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Cultic Meals in Associations and the Early Christian Eucharist

Die enge Verbindung von kultischem Opfer und gemeinsamem Mahl ist in griechisch-römischen Vereinigungen selbstverständlich. Der Beitrag weist zunächst die Bedeutung von Opfern in kultischen Feiern von Vereinigungen nach und zeigt anschließend, dass die Bestandteile von Gemeinschaftsmählern auch aus Opfergaben bestanden. Der dritte Abschnitt geht auf drei typische Bestandteile von Vereinsmählern ein: Wein, Brot und Fleisch, wobei gezeigt wird, dass diese auch eine kultische Bedeutung haben konnten und als Opfer verstanden wurden. Vor diesem Hintergrund werden abschließend frühchristliche Aussagen, in denen das gemeinsame Mahl als Opfer bezeichnet wird (1 Kor 10,16–21; Did 14,1–3; Just., Dial. 41,3), neu evaluiert.

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The rather intense discussion about the character and practice of Early Christian meals resp. the Eucharist in recent scholarship focused on a couple of topics, distinguishing or combining theological and historical oriented perspectives. One issue in these debates is the theme of sacrifice, which has not only a theological dimension but touches also confessional sensitivities: The Confessio Augustana rejects the mass as a sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ (Conf. Aug. 24). Within scholarly discussion on the sacrificial character of Early Christian meals certain passages from apologetic and patristic authors play a prominent role (and we will come back to some of them at the end of this article), but references to Greco-Roman religion and Judaism became also substantial.

Within this article I will try to connect this long-standing discussion with another view on early Christian meals, which tried to set up analogies in the Greco-Roman world, especially with meals in associations. Scholars like Matthias Klinghardt, John S. Kloppenborg, Hal Taussig, Dennis E. Smith, Philip A. Harland, and Richard S. Ascough have dealt with this

in detail.¹ Their efforts put forward a lot of important insights and called our attention to sources which had been neglected within the quest for the development of the Eucharist and the importance of meals in Early Christianity for a long time. This approach is especially appropriate since groups of Christ-believers should in general be perceived as forms of the varied life of Greco-Roman associations.

Due to the focus on the cultic character of meals within Greco-Roman religious groups, we will not look into every detail of the various aspects of meals in associations, because every facet of associative life is tied to this issue. Buildings, finances, social constellations, by-laws and rules, offices, patronage, benefaction and much more are relevant for the communal meal, being the centre of community life in antiquity.² The following will instead concentrate on cultic aspects of association meals, their connections with sacrifice and the implications of these findings for our un-

1 M. Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeste* (TANZ 13; Tübingen 1996); J.S. Kloppenborg, "Collegia and Thiasoi: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership", in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. by J.S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson; London 1996) 16–30; id., "Edwin Hatch, Churches and Collegia", in *Origins and Method. Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity. Essays in Honour of John C. Hurd* (ed. by B.H. McLean; JSNT.S 86; Sheffield 1993) 212–238; H. Taussig, *In the Beginning Was the Meal: Social Experimentation and Early Christianity* (Minneapolis 2009); D.E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis 2003); P.A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis 2013); id., *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* (New York and London 2009); id., "These People Are ... Men Eaters'. Banquets of the Anti-Associations and Perceptions of Minority Cultural Groups", in *Identity and Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean: Jews, Christians and Others. Essays in Honour of Stephen G. Wilson* (ed. by Z.A. Crook and Ph.A. Harland; Sheffield 2007) 56–75; R.S. Ascoug, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians* (WUNT II/161; Tübingen 2003); id., "Of Memories and Meals: Greco-Roman Associations and the Early Jesus-Group at Thessalonikē", in *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē* (ed. by L. Nasrallah et al.; HThS 64; Cambridge 2010) 49–72; id., "The Apostolic Decree of Acts and Greco-Roman Associations: Eating in the Shadow of the Roman Empire", in *Aposteldekret und Vereinswesen* (ed. by M. Öhler; WUNT 280; Tübingen 2011) 297–316; id., "Social and Political Characteristics of Greco-Roman Association Meals", in *Meals in the Early Christian World: Social Formation, Experimentation, and Conflict at the Table* (ed. by D. Smith and H. Taussig; New York 2012) 59–72.

2 This can be exemplified e.g. with names of associations and self-designations of members alluding to the communal meal: συνκλιται (AE [1931] 177,14; IG X/2.1 58.68–70; IGBulg V 5899; see also GRA I, 74), συμποσιασται (SEG 47 [1997] 963), σύνδειπνοι (P.Tebt. 118), *collegium comestorum*, *sodales ex symposia* or *convictores qui una epula vesci solent* (on Latin labels see J.F. Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table during the Principate* [Ann Arbor 2004], 126).

derstanding of meals of Christ-believers in the first two centuries. These cultic aspects of communal meals in Greco-Roman antiquity have not been treated intensively so far, but will prove as important for our understanding of the Early Christian Eucharist.

The close connection of meals and cultic practices in associations can already be found in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*: "Some associations appear to be formed for the sake of pleasure, for example religious guilds and dining-clubs, which are unions for sacrifice and social intercourse" (*Eth. Nic.* 8.9.5 1160 A).³ What Aristotle stated here in just one sentence can be substantiated with many epigraphical, papyrological and archeological findings.

A close connection between meals and cultic practices in Greco-Roman associations immediately suggests itself if we recognize the thoroughly religious character of every form of *θιασος* or *collegium*. All different types of associations – ethnically or household oriented, occupational, primarily cultic or destined to provide decent funerals – had a more or less articulated religious orientation. It is therefore not surprising that this is expressed in inscriptions and papyri in various ways:

- Names of the associations often point to deities, even if the primary concern was not a cultic interest.⁴
- Many documents from associations like votive inscriptions or epitaphs refer to deities venerated by members.
- Priests and cultic officers were an important part of a range of functions one could acquire in an association. This is documented in rules, membership lists and honorary inscriptions.⁵
- Sometimes rules and prescriptions of associations regulated cultic affairs and in many cases honorary inscriptions mention donations for sacrifices.

³ "Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν κοινωνιῶν δι' ἡδονὴν δοκοῦσι γίνεσθαι, θιασῶν καὶ ἐρανιστῶν· αὐταὶ γὰρ θυσίας ἔνεκα καὶ συνουσίας (ed. Rackham LCL).

⁴ One of the most famous example for that are the *Iobacchoi* of Athens (IG II² 1368; 164/165 CE), but there are numerous others. For a catalogue of the various forms of names see F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Preisschriften gekrönt und hrsg. von der Fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig, Nr. XXIII der historisch-nationalökonomischen Sektion, XXXVIII; Leipzig 1909) 56–70; J.S. Kloppenborg and R.S. Ascough, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary, I: Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace* (BZNW 181; Berlin and New York 2011; = GRA I) 432–437.

⁵ The possibility to achieve positions was one of the motives for the popularity of associations throughout antiquity; see on that and with appropriate corrections Harland, *Associations* (see n. 1), 77.

- Archaeological findings of altars and statues show that permanent cultic installations were part of an ordinary clubhouse.

Given this dedicated religious character of presumably every Greco–Roman association, it is very probable that the performance of religion was firmly connected with the other central feature of associations, the meals, or as Jinyu Liu put it:

“Feasts were occasions when religion and social life closely intertwined. Religious rituals, including sacrifices, often preceded or accompanied the banquets. In fact, in many cases, religious rituals and banquets were simply different stages of the same events.”⁶

Interestingly enough, most documents of associations don’t deal with meals at all, which does not mean that there were no meals. It just tells us that banquets, their elements, funding, and completion were not a standard topic of rules.⁷ The day-to-day praxis didn’t need any rules.⁸ On the contrary: We can be quite sure that in most cases mentioning meals and prescribing special customs were a means of pointing to certain problems.

For our quest for connections between meals and cultic activities in associations we will in the forthcoming sections concentrate on sacrifices. These are mentioned in many documents, and from this vast amount of material we will choose the most relevant aspects.

I. Sacrifices in Associations

A large number of inscriptions, papyri, literary texts and also some archaeological remains show that sacrifices and libations were an important part of communal proceedings in associations. In the following we will have a look at some examples, ranging from the 4th century BCE to the 3rd century CE and from different regions of the Ancient Mediterranean. This overview, which shows both the variability and constancy of sacrifice in associations, should provide us with a sense for the importance of sacrificial proceedings in associations throughout Greco–Roman antiquity. They were part of the world of Christ-believers in the 1st century and thus in

6 J. Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 34; Leiden and Boston 2009) 250.

7 One must also keep in mind that for most of the associations we don’t have any knowledge about their rules and arrangements. Inscriptional and papyrological findings offer only small insights into the diverse and multi-faceted life of Greco–Roman associations.

8 See Klinghardt, *Mahlgemeinschaft* (see n. 1), 55.

all likelihood important for the organization of their meals, the perception of their rituals and the theological interpretation of the Eucharist.

An inscription from late 4th century BCE Piraeus (IG II² 1361)⁹ by an association of ὀργεῶνες of the Thracian goddess Bendis mentions sacrifices several times.¹⁰ For the great sacrifice at the *Bendideia* the ἱεροποιοῖ (overseers of the cult¹¹) are responsible for the organization of the proceedings (together with the ἐπιμεληταί, the curators of the temple¹²). Members are free to sacrifice in the sanctuary; others have to pay for it. Portions of the victims are to be given to the priestess or priest. And of course, it is not only a matter of finances, but also one of order (IG II² 1361 ll.7f):

No one is permitted to sacrifice anything in the sanctuary beside the altar.
 παραβώμια δὲ μὴ [θύ]ειν [μ]ηδένα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ[ι ἦ] ὀφείλε[ι]ν

The prominent and rather extensive provision of Epikteta (IG XII,3 330; Thera, 210–195 BCE)¹³ deals among other things with sacrifices to the Muses and to the heroes, who are Epikteta herself, her husband Phoenix, and their sons Kratesilochos and Andragoras. Epikteta's testament established an association of her relatives (l.40: κοινὸς τοῦ ἀνδρείου). They should come together once a year for three days to offer sacrifices, funded by an endowment and consisting of specified components.

9 The date of the inscription is disputed; see Kloppenborg and Ascough, *GRA I* (see n. 4), 38.

10 On associations of ὀργεῶνες see I.N. Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias heneka kai sunousias: Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens* (Yearbook of the Research Centre for the History of Greek Law 37 Suppl. 4; Athens 2003) 31–60. For a late explanation of ὀργεῶνας see Valerius Harpokration (2nd cent. CE) in: *Suda s.v.*: “Cult-members (ὀργεῶνες) are those coming together to honour gods or heroes; for ὀργιάζειν is sacrificing and seeing the customary acts.”

11 For the function of ἱεροποιοῖ see Kloppenborg and Ascough, *GRA I* (see n. 4), 24f.

12 For this function see Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias* (see n. 10), 108f; Kloppenborg and Ascough, *GRA I* (see n. 4), 37.

13 For an extensive treatment of this inscription see A. Wittenburg, *Il Testamento di Epikteta: Università degli Studi di Trieste* (Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità 4; Trieste 1990); see also E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents* (NGSL) (RGRW 152; Leiden and Boston 2005) 86f. G. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults* (Kernos Suppl. 12, Liege: Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique 2002), provides a broad overview on rituals in hero-cults; recently I.N. Arnaoutoglou, “Cultural Transfer and Law in Hellenistic Lycia: the Case of Symmasis' Foundation”, in *Transferts culturels et droits dans le monde grec et hellénistique* (Paris 2012) 205–224. Further examples for groups of family-members are the foundations by Diomedon (SIG 1106 = LSCG 177; Kos, late 4th/early 3rd cent. BCE), Poseidonius (SIG 1044 = LSAM 72; Halikarnassos, early 3rd cent. BCE) and Symmasis (SEG 58,1640; ca. 150 BCE), which also include regulations of sacrifices.

A similar dedication from the West (CIL V 7906; Cemelenum, 3rd cent. CE)¹⁴ by a mother for her son informs us about banquets on the occasion of the founding of the *collegium*, and further sacrifices of goose, cake and a special banquet in the temple on the deceased son's birthday.

The importance of sacrifices and their close connection with meals can also be seen in an inscription of the Berytian Poseidoniasts on Delos from the middle of the 2nd century BCE. Their clubhouse had three altars in the rooms of its portico, which stood in front of four small *vaói* providing space for the veneration of Poseidon, Aphrodite, and Roma.¹⁵ A long inscription honouring a Roman benefactor, who financed the rebuilding of the clubhouse¹⁶ and became an honorary member of the association (IDelos 1520; 153/152 BCE), mentions an invitation to a sacrifice for the gods of the association and a following banquet. The rich sponsor had the right to sit at the best place and had special privileges during the meals.¹⁷

The close connection of sacrifices with the communal meal in associations can also be derived from a statement by an outsider like Philo. He articulated a critical position towards sacrifices in associations in his Polemic against Flaccus (Flacc. 4f). Since *ἐταίρειαι καὶ σύνοδοι* were held responsible for riots in Alexandria, Flaccus had dissolved them. In this context Philo criticises the pagan associations,

which were always feasting together under pretence of sacrifices and causing problems with their drunken behaviour.¹⁸

αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσίων εἰσιτῶντο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπαροινούσαι

14 In Liu, *Collegia* (see n. 6), 250 und No. 130, see also S. Estienne and N. Gilles, "Banquets de collèges et des associations", in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum II. Purification, initiation, heroization, apotheosis, banquet dance, music, cult images* (ed. by Lambrinoudakis et al.; J. Paul Getty Museum; Los Angeles 2004) 282–284 (=ThesCRA) 284 No. 85.

15 See M. Öhler, "Das Aposteldekret als Dokument ethnischer Identität im Spiegel antiker Vereinigungen", in *Aposteldekret und antikes Vereinswesen. Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung* (ed. by M. Öhler; WUNT 280; Tübingen 2011) 341–382: 353–363. For the dedication of one altar to Roma see IDelos 1779. Similar findings of altars were e.g. made in the "Podiensaal" in Pergamon; see H. Schwarzer, *Das Gebäude mit dem Podiensaal in der Stadigrabung von Pergamon. Studien zu sakralen Banketträumen mit Liegepodien in der Antike* (Altertümer von Pergamon XV/4; Berlin and New York 2008) 83f; id., "Verinslokale im hellenistischen und römischen Pergamon", in *Religiöse Vereine in der römischen Antike* (ed. by U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser and A. Schäfer; STAA 13; Tübingen 2002) 221–260: 233.

16 For further details see M. Trümper, "Das Sanktuarium des 'Établissement des Poseidonias de Bérutos' in Delos: Zur Baugeschichte eines griechischen Vereinsheiligtums", *BCH* 126 (2002) 265–330: 310–321.

17 Harland, *Dynamics of Identity* (see n. 1), 112.

18 See also Philo, *Ebr.* 20–21, 23.

Although Philo's critique of associations was generalising,¹⁹ this citation shows that even though the communal meal seems to have been the most important part of the life of associations the cultic dimension remained nevertheless a central feature.

From the same century originated a letter of Demetriasts to the proconsul of Asia (88/89 CE), preserved in an inscription from Ephesus (IEph 213). It places a special emphasis on sacrifices right on the beginning of this pledge for recognition by the Roman proconsul (ll.3–8)²⁰:

Mysteries and sacrifices are performed each year in Ephesos, lord, to Demeter Karporphoros and Thesmophoros and to the Augustean gods by initiates with great purity and lawful customs, together with the priestesses. For many years, these rites were protected by kings and emperors and the proconsuls of the period

μυστήρια καὶ θυσίαι, κύριε, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦνται ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Δήμητρι Καρποφόρῳ καὶ Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ὑπὸ μυστῶν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνείας καὶ νομίμων ἔθων σὺν ταῖς ἱερίαις ἀπὸ πλείστων ἐτῶν συντηρημένα | ἀπὸ βασιλέων καὶ Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν || κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνθυπάτων

Apart from the mentioned sacrifices, of which we don't get any further information in this document, this text is a fine example of the combination of a specific cult and the emperor worship in an association. This was by far not seldom, but was rather widespread throughout the Mediterranean.²¹

From the 2nd century CE an example from Liopesi in Greece (SEG 31 [1981] 122) illustrates the use of pork within cultic performances: The rules of an association of Herakliasts determines that a wild boar weighing 20 minae (15 pounds) should be procured by the treasurer for the sacrifice and the following banquet.²²

A last example, this time from the 2nd or 3rd century CE, consisting of two inscriptions from Laurion (Attica; IG II² 1365 + 1366), gives us the follow-

19 See Flacc. 136: "In the city there are clubs (θιασοί) with a large membership, whose fellowship is founded on no sound principle but on strong liquor and drunkenness and sottish carousing and their offspring, wantonness. Σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι are the particular names given to them by the people of the country." (trans. Colson, LCL). Associations of Judeans were different (Leg. 312 citing a letter of Augustus): They are not σύνοδοι, coming together under the pretext of imbibing and endangering the peace in the city, but instead schools of temperance and justice.

20 For the translation see R.S. Ascoug, P.A. Harland and J.S. Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World. A Sourcebook* (Waco 2012; = AGRW), No.163.

21 See Harland, *Associations* (see n. 1), 95–117, who deals among else in detail with the Demetriasts from Ephesos (96–98).

22 SEG 31 (1981) 122,37–38: ἐγδιδόσθαι δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμ[ί]ου θῆμα τῷ θεῷ, κάπρον μν; see on that Lupu, *Law* (see n. 13), 188.

ing insights into provisions for rituals: The founder of the temple of Men Tyrannos, Xanthos the Lykian, prescribed detailed measurements for sacrifices and the portions for priests. Within these instructions pertaining to the foundation of the sanctuary Xanthos also considers the gathering of an ἔρανος (Il.21–25)²³:

Those who wish may convene an ἔρανος for Men Tyrannos (may do so) for good fortune. Likewise, the club members shall provide what is appropriate for the god, a right leg, hide, a κοτύλη of oil, a χούς of wine, a χοῖνιξ worth of cakes, three sacred cakes, two χοῖνικες of small cakes, and fruit. If the club members hold banquet (they shall provide) a wreath and a woolen fillet.

τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους ἔρανον συνάγειν Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ὁμοίως δὲ παρέξουσιν οἱ ἔρανισταὶ τὰ καθήκοντα τῷ θεῷ, δεξιὸν σκέλος καὶ δορὰν καὶ κοτύλην ἐλαίον καὶ χοῦν οἶνον καὶ να[στὸν χοῖνι]κίαον καὶ ἐφίερα τρία καὶ κολλύβων χοῖνικες δύο καὶ ἀκρό[αμα,] ἔαν κατακλιθῶσιν οἱ ἔρανισταὶ καὶ στέφανον καὶ ληνίσ[κον].

The place for this communal meals, which doubtless consisted mainly of the offerings for the god, is not explicitly mentioned, but was maybe an attached room (ἐστιατόριον). These were – like inns, private homes and the open air – possible meeting places for associations throughout the Greco–Roman world.²⁴

In most of the quoted texts sacrifices meant probably the partially burning of animals, although this is mentioned only seldom.²⁵ On the contrary, it is probable that not only slaughtered animals or parts were used during cultic proceedings, but also those gifts to the gods which were part of day-to-day religiosity. The above quoted rule of Xanthos mentions wine, cakes and fruit, and in a similar way a statute of hymn-singers from Pergamon (IPergamon 374 B l.19; 129–138 CE) lists cakes, fruits, vegetables, oil, and wine. It's also important to take into account that in most cases the burning of the sacrifice was only one part of the cultic procedure (if ever). Most of the parts of the victim were prepared for eating (see below) and other elements of the sacrifice were assigned to the god only by a symbolic gift.

The above cited examples – and one could mention many more – all point to the importance of sacrifice for cultic rituals and the need for

23 For the translation and a detailed commentary see Kloppenborg and Ascough, *GRA I* (see n. 4), 266–278. Images, text, and commentary can also be found in E.N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis, I: The Monuments and Inscriptions* (EPRO 19; Leiden 1971), tab. VIII–X; *II: Interpretations and Testimonia* (Leiden 1976) 7–16.

24 See R. Sassu, “Santuari in Grecia”, *Thiasos* 1 (2012) 28–30, who provides an overview on the literature.

25 For meat as part of the following meals see below.

some regulations of these matters in Greco-Roman associations. This is of course not surprising: Every association had a religious element, although for some it may have been more central than for others. Thus, we can assume that sacrifices in one form or another took place in every association. Smaller *θιασσοί* or *collegia*, who didn't hold own buildings and cultic installations, could perform these rituals in public temples or on a smaller scale in inns, gardens or private homes. They probably didn't donate animals but cakes, fruits, or already cooked food.

The predominance of sacrifice and cultic rituals in associations may be explained sociologically as a means to provide and practise the communal identity of the members of an association. Offering sacrifices and prayers to the same and specific god or gods constituted the social identity of members and the identity of the group as a whole.²⁶ This happened practically in separation from the surrounding community and functioned as a marker to outsiders and as a symbol for insiders.²⁷ It was not an expression of monotheistic exclusivity, but the constitution and preservation of a communal identity. Eating and drinking together was "a form of 'segregative commensality'", as Richard Ascough put it.²⁸

In sum: Every association in the ancient Mediterranean had some kind of sacrificial ritual and it would have caused irritation if early Christ-believers had deviated from this deeply rooted practice.²⁹

²⁶ See also Taussig, *In the Beginning* (see n. 1), 109.

²⁷ In fact most of the deities were art of the religious "universe" of the Polis or could be easily integrated. For the perspective of outsiders on religious groups see Harland, "These People" (see n. 1), 56–75.

²⁸ Ascough, "Social and Political Characteristics" (see n. 1), 62.

²⁹ See also Smith, *Symposium* (see n. 1), 87. Were Judean Diaspora synagogues the only exception to the rule? Three arguments point against this: 1) The Judeans performed their animal sacrifices not by themselves but financed via the temple-tax the daily sacrifice at the sanctuary in Jerusalem. 2) Philo's example of the virtuous woman performing *θυσίας καὶ εὐχάς* in the *ιερόν* could be understood as a reference to sacrificial acts in synagogues, like food offerings or the burning of incense; see on that J. Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria* (TSAJ 84; Tübingen 2001) 140; A. Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A socio-historical Study* (ConBNT 37; Stockholm 2001) 446–450; S.K. Catto, *Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue: A critical analysis of current research* (LNTS 363; Stockholm 2001) 126f. 3) Incense-shovels in mosaics and archaeological findings could be interpreted in a similar direction; see S.S. Miller, "Priests, Purities, and the Jews of Galilee", in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (ed. by J. Zangenberg, H.W. Attridge and D.B. Martin; WUNT 210; Tübingen 2007) 375–402, here 397f; and the remarks by L.V. Rutgers, "Incense Shovels at Sephoris?", in *Galilee through the Centuries. Confluence of Cultures* (ed. by E.M. Meyers; Winona Lake 1999) 177–198, here 196.

II. The Connection of Sacrifices and Meals in Associations

There are several hints to a close connection between the sacrificial act and a following consumption of the offerings by the members of the group of worshippers. Although our sources refer rarely to this, we are able to conclude that the linkage of the dedicated religious practice with a communal meal was standard in every association in the Greco-Roman world. Its regularity is at the same time an explanation for the rarity of clear references.

If references concern a bloody sacrifice, one should bear in mind that not every part of an animal was appropriate for immediate use: Bones and fat were the gift for the deity and most of the meat was boiled, not grilled.³⁰ Equally not every sort of meat was fit for immediate use: Some could be grilled right away (even on the altar fire), others had to be boiled for quite a long time. Furthermore: Not every sacrifice was an animal sacrifice, there were other possibilities too.

1. The Distribution of Sacrificial Meat

Some inscriptions point to a distribution of parts of the slaughtered animals and it is quite plausible that this implies the preparation of the victims for a communal meal.³¹ This is, however, scarcely described and can only be inferred from indirect references.

Heroists from Athens (IG II² 1339; 57/56 BCE) mentioned the need for money to purchase sacrificial offerings and regulations for the distribution of portions. What they don't have to state explicitly is that their meal consisted of the sacrifice.³²

A 3rd century BCE decree of ὀργεῶνες in Athens (Agora 16:161, ll. 17–23) provides interesting details about the distribution of meat by the host (ἐστιάτωρ). He functioned also as priest and had to make calculations

30 The rules of association from Söke (SEG 31 [1981] 983; 2nd/1st cent. BCE) mention cooks and in IG II² 1301 (Piraeus, 219/218 BCE) and 2499 (Athens, 306/305 BCE) a kitchen appears; see also Kloppenborg and Ascough, GRA I, 137f.

31 E.g. Agora 16:161; IG II² 1283, 1339, 1365+1366, 1368; IG XII,3 330C; IDelta I 446. See OGIS 326 (= CIG 3069; Teos, 146–133 BCE) for the wording θυσίαι τε καὶ συνόδοι as a compilation of the most important things going on in an association.

32 See also IDelta I 446 (Psenamosis, 67/64 BCE). For the connection between sacrifice and banquet in Heroe-cults see Ekroth, *Rituals* (see n. 13), 180: "A thysia sacrifice which ended with dining contained particular rituals, such as the burning of the divinity's portion in the altar fire, and the mention of such actions can also be taken as an indication of the meat being available for consumption."

of the costs for sacrifices. But the most important responsibility was the distribution of shares³³:

Let him distribute the meat to the ὀργεῶνες who are present – and up to a half-share to their sons – and to the women of the ὀργεῶνες, giving to free women the same share and up to a half share to their daughters and up to a half-share for one (femal) attendant. Let him hand over the woman's share to the man.

[ν][εμέτω] δὲ τὰ κρέα τοῖς {οῖς} ὀργεῶσι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ τοῖ[ς] [ύοις τήν] εἰς ἡμίσεαν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀργεῶ[ν] [ων, διδ]οῦς ταῖς ἐλευθέραις τήν ἰσαίαν καὶ ταῖς θυγ[α][τρ]άσι τήν εἰς ἡμί[σεαν] καὶ ἀκολουθῶι μιᾷ τήν εἰς ἡμί[ς]σεαν· παραδιδῶτω δὲ τ[ῷ] ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τήν μερίδα.

Although the most meaningful reading of these regulations is that they concern the distribution of meat for a banquet of the association, this is not stated explicitly. The last sentence points to the fact that only adult males were members of the community and allowed to attend the meetings. Men took the portions of their women and children home. But if members of the family consumed the meat at a domestic banquet, why should this not have been possible for men too? Taking parts of the meat home for a domestic meal was at least a regular practice at sacrifices in public temples.³⁴

It is also interesting that the supervisors of the Thracian ὀργεῶνες of Bendis in Piraeus were obliged “to supply cups, water, wreaths, and a breakfast in the sanctuary” (λεκάνας καὶ ὕδωρ] καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἄριστον, IG II² 1283, ll.17f) during the *Bendideia* when the ὀργεῶνες from Athens arrived at the sanctuary. Receiving a portion of the sacrifice is mentioned only in a later passage, where this privilege is declared as a lifetime guarantee (IG II² 1283, ll.30–32).

The rule of Epikteta (IG XII,3 330) stipulates that from the many offerings to the heroes of this family association some parts should be distributed to officiants and members (IG XII,3 330; ll.194–99):

When the officiants offer these sacrifices, they will hand over to the association all the cake and half of the entrails, and will keep the rest for themselves. The administrator will distribute the offerings to those present.

οἱ δὲ ἐπιμήν[ιοι] οἱ θύοντες τὰς θυσίας ταῦτα ἀποδωσο[ῦ]ντι τῷ κοινῷ τός τε [ἐ]λλύτας πάντας κα[ὶ] τῶν σπλάγχνων τὰ ἡμίση· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ [ἐ]ξοῦντι αὐτοῖ· ὁ[ὗ] δὲ ἀρτυτῆρ διελεῖ τὰ ἱερά τ[ο]ῖς παροῦσι.

³³ For text and translation see *GRA I* (see n. 4), 14.

³⁴ On this practice see the references in C. Leonhard and B. Eckhardt, “Mahl V (Kult-mahl)”, *RAC* 23.1012–1105, here 1044f.

What happened with these offerings? Were they used for a meal by the entire association? Apparently, the portions of office-holders were prepared and served separately from those of ordinary members. This fits well with the Greek practice of grilling entrails on the fire on the altar, a special privilege for the priests. In this association they obviously received all the meat too. In a different context the inscription mentions nevertheless another banquet after the meeting (lasting three days!), which included also sacrifices. It is most likely that parts of the victims were eaten during those meals by the whole community.

Specifications by an association of hymn singers in Pergamon (IPergamon 374; 129–138 CE) mention a sacrifice to the Emperor and Roma, which should be funded by the “appointed hymn singer”. He and other officers are obliged to finance wine, table settings, and breads. This would have been a very frugal meal, indeed. We can fairly assume that the members had also meat at their banquet, presumably (but only presumably) from the sacrifice to the Emperor and Roma. In addition, cakes for Augustus (IPergamon 374 B l. 19) may have been eaten after a sacrificial ritual by attendees of their meetings.

The distribution of sacrificial meat on Bakchic days is a topic in the extensive rules of the Athenian Iobakchoi (164/65 CE; IG II² 1368, ll. 117–124)³⁵:

Τὸ ἀρχίβακχος shall sacrifice the victim to the god and make a libation on the tenth day of Elaphebolion.³⁶ When the parts are distributed, let them go to the priest, the vicepriest, the ἀρχίβακχος, the treasurer, the one playing the cowherd, “Dionysos”, “Kore”, “Palaimon”, “Aphrodite”, “Proteurythmos”. Let these roles be apportioned among all by lot. ὁ δὲ ἀρχίβακχος θυέτω τὴν θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν σπονδὴν τιθέτω || κατὰ δεκάτην τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός. νν μερῶν δὲ γεινομέ|νων αἰρέτω ἱερεὺς, ἀνθιερεὺς, | ἀρχίβακχος, ταμίας, βουκολικός, | Διόνυσος, Κόρη, Παλαίμων, Ἀφρο|δείτη, Πρωτεύρυθμος. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν συνκληρούσθω | πᾶσι.

The parts of the victims are distributed, but not to every member of the community: Only the head officials of the association and some actors of the mystery-play receive portions. Also, the mentioned banquets (IG II² 1368, ll. 105.141)³⁷ of the Iobakchoi are in no explicit connection

35 For text and translation see *GRA I* (see n. 4), 51.

36 A month in the Attic calendar, approximately in March.

37 The main room of the clubhouse of the Iobakchoi was a banquet hall; see E. Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden. Die Gemeinde von Korinth im Spiegel griechisch-römischer Vereine* (WUNT II/178; Tübingen 2004) 82–85. A kitchen was not found within the remains of the clubhouse on the Areopag.

with sacrifices. Therefore the performance of the Theoxenie³⁸ is not a communal banquet of all Iobakchoi, but at the most a representative meal.³⁹ What did the other members eat? Where did they get their food from?

2. Cult Tables

The distribution of parts of the sacrifice to the members of an association can also be detected from references to cult tables.⁴⁰ An archaeological finding from Athens (400 BCE) gives us an impression, how the distribution of meat was accomplished (IG II² 2343). This cult table is inscribed mostly with names and was used to place portions of meat. This was primarily not for the members of the θιασός, but destined for the god to whom raw meat was presented. Only afterwards, these portions were boiled and distributed to the members, presumably to those with a special cultic function.⁴¹ The praxis of *τραπεζώματα* meant that the priests and other officiants received the shares devoted to the deity, whereas the other parts were given to the rest of the partakers in the ritual.⁴²

An offering table (*τράπεζα*) is also mentioned in the decree of ὀργεῶνες from Athens (Agora 16:161, l.15): The ἐστιατωρ was responsible for the preparation of the table for the heroes and heroines. In the founding decree by Xanthos (IG II² 1366, B ll.20–21) “a table for the god” (*τράπεζαν* ...

38 On Theoxenie see e.g. M.H. Jameson, “Theoxenia”, in *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence. Proceedings of the second international seminar on Ancient Greek Cult* (ed. by R. Hägg; SUSIA 8/XIII; Stockholm 1994) 35–57; Ekroth, *Rituals* (see n. 13), 136–140; H.J. Klauck, *Die religiöse Umwelt des Urchristentums 1: Stadt- und Hausreligion, Mysterienkulte, Volksglaube* (KStTh 9,1; Stuttgart 1995) 56; Leonhard and Eckhardt, “Mahl” (see n. 34), 1032–1035. The integration of actors may also point to a mimetic character of the meal; see Leonhard and Eckhardt, “Mahl” (see n. 34), 1043.

39 Different Ebel, *Attraktivität* (see n. 37), 126.

40 On this see S. Dow and D.H. Gill, “The Greek Cult Table”, *AJA* 69 (1965) 103–114: “Most of all, doubtless, the private cult associations (orgeones, thiasotai, eranistai) gave the cult table a prominent place: around it they gathered for the carving at their monthly banquets.” (108); D. Gill, “Trapezomata: A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice”, *HThR* 67 (1974) 117–137; D. Gill, *Greek Cult Tables* (New York/London 1991). See also F.T. van Straten, *Hiera Kala. Images of Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (RGRW 127; Leiden/New York/Cologne 1995) 70f, 164f.

41 See on that Gill, *Greek Cult Tables* (see n. 40), Fig. 20 and his description 42–43; recently Kloppenborg/Ascough, *GRA I* (see n. 4), 17–21.

42 See for a closer inquiry Gill, *Trapezomata* (see n. 40), 117–137.

τῶι θεῶι) is mentioned, which is not only filled with meat but also with oil, cakes and fruits.⁴³

3. Depictions of Sacrifice and Meal

A connection between sacrifice and meal in associations could also be part of iconographic representations. On a stele honouring Stratonike from Apameia, we find a relief with a sacrificial scene on the upper panel (the priestess and a group of worshippers) and a banquet of an association of devotees of Cybele, Apollo and Zeus in a second field (IApamBith 35; 119/104 BCE). Οἱ θιασίται καὶ θιασίτιδες – depicted are 10 men lying on couches with servants and musicians – honoured their priestess who is shown as worshipper of Cybele and Apollo and is accompanied by a flute-player and a boy with a sacrificial sheep. Ritual and banquet are closely arranged in this stele. Even the skewers for the meat are part of the illustration.⁴⁴

Reliefs from Mysia give us an impression, how banquets of associations may have looked like. One from Kyzikos (2nd cent. BCE or 1st cent. CE) mentions a dedication to Zeus Hypsistos and the town (χώρος).⁴⁵ Beneath a relief of Zeus, Artemis and Apollo we see six men couching with cups. They are watching dancers and musicians, and a slave scooping wine from a crater. In similar reliefs slaves with skewers and cooking pots are depicted.⁴⁶

43 See also IG II² 1322: τράπεζα τοῦ θεοῦ (3rd/2nd cent. BCE; Athens). A new table was part of the renovations of a clubhouse; see J.D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 29; Berkeley 1998) 102.

44 For an illustration and commentary see T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynia) und Pyla* (IK 32; Bonn 1987) 53–56.

45 See on that O. Brehm, *Hellenistische und kaiserzeitliche Weihreliefs aus dem nördlichen Mysien* (Diss.; Münster 1996) 59, 507f; Harland, *Associations* (see n. 1), 47: “These scenes are not unlike what we might imagine taking place within guilds and associations, for whom sacrifice (‘religious life’) and the accompanying meal (‘social life’) were intimately intertwined.” The text on the relief says (Brehm, *Weihereliefs*, No. 156): Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ τῷ χώρῳ Θάλλος ἐπώνυμος τὸν τελαμῶνα ἀπέδωκα; see also <http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/dedication-to-zeus-hypsistos-with-a-relief-of-the-gods-and-a-banquet-scene/> (01/06/2014).

46 *Tesserae* of associations of priests for Bel in Palmyra show them reclining at meals; see T. Kaizer, *The Religious Life of Palmyra: A Study of the Social Patterns of Worship in the Roman Period* (OeO 4; Stuttgart 2002) 231–234; J.L. McLaughlin, *The Marzēah in the Prophetic Literature: References and Allusions in Light of the Extra-Biblical Evidence* (VT.S 86; Leiden, Boston and Köln 2001) 48–50. For Hellenistic examples with illustrations of similar votive reliefs comp. H. Schwarzer, “Die Bukoloi in Pergamon”, *Hephaistos* 24 (2006) 153–167: 160.

A late-antique mosaic from North-African Duar-ech-Chott (Carthage) depicts a large *epulum* by a local aristocrat, probably for a *collegium*.⁴⁷ 24 guests are sitting at tables on chairs, which makes this illustration of a banquet unique. Musicians and dancing girls provide entertainment, slaves serve food and drinks. Any references to cultic activity before or during the meal are however lacking, but this may be due to the fragmentary condition of the mosaic or to its origin in the 4th century CE.

From these examples we can fairly conclude that in most instances banquets of associations consisted also of portions of the sacrifice. Regulations about the distribution of meat and the possibility to take it home might have been different. There could have been certain restrictions, though, because some pieces were in some cases reserved for cultic officiants.

III. The Elements of Meals in Associations

We know from New Testament passages about meals of bread and wine, meat, fish, and vegetables (Rom 14:2) as elements of Christian meals.⁴⁸ A similar picture is shown in sources referring to banquets in associations, which could be rather opulent or frugal. We will concentrate in the following on three elements which were frequently used and discussed in Early Christianity: wine, bread, and meat. There were of course others, like fruits, cakes, or fish. Some graffiti, ostraca, and papyri preserve lists and accounts of a lot of different dishes and components for communal meals.⁴⁹

1. Wine

Wine seems to be the most regular feature of association meals. We already heard of Philo's polemic against pagan clubs focusing on getting drunk (Flacc. 5). From a different perspective the same can be concluded

47 See on that H. Blanck, "Ein spätantikes Gastmahl: Das Mosaik von Duar-Ech-Chott", *MDAI(R)* 88 (1981) 329–344. It's not entirely clear that the mosaic shows the banquet of an association, but given the high number of guests it seems highly probable. Carthage was the home of many *collegia* (e.g. CIL VIII 24519).

48 See apart from the prominent passages referring to bread, wine and meat Mark 6:38–43; Luke 24:41–43; John 21:9, 13 (for fish) and Rom 14:2 for vegetables. Some texts in NT mentioning food deal more or less explicitly with domestic meals, not with communal banquets (e.g. the Lord's prayer or the Apostolic decree).

49 See e.g. P.Lund 4, 11 = SB 6, 9348 col. I, 4–25 (wine, honey, oil, saffron, birds, spices, pine nuts, sweets, and wheat); SB III 6319 (bread, wine, and oil); CIMRM I 64 and 65 (wine, meat, oil, radish, and sauce).

from many regulations against riots or arguments during meetings⁵⁰, which at any rate may have been partly a consequence of hard drinking.

Wine as an element of the banquet The hymn-singers from Pergamon (IPergamon 374; 129–138 CE) mention wine as part of the meal equipments on their feasting days and as an offering to the gods on different occasions.⁵¹ In the regulations of Epikteta's family-*koinon* (IG XII,3 330, ll.139–141) it is explicitly written:

Those who officiate freely shall provide imported wine, enough for three cups per person, a crown, music, and perfume.

παρεξοῦντι δὲ οἱ δωρεὰν ἐπιμη||νιεύομες οἶνον ξενικὸν ἱκανὸν δόκιμον ἔως | τριῶν
πινόντων, στεφάνος, μουσικόν, μύρον.

Three cups were designated for the libation during the meal, but it is most likely that this included rounds for the members of the group of banqueters.

In the rules of Heraclists from Liopesi (SEG 31 [1981], no. 122) from the early 2nd century CE the amount of wine is not mentioned.⁵² Instead it is stated that the usual double portion for the head of the club does not include the distribution of wine. Too much wine would have made him unfit to execute his office and wine was not supposed to be taken home. It had to be consumed during the banquet.

The practice of distributing wine and taking it home could be treated in an utterly different way. In the *collegium* worshipping Aesculap and Hygieia in Rome (CIL VI 10234; 153 n. Chr.) functionaries received according to their rank five, three or one and a half litres of wine. This was part of the honours they received. Additionally all members received *sportulae*, which included wine.⁵³ A quite similar case seemed to be the *collegium* for Diana and Antinous in Lanuvium (CIL XIV 2112; 136 CE), whose

50 IG II² 1368, ll.72–90.

51 It had to be paid by the officials of the association. An account of a σύοδος in Thebes (O.Theb 142; 2nd cent. CE) mentions payments for wine: Some – probably the functionaries – had to buy more wine than others; see also Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl* (see n. 1), 136.

52 See Lupu, *Law* (see n. 13), 179–190. The title ἔπανος (see also Aristoteles, *Eth. Nic.* 8,9,5) points to a sharing of gifts for the meal. According to SEG 31 122,20–22 (Paiania, 121/2 CE) people were chosen to acquire pork and wine.

53 On *sportulae* see W.J. Slater, “Handouts at Dinner”, *Phoenix* 54 (2000) 107–122; A. Gutsfeld, “Das Kollegium bei Tisch. Überlegungen zum Beitrag der Bankette zur sozialen Kohäsion in paganen Vereinen der frühen Kaiserzeit”, in *Aposteldekret und antikes Vereinswesen* (see n. 15), 161–183, here 168–170; on the Greek praxis of *Apophoreta* Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl* (see n. 1), 143–152.

members received so much wine (approx. 2 litres minimum) that they couldn't have drunk it all by themselves at the meeting.⁵⁴ But a generous distribution of wine was also part of the endeavours of associations and their patrons to present themselves as wealthy and openhanded. This seemed also to be the intention of the provisions in a list of a Dionysiac association from Söke (SEG 31,983; 2nd–1st cent. BCE): Protomachos gave about 4000 litres of wine (100 metretai), which was either consumed at several occasions or used for a great Dionysiac feast with many attendees. Among the many things a certain Aba in Istros provided for the community of her polis, a couple of wine-banquets (οἶνοπόσιον) for several associations is mentioned (IScM I,57; 150–200 CE). Donations for wine-feasts were also part of securing a commemoration at the grave (IEph 2115; 2402; 3216).⁵⁵ And last but not least: The office of a wine-server (διάκων εἰς κάδον) is mentioned in an inscription from Caria (Robert, La Carie II no. 162; 120–210 CE).

Wine as an element of the cult. Wine was very important for multiple cultic acts of an association. Libation (σπονδή) was a regular feature during sacrifices and banquets. The rule of the Iobakchoi (IG II² 1368) required the ritual of outpouring wine (and buying a round) from a new member and on the occasion of civic honours of members (ll.125–135). It lists a libation among the duties of the ἀρχίβακχος (IG II² 1368, l.119) and determines that the monthly dues should be used for wine (IG II² 1368, l.46). Other Dionysiac associations give a similar impression: A short inscription by a θιασός on an altar from Beroea (IBeroia 22; 7 BCE) honours an ἄγρονόμος, picturing him (twice) during a libation at an altar of Dionysos. A collegium of Dionysiac performers from Nysa/Ephesus promises to honour their sponsor with a crown during libations and worship services (IEph 22, ll.55–56; 142 CE). And a dossier of a certain Alexandrian named Dionsyodoros from Rhodes (2nd cent. BCE) about his various affiliations with associations concludes with the promise that he will be honoured “during the meetings and the libations at the burial places for all time” (IG XII,1 155, ll.118–122).⁵⁶

54 See on that esp. A. Bendlin, “Associations, Funerals, Sociality and Roman Law: The collegium of Diana and Antinous in Lanuvium”, in *Aposteldekret und antikes Vereinswesen* (see n. 15), 207–296.

55 See O.M. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 17; Amsterdam 1997) 60–63.

56 See on this document D. Rhode, *Zwischen Individuum und Stadtgemeinde. Die Integration von collegia in Hafenstädten* (Studien zur Alten Geschichte 15; Mainz 2012) 327.

The rules of a σύνοδος for Zeus Hypsistos from Philadelphia in the Fayum (PLond VII 2193; 69–58 BCE) offer an illuminating insight into the religious life of an association. It advises the members⁵⁷:

You shall arrange one banquet a month in the sanctuary of Zeus for all the contributors, at which they should in a common banqueting hall pour libations, pray, and perform the other customary rites on behalf of the god and lord, the king.

συνεισ[φ[ό]ρ[οι]ς δὲ πᾶσι π[οιεῖσθ]ε κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μίαν α ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς | ἱερῶι ἐν αἷς ἐν ἀνδ[ρῶνι] κοινῶι σπένγοντες εὐχέσθωισαν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ νο||μιζό[μεν]α ὑπὲρ τε τ[ο]ῦ θεο(ῦ) καὶ κυρίου(υ) βασιλέως.

The ἔρανος attached to the temple of Men Tyrannos in Laurion (IG II² 1366; 2nd/3rd cent. CE) required from its members among other offerings for the god a *chous* of wine, which equals 3,28 litres. Maybe the wine was consumed during the communal banquet, which points to a rather small group of men getting together, but in the first instance it was part of the ritual for Men.

Wine, this should be clear from these instances, had a sacred connotation. This is in one respect the case due to certain libations during the banquet, which were of course common practice. In another respect the sacred meaning of wine is also in relation to a connection with a cultic ritual which could be a sacrifice to the god or goddess and completed the burning of the gifts on the altar. The libation extinguished the flames and was – in a way – the bridge to the banquet itself.⁵⁸ Sharing this wine, which had been offered to the deity, given back to the community and consumed by members and guests,⁵⁹ was part of the religious and communal practice and a constituent of their social identity.

2. Bread

Whereas wine is often mentioned in inscriptions of associations, bread is not a frequent topic, which could be explained by the fact that it was a common part of meals. Nevertheless, some sources refer to it in connection with meals and rituals and often combine bread with wine.

⁵⁷ Translation according to AGRW (see n. 20), No.295.

⁵⁸ See G. Ekroth, “Burnt, Cooked or Raw? Divine and Human Culinary Desires at Greek Animal Sacrifice”, in *Transformations in Sacrificial Practices. From Antiquity to Modern Times* (ed. by E. Stavrianopoulou, A. Michaels and C. Ambros; Performances 15; Berlin 2008) 87–111, here 94.

⁵⁹ See on that recently Leonhard and Eckhardt, “Mahl” (see n. 34), 1039–1041.

Bread as an element of the banquet. The association of hymn singers from Pergamon (IPergamon 374; 129–138 CE) frequently mentions bread as one of the obligatory parts of the supplies for their meals. The keeper of order (ἐγκοσμος) and the secretary should provide one bread each and the priest three breads. In the context of the sacrifice for Augustus and Roma it was even prescribed that the leading hymn singer had to pay for the sacrifices, which included “wine and three breads for the gods” (IPergamon 374, D ll.14–16). That the rule was engraved on the altar gave the prescription a distinct obligatory character.

The combination of bread and wine is also mentioned as *sportulae* in an inscription from Rome (CIL VI 10234; 153 CE)⁶⁰:

(It was) also (decided) that on the 11th of May, on the day of roses in the same place, *sportulae* of wine and bread shall be distributed to those present, as stipulated above on the condition that the full assembly agrees that on the above-mentioned days the *sportulae*, both bread and wine, of those who did not attend the banquet, should be sold and (the proceeds) distributed to those who are present, except for (the presents) of those who were overseas or prohibited by some serious condition.

Item Vid(us) Mai(as) die rosae eodem loco praesentib(us) dividerentur sportulae vinu et pane sicut diebus s.s. ea condicione, qua in conventu placuit universis, ut diebus s.s. ii qui ad epulandum non convenissent, sportulae et pane et vinu eorum venirent et praesentibus divideretur, excepto eorum qui trans mare erunt vel qui perpetua valetudine detentur.

The dispensation of wine and bread – in this order – was part of a motivation program for a better attendance at meetings of the *collegium*. Apparently, the authors of this rule thought that wine and bread were sufficient gifts to achieve this goal.

A Dionysiac inscription found in Söke near Priene prescribes the provision of a certain amount of bread in addition to the omnipresent wine (2nd/1st cent. BCE, SEG 31:983 l.10). In a receipt for various assemblies of an association of συνδείπνοι wine and bread are listed, consumed by members and guests (P.Tebt. 118; late 2nd cent. BCE).⁶¹ Other meal components are not mentioned. The same is true for an account book of an association in Arsinoites (SB III 6319, 2nd/1st cent. BCE), in which bread, wine, and oil are listed with prices.⁶² It is very likely the meals of these associations com-

60 Translation from AGRW (see n. 20), No.322. See also CIL V 8251 (Aquileia, 2nd cent. CE): *p[an(em) et vin(um) . . .] | pernas lX et cibaris aeris octonos d[edit]*, “b[read and wine . . .] 9 hams, and eight asses for each person”. CIL VI 33885 mentions bread among the essential elements of the banquet.

61 See also P.Tebt. 177 and 224; Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl* (see n. 1), 55.

62 See Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl* (see n. 1), 56.

prised other things as well, which were either provided by beneficent members or financed occasionally from the common fund. Presumably “bread and wine” signified the banquet as a whole.

The association for Diana and Antinous in Lanuvium ordered the *magistri caenarum* to provide four sardines, together with wine, bread (to the value of two asses) and hot water (CIL XIV 2112 ll.14f; 136 CE). Especially wine and bread were markers of social responsibility, which is demonstrated publicly by the sponsor of this *collegium*.⁶³

These examples and the lack of references in most inscriptions dealing with food show that the provision of bread was taken for granted and needed in most cases no explicit regulation. Bread was a basic element of every meal and we can state with some confidence that there wouldn’t have been any banquet without bread.

Bread as an element of the cult. Among other things, bread could also be part of the offerings: The venerated heroes in the association of Epikteta’s family receive “the customary parts of the victim that are sacred, a cake, a loaf of bread, a parax-cake, and three fish” (καὶ καρ[π]ωσῆι τὰ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱερείου νομιζόμενα ἱερὰ κ[α]ὶ ἐλλύταν καὶ ἄρτον καὶ πάρακα καὶ ὀψάρια τ[ρί]α; IG XII,3 330, ll.189–191). This was in all likelihood part of a θεο-ξένια for the heroes, later eaten by the priests.

An interesting, though puzzling, case is the celebration of the “midnight bread” in a Dionysiac association from Thessalonich (1st cent. CE; GRA I 76, l.13). Possibly it was some kind of ritual the *mystes* had to perform during “a banquet of bread” for (also unclear) θρέψαντες.⁶⁴ This last term could point to a memorial banquet, which is approved by two of the dates of Dionysiasts’ meetings in the Serapeion of Thessalonich: The *Parentalia* and the *Rosalia* were both festive days to commemorate the deceased. Although a sacrifice of bread is seldom attested, which

63 See Bendlin, *Associations* (see n. 54), 268f: “Oil, wine, bread, and sometimes even hot water were distributed among decurions, Augustales, *collegiati* and townspeople together with cash handouts, the latter a welcome extra income or a means to pay for the food at the *epulum*. They constituted social commodities of a highly symbolic value to those who distributed and received them. The distribution of oil by the *quin-quennalis* in the bath prior to the *cena* and of wine and bread by the *magistri* at the dinner, as well as the reception of these social commodities by the association’s *populus*, negotiated the *collegiati*’s social status in reflection of such a shared matrix of civic munificence.”

64 IG X/2.1 259,12–14: ὁμνύντων τῶν τε νῦν καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων μυστῶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰ ὄρ[κ]ια καὶ τὸ μεσανύκτιον α<ὐ> τοῦ διαφυλάτειν τὴν ἐπάνοθ<ε>ν <οικί>αν κατὰ τὴν δόσιν; see Kloppenborg and Ascough, GRA I, 352–356. The Dionysiasts had an additional meal with bread (l.9).

may be due to the modest value of the gift⁶⁵, one must keep in mind that offering bread had a long tradition in Greek and Roman cults, especially in those who denied bloody sacrifices.⁶⁶

3. Meat

Surprisingly, inscriptions and papyri of associations rather sparsely mention meat as part of the banquet. Nevertheless, as we have seen before, we have plenty of evidence for bloody sacrifices as part of the cultic life of associations. Most of the meat arising from these rituals was certainly consumed, by priests and other cultic officers as well as by the members of the association.

The relevance of meat becomes notable when the distribution of sacrificial meat to those present at a meeting was a matter of order. E.g. ὀργεῶνες from Athens (Agora 16:161, early 3rd cent. BCE) received portions from the meat, which in the first instance had been presented to the Hero on a table (τράπεζα): a porker and adult animals. The devotees to Men Tyrannos from Laurion (IG II² 1366, 2nd–3rd cent. CE) were obliged to provide among other food a right leg and the hide for the god, which seems to have been part of the θεοξένια⁶⁷. It was given to the priest of the temple. Διονύσια τὰ ξενικά (ISM 3,3.44; Kallatis/Scythia) were also something like a θεοξένια, apparently understood as an invitation by the god himself.⁶⁸

The participants in the rituals for the family heroes of Epikteta (IG XII,3 330) receive half of the entrails, the other half is for the priests. In Greek tradition the entrails were customarily those parts of the victim which were roasted in the fire on the altar, and reserved for cultic officiants.⁶⁹

During the festivities for Poseidon the association of Berytians on the island of Delos had to pay for a processional bull (153/52 BCE; IDelos 1520), which was sacrificed during the public rituals. Its meat was probably consumed during the following festivities in the clubhouse of the Poseidon-

⁶⁵ A benefactor received honors for valuable gifts like meat or wine, whereas the donation of bread caused no ground for remembrance.

⁶⁶ See C. Auffarth, "Teure Ideologie – billige Praxis: Die 'kleinen' Opfer in der Kaiserzeit", in *Transformations in Sacrificial Practices* (see n. 58) 147–170: 152f.

⁶⁷ On the θεοξένια see Leonhard and Eckhardt, "Mahl" (see n. 34), 1034f.

⁶⁸ See A. Avram, "Der dionysische *thiasos* in Kallatis: Organisation, Repräsentation, Funktion", in *Religiöse Vereine in der römischen Antike* (ed. by U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser and A. Schäfer; STAA 13; Tübingen 2002) 69–80, here 75.

⁶⁹ See van Straten, *Hiera Kala* (see n. 40), 131–133 with fig. 122.151–153; Ekroth, "Burnt" (see n. 58), 93–95.

iasts. The same was perhaps the case with the Tyrians in Puteoli (OGIS 595).

Additional evidence comes from the remainders of these meals. In the clubhouse in Pergamon (2nd–4th cent. CE) large quantities of bones were found (bovine, porcine and bird), which were tramped into the floor.⁷⁰ The acquisition of pork resp. of pastries is mentioned in the rule of the *Heraklists* from Liopesi (SEG 31 [1981] 122; 2nd cent. CE): Every year two members were appointed to guarantee the necessary quantity. In addition, a swine for the sacrifice had to be purchased and new members had to provide additional portions of pork.

In the light of ancient Greek conventions, the actually burned sacrifice consisted mainly of meat not usable for cooking. The gods were satisfied with this gift whereas the good parts were reserved for worshippers. There were of course exemptions: The offering of (raw) meat and other food to the god or goddess on a table (called *τραπεζώματα*) or the *θεοξένια*. In what way the deity was thought to be present at such meals is a matter of debate.⁷¹

Since only some parts of an animal are fit for roasting, it is also important to consider different meat qualities. Normally, the entrails were roasted on the altar fire and eaten by those who were actually sacrificing, priests and other cultic personnel. Other parts like the tenderloin or ribs were roasted, the others boiled. The fact that most of the meat was boiled had an egalitarian impact, although officiants and honoured members were entitled to receive the better portions. Every other participant in the banquet got his share from the same pot. A social hierarchy could therefore be reproduced through the distribution of portions.⁷²

70 See W. Radt, *Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole* (Darmstadt 1999) 197; Schwarzer, "Vereinslokale" (see n. 15), 233; A. von den Driesch, "Tierreste aus dem Podiensaal", in *Das Gebäude mit dem Podiensaal in der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Studien zu sakralen Banketträumen mit Liegepodien in der Antike* (ed. by H. Schwarzer; *Altertümer von Pergamon* XV/4; Berlin and New York 2008) 309–313.

71 See Leonhard and Eckhardt, "Mahl" (see n. 34), 1020–1022. In favor of the presence of the deity one could refer to the bylaw of the family association of Diomedon (SIG 1106 = LSCG 177; Cos, late 4th/early 3rd cent. BCE). It specifies in connection with the rules for weddings, that a couch for Herakles should be arranged and that on his table (*τράπεζα τοῦ θεοῦ*) parts of the sacrificed victim should be placed; see e.g. J. Fotopoulos, *Food Offered to Idols in Roman Corinth. A Social-Rhetorical Reconsideration of 1 Corinthians 8:1–11:1* (WUNT II/151; Tübingen 2003) 175. On *θεοξένια* see also the remark by Jameson, "Theoxenia" (see n. 38), 56: "Theoxenia subsequent to sacrifice can be seen as the corresponding arrangements for securing the presence of the gods."

72 On the distribution of meals in associations see e.g. *Agora* 16:161; *IG* II² 1283, 1339, 1368; *IG* XII,3 330; *CIL* VI 10234; *IDelta* I 446; *P.Mich* VIII 511.

IV. Communal Meals of Christ-Believers

With all the material on cultic meals in associations in mind, we will consider the early Christian Eucharist, bearing in mind that it is quite justified to say that early Christian meals were nothing else than association meals.⁷³ This was especially the case in the 1st and 2nd century, when a distinction between Agape and Eucharist had not yet been established and every meal in the community was intended to saturate the participants. In the following I will concentrate on the elements of meals in the early church and on the cultic character of the Eucharist.

1. The Elements

Elements of association-meals have rarely been enumerated entirely. Our knowledge about this stems mostly from accounts or statutes mentioning components of sacrificial offerings and banquets. The large majority of references to meal components in these documents mention at least bread and wine, often only these. In my opinion it is therefore sound to say that these basic elements of ancient meals could stand for the whole banquet of an association, which was accompanied by all sorts of other components.⁷⁴

This would imply for Christian meals: The predominance of bread and wine in the texts doesn't exclude other components like meat (see 1 Cor 8–10; Rom 14:21) or vegetables (Rom 14:2).⁷⁵ The variety and quality of side

73 See recently Leonhard and Eckhardt, "Mahl" (see n. 34), 1068: "Wo die frühen Gemeinden einen städtischen Kontext voraussetzen, sind sie als freiwillige Vereine zu sehen. Deren M.[ähler] sind ... Vergleichsmaterial für die Eucharistiefiern"; R. McRae, "Eating with Honor: The Corinthian Lord's Supper in Light of Voluntary Association Meal Practices", *JBL* 130 (2011) 165–181; V.A. Alkin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering. Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries* (S.VigChr 102; Leiden and Boston 2010) 33: "Christians gathered around the dinner table and partook of a communal meal, in the same manner as the members of other clubs and associations"; K. Vössing, "Das 'Herrenmahl' und 1 Cor. 11 im Kontext antiker Gemeinschaftsmähler", *JAC* 54 (2011) 41–72, here 55: "Bei der Suche nach geeigneten Modellen für das 'Herrenmahl' in Korinth steht seit einiger Zeit völlig zu recht die Verwandtschaft zwischen frühen Christengemeinden und Genossenschaften oder Kollegien im Mittelpunkt."

74 To put it otherwise: Absence of references to bread in accounts or statutes does not mean that an association consumed no bread at all.

75 On other components in Early Christian meals see A. McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists. Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford 1999) 89–142. Apologetic and patristic texts mention cheese, milk and honey, oil, salt, fruits, vegetables, and fish. Meat was obviously avoided in later times because of its associations with pagan animal-sacrifices.

dishes were dependent on the financial means of the members and/or on their theological views. A meatless Eucharistic meal was only a later development, when the Eucharist was separated from the Agape. However, it was rather complicated to enhance the meals with additional meat since Christ-believers could not draw on a bloody sacrifice and therefore lacked this natural supply of meat for their banquets. Meat had to be provided by members who could get it from the food market, from hunting or from the local Jewish butcher. A lack of side dishes would have made the Christian meals highly unattractive compared to meals in associations and therefore would have been mentioned in anti-Christian polemics.⁷⁶

It seems moreover quite plausible that social tensions like those in Corinth were partly caused by a lack of quality food for everyone. A sponsor or a host of the community could gather only his closer friends at his table filled with good food whereas other members of the community had to content themselves with less, maybe even with only bread and wine.⁷⁷ Moreover, officiants like presbyters, bishops or deacons could expect certain privileges like their counterparts in pagan associations, which could also cause tensions and envy (see 1 Tim 5:17).

2. Communal Meals of Christ-believers were Cultic Meals

Paul knew of course that meals of pagan associations and meals of Christ-believers shared similar cultic characteristics: “You cannot drink the cup of the Lord (ποτήριον κυρίου) and the cup of demons (ποτήριον δαιμονίων). You cannot partake of the table of the Lord (τραπέζης κυρίου) and the table of demons (τραπέζης δαιμονίων).” (1 Cor 10:21). Meals in pagan associations provided – although certainly with different connotations – for the community a form of contact with the deity, who was perceived either as provider of the meal or as special guest. Labelling the Eucharist as κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (1 Cor 11:20) made clear that the meal of Christ-believers functioned quite similar: It should be understood as a cultic meal with a clear distinction from ordinary meals. Accordingly, Didache 10:3 qualifies the meal as “spiritual” (πνευματική).⁷⁸ In antiquity

76 On the contrary: There was no pagan critique at all concerning the frugal character of meals in communities of Christ-believers.

77 See recently Vössing, “Herrenmahl” (see n. 73), 63.

78 The distinction between the communal and the individual meal is also part of Paul’s rejection of the Corinthian practice (1 Cor 11:21f): Some took the communal gatherings as an opportunity to eat their fill without concern for those who had no access to good food. Instead, they should perceive the communal meal not as an occasion for gluttony but as the event of remembrance of the Kyrios Jesus.

religion took place at the table, including readings, hymns, and theologizing.⁷⁹

Against the backdrop of banquets in associations a separation of a cultic meal (the Eucharist) from a saturating meal (the Agape) is highly improbable.⁸⁰ Even though there was a fixed procedure in associations – first the sacrifice, then the meal – cult and meal were closely linked. The banquet itself was surrounded by cultic practices like libations and elements of the meal had been part of the sacrificial ritual. It is perhaps of high relevance for our understanding of the Eucharist that apparently every Graeco-Roman association began its festivities with *θυσία*. Therefore it is quite conceivable that this was also the case in communities of Christ-believers. And indeed: There are some hints that an interpretation of bread and wine as the sacrificial offerings of the believers was present during the first centuries of Early Christianity.

3. The Eucharist as Sacrifice

Several texts in the New Testament and in Apologetic literature provide us with references to the Christian cultic meal and its elements indicating that it could be understood as an equivalent to pagan and Jewish sacrifices in a broad sense. I will mention three texts representing but one way (amongst others) of Christian interpretation of the communal cultic meal.

Especially interesting is 1 Cor 10:16–21: In this passage Paul constructs analogies between Israel eating from the altar in the Jerusalem temple, the pagans eating idol-food and Christ-believers sitting at the table of the Lord.⁸¹ The parallelism could very well refer to a sacrifice consisting – in the given Christian context – not of animals, but of wine and bread.⁸²

⁷⁹ Smith, *Symposium* (see n. 1), 179: “Not only were these Christians gathering for a community meal, but they were also conducting their entire worship service at the table as well”; M.E. Johnson, “The Apostolic Tradition”, in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* (ed. by G. Wainwright and K.B. Westerfield Tucker; Oxford 2006) 32–75, here 49.

⁸⁰ See e.g. Smith, *Symposium* (see n. 1), 285; H. Löhr, “Entstehung und Bedeutung des Abendmahls im frühesten Christentum”, in *Abendmahl* (ed. by H. Löhr; Themen der Theologie 3; Tübingen 2012) 51–94: here 70f.

⁸¹ See J. Schröter, *Das Abendmahl. Frühchristliche Deutungen und Impulse für die Gegenwart* (SBS 210; Stuttgart 2006) 28. The use of *κοινωνία* κτλ. in this context (vv. 16, 18, 20) could be understood in terms of Hellenistic-Roman sacrificial meals; see B. Kollmann, *Ursprung und Gestalten der frühchristlichen Mahlfeste* (GTA 43; Göttingen 1990) 59. This could be further underpinned by the sequence of cup and bread in 1 Cor 10:16 which resembles pagan cultic meals (Schröter, *Abendmahl* [see this n.], 30).

⁸² See also 1 Cor 9:13 where Paul refers metaphorically to the privilege of priests to receive a share from the altar. McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists* (see n. 75), 273, speaks of a “sac-

Later on, Did 14.1–3 employs for the first time in Christian literature *θυσία* distinctly as a term for the Eucharist and without any reference to the atoning death of Jesus.⁸³ To quote Andrew McGowan: “‘Sacrifice’ here seems then to define the character of the meal and the community as sacred to one another.”⁸⁴ A common interpretation of this passage in Did 14 reads the reference to sacrifice as metaphorical or form of “spiritualization”.⁸⁵ There is indeed such a tradition in antiquity, which is documented in Jewish (before and after 70 CE), Christian and pagan texts.⁸⁶ But this understanding doesn’t have to be applied to every Christian reference to sacrifices, especially if there is no indication that a sacrificial interpretation makes no sense. In Didache 14 it is clear enough that the thanksgiving is a distinct action apart from the sacrifice, though closely connected to it.⁸⁷ The whole passage is devoted to the exhortation to offer a pure sacrifice (*θυσία καθάρᾳ*), which has reconciliation between quarrelling members as a precondition. Accordingly, it should be viewed in the same line as similar demands in pagan tradition: The author requires cultic purity as qualification for an efficient sacrifice!⁸⁸ The implicit reference to Matt 5:23 f, which speaks of the *δῶρον* on the altar and the necessity of previous

rificial meal” and Paul constructing “the Christian meal as one comprehensible in terms of the logic of pagan sacrifice”.

- 83 Did 14:1–3: ... καθάρᾳ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ἦ. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθῆτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. Αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου· Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθάρᾳ.
- 84 A. McGowan, “Eucharist and Sacrifice: Cultic Tradition and Transformation in Early Christian Ritual Meals”, in *Mahl und religiöse Identität im frühen Christentum* (ed. by M. Klinghardt and H. Taussig; TANZ 56; Tübingen 2012) 191–206, here 197.
- 85 It is interpreted as reference to the prayer of thanksgiving, the whole ritual of the meal or the behaviour of the members of the community; see recently e.g. J.A. Draper, “Pure Sacrifice in Didache 14 as Jewish Christian Exegesis”, *Neotest.* 42 (2008) 223–252, here 241; H. van de Sandt, “Why does the Didache Conceive of the Eucharist as a Holy Meal?”, *VigChr* 65 (2011) 1–20, here 20; H. Schmid, “Eucharistie und Opfer. Das ‘Evangelium des Judas’ im Kontext von Eucharistiedeutungen des zweiten Jahrhunderts”, *EC* 3 (2012) 85–108, here 90. For a problematization of the term ‘spiritualization’ see the discussion in J. Klawans, “Interpreting the Last Supper: Sacrifice, Spiritualization, and Anti-Sacrifice”, *NTS* 48 (2002) 1–17, here 13.
- 86 For an overview see E. Ferguson, “Spiritual Sacrifice in Early Christianity and its Environment”, *ANRW* II 23.2 (1980) 1151–1189.
- 87 See McGowan, “Eucharist” (see n. 84), 198: “If we relinquish the notion that ‘sacrifice’ must refer to animal offerings, or must have a propitiatory character, there is no basis at all for regarding the *Didache’s* interpretation of the Eucharistic gathering as *θυσία* as merely metaphorical or ‘spiritualized’”.
- 88 See e.g. K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (2nd ed.; KAV 1; Göttingen 1993) 238; J. Schwiebert, *Knowledge and the Coming Kingdom. The Didache’s Meal Ritual and its Place in Early Christianity* (LNTS 373; London and New York 2008) 167.

reconciliation without any metaphorical motivation, makes it more probable that the author of the *Didache* thought indeed of bread (wine is not mentioned) as a gift analogous to sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple. The following citation of Mal 1:11, 14 reinforces this demand of ritual purity with a biblical instruction.⁸⁹

Justin Martyr makes a similar use of this prophetic text in his *Dialogue with Trypho* and interprets the quotation of the OT with the following words (41:3): “He [Maleachi] then speaks of those Gentiles, namely us, who in every place offer sacrifices to him (προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσίων), i. e. the bread of the Eucharist, and also the cup of the Eucharist (τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας), affirming both that we glorify his name, and that you profane [it].”⁹⁰

Of course, this understanding represents only one line of interpretation of the Eucharist in antiquity, but nevertheless an old and important one.⁹¹ It is a distinctively sacrificial understanding, counteracting “spiritualizing” tendencies.⁹² From the perspective of the evident connection between sacrifice and communal meal in religious groups all over the Mediterranean world it seems to have been quite natural to think of the offerings of the community as a sacrifice, albeit not a bloody but a simple one.

As stated above, other gifts than only meat were part of sacrifices and banquets in associations. In addition, we should bear in mind that in Late Antiquity a standoff from bloody sacrifices across all religious traditions took place.⁹³ Although this did not lead to a total cessation of animal sacrifice the use of non-bloody offerings became more and more accepted. A

89 The description of sacrifices in the LXX was an important step for a more general understanding of sacrifice, since it uses *θυσία* for bloody and bloodless offerings; see McGowan, “Eucharist” (see n. 84), 196.

90 See also Justin, *Dial.* 117,1, where the author writes of an Eucharist consisting of bread and cup. Against Ferguson, “Spiritual Sacrifice” (see n. 86), 1174, I don’t think that Justin speaks “in a secondary sense” of sacrifices but thought of a bloodless and modest equivalent to the detested bloody sacrifices of pagans, and called the Christian sacrifice *εὐχαριστία* (*Apol.* I 66,1). On the counteracting character of the Christian sacrificial ritual see McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists* (see n. 75), 93, 142, 273.

91 See e.g. Johnson, “Apostolic Tradition” (see n. 79), 59. Already, H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (3rd ed.; AKG 8; Berlin 1953) 82, lists the interpretation of the Eucharist as sacrifice of bread and wine as one amongst others.

92 See esp. McGowan, “Eucharist” (see n. 84), 201f.

93 Auffarth, “Teure Ideologie” (see n. 66), 162. See also the discussion in M.-Z. Petropoulou, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC to AD 200* (Oxford 2008); Daniel C. Ullicci, *The Christian Rejection of Animal Sacrifice* (Oxford 2012).

clear distinction between animal sacrifice and other forms of sacrifice is crucial for an appropriate interpretation of the textual evidence. Minor gifts like wine, baked goods, oil, and incense – offerings connected with domestic religion – were nevertheless also considered as sacrifices. Seen from this perspective, the meal of an association of Christ-believers, gathered in the home of one of its members, was not different from other forms of communal meals in antiquity and their cultic logic: They gave bread and wine and probably other complementary food as a sacrifice to the Kyrios, they prayed, sang hymns, heard readings and speeches, and they had their cultic meal.

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