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DESIGNATING SACRIFICIAL ANIMALS IN GREEK RITUAL NORMS

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For the ancient Greeks, sacrifice was the primary mode of communication with gods and heroes. Indeed, apart from nourishment, it is in terms of homage and communication that one can understand the sacrificial acts performed by the worshippers.² Among the different types of offerings selected for this purpose, domestic animals are the most common in the preserved documentation. While a private individual could choose from a wider variety of animals according to their own means, the selection of the animal is more strictly regulated in the framework of an official and public sacrifice. In inscriptions called “Greek ritual norms”, which are primarily official documents regulating public rituals performed in cities or demes, one regularly finds details regarding the species, gender, age and colour of the animal to be sacrificed.³ Since the sacrificial possibilities are numerous, the vocabulary related to animals is rich and may lead to confusion for the modern scholar.

The main goal of this paper is to analyse the terms referring to sacrificial animals in Greek ritual norms in order to clarify their meaning and arrive at a better definition. Secondly, since these terms have often been translated in an approximate way in previous research, I seek to offer the most appropriate translations in English. The objective is therefore to achieve a consistent use of the terms by scholars, reflecting as much as possible the Greek usage. A precise philological understanding of the Greek terms related to animals should provide a solid foundation for various studies, in particular for the investigation of which sorts of animals were sacrificed and to which deities and heroes they were offered.

Although many studies on Greek animal sacrifice have been carried out in the last decades, the question of correlations between sacrificial animals and divine recipients has been relatively neglected. Since Stengel’s book, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, a few scholars have addressed the issue, but their work was either methodologically problematic – mixing Greek and Roman sources, treating inscriptions and texts indifferently⁴ – or clearly insufficient to understand the mechanisms of the association between sacrificial animals and gods – not taking enough material into consideration, focusing on only one characteristic of animals, etc.⁵ I undertook a systematic analysis of this problem, based on all the relevant data available in Greek ritual norms.⁶ I collected approximately 1100 occurrences of sacrificial animals, attested in more than 200 inscriptions from the whole Greek world,⁷ dated between the end of the sixth century BC and the end of the second century AD. The following discussion is based on all relevant inscriptions analysed there. The specific texts quoted in this paper are therefore only examples to illustrate wider trends in the material.

First, I will discuss the vocabulary related to the four most common species in Greek ritual norms, i.e. cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. Then, I will focus on terms denominating sacrificial animals without giving

¹ This paper, written mostly during my postdoctoral research in Paris (Collège de France, Anna Caroppo fund), is adapted from a section of my doctoral dissertation, which focuses on associations between sacrificial animals and divine recipients in ancient Greece. The reflection on animal names conducted in the framework of this research is the result of a close collaboration with the *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* project. Abbreviations for epigraphical publications normally derive from the list <https://aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html>. An exception here is the abbreviation *CGRN*, which corresponds to *Greek Ritual Norms* in the aforementioned list. Unless otherwise specified, when an inscription cited in this paper is integrated in the *CGRN*, its translation is taken from the website. When an inscription is not included in the *CGRN*, the translation is mine. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Jan-Mathieu Carbon, Gunnel Ekroth, Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Hamid Moein and Scott Scullion for carefully proofreading this paper and for their valuable advice.

² See Pirenne-Delforge–Prescendi (2011).

³ On Greek ritual norms, see Carbon–Pirenne-Delforge (2012).

⁴ Kadletz (1976).

⁵ See e.g. Brulé (2007), 255–281: goats; Bremmer (2005), Georgoudi (2016): pregnant animals; Ekroth (2014): castrated males; Georgoudi (1988): young animals.

⁶ Pitz (forthcoming).

⁷ By “Greek world”, I mean mainland Greece, Aegean Islands, Asia Minor, Black Sea, Cyrene, Crete and Sicily.

information about their species, i.e. what we may call the category of “generic animals”.⁸ Following this analysis, a series of tables are provided, organised by species and summarizing the Greek terms and their English translation. Besides the English translation, a French translation is also given for information.

Before discussing the terms related to animals in Greek rituals norms, it is essential to address the methodology adopted for their English translation. Sometimes – and these are the most straightforward cases – a Greek word designating a particular animal is properly reflected by only one word or expression. The terms designating young animals are a good example: in English, the young animals from the bovine, ovine, caprine and porcine species are respectively labelled as “calf”, “lamb”, “kid” and “piglet”. The same applies to most of the female adult animals: the female bovine is always called “cow”, the female sheep “ewe” and the female pig “sow”. Similarly, “heifer” designates a young cow that has not yet given birth, and the uncastrated male bovine, ovine and porcine are respectively labelled as “bull”, “ram” and “boar”. Finally, the noun “wether” designates a castrated ram, while the expression “wether goat” labels a castrated he-goat. In many other instances, more than one English term could translate a Greek concept and a choice has been made among the English lexicon according to various criteria. As a first example, the word “cattle” is usually employed to refer to several individuals from the bovine species (*Bos taurus*).⁹ To mention only one animal from that species, the English lexicon has the very precise term “bovine”¹⁰ or the more common word “ox”. Though the term “bovine” is uncommon as a noun outside of the scientific sphere, it has been preferred here because it is unambiguous, which is not the case of “ox” – the latter term is frequently employed to designate more specifically a castrated adult male.¹¹ In such a case, there is no completely satisfactory solution and the criterion retained to select the suitable English translation is the gender-neutrality of the noun “bovine”. For the three other species analysed in this paper, the configuration is less complicated: it is not necessary to use the uncommon nouns “ovine”, “caprine” and “porcine” – all elliptical adjectives – because the words “sheep”, “goat” and “pig” are sufficiently gender-neutral and unambiguous.¹² As it has just been mentioned, the noun “ox” usually labels a castrated adult male bovine. To designate such an animal, this word has been preferred to the term “steer” because, in British English, the latter refers specifically to a young ox.¹³ Such a choice between two or more English translations also occurs for the adult female goat, which can be called “she-goat”, but also “doe” or “nanny-goat”. “She-goat” is adopted because it is common and unambiguous. The same uncertainty attaches to the uncastrated male goat, which can be called “he-goat”, “billy goat” or “buck”. Here, the first term is adopted. To conclude this methodological note, I would like to point out that translations of animal names adopted in this paper are neither the only ones possible nor the best *per se*. The different translations have been carefully selected according to various criteria, such as unambiguity, frequency of usage and coherence with the other concepts translated.

1. Cattle, sheep, goats and pigs

1.1. Adult animals

1.1.1. Βοῦς, οἶς, αἴξ and ὄς

Some terms labelling adult oxen, sheep, goats and pigs are epicene, that is both masculine and feminine. This is the case for βoύς, οἶς, αἴξ and ὄς, which may describe castrated males or females. Identifying the gender of the animals designated by such epicene nouns therefore depends on other elements present in the sentence in which they are mentioned. The first way of knowing the gender of an animal designated by

⁸ In this category, only the terminology exclusively specific to animals will be considered. Adjectives such as ἄρσεν (male), θήλεια (female), τέλειος (adult) or γαλαθηνός (suckling) – also used in other contexts – will not be taken into account.

⁹ See *OED*, s.v. “cattle”.

¹⁰ Elliptical for “bovine animal”. See *OED*, s.v. “bovine”.

¹¹ See *OED*, s.v. “ox”.

¹² Instead of “pig”, the term “swine” could have been chosen too. I am aware that, in such a case, the choice of one given translation over another is rather arbitrary.

¹³ See *OED*, s.v. “steer”.

an epicene noun is if the adjective ἄρσῆν (male) or θήλεια (female) determines that noun. For example, in an inscription from Epidaurus (end of the 5th cent. BC) regulating the cult of Asclepius, the following prescription is found: τῶι Ἀσσκλαπιῶι θύεν βῶν ἔρσῆνα καὶ ἁομονάοις | βῶν ἔρσῆνα καὶ ἁομονάαις βῶν θέλειαν.¹⁴ Here, in the first two cases, the βῶν is male, but the third one is female. Since there are specific words in English to designate the castrated male and the female of the bovine species – “ox” and “cow” –, these terms are adopted to translate βῶν in the masculine and the feminine form respectively.

It is also possible to identify the sex of the animal if an adjective, a participle or a noun semantically linked to the male or female gender qualifies or is apposed to the epicene noun.¹⁵ For example, in the sacrificial calendar of the city of Kos (ca. 350 BC), an οἷς κύουσα is sacrificed to Athena Polias on the 20th of Batromios: τῶι αὐτῶι ἀμέραι Ἀθαναίαι Πολιῶδι οἷς κύουσα.¹⁶ Since the participle of κύω means “pregnant”, the οἷς prescribed here is of course a female, and is called “ewe” in English.

Such cases – where an epicene noun referring to a sacrificial animal is qualified by the adjective ἄρσῆν or θήλεια or by another term semantically linked to the male or female gender – are far from being the most common in Greek ritual norms. Most of the time, the sex of an animal designated by an epicene noun is exclusively known thanks to the gender of an article, a pronoun, an adjective and/or a participle without any link with the male or female gender. For example, in the sacrificial calendar of Halasarna on Kos (ca. 225–200 BC) one finds: ἐκκαιδεικάται, Διὶ Πολιῶι ἐν Ἀγροπόλι οἷν | τέλειων Ἀθάναι Πολιῶδι οἷν | τελείαν.¹⁷ In this case, the first οἷς is male, but the second one is female, as the respective endings of the adjective τέλειος, “adult”,¹⁸ make clear. There is in English a term referring to the castrated ram, “wether”, and a noun to label the female sheep, “ewe”. For that reason, we translate οἷς as “wether” when the word refers to a male individual and as “ewe” when it designates a female.

As in the calendar of Halasarna, in inscriptions from the city of Kos, it is the gender of an adjective that allows us to identify the sex of the animals designated as ὄς. For example, whilst the animal prescribed to Hermes Enagonios is a male – ὄν μὴ ἐλάσσωνος ἄξιον | δραχμῶν 100,¹⁹ those offered at the Alseia are females – τῶν | λαμπαδάρχων ἕκαστος ὄν μὴ ἐλάσσωνος ἄξιαν δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, καὶ ὁ ἀγωνοθέτας ὄν μὴ ἐλάσσωνος ἄξιαν δραχμῶν ἑκατόν.²⁰ Since there is a specific English word to refer to the female pig, “sow”, this translation is adopted when ὄς is feminine. However, since no specific word is used in English to name the castrated male pig,²¹ the expression “male pig” is employed when ὄς is masculine.

The gender of an animal referred to by an epicene noun may also be identified thanks to its price. This is only possible when a clear bipartition among animals of the same species, designated by the same Greek word, can be established in a given location.²² Such a distinction between male and female animals is attested for οἷς and αἶξ in some sacrificial calendars from Attica²³ – without further details, the cheapest animal is always the female. For example, in the sacrificial calendar of Erchia (ca. 375–350 BC), the αἶξ costing 12 dr. offered to Apollo Nymphagetes on the 8th of Gamelion is male, but the one costing 10 dr. sac-

¹⁴ CGRN 34, lines 19–22: “Sacrifice an ox to Asclepius, and to the male gods of the same temple, an ox, and to the female gods of the same temple, a cow” (transl. CGRN, slightly modified).

¹⁵ Adjectives: ἐνόρχης (uncastrated, literally “having testicles”), ἐγκύμων (pregnant, literally “impregnated”), ἐπίτεξ and ἐπίτοκος (about to give birth), πρωτότοκος (pregnant for the first time); noun: ἔγκυσα (pregnant); participle: κύουσα (pregnant).

¹⁶ CGRN 86, A, lines 56–57: “On the same day: to Athena Polias, a pregnant ewe.”

¹⁷ CGRN 151, lines 20–23: “On the 16th: to Zeus Polieus on the acropolis an adult wether, to Athena Polias an adult ewe” (transl. CGRN, slightly modified).

¹⁸ On the meaning of the adjective τέλειος, see Brulé–Touzé (2008), 116–120; Pitz (forthcoming).

¹⁹ CGRN 147, B, lines 105–106 (ca. 250–200 BC): “a male pig worth no less than 50 dr.”

²⁰ CGRN 167, A, lines 28–31 (1st cent. BC): “Each of the *lampadarchoi* [should sacrifice] a sow worth not less than 100 dr. and the *agonothetes* [should sacrifice] a sow worth not less than 100 dr.”

²¹ The term “barrow” also exists, but it is obsolete except in certain dialects. Cf. *OED*, s.v.

²² Van Straten (1995), 181–186.

²³ CGRN 52 (Erchia, ca. 375–350 BC); CGRN 56 (Marathonian Tetrapolis, ca. 375–350 BC); CGRN 84 (γένος of the Salaminiotai, 363/2 BC).

rificed to the Nymphs on the same occasion and the same altar is female: ὀγδόη(τι) ἱσταμένο, Απόλλωνι Νυμφη[γ]λέτει, Ἐρχιάσιν, αἶξ, ΔΗ. | Νύμφαις, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ βλωμοῦ, αἶξ Δ.²⁴ In English, the castrated male goat can be designated as “wether goat” and the female goat as “she-goat”.

To sum up, βούς, οἶς, αἶξ and ὄς should respectively be translated as “ox”, “wether”, “wether goat” and “male pig” when they refer to male animals, and as “cow”, “ewe”, “she-goat” and “sow” when they designate female animals. As mentioned above, the animals designated by the expressions “wether”, “wether goat” and “male pig” are castrated rams, he-goats and boars.²⁵

Sometimes nothing in the text allows us to identify the gender of the animals designated by βούς, οἶς, αἶξ and ὄς. For example, in the sacrificial calendar of Miletupolis (ca. 350–250 BC), it is stated: [Σ]κιροφοριῶνος νομηναίαι Ἰλιθυαίαι οἶς, | ἐνάτη Ἀφροδίτη αἶξ, | τετρακαίδεκάτη Διὶ Πολιεῖ βούς.²⁶ Likewise, in the dossier of the regulations of the γένος of the Salaminioi in Attica (363/2 BC), a ὄς is prescribed to several deities, including the hero Eurysakes: ὀγδοεὶ ἐπὶ δέκα Εὐρυσάκει ὄν ΔΔΔ.²⁷ In such cases, where the gender cannot be identified, βούς should be translated as “bovine”, οἶς as “sheep”, αἶξ as “goat” and ὄς as “pig”. Indeed, these English terms are relatively gender-neutral and they properly reflect the fact that, in Greek, the sex of the animals is not identifiable.²⁸

The reasons why the gender of an animal denominated by an epicene noun cannot be identified are diverse, but the two following configurations are particularly frequent: 1) the epicene noun is not qualified by any article, pronoun, adjective and/or participle;²⁹ 2) the epicene noun is exclusively qualified by a two-ending adjective.³⁰ Moreover, when an epicene noun is qualified by an article, a pronoun, an adjective and/or a participle without any link with the male or female gender and this noun is declined in the masculine plural, it is impossible to know whether all the animals are males or if animals of both sexes are designated by a “generic masculine”.³¹ In such a case, the gender of the animals should also be regarded as undetermined.

²⁴ *CGRN* 52, E, lines 39–46: “On the 8th: to Apollo Nymphagetes, at Erchia, a wether goat, 12 dr.; to the Nymphs, at the same altar, a she-goat, 10 dr.” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

²⁵ On terms labelling uncastrated males, see below, p. 56–57.

²⁶ *CGRN* 83, lines 5–7: “In Skirophorion: on the 1st, to Ilithyia, a sheep. On the 9th, to Aphrodite, a goat. On the 14th, to Zeus Polieus, a bovine” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

²⁷ *CGRN* 84, line 88: “On the 18th for Eurysakes a pig, 40 dr.”

²⁸ As mentioned above, in Greek ritual norms, βούς, οἶς, αἶξ and ὄς usually seem to refer to adult animals, as opposed to other terms exclusively employed to designate younger animals (on the latter, see below). In some instances, however, they likely designate any individual of the bovine, ovine, caprine and porcine species, regardless of their age. See e.g. *CGRN* 17 (Thasos, ca. 475–450): Νύμφησιβιν κάπόλλωνι Νυμφηγέτη θῆλυ καὶ ἄρσεν ἅμ βόληι προσέρδεν· οἶν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖρον, “To the Nymphs and Apollo Nymphagetes bring to sacrifice a female and a male animal, whichever one wishes. A sheep or pig (literally: a piglet) are not religiously permitted” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

²⁹ See the two examples mentioned in n. 26 and 27.

³⁰ See e.g. *IG* XII 4, 68, lines 23–25 (Kos, 278 BC): θύσαι τῷ Απόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ βούν χρυσόκερω ὑπὲρ | τὰς τῶν Ἑλλάνων σωτηρίας, “Sacrifice to Apollo Pythios a bovine with gilded horns for the salvation of the Greeks.”

³¹ See e.g. *CGRN* 204, lines 5–6 (Delphi, 160/159 BC): θυόντω δ[ὲ] οἶ| ἐπιμεληταὶ βούς τρεῖς τελείους τῷ Απόλλωνι καὶ | τῷ Λατοῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀρτέμιτι, “The *epimeletai* should sacrifice three adult bovines to Apollo and Leto and Artemis” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified). In ancient Greek, the “generic masculine” seems to be a linguistic norm. See Luschnig (2007²), 51: “In the plural the masculine is used for common gender (...). This is called the generic masculine. In tragedy, even a woman speaking of herself in the plural will use the masculine.” Cf. also Ar. *Nub.* 658–667. In this passage, the joke seems to be that, according to Socrates, a feminine form should be created for all animals whilst in Greek they are generic masculine forms. It should also be noted that, in literary texts, the feminine is often used to designate some animals when they are mentioned in the plural, particularly when the reference is to herds. This can probably be explained by the fact that herds still consist mostly of females – only a few males are needed for breeding. Cf. Georgoudi (1990), 233–234; Franco (2014), 241, n. 94. However, since herds are not mentioned in Greek ritual norms as sacrificial animals, it can be assumed that the epicene nouns declined in the feminine plural exclusively refer to females, whereas those declined in the masculine plural could include both males and females.

1.1.2. Πρόβατον

Regarding the ovine species, in addition to οἶς, the noun πρόβατον is also attested in Greek ritual norms. This word is found, for example, in the Eleusinian accounts of the year 329/8 BC: ἱεροποιοῖς ἐγ βουλῆς ὅσον ὁ δῆμος ἔταξεν τοῦ προβάτου καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς ἐκάστου ΔΔΔ | ἱερείων τετταράκοντα τριῶν, κεφάλαιον ΧΗΗ^ΡΔΔΔΔ.³² Here, and this is almost always the case, πρόβατον seems to be a synonym of οἶς.³³ Since there is no further detail about the gender of the animal in this inscription, πρόβατον should be translated as “sheep”. However, in a decree from Ilion (2nd cent. BC), the πρόβατον offered to Zeus Polieus is explicitly qualified as ἄρσην (male): [πομπ]εῦσαι βοῖ θηλείαι καὶ προβάτωι ἄρρενι, “Conduct a procession with a cow and a wether.”³⁴

Although πρόβατον usually seems to be a synonym of οἶς, in some instances, it likely refers to an animal belonging to the category of small livestock, that is to say either a sheep or a goat.³⁵ This appears to be the case in two διαγραφαί from the second century BC, both from Asia Minor. In the dossier of regulations concerning the cult of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon (probably after 133 BC), the sum given by the ἱερονόμοι to the νεωκόρος is different depending on whether the sacrificial animal is a pig or a πρόβατον: δεδόχθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοὺς κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τασισομένους ἱερον[ό]μους παραλαμβάνοντας τὰ τιθέμενα δέρι[μ]ατα ὑπὸ τῶν θυόντων καὶ πωλοῦντας διδόναι νεωκόρωι [ύ]ὸς μὲν =, προβάτου δὲ ἡμιωβέλιον.³⁶ Likewise, the amount of money given to the gatekeeper of the citadel depends on the animal sacrificed on the acropolis: τῶν δ’ ἐν τῇ ἄκραι θυομένων καὶ πωλωρῶι τῆς ἄκρας, βοὸς μὲν ..., προβάτου δὲ ...³⁷ In the contract for the sale of the priesthood of Dionysus Phleos at Priene (2nd cent. or perhaps ca. 130 BC), it is stated that the purchaser shall provide cakes of different sizes depending on whether a bovine, a πρόβατον or a suckling animal is sacrificed: παρέξεται δὲ θύα, οὐλάς, λιβανωτόν, ἔλατρα, βοῖ μὲν ἐκ τεταρτέως, προβάτωι δὲ | ἐξ ἡμιέκτου, γαλαθηνῶι δὲ ἐγ δύο χοινίκων.³⁸ In all of these cases, πρόβατον could be translated as “ovicaprid”, in order to reflect the fact that it labels either a sheep or a goat.

1.1.3. Ἱερεῖον βοϊκόν, Ἱερεῖον προβάτειον/μήλειον, Ἱερεῖον αἴγειον and Ἱερεῖον ὑϊκόν

Besides βοῦς, οἶς, πρόβατον, αἴξ and ὕς, one also finds in ritual norms expressions composed of an adjective related to the species – βοϊκός, προβάτειος/μήλειος, αἴγειος, ὑϊκός –, and of the noun Ἱερεῖον, which highlights the sacrificial status of the animal.³⁹ In order to reflect the Greek as much as possible, Ἱερεῖον βοϊκόν should be translated as “bovine sacrificial animal”, Ἱερεῖον προβάτειον/μήλειον as “ovine sacrificial animal”, Ἱερεῖον αἴγειον as “caprine sacrificial animal”, and, finally, Ἱερεῖον ὑϊκόν as “porcine sacrificial animal”. Such expressions are only attested in documents later than the end of the third century BC. For example, in the city of Miletus (ca. 129 BC or shortly after), the αἰσυμνήτης sacrifices a Ἱερεῖον βοϊκόν to the People of Rome and to the goddess Rome on the 7th of the month Thargelion: τοῦ | δὲ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς τῇ ἑβδόμῃ θυέτω ὁ αἰσυμνήτης τῶι Δήμῳ τῶι Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ Ῥώμη

³² *I.Eleusis* 177 col. 2 fr. b lines 418–420: “To the *hieropoioi* of the boule, the sum the people have ordered for each sheep and she-goat: 30 dr.; forty-three sacrificial animals, total: 1290 dr.”

³³ As far as I know, πρόβατον and οἶς are never used in the same ritual norm. In his treatises on animals, Aristotle almost systematically uses πρόβατον – and not οἶς – to refer to a sheep, alongside the terms βοῦς, αἴξ and ὕς.

³⁴ *CGRN* 186, line 21 (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

³⁵ Chandezon (2003), 34–35, and esp. 38, n. 96: “À l’époque impériale πρόβατον retrouvera parfois ce sens général que les inscriptions n’attestent plus avec certitude à partir du IV^e s. a.C.”

³⁶ *CGRN* 212, lines 22–25: “May it be decided that with immediate effect the annually appointed *hieronomoi* who take the skins deposited by those offering sacrifices and sell them, shall give to the *neokoros* 2 obols for a pig and a half-obol for an ovicaprid” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

³⁷ *CGRN* 212, lines 26–27: “From the animals sacrificed on the acropolis, to the gatekeeper of the citadel, (uncertain amount) for a bovine and (uncertain amount) for ovicaprid” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

³⁸ *CGRN* 176, lines 10–12: “He shall provide the burnt-offerings, barley-corns, incense, cakes, a quarter (of a *medimnos*) for a bovine, a *hemiekteus* for an ovicaprid, two *choinikes* for a suckling animal” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

³⁹ On the etymology and the meaning of Ἱερεῖον, see below. As was the case for πρόβατον and οἶς, Ἱερεῖον βοϊκόν is not found together with βοῦς in the same ritual norm, or Ἱερεῖον προβάτειον/μήλειον with οἶς, or Ἱερεῖον αἴγειον with αἴξ, or Ἱερεῖον ὑϊκόν with ὕς.

ιερείων τέλειον βοϊκόν.⁴⁰ On another occasion, the offering consists in a *ιερείων ὑϊκόν*: τοῦ δὲ μηνὸς τοῦ Βοη[δ]ρομιῶνος τῆ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ θυ[έ]ωσαν οἱ πενήκοντα ἄρχοντες ἱερῆ[ι]ον τέλειον ὑϊκόν.⁴¹ An inscription from Lycia (2nd cent. BC) related to the funerary foundation of Symmasis mentions the sacrifice of either a *ιερείων αἴγειον* or a *ιερείων προβάτειον* to the hero of Symmasis and his wife Mamma: θύσουσιν δὲ ἀεὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ αἰρούμενοι ἄρχοντες τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν χαλκέων ἥρωι Συμμασιος καὶ Μαρμας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδρυθησομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ ἱερείων αἴγειον (ἦ) προβάτειον.⁴² While in this inscription *ιερείων προβάτειον* seems to be a synonym of οἴς, this is not the case for *μήλειον ἱερείων* in the contract for the sale of the priesthood of Dionysus Thylophoros on Kos (ca. 200–150 BC), where it is stated: τῶν δὲ θυο[μεί]νων ἱερείων τῶι Θυλλοφόρῳ Διονύσῳ διδότη γέρ[η] ἰά θύουσα τῶ ἱερῆ τῶν μὲν μηλείων ἱερείων καὶ τελείων ἰσκέλος καὶ δέρμα καὶ τριώβολον, τῶν δὲ ἐτέλων κεφα[λ]άν καὶ πόδας καὶ δέρμα καὶ ὀβολόν, ὑὸς δὲ σκέλος καὶ ἰ [τρ]ιώβολον, χοιρίου δὲ κεφαλάν καὶ πόδας κ[α]ὶ ὀβολόν, ἰ [β]οὸς δὲ σκέλος καὶ δέρμα καὶ δραχμάν.⁴³ In this context, the expression *μήλειον ἱερείων* likely refers to small livestock, that is to say either a sheep or a goat, and is therefore translated as “ovicaprid”.

1.1.4. Ταῦρος, κριός, τράγος and κάπρος

As we have seen, the epicene nouns *βοῦς*, *οἴς*, *αἴξ* and *ῥίς*, when they are identified as masculine, refer to castrated males. To designate uncastrated males,⁴⁴ the terms *ταῦρος*, *κριός*, *τράγος* and *κάπρος*, which are of course exclusively masculine, are employed.⁴⁵ There are specific English words to label full males of the bovine, ovine, caprine and porcine species, and these terms are adopted here: *ταῦρος* is translated

⁴⁰ *CGRN* 248, B, lines 26–33: “On the 7th of the month of Thargelion, let the *aisymnetes* sacrifice to the People of Rome and to Rome an adult bovine animal” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

⁴¹ *CGRN* 248, B, lines 37–41: “On the 18th of the month of Boedromion, let the fifty archons sacrifice an [adult] porcine animal” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified). In an inscription from Keos (*CGRN* 105, ca. 205–180 BC), the following prescription is found in lines 8–9: ἄν δὲ τι καὶ ὑάμινον θύη, μὴ πρεσβύτερον ἐνιαυσίου καὶ ἐγμ[ή]νου. Here, since precisions about age are mentioned, it can be assumed that *ὑάμινον* refers to a porcine sacrificial animal – the word *ιερείων* would be implicit. If this hypothesis is correct, the sentence should be translated: “If he sacrifices any porcine animal, it must not be older than one and a half years.” Nevertheless, the syntax of the sentence is remarkable – ἄν δὲ καὶ ὑάμινον θύη would be more expected. Moreover, the adjective *ὑάμιμος* is a synonym of *ὑεῖος* (cf. *LSJ*, s.v.), which always designates the meat or something made of an animal, and is, as far as I know, never associated with the noun *ιερείων*. It is therefore quite probable that *ὑάμινον* refers to supplementary meat for the banquet. In this case, the sentence should be translated: “If he sacrifices anything of the pig, it must not be older than one and a half years.” This hypothesis seems to be reinforced by the fact that the main goal of this ritual norm is to make sure that the banquet will be successful and that each participant will receive a sufficient quantity of meat. Indeed, in lines 11–16, it is mentioned: παρέχειν δὲ καὶ δεῖπνον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἰ τρωγάλια καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα καλῶς καὶ κρεῶν σταθ[μ]ὸν κατὰ ἰ τὸν ἄνδρα ὡμὰ ἰσπάντα μὴ ἔλαττον MM καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐγκοιλίων ὅσα ἄν ἔχη τὰ ἱερεῖα, δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα τοὺς προβούλους ἰ καὶ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τὸν κήρυκα, καὶ ἀφίστασθαι τὰ κρέα καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προϊστασθαι, “He is to provide a meal and wine as well as snacks and all the rest in a suitable manner, and a weight of meat for each man, being weighed raw, of no less than two *minai*, and from the belly, all that the sacrificial animals have. The *probouloi* and the treasurer and the herald must examine the sacrificial animals and weigh the meat and preside at the rites” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

⁴² Parker (2010), B, lines 29–34: “And always each year the elected archons of the society of metal-workers shall sacrifice to the hero of Symmasis and Mamma on the altar that he will establish a caprine sacrificial animal or an ovine sacrificial animal” (transl. R. Parker, slightly modified).

⁴³ *IG* XII 4, 304, B, lines 30–36: “From the animals sacrificed to Dionysus Thylophoros, the female who sacrifices shall give as perquisites to the priestess, from oviceprids who are adult, a leg, the skin and a triobol; from (ovicaprids who are) yearling, the head, the feet, the skin and an obol, from a pig, a leg and a triobol, from a piglet, the head, the feet and an obol, from a bovine, a leg, the skin and a drachma.”

⁴⁴ On castration in ancient Greece, see Ekroth (2014).

⁴⁵ See e.g. *CGRN* 130, lines 1–7 (Kamiros, ca. 300–200 BC): [Θ]ευδαισίου ἰ νευμηνία: ἰ [Π]οτειδάνι ταῦρον ἰ [μ]ὴ νεώτερον ἰ [ἐ]νιαυτίου, κριὸν ἰ πρατήνιον, χοῖρον ἰ ἱερεὺς θύει, “On the first of the month Theudaisios: to Poseidon a bull not younger than a year-old, a yearling ram, a piglet; the priest sacrifices them.” Although the noun *κριός* refers most of the time to an adult animal, in this specific case – due to the presence of the adjective *πρατήνιον* (yearling) – it seems to designate a young animal. *CGRN* 56, col. 2, lines 17–18 (Marathonian Tetrapolis, ca. 375–350 BC): Ἐλαφηβολίωνος δεκάτη ἰσταμένο[υ] (?) Γῆι ἐπὶ τῶι ἰ μαγείῳ τράγος παμμέλας ΔΓ, “In Elaphebolion, on the 10th, [to Earth at the] oracle, a completely black he-goat, 15 dr.” *CGRN* 222, A, lines 33–34 (Andania, prob. 23 AD): ἀγέσθω δὲ ἐν τῶι πομπῶι καὶ τὰ θύματα, καὶ θυσάντω (...) Ἀπόλλωνι Καρνεῖοι κάπρον (...), “The sacrificial animals are also to be led in the procession, and they must sacrifice (...) to Apollo Karneios, a boar (...).”

as “bull”, κριός as “ram”, τράγος as “he-goat” and κάπρος as “boar”.⁴⁶ Several inscriptions contain both οἶς in a masculine form and κριός, which suggests that these terms have different meanings.⁴⁷ It can thus be assumed that a similar distinction applied to the nouns qualifying the three other species. However, it is also evident that βοῦς, οἶς, αἶξ and ὄς were occasionally used as synonyms for ταῦρος, κριός, τράγος and κάπρος. This is the case, for example, in a decree concerning the festival of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia-on-the-Maiander (ca. 197/6 or 180s BC). In this inscription, the animal prescribed to the god is repeatedly called ταῦρος, except in line 54, where it is called βοῦς.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it may reasonably be asserted that such configurations were not very frequent. Even when they are qualified by the adjective ἄρσην, the nouns βοῦς, οἶς, αἶξ and ὄς usually seem to refer to castrated males.⁴⁹

1.1.5. Ἄρνειός and ἄττηγός

There are two other nouns used in Greek ritual norms to designate individuals belonging to the ovine and caprine species respectively: ἄρνειός and ἄττηγός. These terms refer to a male sheep and a male goat, probably adult and uncastrated.⁵⁰ Given that each of these terms is employed in only one ritual norm,⁵¹ it is difficult to grasp their exact meaning.

⁴⁶ The translation “boar” and not “wild boar” is adopted for κάπρος because this term highlights the uncastrated status of the pig, whether wild (*Sus scrofa*) or domestic (*Sus scrofa domestica*).

⁴⁷ See for example *CGRN* 14 (Gortyn, ca. 500–450 BC); *CGRN* 32 (Thorikos, ca. 440–430 or ca. 380–375 BC); *CGRN* 52 (Erchia, ca. 375–350 BC); *CGRN* 223 (Arkadia, ca. 450 BC).

⁴⁸ *CGRN* 194, l. 54: τὸν δὲ βοῦν ὅταν θύσωσιν (...), “When they sacrifice the bull.” In a dossier of regulations from Apollonia in Illyria (*CGRN* 40, ca. 405–375 BC), it is required to sacrifice οἶ[α]ς ἐνόρχα[ς] to Enyalios (B, lines 5–6). The uncastrated status of the animals is indicated by the adjective ἐνόρχης.

⁴⁹ Ekroth (2014), 155: “A *bous* can be specified as ἄρσην or ἄρρην, male, and these terms presumably refer to an ox rather than a bull because there is the term ταῦρος, which indisputably refers to a full male (...).” The sacrificial regulation from Gortyn (*CGRN* 14, ca. 500–450 BC) – with κριός in line 7 and οἶς ἄρσην in line 8 – and an inscription from Arkadia (*CGRN* 223, ca. 450 BC) – where one finds two certain instances of κριός (line 12) and eight of οἶς ἄρσην (lines 7, 8, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21) – seem to confirm Ekroth’s hypothesis, although the species mentioned is not the same. Κριός and οἶς ἄρσην do not seem lexical alternatives determined by the provenance of the documents, and the diversity of locations where the expressions βοῦς ἄρσην and οἶς ἄρσην are attested is a further argument in that sense. On the interpretation of βοῦς ἄρσην as “ox” and not “bull”, see also Georgoudi (1990), 281. For his part, Van Straten (1995), 184, considers that an οἶς ἄρσην is an uncastrated animal: “So unless it was explicitly stipulated that the victim should be *enórches*, an *ois árren*, or a *kriós*, the sheep normally sacrificed to gods would be wethers.” In Aristotle, βοῦς ἄρρην sometimes refers to a full male. Cf. e.g. *Hist. an.* 575 a 13–14: Βοῦς δὲ πληροὶ μὲν ὀ ἄρρην ἐκ μιᾶς ὀχείας, βαινέι δὲ σφοδρῶς ὥστε συγκάμπτεσθαι τὴν βοῦν, “The bull impregnates the cow at a single copulation and his mounting is so vigorous that the cow is bowed down with it” (transl. A. L. Peck, Loeb). This could also be the case of the βοῦς ἄρρην offered to Kore in the deme of Phrearrhioi (*CGRN* 103, line 13, ca. 300–250 BC). Indeed, given that Kore is closely associated with uncastrated males in Greek ritual norms (cf. Pitz, forthcoming), it is quite probable that this βοῦς ἄρρην actually refers to a bull, and not to an ox.

⁵⁰ According to Istros (334 F 23a Jacoby), four stages of growth could be distinguished in sheep – ἄρην, ἄμνός, ἄρνειός and λειπογνώμων. The term ἄρνειός would refer to a three-year old ram: (ἄρνειός) δὲ καὶ ὀ τριέτης κριός. For his part, Aelius Dionysius distinguishes three ages of sheep. Cf. Erbse (1950), 104 fr. A 99: τρεῖς γὰρ ἡλικία: ἄρην, ἄμνός, ἄρνειός. According to Eustathius (*schol. ad Od.* 9.222, 1625), ἄττηγός is principally used by Ionian people to designate male goats of a certain age. Arnobius (5.6) translates the term as Latin *hircus*, which suggests that it designated an uncastrated he-goat.

⁵¹ Ἄρνειός is mentioned in the sacrificial calendar of Athens (*CGRN* 45, A, fr. 1, col. 3, lines 3–5, ca. 403/2–400/399 BC), in the Attic form ἄρνεός: πέμπτη [...]. | ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα | [...]. | Ἐρεχθεὶ ἄρνεός, “On the 5th [...] from the month-by-month for Erechtheus a ram” (transl. S. Lambert, *AIO* 1189, slightly modified). Ἄττηγός is attested in the inscription from Magnesia-on-the-Maiander previously mentioned (*CGRN* 194, lines 46–51, ca. 197/6 or 180s BC): (...) παριστανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἶ οἰκονόμοι οἶ ἐν | τῷ μηνὶ τῷ Ἀρτεμισίωνι τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ἱερεῖα τρία, | [ἄ] θύσωσιν τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Σωσιπόλει καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι | [τ]ῇ Λευκοφρυνηῇ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ, τῷ μὲν | [Διὶ] κριὸν ὡς κάλλιστον, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα, τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄττηγον. “Also, the *oikonomoi* should supply three sacrificial animals in the month Artemision, on the 12th, which they will sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis and to Artemis Leukophryene and to Apollo Pythios: to [Zeus] a ram as beautiful as possible, to Artemis a she-goat, to Apollo a he-goat.” It is clear from a slightly later passage (lines 55–56, τὴν αἶγα) that the goat offered to Artemis is a female; similarly, the male gender of the ἄττηγός also appears to be confirmed in this passage: τὸν δὲ κριὸν καὶ τὴν | αἶγα καὶ τὸν ἄττηγὸν διανεμέτωσαν.

1.2. Young animals

While the nouns and expressions discussed above seem to refer almost systematically to adult animals,⁵² other terms are used to designate younger specimens from bovine, ovine, caprine and porcine species.

1.2.1. Μόσχος and δάμαλις

To refer to young oxen, the nouns μόσχος and δάμαλις are used in Greek ritual norms. Μόσχος likely corresponds to what is called “calf” in English. Since this word is epicene (ό, ή), its translation varies depending on whether the animal is a male or a female. For example, in the dossier of regulations of the Labyadai at Delphi (ca. 400–350 BC), the feminine article and the corresponding form of the adjective άγαίος – albeit of uncertain derivation and meaning – indicate that the animal is a female: τάδε Φά[ν]λοτος έπέδωκε τῶι θυγατρὶ Βουπύγαι· τὰ ηεμρρήνια κήκ τῆς δυωδεκαί[δ]ο[ς] χίμαιραν καὶ τὴμ Προναιάαν δάρματα καὶ τὰ τῶι | Λυκείωι δάρματα καὶ τὰν άγαίαν μόσχον.⁵³ However, in the dossier of the familial cult of Diomedon on Kos (ca. 325–300 BC), nothing in the text allows us to identify the gender of the animal that can be offered to Herakles and Diomedon: θυόντω δὲ | [τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διομέδ]ο[ν]τι μόσχον [ἢ ...].⁵⁴ The noun μόσχος should therefore be translated as “female calf” in the first instance, but as “calf” – without further precision – in the second one.⁵⁵

The term δάμαλις is also epicene,⁵⁶ but it seems probable that, in Greek ritual norms at least, it always refers to female animals. Indeed, all the identifiable deities who receive animals called δάμαλις – whether the noun is or not qualified by an article, an adjective and/or a participle in the feminine form – are goddesses, and, in most cases, the sex of the sacrificial animals depended on the gender of the divinities to whom they were offered.⁵⁷ It can therefore be assumed that, in Greek ritual norms, δάμαλις labels a female that has not yet calved, namely a heifer.⁵⁸

Regarding the age of the animals designated by μόσχος and δάμαλις, it is difficult to know whether these terms are related to different stages in the growth of bovines – δάμαλις perhaps referring to an older animal than μόσχος – or not.⁵⁹ Μόσχος and δάμαλις are not attested together in a ritual norm but,

⁵² As mentioned above (n. 45), the joining of some of these terms with adjectives marking the age can qualify the specific maturity of the animals. For example, although κριός, τράγος and κάπρος most of the time refer to adult animals, when they are qualified as six-month-old (for κάπρος) and yearling (κριός and τράγος), they likely join the category of young animals. See e.g. *CGRN* 63, lines 1–3 (Lindos, ca. 400 BC): Ὑακιν[θί]ο[ν] ένδεικάται Διὶ Ἄμαλῶ[ι] | κάπρος έξάμην[ος], “On the 11th of Hyakinthios: to Zeus Amalos, a six-month-old boar.” *CGRN* 130, lines 8–13 (Kamiroi, ca. 300–200 BC): Ἱπποκαθεσί[ο]ις | θύεται Ἀγριανίου | ένδεικάται ἢ πρότερον· κριὸν πραιτήνιον ἱερεὺς | θύει, “During the festival of the Hippokathesia, on the 11th of Agrianios or earlier, a yearling ram is sacrificed (to Poseidon).” *CGRN* 158 (Kamiroi, ca. 50 BC – 50 AD): Πανάμου | δεκάται | Διονύσῳι | τράγον | πραιτήνιον | [ἱε]ροποι[ο]ὶ | θύοντι, “On the 10th of Panamos, a yearling he-goat to Dionysus; the *hieropoioi* [sacrifice it].” Moreover, as it has been previously mentioned, for the animals designated by the terms άρνεϊός and άττηγός, the age is difficult to grasp.

⁵³ *CGRN* 82, D, lines 31–38: “Phanotos gave the following as a dowry to his daughter Boupyga: ‘the half-sheep, (the) female kid from the twelve-animal sacrifice, the skins (of the sacrifices) for Pronaia, the skins for Lykeios, and the female leading (?) calf’” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

⁵⁴ *CGRN* 96, A, lines 25–26: “Let him sacrifice [to Heracles and Diomedon] a calf [or ...].”

⁵⁵ As far as I know, the Greek ritual norms do not attest μόσχος in the masculine form, i.e. a “male calf”.

⁵⁶ This noun is attested in the masculine in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.39 (sacrificial context) and in Hellanikos (4 F 111 Jacoby).

⁵⁷ Pitz (forthcoming).

⁵⁸ See e.g. *CGRN* 205, lines 9–10 (Antiocheia-ad-Pyramum, ca. 200–150 BC): θυθῆναι δὲ | τῆι τε Ἀθηνῶι καὶ Ὀμονοίαι έκατέραι δάμαλιν χρυσοκέρω, “A sacrifice should be made to Athena and Homonoia, for each (goddess) a heifer with gilded horns.” It seems unlikely that δάμαλις could sometimes refer to a young female of another species, as Ekroth (2014), 155 asserts, giving as example the dossier of regulations concerning the mysteries at Andania (probably 23 AD). For this inscription, we adopt the reading of *CGRN* 222, A, lines 34 and 69. A comma is added between δάμαλιν and σὺν as well as between δάμαλιν διετῆ and σὺν because “δάμαλις cannot be an adjective and, at any rate, the qualifier would be expected after the animal”. Cf. *CGRN* 222 col. A, commentary on lines 68–73, following the proposal of Carbon (2012), 325–326.

⁵⁹ In the corpus of Greek ritual norms, we do not find μόσχος qualified by an adjective marking the age. However, the qualification of δάμαλις by the expression μὴ νεώτερος ένιαυτίου, “not younger than a year-old” (*CGRN* 109, lines 7–9, Kamiroi, ca. 300–200 BC) and by the adjective διετῆς (*CGRN* 222, line 69, Andania, probably 23 AD) suggests that a female

in Kos, they are found in documents from the same period (second half of the 4th cent. BC).⁶⁰ This could suggest that they label animals of different ages.⁶¹ Nevertheless, nothing prevents these terms having been employed interchangeably.⁶²

1.2.2. Ἀρήν and ἀμνός/ἀμνή

To refer to a young sheep, which is called a “lamb” in English, the noun ἀρήν as well as the terms ἀμνός and ἀμνή are used in Greek ritual norms. Ἀρήν is an epicene word and so its translation varies according to the gender of the animal to which it refers. For example, the animal prescribed to Herakles in the sacrificial calendar of Kos (ca. 350 BC), given the adjective in the masculine following it, is a “male lamb”: τρίται ἀνομένον· Ἡρακλεῖ ἐς Κο[...].N ἀρήν καυτός.⁶³ By contrast, the one offered to Hera Thelchinia in the deme of Erchia (ca. 375–350 BC) is a “female lamb”: δεκάτει προτιέραι, Ἥραι Θελχινίαι, ἐμ Πάγλιω Ἐρχι(ἄσιν), ἄρνα πλαμμέλαιναν, οὐ φορά, ΓΗ.⁶⁴ In the contract of sale for the priesthood of Meter Phrygie at Priene (2nd cent. BC), it is impossible to identify the gender of the animals sacrificed to Hermes and Zeus: Ἐρμῆ δὲ καὶ Ζανὶ ἄρνας δύο.⁶⁵ Here, ἀρήν should simply be translated as “lamb”, a gender-neutral term. In Kos, in a regulation concerning priesthoods (ca. 350 BC), a female lamb and a male lamb are mentioned but, in this document, they are designated by the nouns ἀμνός and ἀμνή.⁶⁶

As is the case for μόσχος and δάμαλις, the difference between ἀρήν and ἀμνός/ἀμνή is not entirely clear. These terms are attested together in several inscriptions,⁶⁷ which allows us to assert that they do not constitute regional variations and to assume that they actually differ from one another. This could therefore confirm the opinion of some scholia and lexicographers, according to which there was a difference of age between ἀρήν and ἀμνός, the second referring to an older lamb.⁶⁸ However, while ἀρήν certainly designates a very young lamb in some inscriptions,⁶⁹ it can also label an animal having reached a certain

bovine may be called δάμαλις from the age of one year onwards – if not somewhat before the age of one year—until she has calved for the first time. After having calved, she is called βοῦς, “cow”.

⁶⁰ Μόσχος: CGRN 96, A, lines 25–26 (ca. 325–300 BC). Δάμαλις: CGRN 86, D, lines 5–6, 22, 26–27 (ca. 350 BC).

⁶¹ The poetic term πόρτις could be a synonym of μόσχος. In Theoc. *Id.* 1.75, πόρτις and δάμαλις are coordinated by καί. Moreover, the schol. ad loc. explains that πόρτις designates a younger animal than δάμαλις.

⁶² In his treatises on animals, Aristotle uses μόσχος to designate both a very young animal (two- or three-month-old) and a yearling bovine. Cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* 546 b 12; 632 a 13–15. In *Hist. an.* 632 a 14–15, μόσχος and δαμάλης – an equivalent of δάμαλις which is always masculine – are used as synonyms: οἱ μὲν οὖν μόσχοι ἐκτέμνονται ἐνιαύσιοι, εἰ δὲ μή, αἰσχίους καὶ ἐλάττους γίνονται. οἱ δὲ δαμάλαι ἐκτέμνονται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον (...), “Now calves are castrated as yearlings, otherwise they become uglier and smaller. The young bulls are castrated in this way (...)” (transl. D. M. Balme, Loeb).

⁶³ CGRN 86, B, lines 8–9: “On the 28th: to Herakles at Ko[...] a male lamb, burned (whole).”

⁶⁴ CGRN 52, A, lines 6–11: “On the 20th: to Hera Thelchinia, on the Hill at Erchia, a female lamb, all-black, no take-away, 7 dr.”

⁶⁵ CGRN 175, line 5.

⁶⁶ CGRN 85, B, line 65: [...?] ἀμνὸν καὶ ἀμνὸν καὶ [...]. In Greek ritual norms, ἀμνή always seems to designate a young female sheep. *Contra* Ekroth (2014), 155: “Female lambs could be labelled ἀμνή – a term that perhaps also covered ewes, which otherwise can be specified as οἷς θήλειαι.”

⁶⁷ See CGRN 26 (Athens, ca. 423/2–404/3 BC); CGRN 32 (Thorikos, ca. 440–430 or ca. 380–375 BC); CGRN 52 (Erchia, ca. 375–350 BC); CGRN 156 (Mykonos, ca. 230–200 BC).

⁶⁸ Cf. above, n. 50. See also Georgoudi (1988), 78, who claims that, according to lexicographers and grammarians, the category of young animals seems to be divided into two main subcategories – whose borders, however, are not clear: the new-born animals (νεώτατα) and the yearling animals (ἐνιαύσια). For sheep, goats and pigs, such a distinction could be seen in the following groups of terms: ἀρήν and ἀμνός/ἀμνή, ἔριφος and χίμαρος/χίμαιρα as well as χοῖρος and δέλφαξ, the first word of each category referring to new-born animals and the others to yearling animals. According to Chantraine (1955), 17, whilst ἀρήν would be a general term, ἀμνός would have become specialised and designate the yearling lamb.

⁶⁹ See CGRN 81, lines 16–18 (Thebes-on-the-Mykale, ca. 350 BC): φέρειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἰ πρόβατα βόσκοντας ἀπὸ τῆς ποιμνῆς ἄρνα, εἰὰν πέντε τέκωσι, “Those who pasture sheep are to bring a lamb from their flock, if five (ewes) have given birth (in season).” This sacrifice occurs in Thargelion (May–June) and the sacrificial animal is a baby lamb born during the lambing season (spring).

maturity.⁷⁰ Following this observation, it becomes possible that the distinction between ἄρῆν and ἀμνός/ἀμνή does not concern the age of the lamb. Moreover, the fact that the price of the female lambs designated respectively as ἄρῆν and ἀμνή in the sacrificial calendar of Erchia (ca. 375–350 BC) is the same (7 dr.) seems to reflect this view.⁷¹ In the current state of knowledge, it therefore remains impossible to understand the exact nature of the difference between ἄρῆν and ἀμνός/ἀμνή.

1.2.3. Ἐριφος and χίμαρος/χίμαιρα

Young goats, which are called “kids” in English, are designated as ἔριφος or χίμαρος/χίμαιρα. The noun ἔριφος is epicene and should be translated differently depending on whether the animal is a male or a female. For example, in a fragmentary sacrificial calendar, perhaps of a γένος from Athens (ca. 475–450 BC), the ἔριφος offered to Dionysus, given the adjective in the masculine form following it, is a “male kid”: Διονύσ[οι] | ἔριφος : κριτός.⁷² However, in the deme of Isthmos on Kos (ca. 200–150 BC), due to the presence of the demonstrative pronoun in the feminine form after the lacuna, the animal sacrificed to Aphrodite Pandamos is probably a female: [ἐνάται· Ἀφροδί]ται Πανδόμωι ἔρι[φον - - - - -] ταύταν θύει ἱέρε[ια καὶ ἱερά παρέχει].⁷³ Sometimes, as in the sacrificial calendar of Phyxα (ca. 250–200 BC), in the passage concerning the cult of Apollo Oromedon, the gender of the young goat called ἔριφος cannot be identified: Ἀπόλλων : Ὀρομέδ[ο]ντι - ἔριφος.⁷⁴ In such a case, ἔριφος should be translated as “kid” in order to maintain in English the uncertainty about the gender of the animal observed in Greek.

The terms χίμαρος and χίμαιρα are coined on the noun χειμών, “winter”. According to Hesychius, ἔριφος, defined as a young kid born in the spring, must be opposed to χίμαρος, born in the winter, therefore older than the ἔριφος.⁷⁵ The terms ἔριφος and χίμαρος/χίμαιρα are not used together in a ritual norm. However, these nouns are attested in inscriptions from the same location and the same period: Lindos, in the third century BC.⁷⁶ As in the case of μόσχος and δάμαλις, such a configuration could suggest that these terms have different meanings, but it does not prevent the inference that they could have been used as synonyms. The analysis of these terms in Greek ritual norms as well as in Aristotle’s treatises seems to confirm that ἔριφος refers to a very young kid, whilst χίμαρος and χίμαιρα designate older animals.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ See *CGRN* 146, lines 22–25 (Phyxα, ca. 250–200 BC): Ἀγριανίου : διχομηνία[ι] | Ἡρωὶ ἐς Πύλας : ἄρνα : οὐκ ἀποφορά : πορεύοντα[ι] | τελέαν – ἐνάται : ἐξ εικάδος : Ἡρωὶ : ἐς Ἀμαξιτι[ό]ν : ἄρνα οὐκ ἀποφορά | : πορεύονται : τελέα[ν -], “In Agrianios: on the 15th, to the Hero at Pylai, a female mature (?) lamb, no take-away, they go (to the meat-distribution). On the 22nd, to the Hero at Hamaxitos, a female mature (?) lamb, no take-away, they go (to the meat-distribution).” In this passage, ἄρῆν is qualified by the adjective τέλειος. An animal qualified as τέλειος has reached the acme of its age group. For a young animal, this likely means that it is not a new-born anymore and that it has reached a certain maturity – but not the full maturity of an adult. Cf. Brulé–Touzé (2008), 120; Pitz (forthcoming).

⁷¹ *CGRN* 52, A, lines 6–11: δεκάτει προτέραι, Ἡραὶ Θεελχινία, ἐμ Πάγλωι Ἐρχι(ἄσιν), ἄρνα πλαμμέλαιναν, οὐκ φορά, ΓΗΗ, “On the 20th: to Hera Thelchinia, on the Hill at Erchia, a female lamb, all-black, no take-away, 7 dr.”; B, lines 14–20: Βο[ηδ]ρομιώνος τετράδι ἱσταμένο, Βασίλει, Ἐρχι(ἄσιν), ἀμνὴ λευκή, ὀλόκαυτος, νηφάλιος, ΓΗΗ, “In Boedromion: on the 4th, to Basile, at Erchia, a white female lamb, to be burned whole, wineless offering, 7 dr.”; lines 26–31: Γαμηλιώνος | ἐνάτη ἱσταμένο, Ἡροσουρίοις, ἐμ πόλλει Ἐρχι(ἄσιν), Ἀθηναί, ἀμνή, ΓΗΗ, “In Gamelion: on the 9th, during the Herosouria, on the acropolis at Erchia, to Athena, a female lamb, 7 dr.”

⁷² *CGRN* 21, lines 17–18: “To Dionysus, a male kid, selected.”

⁷³ *CGRN* 236, A, l. 12–13: “On the 9th, to Aphrodite Pandamos, a female kid [...] the priestess sacrifices it and provides the (supplementary) sacred offerings.”

⁷⁴ *CGRN* 146, lines 14–15.

⁷⁵ Hsch., s.v. ἔριφος: ὁ μικρὸς αἴξ, ὁ ἐν τῷ ἔαρι φαινόμενος ... χίμαρος δὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι. See also *EM*, s.v. χίμαιρα: ἢ ἐν χειμῶνι τεχθεῖσα, οἷον ἕνα χειμῶνα ἔχουσα. Although he refers to this explanation of Hesychius, Robertson (2010), 282, n. 10 claims that χίμαρος is a general term designating a he-goat of any age. However, he does not put forward any argument to support his view.

⁷⁶ See *CGRN* 116 (ca. 300–200 BC); *CGRN* 117 (ca. 300–200 BC); *CGRN* 141 (ca. 250 BC).

⁷⁷ The expression ἔριφος προπτόρθιος, mentioned in the sacrificial calendar of Erchia (*CGRN* 52, Γ, lines 46–47, ca. 375–350 BC), suggests that the noun ἔριφος designates – at least in some instances – a very young kid. Indeed, the adjective seems to indicate that the horns of the kid have not yet begun to bud. If this hypothesis is correct, προπτόρθιος would refer to a very early stage of kids’ growth, since buds grow on kids’ heads in the first days of their life or even sometimes appear from birth. Cf. *CGRN* 21, commentary on lines 12–13; Pitz (forthcoming). The inscription from Thebes-on-Mykale previously mentioned

The difference between ἔριφος and χίμαρος/χίμαιρα could therefore – as mentioned by Hesychius – lie in the age of the kids. However, given that the terms χίμαρος and χίμαιρα are rarely attested in Greek ritual norms and that some ἔριφοι seem to be born during the winter,⁷⁸ it does not seem reasonable to make a distinction between ἔριφος and χίμαρος/χίμαιρα in the English translations. The terms χίμαρος and χίμαιρα should thus be translated as “male kid” and “female kid” respectively.⁷⁹

1.2.4. Χοῖρος, δέλφαξ and their diminutives

In Greek ritual norms, there are several ways of designating young pigs, which are called “piglets” in English. The most common noun is χοῖρος. This word is both masculine and feminine, and should be translated as “male piglet” when it refers to a male individual and as “female piglet” when it labels a female one.⁸⁰ When the gender of the animal cannot be identified, χοῖρος should simply be translated as “piglet”,⁸¹ this English term being gender-neutral.

Three diminutives of χοῖρος are known: χοιρίδιον (τό), χοιρίον (τό) and χοιρίσκος (ὁ). All of these, which are rarely attested in Greek ritual norms, seem to have the same meaning as χοῖρος or a very close meaning. Χοιρίδιον is attested in documents from Thyateira and Sparta. In Thyateira (2nd cent. BC?), a χοιρίδιον is used as purificatory animal: ἑταίρα πε[ρικαθ]αραμένη χοιριδίω | ἐνώπιον [τῶν ἐπι]μηνιευόντων | νεωποιῶν.⁸² In the inscription from Sparta (Imperial period?), two young pigs called χοιρίδιον are prescribed to Demeter: [Δ]άματρι θύσει χοιρίδι[α] δύο [..?] | ἄρσεν[α].⁸³ Given that the noun χοῖρος is also used several times in this text, it can be assumed that, in this context, the two terms do not have exactly the same meaning. It therefore seems appropriate to translate χοιρίδιον as “little piglet” in order to emphasise the diminutive. Since the young pigs called χοιρίδιον are explicitly mentioned as males, the sentence should be translated as follows: “Two [...] little male piglets will be sacrificed to Demeter.” The noun χοιρίον is used in Kos and Messene. In the διαγραφὴ for the sale of the priesthood of Dionysus Thylophoros on Kos (ca. 200–150 BC), it is mentioned that the perquisites given to the priestess differ according to the type of animal sacrificed to the god.⁸⁴ In this text, only the noun χοιρίον is employed to designate a young pig and it is thus translated as “piglet”. However, in the inscription from Messene (ca. 225–191 BC), both χοῖρος and χοιρίον are used, and it therefore seems best to translate the first one as “piglet” and the second as “little piglet”.⁸⁵ In Andania (probably 23 AD), three piglets designated by the noun χοιρίσκος must be supplied for the purification in the theatre: ἔστι δὲ ἂν δεῖ παρέχειν (...) ὅταν | ἐν

(n. 69) also supports this view. There, the context suggests that the kid (ἔριφος) offered by the goatherds (l. 11–13) is born shortly before the sacrifice. Regarding χίμαρος and χίμαιρα, the Greek ritual norms do not allow us to know more about the age of the kids. However, a passage of Aristotle mentioning a χίμαιρα (Arist. *Hist. an.* 523 a 1) shows that the so-called female is not so young: ποιεῖ δὲ γάλα καὶ τῶν φυσ(κ)ωδῶν ἔνια προσφερόμενα, οἷον καὶ κυάμων πλῆθος οἷ καὶ αἰγὶ καὶ βοῖ καὶ χίμαιρα· ποιεῖ γὰρ καθιέναι τὸ οὐθαρ, “Some of the podded plants if used as feed are milk-producing; a good diet of beans will do this for the ewe, the she-goat, the cow, and the winter-born female kid: it causes them to drop their udders” (transl. A. L. Peck, Loeb, slightly modified). Thus, a χίμαιρα is not an αἴξ – the two terms are coordinated by καὶ – but she is old enough to litter, lactation occurring only to feed the baby goats.

⁷⁸ See e.g. the ἔριφος προπτόρθιος aforementioned (n. 77). That ἔριφος, which seems a very young kid, is sacrificed in Erchia in the beginning of Anthesterion, i.e. mid-February.

⁷⁹ See e.g. *CGRN* 156, lines 26–27 (Mykonos, ca. 230–200 BC): Βακχιῶνος δεκ[ά]τηι ἐν Δειράδ[ι] Διονύσωι Βακχεῖ χίμαρος καλλιστεύω[v], “On the 10th of Bacchion, at Deiras, to Dionysus Bacchos, a male kid reckoned most beautiful.” For a mention of a χίμαιρα, cf. above p. 58.

⁸⁰ See e.g. *CGRN* 32, MF, lines 13–14 (Thorikos, ca. 440–430 or ca. 380–375 BC): Βοηδρομιῶνος, Πηρηρόσια : Διὶ Πολιεῖ κριτὸν οἶν : χοῖρον κριτὸν, “In Boedromion: the Prerosia; for Zeus Polieus, a selected wether, a selected male piglet”; lines 20–21: Κουροτρόφωι χοῖρον κριτήν, “To Kourotrophos, a selected female piglet.”

⁸¹ See e.g. *CGRN* 32, MF, line 24: Ἀπόλλωνι χοῖρον, “To Apollo, a piglet.”

⁸² Malay–Petzl (2017) n° 1, lines 15–17: “A courtesan, after having purified herself completely with a piglet in the presence of the *neopoioi* holding the office of *epimenioi* (may enter the sanctuary)” (transl. Malay–Petzl).

⁸³ *IG* V 1, 364, lines 8–9. *IG* restores χοιρίδι[α] δύο [ύπο]λίπαιρα ἄρσεν[α].

⁸⁴ Cf. above, p. 56.

⁸⁵ *CGRN* 159, lines 2–3: Φυλλι[κοῦ] ..?. | ..?. τ[έ]λεον, χοιρίον ἔρσεν [..?], “(In the month?) Phyllikos [...] adult animal, a little male piglet”; lines 7–10: Ἀργιανίου δυοδεκ[ά]ται ψαι[σ]τίον, ἐλαίω κοτύλα, ΕΣ[χοῖ]νιξ, ἐλαίω κοτύλα, γληνῆς

τῶι θεάτρῳ καθαίρει, χοιρίσκους τρεῖς.⁸⁶ Although the noun χοιρίσκος seems to be masculine in itself,⁸⁷ since this occurrence is the only one in the corpus of Greek ritual norms and there are no attestations of χοιρίσκος in the feminine form – as was the case for ἀμνός and χίμαρος –, it seems prudent not to mark the gender of the animal in the English translation. Given that the noun χοῖρος is not attested in this text, χοιρίσκος should simply be translated as “piglet”.

To designate a piglet, besides χοῖρος and its diminutives χοιρίδιον, χοιρίον and χοιρίσκος, one also finds the noun δέλφαξ and its diminutive δελφάκιον. The first term, which is epicene, is used in an inscription from Athens (1st cent. AD): ζῖ. Δήμητρι Κόρη δέλφακα ἀνυπερθέτως.⁸⁸ Here, given that the gender of δέλφαξ cannot be identified, the word should be translated as “piglet”. In the Hellenistic period, the noun δελφάκιον is mentioned in Delian accounts for several years. For example, in the accounts of the expenses for the Posideia and the Ilithyia of the year 178 BC, three young pigs called δελφάκιον have been purchased for the Posideia: λόγος τῶν ἐς τὰ Ποσίδεια: βοῦ[ς] | ἙΔΔΔ· κριοὶ II Ποσειδῶνι Ἀσ[φ]α[λ]εῖω [καὶ Ὀρθωσίω] | κάπρος ἙΔΓΓΓΓ· δελφάκια III, ἙΔ[Δ]ΓΓΓΓ.⁸⁹

The nouns χοῖρος and δέλφαξ are not attested together in a ritual norm.⁹⁰ On the other hand, χοῖρος and δελφάκιον are mentioned together in several Delian accounts. Such a configuration seems to suggest that these terms have different meanings.⁹¹ The price of pigs that is indicated in Delian accounts also appears to support this hypothesis. Indeed, in documents mentioning the purchase of a pregnant sow (ὄς ἐγκύμων), a δελφάκιον and a χοῖρος,⁹² the δελφάκιον costs several times less than the pregnant sow, but is always more expensive than the χοῖρος. The price of a δελφάκιον varies between 9 dr. and 30 dr. depending on the year, whilst the cost of a χοῖρος falls between 1 dr. and 6 dr. Hence it seems reasonable to assume that the nouns δέλφαξ and δελφάκιον refer to older animals than the ones designated by χοῖρος and its diminutives. A passage from Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* seems to confirm that hypothesis: the Megarian proposed to Dikaiopolis a little girl disguised as a χοῖρος, and Dikaiopolis replies that she is not suitable for the sacrifice because she does not have a tail. Then the Megarian replies that she is still young but, once a δέλφαξ, she will have a big, fat and red tail.⁹³ Although this passage constitutes an elaborate sexual joke, it can be assumed that it also reflects an aspect of the sacrificial background. Δέλφαξ and δελφάκιον thus designate older piglets, perhaps weanling ones.⁹⁴

[...].]ἔρασαν χοῖρον καὶ ἐκ καθδίχως, “On the 12th of Agrianios [...] a little cake, a *kotyle* of olive-oil [...] a *choinix*, a *kotyle* of olive-oil, a *glenis* [...] a [...] piglet and six jars (or: measures?).”

⁸⁶ *CGRN* 222, A, lines 67–68: “It is necessary to supply the following: (...) three piglets when one purifies in the theatre.”

⁸⁷ *LSJ*, s.v.

⁸⁸ *LSCG* 52, lines 6–7: “On the 17th, to Demeter and Kore, a piglet, in an exemplary way.”

⁸⁹ *CGRN* 199, lines 1–3: “Account of the things (i.e. expenses) for the Posideia: a bovine [...] 80 dr.; 2 rams for Poseidon Asphaleios [and Orthosios ...]; a boar, 18 dr.; 3 piglets, 24 dr.” (transl. *CGRN*, slightly modified).

⁹⁰ Both words are attested in Athens, but in inscriptions from different periods. Χοῖρος: *CGRN* 21, lines 10–11, 13, 21 (ca. 475–450 BC); *CGRN* 45, A, fr. 3, col. 1, line 24; col. 2, line 11; col. 3, line 78 (ca. 403/2–400/399 BC); *CGRN* 102, line 14 (beginning of the 3rd century BC). Δέλφαξ: *LSCG* 52, line 7 (1st century AD).

⁹¹ The fact that the Delian accounts always attest δελφάκιον and not δέλφαξ could suggest that both terms are equivalent and that the choice of one or another depends on local uses.

⁹² In some of these documents, δελφάκιον is not mentioned and one only finds the adjective καθάρων or the generic noun ἱερεῖον. Nevertheless, the *mise en série* allows us to ensure that the so-called animals are actually δελφάκια. See e.g. *I.Délôs* 372, A, line 104 (200 BC) and *IG XI 2*, 287, A, line 69 (250 BC).

⁹³ *Ar. Ach.* 780–788. Schol. *Ar. Ach.* 786a indicates that δέλφαξ refers to bigger piglets: (δέλφακας: τοὺς ... μείζονας ... χοίρους).

⁹⁴ According to Bruneau (1970), 287, “en dépit du diminutif” δελφάκιον would refer to “des gorettes déjà grands ou même des porcs adultes”. This assumption is adopted by Schaps (1996), 169–170 and Clinton (2005), 178, which qualify the δελφάκιον as “adolescent” pig. Since some Delian accounts indicate that a δελφάκιον is more expensive than a pregnant sow, we cannot exclude that δέλφαξ and δελφάκιον sometimes refer to adult pigs or at least to pigs having almost reached this stage of growth.

2. “Generic animals”

Besides the words and expressions analysed above, which are related to particular species, the corpus of Greek ritual norms employs some terms denominating sacrificial animals which do not provide information about species. Such terms may be called “generic” and the animals to which they refer “generic animals”.

2.1. *ἱερεῖον*

The first word that should be discussed in connection with “generic animals” is *ἱερεῖον*.⁹⁵ This noun, which is very common in ritual norms, is used in the whole Greek world and over various periods.⁹⁶ Although *ἱερεῖον* is often considered as the most general term designating a sacrificial animal without any reference to a particular species,⁹⁷ the generic character of this noun is sometimes questioned. Some scholars believe that *ἱερεῖον*, when it is used without further precision, should refer to a sheep because the ovine species was the most commonly domesticated as well as the most commonly chosen for sacrifices.⁹⁸

The etymology of *ἱερεῖον* suggests that an animal thus called is related to what is *ἱερός*, “sacred”, “consecrated”.⁹⁹ Nothing in the term itself allows us to assert that it would especially refer to a sheep. Moreover, several Greek ritual norms suggest that *ἱερεῖον* does not refer to a particular species. For example, in a sacrificial regulation from Mytilene (ca. 200–100 BC) concerning the cult of Aphrodite Peitho and Hermes, it is stated: *θεός· τύχα ἀγαθά. ἢ κε θέλη θύην ἐπὶ τῷ βωμ[ῶ] ἢ τῆς Ἀφροδίτας τῆς Πει[θῶς] καὶ τῷ Ἑρμῶ, θυέτω ἢ [..?..] ἢ «ἱρήϊον» ὅττι κε θέλη καὶ ἔρσεν καὶ θῆλυ πλά[γ] χοί[ρω] ἢ καὶ ὄρνιθα ὅττι[νά κε θέλη] ἢ [..?..], “God. Good Fortune. The one who wishes to sacrifice on the altar of Aphrodite Peitho and Hermes should sacrifice [...] the animal he wishes, a male and a female, except a pig (literally: a piglet), and the bird he wants [...]”¹⁰⁰ The use of the expression *ὅττι κε θέλη*, and even more of the phrase *πλάγ χοίρω*, shows that the noun *ἱερεῖον* does not inherently refer to a particular species, but may designate any sacrificial animal.*

A passage of a decree from Delphi (160/159 BC or shortly after) concerning the donation of Attalos II suggests the same: *θυόντω δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ βούς τελεεί[ους] τρεῖς, οὓς καὶ οἱ πολῖται δῶντι, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ Λ[αίτω] καὶ τῷ Ἀρτέμιτι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα [καθ]ῶς διατέτακ[ται ἢ ὑπ]ὲρ τὸν βασιλέα Ἄτταλον ποταγ[ο]ρ[ε]ύοντες τὴν θυσι[άν] Ἀττάλεια, “The *epimeletai* are to sacrifice three adult bovines, which the citizens provide, to Apollo and Leto and Artemis, and also the other animals, as it has been ordained, in name of the King Attalos, and they will proclaim the sacrifice as Attaleia.”¹⁰¹ The qualification of *ἱερεῖα* by the adjective *ἄλλα* suggests that the noun *ἱερεῖον* does not intrinsically refer to sheep and clearly indicates that the bovines mentioned are also regarded as *ἱερεῖα*.¹⁰²*

Finally, in a decree from Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos (January 267 BC), the term *ἱερεῖα* seems to summarise the nouns for particular animals cited in the same passage: *θύειν δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖ κυρίωι τοῦ τόπ[ου] καὶ σωτήρι κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ μὲν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερωῖ βόυν, ἢ Λαχάρη καὶ Βαναβήλωι εὐεργέται[ς] ἢ κριοῦς δύο ἐν τῷ τ[οῦ] Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ ἱερωῖ τῷ ἐγὼ Κιδδίου κόμμη, ἱερεῖα τρία, “(It is necessary) to sacrifice each year to Achaïos Master of this place and Saviour a bovine in the sanctuary of Zeus, to Lachares and Banabelos (the) benefactors two rams in the sanctuary of Apollo in Kiddiokome, three sacrificial animals*

⁹⁵ The term *ἱερόνιον*, which is used in an inscription from Arkadia (*CGRN* 223, line 9, ca. 450 BC) could be a variant of *ἱερεῖον*. However, in the absence of any parallel, we cannot be sure of this assumption. Cf. *CGRN* 223, commentary on line 9, based on Carbon–Clackson (2016), 131.

⁹⁶ See e.g. *CGRN* 151, line 25 (Halasarna, ca. 225–200 BC): *ἱκάδι, Ἑκάται Μελιτεῖναι ἱερεῖον*, “On the 20th: to Hekate Meliteina a sacrificial animal.” *CGRN* 152, lines 184–186 (Thera, ca. 225–175 BC): *ὁ ἢ δὲ τὰν δευτέραν τοῖς ἥρωσι Φοίνικ[ι] καὶ Ἐπικτήται ἱερεῖον*, “The one who serves on the second day shall sacrifice an animal to the heroes Phoenix and Epikteta.”

⁹⁷ See e.g. Casabona (1966), 31.

⁹⁸ See e.g. Jameson (2014), 206.

⁹⁹ Brulé–Touzé (2008), 122; Rudhardt (2008), 145: “L’animal destiné au sacrifice, la victime sur laquelle s’exercera l’activité du *ἱερεύς* est un *ἱερεῖον*. Ce nom nous incite à lui reconnaître une qualité voisine de celle qu’évoque l’adjectif *ἱερός*.”

¹⁰⁰ *CGRN* 229.

¹⁰¹ *CGRN* 202, lines 53–57.

¹⁰² A passage of another Delphic decree from the same period (*CGRN* 204, lines 5–6) is structured in a similar way, except that the adjective *λοιπός* is used instead of *ἄλλος*.

(in total).”¹⁰³ If the expression ἱερεῖα τρία actually refers to the sum of the sacrificial animals mentioned above – and not to an additional sacrifice, which seems less likely –, this passage confirms that both cattle and sheep were regarded as ἱερεῖα.

In light of these examples, it seems appropriate to consider that the noun ἱερεῖον usually designates any sacrificial animal without reference to its species. One can therefore translate this term as “sacrificial animal”.¹⁰⁴ If this assumption is correct, when a ἱερεῖον is prescribed to a deity without further details, the only requirements should be the integrity and the good health of the animal.¹⁰⁵

Nevertheless, in some particular instances, the noun ἱερεῖον appears to designate a particular species and not an animal of undetermined species or a “generic animal”. For example, in the contract of sale for the priesthood of the People of Rome and the goddess Rome (Miletos, ca. 129 BC or shortly after), a bovine animal should be sacrificed by the αἰσυμνήτης on the 7th of the month Boedromion and on the 12th of the month Metageitnion.¹⁰⁶ However, if no purchaser came forward to acquire the office – in such a case, the god purchased the office of αἰσυμνήτης –, the companions of the god should sacrifice a ἱερεῖον τέλειον on each of the two occasions.¹⁰⁷ Given that the prescription of a ἱερεῖον τέλειον is complementary to the two aforementioned offerings – the sacrifice performed by the προσεταῖροι replaces the sacrifice offered by the αἰσυμνήτης –, it may be assumed that a bovine sacrificial animal was also required here even if the species was not repeated. Similarly, if we analyse the passage related to the Thesmophoria in several Delian accounts from the Hellenistic period, the animals prescribed to Kore and Zeus Eubouleus are δελφάκια in three of them,¹⁰⁸ while in another document they are ἱερεῖα.¹⁰⁹ Here, ἱερεῖον refers neither to a sacrificial animal “in general”, but undoubtedly to a young pig.

2.2. Ἱερόν

The term ἱερόν seems to be a synonym for ἱερεῖον and should also be translated as “sacrificial animal”. It is mentioned in inscriptions from Athens, Miletus and modern Marmarini (east of ancient Larisa).¹¹⁰ The fact that ἱερόν is only attested in documents from three Greek cities should probably be attributed more to coincidence than to the local character of the term. Indeed, the noun ἱερεῖον is also used in inscriptions from these locations¹¹¹ – and, in the case of Miletus and Marmarini, in the same text where the form ἱερόν is employed.¹¹²

¹⁰³ *CGRN* 143, lines 24–29.

¹⁰⁴ Brulé–Touzé (2008), 111 rightly insist on the fact that ἱερεῖον should not be translated as “victim”.

¹⁰⁵ When the verb θύειν, “to sacrifice”, is found in the same sentence as ἱερεῖον, it is better to translate this term as “animal” instead of “sacrificial animal” in order to avoid redundancy. This is also the case for the expressions composed of an adjective related to the species and of the noun ἱερεῖον as well as for the nouns ἱερόν and θύμα. Cf. p. 56, n. 40 and 41; p. 65, n. 114.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. p. 56, n. 40.

¹⁰⁷ *CGRN* 248, B, lines 33–37: εἰάν δὲ ὁ θεὸς πρήται τὴν αἰσυμνητύν, θυέτωσαν οἱ προσεταῖροι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερίον τέλειον καὶ τὰ γέρη διδότησαν τῷ ἱερεῖ τὰ τεταγμένα.

¹⁰⁸ *I.Délos* 290, line 88 (246 BC): τῆι Δήμητρι ὅς ἐγκύμων ΔΔΓΓ· δελφάκιον καθαρὸν ΔΗΗΗ· ἄλλο δελφάκιον τῶι Διὶ τῶι Εὐβουλεῖ ΓΗΗΗ· *I.Délos* 291, fr. b, lines 23–24 (shortly after 248 BC): [τῶι Διὶ τῶι | Εὐ]βου[λ]εῖ δελφάκιον [ΔΓ]ΗΗ· δελφάκιον καθαρὸν ΔΓΗΗ· *I.Délos* 338, A, fr. ab, line 59 (224 BC): [Δή]μη[τρ]ι εἰς θυσίαν [ὅς ἐγ]κύμων ΔΔ[ΗΗ]Η· δελ[φάκιον] καθαρὸν τῆι Κόρρη ΔΔ· τ[ῶι Δ]ι τῶι Εὐβουλεῖ δελφάκιον καθαρὸν.

¹⁰⁹ *IG* XI 2, 287, line 69 (250 BC): ὅς ἐγκύμων εἰς θυσίαν τῆι Δήμητρι ΔΓ· καὶ ὥστε τῆι Κόρρη ἱερεῖον ΔΔΗΗΗ· καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ ἱερεῖον ΔΓΗ.

¹¹⁰ See e.g. *CGRN* 45, A, fr. 8, col. 2, lines 7–8 (Athens, ca. 403/2–400/399 BC): Ἀπόλλωνι [| ΔΗ] ἱερόν τέλ[εον], “To Apollo, an adult sacrificial animal, [12 dr.]” *CGRN* 201, lines 20–21 (Miletus, ca. 200 BC): ἐς μολπὸν ἢ πόλις διδοῖ Ταρρηλίοισιν ἱερόν τέλειον καὶ Μεταγεῖτνίοισιν ἱερόν τέλειον, “For the *molpon*, the city gives an adult sacrificial animal during the Targelia and another during the Metageitnia.” *CGRN* 225, B, lines 38–39 (Marmarini, ca. 225–150 BC): ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ στηθος ἐφθὸν ἐπὶ τὴν | τράπεζαν καὶ τὸ σκέλος ὠμόν τῆι ἱερείᾳ, “From the sacrificial animal, (place) the breast cooked on the table and (give) the leg raw for the priestess.”

¹¹¹ See e.g. *CGRN* 102, lines 15–16 (Athens, early 3rd cent. BC); *CGRN* 248, A, lines 19, 22, 26; B, lines 24–25, 35 (Miletus, ca. 129 BC or shortly after).

¹¹² *CGRN* 201, lines 14, 19. *CGRN* 225, A, line 39; B, lines 43, 61.

2.3. *Θῦμα and βοτόν*

Two other terms are found in Greek ritual norms to designate “generic animals”: *θῦμα* and *βοτόν*. When it labels an animal, the noun *θῦμα*, which may also designate a bloodless offering or the sacrifice itself,¹¹³ should be translated as “sacrificial animal”, like *ἱερεῖον* and *ἱερόν*. This word, which is much less frequent than *ἱερεῖον*, is used, for example, in an inscription from Lykosoura regulating the cult of Despoina (end of the 3rd cent. BC).¹¹⁴ The noun *βοτόν*, which is also rarely used in Greek ritual norms, is coined from the verb *βόσκειν*, “to graze”, and should be translated as “grazing animal”. It is mentioned several times in a dossier of purity regulations from Cyrene (ca. 325–300 BC), for example in a passage concerning brides, who must go down to Artemis before they enter the bridal chamber.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

This article raised the question of the understanding and together with it the translation of various terms designating sacrificial animals in Greek ritual norms. A precise analysis has been undertaken for nouns related to the four most common species attested in such inscriptions, as well as for terms denominating animals without giving information about their species, i.e. what we call the category of “generic animals”. This analysis, based on all the relevant data collected in Greek ritual norms and illustrated with examples, has contributed to offer a consistent and empirically grounded translation of the terms in question, which takes into account the variations of the material, both in time and place. If scholars adopt such consistent definitions and use of vocabulary, the study of animal sacrifice, animal husbandry and ritual norms could be more solid and precise. Beyond providing consistent understanding and translations of animal names, this paper offers methodological insights into the translation process. It illustrates in particular how important it is not to push the translations further than what the evidence allows and that it is sometimes better to be too generic than too specific.

Appendix

Legend: U = undetermined gender; M = male; F = female.

Greek term	English translation	French translation
βοῦς U	bovine	bovin
βοῦς M	ox	bœuf
βοῦς F	cow	vache
ἱερεῖον βοϊκόν U	bovine sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel de type bovin
ταῦρος	bull	taureau
δάμαλις	heifer	génisse
μόσχος U	calf	veau
μόσχος F	female calf	velle

Table 1. Vocabulary related to cattle

¹¹³ Casabona (1966), 146–148.

¹¹⁴ *CGRN* 126, lines 17–19: τὸς δὲ θ[ύ]λοντας τᾷ Δεσποίνῃ θύματα θύ[η]ν | θή[λ]εα λευκ[ά] ..], “Those who offer sacrifices to Despoina should sacrifice white female animals.”

¹¹⁵ *CGRN* 99, B, lines 86–88: ἃ δὲ κα ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσα[ι]σ[α] μιᾷ ἔκασσα, καθάραισα τὸ Ἄρταμίτιον ἐπ[ι]θ[υ]σεῖ | ζαμίαν βοτόν τέλευν, “She who, having not done these things, willingly pollutes (herself), after having purified the sanctuary of Artemis, will sacrifice in addition as a penalty an adult grazing animal.”

Greek term	English translation	French translation
οἶς U	sheep	mouton
οἶς M	wether	mouton mâle
οἶς F	ewe	brebis
πρόβατον U	sheep / ovicaprid	mouton / ovin-caprin
πρόβατον M	wether	mouton mâle
ἱερεῖον προβάτειον U	ovine sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel de type ovin
μήλειον ἱερεῖον	ovine sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel de type ovin
κριός	ram	bélier
ἀρνειός	ram	bélier
ἀρῆν U	lamb	agneau
ἀρῆν M	male lamb	agneau mâle
ἀρῆν F	female lamb	agnelle
ἀμνός	male lamb	agneau mâle
ἀμνή	female lamb	agnelle

Table 2. Vocabulary related to sheep

Greek term	English translation	French translation
αἶξ U	goat	caprin
αἶξ M	wether goat	caprin mâle
αἶξ F	she-goat	chèvre
ἱερεῖον αἰγείου U	caprine sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel de type caprin
τράγος	he-goat	bouc
ἀττηγός	he-goat	bouc
ἔριφος U	kid	chevreau
ἔριφος M	male kid	chevreau mâle
ἔριφος F	female kid	chevrette
χίμαρος	male kid	chevreau mâle
χίμαιρα	female kid	chevrette

Table 3. Vocabulary related to goats

Greek term	English translation	French translation
ὑς U	pig	porc
ὑς M	male pig	porc mâle
ὑς F	sow	truie
ὑϊκὸν ἱερεῖον U	porcine sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel de type porcin
κάπρος	boar	verrat
χοῖρος U	piglet	porcelet
χοῖρος M	male piglet	porcelet mâle
χοῖρος F	female piglet	porcelet femelle
χοιρίδιον U	piglet	porcelet
χοιρίδιον M	male piglet	porcelet mâle
χοιρίον U	piglet	porcelet

χοιρίον M	male piglet	porcelet mâle
χοιρίσκος	piglet	porcelet
δέλφαξ U	piglet	porcelet
δελφάκιον U	piglet	porcelet

Table 4. Vocabulary related to pigs

Greek term	English translation	French translation
ιερείον U	sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel
ιερείον M	male sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel mâle
ιερείον F	female sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel femelle
ιερόν U	sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel
θῦμα U	sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel
θῦμα F	female sacrificial animal	animal sacrificiel femelle
βοτόν U	grazing animal	animal de pâturage

Table 5. Vocabulary related to the category of “generic animals”

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