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). In this scene a phalanx-like formation composed of heavy infantry armed with long spears (éyxoç) and large body shields (σάκοι) 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). Especially, the group of soldiers on the right side closely resembles the hunters' formation described above.

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). 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) and a boar hunt on a chalcedony stamp seal from the Vapheio tholos tomb (first half of the 15th century BC)(Fig. 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 the 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), 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). 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).

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3 A. Sakkelariou, Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel..., no. 227; ed., Mykenaie Sfragidogyfia, Athanai 1966, pp. 10, 62, Fig. 8a; Jagd und Fischfang, “Archaeologia Homerica”, 10(1), eds. H.G. Buchholz, G. Jährens, 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.
5 P. Cassola Guida, Le armi difensive dei Micenei..., p. 127 (no. 24a), Pl. XX.1.
Contemporaneously, the boar and stag hunt is attested in Hittite iconography. On a votive bronze bowl from Kimik-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). 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 ٣LAMMA LIL/γιμρας ٣LAMMA or CERVUS, DEUS.*463-ti (the Tutelary God or the Stag-god/Kurunti(ya) of the Countryside) in Hittite cuneiform texts and in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions respectively. 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 King. 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).

The Tutelary God of the Countryside appears also (with his consort Ala) in the text of the EMIRGAZI altars from the times of Tuthaliya IV, as well as in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the first millennium BC. 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, ...

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.


Field-Master(?), Hunter(?), Great King". 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)".

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 shoulder. 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 Knossos. 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 IIIIC vases from Tiryns and Lefkandi (12th century BC) not only the infantry but also the chariot crews are occasionally armed with two spears, 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 Mycenae.

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18 P. Cassola Guida, Le armi offensive 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.
HUNTING AND COMBAT WEAPONS IN THE MYCENAEAN WORLD AND HITTITE ANATOLIA

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


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 Zitsas is distinguished by a midrib and an incised ornament, whereas

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 δώρα) 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 literature24. 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

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22 M.A. Pantelidou, Hai proisistoroi Athenai, Athenai 1975, pp. 97-106, esp. 100 (nos. 18-19), 104 Fig. 44a; O. Höckmann, Lanze und Speer, p. 146 (H 28-29); R.A.J. Avila, Bronzene Lanzen- und Pfeilspitzen, p. 34 (nos. 73-74).
24 I. P. Vokotopoulu, Neai kibiotioschemoi tafoi tes YE B-G periodou ex Epeirou, “Archaiologike Efemeras”, 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. 97-i.
25 N. Kyparissis, Kefalleniaka, “Archaiologikon 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).
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 (Room 3, SW wall, slab 10)9. 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 collection10 shows offerings to the Stag-god (DEUS, CERVUS,) and his consort Ala (D-DEUS,-FILIA)2 (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)3 and in scenes on the well-known Hittite stamp seals in the British Museum (BM 115655), Dresden (Albertinum, ZN 1769) and Adana4, 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 BC5 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 GISUKUR̄HA GISeyan GAM-an ispara[ra]/ /nu=kan ANA dLAMMA 1 MAS.GAL sipandanz[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

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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 sztylecie 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. Oszczepy bojowe z brązowymi grotami z tuleją znajdowano w wielu mykeńskich grobach wojowników. Oszczepy myśliwskie, znane z ikonografii, najprawdopodobniej różniły się od nich formą grotu z trzpieniem lub pochewką na liściu, który przywiązywano do drzewa sznurem lub rzemieniem.