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Sossau, Veronika

Animals to the slaughter: meat-sharing and sacrifice in Geometric and Archaic Greece

in: Deschler-Erb, Sabine – Albarella, Umberto – Valenzuela Lamas, Sílvia – Rasbach, Gabriele (Hrsg.), Roman animals in ritual and funerary contexts: proceedings of the 2nd Meeting of the Zooarchaeology of the Roman Period Working Group, Basel 1st-4th February 2018, 201-215.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/49tceds7pg>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

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Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
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KOLLOQUIEN ZUR VOR- UND FRÜHGESCHICHTE 26



Sabine Deschler-Erb | Umberto Albarella
Silvia Valenzuela Lamas | Gabriele Rasbach

ROMAN ANIMALS IN RITUAL AND FUNERARY CONTEXTS

Proceedings of the 2nd Meeting of the
Zooarchaeology of the Roman Period Working
Group, Basel, 1st–4th February 2018

This volume includes a number of papers that were originally presented at the conference *Roman Animals in Ritual and Funerary Contexts*, which was held in Basel (Switzerland) from 1st–4th February 2018. The conference represented the second meeting of the International Council for Archaeozoology (ICAZ) Working Group on the *Zooarchaeology of the Roman Period*.

The articles present ritually deposited animal remains across a wide geographical range and incorporate both archaeological and zoological findings. The integration of these two strands of evidence is also one of the central concerns of the ICAZ Working Group, as in the past they have often been dealt with separately. However, it is precisely this interdisciplinary cooperation that opens up new perspectives on ritual practices in a wide variety of contexts. In this volume we see the enhancement of our understanding of ritual treatment of animals in central sanctuaries, in rural areas, at natural sites, and as part of building construction processes.

The case studies presented in this volume demonstrate how animal remains such as bones and eggshells provide information beyond diet, economy, and differences in social hierarchy. Their interdisciplinary investigation additionally enables insights into practices governed by cultural, religious, and ideological conditions.

The aim of the Zooarchaeology of the Roman Period Working Group (<https://alexandriaarchive.org/icaaz/workroman>) is to represent a network of exchange and collaboration across borders and to enable the understanding of the interconnections between the research questions associated with animal remains from this important historical period.

ISBN 978-3-447-11641-1



Sabine Deschler-Erb, Umberto
Albarella, Silvia Valenzuela Lamas,
Gabriele Rasbach
ROMAN ANIMALS IN RITUAL
AND FUNERARY CONTEXTS

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt a. M.

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HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG • WIESBADEN

XVI, 256 Seiten mit 146 Abbildungen

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://dnb.de/> abrufbar.

Verantwortliche Redaktion: Redaktion der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: H.-U. Voß, Formalredaktion: J. Gier, Bildredaktion: O. Wagner

Umschlagfoto: A.-S. Vigot, Einband: Catrin Gerlach

Buchgestaltung und Coverkonzeption: hawemannundmosch, Berlin

Prepress: le-tex publishing services GmbH, Leipzig

© 2021 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden · <https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/>

ISBN 978-3-447-11641-1

doi: 10.34780/b03671ada6

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem und alterungsbeständigem Papier

Printed in Germany

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Vorwort zur Reihe „Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte“

In Händen halten Sie, liebe Leserin und lieber Leser, den 26. Band der „Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte“, der Ihnen neu und doch vertraut vorkommen mag. Denn diese Reihe, die von der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission (RGK) und der Eurasien-Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (DAI) gemeinsam herausgegeben wird, existiert seit 23 Jahren, seit im Jahr 1997 die Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim als Band 1 publiziert wurden. Neu ist aber, dass die RGK erstmals die Herausgabe eines Bandes im neuen Reihenformat des DAI betreut hat. Die Aufmachung der „Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte“ (KVF) entspricht nun der Aufmachung zahlreicher weiterer Publikationsreihen des DAI. Das neue Layout ist moderner, attraktiver und nutzerfreundlicher. Es ist nun für viele DAI-Publikationsreihen nutzbar und hat einerseits einen hohen Wiedererkennungswert, erlaubt andererseits individuelle Anpassungen und Nutzungen.

Auch der vorliegende Band ist, wie es seit ihren Anfängen prägend für die KVF ist, ein Beispiel international ausgerichteter, Forschungstraditionen und -regionen übergreifender Wissenschaft. Inhaltlich schließt dieser 26. Band an eine ganze Reihe von KVF-Sammelbänden mit interdisziplinärer bzw. fachübergreifender Ausrichtung an. Mit KVF 26 stehen diesmal interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zu Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen in den verschiedenen regionalkulturellen Kontexten des Römischen Reiches im Mittelpunkt und insbesondere die Rolle von Tieren in Zusammenhang mit Bestattungen und anderen Ritualen.

Knochengewebe vermag sehr gut, viele verschiedene Spuren menschlichen Handelns zu konservieren, und diese Spuren können wir als Zeugnisse dieser Handlungen, aber auch der dahinterstehenden Überlegungen, Absichten und Traditionen verstehen. So erlauben Tierknochen, aber auch andere Überreste wie Eierschalen, die Verknüpfung zoologischer Methoden und Fragen mit jenen einer sozial- und kulturhistorisch orientierten Archäologie. Tierreste sind also in jedem Sinne *archäologische* Funde, die nicht nur zu Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftsfragen Auskunft geben können, auch nicht allein zu sozialhierarchisch begründeten Unterschieden bei Bestattungsbeigaben, sondern auch zu *per se* kulturhistorischen Fragen wie eben jenen nach kulturell, religiös

bzw. weltanschaulich bestimmten Praktiken, nach Differenzen in ihrer Ausübung, nach ihren regional spezifischen Bedeutungen und nach ihren Veränderungen.

Damit liegt ein informativer und instruktiver 26. Band der KVF vor mit neuen Ansätzen, neuen Fragen und neuen Einsichten in einem neuen gestalterischen Gewand. Die Aufnahme der Reihe KVF in die einheitliche Publikationsgestaltung des DAI ermöglicht auch, diesen und weitere KVF-Bände in Zukunft in der *iDAI.world* – der digitalen Welt des DAI – unter *iDAI.publications/books* online zugänglich zu machen und zum Abruf im Open Access bereitzustellen. Zwar dient auch den interdisziplinär arbeitenden Altertumswissenschaften das gedruckt erscheinende Werk nach wie vor als Hauptmedium fachwissenschaftlichen Austauschs, doch stehen uns durch die digitale Vernetzung unterschiedlicher Daten- und Publikationsformate mittlerweile zahlreiche weitere Möglichkeiten der Veröffentlichung wissenschaftlicher Inhalte zur Verfügung. Das neue Publikationsformat ermöglicht die zukunftsweisende Verknüpfung von Print und digitalen Dokumentations- und Publikationsressourcen, z. B. durch das zeitgleiche Bereitstellen digitaler Supplemente.

Das Erscheinen von 26 Bänden in kurzen Abständen zeigt, dass die vor über 20 Jahren konzipierte Reihe erfolgreich war und ist, innovativ bleibt und in eine lebendige Zukunft blickt. Auch künftig werden Eurasien-Abteilung und RGK die Reihe „Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte“ im neuen Gewand und – wo sinnvoll und notwendig – als hybride Verknüpfung analoger und digitaler Wissensvermittlung fortführen. Und wie bisher werden wir in die KVF Beiträge von Tagungen und Symposien aufnehmen, an deren Vorbereitung und Durchführung wir personell bzw. organisatorisch beteiligt waren.

Zuletzt noch ein Dank an alle an der vorliegenden Publikation Beteiligten. Für die Möglichkeit im neuen Reihenformat des DAI publizieren zu können, danken wir ganz herzlichen den Kolleginnen und Kollegen der Redaktion der Zentrale. Die Bildbearbeitung der Beiträge lag in den Händen von Oliver Wagner. Johannes Gier war für das Lektorat der Beiträge verantwortlich. Lizzie Wright redigierte die englischen Texte, Hans-Ulrich Voß betreute die Drucklegung des Buches. Ihnen wie den Herausgeber*innen des Bandes danken wir sehr für die hervorragende Vorbereitung und Durchführung der Publikation.

Frankfurt am Main, den 12.11.2020

Eszter Bánffy
Erste Direktorin

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Zweite Direktorin

Alexander Gramsch
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Preface to the series “Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte”

In your hands, dear reader, you hold the 26th volume of the series “Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte”: It might seem to you different, but still familiar, because this series, concomitantly published by the Romano-Germanic Commission (RGK) and the Eurasia Department of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), has been in existence for 23 years. The first volume, published in 1997, consisted of the proceedings of the “Internationales Perlensymposium” held in Mannheim. What is new is that the RGK has published a volume in the new DAI series format for the first time. The layout of “Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte” (KVF) now matches the layout of numerous other DAI publication series. This modern layout is more attractive and more user-friendly; the new format is mirrored across many DAI publication series. Not only does it have a distinctive design; it also enables individual adaptations and uses.

The present volume, as is characteristic of the KVF series from its beginnings, is an example of internationally oriented scholarship spanning diverse research traditions and research fields. In terms of content, this 26th volume continues a long tradition of conference proceedings with an interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary orientation published within KVF. The focus of KVF 26 is on interdisciplinary studies of human-animal relationships in different regional-cultural contexts of the Roman Empire. In this, particular emphasis lies on the role of animals in burial and other ritual contexts.

Bone tissue excellently preserves many different traces of human actions. These traces can be interpreted as the evidence of these actions as well as of the underlying reflections, intentions, and traditions. Animal bones as well as other remains such as eggshells therefore make it possible to link zoological methods and issues with those related to socially and cultural-historically oriented archaeology. Animal remains are thus *archaeological* finds in every sense: They provide information not only about diet and economy, or about differences in grave goods based on social hierarchy. They touch on key cultural issues such as culturally, religiously or ideologically determined practices. Moreover, zooarchaeological analyses allow us to detect differences in these practices, to identify regionally specific meanings and the changes therein.

Thus, an informative and instructive 26th volume of the KVF series is available in a new design, including new approaches, new research questions, and new insights. In the future, through the incorporation of the KVF series into the common DAI publication design this and further volumes can be published online: on the *iDAI.world* platform – the digital world of the DAI – under *iDAI.publications/books* and in Open Access. Printed publications admittedly still serve as a main medium for subject-specific exchanges for interdisciplinary archaeological studies. The new publication format allows digital networking of various data and publication formats providing us with numerous additional possibilities for the publication of scientific content and enabling the future-oriented linking of print and digital documentation and publication resources, for example through the simultaneous provision of digital supplements.

The publication of 26 KVF volumes at short intervals shows that this series conceived over 20 years ago has been successful, remains innovative, and looks ahead to a lively future. From now on the Eurasia Department and the Romano-Germanic Commission will continue the series “Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte” in the new design and, where this seems reasonable and vital, in the form of a hybrid connection of analogue and digital knowledge. As in the past, in the KVF series we will continue incorporating proceedings of meetings and symposia in the preparation of which we are involved personally or organisationally.

Lastly we want to express our gratitude to all who participated in producing the present publication. We thank our colleagues from the editorial office at the Head Office of the German Archaeological Institute for the opportunity to publish in the new DAI series format. The digital imaging of the contributions was carried out by Oliver Wagner. Johannes Gier was responsible for the copyediting of the contributions. Lizzie Wright edited the English texts. Hans-Ulrich Voß was in charge of the editorial process. We are very grateful to all these people and to the editors of the volume for the outstanding preparation and realisation of this publication.

Translated by Karoline Mazurié de Keroualin.

Frankfurt am Main, 12 November 2020

Eszter Bánffy
Director

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(Logo: Stefanie Deschler)

Preface

by Sabine Deschler-Erb / Umberto Albarella / Silvia Valenzuela Lamas / Gabriele Rasbach

This volume includes contributions that were originally presented at the conference *Roman Animals in Ritual and Funerary Contexts*, which was held in Basel 1st–4th February 2018 and organised by Sabine Deschler-Erb. The conference represented the second meeting of the International Council for Archaeozoology (ICAZ) Working Group on the *Zooarchaeology of the Roman Period*.

ICAZ Working Groups are largely informal and independent collectives of researchers engaged with a theme of common interest. Their association with ICAZ allows them to connect to a larger international community and benefit from a number of shared facilities, such as the ICAZ web page <<https://www.alexandriaarchive.org/icaz/index>> (last access: 20.10.20)> and Newsletter <<http://alexandriaarchive.org/icaz/publications-newsletter>> (last access: 20.10.20)>. They also enjoy the opportunity to share the ICAZ ethos of collaboration, mutual aid, and international solidarity.

The *Zooarchaeology of the Roman Period* ICAZ Working Group was originally proposed by Silvia Valenzuela Lamas and Umberto Albarella and approved by the ICAZ International Committee in 2014. The aspiration to create such a group emerged from the awareness that the Roman World was intensively connected. Nevertheless, much research on the use of animals in Roman or Romanised areas has been carried out at a localised level, often oblivious of parallel studies undertaken in other regions of Roman influence. It was clear that many of the investigated research themes – such as the use of animals in religious contexts, livestock trade, and husbandry improvements, to mention just a few – would benefit from greater integration and enhanced international synergies. This applied to the methodological approach, as well as the actual evidence from different areas of the Empire. With this objective in mind, the first meeting was organised in Sheffield (UK) 20th–22nd November 2014 by the two Working Group promoters and focused on *Husbandry in the Western Roman Empire: a zooarchaeological perspective*. The core objective of the meeting was to bring together researchers operating in different areas of the former Roman World and contiguous regions, which was successfully achieved. Some of the contributions to that conference were published in a monographic issue of the *European*

Journal of Archaeology (Volume 20, Special Issue 3, August 2017).

The focus on the western Empire that characterised the first meeting led to the need to open up geographically for the second meeting and focus on a thematic investigation which would be of fully international relevance. Sabine Deschler-Erb proposed to organise the second meeting in Basel (Switzerland) and this, at the very core of Europe, proved to be a very successful location. She suggested a number of possible topics to the informal membership of the group and the theme of ‘ritual’ was chosen. This was another fruitful move as there was hardly any shortage of material to present, and the conference provided a whirlwind of case studies across different areas, whose connections and shared questions could clearly be identified. The objective of the second meeting to move beyond the focus on the Western Empire was fully achieved. The list of papers included in this volume clearly shows the great geographic range on display, with different contributions presenting research based in the south, north, east, and west of the Roman area. The modern countries featured in the book include Austria, Belgium, Britain, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Romania, Serbia, Switzerland and Turkey.

The Basel conference and its proceedings should provide an ideal springboard for further success and interconnection of researchers investigating the use of animals in Roman times.

Last but not least, we would like to express our great gratitude to all of the institutions and people who made the Basel conference and these proceedings possible. We thank the University of Basel, especially the Integrative Prehistory and Archaeological Science, for hosting the conference, as well as for technical and administrative support; the Swiss National Foundation, the Provincial Roman Archaeology Working group of Switzerland, and the Vindonissa chair of the University of Basel for their financial support; the Römerstadt Augusta Raurica, the Kantonsarchäologie Aargau, and the Römerlager Vindonissa for their warm welcome and generous catering; the organisation team, Monika Mráz, David Roth, and Viviane Kolter-Furrer, whose help was essential before, during, and after the conference; all student volunteers, Florian Bachmann, Debora Brunner, Marina Casaulta,

Laura Caspers, Sarah Lo Russo, Hildegard Müller, and Benjamin Sichert, who worked with great commitment; and the Romano-Germanic Commission, Frankfurt, who accepted these proceedings for their series. We thank Hans-Ulrich Voß and Johannes Gier, who carried out an excellent editing job.

The next conference will take place in Dublin (Ireland) on 11th–13th March 2021 and will be organised by Fabienne Pigière on the topic of *Animals in Roman economy*. It will certainly provide new opportunities for cross-fertilisation, collaboration, and exchange of ideas.



Animals to the slaughter. Meat-sharing and sacrifice in Geometric and Archaic Greece

by *Veronika Sossau*

Keywords

Meat sharing, commensal consumption, Early Iron Age Greece, burials, sanctuaries

Schlüsselwörter

Fleischteilung, Ritualmähler; Griechenland der frühen Eisenzeit; Bestattungen; Heiligtümer

Mots-clés

Partage de la viande, consommation commensale, la Grèce du début de l'âge du Fer, sépultures, sanctuaires

Introduction

Strictly speaking, meat is not a nutritional necessity for humans. In pre-industrial societies, nutritional needs were often secured by vegetable components. Nevertheless, hardly any other food has ever achieved a similar social prestige as meat for humans and other primates, e. g. chimpanzees¹. Meat is used to trade favours, as an instrument to both form and destroy social bonds and to achieve, maintain, and disturb hierarchical relations, especially between males. Meat sharing is in fact attested as a form of social currency used to manipulate the behaviour of other group-members². While the exploration of this behaviour is a central question in prehistory,

it tends to get somewhat overlooked in the historical period. In Classical Greek archaeology, for instance, reflections on the role of meat have traditionally focused on the institution of the Greek sacrifice and thus religious aspects³. Numerous texts and images from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period have served as a material basis for the reconstruction of various religious rituals and key institutions of 'Greek society'. Since there are in many cases no or only limited contemporaneous sources, ideas and concepts characterising the Classical and Hellenistic *polis* were projected back on earlier periods.

¹ For primates, esp. chimpanzees, see i. e. NISHIDA et al. 1992; STANFORD 1995; STANFORD 1999; MITANI / WATTS 2001; NISHIDA 2012.

² Extensively: NISHIDA et al. 1992; NISHIDA / HOSAKA 1996; STANFORD 1999.

³ I. e. MEULI 1975; LEHNSTAEDT 1970; BURKERT 1997; DETIENNE / VERNANT 1979; KIRK 1981; BERTHIAUME 1982; VAN STRATEN 1988; VAN

STRATEN 1995; ÉTIENNE 1992; PEIRCE 1993; HIMMELMANN 1997; BONNECHERE 1998; LAXANDER 2000; BOWIE 2002; GEORGUDI et al. 2005; NAIDEN 2007; NAIDEN 2013; EKROTH 2007; EKROTH 2008; EKROTH 2011; EKROTH 2013 and recently MURRAY 2016; SMITH 2016.



1 Attic Black Figure Hydria by the London-B76 painter, c. 570/60 BCE. (Zürich Univ. Museum Inv. 4001. Photo: © Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich, Inv. 4001. Photo: Silvia Hertig).

Meat-consuming heroes and/or villains? How to deal with ancient texts and images

To illustrate that problem, I want to discuss a series of Archaic vase paintings⁴ that show a famous scene from the *Iliad*⁵: In the ‘ransom of Hector’, Achilles reclines on a *kline*, under which the dead and abused body of his opponent Hector lies. Escorted by the messenger god Hermes (who is not always displayed), Hector’s father Priam approaches Achilles to negotiate the ransom of his son’s body in order to be able to arrange a proper

funeral. In some images, such as the example illustrated here (*figs 1 and 2*), gift carriers accompany him⁶. Achilles is always shown as a reclining banqueter and in front of his *kline* there is a table full of large strips of meat. In some of the images, mostly earlier than 510/00 BCE, he holds a *phiale* (a shallow bowl used for drinking and libations)⁷ and in one case a drinking vessel⁸; from 510/00

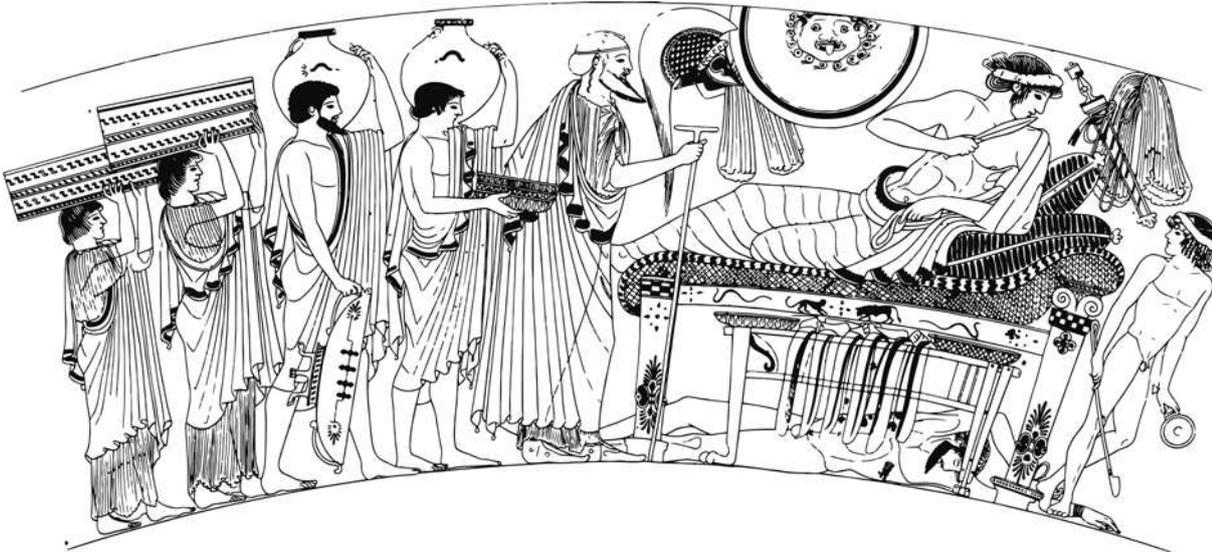
4 For a complete recent catalogue see SOSSAU 2019, A1–A19. References below will refer to BAD (Beazley Archive Database) entries, which contain comprehensive publication records.

5 HOM. *Il.* 24, 471–687.

6 Attic Red Figure Skyphos, Brygos (painter), c. 490 BCE from Caere, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. 3710 (BAD 204068).

7 Attic Black Figure Amphora, London-B76 painter, c. 570/60 BCE, New York, private (BAD 9029559). – Attic Black Fi-

gure Hydria, London-B76 painter, c. 570/60 BCE, Zürich Univ. Inv. 4001 (BAD 350209). – Attic Black Figure Amphora, Rycroft painter, 520/10 BCE, Toledo (Ohio), Mus. of Art Inv. 1972.54 (BAD 7276). – Attic Red Figure Cup, Makron painter, c. 480 BCE, New York, Met. Mus. Inv. 07.286.49 (BAD 204974). – Attic Black Figure Lekythos, Sappho painter, early 5th c. BCE, lost (BAD 44246).
8 Attic Red Figure cup, Oltos painter, 520/10 BCE, from Vulci, Munich, Antikensamml. Inv. 2618 (BAD 200510).



2 Attic Red Figure Skyphos by Brygos (painter), c. 490 BCE, from Caere. (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 3710. Drawing after ENGELMANN 1899).

on he is usually shown with a knife instead of the vessel⁹, and once with a dagger¹⁰.

Images displaying reclining men on *klinai* are often associated with the *symposion*, a key institution of the late Archaic and Classical *polis*¹¹. Against the background of the *symposion*, interpretations of the images displaying the ‘ransom of Hector’ have often focused on the characterisation of Achilles as a *monoposias*: the hero is represented as a banqueter, but he is reclining alone. In L. Giuliani’s opinion, it was a deliberate choice to show the ambivalent hero Achilles as a violator of social etiquette: not only had he abused the dead body of his opponent, but he would also eat enormous amounts of sacrificial meat, all alone, without sharing it with his *hetairoi*, his drinking friends and comrades in battle¹².

But to what extent are such later concepts helpful tools for an interpretation of Archaic imagery, and how are meat consumption and distribution processed in contemporaneous texts? The Homeric epics mention commensal meals and the sacrifice of animals in funer-

ary contexts¹³. In the Homeric epics, Hesiod’s ‘Works and Days’ and fragments of Archaic lyric poetry, commensal meals are core elements of guest friendship networks. When *xenoi* (guest friends) arrive at an *oikos* (household), the head of the household slaughters an animal and distributes apt shares to all participants of the feast¹⁴. In Archaic lyric poetry and maybe even in Hesiod’s ‘Works and Days’, commensal consumption of meat and wine might be linked to feasts taking place in sanctuaries¹⁵.

The chunks of meat and the knife that Achilles is presented with in some of the illustrations of the ‘ransom of Hector’ were often understood as an indication that the hero was eating, or a hint to his enormous appetite¹⁶. It has been largely ignored, though, that the large strips of meat are raw, unprepared, and not even cut into edible slices. Furthermore, there is no evidence for a use of knives as cutlery in ancient Greece¹⁷. We do know, on the other hand, that they were used for the processing and distribution of meat, especially in ritual contexts.

9 Attic Red Figure Hydria, Kleophrades painter/Pioneer group, c. 510/00 BCE, Cambridge, Harvard Arts Museums Inv. 1972.40 (BAD 352403). – Attic Black Figure Lekythos, c. 500 BCE from Attica, Athens, National Museum, Inv. 486 (BAD 14344). – Attic Red Figure Skyphos, Brygos (painter), c. 490 BCE from Caere, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 3710 (BAD 204068). – Attic Red Figure Cup, Brygos (potter), c. 490/80 BCE, New York, Shelby White & Leon Levy no Inv. (BAD 204333). – Attic Red Figure Cup, Makron painter, c. 490/80 BCE, Paris, Louvre, Inv. G153 (BAD 204695).

10 Dagger or short sword: Attic Red Figure crater, circle of Syseus-painter, 500–490/85 BCE from Tekirdağ (Bisanthe/Rhaidestos), Tekirdağ Museum, Inv. 1855 (BAD 9022290).

11 I. e. FEHR 1971; DENTZER 1982.

12 GIULIANI 2003, 176–181.

13 See below. For comprehensive studies of meat-sharing and consumption in the Homeric epics see SHERRATT 2004; HITCH 2009; BAKKER 2015.

14 I. e. Nestor: HOM. Od. 3, 417–473. – Odysseus: HOM. Od. 8, 469–385. – Telemachos: HOM. Od. 17, 330–345. – BAKKER 2015. – For Agamemnon and his special role see HITCH 2009. – For Hesiod on reciprocity see esp. HES. Op. 342–362.

15 HES. Op. 582–596; 722; 736; 742; PIND. Pae. 6.

16 I. e. WOLF 1993, 95–96; GIULIANI 2003, 181.

17 SPARKES 1962, 132.

Apart from archaeological evidence which is discussed below, the importance of the knife is also attested in the Homeric epics: on several occasions, the large sacrificial knife is specifically described as a ritual object worn by the *basileutatos*, the *basileus* of *basileis*, king of kings, master of sacrifice¹⁸. When a guest arrives, for instance Telemachus at the palace of Nestor, the *basileutatos* takes the knife from his belt and slaughters an animal. He guides other participants of the feast (e.g. his sons) through the ritual kill¹⁹. To perform the sacrifice, he neither needs an altar – the core element of the Greek sanctuary – nor an additional specialist like a priest (later: *hierous/mageiros*)²⁰. The distribution of the meat is described in detail – in his role as *basileutatos* Nestor carefully ensures that everyone receives the shares they deserve according to their social status and distributes them personally. In a competitive world, Ch. Ulf has proposed, distribution was perceived as a tool to achieve reputation²¹. In the conflict with his *basileutatos* Agamemnon, the raging Achilles had begun to challenge Agamemnon's status by receiving guests and sharing meat earlier in the epos²². Later and hidden from Agamemnon's eyes, he received Priam when he enters Achilles'

tent to negotiate the terms for the ransom of his son's body. The Homeric poet meticulously describes how Achilles slaughters a goat (without performing a religious ritual) and distributes apt shares to his guest²³.

To sum up these observations, in the Homeric epics meat-sharing and the sacrificial knife were perceived as symbols of power. In regard to the series of vase paintings that display the 'ransom of Hector', this means that Achilles might not be characterised as a villain violating social norms by eating massive amounts of meat all on his own. On the contrary, the knife and the slices of meat portray him as a powerful *basileus* and hence a meat sharer²⁴. Even if we were to read the image in a narrative way, we could imagine him preparing the meat for his meal with Priam. Alternatively the display of knife and meat, which were both associated with the socially correct sharing of a meal with a guest, served to underline the importance of this crucial scene within the epic: when Achilles received Priam as a generous host, he overcame his rage and returned to the 'civilised' world. This again did not only lead to a proper burial of Hector, but ultimately also to the prosecution (and thus the end) of the Trojan War.

Tracing meat consumption in the archaeological record

Apart from fictional texts as the already mentioned Homeric epics (and later illustrations of a few selected scenes on painted vases) and Hesiod's remarks on sacrifice²⁵, there are no texts and hardly any images that could help us reconstruct the role of meat-sharing and commensal meat consumption in Early Greek societies between the 10th and the 7th centuries BCE. Stable-isotope-analysis ($\delta^{13}C/\delta^{15}N$) of human remains might shed some light into the question, by indicating which groups of people had what kind of access to animal proteins, but until now this method is still rather new and has yet only

rarely been applied for Early Iron Age cemeteries²⁶. In contrast to other finds, such as weapons, jewellery or painted pottery, objects that can be related to meat consumption such as animal bones or knives have rarely been systematically studied in their archaeological contexts, even though ritual and funerary contexts have a high potential to illuminate the different roles these objects might have played²⁷. Since knives are multifunctional tools, they have, of course, to be dealt with special care and caution.

18 HOM. II. 3, 271–272; 19, 252–253. – See also KITTS 2005, 15; HITCH 2009, 90; 186–187. – Regarding functional and symbolical value of the knife: NAGY 1979.

19 HOM. OD. 3, 417–473.

20 KIRK 1981, 65–68. – Regarding the differences between Homeric sacrifice and meat consumption and the Classical Greek concept of sacrifice see also HITCH 2009, esp. 28–39.

21 ULF 1990, 195–202, esp. 198–199. See also KISTLER 1998, 93–95.

22 HOM. II.9, 199–222.

23 HOM. II. 24, 621–624.

24 For knives as symbols of power see also GEBAUER 2002, 467–470; 514.

25 HES. THEOG. 535–557; HES. OP. 337.

26 PAPATHANASIOU et al. 2009; PAPATHANASIOU et al. 2013; PANAGIOTOPOULOU / PAPATHANASIOU 2015, esp. 111–113.

27 For an attempt of a systematic investigation of animal bones and knives in ritual and funerary contexts see SOSSAU 2019.



3 Attic Late Geometric Crater, Trachones Workshop. (New York, Metropolitan Museum Inv. 14.130.15. Photo: © Metropolitan Museum. Drawing [Detail] by V. Sossau).

Meat in funerary contexts

That funerals were perceived as important events in Early Iron Age Greece is not only evident by the high effort that was often put into burials (especially elite burials). In the Homeric epics, burials of heroes are crucial events involving sacrifices, games and commensal consumption²⁸. When figurative scenes reappeared on painted vases in the 8th century BCE, funerary scenes belonged to the most popular motifs²⁹. Many of the decorated vessels were also used in a funerary context; some were probably even made for it. The famous ‘Molione-crater’ (c. 725 BCE, Metropolitan Museum, New York), for instance, served as a monumental grave marker³⁰. It was decorated with a funerary scene (fig. 3): while the *Prothesis* was one of the most frequently displayed motifs in the Late Geometric period, the procession of male fig-

ures approaching the deceased with what might be funerary gifts – dead mammals, chicken, and maybe fish or oyster – is an exceptional example of a painting illuminating one of the manifold roles animals might have played in funerary rituals³¹.

In the well-explored Athenian necropoleis and burial plots at the Kerameikos and the Agora, highly fragmented faunal remains were often discovered mingled with cremations³². It is possible that the animals were burned with the deceased on the pyre (as grave gifts or sacrifices). Still, the possibility that remains of funerary meals were added to the cremation has also to be taken into account. In some cases, the animal bones had obviously been exposed to the fire for shorter time than the human remains³³. The re-examination of the Early Iron

28 See esp. the funeral of Patroclus involving bloody sacrifice, commensal consumption and funerary games: HOM. IL. 23.

29 Some of the figurative motifs that came up in the Late Geometric period are also known from Late Bronze Age Pictorial Style. Their reappearance may be understood as a result of a circulation of imagery and concepts in the Aegean, which can be traced to Egypt and the Near East. Direct connections can hardly be assumed: the circulation of these motives, which were adapted and transformed for new contexts several times, might be read as a result of an increasing mobility. HILLER 2006, 186–188; PANAGIOTPOULOS 2007; BLAKOLMER 2012, 30–37.

30 Attic Late Geometric Crater, Trachones Workshop, New York, Met. Mus. Inv. 14.130.15: THES CRA 5 (2005) 311, 1016 (J. METZ); RICHTER 1915, 394–396, pl. 21; 22; 23, 2–3; BOARDMAN 1966, 1–4, pl. 1–3; FITTSCHEN 1969, 20; 68–69, M3; 70–75; AHLBERG-CORNELL 1971, 27; 22; 212–213; 240–252 figs 22a–i; FRONING 1988, 182–187 figs 10–12; STANSBURY-O’DONNELL 1995; GIULIANI 2003, 56–

58. – The ‘double’ figure at the end of the gift bearers provoked a discussion if the image might refer to a mythological background such as the funerary games held for Amarynkeus (HOM. IL. 23, 630–640).

31 For a contemporaneous parallel for a funerary procession see a Late Geometric IIB amphora, Athenian Agora Inv. P 4990: PAPAPOULOS 2007, 118; 43; 119 fig. 115b. – For the transfer of the motif see SOSSAU 2019, 70–73.

32 See the remarks of Kübler in KRAIKER/ KÜBLER 1939, 181; BREITINGER 1939; BOARDMAN 1966, 2. – Cremations with animal remains at the Kerameikos: KRAIKER/ KÜBLER 1939, Nr. PG 4; PG 7; PG 16; PG 20; KÜBLER 1954, Nr. 2; 7; 11; 13; 14; 19; 22; 23; 30; 36; 38; 41; 42; 44; 59; 72; 86; 89; FREYTAG GEN. LÖRINGHÖFF 1995, 645–646, TN 94-1; SCHLÖRB-VIERNEISEL 1966, 16; 27, hS 59. – Cremations with animal remains at the Agora: N 16:4; C 9:9; D 16:2; H 16:6; R 20:1; N 16:3 (RUSCILLO 2017).

33 BREITINGER 1939, 260.

Age cremations of the Agora cemeteries by D. Ruscillo also showed that the archaeozoological remains in cremations were mostly heterogeneous and included fragments of several species and individuals (of various ages)³⁴. Knives, too, were sometimes discovered in cremations³⁵. They were worn by the deceased on the pyre, given as a gift to the pyre or were used for sacrifices in context of the funerary ritual and/or funerary meals and then deposited in the urn as a reminder of these events. The high fragmentation and variability of animal bones that appear frequently in cremations (as in the so-called tomb of a 'Rich Athenian Lady', Agora H 16:6) might speak in favour of this final hypothesis³⁶.

Outside the urns as well as in inhumations, animal bones were mostly discovered together with or close to other parts of the grave furniture, especially ceramic vessels. The archaeozoological material of the Kerameikos necropoleis has not yet been re-examined³⁷; in the case of the Agora burials it seems that the faunal remains were only partly preserved³⁸. In some cases, they were deposited in or covered by ceramic vessels³⁹. Usually, only parts of the animals were present, often the femora of cattle (in literary sources attested as sacrificial shares⁴⁰ and later also as honorary shares⁴¹), though, unfortunately, anatomical parts and the species were often not specified. Femora of cattle, however, are spe-

cifically mentioned on some occasions, twice inside vessels⁴². These finds could be interpreted as food for the deceased, but also as funerary gifts, honorary shares, indicators of social status, or even gifts for a goddess. Unfortunately, cut marks that might have helped to shed more light into its specific function were not described.

There are only rare examples of complete animals in Early Iron Age Greek burial contexts: apart from the four horses in the 'Toumba' in Lefkandi (1000/950 BCE)⁴³, which is an exceptional case and was probably a sacrifice of horses, another horse burial at Lefkandi⁴⁴ and the burial of a single horse at the margins of the *tumulus* at the Rundbau at the Athenian Kerameikos (7th century BCE)⁴⁵, there are only two more examples of Athenian burials containing complete animals that were discovered next to the deceased. In a rich Early Geometric grave, the skeleton of a 3.5–4.5 year old boy was accompanied by a piglet⁴⁶, and in another Late Geometric grave a pig lies next to a deceased man⁴⁷. The pigs most likely represent chthonic sacrifices. Also fills (which mostly contain material from the pyre) contained bones, in rare cases including the bones of dogs. Due to later activities in the area, we have hardly any evidence for rituals performed on the surface of the graves that might have involved animals⁴⁸.

34 RUSCILLO 2017.

35 Kerameikos 17 (11th/10th c. BCE): KRAIKER / KÜBLER 1939, 191–192. – Agora N 16:4; D 16:2: RUSCILLO 2017). – See also SMITH 1895/96, 25; DROOP 1905/06, 91–92 fig. 12; COLDSTREAM 2003, 333; 339; 340, pl. 46, B7; KALAITZOGLOU 2010, 70; 73 for a reference to another 17 cm long iron knife discovered in a large Geometric amphora along with some two gold ribbons and some calcinated bones.

36 For the faunal remains in the cremation of the pregnant woman with lavish grave gifts see LISTON / PAPADOPOULOS 2004, 15; RUSCILLO 2017, 566–567.

37 A re-examination will be carried out by the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of S. Hansen (I thank J. Stroszcek for this information).

38 RUSCILLO 2017, 561. It can be assumed that animals have played an even more significant role for the Agora burials, but the material was neither systematically collected nor described during the early excavations.

39 In ceramic vessels: Kerameikos, KÜBLER 1954, Nr. 22; 26; 79; 86; 89(?). Agora G 12:24: YOUNG 1939, 44, XI; ANGEL 1945, 306; 84. – Covered by ceramic vessels: Kerameikos, KÜBLER 1954, 2; 13; 29. Agora G 12:14: YOUNG 1939, 36; 9.

40 Hes. Theog. 535–557; Hes. Op. 337; HOM. Il. 1, 458–467; HOM. Od. 2, 421–429; 3, 447–463; For the sacrificial share see EKROTH 2011.

41 TSOUKALA 2009; EKROTH 2013.

42 Femora inside vessels: Kerameikos, KÜBLER 1954, Nr. 87; 89. – Burial plot at Pireas Street, BRÜCKNER / PERNICE 1893, Nr. 16.

43 For the horse burial in the 'Toumba' see: POPHAM et al. 1993, 21.

44 Tomb 68: POPHAM / LEMOS 1996, pl. 21–22; CRIELAARD 2007, 176.

45 For the horse burial at the Rundbau (Rb 8–9) see KNIGGE 1980, 59–61; SCHÄFER 1992, 52–53.

46 The burial also contained a terracotta boot. Agora H 17:2: D'ONOFRIO 2001, 271; KALAITZOGLOU 2010, 64,3; PAPADOPOULOS / SMITHSON 2017, 118–123, T14; RUSCILLO 2017, 566, T 14.

47 Kerameikos, burial 10: KÜBLER 1954, 215, 10 pl. 12, 4459.

48 Two pits containing burned material and fragmented animal bones were discovered next to the stele of Kerameikos, hS 59: KNIGGE 1966, 112; 114, 206. For a discussion of other, more questionable examples see SOSSAU 2019, 80–81.

Knives in funerary contexts

Knives, too, were often part of the grave furniture, and often they were perceived as a part of the weaponry of warrior burials. The so-called “warrior graves” are characteristic of Early Iron Age Greece. In Athens, graves containing weapons first appear in the 11th/10th, peak in the 9th, and fade out at about the mid 8th century BCE⁴⁹. In both Euboea and Attica, knives typically appear in rich graves and indeed, these graves often (but by no means exclusively) do contain weapons. Although less frequently, knives were also discovered in (mostly lavish) female graves (10th–8th century BCE)⁵⁰; smaller shapes even appear in burials of children⁵¹. The best-known examples for famous burials with knives are the female inhumation in the ‘Toumba’ at Lefkandi, c. 1000/950 BCE, the ‘Grave of Isis’ in Eleusis, and some rich burials of cremated women in Athens⁵². Contrary to other weapons, knives continue to be present into the early 7th c. BCE⁵³.

In inhumations, knives were often discovered close to the hip of the deceased. We can therefore assume that they were probably worn on the belt. They also occurred close to a hand or on the breast of the deceased and, in rare cases, with other parts of the grave goods, such as pottery, sometimes in pits above the head or below the feet⁵⁴. In cremation burials, knives were discovered both inside and outside the urns. Grave gifts deposited outside the urn were sometimes wrapped around the vessel as if the objects were symbols for competences: weapons were reminders that the dead was part of an elite family with warrior status⁵⁵, bridles hinted at the privilege of horse keeping⁵⁶, cheese graters and iron spits to feasting activities and the cultivated consumption of wine etc.⁵⁷. Knives outside the urns may have been part of the weapon sets of warriors⁵⁸, but they might also have been perceived as an indication of ritual competence – this would also apply to knives that have been discovered in graves without weapons.

Traces of meat consumption in Early Greek sanctuaries

Early Iron Age sanctuary contexts were often disturbed by later building activities, or they were excavated too early to expect stratigraphical information about animal bones or corroded iron objects. But some sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary at Kalapodi in central Greece, yielded interesting contexts⁵⁹. One of the most interesting was discovered in an area southeast of the later Northern temple. There was a little shrine used in the Late and Submycenaean period: Some unburned animal bones as well as a deposition of four juvenile tortoises and the partial skeleton of a one-year old caprine (skull, forefeet and partial hindfoot) are documented from this period⁶⁰. After

the shrine was given up, the area was used to deposit knives and to accumulate ashes containing massive amounts of very fragmented calcinated animal bones, almost entirely sheep/goat. There was a peak in this activity in the 8th century. The fact that sacral and tail bones are missing⁶¹ speaks against an interpretation as an ash altar on which sacrifices were performed. It seems that the ashes were rather remains of sacrificial meals, which were deposited within the sanctuaries, as well as some of the sacrificial tools, the knives. The area was used for this purpose into the Archaic period and over the years, more than 200 knives accumulated in the area⁶².

49 For ‘warrior graves’ in Athens and Lefkandi see WHITLEY 1996; WHITLEY 2002; MARINI 2003; D’ONOFRIO 2011.

50 Lefkandi: ‘Toumba’ building, inhumation of the ‘Queen’, T.b. 2: POPHAM et al. 1982a; POPHAM et al. 1982b; POPHAM et al. 1993; ANTONACCIO 1995; ANTONACCIO 2002; LEMOS 2007; HARRELL 2014; KISTLER / ULF 2015; CRIELAARD 2016. – Kerameikos: KÜBLER 1954, 199; 243. Kerameikos, VDAk1: v. FREYTAG GEN. LÖRINGHOFF 1974, 21. – Agora, D 16:2 (see ref. 45). – Eleusis: ‘grave of Isis’: SKIAS 1898, 106–110 pl. 6.1–6; 8–18; PAPANGELI 2012.

51 Eretria, Heroon tomb 1. – Kerameikos, burial 50.

52 See ref. 49.

53 This has already been noticed by MÜLLER-KARPE 1962, 66.

54 For a more detailed analysis see SOSSAU 2019, 36–51.

55 WHITLEY 1996, 216–217; WHITLEY 2002, 219–220; LEMOS 2002, 124; DAKORONIA 2006, 501–502

56 BRÄUNING 1995, 27.

57 POPHAM et al. 1982a, 240.

58 LEMOS 2002, 124.

59 For a recent overview over the sanctuary at Kalapodi see NIEMEIER 2013; NIEMEIER 2016. Up until now, only few of the ritual contexts containing knives and animal bones are published in detail.

60 FELSCH 2013, 54–56.

61 For a similar phenomenon in Eretria see HUBER / MENIEL 2013, esp. 250–252.

62 STANZEL 1991; FELSCH 2001; FELSCH 2013; SCULLION 2013 (does not take the more recent investigations into account).



4 Kriophoros (H 3.50 m). (Thasos, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1. © Ephorate Of Antiquities of Kavala and the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports. Photo: Efa A2713 / Philippe Collet).

63 KIDERLEN 2010.

64 DULPOUY 2006; CRIELAARD 2009a, esp. 365–366.

65 POLIGNAC 2009.

66 MORGAN 1994; MORGAN 2003; MOHR 2013; CRIELAARD 2009a; CRIELAARD 2016.

Also, in the Early Iron Age, monumental votive offerings begin to show up in Greek sanctuaries. Monumental tripod cauldrons made of bronze that only appear in specific sanctuaries (often in high numbers) are associated with commensal meat consumption and large feasts⁶³. In the Archaic period, sanctuaries were already well-established centres that were frequented and shaped by different groups of people, especially members of competing elites⁶⁴. F. de Polignac even addressed the Archaic period as the “age of sanctuaries”⁶⁵ – and indeed, sanctuaries played a determining role in the creation and expression of individual as well as communal identities, such as *hetaireiai* and *polis* identities⁶⁶. Especially in Ionian contexts, members of competing elite families dedicated statues of idealised men and women, *kouroi* and *korai*, which sometimes carry animals: women carry small animals such as birds and hares and in rarer cases, male *kouroi* carry rams or calves, most likely sacrificial victims⁶⁷. Statues of *kriophoroi* and *moschophoroi* could reach monumental size such as an unfinished *kouros* at Thasos (fig. 4)⁶⁸ and until now have only been discovered in sanctuaries, never in funerary contexts⁶⁹. It seems possible that they displayed members of elite families as donators of sacrifices. As sanctuaries and communities grew – and hence the number of participants – meat consumption seems to have become ‘institutionalised’ in sanctuaries. Both religious specialists and the element of community grew more important⁷⁰. 6th century BCE vase painting is characterised by the emergence of the motifs of the *pompē*⁷¹, a sacrificial procession, and the altar⁷². At the end of the 6th century BCE, the idea of a citizenship, a social elite consisting of equal males sharing the civic responsibilities, became increasingly popular in Athens⁷³. Especially in light of the growing tensions with the Persians, the tyranny of single rulers became a threat, an antithesis to the ideal of *isonomia*.

At this point I would like to return to the series of Attic vases displaying the ‘ransom of Hector’ that I have discussed at the beginning of my paper: I have mentioned that Achilles was represented as a banqueter who

67 MEYER/ BRÜGGEMANN 2007, 128–129.

68 Thasos, Arch. Mus. Inv. 1, height: 3.50 m. See BARLOU 2014, 24–28 (with a comprehensive bibliography).

69 MEYER/ BRÜGGEMANN 2007, 128–129.

70 SCHMITT PANTEL 1992; SCHMITT PANTEL 1994; SCHMITT PANTEL 1995; LAXANDER 2000; see also CRIELAARD 2009a, esp. 365–366; RABINOWITZ 2009.

71 LEHNSTAEDT 1970; DETIENNE/VERNANT 1979; BERTHIAUME 1982; VAN STRATEN 1988; VAN STRATEN 1995; LAXANDER 2000; GEBAUER 2002; TRUE et al. 2004.

72 EKROTH 2009; EKROTH 2013; CRIELAARD 2009a; CRIELAARD 2009b; MOHR 2013.

73 I. e. STEIN-HÖLKEKAMP 1989, 224–230; STEIN-HÖLKEKAMP 1999.

usually holds a shallow bowl, a *phiale* (fig. 1), or a knife (fig. 2) in his hand. In fact, it might not be a coincidence that the knife replaces the *phiale* just at the end of the 6th century BCE⁷⁴. The ritual instrument in the hand of the hero might be an archaism for his role as a powerful

meat sharing *basileus*. It might also be a reminder of the high social significance of the meal in the crucial episode of the Iliad in which the raging Achilles returns to the ‘civilised world’, and at the same time hint at the ambivalent character of the hero.

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References of figures

Fig. 1: Photo © Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich, Inv. 4001. Photo: Silvia Hertig. – Fig. 2: Drawing after: ENGELMANN 1899. – Fig. 3: Photo: © Metropolitan Museum. Drawing (Detail) by V. Sossau. – Fig. 4: Photo: EfA A2713 / Philippe Collet.

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Abstract

Meat-sharing and commensal consumption of meat are central motifs in the Homeric epics. As remains of commensal meals, gifts for the dead or gods and sacrifices, animal bones and sacrificial knives are omnipresent in Early Iron Age Greek sanctuaries. Nevertheless, in Classical Greek archaeology, reflections on the role of meat have traditionally involved the study of numerous later texts and images from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period that were also used for the reconstruction of various rituals and institutions of Early Greek societies. The current paper aims to provide a diachronic overview of the social roles of meat consumption in Early Greek societies, through an investigation of funerary and ritual archaeological contexts in Central Greece as well as a study of contemporaneous texts and images. A series of Archaic vase-paintings displaying the ‘ransom of Hector’ and Achilles as a ‘Lord’ over large quantities of meat

was selected as a starting point for the discussion. The evidence shows that meat-sharing and commensal consumption were employed as social tools to gain reputation (‘social capital’) by members of social elites, especially local leaders, throughout the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period. In 6th century BCE Athens, several details such as the emergence of larger sacrificial processions or altars on painted vases indicate a growing importance of larger cult communities. Coming full circle to the display of Achilles in the ‘ransom of Hector’, the change in some details (the replacement of the phiale by a knife) that can be observed at the end of the 6th century BCE, might reflect a change in the perception of meat-sharers, in contrast to the institutionalised bloody sacrifice in sanctuaries conducted by a cult community of citizens that became a key instrument for the demarcation of the *polis* identity.

Zusammenfassung

Tiere zur Schlachtung. Das Teilen von Fleisch und Opfern im geometrischen und archaischen Griechenland

Das Teilen von Fleisch und der gemeinsame Fleischkonsum sind ein zentrales Motiv der homerischen Epen. Tierknochen und Opferrmesser, die Zeugnis ablegen von Mahlzeiten, Totengaben oder Gaben an die Götter und Opfern, sind in den griechischen Heiligtümern der frühen Eisenzeit allgegenwärtig. Dennoch ziehen Studien der klassischen griechischen Archäologie zur Bedeutung des Tieropfers in der Regel spätere Schrift- und Bildquellen aus archaischer bis hellenistischer Zeit zur Rekonstruktion verschiedener Rituale der frühen griechischen Gesellschaften mit heran. Dieser Artikel gibt einen diachronen Überblick über die sozialen Funktionen des Fleischkonsums in den frühen griechischen Gesellschaften, indem sowohl die archäologischen Kontexte zu Begräbnis und Ritual in Zentralgriechenland als auch zeitgenössische Bilder und Texte untersucht werden. Unsere Analyse geht von einer Reihe von Bildern auf archaischen Vasen aus, die die „Auslösung des Hektor“ und Achilles als „Gebie-

ter“ über große Fleischmengen zeigen. Das Teilen von Fleisch und der gemeinsame Verzehr dienten während der gesamten frühen Eisenzeit und der archaischen Periode dazu, unter den Mitgliedern der sozialen Elite, insbesondere unter den lokalen Führern, Ansehen („Sozialkapital“) zu gewinnen. Bestimmte Details auf Tafelgeschirr des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Athen zeigen z. B. im Auftreten großer Opferprozessionen oder Altäre die wachsende Bedeutung großer Kultgemeinschaften. Um auf die Darstellung von Achilles in „Hektors Auslösung“ zurückzukommen, spiegeln die am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zu beobachtenden Veränderungen bestimmter Details (das Ersetzen der Phiale durch ein Messer) möglicherweise einen Wandel in der Sichtweise derer wider, die das Fleisch teilen, im Unterschied zu institutionalisierten Opfern, die von einer Kultgemeinschaft von Bürgern dargebracht werden und die zu einem Schlüsselinstrument für die Identität der Polis werden sollte.

Résumé

Animaux à l'abattage. Partage de la viande et sacrifice dans la Grèce géométrique et archaïque

Le partage de la viande et la consommation commensale de viande sont un motif central des épopées homériques. Les os d'animaux et couteaux sacrificiels, qui témoignent de repas commensaux, de cadeaux offerts aux morts ou aux dieux et de sacrifices, sont omniprésents dans les sanctuaires grecs du début de l'âge du Fer. Cependant, les réflexions sur le rôle joué par la viande impliquaient d'habitude dans l'archéologie classique grecque l'étude de nombreuses illustrations et textes plus récents de l'époque archaïque à hellénistique, utilisés également pour la reconstitution de différents rituels et institutions des premières sociétés grecques. Cet article vise à donner un aperçu diachronique des fonctions sociales de la consommation de viande dans les premières sociétés grecques en examinant les contextes archéologiques funéraires et rituels de la Grèce centrale et à travers l'étude d'illustrations et de textes contemporains. Notre analyse prend pour point de départ une série d'images sur des vases archaïques illustrant la « rançon d'Hector » et

Achille en tant que « Maître » de grandes quantités de viande. Les preuves montrent que le partage de la viande et la consommation commensale servaient à gagner une réputation (« capital social ») auprès des membres de l'élite sociale, particulièrement auprès des chefs locaux, à travers tout le début de l'âge du Fer et la période archaïque. Certains détails sur la vaisselle du 6^e siècle av. J.-C. à Athènes, tels que l'apparition de grandes processions sacrificielles ou d'autels, révèlent l'importance croissante de grandes communautés cultuelles. Pour revenir à la représentation d'Achille dans la « rançon d'Hector », des changements dans certains détails (le remplacement de la phiale par un couteau) que l'on peut observer à la fin du 6^e siècle av. J.-C. reflètent éventuellement un changement de regard sur ceux qui partagent la viande, contrairement au sacrifice sanglant institutionnalisé offert par une communauté cultuelle de citoyens dans les sanctuaires, qui deviendra un instrument clé pour définir l'identité de la polis.