

## **Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Detail A**

### **SOURCE QUOTATIONS Marriages/Betrothals/Espousals Made by Herod the Great**

Herod the Great “married them [Aristobulus IV and Alexander III] to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice [A], Salome [I]’s daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra [B], the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.”  
*AJ XVII.1.2.*

Herod the Great, after destroying Aristobulus IV and Alexander III, caused their children “to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander’s [III]’s sons [Tigranes A] to Pheroras’s [unnamed] daughter, and Antipater’s [III]’s unnamed daughter to Aristobulus’ [IV]’s eldest son [Herod A]. He also allotted one of Aristobulus’ [IV]’s daughters [Miriam IV?] to Antipater’s [III]’s unnamed son, and Aristobulus’ other daughter [unnamed; Herodias?] to Herod [B], a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest’s daughter [Miriam II]; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time.”

Afterward, Antipater III “contrived...to overturn his father’s settlements [and]...Herod yielded to him.... ...[T]he determination [then] was, that Antipater [III] himself should marry Aristobulus’s [IV]’s daughter [Miriam IV?], and Antipater’s [unnamed] son should marry Pheroras’s [unnamed] daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner....”

“Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater’s [III]’s mother [Doris], and another the high priest’s daughter [Miriam II], by whom he had a son of his own name [Herod B]. He had also one [unnamed wife] who was his [unnamed] brother’s daughter, and another his sister’s [Salome I]’s daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives [Malthace] also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph [II], the king’s brother’s son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod [undesignated] and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was one of his wives, which bare him his son Phasaelus [III]. And besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome [III]. As for his elder daughters by the same mother [Miriam I] with Alexander [III] and Aristobulus [IV], and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one [Cypros II] in marriage to Antipater [IV], the king’s sister’s [Salome]’s son, and the other [Salampsio] to Phasaelus [II], his brother’s son. And this was the posterity of Herod [at this time].”  
*AJ XVII.1.2-3.*

Antipater III was “in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander [III] had two sons by Glaphyra [B], Tigranes [A] and Alexander [V]; and Aristobulus [IV] had Herod [A], and Agrippa [I], and Aristobulus [V], his sons, with Herodias and Mariamne[Miriam IV], his daughters.... As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander [III], sent her back, together with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice [A], Aristobulus’s daughter,<sup>1</sup> to Antipater’s [III]’s uncle [Theudion] by his mother, [which] Antipater [III] contrived....”

“Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children ...[and stated] ‘I therefore betroth thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder [Tigranes A] of these brethren, the children of Alexander [III].... I also betroth to thy [Antipater III]’s

<sup>1</sup> It appears, overall, that this should be “wife?”  
**App4B.Att2.DetailA**

son...the daughter of Aristobulus [IV--Miriam IV?...]and my son Herod [B?--eds. add *Philip*--wrongly?], “whose grandfather, by the mother’s side, was high priest,” “shall have her [Miriam IV’s] sister [Herodias].”  
Wars I.XXVIII.1-2.

“Now the king had nine wives,<sup>2</sup> and children by seven of them; Antipater [III] was himself born of Doris, and Herod [B?; eds. add *Philip* wrongly?] of Mariamne[Miriam II], the high priest’s daughter; Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his [Herod’s] daughter Olympias, which his brother Joseph’s son had married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had [an undesignated] Herod and Philip; and by Pallas, Phasaelus [III]; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis; he had two wives that had no children, the one his first cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters [Cypros II and Salampsio], the sisters of Alexander [III] and Aristobulus [IV], by [the dead] Mariamne[Miriam I].”  
BJI.XXVIII.4.

After Herod the Great’s death, when his son “Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea... ..he transgressed the law of our fathers, and married Glaphyra [B], the daughter of Archelaus [king of Cappadocia], who had been the wife of his [half-] brother Alexander [III], which Alexander had three children by her....” Ethnarch Archelaus was accused at Rome in his “tenth year of government,” Caesar [Octavian/Augustus] “banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.” It was “on the fifth day after [a prophetic] dream came first to [ethnarch] Archelaus, the [an]other [undesignated] Archelaus,<sup>3</sup> that was sent to Judea by Caesar to call him away, came....”

Glaphyra [B] had been “married while she was a virgin to Alexander [III], the son of Herod [the Great], and [half-] brother of Archelaus; but [when] it fell out so that Alexander [III] was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lybia; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, [ethnarch] Archelaus divorced his former wife [an undesignatable] Mariamne, and married her....”  
AJ XVII.XIII.1-4.

“Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne [I], the [eds. add *grand*] daughter of Hyrcanus [II]; the one was Salampsio, who was married to Phasaelus [II], her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phaselus [I], Herod’s brother, her father making the match; the other was Cypros [I], who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater [IV], the son of Salome [I], Herod’s sister. Phasaelus [II] had five children by Salampsio; Antipater [V], Herod [D], and Alexander [IV], and two daughters, Alexandra [IV] and Cypros [III], which last Agrippa [I], the son of Aristobulus [IV], married; and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra [VI]; he was a man of note, but had by her no children [she had no children of his]. Agrippa [I] had by Cypros [III] two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice [B], Mariamne [Miriam V], and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa [II] and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa [I], was brought up with his other brethren, Herod [A] and Aristobulus [V], for these were also the sons of the son [Aristobulus IV] of Herod the Great, by Bernice [comma supplied]; but Bernice [A] was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome [I], who was Herod’s sister. Aristobulus [IV] left these infants when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander [III].... But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod [A], the [half-] brother of Agrippa [I], married Mariamne [Miriam III], the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph [II], the son of Joseph [I], who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus [VI]; but Aristobulus [V], the third [half-] brother of Agrippa [I], married Jotape [I], the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape [II]; and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [B--eds. add *Philip*, wrongly?], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne [Miriam II], the

<sup>2</sup> It is presumed, as *Josephus* eds. note, that intended is nine *living* wives,” at the time.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, item P, for uses of the name, *Archelaus*.

daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome [II]; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband [Herod B] while he was alive, and was married to Herod...[Antipas, her husband's [half-] brother by the father's side; he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her [Herodias'] daughter Salome [II] was married to Philip, the son of Herod [and Cleopatra of Jerusalem], and tetrarch of Trachonitis [etc.]; and as he [Philip] died childless, Aristobulus [VI], the son of Herod [A ("the [half-]brother of Agrippa [I]" and Miriam III), married her; they had three sons, Herod [C], Agrippa [III], and Aristobulus [VII]; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater [IV] by Cypros [II] was Cypros [IV], whom Alexas Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros [V]; but Herod [D] and Alexander [IV], who as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater [V], died childless. As to Alexander [III], the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander [V] and Tigranes [A], by [Glaphyra] the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Tigranes [A], who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander [V] had a son [Tigranes B] of the same name with his brother Tigranes [A], and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander [VI], who married Jotape [III], the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander [III], soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks. But for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. ...[T]hese descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa [I] the Great took the kingdom...."

AJ XVIII.V.4

Emperor Claudius on his ascent "confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa [I] which Caius had given him [and] also made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod [the Great], who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria...." Claudius "made league with Agrippa [I]...took away from Antiochus [undesigned<sup>4</sup>] that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena; he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother, Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [eds. add *Marcus*] married Bernice [B], the daughter of Agrippa [I]. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod [A], and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis."

AJ XIX.V.1.

Claudius "bestowed on Agrippa [I] his whole paternal kingdom...besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod [the Great]: Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. ... He bestowed on his [Agrippa I's half?-] brother Herod [A], who was also his son-in-law, by marrying Bernice [B], the kingdom of Chalcis."

Agrippa's death "happened at Cesarea...he had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros [III], Bernice [B], Mariamne [Miriam V], and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa [II]: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator [44-46 a.d.], and after him Tiberius Alexander [46-48 a.d.], who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquility."

Wars II.XI.5-6.

"Herod [A]...the [half?-] brother of the deceased Agrippa [I], who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war."<sup>5</sup>

AJ XX.I.3.

<sup>4</sup> *Josephus* eds. note "that this later Antiochus who was called Epiphanes is mentioned by Dio. LIX p. 645," and "mentioned by *Josephus* also at *Wars* V.XI.3 and *AJ* XIX.VIII.1." (See Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, at I.)

<sup>5</sup> *Josephus* eds. remark, "Here [appears] some error in the copies, or mistake in *Josephus*; for the power of appointing high

“...Herod [A], king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod [A], [half-] brother of Agrippa [I] the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons: Aristobulus [VI], whom he had by his first wife [Miriam III], with Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice [B] his [half-] brother’s daughter. But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa [II], junior.” AJ XX.V.2.

“Now after this, Herod [A] the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother’s daughter Bernice [B]; their names were Bernicianus and Hyrcanus; [and]... Aristobulus [VI], whom he had by his former wife Mariamne [Miriam III]. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person, his name was also Aristobulus [V], who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jotape [II]; and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus [IV] the son of Herod [the Great], which Aristobulus [IV] and Alexander [III] were born to Herod [the Great] by Mariamne [Miriam I] and were slain by him. But as for Alexander’s [III’s] posterity, they reigned in Armenia. Wars II.XI.6.

“...[A]fter the death of Herod [A], king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa [II], the son of Agrippa [I], over his uncle’s [Herod A’s] kingdom, while Cumanus [48-52 b.c.] took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander [Tiberius]....” Wars II.XII.1.

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priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa [II] junior was made king of Chalcis *in his room*, belonged to him; and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed, as Josephus elsewhere informs us, ch. viii. sec. 8, 11; ch. ix. sect. 1, 4, 6, etc.” (The italicized portion may indicate that the king of Chalcis was domiciled at the Jerusalem temple; refer to Appendix 4A Timeline concerning the ensuing high priests appointed.)