

V.

ROYAL TITLES IN ANTIQUITY: AN ESSAY IN
CRITICISM.

ARTICLE TWO.

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

I. THE TITLES OF THE KINGS OF BABYLON.

A. ON THE MONUMENTS FOUND IN PERSIA.

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

1. Nadintubel says: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabu-nâ'id." So also Arahû says.
2. Nadintubel says: "I am king in Babylon."

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

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

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

4. (1) "Gudea, governor of Lagaš." *Id.*, 27, 39, 43, 47, 51, 55, 59, 61, 63, 65 *bis*, 67.
(2) "Gudea, 'Schatzspender,' governor of Lagaš." *Id.*, 29.
(3) "Gudea" alone. *Id.*, 29, 41, 55.
(4) "Gudea, governor of Lagaš, the 'Schatzspender,' and pilot(?) of Enlil." *Id.*, 51.
5. (1) "Ur-Ningirsu, governor of Lagaš, the son of Gudea, the governor of Lagaš." *Id.*, 67.
(2) "U.-N., priest of Anna." *Id.*, 67.
6. (1) "Dingi, the powerful man, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 69.
(2) "D., the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 71, 81⁵, 83².
(3) "Dungi" alone. *Id.*, 83.
(4) "D., the mighty hero, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 83.
(5) "D., the mighty, the king of Ur, the king of the four regions." *Id.*, 83.
7. (1) "Urgur, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 77², 79, 81.
(2) "U., the brave hero, king of Ur." *Id.*, 77, 81.
(3) "U., the brave hero, the king of Ur, the king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 79⁴.
(4) "U., the king of Ur, the king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 69.
8. (1) "Singašid, son of Ningul, king of Uruk." *Id.*, 83.
(2) "S., the brave hero, king of Uruk, king of Amnanu." *Id.*, 83.
(3) "S., king of Uruk, king of Amnanu, the preserver of Eanna." *Id.*, 85.
9. "Singamil, king of Uruk." *Id.*, 85.
10. "Bilgurahi, king of Uruk." *Id.*, 85.
11. "Gamil-Ninib, the exalted shepherd of Nippur and Ur, the conjurer of the holy tree(?) of Eridu, the gracious lord of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Šumer and Akkad, the chosen husband of Nana." *Id.*, 85.
12. "Libit-Ištar, the shepherd of Nippur, the of Ur, the of Eridu, the lord of Uruk, king of Isin, the of Nana." *Id.*, 87.
13. "Išbigirra, king of Isin." *Id.*, 87.
14. (1) "Išme-Dagan" alone. *Id.*, 87.
(2) "I.-D., king of Šumer and Akkad." *Id.*, 87.
(3) "I.-D., renewer of Nippur, prince of Ur, addadu(?) of Eridu, lord of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Šumer and Akkad, the beloved husband of Nana." *Id.*, 87.
15. "Gungunu, the brave hero, the king of Ur." *Id.*, 87.
16. "Enannaduma, the beloved lord of Nannar, the lord of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27. Titles of Hammurabi:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

64. (1) "Nebuchadnezzar" alone. Strassmaier, *Insc. von Nabuchodonosor*, 19¹¹, 14; I R. 51²⁰; contract tablets 6, 31?, 77, 85, 130?, 180, 305.

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

(3) "N., the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 23, 69, 71, 85; I R. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Also on all of the first 447 tablets published by Strassmaier, except about six; and in Evetts' *Inscriptions of Evil Merodach*, 23⁸, and of Neriglassar, 36³. This title seems to have occurred on all the bricks with which Nebuchadnezzar constructed his pavements, and perhaps all his works. See Robert Koldewey's *Die Pflastersteine von Aiburschabu in Babylon*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) "Neriglassar, son of Belšumiškun." Tablets of Evil-Merodach 9⁶, 14⁷, 16¹⁰, 19⁸, 22⁵.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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- (8) "N., the king." Nab.-Cyr. Chr., Obv. Col. II. 10.
- (9) "N., the mighty king, the king of Babylon." *K. B.*, III. ii. 97.
- (10) "N., king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida." *K. B.*, III. ii. 97, 119.
- (11) "N., king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, worshiper of the great gods." *K. B.*, III. ii. 95.
- (12) "N., the king of Babylon, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the maker of good things, the son of Nabubalaṭṣuiḫbi, the perfect prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 121.
- (13) "N., king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the exalted prince, frequenter of the temples of the great gods, who assists at the restorations, whose mind is continually directed to the worship of the gods, the pious, who gives much thought to river and hill, the obedient, the humble, who performs worship by making offerings to gods and goddesses, who, in order not to commit sin, undertook the furnishing(?) of the gods, while he was careful of his life, etc., etc., the son of Nabubalaṭṣuiḫbi, the wise prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 113, 115.
- (14) "N., the king of Babylon, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the son of Nabubalaṭṣuiḫbi, the wise prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 119.
- (15) "N., the king of Babylon, the elect of Nabu and Marduk, the son of Nabubalaṭṣuiḫbi, the wise prince." *K. B.*, III. ii. 119.
- (16) "N., the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Babylon, the king of the four quarters of the earth, restorer of Esagila and Ezida, whose fate Sin and Ningal appointed to be a royal fate [while he was] in the womb of his mother, the son of Nabubalaṭṣuiḫbi, the wise prince, worshiper" [of the great gods].

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

1. "Ašurbelnišišu, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 195.
2. "Bušurašur, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 195.
3. (1) "Ašuruballit, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 195, 3.
- (2) "Ašuruballit" (alone). *K. B.*, I. 195.
- (3) "Ašuruballit, the mighty king." *K. B.*, I. 7.
4. "Belnirari, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 197 *bis*.
5. (1) "Puduilu, king of Assyria, son of Belnirari, son of Ašuruballit, king of Assyria." *K. B.*, I. 3.
- (2) "Puduilu, the rightful prince, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, builder of the house of Šamaš." *K. B.*, I. 5.
6. "Ramman-Nirari, the illustrious prince, the chosen(?) of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) "The king of Assyria." K. 5464^{12, 17}.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29. (1) "Esarhaddon" alone. *K. B.*, II. 123, 283 *bis*, 285 *bis* and K. 961. See also Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 438 K. 2388, 481 K. 2852, 564 K. 3788, 633 K. 4444, 637 K. 4504, 638 K. 4519, 774 K. 6259, 783 K. 6386, 880 K. 7862, 1164 K. 11438, 1165 K. 11445, 1168³ K. 11476, K. 11481 and K. 11478, 1169⁵ K. 11483, K. 11485, K. 11487, K. 11488, K. 11489, 1171² K. 11500, K. 11504, 1226 K. 12201, 1266 K. 12783, 1328 K. 13648, 1342 K. 13826, 1415 Sm. 524, 1423 Sm. 657, 1424 Sm. 663, 1461 Sm. 1079, 1467 Sm. 1158, 1478 Sm. 1320, 1492 Sm. 1516, 1523 Sm. 2005, 1539 Sm. 2485(?), 1732 (80-7-19, 43), 1735⁸ (80-7-19, 71, 73, 75), 1742 (80-7-19, 137), 1768 (81-2-4, 173), 1769 (81-2-4, 190), 1835 (82-5-22, 90), 1836 (82-5-22, 105), 1839 (82-5-22, 136), 1842 (82-5-22, 175), 1843

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *Assyrian Letters*, I. 8, 15, II. 9, III. 7⁶, 9, 11, 20, 23, IV. 3³, 5⁴, 10²; R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, pages 4, 14, 18, 147, 184, 185, 365, 466, 473, 538, 671, 52, 220, 288, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 301², 302, 303², 304², 305, 307, 308, 309², 310, 311, 312, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 440, 508, 517, 556, 557, 566, 570, 601, 615², 697, 750, 753², 774, 791; Bezold's *Catalogue*, pages 124, 135, 141, 175, 176², 195, 217, 221, 222, 236, 247(?), 255, 1856, 1857, 1861, 1929(?), 1947, 1439, 1561, 1578, 1836, 1863, 1928, 1942, 928, 144, 193, 199?, 234, 243, 263, 278, 314, 113, 114, 115, 175, 274, 194, 319. In Smith's *Assyrian letters* and in Harper's and Bezold's works referred to above, it is impossible always to say what particular king is meant. As the tablets in which the word occurs have all been found in Assurbanipal's library, we have thought it best to put the lists here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(40) "The king, my lord." Belibni's letters, K. 10 Obv. 6, Rev. 11; K. 524 Obv. 15, Rev. 24; K. 13 Rev. 5, K. 1926 Obv. 1, 5, Rev. 5, 7; K. 597 Obv. 3, 6, 7, 13, 16, 20, 21; 5398 Obv. 5, Rev. 2, 3; K. 599 Obv. 9, 13, Rev. 2. So in Nabubelšume's letters, K. 982³, K. 1074³, K. 5418², K. 5423¹, K. 7526², K. 12954³, Bu. 83-1-18, 21⁶. So, also, in the letters of Tabu-ešarra, K. 466⁵, K. 507⁸, K. 515³, K. 594⁴, K. 620⁵, K. 656⁵, K. 1057³, K. 1147⁴.†

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

† The phrase "the king, my lord" is the most common of all titles, occurring from one to thirteen times in every one of the eight hundred and seventy-six letters published by Prof. Robert Francis Harper, except the following one hundred and thirty, to wit, those numbered 10, 15, 38, 54, 62, 65, 70, 112, 117, 132, 145, 147, 183, 185, 214, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 229, 235, 250(?), 273, 283, 287, 288, 289, 290-308, 332, 345, 350(?), 361, 382, 383, 399-403, 409, 416, 417, 422, 430, 435, 447, 448, 449, 451, 457, 461, 464, 466, 470, 472, 473, 477, 478, 490, 505, 512, 517, 518, 523, 527, 537, 540, 543, 559, 561, 567, 571, 574(?), 579, 580, 585(?), 588, 589, 592, 594-7, 601, 607, 609(?), 613, 616, 619 (?), 623, 624, 627, 631, 635, 640, 641, 644, 646, 649, 654(?), 735, 738, 748, 781, 803, 809, 815, 816, 830, 854, 855, 864, 868, 871. In the letters published by S. A. Smith in his *Assyrian Letters* the phrase "the king, my lord" occurs as follows: K. 482 four times, K. 483⁴, K. 82⁵, K. 83⁹,

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

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

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

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

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K. 691⁷, 21⁷, 80⁸, 81⁸, 89⁸, (our lord) 478⁸, 481⁸, 493⁸, 498⁸, 522⁸, 146⁸, 174⁸, 479⁸, 492⁸, 502⁸, 504⁸, 506⁸, 507⁸, 508⁸, 511⁸, 526⁸, 154⁸, 523⁸, 572⁸, 1122⁸, 77² and S. 1034⁸. See also Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Ašurbanipal's* where it occurs as follows: K. 538⁸, 513⁸, 562⁸, 604⁸, 476⁸ [Bu. 2-4, 57]⁸, K. 509⁷, 524⁸, 1064⁸, 11¹¹, 549⁸, 183¹², 487⁸, 525⁸, 646¹³, 550⁸, 1252⁸, S. 760⁴, K. 514⁸, 679⁸, 582⁸, 686⁸, 1229 and 1113⁸, 669⁸, 4¹.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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