

PARERAGON.

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 mans 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 both which we may not only see 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.

NERO.
XIII.

IN this thirteenth Year of *Nero* therefore, *Vespasian* 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 Nation of his curse, and to destroy their City and Temple as the other had done. And as several strange occurrences befel that destroyer, recorded in the Book of *Daniel*, so did divers strange things also befall this, recorded by the *Roman* Historians with one consent. As *Nilus* flowing a handfull higher on that day that he came into *Alexandria*, then ever it did in one day before. A Vision that he had in the Temple of *Serapis*, of his servant *Basilides*, who was known to be at that instant fourscore 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 presages of his reigning, as a cypress tree in his ground, clean rooted up by the winds over night, grew strait 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 designed by God for a singular work, so did these things make him to be a man looked upon as one of some singular omen and fortune.

His work in the Jewish Wars this year was more especially in *Galilee*: where first coming to *Ptolemais*, the men of *Sipphoris*, the greatest City there, come peaceably and yielding to him; and they had done so indeed before to *Cestius 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 *Romans*. First he finds them work at *Jotepata*, which induces a very sharp siege, and puts the *Romans* to very sharp service before it be taken: At last after about fifty days siege *Vespasian* enters it, July 1. There *Josephus* himself is taken, and foretels *Vespasian* that he should be Emperour. *Joppa* taken presently after, and *Tiberias* yielded, and *Tarichea* taken and 6500 slain there. *Gamala* gained Octob. 23. and divers other places

places brought in this year either by storm or furrender, which *Josephus* recordeth the story of *de Bello lib.3.* through the whole Book: and *lib.4.* to the end of the ninth Chapter which he concludes, *Γαλιλαία ὅλη ἔτος ἰάλυ πύται, Thus was all Galilee subdued.*

CHRIST.
LXVIII.NERO.
XIV.

VESPASIAN therefore having subjected, and settled *Galilee*, he falls 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 desired to be in action, were flocked hither; 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 publick and more shameful execution. In him ended the Blood and Family of the *Cæsars*: And now that mystery of State was discovered, *That an Emperour could be made, though not of that Blood, and elsewhere then at Rome:* and the misery of the State accrewed by that discovery, when the longest sword did make the Emperour, and the trying which was the longest, undid the Empire. The souldiery in *Spain* proclaimed *Galba* to succeed him: against whom riseth 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 slain a common souldier 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 carried 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.

CHRIST.
LXIX.

OTHO.

OTHO was scarce set in the Throne, when *Vitellius* riseth up against him: and the determination of this competition was not so speedy and unsensible as was that betwixt *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 sidings and preparations; and came to a pitch battel 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 slew himself. He reigned if it may be called a reign, but 95 days.

VITELLIUS.

VITELLIUS is now Lord of all; who indeed is not Master of himself. A man of that untemperance and luxury, that few equalled him: and divers that did follow him and his course, died of surfets. Divers men and Cities were undone by his riotous excesses, 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 seen of many and great *Demonies* coming down from thence. And *Jupiters* Temple opened of its own accord with horrid noise. And let this be reckoned for a prodigy too, *Maricus* a man of an ordinary extraction 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 Godship was spoiled.

There were divers petty mutinies of the Armies, and destroying of Towns in *Italy* and other parts before *Vespasian* stird: but when he stood up, there were concussions 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 Jews, as we have touched instantly before: And there the Armies in *Egypt*, *Judea* and *Syria* swear fealty to him in the month of *July*. And in a short time all the Provinces even to *Achaia* did the like. The Legions in *Mæsia*, *Illyricum*, *Pannonia* fall to him, and letters are sent into *Britain* and *Spain* to move them to the like, and they prevail with them.

Vitellius

Vitellius this while, follows his riotous courses: and marches towards *Rome* with 60000 men in Arms, but in no discipline: and a rabble of *Ruffians* that were of his roaring 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 trod down, the souldiers quarrelled: the people was 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 there take up their quarters, but in all looseness, luxury and security.

At last *Vespasians* party breaks into *Italy*, and gives them a through Alarm: in a short time they come to a battel at *Cremona*, where that poor Town is ruined, and left as a monument of those combustions: 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, slay *Vitellius*, subdue his party, and *Vespasian* becomes conqueror and Emperor. Think here of *Matth. 24. 7.*

CHRIST.
LXX.VESPASIAN.
I.

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 homage 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 later 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 parting 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 intercurrent but one year and two and twenty days. And I write this, least any should misreckon; giving the whole time to every one that reigned. 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. 47, &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 *Vespasians* first: as it will be obvious to observe, to any that peruseth them and him. His computation therefore must be cast 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* twelvemonth after *Jerusalem* was taken; at which time *Vespasian* was entred indeed upon a second year from the time of his proclaiming; and according to this calculation it is that *Josephus* reckoneth: whereas *Vitellius* was alive and fought it out many months after *Vespasian* was proclaimed: therefore the *Roman Fasti* 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 respite 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*, *Pestilence*, *Civil slaughters*, and various kinds of death the besieged suffered in it, are so largely described by *Josephus*, that it were but a needless rehearsal 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 been. That this desolation is phrased 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 people; of the Lords own habitation, Ordinances, and place chosen by him above, nay 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 casting off sealed by the ruine 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, *Ἡμέρη δὲ τῆς* *Abis* *Μαρίσ*, *On the tenth day of the month Lous*: which he saith was a fatal day to the Temple, for it had been burnt down by the *Babylonians* before on that day, *De Bell. lib. 6. cap. 27*. And yet his Countrymen that write in the Hebrew Tongue, fix both these fatalitics to the ninth day of that month which they call the month *Ab*; and they account that day fatal for three 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 Cozba] whom all Israel, even their greatest wise men 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 Turnus 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 Taanith. per. 4. halac. 6. Maymon. in Taanith 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 neither, 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 bussing 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 Kalendar reckons, from the middle day of the three that fire was at it as from a Center: and they state 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 Jochanan ben Zaccai saith: If I had not been in that generation I should not have pitched it upon any other day, but the tenth, because the most of the Temple was burnt that day. And in the Jerusalem Talmud it is related that Rabbi, and Joshua ben Levi fasted for it the ninth and tenth days both. Gloss. in Maym. in Taanith 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 Gemarists 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. Taanith 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, *Dion fol. 748*.

After eleven hundred thousand destroyed and perished in the siege and sacking, and ninety seven thousand taken prisoners, *Titus* commanded City and Temple to be razed to the

the ground, only three of the highest Towers left standing, *Phasaelus*, *Hippicus* and *Mariamne*, and the Western Wall of the City: those, 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 *Terentius Rufus*, a man of exceeding frequent mention in the Hebrew Writers, but his former name a little shortned, yet a little added which makes it long enough, for they constantly call him *טורנוס רופוס הרשע* *Ternus Rufus the wicked one*. There are endless disputes betwixt him and *R. Akibab* mentioned, about the Jews Law and Religion, and when he died *R. Akibab* married his widdow, now become a Profelites.

Amongst those that perished in the fate of the City, the names most famous were *Jochanan*, *Simeon* and *Eleazar*, the three ringleaders of sedition, names famous for faction. But the person of the best rank that perished, was *Rabban Simeon*, the President of the *Sanhedrin*, a man educated with *Paul* at the foot of *Gamaliel* his father. The *Sanhedrin* had sitten at *Fabneh* a long while, but the Feast of the Passover 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 delivery: But at last he was caught and slain, and in the Jews Martyrology he is set the first of *הרוגי מלכות* 'The ten slain by the Kingdom: meaning ten eminent ones that were put to death by the Romans. All the ten are reckoned by *Midras Tillin* upon *Psal.* 9. fol. 10. col. 3. He forgetteth not, saith 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 those Righteous ones that were slain: viz. *Rabban Simeon the son Gamaliel*, *Rabbi Ismael the son of Elisba*, *R. Isibab the Scribe*, *R. Hotspith the Interpreter*, *R. Jose*, *R. Judab ben Baba*, *R. Judab Hannachtom*, *R. Simeon ben Azzai*, *R. Hananiah ben Teradion*, and *R. Akibab*. But the Author of *Tsemach David* reckoning up these, next after *Rabban Simeon* nameth *Ananias the Sagan*, or the second Priest, and saith that he was slain at the destruction of the City when *Rabban Simeon* was slain. Of this *Ananias Sagan* there is mention in the Talmud Text several times: we will take but one instance, *shekalim* per. 6. halac. 1. There were thirteen worshippings or bowings 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 *Luke* 3. 2. And it may be this was the man, and bare that title, *Act.* 23. 2, 4. the enemy of *Paul*, and whose character and doom he reads, that he was a whited wall, 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, say they, it was the evening on the ninth of *Ab*, 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. ubi supr.* Observe, by their confession 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 face and state of the Country after the Cities ruine.

WE will first begin at *Jerusalem* it self. It was laid so desolate, *אין שם לא ראו שום סימן* *va nisi ar in Sagan nisi sepe dicit*, 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 Friars there, and the Maps here with us, that point out places so punctually, as to tell you Here was *Pilates Palace*, here the Highpriests, here the dolorous way, &c. must receive more curtesie from your belief, then they can give proof to their assertion.

It appears by the constant and copious testimony of the Jews, that the City and Temple were not only laid flat by fire, ruine, and demolishment, but that *Ternus Rufus* brought a plow over them to make good that Prophecie, *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 Rhetorick to set it forth, nor what the populoufness; 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 threescore. *R. Phinebas* in the name of *R. Hofbaiab* saith there were 460 Synagogues in *Jerusalem*, and every one had a house for the Book of the Law for the publickreading of that, and a house for the publick teaching and explaining the traditions:

ditions. Jerus. Chetub. fol. 35. col. 3. which in *Megillah* fol. 73. col. 4. and in *R. Solomon* upon the first of *Isaiab* are reckoned up to four hundred and fourscore. But now not one relick left, of Temple, Synagogue, Midrash, House, or any thing else but rubbish and desolation. Her people used this custom while she stood, 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 said 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. Shekalin fol. 51. col. 1. But now where is that company, that niceness, nay where are the streets? *Titus* himself some time after the desolation, coming that way, could not but bemoan the fall of so brave a City, and cursed the Rebels that had occasioned so fatal a destruction: *Joseph. De Bell. lib. 7. cap. 15.*

How the Country near about was wasted 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 possessed that came out of Babylon, was these three Countries, Judea, Galilee, and Beyond Jordan, and these were severally tripartite again. There was Galilee the upper, and Galilee the neather, and the Vale. From Capbar Hananiab upward, all that bears not Sycamores, is Galilee the upper, and from Capbar Hananiab 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: Shiviith per. 9. halac. 2. The Jerusalem Gemarists do add thus, What is the vale in Galilee? The vale of Genezareth 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. Simeon ben Eleazar saith, The hills of Macvar, and Gedor: And the plain thereof Heshbon and all her Cities, Dibon, Bamoth Baal, and Beth Baal Meon. And the vale is Beth Haran, and Beth Nimrah. Sheviith fol. 38. col. 4.*

It were endless to trace the footsteps 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 unaccessible. Of the latter sort the mountainous of Judah was the chiefest place, *Josua 21. 1. Luke 1. 39.* הר המלך *The mountain royal*, as the Hebrew Writers do commonly call it [a place incredibly populous as they testifie, *Jerus. Taanith* fol. 69. col. 1.] Hither *Christ* gives his Disciples warning before hand to flee, when these evils should come, *Matth. 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 extreemly wasted, with so long and so furious a War, yet was it not utterly waste, nor the Nation destroyed from being a people, though it 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 seditious ones, 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 enjoined to pay that *Didrachma* or half shekel that they usually paid to the Temple for their lives, to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, *Xiphil. apud Dionem. pag. 748.*

Their *sanhedrin* continued in the same lustre 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.