



BIBLIA AMERICANA
Cotton Mather

Volume 5: PROVERBS – JEREMIAH

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Jan Stievermann

Cotton Mather, Sr.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 5



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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 5
PROVERBS – JEREMIAH

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Jan Stievermann

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To my family

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List of Abbreviations

ACCS	<i>Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture</i>
ACW	<i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
ANB	<i>American National Biography</i>
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
BA	<i>Biblia Americana</i>
BBK	<i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
BDB	<i>Brown, Driver, and Briggs Hebrew Lexicon</i>
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (Fourth edition)
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
CCSG	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i>
CE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
ESV	<i>English Standard Version</i>
FC	<i>The Fathers of the Church</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
GNO	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i>
HCBD	<i>HarperCollins Bible Dictionary</i>
JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version of the English Bible</i> (1769)
KJV 1611	<i>King James Version of the English Bible</i> (1611)
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
LS	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Liddell & Scott, Ninth edition)
LUT	<i>Die Bibel nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers</i> (1984)
LXX	<i>Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graece</i> (1935)
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
NAU	<i>The New American Standard Bible Updated Edition</i>
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i>
NP	<i>Der Neue Pauly</i>
NPnFi	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series</i>
NPnFii	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series</i>
NT	New Testament
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>

OT	Old Testament
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i>
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Fourth edition)
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
VUL	<i>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i>
WA	<i>Weimarer Ausgabe/Weimar Edition of Martin Luther's Works. Schriften/Werke</i>
WA DB	<i>Weimarer Ausgabe/Weimar Edition of Martin Luther's Works. Deutsche Bibel</i>

PART 1

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Preface

This book contains annotations on the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles (also known as the Song of Songs or Song of Solomon), Jeremiah, and Isaiah, written by the eminent New England theologian and scholar Cotton Mather (1663–1728).¹ The annotations on these five books are part of Mather’s Bible commentary, which he entitled “Biblia Americana: The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament Illustrated.” Mather intermittently worked on this commentary from 1693 to his death, never succeeding in securing the necessary support to publish the extensive manuscript that, in its final form, amounted to more than 4,500 folio pages. Had it been published at the time, the “Biblia” would have been the first comprehensive Bible commentary to be produced in British North America. After the American Revolution, Mather’s heirs bequeathed the manuscript to the Massachusetts Historical Society where it has slumbered in the archives almost untouched for over two centuries. Since 2010, the “Biblia” is now being published as a scholarly edition. Three volumes have been published so far: volume one, *Genesis* (2010, ed. Reiner Smolinski), volume three, *Joshua-Chronicles* (2013, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema), and volume four, *Ezra-Psalms* (2014, ed. Harry Clark Maddux). Although fourth in the sequence of publication, this book thus constitutes volume five of the edition.

The following introductory remarks will be kept relatively brief. While aiming to provide the reader with the information necessary to explore Mather’s commentaries, I also attempt not to overlap too much with what can be found elsewhere. These remarks should be read in dialogue with Reiner Smolinski’s extensive and magisterial “Editor’s Introduction” to volume one of the edition,² as well as with the shorter but also very insightful introductions to volume three and four from Minkema and Maddux, respectively. At the same time, this introduction is in conversation with, and will make frequent reference to, my interpretative monograph *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity: Interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures in Cotton Mather’s Biblia Americana* (2015), which serves as a companion piece to this volume of the edition.

¹ The two standard scholarly treatments of Mather’s life and work are Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1984) and David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord’s Remembrancer 1663–1703* (1978).

² Reiner Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 1:1–210).

The introduction to volume one gives a detailed account of the “Biblia Americana” project in the context of Mather’s life. It also presents the manuscript’s development through its several phases of composition and explains the reasons for Mather’s ultimate failure to have it published. Besides examining a number of topics specific to the Genesis commentary, Smolinski also offers an excellent discussion of the main characteristics and sources of the “Biblia” against the backdrop of the history of biblical interpretation during the early Enlightenment and the contemporary market for scriptural commentaries. To this broader picture painted by Smolinski, Minkema and Maddux have added many details and new facets specific to their sections of the manuscript, which have additionally enriched our understanding of the “Biblia” as a whole.³ So has the collection of essays on Cotton Mather and the “Biblia Americana” (2010), in which I also offer an overview of the “Biblia” project and its significance.⁴ Readers looking for general background information and a first orientation on the history and nature of the “Biblia” are referred to these publications. That which is presented in the second part of this introduction about the composition process and the sources employed by Mather is, for the most part, only concerned with the part of the manuscript covered by this volume.

My interpretative conclusions are laid out in detail in the monograph *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, which grew from my editorial work on the materials contained in volume five. Especially in its first part it seeks to address some of the larger questions that have arisen from Mather’s commentaries on the Hebrew Bible. The other parts of the book are primarily focused on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, but also make a consistent effort to move from the specific to the more general. Based on close readings of examples from volume five, the book discusses some of the overarching themes and underlying issues in the “Biblia” commentaries on the Old Testament, the methods and approaches that Mather employs, as well his responses to and interventions in the larger theological and scholarly debates of his time. In many respects, the monograph therefore speaks directly to volume five of the edition. It examines in detail Mather’s annotations on the biblical books covered in volume five and discusses specific subjects or hermeneutical problems that figure prominently here. At the same time, it attempts a first synthesis and overall appraisal of Mather’s engagement with the Hebrew Bible in the history of the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament. Moreover, some reflections are offered in this context on the ways in which the findings from the “Biblia” so far challenge the established views of Mather and American Puritanism more generally. For anyone interested in probing the deeper signifi-

³ Kenneth P. Minkema, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 3:1–80); Harry Clark Maddux, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 4:1–80).

⁴ Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann, eds., *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America’s First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal* (2010).

cance of Mather's annotations on the wisdom books, Canticles, and Jeremiah and Isaiah, it is recommended that they read the book alongside volume five. However, to ensure that this volume can also be used independently, a distillation of those findings will be presented in section one of this introduction.

Before we go there, it seems helpful to say a few words about how the commentaries covered in this volume relate to each other and to Mather's other commentaries on the Hebrew Bible. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Jeremiah, and Isaiah do not constitute a natural whole in either the Jewish or Christian traditions of ordering the canon. Mather's commentaries on these books came to be subsumed in one volume for organizational and editorial rather than historical reasons. In the Tanakh, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles belong to the third and final section of the *Ketuvim* ("Writings"). Proverbs (with Psalms and Job) belongs to the subsection of the Writings which is called *Sifrei Emet* ("Books of Truth"). Ecclesiastes or Koheleth and the Song of Solomon (with Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther) are grouped under the *Hamesh Megillot* ("The Five Scrolls"). In the Old Testament, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are commonly grouped together with Psalms and Job as belonging to the "wisdom books," while Canticles has always been regarded as *sui generis* in the Christian tradition. Within these larger groupings of the canon, both Jewish and Christian exegetes in Mather's day generally understood Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles as being tied together not just by their overarching theme of moral and spiritual instruction but also by their common Solomonic authorship. For these reasons, Mather's contemporaries often approached them together and published commentaries that contained annotations on more than one of them. Mather himself clearly worked on the three "Solomonic books" during the same periods of time and did the bulk of entries in the same rounds of annotations.

The books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles thus would have formed an interpretative unit but had no special connection to the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah. According to both Jewish and Christian traditions, Isaiah and Jeremiah not only belong to a different section of Scripture: the *Nevi'im Aharonim* ("Latter Prophets") of the Tanakh and the "Major Prophets" of the Old Testament. They are also, at least *prima facie*, concerned with quite different subjects, centered on God's particular relationship and dealings with Israel during specific parts of its history and, from a Christian point of view, the new covenant with the church and the promises of Christ (Isaiah often being called the "Fifth Gospel"). Within the larger groupings of prophetic writings, Jewish and Christian exegesis traditionally saw close affinities between Isaiah and Jeremiah, not only because of their special eminence but also because of their assumed succession as God's foremost prophets before the Babylonian exile. Just as many scholars before Mather had written commentaries on both Isaiah and Jeremiah, he too seems to have viewed the two prophets as being in close conversation with each other, even though he clearly gave priority to Isaiah. He appears to have gone

back and forth between the respective sections of the “Biblia” when making his annotations.

This volume thus comprises five biblical books that can be grouped into two interpretative units of sorts, but which in many ways are very different from each other in terms of genre, subject matter, and historical context. For Mather, both units and each book came with particular questions, interpretative challenges, and debates attached to them, which will be briefly surveyed in section one. As I will also argue, however, the two units are very much connected in Mather’s interpretative practice by certain overarching themes and underlying issues. They, in the final analysis, all revolve around the struggle over how to maintain or modify the Christian view of the Hebrew Bible as the Old Testament in the face of a growing awareness of the historicity of the Scriptures. All of these overarching themes and underlying issues are thus broadly relevant as well for Mather’s annotations on the other books of the Old Testament. Because the three Solomonic books and the two major prophets provide such a wide cross-section from the Hebrew Scriptures in terms of genre, subject matter, and historical context, many of these issues are also addressed in other volumes of the “Biblia.”

Mather’s commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, for instance, have much in common with those on Jobs and Psalms (*BA 4*) in how they conceptualize the spiritual wisdom of the Hebrew Scriptures in relation to the Christian gospel. But Mather’s Christian understanding of Solomonic wisdom also owes much to his interpretation of the figure of Solomon in the commentaries on the books of Chronicles and Kings (*BA 3*). In contrast to the prophetic writings, the authorship of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (traditionally ascribed to Solomon) was already hotly debated at the time, which links these commentaries to those on Job, Psalms, and especially the Pentateuch, whose provenance was similarly discussed by Mather and his contemporaries (*BA 1*). Furthermore, Mather’s annotations on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and in particular on Canticles considerably intersect with those on Job and Psalms in how they struggle to reconcile traditional forms of prefigurative exegesis, specifically allegory, and pious christocentric applications with the new attention to the historicity of the Hebrew Scriptures. Mather’s commentaries on Canticles also showcase his use of a historico-prophetic approach to parts of the Hebrew Bible that were not prophetic writings in the narrower sense of the term. This, too, is something that we see repeatedly in the sections on Job and Psalms.

In turn, Mather’s commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah have much in common with his commentaries on the other Old Testament prophets. They contain the essence of his theology of substitution and his conceptualization of the relationships between law and gospel, the old and new covenant, and between the natural, ethnic Israel and the new spiritual Israel of the church. They illustrate Mather’s understanding of Christ’s pre-incarnate presence in ancient Jewish

history, as well as his heavy involvement in the debate over prophetic evidence and his prioritization of prophecy as the essential historical tie between Old and New Testament. They show how Mather, in response to historical critics, worked out a hermeneutics of multiple fulfillments. Moreover, the annotations on Isaiah and Jeremiah reveal his strong investment in a specific form of premillennialist eschatology informed by a radical literalism. All of these are consistent themes in the sections on Daniel, Ezekiel, and also the minor prophets, which will be covered in volume six of the “Biblia.” Mather’s frequent discussion of the latter-day events in quasi-scientific terms is also connected to his similarly oriented discussion of the beginning of the world in the Genesis commentary.

This present volume should therefore open up many potential avenues for further comparative, cross-canonical studies of Mather as an Old Testament exegete. Pursuing these avenues will hopefully pave the way for even more comprehensive appraisals of his work as a biblical interpreter as the edited volumes of the New Testament commentaries are published. Even on its own, however, volume five stands as a monument to a scholarly theologian who was more widely read in the period’s most astute biblical scholarship than most of his ministerial colleagues in British North America at the time and for a long time afterwards.⁵ He was also more courageous in engaging with the arguments put forth by skeptical voices. Long before such concerns became more widespread among New England theologians, he was dealing with questions of authorship, historical transmission, and the integrity of the biblical texts. As one of the very first theologians of the British colonies, he pondered the quintessentially modern questions surrounding the Christian Bible and its relation to the Hebrew Scriptures – questions which continue to preoccupy those who seek to harmonize academic inquiry with a traditionalist faith. Mather himself was fully convinced that his “Biblia” offered just such a harmonization and effectively defended the authority and integrity of the canon as well as the basic legacy of seventeenth-century Reformed theology.

5 Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) is the only other colonial minister whose biblical exegesis was of comparable breadth and depth. On Edwards’s exegetical work, see Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (2002); and Douglas A. Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete: Biblical Interpretation and Anglo-Protestant Culture on the Edge of the Enlightenment* (2015).

Section 1

Main Issues and Topics

On the most fundamental level, the commentaries contained in this volume show Cotton Mather's struggle to read the Hebrew Bible as Christian Scripture in ways that he thought were intellectually justifiable as a highly educated scholar and which also felt satisfying and nurturing as a devout believer.¹ In Mather's period, the traditional Christian understandings of the Hebrew Bible, including its prophetic and, more broadly prefigurative character, had come under growing pressure from new forms of biblical criticism.² These forms were simultaneously informed by and contributing to a rising awareness of what we today would call the historicity of the Scriptures. The term, on the one hand, implies intensified scrutiny of the history of the scriptural texts as texts, that is, of their original composition, provenance, transmission, and canonization. On the other hand, and more importantly, the term implies heightened attention to the ways in which the contents of the Bible are inextricably tied into their particular moments in history, shaped or even determined by their original cultural and communicative contexts, and thus to the human dimension of Scripture. Many different intellectual developments contributed to this awareness. Among them was the rise of the natural sciences that were giving birth to a new understanding of the universe. This new understanding at many

¹ I borrow this phrase from the title of Brevard S. Childs's book *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture* (2004).

² The best recent history of biblical interpretation in the early modern period can be found in the two volumes of Henning Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Band III: Renaissance, Reformation, Humanismus* (1997) and *Band IV: Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (2001). For good general discussions of the important developments in the history of biblical interpretation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Richard A. Muller, "Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (1998); Gerald T. Sheppard, "Biblical Interpretation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (1998); and Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (2005). For the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament in particular, a wealth of knowledge is provided by the essays in Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (2008). Hans-Joachim Kraus's *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (1969), pp. 7–103, is still very helpful, if somewhat dated in its theological assessments. This is even truer for Ludwig Diestel's *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (1869), pp. 317–554, which nevertheless contains many useful insights.

points proved hard to reconcile with cosmological notions to be found in the Scriptures, and thereby worked to distance the biblical worldview from a self-consciously modern outlook. The sheer growth of knowledge about ancient history and civilizations, triggered by the recovery of textual corpora since the Renaissance, was also a significant factor.³

Most directly, however, this rising awareness of historicity appears as an outgrowth of the ways in which post-Reformation Protestant exegesis, especially Reformed and Arminian exegesis, had increasingly combined its prioritization of the literal sense with a humanistic hermeneutics. Besides philological analysis, this made inquiries into authorial intention and the original historical-communicative contexts the key to determining the meaning of scriptural texts. By the mid-seventeenth century some Reformed scholars, notably the Dutch Arminian Hugo Grotius (see section two), had already found such inquiries leading them to debate freely the soundness of many of the standard ways of finding Christ in the Hebrew Scriptures, because they appeared to disregard the religious and cultural particularity, that is the “Jewishness,” of texts and what these would have intended to communicate to their original audience in their specific historical situations.⁴ Grotius’s *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644) is of crucial importance to the “Biblia” project and influences the entries of this volume at every turn.⁵ Although Mather had a grudging respect for Grotius’s scholarship, he regarded many of its results and implications as eminently dangerous and worked to defuse their explosive potential. In more than one way, the “Biblia” does in fact appear as an attempt to formulate a convincing answer to Grotius and those contemporary intellectuals, such as Benedict de Spinoza (Baruch Spinoza, 1632–1677),⁶ who were pushing the historical-contextual approach to ever more radical conclusions. As he started his project in the 1690s, in Mather’s mind this alarming trend was probably most prominently embodied by Jean LeClerc (Johannes Clericus, 1657–1736), whose writings not only challenged the predominant understanding of the inspiration and authorship of the biblical texts but also the role of some of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Christian canon.⁷

3 On the notion of the historical revolution of the seventeenth century, see Amos Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (1986); and Klaus Scholder, *The Birth of Modern Critical Theology* (1990).

4 Grotius and his followers were thus frequently attacked by their critics (including Mather) for what was perceived as his “Judaizing” tendencies. The term “Judaizer” was applied “to Christians who consciously or unconsciously interpret an Old Testament passage after the fashion of the Jews. Usually this entails seeking an immediate historical reference to a prophecy deemed messianic by Christian tradition.” Childs, *The Christian Struggle*, p. 233.

5 The *Annotationes* were subsequently incorporated into the *Opera omnia theologica* (1679), from which I also cite. The best recent general treatments of Grotius as an exegete are by Henning Graf Reventlow in his *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Band III*, pp. 211–25.

6 On Mather’s engagement with Spinoza, see Reiner Smolinski, “Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather’s Response to the European Spinozists” (2006).

7 LeClerc’s most influential work was *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur*

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