IV.
ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM.

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

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

I. THE CITATION FROM DRIVER.

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

"(a) The phrase 'King of Persia,' Ezr. i. 1, 2, 8, iii. 7, iv. 3, 5, 7, 24, vii. 1: the addition would, during the period of the Persian supremacy, be at once unnecessary and contrary to contemporary usage (see p. 506, n): the expression used by Ezr. and Neh., when speaking in their [512] own person (Ezr. vii. 27f., viii. 1, 22, 25, 36; Nehemiah i. 11, ii. 1ff., 18f., v. 4, 14, vi. 7, xiii. 6), or in passages extracted from sources written under the Persian rule (Ezr. iv. 8,
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

The Princeton Theological Review Vol. 2 No. 2 (1904)

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

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

“Persia was absorbed and lost in the wider empire, of which by Cyrus’ conquest of Babylon the Achaemenidæ became the heirs; hence after that date their standing official title is not ‘King of Persia,’ but ‘King of Babylon’ (Records of the Past, 1st series, IX. 67; cf. 2d series, V. 166, and comp. Ezr. v. 13), or, more commonly, ‘the King,’ ‘the great King,’ ‘King of Kings,’ ‘King of the Lands,’ etc. (often in combination): see the series of inscriptions of Persian kings in Records, 1st series, I. 111ff. (Behistun); V. 151ff., IX. 67–88; also the Aramaic funeral inscription found at Saqqarah, near Memphis, in 1877 (C. I. S., II. 1, No. 122), dated the fourth year of [ןִבְרִית יִשְׂרָאֵל], i.e., of ‘Xerxes, King of [kings]’ and [בָּבֶל הַמְּלֹאכָה], ‘Babylonia’ (i.e., of ‘Xerxes, King of Babylonia’), in the interesting decree cited by Meyer, p. 19: comp. Ezr. vii. 12 (‘King of Persia’ is used of Cyrus only before his conquest of Babylon, Records, 2d series, V. 160; and of Darius only exceptionally, in the midst of other titles, ib., 1st series, I. 111. By their subjects the Persian kings are also styled ‘King of Babylon’ or ‘King of the Lands’ (often in combination): see the numerous contract-tablets belonging to the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, published in Schrader’s Keilschr. Bibliothek, IV. 259–311)” (p. 546).

II.

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

A.

We shall begin by enumerating the simpler titles.

1. The personal name alone is given. See below, III. A. 1, B. 1, C. 9; IV. A. 1, B. 1, C. 1, D. 1 (1), 2 (1), 3 (1), F. 1, G. 1, H., I. 1 (1), 2 (1), 3 (1), 4 (1), 5 (1), 6 (1), 7 (1), J. 1 (1), 2 (1), 3 (1), 4 (1), 5 (1), 6 (1), 7 (1), 8 (1), 9 (1); V. A. 1, B. 1.

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

*Dr. Driver gives a footnote here as follows: In vi. 14f. the words “and Artaxerxes, king of Persia,” can hardly (on account of the context) be part of the original narrative.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM. 259


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

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

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

8. The names of the title and family are given. See Murghab Inscription, Weissbach and Bang, Die Altpersischen Keitinschriften, 46. “I am Cyrus the king, the Achemenid.”

9. The names of the person, the father, the family, and the adjective “great” are employed. See Weissbach, Die Achemenideninschriften zweiter Art., E., Gewichtinschrift, I. page 78. “I am Darius, the great king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achemenid.”

10. The complete genealogy is given up to Achemenis, e.g., “The king Darius speaks thus: My father was Hystaspes, Histaspes’ father Arsames, Arsames’ father Ariaramnes, Ariaramnes’ father Teispes, Teispes’ father Achemenis.” Beh. Ins. 2. See Bezdol, Die Achemenideninschriften, page 3.

11. The name, title and family alone are mentioned, e.g., “I am Cyrus, the king, the Achemenian.” The Murghab Inscription.

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

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

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

15. The nationality is mentioned, e.g., Suez c, Darius says: “I am a Persian.” Xenophon, Cyropedia, I. 1, speaks of the Persian, Cyrus.
16. The title alone is given, but with the adjective “great” to emphasize it, e.g., Xenophon in his Anabasis, Bk. I. 3, 7 bis, II. 3.

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

18. The title is emphasized superlatively by the plural in the genitive, e.g., “king of kings.” See in the inscription cited by Driver, above referred to, and in the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnaemon published in Bezold’s Achamenideninschriften, page 45.

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

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

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


23. “King of Persia and Media,” e.g., Xerxes is so called. See Oppert in the Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie, I.

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


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

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

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

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

31. “King of the Medes.” So Tamyras, queen of the Massagetae, calls Cyrus, according to Herodotus, I. 205.
32. "King of the nations (or host) of mankind." Behistun, I.
33. Variations of the above are the following: "Great King of Egypt." So of Cambyses. See Brugsch, History of Egypt, II. 294.
34. "King and Lord of the land." So of Darius, in Mariette’s List, No. 2296. See Brugsch, History, II. 291.
35. "The great Lord of all nations." So of Cambyses. See Brugsch, History, 294.
37. "King of the great earth, far and near." Xerxes Insc. c. Weissbach and Bang, Altpersischen Keilschriften, 43.
38. "King of the lands of the totality of tongues." Xerxes Insc. d, id.
39. "King of the lands of the totality of all tongues." Naqš-i-Rustem Insc. of Darius. Bezold, Die Achamenideninschriften, 84; see, also, Persepolis Insc. B, id., 86.
40. "King of lands of many tongues (or of all races)." Darius, Suec c, § 2; Weissbach and Bang, 33; Brugsch, II. 301.
41. Other titles are as follows: "the mighty king" (šarru dannu, distinct from šarru rabu). Cyrus Cylinder, l. 20.
42. "King of Shumir and Akkad." Cyrus Cylinder, l. 20.
43. "King of the four regions." Cyrus Cylinder, l. 20.
49. "The weaver of the crown." Brugsch, History of Egypt, II. 304.
51. "The Mede." The speakers in Thucydides seem thus to denote the king of Persia, e.g., Bk. VI. 33, 83, 17, et al.
53. "Born of Ra." This was a title or "throne name" of Cambyses. See Budge, A History of Egypt, Vol. VII. 42.
54. "Horus, unifier of the two lands." This is the Horus name of Cambyses. See Budge, A History of Egypt, Vol. VII. 42.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson


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


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

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

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

II.—b.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. "Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands of the totality of tongues, the king of this great wide (rakti) earth,
the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.” Bezold, XI. D, and XII. E.

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

13. “Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings (šarru ša šarrāni. So, also, in XVI. K, and IV. NR, but in the others šar šarrāni), the king of (ša) the lands, which are in the whole earth, the son of Darius, the king; Darius, the king, being the son of Artaxerxes, the king; Artaxerxes, the king, being the son of Xerxes, the king; Xerxes, the king, being the son of Darius, the king; Darius, the king, being the son of Hystaspes, of the seed of the Achaemenids.” Bezold, XVII. 8.

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

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

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

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

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


20. “Cambyses, king of Babylon, when (enuma) Cyrus, his father, was king of nations.” Id., No. 46.
21. "[Cyrus] king of nations and Cambyses, king of Babylon." 
_Id._, No. 426. Obv. 7–9, and apparently reverse margin.

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

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

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

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


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

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


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

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

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

34. "Darius, the great king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid." Weissbach and Bang, _Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften_, page 41.

*The part of the stele quoted above reads in Greek: Ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τε καὶ κύριος τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀραχείου καὶ τοῦ Ἡσαμανίδου, Περσικὸς τε καὶ τάξις τῆς ἑπετίμησις μοιοίς.
III.

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

A. Medo-Persian.

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


3. The name plus the title, e.g., "Cyrus, the king." See Cyrus Cylinder, 27. "Darius, the king." Behistun, §§ 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40, 42, 44, 48, 53, 57, 61, 64, 68, 70, 72, 75, 77, 78, 82, 84, 86, 89, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109 and 112; IV. NR. (Bezold’s numbering), 7, 19, 26, 30; V. NR. kl. 1, 2; VII. O. 8; VIII. L.; IX. H. 12; XIII. Ca. 9, 12; XIV. Ch. 17, 22; XVI. K. 12; XVII. S. 3, 4, 6, 7. So also in Weissbach, Die Achämenidenschriften 2ter Art., page 79, and in Die Altpers. Keilinschriften, p. 41, by Weissbach and Bang.

"Xerxes, the king." Bezold, XI. D. 9, 17; XIII. Ca. 3; XIV. Ch. 5; XV. F. 9; XVI. K. 4, 12; XVII. S. 5, 6; XIX. 5.

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

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

5. The Cyrus inscription contains the words: "I am Cyrus, the king, the Achemenid."*

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

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

* Through an oversight, doubtless, Bezold has failed to translate šarru.
AD. AD. i.a., and to Darius Hystaspes as his AD. AD. AD. i.a., or
8. The title "king in Persia" occurs on Behistun Ins., 72.
9. Barzia is called "son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses." Behistun Ins., 16.
10. Barzia is called "the son of Cyrus." Behistun Ins., 21, 72,
91, 94.
11. For combinations of titles, see II. B.

III.—B. BABYLONIAN.

1. Cyrus. In the Nabumâ'id-Cyrus Chronicle, 2d col., 1, 2, Rev.
12, 15, 18, 19, and on the Strassmaier tablets 35, 68(?), 75(?), and
others. [These are collected from the first hundred merely.]
Darius. On tablets 7, 62, 88, 100(?), 128, 187(?), 190, 211bis,
234, 320, 324, 412 (?), 451. [These are collected from the 578 tablets
in Strassmaier.]
Cambyses alone, in Strassmaier, Nos. 435, 27, 29, 70;
2. "The king." Only in the doubtful phrase "son of the king"
of Cambyses in the Nab.-Cyrus Chronicle Rev. 27, and in such
phrases as "storehouse of the king." See Strassmaier's Cyrus
tablets, Nos. 21, 47, 74, 78, 88, 367; and his Cambyses tablets,
Nos. 121, 266, 274, 288, 324, 359 and 385; and his Darius tablets,
Nos. 88, 92, 106, 253, 285.
3. "Cyrus, the king." So on the Clay Cylinder 27, 35. "Cam-
byses, the king." Strassmaier tablet 384. "Darius, the king," on
the Strassmaier tablets 97, 274, 309, 339(?), 350 bis, 369, 384, 420,
429, 438, 451, 509, 516, 523 and 542.
"Artaxerxes, the king." So in No. 31 of the Inscriptions published
by Barton in the A. J. S. L. and L. for January, 1900.
4. "Cyrus, son of Cambyses." Only found so far in the Clay Cyl-
der 21, and in combination with other titles. "Cambyses, son of
Cyrus." Nab.-Cyrus Chron. Rev. 24. In addition to the above
Cyrus refers to Cambyses as "Cambyses the son, the issue of my
body" (šî libbiya), Clay Cylinder 27; and on the same Cylinder,
line 35, the gods speak graciously concerning "Cyrus and Cambyses,
his son." He is referred to, also, as the son of the king in the
Nab.-Cyrus Chron. Rev. 27.
But Xerxes is so called in conjunction with other titles in three
tables out of six of Xerxes, to which the writer has had access, to
wit: in Nos. 2 and 3 of those published by Evetts in the Appendix
to his Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil—Merodach, Neriglissar and
ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM. 267

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

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

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

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

Darius I is called king of Babylon without further title on the Strassmaier tablets numbered 3, 46, 66, 81, 94, 180, 224 ?, 233?, 292 ?, 299 ?, 380, 444 ?, 514, 538.

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

8. “King of the lands.” So Cyrus is designated in tablets 2, 3 ?, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15 ?, 27, 28, 29, 33 ?, 37, 52, 58, 65, 66, 77, 84, 89, 102, 125, 150, 163, 270 ?; Cambyses, in Strassmaier tablets 4, 18, 22, 30, 103, 118 ?, 148 ?, 149, 153, 165, 195, 212 ?, 234, 259, 329,
350, 355, 357, 380, 388, 390, 391, 410, 431 and 438, and in Barton’s tablet 1; Smerdis, in tablets 2 and 3, Z.A. IV. 147; Darius, in Strassa-
maier’s tablets 2, 8, 52, 59, 75, 83, 98, 101, 205, 240, 274, 281, 285,
346, 364, 376, 386, 408, 444, 510, 517, 518, 545, 555, 565 and 567, and
in Barton’s tablets 21, 22, 23; Xerxes, in the fourth of those
published by Evetts, and in the tablet published by the
trustees of the British Museum, catalogued as Bu. 88–5–12, 593 (Part
IV of the Cuneiform Texts); Artaxerxes, in all the contract tablets
from his reign so far published by Hilprecht, in Vol. IX, Cuneiform
Texts, and Peiser, in K. B., IV. 312.*

9. “King of Babylon and of the lands.” This phrase is used of
Cyrus on the tablet given in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, II. 176,
and in the Strassaier tablets numbered 1, 25, 31, 45, 46, 60, 86, 87,
92, 182, 211, 214, 222, 224, 230, 248, 272, 274, 291, 310, 331, 355
and 367; of Cambyses, in those numbered 8, 13, 43, 53, 56, 64, 71,
76, 90, 115, 119, 130, 135, 142, 151, 161, 162, 167, 175, 182,
183, 186, 207, 211, 219, 223, 226, 231, 253, 256, 257, 261, 262, 277,
292, 298, 310, 314, 317, 321, 322, 328, 337, 348, 351, 354, 373, 396,
401, 409, 416 and 436; of Smerdis, on tablets published in Z. A., IV.
147, and numbered 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 twice (i.e., on lines 3 and 17), 8, 9;
of Darius, in the tablets published in Z. A., I. 445, II. 215, 217, 219,
and IV. 147, and in the tablets published by Strassaier and
numbered 23, 48, 50, 68, 69, 82, 105, 110, 116, 117, 119, 124, 126, 136,
147, 153, 157, 165, 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, 269, 270, 271, 272, 276, 278, 286, 287, 289, 290,
297, 300, 302, 308, 310, 315, 323, 328, 330, 332–4, 351–4, 357,
359, 360, 365, 369, 371, 377, 378, 380, 382, 383, 386, 393, 394,
458, 459, 464, 465, 469, 472–4, 478, 484, 486, 491, 493, 496, 498,
503, 513, 537, 541–3, 547, 550, 559, 560, 563, 564, 566, 569, 570,
572, 576, and in the tablets published in Part IV of the Cuneiform
Texts, printed by order of the trustees of the British Museum, cata-
logued as Bu. 88–5–12, 557, 637, 643 and 287; of Xerxes, in those
numbered 3 and 4 by Evetts (really the second and third of Xerxes’
inscriptions), but in composition, as may be seen below under 13 (5)
(6). The first of these is the second, and the second from
the fourth, year of Xerxes. No tablet from the reign of Artaxerxes
has this subscription.

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

* Of the four tablets from the reign of Artaxerxes, published by Barton in
A. J. S. L. and L., only one is legible, and it reads simply “Artaxerxes the king.”
scription under Cyrus, where it occurs in 262 tablets out of 368 of Strassmaier's, and in Z. A., I. 432, and II. 8, and in Z. A., III. 115, 219, 220; under Cambyses, where it is met 294 times on 438 tablets published by Strassmaier and in the one published by the trustees of the British Museum, Part IV, Bu. 88-5-12, 336; under Smerdis (Barzila) in tablets 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 (lines 3 and 17), 8 and 9, published in Z. A., IV. 147-152 (edited by Strassmaier); and under Darius I, where it occurs about 350 times in 578 of the Strassmaier tablets, and in Bu. 88-5-12, 639.

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

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

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

(1) "King of Babylon and king of the lands." Cyrus tablets 297; Darius tablets 362.
(2) "King of Babylon, king of the land." Cyrus tablets 118.
(3) "Cyrus of Babylon." Cyrus tablets 90.
(4) "Darius, King of Babylon, of the lands." Darius tablets 349.
(5) "Darius, king of the land." Darius tablets 535.
(6) "Darius, king of Babylon, king of Babylon." Darius tablets 275.

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

(1) On a brick found at Uruk: "I am Cyrus, builder of Ešakkill and E-sīda, son of Cambyses, the mighty king." See Hagen, Cyrus Texte, in Delitzsch's Beiträge, Vol. II. 215.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

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

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

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

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

(6) “Xerxes, king of Persia and Media, king of Babylon and of the lands.” See Evetts as under (5), and in another tablet from Xerxes’ first year, the translation of which is given by Oppert in the Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie Orientale, I. 494.

(7) “Sogdianus, the Achaemenid, king of [nations am 1].” See J. Oppert in Z. A., XVI. 1–15 (perhaps not genuine).

III.—C. EGYPTIAN.

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


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


6. His Horus name was “the unifier of the two lands.” Budge, id.
7. "In his throne name, i.e., as king of the South and North, he styled himself 'Born of Ra.'" Budge, id.

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


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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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


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

\[\text{יתשאארש מלבש יא מ} \]

Renan, in his notes in the C. I. S., reads the last word מלבש.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

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

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

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

20. “Artaxerxes, Pharaoh the Great.” Thus the cartouches. See Budge, VII. 78.

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

22. Darius II “also adopted the titles of ‘Beautiful god, lord of the two lands,’” Budge, VII. 85.

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

III.—D. GREEK.

1. King. As a title of Darius I, this occurs only in the decree of Darius addressed to Gadatas, and in the phrase εὐ βασιλεὺς ὁ λαῷ. See Meyer’s Entstehung des Judentums, p. 19. Meyer quotes

* Ni-ku-a šar mahāzu Mo-im-pi. See KB. II. 160
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM. 273

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

2. "The king of kings (lit. king of kings), Darius, the son of Hystaspes." See inscription of Gadatas. The Greek reads βασιλεὺς βασιλέως Δαρίου ὁ Υἱὸς τῆς Βασίλειας.

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

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

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

A. CTESIAS.†

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† For Ctesias, I have used Ctesia Cynæa fragmenta a Carolo Müllerio Parisiis, MDCCCLXIV., 18.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

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

b. HERODOTUS.

1. Ordinarily he calls the king by his name alone, e.g., “Cyrus,” Book I. 71, 72, 73, 75, 76 and, in fact, in nearly every section of the first book and often a number of times in a section, e.g., 77 three times, 90 four times, 141 four times. So also of Cambyses in Book III. 1–128; of Darius III. 128–VII. 4; of Xerxes VII. 2–IX. 118.

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

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

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


6. The name of the king, followed by son of so and so, e.g., “Cyrus, the son of Cambyses,” III. 69, VII. 51, I. 46, 73; “Cambyses, the son of Cyrus,” III. 1 bis, 44, 61, 64, 66, IV. 165; “Smerdis, the son of Cyrus,” III. 44, 61 bis, 63 bis, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 74 ter, 75; “Darius, the son of Hystaspes,” I. 183, III. 70, 88 bis, 140, VI. 97, VII. 1, and often; “Xerxes, the son of Darius,” VII. 180, I. 183, VI. 97; “Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes,” VII. 97, 106, 151.

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

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

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

10. The name is followed by the title “king of the Persians,” e.g., “Cambyses, king of the Persians,” III. 21.
ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM. 275

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

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

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

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

C. THUCYDIDES.*

1. Name alone, e.g., Cyrus, I. 13; Cambyses, I. 13, 14; Darius, I. 14, 10; Xerxes, I. 14; Darius (the Second), VIII. 58.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


D. XENOPHON.||

1. Usage in the Cyropædia.

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

* I have used the edition, e.g., Cyrus, Bk. I. 1 bis, 2 ter, 3 twenty-four times, etc.
† Περσαὶ πρῶτοι βασιλευσάντες.
‡ Περσαὶ μὲν Ἀρσάμου Περσαὶ Ίσσαλεσάντες.
§ Περσαὶ ἤλησσαν.
|| I have used Dindorf's edition.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

276 THE PRINCETON THEOGICAL REVIEW.

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

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


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

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

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

(8) The sovereign of Persia is called "the Persian king" (lit.
"king of the Persians") VII. 1*, VIII. 2*, 8.

2. Usage in the Anabasis.

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

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

(3) The title followed by the name, e.g., King Artaxerxes, I. 1.
[τοῦ βασιλείου τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξεων.]

(4) The phrase "the great king" is sometimes used, e.g., I. 2,
7 bis, II. 8.

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

3. On the Affairs of Greece.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(7) The name of the king is followed by his title as king of Persia,
e.g., I. 2: "And thus the year ended in which the Medes, who had
revolted from Darius, king of Persia (lit. of the Persians), returned
to their obedience."
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM. 277

4. Usage in other Works of Xenophon.

(1) In the Science of Good Husbandry, the ruler of Persia is four times referred to as “the king of Persia,” simply. Occ. IV, Ag. P.

(2) The title “the king” is also used, e.g., IV.

E. THEMISTOCLES.

In his letter to Temenidas, Themistocles speaks of Darius as the father of Xerxes. [Darios ὁ πατὴρ Ζέρσεω. See the Epiσtoλoγraphi Græci, R. Heftecher, p. 762.]

F. STRABO.※

1. The name alone. This is the most common usage in Strabo, e.g., Cyrus, cap. 507, 512, 517, 627, 629, 687, 736, 752; Cambyses, 473, 736, 790, 805, 816, 820; Darius, 98, 100, 301, 303, 305, 635, 735; Xerxes, 10, 61, 591, 634, 636; Artaxerxes, 49, 656; Darius Codosmanus, 79, 676 bis, 697, 766(?).

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

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

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


6. “Darius, who was against Alexander,” 544.

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


G. DIODORUS SICULUS.†

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

2. The title “the king” used alone with the article, XI. 6, 12, 19, 56, XIV. 20, 23, 23 three times, 24, 9, 1, 25, 26, 4, 27, 35, 35 bis, 81, 110, 5, XV. 4, 10 four times, 10 four times, 11 bis, 11, 18, 20 bis, 41, 91 three times.

3. The title “king” followed by the name, e.g., “King Xerxes,” XI. 5, 69, “King Artaxerxes,” XIV. 22, 25, XV. 91.

* I have used Meineke’s edition of the Geographica.
† I have used Vogel’s edition.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

4. The name followed by the title, "the king," e.g., "Darius the king," X. 19, XIII. 104 (in combination); "Xerxes the king," XI. 1, 56, XII. 71; "Artaxerxes the king," XV. 41, 70.

5. The name is followed by that of the father, e.g., "Cyrus, the son of Cambyses," IX, 22. Compare "Cyrus, the son of Darius the king," XIII. 104.

6. The name is followed by that of the son, e.g., "Darius, the father of Xerxes," I. 95. Compare XI. 2. ὁ πατὴρ Δαρείος.

7. The name is followed by "the Persian," e.g., "Cyrus, the Persian," II. 34, IX. 20, 31, 32, 35; "Cambyses, the Persian," X. 14.

8. The name is followed by the title "king of the Persians," e.g., "Cyrus, king of the Persians," II. 44, IX. 31, X. 13; "Cambyses, king of the Persians," X. 15; so of Xerxes, XII. 1, and Artaxerxes, XI. 71, 74, XII. 64, XV. 2, 4.

9. The kings are spoken of as the "kings of the Persians," XV. 8, 38, 93; and as "kings of the Medes and Persians," II. 48.

H. PLUTARCH.

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

I. JOSEPHUS.*

1. Darius, the Mede, is called:
   (1) Darius alone. Id., xi. 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 257, 258, 262.
   (2) The king alone. Id., xi. 252, 254, 256, 259, 260.
   (3) Darius, the (king) of the Medes. Antiquities, Bk. X., ch. xi. 2.
   (4) King Darius.† Id., xi. 263.
2. Cyrus is called:
   (1) Cyrus alone. Antiq., X. 248, XI. 1, 3, 5 bis, 6, 8, 10, 20, 63, 78, 86, 88, 93, 104 bis, 113; c. Apion, I. 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 158.
   (2) "The king." Antiq., XI. 17, 102.
   (3) "Cyrus the king." Antiq., XI. 3, 99.
   (4) "King Cyrus." Antiq., XI. 12.

*I have used Niese's edition.
† ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρείος.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM. 279

(7) “Cyrus, the Persian.” c. Apion, I. 159.
(3) Lord.* Antiq., XI. 22.
(4) King Cambyses. Antiq., XI. 26.
(5) Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. Antiq., XI. 21.
(2) The king alone. Id., 32, 59, 64, 105, 115, 117.
(3) “Darius the king.” Id., 34.
(4) “King Darius.” Id., 104, 116, 118.
(5) “Darius, the son of Hystaspes.” Antiq., XI. 31.
(6) “Darius (king) of the Persians.” Id., 30.
5. (1) Xerxes alone. Id., 135, 179, 184.
(2) The king alone. Id., 122, 123, 131, 132, 136, 163 bis, 184, 165, 166, 168.
(3) “Xerxes, the king.” Id., 183.
(4) “King Xerxes.” Id., 121, 159.
(6) “His (i.e., Darius’) son Xerxes.” Antiq., XI. 120.
(7) “The king of kings.” Xerxes, id., 123.
(2) “The king.” Id., 185, 191, 192, 201 bis, 203, 206, 207, 220, 224, and often besides.
(5) “Cyrus whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes.” Antiq., XI. 184
7. Darius Codomannus is called:
(2) The king alone. Id., 316.
(3) “Darius, the king.” Antiq., XI. 311, 321.

J. EUSEBIUS, SYNGELUS, ET AL.*

1. Cyrus is mentioned as:
(1) Cyrus alone. So by Berossus. See Cory’s Ancient Frag-

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

The Princeton Theological Review Vol. 2 No. 2 (1904)
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

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


(3) Cyrus the first king of the Persians. Synceillus, in Cory’s Anc. Frag., p. 80.


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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5) Manetho, according to Eusebius, mentions, Xerxes (the son) of Darius, Artaxerxes, Xerxes the Second, Sogdianus, Darius, (the son) of Xerxes, as belonging to the twenty-seventh dynasty; and
ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN CRITICISM. 281

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

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

V.—USAGE IN THE SCRIPTURES.

A. IN EZRA—NEHEMIAH.

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* The last is twice called Darius Notius and once Darius (the son) of Xerxes. Cory, 147.
IV. Royal Titles in Antiquity: An Essay in Criticism by Robert Dick Wilson

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

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

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

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

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

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