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# Representations of Falconry in Eastern Han China (A.D. 25-220)

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*Falconry has been practiced in China for nearly two thousand years, but its early history is obscured by a lack of visual, textual, and archaeological materials. Falconry first appears in visual and textual records dating to the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220). Although the standard histories offer few details about the practice of falconry at this time, a growing number of excavated tomb reliefs provide information regarding the possible genesis of the sport. I first discovered this imagery when looking for representations of activities associated with foreigners in hunting scenes depicted in Eastern Han tombs from Shaanxi and Shanxi. In scenes of the hunt from this region, mounted falconers are depicted alongside mounted archers, figures that are connected in Han visual and textual sources with Northern nomadic pastoralists. This imagery immediately prompted a number of questions: when the practice began, who practiced falconry, and whether or not it was associated with foreigners at this time. This article is an outgrowth of research based on these initial questions. Focusing on Eastern Han depictions of falconry, I first examine where and how falconry was practiced in ancient China and what types of birds were used. I will then argue that the sport was originally learned by the Chinese from nomadic pastoralists living to the north of Han China. Finally, I will examine Han attitudes towards the sport, suggesting that although it may have originally been associated with nomadic pastoralists, in Eastern Han texts, falconry was connected with activities characteristic of a misspent youth.*

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**A**POCRYPHAL TALES DATING TO THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD or later argue that falconry was practiced in China as early as the seventh century B.C. A tale prevalent in medieval China pushes the genesis of falconry as far back as the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 B.C.) and tells of Chu Wen Wang 楚文王 (689-677 B.C.) hunting with a goshawk at Yunmeng 云梦. The *Taiping yulan* 太平禦覽 (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era), a Song dynasty (960-1279) encyclopedia of quotations, includes a passage from the *Shi ji* 世記 (Records of the Grand Historian), that says when the prime minister of Qin, Li Si 李斯 (c.280-208 B.C.), was about to be executed he reminisced about hunting with “a yellow dog and a gray hawk on his arm.” The reference to a gray hawk in this passage, however, does not appear in our modern editions of the *Shi ji*. This story seems to have been prevalent as early as the Tang dynasty (618-907) and is referenced in an anonymous Tang poem, “Cang ying fu 蒼鷹賦 (Rhapsody on a Grey Goshawk).” The *Yi lei zhuan* 異類傳 (Record of Oddities) also mentions that Han Wudi 漢武帝 (140-87 B.C.) was given a black goshawk from the Western Regions, but this text is of uncertain reliability and does not say that the goshawk was accompanied by a practiced falconer or was used in hunting. These tales are not substantiated by pre-Han or Han dynasty texts.

Further complicating the situation is the frequent use of birds as space fillers in ancient Chinese art. Throughout this paper I have limited the visual and textual sources I have used to those that directly attest to the use of birds of prey in the hunt or hawking equipment. Although different kinds of birds were raised and kept as pets as early as the Western Zhou dynasty (1050-770 B.C.) and some texts reference the behavior of birds of prey in the wild, visual and textual records do not corroborate the use of birds of prey in hunting earlier than the Eastern Han dynasty. Birds also continue to appear in many Eastern Han tomb reliefs as space fillers, but only those that show hawks perched on the hands of falconers or hawking equipment provide a firm foundation for a discussion of the early history of the sport.

Based on visual and textual sources, the use of birds of prey in the hunt appears to have first been practiced by middle- and high-ranking officials and the aristocracy during the Eastern Han dynasty. The *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han Dynasty) records the use of hawks alongside hounds by hunting enthusiasts at this time, including Empress Deng 鄧 (A.D. 81-121) and Emperor Ling 漢靈帝 (A.D. 156-181). The use of hawks in an imperial hunt in the Western Han capital of Chang’an is also eulogized by Zhang Heng 張衡 (A.D. 78-139) in the “Xijing fu 西京賦 (Rhapsody on the Western Capital)”<sup>1</sup>:

Birds have no time to fly away;  
 Beasts have no chance to flee.  
 Blue-necked goshawks snatch birds beneath the gauntlets;  
 Hanlu hounds snap at hares from the end of their tethers.

Except for a passage from the *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (Miscellanies of the Western Capital) that provides an accurate description of goshawks, however, most textual records offer little insight into the actual practice of falconry at this time.

Instead, Eastern Han depictions of falconry provide the most detailed information regarding the basic aspects of the sport. This imagery can be divided into two groups based on the geographic location where they were excavated and the method of falconry that they

depict. The first group is represented by reliefs found in tombs and shrines from Shandong. During the Eastern Han dynasty this area was a major center for the production of carved tomb reliefs commissioned by low- to middle-level officials. Images from this region depict birds perched atop the arm of a falconer accompanied by hounds (Figs. 1A-3B). The patrons of the second set of reliefs were military and civil officials and commoners living in a militarized region in the northwest of China in the modern provinces of Shaanxi and Shanxi. They differ from the reliefs from Shandong and illustrate mounted falconers who are part of hunting parties comprised of mounted archers (Figs. 4-6).

Based on what we know about the patrons of tomb reliefs from these two areas, these representations suggest that during the Eastern Han dynasty falconry was practiced on foot and on horseback by low- to middle-ranking officials and wealthy commoners who also used hounds. Unfortunately, depictions of hawking equipment in these reliefs are rare; however, a relief from Songshan 宋山, Shandong, shows a falconer carrying a T-shaped perch in his left hand. His companions carry beaters that would have been used to flush out game (Figs. 1A and 1B). Imagery from the Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 shrine also depicts hunters carrying beaters and a falconer holding a curved stick similar to a shepherd's crook that was probably also used to flush out game (Figs. 2A and 2B). Depictions of Eastern Han falconers, whether mounted or on foot, do not show any clear preference for holding birds on the right or left wrist. This suggests that it was much later that carrying hawks on the right wrist, rather than on the left as was common in medieval Europe, became the accepted practice in China.

The differences in depictions of falconry in these two areas are related to regional topographies and how the hunt was practiced in both regions without the use of raptors. Falconry on foot with hounds would have been more suitable to the wooded areas of Shandong where tomb reliefs also frequently depict the use of hounds in the hunt. Dogs had been used in hunting in China for more than a millennium, and their use in falconry would have been an extension of their traditional role as trackers and procurers of game. The use of dogs in European falconry suggests that in China these hounds would have located prey in the fields and flushed it out or followed the bird and guarded it once it had captured its prey. In some circumstances dogs may have also tracked the bird and helped it make the kill. Although today springers, spaniels, and pointers are usually used in falconry, the adaptability of the greyhound-like dogs depicted in Eastern Han tomb reliefs is supported by thirteenth-century European records of heron-hawking and crane-hawking where greyhounds were used to follow and help the hawk in subduing and/or killing its prey.

Although horses have been used throughout the world in falconry as a means of transportation to and from the hunting fields, regional hunting traditions during the Eastern Han dynasty suggest that the falconers depicted in Shaanxi and Shanxi practiced long-distance hawking on horseback. Compared to scenes of the hunt in other regions, hunting imagery in this area provides few representations of hunters on foot and instead focuses on the figure of the mounted archer. Historically, falconry on horseback was practiced in continuous, open landscapes such as deserts or plains. The topography of northern Shaanxi and Shanxi, a region that lies on the border of the desert and Inner Mongolia, would have made practicing falconry on foot an unappealing and unproductive possibility. Instead, on horseback, the falconer could carry his hawk through the field, cast her off once suit-

able prey had been found, follow her and then dismount to retrieve the bird after a kill. Hunting hounds appear to have been used in falconry in this region as well, as can be seen in a relief from Mizhi 米脂, Shaanxi, which shows several greyhound-like hounds to the front of a mounted falconer (Fig. 5).

### Types of Birds Used

Visual and textual evidence suggests that Han dynasty falconers trained and used goshawks and sparrowhawks in the hunt. Goshawks, with their long, broad tails are depicted on a tomb relief from Liangcheng 兩成, Weishan 微山, Shandong, which shows a procession of hunters with raptors and hounds (Figs. 3A and 3B). A sparrowhawk, smaller cousin to the goshawk, is probably depicted on the west wall of the Xiaotangshan shrine (Fig. 2C). The size and proportions of the tails of most of the birds in other Eastern Han scenes of falconry also suggest that the raptors depicted are either goshawks or sparrowhawks. Both goshawks and sparrowhawks are also described in a passage from the *Xijing zaji*:

Li Heng was a wild youth from Maoling who hunted treacherous beasts with excellent and swift hounds or used goshawks and sparrowhawks to fell pheasants and Hu hares.... Goshawks have black wings and yellow eyes. They fly in the blue depths of the sky and are of the type of bird that has gold spurs. Sparrowhawks have the manners of Yao birds and fly alone.

Goshawks and sparrowhawks are low-flying woodland birds with long rudder-like tails that kill their prey by stabbing it with their claws. This behavior is shown in reliefs from Shaanxi that depict birds pinning animals to the ground (Figs. 5 and 6). Unlike falcons, they are usually not hooded and are not represented as such in Eastern Han tomb reliefs.

Goshawks hunt in open and wooded areas and their most common prey are hares, pheasants or birds and mammals of a similar size. Since they normally feed on rabbits, this must have made them natural additions to Eastern Han hunts, which, based on tomb reliefs from Shandong, frequently consisted of figures hunting rabbits and other animals on foot accompanied by hounds. Goshawks can, however, also fasten themselves on to larger animals, slowing them down until the hunter and/or hounds can arrive to finish the job.

Sparrowhawks are smaller than goshawks and have long slender legs. In the wild, they feed on smaller quarry such as blackbirds and starlings that they usually take in the air. In Japan, trained sparrowhawks traditionally were used to hunt skylarks and quail; however, large females have been known to take down ducks as large as mallards.

### The Northern Origins of Falconry in China

It has generally been thought that the practice of falconry entered China via the West or the North. Several artifacts excavated from tombs associated with the Xiongnu 匈奴, a confederation of northern nomadic pastoralists, suggest that the use of birds of prey in the hunt was first learned by the Chinese from their northern neighbors. The strongest evidence that falconry was practiced by the Xiongnu is found on a second-century B.C. bronze plaque excavated from Xichagou 西岔溝, Liaoning, that depicts two riders on fantastic animals with raptor-headed appendages. One of these figures carries a bird of prey on his right wrist (Fig. 7). A later belt plaque, dated to the second or first century B.C., also depicts a bird of prey seated on the rump of an equid attached to a cart behind which stands a hunting hound.

The distribution of Eastern Han tomb reliefs depicting the practice of falconry also supports the northern origin of the sport. To date, five reliefs have been excavated from the northwestern provinces of Shaanxi and Shanxi that show mounted falconers. In addition to these depictions, a few other reliefs illustrate a raptor holding prey in its claws that may further confirm the popularity of the sport in this region (Figs. 5 and 6). During the Eastern Han dynasty, this area was part of Shang 上 and Xihe 西河 commanderies whose inhabitants included a mixture of Chinese settlers, Xiongnu and other non-Han Chinese. The number of reliefs related to falconry in this region can be compared to the four reliefs excavated from Shandong. Although the number of reliefs is nearly identical, Shandong has produced the largest number of Eastern Han tomb and shrine reliefs to date among which images of falconry are proportionately small. The frequency with which mounted falconers are depicted in reliefs from Shaanxi and Shanxi further supports the northern origin of the sport and suggests that falconry was a common element in the hunting traditions of the northern commanderies.

### Eastern Han Attitudes toward Falconry

An association of falconry with foreign customs may be one of the reasons behind the veiled negativity toward the sport in Eastern Han texts. Falconry is only mentioned a few times in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han Dynasty) and similar to depictions of falconry, it is always cited in combination with the use of hounds in the hunt. Falconry appears in the biography of Liang Ji 梁冀 (d. A.D. 159), a rather unscrupulous and power-hungry character who controlled the Han government for almost two decades. In the *Hou Han shu*, Liang Ji is described as having “raptor-like shoulders and the eyes of a wolf” and is one of many characters portrayed whose depraved tendencies are viewed as symptomatic of a declining and corrupt age. In his biography, falconry appears among activities enjoyed by Liang Ji during his misspent youth:

It was his nature to be fond of wine. He was capable with the bow and playing chess, stringed instruments, *gewu*, *liubo*, kick ball, and gambling. He also liked falconry, hunting hounds, racing horses and cockfights.

The sport is similarly characterized in the “Biography of Yuan Shu 袁術 (d. A.D. 199),” who “in his youth was known for his heroism and frequently went out with young dandies using hawks and hounds in the hunt.” The *Hou Han shu* records, however, that Yuan Shu, unlike Liang Ji, soon realized his errant ways, gave up such frivolous pursuits, and was recommended for his upright and filial behavior. Finally, in the *Dongguan Han ji* 東觀漢記 (Han Records of the Eastern Lodge), Geng Gong 耿恭, a Han general fallen from grace, is reported as excessively indulging in falconry, hunting hounds, and games by the roadside before he is imprisoned. These passages suggest that during the Eastern Han dynasty falconry was considered to be a sport that, like other popular pastimes of the Han upper class, was believed to lead to a corrupt moral character and the eventual degradation of society.

### Conclusion

Based on visual and textual sources, the practice of using hawks in the hunt first appeared in China during the Eastern Han dynasty. These materials allow us to reconstruct the early history of the sport when goshawks and sparrowhawks were used in the hunt by

falconers on foot or on horseback with hunting hounds. The prevalence with which falconry is represented in both sources implies that it was only widely practiced in the northern commanderies; however, these records also demonstrate that by the Eastern Han dynasty it had been subsumed into the hunting activities of wealthy commoners, officials, and the aristocracy. Such materials suggest that falconry may have first been introduced to China in the second or first century B.C. from the north and by the first and second centuries A.D. was becoming more widespread.

Although the history of falconry during the centuries after the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty remains unstudied, by the beginning of the seventh century, when *yīng shī* 鷹師 (masters of the goshawk) were summoned to Luoyang, nearly ten thousand accomplished falconers came to the Eastern capital. These summons and the founding of the Tang dynasty in A.D. 618 several years later ushered in a golden age in the history of Chinese falconry. Although as we have seen falconry was initially condemned by some during the Eastern Han dynasty as a frivolous pursuit, the popularity of the sport grew to become an accepted pastime of the aristocracy as well as commoners and continues to be practiced in China today.

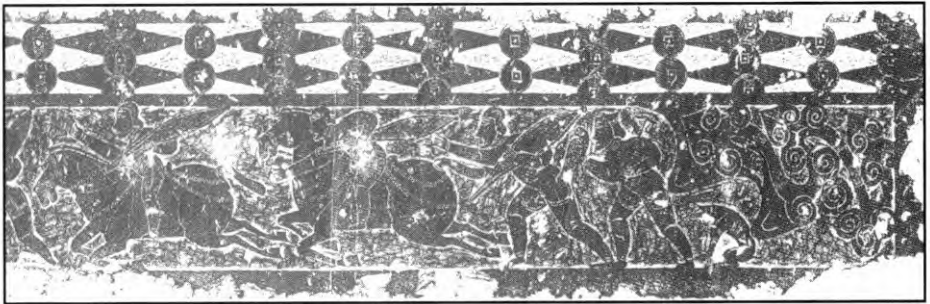


Figure 1A: Rubbing of a relief showing a hunting party with a falconer (detail). Songshan, Shandong. Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 147-184. AFTER *ZHONGGUO HUAXIANG SHI QUANJI*, VOL. 1 (JINAN: SHANDONG MEISHU CHUBANSHE, 2000), FIG. 95.



Figure 1B: Detail showing a falconer holding a perch from Songshan, Shandong.

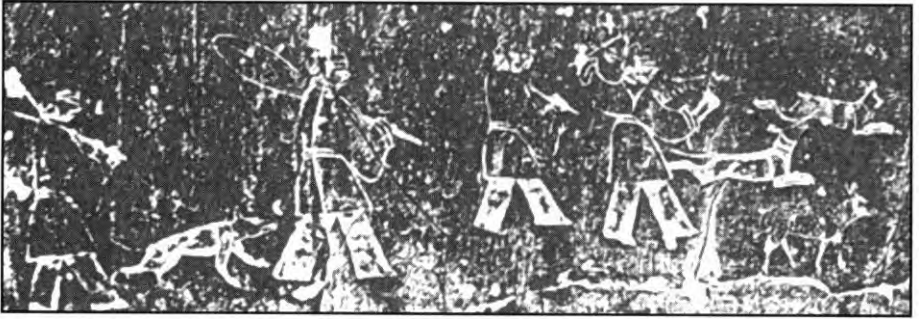


Figure 2A: Rubbing of a relief showing a falconer and other hunters carrying beaters (detail). West wall of the Xiaotangshan shrine, Shandong. Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 76-88. AFTER ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, *LE SCULPTURE SUR PIERRE EN CHINE AU TEMPS DES DEUX DYNASTIES HAN* (PARIS: E. LEROUX, 1893), PL. 38.



Figure 2B: Detail showing a falconer carrying a long curved stick used to flush out game from the Xiaotangshan shrine.



Figure 2C: Detail showing a sparrowhawk from the Xiaotangshan shrine.



Figure 3A: Rubbing of a tomb relief with falconers and hounds (detail). Liangcheng, Weishan, Shandong. Late Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 89-189. AFTER *ZHONGGUO HUAXIANG SHI QUANJI*, VOL. 2, FIG. 49.



Figure 3B: Detail showing a goshawk from Liangcheng, Weishan, Shandong.



Figure 4A: Rubbing of a relief showing mounted archers, a mounted rider and a mounted falconer (detail). Sishipu, Suide, Shaanxi. Eastern Han dynasty. AFTER LI GUILONG AND WANG JIANQIN, *SUIDE HAN DAI HUAXIANG SHI* (XI'AN: SHAANXI RENMIN MEISHU CHUBANSHE, 2001), FIG. 59.



Figure 4B: Detail showing a mounted falconer from a relief from Sishipu, Suide.

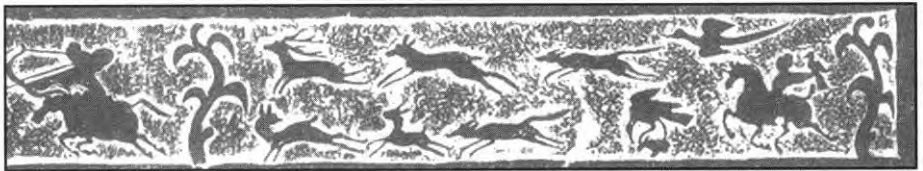


Figure 5A: Rubbing of a relief showing a mounted falconer and hunting hounds (detail). West wall of the front room of a tomb from Guangzhuang, Mizhi, Shaanxi. Eastern Han dynasty, late first to early second century A.D. AFTER *ZHONGGUO HUAXIANG SHI QUANJI*, VOL. 5, FIG. 35.



Figure 5B: Detail showing a mounted falconer from Mizhi, Shaanxi.



Figure 6A: Rubbing of a relief with mounted archers and a raptor killing its prey from Tomb M1, Dabaodang, Shenmu, Shaanxi. Eastern Han dynasty. AFTER SHAANXI SHENG KAOGU YANJIUSUO AND YULIN SHI WENWU GUANLI WEIYUAN HUI, *SHENMU DABAODANG: HANDAI CHENG ZHI YU MUZANG KAOGU BAOGAO* (BEIJING: KEXUE CHUBANSHE, 2001), FIG. 37.



Figure 6B: Detail showing a raptor with its prey from Dabaodang, Shenmu, Shaanxi.

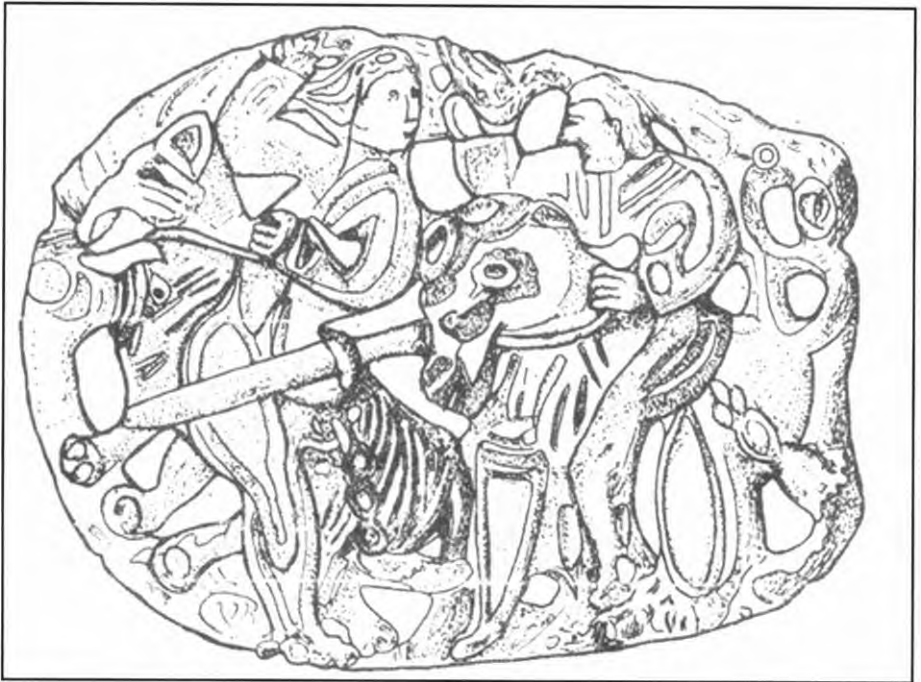


Figure 7: Line drawing of a bronze belt plaque that depicts two mounted riders, one with a raptor on his right wrist. Xichagou, Liaoning. Second century B.C. AFTER TIAN GUANGJIN AND GUO SUXIN, *E'ERDUOSI SHI QINGTONG QI* (BEIJING: XINHUA SHUDIAN BEIJING FAXING SUOFAXING, 1986), 73, FIG. 39.2

<sup>1</sup>Edward H. Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," *T'oung Pao* 46 (1958): 294-295.

<sup>2</sup>This is not to say that falconry was not practiced in other areas of the Han Empire at this time but surviving textual evidence and tomb reliefs document its practice only in the Western Han capital Chang'an, (modern Xi'an, Shaanxi), the Eastern Han capital of Luoyang (Henan), and parts of the modern provinces of Shandong, Sichuan, Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Jiangsu. For imagery from Jiangsu see Jiang Jishen, *Handai huaxiang shi xuan* (Selected Han Dynasty Tomb Reliefs) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2000), fig. 49.

<sup>3</sup>*Hou Han shu* 10, Part 1, "Huanghou ji shang" and 54, "Yang Zhen liezhuan." Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu* (1965; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: Xinhua shudian, 1973), 422 and 1778. The empress' use of falcons in the hunt is cited in Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," 296n2.

<sup>4</sup>This rhapsody describes the fabled hunts that occurred in the imperial hunting park and was written around the time the Eastern Han tomb reliefs noted in this article were carved.

<sup>5</sup>Zhang Heng, "Xijing fu." *Zhaoming wenxuan yizhu*, vol. 1 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe; Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, Shanghai faxing suo faxing, 1988-1994), 100. Translation see David R. Knechtges, trans., *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, vol.1: *Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 221. Falconry in the "Xijing fu" is noted by J.J.L. Duyvendak in "Review of Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China; an Archaeological Study of Pottery Tiles from the Tombs of Western Honan, dating about the Third Century BCE by William Charles White," *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, 35 (1940): 373.

<sup>6</sup>*Xijing zaji*, "Ying quan qi ming." Ge Hong, *Xijing zaji* (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 2006), 202. This passage is cited in Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," 296n2.

<sup>7</sup>It does not appear that the location of these reliefs inside the tomb held any particular significance beyond general meanings associated with the hunt. For a review of scholarship relating to Eastern Han hunting scenes and the significance of the hunt in Eastern Han iconography and mortuary traditions see Leslie Wallace, "Chasing the Beyond: Depictions of the Hunt in Eastern Han (25-220 CE) Tomb Reliefs from Shaanxi and Shanxi" (Ph.D. diss.: University of Pittsburgh, 2009).

<sup>8</sup>One relief from Jining 濟寧, Shandong depicts a mounted falconer. See Jiang Jishen, *Handai huaxiang shi xuan*, fig. 6.

<sup>9</sup>For more information about the patrons of tombs from Shandong see Martin J. Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991); and Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989). For the patronage of tomb reliefs from Shaanxi and Shanxi see Klaas Ruitenbeek, "The Northwestern Style of Eastern Han Pictorial Stone Engravings: The Tomb of Zuo Biao and Other Eastern Han Tombs Near Lishi, Shanxi Province," in *Rethinking Recarving: Ideals, Practices, and Problems of the "Wu Family Shrines" and Han China*, ed. Naomi Noble Richard (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 132-159; Wallace, "Chasing the Beyond"; and idem, "Hu or Han: The Patrons of Eastern Han Tomb Reliefs from Shaanxi and Shanxi," forthcoming.

<sup>10</sup>Jeanny Vorys Canby, "Falconry (Hawking) in Hittite Lands," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 61 (2002): 170-171.

<sup>11</sup>Previous scholarship has disagreed as to whether falconers in China first carried raptors on the left, as was a common practice in Europe, or on the right. Based on later evidence Edward H. Schafer has claimed that hawks were carried on the right arm in China, whereas Wen Qing has argued that the Chinese originally carried hawks on their left and it was not until later that they began to carry birds on the right. Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," 316; Wen Qing, "Guanghan suo chu yongyuan nian zhuanba-guanyu gudai yinglie de yize zhaji," *Sichuan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)*, February 1995, pp. 61-62. I have not been able to locate the image from Sichuan that is noted by Wen Qing and therefore have not included it in this study.

<sup>12</sup>Adrian Walker, *The Encyclopedia of Falconry* (Lanham, Md.: Derrydale Press, 1999), 25-26.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 72-73.

<sup>14</sup>Hounds also appear in a relief from Lishi, Shanxi. See Li Lin, Kang Lanying, and Zhao Liguang, *Shanbei Handai huaxiang zhi* (Han Dynasty Tomb Reliefs from Shanbei) (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1995), 227.

<sup>15</sup>In China there are two species of the goshawk, *accipiter gentilis* (Northern Goshawk) and *accipiter trivirgatus* (Asian Crested Goshawk), however *accipiter trivirgatus* is limited to areas of southern China. Three kinds of sparrowhawks: *accipiter nisus* (Eurasian Sparrowhawk), *accipiter virgatus* (Besra Sparrowhawk), and *accipiter soloensis* (Chinese Sparrowhawk) are also native to China with the natural habitat of *accipiter virgatus* and *accipiter soloensis*: also being confined to southern China. Dean Amadon *et al.*, "Hawks and Owls of the World: An Annotated List of Species," *Proceedings of the Western Foundation of Vertebrate Zoology* 3 (1988): 314-317. Technically this makes the figures depicted in these reliefs austringers, not falconers, as they used short-winged hawks rather than falcons for hunting. Originally the term austringer was used to specifically refer to those who trained short-winged hawks, sometimes specifically goshawks. Today this term has fallen out of use, and falconer is more commonly used for those who train short-winged and broad-winged hawks as well as other raptors. See Walker, *The Encyclopedia of Falconry*, 2. So as not to be confusing to the general reader, I have stuck to the more common usage.

<sup>16</sup>Edward H. Schafer has identified this bird as a goshawk. Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," 293. Based on the size of the bird in relation to the falconer, I suggest that this figure depicts a sparrowhawk; however, the size of both types of birds varies depending on sex and on how it has been raised.

<sup>17</sup>Ge Hong, *Xijing zaji*, 202.

<sup>18</sup>Hunting reliefs from Shaanxi commonly depict raptors with prey pinned to the ground (Figs. 5 and 6). Although I am hesitant to include these among my study, they very well may represent hawks that after being released by a falconer have brought their prey to the ground.

<sup>19</sup>Canby, "Falconry (Hawking) in Hittite Lands," 163-164; Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," 309-310.

<sup>20</sup>Phillip Glasier, *Falconry and Hawking*, rev. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1998), 35-36; E.W. Jameson, Jr., *The Hawking of Japan: The History and Development of Japanese Falconry* (Davis, Calif.: Lawton Kennedy, 1962), 11; J.G. Mavrogordato, *A Hawk for the Bush: A Treatise on Training of the Sparrow-hawk and Other Short-winged Hawks* (Newton, Mass.: Charles T. Branford Company, 1960), 5; Walker, *The Encyclopedia of Falconry*, 122.

<sup>21</sup>Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," 293.

<sup>22</sup>Emma C. Bunker with Trudy S. Kawami, Kathryn M. Linduff, and Wu En, *Ancient Bronzes of the Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, distributed by Abrams, 1997), 80, 273-276.

<sup>23</sup>The regional hunting tradition of the northern commanderies and its relationship to warfare and the closeness of non-Han Chinese peoples is mentioned in Han shu 28, "Dili zhi xia." Ban Gu, *Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1968), 1644

<sup>24</sup>*Hou Han shu* 64, "Liang Ji zhuan." Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, 1178.

<sup>25</sup>*Hou Han shu* 75, "Yuan Shu zhuan." Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, 2438.

<sup>26</sup>*Dongguan Han ji*, zhuan 5, "Geng Gong." Wu Shuping, *Dongguan Han ji jiaozhu*, vol. 1 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe: Henan sheng xinhua shudian faxing, 1987), 357.

<sup>27</sup>Schafer, "Falconry in T'ang Times," 297.