

# The Princeton Theological Review

JANUARY, 1917

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## “GOD OUR FATHER AND THE LORD JESUS CHRIST”

In the opening sentence of the very first of Paul's letters which have come down to us—and that is as much as to say, in the very first sentence which, so far as we know, he ever wrote,—he makes use of a phrase in speaking of the Christians' God, which at once attracts our interested attention. According to the generous way he had of thinking and speaking of his readers at the height of their professions, he describes the church at Thessalonica as living and moving and having its being in God. But, as it was a Christian church which he was addressing, he does not content himself, in this description, with the simple term “God”. He uses the compound phrase, “God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.” The Thessalonians, he says, because they were Christians, lived and moved and had their being “in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.”

It is quite clear that this compound phrase was not new on Paul's lips, coined for this occasion. It bears on its face the evidence of a long and familiar use, by which it had been worn down to its bare bones. All the articles have been rubbed off, and with them all other accessories; and it stands out in its baldest elements as just “God Father and Lord Jesus Christ.” Plainly we have here a mode of speaking of the Christians' God which was customary with Paul.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find this phrase repeated in precisely the same connection in the opening verses of the next letter which Paul wrote—2 Thessalonians—with only the slight variation that an “our” is inserted with “God the Father”,—“in God our Father and the Lord

## THE TITLE "KING OF PERSIA" IN THE SCRIPTURES

May the title "king of Persia" have been used in genuine documents written in the time of the Achaemenid kings of Persia? If it may not have been, then parts at least of the canonical books of Daniel, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah cannot be genuine, and the canon of the Old Testament cannot have been completed until sometime in the Greek period. If, on the other hand, the title may have been used in the Achaemenid period, or if, better still, it can be shown by indisputable evidence that it was used in that period, then the ground is knocked from under the foundation of the objective evidence upon which the late Dr. Driver rested his principal allegation against the genuineness of Ezra-Nehemiah and one of the most serious allegations against the early date of Chronicles and Daniel. And also, if the use of this title in these books can be vindicated, one of the strongest arguments against the completion of the Old Testament canon at some time near the year 400 B. C. will have been overcome. It is my purpose in this article to show that the title "king of Persia" may have been used in genuine biblical documents, written in the time of the Achaemenid kings of Persia, by the simple and direct method of showing that it was used in extra-biblical documents from that time.

That in this purpose I am not as one that beateth the air will be evident from the fact that Dr. George Buchanan Gray, of Mansfield College, Oxford, has lately reaffirmed the opinion, formerly and repeatedly expressed by Dr. Driver, that Ewald's argument was weighty when he argued "on general grounds and on the ground of the biblical usage outside, as well as within, Ezra-Nehemiah," that "the way in which Cyrus and his successors are constantly mentioned<sup>1</sup> as Persian kings proves that the Greek rule had already be-

gun when the narrative that employs the title 'king of Persia' was composed."<sup>1</sup>

Two main arguments have been adduced in support of Ewald's position; one, that "it was unnatural and unnecessary to use the title while the Persian empire was still in existence"; the other, that "after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, Persia became lost in the wider empire of which the Achaemenidae became the heirs," and that "hence, after that date their standing official title became not 'king of Persia' but 'king of Babylon,' or more commonly 'king,' 'great king,' 'king of kings,' 'king of lands,' etc."<sup>2</sup>

Whether it was natural or necessary to use the title during the time in which the Achaemenid kings were reigning, is a matter of small importance. The main question is: Was the title "king of Persia" permissible before the fall of the Persian empire, or, to be more exact, from 539 to 332 B. C. Dr. Driver and Dr. Gray maintain that it was not permissible. The former supports his opinion with two propositions: first, that Persia was absorbed and lost in the wider empire to which after the conquest of Babylon the Achaemenidae fell heir; and secondly, that the standing official title of the Achaemenidae after 539 B. C. was not "king of Persia" but "king of Babylon" etc. The former of these propositions sounds good. But it is true only in the same sense that England has been absorbed and lost since she conquered India, and especially since Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India. For the records of Behistun, the Greek historians, the Aramaic papyri, and the Hebrew Scriptures unite in the testimony that, in the form of her government, the chief of her generals, admirals, and satraps,<sup>3</sup> the chosen residences of her kings,<sup>4</sup> and the places

<sup>1</sup> Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. p. 178; Gray, *The Expository Times*, xxv (1914), p. 249; Driver, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 545, 546.

<sup>2</sup> Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

<sup>3</sup> See list of generals in the army of Xerxes in Herodotus, vii. 61-68, and list of admirals, *ibid.*, 97; names of satraps in Herodotus and in Xenophon, *Anabasis*, viii. 81.

<sup>4</sup> To wit, Susa, Persepolis and Pasargadae.

of their burial and of their monumental inscriptions, the Achaemenid empire remained to the last predominantly and almost exclusively Persian.<sup>5</sup>

As to the second proposition, objection must be made to both of the statements involved in it. For it cannot be proven from the evidence at hand that after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the standing official title of the kings of the Persian Empire was "not king of Persia" but "king of Babylon," nor that any of the other titles mentioned, except that of "king of lands," was more frequently used than that of "king of Babylon."<sup>6</sup>

As to the title "king of Babylon," I reiterate the statement made in an article published in *The Princeton Theological Review*, for October, 1905, that Dr. Driver is absolutely wrong when he states that after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the standing official title of the Achaemenidae was not 'king of Persia' but 'king of Babylon'." Dr. Gray asserts that this statement has been made "because Professor Wilson either fails to understand, or misrepresents, Dr. Driver."<sup>7</sup> Dr. Gray is my best defender against his

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<sup>5</sup> The kindred tribes, especially the Medes, participated in large measure in the Persian rule, just as the Scotch, Irish and Welsh do in that of England.

<sup>6</sup> The title "great king" is never used alone, except three times in Herodotus, five or six times in Xenophon, once in the Persae of Aeschylus, and once in a letter of Themistocles; and in combination with the name it appears on several vases and in two inscriptions from Egypt, if we allow Pharaoh to be the equivalent of king. Elsewhere, it is found only in groups of titles in the triumphal inscriptions and in three Greek letters. The title "king of kings" is never used alone; and in conjunction with the name it is used only in Ezra vii. 13, and in combinations, only on the royal inscriptions. The title "king of lands" was never used alone; nor, in conjunction with the name only; nor, in combinations, anywhere except in Babylonia. The title "king," either with or without the name of the king, was a standing title of all kings of all countries and of all times. Nevertheless, it is a curious fact that "king" alone, which is the most common title in Thucydides and in the *Anabasis* and *Hellenica* of Xenophon, is never found in the Babylonian records, except in the genitive in an adjectival sense, that is, in such phrases as "the storehouse of the king."

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

own charge. For he says<sup>8</sup> that (1) 'king of Anshan,' (2) 'king of Persia,' and (3) 'king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world' are three titles or groups of titles borne by Cyrus at *successive*<sup>9</sup> periods of his career, the first down to at least as late as 553, the second at least as early as 546, the third in and after 539.' Taking these statements of Dr. Driver and Dr. Gray together, can anyone blame me for supposing that they mean that after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B. C. the title "king of Persia" was displaced, or put out of use, or succeeded, as the standard official title of the Achaemenid kings by the title "king of Babylon," whether alone or in connection with other titles. But whatever Dr. Driver and Dr. Gray may have meant, and whether they have been understood by me or not, one thing is certain, that there is no evidence to show that the title "king of Babylon" ever displaced, or succeeded, the title "king of Persia" as a, or the, standard official title of the Achaemenid kings. For in no known document has any king of Persia ever designated himself, or his predecessors of the Achaemenid lines, by the title "king of Babylon" alone. In fact, even in combination it is used by them but once; to wit, in a conciliatory proclamation addressed by Cyrus to the people of Babylon exclusively, and immediately after his peaceful entry into their city.

The failure of Dr. Driver and of Dr. Gray to find any further instances of the use of this title by the Persian kings is not made good by showing that by their *subjects* the Persian kings are called "king of Babylon." For with the exception of two cases in the Hebrew Scriptures, there is no evidence that any but *Babylonian* subjects ever called any king of Persia by the title "king of Babylon." Among the Babylonians, also, its use was restricted; for it is found nowhere except in the subscriptions of certain business contracts from Babylonia; and it is not found on any business contract after the eighth year of Xerxes, *i.e.*, after 478

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 246a.

<sup>9</sup> The italics are Dr. Gray's.



B. C.<sup>10</sup> The futility of expecting that the title "king of Babylon" should have been used always in genuine biblical documents which purport to have been written after 478 B. C., will thus be obvious.

But even on the contract tablets, from the period when the title king of Babylon occurs as a designation of the Persian kings of Bablyon (i.e. from 539 to 478 B. C.), it is not common to find it alone. Out of 2656 contract tablets of the Persian period from Babylon which I have examined,<sup>10</sup> only about 60 have this title alone in their subscriptions, i.e., about 2%. When we consider that many of these tablets are eroded or broken at the end, the percentage of use of the phrase "king of Babylon" alone as a "standing official title" of the kings of Persia among their Babylonian subjects is still further reduced.

Notwithstanding these facts, Dr. Gray asserts that "in and after 539" B. C., Cyrus [and by implication the other kings of Persia] bore the group of titles "king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world."<sup>11</sup> Dr. Gray's assertion is most astonishing in view of the fact that he has omitted from the group of titles cited by him the only ones that are ever found elsewhere in any of the inscriptions or other documents purporting to come from the kings of Persia, to wit, the titles "the great king," "the mighty king," "the king of nations." Of these last named titles the first in exactly the same form and the third in a slightly modified one are found in all of the great building inscriptions of the Dariuses, the Artaxerxeses, and Xerxes. But the three titles which Dr. Gray mentions as having been borne by the kings of Persia "in and after 539" B. C. are the very ones that are never used anywhere else either by Cyrus or by any other king of Persia!<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See my contribution to the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 179-207. A revised list of the titles there given appears at the end of this article; see below, pp. 120-144.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 246a.

<sup>12</sup> It is worthy of note also that the particular grouping of the titles used by Cyrus is never employed of or by any Assyrian or Babylonian king.

Scarcely less astonishing is the assertion of Dr. Gray<sup>13</sup> that "Cyrus, after his conquest of Babylon, actually calls himself, or is by his subjects called (and that in a great number of documents), 'king of Babylon,' or 'king of the lands,' or 'king of Babylon and of the lands,' or, as in Cyrus' Cylinder (as cited above), by a longer string of titles." Inasmuch as Cyrus, except in the string of titles used in his proclamation, never calls himself "king of Babylon," and especially since he never calls himself "king of lands," or "king of Babylon and of the lands," this assertion is, to say the least, ambiguous. Moreover, the only subjects who ever called him "king of Babylon" were the inhabitants of Babylonia.

Besides, the "unsuspecting reader," to use Dr. Gray's own expression, cannot fail to be bewildered and led astray by a misleading statement like the following: "Many documents written by Cyrus himself or his subjects between the capture of Babylonia in 539 and the death of Cyrus in 529 exist; and these contain many references to Cyrus, but never describe Cyrus as king of Persia." This statement is misleading to the ordinary reader, since there are only two known documents which may have been indited by Cyrus himself,—the one, the proclamation on his Cylinder, and the other, a short inscription on a brick, containing simply the words: "Cyrus, the builder of Esagila and Ezida, son of Cambyses, the mighty king." It is misleading again, because the only subjects of Cyrus (except Daniel, who does call him king of Persia) who have left us documents dated from his reign, were Babylonians; and up to the eighth year of Xerxes, the Achaemenid rulers of Babylon seem to have attempted to reconcile her turbulent population to an alien yoke by permitting the Babylonians to employ in their business documents the legal forms to which they had been accustomed under their native kings. As we shall see in the next section of this article, they treated the Egyptians in like manner, recognizing wherever compatible with their

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

sovereignty the old forms and titles and laws, just as the British have done in India and the Americans in Louisiana. As to the "many references to Cyrus" claimed by Dr. Gray as being contained in these documents, it may suffice to say that not one reference to him has thus far been found in them except in dates.

Finally, in discussing the use of the phrase "king of Babylon" to denote the Persian kings of Babylon, Dr. Gray, seems to be ignorant of the fact, at least he fails to mention the fact, that the Persian kings of Egypt are in like manner, on the hieroglyphic documents of Egypt, called by the title "king of Upper and Lower Egypt." It seems to have been a part of the policy of the Persian kings of Babylon and Egypt, the greatest of their subject states, to conciliate the native populations by the assumption of the official titles of the respective native kings, who preceded them. But the Persian kings are never called by the title "king of Babylon" in Egypt, nor by the title "king of Egypt" in Babylon, nor by either title outside of Babylon and Egypt, except twice in the Bible.<sup>14</sup>

So, then, all that the usage of the title will justify us in saying is that "king of Babylon" was a local Babylonian title of the Persian kings of Babylon, used correctly and almost always in connection with the broader and more significant title "king of lands";<sup>15</sup> and that the title "king of Babylon" was probably abolished by Xerxes after the revolt of Babylon which occurred shortly after the battle of Salamis in 480 B. C.

<sup>14</sup> The title "king of Babylon" is used of Cyrus in Ezra v. 13 and of Artaxerxes I in Neh. xiii. 6.

<sup>15</sup> The title "king of lands", or its equivalent, is found either alone or in combination in the subscriptions of about 95 per cent of the Babylonian contract tablets. After the tenth year of Xerxes, it is the only title used in these tablets, as long as the Persian empire existed, and it continued in use occasionally under the Seleucide (see further page 116 below). Outside of Babylonia, the phrase is never employed, except six times in long combinations of titles in the inscriptions of Media and Persia. Cambyses in one of his Egyptian inscriptions once calls himself "lord of every country"; and the phrase "great lord of all



Dr. Gray makes a great deal of the fact that the Aramaic portions and the memoirs of Ezra-Nehemiah "refer to the king by his name only, or by the title "king" only, or by his name followed by the title king."<sup>16</sup> No one disputes that these appellations are employed there and elsewhere in the Scriptures. In fact, except on the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian inscriptions, they are the usual designations of kings, not merely in the Old Testament, but in all literatures and in all times. Dr. Gray, however, argues as if these were the *only* titles or designations which might properly have been given to the Persian kings by contemporaneous writers, except perchance "king of kings" or "king of Babylon."<sup>17</sup> That is, Dr. Gray argues that a genuine portion of Ezra-Nehemiah may have designated a contemporaneous king by his name only, or by the title "king" only, or by the name followed by the title king; but maintains that "the Greek rule had already begun when the narrative that employs the title 'king of Persia' was composed." He rests this argument "(1) on the consideration that it would be unnecessary and unnatural for a Persian subject, in the course of a simple narrative of events, constantly to attach this title to the names of sovereigns of the still existing dynasty; and (2) on the observation that the Persian sub-

lands" is used once of Cambyses and once of Darius Hystaspis. According to Herodotus, Darius I employed a similar phrase in a combination of titles on the Tearus stele, to wit; "Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians and of the continent"; and Cambyses is called "lord of Asia" in one Egyptian document, according to Professor Erman in Z. A. S. XXXI; 93. Other similar titles implying a universal dominion, such as "king of the lands of all nations", "king of the lands of the totality of tongues", are to be found in combinations in almost every one of the royal display inscriptions of the Persian kings. That no one of these is found in any biblical book, not even in Haggai or Zechariah, need cause no surprise. For the biblical writers nowhere ascribe any such titles to an earthly king. Nowhere in the Scriptures is any king of earth called "king of lands". Jehovah alone deserves and receives this title.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 249a.

<sup>17</sup> The former of these occurs in Ezra vii. 12 and the latter in Ezra v. 13 and Neh. xiii. 6 in what Dr. Gray admits to be genuine contemporaneous portions of Ezra-Nehemiah.

ject Nehemiah in his memoirs and the Persian subjects Haggai and Zechariah in their prophecies constantly refer to the Persian king by name only, or by name and the title king, but never employ the title 'king of Persia'.<sup>18</sup>

Objection may be made to the correctness of this "observation" and of this "consideration" on the ground, first, of the improper use made of the word "constantly"; secondly, of the begging of the question at issue by the use of the phrase "simple narrative of events"; and thirdly, of the unwarranted use of the words "unnecessary and unnatural."

First, the word "constantly" according to the dictionaries means "invariably." How then can Dr. Gray employ it (as he does in his "observation") of the use of the title "king of Persia," when this title is used in what he calls the "simple narrative" but eight times out of twenty-five? His use of it in his "consideration" is proper; but the force of it is lost in view of the fact that Haggai and Zechariah refer to the kings of Persia only three times each.

Secondly, the question at issue is not whether the author or authors of Ezra-Nehemiah used the title "king of Persia" only in what Dr. Gray arbitrarily calls the "simple narrative of events"; but whether it was proper to use this title in the period when the documents in which it appears purport to have been written and in the kind of literature in which it is employed.

As to the time at which the documents purport to have been written, most of them are dated from the first year of Cyrus.<sup>19</sup> The first year of Cyrus was 539 B. C. and the second year of Darius II was about 422 B. C. The question here, then, is whether it was proper to use the title "king of Persia" in documents written in the period extending from 539 to 422 B. C. The evidence that it was

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, 249b.

<sup>19</sup> So 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22-23, Ezra i. 1-2, 8, iii. 7; one from his third year (Daniel x. 1), one from the reign of Darius I (?), three from the reign of Artaxerxes (I), (Ezra iv. 7, vi. 14, vii. 13), and one from the second year of Darius (II), (Ezra iv. 24).

proper is as follows: (1) Nabonidus uses it of Cyrus in a document written at Babylon as early at the latest as 539 B. C. and referring to Cyrus as having been king of Persia as early as 545 B. C.<sup>20</sup> (2) Herodotus, writing before 424 B. C., the year of his death, says that Cambyses' ambassadors to the Ethiopians began their message with the words: "Cambyses, the king of Persia." (3) Darius Hystaspis in the larger Behistun inscription calls himself in the midst of other titles (among which the title "king of Babylon" fails to appear) by the title "king of Persia." Moreover, Persia is the only country over which he says expressly that he was king. (4) Darius Hystaspis repeats this title in exactly the same connection in the Babylonian and Persian recensions of the smaller Behistun inscription; but in the Susian recension, he makes it more prominent by saying: "I, Darius, the king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, the king of kings,—I am king of (or in) Persia." (5) On the Tearus stele in Thrace, Darius is said by Herodotus to have called himself "king of the Persians and of the whole continent." (6) Thucydides, writing about 400 B. C., calls Cyrus "the first king of the Persians" (Book I. 13, and speaks of "Cyrus and the Persian kingdom" (*id.* 16). (7) Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* (Book I. 2, 5 (?)) calls Cyrus king of Persia. (8) Thucydides speaks of "Darius who after Cambyses was king of the Persians" (Book I. 14). (9) Xerxes is called "king of Persia" in one Babylonian tablet and in combination in twelve others; that is, in more than a third of the tablets dated from his reign, and in more than half of those from his first eight years. (10) Aeschylus, who fought in the battle of the Salamis, makes his Chorus in the Persae address Xerxes as the "king of the land," meaning Persia (*Persae*, 913); and the Chorus addresses Atossa, the wife of Darius and mother of Xerxes, as "queen of this land" and as "venerable Majesty of Persia" (*id.* 175, 625).

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<sup>20</sup> *Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle*, reverse B 15.

(11) Xenophon in the *Hellenica* (Book I. 2) speaks of Darius (II), the king of the Persians. The *Hellenica* was finished about 362 B. C. Darius II died in 404 B. C. (12) Lastly, the title "king of Persia" without the name attached is used in a general sense in Herodotus ii.31, 102, and vii. 106; and, in a specific sense, of Cambyses, in Herodotus iii. 21 *bis.* and of Darius I in v. 36. Xenophon also uses this title of Darius II in the *Hellenica* vi. 3 *bis.* 5 and vii. 1 *bis.*

It is evident therefore, that there are thirty-eight distinct extra-biblical instances of the use of this title from 545 to about 400 B. C.; and that these instances are found in twenty different works by nineteen different persons. It is evident also that the earliest example of the use of the title in the Scriptures is 539 as against 545 in the Chronicle of Nabonidus; and that the latest use in the Scriptures is 422 as against about 400 in the extra-biblical testimony. Lastly, it is evident that there are sixteen cases of its use in the Scriptures (or thirteen, if we count but once the occurrence of it in the duplicate passages in Ezra i. 1, 2 and 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22, 23) over against thirty-eight cases in the extra-biblical works. No one will be rash enough to deny the genuineness of the twenty extra-biblical works because of the presence in them of this title. Why then, should one on the same ground assail the genuineness of the biblical writings? Let us be fair and square. Let us expect and require the same treatment for Ezra and Daniel as for Herodotus, Aeschylus, Thucydides and Xenophon. Let us admit that it was as natural and necessary for Ezra to employ the title as for Darius and Cambyses, and for the scribes who wrote the Babylonian tablets.

Dr. Gray discusses the titles of the kings as if the same form of title would be proper in all kinds of literature. He never intimates that titles may be different in dates and decrees from what they are in conversation, poetry, letters, and in honorific, mortuary, and temple inscriptions. He

argues as if he expected Nehemiah to have used the same titles in the dates of ii. 1 and v. 14 as in the private conversations between himself and the king recorded in chapter one; or, as if Ezra should have employed the same titles for the king in the prayer recorded in vii. 27-29, as in the decree of i. 1-3, or in the dates of iv. 5-7. Whereas, the use of the shortest and simplest titles in the conversation between Nehemiah and the king should be compared with the similar use in Herodotus vii. 12-30 in the record of discussions in the privy councils of Xerxes; and the use of the simplest form in the prayer of Ezra with the like usage in the prayer of Nebuchadnezzar recorded in the Birs-Nimrud inscription.

The correctness and propriety of the scriptural records and the marvellous accuracy with which they have been transmitted to us are nowhere better exemplified than in the titles of the kings as found in Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. For example, the documents of the profane writers show that in dates from the Achaemenid period it was usual to employ the forms "X," "X the king," and "X the king of Y." In the Scriptures, Haggai and Zechariah use the two former; and Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah all three forms. Again, in more formal documents, such as decrees, diplomatic messages, and orders of the king, the common usage in and outside the Scriptures was "X the king" and "X the king of Y." For the former, compare the use of "Darius the king" seventy-six times in the Behistun inscription alone and its similar use in Ezra v. 13-17; for the latter, compare the message of Cambyses to the king of the Ethiopians and the decree of Cyrus in Ezra i. 2.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The punctilious care with which the authors of Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles have employed the titles of the Achaemenid kings will be apparent to anyone who consults the lists of titles appended to this article. The multiplicity of the forms of titles by which the Achaemenid kings are designated in indisputably genuine extra-biblical documents should teach us this at least, that the genuineness of a biblical document is not to be assailed on the ground that



If, then, keeping in mind the fact that in different kinds of literature we may expect to find different kinds of titles, we examine the passages in the biblical documents in which the title "king of Persia" is found, we shall find that it is used exclusively in dates and in decrees, commands, or grants. The principal question for us to discuss, therefore, is whether the title "king of Persia" may have been employed in biblical documents purporting to be from the period of the Achaemenid kings. Let us consider, then, the form and use of the titles in these two kinds of document, in so far as they are found in the biblical and extra-biblical literature from 550 to 330 B. C.

(I) THE FORMS AND USE OF THE TITLES OF THE PERSIAN KINGS IN DATES.

We shall discuss this subject under two heads (1) the forms and (2) the *provenance* of the documents in which the forms are found.

1. The three common simple forms in use in dates are (1) X the king; (2) X; and (3) X the king of Y. Of the first of these, Dr. Gray rightly says that it is the form found in the Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B. C., and in Haggai I. 1, 15 and Zechariah vii. 1. It is found also in no. 22 of Clay's *Aramaic Indorsements*, dated 422 B. C.; in the bilingual inscription from Sardes in the Princeton University Museum; and in all of the demotic papyri from the time of the Persian kings.<sup>22</sup> In the Bible also outside of Haggai and Zechariah, in the dates of the Persian kings as it contains one rather than another of several permissible forms. Nay more, it might be argued that the presence of an unusual form in a biblical document is no more conclusive against its genuineness than is the presence of unique forms in the Persae of Aeschylus, and in the proclamation of Cyrus to the men of Babylon.

<sup>22</sup> For the use of this title in the demotic papyri, see Brugsch: *Grammaire Demotique*, Plates III. and IV; Lepsius: *Denkmaeler*, Plate 125, I, 88, III; Caillaux, Plates XXVII and XXVIII; Revilloux in TSBA, VIII. 20 ff, and in *Revue Égyptologique* III. These papyri are all from the reign of Darius Hystaspis, from the year 3 to the year 30 inclusive. In all of these records, the word "king" is put first, and the name of the king comes second.

given in Ezra-Nehemiah, "X the King" is found six times.<sup>23</sup> On the Babylonian contract tables, the name followed by "the king" is found thirty or more times.<sup>24</sup>

(2) The second form of dates, (that with the name alone),<sup>25</sup> we find in a few Babylonian documents from the time of the Persian domination and in the Bible in Haggai ii. 10, Zechariah i. 1, 7 and in 2 Kings xii. 2, xvii. 6, and xviii. 10.

It is admitted then, by both Dr. Gray and his opponents, that Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, and Nehemiah, are supported by the usage of contemporary documents in their employment of the two forms in dates, "the year of X, the king," and "the year of X." Dr. Gray fails, however, to call our attention to the fact that in Egypt, Babylon, and the Scriptures alike, these titles are not used distinctively of the Persian kings and of them exclusively. In an Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine (No. 35 by Sachau) we find the date "the year 5 of Amyrtaeus the king,"<sup>26</sup> just as in other papyri we find "the year of Darius the king." In the demotic papyri, also, the year of king Psamtik, the native Egyptian king who preceded Cambyses is written in exactly the same way as the year of the king Darius. So, also, in Babylon, a common way of denoting dates in the

<sup>23</sup> The form "the king" occurs in dates in 2 Kings xii. 7 of Jehoash, and 2 Chron. xiii. 1 of Jeroboam.

<sup>24</sup> To wit: on the contract tablets of (1) Cambyses Strass. 384. (2) Darius (I). Strass 97, 274, 309, 339 (?), 350bis, 369, 384, 420, 429, 438, 451, 509, 516, 523, 542, B.E. VIII. 102 (?) VSD. IV. 177, VI. 126, 133, 146, 151, 166 (?). (3) Artaxerxes (I), VSD. III. 187. V. 119, VI. 188 (?) and AJSSL. Jan. 1900 No. 31 (4) Darius (II). six times. BE. VIII. 38, 59, 87, 139, 140, 166.

<sup>25</sup> To wit, in (1) Cyrus, Strass. 35, 68 (?), 75 (?). (2) Cambyses. Strass. 27, 29, 79, 435. VSD. III. 85. (3) Darius (I). Strass. 7, 62, 88, 110 (?), 128, 187 (?), 190, 211bis, 234, 320, 324, 412 (?). 451; VSD. IV. 129, 148 (?), VI. 142. (4) Xerxes. VSD. IV. 192, VI. 180, 301 (?). (5) Akshimaksu. VSD. IV. 177 (?). (6) Darius (II). BE. VIII. 222. 15; VSD. IV. 129, 148 (?).

<sup>26</sup> Amyrtaeus was a native Egyptian who revolted from Artaxerxes I in 460 B. C. and established an independent kingdom in the Delta (Thucydides I. 110, Herodotus III. 15).

Greek period was by the year of Seleucus, or of Antiochus; and in the Persian period, the year of Akshimaksu (VSD. VI. 177), of "Shamash-Erba the king" (VSD. VI. 174), and of Belsimanni (*id.* III. 180) are used in dates from the time of these rebels against the kings of Persia. These titles, therefore, were not distinctly Persian.

Furthermore, no one can possibly claim that these two titles are the common or only ones used in the dates from the Persian Period. In the Babylonian dated documents of this period only about 70, or less than three per cent, have one or the other of these two forms. In more than 97 per cent of the dates we find the name of the king plus the phrases "king of the lands," "king of Babylon," "king of Babylon and of the lands," "king of Babylon, king of the lands," "king of Persia," "king of Persia and Media," "king of Persia, Media, Babylon and the lands," or "king of Persia and Media, king of Babylon and the lands." Again, in the Egyptian dates written in hieroglyphic, these two simple forms are never found; but in their place other forms, such as "lord of Kem," "lord of the two lands," "lord of lands," "king of Upper and Lower Egypt," and many other variations; and all of these are followed by the name of the king.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> For the dates in the hieroglyphic documents, see Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, vol. III. 283, and Burchart's article in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. XXXVII. 73. Arranged according to years, the dates read: (1) Year 6 of the lord of the two lands, Cambyses. L.D. III. 283, m. (2) Year 26 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius, the ever living. L. D., III. 283, b. (3) Year 27 of the same, *id.* d. (4) Year 27 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Darius, the ever living, *id.* g. So, also, one from the 28th and two from the 34th year of Darius. *id.* c. e, and f. (5) Year 36 of the lord of the two lands, Darius. *id.* m. (6) Year 36 of the lord of the two lands, Darius, the good god. *id.* h. (7) Year 36 of the good god, lord of the two lands, son of Ra, lord of Kem, Darius, the ever living. *id.* i. (8) Year 2 of Xerxes, the good god, lord of Kem, etc. *id.* n. (9) Year 4 of Xerxes the king, (Burk. A.Z. XXVII. 73). (10) Year 6 of the lord of Kem, Xerxes. L.D. III 283 l. (11) Year 10 of the lord of two lands, Xerxes. *id.* k. (12) Year 12 of the lord of the two lands, Xerxes. *id.* m. (13) Year 12 of the good good god, lord of the two lands. Xerxes *id.* o. (14) Year 13 of his (i.e. Darius') son, lord of

Therefore, the use in dates found in the Scriptures of the form "X king of Y" when referring to the Persian kings is fully justified by extra-biblical usage.<sup>28</sup>

With regard to the *provenance* of these dates,<sup>29</sup> the following remarks may be made.

(1) With the exception of those in the Scriptures and the one from Sardes, all of them hail from Egypt or Babylonia. (2) All the forms of titles found in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, which contain specific dates, are found in exactly the same form on the dated documents from Babylonia. (3) These same forms are in the documents from Egypt, except that in the hieroglyphic documents for the phrase "king of Persia" the phrase "king of Egypt" with its appropriate variations is substituted. (4) In the Egyptian documents no Persian king is ever called "king of Babylon." (5) In the Babylonian documents no Persian king is ever called "king of Egypt." (6) Ezra v. 13 and Neh. xiii. 6 are the only places outside the Babylonian documents where a Persian king is called "king of Babylon." The date in Neh. xiii. 6 occurs in what Dr. Gray calls a genuine part of the memoirs of Nehemiah. The date in Ezra v. 13 is written in an Aramaic idiom which is meant to distinguish the first year of Cyrus as king of Babylon from his first year as king of Persia.<sup>30</sup> (7) Except in the Egyptian documents

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the two lands, son of Ra, lord of Kem, Xerxes, the ever living. *id.* i. (15) Year 26 of the good god, lord of the two lands, Artaxerxes, Pharaoh the Great, the ever living. *id.* h. (16) Year ? of the king of Egypt, lord of the two lands, Artaxerxes, the ever living *id.* q.

<sup>28</sup> The examples of the form "X king of Y" in the books of Daniel, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are as follows: (1) In the first year of Cyrus, king of Babylon. Ezra 5:13. (2) In the 32nd year of Artaxerxes, king of Babylon. Neh. xiii. 6. (3) In the 3rd year of Cyrus, king of Persia. Dan. x.1. Also, the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia. Ezra i. 1. (4) All the days of Cyrus, king of Persia. Ezra 4:5. (5) Into the reign of Darius, king of Persia. Ezra 4:5. (6) In the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia. Ezra 7:1. (7) Unto the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia. Ezra 4:24.

<sup>29</sup> See page 102 above.

<sup>30</sup> In Ezra v. 12, Nebuchadnezzar is denominated simply *melek Babel*. In v. 13, Cyrus is called *malka' di Babel*. By this word *di*, the author

no Persian king is ever called "king of Egypt." (8) Dr. Gray's assumption, therefore, that after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus the Persian kings adopted the titles of the kings of Babylon, must be limited to Babylonia. In Egypt, as has been shown above, they in like manner adopted the titles of their predecessors, the native Egyptian kings. In Media, also, it is possible that they were called "king of Media" a title by which they were sometimes designated by the Greeks and by their Babylonian subjects. As to the rest of their empire, there is no evidence to show that in dates at least they were designated otherwise than in the books of Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra and Nehemiah.<sup>31</sup>

## II. USE OF THE TITLE "KING OF PERSIA" IN DECREES, COMMANDS AND GRANTS.

The titles in the decrees, commands and grants, of Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezra i. 2, 3, 8; iii. 7; iv. 3; v. 13, 17; vi. 1, 3, 12, 14 bis; vii, 21; Neh. ii, 8 *et al*) have four forms; first, the title "king" alone (Neh. ii. 8 and often); secondly, the name of the king alone (Ezra vi. 12, 14); thirdly, the name plus the title "king" (Ezra. v. 13, 17, vi. 1, 3, vii. 21); and fourthly, the name plus the title "king of Persia" (Ezra. i, 2, 3, 8; iii. 7; and iv. 3). The first three kinds of forms are admitted by all to be in harmony with contemporary usage. I shall confine my remarks, therefore, to the five instances where the title "king of Persia" is employed.<sup>32</sup>

In the proclamation of Ezra i. 2, Cyrus, king of Persia caused his voice to be heard *קול וייעבר*; in that of i. 3, the phrase is: Thus saith Cyrus, King of Persia *כה אמר*. In the executive order of i. 8, Cyrus, king of Persia, caused the vessels of the house of the Lord to be given out into the

carefully indicates that he refers to the first year of Cyrus as king of Babylon. Cyrus conquered Babylon in 539 B. C., after he had been king of Persia for at least seven years.

<sup>31</sup> On this remark, see the very able discussion in Prasek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, pp. 230-255.

<sup>32</sup> The titles in Ezra i. 2 and 3 are in proclamations, those in i. 8 and iv. 3 are in connection with executive orders, and that in iii. 7 is in connection with a grant.



hand of Mithridates the Treasurer; in that of iv. 3, Zerubabel and his companions built, according as the king, Cyrus king of Persia, had commanded them. In iii. 7, we are told that silver was given to the stone masons and carpenters, and food and drink and oil to the Sidonians and Tyrians, that they might bring cedar-wood from Lebanon to the sea at Joppa, according to the grant (כרשיון) of Cyrus, king of Persia, himself. There are at least five or six documents from the time of the Persian kings which may be classed as proclamations, decrees, commands or grants. The first of these is the proclamation (or address) of Cyrus to the Babylonians on his assumption of the government of Babylon. The second is the address of Cambyses to the Ethiopians. The third and fourth are adulatory proclamations of Darius on the rock of Behistun. The fifth is that of Darius recorded on the stele at Tearus, as cited by Herodotus (v. 91). The sixth is that of Ychumelek, king of Byblus. To these proclamations might be added the somewhat later inscription of Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, which, though a mortuary inscription, bears the character of a proclamation. Of grants from this period, the only one which I can recall is that of Darius Hystaspis to the chief physician of the temple of Neith at Sais.

I shall now cite what may be called the authenticating and authoritative titles of these documents. (1) In his clay cylinder inscription Cyrus, making a selection from the titles assumed by his predecessors on the throne of Babylon, says of himself: "I am Cyrus, king of All, the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Shumer and Accad, king of the four world regions, son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of the city of Anshan, great-grandson of Teispes the great king, king of the city of Anshan, the enduring seed of the kingdom, whose government Bel and Nebo love to the good of their hearts."<sup>33</sup> (2) In Herodotus

<sup>33</sup> Dr. Gray says that the titles here given were assumed by Cyrus after he became king of Babylon in place of his previous titles used

iii. 20, 21, it is said that Cambyses sent spies to the king of the Ethiopians with a message and that the spies addressed the king of the Ethiopians as follows "Cambyses, king of the Persians, desirous of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us etc." The Ethiopian king answered that "the king of the Persians" had not sent them as friends, but as spies, and sent back a message beginning; "The king of the Ethiopians advises the king of the Persians etc." (3) In the smaller inscription of Behistun, Darius says in the Persian recension: "I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, king in (or of) Persia, king of the lands, the son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenian." In the Susian recension, the proclamation reads: "I am Darius the king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, the king of kings, I am king in (or of) Persia." (4) In the larger Behistun inscription Darius says: "I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of lands, (a Persian<sup>84</sup>), the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenid." To these titles he adds in section two his genealogy. (5) Herodotus states that on the Tearus stele Darius gave his titles as follows: "Derius, son of Hystaspes, king of Persia and the whole continent" (*Melpomene*, 91). 6. Ychumelek, king of Byblus, in an inscription from the Persian period says: "I am Ychumelek, king of Gebal, son of Yehar-Baal, grandson of Urimelek, king of Gebal." In this short inscription of only 15 lines, the title "king of Gebal" occurs four times, before the conquest of that city. He says: "When he became king of Babylon and heir to the great titles which had been associated with the kingdom of Babylon", "he was content that the greater titles should imply the less comprehensive" (*op. cit.*, p. 246). This assumption is contradicted by the fact that Cyrus himself limits his proclamation to Babylon, Shumer and Accad (line 18), to the four regions from the upper to the lower sea and to the kings of Amurri who inhabit tents (line 29); and claims only to have brought back to Babylon the gods from the cities extending as far as Assur, Susa, and other cities up to the boundary of Gutium and the fortresses which were beyond the river Tigris (lines 30, 31).

<sup>84</sup> To the titles of the Persian recension, the Babylonian adds *amelu-par-sa-a-a*, i.e., a Persian.

and probably occurred five times, the title in one place being defaced. Four of these times the title was applied to Ychumelek.<sup>35</sup> (7) Eshmunazar says: "In the month Bul, in the fourteenth year of king Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, son of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake king Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, saying" etc. In this inscription of 22 lines the phrase "king of the Sidonians" occurs seven times. This inscription was written probably in the fourth century B. C. (*id.* 30.)

Of all the documents from the period from 539 to 300 B. C., these approach most nearly the form of proclamations. It will be noted that they all give, not merely the name of the king, but also the title "king" and the city, people, or country, over which the king ruled. In the case of the inscriptions of the Persian kings themselves the two triumphal records of Darius use the title "king of Persia"; whereas the address of Cyrus being meant to conciliate his freshly conquered Babylonian subjects properly and becomingly used the title "king of Babylon." It will be noted further that all of these inscriptions, except the last, were written for subjects of the Persian kings.

(8) The only known grant in documents outside the Scriptures coming from Persian times and from Persian kings is that of Darius Hystaspis to the chief physician of the medical school at Sais in Egypt. The original was republished and retranslated by Heinrich Schaefer in the *Zeitschrift fuer Aegyptische Sprache*, xxxvii, pp. 72-74. Since in this, as in most other cases of translation from the original, the titles are abridged or omitted, I shall add them to the following excerpt which I have translated from the German rendering of the original hieroglyphic. "His Majesty, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius, the ever living, commanded me (now his Majesty was in Elam as great king of all foreign lands and great prince of Kent) to restore 'the buildings which had been destroyed'"; "the barbarians brought me from land to land and accom-

<sup>35</sup> See Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 18.

panied me to Egypt, as the Lord of the two lands had commanded me, etc." In the remainder of the inscription, the phrase "his Majesty" is constantly used to denote the king. It will be remarked that each time that the author employs the word "command," he uses one of the two great titles of the Persian kings as kings of Egypt, i.e., "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt," and "Lord of the two lands"; whereas elsewhere he designates Darius as "great king of all foreign lands" and as "great prince of Kemt" (i.e., Egypt), or by the title "His Majesty." From the distinctions, therefore, made in this inscription we gather first, that the author discriminated carefully between the titles of the Persian kings in general as kings of the lands outside of Egypt and their titles as great princes of Egypt itself; and secondly, that in the enacting clauses of the grant he uses the titles "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "Lord of the two lands," just as in Ezra i. 8, III. 7, and iv. 3 it is Cyrus, "king of Persia," who issues commands and grants.

Having found, then, that in the time of the Achaemenid empire the form "X king of Y" is used in all of the hieroglyphic inscriptions from Egypt and, in over 97 per cent of 2656 contract tablets and other inscriptions from Babylon, in nearly all of the inscriptions in the Persian languages, in all of the Phenician inscriptions coming from king-governed cities, and in the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon (all of them documents contemporaneous with the Persian kings), the only remaining question to determine is whether in the form "X king of Y," Y is ever represented by Persia i.e., whether the form "X king of Persia" is ever found in the literature of this period.

We have seen above that "X, king of Upper and Lower Egypt" is the common title employed in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and that it is found nowhere outside of Egypt. We have seen, also, that "X, king of Babylon" is occasionally found alone on the Babylonian contract tablets and frequently in conjunction with the title "king of the lands,"

and also, in connection with other usual Babylonian titles in the Cyrus Cylinder; but nowhere outside of Babylonia except twice in the Scriptures. Now, the evidence that the title "king of Persia" was the only title of the Persian kings of the form "X king of Y," except that of "king of the Medes"<sup>36</sup> or "king of the lands,"<sup>37</sup> used outside of Babylon and Egypt is as follows.

#### A. EVIDENCE OF ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

1. In the Nabunaid-Cyrus Chronicle, from the 9th year of the reign of Nabunaid, Cyrus is referred to as "king of Persia." In the Abu Habba inscription, Nabunaid, in speaking of his own third year, refers to Cyrus as "king of Anshan" and as the little vassal of Astyages. From Cyrus himself we have but two inscriptions, both from Babylonia. One of these is his proclamation to the Babylonian people

<sup>36</sup> The title "king of the Medes" occurs a number of times in Herodotus. For example, in I. 206, in the address of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, to Cyrus; in I. 55 and 56, in the response of the Delphic oracle to Croesus; in VII. 136, in the address of the Spartans, Spertihies and Bulis, and in VIII. 114, in the address of the Spartan ambassadors to Xerxes; and in IX. 7, in the address of the Athenian ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians concerning Xerxes. Further, the king of Persia is called "the Mede" in Thucydides I. 69, 74, and the dominant people in the Persian empire are called Medes frequently in Herodotus, as in VII. 206, 207, 298, 226 ter, 208. Compare, also, the word *medizein*, used to denote those who took the side of the Persians against the Greeks. Lastly, the Persian kings themselves nearly always place Media and the Medes in a position higher than that held by the rest of their subjects. For example, in the twenty-six tablets from the first eight years of Xerxes, one tablet called him king of Medo-Persia and in eleven others he is called king of Persia, Media and Babylon. Weissbach in ZDMG, LXII gives twenty-five tablets from the first eight years of Xerxes. Media is found in the dates of eleven of the twenty-five. In a twenty-sixth tablet, lately published by Professor Clay in the Morgan Collection, I. 85, Media is found a twelfth time. All, except possibly one, of these twelve tablets are dated from the middle of the first year of Xerxes to his fifth year, making at least eleven out of fifteen from these four years with the title king of Media and Persia upon them. Again, Darius I in the Behistun Inscription refers four times to "Persia, Media, and the other lands", a phrase which he employs twice also in the short inscription *Persepolis g.*

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 96.



mentioned above, in which he assumes the titles of the native kings of Babylon and among them that of "king of Babylon"; in the other, he calls himself simply "Cyrus, builder of Esagila and Ezida, son of Cambyses, the mighty king," the last clause referring to himself.<sup>38</sup>

2. In the great inscription of Behistun, among other titles Darius I calls himself "the king of Persia."

3. In the smaller inscription of Behistun, he again calls himself "the king of Persia."<sup>39</sup>

4. In the Tearus stele, he again calls himself "the king of Persia."

<sup>38</sup>In view of the fact that these two inscriptions are the only ones which can claim Cyrus as their author, and that only one of these calls him "king of Babylon", and that in this one he is called king of Babylon only as the first of a long list of titles, it is difficult to understand exactly what Dr. Gray means when he says that "Cyrus, after his conquest of Babylon, actually calls himself or is by his subjects called (and that in a great number of documents) 'king of Babylon', or 'king of the lands', or by both these titles together, or 'king of Babylon and of the lands', or, as in the Cyrus Cylinder (as cited above) by a longer string of titles". *Op. cit.*, p. 250, 3. Ought not Dr. Gray to have made it clearer to his readers, of whom many have not an acquaintance with the original sources, that no subject of any Persian king up to the first year of Xerxes, ever, so far as we know, attributed to any Persian king a long string of titles; that in no place except the Cyrus Cylinder does Cyrus or any other Persian king ever call himself the "king of Babylon", whether in strings of titles or alone. Ought he not also to have stated that by his subjects Cyrus is called by the title "king of Babylon" alone in not much over one per cent of the contracts of his reign? Again, Dr. Gray says that "in 546, Nabonidus was still, and Cyrus was not yet, 'king of Babylon, king of lands'." Will Dr. Gray indicate where Nabonidus is called 'king of Babylon, king of lands'? On more than 2000 tablets which I have examined Nabonidus never receives these titles, but only and always the simple title "king of Babylon". Neither did any other king of Babylon ever receive these titles; but simply that of "king of Babylon". The title "king of lands" was a specific title of the Persian kings of Babylon. The Greek kings that followed them are ordinarily called simply "X the king" and the Arsacids "X king of kings". (For this last statement see the Clay Morgan Collection, I. 88, 98, and II, 1, 2, 10-25, 31-33, 35-47, and the note on page 116 below).

<sup>39</sup>In the Babylonian and Persian recensions, the title occurs in the midst of others. But in the Susian, it stands alone in the sentence: I am king in Persia. *Cf. Weissbach, Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, p. 75.

5. Except in the proclamation of Cyrus to the men of Babylon, neither Cyrus, nor Darius, nor any other king of Persia ever calls himself king of any' country, except Persia.

#### B. EVIDENCE OF TITLES USED BY SUBJECTS

In eleven out of fifteen subscriptions to Babylonian contracts from his first to his fifth year, Xerxes is called king of Persia. The earlier Persian kings granted to the business men of Babylon and of Egypt the privilege of retaining in their commercial transactions the titles previously in use, changing merely the name of king. Xerxes seems to have made a deliberate attempt to change the older usages; and so, after his eighth year, no form except that of "X king of lands" is found on any contract tablet of Babylon coming from Persian times. Unfortunately no documents from other lands similar to the Babylonian tablets have been preserved to us except a few from Egypt, which use the title "king X."<sup>40</sup>

#### C. EVIDENCE OF TITLES USED BY FOREIGNERS

The only foreigners from whom we have contemporaneous records mentioning the Persian kings are the Greeks. Among their authors, those who give the title "king of Persia" or "king of the Persians" are the following:

1. Herodotus in III. 21 *ter.* 37, 102; V. 36; VII. 106.
2. Thucydides in I. 13, 14.
3. Xenophon in the *Cyropedia* I. 1, 2, 5 (?); VII. 1; VIII. 2: in the *Anabasis* III. 4: in the *Hellenica* I. 2; VI. 3, 5; V. 1, 3: in the *Science of good Husbandry* IV. 4: in *Ag.* I. 6.
4. Hippocrates in a letter to Demetrius. *Epistolographoi Hellenikoi.* Herscher 290.
5. Aeschylus uses the titles "venerable majesty of Persia" and "king of this land", where the context shows that by "land" Persia is meant, (*Persae* 625, 175, 913).
6. The only other title of a similar kind ever given by a contemporaneous Greek author to the Persian kings, is "king of the Medes." The titles "king of Babylon" or "king of Egypt" are never given by them to the Persian monarchs.

<sup>40</sup> See below, p. 129.

## D. INDIRECT EVIDENCE FOR THE TITLE "KING OF PERSIA."

1. Persia and the Persians occupy a prominent place in all of the native Persian Inscriptions. Thus, Darius speaks of "Persia, Media, and the rest of the lands" (*Behistun Inscription* II. 12, 13; *Persepolis* g.) and neither Babylon nor Egypt is ever given a prominent position in any of his inscriptions. The spirit of all his documents is well expressed in section 3 of the Suez inscription c. where Darius says "I am a Persian. With a Persian army (or, setting out from Persia) I conquered Egypt. I commanded to dig this canal from the river called Nile, which flows in Egypt, to the sea that goes out from Persia, etc."

2. The inscriptions in Persian acknowledge only the gods of Persia, Ahuramazda, Mithra, and Anahita. The gods of Babylon are never mentioned by the Persian kings except in the Cyrus proclamation to the Babylonians.

3. The consentient opinion of the Greek writers of the time is that the Persian kings were kings of Persia. Persian were her chief generals, admirals, and governors. Persian were the chief seats of her empire. Persian were the flower of her armies, the spirit of her laws, the forms of her religion, and the temples of her gods. Whoever has read the works of Herodotus, and Xenophon, and the *Persae* of Aeschylus, cannot but agree with me that the boast of Darius was not vain when he said: "This land of Persia, which Ahuramazda has given me, is beautiful, having good horses and good men, and is afraid of no foe; the lance of the Persian has pressed far afield; the Persian man has far away from Persia slain the fighting foe."<sup>41</sup>

III. Dr. Gray contends that it seems "unnatural, and unnecessary" for the author to have repeated so frequently the title "king of Persia." Why should it be more "unnat-

<sup>41</sup> It will not do for Dr. Gray to ignore the testimony of the Greek authors with regard to these titles of the Persian kings. Such men as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Aeschylus must certainly have known whether the Persian kings were called kings of Babylon, or kings of Persia; and yet, no one of them ever calls any king of Persia, "king of Babylon".

ural and unnecessary" for a contemporary to repeat these titles than for some author of a later date? Besides, in such matters as titles who is to determine for a given author or time or people what titles are natural or necessary? But whether one thinks such repetitions natural and necessary, or not, it is nevertheless the fact that they are frequently found in ancient oriental documents. For example, in documents for the fourth century B. C., Ychumelek is called king of Byblus four times in fifteen lines and Eshmunazar four times in 22 lines.<sup>42</sup> In Harper's *Assyrian Letters*, the phrase "the king, my lord" occurs in many letters four to six times in twice as many lines. In Klauber's *Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*, there is a short prayer to Shamash in which Esarhaddon calls himself "Esarhaddon, king of Assyria" 9 times in 18 lines and speaks of "Bartatua, king of Ishkuza" three times, always using the full title. In the same book, in a consultation on page 104, and in another on page 127, "Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria" is mentioned three times in ten lines. In the Panammu inscription, reference is made by him four times to "his lord, the king of Assyria" and three other times to "his lord, Tiglath-pileser, the king of Assyria,"—all in eleven lines.

But why should one go so far afield, since Darius in the Behistun Inscription uses the form "thus speaks Darius the king" 75 times in as many sections. How many times does Dr. Gray think it was natural and necessary for him to use the phrase?

Finally, Dr. Gray proceeds on the assumption that it was "after the fall of the Persian empire" that the custom of calling the Persian kings by the title "king of Persia" came into use. To this it may be said, in the first place, that the presumption is against such an assumption; and in the second place, that the evidence is against it. For not a single inscription after the time of Darius Codomannus calls any Achaemenid king by the title "king of Persia." Nor was it a title in common use among the Greek his-

<sup>42</sup> See Cooke, *NSI*. 18, 30.

torians of post-Achaemenid times. Comparing the later usage of the Greek writers with the earlier we find that Herodotus uses the phrase "king of the Persians" seven times; Thucydides twice, and its equivalent, once: Xenophon, ten times; Hippocrates, once, and Aeschylus, its equivalent three times. Of the post-Achaemenid authors, Polybius employs the title once; Arrian, once; and Syncellus, once. Strabo speaks once of "the kings of the Persians from Cyrus to Xerxes." Plutarch in his *Artaxerxes*, speaks once of the "Persian king and his empire." Josephus, whose records are copied largely from their biblical original, employs the title six times. Diodorus Siculus, in his lengthy history of the world, uses the full form "X king of Y" of Cyrus three times (II. 44, IX. 31, X. 13); of Cambyses, once (X. 15); of Xerxes, once (XII. 1); and of Artaxerxes, five times (XI. 71, 74, XII. 64, XV. 2, 38). Diodorus, however, never uses the title in either dates or decrees, as it is employed in Ezra-Nehe-miah, but invariably to introduce a new subject and a new chapter of his history. Attention may be called, also, to the widely scattered occurrence of the phrase as used by him.

Before closing this discussion, it may be best to state that the form "X king of Y" is not a common form in post-Persian Babylonian documents. Philip is once called "king of lands" (BE. VII. 129), Antiochus, twice (Bez. Catalogue 561, and the Antiochus *Cylinder* line 24); and, possibly, Seleucus once, (ZA. III. 140). In 51 out of the 64 documents of the Seleucid period that I have collated, the Greek kings of Babylon are denoted by the form "X the king." The common form on the Arsacid documents is "X king of kings," "X king of Y" being never found except once.<sup>42a</sup>

<sup>42a</sup> The titles of the Arsacid or Parthian kings are as follows:

1. The name "Arsaka" alone (Reissner, *Sumerische-babylonische Hymnen*, pp. 244). Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, Table B., p. 275.

2. The title "king" alone. In tablet from the region of Aspasina (*Babylonian and Assyrian Record*, IV. 131).

3. "X the king" (Reissner, SBH, pp. 39, 40 (?), 54, 79, 89 (?), 93



## CONCLUSIONS

From the above discussion, supplemented by the appended lists of titles, we reach the following conclusions.

1. The only titles shown by the evidence to have been used of the Achaemenid kings of Persia by themselves, or by their subjects, and by foreign writers, in all periods of their dominion from which there are records, and in all languages and countries in which these records are found, are the name alone, the title "king" alone, and the name plus the title "king" alone.

2. The form "X king of Y" alone or in combination with other titles is found in all kinds of documents from all the countries and in all the languages in which the documents were produced.

3. The form "X king of Persia" alone is used of the Persian kings in documents purporting to be from the times

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(?), 104; *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, Bu. 88-5-12, 514; *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, VI. 229; Rm. I, c. 1. d. 1, and Sp. I. 131 and on coins of seven kings CCP, p. 275).

4. "X the king of Y." The only example is in the Zuerich tablet published by Oppert in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, where the date reads: Babylon in the month Kislev, the third day, in the fifth year of Pikharis, king of Persia.

5. "The great king X." On the coins of thirteen Parthian kings (see Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, Table B., 275).

6. "King of kings" alone. On one coin of Phraatares (*id.*).

7. "X the king of kings." (*Arsaciden Inschriften* by J. N. Strassmeier) in Z. A. III. 129-158; Rm. IV. 106, Sp. II. 567; n. 242, 81-6-25, n. 3. 78-7-30, n. 8. 78-7-30, n. 123. 81-6-25, n. 134. 81-6-25, Rm. 4. 118A. *Journal Asiatique*, 1889, pp. 7-11. *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, IV. 141; Reissner, SBM. 6, 12, (12), 24. So also on the coins of ten kings (Warwick Wroth, CCP. 275).

8. "The great king of kings, X." In a Greek inscription in Dittenberger's *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones*, I. 641; and on one coin of Mithradates II and on two of Mithradates III.

9. "Gotarges, king of the Arian kings." Gardner, *Parthian Coinage*, p. 49, No. 25. With this may be compared "Gotarges, satrap of satraps," Dittenberger, OGI. I. 642.

10. "King god Arsaces," CCP. 275.

11. "Arsaces Autokratorus." *id.*

12. "The heavenly goddess Musa the queen," *id.*

preceding Alexander.<sup>43</sup> (1) Outside the Scriptures, of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I, Xerxes I, and Darius II; (2) inside the Scriptures, of Cyrus, Darius I, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II.

4. The form "X king of Babylon" is used only on about three per cent of the Babylonian contract tablets, ten from the reign of Cyrus, thirty from that of Cambyses, and in about fifteen from that of Darius I. Elsewhere, it is found alone only in Nehemiah xiii. 6 and in the Aramaic of Ezra v. 13.

5. The form "X king of Upper and Lower Egypt" is used in the hieroglyphic documents as the common title of Cambyses, Darius I and Darius II. In the Aramaic inscription from Memphis, Xerxes is called "king of M\*\*\*\*," the M being probably the initial letter of the Aramaic word for Egypt.

6. The form "X king of lands" alone is found only on the Babylonian contract tablets, where, after the eighth year of Xerxes, it is the only title used.

7. The form "X king of kings" is found only in Ezra vii. 12. With the addition of the adjective "great," it is used in the address of one letter to Artaxerxes and in the subscription to two others from him.

8. The title "great king" appears three times in Herodotus, five times in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, once in Aeschylus, and once in a letter of Themistocles to Aristides. "X the great king" occurs on several vases, in the Babylonian recension of the seal inscription of Darius, and in the Persepolis inscriptions of Xerxes, b, c, and d. "X Pharaoh

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<sup>43</sup> Thus it is used (1) of Cyrus by Nabonidus in the *Cylinder Inscription*, B. 14, and by Thucydides in I, 17, and in the books of Daniel, Chronicles and Ezra; (2) of Cambyses, in the address to the Ethiopians of the embassy of the Ichthyophagi, recorded in Herodotus III. 21; (3) of Darius I, in the Susian recension of the smaller *Behistun Inscription*; and in Ezra iv. 5; (4) of Xerxes, in the date of a Babylonian contract tablet; (5) of Artaxerxes I, in Ezra iv. 7 and vii. 1; and (6) of Darius II, in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, I. 1, and in Ezra iv. 24. (?).

the Great" occurs on four vases of Xerxes and twice of Artaxerxes.

9. The form "X son of Z" is found in the Behistun Inscription, sections 10, 11, 13, 40, and 52; in the smaller inscription from Behistun, section 4b; in the fragments of Ctesias twice, and in Herodotus more than forty-five times. Compare "Darius son of Xerxes" (=Ahasuerus), Daniel ix. 1.

10. The form of "X the Persian" is found in Herodotus 110, 158; and in Daniel vi. 1, 29, with which may be compared "Smerdis the Magian," in the *Behistun Inscription*, sections 11-15 passim, and Ctesias Fragments 49, (Mueller) and "Ochus the Darian," (*id.* 48).

11. All of the above forms are used in one or more combinations.

12. The titles "mighty king," "king of Sumer and Akkad," and "king of the four quarters of the world," are never employed except in combinations. The title "mighty king" is used only on the monumental inscriptions of Persia and of Babylon. (The only one from Babylon is the proclamation of Cyrus.) The other two are found only in the proclamation of Cyrus to the men of Babylon.

13. The only simple forms occurring in dates are "X," the king, "X the king," and "X the king of Y." All of these are found in the Scriptures, and none but these.

14. The only simple forms found outside the Scriptures in decrees, commands, grants etc. are "the king," "X the king," and "X the king of Y." These are all found in the Scriptures and are the only ones found there.

15. The forms found in the Scriptures in the addresses and subscriptions of letters to or from the kings of Persia are "X the king" and "X the king of kings." Both of these forms are found, either alone, or in combination, in all of the letters of a like character which have been handed down to us.

16. In view of the above facts the conclusion is inevitable that the presence of the title "king of Persia" in a document

purporting to have been written in the Achaemenid period does not impugn the genuineness of the document; and consequently, the genuineness of Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles, in so far as their genuineness has been denied or suspected on the ground of the presence in them of the title "king of Persia," stands assured.

17. As far as the title "king of Persia" is concerned the books of Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles may have been written before 400 B. C.; and consequently the books of the Old Testament canon may have been completed before that time.

Princeton

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The following collection of titles is reprinted with alterations and additions from a contribution to the *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin 1915. It contains a thesaurus, or concordance, of the names, titles, and appellations of the Persian Achaemenid kings, especially as found in contemporary documents. Titles have been collected, also, from the most important of the post-Persian Greek writers and from the Babylonian records from the period of Alexander and his successors. The arrangement is made alphabetically according to the first letter of the name of the language of the documents in which the names and titles occur. It is hoped that this collection will be of value in determining the dates of the books of Daniel, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah; or, at least, that it will remove the discussion of them from the region of subjective speculation into the sphere of objective evidence. It should help, also, in determining probable dates of other documents, and particularly, in showing the relation in which the Persian kings stood to their subjects in different parts of their empire, and at different stages of that empire's existence.

#### I. TITLES OF THE PERSIAN KINGS IN ARAMAIC

##### A. Documents from Egypt.

###### 1. Name alone.

- (1). Cyrus. SAC. Pap. 58. 3. 7.
- (2). Cambyses. SAC. Pap. I. 13; 3. V. 2.
- (3). Darius (the First). SAC. Pap. 56. R. 4. 4.
- (4). Xerxes. SAC. Pap. 57. 20. I. (?)

###### 2. „King“ alone.

- (1). In such phrases as: „In the n<sup>th</sup> year of Darius, the king, when Arsham had gone to „the king“: So, SAC. Pap. I. 5; 3. 4; 6. 3; EUTING A. 3 (RES. 361).
- (2). In the general adjuration phrase „thou o king, who shalt be after me“. So, in version of the Behistun Inscription, 55; SAC. Pap. 62. I.

- (3). Where it is equivalent to the adjective ,royal'. So, ,house of the king', SAC. Pap. 15. 14, 16; ,judges of the king', id. 30. 3; ,stones of the king', SAYCE-COWLEY: A. 7, B. 14, D. 14, 21, F. 10, G. 5, 7, 9, 10, 15, 35, 36, H. 16, J. 16; ,weight of the king' id. K. 11; ,granaries of the king', SAC. Pap. p. 26, EUTING: RES. 361.
3. Name followed by the title ,the king'.
- (1). Darius the king. In date, SAC. Pap. 30. 1. In edict: ,Thus saith Darius the king'. SAC. Pap. 54. II. 5; 57. 3. 5.
- (2). Xerxes the king. In dates, SAC. Pap. 25. 1; S. C. A. 1. Probably, also in SAC. Pap. 57. 29. 3. and 61. 2. 1.
- (3). Artaxerxes the king. In dates, S. C. B. 2, C. 1, D. 1, E. 1, F. 1, G. 1 (?). Also, Cairo Museum stele, I. 4. (See S. C. p. 32).
- (4). Darius the king.
- a. In dates. SAC. Pap. 1. 4, 19, 21, 30; 2. 4. 19; 3. V. 7; 15. 1, 5; S. C. H. 1, J. 1, K. 1; EUTING: RES. 361, A. 2.
- b. In the phrase; ,God set thee in favor (mercy) before Darius the king'. SAC. Pap. 1. 2.
4. Name followed by the title ,king of Egypt'.

In CIS. III, 122, there is an inscription reading  $\text{חשיארש מלכא זמי}$ . RENAN supposed the last *m* to be the first letter of the word for ,kings'. But, since ,king of kings' was not a common title of Egyptian kings, nor a usual one of Persian kings; and since it is used nowhere else in the numerous documents from Egypt containing titles of the Persian kings of that country, except on the quadrilingual inscriptions of Suez: it seems to me better to read the word as  $\text{מצרין}$ . As can be seen below, this was the common title of the Persian kings of Egypt in the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

#### B. Documents from Babylon.

1. Name alone.
- (1). Darius. In date. B. E. X. 78.; DELAPORTE: Epig. Aram. 79.
2. Name plus title "king".
- (2). Darius the king. In date. DELAPORTE: Epig. Aram. 104.\* AI. 22.

*Note.* Both refer to Darius the Second.

#### C. Documents from Asia Minor.

Name plus title ,king'. Only on stone from Sardes in Princeton University Library dated from ,the tenth year of Artaxerxes the king'.

#### D. Documents of the O. T. Scriptures purporting to be from the Persian period.

1. Daniel. In chapter VI. 29, the kingdom of Cyrus the Persian is mentioned. This is the only reference to a Persian king in the Aramaic portion of the book of Daniel. In VI. 1, however, Darxies the Median is mentioned.
2. Ezra.



- (1). The Name alone.
  - a. Cyrus. VI. 14.
  - b. Darius. V. 5; VI. 12, 14.
  - c. Xerxes. IV. 6.
  - d. Artaxerxes. IV. 7.
- (2). The title 'king' alone.
  - a. Of Darius. V. 8, 17.
  - b. Of Artaxerxes. IV. 12, 13, 14<sup>bis</sup>, 16, 17; VII. 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 26.
  - c. In certain phrases, such as 'house of the king', VI. 4; 'treasuries of the king', VI. 8, V. 17; 'life of the king', VI. 10; 'will of the king', V. 17.
- (3). Name followed by the title 'king'.
  - a. Cyrus the king. V. 13, 14, 17; VI. 3<sup>bis</sup>.
  - b. Darius the king. V. 6, 7; VI. 1, 13, 15.
  - c. Artaxerxes the king. IV. 8, 11, 23; VII. 7, 21; VIII. 1.
- (4). Name followed by the title 'king of Persia'.
  - a. Artaxerxes (I), king of Persia. IV. 7; VI. 14 (?).
  - b. Darius (II), king of Persia. IV. 24.
- (5). Name followed by the title 'king of Babylon'.

The only place where this title occurs is in V. 13.

In contrast with the phrase of the preceding verse ( מלך נבול ), the title of the 13<sup>th</sup> verse should be rendered: The year one of Cyrus the king, that is, of Babylon. The author clearly means to make a distinction between the first year of Cyrus as king of Babylon and his first year as king of Persia.

- (6). Name followed by the title 'king of kings'.

So, 'Artaxerxes, king of kings' in the address of a letter, VII. 12.

## II. TITLES OF THE PERSIAN KINGS IN BABYLONIAN

### A. Short Titles.

#### 1. Name alone.

- (1). Cyrus. Nab.-Cyr. Chron. B. 2, 3; Rev. A. 12, 15, 18, 19; Beh. 11, 13, 40, 52. (WEISS. IA.); STRASS., tablets 35, 68 (?), 75 (?).
- (2). Cambyses. Beh. 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19; STRASS., Nos. 27, 29, 79, 435; VSD. III. 85.
- (3). Smerdis. Beh. 21.
- (4). Darius. Persep. g; NRaI; Susa e; Elwend; Art. II Susa a; Hamadan; STRASS., Nos. 7, 62, 88, 100 (?), 128, 187 (?), 190, 211<sup>bis</sup>, 234, 320, 324, 412 (?), 451; VSD. IV. 129, 148 (?); VI. 142.
- (5). Xerxes. VSD. IV. 192, VI. 180, 301 (?); Persep. a, c, d; Elwend; Wan; Art. II, Susa a; Hamadan.  
*Note.* Akshimaksu VSD. IV. 177 (?).
- (6). Artaxerxes (I). Art. II. Susa a; Hamadan.
- (7). Darius (II). Art. II. Susa a, Hamadan; BE. VIII. 222; and VSD. IV. 129, 148 (?).

2. The title ,king' alone. This title is used alone in such phrases as ,son of the king', ,storehouse of the king', etc. E. g., Nab-Cyr. Chron. Rev. 27 STRASS. Cyr. Nos. 21, 47, 74, 78, 88, 199, 367; Cam. 121, 266, 274, 288, 324, 359, 385; Dar. 88, 92, 106, 253, 285.
3. Name followed by the title ,king'.
  - (1). Cyrus the king. Cyl. 27, 35.
  - (2). Cambyses the king. STRASS. 384.
  - (3). Darius the king. STRASS. 97, 274, 309, 339 (?), 350<sup>b1\*</sup>, 369, 384, 420, 429, 438, 451, 509, 516, 523, 542; BE. VIII. 102 (?); VSD. IV. 177, VI. 126, 132, 146, 151, 166 (?); Seal ins.; and at the beginning of most the subsections of the Babylonian recensions of Darius' trilingual inscriptions.
  - (4). Xerxes the king. Persep. a<sup>b1\*</sup>; Wan; Susa a; Hamadan.
  - (5). Artaxerxes (I) the king. In tablets published by BARTON in AJSL. Jan. 1900, No. 31; and in Susa a, Hamadan; and in *Vases* b and c; VSD. III. 187; V. 119; VI. 184 (?).
  - (6). Darius (II) the king. Susa a, b, d (?), e (?), Hamadan. BE. VIII. 38, 59, 87, 139, 140, 166.
  - (7). Artaxerxes (II) the king. BE VIII. 38, 59, 87, 139, 140, 166, Susa d.
4. Name followed by the title ,great king' alone.
  - (1). Darius the great king (*sharru rabu*). Only on Babylonian recension of the Seal Inscription. The Persian and Susian both omit ,great'.
  - (2). Xerxes the great king. Persep. c § 3; d § 3; Vase Insc.
  - (3). Artaxerxes (I) the great king. Vase Insc. a.

*Note.* The title ,the great king' is never found alone as an appellation of the Persian kings, except in the Greek writers. It is found, however, in combination with other titles and the name, in most of the royal inscriptions in Persian, Susian, and Babylonian; and an equivalent phrase, occasionally in Egyptian. In Babylonian, it is used:

  - (1). Of Cyrus. Cyl. 20.
  - (2). Of Darius. Beh. 1; Sm. Beh. 1; Persep. a; NRA. 2; Elwend 2; Weight insc. a and b.
  - (3). Of Xerxes. Persep. a, c, d, e; Elwend; Wan.
  - (4). Of Artaxerxes (I). Persep.
  - (5). Of Artaxerxes (II). Susa a, d, e; Hamadan.
5. Name followed by the name of father alone.
  - (1). Cambyses, son of Cyrus. Nab.-Cyr. Chron. Rev. 24 (Comp. 27); Beh. 10.
  - (2). Smerdis, son of Cyrus, Beh. § § 11, 13, 40, 52. Sm. Beh. § 4 b.

*Note.* Of course, the phrase ,son of' (*apil*) is used in genealogies. So in the Cyrus Cylinder of the father of Cyrus; in the Behistun, of the father of Darius, etc. For its use in combination of titles, see in the Combination of Titles below.
6. Name followed by the title ,king', followed by the name of country, or city, of Anshan.
  - (1). Cyrus, king of Anshan (without determ.). Nab.-Cyr. Chron. B. I.
  - (2). Cyrus, king of the city of Anshan. Cyl 12.
  - (3). Cyrus, king of nations (*kissat*), the great king, the mighty

king, the king of Babylon, the king of Shumer and Accad, the king of the four world regions, son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of the city of Anshan, great-grandson of Sispis, the great king, king of the city of Anshan. Cyl. 20, 21.

7. Name plus title 'king of Persia' alone.

- (1). Cyrus, king of Persia, Cyl. B. 15.
- (2). Xerxes, king of Persia. In a tablet published by OPPERT in *Mélanges d'arch. égypt. et ass.* I. 23, 1873.

*Note.* For combinations including this title, see below.

8. Name plus title 'king of Babylon' alone.

- (1). Cyrus, king of Babylon, STRASS. 18, 34, 53, 62, 168, 290, 299, 330, 335, and 101.
- (2). Cambyses, king of Babylon. STRASS. 28, 39, 40, 45, 48, 50, 51, 57, 58, 60, 63 (?), 73, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 97, 102, 197, 288, 404 (?), 419, 420, 422, 423 (?), 434; VSD. III. 70, 81; IV. 79. CLAY: Morgan Coll. I. 64.
- (3). Darius, king of Babylon, STRASS. 3, 46, 66, 81, 94, 180, 224 (?), 233 (?), 292 (?), 299 (?), 389, 444 (?), 514, 538. VSD. III. 93, 104 (?); VI 118<sup>bis</sup>. CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 75.

9. Name plus the title 'king of lands'.

- (1). Cyrus, king of lands. STRASS. 2, 3 (?), 4—6, 7—10, 12, 15 (?), 27—29, 33 (?), 37, 52, 58, 65, 66, 77, 84, 89, 102, 125, 150, 163, 270 (?). VSD. III. 108, 165, IV. 116, 117, 153; VI. 96. BE. VIII. 57, 58, 61, 62, 67, 75.
- (2). Cambyses, king of lands. STRASS. 4, 18, 22, 30, 103, 118 (?), 148 (?), 149, 153, 165, 195, 212 (?), 234, 259, 329, 350 ((?)), 355, 357, 380, 388, 390, 391, 410, 431, 438. BARTON: AJSLL. No. 1. VSD. III. 75; IV. 75. CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 67 (?).
- (3). Smerdis, king of lands, ZA. IV. 148. 3, 4.
- (4). Darius, king of lands. STRASS. 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, 567; BARTON: AJSLL. 21, 22, 23; PEEK Coll. 6; ZA. V. 280; VSD. III. 108, 165; IV. 116, 117, 153; VI. 145, 149, 163, 164.
- (5). Xerxes, king of lands. EVETTS. 4; Bu. 88—5—12, 593 (CT. IV.); Br. Mus. Cat. 92748; BE. VIII. 120; VSD. III. 181, 185, 186, VI. 182, 183, 184.
- (6). Shamash-Erba, king of lands. VSD. III. 178, V. 116.
- (7). Artaxerxes (I), king of lands. BE. IX., in the dates of all the texts of Artaxerxes, 126 in number; VSD. III. 188, 189, 190, 191 (?), V. 122, VI. 183, 185, 186. BE. VIII. 121—126; CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 86. Altogether 140 or more.
- (8). Darius (II), king of lands. So in BE. X. (132 tablets), in UPa. Mus. (228 tablets); in BE. VIII. 127 (?), 128; VSD. III. 193, 194, IV. 195, 196, V. 122, VI. 183, 185, 186. Altogether 375 or more.
- (9). Artaxerxes (II), king of lands. CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 86.

10. Name plus the titles 'king of Babylon and of the lands'.
- (1). Of Cyrus. STRASS. I, 25, 31, 45, 46, 60, 86, 87, 92 (?), 182, 211, 214, 222, 224, 230, 248, 272, 274, 291, 310, 331, 355, 367; VSD. III. 65, V. 36; BE. VIII. 68—73, 77. ZA. II. 176.
  - (2). Of Cambyses. STRASS. 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, 436. VSD. III. 69, 74, 76, 79, 83, IV. 77, 81. BE. VIII. 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89—92, 94, 95, 97, 99. CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 65.
  - (3). Of Smerdis. ZA. IV. 152. 9. BE. VIII. 100. 101.
  - (4). Of Darius (I). STRASS. 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—334, 351—354, 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—474, 478, 484, 486, 491, 493, 496, 498, 503, 513, 537, 541—543, 547, 559, 559, 560, 563, 564, 566, 569, 570, 572, 576. CT. IV. Bu. 88—5—12, 557, 637, 643, 287. ZA. I. 445. II. 215, 217, 219. IV. 147. BE. VIII. 104, 111, 112, 114, 115. CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 82, 84. And in 108 of the 304 tablets from this reign published in VSD. Also, PEEK Coll. 7. 12, 20. That is, 254 or more times, altogether.
  - (5). Of Xerxes. STRASS. in Acts of 8<sup>th</sup> Orient. Cong. Nos. 16, 17, 22. BE. VIII. 119. VSD. IV. 191, VI. 179, 182.
11. Name plus the titles 'king of Babylon, king of the lands'.
- (1). Of Cyrus. In 262 out of 368 of STRASS. tablets, and in BE. VIII. 63—66, 74. In VSD. in 29 out of 38 tablets; in PEEK Coll. 16; and in CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 621. Also, ZA. I. 432, II. 8, III. 115, 219, 220.
  - (2). Of Cambyses. In 294 out of 438 STRASS. tablets; in VSD. in 34 out of 63; in BE. VIII. 79, 86, 88, 93, 98; PEEK Coll. 17; CT. IV. Bu. 88—5—12, 336; CLAY: Morg. Coll. 61, 63, 66, 68.
  - (3). Of Smerdis. VSD. IV. 86, V. 57, 58, VI. 116 (?), 117. ZA. IV. 147—152, Nos. 1, 4—8.
  - (4). Of Darius (I). In 350 out of 578 tablets in STRASS. In 134 out of 304 in VSD. In PEEK Coll. Nos. 18, 19; In CLAY: Morg. Coll. 69—74, 76—81, 83, 87; in BE. VIII. 103, 105—108, 110, 113, 117.
  - (5). Of Xerxes. STRASS.: Acts of 8<sup>th</sup> Orient. Cong. 18, 21; VSD. V. 117; EVETTS, Xerx. I.
12. The phrase 'mighty king' (*sharru dannu*) occurs only in the combinations of the Brick and Cylinder inscriptions of Cyrus, once in each.

13. The following variations occur, mostly due to scribal errors.
- (1). Cyrus, king of Babylon and king of the lands. STRASS. 297; VSD. III. 64. Darius, king of Babylon and king of the lands. STRASS. 362. VSD. IV. 94, 150 (?). BE. VIII. 116.
  - (2). Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands. STRASS. 118.
  - (3). Cyrus of Babylon. STRASS. 90.
  - (4). Darius, king of Babylon, of the lands. STRASS. 349.
  - (5). Darius, king of the land. STRASS. 535.
  - (6). Darius, king of Babylon, king of Babylon. STRASS. 275.
  - (7). Cambyses, king of lands and lands. CLAY: Morg. Coll. 67.
14. Cyrus and Cambyses combined.
- (1). Cyrus the king, his (i. e., Marduk's) worshipper, and Cambyses, my son, the offspring of my heart. Cyl. 27. Comp. I. 35, where the same combination occurs in the third person.
  - (2). Cambyses, king of Babylon, son of Cyrus, king of nations (*kissati*). STRASS. Cam. 36, 42, 72, and perhaps, 98.
  - (3). Cambyses, king of Babylon, when Cyrus his father was king of nations. STRASS. Cam. 46, with which No. 81 may be compared. VSD. V. 108.
15. Probably spurious title.
- ,Sogdianus, the Achaemenid, king (of nations)<sup>4</sup>. OPPERT in ZA. XVI. 1—15.
16. The unusual title ,Cyrus, king of lands, king of kings<sup>4</sup> is found in BE. VIII. 58. 23. The name with the title ,king of kings<sup>4</sup> alone, is found only in Ezra VII. 12, Josephus, Antiq. XI. 123 (NIESE); possibly in the Aramaic inscription from Memphis; and in the Greek inscription from Gadatas. Along with the name Arsaces, it was the only title used ordinarily by the kings of the Parthian dynasty. (See STRASS. ZA. III. 129—148, Nos. 1, 2, 4—9.)

*Note.* The Greek kings of Babylon are denoted in the cuneiform inscriptions as follows:

1. Name alone.
  - (1). Alexander. Bu. 88—5—12, 619. (C. T. IV.).
  - (2). Antiochus. BEZ. Cat. 1558; KB. III. 11. 139<sup>b15</sup>, IV. 317, ZA. III. 150.
  - (3). Demetrius. ZA. III. 148.
2. Name plus name of father. So *a*) ,Alexander, the son of Alexander<sup>4</sup>. ZA. III. 150; KB. IV. 313; *b*) ..... , the son of De(metrius). ZA. III. 149.
3. Name plus the title ,king<sup>4</sup>.
  - (1). Alexander the king. REISSNER: Sum. Bab. Hymnen, No. 14, Rev. 40 and No. 17. Rev. 11. CLAY: Morgan Coll. II. 45, 46.
  - (2). Seleucus the king. ZA. III. 151; Bu. 88—5—14, 614 (C. T. IV.); KB. III. 11. 139<sup>b15</sup>, IV. 317, 319; CLAY: Morgan Coll. I. 88, II. 1, 2, 13—24, 31—33.
  - (3). Antiochus the king. ZA. III. 151; KB. IV. 317; REISSNER: SBH. No. 1. Re. 34; CLAY: Morgan Coll. I. 98, II. 10—12, 25, 35, 36.
  - (4). Demetrius the king. BEZ. Cat. 662; REISSNER: SBH. No. 21, 26, 54 (?); CLAY: Morgan Coll. II. 37—44.



- (5) Arishak (?) the king, CLAY: Morgan Coll. II. 47.
4. Name plus the title 'king of kings'. Only in BEZ. Cat. 1543.
5. 'Antiochus, the Third, the king' is found in REISSNER: SBH. No. 25. Rev. 39.
6. 'Antiochus king of the lands'. BEZ. Cat. 561; PHILIP, King of lands. B. E. VIII. 129.
7. '(Seleucus), king of the land (?)'. ZA. III. 140.
8. In the cylinder of Antiochus Soter are to be found the following combinations:
- (1). Antiochus and Seleucus the king his son. Coll. II, 1, 2.
  - (2). Good-will to Antiochus the king of lands; good-will to Seleucus the king, his son, (and to) Stratonicæ, his wife, the queen. id. 24—27.
  - (3). Antiochus, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, king of Babylon, adorer of Esagila and Ezida, firstborn (*asharidu*) son of Seleucus, the Macedonian, king of Babylon. KB. III. 11, 139. WEISSBACH: Inscr. der Achaemeniden, 132—135.

#### B. Lists of Titles of the Persian Kings in the Babylonian.

##### 1. Of Cyrus.

- (1). Cyrus, the builder of Esagila and Ezida, son of Cambyses, the mighty king. Brick-Insc. WEISSBACH: *Inscr. der Achaemeniden*, p. 9.
- (2). Cyrus, king of nations (or, of the all), the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Shumer and Accad, king of the four regions, the son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, the everlasting seed of the kingdom of Bel and Nebo. CLAY-Cylinder. W. A., p. 3.

##### 2. Of Darius.

- (1). The Achaemenian, king among the totality of kings (*inaphar sharrani*), a Persian man, king of the land of Persia. See fragment of the Behistun Insc., Babylonian Recension.
- (2). Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of lands of the totality of all tongues, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid. Persep. a.
- (3). Darius, the great king, the king of kings, king of the totality of all tongues, king of the great wide earth, the son of Hystaspes the Achaemenian, a Persian man, son of a Persian man. NRA. 2.
- (4). Same as last up to and including 'the Achaemenian'. ELWEND.
- (5). Darius, the great king, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Weight Insc. b.
- (6). Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of lands, king of the earth (*kak-kak-ru*), son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Weight Insc. b.

3. Of Xerxes.
- (1). Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, son of Darius, the king, the Achaemenian. Persep. e.
  - (2). Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, king of the lands of the totality of tongues, king of this great wide earth, son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian. Persep. a, d.
  - (3). Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, king of the lands of the totality of all tongues, king of this great broad earth, son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian. Persep. c.
  - (4). Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of totality of lands, king of this great wide world (*kaḱ-ka-ra*), son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian. ELWEND 2.
  - (5). Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the king of the totality of all tongues, the king of the great wide world (*kaḱ-ka-ri*), son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian. WAN. 2.
  - (6). Xerxes, king of Medo-Persia (*Par-su Ma-da-a-a*). STRASS. 8<sup>th</sup> Orient. Cong. No. 19.
  - (7). Xerxes, king of the city of Persia, city of Media, Babylon, and the lands. REVILLOUT: PSBA. IX. 238.
  - (8). Xerxes, king of the city of Persia, city of Media, king of Babylon, king of lands. CLAY: Morg. Coll. I. 85.
  - (9). Xerxes, king of the land of Persia and of the land of the Medes, king of Babylon and of the lands. EVETTS 2. VSD. V. 118.
  - (10). Xerxes, king of Persia and Media, king of Babylon and of the lands. EVETTS 3. OPPERT: Rev. d'Ass. et d'Arch. orient. I. 484. VSD. IV. 193, 194, VI. 181. OPPERT: JA. VIII. ser. XVII. 544. STRASS. 8<sup>th</sup> Orient. Cong. No. 20.
4. Of Artaxerxes (I).
- (Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of) kings, the king of the lands (of the totality of tongues), king (of this great wide) earth, (son of) Xerxes (the king, son of Darius the king) the Achaemenian. Persep. 2.
5. Of Artaxerxes (II).
- (1). . . . ., king of kings, the son of Darius the king. On fragment of Susa b.
  - (2). Artaxerxes the great king, . . . . ., king of the earth, son of Darius. On fragment d.
  - (3). . . . ., the great king, (king) of kings, son of Darius. On fragment of Susa c.
  - (4). Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands which are over all the earth (*kar-kar*), son of Darius, the king, Darius (being the son of Artaxerxes the king), Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, the king, Xerxes the son of Darius the king, Darius the son of Hystaspes, of the seed of the Achaemenidae. Susa a and Hamadan.

## III. TITLES OF THE PERSIAN KINGS IN EGYPTIAN

1. Name alone.
  - (1). Cyrus, in the Tel-el-Maskhuta Insc., twice. Rec. XV. 106.
  - (2). Cambyses. BUDGE: Hist. of Egypt. VII. 42 (?).
  - (3). Darius. B. B. 718; Rec. XXIII. 76, 80, 81 (?).
2. Title alone.
  - (1). His Majesty. So often on statue of Uza-hor-res-neit and elsewhere.
  - (2). King of Lower Egypt. (The bee in cartouche.) So, on the statue of Uza-hor-res-neit, BRUGSCH Thes., p. 642.
  - (3). The Lord of the two lands. ZÄS. XXXVII. 73.
  - (4). Good god, lord of the two lands. BUDGE, VII. 85 (?).
  - (5). The unifier of the two lands. Of Cambyses, B. B., 717 (?).
3. Name plus one title.
  - (1). Darius, the ever living. So BIRCH, TSBA. V. 293; Rec. XXI. 65.
  - (2). Xerxes, Pharaoh. BURCHARDT ZÄS. XLIX. 76 (?).
  - (3). Artaxerxes Pharaoh. On vase b. ZÄS. XLIX. 77.
4. Name plus two titles.
  - (1). Xerxes, Pharaoh, the Great. On four vases. BURCHARDT, ZÄS. XLIX. 77.
  - (2). Artaxerxes, Pharaoh, the Great. BURCHARDT, ZÄS. XLIX. 74, 77.
5. One title followed by name.
  - (1). King Darius. This is the usual form in the dates of the Demotic papyri. E. g., from the year three of king Darius, L. D. VI. 125. III.; from the year 5 of king Darius, TSBA. VIII. 20—25, date and phrase occur four times. (See, also, BRUGSCH, Gram. Demot., page 200, Pl. III.; from year 9, of same, TSBA. VIII. 21, and BRUGSCH, Gr. Dem. VI. 125, Pl. I.; from year 15 of same, BRUGSCH, Gr. Dem., VI. 125, I.; year 24 of same, TSBA. VIII. 27; year 30 of same, TSBA. VIII. 22, and L. D. VI. 125. II.)
  - (2). Pharaoh Darius. Rec. XXI. 67.
  - (3). King of Upper and Lower Egypt.
    - a. Of Cambyses, B.B. 717; BRUGSCH: Thes. 639. So, with his Prenomen Mesut-Ra B. T. 637.
    - b. Of Darius I, B. T. 641; B. B. 718, four from Hamamat and two from LEP. KB. Rec. XXI. 67; XXIII. 79, so with the Prenomen, Setetu-Ra, B. B. 718 (?).
    - c. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Meri-Amen-Ra. ZÄS. XII. 77.
  - (4). Lord of the two lands, Cambyses et al.
    - a. Of Cambyses. So, Hamamat, B. B. 717; L. D. III. 283 m.
    - b. Of Darius. L. D. III. 283, m; Rec. XXIII, 83.
    - c. Of Xerxes. L. D. III. 283, m, k.
  - (5). Lord of every land, Cambyses. B. B. 717; B. T. 637.
  - (6). Lord of Kem, Xerxes L. D. III. 283. 1.

- (7). King of Lower Egypt, Darius. ZÄS. XLIX. 72.
- (8). The great lord of all nations, Cambyses. BRUGSCH: Hist. of Egypt, II. 294 (?).
6. Two titles followed by name.
- (1). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two lands, Artaxerxes. B. B. 720 (?).
- (2). a. The good god, Lord of the two lands, Darius. L. D. III. 283. a. ZÄS. XLIX. 71, 73.  
b. The good god, Lord of the two lands, Xerxes. L. D. III. 238. o.
- (3). The great king, lord of all lands, Cambyses. Statue of Uzahor-res-neit, PETRIE: Hist. of Egypt, III. 361.
7. One title preceding, one following the name.
- (1). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius, the ever living. ZÄS. XLIX. 70; L. D. III. 283. b, d z King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius possession of life. Rec. XXIII. 77, 85, 88.
- (2). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Cambyses, Lord of all lands. B. T. 638.
- (3). Son of Ra, Darius the ever living. BIRCH: TSBA. V. 293. 3 and 4.
- (4). Lord of the two lands, Darius, the ever living. Rec. XXI. 68.
8. Two titles preceding, one following the name.
- (1). a. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two lands, Darius the ever living. Vase insc. ZÄS. XLIX. 75; L. D. III. 283, c, e, f, g; Rec. XXIII. 77.  
b. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two lands, Artaxerxes, the ever living. L. D. III. 283 q.  
c. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Ra, Darius, the ever living. BIRCH in TSBA. V. 293.
9. One title preceding, two following the name.
- (1). The Lord of two lands, Darius, the good god, the ever living. L. D. III. 283. h.
10. Two or more titles preceding, two or more following the name.
- (1). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of two lands, Artaxerxes, Pharaoh, the Great. B. B. 720 (?). The same plus 'the ever living', L. D. III. 283. p.
- (2). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two lands, Darius, the ever living, the Great, the king of kings, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid, the great. Stele of Tell-el-Maskhuta. Rec. de Travaux. XIII.
- (3). The good god, Lord of the two lands, Meri-Amen-en-Ra, Lord of Hebt, the great god, abundant in strength. B. B. 721; ZÄS. XII. 77.
- (4). The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, good god, Lord of the two lands, Lord of wealth (?), son of Ra, Lord of crowns, Darius, having life like Ra the ever living. ZÄS. XIII. 53.

11. Several titles with name, or without.
- (1). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of Amen-Ra, son of Ra, Darius. B. B. 721 a.
  - (2). The Lord of the two lands, beloved of Amen-Hebt, abundant in strength. B. B. 721. b.
  - (3). The good god, Lord of two lands, beloved of Amen-Ra, Lord of Hebt, great god, abundant in strength. B. B. 721. c.
  - (4). Son of Ra, Darius, beloved of Amen-Ra, lord of Hebt, abundant in strength. B. B. 721. d.
  - (5). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Setut-Ra, son of Ra, of his body, beloved of him, Darius, the ever living. ZÄS. XII. 75.
  - (6). The living and good god, Lord of the two lands, Lord of wealth, son of Ra, Darius, having life, life Ra the ever living. ZÄS. XII. UR.
  - (7). The good god, Lord of the two lands, beloved of Amen-Ra, Lord of Hebt, the great god, abundant in strength, son of Ra, Lord of crowns, Darius. ZÄS. XII. 74.
  - (8). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesut-Ra, son of Ra, Cambyses. B. B. 717 (?).
  - (9). King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Setetu-Ra, son of Ra, Darius. B. B. 718.
  - (10). Great Prince of Egypt, and Great king of all foreign lands ... ZÄS. XXXVII. 73.

## IV. TITLES OF THE PERSIAN KINGS IN GREEK

## I. In the Greek Inscriptions.

1. The title ,king' alone. Only in the Gadatas inscription, in the phrase  $\epsilon\mu\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omega\iota$  Bul. Cor. Hel. XIII. 529. Comp. XIV. 646.
2. Name plus title ,king'. On the memorial tablet of Mandrocles, Herodotus IV. 88, we find the designation ,Darius the king'.
3. The title ,king of kings' plus ,Darius the son of Hystaspes' is found on the inscription of Gadatas.
4. On the Tearus stele was the combination ,Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, and of the whole continent'. Herod. IV, 91.

## II. In the Greek Classical Authors.

## A. Ctesias.

1. Name alone. E. g., on page 46 of MÜLLER'S *Fragments*, Cyrus, occurs 14 times; on page 48, Cambyses 10 times; on page 49, Darius 11 times; on page 57, Artaxerxes 11 times.
2. Title ,king' alone. E. g. 18 times on pages 55—58 of MÜLLER'S *Fragments*.
3. The name plus the title ,king'. E. g., Artaxerxes the king, MÜLLER 42.
4. The title ,king' plus the name E. g., ,king Artaxerxes'. MÜLLER 63.
5. Name plus the designation ,the son'. So of Xerxes I, MÜLLER 20; and of Xerxes II, MÜLLER 44.



6. Smerdis is called simply ,the Magian'. MÜLLER 49.
  7. Ochus is called ,Ochus the Darian'. MÜLLER 48.
- B. Herodotus.
1. Name alone.
    - (1). Cyrus 118 times in §§ 71—214 of Book I alone.
    - (2). Cambyses. 85 times in §§ 1—75 of Book III.
    - (3). Darius 29 times in Book V; 20 times in Book VI.
    - (4). Xerxes. Scores of times in Books VII—IX.
  2. Title ,king' alone E. g.
    - (1). Of Cambyses, Book III. 34, 96, 97, 98, 117<sup>quat</sup>, 118<sup>bis</sup>, 119<sup>ter</sup>, 120, 130, 132<sup>quat</sup>, 137, 140<sup>quat</sup>, 146: and in the vocative, III, 1, 36, 119, 134, 149, 152<sup>bis</sup>; that is, 32 times altogether in Book III.
    - (2). Of Darius, Book V. I, 20, 24, 31<sup>ter</sup>, 35, 49, 50, 51, 54, 98, 103, 104, 106, 108; and in the vocative, V. 23, 106<sup>bis</sup>; that is, 19 times in Book V.
  3. Name followed by the title ,king'.
    - (1). Of Darius, Book IV. 88; V. 30; VII. 224.
    - (2). Of Xerxes. IV. 43.
  4. Title ,king' followed by name of king.
    - (1). Of Cambyses. III. 63, V. 25, 122.
    - (2). Of Smerdis. III. 62.
    - (3). Of Darius. III. 119, 128<sup>bis</sup>, 137, 138, 139, IV. 87, 88, 204, V. 17, 18<sup>bis</sup>, 24, 73, 105, 124, VI. 2, 3, 20, 24, 30, 40, 43, 70, 119<sup>bis</sup>, VII. 194, 224.
    - (4). Of Xerxes. IV. 43, VII. 35, 107, 115, 117, 120, 150, 201, 238, VIII. 24, 35.
    - (5). Of Artaxerxes. VII. 151.
  5. Name of father preceded by word ,son'.
    - (1). Son of Cambyses. I. 124.
    - (2). Son of Cyrus. III. 14, 34, 66.
    - (3). Son of Hystaspes. III. 71.
    - (4). Son of Darius. VII. 14.
  6. Name of king followed by phrase ,son of', followed by name of father.
    - (1). Cyrus, the son of Cambyses. I. 46, 73, 207, III. 69, VII. 51.
    - (2). Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. III. 1<sup>bis</sup>, 44, 61, 66, 139, IV. 165.
    - (3). Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. III. 44, 61<sup>bis</sup>, 63<sup>ter</sup>, 64—69, 71, 74<sup>ter</sup>, 75, 88.
    - (4). Darius, the son of Hystaspes. I. 183, III. 70, 88<sup>bis</sup>, 149, IV. 91, VI. 98, VII. 1, and al. mul.
    - (5). Xerxes, the son of Darius. I. 183, VI. 98, VII. 186.
    - (6). Artaxerxes( the son of Xerxes. VI. 98, VII. 97, 106, 151.
  7. The king is addressed, or spoken of, as, the Persian' simply.
    - (1). Darius. IV. 118<sup>ter</sup>, 120<sup>bis</sup>, VI. 49, 94.
    - (2). Xerxes. VII. 12, 22, 32, 148<sup>bis</sup>, 157, 163, 166, 168<sup>bis</sup>, 172, 177, 207, VIII. 108, 116, 141, IX. 1, 9, 25 et al.
  8. Name followed by title ,Persian'. So, ,Darius the Persian'. II. 110, 158.

9. The phrases ,king of Persia' or ,king of the Persians' are used alone. III. 21<sup>bis</sup>, 31, 102, V. 36, VII. 106.
  10. The name is followed by the title king of the Persians. So, Cambyses, king of the Persians. III. 21.
  11. The king of Persia is called simply ,the Mede'. VII. 172, VIII. 31, 34, 73, 144 et al.
  12. The king of Persia is called ,king of the Medes'.
    - (1). Cyrus. I. 206.
    - (2). Xerxes. VII. 136, VIII. 5, 114, IX. 7.
  13. The king of Persia is called simply ,the great king', I. 188, 192, V. 49.
  14. The king is addressed simply as ,lord', ,despot', or ,sir'. III. 34, 35, 62, V. 105, VII. 147.
  15. In Book VII. 11, Xerxes is said to have given his genealogy as ,Sprung from Darius, son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Achaemenes'.
- C. Thucydides.
1. Name alone, E. g., Cyrus, I. 13; Cambyses, I. 13, 14; Darius, I. 14, 16; Xerxes, I. 14; Darius (II), VIII. 58.
  2. Title ,king' alone. E. g., I. 18, 89, 93, 95, 109, 128<sup>quat.</sup>; VIII. 18 nine times.
  3. Name plus title ,king'. E. g., Darius the king. VIII. 37.
  4. The title followed by the name. Of Darius (I), IV. 102, VI. 59<sup>bis</sup>; of Xerxes, I. 129; of Artaxerxes, I. 104; of Darius (II), VIII. 37<sup>bis</sup>.
  5. The king of Persia is called ,the Mede' simply. I. 69, 74.
  6. The title plus the name are followed by the phrase ,son of' and the name of the father. So, ,king Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes'. I. 137, IV. 50, ,king Darius, the son of Artaxerxes'. VIII. 5.
  7. We find the following combinations:
    - (1). Cyrus and the Persian kingdom. I. 16.
    - (2). Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, and Cambyses his son. I. 13.
    - (3). Darius who after Cambyses was king of the Persians. I. 14.
- D. Xenophon.
- I. In the Cyropaedia.
1. Name alone. E. g., ,Cyrus'. Book I. 1<sup>bis</sup>, 2<sup>ter</sup>, 3 (twenty-four times), etc.
  2. Title ,king' alone. E. g., of Cyrus. VI. 1, 2, VII 1, VIII 1, 3, 5, 6 (five times), 8 (four times) et al.
  3. The name plus the title ,king'. E. g., ,Artaxerxes the king'. VIII. 8.
  4. The phrase ,sovereign lord' is used of Cyrus. IV. 6.
  5. Name of father is followed by name of son. E. g., ,Cambyses the father of Cyrus'. I. 4.
  6. In I. 1, Cyrus is designated as ,the Persian'.

7. The phrase ,king of the Persians' occurs in VII. 1 and VIII. <sup>2</sup><sub>bis</sub>.
  8. The name plus the title ,king of the Persians' occurs in I. 2, 5 (?).
- II. In the Anabasis.
1. Name alone. Darius, I. 1<sup>bis</sup>, 7; Xerxes, 12; Artaxerxes. I. 1, four times, II. 1, 4.
  2. The title ,king' alone. I. 1, seven times; and frequently, especially in Book I.
  3. The phrase ,the reigning Artaxerxes' occurs in I. 1.
  4. The phrase ,the great king' is occasionally used. I. 2, 4, 7<sup>bis</sup>, II. 3.
  5. The phrase ,the king of the Persians' is employed twice in III. 4.
- III. In the Hellenica.
1. Name alone. E. g., Darius, II. 1<sup>ter</sup>. This is the common usage.
  2. Title ,king' alone. II. 1, III. 1, and often elsewhere.
  3. The name followed by the title ,king'. E. g., ,Artaxerxes the king' V. 1.
  4. The appellation ,the Persian' is used alone. V. 2.
  5. The title ,king of Persia', or ,king of the Persians' alone is used VI. 3<sup>bis</sup>, 5<sup>o</sup>, VII. 1<sup>bis</sup>.
  6. The name plus the title ,king of the Persians' is used of Darius in I. 2.
  7. The designation ,Artaxerxes who was the father of Darius' occurs in II. 1.
- IV. In other works.
1. King alone. Oec. IV. 6.
  2. ,The king of Persia' simply. Oec. IV. 4; Ag. I. 6.
- E. Themistocles.
- In his letter to Temenidas, Themistocles speaks of ,Darius the father of Xerxes'. See *Epistolographi Graeci*, R. HERSCHER, p. 762.
- F. Aeschylus. Persae.
1. Name alone.
    - (1). Cyrus. Lines 764, 769.
    - (2). Smerdis (Mardos). 770.
    - (3). Darius. 158, 162, 168, 200, 223, 246, 576, 623, 653, 663, 668, 709.
    - (4). Xerxes. 158, 201, 301, 343, 358, 467, 552, 553, 554, 714, 730, 750, 778, 828, 907.
  2. The title ,king' alone.
    - (1). Basileus. 58, 153, 236, 902.
    - (2). Despotes. 84, 665.
    - (3). Anax. 6, 566.
    - (4). Balen. 653.
  3. Title ,king' with limiting adjective.
    - (1). Great king. 24.
    - (2). Godlike king. 635, 652.
    - (3). Ancient lord. 653.
    - (4). Sovereign lord 665.
  4. Name with limiting adjective.
    - Divine (Daimon) Darius. 623.

5. Name with title.
  - (1). Anax Darius. 783.
  - (2). Xerxes basileus. 5, 146.
6. Other phrases.
  - (1). King of the land. 913.
  - (2). Queen of this land. 175.
  - (3). Venerable majesty of Persia. 625.
  - (4). Lord of many-peopled Asia. 74.
  - (5). The god of the Persians. 159, 645, 707.
  - (6). The Illustrious divinity, god of the Persians, born in Susa. 645.
- G. Polybius.
  1. Name alone.
    - (1). Darius (I). IV. 43, V. 43.
    - (2). Xerxes. XXXVIII. 4.
    - (3). Darius (III). XII. 17—19, 22 (eight times in all, six of them in citations from Callisthenes). XXVIII. 3.
  2. Title king alone. Of Artaxerxes II, Book XII. 25 f.
  3. The title ,king of the Persians' ist used of Artaxerxes II in Book I. 6.
  4. The false Smerdis is called simply ,the Magus'. V. 43.
- H. Strabo.
  1. Name alone. This is the common usage. See MEINEKE's edition of the Geographica.
    - (1). Cyrus. 507, 512, 517, 627, 687, 736, 252.
    - (2). Cambyses. 473, 736, 790, 805, 816, 820.
    - (3). Darius. 98, 100, 301, 303, 305, 635, 735.
    - (4). Xerxes. 10, 61, 591, 634, 636.
    - (5). Artaxerxes. 49, 656.
    - (6). Darius (III). 79, 676<sup>bis</sup>, 697, 766 (?).
  2. Title ,king' alone.
    - (1). Of the king of Parthia. 524.
    - (2). Of the king of Syria. 531.
  3. The following descriptive phrases occur.
    - (1). Cyrus and the Persians. 524.
    - (2). Darius the First. 804.
    - (3). Darius Hystaspes. 638, 736, 738.
    - (4). Darius the father of Xerxes. 591.
    - (5). Darius who was against Alexander. 644.
    - (6). The kings ,of the Persians from Cyrus to Xerxes'. 61.
- I. Diodorus Siculus.
  1. Name alone. This is the common usage.
    - (1). Cyrus. II. 4<sup>bis</sup>, 32<sup>ter</sup>, 33 six times, IX. 21, 24, 31<sup>bis</sup>, 33<sup>ter</sup>, 34, 35<sup>bis</sup>, 36.
    - (2). Cambyses. X. 14<sup>bis</sup>.
    - (3). Darius. II. 5 five times, 31<sup>bis</sup>, X. 19<sup>bis</sup>, XI. 2, 57, 74.
    - (4). Xerxes. II. 5 five times, 32, XI. 1 four times, 2<sup>bis</sup>, 3<sup>ter</sup>, 5<sup>ter</sup>, 6, 7, and often.
    - (5). Artaxerxes. XI. 69 four times, 71, 74, XII. 6, XIV. 19, 20<sup>ter</sup>, 22, 27, 81, 99, 110, XV. 10, 90<sup>bis</sup>, 91, 92<sup>ter</sup>, 93.
    - (6). Sogdianus. XII. 71.
  2. The title ,king' alone, ordinarily with the article. XI. 6, 12, 19, 56, XIV. 20, 23, four times, 24<sup>ter</sup>, 25, 26<sup>bis</sup>, 27, 35<sup>bis</sup>, 81, 110<sup>bis</sup>, XV. 4, 10 eight times, 11<sup>ter</sup>, 18, 29<sup>bis</sup>, 41, 91<sup>ter</sup>.

3. The title ,king' followed by the name.
  - (1). King Xerxes. XI. 5, 69.
  - (2). King Artaxerxes. XIV, 22, 25, XV. 91.
4. Name followed by the title ,king'.
  - (1). Darius the king. XI. 9, XIII. 104.
  - (2). Xerxes the king. XI. 1, 56, XII. 71.
  - (3). Artaxerxes the king. XII. 4, XV. 41, 50, 70.
5. Name of king followed by that of the father.
  - (1). Cyrus the son of Cambyses. IX. 22.
  - (2). Cyrus the son of Darius the king. XIII. 104.
6. Name of king followed by that of his son.
  - (1). Darius the father of Xerxes. I. 95. Comp. XI. 2, ,the father Darius'.
7. The name followed by ,the Persian'.
  - (1). Cyrus the Persian. II. 34, IX. 20, 31, 32, 35.
  - (2). Cambyses the Persian. X. 14.
8. The name followed by the title ,king of the Persians'.

*Note.* This title is never used by Diodorus in dates, decrees, or letters but only for the introduction of a new section and subject.

- (1). Cyrus king of the Persians. II. 44, IX. 31, X. 13.
- (2). Cambyses the Persian. X. 14.
- (3). Xerxes, id. XII. 1.
- (4). Artaxerxes. id. XI. 71, 74, XII. 64. XV. 2, 38.
9. The title ,king of Asia' is found. Thus ,Darius king of Asia', XIII. 108, XIV. 35.
10. The kings of Persia are referred to as ,kings of the Persians'. XV. 8, 31, 93.
11. The kings of Persia are referred to as ,kings of the Medes and Persians. II. 48, XV. 2, 29.

#### J. Plutarch.

1. Name alone. For example:
  - (1). Darius. In Life of Themistocles.
  - (2). Xerxes, 13 times in Life of Them.
  - (3). Artaxerxes, 35 times in Life of Artaxerxes.
2. Title ,king' alone. Them. 36 times; Artax. 60 times.
3. The title ,king' plus the name. Of ,king Darius' once in Artax.
4. Other designations used are:
  - (1). ,The Persian'. Them., once.
  - (2). ,The Mede'. Them., twice.
  - (3). ,The barbarian'. Them., twice.
  - (4). ,The First'. Of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Artax., once.
  - (5). ,The Persian king and his empire'. Artax., once.

#### K. Josephus.

1. Name alone.
  - (1). Darius (the Mede). X 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 257, 258, 262.
  - (2). Cyrus. Antiq. X. 248, XI. 1, 3, 5<sup>bis</sup>, 6, 8, 10, 20, 63, 78, 86, 88, 93, 104<sup>bis</sup>, 113; contra Apion, I. 145, 150, 153, 154, 158.



- (3). Cambyses. *Antiq.* XI. 21, 26, 30, 31, 88, 97.
- (4). Darius (I). *Antiq.* XI. 32, 33, 63, 64, 67, 78, 86, 95, 97, 104, 107, 113, 120; *con. Ap.* I. 154.
- (5). Xerxes. *Antiq.* XI. 135, 179, 184.
- (6). Artaxerxes (I). *Antiq.* XI. 186, 209, 293, 296, 297, 300; *con. Ap.* I. 41.
- (7). Darius (III). *Antiq.* XI. 311, 313, 315<sup>bis</sup>, 317, 318<sup>bis</sup>, 321, 325.
2. Title 'king' alone.
  - (1). Of Darius the Mede. *Antiq.* X. xi. 252, 254, 256, 259, 260.
  - (2). Of Cyrus. *id.* 17, 102.
  - (3). Of Cambyses. *id.* 23, 24.
  - (4). Of Darius (I). *id.* 32, 59, 64, 105, 115, 117.
  - (5). Of Xerxes, *id.* 122, 123, 131, 132, 136, 138, 163<sup>bis</sup>, 164, 165, 166, 168.
  - (6). Of Artaxerxes. *id.* 185, 191, 192, 201<sup>bis</sup>, 203, 206, 207, 220, 224, and often.
  - (7). Of Darius (III). *id.* 316.
3. Name followed by the title 'king'.
  - (1). Cyrus the king. *Antiq.* XI. 3, 99.
  - (2). Cambyses the king. *id.* XI 26.
  - (3). Darius the king. *id.* 34.
  - (4). Xerxes the king. *id.* 183.
  - (5). Darius (III) the king. *id.* 311, 321.
4. Title 'king' followed by name.
  - (1). King Darius (the Mede). *Antiq.* X. 263.
  - (2). King Cyrus. *id.* 12.
  - (3). King Cambyses. *id.* 26.
  - (4). King Darius (I). *id.* 104, 116, 118.
  - (5). King Xerxes. *id.* 121, 159.
5. Name followed by name of father.
  - (1). Cambyses the son of Cyrus. *id.* 21.
  - (2). Darius the son of Hystaspes. *id.* 31.
6. Name plus the title 'king of the Persians'.
  - (1). Cyrus, king of the Persians. *Antiq.* X. 232, 247, *con. Ap.* I. 132.
  - (2). Darius (king) of the Persians. *id.* 30.
  - (3). Xerxes, king of the Persians. *con. Ap.* 172.
  - (4). Artaxerxes, king of the Persians after Xerxes. *con. Ap.* 40.
7. Other titles and designations.
  - (1). Darius the king of the Medes. Used only of Darius the Mede. *Antiq.* X. 232.
  - (2). Cyrus, king of Babylonia and Persia. *Antiq.* X. 232, 247. *con. Ap.* I. 132.
  - (3). Cyrus, the Persian. *con. Ap.* 159.
  - (4). Cambyses is addressed as 'Lord'. *Antiq.* XI. 26.
  - (5). 'Xerxes, king of kings' is used in the beginning of a letter. XI. 23.
  - (6). 'The great king Artaxerxes' is found at the beginning of the decree against the Jews. XI. 216.

(7). Cyrus, whom call Artaxerxes. XI. 184.

L. Arrian's Expedition of Alexander.

1. Name alone.

(1). Xerxes. Book III. 16<sup>bis</sup>.

(2). *a.* Artaxerxes (III). II. 14.  
*b.* Ochus. II. 14.

(3). Darius (III). 125 times in sections up to Book III. 23 inclusive, i. e., times in Book I, 60 times in Book II, and 58 times in Book III. 1—23.

2. ,King' alone. I. 12, 23, 26 (?); II. 1<sup>bis</sup>, 2, 7<sup>bis</sup>, 13; III. 16, 22.

3. ,Great king' alone. I. 12, II. 11.

4. ,King' followed by adjective ,great' alone. I. 24.

5. Name plus phrase ,son of' followed by name of father. Arses, the son of Artaxerxes. II. 14.

6. ,Cyrus ,the First'. III. 18.

7. King designated as ,the Persian' alone. I. 25, 29.

8. Phrase ,king of the Persians' alone. III. 17.

M. Ancient Fragments.

*Note.* I have gathered these from CORY'S Ancient Fragments, 2nd edition, and from SCHÖENE'S Eusebi Chronica. I shall denote the former by A. F. and the latter by E. C. Abyd. = Abydenus; A. P. = Alexander Polyhistor; Syn. = Syncellus; Man. = Manetho; Ber. = Berosus; C. P. = Canon of Ptolemy.

1. Name alone.

(1). Cyrus. Ber. A. F., p. 41, 42<sup>bis</sup>; Abyd. id. 45; A. P. id. 63; Syn. id. 81<sup>bis</sup>; C. P. id. 84.

(2). Cambyses. A. P., A. F. 63; Syn. id. 81, 147<sup>bis</sup>; C. P. id. 84; Man. id. 130.

(3). Smerdius. Syn. A. F. 81.

(4). Darius (I). A. P., A. F. 63; Syn. id. 81.

(5). Xerxes. A. P., A. F. 63; Syn. in Astron. Canon; C. P., A. F. 84; and Eusebius in the Canons of the kings of Egypt

(6). Artaxerxes. Man., according to Africanus and Eusebius. A. F. 131.

(7). Xerxes (II). Man. According to Africanus; Eus. Canons of the Egyptian kings.

(2). Sogdianus. Syn. Euc. Can.; Man. according to Afr. and Eus.

(9). Ochus. Syn. Ast. Can.; C. P. Man. according to Afr. and Eus.

(10). Arses. Man. according to Africanus. In the Ast. Can., Arses is called Sarus, and in C. P., Arostes.

(11). Darius (III) Man. according to Afr. and Eus., and Eusebius in the Canons of the kings of Egypt

2. Name followed by name of father.

(1). Cyrus son of Cambyses. A. P., A. F. 63.

(2). Cambyses son of Cyrus. Syn. A. F. 81.

(3). Darius son of Hystaspes. Syn. A. F. 80; Man. A. F. 130; Eus. A. F. 147.

(4). Xerxes son of Darius. Syn. Ecc. Can.

- (5). Xerxes son of Artaxerxes. Syn. Ecc. Can.
- (6). Darius son of Xerxes. Man. according to Afr. and Eus.
- (7). Ochus son of Artaxerxes. Syn. Ecc. Can.
- (8). Arses son of Ochus. Man. according to Eus.
3. Name plus nationality. So, Cyrus the Persian. Castorin Eus. Chron. A. F. 85.
4. Name plus some distinctive appellation.
  - (1). Darius the First. C. P., A. F. 84.
  - (2). Xerxes the Great. Man. according to Africanus.
  - (3). Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, Longimanus. Syn. Ecc. Can.
  - (4). Xerxes, the Second. Man. according to Eus.
  - (5). Artaxerxes I. Syn. Ast. Can.; C. P.
  - (6). *a.* Darius II. C. P.  
*b.* Darius Nothus. Syn. Ecc. Can., Eus. Can. of the kings of Egypt.  
*c.* Darius II, who is Nothus. Syn. Ast. Can.
  - (7). *a.* Artaxerxes II. Syn. Ast. Can.; C. P.  
*b.* Artaxerxes Mnemon. Syn. Ecc. Can.
  - (8). Arses the brother of Ochus. Syn. Ecc. Can.
5. Unusual titles.
  - (1). Cyrus the first king of the Persians. Syn. A. F. 85.
  - (2). Darius the Third the (son) of Arsames. Syn. Ecc. Can.
  - (3). Darius III who also is Arsames. A. F. 83.

N. In Greek Letters.

*Note.* The reference are to the pages of the *Epistolographoi Hellenikoi* by RUDOLF HERDHER, Paris, 1873.

1. Name alone.

- (1). Cyrus *a.* In Isocrates' letter to Philip. 321.  
*b.* In Plato's letter to Dionysius. 493.
- (2). Darius. In letter of Hippocrates 291.
- (3). Xerxes. *a.* In Isocrates' letter to Philip. 321.  
*b.* In letter of Socrates. 632.  
*c.* In letter of Pausanias. 407.
- (4). Ochus. In letter of Alexander to Darius. 98.
- (5). Arses. id. Darius (III).
- (6). Darius (III). id.
2. Title 'king' alone.
  - (1). In letter of Socrates. 632.
  - (2). In letters of Themistocles. 742, 755, 759, 761, 762.
3. *a.* King Darius. In address of letter from Darius to Heraclitus, and of the one in reply. 280.  
*b.* King Xerxes. In address of letter from Xerxes to Pausanias. 407.
4. The title 'king of the Persians' occurs in letter of Hippocrates to Demetrius. 290.
5. The title 'king of Asia' occurs in letter of Alexander to Darius. 98.
6. The title 'lord of all Asia'. id. 98.
7. The king of Persia is called 'the great king' in letter of Themistocles to Aristides. 752.

8. 'The great king Artaxerxes' occurs in the headings of two letters; or decrees, of Artaxerxes. 175.
  9. 'Darius the father of Xerxes' occurs in letter of Themistocles to Temenidas. 762.
  10. 'King Darius, the son of Hystaspes' occurs in letter of Darius to Heraclitus. 280.
  11. 'Darius the king whose father was Hystaspis'. id.
  12. 'The great king of kings, Artaxerxes'. In address of letter from Artaxerxes to Paetus. 289. Also, in superscriptions of two letters of Artaxerxes on page 290.
  13. 'The king of kings, my great lord Artaxerxes'. In letter to Artaxerxes from Hystanes, prefect of the Hellespont. 390.
  14. 'The Persian' occurs in letter from Socrates to Philip. 632.
- O. In the Greek Apocrypha.
1. In the additions to Esther.
    - (1). Artaxerxes the Great. XI. 2.
    - (2). The great king Artaxerxes. XIII. 1, XVI. 1.
  2. In I Maccabees.
    - (1). Darius, king of Persia and Media. I. 1.
    - (2). Of later kings.
      - a. Antiochus the great king of Asia. VIII. 6.
      - b. King Demetrius. X, 25, XI. 30, 32, XIII. 36.
      - c. King Antiochus. XV. 2.
      - d. Arsaces, king of Persia and Media. XIV. 2.
  3. In II Maccabees.
    - (1). Seleucus king of Asia. III. 3.
    - (2). King Antiochus. XI. 22.
    - (3). Antiochus, king and governor. IX. 19.
  4. In III Esdras.
    - (1). King Cyrus. VI. 17.
    - (2). Cyrus the king. VI. 17.
    - (3). Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, VII. 4.
- V. Titles of the Persian Kings in Hebrew.
1. In Haggai.
    - (1). Name alone. II. 10.
    - (2). Name followed by title 'king'. I. 1, 15.
  2. In Zechariah.
    - (1). Name alone. I. 1, 7.
    - (2). Name followed by title 'king'. VII. 1.
  3. In Isaiah, XLIV. 28, Cyrus alone. So, also, XLV. 1.
  4. In Daniel.
    - (1). Name alone. Of Darius the Mede, VI. 2.
    - (2). Title 'king' alone. Of Darius the Mede, VI. 13, 15.
    - (3). Name followed by the title 'king'.
      - a. Cyrus the king. I. 21.
      - b. Darius the king, used of Darius the Mede, VI. 7, 26.
    - (4). The title 'king' followed by the name and the nationality. So of king Darius the Mede, VI. 10.

- (5). The name is followed by the nationality of the king.  
Darius the Mede. XI. 1.
- (6). The name followed by the title ,king of Persia'. So, Cyrus, king of Persia. X. 1.
5. In Esther.
- (1). Name alone. Xerxes. I. 1; III. 6; X. 30.
- (2). Title ,king' alone.
- a. As subject. I. 5, 8<sup>0</sup>, 12, 13, 19, 21; II. 3, 17, 18; III. 2, 10, 11, 15; IV. 11; V. 2, 3, 4, 5<sup>bis</sup>, 6, 8, 11; VI. 3, 4, 5, 6<sup>ter</sup>, 7, 8<sup>bis</sup>, 9<sup>bis</sup>, 10, 11; VII. 1, 2<sup>0</sup>, 7, 8<sup>bis</sup>, 9; VIII. 2, 4, 11; IX. 12, 14; X. 2.
- b. After prepositions and the noun in the construct state, frequently equivalent to the adjective ,royal'. I. 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16<sup>bis</sup>, 18, 20, 21, 22; II. 2<sup>bis</sup>, 3, 4<sup>bis</sup>, 8<sup>bis</sup>, 9, 13, 14<sup>ter</sup>, 15<sup>bis</sup>, 18, 19, 21<sup>bis</sup>, 22, 23; III. 2, 3<sup>bis</sup>, 8<sup>bis</sup>, 9, 10, 12<sup>bis</sup>, 13, 15; IV. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11<sup>quat</sup>, 13, 16; V. 1<sup>bis</sup>, 4, 8<sup>bis</sup>, 9, 11, 12<sup>bis</sup>, 13, 14<sup>bis</sup>; VI. 1<sup>bis</sup>, 2, 3, 4<sup>bis</sup>, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14; VII. 3<sup>bis</sup>, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9<sup>bis</sup>, 10; VIII. 1, 3, 4, 5<sup>bis</sup>, 8<sup>quat</sup>, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17; IX. 1, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 16, 25.
- (2). The title ,king' followed by the name. I. 2, 9, 10<sup>0</sup>, 14, 16, 17, 19; II. 1, 12, 16; III. 7. (date), 8, 12, (decree); VI. 2; VII. 5; VIII. 1, 7, 10, 12; IX. 2, 20; X. 1, 3.
6. In II Chronicles XXXVI. 22, 23, we have the phrase (Cyrus, king of Persia) three times, just as in the parallel in Ezra I. 1, 2.
7. In Ezra are found:
- (1). Name alone.
- a. Xerxes. IV. 6.
- b. Artaxerxes. IV. 7.
- (2). Title ,king' alone.
- a. As subject. VIII. 25.
- b. As genitive. VII 8 (date), 27<sup>bis</sup>, VIII. 22<sup>bis</sup>, 25, 36<sup>bis</sup>.
- (3). The name followed by the title. ,Artaxerxes the king'. VII. 7; VIII. 1.
- (4). The title ,king' followed by the name.
- a. The king Cyrus. I. 7.
- b. The king Artaxerxes. VII. 11.
- (5). The general title ,kings of Persia'. IX. 9.
- (6). The name followed by the title ,king of Persia'.
- a. Cyrus, king of Persia. I<sup>bis</sup>, 2, 8; III. 7.
- b. Darius (I), king of Persia. IV. 5.
- c. Artaxerxes, king of Persia. VII. 1.
- (7). The combination ,the king Cyrus king of Persia' is employed in IV. 5.
- (8). The title ,king of Assur' is employed in VI. 22.
8. In Nehemiah.
- (1). Title ,king' alone.
- a. As subject. II. 2, 4, 6, 8, 9.



b. As genitive. I. 11; II. 1, 3, 5<sup>bis</sup>, 6, 7<sup>bis</sup>, 8, 9, 18, 20; V. 4; VI. 7; XI. 23; XIII. 6.

c. As vocative. II. 3.

- (2). Name followed by title 'king'. 'Artaxerxes the king'. II. 1; V. 14.
- (3). Name followed by the title 'king of Babylon'. 'Artaxerxes, king of Babylon'. XIII. 6.

## VI. Titles of the Persian Kings in Persian.

### 1. The name alone.

- (1). Cyrus. Beh. 10.
- (2). Cambyses. Beh. 10 times, 11<sup>bis</sup>, 12<sup>bis</sup>.
- (3). Smerdis. Beh. 10<sup>quat</sup>, 13, 41, 45, 68.
- (4). Gaumata. Beh. 11, 52.
- (5). Darius. Persep. d § 1<sup>bis</sup>; ELWEND I; Suez a.
- (6). Xerxes. Persep. a, b, c, d; ELWEND; Wan.
- (7). Artaxerxes (the Third). Persep. § 1.

### 2. The title king alone.

- (1). In the phrase 'to be king'.
- a. Of Darius Beh. §§ 5, 6, 10<sup>bis</sup>, 12, 13, 15, 16<sup>bis</sup>, 52, 52; Small Beh. 4 b, h; Persep. d, I<sup>bis</sup>; NRa. I<sup>bis</sup>, 4<sup>bis</sup>; ELWEND I; Suez c.
- b. Of Xerxes. Persep. a. I<sup>bis</sup>, b, c, d; ELWEND; Wan.
- c. Of Artaxerxes (the Third). Persep. 1.
- (2). In the vocative. Beh. 55, 64, 69.

### 3. The name followed by the title king.

- (1). Of Darius. At the beginning of every one of the 76 sections of the Behistun inscription, except the first. Also a second time in § 45. Also, in Persep. c, d 2<sup>bis</sup>, 3. 1; NRa 3, 5, b 2; Susa a; Suez c § 2; and on seal of Darius and of Xerxes. Persep. Ins.
- (2). Of Xerxes. Persep. a §§ 3, 4; Susa.
- (3). Of Artaxerxes (the First). Vases b, c.
- (4). Of Artaxerxes (the Second). Susa d.
- (5). Of Artaxerxes (the Third). Persep. §§ 3, 4.

### 4. Name followed by the title 'the great king'.

- (1). Of Darius. Susa c (?).
- (2). Of Xerxes. Persep. b 3, c 3, d 3; Vase a.
- (3). Of Artaxerxes. Vase a.

### 5. Name followed by name of father.

- (1). Cambyses son of Cyrus. Beh. 10.
- (2). Smerdis son of Cyrus. Beh. 13, 40, 52<sup>bis</sup>; Sm. Beh. 4 b, h.

### 6. Name followed by names of father and brother. So 'Smerdis son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses' Beh. 11.

### 7. Lists of Titles in Display Inscriptions.

- (1). Of Darius.
- a. Darius, the great king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenid. Persep. b; Weight Ins. a.

- b. Darius, the great king, the king of kings, king of lands, the son of Hystaspes the Achaemenid. Persep. a.
  - c. Same as b, except that the word ,many' is added before lands. Persep. e.
  - d. Same as b, except that after ,lands', there is added the clause ,king of this earth'. Weight Ins. b.
  - e. Same as d, except that it adds ,great' before earth. Suez b.
  - f. Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of lands, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenid. Beh. § 1, SMALLER Beh. 1.
  - g. Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of many nations, the king of this great earth far and wide, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid, a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan, of the Aryan race. NRa.
  - h. Darius, the great king, the king of kings, king of the lands of many tribes (,kinds of people'), king of this great earth far and wide, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid, ELWEND § 2.
  - i. Same as h, except that it has ,all' instead of ,many' before ,tribes'. Suez. c.
- (2). Of Xerxes.
- a. Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid. Persep. e.
  - b. Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of many tribes, the king of this great earth far and wide, the son of King Darius the Achaemenid. Persep. a, b, c, d; ELWEND; Wan.
- (3). Of Artaxerxes II.
- a. Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king, the son of Darius the king. Susa b.
  - b. Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, king of lands, the king of this earth. Susa c.
  - c. Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of lands, the king of this earth, son of king Darius, Darius being son of king Artaxerxes, Artaxerxes being son of king Xerxes, Xerxes son of king Darius, Darius son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid. Susa a, and Hamadan.
- (4). Of Artaxerxes III.
- a. Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of lands, the king of this earth, am I; the son of Artaxerxes, the king, the 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 Achaemenid. Persepolis. Insc.

## VII. Titles of the Persian Kings in Susian.

## A. Short Titles.

## 1. Name alone.

- (1). Cyrus. Beh. 13, 40, 52<sup>bis</sup>, 68; Sm. Beh. b, h.
- (2). Darius. NRa, ELWEND, Suez c; Art. II; Susa a, Hamadan; Art. III, Persep.
- (3). Xerxes. Persep. a, c, d; ELWEND: Wan; Art. II, Susa a; Hamadan, Art. III, Persep.
- (4). Artaxerxes I. Art. II, Susa a, Hamadan; Art. III, Persep.
- (5). Artaxerxes II. Art. III. Persep.

## 2. Name followed by title 'king'.

- (1). Darius the king. Beh. Ins. §§ 2—70; twice in Beh. § 45; Sm. Beh. §§ 2—4; Persep. f. §§ 2, 3; NRa, §§ 3, 4, 5; NRc, NRd; Suez c; Seal; Insc.; Xerx. Persep. a, b, c, d, e; Susa; Wan; Art. II. Susa a; Hamadan; Art. III. Persep.
- (2). Xerxes the King. Persep. a §§ 3, 4; b § 3; c § 3; d Se; Susa; Wan § 3, X Susa a Hamadan, Art. III. Persep.
- (3). Artaxerxes the king. (I). Art. II. Susa a; Hamadan. Art. III. Persep.: Vases b and c.
- (4). Darius (II) the king. Art. II. Susa a; Hamadan. Art. III. Persep.
- (5). Artaxerxes the King (II). Art. III. Persep.

## 3. Title 'king' alone.

- (1). Use of 'king' in general. Beh. § 69.
- (2). In phrases such as 'to be king'.
  - a. Of Darius NRa I. 4; Susa ELWEND § 1, Suez c.
  - b. Of Xerxes, Persep. a, b, c, d, ELWEND; Wan.
  - c. Artaxerxes (III). Persep. § 1.

## 4. Name followed by title 'king', followed by adjective 'great'. Only in combinations (see below), and by

- (1). Xerxes, in Persep. c and d; and in Vases a, b, c.
- (2). Artaxerxes (I). Vase a:

## B. Lists of Titles of the Persian Kings in Susian.

## 1. Titles on inscriptions not found in Persian, or Babylonian.

- (1). Darius, . . . . ., the king of this (wide) earth. . . . Darius the king. Fragment, called Susa d.
- (2). Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of lands, the king of this wide earth, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Persep. f.

## 2. Titles which differ in some particulars from the other recensions.

- (1). I am Darius the king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, the king of kings. I am king of Persia. SMALLER Behistun, § 1.
- (2). Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of lands of all tribes, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Persep. a.

## 3. Titles which are correct translations of the Persian. These are Behistun § 2; Persep. c; NRa § 2; Susa c; ELWEND; Suez b, c; Weight Inscriptions a and b.

## VIII. Titles of the Persian Kings in Latin.

In order to throw light upon the assumption of Dr. Driver and Dr. Gray, that the use of the title "king of Persia" would be necessary and proper only after the Persian empire had ceased to be, I shall add to the above lists the appellations of Persian kings as given by Quintus Curtius Rufus in his *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*.

1. He refers to them by name only.
  - (1). Cyrus. III. IV. 9, VI. III. 6, *et al.*
  - (2). Darius V. VI. 20.
  - (2). Xerxes. III. II. 4, V. VI. 20.
  - (3). Ochus. VI. II. 4, VI. IV. 9, 10 *et al.*
  - (4). Darius [Codomannus] III. I. 1, 2, 3, 4 and scores of times besides.
2. He refers to the monarch simply as *rex*. III. III. 6, 7, 8 and scores of times, besides.
3. The title "king of Persia" is never used.