

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 Lynce 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. < <a href="http://www.bautz.de/bbkl">www.bautz.de/bbkl</a> >
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> <a href="http://thesaurus.cerl.org/">http://thesaurus.cerl.org/</a>
DB	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i> <a href="http://www.deutsche-biographie.de">http://www.deutsche-biographie.de</a>
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>Encyclopedia 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 (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae)</i>
LXX	<i>Septuaginta</i>
<i>MAM</i>	<i>Manuductio ad Ministerium</i> (Cotton Mather)
N	North, Northern
<i>NCDGRB</i>	<i>New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology 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)
NT	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)
OT	Old Testament
PG	<i>Patrologia Graecae</i> (Migne)
PL	<i>Patrologia Latinae</i> (Migne)
RC	Roman Catholic
S	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>
W	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 BCE<sup>1</sup> (*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).<sup>2</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> James Ussher, *The Annals of the World* (1658), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

## 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

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<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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 *Hierozoicon* (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

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

<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup> 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).



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