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I.

THOMAS AQUINAS AND LEO XIII.

AS an ecclesiastical diplomat, Leo XIII will no doubt take high rank among the popes of modern times. He had no power to marshal armies and to set in motion crusades against refractory dissenters, as did Innocent III, nor did he exercise the function of fulmination against princes. And yet his moral influence throughout the bounds of all western Christendom has been notably great. He has elevated the papacy to a position of worldwide influence such as it has not had since the Reformation. Not before in their history have the different portions of Protestantism had so kindly a feeling toward a pope. For the moment room has been made even for a feeling of toleration for the papacy itself. Both feelings are due to the impression made by the virtues of Leo's private character. This impression was enhanced by the exceptional mental vigor Leo displayed into a high age and the youthful interest he manifested to the very end in current events, and which has seldom, if ever, been equaled in recent times. This personal sympathy of Protestants, strange to say, has been accorded to Leo in spite of his sweeping condemnations of Protestantism. His encyclicals* have denounced the Reformation, with its novel doctrines, as having produced "sudden tumults and most audacious revolts, especially in Germany." Its so-called philosophy is made the mother of unnumbered pests, such as communism, socialism and nihilism. The ultimate fruit of the Lutheran revolt is the ruin of morals.† In one of his very first encyclicals the evan-

* June 29, 1881; August 1, 1897, etc.

† *Ruinam morum ultimam maturavit, Encyclical, August 1, 1897.*

IV.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

THE following article gives the results of an investigation occasioned by the writer's desire to test the statements made by Prof. Driver in his *Literature of the Old Testament* as to the titles of the kings of Persia, in their bearing upon the date of the composition of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. These statements seem to be supported by an overwhelming mass of incontestable evidence. Nevertheless, we think that the following lists of titles will show conclusively that not one of Dr. Driver's statements can be accepted unqualifiedly, and that the impression left by his notes and proofs is misleading and fallacious.

In order to be perfectly fair to Dr. Driver, and that all readers may understand the occasion and bearing of the facts here presented, we shall give, first of all, a complete citation of the passages from *The Literature of the Old Testament*, which led the writer to make his investigation. After this, we shall give an orderly presentation of the designations and titles of the kings of antiquity: first, of those of the kings of Persia; and secondly, of those of the kings of some of the other principal kingdoms of antiquity. Last of all, we shall present some conclusions which are to be derived from these facts, especially as they bear upon certain questions of Higher Criticism.

I. THE CITATION FROM DRIVER.

"The books [of Ezra and Nehemiah] contain internal marks of having been compiled in an age long subsequent to that of Ezr. and Neh. Thus notice:

"(a) The phrase 'King of Persia,' Ezr. i. 1, 2, 8, iii. 7, iv. 3, 5, 7, 24, vii. 1: the addition would, during the period of the Persian supremacy, be at once unnecessary and contrary to contemporary usage (see p. 596, n): the expression used by Ezr. and Neh., when speaking in their [512] own person (Ezr. vii. 27f., viii. 1, 22, 25, 36; Nehemiah i. 11, ii. 1ff, 18f., v. 4, 14, vi. 7, xiii. 6), or in passages extracted from sources written under the Persian rule (Ezr. iv. 8,

11, 17, 23, v. 6f., 13f., 17, vi. 1, 3, 13, 15,* vii. 7, 11, 21; Neh. xi. 23, 24) is simply 'the king' (so Hag. i. 1, 15; Zech. vii. 1). The observation is due to Ewald, *Hist.*, I. 173" (p. 545).

"Neh. xii. 22, 'Darius the Persian' must (from the context) be Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, B.C. 336-332: and the title 'the Persian' could only have become a distinctive one after the Persian period was past" (p. 545).

"Persia was absorbed and lost in the wider empire, of which by Cyrus' conquest of Babylon the Achæmenidæ became the heirs; hence after that date their standing official title is not 'King of Persia,' but 'King of Babylon' (*Records of the Past*, 1st series, IX. 67; cf. 2d series, V. 166, and comp. *Ezr.* v. 13), or, more commonly, 'the King,' 'the great King,' 'King of Kings,' 'King of the Lands,' etc. (often in combination): see the series of inscriptions of Persian kings in *Records*, 1st series, I. 111ff. (Behistun), V. 151ff., IX. 67-88; also the Aramaic funereal inscription found at Saqqarah, near Memphis, in 1877 (C. I. S., II. 1, No. 122), dated the fourth year of [מלכיא ז' חשיארש מלכא ז' *i.e.*, of 'Xerxes, King of k[ings]' and Βασιλεύς Βασιλέων Δαρῆιος ὁ Υστάσπεω Γαδάσται δούλοι τὰδε λέγει, in the interesting decree cited by Meyer, p. 19: comp. *Ezr.* vii. 12 ('King of Persia' is used of Cyrus only *before* his conquest of Babylon, *Records*, 2d series, V. 160; and of Darius only exceptionally, in the midst of other titles, *ib.*, 1st series, I. 111. By their subjects the Persian kings are also styled 'King of Babylon' or 'King of the Lands' (often in combination): see the numerous contract-tablets belonging to the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, published in Schrader's *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, IV. 259-311)" (p. 546).

II.

We shall give, first, the designations and titles of the kings of Persia.

A.

We shall begin by enumerating the simpler titles.

1. The personal name alone is given. See below, III. A. 1, B. 1, C. 9; IV. A. 1, B. 1, C. 1, D. 1 (1), 2 (1), 3 (1), F. 1, G. 1, H., I. 1 (1), 2 (1), 3 (1), 4 (1), 5 (1), 6 (1), 7 (1), J. 1 (1), 2 (1), 3 (1), 4 (1), 5 (1), (2) B., (3), (4), (5), (6); V. A. 1, B. 1.

2. The title alone is given. See below, III. B. 2, D. 1; IV. A. 2,

*Dr. Driver gives a footnote here as follows: In vi. 14f. the words "and Artaxerxes, king of Persia," can hardly (on account of the context) be part of the original narrative.

B. 2, C. 2, D. 1 (2), 2 (2), 3 (2), 4 (2), F. (1), H., G. 2, I. 1 (2), 2 (2), 3 (2), 4 (2), 5 (2), 6 (2), 7 (2).

3. The title preceded by the personal name is given. See below, III. A. 2; IV. A. 6, B. 3, C. 3, D. 1 (3), 2 (3), G. 3, H., I. 2 (3), 4 (3), 5 (3); V. A. 4, B. 4.

4. The name preceded by the title is given. See below, III. B. 3, C. 15; IV. A. 5, B. 4, C. 3, D. 3 (3), G. 4, I. 1 (4), 2 (4), 3 (4), 4 (4), 5 (4) 7 (3); V. A. 3, B. 3.

5. The name of the king and the name of his father are given. See below, III. B. 4; IV. B. 6, C. 4, G. 5, I. 3 (5), 4 (5), J. 1 (2), 2 (2), 4 (2), 5 (2), (4) (5).

6. The names of both father and grandfather are given. See Old Persian copy of the Behistun Inscription, § 1, Weissbach and Bang. "Darius the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames."

7. The names of the father and of the family are given. See Persepolis Inscription *b*, Weissbach and Bang, 52. "Darius the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid." See, also, Susa *a*, *id.*, 38.

8. The names of the title and family are given. See Murghab Inscription, Weissbach and Bang, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, 46. "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenid."

9. The names of the person, the father, the family, and the adjective "great" are employed. See Weissbach, *Die Achæmenideninschriften zweiter Art.*, E., Gewichtinschrift, I. page 78. "I am Darius, the great king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid."

10. The complete genealogy is given up to Achæmenis, *e.g.*, "The king Darius speaks thus: My father was Hystaspes, Histaspes' father Arsames, Arsames' father Ariaramnes, Ariaramnes' father Teïspes, Teïspes' father Achæmenis." Beh. Ins. 2. See Bezold, *Die Achæmenideninschriften*, page 3.

11. The name, title and family alone are mentioned, *e.g.*, "I am Cyrus, the king, the Achæmenian." The Murghab Inscription.

12. The name of the father alone is mentioned, *e.g.*, "son of Cambyses." Heroditus I. 124.

13. A king sometimes designates his predecessor as father simply, *e.g.*, Xerxes, Pers. Ins. *a*, § 3, calls Darius "my father."

14. The class to which one belonged is mentioned in the case of the false Smerdis, *i.e.*, he is called "Gumatu Magashu," Gomates, the Magian. Behistun Inscriptions, §§ 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 90, 109.

15. The nationality is mentioned, *e.g.*, Suez *c*, Darius says: "I am a Persian." Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I. 1, speaks of the Persian, Cyrus.

16. The title alone is given, but with the adjective "great" to emphasize it, *e.g.*, Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, Bk. I. 3, 7 *bis*, II. 3.

17. The name, the title and the adjective "great" are given, *e.g.*, in the inscription on the vase: "Xerxes, the great king." *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, 45.

18. The title is emphasized superlatively by the plural in the genitive, *e.g.*, "king of kings." See in the inscription cited by Driver, above referred to, and in the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon published in Bezold's *Achæmenideninschriften*, page 45.

19. The name, the title and the country, or countries, are mentioned, *e.g.*, "Xerxes, king in the land of Persia and the land of the Medes, etc." See III. B. 14 (5) below.

20. The title and the country (or city) are mentioned in this and the following designations, *e.g.*, in the Cyrus Chronicle obv., 2d. col. 1, and on the Clay Cylinder 12, Cyrus is called "king of the city or fortress of Anshan." So l. 21.

21. "King of Babylon." So Cyrus in subscription to Cyrus' tablets 11, 13, 16, *et al. mul.*, and in the subscriptions of most of the tablets of the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes.

22. "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, II. 304, of Artaxerxes.

23. "King of Persia and Media," *e.g.*, Xerxes is so called. See Oppert in the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archæologie*, I.

24. "Lord of Asia." So Cambyses is called, according to Erman, in *Z.A.S.*, XXXI. 92, 93.

25. "Lord of the land." Darius, in Insc. of Kharumabra. Brugsch, *History*, II. 300.

26. "King of the whole continent." So Darius in the inscription of Tearus. See Herodotus, IV. 91.

27. "King of the lands," *e.g.*, Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus*, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, etc.

28. "King of Babylon, king of the lands," *e.g.*, *Inschriften von Cyrus*, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, etc.

29. "King of Babylon and of the lands," *e.g.*, *Inschriften von Cyrus*, 1, 25, 31, 45, 46, 60, 86, 87, etc.

30. The name, the title, and the nation are mentioned, as in this and the following titles, *e.g.*, "Darius, the king of the Persians." See the Tearus' stele, Herodotus, IV. 91, and Herodotus, IV. 92, V. 36, VII. 4. This title is found perhaps, also, in the Xanthian stele in Lycian. See *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Vol. IV. 161.

31. "King of the Medes." So Tamyris, queen of the Massagetæ, calls Cyrus, according to Herodotus, I. 205.

32. "King of the nations (or host) of mankind." Behistun, I.
33. Variations of the above are the following: "Great King of Egypt." So of Cambyses. See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, II. 294.
34. "King and Lord of the land." So of Darius, in Mariette's List, No. 2296. See Brugsch, *History*, II. 291.
35. "The great Lord of all nations." So of Cambyses. See Brugsch, *History*, 294.
36. "Great Lord of all lands." So of Cambyses. Brugsch, *History*, II. 294.
37. "King of the great earth, far and near." Xerxes Insc. c. Weissbach and Bang, *Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, 43.
38. "King of the lands of the totality of tongues." Xerxes Insc. d, *id.*
39. "King of the lands of the totality of all tongues." Naqš-i-Rustem Insc. of Darius. Bezold, *Die Achæmenideninschriften*, 84; see, also, Persepolis Insc. B, *id.*, 86.
40. "King of lands of many tongues (or of all races)." Darius, Suez c, § 2; Weissbach and Bang, 39; Brugsch, II. 301.
41. Other titles are as follows: "the mighty king" (*šarru dannu*, distinct from *šarru rabu*). Cyrus Cylinder, l. 20.
42. "King of Shumir and Akkad." Cyrus Cylinder, l. 20.
43. "King of the four regions." Cyrus Cylinder, l. 20.
44. "The noblest and best of all men." Used of Darius in Tearus' stele. Herodotus, IV. 91.
45. "Son of the sun." Inscription of Darius found at El-Khargeh. Brugsch, II. 298, and *T. S. B. A.*, Vol. V. p. 293.
46. "Lord of the throne of the world." Inscription of Darius in Egypt. *Trans. S. B. A.*, Vol. V. p. 293.
47. "The godlike benefactor." Used of Artaxerxes. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, II. 304.
48. "The hereditary enemy." Xerxes, Inscription of Rhabbash. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, II. 305, 306.
49. "The wearer of the crown." Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, II. 304.
50. "The Persian." Xenophon, *Affairs of Greece*, Book V. § 2.
51. "The Mede." The speakers in Thucydides seem thus to denote the king of Persia, *e.g.*, Bk. VI. 33, 83, 17, *et al.*
52. "Sovereign Lord." Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, IV. 6, VII. 2.
53. "Born of Ra." This was a title or "throne name" of Cambyses. See Budge, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. VII. 42.
54. "Horus, unifier of the two lands." This is the Horus name of Cambyses. See Budge, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. VII. 42.

55. "Lord of the two lands." Budge, *id.*, of Cambyses, and p. 85, of Darius Nothus.

56. "Lord of every country." Budge, VII. 42.

57. "Beautiful god." So Darius Nothus is called, according to Budge, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. VII. 85.

58. "Beloved of Amun-Ra." Budge, *id.*

59. "Lord of Hebt." Budge, *id.*

60. "Pharaoh, the great." This is a title of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Budge, VII. 79.

II.—B.

We shall give, in the second place, the more lengthy groups of titles.

1. "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the lands, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenid." Behistun Inscription, § 1.

2. "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid." Inscription of Persepolis, *a.*

3. Same as 2, except that the lands are called "many." Inscription of Persepolis, *e.*

4. "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of many nations, king of this great earth far and wide, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid, a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan, of the Aryan race." Inscription of Naqš-i-Rustem, *a.*

5. Same as 4, except that it omits all after "Achæmenid." Inscription of Elvend, Weissbach and Bang, *Die Altpersischen Keilschriften*, page 37; Bezold, *Die Achæmenideninschriften*, VII. O.

6. Same as 5, except that it has "all nations" instead of "many." Suez *c.*, Weissbach and Bang, 39.

7. "Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of nations, the king of the totality of the lands, the king of this great, broad earth (kakkara), the son of Darius, the king, the Achæmenid." Bezold, *Die Achæmenideninschriften*, XV. F., page 43.

8. "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the king of this earth, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid." Inscription of Kerman, Weissbach and Bang, page 39; Sz. *c.*

9. "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of all nations, the king of this great earth, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid." Suez *b.*, *id.*, 39.

10. "Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the king, the Achæmenid." Bezold, X. Ca.

11. "Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of the totality of tongues, the king of this great wide (rukhti) earth,

the son of Darius the king, the Achæmenid." Bezold, XI. D, and XII. E.

12. "Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of the totality of all tongues, the king of this great, broad (*rapaštum*) earth, the son of Darius the king, the Achæmenid." Bezold, XIII. Ca, and XIV. Cb., XVI. K.

13. "Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings (*šarru ša šarrâni*. So, also, in XVI. K, and IV. NR, but in the others *šar šarrâni*), the king of (*ša*) the lands, which are in the whole earth, (the son of Darius, the king; Darius, the king, being the son of Artaxerxes, the king; Artaxerxes, the king, being the son of Xerxes, the king; Xerxes, the king, being the son of Darius, the king; Darius, the king, being the son of Hystaspes, of the seed of the Achæmenids." Bezold, XVII. S.

14. "Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king, the son of Darius, the king." Weissbach and Bang, page 45, Art. Sus. b.

15. "Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, king of the lands, king of this earth." *Id.*, Art. Sus. c.

16. The inscriptions in the Old Persian published by Weissbach and Bang, pages 44–47, are the same as 11 above, except that they have "king of this earth" instead of "which are on the whole earth." See Art. Sus. a, and B. Ins. von Hamadan.

17. "I am Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the king of this earth, the son of Artaxerxes, the king. Artaxerxes was the son of Darius, the king; Darius was the son of Artaxerxes, the king; Artaxerxes was the son of Xerxes, the king; Xerxes was the son of Darius, the king; Darius was the son of one of the name Hystaspes; Hystaspes was the son of one of the name Arsames, the Achæmenid." Weissbach and Bang, p. 47, Art. Pers.

18. "Cyrus, king of nations, the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world, son of Cambyses, the great king, the king of the city (*mahâzu*) of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anšan, great-grandson of Sišpiš, the great king, king of the city of Anšan, the everlasting seed of whose kingdom Bel and Nabo love, whose government they wish to the good of their heart." Clay Cylinder of Cyrus, lines 20–22.

19. "Cambyses, king of Babylon, son of Cyrus, king of nations." Subscription to the Cambyses tablet No. 42, published by Strassmaier.

20. "Cambyses, king of Babylon, when (*enuma*) Cyrus, his father, was king of nations." *Id.*, No. 46.

21. "[Cyrus] king of nations and Cambyses, king of Babylon." *Id.*, No. 426. Obv. 7-9, and apparently reverse margin.

22. "Great king of Egypt and great lord of all lands." So Cambyses is styled on the statue of Uzahorenpiris in the Vatican. Brugsch, II. 294.

23. "The noblest and best of all men, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians and of the whole continent." So on the stele said by Herodotus, IV. 91, to have been set up by Darius at the river Tearus in Thrace.*

24. "The godlike benefactor and sovereign, son of the sun, and wearer of the crown Nthariush" (*i.e.*, Darius). So on one of the Coptos inscriptions. Brugsch, II. 304.

25. Same as last, except that it omits the "godlike benefactor" and refers to Xerxes. Brugsch, II. 304.

26. "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt and lord of the land, Nthariush" (*i.e.*, Darius). Inscription of Khnum-abra. Brugsch, II. 300.

27. "The king of the Upper and Lower country, son of the sun, lord of the throne of the world." See *T. S. B. A.*, Vol. V. p. 293, and Brugsch, II. 298, on the Inscription of El-Khargeh.

28. "Xerxes, king of Persia and of Media, king of Babylon, king of the lands." So Oppert translates part of tablet in British Museum dated: Babylon the 26th day of the month Ab of the first year of Xerxes. See *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archæologie orientale*, I. 484.

29. "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the sovereign, Artaxerxes." Brugsch, II. 304.

30. "The majesty of the king and lord of the land, Darius." Brugsch, II. 291.

31. Darius is called: "The great lord of all lands and a great king of Egypt." Brugsch, II. 296.

32. Darius, the last king of Persia, styles himself: "Beloved of Amun-Ra, lord of Hebt, mighty one of strength." Budge, *History of Egypt*, VII. 85.

33. He styles himself also: "Beautiful god, lord of the two lands." *Id.*, 85.

34. "Darius, the great king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid." Weissbach and Bang, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, page 41.

* The part of the stele quoted above reads in Greek: Ἄνῆρ ἀριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων Δαρείος ὁ Ὑστάσπετος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς.

III.

We shall classify the designations of the kings of Persia according to the countries in which the monuments which contain the inscriptions were made.

A. MEDO-PERSIAN.

1. The name simply, *e.g.*, "Cambyses slew Bardiya." Behistun, § 10 (13). See also §§ 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, for Cambyses; and 21 for Bardiya (*i.e.*, Smerdis); and for Xerxes in Bezold, XII. E. 3 (seldom).

2. The title "king" alone. Behistun Ins., § 105.

3. The name plus the title, *e.g.*, "Cyrus, the king." See Cyrus Cylinder, 27. "Darius, the king." Behistun, §§ 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40, 42, 44, 48, 53, 57, 61, 64, 68, 70, 72, 75, 77, 78, 82, 84, 86, 89², 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109 and 112; IV. NR (Bezold's numbering), 7, 19, 26, 30; V. NR. kl. 1, 2; VII. O. 8; VIII. L.; IX. H. 12; XIII. Ca. 9, 12; XIV. Cb. 17, 22; XVI. K. 12; XVII. S. 3, 4, 6, 7. So also in Weissbach, *Die Achæmenideninschriften 2ter Art.*, page 79, and in *Die Altpers. Keilinschriften*, p. 41, by Weissbach and Bang. "Xerxes, the king." Bezold, XI. D. 9, 17; XIII. Ca. 3; XIV. Cb. 5; XV. F. 9; XVI. K. 4, 12; XVII. S. 5, 6; XIX. 5.

"Artaxerxes, the king." Bezold, XVII. S. 4, 5; XVIII. Sb. 3.

4. The name plus the title, "the great king," without further titles, *e.g.*, the seal of Darius, "I am Darius, the great king." Bezold, II. Sgl. On several vases, "Xerxes, the great king." *Id.*, XX. 2. On another vase, "Artaxerxes, the great king" (see *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, herausgegeben von F. H. Weissbach und W. Bang, p. 47). This phrase is found on all the Old Persian and Susian inscriptions published by Weissbach and Bang, and on all the Babylonian inscriptions in Bezold, except those numbered by Bezold I, III, V, VIII, IX; and those denoted by Bh. b-k, Dar. Pers. c., NR. c-e., H. and IV. by Weissbach and Bang in *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*.

5. The Cyrus inscription contains the words: "I (am) Cyrus, the king, the Achæmenid."*

6. Xerxes refers to Darius as his father simply, *e.g.*, Bezold, XI. D. 14; XIII. Ca. 10, 12; XIV. Cb. 18, 23; XVI. K. 13. Artaxerxes, in like manner, to Darius, XIX, Lwst. 10.

7. Artaxerxes II refers to Artaxerxes I as his grandfather as

* Through an oversight, doubtless, Bezold has failed to translate *šarru*.

AD. AD. ia., and to Darius Hystaspes as his AD. AD. AD. ia., or great-grandfather. Bezold, XVII. S. 10, 9.

8. The title "king in Persia" occurs on Behistun Ins., 72.

9. Barzia is called "son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses." Behistun Ins., 16.

10. Barzia is called "the son of Cyrus." Behistun Ins., 21, 72, 91, 94.

11. For combinations of titles, see II. B.

III.—B. BABYLONIAN.

1. Cyrus. In the Nabuna'id-Cyrus Chronicle, 2d col., 1, 2, Rev. 12, 15, 18, 19, and on the Strassmaier tablets 35, 68(?), 75(?), and others. [These are collected from the first hundred merely.]

Darius. On tablets 7, 62, 88, 100(?), 128, 187(?), 190, 211*bis*, 234, 320, 324, 412 (?), 451. [These are collected from the 578 tablets in Strassmaier.]

Cambyses alone, in Strassmaier, Nos. 435, 27, 29, 79²³.

2. "The king." Only in the doubtful phrase "son of the king" of Cambyses in the Nab.-Cyrus Chronicle Rev. 27, and in such phrases as "storehouse of the king." See Strassmaier's Cyrus tablets, Nos. 21, 47, 74, 78, 88, 367; and his Cambyses tablets, Nos. 121, 266, 274, 288, 324, 359 and 385; and his Darius tablets, Nos. 88, 92, 106, 253, 285.

3. "Cyrus, the king." So on the Clay Cylinder 27, 35. "Cambyses, the king." Strassmaier tablet 384. "Darius, the king," on the Strassmaier tablets 97, 274, 309, 339(?), 350 *bis*, 369, 384, 420, 429, 438, 451, 509, 516, 523 and 542.

"Artaxerxes, the king." So in No. 31 of the Inscriptions published by Barton in the *A. J. S. L. and L.* for January, 1900.

4. "Cyrus, son of Cambyses." Only found so far in the Clay Cylinder 21, and in combination with other titles. "Cambyses, son of Cyrus." Nab.-Cyrus Chron. Rev. 24. In addition to the above Cyrus refers to Cambyses as "Cambyses the son, the issue of my body" (*šit libbiya*), Clay Cylinder 27; and on the same Cylinder, line 35, the gods speak graciously concerning "Cyrus and Cambyses, his son." He is referred to, also, as the son of the king in the Nab.-Cyrus Chron. Rev. 27.

5. "Cyrus, king of Persia." Only in Nab.-Cyrus Chron., 2d col., 15. But Xerxes is so called in conjunction with other titles in three tablets out of six of Xerxes, to which the writer has had access, to wit: in Nos. 2 and 3 of those published by Evetts in the Appendix to his *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil—Merodach, Neriglassar and*

Laborosoarchod; and in the one published by Oppert in the *Revue d'A. et d'A. orientale*, I. 484.

6. "Cyrus, king of An-ša-an," Nab.-Cyrus Chron., 2d col., 1 (the Anšaan being without any determinative, but in line 4 it is preceded by *mat*, "country of"). In the Clay Cylinder, the phrase occurs with the determinative for city, or fortress, before Anšaan in line 12 of Cyrus, in line 21 of Cyrus' father Cambyses, of the latter's father Cyrus, and of Sišpiš, the apparent founder of the dynasty.

7. "Cyrus, king of Babylon." This title is given to Cyrus on the tablets alone. Without any further title it is found on Strassmaier's tablets 18, 34, 53(?), 62, 112(?), 168, 290, 299, 326, 335, and repeated on number 101.

Cambyses is called king of Babylon, without any further title, on Strassmaier's tablets, 28, 39, 40, 45, 48, 50, 51, 57, 58, 60, 63 ?, 73, 82, 85 ?, 86, 88, 89, 97, 102 ?, 163 ?, 197 ?, 248 ?, 288, 404 ?, 419, 420, 422, 423 ?, 434. [It may be remarked of these tablets, that the year of all from 404 to 484 inclusive is unknown; and that all up to 102 inclusive are dated in the accession year, or in the first year, of his reign.]

Darius I is called king of Babylon without further title on the Strassmaier tablets numbered 3, 46, 66, 81, 94, 180, 224 ?, 233?, 292 ?, 299 ?, 389, 444 ?, 514, 538.

Xerxes in the four tablets published by Evetts is never called simply "king of Babylon." The tablet from the University of Pennsylvania collection, published in the *A. J. of Semitic Languages and Literature* for January, 1900, by Prof. George A. Barton, is so mutilated as to make it impossible for us to learn whether "king of Babylon" is mentioned without further titles or not. As to the tablets of Artaxerxes I, published by Hilprecht, in Vol. IX of the *Cuneiform Texts*, not one of the one hundred and eighteen entitles Artaxerxes "king of Babylon," nor does the British Museum tablet K. 8506, published by Peiser in *K. B.*, IV. 312. Of the later kings of Persia, there are unfortunately no tablets, or other monuments, published as yet. To sum up under this head, Cyrus is called "king of Babylon" in from nine to eleven tablets out of 368; Cambyses in from twenty-two to thirty out of 438; Darius in from nine to fourteen out of 578; Xerxes in at most one, though most probably in no one, out of six; and Artaxerxes in not one out of 117.

8. "King of the lands." So Cyrus is designated in tablets 2, 3 ?, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15 ?, 27, 28, 29, 33 ?, 37, 52, 58, 65, 66, 77, 84, 89, 102, 125, 150, 163, 270 ?; Cambyses, in Strassmaier tablets 4, 18, 22, 30, 103, 118 ?, 148 ?, 149, 153, 165, 195, 212 ?, 234, 259, 329,

350 ?, 355, 357, 380, 388, 390, 391, 410, 431 and 438, and in Barton's tablet 1; Smerdis, in tablets 2 and 3, *Z. A.* IV. 147; Darius, in Strassmaier's tablets 2, 8, 52, 59, 78, 83, 98, 101 ?, 205, 240, 274, 281, 285, 346 ?, 364, 376, 386, 408, 444 ?, 510, 517, 518, 545, 555, 565 and 567, and in Barton's tablets 21, 22, 23; Xerxes, in the fourth of those published by Evetts, and in the tablet published by the trustees of the British Museum, catalogued as Bu. 88-5-12, 593 (Part IV. of the *Cuneiform Texts*); Artaxerxes, in all the contract tablets from his reign so far published by Hilprecht, in Vol. IX, *Cuneiform Texts*, and Peiser, in *K. B.*, IV. 312.*

9. "King of Babylon and of the lands." This phrase is used of Cyrus on the tablet given in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, II. 176, and in the Strassmaier tablets numbered 1, 25, 31, 45, 46, 60, 86, 87, 92 ?, 182, 211, 214, 222, 224, 230, 248, 272, 274, 291, 310, 331, 355 and 367; of Cambyses, in those numbered 8, 13, 43, 53, 56, 64 ?, 71, 76 ?, 99, 115, 119, 130, 135, 142, 151, 161, 162, 167, 175, 182, 183, 186 ?, 207, 211, 219, 223, 226, 231, 253, 256, 257, 261, 262, 277, 292, 298, 310, 314, 317, 321, 322, 328, 337, 348, 351, 354, 373, 396, 401, 409, 416 and 436; of Smerdis, on tablets published in *Z. A.*, IV. 147, and numbered 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 twice (*i. e.*, on lines 3 and 17), 8, 9; of Darius, in the tablets published in *Z. A.*, I. 445, II. 215, 217, 219, and IV. 147, and in the tablets published by Strassmaier and numbered 23, 48, 50, 68, 69, 82, 105, 110, 116, 117, 119, 124, 126 ?, 136, 147, 153, 157, 158, 164, 169, 170, 177, 181, 192, 196, 198, 199, 210, 221, 225, 226, 228, 231, 237, 238, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 249, 252, 254, 259, 266, 268, 270, 271, 272, 276, 278, 286, 287, 289, 290, 297 ?, 300, 302, 308, 310, 315, 323, 328, 330 ?, 332-4, 351-4, 357, 359, 360, 365, 369, 371, 377, 378, 380, 382, 383, 386, 393, 394, 399-407, 411, 423-425, 427, 430, 431, 433, 436, 437, 439, 452, 456, 458, 459, 464, 468, 469, 472-4, 478, 484, 486, 491, 493, 496, 498, 503, 513, 537, 541-3, 547, 550, 559, 560, 563, 564, 566, 569, 570, 572, 576, and in the tablets published in Part IV. of the *Cuneiform Texts*, printed by order of the trustees of the British Museum, catalogued as Bu. 88-5-12, 557, 637, 643 and 287; of Xerxes, in those numbered 3 and 4 by Evetts (really the second and third of Xerxes' inscriptions), but in composition, as may be seen below under 13 (5) (6). The first of these is from the second, and the second from the fourth, year of Xerxes. No tablet from the reign of Artaxerxes has this subscription.

10. "King of Babylon, king of the lands." This is the usual sub-

* Of the four tablets from the reign of Artaxerxes, published by Barton in *A. J. S. L. and L.*, only one is legible, and it reads simply "Artaxerxes the king."

scription under Cyrus, where it occurs in 262 tablets out of 368 of Strassmaier's, and in *Z. A.*, I. 432, and II. 8, and in *Z. A.*, III. 115, 219, 220; under Cambyses, where it is met 294 times on 438 tablets published by Strassmaier and in the one published by the trustees of the British Museum, Part IV, Bu. 88-5-12, 336; under Smerdis (Barzia) in tablets 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 (lines 3 and 17), 8 and 9, published in *Z. A.*, IV. 147-152 (edited by Strassmaier); and under Darius I, where it occurs about 350 times in 578 of the Strassmaier tablets, and in Bu. 88-5-12, 639.

It is in the subscription of the first of the Xerxes tablets published by Evetts, written in the accession year of Xerxes. This subscription is not found in the Artaxerxes tablets published by Hilprecht, by Peiser, and by Barton.

11. The following exceptional designations and combinations of titles are found: (1) On a brick from Uruk this occurs: "Cyrus, builder of E-shakkil and E-zida, son of Cambyses, the mighty king, am I." (2) "The mighty king," *šarru dannu*. So far, this phrase, so common on the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments of the kings of those nations, has been found but twice on the Babylonian inscriptions referring to the kings of Persia. One is on a brick from Uruk, in which Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, is called "mighty king." The other is on the Clay Cylinder of Cyrus, in which he calls himself not merely a *šarru rabu*, but a *šarru dannu* (see line 20). Both of these times the phrase is in conjunction with others and with the name of the person so entitled. (3) "The great king," *šarru rabu*. This phrase occurs only in the Clay Cylinder of Cyrus, line 20, in conjunction with other titles.

12. The following variations are probably due to scribal errors or mistakes of the editor, *e.g.*:

(1) "King of Babylon and king of the lands." Cyrus tablets 297; Darius tablets 362.

(2) "King of Babylon, king of the land." Cyrus tablets 118.

(3) "Cyrus of Babylon." Cyrus tablets 90.

(4) "Darius, King of Babylon, of the lands." Darius tablets 349.

(5) "Darius, king of the land." Darius tablets 535.

(6) "Darius, king of Babylon, king of Babylon." Darius tablets 275.

13. The following combinations of titles of Persian kings have been found in Babylonia:

(1) On a brick found at Uruk: "I am Cyrus, builder of Ešakkil and Ezida, son of Cambyses, the mighty king." See Hagen, *Cyrus Texte*, in Delitzsch's *Beiträge*, Vol. II. 215.

(2) In the Clay Cylinder 20-22: "I am Cyrus, king of nations (kiššat), the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions, son of Cambyses, the great king, the king of the city of Anšan; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anšan; descendant of Sišpiš, the great king, king of the city of Anšan, of a long-enduring royal race," etc.

(3) "Cambyses, king of Babylon, son of Cyrus, king of nations." This occurs as the subscription on the Cambyses tablets numbered 36, 42, 72 and perhaps 98.

(4) An important variation of (3) is: "Cambyses, king of Babylon, when Cyrus his father was king of nations." Cambyses tablet 46, with which 81 may be compared.

(5) "Xerxes, king in the land of Persia and the land of the Medes, king of Babylon and of the lands." See Evetts, in *Babylonische Texte*, Heft VI. B.

(6) "Xerxes, king of Persia and Media, king of Babylon and of the lands." See Evetts as under (5), and in another tablet from Xerxes' first year, the translation of which is given by Oppert in the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*, I. 484.

(7) "Sogdianus, the Achæmenid, king of [nations am I]." See J. Oppert in *Z. A.*, XVI. 1-15 (perhaps not genuine).

III.—C. EGYPTIAN.

The designations and titles given to the Persian monarchs on the monuments found in Egypt will be given in the order of the kings, beginning with Cambyses:

1. "O Herr der Götter, Harsaphes, König beider Aegypten, Herrscher der Länder, etc., du setztest die Liebe zu mir in den Herz des Herrschers von Asien," *i.e.*, Cambyses, according to Erman, in *Z. A. S.*, XXXI, 92, 93.

2. "The great Lord of all nations, Kambathet." Brugsch, in the *History of Egypt*, Vol. II. 294. On the statue of Uzahorenpiris of the Vatican.

3. "He was a great king of Egypt and the great lord of all lands," *i.e.*, Cambyses. Brugsch, *id.*, 294.

4. "The Lord of the land, Kambuza." Brugsch, II. 303. Inscription from Coptos.

5. "Ramesuth, son of the sun, Kambathet," on the cartouche of Cambyses. Budge, *A History of Egypt*, VII. 42.

6. His Horus name was "the unifier of the two lands." Budge, *id.*

7. "In his throne name, *i.e.*, as king of the South and North, he styled himself 'Born of Ra.'" Budge, *id.*

8. "He also styled himself 'lord of the two lands' and 'lord of every country.'" Budge, *id.*, note.

9. "Darius." See Inschriften von Suez, in *Die Altpersischen Keilschriften*, by F. H. Weissbach and W. Bang. Sz. a.

10. "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, king of the lands of all nations, king of this great earth, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian." See *id.*, Sz. b. Sz. c, § 2, is the same except that it inserts after earth "far and wide" (auch fernhin=*duraïy apiy* in Persian).

11. "King of the upper and lower country, son of the sun, Lord of the throne of the world." (Inscription of Darius, published in *T. S. B. A.*, Vol. V. 293, found at El Khargeh. See Brugsch, *History*, II. 298.)

12. "In the year 31 under the Majesty of the king and lord of the land Nthariush." In Mariette's List No. 2296. See Brugsch, II. 291.

13. "He was a great lord of all lands and a great king of Egypt." Brugsch, II. 296. This is used of Darius and is the same as 3 above, used of Cambyses, except that the clauses are reversed.

14. "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the land Nthariush." Inscription of Khnumabra. Brugsch, II. 300.

15. "The godlike benefactor and sovereign, the son of the sun, and wearer of the crown, Nthariush." Brugsch, II. 304.

15. The phrase "Darius the king" is found in the Suez inscription c, § 3, which begins: "Thus speaks Darius the king, I am a Persian. Coming from Persia (von Persien aus), I conquered Egypt." Weissbach and Bang, as above, p. 39.

16. "Xerxes the great." So the cartouche of Xerxes (or the cartouche and the following hieroglyphics). See Budge's *History*, VII. 72.

17. "Xerxes, the great king." This has been found on vases found at Halicarnassus and Susa, having inscriptions in Persian, Median, Babylonian and Egyptian. See Budge, *History*, VII. 77.

18. "The hereditary enemy, Xerxes." Inscription of Khabbash. Brugsch, Vol. II. 305, 306; Budge, VII. 73. See also Brugsch, in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, January, 1871.

19. On an inscription found near Memphis may be read distinctly the letters

חשיארש מלכא זי מ

Renan, in his notes in the *C. I. S.*, reads the last word מלכיא

[or מלכם. Compare the inscription of Abdastarte, where Ptolemy is called מלכם ארן].

This would make the inscription read: "Xerxes, the king of kings." And so Driver takes it. Still, we think, there is room for doubting this reading, although admitting that it is historically and linguistically possible. Since it was found near Memphis, who can say that we should not read מנפי, the Aramaic name for Memphis (compare Derenbourg, in *C. I. S.*, 102 c, I. 124). In the Annalistic Inscription of the Rassam Cylinder, Necho is called king of the city of Memphis.* The kings of Persia were called kings of Babylon, why not also of Memphis.?

More probably, however, we should read מצרין, Egypt. This would agree with the facts of the case as well as the others. Xerxes is called king of Persia and Media and Babylon, why not also king of Egypt? Further, as will be seen from the above list of titles numbered 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 14, it was common to speak of the Persian kings as kings or lords of the land, of Upper and Lower Egypt, or even expressly as the king of Egypt, as in 13 and 3 above. The usual title of the Pharaohs in Assyrian, Babylonian and Hebrew was "king of Egypt." [Thus Assurbanipal on the Rassam Cylinder, Col. I, 53, 78, Tarku šar matu Mušur; Nebuchadnezzar on the fragment of an historical inscription given by Schrader in *K. B.*, III, 2 Hälfte, 140. [Ama] asu šar Mišir; and the writer of Second Kings, xxiii. 29,

פְּרֵעָה נִכְהָ מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם

20. "Artaxerxes, Pharaoh the Great." Thus the cartouche. See Budge, VII. 78.

21. Darius the Second is called on his cartouches: "Beloved of Amen-Ra, son of the sun," and "Darius, Lord of Hebt, mighty one of strength." Budge, VII. 83, 85.

22. Darius II "also adopted the titles of 'Beautiful god, lord of the two lands.'" Budge, VII. 85.

23. In the lately published Egypto-Aramaic papyrus of Strassburg, Darius II is called (1) "Our Lord" (see A. 1, B. 5); (2) "King" (see A. 3, 5); (3) "Darius, the king" (see A. 2). See *Revue Sémitique* for Jan., 1904, pages 67-78.

III.—D. GREEK.

1. King. As a title of Darius I, this occurs only in the decree of Darius addressed to Gadatas, and in the phrase *εμ βασιλέως οἰκω*. See Meyer's *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 19. Meyer quotes

* Ni-ku-u šar mahâzu Me-im-pi. See KB. II. 160

from Cousin and Deschamps, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XIII. 529, vgl. XIV. 646. [The inscription of Gadatas was put in the rock probably in the time of Tiberias. It comes from the region of Magnesia, on the Meander. It is supposed to have been correctly copied from its original, made in the time of Darius I.]

2. "The king of kings (lit. king of kings), Darius, the son of Hystaspes." See inscription of Gadatas. The Greek reads βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Δάρειος ὁ Υστάσπεω.

3. According to Herodotus, Darius I, when he reached the river Tearus, was so delighted with the river that he erected a *stèle* with the following inscription: "The springs of the Tearus yield the best and finest water of all rivers; and a man, the best and finest of all men, came to them, leading an army against the Scythians, Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, and of the whole continent." See *Melpomene*, 91. For the Greek, see above, II. 23, note.

4. On the memorial tablet* of Mandrocles, "Darius (the) king" is found. See Herodotus, *Melpomene*, 88.

IV. DESIGNATIONS OF THE KINGS OF PERSIA IN THE CLASSICAL AUTHORS.

A. CTESIAS.†

1. The name alone is given, *e.g.*, *ap. Photium cod.*, LXXII, p. 106, "the things concerning Cyrus and Cambyses and the Magian and Darius and Xerxes." See Müller, p. 45. So Cyrus alone on page 46, fourteen times; Darius on page 49, eleven times; Cambyses on page 48, ten times; Artaxerxes on page 57, eleven times, etc.

2. King, with or without the article, *e.g.*, page 55 once, 56 six times, 57 five times, 58 six times, etc.

3. The name and title "king" are used, *e.g.*, "Artaxerxes, the king," § 42.

4. Or the title "king" is followed by the name, *e.g.*, "king Artaxerxes," § 63.

5. Both Xerxes the First and Xerxes the Second are followed by the phrase "the Son," *e.g.*, §§ 20 and 44.

6. An appellation alone is used, *e.g.*, *The Magian* for Smerdis, page 49.

7. According to Ctesias, some of the Persian monarchs had two names, one being their preregnal name and the other their throne

* *μνημόσυνα*. We see no reason for doubting that Herodotus has given us a correct copy of this tablet. It contains four lines of poetry. We see no reason for doubting that the Tearus' stele, likewise, has been correctly reported to us.

† For Ctesias, I have used *Ctesiae Cnidii fragmenta a Carolo Müllero* Parisiis, MDCCCXLIV.

name, *e.g.*, Ochus assumed the name "The Darian" as soon as he became king, page 55 (§ 48). Arsaces assumed the name of Artaxerxes, page 56 (§ 57). Ochus, after his accession, is called "Ochus, the Darian," whereas Arsaces is called Artaxerxes simply. See for the former statement, §§ 49, 56, 57; for the latter, §§ 59, 60, 64.

B. HERODOTUS.

1. Ordinarily he calls the king by his name alone, *e.g.*, "Cyrus," Book I. 71, 72, 73, 75, 76 and, in fact, in nearly every section of the first book and often a number of times in a section, *e.g.*, 77 three times, 90 four times, 141 four times. So also of Cambyses in Book III. 1-126; of Darius III. 126-VII. 4; of Xerxes VII. 2-IX. 118.

2. "King." V. 50, 98, 103, 104, VI. 2, 3, and often, of Darius; VII. 6, 99, and often, of Xerxes.

3. The name followed by the title (very unusual in Herodotus). Darius, the king, IV. 88, V. 30, VII. 224; Xerxes, the king, IV. 43. [In the examples cited from V. 30 and VII. 224, the article is used before king.]

4. The title followed by the name, *e.g.*, King Cambyses, III. 63, 122; King Darius, III. 119, 128 *bis*, 137, 138, 139, IV. 87, 88, V. 17, 24, 73, 105, VI. 2, 3, 20, 30, 70, 119 *bis*, VII. 194; King Xerxes, IV. 43, VII. 107, 115, 117, 120, 150, 201, 238, VIII. 24, 35; King Artaxerxes, VII. 151.

5. "O₁son," followed by the name of the father, *e.g.*, "son of Cambyses," I. 124; "son of Darius," VII. 14; "son of Hystaspes," III. 71.

6. The name of the king, followed by *son of so and so*, *e.g.*, "Cyrus, the son of Cambyses," III. 69, VII. 51, I. 46, 73; "Cambyses, the son of Cyrus," III. 1 *bis*, 44, 61, 64, 66, IV. 165; "Smerdis, the son of Cyrus," III. 44, 61 *bis*, 63 *bis*, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 74 *ter*, 75; "Darius, the son of Hystaspes," I. 183, III. 70, 88 *bis*, 140, VI. 97, VII. 1, and often; "Xerxes, the son of Darius," VII. 186, I. 183, VI. 97; "Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes," VII. 97, 106, 151.

7. The king is addressed, or spoken of, as "Persian." Xerxes is so addressed, VII. 12. He is so spoken of as "the Persian," VII. 22, 148 *bis*, 157, 163, 166, 172, 177, 207, VIII. 108, 116, 141, IX. 1, 7. He is called "a Persian man," VII. 157.

8. The personal name is followed by that of the nationality, *e.g.*, "Darius the Persian," II. 110, 158.

9. The phrase "king of the Persians" is used, III. 102, 21 *bis*, V. 36.

10. The name is followed by the title "king of the Persians," *e.g.*, "Cambyses, king of the Persians," III. 21.

11. The king of Persia is called "king of the Medes." So Cyrus is called by Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæi, I. 206; and Xerxes by the Lacedæmonians, VII. 136, VIII. 114, and by the Athenians, IX. 7.

12. The phrase "great king" is used in general, *i.e.*, without reference to any particular king, as in the sentences "when the great king leads his army," I. 188; "the territory over which the great king reigns," I. 192.

13. When personally addressed, the king is called by his subjects "lord," or "despot." Cambyses, III. 62, and Xerxes VII. 147.

14. Xerxes gives his genealogy in VII. 11, as "sprung from Darius, son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Achæmenes."

C. THUCYDIDES.*

1. Name alone, *e.g.*, Cyrus, I. 13; Cambyses, I. 13, 14; Darius, I. 14, 16; Xerxes, I. 14; Darius (the Second), VIII. 58.

2. Title alone, *e.g.*, I. 18, 89, 93, 95, 109, 110, 128 four times; VIII. 18 nine times; and often elsewhere.

3. The name followed by the title, *e.g.*, "Darius (the) king," VIII. 37.

4. The title and the name, *e.g.*, "King Darius," IV. 102, VI. 59 *bis*; "King Xerxes," I. 129 (in letter to Pausanias); "King Artaxerxes," I. 104; "King Darius" (the Second), VIII. 37 *bis*, in the treaty between the Lacedæmonians and the king.

5. The title and name followed by "son of" so and so, *e.g.*, "King Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes," I. 137, IV. 50; "King Darius, the son of Artaxerxes," VIII. 5.

6. "The Mede" is used for the king of Persia, I. 69, 74.

7. "Cyrus, the first king of the Persians† and Cambyses his son," I. 13.

8. "Darius, who was king of the Persians‡ after Cambyses," I. 14.

9. "Cyrus and the Persian kingdom,"§ I. 16.

D. XENOPHON.||

1. Usage in the *Cyropædia*.

(1) The name alone, *e.g.*, Cyrus, Bk. I. 1 *bis*, 2 *ter*, 3 twenty-four times, etc.

* I have used the edition of Boehme.

† Περσῶν πρῶτον βασιλευντος.

‡ ὅς μετὰ Καμβύσην Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε.

§ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐξουσία.

|| I have used Dindorf's edition.

(2) "O king!" addressed to Cyrus, Bk. V. 1²⁴. "The king" (in general for ruler of Persia), Bk. VI. 1, 2, VII. 1, VIII. 1, 3, 5, 6 five times, 8 four times *et al.*

(3) The name followed by the title, *e.g.*, "Artaxerxes, the king," VIII. 8.

(4) "Sovereign Lord," IV. 6.

(5) Name of father followed by name of son, *e.g.*, "Cambyses, the father of Cyrus," I. 4.

(6) Name of the king, followed by the people over whom he ruled, *e.g.*, "Cambyses, king of the Persians," I. 2.

(7) The nationality followed by the name, *e.g.*, "The Persian Cyrus," I. 1.

(8) The sovereign of Persia is called "the Persian king" (lit. "king of the Persians") VII. 1⁴, VIII. 2⁸, ⁹.

2. Usage in the Anabasis.

(1) The name alone is given, *e.g.*, Darius, I. 1 *bis*, 7; Xerxes, I. 2; Artaxerxes, I. 1 four times, II. 1, 4.

(2) The title alone is used, *e.g.*, I. 1 seven times; and often in Book First.

(3) The title followed by the name, *e.g.*, King Artaxerxes, I. 1. [τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξη.]

(4) The phrase "the great king" is sometimes used, *e.g.*, I. 2, 7 *bis*, II. 3.

(5) "The king of the Persians" is employed twice in III. 4. [βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν and ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς.]

3. On the Affairs of Greece.

(1) The name only, *e.g.*, Darius, II. 1 *ter*. This usage is common.

(2) The title only, *e.g.*, II. 1, III. 1 often, and often elsewhere.

(3) The name, followed by the title, "Artaxerxes, (the) king," V. 1, in a mandate of the king.

(4) The title "the Persian" is used alone, V. 2.

(5) The title "the king of Persia" (or of the Persians) is used alone, VII. 3, VI. 3, 5, VII. 1.

(6) In II. 1 occurs the designation: "Xerxes, who was the father of Darius."

(7) The name of the king is followed by his title as king of Persia, *e.g.*, I. 2: "And thus the year ended in which the Medes, who had revolted from Darius, king of Persia (lit. of the Persians), returned to their obedience."

4. Usage in other Works of Xenophon.

(1) In the *Science of Good Husbandry*, the ruler of Persia is four times referred to as "the king of Persia" simply. Oec. IV⁴, Ag. I^a.

(2) The title "the king" is also used, *e.g.*, IV^a.

E. THEMISTOCLES.

In his letter to Temenidas, Themistocles speaks of Darius as the father of Xerxes. [*Δαρειὸς ὁ πατὴρ Ξέρξου*. See the *Epistolographi Græci*, R. Hercher, p. 762.]

F. STRABO.*

1. The name alone. This is the most common usage in Strabo, *e.g.*, Cyrus, cap. 507, 512, 517, 627, 629, 687, 736, 252; Cambyses, 473, 736, 790, 805, 816, 820; Darius, 98, 100, 301, 303, 305, 635, 735; Xerxes, 10, 61, 591, 634, 636; Artaxerxes, 49, 656; Darius [Codomannus], 79, 676 *bis*, 697, 766(?).

2. The title "king" alone, of the king of Parthia (?), 524; of the king of Syria, 531

3. The name of the son followed by the name of the father, *e.g.*, "Darius Hystaspes," 638, 736, 738.

4. The name of the father followed by that of the son, *e.g.*, "Darius, the father of Xerxes," 591.

5. "Darius the First," 804.

6. "Darius, who was against Alexander," 544.

7. Kings "of the Persians from Cyrus to Xerxes," 61.

8. "Cyrus and the Persians," 524.

G. DIODORUS SICULUS.†

1. The name alone. This is the common usage, *e.g.*, Cyrus, II. 44 *bis*, 32 *ter*, 33 six times, IX. 21, 24, 31 *bis*, 33 *ter*, 34, 35 *bis*, 36; Cambyses, X. 14 *bis*; Darius, II. 5 five times, 31 *bis*, X. 19 *bis*, XI. 2, 57, 74; Xerxes, II. 5 five times, 32, XI. 1 four times, 2 *bis*, 3 *ter*, 5 *ter*, 6, 7, and often; Artaxerxes, XI. 69 four times, 71, 74, XII. 6, XIV. 19, 20 *ter*, 22, 27, 81, 99, 110, XV. 10, 90 *bis*, 91, 92 *ter*, 93; Sogdianus, XII. 71.

2. The title "the king" used alone with the article, XI. 6¹, 12³, 19⁶, 56⁸, XIV. 20⁴, 23², 23³ three times, 24³, ⁵, ⁷, 25³, 26¹, ⁴, 27⁵, 35², 35⁴ *bis*, 81⁴, 110³, ⁵, XV. 4², 10² four times, 10³ four times, 11¹ *bis*, 11², 18¹, 29³ *bis*, 41², 91¹ three times.

3. The title "king" followed by the name, *e.g.*, "King Xerxes," XI. 5⁴, 69¹, "King Artaxerxes," XIV. 22¹, 25¹, XV. 91⁷.

* I have used Meineke's edition of the *Geographica*.

† I have used Vogel's edition.

4. The name followed by the title, "the king," *e.g.*, "Darius the king," X. 19², XIII. 104³ (in combination); "Xerxes the king," XI. 1², 56⁵, XII. 71¹; "Artaxerxes the king," XV. 41¹, 70².

5. The name is followed by that of the father, *e.g.*, "Cyrus, the son of Cambyses," IX, 22. Compare "Cyrus, the son of Darius the king," XIII. 104³.

6. The name is followed by that of the son, *e.g.*, "Darius, the father of Xerxes," I. 95⁴. Compare XI. 2. *ὁ πατὴρ Δαρείος.*

7. The name is followed by "the Persian," *e.g.*, "Cyrus, the Persian," II. 34⁸, IX. 20⁴, 31¹, 32, 35¹; "Cambyses, the Persian," X. 14².

8. The name is followed by the title "king of the Persians," *e.g.*, "Cyrus, king of the Persians," II. 44², IX. 31³, X. 13; "Cambyses, king of the Persians," X. 15; so of Xerxes, XII. 1², and Artaxerxes, XI. 71¹, 74¹, XII. 64¹, XV. 2¹, 4.

9. The kings are spoken of as the "kings of the Persians," XV. 8², 38¹, 93¹; and as "kings of the Medes and Persians," II. 48⁵.

H. PLUTARCH.

In his *Life of Artaxerxes* Plutarch uses the name Artaxerxes thirty-five times and the title "king" about twice as often (more than sixty times). The title and name together are used but once, *i.e.*, of "King Darius." Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, he distinguishes as "the First." The only other title employed is when he says that the expedition of Cyrus the younger made it plain to "all men that the Persian king and his empire were mighty indeed in gold, etc."

I. JOSEPHUS.*

1. Darius, the Mede, is called:

(1) Darius alone. *Id.*, X. xi. 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 257, 258, 262.

(2) The king alone. *Id.*, X. xi. 252, 254, 256, 259, 260.

(3) Darius, the (king) of the Medes. *Antiquities*, Bk. X., ch. xi. 2.

(4) King Darius.† *Id.*, X. xi. 263.

2. Cyrus is called:

(1) Cyrus alone. *Antiq.*, X. 248, XI. 1, 3, 5 *bis*, 6, 8, 10, 20, 63, 78, 86, 88, 93, 104 *bis*, 113; *c.* Apion, I. 145, 150, 152, 153, 154, 158.

(2) "The king." *Antiq.*, XI. 17, 102.

(3) "Cyrus the king." *Antiq.*, XI, 3, 99.

(4) "King Cyrus." *Antiq.*, XI. 12.

* I have used Niese's edition.

† *ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρείος.*

- (5) "Cyrus, king of the Persians." *Antiq.*, X. 232, 247; *c. Apion*, I. 132.
- (6) "Cyrus, king of Babylonia and Persia." *Antiq.*, XI. 92.
- (7) "Cyrus, the Persian." *c. Apion*, I. 159.
3. (1) Cambyses alone. *Antiq.*, XI. 21, 26, 30, 31, 88, 97.
- (2) The king alone. *Antiq.*, XI. 23, 24.
- (3) Lord.* *Antiq.*, XI. 22.
- (4) King Cambyses. *Antiq.*, XI. 26.
- (5) Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. *Antiq.*, XI. 21.
4. (1) Darius alone. *Id.*, 32, 33, 63, 64, 67, 78, 86, 95, 97, 104, 107, 113, 120; *c. Ap.*, 154.
- (2) The king alone. *Id.*, 32, 59, 64, 105, 115, 117.
- (3) "Darius the king." *Id.*, 34.
- (4) "King Darius." *Id.*, 104, 116, 118.
- (5) "Darius, the son of Hystaspes." *Antiq.*, XI. 31.
- (6) "Darius (king) of the Persians." *Id.*, 30.
5. (1) Xerxes alone. *Id.*, 135, 179, 184.
- (2) The king alone. *Id.*, 122, 123, 131, 132, 136, 138, 163 *bis*, 164, 165, 166, 168.
- (3) "Xerxes, the king." *Id.*, 183.
- (4) "King Xerxes." *Id.*, 121, 159.
- (5) "Xerxes, king of the Persians." *c. Apion*, 172.
- (6) "His (*i.e.*, Darius') son Xerxes." *Antiq.*, XI. 120.
- (7) "The king of kings." Xerxes, *id.*, 123.
6. (1) Artaxerxes alone. *Id.*, 186, 209, 293, 296, 297, 300; *c. Ap.*, I. 41.
- (2) "The king." *Id.*, 185, 191, 192, 201 *bis*, 203, 206, 207, 220, 224, and often besides.
- (3) "Artaxerxes, king of the Persians after Xerxes." *c. Ap.*, I. 40.
- (4) "The great king Artaxerxes." *Id.*, 216, 273.
- (5) "Cyrus whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes." *Antiq.*, XI. 184
7. Darius Codomannus is called:
- (1) Darius alone. *Id.*, 311, 313, 315 *bis*, 317, 318 *bis*, 321, 325.
- (2) The king alone. *Id.*, 316.
- (3) "Darius, the king." *Antiq.*, XI. 311, 321.

J. EUSEBIUS, SYNCELLUS, ET AL.†

1. Cyrus is mentioned as:

- (1) Cyrus alone. So by Berossus. See Cory's *Ancient Frag-*

* Δεσποτα.

† I have used *Ancient Fragments of the Phœnician, Chaldean, Egyptian, Tyrian*, etc., by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq., 2d edition; and Schoene's *Eusebi Chronica*.

ments, Second Edition, p. 41, 42 *bis*. So, also, by Abydenus; see Cory, *id.*, 45. So, also, by Alexander Polyhistor, Cory, *id.*, 63; and by Syncellus, *id.*, p. 81 *bis*, and in Ptolemy's Canon, *id.*, 84.

(2) Cyrus, son of Cambyses. Alexander Polyhistor; Cory, *Anc. Frag.*, p. 63.

(3) Cyrus the first king of the Persians. Syncellus, in Cory's *Anc. Frag.*, p. 80.

(4) Cyrus, the Persian. So Castor in Eus. Chron., Cory, *Anc. Frag.*, p. 87.

2. (1) Cambyses, alone. So by Alexander Polyhistor, Cory, *Anc. Frag.*, p. 63; and by Syncellus, *id.*, 81; Canon of Ptolemy, Cory, p. 84; and by Manetho, Cory, 130; Eusebius by Syncellus, Cory, 147 *bis*.

(2) Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. By Syncellus, Cory, *Anc. Frag.*, p. 81.

3. (1) Smerdius. Syncellus, by Cory, p. 81.

(2) "The two Magian brothers." Eusebius, Cory, 147, 131.

4. (1) Darius alone. By Alexander Polyhistor, Cory, 63; Syncellus, *id.*, 81.

(2) Darius, the son of Hystaspes. Syncellus, by Cory, 80; Manetho, Cory, 130; Eusebius, *id.*, 147.

(3) Darius the first. Canon of Ptolemy, Cory, 84.

5. The other kings may best be given by authors.

(1) Alexander Polyhistor speaks of Xerxes. Cory, 63.

(2) Syncellus, *A*, in the Ecclesiastical Canon, mentions Xerxes the son of Darius; Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, Longimanus; Xerxes, the son of Artaxerxes; Sogdianus; Darius Nothus; Artaxerxes Mnemon; Ochus, the son of Artaxerxes; Arses, the brother of Ochus; Darius, the third, (the son) of Arsames.

B. In the Astronomical Canon he mentions Xerxes; Artaxerxes I; Darius II, who is Nothus; Artaxerxes II, Ochus, Sarus (?); Darius III, who also is Arsames. See Cory, 80-83.

(3) Ptolemy's Canon mentions Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, Darius II, Artaxerxes II, Ochus, Arostes (?), Darius III.

(4) Manetho, according to Africanus, mentions as belonging to the twenty-seventh dynasty of Egypt, Xerxes the great, Artabanus, Artaxerxes, Xerxes, Sogdianus and Darius (the son) of Xerxes; and as belonging to the thirty-first dynasty, Ochus, Arses and Darius. See Cory, 130, 132, 134.

(5) Manetho, according to Eusebius, mentions, Xerxes (the son) of Darius, Artaxerxes, Xerxes the Second, Sogdianus, Darius, (the son) of Xerxes, as belonging to the twenty-seventh dynasty; and

Ochus, Arses (the son of) Ochus and Darius as belonging to the thirty-first. See Cory, 131, 133, 135.

(6) Eusebius in the Canons of the kings of Egypt mentions Xerxes, Artabanus, Artaxerxes, Xerxes, Sogdianus, and Darius Nothus* as belonging to the twenty-seventh dynasty; and Ochus, Arses (the son) of Ochus, and Darius, as belonging to the thirty-first.

V.—USAGE IN THE SCRIPTURES.

A. IN EZRA-NEHEMIAH.

1. The name alone, *e.g.*, Darius, Ezra v. 5, vi. 12; Ahasuerus, Ezra iv. 6; Artaxerxes, Ezra iv. 7.

2. The title "king" is used alone, Ezra iv. 12, 13, 14 *bis*, 16, 17, v. 8, 17 *ter*, vi. 4, 8, 10, vii. 6, 8, 14, 20, 23, 26, 27, xxviii. 2.

3. Name followed by title, *e.g.*, "Cyrus the king," Ezra v. 13, 14, 17, vi. 3 *bis*; "Darius, the king," Ezra v. 6, 7, vi. 1, 13, 15; "Artaxerxes, the king," Ezra iv. 8, 11, 23, vii. 21.

4. The title followed by the name, *e.g.*, "the king Cyrus," Ezra i. 7; the king "Artaxerxes," Ezra vii. 11.

5. The name followed by the nationality, *e.g.*, "Darius, the Persian," Nehemiah xii. 22.

6. The phrase "kings of Persia" is employed, Ezra ix. 9, and in the Latin version of vi. 14.

7. The name is followed by the title "king of Persia," *e.g.*, "Cyrus, king of Persia," Ezra i. 1 *bis*, 28, iii. 7, iv. 5; "Darius," Ezra iv. 5, 24; "Artaxerxes," Ezra iv. 7, vii. 1, viii. 1.

8. The name is followed by the title, "king of Babylon," Ezra v. 13.

9. The name is followed by the title "king of kings," Ezra vii. 12.

10. The compound phrase "the king Cyrus, king of Persia," occurs in Ezra iv. 3.

B. USAGE OF DANIEL, ESTHER AND CHRONICLES, ET AL.

1. The name alone, *e.g.*, Dan. vi. 2, Isa. xlv. 28.

2. The title alone, Dan, vi. 13, 15, Esther i. 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 *bis*, 14, 16 *bis*, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, 21 *bis*, 22, ii. 2 *bis*, 3 *bis*, 4 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 9, 13 *bis*, 14 *ter*, 15 *bis*, 17, 18 *bis*, 19, 21 *bis*, 22, 23, etc.

3. The name is followed by the title, *e.g.*, "Cyrus, the king," Dan. i. 21; "Darius, the king," Dan. vi. 7, 25.

4. The title is followed by the name, *e.g.*, "the king Darius,"

* The last is twice called Darius Nothus and once Darius (the son) of Xerxes. Cory, 147.

Dan. vi. 10; "the king Ahasuerus," Esther i. 2, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 19, ii. 1, 12, 16, 21, iii. 1, etc.

5. The name is followed by the nationality, *e.g.*, "Cyrus, the Persian," Dan. vi. 29; "Darius, the Mede," Dan. v. 31, xi. 1.

6. The name is followed by the title "king of Persia," *e.g.*, "Cyrus, king of Persia," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 *bis*, 23; "Darius, king of Persia," Dan. x. 1.

7. We have once the phrase "Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of (the) Mede, who had been made king over the realm of (the) Chaldeans," Dan. ix. 1.

8. In Isaiah xlv. 1 we meet with the phrase "to my Messiah, to Cyrus."

In a succeeding article, we shall give titles of kings other than Persian, and some conclusions based upon these various designations.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

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I.

THOMAS CROMWELL.*

(Conclusion.)

THE Bull of deprivation, long threatened against Henry, was now (August 30, 1535) prepared but not issued. It forbade his subjects to obey the King or his officials or magistrates. It absolved all Princes from every oath to him and commanded them to break every treaty with him. All Princes were commanded to rise in arms against him and all who obeyed him; all Christians were to seize wherever found the money, ships, credits and goods of any one who acknowledged his authority. And by the fullness of power given to the Pope, these became the absolute property of whoever seized them. All who refused to enforce this sentence became subject to the same penalties. Every clergyman in the world was to proclaim this curse before the largest possible concourse, and a lighted candle was to be cast down and extinguished, even as the souls of Henry and his supporters were condemned to hell.† But the publication of the Bull was suspended.

Such a sentence would readily suggest to Cromwell, even if there were no other motive in his mind, that the defense of his policy required the suppression of the monasteries. This act earned Cromwell's familiar name, "The Hammer of the Monks," and the worst traits of his character, traits common to most men of the day, show so plainly in the transaction that the solid reasons for it which appealed to a man of his type have been obscured. The monastic orders were corrupt. Cromwell sent commissioners to investigate the condition of the monasteries. Their sweeping denunciations

* *Vide* No. 2, April, 1904.

† Wilkins' *Concilia*, III, 792

V.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

ARTICLE TWO.

THE following article is the second of a series, whose design is to show that the statements made by Dr. Driver in his *Literature of the Old Testament* with regard to the titles of the kings of Persia cannot be "accepted unqualifiedly, and that the impression left by his notes and proofs is misleading and fallacious." In the first article, which occupied pages 257-282 of the April number of this REVIEW, after giving a full citation of Dr. Driver's remarks and notes upon the subject, the author proceeded to give an enumeration of all the known titles and designations of the kings of Persia. In the present article will appear the titles and designations of the kings of Babylon and Assyria, as they are found on the cuneiform monuments.

I. THE TITLES OF THE KINGS OF BABYLON.

A. ON THE MONUMENTS FOUND IN PERSIA.

Here no mention is made of the kings of Babylon, except in the Behistun inscription, where Darius represents the rebels against his authority as giving themselves the following titles, to wit:

1. Nadintubel says: "I am Nebuchadnezar, the son of Nabunâ'id." So also Arahû says.
2. Nadintubel says: "I am king in Babylon."

B. ON THE MONUMENTS FOUND IN BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, ETC.*

1. "Urukagina, king of Girsu." *K. B.*, III. i. 11.
2. (1) "Urnina, king of Lagaš." *K. B.*, III. i. 15.
(2) "U., king of Lagaš, son of Nigalnidu." III. i. 11, 15
3. (1) "Akurgal, king of Lagaš, son of Urnina." *Id.*, 17.
(2) "A., the governor . . ." *Id.*, 17

* Here we shall make large use of the historical and other texts published in transliteration and translation in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek (K. B.)*, the latest, fullest and best source of information upon the subject.

4. (1) "Gudea, governor of Lagaš." *Id.*, 27, 39, 43, 47, 51, 55, 59, 61, 63, 65 *bis*, 67.
 (2) "Gudea, 'Schatzspender,' governor of Lagaš." *Id.*, 29.
 (3) "Gudea" alone. *Id.*, 29, 41, 55.
 (4) "Gudea, governor of Lagaš, the 'Schatzspender,' and pilot(?) of Enlil." *Id.*, 51.
5. (1) "Ur-Ningirsu, governor of Lagaš, the son of Gudea, the governor of Lagaš." *Id.*, 67.
 (2) "U.-N., . . . priest of Anna." *Id.*, 67.
6. (1) "Dingi, the powerful man, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 69.
 (2) "D., the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 71, 81^s, 83^s.
 (3) "Dungi" alone. *Id.*, 83.
 (4) "D., the mighty hero, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 83.
 (5) "D., the mighty, the king of Ur, the king of the four regions." *Id.*, 83.
7. (1) "Urgur, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 77^s, 79, 81.
 (2) "U., the brave hero, king of Ur." *Id.*, 77, 81.
 (3) "U., the brave hero, the king of Ur, the king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 79^s.
 (4) "U., the king of Ur, the king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 69.
8. (1) "Singašid, son of Ningul, king of Uruk." *Id.*, 83.
 (2) "S., the brave hero, king of Uruk, king of Amnanu." *Id.*, 83.
 (3) "S., king of Uruk, king of Amnanu, the preserver of Eanna." *Id.*, 85.
9. "Singamil, king of Uruk." *Id.*, 85.
 10. "Bilgurahi, king of Uruk." *Id.*, 85.
11. "Gamil-Ninib, the exalted shepherd of Nippur and Ur, the conjurer of the holy tree(?) of Eridu, the gracious lord of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Šumer and Akkad, the chosen husband of Nana." *Id.*, 85.
12. "Libit-Ištar, the . . . shepherd of Nippur, the . . . of Ur, the . . . of Eridu, the . . . lord of Uruk, king of Isin, the . . . of Nana." *Id.*, 87.
13. "Išbigirra, king of Isin." *Id.*, 87.
14. (1) "Išme-Dagan" alone. *Id.*, 87.
 (2) "I.-D., king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 87.
 (3) "I.-D., renewer of Nippur, prince of Ur, addadu(?) of Eridu, lord of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Šumer and Akkad, the beloved husband of Nana." *Id.*, 87.
15. "Gungunu, the brave hero, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 87.
 16. "Enannaduma, the beloved lord of Nannar, the lord of

Nannar, the . . . of Ur, the son of Išme-Dagan, the king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 87.

17. (1) "Bursin, called by Bel in Nippur to be sak-uš of the temple of Bel, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of the four regions." *Id.*, 89 *bis*.

(2) Same as last except *nitah*, "hero," instead of *lugal*, "king." *Id.*, 89.

18. (1) "Gamil-Sin, the darling of Bel, the king of Nippur, called to be the darling of his heart, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of the four regions." *Id.*, 89.

(2) "Gamil-Sin, the brave hero, the king of Ur, the king of the four regions." *Id.*, 91 *bis*.

19. (1) "Nur-Ramman, the mighty hero, . . . of Ur, king of Larsa." *Id.*, 91.

(2) "N.-R., king of Larsa." *Id.*, 91.

20. (1) "Sin-iddina, the brave hero, the upholder of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Šumer and Akkad," etc., "son of Nur-Ramman, king of Larsa." *Id.*, 91.

(2) Same as last, minus the last clause. *Id.*, 93.

21. (1) "Kudur-Mabug, prince of Emutbal, son of Simtišilhak." *Id.*, 99.

(2) "Kudur-Mabug, prince of the West, son of Simtišilhak" *Id.*, 93.

(3) "K.-M., the prince of Emutbala." *Id.*, 95.

(4) "K.-M., the father. . . ." *Id.*, 99.

22. (1) "Rimsin, his (*i.e.*, Kudur-Mabug's) son." *Id.*, 93.

(2) "Rimsin, the brave hero, installed by Bel, the legitimate prince, the upholder of Ur, the king of Larsa, the king of Šumer and Akkad, the son of Kudurmabug, the prince of Emutbala." *Id.*, 95.

(3) "Rim-Sin, the ruler of the totality of men, the . . . of Eridu, . . . the upholder of Ur, King of Larsa, king of Šumer and Akkad." *K. B.*, III. 95.

(4) "Rim-Sin, king of Larsa." *K. B.*, III. 95 *bis*, 97.

(5) "Rim-Sin" alone. *K. B.*, III. 93, 97, 99.

(6) "My king Rim-Sin, upholder of I-kurra, the powerful ruler of Igišširgal, the honorable minister of Ibarra, the enchanter of the holy tree of Eridu." *K. B.*, III. 97.

(7) "Rim-Sin, his son, the exalted Shepherd of Nippur, the upholder of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Šumer and Akkad." *K. B.*, III. 99.

23. (1) "Naram-Sin, king of the four regions." *K. B.*, III. 99.

(2) "Naram-Sin" alone. *Id.*, 107 *bis*.

24. "Sargon-šar-mahazi, king of Agani." *K. B.*, III. 101 *bis*.

25. "MA-AN-ištu-irba, king of the nations (šar kiššati)." *Id.*, 101.

26. (1) "Sargon, the mighty king, king of Agane, am I." *K. B.*, III. 101.

(2) "Sargon" alone. *K. B.*, III. 103, 105, 107, eleven times.

27. Titles of Hammurabi:

(1) "Hammurabi" alone. So in the fifty-five letters published by King in *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*. They all, so far as they are legible, contain the phrase: "Thus saith Hammurabi." The name is found alone in Inscription No. IX, King, vol. III. 194; also in Scheil, *Code des Lois de Hammurabi*, p. 120.

(2) "Hammurabi the king." *K. B.*, III. 109, 123, 127 *bis*, 129 *ter*, 131 *bis*.

(3) "Hammurabi, the mighty king." King, III. 194.

(4) "Hammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of the four quarters, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds are well-pleasing unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk." King, III. 179; *K. B.*, III. 117.

(5) "Hammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, who hath brought to subjection the four quarters of the world, who hath brought about the triumphs of Marduk, the shepherd who delighteth his heart." King, III. 190; *K. B.*, III. 123.

(6) "Hammurabi, the mighty king, the beloved of the great gods." King, III. 191; *K. B.*, III. 125.

(7) "Hammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of the four quarters of the world." King, III. 183; *K. B.*, III. 111.

(8) "Hammurabi, the king, the strong warrior, the destroyer of his foes." etc. King, III. 176; *K. B.*, III. 115.

(9) "Hammurabi, the minister of Anu, the servant of Bel, the beloved of Šamaš, the shepherd who delighteth Marduk's heart, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of Šumer and Akkad, the king of the four quarters of the world," etc. King, III. 182. Also found in another inscription. King III. 187; *K. B.*, III. 125.

(10) Same as last, except that it inserts after Marduk's "heart," "the prince who is dear to the heart of Ninni." King, III. 185.

(11) "Hammurabi, the prince in whom Bel taketh delight, the beloved shepherd of Ninib, the reverend one who showeth obedience unto Šamaš and maketh glad the heart of Marduk, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the humble and reverend one," etc. King, III. 193; *K. B.*, 121.

(12) "Hammurabi, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds are well pleasing unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk." King, III. 179; *K. B.*, III. 119.

(13) "Hammurabi, the king of Martu," etc. King, III. 196.

(14) "Hammurabi, the great, the noble, fearing my god," etc. Scheil, *Code des Lois de Hammurabi*, in *Memoires of the Delegation en Perse*, Tome IV. 16.

(15) "Hammurabi, the valiant king." *Id.*, page 117.

(16) "Hammurabi, king of justice(?)" [šar mišarim]. *Id.*, 123.

28. (1) "Samsu-iluna, the king of his (*i.e.*, Bel's) abundance." King, III. 205; *K. B.*, III. 131.

(2) "Samsu-iluna," son of the just named. *K. B.*, II. 286.

(3) "Samsu-iluna, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king who hath brought into subjection the four quarters of the world." King, III. 205; *K. B.*, III. 131, 133.

29. "Ibišum," son of the just named. *K. B.*, II. 286.

30. (1) "Ammiditana, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, king of Kiš, king of Šumer and Akkad, king (dagamu) of the land of Martu," etc. King, III. 208.

(2) "Ammisatana," son of the just named. *K. B.*, II. 286.

31. (1) "Ammizaduga, the mighty king, king of Babylon."

(2) "Ammisurdugga," son of the just named. *K. B.*, II. 286.

32. In the chronicle of the kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, published by King, in vol. III. 211–253, the following titles occur:

(1) The title alone, probably on page 245.

(2) The name alone: Sumuabu, p. 213; Sumula-ilu, pp. 215, 217 *bis*, 219 *ter*; Zabum, p. 221 *ter*; Apil-Sin, p. 223; Sinnuballit, pp. 225 *bis*, 227; Hammurabi, pp. 229, 233, 235, 237, 253; Samsu-iluna, pp. 241, 242, 243 *bis*, 253; Ammiditana, pp. 251, 253^b; Abišu, p. 253; Ammizaduga, p. 253.

(3) Name followed by title, to wit: "Sumu-abu, the king," p. 215; "Sumula-ilu, the king," p. 221; "Zabum, the king," p. 223; "Apil-Sin, the king," p. 225; "Sin-muballit, the king," p. 229; "Hammurabi, the king," p. 240 *bis*, 241 four times; "Samsu-iluna, the king," p. 247; "Ammiditana, the king," pp. 248 *ter*, 249 *ter*, 250 *bis*, 253 *bis*; "Ammizaduga, the king," *Id.*

(4) Further, the Samsu-iluna (mentioned by King, pages 241, etc.) speaks of his ancestor as "Sumula-ilu, my grandfather, the fifth father of my father." [Su-mu-la-ilu, abi ra-bi-um abi a-bi(?) - ia ḥa-am-šum. *K. B.*, III. 132.] See King, pages 215, 217 *bis*, 219 *bis*.

33. (1) "Agum, the younger, son of Taššigurumaš, illustrious

seed of Šukamunu, called of Anu and Bel, Ea and Marduk, Sin and Šamaš, a powerful hero of Ištar, a king of prudence and understanding, a king of obedience and grace, son of Taššigurumaš, grandson of Abiru ? ? ?, firstborn son of Agum the elder, illustrious seed, royal seed, holder of the scepter(?) ? ?, shepherd of numerous men, warrior shepherd, establishing the foundations of his father's throne, am I, the king of the Kassites and Akkad, king of the great land of Babylon, settling the land of Ašnunak with numerous men, king of the land of Padan and Alman, king of the land of Guti, of the foolish(?) people, a king who holds in order the four quarters of the world, a favorite of the great gods, am I." *K. B.*, III. 135-139.

(2) "The king Agum." *K. B.*, III. 149.

(3) "The good (damḫi) king Agum." *Id.*, 151.

(4) "Agum" alone. Perhaps in Col. VIII, line 25, *K. B.*, III. 151.

34. (1) "Karaındaš, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of the Kassites, king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, III. i. 152.

(2) "Karaındaš, king of Karduniaš." II. R. 65, No. 1, line 1.

(3) "Kuraindaš" alone. Tel-el-Amarna, No. 8, l. 8, Winckler's edition.

35. (1) "Kurigalzu" alone. Tel-el-Amarna, No. 7, l. 19.

(2) This king is called by Burraburiaš, "my father, Kurigalzu."

(3) Merodach-Baladan calls himself the "descendant of Kurigalzu, the incomparable king."

36. (1) "Burnaburiaš" (or "Burraburiaš") alone. *K. B.*, V. 29.

(2) "B., king of Karduniaš." *Id.*, 15, 17, 19, 23, 27; also, Vol. I, page 95.

(3) "B., the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad." *K. B.*, I. 153.

Note: The following two kings come in here. One of them, at least, was a usurper

1. "Karaḫardaš, king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 195, 197.

2. (1) "Nazibugaš, king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 197.

(2) "Nazibugaš" [son of a nobody]. *K. B.*, I. 195.

37. (1) "Kurigalzu" alone. *K. B.*, V. 21.

(2) "K., my father." *K. B.*, V. 17.

(3) "K., son of Burnaburiaš." *K. B.*, I. 197, III. 155.

(4) "K., šakkanak of Bel." *K. B.*, III. 155.

(5) "K., šakkanak of Bel, the mighty king, the king of Šumer and Akkad, the king of the four quarters of the world." *K. B.*, III. 155 *bis*.

- (6) "The young Kurgalzu, son of Burnaburiaš." *K. B.*, I. 197.
- (7) "Kurigalzu, the younger" [king of Karduniaš]. *K. B.*, I. 197.
38. (1) "Nazimarraddaš" alone. *K. B.*, I. 197.
- (2) "N., king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 197.
39. (1) "Ramman . . ." (?). *K. B.*, I. 197; "Ramman-šumiddin." *K. B.*, III. 163.
- (2) "King Rammanšumiddin." *K. B.*, III. 155 eight times, 157 four times.
- (3) "The king." *K. B.*, III. 157 three times.
40. (1) "King Rammannadinahi." *K. B.*, III. 159 *bis*, 157 four times.
- (2) "Rammannadinahi" alone. *K. B.*, III. 163.
- (3) "The King." *K. B.*, III. 157 *bis*, 159. ("The king," in a general sense, occurs on page 163 twice.)
41. (1) "King Milišihu." *K. B.*, III. 161 five times.
- (2) "Milišihu" alone. *K. B.*, III. 163, II. 286.
- (3) "The king." *K. B.*, III. 161, IV. 59.
- (4) "Milišihu, king of nations" (šar kiššati). *K. B.*, IV. 59.
- (5) "Milišihu, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. 163.
42. (1) "Mardukapluidin (Merodach-Baladan), king of nations, king of Šumer and Akkad, son of Milišihu, king of Babylon, descendant of Kurigalzu, the incomparable king." *K. B.*, III. 163.
- (2) "Lord Merodach-Baladan." *K. B.*, IV. 63.
- (3) "Merodach-Baladan, his son" (*i.e.*, Milišihu's). *K. B.*, II. 286.
43. "Zamemu-šum-iddin, king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 197.
44. "Marduk-tabik-zerim, king of Babylon, the mighty king, king of the nations of mankind, king of the four quarters of the world." *K. B.*, III. 163.
45. (1) "King Nebuchadnezzar." *K. B.*, III. 167.
- (2) "Nebuchadnezzar" alone. *K. B.*, III. 163, 199 *bis*.
- (3) "The king." *K. B.*, III. 165, 167 *ter*, 171 four times.
- (4) "Nebuchadnezzar, the king." *K. B.*, III, 173 four times.
- (5) "Nebuchadnezzar, the king of nations." *K. B.*, III. 169.
- (6) "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. 173, IV. 65.
- (7) "The powerful king" (šarru dannu). *K. B.*, III. 167.
- (8) "The king, his lord." *K. B.*, III. 167 *ter*.
- (9) "The king, his lord, Nebuchadnezzar." *K. B.*, III. 167.
- (10) "Nebuchadnezzar, the exalted prince, the precious offspring of Babylon, the noblest of kings, the heroic patisi, the šakkanak of Babylon, the sun of his land, who enriches his people, protects

the frontiers, firmly founds the sons(?), the king of right things, who gives righteous judgment, the heroic man, who mustered his forces to join battle, who bears the strong bow, fears not the battle, cast down with his weapons the mighty Tullubian land, conqueror of Aharriland, plunderer of the Kassites, the prince of kings (nasik šarrâni), the princely, beloved of Marduk." *K. B.*, III. 165.

46. (1) "Beladinaplu, the king." *K. B.*, IV. 65.

(2) "The king." *K. B.*, IV. 67.

(3) "The king, his lord, Belnadinaplu." *K. B.*, IV. 65.

47. (1) "Marduknadinahî, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, I. 199, IV. 67, 69 four times, 75.

(2) "The king." *K. B.*, IV. 67, 69.

(3) "The king of Babylon." *K. B.*, IV. 67 *bis*, 75.

(4) "Marduknadinahî, king of Akkad." *K. B.*, II. 119.

48. "Mardukšapikkullat, king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 199 *bis*.

49. (1) "Rammanapluiddina" alone. *K. B.*, I. 199.

(2) "R., king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 199.

50. "Šamašmudammik, king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 201 *ter*.

51. (1) "Nabušumiškun" alone. *K. B.*, I. 201.

(2) "N., king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 201.

52. (1) "Nabukinaplu, king of nations, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, IV. 89.

(2) "N., the king." *K. B.*, IV. 83, 85, 87 four times, 89.

(3) "N., king of nations." *K. B.*, IV. 89.

53. (1) "Ninibkudurušur, the king." *K. B.*, IV. 87 *bis*, 91 *ter*, 93.

(2) "N., son of the king." *K. B.*, IV. 91.

54. (1) "Nabuapluiddin, the king, his lord." *K. B.*, IV. 93, III. 179, 189.

(2) "The king." *K. B.*, IV. 93, III. 181 four times.

(3) "Nabuapluiddin, the king." *K. B.*, IV. 93; *Cun. Texts of Brit. Museum*, Vol. X, No. 90,922.

(4) "N., the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, I. 201 *bis*. IV. 95 *bis*, 97, III. 177, 179 four times, 181 *bis*, 183; *Cun. Texts of Brit. Mus.*, X. 90,922 *bis*.

(5) "N., the king of Babylon, the chosen of Marduk, the beloved of Anu and Ea, winner of the heart of Zarpanitu, the heroic man, who is adorned for government, bearer of the strong bow," etc.

55. (1) "Mardukšumiddin, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, IV. 97, III. 183.

(2) "Marduknadinšum." *K. B.*, I. 201.

(3) "Marduknadinšum, king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 201.

56. (1) "Mardukbalatšuiḫbi." *K. B.*, I. 201.
 (2) "M., king of Karduniaš." *K. B.*, I. 201.
57. (1) "Šulmanu-ašaridu (Shalmanassar), king of Assyria." *K. B.*, III. 183 (IV. 159).
 (2) "Šulmanašarid." *K. B.*, I. 291.
58. (1) "Šarukin (Sargon), king of Assyria." *K. B.*, III. 183 *bis* (IV. 161, 165).
 (2) "Sargon, the king of Babylon." *Rm.* 2,345, Bezold *Catalogue*, 1669.
59. (1) "Merodach-Baladan (Marduk-aplu-iddina), the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. 185, 191, 193 *bis*, IV. 167.
 (2) "Merodach-Baladan" alone. *K. B.*, II. 257, 277 seven times, 279, I. 291.
 (3) "The king." *K. B.*, III. 193.
 (4) "Merodach-Baladan, son of Jakin, king of the sea." *K. B.*, II. 15.
 (5) "Merodach-Baladan, the king of Babylon, the wise prince, king of Šumer and Akkad, worshiper of Nabu and Marduk, the gods of Esaggil and Ezida, etc., etc., etc., the upright shepherd, etc., etc., the exalted prince(?), etc., the mighty hero, etc., etc., the wise prince, etc., called of the king of heaven and earth, lord of lords," etc. *K. B.*, III. 185, 187.
- (6) "Merodach-Baladan, the king of Babylon, led by his (Marduk's) hand, šakkanak of Šumer and Akkad, worshiper of his godhead." *K. B.*, III. 185.
60. (1) "Esarhaddon" alone. *K. B.*, II. 291.
 (2) "Esarhaddon, king of nations" (šar kiššati). *K. B.*, IV. 167.
 (3) "Esarhaddon, the mighty king, king of nations, king of Assyria, šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad." *K. B.*, III. i. 197; Lehmann, Table XXVIII, lines 3-5.
61. (1) "Šamaššumukin" alone. *K. B.*, II. 187, 195, 205, 219, 259, 285 *bis*, III. 205. See also in Lehmann's Šamaššumukin: Steleinschrift S.³ l. 52; Cylinder-inschrift L.¹ l. 11, P.¹ l. 14, P.² l. 13, K. 1203 lines 5 and 23, K. 168 l. 11, K. 626 l. 6, K. 432 Obv. 7, Rev. 2; Cylinderinschrift L.² l. 11, II. 19, L.³ l. 11, II. 21, L.⁴ Col. III. 5; Lehmann 27, K. 5579, Lehmann II. 59, and the letter of Šamaššumukin to Ašurbanipal, line 2, Lehmann II. 58.
 (2) "Šamaššumukin, the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, II. 261, IV. 167, 169, 171. See also Lehmann's Šamaššumukin, S.³ l. 74, 71 (II. 17), L.² lines 21, 22, L.¹ l. 19, P.¹ 23, K. 991 l. 5.
 (3) "Šamaššumukin, the humble, your worshiper." *K. B.* III. i. 203.

- (4) "Šamaššumukin, the false brother." *K. B.*, II. 183, 185.
- (5) "S., the hostile brother." *K. B.*, II. 189, 191, 213, 216, 218.
- (6) "S., the son of the king." Lehmann, Table XLIII. 26.
- (7) "The son of the king Šamaššumukin." Lehmann, Table XLVI, K. 1118 l. 7.
- (8) "S., of Babylon." *K. B.*, II. 291.
- (9) "S., the šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad." See the clay brick K. 432, left column 3-5, Lehmann, Tafel XLII.
- (10) "S., the mighty king, king of Amnanu, king of Babylon, the strong, the thoughtful, the shepherd, favorite of Bel, Šamaš and Marduk, king of the land of the Sumerians and Akkadians, am I." See the Bilingual inscription, Lehmann, II. page 7; *K. B.*, III. 199.
- (11) "S., the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of the land of the Sumerians and Akkadians, the exalted high priest, the true shepherd, the reverer of the Lord of lords," etc. The Stele inscription, Lehmann, II. 11.
- (12) This is the same as the last, except that there is doubt, owing to the broken character of the cylinder, as to the reading of the word iššakku, high priest, and the words *širu re'a kinu* may have been different. *K. B.*, III. 197.
62. (1) "Ašurbanipal" alone. *K. B.*, IV. 171.
- (2) "Ašurbanipal of Aššur." *K. B.*, II. 291.
- (3) "Kandalanu, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, IV. 173.
- (4) "Kandal" [anu]* alone. *K. B.*, II. 287.
63. (1) "Nabopolassar" alone. So in the tablets published by Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, IV. 106-147. See numbers 8, 10 and 19, 38.
- (2) "N., the king." *K. B.*, III. ii. 9. See, also, in numbers 4 and 13 of Strassmaier's tablets mentioned under (11).
- (3) "The king" alone. *K. B.*, III. ii. 7, 9.
- (4) "N., the king of Babylon." See Strassmaier's tablets, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20; and *K. B.*, III. ii. 47, 53, 81, 33, 39, 61, 67, 69², 71; and Koldewey's *Pflastersteine vom Aibur-schabu in Babylon*, all of which seem to have borne this title.
- (5) "N., the king of nations" (*i.e.*, šar kiššati). *Id.* 15.
- (6) "N., the king of Babylon, the father, my begetter (banua)." *K. B.*, III. ii. 19, 25 (aladiga), 25.
- (7) "N., the king of Babylon, led by the hand of Nabu and Marduk." *K. B.*, III. ii. 7.
- (8) "N., the obedient, the humble, worshiper of the gods." *K. B.*, III. ii. 7.

* Kandalanu = Ašurbanipal as king of Babylon. See notes in *K. B.*, IV. 170, 171.

(9) Nebuchadnezzar calls him "the father, my begetter." *K. B.*, III. ii. 41.

(10) "N., the mighty king, the king of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, establisher of the foundation of the land, the exalted prince, led by the hand of Nabu and Marduk, the favorite of Šamaš, beloved of Malkatu, hero of?, to whom Nergal the powerful hath given his dignity, the obedient, the humble, who thinks on the laws (?) of the great gods, the king whose deeds surpass those of the kings his fathers." *K. B.*, III. ii. 9.

(11) "N., šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, exalted prince, led by the hand of Nabu and Marduk, the obedient, the humble, who knows how to revere the gods and goddesses, renewer of Esagila(?) and Ezida(?), who cares for the temples of the great gods." etc. *K. B.*, III. ii. 3.

64. (1) "Nebuchadnezzar" alone. Strassmaier, *Insc. von Nabuchodonosor*, 19¹¹, ¹⁴; I R. 51²⁹; contract tablets 6, 31?, 77, 85, 130?, 180, 305.

(2) "The king." *K. B.*, III. ii. 13.

(3) "N., the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 23, 69, 71, 85; I R. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Also on all of the first 447 tablets published by Strassmaier, except about six; and in Evetts' *Inscriptions of Evil Merodach*, 23³, and of Neriglassar, 36³. This title seems to have occurred on all the bricks with which Nebuchadnezzar constructed his pavements, and perhaps all his works. See Robert Koldeway's *Die Pflastersteine von Aiburschabu in Babylon*.

(4) "N., the king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida." I R. 8, No. 4, and 52, Nos. 5, 6, 7.

(5) "N., king of Babylon, whom Marduk, the great lord, made for a blessing to his city of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 23.

(6) "N., the exalted high priest, the renewer of the cities of the great gods." *K. B.*, III. ii. 37.

(7) Nebuchadnezzar calls himself "the king, the renewer, the rejoicer of thy heart (*i.e.*, Marduk's), the wise šakkanak, renewer of all the cities." *K. B.*, III. ii. 29.

(8) Also: "the firstborn son (aplu rištu) of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 57.

(9) "N., king of Babylon, the prince, his worshiper" (*i.e.*, Marduk's). *K. B.*, III. ii. 59.

(10) "N., king of Babylon, the son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 67.

(11) "N., the earlier king." *K. B.*, III. ii. 103.

(12) "N., the earlier king, the son of Nabopolassar." *K. B.*, III. ii. 89.

(13) "N., king of Babylon, the earlier king who preceded me, the son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." Nabunâ'id's great inscription from Ur, col. I. 49, 50.

(14) "N., king of Babylon, the son of Nabopolassar, the earlier king." *K. B.*, III. ii. 85.

(15) "N., king of Babylon, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 61.

(16) "N., king of Babylon, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, princely son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 71.

(17) Same as last, except that aplu ašaridu, "princely son," is omitted. *K. B.*, III. ii. 69.

(18) Same as (16) as far as Ezida inclusive, to which it adds: "who walks in the service of Nabu and Marduk, his lord, the son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 69.

(19) "N., king of Babylon, the obedient, the submissive, the supplicator, worshiper of the lord of lords, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, the legitimate son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 59.

(20) "N., king of Babylon, the obedient, the humble, worshiper of the great gods, exalted high priest (patisi), renewer of Esagila and Ezida, the son of Nabopolassar." *K. B.*, III. ii. 61.

(21) "N., king of rights, the obedient, the submissive, who knows how to worship the gods, who loves righteousness and rights, who cares for life, who places in the mouth of men the fear of the great gods, who puts to right the temples of the gods, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, legitimate son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 63.

(22) "N., king of Babylon, the legitimate ruler (shepherd), the effusion (itut) of the righteous heart of Marduk, the exalted high priest, the beloved of Nabu, the wise prince, whose attention is directed to the ordinances of the great gods, the tireless šakkanak, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, princely son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 53.

(23) "N., the king of rights, the legitimate ruler (shepherd), who rules mankind, directs the lordships of Bel, Šamaš, and Marduk, the thoughtful, who lays hold of wisdom, cares for life, the exalted, unending, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 33.

(24) "N., king of Babylon, the exalted prince, the effusion of the righteous heart of Marduk, the rightful ruler (shepherd), who sets to rights the temple of Nabu, who delights their heart, the exalted high priest, who thinks daily on the renewing of Esagila

and Ezida, and is continually bent on pious works in Babylon and Borsippa, the wise, the supplicator, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, the firstborn son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 57.

(25) "N., king of Babylon, the exalted prince, the favorite of Marduk, the exalted high priest (patisi širu), beloved of Nabu, the thoughtful, who lays hold on wisdom, who meditates on the ways of their godhead, fears their lordship, the tireless šakkanak who thinks daily on the renewal of Esagila and Ezida, who meditates continually on the good of Babylon and Borsippa, the wise, the supplicator, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, the princely son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 11.

(26) "N., the king of Babylon, the exalted ruler, favorite of Marduk, exalted high priest, the beloved of Nabu, the tireless, šakkanak, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, obedient to his lords Nabu and Marduk, carried out . . . , the exalted, who understands the sayings (ituti) of the upright mind of the great gods, the princely son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 39.

(27) "N., king of Babylon, the exalted prince, favorite of Marduk, exalted high priest, beloved of Nabu, the upright ruler, who treads upon the peaceful way of Šamaš and Ramman, the wise, the learned, whose attention is directed to the guide Nirra(?), the thoughtful prince, who cares for the sanctuaries of Zamama and Ištar, the obedient, the humble, who is obedient to Marduk, the great lord, Bel, who [enlarges] his kingdom, and Nabu, the exalted messenger, who prolongs the time of his life, and carried out . . . , the tireless šakkanak, renewer of Esagila and Ezida, the prince(?) of restorations, who brings great presents to Esagila, the exalted, who understands the effusions (ituti) of the upright mind of the great gods, the brave hero, who . . . , the shepherd(?) of Babylon, who enriches the temples, and establishes the offerings, the princely son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 47.

65. "Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon." In the subscription of each of the twenty-four tablets published by B. T. A. Evetts, M.A. Also in tablets 21 and 23 an additional time.

66. (1) "Neriglassar, king of Babylon." In all of the subscriptions of the seventy-two tablets published by Evetts. Also, in tablets from Neriglassar's reign, 13³, ⁶, 43⁷, 47³, 52², ⁴, ⁹, 59¹; and from tablets of Labaši-Marduk, I. 4. 11, 30, 38, and on brick published I R. 8, No. 5.

(2) "Neriglassar" alone. See Evetts' tablets of Evil-Merodach, Nos. 9⁷, 14¹¹, 16¹⁴, ¹⁶, ¹⁷, 19⁹, 22¹⁴, ¹⁶.

(3) "Neriglassar, son of Belšumiškun." Tablets of Evil-Merodach 9^s, 14⁷, 16¹⁰, 19⁶, 22⁵.

(4) "N., king of Babylon, restorer of Bitusagil and Bituzidda, who carries out the good things which the great gods have planned for the executing of his kingship, whose lot Merodach, the leader of the gods, the determiner of lots has appointed to perfect the conquest of the lands, whose hand Nebo the true son has entrusted with an upright scepter, etc., and has granted him his weapons to protect the people and bless the land, the son of Belšumiškun, the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 73.

(5) "N., the king of Babylon, the exalted prince, favorite of Marduk, the obedient, the submissive, worshiper of the lord of lords, the wise, the understanding, who takes care of the places of Nabu, his lord, the priest (prince), the renewer, who spends many gifts on Bitsagil and Bit-zidda, who receives the temple dues, who orders their rites(?), the son of Belšumiškun, the exalted, the wise, the perfect lord, who guards the watch towers of Bit-sagil and Babylon, who like a mighty wall before the land am as a bar." *K. B.*, III. ii. 77.

(6) "N., the king, renewer (builder) who cares for thy places, forever." *K. B.*, III. ii. 79.

64. "Labaši-Marduk, king of Babylon." So in all the subscriptions of the six tablets published by Evetts. In number 1, it is found also in lines 8, 13, 17, 21(?), 28, 33, 36, 40. See, also, *Z. A.*, II., Tafel, No. 11.

68. (1) "Nabunâ'id" alone. In Strassmaier's tablets, Nos. 284 l. 13, 419 end, 1036 and 1125; Cyrus cylinder, 17, 33; Nab.-Cyrus Chronicle, Rev. 15, 16, 21.

(2) "N., king of Babylon." In Strassmaier's *Inschriften*, out of 1134 tablets, this title is found in the subscription (or elsewhere) of all that are legible, except four. See, also, *Z. A.*, II. 43, 44. Also, in the great inscription from Ur, Col. I. l. 24, Col. II. 23(?), 31-32, Col. III. 57(?); and in the small inscription from Ur, Col. II. 19; and on the cylinder V R. 64. *Z. K. F.*, II. 245, 249. See also *K. B.*, III. ii. 81, 83(?), 85, 89, 97, 99, 103; *Z. A.*, I. 52.

(3) "N., king of lands." Only in the subscription of tablet 1091.

(4) "N., king of Babylon, the renewer of Esagil and Ezida." I R. 69, Col. I. 63, 64, and Col. II. 45, 46, and I R. 68, No. 7.

(5) "N., the king, his (or thy) renewer." *K. B.*, III. ii. 91, 119.

(6) "The king." Nab.-Cyr. Chron., Ob. Col. I, 2, 7, Col. II. 5, 10, 13, 15, 19 *bis*, 23, Rev. 6, 23.

(7) "The king, his lord." Obv. Col. I. 13.

(8) "N., the king." Nab.-Cyr. Chr., Obv. Col. II. 10.

(9) "N., the mighty king, the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 97.

(10) "N., king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida." *K. B.*, III. ii. 97, 119.

(11) "N., king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, worshiper of the great gods." *K. B.*, III. ii. 95.

(12) "N., the king of Babylon, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the maker of good things, the son of Nabubalatsuikbi, the perfect prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 121.

(13) "N., king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the exalted prince, frequenter of the temples of the great gods, who assists at the restorations, whose mind is continually directed to the worship of the gods, the pious, who gives much thought to river and hill, the obedient, the humble, who performs worship by making offerings to gods and goddesses, who, in order not to commit sin, undertook the furnishing(?) of the gods, while he was careful of his life, etc., etc., the son of Nabubalatsuikbi, the wise prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 113, 115.

(14) "N., the king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the son of Nabubalatsuikbi, the wise prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 119.

(15) "N., the king of Babylon, the elect of Nabu and Marduk, the son of Nabubalatsuikbi, the wise prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 119.

(16) "N., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Babylon, the king of the four quarters of the earth, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, whose fate Sin and Ningal appointed to be a royal fate [while he was] in the womb of his mother, the son of Nabubalatsuikbi, the wise prince, worshiper" [of the great gods].

II.—TITLES OF THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA FROM THE TIME OF
KARAINDAŠ, KING OF BABYLON, DOWNWARD.

1. "Ašurbelnišišu, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 195.

2. "Bušurašur, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 195.

3. (1) "Ašuruballit, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 195, 3.

(2) "Ašuruballit" (alone). *K. B.*, I. 195.

(3) "Ašuruballit, the mighty king." *K. B.*, I. 7.

4. "Belnirari, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 197 *bis*.

5. (1) "Puduilu, king of Assyria, son of Belnirari, son of Ašuruballit, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 3.

(2) "Puduilu, the rightful prince, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, builder of the house of Šamaš." *K. B.*, I. 5.

6. "Ramman-Nirari, the illustrious prince, the chosen(?) of

god, the hero, šakkanak of the gods, establisher of the fallen cities, of the people of the Kassites, Kutites, Lulumites, and Šubarites, who overwhelms all the enemies, high and low, trampling their lands from Kupdi and Raphik to . . . , who took possession of the hosts of men, far-stretching boundaries and frontiers, to whom Anu, Ašur, Šamaš, Ramman and Ištar, have subdued the totality of kinglets and princes, the illustrious priest of Bel, son of Pudil, the viceroy of Bel, the priest of Ašur, the conqueror of Turuki and Nigimti in their whole extent, the destroyer of kinglets, mountains and forests on the border of the wide-spreading Kuti . . . etc., grandson of Belnirari, priest of Ašur, etc., great-grandson of Ašurballit, the mighty king," etc. *K. B.*, I. 5, 7.

(2) "Ramman-Nirari, king of nations." *K. B.*, I. 9.

(3) "R., king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 197, 129.

(4) "Ramman-Nirari" alone. *K. B.*, I. 197.

7. (1) "Salmanassar" alone. *K. B.*, I. 9.

(2) "S., king of nations." *K. B.*, I. 9.

(3) "S., king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 11 *bis*, 13.

(4) "S., king of Assyria, a prince going before me." *K. B.*, I. 69.

8. "Tiglat-Adar, king of Assyria, son of Šalmanassar, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 11 *bis*.

9. (1) "Adarapalekur, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 43.

(2) "A., the mighty (dapini) king, the beloved (nisit) of Ašur." *K. B.*, I. 43.

10. "Belkudurušur, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 197.

11. (1) "Ašurdan, the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 43, 129, 197. (See 15 below.)

(2) "A., bearer of an illustrious scepter, ruler of the men of Bel." *K. B.*, I. 41.

12. (1) "Mutakkil-Nusku, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 49.

(2) "M., whom Ašur, the great lord, by the oracle of his upright heart, longed for and called to the government of Assyria in a lawful manner (kiniš)." *K. B.*, I. 41.

13. (1) "Ašurrišiši, the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 49, 199.

(2) "Ašurrišiši" alone. *K. B.*, I. 199; Bezold's *Catalogue* 1695 [56-9-9, 185].

(3) "A., the mighty (danni) king, the conqueror of the lands of the enemies, the subduer of all the proud." *K. B.*, I. 41.

14. (1) "Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, II. 119.

(2) "Tiglath-Pileser" alone. *K. B.*, I. 69(?).

(3) "T., king of nations, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 49.

(4) "T., king of Assyria, the son of Ašurrišiši, king of Assyria, the son of Mutakkil-Nusku, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 49.

(5) "T., the prince, the beloved, the desire of your heart (*i.e.*, of the great gods), the exalted ruler, whom, in the uprightness of your heart, you have called and decked with a lofty crown and have installed mightily in the kingdom of the land of Bel; to whom you have granted princeliness, exaltation and bravery, as the lot of his lordship, whom ye have called to dominion and power, to the fortress of Eḫarsagkurkurra forever." *K. B.*, I. 17.

(6) "T., the mighty king, the incomparable king of nations, the king of the four quarters of the earth, king of all kinglets (*šar kal malki*), lord of lords, utullu(?), king of kings (*šar sarrani*), the exalted priest, to whom in the name of Šamaš, the glittering scepter was given, and who rules the subjects of Bel altogether, the lawful ruler, whose might is celebrated above (that of) all kinglets, the exalted judge(?), whose weapons Ašur caused to resound, and whose name he called to the government of the four quarters of the world forever, who took distant districts on both sides high and low . . . , whose glance cast down the four regions," etc. *K. B.* I. 17.

(7) "T., the brave hero, who opens up the paths of the mountains, casts down the disobedient, and sweeps away all the proud." *K. B.*, I. 23.

(8) "T., the mighty king, the scourge(?) of the disobedient, who sweeps away the battle of the hostile." *K. B.*, I. 25.

(9) "T., the mighty king, the conqueror of the quarters of the enemies, the combatant with the totality of all things." *K. B.*, I. 29.

(10) "T., the flaming lightning, the mighty flood-storm of battle." *K. B.*, I. 33.

(11) "T., who treads upon the proud, casts down the disobedient, humbles(?) the mighty altogether." *K. B.*, I. 35.

(12) "T., the brave hero, who holds an incomparable scepter, (and) exercises dominion over the field." *K. B.*, I. 37.

(13) "T., the exalted prince, whom Ašur and Adar bring to the desire of his heart, who marched behind the enemies of Ašur altogether and struck down the mighty altogether." *K. B.*, I. 41.

(14) "T., the princely ancestor, who went before me." *K. B.*, I. 165.

15. (1) "Ašurdan, king of nations, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 49.

(2) Perhaps also *K. B.*, I. 129, where we find "Ašurdanan, king of Assyria." See 11 above.

16. (1) "Ramman-Nirari, king of Assyria." *K. B.* I. 51, 129, 201 *ter*.

(2) "R.-N., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." Bezold's *Catalogue* 1691 [56-9-9-136].

(3) "R., king of nations, king of Assyria, son of Ašurdan, king of nations, king of Assyria, son of Tiglath-Pileser, king of nations, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 49.

17. (1) "Tuklat-Adar, king of Assyria, son of Ramman-Nirari, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 51.

(2) "T.-A., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." Bezold's *Catalogue*, 1691 [56-9-9, 136].

(3) "T., . . . , the great king, the mighty king, . . . , king of nations, king of Assyria, . . . etc." *K. B.*, I. 51, Be.

(4) "T., the king." *K. B.*, I. 204.

(5) "Tukulti-Ninip"* alone. *K. B.*, I. 153.

(6) "Tukulti-Ninip, the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 69, 129.

18. (1) "Ašurnaširabal" alone. *K. B.*, I. 177. Bezold's *Catalogue*, [56-9-9, 165, 28, 134, 201, 136, 142, 144, 152, 156, 159, 154, 155, 165] and [81-2-4, 188].

(2) "The king" alone. *K. B.*, I. 41, 63.

(3) "Ašurnaširabal, the king." *K. B.*, I. 99, 204.

(4) "A., the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 85.

(5) "A., the prince going before me." *K. B.* II., 39.

(6) "A., the hero" (kardu). *K. B.*, I. 77.

(7) "A., the mighty king, king of nations, the incomparable king, the king of the totality of the four regions of the world, the sun of the nations of men, the elect of Bel and Ninib, beloved of Anu and Dagan, the worshiper (kašuš) of the great gods, the humble, the beloved of thy heart, the prince, the favorite of Bel, whose priesthood seemed good to thine exalted godhead, whose government thou hast firmly founded, the illustrious hero, who goes about in the service of Ašur, his lord. Among the kings of the four regions of the world there is none like him, the shepherd of the tabraati(?), who fears not opposition, the mighty flood who has no opponent, the king who subdues the disobedient, who compels the totality of the nations of men, the manly, the strong, who tramples on the neck of his enemies, treads on the totality of the strangers, breaks in pieces the bonds of the mighty, who in the service of the great gods, his lords, goes about and with his hand conquers all the lands, compels the forests in their whole extent, and takes their increase, who seizes whips and exercises power(?) over all lands." *K. B.*, I. 55.

* Tukulti-Ninip is thought to have been the same as Tuklat-Adar.

8. "A., the exalted prince, the worshiper of the great gods, . . . who conquers cities and forests in their whole extent, king of lords, who burns the wicked, who is clothed with terror, fears not opposition, the exalted and unconquerable prince who casts down iniquity, the king of all kinglets, the lord of lords, . . . king of kings, exalted priest, the elect of the hero Ninib, the worshiper of the great gods, the avenger, the king, who in the service of Ašur and Šamaš, the gods of his trust, goes about uprightly, and mighty mountains and the kings (*malki*) his enemies, cuts down like *abi(?)cane*, and the totality of their lands subdues, restorer of the gifts to the great gods, the lawful prince, who is continually engaged in bringing about the right observance of the temple rules, whose handiwork and offerings the great gods of heaven and earth love, and his priesthood in the temples have established forever, . . . who conquers the enemies of Ašur, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, the son of Tukulti-Ninib, the priest of Ašur, who cast down the totality of his opponents and fixed upon beams the bodies of his enemies, the grandson of Ramman-Nirari, the priest, the *šakkanak* of the great gods, who accomplished the overthrow of the disobedient . . . the grandson of Ašurdan the founder of cities and builder of temples." *K. B.*, I. 55.

(9) "I am the king, the lord, the exalted, the lofty, the strong, the active, the prince, the noble, the hero, the mighty, the manly, Ašurnaširabal, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, the called of Sin, the favorite of Anu, the beloved of Ramman, the most powerful of the gods. I am the unconquerable weapon, which overwhelms the land of his enemies. I am the king, strong in battle, who destroys cities and forests, the prince in battle, the king of the four quarters of the world, who overthrows his enemies, brings to destruction all his enemies, the king of the nations of the quarters of the world, of the totality of kinglets,—the king, who suppresses the disobedient, who bends to his will all the nations of mankind." *K. B.*, I. 57, 59.

(10) "A., the exalted prince, the worshiper of the great gods, whom Bel permits to realize the wish of his heart, and whose mighty hand conquers the totality of disobedient kinglets, who conquers his enemies, who in impassable ways breaks the bond (conspiracy) of the mighty." *K. B.*, I. 59.

(11) "A., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the son of Tukulti-Ninip, the great king, the mighty king, king of nations, king of Assyria, the son of Ramman-Nirari, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the

king of Assyria,—the noble hero, who goes about in the service of Ašur, his lord, and has not his equal among the kings of the four quarters of the world,—the king, who has conquered from the ford of the Tigris to the mountains of Lebanon and the great sea," etc. *K. B.*, I. 95.

(12) "A., the great king, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, the son of Tukulti-Ninip, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, son of Ramman-Nirari, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria,—the manly hero, who in the service of Ašur, his lord, goes about and has not his equal among the kinglets of the four quarters of the world, the shepherd of tabrati(?), who fears no opposition, the mighty flood who has no opponent, the king who casts down the disobedient, who subdues the totality of the nations of mankind,—the manly, the mighty, who treads on the neck of his enemies, tramples on all his foes, breaks the confederacy of the mighty,—who goes about in the service of the great gods, his lords, conquers all lands with his hand, conquers all their forests and takes their increase, lays hold of whips and exercises power over all lands." *K. B.*, I. 113, 115.

(13) "A., the exalted prince, the worshiper (paliḥ) of the great gods, the powerful ??, who conquers cities and forests in their whole extent, the king of lords, who burns up the wicked, the exalted, unconquerable, who brings down iniquity, king of all the kinglets, king of kings (šar kal malki, šar šarrani), the exalted priest, the called of the hero Ninib, the worshiper (kašuš) of the great gods, who in the service of Ašur and Ninib, his divine helpers, goes about uprightly, and subdues mighty mountains and all the lands of the hostile kinglets, who fights with the enemies of Ašur, high and low, and lays upon them tribute and gifts. A., the mighty king, the called of Sin, the favorite of Anu, the beloved of Ramman, the mightiest of the gods, the unconquerable weapon, who casts down the land of his enemies am I; the king, the mighty in battle who destroys cities and forests, the first in fight, the king of the four quarters of the world, who overwhelms his enemies." *K. B.*, I. 115, 117.

(14) "A., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the son of Tukulti-Ninib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, son of Ramman-Nirari, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 123. Compare Bezold's *Catalogue* 1691 [56-9-9, 136].

(15) "A., viceroy of Bel, the priest of Ašur, whose priesthood seemed good to the gods and to whom they have made subject the totality of lands." *K. B.*, I. 153.

19. (1) "Šalmanašar" alone. *K. B.*, I. 206, 135.

(2) "S., the king." *K. B.*, I. 204.

(3) "S., king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 201 *ter*, 137.

(4) "S., the son of Ašurnaširabal." *K. B.*, III. ii. 101.

(5) "S., the exalted, the violent." *K. B.*, I. 134.

(6) "S., the mighty king." *K. B.*, I. 136.

(7) "S., the viceroy of Bel." *K. B.*, I. 189.

(8) "S., the mighty king, the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 137.

(9) "S., king of the four quarters of the world." *K. B.*, I. 177.

(10) Same as last, plus "my father." *K. B.*, I. 177.

(11) "S., the mighty king, the enlarger of Eḫarsagkurkura, the mountain of the lands." *K. B.*, II. 189.

(12) He calls himself "the hero." *K. B.*, I. 169.

(13) "S., the king of the nations of mankind, the prince, the high priest of Ašur, the mighty king, king of all the four quarters of the world, the sun of the nations of mankind, traverser of all lands, son of Ašurnaširabal, the exalted high priest, whose priesthood over the gods they (themselves) prepared, and cast all lands down at his feet, the illustrious progeny of Tukulti-Adar's, who subdued all his foes and swept them away like a flood." *K. B.*, I. 181.

(14) "S., the king of the nations of mankind, the prince, the high priest of Ašur, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, the king of all the four quarters of the world, the sun of the nations of mankind, traverser of all lands, the king, the worshiper (ba'id) of the gods, the favorite of Bel, the šakkanak of Ašur, the overseer (pit-ḫudu), the exalted prince, discerner of ways and ascents, who treads the tops of the mountains and of all forests, receiver of tribute and of the presents of all the four quarters, who opens up paths high and low, before whose powerful battle array the four quarters bow down, when he shatters(?) with his heroic might the foundations of the lands, the manly, the mighty, who in reliance upon Ašur, and Šamaš, the gods, his helpers, goes about, and among the kings of the four quarters of the world has not his equal, king of the lands (šar matâti), the mighty (šarḫu), who treads steep paths, visits mountains and seas, the son of Ašurnaširabal, the viceroy (šakan) of Bel, the high priest of Ašur, etc., the illustrious progeny of Tukulti-Ninib (Adar)." *K. B.*, I. 153.

20. (1) "Šamši-Ramman, the king." *K. B.*, I. 206.

(2) "Šamši-Ramman" alone. See Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 1694², 1695, 1769.

(3) "S.-R., the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 201 *ter*.

(4) "S.-R., the viceroy of Bel, the king of Assyria, the son of Šalmanašar, viceroy of Bel." *K. B.*, I. 189.

(5) "S.-R., the mighty king, king of nations, the incomparable, the keeper of places, bearer of the scepter of righteousness, subduer of lands everywhere, ruler of all, whose name the gods announced aforetime, the illustrious priest, renewer of Ešara . . . who exalts the decrees of the temple, who pays attention to the beauty of Eḫarsagkurkura (and) the temples of his land, and is obedient(?); the son of Šalmanašar, the king of the four regions, restorer of the kings of all, trampler of lands, grandson of Ašurnaširabal, receiver of tribute and gifts of all regions." *K. B.*, I. 177.

21. (1) "Ramman-Nirari, the king." *K. B.*, I. 206.

(2) "R.-N., king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 201 *ter*, 203.

(3) "R.-N., king of Assyria, his lord." *K. B.*, I. 193.

(4) "R.-N., the viceroy of Bel, the king of Assyria, the son of Šamši-Ramman, the viceroy of Bel, the king of Assyria, the son of Šalmanašar, the viceroy of Bel." *K. B.*, I. 189.

(5) "R.-N., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, a king whom in his boyhood, Ašur the king of the Igigi called and endowed with an incomparable kingdom, whose hand hath conquered and overthrown all from the great sea of the east (lit. of the rising of the sun) to the great sea of the west (šulmu šamši), the son of Šamši-Ramman, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the incomparable king, the son of Šalmanašar the king of the four regions, who put all his enemies under the yoke and swept them away like a flood, the grandson of Ašurnaširabal, the mighty knight (ardu kardu) who puts his garrisons in distant regions" [lit. makes wide the habitations of the troops]. *K. B.*, I. 189.

(6) "R.-N., the exalted prince (rubu na'du), to whose assistance Ašur, Šamaš, Ramman, and Marduk have come, and have extended his land; grandson of Tukulti-Ninib, king of Assyria, king of Šumer and Akkad, grandson of Šalmanašar, the mighty king, the enlarger of Eḫarsagkurkura, the mountain of the lands, grandson of Belkapkap, the earlier king, who ruled the kingdom of Sulili from pristine times, and whose destiny Ašur announced of old." *K. B.*, I. 189, 191.

(7) "R.-N., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king, whom Ašur king of the Igigi called in

his boyhood, and endowed with an incomparable kingdom, making good like a meadow his government over the people of Assyria, and establishing his throne; the illustrious priest, restorer of Ešarra, the tireless," etc. *K. B.*, I. 191.

22. (1) "Šalmanašar, the king." *K. B.*, I. 206.

(2) "S., king of Assyria(?)." *K. B.*, I. 210.

23. (1) "Ašurdanan (or Ašurdan), the king." *K. B.*, I. 206.

(2) "A., the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 210.

24. (1) "Ašur-Nirari, the king." *K. B.*, I. 205.

(2) "A.-N., the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 212.

25. (1) "Tiglath-Pileser" alone. *K. B.*, I. 205, 212; II. 275, 277 *ter.* See also Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 1694 and 1691 and 1387.

(2) "T.-P., the king." *K. B.*, I. 205, note.

(3) "T.-P., the king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 212.

(4) "T.-P., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of Šumer and Akkad, the king of the four regions [the obedient, the beloved of Bel: so Rost], the king who from the rising (šit) of the sun to the going down (erib) of the sun . . . subdues the men of the lands high and low, exiles their kings and sets up his viceroys." *K. B.*, II. 3, 5.

(5) "T.-P., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of Babylon, the king of Šumer and Akkad, the king of the four regions, the mighty,* the brave, who in reliance upon Ašur, his lord, shattered like a potter's vessel all who disobeyed him, swept them away like a flood," etc. *K. B.*, II. 9. 11.

(6) "T.-P., the great king, the mighty king, king of nations, king of Assyria, king of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of the four regions, the obedient, beloved of Bel." Plate Inscription of Nimrud, No. 2. See *Die Keilinschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers*, III, von Paul Rost, page 51.

26. (1) "Šalmanašar" alone. *K. B.*, I. 205, 214; II. 277 *ter.* See, also, Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 1387, 1689, 1692 and 1805.

(2) "The king" (šarru) alone. *K. B.*, II. 33.

(3) "S., king of Assyria." *K. B.*, II. 33; I. 214.

27. (1) "Sargon" alone. *K. B.*, I. 205, II. 275, 277 four times, 279 *bis*; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, II. 214; I Raw. 6, No. 7; Winckler, *Die Keilinschrifttexte Sargon's*, 77, 191, 196?. See, also, 82-5-22, 144, Bezold, page 1839; 81-2-4, 182, *id.*, 1769; 82-5-22, 90, *id.*, 1835; 56-9-9, 171, *id.*, 1694; K. 11079, *id.*, 1136; K. 4730,

* Schrader reads *dannu*; Rost *id-lu*.

id., 657; K. 5550, *id.*, 728; K. 13173, *id.*, 1293; Rm. 618, *id.*, 1627; Rm. 215, *id.*, 1594.

(2) "The king" (šarru) alone. *K. B.*, II. 51, 279; "malku" alone. *K. B.*, II. 81; Winckler, *Die Keilinschrifttexte Sargon's*, 77.

(3) "Sargon, their king." K. 588.

(4) "Sargon, my lord." Rm. 215 Obv. 2 and 3.

(5) "The king, my lord." Rm. 215 Obv. 4, Rev. 6.

(6) "Sargon, the king, my lord." K. 114 Obv. 2.

(7) "Sargon, the mighty king." Rm. 618, Bezold, 1627.

(8) "Sargon, the king of Assyria." III R., Pl. 2, Nos. 1, 4, 5; *K. B.*, II. 277; Winckler, 192 *bis*, 196; 83-1-18, 425, Bezold, 1889; K. 4678, Bezold, 653.

(9) "Sargon, the king of Babylon." Rm. 2, 345, Bezold, 1669.

(10) "Sargon, the king of Babylon, king of the lands, the mighty king, my lord." K. 4687 *bis*, Bezold, 653.

(11) "Sargon, king of the lands." K. 7426 Obv. 2.

(12) "King of the lands" alone. K. 7426 Obv. 4(?).

(13) "Sargon, the king of nations." Winckler, 193; K. 588 Obv. 1.

(14) "Sargon, the king of nations, my lord." K. 114.

(15) "Sargon, the king of nations, king of Assyria, šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad." Winckler, 190, 194, 143, 139, 137.

(16) "Sargon, the king of nations, king of Assyria, king of Šumer and Akkad." III R., Pl. 2, No. 23.

(17) The same as (11), except that it adds "the builder of the holy place." Winckler, 191, 192.

(18) "The active king, the proclaimer of excellent speech." *K. B.*, II. 45.

(19) "The clear-minded, sharp-eyed king." *K. B.*, II. 45.

(20) "S., the pious king." Winckler, 41.

(21) "S., viceroy (šaknu) of Bel, high priest of Ašur, the mighty king, the king of Assyria." Winckler, 193.

(22) "S., the rightful prince, the reverer (paliḫ) of the oath of Nabu and Marduk, and protector of the name of Ašur." Winckler, 189.

(23) "S., king of nations, king of Assyria." Winckler, 194 *bis*.

(24) "S., viceroy of Bel, high priest of Ašur, šakkanak of Nabu and Marduk." Winckler, 195.

(25) "S., king of Assyria, lord of the provinces(?) (or viceroys?) *amelu bel pihāti*." Winckler, 196.

(26) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations,

king of Assyria, šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, the favorite of the great gods." Winckler, 97, 147, 159.

(27) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the šakkanak of Babylon, the king of Šumer and Akkad, the king of the four regions, the favorite of the great gods," etc. Winckler, 81, at the beginning of the Annal-Inscription of Hall XIV. The superscription of the Stele Inscription is the same, with the addition at the end of the phrase, "a [likut mahriia]," "who walk before me." Winckler, 175.

(28) "S., viceroy of Bel, high priest of Ašur, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, king of the four regions, the favorite of the great gods," etc. Winckler, 165.

(29) "S., viceroy of Bel, high priest of Ašur, the chosen (nišit ená) of Anu and Bel, the great king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the favorite of the great gods, the rightful shepherd, whose fame Ašur and Marduk have caused to go out to the ends of the earth, the mighty hero, enwrapped in terror, who grasps his weapons to overthrow his foes, the brave champion (idlu ʔardu) who from the beginning of his lordship has found no rival king (malku), nor victorious competitor," etc. Winckler, 169.

(30) "S., the viceroy of Bel, the exalted high priest of Ašur, the chosen of Anu and Dagan, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the favorite of the great gods, the rightful shepherd, whom Ašur, Nabu and Marduk have granted an incomparable kingdom, whose fame they have caused to go out to the ends of the earth, etc., etc., the mightiest (li') of all kings (malki), etc., the mighty hero, enwrapped in terror, who grasped his weapons to overwhelm his foes, a king, who from the beginning of his lordship has found no rival king, nor in strife and battle met with a conqueror, who has dashed all lands in pieces like a potter's vessel, and bridled the four regions of the world." *K. B.*, II. 39-41.

(31) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, favorite of the great gods, the rightful shepherd, whom the gods Ašur and Marduk have granted an incomparable kingdom." See superscription to the Bull Inscription. Text by Winckler, Plate 41.

(32) "S., the viceroy of Bel, the high priest of Ašur, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, king of the four regions, favorite of the great gods, the rightful shepherd,

whom the gods Ašur and Marduk have granted an incomparable kingdom." etc. Bronze Inscription. Plate by Winckler, No. 42.

(33) "S., the viceroy of Bel, the prince of Ašur, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king who ruled over the four regions from the outgoing to the downgoing of the sun and placed over them his viceroys." Silver Inscription: Lyon's *Keil-inschrifttexte Sargon's*, page 23; gold inscription the same, Lyon, page 25; antimony or mineral inscription the same, except *patesi* Ašur instead of *nisakku* Ašur, line 2, Lyon, page 27.

28. (1) "Sennacherib" alone. *K. B.*, I. 207, 215; II. 279 four times, 281 *bis*. See, also, Smith's *History of Sennacherib*, pages 14, 17, 18 *bis*, and K. 961, K. 125, K. 7434, Rm. 2, 14, and Bu. 81-7-27, 41. See, also, Bezold, 763(?), 768, 1514, 1692, 1835, 1873, and 1944, and K. 122.

(2) "The king alone." So in K. 448 in the letter from Paḥirbel (or Upaḥirbel) to the king. See Smith's *History*, p. 10, and in the phrase "kirri šarri," "the walks of the king," Smith, 162, 163 *ter*.

(3) "S., the king." *K. B.*, I. 206, note; II. 281.

(4) "The king of Assyria." K. 5464¹²,¹⁷.

(5) "S., the king of Assyria." I R., 7, C., G., J., and Smith's *History of Sennacherib*, pages 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 69, 142 and 164. See, also, Bezold, 507, 714(?), 1540, 1589, 1830, 1882, 1885.

(6) "S., king of nations, king of Assyria." I R., 7, H. I.; I R., 6, B; III R., 4, No. 4; 16, No. 3. See, also, Smith's *History*, pp. 41, 69, 160, 164, 165; and Budge's *History of Esarhaddon*, page 15.

(7) "S., the great king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." I R., 6, VIII. A.

(8) "The king, my lord, Sennacherib." K. 5464 Obv. 1, 2.

(9) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." I R., 7, VIII. D.; III R., 16, No. 5, and in Smith's *History*, page 165.

(10) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions." I R., 7, F.

(11) "The king, my lord, Sennacherib." K. 5464¹,².

(12) "S., king of Assyria, the father, my begetter" (abu banua). *K. B.*, II. 131.

(13) "S., my grandfather, my begetter" (ab abi alidiya). *K. B.*, II. 155.

(14) "S., the king of Assyria, my grandfather, my begetter" (ab abi baniya). *K. B.*, II. 233.

(15) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of Assyria,

the incomparable king, the powerful shepherd, the worshiper of the great gods, keeper of treaties, lover of righteousness, maker of peace, the famous marcher in war(?), protector of good, the powerful hero, the warlike man, head over kings (asariddan malki), the giant consuming the disobedient, the breaker of bonds." Smith's *History*, pages 1 and 2.

(16) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, reverer (megir) of the great gods." Smith's *History*, page 3.

(17) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the reverer of the great gods, the appointed judge, the warlike man, head over kings, the giant consuming the disobedient, the breaker of bonds." Smith's *History*, pages 3 and 4.

(18) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the appointed shepherd, the reverer of the great gods, keeper of treaties, lover of righteousness, maker of peace, the famous marcher in war(?), protector of good, the powerful hero, the warlike man, head over kings, the giant consuming the disobedient, the breaker of bonds." Smith's *History*, page 5.

(19) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the reverer of the great gods, the warrior, the judge, the appointed king (malku pitqudu), the shepherd of the people, renowned among widely distant nations." Smith's *History*, page 7.

(20) "S., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, reverer of the great gods, upon whom the great gods Ašur and Ištar have conferred an incomparable kingdom." Smith's *History*, page 161.

29. (1) "Esarhaddon" alone. K. B., II. 123, 283 *bis*, 285 *bis* and K. 961. See also Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 438 K. 2388, 481 K. 2852, 564 K. 3788, 633 K. 4444, 637 K. 4504, 638 K. 4519, 774 K. 6259, 783 K. 6386, 880 K. 7862, 1164 K. 11438, 1165 K. 11445, 1168³ K. 11476, K. 11481 and K. 11478, 1169³ K. 11483, K. 11485, K. 11487, K. 11488, K. 11489, 1171² K. 11500, K. 11504, 1226 K. 12201, 1266 K. 12783, 1328 K. 13648, 1342 K. 13826, 1415 Sm. 524, 1423 Sm. 657, 1424 Sm. 663, 1461 Sm. 1079, 1467 Sm. 1158, 1478 Sm. 1320, 1492 Sm. 1516, 1523 Sm. 2005, 1539 Sm. 2485(?), 1732 (80-7-19, 43), 1735³ (80-7-19, 71, 73, 75), 1742 (80-7-19, 137), 1768 (81-2-4, 173), 1769 (81-2-4, 190), 1835 (82-5-22, 90), 1836 (82-5-22, 105), 1839 (82-5-22, 136), 1842 (82-5-22, 175), 1843

(82-5-22, 480), 1844² (82-5-22, 485 and 488), 1845 (82-5-22, 494), 1847 (82-5-22, 527), 1854 (83-1-18, 1), 1858 (83-1-18, 45), 1894 (83-1-18, 477), 1898³ (83-1-18, 530, 531, [568], 536), 1899⁵ (83-1-18, 540, 543, 544, 546, 548), 1900 (83-1-18, 559), 1901 (83-1-18, 571), 1902³ (83-1-18, 577, 580, 582), 1908 (83-1-18, 765), 1912 (83-1-18, 836), 1915 (83-1-18, 897), 1916 (83-1-18, 898), 1917 (Bu. 89-4-26, 5), 1928 (Bu. 89-4-26, 151), 1944 (Bu. 91-5-9, 167, 169), 1945 (Bu. 91-5-9, 181), 1946 (Bu. 91-5-9, 194), 1947 (Bu. 91-5-9, 199).

(2) "The king" alone. * *K. B.*, II. 285 bis; Budge, *History*, 85.

(3) "Esarhaddon, the king." Bezold's *Catalogue*, page 463, K. 2663.

(4) "The king of Assyria." *K. B.*, II. 285.

(5) "Esarhaddon, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, III. ii. 85, 101 (in Nabonâ'id's inscriptions), and Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 440 and 1406.

(6) "E., king of Babylon." Bezold's *Catalogue*, page 1543.

(7) "E., king of nations, king of Assyria." *I R.*, 8, No. 3; 48, No. 8.

(8) "E., king of Assyria, king of Babylon(?)." *I R.*, 48, No. 5 (doubtful).

(9) "E., king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, son of Sargon, king of Assyria." *I R.*, 48, No. 3.

(10) "E., the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the son of Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, the son of Sargon, king of Assyria." *I R.*, 48, No. 2.

(11) "E., king of nations, king of Assyria, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of Karduniyaš." *I R.*, 48, No. 7.

(12) "E., king of nations, king of Assyria, of Hatti-land(?), Egypt and Kush." Budge's revision of *I R.*, 48, No. 4, given in his *History of Esarhaddon*, page 16. Lehmann discusses the signs at length in his "Šamašsumukin," page 79, q.v.

(13) "E., the great king, the mighty king, king of nations, king of Assyria, šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of the kings of Egypt, Patrus (Budge reads Hatti), and Kush." *I R.*, 48, No. 9.

(14) "E., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the šakkanak of Babylon, the king of Šumer and Akkad." Lehmann's Šamašsumukin, Tafel XXVIII. 4, 5; *I R.*, 48, No. 6.

(15) "E., king of nations, king of Assyria, šakkanak of Bel, king of Šumer and Akkad, the exalted prince, the worshiper of Nabu and Marduk." *K. B.*, II. 121, *I R.*, 49.

(16) "E., king of Assyria, the father, my begetter." *K. B.*, II. 153, 155, 159. See Budge's *History*, pages 109, 111.

(17) "The father, my begetter." So called by Ašurbanipal, see *K. B.*, II. 159, 163, 167, 177, 233. Budge, *History*, 125.

(18) The Prisms A and C as restored by Abel and others read: "E., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, son of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, son of Sargon, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, who in reliance upon Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, the great gods, his lords, goes about from the rising to the setting of the sun, without a rival." *K. B.*, II. 124.

(19) "E., my son, whose name after this, (shall be) Ašurebil-mukurpal." Budge's *History*, page 15.

(20) "E., the king's son." Bezold's *Catalogue*, page 1836.

30. (1) "Ašurbanipal" alone. I R., 48, Nos. 5, 6, 7; *K. B.* II. 115, 155, 211, 285; S. A. Smith's *Keilinschrifttexte Asurbanipal's*, I. 53; III. 11, 13; Bezold's *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, pages 60, 185, 186, 259, 289, 290, 297, 299, 313, 378, 474, 478, 495, 633, 652, 657, 663, 718(?), 968, 970, 1079, 1165 *bis*, 1166, 1167, 1172 *bis*, 1201, 1227, 1328, 1339, 1393, 1462, 1464, 1482, 1520, 1561, 1634, 1649, 1688, 1689, 1707, 1730, 1742, *bis* 1754, 1768, 1801, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1838, 1842, 1843, 1858, 1870, 1873, 1881, 1884, 1894, 1895, 1909, 1925, 1930, 1947.

(2) "The king" alone. III R., 45, No. 1; Smith's *Asurbanipal*, II. 2, 23, 32, 37, 41⁴, 44, 46³, 47, 49, 63, III. 7, 18², 22, 31², 37(?), 39², 40², 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 71, 75⁴, 78, 82.*

(3) "Ašurbanipal, the king." See the *Annals*, Col. V, lines 100, 101, and Bezold's *Catalogue*, 615, K. 4300.

(4) "King Ašurbanipal." Bezold, page 201. Doubtful. See Harper, page 485, *i.e.*, K. 961.

* *Assyrian Letters*, I. 8, 15, II. 9, III. 7⁶, 9, 11, 20, 23, IV. 3³, 5⁴, 10²; R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, pages 4, 14, 18, 147, 184, 185, 365, 466, 473, 538, 671, 52, 220, 288, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 301², 302, 303², 304³, 305, 307, 308, 309², 310, 311, 312, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 440, 508, 517, 556, 557, 566, 570, 601, 615², 697, 750, 753², 774, 791; Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 124, 135, 141, 175, 176², 195, 217, 221, 222, 236, 247(?), 255, 1856, 1857, 1861, 1929(?), 1947, 1439, 1561, 1578, 1836, 1863, 1928, 1942, 928, 144, 193, 199², 234, 243, 263, 278, 314, 113, 114, 115, 175, 274, 194, 319. In Smith's *Assyrian letters* and in Harper's and Bezold's works referred to above, it is impossible always to say what particular king is meant. As the tablets in which the word occurs have all been found in Assurbanipal's library, we have thought it best to put the lists here.

(5) "The king of Assyria." From what is published in Bezold and Harper, it is certain that this phrase is used at times of Ašurbanipal. It occurs on the tablets of Ašurbanipal's general Belibni, published in Harper, pages 283, 284 (K. 10 Rev. 4 and K. 13 Obv. 28), and on page 852 ($\pm 83-1-18$, 52 Obv. 10); and in Bezold's *Catalogue*, probably also of Ašurbanipal, 193, 363, 366, 925, 1520 *bis*, 1933; and, accompanied by the phrase "the king of nations," in Bezold, page 1859.

(6) "Ašurbanipal, the king of Assyria." See III R., Pl. 2, No. 24, Pl. 37, No. 1, and Tablet I, III Obv. and Rev. *bis*, and IV; and K. B., II. 175, 185, 187, 189; and Harper, page 312; and S. A. Smith's *Asurbanipal*, I. 19, 27, 29, 31, II. 51, III. 4, 5, 6², 7, 12, 13, III. 79, 81, 128; and Bezold's *Catalogue*, 7, 26, 103, 109, 287, 305, 509, 565, 856, 1481, 1575, 1739, 1882, 1892.

(7) "Ašurbanipal, the king of Elam." Smith's *Asurbanipal*, III. 1 l. 12 (K. 2674, l. 12).

(8) "A., the king, the king of Assyria." Bezold, 1876 (83-1-18, 265).

(9) "A., the son of Esarhaddon." Bezold, 1164 (K. 11438).

(10) "A., the son of the king." Bezold, 1164, 1165 (K. 11440 and K. 11445).

(11) "A., the king of Assyria, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria." Bezold, 1756 (Bu. 81-2-4, 48).

(12) "A., the king of nations (*šar kiššati*), the king of Assyria." Bezold, 5 (K. 24) and 27 (K. 105)(?); I R., 48, No. 8, *id.*, 7, No. 1x, A, B, C, D and E, 8, Nos. 1 and 3, II R., 38, No. 3, III R., 37 and III R., 48, Rm. 20.

(13) "A., my lord." Harper, 485 (K. 961 Obv. 9, 10).

(14) "A., the king of Assyria, thy (Ašur's?) reverer." K. 159 Rev. 25, 26. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipal's*, III. 80.

(15) "A., the king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands." K. 159 Rev. 22, 23, *id.*

(16) "A., the creature of thy hands." K. 159 Rev. 32, 33, *id.*

(17) "A., the merciful," etc. (*libbu rapšu*). Smith, I. 33; K. B., II. 190.

(18) "A., the prince, his reverer." Smith, I. 35; K. B., II. 192.

(19) "The king, whom God knew, art thou." See *Annals of Asurbanipal*, Smith, I. 21.

(20) "A., the king of Assyria, the king of Babylon." I R., 48, No. 9.

(21) "A., king of nations, king of Assyria, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of Karduniaš." I R. 48, No. 7.

(22) "My brother." So Šamašsumukin addresses Ašurbanipal in a letter. Bu. 80-19, 17, Smith's *Letters*, IV, 8.

(23) "The king, my brother." Occurs in same letter, *i.e.*, Bu. 80-19, 17.

(24) "A., king of Assyria, the prince, her (*i.e.*, Beltis') reverer, the šakkanak, the creature of her hands." Smith, II. 10 (No. 64).

(25) "A., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." Smith, III. 6 (K. 2674) and [Bu. 81-7-27, 177] Bezold 1808.

(26) "A., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the king of kings (šar šarrani), the incomparable prince, the son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the šakkanak of Babylon, king of Šumer and Akkad, grandson of Sennacharib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." III R., 16, No. 5; *K. B.*, II. 259.

(27) "A., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions." Smith, I. 78; *K. B.*, III. 232.

(28) "A., the king, the illustrious prince, the prayerful chief (rešu mutninnu); the creature of the hands of Ašur." *K. B.*, II, 214; Smith, I. 58.

(29) "A., the creature of Ašur and Beltis, the great son of the king of the house of instruction," etc. (Bitriduti). Smith, I. 2; *K. B.*, II. 152.

(30) "A., the king, the beloved (naram) of the heart of Bel." Smith, I. 70.

(31) "The lord of kings." So in Belibni's letters, K. 13 Obv. 3 and K. 5398 Obv. 3, 4. The phrase occurs, also, in Bu. 91-5-9, 113 Obv. 7, Rev. 11, 13, 16(?); and in K. 5398 Obv. 3 and 4. (The tablet is broken and "my lord" should probably be supplied.)

(32) "The lord of kings, my lord."* So in Belibni's letters, K. 10 Obv. 1; K. 13 Obv. 16, 17, 32, Rev. 8, 10, 28, 31; K. 524 Obv. 1, 5; K. 599 Obv. 1, 5; K. 1926 Obv. 3; 83-1-18, 4 Obv. 1, 3; 83-1-18, 51 Obv. 1, 3; 83-1-18, 52 Obv. 1, 4, Rev. 3, 12; 83-1-18, 150 Obv. 1, 3, 5; Bu. 95-5-9, 107 Obv. 8.

(33) "The lord of kings, the king of the lands, my lord." Belibni's letter, K. 10 Obv. 4.

(34) "The king, the king, my lord" (?). 83-1-18, 21 Rev. 10.

* This phrase is found, also, in K. 1122 Obv. 3; K. 1260 Obv. 12, 16; K. 1374 Obv. 1, 3(?), 4(?), 5(?), 8, Rev. 15, 18 *bis*, 20, 21, 25; K. 520 Obv. 1, 3; K. 1964 Obv. 1(?), 3, Rev. 5, 8; S. 1592 Obv. 1.

(35) "The king of the lands." Letter to "the king of the lands, my lord." Bu. 91-5-9, 73 Obv. 3.

(36) "The king, the mighty šakkanak(?), my lord." K. 1249 Obv. 3. (See S. A. Smith, *K. A.*, III. 50.)

(37) "To the king of multitudes(?) my lord." K. 4791, 3. See note in S. A. Smith's *Assyrian Letters*, III. 9. K. 1158 mentions Belibni, Ašurbanipal's general, and thus shows that K. 479, which was written by the same man, Ugar-Bel-lu-mur, is addressed to Ašurbanipal. See, also, K. 476, which S. A. Smith gives in his *Keilschrifttexte*, II. 41.

(38) "The king of the lands, my lord." So in Kudurru's letters, K. 81 Obv. 1, 3; K. 82 Obv. 1; K. 154 Obv. 1; K. 1066 Obv. 1, 3; K. 1899 Obv. 1(?); K. 6946 Obv. 1. (Kudurru's letters K. 1066 and K. 1899 both mention Belibni, Ašurbanipal's general).*

(39) "The king of kings, my lord." K. 615 Obv. 1; and 83-1-18, 260 Obv. 1.

(40) "The king, my lord." Belibni's letters, K. 10 Obv. 6, Rev. 11; K. 524 Obv. 15, Rev. 24; K. 13 Rev. 5, K. 1926 Obv. 1, 5, Rev. 5, 7; K. 597 Obv. 3, 6, 7, 13, 16, 20, 21; 5398 Obv. 5, Rev. 2, 3; K. 599 Obv. 9, 13, Rev. 2. So in Nabubelšume's letters, K. 982³, K. 1074³, K. 5418², K. 5423¹, K. 7526², K. 12954³, Bu. 83-1-18, 21⁶. So, also, in the letters of Tabu-ešarra, K. 466³, K. 507³, K. 515³, K. 594⁴, K. 620⁵, K. 656⁵, K. 1057³, K. 1147⁴.†

* The phrase "king of the lands, my lord" is found, also, K. 467 Obv. 1 and 2; K. 647 Obv. 1, 4, 6 (*our* lord); K. 1107 Obv. 1, 4; K. 5585 Obv. 1, 4; K. 7467 Obv. 1, 6 (*our* lord); K. 509 Obv. 1, 5; K. 562 Obv. 1, 6; K. 607 Obv. 1, 6; K. 79 Obv. 1, 3; K. 462 Obv. 1, 3; K. 514 Obv. 1, 4; K. 528 Obv. 1, 4; K. 1089 Obv. 1, 3; K. 4736 Obv. 1, 3; K. 1249 Obv. 1; K. 638 Obv. 1, 3; K. 22 Obv. 1; K. 559 Obv. 1; K. 545 Obv. 1, 5; 81-2-4, 468 Obv. 1, 5; 81-2-4, 77 Obv. 11; Bu. 91-5-9, 72 Obv. 1; K. 1030 Obv. 1, 3, 6; 83-1-18, 869 Obv. 1; S. 920 Obv. 1, 4; 82-5-2, 111 Obv. 1, 3; K. 5457 Obv. 1, 2; 83-1-18, 122 Obv. 1, 2; 83-1-18, 162 Obv. 1; Bu. 89-4-26, 162 Obv. 1; K. 4734 Obv. 1, 3; 83-1-18, 835 Obv. 1, 3, 4; 83-1-18, 210 Obv. 3; K. 672 Obv. 1, 4, 9; K. 544 Obv. 1, 3, 5, Rev. 6; Bu. 91-5-9, 113 Obv. 1, 4; K. 470 Obv. 1, 3; and 82-5-22, 132 Obv. 1, 3(?); 83-1-18, 29 Obv. 1, 6; Bu. 89-4-26, 63181 Obv. 1, 6.

† The phrase "the king, my lord" is the most common of all titles, occurring from one to thirteen times in every one of the eight hundred and seventy-six letters published by Prof. Robert Francis Harper, except the following one hundred and thirty, to wit, those numbered 10, 15, 38, 54, 62, 65, 70, 112, 117, 132, 145, 147, 183, 185, 214, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 229, 235, 250(?), 273, 283, 287, 288, 289, 290-308, 332, 345, 350(?), 361, 382, 383, 399-403, 409, 416, 417, 422, 430, 435, 447, 448, 449, 451, 457, 461, 464, 466, 470, 472, 473, 477, 478, 490, 505, 512, 517, 518, 523, 527, 537, 540, 543, 559, 561, 567, 571, 574(?), 579, 580, 585(?), 588, 589, 592, 594-7, 601, 607, 609(?), 613, 616, 619 (?), 623, 624, 627, 631, 635, 640, 641, 644, 646, 649, 654(?), 735, 738, 748, 781, 803, 809, 815, 816, 830, 854, 855, 864, 868, 871. In the letters published by S. A. Smith in his *Assyrian Letters* the phrase "the king, my lord" occurs as follows: K. 482 four times, K. 483⁴, K. 82⁵, K. 83³,

(41) "I am king of the Kassites and Akkadians, king of the broad land of Babylon." So Ašurbanipal speaks of himself in the inscription published in II R., 38, No. 2, lines 34-36.

(42) "Asurbanipal, the king . . . offspring of the heart of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria . . . grandson of Sennacherib . . ." K. 2867 in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipal*, II. 1.* †

31. "Ašuritilili, king of nations, king of Assyria." I R., 8, No. 3.

32. "[Sin šar] iškun, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria." I R., 8, No. 6. ‡

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R. D. WILSON.

K. 691⁷, 21⁷, 80³, 81⁹, 89³, (our lord) 478³, 481³, 493⁴, 498⁵, 522⁴, 146², 174⁵, 479², 492⁸, 502⁶, 504⁹, 506⁴, 507³, 508³, 511⁴, 526³, 154⁴, 523⁴, 572³, 1122², 77² and S. 1034⁵. See also Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipal's* where it occurs as follows: K. 538⁵, 513², 562², 604⁵, 476⁵ [Bu. 2-4, 57]³, K. 509⁷, 524¹, 1064⁴, 11¹¹, 549³, 183¹², 487³, 525⁹, 646¹⁵, 550³, 1252³, S. 760⁴, K. 514⁵, 679⁶, 582³, 686³, 1229 and 1113⁵, 669⁵, 41.**

* The periods (. . .) denote parts of the inscription which have been destroyed.

† Other titles found in the *Assyrian Letters and Reports* are as follows:

(1) "My lord, the king, the lord of kings." K. 1202 Obv. 1 and 2.

(2) "My lord." Bu. 83-1-18, 250; Bu. 91-5-9, 85, lines 3 and 4.

(3) "The son of the great king, the son of the king of nations (and) of the lands, my lord." Bu. 82-5-22, 103 Obv. 1-3.

(4) "The son of the king of the lands, my lord." Bu. 82-5-22, 103 Obv. 6.

(5) "The king of nations" (?). Bu. 89-4-26, 11; Bu. 91-5-9, 93 (?), and K. 10489. (See Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 1092, 1918 and 1938.)

(6) "King of the lands." Bu. 91-5-9, 73 Obv. 3; K. 544 Rev. 24; Bu. 91-5-9, 85 Obv. 6 (?); Bu. 91-5-9, 90 Obv. 1; K. 1196 Obv. 4 (?); K. 7426 Obv.

(7) "The king, the lord of kings, my lord." K. 1202 Obv. 2, 3.

(8) "The king of the lands, the mighty king, the king of nations." K. 7655, Bezold, 865.

(9) "The mighty king." K. 6058, Bezold, 759, and K. 3881, Bezold, 573.

(10) "Lord of lords, king of kings." (?) K. 7593, Bezold, 861.

‡ In the next article, there will be given a collection of titles of the kings of Egypt.

** In this note, the numbers appended to the tablets cited, denote the number of times that the phrase is found in each.

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.

THE GREAT AWAKENING AND ITS RELATION TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY.

JONATHAN EDWARDS and John Wesley were born within a few months of each other in the year 1703. The recent celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of their births has recalled attention to the great religious revival in the English-speaking world in which they were central figures. This remarkable movement derives also a practical interest from current discussion on the subject of revivals, and from the systematic effort being made by our own and sister Churches to revive aggressive evangelism.

The term Great Awakening has long been applied to that revival of religion in the American colonies which was contemporary with the beginnings of the work of the Wesleys in Great Britain. The chief personal bond between the two branches of this evangelistic movement was George Whitefield. And the date usually given as central to the revival in America is 1740, the year in which Whitefield made his first tour through New England. Then the two branches of the movement, independent in origin, came into friendly contact and coöperation, and thereafter their essential similarity was generally recognized.

Although the Great Awakening is usually regarded as having begun at Northampton, yet revivals identical with it in spirit had been in progress for a decade or more under the ministry of Dominie Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, who in 1720 began his fruitful labors among the Dutch settlers along the Raritan.

At the beginning of their career the Wesleys were much influenced by the Moravian Pietists, and it would seem that Frelinghuysen

VI.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

ARTICLE THREE.

THE following article is the third of a series, whose primary design is to show that the statements made by Dr. Driver with regard to the titles of the kings of Persia cannot be "accepted unqualifiedly, and that the impression left by his notes and proofs is misleading and fallacious." In the first article, which occupied pages 257-282 of the April number of this REVIEW, there was given an enumeration of all the known titles and designations of the kings of Persia. In the second article, which embraced pages 465-497 of the July number, there was given a list of the titles and designations of the kings of Babylonia and Assyria, as they are found on the cuneiform monuments. The present article will be confined to the kings of Egypt from the first to the thirty-first dynasty inclusive. It contains a complete list in transliteration, or translation, of all the known official titles of all the kings of Egypt to the time of Alexander the Great; and a large number of other designations.

For the original of the official titles I have been indebted, first of all, to *Le Livre des Rois*, the new edition of Lepsius' *Königsbuch* by Émile Brugsch-Bey and Urbain Bouriant, *conservateurs* of the museum at Bulak; in the interpretation of which, and especially in the supplementing of it, I have been under great obligation to Dr. Budge's *History of Egypt*. I have drawn largely, also, from Petrie's *History of Egypt*, and from Prof. Henry Brugsch's *Egypt Under the Pharaohs*.*

THE FIRST DYNASTY.

1. (1) "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mená." Budge, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. I. 176.

* The reader is cautioned to use the titles from Brugsch's history and some of Petrie's with discretion, as it was impossible in many cases to verify them.

- (2) "Horus Āḥa." *Id.*, 177.*
2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Teta." Budge, I. 181.
b. "K. E., A-Tehuti(?)." *Id.*, 181.
 (2) "H. Narmer(?)." *Id.*, 182.
 (3) "Perāa(?)." *Id.*, 185.
3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ateth." *Id.*, 191, B. B., 3.†
b. "K. E., Ata." *Id.*, 191.
 (2) "H. Tcha(?)." Budge, I. 192.
4. (1) "K. E., Ata." B. B., 4.
 (2) "Mer-Nit." Budge, I. 193.
5. (1) "K. E., Semti." Budge, I. 199 (B. B. read "Ḥesepti").
 (2) "K. E., Sementmakheru." B. B., 5.
 (3) "H., Ten." Budge, I. 194.
6. (1) *a.* "K. E., Merpeba." B. B., 6.
b. "K. E., Merbapen." B. B., 6.
 (2) "H., Ātchār." Budge, I. 200.
7. (1) "K. E., Ḥu" (or "Nekht," or "Samenptah," or "Semsen," or "Shemsu"). B. B., 7; Budge, I. 200.
 (2) "H., Semerkha." Budge, I. 204.
 (3) "K. E., L. S., Ḥu(?)." *Id.*, 203.
8. (1) "K. E., Qebḥu," or "Qebḥ." B. B., 8.
 (2) "H., Qa." Budge, I. 205.
 (3) "L. S., Sen." *Id.*, 205.
 (4) "Horus of gold(?)." *Id.*, 205.

THE SECOND DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Neter-Baiu." B. B., 9.
b. "K. E., Betchau." B. B., 9.

* The four ordinary titles of the Egyptian kings appear to have been given first to Seneferu, the first king of the fourth dynasty (Brugsch: *History of Egypt*, I, 63, 64). The first of these titles was generally preceded by the phrase "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," and followed by the phrase "son of the sun," with the personal name immediately after it. The second name was preceded by the sign for Hor, or Ra-Hor, and is called the Horus name. The third was preceded by the signs which Budge interprets as meaning "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet." The fourth is preceded by the signs for *Heru* and *nub*, and is called the "golden Horus" name. In this article we shall denote the above phrases most frequently by abbreviations, as follows:

K. E. = King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

S. S. = Son of the sun.

H. = Horus.

L. S. = Lord of the shrines, etc.

H. G. = Horus of gold (or golden Horus).

† B. B. will be used to denote *Le Livre des Rois*, by Émile Brugsch-Bey and Urbain Bouriant. The figures denote the numbers of the kings as given by them.

- (2) "H., Kha-Sekhemui." Budge, I. 207.
- (3) "Besh." Budge, I. 206, 208.
2. "H., Hetep-Sekhemui" (or "Āhāui"). Budge, I. 211.
3. (1) "K. E., Kākau." B. B., 10.
- (2) "H., Raneb." Budge, I. 211.
4. (1) "K. E., Baenneter." B. B., 11.
- (2) "H., Enneter." Budge, I. 212.
5. "K. E., Uatchnes." B. B., 12.
6. (1) "K. E., Peràbsen." B. B., 14
- (2) "H., Sekhemàb." Budge, I. 213.
- (3) "Set-Peràbsen." Budge, I. 213.
7. "K. E., Semṭa." B. B., 13.
8. "K. E., Ka-Ra." Budge, I. 214.
9. "K. E., Neferkara." B. B., 15.
10. "K. E., Neferkaseker." B. B., 16.
11. "K. E., Hetchefa." B. B., 17.
12. (1) *a.* "K. E., Tchatchai." B. B., 18.
- b.* "K. E., Bibi." B. B., 18.

THE THIRD DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Nebka." B. B., 19.
- b.* "K. E., Nebkara." B. B., 19.
2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Tcheser." B. B., 20.
- b.* "K. E., Tchesersa." B. B., 20.
- c.* "K. E., Tchānekhtri(?)." B. B., 20.
- (2) "L. S., Neterkha." Budge, I. 217.
- (3) "H. G., Tcheser." *Id.*, 217.
3. (1) "K. E., Teta." B. B., 21.
- (2) "K. E., Tcheser Teta." B. B., 23.
4. "K. E., Àḥtes." B. B., 24.
5. "K. E., Setches." B. B., 22.
6. "K. E., Nebkara." B. B., 25.
7. "K. E., Neferkara." B. B., 26.
- "Son of the Sun, Hūni." B. B., 26.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "Seneferu." B. B., 27.
- b.* "Senefer." B. B., 27; *Kb.*, 3, *c.*
- (2) "H., Nebmaat." B. B., 27.
- (3) "L. S., Nebmaat." B. B., 27.
- (4) "The Horus of gold." B. B., 27.

(5) "Seneru, the great god, the subduer of foreign countries, giver of power, stability, life, all health, and all joy of heart for ever." Budge, II. 23; Petrie: *A History of Egypt*, I. 35.

2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Khufu." B. B., 33.

b. "K. E., Khnemu-khufu." B. B., 33.

(2) *a.* "H., Matchetu." B. B., 33.

b. "H., Thema(?)." Budge, II. 30 (on rock-relief of Khufu).

(3) *a.* "L. S., Matchet." B. B., 33.

b. "L. S., Mezed (Khnum-khuf), Khent (Khufu)." Petrie, I. 43.

(4) "Golden Horus." B. B., 33.

(5) "The great god, Khufukhnemu." Budge, II. 29.

3. "K. E., Raṭeṭf." B. B., 42.

4. (1) *a.* "K. E., Khaf-Ra." B. B., 37.

b. "K. E., Raenkhaḥ, loving the gods." Petrie, I. 55.

(2) "H., Useràb." B. B., 37.

(3) "Mighty (sekhem) Horus of gold." B. B., 37.

5. (1) *a.* "K. E., Menkaura." B. B., 40.

b. "K. E., Menkaura, living for ever." Budge, II. 60 (from coffin cover in British Museum, No. 6647).

(2) "Ramenkau, beloved of the gods, Ramenkau, Hathor." Petrie, I. 62 (from cylinder, F. P. collection).

(3) "Osiris, K. E., Menkaura, living for ever, born of heaven, conceived of Nut, heir of Set, his beloved." Budge, II. 61.

(4) "The king." Petrie, I. 64.

6. (1) "K. E., Àeskaf." B. B., 43. (But Budge reads "Shep-seskaf," II. 63. So, also, Petrie, I. 64.)

(2) "Majesty." Budge, II. 65 *ter*; Petrie, I. 64, 65 *bis*.

(3) "King." Budge, II. 65; Petrie, I. 64 *ter*, 65.

(4) "Lord." Budge, II. 65 *bis*; Petrie, I. 65, five times.

7. "K. E., Sebekkara." B. B., 46.

8. "K. E., Imhotep." B. B., 47.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) "K. E., Userkaf." B. B., 48.

(2) "H., Àrimaat." B. B., 48.

(3) "Userkaf, beloved of the gods." Petrie, I. 70 (from cylinder in the British Museum).

(4) "Son of the Sun(?)." Budge, II. 67.

2. (1) "K. E., Saḥura." B. B., 49.

(2) "H., Nebkhau." B. B., 49.

(3) "Saḥura, beloved of the gods." Petrie, I. 71 (from cylinder).

3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raneferàrika." B. B., 50, Sakkara.
b. "Son of the Sun, Kakai." B. B., 50, Abydos.
c. "K. E., Rashepseska."
4. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raneferf." B. B., 51.
 (2) "Son of the Sun, Rashepseska." B. B., 51.
5. (1) "K. E., Rakhanefer." B. B., 52.
 (2) "Son of the Sun, Hemakau." B. B., 52.
6. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raenuser." B. B., 53.
b. "Son of the Sun, Ān." B. B., 53.
 (2) *a.* "H., Āstàbtaui." B. B., 53.
b. "H., Āstàbtaui, Raenuser." B. B., 53.
 (3) "L. S., Āstàb." B. B., 53.
 (4) "Divine Horus of gold." B. B., 53.
 (5) "Seat of the heart of the divine Horus of God." Budge, II 72.
7. (1) *a.* "K. E., Menkauḥeru." B. B., 54.
b. "K. E., Menkaḥeru." B. B., 54.
 (2) "H., Menkhau." B. B., 54.
 (3) "Good god, lord of the two lands, Menkauḥeru, giver of life, like Ra." Budge, II. 76 (from relief published by de Rongé).
8. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raṭeṭka." B. B., 55.
b. "K. E., Ramaatka." B. B., 55.
c. "K. E., Ṭeṭ." B. B., 55.
d. "K. E., Ràṭeṭka giving life for ever." Petrie, I. 80.
e. "Son of the Sun, Assà." B. B., 55.
 (2) "H., Ṭeṭkhau." B. B. 55.
 (3) "King Raṭeṭka, beloved of the spirits of Heliopolis, giving life, stability, power, expansion of heart for ever and ever." Petrie, I. 80.
 (4) "Raṭeṭka" alone. Petrie, I. 79 (scarab).
8. (1) "K. E., Unas." B. B., 57.
 (2) "H., Uatchtaui." B. B., 57.
 (3) "Unas" alone(?). Budge, II. 83 six times, 84 nine times, 85 four times, 86 twelve times, 87 ten times, 88 ten times.
 (4) "K. E., Unas, lord of crowns (or risings), giving life (and) strength for ever, beloved of Khnemu(?), giving life for ever." Petrie, I. 82 (stele at Elephantina).

THE SIXTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Tetà." B. B., 58.
b. "K. E., Son of the Sun, Tetà." B. B., 58.
c. "K. E., Tetà-mer-en-Ptaḥ." B. B., 58.

- d. "K. E., Thetet." B. B., 58.
 (2) "H., Sehetep-taui." Budge, II. 89.
 (3) "H., Sehetep-taui, Son of the Sun, Tetà, living for ever and ever." Budge, II. 89.
 (4) "Tetà" alone(?). Budge, II. 91 six times, 92, 93 nine times, 94 four times.
 (5) "Osiris Tetà." Budge, II. 92, 93.
 (6) "Tatcheser-Ta." Budge, II. 93.
 (7) "Kahetep." Budge, II. 93.
 (8) "Osiris." Budge, II. 93.
 (9) "Most mighty spirit, Tetà." Budge, II. 94.
 (10) "Tetà shepsmerenptah." B. B., 58.
 (11) "Tetà, beloved of Dadet." Petrie, I. 88.
 (12) "Tetà-ankh." Petrie, I. 88.
2. (1) "K. E., Rauserka, II. 94." B. B., 59, Ab.
 (2) "S. S., Atí(?)." II. 95; B. B., 59, Sak.
3. (1) "K. E., Rameri, S. S., Pepi." II. 95; B. B., 60, Bq.
 (2) "H., Meri-Taui." II. 95, 96, 98, 104; B. B., 60; Petrie, I. 96 *ter*.
- (3) a. "L. S., Merimaat." B. B., 60.
 b. "L. S." II. 95.
 c. "L. S., Meri-taui." B. B., 60.
- (4) "Threefold Horus of Gold." II. 95; B. B., 60.
 (5) "Meri-Taui, Pepi." B. B., 60; *Kb.*, 25*d*.
 (6) "S. S., Pepi." B. B., 60; *Kb.*, 25, 4.
 (7) "Beautiful God." II. 96.
 (8) "Lord of the two lands." II. 97.
 (9) "K. E., the good god, lord of the two lands." II. 98.
 (10) a. "K. E., Rameri." II. 98.
 b. "K. E., Pepi." Pet., I. 96.
 (11) "Majesty." II. 100³.
 (12) "Perāa" (Pharaoh). II. 101.
 (13) "Pepi" alone. II. 106 *ter*, 107⁵, 108¹¹, 109⁷.
 (14) "Osiris Pepi." II. 108.
 (15) "Rameri, beloved of Min." Pet., I. 96.
4. (1) a. "K. E., Rameren." B. B., 62, Ab.
 b. "S. S., Mehti-em-saf." B. B., 62, Sak.
 (2) "H., Ankh-khau." II. 110; B. B., 62.
 (3) "L. S., Ankh-khau." II. 110; B. B., 62.
 (4) "Double Horus of gold." B. B., 62.
 (5) "The good god, lord of the two lands." Budge, II. 110.
 (6) "K. E., Rameren, H., Ankh-khau, L. S., Ankh-khau, Double

Horus of gold, living like Ra, giving life like Ra." Alabaster vase, Brit. Museum, No. 4493. Budge, II. 111.

5. (1) "K. E., Raneferka, S. S., Pepi." II. 115; B. B., 64.
- (2) "H., Neterkhau."
- (3) "L. S., Neter-khau."
- (4) "The ruling Horus of gold." B. B., 64.
- (5). "K. E., Raneferka, H., Neter-khau, L. S., Neter-khau, Horus of gold, living like Ra, giving life like Ra." II. 116.
- (6) "Majesty." II. 120 *ter*.
6. "K. E., Rameren-Meḥtēmsaf." II. 121; B. B., 66 ("Mentu(?)*-em-saf*").
7. "K. E., Raneterka." II. 121; B. B., 67.
8. "K. E., Ramenka, S. S., Netaḫerti." II. 122; B. B., 68.

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DYNASTIES OF MEMPHIS AND THE NINTH AND TENTH OF HERAKLEOPOLIS.

1. *a.* "K. E., Raneferka." II. 162.
- b.* "K. E., Neferka." B. B., 104, Turin.
2. "K. E., Neferseḥ." B. B., 105, Turin.
3. "K. E., Āb." B. B., 106, de R. Lieblein.
4. "K. E., Neferkaura." B. B., 107, Turin.
5. "K. E., Kherthi." B. B., 108, Turin.
6. "K. E., Neferkara." B. B., 109, Abydos. Budge, II. 162⁴.
7. "K. E., Neferkara-Nebi." B. B., 110, Abydos; Budge, II. 162².
8. "K. E., Ṭeḫkara-Ma . . ." B. B., 111, Abydos.
9. "K. E., Neferkara-Khentū." B. B., 112, Abydos; Budge, II. 162³.
10. "K. E., Merenhor." B. B., 113, Abydos; Budge, II. 162⁴.
11. *a.* "K. E., Seneferka." B. B., 114, Abydos; Budge, 162⁵.
- b.* "K. E., Seneferkara." B. B., 114, Karnak.
12. "K. E., Ranka." B. B., 115, Abydos; Budge, II. 162⁶.
13. "K. E., Neferkara-Tererl." B. B., 116, Abydos; Budge, II. 162⁷.
14. "K. E., Neferkahor." B. B., 117, Abydos; Budge, 162³.
15. "K. E., Neferkara-Pepi-Senb." B. B., 118, Abydos; Budge, 162⁹.
16. "K. E., Neferkara-Annu." B. B., 119, Abydos; Budge, II. 162¹⁰.
17. "K. E., Ra kau." B. B., 120, Abydos; Budge, II. 163¹¹.
18. "K. E., Neferkaura." B. B., 121, Abydos; Budge, II. 163¹².

19. "K. E., Neferkauhor." B. B., 122, Abydos; Budge, II. 163¹³.
20. "K. E., Neferarkara." B. B., 123, Abydos; Budge, II. 163¹⁴.
21. "K. E., rthi." B. B., 124, Turin.
22. "K. E.(?), i." B. B., 125, Turin.
23. "K. ? ? ?" 126, Turin.
24. "K. E., Ranebkheru." Budge, II. 163¹⁵.
25. "K. E., Raseankhka." Budge, II. 163¹⁶.

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY.*

1. (1) "K. E., son of the Sun, Antef." B. B., 133; *Kb.*, 156 *bis*.
- (2) "H., Uah-ankh." B. B., 133; *Kb.*, 156 *bis*.
2. "Son of the Sun, Antef." B. B., 134; Lieblein, D. 1355.
3. "K. E., Ra-nub-kheper, S. S., Antuf." B. B., 135; Lieblein, D. 1355.
4. (1) "K. E., Āhāeniupmaat." B. B., 136.
- (2) "H., Uptmaā." B. B., 136.
- (3) "Son of the Sun, Antufāā." B. B., 136.
- 5 (1) "K. E., Āhāupmaat." B. B., 137.
- (2) "Son of the Sun, Antefāa." B. B., 137.
6. (1) "K. E., Raṭetkerhermaat." B. B., 138.
- (2) "Son of the Sun, Antef." B. B., 138.
7. "K. E., Seneferkara." B. B., 139; *Kb.*, 173.
8. "K. E., Ra" B. B., 140; *Kb.*, 152.
9. "K. E., Usereura." B. B., 141; *Kb.*, 161.
10. "K. E., Nebuhemra." B. B., 142; *Kb.*, 167, D.
11. "Son of the Sun, Mentuḥetep." B. B., 143; Lieblein, D. 257.
12. "K. E., Saramentuḥetep." B. B., 144; *Kb.*, 159*b*.
13. (1) "K. E., nebḥetep, S. S., Mentuḥetep." B. B., 145; *Kb.*, 162, DE.
- (2) "H., Neter-?"
- (3) "L. S., Neter-?"
14. (1) *a*. "K. E., Ranebtaui." B. B., 146; *Kb.*, 163, D.
- b*. "Son of the Sun, Mentuḥetep." B. B., 146, Ab. Sak.
- (2) "H., Nebtaui." B. B., 146; *Kb.*, 163, A.
- (3) "L. S., Nebtaui." B. B., 146; *Kb.*, 163, B.

* The following cartouches are given in Brugsch and Bouriant's *Livre des Rois*:

- (1) Erpa (*i.e.*, Chief), Antef 127 Karnak. (2) Ḥeru, Men(tuhotep?) 128 Karnak.
- (3) Ḥeru, Antef 129 Karnak. (4) Ḥeru, Antef 130 Karnak. (5) Ḥeru ? ? 131 Karnak. (6) The good god, Antef 132 Karnak.

- (4) "Neteru-nub." B. B., 146.
 15. (1) K. E., Ranebkheru, S. S., Mentuhetep."
 (2) "H., Kherutau." B. B., 148; *Kb.*, 159, A.
 (3) "L. S., Kherutau." B. B., 148; *Kb.*, 159, B.
 16. (1) "K. E., Seankhkara." B. B., 149, Ab. Sq., Turin.
 (2) "H., Seankhtauif." B. B., 149; *Kb.*, 166, B.
 (3) "L. S., Seankhtauif." B. B., 149; *Kb.*, 166, B.
 (4) "Heru-Nub." B. B., 149; *Kb.*, 166, C.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rasehetepab, S. S., Amenemhat." B. B., 150; Budge, III¹.
b. "Son of the Sun, Amenemhat." Petrie, I. 152; Koptos slab.
 (2) *a.* "H., Nemmestu." B. B., 150; *Kb.*, 176; Budge, III¹.
b. "H., Nemmestui." B. B., 150.
 (3) *a.* "L. S., Nemmestu." B. B., 150.
b. "L. S., Nemmestui." B. B., 150.
 (4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Nemmestu." B. B., 150.
b. "Horus of gold, Nemmesti." B. B., 150.
 (5) "Majesty." Petrie, I. 149.
 (6) "Lord of the two lands." Petrie, I. 152, Koptos slab.
 (7) "Sehetepbara, the ever living." Petrie, I. 152, Korisko rock.
 (8) "The majesty of Horus, Uhemmesut, Lord of the shrines, etc., Uhemmesut, son of the Horus of gold, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rasehetepab, son of the Sun, Amenemhat, giver of life, stability and strength, like Ra, for ever." (See Inscr. of Khnemu-Hetep. 26-29.)
 2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakheperka, S. S., Usertesén." Budge, III. 13; B. B., 151; *Kb.*, 177, D.
b. "K. E., Raenkheperka." B. B., 151; *Kb.*, 177, C.
 (2) "H., Ankhmestu." B. B., 151; *Kb.*, 177, A; Budge, III. 13.
 3. "L. S., Ankhmestu." B. B., 151.
 (4) "Horus of gold, Ankhmestu." B. B., 151; *Kb.*, 177, C.
 (5) "Lord." Budge, III. 18 *bis.* (This is the same word in Egyptian that is rendered by "master" in the English edition of Brugsch's *History*, I. 135, 136.)
 (6) "Majesty." Budge, III, 19 *bis.* (This is the same word that is rendered in Brugsch's *History* by "holiness" on page 150 of Vol. I.)
 (7) "King." Budge, III. 18 four times.

(8) "Peraa(?)." Budge, III. 10.

(9) "The majesty of Horus, Ankhmest, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rakheperka, living for ever, lord of the shrines, etc., Ankhmest, the Horus of gold, Ankhmest, Usertesn the everliving, to all eternity." Insc. on tomb of Amenemhat at Benihassan.

(10) "The majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rakheperka, the everliving, to all eternity." *Id.*

(11) "The Hor of the Sun, the life for those who are born, the king of the upper and lower land, Cheperkara, the lord of the double crown, the life for those who are born, the son of the Sun god Ra, Usertasen, the friend of the spirits of On, everliving, the golden Hor, the life for those who are born, the good god, Cheperkara." Brugsch, *History*, I. 131.

(12) "The majesty of Horus, Ankhmestu, Lord of the shrines, etc., Ankhmestu [the Horus of gold, Ankhmestu, king of Upper and Lower Egypt], Rakheperka, son of the Sun, Usertesn, giver of life, stability and strength, like Ra, for ever." Inscr. of Khnemu-Hetep.

3. (1) "K. E., Ranubkhau, son of the Sun, Amenemhat." B. B., 154.

(2) "H., Hekenemmaat." B. B., 154; *Kb.*, 180.

(3) "L. S., Hekenemmaat." B. B., 154.

(4) "Horus of gold, Makheru." B. B., 154.

(5) "The majesty of Horus, Hekenemmaat, L. S., Hekenem[maat, Horus of gold, Makheru, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ranubkau] son of the Sun, Amenemhat, giver of life, stability and strength, like Ra, for ever." Insc. of Khnemhetep, 14-16.

(6) "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ranubkau, giver of life, stability and strength, like Ra, for ever." *Id.*, 72, 73.

(7) "Ranubkau, giver of life, stability, strength and gladness of his heart, like Ra, for ever." *Id.*, 76, 77.

4. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakhakheper, son of the Sun, Usertesn." B. B., 155.

b. "K. E., Rakhakheper." B. B., 155.

(2) "H., Semutau." B. B., 155.

(3) "L. S., Sekhamaat." B. B., 155.

(4) "Horus of gold, hetep neteru." Budge, III. 25, 27.

(5) "The majesty of the Horus, Semutau, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rakhakheper." Budge, III. 28.

(6) "The majesty of Horus, Semutau, L. S., Sekhamaat, Horus of gold of the gods, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rakhakheper, son of the Sun, Usertesn, giver of life, stability and strength, like Ra, for ever." Insc. of Khnemhetep, 129-131.

5. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakhakhau, son of the Sun, Usertesén." B. B., 156.
b. "K. E., Rakhakhau." B. B., 156.
 (2) "H., Neter-kheperu." B. B., 156; *Kb.*, 182.
 (3) "L. S., Neter-mestu." B. B., 156.
 (4) "Horus of gold, Kheper." B. B., 156.
 (5) "Rakhakhau, living for ever." Budge, III. 35.
 (6) "Rakhakhau." Budge, III. 36 (on gold plaque from Dahshur).
 (7) "Usertesén, living for ever and ever." Budge, III. 36.
 (8) "Majesty." Budge, III. 37, 38 four times (on the Nubian boundary stone).
 (9) "The living Horus, Neterkheperu, Lord of the shrines, etc., Netermestu, K. E., Rakhakhau, giver of life, living Horus of gold, Kheper, son of the Sun, of his body, his beloved, lord of the two lands, Usertesén, giving life, stability and strength for ever." See the Nubian boundary stone, in the superscription, Budge, III. 39.
 (10) "The good god, the lord making (all) things, Rakhakhau." Budge, III. 41. From temple at Semneh.
6. (1) "K. E., Raen-Maat, son of the Sun, Amenemhat." B. B., 157.
 (2) "H., Aabaiu." B. B., 157.
 (3) "L. S., Thet-Uat." B. B., 157.
 (4) "Horus of gold, Ankhbener (sweet life)." B. B., 157.
 (5) "Raenmaat, beautiful god, lord of all foreign lands." Budge, III. 45 (on enameled gold plaque from Dahshur).
 (6) "The majesty of the K. E., Raenmaat, living for ever and ever." Budge, III. 46 (from rock insc. showing height of Nile).
 (7) "Amenemhat, beloved of Sekhet." Petrie, I. 193.
7. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramakheru, son of the Sun, Amenemhat." B. B., 158.
b. "K. E., Ramakheru." B. B., 158.
 (2) "H., Kheperu." B. B., 158.
 (3) "K. E., the lord, creator of things, Ramakheru, the good god, lord of the two lands, Amenemhat, son of the Sun, of his body, Ameni." Budge, 72 (plaque of Amenemhat IV in the Brit. Museum, No. 22,879).
 8. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rasebekneferu." B. B., 159.
b. "K. E., Rasebekneferut." B. B., 159.
 (2) *a.* "H., Ramert." Budge, III. 73 (from cylinder in Brit. Mus., No. 16,581).
b. ". . . life, stability(?), years(?)." B. B., 159; *Kb.*, 185.

- (3) "Lady of the shrines," etc. Budge, 73; *id.*
 (4) "Horus of gold." Budge, *id.*
 (5) "Sebekmeri (beloved of Sebek), K. E., Sebekneferu(t), giver of life, daughter of preëminence, lady of the two lands, the established one rising [like] the Horus of gold, the Horus, Ramert, lady of the shrines," etc. Budge, III. 73 (from cylinder in Brit. Museum, No. 16,581).
 9. (1) "K. E., Raauab, son of the Sun, Ḥer." Budge, III. 74.
 (2) "H., Ḥeru(?)." Budge, III. 75.
 (3) "Auabra(?)." Budge, III. 77.
 (4) "Auabra, the stable one, giver of life, the stable one, giver of happiness." Budge, III. 77 (from scarab in Lady Meux collection).

THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

1. "K. E., Rakhutai." B. B., 160.
 2. (1) "K. E., Rasekhemka." B. B., 161.
 (2) "H., Seankhtai." Budge, III. 87 (from stele in Brit. Mus., No. 1343).
 (3) "Lord of the two lands, Rasekhemka, giver of life, stability and strength, lord, etc." Stele in Brit. Museum, Budge, III. 87.
 3. "K. E., . . . emḥat." B. B., 162.
 4. "K. E., Rasehetepab." B. B., 163.
 5. "K. E., Aufna." B. B., 164.
 6. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raseankhab, son of the Sun, Ameni-Antef-Amenemhat." B. B., 165.
b. "K. E., Raseankhab." B. B., 165.
 (2) "H., Sehertai." B. B., 165.
 (3) "L. S., Sekhemkhau." B. B., 165.
 (4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Heq-Maat (prince of Maat) for ever." B. B., 165.
b. "Horus of gold, giver of Maat." B. B., 165.
c. "Horus of gold, giver of Maat for ever." B. B., 165.
 (5) "He who maketh his glorious appearance to be preëminent." Budge, III. 90.
 7. "K. E., Rasemenka." B. B., 166.
 8. "K. E., Rasehetepab." B. B., 167.
 9. "K. E., . . . ka." B. B., 168.
 10. "K. E., Ranetchemab." Budge, III. 91.
 11. "K. E., Rasebek . . . p." B. B., 169.
 12. "K. E., Ran . . ." B. B., 170.
 13. "K. E., Raauab." Budge, III. 91.

14. "K. E., Rasetche . . ." B. B., 173.
15. *a.* "K. E., Rasekhemkhutai." B. B., 174.
- b.* "K. E., Sebekhetep." B. B., 174; *Kb.*, 189.
- c.* "K. E., Rasekhemkhutai sebekhetep." B. B., 174.
- d.* "K. E., Rasekhemkhutai, son of the Sun, Sebekhetep." Budge, III. 92.
16. "K. E., Rauser . . ." B. B., 175.
17. (1) "K. E., Rasemenkhka, son of the Sun, Mermashāu." B. B., 176.
- (2) "H., Mer(?)mashau." B. B., 176.
18. "K. E., . . . ka." B. B., 177.
19. "K. E., . . . usur Set(?)." B. B., 178.
20. (1) "K. E., Rasekhemseuatchtai, son of the sun, Sebekhetep." B. B., 179.
- (2) "H., Khutai." B. B., 179.
21. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakhaseshesh, son of the Sun, Neferhetep." B. B., 190.
- b.* "K. E., Rakhaseshesh." B. B., 190.
- (2) *a.* "H., Heteptai." B. B., 190.
- b.* "Kertai." B. B., 190.
- (3) "L. S., Renpet-âp-maat (opener of the year (era) of truth)." B. B., 190.
- (4) "Horus of gold, stablisher of love." B. B., 190.
- (5) "The good god, Rakhaseshesh, neferhetep." B. B., 190.
22. "K. E., Raḥeth[ert]sa." B. B., 199; Budge, III. 98.
23. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakhanefer, son of the Sun, Sebekhetep." B. B., 200.
- b.* "K. E., Rakhanefer, Sebekhetep." B. B., 200.
- (2) "L. S., Uatch-khau (abundant in risings)." B. B., 200; Budge, III. 99.
- (3) "Loving (or, loved of) Osiris Unnefer, giver of life for ever."
24. "K. E., Rakhaka." Budge, III. 100.
25. "K. E., Rakhaankh, son of the Sun, Sebekhetep." Budge, III. 100.
26. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakhaḥetep, son of the Sun, Sebekhetep." B. B., 201.
- b.* "Rakhaḥetep." B. B., 201.
- c.* "Sebekhetep." B. B., 201.
- (2) "The good god, Rakhaḥetep." B. B., 201.
- (3) "Rakhaḥetep." B. B., 201.
27. "K. E., Rauahâb, Āāâb." B. B., 202.
28. "K. E., Ra . . . ka." B. B., 217.

29. "K. E., Ra Maat." B. B., 218.
30. "K. E., Ra" B. B., 219.
31. "K. E.," B. B., page 26.
32. (1) "K. E., Neḥsi." B. B., 220.
- (2) "Beloved of Set, lord of Reahet." Budge, III. 104.
33. "K. E., Rakhakheru." B. B., 221.
34. "K. E., Ranebefamun." B. B., 222.
35. "The good god, lord of the two lands, Ābāà." Budge, III. 104.
36. "K. E., Raneferàb." B. B., 241.
37. "K. E., Rāà" B. B., 242.
38. (1) a. "K. E., Rakhaankh, son of the Sun, Sebekhetep." B. B., 243.
- b. "Son of the Sun, Sebekhetep." B. B., 243.
- (2) "H., Khertauī." B. B., 243.
- (3) "L. S., Ṭeṭkhau." B. B., 243.
- (4) "Horus of gold, Khauneteru." B. B., 243.
39. "K. E., Raneferka" B. B., 246.
40. "K. E., Rasemen" B. B., 247.
41. "K. E., Ramersekhem." B. B., 248.
42. "K. E." Name wanting. B. B., page 29.
43. "K. E." Name wanting. B. B., page 29.
44. "K. E., Rasenefer" B. B., 249.
45. (1) "K. E., Ramenkhou, son of the Sun, Ānàb" (or "Anhet"). B. B., 250.
- (2) "H., Seuatchtauī." Budge, III. 125.
46. "K. E." Name wanting. B. B., page 29.
47. "K. E." Name wanting. B. B., page 29.
48. (1) "K. E., Rasekhemuatchkhau, son of the Sun, Sebekemsaf." B. B. 251.
- (2) "King Sebekemsaf." B. B., 251.
- (3) "Beautiful god, lord of the two lands, the lord, maker of created things." Budge, III. 125 (from the red granite statue found at Abydos).
49. "K. E., Rasekhemsheṭitauī, son of the Sun, Sebekemsauf." B. B., 253.
50. "K. E., Raseusertauī." B. B., 254.
51. "K. E., Ranebati" B. B., 255.
52. "K. E., Ranebaten" B. B., 256.
53. "K. E., Rasemen" B. B., 257.
54. "K. E., Rauserat" B. B., 258.
55. "K. E., Rasekhem Uast." B. B., 259

56. (1) "K. E., Rasekhemuahkhau, son of the Sun, Rahetep." B. B., 260.
 (2) "King Rahetep." B. B., 260; *Kb.*, 217*b*.
 (3) "Son of the Sun, Rahetep." B. B., 260; *Kb.*, 217*c*.

THE FOURTEENTH DYNASTY.

1. "K. E., Ramernefer, son of the Sun, Ài." B. B., 203.
2. *a.* "K. E., Ramenhetep, son of the Sun, Áná." B. B., 204.
b. "Ramenhetep." B. B., 204.
3. "K. E., Raseankhnesehetu." B. B., 205. Budge reads "Raseankhneferutu," III. 101.
4. "K. E., Ramersekhemauen." B. B., 207.
5. "K. E., Rase ka" B. B., 208.
6. "K. E., Raseuatchen." B. B., 209.
- 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. All have "K. E.," but the names wanting.
13. "K. E., Rakhaka." B. B., 210.
14. "K. E., Ra" B. B., 211.
15. "K. E., Ramerkheper." B. B., 212.
16. (1) "K. E., Ramerikau." B. B., 213.
 (2) "The good god, Ramerkau." B. B., 213.
 (3) "The good god, lord of the two lands, Ramerkau, son of the Sun, Sebekhetep, beloved of Amen[Ra], giver of life." Budge, III. 102.
- 17, 18, 19. All have "K. E.," but the names wanting.
20. "K. E., Mesu." B. B., 214.
21. "K. E., Ra[neb]maat, son of the Sun, Àbà." Budge, III. 103.
22. "K. E., Ra uben." B. B., 216.
23. "K. E., Rasehetbra." B. B., 223.
24. "K. E., Ramertchefa." B. B., 224.
25. "K. E., Rastaka." B. B., 225.
26. "K. E., Rarenebtchefa." B. B., 226.
27. "K. E., Raubenra." B. B., 227.
28. "K. E., Rasenefer" B. B., 228.
29. "K. E., Ra tchefa." B. B., 229.
30. "K. E., ubenra." B. B., 230.
31. "K. E., Ra uab." B. B., 231. Budge reads "Rääutàb," III. 123.
32. "K. E., Raherab." B. B., 232.
33. "K. E., Ranebsenu." B. B., 233.
34. "K. E." Name wanting. B. B., page 27.
35. "K. E., Raseuahen." B. B., 235.

36. "K. E., Rasekheperen." B. B., 236.
37. "K. E., Raseankh." B. B., 237.
38. "K. E., nefersti." B. B., 238; but Budge reads
". . . . nefertem," III. 123.
39. "K. E., Rasekhem" B. B., 239.
40. "K. E., Raka" B. B., 240.
- 41, 42, 43. All have "K. E.," without names.
44. "K. E., Rauser" B. B., 261.
45. "K. E., Rauser" B. B., 262.

THE FIFTEENTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) "The beautiful (good) god, the living one, Rāāauser, son of the Sun, Àpepà." Budge, III. 151.
- (2) "Son of the Sun, Àpepà, giver of life." Budge, III. 151.
- (3) "Rāāauser, son of the sun, Àpepà, the giver of life for ever." Budge, III. 152.
2. (1) [The good god] Rāāaakenen, son of the Sun, Àpepà." Budge, III. 154.
- (2) "H., Sehetep̄taui." Budge, III. 155.
- (3) "Giver of life." Budge, III. 154.
- (4) "Beloved of Set." Budge, III. 154.
- (5) "Ra Apepa(?)." Budge, III. 170.
- (6) "King Ra Apepa." Budge, III. 170, 171.
3. (1) "K. E., Setep̄p̄ep̄." B. B., 278.
- (2) "K. E., Setāapep̄p̄ep̄, son of the Sun, his beloved, Nubti, beloved of Herukhuti, whose existence is for ever and ever." Budge, III. 157 (from the stele of Four Hundred Years).
4. (1) "K. E., Raseuseren, son of the Sun, Khian." Budge, III. 161.
- (2) "H., Auq̄atebui." Budge, III. 162.
- (3) "Heq semtu, 'Chief of the deserts.'" Budge, III. 163.
5. "The good god, Uatchet." Budge, III. 163.
6. "Ipek-Heru." Budge, III. 163.
7. "Seubm̄aiu(?)." Budge, III. 164.*

THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) "K. E., Raseqenen, son of the Sun, Tauāa." B. B., 284.
- (2) "Son of the Sun, Tauāa, living for ever." Budge, III. 173.

* Brugsch and Bouriant add: (1) Banon 279. (2) K.E., Abehnas 280. (3) K.E., Apepi 281. (4) K.E., A 282; and (as belonging to the sixteenth dynasty). (5) *a.* The good god, Rāāaābtaui, son of the Sun, Àpepà. *b.* The good god, Rāāaakenen. *c.* H., Sehetep̄taui 283.

(3) "Beautiful (good) god, lord of the two lands, maker of created things, Raseqenen, son of the Sun, Tauāa, giver of life for ever, beloved of Amen-Ra, beloved of Sesheta." Budge, III. 173 (from palette of a scribe).

2. (1) "K. E., Raseqenen, son of the Sun, Tauāāa." B. B., 285.

(2) "King Tauāāa." Budge, III. 174.

3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raseqenen, son of the Sun, Tauāaken." B. B., 286.

b. "K. E., Raseqenen, son of the Sun, Tauāāten." B. B., 286.

(2) "King Seqenenka." Budge, III. 186.

4. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rauatchkheper, son of the Sun, Kames." B. B., 287.

b. "Kames." B. B., 287; *Kb.*, 221.

(2) "Uatchkheper." B. B., 287.

(3) "Kames." B. B., 287.

(4) "Lord of the two lands, Rauatch . . ." B. B., 287; *Kb.*, 221.

(5) "Beautiful (good) god, the lord, maker of created things, Rauatchkheper, I am a valiant prince, beloved of Ra, the son of the Moon, born of Thoth, son of the Sun, Kames, the everliving." Budge, III. 178.

5. "K. E., Rasekhentneb, son of the Sun, Rasenekhten." Budge, III. 180.

6. "K. E." (according to Budge "King" simply), *Āāhmessa-paār.*" B. B., 289; Budge, 181.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ranebpehtpeht." B. B., 290.

b. "Ranebpeht." B. B., 290.

c. "Ranebpehep, son of the Sun, *Āāhmes.*" Budge, III. 184.

(2) "H., Uatchkheperu." B. B., 290.

(3) "L. S., Tutmesut." B. B., 290.

(4) "Horus of gold, Thestai." B. B., 290.

(5) "Son of the Sun, *Āāhmes.*" B. B., 290.

(6) "Son of the Sun, *Āāhmes*, living for ever and ever." B. B., 290.

(7) "*Āāhmes.*" B. B., 290.

(8) "Ranebpeh." B. B., 290.

(9) *a.* "Lord of the two lands, Ranebpehep." B. B., 290.

b. "Lord of the two lands, *Āāhmes.*" Budge, III. 186.

c. "Lord of the two lands, Ranebpehtet, maakheru." (See "Life of Āāhmes" in Budge.)

(10) a. "The good god, Ranebpeh." B. B., 290.

b. "The good god, Ranebpehtet." B. B., 290.

c. "The good god, lord of the two lands, Ranebpehtet." B. B., 290.

(11) "Prince (àthi)." Budge, III. 186 (from "Life of Āāhmes").

(12) "Majesty (hen)." Budge, III. 186. (In "Life of Āāhmes," eight times used of Ahmes.)

(13) "King." ("àn," "tu" or "àn tu" are used for "king" in "Life of Āāhmes" eleven times. See Budge.) Budge, III. 186 foll.

2. (1) a. "K. E., Ratcheserka, son of the Sun, Amenhetep." B. B., 301.

b. "K. E., Ratcheserka, maakheru." Budge, "Life of Āāhmes"; see also III. 195, 196.

c. "K. E., Ratcheserka." B. B., 301; *Kb.*, 326a.

d. "K. E., Ratcheserka, àri-peta-āaf." B. B., 301; *Kb.*, 326b.

e. "K. E., Ratcheserka-Amenhetep." B. B., 301; *Kb.*, 326e.

(2) "Ratcheserka." B. B., 301; *Kb.*, 326d.

(3) "Ratcheserkau." B. B., 301. Scarab Boulaq.

(4) "King Ratcheserka, Son of Amen, Amenhetepfenqemt." B. B., 301.

(5) "Amenhetep." Budge, III. 199.

(6) "Lord of the two lands, Ratcheserka, chosen of Ra." B. B., 301; *Kb.*, 326c.

(7) "Majesty." Budge, III. 195, 196².

(8) "King(?) (àntu=one)." Budge, III. 196.

(9) "Pharaoh(?) (Āa-perti, 'the great double house')." Budge, III. 199.

(10) "Osiris, king, lord of the two lands, Teheserkara, son of Amen, lord of crowns" (or, "risings"), "Amenhetepfenqemt, beloved of Ptaḥ-Seker-Āsār." Budge, III. 199, (from the Abbott Papyrus).

3. (1) a. "K. E., Rāāakheperka, son of the Sun, Tehutimes." B. B., 314.

b. "K. E., Rāāakheperkasetepenra." B. B., 314.

c. "K. E., Rāāakheperàrienra." B. B., 314.

d. "K. E., Rāāakhepertâa-Amen." B. B., 314.

e. "K. E., Rāāakheperka." B. B., 314.

f. "K. E., Rāāakheperkamaakheru." Budge, III. 203. (From "Life of Āāhmes.")

- g. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimeskhama-Ra." B. B., 314.
 h. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimesàrien-Amen." B. B., 314.
 i. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimeskhaneferu." B. B., 314.
 j. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimessetepen-Amen." B. B., 314.
 k. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimesmer-Amen." B. B., 314.
 (2) a. "H., Kanekhtmerimaat." B. B., 314.
 b. "Ramerikhaemḥetch." B. B., 314.
 c. "Kānekhtmaatēn-Ra." B. B., 314.
 d. "Kānekhtthankhemmaat." B. B., 314.
 e. "Kānekhtpeḥtinekhtma."
 f. "Kānekhtur."
 (3) a. "L. S., Temushepṣtuakhau." B. B., 314.
 b. "L. S., Thettauineb." B. B., 314.
 c. "L. S., Khamenesert." B. B., 314.
 d. "L. S., Khamenesertāapeḥpeḥ." B. B., 314.
 (4) a. "Horus of gold, Neferrenputseankhàbu." B. B., 314.
 b. "Horus of gold, Ḥupetu." B. B., 314.
 c. "Horus of gold, Āapeḥpeḥusrkhepeṣuatchrenput." B. B., 314.
 d. "Horus of gold, Āaḥetmaat." B. B., 314.
 (5) "Lord of the North (Uraeus), Peḥpeḥ." B. B., 314.
 (6) "Majesty." Budge, III. 203. (From "Life of Āāḥmes.")
 (7) "King(?)." ("àn tu.") Budge, III. 203. (From "Life of Āāḥmes"), 206. Brugsch, *History*, I. 285, 286.
 (8) "Horus, the mighty bull, beloved of Maāt, lord of Nekhebet and Uatchet, he who is diademed with the fiery uraeus, great one of double strength, the Horus of gold, beautiful of years, making hearts to live, king of the South and North (*i.e.*, of Upper and Lower Egypt), Āakheperka-Ra, son of the Sun (Tehutimes), living for ever and for ever." Budge, III. 203 (from limestone tablet in the Cairo Museum).
 (9) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, I. 285 (from insc. at Tombos).
 (10) "Great king." Brugsch, *History*, I. 285 (from insc. at Tombos).
 4. (1) a. "K. E., Rāāakheperen, son of the Sun, Tehutimes-neferkhau." B. B., 319.
 b. "K. E., Rāāakheperenneb." B. B., 319.
 c. "King Aakheperen-Ra, makheru." Petrie, II. 73.
 d. "King Aakheperen-Ra." Petrie, II. 73.
 e. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimes-sa-Amen." B. B., 319.
 f. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimessetepen-Amen." B. B., 319.

- g. "Son of the Sun, Teḥutimestāa-Amen." B. B., 319.
- h. "Son of the Sun, Teḥutimesmer-Amen." B. B., 319.
- i. "Son of the Sun, Teḥutimesàrien-Amen." B. B., 319.
- j. "Son of the Sun, Teḥutimes-Amen." B. B., 319.
- k. "Son of the Sun, Teḥutimeshequast." B. B., 319.
- l. "Son of the Sun, Tehutimeskhese(??)en-Ra." B. B., 319.
- (2) "H., Kanekhtuserpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 319.
- (3) "L. S., Neter seti." B. B., 319.
- (4) "Horus of gold, Kherpkheperu." B. B., 319.
- (5) "King of Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Rāāakheperen." B. B., 319.
- (6) "The good god, lord of the two lands, Rāāakheperen." Budge, III. 209. (From insc. published by Piehl, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1887, p. 125.) See, also, Petrie, II. 71.
- (7) "Master (lord) of the two lands." Budge, III. 211 (from the Anen stele). Petrie, II. 73 (from the Aswan rocks).
- (8) "The king," Budge, III. 211, *id.*
- (9) "Majesty." Budge, III. 211, *id.*, 214; Petrie, II. 73 nine times (from insc. on rocks at Aswan.)
- (10) "Beautiful (or good) god." Budge, III, 214; Petrie, II. 73 six times (from insc. on the rocks at Aswan).
- (11) "Horus of gold, lord of the shrines, etc., with divine sovereignty." Budge, III. 212.
- (12) "The son of Amen, the emanation of Amen, the chosen one of Amen, the beloved of Amen, the avenger of Ra, beautiful of risings, prince of Thebes, and the power which maketh things to be." Budge, III. 212.
- (13) "Beloved son of Sati." Petrie, II. 76. (From Pierret, *Recueil Insc. Louvre.*)
5. (1) a. "K. E., Ramaatka, son (daughter) of the Sun, Amenkhnemet-Hatshepsu." B. B., 322.
- b. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Ramaatka." B. B., 322.
- c. "Daughter of the Sun, Amenkhnem-Hatshepsu." B. B., 322.
- d. "Daughter of the Sun, Amenkhnemet-Hatsheps." B. B., 322.
- (2) a. "H., Usert-ka." B. B., 322.
- b. "H., Usertkau." B. B., 322.
- c. "Horus-Ra, Usertkau." B. B., 322.
- (3) a. "L. S., Uatchetneferu." B. B., 322.
- b. "L. S., Thetettaiunebu." B. B. 322.
- (4) a. "Horus of gold, Neteret khau." B. B., 322.
- b. "Horus of gold, Seankhàbu." B. B., 322.

- (5) *a.* "The good (beautiful) god, Ramaatka." B. B., 322.
b. "The good god, Ramaatka, son of the Sun, Amenkhnemet." B. B., 322.
c. "The good god, Ramaatka, son of the Sun, Hatsheps." B. B., 322.
d. "The good goddess, mistress of the two lands, Ramaatka." B. B., 322.
- (6) "Lord of the two lands, Rāāakheperka, the good god, son of the Sun, Amenmerkhnemet-Hatsheps." B. B., 322.
- (7) "Heaven (pet), Rāāakheperka, Ramaatka." B. B., 322.
- (8) "Ramaatka." B. B., 322.
- (9) "Amenkhnemet-Hatsheps." B. B., 322.
- (10) "Ankh-neter-nefer-Ramaat-Amen-nebnest-tauisbait." B. B., 322.
- (11) "The divine wife, Hatshepset." B. B., 321.
- (12) "Neter-ṭuat" (or "high-priestess of Amen"), "Ramaatka." Budge, IV. 3.
- (13) "Beautiful goddess." Budge, IV. 11.
- (14) "Lord." Budge, IV. 15 (from insc. on statue of Sen-Mut.).
- (15) "Lady of the two lands." Budge, IV. 15 (from statue of Sen-Mut.).
- (16) "The lady of the two lands, K. E., Maatkara, living for ever." Budge, IV. 15 (from statue of Sen-Mut.).
- (17) "Majesty." Budge, IV. 18 (from insc. on obelisk at Karnak); IV. 20 (from insc. from temple at Beni Hassan); IV. 28 (from the insc. on the temple at Der al-Bahari).
- (18) "Sovereign of all women." Budge, IV. 24 (from temple at Der al-Bahari).
- (19) "Great and pleasing princess, ruler of the two lands, the great, divine queen, his beloved, Hatshepsu, giving life for ever." B. B., 321.
- (20) "Great queen, companion(?), queen, divine and great royal wife, Hatshepset, giver of life." B. B., 321.
- (21) "Divine wife, Hatshepset." B. B., 321.
- (22) "Bestower of years, the Horus of gold, the goddess of risings, the conqueror of all lands, beautiful goddess, lady of the two lands, the vivifier of hearts, the mighty one of *kau*," etc. Budge, IV. 2.
6. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramenkheper, son of the Sun, Tahutimes." B. B., 325.
b. "K. E., Ramenkheper." B. B., 325.
c. "K. E., Rameukheperarienna." B. B., 325.

- d. "K. E., Ramenkheperàrira." B. B., 325.
 e. "K. E., Ramenkhepersetepenra." B. B., 325.
 f. "K. E., Ramenkhepermerienra." B. B., 325.
 g. "K. E., Ramenkheperseāaenra." B. B., 325.
 h. "K. E., Ramenkheperheqmaat tàara." B. B., 325.
 i. "K. E., Ramenkheperheqmaat." B. B., 325.
 j. "K. E., Ramenkhepernekhtkhepeš." B. B., 325.
 k. "K. E., Ramenkhepernebā." B. B., 325.
 l. "K. E., Ramenkheperka." B. B., 325.
 m. "K. E., Ramenkheperhequast." B. B., 325.
 n. "S. S., Tehutimesneferkheperu." B. B., 325.
 o. "S. S., Tehutimes." B. B., 325.
 p. "S. S., Tehutimesneferkhau." B. B., 325.
 q. "S. S., Tehutimesheqmaat." B. B., 325.
 r. "S. S., Tehutimeshequast." B. B., 325.
 s. "S. S., Tehutimesheqan." B. B., 325.
 t. "S. S., Tehutimesheqannu." B. B., 325.
 u. "S. S., Tehutimesheqneter." B. B., 325.
 v. "S. S., Tehutimesneferkha." B. B., 325.
 (2) a. "H., Kanekhtkhaemuast." B. B., 325.
 b. "H., Kanekhtkhaemmaatnebàrikhet-Ramenkheper." B. B., 325.
 c. "H., Kanekhtkhaemmaat." B. B., 325.
 d. "H., Kanekhtthāemmaat." B. B., 325.
 e. "H., Kanekhtmeri-Amen-Ra." B. B., 325.
 f. "H., Kanekhtmeri-Ra." B. B., 325.
 g. "H., Hetchetqameri-Amen-Ra." B. B., 325.
 h. "H., Hetchetqameri-Ra." B. B., 325.
 (3) a. "L. S., King established, like the sun in heaven." B. B., 325.
 b. "L. S., established king, coming like the sun in the heavens." B. B., 325.
 c. "L. S., established king coming." B. B., 325.
 d. "L. S., sekhamaatmeritauī, *i.e.*, causing truth to arise, beloved of the two lands." B. B., 325.
 e. "L. S., established king." B. B., 325.
 f. "L. S., the great terror of all lands." B. B., 325.
 (4) a. "Horus of gold, 'Tcheserkhau-kherp-nekht-pehpeh, *i.e.*, Holy of risings (crowns?), strength, might, valor." B. B., 325.
 b. "H. G., Tcheserkhaukherp-pehpeh." B. B., 325.
 c. "H. G., Tcheserkhau." B. B., 325.
 d. "H. G., Āakhepeshhupetpaut, *i.e.*, mighty in valor, smiting the foreign mercenaries." B. B., 325.

e. "H. G., Herab(?)nekht ḥuhequsemti, *i.e.*, peaceful, mighty, smiting the chiefs of the foreign lands." B. B., 325.

f. "H. G., Kherppeḥpeḥtcheserkhau, *i.e.*, strong, valorous, holy in risings." B. B., 325.

(5) "Ramenkheperrā-Amen." B. B., 325.

(6) "Ramenkheperka, the good god." B. B., 325.

(7) "Ramenkheper." B. B., 325.

(8) "Son of the Sun, of his body, born of him, Tehutimestem-sheps, lord of Ān(?)." B. B., 325; *Kb.*, 349, I.

(9) "The king of the two lands." Budge, III. 211.

(10) "Menkhepera, the ever living." Budge, IV. 50.

(11) "Majesty." Budge, IV. 51, 52², 53⁴, 54⁴, 55, 56².

(12) "The king." Budge, IV. 65.

(13) "Tehutimes, the ever living." Budge, IV. 56.

(14) "Tehutimes?, the mighty lion, the son of Sekhet, unto whom his father Amen has given strength." Budge, IV. 68.

(15) "The holiness (majesty) of Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, I. 322.

(16) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, I. 324, 326³, 331, 337.

(17) "Lord." Brugsch, *History*, I. 323, 354².

7. (1) a. "K. E., Rāāakheperu, son of the Sun, Amenḥetepneter-heqān." B. B., 330.

b. "K. E., Aakheperura, son of the sun, Amenhotep, giver of life." Petrie, II. 125.

c. "Son of the Sun, Amenḥetep-neterhequast." B. B., 330.

d. "Son of the Sun, Amenḥetepheqan." B. B., 330.

e. "Son of the Sun, Amenḥetep." B. B., 330.

(2) "H., Kanekhturpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 330.

(3) "L. S., Userfāusekhaemuast, *i.e.*, lord of the shrines, etc., whose power is widespread, making risings on Thebes." B. B., 330; Budge, IV. 70.

(4) "H. G., Thetetam-Kherpemnekhtfemtaiuneb, *i.e.*, Horus of gold, vanquisher, ruling over all lands in his might." B. B., 330; Budge, IV. 70.

(5) "Rāāakheperumesmennefer." Petrie, II. 162 (from scarab).

(6) "The good god, Rāāakheperu." B. B., 330.

(7) "Rāāakheperu." Petrie, II. 157 (jar from Tel el Hesi).

(8) "Majesty." Budge, IV. 74, 75² (from stele in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, III. pl. 65).

(9) "Ramenkheperu, the good, lord of the lands." Petrie, II. 162 (from scarab).

(10) "The good god, lion over Egypt, lord of might, giving life, like the sun." Petrie, II. 162.

- (11) "Lord of glories in the house of Amen." Petrie, II. 162.
- (12) "Setter up of obelisks in the house of Amen."
- (13) "King." Petrie, II. 157 (from temple of Amadeh).
8. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramenkheperu, son of the Sun, Tehutimeskhakhau." B. B., 342.
- b.* "K. E., Ramenkheperumerenra." B. B., 342.
- c.* "K. E., Ramenkheperuàrienra." B. B., 342.
- d.* "K. E., Ramenkheperusetepenra." B. B., 342.
- e.* "S. S., Tehutimeskhakhau." B. B., 342.
- j.* "S. S., Tehutimeskhakha." B. B., 342.
- g.* "K. E., Ramenkheperu, giving life, son of the Sun, Tehutimes, living for ever." Petrie, II. 172, figure 110.
- (2) "H., Kanekhttutkhau, *i.e.*, mighty bull, making firm the crowns." B. B., 342.
- (3) *a.* "L. S., ẖẖẖẖsutenimà-Tem. Established in the kingdom like Tem." B. B., 342.
- b.* "L. S., ẖẖẖẖ suteniut mà-Tem." B. B., 342.
- (4) "H. G., Userkhepeshterpetpaut, *i.e.*, Horus of gold, mighty in valor, subduing the foreign mercenaries." B. B., 342.
- (5) "Tehutimes (or khered), khakhau." B. B., 342.
- (6) "Ramenkheperu." B. B., 342.
- (7) "Ramenkheperuheqmaat." B. B., 342.
- (8) "Ramenkheperuka." B. B., 342.
- (9) "The good god, tutkhau, ẖẖẖẖ suteni mà-Tem (*i.e.*, making firm the crowns, establishing the kingdom, like Tum), Userkhepeshterpetpaut, *i.e.*, mighty in valor, conqueror of the foreign mercenaries." B. B., 342 (the last clause is rendered by Budge "destroyer of the nine bows," IV. 78).
- (10) "Majesty." Budge, IV. 83 (from tablet of the sphinx); Petrie, II. 171.
- (11) "Lord of the two lands, Tehutimes, who riseth with risings like those of the Sun." Budge, IV. 83 *bis* (from tablet of the sphinx).
- (12) "Beautiful (good) god, son of Tem, the avenger of Herukhuti, the living sphinx of Nebertcher." Budge, IV. 83 (from tablet of the sphinx).
- (13) "Tehutimes" alone. Budge, IV. 85 (from tablet of the sphinx).
- (14) "Ramenkheperu-Tehutimeskhakhau." Budge, IV. 83 (from tablet of the sphinx).
- (15) "The good god, Menkheprura, named everlasting and eternal." Petrie, II. 170 (from Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, III. 806).

(16) "Ramenkheperu, usurkhau, *i.e.*, mighty in glories (or risings)." Petrie, II. 171 (from scarab in Petrie collection).

(17) "Ramenkheperumenmen, *i. e.*, establishing monuments." Petrie, II. 171 (from scarab in Petrie collection).

(18) "Ramenkheperu, the glory of all lands." Petrie, II. 171.

(19) "Ramenkheperu(?), 'lord of might' or 'strength.'" Petrie, II. 171 (from banners of soldiers on the Zanuni stele).

(20) "King, the noble of princes." Petrie, II. 173 (from scarab in Paris Museum).

(21) He is referred to in the Tel-el-Amarna tablet, Berlin, No. 24, in a letter to Amenhetep IV, as "father Nimmuriya."

(22) "Beautiful (good) god, the valiant one in very truth, the conqueror (or destroyer) of Kesh (Kush), who maketh the frontiers thereof to be as if they had never existed, the mighty king by reason of his bravery, like the god Menthu, firm of heart among the multitudes, crusher of all foreign lands." Budge, IV. 79 (from temple of 'Amâda in Nubia).

9. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramaahneb, son of the Sun, Amenhetep-hequast." B. B., 350.

b. Same as *a.*, except that it adds "giver of life." Budge IV. 100 (from scarabs Brit. Mus., No. 16,988 and No. 24,169).

c. "K. E., Ranebmaatmerenra." B. B., 350, Luxor.

d. "K. E., Ranebmaatârienra." B. B., 350, Luxor.

e. "K. E., Ranebmaattâara." B. B., 350, Silsilis.

f. "K. E., Ranebmaatsetepenra." B. B., 350, Luxor.

g. "K. E., Ranebmaatâura." B. B., 350, Konosso.

h. "K. E., Ranebmaatthehenra." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*b*¹.

i. "K. E., Ranebmaatmeri-Amen-Ra." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*c*¹

j. "K. E., Ranebmaatmer-Amen." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*d*¹.

k. "K. E., Ranebmaattâa-Amen." B. B., 350, Sarbut.

l. "K. E., Ranebmaatsetepen-Tem." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*f*¹.

m. "K. E., Ranebmaatsheps." B. B., 350 (brick from Thebes).

n. "K. E., Ranebmaat, giver of life, son of the Sun, Amenhetep-hequast, the ever living." Budge, IV. 103.

o. "K. E., Ranebmaat." B. B., 350, Barkal.

p. "S. S., Amenhetep." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*h*¹

q. "S. S., Amenhetep hequastsara." B. B., 350, Tourah.

r. "S. S., Amenhetephequast." B. B., 350, Luxor.

s. "S. S., Amenhetepneterhequast." B. B., 350, Assouan.

(2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtkhaemmaat, *i.e.*, mighty bull, crown of truth." B. B., 350.

b. "H., Samhetehmeri-ânnu, *i.e.*, uniter of the white crown, beloved in On." B. B., 350, Soleb.

c. "H., Uahrenputashuhebu, *i.e.*, abiding during many years and festivals." B. B., 350, Soleb.

d. "H., Kanekhtkherpefau, *i.e.*, mighty bull, whose power is far-extending." B. B., 350, Soleb.

e. "H., Kanekhtheqhequ, *i.e.*, mighty bull, prince of princes." B. B., 350; *Kg.*, 373*d.*

f. "H., Kanekhttutkhau, *i.e.*, mighty bull, image of risings (crowns)." B. B., 350, Bab el Meluk.

g. "H., Khentkauankhunebu, *i.e.*, prince of all living *kau*." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*p.*

(3) a. "L. S., Semenhepusekerhtau, *i.e.*, establisher of the laws, pacifier of the two lands." B. B., 350.

b. "L. S., Semenheputhestau, *i.e.*, establisher of laws, uniter of the two lands." B. B., 350, Soleb.

c. "L. S., Urmenerpeheptefemshenannu mehterannuqema, *i.e.*, great in monuments to his valor from the circle of northern On to southern On." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*h.*

d. "L. S., Khentkauankhunebu, *i.e.*, prince of the *kau* of all living." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*q.*

(4) "Horus of gold, Akhepeshhusatetti, *i.e.*, great in strength, smiter of the Asiatic lands." B. B., 350, Karnak.

b. "H. G., Humentauterthepennu, *i. e.*, smiting their monuments and destroying the Thekennu." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*i.*

c. "H. G." •

d. "H. G., Kanekhtsutensuteniu-terpetpaut, *i.e.*, mighty bull, king of kings, destroyer of the foreign mercenaries." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*l.*

e. "H. G., Thehenkheperurbait, *i.e.*, the glory of created things, great in wonders." B. B., 350 (Soleb).

f. "H. G., Thehenkheperu" B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*n.*

g. "H. G., nebumatira." B. B., 350 (Soleb).

h. "H. G., Khepeshhu u, *i.e.*, mighty smiter of the Asia-tics(?)." B. B., 350 (Soleb).

i. "H. G., ? neterumeshenusen."

j. "H. G., Khentkauankhu, *i.e.*, prince of the living *kau*." B. B., 350; *Kb.*, 373*r.*

(5) "Amenhetephequast." Budge, IV. 103.

(6) "Ramaatneb." Budge, IV. 103.

(7) "Majesty." Budge, IV. 96 (on scarab), 99 *bis* (on scarab), 99 (on scarab); Petrie, II. 184 *bis* (from *Aeg. Zeit.*, XV. 87), 189 *bis* (Leps., *Denk.*, III. 71*c, d*), 196 (from statue of Amenhetep, the son of Hepu), 197 (stele of Amenhetep, the son of Hepu)

(8) "The horus of gold, stablisher of laws, subduer of the two lands, great one, smiter of the Asiatics." Budge, IV. 92.

(9) "Mighty one of monuments, unifier of the two lands, whose might extendeth from Heliopolis to Hermonthis, smiter of the Ment, subduer of the Libyans, subduer of the Pati, conqueror of the Anti of Nubia, king of kings, avenger of the gods, lord of Kenset, great god," etc. Budge, IV. 92.

(10) "The majesty of Horus, the mighty bull, diademed with law, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, establisher of laws, pacifier of the two lands, the Horus of gold, mighty of valor, smiter of the Asiatics, king of the South and North, the lord maker of created things, Neb-Maat-Ka, chosen of Ra, son of the Sun, Amen-hetep, prince of Thebes, giver of life." Budge, IV. 98 (on scarab).

(11) "The king." Petrie, 188 (from stele at Turrâh); Brugsch, *History*, I. 420 *bis* (from rock insc. on road to Syene), 421 (from Sèmhèh tablet), 425 *ter* (from insc. of Amenhetep, the son of Hepu), 427 *ter* (from insc. at Turrâh), 428 (from temple at Luxor), 433 *bis* (from temple of Kak), 434 (*id.*), 437 *bis* (from tomb of Khamhat), 438 (*id.*), 444 (from title of Horamoo, overseer of the sculptors).

(12) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, I. 434 *bis* (from temple of Kak); 437 *bis* (from insc. of Khemhat), 438, *id.*

(13) "My lord. the sun, Amenhetep III, the prince of Thebes." Brugsch, *History*, I. 425.

(14) "His majesty, the lion of princes." Petrie, II. 193 (from De Morgan, *Mon. and Insc.*).

(15) "Nebmaatramerineterunebuhetâatka, *i.e.*, beloved of all the gods in the palace [of the ka(?)]." Petrie, III. 195 (from scarab).

(16) "Nebmaatramesuast, *i.e.*, born at Thebes." Petrie, II. 195 (from scarab).

(17) "Nebmaatrahqsanqar, *i.e.*, seizing Sangar." Petrie, II. 195 (from scarab).

(18) "Nebmaatrahqarihepu, *i.e.*, prince, making laws." Petrie, II. 195 (from scarab).

(19) "The brave Pharaoh, who trusts in his strength, namely, Amenhetep III." Brugsch, *History*, I. 420 (from tablet on road from Syene to Philæ).

(20) "Lord." Petrie, II. 196 (from statue of Amenhetep, the son of Hepu).

AMENOPHIS THE THIRD ON THE MONUMENTS WRITTEN IN CUNEIFORM.

1. The name of the king appears alone, but spelled in different ways, to wit:

(1) "Mimmuria." 23¹⁴, Dušratta, the great king, the king of the land of Mitanni, thy father-in-law (emuka), to Naphuri, my brother, my son-in-law (ḥatania), whom I love.

(2) "Nimmuria."* 21⁸, Dušratta to Naphuria.

2. Various designations of kinship occur, to wit:

(1) "Father." VII. 7, 12, 13, 20; XV. 23.

(2) "Mother." 23¹⁸.

(3) "Brother." III. 4, 19; IV. 6; XVI. 23, 30, 39 and often.

(4) "Father-in-law." 23², and elsewhere in combination.

(5) "Son-in-law." 23¹, and elsewhere in combination.

3. Designation of kinship plus proper name, *e.g.*:

(1) "My brother, Nimmuria." 23⁵⁵.

(2) "(My) father, Mimmuria." 23⁹ (thy), 23¹³, 2⁰, and often

4. Proper name plus designation of relationship, *e.g.*:

(1) "Nimmuria, thy father." 21⁶.

(2) "Nimmuria, my brother." 21^{73, 75}.

(3) "Teie, thy mother." 24⁷.

5. "My brother and son-in-law" (so Dušratta addresses Nimmuria in 19⁸).

6. "My brother, the king of the land of Egypt (Mišrim[me])." 18¹⁸, Dušratta to Nimmuria.

7. "The king of Egypt (šarri?ša Mišri), my brother," 7²⁶.

8. "The king of Egypt" alone, as generic term. III⁶.

9. "Nimu'waria, king of the land of Egypt, my brother." II¹, V¹(?), IV¹ (spelled "Nimuwaria"), XVI¹ (spelled "Nibmuaria").

10. "Nimmuaria, king of the land of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love, who loves me." XVIII¹, XX¹, *id.*, except adds "and" between two last phrases.

11. "Nimmuria, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love, and who loves me." XIX¹.

12. "Nibmuaria, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, thy brother." I².

* Other spellings occur in various phrases, to wit:

(1) "Nammuria, the son of the sun, my lord," in letter of Akizzi, 138¹, 139¹.

(2) "Nibmuaria, the great king, the king of Egypt, thy brother," in his letter to Kallima-Sin, I¹.

(3) "Nibu'waria, king of Egypt, my brother," in letter from Kallima-Sin, II¹.

(4) "Nimuwaria, king of Egypt, my brother," in letter from Kallima-Sin, IV¹.

13. "(My) lord." 138^{3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22 bis, 26}, Rev. 2, 3 bis, 9, 11, 12, 13 bis, 15, 16, 18, 23, 26, 30 in letter of Akizzi to Nammuria, the son of the Sun, my lord; 139^{3, 4, 6, 8, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 35, 38, 40, 44, 47, 50 bis, 53, 55, 58, 59 bis, 63, 65, 67, 68}, *id.*

14. "Nammuria, the son of the Sun, my lord." 138¹, Akizzi in address; 139¹, *id.*

15. "The king, my lord." 139^{11, 15, 29, 40, 45, 46}.

16. "The king, my lord, my sun." 140¹, Akizzi in address (doubtful whether this is addressed to Amenophis the Third or the Fourth).

17. "The lord, my sun." 140³, Akizzi to the "king, my lord, my sun" (doubtful to which king reference is made).

10. AMENOPHIS THE FOURTH.

(1) *a.* "K. E., Raneferkheperuuāenra, son of the Sun, Āmenhetepneterhequast." B. B., 363 (tomb of Rameses).

b. "K. E., Raneferkheperuuāenra, son of the Sun, Amenhetepneterhequastāāhāf."

c. "K. E., Ankhemmaat, nebtauī, Raneferkheperuuāenra, son of the Sun, Ankhemmaat, nebkhou, Atenrakhum, āāhāf."

d. "K. E., Neterhentepen raherukhuti emkhutemrenfemshuenti-ematen Nefermaatkeperuuāenra." B. B., 363 (rocks at Silsilis).

e. "Son of the Sun, āāhāf, Amenhetepneterheqānnu." B. B., 363; *Kb.*, 386*d.*

f. "Son of the Sun, Āaemāhāf, Amenhetepneterhequastāaemāhāf." B. B., 363; *Kb.*, 386*g.*

(2) *a.* "Qashuti." B. B., 363 (tomb at Thebes).

b. "Kanekhtmeriātenra" (tomb of El-Amarna).

(3) *a.* "L. S., Ursuteniuemkhutaten." B. B., 363.

b. "L. S., Ursuteniutemkhutaten." B. B., 365 (El-Amarna).

c. "L. S., Urresmehetemkhutaten." B. B., 365; *Kb.*, 388*l.*

(4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Theskhouemānnuqemā." B. B., 363 (rocks of Silsilis).

b. "H. G., Thesren . . . enāten." B. B., 365 (El-Amarna).

c. "H. G., Uth . . . sthesrenfenāten." B. B., 365, El-Amarna.

(5) *a.* "The good god, Raneferkheperuuāenra." B. B., 363 (tomb of El-Amarna).

b. "The good god, Uāenra." B. B., 365 (tomb of El-Amarna).

(6) "Lord of the two lands, Raneferkheperuuāenra." B. B., 363 (tomb of El-Amarna).

(7) "Ankhneternefer, Raneferkheperuuāenrameriāten." B. B., 365; *Kb.*, 388*e.*

(8) "Raneferkheperuuāenra." Petrie, II. 217 (from hymn to Aten).

(9) "Raneferkheperu." B. B., 365 (scarab).

(10) "Uāenra." B. B., 365 (tomb of El-Amarna).

(11) *a.* "Khutenaten." Budge, IV. 118.

b. "Khuaaten." Brugsch, *History*, I. 449, 452.

(12) "Raḥerukhuti exalted in the horizon in his name Shu, which is the disk (aten) of the Sun." Budge, IV. 120.

(13) "Lord of risings (or crowns), Khuenaten, lord of the two lands, Raneferkheperuuāenra, giver of life, the living Ra, chief (heq) of the two horizons, exalted in the horizon, giving life for ever and ever in his name, in the giving of the glory from the disk of Ra." Budge, IV. 127.

(14) "King of the South and North, High Priest of Raḥerukhuti, the exalted one in the horizon in his name of Shu who is in his disk." Budge, IV. 113.

(15) "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, mighty one of sovereignty in the city of the horizon of the Sun, the Horus of gold, who exalteth the name of the disk, the king of the South and North, living in Maat, the lord of the two lands, the lord of crowns." Budge, IV. 118.

(16) "Neferkheperurauāenramerihērukhuti, *i.e.*, beloved of Hor-machis." Petrie, II. 225 (scarab).

(17) "Neferkheperurauāenraneb meḥnetchem, *i.e.*, lord of the sweet wind." Petrie, II. 225 (scarab).

(18) "N., beloved of Amen." Petrie, II. 225.

(19) "N., beloved of Atmu." Petrie, II. 225.

(20) "N., beloved of Tehuti." Petrie, II. 225.

(21) "K. E., living in Truth, lord of both lands, Neferkheperu rauāenra, son of the Sun, living in Truth, Akhenaten, great in his duration." Petrie, II. 218 (in hymn to Aten, edited by Prof. Breasted and translated by Mr. Griffith).

(22) "Raneferkheperu, son of the Sun, Atenneferneferu." "Probably an early variant of Akhenatin's name." Petrie, II. 227 (from insc. of Atefsenb.).

(23) "The lord of the land." Brugsch, *History*, I. 445 (on Bek's tombstone), 450 (from address to the Sun by the queen Noferithi).

(24) "Divine benefactor." Brugsch, *History*. I. 449 (from prayer of Aahmes).

(25) "King Khunaten(?)." Brugsch, *History*, I. 449 (from prayer to the Sun), 452 (from memorial tablet in El-Amarna).

(26) "King of the land(?)." Brugsch, *History*, 450 (from prayer of Noferithi).

(27) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, I. 448 *bis* (from king's address to Merira), 452 (from memorial tablet in El-Amarna), 453 (*id.*).

(28) "Pharaoh Khunaten." Brugsch, *History*, I. 452 (from memorial tablet in El-Amarna).

(29) "Pharaoh thy (*i.e.*, Merira's) Lord." Brugsch, *History*, I. 448 (from memorial tablet at El-Amarna).

(30) "Prince." Brugsch, *History*, I. 449 (from insc. of Aahmes at El-Amarna).

(31) "The king." Petrie, II. 225 (on tomb of Aahmes) and 226 *bis* (on tomb of Ai) and on rock tablet of Bek at Aswan. Brugsch, I. 445 (on tombstone of Bek, four times), 447 (on inscribed stone of Silsilis), 449 (prayer to the Sun at El-Amarna), 452 five times, 453 (on rock insc. near El-Amarna), 461 (on Ai's insc.).

AMENOPHIS THE FOURTH ON THE MONUMENTS WRITTEN IN CUNEIFORM.

For purposes of convenience in reference, we shall give the titles of these documents (all of which consist of letters and reports) under the three heads of (1) letters from "brother" kings, (2) a letter from his son, (3) letters from subjects.

I.—In letters from "brother" kings.

1. "Naphuruia" alone. XXI. 65, 67;* XXII. 27, 40, 54, 59; XXIII. 39. All letters of Dušhratta, king of Mitanni.

2. "My brother." X. 6, 8, 14, 15, 16, 19, 32, 33, 34, Rev. 18, 20, 21, 22, 23 *bis*, 24, 32, 33, 34; XI. 8, 16, Rev. 18, 21 (X and XI are both from Burraburiaš, king of Babylon); XIV. 2 (from the great(?) king); XXI. 11, 25, 65, 70, 80, 81, 83, Rev. 16, 18, 28, 36 *bis*, 43, 44, 46, 50, 51 *bis*, 52 *bis*, 54, 55 *bis*, 57, 58, 59 *bis*, 60, 61, 62, 63 *bis*, 64, 65 *bis*, 67, 68, 69 *bis*, 70 *bis*, 71, 73, 74 *bis*, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 85, 86 *bis*, 87, 88, 91 (from Dušhratta, king of Mitanni); XXIII. 7 *bis*, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 30, 32, 35 *bis*, 37, 41, 42, 43, 50 *bis*, 52, 58, Rev. 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48 *bis*, 49, 50, 52 (from Dušhratta); XXIV. 13, 17 *bis*, 18, 20, 24, 29, 30, Rev. 4, 5, *bis* 12, 14 (from Dušhratta); XXV. 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24 *bis*, 25, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 (from the king of Alashia); XXVI. 1, 8, 10, 11, 13, 19, 27 (from the king of Alashia); XXVII. 7 (from the same); XXVIII. 7, 8, 13, 15, 23,

* The Roman letters refer to the number of the letters in Winckler's edition of the Tel-el-Amarna letters; the Arabic notation refers to the lines.

Rev. 3 (from the same); XXIX. 10, 14 (from the same); XXX. 15, 25 (from the same); XXXI. 2, 4, 8 (from the same); XXXII. 6 (from the same); XXXIII. 5, 10, Rev. 1, 7 (writer unknown); XXXIV. 4, 15 (*id.*); XXXV. 15, 16, 21, 24, 28, Rev. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 (*id.*).

3. "The king." XI. Rev. 1 (from Burraburiaš); XXIII. 11 (unknown author); XXVII. 25 (from the king of Alashia); XXVIII. 24, *id.*

4. "The king of Egypt (šar mat Miš[rīi])." XXV. 28 (from the king of Alashia).

5. "The great king(?)." XV. 13 (from Ašurballit, king of Assyria).

6. "[Naphururia], my brother." VI. 1 (from Burraburiaš); XXI. 76 (from Dušhratta).

7. "The king of Egypt, my brother." XIV. 4 (from the "great king(?)""); XXV. 1; XXVI. 1; XXVII. 1; XXVIII. 1; XXX. 1 (from the king of Alashia).

8. "The king, my brother." XXVI. 15 (from the king of Alashia).

9. "The ruler (amelu rabišu) of Egypt, my brother." XXXII. 1 (from the *rabišu* of Alashia).

10. "Naphuria, my (*i.e.*, Ti's) son." XXI. Rev. 11 (from Dušhratta); XXII. 32, 46 ("thy son"), 50 (from Dušhratta to Ti, mother of Naphuria).

11. "The king, my lord." XXXIII. Rev. 4 (unknown author).

12. "Naphurriria, king of the land of Egypt." VIII. 1 (from Burraburiaš); VIII. 1, the same, excepting that the name is spelled "Naphuraria" (from Burraburiaš).

13. "Naphururia, king of the land of Egypt, my brother." IX. 1 (from Burraburiaš); XI. 1, the same, excepting that the name is spelled "Naphu'ruria" (from Burraburiaš); XV. 1, the same, excepting that the name is spelled "Naphurii . . ." (from Burraburiaš).

14. "Naphuriria, the king of the land of Egypt, my brother, whom I love and who loves me." XXIV. 1 (from Dušhratta).

15. "Naphurria, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love and who loves me." XXI. 1 (from Dušhratta).

16. "[Naphurr]ia, the great son of Nimmuria, by Ti, his great spouse." XXI. 61, 63 (from Dušhratta).

17. ". . . huri", the king of the land of Egypt, my brother." XXXV. 2 (unknown author).

II. *Titles in a letter to Amenophis the Fourth from his son.*

1. "My father." 36¹¹, Rev. 5, 9.
2. "The lord, my father." 36⁵.
3. "My lord, my father." 36, Rev. 10.
4. "My lord, the king of the land of Egypt, my father." 36¹.

III. *Titles and designations in letters to Amenophis IV from his subjects.*

1. "My lord, his lord, lord," etc. 40^{5, 18}; 47^{14, 25(?)}; 51^{4, 30}; 52¹⁵; 53^{16, 25, 28, 31}; 60¹³; 61¹¹; 62¹⁷; 65¹¹; 66²; 67⁴; 71⁵⁴; 85^{18, 26, 31, 35, 41, 46, 47, 48}; 86¹⁷; 91^{24, 138}; 97⁸, 101²⁰; 103⁷; 136^{32, 34, 41}; 137^{27, 34, 37, 39}; 140⁴; 144^{16, 23}; 146^{5, 7}; 149^{5, 16, 31, 33, 36, 38, 41, 44, 45, 49, 70}; 150³⁴; 151^{69(?)}; 152³⁵; 155⁶; 158²⁰; 191^{5, 14, 18, 22, 25}; 205³¹; 226²⁸; 246¹⁵; 258³; 260⁷; 265¹⁵; 270⁴; 273³; 285^{9(?)}; 286^{8, 20 bis, 21}; 290^{7(?)}, ^{9(?)}; 291^{10(?)}; 292¹. "My lady," ³ *id.*, ⁴ *id.*, ⁷ *id.*; 293². "My lady," ⁵ *id.*, Rev. ² *id.*

2. "My lord, the king." 182³, Abd-ḥiba of Jerusalem to the "king, my lord"; 179³, *id.* to *id.*

3. "My lord, the king of the lands." 79², Ribaddi to "bilisu šar matati."

4. "Our lord, the king of Egypt." 41¹², A man from Dunip to the "king of Egypt, my lord."

5. "My lord, the (my) sun." 55⁴, Ribaddi to "the lord of the lands, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 60⁶, Ribaddi to the "king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 61³, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the great king"; 62^{4, 5}, *id.* to the "king of the lands"; 65³, *id.* to ? . . . the "king of the lands"; 69^{1, 3}, *id.* to "my lord the Sun"; 70⁵, *id.* to the "king of the lands, the great king"; 72⁶, *id.* to his lord, "the great king, the king of battles"; 73³, *id.* to his "lord, the king of the lands, the great king;" 75⁵, *id.* to "the great king, the king of battles" 76³, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my sun"; 77⁸, *id.* to "his lord, the great king, the king of lands, the king of battles"; 78³, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my sun"; 79⁵, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands" (?); 80⁶, *id.* to the "lord, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battles"; 81⁵, *id.* to the "lord of the lands, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 83⁶, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 84⁴, *id.* to *id.*; 86⁴, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 87⁶, *id.* to the "[king of Egypt](?), the great king, the king of the lands, the king of battle"; 88⁷, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the

great king"; 93⁴, *id.* "to the king, my Sun"; 99⁷, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 100⁷, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the king of battle"; 101⁴, *id.* to *id.*; 103³, *id.* to the "king, my lord, my Sun(?)"; 107⁴, *id.* to *id.*; 119⁴, Rabimur to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 122⁷, from the city of Irkata to "the king, our lord"; 140³, Akizzi to "the king, my lord, [my Sun]"; 146³, Itakkama to "the king, my lord"; 56⁶, Ribaddi to "the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle."

6. "Lord, the Sun of the lands." 53³⁰, Ribaddi to "the king, my lord, the Sun of the lands"; 85⁵, *id.* to the "king, the prince (rubi) of the lands"; 78⁴, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my sun."

7. "Lord, God (or gods)." 290³, Akizzi(?) to the "king of Egypt."

8. "Lord, god, Sun." 47⁴, Aziri to "the king, my lord, my god, my sun"; 48⁵, ? to the king, "my lord . . ."; 51³, Aziri to "the great king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 45¹⁵, *id.* to Dudu.

9. "Lord, god, sun, breath of my life." 147⁶, Zimrida to the "king, my lord, my god, my sun, the breath of my life."

10. "Lord, king of the lands, the great king." 61², Ribaddi in address to his sovereign; 73², *id.*; 74², *id.*; 88², *id.*

11. "Lord, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle." 80², Ribaddi's address to the king; 83², *id.*

12. "Lord, the great king, the king of battle." 72², Ribaddi's address to the king.

13. "Lord, the great king, the king of the lands, the king of battle." 64², Ribaddi's address to the king; 77², *id.*; 84¹, *id.*; 87²(?), *id.*

14. "The lord of the lands, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle." 81¹, Ribaddi's address to the king; 55¹, *id.*

15. "Lord, the king of the lands, the king of battle." 100², Ribaddi's address to the king; 101¹, *id.*

16. "The king," "my king," etc. 38⁶, ¹³, Abdašratum to the king, etc.; 39³, *id.*; 40⁴, *id.*; 45⁴², Aziri to Dudu, etc.; 47⁹, ¹², Aziri to the king, etc.; 48³², *id.*; 50¹⁵, ²⁰, ³⁴, ³³, ⁴⁰, Rev. ⁴, ¹⁰, ¹², ¹³, ¹⁷, ¹⁸, to the chief of Amurra from the king; 53¹³, ²⁶, ³³, Ribaddi to the king, etc.; 54⁴, ⁸, ¹², ¹⁹, Ribaddi to ?, Ħaiapa . . . : 55⁷, ⁹, ³⁹, ⁵³, ⁵⁷, *id.* to "the lord of the lands," etc.; 56¹⁶, ⁴⁰, ⁴³, *id.* to "the king of the lands," etc.; 58⁴(?), *id.* to the king, etc.; 59⁵¹, *id.* to Amanappa; 60¹⁶, ²⁸, ⁴⁰, ⁴⁶, *id.* to "the king of the lands," etc.; 61¹³, ³⁴, ³⁷, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands"; 63¹⁹, ¹¹, Rev. ⁷, *id.* to the king, etc.; 65²⁷(?), ³², *id.* to ?; 66³⁷, ⁴², *id.* to Amanappa;

68^{10, 18}, *id.* to *id.*: 69^{61?}, ^{62, 75, 81}, *id.* to "my lord, the Sun"; 70^{12, 15}, Rev. ^{2(?)}, ^{6(?)}, ^{14, 17, 25, 32(?)}, ^{33(?)}, *id.* to "king of the lands"; 71^{26, 38, 52, 53, 72, 75, 77, 79, 80, 94}, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 72^{16, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28}, Rev. ^{2, 4, 6, 26}, *id.* to "his lord, the great king," etc.; 73^{14, 17(?)}, Rev. ^{13(?)}, ^{15, 18}, *id.* "to my lord, the king of the lands," etc.; 74^{14, 16, 19}, Rev. ^{3, 8, 12, 23, 27}, *id.* to *id.*; 75^{15, 18, 26, 34, 36, 37, 40, 53, 59, 66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 77, 84, 92}, *id.* to the "great king, the king of battles"; 76^{10, 15, 16, 32, 45}, *id.* "to the king, my lord, my Sun"; 77^{28, 29, 40}, *id.* "to his lord, the great king," etc.; 78⁵⁷, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 79⁹, *id.* "to his lord, the king of the lands"; 80^{11, 25, 31, 35}, *id.* "to my lord, the king of lands," etc.; 81^{20, 47}, *id.* "to the lord of the lands," etc.; 83^{9, 14, 44, 50, 55, 66}, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands," etc.; 84⁶, Rev. ¹, *id.* to "his lord, the great king," etc.; 85³⁰, *id.* to "the great king, the king of the lands"; 86^{14, 17, 19, 23}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my sun"; 87^{11, 12, 15, 32, 33, 35, 37, 45, 57, 61, 69, 72, 79}, *id.* to "the king of Egypt(?), the great king, the king of the lands," etc.; 88^{11, 19, 23, 31}, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the great king"; 89^{18, 21, 23(?)}, ^{25, 27, 31}, from the Rabsabi to his son Ribaddi; 90^{28(?)}, ^{31, 37, 42}, Ribaddi to Amanappa; 91^{5(?)}, ^{22, 25, 27, 79, 95, 100, 119, 122, 134, 138, 139}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, the sun of the lands"; 92^{2, 10, 21, 23}, his servant to the king; 93³, Ribaddi to the "king, my Sun"; 94, Rev. ¹⁷, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 96^{21, 46}, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 97^{12, 18, 19, 21, 28, 33, 48, ?} to "the king, my lord"; 98 Rev. ^{3, 9, 13(?)}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, the Sun"; 99^{10, 15, 18, 39, 43}, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 100^{9, 13, 15(?)}, ^{17, 19, 25, 27, 30, 45, 52, 54}, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the king of battle"; 101^{10, 16}, Rev. ^{5, 9, 11}, *id.* to his lord, etc., *id.* as last; 103, Rev. ^{4, 9, 15}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 104^{16, 44, 63} *bis*, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 105^{19, 23(?)}, *id.*(?) to ?; 106^{32, 40}, *id.* to my ? ?; 109^{15, ? ?}; 111^{6, 29}, Ribaddi to "Amanappa, my father"; 112^{12, ? ?}; 114^{11, 18, ? ?}; 115^{12, 13, 17, ? ?}; 116^{33, 36, 38, 41(?)}, ^{43?} ?; 118, Rev. ^{5(?)}, ^{8(?)}, ? ?; 119^{7, 8, 16, 27}, Rabimur to the "king, my lord, my Sun"; 120^{12, 13, 16, 19, 33}, *id.* to "the king, my lord(?)"; 122^{14, 16, 19, 25, 27, 37, 41}, from the city of Irkata to the "king, our lord"; 124^{23, 26, 30, 32, ? ?}; 129¹⁷, Ammunira to the "king, the breath of my life"; 137^{23, ? ?}; 142^{6, 35, 39, 40(?)}, ? ?; 143¹⁹, Namiawaza to the "king, my lord, my god"; 147^{19, 27, 28}, Zimrida to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun, the breath of my life"; 148¹⁷, Zimrida to ? ?; 149^{18, 26, 64}, Abimilki to "the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 150^{8, 10, 18, 24, 41, 43, 47, 57, 58, 63, 64, 69, 78, 82, 84}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun, my gods"; 151^{6, 41, 49, 55, 70}, *id.* to "the king, my Sun, my gods"; 152^{6, 7, 14, 18, 29, 30, 34, 36, 37, 50, 56, 60}, *id.* to "the king, my Sun, my gods"; 153^{4, 7,}

¹⁵, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 154^{19, 27, 39, 44, 46}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 155¹³, *id.* to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my gods"; 156^{6, 27}, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 157⁴, Surata to "the king, my lord, the Sun from heaven"; 158⁶, Zatatna to "the king, my lord, the Sun from heaven"; 159^{4, 15, 18, 30}, *id.* to *id.*; 163^{7, 9, 11, 25, 31, 39, 42, 46}, Lapaya to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 164²⁷, Abdu-Ašaridu to the "king, my lord"; 165^{36, 39}, Šuwardata to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun" (comp. 198); 177^{11(?)}, ^{24, 32}, Arzaya to "the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 179^{12, 34, 37, 49, 53, 55, 56}, Abdhība to the "king, my lord"; 180^{11, 13, 17, 27, 31, 34, 43, 45, 48} *bis*, ^{52, 55, 60, 69, 78}, *id.* to *id.*; 181^{11, 14, 16, 19, 23, 24, 33, 36, 41, 45, 47, 58}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 182^{8, 10}, Rev. ^{2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15}, *id.* to "the king, my lord(?)"; 183^{11, 16, 18, 20} *bis*, ^{22, 28}, *id.* to *id.*; 184^{3, 8(?)}, ^{13(?)}, ^{20(?)}, ^{24(?)}, ²⁶, *id.* to *id.*; 185^{3, 4, 22, ? ? ?}; 186^{12, 15}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 187⁴, Addumehir to "the king, my lord"; 188⁸, *id.* to *id.*; 189^{5, 25}, Tagi to "the king, my lord"; 192¹¹, Biridiya to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 193^{4, 22}, *id.* to the "king, my lord, and my sun and my gods(?)"; 194⁵, *id.* to the "king, my lord, and my Sun"; 195^{5, 27, 34}, *id.* to *id.*; 196³⁰, ? ?; 197^{4, 6}, Yarta to the "king, my lord and Sun, and my god"; 198¹¹, Šuwardata to "the king, my lord" (comp. 165); 201^{22, 24(?)}, ^{26, 27}, *id.* to the "king, my lord, my gods and my Sun"; 205¹⁸, Yapahi to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 206¹⁸, *id.* to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 208¹¹, Yitia to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 210^{15, 18}, *id.* to *id.*; 211²⁵, *id.* to *id.*; 212¹⁷, *id.* to *id.*; 218²⁴, Yabni-ilu to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 219^{17, ??}; 220⁸, Šamu-Addu to "the king, my lord"; 224¹⁸, Šubandi to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 226^{21, 24}, *id.* to *id.*; 227^{19, 23}, *id.* to the "king, my lord, the Sun from heaven"; 235^{11, 15(?)}, Pu-Addi to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun from heaven"; 240, Rev. ⁴, Addu-Daian to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my gods" (comp. 275); 241^{16, 20}, Šipti-Addi to the "king, my lord"; 242⁵, *id.* to *id.*; 243¹⁴, *id.*(?) to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 246¹⁴, Zitriyara to the "king, my lord"; 255¹⁹, Baduza(?) to the "king, my lord"; 256¹⁸, Mutzu' . . . to the "king, my lord and my Sun"; 260⁹, Rušmania to the "king, my lord, my gods, the Sun"; 264¹⁷, Diyati to the "king, my lord"; 270^{9, ? ?}; 275^{11, . . .} -Daian to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun" (comp. 240); 276^{19, 22, ? ?}; 279^{8, 16(?)}, ? to the "king, my lord"; 280^{11, ? ?}; 282^{2, 5, 15, ? ?}.

17. "King of Egypt." 41^{18, 30}, a man of Dunip to the "king of Egypt, our lord"; 52²⁰, ? ?; 290¹, Akizzi to the king of Egypt"; 101¹², Ribaddi to "his lord, the king of lands, the king of battle"; 142²⁵, ? ?; 37⁶(?) Rammannirari to the "Sun, the king, my lord, the king of Egypt."

18. "King of Egypt, my (our) lord." 41^{1, 10}, a man of Dunip to "the king of Egypt, our lord."

19. "King of the lands (šar matâti)." 62¹, Ribaddi's address to the king.

20. "King, lord." 38^{4, 9, 18, 21, 30}, Abd-Ašratu to the king, the Sun, my lord; 39^{1, 4, 5, 8, 11, 15, 18}, *id.* to the "king, my lord"; 40^{1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13}, *id.* to *id.*; 41^{13, 14, 16, 19, 37}, a man of Dunip to "the king of Egypt, our lord"; 44^{8, 21, 28, 32, 33, 36}, Aziri to his father Dudu; 45^{6, 9, 13, 27, 29, 34, 36}, *id.* to *id.*; 46^{5, 7, 11}, Aziri to his brother Hai; 47^{2, 6, 10, 13, 37, 44}, Aziri to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 48^{1, 10, 12, 15, 20, 22, 34, 39, 44}, Aziri to the "great king, my lord, my god, and my Sun"; 49^{7, 11, 14, 15, 29, 32}, *id.* to *id.*; 50^{2, 7, 16, 29, 33, 39, 42, 44}, Rev. 1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 19, 22, the king to the Chief of Amurra; 51^{5, 9, 11, 19, 24, 26, 36, 43, 44, 47, 51}, Aziri to the "great king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 52¹⁴, ? ?; 53^{7, 9}, Ribaddi to the "king, my lord, the Sun of the lands"; 54⁶, *id.* to Haiapa; 55^{3, 5, 60, 62}, *id.* to the lord of the lands, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 56^{5, 7}, *id.* to the "king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 57^{6, 8, 35, 43}, *id.* to "Amanappa, my father"; 58⁶(?), 13, 16, 20, Rev. 19, 22, 23, *id.* to "the king, his lord, the Sun"; 60⁵, *id.* to the "king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle;" 61⁴, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the great king"; 62⁷, *id.* to "the king of the lands"; 63^{1, 14}, Rev. 8, 10, 11, *id.* to the "king, my lord, [my Sun]"; 64^{1, 6}, *id.* to "his lord, [the great king, the king of the lands,] the king of battle"; 65^{5, 8, 9, 12, 23, 30, 40, 42, 44}, *id.* to (?); 66^{5, 28}, *id.* to Amanappa; 67^{7, 11, 25}, *id.* to Amanabbi; 69^{6, 15, 34, 40}, *id.* to "My lord, the Sun"; 70⁴, Rev. 8, *id.* to "the king of the lands, the great king"; 71^{7, 31, 35, 36, 37, 39, 45, 51, 55, 59, 63, 81, 83, 90, 94, 97} *bis*, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 72^{1, 8}, Rev. 11, 15, *id.* to "his lord, the great king, the king of battle"; 73^{4, 5, 8}, Rev. 10, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the great king"; 74^{8, 24}, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the great king"; 75^{4, 7}, *id.* to "the great king, the king of battle"; 76^{7, 8}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 77^{6, 20, 23}, *id.* to "his lord, the great king, the king of the lands, the king of battle"; 78^{5, 23, 33}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 79⁷, Rev. 2, 10, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands"; 80^{5, 6, 12}, *id.* to "the lord, the king of lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 81^{4, 6, 68}, *id.*

to "the lord of the lands, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 82⁶, *id.* to (?); 83^{5, 25}, *id.* to "his lord, the king of lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 84⁴, *id.* to "his lord, the great king, the king of lands, the king of battle"; 85^{2, 7, 38, 45}, *id.* to the "king, the prince (rubi) of the lands"; 86⁶, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 87^{5, 8}, *id.* to "the . . . great king, the king of the lands, the king of battle"; 88^{6, 9, 15}, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the great king"; 90⁵, *id.* to Amanappa; 91^{3, 32, 48, 90, 111, 125, 129, 136, 137}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, the Sun of the lands"; 94⁴, Rev. ^{10, 24}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 95^{26, ??}; 96^{1, 4, 6, 16, 23, 35, 39} *bis*, ^{42, 43}, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 97^{2, e, 15, 40}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 98⁷, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 99^{1, 6}, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 100⁶, *id.* to "his lord, the king of the lands, the king of battle"; 101³, *id.* to *id.*; 104^{2, 39, 56}, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 105^{12, 29}, ? ?; 110⁶, *id.* to Amanappa(?); 111⁶, *id.* to Amanappa, "my father"; 112⁷, Rev. ⁶, ? ?; 115^{25, 26, 30}, ? ?; 119⁵, Rabimur to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 120^{1(?)}, ^{9, 16, 29, 40}, *id.* to "the king, my lord(?)"; 122^{2, 5, 9, 11, 28, 31}, City of Irk̄ata to the "king, our lord"; 125¹, Addu . . . (?) to "the king, our lord"; 128^{22, 29, 30, 35, 39, 46}, Ammunira to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life"; 129^{4, 7, 8, 13, 14, 18, 31, 32}, *id.* to "the king, the breath of my life"; 129^a, Rev. ^{4, 6, 7}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, the breath of my life"; 130^{11, 14, 18, 23}, ? to ?, "breath of my life . . . my lord"; 131^{1, 6, 10, 16, 19, 20, 23}, Bieri to "the king, my lord"; 132^{5, 8}, Rev. ⁴, Ildaya to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 133^{1, 4}, Rev. ⁵, ? ?; 134^{9, 12, 17, 22, 37, 44, 57, 59, 66, 67, 71, 73}, . . . warzana to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 137²⁵, ? ?; 141^{8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 25, 29, 31}, ? ?; 142^{5, 12, 31, 38}, ? ?; 143³ *bis*, ^{5, 9, 14, 15, 19}, Rev. ^{6, 9, 11, 13, 14}, Namiawaza to "the king, my lord, my gods(?)"; 144^{1, 11, 32}, *id.* to the "king, my lord"; 145^{1, 9, 14}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 146^{1, 14}, Rev. ^{5, 10, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26}, Itakkama to the "king, my lord"; 147^{10, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 33}, Zimrida to "the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun, the breath of my life"; 149^{3, 5, 20, 22, 40, 54, 60, 63}, Abimilki to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 150^{3, 5, 9, 12, 14, 17, 20, 23, 29, 32, 46, 53, 54, 71, 81}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun, my gods"; 151^{3, 5, 9, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 34, 38, 46}, *id.* to "the king, my Sun, my gods"; 152^{3, 4, 12, 21, 25, 39, 42, 48}, *id.* to *id.*; 153^{3, 10, 13}, *id.* to "the king, my [lord, my Sun]"; 154^{3, 4, 7, 9, 14, 21, 23}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 155^{3, 10}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun, my gods"; 156^{1, 3, 5, 12}, *id.* "to the king, my lord"; 157^{6, 13}, Surata to the "king, my lord, the sun from heaven"; 158¹⁶, Zatatna to *id.*; 159^{10, 33}, *id.* to *id.*; 161^{1, 6, 23}, Artamanya to the

"king, my lord"; 162^{1, 4, 15}, Lapaya to *id.*; 163^{4, 18}, *id.* to "the king, my lord and my Sun"; 164^{1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 20, 22, 23, 28, 41, 46, 48, 49} *bis*, 55, 57, 59, Addu-ašaridu to the "king, my lord"; 165^{9, 21, 25}, Šuwardata to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 166^{4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30}, *id.* to the "king, my lord, my gods and my sun"; 167^{9, 10(?)}, 22, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 168^{8, 9}, Rev. 6, Milkili to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 169¹⁹, *id.* to *id.*; 170^{9, 14, 19, 24(?)}, *id.* to *id.*; 171^{13, 25}, *id.* to *id.*; 172^{9, 12, 15}, *id.* to *id.*; 173^{8, 12, 15, 17, 25}, Ninur . . . to *id.*; 174¹⁸, ? to *id.*; 175^{1, 4, 6, 12, 18, 20}, Arzawaya to the "king, my lord"; 176^{5, 6, 16}, *id.* to the "king, my lord and Sun, and my gods"; 177^{5, 8}, Ar(?)zaya to ?; 178^{7, 10, 13, 15, 22, 25, 28, 33}, ? to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 179^{1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 47, 55, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64}, Abdh̄iba to "the king, my lord"; 180^{1, 19, 22, 24, 32, 53, 57, 64, 68, 76}, *id.* to *id.*; 181^{3, 5, 10, 22, 30, 39, 52, 53, 54, 60, 61, 64}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 182¹, *id.* to "the king, my lord"; 183^{1, 4, 7}, *id.* to *id.*; 184^{1, 6, 17}, *id.* to *id.*; 186^{1, 4}, ? to *id.*; 187^{1, 4, 8}, Addu-mehir to *id.*; 188^{3, 9, 17}, *id.* to *id.*; 189^{1, 3, 10, 22, 24}, Tagi to *id.*; 190^{14, 18, 25}, *id.* to "the king, [my lord, my gods, my Sun]"; 191^{1, 3}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 192, Rev. 4, Biridiya to the "king, my lord, [my god,] my Sun"; 193^{12, 18}, *id.* to "the king, [my lord] and my Sun, and [my gods]"; 194¹⁰, *id.* to the "king, my lord and my sun"; 195⁹, *id.* to *id.*; 196^{4, 7, 20, 23, 37, 47}, ? ? ?; 197^{9, 11, 21}, Yarta(?) to "the king, my lord and Sun, and my god"; 198^{1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16, 21, 24}, Šuwardata to the "king, my lord"; 199^{5, 8, 10, 15}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my gods, and my Sun"; 201^{12, 15, 19, 21, 31}, *id.* to *id.*; 202^{1, 6, 14}, the king of Ḥasur to the "king, my lord"; 203^{1, 6, 8, 12, 17, 20}, Abdtir̄ši to the "king, my lord"; 204^{13, 15, 20, 22}, Yapahi to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 205^{16, 20}, *id.* to *id.*; 206⁹, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 207^{6, 11} *bis*, 18, Yitia to *id.*; 208^{6, 10, 14(?)}, 15, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 209^{7, 14, 15}, *id.* to *id.*; 211¹⁶, *id.* to *id.*, except *gods* for *god*; 212^{10, 19, 24}, *id.* to *id.*, except *god* for *gods*; 213^{5, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21}, *id.* to *id.*, except *gods* for *god*; 214^{10, 15, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 34, 38}, Yabitiri to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 217¹⁴, Zimridi to "the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 218¹⁸, Yabni-ilu to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 220^{1, 5, 11}, Šamḥuna to "the king, my lord"; 221^{3, 4, 8, 11}, Šumad . . . to "the king, [my lord, my god, my Sun]"; 225^{16, 20}, Šubandi to the "king, my lord, my god, my sun, the Sun from heaven"; 226^{12(?)}, 14(?), 18, *id.* to *id.*; 227¹⁶, *id.* to "the king, my lord, the Sun which is from heaven, my god, my

Sun"; 228¹⁶, *id.* to the "king, my lord, the Sun which is from heaven"; 229¹², *id.* to the "king, my lord, my god, my sun, the Sun from heaven"; 231^{1, 4, 7, 11, 14, 15, 19}, Baiaya to "the king, my lord"; 232^{8, 9, 14}, Šutarna to "the king, my lord, [my god,] my Sun"; 233^{3, 8}, *id* to *id.*; 235^{15, 21}, Pu-Addi to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun from heaven"; 236^{3, 8, 10(?)}, ^{12, 14} *bis*, *id.* to the "king, my lord, my god, the Sun which is from heaven"; 237^{10, 11, 12}, Mut-Addi to "Yanḥama, my lord"; 238¹, Yama to the "king, my lord"; 239^{12, 17, 19, 22, 26, 27, 32, 40, 44}, Addu-Daian to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 240^{5, 8, 9, 12}, Rev. ^{5, 10}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my sun, my gods(?)"; 241^{1, 4, 8, 9, 12, 18}, Šipti-Addi to the "king, my lord"; 242^{6, 9}, Šipti-ri- to *id.*; 243^{13, 16}, Šipti-i to "the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 244⁹, Dašru to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 245^{1, 5, 9}, *id.* to the "king, my lord"; 246^{1, 6, 8, 20}, Zitriyara to the "king, my lord"; 247^{9, 10, 13}, *id.* to *id.*; 249⁵, Šatiya to the "king, my lord, my Sun"; 250^{1, 17}, a man of Dubu to "the king, my lord"; 251^{1, 6, 18}, a man of Ḳanu to the "king, my lord"; 252^{1, 6, 17}, Abd-milki to "the king, my lord"; 253^{1, 5}, Amayaši to "the king, my lord"; 254^{5, 9, 13, 15}, Yiktasu to "the king, my lord, the Sun from heaven"; 255^{1, 5, 9, 16}, Baduza to "the king, my lord"; 256^{14, 16, 22}, Mutzu' to "the king, my lord and my Sun"; 257¹⁷, Surašar to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the Sun which is from heaven"; 258⁸, ? to the "great man (rabi), my lord"; 259^{5, 7, 12, 14, 16, 22, 24, 27}, Ḥiziri to "the king, my lord, my Sun, my god"; 260^{11, 13, 16, 20}, a man of Taruna to "the king, my lord, my gods, the Sun"; 261^{1, 6, 12}, Zišamimi to the "king, my lord"; 262³¹, Nu(?)urtuya ma to "the king, my lord, [my Sun]"; 263^{1, 6}, a man of Nazina to "the king, my lord"; 264^{1, 3}, Diyati to the "king, my lord"; 265^{1, 3, 6, 7, 15(?)}, Tagi to *id.*; 266¹⁴, Yahzibaia to the "king, my lord, [my gods, my Sun]"; 267^{3, 4, 6}, Yamiuta to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 270^{1, 6, 7, 8, 13}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 272^{5, 9}, Enbauta to "the [king], my lord, the Sun which is from heaven"; 273^{1, 6}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 275⁹, daian to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"; 276^{11, 17}, ? ? ; 278^{1, 4, 8}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 279^{1, 4, 11}, ? to the "king, my lord"; 281²³, ? ? ; 282^{6, 9, 12}, ? ? ; 283^{5, 8, 10, 15, 19, 22, 24}, Il(?)ḥa to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun(?)"; 284¹¹, ? to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 285^{1, 2, 4, 17, 21}, ? to "the king, my lord"; 289¹, Addu to "the king, my lord"; 291⁴, ? to "[the king, my lord]."

21. "The king, the lord, the king of Egypt." 41⁴³, a man of Dunip to the "king of Egypt, my lord."

22. "King, lord, son of the Sun, who is from heaven." 210²¹, Yitia to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven."

23. "King, lord, son of the Sun." 209^{11, 18}, Yitia to the "king, my lord, my sun, my god, the sun which is from heaven"; 212²⁴, *id.* to *id.*, except *my god* precedes *my sun*.

24. "King, lord, Sun." 153¹, Abimilki to the "king, [my lord, my Sun]"; 181¹, Abdh̄iba to *id.*; 231⁴, Baiaya to the "king, my lord"; 249, Šatiya to "the king, my lord [my god, my Sun]"; 256⁶, Mutzu' to "the king, my lord and my Sun"; 262^{1, 5, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 22, 26, 29}, Murtuya to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 271¹, Abdna to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 250⁵, a man of Dubu to "the king, my lord"; 58^{2, 3}, Ribaddi to the "king, his lord, the Sun"; 94¹, *id.* to *id.*; 98¹, *id.* to the "king, my lord, the Sun"; 103^{1, 4}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, [my Sun]"; 107^{1(?)}, *id.* to *id.*(?); 119¹, Rabimur to *id.*; 128¹⁸, Ammunira to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life"; 140¹, Akizzi to the "king, my lord, [my Sun]"; 74^{1(?)}, Ribaddi to his "lord, the king of the lands, the great king"; 76¹, *id.* in address; 78¹, *id.* in address; 86¹, *id.* in address.

25. "King, lord and Sun." 48⁴², ? to the "king, my lord, ? ? "; 163^{1, 4}, Lapaya to "the king, my lord and my Sun"; 193⁹, Biridiya to "the king [my lord] and my sun and [my gods]"; 194^{1, 6}, *id.* "to the king, my lord and my Sun"; 195^{1, 5}, *id.* to *id.*; 192⁵, *id.* to "the king, my lord [my god], my sun"; 256^{1, 6}, Mutzu' to "the king, my lord and my Sun."

26. "King, lord, Sun which is from heaven." 204¹⁵, Yapaḥi to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven"; 205⁹, *id.* to *id.*; 208^{12, 20}, Yitia to *id.*; 210⁹, *id.* to *id.*; 211¹⁰, *id.* to *id.*, except *gods* for *god*; 224⁷, Šubandi to *id.*, except *god* for *gods*; 225^{8(?)}, *id.* to *id.*; 226⁶, *id.* to *id.*; 227⁹, *id.* to "the king, my lord, the Sun which is from heaven, my god, my Sun"; 228^{1, 22}, *id.* to "the king, my lord, the [Sun] which is from heaven"; 236^{9, 17}, Pu-addi to the "king, my lord, my god, the Sun which is from heaven;" 269, Rev. ⁶, ? to ?; 272¹, Enbauta in address.

27. "The king, lord, Sun from heaven." 254¹, Yiktasu in address; 262²⁰, Nurtuya to the "king, my lord, [my Sun]"; 274¹¹, Yaḥzibaia(?) to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun"(?); 157^{1, 6}, Surata in address; 158¹, Zatatna in address; 159^{1, 7}, *id.* in address and line 7; 200^{10, 13}, Šuwardata to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 207²², Yitia to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun"; 217⁹, Zimridi to *id.*, except *gods* for *god*; 224⁴, Šubandi to *id.*, except

god for gods; 228¹³, *id.* to the "king, my lord, the Sun which is from heaven"; 229⁷, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun from heaven"; 169¹³, Milkili to the "king, my lord, my gods, my Sun."

28. "King, lord, Sun of the lands." 82⁷, Ribaddi to ?; 91¹, *id.* "to the king, my lord, the Sun of the lands"; 53¹, *id.* in address.

29. "King, lord, Sun, god (or gods)." 128¹⁵, ³², Ammunira to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life"; 150¹, Abimilki in address; 155¹, *id.* in address; 259¹, Hiziri in address; 160⁷, Zitatna to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my god, the Sun from heaven."

30. "King, my lord and Sun, and my gods." 176¹, ⁷, Arzawaya in address and line 7; 197¹, ⁶, Yarta in address and line 6.

31. "King, my lord and my Sun, and my gods." 193¹, ⁵, Biri-diya in address and line 5.

32. "King, lord, sun, god, Sun from heaven." 160¹, Zitatna in address; 277¹, ⁶, ⁹, ¹⁵, ? in address and lines 6, 9, and 15.

33. "King, lord, Sun, god, the Sun which is from heaven." 269³, ? to ?; 209¹, Yitia in address; 257¹, Surašar to the "king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the Sun which is from heaven."

34. "King, lord, the Sun from heaven, the son of the Sun." 257²¹, Surašar to the king, etc. See under 33.

35. "King, lord, the Sun which is from heaven, the son of the Sun, whom the Sun loves." 208²⁰⁻²³, Yitia to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven."

36. "King, lord, son of the Sun, who is from heaven." 210²¹⁻²³, Yitia to "the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven."

37. "King, lord, god." 143¹, Namiawaza to the "king, my lord, my gods" (?).

38. "King, lord and gods." 176¹¹, Arzawaya to "the king, my lord and Sun, and my gods."

39. "King, Lord, god, Sun." 42¹, Aziri in address; 43¹, ³, *id.* and in line 3; 47¹, *id.* in address.

40. "King, lord, god and Sun." 69⁸⁷, Ribaddi to "my lord, the Sun"; 48⁸⁵, ? to the "king, my lord(?)"; 49¹, Aziri to the "great king, my lord, my god, and my Sun"; 64¹, Ribaddi to his "lord, the great king, the king of the lands, the king of battle."

41. "King, lord, god, Sun." 249¹, ⁶, ¹⁰, ¹³, ¹⁵, ²⁴, Šatiya to "the king, my lord, my god, my sun"; 149¹, Abimilki in address (but *gods* for *god*); 154¹, *id.* to *id.*; 165¹, ⁶, Šuwardata in address and in line 6; 167¹, ⁶, *id.*, *id.*; 168¹, ⁵, Milkili in address and in line 5; 169¹.

⁶, ¹⁰, ¹⁶, *id.* in address and lines 6, 10 and 16; 170¹, ⁶, *id.* in address and line 6; 171¹, ⁶, *id.* in address and line 6 (but *god* for *gods*); 172¹, ⁶, *id.*, *id.*; 173¹, ⁶, Ninur(?) in address and line 6; 174¹, ⁷, ? in address and line 6; 190¹, ⁶, Tagi in address and line 6; 192¹, Biridiya in address; 178¹, ⁴, ? in address and in line 4; 200¹, ⁶, Šuwardata in address and line 6; 206¹, ⁵, Yapahī in address and line 5; 214¹, ⁶, Yabitiri in address and line 6; 230¹, ⁷, Baiaya in address and line 7; 232¹, ⁴, ¹², Šutarna in address and lines 4 and 12; 233¹, ⁸, *id.* in address and line 8; 239¹, ⁵, Addudaian in address and line 5; 266¹, ⁷, ¹⁰, Yaḥzibaia in address, etc.; 267¹, Yamiuta in address; 274¹, ⁴, ⁸, Yaḥzibaia(?) in address and lines 4 and 8; 275¹, ⁵, daian in address and line 5; 283¹, Ilha in address; 284¹, ⁴, ⁸, ? in address and lines 4 and 8.

42. "King, lord, god (gods) and Sun." 166¹, Šuwardata in address; 199¹, *id.* in *id.*; 201¹, *id.* in *id.*

43. "The king, my lord, my god, my Sun from heaven." 235¹, Pu-addi in address.

44. "The king, my lord, my god, the Sun which is from heaven." 236¹, Pu-addi in address.

45. "King, lord, god, Sun, the Sun which is from heaven." 204¹, ⁷, Yapahī in address and line 7; 205¹, ⁹, *id.* in address and line 9; 207¹, Yitia in address; 208¹, *id.* in *id.*; 209¹, *id.* in *id.*; 210¹, *id.* in *id.*; 211¹, *id.* in *id.*; 212¹, *id.* in *id.*; 213¹, *id.* in *id.*; 217¹, Zimridi in address; 218¹, ¹⁰, Yabui-ilu in address and line 10; 224¹, Šubandi in address; 225¹, *id.* in *id.*; 226¹, *id.* in *id.*; 228⁶, *id.* to the "king, my lord, the Sun which is from heaven"; 229¹, *id.* in address; 234¹, ⁵, Pu-addi in address and line 5; 235, *id.* in *id.* and line 5; 243¹, ⁷, ²¹, Šipti in address and lines 7 and 21; 257⁹, Surašar to "the king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the Sun which is from heaven"; 269³, ? to (?).

46. "The king, my lord, the Sun which is from heaven, my god, my Sun." 227¹, Šubandu in address.

47. "The king, my lord, the breath of my life." 129¹, Ammunira in address; 131¹(?), ⁶, ⁹, ? to ?; 148⁸, Zimrida to ?.

48. "The king, my lord, my Sun, the breath of my life." 128⁴², Ammunira to "the king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life."

49. "The king, my lord, my gods, my Sun, the breath of my life." 147¹, Zimrida in address.

50. "The king, my lord, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life." 128¹, ⁶, ⁹, ¹², ³⁰, Ammunira in address and lines 6, 9, 12 and 36.

51. "King, Sun." 69³, ⁶⁶, Ribaddi to "my lord, the Sun";

78²⁹, ³⁰, *id.* to "the king, my lord, my Sun"; 80⁹, *id.* to the lord, the "king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 83²¹, ²⁸, ⁵⁷, *id.* to *id.*; 93¹, *id.* in address; 145⁶, ? to "the king, my lord"; 222¹(?), Šaba in address.

52. "The king, the Sun from heaven." 226²⁷, Šubandi to the "king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun which is from heaven."

53. "King, Sun, lord." 38¹, ²⁸, Abd-Ašratum in address and in line 28; 83⁶⁸, Ribaddi to the "lord, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle"; 121³(?), ⁸(?), ? to ?; 150⁸³, Abimilki to "the king, my lord, my Sun, my gods"; 285¹³, ¹⁴, ? to "the king, my lord."

54. "King, the Sun in the heavens (ina šami)." 50, Rev. ³³, "the king, his lord," to a man of Amurra.

55. "King, sun, god (or gods)." 151¹, Abimilki in address; 152¹(?), *id.* in address; 286⁵, ? to ?.

56. "King, Sun of heaven." ?

57. "King, breath of my life." 129¹, Ammunira in address.

58. "King of the lands, the great king." 70², Ribaddi in address.

59. "King of the lands, the great king, the king of battle." 56², Ribaddi in address; 60², *id.* in *id.*

60. "The king, the great king." 79, Rev. ¹⁵(?)* Ribaddi to "his lord, the king of the lands."

61. "The great king (šarru rabu)." 215¹⁶, Dagantakala to "the great king, my lord."

62. "The great king, my lord." 215¹, ⁵, ⁷, ¹¹, ¹⁷, ¹⁹, Dagantakala in address and lines 5, 7, 11, 17 and 19; 216⁶, ¹⁵, ¹⁸, ²², *id.* to "the great king, my lord, the Sun in heaven" (ana šami).

63. "The great king, the [king] of the lands," or "the king, the prince of the lands." 85¹, Ribaddi in address.

64. "The great king, my lord, the Sun in heaven (ana šami)." 216¹, Dagantakala in address.

65. "The great king, the king of battle." 75², Ribaddi in address.

66. "The great king, my lord, [my god and my Sun]." 48³, ? to . . . "king, my lord . . ."; 49¹, Aziri in address; 51¹, *id.* in *id.* (but the *and* is omitted).

67. "The mighty king (šarru dannu)." 104⁹⁶, Ribaddi to "the king, my lord."

68. "The great one (amelu rabu), my lord." 268¹, ³, ⁴, ¹⁰, ¹⁴, Rev. ⁷, ⁹, Subayadi(?) in address.

* The great king (šarru rabu), here referred to, may be the king of Mitanni, or the king of Nahrina, or some other.

69. "The Sun, my lord." 42^a, Aziri to "the king, my lord, my god, my sun": 53⁴, Ribaddi to the "king, my lord, the sun of the lands"; 288², 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, ? ?; 289³, 4, 7, Addu to the "king, my lord."

70. "The Sun, the king, my lord." 285^{21, 32, 36, ?} to "the king, my lord."

71. "The Sun in the heavens." 144¹⁶, Namiawaza says: "My lord is the Sun in the heavens (ina šami)."

11. (1) "K. E., Raankhkheperu, son of the Sun, Raseāakanekht-kheperu." B. B., 378 (El-Amarna). For *nekht*, Budge reads *theser* (Prisse and Petrie *ser*); for *āa*, Prisse reads *heq*, Budge and Petrie *menkh*.

(2) "Rasemenkhkatcheserkheperu." Petrie, II. 234, fig. 144 (rings).

(3) "Raankhkheperu, meri, neferkheperura." Petrie, II. 234 (ring).

(4) "Raankhkheperu, meriuaenra." Petrie, II. 234 (ring).

(5) "Raankhkheperu" alone. Petrie, II. 234 (ring).

12. (1) "K. E., Rakheperuneb, son of the Sun, Amentutankh-heqàuresu." B. B., 380 (Budge's reading *resu*, instead of the *su* of B. B., and the *Königsbuch*, is here given).

(2) "Horus of gold, . . . sehetepneteru." B. B., 380.

(3) "Kanehtutmes." B. B., 380.

(4) "The good god, lord of the two lands, Ranebkheperu, beloved of Thoth." B. B., 380.

(5) "Amenankhtutheqàuresu." B. B., 380.

(6) "Mighty bull, the horus of gold, beautiful god, lord of the two lands." Budge, IV. 143.

(7) "Lord of the land" (two lands?). Brugsch, *History*, I. 457 (from tomb of Qurnat).

(8) "The king." Brugsch, *History*, I. 457 (from tomb of Qurnat).

(9) "Amen" (also "Aten"*) "Rakheperuneb." Petrie, II. 236 (ring).

(10) "Rakheperuneb, setep-Amenra." Petrie, II. 236 (ring).

(11) "Rakheperuneb, setep-Amen" (or "Aten"*). Petrie, II. 236 (ring).

(12) "The good god, Rakheperuneb, merisahepu," *i.e.*, "beloved son of Hepu." Petrie, II. 237 (on pendant).

(13) "The good god, Rakheperuneb, giver of life, son of the Sun,

* Both *m* and *t* are inscribed on the first ring certainly (*i.e.*, on (9), and according to the figure in Petrie on (11) also).

Tutankhamenheqânres, like Ra." Petrie, II. 237 (from alabaster vase).

(14) "Rakheperunemeriaptah, lord of the two lands." Petrie, II. 238 (ring).

13. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakheperumaatari, son of the Sun, Neter-
tefâineterhequast." B. B., 384.

b. "K. E., Rakheperuarimat." B. B., 384 (Bab-el-Maluk).

(2) "H., Kanekhtthehentkhau." B. B., 384.

(3) "L. S., Sekhempehpehtersatet, *i.e.*, mighty in power smiting Asia." B. B., 384.

(4) "Horus of gold, the prince who keepeth (maketh?) the law, the creator of the two lands." B. B., 384; Budge, IV. 146.

(5) "Ra-Horus, mighty bull of saffron-colored risings." B. B., 384.

(6) "Horus of the double crown, mighty bull of the saffron-colored risings." B. B., 384.

(7) "King Rakheperuarimat." B. B., 384; Budge, IV. 147 *bis*.

(8) "Rakheperumerimatâriâapehpeh." B. B., 384.

(9) "Power doubly strong, smiter of Asia, the Horus of gold, the prince who keepeth truth, the creator of the two lands." Budge, IV. 146.

(10) "King Netertefaineterhequast." Budge, IV. 147 *bis*.

(11) "King, lord of the two lands, Rakheperuarimaat." Budge, IV. 147.

14. (1) *a.* "Ratcheserkheperusetepenra, son of the Sun, Heruemhebmeriamen." B. B., 386.

b. "Ratcheserkheperu." B. B., 386.

c. "Ratcheserkheperusetepenra." B. B., 386.

d. "Ratcheserkheperuhequastsetepra." B. B., 386.

e. "Ratcheserkheperuheqmaatsetepenra." B. B., 386.

f. "Son of the Sun, Heruemhebmerienamen." B. B., 386.

g. "Son of the Sun, Heruemhebura." B. B., 386.

(2) "H., Kanekhtseptsekheru." B. B., 386.

(3) "L. S., Urbâaitemâpt." B. B., 386.

(4) "Horus of gold, herihermaatsekhepertau, *i.e.*, resting upon truth, creating the two lands." B. B., 386.

(5) "Hor, the powerful bull, firm with hand and counsel, Lord of the double crown, great from his wonderful works in Ape, Golden Hor, who supports himself in justice, the upholder of the land, King Serkheprura, who is elected by the Sun-god, the son of Ra, Miamen Horemheb." (So titles are given by Brugsch in *History*, I. 467.)

- (6) "The king." Brugsch, *History*, I. 468, 471, 472 *bis*.
- (7) "Heru, the wise king." Brugsch, *History*, I. 470 (from temple in Ape).
- (8) "Divine benefactor." Brugsch, *History*, I. 471 (from rocks at Silsilis).
- (9) "The powerful, glorious king." Brugsch, *History*, I. 471 (from rocks at Silsilis).
- (10) "King of Egypt, Sun of the nine foreign nations." Brugsch, *History*, I. 470 (from temple in Ape).
- (11) "Holiness (majesty?)." Brugsch, *History*, I. 472 (from grave of Noferhotep at Thebes).
- (12) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, I. 473 (from Brit. Museum, No. 5624).

Princeton.

R. D. WILSON.

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I.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FROM THE STANDPOINT OF AN ENGLISH SCHOLAR.

THE second and third volumes of Sir George Otto Trevelyan's *American Revolution** are now old enough to have ceased to be classed among very recent publications; but they are still too new to have become very familiar to the general reading public. In the field of fiction the best-known book is too likely to be the latest book, and the cases are comparatively few in which a novel outlives the first season of its publication. In the more serious field of history, however, and especially in the field of very detailed history, the process is quite generally reversed, a book achieving its largest sale and its greatest reputation only after it has received the approbation of those popularly considered competent to pass judgment upon its merits.

There can be little doubt, however, that this work of Sir George Trevelyan has the qualities which will satisfy the critic, and which will also give it a permanent interest and value to the most casual reader. It is the work of a scholar and an artist, accurate and full in detail, clear and interesting in the manner of presentation. If carried out upon the present scale to cover the entire period of the Revolution, it will necessarily include at least four additional volumes, as the three volumes already published carry the story only through the battle of Princeton (January 3, 1777). If ever

* *The American Revolution*, Part II, by the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. In two volumes. Longmans, Green & Co., 91 and 93 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1904. (\$5 net.)

V.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

ARTICLE THREE. PART II.

The following pages contain the second part of the official titles and of the unofficial designations of the kings of Egypt, of which the first part appeared on pages 618-664 of the October number of this REVIEW. It may be well to remind the readers of the REVIEW that this article is the third of a series, the purpose of which is to show that the statements made by Prof. Driver with regard to the titles of the kings of Persia cannot be accepted unqualifiedly, and that the impression left by his notes and proofs on pages 545 and 546 of his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* is misleading and fallacious.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramenpeḥpeḥ, son of the Sun, Ramessu." Budge, V. 1.
 - b.* "K. E., Ramenpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 388.
 - c.* "K. E., Ramenpeḥtpeḥt." B. B., 388.
 - d.* "Son of the Sun, Ramessu." B. B., 388.
 - (2) "H., Kanekhtuatchsuteniu." B. B., 388.
 - (3) "L. S., Khaemsutenmā." B. B., 388.
 - (4) "Horus of gold, . . . emnekhti." B. B., 388.
 - (5) "The good god, Ramenpeḥpeḥ, son of the Sun, Ramessu." B. B., 388.
 - (6) "King Ramesses." B. B., 388 (Qurnah).
 - (7) "King of lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Ramenpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 388 (Cercueil Bulaq).
 - (8) "The good god, Ramenpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 388 (Ramesseum).
 - (9) "Ramenpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 388 (Qurnah).
 - (10) "Ramenpeḥtpeḥt." B. B., 388; *Kb.*, 412i.
 - (11) "Ramessu I, the great king of Egypt, the powerful." Brugsch, *History*, II. 69.
2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramaatmen, son of the Sun, Ptaḥmerienseti." B. B., 389.

- b. "K. E., Ramaahmen, heqtaui, *i.e.*, prince of the two lands." B. B., 389 (Assouan).
- c. "K. E., Ramenmaat." B. B., 389 (Karnak).
- d. "K. E., Ramenmaatāura." B. B., 389 (Redesieh).
- e. "K. E., Ramenmaattātra." B. B., 389 (Abydos).
- f. "K. E., Ramenmaatārienrameriamen." B. B., 389 (Karnak).
- g. "K. E., Ramenmaattheqàn." B. B., 389 (Abydos).
- h. "Son of the Sun, Phaḥmeriseti." B. B., 389.
- i. "S. S., Ptaḥmerenseti." B. B., 389.
- j. "S. S., Ptaḥmerieḥnamen." B. B., 389.
- k. "S. S., Amenmerienseti." B. B., 389.
- l. "S. S., Ptaḥmerienheq . . ." B. B., 389.
- m. "S. S., Merienptaḥ." B. B., 389.
- n. "S. S., Meriamenptaḥmerienseti." B. B., 389 (Karnak).
- (2) a. "H., Kanekhtkhaemuastseankhtau." B. B., 389.
- b. "H., Kanekhtseankhtau." B. B., 389.
- c. "H., Kanekhtkhaemuast." B. B., 389.
- d. "H., Kanekhtmātetmenth." B. B., 389.
- e. "H., Kaṭerssetiemtinekhtf." B. B., 389.
- f. "H., Kanekhtsatemu." B. B., 389.
- g. "H., Kaenramerimaat." B. B., 389.
- h. "H., Kanekhtthetepḥermaat." B. B., 389.
- i. "H., Kanekhtuḥemmestu." B. B., 389.
- j. "H., Kanekhtsekhemkhepesh." B. B., 389.
- k. "H., Kanekhtternekhtpetpaut." B. B., 389.
- l. "H., Kanekhtuḥemsekhti." B. B., 389.
- m. "H., Kanekhtuserpetu." B. B., 389.
- n. "H., Kanekhtpetpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 389.
- o. "H., Kanekhtuserpetpaut." B. B., 389.
- p. "H., Kanekhtuḥemkhau." B. B., 389.
- q. "H., Kanekhtsekhemmaat." B. B., 389.
- r. "H., Kanekhtuḥemmesti." B. B., 389.
- s. "H., Kanekhtsekhempeḥpeḥnekht." B. B., 389.
- t. "H., Kanekhtākhepesh." B. B., 389.
- u. "H., Kanekhtkhakhau." B. B., 389.
- v. "H., Kanekhtuḥem." B. B., 389.
- (3) a. "L. S., Uḥemmestusekhemṭerpetpaut." B. B., 389.
- b. "L. S., Uḥemmestukherpṭerpetpaut." B. B., 389.
- c. "L. S., Uḥemmestukherpemnekht, Khepeshṭerpetpaut." B. B., 389 (Abydos).
- d. "L. S., Uḥemmestuuserpetu." B. B., 389.
- e. "L. S., Kherppeḥpeḥterpetpaut." B. B., 389.

- f. "L. S., Menenmentchettaḥ." B. B., 389.
- g. "L. S., Menthu."
- (4) a. "Horus of gold, Uḥemkhauserpētuemtaiunebu." B. B., 389.
- b. "Horus of gold, Userpetuemtaiunebu." B. B., 389.
- c. "H. G., Meriraseāarenkaf." B. B., 389.
- d. "H. G., Seḥetepramerertefu." B. B., 389.
- e. "H. G., Kherpneterenkheperà." B. B., 389.
- (5) a. "Lord of the two lands, Ramenmaat." B. B., 389 (Karnak).
- b. "Lord of the two lands, Ramenmaat, hequast." B. B., 389 (Abydos).
- c. "Lord of the two lands, Ramenmaatsetepira." B. B., 389 (Qurnah).
- d. "Lord of the two lands, Ramenmaatàrienra." B. B., 389 (Qurnah).
- e. "Lord of the two lands, Ramenmaat, tàtra, meri Amen." B. B., 389 (Karnak).
- (6) "Ramenmaat." B. B., 389 (Cercueil Bulaq).
- (7) "Ramenmaatmeriptaḥ." B. B., 389 (Karnak).
- (8) "Setimerienamen." B. B., 389 (Karnak).
- (9) "Merenptah." B. B., 389 (Abydos); Brugsch, II. 36, 39.
- (10) "The king." Brugsch, *History*, II. 12, 13, 14, 16 bis, 18, 20, 21 bis, 22, 31.
- (11) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, II. 13, 14, 15, 21, 22.
- (12) "King Seti(?)." Brugsch, *History*, II. 13 bis, 31 bis, 38.
- "King Seti the First(?)." Brugsch, *History*, II. 34, 83.
- (13) "Holiness (majesty)." Brugsch, *History*, II. 13, 21.
- (14) "Divine benefactor." Brugsch, *History*, II. 18, 22.
- (15) "Sun of Egypt and the moon of all other lands." Budge, V. 7.
- (16) "King of Kemi, sun of the nine peoples." Brugsch, *History*, II. 22.
- (17) "King Mineptah." Brugsch, *History*, II. 28.
- (18) "Subduer of the Menti." Budge, V. 6.
- (19) "Stabliher of monuments." Budge, V. 6.
- (20) "Seti." Brugsch, *History*, II. 35, 36.
- (21) "Lord of the land." Brugsch, *History*, II. 17, 24(?).
- (22) "Lord of all." Brugsch, *History*, II. 36.
- (23) "The heavenly(?) Menepthah." Brugsch, *History*, II. 38.
- (24) "His (Ramses) father Menepthah." Brugsch, *History*, II.

(25) "His (Ramses) father Seti, the First." Brugsch, *History*, II. 34.

(26) "His (Ramses) father, King Seti, the First." Brugsch, *History*, II. 40.

(27) "King Menepthah Seti." Brugsch, *History*, II. 113.

(28) "King Seti Menepthah." Brugsch, *History*, II. 132.

(29) "King Menepthah, the First, Seti the First." Brugsch, *History*, II. 79.

(30) "The great prince of Egypt." Brugsch, *History*, II. 69.

(31) "Menepthah Seti, the great prince of Egypt." Brugsch, *History*, II. 69.

(32) "His (Ramses) father, the Osiris king, Seti." Brugsch, *History*, II. 40.

20. "Bull of Ra, beloved of Maat, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, who brings to an end the power of the foreign nations, smiter of the Menti, Horus of gold, beloved of Maat, making great the name of his *ka*, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramenmaat, filling On with obelisks," etc. Budge, V. 61 (from the Flaminian obelisk).

21. "Bull, destroying the foreign nations by his power, L. S., stablisher of monuments for ever and ever, Horus of gold, who giveth peace, beloved of his father Ra, K. E., Ramenmaat," etc. *Id.*

3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramesesmeriamen." B. B., 444.

b. "K. E., Rausermaat." B. B., 444.

c. "K. E., the good god of life, Rausermaat." B. B., 444.

d. "K. E., Rausermaattatra." B. B., 444.

e. "K. E., Rausermaatmerira." B. B., 444.

f. "K. E., Rausermaatāura." B. B., 444.

g. "K. E., Rausermaatthequast." B. B., 444.

h. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenra." B. B., 444.

i. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenrameriamen." B. B., 444.

j. "Son of the Sun, Ramesesmeriamen." B. B., 444.

k. "K. E., Rausermaat, son of the Sun, Ramessumeriamen." B. B., 444; *Kb.* 420^{r111}.

l. "Son of the Sun, Ramessumeriamen." B. B., 444; *Kb.*, 420^{u111}.

m. "Son of the Sun, Ramesesheqnetērāumeriseti." B. B., 444; *Kb.*, 420 *m*¹¹¹.

n. "Son of the Sun, Ramesesmeriseti." B. B., 444; *Kb.*, 420ⁿ¹¹¹.

(2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtmerimaat." B. B., 444.

- b. "H., Kanekhtmàkemt." B. B., 444.
 c. "H., Kanekhtrenputḥefnu." B. B., 444.
 d. "H., Kanekhtseḳuast." B. B., 444 (Luxor).
 e. "H., Kanekhtsaseti." B. B., 444.
 f. "H., Kanekhtmerira." B. B., 444.
 g. "H., Kanekhtsatemu." B. B., 444.
 h. "H., Kanekhtsaamen." B. B., 444.
 i. "H., Kanekhtsakheper." B. B., 444.
 j. "H., Kanekhturpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 444.
 k. "H., Kanekhtuserpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 444.
 l. "H., Kanekhtmenàbkherppeḥtpeḥt." B. B., 444; *Kb.*, 420v.
 m. "H., Kanekhtābaḥerkhepesḥf." B. B., 444.
 n. "H., Kanekhtenraseṯnekhtsatetti." B. B., 444.
 o. "H., Kanekhturḥebumeritai." B. B., 444.
 p. "H., Kanekhturnekhtiābaḥerkhepesḥf." B. B., 444.
 q. "H., Kanekhtuserrenputḥefnu." B. B., 444.
 r. "H., Kanekhtuserrenput." B. B., 444.
 s. "H., Kanekhtthesmaat." B. B., 444.
 t. "H., Kanekhtusermaat." B. B., 444.
 u. "H., Kanekhtmerimaatneḥebumàteḥptaḥtatuenen." B. B., 444.
 v. "H., Kanekhtmerimaatmenthuensuteniukaenhequurpeḥti-màteḥsetiemnubti." B. B., 444.
 w. "H., Kanekhtmerimaathebuḥerkenihernekht." B. B., 444.
 (3) a. "L. S., Māqemtuāfsemti." B. B., 444.
 b. "L. S., Uāfsemtimāqemt." B. B., 444.
 c. "L. S., Māqemtuāframesneteruḳerḳṯtai." B. B., 444.
 d. "L. S., Maqemtuāfsemtiramesneteruḳerḳṯtai." B. B., 444.
 e. "L. S., Ābaenḥeḥusekhemàb." B. B., 444.
 f. "L. S., Seshepneterenkheperà." B. B., 444.
 g. "L. S., Sekherpeḥsutenànpeḥuita." B. B., 444.
 h. "L. S., Ursheftmāqemt." B. B., 444.
 i. "L. S., Semenkhmenemsutenàpttefamentasu," etc. B. B., 444.
 j. "L. S., Māqemtuāfsemtiàriurusenemànusmaemàusetusenu." B. B., 444.
 k. "L. S., Māqemtuāfsemtinebsent . . . shefiemtaiunebuàritanekshemtemunṯataenkhetabaref." B. B., 444.
 l. "L. S., Māqemtuāfsemtiànusen . . . retamertraiu." B. B., 444.
 (4) a. "Horus of gold, Userrenputānekhti." B. B., 444.
 b. "H. G., Userkhepesmerita." B. B., 444.

- c. "H. G., Hēhikhuenmeses." B. B., 444.
- d. "H. G., Userrenputāanekhtiramesneteruḳerḳtaui." B. B., 444.
- e. "H. G., Uāfsemtirenekhtbeshtu." B. B., 444.
- f. "H. G., Urfāutukherppehēh." B. B., 444.
- g. "H. G., Urnekhtuāfhrasemtnebt." B. B., 444.
- h. "H. G., Userrenputāanekhtāntcherupeḥuutahràhēhiābaseḥen-seneferrensekhnāusemti." B. B., 444.
- i. "H. G., Userrenputḥefnuāanekhtūāuretaiturusen . . . aḥa . . ." B. B., 444.
- (5) "Lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenra." B. B., 444.
- (6) "Lord of the land, Rameses." B. B., 444.
- (7) a. "Lord of risings (or crowns) Ramesesmeriseti." B. B., 444.
- b. "Lord of the risings, Ramessesmeriamen, neterheqàn." B. B., 444.
- c. "Lord of the risings, Ramessesmeriamen." B. B., 444.
- (8) a. "Heru-Ra, Kanekhtkhaemuastseankhtau." B. B., 444.
- b. "Heru-Ra, Kanekhtuāfsemti." B. B., 444.
- (9) "The Sun, Rausermaat." B. B., 444.
- (10) "The good god, lord of the land, Rausermaat." B. B., 444.
- (11) "Rausermaatsetepenrakhnemetuast." B. B., 444.
- (12) "Ramessespaneterāa." B. B., 444.
- (13) "Amen-Ramessesneterāanebpet." B. B., 444.
- (14) "Rausermaatsetepenra-Ramessesmeriamen." B. B., 444.
- (15) "Meriamen." B. B., 444.
- (16) "Rausermaatsetepenra." B. B., 444.
- (17) "Ramessesmeriamen." B. B., 444; Brugsch, *History*, II. 54, 57, 62 bis, 69 bis, 72, 96.
- (18) "Ramessumeriamenneterheqānnu." B. B., 444.
- (19) "Rauserramessumeriamen." B. B., 444.
- (20) "Rausermaatsetepenraankhḥensenbmeriamen." B. B., 444.
- (21) "Sesetsumeriamen." B. B., 444.
- (22) "Setesu." B. B., 444.
- (23) "Sesetsu." B. B., 444.
- (24) "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, master of Egypt, conqueror of foreign countries, Horus of gold, mighty one of years, great of strength." Budge, V. 22.
- (25) "His majesty of Horus, the mighty bull, beloved of Maat, the king of the South and North, Rausermaatsetepenra, the son of the Sun, Ramessu, beloved of Amen, the giver of life for ever." Budge, V. 30.

(26) "Majesty, or holiness (ḥen)." Budge, V. 30 six times, 32 eight times, 34 *bis*, 36 ten times; Brugsch, *History*, II. 94, 83.

(27) "Lord." Budge, V. 30.

(28) "King." Budge, V. 32; Brugsch, *History*, II. 34 *bis*, 35 six times, 38 *ter*, 39 four times, 48, 50 *bis*, 58 five times, 60 *ter*, 61 four times, 62 five times, 63 *bis*, 64, 67 *bis*, 68, 81 *ter*, 82 *bis*, 83 *bis*, 84 *bis*, 95.

(29) "Rausermaatsetepenra, giver of life for ever." Budge, V. 41.

(30) "Mighty bull, the son of Seti, Ramesesmaat-neteru, possessor of the lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, Horus of gold, User renput, great in power, lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, son of creation(?) for ever (Kheperà tchetta)." Budge, V. 61 (on the Flaminian obelisk at Rome).

(31) "Mighty bull, beloved of Maat, lord of festivals, like his father Ptah, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, possessor of Egypt, who makes an end of the power of the foreign nations, lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, son of Kheperà, giver of life." (Same as last.)

(32) "Mighty bull, son of Amen, lord of the shrines, etc., possessor of Egypt, who makes an end of the power of foreign nations, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, placing before thee(?) in On the monuments(?) of his kingdom, lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, giving life for ever." *Id.*

(33) "Mighty bull, beloved of Maat, lord of festivals, like his father Ptah, K. E., son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, L. S., child(?) of the gods, builder of their temples, lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriamen, giving life, like Ra." *Id.*

(34) "Lord of the land(?)." Brugsch, *History*, II. 34, 35, 37.

(35) "The conquering king, Ramses II." Brugsch, *History*, II. 34.

(36) "Ramses Miamun, the conqueror." *Id.*, II. 84.

(37) "Ramessu, the conqueror." *Id.*, II. 35.

(38) "The conqueror." *Id.*, II. 33.

(39) "Divine benefactor." *Id.*, II. 35, 49 *bis*, 81.

(40) "King Menepthah Seti II." *Id.*, II. 94.

(41) "King Ramses, the Second." *Id.*, II. 28, 40 *bis*, 46, 50, 85, 86, 113.

- (42) "King Ramses Miamun." 53, 54 *bis*, 55, 61, 98, 58, 68, 69 *bis*.
- (43) "King Ramses." *Id.*, 42 *bis*.
- (44) "Ramses, the Second, friend of Amen." *Id.*, 113.
- (45) "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt." *Id.*, II. 39.
- (46) "The great prince of Egypt." *Id.*, 69 *bis*.
- (47) "Ramessu Miamun, the great prince of Egypt." *Id.*, 69, 70 six times, 71 eleven times, 73 four times, 74 *bis*.
- (48) "Great lord, our king." *Id.*, 62.
- (49) "The great prince of Egypt, Ramessu Miamun." *Id.*, 72.
- (50) "The mighty king." *Id.*, 62.
- (51) "Brave king." *Id.*, 58.
- (52) "Lord of both the worlds." *Id.*, 62.
- (53) "The good king." *Id.*, 49.
- (54) "The noble lord and ruler of Egypt." *Id.*, 56.
- (55) "Lord of the two crowns of Hor and of Set." *Id.*, 80.
- (56) "Gracious lord." *Id.*, 58.
- (57) "Guardian of the Egyptians in the day of battle." *Id.*, 58
- (58) "Ra-Hormakhu." *Id.*, 61.
- (59) "Sutekh, the glorious, son of Mut, Baal in his time." *Id.*, 61.
- (60) "The holiness (or majesty) of the royal house, the Sun-Horus, the mighty Bull, who loves justice, the great lord, the protector of his people, the brave with his arm, the rampart of his life-guards in the day of battle, the king Ramses Miamun." *Id.*, 61.
- (61) "King Ramessu-Miamun, the god of war, Monthu upon earth." *Id.*, 97.
- (62) "The brave and bold conqueror of the nations, of the highest valor in the field of battle, firm on horseback, and glorious on his chariot, whom none can escape, when he seizes his bow and arrows." *Id.*, 49.
- (63) "Pharaoh." *Id.*, 36, 46, 47 *bis*, 48, 50 twelve times, 51 thirteen times, 52 *ter*, 55 six times, 56, 58, 61, 62 *bis*, 63, 66, 69 *bis*, 109.
- (64) "Ramessu Miamun, the bull among the princes." *Id.*, 69.
- (65) "Ramessu Miamun, the great prince of Egypt, the powerful, the son of Mineptah Seti, the great prince of Egypt, the powerful, the son of the son of Ramessu I, the great king of Egypt, the powerful." *Id.*, 69.
- (66) "Pharaoh, my gracious lord, the beautiful son of Ra-Hormakhu." *Id.*, 61.
- (67) "King Ramessu Miamun, the dispenser of life eternally and for ever." *Id.*, 68, 69, 81.

(68) "King Ramessu Miamun, dispenser of life for ever and ever, the friend of the Theban Amon-Ra of Api." *Id.*, 80.

(69) "The lord of heaven, lord of the earth, sun, life of the whole world, lord of time, measurer of the course of the sun, Tum for men, lord of prosperity, creator of the harvest, fashioner and former of mortals, dispenser of breath to all men; animator of the whole company of the gods, pillar of heaven, threshold of the earth, weigher of the balance of the two worlds, lord of rich gifts, increaser of the corn, at whose feet the Ranen waits; thou former of the great, creator of the small, whose words engender the most splendid abundance; thou who watchest when other men rest, whose strength overshadows Egypt, conqueror of the foreigners, who hast returned home victorious; whose arm protects the Egyptians, who loves justice, in which he lives by his laws; protector of the land, rich in years, the conqueror whose terror has stricken down the foreigners; thou our lord, our Sun, by whose words out of his mouth Tum lives." *Id.*, 35.

4. (1) *a.* "K. E., Baramerenamen, son of the Sun, Merenptahhetephermaat." B. B., 497.

b. "K. E., Baramerenamen." B. B., 497.

c. "K. E., Baramerenneteru." B. B., 497.

d. "K. E., Baramerienamen." B. B., 497.

e. "Son of the Sun, Merenptahhetepen-Maat." B. B., 497.

(2) *a.* "H., Kanekhthatemmaat." B. B., 497.

b. "H., Kanekhtthæmmaathensuenraemkherthru." B. B., 497.

(3) *a.* "L. S., Khamâptahemkhenhefnu." B. B., 497.

b. "L.S., Khaemptahemkhenhefnuresemenhepuneferuemnekhti." B. B., 497.

(4) "Horus of gold, āakhepeshhusatetti."

(5) "Horus-Ra, Kanekhtthaiemmaathensuenhruemkherthru." B. B., 497.

(6) "Lord of the risings (or crowns), Merenptahhetepenmaat." B. B., 497.

(7) "Baenra." B. B., 497 (scarab).

(8) "Baenrameriamen." B. B., 497 (scarab); Brugsch, *History*, II. 127.

(9) "Merenptahhetephumaat." (See 20 below). B. B., 497 (scarab).

(10) "Soul of Ra, beloved of Amen, he who resteth on Maat, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, the Horus of gold, the lord of risings." Budge, V. 97.

(11) "King." Brugsch, *History*, II, 116, 117, 118 *bis*, 119, 120 *bis*.

(12) "King Mineptah." *Id.*, II, 117, 119, 121.

(13) "Majesty." *Id.*, II, 118, 119, 120 *ter*, 121.

(14) "Lord." *Id.*, II, 118.

(15) "Shepherd." *Id.*, II, 118.

(16) "King of the country." *Id.*, II, 119.

(17) "Pharaoh." *Id.*, II, 119 *bis*.

(18) "Mineptah." *Id.*, II, 121.

(19) "The annihilator of the Thehenu." *Id.*, II, 121.

(20) "Mineptah-Hotephima." *Id.*, II, 126 *bis*, 127, 128 *ter*.

(See (9) above.)

5. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramenmâsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramesseshequast." B. B., 501.

b. "K. E., Rainenmâsetepenrameriamen." B. B., 501.

c. "Son of the Sun, Ramesseshequastmeriamen." B. B., 501.

(2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtmerimaatsementau." B. B., 501.

b. "H., Nebhebumâamen." B. B., 501.

c. "H., Kanekhturpeḥpeḥmâamen." B. B., 501.

(3) "L. S., Urbâaiuemâpt." B. B., 501.

(4) "Heru-Ra, Kanekhtmeriamensemen [Lord of the shrine, etc.] . . . emâpt." B. B., 501.

(5) "Beautiful god, son of Amen, divine essence coming forth from his members, august child of Ḥerâ(?), set apart for fair sovereignty in the North land." Budge, V. 138 (from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, pl. 201c).

6. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rauserkheperumeriamen, son of the Sun Merenptahseti." B. B., 504.

b. "K. E., Rauserkheperumeriamen." B. B., 504.

c. "K. E., Rauserkheperuensetepenra, son of the Sun, Setimerenptah." B. B., 504 (Pap. Anast. 6).

d. "K. E., Rauserkheperusetepenra." B. B., 504.

e. "K. E., Rauserkheperutâtenra." B. B., 504.

f. "Son of the Sun, Merenptahmeriamen." B. B., 504.

g. "Son of the Sun, Merenptahsetimeriamen." B. B., 504.

(2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtmerira." B. B., 504.

b. "H., Kanekhtmerirasaamen." B. B., 504.

c. "H., Kanekhtmerirase(?)ntau." B. B., 504.

(3) "L. S., Mâqemtuâfsemti." B. B., 504.

(4) "Horus of gold, Āanekhtuemtaiunebu." B. B., 504.

(5) *a.* "King Rauserkheperumerenamen." B. B., 504.

b. "King Rauserkheperumeramen." B. B., 504.

- (6) "Rauserkheperumeramen." B. B., 504.
 (7) "Rauserkhepersetepenra." B. B., 504.
 (8) "Rauserkhepermaat." B. B., 504. (scarab).
 (9) "Rauserkheperusetepenrameriamen." B. B., 504.
 (10) "Setimerptaḥ." B. B., 504.
 (11) "Beloved of Set." Budge, V. 133.
7. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakhuensetepenra, son of the Sun, Merenptaḥ-saptaḥ." B. B., 507.
b. "K. E., Rakhuensetepenra." B. B., 507.
c. "K. E., Rakhuàrimaatsetepenra." B. B., 507.
d. "K. E., Khura." B. B., 507.
e. "Son of the Sun, Merenptaḥsaptaḥ." B. B., 507.
f. "Son of the Sun, Merienptaḥsaptaḥ." B. B., 507.
 (2) "H., Khaembàt." B. B., 507.
 (3) "King." Budge, V. 14 *bis*.
8. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rauserkhausetepenrameramen, son of the Sun, Setnekhtmererrameriamen." B. B., 511.
b. "K. E., Rauserkhausetepenrameramen." B. B., 511.
c. "K. E., Rauserkhausetepenra." B. B., 511.
d. "K. E., Rauserkhaumeramen." B. B., 511.
e. "Son of the Sun, Setnekhtmererrameramen." B. B., 511.
f. "Son of the Sun, Setnekhtmereramenra." B. B., 511.
 (2) "H., Kanekhturpeḥpeḥ." B. B., 511.
 (3) *a.* "Lord of risings (or crowns), Setnekhtmereramenra." B. B., 511.
b. "Lord of risings, Setnekhtmererrameramen." B. B., 511.
 (4) "Sovereign prince of the two lands." Budge, V. 146.
 (5) "My father." So designated by Ramses III. See Brugsch, II. 138.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rausermaatmeramen, son of the Sun, Ramessesheqan." B. B., 513.
b. "K. E., Rausermaatmeramen." B. B., 513.
c. "Son of the Sun, Ramessesheqàn." B. B., 513.
 (2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtāasuteniu." B. B., 513.
b. "H., Kanekhtmermaatsementaiu." B. B., 513.
c. "H., Kanekhtrepeḥtinekhtḥràkhepeshtatti." B. B., 513.
d. "H., Kanekhtsusekhqemtusermaatnekhtḥràsemäem . . . nekhtthuhennu." B. B., 513.
 (3) *a.* "L. S., Urḥebumààmen." B. B., 513.
b. "L. S., Urḥebumàtathenen." B. B., 513.

- c. "L. S., Urḥebumàtetamen." B. B., 513.
- d. "L. S., Usernekhtpeḥtimàatefementu." B. B., 513.
- (4) a. "Horus of gold, Userrenputmàraathimaqemuāfnekhtsemti." B. B., 513.
- b. "Horus of gold, Userrenputmàtemuàthimaqemtuāfnekhtsemti." B. B., 513.
- c. "H. G., Userrenputmàamenàthimaqemtuāfsemti." B. B., 513.
- d. "H. G., Userrenputmàraàthimaqemtuāfnekhtsemti." B. B., 513.
- e. "H. G., Qennebkhepeshuiàretsh . . . merf." B. B., 513.
- (5) "Heru-Ra, Kanekhtāasuteniu." B. B., 513.
- (6) "Rausermeràmen." B. B., 513.
- (7) "Ramessesḥeqan." B. B., 513.
- (8) "Lord of the two lands (neb tau)." Budge, V. 149.
- (9) "Ruler of the two lands (life, health, strength), Heq-ankh-utcha-senb-tau." Budge, V. 149.
- (10) "Great chief mouth of the land of Qemt and ruler of the whole country." Budge, V. 149.
- (11) "The king." Budge, V. 155, 156; Brugsch, *History*, 141.
- (12) "Majesty." Budge, V. 155, 156 *ter*; Brugsch, *History*, 145.
- (13) "Lord of Egypt." Budge, V. 156 (compare (8) above).
- (14) "Lord." Brugsch, *History*, 159 *ter*, 160, 161 *bis*.
- (15) "Rameses." Budge, V. 156 *bis*.
- (16) "Lord, the king." Budge, V. 175.
- (17) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, II. 140, 150 *bis*.
- (18) "Rameses III, the great god, his lord." Brugsch, *History*, 163.
- (19) "Ramses, the god." Brugsch, *History*, II. 139.
- (20) "King, Rausermaatmeriamen, life, health, strength, the great god (pa neter āa)." Brugsch, *History*, 137; Harris Papyrus, LXXV. 1.
- (21) "King and lord of the land, Rausermaatmeriamen, the son of Ra, the lord of the crowns, Ramses-heqan, the friend of all the gods, the dispenser of life for ever and ever." Brugsch, *History*, II. 144.
2. (1) a. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenàmen, son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriàmenraḥeqmaat." B. B., 528.
- b. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenàmen." B. B., 528.
- c. "K. E., Rausersetepenàmen." B. B., 528.
- d. "K. E., Heqrasetepenàmen." B. B., 528.
- e. "K. E., Raheqmaatsetepenàmen." B. B., 528.

- f.* "K. E., Ramaat." B. B., 528.
- g.* "K. E., Heqmaat-Ramaatsetepenàmen." B. B., 528.
- h.* "Son of the Sun, Ramessesmeriàmeneqmaat." B. B., 528.
- i.* "S. S., Ramessesmaatmeriàmendra." B. B., 528.
- j.* "S. S., Ramessesmaatmeriàmen." B. B., 528.
- k.* "S. S., Ramesses." B. B., 528.
- l.* "S. S., Nebkhaueqmaat, Ramessesmeriameneq." B. B., 528.
- (2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtankhemmaatnebhebumàtefefptahtathenen." B. B., 528.
- b.* "H., Kanekhtankhmaat." B. B., 528.
- c.* "H., Kaankhemmaat." B. B., 528.
- d.* "H., Kanekhteruenqemt." B. B., 528.
- e.* "H., Kanekhtpehtemàamen." B. B., 528.
- (3) *a.* "L. S., Maqemtuâuapetpaut." B. B., 528.
- b.* "L. S., Maqemtuâfpetpaut." B. B., 528.
- (4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Userrenputurnekhtiathimesneterusekhepertiaui." B. B., 528.
- b.* "H. G., Userrenputurnekhtiàthimestuneturusekhepertiaui." B. B., 528.
- (5) *a.* "Heru-Ra, Kanekhtankhemmaatnebhebumàâtefefptahtathenen." B. B., 528.
- b.* "Heru-Ra, Kanekhtankhmaatnebhebumàtefefptahtathenen." B. B., 528.
- (6) *a.* "Lord of the lands, Raheqmaat." B. B., 528.
- b.* "Lord of the lands, Raheqmaatsetepenra." B. B., 528.
- (7) "King Raheqmaatsetepenàmen." B. B., 528.
- (8) "The king." Brugsch, *History*, 168, 169 *bis*.
- (9) "Pharaoh." *Id.*, 169.
- (10) "King Ramessu(?)." *Id.*, 169.
- (11) "King Ramessu, dispenser of life for ever." *Id.*, 170.
3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rausermaatsekheperenra, son of the Sun, Ramesesefàmeneriàmendra." B. B., 529.
- b.* "Son of the Sun, Ramesesefimeriàmeneqàmendra." B. B., 529.
- (2) "H., Kanekhtmaatàmendra." B. B., 528.
- (3) "Rausermaatsekheperenra." B. B., 528.
- (4) "Usermaatkheperen." B. B., 528.
4. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramaatnebmeràmendra, son of the Sun, Ramesesàmenneterheqàn." B. B., 530.
- b.* "K. E., Ramaatnebamendra." B. B., 530.
- c.* "K. E. Ramaatmeramendra." B. B., 530.
- d.* "K. E., Rameramennebāshtkau." B. B., 530.
- e.* "Son of the Sun, Ramessesàmenehràkhepeshfneterheqànna." B. B., 530.

- f.* "S. S., Ramessesmaat." B. B., 530.
- g.* "S. S., Ramessesamenneterheqànnu." B. B., 530.
- (2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtānekhtūseankhtauī." B. B., 530.
- b.* "H., Kanekhtānekhtu." B. B., 530.
- (3) *a.* "L. S., Usermaatheṭathiu(?)." B. B., 530.
- b.* "L. S., Usermaatheṭhefru." B. B., 530.
- (4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Userrenputmāta-thenenathinebḥabumā-kīqemt." B. B., 530.
- b.* "H. G., Userrenputmāathinebḥebumākqemtmeḥtanebemmen-uruḥrāruf." B. B., 530.
- (5) "Ramessesmerāmenraneterheqān." B. B., 530.
- (6) "Pharaoh." Brugsch, *History*, II. 174 four times, 175.
- (7) "The king." *Id.*, 174 *bis*.
- (8) "King Ramessu VI(?)." *Id.*, 174.
5. (1) "K. E., Rausermaatāmenmerisetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramessestaāmenneterheqān." B. B., 534.
- (2) "H., Kanekhtānemsuten." B. B., 534.
- (3) *a.* "L. S., Mākqemtuāfpetpaut." B. B., 534.
- b.* "L. S., Mākqemtuāfpet." B. B., 534.
- (4) "Horus of gold, Userrenputmāraāthiurḥebumāāmenrasuten-neteru." B. B., 534.
6. *a.* "K. E., Rausermaatkhuenāmen, son of the Sun, Ramesses-merāmenseti." B. B., 535.
- b.* "K. E., Rausermaatkhuenāmen, son of the Sun, Ramesses-amenmeramen." B. B., 535; Budge, V. 195.
7. "Lord of the land, Sekhaenramerāmen, lord of the risings (or crowns), Ramessessaptaḥ." B. B., 537.
8. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raneferhasetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramesses-mererāmenkhauast." B. B., 538.
- b.* Same as last, except *kau* for *ka*, and omits *kha*. B. B., 538.
- c.* "K. E., Raneferkasetepenra." B. B., 538.
- d.* "K. E., Raneferkausetepenra." B. B., 538.
- e.* "Son of the Sun, Ramessesmererāmenkhauast." B. B., 538.
- j.* "S. S., Ramessesmeriāmenkhamaatuast." B. B., 538.
- (2) "H., Kanekhtkhaemuast." B. B., 538.
- (3) "L. S., Usermaatseankhtauī." B. B., 538.
- (4) "Horus of gold, Userrenputmātanemathiursuteniutṭerpet-paut." B. B., 538.
- (5) "Ḥeru-Ra, Kanekhtkhaemuast." B. B., 538.
- (6) "Lord of creatures, Raneferkasetepenra." B. B., 538.
- (7) "The king." Brugsch, *History*. II. 179, 180.
- (8) "King Ramessu IX (X)." 179.

(9) "Ramessu IX (X), the great king of Egypt, the son and friend of all the gods." *Id.*, 180.

(10) "Pharaoh." *Id.*, 179 *ter*, 180, 181.

(11) "Pharaoh, his (thy) lord." 180 *ter*.

(12) "Lord, the Pharaoh." 182.

9. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakhepermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramessu[meri]âmen." Budge, V. 210.

b. "K. E., Rakheperenmaatsetepenra." B. B., 543.

c. "Son of the Sun, Ramessesâmenmerfmaat." B. B., 543.

d. "S. S., Ramessesâmenmerimaat." B. B., 543.

(2) *a.* "H., Kanekhtsekhara." B. B., 543.

b. "H., Kanekhtsekhâenra." B. B., 543.

(3) "L. S., āa" B. B., 543.

(4) "Lord of the land, Rakhepermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramessesâmen." B. B., 543.

(5) "King Rakhepermaatsetepenra." B. B., 543.

(6) "Ramessesâmenhrâkhepesf." B. B., 543.

10. (1) *a.* "K. E., Usermaatrasetepenra, son of the Sun, Ramesseriâmen." B. B., 544.*

b. "K. E., Usermaatrasetepen[ra]." B. B., 544.

c. "K. E., Usermaatenrasetepenra." B. B., 544.

(2) "H., Kanekhttutkhautetsuteniumâtemuneter." B. B., 544.

(3) "Horus of gold, Usermaatkhepeshterpetpaut." B. B., 544.

(4) "The king." Brugsch, *History*, 184 *bis*.

(5) "Pharaoh." *Id.*, 184 twelve times, 185 ten times.

(6) "Majesty." *Id.*, 185.

(7) "Sun of the nations." *Id.*, 184.

(8) "The great lord." *Id.*, 184.

(9) "Great lord and ruler." *Id.*, 185.

(10) "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Miamun Ramessu." *Id.*, 185.

(11) "King Miamun Ramessu." *Id.*, 186.

(12) "Dispenser of life to-day and for ever." *Id.*, 187.

11. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramenmaatsetepenptaḥ, son of the Sun, Ramessesmerâmenkhauastneterheqân." B. B., 546.

b. "K. E., Ramenmaatsetepenptaḥ." B. B., 546.

c. "K. E., Lord of the two lands, Ramenmaatsetepenptaḥ." B. B., 546.

d. "Son of the Sun, Ramerâmenemuastneterheqân." B. B., 546.

* Prof. Erman, Dr. Budge and the note in B. B. all state that the monuments of this king ought to be restored to Ramesses III, to whom they really belong. For the sake of convenience, following B. B., they are placed here under the so-called Ramesses XII.

e. "Son of the Sun, Ramessesmereràménkhauastneterheqàn." B. B., 546.

f. "Son of the Sun, lord of risings (or crowns), Ramessesmereràménkhauastneterheqàn." B. B., 546.

(2) "H., Kanekhtmerira." B. B., 546.

(3) "L. S., Usermaatthetefnu."

(4) "Horus of gold, Urpehtseankhtaiuiathiankhutchasenbheràbmaatseheteptau." B. B., 546.

(5) "Lord of the two lands, Ramenmaatsetepenra." B. B., 546.

(6) "Ramesseskhaemuastmereràmenneterheqànnu." B. B., 546.

(7) "Ra, Ramesseskhauastmererneterheqàn." B. B., 546.

(8) "King." Brugsch, *History*, II. 189.

(9) "Pharaoh." *Id.*, 189 *bis*.

(10) "Pharaoh, his lord." *Id.*, 189 *bis*, (thy) once.

A.—THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY: TANIS.

1. (1) "The good god, lord of the two lands, Rahechkheper-setepenra, son of the Sun, Amenmernesba, tettefet." Budge, VI. 1.

(2) "His majesty." *Id.*, 3.

2. (1) a. "K. E., Raneterkhepersetepenàmen, son of the Sun, Meriàmensara." B. B., 559.

b. "Son of the Sun, Meriàmensaàmen." B. B., 559.

(2) "H., Kanekhtmerimaat." Budge, VI. 9.

3. (1) "K. E., Raākhepersetepenàmen, son of the Sun, Paseb-kannumeriàmen." B. B., 560.

(2) "H., Kanekhtemtaàmen." B. B., 560.

4. "K. E., Raāaseh, son of the Sun, ? ? ?" B. B., 562.

5. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Rasetepenàmen,* son of the Sun, lord of risings (or crowns), Meriàmen, Àmenemap." B. B., 563.

5 and 6 have empty cartouches in B. B.

7. "K. E., Heqhetch . . . , † son of the Sun, Meriàménherupe-sebkhanu." B. B., 566.

B.—THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY: THEBES.

1. (1) "K. E., Neterhentepenàmen, son of the Sun, Saàmenherheru." B. B., 568.

(2) a. "H., Kaneklitsaàmen." B. B., 568.

b. "H., Kaneklitsaàmenurkhuemàpt." B. B., 568.

(3) "L. S., Sehetepneteru." B. B., 568.

*Budge supplies *usermaat* after *Ra*.

† Budge supplies *Ra* before *Heq*.

(4) "Horus of gold, Khuemàpt."

(5) "Ankhneternefersaàmen, lord of the lands, lord of the risings (or crowns), Neterhētēpenàmen, Saàmenherheru." B. B., 568.

(6) "Neterhētēpenàmenra, sutenneteru, mermenfitu, urrentau, hāutiherheru." B. B., 568.

(7) "Erpaḥāmerkatenmenneb, enḥenfkherptau, neterhētēpen-àmenra, suten neteruherheru." B. B., 568.

2. (1) "Neterhētēpenàmen, suten neteru, paiankh." B. B., 573.

b. Same as *a*, except that *Ra* is added after *amen*.

(2) "Sasuten, khatef, Paiankh." B. B., 570.

(3) "Paiankh(?)." Budge, VI. 20.

(4) "The king." *Id.*, 21.

3. (1) "K. E., Sehetepneteruàritkhuenkatisen, neterhētēpen-àmenra, suten neteru, Painetchemmaākheru, sa Piankhmaākheru." B. B., 574.

(2) "Lord of the two lands, Painetchemmaākheru, nest tchat-(mer)menfitu, urnetchtaui, Painetchem." B. B., 574.

(3) *a*. "H., Sehetepneteruàritkhuenkausen(?)." Budge, VI. 22.

b. "H., Kanekhtmeriàmen." *Id.*, 22.

4. (1) "K. E., Rakheperkhasetepenàmen, son of the Sun, Painetchemmeriàmen." B. B., 576.

(2) "H., Kanekhtmeriàmen." B. B., 576.

(3) "King Miamun Pinotem." Brugsch, *History*, II. 194.

(4) "Osiris, lord of the two lands, Rakheperkha." B. B., 576.

5. (1) "Neterhētēpenàmenra, Masaherth, maākheru, son of the king, lord of the two lands, Painetchemmeriàmen." B. B., 578.

(2) "Neterhētēpenamenra, suten neteru, mermenfitu, urnetchtaui, Masaherthà, lord of the two lands, Painetchemmeriàmen." B. B., 578

(3) "Masahertu." B. B., 578.

(4) "Masaherth." B. B., 578.

(5) "Commander-in-chief of the soldiers of the whole land." Budge, VI. 25.

(6) "Commander-in-chief of the soldiers of Upper and Lower Egypt." Budge, VII. 25.

(7) "Prince, guide of the two lands." Budge, VI. 25.

(8) "Beloved of Khensu." Budge, VI. 25.

6. (1) "Neterhētēpenàmenra, Ramenkhepermāakheru, son of the king, Painetchemmeriàmen." B. B., 579.

(2) "The high priest of Amon-Ra, the king of the gods, the general-in-chief of the army, Menkheperra, the son of the king, Miamun Pinotme." Brugsch, *History*, II. 194.

- (3) "Chief priest of Amon-Ra, the king of the gods." *Id.*, 195.
 (4) "General-in-chief of the army of Upper and Lower Egypt." *Id.*, 195.
 (5) "General-in-chief of the army, Menkheperra." *Id.*, 195.
 (6) "High (or chief) priest of Amon, Menkheperra." *Id.*, 195, 196 *bis.*
 (7) "Chief captain." *Id.*, 195.
 (8) "Captain of the army." *Id.*, 196.
 7. "Neterhetepenamenra, Painetchemmākheru, sa Ramenkheper." B. B., 586-581.

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rahetchkhepersetepenra, son of the Sun, Shashanqmeriāmen." B. B., 596.
b. "Son of the Sun, Shashanqmeriāmen." B. B., 596.
c. "S. S., Shashameriāmen." B. B., 596.
 (2) "H., Kanekhtmerira, sekhafemsutenitau." B. B., 596.
 (3) *a.* "L. S., Khaemhetech, māherusaaset, sehetepneteruemmaat." B. B., 596.
b. "L. S., Khaemhetemāherusaaset, sehetepemmaā." B. B., 596.
c. "L. S., Khaemhetchsehetepneteruemmaat." B. B., 576.
 (4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Kherppehepē, ḥapetpaut, urnekhtutaiunebu." B. B., 596.
b. "H. G. Kherppehepē, ḥapetpaut, urnekhtuemtaiunebu." B. B., 596.
 (5) "Shashanq." B. B., 596.
 (6) "Majesty." Brugsch, *History*, II. 210 *bis*, 211.
 (7) "The king." *Id.*, 211, 212 *bis.*
 (8) "The king and lord of the land." *Id.*, 212.
 (9) "Divine benefactor." *Id.*, 212.
 (10) "King Shashanq." *Id.*, 212 *bis.*
 (11) "King Shashanq I." *Id.*, 211, 213 *bis.*
 (12) "Master, the lord of might, the lord of the land." *Id.*, 211.
 (13) "Good lord." *Id.*, 211.
 (14) "Image of Hormakhu." *Id.*, 212.
 2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rakkherpkhepersetepenra, son of the Sun, Meriāmenuasarken." B. B., 607.
b. "Son of the Sun, Meriāmenuasarken." B. B., 607.
 (2) "Uarsarken."
 3. (1) "K. E., Raḥetchsetepenamen, neterhequast, son of the

Sun, Meriàmen-Thekeleth-meriaàst." B. B., 613; Budge reads *usermaat* for *hetch*, VII. 79.

(2) "Lord of the two lands, Thekelethmeren." B. B., 613.

(3) a. "Thekeluth." B. B., 613.

b. "Thekeleth." B. B., 613.

c. "Thekelethmeri." B. B., 613.

d. "Tekeluth." B. B., 613.

e. "Lord of the two lands, lord maker of creation, Usermaatra, sun of the Sun, lord of risings, Thekeleth, triumphant." Budge, VI. 80.

4. (1) a. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenamen, son of the Sun, Meriamensabast, Uasaàrken." (B. B., 619?) Budge, VI. 81.

b. "Son of the Sun, Meriamensabastuasaàrken." B. B., 619.

(2) "H., Kanekhtmerimaat." B. B., 619.

(3) a. "Lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenamen." B. B., 619.

b. "Lord of the two lands, Meriamen, Uasarken." B. B., 619.

c. "Lord of the two lands, Uasarken." B. B., 619. ÿ

(4) "Son of the Sun, lord of risings (or crowns), Meriàmensabast, Uasaàrken." B. B., 619.

(5) "Meriamensaàuset, Uasaàrken." B. B., 619.

5. (1) "K. E., Rasesheshkhepersetepenamen, son of the Sun, Shashameriamen." B. B., 636; Budge adds *Ra* at end, VI. 87.

(2) "Erpàurtepenhenfshashanqmaàkheru, son of the king, lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenamen." B. B., 636.

6. (1) a. "K. E., Raçetchkhepersetepenra, son of the Sun, Meriàmenerameriàst, Thekeleth." B. B., 637.

b. "Son of the Sun, Meriàmensaaset(?), Thekeleth." B. B., 637.

(2) "H., Kanekht . . . emuast." B. B., 637.

(3) "Thekelethmeri."

(4) "Serāaenmāathi, Thekeleth." B. B., 637.

(5) "Great chief of the Mashauasha." Budge, VI. 88.

(1) a. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenra, son of the Sun, Meriàmenerameriàst, Shashaq." B. B., 646.

b. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenmen." B. B., 646.

c. "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenra." B. B., 646.

d. "Son of the Sun, Meriàmenerameriàst, Shashaq, heqneteran." B. B., 646.

e. "S. S., lord of the risings (or crowns) Amenra, sabast, Shashaq, heqneteran." B. B., 646.

(2) "Rausermaatmeriàmenerameriàst, Shashaq." B. B., 646.

- (3) "Son of Bast, divine prince of On." Budge, VI. 92.
 8. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rausermaatsetepenamen, son of the Sun, Meriàmen-Pimai." B. B., 647.
b. "K. E., Lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenmen." B. B., 647.
 (2) "Lord of the two lands, Rausermaatsetepenmen." B. B., 647.
 (3) "Lord of the risings (or crowns), Meriàmen-Pimai." B. B., 647.
 (4) "Pimai." B. B., 647.
 (5) "Pimai-ḥetch-Heru." Budge, VI. 93.
 9. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raākheper, son of the Sun, Shashanq." B. B., 648; Budge adds *Meriamen* at end, VI. 95.
b. "K. E., Āakheperra." B. B., 648.
c. "Son of the Sun, Shashaq." B. B., 648.
d. "S. S., Shashaqmeràmen." B. B., 648.
 (2) "King Rakheperāa." B. B., 648.
 (3) "Āakheperu." B. B., 648.
 (4) "Shashanq." B. B., 648.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY.

1. (1) "K. E., Rascheràb, son of the sun, Peṭasabast." B. B., 649.
 (2) "Peṭa Bast." Budge, VI. 96.
 (3) "Amenmeri Peṭabast." VI. 97, *Aeg. Zeit.*, XXXIV. p. 114.*
 2. (1) "K. E., Raākhepersetepenamen, son of the Sun, Amenrameri-Uasaârken." B. B., 650.
 (2) "Son of the Sun, Uasark, living for ever." Budge, VI. 99.
 3. (1) "K. E., lord of the two lands, in Heru-Thema, K. E., L. S., Horus of gold." Budge, VI. 114.
 (2) "Son of the Sun, Tafnekht." Budge, VI. 114.
 (3) "Rashepses." Budge, VI. 114.†
 4.‡ (1) "The good god, lord of the two lands, lord, maker of things, K. E., Rausermaat, son of the Sun, Peankhi sa Bast, uatch tauî meri." Budge, VI. 115.

* A king called the "king of Upper and Lower Egypt Āuuthmeriamen" seems to have reigned at the same time. See Budge, VI. 97, and note.

† It is worthy of note that the chief officials of many cities were called *suten*, "king," at this time. See Budge, VI. 104, where Nemareth, Annaptih, Osorkon, and Lafnekhteth are all called king.

‡ The cartouches of two kings numbered 3 and 4 in B. B. are empty.

(2) "The lord, the maker of things, lord of the two lands, Sener-f-Ra, son of the Sun, lord of risings, Piankhi." *Id.*, 116.*

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY.—A.

1. Cartouche empty.
2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rauahka, son of the Sun, Bakenrenf." B. B., 655.
- b.* "Rauahka, son of the Sun, Barenf." B. B., 655.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY.—B.

1. "King Kashta." B. B., 656; Budge, VI. 122.
2. (1) "K. E., Ramenkheper, son of the Sun, Piankhi." B. B., 657.†
- (2) "H., Samtaui." B. B., 657.
- (3) "L. S., Meshemt." B. B., 657.
- (4) "H. G., Seāshaqennu."
- (5) "Saamenmesenmut, Piankhi." B. B., 657.
3. (1) "K. E., Meriamen-Piankhi." B. B., 668.
- (2) "K. E., son of the Sun, Piankhi." B. B., 668.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raneferka, son of the Sun, Shabaka." B. B., 690.
- b.* "Son of the Sun, Meriāmen-Shabaka." B. B., 690.
- (2) "H., Sebektaui." B. B., 690.
- (3) "L. S., Seqebtaui." B. B., 690.
- (4) "Horus of gold, Seqebtaui." B. B., 690.
- (5) "Shabaka." Budge, VI. 128; Bezold's *Catalogue*, p. 1784.
- (6) "Beautiful god, the lord, maker of things" Budge, VI. 128.
2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Raṭetkau, son of the Sun, Shabataka." B. B., 692.
- b.* "Son of the Sun, Meriāmen-Shabataka." B. B., 692.
- (2) "H., Ṭetkha." B. B., 692.
- (3) *a.* "L. S., Sekhamaat . . . tauī." B. B., 692.
- b.* "L. S., Āashefitemtaiunebu." B. B., 692.
- (4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Herḥrānekht." B. B., 692.
- b.* "H. G., Āakhepeshḥ nebu" B. B., 692.
3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ranefertemkhu, son of the Sun, Taherq." B. B., 693.

* Budge adds: "It is clear that this last Piankhi cannot be the same as he whose prenomen is Usermaatra."

† We shall not attempt to set the Piankhis straight.

- b. "K. E., Ranefertemkhu." B. B., 693.
 (2) a. "H., Vakhu (or khān)." B. B., 693.
 b. "H., Qakhu (or khān)-Taherq." B. B., 693.
 (3) "L. S., Qakhu (or khan)." B. B., 693.
 (4) a. "Horus of gold, Khutauī." B. B., 693.
 b. "Horus of gold, Taherq." B. B., 693.
 c. "Double Horus of gold, Taherq." B. B., 693.
 (5) "Lord of the two lands, Taherq." B. B., 693.
 (6) "The good Horus, Taherq." B. B., 693.
 (7) "Taherqa." B. B., 693.
 4. (1) "The good god, Rausermaatsetepenamen."* B. B., 696.
 (2) "Lord of the two lands, Amenruṭmeriamen." B. B., 696.
 (3) "Lord of the two lands, Amenruṭ." B. B., 696.
 5. Budge adds a king after Taherka, who has the following titles, to wit:
 (1) a. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Rabaka, son of the Sun, lord of the risings (or crowns), Àmentennath." (From superscription of the stele of Tanath-Amen, found at Napata (Tebel Barkal).)
 b. "K. E., Rabaka, son of the Sun, Amentennath." (From stele, line 3.)
 (2) "Lord of the horus?" (*neb abui*. From stele, line 1).
 (3) "H., Uahmert." Budge, VI. 158.
 (4) "Majesty." *Id.*, 163.
 (5) "Beloved of Amen, giving life for ever," like Ra. *Id.*, 159.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY.

- 1, 2, and 3 have empty cartouches.
 4. (1) a. "K. E., Rauahàb, son of the Sun, Pesemthek." B. B., 701.
 b. "K. E., Lord of the two lands, Rauahàb." B. B., 701.
 (2) a. "H., Àaàb." B. B., 701.
 b. "H., Àaàb." B. B., 701.
 (3) a. "L. S., Hebā." B. B., 701.
 b. "L. S., Nebā." B. B., 701.
 (4) a. "Horus of gold, Qenuā." B. B., 701.
 b. "H. G., Qen." B. B., 701.
 (5) "Perāa-Psemthek." B. B., 701; *Kb.*, 638g.
 5. (1) a. "K. E., Rauhemàb, son of the Sun, Nekau." B. B., 705.

* The place of this king in Egyptian history is uncertain. See Budge, VI. 165, and Brugsch, *History*, II, 271.

- b. "K. E., Rauhemàb, son of the Sun, Nebau."* B. B., 705.
 (2) "H., Saàb." B. B., 705.
 (3) "L. S., Maākheru." B. B., 705.
 (4) "Horus of gold, Merineteru." B. B., 705.
 (5) "Son of the Sun, Nekauhem." B. B., 705.
 6. (1) "K. E., Raneferàb, son of the Sun, Psemtheq." B. B., 707.
 (2) "H., Menkhàb." B. B., 707.
 (3) "L. S., Userà." B. B., 707.
 (4) "H. G., Seneferṭai." B. B., 707.
 (5) "Son of the Sun, lord of twofold strength, Psemtheq." Budge, VI. 226 (from Wâdi Hammamat).
 7. (1) a. "K. E., Raḥāààb, son of the Sun, Rāuaḥàb." B. B., 710.
 b. "Son of the Sun, Rauaḥ." B. B., 710.
 (2) "H., Uaḥàb." B. B., 710.
 (3) "L. S., Nebkhepesh." B. B., 710.
 (4) "H. G., Seuatchtaui." B. B., 710.
 8. (1) a. "K. E., Rakhnemàb, son of the Sun, Āāḥmessanit." B. B., 711.
 b. "K. E., Rakhnemàb." B. B., 711.
 c. "K. E., Rakhnem." B. B., 711.
 d. "Son of the Sun, Āāḥmessanit." B. B., 711.
 e. "Son of the Sun, Āāḥmessaennit." B. B., 711.
 f. "Son of the Sun, Āāḥmes." B. B., 711.
 (2) "H., Semenmaat." B. B., 711.
 (3) "L. S., Sanitsepttaui." B. B., 711.
 b. "L. S., Sanitseb" (Budge *seqeb*) "taui." B. B., 711.
 (4) "Horus of gold, Seṭepneteru." B. B., 711.
 (5) "Beloved of Khenmu, lord of Elephantine, and of Hathor, dwelling within Tchamut." Budge, VII. 16.
 9. (1) a. "K. E., Raankhkaen, son of the Sun, Psemthek." B. B., 716.
 b. "K. E., Raankhka." B. B., 716.
 (2) "H., Àpààḥtaui." B. B., 716.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) a. "K. E., Ramessuth, son of the Sun, Kembàthet." B. B., 717.
 b. "K. E., Kembàthet." B. B., 717.
 (2) "H., Samtaui." B. B., 717.

* Is the *ba* here a misprint for *ka*?

- (3) "Lord of the two lands, Kembutchā." B. B., 717.
- (4) "Lord of the whole foreign earth (Nebsemtineb), Kem-bàthet." B. B., 717.
- (5) "Kembetchā." Budge, VII. 42.
2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rasettu, son of the Sun, Ànthriuasha." B. B., 718.
- b.* "K. E., Àntherusha." B. B., 718.
- c.* "K. E., Ànterusha." B. B., 718.
- d.* "Son of the Sun, Ànthriuasha." B. B., 718.
- e.* "K. E., Netausha." B. B., 718.
- f.* "K. E., Retausha." B. B., 718.
- g.* "K. E., Neṭerāuà." B. B., 718.
- h.* "K. E., Àntherisha." B. B., 718.
- (2) "H., Àntheriuasha." B. B., 718.
- (3) "Ṭeriusha-semti." B. B., 718.
- (4) "Tareuasha." B. B., 718.
- (5) "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of all peoples, king of this great earth, the son of Hystaspes the Akhemianen." On the stelæ found at Tel-el-Maskhuta, Budge, VII. 63.
3. (1) "Lord of the two lands, Khushaiarsha." B. B., 719.
- (2) "Lord of the two lands, Kishaarsha." B. B., 719.
- (3) "Lord of the two lands, Khushairsha." B. B., 719.
- (4) "The good god, lord of the two lands, Khashairsha." B. B., 719.
- (5) "Khashaiarsha, Perāa, Paāa (Xerxes, Pharaoh, the Great)." B. B., 719.
4. (1) "K. E., lord of the two lands, Artakhshashas." B. B., 720.
- (2) "K. E., lord of the two lands, Artakhashassha, Perāa, Paāa." B. B., 720.
- (3) "Arthekhashessha, Perāa, Paāa." B. B., 720.
5. (1) "K. E., Rameriāmen, son of the Sun, Àntheriuasha." B. B., 721.
- (2) "Son of the Sun, Àntheriuashameramenra, nebhebt, user-khepesh." B. B., 721.
- (3) "Lord of the two lands, Amenhebtuserkhepesh." B. B., 721.
- (4) "The good god, lord of the two lands, Meriāmenenra, nebhebt, neterāauserkhepesh." B. B., 721.
- (5) "Beautiful (good) god, lord of the two lands." Budge, VII. 85.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Senenptahsetepamen, son of the Sun, Khabbesha." B. B., 722.
 - b.* "Son of the Sun, Khabash." B. B., 722.
 - c.* "K. E., lord of the two lands, Khabbesha." B. B., 722.
 - (2) "Merira-Khabasha." B. B., 722.
- 2, 3 and 4 have empty cartouches.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rabaenmerineteru, son of the Sun, Naifāaiuruṭ." B. B., 726.
- b.* "K. E., Naifāaiuruṭ." B. B., 726.
- (2) "H., User . . ." B. B., 726.
- (3) "Horus of gold, . . . setepneteru." B. B., 726.
- (4) "Lord of the two lands, Nefāaruṭ." B. B., 726.
- (5) "King Naipauruṭ." B. B., 726.
2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Ramaatkhnem, son of the Sun, Heḫar (or Haker)." B. B., 727.
- v.* "K. E., Ramaatkhnem." B. B., 727.
- c.* "K. E., Ramaatkhnemsetepenba." B. B., 727.
- d.* "Son of the Sun, Haker." B. B., 727.
- e.* "S. S., Heker." B. B., 727.
- f.* "S. S., lord of risings (or crowns), Heker." B. B., 727.
- g.* "K. E., lord of the two lands, Heker." B. B., 727.
- (2) "H., Āaābmertauī." B. B., 727.
- (3) "L. S., Qeī." B. B., 727.
- (4) *a.* "Horus of gold, Setep neteru." B. B., 727.
- b.* "H. G., Seḫetep neteru." Budge, VII. 93.
- (5) "Lord of the two lands, Ramaatkhnemsetepenamen." B. B., 727.
3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rausersetepenptah, son of the Sun, Psamut." B. B., 728.
- b.* "K. E., Rauserptah." B. B., 728.
- (2) *a.* "H., Āapeḫpeḫuaḫru." B. B., 728.
- b.* "H., Āapeḫpeḫsebenerpeheru." B. B., 728.

THE THIRTIETH DYNASTY.

1. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rasenetchemābsetepenamen, son of the Sun, Āmenmerinekhtheruḫebt." B. B., 729.
- b.* "K. E., Herunekhṭhebt." B. B., 729.

- c. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Rasetepenamenra." B. B., 729.
- d. "Son of the Sun, Rameriraneekhtheruḥebt." B. B., 729.
- e. "S. S., Rameramenranekhtheruḥebt." B. B., 729.
- f. "S. S., Ramaatnekhtheruḥebt." B. B., 729.
- g. "S. S., . . . nekht-heruḥebtmeri." B. B., 729.
- h. "S. S., Meriamenranekhtheruḥebt." B. B., 729.
- i. "S. S., Meriamennekhtheruḥebt." B. B., 729.
- j. "S. S., Merimaatnekhtheruḥebt." B. B., 729.
- (2) a. "H., Mertauī." B. B., 729.
- b. "Mertauimāqemt." B. B., 729.
- c. "H., Themā." B. B., 729.
- (3) a. "L. S., Seherābneteru." B. B., 729.
- (4) "Horus of gold, Semenhepu." B. B., 729.
- (5) "Merimaatnekhtheruḥebt." B. B., 729.
- (6) "Nekht-heruḥebt." B. B., 729.
2. (1) "K. E., Rāarienmaat, son of the Sun, lord of risings, Tcheḥrāsetepenanḥer." Budge, VII. 103.
- (2) "Living Horus-Ra, Khaemmaat." Budge, VII. 103.
- (3) "L. S., Merimaatsekhutneteruperu." Budge, VII. 103.
- (4) "H. G., Ṭāukhut-Qebt," etc. Budge, VII. 103.
3. (1) a. "K. E., Rakheperka, son of the Sun, Nekhtnebf." B. B., 731.
- b. "K. E., Lord of the two lands, the lord, maker of created things, Rakheperka." B. B., 731.
- c. "Son of the Sun, Nekhtnebf." B. B., 731.
- d. "S. S., Nekhtnebf" + determinative for king, found nowhere else in B. B.
- (2) a. "Ṭemā." B. B., 731.
- b. "H., Themā." B. B., 731.
- (3) "L. S., Semenkhtauī." B. B., 731.
- (4) a. "Horus of gold, Ārineterumeri." B. B., 731.
- b. "H. G., Ārimertneteru." B. B., 731.

THE THIRTY-FIRST DYNASTY.

The cartouches of the three kings of this, the second Persian, dynasty are all empty.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

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I.

THE INCARNATION AND OTHER WORLDS.

IT has been objected to the Biblical doctrine of the Incarnation, that it is suggestive of conceit on the part of us men. Large as the earth seems to us, it is small when compared with even our own sun. But there are stars, themselves suns, in comparison with which our sun itself is small; so that astronomy shows how insignificant this little earth of ours is amid the multitudinous items that make up the universe. Whether or no the starry worlds or the planets of our own system are now or ever have been or ever will be inhabited, has long been an open question. The latest word on the subject has been uttered by Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace, who, in his recent discussion of *Man's Place in the Universe*, has urged with great zeal the thesis that our earth is the only one of the millions of globes throughout the universe that has or can become the seat of intelligent life. Both his reasonings and his conclusions have been combated by competent critics, so that the question remains an open one as far as the scientists are concerned.

But granting for the moment Mr. Wallace's contention, our humanity would then be but as a speck of intelligence in the universe; and the objector to the Incarnation asks, "Why should the Son of God ally Himself—and so irrevocably—with such an insignificant part of his wide creation?" The very question, in the judgment of the objector, shows how absurd is the conceit. Possibly it is enough to say, in reply to the objection as thus stated, that, with astronomy in mind, the Bible itself comes to the exactly opposite conclusion. The objection is predicated upon the insig-

IV.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

ARTICLE FOUR.

THE TITLES OF THE GREEK KINGS.

THE following article is the fourth of a series, whose design is to show that the statements made by Dr. Driver in his *Literature of the Old Testament*, pages 545 and 546, with regard to the titles of the kings of Persia, cannot be accepted unqualifiedly, and that the impression left by his notes and proofs is misleading and fallacious. In the first article, which occupied pages 257-282 of the number of this REVIEW for April, 1904, the author, after giving a full citation of Dr. Driver's remarks and notes upon the subject, proceeded to give an enumeration, as complete as possible, of the titles and designations of the kings of Persia. In the second article, which occupied pages 465-497 of the number for July, 1904, the titles of the kings of Babylon and Assyria were presented in like manner. In the third article, which appeared on pages 618-664 of the number for October, 1904, and on pages 55-80 of the number for January, 1905, were presented the titles of the kings of Egypt down to the time of the conquest by Alexander. In the present article will be given the titles of the Greek kings. In the next, and, as we hope, the last article, we shall present the titles of the Parthian kings, the titles found on the early Semitic alphabetic inscriptions, and in the Hebrew Bible; and we shall, then, conclude with a classification of the titles, and with an argument designed to show that the assault upon the genuineness of the Books of Ezra-Nehemiah, based upon the use which their writers made of the titles of the kings of Persia, is not supported by these facts.

In the present article, we shall give, first, the titles which have been gathered from the inscriptions in the Egyptian, in the cuneiform, and in the Greek (adding in large measure the titles found in the papyri); secondly, we shall give the titles gathered from the great Greek historians from Herodotus to Josephus; and thirdly, we shall give the titles found in Hercher's collection of Greek letters.

I.—A. THE TITLES OF THE GREEK KINGS, AS FOUND ON THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT.*

A. I.—Titles of Alexander, the Great, and of His Children.

1. (1) a. "K. E., † Meriamensetepenra, son of the Sun, Aleksandres." Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, 684, C, D.

b. "K. E., Meriamensetepenra." *Id.*, 684c.

c. "K. E., Meriamensetepira." *Id.*, 684d.

d. "Son of the Sun, Saamen-Aleksandres." *Id.*, 684e.

e. "K. E., Meriamensetepenkara." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 852.

(2) a. "H., Heqqennu." Lepsius, 684A.

b. "Horus-Ra, Heqqunnukensemte." 684a.

c. "Horus (with the double crown)-Ra, Māqemt."

(3) "K. E., the good god, lord of the two lands, lord making things, lord of crowns (or risings), Alekandres." Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, Fifth Part, page 852.

(4) "Horus (with the double crown)-Ra, Heqqennu, K. E., lord of the two lands, lord crowned (or rising) on the throne of Horus, son of the Sun, Aleksandres." *Id.*

(5) "Argsandrs." *Id.*

(6) "Algsantrs." *Id.*

(7) "King Argsndros." *Id.*

2. (1) a. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Meriamensetepenkara." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 852.

b. "K. E., Meriamensetepenra." Lepsius, 685b. ‡

c. "Son of the Sun, Pelipusa." *Id.*, C.

d. "Son of the Sun, Phiuliupuas." *Id.*, E.

e. "Son of the Sun, lord of the crowns (or risings), Pelipusa." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 852.

(2) a. "Horus-Ra, Ra . . . tau." Lepsius, 685A.

b. "Horus, Kanekhtmerimaat." *Id.*, a.

c. "Horus-Ra, Kanekhtmeriamen." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 852.

(3) a. "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebt and Uatchet, Heqsemte." Lepsius, 685B.

b. "L. S., Heqsemte, son of the Sun, lord of the crowns (or risings), Phiuliupuas." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 852.

* This part of this article continues Article III, Part II.

† We repeat here that K. E. stands for King of Upper and Lower Egypt; H., for Horus; L. S., for Lord of the Shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet; and H. G., for Horus of Gold. These, it will be remembered, are the formulas introducing the four official names of every Pharaoh.

‡ Brugsch says in *Thesaurus*, 852: "Die von Lepsius (No. 685, Königsb.) aufgeführten Titel sind zweifelhaft."

- (4) "Horus of gold, ?" Lepsius, 685C.
- (5) a. "Lord of the two lands, Meriamensetepenra(?)." *Id.*, 685D.
 b. "Lord of the two lands, Rauserka-Meriamensetepenra(?)." *Id.*, 685d.
- (6) "Lord of crowns (or risings), Pirrippas." *Id.*, 685e.
- (7) "Pirpos." Lepsius, 852.
- (8) "The good god, Pelipusa, beloved." Budge, *History*, VII, 162.
3. (1) a. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Ḥāābāmensetepenra." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 853.
 b. "K. E., Ḥāābamensetepenra." *Id.*, d.
 c. "K. E., lord of the two lands, son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Aleksandres." Budge, VII, 164.
 d. "Son of the Sun, Aleksadres(?), the ever living." Brugsch, 853.
 e. "Son of the Sun, Arksantres." Lepsius, 686d.
- (2) a. "Horus, Heqqen." Budge, VII, 165.
 b. "Horus, Ḥunuserpeḥpeḥ." Brugsch, 853a.
- (3) "L. S., Merineteru, rānfāauten[a]tefef." Brugsch, 853b.
- (4) "H. G., Heqqenemtatcherf." *Id.*, c.
- (5) "King Argsndrs, son of Argsndrs." *Id.*
- (6) "Lord of the two lands, Ḥāābāmensetepenra." Lepsius, 686c.
- (7) "Horus-Ra, Heqqennu, K. E., lord of the two lands, the lord rising on the throne of Horus, son of the Sun, Aleksandres, giver of life." Budge, VII, 167.
- (8) "The majesty of the young Horus, mighty in twofold strength, L. S., beloved of the gods, to whom have been given the dignity and rank of his father, the golden Horus, the strong one in all the land, K. E., the lord of the two lands, Ḥāā-āb-Rā-setep-en-Āmen, son of the Sun, Arksantres, living for ever, beloved of the gods of Pe and Tep." *Id.*, 169.
- (9) "King of the two lands, and of foreign lands." *Id.*, 170.
- (10) "Head of the Asiatics." *Id.*
- (11) "Majesty." *Id.*
- (12) "Pharaoh, life, [health, strength], Alexander the foreigner(?), the son of Alexander." *Id.*, 174.

A. II.—*Titles of the Ptolemies.*

1. (1) a. "K. E., Meriamensetepenra, son of the Sun, Pṭulmis." Lepsius, 687D, E.
 b. The same plus *netch neter* = *soter*. Brugsch, 853.
 (2) "The great prince in Egypt, Pṭluis." Brugsch, 853.

(3) "Pdlmis phšdrpn, *i.e.*, Ptolemy the Satrap." *Id.*

(4) "Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy, the god who wards off evil." *Id.*

(5) "Ptlmis." *Id.*

(6) "Ptolemy soter (psutr)." *Id.*, 854.

(7) "King Ptolemy, the son of king Ptolemy, the god who wards off evil." *Id.*, 854.

(8) He and his queen Berenice, together, were called: *a.* "The two savior gods." *Id.*, 853.

b. "The gods who ward off evil." *Id.*, 854; or,

c. "The gods who save as the king alone." *Id.*, 854.

2. (1) *a.* "K. E., Rauserkaàmenmeri, son of the Sun, Ptulmis." Lepsius, 689D, *E.*

b. "K. E., Rauserkaàmenmeri." *Id.*, *f.*

(2) *a.* "Horus (with the double crown)-Ra, Ḥunnuqenu." *Id.*, *A.*

b. "Living Horus-Ra, Ḥunnu-qenu." Brugsch, 855 (Pithom stele).

(3) "L. S., Urpeḥpeḥ." Brugsch, 855*b.*

(4) "Horus of gold, Sekhanestefef (or sekhanesatefef)." Brugsch, 855*c.*

(5) "Suten-neter, Rauserkaàmenmeri." Lepsius, 689*l.*

(6) "Lord of the two lands, Rauserkaamenmeri." *Id.*, *i.*

(7) "The god, Merisen (Philadelphos)." *Id.*, *F.*

(8) "King." Brugsch, 856. Arsinoe was the sister of a king. (Stele 88, Vienna).

(9) "Brother." *Id.*

(10) "Lord of the two lands." *Id.*

(11) "Ptulmis pemersen = Ptolemy Philadelphus." *Id.* (in contracts).

(12) For him together with his sister and wife Arsinoe the following titles occur:

a. "Ptualmis, Arsenat, Neterui senui (*i.e.*, the divine *adelphoi*)."

(13) "Lord of the two lands, Rauserkaàmenmeri, lord of the crowns (or risings), Ptulmis, giver of life and power." Budge, VII, 206.

(14) Lepsius adds *Rakheperka* and

(15) "The divine father Ptualmis." See *Königsbuch*, 687*a* and *c.*

(16) The following titles, taken from Budge's *History of Egypt*, VII, 209-211, are translations of an inscription at Philæ. See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV, pl. 7*b.* "Beautiful god, divine hawk, protector of Egypt, son of the Sun, Ptolemy of Khnemu, Lord of Senmut, beloved."

(17) "Beautiful god, emanation of Atem himself, King of the South and North, Usr-ka-Ra-meri-Āmen, of Horus, son of Isis, beloved."

3. (1) *a.* "K. E., Au-en-neterui-senui-setep-en-Ra-sekhem-ankh-Āmen." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 857*d.*

b. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, the heir of the divine brothers." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 857.

c. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ." *Id.*, *e.*

d. *Idem* plus "heir of the two divine brothers." Lepsius, 692*l.*

e. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, beloved of Ptaḥ, heir of the two divine brothers." Lepsius, 692*m.*

f. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, living for ever, the beneficent god." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 858.

g. "K. E., Lord of the two lands, Neterui-senui-āu-en-Rā-setep-Amen-sekhem-ānk-en, son of the Sun, lord of diadems, Ptualmis-ankh-tchetta-Ptaḥ-meri." Budge, VII, 211.

h. "Son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Ptulmis, beloved of Ptaḥ, living for ever." Lepsius, 692*i, k.*

(2) *a.* Horus-Ra, Heknu-neteru-neru(?)-ḥerf-em-seshepf-suteni-ut-em-tefef." Lepsius, 692*A.*

b. "Horus-Ra, Heknu-neterui-neru(?)-ḥerf." *Id.*, *a.*

(3) "L. S., Qennu-netchet-neteru-menkh-en-ta-mert." *Id.*, *B.*

(4) "Horus of gold, Urpeḥpeḥ-arikhu-nebḥeset-Ptaḥ-mà-athimà-Ra." *Id.*, *C.*

(5) "The beneficent god (Peneter-menkh)." *Id.*, *F.*

(6) "Lord of the crowns (or risings), Ptulmis, beloved of Ptaḥ, living for ever." *Id.*, *h.*

(7) "Lord of the two lands, heir of the two divine brothers (adelphoi), chosen of Ptaḥ, living like Ra." *Id.*, *g.*

(8) "King(?) Ptualmis, beloved of the beneficent gods, the beneficent god, lord of valor." *Id.*, *n, o.*

(9) Along with his sister-wife Berenice we find the titles:

a. "K. E., Ptualmis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ and the queen (ḥeqt) Berenikat, the beneficent gods." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 857.

b. "The divine father, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, the triumphant and the divine mother Bereniket, the triumphant, the divine majesties." Brugsch, 858.

c. "The divine father, of his fathers [beloved] (*i.e.*, Philopator), Ptualmis, the divine benefactor and the divine mother, of his mothers [beloved], Bereniket, the divine benefactress." *Id.*

d. "Ptualnis, the triumphant, and Berenik, the beneficent princess." *Id.*

4. (1) a. "K. E., Neterui-menkhui-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-User-ka-Ra-Amen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Isis." Lepsius, 694*D*, *E*.

b. "K. E., Neterui-menkhui-usekhui-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-user-ka-Ra-Amen-sekhem-ankh." Brugsch, 858*d*.

c. "Son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Ptualmis, living for ever, beloved of Isis." *Id.*, *e*.

d. "Ra, son of Ra, Ptualnis, the god, of his father [beloved]." *Id.*, *e*.

(2) a. "H., Hunnu-qen-sekha-nes-tefef." Lepsius, 694*A*.

b. "Living Horus-Ra, the valorous son crowned with the royalty of his father." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 858.

c. "Horus-Ra, Ḥunnu-qen." Lepsius, 694*d*.

(3) "L. S., Urpeḥpeḥ, menkh-āb-kher-neteru-nebu-netchti-ḥe-memu." Lepsius, 694*B* (Brugsch omits the *neb*. See p. 858).

(4) "Horus of gold, seutcha-utchat-nut, sekhesef-heru-maāu, semen-hepu-Tehuti-āā-mā-neb-ḥebu-seṭu-Ptaḥ, mā-athi-mā-Ra." Lepsius, 694*C*.

(5) "The god, beloved of his father (or loving his father)." *Id.*, *F*.

5. (1) a. "K. E., Neterui-merui-[a]tui-āu-setep-en-Ptaḥ-user-ka-Ra-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, ankh-tchetta-Ptaḥ-meri." Lepsius, 696*D*, *E*.

b. *Id.*, except adds "giver of life." Budge, VIII, 3.

c. "K. E., Āu-neterui-merui-[a]tui-setep-en-Ptaḥ-user-Ra-sekhem-ankh-Āmen-[mā-ankh-Ra.]" Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 861.

d. "Son of the Sun, Ptlmis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ." Lepsius, 696*b*.

e. "K. E., Neterui-merui-[a]tui-āu-Ptaḥ-setep-en-User-ka-Ra-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the triumphant, beloved of Ptaḥ, the god Epiphanes." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 862.

(2) a. "H., Ḥunnu-khaii-em-suten-ḥer-āst-tefef." Lepsius, 696*A*.

b. "Living Horus-Ra, Ḥunnu-kha-em-suten-ḥrā-āst-tefef." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 860*a*.

(3) "L. S., Great in power, establishing Egypt, beautifying the land of Egypt, pious to the gods." *Id.*, 860*b*.

(4) "Horus of gold, renewing the life of men, lord of the *sed* festival like Ptaḥ, a prince-like Ra." *Id.*, 861*c*.

(5) a. "Pe-neter-per, the god Epiphanes." Lepsius, 696*F*.

b. "Pe-neter-per-neb-neferu, the god, rising (like the sun), lord of good things." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 862*f*.

(6) "The son of Ptualmis and Arsenat, the father loving gods." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 862g.

(7) "King Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy, the god Epiphanes, the good, because he is gracious." *Id.*, 862.

(8) "Ptualmis, Avenger of Egypt." *Id.*, 862. Lepsius, 696d.

(9) "The living god, the beautiful (or good), the emanation of Ra, son of the lords of Khemennu." Budge, VIII, 18.

(10) "Son of the white crown, child of the red crown, nursling of the goddess Ur-ḥekat." *Id.*

6. Only known by the title, "The divine father (Peneter-atef, or tefef)."

7. (1) a. "K. E., Neterui-perui-āu-kheper-Ptaḥ-setep-en-Ra-Āmen." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 864d, ex. 3.

b. "K. E., Neterui-ubenui(?) -āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-Ptaḥ(?) -kheper-sekhem-ankh-Ra-Āmen-āri-Maat." *Id.*, ex. 1.

c. "K. E., Neterui-ubenui(?) -āu-en-Ptaḥ-kheper-setep-en-sekhem-ankh-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen." *Id.*, ex. 2.

d. "K. E., Neterui-perui-āu-kheper-Ptaḥ-setep-en-Rà-Āmen-āri-Maat." *Id.*, 4.

e. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ, the god, beloved of his mother." *Id.*, e.

f. "K. E., Neterui-ubenui(?) -āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-āri-maat-en-Rà-Āmen-er-ḥeḥ." Lepsius, 699g.

g. "K. E., Neterui-perui-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-Rà-Āmen-meri." *Id.*, h.

(2) "Horus-Ra, Āmen em Khat (*i.e.*, of the body of Amen), twin of Apis, etc."

(3) "L. S., em-Maat-sekha-ensu-tefef." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 864b.

(4) "Horus of gold, Urpeḥpeḥ-neb-ḥebu-seṭ-mà-atefef (or tefef), Ptaḥ-mà-Āmen-tef-neteru-(var. + athi), mà-Ra." *Id.*, 864c.

(5) "Ptualmis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ." *Id.*, 864.

(6) "Ptualmis, beloved of Ptaḥ, the triumphant, the god, beloved of his mother." *Id.*, 865.

(7) "The god, beloved of (or loving) his mother." Lepsius, 699F.

(8) "Neterui-perui-āu-Ptaḥ-kheper-setep-en-Rà-Āmen-āri-Maat-en." *Id.*, f.

(9) "Neterui-perui-ābui(?) -āu-Ptaḥ-kheper-setep-en-Rà-Āmen-āri-Maat." *Id.*, i.

(10) "The god Āmen, mother beloved (or loving)." *Id.*, k.

(11) The king and his sister-wife, Cleopatra II, are called: "The gods loving the mother." Lepsius, 700f-n.

(12) Ptolemy VII, Cleopatra II, and Ptolemy IX together are called:

"K. E., Neterui-perui-āu-Ptaḥ-kheper-setep-en-Rà-Āmen-àri-Maat, son of the Sun, Ptualnis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ, and(?) the brother K. E., Ptualnis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, and their sister, the princess, mistress of the two lands, Klāua-petreta, the gods mother-loving, the gods brother-loving, the beneficent gods, the father-loving gods, the illustrious gods, the gods beloved of their mother." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 865.

8. (1) "Ptualmis, the ever-living, . . . the father-loving god." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 865.

(2) "The god, the child beloved of his father." *Id.*

9. (1) a. "K. E., Neterui-perui (ubanui(?))-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ, the beneficent god." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 865.

b. "K. E., Neterui-perui-(ubanui(?))-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh." *Id.*, 866d.

c. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, meri Ptaḥ." *Id.*, e.

d. "K. E. (*i.e.*, double Uraeus), Neterui-perui-(ubanui(?))-āu-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-en-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh." Lepsius, 705q.

e. "K. E. (*i.e.*, Ra-Shuti), Neterui-perui-(ubanui(?))-āu-Ptaḥ-setep-àri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh." *Id.*, r.

f. "K. E. (not represented by the usual signs, but by the figures of two persons sitting, one with the crown of Lower Egypt, the other with the crown of Upper Egypt), neterui-perui-(ubanui(?))-usekhui(?)-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh." *Id.*, s.

g. "Son of the Sun (messu-Ra), Ptualmis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ." *Id.*, t.

(2) a. "Horus (with the crown)-Ra, Ḥunnu-ḥekenut-em-ankhef-ḥer-nest-tefef-bener-sep-ḥunt-tcheser-mes-khāauf-ḥer-ḥepu-ankh." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 866a.

b. "Horus (with the crown)-Ra, Ḥunnu-ḥeken . . . -neteru-neru(?)-ḥer-fa-seshep."

c. "Horus, Ḥunnu-ḥekenut-ḥer-àst-tefef-tât-tcheser-er-enti-sute-niu-neteru-setep-en-Temu-tchesef." Lepsius, 705g.

d. "Horus, Ḥunnu-ḥer-tep-pet-paut-sa-Āusâr-mes-Āuset." *Id.*, h.

(3) "L. S., Seherâbtaui." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 866b.

(4) "Horus of gold, Urpeḥpeḥ-neb-ḥebu-seṭu(?)-tefef-Ptaḥ-mà-Āmen-tef-neteru-àthi-mà-Ra." *Id.*, 866c.

(5) a. "Menkh-neter." *Id.*, u.

b. "Peneter-menkh." *Id.*, r.

c. "Peneter-menkh-neb-qen." *Id.*, x, y.

d. "Peneter-menkh-setep-tefef." *Id.*, z.

(6) "Ptualnis, son of Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, the god euergetes." Brugsch, 866 *Edfu*.

(7) The following titles of Ptolemy IX and his sister Cleopatra (and his wife Cleopatra) occur together:

a. "Like his father, Ptaḥ, father of the gods, like Ra, K. E., Neterui-perui-(or ubenui)-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, and his sister, the queen, lady of the two lands, Clauapatrat, and his wife, the queen, lady of the two lands, Clauapatrat, neterumenkhu, son (and) daughter of the king Ptualmis and Clauapatrat, neterui-perui." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 867.

b. "The kings Ptolemy and Cleopatra, his sister, the children of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the gods Epiphanes." *Id.*

c. "K. E., Neterui-perui-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Isis, (and) the sister-wife, queen, lady of the two lands, (and) Clauapatrat, sister-wife, of the son of the Sun, Ptualmis." *Id.*

d. "K. E., Neterui-perui(ubenui(?))-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, (and) his sister, the queen, lady of the two lands, Clauapatrat, the gods euergetes." *Id.*

e. "K. E., Neterui-perui(ubanui(?))-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, beloved of Ptaḥ, the victorious, the god euergetes and his wife, the queen, lady of the two lands, Clauapatrat." *Id.*, 868.

f. "The kings, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, his wife, the gods euergetes." *Id.*

g. "The queen, lady of the two lands, Cleopatra, the queen, wife of the son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, the gods euergetes."

h. "King Ptolemy, the god euergetes, son of Ptolemy, and the queen Cleopatra, his wife, the goddess euergetes." *Id.*, 869.

i. "The living Horus, Ḥunnu-ḥekenut-em-ankhef-ḥer-nest-tafef-bener-sep-ḥemt-tcheser-mes-khauf-ḥer-ḥepu-ankh, L. S., Seher-āb-taui, Horus of gold, Ur-peḥpeḥ-neb-ḥebu-seṭu(?)-mā-tafef-Ptaḥ-Āmen-taf-neteru-Ra-mā, K. E., neterui-perui(ubanui(?))-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-āri-Maat-Āmen-Rà-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, and his wife, the queen, lady of the two lands, Cleopatra, the gods euergetes." *Id.*, 868.

k. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ,

(and) his wife, the queen, lady of the two lands, Clauapatrat, the gods euergetes." *Id.*, 868.

l. "The king neterui-perui-(ubanui(?))-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, beloved of Ptaḥ, maat-kheru, neter-menkh, and his wife, the queen, lady of the two lands, Cleopatra (Clauapatrat)." *Id.*

m. "K. E., Neterui-perui-(ubanui(?))-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh, and the goddess, his sister, the queen, lady of the two lands, Claupetra, and his wife, the lady of the two lands, Claupetra, the gods euergetes (neterui menkhui)." *Id.*, 869 *Edfu*.

n. The same at Ombos except *neteru menkhu* (*i.e.*, plur. instead of dual) plus *neb gen*; and after the king's name *Peneter-menkh-neb-gen*. *Id.*, 869.

o. "King Ptolemy and the queen Cleopatra, his sister, and the queen Cleopatra, his wife, the gods euergetes." *Id.*

p. "King Ptolemy, the well-doing (p-menkh), son of Ptolemy and of Cleopatra, the gods epiphanes; and the queen Cleopatra, his sister (and) his wife, the goddess well-doing (temenkhet)." *Id.*

10. "Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X."

(1) "The queen Cleopatra and the king Ptolemy, Philometor Soter." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 870.

(2) "The mother-loving gods, who are saviors." *Id.*

(3) "Living Ḥerut-Ra, lady of the two lands, Clauapetrat, and her son." *Id.*

(4) "Living Horus-Ra, tcheser-messu-ḥer-ḥepu-ankh, etc." 870a.

(5) "L. S., Sekhà-sutenet-mutef-ḥer-nest-tefef-Āmen-tef-neteru-suteni-Āmon- . . . semen-hepu (var. maāu)-Teḥuti-āāui(?)-mà." *Id.*, 870b.

(6) a. "K. E., lord of the two lands, neterui-menkhui . . . ankh." *Id.*, c.

b. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Neter-menkh-neteret-meri-māt-s-netch-āu-Ptaḥ-en-setep-en-āri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh." *Id.*

(7) "Son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Ptualmis, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ, neterui (var. neteru)-mut-meri." *Id.*, d.

(8) "The living Horus-Ra, Ka-nekht-mà-athi-ṭeṭ-em-per-ta-mert-ankh-ḥepu-mà-erṭa-nef-netch-ḥebu-seṭu(?)-āshau-uru-àn-mà Ptaḥ-Āmen-tefef-neteru(!)." *Id.*, 871a.

(9) "L. S., Ur-peḥpeḥ-khent-sha?-ḥeḥ-semen-hepu-mà-Teḥuti-āāui-neb-shefit-mà(!)-neb- -ṭeṭṭeṭ-suteniu-mà-Ra-em-āu-ābu-heq-āmi-en-maāu(?)-ḥetep-ḥer-nest-suten-ārinef (var. erta)-ankh-ṭeṭ-user-àn-Āusar." *Id.*, b.

(10) "King Ptolemy, whom people call the victorious, who was crowned a second time with the diadem of Isis and Osiris." *Id.*, 871.

(11) "King Ptolemy, who took possession of Egypt, when he was crowned the second time as king." *Id.*

(12) "The son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ." *Id.*

(13) The following titles are from the time of Ptolemy, the Tenth's, second rule:

"Son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Isis." *Id.*, 875.

(14) "Living Horus-Ra, tcheser-mesu-ḥer-ḥepu-(sa)-ānkh." 875*B*, *a*.

(15) "K. E., lord of the two lands, neterui-menkhui-āu-setep-en-Ptaḥ-àri-Maat-en-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 875*c*.

(16) "K. E., Neterui-menkhui-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-en-Maat-Rà-Āmen-sekhem-ankh-em, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Isis, the god of deliverance." *Id.*

(17) "L. S., Ur-peḥpeḥ-tcheser-hetch-ìr-meri," etc. 875*b*.

(18) "The queen, lady of the two lands, princess great of favor, Berenice, royal wife, royal sister, and the son of the Sun(?), Ptualmis, called Alexander, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, the gods Philometor." *Id.*, 875.

11. (1) "K. E., lord of the two lands, Neterui-menkhui-āu-en-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-en-sekhem-ankh [Pe-neter-mutef-meri]. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 874*d*.

(2) "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, called Alexander, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ." *Id.*, *e*.

(3) "K. E., Neterui-menkhui-āu-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-Rà-Āmen-semen-ankh, son of the Sun, Ptualmis, called Alexander, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ." *Id.*, bottom.

(4) *a*. "Horus-Ra, Ptaḥ(!)-em-khet-up-ṭet(?)-nes-ḥepu-ḥer-meskhen-ànerui[f](?)." Budge, VIII, 69, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 874.

(5) *a*. "Horus of gold, Āa-àb." Budge, VIII, 69.

b. "Horus of gold, Āa-àb-neteru-meri-," etc. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 873.

(6) "L. S., Seher-àb-taii." Budge, VIII, 69.

(7) "The queen Cleopatra, the goddess euergetes, and king Ptolemy, called Alexander, her son." *Id.*, 872.

(8) *Id.*, minus "her son." *Id.*

(9) "King Ptolemy, called Alexander, beloved of Ptaḥ." *Ibid.*

(10) "King Ptolemy, called Alexander, and the queen Berenice, his sister, the gods Philometor." *Ibid.*

(11) "King Ptolemy, called Alexander, beloved of Ptaḥ, and the queen Cleopatra, the goddess euergetes, and Berenice, his sister." *Id.*, 873.

12. (1) "The great king (Perāa) Ptolemy, the god Dionysus-Neos, Philopator, Philadelphus, and the ever-living kings (Peru-āau)." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 876.

(2) *a.* "K. E., Pe-neter-āu-en-enti-neḥem-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-Āmen-nu-Ra." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, *id.*, *a.*

b. "K. E., lord of the two lands, Pe-neter-enti-neḥem-āu-Ptaḥ-setep-en-àri-Maat-Rā-Āmen-sekhem-ankh." *Id.*, *a.*

(3) *a.* "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis (var. Ptulmis), the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ-Isis."

b. "Son of the Sun, Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Isis, Philopator, Philadelphus." *Id.*, bottom of page.

(4) *a.* "Horus-Ra, Ḥunnu-nefer-bener-mert-sheps." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 877*a.*

b. "Horus-Ra, Nekht-khau-ḥer-mes-ḥepu-ankh." Budge, VIII, 85.

(5) "L. S., Rekhit-ḥer-kaf-ḥer-ṭua-khnem-sheps-?-khaa-(var. + usekh)-em-ḥetchet-(var. ḥetch)-senui-en-sehennu-em-ḥā-netchet-(var. omit)-mā-(var. + netch-tefef)-?theḥen-? ?." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 877*b.*

(6) *a.* "Horus of gold, Āa-àb-athi-neb-qen-nekht-sa-Āuset-mā." *Id.*, *c.*

(7) "Horus, Ka-nekht-ṭet-uben-en-ta-mert-mà-ḥepu-sa-ankh-ka-em-athi-qen-nekht-mà-Āuset." *Id.*

13. (1) "King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, and . . . and the queen Cleopatra, surnamed Trupina, the gods Philopator, Philadelphus." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 878.

(2) "Living Horus-Ra, Āa-àb-athi-neb-qen-nekht-Āuset-mà-sa-Ra-neb-khau-Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ and his sister, wife, the queen, lady of the two lands, Clauapetrat, surnamed Trupenet, the gods Philopator, Philadelphus." *Id.*

(3) "K. E., lord of the two lands, Pe-neter-neḥemet-āu-setep-en-Ptaḥ-àri-Maat-en-Rà-Āmen." *Id.*

(4) "Horus of gold, Āa-àb-athi-neb-qen-mà-Āuset, son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Ptualmis, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ, and the royal sister (and) wife, the queen, lady of the two lands, Clauapatrat, surnamed Trupina, the gods Philopator, Philadelphus." *Id.*

14. (1) "Queen Cleopatra, the goddess, who loves her father, and her brother, and the king Ptolemy, surnamed Kisros, the god, loving his father and his mother." Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 879.

(2) "The living Horus, ? Ur-pehpeh-sheps-Net-neb?-seurs?-nefer?-, lady of the two lands, Clauapatrat, the goddess Philopator, and her son, the King of Egypt (and) lord of the two lands, Ptualmis, son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Kisrs, the ever-living, beloved of Ptaḥ (and) Isis, the god Philapator, Philometor." *Id.*, 879.

(3) "The queen, lady of the two lands, Cleptras and her son Kisrs." *Id.*

(4) "Horus, Hunnu-nefer-K. E., lord of the two lands, Ptualmis, son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or risings), Kisrs, the god Philopator, Philometor."

(5) "King Ptolemy, surnamed Cæsar, the god Philopator, Philometor." *Id.*

(6) "Cluptrat, the goddess Philopator." *Id.*

I.—B. THE TITLES OF THE GREEK KINGS IN THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

1. "Alexander" alone, Bu. 88-5-12, 619 (see *Cuneiform Texts*, IV); "Antiochus" alone, Bezold's *Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets*, 1558; *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, III. II. 139, IV. 317; *Z. A.*, III. 150; "Demetrius" alone, *Z. A.*, III. 148.

2. "Alexander, king of kings." Bezold's *Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets*, 1543.

3. "Alexander, the son of Alexander." *Z. A.*, III. 150; *K. B.*, IV. 313.

4. "Seleucus, the king," *Z. A.*, III. 151; Bu. 88-5-12, 514; *Cun. Texts*, IV; *K. B.*, III. II. 139 bis, IV. 317, 319; "Demetrius, the king," Bezold's *Cat.*, 662; Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, No. 21, p. 44; Nos. 26, 54(?); "Antiochus, the king," *K. B.*, IV. 317; *Z. A.*, III. 151; Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, No. 1, Rev. 34; "Alexander, the king," Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, No. 14, Rev. 40, and in No. 17, Rev. 11.

5. "Antiochus, king of the lands." Bezold's *Cat.*, 561; *K. B.*, III. II. 139.

6. "Antiochus, the third, the king." Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, No. 25, Rev. 29.

7. Antiochus Soter calls himself "the great king, the powerful king, the savior king, the king of Babylon, the king of the lands," etc. *Révue d'Assyriologie et d'Arch. orientale*, I. 104.

8. "King of the lands" alone. Same *Review*, and article at end.

9. "Antiochus, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Babylon, the king of the lands, the restorer of Esagil and Ezida, the princely son of Seleucus, king of the Macedonians, the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. II. 136.

10. "The son of De[metrius]." *Z. A.*, III. 149.

11. "Seleucus, king of the Macedonians, king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. II. 136.

12. "Seleucus, the king, his (*i.e.*, Antiochus') son." *K. B.*, III. II. D. 138 *bis*.

I.—C. THE TITLES OF THE GREEK KINGS IN THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

1. The name of the king alone. From *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), "Philip," 950. 58; "Alexander," 1371. 5(?); "Lysimachus," 750. 4, 9; "Seleucus," 750. 1; "Nabius [of Sparta], 497. From *C. I. A.*, "Alexander," 591b. 12; "Antigonus(?)," 234b. 14; "Cassander," 371c. From *Ins. Att.*, "Attalus," 1670; "Cassander," 253, 266, 331; "Lysimachus," 732A, "Alexander [the Great]," 161 *bis*, 240 *bis*; "Antigonus," 239; "Demetrius," 314, 239(?), 317. From *I. G. I.*, II., "Alexander," 526a, 6, 14, 34, 39; c 24, d 2, 645a, 1, 3; "Ptolemy," 498. 25.

2. "King" alone. *C. I. G.* (G. S.), I. 223. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 102, 188. So *I. G. I.*, III. 466, II. 8.

3. The title followed by the name. In *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), "King Lysimachus," 750. 40; "King Eumenes," I. 37. In *C. I. G.* (G. S.), "King Attalus," I. 45; "King Demetrius," I. 5, 6; "King Eumenes," 15; "King Lysimachus," 279; "King Ptolemy," 298, 3498; 298. 5, 10, 23. In *C. I. A.*, "King Antigonus," 264d. 7, 11; (Gonates) 323b, 591b; "King Demetrius," 252d, 614b, 10, 36; "King Philip," 619b. 5; "King Eumenes," 441d. 8, 441f. 6; "King Ptolemy," 309b. 10, 417b. c; "King Seleucus," 318c, frag. d. 22. In *Ins. Att.*, "King Ptolemy," 332, 381; "King Antiochus," 840; "King Attalus," 384, 385; "King Eumenes," 433, 434, 435, 436; "King Cassander," 297(?); "King Lysimachus," 314, 319; "King Alexander," 737 *ter*; "King Antigonus," 238; "King Demetrius," 300 *bis*, 263, 264, 306. In *I. G. I.*, III, "King Ptolemy," 327. 1; IV, *id.*, 466. I. 4, II. 4; "King Philip," 91; II. "King Alexander," 526b. 18, d. 10, 25; "King Antigonus," 526c. 30; "King Attalus," 42.

4. "Antigonus the king." *Ins. Att.*, 200; "Demetrius, the king," *id.*, 301.

5. "Amyntas, Mak. rex." *C. I. G.* (G. S.), I, 3055, l. 7.
6. "The brother of King Eumenes" (*i.e.*, Attalus). *I. G. I.*, II, 639.
7. "Antigoni Demetrius, the Macedonian." *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.) 1419.
8. "Amyntas Perdiccas, king of the Macedonians." *C. I. G.* (G. S.), I, 3055.
9. "Attalus the son of King Attalus," *Ins. Att.*, 966, 1170; "Attalus the son of King Eumenes," *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), 139; "Alexander the son of Craterus," *C. I. A.*, 371. 2. 15 *seq.*, comp. 161.
10. "King Attalus Philadelphus," *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), 1, 38, 5.
11. "King Attalus, the son of King Attalus," *I. G. I.*, II, 639; "King Philip, the son of King Damatrius," *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), 427; "King Eumenes, the son of King Attalus," *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), 898, and *Ins. Att.*, 966; "King Ptolemy, the son of King Ptolemy," *Ins. Att.*, 966, 966A. 41.
12. "Demetrius his (*i.e.*, Antigonus') son." *C. I. A.*, 264d. 13.
13. "The beneficent King Nicomedes." *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), 558. 24.
14. "Nicomedes (the) king, son of Nicomedes the Illustrious (Epiphanes)." *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), 1135. 1.
15. "King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, the Gods, Philomatores," etc., *C. I. G.* (P. E. I. V.), 854, *Ins. Att.*, VI, 468; "King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe the Gods Philopatores," *I. G. I.*, IV.
16. "The elder King Ptolemy." *Ins. Att.*, 331.
17. "King Ptolemy, the son of the elder king Ptolemy." *Ins. Att.*, 968. 46, VIII. 464.
18. "King Antiochus, the son of King Antiochus Epiphanes." *Ins. Att.*, 969 *bis*.
19. "King Ptolemy, the God Euergetes." *I. G. I.*, III. 204.
20. "Soter (Savior) (?)." *I. G. I.*, III. 463. 2.
21. "Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy and Berenice, the Gods, Euergetes." *I. G. I.*, II. 498. 1.

I.—D. TITLES OF THE GREEK KINGS IN THE PΑPYRI.

1. "Alexander" alone. Tebtuni Papyri, 104. 5, 105. 9, 106. 4, 109. 8, 176.
2. "The first Amyntas, the father of Philip." Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I, p. 36.
3. "Ptolemaios Theos neos Dionysos Philopator Philadelphos." Oxyr. Pap., II. 236
4. Same as last, minus *neos Dionysos*. *Id.*

5. "Queen Cleopatra, goddess Euergetes, and King Ptolemy, called Alexander, the God Philometor." Fayum Pap., 103.

6. "Queen [Cleopatra and King Ptolemy the Gods] Philometores [the Saviors]. Fayum Pap., p. 101.

7. "King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the sister and Queen Cleopatra the wife." Tebtuni Pap., I. 20. Again on p. 60 and p. 147, and on p. 511 (the last adds "the Gods Euergetes").

8. "The Gods Brethren" of Ptol. Philadelphos. Teb. Pap., 6. 17; 176.

9. "The Gods Euergetes." Teb. Pap., 6. 18; 176.

10. The following titles are used of Ptolemy Philopator:

(1) "Gods Philopatores." Teb. Pap., 6. 18; 176.

(2) "Pappos of the king." Teb. Pap., 62. 29, 36.

(3) "Pappos." *Id.*, 62. 315.

(4) "Propappos." *Id.*, 63. 38, 64(a). 19.

(5) "Propappos of the king." *Id.*, 63. 37, 64(a). 15.

(6) "Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Gods Philopatores." *Id.*, 176.

11. The following titles are used of Ptolemy Epiphanes:

(1) "The Gods Epiphanes." *Id.*, 6. 18, 176.

(2) "Father." *Id.*, 62. 316.

(3) "Father of the king." *Id.*, 30. 26, 62. 38, 55.

(4) "Pappos." *Id.*, 63. 50, 64(a). 23.

(5) "Pappos of the king." *Id.*, 63. 39.

(6) "Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Gods Philopatores." *Id.*, 176.

12. The following titles are used of Ptolemy Philometor:

(1) "The Gods Philometores." *Id.*, 6. 19.

(2) "Adelphos." 61b. 70, 71, 62. 57, 115, 317.

(3) "Brother of the father of the king." 63. 51, 64(a). 24, 72. 47.

(4) "Brother of the father." 63. 94, 64a. 45.

13. Ptolemy Eupator is called "The God Eupator." *Id.*, 6. 19.

14. The following titles are used of Ptolemy Euergetes II:

(1) "The Gods Euergetes." *Id.*, 6. 3, 19; 11. 17.

(2) "The father." *Id.*, 63. 94, 65. 16.

(3) "The father of the king." *Id.*, 63. 51, 95, 64(a). 24, (b). 16.

15. Ptolemy Soter II is mentioned in the title: "Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy the Gods Philometores, the Saviors." *Id.*, 78. 13.

16. Ptolemy Alexander I is mentioned in the following titles:

(1) "Cleopatra Goddess Euergetes, and Ptolemy, who is called Alexander, the Gods Philometores, the Saviors." *Id.*, 166.

(2) The same as last, omitting "the Saviors." *Id.*, 105. 8.

(3) "Ptolemy, who also is Alexander, the God Philometor and Queen Berenice, the Goddess Philadelphos." *Id.*, 106. 3.

(4) "Ptolemy, who is called Alexander, the God Philometor." *Id.*, 109. 6.

(5) "Ptolemy, who also is Alexander, the God Philometor." *Id.*, 109. 6.

(6) Same as last, omitting "the God Philometor." *Id.*, 166.

(7) "Ptolemy [who also is Alexander the God] Philometor and Berenice." Oxyr. Pap., 802.

(8) Same as last, omitting "Berenice." 824.

17. "King" alone, Teb. Pap., 5. 1. 246; 6. 8.; 7. 1; 30. 26; 36. 8; 48. 13; 49. 21; 50. 45; 61(a). 146; 62. 29, 38, 57, 115, 116, 309, 318; 63. 33, 39, 51, 95; 64(a). 15, 24, 46; 65. "Queen" alone, 5. 1; 6. 9; 78. 13; 86. 25; 90 introd.; 210. Oxy. Pap., 671. 4, 14(?), 21; 684. 7, 12, 17.

II. THE GREEK TITLES IN THE GREEK HISTORIANS.*

1. Name only. So Herodotus ordinarily, *e.g.*, Cræsus, I. 6⁴, † 7¹, 26², 27³, 28³, 30⁴, 31², 33², *et al. mult.*; Psammetichus, II. 2³, 30³, 151⁴. 152², 153, 154², 157, 158, 161; Mena, II. 4; Sesostris, II. 107², 108, 110, 111; Proteus, II. 112, 114², 115², 116, 118, 121; Amasis, II. 134, 162⁷, 163, 169³, 172⁴, 174, 175, 176², 177, 178, 180, 181⁶, 182, III. 1, and other kings of Egypt often; Cyrus, I. 113², 114⁴, 115, 116, 120, 121, 122², 123⁶, 124, 125³, 126⁴, and often; Cambyses, III. 1-75 often; Darius, III. 70-160, IV. throughout, and often elsewhere; Xerxes, scores of times; so also of Amyntas of Macedon, V. 17, 18⁶, 19³, 20; Alexander, V. 20³, 21, 22², and often; Leonidas, VII. 205², 206, 207, 219, 220³, 221, 222³, 223, 224, and often, and Pausanias, IX. 53³, 55³, 56, 57², and often; and other kings often in like manner.

So Thucydides, *e.g.*, Perdicas, I. 58, 61, 62², II. 29², IV. 79³, 83⁶, 103, 124⁴, 125, and elsewhere; Pausanias, I. 95³, 96, 128, 129³, 130, 132², 133², 134, 135²; Arrhibæus, IV. 83³; Cyrus, I. 13; Darius, I. 16; Xerxes, I. 14, 118, 129, III. 56; Agis, V. 58², 59, 60³, and often.

So Xenophon, in *Cyropædia*, of Cyrus hundreds of times; of As-tyages, Bk. I. 3¹⁶, 4²³; of Cyaxares, Bk. I. 4³, 6⁴, V. 5²⁶, and often; of Cræsus, VII. 2¹³, and often; of Abradatus, VI. 3⁵, 4⁶. In the *Ana-*

* The following editions have been used in the looking up of the material given in II, to wit: *Herodotus*, by Dindorf, Paris, 1844, and Gaisford's edition, Oxford, 1840; Boehme's *Thucydides*, Leipzig, 1857; Dindorf's *Xenophon*, Leipzig, 1856; Müller's *Fragmenta Ctesiaæ Cnidii*, Paris, 1844; Büttner-Wobst's *Polybius*, Leipzig, 1882; Vogel's *Diodorus Siculus*, Leipzig, 1888; Meineke's *Strabo*, Leipzig, 1895; and Niese's *Josephus*, Berlin, 1887-1895.

† The small numbers denote the number of times the name occurs in the section.

basis, of Darius II. Bk. I. I²; Artaxerxes, Bk. I. I *ter*, II. 4²⁵, I 8, 26; Xerxes I. Bk. II. 9, III. 2, 13; Syennesis, I. 2. 26, 27; 4. 4. In the *Hellenica*, of Agis, I. 1. 33, 34, 35; II. 2. 7, 11, 13, and often elsewhere; Agesilaus, III. B. 1, 2, 4³, 4. 2², 3, 6², and often; Amyntas, V. 2. 13, 38; 3. 9; Darius, II. 1. 8.

So Diodorus Siculus, *e.g.*, Cyrus, IX. 21, 24, 31³, 32, and often; Xerxes, XIV. 25², VIII. 1²; Darius, XIII. 37, 40; Archelaos, XIII. 49; Agis 13. 9; Pausanias, XIII. 75; Artaxerxes, XIII. 108, XIV. 19, 20³, 22; Alexander [the great], XIII. 108²; Psammetichus, XIV. 35², 24, XV. 90, 91, 92²; Cræsus, IX. 25³, 26³, 31⁵, *et al.**

So Ctesias (see *Fragmenta a Carolo Mullero*). In the *Persica*, Cyrus, 1, 2³, 3³, 4⁴, 5³, 6³, 7², and often; Cambyses, 9³, 10⁴, and often; Darius, 15², 17³, 19², *et al.*; Xerxes, 20², 21, 22³, 23², 24, 25³, and often; Artaxerxes, 30³, 31², and often; and in like manner the names of all the Persian kings until Artaxerxes the Second inclusive; Amyrtæus, 9; Inarus, 32³, 33², 34³, 36²; Euagoras, 63⁷; Semiramis, XVI. *ter*, XVII. *bis*, XVIII. *fin*, and often.

So Strabo, *e.g.*, Cyrus, 512², 517, and often; Xerxes, 518, 591, 634, 636; Astyages, 524; Alexander, 508, 509, 513, 517², 524, 529; Cambyses, 475, 736, 790, and often; Darius, 98, 180, 301, and often; Sebastos (Augustus), 657; Semiramis, 529.

So Polybius, *e.g.*, Philip, IX. 28. 3; 30. 1, 7; Alexander, IX. 28. 8; Cleomenes, IX. 29. 8, 10; Ptolemy [Lagus], I. 63. 7; V. 67. 6, 10; II. 41. 1; Antigonus, IX. 29. 7; I. 63. 7; Demetrius, IX. 29. 5; I. 63. 7; Cassander, IX. 29. 5; Perseus, XXX. 17 *ter*; Philip, V. 12 *ter*, 13 four times, 14 *bis*; Kotus, XXX. 17 *bis*, *et al. mult.* in like manner.

So Josephus, in *Antiquities*, Hezekiah, IX. 267, 276, 278; X. 1, 30, 34; Hosea, IX. 259, 260, 278; Sennacherib, X. 2, 21, 23; Bala-dan, X. 31, 34; Necho, X. 75, 76, 85. Likewise, in *c. Apion*, Amen-ophis, §§ 95, 251, 266, 276, and many other names, as on pages 16 and 34 of Niese's edition.

2. The title "king" alone is used. So by Herodotus, of Ramp-sinitus, II. 121, twelve times; of Cræsus, II. 27 *bis*, 32 *bis*, 35 *bis*, 36; and in numerous instances of other kings, not Persian.

So by Thucydides, but only apparently of the Persian kings. Xenophon, also, seldom uses the title alone except for the king of Persia. But see *Cyropædia*, III. 3, V. 26, of the king of Assyria; VII. 28, 29, 32, and elsewhere. Ctesias, also, of the king of Persia alone. Polybius frequently of any king of whom he writes. Thus of Philip, XXIII. frequently, of Antiochus, XXI. in almost every

* Only fifteen books of the history of Diodorus Siculus have been cited in this article.

section a number of times; of Eumenes, XXII. 7, 8 *bis*; of Antiochus Epiphanes, XXIX. 27 *ter*; of Ptolemy, XXII. 17, 22, XXIV. 6.

Diodorus Siculus, of the kings of Egypt, I. 45, following, frequently; but he uses the title seldom in general. Strabo, as we might expect, on account of the character of his writings, uses the title alone in but a few cases, *e.g.*, 524, 531. Josephus uses the title alone of a great many kings, *e.g.*, *contra* Ap., 77, 82, 92, 121, 142, 192, 194, 207, 232, 234, 236 *ter*, 237, 255, 257, 258, 259, 267, 274, 312, 314.

3. The name followed by the title. So Herodotus (but seldom), *e.g.*, "Psammetichus king," II. 30, 154; "Sesostris king," II. 137; "Rhampsinitis king," II. 124; "Amasis king," II. 145 *bis*; "Necho king," II. 158.

Likewise Thucydides, of "Darius king," VIII. 37, and Xenophon, in *Cyrop.*, VIII. 8; "Artaxerxes the king," and without the article *Hellenica*, V. 1. 31; and "Agesipolis, the king," *Hellenica*, V. 3. 8.

So Ctesias, of "Artaxerxes the king," § 42; and of "Stabrobates the king," § 19.

So likewise Polybius, *e.g.*, "Antiochus the king," XXXI. 9, XXI. 10, 11, and fragment 54; "Eumenes the king," XXI. 3, 10, 16, 43; "Ptolemy the king," III. 2, XXII. 7, XXIV. 6, XXX. 9, 19; "Philip the king," XXI. 31, XXII. 13, XXV. 3; "Seleucus the king," XXII. 6; "Pharnaces the king," XXIV. 14; "Prusias the king," XXX. 18.

So Diodorus Siculus, *e.g.*, "Stabrobates the king," II. 19. 4; "Tachos the king," XV. 92. 1, 2; "Pleistonax the king," XIII. 75; "Darius the king," X. 19, XIII. 70. 3, 104. 3; "Xerxes the king," XI. 1, 56, XII. 76(?); "Artaxerxes the king," XV. 41, 70. 2.

So Strabo, of "Mithridates the king," § 628 (to distinguish from another Mithridates.)

So Josephus, in *Antiquities*, of "Cyrus the king," XI. 3, 5, 99; of "Darius the king," XI. 34, 302; of "Xerxes the king," XI. 183; of "Nebuchadnezzar the king," XI. 14; of "Darius the king" (Codomannus), 311, 321; of "Hezekiah the king," X. 24; of "Antiochus the king," XII. 364, 390. In *contra* Apion, of "Ithobal the king," 156; of "Solomon the king," 108; of "Amenophis the king," 240, 247; of "Alexander king" (without article?), 183, 200; of "Antigonus king" (without article?), 213.

4. The title followed by the name:

Thus, Herodotus speaks of "King Amasis," II. 154; of "King Darius," V. 17, 18, VI. 20, 118, VII. 152, III. 65.

Thucydides speaks of "King Xerxes," I. 129 (letter heading); "King Artaxerxes," I. 104; "King Darius," IV. 102, VI. 59 *bis*, VIII. 37 *bis* (in treaty).

Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, I. 1, speaks of "the king (ruling one) Artaxerxes."

Ctesias speaks of "King Artaxerxes," Frag. IV-VI. 63.

Polybius speaks of "King Agron," II. 3; of "King Eumenes," XXI. 42, XXII. 6 *bis*; of "King Ptolemy," XXII. 7; of "King Antiochus," XXI. 16; of "King Philip," XXIII. 10; of "King Ariarthes," XXXII. 10; and of others in like manner.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of "King Tacho," XV. 92. 1, 2, 93. 2; "King Xerxes," XI. 5. 4, 69. 1; "of "King Artaxerxes," XIV. 22. 1, 25. 1, XV. 91. 7.

If Strabo uses this form, I have failed to note it.

Josephus uses it in *Antiquities*, of Nebuchadnezzar, X. 211, XI. 10; Cyrus, XI. 12 (letter); Darius, XI. 104 (letter), 116, 118 (letter); Cambyses, XI. 26; Xerxes XI. 122, 159 (and βασιλεύοντος λέξιον XI. 168); Ptolemy, XII. 45 (letter), 51 (letter), 196; Antiochus, XII. 137, 138, 148, 246, 262 (letter), 293, 297, 354, 386; of Hezekiah, IX. 268, X. 36; of Hosea, IX. 278; of Sennacharib, X. 18, 20, and elsewhere. Also in *contra* Apion, of Tethmosis, 94; Solomon, 109, and Amenophis, 254.

5. The name of the nationality is used to denote the king.

So Herodotus uses the title "the Lydian" to denote Alyattes, king of Lydia, I. 22; "the Ethiopian" of Sabakos, II. 137, 152; "the Persian" for kings of Persia often, see Article I.

Thucydides uses it of "the Mede," I. 69, 74.

Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia*, uses this form frequently to denote kings, *e.g.*, "the Indian," III. 2, VI. 2, and elsewhere; "the Assyrian," V. 25, and often; "the Susian," VI. 23. So in the *Anabasis*, II. 4. 26, and *Hellenica*, V. 2. 35, "the Persian."

Josephus, in the *Antiquities*, X. 15, "the Assyrian"; X. 130, 106, "the Babylonian."

6. The name is followed by the nationality.

So Herodotus, I. 25, "Alyattes, the Lydian"; "Astyages, the Mede"; "Darius, the Persian," II. 158, 110; "Sesostris, the Egyptian," II. 110; "Alexander, the Macedonian," IX. 10.

Thucydides speaks of "Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian," I. 128.

Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia*, mentions "Cræsus, the Lydian," II. 1. 5, and "Abradates, the Susian," VI. 2, 7.

Polybius speaks of "Cleomenes, the Spartan," XXXIX. 8; Ctesias of "Inaros, a Libyan," Frag. IV-VI. 32. Diodorus Siculus

speaks of "Cyrus, the Persian," II. 34. 6, IX. 20. 4, 31. 1, 32, 35. 1; "Cambyses, the Persian," X. 14. 2; "Crœsus, the Lydian," IX. 29; "Agesilaos, the Spartan," XV. 88. Strabo seems not to use it; but Josephus, in *contra Apion* speaks of "Cyrus, the Persian," 159.

7. The name of the nationality, followed by the personal name, *e.g.*, Herodotus, II. 33, "the Ammonian Elearchus"; II. 107, "the Egyptian Sesostris"; II. 152, "the Ethiopian Sabakos." So also Xenophon, in *Cyropædia*, I. 1, "the Persian, Cyrus."

8. Herodotus reverses number 7, *e.g.*, "Sesostris, the Egyptian," II. 110; "Darius, the Persian," II. 110, 158.

9. The name followed by the name of the father.

So Herodotus, of "Crœsus, son of Alyattes," I. 6; "Caudaules, son of Myrsus," I. 7; "Gyges, son of Dascylus," I. 8; "Alyattes, son of Sadyattes," I. 18; "Astyages, son of Cyaxares," I. 46; "Apries, the son of Psammetichus," II. 161; "Cyrus, the son of Cambyses," III. 69, VII. 51, I. 46, 73, 207; "Cambyses, son of Cyrus," III. 1 *bis*, 44, 61, 64, 66; "Smerdis, son of Cyrus," III. 61, 63, 65, 67, 68 *bis*, 69, 71, 74 *bis*, 75, 88; "Darius, son of Hystaspes," III. 70, 88 *bis*, 140, VI. 97, VII. 1; "Xerxes, son of Darius," VI. 97, VII. 186; "Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes," VI. 97, VII. 106, 151; "Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides," V. 39; "Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus," IV. 81, IX. 10; and in like manner in numerous instances of others elsewhere.

So Thucydides, of "Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus," I. 94 (not usual with Thucydides in the case of kings).

So Xenophon, in *Cyropædia*, of "Cyaxares, son of Astyages," I. 5. 2, 4; and in *Hellenica*, of "Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus," V. 4. 25 (not usual by Xenophon in the case of kings).

Ctesias uses this form of "Darius, the son of Hystaspes," Frag. IV-VI. 14.

Polybius uses it of "Philip, the son of Amyntas," II. 48; of "Antigonus, the son of Gonates," IX. 29. 5; of "Ptolemy, the son of Lagus," V. 67. 10, II. 41. 1; of "Philip, the son of Demetrius," XXXIX, 8; of "Antiochus, the son of Seleucus," XXX. 31; of "Demetrius, the son of Seleucus," XXXI. 2.

Josephus uses it, in the *Antiquities*, of "Cambyses, son of Cyrus," XI. 21; "Darius, son of Hystaspes," XI. 31; "Ptolemy, son of Lagus," XII. 2; in *contra Apion*, of "Ramesses, the son of Amenophis," § 300, and of "Ptolemy, the son of Lagus," 183, 185, 210.

Finally, Alexander, *Polyhistor*, employs it of "Cyrus, the son of Cambyses." Cory, Fragments 63.

10. The name of the father followed by the name of the son.

So Xenophon, in *Cyrop.*, I. 4. 25, speaks of "Cambyses, the father of Cyrus"; Diodorus Siculus speaks of "Darius, the father of Xerxes," I. 95. 4 (compare "the father, Darius," XI. 2. 2). So Strabo, "Darius, the father of Xerxes," 591.

11. Polybius speaks of "Attalus, the father of Eumenes, the king," XXII. 20.

12. The name of the father preceded by the word son, or its representative, the article.

So Herodotus, "son of Cambyses," I. 124; "son of Cyrus," III. 14.

13. Herodotus speaks of "Cleombrotus, the father of Pausanias, and son of Anaxandrides," IX. 10.

14. Xenophon speaks of "Artaxerxes, who was the father of Darius," *Hellenica*, II. I.

15. The name of the king followed by the name of the people or peoples ruled.

So Herodotus, "King of the Medes," IX. 7, VIII. 114, VII. 136, I. 56; 205 (of Cyrus), IV. 7; "king of the Ethiopians," III. 21; "the king of the Persians," III. 21 *bis*.

Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia*, "the king of the Assyrians," I. 5. 2; "the [king of] the Cappadocians," I. 5. 2, IV. 2. 29; "the king of the Phrygians," VII. 4. 10; "the king of the Indians," III. 2. 25, II. 4. 7 *bis*; "the king of the Bactrians," V. 1. 3; "the king of the Arabians," I. 5. 2; "the king of the Persians," VII. 1. 4, VIII. 2. 8, 9.

In the *Anabasis*, "king of the Persians," III. 4. 8, 12.

In the *Hellenica*, "the king of the Persians," III. 4. 25, VII. 1. 33; likewise, in the *Æconomici*, IV. 4, 5; and in Agesilaus, I. 6. "The king of the Egyptians," Agesilaus, II. 28.

So Ctesias, "the king of the Egyptians," *Persica*, IV-VI. 9; "the king of the Indians," *Assyriaca*, XIX. 7, 10.

So Polybius, "the king of the Persians," I. 6. 2; "the king of the Macedonians" (of Persius), XXIX. 18.

So Diodorus Siculus, "the king of the Egyptians," XV. 18. 1, 90. 3; "the king of the Persians," XV. 8. 2, 3, 8. 1, 93. 1; "the king of the Indians," II. 19. 7, 10; "the king of the Assyrians," II. 20. 3, 22. 2, 23. 1, 26. 4.

So Strabo, "the king of the Egyptians," 638; "the king of the Lydians," 667.

So Josephus, *contra Apion*, "the king of the Ethiopians," 246. In the *Antiquities*, "the king of the Lacedæmonians," XII. 228; "the king of the Persians," XI. 102; "the king of the Assyrians," IX. 275, 283, X. 17; "the king of the Babylonians," X. 96, 99, 101.

16. Herodotus speaks of "Proteus, the Egyptian king," II. 118.

17. Josephus, in *contra* Apion, speaks twice of the "king of Babylon," 143, 144.

18. Josephus speaks of "Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon and of the Chaldeans," *contra* Apion, 131.

19. The name followed by the title followed by the name of the people or peoples ruled.

So Herodotus, "Psammenitus, king of the Egyptians," III. 14. Astyages, "king of the Medes," I. 91, 162; "Sanacharib, king of Arabians and Assyrians," II. 141; "Elearchus, king of the Ammonians," II. 31; "Sabacus, king of the Ethiopians," II. 137.

So Thucydides, "Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians," VIII. 70; "Leotychides, king of the Lacedæmonians," I. 89; "Inarus, the king of the Libyans," I. 110.

So Xenophon, in *Cyropædia*, "Abradates, king of the Susians," VI. 3. 35; "Croesus, king of the Lydians," I. 5. 3, IV. 2. 29; "Ariabæus, king of the Cappadocians," II. 1. 5; "Cyaxares, king of the Medes," IV. 5. 8. In the *Anabasis*, "Syennesis, king of the Cilicians," I. 2. 12. In the *Hellenica*, "Amyntas, king of the Macedonians," V. 2. 12; "Darius, the king of the Persians," I. 2. 19.

So Ctesias, "Amyrtæus, king of the Egyptians," *Persica*, IV-VI. 9; "Anaxagoras, the king of the Cyprians," *id.*; "Amasis, king of the Egyptians," see Athenæus, citing from Ctesias, in *Cory's Fragments*, XIII; "Scytharbes, the king of the Scythians," *Persica*, IV-VI. 17; "Stabrobates, the king of the Indians," *Assyriaca*, XIX. 1.

So Polybius, "Agron, the king of the Illyrians," II. 2. 4; "Kotus, king of the Odrysians," XXX. 17; "Aminandrus, king of the Athamanians," XXI. 25; "Ariarathus, king of the Cappadocians," XXI. 41, XXXI. 7; "Philip, king of the Macedonians," XXIII. 40; "Genthius, king of the Illyrians," XXIX. 13, XXX. 22; "Bardullas, king of the Illyrians," XXXVIII. 6; "Orophernes, king of the Cappadocians," XXXII. 11; "Masanasses, king of the Nomads in Lybia," XXXVI. 16; "Galosses, king of the Nomads," XXXVIII. 7; "Kersobleptes, [king] of the Thracians," XXXVIII. 6.

So Diodorus Siculus, "Akoris, the king of the Egyptians," XV. 29. 1; "Tachos, the king of the Egyptians," XV. 90. 2; "Ninus, the king of the Assyrians," II. 1. 4; "Stabrobates, the king of the Indians," II. 19. 1; "Astyages, the king of the Medes," IX. 22. 23; "Astibara, the king of the Medes," IX. 20; "Psammetichus, the king of the Egyptians," XIV. 35. 4; "Cyrus, the king of the Per-

sians," II. 44. 2, IX. 31.3, X. 13; "Cambyses, the king of the Persians," X. 15; "Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians," XI. 71. 1, 74. 1, XII. 64. 1, XV. 2. 1; "Xerxes, king of the Persians," XII. 1. 2; "Cræsus, the king of the Lydians," IX. 32; "Archelaus, the king of the Macedonians," XIII. 49. 1; "Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians," XIII. 72.

So Strabo, "Gyges, king of the Lydians," 15, 590; "Ekatomnos, the king of the Carians," 656; "Codrus, the king of the Athenians," 632.

So Josephus, *contra Apion*, "Hiram, the king of the Tyrians," 109; "Amenophis, the king of the Egyptians," 243; "Cyrus, king of the Persians," 132; "Semiramis, the [queen] of Assyria," 142; "Xerxes, the king of the Persians," 172.

So, also, in the *Antiquities*, "Salmanasses, the king of the Assyrians," XI. 19, 85, IX. 257, 277; "Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Babylonians and Chaldeans," XI. 91; "Philip, king of the Macedonians," XI. 304; "Alexander, the king of the Macedonians," XII. 1; "Areios, the king of the Lacedæmonians," XII. 225, 226 (letter); "Sennacherib, the king of the Assyrians," X. 114; *id.*, "of the Babylonians," X. 1; "Hezekiah, king of the two tribes," X. 1; "Hosea, king of the Israelites," IX. 277; so, "king of the Egyptians," IX. 277.

20. The name followed by the title followed by the country or city.

So Herodotus, "Psammitichus, king of Egypt," I. 105; "Sardanapal, king of Nineveh," II. 150.

So Thucydides, "Amyrtæus, the king in the Marshes," I. 110, 112.

So Ctesias, "Evagoras, the king of Salamis," *Persica*, IV-VI. 63.

So Polybius, "Ptolemy, the king of Syria," XXXIX. 7.

So Diodorus Siculus, "Ariæus, the king of Arabia," II. 1. 5; "Evagoras, the king of Cyprus," XV. 2. 1; "Leonidas, the king of Sparta," XI. 11 (in citation of Simonides' poem on Thermopylæ).

So Josephus, in *Antiquities*, "Ptolemy, the king of Egypt," XII. 287.

21. The title followed by the nation ruled followed by the name of the king.

"The king of Egypt, Sesostris," II. 106.

Herodotus, *e.g.*, "the king of the Persians, Cambyses," III. 21.

So Diodorus Siculus, "the king of the Egyptians, Nektanebis," XX. 42. 1; "the king of the Assyrians, Ninus," II. 1. 7; "the king of the Indians, Stabrobates," II. 17. 4.

So Josephus, *contra Apion*, "the king of Egypt, Amenophis," 263;

and in the *Antiquities*, "the king of the Babylonians, Baladan," X. 30.

22. The same as the last, except the name of the country instead of the name of the people, *e.g.*, "the king of Egypt, Sesostris," Herodotus, II. 106.

23. The name followed respectively by father, title, and country (or people).

So Herodotus, "Midas, son of Gordias, king of Phrygia," I. 14.

So Thucydides, "Perdiccas, son of Alexander, king of the Macedonians," I. 57, II. 29; "Pleistonax, son of Pausanias, king of the Lacedæmonians," I. 114, II. 21; "Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians," II. 19, 47. So of "Agis, son of Archidamus," III. 89, IV. 2, V. 57; "Sitalces, son of Teres, king of the Thracians," II. 29; "Orestes, the son of Echekratides, king of the Thessalians," I. 111; "Arrhibæus, the son of Bromeus, king of the Lyncæstean Macedonians," IV. 83.

24. Josephus has a slight modification of number 22, to wit: "The son of Philip and king of the Macedonians, Alexander," *Antiq.*, XII. 354.

25. Herodotus reverses number 22, *e.g.*, "the king of the Lydians, Cræsus, the son of Alyattes," I. 47.

26. Thucydides varies number 22 as follows: "Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, king of Macedonia, and of the Thracian Chalcidians," II. 95.

27. Thucydides further modifies as follows: "Sitalces, the son of Teres, the Odrysian, king of the Thracians," II. 95.

28. Thucydides, again, has "Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, the Lacedæmonian," II. 71.

29. Thucydides, again, has, "Agis, the son of Archidamus, (the king," V. 54. So Diodorus Siculus, "Cyrus, the son of Darius, the king," IX. 22, XIII. 104. 3.

30. Polybius has "Agron, the king of the Illyrians [was] the son of Pleuratus," II. 2.

31. Thucydides has, also, "Inarus, the son of Psammetichus, the Libyan, king of the Libyans, bordering on Egypt," I. 104.

32. Thucydides, again, has "Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, and Cambyses his son," I. 13.

33. Thucydides has, also, "Darius, who was king of the Persians after Cambyses," I. 14.

34. Thucydides, again, has "Cyrus and the Persian power" (*ἐξουσία*), I. 16.

35. Thucydides uses the following phrase also: "King Artaxerxes," I. 104.

xerxes, the son of Xerxes," I. 137, IV. 50; "King Darius, son of Artaxerxes," VIII. 5.

36. Herodotus speaks of Cræsus as "Lydian born, king of many, foolish Cræsus," I. 85.

37. Herodotus speaks of "Trasybulus, then tyrant of Miletus," I. 20.

38. Herodotus speaks of "Cyaxares, descendant of Deioces," I. 16.

39. Herodotus speaks of the nephew of Lycurgus as "Leobotes, his nephew, king of (lit. 'ruling one') the Spartans," I. 65.

40. Herodotus speaks of "Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, the son of Deioces," I. 73.

41. Herodotus speaks of "Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, the Lacedæmonian," V. 32; and of "Inarus, the son of Psammitichus, a Libyan," VII. 7.

42. Herodotus speaks of "Agron, the son of Ninus, the son of Belus, the son of Alcæus, first of the Heracleidæ, king of the Sardinians," I. 7.

43. Herodotus gives the genealogy of Leonidas, as follows: "Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrides, the son of Leo, the son of Eurycratides, the son of Anaxandrus, the son of Euryeratides, the son of Polydorus, the son of Alcamenes, the son of Telecles, the son of Archelaus, the son of Egesileus, the son of Doryssus, the son of Leobotes, the son of Echesratus, the son of Egius, the son of Eurysthenes, the son of Aristodemus, the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodæus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles," VII. 204.

44. Herodotus speaks of "Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, who was brother-in-law of Cræsus and king of the Medes," I. 73.

45. Herodotus speaks of "Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas," VIII. 71.

46. Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia*, mentions "the ruler (*ἄρχων*) of Babylon," VI. 2; "of Armenia," II. 4; "of Hyrcania," IV. 5; "of India," III. 2.

47. Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia*, represents different persons as calling Cyrus "lord" (despot), *e.g.*, IV. 6. 2, 3, II. 2, V. 4, VII. 3.

So Josephus, in *Antiq.*, XI. 22, in letter to Cambyses; XI. 240, in Esther's speech to Artaxerxes (Xerxes); XI. 162, Nehemiah in speech to Xerxes (Artaxerxes!).

48. Xenophon speaks of "Astyages, king of the Medes, his (*i.e.*, Cyrus') grandfather by Mandane," *Cyropædia*, I. 2.

49. Polybius speaks of "Ptolemy, who was called Philopator," XXXIX. 8, and Josephus of "Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes," *Ant.*, XII. 234, and of "Ptolemy, called (different verb) Epiphanes," XII. 130.

50. Polybius speaks, also, of the "second king of Egypt, who is called Philadelphus," Fragment 73, from Athenagoras, 2. p. 452.

51. Polybius speaks, also, of "Antiochus Epiphanes, named Epimanes," XXVI. 1.

52. Polybius mentions "Attalus, brother of King Eumenes," XXX. 1.

53. Ctesias speaks of "Arsaces, the son of the king, who also is called Artaxerxes," *Persica*, IV-VI. 53, 57.

54. Diodorus Siculus speaks of "King Cræsus, the Lydian," IX. 29.

55. Diodorus speaks of "Cyrus, the son of Cambyses and of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, the king of the Medes," IX. 22.

56. Diodorus speaks, also, of "Cyrus, the son of Darius the king," IX. 22, XII. 104. 3.

57. Diodorus speaks, also, of "Darius, the king of Asia," XIII. 108. 1; and of "Artaxerxes, the king of Asia," XIV. 35. 2.

58. Diodorus speaks of "Ochus, surnamed Artaxerxes," XV. 93. 1; and of Artaxerxes who was called Ochus, XVI. 40 (different word in Greek).

59. Strabo speaks of "Σωτήρ Ἀντίοχος," 516.

60. Strabo speaks of "Darius, who was against Alexander," 544.

61. Strabo speaks of "Cæsar, the God," 616, and of

62. "The God, Cæsar," 657.

63. Strabo speaks of "Augustus Cæsar," 595, 637, and of

64. "Cæsar, the August," 840.

65. Josephus speaks of "Ptolemy, king of Egypt, even he that was called Epiphanes," XII. 235.

66. Josephus speaks of "Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes," XI. 184.

67. *Id.* of "King Antiochus, the God, Epiphanes," XII. 258.

68. *Id.* of "the great Antiochus," XII. 414.

69. *Id.* of "Antiochus, the great, the one ruling Asia," XI. 120.

70. *Id.* "Ptolemy Lagus Soter," XII. 3.

71. *Id.* of "Antiochus Epiphanes," *c. Ap.*, 234; *Antiq.*, XII. 393; "Ptolemy Soter," *Antiq.*, XII. 11; "Ptolemy Philadelphus," XII. 118; "Armesses Miamoun," *c. Ap.*, 97.

72. *Id.* of "Philopator Ptolemy," *Antiq.*, XII. 130; "Philometor Ptolemy," XII. 240.

73. *Id.* of "Philadelphus" *Antiq.*, XII. 11; "Philopator," XII. 131; "Philometor," XII. 235.

74. *Id.* of "Seleucus, called Soter, son of Antiochus, the Great," *Antiq.*, XII. 223.

75. *Id.* of "Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, who was called by the Greeks, Theos," *Antiq.*, XII. 125.

76. *Id.*, "Artaxerxes, the king of Persia after Xerxes," *c. Ap.*, 40.

77. *Id.*, "The most admirable king Agrippa," *c. Ap.*, 52.

78. *Id.*, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon and of the Chaldeans," *c. Ap.*, 131.

79. *Id.*, "Cyrus from Persis," *c. Ap.*, 150.

80. *Id.*, "Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who was called Poliorcetes," *c. Ap.*, 185.

81. *Id.*, "Cyrus, who after him (*i.e.*, Nebuchadnezzar) was king of Babylonia and Persia," XI. 92.

82. Polybius uses the phrase, "Antiochus, the Great," XX. 8. So Diodorus Siculus, 531, 594.

83. The title "the great king" is used as follows:

By Herodotus, VIII. 140 (of Xerxes in speech), I. 188, 192 (for the king of Persia in general). So he calls Gelo, of Syracuse, a "great tyrant," VII. 156.

By Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, "μέγας βασιλεύς," I. 2. 8, 7. 2, II. 3. 17; "βασιλεύς μέγας," I. 7. 16. (All three of Artaxerxes.)

So Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII. 36, of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

84. "The great king Artaxerxes" (βασιλεύς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης), Josephus, *Antiq.*, XI. 216 (decree), 275 (decree). "The great king Senacherim," *id.*, X. 2.

85. "The king of kings Osymanduas," Diod. Sic., I. 47. 4; "the king of kings, Xerxes," Josephus, *Antiq.*, XI. 123 (in letter).

86. Further, Diodorus Siculus describes Philip as "Philip, the son of Amyntas and the father of Alexander, who conquered the Persians," XVI. 2.

III.—THE GREEK TITLES IN THE GREEK LETTERS.*

1. Name alone, *e.g.*, "Alexander," in the address of Alexander's letter to Aristotle, 98*a*; *id.*, to "Darius," 98*b* (address); "Ochus," in body of Alexander's letter to Darius, 98; "Arses," *id.*; "Bagoas," *id.*; "Amasis," in the address of Amasis' letter to Polycrates, 100*a*; "Alexander" (in address of Calanus' letter), 192; *id.* (in address of letter of Diogenes the Cynic to Alexander, 254); *id.*, 236. V (in letter of Diogenes to Perdicas); "Perdicas" (in address of last), 236; "Antipater" (in address of Diogenes' letter), 236. IV; "Artaxerxes" (in letter of Hippocrates), 291; "Darius," *id.*; "Xerxes," *id.*; in Isocrates' letter to Philip, 321. (7); "Cyrus," *id.*; "Alexander," in

* The references are to the pages of the *Epistolographoi Hellenikoi*, by Rudolf Hercher, Paris, 1873.

address of Isocrates' letter, 327; "Antipater," in address of letter from Isocrates, 325; "Philip," in address of letter from Isocrates, 324; *id.*, in address of letter from Menecrates, 399; "Xerxes," in address of letter from Pausanias, 407, and in letter of Themistocles to Polygnotus, 760; "Cræsus," in address of letter from Pittacus, 491; *id.*, in letter of Plato to Dionysius, 493; "Cyrus," in *id.*; "Philip," in address of letters from Socrates, 629 and 632; "Xerxes," in same letter, 630; "Alexander," *id.*, 630, 631; "Amyntas," *id.*, 631; "Agesilaus," *id.*, 632; "Perdiccas," *id.*, 632 *bis*; "Cræsus," in address of letters from Solon, 637; "Pausanias," in address of letters from Themistocles, 741 and 754; *id.*, in body of letter, 742 five times; *id.*, 754 *bis*; *id.*, in letter to Alcetas, 755 six times, 756 eight times; *id.*, in letter to Polygnotus, 759 four times; *id.*, in letter to Habronichus, 743 *ter*, 744; "Philip," in address of his letter to the Athenian Council, 461, in address of his letter to Aristotle, 466, and in body of letter, 467; "Agesilaus," in address of letter from Xenophon, 790; "Ptolemy," in address of letter from King Antiochus, 108.

2. The title "king" alone, *e.g.*, in address of letter from Amelius, 101; in letter of Heraclitus to Hermodorus, 286; in letters of Hippocrates, V. and VI. 290, and XXIV. 310; in letter of Socrates, 632; and in Themistocles' letters, 742, 755, 759, 761, and 762.

3. Title followed by name, *e.g.*, "King Alexander," in heading of his letter to the Greek exiles, 99; "King Antigonus," in heading of his letter to Zeno, 107; "King Antiochus," in heading of two of his letters, 108; "King Alexander," in address of letter from Aristotle, 174; "King Darius," in address of a letter from Darius to Heraclitus, and of one in reply, 280; "King Demetrius," in address of letter from Hippocrates, 310; "King Xerxes," in address of letter from Xerxes to Pausanias, 407; "King Ptolemy," in address of his letter to Eleazar, and in the address of the reply, 599; "King Antigonus," in address of letter from Zeno, 792.

4. The name followed by the title, *e.g.*, "Mithridates, the king," in the address of his letter to another Mithridates, 177; "Archelaus, the king," in address of letters to him, 275 and 276; "Chrisamus, the king," in letter to Artaxerxes, 289.

5. We find, also, title, people ruled, name of ruler, *e.g.*, "the king of the Egyptians, Amasis," in address of his letter to Bia, 100; "the king of the Macedonians, Philip," in the address of a letter from Philip to the Council of Athens, 461; in the address of three letters on page 465, and of one on page 466.

6. We find the title followed by the people ruled, *e.g.*, "king of

the Ethiopians," in letter of Amasis, 100; "king of the Lydians," in letter to Cræsus from Anarcharsis, 105; "king of the Medes," in letter from Anaximenes to Pythagoras, 106; "king of the Persians," in letter of Hippocrates to Demetrius, 290.

7. The following, also, are found, to wit: "king of Asia," in letter of Alexander to Darius, 98.

8. "Lord of all Asia," in same letter as the last, 98.

9. "The great king (*βασιλεὺς μέγας*) Artaxerxes," in the headings of two letters, or decrees, of Artaxerxes, 175.

10. "The great king" (*βασιλεὺς μέγας*), in the address of a letter to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, from Demetrius Phalereus, 218.

11. "Ptolemy, king of the Egyptians," in address of a letter from Demetrius Phalereus, 218.

12. "King Darius, the son of Hystaspis," in letter from Darius to Heraclitus, 280.

13. "Darius (the) king whose father was Hystaspis," in address of letter to Darius from Heraclitus, 280.

14. "The great king of kings, Artaxerxes" (*βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας*), in address of letter from Artaxerxes to Pætus, 289, and in superscription of the reply, 289; also, in superscription of two letters from Artaxerxes on page 290.

15. "The king of kings, my great lord Artaxerxes," in letter to Artaxerxes from Hystanes, prefect of the Hellespont, 290.

16. "Pausanias the general (Hegemon) of Sparta," in beginning of his letter to Xerxes, 407.

16. "Son of Alyattes," in letter of Pittacus to Cræsus, 491.

17. "Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian," in letter of Plato to Dionysius, 493.

18. "The Persian," in letter of Socrates to Philip, 632.

19. "The great king," in letter of Themistocles to Aristides, 752 (*βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας*).

20. "Alexander, prince (*ἄρχων*) of the Macedonians," in letter of Themistocles to Polygnotus, 759.

21. "Darius, the father of Xerxes," in letter of Themistocles to Temenidas, 762.

22. "O best Archelaus," in letters from Euripides to Archelaus (the) king, 276.

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I.

THE NINETEENTH PSALM IN THE CRITICISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN the first part of the nineteenth Psalm, comprising verses 2-7, or 1-6 as numbered in the English versions, the Psalmist sings of the glory of God as displayed in the heavens:

- 2 The heavens declare the glory of God,
And the firmament showeth his handiwork.
3 Day unto day uttereth speech,
And night unto night showeth knowledge.
4 There is no speech nor language,
Their voice is unheard.
5 Their line is gone out through all the earth,
And their words to the end of the world.

- In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun,
6 Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,
And rejoiceth as a strong man to run his course.
7 His going forth is from the end of the heavens,
And his circuit unto the ends of it;
And there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.

In the second part the glory of Jehovah's law is first extolled:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 8 The law of Jehovah is perfect,
The testimony of Jehovah is sure, | restoring the soul:
making wise the simple. |
| 9 The precepts of Jehovah are right,
The commandment of Jehovah is pure, | rejoicing the heart:
enlightening the eyes. |
| 10 The fear of Jehovah is clean,
The ordinances of Jehovah are true, | enduring forever:
and righteous altogether. |
| 11 More to be desired are they than gold,
Sweeter also than honey | yea, than much fine gold;
and the droppings of the honey comb. |

V.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

ARTICLE FIVE.

THE following article is the fifth of a series, whose design is to show that the statements made by Dr. Driver in his *Literature of the Old Testament*, pages 545 and 546, with regard to the titles of the kings of Persia, cannot be accepted unqualifiedly, and that the impression left by his notes and proofs is misleading and fallacious. In the first article, which occupied pages 257-282 of the number of this REVIEW for April, 1904, the author, after giving a full citation of Dr. Driver's remarks and notes upon the subject, proceeded to give an enumeration, as complete as possible, of the titles and designations of the kings of Persia. In the second article, which occupied pages 465-497 of the number for July, 1904, the titles of the kings of Babylon and Assyria were presented in like manner. In the third article, which appeared on pages 618-664 of the number for October, 1904, and on pages 55-80 of the number for January, 1905, were presented the titles of the kings of Egypt down to the conquest by Alexander. In the fourth article were given the titles of the Greek kings on the Egyptian monuments and papyri, on the cuneiform and Greek inscriptions and in the Greek historians and letters.

In the present article we shall give the titles found in the inscriptions of the Moabites, Aramæans, Sabæans, Phenicians, Nabatæans and Parthians; the kinds of titles found on coins; and, finally, the titles and designations of kings as given in the Hebrew Scriptures. For purposes of convenience, it has been thought best to reserve the summary for the October number of the REVIEW.

VARIOUS TITLES, SEMITIC, PARTHIAN, ET AL.

Titles on the Inscription of Mesha, king of Moab (ninth century B.C.).

1. "Omri" alone. l. 7.
2. "King of Israel." l. 10, 18.
3. "Omri, king of Israel." l. 5.
4. "Mesha, son of Chemoshgad, king of Moab." l. 1.

Titles from the Sendschirli Inscriptions (eighth century B.C.), et al.

1. The name alone, e.g., "Panammu," Hadad insc., 8, 17 *ter*, 21 *bis*, 22; Panammu insc., 1. "Barrekub," Pan. inser., 1. "Barşur," Pan. insc., 3.

2. "The king" alone. Pan. insc., 20(?).

3. "Barrekub, the son of Panammu." Pan. insc., 19. Also in insc., 4, Lidzbarski, p. 444.

"Panammu, the son of K̄rl." Pan. insc., 5.

4. "Panammu, the son of K̄rl, the king of Yadi." Hadad insc., 1, 14.

5. "Panammu, the son of Barşur, the king of Yadi." Pan. insc., 1.

6. "Barrekub, the son of Panammu, the king of Samal, servant of Tiglath-Pileser, lord of the four lands." Building inscription, 1-4.

7. "My father" alone. Hadad insc., 9; Building insc., 4, 7 *bis*, 12.

8. "My father, Barşur." Pan. insc., 2.

"My father, Panammu." *Id.*, 1, 16, 21.

9. "My father, Panammu, the son of Barşur." Pan. insc., 15, 20 *bis*.

10. The following titles were given in these inscriptions to the king of Assyria:

(1) "King of Assyria." Pan. insc., 7.

(2) "His lord, the king of Assyria." Pan. insc., 11 *bis*; Building insc., 9 (my lord).

(3) "His Lord, Tiglath-Pileser, the king of Assyria." Pan. insc., 13, 15, 16.

(4) "My lord, Tiglath-Pileser." Building insc., 6.

(5) "Tiglath-Pileser, the lord of the four lands." *Id.*, 3, 4.

11. In an inscription from Memphis occurs the phrase "Xerxes, the king of (kings, Egypt or Memphis)." *C. I. S.*, II, 122. Since only the first letter of the last word is legible, it is doubtful whether מִצְרַיִם, or מִלְכִין, should be read. In a preceding article, I have presented reasons for preferring the reading "Egypt." See *P. T. R.*, II, 271.

Titles on the Sabaean Inscriptions.

1. Name alone, e.g., "Yuha'in," 61, 200;* "Watar Yuha'min," 277; "[Karib'ili] Watar," 26.

2. "His father, Yasma'ili." 60.

* The numbers here refer to the pages of the *Codex Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars Quarta, Vol. I.

3. "King of Saba." 28.
4. "Watar Yuha'min, king of Saba," 22; "Anmar Yuha'min, king of Saba," 244; "[Karâb'îli] Watar, king of Saba," 61, 74(?).
5. "Yasir Yuhaşdik, king of Saba and Raidan," 70; "La'azi Naufan Yuhaşdik, king of Saba and Raidan," 64. Compare 269. "Sair Watar, king of Saba and Raidan," *Z. A.*, XII, 284.
6. "Anmar Yuha'min, king of Saba, son of Wabh'îli." 271.
7. "Karib'îli Watar Yuham'in, king of Saba, son of Wabh'îli Yahuz, king of Saba." 6.
8. "Yuha'in Dhû Bîn, son of Yasma'îli, son of Samahkaribi, king of the Samaites." 60.
9. "His grandfather, Samah'afik, son of Samahyafi'i, king of the Sama'ites." 60.
10. "Their lord Damar'ali Jhbr, king of Saba and Dhu-raidan, son of Jasir Juhaşdik, king of Saba and Dhu-raidan." *Ephemeris*, II, 103.

Titles on the Phenician Inscriptions.

1. The Byblus Inscription. *C. I. S.*, I, 1:
 - (1) "Yhum(a)lk, king of Gbl, son of Yhrb'l, son of the son of 'rmlk, king of Gbl." l. 1, 2.
 - (2) "Yhumlk, king of Gbl." l. 7, 8, 12(?).
 - (3) "Righteous king," or "king of righteousness." l. 9.
 - (4) "Yhumlk . . . (?)." l. 12.
2. The Tebneith Inscription. Lidzbarski, IV, 1:

"Tbnt, priest of 'ştrth, king of Sidonians, son of 'şmn'zr, priest of 'ştrth, king of Sidonians."
3. The Eshmunazar Inscription:
 - (1) "King 'şmn'zr, king of Sidonians, son of king Tbnt, king of Sidonians." *C. I. S.*, I, 3, l. 1, 2.
 - (2) King 'şmun'zr, king of Sidonians." *Id.*, l. 2, 15.
 - (3) "'şmn'zr, king of Sidonians, son of king Tbnt, king of Sidonians, son of the son of king 'şmn'zr, king of Sidonians."
 - (4) "Lord of kings," for king of Persia. l. 18.
4. The Ma'şub Inscription:

"Ptlmis, lord of kings." Lidz., Taf. V, 3, l. 5, 6,
5. The Fragments from Limassol. *C. I. S.*, I, 5:

"Hrm, king of Sidonians."
6. The Citium Inscription. *C. I. S.*, I, 10:
 - (a) "King Pmyytn, king of Kty(?) and 'dyl, and Tns, son of king Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl." l. 1, 2.
 - (b) "King Pmyythn, king of Kty and 'dyl, son of king Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl." *C. I. S.*, I, 11, 92, and the same probably in *C. I. S.*, I, 14 and 16 and 17 and 18 and 19 up to 39.

7. The Idalium Inscription:

(1) *C. I. S.*, I, 88, 90: "King Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl, son of B'lrn."

(2) *C. I. S.*, I, 91: "King of Mlktyn, king of Kty and 'dyl." *Id.*, Tamassus Inscription, Lidz., VI, 4, and *C. I. S.*, I, 88, 7, 89, 1.

(3) *C. I. S.*, I, 93: "The Lord of kings, Ptlmys, son of Ptlmy[s]."

8. The Larnax Lapithu Inscription:

a. "The Lord of kings (ארמלכם) Ptlmys." *C. I. S.*, I, 95.

b. "Ytnb'l, lord (רב) of (the) land, son of Gr'strth, lord (רב) of (the) land, son of 'bd[štrth], . . . sr, son of Gr'strth, son of Šlm . . . rml." Lidz., I, 422.

c. "The Lord of kings, Ptlmis, son of the Lord of kings, Ptlmis." *Id.*, *ter.*

d. "The Lord of kings, 'abd'strth, son of Gr'strth, lord (רב) of the land . . . rml." *Id.*

9. "King Bd'strth, king of Sidonians (כב?). Bd'strth, king of Sidonians." Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*, p. 226; *C. I. S.*, I, 21.

10. a. "King Mlkytn [king of Kty and] 'dyl, son of B'lrn." Schröder, *id.*, 227. Compare 6a, above.

b. "King Pmyytn, king of Kty and 'dyl, son of Mlkytn, king of Kty and 'dyl." Schröder, *id.*, 228.

11. (1) "B'l, king of Gbl." Legend on coin. Schröder, 276.

(2) "'gn'l, king of Gbl." *Id.*, *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

(3) "'zb'l, king of Gbl." *Id.*, *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

(4) "'drmlk, king of Gbl." *Id.*, *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

(5) "'lp'l." *C. I. S.*, I, 8.

12. (1) "'gb'l." Schröder, 276.

(2) "B'lmlk." *Id.*

(3) "King Mlkytn." *Id.*

(4) "King Pmytn." *Id.*

13. "King Bd'strt, king of the Sidonians, son of the son of king Šmn'zr, king of the Sidonians." *Ephemeris*, II, 54.

14. "[King Bod'aštart, king of the Sidonians], son of Šdḳytn, king of kings (מלך מלכ[ים]), son of the son of king Šmn'zr, king of the Sidonians." *Pal. Exp. Fund, Quart. Statement for 1903*, p. 334, article by Prof. H. Porter, Ph.D., Beirut.

Titles in the Nabatean Inscriptions.

1. Name alone, e.g., "Maliku," *C. I. S.*, I, 222; *id.*, Euting's *Nabatean Inscriptions from Arabia*, No. 25, l. 5; "Aretat," *id.*, No. 1.

2. "King" alone(?). *C. I. S.*, I, 152.

3. "Aretat, the king." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 8, 9; *C. I. S.*, I, 199, 205, 349; "Rabel, the king," *id.*, 161; "Maliku, the king," No. 21.
4. "Maliku, king of the Nabateans." *C. I. S.*, I, 158, 195; Euting, *N. I. A.*, No. 22. "Aretat, king of the Nabateans," *C. I. S.*, I, 158, 195, 332; Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 1, 2, 3. "Rabel, king of the Nabateans," *C. I. S.*, I, 224, 225; Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 27, 28.
5. "Rabel, the king." *C. I. S.*, I, 161.
6. "Maliku, the king, the king of the Nabateans." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 23, 24, 26; *C. I. S.*, I, 219, 220, 221, 223, 174, 218. "Aretat, the king, the king of the Nabateans," *C. I. S.*, I, 442.
7. "Aretat, king of the Nabateans, lover of his people." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 *bis*, 12, 13(?), 14, 15, 16, 17, 20; *C. I. S.*, I, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216; *Z. A.*, V, 290.
8. "Our lord." Euting, *N. I. A.*, Nos. 12 *bis*, 14.
9. "Our lord, Aretat the king." Euting, *N. I. A.*, No. 4.
10. "Our lord, Rab'el, king of the Nabateans." Euting, *N. I. A.*, No. 27. "Our lord, Aretat, king of the Nabateans," *id.*, No. 5.
11. "Maliku, the king, the king of the Nabateans, son of Aretat, the king of the Nabateans, lover of his people." *C. I. S.*, I, 182, 219, 354.
12. "Rabel, king of the Nabateans, [the son of Obodat], king of the Nabateans." *C. I. S.*, I, 349.
13. "The divine Obodat." *C. I. S.*, I, 354.

Titles of the Parthian Kings.

1. "Arsaka, king of kings." *R^{m.}*, IV, 106, l. 10; *Sp.*, II, 567, l. 11; n. 242, 81-6-25; *Arsaciden-Inschriften*, by J. N. Strassmaier, in *Z. A.*, III, 129-158; n. 3, 78-7-30; n. 8, 78-7-30, n. 123, 81-6-25; n. 134, 81-6-251; *R^{m.}*, IV, 118 A. So, also, in *K. B.*, IV, 319, and in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1889, pp. 7-11, and in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, IV, 141. So, also, in Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, p. 6, l. 20, 12(?), 24 "Arsaka"[?], 34 "Arsaka"[?], 82.
2. "The king" alone. In tablet from reign of Aspasina, *B. and O. Record*, IV, 131 *seq.*
3. "Arsaka" alone. Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, 65(?), pp. 24, 34.
4. "Aršaka, the king." Reissner, *Sum. Bab. Hymnen*, pp. 39, 40(?), 54, 79, 89(?) 93(?), 104; *Cun. Texts of Brit. Museum*, Bu.

88-5-12, 514. So, also, in *Z. A.*, VI, 229. R^m. 678b, I, c. 1, d. 1, and Sp., I, 131.

5. "Pikharis, king of Persia." So in the Zürich tablet published by J. Oppert in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, etc. The whole date reads, "Babylon, in the month Kislev, the third day, in the fifth year of Pikharis, king of Persia."

6. In a Greek inscription we find the title τοῦ βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου. See *Orientalis Græci Inscriptiones*, Diffenberger, Vol. I, 641. In the same, page 642, occurs: Ἰωτάργης σατραπίης τῶν σατραπ[ῶν] and Ἰωπεργης βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάνων (from coin; see Percy Gardner's *Parthian Coinage*, p. 49, No. 25).

In the *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, by Warwick Wroth, Table B, p. 275.

1. The name simply, e.g., "Arsaces." So of Arsaces I.

2. Title and name, e.g., "King Arsaces." So of Arsaces I, Phraates II, Mithradates I, Artabaneos I, and Vonones I.

3. "King of kings," alone. Used of Phraatares only.

4. "King of kings, Onones." Of Vonones I.

5. "The great king, Arsaces." Used of Phraates I, Mithradates I(?).

6. "King of kings Arsaces Urodos."

7. "King of kings Arsaces Dikaios."

8. "King God Arsaces." Of Phriapatius(?).

9. "King Arsaces Dikaios Epiphanes." Of Artabanus III.

10. "Arsaces Autokratoros." Of Mithradates I(?).

11. "The great king Arsaces Theopator." Of Phraates I(?), Phraates II, Artabanus I.

12. "The great king Arsaces Theopator Euergetes." Of Artabanus II.

13. "The great king Arsaces Theopator Nikator." Of Phraates III(?).

14. "The great king Arsaces Philellenos." Period of Mithradates I(?).

15. "The great king Arsaces Philadelphos." Of Artabanus I.

16. "The great king Arsaces Philadelphos Philellenos." Of Artabanus I.

17. "The great king Arsaces Nikephoros." Of Himerus(?).

18. "The great king Arsaces Epiphanes." Of Mithradates II.

19. "The great king Arsaces Theopator Euergetes Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Artabanus II and of Phraates III.

20. "The great king Arsaces Autokrator Philopator Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Sinatruces.

21. "The great king Arsaces Euergetes Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Phraates III.
22. "King Arsaces Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Himerus(?).
23. "King of kings Arsaces Dikaios Euergetes and Philellenos." Of Mithradates II.
24. "The great king of kings Arsaces Epiphanes." Of Mithradates II.
25. "The great king of kings Arsaces and Ktistos." Of Orodes I.
26. "The great king Arsaces Dikaios Epiphanes Theos Eupator Philellenos." Mithradates III.
27. "The great king of kings Arsaces Dikaios Epiphanes Theos Eupator Philellenos." Mithradates III.
28. "King of kings Arsaces Euergetes Dikaios Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Orodes I, Orodes II, Pacorus, Artabanus III, Phraatares, Phraates IV and Vonones I.
29. "King of kings Arsaces Philopator Dikaios Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Orodes I.
30. "King of kings Euergetes Arsaces." Of Artabanus III.
31. "King of kings Arsaces Euergetes Autokrator Philoromaius Epiphanes Philellenos." Of Tiridates III(?).
32. "King of kings Arsaces the Great, Dikaios Epiphanes Theos Eupator Philellenos." Of Mithradates III. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVII, 678.
33. "King of kings Arsaces Dioeuergetes Phraates Epiphanes Epikaloumenos Philellenos Go[s]." Of Mithradates III. See Wroth, as above.
34. "King Onones Neikesas Artabanon." Of Vonones I.
35. "Thea Ourania Mouse the Queen." Of Musa.
36. "Basileuontos Basileon Arsakou Eupatoros Dikaiou Epiphanou kai Philellenu." Of Mithradates III.

*Inscriptions on Coins.**

1. The name alone, e.g., "Alexander" [the first of Macedon, B.C. 498-454]. See Head's *Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, p. 23, No. 11. "Tykkeios" [king of Pæonia, B.C. 359-340], *id.*, p. 42, No. 6; "Pausanias" [king of Macedon, 390-389 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 14; "Amyntas" [king of Macedon, 389-369 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 15; "Perdiccas" [king of Macedon, 365-359 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 16; "Philip" [king of Macedon, 359-336 B.C.], *id.*, p. 43, No. 17, and p. 44, No. 18: "Alexander" [the Great], *id.*, p. 56, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, p. 62, Nos. 3-7, 10, 11, p. 72,

* The examples are taken merely from the Greek coins with names of kings.

Nos. 1-4, p. 75, No. 2, p. 89, Nos. 1-4, p. 95, Nos. 1, 2; "Seleukos" [the first], *id.*, p. 57, No. 11; "Alexander" [the fourth], *id.*, p. 58, Nos. 20, 21, p. 65, Nos. 13, 14; "Seuthas" [king of the Thracian Odrysæ], *id.*, p. 25, No. 5.

2. "King" alone. [On coin from period B.C. 400-336. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΑ. Obv., head of Persian king or satrap.] *Id.*, p. 38, No. 27.

3. Title plus name or the reverse, *e.g.*, "king Evagoras" of Cyprus, B.C. 410-375, *id.*, p. 40, No. 41; "Alexander (the) king" (the Great), *id.*, p. 56, No. 4, p. 57, No. 8; "Philip (the) king" [Aridæus], *id.*, p. 57, No. 10, p. 62, Nos. 8, 9; "Seleucus (the) king," *id.*, p. 57, No. 12; "king Seleucus," *id.*, p. 57, Nos. 13, 14, p. 73, Nos. 15, 17; "king Lysimachus," *id.*, p. 58, Nos. 18, 19, p. 63, Nos. 18-20, p. 75, No. 1, p. 95, Nos. 3, 4, "Ptolemy (the) king," *id.*, p. 58, No. 22, p. 74, Nos. 30, 34, p. 94, No. 35; "king Antigonos," *id.*, p. 62, No. 12; "king Demetrius," *id.*, p. 63, Nos. 15-17; "Agathocles (the) king" [of Syracuse], *id.*, p. 68, No. 30; "king Mithradates," *id.*, p. 72, No. 5; "king Prousius," *id.*, p. 72, No. 7; "king Antiochus," *id.*, p. 73, Nos. 12-14, 16, 18, 19; "king Antigonos" [Gonatas], *id.*, p. 75, No. 5; "king Antigonos" [Doson], *id.*, p. 75, No. 6; "king Philip" [the fifth], *id.*, p. 76, Nos. 7, 8; "Pyrrhus (the) king," *id.*, p. 80, Nos. 24-29; "king Hiero," *id.*, p. 85, No. 32; "king Hieronymus," *id.*, p. 85, No. 35; "king Pharnaces," *id.*, p. 89, No. 5; "king Eumenes," *id.*, p. 89, No. 7; "king Alexander" (Balas), *id.*, p. 92, No. 24; "king Antiochus" [the sixth], *id.*, p. 92, No. 25; "king Demetrius" (Nikator), *id.*, p. 92, No. 27; "king Perseus," *id.*, p. 96, No. 9; "king Amyntas" (king of Galatia), *id.*, p. 108, No. 7; "king Tigranus," *id.*, p. 108, No. 13.

4. "Alexander, son of Neoptolemus" [king of Epirus], *id.*, p. 44, No. 23, p. 66, No. 11.

5. "Adelphon," obv.; "Theon," rev. [of coin of Philadelphus and Arsinoë]. *Id.*, p. 74, No. 28.

6. "King Orophernos Nikephoros," *id.*, p. 92, No. 23; "queen Cleopatra Euergetis," *id.*, p. 92, No. 28; "king Tryphon Autokrator," *id.*, p. 92, No. 26; "king Antiochus Epiphanes," *id.*, p. 108, Nos. 8, 11; "king Mithradates Eupator," *id.*, p. 107, Nos. 1, 2; "king Epiphanes Nikomedes," *id.*, p. 107, No. 3; "king Antiochus Philopator," *id.*, p. 108, No. 9; "king Soter Ermaios," *id.*, p. 108, No. 20.

7. "King Philip Epiphanes Philadelphus," *id.*, p. 108, No. 12; "queen Cleopatra Thea Neotera," *id.*, p. 108, No. 14; "king Seleukos Epiphanes Nikator," *id.*, p. 108, No. 10.

8. "(The) great king Eukratidos" [king of Bactria]. *Id.*, p. 94, No. 32.

9. "(The) great king Arsaces Philellenos" (Arsaces VI, Mithradates I). *Id.*, p. 94, No. 34.

10. "Getas, king of the Edoni" [before 480 B.C.]. *Id.*, p. 9, No. 15.

11. "King Eliokles Dikaios" [king of Bactria]. *Id.*, p. 94, No. 33.

12. "The great king Soter and Philopator Apollodotos" [king of Bactria]. *Id.*, p. 108, No. 20.

Titles in the Hebrew Scriptures.

1. The name alone, *e.g.*:

"David." 2 Sam. i. 1 *bis*, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, and scores of times elsewhere in the Old Testament.

"Solomon." 1 Kings iii. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 15, and often elsewhere.

"Rehoboam." 1 Kings xii. 1, 3, 12, 17, 21, and elsewhere.

"Jeroboam" (son of Nebat). 1 Kings xiv. 1, 2 *bis*, 4, 5, 6, 7, and elsewhere.

Thus, also, in general of all the native kings; but occasionally, also, of foreign kings, *e.g.*:

"Hazeal." 2 Kings x. 32, xiii. 25.

"Pul." 2 Kings xv. 19.

"Rezin." 2 Kings xvi. 9.

"Sennacherib." 2 Kings xix. 16.

"Esarhaddon." 2 Kings xix. 37.

"Nebuchadrezzar." Jer. xxxii. 1, lii. 28, 30.

2. The title alone, *e. g.*:

Gen. xiv. 17, xxxix. 20.

Num. xx. 17, xxi. 22.

Judges iii. 19, viii. 18, ix. 6, 15.

1 Sam. viii. 9, 11, x. 24, xii. 2, 13, 14, xv. 1, 11, 17, 23, xvii. 25, 55, 56, xviii. 18, 22 *bis*, 23, 25 *bis*, 26, 27 *bis*, xix. 4, xx. 5, 24, 25, 29, xxi. 3, 9, xxii. 11, 14 *bis*, 15, 16, 17 *bis*, 18, xxiii. 20 *bis*, xxv. 36, xxvi. 14, 16, 22, xxviii. 13.

2 Sam. ii. 4, 7, iii. 17, 23, 24, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, iv. 8, v. 3 *bis*, 6, 12, 17, vii. 1, 2, 3, ix. 2, 3 *bis*, 4, 9, 11 *bis*, 13, x. 5, xi. 2, 8 *bis*, 9, 19, 20, 24, xii. 7, xiii. 4, 6 *bis*, 13, 18, 23, 24 *bis*, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35 *bis*, 36 *bis*, xiv. 1, 3, 4 *bis*, 5, 8, 9 *bis*, 10, 11, 13 *bis*, 15 *bis*, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22 *bis*, 24 *bis*, 26, 28, 29, 32 *bis*, 33 four times, xv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15 *bis*, 16 *bis*, 17, 18, 19 *bis*, 21, 23, 25, 27, 34, 35, xvi. 2 *bis*, 3 *bis*, 4, 9, 10, 14, 16 *bis*, xvii. 2, xviii. 2, 4, 5 *bis*, 12 *bis*, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25 *bis*, 26, 27 *bis*, 28 *bis*, 29, 30, 32, xix. 1, 2, 3,

5 *bis*, 6, 9 *bis*, 10, 11, 12 *bis*, 13, 15, 16 *ter*, 18, 19 *bis*, 20 *bis*, 24 *bis*, 25 *bis*, 26 *bis*, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 *bis*, 37 *bis*, 39, 40 *bis*, 41 *bis*, 42 *ter*, 43 *bis*, 44, xx. 3, 4, 21, 22, xxi. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, xxiv. 2, 3, 4 *bis*, 9, 20 *bis*, 23 *bis*, 24.

1 Kings i. 2, 3, 4 *bis*, 9, 14, 15 *ter*, 16 *bis*, 19, 22, 23 *ter*, 28 *bis*, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34 *bis*, 36, 44 *bis*, 45, 47 *bis*, 48, ii. 18 (of Solomon), 19 *bis*, 20, 26, 30 *bis*, 31, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44, 46, iii. 4, 16, 22, 23, 24 *bis*, 25, 26, 27, 28, iv. 5, 7, v. 15, 31, vii. 46, viii. 14, 62, 63, 64, 66, ix. 1, 10, 14, x. 3, 6, 9, 10, 12 *bis*, 17, 18, 22, 26, 27, 28, xi. 14, 26, 27, xii. 12 (of Rehoboam), 13, 15, 16 *bis*, 28, xiii. 4, 6 *bis*, 7, 8, 11, xiv. 2, 26, 27, 28, xv. 18 (of Asa), xvi. 16 (of Elah), 18, 20, 29 (of Ahab), xix. 15, 16, xx. 38, xxii. 6, 8, 12, 13, 15 *ter*, 16, 26, 27, 35, 37 *bis*.

2 Kings i. 6 (of Ahaziah), 9, 11, 15, iv. 13, v. 8, vi. 28, 30, vii. 2, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17 *bis*, 18, viii. 3, 4, 5 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 8, ix. 3, 6, 9, 12, 18, 19, x. 6, 7, 8, 13, xi. 2 *bis*, 4, 5, 7, 8 *bis*, 11, 12 *bis*, 14 *bis*, 16, 17 *bis*, 19 *bis*, 20, xii. 11, 19, xiii. 16, xiv. 14, 22, xv. 5, 25, xvi. 8, 12 *ter*, 15, 18, xviii. 29 (of Sennacherib), 36, xxi. 23, xxii. 3, 9 *bis*, 10 *bis*, 11, 12 *bis*, 20, xxiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 12, 13, 21, xxiv. 13, 15 *bis*, xxv. 4, 5, 6, 9, 19, 30.

1 Chron. iv. 23, ix. 18, xi. 3 *bis*, xiv. 2, 8, xviii. 17, xix. 5, xxi. 4, 6, xxiv. 6, xxv. 2, 5, 6, xxvi. 30, 32, xxvii. 1, 25, 32, 33 *bis*, 34, xxviii. 1 *bis*, 4, xxix. 6, 20, 23.

2 Chron. i. 14, 15, 16, iv. 17, v. 3, vi. 3, vii. 4, 5, 11, viii. 15, ix. 5, 8 *bis*, 9, 11 *bis*, 12, 16, 17, 21, 25, 27, x. 12, 13, 15, 16 *bis*, xii. 6, 9, 11, xvi. 2, xvii. 19, xviii. 5, 7, 11, 12, 14 *bis*, 15, 25, 26, xix. 11, xxi. 17, xxii. 11 *ter*, xxiii. 3 *bis*, 5, 7 *bis*, 10, 11 *bis*, 12, 13 *bis*, 15, 16, 20 *bis*, xxiv. 6, 8, 11 *bis*, 12, 14, 17 *bis*, 21, xxv. 3, 16, 24, xxvi. 2, 11, 13, 21, xxviii. 7 *bis*, 21, xxix. 15, 23, 24, 25, 29, xxx. 2, 4, 6 *bis*, 12, xxxi. 3, xxiv. 16 *bis*, 18 *bis*, 19, 20 *bis*, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, xxxv. 7, 10, 15, 23, xxxvi. 18.

Ezra vii. 6 (of Artaxerxes), 8, 27, 28 *bis*, viii. 22 *bis*, 25, 36 *bis*.

Neh. i. 11, ii. 1, 2, 3 *bis*, 4, 5 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 7 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 9 *bis*, 14, 18, 19, iii. 15, 25, v. 4, vi. 6, 7 *bis*, xi. 23, 24, xiii. 6 *bis*.

Esther i. 5 *bis*, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 *bis*, 14, 16 *bis*, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, 21 *bis*, 22, ii. 2 *bis*, 3 *bis*, 4 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 9, 13 *bis*, 14 *ter*, 15 *bis*, 17, 18 *bis*, 19, 21 *bis*, 22, 23, iii. 2 *ter*, 3 *ter*, 8 *bis*, 9 *bis*, 10, 11, 12 *ter*, 13, 15 *bis*, iv. 2 *bis*, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 five times, 13, 16, v. 1 *ter*, 2 *bis*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 four times, 9, 11 *bis*, 12 *bis*, 13, 14 *bis*, vi. 1 *bis*, 2, 3, 4 *ter*, 5 *bis*, 6 *ter*, 7 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 9 *ter*, 10 *bis*, 11, 12, 14, vii. 1, 2, 3 *bis*, 4, 6, 7 *bis*, 8 *ter*, 9 *ter*, 10, viii. 1, 2, 3, 4 *bis*, 5 *ter*, 8 four times, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, ix. 1, 3, 4, 11, 12 *bis*, 13, 14, 16, 25, x. 2.

Psalms xx. 10, xxi. 8, xxxiii. 16, xlv. 2, 6, 12, 15, lxiii. 12, lxxii. 1.

Ecc. ii. 12, iv. 13.

Song of Songs i. 4, 12, iii. 9.

Isaiah xxxvi. 21 (of Sennacherib), xxx. 33, lvii. 9.

Jer. iv. 9, xiii. 18, xxvi. 10, 21, xxxvi. 12, 16, 20 *bis*, 21 *ter*, 22, 24, 25, 26 *bis*, 27, xxxvii. 17, xxxviii. 4, 5, 6, 7 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 10, 11, 14, 25 *bis*, 26, 27, xxxix. 4, 8, xli. 1, 10, xliii. 6, lii. 7, 8, 9, 13, 25.

Ezek. vii. 27, xvii. 16, xxxvii. 22 *bis*.

Dan. i. 3, 4, 5 *ter*, 10, 13, 15, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, ii. 2 *ter*, 3, 4, 8, viii. 21, 27, xi. 36.

Hos. v. 1, x. 3, 6.

Amos vii. 1.

Jonah iii. 7.

Micah iv. 9.

Zephaniah i. 8.

Zechariah xiv. 9, 16, 17 (always of Jehovah).

King with the Suffixes:

Deut. xxviii. 16.

1 Sam. viii. 20, xviii. 12, xxv. 2, 10, 15, 23.

2 Sam. xix. 44, xxii. 51, xii. 30, xx. 2.

1 Chron. xx. 2, xxix. 20.

Mi. ii. 13.

Hos. vii. 5, xiii. 10, xi. 5, x. 7, iii. 5.

Amos v. 26 (of Succoth), i. 15.

Isa. viii. 21, xxxiii. 22, xliii. 15.

The title "king" used of Jehovah:

1 Sam. xii. 12.

Jer. xlix. 1, xlix. 3, viii. 19.

Lam. ii. 9.

Ezek. xvii. 12.

Zech. xi. 6, ix. 9.

Josh. viii. 2 *bis*, x. 1 *bis*, 39 *bis*, 30 *bis*, vi. 2, x. 28, 37, 39, xi. 10.

Ps. ii. 6, xviii. 51, xlvi. 7, lxxxix. 19, v. 3, lxxxiv. 4, xlv. 3, lxviii. 25, lxxiv. 12.

Ecc. x. 16, 17, iv. 13.

Dan. xi. 8.

Es. iii. 8.

3. The title followed by the name, *e.g.*, "The king Jehoram," 2 Kings iii. 6; "the king Ahaz," 2 Kings xvi. 10 *bis*; "the king Rehoboam," 2 Chron. xii. 2; "the king Jarib(?)," Hosea v. 13; "the king Hezekiah," 2 Kings xviii. 9, 13, 17, "the king Joisah," 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

4. The name followed by the title, *e.g.*, "Joram, the king," 2 Kings viii. 29; "Jehoram, the king," 2 Kings ix. 15.

5. The name followed by the title followed by the city over which the king ruled, *e.g.*, "Arioch, king of Ellasar," Gen. xiv. 1, 9; "Bira, king of Sodom," Gen. xiv. 2; "Bersha, king of Gomorrah," Gen. xiv. 2; "Shinabh, king of Admah," Gen. xiv. 2, 8; "Shemabar, king of Seboyim," Gen. xiv. 2; "Abimelech, king of Gerar," Gen. xx. 2; "Jobab, king of Madon," Josh. xi. 1; "Jabin, king of Hazor," Josh. xi. 1, Judg. iv. 17; "Horam, king of Gezer," Josh. x. 33; "Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem," Josh. x. 1; "Achesh, king of Gath," 1 Sam. xv. 8, 20, 32; "Og, king of Heshbon," Deut. iii. 1, 3, 4, 47, xxix. 6, Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 30; "Sihon, king of Heshbon," Deut. ii. 24, 26, 30, iii. 6, xxix. 6, Josh. ix. 10, xii. 5, xiii. 27; "Hiram, king of Tyre," 2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Kings v. 15, ix. 11, 1 Chron. xiv. 1, 2 Chron. ii. 2, 10; "Hadadezer, king of Zobah," 2 Sam. viii. 5, 1 Kings xi. 23, 1 Chron. xviii. 3, 5, 9; "Toi, king of Hamath," 2 Sam. viii. 9, 1 Chron. xviii. 9; "Nebuchadnezzar (or rezzar), king of Babylon," 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 10, 11, xxv. 1, 22, Jer. xxi. 2, 7, xxii. 25, xxiv. 1, xxv. 19, xxix. 21, xxxii. 28, xxxv. 11, xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 1, 11, xlvi. 2, 13, 26, xlix. 28, 30, l. 17, li. 34, lii. 4, 12, xxvii. 8, 20, xliv. 30, xxviii. 3, 11, 14, xxix. 3, xxxix. 5, Neh. vii. 6, Est. ii. 6, Dan. i. 1, Ezek. ii. 1, xxvi. 7, xxix. 18, 19, xxx. 10, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6; "Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon," 2 Kings xxv. 27, Jer. lii. 31; "Artaxerxes, king of Babylon," Neh. xiii. 6; "Cyrus, king of Babylon," Ezra v. 13; "Ahab, king of Samaria(?)," 1 Kings xxi. 1; "Lemuel, king of Massa," Prov. xxxi. 1(?).

6. Title followed by the city ruled, *e.g.*, "the king of Admah," Gen. xiv. 8; "the king of Sodom," Gen. xiv. 8, 17, 21, 22; "the king of Salem," Gen. xiv. 18; "the king of Jericho," Josh. ii. 3, xii. 9; "the king of Ai," Josh. viii. 1, 14, 23, 29, xii. 9; "the king of Jerusalem," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 10; "the king of Hebron," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 10; "the king of Heshbon," Judg. xi. 19, Neh. ix. 22; "the king of Bela," Gen. xiv. 2, 8; "the king of Jarmuth," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 10; "the king of Lachish," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 11; "the king of Eglon," Josh. x. 3, 5, 23, xii. 11; "the king of Shammur," Josh. xi. 1; "the king of Achsaph," Josh. xi. 1; "the king of Gezer," Josh. xii. 12; "the king of Debir," Josh. xii. 13; "the king of Geder," Josh. xii. 13, and other kings in like manner in same chapter; "the king of Samaria," 2 Kings i. 3; "the king of Hamath," 2 Kings xix. 13, Is. xxxvii. 13; "the king of Arpad," 2 Kings, xix. 13, Isa. xxxvii. 13; "the king of Babylon," 2 Kings xx. 18, xxiv. 7, 12 *bis*, 17, 20, xxv. 6, 8, 20, 21, 23, 24, Isa. xiv. 4, xxxix. 7, Jer. xx. 4, xxi. 4, 10, xxv. 11, 12, xxvii. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, xxviii. 2, 4, xxix. 22, xxxii. 2, 3, 4, 36, xxxiv. 2, 3, 7, 21, xxxvi. 29,

xxxvii. 17, 19, xxxviii. 3, 17, 18, 22, 23, xxxix. 3 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 13, xl. 5, 7, 9, 11, xlii. 11, l. 18, 43, lii. 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 26, 27, 34; Ezek. xvii. 12, xix. 9, xxi. 24, 26, xxx. 24, 25 *bis*, xxxii. 11; "the king of Tyre," Jer. xxxvii. 3, Ezek. xxviii. 12; "the king of Sidon," Jer. xxxvii. 3; "the king of Sheshek(?)," Jer. xxv. 26; "the king of Nineveh," Jonah iii. 6.

7. The name followed by the title, followed by the country ruled, *e.g.*:

"Amraphel, king of Shinar." Gen. xiv. 1, 9.

"Chederlaomer, king of Elam." Gen. xiv. 2, 9.

"Tidal, king of Goyim (Gutium?)." Gen. xiv. 2, 9.

"Og, king of Bashan." Num. xxi. 33, xxxii. 33., Deut. i. 4, iii. 11, 1 Kings iv. 19.

"Jabin, king of Canaan." Judg. iv. 23, 24 *bis*.

"Balak, king of Moab." Num. xxiii. 7, Mic. vi. 5.

"Eglon, king of Moab." Judg. iii. 15, 17.

"Talmai, king of Geshur." 2 Sam. iii. 3.

"Shishak, king of Egypt." 1 Kings xi. 40, xiv. 25, 2 Chron. xii. 2, 9.

"So, king of Egypt." 2 Kings xvii. 4.

"Necho, king of Egypt." 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

"Tirhakeh, king of Ethiopia (Cush)." 2 Kings xix. 9, Isa. xxxvii. 9.

"Mesha, king of Moab." 2 Kings iii. 4.

"Benhadad, king of Syria (Aram)." 1 Kings xx. 1, 20, 2 Kings vi. 24, viii. 7, 9, 2 Chron. xvi. 2.

"Og, king of Bashan." Neh. ix. 22, Ps. cxxxv. 11, cxxxvi. 20.

"Hazeael, king of Syria." 2 Kings viii. 29, xii. 18, 19, xiii. 3, 22, 24, 2 Chron. xxii. 5, 6.

"Rezin, king of Syria." 2 Kings xv. 37, xvi. 5, 6, Isa. vii. 1.

"Pul, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xv. 19, 1 Chron. v. 26.

"Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 7, 10, 1 Chron. v. 6, 26, 2 Chron. xxviii. 20.

"Shalmanassar, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xvii. 3, xviii. 9.

"Sargon, king of Assyria." Isa. xx. 1.

"Sanherib, king of Assyria." 2 Kings xxvii. 13, xix. 20, 36, 2 Chron. xxxii. 1, 9, 10, 22, Isa. xxxvi. 1, xxxvii. 21, 37.

"Esarhaddon, king of Assyria." Ezra iv. 2.

"Cyrus, king of Persia." 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 *bis*, 23, Ezra i. 1 *bis*, 2, 8, iii. 7, iv. 5, Dan. x. 1.

"Darius, king of Persia." Ezra iv. 5.

"Artaxerxes, king of Persia." Ezra iv. 7, vii. 1.

8. Title followed by land ruled, *e.g.*:

"King of Edom." Num. xx. 14, Judg. xi. 17 *bis*, 2 Kings iii. 9, xii. 26, Jer. xxvii. 3, Amos ii. 1.

"King of Moab." Num. xxii. 20, 1 Sam. xii. 9, xxii. 3, 4, Judg. xi. 17, 2 Kings iii. 5, vii. 21, Jer. xxvii. 3.

"King of Egypt." Gen. xl. 1, Ex. i. 15, 17, 18, 23, iii. 18, 19, v. 4, 2 Kings xxiv. 7 *bis*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.

"King of Geshur." 2 Sam. xiii. 37.

"King of Maachah." 2 Sam. x. 6, 1 Chron. xix. 7.

"King of Canaan." Judg. iv. 2.

"King of Javan." Dan. viii. 21.

"King of Aram (Syria)." 1 Kings xx. 22, 23, xxii. 3, 31, 2 Kings v. 1, 5, 6, vi. 8, 11, xiii. 4, 7, xvi. 7, 2 Chron. xvi. 7 *bis*, xviii. 30, xxviii. 5.

"King of Assyria." 2 Kings xv. 20, xvi. 9 *bis*, 18, xvii. 4 *ter*, 5, 6, 24, 27, xviii. 11, 14 *bis*, 16, 17, 30, 31, 33, xix. 6, 8, 10, 32, xx. 6, xxiii. 29 (of Nebuchadnezzar?), Isa. vii. 17, viii. 4, 7, x. 12, xx. 4, 6, xxxvi. 2, 18, xxxvii. 6, 8, 33, xxxviii. 6, Jer. l. 17, 18, Nahum iii. 18, 2 Chron. xxxii. 7, 11, 21.

9. The name followed by the title, followed by the people ruled over, *e.g.*:

"Abinelech, king of the Philistines." Gen. xx. 1, 8.

"Sihon, king of the Amonites." Num. xxi. 26, xxxii. 33, Deut. i. 4, iii. 2, iv. 46, Josh. xii. 2, xiii. 21, Judg. xi. 19, 1 Kings iv. 19, Ps. cxxxv. 11, cxxxvi. 19.

"Baalim, king of the sons of Ammon." Jer. lx. 14.

"Nahash, king of the sons of Ammon." 1 Chron. xix. 1, 1 Sam. xii. 12.

"Agag, king of Amalek." 1 Sam. xv. 8, 20, 32.

"Saul, king of Israel." 1 Sam. xxix. 3.

"Solomon, king of Israel." 2 Kings xxiii. 13, xxiv. 13, Neh. xiii. 26.

"Jeroboam, king of Israel." 1 Kings xv. 9.

"Baasha, king of Israel." 1 Kings xv. 16, 17, 19, 32, 2 Chron. xvi. 1, 3, Jer. xli. 9.

"Ahab, king of Israel." 1 Kings xx. 2, 14, xxi. 18, xxii. 41, 2 Chron. xviii. 3, 19.

"Ahaziah, king of Israel." 2 Chron. xx. 35.

"Jehoram, king of Israel." 2 Kings ix. 21.

"Joash, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiii. 14, 2 Chron. xxv. 18, 21, 23.

"Jehoash, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiv. 9, 11, 13.

"Jeroboam, king of Israel." 2 Kings xv. 1, 1 Chron. v. 17, Amos vii. 10.

"Pekah, king of Israel." 2 Kings xv. 29.

"Hosea, king of Israel." 2 Kings xviii. 10.

"Ahaz, king of Israel" (?). 2 Chron. xxviii. 19.

"David, king of Israel." 2 Chron. viii. 11, xxix. 27, xxxv. 4, Ezra iii. 10.

"Jehovah, king of Israel." Isa. xlv. 6.

"Rehoboam, king of Judah." 1 Kings xii. 27 *bis*.

"Asa, king of Judah." 1 Kings xv. 17, 25, 28, 33, xvi. 8, 10, 15, 23, 29.

"Jehoshaphat, king of Judah." 1 Kings xxii. 2, 10, 29, 52, 2 Kings iii. 1, 7, 14, viii. 6, 2 Chron. xviii. 3, 9, 28, xix. 1, xx. 35, xxi. 2.

"Ahaziah, king of Judah." 2 Kings ix. 16, 21, 27, x. 13.

"Jehoash, king of Judah." 2 Kings xii. 19, xiii. 10 (Joash).

"Amaziah, king of Judah." 2 Chron. xxv. 17, 18, 21.

"Azariah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xv. 8, 17, 23, 27.

"Uzziah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xv. 13, Amos i. 1, Zech. xiv. 5.

"Jotham, king of Judah." 1 Chron. v. 17.

"Ahaz, king of Judah." 2 Kings xvii. 1.

"Hezekiah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xviii. 14 *bis*, 16, xix. 10, 2 Chron. xxx. 24, xxxii. 8, 9, 23, Prov. xxv. 1, Isa. xxxvii. 10, xxviii. 9, Jer. xxvi. 18, 19.

"Manasseh, king of Judah." 2 Kings xxi. 11.

"Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. xxvii. 1, xxxv. 1.

"Jehoiachim, king of Judah." 2 Kings xxiv. 12, xxv. 27 *bis*, Jer. xxxvi. 28, 29, 30, 32, lii. 31 *bis*, Dan. i. 1, 2, 1 Chron. iv. 41.

"Jeconiah, king of Judah." Esther ii. 6.

"Zedekiah, king of Judah." Jer. xxi. 7, xxiv. 8, xxvii. 3, 12, xxviii. 1, xxix. 3, xxxii. 1, 3, xxxiv. 2, 4, 6, 21, xxxix. 4, xlv. 30, xlix. 34, li. 59.

10. Title followed by name of people ruled, *e.g.*:

"King of the Amorites." Num. xxi. 34.

"King of the Chaldeans." 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.

"King of Jacob (= Jehovah)." Isa. xli. 21.

"King of Israel." 1 Sam. xxvi. 20, 1 Kings xx. 4, 7, 11, 21, 22, 28, 31, 32, 40, 41, 43, xxii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 45, 2 Kings iii. 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 *bis*, v. 5, 6, 7, 8, vi. 9, 10, 11, 21, 26, vii. 6, xvi. 7, 2 Chron. xviii. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 17, 25, 28, 29 *bis*, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, xxviii. 5, Hos. x. 15, Zeph. iii. 15.

"King of Judah." 2 Kings iii. 9, xxii. 16, 18, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 24, 26, xxxv. 21, Jer. xxi. 11, xxii. 1, 2, 6, xxvii. 18, 21, xxxii. 2, xxxvii. 7, xxxviii. 22.

"King of Assyria." Ezra vi. 22.

11. The name followed by the name of the father, followed by the title and country, city or people ruled over, *e.g.*:

"Balak, the son of Sippor, king of Moab." Josh. xxiv. 9, Judg. xi. 25.

"Talmai, son of Amihud, king of Geshur." 2 Sam. xiii. 37.

"Achish, son of Maon, king of Gath." 1 Sam. xxvii. 2.

"Achish, son of Maachath, king of Gath." 1 Kings ii. 39.

"Solomon, son of David, king of Israel." Prov. i. 1, 2 Chron. xxx. 26.

"Rehoboam, son of Solomon, king of Judah." 1 Kings xii. 23, 2 Chron. xi. 3.

"Jezebel, daughter of Ithbaal, king of the Sidonians." 1 Kings xvi. 31.

"Jehoran, son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah." 2 Kings i. 17, viii. 16.

"Joram, son of Ahab, king of Israel." 2 Kings viii. 16, 25, 2 Chron. xxii. 5 (Jehoram).

"Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, king of Judah." 2 Kings viii. 25, 2 Chron. xxii. 6 and xxii. 1 (but Joram instead of Jehoram).

"Athaliah, daughter of Omri, king of Israel." 2 Kings viii. 26.

"Joash, son of Ahaz, king of Judah." 2 Kings xiii. 1.

"Joash, son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel." 2 Chron. xxv. 25, 2 Kings xiv. 1, 17 (the latter reads Jehoahaz).

"Amaziah, son of Joash, king of Judah." 2 Chron. xxv. 25, 2 Kings xiv. 1, 17, 23.

"Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiv. 23, Hos. i. 1, Amos i. 1.

"Azariah, son of Amaziah, king of Judah." 2 Kings xv. 1.

"Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel." 2 Kings xv. 32, xvi. 5.

"Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah." Isa. vii. 1, 2 Kings xv. 32.

"Ahaz, son of Jotham, king of Judah." 2 Kings xvi. 1.

"Hosea, son of Elah, king of Israel." 2 Kings xviii. 1, 9.

"Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, king of Judah." Jer. xv. 4.

"Josiah, son of Amon, king of Judah." Zeph. i. 1, Jer. i. 2, xxv. 3.

"Jehoiachin, son of Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. i. 3, xxii. 18, xxv. 1, xxvi. 1, xxxvi. 1, 9, xlv. 1.

"Jeconiah, son of Jehoiachin, king of Judah." Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4.

"Zedekiah, son of Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. i. 3.

"Sallum, son of Josiah, king of Judah." Jer. xxii. 11.

"Coniah, son of Jehoiachin, king of Judah." Jer. xxii. 24.

"Merodach-Baladan, son of Baladan, king of Babel." Isa xxxix. 1, 2 Kings xx. 12 (except Berodach-Baladan for Merodach-Baladan).

12. The same as the last, except that the name of the grandfather also is given, *e.g.*:

"Benhadad, son of Tabrimmon, son of Hezion, king of Syria." 1 Kings xv. 18.

"Jehoash, son of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, king of Israel." 2 Kings xiv. 8, 2 Chron. xxv. 17.

"Absalom, son of Maachah, daughter of Talmai, son of Geshur." 1 Chron. iii. 2.

"Ahaz, son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah." Isa. vii. 1.

13. The name followed by title, followed by country, followed by names of father and grandfather, *e.g.*:

"Amaziah, king of Judah, son of Jehoash, son of Ahaz." 2 Kings xiv. 13.

14. "King of kings." Ezek. xxvi. 7 (of Nebuchadnezzar).

15. "King of princes." Hosea viii. 10.

16. "King of the North." Dan. xi. 7, 11, 13, 15, 40.

"King of the South." Dan. xi. 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 25 *bis*, 40.

17. "Mighty king (מֶלֶךְ גִּבּוֹר)." Dan. xi. 3.

18. "Mighty king (מֶלֶךְ רַב)." Ps. xlviii. 3.

19. "Great king (מֶלֶךְ גָּדוֹל)." Mal. i. 14 (of Jehovah), Ecc. ix. 14, Ps. xc. 3 (= Jehovah).

20. "King of all the earth." Ps. xlvii. 8 (= Jehovah).

21. "A great king over all the earth." Ps. xlvii. 3 (= Jehovah).

22. "King over Israel." Ecc. i. 12.

23. "The Canaanite king of Arad." Num. xxi. 1, xxxiii. 40.

24. "Kōheleth, son of David, king in Jerusalem." Ecc. i. 1.

25. The name of the king followed by the name of the father, *e.g.*:

"Joram, son of Ahab." 2 Kings viii. 28.

"Jehoram, son of Ahab." 2 Chron. xxii. 6.

26. The name of the king followed by the name of the father, followed by the name of the grandfather, *e.g.*:

"Jehu, the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi." 2 Kings ix. 14.

27. The same as the last, plus the title and the country ruled, *e.g.*:

"Benhadad, the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria." 1 Kings xv. 18.

28. Two titles followed by country ruled, *e.g.*:

"Pharaoh, king of Egypt." Isa. xxxvi. 6, 1 Kings iii. 1, ix. 16, xi. 18, 2 Kings xvii. 7, xviii. 21, Jer. xxv. 19, xlvi. 17, Ezek. xxix. 2, 3, xxx. 21, 22, xxxi. 2, xxxii. 2, Gen. xli. 46, Exod. vi. 11, 13, 27, 29, xiv. 8, Deut. vii. 8, xi. 3.

29. Title followed by name, followed by another title and the name of the country, *e.g.*:

"Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt." 2 Kings xxiii. 29, Jer. xlvi. 2.

"Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt." Jer. xliv. 30.

30. Same as last, except that king occurs twice instead of once, *e.g.*:

"The king Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon." 2 Kings xxv. 8.

"The king Cyrus, king of Persia." Ezra iv. 3.

Other sporadic titles are:

31. "The great king, the king of Assyria." 2 Kings xviii. 19, 28, Isa. xxxvi. 4, 13.

32. "The king of nations." Jer. x. 7.

33. "David, king of the land." 1 Sam. xxi. 12.

34. "Lord (my, thy, etc.)." 1 Kings i. 17, 33, iii. 17, 26, xii. 27, xviii. 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 2 Kings v. 4, 18, vi. 22, 23, ix. 11, 31, x. 2, 3 *bis*, 6, 9, xviii. 24, 27 *bis*, xix. 6, 1 Chron. xxi. 3 *bis*, 2 Chron. ii. 14, xiii. 6, Isa. xxii. 18, xxxvi. 9, 12, xxxvii. 6, 1 Sam. xvi. 16, xxii. 12, xxiv. 11, xxvi. 18, 2 Sam. i. 10, ii. 5, xi. 9, 11, 13, xii. 8 *bis*, xiii. 32, xix. 19, xx. 6.

35. "Lord, Saul." 1 Chron. xii. 19, 2 Sam. ii. 7.

"Lord, David." 2 Chron. ii. 13.

36. "David, my lord." 1 Kings i. 11.

"Ahab, my lord." 2 Kings ix. 7.

"Hanun, their lord." 2 Sam. x. 3.

37. "My lord, the king." 1 Sam. xxiv. 9, xxvi. 15, 17, 19, 2 Sam. iii. 21, iv. 8, 9, 10, xiii. 33, xiv. 9, 12, 17 *bis*, xv. 15, 21 *bis*, xxxii. 19, 20, 21, 27, 28 *bis*, 29, 31, 36, 38, xxiv. 3 *bis*, 21, 22, 1 Kings i. 2 *bis*, 13, 18, 20 *bis*, 27, 36, 37, ii. 38, xx. 4, 9, 2 Kings vi. 12, 26, viii. 5, xviii. 23, 1 Chron. xxi. 3, 23, Jer. xxxvii. 20, xxxviii. 9, Dan. i. 10.

38. "The king (thy) lord." 1 Sam. xxvi. 15, 2 Sam. xiv. 15.

39. "My lord, king David." 1 Kings i. 31, 37, 43, 47.

40. "Lord, the king of Assyria." Isa. xxxvi. 8, 2 Kings xviii. 23.

"Lord, the king of Egypt." Gen. xl. 1.

41. "The king of Assyria, his master (lord)." 2 Kings xix. 4, Isa. xxxvii. 4.

42. "Lord, the anointed of Jehovah." 1 Sam. xxiv. 7.

43. "Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his lord." 1 Kings xi. 23.

44. "Lord of the whole earth (of God only)." Ps. xcvi. 5, Mic.

iv. 13, Zech. iv. 14, vi. 5. Comp. Josh. iii. 11, "Lord of all the earth."

45. "Lord of Lords." Ps. cxxxvi. 3 (of God).

"Lord of lords, a great God." Deut. x. 17.

Having thus, at length, brought to conclusion the collection of titles and designations of kings in antiquity, we shall proceed in the October number of this REVIEW to summarize the results in their bearing upon the argument against the historical character of the Book of Ezra, which is based upon the use in Ezra of certain of these titles and upon the failure to use others.

Princeton.

R. D. WILSON.

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.

TERTULLIAN AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

FIRST ARTICLE.

IT is exceedingly impressive to see Christian Latin literature Athena-like spring at once into being fully armed in the person of an eminently representative man, in whom seem summed up the promise and potency of all that it was yet to be. This is what occurred in Tertullian, whose advent and career provide a remarkable illustration of the providential provision of the right man for the right place. Seldom has one been called to a great work who was better fitted for it by disposition and talents as well as by long and strenuous preparation. Ardent in temperament, endowed with an intelligence as subtle and original as it was aggressive and audacious, he added to his natural gifts a profound erudition, which far from impeding only gave weight to the movements of his alert and robust mind. A jurist of note, he had joined to the study of law not only that of letters, but also that of medicine; born and brought up in the camp he had imbibed from infancy no little knowledge of the military art; and his insatiable curiosity had carried him into the depths of every form of learning accessible to his time and circumstances, not even excepting the occult literature of the day. When he gave himself in his mature manhood to the service of Christianity, he brought in his hands all the spoils of antique culture, smelted into a molten mass by an almost incredible passion.

The moment when he appeared on the scene was one well calcu-

II.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

ARTICLE SIX.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY.

HAVING given in the numbers of this REVIEW from April, 1904, to July, 1905, inclusive, an approximately complete induction of the titles and designations of the kings of the Persians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Parthians, Hebrews and other ancient nations, we are now prepared to sum up the conclusions based upon this induction in so far as they bear upon the assertions of Dr. Driver with reference to the historicity of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Before proceeding to make this summary, it seems fair that we should repeat the statements of Dr. Driver against which this summary is directed. On pages 545, 546 of his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* we find, among others, the following arguments against the genuineness of Ezra and Nehemiah: "The books [of Ezra and Nehemiah] contain internal marks of having been compiled in an age long subsequent to that of Ezra and Nehemiah. Thus notice:—[1] (*a*) The phrase 'king of Persia,' Ez. i. 1, 2, 8, iii. 7, iv. 3, 5, 7, 24, vii. 1: the addition would, during the period of the Persian supremacy, be at once unnecessary and contrary to contemporary usage (see p. 546, *n*)."

"(*c*) [2] Neh. xii. 22: 'Darius the Persian' must (from the context) be Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, B.C. 336-332, and the title [S] 'the Persian' could only have become a distinctive one after the Persian period was past."

"Persia was absorbed and lost in the wider empire of which, by Cyrus' conquest of Babylon, the Achæmenidæ became the heirs; hence after that date their standing official title is not 'king of Persia,' but [3] 'king of Babylon'" (*Records of the Past*, first series, IX, 67; cf. second series, X, 166, and comp. Ezra v. 13), or, more commonly, [4] "the king," [5] "the great king," [6] "king of kings," [7]* "king of the lands," etc. (often in combinations).

* The numeration in brackets is inserted by the present writer for convenience of reference.

[8] ("King of Persia" is used by Cyrus only *before* his conquest of Babylon (*Records*, second series, V, 160); and of Darius only exceptionally, in the midst of other titles (*ib.*, first series, I, iii). By their subjects the Persian kings are also styled "king of Babylon" or "king of the lands" (often in combination): see the numerous contract-tablets belonging to the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, published in Schrader's *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, IV, 259-311.)"

I. "KING OF PERSIA."

Taking up these statements in the order of numeration, we shall discuss first the assertion that the use of the phrase, "king of Persia," "would, during the period of the Persian supremacy, be at once unnecessary and contrary to contemporary usage." There are here two assertions: first, with regard to the necessity of the use of this phrase, and secondly, with regard to the fact of contemporary use of this phrase.

As to the first of these assertions, it may readily be admitted that it may not have been absolutely necessary to use the phrase. For the sake of clearness and distinction, however, it may well have seemed best to the writer and his contemporaries to use it. For, in the first place, there were more Cyruses than one. (1) There was Cyrus, king of Anšan, the grandfather of Cyrus, king of Persia.* (2) There was the well-known Cyrus, the younger, the hero of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. (3) According to Josephus, the prerignal name of Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, was Cyrus. He says: "After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom happened to pass to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes" (*Antiq.*, XI, 184). In the second place, there are at least six Dariuses said to have lived in Persian times, to wit, Darius the Mede, Darius Hystaspes, Darius Nothus, Darius Codomannus, Darius the son of Xerxes, and Darius the son of Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the third place, since none but kings are known with the name Artaxerxes, it is possible, to be sure, that the phrase "king of Persia" is given to Longimanus in imitation of Cyrus and Darius; but it is probable, rather, that there were others (perhaps many others) of the name Artaxerxes as well as of the names Cyrus and Darius. This cannot be asserted, of course, but much less can it be denied, in

* The grandfather is mentioned by Cyrus, king of Persia, himself on the so-called Cyrus-cylinder, l. 21, *mâr mâri amelu Ku-ra-aš šarru rabû šar âli An-ša-an*, *i.e.*, "son of the son of Kyros, the great king, king of the city of Anshan." Herodotus calls Cyrus, king of Persia, the son of "Mandane, Astyages' daughter, and of Cambyses, son of Cyrus," I, 111.

view of the facts lately revealed by the monuments with regard to the names of other kings. Thus, the monuments of Assyria show us that there was not merely a Hazael king of Damascus, but several others of that name (see Johns, *Ass. Deeds and Doc.*, Vol. III, p. 453); that "Nabonidus is a common name" (*id.*, p. 143); that Nergalšarušur was a name borne by many (*id.*, p. 192); that Nebuchadnezzar was borne by at least two, or more, not kings of Babylon (*id.*, p. 230); that Belshazzar was not merely the name of several private persons and of the eldest son of Nabonidus, but also of a king of Kišesim who rebelled against Sargon, 716 B.C. (*id.*, p. 177, and Strassmaier, *Ins. of Nab.*); that there were at least four of the name of Labaši-Marduk besides the son of Nergalšarušur.

As to Dr. Driver's second assertion, wherein he says that the addition of the phrase "king of Persia" would, "during the period of the Persian supremacy," be "contrary to contemporary usage," he is altogether misleading.

This is sufficiently shown by the simple fact that Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus are all designated by the term "king of Persia" while the Persian empire was still in existence. Note the following examples: Cyrus is so called by Nabonidus in the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, second column, l. 15.* Thucydides speaks of "Cyrus, the first king of the Persians" (see *P. T. R.*, † Vol. II, 275). Cambyses is called "king of the Persians" by Herodotus, III. 21; and Darius, also, in the inscription of Tearus, *id.*, IV. 91. Darius is so called by Thucydides, I. 13, and by himself on Behistun Ins., § 1. Xerxes is so called in conjunction with other titles in the Inscriptions from the Age of Xerxes, Nos. 2 and 3, published by Evetts (see *P. T. R.*, Vol. II, 266), in one published by Oppert ‡ and elsewhere. §

* In the same cylinder, second column, l. 1, he is called "Cyrus, king of Anšan"; in line 4, "Cyrus, king of the country of Anšan." In the Clay Cylinder he calls himself "Cyrus, king of the city of Anšan" (see above, Vol. II, page 267).

† In this article, *P. T. R.* means THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

‡ *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*, I, 484.

§ As the tablets containing the name of Xerxes are scattered in a number of publications not accessible to all, I have thought best to give in the following note the subscriptions of all that I have found:

1. "Hi-ši'-ar-ši'-," alone. *Acts of 8th International Congress of Orientalists: Strassmaier's Contribution, No. 22*; and Bezold's *Achämenideninschriften*, XII. E. 3.

2. "Xerxes, the king." Bezold, XI. D. 9, 17; XIII. Ca. 3; XIV. Cb. 5; XV. F. 9; XVI. K. 4, 12; XVII. S. 5, 6; XIX. 5.

3. "Xerxes, the Persian king." (Ih(Hi)-ha-ri-šu, šarru Parsu). *Z. A.*, XI. S3(?).

4. "Xerxes, the Great King." Bezold, XIV. Cb. 14.

Darius the son of Xerxes is called "Darius, king of the Persians," by Xenophon in *Hellenica*, I. 2. Furthermore, the phrase "king of the Persians," without the name, occurs in the Behistun Ins., 72; in Herodotus, III. 102, 21 *bis*, V. 36; in Xenophon's *Cyropædia* VII. 1, VIII. 2 *bis*; in the *Anabasis*, III. 4; in the *Hellenica*, VII. 3, VI. 3, 5, VII. 1; in *Science of Sound Husbandry* four times; in *Ag.* once, I. 6.

The force of this argument is lost in part, however, unless we call attention to the fact that the phrase "king of Persia" is very seldom added to the name of the king by the Greek writers who lived after the time of Darius Codomannus, Diodorus Siculus excepted. Polybius uses the phrase "king of the Persians" once only, and then without the name, though he frequently designates kings contemporaneous with himself by name, title and country ruled (see *P. T. R.*, Vol. III, pp. 259-261). Diodorus Siculus uses the phrase with the name more frequently than any other Greek writer except perhaps Josephus: *e.g.*, of Cyrus, II. 44, IX. 31, X. 13; of Cambyses,

5. "Xerxes, king of Medo-Persia" (Ah-ši-ya-mar-šu, šar Par-su, Ma-da-a-a.) *Acts of the 8th Oriental Congress: Strassmaier's Contribution.*

6. "Xerxes, the king of the lands." Evetts' *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar and Labosoarchid*, Appendix 5.

7. "Xerxes, king of Babylon and of the lands." *Acts of 8th Orient. Congress*, Nos. 16 and 17.

8. "Xerxes, king of Babylon, king of the lands." *Acts of 8th Orient. Cong.*, Nos. 18 and 21, and Evetts' *Inscriptions*, Appendix 2.

9. "Xerxes, king of Persia and of the land of the Medes, king of Babylon and of the lands." *Acts of 8th Orient. Cong.*, No. 20.

10. "Xerxes, king of Persia and of the Medes, king of Babylon and of the lands." Evetts' *Insc.*, App. No. 4.

11. "Xerxes, king of the land of Persia and of the land of the Medes, king of Babylon and of the lands." Evetts, No. 3.

12. For combinations of many titles, see this REVIEW, Vol. II, pp. 262-264.

His name is spelled in Babylonian in the following ways:

(1) "Hi-ši-'ar-ši-'." *Acts of 8th Orient. Cong.*, No. 22.

(2) "Hi-si-'ar-ši.'" Bezold, XII. E. 3; XI. D. 9; XIX. 5.

(3) "Hi-ši-'ar-ša-'." Bezold, XIII. Ca. 3; XIV. Cb. 5, 14; XV. F. 9; XVI. K. 4, 12.

(4) "Hi-ši-ar-šu." Bezold, XVII. 5 *bis*.

(5) "H(Hi)-ha-ri-šu." *Z. A.*, XI. 83(?).

(6) "Ah-ši-ya-mar-šu." *Acts of 8th Orient. Cong.*, No. 19.

(7) "Ah-ši-ya-ar-šu." Evetts, 3, 5.

(8) "Ah-šu-mar-ši-'." *Acts of 8th Orient. Cong.*, 16.

(9) "Ak-ki-iš-ar-šu." *Id.*, 17.

(10) "Ak-ši-i-ma-ar-šu." *Id.*, 18.

(11) "Ah-ši-ar . . ." *Id.*, 21.

(12) "Ak-ši-ak-ar-šu." Evetts, 2.

(13) "Ak-ka-ši-ar-ši.'" Evetts, 4.

(14) "Ak-ši-ya-ar." *Acts of 8th Orient. Cong.*, No. 20.

X. 15; of Xerxes, XII. 1; of Artaxerxes, XI. 71, 74, XII. 64, XV. 2¹, 4. Josephus uses it of Cyrus, *Ant.*, X. 232, 247, *c. Ap.* I. 152; of Darius Hystaspes, *Ant.*, XI. 30; of Xerxes, *c. Ap.*, I. 172; of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *c. Ap.*, I. 40. In Cory's *Fragments*, Syncellus speaks of "Cyrus, the present king of the Persians." On the other hand, Alexander and his sons, the Seleucids and the Arsacids, who were the successors of the Persian monarchs of the Achæmenian line, seem to have dropped the title "king of Persia" as an ordinary designation; and of the late Greek writers, Diodorus Siculus alone uses it frequently in referring to the kings of Persia, though he, as well as Strabo, Polybius, and all other later writers, ordinarily speak of the kings of Persia by the names only. So that if the authors of Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah really lived in the time of the Macedonian or Parthian supremacy, they must have used, not the titles current in their day, but those appropriate to the Persian kings during the existence of the Persian kingdom under the Achæmenidæ.*

A probability that the phrase "king of Persia" was used during the existence of the Persian kingdom would have been raised, moreover, from the almost, if not altogether, universal usage of antiquity. For example, it will be observed that the usual designation of every king of Egypt, from Mena, the first king of the first dynasty, down to Cæsarion, the son of Cleopatra and Cæsar, was "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (see *P. T. R.*, II, 618, *seq.*; III, 55, *seq.*, and 239, *seq.*). So, also, of the sixty-eight kings of Babylonia, or parts thereof, the names of but six will be found without mention of the name of the country, city or people ruled; and this rare failure to mention the country, etc., ruled will be seen to arise most probably from the paucity of monuments of the kings whose names thus occur, and not from the avoidance of the title (see *P. T. R.*, Vol. II, pp. 465-479). The name of every one of the kings of Assyria is found accompanied with the title "king of Assyria" (see *P. T. R.*, Vol. II, pp. 479-497). Furthermore, it is the ordinary descriptive title of the kings in all the other early Semitic monuments, *e.g.*, on the Moabite stone Meša is called king of Moab and Omri king of Israel; in the Sendschirli inscription, Krl and Barsur are designated by the title "king of Yadi," Panammu as "king of Samal," and Tiglath-

* The phrase "king of the Medes" should be mentioned here as a designation of the Achæmenidæ during the existence of the Persian kingdom. We find it alone in Herod., I. 206 (Cyrus so addressed by Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ). In VII. 136, VIII. 14, Xerxes is called "king of the Mede" by the Lacedæmonians, and in IX. 7 by the Athenians.

Pileser as "king of Assyria." In the Sabean inscriptions, the common title of the kings is "the king of Saba" or the "king of Saba and Raidan," *et al.*; in the Phœnician inscriptions the kings of Gebal, Kty and of the Sidonians are usually designated by the appropriate title, *i.e.*, "king of Gebal," etc. In the Nabatean inscriptions, the kings receive the title "king of the Nabateans." So, also, in the Greek writers, which were contemporaneous with the Persian kings, the kings are frequently referred to by name, title and country (see *P. T. R.*, III, 260). The Hebrew writers who refer to contemporary kings are also in the habit of using the name followed by the title, followed by the country, city or people ruled over, *e.g.*, Isaiah employs the title as follows: Rezin, king of Aram, vii. 1; Sargon, king of Assyria, xx. 1; Sennacherib, *id.*, xxxvi. 1, xxxvii. 21, 37; Tirhakeh, king of Cush, xxxvii. 9; Merodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, xxxix. 1. Jeremiah employs it frequently, *e.g.*, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, xxi. 2, 7, xxii. 25, xxiv. 1, xxv. 1, 9, xxvii. 8, 20, xxviii. 3, 11, 14, xxix. 3, 21, xxxii. 28, xxxv. 11, xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 1, 5, 11, xlvi. 2, 13, 26, xlix. 28, 30, l. 17, li. 34, lii. 4, 12; Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, xlvi. 2, and Pharaoh, king of Egypt, xxv. 19, xlvi. 17. Ezekiel speaks of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, xxvi. 7, xxix. 18, 19, xxx. 10; of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, xxix. 2, 3, xxx. 21, 22, xxxi. 2, xxxii. 2. Daniel speaks of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, i. 1, and of Cyrus, king of Persia, x. 1. So Ezra, in like manner, speaks of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, 7, iv. vii. 1; and Nehemiah, of "Artaxerxes, king of Babylon," xiii. 6.

II. DARIUS, THE PERSIAN.

Dr. Driver further remarks that, "the title of Persian could only have become a distinctive one after the Persian period was past," and "'Darius, the Persian,' must (from the context) be Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, B.C. 336-332."

Omitting discussion of the phrase "from the context," the usage of the monuments, so far as known, is against the assumption that this title became distinctive after the Persian period was past. For the one king of all history who most parades and glories in his race and family was Darius Hystaspes. For example, he says on the Suez inscription C: "I am a Persian"; on the inscription of Nagš-i-Rustem, he is called a "Persian, the son of a Persian"; on the Behistun inscription, Darius calls himself "the Persian, king of Persia"; and he often designates the nationality of others in

the same way.* So, also, Herodotus calls him "Darius, the Persian" (II. 110, 158). Further, *no other writer*, so far as I know, *calls him by this title; nor is it ever used of any other Darius*. It is used, however, of Cyrus by Xenophon in the *Cyropædia*, I. 1; by Diodorus Siculus, II. 34, IX. 20, 31, 32, 35, and by Josephus, *c. Ap.*, I. 159; of Cambyses by Diodorus Siculus, X. 14, and by Castor (*Cory, Anc. Frag.*, p. 87).

It is especially noteworthy that elsewhere the Scriptures designate Cyrus and Darius alone by the title "Persian"; and that, with the exception of Diodorus Siculus (who lived in the first century B.C.) and Castor, no other authority calls any other king by this designation. "Cyrus, the Persian," is so called in the Scriptures in opposition to "Belshazzar, the Chaldean"; and Darius the Persian in distinction from Darius the Mede. The title, therefore, was necessary to distinguish kings of pure *Persian* race from those of other nationalities.†

It is worthy of note, also, in this connection, that the Greek writers contemporary with the existence of the Persian kingdom delight in the words "Persian" and "Mede" to denote the kings of Persia. So Herodotus calls Xerxes "a Persian man," VII. 157; or "the Persian," VII. 22, 148 *bis*, 117, 163, 166, 172, 177, 207, VIII. 108, 116, 141, IX. 1, 7; and represents him as being addressed "O Persian," VII. 12. So Thucydides uses "the Mede" of the king of Persia, I. 69, 74; and Xenophon "the Persian" in *Hellenica*, V. 2.

Finally, it was customary in ancient times to designate men by means of their nationality as well as their office, as may be seen in a good number of examples in the contract-tablets of Nabonidus, Cambyses, *et al.* (See Strassmaier, *in loc.*)

*E.g., "There was a Magian, Gumatu by name, who rebelled," l. 15; "there was neither a Persian, nor a Median, nor any one of our family who would take away the government from the Gunatu the Magian," l. 20; "a Babylonian, Nadintabel by name, rebelled in Babylon," l. 31; "a Median, Parumartiš by name, rebelled in Media," l. 47; "Umidarna, a Persian, my servant, I appointed the governor," l. 44; "Dadaršu, an Armenian, my servant, sent I to Armenia," l. 48; "Umisi, my servant, a Persian, sent I to Armenia," l. 53. So, in like manner, he refers to "Tukhmaspada, the Median," l. 62; "Dadaršu, the Persian," l. 69; "Artamarzia, the Persian," l. 73; "Umimana, the Persian," l. 79; "Arahu, an Armenian," l. 85; "Vindafra, a Mede," l. 86; "Martia, a Persian," l. 92. At the end of the inscription is the following: "These are — men who were with me until I slew — Magian: Vindafra we all called Persian g. t. 109–112."

† Smerdis, or Gomates, is frequently called the Magian in the Behistun inscription, *i.e.*, "Gumatu Magashu," §§ 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 90, 109. Is it astonishing that the successful king should vaunt his "Persian" extraction as over against the usurping Magian?

III. "KING OF BABYLON."

After the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, continues Dr. Driver, the "standing official title" of the kings in question "was not 'king of Persia' but 'king of Babylon.'"

That the title "king of Babylon" was not the standing official title of any king of Persia will be evident from the following facts, which are supported by the evidence of the monuments and documents cited in the previous articles:

1. In the Medo-Persian monuments the king of Persia is never called the "king of Babylon" (*P. T. R.*, II, 265-266).

2. Among the numerous Egyptian titles of the kings of Persia, this one never occurs (*P. T. R.*, II, 270-272).

3. Neither Greek inscription, nor letter, nor historian of any age mentions the kings of Persia by this title—not even Josephus (*P. T. R.*, II, 272-281).

4. In the Scriptures the title is used but once, to wit, in *Ezra* v. 13,* where Cyrus is spoken of as king of Babylon (*P. T. R.*, II, 281).

5. Even in Babylonia the title alone is found in but a few, comparatively, of the tablets;† and it is never found on the tablets from the reigns of Smerdis, Xerxes(?), Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and Artaxerxes II.‡ It is never found, either alone or in combi-

* This phrase is worthy of special consideration, because of the fine linguistic discrimination and the exact accuracy of the writer. The twelfth verse reads: "But after that our fathers had provoked the God of heaven unto wrath, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon (נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר), the Chaldean, who destroyed this house and carried the people away into Babylon." The thirteenth reads: "But in the first year of Cyrus king of Babylon (אֲשֶׁר לְקִיָּא בְּרִי קִיָּא) King Cyrus (כִּי־מַלְכֵּנוּ) made a decree to build this house of God." The English version fails to bring out the distinction between Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar as kings of Babylon. The Aramaic original shows clearly by the use of *di* that a distinction is made by the writer between the first year of Cyrus as king of Babylon and the first year of Cyrus as king of Persia. The idea is that Cyrus, king of Persia, restored the vessels of the house of Jehovah,‡ the first year that he reigned over Babylon. The phrase would be literally rendered: "in the first year of Cyrus the king, that is of Babylon."

† To wit, in but nine to eleven Cyrus tablets out of 375, and once in the Cyrus Cylinder; in from twenty-two to thirty Cambyses tablets out of 445; out of the eleven Smerdis tablets, not at all (see *Z. A.*, IX, Strassmaier, "Notes du VIII-tième Congrès internationale, No. 22); in but nine to fourteen out of 600 Darius tablets; out of fourteen Xerxes tablets, in at most one; in no one of the 126 Artaxerxes' tablets; and in no one of the eighty-eight(?) Darius Nothus tablets. Or, out of 1569 tablets from the Persian period, only forty to fifty-six have the name of the king plus the title king of Babylon alone in the subscription.

‡ In fairness, it must be added here that the phrase "king of Babylon" does occur besides on the Babylonian tablets in the following combination, to wit: the name of the king plus the combination "king of Babylon and of the lands," in the tablets of Cyrus twenty-four to twenty-five times; of Cambyses, fifty to

nations, upon the tablets from the times of Artaxerxes I, Darius II, or Artaxerxes III.

No argument, then, is needed to show that Dr. Driver is absolutely wrong when he states that after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, the standing official title of the Achæmenidæ was not "king of Persia," but "king of Babylon." Especially, is he wrong in supposing that Ezra and Nehemiah, living as they did in the reign of Artaxerxes I, would use this title of that king; inasmuch as neither alone nor in combination has this title been found as yet upon any inscription from his reign.

IV. "THE KING."

After "king of Babylon" this title is the one first mentioned by Dr. Driver as the common title of the kings of Persia. But notice:

First, this title never occurs alone on any monument of the Persian kings except once, and that in an indefinite address to an imaginary king. This is found in verse 105 of the Behistun inscription, which reads: "King Darius says: Whosoever thou art, O king, who mayest rule after me, etc."

Secondly, nor has it been found on any Babylonian tablet as a designation of any particular king, but only in such general phrases as "son(?) of the king," "storehouse of the king," etc.

Thirdly, it is, however, the usual title in the contemporary Greek historians, Ctesias, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, and also in the Hebrew Scriptures.

It will be seen, then, that Dr. Driver's statement is true of the Greek and Hebrew writings, but not of the original native and Babylonian sources to which he is ostensibly referring.

How, then, are we to account for the difference in usage between the Greek and Hebrew on the one hand, and the monuments of Persia and Babylonia on the other? The answer is:—easily, when we remember that the kind of literature preserved to us on the monuments is entirely different from that contained in the Greek and Hebrew records. It is at this point that the critics have made the most astonishing *non sequiturs*. It will be seen in the long lists of royal titles which have been collected and published in

fifty-three times; of Smerdis, twice; of Darius, 150 to 154 times; of Xerxes, once; of Artaxerxes, no time. The phrase followed by the combination "king of Babylon, king of the lands," occurs in the tablets of Cyrus 266 to 273 times; of Cambyses, 301 to 306 times; of Smerdis, thirteen times; of Darius, 369 times; of Xerxes, three times; of Artaxerxes, no time. The phrase "king of Babylon" occurs also nine other times in various combinations, see in § I, pages 269, 270, Vol. II.

the preceding articles, that royal titles and designations were used with all the discrimination and taste which would be employed to-day; and that differences in the kind of literature in which the title was used, or in the relation of the person speaking to the monarch spoken of, were the cause of the difference in the manner of address or reference to the monarch mentioned. Let any one look, for example, over the letters of Tel-el-Amarna or the Greek letters, and he will see that the manner of address is peculiar to that kind of literature. So, also, in the legal documents of Babylonia and Egypt, one should notice that the superscription of the Egyptian and the subscription of the Babylonian contain accurate dates and distinctive titles, but no flourishing of titles of honor needless for the purpose of business. Again, in the Greek historians, where the name alone or the title alone is sufficient for definiteness, it alone is used; but the distinctive titles are employed when needed. So, also, in the Scriptures, Ezra and Nehemiah use the very manner of address and give in every case the particular title and designation which are proper to them and to the document which they use. In speaking to the monarch personally they use the term "king," as their position and close relation to him entitle them to do. In official documents they give the appropriate titles. In letters they give the proper address. There is not one title or designation in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah that is not suitable to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and to the character of the particular writing in which it occurs.

V. "THE GREAT KING."

Dr. Driver asserts that this was a standing official title; and implies that Ezra and Nehemiah should, if they wrote the books bearing their names, have employed this title to designate the kings of Persia.

But it will be noted that no Persian or Babylonian inscription, nor, in fact, any contemporary writer of any nation, uses this title alone to designate the Persian king, except Xenophon in the *Anabasis*, and he even but a few times, *e.g.*, I. 3, 7 *bis*, II. 3.

In combination with the name alone it is found on the seal of Darius (Bezold, II, Sgl.); on several vases of Xerxes (*id.*, XX. 2); and on a vase of Artaxerxes (see Weissbach u. Bang, *Die Altpers. Keilins.*, p. 47).

In other combinations on inscriptions, it is found in all the trilingual inscriptions published by Bezold and by Weissbach and Bang. So Cyrus calls himself on the Clay Cylinder, 20-52, and

Cambyses is called "a great king of Egypt" (Brugsch, *History*, II, 294).

It will be noted, further, with regard to this title:

First, that it is never used in the subscriptions, nor, I believe, anywhere else in the contract-tablets of Babylon.

Secondly, that it is used in Persian on a seal, on a vase, and on rock inscriptions, such as are nowhere mentioned in the Scriptures.

Thirdly, that it is not a *common* title in the Greek classics.

Fourthly, that it is not a distinctive title of kings of Persia, inasmuch as it was used both before and after the Achæmenids by the kings of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, and by the successors of Alexander. Among the kings of Egypt it is used by Queen Hatshepsu (see *P. T. R.*, II, 638, 19), of Amenophis III (*id.*, 645, 11, 12), of Amenophis IV (*id.*, 661, 58-66), of Rameses I (*id.*, Vol. III, 55 (11)), of Seti I (*id.*, 58 (30)), of Rameses II (*id.*, 62 (46), (47), (65)), of Rameses IX (*id.*, 69 (9)). Among the kings of Babylon, the phrase "šarru dannu," *mighty king*, is used by Dingi (*P. T. R.*, II, 466), Bursin (*id.*, 467), Gamil-Sin (*id.*), Sargon (*id.*, 468), Hammurabi (*id.*), Samsu-iluna (*id.*, 469), Ammiditana (*id.*), Ammizaduga (*id.*), Karaındaš (*id.*, 470), Burnaburiaš (*id.*), Kuri-galzu (*id.*), Marduk-tabik-zerim (*id.*, 471), Nebuchadnezzar I (*id.*), Esarhaddon (*id.*, 473), Šamašsumukin (*id.*, 474), Nabopolassar (*id.*, 475), Nabonidus (*id.*, 479). The last named uses, also, the phrase "the great king" (*id.*, 479). The kings of Assyria use the title "šarru dannu," *mighty king*, from the time of Ašurballit (*id.*, 479) down to the last king, Sinšar-iškun (*id.*, 497); and the phrase "šarru rabu," *great king*, from the time of Ramman-Nirari (*id.*, 482) down to the last king (*id.*, 497). So in the inscriptions of the Seleucids (*P. T. R.*, III, 250. 7; 251. 9) and in one inscription (*P. T. R.*, III, 427) and on many of the coins of the Arsacids, and on two coins of Bactrian kings (*P. T. R.*, III, 427, 430) the phrase "great king" is used along with the name alone or more frequently in combination with other titles, such as "the great king of kings, Arsaces," etc.

VI. "KING OF KINGS."

With respect to the assertion that after the conquest of Babylonia the official title was "king of kings" it should be remarked that:

This title is never used alone in any known record, so far as I have seen. In conjunction with the name of the king it is found nowhere, except *possibly* in the Aramaic inscription found at

Memphis (see *P. T. R.*, Vol. II, 271, 272). In conjunction with the name plus that of the father, it is found only in the inscription of Gadates (*P. T. R.*, Vol. II, 273). In all other places where it occurs it is one of many titles used on rock inscriptions, with regard to which, what seems most noteworthy in this connection is, that it was not a *specific* designation of the kings of Persia. It is, no doubt, used of many kings of Babylonia, *e.g.*, Nebuchadnezzar I is called the "prince of kings" (nasik šarrâni) (*P. T. R.*, II, 472); Merodach-Baladan, "the lord of lords" (*id.*, 473). It is used, also, of the kings of Assyria: *e.g.*, Ašurnaširabal is called "king of lords" (*id.*, 483); "king of kinglets," "lord of lords," "king of kings," (*id.*), "king of kings" (*id.*, 484); Esarhaddon, "king of the kings of Egypt" (*id.*, 492); Ašurbanipal, "king of kings" (*id.*, 495, 496), "lord of kings" (*id.* often). Among the kings of Egypt, moreover, Amenhotep III bears the title "king of kings" (*id.*, 643, 644), "prince of princes" (*id.*); Darius, "king of kings" (*id.*, III, 78). In the Aramaic inscriptions of Eshmunazar, again, the king of Persia is called "the lord of kings" (*P. T. R.*, III, 424); in the Mašub inscription, Ptolemy is so called (*id.*, 424); so, also, in the inscriptions from Larnax Lapithæa (*id.*, 425). So Abdasthoreth is called in the inscription of Larnax Lapithæa (*id.*, 425). This, also, is the usual title of the Arsacid kings (see *P. T. R.*, III, 426-428).

VII. "KING OF THE LANDS."

As to the title "king of the lands" (šar matâti), it should be remarked—

First, that it is never found alone.

Secondly, that in the Medo-Persian monuments it is never found except in combination with three or more other titles.

Thirdly, that it is never used in Greek, except, perhaps, once in Herodotus, in his translation of the Tearus stele of Darius Hystaspes (Bk. IV. 91).

Fourthly, that it is never employed in any Egyptian monument except in that of Darius Hystaspes, which was written in Babylonian and other languages, on the stele found near the Suez Canal.

Fifthly, that its use with the addition of the name alone, even on the tablets of Babylon, was not the common one in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes. In the Cyrus tablets it occurs in but twenty-three to twenty-seven out of 368; in the Cambyses tablets, in twenty-two to twenty-six out of 438; in the Darius tablets, in twenty-six to twenty-nine out

of 579; in one or two Xerxes tablets out of thirteen; and in none of the Smerdis tablets.

Sixthly, that the use of the phrase was not confined to the Persian kings, nor did it cease at the destruction of the Persian empire under Darius Codomannus. For example, it is used alone and in conjunction with the name of one or more of the Antiochi; and also in combination with other titles (see *P. T. R.*, III, 250, 251).

Seventhly, that in the reigns of Artaxerxes I, Darius II and Artaxerxes II (one tablet only) all the Babylonian tablets are of this form with the addition of the name. The title "king of Babylon" and all combinations have been dropped and we find simply "Artaxerxes, king of lands" and "Darius, king of lands."

The problem, then, with regard to this title, reduces itself to the question, Why did Ezra and Nehemiah, living as they did in the reign of Artaxerxes the First, not use this title in conjunction with his name, seeing that the Babylonian tablets of that time use it and nothing but it? To this we would answer—

First, that all the tablets from the reign of Artaxerxes, Darius and others so far found and published number about 200 in all, and these all from one small place—Nippur in Babylonia.

Secondly, in the Medo-Persian inscriptions Artaxerxes is called "Artaxerxes, the king," "Artaxerxes, the great king," and simply "Artaxerxes," but never, except in combinations on three monumental titles, is Artaxerxes called "the king of the lands."

Thirdly, his Egyptian cartouch reads simply "Artaxerxes, Pharaoh the Great," and in another place he is called "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the sovereign Artaxerxes."

Fourthly, the Greeks who were his contemporaries call him usually "King," "Artaxerxes, the king," "Artaxerxes," "King Artaxerxes" "Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes," and "King Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes," but they never call him "king of lands."

Fifthly, Ezra and Nehemiah use the titles "King," "Artaxerxes," "Artaxerxes, the king," or "the King Artaxerxes," and once Ezra says "Artaxerxes, king of kings," and three times "Artaxerxes, king of Persia."

If now we ask why Ezra and Nehemiah use these titles and not "king of lands" we reply:

First, we have shown that this title, so far as found, was used, except in a few combinations, only in Babylonia. Ezra and Nehemiah were not residents of Babylonia but of Persia. They lived at the court and capital of the Persian empire. There is no

evidence that the title "king of lands" was employed in Persia proper as a title in conjunction with the name alone, nor anywhere except in monumental combinations; nor is there evidence that it was used anywhere but in Babylon. Why, then, should Ezra and Nehemiah have used it?

Secondly, even if it could be shown that this title was in general use throughout the empire of the Persians, it might not have been mentioned in a mere fragment of literature such as we have in Ezra-Nehemiah.

Thirdly, it will be seen by referring to the group in Article I (*P. T. R.*, Vol. II, pp. 260, 267), that the title "king of lands" has never been found except in *contract-tablets* from Babylonia, and in several combinations of *monumental* titles from Persia (*P. T. R.*, II, 262, 268). No proof is forthcoming that it was ever used in any other kind of literature; such as letters, decrees, personal address, history, or in actual court ceremonial speech.

CONCLUSION.

Before closing this article I cannot refrain from calling attention to two remarks suggested by the titles collected.

First, in view of the immense variety of these titles; in view of the facts that different kinds of titles prevail in different kinds of literature, and that different authors exercise their individual preferences in their designations of particular kings; and in view, finally, of the fact that the titles most commonly used in the Hebrew Scriptures have prevailed in all ages of the world and among all peoples in similar kinds of literature, and were used in similar relations of the writers and speakers to their particular king—we deem it preposterous to prescribe what titles any given author must have used, or to suppose that the omission or insertion of any such titles, as those mentioned by Dr. Driver, can supply an indication of the age of the document in which they occur.*

* Even the title "Pharaoh" to designate the king of Egypt does not imply a late date for the Pentateuch, as the collection of titles of the Egyptian kings given above in Articles III and IV demonstrate. For, first, it will be noted that the title "Pharaoh" was used especially of the kings of Egypt of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, and, secondly, that such Egyptian writings as concern the monarch only indirectly (such as the tales of Sancha and of Khamuas, "the most notable of the numerous progeny of the great king Rameses II") (see Griffith's *Stories of the High Priest of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900) contain the title Pharaoh as the preferable designation of the monarch of Egypt. This is worthy of more extended investigation. At present we can only say, that a title which was probably used as early as the first dynasty (see *P. T. R.*, Vol. II, p. 619), and in the fifth and twelfth dynasties (*id.*, 623 and 627), and

Secondly, a caveat should be entered against hasty generalizations and unsupported assertions which tend to undermine faith in the historicity of the Old Testament Scriptures. If the statements of Dr. Driver* with regard to the titles of the kings found in Ezra-Nehemiah, supported by an array of evidence, have been shown by a fuller induction of facts to be without foundation, and the statements of the Scriptures stand approved—what credit can be given to assertions of radical critics, for which no evidence whatever has been nor can be produced? In short, if when, as in the case of these titles of the kings, much evidence can be gathered from outside sources, and this evidence when gathered is found to be against the radical critics and overwhelmingly and convincingly in favor of the Biblical statements and usage, is not the presumption justified that, where no evidence is forthcoming, the Bible is right and the critics who attack its statements wrong?

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more commonly in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, might very well have been employed by Moses in designating the king of Egypt. It was not so much the individual king as the power hostile to the Hebrews and their God that the writer of the Pentateuch wishes to designate.

* In this and the preceding articles on the titles of the Persian kings in Ezra-Nehemiah, I have singled out Dr. Driver's statements rather than those of some other writer on Introduction; because he has given the fullest, clearest, and fairest argument possible in support of the assertion, first made apparently by Ewald, that the use of the title "king of Persia" demanded a date for Ezra-Nehemiah subsequent to the downfall of the Persian kingdom. If, therefore, it has been shown that Dr. Driver's contention is insufficiently supported by the facts, or rather is contrary to the facts, much more will it have been shown that the mere assertions of others are without justification.