

PARAPHERNALIA FOR SACRIFICIAL PRACTICES
IN THE HEROON T A95 OF ORGAME/ARGAMUM

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Sont présentés ici un couteau de sacrifice (*machaira*) et deux brochettes (*obeloi*) trouvés au cours des fouilles d'Héroon d'Orgamé/Argamum, telles qu'ils ont été répertoriés dans le dépôt du fossé d'offrandes et restés inédits jusqu'à présent. Ces matériaux, identifiés dans un espace cultuel, constituent assurément les témoins des pratiques sacrificielles auprès d'une tombe du fondateur, allant de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique. Les documents présentés donnent pour la première fois un aperçu de l'équipement (*paraphernalia*) du sacrifice animal dans le culte héroïque pratiqué dans l'une des colonies ioniennes du Pont Euxin.

Mot-clés: culte héroïque, fossé d'offrandes, Héroon, machaira (couteau), obeloi (brochettes), Orgame/Argamum, *paraphernalia*, rituels, sacrifices grecs.

Key-words: hero cult, Heroon, Greek sacrifices, *machaira* (knife), *obeloi* (roasting spit), Orgame/Argamum, trench for offerings, *paraphernalia*, rituals.

Placing the dead¹, and, especially, the founder of a Greek colony, needed a big responsibility for the action of forming a new city and for the memory of its beginning. The Heroon of Orgame/Argamum was atop the high terrace of the promontory of Capul Dolojman (Jurilovca, Tulcea) in the early Greek period, more precisely, in the third quarter of the 7th century B.C., covering a big Archaic tomb (Fig. 1). It was protected in place by a peripheral stone ring or *krepis* and surrounded immediately by a big trench where offerings have accumulated during many centuries, from Archaic Greek, until Roman times. Successive constructions were added on the east side of that tumulus; most of them are altars and a sanctuary of the 4th century B.C. The owner of the tomb is identified with the founder (*oikistes*) of the city, which revived here the hero cult.² Cremated foods or animal burned

¹ For placing the dead, see M. Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Texas A&M University Press, 1999, p. 124.

² V. Lungu, *La tombe d'un ἥρωος et l'organisation de la nécropole d'une cité milésienne du Pont Euxin: le tumulus T A95 d'Orgamé*, in Lungu V. (ed.), *Pratiques funéraires dans l'Europe des XIII^e-IV^e s. av.J.-C.*, Actes du III^e Colloque International d'Archéologie Funéraire, (Tulcea 1997), Tulcea, 2000, pp. 67-87; V. Lungu, *La tombe d'un Héros et l'organisation de la nécropole d'une cité milésienne du Pont Euxin: le tumulus T A95 d'Orgamé*, *Talata* XXXII-XXXIII, 2000-2001, pp. 171-188; V. Lungu, *Les funérailles de Patrocle et les plus anciennes nécropoles ioniennes de la*

remains occurred in all the area of the trench for offerings which was in use at this time³. The primary aim is the ritualised communication with the dead and its memory. So far, the study of the present Heroon suggests that it is given a prominent place in the proximity to the settlement area and a dominant memorial position in the inhabitant's mind perpetuated by the offerings accumulated in the big circular trench.

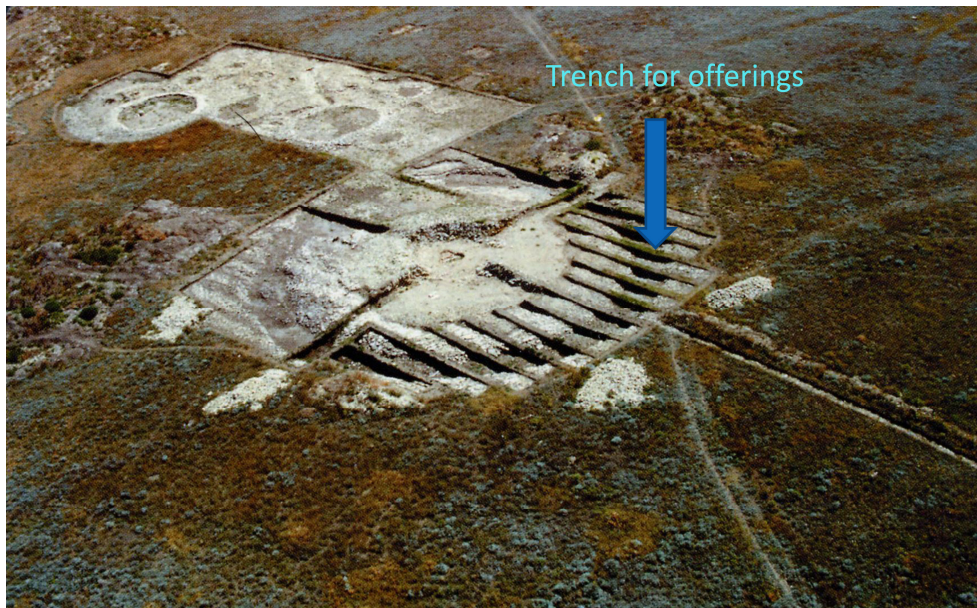


Fig. 1

mer Noire, O. Ozbek (ed.), International Workshop Troy and its Neighbours. Funeral Rites, Rituals and Ceremonies from Prehistory to Antiquity, Çanakkale, 2006, pp. 153–170

³ For animal sacrifice in hero cult, see F. Deneken, *Heros*, in Rochers, W.H. (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Tome I.2, 1886–1890, Col. 2506; F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult in Altertum*, 2. *Die Reliquien als Kultobject. Geschichte des Reliquienkultes (RGVV 5)*, Giessen, 1909–1912, p. 477; P. Foucart, *Le culte des héros chez les Grecs*, Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 42, Paris, 1918, p. 41; E. Rohde, *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*, english translation by W.B. Hill, London, (originally published as *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, Freiburg-Leipzig, 1925, p. 116 with n. 14; P. Stengel, *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*, 3rd edition, München, (1887), 1920, p. 16 and 142; L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cult and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921, p. 95; L. Meuli, *Griechische Offerbräuche*, in O. Gigon, K. Meuli, W.Theiler, F. Wehrli and B. Wyss (eds.), *Phyllobolia. Festschrift für Peter von der Mühl*, Basel, 1946, p. 193 and 209; A.Brelich, *Gli Eroi Greci: un problema storico religioso*, Rome, 1958, p. 9; G. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, Centre International d'Études de la Religion Grecque Antique, Liège (*Kernos* suppl. 12), 2002, pp. 14, n. 3; G. Ekroth, *Meat, Man, and God: On the Division of the Animal Victim at Greek Sacrifices*, in ΜΙΚΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΩΝ: Μελέτες εις Μνήμην Michael H. Jameson, ed. A. Matthaïou and I. Polinskaya, Athens, 2008, pp. 259–290.

The uses of this trench as sacral deposit began very close to the interment of the dead and extended over a long period after burial⁴. The earliest date is based on the presence of some fragments of Ionian cups, and also Clazomenian, Chian and Lesbian amphorae, similar to the shapes found on the pyre, which are generally dated to the third quarter of the 7th century B.C.⁵, while the last ones belong to the Roman time. More significant there is the survival of the remains of some altars which have been provided inside the trench for offerings, ranging from a heap of stone to a large rock, and associated with a lot of burnt bones, ashes and charcoal.

Analyses of burnt faunal assemblages from the excavations revealed the institution of feasting in all the Greek period and, probably, some of them still in Roman times. But there is no such evidence of meat cremation at the other tombs of the necropolis and no such popularity of offering trenches⁶. If a common factor is to be found, it must be seldow at the level of the stone rings, and it is tempting to see the exclusivist practice as a control on one aspect of display by the elite, and it implies general recognition of somebody most prominent. We see here the differentiation between this tomb and the other wealthy elite tombs identified in the necropolis of Orgame (see the tomb T IV90)⁷, as the consequence of the special status of its owner. It is not difficult to explain why the display of the burnt faunal meat might be different here. Differential status, required for formal feasting, toasting and libation activities, is likely to have served to accentuate the similarities

⁴ R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making 1200–479 B.C.*, 2nd ed. New, 2009, p. 50, underlines the use of offerings trenches which “made possible the extension of the ceremonial some period after the actual cremation”. The trench with offerings at Orgame remembers the oval *bothros* (4,50 × 7,0 m and 0,90 m High) placed at some metres West of the Heroon in Eretria, cf. C. Bérard, *Note sur la fouille au sud de l’Hérôon*, *Antike Kunst* 12, 1969, pp. 74–79, and fig. 1, p. 75. Another example is the burial mound at Marathon, see V. Stais, ‘Ο ἐν Μαραθῶνι τύμβος, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athen. Abt.)* 18, 1893, pp. 46–63. We note also some similarities with the complex of Vourva, where a mound with cremation of the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 6th century B.C. had also an exterior trench of offerings. About Vourva and other examples, see J. Whitley, *The Monuments that Stood before Marathon: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Archaic Attica*, *AJA* 98, 1994, (pp. 213–230), p. 216; E. Gergoulaki, *Religious and Socio-Political Implications of Mortuary Evidence : Case Studies in Ancient Greece*, *Kernos* 9, 1996 (pp. 95–120), p. 118, fig. 4.

⁵ Thus, it may seem that the colons established at Orgame have known the practice of external trench offerings. A similar practice is associated with the *Opferrinnen* in Athens established at the end of the 8th – beginning of the 7th c. B.C., see F. de Polignac, *Entre les dieux et les morts. Statut individuel et rites collectifs dans la cité archaïque*, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis. Proceedings of the Third International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult (Athens, 1992)*, Stockholm, 1996, (pp. 31–40), p. 37.

⁶ For the offering trenches in Ionian cities, see A. Alexandridou, *Offering Trenches and Funerary Ceremonies in the Attic Countryside. The Evidence from the North Necropolis of Vari*, in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Acta Hyperborea 12), Copenhagen, 2009, pp. 497–522.

⁷ V. Lungu, *Une tombe de IVe siècle av. J.-C. dans la nécropole tumulaire de la cité d’Orgamé/Argamum*, *Peuce* XI, Tulcea, 1995, pp. 231–263.

as well as the differences between the deceased burnt in the tumulus T A95 and the tombs of local elite.

Especially, the trench-fill deposit suggests also that the sacrificial knife (*machaira*) and roasting spits (*obeloi*) were involved as exceptional finds in the offerings. Both are usual instruments of sacrifice⁸ and composed a specific set or *paraphernalia* of the Heroon.

1. Sacrificial knife (*machaira*) (Fig. 2)

One knife was found incomplete in the trench-fill deposit of the Heroon TA95. There is preserved just the complete blade made from iron; it extends into the handle with a stick tang; this is perforated by two rivets which jointed and fixed it into the handle, which was apparently made from two pieces. The material of the handle seems to have been perishable, probably wood. The type and the dimensions of this knife suggest the sacrifice of small or medium sized animals⁹. It was left together with the remains of the other offerings and served both a practical and symbolic function as sacrificial knife (*machaira*).

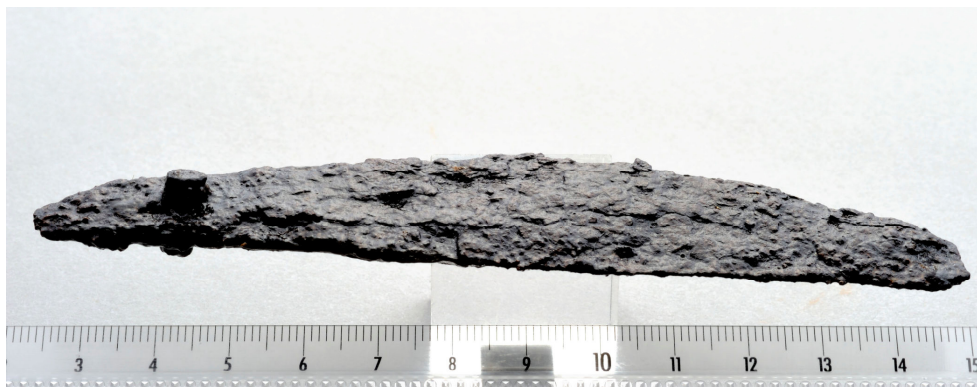


Fig. 2

The knives (*machairai*) appear often in the Greek tombs among the prestige objects such as the weapons, and generally close to the sword¹⁰. However, knives are not as common in the archaeological record of the tombs as other types of offerings, although vase-paintings and sculpture show commonly a male in a

⁸ B.C. Dietrich, *The Instrument of Sacrifice*, in Hägg, R., N. Marinatos, G.C. Nordquist (éds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice*, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June 1986, Stockholm, 1988, (pp. 35–40), p. 37: *Machaira*, as sacrificial knife.

⁹ The sacrifice was made by the priest's attendants appointed for the purpose, to whom probably the dissection of the victims was assigned after sacrifice.

¹⁰ Homer, *Il.* III, 271, Atrid Agamemnon had always at him the knife. He used his knife as the officiant at a sacrifice lore, likely as priest, to sacrifice sheeps for Zeus, cutting before the hair of animal heads; in *Il.* XIX, 252, he sacrificed a boar with his knife.

sacrificial scene wearing them in his hands¹¹. In the context of the imagery of the animal sacrifice associated with dead rituals, Odysseus is, for instance, represented in sacrificial scenes, accompanied by his comrades. Two painted vases of different origins are particularly suggestive here. Chronologically, the first one is an Attic red-figured pelike of Lycaon Painter, dated about 440 B.C., where Odysseus, confronted with the ghost of Elpenor, makes a sacrifice¹². The second one is a Lucanian Kalyx-krater of Dolon Painter, dated from 499 to 375 B.C., which exhibits Odysseus after the sacrifice of two animals in front of the ghost of Teiresias, the blind Theban prophet¹³. The representation contains an obviously particular background, that of a necromantic act in order to consult Teiresias after his death. Apparently, the painter used specific visual strategies in order to set the sacrifice at the tomb: Odysseus seated on a rocky *bomos* with the right foot on the neck of slaughtered two or more rams lying on the floor, with the knife in the right hand after the sacrifice¹⁴. The blood flows under Odysseus' foot and the resuscitated ghost of Teiresias appears from the ground.

In addition, we may note that the use of these animals for sacrifice at the tomb appears in accordance with the bone remains of the tomb TA95 and the species confirmed by faunal analyses. Consequently, the role of the knife in Odysseus' hand may be similar to that of our knife, even if ours is smaller than those painted on both vases. It proves the practice of the sacrifice and the intention firstly of a blood dispersion on the tomb or in a pit and, secondly, of dividing, burning and feasting the meat on the altars. The small fragments of the burnt bones, found in common layers with it, and the knife (*machaira*) testified the activities of burning of the sacrificed animals close to the tomb area. The idea of commemoration is embodied or symbolised by these objects.

2. Roasting spits (*obeloi*) (Figs. 3–4)

The identification of two metal finds, triangular in section and straight shaft, offers us the possibility to recognize some typological features common for Greek roasting spits or *obeloi*¹⁵. They are made from different materials – the first one,

¹¹ V. Tsoukala, *Honorary Shares of Sacrificial Meat in Attic Vase Painting*, *Hesperia* 2009, 78, p. 1–40, studied a group of Attic black- and red-figure vases from the late 6th and 5th centuries B.C. decorated with scenes with meat in iconographic contexts, other than sacrificial butchering. Some of them emphasize the knives.

¹² Boston, *Museum of Fine Arts*, 34.79; J. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1984, 2nd ed., p. 1045, no 2, p. 1679

¹³ On a Lucanian Kalyx-krater (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 422), see G. Ekroth, *Blood on the altars? On the treatment of blood at Greek sacrifices and the iconographical evidence*, *Antike Kunst* 48, 2005, (pp. 9–29), pl. 1.3.

¹⁴ Tumuli were common for the Homeric time.

¹⁵ On the *obeloi* (roasting spits) of different types, see V. Karageorghis, *Note on Sigynnae and Obeloi*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 94, 1970, pp. 38–42; V. Karageorghis, *Pikes or Obeloi from Cyprus and Crete*, in *Antichità cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi 2* (CronCatania 13), Catania, 1974, pp. 170–171; A.E. Furtwängler, *Zur Deutung der Obeloi im Lichte samischer*

numerated as **O1**, from bronze, and the second one, noted **O2**, from iron. Both have been found in good conditions of preservation in the trench fill. They are the first *obeloi* reported from Orgame, as well as from a Greek colony on the west shore of the Black Sea.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Neufunde, in H.A. Cahn and E. Simon, (eds.), *Tainia: Roland Hampe Festschrift*, Mainz, 1980, pp. 81–98; P.F. Stary, 1994, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfweise auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, *Madriider Forschungen* 18, Berlin; A. Snodgrass, *Iron*, in J. N. Coldstream and H. W. Catling (eds.), *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs (BSA Suppl. 28)*, London, 1996, pp. 590–591; G. Hoffman, 1997, *Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete*, Ann Arbor, pp. 141–146; P. Haarer, *Obeloi and Iron in Archaic Greece* (Dissertation, University of Oxford), 2001, pp. 255–273.

Both *obeloi* were found in opposite sides of the same section, noted S6, at about 2 meters distance between them and at different levels. Near unto these *obeloi*, some pottery fragments, particularly amphorae, were concentrated in the small earth layer. Of considerable importance is the roasting spit noted as **O1**, found on the bedrock at 1.10m depth, probably in the original position in that it was left when the altar of the east side was cleaned for a new feasting sequence. The second one noted **O2**, found at 0.15 cm depth in a mixed layer, confirms the fact that the cleaning had indeed been made periodically.

The *obeloi* are ostensibly Aegean and appear during the Iron Age¹⁶. Concerning the dimensions of *obeloi*, Luce studied two types: giant and miniature types¹⁷. His conclusion is that giant models are “relevant to cooking”. Herodotus (2.135) mentions several roasting spits dedicated by the courtesan Rhodopis in Delphi, in the early sixth century that were „long enough to pierce an entire ox”¹⁸. Morphologically, they are not so different. The miniature *obeloi*, as well as the giant ones, are similar in use and may have the same function which is “relevant to cooking” the meat. In the geometric cemeteries the giant *obeloi* are grave markers¹⁹. As far as the *obeloi* are concerned, miniature versions appear in the graves of Sindos in Macedonia, where they dated, according to the context, after the middle of the 6th century B.C., more probably about 540 B.C.²⁰ In Argolid, the *obeloi* appear in the tomb T. 45 of the late 8th cent. B.C. furnished with bronze armour, iron axes and firedogs.²¹ According to the content of the funeral deposit,

¹⁶ A.E. Furtwängler, *Zur Deutung der Obeloi...op.cit.*; P. Haarer, *Obeloi and Iron in Archaic Greece...op.cit.*

¹⁷ J.-M. Luce, *From miniature objects to giant ones. The process of defunctionalisation in sanctuaries and graves in Iron Age Greece*, Pallas 86, 2011, (pp. 53–73), p. 57. The painted Greek vases show frequently the representations of big roasting spits or *obeloi*. Among the better examples is a cup-skyphos of Euaion Painter, from Warsaw, National Museum 142464, which shows on the side [A] cutting up the sacrificial victim, and on the side [B] roasting part of the animal on spits, see J. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured... op. cit.*, p. 797, no. 142; T. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*, Oxford, 1989², p. 290.

¹⁸ For the presence in sanctuaries, see J.-M. Luce, *From miniature objects to giant ones...op.cit.*, p. 60, fig. 15.

¹⁹ P. Courbin, *Obeloi d'Argolide et d'ailleurs*, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June, 1981, Stockholm, 1982, pp. 149–156; J.-M. Luce, *From miniature objects to giant ones...op. cit.*, p. 57.

²⁰ After J. Vokotopoulou, A., Despoini, B. Misanlidou, M. Tiverios, 1985, Σίνδος κατάλογος της έκθεσης, Athens 1985, nos. 125, 180, 228, 278–79, where the *obeloi* are presented on findings from the tomb 25 at Sindos, ca. 540 B.C. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki inv. 8640 and 8641. They are packed in groups of six or seven, as expected. See also, J.-M. Luce, *From miniature objects to giant ones... op. cit.*, p. 72, fig. 12.

²¹ P. Courbin, *Une tombe géométrique d'Argos*, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 81, 1957, pp. 322–386; P. Courbin, *Tombes géométriques d'Argos I. Études péloponnésiennes* 7. Paris, 1974, pp. 40–41; P. Courbin, *Obeloi d'Argolide et d'ailleurs*, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June, 1981, Stockholm, 1982,

the tomb was qualified as warrior burials. Different other examples have been discovered in votive contexts for the Archaic and Classical periods.²²

By comparison, the study of these finds offers us the possibility to recognize some typological features of the Greek miniature *obeloi*. The first one, **O1** (fig. 3), is complete and sharpened. It has two parts: the longer one is triangular in shape with a visibly projected sharp point, and the shorter part, measuring about one centimetre, was to be fixed in a wooden (or other material ?) long handle. This piece, found on the floor of the trench, dates probably from the first stage of the offerings' deposit. The long part of the second piece **O2**, has only a superficial corrosion, thus it is better preserved and has similar dimensions to the first artefact. For both, the edge is as sharp as possible for penetrating the animal flesh and supporting it on the flame of the altar. Their features correspond to the type D, with triangular shape, which is one of four classes established at Olympia. The type is, however, poorly dated there, and just one came from an archaeological context of the early 5th century B.C.²³. Comparatively, it is difficult to confirm the same chronology at Orgame, whether these spits are recognized as equal to the type D. As we have seen, the first one comes from the first layers of the trench dated in the Archaic period, since the second belongs to an upper layer, where the material dated from the 4th century B.C. or later²⁴. Just the piece **O1** found on the bedrock may be suspected to belong to an earlier period and may be dated before the 5th century²⁵. Similar examples come from the sanctuary of Stymphalos, recently published²⁶, and demonstrate the persistence of the type into the Greek period on a large area of diffusion. The closest parallels are, however, those of the Sindos tomb, dated after the middle of the 6th century B.C., more probably about 540 B.C.²⁷

pp. 149–156; E. Deilaki, *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) 81–82; *ead.*, *ArchDelt* 28 B (1973) 99; J. Whitley, *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece. The Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society, 1100–700BC*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 189–191.

²² V. Karageorghis, *Pikes or Obeloi from Cyprus and Crete ...op.cit.*, p. 171; J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952–55: Greek Emporio*, *Annals of the British School in Athens*, Supplement 6, Oxford, 1967, p. 230–231.

²³ H. Baitinger, T. Völling, *OIForschung XXXII: Werkzeug und Gerät aus Olympia*, DAI Berlin, 2007, pp. 66–87.

²⁴ Two slightly different iron *obeloi* were discovered earlier in the tombs of the end of the 4th c. B.C. in the Greek necropolis of Orgame/Argamum. They could have been intended for ceremonial or ritual use and left under the place of burnt sacrifices during the ceremony as votive offerings. Unpublished.

²⁵ From the 5th c. B.C. are a lot of amphorae from Chios of Classical period which come from the next layers.

²⁶ For similar pieces in the Sanctuary of Stymphalos, see G. Schaus, (ed.), *Stymphalos: the Acropolis Sanctuary*, vol. 1, Toronto, 2014, p. 175–177, nos 171–174, fig. 7.14.

²⁷ For bibliography, see here note 19.

Outside Orgame, *obeloi* appear more often with other series of the offerings inside of warrior graves²⁸ and in sanctuaries²⁹, whether as votives or for cooking meat. Significantly, unique aspects of Aegean cooking and feasting, such as the use of *obeloi*, appear in Greece only during the Iron Age³⁰. At Orgame, they are identified in the external trench among the offerings of the Archaic and Classical periods. Such identification seems to invite explanation in social, anthropological, cultural and religious terms.

Signalled for the first time in this tomb, it is tempting to associate these miniature *obeloi* with the practice of ritual animal sacrifice and feasting, confirmed by important deposits of burnt bones, charcoal and ashes found in different layers of the trench. As might be supposed, these *obeloi* or roasting spits have been used to roast the meat of the animal sacrificed on the altar of the Heroon. Several remains appear to be concentrated on the east side of the trench, where was the area for sanctuary and altars. The original position of bones in the deposit exhibit more distinctive layers, suggesting derivation from different episodes of burning.

Concerning the origins of both examples, such pieces seem to be rather imports. Though a discussion about the possible origin of them is certainly important for the study of Greek archaeology and history in the Black Sea, without archaeometrical analyses we cannot discuss it here. The lack of exact information on metal provenance makes further studies difficult at this point.

The small size of our *obeloi* stresses generally the symbolic nature of them as votives in funerals, but here they seem to be used in the sacrificial ritual. In the area of the Black Sea, we know a singular case of the *obeloi* of giant size, recently revealed in the area of the Temples in Istros³¹. On the evidence of both, the miniature *obeloi* in the Orgame and the giant ones from Istros, I argue for the continuity of the religious symbolism and ritual function connected with various shape of the *obeloi* imported from the mainland Greece into the Greek diasporas. Although the tumulus Heroon T A95 does not offer the case in point for votives of

²⁸ Tomb P no. 67 (Fortetsa 1409, Crete), a mass of iron axes, spearheads, knives, a sword, an *obelos* and arrow heads, associated with Late Géometric Early Orientalising four-handled pithos, cf. J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs Near Knossos*, Cambridge, 1957. Argos in the 8th century B.C. R. Osborne, 2009, *Greece in the Making 1200–479 B.C.*,... *op.cit.* Iron spits (*obeloi*) appeared in Italic and Etruscan tombs from the orientaling period until the 4th century B.C. They are sometimes found in association with other objects that can be connected with the fire, see H. W. Horsnaes, *The Cultural Development in North Western Lucania C. 600–273 BC*, Rome, 2002, p. 77.

²⁹ In Argive Heraion, both bronze and iron spits were numerous, see C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraion*, Vol. I., Boston Waldstein 1902, pp. 62–2, fig. 31; at Perachora, H. Payne, *et al.*, *Perachora: The Sanctuary of Hera Akraia and Limenia: Excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Athens 1930/1933*. Vol. I. *Architecture, Bronze, Terracotta*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 187–189, pl. 86, nos 9–15.

³⁰ For bibliography, see here note 15.

³¹ Unpublished. Information from I. Bîrzescu, and I would like to thank him for it.

giant *obeloi*, it shows that the miniature ones owed something to a North Greek tradition.

Both classes discussed here, *machaira* and *obeloi*, refer to special tools usually used together in cultic practices, concerning the gods as well as the mortals. The evidence of such sacrificial equipment (*paraphernalia*) in ancient Black Sea is surprisingly scanty and, particularly, the miniature *obeloi* have never been mentioned in other publication. They are of special importance for the study of sacrifices in the Heroon and in the Greek necropolis of Orgame/Argamum, as well as of the religious and cultural y developments in the Greek world.