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STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL  
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**THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN  
OF HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP**

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# THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP

*By*

CALVIN W. McEWAN



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## PREFACE

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C. W. McEWAN

RIHANIÉ, SYRIA  
May 10, 1934



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Afo* Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin, 1923—).
- AHR* American historical review (New York, 1896—).
- AJP* American journal of philology (Baltimore etc., 1880—).
- AJSL* American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884—).
- AO* Der Alte Orient (Leipzig, 1903—).
- APAW* Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Berlin. Philos.-hist. Klasse. Abhandlungen* (Berlin, 1908—).
- AS* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Assyriological studies (Chicago, 1931—).
- AS* No. 3 POEBEL, ARNO. Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament (1932).
- AS* No. 5 PIEPKORN, ARTHUR C. Historical prism inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. I. Editions E, B<sub>1-6</sub>, D, and K (1933).
- CAH* Cambridge ancient history (Cambridge, 1923—).
- CJ* Classical journal (Chicago, 1906—).
- CP* Classical philology (Chicago, 1906—).
- CT* Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets, &c., in the British Museum (London, 1896—).
- EHR* English historical review (London, New York, etc., 1886—).
- ERE* Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics, ed. by JAMES HASTINGS (Edinburgh and New York, 1908—).
- FHG* Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum [collegit . . . CAROLUS MÜLLERUS] (Parisii, 1885, 1878, 1883, 1885, 1883).
- H-W* WATERMAN, LEROY. Royal correspondence of the Assyrian Empire (Ann Arbor, 1930—). Transliteration and translation of R. F. HARPER, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum* (Chicago, 1892-1914).
- JAOS* American Oriental Society. Journal (Boston etc., 1849—).
- JBL* Journal of biblical literature (Middleton, Conn., etc., 1882—).
- JEA* Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914—).
- JHS* Journal of Hellenic studies (London, 1880—).
- JRAS* Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Journal (London, 1834—).
- KAH* Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts (*WVDOG* XVI and XXXVII [1911-22]).

- LAR** LUCKENBILL, D. D. Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago, 1926-27).<sup>1</sup>
- MDOG** Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1899—).
- MVAG** Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin etc., 1896—).
- OIC** Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
- OIC No. 13** FRANKFORT, HENRI; JACOBSEN, THORKILD; and PREUSSER, CONRAD. Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The first season's work in Eshnunna, 1930/31 (1932).
- OIC No. 16** FRANKFORT, HENRI. Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad. Second preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1933).
- OLZ** Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin etc., 1898—).
- PSBA** Society of Biblical Archaeology, *London*. Proceedings (London, 1879-1918).
- PW** PAULYS Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung, begonnen von GEORG WISSOWA, . . . hrsg. von WILHELM KROLL (Stuttgart, 1893—).
- R** British Museum. The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia . . . prepared for publication by . . . H. C. RAWLINSON . . . (5 vols.; London, 1861-84; Vol. IV, 2d ed., 1891).<sup>2</sup>
- RA** Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884—).
- RM** Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Bonn etc., 1827—).
- RT** Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris, 1870-1923).
- RVG** EBERT, MAX. Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte (Berlin, 1924—).
- SPAW** Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Berlin*. *Philos.-hist. Klasse*. Sitzungsberichte (Berlin, 1922—).
- TAPA** American Philological Association. Transactions and proceedings (Hartford etc., 1871—).
- VAS** Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Leipzig, 1907—).
- WVDOG** Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900—).
- ZA** Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1886—).
- ZATW** Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Giessen, 1881—).
- ZDMG** Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847—).

<sup>1</sup> Cited by pages, not sections.<sup>2</sup> Volume numbers precede the "R."

## THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP

This essay attempts to suggest the prehistoric evolution of kingship as an institution, to describe divine kingship as found in the ancient Near East in its various shades and degrees, its ramifications and diffusions, and finally to demonstrate that the recurrence of this institution in the sophisticated culture of the Hellenistic world was a conscious adoption from the East of a convenient political form.

### KINGSHIP IN THE PERIOD OF PRELITERATE HISTORY

The evolution of kingship as a culture form was a complex process involving social differentiation, economic accumulation, political specialization, and intellectual definition. Kingship is simultaneously a social, an economic, a political, and an intellectual fact. As an entity its functions and meaning emerge from and are conditioned by a synthesis of developments along these four lines. The full emergence of this culture form occurred at that point where these lines focused, and this convergence is relative to the evolution of society and culture as a whole.

Early social differentiation is indicated in Paleolithic burials, which appear to distinguish both age and sex; presumably to males with whose bodies were interred weapons and utensils we may attribute (by anachronistic terminology) rank. The so-called "medicine-man masks" found in European cave paintings testify to the existence of persons exercising special ritualistic functions. These paintings seem to suggest the beginnings of an evolution of social types distinguished by rank and function.

The artifacts of later cultural periods indicate the continuation of these earlier tendencies. As the crafts were specialized and elaborated, the graves of certain persons were furnished with more numerous and more valuable articles (armor, weapons, jewels, elaborate utensils) such as point to the possession by the deceased of political power; the number, variety, and rarity of the objects indicate economic accumulation. The closer the chronological approach to the historical king,

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who possessed all these things, the more completely do the deduced functions of the prehistoric person approach the royal pattern.

Evidence from contemporary primitives shows that "nature folk" recognize the existence of persons holding rank, functioning politically, and enjoying economic accumulation; such is the chief among all peoples. The economic status of a people generally determines the sharpness of a chief's distinction: among collectors and hunters he is not so clearly defined as among pastoral and agricultural peoples. These facts warrant the assumption that, as economic techniques developed and an economic surplus accumulated, the chief became more and more distinctly marked within his group and rank became increasingly apparent.

In addition to acting as leader in time of tribal crisis, which was his normal function besides his ritualistic services, the chief came to arbitrate within his group. This development also was probably an outcome of the growth of an economic surplus. As occupational types appeared and property rights were recognized, the instances and types of crises which demanded the chief's presidency multiplied. Thus the chief assumed the position of administrator, at first of custom, later of law; for law is nothing more than the formalized statement of what is to be done in the various crises. The product of this development was the kingly lawgiver.

The emergence of "king" as an intellectual conception is a more complicated phenomenon. Nature folk do not distinguish between natural and supernatural. They separate phenomena into the matter-of-fact, taken-for-granted, and familiar on the one hand, and the strange, the unseen, the mysteriously potent on the other. The primitive *Weltanschauung* is one of confused and undifferentiated forms, at once matter-of-fact and magical; the latter aspect so outweighs the former that the explanation of every important event is in terms of the paramount magic. Among the attributes of primitive kingship, then, are the possession and control of magical or supernatural or divine<sup>1</sup> powers. The functions of chief and shaman are to a degree interchangeable; in socially important acts they co-operate. The supernatural element in primitive political administration has many forms;

<sup>1</sup>The word to be chosen and its connotation are conditioned by the users' conception of deity.

political function and magical (divine) power have been historically associated. In both Egypt and Mesopotamia traditions of dynasties of divine and semidivine kings corroborate the conclusion that the line of social evolution culminating in the god-king was through the magician and priest.

In explaining the final identification of royalty with divinity in the ancient cultures of the Near East, the course of intellectual development must be recalled. The most significant contribution of the ancient Near East to our social heritage is the systematization and generalization of primitive thought. Spirits were arranged in a hierarchy; magical powers were ordered in categories relative to significant natural phenomena such as stars and seasons; forms of divination were ex-cogitated in terms of variations in organs and other ominous data. Generalization of the supernatural was the result of a wider experience of natural processes, a development largely incidental to the practice of agriculture. Thus came the elaboration of astrology, a system of finding supernatural meanings in natural phenomena of the heavens; and thus great supernatural beings came to be seen in the heavenly bodies, the seasons, storm, growth, and fertility.

The significance of this intellectual development for the full emergence of the divine king is twofold: first in its generalizing, and second in its supernatural, element. As a result of social development the king's functions were on the one hand specialized, but on the other they were socialized and made coextensive with the group. The king was to the community life what the supernatural was to the physical functioning of life in the entity of forces surrounding man. Thus, in a world where physical forces were generalized and regarded as supernatural, it was a parallel development to identify the generalized social functionary with the same forces. Natural processes supreme in physical life became divinities; the king, supreme in social life, was deified.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The foregoing general statement represents the writer's conclusions after consulting the following works:

J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912) pp. 3-141.

M. C. Burkitt, *Our Early Ancestors* (Cambridge, 1926).

Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (Berlin, 1924—) relevant articles.

[Footnote continued on following page]

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## PREVIOUS CONCEPTS OF THE ORIGIN OF HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP

Any attempt to describe the origin and development of Hellenistic ruler cults is beset with great difficulty.<sup>3</sup> The subject has been further obscured by the fact that most of the commentators upon the phenomenon of divine kingship in the Hellenistic *Kulturkreis* have been classical philologists unaware of or indifferent to the Oriental backgrounds of Greek history. If the Orontes flowed into the Tiber, so did the Nile and the Tigris into the Aegean. Although the "New Past" of old lands from Crete to Turkestan has begun to rationalize classical historiography, there are still scholars for whom, as the late Dr. H. R. Hall said, Hellas was an oasis of supreme civilization in a world of foolish Scythians and gibbering black men. The Hellenization of the Orient is not a complete picture of Hellenistic history.<sup>4</sup>

*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by James Hastings (Edinburgh and New York, 1908—) relevant articles.

A. Erman, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* (2d ed. by H. Ranke; Tübingen, 1923) pp. 374-428.

J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Pt. 1: *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (London, 1911).

J. von Held, "Königtum und Göttlichkeit," *Am Ur-Quell* III (1892) 119-24, 152-57, 192-97, 220-25, 241-43.

A. Jeremias, *Die Weltanschauung der Sumerer* (AO XXVII, Heft 4 [1929]).

S. H. Langdon, *Semitic* ("The Mythology of All Races" V [Boston, 1931]).

L. Levy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (New York, 1923).

R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927).

T. Mainage, *Les religions de la préhistoire: l'âge paléolithique* (Paris, 1921).

B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II (Heidelberg, 1925) 102-50, 198-241, 380-418.

A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization* (New York, 1927).

A. Moret and G. Davy, *From Tribe to Empire* (London, 1926).

Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung, begonnen von Georg Wissowa, . . . hrsg. von Wilhelm Kroll (Stuttgart, 1893—) relevant articles.

T. E. Peet in *CAH* I (2d ed., 1928) 326-55.

Carveth Read, *Man and His Superstitions* (2d ed.; Cambridge, 1925).

W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884—) relevant articles.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Julius Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* II (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1926) 376: "Eine wirklich geschichtliche Darstellung des hellenistischen Herrscher-cultes zu geben, ist bei der Lückenhaftigkeit und Ungleichmässigkeit des auf uns gekommenen inschriftlichen Materials, wenigstens vorerst, nicht möglich."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. P. Jouguet, *L'Impérialisme macédonien et l'hellénisation de l'Orient* (Paris, 1926); M. I. Rostovtzeff, "L'Hellénisme en Mésopotamie," *Scientia* LIII (1933) 110 ff.; A. T. Olmstead in *JAOS* LIII (1933) 311 ff.

The most detailed account of Greco-Roman divine kingship<sup>5</sup> contents itself with the statement: "Im Orient ist das Gottkönigtum uralt." Ferguson thinks "there is nothing Oriental about it . . . ; prior to Alexander's time the Orient knew nothing identical with the Hellenistic worship of kings."<sup>6</sup> Bevan says: "So far from its being the case that the Greek kings borrowed their apotheosis from the East, the exact reverse is the truth. The Athenians, the representatives *par excellence* of Hellenism, led the way; the East followed suit."<sup>7</sup> He thinks even if Alexander had not been hailed as the son of Amon in Egypt, the Greeks would have worshiped him.<sup>8</sup> Boak says: "This doctrine (of deification) is an essentially Hellenic development."<sup>9</sup> Strack insists: "Die Gottkönigs-idee jener Zeit ist griechisch, bei den Griechen entstanden und von ihnen ausgebildet."<sup>10</sup> Kaerst believes: "Das orientalische Gottkönigtum kann nicht als eine ursprüngliche Grundlage des hellenistischen Königs-kultes betrachtet werden. Es ist in seinem Wesen von der sakralen Herrscherverehrung des Hellenismus verschieden, wie vornehmlich der Vergleich mit der klassischen Ausprägung der ägyptischen Pharaonenverehrung zeigt. Das achämenidische Königtum, das unmittelbar auch als Vorbild für das hellenistische gewirkt hat, ist kein Gottkönigtum gewesen, und die Tradition des alten babylonischen Gottkönigtums war in der hellenistischen Zeit, wenigstens in ihren Anfängen, kaum noch unmittelbar lebendig, noch weniger natürlich die des chetitischen."<sup>11</sup> Nock decides that "it is commonly agreed that there is little which can be called Oriental in Hellenistic practice . . . . Deification, then, in the West does not spring from Oriental roots and can be explained from Greek ideas

<sup>5</sup> Ernst Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte," *Klio* I (1901) 51-146.

<sup>6</sup> W. S. Ferguson in his "Legalized absolutism en route from Greece to Rome," *AHR* XVIII (1912) 34; cf. his review of Jouguet, *ibid.* XXXIII (1927) 96, and his statements in *CAH* VII 13 ff.

<sup>7</sup> E. R. Bevan in his "The deification of kings in the Greek cities," *EHR* XVI (1901) 630.

<sup>8</sup> *ERE* IV 529 s.v. "Deification (Greek and Roman)."

<sup>9</sup> A. E. R. Boak in his "The theoretical basis of the deification of rulers in antiquity," *CJ* XI (1915) 293.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. Strack in his "Griechische Titel im Ptolemäerreich," *RM* LV (1900) 164; cf. M. Bernhart, "Consecratio," *MVAG* XXII, Heft 1 (1917) pp. 136 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Op cit.* p. 378.

. . . . .<sup>12</sup> The dictum of Eduard Meyer, however, undoubtedly carries the most prestige: "Es ist eine weitverbreitete Meinung, dass der Glaube an die Göttlichkeit des Königtums orientalischen Ursprungs sei. Aber den Tatsachen entspricht das durchaus nicht . . . . Die Erhebung des absoluten Herrshers zum Gotte ist vielmehr auf griechischem Boden erwachsen."<sup>13</sup> Despite this impressive array of opinion, one asks with Cumont: "L'*immutus Oriens* aurait-il innové en une matière ou les rites et les usages sont plus qu'en toute autre tenaces?"<sup>14</sup> There were (with apologies to Horace) *divi ante Lysandrum*.

#### DIVINE KINGSHIP IN EGYPT

According to the hypothesis elaborated by Moret and Davy,<sup>15</sup> what happens when clans are united under a chief and that chief gathers up the totemic mana happens also as the result of a long period of concentration of power; never was kingship by divine right so absolute as that which ruled over Egypt.<sup>16</sup> The tradition preserved in the Egyptian sources, the Greek historians, and especially Manetho, maintains that the first kings of Egypt were the gods.<sup>17</sup> From the prehistoric monarchy of the "Followers of Horus" through the millennia to the Caesars, the sovereign of Egypt—whoever he might be—was a god. From the 5th dynasty the divine monarchy assumed a solar tinge when the Pharaoh became officially the son of Re.<sup>18</sup> The living Pharaoh was commonly referred to as the "good god"; after his death his regular title in Empire times was "great god," the same title used for Re, Horus, or Osiris.<sup>19</sup> The Egyptian *Hofstil* made the Pharaoh Re him-

<sup>12</sup> A. D. Nock in his "ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XLI (1930) 61.

<sup>13</sup> *Kleine Schriften* I (2d ed.; Halle, 1924) 286 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Études syriennes* (Paris, 1917) p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> *Des clans aux empires* (Paris, 1923; Eng. ed., London, 1926).

<sup>16</sup> H. Berr in Foreword to Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris, 1926; Eng. ed., New York, 1927); cf. G. Foucart in *ERE* VII 711; G. Roeder in *RVG* VII 24.

<sup>17</sup> G. Maspero in *Bibliothèque égyptologique* II (1893) 279–96; Moret, *op. cit.* (Eng. ed.) p. 60.

<sup>18</sup> Breasted, *History of Egypt* (2d ed.; New York, 1909) pp. 122 f.; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I, 2. Hälfte (3d ed.; Stuttgart, 1913) § 250.

<sup>19</sup> Erman, *Aegypten* (2d ed.) p. 62; cf. A. H. Gardiner in *JEA* II (1915) 121–26, esp. p. 122.

self, the earth's alternate sun, a god on earth;<sup>20</sup> to his Syrian vassals he was the Sun,<sup>21</sup> and from their usage come comparisons of Ramses III with Baal in heaven.<sup>22</sup> The citizens of Tunip on the Euphrates wrote that they "ferently adored the gods (Amon and the Osirian triad) and the image of the king of Egypt."<sup>23</sup> The divinity of the "monotheist" Ikhnaton<sup>24</sup> was not a phase of his heresy. After the Empire collapsed and the priests of Amon succeeded the Ramessids, the current monarch was still god.<sup>25</sup> Assyrians and Persians as pharaohs will be considered later.<sup>26</sup>

#### DIVINE KINGSHIP IN MESOPOTAMIA

To the long prehistoric period (some 26,700 years according to the tradition) after the "kingship descended from heaven" but before the historical 1st dynasty of Ur are assigned several kings who became gods in later mythology. For example, the determinative for deity commonly precedes the names of Lugalbanda, Tammuz, Gilgamesh of Erech, and the shepherd Etana of Kish.<sup>27</sup> The history of divine kingship is perhaps not so clear in Mesopotamia as in Egypt; indeed, its existence has been denied.<sup>28</sup> Meyer recognizes the institution, but

<sup>20</sup> H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924) pp. 30 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Index to J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1908-15) s.v. šamšu.

<sup>22</sup> At Medinet Habu; cf. H. Gressmann in *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde . . . Wolf Wilhelm Grafen von Baudissin . . . überreicht . . .* (ZATW, Beiheft 33 [1918]) pp. 198 f.

<sup>23</sup> Knudtzon, *op. cit.* No. 59.

<sup>24</sup> F. Ll. Griffith in *JEA* V (1918) 63; T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten I* (London and Boston, 1923) 145.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. E. Meyer, "Gottesstaat, Militärherrschaft und Ständewesen in Aegypten," *SPAW*, 1928, pp. 495 ff.

<sup>26</sup> On the divinity of the Pharaoh see Sethe, "Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis" (*APAW*, 1929, No. 4); J. Baillet, *Le régime pharaonique dans ses rapports avec l'évolution de la morale en Egypte* (Paris, 1912); A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (Paris, 1902); S. A. B. Mercer, "'Emperor'-worship in Egypt," *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* I (1917) 10-18; G. D. Hornblower, "Temples and kings in ancient Egypt," *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* XVII (1932) 21-39, and in *Man* XXXII (1932) No. 321.

<sup>27</sup> Langdon, "The early chronology of Sumer and Egypt," *JEA* VII (1921) 133 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Mercer, "'Emperor'-worship in Babylonia," *JAOS* XXXVI (1917) 360-80; criticism by G. A. Barton *ibid.* XXXVII 162; Mercer's reply *ibid.* p. 331; criticism by A. T. Olmstead in *AJSL* XXXV (1918/19) 76, n.

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considers it foreign to Babylonia.<sup>29</sup> In the opinion of the present writer, the worship of kings in Sumer and Akkad was not derived from Egypt; parallelisms and analogies in Babylonian and Egyptian culture do not necessarily imply diffusion. Divine kingship in Egypt was a function of the unification of the Nile Valley; in Mesopotamia it appeared equally predictably as a phase of the theocratic nature of the sacred city-state.<sup>30</sup> The local deity owned the state: Nippur was written En-lil-ki, "Town of the god Enlil"; the patron deity of Lagash was Nin-Girsu, "Lord of Girsu," one of the districts of the city-state. Theoretically all things belonged to the city god, who conveniently delegated control to his deputy, the *ishakku*. The final transition from priest-king to god-king, however, becomes quite clear only with the Agade dynasty.<sup>31</sup>

In pre-Sargonid Sumer kings were compared with Tammuz, the divine son of the mother-goddess Innana. Lugalzaggisi was called the son of Nidaba of Umma and was nourished by the milk of the great Nin-harsag, as were Eannatum and his successors at Lagash.<sup>32</sup> Urnina seems to have had a cult in his honor.<sup>33</sup> Personal names of the period corroborate the existence of the conception of the divinity of kings.<sup>34</sup>

Sargon, founder of the first great Semitic dynasty, is called god-begotten;<sup>35</sup> one of his loyal subjects was named Sharrukin-ili, "Sargon is my god."<sup>36</sup> Naram-Sin proclaimed himself king of the four quarters of the world and god of Akkad.<sup>37</sup> Shargali-sharri of the same dynasty

<sup>29</sup> *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 1. Abt. (2d ed., 1928) pp. 512 f.; cf. Fr. Thureau-Dangin, "Le culte des rois dans la période prébabylonienne," *RT* XIX (1897) 185-87.

<sup>30</sup> See Christopher Dawson, *The Age of the Gods* (London, 1928) pp. 109 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Olmstead in his "The Babylonian empire," *AJSL* XXXV 75 f.

<sup>32</sup> Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* (Philadelphia, 1917) pp. 106 ff. and in *CAH* I (2d ed.) 413; A. Boissier, "Nin Harsag et Hâthor," *OLZ* XI (1908) 234-36; T. J. Meek in his "Canticles and the Tammuz cult," *AJSL* XXXIX (1922/23) 5.

<sup>33</sup> C. Jeremias, *Die Vergöttlichung der babylonisch-assyrischen Könige* (*AO* XIX, Hefte 3-4 [1919]) p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> Langdon in *ERE* IX 173; Barton in *JAOS* XXXIV (1915) 315 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, 1929) p. 352: *ilubani*.

<sup>36</sup> Thureau-Dangin, "Sargon l'ancien," *OLZ* XI 313.

<sup>37</sup> Barton, *op. cit.* pp. 137 ff., 359.

is similarly titled.<sup>38</sup> But it is the 3d Ur dynasty that most fully illustrates Babylonian ruler cults.<sup>39</sup>

At his capital arose the cult of the god Ur-Nammu, the merciful lord who brought prosperity to Ur. Perhaps he was not officially a god during his lifetime outside his own city, but he was worshiped posthumously at Lagash.<sup>40</sup> The attributes and honors of Shulgi have been exceeded by few monarchs. There is evidence for his apotheosis before his 12th regnal year; in his 17th, the 7th month of the Lagash calendar was renamed in honor of the festival for the divine Shulgi; at Umma the 10th month was changed; and a tablet from Lagash is dated in the "year when the high priest of the cult of the god Shulgi was installed." He was the god-king (d i n g i r l u g a l); children were afflicted with such names as Ama-<sup>d</sup>Shulgi-e-<sup>d</sup>Urru ("The mother of the god Shulgi is the goddess Urru"), Lu-<sup>d</sup>Shulgi ("Man of the god Shulgi"), <sup>d</sup>Shulgi-ḫegal ("The god Shulgi makes abundance").<sup>41</sup> Even the Assyrian pantheon included him.<sup>42</sup> The later kings of this Ur dynasty, Bur-Sin,<sup>43</sup> Gimil-Sin,<sup>44</sup> Ibi-Sin,<sup>45</sup> though they did not attain perhaps the peaks of their eminent predecessor, were regularly deified.<sup>45a</sup>

The West Semitic dynasts who succeeded to the jurisdiction of this Ur dynasty also obtained divinity. At Isin Idin-Dagan celebrated his

<sup>38</sup> H. V. Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur I* (Philadelphia, 1893) 2.

<sup>39</sup> See also J. V. Scheil, "Le culte de Gudéa sous la II<sup>e</sup> dynastie d'Ur," *RT XVIII* (1896) 64-74.

<sup>40</sup> Langdon in *CAH I* (2d ed.) 435 ff.; cf. T. Fish in his "The contemporary cult of kings of the third dynasty of Ur," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library XII* (1928) 75-77.

<sup>41</sup> Barton, *op. cit.* pp. 275-87, 301, 303, 365-67, and in *JAOS XXXIV* 315 ff.; *ERE XI* 75; Langdon, "A hymn to Enlil in honor of Dungi," *AJSL XXXIX* 173 ff., and "Three new hymns in the cults of deified kings," *PSBA XL* (1918) 30-40, 45-56, 69-85; T. G. Pinches, "Notes on the deification of kings, and ancestor-worship, in Babylonia," *ibid.* XXXVII (1915) 87-95, 126-34.

<sup>42</sup> A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Romae, 1914) No. 776.

<sup>43</sup> Barton, *op. cit.* pp. 287-93, 367; Scheil, "Le dieu-roi Bur-Sin planète," *ZA XII* (1897) 265 f.

<sup>44</sup> Barton, *op. cit.* pp. 293-97, 301, 367-69; Thureau-Dangin in *RT XIX* 186; temple in Eshnunna: H. Frankfort in *Illustrated London News*, October 1, 1932, and *OIC No. 16* (1933) pp. 5 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Barton, *op. cit.* pp. 297-99, 369-71.

<sup>45a</sup> On all three see Fish, *op. cit.* pp. 77-82.

mystic marriage with Innana; according to another contemporary document he and other kings were apparently identified with the dying god Tammuz.<sup>46</sup> Ishme-Dagan was praised as the son of the god Dagan<sup>47</sup> and also espoused the polyandrous Innana.<sup>48</sup> The last ruler of this dynasty, Lipit-Ishtar, was the subject of a remarkable hymn celebrating his godhood.<sup>49</sup> The kings of Larsa followed in general the pattern of their contemporaries at Isin.<sup>50</sup>

Hammurabi called himself the seed of Sin,<sup>51</sup> the begotten of Marduk<sup>52</sup> and of Dagan,<sup>53</sup> and brother of the god Zamama,<sup>54</sup> and he proclaimed himself the god of kings.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless he often omitted the determinative of deity before his name, a point which will be considered later in connection with the Assyrian and Chaldean monarchies. Personal names of the period demonstrate the normal folk belief in a living god-king.<sup>56</sup> Samsu-iluna, son of Hammurabi and last king of the dynasty, boasted that the goddess Ninharsag was "the mother who bore me" and "Sin was the god who begot me." He added: "The great gods granted me a life renewed month by month like the moon-god's . . . to attain the desire of my heart like a god."<sup>57</sup>

The Kassites, who altered many customs, did not disclaim the title of divinity. These invading mountaineers, with almost certainly no

<sup>46</sup> Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar* (Oxford, 1914) pp. 26 f.

<sup>47</sup> Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, pp. 143 ff.; cf. VAS X (1913) No. 200.

<sup>48</sup> E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland, Pa., 1924) No. 36; cf. Langdon, "A Sumerian hymn to Ishme-Dagan," *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 367 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Zimmern, "König Lipit-Ischtars Vergöttlichung," *Berichte . . . der K. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Klasse LXVIII*, No. 5 (1916). For other rulers of this period cf. L. Delaporte, "Ibiq-Adad, prince divinisé," *Revue sémitique* XIX (1911) 338 f.; T. Jacobsen in *OIC* No. 13 (1932) p. 47.

<sup>50</sup> C. F. Jean, *Larsa* (Paris, 1931) pp. 56 f.

<sup>51</sup> *Code* ii 14. For translation of the *Code* see now that of Luckenbill, edited by Chiera (Appendix II in J. M. P. Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law* [Chicago, 1931]).

<sup>52</sup> L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* III (London, 1900) 187.

<sup>53</sup> *Code* iv 27.

<sup>54</sup> *Code* ii 57.

<sup>55</sup> *Code* iii 16. On divine sonship in general cf. T. Paffrath, "Der Titel 'Sohn der Gottheit,'" *MVAG* XXI (1916) 157-59.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. "Hammurabi is god," "Hammurabi is my sun"; see H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* (Philadelphia, 1905) pp. 86, 187, 212. Cf. the names Hammurabi-bani and Marat-Dungi in King, *op. cit.* III 6 and 157.

<sup>57</sup> King, *ibid.* p. 205.

## DIVINE KINGSHIP IN MINOR STATES OF FERTILE CRESCENT 11

divine kingship of their own, appropriated the convenient system;<sup>58</sup> so later did the Medes and Macedonians.

DIVINE KINGSHIP IN MINOR STATES OF THE  
FERTILE CRESCENT

The preceding sketch is intended briefly to establish the existence of divine kingship in what may be called the "older Orient," that is, in the pre-Amarna period before the days of international diplomacy. Kingship in Egypt and Babylonia had developed from the prehistoric psychic milieu of the two societies without evident borrowing on either side. The next pages will attempt to describe the diffusion of formal *Hofstil* as it appeared grafted on the more or less indigenous institutions of nations within the sphere of cultural influence.

It is yet impossible to state finally the nature of "Hittite" kingship;<sup>59</sup> but it is certain that, probably under Egyptian influence, the monarchs beginning with Shubbiluliuma styled themselves "the Sun, the great king."<sup>60</sup> Some evidence seems to point to the erection of altars and to sacrificial offerings for dead kings at Hattushash.<sup>61</sup> Until the Cretan hieroglyphs are deciphered, the theoretical basis of Minoan kingship will be inscrutable; but probably the king was divine,<sup>62</sup> and possibly there were imported factors in his divinity.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See inscription of a deified Kurigalzu in A. Boissier, "Document cassite," *RA* XXIX (1932) 98. On Kassite Babylonizing see L. Legrain, "The oldest Cassite royal seal," *Museum Journal* XIII (1922) 70 ff. But Agumkakrime calls himself seed of the (non-Babylonian) god Shukamuna; see W. Muss-Arnolt in R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (New York, 1901) p. 3, or P. Jensen in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* III, 1. Hälfte (Berlin, 1892) p. 135. A forthcoming study on pre-Achaemenid Persia by Dr. George G. Cameron of the Oriental Institute will supply details.

<sup>59</sup> See V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* ("Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien," Heft 60 [1931]) pp. 60 ff.

<sup>60</sup> E. Weidner in *MDOG* No. 58 (1917) pp. 53 ff.; *Boghazköi-Studien*, Heft 8 (1923) pp. 2:1 and 4:14; Luckenbill in *AJSL* XXXVII (1920/21) 161 ff.; A. H. Sayce in *JRAS*, 1922, p. 266. I. J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* I (Chicago, 1931) 68, translates in a Hittite hieroglyphic text: "I the Sun, Nemes, . . . king of Hamath." Cf. A. Götze, *Kleinasiens* (München, 1933) p. 83: "Dafür dass Könige schon bei Lebzeiten wirklich vergöttlicht worden wären, liegt keinerlei Anhalt vor." Cf. also Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 1. Abt. (2d ed.) p. 512.

<sup>61</sup> *WVDOG* XXX, Heft 2 (1916) Nos. 29:9 f.; 30:12 f.

<sup>62</sup> A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* I (London, 1921) 3.

<sup>63</sup> A. B. Cook in *Classical Rev.* XVII (1903) 278 and *Folk Lore* XV (1904) 303.

When the pharaohs of the 18th dynasty extended their rule over most of Syria, the petty dynasts of the land became familiar, probably for the first time,<sup>64</sup> with the institution of divine kingship; but it is possible that the divinity of kings in the western part of the Fertile Crescent antedated Egyptian imperialism.<sup>65</sup>

Ferguson, to clinch his argument that deification of rulers was unknown among the Achaemenids, says: "A Darius was as incapable, almost, of being approximated to Ahuramazda as a Solomon to Yahweh."<sup>66</sup> But the Hebrew monarchy was inevitably conditioned by the monarchies of Babylonia on the east, Egypt to the south, and the neighboring Canaanites.<sup>67</sup> The people said: "Nay, but we will have a king over us, that we also may be like all the nations."<sup>68</sup> Later theology has so distorted the nature of Hebrew kingship that it is somewhat difficult to reconstruct its true character,<sup>69</sup> but sufficient evidence for the divinity of kings survives.<sup>70</sup> The sacrament of anointing the king was borrowed presumably from the kings of Syria;<sup>71</sup> one of David's titles, "Lamp of Israel,"<sup>72</sup> was a reflection of the Egyptian solar monarchy. Solomon possessed the wisdom of God,<sup>73</sup> just as

<sup>64</sup> Cf. W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3d ed.; London, 1927) pp. 33 f., 62 ff., and *passim*; D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde I* (Kopenhagen, 1927) 233 f.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. S. A. Cook in *CAH I* (2d ed.) 211 ff. and III (1929) 453 ff.; H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* (Göttingen, 1929) pp. 44 ff.; C. Virolleaud, "Les cultes phéniciens et syriens au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne," *Journal des savants*, avril 1931, pp. 164 ff. See Ezek. 28:1 ff. (prince of Tyre); Josephus *Antiq.* IX iv 6 (Barhadad and Hazael of Damascus).

<sup>66</sup> *CAH VII* 14.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. K. Galling, *Die israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderasiatischen Umwelt* (*AO XXVIII*, Hefte 3-4 [1929]); A. Lods, "La divinisation du roi dans l'Orient méditerranéen et ses répercussions dans l'ancien Israël," *Revue d'hist. et philos. relig.* X (1930) 209 ff.

<sup>68</sup> I Sam. 8:19 f.

<sup>69</sup> The later prophets were consistently hostile to monarchy; see e.g. Hos. 13:11. Cf. C. R. North, "The Old Testament estimate of the monarchy," *AJSL XLVIII* (1931/32) 1-19.

<sup>70</sup> J. M. P. Smith, "Traces of emperor-worship in the Old Testament," *AJSL XXXIX* (1922/23) 32-39; E. R. Goodenough, "Kingship in early Israel," *JBL XLVIII* (1929) 169 ff.; cf. North in *ZATW N.F.* IX (1932) 1 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Knudtzon, *op. cit.* No. 51; cf. F. Rothstern, "Apotheosis regum in Oriente antiquo et unctio regum in Vetere Testamento," *Soter VI* (1929) 128 ff.

<sup>72</sup> II Sam. 21:17.

<sup>73</sup> I Kings 3:28.

Pharaoh was as wise as Thoth and Ptah.<sup>74</sup> The king was considered the son of Yahweh.<sup>75</sup>

DIVINE KINGSHIP IN ASSYRIA

Possibly there was no Assyrian king before the Assyrian people came into close contact with Sumerian civilization. The Guti had none until they asserted their supremacy over Sumer and Akkad; then they adopted the strange institution.<sup>76</sup> The early Assyrian kings emphasized in their inscriptions their priestly function<sup>77</sup>—indeed, they could be equally accurately described as priests: an original genus had not yet been differentiated into two species.

The royal correspondence of later days yields considerable evidence of deification. Even if it be conceded that the phrase “to the king, my lord (*ana šarri bēliṣa*)” meant no more than *mein Herr* now does, the letters give insight into the popular mind and enrich the meaning of the official historiography. They demonstrate the persistence in the Assyrian world of the tradition of the old Babylonian god-king: “The king my lord is the visible (manifestation) of the great gods. The protection of the king my lord is beneficent unto all . . . . Whether (one seek) the protection of a god-man (*ilu amēlu*) or the protection of a mere human being (*amēl amēlē*), the king is the man.”<sup>78</sup> “That which is not done in heaven, the king my lord accomplishes on earth.”<sup>79</sup> “What the king my lord has said is as absolute as (the word) of a god (*kī ša ili gam-rat*).”<sup>80</sup> “The king my lord well knows that I am a dead dog; from death in a thousand forms has the king my lord restored me to life. The king is my god.”<sup>81</sup> In the magical texts the king is equated

<sup>74</sup> Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen*, pp. 182 f.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Ps. 2:7, Ps. 89:26, and Gunckel, “Die Königspalmen,” *Preuss. Jahrbücher* CLVIII (1914) 52 ff.

<sup>76</sup> So Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (London, 1928) p. 122. But cf. Hurrian list of world emperors in J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1932) p. 35, No. 3.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. H. F. Lutz in *American Anthropologist* XXVI (1924) 435 ff.

<sup>78</sup> H-W No. 652; cf. VAS I 37 iii 40 f.: *šarru bēlišu . . . kīma ili*.

<sup>79</sup> B. Meissner in *MVAG* IX, Heft 3 (1904) pp. 2 f. <sup>80</sup> H-W No. 3; cf. No. 604.

<sup>81</sup> H-W No. 992; cf. R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum* (London, 1900) Nos. 124 and 170. Mephibosheth (Meribaal?) said much the same thing to David (II Sam. 9:8).

with the (other) gods;<sup>82</sup> oaths were sworn in the names of the gods and the king.<sup>83</sup>

It will be remembered that one of Mercer's arguments against divine kingship in Babylonia<sup>84</sup> is that the determinative of deity before a king's name may be due to the god element in the nominal compound. But the converse of this proposition seems quite as cogent: the initial god sign in such a name as <sup>d</sup>Sin-aḫe-erba (Sennacherib) may symbolize both the god's and the king's divinity.

Sharruken, an early Assyrian king, like his great namesake of Agade placed before his name the sign for god.<sup>85</sup> The divine Tukulti-Ninurta, king of the universe, mighty king, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters of the world, called himself the "Sun of all peoples (<sup>d</sup>*šamšu kiššat nišē*)."<sup>86</sup> The title "Sun" may have been borrowed by the Assyrian kings from the Hittites,<sup>87</sup> whom they were subduing in southeastern Anatolia, or it may have been Babylonian.<sup>88</sup> In either case, the ultimate origin may have been Egyptian.

Shalmaneser III set up a puppet king in North Syria and installed his royal image<sup>89</sup> in a temple in the capital; the statue of his successor Shamshi-Adad was side by side with the image of Ashur.<sup>90</sup> Tiglath-pileser III "added his image to the gods of the land," a clue to the

<sup>82</sup> P. Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1910) p. 171.

<sup>83</sup> Mercer, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature* (Paris, 1912) *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> *JAOS* XXXVI 360 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Sayce in *Babyloniaca* IV (1911) 65 f.; Olmstead in *AJSL* XXXVI (1919/20) 126.

<sup>86</sup> *KAH* I, No. 18:2.

<sup>87</sup> Suggested by Luckenbill in *AJSL* XXVIII (1911/12) 164.

<sup>88</sup> Hammurabi had called himself <sup>d</sup>*šamšu Bābili*<sup>kl</sup> (*Code* v 4 f.). Some other occurrences in Babylonia are: Adad-Nirari II (*LAR* I 109); Aššur-našir-apal II (British Museum, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* . . . , ed. by E. A. W. Budge . . . and L. W. King, I [London, 1902] 258); Shalmaneser III (*LAR* I 201; III R, Pl. 7); Nebuchadrezzar I (British Museum, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* . . . , ed. by L. W. King [London, 1912] Pl. LXXXIV i 4). Cf. Šarrat-samse of H-W No. 636. Further see F. H. Weissbach in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon*, s.v. "Schamasch."

<sup>89</sup> *Šalam šarrūtiša*; see Olmstead in his "Assyrian government of dependencies," *American Political Science Review* XII (1918) 69.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* p. 72; cf. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 9. For an Elamite analogy see F. W. König, *MVAG* XXX, Heft 1 (1925) pp. 19 f. Cf. also Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 172.

vexed passage II Kings 16:18, which presumably refers to the worship of Ashur and the Assyrian king in Jerusalem.<sup>91</sup> Esarhaddon ascended the "throne of deity,"<sup>92</sup> and the king of Shupria prayed to him as to a god, perhaps not too sincerely but certainly futilely.<sup>93</sup>

Aššur-bani-apal ("Ashur has begotten a son") ordered written the most grandiloquent annals in Assyrian literary history.<sup>94</sup> Ashur was primarily the god of royalty; he looked after the people and land of Assyria as a whole, but the king, being the state, was the only individual selected for protection.<sup>95</sup> King Aššur-bani-apal in a prayer to Marduk identified himself as "the son of his god, whose god is Ashur,"<sup>96</sup> and again as the "offspring of Ashur and Ninlil."<sup>97</sup> At his accession the land prospered: "In my reign there was fulness to overflowing, in my years there was plenteous abundance."<sup>98</sup> Gyges of Lydia conquered his foes as long as he called on the great name of the Assyrian king; when he hardened his heart and trusted in his own strength, Aššur-bani-apal cursed him and the Cimmerians invaded his land.<sup>99</sup>

Unfortunately no Egyptian versions of the annals of either Esarhaddon or Aššur-bani-apal are extant; it is reasonable to suppose that stelae were erected along the Nile, but they were probably destroyed in the days of the 26th dynasty. The Assyrian monarchs intermittently propagated the worship of Ashur and the king to bind together the heterogeneous elements in the Empire; they occasionally exhibited

<sup>91</sup> Noticed first by Olmstead in *AHR* XX (1914/15) 567; see now his *History of Palestine and Syria* (New York, 1931) p. 452. Bar-Rakkâb, son of Panamû, king of Sam'al, was established on his throne by his lord (*marâ*) Rakkâb-El and his lord Tiglathpileser; see *AS* No. 3 (1932) pp. 49 f.

<sup>92</sup> *LAR* II 250. This implies that *illûtu* was equivalent to *šarrûtu*. Cf. the glossary in *CT* XVIII, Pl. 29:8: *di-me-ir dingir/šarru*. Corroborative are two personal names, Šarrum-kima-ili (Ranke, *op. cit.* p. 212) and Šarrum-ili (Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 9).

<sup>93</sup> *LAR* II 232 f.

<sup>94</sup> See *AS* No. 5 (1933).

<sup>95</sup> Cf. K. Tallqvist, "Der assyrische Gott," *Studia orientalia* IV (1932) 86 ff.

<sup>96</sup> King, *Babylonian Magic* (London, 1896) p. xxiii. But the phrase "son of his god" occurs in penitential psalms of non-royal persons also.

<sup>97</sup> *V R*, Pl. 1:1.

<sup>98</sup> *LAR* II 292; cf. H-W No. 2. On such hints of Messianic theology see D. Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott in religionshistorischer Beleuchtung* I (København, 1922).

<sup>99</sup> *LAR* II 297 f.

some talent for tactful administration,<sup>100</sup> but they usually failed to grasp the fundamentals of successful imperialism.<sup>101</sup> No Assyrian king, so far as we know, entered the sacred *bnbu*-chamber of Re at Heliopolis and emerged Son of the Sun. Egypt bitterly remembered the Asiatic invaders of the previous millennium; it is significant that the Assyrians were called "Amu,"<sup>102</sup> just as the Hyksos had been.

Although the Assyrian kings were not pharaohs, they were influenced, however indirectly, by Egyptian royal insignia. The winged sun disk was a standard symbol in Assyria long before Egypt was an Assyrian province.<sup>103</sup> The history of the title "king of kings" also seems to point to Egyptian influences.<sup>104</sup>

#### DIVINE KINGSHIP IN CHALDEA

Kingship in the Chaldean Empire preserved the tradition of old Babylonian, and was practically identical with Assyrian, monarchy. It is to be remembered that the absence of the determinative of deity by no means indicates the absence of the idea of divine kingship. To choose some random examples, Sargon, Naram-Sin, and Hammurabi sometimes have the prefixed *ilu*, sometimes not. The Assyrian and Chaldean monarchs (unless it be conceded that the determinative in a name such as <sup>d</sup>Nabu-na'id applied both to the god involved and to the royal name as a whole; cf. p. 14), the Persians, and the Seleucids were not gods according to their cuneiform titularies. But Nebuchadrezzar was "king of kings,"<sup>105</sup> a clue to the continuity of certain attri-

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Olmstead, "Assyrian government of dependencies," *American Political Science Review* XII (1918) 63-77.

<sup>101</sup> On forms of imperialism in the ancient world see D. G. Hogarth, "Egyptian empire in Asia," *JEA* I (1914) 9 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Ueber Werden und Vergehen des Universalreiches* (Bonner Kaiserrede, 1915); Olmstead, "Oriental imperialism," *AHR* XXIII (1917/18) 755-62.

<sup>102</sup> In an Egyptian demotic tale. See H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (7th ed.; London, 1927) p. 501, and G. Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (4th ed.; Paris, 1911) pp. 259 f.

<sup>103</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin, 1914) p. 35; cf. B. Pering, "Die geflügelte Scheibe in Assyrien," *Afo* VIII (1933) 281 ff.

<sup>104</sup> See Appendix. On Assyrian kingship in general see Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923) pp. 598-611.

<sup>105</sup> Ezek. 26:7; Dan. 2:37; cf. Dan. 6:7 ff.; C. Lattey, "Ruler-worship in the Bible," *Irish Theological Quarterly* XIV (1919) 238 ff.

butes of kingship; he addressed Marduk as "lord of the gods, the god who has created me."<sup>106</sup> The apocryphal Judith asked: "And who is God (*theos*) but Nebuchadrezzar?"<sup>107</sup> Nabu-na'id called himself "lord of lords (*bêl bêlê*)" and Marduk "great lord (*bêlu rabû*)"<sup>108</sup> in the same inscription, a usage which does not seem very modest. A Hebrew prophet of the exile accused a Babylonian king of thinking to exalt his throne above the stars of God, to make himself like the Most High.<sup>109</sup>

## DIVINE KINGSHIP IN PERSIA

It is not generally believed that the Persian kings received any sort of worship, or that they claimed any superhuman quality. The Achaemenids were so consistently humble toward Ahuramazda in their inscriptions that Persian monarchy seems to have had only a *dei gratia* character: "By the grace of Ahuramazda am I king."<sup>110</sup> So Ferguson believes: "Alexander, like the Persian kings whom he had succeeded, was not a god but the chosen of the gods . . . . In Asia there was little soil for deification of rulers to germinate or take root in."<sup>111</sup> And Tarn: "The point is, that he (Alexander) was not divine in Iran. Zoroastrianism knew nothing of, and had no place for, deified men . . . ."<sup>112</sup> But all the elements of Chaldean monarchy were assumed by Cyrus.<sup>113</sup> The priest of Marduk who wrote his inscription endowed him with the full titular traditional in Babylon: "I am Cyrus, king of the universe,

<sup>106</sup> Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 82: <sup>a</sup>Marduk <sup>a</sup>bêl ð-l i-lu ba-nu-ú-a.

<sup>107</sup> Judith 6:3.

<sup>108</sup> Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 96. Cf. <sup>a</sup>bêl ðarrâni in Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921) p. 129.

<sup>109</sup> Isa. 14:13 f.; cf. Dan. 3:1 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig, 1911) *passim*.

<sup>111</sup> CAH VII 14 f.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* VI 433.

<sup>113</sup> Herodotus was impressed by the tendency of the Persians to assimilate foreign culture (I 135). See W. W. How and J. Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912) *ad loc.* "King of kings" was a title in common use. Darius, for example, was *ðarru ina napðar ðarrâni* or *ððayabiya ððayabiyanâm (shâhan shâh)*. Xerxes and Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7:12) and II were so entitled. Cf. R. D. Wilson, "Titles of the Persian kings," *Festschrift für Ed. Sachau* (Berlin, 1915) pp. 179 ff. Cyrus and Darius, following Nabu-na'id, revived the old title *ðar Eridi* (J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon* [Leipzig, 1890] No. 147:14; VAS III, Nos. 113:15 and 139:8). A forthcoming study by Dr. W. H. Dubberstein will point out the general reliance of the Achaemenids on the Chaldeans in administrative details.

great king, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world, . . . whose rule Nabu and Bel love . . . ."<sup>114</sup> Like Aššur-bani-apal, whose accession brought fertility to the land, Cyrus was the lord through whose might the dead were brought to life.<sup>115</sup>

There is little in Persian literature from which divine kingship is deducible. Hocart points to the Avestan word *hvarēno* (from *hware*, "sun"), which is dubiously pre-Sasanid; it is usually translated "grace," "Gnade," meaning a sort of supernatural fire, a dazzling aureole, belonging properly to the gods but illuminating also legitimate sovereigns and consecrating their powers.<sup>116</sup> Classical sources demonstrate that Persian kingship was in some respects at a primitive stage of evolution. Cicero preserves a tradition that mastery of the lore of the Magi was prerequisite to accession to the throne.<sup>117</sup> Xenophon described the king as personally law, the law which watched over his subjects.<sup>118</sup> Serenus mentions the Persian custom that when the king died there was cessation of law (*anomia*) for five days:<sup>119</sup> when there was no king, bringing the divine glory in his own person into the land, there was no law in Persia.<sup>120</sup> The king was the state and its animate constitution.<sup>121</sup>

To their Egyptian subjects Cambyses and his successors were perfectly normal pharaohs<sup>122</sup> and regularly received Egyptian names and

<sup>114</sup> Weissbach, *op. cit.* p. 4.

<sup>115</sup> Weissbach, *loc. cit.*

<sup>116</sup> A. M. Hocart, *Kingship* (Oxford, 1924) p. 27; cf. E. R. Goodenough, "The political philosophy of Hellenistic kingship," *Yale Classical Studies* I (1928) 85. *Hvarēno* may well be analogous to the divine solar emanations absorbed by the pharaohs, called by Moret "le fluide magique." Cf. F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* I (Bruxelles, 1896) 284.

<sup>117</sup> *De divinatione* I xli 91; cf. Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 3; Philo *De specialibus legibus* III 100.

<sup>118</sup> *Cyropaedeia* VIII i 22.

<sup>119</sup> In Stobaeus (ed. Otto Hense) IV ii 26.

<sup>120</sup> Goodenough, *loc. cit.* The idea is based on the Aristotelian *nomos empsychos*; cf. the *basilikos nomos* in Jas. 2:8 and in a Pergamene inscription from time of Trajan published by H. von Prott and W. Kolbe in *Mitteilungen des K. Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* XXVII (1902) 48 and 55.

<sup>121</sup> On the value of the royal person and the necessity for its preservation see Herodotus VIII 99, 102, 118; Nicolaus Damascenus frag. 132.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Hall in *CAH* VI 137 ff.

titles.<sup>123</sup> Thus Darius was called "this Horus, good god, lord of the Two Lands."<sup>124</sup>

But were the Persian kings gods in Persia? The Greeks thought so, and indeed classical antiquity seems to have been unanimous in attributing divinity to the "great king." The classical sources are chiefly Hellenistic or later, contemporary with Arsacids and Sasanids, and so unreliable for the Achaemenid period; but the earlier writers should not be so cavalierly treated as some scholars insist. As Gow very sensibly says, it is "certain that Aeschylus and his audience knew, at least by hearsay, a great deal more about Persia and Persians than we are ever likely to know."<sup>125</sup> But Tarn discredits the evidence by saying: "The world has long agreed that Aeschylus made a mistake in thinking that the Achaemenids were gods."<sup>126</sup> The poet wrote: "O Queen (Atossa), most exalted of Persia's deep-girdled dames, venerable mother of Xerxes, spouse of Darius, hail! Consort wast thou of the Persian's god (*theos*), and mother art thou likewise of a god (*theos*)."<sup>127</sup> The divine spirit (*daimōn*) of Darius is invoked<sup>128</sup> and told that "so long as thou didst gaze on the beams of the sun, thou didst pass a life of felicity, envied of all, in Persian eyes a god."<sup>129</sup> Isocrates mentions, among other charges against the Persians, that they worshiped the king's daimon;<sup>130</sup> there is some evidence for posthumous cults of the kings, notably of Cyrus. Arrian, on the authority of Aristobulus who was commissioned by Alexander to repair the tomb of Cyrus, de-

<sup>123</sup> H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* IV (Le Caire, 1915) 135-55 and 193-95; W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt* III (3d ed.; London, 1925) 360-72. But apparently anti-Persian sentiment survived in Hellenistic Egypt; see W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (2d ed.; London, 1930) p. 174.

<sup>124</sup> M. Burchardt, "Datierete Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* XLIX (1911) 69-80, esp. p. 71; cf. Golénisheff, "Stèle de Darius aux environs de Tell el-Maskhoutah," *RT* XIII (1890) 99-109, and Diodorus Siculus *Bibl. hist.* I xc and xc v.

<sup>125</sup> A. S. F. Gow, "Notes on the *Persae* of Aeschylus," *JHS* XLVIII (1928) 133-58; quotation from p. 133.

<sup>126</sup> W. W. Tarn, "The Hellenistic ruler-cult and the daemon," *JHS* XLVIII 206-19; quotation from p. 208.

<sup>127</sup> Aeschylus *Persae* 155 ff.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* 620 f.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 710 f.; cf. 80, 633, 643. See P. Keiper, "Die Perser des Aischylos als Quelle für altpersische Altertumskunde," *Acta Seminarii philolog. Erlangensis* I (1878) 198 f.

<sup>130</sup> *Panegyricus* 151. Cf. Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* VI 252b.

scribes the daily offerings of wine, meal, a sheep, and once a month a horse, to Cyrus' daimon.<sup>131</sup> Similar rites were not strange to the land.<sup>132</sup>

*Daimōn*<sup>133</sup> was the Greek historians' rendering of *fravaši*,<sup>134</sup> the king's divine double, analogous to the Egyptian ka, perhaps to the Assyrian *šēdu ša šarri*,<sup>135</sup> and to the Roman *genius*. It is a truism that a distinction between a man and his divine double in practice soon breaks down: thus a pharaoh's ka is pharaoh; the *genius Augusti* is, pragmatically, Augustus. Worship of the *fravaši* is worship of the king.<sup>136</sup> An interesting fragment of Phanias Eresius<sup>137</sup> seems to preserve an authentic tradition. It deals with Themistocles' audience with Xerxes (so Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, *et al.*) or with Artaxerxes (so Thucydides and Charon Lampsacenus) and reports the words of the chiliarch Artabanus to Themistocles: "Laws, O stranger, are naturally different among different men; there may well be legitimate differences of opinion, but all men are agreed unanimously that it is a noble endeavor faithfully to respect and keep the laws. I hear

<sup>131</sup> *Anabasis* VI xxix 7. Cf. Appian *Mithradates* 66; Theopompus frag. 135.

<sup>132</sup> Aššur-bani-apal boasted: "Thirty-two statues of kings (of Elam) . . . I carried off to Assyria. . . . The sepulchers . . . I devastated . . . Their bones I carried off to Assyria. I laid restlessness upon their shades. I deprived them of food-offerings and libations of water" (*LAR* II 310). Cf. Q. Curtius Rufus *De gestis Alexandri Magni* IV xiv 24: "Per ego vos deos patrios . . . per aeternam memoriam Cyri . . ."; Xen. *Cyr.* IV i 24. F. W. König, "Mutterrecht und Thronfolge im alten Elam," *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Wien, 1926) pp. 529 ff., points out the Elamitic antecedents of certain Persian culture elements. Cf. F. W. Buckler, "The human Khil'at," *JAOS* XLVIII (1928) 355.

<sup>133</sup> See L. R. Taylor, "The 'proskynesis' and the Hellenistic ruler-cult," *JHS* XLVII (1927) 53 ff. and XLVIII 6; cf. Tarn, *loc. cit.*, and L. R. Farnell in *JHS* XLIX 79.

<sup>134</sup> See F. Cumont, "Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de Suse," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1930, pp. 216 ff., and literature there cited. Cumont would refer *theos* in Parthian documents to Hellenism, assuming Seleucid rather than Achaemenid antecedents for deification. But the good Persian word *baga* means *deus* rather than *divus*; see Mšihā Zkha in A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques* (Mossoul, 1907) pp. 31 and 108, a reference for which I am indebted to Professor Olmstead.

<sup>135</sup> H-W No. 204.

<sup>136</sup> The Parsis interpret the winged figure on Achaemenid reliefs to be the royal *fravaši*. See A. V. W. Jackson in *ERE* s.v. "Art, Persian"; cf. Nock in *Gnomon* VIII (1932) 514.

<sup>137</sup> A peripatetic philosopher, a pupil of Aristotle, according to Suidas s.v.; cf. L. Bodin in *Revue des études grecques* XXVIII (1915) 264 ff.

that you value liberty and equality above all else. Among us, who have many noble laws, this is pre-eminently binding: to honor the king, and to worship him as the image of god who saves all . . . ."<sup>138</sup> The author of the treatise *De sublimitate* understood proskynesis to imply worship, for he calls Xerxes the Zeus of the Persians.<sup>139</sup>

## PROSKYNESIS

Proskynesis<sup>140</sup> is not only non-Hellenic<sup>141</sup> but pre-Persian; the term describes an act of reverential obeisance. A Sumerian hero prostrated himself before the sun god and kissed the earth.<sup>142</sup> Egyptian court etiquette<sup>143</sup> required it when one had audience with the Pharaoh, but Milk-ili of Syria rather overdid it: "To the king, my lord, my gods (*ilāni*), my sun, thus speaks M., thy slave, the dust of thy feet: At the feet of the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, I prostrate myself seven times and seven times.<sup>144</sup> Some Palestinian princes express themselves

<sup>138</sup> Plutarch *Themistocles* 27 = *FHG* II 296, § 9.

<sup>139</sup> *De sublimitate* iii 2. Cf. E. Beurlier, *De divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores eius* (Paris, 1890) p. 26: "Cum rex Persarum per Mithram iurabat per se ipsum iurabat, ipse enim alter Mithra putabatur." A crater showing Darius as god was published by Furtwängler-Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 88 = A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II (Cambridge, 1924) 852. Note also the "symbolische Darstellungen, die offenbar die Macht des Königtums apotheosieren," in F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (Berlin, 1910) p. 136 and Fig. 62. Cf. H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. E. T. Newell* (Chicago, 1934) pp. 10 and 97. The *isotheos* tyrant of Euripides (*Tro.* 1169) was probably based on Persian kingship; cf. the *isotheos* and *isodaimōn* of *Persae* 857 and 634. On Persian monarchy see further L. C. Casartelli in *ERE s.v.* "King (Iranian)"; Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* I (Bruxelles, 1899) 283-86; E. Wilhelm, "Königthum und Priesterthum im alten Erān," *ZDMG* XL (1886) 102-10; A. Rapp, "Die Religion und Sitte der Perser . . . ," *ZDMG* XIX (1865) 1-89 and XX (1866) 49-140.

<sup>140</sup> The fullest discussion is perhaps that by H. Bolkestein, "Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisidaimonia" (in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* XXI, Heft 2 [1929]) pp. 23 ff.; see also J. Østrup, *Orientalische Höflichkeit* (Leipzig, 1929) esp. pp. 30 ff.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. R. Hackl, "Mumienverehrung auf einer schwarzfigurig attischen Lekythos," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XII (1909) 195-203, esp. his remark on p. 199: "Die *proskynēsis* ist echt orientalisches."

<sup>142</sup> A. Poebel, *Historical Texts* (Philadelphia, 1914) p. 16.

<sup>143</sup> Erman, *Aegypten* (2d ed.) p. 82; cf. W. R. Dawson, *The Bridle of Pegasus* (London, 1930) p. 80.

<sup>144</sup> Knudtzon, *op. cit.* No. 267.

as falling down on both belly and back.<sup>145</sup> The Hittite monarchs were so honored: "I cast myself at the feet of Shubbiluliuma, the Sun."<sup>146</sup> It was a frequent boast of the Assyrian kings that their vanquished foes "seized my feet"; Aššur-bani-apal announced that "Tammaritu (king of Elam) kissed my royal feet and brushed the ground (before me) with his beard."<sup>147</sup> A loyal subject wrote: ". . . and I, my brothers, my sons, and my companions will certainly come and kiss the feet of the king our lord."<sup>148</sup> It is certain that proskynesis meant worship in Assyria: "The king entered Babylon and kissed the ground before Marduk and Sarpanitum";<sup>149</sup> "then shall the king my lord prostrate himself in the presence of Ishtar";<sup>150</sup> "the feet of Adad my lord I kissed."<sup>151</sup> Samuel saluted Saul with a kiss of adoration,<sup>152</sup> and Araunah the Jebusite made obeisance to David.<sup>153</sup>

The probable origin of Persian proskynesis was the homage offered to Cyrus at his triumphal entry into Babylon: "All the people of Babylon, the whole of Sumer and Akkad, the lords and the governors, bowed down to him and kissed his feet."<sup>154</sup> The word does not occur in Homer or Hesiod; Aeschylus seems to have used it first, already in the general sense of "worship."<sup>155</sup> The Roman writers rendered it by

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* Nos. 232-34. Dr. H. Frankfort calls attention to a relief in Leyden from Harmhab's Sakkarah tomb, published in *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung . . . in Leiden* IV (1911) Pl. XXIV.

<sup>146</sup> *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* I, No. 3:21; cf. *ibid.* No. 8:5. See also Ehelolf, "Ein einheimischer und ein entlehnter Huldigungsterminus im Hethitischen," *Studia orientalia* I (1925) 9-13, and in *OLZ* XXVII (1924) 580 f.

<sup>147</sup> *LAR* II 303; cf. ambassadors of Jehu on the "black obelisk," also the king of Hamath pictured in L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser* (London, 1915) Pl. LXXIII.

<sup>148</sup> H-W No. 793. Cf. S. Langdon, "Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian prayer," *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 531 ff.; F. Heiler, "Die Körperhaltung beim Gebet," *MVAG* XXII (1917) 168-77.

<sup>149</sup> H-W No. 865; cf. No. 412. <sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* No. 1164; cf. No. 216. <sup>151</sup> *RA* VII 155.

<sup>152</sup> See J. M. P. Smith in *AJSL* XXXIX 35, and cf. Hos. 13:2.

<sup>153</sup> II Sam. 24:20; cf. Rev. 19:10. The Hebrew word is שָׁרַף (LXX *proskynein*, Vulg. *adorare*); cf. Hebrew *šḥḇ*, also Akkadian *šahāḫu* in Knudtzon, *op. cit.* Index. Other relevant Akkadian words are *našāku*, *šēpē šabātu*, *maḫātu*, etc.

<sup>154</sup> Weissbach, *op. cit.* p. 4, corroborating Xen. *Cyr.* VII iii 14. Cf. Esther 3:2 and 8:3; Dan. 6:7 ff.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Couch, "Proskynesis and abasement in Aeschylus," *CP* XXVI (1931) 316 f.

*venerari, adulari, adorare, adosculari.*<sup>156</sup> Greeks had scornfully rejected the ceremony,<sup>157</sup> proudly refusing to conform to Persian custom.<sup>158</sup> The comment of Athenaeus upon the song with which the Athenians greeted Demetrius is striking: "Such were the words which the men who fought at Marathon sang both in public and at home—the men who had put to death the man who worshiped (*ton proskynēsanta*) the king of the Persians."<sup>159</sup> Obviously Greek mentality had changed in the interim. As Ferguson very aptly says: "The deification of rulers was, accordingly, simply the proskynesis of cities."<sup>160</sup> The point is, why did Hellas worship living men in the 4th century B.C. and thereafter, although such homage would have been unthinkable in the 5th century?

#### DIVINE KINGSHIP IN THE EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Of the two expedients, leagues and monarchy, which 4th century Greece used for combining small states into relatively large units, monarchy was an importation. Macedonian kingship was quasi-constitutional; the king's power rested on a national army: he was *primus inter pares*.<sup>161</sup> Alexander's *de iure* position became increasingly less Macedonian and constitutional, and, as Tarn says, "the absolute monarchies of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies exhibit no Macedonian constitutional traits of any kind."<sup>162</sup> The Homeric kingship with its *epitheta ornantia* (*theios, diogenēs*, etc.) was not a factor in Hellenistic monarchy; still more irrelevant was the archaic Athenian office of *rex*

<sup>156</sup> C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig, 1890) p. 157, n. 4.

<sup>157</sup> Xenophon *Anabasis* III ii; Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 22; Nepos *Conon* 3; Herodotus VII 136.

<sup>158</sup> On the custom see Herodotus I 134.

<sup>159</sup> Athenaeus VI 253 f.; cf. Plutarch *Demetrius* 10–13 and 23.

<sup>160</sup> *Greek Imperialism* (Boston and New York, 1913) p. 147.

<sup>161</sup> A. Schaefer, "Das macedonische Königthum," *Historisches Taschenbuch* III (1884) 1 ff.; W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris* (Halle, 1913); F. Geyer, *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II* (Beiheft 19 der *Historischen Zeitschrift*, 1930), reviewed by Ehrenberg in *Gnomon* VII (1931) 579 ff.; R. Granier, *Die makedonische Heeresversammlung* ("Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte" XIII [1931]).

<sup>162</sup> *Hellenistic Civilisation* (London, 1927) p. 44.

*sacrorum*.<sup>163</sup> The pattern for Alexander's<sup>164</sup> empire was Persia; Egyptian custom conditioned it locally, but the Achaemenids, lords of the most diverse social heritage that had yet existed, immediately inspired him.<sup>165</sup> It is true that Greek political thought of the period<sup>166</sup> was beginning to realize the futility of the city-state and the political system which had wrecked 5th century Hellas,<sup>167</sup> that the Greeks were accustomed to pay *post mortem* homage to city-founders<sup>168</sup> and other distinguished benefactors and philanthropists,<sup>169</sup> and that a few men in the Greek world had received *ante mortem* heroic or divine honors. But Tarn's statement that "long before Alexander some Greeks had claimed divinity and been worshipped during life"<sup>170</sup> is misleading, for deification was not normal in Greece.<sup>171</sup> Some of the Sicilian tyrants<sup>172</sup> seem to have received extraordinary, non-Hellenic honors:

<sup>163</sup> See Stegmann von Pritzwald, *Zur Geschichte der Herrscherbezeichnungen von Homer bis Plato* ("Leipziger Forschungen zur Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie" VII (1930)), with literature there cited, esp. Nilsson, "Das homerische Königtum," *SPAW*, 1927, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>164</sup> Philip had already been influenced: cf. his adoption of the title "great king" (Isocrates *Epistolae* iii 5) and certain features of the feast on the day of his death (Diodorus Siculus *Bibl. hist.* XVI xcii; cf. Pausanias V xx 10).

<sup>165</sup> According especially to the later writers Pompeius Trogus (in Justin *Epitoma* XII vii 1: "Dein, quod primo ex Persico superbiae regiae more distulerat, . . . non salutari, sed adorari se iubet") and Q. Curtius Rufus (*De gestis Alexandri Magni* VIII v 5-6: ". . . volebat . . . more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora"). Cf. Gressmann, *Der Messias*, p. 360.

<sup>166</sup> Isocrates, Plato, Aristotle; cf. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* I (2d ed.) 288 ff.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. E. Barker in *CAH* VI 505-13.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Cicero *De re publica* I vii 12-viii 13; *Tusc.* I xv 32; *In Catilinam* III i 2; *De re publica* VI xiii (*Somnum Scipionis* 3).

<sup>169</sup> Elter, *Donarem pateras* (Bonn, 1907) p. 40, describes them as "ein bestimmter Kanon von Halbgöttern." Cf. G. Foucart, *Le culte des héros chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1918); Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921) esp. pp. 421 ff.

<sup>170</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 45.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Otto Weinreich, "Antikes Gottmenschentum," *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* II (1926) 633 ff.; A. Bauer, *Vom Griechentum zum Christentum* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 63 ff.; F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, 2. Halbbd. ("Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten" V, 2. Halbbd. [Giessen, 1912]) pp. 555-57 and 581-89.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Stegmann, *op. cit.* pp. 136 ff.

Gelo<sup>173</sup> and Timoleon<sup>174</sup> from the Syracusans,<sup>175</sup> Thero<sup>176</sup> from the Agrigentians. Lysander is usually cited as the first deified Greek,<sup>177</sup> but possibly the Samians did not really accord him divine honors.<sup>178</sup>

Political theory is generally a rationalizing *ex post facto* systematization of political thought. The Hellenistic world could deify kings with no violence to orthodox religion: the half-century 323–273 almost completely broke down the distinction between human and divine. This merging of the two categories was due not to the primitive inability to distinguish between them but to the efforts of contemporary mentality to excogitate a philosophical sanction for *faits accomplis*. Zeno taught a pantheistic interpretation of the Cynic doctrine of the ideal wise man; a ruler after the Stoic model was in fact a living god as well as a godlike mechanism.<sup>179</sup> Goodenough quotes from a fragment of pseudo-Ephantus:

The king claims the lion's share of the better elements in our common nature. He is like the rest of mankind, indeed, in his earthly tabernacle, inasmuch as he is formed out of the same material; but he is fashioned by the supreme Artificer, who in making the king used himself as an archetype.<sup>180</sup>

On the other hand, rationalistic ideas long current among Greek intellectuals were organized by Euhemerus: the gods of the cities were only dead rulers and benefactors.<sup>181</sup>

The *theory* of Hellenistic kingship was evolved by a school deriving from Pythagoro-Platonism, but in actuality it was the acceptance by a complete religious skepticism of the wishes of Alexander and his successors, who saw the political benefits to be derived from Oriental di-

<sup>173</sup> Diodorus Siculus *Bibl. hist.* XI xxxviii.

<sup>174</sup> Plutarch *Timoleon* 39.

<sup>175</sup> The honors paid in Sicily were conceivably of Phoenician origin according to F. Deneken (under "Heros" in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon* I, 2. Abt. [1886–90] col. 2520), who cites the case of Hamilcar (Herodotus VII 167). The present writer agrees with Kornemann that the attribution is "mit Unrecht."

<sup>176</sup> Diodorus Siculus *Bibl. hist.* XI liii.

<sup>177</sup> Duris of Samos (in Plutarch *Lysander* 18) is the authority.

<sup>178</sup> See Kornemann in *Klio* I 54, n. 5.

<sup>179</sup> Ferguson in *CAH* VII 16.

<sup>180</sup> *Yale Classical Studies* I 78. Cf. Tarn in his "Alexander and the unity of mankind," *Proceedings of the British Academy* XIX (1933) esp. pp. 8 f. of reprint.

<sup>181</sup> Jacoby in *PW* (1909) s.v. Euhemerus 3; Bloomfield in *Gildersleeve Festschrift* (Baltimore, 1902) pp. 37 ff.

vine kingship. The concept "divinity" embodied no theology in the confused mental processes of an ancient polytheistic peasant. Herodotus' story of the Greek who took Xerxes at the head of his army to be Zeus incarnate<sup>182</sup> can be generalized. How, after all, would one define a god? One might believe vaguely in the power and the glory of the Olympians, but he could see and feel the glory and the power of the Diadochs. The local god fed nobody in time of famine, but the king could and did. Dionysus might have saved Themisonium from the Gauls, but Antiochus certainly had. Apollo was not nearly so cogent a debt-collector for his priests at Delos as Ptolemy was.<sup>183</sup> The Athenians sang to Demetrius:

The king comes, light-hearted as befits a god, fair and laughing, yet majestic withal in his circle of courtiers, he the sun, they the stars. Hail! child of mighty Poseidon and of Aphrodite. The other gods are a long way off, or have no ears, or no existence, or take no care of us; but thee we see face to face—a true god, not one of wood and stone.<sup>184</sup>

Deification has been called a political religion; but in the Hellenistic world the worship of kings was political, not religious. A century or two earlier such pretensions would have been classed as *hybris*, but we find Demosthenes able to reply contemptuously to Demades' motion to deify Alexander:<sup>185</sup> "Let him be son of Zeus and Poseidon too, if he likes!"<sup>186</sup> When the Athenians gave Alexander the title Dionysus, Diogenes said the equivalent of "Yeah? Make me Sarapis!"<sup>187</sup> The deification of kings in Greek cities, then, was an "Oriental" importation, acceptable to the religious skepticism of the more intellectual classes, who after the political futilities of the preceding centuries were quite willing to live under the control of a reasonably paternal

<sup>182</sup> VII 56.

<sup>183</sup> Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, pp. 47 f.; Charlesworth in *Classical Review* XLVI (1932) 225.

<sup>184</sup> Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 145. See Scott, "The deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," *AJP* XLIX (1928) 137 ff. and 217 ff.; Ehrenberg, "Athenischer Hymnus auf Demetrios Poliorketes," *Antike* VII (1931) 279 ff. Cf. Tertullian *Apologeticus* xxviii.

<sup>185</sup> Aelian *Var. hist.* V xii. Cf. Athenaeus VI 251b; Valerius Maximus *Facta dictaque memorabilia* VII ii<sup>3</sup> 13.

<sup>186</sup> Hypereides *In Demosth.* frag. 8; cf. Deinarchus *In Demosth.* 94.

<sup>187</sup> Diogenes Laertius VI 63.

despotism.<sup>188</sup> To the less sophisticated it seemed eminently reasonable to worship present, tangible grandeur and munificence. In the East divine kingship was traditional: a fellah probably never knew whether Pharaoh was Thutmose or Ptolemy Caesarion.<sup>189</sup> The kings themselves, except perhaps for Antiochus IV,<sup>190</sup> did not think they were gods. Antigonos, apostrophized by a poet as son of the sun and a god, returned the *argumentum ad hominem*: "He who empties my stool doesn't think so!"<sup>191</sup> In the older world the divinity of emperors had become a "typische Darstellung einer die Staatsallmacht . . . ver-götternden officiellen Religion,"<sup>192</sup> but with the successors of Alexander kingship was no longer *ipso facto* divinity; as Plutarch said: "Is not almost any king called Apollo if he hums a tune, Dionysus if he gets drunk, or Heracles if he wrestles?"<sup>193</sup> Such worship indeed was extended to include non-royal persons: private benefactors were called *euergetae* and received superhuman honors;<sup>194</sup> deification had come to mean no more than the canonization of a saint or the conferring of a high academic degree *honoris causa*.

Alexander may have invaded Persia to Hellenize the East, but in the latter years of his short life he himself was Orientalized. The sea at Mount Climax made obeisance to him, as the Euphrates had to Cyrus.<sup>195</sup> In Egypt he worshiped the sacred bulls of Hermonthis, as had Darius Hystaspes before him.<sup>196</sup> Whatever idea lay behind his excursion to the oracle at Siwah, there he became son of Re and "good god,

<sup>188</sup> Cf. L. Hahn, *Das Kaisertum* (Leipzig, 1913) p. 19: "Der (römische) Kaiserkult ist der Ausdruck der Dankbarkeit des Volkes und der Provinzialen für die Errettung aus dem langjährigen Unheil der Bürgerkriege, für den Kaiserfrieden . . . ."

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*: "Der Herr der Gegenwart war Basileus und Gott."

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Bevan in *CAH* VIII 505; Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 49; Olmstead in *American Journal of Theology* XXIV (1920) 102.

<sup>191</sup> Plutarch *Moralia* 360 D; see Scott in *TAPA* LX (1929) 117 ff.

<sup>192</sup> F. Maassen, *Ueber die Gründe des Kampfes zwischen dem heidnisch-römischen Staat und dem Christenthum* (Wien, 1882) p. 29 (of a reprint).

<sup>193</sup> *Moralia* 56 F; cf. A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Leipzig, 1894) 107 ff.

<sup>194</sup> Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 48; Anderson, "Herakles and his successors," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XXXIX (1928) 7 ff.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. *CAH* VI 6 and 364.

<sup>196</sup> *Illustrated London News*, July 13, 1929.

lord of the Two Lands."<sup>197</sup> After Gaugamela Alexander preferred to be regarded as the legitimate successor of Darius: he adopted Persian costume and custom with increasing enthusiasm.<sup>198</sup> His Macedonians so bitterly resented the introduction of proskynesis<sup>199</sup> that he was forced to restrict it to his Asiatic courtiers.<sup>200</sup> Seleucus and Ptolemy and their fellow-generals, not so quick as their leader to grasp the implications, refused to become *gleichgeschaltet*; only later did they see that Alexander had had the right idea.<sup>201</sup>

The *de facto* basis for the power of the Seleucids was the loyalty of the army, especially of the Macedonian nucleus. To these veterans, still adhering to Macedonian tradition, the king was divine only by a polite fiction intended exclusively for the Asiatics, and he and his army were together victorious lords over vanquished Persia. Their loyalty was always tentative. But the current rationalizing sought to establish a philosophic-religious sanction of the royal power, a hint of which may be seen in a speech of Seleucus to his army. He is reported to have said that he was trying to impose not *Persian* customs but rather obedience to a universal law: what the king says is right and just by definition.<sup>202</sup>

There is little evidence for the relations of the Seleucids to their "native" subjects. Rostovtzeff goes so far as to say: "Perhaps, . . . like the Ptolemies in Egypt, they tried to assume in the eyes of the natives the forms of their previous kings and gain recognition from the

<sup>197</sup> Maspero, "Comment Alexandre devint dieu en Egypte," *Bibliothèque égyptologique* XXVIII (1912) 263-86 (reprinted from "École pratique des hautes études, sect. des sci. hist. et philol.," *Annuaire*, 1897, pp. 5-30); Hogarth, "Alexander in Egypt and some consequences," *JEA* II (1915) 53 ff.; H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* (Berlin, 1929) pp. 94 ff.; cf. Jouguet in *Revue de philologie* LIV (1928) 361, also Larsen, "Alexander at the oracle of Ammon," *CP* XXVII (1932) 70 ff.

<sup>198</sup> Arrian *Anabasis* IV ix 9; cf. Hill in *JHS* XLIII (1923) 156; Radet in *Revue des études anciennes* XXIX (1927) 22: "(Alexandre) s'orientalise chaque jour."

<sup>199</sup> Cf. Justin *Epitoma* XIII i 10: "Amici Alexandri . . . eius virtutis ac venerationis erant, ut singulos reges putares."

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Tarn in *CAH* VI 399: "To Persians it was only a ceremony . . . , but to Greeks and Macedonians it did imply worship." But see Schnabel in *Klio* XIX (1925) 113 ff. and Radet in *Revue des universités du Midi*, 1895, pp. 129 ff., who emphasize the importance of the ceremony.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. C. Lattey in *EHR* XXXII (1917) 321 ff.

<sup>202</sup> Appian *Syriaca* 61; cf. Plutarch *Demetrius* 38.

local gods and their priests, but of this we have neither direct nor indirect evidence."<sup>203</sup> But the cuneiform inscription of Antiochus I Soter<sup>204</sup> gives the familiar titulary of Babylon: "Antiochus (*an-ti-u-ku-us*), the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Babylon, king of the lands, adorer of Esagila and Ezida, first-born son of Seleucus (*si-lu-uk-ku*) the king, the Macedonian (*ma-ak-ka-du-na-a-a*), king of Babylon, am I."<sup>205</sup> The Seleucids patronized Babylonian gods, but no trace of Hellenism is to be found in the Babylonian pantheon.<sup>206</sup> So Kaerst admits: "Eine gewisse Einwirkung der Traditionen altbabylonischen Königtums könnte vielleicht für die letzte Zeit Alexanders angenommen werden . . . ."<sup>207</sup> Even without direct evidence, the Seleucids must be considered as divine successors of the divine Achaemenids, themselves heirs of an ancient (chiefly Babylonian) tradition.<sup>208</sup> Further Iranian influences, relevant doubtless to both Seleucid and Achaemenid practice, are apparent in inscriptions of Antiochus of Commagene (69–38 B.C.).<sup>209</sup> He calls himself [*basileus me*]gas *Antiochos theos dikaios* [*epiph*]an[ēs], evidently identifying himself with Mithra.<sup>210</sup> The *tychē basileōs* is the Persian *hvarēno*, which appeared in Rome as the *fortuna Augusti*.<sup>211</sup>

Kaerst, despite his seeming reluctance to derive ruler cults from the Orient, describes the Ptolemaic monarchy thus: "Wir finden insbesondere in Bezug auf die Ptolemaeer eine fortschreitende Aegyptisierung des Königskultes, sodass zuletzt das lagidische Königthum als ein verjüngtes Abbild der alten Pharaonenherrschaft erscheint."<sup>212</sup> This pol-

<sup>203</sup> CAH VII 163.

<sup>204</sup> V R, Pl. 66.

<sup>205</sup> Transliteration and translation by Weissbach, *op. cit.* pp. 132 f. Cf. *Oriens Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, No. 253.

<sup>206</sup> Schroeder, "Das Pantheon der Stadt Uruk in der Seleukidenzeit," SPAW, 1916, pp. 1180 ff.

<sup>207</sup> *Gesch. des Hellenismus* II (2d ed.) 378, n. 5.

<sup>208</sup> On Seleucids see further E. Meyer, *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien* (Berlin, 1925); Rostovtzeff in CAH VII chap. v; cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 109.

<sup>209</sup> K. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890) pp. 262 ff.; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1913) pp. 106 ff.

<sup>210</sup> Kornemann in *Klio* I 90–92; cf. Gressmann, *op. cit.* pp. 358 f.

<sup>211</sup> Kornemann in *Klio* I 91 f.; Cumont, *Textes et monuments* I 284–87. Cf. Harnack in SPAW, 1893, pp. 727 ff.

<sup>212</sup> "Die Begründung des Alexander- und Ptolemaeer Kultes in Aegypten," RM N.F. LII (1897) 42–68; quotation from p. 64.

icy had been initiated through the insight of Ptolemy I, who fully realized the advantages of appearing to be a legitimate pharaoh rather than a Macedonian conqueror, a hated foreigner.<sup>213</sup> So successful were the Ptolemies in their masquerade that Moret can say:

Sans doute des idées nouvelles sur le caractère de la personne royale se sont introduites en Égypte avec les Ptolémées et les Césars: on a célébré dans l'entourage du souverain un culte du roi plus conforme à la civilisation hellénistique. Mais ces modifications, les temples d'Égypte ne les connaissent pas, ne les acceptent point. Qu'importe que le souverain soit Grec ou Romain, qu'il se réclame aussi d'une filiation divine auprès des dieux de son pays: dans les temples, où l'on nomme de moins en moins le roi étranger par son nom, le "fils d'Isis" ou le "Pharaon" continue comme aux temps antiques à célébrer et à recevoir les immuables rites osiriens.<sup>214</sup>

It seems an added demonstration of the non-Hellenic origin of ruler cults that the Antigonids were never officially worshiped by Macedonians.<sup>215</sup> It is significant that Antipater, who had been governing Macedonia and supervising Greece for Alexander, "alone of the Diadochs did not choose to call Alexander a god, deeming it impious (*asebēs*)."<sup>216</sup> Antigonus Gonatas was never worshiped by anybody anywhere, so far as we know.<sup>217</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

The preceding pages have attempted briefly to point out that divine kingship was normal in the ancient Orient, and that this traditional form was the essential pattern of Hellenistic monarchy, naturally conditioned by local peculiarities. To sum up: Alexander was influenced chiefly by Persia, as were the Seleucids almost entirely. But the Seleucids were affected by Egypt also, and from that source the Ptolemies derived their royal tradition. Greek political theory in sanctioning deification gave it an occasional Olympian tinge and inevitably formalized it. Persian monarchy, imperial as it was, had a Babylonian basis, with a later Egyptian influence. Chaldean kingship derived from

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Jouguet, "La politique intérieure du premier Ptolémée," *Bulletin de l'Inst. français d'arch. orientale* XXX (1930) 513 ff.

<sup>214</sup> *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, p. 320; cf. Rostovtzeff in *CAH* VII 114 f. and Gauthier, *loc. cit.*

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 46 f. and in *CAH* VII 202.

<sup>216</sup> Suidas s.v. Antipatros.

<sup>217</sup> Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913) pp. 250 f. and 453.

Assyrian, which in turn was essentially Sumero-Akkadian. The Hittites and the minor rulers of the Fertile Crescent were affected by both Babylonia and Egypt, the latter of which was relatively uninfluenced by extraneous factors throughout. An attempt has been made, not to trace the general history of the institution of divine kingship in the Greek states,<sup>218</sup> especially in the later Hellenistic world of the Roman Empire,<sup>219</sup> but only to point out its non-Hellenic, Oriental origin.

<sup>218</sup> For this see Kornemann in *Klio* I 51-146; cf. G. Herzog-Hauser, "Kaiserkult," PW Supplementband IV (1924) 806-53.

<sup>219</sup> See L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (American Philological Association Monograph No. 1 [1931]). For Christological implications see A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (3d ed.; London, 1927). The most recent studies are listed in *JEA* XX (1934) 83 f.

## APPENDIX

## THE TITLE "KING OF KINGS"

Friedrich Bilabel in his *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927) discusses (pp. 207-14) "Der Titel 'König der Könige.'" <sup>1</sup> The present writer wishes not to examine critically the opinions expressed but merely to make some additions to the cases noticed by Bilabel in his second section ("Assyrien und Babylonien"), where he has "die Belege, soweit sie mir zu Gesicht gekommen sind, vollständig gegeben." The facilities of the still incomplete Chicago Assyrian Dictionary <sup>2</sup> make some amplification possible.

Bilabel finds the first occurrence of the title (outside of Egypt, which he discusses on his pp. 207-9<sup>3</sup>) with Tiglathpileser I: *šar kal malkê bêl bêlê utullu(?)* <sup>4</sup> *šar šarrâni*. <sup>5</sup> Next he mentions Aššur-našir-apal II, who called himself by the same words. <sup>6</sup> The use of the title *šar šarrâni* by Esarhaddon is attested by I R, Pl. 48, No. 5:4; by Aššur-bani-apal, by several references. Bilabel also calls attention to the fact that Tukulti-"Namurta" I was entitled *rubû kal šarrâni*. <sup>7</sup>

It may or may not be relevant to call attention to the name of a king of the Agade dynasty, Šar-kali-šarri, and to note that Hammurabi was *ušumgal*, <sup>8</sup> *ašarid*, <sup>9</sup> and *etel* <sup>10</sup> *šarrî*. Nebuchadrezzar I called himself *etel šarrâni*. <sup>11</sup> Adad-nirari I boasted that he was *šarru ša napḥar malkê û rubê* <sup>d</sup> *Anu* <sup>d</sup> *Aššur* <sup>d</sup> *Šamaš* <sup>d</sup> *Adad* <sup>û</sup> <sup>d</sup> *Ištar ana šêpišu ušeknišu*. <sup>12</sup> Tukulti-Ninurta I was more than "prince of all kings"—he was *šar*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now Tallqvist in *Studia orientalia* IV, Pt. 3 (1932) pp. 54-56.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Breasted, *The Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 1933) pp. 378-400.

<sup>3</sup> Used by Ahmose I, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep II, but not thereafter until the Ptolemaic period. The inverted *šarrâni ša šarri* is used of Syrian kinglets in the Amarna period; see Bilabel, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *LAR* I 73 translates "shepherd(?)." <sup>5</sup> I R, Pl. 9:30.

<sup>6</sup> Y. Le Gac, *Les inscriptions d'Aššur-našir-aplu III* (Paris, 1907) *Annals* i 20 f.

<sup>7</sup> *KAH* II, No. 60:11. <sup>8</sup> *Code* iv 23.

<sup>9</sup> *Code* ii 55. <sup>10</sup> *Code* iii 70.

<sup>11</sup> British Museum, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, Pl. LXXXIV i 2.

<sup>12</sup> British Museum, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* I 5:10-12.

*šarrāni bēl bēlē malik malikī rubū bēl gimri*.<sup>13</sup> Tiglathpileser I was apparently enlarging on the *šar šarrāni* idea when he called himself *šar kiššati la šanān*<sup>14</sup> and *šāninu gimir kal šarrāni*.<sup>15</sup> With Aššur-nāšir-apal II the idea is expressed in many ways: *šar kal malkē šar šarrāni*;<sup>16</sup> *šar bēlē*;<sup>17</sup> *melam bēlātišu eli šarrāni ša kibrāt irbitta*,<sup>18</sup> he is the king *ša . . . ina malkē ša kibrāt irbitta šāninšu la išū*<sup>19</sup> and *šar kiššat kibrāti ša napḥar malkē kališunu*.<sup>20</sup> Sargon verged on "king of kings" with his *igigal malkē ša kiššati*.<sup>21</sup> Sennacherib was *ašarid kal malkē*,<sup>22</sup> *šarru la šanān*,<sup>23</sup> *etil kal malkē*,<sup>24</sup> *bēl šarrāni* and *abkallu*.<sup>25</sup> Esarhaddon was entitled *šar šarrāni ša māt Mušur* etc.;<sup>26</sup> he possessed *šarrātu eli šarrāni ša kibrāt irbitti*.<sup>27</sup> The titles *šar šarrāni*<sup>28</sup> and *šarru ša šarrāni*<sup>29</sup> found in the letters are ignored by Bilabel. For Aššur-bani-apal add to Bilabel's citations *šar šarrāni rubū la šanān*<sup>30</sup> and the *šar šarrāni* of the letters.<sup>31</sup> For the formula *bēl šarrāni (bēlija)* and such variants as *ana bēli šarri bēl*

<sup>13</sup> CT XXXVI, Pl. 8:4-6, translated in *LAR* I 64.

<sup>14</sup> British Museum, *Annals . . .* I 32 i 29. But *šar kiššati* occurs as early as Shamshi-Adad I; see "Altorientalische Bibliothek" I (Leipzig, 1926) 22.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 63 iv 41 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 195 iii 8 and 260 i 19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 182:34 f. and 384 iii 127.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 263 i 26 f.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 177:4 f., 190 i 11-14, 258 i 12 f., 380 iii 114 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* p. 266 i 35 f.

<sup>21</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (Paris, 1912) line 115.

<sup>22</sup> Sidney Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib* (London, 1921) p. 29:3. Cf. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924) p. 23 i 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* line 1.

<sup>24</sup> I R, Pl. 6 VIII A. For *etillu* as epithet of Marduk see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, p. 134; cf. *bēl šarrāni ibid.* p. 129.

<sup>25</sup> In a letter from Marduk-šum-ušur to Aššur-bani-apal in H-W II 140 (No. 923); but Waterman's note *ibid.* III 261 says *abkallu* is "an epithet of a god, here probably referring to Ashur and not to the king." Cf. British Museum, *Annals . . .* I 256 i 5, where Ninib is called *abkal ilāni*.

<sup>26</sup> VAS I, No. 78, translated in *LAR* II 224; cf. Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1922) Pl. XI, translated in *LAR* II 228.

<sup>27</sup> VAS I, No. 78, translated in *LAR* II 225.

<sup>28</sup> H-W Nos. 258 and 1123.

<sup>29</sup> H-W No. 1119.

<sup>30</sup> Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (WVDOG IV [1903]) Pl. 7:2; Lehmann (-Haupt), *Šamašsumukin* (Leipzig, 1892) p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> H-W Nos. 750 and 1060.

*šarrāni* see most conveniently R. H. Pfeiffer, "Assyrian epistolary formulae."<sup>32</sup> Šamaš-šum-ukin assumed the title *šar kal šarrāni*.<sup>33</sup>

Bilabel says the title is not known to him in the Neo-Babylonian period; the present writer too has found no occurrence of *šar šarrāni*. Bilabel notes that a god (Shamash) is called *bēl bēlē* by Nabu-na'id;<sup>34</sup> he also discusses the biblical attribution of the title *melek m'lākīm* to Nebuchadrezzar.<sup>35</sup> The writer has found *qarrād qarrādē*<sup>36</sup> for Nabopolassar, and in an inscription of the same king Ninmenna is called *šarrat šarrāte*.<sup>37</sup>

Bilabel is right in saying (on his p. 210): "Von den Assyern kann der Titel sehr wohl zu den Persern und Parthern übergegangen sein,"<sup>38</sup> although Herzfeld considers the title Median.<sup>39</sup>

The title was known in Urartu also, probably from Assyria.<sup>40</sup> The Hurrian list of "Weltkönige" seems to include several "kings of kings."<sup>41</sup> Other cases which have come to the writer's attention show that the title was used by Tigranes of Armenia,<sup>42</sup> in the Bosporan kingdom,<sup>43</sup> by a son of Zenobia at Palmyra,<sup>44</sup> and as an attribute of Christ.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *JAOS* XLIII (1923) 26-40, esp. p. 27, n. 8.

<sup>33</sup> In a *kudurru* inscription, *CT* X, Pl. 4:10.

<sup>34</sup> Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 234.

<sup>35</sup> Ezek. 26:7; cf. Dan. 2:37. For Marduk as *bēl bēlē* and *šar šarrāni* see E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3d ed. by H. Zimmern; Berlin, 1903) pp. 373 f.

<sup>36</sup> Winckler in *ZA* II (1887) 172 i.

<sup>37</sup> Weissbach, *op. cit.* Pl. 8:2, and Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 66, No. 4:2.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Tallqvist, *op. cit.* pp. 54 f.: "Der persische Königstitel . . . ist gewiss der akkadischen Königstitulatur entlehnt." See also our p. 17, n. 113. For Arsacid use see Minns in *JHS* XXXV (1915) 22 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* I (1929/30) 15 and 119.

<sup>40</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus inscriptionum Chaldaicarum*, Lfg. 1 (Berlin und Leipzig, 1928) p. 19; cf. Sayce in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 108 and 112.

<sup>41</sup> *WVDOG* XLII, Heft 2 (1926) p. 26\*. See also our p. 13, n. 76.

<sup>42</sup> *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* XX (1903) 218.

<sup>43</sup> Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* II (St. Petersburg, 1890) 27 and 358 and IV (1901) 200 and 202.

<sup>44</sup> Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* I (Giessen, 1902) 85.

<sup>45</sup> Rev. 17:14 and 19:16. Cf. *Martyrium Polycarpi* viii 2: "Cognosco dominum meum, regem regum et imperatorem omnium gentium"; further see O. Pfeiderer, *Das Christusbild des urchristlichen Glaubens in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Berlin, 1903) pp. 95 ff.