PARERGON.

Concerning the FALL of JERUSALEM,

AND

The Condition of the JEWS in that Land after.

BEING come so near to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, as that it is but three years and an half and a little more from the time we have concluded with unto it, and having so frequent occasion to mention that destruction, and vengeance upon that Nation, as we have had: It may not be amiss to drive so far further as to take a view of such a spectacle; not that we go about to write the History of their Wars and ruine, which were but to transcribe Josephus, who is in every man's hand, but to take a brief account of the times thither, and of the condition of the Nation in that Land afterward, the History of which is not altogether so obvious as the other: by which we may not only fee the performance of those threatnings of vengeance, that had been so abundantly given: but may the better judge wherein that vengeance did chiefly consist.

CHRIST:

LXVII.

In this thirteenth Year of Nero therefore, Valusian cometh General into Judea, to undertake that War: A second Nebuchadnezzar; an instrument of the Lord raised up to execute his vengeance upon that Nation, now the City of his Curfe, and to destroy their City and Temple as the other had done: And as several strange occurrences befell that destroyer, recorded in the Book of Daniel, so did divers strange things also befell this, recorded by the Roman Historians with one consent. As Niles showing a hilliard higher on that day that he came into Alexandria, then ever it did in one day before. A Virgin that he had in the Temple of Serapis, of his servant Balthasar, who was known to be at that instant fourteen miles off sick. And especially his healing of a blind mans eyes by anointing them with his spittle, and curing a lame mans hand, by treading upon it with his foot: To which may be added those that were accounted the prefigurations of his reigning, as a cypress tree in his ground, clean rooted up by the winds over night, grew straight up again, and well in the morning. An Ox came and laid him down at his feet, and laid his neck under his feet, at one time as he sat at meat; and a dog came and brought him a dead mans hand, at another. Now not to dispute whether all these things were true or no, nor by what power they were wrought: certainly they set the man in the eyes of men, as a man of rarity: and as he was designated by God for a singular work, so did these things make him to be a man looked upon as one of some singular event and fortune.

His work in the Jewish Wars this year was more especially in Galilee; where first coming to Ptolemais, the men of Phascoros, the greatest City there, came peaceably and yielding to him; and they had done so indeed before to Cæcilius Gallus. Josephus who afterward wrote the History of these Wars, was now a great party in them, having fortified many Cities and places in Galilee, and being the chiefest that in those parts stood against the Roman. First he finds them work at Jezreel, which indues a very high siege, and must the Romans to very sharp service before it be taken: At last after about fifty days siege Valusian enters it, July 1. There Josephus himself is taken, and foretells Valusian that he should be Emperor. Joppa taken presently after, and Tiberius yielded, and Tarshish taken and 6000 slain there. Gaulus gained Octob. 25, and divers other
places brought in this year either by storm or surrender, which Josephusrecordeth the story of de Bello lib. 3. through the whole Book: and lib. 4. to the end of the ninth Chapter which he concludes, 

\[\text{CHRIST. LXVIII.} \quad \text{NERO. XIV.}\]

\[\text{VESPAHIAN therefore having subjected, and seted Galilee, he fells this year to work in Judea, and indeed there the Jews fall to bitter work among themselves. For all the unquiet spirits whom the War had prosecuted and hunted from other parts, or whose turbulency defiend to be in action, were fleked higher so that Jerusalem and Judea were filled full of men and trouble: and quickly full of famine, blood and all manner of misery. The doleful story Josephus gives at large, as also what the Romans did among them this year, de Bello lib. 4. whither the reader may have recourse.}\]

This year Nero died by his own hand, to escape publish and more shameful execution. In him ended the Blood and Family of the Cæsars: And now that mystery of State was discovered, That an Emperor could be made, though not of that Blood, and elsewhere then at Rome: and the misery of the State accused by that discovery, when the longest sword did make the Emperor, and the thing which was the longest, undid the Empire. The fooldiery in Spain proclaimed Galba to succeed him: against whom rifeth up Otho, and cuts him off when he was now reigning, but in his seventh month, having only brought the Royalty into his family; and himself to misery and ruine by it. When he was then a common fooldier cut off his head, and putting his finger into his mouth [for he was bald, and therefore he could not bear it by the hair] he caried it to Otho, who gave it to the scum and black guard of the Camp, and they fixing it upon a pole, carried it up and down in derision.

\[\text{CHRIST. LXIX.} \quad \text{OTHO.}\]

\[\text{OTHO was karse set in the Throne, when Vitellius riseth up against him: and the determination of this competition was not so speedy and unfeizable as was between Galba and Otho: For Otho slew Galba without any noise, and when himself had but three and twenty associates at his first conspiring against him: But the present quarrel shook a good part of the Empire, with tidings and preparations, and came to a pitch before it came to an end. Otho's men lost the field, and when tidings of his defeat came to him, he resolved to strive no longer, but to render up his Empire and life together, and so flew himself. He reignt if it may be called a reign, but 95 days.}\]

\[\text{VITELLIIUS.}\]

\[\text{VITELLIIUS is now Lord of all, who indeed is not Master of himself. A man of that intemperance and luxury, that few equalled him: and divers that did fellow him and his course, died of surfeits. Divers men and Cities were undone by his notous exceses, and the souldiers became effeminate by his example. In the time of his reign which ended before this year was out, there were divers prodigies: A Comet: Two Suns at the same time, one in the East, another in the West. The Moon twice eclipsed unnaturally. In the Capitol the footsteps feen of many and great Demones coming down from thence. And Jupiter's Temple opened of its own accord with horrid noize. And let this be reckoned for a prodigy too, Marcus a man of an ordinary extracion among the Boii, raised a considerable number of men, and proclaimed himself a God. He was soon overthrown and thrown to the wild beasts, whom when they rent not in pieces, it heightned the peoples opinion in thoughts that he was a God indeed; but Vitellius found another way to put him to death, and so his Godlike was spoilt.}\]

\[\text{There were divers petty mutinies of the Armies, and destroying of Towns in Italy and other parts before Vespasian tried: but when he stood up, there were conceuptions that made all the Empire to shake, as it had hardly ever done before. He was then in the East about the Wars of the Jewes, as we have touched instantly before: And there the Armies in Egypt, Judea and Syria wear fealty to him in the month of July. And in a short time all the Provinces even to Achaeia did the like. The Legions in Maesa, Libyricum, Panormia fall to him, and letters are sent into Britain and Spain to move them to the like, and they prevail with them.}\]

\[\text{Vitellius}\]
Vespasian this while, follows his riotous course: and marches towards Rome with 60,000 men in Arms, but in no discipline: and a rabble of Ruffians that were of the roving humour, exceeding that number. And these numbers were made numberless, by the conflux of all sorts of people, out of the City to meet him. Corn was too down, the boulders quarrelled: the people were abused, wounded and slain, and they had the face of a War among themselves. In such a confused march they come into the City, and theretake up their quarters, but in all looseness, luxury and security.

At last Vespasian's party breaks into Italy, and gives them a thoroughAlarm: in a short time they come to a battle at Cremona, where that poor Town is ruined, and left as a monument of those combutions: and another memorial not to be omitted: A son on the one party, killed his father on the other, and perceived and deplored what he had done, as soon as he had done it. And thus these tumults grew on to that height; that in fine they fight it out in Rome it self, fire the Capitol, plunder the City, flay Vespasian, hinder his party, and Vespasian becomes conqueror and Emperor. Think here of Matth. 24:7.

VESPASIAN.

All this while was in Egypt: at Alexandria he receives tydings of his parties success, and thither is such conflux of Friends, Ambassadors, and Allies to congratulate and hommage him, that that City, though the second in the Empire, was little enough to entertain the company gathered thither. Vitellius his fall was in December, the latter end of the last year; and Vespasian did wait in the beginning of this: but till he could settle affairs there where he was, and till he might have good weather at Sea, and then he sets for Italy: and Titus his son部分 with him at Alexandria, sets for Judea, to make some end of those Wars.

And here we cannot but take in two passages for Chronology sake, which help well to measure the time that we are just now upon. The one is this of Dion Cassius, in the life of Vespasian. From the death of Nero to the reign of Vespasian, there intercourc but one year and two and twenty days. And I write this, lest any should mistake: giving the whole time to every one that reigncd. For they did not succeed one another, but one reigned in the time of another: So that their years are not to be counted, by their succeeding one another, but according to the exact course of the time it self.

The other is out of Josephus, who once again tells that the fall of Jerusalem was in the second year of Vespasian. De Bell. lib. 6, cap. 479 &c. And yet in recording the story and times of the sacking of it, he doth plainly place it in that year, that the Roman Annals write Vespasian first: as it will be obvious to observe, to any that peruse them and him. His computation therefore must be cut by his own counters: for he accounteth the beginning of his reign from the time that the Armies in the East proclaimed him, and swore fealty to him: which was in July: and in September twelve months after Jerusalem was taken; at which time Vespasian was entered indeed upon a second year from the time of his proclaiming; and according to this calculation it is that Josephus reckonneth: whereas Vitellius was alive and fought it out many months after Vespasian was proclaimed: therefore the Roman Fiscal do very properly begin his first year from the beginning of January, this year that we are upon.

Titus coming into Judea, and there gathering all his forces together, marcheth against Jerusalem, and pitcheth his siege against it, when now the Passover festival had called all the people of the Country in thither: For as the turbulencies and intestine commotions in the bowels of the Empire it self the last year, had given the Jews some repitute from the Roman Armies, so had they given them some boldness and security, seeing Vespasian and his Forces were now forced to turn their faces another way, and they hoped they would hardly have turned towards them again. How much they were deceived, Titus without, and Famine and all miseries within did soon shew them. What were the passages in this siege, and what Famine, Perilence, Civil Gauntlets, and various kinds of death the besieged suffered in it, are so largely described by Josephus, that it were but a needless rehearsall to speak of them: The end was, that the Temple and City were raked up in ashes: eleven hundred thousand perished in the siege; almost an hundred thousand taken prisoners, and the Nation ruined from what they had carried. That this desolation is phaenct in Scripture as the desolating of the whole world, [as we have had occasion to observe divers times by several passages that we have met withal referring thereunto] it will appear no wonder, if we consider that it was the destroying of the old peculiar Covenanted peoples of the Lords own inhabitation, Ordinances, and place chosen by them above, may alone of all the places of the world, to put his Name there.
A people once highest in his favour, now deepest in his displeasure: once blessed with his greatest dignations, above any, nay above all the people under Heaven, and now fallen under his heaviest indignation. A people of his curse, and who have left their name for a curse to his chosen. And a new world [as it were] now created, a new people made the Church, a new Oeconomy, and Old things past, and all things become new, 2 Cor. 5:17.

We are now upon a very remarkable and eminent Period; where should I write an Ecclesiastical History. I should begin, as at the beginning of a new world: not but that the Calling of the Gentiles had begun before, for the Gospel was now gone through all the world: and the Jews were also given up before as to the generality of them, when the Holy Ghost calls them dogs, and a Synagogue of Satan: but their State and Oeconomy was not till now rooted up, nor the Divine Ordinances once planted among them till now extinguished: and their calling off sealed by the nine of their City, dispersion of their Nation, and their final obduration.

SECTION I.

The Desolation of the Temple and City.

The Temple was burnt down, as Josephus a spectator setteth the time, Haqal Seferin Novi Mercurii. On the tenth day of the month Ab: which he faith was a fatal day to the Temple, for it had been burnt down by the Babyloniens before on that day, De Bell. libii. cap. 27. And yet his Countrymen that write in the Hebrew Tongue, fix both these fatalities to the ninthday of that month which they call the month Ab; and they account that day fatal for other sad occurrences besides: On the ninth day of the month Ab, say they, the decree came out against Israel in the wilderness, that they should not enter into the Land; On it was the destruction of the first Temple, and on it was the destruction of the second. On it the great City Bitter was taken, where there were thousands and ten thousands of Israel, who had a great King over them [Ben Corba] whom all Israel, even their greatest wife even thought to have been Messias: But he fell into the hands of the Heathen, and there was great affliction, as there was at the destruction of the Sanctuary. And on that day, a day allotted for vengeance, The wicked Tamarus Rufus plowed up the place of the Temple, and the places about it, to accomplish what is said, Sion shall become a plowed field. Talm. in Tannith. per. 4. halac. 6. Maymon. in Tannith per. 5.

It is strange men of the same Nation, and in a thing so signal, and of which both parties were spectators, should be at such a difference: and yet not a difference either, if we take Josephus his report of the whole story, and the other Jews construction of the time. He records that the Cloister walks commonly called The Porches of the Temple, were fired on the eighth day, and were burning on the ninth, but that day Titus called a Council of War, and carried it by three voices, that the Temple should be spared: but a new buffing of the Jews caused it to be fired, though against his will, on the next day: Joseph. ubi supr. cap. 22, 23, 24. Now their Kalender reckons, from the middle day of the three that fire was at it as from a Center: and they rate the time thus: It was the time of the evening, when fire was put to the Temple, and it burnt till the going down of the Sun of the next day. And behold what Rabban Tobiathan ben Zaccai saith: If I had been in that generation I should not have pitched it upon any other day, but the tenth, because the moon of the Temple was burnt that day. And in the Jerusalem Talmud it is related that Rabbi, and Jossua ben Levi fasted for it the ninth and tenth days both. Gloss. in Maymon. in Tannith per. 5.

Such another discrepancy about the time of the firing of the first Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, may be observed in 2 King. 25, 8, 9, where it is said, that In the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, came Nebuzaradan Captain of the guard, and burnt the House of the Lord. And yet in Jerem. 52, 12. it is said to have been In the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month. Which the Gemarit in the Babylon Talmud reconcile thus: It cannot be said on the seventh day, because it is said On the tenth: Nor can it be said, On the tenth day, because it is said On the seventh. How is it then? On the seventh the aliens came into the Temple, and eat there and defiled it, the seventh, eighth and ninth days, and that day towards night they set it on fire: and it burnt all the tenth day, and was the case also with the second Temple. Tannith fol. 29.

The ninth and tenth days of the month Ab on which the Temple was burnt down, was about the two and three and twentieth of our July: and the City was taken and sacked the eighth day of September following: Joseph. ubi supr. cap. 47. That day being their Sabbath day, Dim. fol. 748.

After eleven hundred thousand destroyed and perished in the siege, and taking, and ninety seven thousand taken prisoners, Titus commanded City and Temple to be razed to the
THE LXX. and condition of the Jews in that Land after VITELIUS.

...the ground, only three of the highest Towers left standing, Phasaelis, Hippicus and Mariamme, and the Western Wall of the City: that, that they might remain as monuments of the strength of the place, and thereby of the renown of the Roman Conquest; and this, that it might be of some use to the Roman Garrison that was left there, which was the tenth Legion. Their chief Captain was Tertius Rufus, a man of exceeding frequent mention in the Hebrew Writers, but his former name a little thorny, yet a little added which makes it long enough, for they constantly call him Yehoshuah yissur vehatzarim Tertius Rufus the wicked one. There are endless disputes between him and R. Akibah mentioned before, about the Jews Law and Religion, and when he died R. Akibah married his widow, now become a Proselyte.

Amongst those that perished in the fate of the City, the names most famous were Judah, Simon and Eleazar, the three ringleaders of sedition, names famous for faction. But the person of the beat rank that perished, was Rabban Simon, the President of the Sanhedrin, a man educated with Paul at the foot of Gamaliel his father. The Sanhedrin had sitten at Jabok a long while, but the Feast of the Pasover had now brought them up to Jerusalem, and there he is caught. The Bab. Talmud in the place lately cited, relates, that he was once in danger, but one of the Roman Commanders was a means of his deliverance: But at last he was caught and slain, and in the Jews Martyrology he is set first of all the slain. The ten slain by the Kingdom: meaning ten eminent ones that were put to death by the Romans. All the ten are reckoned by Maimonides in his Mishnah. He forgetteth not, faith he, the cry of the poor: that is, he forgetteth not the blood of Israel to require it of the Nations: nor the blood of these Righteous ones that were slain: viz. Rabban Simon the son Gamaliel, Rabbi Israel the son of Eliezer, R. Ishmael the Son of R. Hoppith the Interpreter, R. Jose, R. Judah ben Baba, R. Judah Hananachon, R. Simon ben Azai, R. Hananish ben Torathoth, and R. Akibah. But the Author of Yoma D avid reckoning up these, next after Rabban Simon nameth Ananias the Sagan, or the second Priest, and faith that he was slain at the destruction of the City when Rabban Simon was slain. Of this Aggayan Sagan there is mention in the Talmud Text several times: we will take but one instance, Shabathat per.6. halac. 1. There were thirteen vestigalions or burnings in the Temple, but the house of Rabban Gamaliel, and the house of Ananias Sagan made fourteen. The Sagan was, as it were, Vice-Highpriest, the next to him in dignity and office, and is sometimes called the Highpriest, as I sa. 3.2. And it may be this was the man, and bare that title, Aes. 23.24.4. the enemy of Paul, and whole character and doer he were, that he was smitten, and God would smite him: accomplished when he perished in the fall of the City.

We may not omit the calculation of the time that the Jews make further, of the Temples burning: When the first Temple was destroyed, so they, it was the evening on the ninth of A'S, it was the going out of the year of release, and it was the going out of the Sabbath: And so was it with the second Temple. Tal. Bab. et ibid. Observe, by their conception the Temple was burnt down upon the Lords day, or on the Christian Sabbath. Fire put to it upon their Sabbath, and it burnt all ours: And so the City fell upon their Sabbath, as was mentioned out of Dion even now.

SECTION II.

The state and state of the Country after the Cities were

W

...e will first begin at Jerusalem it fell. It was laid to deolate, אִּזְגַּ֣ הָעָלְמָהּ צָרֵ֖יִם יָדוֹ בֵּ֥ין בַּכּוֹנֶ֤הּ סְדוֹךְ דַּעַתָּֽהּ. That travellers by could see no sign that it had been ever inhabited: they are the words of Josephus De Bell. lib. 7. cap. 1. The Frits there, and the Maps here with us, that point out places so punctually, as to tell you Here was Pilate's Palace, here the Highpriest, here the dolorous way, etc. must receive more curvature from your belief, then they can give proof to their affection.

It appears by the constant and copious testimony of the Jews, that the City and Temple were not only laid flat by fire, ruin, and desolation, but that Tannus Rufus bought a plow over them to make good that Prophecy, Zion shall be plowed as a field: The plowman would find but rugged work: They allot it, as observed before, to have been on the same day of the year, and so a twelvemonth at the least must intercede.

What the beauty of the place had been, needs no Rhetoric to set it forth, nor what the populousness of the Temple, if there had been no other goodly structures, was enough to speak the one, and the multitude of their Synagogues the other: their own records sum them up to four hundred and there. R. Plotus has in the name of R. Hoppith faith there were 460 Synagogues in Jerusalem, and every one had a house for the Book of the Law for the publick reading of that, and a house for the publick teaching and explaining the traditions:
The Fall of Jerusalem,

dition. Jerus. Chetub. fol. 35. col. 3. which in Megillah fol. 73. col. 4. and in R. Solomon upon the first of Jashub are reckoned up to four hundred and fourscore. But now not one reliick left, of Temple, Synagogue, Mizrath, House, or any thing else but rubbith and defolation. Her people used this custom while the flood, that on all other days of the year the unclean walked in the middle of the street, and the clean by the house sides, and the unclean sat unto them, keep off: But on the days of the Festivals, the clean walked in the middle of the street, and the unclean by the house sides, and then the clean bid Keep off. Jerus. Shekalim fol. 51. col. 1. But now where is that company, that niceness, may where are the streets? Titus himselfe some time after the defolation, coming that way, could not but bemoan the fall of so brave a City, and cursed the Rebels that had occasoned to fall a destruction: Joseph. De Bell. lib. 7. cap. 15.

How the Country near about was wasset with so long and terrible a siege, and indeed the whole Country with so dreadful a War, it is easier conceived then expressed. Josephus tells particularly much of it, and this thing for one, That all the timber twelve miles about the City was cut down, and brought in to make forts and engines for the siege, lib. 6. cap. 40.

We may take a view of the whole Country as to the surface and situation of it in this prospective of their own: The Land [say they] that Israel possest that came out of Babylon, was these three Countries, Judea, Galilee, and Beyond Jordan, and these were severally tripartites again. There was Galilee the upper, and Galilee the weather, and the Vale, from Caphar Hananith upward, all that bears not Sycomores, is Galilee the upper, and from Caphar Hananith downward, all that doth bear Sycamores is Galilee the lower, and the border of Tiberias is the Vale. And in Judea, there is the Mountainous, and the Plain, and the Vale. And the plain of Lydda is as the plain of the South, and the mountainous thereof as the mountain royal: From Bethoron to the Sea is one Region: Shivyitch per. 9. hadar. 2. The Jerusalem Gemarits do add thus, What is the vale in Galilee? The vale of Gerizareth and the adjoining. What is the mountainous in Judea? This is the mountain royal, and the plain thereof is the plain of the South, and the vale is from Engedi to Jericho. And what is the mountainous beyond Jordan? R. Simon ben Eleazar saith, The hills of Maasar, and Gedera: And the plain thereof of Jerusalem and all her Cities, Dibon, Bantuoth Baal, and Beth Baal Mon. And the vale is Beth Haran, and Beth Nimrah. Sheviith fol. 48. col. 4.

It were endless to trace the footstapes of the War particularly in all these places, let Josephus be consulted for that: we may say in short, that hardly any considerable place escaped, but such as were peaceable, or such as were unacceivable. Of the latter for the mountainous of Judah was the chiefest place, Joshua 21. 1. Luke 1. 39. מנהל unethical. The mountain royal, as the Hebrew Writers do commonly call it [a place incredibly populous as they testify, Jerus. Taanith fol. 69. col. 1.] Hither Christ gives his Disciples warning before hand to flee, when these evils should come, Matt. 24. 16. Which warning we cannot judge but they took, and so planted here as in a place of safety by his warrant.

Though therefore the Country were extremly wasted, with so long and so furious a War, yet was it not utterly wase, nor the Nation destroyed from being a people, though they were destroyed from being what it had been. Those places and persons that had quietly submitted to the Roman power, if they had escaped the fury of their own seditionary, were permitted to live in quiet, yea to enjoy their own Religion and Laws, they in the mean while demeaning themselves as peaceable subjects, to that power that had brought them under. And for one acknowledgment of that subjection, they were injoyed to pay that Didracma or half shekel that they usually paid to the Temple for their lives, to Jupiter Capitolinus, Apoll. apud Dionem. pag. 748.

Their Sandhedrin continued in the fame lufir and state, as it had done for many years before the City fell: and their Synagogues in the same posture, and their Religion in the same condition, save only those parts of it which were confined to Jerusalem, which was now in the dust. And generally the places and people that had escaped the War, if they would live quiet, did enjoy their quietness, as well as men could do in a Land in such a condition as into which it was now brought.