindness*, that they still took a wrong one; and then followed *Astonishment of Heart*, or a certain Horror of Mind, when they saw themselves ruined by their own wretched Contrivances.

There was a famous Instance of this, in the Time of *Trajan*, when they committed such outrageous Massacres, both upon the *Greeks* and *Romans* (as we find related by *Dion*, a very sober Author,) in *Cyrene* and *Cyprus*, (where great Numbers of Jewes dwelt, after they were driven out of their own Country,) that it was plain, they were smitten with the *Madness* and *Blindness* here threatened by the Lord; by which they provoked the Indignation of the Emperour, that would otherwise have slept; but now pursued them throughout his Dominions, not only as Enemies, or Traitors and Rebels, but also as Creatures noxious to Humane Society.²²

¹⁹ Mather alludes to Exod. 9:9b: “shall bee a boyle [רִיחַקִּי shechiyn] breaking forth with blaines” (Strong’s # 7822). See also Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozaicon* (1692), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 36, esp. cols. 365–66.

²⁰ Patrick (Deuteronomy 497). As Targum Hierosolymitanum and Jonathan ben Uzziel put it (Deut. 28:27), in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:369), “And the Word of the Lord will smite you with the ulcers with Mizraim [Egypt], and the haemorrhoids, and with the blotch, and with scurvy, which cannot be healed” (*The Targums* 2:644). Preparation H, anyone?

²¹ Patrick (Deuteronomy 498–99), drawing on Thomas Jackson’s *The First Book of Comments upon the Creed*, in *Works* (1673), 1:1–169, supplies Mather with the data for the following paragraphs.

²² Thomas Jackson, *The Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 27, pp. 121–22, § 1, is full of vitriolic invectives here and relies on Dion Cassius’s *History of Rome* (68.75.32) as his source to come up with a post-biblical application of Deut. 28:24. In the times of Roman Emperor Marcus Ulpius Traianus (c. 53–117 CE), Dion Cassius reports, “the Jews in the region of Cyrene [Lybia],” under the leadership of Andreas, attacked both Romans and Greeks in that famous N. African city, and “would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight

Indeed this Prediction was fulfilled in their foolish Credulity, which made them follow every one, that pretended to be their *Messiah*. This alwayes brought horrid Calamities upon them, as R. *Gedaliah* himself confesses in *Schal-Schetheth Hakkala*; were he mentions no small Number of these Deceivers, & showes, how many *Jewes* perished, who followed them. But there might be brought in a larger Catalogue.²³

[47v] | We shall add one Observations, out of *Solomon ben Virga*, who saies, That in *Germany*, they were possessed with such a *Rabies*, that they cutt one anothers Throats, to avoid the Oppressions of their Enemies; & burnt themselves & their Neighbours in their Houses, setting whole Cities on Fire, & perishing in the Flames. For such was their furious Revenge on the Christians, who pressed them to embrace Christianity. Many Stories of the like Importance, that Author gives us, in his Book, entituled, *Schebet Jehudah*; where he hath Sixty Four Histories, of the Calamities which befel them in that, & other Countreyes.²⁴

Dr. *Patrick* takes these Words to be fulfilled, in the First Desolation of *Jerusalem*; For tho' we have not such punctual Relations to Illustrate them, yett the Prophets mention their *Madness*; [Jer. 25.16, 18.] their *Blindness*; [Zeph. 1.17. Lam. 4.14.] and their *Astonishment*. [Jer. 4.9. Ezek. 4.17.]²⁵

[383r]

Q. How ha's That been fulfilled; *No Man shall save thee?* v. 29.

A. It ha's been so Remarkably fulfill'd in the *European* Parts of the World, that the Magistrates, who had a Mind in many Places, to præserve them from Outrages, durst not venture to appear for their Præservation. And those who took them into their Protection, were but the Instruments and Occasions, of more Mischiefs unto them. For, as it hath been said, *Even Succour itself turned into their Sorrow, and it is hard to say, whether Mens Purposes for their Good or for their Evil, brought greater Plagues upon them.*

as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand persons perished." More of the same is to have occurred in Egypt and Cyprus under the aegis of "a certain Artemion."

²³ Patrick (499); R. Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah ben Joseph (c. 1515–c. 1587) of Imola (Italy) spent more than forty years composing his ספר שלשלת הקבלה *Sefer Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (1587), when he finally came to settle in Alexandria (Egypt). The work consists of the genealogy of the Jews from Moses to Gedaliah's own time; a disquisition on the world of spirits, angels, and the human soul; and a history of the Diaspora and the fate of Jews in Europe (*JE*).

²⁴ Solomon ibn Virga (aka. Salomon ben Verga), שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (1651, 1680), pp. 214–18, §§ 34–36, provides second-hand accounts ("convocatis Hebraeis imperant") about the slaughter, persecution, and expulsion of Jews who refused baptism.

²⁵ Patrick (499).

Yea, thus it was before their first Captivity. *Pharaoh* came to do it, but *no Man could save them*. [Jer. 37.7. and, 46.17.]²⁶

3832.

Q. How ha's That been fulfilled, *Thy Sons and thy Daughters shall be given unto another People?* v. 32.

A. This was most literally fulfilled, when the *Jewes* were banished out of *Portugal*, in the Time of King *Emanuel*; who ordered their Children under Nineteen Years of Age, to be taken from them, & brought up in the Christian Religion. Infants were then torn from their Mothers Breasts, with far more Grief and Sorrow, than they had at their Coming out of their Womb. Several hundred Years before that, when the *Goths* were Lords of *Spain*, they suffered no Parents to have any Commerce with their Children, after the Seventh Year of their Age; but by publick Decree, they were committed unto Christians, to be educated by them, who married them unto their own Sons & Daughters.²⁷

3833.

Q. It followes; *Thine Eyes shall look, & fail with Longing for them, all the Day long.* [v. 32.]

A. Yes; Their Women fill'd the Heavens, with more hideous & horrid Shrieks, than the *Egyptians* did, when all their First-born were slain in the Night. For these were bereft at once of all their dear Children, in the open Sun; in vain begging to have them Restored to them. And to increase their Calamity, many *Moors* professing *Mahometism*, were transported out of *Portugal* the same time, without such Violence offered to them. What was the Reason? God would have (as Dr. *Jackson* observes,) a manifest Distinction between the *Jewes*, & other People, that so this Prophecy might be fulfilled. It was in Part, because the *Moors* had a little *Power in their Hand*; the *Portuguese* abstained from such Violence to them, lest the *African* Mahometans might revenge it; but the *Jewes*, as it is here threatened, had *no Power in their Hand*; there was none to attempt any Revenge for them.²⁸

²⁶ Patrick, on Deut.28:29 (*Deuteronomy* 500); his source is Thomas Jackson's *Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 29, pp. 140–41 (§ 14).

²⁷ Patrick (501–502); Jackson, *Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 28, pp. 127–28 (§§ 1–2); ch. 29, pp. 141–42 (§§ 15–16). King Emmanuel I of Portugal (1469–1521) decreed in 1496 that all Jews be baptized or be expelled from his domain but leave their children behind. This unrest led to the infamous Lisbon Massacre (1506) when thousands of Jews were slaughtered. Jackson's historical source is Cardinal Hieronymus Osórius, *De Rebus Gestis Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae, libri XIII* (1571), lib. 1, which went through numerous reprints until the late 17th c. For a modern account of the reign of King Emmanuel I, see E. Sanceau, *The Reign of Manuel I of Portugal* (1970). The Spanish humanist Johannes Vasacus Brugensis (c. 1511–1561) is one of Jackson's sources on the fate of the children, in his *Chronici Rerum Memorabilium Hispaniae* (1552).

²⁸ Patrick (502); Thomas Jackson, *Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 29, p. 142 (§ 15).

[48r]

3834.

Q. How was that fulfilled; *The Fruit of thy Land, and all thy Labours, shall a Nation which thou knowest not, eat up?* v. 33.

A. It was remarkably fulfilled, when *Salmanasser*, & afterwards *Nebuchadnezzar*, dispossessed them, and placed other People in their Stead.²⁹

There were many strange People also among the *Romans*, who devoured their Labours before *Titus* destroy'd them. Ever since, they have no where scraped up Riches, but Strangers have presently fallen to squeezing of them. Very particularly, in the Time of the famous *Croisado's*, when diverse Nations marched in great Numbers to recover the Holy Land from the Infidels, their Business was in their Way to Spoil & Rob the *Jewes*, & make horrid Slaughters of them; as we read, in *Schalscheleth Hakkabula*, & in *Matthew Paris*, & others both Jewish & Christian Writers.³⁰

3835.

Q. And how *That; Thou shalt be only oppressed & crushed alway?*

A. Always in every Kingdome to which they have removed, they have suffered such *Oppressions* as no other People have done; which cannot but be ascribed unto a Just and Strange Hand of God! A brief Enumeration of the *Oppressions* which have been multiplied upon them, in the most Civil and best Govern'd States of *Europe*, would abundantly confirm the Truth of this Terrible Threatening. It is observed by J. *Wagenseil*, that the *Jewes* have no sooner grown Rich any where, & become considerable in any Countrey, but some great Calamity ha's presently befallen them. God ha's not suffered them to be utterly destroy'd, like the *Amalekites*, and *Jebusites*, and *Philistines*, of whom no Footsteps remain;³¹ but would have them to be scattered about, in all Christian

²⁹ Jackson (*Works*), ch 28, pp. 133–234; ch. 29, pp. 140–41).

³⁰ Patrick (503); Jackson (*Works*), ch. 21, pp. 83–84, 86; ch. 24, pp. 100–103; 137). Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (39–81 CE) is best remembered in Judeo-Christian annals for his sacking of Jerusalem (69–70 CE) and the dispersion of surviving Jewry. There were at least four infamous Crusades (1095–1099, 1148, 1192, 1204–1212) in the Middle Ages to wrest the Holy Land from Ottoman hegemony. They all ended in bloody massacres and disasters. Jackson (ch. 29, p. 137) provides many examples of how European Jews were forced to pay huge ransoms to Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and German rulers to save themselves or their families. The Benedictine monk Matthaëus Parisiensis (c. 1200–1259) at St. Albans Abbey (Hertfordshire) is best known for his *Historia Anglorum sive Historia Minor*; his *Chronica Majora*, a chronicle he continued from his predecessor, contains valuable information about the social and political conditions of Western Europe, including the persecution of Jews, in the first half of the thirteenth century. R. Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah ben Joseph's *ספר שלשלת הקבלה* [1587], as well as Salomon ben Virga's *שבט יהודה* [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (1651, 1680), provides numerous accounts of the persecution and slaughter of Jews by Christian potentates and their henchman.

³¹ Judg. 10:6–8; Numb. 13:29; 1 Sam. 15:1–3; Exod. 17:14–16; Neh. 9:1–37.

Countreyes; and there *only oppressed & crushed alway*, as *Moses* here foretold unto them.³²

One Instance lett us take from R. *Solomon Virgæ*, who in *Schebet Jehuda*, confesses, what great Miseries they have suffered by Persons pretending to be their *Messiah*; who have drawn the Hatred of all Nations upon them. In *Persia* particularly, he saies, they were lamentably handled on this Account. They were not only stript of all, but forced also to go about, like Dogs, with a great Clog of Wood bound unto their Necks; which exposed them unto the Contempt & Laughter of all Men. For while some threw it behind their Backs, others would come & throw it down before their Feet; some Dragging them backwards, & others beating them with it.³³

[3836:]

Q. And *That; Thou shalt be mad, for the Sight of thine Eyes?* v. 34.

A. They were so to an Extremity, when their Children were taken from them in *Portugal*. Some who were not able to Rescue or Dispatch their Children,

³² Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 503–504); Jackson (ch. 29, pp. 134–44). In his anti-Semitic diatribe *Tela Ignea Satanae*, 2 vols. (1681), Johann Christoph Wagenseil, professor of history and Hebrew at Altdorf, contributed in major ways to the persecution of German and Austrian Jews by republishing in Hebrew and Latin the old story: ספר תולדות ישו [Sefer Toledot Yeshu] *Liber Toldos Jeschu*, an inflammatory account of Jesus of Nazareth's illegitimate conception by the Roman soldier Tiberius Julius Abdes Pantera. Via Patrick (504), Mather refers to Wagenseil's argument in *Carminis R. Lipmanni Confutatio* (*Tela Ignea Satanae* 1:241) that the danger of Jewish persecution increases in the same degree as their wealth and influence rises in Christian communities. Wagenseil's *Carminis R. Lipmanni Confutatio* is a refutation of R. Lipmann's *Carmen Memoriale*, a poetic version of Lipmann's *Nizzachon*, by an unknown author, reprinted in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1:106–17).

³³ Patrick (504); Salomon ben Virgæ's שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (1651, 1680), sec. 31, pp. 162–69, tells the story of the Pseudo-Messiah David Eldavid of Amadia (fl. c. 1135–c. 1167), an ancient Medo-Persian city (N Iraq), who pretended that God had commissioned him as their messiah to liberate the Jews from their Persian overlord. David Eldavid (David son of David) posed a tremendous danger to the peace and survival of the Jewish population of Persia because Eldavid aroused the wrath of the Persian king until the pseudo-messiah lost his head – literally. The story of several other imposters (may they remain nameless) – and the deadly consequences for their disciples – follows on the former's heel, in ben Virgæ's work (sec. 32, pp. 169–90). David Eldavid's story was popular enough to be reprinted as a translation exercise “Historia de falso Messia Eldavid ... ex libro Schevet Jehuda” (along with Maimonides's epistolary caveat), in “Lectionis Hebraeo-Germanicae usus & exercitatio,” appended to Johannes Buxtorf (the elder), *Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraeae Duobus libris methodiè propositus* (1620), pp. 683–90, by the illustrious Johannes Buxtorf, the elder (1564–1629), professor of Hebrew at Basel. David Eldavid's story and lifetimes also impacted the mighty Joseph Mede and his millenarian timeline about Antichrist, in “Revelatio Antichristi,” in Mede's *Works* (1664), bk. 3, p. 885. More detail on the rise and fall of false messiahs in diasporic Jewry can also be found in R. Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah ben Joseph's chronology ספר שלשלת הקבלה *Sefer Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (1587); in David ben Solomon Gans, *Zemach David* (1644), sec. 31, pp. 300–303, as extracted from Salomon ibn Virgæ's שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae* (1651, 1680), and in Jacques Basnage's compendium *The History of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to The Present Time* (1708), bk. 7, ch. 9, pp. 631–33.

killed themselves. Others, who had Opportunity, drowned their Children in Wells or Ditches. In *England*, one of their learned *Rabbis*, perswaded Four Hundred of his Companions, besieged with him, in a Strong Tower, by the furious Multitude, to cutt their own Throats, rather than fall into their Enemies Hands. He confirmed his Doctrine, by cutting his Wifes Throat first, and then his Children, & lastly his own.³⁴ In the Time of the *Croisado's*, the Souldiers made such dreadful havock of the *Jewes*, as they went along to the Holy Land, that many of them destroy'd themselves out of Despair; as their own Authors, R. *Gedaliah*, and *David Ganz* have informed us.³⁵

[48v]

[3837:]

Q. What Accomplishment ha's that Threatning had; *Thou shalt become a Proverb, & a By-word among all Nations?* v. 37.

A. Compare, 1. King. 9.7. and Jer. 24.9. There was doubtless a Fulfilment of it in their First Captivity; [See Lam. 2.15, 16.] But there ha's been a more notorious Fulfilment of it in their Last. For instance, In *England*, (from whence they have been Banished above Three Hundred Years,) their Name serves as a perfect Measure, to express the Heighth of Impiety in any Agent, or the Depth of an Abject, Worthless, Forlorn Condition in any Patient.³⁶ We cannot better express the most cutt-throat Dealing, than thus, *You use me like a Jew*; or, *None but a Jew would have done this*. And, when in common Speech, we exaggerate Wrongs done to the most odious, or despised People among us, we say, *I would not have done so to a Jew*.³⁷

³⁴ Incited by Richard Malebisse and a Benedictine monk, a mob forced York's Jewish community to choose between death by torture or baptism. Led by R. Yom Tob Joigny, York's Jews sought refuge in Clifford's Tower at York (1190). In the ensuing massacre 150 members of the Jewish community chose to commit suicide rather than abandon their faith. See R. B. Dobson (1–8) and M. L. Margolis and A. Marx (386–88).

³⁵ Mather, via Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 504–505) and Jackson (ch. 29, sec. 6, p. 126; sec. 15, pp. 140–42), singles out the abuse of the Jews, in York (England), and in Spain and Portugal. R. Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah ben Joseph's *Sefer Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (1587) and William Henry Vorstius's Hebrew and Latin edition of R. David (Gans). צמח דוד [Tzémach David] *Chronologia Sacra-Profana. A mundi conditu ad annum M. 5352 vel Christi 1592, dicta צמח דוד German Davidis* (1644) – both record numerous cases of murder and rapine especially during the Crusades.

³⁶ King Edward I of England (1239–1307) issued his Edict of Expulsion in 1290; Oliver Cromwell officially readmitted Jews to England in 1657 under the auspices of R. Manasseh ben Israel.

³⁷ Patrick (507); Jackson (*Works*, ch. 30, pp. 145–146, § 2).

[.....]

Q. Very many of the Threatenings here denounced by *Moses*, had their Accomplishment, no doubt, in the *Babylonian* Captivity. But surely, the fuller Accomplishment is in the *Roman*?³⁸

A. Yes. What means that Passage, *Hee shall putt a Yoke of Iron upon thy Neck*? Methinks, It foretels the Bondage of the Jewes, unto the *Roman* Power. In the Vision of the Fourth Monarchy, expounded by *Daniel*, ch. 2.40. *The Fourth Kingdome*, – represented by the *Legs of Iron*, is the *Roman Empire*.³⁹

[102:]

And thus again,⁴⁰ There is a Threatning of a *Nation* to come against the Sinful Jewes, *As the Eagle flyeth*; I pray, what *Nation*? what, but The *Romans*. The Banner of the Roman Armies, was an *Eagle*. There was an *Eagle* display'd in *Vespasians* Ensign, when hee came against *Jerusalem*. As I remember, *Josephus* himself accounts This, the fulfilment of the Prophecy.⁴¹

3838.

Q. What Remark to be made upon that, *Thy Olive shall cast her Fruit*? v. 40.

A. *Maimonides* observes, That the Idolaters pretended, by certain magical Arts, to preserve all Fruits, from Worms, & every thing else that might blast them. To deter the *Israelites* from Idolatrous Practices, *Moses* here denounces,

³⁸ The preceding paragraph was added at a later time, and the following paragraph (originally designed as a separate Q&A) now constitutes Mather's response. Patrick, on Deut. 28:36–37 (*Deuteronomy* 506–507). It is remarkable that Mather conceives of multiple accomplishments of individual prophecies, a hermeneutical position he also attained for OT/NT messianic prophecies after the controversy between Anthony Collins and William Whiston arising in 1724. See my discussion in *The Threefold Paradise* (1995), pp. 3–19, and Jan Stievermann's *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicism* (2016), pp. 259–319.

³⁹ Mather follows the traditional millenarian reading of Nebuchadnezzar's statue (Dan. 2:31–40), which consists of various metals or mixtures thereof. The statue's legs of iron (Dan. 2:40) signify the fourth kingdom, Rome, which would crush all kingdoms in its way. See Mather's annotations on Daniel in *BA*, vol. 6.

⁴⁰ Originally designed as a separate Q&A, the two following paragraphs amplify Mather's exegesis of the fourth kingdom in Daniel's dream vision.

⁴¹ Deut. 28:49. Josephus (*Wars* 6.2.1 and 6.5.3) deems the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple as prophetic fulfillment. See also Manasseh ben Israel, in his צרוד החיים *De Termino Vitae Libri Tres* (1639), lib. 3, sec. 3, pp. 125–33, esp. 129, and the English translation of the same in *De Termino Vitae* (1700), bk. 3, sec. 3, p. 64. In his *Antiquities* (17.6.2–3), Josephus reports that young men pulled down the golden eagle of the Romans attached to the gate of the Temple in Jerusalem. See also *Jewish Wars* (1.33.2–3, 3.6.2, 5.2.1). That such images were not uncommon – even in Solomon's time – can be seen in *Antiquities* (8.3.6), where Josephus explains that the various lavers in Solomon's Temple sported carved likenesses of bulls, eagles, and lions – all insignia of power.

that they should bring upon themselves those very Punishments, which they studied by such Means to avoid.⁴²

523.

Q. Among all the Variety of Judgments threatned by *Moses* why no mention of, *An Earthquake*, to punish Disobedience unto the *Law*? v. 40.

A. Our Lord Jesus Christ most particularly does insist upon it; *There shall bee great Earthquakes, in diverse Places.*

It seems that an *Earth-quake* is of all Judgments, the greatest; and so tis Reserved for the greatest of all Sins; namely, for Disobedience to the *Gospel*.⁴³

3839.

Q. That Threatening; *Thou shalt begett Sons and Daughters, but thou shalt not enjoy them, for they shall go into Captivity*; How ha's it been accomplished? v. 41.

A. It was accomplished in the several Invasions, which they suffered from their Neighbours. [2. King. 5.2. 2. King. 14.26. and 15.37.]

But it ha's been astonishingly accomplished, since their Crucifying of our Saviour.

Yea, tis a notable Passage, which Dr. *Jackson*, and after him, Dr. *Patrick*, ha's upon this Occasion; "Who knowes, whether many of their Stock, detained by King *Emanuel*, of *Portugal*, have not been transported into *America*; and whether many of the *Spanish* Colonies have not a Mixture of the *Jewish* Progeny in them?"⁴⁴

⁴² Patrick (509). As previously mentioned, Maimonides (*More Nebuchim* 3.37.446) and *Guide* (3.37.543) has in mind the book of "The Nabataean Agriculture" – which to him constitutes the epitome of Sabianism and its debased fertility rituals.

⁴³ Matth. 24:7 – one of the mainstays of end-time expectations. The massive earthquake in New England (Oct. 1727) served as an awakening call in Mather's *Boanerges* (1727), *The Terror of the Lord* (1727), and *Threefold Paradise* (1995), pp. 155–244. See also, Thomas Prince's *Earthquakes the Works of God and Tokens of his just Displeasure* (1727).

⁴⁴ Patrick, on Deut. 28:41 (*Deuteronomy* 509–10); Jackson, *Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 30, pp. 146–47 (§ 3). As noted above, King Emmanuel I of Portugal is to blame for the infamous Lisbon Massacre of 1506 – following his decree (1496) that all Jews in his realm be baptized. Manasseh ben Israel says as much about the presence of Israelites in America in his *Spes Israelis* (1648), secs. 3–6, in *The Hope of Israel* (1650), pp. 21–26 – except that he conjectures (as others had done before him) that the Ten Lost Tribes who had been taken into Medo-Persian captivity (722 BCE) from there removed eastward to Asareth (22), i. e., America. This famous myth is based on 2 Esdras 13:45 and given new impetus when the Sephardic Marrano Antonio de Montezinos, aka. Aharon Levi, related he had "discovered" descendants of one of the Lost Tribes in the province of Quito (Ecuador). On this topic, see also José Acosta's *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604), bk. 1, ch. 23, pp. 74–77; Hugo Grotius's *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (1642), and Thomas Thorowgood's *Digittus Dei: New Discoveries* (1652).

3841.

Q. How was that fulfilled; *The Stranger that is within thee, shall gett up above thee very High, and thou shalt come down very Low?* v. 43.

A. I will give you one Remarkable Instance of it. *Vespasian*, who was appointed to command, in the Wars against the *Jewes*, being a Person of a mean Birth & obscure Family, had no Thoughts of aspiring to the Imperial Seat. But by the unseasonable Desire of the *Jewes*, to exalt themselves above all Nations, they raised him to the *highest* Pitch of Greatness, who was to pull them *down very low*, & make them lower than any People. It was *hee*, who not only extinguished their Temple at *Jerusalem*, which was their *Glory*, but also shutt up & profan'd the Temple which the *Egyptian Jewes* built at *Heliopolis*, after it had stood above Three Hundred Years.⁴⁵

[3842:]

Q. And how That; *The Lord shall bring a Nation against thee from far; from the End of the Earth?* v. 49.⁴⁶

A. *Menasseh ben Israel* acknowledges, that this evidently belongs unto the *Romans*.⁴⁷ But it is yett more particularly observable; That *Julius Severus* was called by the Emperour *Adrian*, unto the Destruction of the *Jewes*, out of the Island of *Britain*. And *Adrian* himself, and *Trajan*, by whom they were still more crushed, after their City & their Temple had been destroyed by *Vespasian*, were both of them *Spaniards*.⁴⁸ *Menasseh ben Israel* understands this Passage, of the Souldiers

⁴⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 511); Jackson (*Works*), bk. 1, cap. 23, pp. 93–94, §§ 3–4. The Roman historians Suetonius and Tacitus give their account of Titus Flavius Vespasianus (23–79 CE), who was commanded to quell the Jewish uprising in Palestine, vanquished Jerusalem (70 CE), and returned to Rome as Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (69–70), as the ninth emperor of the Roman Empire. If this elevation were not lofty enough, Suetonius deifies him in his *Lives of the Caesars* (8.1, 4–7, 12, 15, 25), but Tacitus (*Histories* 4.81) bestows upon Vespasian miraculous power to restore sight to the blind and agility to the lame, in Alexandria (Egypt). Well, there it is.

⁴⁶ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 514–16).

⁴⁷ In his צרוד החיים *De Termino Vitae Libri Tres* (1639), lib. 3, sec. 3, § 3, p. 129, Manasseh ben Israel wonders if the Mosaic prophecy of Israel's destruction by a faraway nation (Deut. 28:49) nearly 1,500 years later intended the Roman Empire: "Quare cum Moses ait, gentem fore de longinqua terra, intellige Romam, & de extremo terrae, accipe de multis gentibus, quas auxilio ibi accersivit Vespasianus ex Anglia, Gallia, Hispania, & ex aliis mundi tractibus" (129), or "wherefore when *Moses*, says, *A Nation shall come from far*, it must be understood of *Rome*, and from the end of the Earth, it must be understood of those Nations, which Vespasian sent for to assist him, out of *England, France, Spain* and other parts of the World," in the English translation of *De Termino Vitae* (1700), p. 64.

⁴⁸ Thomas Jackson's *Works* (1673), bk. 1, cap. 27, pp. 124–25, § 3. According to Dio Cassius's *Roman History* (69.13–14), Roman Emperor Publius Aelius Hadrianus Augustus (76–138 CE), in c. 132 CE, dispatched his General Sextus Julius Severus (2nd c. CE), governor of Britain, to suppress the "Bar Kokhba" revolt against Roman occupation and the construction of Hadrian's

in *Vespasians* Army, which hee brought out of *England, France, & Spain*, & the remote Parts of the World.⁴⁹

It followes,

As swift as the Eagles.] These, every one knowes, the *Romans* carried in their Ensigns; and the *Roman Souldiers* flew upon their Enemies, with a Violence, like what is notable in those rapacious Birds.⁵⁰ *Achilles* in *Homer*, so falls upon the *Trojans*; Αἰετοῦ οἶματ' ἔχων – *David* ha's the like of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*. 2. Sam. 1.23. [Compare, Jer. 4.13. and 48.40. and 49.22. and Lam. 1.19. and Ezek. 17.3. and Dan. 7.4.]⁵¹

It followes,

A Nation whose Tongue thou shalt not understand.] The *Roman* Tongue, was more strange to the *Jewes*, than the *Chaldean*; and especially the Language of the many Nations, of which the *Roman* Army was composed. Yea, they were a People, whom, it may be, their Ancestors never heard of.⁵²

[3843:]

Q. What Remarkable upon the Repetition of the Word, *Nation*, in the Commination? v. 50.

A. The Word, *Nation*, being used Thrice, in the fiftieth and the foregoing Verse, *Menasseh ben Israel*, is so critical, as to observe, that this Repetition intimates, *Jerusalem* was to suffer Thrice, by the *Roman* Power. First, in the Time of *Pompey*; Secondly, when *Sosius* came to the Assistance of *Herod* against *Antigonus*; And, thirdly, when it was besieged and ruined by *Vespasian*.⁵³

temple to Jupiter on Mt. Zion (*EJ*). Both Emperor Hadrian and his predecessor Caesar Nerva Traianus Divi Nervae filius Augustus (53–117) were born in Spain.

49 In his צִוּר הַחַיִּים *De Termino Vitae Libri Tres* (1639), p. 129, Manasseh ben Israel offers much the same material.

50 Jackson (125) interpreting Deut. 28:49–52.

51 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 515) links Deut. 28:49 (“The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from farr, from the end of the earth, *as swift* as an Eagle”) with Homer’s hero Achilles, son of Peleus, who “swoops down like a black eagle” upon his enemies (*Ilias* 21.252). Bochart’s *Hieroicoicon* (1693), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 9, col. 162 (lines 19–23) and pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 2, col. 170 (lines 50–63) appears to be Patrick’s muse in linking Moses with Homer’s Achilles.

52 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 515–16); Jackson (125–26); see also Edward Brerewood’s *Enquiry Touching the Diversity of Languages* (1614), chs. 3–7, pp. 13–62.

53 Manasseh ben Israel, צִוּר הַחַיִּים *De Termino Vitae Libri Tres* (1639), lib. 3, sec. 3, p. § 3, p. 129; *De Termino Vitae* (1700), bk. 3, sec. 3, § 3, p. 64; and Jackson (*Works*, bk. 1, ch. 18, sec. 3, p. 70, § 3. See also Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 14.9.4; 14.15.9–10) and Tacitus (*Histories* 5.12). There were several previous destructions of Jerusalem by invading armies, but during the Roman Empire, Consul Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (BCE 106–48 BCE) vanquished Jerusalem and entered the Temple during the Third Mithridatic War (66–63 BCE); so, too, another Roman violated the Temple: Gaius Sosius, governor of Syria, supported Herod the Great (BCE 74–4 BCE) against the last Hasmonean king of Judea, Antigonus II Mattathias, who was executed by Mark Antony in 37 BCE; finally, Titus Vespasianus razed Jerusalem and its Temple in 69–70 CE. For the fall of Jerusalem under Vespasian, see esp. Josephus Flavius (*Wars of the Jews* 5.7–7.1–3). Abraham Zacuto, in his סֵפֶר הַיּוֹחֲסִין *Sepher ha-Yuchasin* (1581),

[3844.]

Q. How was that fulfilled; *He shall besiege thee in all thy Gates; until thy High & Fenced Walls come down, wherein thou trustest, throughout thy Land?* v. 52.

A. The Countrey being wasted, the Jewes fled into their Fenced Cities, where they laid up their Provisions, to enable their Holding out a Siege.

It is here foretold, how they should there be dealt withal. *Josephus's* History of the *Jewish War*, is the best Commentary for this Prophecy.⁵⁴

Particularly, the Walls of *Jerusalem*, were once rased by *Pompey*; and *Sosius* again took the City in the Time of *Augustus*. But we are informed by *Tacitus*, That the Jewes taking advantage of the Coveteousness of *Claudius*, purchased of him the Liberty to fortify their City. This they did so well, that *they trusted*, as *Moses* here speaks, to the Strength of it; which was indeed so great, that it cost *Titus* a long Siege to take it; & then it was utterly ruined.⁵⁵

3845.

Q. The Horrors of the *Famine* here described by *Moses*, when were they Exemplified & Accomplished? v. 53. etc.

A. At several Times, in the Sieges that befel them.⁵⁶

That horrid Circumstance of the Delicate *Womens* Eating their *Infants*, was literally fulfilled, in the Siege of *Samaria*, wherein a Woman boiled her Son; [2. King. 5.28, 29.] As many did, in the first Siege of *Jerusalem*, by the *Babylonians*. [Lam. 2.20. and 4.10.] But it was never so exactly fulfilled, as in the last Siege by the *Romans*; when a Noble Woman, (which fully answers to *Moses's*

i. e., *The Book of Lineage*, mentions five separate conquests of Jerusalem "(1) in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, (2) in the days of the Second Temple by Isibio, king of Egypt, (3) Antiochus, (4) Pompey and (5) Herod the Great. ... The city remained in ruins until Hadrian. He repaired it and gave it to goyim [gentiles], so the Jews would not enter, but the poor ones. When Titus took Jerusalem, many Romans died along with 600 000 Jews, as many as had left in the Exodus from Egypt" (589–90).

⁵⁴ The account of the famous siege of Masada and the suicide of the remaining Jews in this mountainous fortress is related by Josephus (*Wars of the Jews* 7.8–9).

⁵⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 517); Josephus Flavius (*Antiquities* 14.9.4; 14.15.9–10). The Edict of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (BCE 10–54 CE) specifically granted Alexandrian Jews and to those throughout the Empire to practice their own religion as long as they did not show "contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but keep their own laws only" (*Antiquities* 19.5.2–3). The Roman historian Tacitus (*Histories* 5.12) explains that "profiting by the greed displayed during the reign of Tiberius Claudius, [the Jews] had bought the privilege of fortifying the city [Jerusalem], and in time of peace had built walls as if for war."

⁵⁶ Josephus Flavius (*Wars of the Jews* 6.10.1) mentions five separate times during which Jerusalem was taken and desolated. A sixth time ought to be added as described by Josephus, when Ptolemy Philadelphus, one of the four generals of Alexander the Great, "seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery, for as he came into the city on a Sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifice, he, without trouble, gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy" (*Antiquities* 12.1.1).

Description,) did the very same; as it is related by *Josephus*, in his Book of the *Jewish War*. (L. 7. c. 8.) A most unnatural Fact, as he observes, which was never committed, either by *Greek* or *Barbarian*; and which he would not have related, because it might seem incredible, if there had not been many Witnesses of it, besides himself.⁵⁷

What we translate, *And, toward her Young one:*] in the Hebrew properly signifies, *The After-birth*; & so the LXX translate it, τὸ γόριον.⁵⁸ This renders the Passage more plain; That their Hunger should make them so unnatural, as first to eat the *After-birth* which came from them, and then, the *Child* which was wrapped in it.⁵⁹

[50r]

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3846.

Q. *Plagues wonderful, Great Plagues, & of long Continuance*, are threatned unto the *Rebellious Israelites*? v. 59.⁶⁰

A. We will give some Instances. Tho' their Great Plagues, under *Vespasian*, by Famine, Sword, and Pestilence, had lessened their Numbers exceedingly, yett they had by the Time of *Trajan* and *Adrian* (as Dr. *Jackson* expresses it) like Traitors taken for a while from the Rack, recovered Strength enough, to be putt unto greater Tortures. They were then again exposed unto the World, as a Spectacle of the Divine Vengeance; & they then (as Dr. *Patrick* expresses it) show'd their Natural Strength, by their grievous Lingring Pains in Dying.⁶¹ For not only in *Mesopotamia*, and in *Cyprus*, but especially in *Cyrene*, & throughout all *Egypt*, they broke out into such Outrages, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινοῦ καὶ στασιώδους: *As if they had been possessed with some fierce & seditious Spirit*; (as *Eusebius* expresses it:) whereupon *Marcus Turbo* was sent against them, & setting upon them, both by Sea & Land, with Horse and Foot, made an horrible

⁵⁷ Patrick, on Deut. 28:56 (*Deuteronomy* 520); Josephus Flavius tells the horrific story of Mary of Bethzab, who had fled to Jerusalem upon the approach of the Roman troops. Being overcome with extreme hunger during the siege of the city, Mary "slew her son; and then roasted him, and ate the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed" (*Wars of the Jews* 6.3.4). The dramatic tale is only half told in this quote. All this and more Mather and his muse read this incident as confirmation of the Mosaic prediction in Deut. 28:57.

⁵⁸ The Hebrew word שְׁלִיָּה [shilyah] (Strong's # 7988), signifies "afterbirth," but is rendered in the KJV (1611) by the circumlocution of "toward her young one." LXX (Deut. 28:57, line 1); for the medical side of the placenta (aka. "secundae membranae" or "secundine"), see the discussion of the famous Greek physician Claudius Galenus, in his *De Uteri Dissectione* (Kühn, vol. 2, p. 902, line 3; 904, line 7; 906, line 8).

⁵⁹ Patrick, on Deut. 28:57 (*Deuteronomy* 520–21).

⁶⁰ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 523–24). In his "Note Book of Authors" (Deut. 28:59), Mather lists "MSS. Pat. no. 23. Sermon 59" as a useful source for his annotations.

⁶¹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 523); Jackson *Works* (1673), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 27, pp. 123–24, § 2.

Destruction of them.⁶² *Dion*, and *Xiphilinus*, describe their Destruction, at such a rate, as to afford a terrible Commentary on these Words of *Moses*.⁶³

It is a strange Relation that we find in the Writings of the Jewes themselves. In the *Hierusalem Talmud*, one of their Doctors tells us, That when *Trajan* came upon them with his Army, they were then Reading these very Words of the Law, *The Lord shall bring a Nation against thee from far, from the Ends of the Earth*, &c which he understanding (having asked them, what they were doing) he cried out, *Here is the Man* (pointing to himself,) *who am come Five Dayes sooner than I intended!* And immediately, compassing them about, he slew them all. Then he went unto their Wives, & offered Mercy unto them, if they would submitt themselves: But they replied, *What thou hast done to the Grain, do to the Stubble*. So he dispatch'd *them* also, and shed so much Blood, that it ran into the Sea, as far as unto *Cyprus*. At this time, [so the Story concludes,] the Horn of *Israel* was cutt off from *Israel*, never to be restored into its Place, till the Son of *David* come.⁶⁴

[3847:]

Q. What are the *Diseases of Egypt*, which are threatned unto the *Israelites*? v. 60.

A. What these Diseases were, *Petrus Cunæus* hath expressed in these Words; *Virilignes, Psorasque, et tetra Ulcera &c.* Leprosies, Itches, Botches, and Stinking

⁶² Eusebius Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea, describes the tempestuous spirit of persecution that followed during the Jewish uprising in Palestine, Libya, Cyprus, and Egypt against Roman oppression, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (4.2.2, line 3). Emperor Trajan and his successor Hadrian sent Praetorian Quintus Marcius Turbo (fl. early 2nd c. CE) to Egypt to crush the insurrection and to safeguard the continuous supply of grain from the Egyptian breadbasket. See M. E. Smallwood's *Jews under Roman Rule* (1981).

⁶³ Mather, via Patrick, on Deut. 28:59 (*Deuteronomy* 523–23), and on Dio Cassius's *Histories* (69.14) comments that “Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out” (*Histories* 69.14.1); and 68.32.1–3). The preceding extract from Dio Cassius survives only in the epitome (bks. 61–80) of the Greek Orthodox monk Xiphilinus Joannes of Constantinople (fl. 11th c. CE). See also Mather's gloss on Gen. 28:3 (*BA* 1:1016–17).

⁶⁴ Deut. 28:49; Jerusalem Talmud, tractate Succah (55.2). See also Abraham Zacuto's ספר היחסין *Sepher ha-Yuchasin* (1581), i.e., *The Book of Lineage* (112–13) on “the Horn of Israel hewed down,” i.e., the disappointment in Ben Koziba (Bar Kokhba) as Israel's Messiah. The *Sibylline Oracles* (5:361–74) alludes to this event as follows: “There will come to pass in the last time about the waning of the moon / a war which will throw the world into confusion and be deceptive in guile. / A man who is a matricide will come from the ends of the earth / in flight and devising penetrating schemes in his mind. / He will destroy every land and conquer all / and consider all things more wisely than all men. / He will immediately seize the one because of whom he himself perished. / He will destroy many men and great rulers, / and he will set fire to all men as no one else ever did. / Through zeal he will raise up those who were crouched in fear. / There will come upon men a great war from the West. / Blood will flow up to the bank of the deep-eddyding rivers. Wrath will drip in the plains of Macedonia, / an alliance to the people from the West, but destruction for the king.”

Ulcers, the greatest Physicians have anciently ascribed unto the *Egyptians* and *Syrians*, as Plagues proper to those Nations: Unto which Diseases, he observes, the *Jewes* were strangely obnoxious.⁶⁵

[3848:]

Q. They are also threatned with, *Every Plague, which is not written in the Book of this Law?* v. 61.

A. Of this, they themselves are so sensible, that they have confessed the Truth of this Part of the Prophecy, in those later Ages. For *Solomon ben Virgæ* having related, (in *Schebet Jehudah*) how they were transported out of *Palæstine* into *Spain*, & so miserably handled, that not one of a thousand outlived the Miseries; and then, they were destroyed in *Germany* and *France*, where, of innumerable Multitudes (æqual to the Number which came out of *Egypt*,) scarce Five thousand survived the Destruction: And what he himself saw in *Castile & Portugal*; where they suffered such things, as cannot be expressed or conceived, by *Famine*, by *Deprædations*, by *Transportations*, & by being sold for *Slaves*, or drown'd in the *Sea*; he at last concludes the sad Story, that they who fled, from the *Storm*, found the Truth of this Oracle; *Every Sickness & Plague which is not written in the Book of this Law, shall the Lord bring upon thee, till thou be destroyed.*⁶⁶

[50v]

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[3849:]

Q. It is foretold, *Yee shall be left Few in Number?* v. 62.⁶⁷

A. Yes. And *Josephus* tells us, That in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, there were destroy'd *Eleven Hundred thousand*; besides above *Ninety Thousand* carried Captive.⁶⁸

In the Reign of *Adrian*, they shook the Roman Empire, by their Fury; which moved *Adrian* to exercise an horrible Severity upon them. There were then slain of them, *Five Hundred & Eighty Thousand*, besides a vast Number

⁶⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 525); Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica Hebraeorum Libri III* (1617), lib. 2, cap. 24, p. 347: "Vitilignes enim, psorasque, & tetra ulcera jam olim illis gentibus, velut proprias pestes, adscripsere summi medicorum" or, the *Syrians* and *Egyptians* were plagued by such diseases as "boils, mange [itch], and disgusting sores, their own personal plagues as it were" – all of which *Moses* called "leprosy" (*Hebrew Republic* 149).

⁶⁶ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 525–26); Salomon ben Virga, שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judæ R. Salomonis Fil. Virgæ Shebet Yehuda* (1651, 1680), § 50, pp. 316, 317, 318.

⁶⁷ The following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 526–28).

⁶⁸ Mather, via Patrick (526) and Thomas Jackson's *Works* (1673), vol. 1. ch. 23, p. 98, § 7, draws on *Josephus's Wars of the Jews* (6.9.3), which speaks of 97,000 captives and 1,100,000 killed during the Roman siege of *Jerusalem*. Tacitus gives a somewhat lower number: "We have heard that the total number of the besieged of every age and both sexes was six hundred thousand," adding, "there were arms for all who could use them, and the number ready to fight was larger than could have been anticipated from the total population" (*Histories* 5.13). See also Mather's *Threefold Paradise* (217).

consumed by Famine, & Sickness, and Fire, during the Time of this lingering War. And now, *Dion*, as if he had intended an Exposition on the Words of *Moses*, tells us; That *Severus* besett them and attack't them so separately, in several Parties, *That very few of them escaped. Fifty* of their strongest Fortresses, were utterly razed; *Nine Hundred Eighty & five* of their most noble & populous Towns were sack'd: Insomuch that, as his Words are, *All Judea was in a Manner laid waste, & left as a Desert.*⁶⁹

Because they would not obey the Voice of the Lord their God; He gave them up to listen unto *False Christs*, whom they followed unto their Destruction. Particularly, There was *Barchocheba*, who in the Time of *Adrian*, took upon him the Title of, *Their King*, & sett up his Throne at *Bitter*, in the Tribe of *Benjamin*; which the Jewes had made their chief Seat, after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; and there were in it as they pretend, *Four Hundred Synagogues.*⁷⁰ Here the *Romans* made such a Slaughter of them, that they tell us, Twice as many perished now as came out of *Egypt*: Great Rivers ran with the Blood of the Slain, which (say some of them) carried great Rocks with it in the Stream. With many such Hyperbolical Speeches, they exaggerate their own Calamities; as many have observed; out of *Juchasin*, and *Gittin*; particularly *Const. L'Empereur*, in his Annotations on *Jach-chiades.*⁷¹

69 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 526–27); Jackson (*Works*), lib. 1, cap. 27, pp. 124–25, § 4. Roman Emperor Hadrian, aka. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus (76–136 CE), sent his troops under Sextus Julius Severus, governor of Britain (2nd c. CE), to Judaea to quell the Jewish uprising headed by the messianic leader Simeon Bar Kokhba (132–135 CE) (*EB*). The Roman historian Dion Cassius (*Histories* 69.14.1–2) reports that “Fifty of their [Judaean] most important outposts and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were razed to the ground. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out. Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, a result of which the people had had forewarning before the war”; the latter reference may well intend the prophecy of Moses (Deut. 28:62) in the opinion of those who read the signs of the time from this perspective.

70 Mather refers to the desperate revolt under Simeon Bar Kokhba (aka. ben Koziba), who was called “nasi” or “prince” (see preceding notes).

71 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 527–28); the Sephardic astronomer and mathematician R. Diego Roderigo Zacuto aka. Abraham ben Samuel Zachuth (1452–1515) served as royal astronomer to King John II of Portugal (1455–1495). R. Zacuto’s ספר היחסין *Sepher ha-Yuchasin* (1581), i. e., *The Book of Lineage*, is a chronological history from the Creation to 1500; Zacuto reports (p. 246) how Alexander, the hated son of Johanan II, ruthlessly executed 6,000 Pharisees “on the Day of the Willow” and “executed 50,000 Jews from the Pharisee sect and crudified eight hundred Pharisee elders” before falling prey to “quartan ague” (quartanus typhus). R. Joseph ben David Ibn Yahya (1494–1534), aka. Jacchiades, is well known for his commentary on Daniel, which became readily available in L’Empereur’s bilingual translation and edition פירוש דון יוסף אבן יהי'א [Peirush Don Yosef ibn Yahya] *Paraphrasis in Daniele cum Versione, & annotationibus Constantini l'Empereur ab Oppyck* (1633). Mather refers to L’Empereur’s annotations on Dan. 11:34 (pp. 241–42) and is similarly skeptical about the huge loss of life as described in tractate Gittin (57a) of the Babylonian Talmud, which describes Bar Kokhba’s bloody uprising as follows: The Emperor (Hadrian) “hath cut off in fierce anger all the horn of Israel (Lam. 2:3). R. Zera said in the name of R. Abbahu who quoted R. Johanan: These are the eighty

Tho' now they were thus *left Few in Number*, yett in other Countreyes where they were dispersed, they multiplied again, that the Plagues of Heaven might still be more multiplied upon them. Some Ages after this, [*Anno 1009*,] they, by bringing the *Persians* on the *Christians*, to destroy the Churches dedicated unto our Saviour at *Jerusalem*, so incensed the Christians against them, that it was resolved by the common Consent of all Christians, that no *Jew* should live in their Territories, but be driven out of them throughout all the World.⁷² By which means, the greatest Part of them Died of several Kinds of Death, or made away themselves; insomuch that the Words of *Glauber*, (who relates this Matter, L. 3. c. 7.) are; *Vix pauci residui fuerint in Orbe Romano*.⁷³

3850.

Q. It is also foretold, *As the Lord had Rejoiced over them to do them good, so He would Rejoice over them, to destroy them, & bring them to nought?* v. 63.⁷⁴

A. The State of the Jewes (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) from the Time of *Adrian*, till the Expiration of the *Roman* Empire, cannot be gathered from the *Roman* Writers; but the Fathers of the Church often mention their Miseries; and so do their own Authors. Particularly, the Author of *Schebet Jehuda*; who saies, "It is not in the Power of Man, to tell all the Kingdomes & Cities, where they were scattered; in which they suffered so horrid things, that it is fitter to pass them over in Silence, than to relate them. But therein was verified, the Divine

[thousand] battle trumpets which assembled in the city of Bethar when it was taken and men, women and children were slain in it until their blood ran into the great sea. Do you think this was near? It was a whole mil [sic] away. It has been taught: R. Eleazar the Great said: There are two streams in the valley of Yadaim ['Hands'; i. e., Nile Delta], one running in one direction and one in another, and the Sages estimated that [at that time] they ran with two parts water to one of blood. In a Baraitha it has been taught: For seven years the Gentiles fertilised their vineyards with the blood of Israel without using manure" (Gittin 57a).

72 Mather refers the Edict of Fatim Caliph Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (985–1021), aka. Abu Ali Mansur, to destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as well as synagogues and churches in Jerusalem (1009), allegedly because of the fraudulent descent of the "celestial fire" on the altar. On this topic, see Niall Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders* ("Document 2," p. 125), and P.G. Jes-tice's "A Great Jewish Conspiracy?" (25–42).

73 The Latin quote is from *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque ab Anno Incarnationis DCCCC usque ad Annum MXLIV*, by the Burgundian chronicler Rodulfus Glaber Cluniacensis (c. 985–c. 1047). The work was first published in 1596 (*EB*). Glaber blamed the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on "the wickedness of the Jews" ("Judaeorum nequitia") "who became the objects of universal hatred; they were driven from the cities, some were put to the sword, others were drowned in rivers, and many found other deaths; some even took their own lives in diverse ways." Mather (via Patrick) glosses over the atrocities detailed in Glaber's *Historiarum* (lib. 3, cap. 7 [PL 142. 0658B–C]) and ends on the glib comment that after the destruction of the Temple and ensuing expulsion of the Jews, "very few of them were to be found in the Roman world" (*Histories* 135).

74 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 528–29).

Prædiction, Lev. 26.38. *Yee shall perish among the Heathen, and the Land of your Enemies shall eat you up.*⁷⁵

Dr. Jackson, to explain this, hath more particularly observed, That as God raised up *Cyrus*, in testimony of His *Rejoicing to do them good*, who released them from their Captivity in *Babylon*; so, to give the World a Testimony of His *Rejoicing to destroy them, & bring them to nought*, He advanced, *Philip Augustus*, to the Crown of *France*, [about *An.* 1179.] to defeat all the Hopes, which they had conceived from some Kindness that had been shown unto them. For he spoiled their *Synagogues*, of all their Donatives & Ornaments; confiscated all their Lands Immoveable Goods; and granted a Release from all the Debts that any Christians ow'd them.⁷⁶

[▽ Insert 52r, 53r–53v]

[▽ 52r, 53r–53v]

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[52r]

3851.⁷⁷

Q. How was that Threatning fulfilled, *Yee shall be plucked from off the Land, whither thou goest, to possess it?* v. 63.

A. It was wonderfully fulfilled by *Adrian*; who prohibited, by a publick Decree, which was ratified with the Consent of the Senate, any *Jew* to come within Sight of *Judæa*. This he did, out of a Politic Respect, lest the Sight of their Native Soyl might inspire them with some fresh desperate Resolutions, to endeavour a Resettlement of themselves in that Countrey. But herein he was unwittingly (as Dr. Jackson wittily expresses it,) the *Angel of God*, to keep this wicked Race, out of that *Paradise*, the Good Land, from which God had now chased them.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Salomon ibn Virga (Verga) laments the fate of the Jewish remnant in his שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae*, aka. *Historia Judaica Re Judaeorum* (1651, 1680), § 49, pp. 315–16.

⁷⁶ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 529) draws on Thomas Jackson, *Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 28, p. 133 (§ 13). The Edict of Cyrus the Great, king of Medo-Persia (c. 590–c. 529 BCE), allowed captive Jews to return from their Babylonian exile to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple (2 Chron. 26:22–23; Ezra 1:1–4; 4:6–16; 6:1–12). According to *Papirii Massoni Annalium Libri Quatuor* (2nd ed., 1578), lib. 3, cap. “Philippus Augustus Rex” (250), the French historian, biographer, and jurist Jean-Papire Masson, aka. Joannes Papirius Massonus Foresius (1544–1611), reports that in the month of October, 1179, King Philip II of France, aka. Philippus Augustus (1165–1223), expelled all Jews from his kingdom and confiscated their property to replenish his royal coffers.

⁷⁷ See Appendix B.

⁷⁸ Patrick (529–30); Jackson, *Works* (1673), ch. 27, p. 125 (§ 5), leans on the obscure chronicler Aristo Pellaeus (c. 100–c. 160), whom Eusebius Pamphilus paraphrases in *Historia Ecclesiastica* (4.6), arguing that “by the decree and commands of Adrian” (Publius Aelius Hadrianus), Jews were prohibited “from even entering the country about Jerusalem, so that they could not behold the soil of their fathers even at a distance” (*Ecclesiastical History* 132).

3852.

Q. And how that; *The Lord shall scatter thee among all People, from the one End of the Earth, even unto the other?* v. 64.

A. The Effect of *Adrians* Decree, could be no other, than the Dispersion of the Jewes all over the World. And such as were made Captives in *Adrians* War, he transported into *Spain*, which was his Native Countrey; & was then counted the Western *End of the Earth*. And it is evident from their own Books, that many of them then fled as far as *Babylon*, which was to them the Eastern *End of the Earth*.

In *Spain* they continued many Years, a numerous People; expecting a Wind for their Passage to a Place yett more distant from their ancient Seat. And, saies Dr. *Patrick*, “who knowes, whether many of them have not, since the Discovery of *America*, been transported thither?”⁷⁹

R. Isaac, who had Occasion to mention these Words of *Moses*, in his *Munimen Fidei*, brought lately to Light by *Wagenseil*, thus glosses upon them.

*In the Roman Captivity, the Jewes were dispersed and dissipated, thro’ all the Regions of the East, & of the West; For every Nation of which the Roman Army consisted, when they returned unto their own Countreyes, carried some of them along with them, into Greece, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, & all other Countreyes, which either Christians or Mahometans do now possess.*⁸⁰

[3853:]

Q. And that; *there thou shalt serve other Gods, which neither thou nor thy Fathers have known, even Wood and Stone?* v. 64.

A. Dr. *Jackson* commends it unto Consideration, whether this Prophecy must not be understood of the *Convert Jewes* throughout the Popes Dominions, who are urged often to commit Idolatry with *Stocks* and *Stones* upon more Tyrannical Terms, than their Forefathers were, either by the *Assyrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Romans*, or any whatsoever that led them captive.⁸¹

It is admirable to see *Moses* foretelling, That after their final Transportation into the Western Countreyes, *They should serve such Gods as their Fathers had not known*. Their *Fathers* too well knew the *Heathen-Gods*; but they never

⁷⁹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 530). See also Mather’s commentary on Deut. 28:41 (note above).

⁸⁰ Patrick (530) quotes from *ספר חזקוני אשר חבר יצחק בן אברהם* [*Sepher Hizzuq ’Emunah*] *Liber Munimen Fidei*, Autore R. Isaaco Filio Abrahami. Ex MS. Africano, by the Lithuanian Karaite R. Isaac ben Abraham of Troki (c. 1533–c. 1594). Patrick’s English translation is based on the Hebrew-Latin edition in Johann Christian Wagenseil’s *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681), tom. 2, cap. 6, p. 63 (sep. pag.)

⁸¹ Patrick, on Deut. 28:64 (*Deuteronomy* 531), paraphrases Jackson’s *Works* (1673), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 29, p. 143 (§ 17). See also, ch. 16, p. 61 (§ 5).

knew the *Popish* ones; they were perfect Strangers to the *Image-Worship*, that is now practised.⁸²

It is observable, that these Words, *which neither thou nor thy Fathers have known*, are omitted in the *Thirty Sixth* Verse of this Chapter, where tis foretold, as well as here, *That they should serve other Gods, of Wood & Stone*. For that Part of the Chapter, belongs more peculiarly to the First Captivity in *Babylon*, as tis observed by *Menasseh ben Israel*. But what is now before us, belongs, as he observes, unto their Latter Dispersion; and reciting these Words of *Moses*, he adds, *This we see fulfilled, after a Singular Manner, in this Present Captivity; because of all those Evils, wherewith the Hebrewes have been afflicted in France, and England, and Spain*. For there, they many times complied with the Idolatries of *Rome*, rather than be undone, when pressed thereunto.⁸³

[▽ Insert from 53r–53v]

[▽ 53r–53v]

Q. Let us look upon some of the Threatenings against the Disobedient Jewes; particularly on that, *Thou shalt serve other Gods, which neither thou nor thy Fathers have known, even Wood and Stone?* v. 64.

A. One Mr. *John Smith* in his, *Christian Religions Appeal*, ha's a memorable Observation.⁸⁴

Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, out of *Xiphilinus* (*apud Dionem*.) That the Jewes, in acknowledgment of their Subjection to the Emperour, were enjoined by *Vespasian*, to pay unto the Capitol, the *Didrachma*, or Half-Shekel, which they usually paid unto the *Temple* for their Lives. *The* [Exod. 30.12, 13.] *Ransome for their Souls unto the Lord*.⁸⁵ What *Xiphilinus* relates more obscurely, is by *Josephus*

⁸² This unexceptional swipe at Roman Catholicism appears in Patrick (531) out of Jackson (143).

⁸³ Patrick (531–32) appropriates the argument of Manasseh ben Israel, *De Termino Vitae* (1639), lib. 3, cap. 3, pp. 131–32. See for much the same in the English translation of Manasseh ben Israel's work (1700), bk. 3, sec. 3, § 3, pp. 64–65.

⁸⁴ The following paragraphs – including their references to classical authors – are extracted from *Christian Religion's Appeal from the Groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick* (1675), lib. 2, cap. 9, secs. 4–5, pp. 110–15 (sep. pag.), by John Smith (fl. 1675–1711), rector of St. Mary's in Colchester. An evidentialist apology for the NT as prophetic fulfillment of the OT, and a response to the Hobbist and Spinozist attack on the inspiration of the Bible as text, Smith's *Christian Religion's Appeal* is a learned work upholding the verity of the Bible with citations from ancient histories and pagan philosophy. Mather must have been impressed by Smith's accomplishments, for he also quotes from the same work in *BA* (1:1146–47; 3:42, 798–800, 849; 4:417, 484, 583; 5:90, 873); in *Christian Philosopher* (1994), “Essay 31” (224–25); and in his *Threefold Paradise* (292).

⁸⁵ In the preceding and following lines, including the references to Xiphilinus, Dion, and Josephus Flavius, Smith draws on John Lightfoot's “Harmony of the New Testament,” sec. 54 (Matth. 17:24–27), in *Works* (1684) 1:240. The Byzantine monk Johannes Xiphilinus (fl. 12th c. CE) epitomized the *Historia Romana* (80 books; extant bks. 36–80), a history of Rome from its mythical foundation in 753 BCE to the state of the Roman Empire in c. 229 CE, by the Graeco-Roman senator and historian Lucius Cassius Dio (155–234 CE) (KP). The reference is to Xiphilinus's epitome of Cassius Dio's *Historia Romanae* (66.7.2,

related more expressly; [*Bell. Jud.* 7. 26.] φορον δε κλ· *The Emperour* Vespasian laid this Tribute upon the Jewes, wheresoever they lived, that they should pay to the Capitol that Didrachma, which hitherto they had paid to the Temple.⁸⁶ This was called, *Sacred Money*, and sent by the Jewes to the Temple, from all Parts of the World, where they were dispersed. From their vast Numbers it was, that *Crassus* found such vast Summs in the Treasury of the Temple, when he plundered it; and that *Mithridates* by surprize took Eight Hundred Talents at *Cous*, which the Jewes of the Lesser *Asia* had deposited there, during those Wars, because they durst not send it unto *Jerusalem*, lest it should be snap'd up in the Passage.⁸⁷ This *Half-Shekel* was never by any Conqueror before *Vespasian*, required as a Tribute. *Pompey* reputed it so sacred, that he durst not lay Hands on it, when he entred the Temple.⁸⁸ Men imputed the Overthrow of *Crassus*, unto the Vengeance of Heaven upon him for his Meddling with it. In *Caligula's* time, we find the Jewes in the Province of *Babylon* depositing this Treasury at the Imprægnable *Neerda*, till at certain Seasons they might send it with Safety to *Jerusalem*; which they did with a Convoy of many Thousands.⁸⁹

The *Tribute-Money* imposed on the Jewes, by the preceding Emperours, had *Cæsars* Image & Superscription upon it. [*Matth.* 22.18, 19.] It was a *Roman Coin*, and the Evangelists call it by a *Latin Name*, Δηνάριον.⁹⁰ On this very

lines 3–5): “Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most. From that time forth it was ordered that the Jews who continued to observe their ancestral customs should pay an annual tribute of two denarii [διδραχμῶν] to Jupiter Capitolinus” (*Roman History* 65[!].7.2, p. 271).

⁸⁶ Smith (2:110–11); Flavius Josephus's *De bello Judaico* (7.218 lines 1–4), in *Wars of the Jews* (7.6.6), in *Complete Works* (597). Mather's reference to Josephus [*Bell. Jud.* 7.26] is to one of the many popular Greek-Latin editions of Josephus's collected works, before William Whiston's 1737 English translation cornered the English book market. See *Flavii Iosephi Hierosolymitani Sacerdotis Opera quae extant* (1611), lib. 7, cap. 26, fol. 983.

⁸⁷ The story of how Roman General Marcus Licinius Crassus (115–53 BCE) and King Mithridates VI of Pontus (135–63 BCE) pillaged the Temple treasury is told in Josephus (*Antiquities* 14.7.1–2 and *Wars of the Jews* 1.8.8–9). According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 14.7.2) and Appianus Alexandrinus (*Roman History* 12.5.23), Mithridates collected a large sum of money on the Island of Cos, in the SE Aegean Sea. This treasure – according to Appianus Alexandrinus's (12.5.23) – had been deposited there by the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra and looked after by her grandson, the future King Ptolemy XI Alexander of Egypt, during the Second Mithridatic War (83–82 BCE).

⁸⁸ Josephus (*Antiquities* 14.4.4) reports that when the Roman General Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BCE) breached the walls of Jerusalem (63) and entered the Temple during the Third Mithridatic War, he did not touch anything “on account of his regard to religion.”

⁸⁹ According to Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 40.27.3), some say that when the Parthians decapitated Crassus (53 BCE), they “poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men.” Josephus (*Antiquities* 18.9.1) tells the story of the stronghold of Neerda (a city in Babylonia) and its treasury, which outlived its usefulness during the time of Roman Emperor Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, aka. Caligula (12–41 CE).

⁹⁰ Denarion: The Greek Didrachma was considered worth two Roman Denari.

Account, our Saviour determined it to be *Cæsars* due. He could convince them, That the Tribute of the *Denarium* was due to *Cæsar*; and the Tribute of the *Didrachma* was due to *God*. The *Denarium* had the Face of *Cæsar* upon it, and these Words, *Cæsar August*: (such a Year) *after the taking of Judæa*. The *Didrachma*, had on the one Side, the Pott of *Manna*, or *Aarons* Censer, with these Words, *The Shekel of Israel*. On the Reverse, it had | *Aarons* Rod budding, with this Motto [53v] in the Rundle, *Jerusalem the Holy City*. This was the Sanctuary Shekel. But, if it were the Royal and Common Shekel, it had on one side, a *Tower* standing between *יְרוּשָׁלַם* and *שְׁלֵם*, & this Motto, *Jerusalem the Holy City*; and the Rundle fill'd with this: *David King, and his Son Solomon King*. It was *Gods Coin*, & it bore upon it *Gods Claim*. *Weems* is in the right on it; That the Tribute which *Cæsar* exacted, and Christ bid them to pay, was not the *Half-Shekel* due to God. Our Saviours Plea, for Exemption from the Payment of this Tribute, [Matth.17.25.] is to be applied unto none but the *Half-Shekel* to be paid unto the Holy King.⁹¹ Our Lord, being the *Son of God*, the Collectors of His Fathers Tribute, should not have demanded this Tribute of *Him*. Yett He being a *Man* also, and under an Obligation to fulfil the Law, rather than offend, in His not paying what was due to the *Temple*, He fetched Money out of the *Fishes Mouth*.⁹²



Half Shekel. Ezechiel Spanheim, *Dissertationes De Praestantia et usu Numismatum Anti-quorum* (Londini, 1717) 1:360.

Vespasian commanding their *Didrachma*, to be paid unto the Capitol, made a greater Encroachment on their Sacred Priviledges, than had been made

91 John Weemes, aka. Weems, Weemse, Wemys (c. 1579–1636), a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman and Hebrew scholar of Lathocker, Scotland, is the source for this important distinction, in Weemes, *Explication of the Iudicial Lawes of Moses* (London, 1632), lib. 1, ch. 13, pp. 51–52. Weems speaks of a “threefold halfe-shekel” paid to the Lord. “The first was called *Argentum animarum*, *Exod.* 30.2. which every one payed for the redemption of his life. The second was *Argentum transeuntis*, that is, the halfe shekell which they payed to the Lord, when they were numbered head by head, *2 King.* 12.5. The third was that halfe shekell which they offered freely unto the Lord. This halfe shekell had *Aarons* rod upon the one side, and the pot with *Manna* upon the other. ... This was not the penny which *Cæsar* craved of them, for it had *Cæsars* Image and superscription upon it. Neither would the Lord have bidden them give that to *Cæsar*, which was due to God” (*Explication* 51).

92 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (2:112); Matth. 17:24–27.

by any former Conquerour.⁹³ It utterly subverted their Holy State; and made (as much as in him lay,) the God of *Judah*, tributary to the Gods of *Rome*. Yett as *Austin* expresses it, [*De Consensu Evangel.* L. 1. 14.] *Non quòd ipse sit victus, in Hebræo populo suo, qui Regnum ejus Romanis expugnandum delendumque permisit.*⁹⁴

Our *Smith* supposes, That now was fulfilled the Text, which we have before us. In the *Babylonish* Captivity, the Jewes constantly had in their Mouthes, [*Jer.* 10.11.] *The Gods that made not Heaven shall utterly perish from under this Heaven.* They were far from falling before *Idols* of *Wood & Stone*. It was *Vespasian* that brought them to it. How? But by being forced to pay the Homage of their *Soul-Tribute* unto the *Capitoline-Gods*. Mr. *Medes* Paraphrase on the Text is, *They should serve them, not Religiously, but Politically, inasmuch as they were to become Slaves unto Idolatrous Nations.*⁹⁵ But after all, *Titus* with the Point of his *Spear*, hath written in the Dust of *Jerusalem*, so clear a Comment on this Text, that we need not fly to the Refuge of a Trope for its Exposition. The Jewes politically *Served* now, not only the *People*, but also the very *Idols*, of *Rome*; while they must pay the *Tribute of their Souls* unto the *Capitol*. The Jewish Nation was now declared Abominable unto God; and their *Tribute* was as unacceptable as the *Hire of a Whore* unto Him.⁹⁶ Their *Fathers* indeed had known too well, the Gods of *Egypt*, & *Syria*, and *Chaldaea*, & the rest; but the Gods to whom *Vespasian* made them Tributary, *Their Fathers knew not*; nor did they themselves ever acknowledge, until now, *God sett the Wicked over them, & placed Satan at their Right Hand.* [*Psal.* 109.6.]⁹⁷

Martial accordingly tells of the Tribute,

Quod de Solymis venit perustis,

which came from the Jewish Temple, now in *Ashes*.⁹⁸

[△] [△ Insert 53r–53v ends]

⁹³ On the value of the Didrachma during the time of Christ and as a Jewish tribute to the temple of Jupiter Capitolanus in Rome, see John Selden's *Liber Nummis. In Quo Antiqua Pecunia Romana et Graeca* (1685), pp. 253–55, 293–94, 569, 617–18. Perhaps the most exhaustive compendium for ancient numismatics in Mather's time is Ezechiel Spanheim's *Dissertationes De Praestantia et usu Numismatum Antiquorum*. 2 vols. (1671, 1706, 1717). For additional depictions of ancient Jewish Shekels, their insignia, and conversion tables, see Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1657), fol. 6, pp. 38–42 (sep. pag.).

⁹⁴ Smith's *Christian Religion's Appeal* (bk. 2, ch. 9, sec. 5, p. 114); the Latin passage from St. Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum Libri Quatuor*, lib. 1, cap. 14, fol. 1051 [PL 034. 1051], explains teleologically that the God of Israel "was not overcome Himself when His people suffered their overthrow, by virtue of His permitting the kingdom and priesthood of that nation to be seized and subverted by the Romans" (*Harmony of the Gospels* 1.14, in *NPNFi* p. 85).

⁹⁵ Smith (2:114); Joseph Mede, on Dan. 11:36–39, in "The Apostasy of the Latter Times," in *Works* (1664), bk. 3, ch. 16, p. 823.

⁹⁶ Deut. 23:18; Philo Judaeus, *De specialibus legibus I* (*Special Laws I*, sec. 19.103–104), in *Works* (543).

⁹⁷ Smith (2:114–15).

⁹⁸ Smith (2:115); The Roman poet Marcus Valerius Martialis, in his saturnalian *Epigrammaton Libri XII* (7.55.7), derides his pathetic friend Chrestus, who wants to ingratiate himself

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[3854:]

Q. What Fulfilment had that Prophecy; *Among these Nations thou shalt find no Rest?* v. 65.⁹⁹

A. It was wonderfully fulfilled, in the Ages which followed that of *Adrian*. They continually broke the *Rest* of others, & could find no *Rest* themselves. In the *Third Century*, they raised a Sedition, under the Reign of *Severus*, by whom they suffered extremely, about the Year 202. In the *Fourth Century*, we are informed by *Chrysostom*, in his *Second Oration* against the *Jewes*; “That they, Rebelled again in the Time of *Constantine*, who caused their Ears to be cropt off, dispersed them, καθάπερ τινὰς δραπέτας καὶ μαστιγίας· as vile Fugitives & Vagabonds, into various Countreys, where they carried this Mark of Infamy along with them, that all might be instructed to make no more such Attempts.”¹⁰⁰ In the *Fifth Century* they made New Commotions, & were driven out of *Alexandria* for their seditious Practices, where they had been settled ever since the Time of *Alexander* the Great; & were now scattered into several Countreys, as tis observed by *Socrates*, in his *Ecclesiastical History*; who proceeds then to relate, how miserably they were deluded in *Crete*, by one pretending to be *Moses*, come down from Heaven to lead them unto their own Land thro’ the Sea, into which many threw themselves, & perished.¹⁰¹ This Expulsion out of *Alexandria*

to Martial by offering to fellate him. Martial, notorious for his stereotypic portrayal of Jewish males with large penises, ridicules Chrestus, telling him that if he wants to ingratiate himself to anyone, Chrestus might as well fellate a Jew, “one that comes from burned-out Jerusalem, [one lately doomed to pay taxes]” (*Epigrams* 7.55.7–8). Mather, presumably conscious of the bawdy context of his third-hand citation from Martial, quotes out of context and only copies the first part of a longer citation. On Martial’s view of Jewish sexual mores, see B. Carmany’s *Rethinking Eros* (2010), ch. 3, esp. pp 28–30.

⁹⁹ Mather’s subsequent annotation is extracted – hook, line, and sinker – from Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 532–33).

¹⁰⁰ In his *Adversus Iudaeos* (*Oratione* 2, sec. 11) [PG 048. 900, line 32], St. Joannes Chrysostomus, archbishop of Constantinople (397–407) and one of the early Church Fathers of the Greek Church, apparently alludes to the persecution of the Jews under Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Constantinus Augustus, aka. Constantine II (316–340 CE), and under his brother and successor Constantius II (317–361 CE), whose edicts (337, 339 CE) made intermarriages between Jews and Christians, and conversion to Judaism a capital crime.

¹⁰¹ In his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (7.13, 16, 38), the Greek Church historian Socrates Scholasticus (c. 380–450 CE) (*ODCC*) describes the expulsion of the Alexandrian Jews under the auspices of Patriarch Cyrillus of Alexandria (c. 376–c. 444). Socrates tells a story of murder and mayhem, allegedly incited by the Jews of Alexandria, and the mock crucifixion of a Christian boy by bibulous Jews. “This conduct,” Socrates Scholasticus argues, “occasioned a sharp conflict between them [Jews] and the Christians; and as soon as the emperors were informed of the circumstances, they issued orders to the governor [Orestes] of the province to find out and punish the delinquents. And thus the Jewish inhabitants of this place paid the penalty for the wickedness they had committed in their impious sports.” Likewise, Socrates recounts the story of a Jewish imposter who pretended to be a second Moses. Promising his Jewish followers to part the seas like a true Moses, the imposter “ordered them to fling themselves headlong into it

is mentioned by *David Ganz*, one of their own Authors.¹⁰² In the *Sixth Century*, as *Elmacinus* tells us, they again Rebelled in *Palæstine* against the *Romans*, who slew a great Number of them. In the *Seventh Century*, they were expelled from *Antioch*, by *Phocas*, & by *Heraclius* from *Jerusalem*; & out of *Spain*, by *Sisebutus*, or, *Sisebodus*, King of the *Goths*.¹⁰³ And they flying in great Numbers into *France*, were shortly after putt unto this hard Choice, either to Renounce their *Judaism*, or to lose all they had; which Persecution is Recorded by those who wrote the Life of *Dagobert*, as one of the chief Memorables in his Reign.¹⁰⁴ In the

[Mediterranean Sea]. Those who came first to the precipice did so, and were immediately destroyed, some of them being dashed in pieces against the rocks, and some drowned in the waters: and more would have perished, had not the Providence of God led some fishermen and merchants who were Christians to be present” and persuaded them to desist. “In consequence of this experience,” Socrates explains, many Jews embraced the Christian faith (*Ecclesiastical History* 7.13, 16, 38, in *NPNFii* 2:161, 175). See also “Pseudo-Messiahs: Moses of Crete” (*JE*).

102 The German Jewish chronicler and mathematician R. David Solomon Ganz (Gans) authored *צמח דוד* [Tzemach David] *Chronologia Sacra-Profana* (1644), a history in the form of annals from the creation to his own time. It was first published in Prague (1592) and expanded and reprinted several times thereafter (*JE*). Mather (via Patrick) refers to *Chronologia Sacra-Profana* (1644), lib. 2, p. 181 (anno 4180. 420.), where Ganz tersely mentions the following: “420, expulsi sunt omnes Iudæi, qui errant Alexandria in Ægypto; qua de causa sunt excitata magna bella, & multum sanguinis effusum est” (“[in the year] ‘420, all Jews, who were in Alexandria in Egypt, were expelled, which was incited by a great struggle, and much blood was shed”).

103 The Egyptian Coptic historian Georgius Elmacinus Ibn Al’Amid (c. 1223–c. 1274) is mostly remembered for his *Historia Saracenica, qua Res Gestæ Muslimorum* (1625), a history of Islam from the time of Muhammed to 1118. Thomas Erpenius translated and published *Historia Saracenica* in a bilingual Arabic-Latin edition in Leiden (1625). Even though Mather (via Patrick) identifies Elmacinus as his source (possibly referring to *Historia Saracenica* (lib. 1, cap. 1, pp. 5–6; cap. 3, pp. 24), the information is more likely than not to have come from Samuel Purchas’s *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 4th ed. (1626), bk. 2, cap. 22, §1, p. 215. Greco-Roman Emperor Phocas (547–610), engaging the Parthian King Chosroes II (590–628) in a losing battle during the Byzantine-Sasanian War (602–628), was executed by his own general Heraclius (610). Just prior to his own death, Phocas squashed the Jewish uprising in Antioch during which Bishop Anastasius was killed. Crowned Roman Emperor of the East (610–641), Flavius Heraclius Augustus (c. 575–641) took over where Phocas left off and continued the Byzantine-Sasanian War against Chosroes II until the Parthian’s decisive defeat in the Battle of Nineveh (627) (*ODB*). Meanwhile, Jewish leaders had made common cause with Chosroes II in an effort to regain control over Jerusalem and to build the Third Temple (614). However, their victory against Heraclius was short-lived when their Persian ally favored the cause of the Christians during a revolt in Jerusalem and had the Jews expelled (*ODB*). The latter episode is described in *A History of Heraclius* (ch. 24), by the Arminian Bishop Sebeos of Bagratunis (7th c.). Pious King of the Visigoths, Sisebutus, aka. Sisebodus (c. 565–621), established his rulership over the Roman territories on the Iberian Peninsula (612–621) and decreed in 616 that all Jews in his domain should convert to Christianity or be expelled. The brief Latin account is recorded for the years 616 and 694, in *Chronici Rerum Memorabilium Hispaniae* (1552), fols. 101^r and 111^v, by the Flemish historian Johannes Vasaes of Bruges (1511–1561), who became lecturer at Salamanca (Spain).

104 Mather’s source (via Patrick’s *Deuteronomy* 533), is Thomas Jackson’s *Works* (1673), vol. 1, lib. 1, cap. 28, §§1, 4, pp. 127–28. According to *Vita Dagoberti III regis Francorum*, the Merovingian King Dagobert I (c. 603–639) expelled all Jews from his kingdom in 629 (*JE*). The event is briefly mentioned in Papiri Massonus’s *Annalium Libri Quatuor* (1578), lib. 1,

Eighth Century, there appears little notable about the *Jewes*, but the Appearance of a *False Messiah*, who brought a deal of Trouble upon them.¹⁰⁵ In the *Ninth Century*, there were no learned Men among them, nor indeed in the Christian World. And in the *Tenth*, little was their Condition mended, when they were fain to make a *Weaver* the Head of one of their Universities.¹⁰⁶

But they could no where obtain any long Settlement. In the Beginning of the *Eleventh Century*, they were so vexed throughout the most Part of *Europe*, that, *Quid agerent, aut quo se verterent, nesciebant*; as *Paparius Massonus* has it, out of *Glauber*. Their *David Ganz* tells us, that now coming on a famous Expedition, for the Recovery of the Holy Land, *The Jewes felt it a most calamitous Time*, as being Robb'd and Kill'd by the Souldiers, as they went along. Indeed so much Cruelty was now exercised upon them, that it moved *Bernards* Compassion, to write unto the Bishop, Clergy, & People of *Spire*, not so severely to persecute them: *For they are dispersed*, said he, *into all Lands, that while they suffer the just Punishment of their horrid Wickedness, they may be Witnesses of our Redemption*.¹⁰⁷

pp. 62–63, and the cause is attributed to the avarice of the Gallic bishops and of King Clotharius II (584–630), father of Dagobert I. See also Alexander Wilthemius, *Acta D. Dagoberti Francorum Regis et Martyris, et in ea Notationes* (1653).

105 Several “false” or pseudo-Messiahs made their appearance in the eighth century, among them Ishak ben Ya’kub Obadiah Abu ‘Isa al-Isfahani of Isphahan (Persia), who like many before and after him claimed that God had sent him to liberate Israel from oppression. Yudghan, aka “Al-Ra’i,” of Hamadan (Ecbatana), in Persia, was also believed to be the Messiah who was expected to return after his physical death. For good measure, there was a Syrian Christian variously called Sherini, Serenus, Severus, who assumed the role of Moses to lead the Jews of the Diaspora back to Israel during the time of Calif Omar II (717–720) (*EJ*). See also J. Rabow’s *Fifty Jewish Messiahs* (2002).

106 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 533).

107 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 533–34) draws on Jackson’s *Works* (1673), pp. 128, who relies on Papiri Massonus, *Annalium Libri Quatuor* (Editio secunda, 1578), lib. 3, pp. 208–209, arguing that the Jews all over the European territories were severely harassed and would rather move on than be willing converts to Christianity. In fact, the tribulation was so great that “What they should do, or where to turn, they knew not.” Massonus’s vademecum is Rudolph Glaber’s *Historiarum Libri Quinque* (lib. 3, cap. 7, col. 657–59) [PL 142, 0657–659], who describes the plight of the Jews after the destruction of the Church of St. George at Rampla and, more important, of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, by Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (996–1021), sixth Fatimid Caliph of Cairo. Glaber argues that “the dispersed and wandering Jews who had survived this affliction remained hidden in distant and secret places until five years after the destruction of the Temple [Church of the Holy Sepulchre], when a few began to reappear in the cities. For it was proper, although ultimately to their confusion, that some of them should survive for the future to serve as witnesses of their own perfidy, or testimony to the blood of Christ which they had shed” (*Histories*, bk. 3, ch. 7, § 25, p. 137). R. David Ganz (Gans), in his צמח דוד [Tzemaḥ David] *Chronologia Sacra-Profana* (1644), lib. 2, p. 305, refers to the pogrom of Speyer (Spire), SW Germany, during the Second Crusade (1146–1149), when many Jews were killed or expelled, ostensibly because they refused to contribute to the Crusade (*JE*). Aware of the widespread persecution of European Jewry, the Cistercian Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), in “Epistola CCCLXIII,” § 6, warned his readers that the Jews are not to be harmed because their dispersion is preordained: “Non sunt persequendi Iudaei, non sunt trucidandi, sed nec effugandi quidem. ... Propter hoc disperse sunt in omnes

And the Author of *Schebet Juda*, mentioning their Banishment, out of *Savoy, Piedmont, Lombardy, Sicily, & other Countreys*, quotes these very Words of *Moses*, [*Among these Nations, thou shalt find no Rest,*] as a Prophecy of that Exile, which was accompanied with many other Mischiefs; For as they fled unto other Countreys, an immense Multitude of People fell upon them, and pillaged them of all the *Gold* and *Silver* they were carrying away with them.¹⁰⁸

[△] [△ End of insert 52r–53v]

[51r cont.]

3855.

Q. And how have things proceeded in the Fulfilment of that further Article, *The Lord shall give thee a Trembling Heart?* v. 65.¹⁰⁹

A. The *Jewes* were always in Dread of New Miseries. Their Condition in the *Twelfth Century* grew still more dismal. As there is in *Moses's* Prophecy, a Progress of Calamities, thus there was in the Fulfilment of the Prophecy. They themselves (in *Tzemach David*, and other Books) relate, that in the Year, 1142, an hundred & twenty of their Congregations, were utterly subverted & dispersed. And in the Year, 1170, they were again expelled out of *France*, & spoiled of their Treasure; which was renewed in the Year, 1198.¹¹⁰ Our own Chronicles tell us, how they were used in *England*; and the like Ill Usage, they suffered, in *Germany* and *Spain*.¹¹¹ R. *Zacut* complains of no less than *Ten* grievous Persecutions in this

regiones, ut dum justas tanti facinoris poenas luunt, testes sint nostrae redemptionis” [PL 182. 0567]. This may be rendered, “The Jews are not to be persecuted, nor by any means butchered, nor indeed driven away. ... For they are dispersed throughout all the lands, that while they suffer the just punishment for their horrid crime, they may be witnesses for our redemption.” Thomas Jackson, *Works* (1670), bk. 1, cap. 28, sec. 7, pp. 130–31, has much to say on this topic as well. See also D. Berger, “The Attitude of St. Bernard of Clairvaux toward the Jews” (1972); on the fate of the Jews of Speyer, see H. H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (1976), esp. 412–19, 504, 510, 554, 563.

¹⁰⁸ Patrick, on Deut. 28:66 (*Deuteronomy* 537) refers to Salomon ibn Virga, שבת יהודה [*Shebet Jehudah*] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (1651, 1680), sec. 11, pp. 108–109. Ibn Virga adds that many Jews were forced to undergo baptism but continued to practice Judaism in secret. For the same, see Ganz’s צמח דוד [Tzemach David] *Chronologia Sacra-Profana* (1644), lib. 2, p. 305.

¹⁰⁹ Mather’s vademecum for the remaining glosses on Deut. ch. 28 is, once again, Simon Patrick whose popular commentary is nothing less than the fifth pillar of *Biblia Americana*. Patrick, on Deut. 28:65 (*Commentary* 534–35). See also Thomas Jackson’s *Works* (1670), bk. 1, cap. 29, § 16, p. 142.

¹¹⁰ R. David Solomon Ganz (Gans) authored צמח דוד [Tzemach David] *Chronologia Sacra-Profana* (1644), lib. 2, p. 305.

¹¹¹ Thomas Jackson, *Works* (1670), lib. 1, cap. 29, §§ 1–17 pp. 134–44; David Ganz briefly alludes to the destruction of a large number of synagogues in England and to the expulsion of Jews from England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, in *Zemach David* (lib. 2, p. 305). In his *The Last volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1577), the famous Elizabethan chronicler Raphael Holinshed (1529–1580) reports numerous cases of mayhem,

one Age, to abolish the Name of *Jewes*, out of the World. This could not but give them a very *Trembling Heart*.¹¹²

3856.

Q. *And failing of thine Eyes?*

A. They look'd for some Releef; but still they were more cruelly used in the *Thirteenth Century*. In the Year 1253, they were again expelled from *France*, whither they had returned. And again in 1295, when they expected some Rest, there was a fresh Expulsion, mentioned by R. *Levi ben Gersom*; who saies, They were spoiled of all their Goods, & sent away only with their Cloathes upon their Backs. It was done in his own Time; & he saies, The Number of them exceeded those which came out of *Egypt*. Flying from *France*, into *England*, and *Germany*, they were most cruelly used there.¹¹³

murder, and extortion to which the Jews of England were periodically subjected. For instance, Holinshed instances that King Henry the III of England (1207–1272) fleeced the Jews to refill his coffers in times of duress: “Whereas hee [King Henry III] stode in great neede of money, he required by way of tallage eight thousand marks of the Jewes, charging them on payne of hanging, not to defer that payment. The Jewes sore empoverished with greevous and often payments, excused themselves by the Popes usurers, and reproved plainly the Kings excessive taking of money, as well of his Christian subjects as of them. ... To be short, when he [Henry III] had fleeced the Jewes to the quick, he set them to ferme unto his brother Earle Richard, that hee mighte pull off skinne and all; but yet he considering their povertie, spared them, and neverthesse, to relieve his brothers necessitie upon pawne, he lent to him an huge masse of money” (*Chronicles* [1577], bk. 3, p. 739, col. 1). The index to this volume provides ample references to similar cases.

112 Abraham ben Samuel (Diego Roderigo) Zacuto describes the signs of the times in his ספר היוחסין *Sepher ha-Yuchasin* [*Liber Yuchasin*], “The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and the Kings of the Nations,” in *The Book of Lineage* (597–600). The persecution of the Jews of France, Germany, and England during the First, Second, and Third Crusades (1095–1099; 1147–1149; 1189–1192) are well known. See, for instance, Papirius Massonus, *Annalium Libri Quatuor* (1578), lib. 3, p. 290, which refers to the edict of King Philip II (Augustus) of France (1165–1223), who decreed that all Jews in his realm must undergo baptism or incur expulsion.

113 Patrick, on Deut. 28:65 (*Deuteronomy* 535). The Sephardic Philosopher, mathematician, and physician ר' לוי בן גרשום R. Levi ben Gersom (RalBag), aka. Gershom, aka. Gersonides (1288–1344), born in the region of Languedoc (SE France), is well known for his works on mathematics, astrology, and philosophy. For our purposes, his commentaries on the Torah are most important and nearly rank among such classics as those by Rashi, Rambam, ibn Ezra, and Nachmanides. Via Patrick (535), Mather here refers to Gersonides's Commentary on the Torah, פירוש על התורה [Perush 'al Sefer Ha-Torah], first printed in Venice, 1547. The Benedictine monk Matthaeus Parisiensis (c. 1200–1250) provides much detail on the expulsion of the Jews from England in his *Chronica Majora*, covering the period from the Creation to his death. The Jews of Germany did not fare any better, if we consult the *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* (1554), lib. 7, pp. 717, 735, by the German humanist and historian Joannes Aventinus Boioarum, aka. Johannes Thurmair (1477–1534). This work was republished in Frankfurt, in 1627.

3857.

Q. *And Sorrow of Mind?*¹¹⁴

A. Which, how could they avoid; especially when they found their Miseries yett increasing upon them, in the *Fourteenth Century*. They were then again Banished from *France*, & Spoiled of their Goods; A. C. 1306. and once more, A. C. 1395. which the *Jewes* call their *Fourth* and *Last*, Banishment.¹¹⁵ About the same time, they were Banished out of *Germany*. A. C. 1392.¹¹⁶ In *Castile* indeed, they Redeemed their Lives with Money; (which they could not part withal, without much *Sorrow of Mind*;) But in *Catalonia*, and *Arragon*, such a terrible Storm fell upon them, that they themselves, [in *Juchasin*] say, There were no less than Two Hundred Thousand, who turned Christians, with Heavy Hearts.¹¹⁷ Long would be the Story, long the Mischief, to relate all that they suffered in the *Fifteenth Century*, in *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. We will only touch upon what befel them, in *Portugal*, in the next Century, A. C. 1506.¹¹⁸ All that is foretold in this Verse, was then fulfill'd, with most horrible Circumstances. There was then a most bloody Massacre of the *Jewes*, made at *Lisbon*, for Three Dayes together. Men were not suffered then to Dy, of their Deadly Wounds, but were dragg'd by their mangled Limbs into the Marketplace, where the Bodies of the Living & of the Dead, & of others half Living, half Dead, were burnt in Heaps together. So hideous was the Spectacle, that it quite astonished the rest of this wretched People; Two thousand of them then perished in

¹¹⁴ Patrick, on Deut. 28:65 (*Deuteronomy* 535–36), relies heavily on Jackson's *Works* (1673), bk. 1, ch. 29, pp. 142–43.

¹¹⁵ In desperate straits to replenish his empty coffers in the “Battle of the Golden Spurs” with neighboring Flanders, King Philip IV of France (1268–1314) issued a decree in 1306 to expel all Jews from his kingdom and to confiscate their property. This practice was not uncommon for the time. Although being under the king's personal protection, Jews were subject to the whims of the mob just as much as they were to the wiles of a monarch who could rescind their special status at any time and for any reason. Jews fared no better under Philip's son and successor, Louis X of France (1289–1316), who reversed his father's decree in 1315, a year before his own death, only to have returning Jews banished once again in 1322, by Charles IV of France (1294–1328), Philip's second son. The last large-scale expulsion of the Jews from France occurred in 1394, under Charles VI of France (1368–1422) (*EJ*). See also J. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World* (1978).

¹¹⁶ Probably a reference to the expulsion of Jews from Speyer and Rothenburg on the Tauber (SW Germany) and from Austria.

¹¹⁷ Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto his ספר היוחסין *Sepher ha-Yuchasin* [*Liber Yuchasin*] (1566) alludes to the expulsion of the Sephardim from Spain in 1492, by Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516); *The Book of Lineage* (605). See esp. J. Pérez, *The History of a Tragedy* (2007), ch. 4.

¹¹⁸ Known as the Lisbon Massacre, thousands of Portuguese Jews were murdered by a Catholic mob (April, 1506). The massacre is described in *Epistola seremissimi Regis Portugalie ad Julium Papam Secundum de Victoria Contra Infideles Habita* (Roma, 1507), by King Nicholas Manuel I of Portugal (1469–1521). How the mob violence got started is retold in *Chronica D. Manoel Por Damiao de Goes* [*Góis*] (Lisboa, 1749), cap. 102, pp. 141–42. See E. Sanceau's *Manuel I of Portugal* (1970).

this barbarous Manner; Parents then durst not mourn for their Children, nor Children sigh for their Parents, when they saw them ha[u]led unto the Place of Torment. Were they not then filled with *Sorrow of Mind*? Yea, *Sic eos metus exanimaverat, ut vivi non multum à mortuorum similitudine distarent*: Fear had so dispirited them, that the *Living*, in their Aspect little differed from the *Dead*; Which Words of *Osorius*, (in his Fourth Book, *De Rebus Emanuelis*) Dr. Jackson, who relates this dismal Matter out of him, looks upon as a Paraphrase upon the Words of *Moses*, (tho' *Osorius* did not think of them,) *I will give thee a trembling Heart, and failing of Eyes, & Sorrow of Mind*.¹¹⁹

Wonder not, that now it followes; *Thou shalt fear Day, & Night, & have no Assurance of thy Life*. None of them knew, who would be next siezed for the Butchery. In some of their Banishments, they were told, *That their Banishments were the best Remedies for the Evils Impending over them*; as the Author of *Schebet Juda* speaks; who tells us, That the Reason given by several Princes, for their Expulsion out of their Territories, was, *To prevent their being, torn in Peeeces by the People, who were most furiously sett against them*.¹²⁰

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[3856:]¹²¹

[51v]

Q. And in what Circumstances, did they see the Fulfilment of that Prædiction; *In the Mourning thou shalt say, would God, it were Evening?* v. 67.

A. *Abarbinel* reckons up, *Four Universal Banishments*; The first, out of *England*; the next, out of *France*; the third, out of *Asia*, *Germany*, *Tuscany*, *Lombardy*, and *Savoy*; and the last, out of *Spain*; when he himself was one of those who were constrained to leave that Countrey, & knew not whither to go. He hath given us a lively Description of that Calamity (like to which, he saies, none had befallen them, since they were Banished from their own Countrey;) in his Preface to his Commentary on the *Book of Kings*; which he wrote the very next

¹¹⁹ Patrick (536), via Jackson (*Works*), bk. 1, ch. 29, p. 142, § 16, quotes from *De Rebus Gestis Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae Invictissimi Virtute et Auspicio* (1571), lib. 4, p. 153, by the Portuguese humanist of Lisbon and bishop of Sylves Hieronymus Osorius (1506–1580) (*CERL*). The work was reprinted several times in the 16th and 17th centuries; an English translation by James Gibbs appeared as *The History of the Portuguese* (1752), bk. 4, pp. 225–26. The same atrocity is retold by the Swiss Reformed theologian Johann Heinrich Hottinger, in his *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Novi Testamenti Seculum XVI* (1655), pars 5, cap. 16, sec. 3, p. 685. Salomon ibn Virga, שבֿת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (1651, 1680), secs. 59–60, pp. 333–37, describes in great detail the horrific Lisbon Massacre sanctioned and promoted by the clergy.

¹²⁰ Patrick, on Deut. 28:66 (*Deuteronomy* 537); Salomon ibn Virga, שבֿת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (sec. 23, pp. 148–49), tells of yet another forced baptism of the Sephardic Jews on pain of expulsion or execution, even though the Moorish scholar Abugardan Delcadin, highly respected by the Spanish ruler, intervened on their behalf.

¹²¹ See Appendix B.

Year after that Expulsion. A. C. 1493; and the Author, of *Schebet Judah* hath transcribed it in his own Words.¹²²

“A Decree was made & publicly proclaimed, that all the *Jewes*, either should change their Religion, or quitt the Countrey in three Months time. *Abarbinel* had then a Place in the Court; where he petitioned the King & besought his Ministers & Counsellors to Revoke the Edict, & be content with their Estates, which they offered unto him, but all in vain. For, Three Hundred Thousand, Old and Young, Men & Women, & he among the rest, went away on foot, upon one day, not knowing whither to go. Some went into *Portugal*, others into *Navarre*, where they conflicted with many Calamities. For some became a Prey, others perished by Famine & Pestilence. And therefore others committed themselves unto the Sea; hoping to find a quiet Seat in some other Countreyes. But on the Sea, they mett with New Disasters; for, many were sold as Slaves, when they came on any Coast; many were Drowned; many burnt in the Ships, which were sett on fire; in short, all suffered the just Punishment of God the Avenger. For after all this, a Plague came, & swept away the rest of these miserable Wretches, who were Hated by all Mankind; so that all the vast Number perished, by one Calamity or other, except a very few.”¹²³

More of the woful Miseries befalling this People, are to be found recounted in *Schebet Juda*; and particularly, what befel those who sought New Habitations in the Kingdome of *Fess*; where they lived a long Time upon Grass, & eat its very Roots, and then Died; and their *Bodies* lay exposed, none being so charitable as to bury them.¹²⁴

3859.

Q. How was that fulfilled, *The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again?* v. 68.¹²⁵

A. The *Hierusalem Targum* translates it, *The WORD OF THE LORD shall bring thee back again*; even HE, who conducted them out of *Egypt*, in a glorious Cloud.¹²⁶

122 Mather's source is Patrick (538–39), whose extract from Abarbanel's preface to his commentary on Isaiah, in his פירוש על נביאים אחרונים [*Perush 'al nevi'im 'aharonim*] *Commentarius celeberrimi Rabbi Ishak Abarbanel, Super Iesaiam, Ieremiam, Iehazkelem et Prophetas XII. Minores* (1642), is derived at second hand from Salomon ibn Virga, שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae Salomonis Virgae* (1651, 1680), sec. 51, pp. 318–23.

123 Ibn Virga, שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah], sec. 51, pp. 321–23.

124 שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah], secs. 52, 53, pp. 323, 324–25. Ibn Virga reports out of Abarbanel's preface that those of the Sephardim who escaped to Fez (Morocco) did not fare much better because the inhabitants did not admit them for fear that the arrival of Jewish refugees would deplete the kingdom's resources and inflate the price for food. The famine among the arriving Jews was so great that some were forced to sell their sons as slaves in exchange for a piece of bread.

125 The following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 539–40).

126 Targum Hierosolymitanum, on Deut. 28:68, in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:372), reads as follows: וַיְחַזֵּד יְהוָה מִיָּמָרָא דִּי לְמַעְרִים בְּלִבְרַנְיָא בְּאוֹרְחָא דִּי אֲמַרִית לְכוֹן לֹא תוֹסֵפּ:

This was first fulfilled, after the Desolation made by *Titus*; when many of the *Jewes* were transported, as Captives into *Egypt*; as tis related by *Josephus*.¹²⁷ And here, *Menasseh-ben Israel* ha's a very pertinent Observation, That *Vespasian* transported them into many & various Regions; but only *Egypt* is here named, the more to reproach the *Jewes*; as if he had said, *Yee shall be carried into that Land as Captives, out of which yee came in a triumphant Manner*.¹²⁸ This may incline one to think, (as Dr. *Patrick* notes,) that he was much of the Mind with Dr. *Jackson*, who observing how cruelly they were used here in *England*, & many other Countreyes, concludes, That this Island, and every Place of *Europe*, wherein their Condition of Life, had been more hard & burdensome than their Forefathers was in *Egypt*, may be said to be that *Egypt* into which God here threatens to bring them.¹²⁹

3860.

Q. Why is it added, *With Ships*?

A. It putts them in Mind, how different their Condition is now become, from what it was, when they came out of *Egypt*, without any *Ships*; the Sea giving them a Passage through out. Their being also carried thither by *Ships*, made their Condition the more deplorable, because there were no Means of escaping out of them, as there might have been, if they had gone by Land.¹³⁰

3861.

Q. It followes, *And there yee shall be sold*?

A. And so they were; exposed unto Sale at so vile a Price, that (as many Historians have related it) *Thirty* of them were sold for one small Peece of Money. *Josephus* tells us, The more goodly young Men were kept for to attend the Triumph of *Titus*; of the rest, those that were above seventeen Years old, were sent bound, for to labour in the Works of *Egypt*; many he distributed in the Provinces, to perish on the *Theatres*; All under seventeen Years, he ordered to be sold;

:תה: "And the Word of the Lord will cause you to return into Mizraim [Egypt] in galleys, by way of which I said to you, Ye shall see it no more" (Ethridge, *The Targums* 2:649).

127 Josephus Flavius (*War of the Jews* 6.9.3) reports that "the number of those that were carried captive [by Titus] during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege, eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation, [with the citizens of Jerusalem,] but not belonging to the city itself" (*Works* 587).

128 Manasseh ben Israel, צרור החיים *De Termino Vitae Libri Tres* (1639), lib. 3, sec. 3, § 3, pp. 131–32: "Etsi enim Vespasianus in varias, & multas regiones Hebraeos ablegavit: nihilo minus tamen sola Ægyptus, ignominiae ergo nominatur, quasi diceret, In eam terram, unde triumphantium instar egressi estis, intrabitis captivi."

129 Patrick's muse (*Deuteronomy* 539–40) is Thomas Jackson, *Works* (1673), tom. 1, lib. 1, ch. 29, sec. 7, pp. 136–37.

130 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 541); Targum Hierosolymitanum (on Deut. 28:68), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:372). See also שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehuda], sec. 59, pp. 332–33.

But while they were making this Distribution, Twelve thousand of them died of meer Famine, especially thro' the neglect & malice of their Keepers. By this a Judgment may be made, how little worth, these vile Wretches were; for, as it follows, they even hung upon the Sellers Hands; no Man almost thought 'em worth taking off, at the vilest Price in the World.¹³¹

3862.

Q. One Remarkable, upon the Whole?

A. Dr. *Jackson* ha's Remark'd it.

Moses is near *Four Times as long*, in enumerating the *Plagues* as the *Blessings*, upon this People. And so have the Miseries of the latter *Jewes*, been *Four Times as long*, as the Prosperity of their worthy Ancestors.¹³²

[52r–53v inserted into 50v]

¹³¹ Patrick, on Deut. 28:68 (*Deuteronomy* 541–42); Josephus (*Wars of the Jews* 6.9.2). On the condition of the Jews among the Ottoman Turks in the twelfth century, see the account of the Sephardic traveler Benjamin Tudelensis (1130–1173), in מסעות של רבי בנימין [Massa'ot shel Rabbi Binyamin] *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis* (1633), pp. 27–29; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907), pp. 23–26.

¹³² Patrick, on Deut. 28:68 (*Deuteronomy* 543); Thomas Jackson, *Works* (1673), tom. 1, bk. 1, ch. 23, pp. 91–92 (§ 6).

3863.

Q. *Thy Shoe is not waxen old upon thy Foot.* What *Shoe*? v. 5.

A. *Bochart* probably conjectures, That the *Israelites* used no *Shoes* in *Egypt*; but being to take a long Journey, thro' a Rough Way in the Wilderness, *Moses* commanded them to eat the *Passeover*, with *Shoes* on their Feet. [Exod. 12.11.] And these very *Shoes*, which they putt on, at that Festival, when they were ready to march, God suffered not to Decay, in all their Travels for Forty Years ensuing.¹

[3864.]

Q. What is meant by *A Root that beareth Gall and Wormwood*? v. 18

A. It means, a Person lurking secretly among the People (as a *Root* under Ground,) that was tainted with *Idolatry*; who might poison others therewith, & bring forth in time, the Fruits of their Impiety, which he calls, *Gall and Wormwood*. It must be observed, That the Hebrew Word *Rosch*, which we translate, *Gall*, properly signifies, an Herb growing amongst Corn, as bitter as *Gall*; which elsewhere [Hos. 10.4.] we translate, *Hemlock*; And commonly in Scripture, tis joined with *Wormwood*. [Jer. 9.15. Lam. 3.19. Amos. 6.12.] *Idolatry* is compared unto it, because it is very distasteful unto God; & produces Bitter Effects in the Punishments of it, upon the Children of Men.²

[3865.]

Q. What means, *Adding Drunkenness to Thirst*? v. 19.

A. Both the Words in the Hebrew, are Adjectives. And the Particle, *Beth* (a Note of the Accusative) is putt before the Word, *Thirsty*, or *Dry*; therefore, that is the Thing to be added unto the, *Drunken*, or *Wett*. The Sense is, *To Draw others into the same Wickedness*; just as if a *Drunken* Man should draw sober Persons to play the Fool with him, & do as bad as himself; or, after one Peece of Land is overflowed, the Water should be lett into that which is Dry, & spoil that also.

¹ Patrick, on Deut. 29:5 (*Deuteronomy* 547), acknowledges as his source Samuel Bochart's *Hierozyicon* (1693), pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 50: "De Agno Pascali," col. 600, lines 71–74; col. 618, lines 65–68; See also Deut. 8:4 and Eph. 6:14–15.

² Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 554). Nachmanides (Ramban) offers an interesting gloss on this phrase: "'*Rosh v'la'anah*' (gall and wormwood) are bitter or poisonous herbs. These are their names in the Sacred Language. Or it may be that they are surnames, one called *rosh* ('the head') because it is the head of the bitter herbs, the bitterest of all, and the second is called *la'anah*, from the expression '*lei'anoth*' (to humble thyself) before Me (Exod. 10:3), for he who eats it becomes oppressed and is humbled, because he eats it only in order to afflict his soul" (*Commentary on the Torah* 5:334).

The Meaning of the whole Verse appears to be This; If a Man shall be so præsumptuous, as not only to cry, *Peace*, unto himself when he runs after his own Devices, in serving other Gods; but endeavours to draw others into the same Wicked Practices.³

[54v]

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[341]

Q. What may bee the true Import of that Clause, which in our Translation is, *To add Drunkenness to Thirst?* v. 19.

A. Wee generally conform our Sense of this Place, to that of the *Arabian* Version, *In cogitationibus Cordis mei ambulo, ut addam ebrietatem ad sitim*;⁴ Fitt Language for People, who inebriated with Sin, promise themselves that Security therein, which makes them yett more eager after it. But the Words which wee English, *Drunkenness to Thirst*, are in the Original, *The Drunken to the Thirsty*. And by the *Drunken* here my *Pfeiffer* understands, the *Fertile Earth*; and by the *Thirsty*, hee understands, the *Dry*, the *Hard*, the *Barren*: The Signification being thus carried on; *And it shall come to pass, when hee* [who is in the foregoing Verse described] *heareth the Words of this Curse, that hee bless himself in his Heart, Saying, I shall have Peace, tho' I walk in the Stubbornness of my Heart, until the Fat Soyl bee consumed, together with that which is Dry*;⁵ That is, Till I have nothing

3 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 555). *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (5:199) provides several different rabbinic readings – apart from the classic commentaries: “Adding ‘moist’ sins, which do not add to his satisfaction (like wearing linsey-woolsey or sowing two kinds of crops together), to the sins for which he is ‘thirsty’ (as the Hebrew really says), like theft or sexual immorality (Bekhor Shor). Some understand the ‘moist’ to be a reference to the intellectual soul, representing the righteous, and the ‘thirsty’ to be a reference to the appetitive soul, representing the wicked (Kimchi). The point of the expression is that one who is ‘thirsty’ for transgression wishes to bring this to the point where his ‘thirst’ can be quenched in public without fear of punishment (Hizkuni). One who has a dry field next to a well-watered one will automatical irrigate the well-watered one in the course of irrigating the dry one (Abarbanel). He is the ‘moist’ one, soaked in the appetites he has sated; he believes he can add himself to the joyful fate of the righteous, who are ‘dry’ by virtue of having separated themselves from physical appetites (Sforno).” Johannes Cocceianus supplies synopses on the topic of ten principal interpreters (both rabbinic and Christian), in his *Considerationes Ad Ultima Mosis* (1650), “Observ. VII: *Ecclesis sitiens & satiatæ*,” fol. 12, § 134 (sep. pag.), in *Opera Omnia* (1675), fol. 12 (sep. pag.). See also Thomas Jackson (*Works*), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 30, pp. 147–48, § 4.

4 Mather’s source for the Latin translation of the Arabic version of the Pentateuch (Deut. 29:19) is not Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:841), but that of Augustus Pfeiffer’s *Dubia Vexata Scripturae Sacrae* (1699), Centuria Secunda, Locus XL. “*Ebria cum sitiente*” (Deut. 29:19), pp. 316–17; Pfeiffer’s own source appears to be Ludovicus de Dieu’s *Critica Sacra, sive Animadversiones* (1694), fol. 46. Be that as it may, the Arabian version reads, “I walk in the thoughts of my heart, so I will add drunkenness to thirst.” Rashi, Ramban, Ibn Ezra, and most others of the classical rabbinic commentators would not have disagreed with this explication; see *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (5:198–99).

5 See Appendix A.

left mee, but one Part of my Estate is gone after another; first, my *best* Lands, & then the *worst* ones, to the Improvement whereof I am driven by the Loss of my *best*. —⁶

[3294.]

But we may Illustrate the Text, yett a little more distinctly?⁷

Moses represents the Disposition of a profligate Prodigal, (as the Author of, the *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible*, expresses it,) who without any Regard unto Gods Threatning, or his own Duty, or to the evil Consequences of his wicked Behaviour, promises himself an uninterrupted Prosperity, tho' he should indulge his inordinate Affections to such a Degree, as to consume all his Goods, by Mortgaging his Lands, in the best Season of the Year, when they are watered, and as it were *Drunk*, with Dew and Rain, & by Selling of them when they are Barren, and Dry. We should therefore translate it, *I shall have Peace tho' I follow the inordinate Motions of my Heart even to the Consuming of my Lands, when they are watered with Rain, & when they are parched with Drought*.⁸

3866.

Q. What may be the Admonition given to us, in that Passage; *Secret things belong unto the Lord our God?* v. 29.

A. The Jewes do generally take these Words, to be meant, of the Punishment of *Secret Sins* (especially Idolatry), which belonged unto God; as the Punishment of *Open Sins* belonged unto them, who in Obedience unto the Law, were to putt Idolaters unto Death.

But the Words may be understood, as a further Answer to such Enquiries, as that in the *Twenty fourth* Verse; in which if Men persisted, & still asked, But why does God punish thus His own People, with such terrible Severity, when there are many Idolatrous Nations far worse than they, who continue still in their own Land, & are not thus Rooted out? *Moses* bids them silence all such Enquiries, & rest satisfied in this, That we cannot give an Account of such things, as God hath not Revealed; particularly, why He punishes these and those People,

⁶ Pfeiffer, *Dubia Vexata Scripturae Sacrae* (1699), on Deut. 29:19, p. 317: “Per ebriam intelligitur terra fertilis, per sitientem arida.”

⁷ Originally devised as a separate Q&A, the opening line is turned into a transition between the former and latter paragraph.

⁸ See Appendix A. Mather draws on the previously cited *An Essay For a New Translation of the Bible* (1702), by the Anglican clergyman Hugh Ross, part 1, ch. 8, sec. 14, pp. 117–18, whose work is by and large a translation and adaption of *Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible* (1696), by Charles Le Cène (c. 1647–1703), a French Huguenot and colleague of Pierre Allix, D.D. (1641–1717), at a French Protestant congregation in London (ODNB). For an assessment of Le Cène's *Projet*, see Jacques Gousset's *Considerations Théologiques et Critiques* (1698).

when He spares others as bad; but must mind our own Duty, which He hath Revealed unto us.⁹

3295.

Q. How may we further understand that Passage, *The Secret things belong unto the Lord, – but those things which are Revealed, belong unto us*, etc.? v. 29.

A. Some take the Meaning to be, That God reserves to Himself the Punishment of Secret Crimes, & commands the *Israelites*, to punish only such as were Publick. Some again; That *Moses* wishes, that God might never visit His People, with such Judgments, as he had been describing, but that they might be *Reveal'd* unto them, to the End they might be kept unto their Duty, for fear of drawing the like Punishments upon themselves. And not a few think, they signify, That we ought not to penetrate too much into Gods Decrees, but rest satisfied with what is plainly *Reveal'd* unto us. But, the Author of the *Essay for a New Translation of the Bible*, propounds to us, rather to translate the Words, with *Luther*; *These things were Secrets, known only to God; but now they are Revealed unto us, & unto our Children forever, that we may do all the Words of this Law*.¹⁰

'Tis very sure, some great Men have so translated these Words; *The Secrets of the Lord our God, are Revealed unto us, & unto our Children*. Thus *Onkelos*, whose Judgment is very valuable: which *Grotius* follows; & before him, *Forsterus*; and *Paulus Fagius*, represents it as a commodious Sense; [making it the same with, *Psal. 147.20*.]¹¹

⁹ Patrick, on Deut. 29:29 (*Deuteronomy* 560–61).

¹⁰ Charles Le Cène, *An Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (1702), part 1, ch. 8, sec. 15, pp. 118–19. Or, as the German Reformer Martin Luther renders the passage, “Das Geheimnis des Herrn unsers Gottes ist offenbart / uns und unsern Kindern ewiglich / das wir thun sollen alle wort dieses Gesetzes.” Luther’s marginalia explain what is meant by “Das Geheimnis” [The secret]: (Das Geheimnis) Wil so sagen Uns Jüden hat Gott fur allen Völckern auff Erden/ seinen willen offenbart / und was er im sinn hat Darumb sollen wir auch deste vleissiger sein,” in *Biblia: Das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift* (1545), fol. CXIII, on Deut. 29:29.

¹¹ This last paragraph (seemingly added at a later point) is from Patrick, on Deut. 29:29 (*Deuteronomy* 561), and based on Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:864–65), on Grotius’s *Annotationes* (*Opera Omnia Theologica* 1.1:101), on Johannes Fosterus’s *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum* (1564), sec. 745, p. 396; sec. 1068, p. 553; sec. 1092, pp. 563–64, and on Paul Fagius’s explication on Deut. 29:29, in his *Thargum, hoc est Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia* (1546), fol. R^{6v}.

3867.

Q. Some Remarks upon that Prædiction; *If any of thine be driven out unto the uttermost Parts of Heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee?* v. 4.¹

A. *Nehemiah* plainly alludes unto this Promise, in his Prayer to God, for the Prospering of his Endeavours to Rebuild *Jerusalem*; [Neh. 1. 8, 9.] And finding the Truth of it confirmed, by the Kings gracious Concession to him, he went about the Work, tho' one who was accounted a Prophet (yea, several,) dissuaded him from the Enterprize. [Neh. 6. 10, 11, 12.]

In their Dispersion by the *Romans*, they are scattered into more distant Regions, than in that by the *Babylonians*. [As tis threatned, Deut. 28.64.] Yett, if they would now come to Repentance, the compassionate God would undoubtedly favour them with a wonderful Restoration.²

The Jewes themselves have long applied this Text, unto their present Condition. Besides what there is to this Purpose, in the ancient *Nitzacon*,³ and afterwards in the *Chissuk Emuna* of R. *Isaac*,⁴ it is more lately mentioned by *Menasseh*

1 The following paragraphs – including the references to other primary sources – are extracted from Patrick, on Deut. 30:4 (*Deuteronomy* 564–67).

2 As Ramban interprets Deut. 28:64, after the destruction of the Sanctuary, the Romans and their allies – “Greece, Egypt, Syria and many other peoples” – took with them their Jewish captives: “Then was fulfilled the verse, *And the Eternall shall scatter thee among all peoples* etc. [Deut. 28:64]. The verses after that, all refer to their punishment in exile. ... In the countries [of our exile] we are like the rest of the peoples who inhabit whatever country, or even better than them [i. e., in Spain], for His mercies are upon us, because our habitations in exile are by [virtue of] the promise He made to us, *And yet for all that, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break My covenant with them; for I am the Eternal their G-d* [Lev. 26:44]. ... The secret of this covenant ... refers to the present time of our exile at the hand of the ‘fourth beast’ [Dan. 7:7], and afterwards He assured us of being [completely] redeemed therefrom” (*Commentary on the Torah* 5:326–27).

3 According to anonymous ישן נוצחון ספר נצחון [Sefer Nizzachon Yashan] *Liber Nizzachon Vetus* (in Wagenseil’s *Tela Ignea Satanae* 2:253–54), the Jewish polemicist complains that Christians constantly badger Jews about the length of their present exile. These Christian infidels argue, “The exile in Egypt lasted four hundred years, and the Babylonian exile lasted seventy years. Why, then, does this [present] exile last so long? It is evident that if you [Jews] were going to be redeemed, you would have been redeemed already. It must be, then, that because of your sin against Jesus, you will remain in exile and will never be redeemed. This is how you should answer them: The earlier exiles were given an explicit time limit which applied whether the Jews had repented of their sins or not, and as a result they were redeemed when that time came. This [present] exile, however, is dependent upon repentance; if they repent, the time will be shortened, as it is written ... [Deut: 30–2–4]. Nevertheless, God has set a time limit to our exile, but it is hidden from us,” in *Nizzachon Vetus Translation* (sec. 242, p. 226).

4 R. Isaaco Filio Abrahami, in his ספר חזקת אמונה אשר חבר יצחק בן אברהם [Sepher Hizzuq ‘Emunah] *Liber Munimen Fidei*, pars 1, פרכי 1, פ (cap. 7) and פרכי 1, כז (cap. 27), addresses the same polemic argument about the long duration of the Jews’ present exile, which (Christians

ben Israel, in his Book, *De Termino Vitæ*.⁵ He saies, “Herein all the Prophets imitate *Moses*; being wont, after terrible Threatenings, to conclude with some singular Consolation, which made R. *Aquiba* (as the *Talmudists* report) fall a laughing, when all the Wise Men, who were with him, wept & lamented, at the Sight of the Ruines of *Jerusalem* & the Temple. Which they wondring at, he said, *After the Clouds, the Sun will break out, & after the End of the Evils which Moses threatned, we may hope for Good Things; for God is not more faithful in fulfilling the one, than in performing the other.*”⁶

But the miserable Jewes are to this Day hardened in their Unbeleef, & continue bitterly to Reproach our Lord JESUS CHRIST & His Religion. *Abarbinel* himself, tho’ a Gentleman of a noble Family, a well-bred Person, & of an excellent Understanding, is extremely Guilty of This.⁷ And since his Time, *Solomon Virgæ*, in the Age before us, considering the astonishing Plagues that have befallen them, he reckons up *Seven* Causes, why the Divine Majesty should be so Angry with them.⁸ One of them, he reckons, is, The Putting of *Jesus of Nazareth*

argue) proved that God had cut them off for good. R. Isaac rejoins that their deliverance depends on their genuine repentance (Wagenseil’s *Tela Ignea Satanae* 2:17–18, 21).

5 Manasseh ben Israel, צורד החיים *De Termino Vitae Libri Tres* (1639), lib. 3, sec. 3, § 3, pp. 132–33: “In eo autem Mosem imitantur omnes prophetae, ut post aliquot malorum narrationem, quae illis eventura sunt, finiant verba singulari quodam subjuncto populi solatio. Unde Talmudici scriptores referent de Rabbi Aquiba eum risisse, cum omnes sapientes, qui ipsi aderant, visa eversione, & ruina templi plorarent. Rogatus causam, cur ille plerantibus caeteris, rideret, inquit, Post nubila Phoebus, & post finem malorum, speranda sunt bona: quippe Deus non minus verax est in uno, quam in altero consummando.”

6 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 565–66) supplies Mather with the English translation of Manasseh ben Israel’s Latin original reprinted in the preceding footnote. A comparable English translation of this passage appears in *De Termino Vitae; or the Term of Life. Viz. Whether it is fix’d or alterable* (1699, 1700), bk. 3, sec. 3, § 3, p. 65.

7 Among the many Jewish-Christian polemics on the topic are the previously cited anonymous ספר נצחון ישן נושן [Sefer Nizzachon Yashan] *Liber Nizzachon Vetus* (1681) and its much earlier כוזרי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem De Religione* (1660), by the Sephardic R. Judah ha-Levi (c. 1085–post 1140) and dating to the twelfth century. Among Christian polemics of the same nature is the popular *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* (1627), by the Dutch statesman Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and its infamous predecessor *Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Adversus Mauros, et Judaeos* (1651), by the Spanish Dominican Raimundus Martinus (c. 1220–c. 1284). Mather (via Patrick 566) probably refers to one of Abarbanel’s following apologetics: ספר מעיני הישועה [Sefer Ma’yanei ha-Yeshu’ah] (1551), aka. *The Fountain of Salvation*, a commentary on Daniel and polemic against the Christian exposition of Daniel as a prophecy of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. This work was completed in 1496, first published in Ferrara (1551), and reprinted in Amsterdam (1647) (*JE*). His second major apologetic work is ספר ישועות משיחו [Sefer Yeshu’ot Meshicho], aka. *The Salvation of His Anointed*, which was finished in 1497 and circulated in manuscript copies until its first publication in 1828. Abarbanel’s ספר משמיע ישועה [Sefer Mashmia Yeshuah] (1526), aka. *Proclaiming Salvation*, was completed in 1498 and first published in Salonica (1526) (*JE*). Through these works, Abarbanel tried to reinvigorate Jewish belief in the coming Messiah at a time when the Sephardim were suffering from the hardships of their expulsion from Spain.

8 Salomon ben Virga (Verga), שבת יהודה [Shebet Jehudah] *Tribus Judae R. Salomonis Fil. Virgae* (1651, 1680), sec. 63, pp. 340–41, where Virga list seven reasons why God continues to visit

to Death; yett not as a Crime; no, but as that which ha's enraged the Christians against them. He wickedly illustrates it, by that Speech of *Moses*, [Exod. 8.26.] which he thus translates, *If we slay & sacrifice the abominable Gods of the Egyptians in their Sight, will they not stone us?* which is the Highest Reproach he could vomit against our Saviour; mingled (as Dr. *Patrick* observes) with the most stupid Folly; in giving that as a Reason of the Divine Anger, which at the most, is in their Account, only a Reason of Mens Indignation.⁹

It is observable, That the violent Hatred & Outrage of the Christians against the *Jewes*, hath mightily ceased since the Reformation; and the *Jewes* are accordingly now less virulent against our Saviour.¹⁰

[3868:]

Q. That Prophecy, *He will multiply thee above thy Fathers?* v. 5.¹¹

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes; one cannot well think, that so magnificent a Prophecy as this, was entirely fulfilled, after the Return of the *Jewes*, out of *Babylon*; when they were Tributary to the *Persians*; and afterwards fell under the Power of the *Græcians*; under whom they suffered very much, especially in the Dayes of *Antiochus Epiphanes*.¹²

Hermannus Witsius, in his *Decaphylon*, endeavours to prove, that there was no Moment of Time, after their Deliverance out of *Babylon*, wherein it could be said, That they were *made greater than their Fathers*; especially in the Dayes of *David* and *Solomon*. And therefore he concludes, That the Promise, remains to be still accomplished.¹³

his people with punishments. The most intriguing is, perhaps, the third argument: "Tertia est caedes Jesu Nazareni, neque frustra Moses Exod. Cap. viii. v. 24. dixit, Quodsi mactaverimus seu immolaverimus abominabiles Ægyptiorum Deos in conspectu eorum, non ne nos lapidibus obruent? (sec. 63, p. 341): The third reason [for our punishment] is the murder of Jesus of Nazareth; for Moses said (Exod. 8:24 {26}), Look, if we slaughter and sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians in front of their eyes, will they not stone us?"

9 Patrick (566).

10 Patrick (567).

11 The following paragraphs are extracted from Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 568). In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts" (Deut. 30:11–14), Mather lists as potential sources "MSS. no. IV. Sermon. 21"; for Deut. 30:15, "Mantons 20 Sermons, p. 323. –" and "MSS. no. 1. p. 74." Thomas Manton, D. D. (1620–1677) was a voluminous author, Reformed theologian, member of the Westminster Assembly, and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. After the Act of Uniformity (1662), Manton was ejected from his post and served as lecturer at Pinner's Hall. His sermon on Deut. 30:15: "See, I have set before thee this day life and good, death and evil" is "Sermon XVII," in *Twenty Sermons on Important Passages of Scripture*, published in *The Complete Works of Thomas Manton, D. D.* 22 vols. (1871): 2:357–69.

12 The Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanus (c. 215–164 BCE) is well known for his repeated wars with Egypt, the Hellenization of Judaea, including the desacralization of the Temple, and his armed conflict with the Maccabees – all of which are believed to have been foretold in Dan. 11:20–35.

13 The Dutch Reformed theologian Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), perhaps mostly remembered for his popular work on Federal Theology, was also concerned with the OT prophecies

[55v] | And thus R. *Isaac* (in his Book before-named, *Chissuk Emuna*) argues, that God bestowed not Benefits upon them, æqual to those which their *Fathers* enjoy'd, while the *Second Temple* stood; but that all the Time thereof was full of Calamities; [for which he alledges, Dan. 9.25.] And therefore, he saies, These Words of *Moses* can by no means be thought fulfilled, when the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* returned from *Babylon*, & left a vast Number behind them, who would not Return with them.¹⁴

about God's punishment and restoration of the Jews of the Diaspora. In his *ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* [Decaphylon]. *Sive de Decem Tribus Israelis*, cap. 10, p. sec. 9–12, appended to his *Ægyptiaca, et ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΙΟΝ* (1696), esp. pp. 385–86, Witsius explores the historical fulfillment of the Mosaic curses (Deut. 28:15–68) and their particular application to the times of Persian rule over the Ten Tribes, to the reign of King Antiochus Epiphanus IV of Greece (175–164 BCE), to the rule of Hasmonean King Judah Aristobulus I (104–103 BCE), and to the days of High Priest and King Aristobulus II of Judea (66–63 BC).

¹⁴ Mather refers to R. Isaac ben Abraham's ספר חזוק אמונה אשר חבר יצחק בן אברהם [Sepher Hizzuq 'Emunah] *Liber Munimen Fidei*, cap. 6, in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* (2:69–70), where R. Isaac dismisses those who argue that the promised blessings (Dan 9:25) were fulfilled at the return of the two tribes from Babylonian captivity and the period of the Second Temple.

3869.

Q. We read, *Moses wrote this Law, and delivered it unto the Priests, – and unto all the Elders of Israel.* How was it? v. 9.¹

A. As he delivered the Book of the Law (by which *Abarbinel*, and others of the *Jewes* understand the whole *Pentateuch*,) unto the *Priests*, commanding them to præserve it safe, near the Ark; so he delivered another Copy of this Book, to the *Elders* of every Tribe;² as the *Jewes* affirm in *Debarim Rabba*: where they say (and as Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it is highly probable,) That *Moses* before his Death, wrote Thirteen Copies of the Law, (with his own Hand, as they add,) and having delivered every one unto the Priests, to be præserted in the Holy Place, gave one to each Tribe, which he committed unto the Care of the Elders of it.³ Thus *Maimonides* in his Præface to *Jad Chazakah*, quoted by *Buxtorf*, in his, *Historia*

¹ Patrick, *Deuteronomy* (582–83).

² The issue of when and how much of the Torah Moses had written thus far (Deut. 31:9) is not as simple as Mather's source makes it out to be. Abarbanel addresses this question at great length and frequently contradicts his rabbinical predecessors. Ramban for one argues that Moses wrote this Law (Deut. 31:9) "from the beginning of *Bereshith* [Gen. 1:1] to in the sight of all Israel [Deut. 34:12] (*Commentary on the Torah* 5:345). Abarbanel, however, believes that the passage "And Moses wrote this Law, and delivered it unto the Priests" (Deut. 31:9) contradicts the later addition of the Song of Moses (Deut. 32:1–43), which God commanded him to write down and add to the book Deuteronomy (Deut. 31:19–22, 24–26). Thus Abarbanel insists that Moses wrote the Pentateuch piecemeal: While receiving the Law at Mt. Sinai (Horeb), he wrote down everything from the beginning of Bereshith (Gen. 1:1) to the end of Shemos (Exodus 40:38). Furthermore, once the Tabernacle was completed in the desert (Exod. 36:8–39:43), Moses recorded the books of Vayikra and Bamidbar (Leviticus and Numbers) as he received them by the word of God in the Tabernacle. Yet the divine Lawgiver "did not write the book of Devarim [Deuteronomy] until told to do so by Hashem [the name, i.e., God]." It was then "incorporated into the five 'Chumashim' the five books of the Torah." Alas, the Pentateuch was still not complete, for God asked "Moses to add the song of Haazinu [Song of Moses] to the book of Devarim [Deuteronomy]" (Deut. 31:19, 22–26; 32:1–45). And it was only after Moses had "attached it to the book of Devarim" that he then "gave the Torah to the Levites in order for it to be placed next to the Ark of Hashem." Furthermore, Moses now gave one [copy of the] Torah to the Kohanim [priests], one to the Bnei Levi [Levites], and one to the elders. It is also possible that Moses gave a Sefer Torah to each of the tribes" Abarbanel, *Selected Commentaries* 5:202, 203–204).

³ According to the *Soncino Midrash Rabba*: Debarim (IX:9), "The Rabbis say: When Moses learnt he was to die on that day, what did he do? R. Jannai said: He wrote thirteen scrolls of the law, twelve for the twelve tribes, and one which he placed in the ark, so that if a man should seek to forge anything therein, they would refer to the scroll in the ark" (Deuteronomy Rabbah IX:9). Likewise, Gersonides agrees that Moses wrote "as much as he had written down to that point [Deut. 31:9]." Yet "this was not the copy to be placed 'beside the Ark of the Covenant' (v. 26); in fact, he must have made more than one of these, since a single scroll could not have sufficed for all the priests and the elders" (*JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* 5:208).

*Arcae foederis.*⁴ The Intent of this might be, that all the People of each Tribe should Resort unto it, (as the whole Nation were to Resort unto that in the Sanctuary,) if they doubted of any thing, which might be thought amiss by the Errors of the Transcribers.⁵

[3870:]

Q. *Thou shalt Read this Law before all Israel.*] Who was to Read it? v. 11.⁶

A. 'Tis plain, that it was the Supream Governour. The *Jewes* rightly say, That their *Kings*, when they had them, were bound not only to Look after this Matter, but also to Read the Law themselves, unto as many as could hear it; Appointing the *Priests & Levites*, to Read it in as many other Assemblies of the People, as were necessary for the Fulfilling of this Præcept. In Order hereto, a Pulpit was therefore sett up, in the Court of the Men of *Israel*; on the very *First Day* of the Feasts, (for, as the *Jewes* observe, they did not think it proper to defer it until the Last; because it is here said, *when Israel is come to appear before the Lord*; not, when they were going to Depart;) And the King went up into it, whereupon the Minister took the Book of the Law, and delivered it unto the Ruler of the Synagogue, who gave it unto the *Sagan* (or, *Vicar* of the High-Priest,) who delivered it unto the High-Priest, and he unto the King; who stood up to Receive it, & then satt down to Read. They say, He began to Read, at this Book of *Deuteronomy*, (which is a *Compendium* of the *Law*.) & proceeded, before he stopt, unto those Words, Ch. VI.4. *Hear, O Israel*. Which having also Read, he omitted the rest, until he came to Ch. XI.13. *And it shal come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken Diligently*; – reading to the 22^d Verse. And then he skipt unto Ch. XIV.22. *And thou shalt truly Tithe*, – reading on to the Section concerning the King; Ch. XVII.14. and then, the *Cursings and Blessings*, out of Ch. XXVIIth, and XXVIIIth

⁴ In his *Exercitationes Ad Historiam* (1659), pars 1: “Arcae Foederis,” cap. 5, p. 64, Johannes Buxtorf, the younger (1599–1664), Swiss Reformed theologian, professor of Hebrew and OT theology at Basil, cites virtually every one of the classic rabbis on the Ark of the Covenant. Buxtorf quotes from Maimonides ספר יד החזקה *Sefer Yad Ha-Chazaka* (Book of the Strong Hand), the subtitle of Maimonides famous collection *Mishneh Torah*. The Hebrew text of *Jad [Yad] Chazaka, sive Pandectas Talmudicas concinno ordine exhibens, Hebraice*, was first published in Mantua (1566) and reprinted in Venice (1615) and Amsterdam (1702). Buxtorf’s extract from the preface of *Yad Ha-Chazaka*, lib. 1, reads as follows: “*Totam Legem scripsit Moses praeceptor noster, antequam moveretur, manu suâ propria, & dedit exemplar unicuique tribui: Unum verò dedit reponendum in arcam in testimonium, sicut dicitur, Capite librum Legis istum, & ponite eum à latere arcae foederis &c.*” (*Exercitationes*: “Arcae Foederis,” pars 1, cap 5, p. 64). Buxtorf’s Latin translation reads in English, “Moses, our teacher, personally transcribed the entire Torah before he died. He gave a Torah scroll to each tribe and placed another scroll in the ark as a testimonial, as [Deut. 31:26] states: ‘Take this Torah scroll and place it [beside the ark ...] and it will be there as a testimonial’” (*Introduction to the Mishneh Torah*, part 1, p. 1).

⁵ Patrick (583).

⁶ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 583–85).

till he had ended all that Section of the Law. Thus the *Mischna*, in the Title *Sota*; illustrated by *Wagenseil*.⁷

Dr. *Lightfoot* also informs us, The King might sitt down, if he pleased, when he Read; but it was esteemed more Honourable, if he stood, as King *Agrippa* did, when he performed this Office.⁸ And before he began to Read, he made a Prayer to God. He adds, It was done in *the Court of the Women*; which well agrees, with what here followes, *Gather the People, Men & Women*. If the King were of the Family of *David*, he read in the *Court of the Men of Israel*; if not, then in the *Court of the Women*, as *Wagenseil* observes out of *Maimonides*.⁹

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[3871:]

[56v]

Q. What Records do we find, of the Observation of that Law, about *Reading the Law*? v. 13.

A. We find, that *Joshua*, the Supream Governour after the Death of *Moses*, did Read all the Words of the Law, not omitting a Word that *Moses* commanded, before all the Congregation, with the Women & the Little Ones, & the Strangers that were conversant among them. [Josh. 8.34, 35.] But from that Time, to the Reign of, *Jehoshaphat*, [2. Chron. XVII.7, 8.] which is commonly computed *Five Hundred & Thirty Years*, we find no mention, of a publick *Reading* of it. Nor from that Time, unto the *Eighteenth* Year of King *Josiah*, [2. Chron. XXXIV.30, 31.] which was the Space of *Two Hundred Eighty & Two Years*. Nor from that Time, until after the Captivity of *Babylon*. [Neh. 8.2, 3.] No doubt, this Neglect might contribute unto their Forgetfulness of the Law, & their falling into Idolatry.¹⁰

⁷ Johann Christoph Wagenseil's *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus* (1674), cap. 7, sec. 8, pp. 678–79, is a bilingual Hebrew-Latin edition of tractate Mishnah Sotah (7.8) and adds a whole slew of learned annotations on this segment from the leading rabbinic commentators (679–84).

⁸ John Lightfoot, *The Temple Service As it stood in the dayes of our Saviour* (1649), ch. 17, sec. 1, pp. 189, 190. According to the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sotah (41b), when the king is to read from the Torah scroll handed to him by the High Priest, “the king stands and receives it, but reads sitting. King Agrippa stood and received it and read standing, for which act the sages praised him. When he reached, ‘Thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee,’ his eyes ran with tears. They said to him, ‘Fear not, Agrippa, thou art our brother, thou art our brother’” (Sotah 41b). This lachrymose event took place in 41 CE, the first year of the reign of King Agrippa I of Judea (BCE 11–44 CE), who was not of David’s line but that of Herod.

⁹ Wagenseil, *Sota. Hoc est: Liber Mischnicus* (cap. 7, sec. 8, annotata 6–7, p. 682); Maimonides, *Hilchot Chagigah* (3.3): “When would they read? On the day following the first day of the holiday of Sukkot which is the first day of *Chol HaMoed* of the eighth year. The king would read so the people would hear. The reading was held in the Women’s Courtyard. He would read while seated. If he read while standing, it is praiseworthy,” *Sefer HaKorbanot*, in *Mishneh Torah* (30:114). See also Lightfoot’s *Temple Service* (189).

¹⁰ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 586–87). Mather (via Patrick) appears to follow James Ussher’s chronology. The fourth king of Judah, Jehoshaphat reigned from c. 870–849 BCE. In the third year of his reign he sent priests throughout his kingdom to teach the Law to the people

[3872:]

Q. The Divine *Song* is commanded here to be *taught unto the Children of Israel, & putt in their Mouths*. What is to be Remark'd upon this Way of Teaching? v. 19.¹¹

A. It hath alwayes been thought the most profitable Way of Instructing People, & Communicating Things to Posterity, by putting them in Verse; and young People are especially advantaged by this Way of Instruction. *Plato* therefore having spoken of the Songs, which he would have composed for the Use of the People, would have it enacted *That all Men and Children* [δεῖν πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα] *whether Bond or Free, Male or Female, should be bound, thro' the whole City, to sing such Songs, & never cease to do so.*¹² This is Remark'd by *Eusebius*, in his *Prepar. Evangel.* (L. 12. c. 32.)¹³ And *Plato* in his Book, *De Legibus*; giving a great many Cautions about this Matter, concludes, τοῦτο δὲ θεοῦ, ἢ θείου τινὸς [ἄνδρὸς] ἂν εἴη: *This must be the Work of a God, or some godlike Man.*¹⁴ One would think, he had been acquainted, with the very Song of *Moses* here before us. However, this is a Testament to the Wisdome of the Hebrew Discipline.

Aristotle reports, in his *Problems*, That People anciently sung their Lawes; which the *Agathyrse* (he saies) continued still to do, in his Dayes, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται, *That they might not be forgotten.*¹⁵ *Athenæus* informs us, out of *Hermippus*, That the Lawes of *Charondas* were wont to be sung at *Athens*, παρ' οἶνον, *over a Glass of Wine.*¹⁶ Dr. *Bentley* hath made it probable, That they were

(1 Kings 22:1–50; 2 Chron. 17:7–8). King Josiah of Judah (c. 640–609 BCE) read from the Book of the Law of God, i. e., Book of the Covenant (2 Kings 23:1–3) in the 18th year of his reign (c. 622 BCE).

¹¹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 591–93) – the Song of Moses (Deut. 31:19–22; 32:1–46). Patrick's principal source for his subsequent annotations is Richard Bentley's *A Dissertation Upon the Epistles of Phalaris* (1699), sec. 12, § 8, pp. 371–74.

¹² Mather's Greek quote invokes Plato (*Leges* 2.665c, line 2) as extra-biblical evidence that embedding the Law in songs to be taught to all generations is the best didactic device to preserve the Law for all times. Thus Plato has his Athenian interlocutor respond to Clinias's question, "that every man and child, free-man and slave, male and female – in fact, the whole state – is in duty bound never to stop repeating to each other the charms [i. e., songs] we have described [659e]. Somehow or other, we must see that these charms constantly change their form; at all costs they must be continually varied, so that the performers always long to sing the songs, and find perpetual pleasure in them" (*Leges* 2.665c, lines 1–7), in *Works* (1356).

¹³ At least Eusebius Pamphilus likes to think so when he invokes Plato's *Leges* (2.665c, line 2) in *Præparatio evangelica* (12.32.1, line 3; 608b).

¹⁴ Again, in Mather's mind, Plato (*Leges* 2.657a, lines 8–9) must have been familiar with the Torah of Moses when he has his Athenian tell Clinias that the harmonious laws of music – like those of civil society – must have been devised by a god or godlike man.

¹⁵ *Aristoteles et Corpus Aristotelicum, Problemata* 19.28 (Bekker p. 919b, line 39) reminds his audience that in ancient times the laws were recited in songs, "because before men knew the art of writing they used to sing their laws in order not to forget them" (*Works* 2:1434).

¹⁶ In his *Deipnosophistae* (14.10, line 41; 619b), the Greek rhetorician Athenæus Naucratis (fl. 3rd c. CE) enlists Hermippus of Smyrna (*Fragmenta* 88, line 2) in his *The Sophists at Dinner*

composed in Verse, or some Tuneable Measure.¹⁷ *Tully* tells us, That *Cato* in his Book, *De Originibus*, reports, That it was the Custome among the old *Romans*, to have the Vertues and Praises of famous Men sung to a Pipe, at their Feasts; which, he thinks, they learnt from the ancient *Pythagoreans* in *Italy*; who were wont, *Carminibus præcepta quædam occultius tradere*; To deliver in Verses certain Præcepts, which were the greatest Secrets in their Philosophy, and composed the Minds of the Scholars to Tranquillity, by Songs & Instruments of Musick.¹⁸

3873.

Q. It is ordered, That the *Book* be putt in the Side of the Ark. Whereabouts? v. 26.¹⁹

A. Not in the *Inside*; but in a little *Box* on the Outside, as *Jonathan*, and others expound it; [Compare, 1. Sam. 6.8.] where none could putt it, but the *High-Priest*. We know, There was *nothing in the Ark, save the Two Tables of Stone*. [1. King. 8.9. and, 2. Chron. 5.10.]²⁰

The *Book*, was kept in this *Box*, not only that if any should go to deprave any thing in the Law, they might (as *Abarbinel* notes) be from hence convicted; but (as the Author of *Tzeror Hammor* expresses it,) that if they should be so wicked, as to lose the Books of the Law, this Copy, kept under the Care of the Priests, might remain, to testify what was the Will of God.²¹

to demonstrate that Charondas (c. 580–504 BCE), celebrated legislator of Catania (Sicily), had his laws sung over a glass of wine (*OCD*). Bottoms up!

17 The reference is to *A Dissertation Upon the Epistles of Phalaris* (1699), sec. 12, § 8, pp. 373–74, by Richard Bentley (1662–1742), royal librarian, renowned classical scholar, and Master of Trinity College (Cambridge), whose *Dissertation* was spurred by a philological disagreement with Charles Boyle (1674–1731), fourth Earl of Orrery.

18 Marcus Tullius Cicero, in his *Tusculan Disputations* (4.2), invokes the now lost *De Originibus* (7 books), by the Roman historian Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder (c. 234–149 BCE), to remind his audience that it was customary among the Pythagoreans “to convey certain instructions more guardedly in the form of verse.” See Patrick, on Deut. 31:19 (*Deuteronomy* 592–93).

19 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 595–96).

20 Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel, sec. 52 (Deut. 31:26), in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:379), reads in translation, that Moses commanded the Levites, the bearers of the Ark of the Covenant, “Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and it shall be there for a witness against thee” (Ethridge, *Targums Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel* 2:547). See also Johannes Buxtorf’s on Deut. 31:25–26, in his *Exercitationes Ad Historiam* (1659), pars 1: “Arcæ Foederis,” cap. 5, pp. 56, 65.

21 Buxtorf, *Exercitationes Ad Historiam* (1659), pars 1: “Arcæ Foederis,” cap. 5, pp. 62–63, quotes Abarbanel on 1 Kings 8:9 to assert that the Torah was kept in a box outside of the Ark of the Covenant. A student of the Sephardim R. Isaac de Leon, R. Abraham Saba (1440–1508) of Castile exemplifies the suffering of Jews who, in trying to evade the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (Alhambra Decree of 1492) by moving to Portugal, incurred the same fate under King Manuel I of Portugal four years later (1496). His *ביאור על התורה* *Zeror ha-Mor Biur al Ha-Torah* (1567) (*Bundle of Myrrh*) is a commentary on the five books of Moses offering both literal and mystical readings of the Torah (*JE*). On R. Abraham Saba’s exegesis, see especially A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn: The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (1995).

Thus, the Book was found in the Dayes of *Josiah*, when they were about the Reparations of the Temple. Tho' we cannot say, it was found in the *Side of the Ark*, but rather on the Roof of the House, or in the Rafter, where the Priests had hid it, as the *Jewes* think, when *Menasseh* was endeavouring to destroy this Authentic Copy of the Law, as he had done all the other that he could find: It seems, when they came to uncover the House, it appeared there.²²

²² Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 596). During the Reform of King Josiah of Judah (c. 648–609 BCE), the Temple in Jerusalem was repaired (2 Kings 22:4–9), at which time the High Priest Hilkiah discovered a lost copy of the Mosaic Book of the Law. Josiah's father and predecessor, King Manasseh of Judah (c. 709–c. 643 BCE), embraced the worship of pagan gods (2 King 21:1–7), which Josiah subsequently destroyed.

3874.

Q. Why are the *Heavens* & the *Earth* called upon, to give Attention unto the *Song* before us? v. 1.

A. *Angels* and *Men*, are here called in as Witnesses. But some of the *Jewes* (tho' more stupid, than the most Insensible Things in the *Heavens* or *Earth*) observe here an Intimation, That if they would not hearken, the *Heavens* were forbidden to give them *Rain*, & the *Earth* to yeeld them *Fruit*.¹ The Gloss of the *Hierusalem Targum* likewise is not amiss; That *Moses* being shortly to Dy, calls the *Heavens* and the *Earth*, which endure all Ages, to be Witnesses against them, when he should be gone from them.²

566.

Q. That Expression, *My Doctrine shall Drop as the Rain, my Speech shall Distill as the Dew*, what is there in Antiquitie, to Illustrate it? v. 2.

A. You know the Egyptian Manner, to Describe, and yett Cover the Affairs of Religion, by their *Hieroglyphicks*. Among their *Hieroglyphical Figures* one was this; when they would Repräsent *Learning*, they pictured the Heavens, pouring down *Rain* or *Dew*; and it is probable that they borrowed this Notion, from the Writings of *Moses*.

Moreover, This Passage may be a Prayer. *Lett my Doctrine drop as the Rain*.³

1 ¹ This is certainly the position of Rashi in his comments on *Chumash Devarim* (5:380), where the venerable rabbi explains that heaven and earth are eternal witnesses to God's Covenant with Moses and his people. If they abide by the Covenant, their reward will be that "The grapevine shall give forth its fruit, the earth give forth its produce, and the heavens give forth their dew" (Zech. 8:12). But if they renege on this Covenant, these eternal witnesses of God will withhold their bounty: "He shall curb heaven, so that there will be no rain, and the earth shall not give forth its produce' and after – 'You shall quickly perish'" (Zech. 17:7; 11:17). Most intriguing is the gloss of Abarbanel, who renders "heavens and earth" as mere "euphemisms for two layers or strata" of mankind. "The heavens [there are seven of them according to *Chizkuni*] stand for the elite, the wealthy, the aristocracy, the royalty, and the leaders of the people. The term *earth* represents the masses and lower class, the poor, the laborers, etc. And just as the heavens bestow their bounties upon the earth [rain, dew, sunshine], so too the elite and the wealthy leadership pass on the bounty that they possess, to the masses of the people" (*Selected Commentaries: Devarim* 5:219). Methinks, this is trickle-down Reaganomics before its time. Since Moses uses the Hebrew noun שָׁמַיִם [shamayim], i. e., "heavens" (Deut. 32:1) in its dual or plural form, R. Chizkiyahu ben Rabbi Manoach argues "there are a number of different heavens making up many layers" (*Chizkuni* 4:1202).

2 Patrick, on Deut. 32:1 (*Deuteronomy* 601) is Mather's muse once again. Targum Hierosolymitanum (sec. 53), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:379) bears out Mather's reading of the Jerusalem Targum (Etheridge, *The Targums* 2:630).

3 This last line was added at a later time. Henry Ainsworth, too, argues that this verse may express "a wish, and also a promise" (*Annotations* [1626–1627], 1:146, sep. pag.).

Q. On that, *He is the Rock, His Work is perfect?* v. 4.⁴

A. It may be best rendred, *His perfect Work is that Rock*. Or, *That Rock is His perfect Work*. What *Rock*? Take a glorious Answer from a sufficient Expositor; 1. Cor. X.4.⁵

3875.

Q. Some Remark upon that; *All His Wayes are Judgment?* v. 4.

A. Tho' we cannot penetrate into the Methods and Reasons of the Divine Dispensations, yett there is nothing of Iniquity in them.⁶ They are very good Words lett fall by the Author of, *Sepher Cosri* hereupon; "He who beleeves this, *That all Gods Works are perfect, and His Wayes Judgment*, will alwayes lead a sweet & a pleasant Life. All Afflictions will be made light unto him; Nay, he will Rejoice that his Iniquities are being alleviated, and that he shall one day be Rewarded for his Patience, which he teaches Men by his Exemple, & thereby Justifies the Judgments of God."⁷

With Respect here as Dr. *Patrick* supposes it is, the Jewes now begin the *Prayer*, which they make at the Burial of the Dead, with this verse in the Song of *Moses*; which *Prayer* they call, *Tzidduck haddin*, or, *The Just Judgment*, as is related by *Leo Modena*.⁸

⁴ In his "Note Book of Authors" (Deut. 32:4), Mather lists "MSS. no. 15. p. 183" as a potential resource.

⁵ Mather reads this lapideous metaphor as a type of Christ as the Rock of Ages (1 Cor. 10:4). The classic commentaries excerpted in the *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (5:216–27) unanimously interpret "the Rock" with God's unwavering justice or (as Abarbanel reads it) as the six attributes of God: perfection, justice, faith, without iniquity, righteousness, and fairness (beauty), in *Selected Commentaries* (5:215). In their own way (as Patrick does 603–604), they all follow in the footsteps of Maimonides. For instance in his *Liber מורה נבוכים* [More Nebuchim] *Doctor Perplexorum* (1.16.19–20; 2.28.264; 3.25.411; 3.17.382; 3.49.501–502), Rambam links Deut. 32:4 with Isa. 51:1 and Deut. 32:18 ("the Rock that begat thee" – Abraham); with Gen. 1:31 (perfection); Deut. 32:4–5 (judgment and perfection of his laws and works).

⁶ Patrick (604); Maimonides (3.49.502): Deut. 32:4 "It says that just as the things made by Him are consummately perfect, so are His commandments consummately just. However, our intellects are incapable of apprehending the perfection of everything that He has made and the justice of everything He has commanded. We only apprehend the justice of some of His commandments just as we only apprehend some of the marvels in the things He has made, in the parts of the body of animals and in the motions of the spheres. What is hidden from us in both these classes [species] is much more considerable than what is manifest" (*Guide* 3.49.605–606).

⁷ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 604) appears to rely on Johannes Buxtorf's bilingual edition of Judah ha-Levi's כוזרי *Liber Cosri Continens Colloquium seu Disputationem de Religione* (1660), pars 3, sec. 11, pp. 174–75. The best English translation of this work is *The Kuzari: An Argument for the Faith of Israel* (3.11.149–50). A. Shear's *The 'Kuzari' and the Shaping of Jewish Identity* (2008) is a major study of Judah ha-Levi's defense of Judaism against Christianity and Islam.

⁸ Patrick, on Deut. 32:4 (*Deuteronomy* 604), refers to *The History of the Rites, Customs, and Manner of Life, of the Present Jews* (1650), part 5, ch. 8, sec. 4, p. 236, an English translation of the Italian original *Historia de gli Riti Hebraici* (1637), parte 5, cap. 7 (!), sec. 3, p. 211, by the controversial Jewish scholar R. Leo Modena (1571–1648). The Italian original differs in many aspects from the English translation by the Oxford musician, translator, and scholar Edmund

3876.

Q. How are those Words to be taken; They *have corrupted themselves*? v. 5.⁹

A. *Maimonides* much better translates the Words; *Did He* (i. e. our God, the *Rock* before spoken of) *do him any hurt*? The Hebrew Word, *Shecheth*, with, *Lamed*, after it, signifies, To Hurt, or Destroy. [Num. 32.15. 1. Sam. 23.10.] as *Job. Cocceius* observes, in his *Ultima Mosis*. The Meaning is thus much; *Is God to blame for the Evils that befall them?* i. e. *Israel*.¹⁰

The Answer follows in the next Words; which we translate, *Their Spott is not the Spott of His Children*. In the Hebrew, the first Word of the Sentence is, *Lo*; i. e. *Not*, or, *No*. But the Accent, which they call *Tipcha* under it, shewes, it must not be joined with the Words that follow, but it is to be taken by itself.¹¹ *No; His Children are their Blott*, i. e. All the Evil that befalls them, is the Fruit of His Childrens Wickedness. *Are their Blott*; is, q. d. are to blame. And so these Words, are in Effect the same with *Solomons*; Prov. 19.3. *The Foolishness of Man perverteth his Way, and his Heart fretteth against the Lord*.¹²

[...] ¹³

[Q.] What might be the Import of that, *when the Most High divided unto the Nations their Inheritance, when He separated the Sons of Adam, He appointed the Borders of a People, according to the Number of the Sons of Israel?* v. 8.¹⁴

A. What if it should be This? At the *Scattering of the Nations*, then *Canaan and his Eleven Sons*, first settled in the Land, which was now to be divided unto the *Eleven Tribes of Israel*. *Shem* foresaw *This*, in his Curse upon *Canaan*.]

But in our Illustrations on Matth. 28.18. We have a further Curiosity, about the *Division of the Nations*, unto the Care & Government & Management

Chilmead (1610–1654), sometime chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford (*OEDB*). The English translation supplies the Hebrew צדוק הדין [Tzidduck haddin], absent from the Italian original. See also Richard Simon's *Comparaison des Ceremonies des Juifs, et de la Discipline de l'Eglise* (1681), a supplement to Modena's work.

⁹ Mather lists "MSS. no. 18. p. 51 & 101" and "MSS. Pat. no. 10. p. 38" as resources for annotating Deut. 32:5, 6, in his "Note Book of Authors."

¹⁰ Via Patrick (604–605), Mather draws on Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים More Nebuchim* (1628), pars 3. cap. 12, p. 356 (*Guide* 3.12.443); and on *Ad Ultima Mosis, hoc est sex postrema capita Deuteronomii considerationes*, § 701, fol. 52 (Deut. 32:5), in *Opera Omnia* (1675), tom. 1, fol. 52 (sep. pag.), by the previously cited Dutch Federalist theologian Johannes Cocceius: "Verbum שחת [shecheth] cum ל [lamed] est Numer. 32: v. 15. 1. Sam. 23: v. 10. ... Rupes aetati perversae? Non. Filii ejus sunt labes ipsorum."

¹¹ Deut. 32:5: שחת לו לא בניו מונם דור עקש ופתלל: Is corruption His? No; His children's is the blemish; a generation crooked and perverse (JPS). Mather refers to the Hebrew cantillation mark *Tipcha*, aka. *Tifcha*, below the Hebrew lamed ל in לא (Lo, No).

¹² Patrick (605); Maimonides, *Liber מורה נבוכים More Nebuchim* (1628), pars 3. cap. 12, p. 356 (*Guide* 3.12.443).

¹³ See Appendix B.

¹⁴ In his "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" (Deut. 32:9), Mather refers to his manuscript collection of sermons "MSS. no. 15. p. 134" as a resource.

of the *Archangels*; (*the Sons of God*), when the glorious JEHOVAH reserved unto Himself, *His People for His Portion*, and *Jacob as the Lott of His Inheritance*.

[▽ 57v] [▽ Insert from 57v]

[3836:]¹⁵

Q. Pray, Give us an Ingenious Paraphrase upon those Words of *Moses*, *As an Eagle stirreth up her Nest, fluttereth over her Young, spreadeth abroad her Wings, taketh them, beareth them on her Wings?* v. 11.

A. That I will, in the Lines of an Ingenious Poet, who wrote in the former Age.¹⁶

*Ac velut alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
Armiger, implumes et adhuc sine robore natos
Sollicitâ refovet curâ, pinguisque ferinæ
Indulget pastus: mox ut cum viribus alæ
Vesticipes crevère, vocat si blandior aura,
Expansâ invitat plumâ, dorsoque morantes
Excipit, attollitque humeris, plausuque secundo
Fertur in arva, timens oneri, et tamen impete presso
Remigium tentans alarum, incurvaque pinnis
Vela legens, humiles tranat sub nubibus oras;
Hinc sensim supera alta petit; jam jamque sub Astra
Erigitur, cursusque leves citus urget in Auras,
Omnia pervolitans latè loca, et Agmine fœtus
Fertque refertque suos vario, moremque volandi
Addocet: Illi autem, Longâ assuetudine docti,
Paulatim incipiunt pennis se credere cœlo
Impavidi. Tantum à teneris valet addere curam.*¹⁷

¹⁵ See Appendix B.

¹⁶ Mather's "Ingenious Poet" is the Scottish theologian, post-Reformation scholar, and professor at the Huguenot Académie de Sedan (France), Andrew Melville (1545–1622), whose *Carmen Mosis, Ex Deuteronomi. Cap. xxxii* (1574) furnishes the following excerpt. Frequently reprinted in collections of Scottish poetry, *Carmen Mosis* was dedicated to James VI of Scotland (1567–1625), the later James I of England (1603–1625), and included in a collection of Scottish poems, *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum hujus ævi Illustrium. Pars Altera* (1637), 2:84–90, esp. p. 86. Melville's poetic paraphrase of Deut. 32 was greatly esteemed for its vivid imagery; Mather's subsequent citation is taken from Bochart's *Hierozoicon sive De Animalibus S. Scripturæ* (1663), Pars II, lib. II, cap. 3, col. 180.

¹⁷ Quoted in John Godfrey Angley's *De Clifford. The Philosopher* (London, 1847), pp. 85–87. Angley says that "the following striking paraphrase of the passage ... [on Deut. 32:11, 12 and Exod. 19:4], is preserved by Scheuchzer from some ancient poet, and which I find I translated a long time since, viz. —"

And as the prince of birds, the golden king
And bearer of the Thunderer's flaming bolts,
With anxious care supports his unfledged brood,

Tis that Stroke, *Moremque volandi Addocet*, the *Eagles* teaching and helping the Young Ones to *Flie*, that is the Thing principally aimed at, in this Comparison.¹⁸

Suidas in voce εὐξενος, ha's these Words about the *Eagles* Young Ones, οἱ νεοὶ τῶν αἰτῶν κλ· *The Young Eagles, while their Wings are yett feeble, do fly about their Parents, and learn Flight from them.*¹⁹ *Suidas* does not mention the Name of the Author, whose Words he pretends now to Quote. But the Author was *Philostratus*, in the fifth Chapter, of the First Book, of his *Apollonius*; who probably never had Read the Writings of *Moses*. *Bochart* saies hereupon; *Quæ Mosis verbis tam similia sunt, ut vel ab ipso Mose, vel ab aliquo Mosis Interprete descripta videri queant.*²⁰

It is indeed Admirable to consider, How the *Israelites*, lying as it were in the Filth of their *Nest*, without any Disposition to stir towards a State of Liberty, God called upon them, (as the *Eagle* upon its Young Ones,) to shake off their Torpid Slavery, and assert their Liberty, & fly forth after the Assertors of it, that He sent unto them. The same Word, that is used by *Moses* here, *Moses* also uses for the *Spirit* of God, *moving on the Face of the Waters*, at the Creation.²¹

Still powerless; and cheers them with rich food
Of venison: but when the striplings' wings
Expand in strength mature, to milder air,
He calls them forth, with outspread plume allures
And takes the timid loiterers on his back,
Raised on his shoulders, with propitious wing
While trembling for the load, he bears them forth
To pleasant fields. Yet still with impressed force.
He assays the power and oarage of his pinions,
Gathering his incurved sails; beneath the clouds,
Swims over the lowlier lands, thence by degrees
Soars round the heights above; and now even now
Is borne beneath the stars, urges this course
Thro' finer air, and circuits all the world!
Thus his young brood he leads with various arts,
Or swift returns to chide their dull delay,
And shews the way, and prompts their tardy flying,
Till they instructed, by long use begin,
Fearless, at length, to trust their bolder wings
To the broad heaven. — So great a care he shews,
Till he prevail for his dear fosterlings! (Angle's translation, pp. 86–87).

18 Latin: "instructed by long practice to fly."

19 *Suda*, *Lexicon* (alphab. letter **epsilon**, entr. 3605, lines 1, 7): voce: εὐξενος and οἱ νέοι τῶν αἰτῶν κλ.

20 Via *Bochart*, *Mather* refers to the Greek Sophist *Lucius Flavius Philostratus* (c. 170–247 CE), whose (*Vita Apollonii* 1.5), or *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, is a biographical account of the Pythagorean philosopher *Apollonius of Tyana* (c. 40–c. 120 CE). (*KP*). The Latin quote from *Bochart's* chapter on "Of Eagles," *Hierozoicon Animalibus* (1692), pars 2, lib. 2, cap. 3, col. 181, lines 37–39, translates, "these are so similar to the words of *Moses*, whether they are described by *Moses* [himself], or from some interpreter of *Moses*."

21 Gen. 1:1.

It was, the *Spirit* of God, which now moved the Indisposed, and the Disobedient *Israelites*, to Attempt a Flight out of *Egypt*. And the Providence of God, afterwards watching of them, kept them (as an *Eagle* its Young Ones,) from *falling* into Innumerable Mischiefs in their Flight.

Some have observed, that the Dispensation towards the Church in the Old Testament, is compared unto that of an *Eagle*; but in the New Testament, unto that of an *Hen*. In the one, was expressed more of *Power*, and *Majesty*; as in the Way of bringing the Church out of *Egypt*. In the other, was expressed more of *Grace*, and *Abasement*; as when our Lord appeared in the Humble *Form of a Servant* and *Humbled Himself to the Death of the Cross*.²²

[3877.]

Q. How did *Israel*, Suck Honey out of the Rock, & Oil out of the Flinty Rock? v. 13.²³

A. *Wild Honey* was an excellent Food, which abounded in their Land; being found sometimes upon the Ground, sometimes in the hollow Part of Trees, & sometimes in the Clefts of Rocks; as *Bochart* observes out of good Authors. The *Rock-Honey* was the best in its Kind. [Psal. 81.16.]²⁴

Yea, they had *Oil out of the Flinty Rock*. No Part of the Countrey was barren. Some say, That *Olive-trees* thrive best in *Rocky Places*. *Columella* observes of the *Olive*, *Magis Modicos Clivos amat*.²⁵ And *Chytræus* notes, That as the most generous *Wine* is produced upon the *Rhine*, below *Mentz*, out of the hardest *Flints*, *Sic olea locis petrosis sterilibus non infeliciter proveniunt*, thus *Olive-trees* grow prosperously in stony & barren Places.²⁶

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

v. 13.²⁷

This Illustration will not hinder me from inserting an Hint of Ingenious Piety, which I have mett withal.

²² Philip. 2:8. See also Gerard Johannes Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana, sive De Origine ac Progressu Idololatriæ* (1641), lib. 3, cap. 77, pp. 1144–49.

²³ Patrick, on Deut. 32:13 (*Deuteronomy* 611–12).

²⁴ Bochart, *Hierozaicon Animalibus* (1692), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 12, col. 519. Among Bochart's "good Authors" cited in support of this rock honey are St. Augustine, Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel, Hesiod's *Theogonia*, Phocylides, Virgil, and numerous others.

²⁵ Rocky or no, the famous Roman agriculturalist Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (4–c. 70 CE) observes in his *De re rustica* (5.8.5) that olive-trees "rather prefer moderate slopes" than high or low-lying regions.

²⁶ Finally, the Lutheran professor the theology at the University of Rostock, David Chytræus (1530–1600), adds, in his exposition of the Song of Moses, in *In Deuteronomium Mosis Enarratio* (1575), *Loci Doctrinae in Carmine seu testamento Moysi præcipuis*, cap. 4: *Locus de beneficijs Dei* (636): "Sic Oleae locis petrosis & sterilibus non infeliciter proveniunt," or "Thus olive trees prosper not without success in rocky and barren places. See Appendix B.

²⁷ See Appendix B.

The *Water* that followed *Israel* from the smitten *Rock*, in the Wilderness may be here called, *Honey* and *Oyl* out of *Rock*. Partly, because it flow'd from *Special Grace* unto them; and *Special Grace* expressed in them, adds a mighty *Sweetness* to common Mercies. Partly, because it was an extraordinary Supply in an *Extremity* of Necessity; and Releefs dispensed in such an *Extremity*, have a singular *Sweetness* in them. Once more, we read, 1. Cor. X.4. that *Rock* was *CHRIST*. There was a Notable & Sensible Type of a Glorious *CHRIST* in the *Rock*. *Faith* looking to a *CHRIST* brings *Honey* & *Oyl*, unto the Soul; and Influences of an Incomparable *Sweetness* in them. Finally; T'was *Water* given by a *Miracle*. Such *Miraculous Water* probably had an uncommon *Sweetness*, like that of *Honey* & *Oyl* in it. As the *Miraculous Wine* produced by our SAVIOUR, was the *Best Wine* that could be. But, behold here a Figure of what the *New Earth* shall yield unto its Inhabitants.

[△ Attachment recto ends]

[△]

[57r cont.]

[567r]

Q. Why is *Israel* called by the Name of *Jeshurun*? v. 15.

A. You know the usual Reason; From *יֵשׁוּר* a *Righteous* One; to intimate that the People of God should bee *Righteous*. But there are others who derive this Name, from *יֵשׁוּר* which signifies, *An Oxe*: and how properly is it now added, *They waxed Fat & Kicked*.

See whether this Etymology will not Illustrate, the Three other Texts, where this Name is found; namely, Deut. 33.5, 26. and Isa. 44.2.

But *Cocceius* derives it from *Shur*, which signifies, To *See*, or *Behold*, or *Describe*.²⁸ It signifies, *The People who had the Vision of God*. Dr. *Patrick* thinks nothing more probable than this; which highly {aggravated their sin.}²⁹

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[57v]

Q. What *Emphasis* in that Expression, *He lightly esteemed the Rock of their Salvation*? v. 15.³⁰

A. The Hebrew Word, *Nibbel*, signifies more than a light Esteem.³¹ It signifies, a great Abhorrence. The Hebrew Word, *Nibbel*, some think to refer unto *Nebelal*, a Dead Carcase; than which there was nothing more abominated among the Jewes. *Cocceius* and *Vitringa*, observe that this was never so fulfilled, as in their Behaviour towards our Lord Jesus Christ, when they used Him as the vilest

²⁸ Mather refers to the previously cited Johannes Cocceius, on Deut. 32, in *Ad Ultima Mosi* (§ 973), in *Opera Omnia* (1675) 1:71 (sep. pag.).

²⁹ Mutilated in the holograph manuscript, the passage in braces is reconstructed from Mather's source text (Patrick 613).

³⁰ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 615–16).

³¹ Heb. נָבַל [nabel] (Strong's # 5034) "to be senseless, foolish."

Thing upon Earth. *Vitringa* expounds the Words, *Instar Flagitii tractavit rupem salutis suae*.³² [see the Word, Nah. 3.6. and Jer. 14.21.]

[▽] [▽ Attachment verso]

Q. Their Worshipping of *Devils*? v. 17.³³

A. The Word in the Hebrew signifies, *Destroyers*; meaning Spirits which delight in Mischief, & which draw into Perdition those who worship them. We have such a Name, Rev. IX.11.³⁴

How many *Princes* have been madly numinized, whom this Name has too justly belong'd unto.

[△] [△ Attachment verso ends]

[▽ 58r] [▽ Insert from 58r]

[3879.]

Q. What may be intended, by the *Fire* threatned, which was to *Sett on Fire the Foundations of the Mountains*? v. 22.³⁵

A. Some think, that herein is foretold the Subversion of their strongest Fortresses, which were counted Imprægnable. *Rasi* thinks, that the Destruction of *Jerusalem* is here intended.³⁶ At which *Titus* (as *Josephus* relates) observing the vast Height of the Walls, the Bigness of every Stone, the exact Order wherein they were laid, cryed out, *God was with us in this War; He drave the Jewes from these Munitions*; ἐπεὶ χεῖρες τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἢ μηχαναί, τί πρὸς τούτους τοὺς πύργους δύνανται; *For what could Mens Hands or Machins do against such Towers*?³⁷ But may we not now rather call to Mind, what is related, not only by *Chrysostom*, *Sozomen*, *Socrates*,³⁸ but by *Ammianus Marcellinus* himself, an Hea-

32 Patrick, on Deut. 32:15 (*Deuteronomy* 615–16), refers to Cocceius's observation, in his *Ad Ultima Mosis* (§ 976), in *Opera Omnia* (1675) 1:71 (sep. pag.); and to *Observationes Sacrarum* (1689), lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 173; cf. *Observationum Sacrarum Libri Sex* (1723), lib. 2, cap. 9, sec. 32, p. 407, by Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722), the Dutch Reformed theologian and Hebraist at Franeker, who (like Mather) had similar ideas about the impending Second Coming and the New Jerusalem (*BPVN*). The Latin quotation from Vitringa is a gloss on the Song of Moses, in which he laments that Jeshurun [i. e., the people of Israel] “treated the rock of his [Jeshurun's] salvation like a disgraceful thing.”

33 In his “Note Book of Authors” (Deut. 32:21), Mather lists “MSS. no. 13. p. 255” as a useful resource.

34 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 617).

35 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 621).

36 Rashi (Deut. 32:22): “Jerusalem, which is founded on mountains, as it is said, ‘Jerusalem is surrounded by mountains’” (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Devarim* 5:399); Rashi, on Psal. 125:2, in רש"י תהלים [Rashi Tehilim] *Rashi's Commentary on Psalms* (708): “For just as JERUSALEM, HILLS ENFOLD IT, so does the Holy One Blessed be He ENFOLD HIS PEOPLE” (708).

37 Josephus Flavius (*Wars of the Jews* 6.9.1) – the capture of Jerusalem under Titus Flavius Vespasianus (69/70 CE) during the Great Revolt (66–73 CE).

38 Joannes Chrysostomus, *Adversus Judaeos (orationes 1–8)* [PG 048. 0901, lines 38–46]. The Greek church historian of Palestine Salaminus Hermias Sozomenus (c. 400–c. 450 CE)

then Historian; How that when *Julian the Apostate*, ordered the Temple at *Jerusalem*, to be Rebuilt, horrible Globes of *Fire* burst out, *Propè fundamenta*, from the very Foundations, which overturned all, burnt the Workmen, & made the Place to be so inaccessible, that they desisted from the Attempt.³⁹ Such is the Certainty of the Story, that it hath extorted a Confession from the Jewes themselves; (*David Ganz* in his *Tzemach David* and *R. Gedaliah* in *Schal-Hakkabola*;) tho' they pretend, the Building went on, & was finished; but after many Years overthrown by an Earthquake.⁴⁰

[△ Insert ends]

[△]

[57v cont.]

299.

Q. What is that *Bitter Destruction*, which God threatens to His Apostatising People? v. 24.

(*NSHE*) adds in his *Ecclesiastical History* (5.22) that after Julian the Apostate had ordered the Jews to rebuild the Temple, they “hoped by this means to falsify the prophecies of Christ.” And after the Jews had cleared the rubble from the Temple’s foundation, “it is said that on the following day when they were about to lay the first foundation, a great earthquake occurred, and by the violent agitation of the earth, stones were thrown up from the depths. ... Instead of regarding this unexpected earthquake as a manifest indication that God was opposed to the re-erection of their temple [Matth. 24:2, 15], they proceeded to recommence the work. But all parties relate, that they had scarcely returned to the undertaking, when fire burst suddenly from the foundations of the temple, and consumed several of the workmen” (*NPNFii* 2:344). Given to miraculous interpositions, the church historian Socrates Scholasticus (c. 380–c. 450 CE) (*EB*) improves the story in his (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.20) adding that after Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem had explicitly warned the Jews of Christ’s prediction that no stone should be left upon another [Matth. 24:2, 15], “the night following, a mighty earthquake tore up the stones of the old foundations of the temple and dispersed them all together with the adjacent edifices. ... Fire came down from heaven and consumed all the builders’ tools: so that the flames were seen preying upon mallets, irons to smooth and polish stones, saws, hatchets, adzes, in short all the various implements the workmen [needed].” Still refusing to recognize the will of God in the matter, a third miracle occurred, and “the next night luminous impressions of a cross appeared imprinted on their garments, which at daybreak they in vain attempted to rub or wash out” (*NPNFii* 2:89–90).

³⁹ The Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 325–c. 391 CE) relates in his *Rerum Gestarum Libri Qui Supersunt* (23.1.3) that when Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Iulianus Augustus (c. 331–363 CE), aka. Julian the Apostate, ordered the Temple to be rebuilt, “terrifying balls of flame kept bursting forth [prope fundamenta] near the foundations.”

⁴⁰ The Jewish chronicler R. David Ganz (1541–1613) does mention in his צמח דוד [Tzemach David] *Chronologia Sacra-Profana* (1644), p. 308, that Roman Emperor Publius Aelius Hadrianus (76–138 CE) made plans to build a new city, Aelia Capitolina, on the ruins of Jerusalem and to build a temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus on the ruins of Herod’s Temple, but Ganz does not mention the Temple’s destruction by an earthquake. The Italian R. Gedaliah Ibn Yahyah ben Joseph of Imola (c. 1515–1587) authored his multipurpose ספר שלשלת הקבלה *Sefer Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (1587), but I have not been able to examine this work for the reference Mather supplies from Patrick (622).

See also Cassius Dio’s *Roman History* (69.12.1), Midrash Rabba (Genesis Rabbah LXIV:10), and Julian the Apostate’s epistle “To the Community of the Jews,” in *Works* (3:177–181).

A. The Passage is plainly enough, to bee understood, in its common & vulgar Acceptation. But I'll tell You, how that famous Jew *Onkelos* renders it, *Erunt Vexati a Spiritibus Malis*;⁴¹ and indeed, that sense agrees well enough, with what followes, *I will send upon them, the Poison of the Serpents of the Dust*. – You must note, that some Words in the Bible, which wee take for the *Appellative Names* of *Plagues*, are by the Jewes generally taken, for the *Proper Names* of *Divels*. Thus in Psal. 91.6. the Two Names דֶּבֶר / *Deber*; and קֶטֶב / *Keteb*; which wee translate, *Pestilence* and *Destruction*, are by them taken for Two *Divels*; of which, *Deber*, ha's his hurting time in the *Night*, & *Keteb* ha's his hurting time in the *Day*.⁴² So now; if I have not given you an *Exposition*, yett I have given you a *Curiosity*; but I am not without Suspicion, that there may bee more of *Exposition* in this *Curiosity*, than wee are well aware of.⁴³

3878.

Q. *The Teeth of Wild-beasts?* [v. 24]

A. *Cocceius*, in his *Ultima Mosis*, notes, That this was fulfilled in Part, when they were thrown by the *Romans*, to wild beasts in the Theatres; as tis related by *Josephus*.⁴⁴

[△] [△ 57v ends]

41 It is intriguing that Mather quotes from Paulus Fagius's Latin translation of Targum Onkelos (Deut. 32:24), in *Thargum hoc est Paraphrasis* (1546), fol. S^{3v}, rather than from Brian Walton's standard *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:855). J. W. Etheridge's rendition is no less dramatic: "Their plagues will be evil as the heads of serpents, and the retribution of their works like their venom. As the poison of dragons is the cup of their punishment, and as the heads of the cruel basilisks" (*The Targums*, sec. LIII, 2:550).

42 Mather has Rashi's commentary in mind, for the great Solomon Jarchi thinks that eponymous demons and devils are intended in Deut. 32:24: "[1] Bloated with hunger, and [2] embattled with demons and [3] slashed by Meriri; and the teeth of animals will I send against them along with the venom of dust-crawlers" [bracketed numerals added]: "Onkelos renders 'Bloated with hunger,' but I have no evidence supportive of this. ... *Embattled with demons*. Demons battled them, as it is said, 'But the sons of demons soar aloft' [Iyov (Job) 5:7], referring to demons. *Slashed by Meriri*. Slashed by a demon named Meriri [tractate Pesachim (111a)]" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Devarim* 5:400). Thus Rashi renders the phrase וְקֶטֶב מְרִירִי [weqeteb meriryi] as "slashed by [the demon] Meriri." The translators of the KJV (considerably less pneumatically inclined) have "bitter destruction" (KJV). Mather's דֶּבֶר [deber], i. e., "pestilence, plague," and קֶטֶב [qeteb], i. e., "destruction" (Strong's ## 1698, 6986), in Ps. 91:6, are thus personifications of natural forces as demons, an embodiment which is here based on Rashi's gloss (Ps. 91:6): "*deber* 'PLAGUE' ... *qeteb* 'SCOURGE' are names of [distinct] demons, one of which [*deber* 'PLAGUE'] wreaks havoc during the night and one of which [*qeteb* 'SCOURGE'] wreaks havoc at noon. *yasud* 'RAVAGES' [i. e.,] *yasoded* 'destroys'" (רש"י תהלים) [Rashi Tehilim] *Rashi's Commentary on Psalms* 582). Rashi thus leans on the Babylonian Talmud: "Keteb Merir. There are two Ketebs, one before noon and one after noon; the one before noon is called Ketheb Meriri, and looks like a ladle turning in the jug of kamka. That of the afternoon is called Keteb Yashud Zaharaim ['Destruction that wasteth at noonday']; it looks like a goat's horn, and wings compass it about" (tractate Pessachim 111b).

43 Vintage Mather.

44 Patrick's source (Deut. 32:24) is Cocceius, *Ad Ultima Mosis* (§1271), in *Opera Omnia*

[58r cont.]

[3882:]

Q. How should we translate those Words, which we render, *They are a Nation void of Counsel?* v. 28.

A. *Job Ludolfus* observes, That the Word which we render, *Void*, in the Ethiopick Language signifies, *Foolish*; which makes it probable, that this was the ancient Sense of the Word among the Hebrewes. Dr. *Patrick* would therefore have this Clause thus rendred; *They are a Nation foolish in their Counsel*; Their Counsels led them to such Courses as utterly undid them. Thus he would have to be rendred, Jer. 4.9. *The Heart of the King is Foolish*.⁴⁵

[H66:]

Q. What is meant by, *The Latter End*, which *Moses* does wish his People would consider? v. 29.⁴⁶

A. The Mercies laid up, for the Pænitent and Beleeving *Jewes*, in the *Latter Days*.

(1675) 1:92 (sep. pag.). In his *Wars of the Jews*, Josephus Flavius reports that when the upper city of Jerusalem fell to Roman General Titus, in the final sacking of Jerusalem (70 CE), captive males (above seventeen years of age) were sent “to the Egyptian mines” and a “great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theatres, by the sword and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves” (6.9.2). William Whiston, the English translator of Josephus, glosses in a footnote on this event that “several predictions that the Jews, if they became obstinate in their idolatry and wickedness, should be sent again, or sold into Egypt, for their punishment” were thus fulfilled (Deut. 28:68; Jer. 44:7; Hos. 8:13, 9:3, 11:35), in *Complete Works* (587). See also Maimonides, *More Nebuchim* 3.37.446 and *Guide* (3.37.543).

⁴⁵ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 625). The German diplomat and orientalist Hiob Ludolfus, aka. Job Leutholf (1624–1704) was the foremost scholar of his time on the Ethiopic and Amharic languages. Numerous works to his credit include a history of Ethiopia, on the Ethiopic and Amharic languages, and on the literature, culture, and religions of this ancient civilization. Perhaps best among them are two firsts: his grammars and dictionaries of the Ethiopic and Amharic languages. Via Patrick (625), Mather refers to Ludolf’s rendition of Deut. 32:28, in *Jobi Ludolfi I. C. Lexicon Æthiopico-Latinum* (1661), where Ludolf renders the Ethiopic-Latin translation of the Hebrew original as a metaphor for the lack of wisdom or judgment: “*Cum res nullum habet saporem*” (col. 51) “when the thing is without sense,” “devoid of sense,” “lacking wisdom” (hence “foolish”); significantly, the same passage in the revised (second edition) is rendered “*perditi consilio*” (col. 53) “degenerate sense,” “devoid of judgment” (hence “stupid”), in Ludolf’s *Lexicon Æthiopico-Latinum* (1702). Brian Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–1657) includes an Ethiopic-Latin translation of the NT, but none of the OT. On Hiob Ludolf, see *BBKL* (5:317–25).

⁴⁶ In his “Note Book of Authors” (Deut. 32:29), Mather lists “Fox, of Time. p. 82,” as a resource; the work in question is *Time and the End of Time. In Two Discourses* (1671), by John Fox (d. c. 1676), an obscure nonconformist clergyman, ejected in 1662, and licensed preacher at Horningsham, Wiltshire. See S. Handley, “Fox, John (d. 1676–8)” (*ODNB*). First published in 1670, Fox’s *Time* went through eight editions. Mather’s refers to the second discourse (Deut. 32:29) in the second edition of Fox’s *Time* (1671), pp. 82–234.

Then, that *Vine of Sodom*, that is, the Church of *Rome*, which is in the *Apocalypse*, called *Sodom*, & the Destruction whereof, is there called, *A Vintage*, & the Religion whereof is here, as well as there, called, *The Poison of the Dragon*; It shall bee confounded; and the *Rock* of the Jewes, will bee acknowledged;

This whole Song is a glorious Prophecy. By the same Token, that when our Lord saies, in Luk. 21.24. *These are the Dayes of Vengeance, that all things which are written may bee fulfilled*; by the, *Things written*, our Lord means the *Things written*, in the Song of *Moses*; which you will there see our Lord all along alluding unto.⁴⁷

[3884.]

Q. What further Sense may be putt on the Word, which we render, *Their Latter End*?

A. If I don't misremember; A Jew ha's putt me in Mind of reading it so; *Their Posterity*. q.d. Oh! that they would have a Regard unto the Welfare of their Offspring.⁴⁸

[58v]

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[3882.]

Q. When it is said, *Their Vine is the Vine of Sodom*; these & the following Words represent their Wickedness, as altogether intolerable. How was it? v. 32.

A. *Josephus* will tell you: If the *Romans* had not fallen upon such a wicked People, he thinks, either the *Earth* would have opened its Mouth, & swallowed them up, or some *Flood* would have broke forth to have drown'd their City; or Thunder & Lightning from Heaven would have destroy'd it. The Fate of *Sodom*, he saies, would have befall'n it; πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἦνεγκε γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν. *For they were a more Atheistical Generation, than they who suffered such things*. And he saies elsewhere; That the Time when they were destroyed, so abounded with all Manner of Wickedness among the *Jewes*, ὥς μηδὲν κακίας ἔργον ἀπρακτον καταλιπεῖν. *That there was no one Work of Wickedness that was not committed; nor can one imagine any thing so bad, that they did not do; endeavouring publicly as well as privately, to excel one another, both in Impiety towards God, & in Injustice towards their Neighbours*.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Rashi glosses, "For if they were wise ... They would apply themselves to contemplating the ending punishment of Yisroel" (*Metsudah Chumash/Rashi: Devarim* 5:403–404).

⁴⁸ Perhaps the Jewish converso Judah Monis (1683–1764), who taught Hebrew at Harvard (1722–60), authored *A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue* (1735), and for whom the Mathers were credited for his conversion. See also M. Hoberman, *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans* (2011), ch. 3.

⁴⁹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 627–28); Josephus Flavius, *De bello Judaico* (5.566, lines 4–5; 7.259, lines 2–3); *Wars of the Jews* (5.8.13; 7.8.1).

[3848:]

Q. Those Words, *I, even I, am He?* v. 39.⁵⁰

A. The Author of the old *Nitzacon* was sensible, That we Christians might hence observe, that there are Two, who are here called, The *Father*, and the *Son*. He proceeds therefore to inform his Readers, That there are not *Two first Principles* of Things. But he might have spared his Pains; for no Christian affirms it.⁵¹ On the other side, Their own Authors have acknowledged *more Persons than one*, here called, *God*. Thus *Jonathan*, in his Paraphrase, plainly supposes another Person in the Godhead, whom he calls, The *WORD*, when he thus explains this Verse; *When the WORD of the LORD shall Reveal Himself to Redeem His People, He shall say to all People, I am He that have been, and am, and shall be,*⁵² [See Rev. 1.8.] & *by my Word I kill and make alive. I smote the People of Israel, and I will heal them in the End of the Dayes.*⁵³ Thus, he makes these Words a plain Prophecy of the *Messiah*, & owns Him also to be *God*. Thus the *Jerusalem Targum*: *See, that I now am He in my WORD, and there is no God besides me: I am He who kill the Living in this World, & Raise the Dead in the World to come.*⁵⁴

R. *Isaac* alledges those Words, *I kill & I make alive*, as a Prophecy of the *Resurrection of the Dead*, in the *Dayes of the Messiah*. And as a Confutation also

⁵⁰ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 631–32).

⁵¹ Not to be confused with R. Lipmann's book by the same title ספר נצחון [Sefer Nizzachon] *Liber Nizzachon*, Mather refers to the anonymous polemic ספר נצחון ישן נושן [Sefer Nizzachon Yashan] *Liber Nizzachon Vetus*, in Johann Christoph Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* 2:1–260. The polemic gloss on Deut. 6:4 (*Liber Nizzachon Vetus*, sec. 55), in Wagenseil (2:55), rejects any Trinitarian implications of this verse, arguing that “Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is one” [Deut. 6:4] “definitely proves that Christians are mistaken in their belief: ‘The heretics say in their arrogance: These three divine names refer to the trinity. One may respond that the answer is to be found in an adjoining verse: ‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart’ [Deut. 6:5]. Here he [Moses] omitted one of the names, reducing the number to two so that people should not err in saying there are three” (*The Nizzachon Vetus Translation*, sec. 55, p. 78). On the same topic of the grounds of Trinitarian evidence in the Torah (but on different chapter and verse), Manasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator* (1633) – like all classic rabbinic commentators – is far from endorsing Deut. 32:39 as proof of the Trinity. Instead, in Question 188, he links it with Psal. 95:3, arguing that “according to Maimonides [*Guide* 2.6.261] and R. David Kimchi [on Psalms], the ‘gods’ of whom David speaks, are to be understood for the angelic powers, as the word אלהים [Elohim] ‘Gods’ is derived from אל [El], which means ‘power’ or strength, as ואת אילי הארץ (And the mighty of the land [Ezek. 17:13]). It also means governors and judges ... because as the angels move by divine will, they are called gods in the heavens; and the heavens being one degree inferior to angels, are termed lords by David. ‘Praise the Lord of lords’ [Psal. 136:4], because they assist the elemental world by their influence,” in *Conciliator* (1:300). Significantly, this refutation of the doctrine of the Trinity is absent from both of the two first editions of Manasseh [sic] ben Israel's *Conciliator*, sive *De convenientia locorum S. Scripturae* (Amstelodami and Francofurti, 1633), translated by young Dionysius Vossius (1612–1633), scion of the great Dutch scholar Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649).

⁵² See Mather's reference (Exod. 3:14, above) to the inscription at the Temple of Isis, in Plutarch's *Iside et Osiride* (354c, line 6).

⁵³ *Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel* (Deut. 32:39), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:383).

⁵⁴ *Targum Hierosolymitanum* (Deut. 32:39), in Walton (4:383). See also *The Targums* (2:669).

of a very ancient Opinion, That there are Two Supream Powers; One, the Author of *all Good*; Another, the Author of *all Evil*.⁵⁵

3884.

Q. That Mode of *Swearing*, *I lift up my Hand to Heaven*. What is there in Antiquity relating to it? v. 40.

A. *Abraham* anciently sware so. [Gen. 14.22.] Compare Exod. 6.8. and, Neh. 9.15. From hence, tis thought by some, the Word, *Promittere*, is derived; signifying, To Engage by Stretching out the Hand. The Gentiles practised it; as those known Words of *Virgil* inform us; *Suspiciens Cælum, tenditque ad Sydera Dextram*.⁵⁶

3885.

Q. What is meant by, *Revenues on the Enemy*? v. 42.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, He can give no Account, how the Word, *Paroth*, comes to signify, *Revenues*; tho' it be so translated here. [And in Judg. 5.2.] The Word, *Para*, from whence it seems derived, signifies, *To make Bare*. So the Vulgar Latin here understands it; and thence J. *Forsterus*, ha's given this, as a probable Translation of the Words: *Because of the Baring* (i. e. making Bare) *of the Head by the Enemy*. That is, The taking away of the Kingdome and Priesthood from *Israel*. But Dr. *Patrick* thinks, There is yett a more simple Sense, to be given of the Words; by supposing only the Particle, *Lamed*, (as tis often omitted, where it is to be supposed) before *Paroth*: which is this; *From the King to the Slave of the Enemies*. Every one knowes, it was the Custome to shave *Captives*, in a Way of Contempt. Hence *Baldness* is often threatned unto *Israel*, when a provoked God; was going to give them up to be *Slaves*.⁵⁷

55 R. Isaac ben Abraham of Troki, ספר חזקון אשר חבר יצחק בן אברהם [Sepher Hizzuq 'Emunah] *Liber Munimen Fidei* (cap. 6, sec. 20), in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) 2:86–87.

56 Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 633); Vergil's *Aeneid* (12.196) has Aeneas, and Latinus after him, “uplift his eyes to heaven and outstretch his right hand to the stars” and swear by all the ancient gods, high and low, that the peace treaty between the two men shall be inviolate. The infinitive “promittere” signifies “to promise.”

57 Patrick (634–35) consults Johannes Foster's *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum, non ex Rabbinorum Commentis* (1564), pp. 672–73, voce 1264: פָּרַע is the root for the Hebrew noun פָּרֵעָה [par'ah], i. e., “leader, commander” (Strong's # 6546). Yet Patrick stumbles over the infinitive פָּרַע [par'a], i. e., “to lead, act as a leader” (Strong's # 6544), which in the AV (Judg. 5:2) is rendered to “uncover,” “naked,” “avenging,” as well as to “bare.”

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[59r]

3886.

Q. *Rejoice, O yee Nations, with His People.* When is the Time, that we must look for the Accomplishment of this Prædiction? v. 43.⁵⁸

A. The Apostle, [Rom. 15.10.] justifies the Translation of the LXX. Which agrees with ours.

But it is to be observed, That before these Words, the LXX have some other, which are very observable. *Rejoice Yee Heavens, together with Him, and lett all the Angels of God worship Him:* [then followes, *Rejoice yee Gentiles, with His People.*] Those Clauses are not in the *Hebrew*, nor in the *Chaldee*. And yett the Latter of them, *Let all the Angels of God worship Him;* are the very Words of the Apostle, [Heb. 1.6.] and seem to refer unto this very Passage in the Song of *Moses*. Indeed the Margin of our Bibles, does refer us to Psal. XCVII.7.⁵⁹

But there the Words are, a little otherwise; *Worship Him, all yee Angels;* The Words are; you see, in the Second Person. It is probable, That the LXX, from ancient Tradition among the Jewes, added these Words, in their Translating of this Verse, to declare, unto what Time the Fulfilling of them should principally belong. For, as Dr. *Jackson* remarks, the XCVIIth *Psal*m, seems to be but a Descant upon this Part of the Song of *Moses*; from whence the Jewes might learn the Scope of it. The Apostle accordingly would have the Hebrewes, to be sensible, That *Moses* himself had prædicted the Exaltation of the *Messiah*, as the *Psal*mist had expounded him.⁶⁰

It is here prædicted, That the *Gentiles* must become one Body with the *Israelites*. This began to be fulfilled, upon our Saviours Ascension to the Throne of His Glory in the Heavens; when *All the Angels of God worshipped Him*.

Hitherto *Moses* had supposed great Enmity between them. He now breaks out into a Rapture of Joy, to behold them Reconciled, and made one People of God. The LXX thus understanding it, might well præface to their Translation of this Verse *Rejoice Yee Heavens together with Him*. For, as *Procopius Gazæus* well glosses it, If there be Joy in Heaven at the Repentence of One Sinner, how much more for the Salvation of the whole World, by Destroying the Divels Tyranny. This | being to be performed by the Advancement of the Son of God into the

[59v]

58 Mather's "Note Book of Authors" (Deut. 32:46) references "Alleins Remains. p. 29"; i.e., an exposition of Deut. 32:46, in *Remaines. ... Being A Collection of Sundry Directions, Sermons, Sacrament-Speeches, and Letters* (1674), pp. 29–46, by Joseph Alleine (c. 1634–1668). A graduate of Corpus Christi College, ejected minister (1662), Alleine was imprisoned for preaching without a license (1663–64); he authored the popular classic *Alarm to the Unconverted* (1671), which is estimated to have sold more than 70,000 copies. See B. W. Kirk, "Alleine, Joseph (bap. 1634, d. 1668)."

59 The reference to Psal. 97:7 does occur in the Geneva Bible (1560, 1599), but not in the first edition of the KJV (1611).

60 Patrick, on Deut. 32:43 (*Deuteronomy* 636–37), and Dr. Thomas Jackson, in *Works* (1673), tom. 3, bk. 11, ch. 7, pp. 365–66 (§ 3).

Heavens, the next Words might well be added, *Lett all the Angels of God worship Him*. This as *Procopius* observes; they had alwayes done, as He is their God, who created them; but now they extol His Humanity exalted at the Right Hand of God.⁶¹

[3887:]

Q. That Clause, *It is your Life*, what Acknowledgment make the Jewes upon it? v. 47.⁶²

A. Very Christian are the Words of R. *Isaac*. Here are Two Benefits (he saies,) promised by the Observation of this Law; The *Spiritual*, in this Word, *It is your Life*. The *Corporal*, in the next, *Yee shall prolong your Dayes*. And he putts the *Spiritual* first; tho' among all *Corporal* Blessings, this of long Life be the chief.⁶³

3887.

Q. Why is it said unto *Moses*, *He should be gathered unto His People*? v. 50.

A. R. *Isaac* saies, It signifies, that he should be associated unto the Souls of the Just, who are called, *His People*. For the People of *Moses* were not buried in Mount *Abarim*; and therefore, the Lord speaks not of gathering his *Body* to their *Bodies*, but of gathering his *Soul* to their *Souls*.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Patrick (637); Procopius Gazaeus, *Commentarii in Deuteronomium* (Deut. 32:43) [PG 87.1.0975–0976].

⁶² Mather recommends “Torrey’s Plea for the Life of Religion” and “MSS. no. X. Serm. XI” as useful resources, in his “Note Book of Authors” (Deut. 32:47). *A Plea For the Life of Dying Religion from the Word of the Lord* (1683) is an election-day sermon preached to the General Assembly of the Massachusetts Colony on May 16, 1683. In this traditional jeremiad, the minister of Weymouth (Massachusetts), Samuel Torrey (1632–1707), reminds his audience that “*Religion is the Life of the Covenant-People of God*” (p. 3).

⁶³ Patrick (640–41); Maimonides, *More Nebuchim* (3.26.415) and *Guide* (3.26.508); R. Isaac ben Abraham, *ספר חזק אמונה אשר חבר יצחק בן אברהם* [Sepher Hizzuq ‘Emunah] *Liber Munimen Fidei* (cap. 18), in Wagenseil’s *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) 2:157–58.

⁶⁴ Patrick (641); R. Isaac offers much the same in his *Liber Munimen Fidei* (cap. 11), in Wagenseil’s *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) 2:122–23. This is also Abarbanel’s interpretation: “But Moses is like them [his people] only with regard to the physical ‘gathering’ [in the wilderness]; spiritually, he will be ‘gathered’ into eternal life and they [Israelites] to reproaches and everlasting abhorrence. Moreover, this is a promise to Moses that, despite being buried in the wilderness, he will be ‘gathered’ spiritually with the Patriarchs in the cave of Machpelah” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot: Devarim* 5:237).

3888.

Q. Upon what account is it said, *The Lord rose up from Seir unto them, and shone forth from Mount Paran?* v. 2.¹

A. It is hardly worth the while, to recite the Jewish Fancies upon it; whereof one is This; That the Divine Glory first Resided upon Mount *Seir*, where God propounded His Law to the Children of *Esau*; but they would not have it, because they found these Words in it, *Thou shalt not kill*. He went therefore to *Paran*, and offered it unto the Children of *Ishmael*; but they refused it also, because they found these Words in it, *Thou shalt not steal*. So He came to *Sinai*, & gave it unto the *Israelites*, who said [Exod. 24.3.] *All the Words which the Lord hath said, we will do*. Thus the *Hierusalem Targum*, and *Pirke Elieser*, & some other Authors, with this Addition, That He offered the Law to all the Nations of the World, but they rejected it, because it is written, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me*.²

¹ Patrick, Deut. 33:2 (*Deuteronomy* 644–47).

² Targum Hierosolymitanum (Deut. 33:2), in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:385): “He [the Lord] arose in His glory upon the mountain of Seir to give the law to the sons of Esau; but after they found that it was written therein, Thou shalt do no murder, they would not receive it. He revealed Himself in His glory on the mountain of Gebala, to give the law to the sons of Ishmael; but when they found that it was written therein, Ye shall not be thieves, they would not receive it” (*The Targums* 2:673). Much the same appears in פירקי רבי אליעזר [*Pirke de Rabbi Elieser*]. *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644), cap. 41, pp. 107–08: “Rabbi Tarphon said, The Holy One, blessed be He, rose and came from Mount Sinai [first ed. ‘rose from Mount Seir’] and was revealed unto the sons of Esau, as it is said, ‘And he said, The Lord came from Sinai, and rose from Seir unto them’ (Deut. 32:2). And ‘Seir’ means only the sons of Esau, as it is said, ‘And Esau dwelt in Mount Seir’ (Gen. 36:8). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Will ye accept for yourselves the Torah? They said to Him: What is written therein? He answered them: It is written therein, ‘Thou shalt do no murder’ (Ex. 20:18). They replied to Him: We are unable to abandon the blessing with which Isaac blessed Esau, for he said to him, ‘By thy sword shalt thou live’ (Gen. 27:40). Then He turned and was revealed to the children of Ishmael, as it is said, ‘He shined forth from Mount Paran’ (Deut. 33:2). ‘Paran’ [the abode of Ishmael] means only the sons of Ishmael, as it is said, ‘And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran’ (Gen. 21:21). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: Will ye accept for yourselves the Torah? They said to Him: What is written therein? He answered them: ‘Thou shalt not steal’ (Ex. 20:15) is written therein. They said to Him: We are not able to abandon the usage which our fathers observed, for they [stole Joseph] and brought Joseph down into Egypt, as it is said, ‘For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews’ (Gen. 40:15; [Gen. 37:27]). Thence He sent messengers to all the nations of the world. He said unto them: Will ye receive for yourselves the Torah? They said to Him: what is written herein? He said to them: ‘Thou shalt have no other gods before me’ (Exod. 20:3). They said to Him: [We are unable to abandon the law of our fathers who served idols.] We have no delight in the Torah, therefore let Him give His Torah to His People, as it is said, ‘The Lord will give strength [Torah] unto his people; the Lord will bless his people with

After all, (& a better Interpretation than that given by *Abraham Peritsol*, yett not worth insisting on,) the plain Meaning of it, is, That the Cloud, wherein the Lord made His Descent on *Sinai*, with a vast Host of Angels, extended itself so far, as to cover the Neighbouring Mountains of *Seir* and *Paran*. – We may add, That He continued His Presence with them, after they went from *Sinai* thro' all their Journeyes, in the Wilderness of *Seir* and *Paran*, till they came to the Place where now they were.³

Q. Why is *Moses* called, *The King in Jeshurun*? v. 5.⁴

A. It is observ'd by *Reizius* in his Annotations on *Godwins Moses and Aaron*, That it is not *Moses* who is called so, but *Christ*; the *Lord who came with His Holy Myriads*.⁵

436.

Q. Why do we find *Simeon* omitted in the Blessing of *Moses*? v. 8.⁶

peace' (Ps. 29:11) [Babylonia Talmud Zebachim (116a)]. Thence He returned and was revealed unto the children of Israel" (*The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer* 318–19).

3 Patrick (645). In his bilingual edition of *בבא קמא* [Baba Kama] *De Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus Liber Singularis* (1637), cap. 4, § 3, pp. 68–70, the great Dutch Hebraist Constantinus l'Empereur ab Oppyck (1591–1648) provides a lengthy annotation on the Mishnah, tractate Baba Kamma (4.3), in parts of which (pp. 70) he dismisses the ecumenical interpretation of the Italian scholar Abraham ben Mordechai Farissol, aka. Peritsol (c. 1451–c. 1525) of Ferrara (*EF*). Peritsol had argued that "the true Law came out of Sinai to the *Israelites*, by which the Edomites were so enlightened, that God might be said to rise up to them also: and afterward the Celestial Influence shone out of this Law to the *Ishmaelites*, who were the better for it." L'Empereur does not identify the specific work of Peritsol, other than that it was a Hebrew polemic in manuscript, which his friend D.D. de Willem was translating into Latin. The manuscript in question is most likely *Magen Abraham* (Shield of Abraham), a defense of Judaism, composed in 1514. On the debate about the geographical location and proximity of Mts. Seir and Paran, see the annotations of the English orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), librarian at the Bodleian (*EB*), on Abraham Peritsol's cosmography *Itinera Mundi* (1691), p. 73.

4 See Appendix B.

5 Mather paraphrases a passage from Johann Heinrich Reitz (1665–1720), a German Pietist and translator, whose Latin gloss reads: "*Rex in Jeshurun* audiebat (Deut. 33.5)" (2.) "Is Rex non erat Moses sed Christus, qui venit v. 1 cum myriadibus Sanctitatis, Angelus Jehovae, quique *ἄγγελων* legem tulit Heb. 2.2, Act. 7.53" (*Moses et Aaron seu Civiles & Ecclesiastici Ritus* [1679], lib. 1, cap. 1, nota 2, p. 2). Reitz's work is a translation of *Moses and Aaron. Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites* (1625), by the English Puritan theologian Thomas Godwyn, aka. Goodwin (1600–1680). In his Latin gloss on *Moses et Aaron*, Reitz identifies "King of Jeshurun" (Deut. 3:5) with Christ, who delivers the Law to Moses. The classical rabbis agree to disagree about the signification of "Jeshurun." Whereas Ibn Ezra points to Moses, who as head of the Israelites was "the equivalent of a king," Gersonides is undecided and suggests that it might refer to Samuel or Rehoboam. Nachmanides (Ramban) insists that it was "The Lord" who "became King over Israel" when the tribes assembled. Rashi, however, argues that "Jeshurun" signifies Israel. See also John Selden's learned discussion in his *De Synedriis* (1653), lib. 2, cap. 2, sec. 2, pp. 62–65.

6 In the last blessing which Moses bestows on the patriarchs of the twelve tribes (Deut. 33:6–29), Simeon is somehow left out – ostensibly because Jacob had cursed Simeon and Levi for their malicious cruelty against the Shechemites (Gen. 49:5–7; Gen. 34:30). And yet, Deut.

A. You must Remember, how *Jacob* coupled *Simeon* and *Levi*, in a Curse; the *Levites* had since then unstained their Credit, by their exemplary Zeal against Idolaters; but the *Simeonites* had not yett recovered a Reputation by any notable and laudable Action: *Moses* therefore, having no Commission to Recall *Jacobs* Curse, was lothe to Repete it, lest the poor Tribe, doubly-cursed, should bee discouraged; and thought it best in a pious Policy, in Silence wholly to pass them over.

508. Add; More than *Twelve*, might not for Mystical Reasons, bee in the Blessing. *Josephs* two Sons are in; but *Simeon*, that would have killed his Brother *Joseph* is left out. The *Simeonites* were they that fell to *Baal-Peor*, a little before; & they were almost all of this Tribe that were killed. For the same Reason, there was no Judge of this Tribe, except the Forged Judgess of *Judith*.⁷

Dan, is after the like Manner omitted, in the *Apocalypse*; because this Tribe was the first that fell to *Idolatry*.⁸

In the *Midras Tillim*, it is said, That *Moses* omitted *Simeon* in his Blessing, *Quia de ejus peccato, quod perpetravit in Shittim cogitabat*. See Num. XXV.14.⁹

33:7, Rashi (Jarchi) glosses that “Simeon [was included] within the blessings of Judah. For Simeon took his portion of the land of Israel within that of Judah: ‘The portion of the Simeonites was part of the territory of the Judites’ (Josh. 19:9). Why didn’t Simeon get a blessing of his own? Because (as it is written in the midrash to Psalm 90) Moses was thinking about what happened at Shittim [Numb. 25]” where the Simeonites ravished the Midianite women (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot* 5:246). In his “Note-Book of Authors” (Deut. 33:8), Mather refers to “Medes Works. B. I. Disc. 36” as a resource; i. e., Joseph Mede, *Works* (1664), bk. 1, Discourse XXXVI, pp. 264–76, is an explication of the blessings of the oracular Urim and Thummim bestowed upon Levi.

7 Numb. 25:1–9; Deut. 4:3; Both Deborah (Judg. 4:3) and Judith (Judith 8:10–29) are famous for their wisdom and heroism. Ibn Ezra (Deut. 33:6) explains that Simeon was excluded from Moses’ blessings “because of the Baal-Peor incident [Numb. 25], for the ones who worshipped Baal-Peor were Simeonites, as the drastic reduction in their numbers from Num. 1:23 [59,300] to Numb 26:14 [22,200] proves.” Nachmanides (Deut. 33:6), however, begs to differ: Ibn Ezra grounds his argument on the “‘drastic reduction’ in the census count of the Simeonites,” Ramban objects, but the numbers do not add up. Rather, according to a reference he found in Numbers Rabba, “six Israelite families were involved in the Baal-Peor affair, five from Benjamin and just one from Simeon. So in their opinion Benjamin had far outsinced Simeon even in that particular incident – yet Benjamin is certainly included in the blessings.” The explanation for Simeon’s omission may simply be because “the text never enumerates more than 12 tribes [Gen. 49:28].” The problem arises because Jacob listed the names of his twelve sons, including Joseph, as a single tribe; yet Moses, in Deut. 33:17, lists the Josephites as two tribes: Ephraim and Manasseh. Thus “one of the other tribes simply had to be left out. Again, there is not one place that mentions more than 12 tribes, corresponding to the 12 constellations of the zodiac, the 12 months of the year, and the 12 diagonal boundaries called by *Sefer Yetzirah* ‘the arms of the world.’ . . . Simeon was left out because his tribe was not a large one, and his blessing from their father, Jacob, was not great” (*JPS Miqra’ot Gedoloth* 5:243–44).

8 Rev. 7:4–8 leaves out the tribe of Dan, ostensibly for their idolatry (Judg. 18:13–31).

9 According to Midrash Tillim (Tehillim) on the Psalms 101, sec. 3, it is said, “Because he [Moses] was angry with him [Simeon] for what he had done at Shittim.” See also John Viccar’s *Decapla in Psalmos* (1655), p. 286.

However, when they parted the Land, of *Canaan*, they regarded the Blessings of *Jacob* and *Moses*; when they had so done, they cast Lots to see whether God would allow of their Partition; and so Hee did, & so It stood.

Lett it be added, That tho' *Simeon* be not expressly Named, by *Moses* Blessing the Tribes, yett he is comprehended in the *General Blessing of the Tribes*. Nor is any Tribe here excluded any more, than when *Twelve Sacrifices* were offered for the *Twelve Tribes*, (Ezr. 6.17.) we may Judge any one Tribe debarr'd the Benefit.

This is the Apprehension of the Jewish Interpreters. *In Benedictione Jude comprehensam fuisse Benedictionem Simeonis, cujus portio intrà portionem Jude cecidit.*¹⁰

Some Copies of the Version, which we call, *The Septuagint*, call in poor *Simeon*, and read, *Lett Reuben Live & not Die; and lett Simeon be many in number.*¹¹

[▽] [▽ Attachment recto]

Q. On the Blessing of *Levi*? v. 8.¹²

A. An Ingenious Person, whose Name is Mr. *John Gill*, has published a Discourse entituled, *Levi's Urim and Thummim found with CHRIST.*¹³

He observes, That *Aaron* was Gods *Holy One*; and He was proved at *Massah* and strove with at *Meribah*. But he did not stand in the Temptation, as he should have done.¹⁴

Wherefore a Glorious CHRIST is the Person, whom the Characters here do most Properly, & even Transcendently, belong unto. He is the *Holy One of*

¹⁰ The citation appears in Christoph Cartwright's *Mellificium Hebraicum* (on Deut. 33:1), in Jacob Fleisher et al. *Tractatum Biblicorum Volumen Posterius: Sive Criticorum Sacrorum* (1660), Tom. 9, col. 2956, and can be rendered, "In the Blessings of Judah are comprehended the Blessings of Simeon, whose portion is included in the allotment of Judah." See also Rashi on Deut. 33:7, in R. Salomonis Jarchi, *Commentarius Hebraicus in Pentateuchum Moses* (1710), p. 1515 (Deut. 33:7).

¹¹ Mather alludes to the Codex Alexandrinus (5th c. CE), one of the three oldest manuscript copies containing the Septuagint (LXX) translation of the Hebrew Scriptures – the two others being the Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. Codex Alexandrinus appears to be the only manuscript that, instead of "καὶ ἐστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ" [Textus Receptus] ("and let him be many in number"), inserts Συμεὼν (Simeon): "καὶ Συμεὼν ἐστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ" (LXX Deut. 33:6b) "and let Simeon be many in number." See W. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1873) 4:2720, note (d). See also S. D. Goldfarb's "Was Simeon not included in Moses' Blessing?" (51–55).

¹² See Appendix B.

¹³ Mather's extract is from John Gill, *Levi's Urim and Thummim found with Christ. A Discourse on Deut. xxxiii.8* (1725), by the English Baptist theologian and biblical scholar John Gill (1697–1771), today mostly remembered for his magnificent 9-vol. *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1746–63) (CBTEL).

¹⁴ *Meribah* and *Massah* signify respectively "place of strife, contention" and "place of testing." Significantly, in contrast to Numb. 20:12–13, Targums Onkelos, Jonathan ben Uzziel, and Hierosolymitanum praise Aaron for resisting temptation and thus being faithful and perfect, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:861, 4:386) and *The Targums* (2:553, 674–75). Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Ramban – all apply the blessing of Levi to Aaron, in *JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot* (5:246).

GOD. What *Lights* and *Perfections* belong to Him? He was also *Tempted* at *Mas-sah*, and strove with at the Waters of *Meribah*.

The Gentleman thus paraphrases upon the Words.

And of Levi [the Tribe of *Levi*,] *he said, Lett thy Thummim & thy Urim* [Thy Perfections & thy Lights, O God,] *be with thy Holy One*, [CHRIST JESUS] *whom thou* [O *Levi*, with the rest of the Tribes of *Israel*] *didst tempt at Massah, & strive with at the Waters of Meribah*.

The True *Urim* & *Thummim* are with our SAVIOUR.¹⁵

[△ Attachment verso blank]

[△]

[60r cont.]

[.....]

Q. *The Good Will of Him that dwelt in the Bush; who was, The Dweller in the Bush?* v. 16.¹⁶

A. It was the *Messiah*, thus exhibiting Himself, in a Prælude of His Incarnation.

And here are diverse Remarkables to Indigitate Him. First, The *Divine Nature* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is, like a consuming *Fire*, does take Possession of His Humane *Nature*, which is like a *Bush* arrested by that *Fire*; and yett it is not swallowed up. The Ancients considered this, as the *Antitype*, of the *Bush on Fire, but not consumed*. Again; The *Messiah* appearing in the *Bush*, is called / שְׁכֵנִי / from, שָׁכַן / *Habitavit*;¹⁷ A *Dweller* in it. This is the very Word, σκαηνῶ and σκαηνῶς, use[d] in the New Testament, [Joh. 1.14.] for our Lords *Incarnation*; Hee *Dwelt* among us. The *Shechinah*, so much talk'd of, is, The *Deity*, or *Divine Majesty*, coming to *Dwell* among Men. (See, Gen. 9.27. in *Onkelos*.¹⁸ And

¹⁵ Mather's extract is a paraphrase of Gill, *Levi's Urim* (16, 17, 18–19, 20). For much the same, see also Gell's annotations on Deut. 33:8 and Exod. 28:30, in his *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1810), 2:167; 1:485). More literally understood, *Urim* and *Thummim* were precious stones (like those on the breastplate) used by the high priest to attain answers from the oracle of God for the king and Sanhedrin (Mishnah, tractate Yoma 7:5). In later times, this oracular instrument fell into disuse when prophets became the principal purveyors of God's messages. See also Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities* (3.7.5, 3.8.9); and John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (1685), lib. 3, diss. 7, cap. 7, fols. 975–78; and his *Disertatio de Urim & Thummim* (1669), cap. 7, on the mystical application of Urim and Thummim to Christ and their discontinuation as instruments of divination.

¹⁶ In his "Note Book of Authors" (Deut. 33:16), Mather refers to his collection of manuscript sermons "MSS. no. IV. Sermon. 70."

¹⁷ Hebrew שָׁכַן [shakan] signifies "to settle down, abide, dwell, reside" (Strong's # 7931) and קִנְיָה [cenah] "bush, thorny bush," and "burning bush" (Strong's # 5572). Thus *shekinah* שְׁכֵנִיָּה literally signifies "the dwelling (JE).

¹⁸ Based on the Latin translation of Targum Onkelos (Deut. 33:16), "cujus majestas habitet in coelis" (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 1:861), Mather alludes to the interpretation of *shekinah* as "[He] whose majesty dwells in heaven."

compare Col. 2.9.) Thirdly; A *Good Will* is here ascribed unto the *Messiah*. Of that εὐδοκία, diligently consider, Math. 3.17. and Luk. 2.14.¹⁹

[3889:]

Q. What is there particularly observable in that Clause of the Blessing on *Joseph*, His Glory is like the *Firstling of his Bullock*? v. 17.²⁰

A. His Arrival to the Dignity of *Primogeniture*, & so, a double Portion in the Land of *Canaan*, is intimated. But it is also to be observed, That he is compared unto the *Firstling of HIS Bullock*; because there were not more goodly *Bullocks* any where, than in *Bashan*, [Amos. 4.1.] which fell to the share of the Children of *Menasseh*.²¹

[60v]

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[2885:]

Q. What may be the Import of that Passage, in the Blessing of *Zebulon*, *They shall call the People unto the Mountain, etc.* v. 19.

A. It is here foretold, that they, in their Navigation, their Traffick, and Commerce, would perswade the Heathen, to Respect unto the *Mountain* & the *Temple* of God: And that for to Encourage and Recompense them in so doing, *They should suck of the Abundance of the Sea*, and have their Affairs by *Sea*, abundantly smiled upon.²²

3095.

Q. What were the more special *Treasures Hid in the Sand*, promised unto the *Zebulonites*. v. 19.²³

A. The *Talmuds* do especially reckon Three of those *Treasures*.²⁴ First, There was the *Purple-fish*, a sort of *Shel-fish*, with the Juice whereof they died their *Purple*. Next, There were *Net-Fish*, as we may call them; or, *Fish* in a great Variety,

¹⁹ The Greek εὐδοκία, from the infinitive εὐδοκέω, variously suggests “good pleasure” and “to be well pleased” (Strong’s # 2106).

²⁰ Silently corrected from Mather’s v. 16.

²¹ Patrick, Deut. 33:16 (*Deuteronomy* 662–63). Likening Joseph’s blessing to the glory of a “firstling bullock” is hardly to his dishonor, for Samuel Bochart, in his *Hieroicoicon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 29, cols. 286–90) reminds us that the ancients (notably the Egyptians and Medo-Persian) revered a bullock as an emblem of divine kingship and deity – perhaps most notoriously seen in its anathematization of the Golden [male] Calf (Exod. 32:1–4; Deut. 9:21), in imitation of Apis, the sacred bull of Egypt. See Wilkinson’s *Complete Gods and Goddesses* (170–72).

²² Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (1692), pars 2, lib. 5, cap. 9, col. 722.

²³ Mather’s muse is Bochart (*Hieroicoicon*, cols. 722–23), who also furnishes the Latin quotations and their sources.

²⁴ God promised Zebulon three blessings in response to his complaint that his portion of land consisted of nothing but infertile hills, mountains, lakes, and rivers, whereas his brethren received fruitful fields and vineyards. The Almighty comforted him: “They [Zebulon’s brethren] will all require thee for the hilazon [purple-fish], as it says, and the hidden treasures of the sand,

which they daily took with *Netts* for their Diet. Thirdly, There was the /זכוכית/ לבנה /white, or, clear Glass, whereof they made Vessels of all sorts, which were it not for their Brittleness, would have been more precious than Gold. Jonathan mentions This, *Et ex Arenâ specula educunt, et vasa vitrea*.²⁵ The River *Belus*, was in the Border of *Zebulon*; whereof *Tacitus* ha's this Passage; *Belus amnis Judaico mari illabitur, circâ cujus os conlectæ arenâ admixto Nitro, in Vitrum excoquuntur. Modicum id littus, sed egerentibus inexhaustum*.²⁶ And *Pliny* ha's this Passage; *Rivus Pagida, sive Belus, vitri fertiles Arenas, parvo littori miscens; Ipse è palude Cendevia à Radicibus Carmeli profluit*.²⁷ Glass was first found out, it seems, by certain Merchants kindling a *Fire* on that Shore, with *Nitre*, (for Want of other Materials,) *cum sparsi per littus epulas pararent*.²⁸

[▽ Attachment recto]

[▽]

4132.

Q. We don't count every Allegorical Flourish, that we meet withal, worthy to be thrown into our Heap of *Illustrations*. Yett sometimes we may light upon a very emphatical one, and such an one perhaps, as the Holy Spirit Himself intended we should profitably think upon, when we read His Oracles. As now; when shall the Church enjoy this Blessing, *To suck of the Abundance of the Sea, & of the Treasures hid in the Sand?* v. 19.

A. Reading lately a printed Sermon to *Mariners*, I mett with this Passage in it.

"Christ Himself shall most happily accomplish this Benediction, to the Eternal Purposes of Salvation for His Elect, when the last κέλευσμα shall call up those that *groan under the Waters*, in the Houses of the *Giants*, and *awake them that sleep in the Dust*, to meet *their King in the Air*, to be forever with the Lord. They indeed are the true *Riches of the Deep*, and *Treasures of the Sand*."²⁹

and R. Joseph learnt: 'Hidden' indicates the hilazon; 'treasures' indicates the tunny fish; 'sand' indicates white glass," in Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate Megillah (6a).

²⁵ Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (Deut. 33:19), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (4:387), reads, "and from the [grains of] sand make mirrors and vessels of glass" (*The Targums* 2:678).

²⁶ Says Cornelius Tacitus in his *Historiarum libri quintus*, "The River Belus empties into the Jewish Sea; around its mouth a kind of sand is gathered, which when mixed with soda is fused into glass. The beach is of moderate size, but it furnishes an inexhaustible supply" (*Histories* 5.7.18–21).

²⁷ In his *Naturalis Historia*, Pliny (the Elder) explains, "The River Pagida [Pacida] or Belus, which covers its narrow bank with sand of a kind used for making glass; the river itself flows out of the marsh of Cendebia at the foot of Mount Carmel" (*Natural History* 5.17.75).

²⁸ The elder Pliny adds that sailors from a trading ship once came ashore on this beach and "scattered along the shore to prepare a meal." They discovered the origin of glass when the heated sand turned into a transparent liquid (*Natural History* 36.65.192).

²⁹ The last κέλευσμα is the last summons when "the voice of the archangel will be heard ... and the dead in Christ shall rise first" (1 Thess. 4:6).

“What *Pearls* may we imagine shall then be found in the Deep, & what *Stones* in the Sands, to build up, the *Great City*, the Heavenly *Jerusalem*!”³⁰

[△] [△ Attachment verso blank]

[60v cont.]

[646:]

Q. The Jewes do so Read a Passage, in the Blessing of *Gad*, *In a Portion of the Hidden Lawgiver*; what is the Meaning of it? v. 21.³¹

A. That is, *Moses*, the great Scribe, sais the *Targum*; for, as they suppose the Sepulchre of *Moses* was in the Lot of *Gad*.³²

[2856:]

Q. Why is it said of *Gad*, *He provided the First Part for himself*? v. 21.

A. It may be read, *Gad looked unto himself in the Beginning*. That is to say His Tribe, upon *Israels* first Conquest, on the other Side of *Jordan*, desired his Portion there.³³

[2852:]

Q. Why was it said of *Naphthali*, *Possess thou the West, and the South*? v. 23.

A. I'll give you the Gloss of the *Talmuds* upon it;

“The Rabbins deliver; The Sea of *Tiberias* is the Portion of *Naphthali*; Yea, it takes a full Line for the *Netts*, on the South-Side of it; As it is said, (Deut. 33.23.) *Possess thou the Sea, and the South*.”³⁴ So the *Jerusalem* Writers; “They gave

³⁰ The extract is from *The Treasures of the Sea. A Sermon to the Mariners upon Deut. XXXIII. xviii, xix* (1683), pp. 26–27, 28, by William Thomson (d. 1699), an obscure clergyman of Leigh-on-Sea (Essex). What also comes to mind are *A Token for Mariners* (1708), by the Puritan clergyman James Janeway (1636–1674), whose works were widely admired and imitated. Mather's own *Religious Marriner* (1700) precedes Janeway's own popular homily on the topic by nearly a decade.

³¹ Actually, Deut. 33:20.

³² Patrick (668). בעל הטורים על התורה *Baal HaTurim al HaTorah* (Deut. 33:20) glosses, “In Gad's blessing you will find all the letters of the alphabet. This is because our teacher Moses, of blessed memory, was buried in Gad's portion, for he observed the entire Torah from א [aleph] to ת [tau]”; i. e., from beginning to end (*Baal HaTurim* 5:2219). Theodor Hackspan's *Cabbalae Judaicae Brevis Expositio* (sec. 10, pp. 289–90), appended to his *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum Libri Duo* (1660), is the principal source for Patrick and his epitomizers.

³³ See Patrick (Deut. 33:21), Targum Onkelos, in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:863), and *The Targums* (2:554).

³⁴ Mather's principal source appears to be Samuel Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (1692), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 18, cols. 897–98. The passage in quotation marks is from the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Baba Kama (81b).

to *Naphthali*, a full Line, on the South Coast of the *Sea*, [*That Yee might draw out his Nets,*] as it is said, *Possess the Sea, and the South.*³⁵

[2853:]

Q. But this of *Naphthali* may be a little further spoken to; because there is a geographical Difficulty in it, about which there has been a deal of Puzzle among Interpreters. We know, That *Naphthali* did *possess the North & the East*, rather than *the West & the South*. *Josephus* will sufficiently inform you, how the Tribe lay, in the upper *Galilee*, about the Fountains of *Jordan*?³⁶

A. *Bochart* therefore thinks, that the Term, *South*, here, bears Respect unto the Prophecy just before; *Dan shall leap from Bashan*. That Prophecy was accomplished, when the *Danites* by a strange *Leap*, did possess themselves of *Laish*, a Town about the Fountains, of *Jordan*, & afterwards called it by the Name of *Dan*. In regard of these *Danites* now the *Naphthalites* were to lye unto the *Southward*. But then what we read, *The West*, should be read, *The Sea*; And it means the Sea of *Tiberias*. For from the Town of *Dan*, Southward, even unto that *Sea*, lay the Portion of *Naphthali*.³⁷

[3399:]

Q. How is it said of *Asher*, *Thy Shoes shall be Iron & Brass*? v. 25.

A. The *Arabic* renders it, *Thy Bolts shall be Iron & Brass*.³⁸ *Kimchi* accordingly expounds it, That their Countrey should be as well fenced as if it had been shutt up in *brasen* or *iron* Walls. But the Hebrewes take it in the Sense that *Bochart* gives, *Iron & Brass are under thy Shoe*. *Sarepta*, as *Bochart* shewes, a Town in

35 Mather has in mind the three Aramaic Targumi: Onkelos, Jonathan ben Uzziel, and Hierosolymitanum – all in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:863, 4:388).

36 Josephus Flavius explains to his learned Greco-Roman audience, "The Naphthalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the Upper Galilee, unto Mount Libanus, and the Fountains of Jordan, which rise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighboring city of Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins" (*Antiquities* 5.1.22).

37 Bochart, *Hieroicoicon* (1693), pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 18, cols. 897–98. This geographical difficulty is solved in John Selden's *Mare clausum seu* (1635), lib. 1, cap. 6, pp. 21–22, where this most learned Anglican of English rabbis argues that the confusion arises because the Chaldee Paraphrasts employ the Hebrew term יָם [yam] i.e., "west" (Deut. 33:23) to designate the Sea of Tiberias, i.e., Genesaret, but also more indiscriminately, "sea, Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, Dead Sea, and Sea of Galilee" (Strong's # 3220). As Patrick explains, "the Hebrews call great Lakes by the name of Seas: and by this Sea, is not meant the Mediterranean; but the Sea of Galilee, or Tiberias or Genesaret" (670).

38 Patrick (671); the Arabic, or rather, the "Versio Arabica cum Interpretatione Latina" (Deut. 33:25) reads, "Ferrum et aes ferae tuae," and Mather supplies the translation.

this Tribe, had its Name from *Iron & Brass* melted there.³⁹ *David Chytræus* long before him, had this Observation, *Sidon et Sarepta, quæ à Metallis excoquendis nomen habet, in Tribu Aser fuerunt*.⁴⁰

[246.]

Q. How translate you that Passage in the Blessing of *Asher*, *As thy Dayes, so shall thy Strength bee?* v. 25.

A. The Original Word is רָחַץ and it may bee translated, *Thy Rest, Thy Peace, Thy Quiet*. This then may bee the Sense of the Blessing, *Quamdiu durabunt Dies tui, duret etiam Quietus status tuus; i. e. Quietam semper agas Vitam*.⁴¹

[124.]

Q. What is meant by, *The Fountain of Jacob?* v. 28.

A. The Off-Spring of *Jacob*; the Waters, or People whereof *Jacob* was the *Fountain*.

It is to bee observed, *Quod semen generationis, in Sacrà Paginâ, quandoque comparetur, cum Aquâ Vivâ; hoc est, ex Fonte, Prosiliente*.⁴² Consider here, that Passage in *Joh. 4.14*. Hence those Words, upon *Reuben*, in *Gen. 49.4*. *unstable as Water*; I read, so Abruptly, *Saltus instar Aquarium*;⁴³ & I putt upon them this Paraphrase; *Reuben*, the Priviledges of the *Primogeniture*, were due indeed unto

³⁹ R. David Kimchi (1160–1235), aka. RaDaK, was a distinguished Hebrew commentator and grammarian of Narbonne (S France). Via Samuel Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* (1693), pars 2, lib. 6, cap. 16, col. 885, lines, 30–36, Mather paraphrases an extract from Kimchi's gloss on Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel (*Deut. 33:25*). Kimchi argues that Targum Jonathan's rendition, "The tribe of Asher will be sound [unalloyed] as iron, and their feet strong as brass in walking on the stony rocks" (*The Targums 2:680*), signifies that "fore ut terra ejus tam munita sit, quam si esset clausa muris abeneis & ferries" ("the gates and land of the same are fortified, and the city walls even with copper and iron"). Thus Bochart believes the ancient city צֶרֶפֶת and צֶרֶפֶת Sarepta (Sidon) (1 Kings 17:9) derived its name from "metalla fundere & conflare," the smelting of metals, or foundry (*Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 6, cap. 16, col. 884, lines 44–46); he says as much in his *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan* (1707), pars 1, lib. 4, cap. 35, col. 303, lines 24–29, that the name of Sarepta, *In medio Sarepta nomen habet ab aeris & ferri fusione, cujus ibi magnum fuisse proventum Hebraei colligunt ex benedictione Aser horum locorum incole, Deut. 33:25. Ferrum & aes sub calceo tuo*."

⁴⁰ David Chytræus's gloss on *Deut. 33:25*, *In Deuteronomium Mosis Enaratio* (1575), p. 714, observes, "Sion and Sarepta, which derive their name from metal smelting, are found in the [land] of the tribe of Asher."

⁴¹ Mather here adopts the accommodated explication of the obscure Hebrew noun רָחַץ [dobe'ka] (*Deut. 33:25*) "strength, rest" (Strong's # 1679) from August Pfeiffer's *Dubia Vexata Scripturae Sacrae* (1699), Centuria Secunda, Locus XLIII. Vita quieta Aseris (*Deut. 33:25*), pp. 320–21: "As long as your days last, so shall be your state of rest, that is, always spend your life peacefully." See also Johann Heinrich Hottinger's *Smegma Orientale* (1658), lib. 1, cap. 7, p. 138.

⁴² Lat: "This seed of the generation, on the holy page, whenever it is secured with living water, this is from the source springing forward."

⁴³ Lat.: "eject the likeness of your water [semen]."

thee; but I remember, *Turpem illum, et lascivum Aquarum tuarum Saltum, quo factum, ut fontis instar, eo in loco Aquas tuas* (Semen) *effuderis quo non oportebat.*⁴⁴ – And indeed, the Word פֶּחֶן there used, is in the Syrian Dialect, of a *Lascivious* Importance. See the Syriac Version of Eph. 4.19. Well; For this Cause the Jewes are called in Isa. 48.1. *Those that are come forth out of the Waters of Judah.* Compare also, Isa. 51.1. Thus, in Psal. 68.26. I read it, *Bless the Lord, Yee that are of the Fountain of Israel;* that is, His Posterity.⁴⁵

[3641:]

Q. That Clause, *A People saved by the Lord;* Give a Jewish Gloss upon it, but of a Christian Strain? v. 29.

A. R. Isaac saies, (in his *Chissuk Emuna*), That the Christians tell them, their Minds are wholly fixed on a corporal Fælicity; but he shewes our Mistake; for he saies, The Clause here before us imports the Spiritual Blessings of God; He saies, True Fælicity does not consist in Victory over Enemies, & Plenty of Corn, & such like things, which are before spoken of; but in the *Salvation* of the Soul, of which no nation in the World were secure, but the *Jewes*; which made *Moses* to say, *who is like unto thee?*⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Lat.: “There you have poured out that shameful and wanton leap of your waters, by which it is made like a fountain, you have poured out your seed in a place where you ought not.”

⁴⁵ This paragraph is extracted from *Sacrarum Observationum Libri Duo* (Franequæ, 1689), cap. 12, pp. 165, 166, 167, by Campegius Vitringa, Sr. (1659–1722), Dutch Reformed professor of Oriental languages at Franeker and voluminous author. The Latin passages read, *Quod semen generationis, in Sacrà Paginâ, quandoque comparetur, cum Aquâ Vivâ; hoc est, ex Fonte, Prosiliente. Turpem illum, et lascivum Aquarum tuarum Saltum, quo factum, ut fontis instar, eo in loco Aquas tuas* (Semen) *effuderis quo non oportebat.*

⁴⁶ Patrick (675); R. Isaac ben Abraham of Troki, יצחק בן אברהם, ספר חזקת אמונה אשר חבר יצחק בן יעקב [Sepher Hizzuq 'Emunah] *Liber Munimen Fidei*, pars 1, cap. 18, in Johann Christoph Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* (2:157–58, 162–63, 166), is here summoned to elevate the spirit above matter, a fixed point in both religions.

Q. On Mount *Nebo*, and *Pisgah*? v. 1.¹

A. It is plain, that *Nebo* and *Pisgah*, were One Mountain.

And *Pisgah* was either the *Top* of the Mountain, or else a Part where Steps were *cutt out* for to go up into it.

The Word being derived from a Root, that signifies, *To Elevate*, it may mean, the most *Elevated* Parts of the Mountain, or the *Top* of it.

But *Eusebius* ha's observed, That *Aquila* all along renders *Pisgah* by a Word that signifies, *cutt-out*; And so do the LXX. It is therefore conjectured, that in one Part of Mount *Nebo*, there were Steps *cutt out*, so that one might go up, with less of Difficulty; And this Part was peculiarly called, *Pisgah*.²

Eusebius & *Jerom* tell us, That a Part of this Ridge of Mountains, which were seen as one went up from *Livias* to *Esbu*, or *Heshbon*, did in their time retain the old Name of *Abarim*. They tell us also, that the Part particularly called, *Nebo*, was over against *Jericho*, not far from *Jordan*, and Six Miles from *Esbu* to the West. And they tell us, that as there was a City of *Reuben* called *Nebo*, probably from this Mountain, so theirs was a City of the *Amorites* called, *Pisgah*: Tho' in the Bible; the Name ha's an Addition, [Josh. XIII.20.] *Ashdodh-Pisgah*, and it was also among the Cities of *Reuben*.³

[3992:]

Q. Tis said of *Moses*, *His Natural Force was not abated*? v. 7.⁴

A. He had all the Vigour of Youth remaining. Some of the Ancients interpret it; There was not so much as a Wrinkle in his Cheeks; Others of them, He had not lost so much as a Tooth out of his Mouth. Both *Onkelos*, and the *Jerusalem*

1 As in Mather's volume on Genesis (BA 1:847), Edward Wells, D. D. (1667–1727), an Anglican clergyman and Rector of Cotesbach, supplies Mather with his hands-on geographical detail from *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711), vol. 2, ch. 2, sec. 6, § 9, pp. 153–54 (ODNB), to settle the ambiguity and identity of the two most prominent mountain tops of the Trans-Jordan Plateau, NE of the Dead Sea.

2 Wells (2:153–54). Eusebius Pamphilus, in his *Onomasticon* (p. 16, lines 24–26; and p. 20, line 7) invokes Aquila of Sinope (fl. 130 CE), the famous Greek proselyte to Judaism and translator of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, who variously renders Mt. Pisgah and Mt. Nebo as Φασγώ, Ναβαν, and Αβαρείμ (Abarim) (Deut. 32:49) – designations frequently used interchangeably. Mather's reference to the steps cut out of the mountain appears to be based on the Hebrew phrase ראש הפסגה (Deut. 3:27), which the LXX renders κορυφή τοῦ ἐλαττεύμενου or “top of the cut mountain” (CBTEL).

3 Wells (2:154); St. Jerome, *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis* [PL 023.0843], voce: Fasga (Pisgah).

4 Simon Patrick (*Commentary* 687–88) is the source for Mather's extract in the following paragraphs.

Targum, refer it unto the Splendor of his Countenance, which continued unto the Last.⁵

From hence it was, that the Heathen, who were not wholly unacquainted with the Story, imagined, That *Moses* was troubled to Dy, while he was yett so vigorous. For *Trebellius Pollio*, in the Life of *Claudius*, tells us, That the most learned Mathematicians were wont to say, That no Man lived beyond an Hundred & Twenty Years.⁶ For tho' *Moses* lived an Hundred & five & twenty Years (thus he mistakes,) being *Dei, ut Judæorum libri loquuntur, familiaris*; yett he complaining, that *Iuvenis interiret*, he died a Young Man, they say, he was told by an uncertain God, that no Man should ever live longer.⁷

This Mistake arose from their Misinterpretation of those Words, [Gen. 6.3.] *Yett his Dayes shall be an hundred & twenty Years*. *Huetius* well observes, That this *Incertus Deus* was the true God, the Creator of Heaven & Earth; whom our Apostle sais they called, *The Unknown God*.⁸

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[3993:]

[61v]

Q. *The Children of Israel wept for Moses*. Is there any Difference between *Weeping* and *Mourning*? v. 8.

A. The Jewes have a Tradition, of a Difference between them.

They add, That the Dayes of *Weeping* did never exceed a Month; but the Dayes of *Mourning* sometimes lasted a Twelvemonth; as, for their famous R. *Judah*, who composed the *Mischna*.⁹

⁵ Targum Onkelos and Targum Hierosolymitanum (Deut. 34:7), in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:865; 4:389): "his eye had not dimmed, neither was the radiance [glory] of his face changed" (*The Targums* 2:556; 684). See also Bochart's *Hieroicozon* (pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 45, col. 506, lines 21ff).

⁶ Deut. 34:7: "And Moses was an hundred and twentie yeeres old when he died" (KJV).

⁷ The celebrated French scholar and bishop of Soissons Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), in his *Demonstratio Evangelica ad serenissimum Delphinum* (1690), prop. 4, sec. 57, col. 67(a), supplies Patrick (687–688), and thus Mather, with this extract and Latin quote from Trebellius Pollio (fl. late 4th c. CE), one of the six Roman historians of the *Augustae Historiae Scriptores*. In his biography *Divus Claudius* (cap. 2, line 4) on Claudius II Gothicus, aka. Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Claudius Augustus (c. 214–270 CE), Trebellius Pollio invokes learned astrologers who argue that six scores – and no more – are allotted to the life of man. Not even Moses, the sole "friend of God, as he is called in the books of the Jews," so the magi war-rant, was granted a longer life, for the Hebrew Lawgiver lamented that "he died young [in his prime]," in *Life of Claudius* (2.4).

⁸ Huet, *Demonstratio* (col. 67b) reassures us that this "Unknown God" is the true one. See also St. Paul's address in the Athenian Areopagus (Acts 17:23).

⁹ Patrick (*Deuteronomy* 688) draws on Wilhelm Schickard's משפט המלך [*Mishpat Hamel-ech*] *Jus Regium Hebraeorum* (1625), cap. 6, theor. 19, pp. 158–59. The celebrated R. Yehudah HaNasi יהודה הנשיא aka. Judah the Prince (c. 135–217 CE), compiled and redacted the Mishnah (Jewish oral traditions). The year-long mourning period for the dead (Jahrzeit), to which Mather refers, is not mentioned in the Mishnah, but in Soncino Babylonian Talmud, tractate

[3894:]

Q. Can we certainly gather the præcise Time, when *Moses* died?

A. Yes. If to the *Thirty Dayes* of Weeping for *Moses*, we add the *Three Dayes*, in which the Spies lay hid in the Mountain; and allow three or four Dayes more for their going & coming back; and then add, the *Three Dayes* they lay by *Jordan*, before their passing over; they make just a Month and Ten Dayes, from the First Day of the last Month, when we may suppose that *Moses* died, unto the Day they gott safe over *Jordan*, which was the *Tenth* Day of the First Month.

The *Midrash Rabba*, telling the Story of *Hamans* casting Lotts, to find the best Time, to do Execution upon the Jewes, tells us, He pitched on the Month *Adar*, because it had been unlucky unto the Jewes, by the Death of their Master *Moses* in it. But he did not consider, saies the *Midrasch*, That as *Moses* died on the first Day of this Month, so he was born on the same first Day.¹⁰

Kethuboth (103b), where R. Judah is quoted, saying, "For thirty days they mourned both day and night [for Moses], subsequently they mourned in the day-time and studied at night or mourned at night and studied during the day, until a period of twelve months of mourning [had passed]." On HaNasi, see A. Carlebach, *R. Judah Ha-Nasi, His Life and Times* (1953); and A. Oppenheimer, *Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi: Statesman, Reformer, and Redactor of the Mishnah* (2017).

¹⁰ According to Esth. (3:7), Haman, King Ahasuerus's vizier, cast lots "in the first moneth (that is, the moneth Nisan) in the twelfth yeere of king Ahasuerus, they cast Pur, that is, the lot, before Haman, from day to day, and from moneth to moneth, to the twelfth moneth, that is the moneth Adar." According to Jewish tradition, Moses was born on the 7th of Adar and died on the same day 120 years later, but the rabbis are not entirely agreed on the exact date. As the Talmud renders it, "Moses died on the seventh of Adar [the twelfth month] and was born on the seventh of Adar" (Sotah 12b). And yet, Midrash Rabbah Esther (VII:11), insists that "on the first day of Adar Moses died and on the first of Adar he was born." The Talmud, tractate Kiddushin (38a), approaches this question in a more calculated fashion: "How do we know that he [Moses] died on the seventh of Adar? For it is written: [i] So Moses the servant of the Lord died there [Deut. 34:5]; [ii] And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days [Deut. 34:8]; [iii] Moses the servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over [this Jordan]; [iv] Pass through the midst of the camp, and command the people, saying: Prepare you victuals; for within three days ye are to pass over this Jordan [Josh 1:2, 11]; and [v] and the people came up out of Jordan on the tenth day of the first month [Josh. 4:19]; deduct [from the 10th of Nissan] the preceding thirty three days, and thus you learn that Moses died on the seventh of Adar. And how do we know that he was born on the seventh of Adar? – For it is said: And he [Moses] said unto them, I am an hundred and twenty years old this day, I cannot more go out and come in [Deut. 31:2]. Now, 'this day' need not be stated; why then is it stated? It teaches that the Holy One, blessed be He, sits and completes the years of the righteous [exactly] from day to day and month to month, as it is said, the number of thy days I will fulfil [Exod. 23:26]."

Q. A Remark on *Moses's* Burial? v. 12.¹¹

A. Tis Dr. *Lightfoot*. *Moses* is buried by CHRIST; who is to Bury His Ceremonies.¹²

11 In his "Note-Book of Authors and Texts" (Deut. 34), Mather recommends the same primary reference works on Deuteronomy he lists at the end of Numbers (see above).

12 The great Puritan Hebraist and biblical scholar, John Lightfoot (1602–1675), stands out for his many publications on the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, most famously his *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1658), which went through numerous expansions and editions. In his *Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts of the Old Testament* ("Deuteronomy," note 9), Lightfoot tries to resolve the question of how Moses could have written about his own death, burial, and loss of his tomb by subsequent generations: "And hee buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre unto this day" (Deut. 34:6, KJV). Lightfoot's contemporaries – among them Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan* [1651], part 3, ch. 33, pp. 200–202), Benedict Spinoza (*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [1670], cap. 8), and Richard Simon (*Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* [1678], lib. 1, ch. 5–7) – pointed to this and other passages in the Pentateuch to argue that Moses, at best, wrote only parts of the books that bear his name, and that public scribes and later redactors edited the Torah as time and circumstances arose over the centuries. Far from being defensive about such radical claims, Lightfoot agrees that, in this case at least, the concluding chapter of Deuteronomy was added by someone else. Yet by offering a Christological allegorical interpretation of Moses' death and burial, Lightfoot deflects attention from the underlying issue of authorship and points to the abrogation of the Mosaic ceremonial rites in Christ: "The last Chapter of the Book was written by some other than *Moses*" Lightfoot avers, "for it relateth his death, and how he was buried by the Lord, that is by *Michael*, *Jude* 9. or *Christ*, who was to bury *Moses Ceremonies*," *The Works of John Lightfoot* (1684) 1:39. Mather himself is far from closed-minded on the textual changes to the Holy Scriptures. For instance, in his gloss on John 21:1 (*BA*, vol. 8), he addresses the issue head-on:

"Q. Who might probably be the writer of the Last Chapter of *John*? v. 1.

A. It seems plain to [Hugo] *Grotius* [*Annotationes in NT* (1641–50), in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1679) 2:571] That the Last Words written by *John*, were those which conclude the foregoing Chapter. Hee thinks, That as the Last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and the Last Chapter of *Joshua*, were [*] by the *Sanedrim* added [***] unto the Books, after the Death of those who wrote the rest, so the Last Chapter of *John*, was added unto the Gospel of *John*, after his Death, {by} the Church of *Ephesus*. And probably, they made this Addition, that they might give an Account concerning the *Oracle* of our Lord, about the Death of that Apostle, and correct the mistakes, which had spread among the Christians, about the Sense of that *Oracle*." See also my discussion in *BA* (1:131–44).

Appendix A: Cancellations

As discussed in my “Note on the Text and Editorial Principles” (*BA* 1:204 # 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 his textual emendations in the holograph MS consists of false starts or light stylistic revisions of phrases. For a complete record, readers should consult the readily accessible microfilm copies or the holograph MS at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The enumeration on the left margin (below) signifies the location, page, and line references in the *edited* volume where the cancellation occurs.

Exod. 3

[130 7.] Mather cancels the following Q. & A. with a ~~striketrough~~ :
Q. What was ye Mystery exhibited unto Moses in the Burning Bush? v. 2.
A.

[150 19.] Two sequential paragraphs (Q. & A.) are cancelled with a ~~striketrough~~:

Q. On that Clause, *They will not hearken to my Voice?* v. 13

A. Dr. Gell takes notice of a special Emphasis in the Hebraisms, They will not hear in my Voice. There is an Inward Word convey’d in the Outward Voice. Men are not sensible many times, who speaks to them, when the Messengers of God utter their Voice. They don’t Hearken to God in the Voice.

Our Saviour said, He that heareth God, heareth me.

Anselm had a Saying, Aliud est verbum, aliud est Vox.

698.

Q. Whom did Moses mean, when hee expostulated with the Lord, Send, I pray thee, by the Hand of him, whom thou wilt send! v. 13.

A. I suspect, That hee meant, The Messiah; Hee despaired of seeing \any\ his People saved, until the Promised Messiah should appear to save them.

Exod. 11

[188 9.] can by ~~no means alive be Sought out Perfection.~~ the *Searching*

Exod. 12

[192 18.] *Evening Sacrifice.* ~~That likewise Joseph is, treating of the Passeeover~~

If it bee

[209 2.] *Israelites,* ~~above ye Age of Twenty,~~ able to go

Exod. 16

[243 1.] an *Omer,* ~~about Three pints & cons Had fs of our same food~~
something

Exod. 21

[291 10.] Purpose; ~~as it is probable~~ thus *Lycurgus*

Exod. 24

[333 32.] *The* ~~Glory of the Lord~~ *Cloud covered it.*

Exod. 25

[345 12.] Fate of the *Tabernacle.* My Witsius has not here offered this History [Hint ... us], but I wish it were well pursued; perhaps I may elsewhere expand a little more upon it.

Exod. 28

[387 14.] *High-Priest,* ~~who had ye Names of ye Tribes engraven upon them~~
great Numbers

Exod. 32

- [423 6.] *Molten Calf*, ~~makes the Appellation~~ here
 [426 23.] Mather cancels the following Q. & A. with a strikethrough:
 Q. Aaron tis said, Fashioned ye Golden Calf with a Grinding Tool of what Rush
 A. The Egyptians were stripped.

Lev. 1

- [458 2.] *were* ~~borrow'd~~ fetch'd from

Lev. 9

- [527 22.] *Sacrifices* for the ~~Consecration~~ Initiation of

Lev. 10

- [534 6.] They looked on the Drinking of Wine, to be [***] ~~אֶל־עֵצָאֵשׁ, אֵשׁ~~ An Impediment unto the finding of the Truth, on the *Drinking ...*

Lev. 14

- [577 14.] Mather cancels the following Q. & A. with a strikethrough:
 Q. A Further Touch upon the letting flie of the Bird, as the Cleansing of the Leper?
 A. Kascuni alledges an Ingenious Reason for it; Because the Leper, after having lived solitarily & separately, did now Return to the Society of Men. As the Released Bird is returned into the Air, among the Birds of its Kind.¹

Lev. 16

- [583 9.] *My Incomparably* <The> learned *Spencer*

¹ R. Chizkiyahu ben Rabbi Manoach, *Chizkuni* 3:730, on Lev. 14:5.

Lev. 17

[602 1.] Well, ~~All Sacrifices being now offered~~ The *Command*

Lev. 18

[610. 1.] Mather cancels the following Q. & A. with a strikethrough:

Q. The Prohibition of, Taking a Wife to her Sister, to vex her? v. 18.

A. Many Eminent Writers, [*] following the marginal Reading, [one Wife to another,] conceive, That a Plurality of Wives is expressly forbidden by this Law. And so the Karaites interpret it.]

But it is well known, that as Polygamy was indulged before the Law, so it was after it. And Moses himself supposes it, when he provides, that a Man should not prefer a Child he had by a Beloved Wife, before one by her whom he less esteemed, if he were the Eldest Son. We find expressly, That the Hebrew Kings might have Many Wives, tho' not a Multitude. [Deut. XVII.27.] And the best of their Princes, who readd the Divine Law Day & Night, and could not but understand its Meaning, took many Wives without any Reproof. So far from That, we find God giving more Wives to him than he had before. [2. Sam. XII.9.]

The Meaning therefore is, That tho' Two Wives, or more, at a time, were permitted in those days, yett it was not permitted unto any Man, to take Two Sisters, (as Jacob had formerly done,) whether Legitimates or Illegitimates.

There use to be great Jealousies in Emulations between Wives, which between Two Sisters would have been more Intolerable than between Two other Women; who (as Cunæus remarks) not being of the same Consanguinity, might live more quietly together under the same Husband. Besides, no one would afterwards marry either of the Sisters, being Widows, because they were defiled with such an Impious Conjunction, for which the Husband might by the Law have been cutt off.

Lev. 19

[621 16.] Mather cancels the following Q. & A. with a strikethrough:

Q. Thou shalt not Avenge, nor bear any Grudge, [or thus, Nor be mindful of Wrong] How do the Hebrewes explain these, & the Difference between them? v. 18.

A. They say, To Avenge, is to Deny a good Turn unto one who formerly denied Him. To be mindful of Wrong, is, to Do a good Turn unto one, who formerly

would not do so much for him, but at the doing thereof, to upbraid him with his former Unkindness. They thus illustrate it; when Reuben said unto Simeon, lend me thy Hatchet, he answereth, I will not lend it. Afterward, Simeon upon Occasion saith unto Reuben, lend me thy Hatchet: Reuben saith unto him, I will not lend it, Thou wouldest not lend me thine: This is /נקימה/ Nekima, or, Avengement. Again, Reuben saith unto Simeon, lend me thy Hatchet; he answereth, I will not lend it. Afterward Simeon saith upon Occasion unto Reuben, lend me thy Hatchet; Reuben saith, Lo, I will lend it thee, I will not deal with thee, as thou dealedst with me. This is /נטירה/ Netira, or, Mindfulness. Both of these were sinful; but not liable to Mans Judgment.

[628 28.] Conjunction of an ~~Ox~~ (a *Bull*, I should say, that I may not write *one*, as ye Translation sometimes does) and an *Ass*;

[633 15.] Furnished, from the ~~most exquisitely & Incomparably~~ learned Spencer

Lev. 19

[653 4.] the old English ~~did imprint upon ye Bodies of their Children, a~~
~~totem~~ *Tenellis*

Lev. 27

[779 8.] to our *Abraham*. ~~How old was their~~ Saturn? In what Age

Numb. 7

[843 7.] *sola contingat*. ~~De sacris igitur superorum ait Aeneas: donec me~~
~~flumine vivo;~~ *Aeneas* therefore

Numb. 10

[854 29.] The learned Pen, of ~~ye Incomparable~~ *Spencer*, would

Numb. 11

[857 29.] A. Diodorus *Herodotus* tells us,

Numb. 16

[896 12.] At the beginning of [26v], Mather cancels the Q. & A. paragraph with a strikethrough:

Q. How comes it, there is no mention of On, among ye Accomplices in Corahs Conspiracy? We find him no where but in the First Verse of the Story. What? Was he so Inconsiderable, that no further notice must be taken of him? v. 24.

A. Or, Lett us charitably hope, that he had forsaken ye Conspirators, as Moses wished all the People to do, on which Condition God promised that He would pardon them. [**]

Numb. 19

[902 1.] Help of your ~~incomparably~~ learned *Spencer*,

[904 23.] make his unhappy ~~Schism~~, *Superstition*,

[909 16.] *quinque siclorum*. The ~~Scarlet~~ was a Peece of ~~Rag~~, or ~~Thread~~, as ha's been, commonly thought, but ye Apostle himself informs us in Heb. 9.19. It was a ~~Peece of Wool~~. As for the

[910 6.] *non vendicarint*. ~~Porphry~~, saies, *Ovid* saies,

Numb. 21

[921 1.] Mather cancels the following with a strikethrough:

Q.: Let us look back a little at ye former passages of this Chapter.

[927 11.] recite you ~~the Words~~ Curiositie of ye learned Dr. *Tennison*,

[931 15.] Q.—A further Look, if you please, unto the *Brasen Serpent*? v. 9.

Numb. 22

[941 7.] ~~It is a known story~~ It is evident,

Numb. 24

[959 24.] A Paraphrase of ~~the Acute~~ Mr. *Whiston*,

Numb. 31

[987 6.] along with the Israelites *Midianites*

Numb. 33

[991 7.] guilty in this Apostasy Idolatry.
[993 8.] Q.—~~Favor us, with~~ We will add,

Deut. 3

[1017 5.] Mather cancels the following unidentified couplets (written in an unidentified hand) with a strikethrough:

~~All Athens, here; Sir, Gather to your Part,
But sure that Welch-man needs must find your Art,
Whose Question of Ridicule you bring,
And Boldly show What 'tis to Og a King;
R.H.~~

Deut. 4

[1029 4.] ~~But there are some Great~~ There was no Reason
[1030 14.] *efficaciter adumbrarunt, qui solus merito Bezer audit, hoc est Ter-*
ris munita; jux Bezer signifies
[1032

Deut. 5

[1034 2.] the Difference between us ye Christians and ye Jewes is, about,
the *Names* of the *Trinitie*.
[1032 11.]

Deut. 10

[1070 12.] that the Word ~~here, which we translate,~~ [*Require,*] answers to the
Two latter

Deut. 18

[1096 16.] an Arabian, *Woman*; perhaps a Proselytess of no less *Piety*

Deut. 29

[1216 20.] *Heart, until the Fat Soyl ye wett watered Fatt Earth bee consumed*

[1217 14.] translate it, ~~And it came to be pass,~~ *I shall*

Appendix B: Silent Deletions

Frequently, Mather inserts parenthetical comments or symbols to direct his readers to interpolated MS passages he wishes to relocate to a different chapter or verse. I have inserted these interpolated passages in the places Mather intended but recorded his instructions in Appendix B.

Exod. 3

[140 14.] # # #

Exod. 12

[193 20.] # # #
[194 22.] [o o o]
[195 20.] [o o o]
[196 9.] [a a a] Here insert ye next Leaf.

Exod. 14

[225 13.] [Insert after ye foregoing Leaf.]

Exod. 33

[434 4.] ^^^ [Mather uses three carets at this point as a placeholder for a later insertion. However, no insertion can be found anywhere.]

Lev. 1

[469 4.] [o o o] [Here insert ye next Leaf.]

Lev. 6

- [512 11.] Here insert ye Illustration, on v. 6. from ye next Leaf, pag. 2, col. 1.
 [513 27.] Here insert ye Illustration, on v. 10. from ye next Leaf.

Lev. 19

- [620 3.] Here Insert ye Illustration, on v. 15. # # #

Lev. 26

- [698 12.] [Here insert y Illustration, on v. 24.]

Numb. 15

- [890 25.] [o o o]

Numb. 24

- [959 21.] [Insert ye next Leaf.]

Deut. 6

- [1048 13.] [Here Insert the Illustration that is on the other side.] [a.a.a.]

Deut. 25

- [1165 1.] [Here insert the next Leaf. o. o. o.]

Deut. 28

- [1199 12.] [Here Insert the Two Leaves, that come after the next.]

Deut. 28

[1211 18.] [~~Here insert~~

Deut. 32

[1231 17.] (Infrà)
[1232 5.] [v.[ide] pag. Seq. ###]
[1234 26.] [a. a. a.]

Deut. 33

[1246 8.] [o o o]
[1248 14.] [a a a]

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 - ◆ Works accessible at Harvard College Library during Mather’s life-time, but not necessarily in the same edition (*Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini*. Bostoni, 1723, 1725).
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