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Feasting on the Edge – Modern versus Traditional Consumptionscapes in Archaic Monte Iato (sixth to fifth century BC)

Key words: connected uplands, deer cult, communal feasting, indigeneity, diacritical delicacies, power building

Abstract:

Located among the mountains in the midlands of western Sicily, Monte Iato was positioned topographically and culturally at the edge of the Greek and Phoenician coastal world. While this world was modern, urban, and structured according to the various functions of political and social life, the indigenous villages in the basin of the upper branch of the Belice River were remote, agro-pastoral, and traditional. With their communal, intra-regional sanctuary on the plateau of Monte Iato, their view was directed inwards, towards the surrounding region of the interior. They thus continued to live an introverted life, turning away from the modern coastal world, long after the arrival of the Greeks. Only around 500 B.C., after a short preliminary phase of intensified contacts, did the sanctuary at Monte Iato undergo a radical transformation via a process of monumentalisation and modernisation. We will discuss the kind of changes and local reactions in Monte Iato caused by this by process, especially within the social field of feasting (which took place in the area between the Late Archaic House and the temple of Aphrodite). To this end, we will present not only the architectural and ceramic evidence, but also for the first time the detailed results of our bio-archaeological research. Within this multidisciplinary framework, we will briefly outline how 'feasting on the edge' can be turned from a metaphor into a theoretical perspective capable of sustaining comparison between Monte Iato and traditional communities in rural or mountainous environments in Archaic Greece, beyond the world of the polis.

Introduction

Since the Bronze Age, life in the mountainous interior of Western Sicily has been characterised by large family dwellings organised in scattered compounds, consisting of oval, apsidal, and square structures.[1] This was still the case in Monte Iato at the end of the sixth century BC.[2] This long persistence of the traditional way of life on Monte Iato and along the upper branch of the Belice River is surprising as already around 600 BC the Greek and Phoenician neighbours on the coasts had moved towards life in cities with monumentalised

[1] Kistler 2011.

[2] Remains were found both in the eastern and western quarters as well as on the edge of the agora of the later Hellenistic-roman city, called Iaitas: Isler 2007, 112; Isler 2008, 138; Isler 2009, 152–158; Mohr 2012, 116-118; Russenberger 2013, 102-105.

centres and planned street systems – combining public, non-public, and religious demands (Fig. 1).[3]

Despite their geographical proximity to this modern coastal world, the indigenous inhabitants of the Upper Belice valley continued to live an introverted life.[4] The intra-regional sanctuary on the Monte Iato plateau still played a central role as their public meeting and communication centre. The open-air cult site, where the so-called Aphrodite Temple[5] was built later, had developed into such a centre by the second and third quarters of the sixth century BC at the latest. This is attested by peculiar packed stone concentrations, of which some were still covered with a wet mortar pavement and equipped with a hearth. However, since no corresponding postholes for walls were discovered, these packed stone concentrations were probably campgrounds for tents and temporary huts, which served as accommodation for visitors during important sacrificial festivals on Monte Iato.[6] These tents and huts were reproduced as clay models, which were later scattered over these campgrounds as ritually smashed pars pro toto votives.[7]

Only around 500 BC, after a short preliminary phase of intensive contacts with Sicilian Greeks and Phoenicians leading to the first phase of the Aphrodite Temple as a meeting and feasting house for leaders of the region (Fig. 2),[8] the intra-regional sanctuary on Monte Iato underwent an extraordinary process of monumentalisation, and modernisation (Fig. 3).

In this article, we discuss the changes and local reactions, especially within the social field of feasting that this process of modernisation and monumentalisation caused in Monte Iato. We use archaeological, archaeo-zoological, archaeo-botanical and biochemical data, collected in the area between the palace-like Late Archaic (LA) House and the Aphrodite Temple.[9] Using this data as proxies for different modes of consumption, we intend to map divergent consumptionscapes[10] dominated either by a modern order or by a traditional one. Our interest is focused on the question of the extent the interplay between modern and traditional consumptionscapes and how this has affected and was affected by commensal politics and the

[3] De Angelis 2016a, 65-101; Nigro 2013; Mertens 2006, 90-215.
[4] See also Spatafora 2003, 82.
[5] The temple was attributed to Aphrodite by a graffito on a sherd of a kantharos with the letters AΦP (K372), found in a deposit outside the temple dating to around 300 BC. For the Archaic period, there is no evidence that Aphrodite was worshipped inside the building. Isler *et al*. 1984, 86–99, 103–6.
[6] See Kistler et al. 2018, 249-260 and 282 for a discussion of the cult place before the Aphrodite Temple..
[7] Kistler et al. 2018, 260-263.
[8] Öhlinger et al. 2019, 11-12; Kistler et al. 2018, 282-290.
[9] All, the associated architectural evidence and excavated assemblages are freely accessible in their description, photographic and photogrammetric documentation as well as in the presentation and analysis of their small finds in the final online publication "Zwischen spätarchaischem Haus und Aphrodite Tempel I-III (2010-2020)", under: xxx.
[10] Concerning the concept of the consumptionscape, see Ger and Belk 1996.

making of social groups in Monte Iato. How does this interplay lead to transcultural achievements which erode old-established orders and open up new paths to power for local aspiring men?

Given the limits of this brief chapter, our preliminary sketch of modern versus traditional consumptionscapes in Archaic Monte Iato merely aims to show new ways that seem promising for exploring modes and functions of inter-connectivity between traditional rural uplands and modern urban lowlands. The title "Feasting on the Edge" is, therefore, less intended to corroborate the narrative of a Greek urbanised (i.e. civilised) *oikumene*.[11] Rather, we want to encourage reflection on how the metaphor of "Feasting on the Edge" can be turned into a cutting edge approach that allows for a systematic comparison of the Greek-speaking up- and midlands beyond the polis with the non-Greek-speaking hinterlands beyond the *apoikia*. Even though there are many cultural differences, it is possible that in social anthropological terms, the similarities are much more remarkable than previously thought.

Greek-style Architecture and New Social Structures

Around 500 BC the *oikos* of the first phase of the Aphrodite Temple (Fig. 2: AT), ruined by a heavy rainstorm, was rebuilt on the foundations of its predecessor – but no longer as a feasting and meeting house, but as a proper temple of Greek type with an *adyton* and an open-air altar in front (Fig. 3: AT).[12] In order to protect the new temple from further damage by heavy rainfall, the natural rock basin immediately northeast of the temple was converted into a water reservoir with a spillway and a conduit through it (Fig. 3: B). The construction of a ramp, turning to the north immediately east of the annexe of the LA House, ensured that the spillway basin could be continuously cleared of the mud that accumulated in it (Fig. 3: R).[13] This drainage system bears witness to a feat of engineering, unique in the Sicilian hinterland and unthinkable without Greek builders in Monte Iato.

Around the same time 500 BC, two massive retaining walls were built east of the altar square, running across the slope (Fig. 3: W1 & W2). They supported the backfill of the terraces in the south and north, which flank a 4.18 m wide road to the Aphrodite Temple.[14] On the terraces themselves the *oikos*-like buildings K, L and P were erected.[15] Hearths, such as the ones in *oikoi* K and P, as well as the banqueting equipment stored in them,[16] identify these *oikoi* as

[11] Geus 2016.
[12] Kistler et al. 2018, 291.
[13] Recent studies carried out during the 2018 and 2019 field campaigns have shown this.
[14] Mohr 2018, 94-95.
[15] Mohr 2018, 96–97.
[16] Perifanakis 2016, 71; Mohr 2018, 92-95; Mohr 2019, 125-129.

feasting houses and thus as monumentalised successors to the tents and temporary huts of non-resident cult and festival participants.[17]

The most monumental building, however, was the LA House erected around 500 BC (Fig. 3: LAH and fig. 4). Overall, this large complex with its two-story main block covered a usable area of more than 679 square meters, making it one of the most prominent non-sacral buildings of its day. Also, its *klinai* rooms on the upper floor, with their coloured pavement and plastered walls, match the representative *andrones* and *hestiatoria* in the cult centres of the Greek world.[18] Moreover, the layout of the LA House shows a clear east-west orientation along the sacral axis, which is determined by the Aphrodite Temple. Therefore, there can be no doubt about its direct affiliation with the sanctuary around the Aphrodite Temple.[19]

The LA House, the Aphrodite Temple as an embodied divine epiphany, and the open-air altar (Fig 3: A) in front of it are clear manifestations of the appropriation of the principal architectural characteristics of a Greek sanctuary palpable in Monte Iato.[20] However, the adoption of this architectural triad typical of a Greek cult-scape is paired with a peculiar structural fact in Monte Iato. Here, the associated banqueting house – i.e. the upper floor of the LA House – is part of a building which is comparable to neo-Assyrian, Etruscan, or Macedonian palaces with its wide range of spatial facilities (refined banqueting, ostentatious living, haut cuisine, or stockpiling). It is this pairing with a palace-like facility that identifies the sanctuary around the Aphrodite Temple as a political focal point where the local appropriation of ideas and commodities of the 'Greek' world has become a central principle of intra-regional empowerment.[21]

In Monte Iato this kind of empowerment was locally anchored with the construction of the LA House. When a more or less north-south perpendicular line is drawn that bisect the corridor of the LA House it crosses a circular packed stone concentration that represented the over-ground marker of a deposit in the main room of the protohistoric dwelling. This depot was created during the construction of the LA House, when the dwelling was ritually abandoned as its predecessor. The mythical early times of the local ancestors were thus topographically anchored, and the rule of the builders of the LA House was presented as the *telos* of local history (Fig. 5).[22]

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[17] Kistler et al. 2018, 260-263; on a corresponding transition from ephemeral huts of the 7th century to *oikoi* of the 6th century built of stone as dependencies of foreign festival and cult participants in relation to the Heraion of Olympia see Mohr 2014, 26.
[18] Kistler 2020.
[19] Kistler 2020, 46-48.
[20] Kistler 2020, 56-61.
[21] Kistler 2020, 61-63.
[22] Kistler 2020, 69-72.

This observation and hypothesis will be evaluated in the following pages within a broader material basis and an integrated multidisciplinary approach. Let us start with the ceramic assemblages and their quantitative evaluation as indicators of consumptionscapes that oscillate equally between traditionalism and modernisation according to their architectural setting.

Ceramic fingerprints of traditional and modern consumptionscapes

Over almost 10 years, so-called ceramic fingerprints have been recognised in archaeological assemblages in Monte Iato. The resulting bar charts and Excel tables are structured according to functional activity areas.[23] We reported elsewhere on the methodological principle of the ceramic fingerprint as a hermeneutical tool and the results that have been achieved.[24] Therefore, here we briefly outline the different consumptionscapes based on the ceramic fingerprints identified in the area between the LA House and the Aphrodite Temple.

In the past, we were able to show that the behaviour of consumers at festive events in the cult place around the Aphrodite Temple led to two different types of fingerprints. The first one results from the fact that all activity areas - from long-term storage to the preparation of food and its consumption - are dominated by the use of traditionalistic (i.e. old-fashioned) ceramics. Greek imports are present from time to time, but their percentage is consistently below the one per cent mark (see table I). Ceramic fingerprints of this type come from archaeological records belonging to the Aphrodite temple and its forecourt during its first phase (525-500).[25] In addition, fingerprints from ceramic assemblages, immediately north of the LA House, are also included. They originate from the external plaza (500-460/50 BC) and a deposit dug into the plaza (500-460/50 BC).[26] Moreover, such traditional fingerprints were seen in the deposits and rubble created in connection with the ritual abandonment of the protohistoric dwelling. Finally, they also come from the packed stone concentrations northwest of the temple of Aphrodite, which were created in connection with temporary dwellings of non-local cult participants (525-575 BC). All these ceramic fingerprints have been summarised in table I and converted to the arithmetic mean in order to obtain average values for the fingerprint type of traditionality.

[23] For similar reflections and approaches see also: Bishop 2017, 59-62; Ness 2015; Banducci 2014.
[24] Kistler-Mohr 2015, 2016; Kistler 2017, 115-117; Kistler et al. in press.
[25] Kistler et al. 2015, 154-160; Kistler et al. 2018, 282-290.
[26] Kistler et al. 2014, 177-179 with fig. 23.

The stratigraphical contexts of the fingerprints of the first type indicate that the traditional 'register of consumption'[27] was closely correlated with the intra-regional cult site around the Aphrodite Temple. The latter stood at the heart of a 'regime of values'[28] aimed at creating local roots and a sense of indigenous authenticity. In this way, imagined ancestry was experienced, and local indigeneity was (re-)affirmed as distinct from an East Mediterranean provenance. Consequently, it was this desire to (re-)establish this connection with the ancestors that produced the traditional setting resulting in the material design of the first fingerprint type with only old(-fashioned) ceramics.[29]

In contrast to the traditional fingerprints of the first type, the second type shows a clear preference for modern drinking vessels, as they were in vogue in the Greek and Phoenician coastal cities.[30] In the arithmetic mean of the fingerprints for this second type, Greek-style vessels are represented in all functional activity areas (see table I).With regard to alcohol consumption, Greek (-style) drinking cups rapidly increased in number from 525 BC onward.[31] After 500 BC, the previously absent imports of ointment and oil vessels reached the 2 per cent mark, indicating a certain flair of the local elite for precious exotic fragrances, as was typical for the symposium culture of the East Mediterranean newcomers.[32]

Significantly, the ceramic assemblages for this second fingerprint type were found in the context of the LA House - more precisely: in the rubble of the triclinia of its upper floor (460/50 BC),[33] in the debris of the rooms of its annexe (460/50 BC)[34] and in the pavements of both its ground floor and the rooms of the annexe (525-460/50 BC). [35] Consequently, this second type of fingerprint is linked to a social milieu dominated like no other in Archaic Monte Iato by a "regime of values" in which the consumption of imports from the modern world of Greek cities was highly estimated.

On the basis of their stratigraphic and architectural contexts, the two types of ceramic fingerprints can finally be located more precisely on the site plan of Archaic Monte Iato. As a result, two seemingly antagonistic consumptionscapes appear, dividing the area between the LA House and the Aphrodite Temple into two different socio-cultural spaces of consumption

[27] Appadurai 1986, 38–40.
[28] Appadurai 1986, 14-15, 57.
[29] Kistler et al. 2017; Kistler 2020, 71-72; regarding archaic Morgantina see Buckingham and Antonaccio 2018/2019.
[30] Walsh 2014, esp. 94-124; Lynch 2011a.
[31] Kistler and Mohr 2016, 86-87; Kistler et al. in press.
[32] Amos 6.6 and Xenophanes Diels-Kranz fr. 1B 3; on ointment vessels and their possible connection to the symposium: Lynch 2011a, 139-140.
[33] Kistler 2020, 63-88.
[34] Kistler et al. 2018, 265-270.
[35] Kistler et al. in press.

(Fig. 6). In this way, a picture emerges of a local community in Monte Iato that was neither exclusively indigenous nor a hybrid ensemble during the late 6th and first half of the 5th century BC. On the contrary: life in Monte Iato at this time was characterised by different social settings which were associated with divergent group- and identity-making activities and thus with different registers or modes of consumption. [36] Against this background and in order to learn more about the nexus of the two consumptionscapes with specific politics of feasting, we will now take a closer look at the bio-archaeological remains.

Meat, Deer, and Traditional Feasting

Meat is often the focus of festivities and commensal politics.[37] Its consumption signals identity, gender, symmetrical or unequal sharing, social proximity or distance, gain or loss of prestige, political empowerment or diminishing authority.[38] Therefore, bones of animals preserved in the waste of commensal events can still provide information on different socio-cultural protocols and the resulting modes of meat consumption.[39] In fact, in Archaic Monte Iato, the bone records from the area of the traditional consumptionscape attest to an unusually high proportion of deer bones, which suggests that deer were particularly significant within the socio-political space of ancestry and indigeneity around the Aphrodite Temple. Conversely, in the Greek-style ambience of the LA House, fish and seafood, but also olives and imported wines, are bio-factual markers and diacritical delicacies of a modern consumptionscape.

We will begin with the faunal data and the particular role of deer within the traditional consumptionscape. To this end, we will only consider faunal records from assemblages assigned to the consumptionscape of traditionality by means of their corresponding ceramic fingerprints and their topographical contextualisation (Figure 6: ① – ④ and table II: ① – ④). All bone material from these records is discarded meat consumption and does not stem from primary butchery waste.[40] Therefore, the meat-bearing body parts are overrepresented compared to the less meat-bearing body parts. This means that skulls, elements of the thorax, spinal columns, and pelvic bones, i.e. body parts that are very heavy and difficult to transport, have already been removed from the meat and disposed at the place where the slaughtered

[36] Kistler and Mohr 2015 and 2016; Kistler 2017; Kistler et al. 2017; Öhlinger et al. 2019.
[37] See Hamilakis 2008, 7-10; Russell 2012, 358-394; Hayden 2016, 36-38, 40-45, 119-129, 257-262; McInerney this volume.
[38] Hamilakis 2008, 10-13; Russell 2012, 279-357; McInerney this volume.
[39] Forstenpointner, Weissengruber, and Galik 2005; Russell 2012, 383-392; Hayden 2016, esp. 40-45; Galik, Forstenpointner, and Weissengruber 2016; Mc Inerney and Ekroth, this volume.
[40] The complete presentation of the bones in question and their evaluation by body parts, sex, age and traces of slaughter can be found in the online publication, available at xxx.

animal was dismembered. Consequently, these parts of the skeleton did not reach the consumer at all, nor did they enter the faunal records created in connection with traditional feasts.[41] There is also a general lack of species that points to a festive setting for the production of the bone material:[42] the ratios by NISP[43] of donkey, mule, horse, but also of small game and birds remain below the 2 per cent mark. Despite water-sieving, there are no remnants of mussels, fish or seafood. Behind this lack of species, there is a deliberate selection of beef, sheep/goat,[44] pork and deer, and thus the aim of ensuring the most opulent consumption of meat possible during the festive events within the cult around the Aphrodite temple. This meat consumption was dominated by beef, which is unusual for an agro-pastoral subsistence strategy like the one in Archaic Monte Iato that exploite domesticated animals primarily for secondary products such as milk, wool, and traction. However, we shall explain in more detail elsewhere to what extent this is also connected to a policy of generous feasting.[45]

Instead of beef, cattle cult and competitive feasting,[46] we want to consider first the abundance of deer bones. In the faunal data from the traditional consumptionscape, the deer ratio averages around 22 per cent (table II). The frequency of deer bones in the two faunal records of Agora houses I-II is much lower at 8.1 and at 5.2 per cent (table II). 10 per cent is the amount of deer remains in the waste extracted from the floors of the LA House (Figure 6: ⑥ and table II: ⑥). The deer percentages in the remains of households in Archaic Monte Iato as well as on other western Sicilian settlement sites (table III) fall well within the averages of a circum-Mediterranean comparison: 63.5 per cent of 151 Neolithic to Roman sites show a frequency of deer bones between 1 and 10 per cent. Only 25.2 per cent of all sites show a bone ratio of more than 20 per cent (see table IV). These more than 20 per cent ratios of deer are mainly found at settlement sites of Neolithic small-scale societies between hunter-gatherers and agro-pastoralists. This high frequency of deer is often associated with hunting as a risk-buffer strategy by these small-scale societies. Relying on game resources may

[41] These include even the metatarsal and metacarpal bones, which do not carry much meat, as they are not separated from the front and rear legs of the animals during slaughter, because they are so much easier to hold and carry.

[42] For low species diversity as a characteristic of feasts see Jackson and Scott 1995,108.

[43] NISP (number of identified species) is used for species proportions since it is usually the only available measure and because the multiple problems of minimum number estimates are increased when comparing data between different analysts; see Orton 2012, 9.

[44] Sheep and goat are combined since it is often difficult to distinguish systematically between them if the bone fragments are small.

[45] Russell 1998; Orton 2012; Arbuckle 2014; MacKinnon 2014, 215.

[46] On competitive feasting politics under the umbrella of a distinct cattle-cult at archaic Monte Iato, see Forstenpointner and Kistler in preparation; with regard to initial preliminary considerations see also Öhlinger 2015, 167, 176, 197-198; Öhlinger et al. 2019, 10.

become necessary when crops fail or when domestic animal populations are affected by diseases. Hunting ensures sustenance during periodic shortfalls.[47]

A ratio of deer bones that falls within the Mediterranean mean of 1 and 10 per cent signifies something completely different. With such a low percentage of deer bones, deer hunting cannot have had a subsistence function. On the contrary: it is exclusive, and the enjoyment of venison is rare. In this case, deer hunting has advanced to a 'political economy' of elite-making.[48] However, with an average frequency of deer bones of 22,6 per cent, as in the case of the faunal records from the traditional consumptionscape in Monte Iato (table II), neither deer hunting nor the consumption of venison can be an elite-maker. This 22,6 per cent share of deer demands a different explanation.

Even after the Neolithic, hunting played a central role, in constructing groups *within* the community as well as involving groups *throughout* the community. Hunting was a key factor in the negotiation of gender roles. In many cases, the idea of the successful hunter took centre stage, legitimizing a masculine feeling of superiority and an accompanying degradation of the status of women. Hunting thus gained value beyond subsistence: especially in small scale societies, it was a primary tool for creating an inter-household community structured according to age, gender and status.[49] In addition, hunting was more than just an individual activity. In particular, the hunting of big game required parties of trained young men, cooperating on an inter-household level. Moreover, game was considered a common property resulting in a very strong obligation to share the meat.[50]

Particularly in premodern small-scale societies, hunting deer and wild boar could also form an integral part of larger communal practices. They often pursued a mixed regime of subsistence strategies, including pastoralism and the cultivation of domesticated cereals and legumes on fields cleared from woodland surrounding the settlement. Therefore, wild pig, red deer and roe deer are all potential crop raiders, attracted by the cultivated land during the growing seasons and creating a necessity to protect the crops. In such cases, hunting becomes a cross-household opportunistic matter. Through hunting, the wild flocks of crop raiders in the forests adjacent to settlements and their cultivated fields are reduced to a tolerable ratio.

This model of 'garden hunting' is still little investigated.[51] Nevertheless, it does explain why the ratio of deer bones in the assemblages of the traditional consumptionscape has risen to more than 22 per cent: deer killed and dissected during communal opportunistic hunting were

[47] Halstead 1989, 72-3 and O'Shea 1989.
[48] Hamilakis 2003, 243-244 and Russell 2012, 164-168.
[49] Hamilakis 2003, 241-243 and Russell 2012, 160-162 with further references.
[50] Russell 2012, 365-367 with further references and Hayden 2016, 38.
[51] Linares 1976; Wing 2004, 252; Neusius 2008; LeFebvre and Defrance 2018.

redistributed and consumed during traditional festivities in the area surrounding the Aphrodite Temple. As a result, deer and consumption of venison became a key feature of the intra-regional cult around the Aphrodite Temple that involved the inhabitants of the hamlets and villages of the upper Belice valley.

Deer Cult, Intra-regional Sanctuaries, and Indigeneity

A thrown-off stag antler discovered on top of the circular packed stones in the main room of the protohistoric dwelling,[52] suggests that the deer hunt turned into a cult of its own (Figure 5). This deposit was created around 500 BC, when the dwelling was ritually abandoned for the construction of the LA House. The ceremonial setting of the depositing of the stag's antler is therefore secure. Since this is a thrown off antler of a most likely unknown stag, this ceremonial act could not be intended as a cultic substitution for a particular killed deer and hence also not for a cultic staging of a successful deer hunt.[53] The deposition of this thrown-off antler took place because it was probably a valuable symbol for a cultic veneration of the deer in Monte Iato in general.[54]

Further evidence of its use as a cult device is stag antler V 2616, which has a drilled hole in the branch above the peg (see Fig. 7). Possibly this drill hole was used to attach the antler as a head or clothing ornament or to hang it together with other antler on a string until it was needed again in cult activities.[55] Even in this case, the find context attests a clear link of the use of deer antlers with a termination ritual during which the intra-family cult and festival hut of an Iaitinian household was destroyed.[56]

Such use of antlers as ritual paraphernalia may have served as the focus for a distinct deer cult, designed to consolidate a sense of community along the axes of inter-household groups of age, gender, and status as well as on behalf of opportunistic hunting to protect the crops.[57] The deer cult thus weaves a social fabric between the scattered and relatively autonomous

[52] Isler 2008, 138.

[53] For example, on the role of deer antlers as symbols in the pre-Celtic Europe for the renewal of the vegetation see Briard 1987, 58 and Rask 2014, 299-300; for early Iron Age Etruria see Rask 2014, 296; for early Iron Age Monte Polizzo (Western Sicily) see Mühlenbock 2015, 247.

[54] Concerning the antler display as focus of rituals see Russell 2012, 71, 77, 140.

[55] For archaeological and iconographic evidence of headdresses with deer antlers as shamanic paraphernalia see Brown 2001, 375 and Mykhailova and Garfinkel 2018.

[56] Isler 2007, 115.

[57] This should not, at the same time, exclude selective deer hunting. Evidence of selective deer hunting is given by corresponding finds in the vicinity of the LA House: for example, the left branch of the antlers of a 5-6-year-old stag (V 1802: Isler 2009, 185), which is still attached to the skullcap. Three of its six tips are cut off. In the area of the LA House, further comparable pieces of antlers have been found, but they are much more trimmed (V 1025 and V 1118: Isler 2001, 75). Undoubtedly, these antlers were used as a precious resource to make tools. Such selective hunting on adult male deer in favour of local production of valuable goods fits best into the environment of the LA House as a house of a ruler. Indeed, according to ethnoarchaeological comparisons, the organisation and operation of a targeted prestige goods policy is a characteristic of big men and chiefs.

households in Monte Iato and brings them together as a community. The socio-religious centre of this community forms the immediate surroundings of the Aphrodite temple, as is evident from the over-representation of deer bones in the assemblages excavated there. However, as the high frequency of deer bones and the use of deer antlers as ritual implements in the remains of two abandoned households demonstrates, this deer cult is also present - at least situationally - in the social spaces of extended families in Monte Iato. Interactions and social transactions under the umbrella of the deer cult thus become zoo-archaeologically traceable between the communal cult centre around the Aphrodite Temple and the both Iaitinian households.[58]

It seems likely that the inter-regional sanctuary on the acropolis of Monte Polizzo was home to a deer cult similar to the one in Monte Iato, as it is hard to explain the high percentage of deer remains (75% by NISP; see table III). Of these remains only 4% are bones; 96% are antler fragments![59] The cultic and symbolic dimensions of these rituals causing this very unusual faunal record is thus evident.[60] Obviously, on-site consumption of the meat of the killed deer played a very subordinate role at the acropolis' cult shrine. Instead, at the heart of the cult was the sharing of venison within the community expected/sponsored by the successful hunter groups.[61] The extremely high number of antler remains, coveted as prestigious material, suggests the practice of a kind of 'potlatching', including the regulation or management of interrelationships among households and their representatives.[62] This 'potlatching' was apparently another main feature of the deer cult in Monte Polizzo.

The sharing of game meat as well as the practice of 'potlatching' in connection with dancing, gambling, and socialising point toward a cult as it prevails in hunter-gatherer groups.[63] Of course, the indigenous inhabitants of Monte Polizzo during the Archaic period are no longer hunter-gatherers. They lived in solidly built compounds (like Houses I-IV) and practised agro-pastoralism.[64] However, the beginning of the deer cult in Monte Polizzo may date back to a time when hunting and gathering still dominated the subsistence of the local inhabitants. If this assumption is right, we are dealing with a very traditional kind of deer cult on Monte

[58] For ethnographic and archaeological records for a nexus between communal feasting and deer hunting see Potter 1997, 359-360; Steel 2004, 287; Pluckhahn, Compton, and Bonhage-Freund 2006, 267-272;
[59] Hnatiuk 2003 and Vretemark 2010, 172-174.
[60] Corresponding finds with a higher proportion of deer antlers in ritual contexts were also found in early Iron Age Etruria;see Zuchtriegel 2011, 7 and Rask 2014, 296-300 with further references.
[61] See also Vretemark 2010, 174; in contrast, Ekroth 2014, 340, who assumes the consumption of venison on the Acropolis.
[62] Russell 2012, 382-383 with further references.
[63] Russell 2012, 367-377 with further references.
[64] Mühlenbock 2008.

Polizzo, designed to produce communitarian effects *within* and *through* the assembled community.[65]

Such a traditional deer cult can be observed at a cult site in a rock shelter called Riparo San Tommaso, not far from Enna (Central Sicily), dating back to the Early Bronze Age of the Sicilian interior. There, the faunal record from strata dating from the Early Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age attests a continuous presence of deer remains, displaying a mean frequency of 36 per cent (table III).[66] Therefore, the consumption of venison – and thus the hunting of it – seems to be of particular importance.[67] Furthermore, the ritual deposition of stag antlers at Ripara San Tommaso also resembles the deer cult in Monte Iato. [68]

In Monte Iato, on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, as well as in Riparo di San Tommaso, the cult activities related to deer take place in cult sites that are characterised by a supra-local range. In Monte Iato and Monte Polizzo, the cult of the stag coincides with traditional as well as archaizing tendencies that, in both places, provide this with the aura of pre-Greek ancestry and thus suggest an age-old tradition.[69] This archaism provided authentication of the cult as an ancestral tradition and in Monte Iato this was not only expressed by old and old-fashioned ceramics but also by bones with peculiar blunt cutting marks (see Fig. 8). Tellingly, such distinctive cutting marks were only observed on bones from ceremonial trash around the Aphrodite temple. A series of experimental archaeological tests showed that iron and stone slaughtering tools produces different types of cutting profiles on the bones.[70] These studies suggest that the blunt chopping marks on bones from Monte Iato were most likely caused by the use of stone axes to dismember the sacrificial animals.[71] Such an archai(sti)c butchering technique adds a traditional effect to the bloody event of sacrificial animal slaughter and could explain the strange fact of the five stone axes that were discovered in Iron Age contexts in Monte Iato (Fig. 8).[72] A second astonishing observation regarding the cutting marks reveals how such traditionalism was deliberately used in a specific context: bones from the consumptionscape of modernity around the LA House show sharp cutting marks throughout, which indicate the use of iron slaughter implements (Fig. 9). This fits well to the fact that the frequencies of butchering cutting marks on bone material collected from the LA House and

[65] Russell 2012, 379-380 with further references.
[66] This results from the percentage conversion of the NISP totals of cattle, ovicaprids, pigs and deer, which in Mannino, Pluciennik, and Giannitrapani 2006, 167 Table 1 are distributed over the Stone Age, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.
[67] Mannino, Pluciennik, and Giannitrapani 2006, 167.
[68] Giannitrapani 2014, 100.
[69] Mühlenbock 2015, 247-248.
[70] Mitchell 1995; Greenfield 1999; Greenfield 2008; Chan et al. 2010; Jones 2011.
[71] Stone axes from Iron Age assemblages on Monte Iato are published by Isler 1997, 454 and 2006, 69.
[72] See Isler 1997, 454 and 2006, 69.

his annexe is many times higher than within the faunal assemblages from the area in and around the Aphrodite Temple (table V).

On the whole, the big cult site in late Archaic Monte Iato was a central meeting and communication place for dispersed hamlets and villages in the valley of the upper Belice River. Furthermore, in the course of the 6th and first half of the 5th century BC, this cult site turned into a most crucial arena of indigeneity[73] – probably due to increasing interconnectivity between agro-pastoral locales of the interior and inhabitants of the Greek and Phoenician cities. This interconnectedness caused an ever-growing pressure among the local inhabitants in the upper Belice Valley to (re-)affirm their indigeneity, underlining their autochthonicity among themselves and to others.[74] The cultural setting for this was provided by the traditional consumptionscape: the deer cult was its ideological focus and its physical centre was the cult site surrounding the Aphrodite Temple. However, the hidden aim of the emerging creation of indigeneity was not a kind of cultural defensive struggle. On the contrary: the celebration and constant updating of indigeneity under the traditional umbrella of the deer cult formed a targeted strategy for the foundation of an intra-regional rule. The construction of the LA house around 500 BC was part of this strategy, by providing the stage for a policy of diacritical feasting, based on allowing or not allowing someone to share in the enjoyment of exquisite dishes and culinary delights from the coastal cities of the Greeks and Phoenicians.

Diacritical Delicacies: Seafood, Desserts, and Olives

Sicily is 'famous for its luxurious tables'.[75] Moreover, Sicilian cooking as a lavish form of eating and the gastronomic miracles by Sicilian cooks that appealed to the young became a cliché by the late fifth century BC.[76] Such Sicilian diacritical 'gastro-politics' is undoubtedly reflected in the physical setting and design of the LA House with its prestigious *triclinia* on the upper floor and its extraordinary bio-archaeological finds. The latter, retrieved in the channel sediments of the LA House corridor include in particular eggshells, oyster shells, sea-urchin spines, scales of large marine fish and bones of smaller fish as well as charred grape

[73] Concerning the concept of indigeneity and the ensuing ethnogenesis (or ethnicity) see Hall 1997, Merlan 20009, and Ulf 2009. For the application of the concept of indigeneity to the archaeological research of inland settlements in Archaic Sicily, see Antonaccio 2015, 60-67.

[74] A corresponding concept and model to investigate politics of autochthonicity and 'Perils of Belonging' in the Cameroons and the Netherlands during the 1990s was developed by Peter Geschiere (2009, 1-35); concerning this issue in contemporary Kenya, see Lynch 2011b, 393-95.

[75] Deipnosophistai 12.518c

[76] Aristophanes, Banqueters fr 225 and Cratinus the Younger, Giants fr. 1; see Dalby 1996, 108–129.

seeds and olive stones (Fig. 6: room 1 and table VI).[77] These animal and plant remains bear witness to the preparation of exquisite delicacies. As kitchen waste, they ended up in the sediments of the gully that drained the courtyard and northeast room of the LA House (Fig. 6: room 8 and 9). These two rooms appear to have been used for preparing the culinary delights that were served to banqueters in the upstairs *triclinia*. As the scales in the drain demonstrate, these delicacies included the enjoyment of sea fish. In the western Sicilian interior, the consumption of fish was a rarity.[78] So far, apart from Monte Iato, fish remains have been discovered only in Monte Polizzo[79] and in Archaic-Classical settlement strata near Salemi (located near Monte Polizzo).[80] In regard to the refinements of a 'Sicilian' cuisine, the spines of sea urchins from the drain provide a perfect match as well. [81] In an inland situation like Monte Iato, the enjoyment of sea urchins is quite exceptional. If they were served fresh and unprepared, they could even distinguish the coastal connoisseur from the inland dilettante, since the latter was unfamiliar with this kind of seafood. As is illustrated by the story of the Spartan, who ate the served sea urchin together with its spines without any notice of his fellow diners and cursed it as a 'pestiferous dish'.[82]

Much less tricky to enjoy, but more demanding in preparation than sea urchins are dishes prepared with egg. The eggshells in the drain sediments are most likely the kitchen waste of the use of egg yolk and egg white as ingredients in desserts.[83] A single bone of chicken was preserved in the rubble from the upper floor of the LA House (table VII).[84] Chickens arrived in Sicily from the Levant during the Early Iron Age from where it spread further west through the entire Mediterranean area. However, it remained a rarity until Hellenistic times, as shown by the low frequency of chicken remains at archaeological sites in Europe and the western Mediterranean basin: making up less than 3% of the total faunal data. [85] Chicken was,

[77] The complete archaeobotanical data-samples of the water-sieved assemblages are published in the online publication „Zwischen spätarchaischem Haus und Aphrodite Tempel I-III. Ergebnisse der archäologischen Untersuchung der Universität Innsbruck auf dem Monte Iato (2010-2020). Available at: xxx

[78] Even in classical Athens, seafood was regarded as a delicacy, set in the environment of decadence and tyrants, see Davidson 1997, 3-35.

[79] Mühlenbock 2008, 134 tab. 5.

[80] Kolb et al. 2007, 204 tab. 4.

[81] Dalby 1996, 123.

[82]Demetrius of Scepsis abud Athen. 91c-d; see Dalby 1996, 74-5.

[83] Dalby 1996, 65.

[84] Five bone fragments were identified as safe and eleven other fragments as probable from chicken. For the complete presentation of the zoo-archaeological finding from the debris of the LA House see in the online publication „Zwischen spätarchaischem Haus und Aphrodite Tempel I-III. Ergebnisse der archäologischen Untersuchung der Universität Innsbruck auf dem Monte Iato (2010-2020). Available at: xxx

[85] Derry-Gal et al. 2015, 9849–9850.

therefore, a rather exotic luxury delicacy in Archaic-Classical times.[86] This hint of exoticism was probably the reason why Aristophanes called it 'the Persian bird' in his comedy 'Birds' (485). [87]

The art of seasoning also comes from the Middle East. Enriching food and beverages by adding spices was also known to cooks in the LA House as is indicated by two fragments of a bronze grater[88] that were discovered in the floor of room 9.[89] Furthermore, the twenty-four standard thickened-rim stemmed dishes from the upper floor rubble of the LA House[90] provide more indirect indications of spices used in the dipping sauces for fish, meat and bread.[91] Even in the Greek homeland, stemmed dishes appeared only in late archaic times together with the introduction of an *haute cuisine*.[92] Moreover, four *kakkabe*[93] and one *lopas*[94] that have come to light in the rubble of the LA House are examples of the highly specialised cooking pots. Greek potters developed both types of cooking pots during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC as the demand for new cooking equipment grew to satisfy the desire for a sophisticated cuisine.[95]

As an appetizer, pitted olives were undoubtedly also a form of luxury. They were often served in brine, or chopped and mixed with spices and cheese.[96] Olive stones, unsurprisingly, are rarely or never part of the assemblages that make up the traditional consumptionscape, despite water-sieving (Fig. 9).[97] On the other hand, 119 olive stones were found among the kitchen waste of the drain sediments! Another twenty olive stones came from room H, an annexe of the LA House. This and its ceramic fingerprint makes room H, like the LA House, part of the modern consumptionscape (Fig. 9).[98] This consumptionscape as a culinary setting of

[86] MacKinnon 2014, 225f. with note 64 shows that bones of domestic fowl appear with a certain regularity in the well fillings of the Athenian Agora from Late Archaic times onwards, but that they account for less than 0.5% of total of NISP.
[87] Dalby 1996, 65; see also Miller 1997, 243–258.
[88] Inv B 970 A und B.
[89] Regarding the graters and their connection to elite culinary delights, see Kistler 2009, 745-746; Catti – Swift 2014, 361-363.
[90] K 15206; 15251; 15458; 16696; 16821; 17121; 17198; 17231; !7313; 17342; 17497; 17508; 18818; 18820; 19230; 19326; 20970; 21235; 21291; 22759; 23534; 23993; I-K 1212; I-K 1243.
[91] For instance: *myttotós*, or *saproi garoi*, see Dalby 1996, 75 and 107; Lynch 2011a, 142-43.
[92] Lynch 2011a, 142-143.
[93] Inv.no. K 16733, K 17487, K 22561, K 24471.
[94] Inv.no. I-K 374.
[95] Öhlinger in press.; for a comparable phenomenon in Southern France during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, see Curé 2015.
[96] Dalby 1996, 78.
[97] Regarding the relatively late adoption of olive cultivation in the West Sicilian interior see Morris et al. 2004, p. 242 and Stika et al. 2008, 146.
[98] From the assemblages belonging to the traditional consumptionscape, only four olive stones have been found. Another eleven olive stones were recovered from the occupational layer of the plaza, immediately north of the LA House. Via this plaza, the rooms of the upper floor were accessed directly. Given this spatial and contextual

diacritical feasting probably not only encouraged import of olives but also may have facilitated the local cultivation of (wild) olive orchards. The latter seems to be indicated by at least three charred remnants of olive trees that were found in the occupation layer of Room H.[99] If local cultivation of olive groves can be confirmed in the future, the adoption of an agricultural cultivation technique that requires expert knowledge is part of the modern consumptionscape as well. At the same time, it presupposes that wealthy households invested their surplus in the cultivation of new olive orchards, as substantial yields would only become available during their grandchildren's lifetime.[100]

An amphora-like storage vessel from the debris of the Agora House I attests,[101] that not only the consumption of olives was enjoyed but that olive oil was consumed as well. Organic residue analyses revealed that olive oil had been stored in this peculiar vessel with a spout just above the bottom of the vessel that may indicate that the oil was poured into smaller vessels to be enjoyed as liquid condiment. In Archaic-Classical times, olive oil was not considered a staple food and, even in the Greek motherland, it was valued as a luxury good. As it was complicated and labour-intensive to produce, it was rare and expensive.[102] Consequently, the consumption of olive oil was diacritical - in particular in Monte Iato.

Diacritical drinking: local wine versus imported noble ones

Besides traditional beer consumption,[103] wine drinking in the Late Archaic Monte Iato was by no means a rare occurrence, or at least not in and around the LA House and it is part of its consumptionscape of modernity. So far, fragments of at least 21 Greek transport amphorae have been found there.[104] Organic residue analysis of a North Aegean amphora (I-K 3740) confirmed that it contained wine.[105] The broad spectrum of different types of Greek transport amphorae among the fragments is also remarkable: besides a local and Attic 'à la brosse' type, Western Greek, Corinthian, Eastern as well as Northern Aegean amphora types are represented.[106]

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proximity to the triclinia of the LA house, these eleven olive stones are more likely to be associated with the consumptionscape of modernity, despite their finding in a strip dominated by traditional consumption values.

[99] Analysed and determined by Werner H. Schoch, Laboratory for Quaternary Timber, Zurich.

[100] Foxhall 2007, 76.

[101] K 28044; see Mohr 2012, 117-118.

[102] Foxhall 2007, 87-91.

[103] Kistler-Mohr 2015, 393; Mohr and Notarstefano 2017; regarding traditional beer-drinking at Archaic Morgantina see Buckingham and Antonaccio 2018/2019, 28.

[104] K 24173, K 24344, K 24432, K 24438, K 26157, K 26145, K 24492, K 24686, I-K 1664, I-K 3740, I-K 3936, I-K 4807, I-K 5433, I-K 5442, I-K 5446, I-K 5452, I-K 5457, I-K 5458, I-K 5764, I-K 7625, I-K 7626.

[105] Personal communication F. Notarstefano.

[106] In detail, M. Palaczyk in preparation.

If the provenance of the wine inside the amphorae correlates with the provenance of the amphorae itself, the builder of the LA House took great effort to impress with the broadest possible range of imported wines. These quality wines were a perfect match for the *haut cuisine* described above, which dominated the modern consumptionscape within the LA House. The emphasis was obviously on quality, i.e. special imported rare foods, gourmet recipes and the related specialised cooking equipment. This is the realm of a haut cuisine that signalled discriminating taste and elite status (sensu Goody).[107]

Besides the proxies for diacritical drinking, there is also increasing evidence of local wine production during the first half of the 5th century BC. Most important is the production of a local type of amphora, so far attested by two specimens, which look something like a pastiche of Corinthian, Samian and Etruscan amphora types.[108] Analyses of organic residues revealed that both amphorae contained wine.[109] Without doubt, such a local amphora production indicates that locally cultivated wine was distributed at least regionally.[110] Needless to say, such local wine production required the cultivation of grapes. Unfortunately, we did not find clear evidence of this yet, such as grape seeds crushed by wine presses. However, we were able to retrieve grape seeds - in contrast to olive stones - from assemblages of both the modern and traditional consumptionscape (Fig. 9). From the latter, 60 remnants of grapes were recovered, some of them even from the spoils of traditional festivals that were held before the great monumentalisation and modernisation phase around 500 BC. Further analyses of organic residues suggest that grapes were domesticated and that the production of wine was adopted in Monte Iato during the first half of the 5th century BC. Nicht nu rim spätarchaischen Haus

In particular, our analyses reveal that during this period, wine was either mixed in a matt painted crater of local production[111] or poured in an old-fashioned, carinated cup in the context of the traditional consumptionscape.[112] Given all this evidence, it seems likely that wine was produced locally and that it may have played a role as a reward for meritorious supporters of the LA House as the recipients of this local wine.[113]

[107] Goody 1982; see also Twiss 2012.
[108] Palaczyk in preparation.
[109] Personal communication F. Notarstefano.
[110] For a corresponding early amphora production in the indigenous environment of the early Iron Age S'Urachi on Sardinia see Roppa 2015, 136-140..
[111] K 10789. Personal communication F. Notarstefano.
[112] I-K 4395. Personal communication F. Notarstefano.
[113] For example, postulated by Dietler 1990 for the indigenous interior of the Rhone valley in southern France.

Conclusion: 'Feasting on the Edge' in a Social-anthropological Perspective

A clear picture of Monte Iato around 500 BC emerges when we bring together the results of all our bio-archaeological, ceramic and architectural investigations – in the sense of a close reading:[114] a cultural, social, and political modernisation process that leads to the monumentalisation of the intra-regional sanctuary at the Aphrodite Temple. This process undoubtedly culminated in the construction of the LA House, a residence that made the power of the new rulers of the mountain more than obvious. At the same time, these leaders[115] rulers became the new cult leaders of the intra-regional cult site by appropriating the architectural characteristics of a Greek sanctuary in the form of the triad of temple, altar, and banquet house. These same characteristics are found in the LA House with its *triclinia*, this house provided the built environment of a modern consumptionscape, in which Greek induced achievements, exclusivities, and delicacies played a central role. As a result, the new rulers of Monte Iato demonstratively distinguished themselves from the authority and the world of their ancestors. At the same time, this also produced an enhanced cultural familiarity with their new Greek partners.

The pivotal local reaction to this modern consumptionscape as a manifestation of a new order was the intensification and consolidation of conventional foodstuffs, rites, and cults into a traditional consumptionscape as a locus of indigeneity. This traditional consumptionscape consisted partially of genuinely old parts but was also made to look old deliberately. However, the two consumptionscapes were by no means two worlds apart and were not divided into remote 'traditionals' and cosmopolitan 'modernists'. Both worlds were rather instruments of a local agency aimed at empowerment and authority. Local inhabitants, who were amassing power through the creative appropriation of a modern consumptionscape, at the same time sought legitimation through the production and celebration of an allegedly old or traditional consumptionscape.[116]

Consequently, these two arenas are not monolithic ethnic blocs or isolated physical spaces belonging to different of social groups but rather different cultural strategies. Both share a mutual physical space in the area between the LA House and the Aphrodite Temple. In between, everyday life oscillates within the local households of extended families, expressed by a hybridity that created the social cement between the modern and traditional

[114] See Morgan, Crielaard and Charalambidou in this volume.
[115] Hall, A History of Archiac Greek S. 125
[116] Regarding similar phenomena at Archaic Morgantina see Buckingham and Antonaccio 2018/2019, 22-26.

consumptionscape.[117] The contemporaneous appearance of the at least three diverging consumptionscapes, indicates that the indigenous people and their local agency were no longer uniform but had developed into a multi-layered plurality of different, but interdependent localities and agencies, especially within the social field of feasting.[118]
In our previous publications, we described this interplay as an in-betweeness of coloniality and locality. Our starting point was the assumption that during the Archaic period Monte Iato represented a foreign cultural contact zone dominated by a colonial situation, arising from the arrival of the Phoenicians and Greeks on the coast of western Sicily. Using coloniality as a means of harnessing the colonial situation for local empowerment in the indigenous hinterland, we preferred to re-conceptualise early colonisation,[119] inspired by several researchers.[120] However, one question became increasingly urgent: how colonial is a colonial situation if it is primarily a tool that empowers local aspirant rulers to undermine traditional authorities and structures of order through modernisation?
It is Thucydides, who showed us a first way to answer this question. It is not surprising that he labelled the locals of western Sicily barbarians may not surprise,[121] but, why did he also describe Greek-speaking tribes in the uplands of Greece, such as the Aitolians, as *semi-barbaroi* by implying that they spok a barely understandable language and consumed raw meat?[122] Colonial thinking cannot be the reason. Instead, it is the Atheno-centric, i.e. polis-centric view of Thucydides, which makes him a proponent of the modern city-state-scape as an expression of cultural superiority.[123]

It is this polis-centrism that caused Thucydides and other Greek authors to declassify agro-pastoral uplands on their mental map of the world as a kind of backwoods and (semi)barbaric world beyond the polis – regardless of whether this upland is located in the mountainous central and western part of Greece or the interior of western Sicily.[124] There is no doubt that in Archaic and Classical times, these regions were indeed dominated by an unurbanised way of life, characterised by large families, scattered hamlets, timber, domestic animal husbandry, and the cultivation of cereals and legumes in fields adjacent to the

[117] Kistler and Mohr 2015, 387-388; Kistler and Mohr 2016, 83-87; Kistler et al. in press; concerning mixed-style artifacts and cultural hybridity within the interior of Archaic Western Sicily see also Balco 2018.
[118] See also Buckingham and Antonaccio 2018/2019, 26.
[119] Kistler 2015; Kistler and Mohr 2015; Kistler and Mohr 2016; Kistler et. al 2017; Öhlinger et al. 2019.
[120] Ulf 2020a; van Dommelen 2017; De Angelis 2016b; Antonaccio 2015; Crielaard and Burgers 2011; Dietler 2010; Hodos 2006; Morris 2005; Leighton 2000; Morgan 1999.
[121] Thuk. 6.6.
[122] Thuc. 3.94; see also Euripides Phoen. 38 and Polybios 18.5.8.
[123] Thuc. 1.5.3-1.6.2; Lebow 2001, esp. 555.
[124] Xydopoulos 2007.

households.[125] However~~, behind~~ this reality does not at all reveal an antipode to the urban way of life, as Thucydides and other advocates of a civilising polis-centrism want us to believe. On the contrary, recent research on 'early Greek states beyond the polis'[126] has shown that modern urbanized lowlands and traditional agro-pastoral uplands often form complementary and interdependent social systems. Mountain ranges and their foothills produced geogenous valleys and passes connecting uplands with lowlands, thus forcing and channelling movement and connectivity between them.[127] Central to this are big (cult) sites, through which multiple interactions between urban coastal zones and their rural uplands are initiated and maintained. These become the central cornerstone where the two worlds meet and interact as complementary systems.[128] 'On the edge' becomes the edge between the modern lowland and the traditional upland. This in-betweenness results in the threshold situation that is characteristic for an on-the-edge position, as it is claimed for so-called threshold countries in the context of today's globalisation.

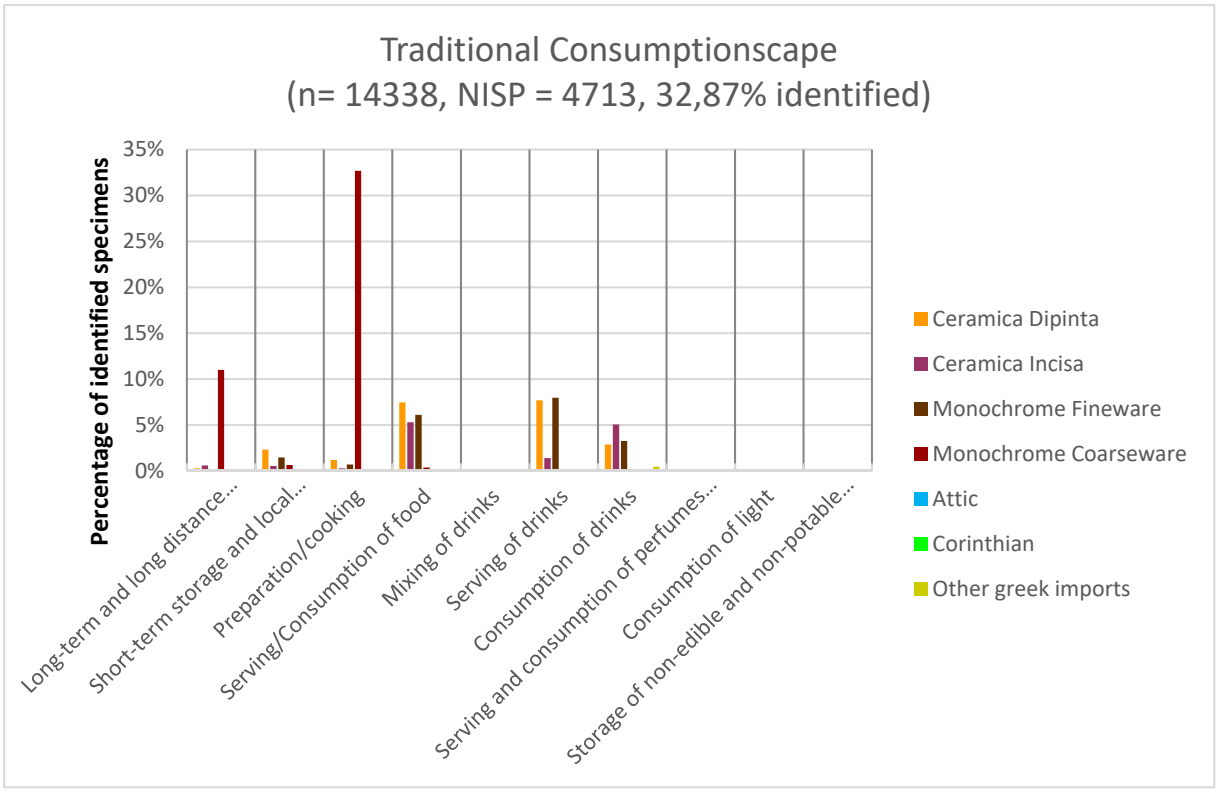
To better describe such threshold situations, Güliz Ger and Russell Belk proposed the concept of consumptionscape. This approach helps research to bring into focus the local shapes and adaptations of a global consumer culture, such as those emanating from the metropolises of the affluent modern world, in regions of the less affluent traditional world. Consequently, the question that should be asked is how "(c)onsumers draw from all available global and local, new and old sources as they use products to position themselves in the local age, gender, social class, religion and ethnic hierarchies".[129]

To this end, we made a distinction between a modern and a traditional consumptionscape. Using this distinction, we hoped to further clarify the interplay between affluent modern lowland and less affluent traditional upland during the Archaic period in Monte Iato. If this interplay is better understood, we will have a better understanding of how such a threshold situation could also arise in the area between LA House and the Aphrodite Temple – a threshold situation that made the local inhabitants continuously oscillate and interact between the traditional and the modern, between (re-)affirming their indigeneity ~~a~~and acculturation, between communal and diacritical feasting, and between old authorities and new ruler(s). Such consumption-oriented issues and approaches, developed as part of globalisation theory and the related concept of consumptionscape,[130] ultimately give Monte Iato a cutting-edge

[125] Morgan 2003, 164-205; Cruz Cardete 2019.
[126] Morgan 2003.
[127] Morgan 2009, 28; Mentjes 2012; Bonnier 2014.
[128] Morgan 2003, 107, 163; McInerney 2013, 190-191; Lang and Sieverling 2017, 416-418; Ulf 2020b.
[129] Ger and Belk 1996, 294.
[130] A brief but concise survey on this subject is provided by Hodos 2017 with further references.

position. With its material records straddling modern achievements and traditionality, Monte Iato encourages comparison with agro-pastoral uplands around the Mediterranean coast. In the same way, it challenges comparison with the less affluent hinterlands of today's globalised world. Monte Iato as a case study finally allows us to conclude that an on-the-edge position characterises many rural regions as situated between modern and traditional regimes of values. Only by comparing different times and cultures will we be able to build up the necessary reference and framework, which will enable us to evaluate whether the threshold situation in the late Archaic Monte Iato was indeed a colonial situation – or not. Investigating on-the-edge configurations on a social-anthropological level, therefore, promises the potential for a cutting-edge approach that fundamentally questions the general assumption of a colonial situation in non-Greek-speaking, agro-pastoral uplands and thus finally decouples their exploration from the (post-)colonialism debate.

Table I: Traditional and modern type of ceramic fingerprints at Archaic Monte Iato



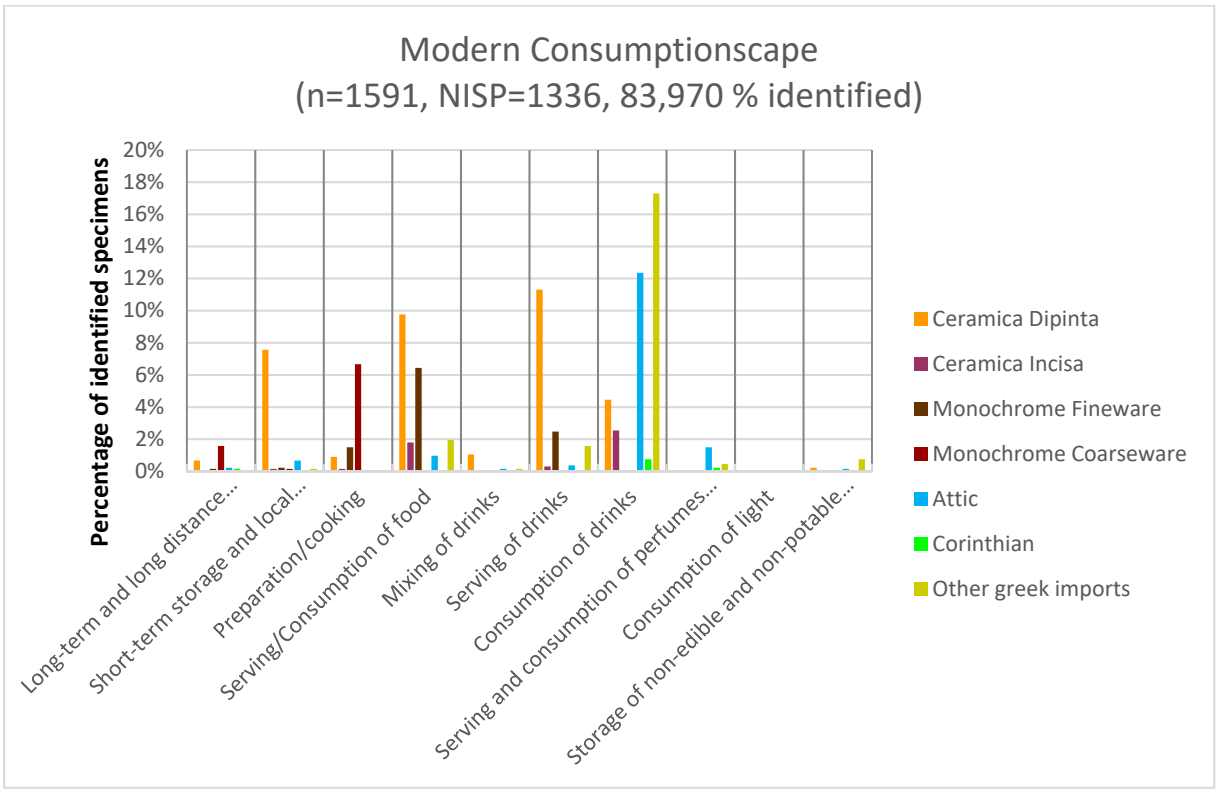


Table II: The analysed faunal assemblages from Archaic Monte Iato

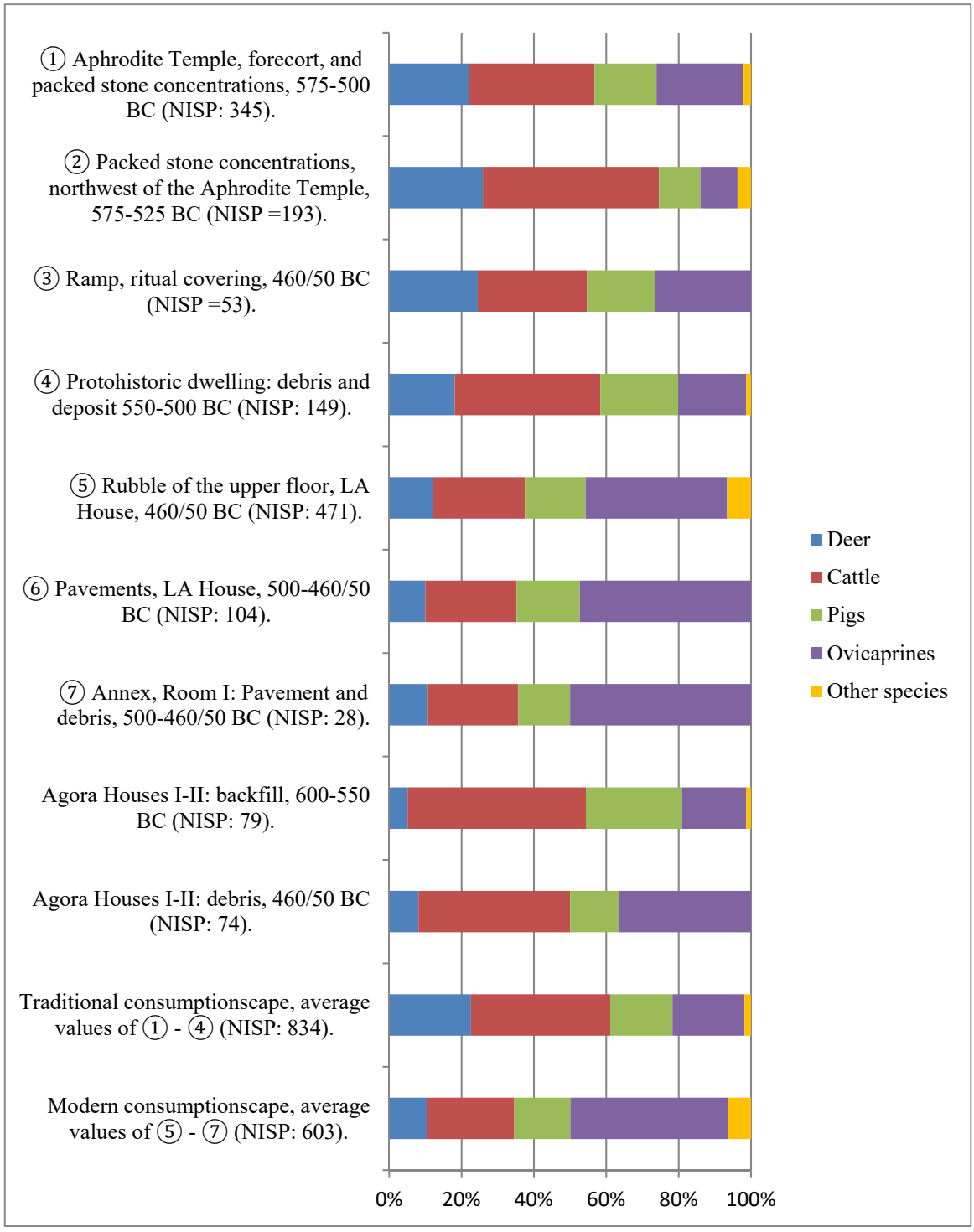


Table III: Faunal assemblages from other settlement and cult sites of archaic Sicily

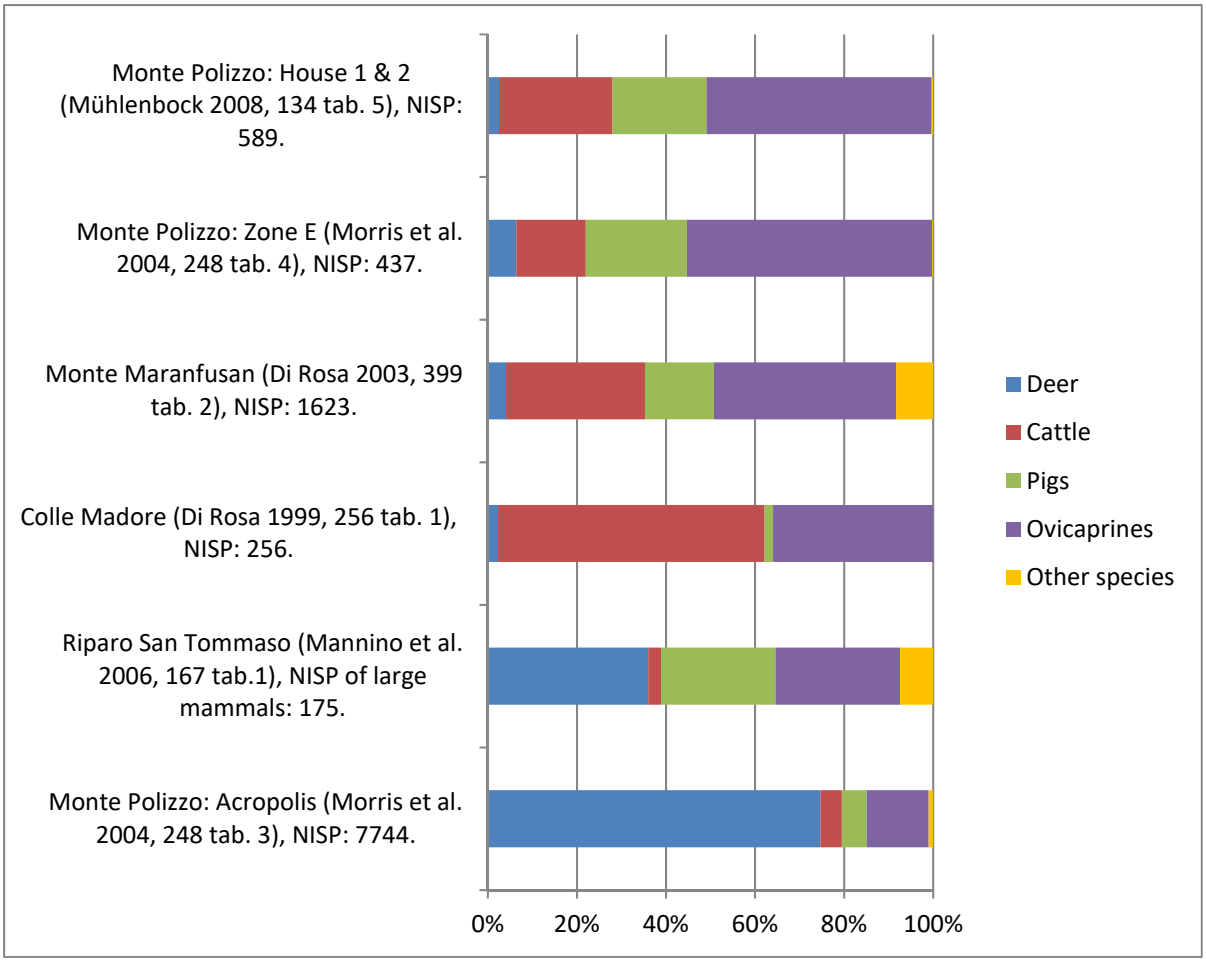


Table IV: Ratios of deer bones compared between Neolithic and Imperial sites of Southern Balkan peninsula, Aegean region, Certe, Sardinia, Sicily, and Central Balkan.

Deer ratio by NISP	1-5%	6-10%	11-15%	15-20%	20-30%	Over 30%	Sites in total
Southern Balkan peninsula and Aegean region (Trantalidou – Masseti 2014, 62-65 tab. 6.1)	30	7	4	---	2	---	43
Crete (Harris 2014, 50 tab. 5.1)	12	1	---	---	---	---	13
Sardinia (Carenti et al. 2014, 27-28 tab. 3.1)	10	9	1	1	3	4	28
Sicily (Kolb 2007, 204 tab. 4; Morris et al. 2004, 248 tab. 4; Mannino et al. 2006, 167 tab. 1; Giannitrapani et al. 2014, 201 tab. 3; Di Rosa 2003, 398-399 tab. 1 and 2; Di Rosa 1999, 255-266; Johnstone 1998)	2	2	3	1	1	1	10
Central Balkan (Orton 2012, 10-13 tab. 1)	14	9	5	2	12	15	57
	68	**28**	**13**	**4**	**16**	**15**	**151**

For comparison, a selection was made in the spectrum of animal species for cattle, pigs, ovicaprids and deer. The NISP of animal species per site results in the 100% mark, from which the ratios of deer bones were calculated.

Table V: Frequencies of butchering

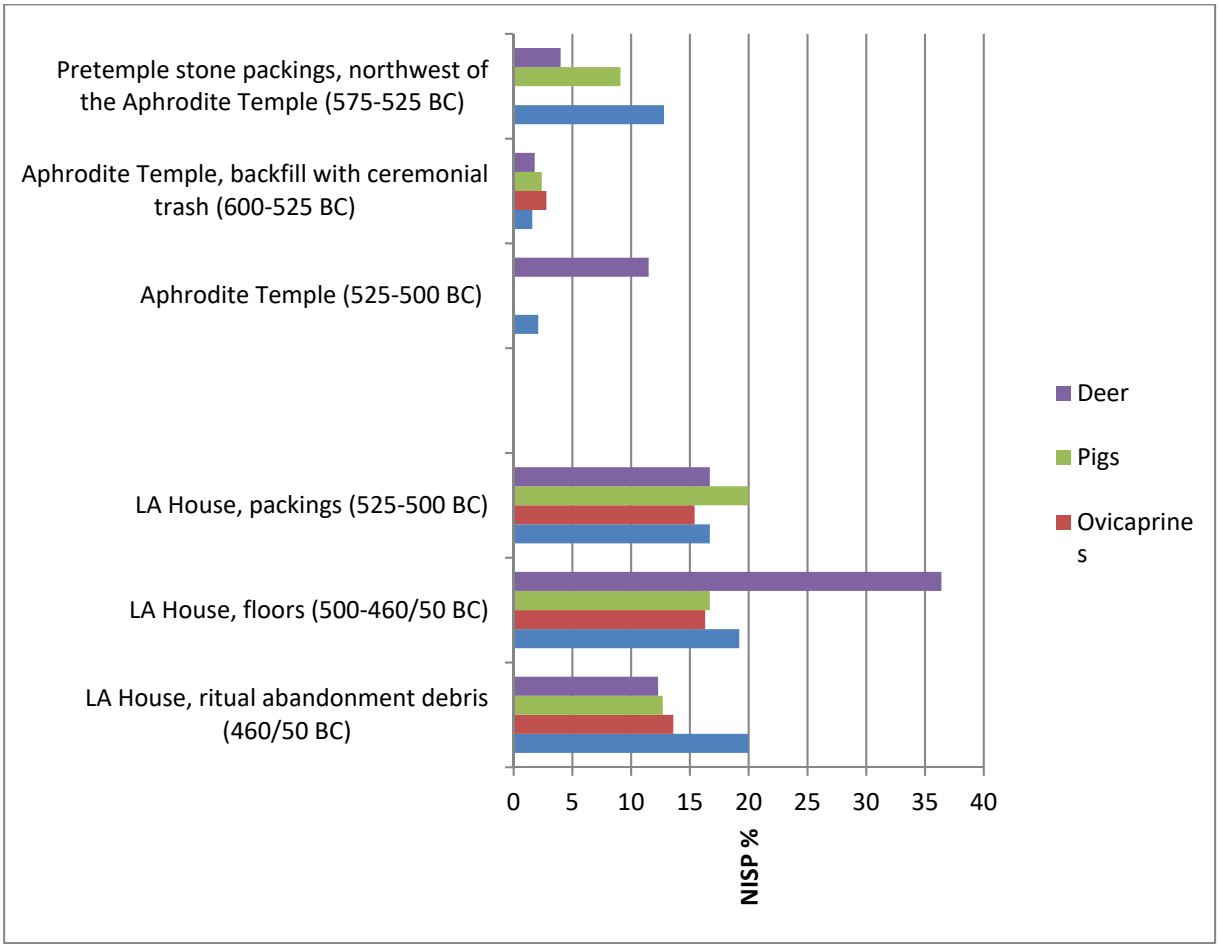


Table VI: Archaeofaunal assemblage from the channel sediments in the corridor of the LA House (500-460/50 BC)

Species		
	NISP	Weight (g)
Bos	2	6,3
Ovis/Capra	33	35,1
Sus	21	19,2
Cervus		
Vulpes	1	0,1
Mamm. large	20	24,5
Mamm. medium	23	10,2
Mamm. indet.	1002	67,0
Micromamm.	32	0,5
Aves/Eggshells	24	0,3
Avis small	2	0,1
Amphibia	3	0,1
Pisces/bones	26	0,3
Pisces/scales	165	0,2
Gastrop. det.	7	3,1
Gastrop. indet.	148	0,5
Ostrea	17	0,8
Paracentrotus/pins	9	0,1
fossil finds		
Echinoidea/pins	247	3,1
Chondrichthyes/teeth	6	0,3
Crustacea/claw	1	0,2

Micromammals: mainly Rodentia and Insectivora.
Eggshells: apparently Gallus domesticus.
Fish bones: very small individuals.
Fish scales: almost exclusively ctenoid scales that are found in perch-like marine taxa, larger individuals.
Gastropoda: exclusively terrestrial, mainly Helicoidea.
Ostrea: marginal splinters, occurring when the shell is opened.
Chondrichthyes: small squalid species (sharks).

Table VII: Non-mammals from the debris of the upper floor of the LA House

	Domestic fowls	Indeterminable birds	Tortoises	Fishes	Molluscs
Sternum	1				
Coxa	1				
Scapula		1			
Coracoid		1			
Humerus	1	1			

Radius		1			
Ulna		1			
Femur	1	2			
Tibiotarsus	1	4			
Carapax			7		
Fin ray				3	
Shell					2
Total	5	11	7	3	2

Fig. 14.1. Map of Sicily with places mentioned in the text.

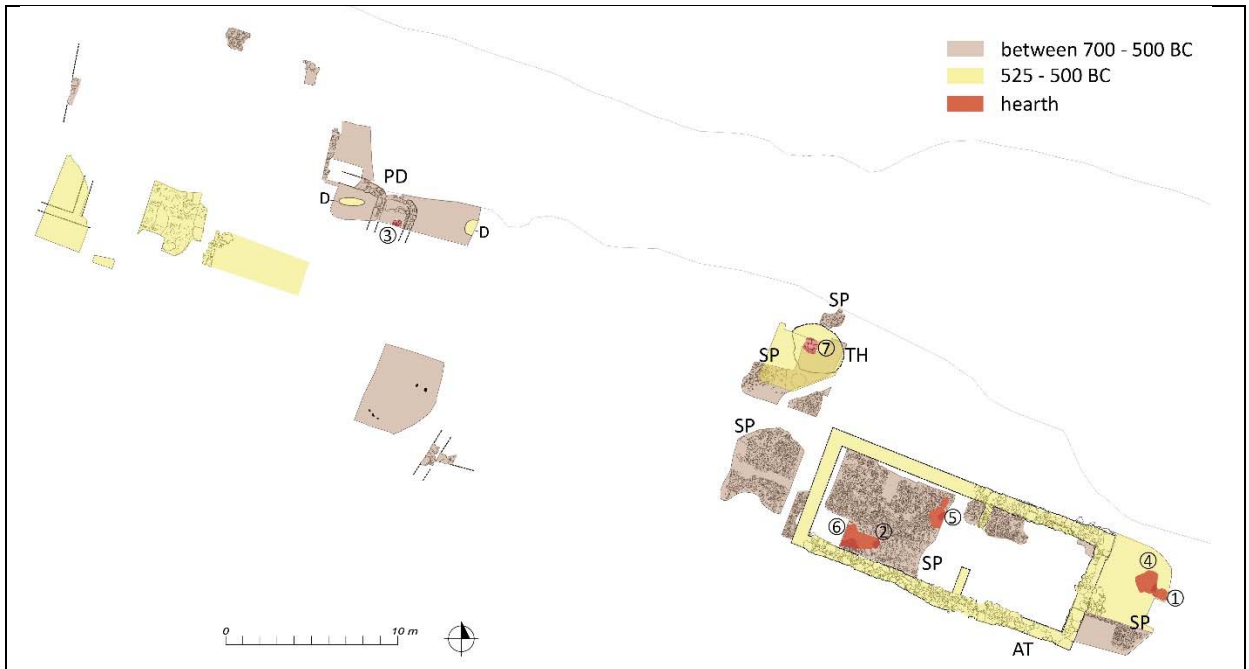


Fig. 14.2. Monte Iato, area between the Aphrodite Temple and the LA House: plan of buildings before 500 BC.

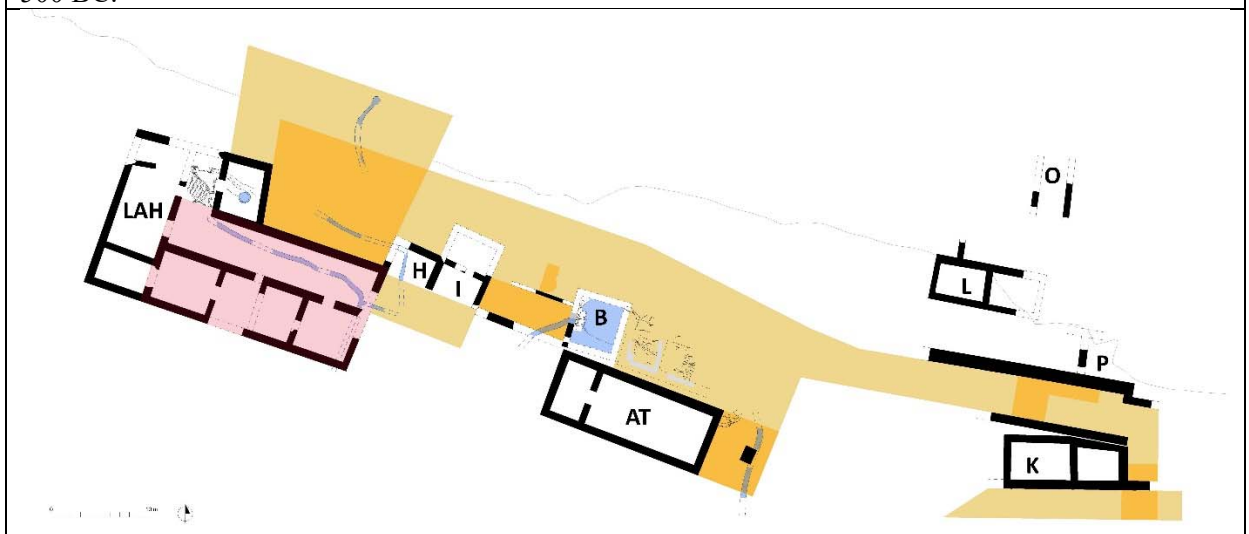


Fig. 14.3. Monte Iato, area surrounding the Aphrodite Temple: plan of buildings, 500-460/50 BC.

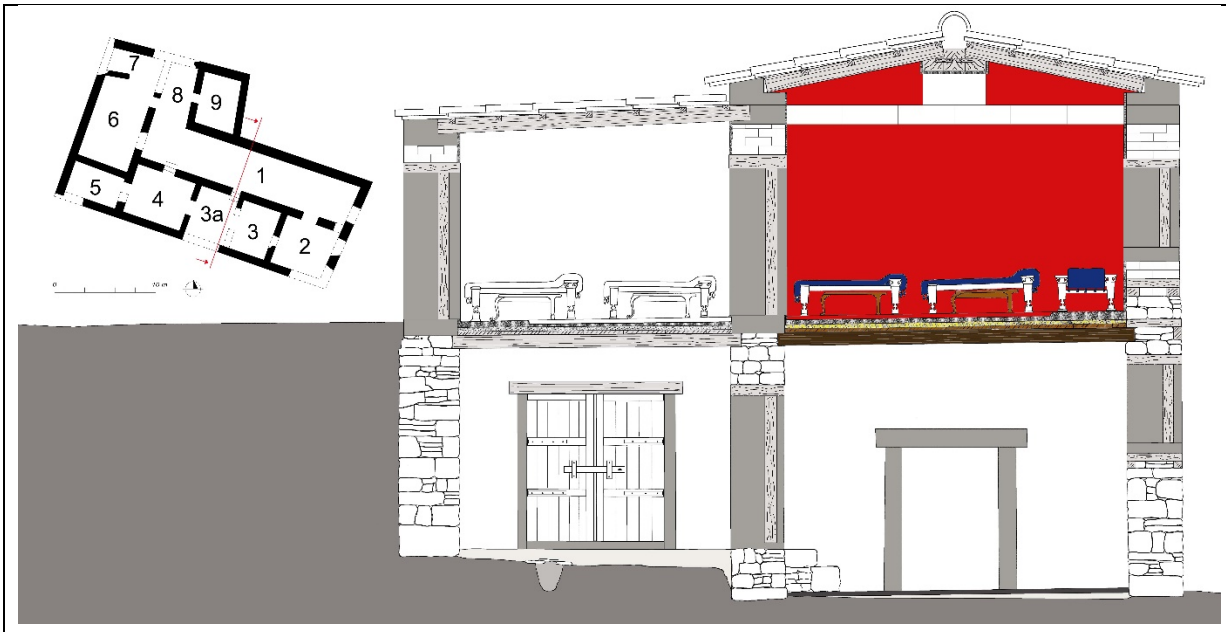


Fig. 14.4. Reconstruction of the interior of the LA House, 500-460/50 BC.

Fig. 14.5. Deposit in the main room of the proto-historical dwelling for the planning and construction of the banqueting wing of the LA House, 500 BC.

Fig. 14.6. Assemblages of the cosmopolitan and traditional consumptionscape in the area between the Aphrodite Temple and LA House, 575-460/50 BC.

Fig. 14.7. Stag antler V 2616 (Zürcher Ietas Grabung).

Fig. 14.8. Left: blunt chopping mark on a cattle vertebra from a pre-Temple-era packed stone concentration; right: stone axe V2440 (length: 11,3cm) from room 6 of the LA House

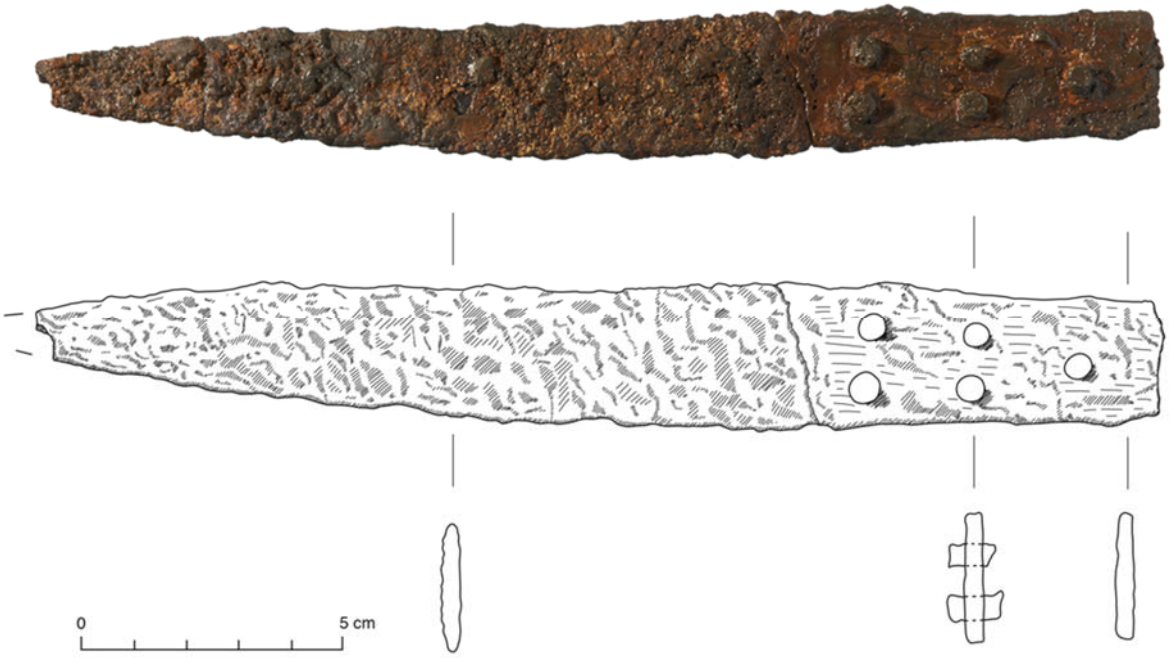


Fig. 14.9. Iron knife (V 2438) with a straight back and rectangular hilt, found on an earlier occupation layer (525-500/480 B.C.) beneath the floor of the Late Archaic house, room 6.

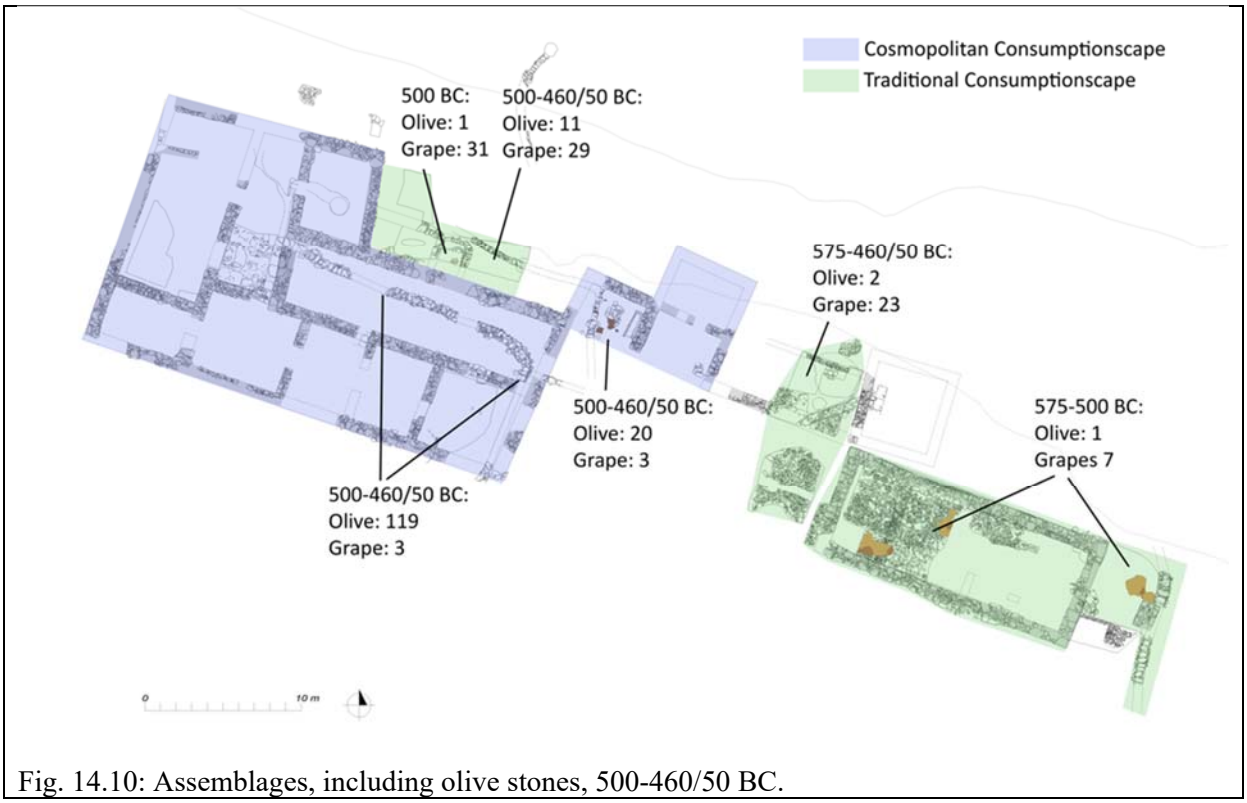


Fig. 14.10: Assemblages, including olive stones, 500-460/50 BC.

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Captions:

Fig. 1: Map of Sicily with places mentioned in the text.

Fig. 2: Monte Iato, area between the Aphrodite Temple and the LA House: plan of buildings before 500 BC.

Fig. 3: Monte Iato, area surrounding the Aphrodite Temple: plan of buildings, 500-460/50 BC.

Fig. 4: Reconstruction of the interior of the LA House (500-460/50 BC).

Fig. 5: Deposit in the main room of the proto-historical dwelling for the planning and construction of the banqueting wing of the LA House (500 BC).

Fig. 6: Assemblages of the modern and traditional consumptionscape in the area between Aphrodite Temple and LA House (575-460/50 BC).

Fig. 7: Stag antler V 2616 (Zürcher Ietas Grabung).

Fig. 8: Left: blunt chopping mark on a cattle vertebra from a pre-Temple-era packed stone concentration; right: sharp cuts on a xxx from room I, annexe of the LA House.

Fig. 9: Stone axes from Iron Age layers in Monte Iato (Zürcher Ietas Grabung).

Fig. 10: Assemblages, including olive stones (500-460/50 BC).