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King, Coronation, and Temple: Enthronement Ceremonies in History

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Introduction

A central feature of nearly every ancient and medieval society was kingship—rule by divinely appointed kings—an institution whose origins are lost in the mists of time. In the view of the ancient Egyptians, kingship was coextensive in time with the world itself;¹ to the Sumerians, kingship was a gift of the gods.² Indeed, as one scholar has recently noted, “Chronicles of kingship from Egypt, to Mesopotamia, to Persia, to China, to Italy, to northern Europe, to pre-Columbian Mexico all trace the line of kings to the first king, a supreme cosmic deity who founded the kingship rites. . . . The accounts [of the creation] speak of a creator, a first man, and a first king—all referring to the same cosmic figure.”³

A central ritual associated with kingship was the coronation ceremony: that series of acts, performed in a temple or other sacred space, by means of which the king accedes to the throne and is endowed with the power and authority by which alone his rule is possible. Features of these coronation ceremonies, which have been attested to among numerous and often widely separated cultures, display

remarkable similarities. The cultural anthropologist Arthur Hocart was the first to isolate the common features of coronation ceremonies and to synthesize the available evidence, which he published in his ground-breaking work *Kingship*.⁴ Subsequent specialized studies of kingship and coronation patterns in Africa,⁵ India,⁶ Japan,⁷ and the ancient Near East⁸ have served only to confirm the general outline of Hocart's findings, but there has been no synthesis of the accumulated evidence.

In this study, we consider some of the more widely attested features of the coronation ceremony, especially in the ancient Near East. Relevant material from other cultures, where detailed studies of enthronement rites have been made, is also considered. Given the amount of evidence available and the number of ritual acts in the coronation ceremony that have been isolated, not all of the features can be dealt with in the body of the text. They are summarized in Appendix A. In Appendix B all the features of the coronation ceremony that are attested to in selected cultures—Africa, Egypt, England, Fiji, India, Israel, Japan, and Siam (Thailand)—are noted.

A note on methodology is appropriate. Comparative studies in religion and anthropology have been popular during the past century. These works are often memorials to the extraordinary erudition and insight of their authors, but have subsequently, and often justly, been criticized for their lack of critical acumen. These studies are elaborately descriptive but often fail to explore the meaning of parallels, even within a single cultural setting. While these criticisms have been important in tempering the excesses of "parallelomania" by emphasizing the distinction between the formal similarities of ritual acts and the contextual meaning of those acts, comparative studies do retain their

value, because they delineate the contours of broader cultural patterns. While the primary purpose of this study is to outline the striking resemblances in coronation rites throughout the world by detailing formal similarities among the various ceremonies, we remain aware of the differences in meaning that each of the ritual acts may have in its own context.

Individual Elements of Coronation Rites

Sacred Place

In the ancient Near East, in particular, coronation ceremonies were frequently carried out in temples. Joash's consecration, for example, took place in the temple (see 2 Kings 11:4–14; 2 Chronicles 23:3–12). Roland de Vaux thinks that “the consecration of the other kings of Judah after Solomon took place” there.⁹ According to Alan Gardiner, the coronation of certain Egyptian kings, such as Haremhab, took place in the temple.¹⁰ Further, as Henri Frankfort notes, both Sumerian and Assyrian texts describe coronation ceremonies performed in the temples of Erech and Aššur.¹¹ In ancient Persia as well, the enthronement rites of the king generally took place in a temple at the ancient capital of Pasargadae.¹²

Secrecy

Secrecy—the insistence that the ritual acts constituting the coronation ceremony be viewed only by the initiated—is an important feature of several of the rites, especially modern ones, for which we have detailed accounts. In the Japanese enthronement rite, for example, “the *Daijō* enclosure certainly keeps out all non-participants, and it was guarded by traditional groups such as the *Ōtomo*, *Mononobe*, etc.”¹³ Similarly, women, children, and commoners

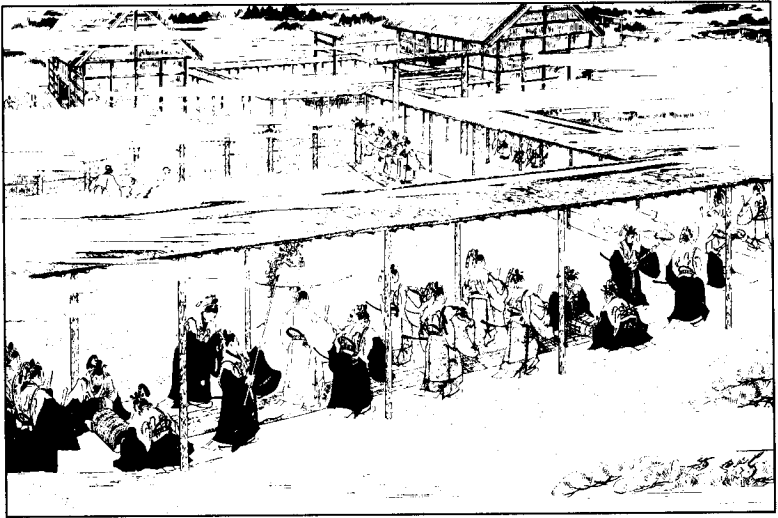


Figure 32. In this drawing by an eyewitness to Hirohito's *Daijōsai* on the midnight of 14 November 1928, the emperor is shown walking on a reed mat unrolled on white silk before him. A ceremonial umbrella-shaped crown is held over his head to indicate his central position in the cosmos. When he is alone in the shrines, he will eat a sacred meal in the presence of his ancestors, thus demonstrating the continuity of the divine mandate. Sixty-three years later, his son Akihito, the present emperor of Japan, enacted the same ceremony in his "Feast of Kingship."

were all excluded from the Indian coronation ceremony.¹⁴ In Thailand, the traditional rite of the king's consecration was "distinctly private."¹⁵ This same secrecy is also a part of the African¹⁶ and Fijian¹⁷ coronation ceremonies that we have examined.

Secrecy seems to be an almost universal feature of initiation ceremonies. The Egyptologist C. J. Bleeker notes that "initiation presupposes a religious secret which is only known to the initiated."¹⁸ These secrets include, according to Mircea Eliade, "the myths that tell of the gods and the origin of the world, the true names of the gods, [and] the

role and origin of the ritual instruments employed in the initiation ceremonies."¹⁹

The secrecy surrounding initiation rites in general and enthronement ceremonies in particular also characterizes the rituals at temples and other sanctuaries. Among the Mesopotamians, temple rites were a jealously guarded secret.²⁰ The ancient Egyptians were strictly forbidden to reveal what they had seen in the temple.²¹ In ancient Greece, the secrecy surrounding the rituals performed in the sanctuary at Eleusis was so rigorous that in 200 B.C., when two young men from the distant town of Akarnania innocently entered the sanctuary at Eleusis during the enactment of a mystery festival and betrayed themselves by asking questions about the rites, they were promptly executed.²² Of the Eleusinian mysteries, George Mylonas writes that "the last Hierophant carried with him to the grave the secrets which had been transmitted orally for untold generations, from one high priest to the next."²³

Of secrecy in religious traditions in general, Irach Taraporewala writes:

In considering the history of any religion we get, first of all, either authenticated Scriptures compiled by the followers of that Faith or else descriptions left by contemporary outsiders narrating how these doctrines and beliefs affected them. In the second place, there is a certain amount of what might be called "floating tradition" and folklore embodied in the varied rites and ceremonies practiced by the believers in that Faith. And thirdly, there is a certain amount of "sacred" or "mystic" tradition and teaching known to only a few, and which was jealously guarded from the "profane" who were likely to scoff at it. This "sacred," and therefore secret, lore was known only to a few initiates, but in order that the memory of these may not be completely lost most of this secret teach-

ing was embodied in some sort of symbolic ritual which could be performed openly before the public.²⁴

Ablutions

Ablutions—ceremonial washings that were believed to avert evil, give life and strength, and symbolize rebirth—were a regular part of the coronation ceremonies and of other ritual occasions as well in the ancient Near East.²⁵ Even as a child, the Egyptian crown prince was sprinkled with water by officials in order that he might be endowed with divine qualities and be reborn.²⁶ In his daily preparations for entrance into the temple, the pharaoh was sprinkled with holy water, an act that endowed him with life, good fortune, stability, health, and happiness. For the purpose of performing these ritual acts of ablution, a pool or lake was connected with many Egyptian temples.²⁷ During the Sed festival, the recurring feast celebrating the pharaoh's kingship, the pharaoh would have his feet ceremonially washed.²⁸

It is still uncertain whether ablutions were part of the ancient Israelite coronation ceremonies. However, since purification in water is mentioned in Exodus 29:4 in connection with the anointing and investment of Aaron and his sons (cf. Exodus 40:12), Geo Widengren thinks that "it is probable that certain water-purifications had a place in the Israelite royal consecration."²⁹ St. Cyril of Jerusalem may have based his comments on an extrabiblical tradition when he said, in his lecture *On the Mysteries*, "When the High Priest raised Solomon to the kingship, he anointed him after washing him in the waters of Gihon."³⁰ Although there is no explicit mention in 1 Kings 1:38–39 of a ritual ablution in connection with King Solomon's coronation rites, the Talmud records that "our Rabbis taught: The kings are

anointed only at a fountain."³¹ The presumption in favor of the existence of ablutions in the Israelite coronation ceremony is also strengthened by the symbolic placement of the temple—the site of many Israelite coronations (e.g., the coronation of Joash in 2 Kings 11:4–14)—over the center of the world, where the “Water of Life” flowed.³²

Ablutions are also widely attested in coronation ceremonies in other parts of the world. During many African coronations, kings were either washed or sprinkled with water, which both cleansed the king and enabled him “to see a part of the divine life.”³³ In Japan, the emperor entered a building called the Kairyu-den, or Ablution Hall, where he took his bath of purification. After entering the bath, the Emperor folded his arms and stooped down while the officiants poured water over him.³⁴

In general, the available descriptions of the coronation rites give few particulars concerning the ablution ceremony. Reports of other initiation rites, however, provide us a fairly detailed insight into the procedures involved. For example, according to reports concerning the ceremonial ablutions among the Mandaean of Iraq and Iran, the hands, face, forehead, ears, nose, lower part of the body, mouth, knees, legs, and feet are all washed.³⁵ During the initiation ceremony of the Bektashi order of Sufi Muslims, the meaning of each act of the ablution rite is explained:

He washes his hands in order to be freed from all the prohibited things to which he has stretched his hands before; he rinses his mouth in order to cleanse it from all falsehood and fault that may have issued from it; he rinses his nose to cleanse it from whatever forbidden things he has smelt; he washes his face in order to be absolved from every shameful thing; his feet in order to be cleansed from every instance of having walked in rebellious and mistaken paths; while he wipes his head

and ears he wishes to be absolved from every unreasonable thing which is counter to the religious law, and further, while wiping his face from all the acts of disobedience which he has committed. Kadri adds that this ablution differed from the ordinary ablution in so far as it was effective forever. This meaning is quite clear: it is the complete removal of all that is sinful and unclean and belongs to his former life.³⁶

Anointing

Anointing the king with oil is a significant element of the coronation ceremonies in the ancient Near East, as elsewhere in the world. From extant sources it is clear that the Hittite accession ceremony included "anointing with oil, clothing in special garments, coronation, and the bestowal of a royal name."³⁷ Further, although there is no clear evidence that the Egyptian king was anointed at the time of his accession to the throne, the sources indicate that he was anointed every morning prior to entering the temple in order to perform the daily liturgy there.³⁸

The Old Testament records the anointings of six Israelite kings: Saul (1 Samuel 10:1), David (2 Samuel 5:3), Solomon (1 Kings 1:39), Jehu (2 Kings 9:6), Joash (2 Kings 11:12), and Jehoahaz (2 Kings 23:30). In addition, it is recorded in 2 Samuel 19:10 that Absalom was anointed to be king. Indeed, the very name "Messiah," used with reference to several of the kings of ancient Israel, means "anointed," and it doubtless refers to the rite of anointing the king at his installation as monarch.³⁹ Later Jewish legend had it that the idea of anointing began with the first man. According to this story, when Adam was 930 years old, he knew that his days were coming to an end. He therefore implored Eve, "Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray to God to have

mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it [to] me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint."⁴⁰

Anointing as part of coronation rites is also well attested in India, Cambodia, Siam, and throughout Europe.⁴¹ R. M. Woolley, who examined European enthronement ceremonies, found anointing to be an integral part of the rite in Byzantium, Russia, England, France, Hungary, Spain, and Germany. Some of the anointings of these coronations were quite complex. One of the more elaborate anointings was received by the Russian czar. According to Woolley: "The Anointing takes place after the Communion hymn. Two bishops summon the Czar, who takes his stand near the Royal Gates, the Czarina, a little behind him, both in their purple robes, and there the Czar is anointed on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, and on both sides of his hands by the senior Metropolitan, who says: "The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost.'"⁴²

New Name

According to Arthur M. Hocart, at his coronation the king "usually acquires a new name, either a title or the name of a predecessor; so do priests very frequently, for instance Popes and monks in Europe."⁴³ Perhaps no element of coronation rites is more widely known (and taken for granted) than the monarch's receipt of a new name or throne name at the time of his (or her) accession to the throne. During the Middle Kingdom, the Egyptian king, who had no less than five names in all, received one of these, the praenomen or throne name, at the time of his accession.⁴⁴ In Mesopotamia, the new name was given at the time of the king's accession "when the choice of the gods became effective in the world

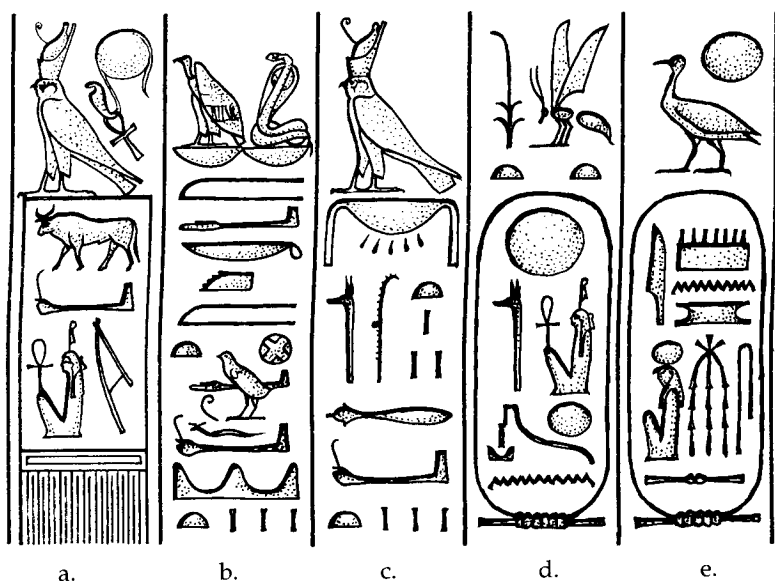


Figure 33. This is the full titulary of the five names of Ramses II:

- Palace name: Victorious Bull, Beloved of Maat, the Goddess of Truth;
- Two Ladies: Protector of Egypt, his two arms victorious over the nations;
- Golden Horus: Strong of Years, Great of Victories;
- Upper and Lower Egypt: Strong in the Sun God Re and Maat, chosen of Re;
- Son of Re: Beloved of Amun, Born of Re.

of men."⁴⁵ Before his accession, the king in Mesopotamia bore a different name, the "name of smallness."⁴¹ Similarly, Parthian kings assumed the throne-name Arsak at the time of their coronation, a fact that has complicated the process of identifying individual rulers.⁴⁶ Since several Israelite kings had two names—the "birth name" and the "regal name"—Roland de Vaux believes that it is likely, though not certain, that the kings of Judah received a new name when they succeeded to the throne.⁴⁷

This practice of assigning a new name at the time of the

king's enthronement is also well attested in other parts of the world. The new name or title added to the Siamese king's personal name after his coronation was inscribed on a golden plate and was "neither known nor understood by the common people."⁴⁸ Similarly, during the Japanese enthronement rite, the emperor receives a new name—the era title.⁴⁹

Kings were not the only ones to receive new names. Biblical history is replete with examples of men (and in one case, a woman) who received new or changed names, frequently in association with a transition (usually, though not invariably, of a spiritual nature) in their lives. Thus Abram became Abraham (Genesis 17:5), his wife Sarai became Sarah (17:15), Jacob was renamed Israel (32:28), and Joseph became Zaphnath-paaneah (41:45). In the New Testament, Jesus gave Simon the name Cephas, whose Greek reflex is Peter (Matthew 16:17–18; John 1:42), while Saul took on the Latin name Paul, indicative of his role as missionary to the Gentiles (the name Paul is first mentioned in Acts 13:9, at the beginning of his first missionary labors among the Gentiles). The receipt of a new name is promised to all the faithful in Revelation: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it" (2:17).⁵⁰

Rebirth

Rebirth rituals—which include acting as one who is new to the world, being swallowed by a monster, acting like a newborn babe, being endowed with divine qualities, going through a burial ceremony, or simply being reawakened—are frequent concomitants of coronation ceremonies.

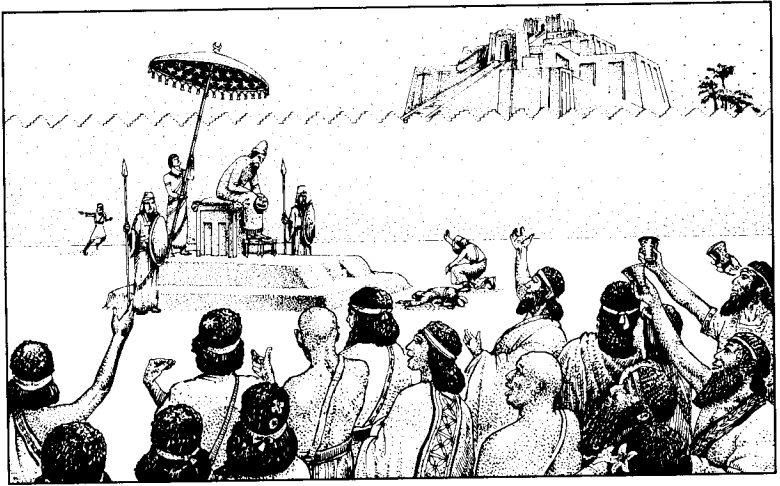


Figure 34. To avoid the unpleasant necessity of their own ritual executions, kings developed the custom of the “Mock King,” or substitute who ruled for a day and then was killed. This allowed the real king to emerge reborn and invigorated for another cycle. However, the roles were sometimes unexpectedly reversed, as recorded in the Babylonian Royal Chronicles (2029–2006 B.C.): “That the dynasty might not come to an end, King Erra-Imitti placed the gardener Enlil-Bani as a substitute figure on his throne. Erra-Imitti died in his palace while sipping a hot brew. Enlil-Bani, he who was on the throne, did not arise [from it] but was himself installed as king [and went on to rule for twenty-four years].”

Rebirth is also implicit in certain of the other elements of the coronation ceremony: ablution, anointing, giving of the new name, and the bestowal of a garment. Thus in Egypt, according to Samuel A. B. Mercer, the “ritual act of ablutions—washing and sprinkling—symbolized new birth.”⁵¹ In the view of Tor Irstram, the idea of death and rebirth may provide the explanation of the custom of the king assuming a new name upon his accession to the throne.⁵² In ancient Babylon, during the period of the Late Empire, the king’s death and rebirth were probably portrayed on the fifth day of the great *Akītu* (New Year) festival, when

the king was divested of his royal insignia and apparel, ritually humiliated, and reinstated.⁵³ Henri Frankfort remarks on this event, "It is . . . clear that his renewed investiture with the insignia of royalty signified a renewal of kingship."⁵⁴

There may be an intimation of the notion of rebirth in the accounts of the ancient Israelite kings. It is recounted of Saul that the Spirit of the Lord came upon Saul following his anointing, whereupon he became a new man (see 1 Samuel 10:6, 10). Similarly, the Spirit of the Lord came upon David immediately following his anointing to be king (see 1 Samuel 16:13). In later Jewish tradition, the association of coronation with rebirth became explicit: in the Talmud it is said that the king becomes on the day of his coronation "like a one year old babe who has not known the taste of sin."⁵⁵

Creation

The time of the king's coronation was frequently associated with the creation of the world. This is particularly apparent in ancient Egypt. There, the crown prince's accession to the throne took place on the morning following the death of the former king, a moment chosen not merely to secure as easy and peaceful a dynastic succession as possible, but also because of its religious significance. By ascending to the throne in this manner, the crown prince "actualized the mythic deed of the sun-god, his ideal father, who in mythic times climbed the primeval hill, thus causing the day to break."⁵⁶ The installation of the Indian king, the *rajasūya*, included the re-creation of the universe.⁵⁷ And according to A. M. Hocart, the installation ceremony of the Fijian king was called the "creation of the world," "fashioning the land," or "creating the earth."⁵⁸

Ritual Combat

This world is a place of continuing conflict between the powers of order and chaos, of good and evil, of light and darkness. In Egypt, for example, "the victory of light at creation . . . is not a final one. Darkness is not defeated once and for all, it has only been pushed back and surrounds this world of lights, continuously threatening to encroach upon its dominion."⁵⁹ Even the king at his coronation might not be exempt from a struggle for his throne. In many sacred traditions this conflict goes back to the creation itself. The contest between the opposing forces is ceremonially represented by the ritual combat or sham fight, "a fight or battle enacted in a ritual in order to illustrate a battle told of in a myth; the result of this battle is the [temporary] destruction of the enemies of the cosmic order or of the life of the community."⁶⁰

The ritual combat sometimes represents the struggle between opposing seasonal forces, sometimes the primeval contest for control of the cosmos, or the conflict at the New Year, or the battle between forces loyal to the newly enthroned king and his enemies. The ritual combat is performed either for "the riddance of whatever is conceived as hostile," for "the enhancement of whatever is conceived of as favorable to life,"⁶¹ or to produce a large amount of supernatural power "in the form of excitement."⁶² Thus, for example, "among the Malaysians a mock combat takes place every three or four years in order to expel demons," while the same ceremony is also thought "to introduce new life and vitality."⁶³ Similarly, Tor Irstram notes that, in Africa, "anarchy—chaos—was the natural state until the new king had fought the ritual sham fight in connection with his coronation." According to Irstram, the ritual combat represented the turning point in the mythical battle in which the

god brought an end to the state of chaos, overcame the powers of anarchy, and created the cosmos—the ordered world.⁶⁴

Many mock combats, particularly in the ancient Near East, contained reminiscences of primal battles between the gods. In ancient Iran, where the earth was “seen as the battleground of two divine powers,”⁶⁵ the New Year’s festival was “the great mythic-ritual occasion of the year. . . . At this festival the king functions as a dragon-killer, slaying the mythical monster Azi Dahaka, thereby creating fertility in the world.”⁶⁶ The Babylonian New Year (Akītu) festival may have included a mock combat that dramatized the battle between Marduk and Tiamat before the world was created.⁶⁷ The Egyptians may have ritually represented the primordial battle between Horus and Seth (Typhon), where the monster Apophis, depicted by a rope, is cut into pieces.⁶⁸ There appears to have been a ritual combat at the New Year Festival in ancient Ugarit. “During the first four days of the New Year Festival,” de Moor informs us, “there was a ritual battle in the plains between Ma’hadu (Minet el-Beida) and Ugarit (Ras Shamra) and later on in the sanctuary of the goddess. A princess representing the goddess ‘Anatu engaged in a mock battle with the soldiers from the two cities. . . . Between the fights the soldiers seem to have regaled at special tables in the temples.”⁶⁹

Examples could be cited from both the ancient and modern world of mock combats, some expressly linked with the seasons or festivals, some not. In a Hittite ritual, a mock battle takes place between a group representing the men of Ḫatti and one representing the men of Māša. At the end of the struggle, the men of Ḫatti win and present one of their prisoners “to the god.”⁷⁰ Among the most interesting ancient attestations is found in Herodotus:

At Papremis there is a special ceremony in addition to the ordinary rites and sacrifices. . . . As the sun draws towards setting, only a few of the priests continue to employ themselves about the image of the god, while the majority, armed with wooden clubs, take their stand at the entrance of the temple; opposite there is another crowd of men, more than a thousand strong, also armed with clubs and consisting of men who have vows to perform. The image of the god, in a little wooden gold-plated shrine, is conveyed to another sacred building on the day before the ceremony. The few priests who are left to attend to it, put it, together with the shrine which contains it, in a four-wheeled cart which they drag along towards the temple. The others, waiting at the temple gate, try to prevent it from coming in, while the votaries take the god's side and set upon them with their clubs. The assault is resisted, and a vigorous tussle ensues in which heads are broken and not a few actually die of the wounds they receive. That, at least, is what I believe, though the Egyptians told me that nobody is ever killed.⁷¹

Other ritual battles are attested to in ancient Egypt, including one at Buto, associated with Min, that has similarities to the conflict described by Herodotus.⁷² In ancient Greece, ritual combats are recorded, notably for the *lithobolia* (ritual pelting with stones) and raillery connected with Damia and Auxesia at Troezen.⁷³ Other examples include the feast of Danlis in Argos, the Katagogia in Ephesus, and the *ballachiadai* at Argos.⁷⁴ In communities throughout Europe, and the world generally, there are numerous instances of ritual fights usually associated with a festival, though sometimes connected with none.⁷⁵ Thus, according to Jacob Grimm, "in many places [in Germany] two persons, disguised as Summer and Winter, make their appearance, the one clothed with ivy or *singrün*, the other with straw or

moss, and they fight one another till Summer wins. The custom . . . belongs chiefly to districts in the middle Rhine."⁷⁶

Ritual combats take place during the coronation ceremonies of Egypt, Africa, India, and England.⁷⁷ In a panel depicting the Memphite Osirian rituals of the month of Khoiak (closely connected, as Sethe has shown, with kingship⁷⁸), shows the raising of a *Dd*-pillar and a ritual combat "between people representing the inhabitants of Buto, the pre-dynastic capital of Lower Egypt, some of whom cried out as they fought 'I choose the Horus N.'" ⁷⁹ Thus, this day included both rituals representing the resurrection and burial of Osiris, "but also a ritual combat depicting the triumph of his son and successor, Horus, and what looks remarkably like a triumphal royal procession."⁸⁰ There is also a sham fight at Abydos in honor of Osiris,⁸¹ and a ritual combat at Letopolis connected with the worship of Horus that appears to be associated with the royal rites of enthronement.⁸² During the accession of Egyptian king Senusert I, a "mock battle" was fought.⁸³

We have an apparent survival of the ritual combat in Christian Ethiopia, where it was customary at the enthronement festival in Aksum for a lion and an ox to be chained. While the king felled the ox with his own hand, his retinue would kill animals and birds.⁸⁴ During the older English coronation rite (last performed at the accession of George II), at the banquet in Westminster Hall that concluded the coronation, a person called "the King's Champion" appeared. He entered the hall with two trumpeters, a "sergeant-at-arms," two attendants carrying his lance and shield, and a herald. After the trumpeter sounded a signal, the herald read a proclamation that the champion would fight anyone disputing the king's title to the throne.⁸⁵ In Ganda, in Africa, Irstram writes, "we found both a real

struggle for the throne and several sham fights. Immediately after Katikiro's solemn announcement of the name of the elected king, he bade those who were dissatisfied with the choice to fight for their candidate to the throne. He even offered to provide the weapons. It then sometimes happened that fighting actually took place, and this then continued until only one of the rival princes was left alive."⁸⁶

But if conflict was often a part of the coronation, the king was also granted the ability to overcome and repel opposing powers. H. P. L'Orange observes in the ancient world what he terms "the gesture of power." He shows with numerous illustrations that this gesture was made by raising the right hand, the palm facing forward, as is commonly done when taking an oath.⁸⁷ L'Orange notes that "the outstretched right hand of the king" is endowed with supernatural powers. The gesture could be used to bless or to curse.⁸⁸ "From the outstretched divine hand supernatural powers emanate, repelling all hostile and evil forces. . . . The supernatural redeeming power in the emperor's outstretched right hand presupposes higher powers and abilities dwelling in him. Through the emperor, manifesting his power in this gesture, divine interference in human affairs takes place."⁸⁹

Procession

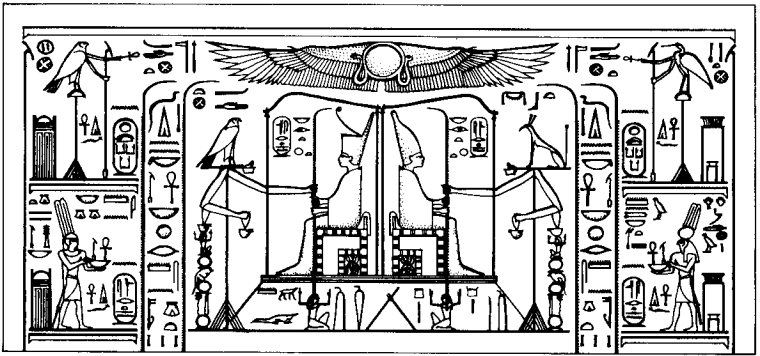
As part of many coronation ceremonies the king toured his kingdom and received homage from his subjects, a procession that many times followed the course of the sun.⁹⁰ In ancient Egypt from the time of Menes, each pharaoh paraded ceremoniously around a fortified wall, and the ritual came to be called "the procession round the wall."⁹¹ Similarly, after Solomon had been anointed as king of Israel, a procession

went with the new king from the sanctuary to the throne, whereupon he took his place on the throne and received the obeisance of the officials and the royal princes (see 1 Kings 1:40, 53). During the Babylonian *Akītu* festival (in which the king played a central role, although it was not a coronation rite per se) a procession took place, in which the statue of the god left the city temple, embarked on a ship, and made a journey to the *Akītu*-house, afterward returning to his temple on the same boat. The participation of the king in the ceremony was essential, and it is clear that the populace joined in and found it a period of great joy and feasting.⁹² This element of the coronation rite is also found in the ceremonies of India, Cambodia, Siam, Japan, Fiji, and Africa.⁹³

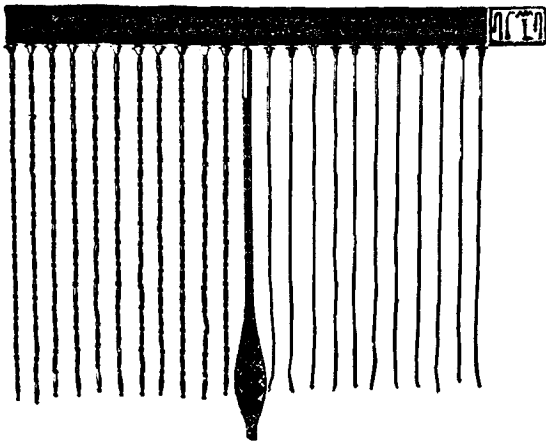
Garment

Kings are commonly clothed with special garments during their coronations. Some of our best evidence for this feature of accession rites is found in accounts of enthronement ceremonies in South and East Asia. In India the king is invested with two garments and a mantle at the time of his coming to the throne. Similarly, in Cambodia the king's ministers traditionally place a red mantle with gold embroidery on the king's shoulders during his coronation.⁹⁴ There was a similar ceremony for the Siamese king. The king was given a white robe symbolic of purity for his ceremonial bath of purification and anointment. Following this ceremonial bath the king withdrew, reappearing shortly thereafter in his full royal robes, including the gold-embroidered *pha-nun*, or Siamese national lower garment, and a gold-embroidered robe or long tunic.⁹⁵ During the enthronement ceremony for the Japanese emperor, clothing in a royal garment also plays an important part.⁹⁶

In medieval and modern European accession rites,



A.



B.

Figure 35. The Sed festival of Senwsret III is shown on this stone lintel (A) from his temple at Medamud (c. 1860 B.C.). He wears the archaic white garment from which his hands emerge to receive the palm frond of "millions of years" from Horus and Seth. The small divine figures at either corner wear the bull's tail, from which the festival takes its name. An actual example of this ritual girdle (B) was found in the tomb of the lady Senebtisy (c. 1962 B.C.).

clothing in regal garments plays a central role. One of the oldest preserved Christian coronation ceremonies is the Spanish rite, during which the king "disrobes, and is arrayed in white vestments designed with special openings to admit of the anointing. The Archbishop of Pamplona proceeds to anoint him in front of the high altar according to the custom, but unfortunately what the custom is is not specified. The king after the anointing changes his raiment for precious vestments, and returns to the high altar. The archbishop then proceeds with the accustomed prayers."⁹⁷

The evidence for clothing in royal robes at the coronation ceremonies in the ancient Near East is somewhat less certain. However, according to Bleeker, the *hb sd* (Sed festival), the main festival of the king in ancient Egypt, should be translated "the festival of the garment, in the sense of re-investiture. . . . This accords with what has already been established: one of the central rituals—if not the main one of the festival—is the king's donning and wearing the *sd* robe of archaic design."⁹⁸ "By donning the *sd* robe," Bleeker notes in another study, "the king renewed his office."⁹⁹

Possibly there was a rite of investiture at the coronation of the Israelite king, similar to that at the Sed festival; and the royal robe may have looked like the garment of the high priest, which is described in great detail in Exodus 28.¹⁰⁰

Crown

The root sense of coronation implies that the king is crowned, and, indeed, this is a central part of many, though by no means all, accession rites. In ancient Egypt the king was given the two crowns—of Upper and Lower Egypt. The red crown of Lower Egypt was a "flat cap, with spiral in front and tall projection at rear," while the white crown of Upper Egypt was "tall and conical with a knob at the

top."¹⁰¹ There is no direct evidence concerning the receipt of a crown by the Israelite king at the time of his enthronement, but the high priest's crown (described in Exodus 29) may reflect the type used by the king. The Persian king's dress also included a cap, described in detail by Dhalla: "The cap was made of stiffer material, and was higher than that worn by any of [his] subjects. It assumed a broader circular shape, as it reached the flat top, and a blue fillet [or band], spotted with white, encircled it at the bottom."¹⁰²

In his study of coronation ceremonies among African tribes, Irstram found nineteen tribes where the king was crowned. These crowns included bands of cloth or cow-hide, caps, and actual metal crowns.¹⁰³ The Siamese crown was "a cone of several stages terminating in a spire,"¹⁰⁴ whereas in India it was a gold plate.¹⁰⁵ In Japan, on the other hand, it is not proper to speak of a "coronation," since the emperor received no crown. He did, however, wear the tallest form of the black lacquered headdress of standard court costume.

Conclusion

Some general observations concerning enthronement ceremonies are warranted: (1) Although the actual elements of the coronation ceremonies of the various cultures under study may differ substantially from each other, and although no one people has a coronation ceremony that reflects in all its particulars the pattern described above (much less the full complement of elements listed in Appendix A), there are still sufficient similarities in the rites to justify their comparison. (2) Much of what is contained in the ceremonies of enthronement seems distinctly foreign to the thought and forms of twentieth-century man, as indeed it should, since the pattern is widely attested in antiquity, and appears to derive from the ancient world.



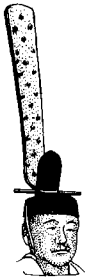
Persian



Nubian



Siamese



Japanese



Chinese

(3) The coronation rites are intimately linked with the priesthood. Those carrying out the coronation rites are nearly always of sacerdotal rank, and even the king himself is generally of priestly grade or is endowed with priestly power. (4) The site of the coronation ceremonies is nearly always sacred space. In many of the cultures where coronation ceremonies are attested, the temple serves as the site of the ceremony, given its position as sacred space par excellence. In others, a church or some other sanctuary was chosen, which strengthened considerably the association of the enthronement rites with the sacred. Access to this sacred space, be it temple, church, or other area, is generally restricted, at least during the time of the coronation liturgy.

Figure 36. In this bas-relief from Thebes (c. 1080 B.C.), upper left, the priest-king Heri-Hor is enthroned between the maternal embrace of the two goddesses, Wadjet with the red crown of Lower Egypt and Nekhbet with the white crown of Upper Egypt. Seth and Horus hasten forward offering miniature crowns as well. From the bulging eminence of the Persian crown to the mandala temple tower of the Siamese, the emphasis is on height, showing the preeminence of the king among men.

Appendix A: **Features of the Coronation Ceremony¹⁰⁶**

1. Austerities. Previous to their coronation, some kings prepared themselves for the ceremony through fasting, remaining in solitude, or some other act of discipline.

2. Secrecy. The coronation ceremony, which often contained religious secrets known only to the initiated, was frequently guarded in order to prevent the entrance of the uninitiated.

3. Reverence. During the coronation ceremony itself, those who were allowed to attend were expected to maintain a discrete silence.

4. Humiliation. During certain ceremonies, the king became the butt of practical jokes, sneers, derision, and "grotesque and fantastic puns" and was sometimes even the object of a severe beating.

5. Promises. In another important constituent of the coronation ceremony, "the king is admonished to rule justly and promises to do so."

6. Gods. A feature particularly evident in ancient coronation ceremonies but found less often in modern ones is the impersonation of the gods by priests or other officials.

7. Ablution. During this part of the coronation rite, the king was ceremonially washed.

8. Anointing. A feature of the ceremony that generally followed the ablution was an anointing of the king with oil.

9. Sacrifices. Animal sacrifice frequently attended the installation rituals of the king. Human sacrifice is also attested, but only rarely.

10. Jubilation. Numerous coronations end with ritual rejoicing that was frequently accompanied by acclamations such as "Long live the king!"

11. New Name. During the course of the coronation

ceremonies, the king generally acquired a new name, often either a title or the name of a predecessor.

12. Rebirth. During many coronation rituals, some act suggesting the rebirth process was performed: acting as one who is new to the world, going through a burial ceremony, being ritually reawakened, or acting like a newborn babe.

13. Creation. The coronation ceremony was thought of as a time of new creation, a day like the day on which the world was created. This intimate association of coronation and creation was often ritually expressed by the ceremonial repetition of the creation account.

14. Combat. This is often a ritual combat or "sham fight," a fight or battle enacted in a ritual in order to illustrate a battle told of in myth. The result of this battle is the (temporary) destruction of the cosmic order or of the life of the community.

15. Marriage. A "sacred marriage" between the king and his consort frequently accompanies the other rituals associated with the coronation, and in some rituals it is the final act.

16. Procession. The coronation ceremony generally included a ritual procession, either around the sacred site of the king's enthronement or through his realms, in order that the king might receive homage from his people.

17. Garment. In the course of the enthronement ceremony, the king was generally clothed with a garment endowed with special powers.

18. Crown. During the coronation rite, the king was frequently given a crown, cap, or some other head covering with sacred associations.

19. Shoes. In many coronations, the king puts on shoes or other footwear as a part of the rites.

20. Regalia. During the installation rites, the king

receives various symbols of his regal power: a sword, a scepter, or a ring.

21. Throne. The ritual enthronement of the king during the coronation ceremony is enacted even more frequently than the bestowal of the crown or the receipt of other regalia.

22. Masks. The use of masks by priests impersonating gods is evident in certain ancient royal rites.

23. Communion. In a number of coronation rites, the king received food or drink of a ceremonial or sacramental nature.

24. Feast. In the course of most coronation rituals, a feast was given for the king and all others attending the ceremony.

25. Dominion. In a number of cultures, the new king performed a rite, such as taking a set number of ceremonial steps, touring the kingdom, or shooting an arrow.

26. Officials. In many cultures, officials were consecrated either in the course of the coronation ceremony or shortly thereafter.

27. Progression. In most of the coronation ceremonies under study, the king was permitted to be consecrated several times, progressing each time in the scale of kingship.

Appendix B: Features of the Coronation Ceremony in Selected Cultures

| | Fiji ¹⁰⁷ | India ¹⁰⁸ | England ¹⁰⁹ | Siam ¹¹⁰ | Africa ¹¹¹ | Japan ¹¹² | Egypt ¹¹³ | Israel ¹¹⁴ |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Austerities | | x | x | x | x | x | | |
| 2. Secrecy | x | x | | x | x | x | x | |
| 3. Reverence | x | | | | x | x | | |
| 4. Humiliation | x | x | | | x | | x | |
| 5. Promises | x | x | x | x | x | x | | x |
| 6. Gods | | | | | x | | x | |
| 7. Ablution | x | x | | x | x | x | x | |
| 8. Anointing | | x | x | | x | | x | x |
| 9. Sacrifice | | x | | x | x | x | x | x |
| 10. Jubilation | x | | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 11. New Name | | x | | x | x | x | x | x |
| 12. Rebirth | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 13. Creation | x | x | | | | | x | |
| 14. Combat | x | x | x | x | x | | x | |
| 15. Queen | x | x | | | x | | | |
| 16. Procession | x | x | | x | x | x | x | x |
| 17. Garment | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 18. Crown | x | x | x | x | x | | x | x |
| 19. Shoes | | x | x | x | x | x | x | |
| 20. Regalia | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 21. Throne | | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 22. Masks | | | | | | | x | |
| 23. Communion | x | x | x | | x | x | | x |
| 24. Feast | x | | | x | x | x | x | x |
| 25. Dominion | x | x | | | x | | x | x |
| 26. Officials | x | | x | x | x | x | | |
| 27. Progression | x | x | x | x | | | | |

Notes

1. See Henri Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), 50.
2. See Cyril J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient Near East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 21.
3. David N. Talbott, *The Saturn Myth* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 20, 329; cf. John W. Perry, *Lord of the Four Quarters* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), 16, 18; Frederick H. Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), 80, 87–88.
4. Arthur Hocart, *Kingship* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927).
5. See Tor Irstram, *The King of Ganda* (Lund: Ohlssons, 1944).
6. See J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (Gravenhage: Mouton, 1957).
7. See D. C. Holtom, *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1928), and FK.
8. See KG, *passim*.
9. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965), 102.
10. See Alan Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953): 25.
11. See KG, 245–47.
12. See M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1922), 227.
13. FK, 151.
14. See Hocart, *Kingship*, 78.
15. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies: Their History and Function* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1931), 124.
16. See Irstram, *The King of Ganda*, 72.
17. See Hocart, *Kingship*, 76.
18. "The Significance of Initiation," in *Initiation*, ed. C. J. Bleeker (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 15.
19. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1959), 188.
20. See Samuel H. Hooke, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 47; cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 16.
21. See C. J. Bleeker, "Initiation in Ancient Egypt," in *Initiation*, 55–56; H. W. Fairman, "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple," *Bulletin, John Rylands Library* 37 (1954–55), 174, 187, 201; cf.

M. V. Seton-Williams, *Ptolemaic Temples* (Cambridge: The Author, 1978), 38.

22. See Carl Kerényi, *Eleusis* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967), 118; George Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 225.

23. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 281.

24. Irach Taraporewala, "Mithraism," in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), 205.

25. See Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 130; cf. also Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Cleveland: World, 1963), 188–89, 193–94; Maurice A. Canney, *Newness of Life* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1928), 67; W. B. Kristensen, *The Meaning of Religion* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960), 447; A. J. Wensinck, "The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology," *Acta Orientalia* 1 (1923): 166, 186; Robert A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Osiris* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 125, 153.

26. See Samuel A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts*, 4 vols. (New York: Longmans and Green, 1952), 4:55; cf. Aylward M. Blackman, "An Ancient Egyptian Foretaste of the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration," *Theology* 1 (1920): 140–41.

27. See Blackman, "An Ancient Egyptian Foretaste," 135, 137–38; Aylward M. Blackman, "Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1918): 124; Samuel A. B. Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London: Luzac, 1949), 348–50; Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship*, 145.

28. See Aylward M. Blackman, "The House of the Morning," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1918): 155; KG, 83; Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), 159.

29. Geo Widengren, "Royal Ideology and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *Promise and Fulfilment*, ed. F. F. Bruce (Edinburgh: Clark, 1963), 207.

30. *Catachesis Mystagogica* III.6 (*Catachesis* XXI), in PG, 33:1093.

31. TB, *Horayoth* 12a.

32. See Geo Widengren, "Israelite-Jewish Religion," in *Historia Religionum*, 2 vols., ed. C. J. Bleeker and Geo Widengren (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 1:258–59.

33. Irstram, *The King of Ganda*, 64–65.

34. See Zoe Kincaid, "The Ceremonies of Accession," in *Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Emperor of Japan*, ed. Benjamin W. Fleisher (Tokyo: Japan Advertiser, 1928), 31, 34.

35. See E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), 102–4.

36. See Helmer Ringgren, in "Initiation Ceremony of the Bek-tashis," in *Initiation*, 203–4.

37. Oliver R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship," in *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, ed. Samuel H. Hooke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953), 118.

38. See Ernst Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient* (Berlin: Topelmann, 1963), 41–52; Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 348.

39. See Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt*, 52–63; cf. also J. A. Soggin, "maelaek," in *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, 2 vols., ed. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 1:914.

40. *Apocalypsis Mosis* 9:3, cited in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, 2 vols., ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 2:143.

41. See Hocart, *Kingship*, 79–96.

42. R. M. Woolley, *Coronation Rites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 29.

43. Arthur M. Hocart, "Initiation," *Folklore* 35 (1924): 312.

44. See KG, 46; cf. also John A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 102.

45. KG, 246.

46. See Geo Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," in *La regalita sacra/The Sacral Kingship*, vol. 4 in *Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 255–56.

47. See de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 108.

48. Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 38, 85, 88, 102–3, 125.

49. See FK, 152.

50. On the use of new and hidden names, see Bruce H. Porter and Stephen D. Ricks, "Names in Antiquity: Old, New, and Hidden," in *BSAF*, 1:501–22.

51. Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 350; cf. Blackman, "An Ancient Egyptian Foretaste," 138–41.

52. See Istram, *The King of Ganda*, 57–58; cf. Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967), 5.

53. See Aage Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (London: Lutterworth, 1955), 26.

54. KG, 320.

55. Midrash, *Rabbah*, *Samuel* 17; *TB Yoma* 22b, cited in Raphael

Patai, "Hebrew Installation Rites," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 20 (1947): 170.

56. C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 95. It is also interesting to note the consistency with which the recitation of the creation account is found in temple rituals in the ancient Near East. Hugh Nibley, in his luminous study of the Egyptian background of the Joseph Smith papyri, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975), 131, notes that the creation story constitutes a focal point in Egyptian religious literature and in the temple ritual. E. A. E. Reymond further shows that the creation account played a major role in the temple liturgy at Memphis (see *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969], 273–85). Similarly, the *Enuma Elish*, the Babylonian creation account, was recited in the *Akītu*-house in Babylon in the course of the *Akītu* (New Year's) festival, and possibly on other occasions as well (see F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel Accadiens* [Paris: Leroux, 1921], 136, lines 279–84, and W. G. Lambert, "Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 13 [1968]: 106). While it is uncertain that the creation account of Genesis 1:1–2:4 was used in the temple ritual of Israel before the Babylonian exile, a reference in the *M Ta'anit* 4:2–3 clearly indicates that one of the responsibilities of the courses of laymen (*anshe ma'amad*) in the postexilic temple was to read sections of the Genesis account while the Levites and priests performed the sacrifices (further see Stephen Ricks, "Liturgy and Cosmogony: The Ritual Use of Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East," 118–25, in this volume, *Temples of the Ancient World*).

57. See Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 39; cf. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Coronation*, 10.

58. Hocart, *Kingship*, 189–90; cf. Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, 39.

59. Helmer Ringgren, "Light and Darkness in Ancient Egyptian Religion," in *Liber Amicorum: Studies in Honour of Professor Dr. C. J. Bleeker* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 144.

60. Ivan Engnell, *A Rigid Scrutiny* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969), 181, n. 4.

61. Jane E. Harrison, *Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 1.

62. H. J. Rose, "A Suggested Explanation of Ritual Combats," *Folk-Lore* 36 (1925): 331.

63. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York: Norton, 1977), 38, 62.

64. Irstram, *King of Ganda*, 165.

65. Paul Tillich, *The Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper, 1957), 54.

66. Geo Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," 252.

67. See J. A. Black, "The New Year Ceremonies in Ancient Babylon: 'Taking Bel by the Hand' and a Cultic Picnic," *Religion* 11 (1981): 56, who describes "symbolic representations of certain episodes in the Epic of Creation" without saying that it is in the form of a sham fight; see also Erich Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931), 33; Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, 36; W. G. Lambert, "The Great Battle of the Mesopotamian Religious Year," *Iraq* 25 (1963): 189–90; Svend Aage Pallis, *The Babylonian Akītu-Festival* (Copenhagen: Høst, 1926), 215–16; Geo Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie*, 378. According to Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 66 (1946): 75, ritual combats represent "the struggle between summer and winter, rain and drought, fertility and blight, old year and new." In general, Gaster explains instances of ritual combats as seasonal (see Gaster, *Thespis*, 37–41).

68. See Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 19; cf. Hugh W. Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975), 225. Horus and Seth were known as "the two fighters" (H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* [Leiden: Brill, 1967], 33). Significantly, combat may also have been an element connected with the primal origins of the Egyptian temple (cf. Eve A. E. Reymond, *The Mythical Origins of the Egyptian Temple* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969], 13, 25, 107, 209).

69. Johannes de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites* (Kampen: Kok, 1972), 8.

70. Hans Ehelolf, "Wettlauf und szenisches Spiel im hethitischen Ritual," in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 21 (1925): 269–72. Albin Lasky, "Ein ritueller Scheinkampf bei den Hethitern," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926): 80–82, sees in this ritual a trace of human sacrifice and views it as a possible forerunner of drama.

71. Herodotus II, 63, in *The Histories*, tr. Aubrey de Sélincourt (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972), 153–54.

72. See Drioton, "Les fêtes de Bouto," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 25 (1942–43): 6; idem, *Les fêtes égyptiennes* (Cairo: Éditions de la Revue du Caire, 1944): 10–13.

73. See Pausanias II, 30, 5; II, 32, 2–3; cf. Herodotus V, 82–87; see Martin P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss des Attischen* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), 413–16; cf. Hermann Usener, "Heilige Handlung," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7 (1904):

300–301, also published in Hermann Usener, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), 4:439–40.

74. See Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 402–8, 416–17; Usener, "Heilige Handlung," 297–313. For examples from modern Greece, see Adolf Wilhelm, "Caterva," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 16 (1913): 630; George Calderon, "Slavonic Elements in Greek Religion," *The Classical Review* 27 (1913): 79–81.

75. See Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte: Der Baumkultus der Germanen und Ihrer Nachbarstämme*, ed. W. Heuschkel, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Borntraeger, 1904), 549–52. Further examples from Europe are provided in Alb. Ostheide, "Zum Martinsfest," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 10 (1907): 156, who cites an example from Siebenbürgen; Ludwig Radermacher, *Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus dem Gebiet der Antike*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 187, no. 3 (1918): 13–16; Paul Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Heims, 1914), 3:120–21, 124, 133–34, 165, 179, 195, 199, 202, 220, 234–35, 252, 271. In his discussion of the Damia and Auxesia passage in Pausanias II, 30, 4, James G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 6 vols. (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965), 3:267–68, gives examples of sham fights in Peru, Tonga, among Indians of the southeastern United States, in India, China, and Africa (cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 7:98, 9:173; idem, *Aftermath: A Supplement to The Golden Bough* [New York: Macmillan, 1937], 375–78).

76. Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1976), 2:764–65.

77. See Hocart, *Kingship*, 78–95; Irstram, *King of Ganda*, 60–61; Pedersen, "Canaanite and Israelite Cultus," *Acta Orientalia* 18 (1940): 9–10; Engnell, *Rigid Scrutiny*, 183.

78. See Kurt Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905), 134.

79. A. M. Blackman, "Myth and Ritual in Ancient Egypt," in *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 22, 24; cf. 23, fig. 4, panel 3; cf. H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1884), 5:1190.

80. *Ibid.*, 24.

81. Cf. Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924), 70–72.

82. See Kurt Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922), PT 908d-e; idem, *Der dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus: Ein Spiel zur Thronbesteigung des Königs* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1928), 113–15; cf. also Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill,

1976), 257, for a listing and brief discussion of the various ritual battles attested in ancient Egypt.

83. KG, 128.

84. See August Dillmann, *Über die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zar'a-Jacob, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 69:2 (1884): 75. Similarly, Bahrām Gōr kills a lion and is recognized as king, according to Tabarī (cf. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie*, 378).

85. E. O. James, *Christian Myth and Ritual* (London: Murray, 1937), 54–55; Hocart, *Kingship*, 94.

86. Irstram, *King of Ganda*, 61.

87. H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1953), 139, 142–69.

88. Ibid., 139–40; cf. L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London: Luzac, 1896), xi–xii; Edward Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation* (Slough: St. Paul Publication, 1972), 68–69; R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1960), 231.

89. L'Orange, *Iconography of Cosmic Kingship*, 143–47.

90. See *Kingship*, 80, 85; Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Coronation*, 55, 62, 137; Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 107.

91. Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 351; cf. Theodor H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York: Norton, 1977), 80.

92. See H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1962), 384.

93. See Gaster, *Thespis*, 98; Irstram, *The King of Ganda*, 72; Hocart, *Kingship*, 77, 80, 82.

94. See Hocart, *Kingship*, 74, 77, 81–82.

95. See Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 74, 77.

96. See FK, 2.

97. Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, 135.

98. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 120.

99. "Features of the Ancient Egyptian Religion," in *The Rainbow: A Collection of Studies in the Science of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 125.

100. See Helmer Ringgren, *The Messiah in the Old Testament* (Chicago: Allenson, 1956), 13.

101. K. A. Kitchen, "Crown," in *New Bible Dictionary* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House, 1962), 280–81; cf. Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London: Clarendon, 1927), 491, 571.

102. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 259.

103. See Irstram, *The King of Ganda*, 56–57, 71–72.

104. Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 95.

105. See Hocart, *Kingship*, 80.

106. This list of features of the coronation ceremony is based on the list given in *ibid.*, 70–71.

107. Information taken from *ibid.*, 76–77. See also 104 (queen), 113 (officials), 188–90 (creation).

108. Information taken from *ibid.*, 77–81. See also 101 (queen); Heesterman, *Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, 156 (humiliation), 168 and 200 (sacrifice); Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, 39 (creation).

109. Information taken from Hocart, *Kingship*, 92–97. See also 116–17 (officials).

110. Information taken from Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 124–25. See also 72–73 (sacrifice).

111. Information taken from Irstram, *The King of Ganda*, 56. See also 26 (feast), 39 (officials), 74 (jubilation), 165 (reverence).

112. Information taken from FK, 151–52. See also Fleisher, *Enthronement*, 2 (sacrifice), 4 (procession), 24 (throne), 36 (procession), 55 (promises).

113. Information taken from Hocart, *Kingship*, 83–85. See also C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 86 (secrecy); *Egyptian Festivals*, 94–95 (creation); Gasper, *Thesis*, 81 (humiliation); Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 359–60 (sacrifice), 364–65 (feast); M. A. E. Ibrahim, *The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu* (Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1975), 16 (jubilation); KG, 128 (combat); R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 91 (shoes).

114. Information taken from Hocart, *Kingship*, 86. See also 1 Samuel 11:15 (sacrifice); 2 Kings 13:15–17 (dominion); 1 Chronicles 29:21–23 (sacrifice, feast); de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 108 (new name); S. Skikszai, "King," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 3:14 (procession); Helmer Ringgren, *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, 13 (garment); *Israelite Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 226 (regalia); Widengren, "Royal Ideology," 208, 211 (communion).