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From snout to tail

Exploring the Greek sacrificial animal from the literary, epigraphical, iconographical, archaeological, and zooarchaeological evidence

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ABSTRACT

Animal sacrifice fundamentally informed how the ancient Greeks defined themselves, their relation to the divine, and the structure of their society. Adopting an explicitly cross-disciplinary perspective, the present volume explores the practical execution and complex meaning of animal sacrifice within ancient Greek religion (*c.* 1000 BC–AD 200).

The objective is twofold. First, to clarify in detail the use and meaning of body parts of the animal within sacrificial ritual. This involves a comprehensive study of ancient Greek terminology in texts and inscriptions, representations on pottery and reliefs, and animal bones found in sanctuaries. Second, to encourage the use and integration of the full spectrum of ancient evidence in the exploration of Greek sacrificial rituals, which is a prerequisite for understanding the complex use and meaning of Greek animal sacrifice.

Twelve contributions by experts on the literary, epigraphical, iconographical, archaeological and zooarchaeological evidence for Greek animal sacrifice explore the treatment of legs, including feet and hoofs, tails, horns; heads, including tongues, brains, ears and snouts; internal organs; blood; as well as the handling of the entire body by burning it whole. Three further contributions address Hittite, Israelite and Etruscan animal sacrifice respectively, providing important contextualization for Greek ritual practices.

Keywords: Greek animal sacrifice, anatomy, division, butchery, body part, multi-disciplinary approaches, zooarchaeology, iconography, epigraphy, texts, cross-cultural comparisons

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KATIE A. RASK

15. Animal sacrifice in parts

Theorizing bodily division in Greek and Etruscan ritual killing

Abstract

Evidence from Etruria and Greece suggests that sacrificial practices involved a rich, flexible collection of activities. Most forms of animal sacrifice hinged on the manipulation of the animal body in some way, frequently with division or disarticulation. This article addresses the theoretical background to bodily division in studies of Greek sacrifice, before exploring Etruscan practices with a similar focus on partition and processing. From animal skins worn by haruspices to blood used in funerary rituals, the various animal parts had religious potency, symbolism, and social significance. Zooarchaeological material is crucial for reconstructing how the animal body was divided and employed, but the religious use of organic portions, otherwise prone to decomposition, can be studied using other archaeological sciences such as lipid analysis. The surviving data suggests that Etruscans found religious value in skins, skulls, meat, bones, organs, and blood. This article utilizes, but also modifies, insights from David Frankfurter and Kathryn McClymond in order to theorize the efficacious aspects of sacrificial bodies, as well as procedural flexibility within sacrificial processes.*

Keywords: Greek animal sacrifice, Etruscan animal sacrifice, Roman religion, religious tradition, iconography, zooarchaeology, ritual killing, butchery, hide, skull, meat, entrails, haruspicy/extispicy, blood, fat

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Religion in the land of Etruria has long fascinated modern imaginations. Its gods and demons, prophetic accounts and bookish habits, distinctive material culture, and uncanny natural portents—in many ways so unlike the religious traditions of Greece and Rome—have drawn frequent scholarly inquiry. Yet Etruscan animal sacrifice remains largely unexplored in wider theoretical discourses about Mediterranean religions. Ritual killing in Etruria emerges as a complex and varied set of activities, studied most fruitfully through primary archaeological data and material culture, and augmented by limited non-native texts that address it. In what follows, I argue that our imperfect knowledge of Etruscan animal sacrifice nevertheless nuances our understanding of animal bodies in Greek religious contexts, particularly regarding the various ways the sacrificial body was divided and employed.

Taking into account past critical assessments of Greek sacrificial categories and Etruscan data, I indicate a need to refine the procedural elements with which we conceptualize sacrifice. My argument utilizes, but also critically modifies, insights from David Frankfurter and Kathryn McClymond, in order to address the division and manipulation of sacrificial bodies. Although division has played a starring role in debates hinging on the value of meat and the significance of consumption, I contend that overall patterns of bodily partitioning are rather more multifaceted.

After a discussion of the theoretical background to animal division in Greek sacrifice, I will introduce and explore Etruscan sacrifice with a similar focus on partition and processing. I will survey the evidence for Etruscan manipulation of divided animal bodies, chiefly with regard to skins, heads, meat, organs, and blood. The evidence indicates a wider array of procedural types and also impacts how we characterize the processing and transformation of the animal body. To conclude, I argue that partition has implications for wider studies of ritual killing.

* I wish to thank Gunnel Ekroth and Jan-Mathieu Carbon for organizing this productive and convivial conference (and for their work editing this volume), as well as the other conference participants for their lively discussions. Additionally, I am grateful to Fritz Graf, Daniele Maras, Timothy McNiven, Carolina Lopez-Ruiz, and Angela Trentacoste for their insights, and David Reese for generously sharing materials. The following article expands on ideas initially posed in Rask 2014.

Greek sacrifice and scholarship

For some time, scholars have debated and critiqued academic uses of the term "sacrifice".[1] Despite the prominence of the topic in Mediterranean studies, there is often little agreement on a standard definition of the term, with some studies addressing only burnt offerings at an altar, and others broadening the semantic range with the inclusion of a more varied body of evidence.[2] In recent years, the term and category have been problematized through historiographic contextualization, source criticism, and theoretical reformulation. Some of the most powerful criticism of the term "sacrifice" emphasizes that it is a discursive appellation, used as part of both ancient and modern ideological arguments. As Daniel Ullucci hints, modern theorists "are constantly making determinations about what matters in sacrifice, what counts as a sacrifice, and what sacrifice does",[3] in effect participating in a continuing discourse and "rhetoric of sacrifice".

To a certain degree, we still have this problem in the study of Greek animal sacrifice.[4] Scholars debate theories about the purpose of sacrifice in Greece and its central characteristics: communing with the gods, gifting or honoring the divinities, establishing reciprocity, communicating with other beings. Special attention has centered on the sacrifice of animals at altars and the subsequent feasts—the *thysia*, *trapezomata* and *theoxenia*—but we know that in Greece animals were ritually killed in a variety of instances and forms. Scholarship increasingly challenges the older emphasis on single sacrificial components, such as the feast or the animal's slaughter.[5] To this end, Robert Parker aptly wondered: "is it legitimate to treat participatory sacrifice as one thing and a pre-battle killing as quite another, rather than as sub-divisions of a single phenomenon?"[6] Others now question whether there is a "single phenomenon", or rather a series of ritual sequences that involve the killing of animals for religious purposes.[7] McClymond's influential model offered an alternative to reductionist treatments of sacrifice, with a polythetic approach that allows for the multiplicity of sacrificial rites in antiquity.[8] She identified a number of connected but discrete activities that form a matrix lending sacrificial character to ritual acts.

Envisioning a series of related processes allows us to better account for the Greek religious killing of animals. It also allows us to emphasize the different ways the animal body was used, and the various animal parts employed. In addition to the complete immolation marked by the archaeologically rare holocaust, blood played an important role at multiple points, splashed on altars, collected in vessels, and spilled during the *sphagia*.[9] Animal sacrifice in the *Greek Magical Papyri* gives a special role to *pneuma* and blood, amongst other substances that were used as efficacious offerings.[10] Not only were animal heads and horns displayed, mined for their succulent meats, and burnt on altars, they have a long history of special treatment.[11] What these sources indicate is that there were numerous ways in which ancient Greeks used an animal's body (and thus their death) to interact with non-human powers. Multivalent animal bodies consecrated or purified with their blood, provided organs and soft tissues for divination, accompanied the deceased into the afterlife, and compelled the gods.

Although interested in the multiplicity of sacrificial procedures, McClymond explores one particular cluster of crucial activities that will be central to the discussion that follows. In 2002, she argued that the division of the animal's body is one of the most important elements in Vedic traditions, noting that death "makes the animal ritually available for the elaborate manipulation, division, and distribution that follow."[12] Frankfurter similarly characterizes animal sacrifice as something related to bodily manipulation and division. Revisiting Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, he explores their notion that sacrifice makes something sacred. For Frankfurter, sacrifice transforms bodies, via a bodily rendering accomplished through some form of "processing" that breaks it down into parts or residues containing sacred power or superhuman efficaciousness. Sacrifice "produces sacred materials for this world in the course of ritual transformation";[13] in short, the sacrificial process is "the rendering of sacred stuff".[14]

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[1] An intellectual history of the most influential modern theories of sacrifice, can be found in Strenski 2003. For an overview of the literature regarding Mediterranean sacrifice, see Ullucci 2015.

[2] Already Kirk (1981, 41) noted that "the whole study not only of sacrifice but also of other ritual acts has been bedeviled by a lack of system; in particular by the failure to establish, and to assign reasonable and agreed terms to a system of categories". For problems of definition, especially regarding Greek sacrifice, see Ullucci 2015, 424–425; van Straten 2005 and bibliography in *note 5* below.

[3] For a summary of some of these arguments, see Ullucci 2015, 393–394.

[4] For historiography, theoretical overviews, and general bibliographies, see Graf 2020; Lippolis *et al*. 2018; Bielawski 2017; Hitch & Rutherford 2017; Ekroth & Wallensten 2013; Faraone & Naiden 2012; Graf 2012; Lincoln 2012.

[5] On issues of definition: Hitch & Rutherford 2017, 9–10. Elsner (2012, 161) critiques the feast as the endpoint of sacrifice. Frankfurter (2011, 87) problematizes "the capacity of the category sacrifice, so loaded with Frazerian, Girardian, and theological baggage, to describe effectively the slaughter of animals in religious ceremonies."

[6] Parker 2000, 308.

[7] Frankfurter 2011. Hitch & Rutherford (2017, 2) characterize forms of sacrifice as different "scripts", complicated through actual practice.

[8] McClymond 2008; 2002.

[9] Ekroth 2005. See now Larson in this volume, *Chapter 11*.

[10] Zografou 2011; Johnston 2002, 353–357.

[11] On consecrated horns, Forstenpointner *et al*. 2013; Graf 2012, 48–50. See also MacKinnon, Smith, Zachari and Georgoudi in the present volume, *Chapters 5–8*.

[12] McClymond 2002, 226.

[13] Frankfurter 2004, 513.

[14] Frankfurter 2004, 518.

Disarticulation and division

The partition and bodily dissolution that McClymond and Frankfurter describe can be traced archaeologically, via material culture and zooarchaeology. Focusing on the division of the animal body is nothing new in sacrificial theory, of course, especially in the long history of Greek studies. Scholarship has theorized the division of the animal's body in a variety of ways over the years.[15] For example, in 1912 Friedrich Puttkammer carefully gathered the related textual sources (including so-called "sacred laws") for the division of the animal body in Greek sacrificial procedure, with an emphasis on meat. The paradigm he employed remains familiar today, with parts of the animal divided between gods and their priests (ἱεραὶ μοῖραι) and others for mortals of various civic standing (*partes profanae*). In his characterization of public sacrifice, Puttkammer also reconstructed the distribution apparatus, consumption of sacrificial meat, and the outcome for non-distributed animal parts (predominantly the skin).[16]

Of special interest has been the relationship between the division of the sacrificial meat and the social and civic hierarchy of the sacrificing community.[17] For those following the sociological tradition of Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, William Robertson Smith, and Émile Durkheim, the division of the animal between gods and humans, and the subsequent meat distribution and consumption among mortals, fostered commensality. Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne lay the focus on cooking and eating which they emphasized using the Prometheus story. That tale mythologized the sharing of the animal between two main groups of participants, divinities and mortals.[18] For others, the social meaning of the divided animal is not egalitarian, but rather hierarchical; sacrifice serves as "an occasion for differentiation", either between mortals and the divine or among mortals themselves.[19]

In many sociological and structural interpretations the animal body is conceptualized less as a divided creature and more as edible cuisine. Jean-Louis Durand, however, is explicit in his description of what he calls "the dismantled body".[20] He writes:

> the animal's body is completely taken apart, as if it has exploded in such a way as to coincide with the society of men in the city organized around it. The trajectory assigned to the animal's body, beginning with the splanchnic center, slice after slice, reaches out to the whole social body. The ultimate *raison d'être* of the edible body is to be blended with the civic space, conforming ultimately to an exact geometry.[21]

In Durand's particularly evocative description, the dismantled body, transmuted through butchery and explosion, became civic space and society. It was the dismantling and partition that allowed the transformation of the animal body into the social body.

Not all partition theories have been sociological, of course. The religious power of the body's dismemberment and use in rituals was addressed by Classicist Karl Meuli.[22] He used ritual killing to seek the roots of Greek practice in a much older substrate of religious history, primitive hunting. After humans killed and butchered the animal, he claimed, their treatment of the meat, bones, and skin enabled sacred beings to refashion the dead animal for the hunting needs of future generations.[23] Handling the body parts allowed a metaphysical process of divine reversal that ensured the continuation of animal and human life.

The availability of new data thanks to zooarchaeology has affected how scholarship treats animal partitioning. Understandably, sacrificial studies employ bone analyses to reconstruct observable practice, as well as to connect bone material to known sacrificial terminology.[24] This new evidence also has prompted development of new theories about ritual killing.[25] Bone materials highlight some of the transformative activities that Frankfurter describes, as well as stages in McClymond's sacrificial matrix, including the selection, killing,

[15] For a reconstruction of bodily division and apportionment during Greek sacrifice, see Ekroth 2008.
[16] Puttkammer 1912.
[17] In fact, Naiden argues for the social significance of the "dispenser of meat" in sacrificial rituals, see Naiden 2012, 77.
[18] Faraone & Naiden 2012, 1–2; Detienne & Vernant 1979. A recent example traces sacrificial commensality in Athenian vase-painting: Bundrick 2014.
[19] Scheid 2012, 86; Naiden 2012; Amadasi *et al*. 1988. Ekroth (2008) recognizes both "equal portions" and "choice portions" during meat distribution. She also argues that "the division of the sacrificial victim between gods and men constituted the fundamental part of Greek animal sacrifice of the *thysia* kind." Rather than focusing on consumption or sharing, she specifically articulates division as the crucial act (Ekroth 2013, 113). Carbon (2017) highlights that, unlike the rest of the community, priests and gods frequently shared the exact same choice portions, first presented to the gods and then taken as priestly prerogatives. He also notes, however, that in other cases, small cuts of meat were presented to the gods as "first fruits" by worshippers, with the result that mortals ultimately shared the same cuts as the divine recipients.
[20] Durand 1989, 100.
[21] Durand 1989, 104.
[22] Meuli 1946.
[23] Graf 2012, 36 and 45; Wunn 2006, 295.
[24] Reconstruction of ancient practices indicate that bodily division might emphasize particular meat-bearing limbs, edible portions (e.g. tongues, organs), or specific sides. See, for example, Ekroth 2017; 2013; 2008; MacKinnon 2013.
[25] For example, based on archaeological data, Schwartz (2012) emphasizes four main types of sacrifice: offerings (e.g. consumption), symbolic sacrifices (e.g. to seal a treaty), retainer (i.e. funerary accompaniment), construction sacrifice (e.g. foundation sacrifice).

and subsequent treatment of animal bodies. Through careful stratigraphic and contextual comparisons, zooarchaeology's emphasis on anatomical parts, treatment of the body, and burial patterns has been especially significant for studies of Greek sacrifice. As a method of inquiry, it highlights the "processing" and "rendering" of the animal carcass, as well as deposition patterns and "manipulation".

In what follows, I will explore Etruscan sacrifice using the framework of McClymond's and Frankfurter's models. An overview of the evidence shows that their sacrificial characterizations require modification in order to better account for Etruscan contexts. At the same time, considering the treatment of carcasses and the necessary materials procured through the animal's death encourages us to consider new aspects of Etruscan practice.

Survey of Etruscan sacrifice

In Greek studies, scholars possess a variety of textual and archaeological materials, including literature and "ritual norms"[26] that provide vocabulary for specific types of ritual killing and animal parts. In Etruscan studies, we are hindered by the nature of our sources, with a lost literary tradition, incompletely understood epigraphic corpus, and a sometimes puzzling religious visual tradition. In what follows, I will first outline Etruscan sacrifice as reconstructed from textual, visual, and archaeological evidence, before looking more closely at partitioning and processing.[27]

TEXTS AND SACRIFICE

Although over 10,000 Etruscan inscriptions survive, most of the preserved religious documents are relatively short dedicatory inscriptions.[28] Some of the remaining texts appear to be festival and ritual calendars, and seem to indicate the recipient deity and presumably details about the requisite offerings and actions. These texts include the Magliano Lead Tablet, the Capua Tile, and the 4th-century BC linen book, the Liber Linteus.[29] For the most part, these texts are not well understood, especially with respect to ritual vocabulary. Quite a bit of disagreement exists amongst Etruscologists about the translations of words for ritual actions and items.[30] Giulio Facchetti laments that many unconfirmed religious terms have been identified with "guessology".[31] Currently, there is no consensus among linguists on terms denoting animal sacrifice or even the terms identifying most animals.

Beyond the epigraphic evidence, the Etruscans had developed a literary religious tradition,[32] continuously augmented by successive specialists. The Tarquinian priest and magistrate Laris Pulenas, for example, wrote a book on haruspicy in the 3rd century BC,[33] while in the 1st century BC, Aulus Caecina wrote treatises on religious matters and divination, presumably in Latin.[34] The religious *libri etruschi* must have been robust, given Cicero's remark that "as new things were learned and tested against [older texts], they were added to the earlier body of knowledge."[35]

Roman authors serve as our main source for the accumulated Etruscan religious tradition, which they sometimes described as the *etrusca disciplina*. Its texts covered a variety of topics, hinted at by descriptors such as the *libri rituales*, *libri fatales*, *libri fulgurales*, etc.[36] We might assume the *libri rituales* included discussion of animal sacrifice. By the 1st century BC there seems to have been a market at Rome for translations and treatises on Etruscan religion, with Etruscan literati mingling closely with Roman intellectuals and upper-class society. These Etruscan "literate cultural producers" or "literate specialists"[37] must have written about sacrifice, but we can only guess at any theoretical or theological aspects to their output.

Roman authors do provide minor hints about Etruscan sacrificial practices; for example, Varro relates that in Etruria pig sacrifices took place at the beginning of wedding rites.[38]

[26] Although previously described as "sacred laws", reassessment of the epigraphic classification prompted the *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (*CGRN*) project.

[27] For general introductions to Etruscan sacrifice, see Torelli 2018; Raffanelli 2013; Rask 2014; Donati & Rafanelli 2004; Hugot 2003.

[28] Maras 2009. For Etruscan inscriptions, see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* (*CIE*) and Rix & Meiser 1991.

[29] Radiocarbon tests during the 1980s dated the linen's weaving to 390 BC ± 45 years (Turfa 2006a, 75, n. 74). Facchetti (2005, 360) accepts that that the scribe of the Liber Linteus was not actually familiar with the script.

[30] Terms related to *nuntheri*, *zusleva*, *thezeri*, and *fler* are often presented as sacrificial vocabulary.

[31] Facchetti (2005) argues that while Etruscan morphology is better understood, vocabulary is problematic, especially with respect to longer texts.

[32] Tablets and scrolls appear in Etruscan art beginning in the first half of the 5th century BC, see van der Meer 2011, 81.

[33] His sarcophagus from Tarquinia is preserved now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at the same site (inv. 9804). Maggiani 2005, 54, no. 12.

[34] The Volterran Caecina family were well-respected as haruspication experts, see Tweedie 2015; Turfa 2012, 286–287.

[35] Cic. *Div*. 2.50: *eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscendis et ad eadem illa principia referendis*. The passing down of written knowledge and incorporation of later observation borders on the scientific. On the overlap between Etruscan religious and scientific thinking, see Cherici 2013.

[36] For the problem of Roman literary evidence for the study of the Etruscans, see Turfa 2006a.

[37] Stowers (2011, 41–51) employs these terms while exploring the practices of Greek religious experts, but the notion of literate specialists seems especially appropriate in the Etruscan case.

[38] Varro, *Rust*. 2.4.9.

Late Republican Roman authors took particular interest in Etruscan divinatory arts; references to Etruscan haruspication, or extispicy, appear frequently in Latin sources, and Etruscan practitioners were famed for their skill. Cicero remarks that the Etruscans sacrificed a great deal and had given much attention to understanding the resulting entrails.[39] Through the process of animal sacrifice, haruspices of Etruscan descent played an important role in 1st-century BC Roman politics, if not earlier.[40]

Notwithstanding our efforts to mine these authors for details about Etruscan culture and religion, the surviving non-native literary sources date to a time when many cities in Etruria had been under Roman control for centuries. Visual culture, in contrast, does provide us with an authentic Etruscan viewpoint.[41] Artists and illustrators likewise engaged in interpretative practices; presumably they were not religious experts like the "literate specialists", but depictions of religious practices should be understood as part of a process of visual discourse.

IMAGES AND SACRIFICE

The earliest clear depictions of animal sacrifice in Etruria date to the early 6th century BC,[42] but they become less common by the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Images featuring parts of the process appear on pottery (including bucchero, black-figure, and red-figure ceramics), bronze artifacts (including mirrors), carved gems and seals, and sarcophagi and ossuaries. Representations of altars occur in several artistic contexts, but animals are not always included in these images. In those cases when flames are indicated, the wood of the altar's fire is often stacked in a lean-to fire lay; given the Etruscan interest in special woods (according to the Romans), one wonders if specific woods were used or somehow codified. There are no preserved images showing the animal's tail curling in the fire, as in Greek examples.[43] Instead, depictions of animals led in procession offer more concrete details. Images connect pigs, goats, cattle, deer, and birds to altars, although zooarchaeological evidence indicates a wider array of animals may have been present in sanctuaries.[44] Artists seldom emphasized the moment of killing, but representations do illustrate ritual tools and participants.[45]

It is difficult to reconstruct sacrificial practices from these images. Medium, genre, and local conventions impact the representations, and there is often a rhetorical emphasis on certain phases in the process over others.[46] The Greek iconographic motif that highlights a nexus of humans, animals, and altars is much less frequent in Etruria, and the presence of gods in depictions of animal sacrifice is rare.[47] Etruscan dedications do not typically illustrate sacrificial activity, and the votive reliefs and painted *pinakes* showing processions in Greece do not usually occur as part of Etruscan votive habits. Occasionally artifacts portray sacrificial processions, but few identifiable details allow us to locate the rituals in sanctuaries. In fact, much of the preserved sacrificial imagery comes from funerary contexts. Certainly this may be a feature of the higher levels of artifact preservation in tombs, but also a sculptural tradition which illustrates processions on ossuaries.[48]

To complicate matters, at times the visual culture (especially vase-painting) of sacrifice seems to display a mix of Etruscan and Greek sacrificial motifs.[49] Scenes showing satyrs participating in rituals and banqueting may be inspired by Attic vase painting, always popular in Etruria. It has been argued that episodes of satyrs involved in sacrifice tell us little about native Etruscan ritual; instead they may reference Attic workshop output and Athenian rituals.[50] Likewise, the use of a Caeretan hydria to reconstruct Greek sacrificial butchery is problematic. Scholars have used the 6th-century BC Ricci

[39] Cic. *Div.* 1.93.
[40] On Etruscan divination, see Rollinger 2017; de Grummond 2013; Turfa 2012, 32–33; Briquel 2004.
[41] For treatment of Etruscan sacrificial imagery, see the works of Hugot 2010; 2008; 2006; Frère *et al.* 2006. The most comprehensive collection of sacrificial imagery to date can be found in his multivolume dissertation, Hugot 2003.
[42] A krater (*c.* 590 BC) found in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri, showing a procession (with bovine) at an altar: Cerveteri, Museo Archeologico Cerite 19539; Frère *et al.* 2006, 171–172, fig. 7.
[43] van Straten 1988. See also Morton's contribution to this volume, *Chapter 2*.
[44] Rask 2014, 291–300.
[45] With respect to the moment of killing, on a sarcophagus covered in Trojan War narratives, Odysseus stabs the throat of a ram, its muzzle pulled back towards the sky (Orvieto, Museo Civico, from Torre San Severo); *LIMC* VII (1992), 975, s.v. Odysseus/Uthuze, no. 82 (G. Camporeale). On rings and inscribed stones, the sacrificer sometimes raises a knife over an animal at the altar, as if about to strike. More blatant are two mirrors that may show bull sacrifices, with a knife and axe raised to slay the beast (presuming the episodes actually show sacrifice, given that no cult trappings appear): female with axe (Donati & Rafanelli 2004, 145, no. 54; London, British Museum 720); male with knife (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire I 777; Hugot 2003, 628, Z11). Scenes with mythical humans as victims at the moment of sacrifice are quite common, especially on mass-produced ossuaries and sarcophagi from the Hellenistic period (Hugot 2006; see the items collected in Steuernagel [1998], several of which cannot be assuredly connected to Greek narratives).
[46] Hugot 2010; 2008; 2003, 420–429.
[47] Hugot 2008. Although Etrusco-campanian pottery illustrates gods seated before flaming altars, the artists chose not to show animals and only occasionally do single worshippers attend. On Greek influence in these scenes: Hugot 2010.
[48] Altars appear on vases found in tombs, for example: Hugot 2010. Altars and sacrifice represented on ossuaries: Hugot 2006.
[49] Hugot 2010; Frère *et al.* 2006; Haase 2005.
[50] Haase 2005. On satyrs in Etruscan sacrifice imagery, Hugot 2008, 338–341.

Hydria,[51] excavated in the Banditaccia cemetery of Cerveteri (Caere), to explain the details of Greek sacrifice and butchery.[52] The use of this imagery to elucidate Greek practice has occasioned fierce debate amongst Etruscologists, given that it was produced for a local audience in Cerveteri.[53]

ZOOARCHAEOLOGY AND SACRIFICE

Archaeological data and the discovery of sacrificial infrastructure dramatically increases what we know about ritual practice in Etruscan regions. While the zooarchaeological evidence from Greece and Italy has become well-documented in the last two decades, the bone evidence for Etruscan religion has not received a comparably sustained methodological and theoretical treatment. At the basic level, evidence from ritual contexts suggest that animal bodies received differential treatment, including division and apportionment, symbolic or structured deposition, burning at an altar or cooking, and the burial of complete or partially articulated bodies.[54]

Although details of the religious selection and processing of animals are not well-understood, burnt animal sacrifice probably did occur at some Etruscan altars. Burnt bones and ashy soil have been found at altars, such as at Veii's Portonaccio Temple.[55] At the Sanctuary of Pyrgi (the port town of Caere), excavators noted burnt charcoal mixed with bone fragments at several altars, including Altar Zeta (in use until the end of the 3rd century BC).[56] In most cases across Etruria, zooarchaeological analysis of altar debris remains unpublished, meaning that few conclusions can be made about the extent to which burnt sacrifice occurred and any body parts which may have been offered via fire rituals. Cooking and feasting remains appear in the archaeological record at sanctuaries, on both a small and large scale. For example, in the southern portion of the Pyrgi sanctuary, the leveling fill of the two piazzas consisted of bones compacted with pebbles and charcoal: the Piazzale levelling deposit contained some 5,885 fragments of bone, teeth, and horns from mostly domestic animals.[57] The relationship between feasting remains, altar debris, and butchery refuse is not well-understood.

At Etruscan shrines, it is not uncommon to find animal bones gathered and deposited in purposeful or ritualized manners, placed in vessels, wells, or deep pits.[58] Tarquinia provides rather dramatic examples: in the 7th century BC, goat and pig bones were buried in a pit with feasting vessels and a folded bronze shield, a trumpet, and a lituus. Together with the vessels placed in the neighboring pit, it seems that the artifact burials occurred at the same time as ceremonial drinking and eating.[59] Curated bones have also been associated with structured deposition of animal bodies, such as in the "Repeated Deposit" at Tarquinia;[60] from the 7th through 5th century BC, several subsequent deposits occurred, beginning when a portion of a bovine was sealed under tile, then later burials of vessels (*olle*) containing various bones and cereals.[61]

The burial or special treatment of animal bodies in various stages of articulation is especially attested in necropoleis, where a connection between sacrificial ideology and funerary contexts seems evident.[62] Inhumation of horses with chariots and carts has been documented throughout Etruria.[63] Other animals were deposited outside of tombs or together with a human burial. In a quite interesting case from the 7th century BC, the Tomba Principesca in Chianciano Terme, excavators discovered animal bones together with the cremated remains of the principal burial. Although few in number, the bones had been burnt white and deformed by heat; a pig, a bovine, and a sheep/goat proved identifiable. It seems that the animals had been burnt on the pyre and their bones gathered up with

[51] Rome, Villa Guilia; Donati & Rafanelli 2004, 152, no. 126.
[52] Most famously Durand (1989, 92–100).
[53] For the Ricci Hydria and Etruscan sacrifice, with bibliography, see Hugot 2016, 206–207; Frère *et al.* 2006. The Caeretan hydriai date to around 530–510 BC, and although their Caeretan provenance is undeniable, the artists are usually described as East Greek on stylistic grounds and thanks to the occasional Greek label. Bonaudo (2004) contends that regardless of the vase-painters' origins, they worked in an Etruscan context and the vases should be interpreted in such. Warden (2013, 361) summarizes, "a Greek artist working at Cerveteri producing Campana dinoi or Caeretan hydriai would have been working for Etruscan patrons, possibly even as a slave, just one of many artisans involved in producing objects for elite consumption and display." Whether the vase should be interpreted as Etruscan, Greek, or a mixture remains an open question.
[54] Introductions to Etruscan and Italian sacrificial patterns as reconstructed from zooarchaeological material include: Trentacoste 2021; 2013; Bartoloni *et al*. 2018; Belelli Marchesini & Michetti 2018; Giacobbi & Stopponi 2018; De Grossi Mazzorin & Minniti 2016; Rask 2014; Lepetz & Van Andringa 2008; 2003; Van Andringa 2011; 2007; Bouma 1996, 228–238. For recent treatments of Greek material, see Lippolis *et al*. 2018; MacKinnon 2018; Ekroth 2017; Ekroth & Wallensten 2013.
[55] Baglione 1987, 414–416 (no anatomical analysis published).
[56] Ambrosini & Michetti 2013, 135–146; Baglione & Belelli Marchesini 2013. Ash and bones found at the "*eschara*" along Wall Tau (Baglione & Belelli Marchesini 2013, 117); Altar Epsilon, with its burned animal bones and charcoal (Baglione & Belelli Marchesini 2013, 117); ashes and small bones found around the row of square bases (or altars) set in front of the Venti Celle building (Baglione & Belelli Marchesini 2013, 112–113). Claudio Sorrentino's 2017 publication of the Area Sud bones was not available to me at the time of this writing.
[57] Baglione 2008; Sorrentino 2005.
[58] Trentacoste 2021; Belelli Marchesini & Michetti 2018; Colivicchi *et al*. 2016, 434–435; Rask 2014, 290–295.
[59] From the "Monumental Complex" of Pian di Civita, Bedini 1997.
[60] Bagnasco Gianni 2006; 2005. For what may be other examples of curated bones in Italy, see Trentacoste 2013; Bouma 1996.
[61] Bagnasco Gianni 2005, 92: "*Un'unica grossa porzione di bue*". The final publication of this zooarchaeological material is in progress.
[62] Prayon 2010; Hugot 2003, 20–133.
[63] For horses buried with chariots in Italy, see Cerilli 2014, 47–48; Emiliozzi 1997.

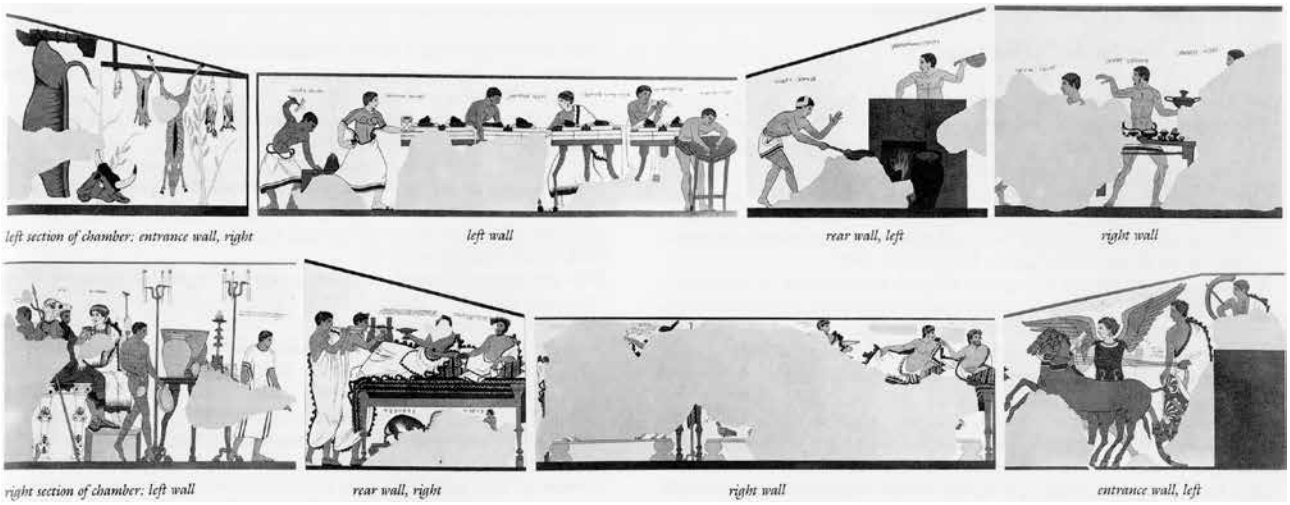

Fig. 1. Reconstruction of wall-paintings in the Tomb of Golini I, owned by the Leinie family. Dated to the mid-4th century BC. Orvieto (Volsinii Veteres). After Steingräber 1985, 279, fig. 43.

those of the deceased.[64] Additionally, butchered animal remains result from the feasting that seems to have been such an important part of funerary rituals.[65] Tools reveal ceremonial consumption as well. Excavation in Pisa found an assemblage of related items atop the early 7th century BC San Jacopo tumulus altar: the mandible of a horse, a bronze knife, and four iron spits.[66]

Division and disarticulation in Etruscan evidence

In addition to the summary just presented, evidence for disarticulation and dismantling of sacrificial bodies exists in art and archaeology. I will now look at the evidence for division more closely, accounting for both bones and organic remains that are otherwise difficult to observe archaeologically.

BUTCHERY

Although the relationship between zooarchaeological assemblages is not well-understood at Etruscan sanctuaries, a handful of images do illustrate the butchery of animals for religious occasions. The most famous of these is the Ricci Hydria, which reflects four main steps in animal processing: the skinning of the animal, butchery with the removal of the hindquarters, skewering meat and organs, and cooking the skewered flesh at an altar.

Fig. 2. Butchery process prior to a feast in the Tomb of Golini I. Orvieto (Volsinii Veteres). Water color. After Steingräber 2006, 211.

Related is a wall-painting from the 4th century BC Tomb of Golini I at Orvieto (Volsinii Veteres), which depicts the butchering process in preparation for a banquet.[67] It shows slaughtered animals, food preparation, bustling servants, Underworld gods, and five generations of the deceased's family (*Fig. 1*). An enthroned Aita (Hades) and Phersipnai (Persephone) oversee a feast attended by men of the Leinie family, with the deceased, Larth Leinie, arriving in a chariot to join

[64] Cencetti 2006.
[65] Bertani 1995.
[66] Bruni 2009; Sorrentino 2004.
[67] Barbieri 1987; Steingräber 1985, 278, no. 32. The paintings are in a poor state of preservation.

Fig. 3. A statue of Fufluns with an animal skin laid across a table, with skull at its base. Volute krater from Bomarzo, c. 350–325 BC. © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, with permission.

them. The left side of the chamber depicts servants preparing the feast. Gutted animals, evinced by longitudinal cuts for removing the internal organs, hang prior to skinning and further butchery:[68] a bovine, four birds, a hare, and a deer. The bovine has been decapitated and its lower hind legs removed, which may be a convenience on the part of the wall-painter, who had limited room to fit the large beast (*Fig. 2*). Granted, cranial and podial elements are frequently removed as butchery refuse, although they also receive special treatment during some sacrificial situations.[69]

On the next wall, a man chops something with a small hatchet, possibly part of an animal carcass, and further along, a servant pounds small pestles into a shallow basin on a three-legged stand. Although it is impossible to determine what food product the servant grinds in the basin, given the emphasis on butchery and processing elsewhere in the tomb, it may be that the man using the pestles is preparing minced meat, as Gunnel Ekroth has suggested for a related scene on the Ricci Hydria.[70] In the Golini I Tomb, the wall-painters illustrate elements of bodily dismantling and processing in connection with funerary banqueting, but clear sacrificial imagery is absent.[71]

SKINS

In addition to cranial and podial portions, animal skins were a product of butchery, but they also had religious significance. Animal skins seem to have been closely associated with the culturally significant figure of the *haruspex*. In some imagery, including bronze statuettes, haruspices wear a fringed mantle that appears to be an animal skin; for example, the 4th-centu-

[68] See Morton and Bednarek in this volume, *Chapters 2* and *9,* for the removal of the innards before further processing.

[69] For butchery processes in Greek sacrifice, see Ekroth 2008. On what may be the special treatment of podial elements, see Dibble 2018; Rask 2014, 279–282. For the treatment of the head in Greek sacrificial ritual, see below, and MacKinnon and Georgoudi in this volume, *Chapters 5* and *8*.

[70] Ekroth 2014, 230–231.

[71] Hugot 2016, 207.

ry BC bronze votive statuette given by Vel Sveitus wears such a mantle.[72] This may suggest that haruspices received sacrificial skins as an especially iconic priestly prerogative. Skins may have been presented to divinities from sacrificial animals or hunted animals. At the Cannicella sanctuary, the articulated rear paws of a brown hare may attest to the removal of the skin with paws attached, and perhaps its dedication. In the same deposit, the metapodials and phalanges alone of two foxes were found.[73] Animal skins used as offerings do appear on a 4th-century BC Faliscan volute krater from Bomarzo (*Fig. 3*).[74] This lively image portrays a cult statue of Fufluns (Dionysos) at a table or altar and surrounded by satyrs and maenads.[75] A skin with head and hooves attached lies draped across the offering surface.[76]

SKULLS

On the Bomarzo Fufluns krater, an overpainted cow skull also rests against the base of the altar and at the foot of the cult statue. Viewers might imagine the skull as the remains of a skin offering similar to the one currently occupying the table, or as an offering or trophy in its own right. As was the case in Greece and Rome, there seems to be evidence for the display of *bucrania* in Etruscan sanctuaries.[77] Likewise, a 4th century BC glass ring stone shows the connection between animal heads and altars (*Fig. 4*).[78] The image portrays a warrior before an altar and snake entwined with a tree. A ram's head with horns attached rests upon the altar. A skin hangs from the tree. This iconographic motif represents Jason with the dragon and golden fleece.[79] While in some representations of the myth, the head and/or feet have not been removed from the skin, in a handful of Italian gems and sealstones, the ram's

Fig. 4. A warrior stands before a ram's head placed on an altar. Impression from the green glass ring stone. Hellenistic or Roman date. © Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, with permission.

head has been placed directly on an altar before the tree.[80] In Greek contexts, the presentation of heads or body parts on an offering surface is a form of *trapezomata*, although heads could be burned on the altar as well.[81] We may be seeing something similar here: archaeological and visual evidence suggest that in Etruria offerings and ritual items were sometimes placed on altars (where fires occurred), and in other cases the distinction between altars for fires and offering tables is visually ambiguous.[82] As for the ring stone, the visual representation calls to

[72] van der Meer 2011, 39 and n. 177; de Grummond 2006b, 35–36. On the connection between the dress of the Etruscan *haruspex* and Greek shepherds in leather mantles, see Bonfante 2003, 53–54.

[73] Wilkens 2008. The rest of the bones from the deposit, however, do not bear clear indicators of sacrificial procedures. The main argument for their religious significance seems to have been their find-spot at the Cannicella shrine; that the assemblage was a mixed deposit which included the remains of dedicated skins, cannot be completely discounted.

[74] Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2959, from Bomarzo, 350–325 BC; *LIMC* III (1986), 534, s.v. Fufluns, no. 46 (M. Cristofani); Hugot 2003, 716, CF11; Isler-Kerényi 2014, 125–135.

[75] Etruscan imagery includes an iconographic tradition that shows cult statues as torsos on an altar, base, or *trapeza* block, see Rask 2011.

[76] On an Etruscocampanian black-figure amphora in Siena a goddess is seated before a flaming altar; her stool is draped with an animal skin (Museo Archeologico 38480; Hugot 2003, 682, CN13). See MacKinnon in this volume, *Chapter 5*, for a discussion of religious use of animal skins and for butchery leaving feet and heads attached.

[77] See Zachari's paper in this volume, *Chapter 7*.

[78] Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 182 (Luynes.183), Bibliothèque nationale de France; Hugot 2003, 757, Sca5; Richter 1968, no. 848.

[79] *LIMC* V (1990), 632, s.v. Iason, no. 24 (J. Neils).

[80] For example, the fleece with head/feet attached: *LIMC* V (1990), s.v. Iason (J. Neils), no. 32 (p. 632, Attic kylix), no. 36 (p. 632, Attic krater), no. 42 (p. 633, South Italian krater). Depictions of an altar with ram's head before the tree include: *LIMC* V (1990), s.v. Iason (J. Neils), no. 27 (p. 632, Republican glass paste gem), no. 28 (p. 632, Imperial carnelian intaglio).

[81] Ekroth 2017; Gill 1974.

[82] Visual evidence records *thymiateria* placed on altars (e.g. a *thymiaterion* on burning altar: *ThesCRA* I, 267, s.v. 'Rauchopfer', no. 48 [E. Simon & H. Sarian]). Small statues appear atop altars as well. For example, a bronze mirror shows a female statue (Turan?) on an altar (Gerhard 1974, Pl. 239); the curving features at the foot of the statue have been variously

mind animal skins and cranial parts offered and displayed in sanctuaries, as well as metonymic allusions to sacrificial activity in the manner of *bucrania*. It also articulates a visual link between an animal's head and the altar.

In addition to these visual representations, excavation suggests that cranial parts received special treatment in Etruria.[83] The most striking example of cranial deposition comes from the Sanctuary of Pyrgi, the port of Caere. The main sanctuary was dedicated to Uni (Hera/Astarte) and Thesan (Leukothea?), but the southern area contained numerous small shrines, altars, and deposits, which seem to relate to a variety of other deities. It was here that excavators discovered bovine skulls along the northwestern edge of the southern sanctuary, near Feature Pi, Altar Zeta, and Altar Tau (*Fig. 5*). The skulls, with horns still attached, were placed in a rough line and with their muzzles pointing to the south. It seems that they were deposited over a long period of time, according to the stratigraphic analysis by the excavators. The earliest skull dates to the second half of the 5th century BC, others date to the 4th century BC, and the last may date as late as the 2nd century BC.[84] The skulls derive from older animals, around 10–12 years old, with several exhibiting deformation in the teeth.[85] The excavators emphasize the strong conservatism of the ritual due to a) placement, with the animal head always oriented with its muzzle to the south, b) anatomical selection and deposition of the head with horns attached, and c) the persistent use of the same aged animal victim.[86] Differential treatment of the head may also be evident in Etruscan necropoleis. Not only do sculpted skulls appear on tombs and sarcophagi in the manner of *bucrania*,[87] but in the Hellenistic phase of the Vulci necropolis, excavators found what may be evidence for the special treatment of skulls (four bovines, three horses).[88]

Finally, the 1st-century AD Roman author Columella records a detail worth mentioning, with the necessary caveat that the non-Etruscan antiquarian wrote at a fairly late date. In his *De re rustica*, he describes the apotropaic use of animal parts to protect crops from various dangers and unlucky portents. He attributes certain techniques to famous mythical figures, including Etruscan seers:

> And experience, the teacher, has imparted to farmers how to calm the furious winds and avert
> the storm with Etruscan rituals. For this reason, in order that harmful Rubigo might
> not burn the green plants, it is placated with a nursing puppy's blood and entrails
> (*sanguine lactentis catuli et extis*). For this reason, Etruscan Tages is said to have
> attached the head (*caput*) of an Arcadian ass, stripped of skin (*nudum cute*), at the
> boundary of a field, and, in order to avert great Jupiter's thunderbolts (*fulgura*), Tarchon
> often surrounded his residence with white bryony (*vitibus albis*). For this reason,
> Amythaon's son, whom Chiron taught so many things, hung nocturnal birds on crosses
> (*nocturnas crucibus volucres*) and forbade them from crying their deadly songs from
> high rooftops.[89]

Here Columella describes practices which he labels as "Etruscan" and which were intended to keep away crop diseases, damaging weather, and ill-omens. The animals employed include an ass, a puppy, and night-flying birds, possibly owls.[90] Additionally, a plant serves to avert the thunder and lightning of Jupiter (the Etruscan Tinia). It is unclear from what source Columella derives these details, but they accord with generally accepted Etruscan concern for omens and lightning. Whether or not Etruscan ritual texts or Tagetic books described these activities, Columella records a tradition that a skinned head from an ass possessed an efficacious aspect that protected farmers from non-human powers. Our sources do not make clear whether heads in Etruscan sanctuaries and cemeteries possessed a similar efficaciousness.

MEAT EATING AND MEAT

The division of the limbs and meat bearing portions of sacrificed animals is one of the more theorized and identifiable features of Greek sacrifice. There is evidence of a similar nature from Etruria, although we must wait for further publications before we can truly treat the subject in more systematic detail. At Tarquinia's Monumental Complex, the hindquarters

interpreted (e.g., Hugot 2003, 728: flames in the shape of horns) but may represent metal fixtures.

[83] For example, at the Sanctuary of Monte Li Santi-Le Rote at Narce, two cattle skulls were placed to the north of the temple building and are stratigraphically dated to the 2nd century BC. For bibliography relating to the sanctuary, see De Lucia Brolli & Tabolli 2015, 190.

[84] Ambrosini & Michetti 2013, 147–149.

[85] Sorrentino 2005.

[86] Ambrosini & Michetti 2013.

[87] van der Meer 2011.

[88] Cerilli (2014, 47) speculates "*potrebbe essere connessa ad attività rituali svolte in quest'area della necropolis, come il sacrificio di buoi e di cavalli, e la deposizione intenzionale di parti anatomiche degli animali, con particolare riguardo al settore craniale.*"

[89] Columella, *Rust*. 10.342–347. My translation.

[90] Traditions involving Amythaonius are not well-attested in Etruria. Ovid's *Fasti* (4.901–909) refers to Roman communities burning the entrails of a dog and sheep during the Robigalia.

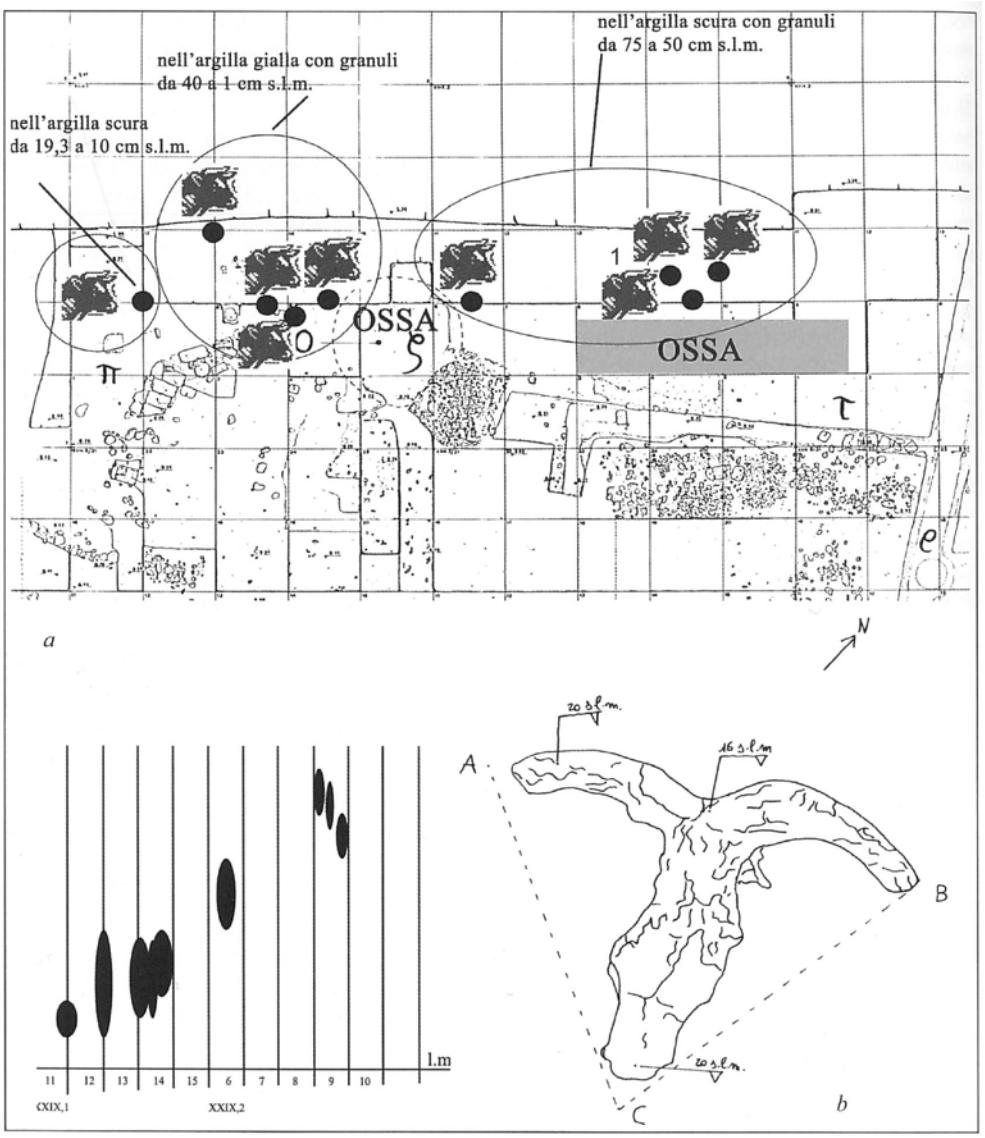

Fig. 5. Map showing locations of cow skulls in the South Sanctuary at Pyrgi, 4th–2nd century BC. After Ambrosini & Michetti 2013, 148, fig. 15.

represent the least attested anatomical portion (11%; the femur and coxa least common),[91] while anterior bones make up the smallest percentage of the bovine remains.[92] This evidence suggests the differential treatment of femurs and front legs, and that meat-bearing portions played a role in Etruscan sanctuaries.[93] It should be noted, however, that the particularly diagnostic portions of long bones (i.e., the ends) do break off, or remain unfused in younger animals; this means that the percentages of identified femurs and other long bones can appear skewed, especially in older publications.

In Greek feasting contexts, various evidence indicates that legs were socially significant, with the entire limb—from haunch to hoof—depicted as an honorary portion.[94] It is not possible to make a comparable claim in Etruria, although a black-figure amphora from Fiesole, dating to *c.* 500 BC, depicts a related idea.[95] A man with a knife in his right hand holds forth an animal's complete hind leg above a tripod. The

[91] Bedini 1997, 114.
[92] Bedini 1997, 119.
[93] Hugot 2016 argues for an Etruscan *cuisine de sacrifice* based on bones with cut marks and burning in sanctuaries, but does not address anatomical selection and differential exposure to heat (e.g. extended exposure to flame in contrast to cooking with meat on the bone).

[94] Tsoukala 2009. See also Lissarrague's paper in this volume, *Chapter 4.*
[95] Paris, Musée du Louvre 3510; Pottier 1901, E 758, 72, pl. 56; Hugot 2003, 626, Z5.

Fig. 6. Relief showing a banquet with a burning altar in the center of the scene. Stone funerary monument from Chiusi. © Musée du Louvre/Pierre et Maurice Chuzeville, with permission.

meat-bearing leg and tripod form the composition's central axis, creating a visual focus.

Roasting spits have been found in sanctuaries such as Pyrgi and Narce, where they were presumably used and/or presented as votives.[96] Many spits have also been preserved in tombs; ideologies of meat consumption were a major feature in Etruscans' wealthy funerary assemblages.[97]

A stone relief from Chiusi dating to the late 6th century BC, probably part of a sarcophagus, makes the connection between feasting and sacrifice explicit.[98] It shows satyrs reclining on couches and participating in a banquet (*Fig. 6*). The altar stands at the center of the banquet, amongst feasters and dancers. The nearest diner roasts something in the flames; his right hand grips tongs (with meat?), while his left holds a long object to the fire. Metal tongs appear with cooking and banqueting utensils in Etruscan tombs. While the happy-go-lucky scene does follow the Attic tradition of civilized satyrs, the presence of the burning altar in the midst of the banquet is not an especially common Attic motif.[99] Both Etruscan and Attic workshops rarely visualized feasting activities and sacrificial altars together in the same space. Except for the presence of the burning altar, this image follows typical Etruscan funerary banqueting formats. In fact, the relief is part of a group with two other reliefs that appear to be the short ends of a sarcophagus: one shows a sacrificial procession at an altar, the other a rowdy banquet. The two themes from the short ends overlap here on the monument's long side; in this remarkable case, the ideological link between sacrifice, feasting, and funeral symbolism has coalesced.

ORGANS AND SOFT TISSUES

In addition to deboned meats, other organic soft tissues were important in Italian ritual killing, but do not appear in the zooarchaeological record. The realities of archaeological preservation have led us to focus on bones and anatomical elements, given that decomposition leaves little behind from the organic portions of the carcass. Literary sources indicate that in some Roman rituals only soft tissue from the sacrificed animal was burned on the altar.[100] Internal organs also seem to have carried great weight in Etruscan religion and culture,

[96] In 4th-century BC Pyrgi, in the southern area, a pair of skewers appeared with the Copette Deposit at Sacellum Beta and another pair was found at the western piazza (Ambrosini & Michetti 2013, 128). A number of knives were found throughout the region as well. Skewers likewise occur at the Sanctuary of Monte Li Santi-Le Rote at Narce: De Lucia Brolli & Tabolli 2015, 32.

[97] On objects related to meat preparation and consumption in late Iron Age Etruria, including knives and miniature axes, as well as spits and firedogs, see Riva 2010, 90–93 and 155–159. She argues that evidence for meat consumption and wine-drinking in tombs "signal the ritual authority to carry out sacrifices associated with the deceased" (155).

[98] Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3610, sarcophagus from Chiusi, 6th–5th century BC; Donati & Rafanelli 2004, 163, no. 214. Maccari (2015) argues that this slab is indeed authentic, despite earlier speculation that it might be a forgery.

[99] A 5th-century BC red-figure stamnos attributed to the Copenhagen Painter shows an altar between the couches at a banquet, although the painter depicted no flames and no one interacts with the altar (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.127; *BAPD* 202939; *ThesCRA* II, 244, s.v. "Le banquet en Grèce", no. 175 (P. Schmitt Pantel & F. Lissarrague). I thank Gunnel Ekroth for this reference.

[100] Scheid 2007, 116.

particularly for their use in divination.[101] Thanks to their frequent appearance in Late Republican texts, divinatory objectives have been viewed as the central component of Etruscan sacrifice.[102] Such use of Roman authors should be undertaken with caution, however, as their sacrificial discourse may say more about their own culture's concerns and anachronistic projections, rather than any fundamental characteristic of Etruscan practices.

Cicero describes native texts (revealed by the prophet Tages) addressing the *haruspicinae disciplina,*[103] and, as noted above, Etruscan literate religious specialists such as Laris Pulenas added to the body of literature on the topic. Historically speaking, given the known political role of Etruscan haruspices (in both Etruria and Rome),[104] we might speculate that, in contrast to sacrificial meat and meat-sharing in Greece, divinatory animal organs served as a major means to social and institutional influence in Etruria. Latin authors narrate some details concerning Etruscan haruspices engaged in extispicy, but these late sources do so in fairly sensational terms. Pliny the Elder relates a tradition that a *haruspex* from the Volterran Caecina family received a positive sign during a sacrifice, when snakes slithered out from the animal's internal organs.[105] In Pliny's story, the divine sign literally leaps straight from the entrails. Likewise, Lucan gives a highly dramatized account involving the Etruscan priest Arruns of Lucca, whose sacrifice of a bull on behalf of the Romans is saturated with a variety of omens;[106] notably, when Arruns sacrificed the bull, its blood had turned black. Further details about animal entrails appear in a later Roman source quoted by the antiquarian Fulgentius the Mythographer, belonging probably to the 6th century AD or after. Fulgentius elaborates on the meaning of "spirit stones", *manales lapides*:

> Labeo, who in fifteen books explained the *etrusca disciplina* for Tages and Bacitides,
> relates: "when the fibers of the liver were ruby-red in color, then it was necessary to drag
> along the spirit stones." That is, the things which the ancients used to drag along their
> borders in the manner of rollers, in order to end a drought.[107]

Labeo's quote, while sadly brief, details the physical appearance of the liver and the appropriate ritual response. Reference to the *manales lapides*, stones used to end drought, reflect the typical concerns that divination could address.[108]

In all three of these Roman sources, then, the rhetorical anchor of the sacrificial story is the way that organs functioned as signs, embodying divine truths and messages. Despite the popularity of the topic in Roman texts, it remains difficult to identify authentic Etruscan details about sacrificial organs in Roman authors. Still, this element of body manipulation is very familiar from Etruscan iconographic representations, where the liver, as the divinatory organ *par excellence*, received artists' attention. Terracotta and bronze liver models appear starting in the 4th century BC, and funerary representations of haruspices, such as the sculpted Volterran Aule Lecu, hold livers as a sign of expertise.[109] The appearance of livers in priestly funerary art further reinforces the social symbolism of this particular animal part. The bronze Piacenza Liver, a map of sorts for the *haruspex*, suggests a certain degree of canonization for the rite, and we are certain that the topic was covered in great detail by the *etrusca disciplina*. Yet, we are left to guesswork when it comes to the actual rituals and interpretive systems tied to the reading of entrails.

As an Etruscan narrative motif, liver divination appears in several visual media, including inscribed and sculpted bronze artifacts. While some of these scenes are non-specific and generalizing, some include otherwise unattested details, such as the existence of a tradition involving a *haruspex* named Pava Tarxies, depicted on a mirror from Tuscania (*c.* 300 BC), surrounded by a group of other named figures.[110] On a famous late-5th-century mirror, the winged *haruspex* Chalchas under-

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[101] van der Meer 2011, 37–42.

[102] Briquel 2004, 144: "*L'examen des entrailles par l'haruspice, après la mise à mort de la bête … c'est un point essentiel de cet acte rituel.*"

[103] Cic. *Div*. 2.50. On Etruscan divination, see also Haack 2017; de Grummond 2013; Maggiani 2005; Briquel 1990.

[104] Turfa 2006b outlines the basic prosopographic evidence and bibliography for Etruscan haruspices, based on the epigraphic and archaeological data.

[105] Plin. *HN* 11.197: "it is handed down [*traditur*] that when someone at Volterra named Caecina enacted a sacrifice, snakes slipped out from the victim's internal organs—a happy portent." Livy (5.21), while admitting the story's mythical character, connects the theft of a sanctuary's sacrificial organs to the downfall of Veii.

[106] Luc. 1.584–637.

[107] Fulg. *Expositio sermonum antiquorum ad grammaticum calcidium 4: Labeo qui disciplinas Etruscas Tagetis et Bacitidis quindecim uoluminibus explanauit, ita ait: "Fibrae iecoris sandaracei coloris dum fuerint, manales tunc verrere opus est petras", id est quas solebant antiqui in modum cilindrorum per limites trahere pro pluuiae commutandam inopiam*. My translation.

[108] The passage is also useful given Fulgentius' reference to his source material, the fifteen books on Etruscan religion by the Roman Labeo. The identification of Labeo has been controversial, with 1st-century BC Marcus Antistius Labeo and 3rd-century AD Cornelius Labeo both considered, see Turfa 2012, 290–291.

[109] Aule Lecu: Volterra, Museo Guarnacci; *ET* Vt 1.128, 1.129 (*CIE* 81, 92). For liver models, Maggiani 2005, 54–56.

[110] In addition to Pava Tarchies, the labeled figures are: Avl Tarchunus, Veltune, Rathlth, and Ucernei. Florence, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 77759; Turfa 2012, 22, fig. 1. de Grummond 2006a, 26–27, fig. II.2.

Fig. 7. Inscribed bronze mirror, showing Calchas inspecting a liver. The lungs and trachea lay on the table. From Vulci, late 5th century BC. After Gerhard 1974, pl. 223.

takes the examination of animal organs (*Fig. 7*).[111] Chalchas closely investigates a liver in his hand, and the lungs and trachea lay on the table before him. Although the tabled organs may simply reflect the removal and processing of the viscera, given that Chalchas pays them little attention, authors such as Cicero report that the lungs of sacrificial cattle received inspection during Roman divination.[112] Our lack of Etruscan literary sources means that we know little about the religious use of these other organs and whether such were included among Etruscan *exta*. If the organs depicted on Chalchas' table were commonly employed in Etruscan haruspication at this time period, then we can add lungs to the important internal portions of the animal's body that do not survive in the archaeological record. Whether the other flesh of the animal, killed for divinatory purposes, was subsequently eaten cannot be determined from our Etruscan sources.

BLOOD AND FAT(S)

Blood also decomposes, so without texts and images it has been nearly impossible to uncover in the archaeological record. In Greece, we see that blood received differential treatment, splashed onto the altar, consumed, or used for its purifying power.[113] Blood could also be a direct offering, and often did not require the sacrificial infrastructure of a shrine's altar. On Mykonos, for example, participants at a sacrifice cut the throats of eight lambs and directed their blood to run into the Acheloos river (whereas the sacrifice of a sheep and two lambs occurred at the altar).[114]

Despite Lucan's mention of the black blood seen by Arruns during animal sacrifice and Columella's reference to the blood of a puppy, we have limited evidence for blood rituals in Etruria. Some art objects seem to copy Greek iconographic motifs depicting the purification of Orestes by pig blood, but such scenes are generally rare. On the other hand, in discussions of Etruscan funerary sacrifice, blood frequently receives emphasis, thanks to the 3rd-century AD Christian apologist Arnobius.[115] Among a longer list of religious charlatanry, Arnobius warns his readers that:

> in Etruria it is promised in the Acherontic books that, by giving the blood of certain
> animals to certain numinous powers, souls become divine and are led away from the laws
> of mortality ... [but] it is not possible to choose an eternal spirit ... let Etruria sacrifice
> however many victims it wants.[116]

The passage, part of a Christian polemic, criticizes competing religious and philosophical traditions that provide guidance on the soul's fate after death.[117] According to Arnobius, in order to reach heaven (and the soul's immortality), philosophers lived appropriate lifestyles, Magi compelled higher powers through prayers, and the Etruscans offered blood to specific deities. At the time Arnobius wrote, some philosophers and magicians practiced theurgy, wherein soteriology, ascent to heaven, and assimilation with the divine were prevalent concerns.[118] Certain theurgists incorporated sacrificial processes into their theories. As Ingvild Gilhus argues, "what the new theurgical theories about sacrifice had in common with the *taurobolium* and the mysteries of Mithras was that sacrificial animals had become instruments of human spiritual progress."[119] It is not unreasonable, then, to view Arnobius'

[111] Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12240; Gerhard 1974, Pl. 223; de Grummond 2006a, 30–32, fig. II.9.
[112] Together with the heart and liver: Cic. *Div.* 2.29.
[113] Ekroth 2005. See also Larson in this volume, *Chapter 11*.
[114] Jameson 1991, 203; *CGRN* 156. Blood is likewise one of the most common ritual ingredients in the Greek magical papyri (Salayová 2017, 199.)
[115] Arn. *Adv. nat*. 2.62; Serv. 3.168. Camporeale 2009; Warden 2009.
[116] Arn. *Adv. nat*. 2.62: *Quod Etruria libris in Acheronticis pollicentur, certorum animalium sanguine numinibus certis dato divinas animas fieri et ab legibus mortalitatis educi ... nec ... perpetuitatis possit et spiritum subrogare ... caedant licet hostias quantas libet Etruria*. My translation.
[117] Briquel 2007, 157.
[118] Addey 2014; Bremmer 2014.
[119] Gilhus 2006, 134.

portrayal of Etruscan blood sacrifice as particularly timely for the 3rd century AD. We can only speculate on the original religious and historical context of the documents Arnobius mentions (*libri acheronti*). They cannot be any later than the 3rd century AD,[120] but could be much earlier, given that Greek ritual texts dealing with the soul's afterlife and divinity date as much as 800 years prior to Arnobius. The deification of individuals through death was familiar to Italians by the 1st century BC,[121] but primary data from earlier Etruscan history about such rites is otherwise lacking.

Although the textual sources are problematic, organic residue analysis may provide an alternative for studying primary data related to Etruscan blood use.[122] Using microscopic and chemical analysis, archaeologists are able to trace blood proteins on tools, ceramics, stone, and in soil samples.[123] Ongoing refinement of sampling and analysis techniques allow scientists to identify animal species, provided that burial contexts and soil chemistry have not degraded the residues. Although a number of altar types in Etruria have been interpreted as sacrificial infrastructure for blood offerings, they would have been usable for other liquid libations as well.[124] We lack unambiguous visual representations of blood offerings at such altars, and no surviving texts refer to their use. We can expect, however, that more examples of altars will emerge through excavations; when freshly uncovered, their channels will be prime candidates for residue analysis, in order to test the long-held blood offering hypothesis.

Another organic element that had an important sacrificial function was fat, well-attested in Greece epigraphically, visually, and in literary constructions.[125] In the Greek sacrificial landscape, fat is clustered at the altar, together with the *splanchna*, femur, and sacrum. Fortunately, the archaeological sciences can explore fat's presence thanks to lipid analysis.[126] In addition to the lipids found in plants and animal by-products (e.g. dairy), archaeological scientists use lipids to differentiate between the presence of terrestrial and aquatic animals. Fatty acids aid in identifying specific organisms, so that fats can be assigned to large domesticated herbivores, such as the standard sacrificial animals: goats, sheep, pigs, and cattle. In addition to lipids from animal fat itself, bones that are burnt in fires exude fats, leaving behind identifiable residue in archaeological features such as hearths.[127] We can expect that in the future the archaeological sciences will allow the identification of soft tissues and organic animal remains otherwise lost in the archaeological record, which would further illuminate the ritual use of animal bodies.[128]

Theoretical discussion

I would like to make three points based on this overview of Etruscan data, with Greek sacrificial studies as a backdrop. First, as this summary intimates, Etruscans employed animal bodies in their interactions with non-human powers. Although few Etruscan textual sources remain, images and archaeology show the special treatment of various parts of the animal body following the animal's demise. This multiplicity should nuance our understanding of the three categories of zooarchaeological contexts for Greek sacrifice (altar debris, consumption remains, butchery refuse), given that many animal parts were religiously useful and symbolic. Whereas Durand saw sacrificial meat moving outwards from a center to overlay the urban civic body, I see alternative social and spatial projections. Thanks to a variety of sacrificial acts, animal bodies map out a religious topography, with flesh, skin, blood, fat, and bones marking space within and without sanctuaries. Calcined bone might surround altars, while horns become altars themselves. Deliberately buried bodies covered by tiles beneath the ground memorialize past rituals and significant spaces, in contrast to differently marked pits filled with consumption refuse. Cloaks made from skins follow the transitory pathways of the haruspices who wear them, while organs and skinless heads strengthen and empower agricultural borders. Sacrifice marks natural geography as well, with blood ritualizing the very rivers of the landscape.

Second, archaeological and visual materials encourage us to reformulate the sacrificial matrix that McClymond proposed, a framework she developed primarily through textual analysis. She argued for seven procedural forms that frequently appear in sacrificial rituals: selection, association, identification, killing, apportionment, heating, and con-

[120] The earliest references to the Acherontic books comes from Arnobius (3rd century AD) and Servius (late 4th century AD, Serv. 8.398), although, given a reference in Servius (3.168), it is speculated that both authors derived their information from Labeo. As Dumézil (1996, 668) warns, the Latin adjective *acheronti* may be a non-Etruscan appellation and means of categorizing the texts, rather than a native Etruscan reference to specific works or collections.

[121] De Jong & Hekster 2008, 83. See King (2020) for the deification of the Roman dead.

[122] McGovern & Hall 2016; Evershed 2008.

[123] Malainey 2011, 219–236.

[124] Camporeale 2009, 221; Comella 2005, 166–171. Additionally, drains near altars in some sanctuaries have been interpreted as infrastructure for blood offerings, at sites such as Tarquinia's Edificio Beta in the "monumental complex" (Pian di Civita) and Veii's Portonaccio sanctuary. They may have had other functions, used for non-blood liquid offerings, purificatory rituals, or for cleaning purposes.

[125] Morton 2015.

[126] Craig *et al*. 2011; Malainey 2011, 201–218.

[127] Kedrowski *et al*. 2009.

[128] For an example of residue analyses used to study ancient ritual, see Garnier *et al*. 2010.

sumption. Our overview of ritual killing suggests that several of these major procedures sometimes do not appear, such as heating and consumption. In fact, the ritual participants given such weight by McClymond during the apportionment phase need not be present;[129] instead, apportionment procedures sometimes appear as division and distribution, without an emphasis on sharing the victim amongst social actors. Archaeological methods result in a slightly different laundry list of sacrificial procedures that make up an alternative matrix of connected events, especially representing post-death actions: excavators trace the selection of the animal, transportation to the sacrificial site, killing, butchery, anatomical selection, partition, processing, differential treatment of the whole or parts, and distribution to special rituals, places, or actors. Not all of these stages need to be highly ritualized; for example, the symbolic treatment of a head contrasts with dumping consumption debris in a pit. Ultimately, these procedures apply to a wider range of sacrificial activities and cultural contexts than McClymond's original selection of activities. They offer greater theoretical flexibility and variability in interpretation. For Greece and Italy, they seem to better account for the evidence.

Finally, in animal sacrifice, we find ritualized activities that require the death of the animal in order to acquire some element from the animal body, which usually had a specific function in the overall process. Its use or manipulation accomplishes something, as practitioners use it to *do* or act upon the visible and invisible world: blood transforms, skulls protect, meat honors, and so on. Following Frankfurter, Etruscans transformed animal bodies through a series of actions or contexts; during interactions with non-human powers, they killed animals and the processed, dismembered bodies resulted in useable or potent substances.[130] In contrast to Frankfurter, I hesitate to apply the phrase "make sacred" in the Etruscan context due to our lack of emic paradigms. Even in Greece, it is not always clear how and why exactly animal bodies become transformed and powerful. In some cases it must be that sacred substances are made to exist on earth through contact with divinity, as when Greeks treated items associated with the gods or shrines as *ta hiera*. For the Etruscans, sacrifice made animal organs swollen with divine messages. In other cases, the processed animal body may have possessed inherent efficaciousness otherwise unknown to us. Rather than transformation, *already* powerful or symbolic animal bodies perhaps become useable simply through the acts of processing and rendering. Some of the resulting materials may have held other types of meaning, such as the *haruspex*'s animal skin cloak, a visual marker of the ritual expert's social position and relationship to the divine. In any case, the nature of animal parts in ancient sacrifice, and the logic behind their potency, deserves further study.

[129] McClymond 2004, 359–361.

[130] Frankfurter 2004, 512–513. For the problem of sacralization in Hubert and Mauss' in theory, see Kirk 1981, 68–70.

Conclusion

Archaeological evidence from Etruria, combined with a reconsideration of Greek rituals, suggests that sacrificial practice was a rich, flexible set of activities. Especially significant is the processing and dividing of the potent animal body. Most forms of animal sacrifice hinged on the manipulation of the animal body in some way, frequently with division or disarticulation of some form. The surviving data suggests that, for the Etruscans, there existed religious value in skins, skulls, bones, meat, organs, and blood. Ongoing excavation and developing technologies are bound to further nuance historical examinations of sacrificial contexts in both Etruria and Greece.

Critical assessment of partition and processing has wider implications for the study of ancient Mediterranean sacrifice. I have argued that humans employed animal bodies when they engaged non-human powers in a variety of contexts. Animal sacrifice was a malleable series of procedures and activities that enabled humans to act on the world and interact with these powerful forces.

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