

FALCONRY (HAWKING) IN HITTITE LANDS*

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I. INTRODUCTION

ANATOLIAN archaeologists trying to identify an ancient representation are fortunate in being able to consult ancient Hittite documents from the second millennium B.C. that describe cult images. The most famous of these texts tells of a widely honored god called the "Protector God of the Countryside," in Hittite: *gimras* ^DLAMMA. In one text, it says that he stands on a stag and holds an "eagle" and a hare in his left hand and a bow and a sword in his right.¹ Ancient Anatolian sculpture and minor arts show a figure, sometimes on a stag, who has a raptor perched on his fist. A hare or other small animal often hangs from the fist. These representations occur from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. until well into the first millennium (figs. 1–5). The similarities between the text and the representations have long been noted and often discussed.² Interest has focused primarily on the character and attributes of the protective divinity and the stag he stands on. A protector of the countryside might be supposed to protect the flora and/or fauna there, but most have concluded that the god is related to the hunt.³ Not only does he often carry weapons, but the "hare" we see in his hand dangles lifeless. Presumably, it was the victim of the god with an "eagle" on his fist.

* This investigation would have been impossible without the very generously offered help of numerous falconers. I am particularly grateful to Jim Ruos, who first introduced me to real falconry and whose falcons I met; to Kent Carnie of the Peregrine Fund in Boise, Idaho, especially for reading my technical sections; and to Richard Lowery, who helped and advised on all aspects of the subject, particularly on eagle-falconry in Central Asia. Stephen Bodio generously sent me photographs of what he calls "eaglers" there; see *The Atlantic Monthly* 287, no. 2 (February 2001): 108–11.

¹ G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities*, Assyriological Studies, no. 25 (Chicago, 1991), pp. 44–46, 213–14; the text that describes this figure was published by C. G. von Brandenstein, *Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 46/2 (Leipzig, 1943), p. 78, 2 II. 1–6; see also L. Jakob-Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen I," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientfor-*

schung (MIO) 8 (1973): 14–15. For "eagles" associated with other cult representations, see *ibid.*, pp. 178, 179, 181, 184, 193; and *idem*, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen II," *MIO* 9 (1974): 183, 186, 192, 204 ff.

² The oft-cited archaeological evidence is assembled in K. Reiter, "Falknerei im Alten Orient? Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Falknerei," *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft (MDOG)* 120 (1988): 202–6 and again by E. von der Osten-Sacken, "Der kleinasiatische Gott der Wildflur," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 38 (1988): 63–81, where some of the newer evidence is illustrated. It has recently been listed again by T. Özgüç, "Studies in Hittite Relief Vases, Seals, Figurines, and Rock Carvings," in M. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Özgüç, eds., *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and Its Neighbors: Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (Ankara, 1993), pp. 487 ff. (hereafter *Studies Nimet Özgüç*). See also McMahon, *Hittite State Cult*, pp. 3–4.

³ McMahon, *Hittite State Cult*, pp. 213–14; von der Osten-Sacken, "Der kleinasiatische Gott der Wildflur" (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 38), *passim* and summary, pp. 80–81; H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Kursa 'Hunting Bag,'" *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene Kantor*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, no. 47 (Chicago, 1989), pp. 118–19.

A figure with a bird on his fist who often holds dead prey looks and sounds like a falconer. If he is one, the date for the origin of the practice of falconry has to be pushed back at least to 2000 B.C.⁴ There is some disagreement, however, as to whether the Anatolian figure with a raptor really represents a falconer. Archaeologists have used the term perhaps too lightly.⁵ I wrote of a "Falconer God" years ago when I knew very little about falconry.⁶ Having since had a taste of the vast literature on falconry in many languages, and a week's training with a bird, I would no longer claim the existence of the exacting practice so lightly.⁷ In a long, extensively documented pair of articles, Karin Reiter has reviewed the philological and archaeological evidence for falconry in Mesopotamia and Anatolia and has concluded that it was not practiced in either region.⁸ I agree that falconry was not known in Mesopotamia. The often-quoted Assyrian relief of the eighth century B.C. from Khorsabad does not, in my opinion, qualify as evidence for falconry.⁹ The archer on the relief rudely grasps a frightened, thin-billed bird by the legs. The bird is neither a bird of prey nor a willing companion. It is a decoy, a bird used to attract its brethren for the archers to shoot down. We even know the ancient Hittite and Akkadian words for such a bird.¹⁰

In ancient Anatolia, however, I think falconry was known.¹¹ Evidence for falconry here, in addition to that cited above, consists of illustrations of the equipment peculiar to the technique. That is my subject here. I am not concerned with issues such as why the falconers are usually deities—many different deities, why scenes of hunts with falcons are not described in the texts, or why they are not pictured. My interest is with those items, aside from the raptors, that imply the practice of falconry. The equipment consists of jesses, leashes, neckbands, a glove, curve-ended sticks for flushing game, and, perhaps, lures. A glance at some of the examples of this equipment, most on long-familiar monuments will, I think, confirm that this special technique of hunting was indeed in use in Anatolia in ancient times.

⁴ The earliest sure evidence for falconry is from the Han Dynasty in China 206 B.C.–A.D. 20, according to H. J. Epstein, in "The Origin and Earliest History of Falconry," *Isis: International Review of the History of Science* 34/6 (1943): 500 with n. 27.

⁵ See the many citations in Reiter, "Falknerei im Alten Orient? Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Falknerei" (pt. 1), *MDOG* 120; idem, "Falknerei im Alten Orient? Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Falknerei" (pt. 2), *MDOG* 121 (1989): 169–96, passim; see also W. Culican, "A Syrian Stele in Seattle," *Levant* 10 (1978): 162–63; R. Mayer-Oppificius, "Die Götter von Alaca Höyük," in *Studies Nimer Özgüç*, pp. 457–58; O. Muscarella, in Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1974), no. 123.

⁶ In 1970, I concluded that hares in Near Eastern iconography were used primarily as victims of "a divine falconer and/or falcons"; see "Hase," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (RLA), vol. 4 (1972–75), p. 131.

⁷ For the extensive bibliography on falconry a century ago, see J. E. Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria: A Catalogue of Books Ancient and Modern Relating to*

Falconry (London, 1891; repr. London, 1963). The British School of Falconry, which I attended in 1988, was in Stelling Minnis, Canterbury, Kent.

⁸ Reiter, "Falknerei im Alten Orient?" (*MDOG* 120), pt. 1, p. 204; and (*MDOG* 121), pt. 2, p. 188.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 194, fig. 2a; A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London and New York, 1969), pl. 274; T. Cade, *The Falcons of the World* (Ithaca, New York, 1982), p. 33, accepted the relief as falconry.

¹⁰ The word in Hittite is MUŠEN-iš *annanuhhaš*; see H. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites* (Leiden, 1977), § 119, p. 110. For the Akkadian word *arru*, see A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki, 1973), pp. 29–30; and *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD), s.v.

¹¹ As does Mayer-Oppificius, "Die Götter von Alaca Höyük," in *Studies Nimer Özgüç*, pp. 457–58. There are a few representations of falconry, mostly on cylinder seals (see Appendix), but these are so rare in the areas in which we suppose they were made that they are probably to be explained by contact with Anatolia.

II. THE BIRDS USED IN FALCONRY (HAWKING)

Before turning to the Anatolian evidence, something should be said about falconry itself. To begin, we must admit to the tiresome fact that in English "falcon" and "hawk" or "falconry" and "hawking" can mean exactly the same thing. Those who have read Layard's travels will have been exposed to this.¹² You may go "hawking" with a falcon or practice "falconry" with a hawk or vice versa.¹³ A goshawk may even be called a "short-winged falcon."¹⁴ Both terms are used when speaking about hunting with birds in spite of the fact that practitioners of the art are well aware that hawks and falcons belong to different genus, family, and species. They differ in appearance, wing structure, flight, hunting, diet, habitat, nesting habits, and so on.

Generally speaking, only a few species of raptors are suitable for falconry, those that naturally have aggressive hunting styles, strong wings for speed, or powerful claws and that hunt the kind of game that humans want to eat.¹⁵ These are the short-winged hawks (goshawks and the smaller European or Levant sparrow hawks), some few falcons other than peregrines,¹⁶ and golden eagles.

Goshawks¹⁷ and their smaller cousins with short, rounded wings can hunt in the woods as well as in open areas. In contrast to falcons, these low-flying birds have long, rudderlike tails that help them maneuver. They kill their prey by impaling it with powerful claws. A goshawk can take birds up to the size of an Arabian bustard, as well as hares, and it will attack large animals. The average female, larger than the male, is ca. 50 cm long. The falconer "throws" his hawk from his fist to fly at game. If the throw is to be very fast, a cord

¹² A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (New York, 1853), p. 270: "... bringing me a present, a well trained hawk ... the falcon was duly placed on his stand"; see also the interchange of bird names in *ibid.*, pp. 480-83.

¹³ Furthermore, there is a difference between American and European terminology. The latter is ornithologically more correct. The American red-tailed and red-shouldered "hawks" are actually true buzzards in ornithological terms. The European "sparrow hawk" is a true short-winged hawk, whereas the American "sparrow hawk" is a kestrel, a type of falcon. The American "buzzard" usually means a turkey vulture. The older American term "duck hawk" is now called an American peregrine falcon.

¹⁴ F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (London, 1963), p. 462.

¹⁵ Herons, birds that were, much later, hunted by falcons just for the thrilling sight, are the notable exception.

¹⁶ Primarily, the saker and lanner of the Arabs.

¹⁷ The following notes are a summary of the information gleaned from the books cited in the falconry/hawking bibliography, here mainly from M. Allen, *Falconry in Arabia* (London, 1984), p. 130. The classification is adapted from L. Brown and D. Amadon, *Eagles, Hawks and Falcons of the World*, vols. 1 and 2 (New York, 1968), vol. 1, p. 172.

Goshawk (French: *autour*, German: *Habicht*)

Order: Falconiformes
Suborder: Falcones
Superfamily: Accipitroidae
Family: Accipitridae
Genus: *Accipiter*
Species: *Accipiter gentilis*

Note: the Old Persian word for goshawk is: *bāz*. *Bāz* was borrowed by Arabic for a female hawk; see D. Möller and F. Viré, trans., *Al-Ġitrif, Die Beizvögel: Ein arabisches Falknereibuch des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim, 1988), p. 244 with references; Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*, p. 196, quoting W. B. Barker, writes that the Turkish for goshawk is "doghan." Modern Turkish *doğan* means "peregrine falcon," *doğançı*, "a falconer"; see A. D. Alderson and F. İz, *Oxford Turkish English Dictionary*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1984), p. 140. There is a section in Istanbul called *Doğançı*, where, in 1988, the curators of the Near Eastern section of the archaeology museums of Istanbul kindly took me to meet some modern falconers. They used sparrow hawks when hawking by the Black Sea.

In Turkish, *atmaca* (from the verb *atmak*, "throw ... eject ... shoot;" etc.) is a "sparrow-hawk" or "a (boy's) catapult"; *atmaca kuşu* (throw bird) = "an accipiter"; *atmaca kartalı* (throw eagle) = "a Bonelli's eagle"; *ibid.*, p. 42. All these terms suggest a connection with the falconry practice of throwing a hawk from the fist at game.

with a permanent loop around the neck was sometimes used to hold the bird down in a crouching position before casting it.¹⁸ The falconer traditionally recovers her to his fist from free flight, whistling for her or, in falconry today, swinging a rabbit skin or feather lure. Goshawks are "nervous" and temperamental, but they are fierce and tireless hunters. They are not usually hooded.

Falcons,¹⁹ on the other hand, are high-flying birds that hunt in open areas. They have long, pointed wings powerful enough to produce a downward dive ("stoop") from a great height at more than ca. 290 kph. The prey are mostly birds, and hitting them with its feet at this speed,²⁰ the falcon numbs or kills them. On the ground, it kills by biting through the neck with its "tooth," a projection on the upper mandible peculiar to a falcon's beak. The average speed at level flight is ca. 65–95 kph. The peregrine female, again one-third larger than the male, is from 40 to 45 cm long. Falcons are usually hooded to keep them calm. They are unhooded and released from the fist of the falconer to hunt. Alternatively, they can be taught to "wait on," that is, fly high above the falconer, sometimes out of sight, circling until the game is flushed and then "stoop." Falcons are recovered from free flight by enticing them to a lure. The most familiar bird of this type is the ubiquitous peregrine.

The golden eagle is also used in falconry.²¹ This characteristic eagle of mountainous areas is numerous and ubiquitous. It is dark brown over all, and it has a beak that is nearly as long as its head. With a wing spread of ca. 2 m, it can soar at 195 kph or at a very slow speed for hours, with wings flat. It can go so high that it becomes a speck and falls sometimes as fast as the "stoop" of a falcon. Being much larger than goshawks or falcons, eagles can take much larger game, even wolves or small deer. Mammals are its usual prey,²² but it also eats birds and will eat carrion. The size of an eagle makes it very heavy to carry, so falconers use a brace for support. If on horseback, they may attach a sort of crutch to the stirrup.

In Anatolia, I think men were hawking, practicing falconry, with a short-wing hawk, i.e., a goshawk. The ancient Hittite artist, of course, does not represent his birds with ornithological precision, but his representations supply some information. Goshawks have a fierce, piercing eye with a bright yellow iris around a small, dark pupil. Falcons, in contrast, have what appear to be enormous black eyes. Their dark brownish iris sur-

¹⁸ See the neckbands on a Mogul painting in H. Schlegel and A. H. Verster de Wulverhorst, *The World of Falconry, Completed by Study of Falconry in the Arab World* (New York, 1979), p. 15 (hereafter Schlegel 2). This is a reprint and translation of H. Schlegel and A. H. Verster de Wulverhorst, *Traité de fauconnerie* (Leiden and Düsseldorf, 1844–1853, repr. 1980), with other illustrations reproduced from many sources. These include some from the rare Japanese book by Doiku Kewanabe, *Ehon Taka Kagami* [Picture book of hawk reflections], prints by Kyosai (Gyosai) Kyoto ["not after 1866," according to label on Library of Congress copy]. These are explained by E. W. Jameson, *The Hawking of Japan* (Davis, California, 1962), pp. 29 and figs. 10, 12, and 15.

¹⁹ See Cade, *Falcons of the World*, with beautiful illustrations. The following classification and description are primarily adapted from Brown and Amadon, *Eagles, Hawks and Falcons of the World*, vols. 1 and 2, pp. 146 ff., 172, and 453 ff.:

Order: Falconiformes
Suborder: Falcones
Superfamily: Accipitroidae
Family: Falconidae
Genus: *Falco*
Species: *peregrinus* (peregrine) or *cherrug* (saker), occasionally also *biarmicus* (lanner) and *jagger* (lugger) falcons.

²⁰ Especially the black talon, according to Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*, pp. 207 ff.

²¹ The following classification and description is after Brown and Amadon, *Eagles, Hawks and Falcons of the World*, vols. 1 and 2, pp. 663 ff.

Order: Falconiformes
Suborder: Falcones
Superfamily: Accipitroidae
Family: Accipitridae
Genus: *Aquila chrysaetos*

²² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 21, fig. 41; p. 667.

rounded by a bright yellow membrane produces this effect. They have a dark, vertical area below the eye that resembles sideburns and the tooth on the beak already mentioned. These are the striking features so clearly represented in ancient times on the Egyptian Horus falcon, whether the version is primitive or elegant. Such features are shown, as far as I know, in only two examples in Anatolia. One is an ivory falcon from Acem Höyük from a clearly Egyptianizing context,²³ the other an Egyptianizing bone inlay found at Alaca Höyük.²⁴

There are other factors that hint at the species of bird in use in ancient Anatolia. Neckbands that are seen on Anatolian raptors are used when flying goshawks (see figs. 9, 19, and 35a, b).²⁵ Goshawks commonly hunt hares, and hares are the usual prey of the Hittite falconer. Falcons' feet are too weak to hold such prey.²⁶ The feisty goshawks will even latch onto a large animal, frightening him and slowing him down until the hunter gets there. A drawing of a goshawk holding down a gazelle in a hawking expedition in nineteenth-century India is exaggerated but gives some idea of how it could be done (fig. 10). From tales of the daring of the goshawk, we realize that the birds shown about to pounce on large game (figs. 8 and 16a, b) or used in stag hunts, as a number of ancient scenes suggest (figs. 7; 16a, b; and 18), can represent real occurrences. It is important to note that, in contrast to the often-cited preference of medieval European²⁷ and modern Arab falconers, hawks were preferred to falcons by early Near Eastern falconers.²⁸ Goshawks were almost exclusively used in Japanese hunts.²⁹ As providers of food, they far outmatch falcons.

The bird in Protector God texts is traditionally translated "eagle," but the raptors pictured are more the size of a goshawk (figs. 1–5; 7; 11a, b; and 17).³⁰ They never appear as enormous as a golden eagle (figs. 6 and 15).³¹ The name of the bird in the texts is always written with the Sumerogram, Á.MUŠEN. This is the word for "eagle" or "vulture" in Sumerian. Most of the occurrences of "eagle" that are cited in the dictionaries of Hittite and Akkadian would not limit the translation to "eagle."³² One reference to wild ass and oxen as prey, however, if not hyperbole, would demand a very large bird.³³

²³ P. Harper, "The Dating of a Group of Ivories," *Connoisseur* 5 (1969): 160, fig. 9; K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter: Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (Munich, 1976), p. 72, fig. 47, dated to the eighteenth century B.C.

²⁴ R. O. Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük: Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux en 1935* (Ankara, 1937), pp. 129–30, pl. 83, fig. 3, from Hittite level.

²⁵ Allen, *Falconry in Arabia*, p. 130.

²⁶ See Cade, *Falcons of the World*, p. 20: "... falcons' feet lack the special clutching mechanism and dagger-like talons of accipiters [hawks] and owls."

²⁷ *The Boke of St. Albans*, 1486, lists the female goshawk as a bird for a yeoman, far below the various falcons in status. According to K. Carnie (personal communication), this list was allegorical and that even kings flew goshawks at the time.

²⁸ Allen, *Falconry in Arabia*, pp. 127–33; see also Möller and Viré, trans., *Al-Gitrif, Die Beizvögel*, passim.

²⁹ Jameson, *Hawking of Japan*, passim; K. Carnie pointed out (personal communication) that this is because of the terrain in Japan.

³⁰ See also, for example, the plaque in Yeniköy, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 247, p. 212; the figurine from Alaca Höyük in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, pl. 84, 2a, b, color pl. A 2; the stela from Kültepe in Yeniköy, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 321, p. 281; W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spät-hethitischen Kunst*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 8 (Bonn, 1971), Saçakgözü, A/7, pl. 50.

³¹ Schlegel and Verster de Wulverhorst, in *Traité de fauconnerie*, 2, p. 46, suggest that hawk eagles might be used, which was an appealing idea, since the bird has a tuft of long feathers on its head that might explain the crest of the birds on some stamp seals. According to K. Carnie (personal communication), hawk eagles are used for falconry today.

³² See CAD, pp. 234–35, s.v. erü, -C (arü); Hittite *hara(n)*, in J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* H, 3 (Berlin and New York, 1991), pp. 137 ff.; see also Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang*, pp. 104–6.

³³ See Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang*, the Etana myth, p. 105; on p. 104, Salonen, notes that Á = te = "power" in a gloss, so that Á.MUŠEN. means something like "power bird," a term that could refer to several different raptors.

As a footnote to the above, it may be relevant to mention that the bones of a hare, golden eagle, and kestrel, a kind of falcon, were found at the great Hittite rock-cut sanctuary of Yazılıkaya in subsidiary chamber C.³⁴ There was evidence of burning and then repeated cleaning. The bones were in an unburnt level among those of cattle, sheep, dog, along with one human bone.

III. THE ART OF FALCONRY (HAWKING)

Presumably falconry developed in order to obtain fresh meat, the same reason that falcons were kept by nomadic tribes or medieval cooks or, recently, by those without refrigeration.³⁵ It was particularly useful as a way to get food when or where food was scarce. Falcons, if trained to, can take birds as large as the bustard. A goshawk can provide about a dozen rabbits a day. The elegant pastime for royalty and noblemen, the sport in which even the game could be supplied, was surely a later development. Whoever conceived of turning a raptor into a hunting weapon must have seen certain birds catch game faster than he could set an arrow or throw a spear. It could do this at a much greater distance than his weapons reached. Raptors could also spot game far beyond the hunter's eyesight. Whoever imagined that he could harness these awesome talents for his own use must have been something of a visionary. The amount of pure ornithological knowledge he had somehow learned is very impressive. It may have taken many experiments to be able to identify the few species of birds that were usable (see above). Fascination with biological lore seems to be characteristic of falconers. Modern admirers of the treatise on falconry by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II³⁶ still consider the work outstanding. To quote the American expert on falcons and falconry, Tom Cade: "Hawking is generally recognized to be the most intellectually demanding and educational form of hunting ever devised and it requires a high degree of skill and devotion from the falconer. It leads the hunter to a deep appreciation of nature, to a practical study of natural history and quite often to serious scientific research on birds of prey. Its techniques offer possibilities for detailed observations and studies that would otherwise be quite difficult to make. All of these values were reflected in the life and work of the greatest falconer who ever lived, the Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194–1250), the first truly modern man to sit on a throne in Europe and the man who first introduced scientific thinking into writing about birds in his famous treatise *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*."³⁷

To obtain one of these uniquely endowed birds, the first falconer had to find the nest, steal a chick, and give it the hunting experience that it would have had in nature. If it did not nest in his area, he had to learn when and where it migrated over him and devise a way to trap it. Then a system for making it useful had to be developed. First, it must become

³⁴ "Steinadler = *Aquila chrysaetos*" = golden eagle and "Turmfalke = *Falco tinnunculus*" = kestrel; see J. Boessneck, "Die Tierknochen aus der Kammer C." in K. Bittel et al., *Yazılıkaya: Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*, Boğazköy-Hattuša, vol. 9 (Berlin, 1975), p. 62; found along with those of (intrusive) weasel; see also W. Schirmer, "Die Kammer C." in Bittel et al., *Yazılıkaya* (1975), pp. 59–60.

³⁵ See F. and J. Craighead, "Life with an Indian

Prince," *National Geographic Magazine* (1942): 250 ff. and the discussion in Epstein, "The Origin and Earliest History of Falconry" (*Isis* 34/6), p. 506 and n. 61.

³⁶ Frederick II's son, Manfred, made additions from some notes of his father; see Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*, pp. 168–69; unfortunately, Frederick's chapter on goshawks is missing from the famous treatise.

³⁷ Cade, *Falcons of the World*, p. 54.

tolerant of humans, their activities, and their surroundings. It must learn to stay happily on the falconer's fist but never lose its hunting instinct, even though a bird taken from the nest might become a sort of pet. After calming its fears by various tedious methods, the bird, especially the short-winged hawk, is still kept in constant association with men. Raptors have a short memory and do not stay "manned" for long. The trapped bird ("passage" hawk) can be manipulated only by hunger. This is calculated closely. The bird must be hungry enough to want to hunt but still in good flying condition. Some falconers can judge hunger by feeling the bird's breast. Hunting is suspended while the yearly molt produces new feathers. Finding fresh meat to feed the bird is a constant chore, and often birds are set free at the end of the season to avoid having to feed them during the molt.

The final goal is for the bird to be so accustomed to receiving food from the falconer that it will return to him, or a familiar lure, if it has failed to kill its prey. Alternatively, it must be willing to be taken from its prey for food on the falconer's fist. Convincing the bird to do all this is an intensive process and can be very slow. It takes time until the bird is willing to make the essential first jump of a few inches to food on a man's fist and then more time until a flight of many yards on a long line (creance). Finally, the bird is let loose to fly free at game the falconer has flushed or the bird sees. This bare outline of some of the steps in falconry omits, among other things, all the problems of keeping the bird healthy, the subject of many chapters in old falconry books. I hope it at least suggests the real challenges faced by those who originally conceived of this way of hunting and the degree of skill required by a good falconer. That may help to explain why the specialty was so often represented in Anatolia, where it seems to have acquired some sort of symbolic meaning.

IV. FALCONRY GEAR IN ANATOLIAN SCENES

The original home of falconry is not known. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the earliest representation of what appears to be a falconer holding up his dead prey comes from the Syrian site of Tell Chuēra in the third millennium B.C. (fig. 11a, b).³⁸ This site lies at the northern end of the great desert that stretches from Homs in Syria into Saudi Arabia, an area where food is scarce and falconry an old tradition.³⁹ In any case, ancient Anatolia is where the first certain pictorial evidence for falconry is found. Anatolian people show a special interest in and close observation of birds of prey from at least the mid-third millennium B.C. One of the bronze "standards" from the Royal Tombs at Alaca Höyük has raptors perched along the top, two with a small, four-legged animal in their beaks (fig. 12).⁴⁰ Curved metal sheathes, 15–22 cm long, found in many of the third millennium graves at Alaca Höyük, may well have belonged on the curved throwing sticks, *litui*, seen in the next period.⁴¹ A silver vessel that may have represented a bird was also found in the

³⁸ A. Moortgat, "Tell Chuēra in Nordost Syrien, Dritte Grabungskampagne, 1960," *Wissenschaftliche Abteilung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* 24 (1962): 30–35, figs. 23–26.

³⁹ For a good description of the desert where falconry long supplied food, see Allen, *Falconry in Arabia*, pp. 24–26.

⁴⁰ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 23, Grave B; see Meyer-Oppificius, "Die Götter von Alaca Höyük," in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, who thinks it is the bird and not the stag that identifies the Protector God.

⁴¹ H. Koşay, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük: Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux en 1937–1939*, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları* V/5 (Ankara, 1951), nos. K. 25–27, p. 167, pl. 185, bottom left.

tombs.⁴² At the beginning of the second millennium B.C., the period when colonies were sent up from Assyria to trade cloth for metals, local potters seem almost obsessed with raptors. They perch them quietly on the rims of vessels or threateningly on handles.⁴³ Rhyta are made in the shape of frightening birds that have enormous eyes and elongated, menacing beaks.⁴⁴ Cups are shaped into the heads of raptors (fig. 13).⁴⁵ Other hawks have wings outspread and terrifying long, thick legs hanging down with talons spread, ready to seize prey (cf. figs. 14 and 15).⁴⁶ Another hawk, legs thrust down to the rear of a fleeing deer is shown on an impression (fig. 16a, b).⁴⁷ Hawks are frequently seen over hares (fig. 9). Sometimes the hawks have double heads.⁴⁸

Jesses, Leashes, and Neckbands

The soft leather straps attached permanently around the legs of the falcon are called jesses. The two straps are connected to a swivel that has a short leash attached to the other side. When the hawk is leashed to a perch, the swivel allows her to move freely. The jesses are detached from the swivel when the bird is thrown off to hunt. An Old Hittite sealing portraying a falconer goddess seated beside a stag hunt shows the strap of jesses or leash hanging below the fist on which the bird sits (fig. 18).⁴⁹ Other jesses are seen hanging down under the fist of a figure on a sealing from Emar, who stands on a stag and raises a spear.⁵⁰ He is dressed in the manner of the small falconer on the Schimmel rhyton (fig. 11). Jesses connected to a swivel are clearly shown on the famous late Hittite relief from Maraş in the Louvre, which shows a youth standing on a woman's lap (fig. 17).⁵¹ The boy holds them in his left hand with a swivel hanging below. The hawk has jumped from the fist to grasp a ball in its talons. Another leash and swivel can be identified in the left hand of an older falconer at Sakçagözü, who has his hawk on his right fist. The jesses must be in the fist.⁵² Stamp seals of the later Colony Age show hawks hovering over hares and gazelles (figs. 8 and 9). Some of these and later hawks have neckbands (figs. 7, 19, and 35a, b). Often a streamer with a curl at the end appears to come from the neckband (figs. 9 and 19).⁵³ This may represent the cord of the neckband that is used to pull the hawk into a crouch when thrust into the air, as explained above.

⁴² A. Çınaroğlu, "A Contribution to the Finds from the Royal Tombs at Alaca Höyük," K. Emre, B. Hrouda, M. J. Mellink, and N. Özgüç, eds., *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç* (Ankara, 1989), pp. 61–62.

⁴³ T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kanış II*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları V/41 (Ankara, 1986), pl. 107, 1a, b, 2, 5.

⁴⁴ Idem, *The Hittites*, Museum of Ancient Civilizations Handbook (Ankara, 1992), p. 18, below; for more peaceful raptors, see *ibid.*, fig. 14 above.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8, below.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9, below.

⁴⁷ See my article "The Walters Art Gallery Cappadocian Tablet and the Sphinx in Anatolia," *JNES* 34 (1975): 233 and fig. 8a, b, on pp. 229–30.

⁴⁸ T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, Part 1, *Die Siegel und Siegelabdrücke der vor- und althethitischen Perioden und die Siegel der hethitischen Grosskönige*, Boğazköy-Hattuša, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1967), pl. 4, figs. 38–40.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 135, pp. 30, 66, pls. 10 and III, from debris over Archive Building A, dated Old Hittite.

⁵⁰ D. Beyer, *Hethitica*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain, vol. 8 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985), p. 33; e.g. fig. 1c, p. 32; idem, in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, also publishes a strange bronze seal on which the strips hanging from the falcon's feet could be jesses; see p. 71, fig. 4 and p. 73.

⁵¹ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 316, p. 277; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Maraş D/4, pl. 48. The inscription reads: "(Of ?) Tarhupiyas"; see J. D. Hawkins, Maraş 9, in *Corpus of Luwian Inscriptions*, Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, N.S., 8/1 (Berlin and New York, 2000), vol. 1, pt. 1, text, pp. 274–75.

⁵² Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Sakçagözü, A/7, pl. 50.

⁵³ On Colony Age seals, see Orthmann, *Der alte Orient*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14 (Berlin, 1975), pl. 374, i (hereafter PKG 14); Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs.

Glove

A cover to protect the top of the falconer's hand and thumb where the bird's sharp, powerful talons rest was essential. The Hittite solution for this is illustrated by a silver cup of Hittite origin in the shape of a hand in a fingerless gauntlet.⁵⁴ The right hand is represented clasping a peg with decorated ends (fig. 20a, b). The fingers are bent at right angles with the tips pressed lightly against the palm so that the fingernails show. The thumb is held straight up over the top of the first finger in a typical Hittite gesture.⁵⁵ It is important to note the details of the rendering. The smooth, gently rippled, back surface of the hand ends in points between the fingers that create a V-shaped recess at the bottom of each finger. The fingers, therefore, lie at a level lower than that of the back of the hand. The back surface continues around the first finger and disappears into a missing area now reconstructed. Double bands above and below the upper knuckle of the thumb split in two on the front of the thumb. At least one more double band again splits in two on the front, above the lower knuckle.⁵⁶ Below this, a single band encircles the base of the thumb, becoming one with a band that continues down toward the wrist. The cup extends beyond the wrist a distance about equal to the length of the palm. This extension flares out, increasing the diameter from 20 cm at the wrist to 28 cm at the mouth of the cup. This is neatly bent over. Below the rim is a long Hittite scene in relief bordered at the bottom by three decorated bands.⁵⁷

H. G. Güterbock and T. Kendall, who published the piece, thought that the details just described are attempts to render the anatomy of a hand. They believed that the ridges on the thumb represent wrinkles of skin and that the triangular edges at the bottom of the fingers mark tendons, bones, and veins. No explanation is given as to why the surfaces of the hand and fingers are otherwise essentially flat or why the anatomy is indicated in only two areas, the thumb and the base of the fingers. The authors also thought that the area above the wrist only appears flared because the cup has been crushed.

The details of the hand-cup have seemed to me to make sense as those of an unusual hand covering, not those of a peculiar hand.⁵⁸ The "wrinkles" on the thumb on the cup are strangely numerous, some located unnaturally between the two knuckles. I think the bands actually represent thongs arranged to hold some material securely over the thumb, while allowing the joints to move freely. We see examples of this kind of light protection for special areas already used in ancient Assyria, where arm protectors strapped on the king

77 and 79; Bittel et al., *Yazılıkaya* double-headed hawk, in *Yazılıkaya* (1975), pl. 31, below; E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York, 1962), pl. 76, above; note the difference between this and the cast, *ibid.*, pl. 77, below.

⁵⁴ H. G. Güterbock and T. Kendall, "A Silver Vessel in the Form of a Fist," in J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris, eds., *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin, Texas, 1995), pp. 45–59.

⁵⁵ The thumb held up above a closed fist is a typical Hittite gesture best seen at the King's Gate at Hattuşa, where the god motions to those leaving the city; see Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, p. 230, fig. 267; see also the king before the altar at Alaca Höyük, *ibid.*, p. 191, fig. 214.

⁵⁶ The drawing shows only one double ridge around the lower knuckle; see Güterbock and Kendall, "A Silver Vessel," in Carter and Morris, *Ages of Homer*, fig. 3.5. I see traces of still more bands on the sides of thumb in figs. 3.2 and 3.4a, on p. 48, and fig. 3.3, on p. 49.

⁵⁷ A falconer once told me that it was necessary to keep something within the fist to prevent an eagle from crushing the hand with its grip. This was a good explanation for the peg in the Boston gloved hand. Unfortunately, he could not remember where he read this, and none of the four eagle-falconers whom I contacted had heard of the custom.

⁵⁸ Güterbock and Kendall, "A Silver Vessel," in Carter and Morris, *Ages of Homer*, p. 58, n. 9.

shooting arrows guard him from the whip and recoil of the bowstring (fig. 21).⁵⁹ The other features on the cup are, in my opinion, those of a fingerless gauntlet.⁶⁰ The pointed area between the fingers is where the material of the back of the glove goes between the fingers to join the material on the palm side. The V-shaped edges here allow for a looser fit and less strain on the narrow strip of material. Finally, the flaring area beneath the wrist is surely the usual long, loose cuff of a falconer's gauntlet with the border decorated by the elaborate scene at the top of the cup. No normal arm increases almost 30 percent in girth immediately above the wrist.

Such a hand covering is eminently suited to a falconer. It provides protection against the claws of the raptor for the top of the hand, the wrist, and the thumb. At the same time it keeps the fingers free to handle jesses, leashes, food, lures, and so on. In principle, the fingerless glove is similar to the cuff that modern Arab falconers use (fig. 22). This is a loose-fitting cylinder of heavy carpet or canvas about 8 inches long that covers the wrist and hand.⁶¹ The hand is thrust through it as far as the beginning of the fingers. As with the glove, the fingers are free to maneuver various pieces of equipment. The hawk sits on the cuff that the falconer usually turns with his wrist upward. In India, a glove that covers only the thumb, forefinger, and second finger was used. This glove leaves the last two fingers, through which the jesses are threaded, bare above the middle knuckle.⁶² With the hand turned sideways, the falcon sits over the thumb and forefinger.

Lituus

Perhaps the most telling piece of equipment that the Protector God carries in Anatolian representations is the peculiar stick with a curved end that looks like half a crook (figs. 2, 4, 7, 26, and 27). It is the typical ancient hare-hunting implement. The archaic Greeks called it a *λαγωβόλον*, "a staff for flinging at hares also used as a shepherd's crook."⁶³ When it appears in Etruscan art, scholars call it a *lituus*, the term for the curved staff of the Roman augurers.⁶⁴ Hittite specialists also use the Latin term *lituus*, although the Hittite word is thought to be *kalmus*.⁶⁵ These curved sticks begin to be seen over the shoulders of falconers on impressions of Native Style cylinder seals at several sites at the turn of the second millennium B.C., the earlier Colony Age.⁶⁶ Both gods and men who have raptors perched on their fists carry them, and the figures are otherwise unarmed. The prey hangs limp below the fist. The *lituus* was probably thrown to flush game that the falcon then

⁵⁹ B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Assyrischen Flachbilder*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 2 (Bonn, 1965), p. 55, pl. 21: 10–13.

⁶⁰ See Schlegel 2, p. 17, below, for what looks like a sixteenth-century example of such a glove used for falconry.

⁶¹ Allen, *Falconry in Arabia*, p. 69.

⁶² F. and J. Craighead, "Life with an Indian Prince" (*National Geographic Magazine* 1942), pp. 252–53.

⁶³ *Abridged Liddell and Scott Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1944), p. 404.

⁶⁴ For *λαγωβόλον*, see J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (London, 1985), p. 40. Bittel collected the information on *litui* many years ago in

K. Bittel, R. Naumann, and H. Otto, "Yazılıkaya," *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 61 (1941): 123–24. At that time, he believed that the memory of the Anatolian prototype was lost. I now wonder about that. See also M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 83–84.

⁶⁵ S. Alp, "La désignation du *Lituus* en Hittite," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 1 (1947): 164 ff.

⁶⁶ *Seal Impressions from Kültepe*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları V/22 (Ankara, 1965), nos. 21, 64–66, 69; idem, "Seal Impressions from Acem Höyük," in E. Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, 1980), p. 71, figs. III 23–26.

chased, brought down, or killed. In an ancient Etruscan scene, similar *litui* are thrown as dogs chase hares into a net.⁶⁷

Anatolian falconers continue to carry these curved implements for centuries, occasionally brandishing them. One side of a lentoid seal in the Ashmolean Museum shows a very slender falconer of early Old Hittite type who carries only his hawk and *lituus* (fig. 27).⁶⁸ From the hoard of lapis lazuli seals found in Greece at Thebes comes a provincial Hittite seal on which a hunter with spear and *lituus* dangles his prey (fig. 26).⁶⁹ The hoard has been dated to the late thirteenth century B.C., but the slender figures argue for an Old Hittite date for the seal. On a sealing of a King Tuthalia, probably Tuthalia II, datable to the fifteenth century B.C., a falconer, with his *lituus* held upright with curve forward, dangles his prey before an offering table (fig. 4). A tiny figure of a person dressed in a heavy cloak, preserved by the gold sheathing that once covered it, was found below the Hittite Empire level at Alaca Höyük.⁷⁰ It has arms folded over the waist, a short *lituus* clutched against the right breast and a hawk against the left.⁷¹ A remarkable sealing of a king, Muršili, shows a god brandishing what appears to be a *lituus*, while he mounts a chariot in the shape of a hawk that is pulled by divine bulls.⁷² On the monumental early thirteenth-century rock-relief at Firaktin, King Hattusili III pours a libation to a god shouldering the *lituus*.⁷³ The object in the other hand of the god is usually identified as a triangle, the logogram for "well-being." This interpretation is based, I think, on the old drawing of the cast of the relief in Berlin. The convex outer profile of the object over the god's hand and the pointed projection beyond the thumb looks to me more like that of a bird. At the great Hittite rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, the god number 32 carries a long implement with a curve at the end that looks very much like a *lituus*.⁷⁴ Bullae (sealings) of the late thirteenth century B.C. king Kurunta show a god on a stag who brandishes a *lituus* behind him, curved end turned down.⁷⁵ A shorter curved stick of imperial date is known from a lapis-lazuli inlay from Assur. The short-skirted god here brandishes it, while his hawk sits on his arm and he dangles a hare from his left hand.⁷⁶ On the reliefs at the post-empire Hittite site of Malatya, a number of gods, although not carrying falcons, are seen brandishing a very short form of

⁶⁷ Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World*, figs. 17a-c.

⁶⁸ D. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920), no. 313, p. 46, pl. 10, left; PKG 14, pl. 377e.

⁶⁹ Porada, "The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1981): 46-48.

⁷⁰ Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, no. 136; H. G. Güterbock and R. M. Boehmer, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, Boğazköy-Hattuša, vol. 9 (Berlin, 1987), p. 48, date it to the fifteenth century B.C.; see closely similar, *ibid.*, no. 154, pl. 16, p. 138, dated to the fifteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.

⁷¹ In level 2a, see T. Özgüç, in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, pp. 487, 491, color pl. A 12, pl. 84, 2, a-b.

⁷² P. Neve, *Hattuša: Stadt der Götter und Tempel: Neue Ausgrabungen in der Hauptstadt der Hethiter*, 2d ed., *Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie*, Sonderhefte der antiken Welt, vol. 8 (Mainz, 1996), dust cover (1st ed. = P. Neve, *Hattuša: Stadt der Götter und*

Tempel: Neue Ausgrabungen in der Hauptstadt der Hethiter, *Antike Welt*, 23. Jahrgang, Sondernummer 1992 [Mainz, 1992]); Güterbock, "Gedanken über ein hethitisches Königssiegel aus Boğazköy," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993): 113-16.

⁷³ The best photos of Firaktin are in Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 194, 196, and 198. The often-reproduced drawing in E. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin, 1914), p. 105, fig. 81, is based on the cast in Berlin.

⁷⁴ Bittel, *Yazılıkaya* (1975), pl. 21:2; Bittel, *ibid.*, p. 138, admits as much, but a slight bend at the shoulder makes him think it is a form of the *Sichelschwert*. I think the slight indentation is more likely a variation of the *lituus*. To my mind, the shape of the curve and the balance between blade and handle, both of which govern how the implements were used, is entirely different on the *Sichelschwert*.

⁷⁵ Neve, *Hattuša*, figs. 40-42 and pp. 19 and 55.

⁷⁶ Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 371, c.

the throwing stick. One of these repeats the scene mentioned above in which a god with short *lituus* mounts a bird-shaped chariot pulled by bulls. In the same scene, a king carries the long, royal *lituus*.⁷⁷

In Late Hittite reliefs on the orthostats of the outer citadel gate at Zinjirli, dating to the tenth–ninth centuries B.C., men with long *litui*, “off-duty” falconers, are seen. Here, a man seated at a table with a woman rests his *lituus* upside down at his feet. Beyond him, another man in long tunic and sword carries his *lituus* over his shoulder with curve down, like the falconers of the Colony Age.⁷⁸ He is preceded by a smaller figure to whom I will return. The falconer’s responsibilities at the site are sometimes taken over by lion-headed demons, panting happily, tongue hanging out. These stand beside the lions at the narrow part of the outer citadel gate. The lion-headed falconer on the left, his falcon on his fist, faces in toward the gate and dangles his hare upside down. Another bird stands on his proper right shoulder as he begins to hurl a short, curved stick. He wears a long sword at his waist.⁷⁹ Opposite him, another lion-demon, similarly dressed and armed and dangling an animal, has both his falcons on his shoulder.⁸⁰ At Carchemish, there is a lion-headed figure with his short stick and prey on the right jam of the King’s Gate.⁸¹

The monumental caryatid-like god who stood on a lion in front of the ninth-century B.C. Temple-Palace at Tell Halaf carries the longer, earlier type of *lituus* over his right shoulder. It ends in an elegant loop handle.⁸² On the orthostats that line the back of the Temple-Palace, men carry or hurl curved sticks of various shapes.⁸³

Lures

Something is needed to coax the hawk, that was so painstakingly trained, back to the hunter from a distance. Lures on which the bird has found food during its training are made to resemble the raptor’s favorite prey, a wing of a small bird, or an animal skin sewn to a padded block of wood. They are pulled around on a string to resemble the movement of an animal and catch the hawk’s attention, and, if all goes well, the bird returns to the lure.⁸⁴ I think we can identify lures in scenes in which falcons are involved. These are the stag hunts so characteristic of Hittite art. A falconer goddess seated beside a stag hunt has already been mentioned (fig. 18). She receives a libation from a standing figure and offerings from one kneeling.⁸⁵ Opposite her on the sealing, an archer kneels to shoot a stag. In other scenes, the hunt beside the seated falconer is represented ideographically. The relief on the Schimmel stag cup is an excellent example (fig. 7).⁸⁶ Here a deity sits with his

⁷⁷ Ibid., pl. 353; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Malatya, A/11; Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites*, pl. 105, above.

⁷⁸ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 299, 300; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Zinjirli, B/3–4.

⁷⁹ Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Zinjirli, B/12.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Zinjirli, B/25.

⁸¹ Ibid., Karkemis, H/3.

⁸² D. Opitz and A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf III: Die Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1955), Bc, 4, pls. 130, 131, p. 151; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, pl. 13 T. Halaf Bc/4.

⁸³ Ibid., A3/21–28.

⁸⁴ According to K. Carnie, traditionally in falconry, lures were used only to recover falcons, but in modern times they are also used for short-winged hawks (personal communication). According to R. Lowery (personal communication, 28 August 2000), accipiters (short-winged hawks) who are hungry enough to hunt readily are retrieved very effectively with lures, as they prefer them to food on the fist.

⁸⁵ Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, no. 135, pp. 30, 64 (with n. 22), pls. 10 and III; from Archive Building, room 3, Hittite level. Beran thinks the libator is the king.

⁸⁶ Muscarella, *Ancient Art in the Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1974), no. 123; idem, “Ancient Art: Gifts from the Norbert Schimmel Collection,” *Metropolitan*

falcon on his left fist, a cup raised in his right hand. In front of him, a small, bareheaded (human?) falconer in a short kilt, wearing a double fillet and a pigtail that reaches to his knees, stands on a stag. Both hawks have bands around the neck.⁸⁷ The small figure holds a short *lituus* upright before him, with curve forward like the falconer on the Tuthalia sealing (fig. 4). Two men stand in front of the falconers. The first pours a libation; the other offers a round loaf. A third figure kneels behind these and offers something in a pitcher. The objects behind the seated god refer to the hunt itself.⁸⁸ A stag lies dead at the foot of a tree with hunting equipment beside it. There are two spears, a quiver with arrows, and a bag-shaped object. The latter has been identified as a ^{KUŠ}*kursa*, a word translated as either "hunting bag" or "fleece."⁸⁹ The determinative ^{KUŠ} means the object is made of skin or leather. The object here looks like a bag made of fleece. Hittite cult texts often mentioned a ^{KUŠ}*ursa*.⁹⁰ G. McMahon, noting its close association with the hunt, suggests that the gods for whom it serves as a totem were gods who oversee hunting.⁹¹ Texts tell in detail of the ^{KUŠ}*ursa*'s numerous sacred locations in the temple and elsewhere, its manufacture and repair, its journey from site to site, and its involvement in ceremonies. The use of the object as a cult symbol evidently derives from Hattic (i.e., pre-Hittite) times.⁹² In the hunting context of the Schimmel rhyton, it is very interesting that "dog-men" are mentioned in connection with the ^{KUŠ}*ursa*.⁹³

Could the fleece-bag on the Schimmel rhyton also have been used as the lure a falconer needed to recover a hawk? Fleece would make an excellent lure. It could well have had a back section made into some sort of bag to carry the falconer's equipment: meat for the hawk, pins to mend feathers, a knife, extra bow strings, and so on. Evidence to support a theory that the fleece-bag could also serve as a lure comes from the object that takes the place of the fleece-bag on similar ideographic representations of the hunt. Three or four often-discussed Old Hittite seals show a god with falcon on his fist seated at a table receiving offerings. The libation, in this case, is poured by a bird-man, and the adjacent stag hunt is told even more abstractly in hieroglyphs.⁹⁴ These are simplified renderings of the same objects that are behind the seated god on the Schimmel rhyton. Beginning at the left

Museum of Art Bulletin, Spring 1992, pp. 6–7; S. Alp, "Der 'Kultraum' in den ausgegrabenen Tempelanlagen und bildliche Darstellungen von Kulthandlungen, die sich wohl auf den Kultraum beziehen," in *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (Ankara, 1963), figs. 6a–h.

⁸⁷ See p. 164 above for the use of neckbands on goshawks.

⁸⁸ Some of these same elements, the tree, the libation, and perhaps a stag may be represented in the worn reliefs above the stag hunt on the gate orthostats at Alaca Höyük; see Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 344a; see also von der Osten-Sacken, "Der kleinasiatische Gott der Wildflur" (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 38), pp. 70–71; Güterbock, "Hittite Kursa 'Hunting Bag'" (*Essays . . . Helene Kantor*), p. 119, pl. 19.

⁸⁹ M. Popko, "Kurša-Vlies," *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 109–15; idem, *Zippalanda: Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien*, Texte der Hethiter 21 (Heidelberg, 1994), esp. pp. 47–48, 264–67 and passim; Alp, "Der

'Kultraum' in den ausgegrabenen Tempelanlagen," pp. 98–99; see also Güterbock, "Hittite Kursa 'Hunting Bag'" (*Essays . . . Helene Kantor*), passim.

⁹⁰ McMahon, *Hittite State Cult*, pp. 143–74, 250–54, and 264–67.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 262–63 and 268–69.

⁹⁴ (1) British Museum, no. W.A. 17804, bought at Yozgat near Boğazköy; Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, p. 75, fig. 78; (2) Dresden, no. 1769, bought in Istanbul, Güterbock and Boehmer, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, p. 57, fig. 43; (3) A. Dinçol, "Hethitische Hieroglyphensiegel in den Museen zu Adana, Hatay und Istanbul," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen* (Anadolu Araştırmaları 9) (Ankara, 1983), p. 220, no. 8, pl. 9, side b (in Güterbock, "Hittite Kursa 'Hunting Bag'" [*Essays . . . Helene Kantor*], pls. 17 and 18b); (4) Louvre, A.O. 1036, Orthmann, PKG 14, fig. 376c.

on the impression of the British Museum example of the group (fig. 23a, b), there are a tree, two spears, a quiver, an oblong object, and a stag's head. The stag's head replaces the dead stag on the Schimmel rhyton. The tree, spears, and quiver are the same. The oblong object must take the place of the fleece-bag. It has a handle on top and a cord around each end where three thick "tufts" project. The probability that this oblong object was a falconer's lure occurred to me when I recently studied the sketch of the seal that I made forty years ago. The oblong object looked like a modern rabbit lure I had seen (fig. 24).⁹⁵ This was a rabbit skin mounted inside out on a piece of wood. Tufts of fur protruded at either end. Wrapped around the lure was the string to swing it with.

It may be that we can identify two further examples of lures. The closest one to the hieroglyph occurs on the Late Hittite, ninth-century B.C. reliefs at Tell Halaf. There a man holds down at his side a peculiar, slightly curved object. It looks like a boomerang except that it is tied around at each end where stringy tufts protrude (fig. 25).⁹⁶ Except for the handle, it is very like the "lure" hieroglyph on the British Museum seal. The other, less certain, eighteenth-century B.C. candidate is the strange item held up by two lions in front of the seated god toward whom a group of figures march on the Tyszkiewicz seal (fig. 30a, b). At the left end (as seen on the seal) of this sagging, bag-shaped object is a flat lip out of which two strands appear. At the other small end, also tied, a "tail" hangs down. The many *litui* in the scene on the seal suggest a hunting context for the procession, as will be seen, and there a lure might well occur. The strange object has a lofty position, but perhaps that is understandable. Something that could lure a wild, free-flying hawk back to captivity and his master could have seemed almost magical.

V. OTHER SCENES WITH FALCONS

Hunts in which falcons were used along with several kinds of weapons must have been like those shown on Ottoman miniatures, for instance, in which large groups, on horseback with falcons and dogs, hunt stags and lions as well as hares.⁹⁷ An Old Hittite seal "from Tarsus," with four square facets on the side, shows a seated god holding falcon and hare in one of them (fig. 3b). A seated god with what may be falcon and trident opposite a god with spears in another.⁹⁸ On another seal, a god with a hawk and an axe uses a leashed mountain sheep as a lure, a practice known elsewhere in Hittite Anatolia.⁹⁹ Two sealings of the time of Arnuwanda III show a mountain god with a falcon, on one, brandishing a mace, on the other, with arm upraised.¹⁰⁰ Other examples from Imperial Hittite times exist.

⁹⁵ E. Ford, *Birds of Prey* (London, 1982), p. 10, at left.

⁹⁶ Opitz and Moortgat, *Tell Halaf III: Die Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1955), A3/20, pl. 19.

⁹⁷ *Hünername* [Book of accomplishments], showing Sultan Selim at a large hunt, sixteenth century, Topkapı Sarayı Treasury, reproduction.

⁹⁸ Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, no. 196, p. 38, pl. 7e, b, respectively; Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 375c. The subject matter of this seal is closely related to the fifteenth-century Tuthalia II sealing; see fig. 4 below.

⁹⁹ Beran, "Hethitische Rollsiegel der Grossreichzeit II." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9/10 (1959-60): 130, fig. 1, pl. 88; bought at Aleppo. For the tethered stag at Alaca Höyük, see Mellink, "Observations on the Sculpture of Alaca Höyük," *Anadolu* 14 (1970): 19 with n. 11; also see the stag on the Tabrami bowl, in K. Emre and A. Çınaroğlu, "A Group of Metal Vessels from Kinik-Kastamonu," in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, pp. 692-94, fig. 23, top left, pl. 142.

¹⁰⁰ Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy I*, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 5 (Berlin, 1940), no. 64; Neve, *Hattuša*, p. 59, fig. 160.

One of the gold frames for lapis lazuli from Carchemish is in the shape of a god with a bow and a falcon.¹⁰¹ At Emar, a small stele shows a god with a double axe and a falcon.¹⁰² A sealing from the same site shows the goddess Ishtar, falcon in her fist, with her mace hanging behind her.¹⁰³ On one elaborate seal made of a sheet of bronze and thought to be from the same site, a pigtailed figure with a dagger and bow faces a god with dagger and *lituus*, both of them with hawks on their fists.¹⁰⁴ At Ugarit, on a crude clay stand, a figure with a spear poised to strike has one falcon on his fist, while another (or the same at a later moment?) perches on the horn of the stag at which the hunter aims.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the second one delayed it for the hunter as in figure 10.

A god, hawking with a spear in the tenth to ninth centuries B.C., dangles a hare as his prey on a stele from Kültepe.¹⁰⁶ On the reliefs of the eighth century B.C. at Karatepe, the human hunter plays the role of falconer and his prey. The *lituus* is now missing and no other weapons are carried. On one block, a falconer (fig. 5), with his hare dangling, faces left to a tiny soldier wearing a crested helmet. On the adjacent block, another falconer preceded by a small figure, dangles something from a short staff in his upright hand as well as a hare.¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere on the Karatepe reliefs, the falconer and the small figure stand on a bull.¹⁰⁸ An extraordinary hunter at Karatepe has a spear and a lion dangling from his proper left arm. Close to his proper left shoulder, looking almost like a hieroglyph, there is a falcon facing outward, wings upraised, grasping a hare in his talons.¹⁰⁹ Raptors seen in other scenes from ancient Anatolia may also be hunting birds. Numerous early Colony Age sealings show a raptor on someone's lap or hand, or in front of the person on a table, or on a large vessel with straws. Often the falcon appears to drink or feed from a cup the person holds (fig. 33).¹¹⁰ A superb photograph of a Central Asian falconer of today sharing his tea with a hawk illustrates the age-old custom.¹¹¹ On Old Hittite stamp seals, a large vessel replaces the table as a place to perch.¹¹² The bird sitting on the table between the goddess Hepat and Puduhepa on the Imperial Hittite rock relief at Firaktin, already mentioned, may derive from these old scenes.¹¹³ Another raptor appears on a table at Yağrı.¹¹⁴ Hawks are rewarded with a feast of hares probably after a successful hunt at eighth-century B.C. Karatepe.¹¹⁵ The numerous raptors shown hunting or drinking with various

¹⁰¹ For a good picture, see R. M. Hyslop, "A Note on the Techniques Used by Jewelers at Carchemish," in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, p. 298, fig. 1, pl. 53, 1, top right; pl. 53-2, left.

¹⁰² *Emar: Un royaume sur l'Euphrat au temps des Hittites*, Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux (Paris, 1982), p. 13, fig. 15.

¹⁰³ Beyer, "Quelques sceaux-cylindres syro-hittites," in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, p. 71, A 46.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71, fig. 4; see p. 73; see also von der Osten-Sacken, "Der kleinasiatische Gott der Wildflur" (*Istanbul Mitteilungen* 38), p. 74, fig. 7:2.

¹⁰⁵ J.-C. Courtois, "La maison du prêtre aux modèles de poumon et foies d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica VI*, Mission de Ras Shamra, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth 81 (Paris, 1969), pp. 96-102, figs. 5a-d.

¹⁰⁶ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 321 = Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst*, Kültepe 1, pl. 38.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Karatepe, B/15, 16.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Karatepe, B/3: B. Alkim, *Revue hittite et asianique* 50 (1948): fig. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 365, right; *idem*, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst*, Karatepe, A/5.

¹¹⁰ N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, nos. 30, 32, 40, 41, 45, 52, 70, 77, and 78. Many more will be seen in B. Tessier's convenient collection of illustrations, *Sealings on Texts from Kültepe Karam Level II* (Leiden, 1994), *passim*.

¹¹¹ R. and S. Michaud, *Caravans to Tartary* (New York, 1985), pl. 56.

¹¹² Güterbock and Boehmer, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, p. 29.

¹¹³ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, figs. 196, 198; Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 41 (following fig. 346).

¹¹⁴ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, p. 201, fig. 230.

¹¹⁵ Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites*, pl. 146 right; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst*, Karatepe A/4.

divinities other than the Protector God of the Countryside reveal how widespread hawking was.¹¹⁶

VI. FALCONRY/HAWKING SYMBOLISM

The small figures who precede the falconers at the Late Hittite sites of Zinjirli and Karatepe may suggest the status of ancient Anatolian falconers.¹¹⁷ They are probably children of some importance. At Maraş, birds appear with children on Late Hittite stelae: with a child at his mother's knee,¹¹⁸ on a lyre held by a woman holding a child, and in the hands of a child opposite her at a table.¹¹⁹ The young falconer on a woman's lap (fig. 17) has already been mentioned.¹²⁰ The nude child at the end of the procession of princes on the Royal Buttress at Carchemish should probably be added to this list (fig. 34).¹²¹ Clad in nothing but the medallion on his chest and an oblong object hanging from his wrist, he leans on a staff. A bird sits on a perch fastened to the top of it. Perhaps all these reliefs represent young nobles or princes who were, for some reason, under the care or protection of falconers.

The stick with a curved end, which is so closely tied to Anatolian falconry, brings up an iconographical question. In Etruria, the same implement is used in hunting, but it is also displayed by some officials as a symbol of office. Scholars call both implements a *lituus*.¹²² Hittite specialists likewise call both the throwing stick of the falconer, and the curved, emblematic implement carried by the Hittite king and Sun God, a *lituus*. The royal implement, however, is much longer and must have been awkward to carry. It swings down behind the lower third of the figure with the curved end up. Ancient Hittite texts say it was rather large and not carried on the throne or in a chariot.¹²³ Nonetheless, everybody uses the same name for it because it looks so much like the falconer's throwing stick. The evidence for the widespread practice of falconry (or memory of the practice) over the centuries in Anatolia prompts speculation as to whether there was any real connection between the two objects.

I have cited examples of the *lituus* carried over the shoulder by figures with falcons in imperial times in the same way as it was in the Colony Age. There is some evidence to trace the use of the *lituus* through the very early Old Hittite period. Shortly after the Col-

¹¹⁶ The raptors often shown drinking or perched on the hats of goddesses, mostly in early-second-millennium B.C. northern Syria, may also be trained birds: see Porada in E. Porada and B. Buchanan, eds., *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, vol. 1, pt. 1, Text, pt. 2, Plates (The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library), Bollingen Series 14 (New York, 1948), no. 956; P. Matthiae, "Empreintes d'un cylindre paléosyrien," *Syria* 46 (1969): 5, fig. 12; idem, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* (New York, 1981), p. 138, fig. 32, third plate after p. 224, also a mold for figures; *ibid.*, first plate after p. 224; Culican, "A Syrian Stela in Seattle" (*Levant* 10), pl. 24.

¹¹⁷ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, p. 265, fig. 300; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Zinjirli,

B/4, pl. 5 and Karatepe, B/3, B/16.

¹¹⁸ Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, Maraş, B/21.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Maraş, B/19, B/12, respectively.

¹²⁰ See n. 51 above.

¹²¹ Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 359; Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites*, pl. 122, top right.

¹²² See, for example, J.-R. Jannot, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiuri*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 71 (Rome, 1984), pp. 153, 275, figs. 2, 52, 294, 520, 556, and 634-b; I am grateful to Jean Turfa, of Bryn Mawr College, who kindly guided me through the Etruscan material.

¹²³ Alp, "La désignation du Lituus en Hittite," p. 165.

ony Age, it is seen on relief vases and seems to be little connected with hunting. On one of these vases, two men shoulder *litui* in a relief showing a procession of figures carrying food (fig. 28).¹²⁴ They hold the implement horizontally, far back on their shoulders, with the curve turned up. On the İnandık vase of similar date, a cloaked figure in a procession of musicians carries a *lituus* pushed back from his shoulder with curve down (fig. 29).¹²⁵ A sherd from a monochrome vessel with relief shows a figure whose *lituus*, here suspended from his waist, swings up behind him to the shoulder level. In his left hand he holds a small pitcher.

In the procession on the Tyszkiewicz knob-cylinder seal of about the same date, eighteenth-seventeenth centuries B.C. (fig. 30a, b),¹²⁶ each of three figures has a long, sinuous *lituus* hanging in front of him from the waist. The ends of short "bows" appear behind the waist as if they were tucked under the figures' arms.¹²⁷ The figures climb a step up toward the old Mesopotamian two-faced god, Ušmu, on a platform above them. He offers a libation to a figure seated on a still higher platform, who raises a cup in one hand. With the other, he raises an axe with a thick front edge and two short *litui*. In front of him, two lions hold up the strange object that I tentatively suggested might be a lure. In the procession on the slightly later Aydın seal (fig. 31a, b), very similar figures have *litui* in front of them. They have arrows tucked under their shoulders, points turned forward as they approach Ušmu, who again pours a libation and holds a very lightly incised, thin axe in his other hand. Behind him sits a figure in a knobbed cap. He holds up three short *litui* that are apparently attached to a rope.¹²⁸ It is not clear whether the longish peg with an oval head by the shoulder of the seated figure belongs to him or the griffin-man in the scene behind him. In front of the seated figure, two lions on a pedestal hold up a platter containing two animal heads.

Except for one figure with a crescent on his hat, who must be a moon god, the figures in the processions on the two seals are not clearly identified for us. We can guess that the figures in short skirts on both seals are the same personage.¹²⁹ It is also difficult to see how Ušmu or his lord, the Sumerian god of sweet water, Ea, fit in here.¹³⁰ The seated figures holding out so many *litui* look almost like Lords of the Hunt. They do not wear the horned crowns of divinities. On the Tyszkiewicz seal (fig. 30a, b), the seated figure wears a strange almost flat hat with a long peg ending in a ring literally attached to a fixture at the

¹²⁴ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, p. 145, fig. 144.

¹²⁵ T. Özgüç, *İnandıktepe: An Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları V/43 (Ankara, 1988), pl. 53-1 right, no. 47, fig. 64.

¹²⁶ The dates proposed by Boehmer in Güterbock and Boehmer, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet Boğazköy*, pp. 37-39, for the three knob-cylinder seals, generally agree with the date I proposed in 1969 in my article "Some Hittite Figurines in the Aegean," *Hesperia* 38/2 (1969): 145-46, with nn. 22-23. I think, however, that Alp's Karahöyük sealings, along with the Tyszkiewicz seal, should be dated to a little later than the Colony Age; see my review of Alp in *American Journal of Archaeology* 76 (1972): 329-30.

¹²⁷ Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 375a. I have called the arrow-shaped objects that protrude behind the figures

"bows," since they are as wide as their bodies and are represented by two converging lines. A short sword or dagger would probably have been rendered as a solid shape.

¹²⁸ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, p. 150, fig. 155, dated to the beginning of the seventeenth century B.C. by Boehmer; see n. 126 above.

¹²⁹ Elsewhere on the Tyszkiewicz seal, a god in a short skirt plunges a spear into an enemy: *ibid.*, fig. 152 and here fig. 30c, right, but the relationship of that scene to the procession is not yet clear.

¹³⁰ A. Archi, "The God Ea in Anatolia," in *Studies Nimet Özgüç*, pp. 27-33. Note, however, that a two-faced figure is being burned in one of the "mythological" vignettes on the Tyszkiewicz seal (see fig. 30c, middle).

back. A ring also occurs just above the flat hat of the first figure in the procession on that seal. On the Aydın seal (fig. 31a, b), the seated figure wears a tight-fitting cap with a narrow, double rolled brim above which there is a cone supporting a ball. The first figure in the procession on this seal also has on top of his pointed cap a very lightly incised or worn, ball. These may represent the same thing as the rings on the Tyszkiewicz seal (fig. 30a, b).

Figures with flat hats occur on two later Hittite seals with falconers: on the Tuthalia sealing (fig. 4), on the "Tarsus" seal (fig. 3, right), as well as on the Theban seal (fig. 26). These figures carry bundles of throwing sticks. On these later seals, there are sun discs above the hats. In Hittite terms, this means that the figures are the Sun God, who dresses like the king and wears a cap rather than the horned crown of a divinity. If the sun discs replace the rings and balls on the earlier seals and mean the same thing, we could conclude that the dispenser of *litui* on those earlier seals too was a Sun God. In Imperial Hittite times, the Sun God does carry a *lituus*.

A seal in Berlin with eight facets on the side is a little later than the Aydın seal.¹³¹ Each facet contains a figure: five deities, a servant, a bird-man, and one figure who appears to be human (fig. 32, left). He could be a king, since he wears a plain round cap surrounded by a fillet and a long robe wrapped around his shoulder and waist. This figure has one *lituus* behind him like the Hittite king but with curve pointed down. Another *lituus* swings out in front of his waist. In the facet he faces, a seated goddess holds out a bundle of thin, short throwing sticks, here arranged in a circle. On this seal, the *litui* and throwing sticks obviously belong to two very different figures.¹³²

A closer connection between the throwing stick and the emblem of the king is suggested by the lower half of a relief at Alaca Höyük. This is preserved on the inside face of the eastern sphinx at the gate, carved on a block that was once over 3 m high (fig. 35a, b).¹³³ The figure can be identified as a king rather than the Sun God because it is matched by a figure of a queen on the inside face of the other gate jam and the Sun God is not paired with his wife in Hittite representations.¹³⁴

On the row of orthostats flanking the Alaca Höyük gate, the king carries an abbreviated version of the typical long, royal *lituus* seen on seals or at Yazılıkaya.¹³⁵ The king on the side face of the gate block has an even shorter *lituus*. It swings out higher up behind his robe with its exceptionally long train. The *lituus* must have looked more like the falconer's throwing stick than the royal emblem. Beneath the royal skirt here, the allusion to falconry is more direct. The king's back foot rests on the heads of a double-headed hawk equipped

¹³¹ H. Prinz, in Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Hethiter*, pp. 145–47 and pl. 4. Prinz says it came from H. Winckler, excavator of the Hittite capital, in 1911 (*ibid.*, p. 45); see Orthmann, PKG 14, pl. 375b. For the early seventeenth-century B.C. date, see Güterbock and Boehmer, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, pp. 38–40.

¹³² If the figures with throwing sticks on the "Tarsus," Tuthalia, and Theban seals, figs. 3a, 4, and 26, are sun deities, we might be able to identify the goddess with throwing sticks as the famous Hittite Sun Goddess.

¹³³ See Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 210, p. 188; fig. 215, p. 189; for Bittel's dating, see *ibid.*, pp. 205–6. I

think these reliefs may well be earlier. Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites*, pl. 88 above, must have been taken from the east of the gate in the Ankara Museum.

¹³⁴ R. Alexander, "A Great Queen on the Sphinx Piers at Alaca Höyük," *Anatolian Studies* 39 (1989): 151–58.

¹³⁵ Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 214, p. 215; on seals, *ibid.*, fig. 191, p. 170; at Yazılıkaya, *ibid.*, figs. 249–50, pp. 214–15. Note that the king's figure on the front orthostat must have been recut at some time. The hem of the flap over the shoulder has become the straight part of the *lituus*. Cuttings started to make a different hemline in back can also be seen.

with neckbands. The hawk grasps a hare in each giant claw.¹³⁶ The hawk heads are not identical. The beak of the right one ends just above its wing. The left head tips up toward something lying on top of her wing, now only a raised, chipped surface. At present, it is difficult to imagine what would have been added to trained hawks and their prey in this sort of royal, heraldic design on the jam of the monumental gate at Alaca Höyük. With the obvious reference to the practice of falconry, it is also difficult to decide whether the short *lituus* of the king in the composition was considered a hunter's implement, or an emblem of royalty, or both.

APPENDIX

The most interesting of the representations of falconry outside of Anatolia—because, to my knowledge, it is unique in Mesopotamia—is a man with an axe over his shoulder and hawk on his fist on an Old Babylonian seal from Ischali.¹³⁷ A figure in a short skirt holding a crook shaped like a *lituus* is a well-known motif in Mesopotamia,¹³⁸ and a throwing stick is mentioned in Mesopotamian texts.¹³⁹ I know of no seal, however, where this is connected with falconry.

On a Syrian seal dated 1800–1650 B.C., there is a bull-headed figure with a hanging *lituus* beside him, while a falcon dangles prey above him.¹⁴⁰ In general, however it is difficult to say whether the raptors that appear over the hands of figures on Syrian seals¹⁴¹ are vague references to hawking or merely filling elements, even when they occur on the same seal as hunters with throwing sticks. Elements on these seals are so eclectic and scattered that they often seem purely decorative. They do not present pictures of real falconry like those mentioned above at Emar, Ugarit, or in Late Hittite sculpture in northern Syria. E. Porada collected a few of the rare provincial seals that do show falconry scenes.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ The shape of the ear of the animal at the left is not entirely convincing as that of a hare, perhaps because it is damaged or unfinished. The photograph in Collon, *Ancient Near Eastern Art* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), no. 190, p. 222, suggests some animal shape over the proper right wing. A similar heraldic design is seen in early Mesopotamia, where a raptor, sometimes with a lion's head, grasps the hind-quarters of lions, stags, or long-horned goats; see Orthmann, PKG 14, pls. 88, 97, and 133e.

¹³⁷ H. Frankfort, *Stratified Seals from the Diyala Region*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 72 (Chicago, 1955), no. 956; from Susa there is a bronze figurine representing a bald man in long skirt with a bird on his raised fist from the temple of Inšušinak (E. Braun-Holzinger, *Figürliche Bronzen aus Mesopotamien*, *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* 1/4 [Munich, 1984], no. 219, p. 97) and an attachment of some sort in the form of an arm extended with a bird on the fist from the acropolis; *ibid.*, pl. 3.129. Two plaques from Mari represent figures in a tufted gown carrying a bird on a short staff in their left hand and an axe in their right; see A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari*, vol. 2, *Le Palais*, pt. 3, *Documents et Monuments*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Bey-

routh 70 (Paris, 1959), pp. 66–68, fig. 4 and pl. 28, no. 1507.

¹³⁸ Porada, ed., *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, vol. 1, pl. 51, nos. 517–24.

¹³⁹ Akk. "gamlu,"/Sum. "gišRU"; Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang*, p. 32; W. Farber, s.v. "Krummholz," *RLA*, vol. 6 (1980–83), pp. 250–52 and D. Collon, s.v. "Krummstab," *ibid.*, pp. 252–53; *CAD*, vol. G, p. 34.

¹⁴⁰ G. A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals in the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 47 (Chicago, 1940), no. 197. Two seals with birds before a god with a throwing stick could refer to hawking; see B. Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcolli Collection* (Los Angeles, 1984), nos. 486–87, pp. 246–47.

¹⁴¹ Porada, ed., *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, vol. 1, nos. 945, 946, and 968.

¹⁴² *Idem*, "On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyprus," *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean"* (Nicosia, 1973), pp. 266–68, fig. 2, pls. 32, 33, 34–1.

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*See n. 18 above.

**Cited as Schlegel 2; see n. 18 above.



FIG. 1.—Falconer on stag, nineteenth century B.C., ancient impression from Kültepe, from N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, no. 69. Drawing by Canby.



FIG. 2.—Falconer with *lituus* and prey, nineteenth century B.C., ancient impression from Kültepe, from N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, no. 66. Drawing by Canby.

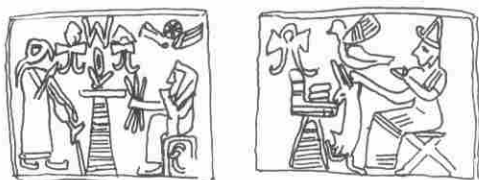


FIG. 3.—Two sides of hammer seal, Ashmolean Museum, no. 196, sixteenth century B.C. (?) "from Tarsus," drawing from Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites*, pl. 52, middle right. Drawing by Canby.

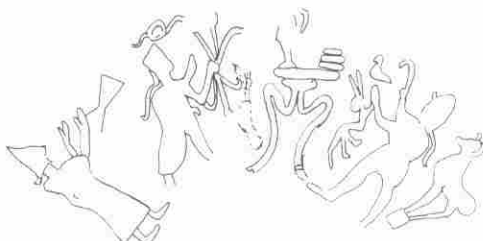


FIG. 4.—Ancient impression of section of Tuthalia II sealing, fifteenth century B.C., from Hattuša-Boğazköy, drawing from Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik*, no. 136. Drawing by Canby.



FIG. 5.—Relief on orthostat from Karatepe, late eighth century B.C. drawing from Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, B/15, pl. 19. Drawing by Canby.



FIG. 6.—Hooded golden eagle and falconer, Mongolia. Courtesy of S. Bodio



FIG. 7.—Relief on silver stag rhyton, ca. fifteenth–fourteenth centuries B.C., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 1989.281.10. Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989.



FIG. 8.—Hawk over gazelle, modern impression of stamp seal, Kültepe Level 1, eighteenth century B.C., drawing from Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, p. 939, fig. 77

FIG. 9.—Hawk seizing hare, modern impression of Bogazköy seal, eighteenth century B.C., drawing from Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik*, pl. 7, no. 66. Drawings by Canby.



FIG. 10.—Goshawk on gazelle. Frontispiece, R. Burton, *Hawking in the Valley of the Indus*



FIG. 11a and b.—Tell Chuēra sherd, third millennium B.C., detail and drawing. Courtesy of U. Moortgat-Correns.

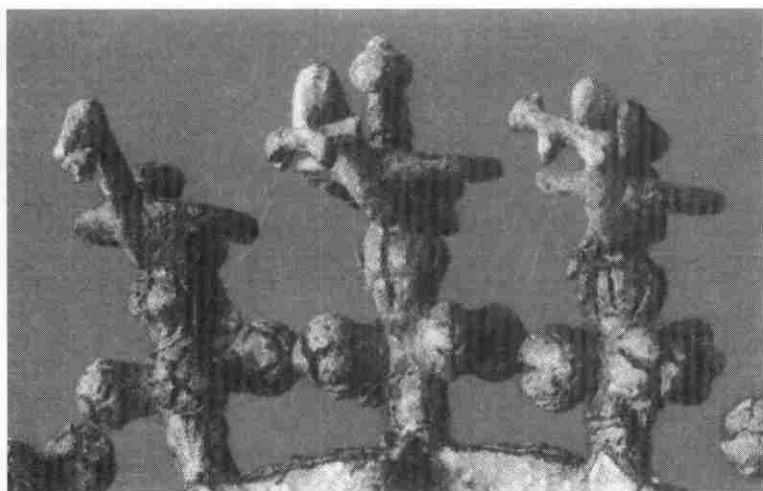
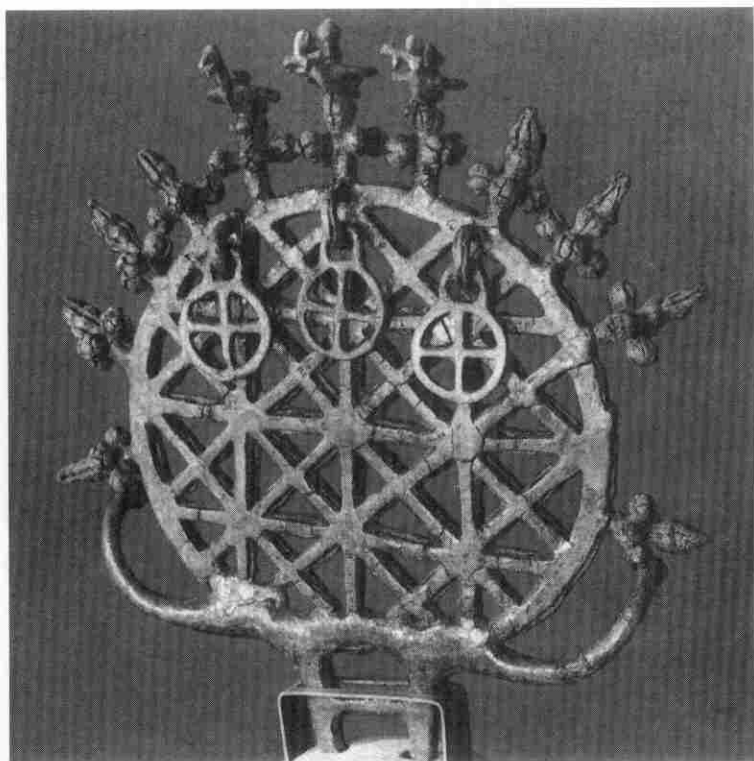


FIG. 12.—Raptor and prey on Alaca Höyük standard, Grave B, third millennium B.C., Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.



FIG. 13.—Kültepe cups, nineteenth century B.C., Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara



Fig. 14.—Kültepe rhyta shaped as landing hawks, nineteenth century B.C., Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.



FIG. 15.—Eagle landing on glove in Khyrgyzstan. Courtesy AKC Kyrgyz Concept, Bishkek

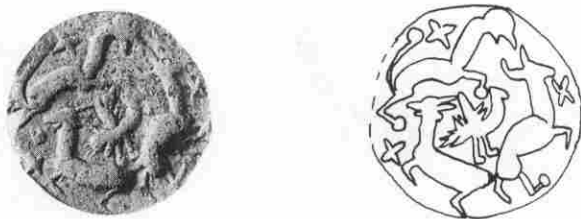


FIG. 16a and b.—Ancient sealing on Cappadocian tablet, 48.1464, seventeenth century B.C. Courtesy Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Drawing by Canby of the same.



FIG. 17.—Boy with falcon on leash and swivel, on woman's lap. Maraş stele, eighth century B.C., Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph by Canby.

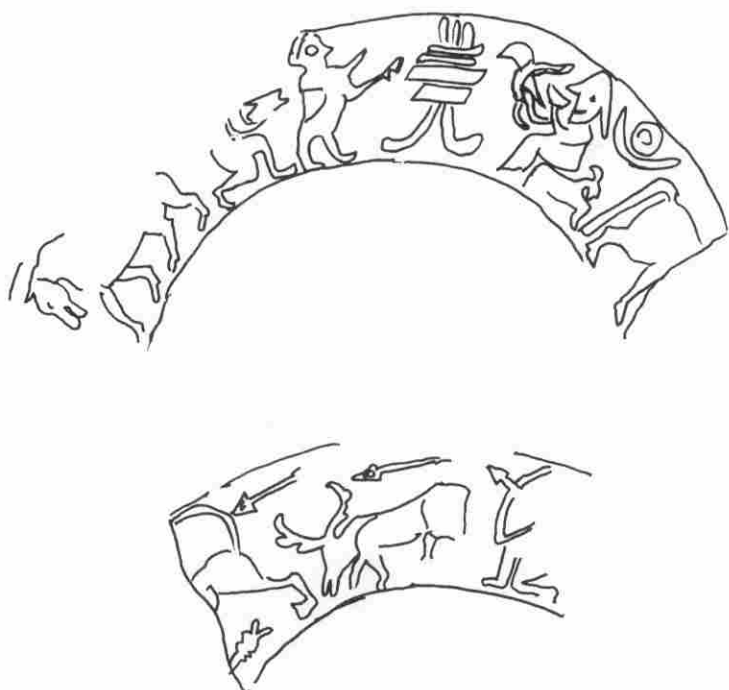


FIG. 18.—Goddess with jesses on ancient impression, Boğazköy 209/a, drawing from Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik*, no. 134. Drawing by Canby.

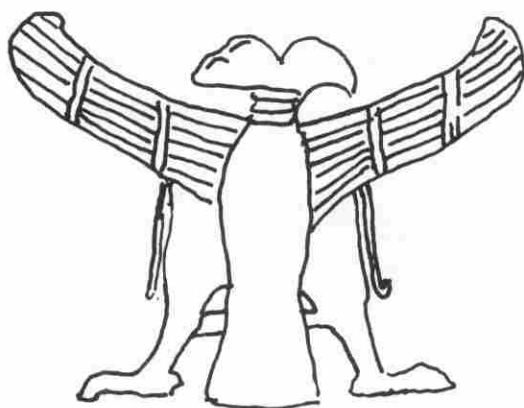


FIG. 19.—Double-headed hawk in main scene at Yazılıkaya (no. 46), ca. fourteenth–thirteenth centuries B.C. Drawing by Canby.

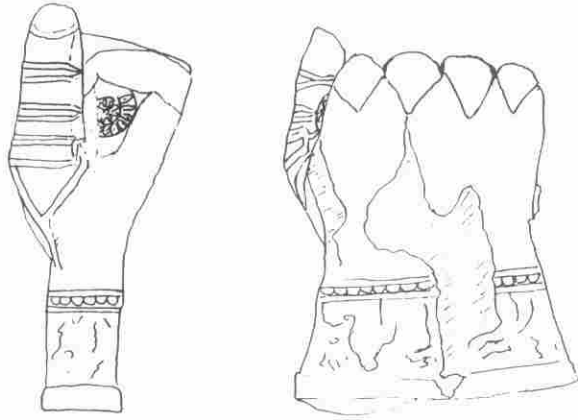


FIG. 20a and b.—Hittite silver vessel in shape of a gloved hand, ca. fifteenth century B.C., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; a from side; b from above. Drawings by Canby.



FIG. 21.—Ashurbanipal relief, seventh century B.C., British Museum. Courtesy of R. Ellis

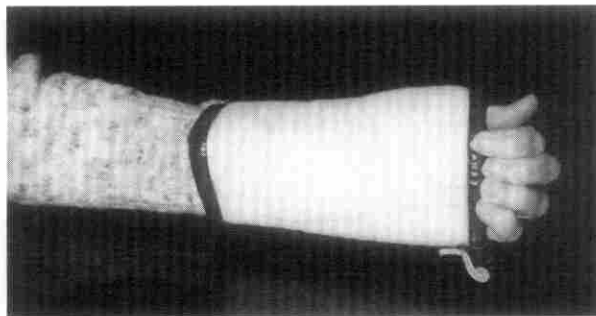


FIG. 22.—Arab falconer's cuff. Photograph by Canby



FIG. 23a and b.—Modern impression of part of stamp seal, British Museum, Western Asiatic Antiquities, no. 17804. Photograph and drawing of part of the same by Canby.

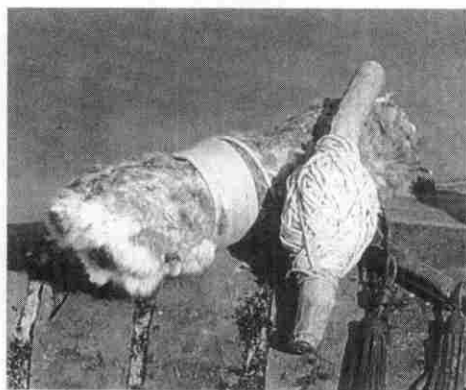


FIG. 24.—Modern rabbit lure. Courtesy of E. Ford, *Birds of Prey*



FIG. 25.—Orthostat from Tell Halaf, ca. ninth century B.C. Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1943, 43, 135, 1.

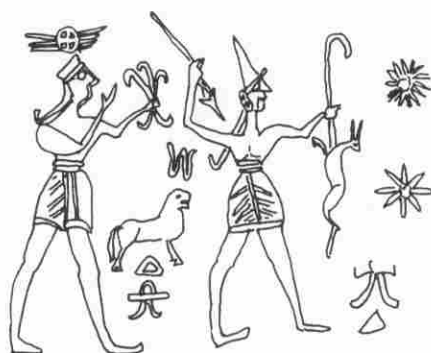


FIG. 26.—Part of modern impression of Thebes seal, from E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals found at Thebes, in Boeotia," *AfO* 27 (1981): 47, no. 25. Drawing by Canby.



FIG. 27.—Impression of Ashmolean Museum seal, no. 313, from M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter*, pl. 99. Drawing by Canby.

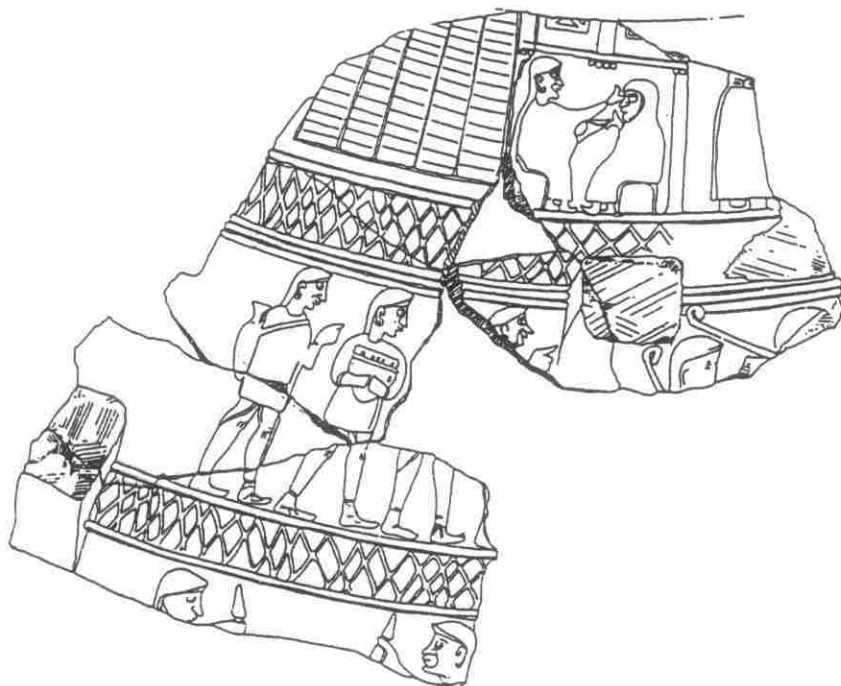


FIG. 28.—Bitik vase, seventeenth century B.C., from T. Özgüç, "The Bitik Vase," *Anatolia* 2 (1957): fig. 227

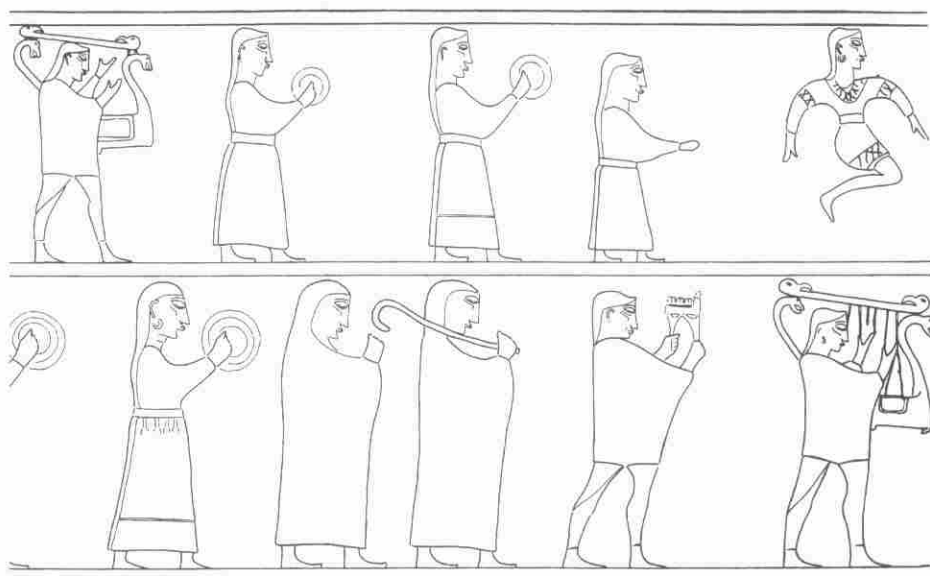


FIG. 29.—İnandıktepe vase, seventeenth century B.C., T. Özgüç, *İnandıktepe*, pl. 53-1 right



FIG. 30a and b.—Tyszkiewicz seal, ca. seventeenth century B.C., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 98.706. Photographs and drawing of part of impression by Canby.



FIG. 30c.—Continuation of Tyszkiewicz seal. Photograph by Canby

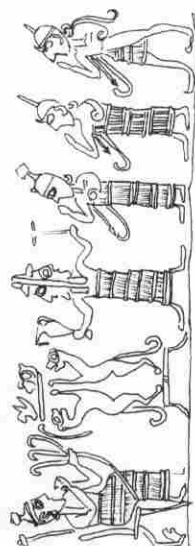
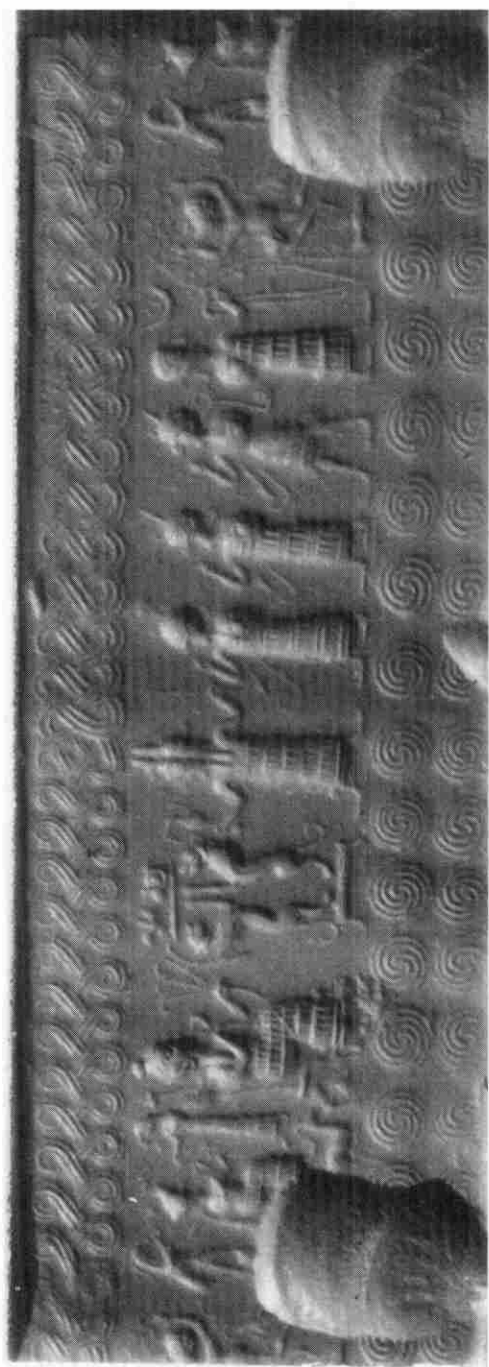


FIG. 31a and b.—Modern impression of section of Aydin seal, seventeenth century B.C., Musée du Louvre, no. A.O. 1180. Drawing of part of impression by Canby.

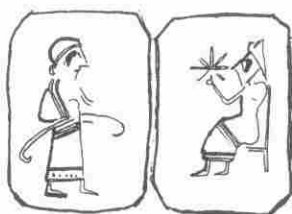


FIG. 32.—Two facets of impressions from Berlin seal, no. V.A. 8377, ca. seventeenth century B.C. Drawing by Canby.



FIG. 33.—Falcon feeding seen on ancient sealing, Kültepe, nineteenth century B.C., from N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, no. 30. Drawing by Canby.



FIG. 34.—Child with bird on perch. Carchemish, Royal Buttress, eighth century B.C., Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. Photograph by Canby.

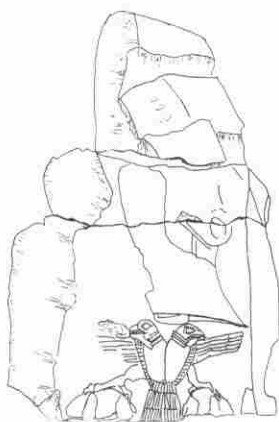
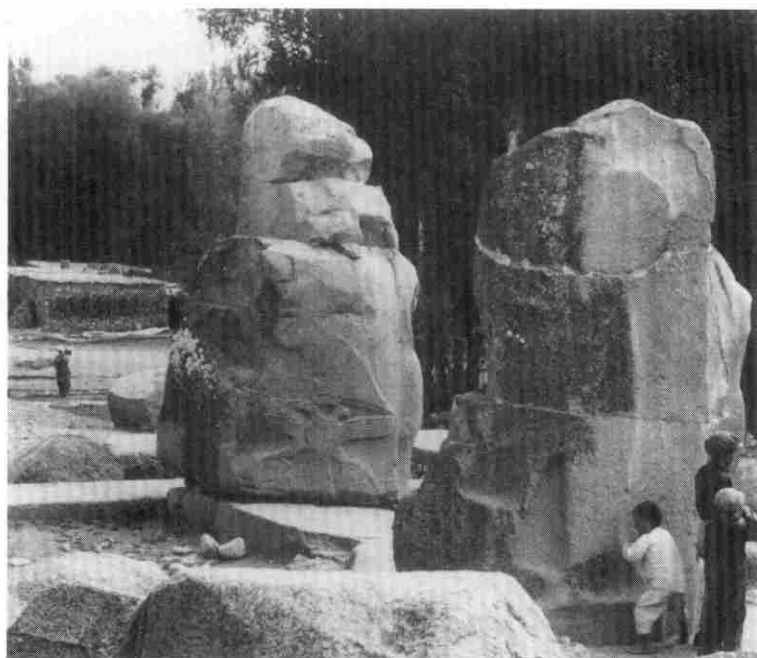


FIG. 35a and b.—Alaca Höyük gate, height ca. 3 m, ca. sixteenth–fourteenth centuries B.C.? Drawing and photograph by Canby.

