

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

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ISBN 978-3-16-154266-4

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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

Printed in Germany.

To my family

Acknowledgments

This volume has been one massive stone to push uphill. It took many years and a group of very dedicated people to finally get it to the top. First and foremost, credit is due to my associate editors, Paul S. Peterson and Michael Dopffel, and to my editorial assistants, Helen K. Gelinas and Angelika Nemeč. Helen and Michael were fellow laborers in creating the transcripts from the microfilm images. I'm particularly grateful to Michael, who became amazingly skillful with deciphering Mather's handwriting and was a trusted companion in the process of collating the transcriptions against the manuscript at the MHS. Paul took a central role in translating and annotating the Hebrew and Greek citations, as well as in tracking down many of the sources. I also benefitted much from his great theological expertise in composing the explanatory footnotes and the introduction. My thanks also go to Dennis Hannemann and Christoph Hammann who provided indispensable further help with rendering into comprehensible English the lengthy and often difficult Latin citations. (Dennis and Paul, I will always fondly remember the many evenings spent in the *Schöne Aussichten* debating the fine points in the translation of some obscure early modern Latin source!) Angelika Nemeč deserves special praise for her endurance and accuracy in searching out titles, editions, and *loci*, as well as in preparing the bibliography. Finally, Ryan Hoselton deserves a big thank you for his work on the index. The introduction was much improved by Paul S. Peterson, Daniel Silliman, and Jennifer Adams-Massmann. I'm especially obliged to Jennifer's careful reading. The edition of this volume truly has been a great team effort. But all remaining errors or oversights are, of course, mine.

So much help would not have been possible without the extensive financial support from different institutions. In support of this editorial project, I received two very generous research grants, first from the Landesstiftung Baden-Württemberg (2008–2010) and then from the German Research Foundation (2010–2013). My sincere gratitude is owed to these two institutions. Moreover, both my *alma mater*, the University of Tübingen, and my new academic home, Heidelberg University, have been very supportive throughout. I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to both of these wonderful centers of learning. I also want to acknowledge my deep appreciation for the many ways in which first the Abteilung für Amerikanistik in Tübingen and then the Theologische Fakultät in Heidelberg and the Heidelberg Center for American Studies have backed this

project. I also wish to thank the staff of the MHS, in particular Peter Drummey, for their gracious hospitality.

Over the years I have greatly profited from the insights of many individual colleagues and friends, too many to mention them all. Chief among these was Reiner Smolinski, the *spiritus rector* of the “Biblia” project, on whose profound knowledge of everything Mather I was always able to draw. The works of my fellow editors have also been sources of inspiration and of practical information for me on many occasions. Finally, I wish to thank my wife Juliane for patiently putting up with the specter of Mather in our house for so long.

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List of Abbreviations

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

Thus, in Mather's day the standards of biblical criticism, at least in some intellectual circles, were changing. There was a new, emerging ideal of independent judgment informed by autonomous reason and textual and historical evidence, regardless of whether such judgments put the critic at odds with tradition, even with the most fundamental teachings about the Bible and Christian faith. This move was then vigorously and self-consciously made by early eighteenth-century freethinkers and Deists such as John Toland (1670–1722) and Anthony Collins (1676–1729). Their writings, especially Collins's famous *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724), loom large in the background of many of the later entries that Mather continued to add to the "Biblia." In Mather's responses, the dawn of a biblical criticism is reflected, as he opposes the emerging criticism that is programmatically "neutral" or even, in the stricter sense of the word, genuinely critical of the Bible and the predominant understanding of its supernatural authority as one continuous, coherent, and infallible revelation from God. One crucially decisive issue around which this "critical criticism" took shape was the status of the Hebrew Bible as Christian Scripture. On the most radical end of the spectrum, the Deists sought a thoroughly reformed religion that would center on what they considered the pure ethics of Christianity and rest on a foundation of reason. In building this religion they generally had little use for the Hebrew Scriptures, and did not think they could serve as an evidential basis of the true faith.

The "Biblia Americana" must be seen as an exemplar of an innovative kind of apologetically oriented criticism that evolved in close dialogue, or antilogue, with this more "critical criticism." It was closely related to "critical criticism" in terms of the subjects, methods, and standards to which it aspired. Ultimately, however, it aimed at defending what was held to be an orthodox understanding of the Scriptures as the inspired and infallible Word of God.⁸ In the final analysis, the "Biblia," like other works of apologetically oriented criticism, was

l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament composée par le P. Richard Simon, which he published in response to the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678) by the French Oratorian scholar Richard Simon (1638–1712). Simon had, among other things, called into question conventional assumptions about Mosaic authorship and the composition of other Old Testament books. In his engagement with Simon's work and its perceived shortcomings LeClerc advanced even more critical views on the authorship and composition of the Pentateuch but also the wisdom books, as well as on the topic of scriptural inspiration more generally. Selections from LeClerc's writings were published in English under the title *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690).

⁸ Johann Anselm Steiger offers very insightful discussions of this kind of orthodox criticism in his "The Development of the Reformation Legacy: Hermeneutics and Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Age of Orthodoxy" (2008); and *Philologia Sacra. Zur Exegese der Heiligen Schrift im Protestantismus des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (2011). For the debates in England specifically, see Gerard Reedy, *The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-Century England* (1985); and Justin A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: the Church of England and its Enemies, 1660–1730* (1992); and B. W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (1998).

still very much theologically determined both in its presuppositions and in its conclusions. Nevertheless, it clearly reflects the exegetical challenges and theological struggles which followed the rise of the new humanistic methods. Mather's engagement with these trends demonstrates a particular theological position that emerged in this context of the early Enlightenment. One can describe this position as having a sense of deep obligation, indeed, commitment, to the authority of the Bible and the central doctrinal teachings of the Protestant traditions. At the same time, Mather clearly feels compelled to integrate as much historical material and historical methods as possible into his interpretations of the Scriptures.

Those who embraced this paradigm of biblical criticism proceeded from the assumption that no real conflict could exist between biblical faith and human reason. It was thought that, properly considered, all textual and historical-contextual evidence would be found to assert the authority and unity of the Old and New Testament. The new apologists, including Mather, devoted all their energies to demonstrating the validity of this assumption. Also, they saw once again, if for very different reasons than in earlier centuries, the necessity of defining and defending what rightful uses could be made of the Hebrew Scriptures for Christian faith and piety. Especially heated was the debate over the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies in Christ, the history of the church, and the eschaton. This again reflects the fundamental changes Christian apologetics had been undergoing since the mid-seventeenth century. In response to the intellectual trends of the early Enlightenment, the primary emphasis shifted from inter-confessional quarrels or a polemical engagement with Judaism (and to a lesser extent Islam) to a defense against the increasingly skeptical voices emerging from diverse discourses within the larger Christian world.⁹

When Mather died in 1728, the rise of German "Higher Criticism" was still half a century in the future. Still, Mather belonged to a generation of scholarly theologians who were already confronted with deep-reaching historical challenges to the authority of the Bible, and the Old Testament especially. Some of the uneasy questions about authorship, genre, provenance, or the factual realism of the scriptural narratives that would later be rigorously brought to bear on the Bible as a whole, were already being formulated with regard to the Hebrew Scriptures. Mather did not shy away from these questions but tried to engage them as fully as his orthodox commitments allowed. Moreover, the basic legitimacy of time-honored modes of interpreting the Old Testament as prophetically, typologically or mystically prefiguring Christ and the gospel could no longer be taken for granted. Although Mather himself had not the slightest doubt about this status, he, like many other theologian-scholars of

9 On this see Hans-Martin Brecht, *Atheismus und Orthodoxie: Analysen und Modelle christlicher Apologetik im 17. Jahrhundert* (1971).

his generation, felt the need to make new apologetical arguments in support of the traditional view, and to practice the traditional modes of prefigurative interpretation with a new self-conscious attention to the historical dimension of the original texts.

Textual Issues and Questions of Translation

As this volume illustrates, Mather gave considerable thought to the Hebrew Scriptures as texts, that is, to the provenance of the received canonical texts and their variants. At the turn of the eighteenth century, a theological exegete of the Old Testament such as Mather would have faced the rapidly proliferating, highly specialized philological scholarship of Hebraists and Orientalists. In their discussion of the received Masoretic text, alongside the Septuagint (LXX) and other ancient and modern translations, these specialists raised a number of difficult issues concerning the “givenness” of the Hebrew Bible or Christian Old Testament. Building on the work of pioneering Christian Hebraists, such as Sebastian Münster (see section two), Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), or Louis Cappel (Ludovicus Cappellus, 1585–1658), the new textual research suggested the instability of the text and the uncertainty of its meaning in many places.¹⁰ Although learned in the biblical languages, Mather was not an expert philologist himself. But he was surprisingly well-read in the relevant literature. Textual issues occasionally come up in the annotations of this volume. Where they do, however, it becomes clear that the discoveries that were being made in these areas were of lesser concern to Mather. Overall, he seems to have rested assured that, through the accidents of textual history, God had supervised the essentially faithful transmission of His truths into the canonical books of the Old Testament – even if there were some scribal errors, textual corruptions, later interpolations and even if, as Mather conceded, the vowel points were of a later date.

Good examples for Mather’s approach to such issues can be found in his commentary on Jeremiah. Mather was well aware of the significant discrepancies between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint version of Jeremiah. For one thing, the latter represents a Hebrew text that must have been shorter by one eighth. Moreover, the Septuagint has a different order. It places the prophecies against the foreign nations after 25:13, which the Masoretic text has at the end of the book in chapters 46 through 51. As his gloss on Jer. 25:13 attests, Mather (like most of his peers) was not very troubled by this divergence but simply

¹⁰ On the development of Christian Hebraism in the early modern period, see Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (2012), and his “Later Christian Hebraists” (2008), pp. 785–92; see also the essays in Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds., *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (2004).

judged that the order of the Septuagint seemed more reasonable to him than the order chosen by the scribes of the exilic period. These and similar problems of textual tradition, later insertions or redactions of the priority of one version over the other apparently did not raise larger concerns about the overall coherency and authenticity of the text.

Consider, for instance, the brief switch to Aramaic (or “Chaldean”) in Jer. 10:11, which Mather, drawing on Hebraists’ knowledge, did recognize. However, even Grotius (whose gloss Mather here cites along with that of Münster) was still so much guided by an inherited, pre-critical hermeneutics of trust that he did not consider a later insertion by redactors from the Babylonian period. Instead Grotius, Münster, and Mather after them, explain the change in language as the result of immediate divine intervention, in which the Holy Spirit made Jeremiah prophesy in the tongue of the future masters of the Jewish people: “Tho’ all the rest of the Book be in *Hebrew*, this Verse is in *Chaldee*; and it furnishes the People of God, with what they were to declare unto their *Chaldee* Masters on all just Occasions” during the Captivity (*BA* 5:886).¹¹

Such was the limited extent of textual problems in the early eighteenth century. Generally, for Mather and the vast majority of his colleagues the belief that the Holy Spirit had not only inspired the original prophecies but also safeguarded them all the way through the process of textual transmission and canon formation for the entire Bible kept such issues from assuming larger proportions. Presumably, for similar reasons, Mather also almost never finds it necessary to discuss *variae lectiones* in the Masoretic text or to debate potential problems of textual corruptions. Although he was aware of such matters, in volume five there is not a single instance of him engaging this matter with all of the potential repercussions.

The same kind of presuppositions also guided Mather in how he confronted the potentially threatening proliferation of meanings through different translations. For Mather’s generation of exegetes the Bible not only existed in the Hebrew and Greek originals as well as the many vernacular translations that had come out of the Reformation. The cumulative labors of European humanist scholarship had also made various ancient manuscript versions of the Bible (or parts of it) available in printed editions, which offered sometimes significantly divergent alternatives to the Masoretic texts of the Hebrew Bible or to the Greek texts of the New Testament. For the Old Testament there were, besides the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Aramaic Targumim, the Syriac Peshitta, the Arabic, and the Ethiopian versions. All of these versions together with the Masoretic Hebrew text (including an apparatus that listed variants) were readily accessible for Mather in the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1654–1657)

¹¹ Compare Münster in John Pearson, *Critici Sacri* ([1660] 1698), vol. 4, p. 5523 and Grotius, *Opera* (1:355).

published in London. Besides the London Polyglot Mather also looked at the older Polyglot Bibles, notably the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (also called the *Biblia Polyglotta Regia*), first published in eight volumes between 1569 and 1573 under the general editorship of the Spanish orientalist Benedictus Arias Montanus (Benito Arias Montano, 1527–1598). Using these sources, Mather frequently referred to the different ancient versions of the Hebrew Bible, especially to the Septuagint and the Targumim or “Chaldee Paraphrasts,” as he calls them. He also regularly employed the new Latin translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew (first publ. in 1579) by the two Heidelberg scholars Franciscus Junius (1545–1602) and Immanuel Tremellius (Giovanni Emmanuele Tremellio, 1510–1580), whose marginal glosses reflected a distinctively Reformed viewpoint. Occasionally, Mather also consulted modern translations in different European vernacular languages. For instance, both the old French Protestant Geneva Bible by Pierre Robert Olivétan (c. 1506–1538) (*Bible de Genève*, orig. 1535) and the more recent translation with commentary by the Swiss-born Calvinist theologian Giovanni Diodati (1576–1649), *La Sainte Bible* (1644) make an appearance. So does the *Statenvertaling* (“translation of the States”) or *Sta(a)tenbijbel*, the Dutch Bible translation, which was ordered by the States General at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619) and printed in 1637.

Mather never seems to have been genuinely troubled by the existence of these often widely diverging translations. On the contrary, he appears to have regarded them mostly as a resource for a fuller understanding of the biblical texts and for improving the common English translation of the KJV. Among so many other things, Mather’s “Biblia” thus marks the very first involvement of America’s theological elite in discussions over revising the KJV.¹² To offer improvements where a word or entire verse in the KJV was deemed wrong, obscure, or just a little awkward, Mather would compare the different ancient language versions and modern translations, but also consider the rabbinic glosses contained in the *Mikraot Gedolot*, or “Rabbinic Bible,” first published in 1524–1525 by Daniel Bomberg in Venice. It is doubtful that Mather ever worked directly with an edition of the *Mikraot Gedolot*, but he constantly cites the classical rabbinic commentators secondhand and usually in Latin translations from his Hebraist sources (see section two).¹³ Thus the “Biblia” demonstrates how Christian Hebraism was “going mainstream” in the late seventeenth cen-

¹² For a cultural history of the King James Bible, its multiple revisions, and the various attempts to replace it with new translations, see Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version 1611–2011* (2010), esp. pp. 193–211 on America. For America specifically, see Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (1999), pp. 89–111; and Peter Thuessen, *In Discordance with the Scriptures: American Protestant Battles over Translating the Bible* (1999).

¹³ This was a common approach among biblical commentators of the time. Grotius, for instance, likewise accessed his rabbinic sources secondhand and through Latin translations. See Edwin Rabbie, “Hugo Grotius and Judaism” (1994), p. 114.

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