THE KING'S CORONATION

an Ancient Temple Ceremony

by John Sroka

?? Ritual Drama ??

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Introduction

Research for this paper began about three years ago when a friend convinced me that I could learn a great deal about modern temples from ancient ones. My research led me eventually to over 200 titles that refer to rituals that may ultimately be related to kingship rites. I started appropriately by reading S. H. Hooke and Henri Frankfort, whose standard works on ancient Near Eastern religions show that kings commonly played roles in many important ceremonies of ancient temples.

Footnotes from Hooke's and Frankfort's works led me to A. M. Hocart's Kingship. Hocart asserted that various coronation ceremonies throughout the world--separated by great time and distance--share many of some 26 points of similarity he identified.

Hocart's thesis was an original one, but was it correct? And if it was correct, why hasn't kingship been a major topic of historical and anthropological discussion?

As I continued my research, I found that in the ancient Near East, many coronation ceremonies took place in temples; and at least three scholars who had done detailed studies of the royal ceremonies of Siam, Africa, and Japan agreed with Hocart's hypothesis of a widespread coronation typology.

Whenever one examines kingship rites, patterns seem to emerge. Hocart was the first to study this phenomenon as it

relates to the coronation rite. Henri Frankfort, in The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions, opposed Hocart by pointing out that there are as many differences as similarities in ancient Near Eastern rituals; nevertheless the similarities persist, perhaps more boldly than ever before, and scholars continue to deliberate over which is more significant--the similarities or the differences.

As noted, Hocart's Kingship, published in 1927, attempted to draw cross-cultural parallels among various coronation ceremonies. Although Hocart's original thesis has weathered the test of time, some of the 26 items of his coronation list have been modified by modern scholarship. For example, the king's "three ceremonial steps in imitation of the rising sun" is a trait that seems limited to India. My study includes a section on the creation motif. Although Hocart dedicated an entire chapter to the creation, he did not list it as an element in his coronation list. (Incidentally, where Hocart used the Christian term baptism, contemporary scholars use ablution.)

Probably the greatest weakness of Hocart's work, as with Frazer's, is his interpretation of the meaning of the kingship rites. The rites themselves are archaic; interpretations may change with time and further research, but our knowledge of exactly what the rites themselves were continues to endure, with little modification; and in many

cultures the rites are still observed, relatively intact. I have therefore tried to refrain from interpretation of the rituals, hoping to create a work that will have lasting value.

I regret that I have not studied a foreign language. German or French would have been especially helpful in researching this paper. Fortunately, many of the most important works on the coronation have been published in English--probably due to the interest of English scholars in kingship. I wish to note that it is within the ability of any serious student to research the coronation rite, or any rite, for that matter, for research is far more time consuming than difficult, and our knowledge of the rites of many cultures remains incomplete.

A complete study of kingship would almost have to be as vast as the study of history itself. No one knows when kingship began, because it pre-dates historical records; and the institution of kingship continues even today. My inquiry, therefore, focuses mainly on what scholars have said about the rituals that make men kings.

Even though this work examines the ritual patterns of Hocart and others, it does not offer a final solution to why the use of these patterns has become widespread. It simply demonstrates that the phenomenon exists. Because there does not seem to be a time when a king has not existed somewhere, one naturally asks: How important was kingship?

Chapter 1 takes up this question.

Chapter 1 - Kingship

Kingship was extremely important to ancient man. Henri Frankfort proclaims that in the ancient Near East, kingship was the very basis of civilization. Only savages would be without kings.[1] Even the voice of Israel, a nation which had deliberately separated itself from all other nations, requested of the Prophet Samuel, "We will have a king over us; that we also may be like all the nations."[2] Early Christians believed that they would "become kings and queens in heaven. This belief is prominent in many hymns, in which the elect are spoken of as wearing crowns and sitting upon thrones."[3] Arvid S. Kapelrud declares that anciently the welfare of an entire people depended on the welfare of their king. The ritual which secured life, fertility, and power for the king also benefited the whole nation.[4] The importance of the king is especially evident at the time of his death, which usually put his society into total disorder and confusion--chaos.[5] A. Leo Oppenheim points out that in early Assyria the king was the only individual who could approach the deity in prayer and expect an answer.[6] Such beliefs confirm the importance of the king in ancient society.

God as 1ST and only King? Bam Egypt.

Modern man might label these beliefs pagan, but such labeling does not help us to understand that 1) once the king was a judge, 2) he was also often considered as sacred

God & to mortal King- see King Divine Authority

an individual as a prophet; 3) and as a president represents our nation, the king represented his; 4) the king's authority usually was not limited to politics; he also headed the yearly rites performed to the god(s). Many ancient kings were both kings and priests.[7]

It seems doubtful that modern man will ever completely understand ancient kingship. W. B. Kristensen explains that we shall never experience ancient religions as powers in our lives, as the believers once experienced them.[8] It is the same with kingship; even if we could perfectly perform an ancient coronation ceremony as it was once done, it still would not have the impact on our lives as it did originally the life of "the believer." We could only view the events as casual onlookers; they would not motivate or change us, hence "we only approximately can understand them; their experience can never fully become ours."[9] Another area in which modern man's understanding of ancient kingship remains deficient is that of just such rituals. The oldest coronation ceremonies are no longer in use, having died out long ago, leaving even the best scholars to a great deal of guesswork as they try to fit what pieces they do have into some kind of congruent package. But the problem is even bigger than that. There is no way of knowing how many pieces of our puzzle are missing. Robert S. Ellwood illustrated this point beautifully with the Australian aborigines. They "would have left little more of their

humanity than skeletons, and perhaps some enigmatic crystals and rock paintings, not even an arrowhead. What would we have known, if their culture had disappeared in prehistoric times, of the intricate kinship system, involving a number system which Claude Levi-Strauss has compared to binary calculus, or the odd mythological narratives in which Eliade has seen a Proustian concept of time?"[10] We would know nothing of these things, and what is even more disconcerting, we would not even realize how much was missing. Probably the same is the case with early coronation rituals; there is no way of knowing how much of the original ritual might be missing.

Even if the ancient royal rites could be reconstructed, the basic ideas that surround ancient kingship still would leave scholars perplexed. Sidney Smith writes, "Gods, kings, rituals, myths--to me a hopeless, incomprehensible jumble, but at some very ancient period a combination that justified, explained, necessitated existing institutions."[11] And that is just the point, what is an incomprehensible jumble to us once made perfect sense to ancient man; this means our experience in these things is very defective. Too much remains unknown. We still do not know, for example, where or when kingship began.[12] Thus, when a student quickly looks over such beliefs or rituals and judges them by humanity's present standards, he only further limits his understanding of a subject which scholars already find

limited. Yet students do not have to study kingship extensively before noting some very clear patterns. For example, when a man becomes a king, he usually does so by some kind of coronation ceremony.

Scholars have found certain rites showing up repeatedly in about every place imaginable.[13] A. M. Hocart was the first to study this phenomenon as it relates to the coronation ceremony.[14] "He showed the frequency in diverse cultures of a certain overall structure for this rite, with such basic themes as washing or anointing, ritual combat, and assimilation of coronation to the creation of the world."[15] Hocart himself put it this way: "Whether we look north, east, south, or west in the Pacific Ocean, everywhere we find divine kings or chiefs."[16] Later S. H. Hooke, Theodor H. Gaster, and others also found rituals involving kings to be widespread and not confined to any particular culture.[17] Lord Raglan pointed out that every year, as archaeologists delve further into the past, it becomes more and more difficult to believe that there has ever been a community which developed its culture in total isolation.[18] Ruth Benedict surmised that when we find traits that are widespread and near-universal we may justifiably regard them as being exceeding old.[19] And kingship is just that.

Reginald M. Woolley determined that "Kingship is one of the most ancient institutions of civilisation. At the very

dawn of history the king is not only already existent, but is regarded with a reverential awe that shews that the institution must have had its beginnings in very remote times."[20] Maurice A. Canney remarks that "Another arresting revelation is that in some cases kingship, so far from being regarded as a gradual development, is placed at the very beginning of civilization. For some peoples it seems to have been impossible to conceive of a time when there were no kings."[21] C. J. Gadd found that Babylonian kingship had been established from a time so remote that later generations were constrained to count it in thousands of years, and it was thought of as almost coeval with creation itself.[22] And Henri Frankfort notes that in Egypt, kingship "was as old as the world. It dated from the day of creation."[23] It is not difficult to see from such statements that kingship is "exceeding old," although finding its origin is not simple. Scholars can trace kingship to the ancient Near East easily enough. The problem lies in the fact that it was already quite popular when man's historical record began--it is pre-historic. Therefore, the age of kingship and its rites, like the age of some grandmothers, remains a well-kept secret. All we know is that it is extremely old.

Whenever kingship rites are examined, patterns seem to emerge. There is Hocart's pattern, Hooke's, Gaster's, and Irstam's. E. O. James announced that historically there is

not a more recurrent complex of rites than those of kingship.[24] In "Hittite Kingship," O. R. Gurney found the king taking part in numerous festivals, with numerous names. "Yet despite the apparent variety of these festivals, the actual rituals described are all remarkably similar."[25] According to Hugh Nibley, the same is the case with numerous rituals:

> The number of ritual acts in which human beings do engage from Oceania to Iceland is surprisingly limited, and they can all be embraced in a few well-marked but peculiar ritual patterns. This suggests that the religious rituals of men have not been invented locally but have been inherited from a few main sources, perhaps to be traced ultimately to a single one.[26]

Again, A. M. Hocart was one of the first to bring forth such a pattern. He showed that priesthood, kingship, and initiation rites could all be embraced by the same ritual pattern.[27] He therefore judged that they had a common origin.[28]

Whether all ritual comes from an original ritual is not known at this time. The answer lies somewhere in man's beginnings--in pre-historic times.

In conclusion, scholars have found that kingship was extremely important to ancient man. Its rites are widespread, "exceeding old," and have a "peculiar pattern."

Footnotes - Chapter 1

[1]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 3.

[2]I Samuel 8:19-20.

[3]Raglan, Death and Rebirth, pp. 73-74.

[4]Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, p. 134.

[5]Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 34; Irstam, The King of Ganda, p. 165.

[6]Ferm, ed., Forgotten Religions, p. 78.

[7]Heschel, The Prophets, pp. 474-475; Soothill, The Hall of Light, p. 29.

[8]Bleeker, ed., Initiation, p. 17.

[9]Ibid. Cf. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, pp. 17-18.

[10]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 5.

[11]Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, pp. 70-71.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Leach, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, p. 523; Wild, Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis, p. 129; Raglan, Jocasta's Crime, p. 166; James, Christian Myth and Ritual, p. 40.

[14]Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, p. 2.

[15]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 6.

[16]Hocart, Kingship, p. 12.

[17]Gaster, Thespis, p. 48; Hooke, Middle Eastern Mythology, p. 17.

[18]Raglan, The Temple and the House, p. x.

[19]Benedict, Patterns of Culture, pp. 18-19.

[20]Woolley, Coronation Rites, p. 1. Cf. Brandon, Religion in Ancient History, p. 119; Breasted, A History of Egypt, p. 74.

[21]Pavry, ed., Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, p. 63.

[22]Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East, p. 21.

[23]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 50.

[24]James, Ibid., p. 40.

[25]Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, pp. 105-106; Gurney, The Hittites, p. 153.

[26]Nibley, The World of the Prophets, p. 134. Cf. Canney, Newness of Life, pp. 142-143; Gaster, Ibid., p. 83.

[27]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 70-98, 119-129, 134-161.

[28]Ibid., p. 97.

Chapter 2 - Why are Numerous Rituals Embraced in a Few Well-Marked but Peculiar Patterns?

Chapter 1 noted that kingship rituals are widespread and have a highly definable, peculiar pattern. Why? Two possible reasons have already been offered. Kingship rites have very early beginnings; and they appear to have originated in a single source.

Ruth Benedict explains that methodologically there is only one way to gain an approximate knowledge of early beginnings. That is by a study of the distribution of those few traits that are universal or near-universal in human society. Traits as nearly universal as these we may justifiably regard as exceedingly old--"cradle" traits.[1] This helps explain why kingship rituals are widespread, for they do have "early beginnings," but it does not explain the patterns of Hocart, Hooke, Gaster, and Irstam. Why are the rituals of men "embraced in a few well-marked but peculiar patterns"?

The simplest answer would be that they have a common origin, that somewhere there is a parent rite. But this may or may not be the case. The answer lies somewhere in man's beginnings, in pre-historic time, a time we know very little about. No one knows when or where kingship began. Yet one thing seems certain: men are not innovative when it comes to sacred ritual. Norman H. Snaith notes that men do not invent religious rites; they merely continue to observe

them. "If the study of anthropology, with its long lists from all the world of ancient rites stubbornly preserved, teaches anything it certainly teaches this."[2] If men invented sacred rites there would be more variety to them throughout history. But this appears not to be the case. The reason is obvious. For a man to invent a religious ritual, and then have other men perform it, he would have to claim to have received divine instruction. And such claims of revelation seem few and far between. Therefore rituals lack invention and creativity.

Revelation is a key to understanding ancient man. H.P. L'Orange published a number of illustrations showing that anciently entire cities were built after a cosmic plan,[3] an indication that at one time men would do just about anything to have their cities typify the heavenly city, a city no man could know much about without divine tutoring, or at least a study of written revelations. The building of temples is another example of the major role of revelation in the ancient world. Henri Frankfort writes that occasionally in both Mesopotamia and Egypt, "the gods indicated in detail how temples should be built. Whenever, therefore, the plan of the original building was discovered, it was possible to suppose that its particulars had received divine sanction."[4] We must remember that building cities or temples is a major undertaking, and to follow a plan just because it is the oldest, and possibly "had received divine

sanction," would not make much of a difference to modern man; but revelation was just what made the difference to men anciently.

When we examine ritual and revelation for common ties we find scholars like Clyde Kluckhohne commenting that when questioned why a particular ceremonial activity is carried out in a particular way, Navaho singers will most often say, "because the diyin dine--the Holy People--did it that way in the first place."[5] The belief that rituals originally came from a divine being is a prevelant one. Another example is sacred dance. Both W.O.E. Osterley and Robert S. Ellwood found that this ritual was thought to have been taught originally by immortal beings.[6] J.A.K. Thomson concludes that traditions of myth and ritual go back and back. "But it must end somewhere, and it ends, as a thousand instances show, in an imaginary divine founder of the rite, who becomes the centre of the Myth."[7] Today many scientists and scholars scoff at the idea of revelation and divine beings, but ancient history is full of such things, and kingship is no exception. Maurice A. Canney, S.H. Hooke, Sidney Smith, John Gray, and Thorkild Jacobsen all note that in Sumerian tradition, kingship came down from heaven.[8]

When men have anything that is believed to have been given by revelation, whether it be God's laws, religious doctrines, covenants, or rituals, these are considered sacred and are not to be altered by man. Consider the

Bible. Who would think of changing the laws it contains? What scientist would be bold enough to rewrite that creation story so that it would go along with modern theories? Such changes would be generally unacceptable to the Christian world. And it was the same with ancient man and his sacred rites. Rituals were not to be changed. According to Lord Raglan, rituals have always had to "be performed in exactly the same manner."[9] J.A.K. Thomson declares that it was "of such transcendent importance to get the ritual exactly right (for the slightest deviation from the rules will ruin everything) that the worshipper will not proceed one step without authority."[10] Again, the tendency was to refer back to the oldest source, it being hopefully the purest, and possibly divinely sanctioned. A.M. Hocart notes of the English coronation, "If we have a king to crown, our experts search the old records to find out exactly what was done at previous coronations so that it may be done again."[11]

Because rituals were believed to have been given by revelation, they were considered sacred, not to be altered by mere mortals; this helps to explain why we have ritual patterns. It was believed that rituals were not to be changed; therefore, consistency, to some extent, should be expected.

There are other reasons why priesthood, kingship, and initiation rituals should have similarities. Chapter 1 pointed out that anciently many kings were both kings and

priests. A.M. Hocart notes the confusion:

> Students of customs both ancient and modern have long been aware that the line which divides a king from a priest is a very faint one and often disappears altogether. They have therefore coined a term priest-king or king-priest, to indicate that doubtful personage of whom it is difficult to say whether he is priest or king.[12]

When we look to the ancient world for an answer to this problem we find that in Egypt the king was the priest par excellence.[13] The Hittite king became a priest at his accession to the throne. O.R. Gurney also notes that "the offices of kingship and priesthood were inseparable" among the Hittites.[14] And C.J. Gadd reminds us that "Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian rulers called themselves 'priest' as proudly as 'king.'"[15] Since scholars have been unable to find a prerequisite priesthood rite to kingship, and because some kings also became priests at their "accession to the throne," it is probable that the same complex of rites which bestowed kingship also bestowed priesthood, thus making the initiate a king and a priest, or a "king-priest." Kingship and priesthood rites may once have been identical; thus one would expect them to have similarities even today.

To understand why kingship and initiation rites would have similarities, one needs to examine the ancient concept of heaven. Lord Raglan titled one of his chapters "Only Kings Go To Heaven."[16] In a later chapter he determined that "Heaven is not only a place of flowers, light, and

music, but it is a king's court, where the Deity sits enthroned, surrounded by ministers, officers and messengers."[17] A. Leo Oppenheim agrees. He finds in "Assyro-Babylonian Religion" that "the Nether World seems to have harbored only such privileged human beings as kings and priests."[18] In Egypt, when the king died he became identified with the god Osiris; ordinary people could enter the kingdom of Osiris, but not as kings, a suggestion that they would continue to serve their Pharoah as they had done on earth. This concept of heaven continued in Egypt until about 2000 B.C., when kingship was gradually extended to the common people. James Henry Breasted has established that

> the splendid royal hereafter. . .began to identify every dead man with Osiris, so that he not only as of old entered the kingdom of Osiris to enjoy the god's protection and favor, but he now became Osiris and was conceived as king. Even in burials of simple folk, the mummy was fashioned and laid on the back like that of Osiris, and amulets representing the royal insignia of the Pharaoh were painted on the inside of the coffin or laid beside the body.[19]

E.O. James explains that what happened at this time was that "eternal life was gradually extended from the kingship to the nobility, and then to the commoners."[20] In Egypt, then, you could enter heaven as a king or as a king's servant,[21] the highest situation or glory being reserved for those who had received the kingship. How was this done? According to Lord Raglan, "it was the coronation ritual which qualified these kings for entrance into the sky-world."[22] Therefore,

all wanted to receive these rites. A.M. Hocart uses Breasted's example to oppose the idea that the king's coronation was derived from initiation. His conclusion was that initiation ceremonies were derived from an earlier form of installation.[23] In other words, initiation rites constitute an instance or example of the downward spread of royal consecration ceremony.[24] Thus kingship and initiation rites may have similarities because they were both derived from the same source.

It has already been noted that many rituals were considered sacred because they were believed to have been received by revelation or from divine beings. According to Mircea Eliade, the most holy or sacred place was the temple.[25] This is believable enough, considering that one of its rooms was called "The Holy of Holies," suggesting there existed no place more holy. Therefore, the parallels between ancient temple and kingship rites would further confirm both the sacredness of kingship, and its consistency, for sacred rituals were not to be altered.

In brief, these are the parallels between temple and kingship rites:

1) Secrecy. Information about a number of ancient temples is scanty; this "is explained by the fact that initatory secrecy was well kept."[26] Perhaps the best example is the Eleusinian temple. Both C. Kerenyi and George E. Mylonas note that "the secrecy was so rigorous

that two innocent young men from distant Akarnania, who had unwittingly attended a Mystery festival and given themselves away by asking questions, were executed in 200 B.C."[27] But the Greeks were not the only ones with secret ceremonies. The Egyptians were admonished: "Do not reveal what you have seen in the mysteries of the temples."[28] And in the ancient Babylonian religion, S. H. Hooke found the temple rituals to be jealously guarded secrets.[29]

A. M. Hocart, H. G. Quaritch Wales, Tor Irstam, and Robert S. Ellwood, all note of the coronation ceremonies they studied that either there were guards to keep out those not permitted, or that "Not all were allowed to be present at the most important ceremonies."[30]

2) Rebirth. C. N. Deedes announces that death and rebirth were the two acts of chief importance performed in the Egyptian religious drama, and they both took place in the temple.[31]

A. M. Hocart, S. H. Hooke, and Tor Irstam all found rebirth to be a major trait of kingship rituals.[32]

3) Sacrifice. Animal sacrifices are probably the most well-known feature of the Jerusalem temple ceremonies. They took place in the court as part of the usual temple-services.[33] In ancient Greece pigs were sacrificed as part of the regular temple ceremonies at Eleusis.[34] During Assyrian temple rites sheep were sacrificed.[35] And in Egypt, according to the Ramesseus Papyrus, a bull "was

taken and slain in the sanctuary."[36]

Anciently, Israelite, Egyptian, Canaanite, and Hittite kings all performed animal sacrifices.[37]

4) Robes. In Babylonian and Assyrian Religion, S. H. Hooke comments that "The larger and more important temples would have lesser courts surrounded by rooms for the priests to robe in."[38] Samuel A. B. Mercer found in the Pyramid Texts of Egypt a "clothing ritual, or vesting with a 'garment of light.'"[39] And Menahem Haran explains that for the Israelites eight priestly garments were worn by the high priest when he performed certain temple rites.[40]

Numerous kings were invested with special robes at the time of their coronations. This is one of the most common traits of kingship.[41]

5) Ritual Combat. J. Gwyn Griffiths proclaims that "In the religious literature of ancient Egypt, the conflict of Horus and Seth constitutes a central theme."[42] E. A. Wallis Budge, C. N. Deedes, H. W. Fairman, and E. A. E. Reymond all show that Egyptian temple myths and rituals were full of combat episodes.[43]

A. M. Hocart, Tor Irstam, S. H. Hooke, and Theodor H. Gaster all write about kings taking part in ritual combats.[44]

6) Creation. Both A. M. Blackman and E. A. E. Reymond establish that a creation story played a major role in the Egyptian temple ceremonies at Memphis.[45] C. J. Gadd notes

that the Babylonian Creation Epic "was chanted at the re-founding of a temple."[46] And Yigael Yadin, in The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness, found that the Israelites would go up to the Temple and read the story of Creation.[47]

Both Henri Frankfort and E. O. James note that the Babylonian king played a significant part in the annual New Year's festival from the time the Epic story of Creation was recited.[48] In Kingship, A. M. Hocart observes that in Fiji the king's installation ceremony was called "creation of the world," "fashioning the land," or "creating the earth."[49]

7) Procession. Numerous Egyptologists note that various Egyptian festivals included processions to the temple.[50] H. W. Fairman writes that the calendar festivals "were always processional and involved stately processions of the divine statutes, sometimes only in the temple itself, when the public were excluded, sometimes within the temple enclosure when perhaps the public, to a limited extent, may have been present, and sometimes to other temples outside the temple enclosure when of course the general public could have witnessed and accompanied the procession, though not the more intimate and sacred rites."[51] The procession of the Babylonian Akitu festival concluded at the Akitu-house or temple with "a period of great joy and feasting."[52]

A. M. Hocart found that following the coronation ceremonies in Fiji, India, Cambodia, and Egypt, there were

processions or tours which included the king.[53]

8) Mountain. Most Israelite temple sites are known to have been situated in high places.[54] A number of Egyptian religious texts point to the primeval mound as the original site of the temple.[55] And from Babylon comes the ziggurat concept, where temples were literally raised on brick platforms,[56] sometimes called "the Mountain of God,"[57] or "Mountain of the House." "The ziggurat was literally a cosmic mountain."[58]

On Babylonian cylinder seals there often appears the sun-god climbing the steps of his ziggurat.[59] In Egypt the sun-god climbed the primeval hill, Nun, to assume his kingship over the world by instituting Ma-a-t. "The hill or the stairway were the symbols of the victory of deity over death and chaos. Therefore the structure of the temple often expresses this mythic idea."[60] For the Canaanites: "When Baal has died, Attr, who has always coveted the kingship, gets an opportunity. But when he ascends Mount Sapan he is not able to fill Baal's position."[61] And even in our time Tor Irstam has found seven African tribes in which the king still mounts a hill as part of his coronation ceremony.[62] Theodor H. Gaster summarizes: "The traversal of the mountain clearly refers to a standard installation rite."[63]

9) Passage. Eric Burrows explains that three of the mountain-like ziggurrats were also called Dur-an-ki, Bond of

Heaven and Earth. These structures were links between heaven and earth, and earth and the underworld.[64] A. J. Wensinck explains that it was at places like these that communication between the three realms took place.[65]

Robert S. Ellwood describes kingship in Japan: "The theme of ascent and descent between heaven and earth--and the underworld as well--is fundamental to the mythology of the Kojiki and Nihon-shoki, and particularly to the concept of kingship. The ability to execute kingship is in effect the ability to integrate these three realms."[66]

10) Water of Life. Geo Widengren comments that both Mesopotamian and Israelite temples were situated on the center of the world, where the "Water of Life" flowed.[67] Samuel A. B. Mercer notes that for the purpose of carrying out the ritual act of ablutions--washing and sprinkling--a pool or lake was connected with many Egyptian temples.[68]

In Japan, one of the elements of the kingship ceremony is the sacred life-giving water from tokoyo, the Other World. The emperor bathes in these waters before he "puts on a robe of pure white silk."[69] In Egypt the king was sprinkled with holy water, which endowed him with life, good fortune, stability, health, and happiness.[70]

11) Tree of Life. Geo Widengren also determined that one old Mesopotamian "temple contained a sacred grove where the tree of life, the Plant of Life, was growing, supervised and tended by the king as gardener acting in his capacity of

the representative of the mythical Gardener in Paradise."[71]

In The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion, Widengren writes: "The king, generally considered the gardener, is possessor of both the Plant of Life and the Water of Life."[72] D. C. Holom notes that in The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies, two fruit trees were placed in the court-yard, one on the left and the other to the right of the Emperor.[73] And in Ganda, Africa, each king has his own life-tree.[74]

12) Anointing. Samuel A. B. Mercer determines that the Egyptian king was bathed, robed, anointed, and invested with royal insignia prior to entering the temple.[75] The Bible proclaims that the Israelite king, Joash, was anointed and crowned in "the temple of the Lord,"[76] which brings us to the last point.

13) Coronation. A number of coronation ceremonies were performed in temples. Joash's consecration took place in the Jerusalem temple,[77] where, it is presumed, "the consecration of the other kings of Judah after Solomon took place."[78] Also a recent work by Menahem Haran announces that David was anointed king of Judah, and later king over all of Israel, in the ancient temple of Hebron.[79] Haran's references imply at least thirteen temple sites in ancient Israel.[80] Alan Gardiner establishes that the coronation of the Egyptian king Heremhab took place in a temple.[81] And Henri Frankfort notes that both Sumerian and Assyrian texts

describe coronation ceremonies as they took place in the temples of Erch and Assur.[82] Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla writes of Persia: "The ceremony of the inauguration of the kings generally took place in a temple at Pasargadae, to which ancient capital, every new monarch repaired for coronation."[83] Geo Widengren determines: "The ceremonies of coronation in ancient Near Eastern religion obviously took place in the temple."[84]

A few scholars might suggest that identifying parallels between ancient temples and coronation--which in some places was a regular temple ceremony--proves nothing. But that is just the point. Anciently numerous coronations were performed in temples, establishing their sacredness, and giving us another possible reason for the consistency of the coronation rites; for sacred rituals were not to be altered.

In conclusion, then, there are at least five possible answers to the posed question: Why are numerous rituals "embraced in a few well-marked but peculiar patterns"?

1) Perhaps all rituals have a common origin--a parent rite.

2) Religious rites were thought to be sacred, revealed from a heavenly source; therefore, they were not to be altered by mere mortals.

3) Kingship and priesthood rites may once have been identical.

4) Initiation rituals may have been derived from an

earlier form of installation.

5) In the ancient Near East, numerous coronation ceremonies were performed in temples, which establishes the sacredness of the coronation rite and helps explain its consistency, for sacred rites were not to be altered.

Footnotes - Chapter 2

[1]Benedict, Patterns of Culture, pp. 18-19.

[2]Snaith, The Jewish New Year Festival, p. 86.

[3]L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, pp. 9-17. Cf. Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return, p. 9.

[4]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 271. Cf. Kapelrud, Orientalia, Vol. 32, pp. 57, 62.

[5]Kluckhohne, Harvard Theological Review, Vol. 35, p. 66.

[6]Oesterley, The Sacred Dance, p. 19; Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 59.

[7]Thomson, Studies in the Odyssey, p. 54.

[8]Pavry, ed., Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, p. 65; Hooke, Babylonian and Assyrian Religion, p. 8; Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, p. 70; Gray, Vetus Testamentum, Vol. 2, p. 198; Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, p. 114.

[9]Raglan, Jocasta's Crime, p. 44.

[10]Thomson, Ibid.

[11]Hocart, The Life-giving Myth, p. 12.

[12]Hocart, Kingship, p. 119.

[13]James, Studies in the History of Religions, Vol. 4, p. 65; Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East p. 4.

[14]Hooke, ed., Ibid., p. 105.

[15]Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East, p. 39.

[16]Raglan, Death and Rebirth, p. 84.

[17]Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[18]Ferm, ed., Forgotten Religions, p. 77.

[19]Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 256. Cf. Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt,

pp. 335-336, 368, 371; Wilson, The Culture of Ancient Egypt, p. 116.

[20]James, Creation and Cosmology, p. 20.

[21]Wilson, Ibid., pp. 84, 85.

[22]Raglan, Ibid., p. 91.

[23]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 157-159.

[24]Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, p. 156.

[25]Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, p. 59.

[26]Eliade, Myth and Reality, p. 157.

[27]Kerenyi, Eleusis, p. 118; Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, p. 225.

[28]Bleeker, ed., Initiation, pp. 55-56; Fairmain, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 37, pp. 174, 187, 201. Cf. Seton-Williams, Ptolemaic Temples, p. 38.

[29]Hooke, Babylonian and Assyrian Religion, p. 47. Cf. Jacobsen, Ibid., p. 16.

[30]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 70-71, Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, p. 124; Irstam, The King of Ganda, p. 56; Ellwood, Ibid., p. 151.

[31]Hooke, ed., The Labyrinth, p. 23. Cf. Canney, Journal of the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society, Vol. 20, pp. 38-39.

[32]Hocart, Ibid., p. 70; Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, p. 8; Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56, 58.

[33]Haran, Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel, p. 205.

[34]Mylonas, Ibid., pp. 249-250.

[35]Driel, The Cult of Assur, pp. 63, 101, 127, 137, 142.

[36]Hooke, ed., The Labyrinth, p. 22.

[37]Haran, Ibid., pp. 23-24; Mercer, Ibid., p. 355; Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, pp. 109, 144; Driel, Ibid., pp. 127, 147, 166.

[38]Hooke, Babylonoian and Assyria Religion, p. 42.

[39]Mercer, Literary Criticism of the Pyramid Texts, p. 83.

[40]Haran, Ibid., pp. 165-174, 210-215.

[41]Hocart, Ibid., p. 71; Wales, Ibid., p. 125; Irstam, Ibid., p. 56; Ellwood, Ibid.

[42]Griffiths, The Conflict of Horus and Seth, p. vii.

[43]Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection, Vol. 2, pp. 5-6; Hooke, ed., The Labyrinth, p. 22; Fairman, The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 21, pp. 26-27; Reymond, The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple, pp. 35, 51, 209, 234, 281, 282, 287.

[44]Hocart, Ibid., p. 71; Irstam, Ibid., p. 56; Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, p. 8; Gaster, Thespis, p. 37.

[45]Hooke, ed., Ibid., pp. 26-27; Reymond, Ibid., pp. 273-285. Cf. Seton-Williams, Ibid., pp. 38, 40.

[46]Hooke, ed., Ibid., p. 62. Cf. Wensinck, Acta Orientalia, Vol. 1, p. 175.

[47]Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness, p. 203.

[48]Frankfort, Ibid., p. 319; James, Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East, p. 54.

[49]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 189-190; Eliade, Ibid., p. 39; Ellwood, Ibid., p. 6.

[50]Budge, Ibid.; Hooke, ed., Ibid., pp. 27-28; The Labyrinth, p. 22; Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, p. 85; Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, p. 85.

[51]Fairman, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 37, p. 174.

[52]Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon, p. 384; Pallis, The Babylonian akitu Festival, p. 260; Gaster, Ibid., p. 451.

[53]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71-85. Cf. Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, p. 351; Harvey, History of Burma, p. 325.

[54]Haran, Ibid., pp. 29-39.

[55]Reymond, Ibid., pp. 43, 50-51, 266-267, 305. Cf. Ruffle, ed., Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, p. 170; Wensinck, The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites, p. 8.

[56]Lloyd, The Archaeology of Mesopotamia, p. 119.

[57]Woolley, Ur of the Chaldees, pp. 118-119.

[58]Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, p. 40.

[59]Hall, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 10, p. 187.

[60]Bleeker, Egyptian Festivals, pp. 93-94.

[61]Oldenburg, The Conflict Between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion, p. 121.

[62]Irstam, Ibid.

[63]Gaster, Ibid., p. 382-383.

[64]Hooke, ed., The Labyrinth, pp. 46-48.

[65]Wensinck, The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth, pp. 10, 23. Cf. Wales, The Mountain of God, p. 10.

[66]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 57.

[67]Bleeker, ed., Historia Religionum, Vol. 1, pp. 258-259.

[68]Mercer, Ibid., p. 350.

[69]Ellwood, Ibid., pp. 59, 134-135, 135 n. 54.

[70]Hocart, Ibid., p. 84.

[71]Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism, p. 29.

[72]Widengren, The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion, p. 35.

[73]Holtom, The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies, pp. 72, 82.

[74]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 19, 68.

[75]Mercer, Ibid., p. 348.

[76]II Kings 11:12-13; II Chronicles 23:10-12.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 102.

[79]Haran, Ibid., p. 34.

[80]Ibid., pp. 26-42. Cf. Milgrom, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 101 p. 262.

[81]Gardiner, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 39, p. 25. Cf. Ibrahim, The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu, p. 9; Seton-Williams, Ibid., p. 44.

[82]Frankfort, Ibid., pp. 245-247.

[83]Dhalla, Zoroastrian Civilization, p. 227.

[84]Brandon, ed., The Saviour God, p. 205.

Chapter 3 - Elements of the Ritual Pattern

Chapter 1 noted that numerous religious rituals tend to fit into "peculiar patterns." Chapter 2 discussed five possibilities of how ritual patterns may have come about. Chapters 3 - 7 focus on the elements of the patterns themselves. But first a brief historical sketch is in order.

A. M. Hocart's Kingship, in 1927, was the first effort to reconstruct the ritual pattern of sacral kingship.[1] Four years later, in 1931, H. G. Quaritch Wales published Siamese State Ceremonies, which included four chapters on the coronation ceremonies. In 1933, S. H. Hooke edited Myth and Ritual, noting five elements of the annual festival, "which was the centre and climax of all the [Egyptian and Babylonian] religious activities of the year."[2] In 1944 Tor Irstam, in The King of Ganda, gathered data about becoming a king from sixty-two African tribes, confirming many of the elements of Hocart's original list. By 1950 Theodor H. Gaster, in Thespis, had showed that "the Seasonal Pattern consists of four major elements," noting that the "prominence of the king in seasonal ceremonies is especially well attested in the ancient Near East."[3] And finally in 1973, Robert S. Ellwood published his work on the accession ceremonies in ancient Japan, which he entitled The Feast of Kingship. His last chapter compares his findings with those of Hocart.

These are six of the major works about ritual patterns which relate to kings.

Chapters 3 - 7 cite all of the above titles, but special attention is given to the elements of the ritual patterns from Hocart's and Hooke's lists.

Because of the great scholarly fascination with the ancient Near East, numerous works have been published on the ancient coronations of Egypt, Babylonia, Israel, and elsewhere. Fortunately, five modern enthronement or coronation ceremonies have been researched at length:

1) The English Coronation rite,
2) Enthronment ceremonies of Japan,
3) African coronations,
4) Installation rites of Fijian kings,
5) Siamese coronation rites.

The elements of the coronation ritual will be shown to be quite widespread. Yet this does not necessarily indicate that one people borrowed them from another.[4] As noted in the second chapter, there are many possible reasons for these rites becoming widespread.

The elements of the ritual pattern of the coronation ceremony are as follows.

Austerities

A. M. Hocart determined that some kings prepared for their coronation by fasting and the practice of other

austerities. He showed that fasting was a part of the coronation ceremony in India, and that fasting and other austerities were normal elements of numerous initiation rites.[5] Tor Irstam confirmed this trait seventeen years later in his work on African kingship. Irstam found that both fasting and solitude are part of the coronation rites in Africa.[6] Years later Theodor H. Gaster, in his book on the seasonal pattern, identified the first ingredient of annual rites as a mortification act. "Rites of MORTIFICATION are represented primarily by communal lents, fasts, and similar austerities."[7] Robert S. Ellwood relates that in Japan, "the emperor and his entire court practice preliminary purification practices."[8] Zoe Kincaid mentions that to prepare for enthronment, Japanese "Emperors of old were accustomed to fast, and otherwise discipline themselves."[9]

Crawford Howell Toy, in his Introduction to the History of Religion, generalizes of fasting:

> No purificatory and consecrative usage has been more widespread than fasting. It is found throughout religious history in the lowest tribes and in the most highly civilized peoples, has been practiced in a great variety of circumstances, and has been invested with special sanctity and efficacy.[10]

Secrecy

In Africa, Fiji, India, Japan, and Siam, not all people were allowed to be present at the most important coronation

ceremonies.[11] Fijian, Siamese, and Japanese enthronements were guarded.[12] And according to Hugh Byas, the climax of the Japanese enthronement ceremony was attended only by the emperor himself.[13]

Hocart found secrecy to be an almost universal feature of initiation.[14] C. J. Bleeker writes that "Initiation presupposes a religious secret which is only known to the initiated."[15] What secret? Mircea Eliade explains that during training, the initiate "learns the sacred secrets: the myths that tell of the gods and the origin of the world, the true names of the gods, the role and origin of the ritual instruments employed in the initiation ceremonies."[16]

Chapter 2 noted the secrecy of ancient temple rites. Of the Babylonia temple ritual, S. H. Hooke explains that strangers and outsiders were not to see them.[17] George E. Mylonas concludes of the Eleusinian mysteries in Greece 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."[18]

Irach J. S. Taraporewala generalizes of secrecy:

> 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 practised 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 teaching was embodied in some sort of symbolic ritual which could be performed openly before the public.[19]

Reverence

During the coronation ceremony, those nonparticipants present were to be quiet and reverent. A. M. Hocart observes that in Fiji, "before the ceremony all the children are removed from the village lest they should cry, and all the women retire also. Men armed with clubs mount guard to see that no one speaks."[20] Tor Irstam notes that in Africa, "As soon as the news of the king's death was made known, all regular work ceased over the whole country for a certain time, and the greatest possible quiet had to be observed." This "usually lasted until the new king had been installed."[21] And Robert S. Ellwood remarks of the Japanese enthronement, "It was and is clearly a reverent time."[22]

Humiliation

According to A. M. Hocart, "antics" were part of the coronation ceremonies in Fiji.[23] In the sixty-two African tribes that Irstam studied he found three where "The king was made the butt of the people." He relates that "among the Shilluk the new king had to be prepared, during a certain period before the actual coronation, to be treated very badly by the people. He was obliged patiently to

tolerate everything--practical joking, sneers and derision. This was to teach him humility."[24] During the royal consecration of ancient India the king was beaten.[25] And in Egypt there were what Theodor H. Gaster terms "grotesque and fantastic puns."[26] Numerous scholars have written about the ritual humiliation of the king of ancient Babylon. One account states:

> On the fifth day of the [New Year] festival the king was led into an inner chapel of the temple, where the high priest divested him of his regalia, slapped his face, pulled his ears, and forced him to his knees before the image of the god. In this attitude of abasement he was then obliged to recite a kind of "negative confession" protesting his innocence of potential charges of tyranny and despotism. The recitation ended, he was reinvested and resumed his regal status. Once more, however, the high priest slapped his face, though on this occasion for the express purpose of drawing tears, which were considered a propitious omen for the coming year.[27]

Of this instance Sidney Smith determines: "A king without his insignia, naked, is not a king."[28] Geo Widengren finds in the Mesopotamian Tammuz texts that Tammuz (who appears on the Sumerian king list[29]) was also divested of his clothes. In losing his royal vestments, crown, garment, sceptre and shoes, he was deprived of his glory and dispossessed of his royal splendor. Widengren also notes that "The resemblances to the First [Mesopotamian] Man [Tammuz] who is deprived of his bright armour and Adam who put off his glory seems rather remarkable."[30]

Promises

One of the major traits on Hocart's coronation list is that "the King is admonished to rule justly and promises to do so." Hocart established that kings of Fiji and India were admonished to rule justly, that Hebrew kings made covenants, and that Byzantine emperors and the kings of England took oaths.[31] He also recognized that admonitions were a major part of initiation rites.[32] Tor Irstam further confirmed this trait when he found admonitions and promises to be the second commonest element of African coronation.[33] Reginald Maxwell Woolley writes of the kings of England that

> up to the time of Henry VII the years of a king's reign were reckoned from the day of his coronation, the oath being regarded as the compact or covenant made between him and his people, sealing as it were his election to the throne. From the time of Henry VIII onward the king's reign has been reckoned from the death of his predecessor.[34]

The Japanese emperor takes a "holy vow."[35] And in Siam the king promises "to protect his people and the Buddist Religion."[36]

Anciently kings of Babylon probably received admonitions or took oaths, as can be seen by the king's "negative confession" at the New Year Festival. (See p. 34.) George E. Mendenhall writes of ancient Israelite kings: "The king was made king by covenant. Though we do not have details enough to analyze its form, there can be no reasonable doubt

that Israel was bound by oath to acknowledge and obey the king, with Yahweh acting as witness."[37] And in "King and Covenant," Geo Widengren concludes: "Everything would thus seem to indicate that as long as the kingship existed in Israel it was the king who at the New Year's festival renewed the covenant between Yahweh and the people, reading on this solemn occasion from the book of the law the commandments which served as the foundation of the covenant." According to Widengren, this was done from a "platform or dias."[38]

Gods

In Egypt, Hocart found that during the king's coronation, priests would impersonate various gods.[39] Egyptologists explain that this happened both at the Pharaoh's purification and his crowning.[40] In Babylon and Canaan, men also impersonated various gods during seasonal ceremonies in which the king played a prominent role.[41] However, this trait is rather rare in modern coronation ceremonies. Tor Irstam found only one example of it in African coronations.[42]

Footnotes - Chapter 3

[1]Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, p. 2.

[2]Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, p. 8.

[3]Gaster, Thespis, p. 26, 49.

[4]Budge, From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt, p. 155; Snaith, The Jewish New Year Festival, p. 220; Burrows, What Mean These Stones?, p. 235.

[5]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 70, 78, 139-159.

[6]Irstam, The King of Ganda, pp. 62-64.

[7]Gaster, Ibid.

[8]Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 151.

[9]Fleisher, ed., Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Emperor of Japan, p. 32.

[10]Toy, Introduction to the History of Religion, p. 89.

[11]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 76,78; Irstam, Ibid., p. 72; Ellwood, Ibid.; Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, p. 124.

[12]Hocart, Ibid.; Wales, Ibid.; Ellwood, Ibid.

[13]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., p. 4.

[14]Hocart, Folk-Lore, Vol. 35, p. 309.

[15]Bleeker, ed., Initiation, p. 16.

[16]Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, p. 188.

[17]Hooke, Babylonian and Assyrian Religion, p. 47.

[18]Mylonas, Elusis and the Elusinian Mysteries, p. 281.

[19]Ferm, ed., Forgotten Religions, p. 205.

[20]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 73, 74.

[21]Irstam, Ibid., p. 165.

[22]Ellwood, Ibid.

[23]Hocart, Ibid., p. 76.

[24]Irstam, Ibid., p. 74.

[25]Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, p. 156.

[26]Gaster, Ibid., p. 81.

[27]Ibid., p. 63; Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, pp. 53-54; The Labyrinth, pp. 103-104; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 320; Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, pp. 29-30; Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon, pp. 386-387.

[28]Hooke, ed., Ibid.

[29]Frankfort, Ibid., p. 293; Clay, A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform, p. 44.

[30]Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism, pp. 67-68.

[31]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71-95.

[32]Ibid., pp. 134-161.

[33]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[34]Woolley, Coronation Rites, p. 79.

[35]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., p. 55.

[36]Wales, Ibid., p. 79.

[37]Mendenhall, The Biblical Archaeologist, Vol. 17, p. 71.

[38]Widengren, Journal of Semitic Studies, Vol. 2, pp. 10, 19.

[39]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 83, 85.

[40]Moret, The Nile and Egyptian Civilization, p. 312; Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, pp. 351, 359-360; Gardiner, The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 39, p. 24; Blackman, The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 5, p. 156.

[41]Pallis, The Babylonian akitu Festival, pp. 274-275; Kaplerud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, pp. 21-22.

[42]Irstam, Ibid., p. 74.

Ablution

Ablutions or ceremonial washings formed a regular part of the coronation ceremonies in the ancient Near East.[1] Anciently, water was not only a symbol of rebirth, it also averted evil and gave life and strength.[2] Hocart found that ablutions were part of the coronation rituals of Egypt, Cambodia, Fiji, and India.[3] 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."[4] In Japan the emperor enters a building called the Kairyu-den, or Ablution Hall, where he takes his bath of purification. Zoe Kincaid records: "Entering the bath, the Emperor folded his arms and stooped, ritualists pouring water over him."[5]

Anciently ablutions played a major role in the kingship rituals of Babylonia and Egypt. Even as a child the Egyptian king-to-be was sprinkled with water by officials that he might be endowed with divine qualities, and reborn.[6] Later, when he became Pharaoh, washing would become a daily part of the preparatory ceremonies for entrance into the temple.[7] And during the Sed festivals, he would have his feet ceremonially washed.[8] Why were these things done? According to A. M. Blackman, royal ablutions were not only thought to purify, but to endow Egyptian

royality with "life, good fortune, stability, health, and happiness."[9]

In the bit rimki series, the Babylonian king's purification took place in the House of Washing.[10] Tammus was bathed with pure water, anointed with fine oil, and clothed in a bright red garment.[11]

It is still questionable whether ablutions were part of ancient Israelite coronations. G. Widengren comments: "The purification in water is mentioned in Ex. xxix. 4 in connexion with the unction and investment of Aaron and his sons (cf. Ex. xl. 12). It is probable that certain water-purifications had a place in the Israelite royal consecration."[12] In about 348 A.D., Christian St. Cyril of Jerusalem delivered five lectures on "the mysteries." Edward Yarnold notes that St. Cyril seems to be relying on an extra-biblical tradition when he preached:

> When Moses entrusted to his brother the command of God and made him High Priest, after washing him with water he anointed him; and his brother received the name 'anointed one', clearly because of this prefiguring anointing. Likewise when the High Priest raised Solomon to the kingship, he anointed him after washing him in the waters of Gihon.[13]

I Kings 1:38-39 does not mention King Solomon's washing. Yet in the Talmud it is written, "Our Rabbis taught: The kings are anointed only at a fountain."[14]

Most of the initiation rituals Hocart describes featured ablutions.[15] Sometimes initiation ablutions are quite

thorough. Helmer Ringgren demonstrates this with a Muslim order called the Bektashis.

> During the ablution the rehber [or guide] recites a number of tercemans, or prayers, in which the meaning of the purification is expounded: 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 ablutions in so far as it was effective for ever. This meaning is quite clear: it is the complete removal of all that is sinful and unclean and that belongs to his former life.[16]

It is interesting that in Gujerat, India there is a similar ablution at Brahman weddings. M. Sinclair Stevenson records:

> The bridegroom takes some water in his left hand and, putting a little of it to his mouth with the fingers of his right hand says: 'Let there be good speech in my mouth'. His nose is next consecrated, and touching first his right nostril and then his left, he says: 'Let there be breath in my nose'; applying the water to his ears, he says: 'Let my two ears have the power of hearing'; touching each eye, he prays: 'Let my two eyes have the power of seeing'; and applying water in the same way, he goes on to desire that his arms may have strength, and his legs power for walking; till finally, moving his hand from his head to his feet, he prays: 'Let every part of my body have strength'.[17]

Also during the ceremonial washings of the Mandaeans of Iraq

and Iran, the hands, face, forehead, ears, nose, lower part of the body, mouth, knees, legs, and feet are all washed.[18]

In America, the Hopi Indians have a complex initiation system. Mischa Titiev explains:

> To facilitate the conduct of rituals the populace of every village is organized into several secret societies, each of which is responsible for the performance of a single ceremony. Any individual of the proper sex and age may seek initiation into as many of these orders as he chooses; usually, by the simple expedient of asking a member of the society in question to serve as his sponsor or ceremonial father. If a person who has thus been approached agrees to accept the responsibility, he takes his "child" into the kiva where the esoteric rites are being held, instructs him in their meaning, sees to it that he abides by such tabus as are in force, and on the fourth day of the observances washes his head in yucca suds and bestows a new name on him. Thereafter the initiate gradually learns the group's secret traditions, prayers, songs, and dances, and prepares to take an increasingly active part in future performances of the rites.[19] (italics added)

Anointing

The rituals of both washing and anointing were common in ancient Babylonia and Egypt. E. A. Wallis Budge relates: "Soon after a child was born among the ancient Egyptians, he or she was washed with water and, in the case of well-to-do people, was probably anointed with oil."[20] According to Thorkild Jacobsen, there were established Babylonian rules and customs for receiving a weary guest who had traveled far. Among these were washing, anointing, presentation of a new garment, and finally giving food and drink.[21] And Blackman concluded that washing, anointing, and bandaging

were all performed during Egyptian funeral rites.[22]

Anointing with oil has been regarded in many cultures as healing, power-conferring and life-giving, capable of averting evil, regenerating, and sanctifying.[23] Janet L. Nelson, in her two studies of early medieval kingship, points out that the purpose of the royal anointing was to 'make a new man' of the unworthy candidate, to transfer him from the category of the profane to that of the sacred.[24]

Kings have been anointed throughout the ages. A. M. Hocart established that kings of Cambodia, Egypt, India, Israel, and England were anointed during their coronations.[25] And Tor Irstam found seven tribes in Africa where anointings were performed during the coronation ceremonies.[26]

In one of the most extensive studies of early Christian coronation rites, R. M. Woolley examines the rites of Constantinople, Russia, Abyssinia, England, France, Rome, Milan, Germany, Hungary, and Spain. Many of the anointings of the early coronations were quite elaborate. One of the more thorough anointings was received by the Russian Czar.

> 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.'[27]

Woolley also notes that according to one source, the first

Holy Roman Emperor, Charlemagne, was anointed from head to foot after the manner of the Jews.[28] Joseph H. Pemberton writes:

> Edward VI., probably by reason of ill health, sat to receive the unction, for in the account of his Coronation, written by Archbishop Cranmer, it is stated: "His Grace was made ready of new garments, and after a certain space brought forth between two noblemen, and sat before the High Alter bareheaded; then after a while, His Grace was anointed in the breast, in the soles of his feet, his elbows, his wrists of his hands, and the crown of his head, with virtuous prayers said by the Archbishop of Canterbury.". . .Robert Grossetest, Bishop of Lincoln, in writing to Henry III., informs him that the oil used upon Kings is an outward sign whereby is received the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit.[29]

According to St. Cyril's third lecture on "the mysteries," multiple anointings were also given to early Christians. Each was told that they had been anointed on the forehead, ears, nostrils, and breast.[30]

Anciently the Egyptian king was anointed every morning prior to entering the temple. Samuel A. B. Mercer explains:

> The king was bathed, presented with natron [sodium carbonate] to chew, and thus made to live anew. He was then robed, anointed and invested with royal insignia. Thus prepared, he entered the temple, as divine king and priest, to celebrate the daily liturgy. It was, as it were, an elaborate service of preparation in the sacristy, before the celebration of the divine mysteries.[31]

With regard to the ancient Hittite Kingship, O. R. Gurney concludes: "Thus it is evident that the accession of a new king was solemnized by a ceremony which included anointing

with oil, clothing in special garments, coronation, and the bestowal of a royal name."[32]

The Bible records the anointings of six Israelite kings: Saul, David, Solomon, Jehu, Joash, and Jehoahaz.[33] Donald W. Hanson notes:

> The Israelite king had the title "Messiah," which means "Yahweh's Anointed." This title refers to the rite of anointing the king at his installation as monarch. This ritual was a common power-conferring act in all parts of the ancient Near East.[34]

The sanctifying effect of the Israelite anointing is described by Mehahem Haran.

> An indication of the contagious holiness ascribed to the tabernacle furniture is the fact that this furniture is anointed with the holy oil. But Aaron and his sons are also anointed with this oil. The anointing endows the priests and their vestments with the same holiness as that of the tabernacle. Henceforth the priests are in no danger when they come into contact with the furniture, not because they are immune to the lethal impact of contagious holiness but just because they have contracted it, as it were, from the very outset. Both they and their vestments together with the furniture have entered one common circle of sanctity.[35]

The anointing also had sanctifying effects for Israelite kings. For example, when David was anointed, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him from that day forward.[36]

Early Jews believed that the idea of anointing began with the first man. One ancient Jewish apocryphal tale states that after Adam was 930 years old, he knew that his days were coming to an end. And therefore he implored Eve,

"Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray 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."[37] According to the Vita Adae et Evae version, Adam was asking for "the oil of life."[38]

Sacrifices

The story of how the War-chief of Mbau was installed as the Fijian King of Levuka was told to A. M. Hocart by "a man of the tribe of Levuka." He said: "When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe the men of Soso and Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing."[39] It may be difficult to say how much historical truth there is to this narrative, but there is a place where it can be documented that human sacrifice was a part of the coronation rites--Africa.[40] According to Wales and Ellwood, human sacrifices definitely were not a part of the coronation rites of the Siamese king, or the accession ceremonies of the Japanese emperor.[41] And some scholars doubt that human sacrifices were performed in either ancient Egypt or Babylonia.[42] Yet animal sacrifice is a trait of initiation, installation, coronaton, and other kingship rites.

First let us examine two initiation rituals, one modern and another ancient. The ceremonial washing of the Bekashis

has already been mentioned. Helmer Ringgren noticed that before the ceremony, a ram was brought to the monastery for sacrifice.[43] The initiation ceremonies of Eleusis have received a great deal of attention from scholars of the ancient world. George E. Mylonas writes:

> The sea was considered immaculate; it cleansed and purified man from all evil. The initiates probably went to the nearest shore, to the Phaleron coast on the east side, or to the peninsula of Peiraeus, the port town of Athens. After cleansing themselves and their pigs in the blue waters of the Saronic Gulf, they would return to Athens. Probably the pigs had to be sacrificed immediately upon return to the city for to have waited another day would have necessitated a second cleansing of the animal.[44]

C. Kerenyi notes of this event: "The slaughtering of the 'mystical pig' was a true expiatory sacrifice. The animals died in place of the initiand."[45]

Among the instructions given to Moses by the Lord on Mount Sinai were the installation rites that would make Aaron and his sons priests. These rites included washing, robing, anointing, and sacrificing:

> And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shalt wash them with water.
> And thou shalt take garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with the curious girdle of the ephod:
> And thou shalt put the mitre upon his head, and put the holy crown upon the mitre.
> Then shalt thou take the anointing oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him.
> And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.
> And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and

his sons, and put the bonnets on them: and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute: and thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons.

And thou shalt cause a bullock to be brought before the tabernacle of the congregation: and Aaron and his sons shall put their hand upon the head of the bullock.

And thou shalt kill the bullock before the Lord, by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.[46]

Animal sacrifices were also performed during coronation services. For example, after Saul had been anointed by the Israelite prophet Samuel, Saul went to Gilgal.

And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal; and there they sacrified sacrifices of peace offerings before the Lord; and there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly.[47]

Samuel A. B. Mercer relates that the Egyptian coronation included four principal episodes:

1) The candidate was purified by two priests, impersonating Horus and Thot;

2) The candidate was presented with the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt;

3) He was embraced by the chief god of the temple in which he was crowned;

4) The sacrifice was offered and eaten.[48]

And Hugh Byas writes of a Japanese enthronment:

The last, most solemn, most mysterious, most primitive movement took place in the night between November 14 and 15. It was in essence a sacrifice of first-fruits to the ancestral Sun Goddess and an act of mystic communion with her.[49]

Animal sacrifices were also offered at events other than coronations by emperors, kings, and chiefs. W. E. Soothill

writes of China:

> The highest act of national worship was the imperial sacrifice to Shang Ti. Only the emperor, the High Priest of 'the world', the Son of Heaven, might perform this great sacrifice, which existed from all antiquity until the fall of the empire.[50]

The sacrificial animals for this sacrifice were an ox, ram, and boar.[51] Our next example is from ancient Canaan. S. H. Hooke records:

> According to the legend or myth, Keret, King of Hubur, has suffered the loss of his wife, his children, and his palace. As he bewails his wretched condition, El appears to him in a dream and orders him to put off his mourning, wash and anoint himself, and ascend a high tower where he is to offer a sacrifice to El.[52]

Keret's sacrifice consisted of a lamb and a bird.[53] A similar offering is found in Africa. K. A. Busia observed that during the Odwera ceremony of Ashanti, the chief was ceremonially washed with water from a specific river. Upon returning to his house, a sheep and three chickens, which had also been washed in water from the same river, were sacrificed.[54]

In an article on ritual, Edmund R. Leach points out that "Sacrifice, in the sense of the ritual killing of an animal victim, is an institution with a world-wide distribution."[55]

Jubilation

Numerous coronations end with rejoicing. Hocart found

jubilation to be a part of the coronations of Cambodia, Fiji, England, and ancient Israel. In Cambodia and Fiji the rejoicing took place after the ceremonial washing, whereas in England and Israel it happened at the acclamation, which was, in effect, 'Long live the king!'[56]

According to Theodor H. Gaster, the king's prominance in seasonal ceremonies is especially well attested in the ancient Near East.[57] One of the seasonal ceremonies was jubilation:

> Rites of JUBILATION scarcely require documentation or comment. They are a national and inevitable expression of relief when the harvest has been assured and the new lease of life is thereby inaugurated. The most obvious demonstration of this is the fact that the word "festival," which originally denoted no more than the ritual meal eaten in common at topocosmic crises, came in time to aquire the meaning of an essentially joyous celebration and ultimately to serve as the most appropriate designation of the seasonal ceremonies as a whole.[58]

The Bible documents that at the coronations of Saul, Solomon, and Joash, the people greatly rejoiced.[59] Following the Japanese enthronement, the people "abandoned themselves to the spirit of gaiety and happiness."[60] In Africa, some coronation festivals lasted for one or several days. Among the Joruba "the new king was received with homage and acclamation."[61] "In Siam there are fanfares, firing of cannon, and ringing of bells."[62]

From studies of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Chinese, Polynesian, and Altaic kingships, Robert S. Ellwood

concludes that "following the accession, one finds always festivity and banqueting, the opening of a new cycle of joy."[63]

New Name

A. M. Hocart writes: "The king at his coronation 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. Initiates commonly do so."[64] This he determined from the coronations of Egypt and India, and the initiations of Africa, Australia, and India.[65] H. G. Quaritch Wales notes that the new name or title "added to the Siamese king's personal name after Coronation" was inscribed on a "golden plate"; this name was "neither known nor understood by the common people."[66] Tor Irstram found nineteen African tribes in which the king receives a new name at his coronation.[67] C. G. Seligman relates:

> Although the details of the coronation ceremony vary in different Junun communities, there is, broadly speaking, a common ritual. The King-elect is dressed in certain traditional robes which are in fact regalia, as are certain objects he is shown; he is admonished to rule justly, and there is a period of seclusion during which he learns to receive his food in ritual fashion, is bathed ceremonially, and is given a new name. Later there is a feast with acclamation by the people, salutation of the tutelary genii, and the formal entry into the royal palace.[68]

Robert S. Ellwood affirms that during the Japanese enthronement the emperor receives a new name--the era

title.[69] And during the coronation of the last English king, Prince Albert assumed the title George VI.[70]

Anciently, Egyptian kings had numerous names. H. R. Hall notes three. First the Horus, or ka-name, "which, properly speaking is not the name of the king himself, but that of his ka or spiritual double." Secondly, "the name of the king himself, either without a title, or with that of 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt.'" "The third name of the king, as 'Son of the Sun,' did not come into use till the time of the IVth and Vth Dynasties."[71] Egyptologists have now established that "In the noontide of the Pharaonic civilization the full titulary of the kings was even more complex, comprising no less than five separate names."[72] Of these names, it was the prenomen or throne name that was assumed by the king at his coronation,[73] and would therefore be considered the new name. Also, A. M. Blackman notes that

> according to the Book of Breathings, the deceased, before he enters the Hall of the Two Rights, is washed by the goddesses Uto and Nekhbet, and, being thereby cleansed from all evil, every abomination, receives the name "Stone of Righteousness.[74]

In addition, ancient Sumerian, Hittite, and Iranian kings were given new names at their coronations or accessions.[75] Because several Israelite kings had two names--a "birth name" and a "reigning name"--Roland de Vaux ascertains that "it is probably, though not certain, that the kings of Judah took a

new name when they succeeded to the throne."[76]

Kings were not the only ones to receive new names. Patriarchs, apostles, and popes also received them. Abram became Abraham, his wife Sarai became Sarah, Jacob became Israel, and Joseph became Zaphnath-paaneah.[77] Jesus gave Simon the name Cephas or Peter,[78] and Saul became Paul.[79] In The Revelation of John it is written:

> 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.[80]

Also, the Pope receives a new name at his enthronement.[81]

The giving of a new name is a common feature of initiation rites all over the world.[82] Maurice A. Canney writes of this widespread phenomenon:

> It is a widespread custom to change the name. A person receives a new name when he is elevated to a new rank or admitted into a secret society. In the Orphic mysteries, in the highest grades of initiation, the initiate receives a new name. When an Arab becomes a fakir or dervish, he is regenerated, and takes a new name. Among the tribes of East Africa when a boy reaches adolescence, he is given a new name. The African negro, when he reaches adolescence, is supposed to be reborn and receives a new name. The same thing happens among the Kurnai of South-eastern Australia, and in the Urabunna tribe of Central Australia. Referring to the Areoi, a magical fraternity which, though best known at Tahiti, seems to have extended throughout the Polynesian area as far as Hawaii, Hutton Webster says: "Before a candidate could be received for membership, he must first have given evidence of being inspired by the gods. Previous to initiation he remained for months, and even years, on probation. His stay in the lowest grades was prolonged until he had mastered the songs and

dances, and the dramatic representations. His reception in the sacred ranks was always made the occasion of a great festival, at which he received a new name.[83]

Footnotes - Chapter 4

[1]Dahl, Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes, p. 38.

[2]Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, p. 130; Patterns in Comparative Religion, pp. 188-189, 193-194; Canney, Newness of Life, p. 67; Kristensen, The Meaning of Religion, p. 447; Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, p. 150; Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, p. 62; Brandon, ed., The Saviour God, p. 23; Wensinck, Acta Orientalia, Vol. 1, p. 166, 186; The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites, p. 60; Wild, Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis, pp. 125, 153.

[3]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 76-84.

[4]Irstam, The King of Ganda, pp. 64-65.

[5]Fleisher, ed., Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Emperor of Japan, pp. 31, 34.

[6]Irstam, Ibid., p. 189; James, Christian Myth and Ritual, pp. 58-59; Mercer, The Pyramid Texts, Vol. 4, p. 55; Blackman, Theology, Vol. 1, pp. 140-141.

[7]Blackman, Ibid., pp. 135, 137, 138; Mercer, Ibid.; Blackman, The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 5, p. 124; Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, pp. 348-349; Wild, Ibid., p. 145.

[8]Blackman, Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 155; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 83; James, Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East, p. 90; Meyerowitz, The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt, p. 159.

[9]Blackman, Luxor and Its Temples, p. 122; Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 10, p. 478.

[10]Neusner, ed., Religions in Antiquity, pp. 578-579.

[11]Laessoe, Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bit rimki, p. 14.

[12]Bruce, ed., Promise and Fulfilment, p. 207.

[13]Yarnold, The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation, p. 82.

[14]Epstein, ed., The Babylonian Talmud, Horayoth, p. 87.

[15]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 135-161.

[16]Bleeker, ed., Initiation, pp. 203-204.

[17]Stevenson, Rites of the Twice-Born, p. 77.

[18]Drower, The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, pp. 102-104.

[19]Ferm, ed., Forgotten Religions, p. 368.

[20]Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection, Vol. 2, pp. 217-218.

[21]Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, p. 49.

[22]Cited by Raglan, How Came Civilization?, p. 142. Cf. Smith, The Migrations of Early Culture, p. 52.

[23]Mitchell, Baptismal Anointing, p. 18; Canny, Ibid., p. 76; Quinn, The Quest of Seth, p. 25; Gaster, The Holy and the Profane, p. 14; Hooke, ed., Ibid., p. 62; Yarnold, Ibid., p. 81.

[24]Nelson, Studies in Church History, Vol. 7, p. 52; Ibid., Vol., 13, p. 113.

[25]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 79-96.

[26]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[27]Woolley, Coronation Rites, p. 29.

[28]Ibid., p. 40.

[29]Pemberton, The Coronation Service, pp. 9-10.

[30]Stephenson, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 64, pp. 171-172; Yarnold, Ibid., pp. 81-82.

[31]Mercer, Ibid., p. 348.

[32]Hooke, ed., Ibid., p. 118.

[33]I Samuel 10:1; II Samuel 5:3; I Kings 1:39; II Kings 9:6; 11:12; 23:30.

[34]Hanson, The Ideology of Kingship in the Ancient Near East, p. 189.

[35]Haran, Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel, p. 177.

[36]I Samuel 16:13.

[37]Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Vol. 2, pp. 141, 143.

[38]Ibid., p. 143.

[39]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 72, 73.

[40]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57, 74.

[41]Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, p. 124, 125; Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 151.

[42]Mercer, Ibid., pp. 357-358; Jastrow, The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 662; Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon, p. 375.

[43]Bleeker, ed., Ibid., p. 203. Cf. Driberg, The Lango, p. 247.

[44]Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, pp. 249-250.

[45]Kerenyi, Eleusis, p. 55.

[46]Exodus 29:4-11.

[47]I Samuel 11:15; I Chronicles 29:21-22.

[48]Mercer, Ibid., pp. 359-360.

[49]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., p. 2.

[50]Soothill, The Three Religions of China, pp. 229-230.

[51]Soothill, The Hall of Light, p. 137.

[52]Hooke, Middle Eastern Mythology, p. 88.

[53]Gray, Vetus Testamentum, Vol. 2, p. 206.

[54]Busia, The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti, pp. 29, 34.

[55]Leach, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, p. 523.

[56]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 76-96.

[57]Gaster, Thespis, p. 49.

[58]Ibid., p. 43.

[59]I Samuel 11:15; I Kings 1:39-40, 45; I Chronicles 29:22; II Kings 11:14; II Chronicles 23:13.

[60]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., p. 40.

[61]Irstam, Ibid., p. 74.

[62]Wales, Ibid., p. 125.

[63]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 35.

[64]Hocart, Folk-Lore, Vol. 35, p. 312.

[65]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 80, 85, 139-152.

[66]Wales, Ibid., pp. 38, 85, 88, 102, 103, 125.

[67]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[68]Seligmen, Egypt and Negro Africa, pp. 39-40.

[69]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 152.

[70]Lacy, Majesty, p. 109; Widengren, Religionsphanomenologie, p. 390.

[71]Hall, The Ancient History of the Near East, p. 106, n. 3. Cf. Budge, The Book of the Kings of Egypt, Vol. 1, pp. xiii, xviii, xxii, lxxxv.

[72]Budge, Ibid., pp. xii-xxiv; Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 51; Egyptian Grammar, pp. 71-76; Frankfort, Ibid., pp. 46-47; Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt, p. 145; Wilson, The Culture of Ancient Egypt, p. 102; Foucart, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 7, pp. 712-713.

[73]Wilson, Ibid.; Frankfort, Ibid., p. 46; Budge, Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii.

[74]Blackman, Theology, Vol. 1, p. 137.

[75]Frankfort, Ibid., p. 246; Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, p. 59; Widengren, Studies in the History of Religions, Vol. 4, p. 253.

[76]Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 108. Cf. Honeyman, Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 67, pp. 16-25.

[77]Genesis 17:4-5; Nehemiah 9:7; Genesis 17:15; 32:26-28; 35:10; 41:42,45.

[78]John 1:42; Matthew 16:17-18; Oldenburg, The Conflict Between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion, p. 126, n. 6; Riddle, Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 59, pp. 175-176.

[79]Acts 13:9; Oldenburg, Ibid.

[80]Revelation 2:17.

[81]James, Christian Myth and Ritual, p. 90; Raglan, Death and Rebirth, p. 62.

[82]Raglan, Ibid., p. 75.

[83]Canney, Givers of Life, pp. 78-79.

Rebirth

Rebirth is commonly found in initiation, installation, and coronation ceremonies. A. M. Hocart determined that the king was reborn during the coronation rites of Fiji, India, England, Egypt, and Israel.[1] This trait has also been found in the coronation and enthronement ceremonies of Siam, Africa, and Japan.[2] Acts of rebirth include being turned into another man by the Holy Spirit, acting as one who is new to the world, being swallowed by a monster, acting like a new born babe, being endowed with divine qualities, going through a burial ceremony, or simply being reawakened.[3] Also, four of the elements of the coronation ceremony indicate rebirth.

1) Ablution
2) Anointing
3) New Name
4) Garment

Samuel A. B. Mercer informs us that in Egypt the "ritual act of ablutions--washing and sprinkling--symbolized new-birth."[4] Janet L. Nelson found that the purpose of the royal anointing "was to 'make a new man' of the unworthy candidate."[5] According to Tor Irstam, "In explanation of the common custom according to which the king assumed a new name on his ascension to the throne the idea of death and

re-birth may possibly be adduced." "Among the Junun the new king took off his old clothes and put on new ones. This change of dress symbolized his death as an ordinary mortal and his birth as a son of the gods."[6] A. M. Hocart found that in India the king's garments "represent the various membranes of the womb into which the king is supposed to enter in order to be born again."[7]

Many of the ceremonies of rebirth are of ancient origin. For example, in ancient Babylon the king's death and rebirth were probably portrayed on the fifth day of the New Year Festival when the king was divested of his royal insignia and apparel, ritually humiliated, and reinstated.[8] Of this event Henri Frankfort remarks: "It is. . .clear that his renewed investiture with the insignia of royalty signified a renewal of kingship."[9] A. M. Hocart writes of the ancient Hebrew coronation rites: "The theory [of rebirth] is clear: after the unction the Spirit of the Lord came upon Saul and he was turned into another man. The Spirit of the Lord also came upon David after his anointing."[10] Raphael Patai comments that "According to later Jewish tradition the king becomes on the day of his coronation 'like a one year old babe who has not known the taste of sin.'"[11] Probably the strongest evidence of the king's rebirth comes from ancient Egypt. Aylward M. Blackman, in a detailed article on the Egyptian ablution entitled "An Ancient Egyptian Foretaste of the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration," explains:

> Through the water, regarded as the generative efflux of the sun-god, the living and dead king was not, it would seem, thought to be just rebegotten and reborn, but to be rebegotten and reborn as the god's own son. Thus, the washing of the king was not only regenerative in its effects, but also affiliative. According to the latter part of Utterance 222 of the Pyramid Texts the dead king, through being washed in a sacred pool in the Heliopolitan nome by Horus and Seth, is said to be born for the former and conceived for the latter god, and is also said to have come into being and to have grown tall. The Utterance closes with the words: "O, Atum,. . .enfold him in thy embrace; he is thy son of thy body for ever"--that is to say, that when the king came forth rebegotten and reborn out of the sacred water, the sun-god was called upon to recognize him as his son. A passage in Chapter XVII. of the Book of the Dead makes the deceased (originally the dead king) assert that he was washed on the day he was born in one of the two solar pools attached to the temple at Heracleopolis Magna. Now the name of this pool was "Seed (var. 'Begetter') of Millions." This suggests that it was the custom in predynastic Heliopolis to wash a baby prince in the water of a solar pool, by which act, the water being identified with the generative efflux of the sun-god, the child was thought to be rebegotten and reborn as the god's son.[12]

It has already been noted that as a child, the Egyptian king-to-be was sprinkled with water that he might be endowed with divine qualities and reborn, [13] and that these qualities were "life, good fortune, stability, health, and happiness."[14] Also Eric Uphill found in the Egyptian Sed-festival suggestions of "a mock funeral and burial, followed by a reawakening ceremony, taking place after the king had entered his tomb."[15]

Meyer Fortes' anthropological study of installation ceremonies points out that many of the installation "procedures converge on a single object. They are

procedures for divesting a person of his lay, secular, 'profane' social identity, cleansing him of its common, earthy, mundane, 'dirty' qualities, and creating him over into the personality that is proper, ritually pure vessel for the office."[16]

The idea of rebirth can also be found in initiation rites. Mircea Eliade writes:

> The term initiation in the most general sense denotes a body of rites and oral teachings whose purpose is to produce a decisive alteration in the religious and social status of the person to be initiated. In philosophical terms, initiation is equivalent to a basic change in existential condition; the novice emerges from his ordeal endowed with a totally different being from that which he possessed before his initiation; he has become <u>another</u>.[17]

In some initiations the novice is "supposed to be devoured by a monster."[18] In South-east Australia the Kurnai believe that "A god, who is father's father to the tribe, comes down from heaven for the purpose of making the boys into men."[19] They are "laid to sleep as boys, in order to be awakened as men."[20]

E. O. James summarizes that 'dying to live' has been "the very core of religion throughout the ages."[21] And according to Eliade, "access to spiritual life always entails death to the profane condition, followed by a new birth."[22]

Creation

A. M. Hocart observed that in Fiji the king's

installation ceremony was called "creation of the world," "fashioning the land," or "creating the earth."[23] Mircea Eliade explains that, "For the natives of the Fijis, the Creation takes place at each enthronement of a new chief, an idea that is also preserved in other places."[24] "According to a recent interpretation, the installation of the Indian king, the rajasuya, included re-creating the Universe."[25]

In the Babylonian Akitu Festival, after the Epic of Creation was recited, the presence of the king became indispensable.[26] And C. J. Bleeker notes that according to the Egyptian Heliopolitan myth of creation, "at the beginning of time there arose from the primeval water Nun a hill which the sun-god climbed, and there he assumed his kingship over the world by instituting Ma-a-t."[27] He continues:

> To secure the succession to the throne, the accession of the crown prince took place immediately upon the death of the old pharaoh, at dawn on the day following his decease. This moment was chosen not only from dynastic considerations, but also because it possessed profound religious significance. Specifically, the prince who ascended to the throne 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.[28]

One of the better-known creation texts, Genesis, is surrounded with controversy.[29] One of the unresolved questions remains: What was its purpose? One group of scholars maintains that the first part of Genesis was

ritually recited, serving "a liturgical purpose."[30] Some suppose that Adam was a king[31] or that early kings "played the role of Adam" as found in Genesis.[32]

Combat

The ritual combat or sham fight is commonly defined as "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."[33] The combat episode is possible the most difficult element of the coronation ceremony to understand. Usually religious rites can be classified as either rites of "expulsion" or "impulsion," expulsion rites being for "the riddance of whatever is conceived as hostile"; rites of impulsion being for "the enhancement of whatever is conceived of as favorable to life."[34] But the combat ritual is adaptable enough to be placed in either category. For example, "among the Malayans a mock combat takes place every three or four years in order to expel demons," whereas it is also thought "to introduce new life and vitality."[35] Tor Irstam 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. This corresponded in the cult to the mythic fight in which the god put an end to the state of chaos and overcame the powers of chaos. He created cosmos

out of chaos."[36] In Africa, then, the ritual combat was the turning point, both an expulsion of anarchy and an impulsion of new order.

Ritual combats take place during the coronation ceremonies of Africa, India, and England; they are also found in the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Canaanite enthronement festivals.[37] The ancient world was a world of conflict. In Persia the earth was "seen as the battleground of two divine powers."[38] In Egypt there was the conflict between Horus and Seth, who were called "the two fighters."[39] And the Babylonian texts tell us of the battle of Murduk and Tiamat before the world was created.[40]

In India the ritual combat is mostly of a magical nature.[41] Whereas

> In Ganda [Africa] 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.[42]

During the English rite "a champion comes forward and offers to fight any one who may dispute the king's title."[43]

Geo Widengren writes: "The great mythic-ritual occasion of the year in ancient Iran was the New Year's festival. At this festival the king functions as a dragon-killer, slaying the mythical monster Azi Dahaka, thereby creating fertility

in the world."[44] In Canaan, Baal is a young warrior god. "His adversaries can threaten him for a moment and attack his supremacy, but the god always recovers himself in the end, and re-establishes his momentarily endangered supremacy."[45] Johs. Pedersen points out that "A principal features of the feast is Ba'l's fight against his enemy and his enthronement as a king who is to 'reign over the gods, in order that gods and men may become fat, in order to satisfy the multitudes of the earth.'"[46] The Babylonian mock combat dramatized "the struggle between summer and winter, rain and drought, fertility and blight, old year and new."[47]

In Egypt "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 light, continuously threatening to encroach upon its dominion. There are references to the limits of the world, where light meets the eternal darkness."[48] Besides this concept, there was also "a ritual fight" which took place as the procession of Osiris was "on its way to the temple."[49] And during the accession of Egyptian king Senusert I, a "mock battle" was fought.[50] H. P. L'Orange found in the ancient world what he termed "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.[51] L'Orange notes that, "the

outstretched right hand of the king has magic powers." It could be used to bless or to curse.[52] "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."[53]

Theodor H. Gaster generalizes of the seasonal rites: "The fight of god and dragon--a counterpart of that enacted in ritual in order to bring in the new lease of life--is a constant theme of the seasonal myths throughout the world."[54]

Marriage

Numerous scholars have noted a connection between marriage and the royal state. This can best be explained with some examples. In a three-volume work called The History of Human Marriage, Edward Westermarck wrote: "In some countries the bridegroom and the bride are regarded as king and queen."[55] In Gujerat, India, M. Sinclair Stevenson observed that the bride and bridegroom were "looked on as a king and queen till the end of the [wedding] festivities."[56] Walter William Skeat relates:

> The Malay wedding ceremony, even as carried out by the poorer classes, shows that the contracting parties are treated as royalty, that is to say, as sacred human

beings, and if any further proof is required, in addition to the evidence which may be drawn from the general character of the ceremony, I may mention, firstly, the fact that bride and bridegroom are actually called Raja Sari, (i.e. Raja sa-hari, the "sovereigns of a day"); and, secondly, that it is a polite fiction that no command of theirs, during their one day soverignty, may be disobeyed.[57]

Of the Jewish ceremony, G. M. Mackie records:

> At a Jewish wedding the most interesting feature is the canopy under which the bridegroom and bride sit or stand during the ceremony. It is erected in the court or large room of the house where the guests are assembled, and is made of palm-branches and embroidered cloth. It is suggestive of the dome sometimes seen above pulpits, and gives to the wedding the appearance of a coronation. In Is lxi. 10 the bridgroom is described, R.V. marg., as decked like a priest, and he still wears at such a time the prayer-cloak of public worship called the tallith. The Jews say "the bridegroom is a king." The husband is priest and king in his own household.[58]

Among the Jews this concept goes back to early times.

According to W. O. E. Oesterley,

> During the wedding procession through the streets it was customary for all who could do so to join in and dance in front of the bride, who is spoken of as the "queen"; this was done in her honour. Rabbi Tarphon (2nd century A.D.), we are told, on one such occasion caused the bride to be brought into his house, where she was bathed, anointed, and adorned by his mother and sister.[59]

During the marriage ceremony in Rotuma, a small island some three hundred miles north of Fiji, "the boy and the girl sit in state on mats against the east wall, the chiefly side of the house, with the people facing them on the other like a

court. The couple eat off tables, a privilege which in ordinary life is reserved for chiefs."[60] In 1927, A. M. Hocart suggested that the marriage ceremony was of royal origin.[61] Six years later S. H. Hooke established that "sacred marriage" was a major trait of the New Year or Enthronement Festivals of Egypt and Babylon.[62] Unfortunately there is little precise information about its usage.[63]

It is interesting that in India, and in parts of Fiji and Africa, the queen is installed at the same time as the king,[64] thus playing a part in the coronation.

Procession

Hocart found that after the coronation ceremonies in Fiji, India, Cambodia, and Egypt, the king toured his domains and received homage from his subjects.[65] This trait is also found in Siam and Africa.[66] In Japan there is an "Imperial procession" during the enthronement ceremonies, but homage is not given. Homage is given at the banquets in the provinces of Yuki and Suki.[67] Scholars have noted that in Egypt, India, and Siam, the royal processions follow the course of the sun.[68]

S. H. Hooke found "the triumphal procession" to be a major trait of the New Year festivals of Egypt and Babylon.[69] Samuel A. B. Mercer writes of Egypt: "Ritual processions played an important part in great religions

ceremonies. On his coronation day, each pharaoh from the time of Menes paraded in pomp round a fortified wall, and the ceremony came to be called 'the procession round the wall.'"[70] H. W. F. Saggs relates that during the Babylonian Akitu festival

> A process took place, in which the god's statue left the city temple, embarked on a ship, and made a journey to the Akitu-house, returning afterwards to his temple by the same means of transport. 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.[71]

According to S. Szikszai, after Solomon had been anointed as king of Israel, "a festival procession accompanied the new king from the holy place to the throne, and he took his place and received the obeisance of the officials and the royal princes (I Kings 1:40, 53)."[72]

In his study of ritual, myth, and drama in the ancient Near East, Theodor H. Gaster found the king's tour to be a common occurrence: "Among several ancient and primitive peoples the assumption of kingship is usually marked by a tour of the royal territories."[73]

Footnotes - Chapter 5

[1]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 75-93.

[2]Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, p. 124; Irstam, The King of Ganda, p. 57; Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 59.

[3]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 75, 83, 84, 86, 93, 137, 147; Irstam, Ibid., pp. 57, 189.

[4]Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, p. 350. Cf. Blackman, Theology, Vol. 1, pp. 138-141.

[5]Nelson, Studies in Church History, Vol. 7, p. 52.

[6]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 57, 58. Cf. Canney, Newness of Life, p. 143; Honeyman, Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 67, p. 13; Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, p. 5.

[7]Hocart, Ibid., p. 79. Cf. Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, pp. 92, 98. 117.

[8]Bentzen, King and Messiah, p. 26.

[9]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 320.

[10]Hocart, Ibid., p. 86.

[11]Patai, Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. 20, p. 170.

[12]Blackman, Ibid., p. 140.

[13]Irstam, Ibid., p. 189; James, Christian Myth and Ritual, pp. 58-59.

[14]Blackman, Luxor and Its Temples, p. 122; Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 10, p. 478.

[15]Uphill, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. 24, p. 379.

[16]Fortes, Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1967, p. 19.

[17]Eliade, Rites and Symbols of Initiation, p. x.

[18]Hocart, Ibid., p. 137; Eliade, Myth and Reality, p. 81; Rites and Symbols of Initiation, p. 73.

[19]Hocart, Ibid., p. 147.

[20]Howitt, The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, pp. 623, 625.

[21]James, The Tree of Life, p. 288.

[22]Eliade, The Sacred and Profane, p. 201.

[23]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 189-190; Eliade, Myth and Reality, p. 39.

[24]Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return, p. 80.

[25]Eliade, Myth and Reality, p. 39. Cf. Heesterman, Ibid., p. 10.

[26]Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon, p. 387. Cf. Postgate, Sumer, Vol. 30, p. 61.

[27]Bleeker, Egyptian Festivals, p. 94.

[28]Ibid., p. 95.

[29]Skinner, The International Critical Commentary, Genesis; Speiser, The Anchor Bible, Genesis.

[30]Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, p. 175; Diamond, ed., Culture in History, pp. 472-473; Bleeker, ed., Historia Religionum, Vol. 1, pp. 249-250; Hooke, The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual, pp. 55-56; In the Beginning, pp. 35-36; Middle Eastern Mythology, p. 121; James, Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East, p. 169; Ancient Gods, p. 219; Creation and Cosmology, p. 29; The Tree of Life, pp. 146-147; Brandon, Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East, pp. 146-147; Engnell, A Rigid Scrutiny, p. 182; Astour, Hellenosemitica, pp. 116-117; Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness, p. 203.

[31]Wensinck, The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth, pp. 54-55; Acta Orientalia, Vol. 1, p. 178; Bentzen, Ibid., pp. 41-42; Studia Theologica, Vol. 3, p. 156; Anderson, ed., Israel's Prophetic Heritage, p. 169; L'Orange, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture, p. 128; Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism, p. 24; Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History, p. 113.

[32]Anderson, ed., Ibid., p. 171; Ringgren, The Messiah in the Old Testament, p. 20; Israelite Religion, p. 231; Borsch, Ibid., p. 114.

[33]Engnell, Ibid., p. 181, n. 4.

[34]Harrison, Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 1.

[35]Gaster, Thespis, pp. 38, 62.

[36]Irstam, Ibid., p. 165.

[37]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 78-95; Irstam, Ibid., pp. 60-61; Pedersen, Acta Orientalia, Vol. 18, pp. 9-10; Engnell, Ibid., p. 183.

[38]Tillich, Dynamics of Faith, p. 54.

[39]Velde, Seth, God of Confusion, pp. 32-33.

[40]Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, p. 48.

[41]Hocart, Ibid., p. 78.

[42]Irstam, Ibid., p. 61.

[43]Hocart, Ibid., p. 94.

[44]Widengren, Studies in the History of Religions, Vol. 4, p. 252.

[45]Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, p. 139.

[46]Pedersen, Ibid., p. 10. Cf. Fisher, Vetus Testamentum, Vol. 15, p. 317.

[47]Gaster, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 66, p. 75. Cf. Lambert, Iraq, Vol. 25, pp. 189-190.

[48]Ringgren, Studies in the History of Religions, Vol. 17, p. 144.

[49]Hooke, ed., The Labyrinth, p. 22; Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection, Vol. 2, pp. 5-6.

[50]Frankfort, Ibid., p. 128.

[51]L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, pp. 139, 142-169.

[52]Ibid., p. 139, 140. Cf. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, pp. xi-xii; Stephenson, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 64, p. 153; Yarnold, The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation, pp. 68-69; Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt, p. 231.

[53]L'Orange, Ibid., pp. 143, 147.

[54]Gaster, Thespis, p. 137.

[55]Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, Vol. 2, p. 261.

[56]Stevenson, The Rites of the Twice-Born, p. 97.

[57]Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 388.

[58]Mackie, Bible Manners and Customs, p. 123.

[59]Oesterley, The Sacred Dance, p. 182.

[60]Hocart, Ibid., p. 99. Cf. Hocart, Man, Vol. 29, p. 104.

[61]Ibid., pp. 99, 104.

[62]Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, p. 8; Engnell, Ibid.

[63]Ellwood, Ibid., pp. 14, 18; Hooke, ed., Ibid., p. 56; Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, p. 65; Saggs, Ibid., p. 388; Frankfort, Ibid., p. 296.

[64]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71, 101, 104; Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57, 78.

[65]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71-85.

[66]Wales, Ibid., pp. 107, 125; Irstam, Ibid., p. 72.

[67]Fleisher, ed., Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Emperor of Japan, pp. 4, 36; Ellwood, Ibid., p. 152.

[68]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 80, 85; Wales, Ibid., p. 107; Heesterman, Ibid., pp. 55, 62, 137.

[69]Hooke, ed., Myth and Ritual, pp. 8, 10.

[70]Mercer, Ibid., p. 351. Cf. Gaster, Ibid., p. 80; Hooke, ed., Ibid., p. 29.

[71]Saggs, Ibid., p. 384.

[72]Szikszai, The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. 3, p. 14.

[73]Gaster, Ibid., p. 98.

Garment

Kings are commonly clothed with special garments during their coronations. Hocart found that Fijians tie a "cloth on the chief's arm," that in India the king is invested with two garments and a mantle, and that in Cambodia "the ministers place on the king's shoulders a royal mantle, red, with gold embroidery."[1] Hocart notes that one of the oldest Christian coronation ceremonies was the Spanish rite.[2] During this rite 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.[3]

In Siam there is a similar ceremony. "The King was clothed in a white robe symbolic of purity" for his "ceremonial bath of purification and anointment." "After the Ceremonial Bath the King retired, shortly to reappear in full regal robes, which included the gold embroidered pha-nun, or Siamese national lower garment. . .and the gold embroidered robe or long tunic."[4]

Fortunately, a great deal has been written about the Japanese enthronement ceremony. In Japan, white is also a symbol of purity.[5] Robert S. Ellwood informs us that the

emperor ceremonally washed or bathed for purification. "He then puts on a single white garment, called the hagoromo, or feather-robe. In folklore, a garment of the same name is often worn by heavenly beings."[6] In an article entitled "Many Ceremonial Costumes Used by the Emperor and his Courtiers," Seikan Yatsuka relates:

> For His Majesty's use there are six kinds of ceremonial costume. The most sacred robe worn by the Emperor is of white silk, which is assumed for the food ritual in the Yuki-den and Suki-den of the Daijo-sai, and also at the Niiname-sai, the harvest festival held at Court. The second most important costume is also white, and is worn only on the morning of the Enthronement ceremony when the Emperor proceeds to the Shunkyo-den for the ritual before the Kashiko-dokoro. This is never used at Court ceremonies. His Majesty's enthronment robe is known as korozen, of a yellow-red color, with designs of bamboo, paulownia, phoenix and the equally mythological kirin. It is also worn at the time of the annual ceremonies of the Court, when the date of the Enthronement is announced before the Three Shrines, on the occasion when Mikagura is performed, and when the Emperor reads a report before the Kashiko-dokoro announcing the successful conclusion of the Enthronement ceremonies. The fourth ceremonial robe has a long train, and was formerly an every-day costume, but is now the prescribed dress when an Imperial Messenger is dispatched to the ancestral tombs and shrines. Only His Majesty, an Imperial prince, or the chief ritualist of Ise Grand Shrine, who is an Imperial prince, may wear this garment. For lesser ceremonial occasions, two costumes of simpler style are worn by the Emperor.[7]

Yet H. Watanabe explains that this was not always the case:

> In ancient times the robes worn by the Emperor of Japan during the Imperial Coronation were simply those peculiar to the priests of Shinto on festive occasions. The material was of pure white heavy silk, white being from of old a sacred color. But in the 13th century, during the reign of the Empress Suiko, Chinese influence

was at its height and the customs of that country became popular in Japan, after which Chinese robes and even an Imperial crown came into use at coronations.[8]

A. Bulling notes that the garment of the Chinese ruler had many symbols.

> The six emblems with which the upper garment was adorned represented the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragon and the flowery fowl, whereas the undergarment was decorated with the temple cup, aquatic grass, flames, grains of rice, the hatchet and the symbol of distinction.[9]

Tor Irstam found 18 African tribes where "the king was dressed in special robes" during the coronation ceremony. He records that among the Kaffitsho the king "was clad in the royal apparel--the green mantle and the green coat," whereas "among the Shona, the new king was clad in a black dress."[10]

There is still some uncertainty about the royal robes of the ancient Near East. For example, Helmer Ringgren comments that "we know nothing about the [Isralite] king's official robe; but we may presume that he had one, and it is probable that the garment of the high priest, as described in Ex. 28, is a post-exilic copy of the royal robe."[11] This robe is described in Mendell Lewittes' translation of The Book of Temple Service:

> The vestments of an ordinary priest consisted of four garments: a tunic, breeches, a headtire, and a girdle. These four garments were woven of white linen whose threads were folded over six times. The girdle alone

was embroidered with wool.

The gold vestments were the vestments of the High Priest and consisted of eight garments: the four of the ordinary priest plus a robe, an ephod, a breastplate, and a frontplate.[12]

He also notes that there was a certain "order of putting on the vestments."[13]

In ancient Greece the royal apparel probably included a golden fleece. Michael C. Astour explains: "it was necessary for Jason to deliver it [the Golden Fleece] to King Pelias, so the latter could cede his throne to him. It follows from the parallel myth of Atreus and Thyestes that the Golden Fleece was the symbol and attribute of kingship: the man who owned it was recognized as king."[14]

In Egypt "the principal festival of the king" was the hb sd. It is the opinion of C. J. Bleeker that hb sd 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." Which "is the old-fashioned short mantle." "By donning the sd robe, the king renewed his office."[15] According to Helmer Ringgren, there may have been a similar ceremony in ancient Israel.[16]

In Egypt there was also a relationship between the protecting genius or ka and a garment. James Henry Breasted explains:

> The ka is ever the protecting genius. The dead king Pepi "lives with his ka; he (the ka) expels the evil that is before Pepi, he removes the evil that is behind Pepi, like the boomerangs of the lord of Letopolis, which remove the evil that is before him and expel the evil that is behind him." Notwithstanding their intimate association, there was danger that the ka might fail to recognize his protege, and the departed therefore received a garment peculiar to him, by means of which the ka may not mistake him for an enemy whom he might slay.[17]

Also from the Near East comes the concept of the "garment of light." For example, in Manichaean texts are found such expressions as "armour of Light," "garments of splendour," and "raiments of Light."[18] One Iranian text mentions "a garment which was like silk, on which there was no section and no seam, because its substance was light."[19] In the Pyramid Texts, the Egyptian king was vested with a "garment of light."[20] And in the bit rimki series Tammuz was clothed in a "bright red garment."[21] The brilliance of the garment was what seemed important. In his King and Saviour series, Geo Widengren not only established that the "garment of light" was a widespread concept throughout the Near East, but that this garment was worn by "the First Man."[22] In early Hebrew legends Adam and Eve had "coats of light" before the fall.[23] But after tasting the fruit "the outer skin of light fell away" from them.[24] Louis Ginzberg notes that even "The older Haggadah speaks of 'garments of light' which the first 'pair' wore before the fall."[25] This would mean that Adam and Eve were naked only a short time.

Crown

Coronation implies that the king is crowned. That is why the Japanese royal ceremony is called an enthronement--there is no crown. Hocart found that crowns were used in Cambodia, England, Fiji, India, Egypt, and Israel. Of Fiji he notes: "There is no investiture with the crown, but the chief is the only one allowed to wear a turban unless the privilege has been granted to some clan."[26] Irstam found 19 African tribes where "The king was crowned." These crowns included bands of cloth or cow-hide, caps, and actual metal crowns.[27] The Siamese crown was "a cone of several stages terminating in a tapering spire,"[28] whereas in India it was "a gold plate."[29]

According to K. A. Kitchen, in ancient Israel

> The high priest's crown was a gold plate inscribed 'Holy unto the Lord', fastened to his mitre or turban by blue cord, thus being an emblem of consecration (Ex. xxix. 6, xxxix. 30; Lv. viii. 9, xxi. 12). After the Exile, in 520 BC, Zechariah (vi. 11-14) was commanded by God to make gold and silver crowns and to place them on the head of Joshua the high priest, those being (later) laid up in the Temple as emblems of God's favour. These may have been combined in one double crown, uniting priestly and regal offices in one person.[30]

L. E. Toombs notes that, "The royal and priestly crowns of Israel are described by a [Hebrew] word which means 'dedication,' 'consecration.' They therefore signify not only the rank and authority of the wearer, but also the

sacred nature of his office."[31]

According to Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, the Persian king's dress included a cap:

> The king's dress naturally excelled that of all in outward pomp and beauty. The cap was made of stiffer material, and was higher than that worn by any of the 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.[32]

Anciently, the Egyptian king "was presented with the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt."[33] The red crown of Lower Egypt was a "flat cap, with spiral at front and tall projection at rear." The white crown of Upper Egypt was "tall and conical with a knob at the top."[34]

Shoes

In some of the royal rites the new king puts on shoes. Hocart found this to be true of Cambodia, India, and early England.[35] In Japan and Siam the regalia included a pair of slippers.[36] Irstam found five tribes in Africa where the king put on either shoes or sandals.[37]

Anciently, shoes were included in the royal vestments of Mesopotamia.[38] And according to R. O. Faulkner, the Pyramid Texts of ancient Egypt mention white sandals.[39]

Regalia

Hocart established that the king commonly "receives other regalia such as a sword, a sceptre, a ring, etc." He

found this trait in Cambodia, England, Fiji, India, and Egypt. Hocart relates that in Fiji "there are indications in legend and history that the possession of the regalia confers sovereignty."[40] A few years later, H. G. Quaritch Wales found, "From the list of Siamese regalia one can pick out five that are undoubtedly of great antiquity."

1. The Great White Umbrella of State.
2. The Great Crown of Victory.
3. The Sword of Victory.
4. The Slippers.
5. The Fan.

Wales concludes that the Siamese regalia were "to invest the person of the king with the outward brilliance of majesty and. . .to impress the people with the respect due to the kingship."[41] Tor Irstam found 26 tribes in Africa where "The king received certain regalia." His findings indicate that the spear and scepter were two of the commonest regalia of Africa.[42] In Japan there were three sacred treasures--the mirror, sword, and jewel. "Without them none can legitimately rule."[43]

In the ancient Near East the scepter was commonly included among the king's regalia. Henri Frankfort determined that the scepter was part of the regalia in both Mesopotamia and Egypt.[44] And Roland de Vaux notes that "In Egypt it was the bestowal of the crowns and sceptres of Upper and Lower Egypt which made a man Pharaoh."[45] The

Testament of Levi and early Jewish legends indicate that a staff or scepter was among the regalia of Israelite kings.[46]

From studies of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Chinese, Polynesian, and Altaic kingships, Robert S. Ellwood concludes that

> There are always solid objects, regalia, in which the kingly power is concentrated, and which are always held by the true king. Possession of the regalia, in fact, may be deemed the decisive mark of rightful sovereign. Once it has been conferred, by more less proper means, the man is king; this test supersedes even heredity.[47]

Throne

Hocart found the throne to be an element of the coronation ceremonies of Cambodia, England, India, Egypt, and Israel.[48] Irstam found 24 African tribes where "The king sat on the throne"[49] as part of the coronation. In Siam, "The ceremony of Actual Coronation is performed on a throne of gilded figwood called the Bhadrapitha Throne."[50] The thrones of the Japanese emperor and empress "were of thick straw mats, or tatami, bound with red brocade."[51] And in China, "The emperor's seat was 'the dragon throne.'"[52]

H. Frankfort writes of ancient Egypt:

> We know that many peoples consider the insignia of royalty to be charged with the superhuman power of kingship. Among these objects the throne occupies a special place: the prince who seats himself upon it at the coronation arises king. The throne "makes" the king--the term occurs in Egyptian texts--and so the throne, Isis, is the "mother" of the king. This

> expression might be viewed as a metaphor, but the evidence shows that it was not. The bond between the king and the throne was the intimate one between his person and the power which made him king.[53]

Roland de Vaux describes the enthronement in ancient Israel:

> After the acclamation all left the sanctuary and entered the palace, where the new king took his seat on the throne (1 K 1:46, Solomon; 2 K 11:19, Joas). This action marks the assumption of power, and 'to sit on the throne' becomes a synonym for 'to begin to reign' (1 K 16:11; 2 K 13:13). The same expressions recur in other Eastern cultures and in our modern languages. Thus the throne becomes the symbol of royal power (Gn 41:40; Ps 45:7), and is sometimes almost personified (2 S 14:9). It is still called the throne of David, when speaking of his successors the kings of Judah (1 K 2:24, 45; Is 9:6; Jr 13:13; 17:25), to mark the permanence of the Davidic dynasty promised by Nathan's prophecy, 'Your throne shall be established for ever' (2 S 7:16; cf. Ps 89:5; 132:11-12).
>
> Solomon's throne of gold and ivory is described in 1 K 10:18-20 as one of the wonders of the world; its back was surmounted by bulls' heads, two standing lions served as arm-rests and it was approached by six steps flanked by figures of lions.[54]

In The Rites of Passage, Arnold van Gennep relates: "I prefer the term 'enthronement' to 'crowning' since a special seat is more often the symbol of royalty than a band or crown."[55]

Masks

The use of masks at royal rites seems to be restricted to the ancient world. When the Egyptian king was purified and crowned, the officiating priests impersonated certain gods by wearing appropriate masks.[56] In his study of the Ras Shamra Texts, Arvid S. Kapelrud notes that Canaanite

priests also wore masks.[57]

Footnotes - Chapter 6

[1]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 74, 77, 81-82.

[2]Ibid., p. 96.

[3]Woolley, Coronation Rites, p. 135.

[4]Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, pp. 74, 77.

[5]Sekine, The Japan Magazine, Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 273.

[6]Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 2.

[7]Fleisher, ed., Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Emperor of Japan, p. 103.

[8]Watanabe, The Japan Magazine, Vol. 6, Part 2, p. 507.

[9]Bulling, The Meaning of China's Most Ancient Art, p. 13.

[10]Irstam, The King of Ganda, pp. 56-58.

[11]Ringgren, The Messiah in the Old Testament, p. 13.

[12]Moses ben Maimon, The Book of Temple Service, p. 69.

[13]Ibid., pp. vii, 76.

[14]Astour, Hellenosemitica, p. 289.

[15]Bleeker, The Rainbow, pp. 125-126; Egyptian Festivals, pp. 120-121.

[16]Ringgren, Ibid.

[17]Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, pp. 53-54.

[18]Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism, p. 67; Pallis, Mandaean Studies, p. 180.

[19]Widengren, The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God, p. 89.

[20]Mercer, Literary Criticism of the Pyramid Texts, p. 83.

[21]Laessoe, Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bit rimki, p. 14.

[22]Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism, pp. 67-68.

[23]Sperling, The Zohar, Vol. 1, p. 136.

[24]Graves, Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis, p. 77.

[25]Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Vol. 5, p. 97.

[26]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 76-97.

[27]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57, 71-72.

[28]Wales, Ibid., p. 95.

[29]Hocart, Ibid., p. 80.

[30]Kitchen, The New Bible Dictionary, p. 280.

[31]Toombs, The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. 1, p. 746.

[32]Dhalla, Zoroastrian Civilization, p. 259. Cf. Rawlinson, The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, Vol. 3, pp. 204-205.

[33]Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, pp. 359-360.

[34]Kitchen, Ibid. Cf. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, pp. 491, 571.

[35]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 80-97.

[36]Ellwood, Ibid., pp. 1, 151; Wales, Ibid., pp. 83, 99, 125.

[37]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57, 70.

[38]Widengren, Ibid.

[39]Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, p. 91. Cf. Piankoff, The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon, p. 32.

[40]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71-97.

[41]Wales, Ibid., pp. 92-100.

[42]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57, 70-71.

[43]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., pp. 22, 63.

[44]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 44, 237, 245, 247.

[45]Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 103.

[46]Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 226; Ginzberg, Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 106.

[47]Ellwood, Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[48]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 80-97.

[49]Irstam, Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[50]Wales, Ibid., p. 83.

[51]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., p. 24. Cf. Holtom, The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies, p. 92.

[52]Soothill, The Hall of Light, p. 190.

[53]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 6. Cf. Brandon, ed., The Saviour God, p. 3; Neumann, The Great Mother, p. 99.

[54]Vaux, Ibid., p. 106.

[55]Gennep, The Rites of Passage, p. 110, n. 4.

[56]Hocart, Ibid., p. 85; Moret, The Nile and Egyptian Civilization, p. 312; Mercer, Ibid., pp. 351, 359-360; Blackman, The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 5, p. 156; Theology, Vol. 1, p. 138; Murray, Melanges Maspero, Vol. 1, p. 255; Gardiner, Jorunal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 39, p. 24.

[57]Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, pp. 21-22.

Communion

During a number of coronation or enthronement rites the king receives ceremonial food or drink. This trait was found by Hocart in England, Fiji, and India.[1] The Fijian ceremonial drink is kava, a non-alcoholic beverage made "from the root of a kind of pepper." "The kava ceremonial was the central point of the chief's installation, so much so that in Fijian 'to be installed' is rendered 'to drink.'" Hocart continues, "The effect of ceremonial kava is. . .quite plain: it brings the god to the man, it makes the god and the man one, and has something to do with immortality."[2] The ceremonial drink of the ancient Indian consecration was soma, made from the ancient soma plant, which modern man has been unable to identify. One of the hymns of India reads: "We have drunk soma; we have become immortal; we have gone to the light, we have found the gods."[3] As we can see from this hymn, the idea of communion was quite explicit. Tor Irstam found three African coronations where "The king received communion."[4] During the Japanese enthronement the emperor "sits with his forefathers in a silent and holy Feast of Communion."

> The food for the feast. . .represents the best products of every province of Japan in fish, vegetables, fruits and grains, all served on oak-leaves pinned together with needles of fine bamboo especially grown for this purpose. The beverages are the two always used

> in the Shinto feasts throughout the ages--the white sake and the black sake, containing seeds of sesame. Sake is wine brewed from Japan's choicest gift from the gods--rice.[5]

Anciently, "Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine" to Abraham.[6] In the Testament of Levi, "Levi is installed as a priest-king" and is "given bread and wine."[7] According to G. Widengren's analysis of this text, the bread and wine were communion.[8] Theodor H. Gaster established that "the communal meal is a standard element of seasonal celebrations" in the ancient Near East.[9]

Feast

Robert S. Ellwood generlizes that "Following the accession [of kingship], one finds always festivity and banqueting."[10] Hocart determined that during the Fijian and Cambodian coronations "a feast is given."[11] Tor Irstam writes of Ganda, Africa, "From time to time the king celebrated his ascension of the throne by holding feasts."[12] In Siam the coronation feast principally included "the feeding of the monks."[13] Hugh Byas informs us of two enthronement banquets in Japan:

> The Emperor has ascended the throne, has been consecrated by his solitary vigil; there remain formal devotions at the tombs of the four last Emperors, and the rest is feasting and merriment. On the day after the completion of the Daijo-sai ceremony, the first banquet was given in Japanese style to a select company of officials and envoys. . . .[The] Next day there was an elaborate banquet in European style.[14]

Anciently, the New Year or Enthronement Festival of Mesopotamia "was followed by a banquet."[15] Numerous scholars mention the coronation feasts of Egypt.[16] One of the best descriptions is given by Henri Frankfort:

> As the final act of this part of the [coronation] ritual, half-loaves, called "an offering which the king gives," are distributed to the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt. In other words, the very first act of the newly crowned king is to distribute bounty. Out of the abundance which is to mark his reign he makes the gift which even with us has remained symbolical of all sustenance--bread.[17]

Also in ancient Israel there was a feast before Solomon ascended the throne:

> And they sacrificed sacrifices unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings unto the Lord, on the morrow after that day, even a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs, with their drink offerings, and sacrifices in abundance for all Israel:
>
> And did eat and drink before the Lord on that day with great gladness. And they made Solomon the son of David king the second time, and anointed him unto the Lord to be the chief governor, and Zadok to be priest.
>
> Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king instead of David his father, and prospered; and all Israel obeyed him.[18]

Dominion

In a number of countries the new king performs a rite to gain control of his new domains. Hocart discovered three dominion rites:

1) The taking of three ceremonial steps,

2) Touring the kingdom,

3) Shooting an arrow(s).

Hocart informs us that in India, "Some time after the crowning the king takes three steps in imitation of the god, Vishnu and thus paces out the three worlds, earth, air, heaven, and ascends to the region of the gods."[19] It should be noted that this trait seems to be limited to India.[20]

The royal procession has already been covered in Chapter 5. In Africa, Cambodia, Fiji, India, and ancient Canaan, during these processions or tours, the king took possession of the land and received homage from his subjects.[21]

Numerous kings have ritually shot arrows against their enemies. When the records of such occasions are gathered, the findings indicate that this dominion rite is both widespread and archaic. Hocart informs us that during the Egyptian Sed festival,

> The king. . .arrayed himself in the garments peculiar to Osiris and the Osirian gods. He took a bow and shot an arrow to each cardinal point of the compass. A little temple near the sanctuary of Medinet Habu explains that the arrows are shot "against his enemies which the god has delivered to him."[22]

Hocart compares this rite with an Indian "festival, called the Kattika Feast," which is recorded in The Jataka.

> Why, you may ask, did not virtue bless the king any longer? Well, every third year, in the month of Kattika the kings used to hold a festival, called the Kattika Feast. While keeping this feast, the kings used to deck themselves out in great magnificence, and dress up like gods; they stood in the presence of a goblin named Cittaraja, the King of Many Colours, and they would

> shoot to the four points of the compass arrows wreathed in flowers, and painted in divers colours. This king then, in keeping the feast, stood on the bank of a lake, in the presence of Cittaraja, and shot arrows to the four quarters. They could see whither three of the arrows went; but the fourth, which was shot over the water, this they saw not. Thought the king, "Perchance the arrow which I have shot has fallen upon some fish!" As this doubt arose, the sin of life-taking made a flaw in his virtue; that is why his virtue did not bless him as before.[23]

Later, C. G. Seligman compared the Egyptian Sed festival with the coronation of the African "King of Kitara."[24] The event was originally recorded by John Roscoe in his book, The Bakitara.

> When it [the bow] had been restrung it was handed to the king with four arrows, and he shot these, one towards each of the four quarters of the globe, saying "Ndasere amahanga kugasinga" (I shoot the nations to overcome them), and mentioning as he shot each arrow the names of the nations in that direction. The arrows were sought for, brought back, and placed in the quiver for the next occasion, for this. . .was an annual ceremony, taking place about the beginning of the year.[25]

Raphel Ratai collected all of the above data and compared it to the rite performed by the "Hebrew king,"[26] Joash, as recorded in II Kings.

> And Elisha said unto him [Joash], Take bow and arrows. And he took unto him bow and arrows.
>
> And he said to the king of Israel, Put thine hand upon the bow. And he put his hand upon it: and Elisha put his hands upon the king's hands.
>
> And he said, Open the window eastward. And he opened it. Then Elisha said, Shoot. And he shot. And he said, The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou have consumed them.[27]

In an article on Jewish divination, M. Gaster relates: "In the legends about the fall of the Temple, Nero is said to have shot arrows from the four corners, and, as they all fell into Jerusalem, it indicated to him the impending fall of the town."[28] The Greek historian, Herodotus, records in his fifth book on Persian wars:

> While Onesilus was engaged in the siege of Amathus, King Darius received tidings of the taking and burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians; and at the same time he learnt that the author of the league, the man by whom the whole matter had been planned and contrived, was Aristagoras the Milesian. It is said he no sooner understood what had happened, than, laying aside all thought concerning the Ionians, who would, he was sure, pay dear for their rebellion, he asked who the Athenians were and, being informed, called for his bow, and placing an arrow on the string, shot upward into the sky, saying, as he let fly the shaft, "Grant me, Zeus, to revenge myself on the Athenians![29]

Robert S. Ellwood relates that after the accession of the Chinese emperor, "an altar mound was made, and beneath it was buried a jade tablet inscribed with a secret message and arrows in the four directions to announce the unity of the Empire."[30] It is interesting that during the coronation of Frederick II in 1559, after he is arrayed in his regal vestments,

> The minister delivers the Sword, with an admonitory form which contains something of the ideas of the old form of the Church, and girds it on the king. He then addresses the people, warning them of the king's power and authority to punish, and the king draws the Sword and brandishes it towards the four corners of the compass. The king is then crowned.[31]

Officials

Hocart found that in Cambodia, England, and Fiji, officials were consecrated "either at the coronation ceremony, or in the course of the King's tour."[32] This trait has also been found in Africa, Japan, Siam, and ancient Assyria.[33] Hocart writes:

> In Cambodia after the lustration the officials return to the new king all the seals and powers they received from his predecessor. The king touches the seals and returns them to the officials, who have divested themselves of their functions, and who in receiving back their seals immediately resume their appointments, titles, and functions. The theology that underlies this ceremony is not indicated, but one effect of it which we were left to infer in Fiji and in India is here explicit: the king is the fount of all honours, and when he dies all honours have to return to the new king, who issues them again.
>
> Our own [English] coronation ritual even to the present day is scarcely less definite. "As soon as the King is crowned the Peers, etc. put on their coronets and caps," and "the Queen being crowned, all the Peeresses put on their coronets." Thus our peers have to derive anew their authority from the new sovereign.[34]

A similar rite is found in the ancient world. Henri Frankfort established that after the coronation of an ancient Assyrian king,

> The great dignitaries. . .gathered before the throne to do homage to the king. They presented gifts, desposited their badges and other insignia of office before him, and placed themselves in an irregular fashion, avoiding the order of precedence of the ranks they had just relinquished. It is clear that this usage was intended to allow the new ruler to choose his advisers to his own liking; but in Assyrian practice changes in the administration must have been made in an earlier or a later phase of the new reign, for the ritual of the

> coronation states simply: "The king then says: 'Everyone resumes his office.' The dignitaries take up their badges and their order of precedence.[35]

Robert S. Ellwood concludes of this event: "Here is a tiny vignette of the return to chaos and creation anew of order which marks the death of one king and the taking of the crown by another."[36]

Progression

Hocart found that in the English, Fijian, and Indian coronation rites, "A king may be consecrated several times, going up each time one step in the scale of kingship."[37] What did Hocart mean? In the Holy Roman Empire, "The heir was installed as King of the Romans, and at his father's death as Emperor."[38] In Fiji "the chief of Lakemba is first installed as Roko Sau, then, after an interval, as King of Nayau." Hocart continues, "Such degress of chieftainship are found elsewhere in Fiji."[39] According to H. G. Quaritch Wales,

> In India. . .there was not a single and final "coronation", but numerous ascending grades of anointment (abhiseka), spread over a number of years, perhaps throughout the lifetime of the monarch. Correlated with this was the idea that the divinity of a king required a periodical renewing.[40]

It is the "renewing" or "renewal of kingship" that can also be found in the ancient Near East. For example, Robert S. Ellwood relates:

> The oldest and most important royal festival of Osiris was the Sed. It was held every three or four years or less, often chiefly as a 'renewal of kingship'. A 'renewal' like this is a very important observance amongst many archaic peoples, often overshadowing the accession itself in ceremonial splendor.[41]

Henri Frankfort found that the "renewal of kingship" was an important part of both the Egyptian Sed festival and the Mesopotamian New Year's festival.[42] The Bible records that Israel "made Solomon the son of David king the second time."[43] Was this second coronation of Solomon a "renewal of kingship" or a step up "in the scale of kingship"? There seems to be no definite answer. Some Christian kings have received second coronations. Reginald Maxwell Woolley explains that

> Pippin in his anxiety to obtain a definite recognition and acceptance of his dynasty when the Merovingian faineants were set aside, was anointed or consecrated on two different occasions, by St Boniface, and secondly by the Pope himself, who came across the Alps for the purpose. In the same way we find Richard I of England being crowned a second time on his return from his captivity, this second coronation being apparently regarded as necessary in view of the fact that his brother John had acted at least as king de facto. Henry II was crowned no less than three times. Henry III was crowned twice. All these cases of repeated coronations were intended to procure the firm establishment of the king upon his throne rather than for any other reason.[44]

It should be noted that Hocart and others have found a number of initiation ceremonies which feature degrees.[45]

Footnotes - Chapter 7

[1]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 76, 78, 95.

[2]Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

[3]Ibid., pp. 60, 61, 78.

[4]Irstam, The King of Ganda, pp. 56-57, 64.

[5]Fleisher, ed., Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenth-fourth Emperor of Japan, pp. 55, 56.

[6]Genesis 14:8.

[7]Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 226.

[8]Bruce, ed., Promise and Fulfillment, pp. 208, 211.

[9]Gaster, Thespis, p. 46.

[10]Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 35.

[11]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71, 76, 82.

[12]Irstam, Ibid., p. 26.

[13]Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, p. 125.

[14]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., p. 5. Cf. Ellwood, Ibid., pp. 56, 103, 144, 148, 151.

[15]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 296, 329.

[16]Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, pp. 364-365; Moret, The Nile and Egyptian Civilization, p. 312; Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, pp. 79, 82; Gaster, Ibid., p. 80; Ibrahim, The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu, p. 14; Seton-Williams, Ptolemaic Temples, p. 44.

[17]Frankfort, Ibid., p. 130.

[18]I Chronicles 29:21-23.

[19]Hocart, Ibid., p. 80. Cf. Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, p. 71; Ellwood, Ibid., p. 12, n. 19.

[20]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 152.

[21]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 77, 80, 82; Irstam, Ibid., p. 72; Gaster, Ibid., p. 98.

[22]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 85-86. Cf. Frankfort, Ibid., p. 88; Hooke, ed., Ibid., pp. 84-85; Myth and Ritual, p. 33.

[23]Cowell, ed., The Jataka, Vol. 2, p. 254. Cf. Wales, Ibid., pp. 85-86; Heesterman, Ibid., pp. 95-96.

[24]Seligman, Egypt and Negro Africa, p. 15.

[25]Roscoe, The Bakitara, pp. 112, 134.

[26]Patai, Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. 20, pp. 187-189.

[27]II Kings 13:15-17.

[28]Gaster, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 4, p. 810.

[29]Godolphin, ed., The Greek Historians, Vol. 1, p. 334.

[30]Ellwood, Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[31]Woolley, Coronation Rites, p. 148.

[32]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71, 113.

[33]Irstam, Ibid., p. 39, 178; Ellwood, Ibid., p. 152; Wales, Ibid., pp. 89, 101, 125.

[34]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 116-117.

[35]Frankfort, Ibid., p. 247.

[36]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 17. The Feast of Kingship

[37]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 71-98.

[38]Ibid., p. 98.

[39]Ibid., p. 74.

[40]Wales, Ibid., p. 121.

[41]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 10.

[42]Frankfort, Ibid., pp. 79, 320.

[43]I Chronicles 29:22.

[44]Woolley, Ibid., pp. 190-191.

[45]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 141-152; Canney, Givers of Life, pp. 78-79; Kristensen, The Meaning of Religion, p. 454;

Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, p. 238;
Raglan, Death and Rebirth, p. 76.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

The following chart is impressive, though perhaps somewhat misleading. Africa appears to have the strongest or most complete rite, but this may not actually be the case. Irstam's The King of Ganda is a comparative work of 62 African tribes; although 24 traits can be found in Africa, only 15 have been found in any one tribe. Also, it should be noted that no one claims that the coronation pattern is universal to all culture. Robert S. Ellwood explains:

> It could be argued that he [Hocart] selected only examples which favored his general pattern. But in his defense one may say that he never claimd a universal pattern, but only to have isolated a widespread typology which may have had its ultimate source in diffusion.[1]

Hocart's pattern may not be universal, but it is widespread, as the text and chart show. All of the 27 elements covered by this present study can be found in Hocart's Kingship as it was published over half a century ago. The "test of time" has only modified Hocart's original pattern; it has come far from destroying it. As this work shows, further research of various coronation and enthronement ceremonies have remarkably strengthened Hocart's thesis of "a widespread typology."

A. M. Hocart was the first to reconstruct the ritual pattern of sacral kingship.[2] Ellwood remarks that

	FIJI[1]	INDIA[5]	ENGLAND[10]	SIAM[12]	AFRICA[14]	JAPAN[19]	EGYPT[27]	ISRAEL[34]
1. Austerities		X	X	X	X	X		
2. Secrecy	X	X		X	X	X	X[25]	
3. Reverence	X				X[15]	X		
4. Humiliation	X	X[6]			X		X[26]	
5. Promises	X	X	X	X	X	X[20]		X
6. Gods					X		X	
7. Ablution	X	X		X	X	X	X	
8. Anointing		X	X		X		X	X
9. Sacrifice		X[7]		X[13]	X	X[21]	X[28]	X[35]
10. Jubilation	X		X	X	X[16]	X	X[29]	X
11. New Name		X		X	X	X	X	X[36]
12. Rebirth	X	X	X	X	X	X[22]	X	X
13. Creation	X[2]	X[8]					X[30]	
14. Combat	X	X	X	X	X		X[31]	
15. Queen	X[3]	X[9]			X			
16. Procession	X	X		X	X	X[23]	X	X[37]
17. Garment	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X[38]
18. Crown	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
19. Shoes		X	X	X	X	X	X[32]	
20. Regalia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X[39]
21. Throne		X	X	X	X	X[24]	X	X
22. Masks							X	
23. Communion	X	X	X		X	X		X[40]
24. Feast	X			X	X[17]	X	X[33]	X[41]
25. Dominion	X	X			X		X	X[42]
26. Officials	X[4]		X[11]	X	X[18]	X		
27. Progression	X	X	X	X				

Footnotes To Chart

[1]Hocart, Kingship, pp. 76-77. [2]Ibid., pp. 189-190. [3]Ibid., p. 104. [4]Ibid., p. 113. [5]Ibid., pp. 77-81. [6]Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, p. 156. [7]Ibid., pp. 168, 200. [8]Eliade, Myth and Reality, p. 39. [9]Hocart, Ibid., p. 101. [10]Ibid., pp. 92-97. [11]Ibid., p. 116-117. [12]Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, pp. 124-125. [13]Ibid., pp. 72-73. [14]Irstam, The King of Ganda, p. 56. [15]Ibid., p. 165. [16]Ibid., p. 74. [17]Ibid., p. 26. [18]Ibid., pp. 39. [19]Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, pp. 151-152. [20]Fleisher, ed., Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Emperor of Japan, p. 55. [21]Ibid., p. 2. [22]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 59. [23]Fleisher, ed., Ibid., pp. 4, 36. [24]Ibid., p 24. [25]Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, p. 86. [26]Gaster, Thespis, p. 81. [27]Hocart, Ibid., pp. 83-85. [28]Mercer, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, p. 359-360. [29]Ibrahim, The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu, p. 16. [30]Bleeker, Egyptian Festivals, pp. 94-95. [31]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 128. [32]Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, p. 91. [33]Mercer, Ibid., pp. 364-365. [34]Hocart, Ibid., p. 86. [35]I Samuel 11:15; I Chronicles 29:21-22. [36]Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 108. [37]Szikszai, The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. 3, p. 14. [38]Ringgren, The Messiah in the Old Testament, p. 13. [39]Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 226. [40]Ibid.; Bruce, ed., Promise and Fulfillment, pp. 208, 211. [41]I Chronicles 29:21-23. [42]II Kings 13:15-17.

"undoubtedly his greatest contribution was his discussion of the coronation ceremony."[3] Yet Hocart has "never been properly recognized"[4] for his early use of the comparative method in anthropology. Meyer Fortes refers to him as "that neglected pioneer," noting that "Hocart's analysis of coronation ceremonies has not, to my knowledge, been superseded as an attempt at a comparative and generalising study of ceremonies of this type."[5]

Why hasn't Hocart "been properly recognized"? Is the ritual pattern of sacral kingship of minor importance to the comparative method? According to E. O. James, "In the long history of religion there is no more permanent and recurrent complex of rites and beliefs than that which centres in the king in his relation to the community."[6] If Hocart was indeed the first; if his work has not been superseded in over fifty years; and if there is not a more recurrent complex of rites than those of kingship, why hasn't A. M. Hocart been recognized as a pioneer of the comparative method in anthropology? Why haven't more anthropologists taken Hocart's study seriously? Why hasn't the ritual pattern of coronation rites received more attention by some of the "big names" in anthropology? One reason may be that kingship, being both ancient and widespread, poses a real problem for scholars who wish to make cross-cultural comparisons. Perhaps ~~on~~ one has the necessary language skills to do a thorough comparative study from solely

primary sources.

Hocart has received a great deal of criticism for his acceptance of the diffusionist theory. He felt that numerous coronation rites were derived from a single source, that somewhere there was a "parent rite."[7] Scholars readily admit that Africa must have been influenced by the Near East,[8] that Japan has been influenced to some extent by China,[9] and that the Siamese Royal Ceremonies were derived from Cambodia, and perhaps ultimately from India.[10] But scholars are "still a long way from establishing the world-wide application of the diffusionist theory."[11] Yet they are also a long way from disproving it. Robert S. Ellwood relates:

> The 'question of origins' in the history of religions, which so exercised certain nineteenth and early twentieth century savants, is now held pretty much in phenomenological suspension for the simple reason that there is no access through empirical research to any meaningful data. In the nature of the case there can probably never be any access, short of the invention of a time machine.[12]

It simply remains unknown. David N. Talbott desires to take us one step further; he believes that many of the ancient texts should be taken more seriously. In a recent and controversial work, Talbott writes: "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 beginning] speak of a creator, a first man, and a first king--all referring to the same cosmic figure."[13]

The 'question of origins' remains a subject for continued research. It is hoped this text shows that a great deal remains unanswered in reference to ancient kingship rites; many doors remain open for future study. If this work has not brought to mind suggestions for further research, let us remember that the Aztecs had their coronation;[14] H. G. Quaritch Wales found Hocart's study of Cambodia to be "not very detailed or satisfactory";[15] and a thorough work on the enthronement ceremony of ancient China has not, to my knowledge, been completed. Hocart ended his study of coronation with this question: "May we hope that the present study will serve as a stimulus to others to seek out other distant forms and thus widen the basis of our inquiry?"[16] Wales, Irstam, and Ellwood were the first to heed this query. And it is hoped that the bibliography included in this work will assist others who may follow.

Footnotes - Chapter 8

[1]Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship, p. 6.

[2]Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, p. 2.

[3]Ellwood, Ibid.

[4]Needham, A Bibliography of Arthur Maurice Hocart, p. 9.

[5]Fortes, Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1967, pp. 5, 19 n. 1. Cf. Ellwood, Ibid., p. 8.

[6]James, Christian Myth and Ritual, p. 40.

[7]Hocart, Kingship, p. 97.

[8]Irstam, The King of Ganda, p. 193.

[9]Fleisher, ed., Enthronement of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Emperor of Japan, pp. 51-52.

[10]Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, pp. 315, 317.

[11]Ibid., p. 4.

[12]Ellwood, Ibid., p. 4.

[13]Talbott, The Saturn Myth, pp. 20, 329. Cf. Perry, Lord of the Four Quarters, pp. 16, 18; Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History, pp. 80, 87-88.

[14]Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America, Vol. 2, pp. 143-149.

[15]Wales, Ibid., p. 124.

[16]Hocart, Ibid., p. 98.

from Geo Widengren, Religionsphanomenologie (Religious Phenomenology) (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969), p. 377.

The following ceremonies are regularly associated with the royal coronation rites throughout the world:

1. A ritual combat, from which the king emerges victorious, symbolizing his victory over the powers of chaos.

2. The king is proclaimed the lord of the world.

3. The king is admonished to rule with justice and righteousness, to which he assents.

4. The king is clothed with a symbolic garment and other regalia.

5. The king receives food and drink, which symbolize the food of immortality, and is baptized (washed) in water, and anointed with oil.

6. The king is proclaimed the son of God (or of the high god).

7. The king is elevated to the throne and is given a "throne name."

8. The king celebrates the hieros gamos (sacred marriage rite).

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King, Coronation, and Temple: Enthronement Ceremonies in History

I. Importance and Central Position of Kingship
   A. Central fact in nearly all ancient and medieval societies
   B. Coextesive in time with the world itself (Egypt)
   Gift of the gods (Sumer)

II. Coronation the Central Ritual Associated with Kingship
   A. Coronation ceremonies display striking similarities
   B. Features of coronation ceremonies quite well attested in the Ancient Near East, Medieval Europe, Ancient India, Japan
   C. Salient common features will be described and discussed
   D. The question of meaning of each feature in the individual cultures remains a problem
   lack of space prevents dealing with — of features in EXPAND

III. CommonFeatures of Coronations
   A. Secrecy
   B. Ablutions
   C. Anointing
   D. New Name
   E. Rebirth
   F. Creation
   G. Combat
   H. Marriage
   I. Garment
   J. Crown[2]
   K. Shoes
   L. Dominion

IV. Conclusion

Appendix A. A Full List of the Features of Coronations with Brief Descriptions of Each
Appendix B. Chart Listing attested Coronation Features of Several Cultures

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