

The curved staff in the Ancient Near East as a predecessor of the Etruscan *lituus*

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INTRODUCTION*

Everywhere and at all times, herdsmen have used crooks to catch animals of their flocks by the legs or horns. Presumably, such staffs were also used quite early as symbols of power or as ritual instruments, whereby their users may not always have been conscious of the fact that they were using implements of pastoral origin - even if the conception of rulers as the shepherds of their people is widespread. The herdsmen did not stop using them when their crooks became models for ritual implements and sceptres. For that reason, one could always fall back on contemporary herdsmen's staffs, which may have often stood at one's disposal as models in various forms. This can be illustrated by a look at the herdsmen's staffs of the 20th century. A staff resembling an elongated walking-stick (fig. 1)¹ is particularly common, while a shepherd's crook still in use in Germany today resembles quite exactly the Egyptian *heqat*-scepter (fig. 2).²

It has been repeatedly surmised that the curved staff - in particular, the Hittite curved staff - could have been a model for the Etrusco-Roman *lituus*.³ But no-one has ever ventured beyond this sort of general supposition, and this question only then becomes really interesting when one

concerns oneself more closely with it. Are all of these staffs derived from a single model? What were they used for, when, and by whom? Did their purpose change with their adoption in the West?

This type of investigation cannot be carried out by a single discipline alone. Logically, it is subdivided into at least two chapters: an older, Eastern one, with which we begin, and a later, Etruscan chapter, for which - as always in Etruscology - the almost complete lack of literary sources makes itself sorely felt.

THE CURVED STAFF IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

A curved staff, a crook, is attested in Mesopotamia as well as in Syria and in Anatolia (fig. 3) as a cultic tool used by ritual experts, kings, and gods. In Mesopotamia, the curved staff used in cultic and ritual context is called *gamlu* in Akkadian (that is, Babylonian-Assyrian). In Anatolia, the crook is named *kalmuš* in Hittite. These staffs might have originally been the tools of a shepherd or a hunter.

Since various kinds of sceptres and staffs, straight and curved, are attested in the Ancient Near East both in the written sources and in the archaeological record, it goes without saying, that it is often quite difficult to identify the shape and features of a specific staff and to correlate the written and the archaeological evidence.

The curved staff as cultic tool in Mesopotamia

The curved staff is attested in Mesopotamia as a cultic tool of ritual experts, gods, and kings. In Akkadian, this crook is called *gamlu*, in Sumerian *gàm*, *zubi* or *zubu*.⁴ If we take a look in detail at the many curved staffs attested in the archaeological record which can be identified as *gamlu* on the basis of the textual evidence, we will see that these staffs show different lengths and differently formed curves. The *gamlu* was made of wood, but could be plated with metal.⁵ The characteristic feature of the *gamlu* was its purpose and its inherent quality: The *gamlu* was a characteristic ritual weapon of the exorcist, which he used for repelling evil forces and for purifying. In lexical lists, a

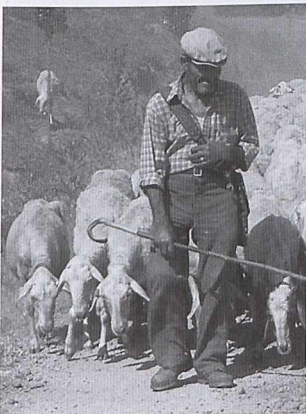


Fig. 1. Shepherd near Boadilla, Spain (photo U. Franke).

Fig. 2. Shepherd near Heidelberg, Germany (photo K. Katzenberger-Ruf).

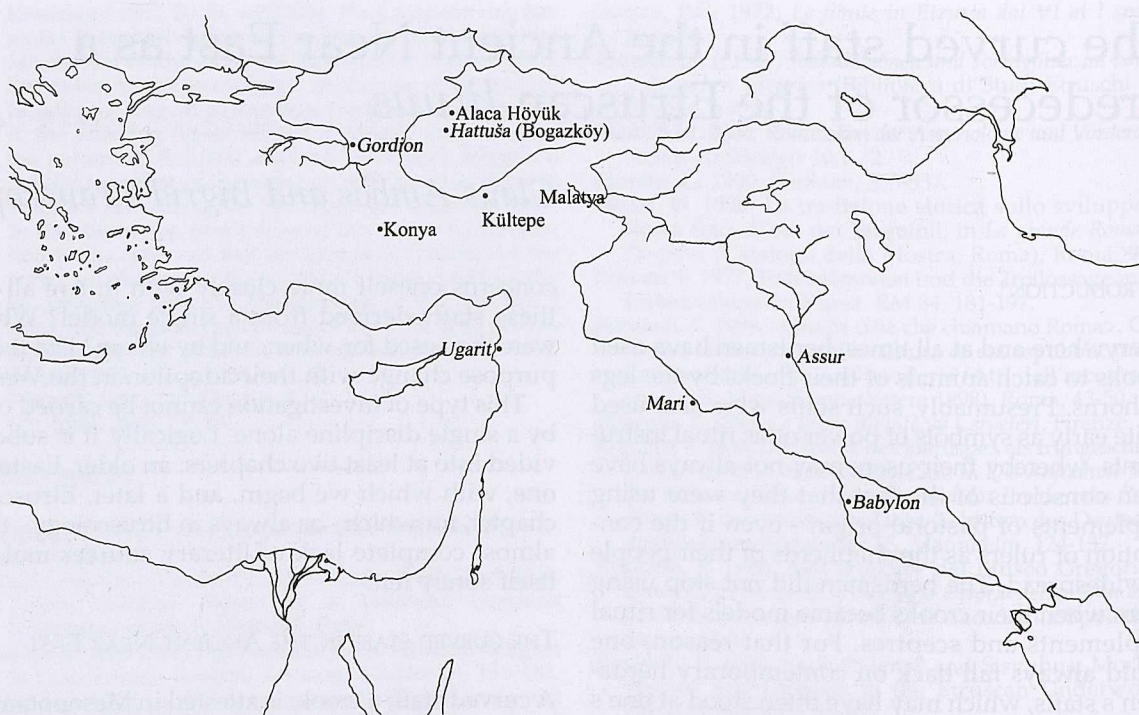


Fig. 3. Map of the Near East. Toponyms transmitted in the languages of the Cuneiform or Classical tradition are rendered in italics (map by C. Ambos).

Sumerian term to designate the exorcist is 'Man carrying the crook in his hand'.⁶

The archetypal ritual experts were mythical sages called *apkallu*. These *apkallu* were of human, bird-like or fish-like appearance. On a Kassite seal from the second half of the 2nd millennium BC, a fish-*apkallu* is shown with a crook (fig. 4).⁷ Given the fact that according to the texts a curved staff *gamlu* was the characteristic tool of the exorcist, this crook in the hands of the *apkallu* can be identified as a representation of a *gamlu*.

The *gamlu* was wielded by kings and gods in ritual and cultic contexts. According to the ritual series *Šurpu* from the 1st millennium BC, the god Amurru and his manifestation AN.AN.MAR.TU in their quality as purifier and exorcist carried the crook together with the *banduddû*-vessel which contained the holy water:⁸

'Amurru (and) AN.AN.MAR.TU, who carry the *gamlu*-crook (and) the *banduddû*-bucket, the purifier and exorcist of heaven and earth.'

Similar information is already obtained from an Old Babylonian seal legend from the first half of the 2nd millennium BC:⁹

'AN.AN.MAR.TU, who carries the pure crook in his hand, who releases from sin.'

Indeed, according to an Old Babylonian text from Mari (in present-day Syria), a representation of the god Amurru is described as wielding the *gamlu*-crook.¹⁰ Amurru is represented on Old-Babylonian cylinder seals with a crook or even two crooks, one in each hand, which can be identified as *gamlu* according to the textual evidence (figs 5-6).¹¹

The textual evidence makes clear that the *gamlu* had the inherent quality to purify and to release from sin. Interestingly, there is also known a tool of the exorcist which bore the Sumerian name 'release-wood' (*ġiš-búr*). This term is explained by the Akkadian word *gamlu*.¹² We may assume that 'release-wood' and *gamlu* are only different terms for one and the same exorcist's tool.

The *gamlu* is also attested as attribute of apotropaic figurines which were deposited in a building to defend it and its inhabitants against demons and external evil influences. According to ritual texts, the statuette of the protective deity of a house was to hold a *gamlu* in order to guard the building.¹³

The *gamlu* is also attested as a weapon of the god Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon. According to the texts, the constellation *gamlu* was the 'weapon of the hand of Marduk'.¹⁴ Indeed Marduk is depicted with a curved staff (fig. 7).¹⁵ Also the god Assur, the head of the Assyrian pan-

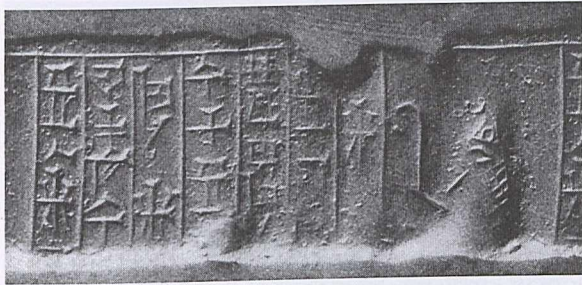


Fig. 4. A fish-apkallu, the archetypal exorcist, lifting the crook (*gamlu*). Representation on a Kassite cylinder seal (Porada 1948, no 581).



Fig. 5. The god Amurru wielding the crook (*gamlu*). Representation on an Old Babylonian cylinder seal (Kupper 1961, fig. 7).



Fig. 6. The god Amurru wielding two curved staffs. Representation on an Old Babylonian cylinder seal (Kupper 1961, fig. 23).

theon, is depicted with a crook.¹⁶ We know that likewise the goddess Ištar as well as the god Sîn of Amurru wielded the *gamlu*.¹⁷ Sîn was the moon

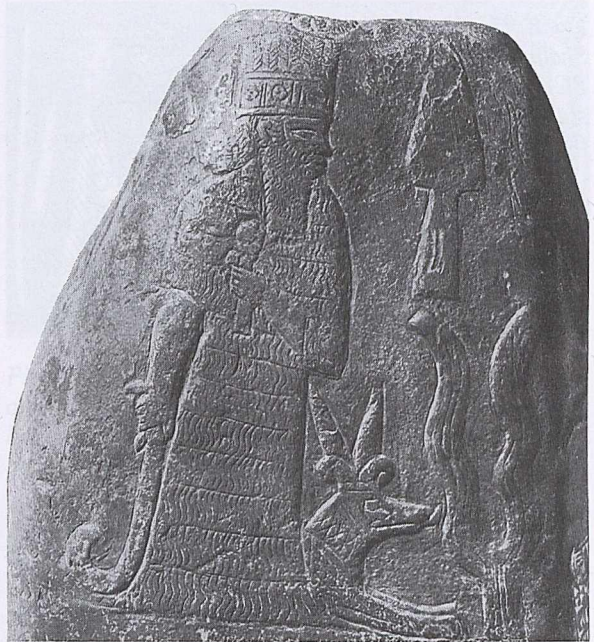


Fig. 7. The god Marduk carrying the crook (*gamlu*). Representation on a 'boundary stone' (*kudurru*) of the Babylonian king Meli-Šipak (King 1912, pl. XXI).

god, and his connection to the curved staff may be the similarity of the crescent moon to the curve of a crook. In Ugarit, the god Hilāl, the new moon, is named 'lord of the crook' (*b'l gml*).¹⁸

The king held the crook during the performance of exorcistic rituals to defend himself against evil demons. The *gamlu* was not part of his royal *insignia*, as were other kinds of staffs such as the 'sceptre' (*ḥaṭṭu*) or the 'staff' (*šibirru*).¹⁹ The different contexts in which these different kinds of staffs were carried by the king can be demonstrated by their use in the ritual 'House of sprinkling water' (*bīt salā'mē*), a ritual of investiture for the Babylonian king in order to prepare him for his presence at the New Year's festival during the autumn equinox.²⁰ In front of the rising sun, the king underwent an investiture with his royal regalia in a complex of reed buildings in the steppe and was purified by being sprinkled with water (hence the ritual's name). Among the *insignia* given to him were the crown, the bow, the mace, and also the 'sceptre' (*ḥaṭṭu*) and the 'staff' (*šibirru*).

After this investiture in the steppe the ruler returned to his palace. There followed some exorcistic rituals which should remove every kind of impurity from the body of the king. The king received a *gamlu* from the exorcist and recited the incantation 'I have lifted my crooks!', which will be discussed in detail below. Then he directed a

Fig. 8. The Assyrian king Shalmaneser III. (858-824 BC) with a short curved staff (Strommenger 1970, fig. 5).

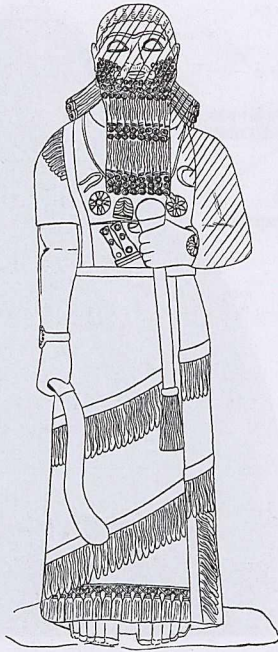
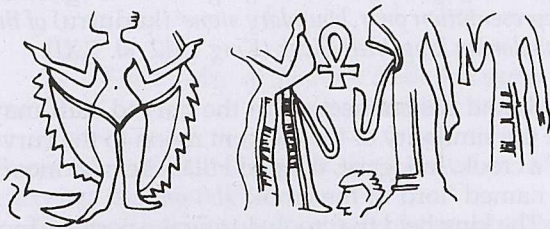


Fig. 9. Seal from Karahöyük: Worshipper approaching a deity. Both figures do carry a crook the curve of which is pointing downward (Otto 2000, fig. 258).



short prayer to the beer god in his capacity as 'the one who relaxes god and man'. This prayer implied a kind of magic analogy: just as alcohol had a 'relaxing' effect on mind and body, so the king wanted to be 'released' from his sins and impurity. The Akkadian (Babylonian-Assyrian) word used here (*pašāru*) means both 'to relax' and 'to release'. After pleading with the beer god for release, the king performed a beer-related act which would indeed release him from all physical remnants of sin and impurity attached to his body: He touched a fermenting vat and by doing so transmitted all his impurity into this vessel from which it could not escape and where it would be fermented.

Sceptre (*ḥaṭṭu*) and staff (*šibirru*) were carried by the king during his investiture with his *insignia*, the crook *gamlu*, however, only during the following exorcistic ritual.

The *gamlu*-crook as a ritual tool did not belong to the regalia which the king wielded in order to rule his people. Note for example how the *ḥaṭṭu*-sceptre and the *šibirru*-staff are characterized in royal inscriptions. 'The just *ḥaṭṭu*-sceptre that extends the realm, the merciless *šibirru*-staff for the

destruction of the enemies he (the god Assur) put into my hand' declares the Assyrian king Sennacherib (704-681 BC).²¹ King Tukulti-Ninurta I. (1243-1207 BC) characterizes himself as 'the one who shepherded his land in green pastures with his beneficent *šibirru*-staff'.²² So these sceptres and staffs had a very different quality in comparison to the *gamlu* which released from sin and purified.

From textual evidence we know that Old-Babylonian kings made images of themselves carrying the crook. King Ammiditana (1683-1647 BC) introduced into Ebabbar, the temple of the sun god Utu/Šamaš, a statue of his majesty which held a curved staff of gold.²³ His successor Ammišaduqa (1646-1626 BC), introduced into Ebabbar for the sun god Utu/Šamaš a statue of his sovereignty, which held a curved staff of gold.²⁴ Statues from temple precincts are representing Neo-Assyrian kings from the 1st millennium BC who hold a short crook, its curve lowered towards the ground (fig. 8). This crook may well be the *gamlu*.²⁵

From the textual record we know that the crook was 'raised' or 'lifted' when it was in use. The following lines are from the ritual *Šurpu* and describe the use of the crook in the ritual (*Šurpu* Tablet VIII ll. 1-5):²⁶

Incantation: I have lifted my crooks, I release you.

Asalluhi, king of the gods, Marduk, lord of life, the big merciless weapon(s) may release you, may absolve you, redressor of the wronged man (and) woman, merciless, raging, furious weapon, *šibbu*-disease, plague, death(-demon), wind and lightning of Marduk may release you, may absolve you.

This fits well with the archaeological evidence. The *gamlu* can indeed be depicted lifted (i.e. curve pointing upward; figs 4-6), indicating that its bearer is involved in a ritual performance. It can, however, also be shown lowered toward the ground (i.e. its curve pointing downward; figs 7-8). In this case, the crook was apparently not in actual use.

The crook in Syria and Anatolia in the first half of the 2nd millennium

Some attestations of the crook called *gamlu* from Syria (Mari and Ugarit) were mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Representations of curved staffs are well attested in the archaeological record, especially on cylinder seals. Seals in Syrian styles have not only been found in Syria proper, but also in neighbouring regions as for example Anatolia.²⁷



Fig. 10. Sitting deity lifting a curved staff. Before the sitting god stands a woman (presumably a goddess), behind him stands a worshipper with a crook (Otto 2000, fig. 398).



Fig. 11. Seal from Kültepe: Standing man wearing a long garment and lifting a curved staff, woman with long hair lifting a twig, and kneeling nude hero (Otto 2000, fig. 185).

The various styles, their regional distribution and their chronology as well as the motives attested on the seals have been studied in detail by A. Otto.²⁸

On the extant representations, various types of curved staffs are held in a characteristic way by persons of different position in specific situations.

A recurrent motif depicted on seals is a worshipper carrying a crook in a characteristic position. It is held with its curve pointing down and forward. This position is attested for worshipping kings as well as for other worshippers. The worshipping person has as a rule the other hand raised before the mouth.²⁹ Interesting is a seal found at Karahöyük (near Konya) in Anatolia. It shows a worshipper presenting himself to a bigger standing person, presumably a deity. Both worshipper and deity wield a crook with their curves pointing down and forward. The worshipper has raised the other hand before his mouth; the other arm of the deity hangs down alongside the body (fig. 9).³⁰

A curved staff is in fact well attested among the *insignia* of deities, but as a rule it is lifted in front of the body with its curve pointing upward. In this way are represented gods sitting on a throne



Fig. 12. Two nude males standing opposite each other; one of them carries a curved staff, the other one a twig; between them is a censer; a third nude male carries a twig, too (Otto 2000, fig. 264).

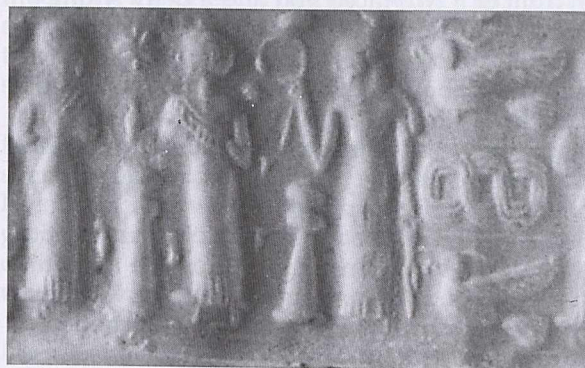


Fig. 13. A woman wearing a wig lifts a curved staff. Before her are standing two males opposite each other; between them and also before the woman censers can be seen (Otto 2000, fig. 252).

(fig. 10).³¹ Interesting are representations of two persons (gods?) sitting enthroned directly facing each other; both of them are lifting a crook in front of the body. Between them is placed an incense burner.³²

Often the accurate identification and explanation of motives, figures and scenarios depicted on the seals remains vague or even speculative. Difficult to classify are representations of standing men clad in long garments lifting a crook in front of their body (fig. 11).³³ These men might be humans, heroes or gods. Also attested are representations of two nude males standing opposite each other, separated only by an altar or censer (fig. 12). One of the men lifts a twig, the other one a curved staff.³⁴ It is not clear whether these nudes are humans or rather supernatural beings. Also women can carry a crook which they lift in front of their body; these females might be priestesses or goddesses (fig. 13).³⁵



In this context should be mentioned the stamp-cylinder seals (perhaps from Cilicia) of the so-called Tyszkiewicz-group from about the 18th/17th centuries. On these seals worshipping persons with crooks pointing down and forward appear in front of a two-faced god and a deity sitting on a throne. The deity enthroned seems to raise several short crooks in his hand (fig. 14).³⁶ A stamp seal from about the 17th century BC, allegedly from Boğazköy, has eight facets on its sides; on one facet, a person is depicted wielding no less than two long crooks, one pointing back and downward, one pointing forward (fig. 15).³⁷

In spite of all the difficulties of interpretation of the representations depicted on the seals discussed here, it becomes clear that curved staffs and the positions in which they were carried must have been important elements of cultic interaction and communication.

The crook in the Hittite world

Several kinds of crooks are attested in the Hittite archaeological record. Likewise are various kinds of sceptres and staffs attested in the texts. Hittite gods and the Hittite king wielded a long crook which was termed *kalmuš*.³⁸ This *kalmuš* was a wooden staff, which could be plated or decorated with precious metal.³⁹ The Hittite empire existed in the middle and the second half of the 2nd millennium BC. In the archaeological record, however, a crook used in ritual context is already attested in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC (see above) and still in the Late Hittite kingdoms after the end of the Hittite empire shortly after 1200 BC.

Sometimes the long crook *kalmuš* is interpreted as having been originally a shepherd's tool.⁴⁰ There is also attested a much shorter crook which was used as a tool for hawking. This short curved staff was used by the falconer as a kind of throwing stick to flush the hunted animal which was then chased and killed by the hawk. These two kinds of curved staffs, the long *kalmuš* and the falconer's crook, should be distinguished. That the long

Fig. 14. The Tyszkiewicz seal (Boehmer/Güterbock 1987, fig. 24a1.

Fig. 15. Person wielding two crooks on a seal allegedly from Boğazköy (Boehmer/Güterbock 1987, fig. 24c1).

crook had originally been a falconer's tool seems rather improbable. It is interesting, however, that the curve of long crook carried by king Muršili III. (ca 1272-1265 BC), as attested on seal impressions, ends in the head of a bird (fig. 21).⁴¹

The crook in the textual record

The Hittite king wielded a long crook which was termed *kalmuš*. The etymology of this word is not clear.⁴² V. Haas connects it with the Greek word *kálamos*, 'reed'.⁴³ It cannot be excluded, however, that *kalmuš* is related to the Akkadian *gamlu* and Ugaritic *gml*.⁴⁴

This crook was used by the ruler in ritual context, in connection with adorations, offerings and libations. The *kalmuš* was, however, not used during the actual cult performance, but rather during the procession before and after that, when the king proceeded solemnly to the place of worship and left it after having performed the ritual action.⁴⁵

Normally, the king did not carry the *kalmuš* when riding in a chariot or when sitting on the throne. When the king was sitting on the throne, the *kalmuš* was placed on or at the right side of his royal seating accommodation. When the king rode in a vehicle, a palace squire or the chief of the palace squires carried the *kalmuš* for him. The position of the palace official with the *kalmuš* in the escort following the ruler in his carriage is described in the instructions for the royal bodyguard.⁴⁶ When the king had arrived at his destination, he alighted from his vehicle and was given the *kalmuš* by the palace official. Then he proceeded on foot and with the crook in his hand to his final destination. Having arrived there, the king returned the crook to the official.

The following passage illustrates this use of the *kalmuš*:⁴⁷

But after the king has gone the rounds with the libation, the chief of the palace squires gives the *kalmuš* of gold to him. Two palace squires are walking in front of the king. The king goes out. And the chief of the palace squires takes the *kalmuš* for him. The king sits down in the (light) cart and goes away. But after that, they say: 'Tališa!' The king alights from the (light) cart. The chief of the palace squires gives the *kalmuš* to the king. Two palace squires are walking in front of the king. The king enters the *halentuwa*-building. The chief of the palace squires takes the *kalmuš* for the king. The king and the queen sit down on the throne. Two palace squires bring in the lance, the *kalmuš* and the linen cloth. And he gives the linen cloth to the king. The *kalmuš*, however, he places at the right side of the throne.

There is one interesting passage in a ritual text describing how the *kalmuš* is used in an actual ritual performance during the last day of the AN.TAḪ.SUM^{sar-festival}:⁴⁸

[The kin]g and the qu[een] are sitting. And the king [takes the *kalmuš*. The chief] of the bodyguard walks in front. And [...] a *taparwašu*-bread [they] put next to the st[ov]e. Then in front they are takin[g a]way five times [x š]arama-breads. Five times 10 š[aram]a-breads they p[ut] down behind. And there are x [šar]ama-breads. But on one šarama-bread [are l]ying three p[enisses]. And salt is pou[red] down on it. And a 'thick bread', which walks to the right of the king and the chief of the bodyguard goes and steps next to the 'thick bread'. The chief of the butchers brings over with a basket three penisses of rams. And one penis he holds out to the king. The king touches the *taparwašu*-bread with the *kalmuš* for the first time. But the chief of the bodyguard holds the *taparwašu*-bread with the hand below. And the chief (variant: overseer) of the butchers puts one penis on it. And the overseer of the butchers again holds out one penis to the king. The king touches the *taparwašu*-bread again for the second time with the *kalmuš*. But the chief of the bodyguard holds the *taparwašu*-bread with the hand below. But the overseer of the cooks puts one penis on it. And the overseer of the cooks again holds out one penis to the king. The king again for the third time touches the *taparwašu*-bread with the *kalmuš*. [But the chief of the bodyguard hold]s the [tapa]rwašu-[bread with the hand below.]

This ritual undoubtedly served for the strengthening of the king: By touching the penisses with his crook, he transmitted the potency and the power of the rams' penisses to his own person via the curved staff.

The *kalmuš* was clearly a sign of rulership. According to the extant texts, only the king wielded and used the *kalmuš*, even if palace officials could carry this crook for the monarch on certain occasions. Officials and dignitaries wielded a staff, which is written with the ideogram GIDRU.⁴⁹ A staff GIDRU (Akkadian: *ḥaṭṭu*) is also known from Mesopotamia, it was a straight staff (see above).

The crook *kalmuš*, as well as the staff GIDRU, was also an emblem of gods.⁵⁰ According to a cult inventory, the priest of deified Mount Tuna, worshipped in the town of Taparuta, kept no less than ten *kalmuš*-crooks, several earrings and a GIDRU-staff in his house.⁵¹

For the sake of completeness I mention the fact that a sign LITUUS (that is, a hieroglyph in the shape of a crook) exists in the writing system of Hieroglyphic Luwian.⁵² Luwian written with hieroglyphs is already attested in the Hittite empire and continued to be in use in the Late Hittite states until ca 700 BC.

Representations of the crook in the archaeological record

In the extant representations a crook is held in a characteristic way by persons of different position in specific situations:

- * Living and deceased kings as well as gods are depicted with a crook in scenes of adoration, worship and sacrifice. This curved staff can be identified as the *kalmuš* mentioned in the texts. As a rule, the crook is held by its bearer pointing back and downwards. Often the king is depicted in this pose leading a procession and standing directly in front of an altar. Gods and deceased kings can hold the crook pointing back and downwards when they are worshipped or receive a sacrifice.
- * A ruler can also carry the *kalmuš* pointing back and downwards when he is embraced by a god.
- * Persons participating in a procession can be depicted with shouldered crooks. These persons, however, do not walk at the head of the procession. They might be palace officials carrying the *kalmuš* for the king.
- * Deities can carry a crook pointing down and forward; this is, however, only rarely attested.

An example of the king with the *kalmuš* leading a procession and performing an act of worship can be seen on a fist-shaped silver vessel from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 16).⁵³ King Tuthalija II. (III.) (ca 1375-1355 BC) is at the head of a procession of musicians and other cult participants. The ruler stands in front of an altar and wields in one hand the crook pointing back and downwards and performs with his other hand a libation. Behind the altar the storm god is shown together with a bull which he holds on reins. The last person in the procession led by the king with the crook is a man with a long, straight staff. Behind this person a vegetation god is rising from what seems to be curling foliage. Between this vegetation deity and the storm god is a building of bricks without a gate. It is not clear whether the procession or rather the storm god is emanating from this building.

A similar scene is depicted on orthostats from Alaca Höyük (ca 1400/1200 BC; fig. 17).⁵⁴ The king is shown being at the head of a procession. In front of the ruler is an altar and the statue of a bull on a pedestal. The king has raised one hand in adoration and holds in his other hand the crook pointing back and downwards.

Among the cult participants walking in the

procession are acrobats, musicians and attendants taking care of the sacrificial animals. A person walking in front of the herd has grasped an animal by its horns. Another man following the herd drives the animals with a curved staff. This crook is much shorter than the royal *kalmuš*. The person behind this man holds a staff(?), the lower end of which is curved, the upper end is lost.

The king in front of a sacrificial procession is also shown on several Late Hittite reliefs from Malatya. King PUGNUS-mili (ca 11th or early 10th century BC) is attested several times standing before a god, wielding in one hand the crook and libating with his other hand. Behind the ruler stands a small attendant with an animal to be sacrificed (fig. 18).⁵⁵ This attendant grasps the animal by its head and does not hold a staff. The procession is here reduced to the key participants, i.e. the ruler and the person in charge of the sacrificial animal.

A ruler with a backward pointing crook is represented also on a poorly-preserved Late Hittite stele from Samsat, but the context is no longer discernible.⁵⁶

At first glance it may seem a contradiction to the textual evidence that the king is shown performing a libation or adoration still carrying the *kalmuš*

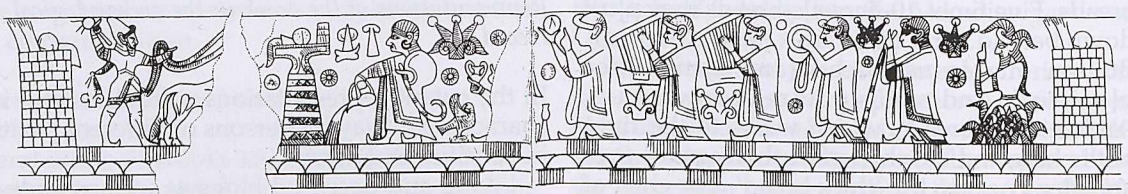


Fig. 16. Procession and sacrifice being led by king Tuthalija II. (III.) carrying the *kalmuš*. Representation on a fist-shaped vessel (Boston) (Güterbock/Kendall 1995, fig. 3.7).

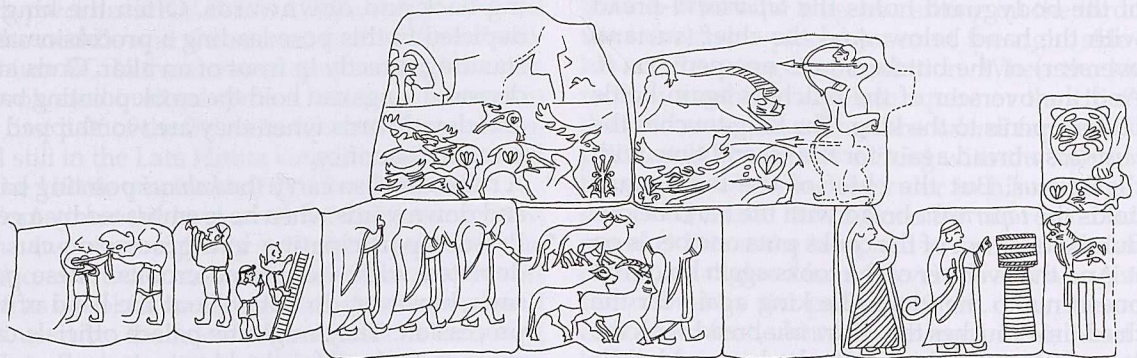


Fig. 17. Orthostats from Alaca Höyük: Procession and sacrifice being led by the king carrying the *kalmuš* (Mellink 1970, fig. 2).

in one of his hands, whereas the texts suggest that the ruler gave his crook to an official after having arrived at the procession's destination and before performing the ritual action. It is, however, rather an iconographic convention to merge into one scene these two successive sequences, the procession to the place of worship and the ritual action performed there.

It is interesting that the way the crook was carried might have depended on its bearer's position in the procession: If participants in a procession who are not proceeding at its head wield a crook, they do not hold it pointing back and downwards but rather over their shoulder. Scenes like this can be seen on vessels decorated with relief friezes. The first example is the vase from İnadık (fig. 19; (ca 1600 BC).⁵⁷ The vase is decorated with four relief friezes depicting successive sequences of a cultic festival. Of special interest for our topic are the third and perhaps also the second frieze, where persons carrying a crook are represented. I will first give some general descriptions of the scenes depicted on the vase, following the interpretation of Haas.⁵⁸

The first frieze shows the preparation of the *materia magica* and a drinking ceremony of two persons, which is accompanied by music. The second frieze apparently shows three consecutive appearances of the king. The ruler, not carrying a *kalmuř*, proceeds at the head of a procession. Having arrived at his destination, he participates in a bull sacrifice in front of the statue of a bull. Afterwards the king performs a libation in front of an altar and a female person (a priestess?).

On the third frieze, a procession is depicted which is directed towards a cult location, consisting of a temple, and behind it an altar, a vase and a bed. On this bed are sitting two persons, perhaps the king and the queen. The king is unveiling the queen. Altar, vase, and bed, which are shown behind the temple, are certainly to be understood

as being the interior furnishings of the sanctuary. The last frieze shows musicians, acrobats and a couple performing a *coitus a tergo*.

It is interesting to note that the most important sequences of the festival in the respective friezes are arranged one on top of the other: The bull sacrifice in the second frieze, king and queen on a bed inside a temple, and finally a *coitus*, which might be a fertility rite and the re-enactment of the union of a divine couple.

A person participating in the procession towards the temple, which is depicted on the third frieze, carries a long crook over his shoulder. The following person might have had a crook over the shoulder, too, given the analogous position of the hand. (On the Bitik vase, which will be discussed below, there are in fact represented two persons with a shouldered crook one behind the other.)

Perhaps two other persons, shown on the second frieze, proceeding behind the king in the procession directed towards the bull sacrifice and the statue of a bull, did have a crook over their shoulder, too. Their hands are in the same position as those of the crook-bearers in the third frieze. The objects they carried, however, are damaged and cannot be identified with certainty. Behind the head of one man, the remains of a curved object can be seen.

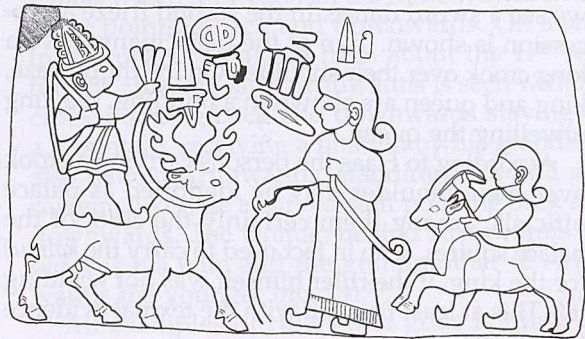


Fig. 18. Relief from Malatya: King PUGNUS-mili libating in front of a god (Hawkins 2000b, pl. 148 monument no 5 fig. a).

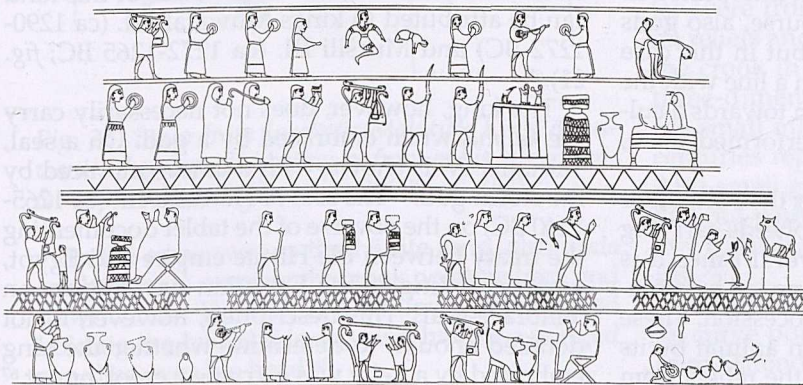


Fig. 19. The İnadık vase with relief friezes depicting various cultic actions, a procession, and a sacrifice (Özgüç 1988, fig. 64).

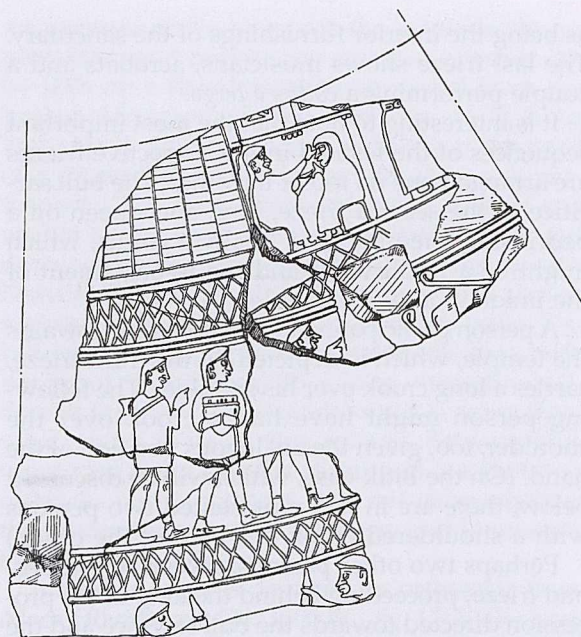


Fig. 20. The Bitik vase with relief scenes depicting cultic actions and a procession (Özgiüç 1957, fig. 2).

In a similar way, a cultic festival is depicted on another relief vase from Bitik (various dating proposals include the 17th/16th/15th centuries BC; fig. 20).⁵⁹ Three friezes are preserved. In the first one we see a sword dance. In the second frieze a procession is shown. Two of the participants have a long crook over their shoulder. On the third frieze, king and queen are shown in a building, the king unveiling the queen.

According to Haas the persons carrying a crook over their shoulder may be identified as palace officials, among them certainly the chief of the palace squires, who in fact used to carry the *kalmuṣ* for the king, if the ruler himself was not wielding it.⁶⁰ This at least fits well with the textual evidence (see above).

The said persons have also been interpreted as gods wielding the *kalmuṣ*.⁶¹ Of course, also gods can carry the crook (see below), but in this case the persons in question, walking in a line with the other participants of the procession towards a cultic location and a ritual action performed there, are clearly human.

The persons with the crook over their shoulder have also been interpreted as shepherds carrying a shepherd's crook.⁶² In fact, several times it is attested that sacrificial animals being led by attendants are accompanying a cult procession. These attendants either have grasped an animal by its head (as attested for example on the reliefs from



Fig. 21. The Hittite king Muršili III. carrying the *kalmuṣ* is embraced by a god. Stamp seal impression (Otten 1993, fig. 17).

Alaca Höyük and Malatya) and do not carry a crook at all, or one of them can carry a quite short curved staff which is different from the rather long crook (as attested on a relief from Alaca Höyük; figs 17-18). The persons with the crook depicted on the vases, however, have no animals with them, and their crook is much longer than the short curved staff of the attendant shown on the relief from Alaca Höyük.

The king is also holding the crook pointing back and downwards when he is embraced by a god. In the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya near Ḫattuša (Boğazköy), king Tuḫalija IV. (ca 1240-1215 BC) is depicted on a rock relief holding the crook pointing back and downwards embraced by the god Šarruma.⁶³ Similar scenes are attested on royal seals belonging to the group of the so-called 'embrace-seals' ('*Umarmungssiegel*') as they are classified by modern scholars.⁶⁴ Seals of this kind can be attributed to kings Muwatalli II. (ca 1290-1272 BC) and Muršili III. (ca 1272-1265 BC; fig. 21).⁶⁵

The king, however, does not necessarily carry the *kalmuṣ* when embraced by a god. On a seal, Tuḫalija IV. is shown with a lance embraced by the storm god.⁶⁶ The seal of Ḫattušili III. (ca 1265-1240 BC) on the obverse of the tablet documenting the treaty between the Hittite empire and Egypt, was, according to the Egyptian description, an 'embrace-seal'. This description, however, is not detailed enough to determine whether the king embraced by a deity was carrying a crook or not.⁶⁷



Fig. 22. Relief from Malatya: King PUGNUS-mili libates in front of a god who carries the crook (Hawkins 2000b, pl. 148 monument 7 fig. c).



Fig. 24. Triad from Hattuša/Boğazköy (Neve 1996², fig. 81).



Fig. 23. Stele from İspekçür/Malatya: King Arnuwantis the younger libating in front of his late grandfather Arnuwantis (Hawkins 2000b, pl. 143).

In the same way as the Hittite king, also gods can be shown carrying the crook pointing back and downwards. The sun god Šimige is represented holding the *kalmuš* this way and having a winged sun disc over his head.⁶⁸

A deity can be depicted carrying the crook in this position in a sacrificial scene (fig. 22). On Late Hittite orthostats from Malatya, king PUGNUS-mili (ca 11th or early 10th century BC) is shown (without *kalmuš*) libating in front of the god Saruma and the sun god. Both gods hold the crook pointing back and downwards.⁶⁹

Also deceased rulers can be depicted with the *kalmuš* which they carry in the same way as living kings pointing back and downwards. On a *stèle* from İspekçür/Malatya from about the 11th century BC, the late king Arnuwantis is seen with his crook pointing back and downwards staying on a mountain, receiving a libation by his grandson, also named Arnuwantis, standing on a bull and carrying likewise a curved staff pointing back and downwards. The woman behind Arnuwantis the older is his wife and the grandmother of Arnuwantis the younger (fig. 23).⁷⁰

All examples of rulers and gods holding the crook pointing back and downwards treated so far were from two-dimensional representations on reliefs and seal impressions. Persons wielding the crook in this position can be represented in three-dimensional sculpture as well. Examples are small miniature figurines from the 14th/13th centuries representing a triad of gods (fig. 24).⁷¹ Also small gold figurines of a god (ca 1400/1200 BC) did perhaps carry a crook pointing back and downwards, the curve of which, however, is now lost.⁷²

Not so well attested is the crook carried with its curve pointing down and forward. On a *stèle* from Darende/Malatya from about the 11th or 10th



Fig. 25. Stele from Darende/Malatya: The deities Hepat and Sarruma with crooks (?) pointing downwards in front of their body (Hawkins 2000b, pl. 146).

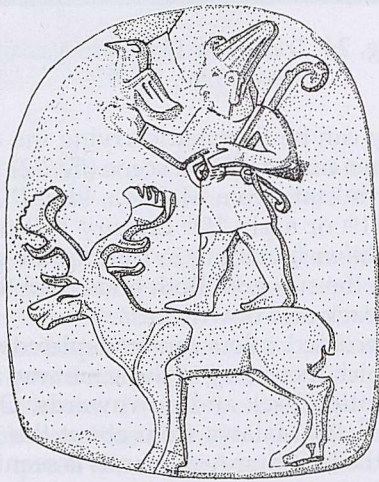


Fig. 26. The tutelary god of the countryside with the curved stick of the falconer (ca 14th/13th centuries BC) (Börker-Klähn 1982, fig. 305).

century BC, the goddess Hepat is shown sitting on a throne, with a crook (?) pointing down and forward. Behind her the god Sarruma is depicted standing on a lion and carrying a curved staff (?) in the same way. A deceased and deified king, standing on a lion, performs a libation. The king does not wield a crook, but rather a hammer or double axe (fig. 25).⁷³

The curved stick as tool of the falconer

To be distinguished from the long crook used in cultic context is a short curved stick used for falconry.⁷⁴ It is carried by human falconers and, moreover, it is one of the characteristic emblems wielded by the god on the stag, the tutelary god of the countryside (fig. 26).⁷⁵ This short staff of the

falconer is carried together with the hawk and/or a killed hare. It is already attested on Anatolian seals from the time of the Old Assyrian trading colonies in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC.⁷⁶

There are several attestations for the curved staff held in the falconer's outstretched arm upright with its curve pointing forward.⁷⁷ It can also be carried over the shoulder, the curve pointing backward.⁷⁸ Interesting is a seal impression depicting the god on the stag swinging the raised short crook behind his head as if preparing to hurl it at a victim.⁷⁹ Remarkable is a gold foil overlay of a figurine of the tutelary god of the countryside, the (perhaps wooden) core of which is lost. The deity held the curved staff pressed against the chest, its curve pointing sideways.⁸⁰

A short curved stick used for hunting can still be found on Late Hittite orthostats in the hand of human and supernatural beings.⁸¹ This stick differs significantly in form from the falconer's crook as attested in the 2nd millennium.

There is no indication that also the curved staff of the falconer was called *kalmuš* by the Hittites.

Original crooks from archaeological excavations?

No remains of an original Hittite *kalmuš* are extant in the archaeological record, but crook-shaped objects from earlier and later periods have been claimed to be its predecessors or descendants.

Some finds from the richly furnished Early Bronze Age tombs excavated at Alaca Höyük (end of 3rd millennium BC) were interpreted as components of crooks, allegedly predecessors of the Hittite *kalmuš*. 'Tomb K' contained curves of copper and handles(?) of silver and gold. These objects have been interpreted as curves and handles of crooks, the wooden components of which have been lost.⁸² There is, however, no clear evidence that these objects belonged to crooks nor that these alleged crooks were predecessors of the Hittite *kalmuš*.

Very interesting yet ambiguous is the evidence from a tumulus at Gordion from the post-Hittite Phrygian period. In 'Tumulus III', a wooden crook-shaped object was discovered, which was by its excavators tentatively connected to the Hittite *kalmuš* (fig. 27).⁸³

Preliminary conclusion: The curved staff in the Ancient Near East

The Hittite *kalmuš* has been considered sometimes in scholarly literature to have been the model for the Etruscan *lituus*.⁸⁴ It is quite evident that in

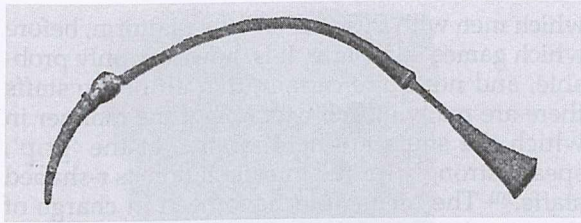


Fig. 27. The wooden crook-shaped object from 'Tumulus III' at Gordion (Körte/Körte 1904, 53 fig. 14).

Anatolia the use of the *kalmuř* did not end with the decline of the Hittite empire shortly after 1200 BC. As we have seen, it is still attested in the Neo-Hittite state of Malatya in the 11th/10th centuries BC. If the crook-shaped object from Gordion is really a descendant of the Hittite *kalmuř*, it would have survived in Anatolia even longer.

On the other hand we should keep in mind that the curved staff used in ritual context is well attested also in Mesopotamia still in the 1st millennium BC, so there may have been other possible ways of contact between east and west.

THE CLASSICAL WORLD

In Greece, staffs with a curved upper end are documented in various uses. The staff on which Attic citizens leaned - we will come back to it -, the *lagobolon*,⁸⁵ and also - somewhat further afield - a staff which, in depictions, is similar to a shepherd's crook, but in the original was probably a stick thickened below for ball-playing.⁸⁶ There were certainly also simple herdsmen's staffs, but they are seldom depicted; the staff on which pedagogues on South Italian vases often lean is probably derived from them.⁸⁷ Curved staffs are, however, not known as ritual instruments nor as sceptres.⁸⁸ Only Zeus is sometimes depicted with a curved staff, probably in reference to the Babylonian god Marduk, to whose attributes the curved staff belonged. Here, there are, however, surprising differences: On Attic vases of the mid-6th century,⁸⁹ and in the frieze of the Heroon of Gjölbasci-Trysa,⁹⁰ Zeus holds a staff which resembles a walking-stick; in three Archaic bronze statuettes,⁹¹ on the other hand, a shorter, very tightly spirally-coiled instrument is depicted, which better corresponds to the Roman *lituus*. Preliminary stages for this form are lacking to date; but it would hardly have been invented just for the statuettes. In this case, it becomes apparent how fragmentary our find record is.

In Italy, on the other hand, the Roman augur's staff is one of the best-known Roman ritual

Sceptres, Cannes, Bâtons recourbés, Crosses. «Lituus».

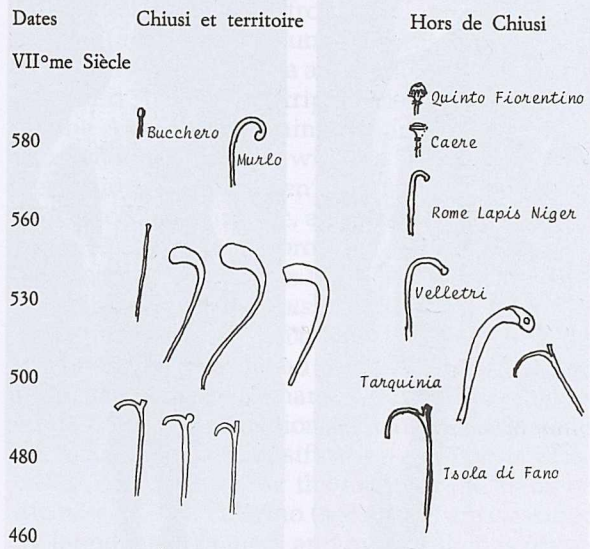


Fig. 28. Etruscan sceptres and crooks (r-shaped, 'lagobolon'-type and lituus; after Jannot 1993, Fig. 14).

instruments.⁹² While it basically retained its form through the centuries, a number of types of curved staff have been handed down to us in Etruscan representations.

Jean-René Jannot has already proposed a classification in three types,⁹³ which I follow here, with minor differences (fig. 28).

The 'r-shaped' type

One of these staffs could easily also have been used as a herdsmen's crook. Jannot⁹⁴ designates this type as 'r-shaped', because its upper end looks like a small 'r'. This type can best be recognized on a statuette from Isola di Fano (fig. 29)⁹⁵ which certainly depicts no herdsmen, as the elegantly-draped cloak and the pointed shoes indicate. Whether one identifies him as a priest or rather as a dignitary depends on the interpretation of his headgear and, above all, of his staff. The latter is normally designated as a *lituus*, which in Etruria is supposed to be an insigne 'del potere politico-religioso' (Cristofani 1985, 268). Doubtlessly, however, this staff is not the usual, more or less tightly wound *lituus*, but still preserves the original form of a certain herdsmen's-staff type, and is only a bit too short for practical use. It need not necessarily have been imported from another culture, but can also have been developed in Etruria; as Francesco Roncalli has shown, even herdsmen's clothing had been adapted for priests.⁹⁶ In depictions, this



Fig. 29. Bronze statuette from Isola di Fano. After Cristofani 1985 pl. 154 fig. 44.

type of staff can scarcely be distinguished from a walking-stick of the same type as that of Attic citizens⁹⁷ - although the curve at the upper end would have to be less pronounced than that of the statuette from Isola di Fano. On this statuette, it is obvious that the staff is not suited for being used as a support in standing or walking, and also the small, spherical element crowning the straight part of the staff would have been quite inconvenient for this purpose. But on reliefs from Chiusi,⁹⁸ a type of cane similar to the Attic one might be meant - which, in one case, is being carried by a servant, whose master wants to have his hands free, in order to be able to act freely as a spectator at a race.⁹⁹ This sort of staff, the purpose of which is rather convenience than cult, is presumably no *insigne* of rank, but nevertheless alludes - as does the Attic citizen's walking-stick - to a certain societal position. Slaves and manual labourers did not allow themselves this sort of convenience. It cannot be excluded that a particular function is signalled, too, with this type of staff - perhaps there were staffs in certain colours, as Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 65) has documented it, for example, for Attic judges, for whom a certain colour signalled the membership of a specific court. The well-known scene on the base in Palermo¹⁰⁰ could speak in favour of this interpretation, on

which men with this staff sit on a platform, before which games take place. It is, however, only probable, and not quite certain, that all of the staffs there are really of the 'r-type'; but the manner in which the staffs are held, above, at the 'grip', speaks strongly for the interpretation as r-shaped staffs.¹⁰¹ The men could have been in charge of the organization of the games or of the awarding of prizes; obviously, however, the 'r-shaped' staff in Chiusi is no *insigne* of priests or of high dignitaries. Jannot has observed that it, in general, is not depicted together with the *sella curulis*;¹⁰² but there are exceptions (fig. 30).¹⁰³ His assumption that this is not merely formal, but also functional, something similar to the Attic citizen's staff, namely, a sign of membership of a certain social class which began to play a political role at the time the relief was made,¹⁰⁴ is very appealing. The statuette from Isola di Fano does not fit this interpretation. There, too, the staff characterizes the person, but probably scarcely as a member of a citizenry or class. In spite of its similarity, the staff from Isola di Fano has to be separated from the Chiusine staffs.

The 'lagobolon'-type

Another type, which is slightly curved at its upper end and strongly thickened, resembles the Graeco-Roman *lagobolon*,¹⁰⁵ and is also used similarly.¹⁰⁶ It is obviously used not only for hunting, but also as a sign of a life-long or temporary office. On a *cippus* from Chiusi, several men sitting on *sellae curules*, probably officials therefore, have raised or even shouldered this type of staff (fig. 31).¹⁰⁷ The best known of these staffs, in the Tomba degli Auguri,¹⁰⁸ identifies its bearer obviously as a referee, or more exactly, as Thuillier explains, as the organizer of the games (*agonothetes*).¹⁰⁹ His stick may not have been useful for hunting, because it has been provided with a decorative element on its front end; presumably, the wood had been coated with metal foil, in the middle of which a black dot can be seen.

Simply curved litui

When the thickening of the 'lagobolon-sticks' is not quite as strong as on the examples just mentioned, they approximate in their form a normal herdsman's staff, which can be used as a support, or to catch animals. In the case of a very large radius of the curve, like that on a *cippus* fragment in Florence,¹¹⁰ the 'lagobolon'-type will probably be meant. A whole series of staffs with a simple, not spiral



Fig. 30. Fragment of a chiusine relief base, Chiuse, Mus. Naz. 2284. After Jannot 1993 pl. 1 below.



Fig. 31. Chiusine relief base, Palermo, Mus. Arch. Reg. 8382. After Jannot 1993, pl. 1 above.

curve - basically, the majority of the staffs in depictions - can, however, neither be classified as the 'lagobolon'-type nor as the spirally-coiled *lituus* with absolute certainty.¹¹¹ For them, the Latin name *pedum* is mostly used - whether correctly or not, cannot be discussed here.¹¹² Jannot has summa-

rized all of them, the staffs on the friezes with scenes of an assembly from Murlo (fig. 32)¹¹³ and Velletri (fig. 33),¹¹⁴ the numerous Late Archaic procession friezes in Etruria and Latium,¹¹⁵ the Fiesole *cippi* and *stelae*,¹¹⁶ the tripod 'Loeb',¹¹⁷ on a vase by the Amphiaraios Painter¹¹⁸ and several other monuments¹¹⁹ together with the 'lagobolon'-type as derivations of herdsmen's staffs which are to be attributed to an archaic, agrarian society and had not been depicted and probably also not been used since about 500. He sets them off decidedly from the spirally-coiled *lituus*. Thuillier, on the other hand, includes the 'lagobolon'-type as well in the group of staffs which had a religious function, and points to the sacred character of games.¹²⁰ How strongly the interpretation of many staffs depends on the respective classification scheme is illustrated, for instance, by the fact that the staffs on the base 8385 in Palermo (see n. 100) are classified by Jannot as 'r-shaped' and by Thuillier as *lituus-pedum*, and the scenes are then interpreted accordingly.

Jannot's distinction in spirally-coiled *litui* on the one hand and non-religiously connotated staffs on the other may be supported by the fact that, on the Late Archaic terracotta friezes with assemblies or processions, two types actually occur: a spiralled *lituus* (fig. 34)¹²¹ and a simple curved staff, which often has a round ornament at its end (see n. 115). The latter is very common, and is, without doubt, a sign of rank. Precisely the round ornament, however, connects it with actual *litui*, like the one from St. Ilario d'Enza (fig. 35),¹²² on which the innermost volute is decorated with a bright dot (not visible in the drawing fig. 35); further, some of the staffs in the depictions as well are, in fact, somewhat more tightly coiled than the grip of a walking-stick, and it may hardly be possible to draw a boundary line beyond which the curve is pronounced enough for a determination as a *lituus*. Also the only certainly ritually used staffs, on the round base from Perugia (fig. 36),¹²³ have no complete spirals. Both of the real *litui*¹²⁴ preserved, on the other hand, have pronounced spirals, which leads to the suspicion that one sometimes simplified somewhat in small-format depictions. In general, it remains to be emphasized that it would hardly be possible to distinguish exactly spiral-*litui* from simply curved *litui*, for which reason they will be discussed together in the following. It is definitely possible that, in the course of time - perhaps also only in certain regions - a differentiation in form and use developed, as the example of the terracotta frieze suggests. But this distinction does not lend itself to generalization.

Trumpets

Before we finally turn to the *litui*, one point still has to be clarified, which actually should have been clear from the outset. In depictions, the simply curved *litui* are sometimes almost indistinguishable from the trumpet which is also called *lituus* - which repeatedly leads to confusion.¹²⁵ There are nonetheless possibilities for distinguishing them. The trumpet has often, but not always, a crossbar within the curve. Its upper end, the opening of the bell, should be straight, not curved, but this is often unclear in pictures. A secondary distinguishing criterion is more reliable. Whenever a circularly-curved horn is near, the object in question is certainly a trumpet, because both of these musical instruments belong together.¹²⁶ Presumably only high-ranking persons were entitled to accompaniment by both of these wind instruments, so that the *lituus*-trumpet can also be a - in a certain sense, secondary - sign of higher magistrates.

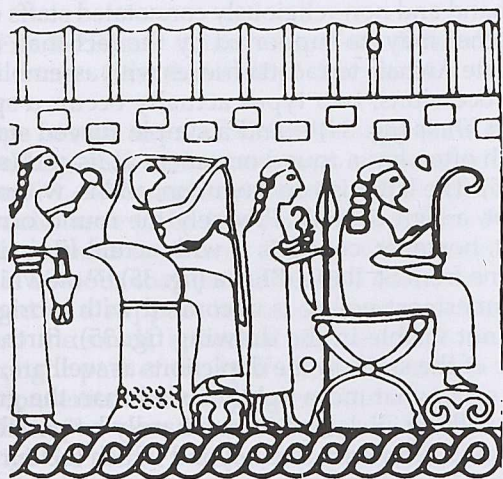


Fig. 32. Architectural terracotta frieze from Murlo. After A. Rathje in *Deliciae fictiles* 1993, 121 fig. 5 (drawing Margaret George).

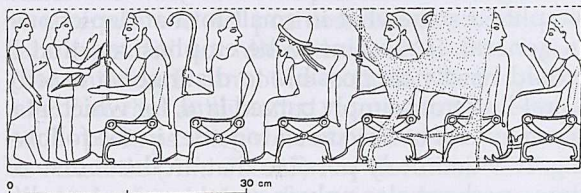


Fig. 33. Architectural terracotta frieze from Velletri. After F.R. Fortunati in *Deliciae fictiles* 260 fig. 8.

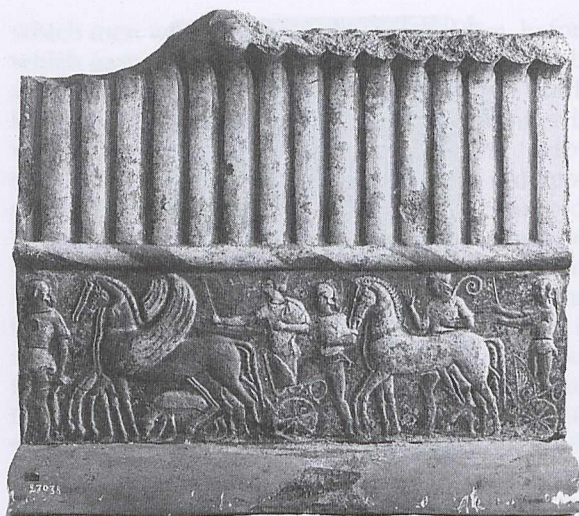


Fig. 34. Architectural terracotta frieze from Praeneste, località Colombella. After Torelli 1992/1997 101 fig. 77.

Spiral-litui and simply curved litui

Simply curved *litui*, 'r-shaped' and 'lagobolon'-type staffs were also usable in daily life - as herdsman's crooks for catching animals, for hunting small game, or as a staff which one could lean on. Apparently, all of them could also, further, be used in rituals, or as an *insigne* of certain offices or functions.

But there is also an implement different from the crooks we have discussed. Out of the simplest type of herdsman's crook, with a curve similar to that of a cane, staffs without practical use were developed, which, like the *gamlu*, were too short, or, like the Hittite *kalmuš*, too strongly curved. Theoretically, the evolution from the practically-usable herdsman's crook to the spirally-coiled ritual staff could have taken place in Italy a second time, independent of oriental models - for example, the curved staff in the hand of a bronze statuette from the votive deposit under the Lapis Niger¹²⁷ could have developed gradually, for example, via forms like the staff in the hand of a statuette from Gabii,¹²⁸ to the Roman augur's staff. This is *a priori* implausible, however, in view of the fact that the Etruscans adopted very much from the Orient, and that the Romans borrowed very much from the Etruscans. Above all, there are spiral-*litui* in Etruria as early as the later 7th century (fig. 37).¹²⁹ A later, not as strongly coiled and somewhat longer curved staff resembles the Hittite *kalmuš* so strongly that an independent development can be excluded. On the above-mentioned Chiusine round base in Perugia (fig.

36), three personages, each carrying a curved staff - one would almost want to say: a *kalmuš* -, are to be seen in a procession. The first one, at the head of the procession, holds the staff lowered, like the Hittite king, but pointing forwards. The person following carries it turned backwards, a third one transports it lying over his shoulder. The assumption that this last posture means transporting an implement which is not in use at the moment, seems plausible, just as the conclusion that, in both of the other manners of carrying it, the staff is functioning. As is well known, a series of depictions demonstrates that the priest's posture during the inspection of the liver was exactly prescribed.¹³⁰ We therefore have to assume that the sequence of movements had to be observed painstakingly. This makes it unlikely that the sculptor of the Chiusine frieze chose the different manners of carrying the curved staff merely according to the principle '*variatio delectat*', but they would have a precise meaning. The base from Perugia therefore gives a decisive hint. The curved staffs not only look similar, but were also used similarly as in the Hittite sphere. They are by far not the earliest Etruscan curved staffs,¹³¹ but show that the Oriental tradition must have been known, at least into the late 6th century.

If the gold-foil coating of a (not preserved) wooden staff from Tomb 871 in Veio, Grotta Grammiccia, can be reconstructed as a *lituus* - which, in my opinion, is not quite certain -, then the oldest Etruscan *lituus* preserved dates to the late 8th century.¹³² It could not have been a spiral-*lituus*, because the spiral cannot have been made out of a thin wooden stick. It must have been carved out of a board, which would not have been impossible, but very time-consuming; presumably, the spiral-*litui* were mostly made of metal. Tomb 871, which probably belongs in the 8th century, has, unfortunately, not been published in detail.¹³³ It has turned out in the meantime that the bronze lion's-head rhyton, which had earlier been seen as an outstanding find from the tomb, probably was not found there. It will, however, presumably still stem from the Grammiccia necropolis, and is certainly imported (Assyrian?).¹³⁴ A similar vessel was found in a tumulus in Gordion.¹³⁵ In another tomb there, a fragment of a curved staff with metallic decoration was found, and had already in the first publication been brought in connection with the Hittite *kalmuš*-representations.¹³⁶ In spite of all uncertainties and despite the fact that we cannot reconstruct the manner of transference, a cultural horizon can probably be grasped here, which could have made

possible the transfer of Oriental implements and of the ideas connected with them.

We are accustomed to projecting the tradition which mentions the Roman *lituus* above all as an instrument for dividing up the sky for oracles according to the flight of birds¹³⁷ onto the Etruscan *litui*. But since just this function is never mentioned in Oriental sources, one could ask oneself whether the staffs on the Chiusine relief could not also have been used for other rituals, and whether this specification of their use is not possibly Roman at the earliest.

The relief from Chiusi is - as far as I know - the only one which shows Etruscan *litui* during a ritual. Otherwise, they are only carried or presented demonstrably, as on the Bucchero pitcher in Brussels (fig. 37), in the frieze from Murlo, or on the *cippi* and *stelae* from Fiesole. From representations like the frieze from Murlo, one mostly concludes that the *lituus* was a symbol of power, and did not characterize the person depicted as a priest. Only in the case of the Fiesole reliefs did one always think of priestly functions (see n. 116). There, this seems likely, because the figures, as far as it is recognizable, wear headgear, not the hats of the *haruspices* with the high peak (see. n. 139), but lower, pilos-like hats like the statuette from

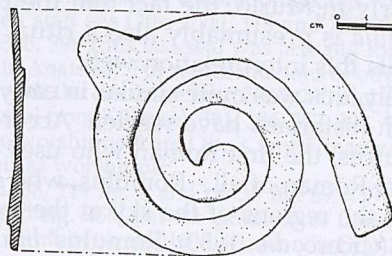


Fig. 35. Upper part of a bronze *lituus*, from S. Ilario d'Enza. After Macellari 1994, fig. 1.

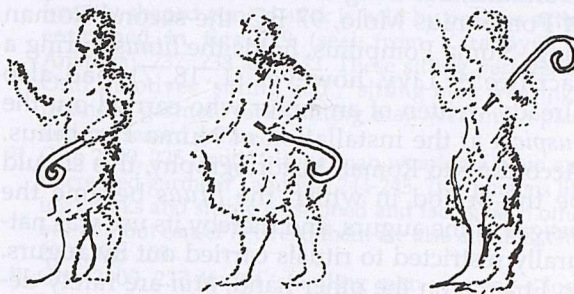


Fig. 36. Figures from the procession frieze of a chiusine round base, Perugia, Mus. Arch. 634. After Jannot 1993, 230 fig. 10.



Fig. 37. Frieze of an *olpe* of *bucchero*, Bruxelles, MRAH R 132. After Rizzo/Martelli 1993, 19 fig. 14.

Isola di Fano. But, in general, hats seem to be an *insigne* of priests rather than of rulers. Among the Fiesole reliefs there are also depictions of warriors;¹³⁸ the seated figures on the roof in Murlo presumably wear priest's hats or helmets¹³⁹ - in both cases, those depicted were therefore characterized as warriors or as priests. This distinction does not hold true for the ruler in the frieze in Murlo. His function becomes better comprehensible when we apply the 'Oriental model'. *Litui* in the hands of rulers allude to their cultic function. Particularly in Murlo, the fact that the prince's wife's *situla* is presumably also a ritual instrument¹⁴⁰ fits this interpretation well.

Basically, this was quite similar in early Rome, as Roman historians have written. According to these sources, the first Roman who uses a *lituus* is the first Roman of all - Romulus, who sets the limits for the regions of the sky at the founding of Rome (Cicero, *div.* 1, 30). Romulus' *lituus* is, in another place (Serv. *ad Aen.* 7, 187), called the *baculum regium*, in which the power of settling disputes is inherent. This passage, therefore, refers to another, non-religious function. On a denarius of Pomponius Molo, 97 BC, the second Roman king, Numa Pompilius, holds the *lituus* during a sacrifice.¹⁴¹ Livy, however (1, 18, 7), had already written of an augur who carried out the *auspicia* at the installation of Numa Pompilius. According to Roman historiography, this should be the period in which the *lituus* became the *insigne* of the augurs, and thereby its use was naturally restricted to rituals carried out by augurs. In Etruria, on the other hand, *litui* are rarely depicted later. Already in the 5th century, we have fewer representations of them by far¹⁴² than from the Archaic period, at the latest on the Felsina *stelae*,¹⁴³ then no more. It is conceivable that, in

Etruria as in Rome, religious and political functions were more strictly separated. The fact that Etruscan depictions of priests are very rare - with the exception of the *haruspices*, to whose equipment curved staffs apparently did not belong - possibly explains the absence of curved staffs in the pictorial art of the later Etruscan centuries.

CONCLUSION

In the Near East, ritually used staffs were developed out of the herdsman's crook at some point in time. These staffs could not be used as crooks, because they were either too short, or too tightly coiled. Their shape can vary greatly, but it is unlikely that they - in neighbouring cultures - had repeatedly been developed independently out of herdsman's crooks. This cultic staff came by one, or possibly more routes, to the West. We do not know whether the original function was adopted together with the form, but it seems quite certain that - also in Etruria - it was often carried by rulers and dignitaries, and, in this manner, symbolized their religious functions. The staff apparently evolved into an exclusively priestly one for the first time only in Rome.

Concurrently, another stick used by hunters and herdsmen, the *lagobolon*, became an *insigne* of high standing; to which extent and whether at all ritual functions were connected with it, is unclear. For the staff of the statuette from Isola di Fano, a further type of herdsmen's staff had probably served as model. One could imagine that the Etruscans - through the adoption of Oriental curved staffs - were stimulated to introduce local herdsmen's staffs as well into rituals, but this remains speculation. On the other hand, r-shaped staffs, which previously had been documented only on Chiusine reliefs, were presumably modelled on the lean-on staff (*bakteria*) of the Attic citizens.

ADDENDUM

After completion of the manuscript, the following pertinent work, dealing with seals from the Syrian city of Emar, situated at the Euphrates river, came to our attention: Beyer, D. 2001, Emar IV: *Les sceaux. Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Emar. Recherches au pays d'Aštata* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 20), Fribourg/Göttingen.

There is plentiful evidence of various kinds of crooks and curved staffs as depicted on seals discussed in this book.

NOTES

- * Abbreviations: CTH = Laroche, E., *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971; HED = Puhvel, J., *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Berlin 1984ff.; HEG = Tischler, J., *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*, Innsbruck 1977ff.; IBoT = *Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri. Boğazköy Tablets in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul*; KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig/Berlin 1916ff.; KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin 1921ff.
- The dates of the reigns of Hittite kings mentioned in this article follow those given in Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, 310-315. Note that the kings Ḫattušili II. and Tuḫalija III. listed there are traditionally referred to as Ḫattušili III. and Tuḫalija IV. in scholarly literature. See on this problem Klengel 1999, 125-126 and 273.
- 1 See also de la Coste-Messelière/de Miré 1957 pl. 1.
 - 2 The best-known one is that of Tutanchamun, e.g. Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006 pl. 18 fig. 28.
 - 3 K. Bittel already asserts quite clearly (Bittel/Naumann/Otto 1941, 124): 'So wird man, wenn sich auch direkte Beweise nicht erbringen lassen, wohl kaum fehlgehen mit der Annahme, daß er ursprünglich aus Vorderasien durch die Etrusker den Römern bekannt geworden ist. Freilich hat er auf diesem langen Wege und im Lauf der Zeiten die ursprüngliche Bedeutung nicht rein bewahrt.' This is basically also our result - hopefully with somewhat more 'proof'. Bittel's approach has not been pursued further at all; only short remarks are subsequently to be found: Siebert 1999, 267 n. 113: 'Etrusker haben den *lituus* nicht aus dem Griechischen, sondern aus dem Osten (hethitische Kultur) übernommen': without references or substantiation; Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006, 69: reference to kalmus ('H. Eichner mündlich').
 - 4 On the Akkadian word see AHw, 279 and CAD G, 34-35; on the Sumerian terms see Attinger 1993, 514.
 - 5 On the *gamlu* and its features see Farber 1980-1983; Durand 1983, 340-342; Wiggermann 1985-1986, 5 with note 6 and 1992, 61; Zgoll 2003, 159. Magen 1986, 71-73 identifies *gamlu* not as a curved staff but rather as a scimitar, Hunger 1976, nos 56-57 proposes as translation 'sickle'. These two latter interpretations cannot be sustained. The article on various kinds of Ancient Near Eastern sceptres and staffs by Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006 is very cursory and lacks a serious discussion of (written) primary sources.
 - 6 CAD M/II, 281 s.v. *muššipu* (lexical section): *lu* ^{šis} *gam* *šu-du*₇. With my translation 'Man carrying the crook in the hand' I assume that *šu-du*₇ ('to make perfect, to complete') is here a spelling for *šu-du*₈ ('to hold in the hand').
 - 7 Wiggermann 1992, 61 referring to Porada 1948, no 581.
 - 8 Reiner 1958, 41 (Tablet VIII ll. 41-42); see also CAD M/II, 281 s.v. *muššipu*. On the relationship between Amurru and AN.AN.MAR.TU see Edzard 1987-1990, 437.
 - 9 Wiggermann 1985-1986, 5 with n. 6; Durand 1987; Lambert 1987.
 - 10 Colbow 1997.
 - 11 Kupper 1961; Wiggermann 1985-1986, 5 n. 6 and 7 n. 8; Collon 1986, 28 and 51; Braun-Holzinger 1996, 287-301.
 - 12 CAD G, 34 s.v. *gamlu*; CAD G, 100 s.v. *gišburru*.
 - 13 Wiggermann 1992, 61.
 - 14 CAD G, 35 s.v. *gamlu*.
 - 15 *Ḫudurru* ('boundary stone') of the Kassite ruler Meli-Šipak (1186-1172 BC): King 1912, pl. XXI; lapis lazuli seal of king Marduk-zākir-šumi I. (9th century BC): Orthmann 1975, 362 fig. 108a.
 - 16 Magen 1986, 71-72.
 - 17 Attestations are listed in CAD G, 35; Magen 1986, 72 n. 21; Zgoll 2003, 156/158 l. 23:5 and 159.
 - 18 Dietrich/Loretz 2000, 194-195.
 - 19 The *ḫaṭṭu*-sceptre was a straight staff, not only wielded by kings, but also by (human and divine) veziers and officials (Wiggermann 1985-1986). The *šibirru*-staff is by some scholars believed to have been a crook (Westenholz 2004, 298-302); I see, however, no clear evidence for this.
 - 20 Ambos forthcoming.
 - 21 Luckenbill 1924, 85 ll. 5-6; CAD Š/II, 377.
 - 22 Grayson 1987, 271 ll. 6-7; CAD Š/II, 378.
 - 23 Pientka 1998, 60; Horsnell 1999, Vol. II 282-283 (year name Ammiditana 8): 'The year: Ammiditana, the king, brought into the Ebabbar a statue of his kingship in which he held a curved staff of gold.'
 - 24 Pientka 1998, 103-105; Horsnell 1999, Vol. II 335-337 (year name Ammišaduqa 9): 'The year: Ammišaduqa, the king, brought into the Ebabbar for Utu, the lofty ruler, a statue of his sovereignty which held a curved staff of gold.'
 - 25 Magen 1986, 69-73, pl. 13 fig. 7 and pl. 14 figs 1-3. In her discussion of the textual and archaeological evidence, Magen is mixing up various kinds of curved staffs and scimitars.
 - 26 Reiner 1958, 39.
 - 27 Syrian seals pertinent to our study have in fact been found at the trading posts Karahöyük, Kārum Kaniš (Kültepe) and Kārum Ḫattuš (Boğazköy).
 - 28 Otto 2000.
 - 29 For representations of worshipping kings who carry the curved staff see Otto 2000, 118 and 228-229; figs 383, 395, 396, 399 (this last seal was actually found at Kültepe in Anatolia). For representations of other worshippers with the crook see Otto 2000, 230 and figs 107, 154 (this seal from Kültepe), 381, 386, 387, 398, 400 and 406. These worshippers are Otto's motif 'man with a shock of hair as worshipper'.
 - 30 Alp 1968, 119 fig. 8 and pl. 35 fig. 89 = Otto 2000, 89, 130 and fig. 258. On the problem of dating the seals from Karahöyük see the discussion in Otto 2000, 52-53. The «man with a shock of hair» as well as the king can appear with a crook pointing down and forward in one hand and one arm hanging down alongside the body, too: Otto 2000, figs 137, 138 and 171.
 - 31 Otto 2000, 118, 224-225 and figs 96, 98 and 398. A differently shaped curved stick is held by persons sitting enthroned in figs 219 (seal from Karahöyük in Anatolia), 237, 238 and 243. These sitting persons are Otto's motives 'sitting god', 'sitting man wearing a flounced garment' and 'sitting man wearing a plain and uncreased garment'.
 - 32 Otto 2000, 225 (motif 'sitting man wearing a plain and uncreased garment') and figs 244-245. Two persons lifting crooks and sitting enthroned and facing each other but without censer between them are also attested: Otto 2000, fig. 155.
 - 33 Otto 2000, 237 (motif 'standing man wearing a long garment') and figs 185 (seal from Kültepe in Anatolia), 187, 211 and 266 (this last seal actually from Karahöyük in Anatolia).
 - 34 Otto 2000, 237 (motif 'standing nude man') and figs. 264-265.

- ³⁵ Otto 2000, 214 (motif 'woman with Egyptian wig') and 212-213 (motif 'woman with long hair'); figs 252, 255, 256, 275, 405, 407 (this seal is from Boğazköy) and 409.
- ³⁶ Tyszkiewicz seal from the 18th/17th century: Frankfurt 1939, pl. XLIII; Alp 1968, 271-274; Barnett 1974, pl. XII; Orthmann 1975, 446 and pl. 375a; Canby 2002, 177-178 and fig. 30a-b. Aydın seal from the 17th century: Frankfurt 1939, fig. 92; Bittel 1976, fig. 155; Canby 2002, 177-178 and fig. 31a-b. See also the seal Weber 1920, fig. 453 (= Bittel/Naumann/Otto 1941, 123 d, Barnett 1974, pl. XII). On all these seals see also Alexander 1973-1976; Barnett 1974, 52-55; Van Loon 1985, 10f.; Boehmer/Güterbock 1987, 47 and fig. 30a.
- ³⁷ Orthmann 1975, pl. 375b; Boehmer/Güterbock 1987, 34-43 and fig. 24c; Candy 2002, 178 and fig. 32.
- ³⁸ See for an overview Collon 1980-1983. The textual evidence was collected by Alp 1947 (several relevant text passages are again quoted in Alp 1983). Representations in the archaeological record were collected by Bittel/Naumann/Otto 1941, 120-124; see also many examples in Gonnet 1975 and Canby 2002 (this last contribution focusing rather on the short crook used for the hunt). I am grateful to Th. van den Hout (Chicago) for bringing the article of Canby to my attention.
- ³⁹ The Hittite king possessed several crooks which were plated and decorated differently: There is attested a *kalmuš* of gold, which is, for example, mentioned in the text KUB X no. 21 I 1-20 (CTH 669) cited below, or a *kalmuš* plated with silver and another one decorated or plated with a dark substance: Alp 1983, 298-299 no 150.
- ⁴⁰ For the interpretation of the long crook as shepherd's staff see Beckman 1988, 42 n. 65. Critique is offered by Haas 1994, 201 by pointing out that very often the crook is carried in a position - pointing down and backwards - in which it would never have been carried by shepherds. On the relief vases from İnandık and Bitik (on which see more detailed below), persons with long crooks over their shoulder are depicted who have been tentatively interpreted as shepherds (Boehmer 1983, 20 fig. 7; 24).
- ⁴¹ Otten 1993, 22-27.
- ⁴² On the morphology of the word *kalmuš* see Rieken 1999, 211-213.
- ⁴³ Haas 1994, 201-203.
- ⁴⁴ See the entries in the etymological dictionaries HED 4, 28-30 and HEG 1, 469.
- ⁴⁵ Alp 1947; Fauth 1979, 237-238.
- ⁴⁶ Güterbock/Van den Hout 1991, §21 and §38.
- ⁴⁷ CTH 669: KUB X no 21 I 1-20; Alp 1947, 165-166; Haas 1994, 202. The term *ḫalentuwa-* mentioned in this passage is a designation for the palace: Van den Hout 2003-2005, 227-228.
- ⁴⁸ CTH 591. The sources on which the following quotation is based are KBo 20 no 67+ III 12-33, KUB 2 no 10 IV 16'-37', IBoT IV no 50 and KUB 54 no 86. A comprehensive edition is offered by Klinger 1996, 314-319, 340-344, 470-473 and 476-477; the passage KUB 2 no 10 IV 24'-35' has been quoted already by Alp 1947, 167-168 in his article on the *kalmuš*. The ritual episode is also mentioned in other texts and fragments, see Klinger 1996, 774 s.v. *kalmuš-* and 799 s.v. *ḫaparwašu-*. See with further information Haas 1994, 215, 643-644 and 824; 2003, 521-522.
- ⁴⁹ Alp 1947, 164.
- ⁵⁰ Popko 1978, 98-101; Haas 1994, 512-513.
- ⁵¹ KUB XXXVIII no 10 III 14f.: Rost 1961-1963, 195; del Monte/Tischler 1978, 399-400, 439; Hazenbos 2003, 187.
- ⁵² Laroche 1960, 201-202 sign no 378; Hawkins/Starke 1980; Marazzi 1990, 241-245 sign no 378; Hawkins 2000a, 27.
- ⁵³ Haas 1994, 526; Güterbock/Kendall 1995.
- ⁵⁴ Mellink 1970; Orthmann 1975, pl. 344-345; Gonnet 1975, no 59 (see for a similar scene from Alaca Höyük no 60); Bittel 1976, figs 212-214; van Loon 1985, pl. XIV-XVI; Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, 109 fig. 7 and 218-219 fig. 1.
- ⁵⁵ Orthostats Malatya 5, 8, 9 and 10; Hawkins 2000a, 306-307, 309-312; 2000b, pl. 147a/148a, 149-150.
- ⁵⁶ Hawkins 2000a, 352; 2000b, pl. 179.
- ⁵⁷ Özgüç 1988; Haas 1994, 523-524; Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, 252-253. İnandıktepe is located at a distance of about 115 km to the west of Boğazköy and about 109 km to the north of Ankara.
- ⁵⁸ Haas 1994, 523-524.
- ⁵⁹ Özgüç 1957; Orthmann 1975, pl. 368; Bittel 1976, Fig. 144; Boehmer 1983, 20; van Loon 1985, pl. XII a); Haas 1994, 525. Bitik is about 42 km north-west of Ankara.
- ⁶⁰ Haas 1994, 524.
- ⁶¹ Özgüç 1988, 101; see also the remarks by Özgüç 1957, 64.
- ⁶² Boehmer 1983, 20 fig. 7; 24.
- ⁶³ Yazılıkaya, relief 81: Bittel/Naumann/Otto 1941, pl. 28; Gonnet 1975, no 46; Orthmann 1975, pl. 349; Bittel et al. 1975, 161-163, pl. 47-49; Bittel 1976, fig. 253; van Loon 1985, pl. XXXV. On the motive of the embrace of a human by a god see Orthmann 1983 and Bonatz 2000, 109-111.
- ⁶⁴ The seals of the 'embrace-group' are collected as 'group XXI' by Beran 1967, 45-46, 79-80 and pl. 15 figs 250a, 251b, 252a, pl. XII figs 250a, 251a, 252a. See also Gonnet 1975, no 17-18; Bittel 1976, fig. 191; Neve 1996², fig. 149.
- ⁶⁵ The seals treated in the publications cited in the previous note can be attributed to king Muwatalli II.; from the reign of Muršili III. is the seal published by Otten 1993, figs 16-20.
- ⁶⁶ Bittel 1976, fig. 192; Otten 1993, 35-40.
- ⁶⁷ Edel 1997, 82-83.
- ⁶⁸ So for example in the rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya, relief no 34: Bittel/Naumann/Otto 1941, pl. 16; Gonnet 1975, no 69; Bittel et al. 1975, 138-139, 174, pl. 21-24; Bittel 1976, fig. 234; Haas 1994, 635; on a relief from 'Kammer 2' in Bogazköy: Neve 1996², 71 fig. 202, 73 fig. 205b, 76 fig. 211; Haas 1994, 627; Güterbock 1993; on seal impressions: Gonnet 1975, no 42-45 and 64; Beckman 1981; as inlay figurines: Gonnet 1975, no 67-68; Orthmann 1975, pl. 371e; Bittel 1976, figs 242-243. On Šimige see in general Haas 1994, 379-381. The sun god is represented with the winged sun disc over his head and holding a crook pointing back and downwards still on a Late Hittite relief from Malatya (ca 11th/10th century BC): Monument 'Malatya 12'; Hawkins 2000a, 313; 2000b, pl. 151.
- ⁶⁹ PUGNUS-mili and Sarruma: Monument 'Malatya 7'; Hawkins 2000a, 308-309; 2000b, pl. 147c/148c; PUGNUS-mili and the sun god: monument 'Malatya 12'; Hawkins 2000a, 313; 2000b, pl. 151.
- ⁷⁰ Hawkins 2000a, 301-304; 2000b, pl. 143.
- ⁷¹ A triad is from Ugarit (Bittel 1976, fig. 180; van Loon 1985, pl. XLII a, Haas 1994, fig. 83a), another one from 'Temple 20' in Boğazköy-İhattuşa (Neve 1996², fig. 81; Haas 1994, fig. 83b); Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, cat. no 113.
- ⁷² Van Loon 1985, 33, 45 and pl. XLI a); Orthmann 1975,

- pl. 370e; Bittel 1976, figs 167-168.
- ⁷³ Hawkins 2002a, 304-305; 2002b, pl. 145-146.
- ⁷⁴ Collon 1980-1983; Canby 2002. Only in passing we note that a curved stick as the tool of a hunter (if not a falconer) is perhaps also attested on a Syrian seal from the 1st half of the 2nd millennium BC. This seal shows the king presenting a sacrificial animal which he seizes with one of his hands at its neck; in his other hand he carries a crook pointing down towards the ground: Otto 2000, 230-231, fig. 127. According to Otto, the king carries a sickle-sword, but to me it seems rather a curved staff. At first glance one would be inclined to consider this crook a shepherd's tool, but Otto stresses the point that the sacrificial animal is a wild animal, so we may assume the crook is a weapon of a hunter.
- ⁷⁵ McMahon 1991, 3-4 and 44-46; Özgüç 1993, 487-491; Haas 1994, 452-453.
- ⁷⁶ On the tutelary god of the countryside depicted on seals from Kültepe see Özgüç 1965, 66-67; van Loon 1985, 8.
- ⁷⁷ This is for example attested on the relief frieze of the Schimmel rhyton: Muscarella (ed.) 1974, no 123; van Loon 1985, pl. XL b); Canby 2002, fig. 7; Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, 119 fig. 2; see also the seal impression Beran 1967, pl. 10 and pl. III fig. 136.
- ⁷⁸ The god on the stag carries the curved stick in this way, for example on the *stèle* from Yeniköy near Alaca Höyük: Bittel 1976, fig. 247; Börker-Klähn 1982, no 305; van Loon 1985, pl. XLII b); Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, cat. no 124. Also the god depicted on the rock relief of Fraktin carries the curved stick in this position: Bittel 1976, figs 194, 196 and 198; van Loon 1985, pl. XVII a); Canby 2002, 171. See also the seal impression in Hogarth 1920, pl. X fig. 313.
- ⁷⁹ Neve² 1996, fig. 41; Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, 93 fig. 12.
- ⁸⁰ Özgüç 1993, 487-491, pl. 84 2a-b; Willinghöfer (ed.) 2002, cat. no 118.
- ⁸¹ See for a general overview Canby 2002, 172. Short curved sticks are carried or hurled in various positions by persons represented on orthostats from Tell Halaf: Opitz/Moortgat 1955, pl. 19-23. On orthostats from Karkemiş and Zincirli, the short curved stick is carried together with the killed animal: Orthmann 1971, pl. 33 H/3; pl. 58 B/12 and pl. 60 B/25.
- ⁸² Alp 1948, 322-323; Koşay 1951, 165-168 and pl. CLXXX-CLXXXI (objects K. 22, K. 25-27); Collon 1980-1983, 252-253.
- ⁸³ Körte/Körte 1904, 53 fig. 14.
- ⁸⁴ Bittel/Naumann/Otto 1941, 124; Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006, 69-70. See also the introduction to our article.
- ⁸⁵ On hare-hunting in general: Buchholz/Jöhrens/Maull 1973, J 62-J 70; Schnapp 1997, 177-181. 198-201. 212-222. 318-325 with numerous illustrations. In Buchholz/Jöhrens/Maull 1973, J 96-99, there is a detailed overview of the problematic term under which very different staffs are subsumed: In Greece, a rather long, knobly, in the upper third slightly curved stick, shown most clearly on a grave relief (Barringer 2001, 178-179 fig. 95, see also the Kerch *pelike* Ermitage B 4528; Fornasier 2001, 81 fig. 40; 293 EA 17). Clubs with or without a head are, however, often used for hare-hunting (e.g., *kylix* by Olto: Scheffold 1960 166-167 Abb. 157, white-ground *lekythoi*: Schnapp 1997, 319 figs. 303. 304) or irregularly-shaped sticks are used, which, when they are slightly curved, are often also called *lagobolon*. They could also be thrown at the hares (Schnapp 1997, 216 fig. 83; 220 fig. 93; Etruscan parallel: *loc. cit.* 199 fig. 43a.b), which probably justifies the use of this designation. Even a stick which could have been the prototype for the r-shaped citizen's walking-stick (see below, n. 97. 98), could - in connection with a hare - be seen as a *lagobolon* (Schnapp 1997, 348 fig. 377). Most closely related to the Etruscan '*lagobolon*' are staffs which are curved and thickened at their upper end, and which, in Roman art, are often carried by satyrs (e.g., Matz 1968, 22 Type 11; 44-46 Type 61. 62. 66. 69; further: Buchholz/Jöhrens/Maull 1973:J 98 n. 413). There were similar implements already in the Orient (see above p. 138). Since the term *lagobolon* is not unambiguous, but nonetheless is the most concise characterization of the Etruscan stick, the Etruscan type is designated in the following as the '*lagobolon*'-type.
- ⁸⁶ "Hockey'-Players Base", Athens, Nat. Mus. 3477: Boardman 1978 fig. 241.
- ⁸⁷ See Harten 1999, 87 n. 403; 241 with numerous examples in the plates; Zewadski 1999, with a list of the depictions. If the stick is not straight, but a bit wavy, this is probably supposed to indicate that it was a natural stick, made of a branch.
- ⁸⁸ Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006, 52 Section 2.2 quote, contrary to the heading, 'Der Krummstab, der Stab der Seher und Priester' not a single depiction of a curved staff in this circle of people. The *ομήπτρον* mentioned for Chryses, Teiresias and other priests (Sources: Borchardt/Bleibtreu n. 68-71) is shown as a sceptre of various forms, not as a curved staff.
- ⁸⁹ 1) Amphora, near Group E, Musei Vaticani 17701: Albizzati 1929, 139-140 no 353 pl. 45; Beazley, *ABV* 138,2; *LIMC* II, 1984, 986 Athena 340. 2) Amphora, Princeton Painter, Beazley, *ABV* 298,5; *LIMC* II, 1984, 986 Athena 337* pl. 742. Here, the staff ends in a bird's head. 3) On the tripod-exaleiptron by the C Painter, Louvre CA 616 (Beazley, *ABV* 58, 122; *LIMC* II, 1984, 986 Athena 345* pl. 743) the god holds a wavy staff with a sort of a loop - or a thickened curve? - at the upper end, 4) a knobly stick which is very strongly thickened above, and which almost recalls a *lagobolon* held upside down, on the eponymous fragment of a cup by the Heidelberg Painter (Beazley, *ABV* 63,1; *LIMC* II, 1000 Athena 485* pl. 754; *CVA* Heidelberg 4, 25-26 pl. 151,3 with short remarks on the staff, H. Gropengießer), 5) An animal's head is probably also meant on the amphora in Basel, which Borchardt/Bleibtreu 2006, 52 mention in n. 72 (Scheffold 1978, 16-17 fig. 4; *LIMC* II, 987 Athena 353* pl. 745). There, however, the staff is not really curved, but the curve is formed only by the head, similar to the numerous Egyptian was-sceptres. In general, Zeus' sceptres are rendered highly imaginatively on Attic vases of the mid-6th century. In the first half of the 5th century, then, Zeus has only solid, knobly walking-sticks (see R. Hampe, *Gymnasium* 66, 1959, 42-43). In the rape of Ganymede (*LIMC* IV [1988] 157 Ganymedes 56* pl. 80 with bibliography), this could be explained by the fact that Zeus appears there as a traveller, or as an ordinary citizen; in assemblies of the gods (volute *krater* Paris, Cab. Méd. 385, Beazley, *ARV*² 186, 50; *LIMC* VI [1990] Ker 61° with fig., literature, and references; *Stamnos* Triest S424, Beazley, *ARV*² 217,2; *LIMC* V [1990] 125 Herakles 2873* pl. 114 with literature) or in the case of the god isolated and enthroned (Tetradrachmai from Aitnai: *LIMC* VIII [1997] 367 Zeus 525* pl. 241) this attribute is rather surprising. There, it is perhaps a reinterpreted successor of the Archaic curved staff, with the

- rendering of which the Archaic vase painters had obviously also already had their problems. It is not to be excluded that Zeus was also to be characterized as a father-figure. Only after having concluded this contribution I came across the important article by N. Yalouris (Yalouris 1988) on the curved sceptres of Zeus. He deduced them from Greek shepherd's crooks similar to the type still used in modern Greece up to the 20th century (*klitse* or *agklitse*). In this view, the incorporation of the short, spirally-coiled sceptres of the discussed bronze statuettes seems problematic.
- ⁹⁰ Benndorf/Niemann 1889 pl. XXIV A 5; Oberleitner 1994, 26 fig. 42; Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006, pl. 19 fig. 34. According to the drawing in Benndorf/Niemann 1889 pl. XXIV B 1 (=Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006 pl. 19 fig. 33), there is a similar object next to the ruler; in photos (Eichler 1950 pl. 2/3 B 1; Oberleitner 1994, 25 fig. 37), it is not clearly recognizable what is depicted there.
- ⁹¹ Athens, Nat. Mus. 13209 and 18771; Munich, Antikensammlung 4339: LIMC VIII (Zürich Düsseldorf 1997) 320 Zeus 35-37* with detailed bibliography. (M. Tiverios), further, Jost 1985, 252-253 no 4 pl. 47,3-4 (with a discussion of the previous interpretations of the '*lituus*'); Borchhardt/Bleibtreu 2006 pl. 18 fig. 32. Kopcke 1976, 10-12, interprets the staffs as a variant form of lightning ('volute lightning') or thunderbolt, which has found broad acceptance.
- ⁹² Concise overview: *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Kultinstrumente 394-396 (I. Krauskopf), also Siebert 1999, 130-132. 267-268. Although it is maintained that the Etruscans did not adopt the *lituus* from Greece, (see above, n. 3), it is supposed to have been 'ursprünglich Zeichen des höchsten Gottes' (l.c. 267). This opinion is based on the Greek Zeus-statuettes, see e.g. Thulin 1909, 113-114.
- ⁹³ Jannot 1993.
- ⁹⁴ Jannot 1993, 231-235 figs 11-12.
- ⁹⁵ Florence, Mus. Arch. 72725: Cristofani 1985, 154; Jannot 1993, 232 fig. 12; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Cult Instruments 396 no 1533* pl. 63; on the interpretation of the figure, in summary: Richardson 1983, 237-238 figs. 539. 540; Cristofani 1985, 268 no. 44 pl. 154.
- ⁹⁶ Roncalli 1981, 124-132. The statuette's headgear is, in fact, not provided with the peak of the typical *haruspex*-cap, but could be a hat for shepherds or travellers. So interpreted, it would then also be appropriate for Hermes/Turms, who also wears this type of hat (e.g. Richardson 1983, 359-360 no VII.2 fig. 863. Similar hats: *loc. cit.* figs 541-545).
- ⁹⁷ See Jannot 1993, 232 fig. 11. This stick is used less as a support in walking by the elderly, but is, in general, a convenience - above all, as a prop in standing. Some few examples, all of them from Lullies 1953: Stick by komasts: figs 24, 28 (Euthymides, Beazley, *ARV*² 26,1), by symposiasts: fig. 93 (Douris, Beazley, *ARV*² 437, 128) and for leaning on, tucked under the armpit: fig. 34 (Phintias, Beazley, *ARV*² 23,7). Such sticks are also used by younger, beardless men, cf. e.g. Pfuhl 1923 figs 334. 338. 376. 393. 396. Older men, as, for example, the fathers of the central figures, mostly hold a knobby stick without the upper crossrib: Lullies 1953 fig. 20 (Euthymides, Beazley, *ARV*² 27,4), figs 25-26 (Euthymides, Beazley, *ARV*² 26,1), figs 49-50 (Kleophrades Painter, Beazley, *ARV*² 182,4), figs 74-75 (Pan Painter, Beazley, *ARV*² 556,101), but here, too, a stick with crossrib can be used: Pfuhl 1923 fig. 524. In Aristophanes, *eccl.* 74-78 the women arm themselves for the people's assembly with two types of sticks: βακτηρία presumably designates the citizen's stick, σῦταλον something thicker. This distinction could correspond to the two types recognizable in vase-paintings.
- ⁹⁸ See Jannot 1993, 231-232; Jannot 1984 fig. 175 (C,I,10: London, Brit. Mus. D 11), fig. 191 (C,I,24: Chiusi 2607), fig. 217 (C,I,38b: Berlin 1225), fig. 294 (C,II,35c: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg H. 205. The type of the stick carried by the second figure from the left cannot be more exactly determined: r-shaped or 'walking-stick' with a top?), fig. 296 (C,II,36a: Firenze 5587), fig. 334 (C,III,8b: Berlin 1226).
- ⁹⁹ Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 14234: Jannot 1993, 232 pl. 2; Jannot 1984, 57 C,I,26b fig. 196. In a very similar group, the man holds the stick himself, but uses it just as little (Palermo 8387: Jannot 1984, C,I,27a figs 197-198).
- ¹⁰⁰ Palermo, Mus. Naz. NI 8385: Jannot 1984, 48-49 C I 8b fig.171; Jannot 1993, 235 fig. 13; Jannot 1998 a, 641. 644 fig. 5; Thuillier 1985, 440-445 fig. 52 designates the staffs as *lituus*-(*pedum*), in the same sense as the staff in the Tomba degli Auguri (n. 108).
- ¹⁰¹ There is a similar problem with regard to the base in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (n. 98). There, everyone has a different staff.
- ¹⁰² Jannot 1993, 235.
- ¹⁰³ In scenes of the 'assembly of men': fragmentary bases Chiusi 2284 (Jannot 1984, 67 C,II,1b fig. 222; Jannot 1993 pl. 1) and Palermo 8405 (Jannot 1984, 100 C,III,15 figs 346-347).
- ¹⁰⁴ Jannot 1993, 234-237. Less convincing is the association with a higher age-group. The staff is also depicted in a dancing scene - corresponding to Attic komos-scenes - on a fresco in Tarquinia (Tomba Francesca Giustiniani: Jannot 1993, 232; Steingraber (ed.) 1985 pl. 70-71).
- ¹⁰⁵ On the *lagobolon*, see n. 85.
- ¹⁰⁶ Chiusine *cippus* London D 15: Jannot 1984, 146 D,I,7c fig. 504; Camporeale 1984, 130 n. 3 pl. 58 b. Numerous other examples in Camporeale 1984, e.g. pl. 35 a.b. 38 a. 59 a.b. A cowherd on an amphora by the Paris Painter (Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 14066: Harnestad 1974, 45-46 no 12 pl. 6) holds a similar implement together with a spear; both are probably thought of as weapons. On two Chiusine reliefs, two staffs in hunting scenes are so strongly curved and so little thickened, that one would think of *litui* without this context: London, Brit. Mus. D 13 (Jannot 1984 C,I,12 fig. 177; Camporeale 1984, 116 no 7 pl. 47a) and D 18 (Jannot 1984, D,II,10c fig. 556; Camporeale 1984, 130 no 1 pl.58a), cf. also Tarquinia, Tomba del Morente, rear wall (Steingraber 1985 325 fig. 238) and an amphora by the Micali Painter in Tarquinia (*Artista* 1988, 65 fig. 83).
- ¹⁰⁷ Palermo 8382: Jannot 1984, 26-27 B,II,1 fig.109; Piel 2001, 195 L 15.
- ¹⁰⁸ Steingraber 1985, 283 no 42 pl.18; Thuillier 1985 439; Piel 2001, 189-190 with further literature. 195 L 13 mistakenly ascribed to Chiusi instead of Tarquinia).
- ¹⁰⁹ Thuillier 1985, 445-449.
- ¹¹⁰ Jannot 1984, 22 B,I,3 figs 99-100; Piel 2001, 195 L 16. The function of a differently curved staff which a running young man in the Tomba dei Giccolieri holds, is unclear (Steingraber 1985, 310 fig. 173 pl. 91); it is mostly designated as a *lagobolon* (Jannot 1993, 228; Steingraber *loc. cit.*), but with the slightly upward-curving upper end, it resembles the special form of the Attic citizen's staff on a *kylix* by Skythes (Beazley, *ARV*² 83, 14; CVA Villa Giulia 2 III I c pl. 23,3; 26,1; 27; Pfuhl 1923 fig. 334).
- ¹¹¹ Besides this problem immanent in the depiction, the question in the case of reliefs can, in addition, be

- decided only before the respective original. Photos are not dependable in such cases. One believed to discern, e.g. on the Chiusine base in the Museo Barracco (Jannot 1984, C,III, 3; Piel 2001, 196 L 26) in Jannot 1998 b, 141 fig. 79 a spirally-coiled and a simply curved *lituus*, while in Jannot 1984, fig. 320 and on photos from the museum, only a severely worn surface can be seen in this place.
- ¹¹² Piel 2001, 189-190, on the other hand, uses *pedum* as a generic term for all curved staffs, also for those of the 'lagobolon'-type: 'tout *lituus* est un *pedum*, mais tout *pedum* n'est pas nécessairement un *lituus*'. Ritually used staffs like those in the Tomba degli Auguri, but also the simply curved staffs, are called *lituus-pedum*. 'Lituus' is used in such cases not as a designation of the form, but of the cultic use.
- ¹¹³ Thuillier 1985, 449-457 fig. 53; Piel 2001, 195 L 4. The discussion on the interpretation of the Assembly Frieze continues, see e.g. Rathje 1989. Torelli 1992/1997. The latest summary in Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003, 174-178.
- ¹¹⁴ Torelli 1992/1997, 252 fig. 3b = 89 fig. 65; Bruun 1993, figs.1-2, with bibliography to and discussion of the proposals for interpretations; Piel 2001, 195 L 7.
- ¹¹⁵ E.g., Toscana: Sgubini Moretti/Ricciardi 1993, fig. 38. 41; Piel 2001 195 L 14; *ThesCRA* I.1, s.v.: *processioni*, etr. 27 Nr. 47, 48a with bibliography (St. Bruni). The marching warriors on the terracotta stand from Murlo (Warden 1977) could be added here if a *lituus* were actually depicted there, as Piel 2001, 195 L 10 maintains. Presumably, he means the object behind the fifth warrior's head (Warden pl. 105,2; 106,1), which, however, is described by Warden (202) probably more correctly as a hand holding a spear (cf. pl. 104,1.3, the second warrior's hand).
- ¹¹⁶ Florence 13623: *Alle origini* 1996, 151-153 no 13 pl. 80 fig. 48 (G. De Marinis: priestly functions); *Etruschi* 2000, 592 no 148 (S. Bruni); Piel 2001, 196 L 23. - Berlin Sk. 1220: *Welt der Etrusker* 1988, 211 B 9.5 with fig. (H. Heres, priestly functions); Piel 2001, 196 L 22 - From Frascole: Nicosia 1967, 278 pl. 50a; Bruni 2002, 318.
- ¹¹⁷ Krauskopf 1974, 30-31 pl. 13; Piel 2001, 193. 195 L 11.
- ¹¹⁸ Civitavecchia, Mus. Arch. 1704: Hannestad 1976, 55 no. 9; *Artista* 1988, 30-31 fig. 40; Piel 2001, 195 L 12.
- ¹¹⁹ List Piel 2001, 195-196 without literature: Spiegel L 18 (= Mayer-Prokop 1967, 32 S 39 pl. 35,1.2)
- ¹²⁰ Thuillier 1985, 438-460.
- ¹²¹ Frieze from Praeneste, *località* Colombella: *La grande Roma* 1990, 166-168 figs. 7.4.2; 7.4.4; Torelli 1992/1997, 260 fig. 11 = 101 fig. 77. Although it is somewhat less tightly coiled, the *lituus* on the frieze from Cisterna (fragments also in Rome: Cisterna and Rome: *La grande Roma* 1990, 94 nos 24-25; Torelli 1992/1997, 258 fig. 9 = 100 fig. 75; Piel 2001, 196 L 19) obviously means the same implement.
- ¹²² Reggio Emilia, Mus. di Paletnologia 15492: Macellari 1994, 209-212 fig. 1; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Cult Instruments (2005) 395 n. 1528 with bibliography; Piel 2001, 195 L 9.
- ¹²³ Mus. Arch 634: Jannot 1984, 152-153 D,I,14b fig. 520; Jannot 1993, 230-231 fig. 10; Piel 2001, 196 L 25; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Cult Instruments 396 no.1532.
- ¹²⁴ 1. Villa Giulia 60254, from Cerveteri: Macellari 1994, 209; Piel 2001, 195 L 6; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Cult Instruments 395 no 1527 with bibliography. Probably an offering made for the grave (in the original size?), because the metal foil is too thin for actual use. - 2. From S. Ilario d'Enza see n. 122. - 3. The exact form of the staff from Veio, Grotta Grammiccia, cannot be reconstructed, see n. 132.
- ¹²⁵ For instance, the *lituus* cited by Borchardt/Bleibtreu 2006, 48 pl. 19 fig. 35 on the narrow end of the sarcophagus of Ramtha Visnai and Arnth Teties, is just as much a trumpet as that on the front side; on both, the cross-bar can clearly be seen (Herbig 1952 pl. 40, see also *Italo-Tusco-Romana* 2006 pl. 53 fig. 6). The objects in a fresco in the Tomba del Poggio Renzo (Piel 2001, 196 L 21) are probably rather trumpets: Blanck 1986, 24 no. 2.
- ¹²⁶ On the *lituus*-trumpet: Blanck 1986, 24-26 figs. 13-15 with a list of all of the depictions, and *ThesCRA* II.4.c. Musique, étr. 391-392 (Jannot, J.-R.). In tomb frescos, the *lituus*-trumpet is shown together with the horn in Orvieto (Hescanas, Blanck 1986 no 3) and Tarquinia (Scudi, Giglioli, Bruschi, loc. cit. no 5 fig. 15; no 6.7); and on sarcophagi from Cerveteri and Vulci (loc. cit. no 9.10). The trumpet from Tarquinia, Civita (Bonghi Jovino 1989/90, 690-694; Bonghi Jovino 1997/2000; *Principi* 2000, 240 no 275 with fig., *ThesCRA* II.4.c. musique, étr. 392 no 2 with bibliography), is far older than the depictions, which once again demonstrates that many things which actually existed cannot be found in pictures.
- ¹²⁷ Rome, Antiquarium Forense 885: Richardson 1983, 73 no 1 pl. 33, 134-136; Cristofani 1985, 246 no 1.1 pl. 74; *La Grande Roma* 1990, 56 no 23 pl. 2; *Etruschi* 2000, 591 no 146; Piel 2001, 195 L 3; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Kultinstrumente 396 no. 1530. Because of the clothing, which is unusual for a priest, the interpretation as augur (Cristofani) cannot be substantiated; it is, however, not impossible. The manner in which the figure holds the staff could mean that he is presenting it as a votive offering, cf., however, a similar manner of carrying a (lost) staff by the seated figure with the priest's hat from Murlo.
- ¹²⁸ Villa Giulia (prov. inv. G 601): *La grande Roma* 1990, pl. 11; Piel 2001, 196 L 20; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Cult Instruments 396 no 1531.
- ¹²⁹ The oldest example, which, in an absolutely amazing fashion, resembles the later Roman *litui*, is found on a bucchero olpe in Brussels, which was once held to be a forgery (Bonamici 1974, 80-81 no 109 pl. 57), now, however, through finds of similar vessels in Cerveteri, is proven to be genuine (Rizzo/Martelli 1993, 19-26 fig. 14; Piel 2001, 195 L 5). The above-mentioned *lituus* from Cerveteri follows next, n. 123.
- ¹³⁰ *ThesCRA* III.6.a Divinazione étr. 59 (Camporeale, G.).
- ¹³¹ Still older than the spiral-*lituus* on the bucchero olpe in Brussels (n. 129) is an original staff from a tomb in Veio, see n. 132. To be excluded, on the other hand, is the presumed *lituus* in the hand of a seated figure from the Tomba delle Statue in Ceri (Piel 2001, 195 L 2), since the high relief's state of preservation does not permit restoration, and because the figure, in addition, is probably female (Prayon 1998, 191-195; Prayon 2004, 87-85 fig. 49); on these statues, most recently Serra Ridgway 2002, 110-114.
- ¹³² The specimen is mostly designated as a *lituus*: Piel 2001, 195 L 1; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. 395 no. 1526. But apparently only the straight part of a staff and parts of a somewhat larger, round(?) metal foil are preserved (Drawing in Müller-Karpe 1974, 93 pl. 25.2 without classification of the staff). Strøm 1971, 140 describes it: 'the wooden *lituus* ... had a gold knob and was covered with gold foil'.
- ¹³³ On the publication situation: Buranelli/Drago/Paolini 1997, 69 n. 31.
- ¹³⁴ On the rhyton Rathje 1979, 150 I fig. I, 1-2. with earlier literature; *Principi* 2000, 128 no 78 with fig.
- ¹³⁵ Young 1958, 152 fig. on the title page; Tuchelt 1962, 58

- no 10; *Principi* 2000, fig. on p. 98.
- ¹³⁶ Körte 1904, 53 fig. 14.
- ¹³⁷ Literary sources, see *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Cult Instruments 395 no 1521-1525; Siebert 1999, 268.
- ¹³⁸ Bruni 2002, 316-318.
- ¹³⁹ The close-fitting headgear with a - never completely preserved - top of the one group has been interpreted as a helmet or as a cap with an apex-like top, in a certain sense, as the precursor of the *galerus* (so Edlund-Berry 1992, 183), which, however, completely covers the head except for the face, and is tied at the chin, which directly contradicts Edlund-Berry's argumentation ('since they [the hats of the Murlo figures] do not seem to cover the head completely...'). One would then rather have to compare caps or hats like those worn, e.g., on Fiesole *cippi* (see n. 116), but which have no elaborate top. The 'cowboy'-hat, on the other hand, is attested by later depictions to be a priest's hat (Jannot 1998 b, 136-138), and has close parallels on Sardinia (e.g., statuette Cagliari, *Mus. Naz.* from Abini, Teti: *Kunst und Kultur Sardinians* 1980, 297 fig. 133; 390 no 133). On the hats and garments of the *haruspex* see n. 96. A similarly tight-fitting and high-sitting helmet, e.g. on an ivory frieze from Comeana (*Principi* 2000, 254 no 302).
- ¹⁴⁰ Krauskopf 2006.
- ¹⁴¹ Crawford, *RCC* 1974, 334/1 pl. 43; *ThesCRA* V.2.b. Cult Instruments 396 no 1535 pl. 63.
- ¹⁴² Besides the Chiusine reliefs, which reach into the 5th century, a mirror of the mid-5th century in the Vatican can be named (Fischer-Graf 1980, 26 V 13 pl. 4; *LIMC* VII, 1994, 901 Thalna 16 with fig. = VIII, 1997, 108 Turms 125, 408 Zeus/Tinia 93*), on which Turms and a male Thalna lean on 'walking-sticks', which resemble the r-shaped type, the stick on the *kylix* by Skythes (n. 110) is also comparable.
- ¹⁴³ Sassatelli 1988, 251-254 figs 28-30; Sassatelli 1990, 81-83 pl. 4. 6-8; Piel 2001, 196 L 27. 28.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AHw = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1965-1981.
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*.
- RIA = *Reallexikon der Assyrologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.

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