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HUNTING AND COMBAT WEAPONS IN THE MYCENAEAN WORLD AND HITTITE ANATOLIA

Ancient Greek authors often drew a parallel between combat and hunting. In Homer's *Iliad* Idomeneus is compared to a mountain boar struggling with hunters as he fights off Trojans (*Iliad* 13.467-472). Surrounded by the enemy, Odysseus fights like a boar in a thicket. The Trojans are transformed into human hunters and Odysseus is a wild beast who turns and fights his attackers (*Iliad* 11.413-420). Ajax strides around like a mountain boar, "who scatters dogs and strong young men with ease, as it wheels through forest clearings" (*Iliad* 17.364-367). Recurring to the Homeric comparisons, Xenophon (ca 430-354 BC) also emphasized the connection between hunting and war. In his treatise *On Hunting* he states: "Therefore I charge the young not to despise hunting or any other schooling. For these are the means by which men become good in war..." (*Cynegeticus* 18).

This warlike symbolism of hunting occurs in Mycenaean art from the very beginning. The lion hunt shown on the blade of a dirk from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (16th century BC) can hardly be considered a real act of hunting (Fig. 1)¹. In this scene a phalanx-like formation composed of heavy infantry armed with long spears (*έγχος*) and large body shields (*σάκος*) is attacked by a lion, whereas two other animals try to escape. I have my doubts, however, about this being the way of hunting lions. There is also a close parallel among combat scenes. A similar formation of warriors is depicted on the silver battle krater from the same Mycenae shaft grave (Fig. 2)². Especially, the group of soldiers on the right side closely resembles the hunters' formation described above.



Fig. 1. Lion hunt on the blade of a dirk from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae, 16th century BC.

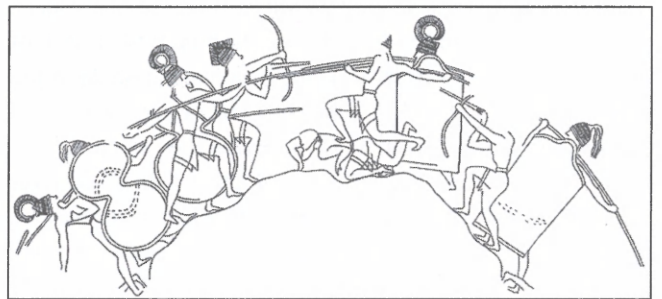


Fig. 2. Combat scene on the silver battle krater from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae, 16th century BC.

The soldiers clash on the battle field as the hunters and the lion clash in the said hunting scene, in accordance with the existent iconographic pattern. The only difference between the warriors and the hunters is that the latter do not wear helmets.

Concerning the hunt, it is rather the lion to win a victory, considering that it is the central figure of the whole composition and it has already killed one of the hunters lying on the ground. This scene may be therefore interpreted as an allegory in which a hero in the disguise of a lion defeats his enemies. It also brings to mind many allegoric battle scenes in *Iliad*. Suffice it to mention here two examples. As Agamemnon attacks, he is compared to a lion that kills young deer. The Greek king is made into a fierce lion which chases after the young of his prey. He is so fierce that the Trojans cannot defend themselves against him. They can merely try to run away from the rampaging king (*Iliad* 11.113-121). On another occasion, no Trojan's heart was brave enough to fight against Menelaus, who attacked as a mountain lion snatching the finest heifer from a grazing herd, "while around it dogs and herdsmen cry out in distress, again and again, but at a dis-

¹ P. Cassola Guida, *Le armi difensive dei Micenei nelle figurazioni*, "Incunabula Graeca", LVI, Roma 1973, pp. 117-118 (no. 4), with references.

² A. Sakellariou, *Un cratère d'argent avec scène de bataille provenant de la IV^e tombe de Mycènes*, [in:] *Atti e memorie del 10 Congresso internazionale di micenologia*, vol. I, Roma 1968, pp. 262-265; ead., *Un cratère d'argent avec scène de bataille provenant de la IV^e tombe de l'acropole de Mycènes*, "Antike Kunst", 17, 1974, pp. 3-20, with references; F. Blakolmer, *The Silver Battle Krater from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae: Evidence of Fighting "Heroes" on Minoan Palace Walls at Knossos?*, [in:] *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology*, eds. R. Laffineur, S. Morris "Aegaeum", 28, Liège 2007, pp. 213-224.

tance, unwilling to confront the beast, pale in the grip of fear” (*Iliad* 17.77-86). The heroic combat with a lion is attested in Aegean and Near Eastern iconography until the end of the Bronze Age and later on. A good example is a swordsman fighting a lion on a 12th century BC ivory mirror handle from Kouklia, Cyprus (Fig. 3)³. Thus, the Homeric comparisons to the victorious lion and the lion hunt refer to the Mycenaean tradition, still alive in the Greek world in the time of the composition of *Iliad*.

Other hunting scenes from the early phase of the Mycenaean period appear realistic, for example, a stag hunt with an archer shooting arrows from the speeding chariot on a gold ring from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (Fig. 4)⁴ and a boar hunt on a chalcedony stamp seal from the Vapheio tholos tomb (first half of the 15th century BC)(Fig. 5)⁵, although both representations must have also had a symbolic significance, especially the boar hunt. As mentioned above, Greek heroes are frequently compared in *Iliad* to a mountain boar as they fight off Trojans. Such big game was certainly reserved for royal or aristocratic hunters.

In the 14th and 13th centuries BC, hunting scenes belonged to the common motifs in wall paintings from the Mycenaean palaces at Tiryns and Pylos. In the boar hunt with a pack of hounds on a fresco from Tiryns the huntsman sticks a pig with a spear (Fig. 6)⁶, like on the above mentioned stamp seal from Vapheio. Another fresco from Pylos shows a man hurling a spear at a deer that stays on the other side of the river (Fig. 7)⁷. The stag hunt in the landscape with a river became a topos in the Aegean iconography. Such a scene appears, for instance, on a 13th century BC larnax from Grave 11 at Armenoi Rethymno in Crete (Fig. 8)⁸.

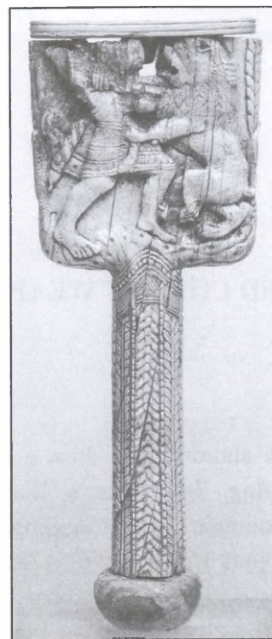


Fig. 3. Swordsman fighting a lion on an ivory mirror handle from Kouklia, Cyprus, 12th century BC.



Fig. 4. Stag hunt on a gold ring from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae, 16th century BC.

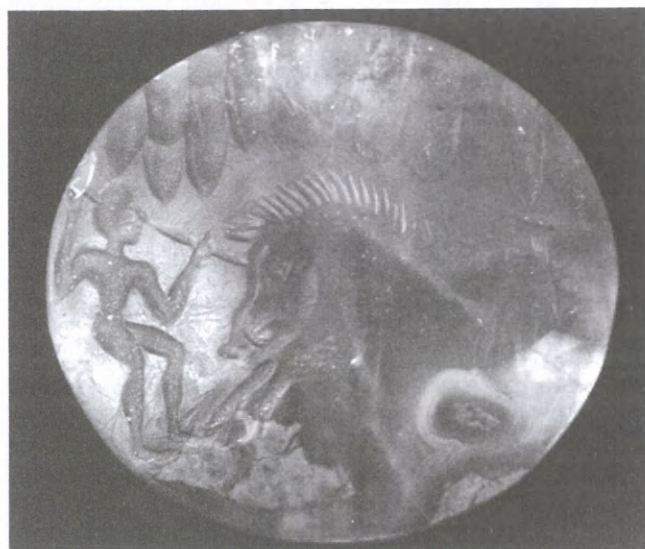


Fig. 5. Boar hunt on a chalcedony stamp seal from the Vapheio tholos tomb, first half of the 15th century BC.

³ H.G. Buchholz, V. Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkypros*, Tübingen 1971, no. 1748; J.C. Poursat, *Les ivoires mycéniens*, Paris 1977, pp. 159-160, Pl. XVI.4.

⁴ A. Sakkeliariou, *Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen*, “Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel”, I, Berlin 1964, no. 15; J.H. Crowel, *Chariots and other means of land transport in Bronze Age Greece*, “Allard Pierson Series”, 3, Amsterdam 1981, p. 158 (G2), with references.

⁵ A. Sakkeliariou, *Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel...*, no. 227; ead., *Mykenaike Sfragidoglyfia*, Athenai 1966, pp. 10, 62, Fig. 8a; *Jagd und Fischfang*, “Archaeologia Homerica”, II(J), eds. H.G. Buchholz, G. Jöhrens, I. Maull, Göttingen 1973, p. 77, Fig. 22. See also J. Borchhardt, *Homerische Helme. Helmformen der Ägäis in ihren Beziehungen zu orientalischen und europäischen Helmen in der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit*, Mainz a. Rhein 1972, p. 31 (cat. 3) for other representations of the boar hunt in Mycenaean iconography.

⁶ G. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns II: Die Fresken des Palastes*, Athens 1912, pp. 125ff.; F. Matz, *Kreta, Mykene, Troja. Die minoische und die homerische Welt*, Stuttgart 1956, Pl. 102.

⁷ P. Cassola Guida, *Le armi difensive dei Micenei...*, p. 127 (no. 24a), Pl. XX.1.

⁸ C. Long, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus: A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Funerary Practices and Beliefs*, “Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology”, XLI, Göteborg 1974, pp. 24, 36, 40, 56, 61, Fig. 40.

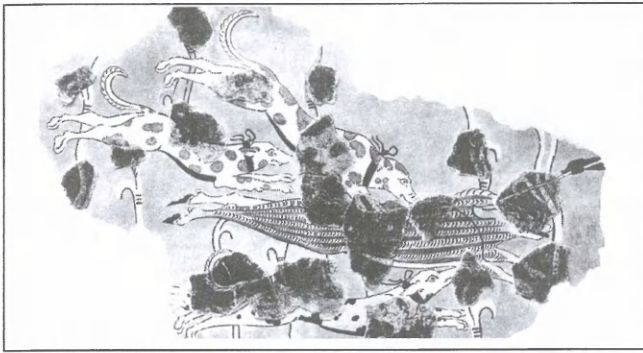


Fig. 6. Boar hunt with a pack of hounds on a fresco from the palace at Tiryns, 14th century BC.



Fig. 7. Stag hunt on a fresco from the palace at Pylos, 13th century BC.



Fig. 8. Stag hunt on a larnax from Grave 11 at Armenoi Rethymno, Crete, 13th century BC.

Contemporaneously, the boar and stag hunt is attested in Hittite iconography. On a votive bronze bowl from Kınık-Kastamonu, offered by an aristocrat named Taprammi, a contemporary of king Tuthaliya IV (second half of the 13th century BC), stag-hunting and pig-sticking are depicted in two registers below the rim on the inside of the bowl (Fig. 9)⁹. The archer with a tame stag, shooting arrows at a herd of deer, is easily recognizable as the Stag-god Kurunti(ya), who is named ^DLAMMA LİL/*gimraš* ^DLAMMA or CERVUS₃ DEUS.*463-*ti* (the Tutelary God or the Stag-god/Kurunti(ya) of the Countryside) in Hittite cuneiform texts and in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions respectively¹⁰. A seal impression of the same Taprammi from Nişantepe in the Hittite capital Hattuša shows him pouring a libation to the Stag-god of the King¹¹. The hunting scenes on the Taprammi bowl have parallels in relief scenes on the city walls in Alacahöyük from the very end of the Hittite kingdom (last decades of the 13th century BC)(Fig. 10)¹².

The Tutelary God of the Countryside appears also (with his consort Ala) in the text of the EMIRGAZI altars from the times of Tuthaliya IV¹³, as well as in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the first millennium BC¹⁴. The hunting aspect of the Stag-god is emphasized in the new EMIRGAZI fragment and the YALBURT block (10 § 4-5), referring to king Tuthaliya IV: “The Stag-god loves(?), and I (am) Hero,

⁹ K. Emre, A. Çınaroglu, *A Group of Metal Hittite Vessels from Kınık-Kastamonu*, [in:] *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors, Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, eds. M.J. Melink, E. Porada, T. Özgüç, Ankara 1993, pp. 684ff. and Fig. 23; R.M. Czichon, *Zur Komposition der Taprammi-Schale*, “Istanbuler Mitteilungen”, 45, 1994, pp. 5-12; C. Mora, *Three Metal Bowls*, [in:] *Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol’a Armağan. VITA: Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*, eds. M. Alparslan, M. Doğan-Alparslan, H. Peker, Istanbul 2007, p. 516. For Taprammi, see L. D’Alfonso, *Le procedure giudiziarie ittite in Siria (XIII sec. A.C.)*, “Studia Mediterranea”, 17, Pavia 2005, pp. 169-170 note 616.

¹⁰ G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities*, “Assyriological Studies”, 25, Chicago 1991, pp. 44ff.; J.D. Hawkins, *The Stag-God of the Countryside and Related Problems*, [in:] *Indo-European Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies*, ed. J.H.W. Penney, Oxford 2004, pp. 355-369.

¹¹ S. Herboldt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit*, “Bogazköy-Hattusa”, XIX, Berlin 2005, no. 409.

¹² P. Taracha, *The Iconographic Program of the Reliefs on the Town Walls in Alacahöyük*, forthcoming.

¹³ J.D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)*, “Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten”, Beiheft 3, Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 86ff.; id., *Tudhaliya the Hunter*, [in:] *The Life and Times of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12-13 December 2003, Leiden*, ed. Th.P.J. van den Hout, Leiden 2006, pp. 54ff.

¹⁴ M. Hutter, *Der «Schutzgott der Flur» in hieroglyphen-luwischen Texten*, [in:] *Studia Anatolica et Varia: Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun*, “Collection KUBABA, Série Antiquité”, VI, eds. M. Mazoyer, O. Casabonne, vol. I, Paris 2004, pp. 381-391.

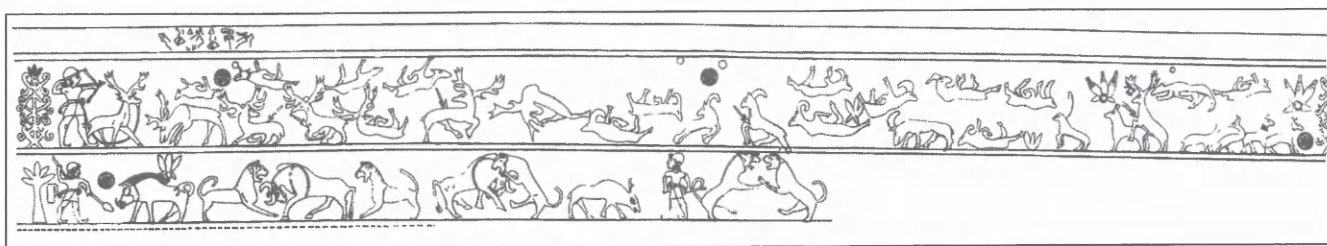


Fig. 9. Boar and stag hunt on the Hittite bowl of Taprammi from Kınık-Kastamonu, 13th century BC.

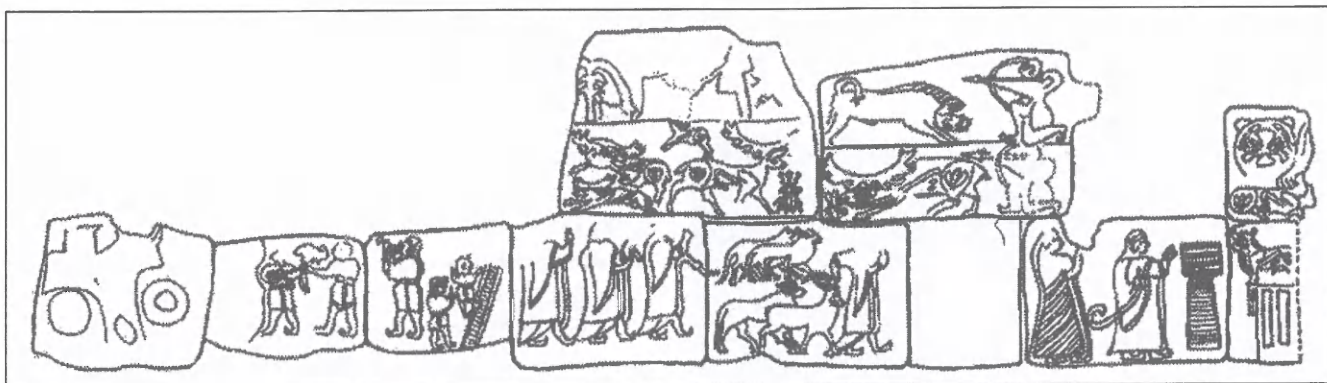


Fig. 10. Hittite reliefs on the city walls in Alacahöyük (reconstruction), last decades of the 13th century BC.

Field-Master(?), Hunter(?), Great King¹⁵. A distant echo of this 13th century BC topos can be found in the 8th century BC BOHÇA inscription (§4-5), itself apparently celebrating a successful hunt: “I am good to Runtiya, here he grants to me the beasts (as?) *samaya* (or: the *samaya* beasts)”¹⁶.

This textual evidence proves the religious aspect of big game hunting and its being reserved for royal hunts. Presumably, this is also the case of the Mycenaean hunt, as suggested by Homer, even though, due to the lack of the relevant Linear B texts, it is difficult to interpret a very probable, symbolic aspect of the hunting scenes on the wall paintings from Tiryns and Pylos.

A fresco fragment from the palace at Tiryns will be a good starting point in the following discussion of the topic of this paper (Fig. 11). It shows an aristocratic hunter on the march, with two light spears against his left shoulder¹⁷. The question is whether the set of two spears was primarily used in hunting or on the battle field. Unfortunately, the iconographic evidence known to date is rather scarce.

The set of two spears as combat weapons is attested in the Aegean iconography as early as the mid 15th century BC on the well-known fresco of the Captain of the Blacks from the palace at Knossos¹⁸. On the above mentioned 14th century BC wall paintings from Tiryns the two spears are wielded by hunters only. Later on, however, they mostly occur in combat contexts again, which is certainly due to our limited source basis. On Late Helladic IIIC vases from Tiryns and Lefkandi (12th century BC) not only the infantry but also the chariot crews are occasionally armed with two spears¹⁹, on account of the fact that the chariot units in the late Mycenaean period were in reality the chariot-borne infantry.

Functional sets of two spears were also found in many Mycenaean warrior graves. Suffice it to mention here the burial assemblages from chamber tombs 47 and 77 at Mycenae²⁰,

¹⁸ P. Cassola Guida, *Le armi difensive dei Micenei...*, pp. 121-122 (no. 11), with references; O. Höckmann, *Lanze...*, p. E288, Fig. 73.

¹⁹ O. Höckmann, *Lanze...*, pp. E288, 290, Fig. 75; V. Karageorghis, E. Vermeule, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1982, pp. 221 (XI.18&28), 223 (XI.61), with references.

²⁰ O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer im spätminoischen und mykenischen Griechenland*, “Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz”, 27, 1980, pp. 134 (D 4 & 16), 142 (G 11-13), 146 (H 30); R.A.J. Avila, *Bronzene Lanzen- und Pfeilspitzen der griechischen Spätbronzezeit*, “Prähistorische Bronzefunde”, V.1, München 1983, pp. 34 (no. 70), 38-39 (nos. 83-85), 55 (nos. 118-119); A. Xenaki-Sakkeliariou, *Hoi thalamotoi tafoi ton Mykenon. Anaskafes Ch. Tsounta (1887-1898)*, Paris 1985, pp. 121, 124 (Xλ 2480-2482), Pls. 33 & IX; p. 213 (Xλ 2937.1-4), Pls 98 & IX.

¹⁵ J.D. Hawkins, *Tudhaliya the Hunter...*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁶ J.D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Vol. I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, “Studies in Indo-European Language and Culture”, 8/1, Berlin–New York 2000, p. 479; id., *Tudhaliya the Hunter...*, p. 60.

¹⁷ P. Cassola Guida, *Le armi difensive dei Micenei...*, pp. 124 (no. 17), 126 (no. 22b), with references; O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer*, [in:] *Kriegswesen, Teil 2: Angriffswaffen*, “Archaeologia Homerica”, I(E.2), ed. H.G. Buchholz, Göttingen 1980, pp. E288-290, Fig. 74a-b; id., *Lanzen und Speere der ägäischen Bronzezeit und des Übergangs zur Eisenzeit*, [in:] H.G. Buchholz, *Ägäische Bronzezeit*, Darmstadt 1987, p. 543, Fig. 89.



Fig. 11. Mycenaean hunter wielding two spears on a fresco from the palace at Tiryns, 14th century BC.

Tragana²¹, Athens (grave 16)²², Volos (ancient Iolkos)²³, Mazaraki Zitsas in Epeirus²⁴, Diakata on Kephallenia²⁵, Asclepieum on Cos²⁶, and Kato Lakkos Archanes in Crete²⁷.

In some of these spearheads occurring in twos in the graves formal differences between the blades are observable, which allows us to assume that the function of the spears in combat was not the same. One spearhead from Mazaraki Titsas is distinguished by a midrib and an incised ornament, whereas

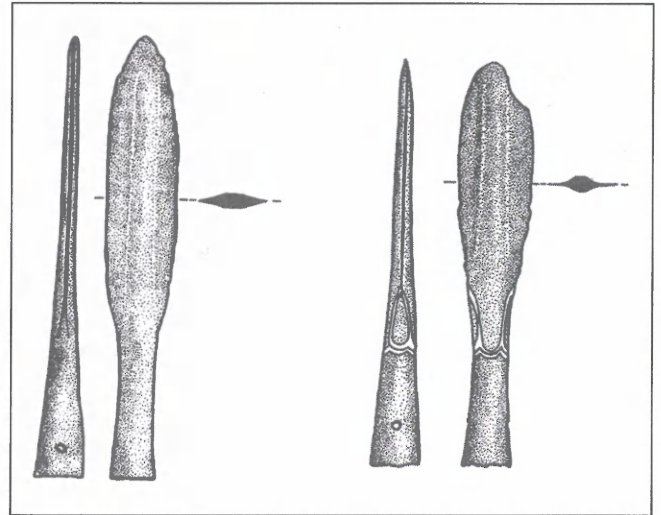


Fig. 12. Two spearheads from Mazaraki Zitsas, Epeirus, 13th century BC.

the blade of the second spearhead is flat (Fig. 12). One of the two spearheads found in the Tragana tholos tomb is decorated with a very similar motif. Yet this is the only difference between both spearheads, which are identical in shape and size as if they had been cast in one mould. The Tragana spearheads can be dated to the beginning of the 14th century BC, thus being the earliest of all the spearheads mentioned above. Concerning the two spearheads of Höckmann type D from chamber tomb 47 in the Panagia cemetery at Mycenae, Avila has pointed out that the centre of gravity in the broader one is placed in the lower part of its blade. As a result, it was much more effective as a thrusting weapon in hand-to-hand fighting than the second spear with a slender, lanceolate blade.

The set of two spears (δύο δοῦρε) that is mentioned many times in Homer was in common use in first millennium BC Greece and the way it was used in combat has been much debated in the previous literature²⁸. As said, the spearheads usually differ in size, and sometimes also in other features, for example, the centre of gravity. It has been argued that the smaller one belonged to the spear which was used also for hurling, rather like a long javelin, whereas the second spear served as a thrusting weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. On the march an infantryman very often carried them in one hand. And this is also how the two spears are wielded by the aristocratic hunter on the above mentioned fresco fragment from Tiryns (Fig. 11).

Most scholars presumed that the method of fighting with two spears had its origin in the Aegean and was introduced

²¹ O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer*, p. 136 (D 38-39); R.A.J. Avila, *Bronzene Lanzen- und Pfeilspitzen*, pp. 22-23 (nos. 44-45).

²² M.A. Pantelidou, *Hai proistorikoi Athenai*, Athenai 1975, pp. 97-106, esp. 100 (nos. 18-19), 104 Fig. 44α; O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer*, p. 146 (H 28-29); R.A.J. Avila, *Bronzene Lanzen- und Pfeilspitzen*, p. 34 (nos. 73-74).

²³ D. P. Theocharis, M. Theochari, *Ek tou nekrotafeiou tes Iolkou*, "Archaïologika Analekta ex Athenon", 3, 1970, pp. 201-202, Fig. 8; O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer*, p. 136 (D 43); R.A.J. Avila, *Bronzene Lanzen- und Pfeilspitzen*, p. 15 (no. 28).

²⁴ I. P. Vokotopoulou, *Neoi kibotioschemoi tafoi tes YE B-G periodou ex Epeirou*, "Archaïologike Efemeris", Athenai 1969, pp. 191ff., Figs. 4-6, Pl. 27; O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer*, pp. 136 (D 41), 138 (E 3); R.A.J. Avila, *Bronzene Lanzen- und Pfeilspitzen*, pp. 69-71 (nos. 143-144); Th.J. Papadopoulos, *Zum Stand der Bronzezeitforschung in Epeiros*, [in:] H.G. Buchholz, *Ägäische Bronzezeit*, Darmstadt 1987, p. 375 Fig. 97i-j.

²⁵ N. Kypris, *Kefalleniaka*, "Archaïologikon Deltion", 5, 1919, p. 120, Fig. 36; A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.*, Edinburgh 1964, p. 120 (type C); R.A.J. Avila, *Bronzene Lanzen- und Pfeilspitzen*, p. 63 (nos. 134-135).

²⁶ L. Morricone, *Coo - Scavi e scoperte nel 'Seraglio' e in località minori (1935-1943)*, "Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene", 50-51, 1972-1973, pp. 253, 256-261, Fig. 204-209; O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer*, pp. 139 (F 15), 140 (F 21).

²⁷ E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes à l'époque mycénienne*, "Bulletin de correspondance hellénique", 114/1, 1990, p. 75.

²⁸ W. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen. Archäologische Untersuchungen*, 2nd edition, Wien 1901, p. 31; H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, pp. 257ff.; A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour...*, pp. 136ff.; J.G.P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts and their Influence on Greek Warfare*, Groningen 1969, p. 5; O. Höckmann, *Lanze und Speer*, pp. 112ff.

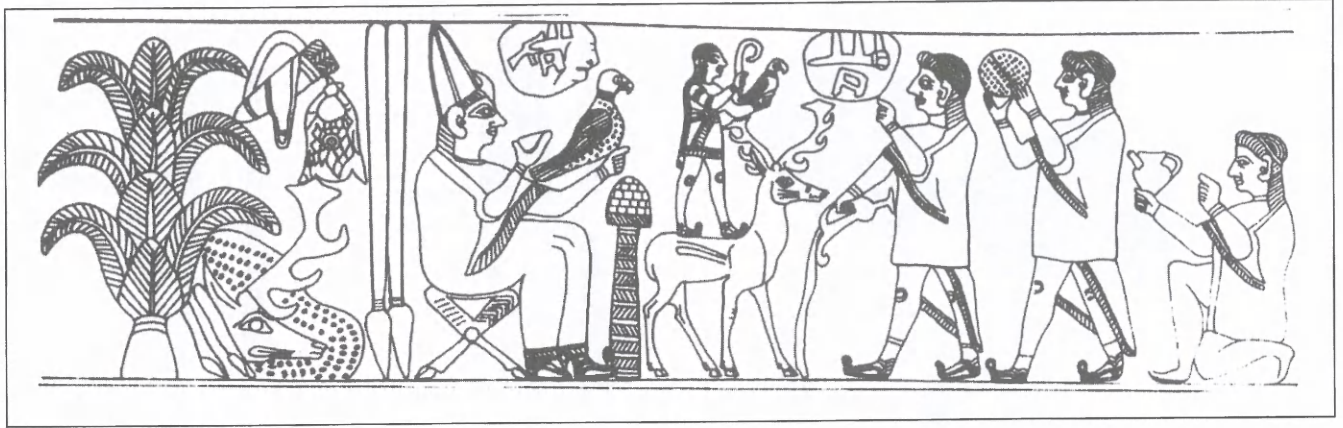


Fig. 13. Cult scene on the neck of the Hittite stag rhyton in the Schimmel collection, 14th-13th century BC.

into Syria and Palestine by the Sea People armies. As a matter of fact, apart from Seti I's relief in the Amun temple at Karnak from the first quarter of the 13th century BC, which depicts a Canaanite Shoshu tribesman grasping two spears of moderate length in his right hand, no counterparts are known to the present author in the iconography from the Ancient Near East till the beginning of the 12th century BC when Philistine warriors armed with a round shield, two spears, and a sword would appear in Egyptian reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu²⁹. Two spears were still used in Assyrian times. The orthostat reliefs from the palace of Sargon in Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) show foreign (Syrian?) warriors wielding two spears in scenes of fight (Room 5, slabs 3-4) and in a procession bringing tributes to the Assyrian king (Room 10, SW wall, slab 10)³⁰. There is iconographic evidence, however, for the set of two spears being used in Hittite Anatolia long before the Sea People appeared in the Levant, even though the spears occur here in cult scenes.

A relief frieze on the neck of the silver rhyton in the shape of a stag's forequarters from the Norbert Schimmel collection³¹ shows offerings to the Stag-god (DEUS_x. CERVUS_x)

and his consort Ala (*á-x-DEUS_x-FILIA*)³² (Fig. 13). The scene can be considered a topos, as it has counterparts in one of the (unfinished) reliefs from Alacahöyük (with a stag lying under the tree and a worshipper pouring a libation)³³ and in scenes on the well-known Hittite stamp seals in the British Museum (BM 115655), Dresden (Albertinum, ZN 1769) and Adana³⁴, which display some elements in common with the frieze: a seated goddess wearing a long robe and a horned pointed hat, whose attributes are a bird and a cup, worshippers in front of the deity, and behind her the hunt symbols – a stag (or a stag's head) lying under the tree, two upright spears, a bag, and a quiver. Unique to the rhyton is the Stag-god of the Countryside, who precedes the seated goddess. Worthy of notice here is also a Hittite text KBo 54.143 from the second half of the 13th century BC³⁵ that describes a cult ceremony, in the course of which spears were placed(?) in front of a deity (rev.? 2'). Further, the text reads (rev.? 8'-9'): *nu ANA GIŠŠUKUR^{III A} GIŠ^{eyan} GAM-an išpara[nzi] / nu=kan ANA ^DLAMMA I MAŠ.GAL šipandanz[i]* "By the spears they spread underneath (branches of?) the *eya*-tree and offer a billy-goat to the LAMMA god."

All in all, it can be suggested that the similar sets of two light spears were synchronously used in hunting and war in the Aegean and Hittite Anatolia alike as early as the mid second millennium BC. The question is, however, whether the same spears could have been used on both occasions. The iconographic and archaeological evidence at our disposal seems to contradict such an assumption. The hunting spears on the wall painting from Tiryns (Fig. 11) are strikingly similar to

²⁹ Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study*, London 1963, pp. 233, 250-251, 336-337; *The Battle Reliefs of King Seti I. The Epigraphic Survey*, Chicago 1986, Pl. 3.

³⁰ P. Albenda, *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria*, Paris 1986, p. 85, Pls. 31(lower), 94 & 95.

³¹ *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, ed. O.W. Muscarella, Mainz 1974, no. 123; S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels. Kultanlagen im Lichte der Keilschrifttexte*, "Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları", VI/23, Ankara 1983, pp. 93ff.; id., *Einige weitere Bemerkungen zum Hirschrhyton der Norbert Schimmel-Sammlung*, [in:] *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, "Eothen", 1, ed. F. Imparati, Firenze 1988, pp. 17-23; H.G. Güterbock, *A Note on the Frieze of the Stag Rhyton in the Schimmel Collection*, [in:] *Akurgal'a Armagan. Festschrift Akurgal*, vol. 2 (= "Anadolu" [Anatolia], 22, 1981-1983 [1989]), ed. C. Bayburtluoğlu, pp. 1-5; P. Taracha, *Two Spears on the Stag Rhyton in the Schimmel Collection*, "Archivum Anatolicum", 2, 1996, pp. 71-77.

³² For the reading of the gold epigraphs on this rhyton, see J.D. Hawkins, *Tudhaliya the Hunter...*, p. 52.

³³ E. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der kleinasiatische Gott der Wildflur*, "Istanbuler Mitteilungen", 38, 1988, pp. 70, 71 Fig. 3; H.G. Güterbock, *Hittite kursa 'Hunting Bag'*, [in:] *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, eds. A. Leonard, B.B. Williams, Chicago 1989, p. 119, Pl. 19.

³⁴ H.G. Güterbock, *Hittite kursa...*, pp. 113-114, with references.

³⁵ Cited earlier as unpublished 245/v, see P. Taracha, *Two Spears...*, p. 74, with references.

those depicted on the Hittite stag rhyton (Fig. 13). The heads of the two spears in each of the sets differ slightly in size and shape. Additionally, the method of fixing the head to the shaft by means of a thong or cord, as it is discernible in both representations, appears not suitable for fastening socketed spearheads. Significantly, all the spearheads found in the Mycenaean warrior graves belong to the latter type, an indication that they were part of the combat weapons. In contradistinction to them, the hunting spears are likely to have had shoe-socketed or tang spearheads.

Streszczenie

Wojenna symbolika łowów, znana z dzieł Homera, Ksenofonta i innych autorów greckich i rzymskich, poświadczona jest w sztuce mykeńskiej od XVI wieku przed Chr., przykładowo, w scenie alegorycznej na sztylcie z IV. grobu szybowego w Mykenach, w której bohater pod postacią lwa pokonuje swoich wrogów/myśliwych. W XIV i XIII wieku przed Chr. polowanie na dziki i jelenie pojawia się jako częsty motyw zarówno na malowidłach ściennych w pałacach mykeńskich, jak i w ikonografii hetyckiej. Hetyckie źródła pisane i ikonograficzne potwierdzają aspekt religijny łowów na grubą zwierzynę, która była zarezerwowana głównie dla polowań królewskich.

Zestaw dwóch lekkich oszczepów, o którym wielokrotnie wspomina Homer, był używany w walce i na łowach zarówno w Egei, jak i w Anatolii już w połowie II tysiąclecia przed Chr. Oszczepty bojowe z brązowymi grotami z tuleją znajdowano w wielu mykeńskich grobach wojowników. Oszczepty myśliwskie, znane z ikonografii, najprawdopodobniej różniły się od nich formą grotu z trzpieniem lub pochawką na liściu, który przywiązywano do drzewca sznurem lub rzemieniem.

