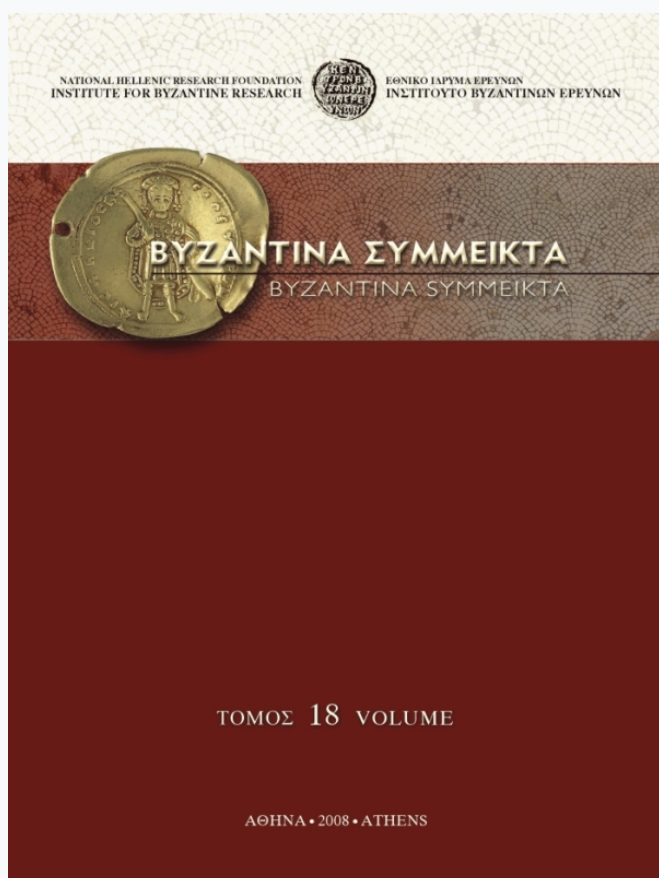


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MARIA CHRONE-VAKALOPOULOS – ANGELOS VAKALOPOULOS

FISHES AND OTHER AQUATIC SPECIES IN BYZANTINE LITERATURE
CLASSIFICATION, TERMINOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC NAMES

Fish was a substantial food item during antiquity and the Middle Ages for the people living around the Mediterranean area, as it is considered of high nutritional value¹. Fishes are mentioned in respective Byzantine texts more often than any other foodstuff. After Christianity was predominated and the rules of the new religion were established, the statute of fasting contributed determinatively to the increased consumption of fish and aquatic species in general, since the basic criterion for defining the foods allowed for eating was the content in blood. In some fasting days, such as the Lent of Christmas,

1. J. ANDRÉ, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, Paris 1961. K. P. MATSCHKE, Situation, Organisation und Aktion der Fischer von Konstantinopel und Umgebung in der byzantinischen Spätzeit, *Byzantinobulgarica* 6 (1980) 281-298. G. PURPURA, Pesca e stabilimenti antichi per lavorazione del pesce in Sicilia, *Sicilia Archeologica* 57-58 (1985) 59-86. F. TINNEFELD, Zur Kulinarischen Qualität Byzantinischer Speisefische, *Chich/ukai ronsh/u: Studies in the Mediterranean world, past and present* 11: Collected papers dedicated to Kin-ichi Watanabe (Tokyo 1988) 155-176. N. PURSELL, Eating Fish. The Paradoxes of Seafood, *Food in Antiquity*, ed. J. WILKINS - D. HARVEY - M. DOBSON, Exeter 1995, 132-149. T. G. KOLIAS, Versorgung des byzantinischen Marktes mit Tieren und Tierprodukten, *Internationales Symposium Handelswege und Verkehrswege. Commodities and Traffic Routes. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Aspects of Supply and Accommodation in the Eastern Mediterranean (4th to 15th Centuries)*. Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Univ. Wien - Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini der ÖAW - Österreichische Byzantinische Gesellschaft. Wien 19.-22. Oktober 2005 (proceedings under publication). D. MYLONA, *Fish-Eating in Greece from the Fifth Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.: A Story of Impoverished Fishermen or Luxurious Fish Banquets*, Oxford 2008. M. GEROLYMATOU, *Αγορές, έμποροι και έμπόριο στο Βυζάντιο*, Athens 2008, 65-67.

the Transfiguration feast day on August 6 that is included in the fasting period for the Assumption of Virgin Mary on August 15, or the feast of the Annunciation on March 25 that is included in the Lent of Easter, eating of fish is provided². In addition, the consumption of all the other sea-food, except of fish, is allowed in all the fasting periods. This might be concluded from the absence of any relevant prohibition in the extant typologies of monasteries and from the oral evidence expressed by modern monks, whose monasteries have adopted the Byzantine tradition. During also the breaking of fasting, fish takes the place of meat in the monastic meals, if its consumption is prohibited by the rules of the monastery³.

Main sources are texts dealing with nutrition, written by Byzantine doctors and *Geoponika*⁴ that provide guidelines for fishing methods of

2. See *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Τυπικόν*, Venice 1685. *Ὡρολόγιον Μέγα, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων*, Venice 1851. *Τυπικὸν τῆς Βασιλικῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος*, ed. P. GAUTIER, *Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator*, REB 32 (1974) 56-60. *Τυπικὸν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους γεγονὸς ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἀειμνήστου βασιλέως κῆρ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μονομάχου*, ed. PH. MEYER, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, Leipzig 1894, 227.88-228.91. Eustathius of Thessaloniki, *Λόγοι*, ed. P. WIRTH, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera Minora*, (CFHB 32), Berlin - New York 2000, 29. See also E. KISLINGER, *Cristiani d'Oriente, regole e realtà alimentari nel mondo bizantino, Storia dell'alimentazione*, a cura di J. L. FLANDRIN - M. MONTANARI, Rome - Bari 1997, 250-267. E. GIANNAKOPOULOU, *Ἡ κρεοφαγία κατὰ τοὺς Ἱεροῦς Κανόνες καὶ τὰ Πρακτικὰ τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων*, Athens 2002, 113-136.

3. *Le Typikon Pantocrator*, 56-60. *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* 227.88-228.91. Anonymous, *Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Συμεὼν τοῦ Στυλῖτου*, ed. P. VAN DEN VEEN, *La Vie Ancienne de S. Symeon Stylite le Jeune* (SubsHag 32), Bruxelles 1962, 148. Eustathius of Thessaloniki, *Ἐπίσκεψις βίου μοναχικοῦ*, ed. K. METZLER, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis de Emendanda Vita Monachica*, (CFHB 45), Berlin 2006, 112-113. Niketas Choniates, *Χρονικὴ Διήγησις*, ed. I. A. VAN DIETEN, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, (CFHB 11/1), Berlin - New York 1975, 145.14-25. Anonymous, *Βίος καὶ Πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, ed. P. G. GIOVANELLI, Rome 1972, 69, 89, 124. See also J. KODER, *Ἡ καθημερινὴ διατροφή στὸ Βυζάντιο μὲ βάση τὶς πηγές. Βυζαντινῶν διατροφή καὶ μαγειρεῖται*, *Πρακτικὰ ἡμερίδας Περὶ τῆς διατροφῆς στὸ Βυζάντιο* (Thessaloniki 2001), Athens 2005, 25-27. GIANNAKOPOULOU, *Ἡ κρεοφαγία*, 149-158, M. CHRONE-VAKALOPOULOU, *Ἀναφορὲς τῶν βυζαντινῶν πηγῶν στὰ πτηνὰ καὶ στὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν προερχόμενα προϊόντα*, *ΕΕΦΣΠΑ* 39 (2008) 281-303 (mainly 285-286).

4. *Γεωπονικά*, ed. H. BECKH, *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1895.

various fish species⁵. It seems that Byzantine doctors considered fish, in majority and most of the other aquatic animals as food of high nutritional value providing substantial benefits to human health⁶. Byzantine doctors adopted Galen's contemplation on the link between medicine and nutrition: *Ίατρικὴν δὲ λέγειν ἢ ὑγιεινὴν οὐ διοίσει πρὸς γε τὰ παρόντα. περὶ τούτων οὖν εἰρήσεται (...), ὅσα συνεχῶς ἐσθίουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι*⁷. Moreover, the products of fish, shell-fish and molluscs are used as raw materials for the preparation of pharmaceutical products in the composition of the prescriptions proposed in these medical texts⁸. However, information in regard to the names of fishes and aquatic species are reported in various

5. R. CURTIS, *Garum and salsamenta. Production and commerce in materia medica*, Leiden – New York – Copenhagen – Köln 1991.

6. See indicatively: Oribasius, *Ίατρικῶν συναγωγῶν βιβλία*, ed. I. RAEDER, *Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae* (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum [=CMG] 6.1-2), Leipzig – Berlin 1928-1933, 2.58, which in fact integrates Xenocrates, *Περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ ἐνύδρων τροφῆς* (see nn. 15, 30): *Πεποιήται μὲν ἡ νηχαλέα φύσις σιτίων ἄθυρμα ταῖς ἐντραπέξοις ἀπολαύσει, μέγα δ' ὄφελος κὰν ταῖς καθ' ὑγιείαν διαίταις*. Georgios of Pisidia, *Ἐξαήμερος ἡ Κοσμουργία*, ed. L. TARTAGLIA, *Esamerone*, in *Carmi di Giorgio di Pisidia*, Torino 1998, 402, 1502-1519 [see mainly 1504-1505 (*στέαρ δὲ φώκης φλεγμονὰς οἰδημάτων σβέννυσιν*) and 1511-1518 (*καὶ βρώσις ἀπλὴ τοῦ σκάρου τῶν ἐντέρων / εἶργει τὸ ῥεῦμα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐντέρων / πόσις δὲ χυλοῦ κωβίων πετροστέγων / ὄθημα γαστροῦ γίνεται πεφραγμένης, / φθίσιν δὲ καὶ χίμετλα καὶ τῶν σκορπίων / θραύει τὰ κέντρα καὶ καταψύχει πόνοους / τοὺς λυσοδοήκτους, τοὺς δὲ καρκίνους ξέει / καρκίνος ἐλθὼν ἐκ βυθοῦ θαλαττίου*)]. See also Nikolaos Hydrountos, *Ποιήματα*, ed. M. GIGANTE, *Poeti bizantini di terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII*, Napoli 1979, 15.80: *Ἐναιμιον ἰχθὺν καὶ σῦκον ῥέον γάλα / ἔσθιτε πάντα καὶ μένεις ἄνευ βλάβης*.

7. Galen, *Περὶ λεπτυνούσης διαίτης*, ed. C. G. KÜHN, *De sanitate tuenda*, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia* (CMG 5), Leipzig – Berlin 1923 (repr. Hildesheim 1965), 3.23.

8. See indicatively: Theophanes Nonnos, *Σύνοψις ἱατρικῆ*, ed. J. St. BERNARD, *Theophanis Nonni epitome de curatione morborum*, Gotha – Amsterdam 1794 – 1795, 62.113: *Πρὸς σειομένους ὀδόντας καὶ αἵμασσόμενα οὖλα. Ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὀδονταλγῶν ἄκρως ποιεῖ (...)* *μαστίχην ὀλίγην σμῖξας σηπίας ὀστράκου. Περὶ οὐλῶν καὶ λευκωμάτων. Ἐπίσταξε σηπίας ὀστρακον καμφθὲν καὶ σὺν μέλιτι λειωθέν.* Symeon Seth, *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεων*, ed. B. LANGKAVEL, *Simeonis Sethi, Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, Leipzig 1868, 60: *Περὶ καρίδων (...)* *τριβεῖσαι δὲ καὶ σὺν ὀξυμέλιτι ποθεῖσαι τὰς ἔλμινθας ἐκβάλλουσι.*

quotations of the broad field of Byzantine literature⁹ that coincides, in the majority, with those included in the medical texts. Remarkable information on fish and other aquatic animals and their significance in the every day life of Byzantine people is offered in the studies of K. Dévedjian¹⁰, D. Georgacas¹¹, E. Kislinger¹², G. Dagron¹³ and M. Kokoszko¹⁴.

The present study is part of an extensive research on the products of animal origin in Byzantine texts and covers two objectives: the

9. E. g. Basil of Caesarea, *Λόγος εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον*, ed. E. A. DE MENDIETA – S. Y. RUDBERG, *Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, Berlin 1997. Anonymous, *Ὁ Φυσιολόγος*, ed. D. ΚΑΙΜΑΚΗΣ, *Der Physiologos nach der ersten Redaktion*, Meisenheim 1974. Anonymous, *Συλλογὴ τῆς περὶ ζώων ἱστορίας, χειρσαίων πτηνῶν τε καὶ θαλαττίων, Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι φιλοπονηθεῖσα. Ἀριστοφάνους τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζώων ἐπιτομή, ὑποτεθέντων ἐκάστῳ ζῳῷ καὶ τῶν Αἰλιανῶ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ ἑτέροις τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρημένων*, ed. S. P. LAMBROS, *Supplementum Aristotelicum*, v. I. 1. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium libri duo, Aristophanis Historiae animalium epitome, subiunctis Aeliani Timothei aliorumque eclogis*, Berlin 1885 (repr. 1965). Achmet, *Ὀνειροκριτικόν*, ed. F. DREXL, *Achmetis Oniroticon*, Leipzig 1925. *Ptochoprodromus, Πουήματα*, ed. H. EIDENEIER, *Ptochoprodromos* (Neograeca Medii Aevi 5), Köln 1991. Manuel Philes, *Περὶ ζώων ιδιότητος*, ed. F. S. LEHRS – F. DÜBNER, *Phile De Animalibus, elephante, plantis, etc.*, in *Poetae bucolici et didactici*, Paris 1842. Anonymous, *Ὅψαρολόγος*, ed. H. WINTERWERB, *Porikologos* (Neograeca Medii Aevi 7), Köln 1992, 252-253 [=Opsarologos], according to K. KRUMBACHER's edition, *Das mittelgriechische Fischbuch*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, München 1903, Heft 3, 345-381.

10. K. DÉVEDJIAN, Ancien Directeur de la poissonnerie de Constantinople et contrôleur en chef des pêcheries, *Pêche et pêcheries en Turquie*, Constantinople 1926.

11. D. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names of aquatic animals and fishing terms of Greek Origin, *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* 20 (1978) 119-145. D. GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon and Etymology of the International Terms Botargo, Caviar and Congeners* (Πραγματοῖται τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 43), Athens 1978.

12. E. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Eine realienkundliche Studie aufgrund hagiographischer und historiographischer Quellen* (Diss. Univ. Wien), Wien 1982, 74-91.

13. G. DAGRON, Poissons, pêcheurs et poissonniers de Constantinople, in: *Constantinople and its hinterland: papers from the twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. C. MANGO – G. DAGRON, Oxford 1993, 57-73.

14. M. KOKOSZKO, Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego Antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (III-VII w), (title in English summary: The role of fish in everyday life of the people of late antiquity and early Byzantium (III-VII c.), *Byzantina Lodziensia* 9 (2005) 426-430.

presentation of the fish and the various aquatic species terminology as reported in the Byzantine sources and the identification of each species, correspondingly, with its current scientific name. The identification is based on the categorization provided by some of the sources and moreover on parameters related to the physiology of the species, as it is described in modern ichthyology¹⁵. The etymological affinity between the names of most fishes and other aquatic species reported in the Byzantine sources, with the corresponding common name in the Modern Greek language contributed significantly to the outcome of the research¹⁶.

15. The objectives of the present study do not intend to draw conclusions connected with the origin of some information of the texts that transfer data from other older sources, (see indicatively: Xenocrates, *Περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνύδρων τροφῆς*, ed. J. L. IDELER, *Xenocrates De alimentis ex fluvialibus*, in *Physici et Medici Graeci minores* [=PhMGM], Berlin 1841-1842 (repr. Amsterdam 1963) I, 121-133. Marcellus of Sydon, *Ἱατρικὰ περὶ ἰχθύων*, ed. J. L. IDELER, *Marcelli Sidetae Carmen de piscibus*, in *PhMGM* I, 134-137. Galen, *De sanitate tuenda*. Oppianus, *Ἀλιευτικά*, ed. F. FAJEN, *Oppianus, Halieutica. Der Fischfang. Einführung, Text, Übersetzung in deutscher Sprache, ausführliche Kataloge der Meeresfauna*, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1999. Claudius Aelianus, *Περὶ ζῴων ιδιότητος*, ed. A. F. SCHOLFIELD, *Aelian on the characteristics of animals*, Cambridge – Massachusetts 1957), or it is obtained from various cross-cultural interactions. [For this subject, see indicatively: G. HARIG, Von den arabischen Quellen des Symeon Seth, *Medizinhist. Journal* 2 (1964) 248-268. F. SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Medizin – Pharmazie – Zoologie – Tierheilkunde*, Leiden 1970, III, 498-495. J. H. GRAF, Trepanation bei Byzantinern und Arabern, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 57 (1973) 332-340. R. DEGEN, Zur syrischen Übersetzung der Aphorismen des Hippokrates, *Oriens Christianus* 62 (1978) 36-52. M. ULLMANN, *Islamic Medicine*, Edinburgh 1978, 138-145. S. J. WILKIE – G. E. R. LLOYD, The Arabic Version of Galen's *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, *JHS* 102 (1982) 232-233. M. MEYERHOF, *Studies in Medieval Arabic Medicine. Theory and Practice*, London 1984, 366-370. J. IRIGOIN, Les traductions arabes de traités médicaux grecs et leurs différents types de sources, *Tradizione e ecdotica dei testi medici tardoantichi e bizantini*, Napoli 1992, 147-155. D. JACQUART, À propos des sources Byzantines d'al' Magusi (Xe siècle): le livre d'Ahtun, *Tradizione e ecdotica dei testi medici tardoantichi e bizantini*, 157-169]. Such conclusions is the objective of a more extended research treating comparatively aquatic animals and other products of animal origin in the Byzantine sources.

16. The information obtained from the database of the Food and Drug Administration of the United Nations [FAO] was used in order to register the corresponding scientific name (SN) of each species (*Food and Drug Administration of the United Nations* [FAO], *Fishbase - Fisheries Information Center*): www.fishbase.org. As additional references were used: A. F. WOOD, Greek Fish Names, *AJP* 48 (1927) 297-325 and *AJP* 49 (1928) 36-56. D'A. THOMPSON, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London 1947. G. BINI, *Catalogo dei nomi dei*

Fishes

In the texts of the Byzantine doctors, fishes are classified in categories based on their physiology and origin, because, according to the writers, these are determining factors for the nutritional value of each species.

In regard to their physiology, fishes are distinguished as σκληρόσαρκοι¹⁷, σκληρόσαρκοι πλατεῖς, μαλακόσαρκοι or ἀπαλόσαρκοι¹⁸ and μεσαῖοι. In regard to their origin, they are distinguished as αἰγιαλώδεις or

pesci, dei molluschi, e dei crostacei di importanza commerciale nel Mediterraneo, Rome 1965. P. OIKONOMIDIS, Catalogue of Hellenic Fishes, *Hellenic Oceanology and Limnology*, 11 (1973) 421-599. A. DAVIDSON, *North Atlantic Seafood*, London 1979. A. DAVIDSON, *Mediterranean Seafood*, Harmondsworth 1981. K. PAPAΚONSTANTINOY, *Κατάλογος τῶν θαλασσίων ἰχθύων τῆς Ἑλλάδας*, Thessaloniki 1988. H. ZACHARIOY-MAMALINGA, *The fishes of Symi, Dodecanese*, Kifisia 1990. CH. N. CHRISTOY, *Ἰχθυοπονία*, Thessaloniki 1990. CH. N. CHRISTOY, *Ἰχθυολογία*, Thessaloniki 1997. G. H. PNEUMATIKATOS, *Ἰχθυοτροφεία καὶ ἰχθυοπαθολογία*, Thessaloniki 1996. P. R. OIKONOMIDIS, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς Ἑλλάδας*, Thessaloniki 1997. G. D. FOTIS, *Ἐκτροφή καὶ παθολογία ἰχθύων*, Thessaloniki 1999. G. TSONIS, *Τὸ ἀλφαριθμητὰ τῶν ψαριῶν*, Athens 1999. A. DALBY, *Food in the ancient world from A to Z*, London – New York 2003. Acknowledgements belong to Dr. D. Bouboulis, ichthyopathologist, for his scientific contribution in the categorisation of the aquatic animals. In order to facilitate editing, the references to the sources have been included in the main text.

17. LSP⁹. D. DIMITRAKOS, *Μέγα Λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, Athens 1954-1958 (=DimLex), entry σκληρόσαρκος. Aristoteles, *Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων* 486b 9 (ed. P. LOUIS, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux*, v. 1, Paris 1964, 2). *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.46-58. *Basilius, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 394. Alexander of Tralles, *Ἱατρικὰ βιβλία*, ed. T. PUSCHMANN, *Alexander von Tralles, Zur Geschichte der Medicin*, v. I-II, Vienna 1876-1878 (repr. Amsterdam 1963), 2.307. Anonymous, *Περὶ τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ποίαις δεῖ χρῆσθαι τροφαῖς ἐν ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ποίων ἀπέχεσθαι*, ed. J. L. IDELER, *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, in *PhMGM I*, 423-429 (429). KOKOSZKO, Ryby i ich znaczenie, 137.

18. LSP⁹, entry ἀπαλόσαρκος. DimLex. E. TRAPP, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, Wien 2001-2007 (=TrappLex), entries ἀπαλόσωμος, μαλακόσαρκος. Aristoteles, *Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων* 486b 9 (ed. P. LOUIS, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux*, v. 1, Paris 1964, 2). *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. Hierophilus Philosopher, *Περὶ τροφῶν κύκλος*, ed. J. L. IDELER, *De Nutriendi Methodo*, in *PhMGM I*, 409-420 (410). *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 423. Georgios Pachymeres, *Περὶ ζώων μορίων*, ed. E. PAPPAS, *Georgios Pachymeres, Philosophia, Buch 6. Kommentar zu "De partibus animalium" des Aristoteles*, Athens 2008, 12.13-14.

αἰγιαλίοι¹⁹, πετράιοι²⁰, πελάγιοι²¹, θαλάσσιοι²², ποτάμιοι and λιμναῖοι²³. As σκληρόσαρκοι are characterised the fishes with tough flesh. The term μαλακόσαρκοι or ἀπαλόσαρκοι characterises the fish and other aquatic species with tender flesh. The separation of fishes in σκληρόσαρκοι and μαλακόσαρκοι in πελάγιοι, αἰγιαλώδεις and πετράιοι, was first described by Aristoteles.

Σκληρόσαρκοι

Ἀλώπηξ or κερδαλή: SN: *Alopias Vulpinus* (Hesychius of Alexandria, *Λεξικόν*, ed. K. LATTE, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, v. 1. A-Δ. - v. 2. E-O, Copenhagen 1953, 1966. - V. 3. Π-Σ, ed. P. A. HANSEN, Berlin 2005 (in connection with the older *editio minor* by M. SCHMIDT, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, Jena 1867, for the letters T-Ω) [=HesLex], entry κερδαλή. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1848-1852)²⁴.

Ἀμύα: SN: *Thunnus thynnus* (HesLex, entry ἀμύα. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 208: γουφάρια)²⁵.

Βούγλωσσο: SN: *Buglossidium Luteum* (HesLex, entry βούγλωσσον. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.51, 2.58, 3.1. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.61. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 30. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1761-1770)²⁶.

19. Fish species living in shallow water close to the coast. *LSJ*⁹. *DimLex*, entry αἰγιαλώδης. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Basilius*, *Homilien zum Hexaameron*, 394.

20. SN: *Saxatiles Pisces*. Fish species living near rocks in the bottom of the sea. The same term characterises the fish category also today. *LSJ*⁹. *DimLex*, entry πετράιος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Basilius*, *Homilien zum Hexaameron*, 394. Michael Psellos, *Πόνημα Ἱατρικὸν ἄριστον δι' ἰάμβων*, ed. L. G. WESTERINK, *De Medicina*, in: *Michaelis Pselli Poemata*, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1992, 190-233 (212). *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 423, 426.

21. Fish species living in great depths and in the open sea. *LSJ*⁹. *DimLex*, entry πελάγιος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Basilius*, *Homilien zum Hexaameron*, 394.

22. Fish species living in the sea in contradistinction to those living in lakes and rivers. *LSJ*⁹. *DimLex*, entry θαλάσσιος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Basilius*, *Homilien zum Hexaameron*, 394.

23. Fish species living in lakes and rivers. *LSJ*⁹. *DimLex*, entries ποτάμιος, λιμναῖος. *Diokletians Preisedikt*, ed. S. LAUFFER, Berlin 1971, 109. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Basilius*, *Homilien zum Hexaameron*, 394. *Michaelis Pselli, De Medicina*, 215-216. See also A. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII-XVc*, *BZ* 85 (1995) 68-84 (71).

24. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἰαλώπηξ.

25. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἀμύα. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 127.

26. *LSJ*⁹, entry βούγλωσσο. G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961-1968 (=Lampe), entry βούγλωσσο. *TrappLex*, entries βούγλωσσον, βώγλωσσον,

Γαλεώννυμος. SN: *Mustelus Punctulatus* (*HesLex*, entry γαλεώτης. Souda, Λεξικόν, ed. A. ADLER, Leipzig 1928-1938 [repr. Stuttgart 1989-1994] (=SudLex)], entry γαλέα, γαλεός. Joannes Zonaras, Λεξικόν, ed. J. A. H. TITTMANN, *Joannis Zonarae Lexicon*, Leipzig 1808 [repr. Amsterdam 1967 (=ZonLex)], entry γαλεός / γαλεώτης. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.52. *Opsarologos*, 252)²⁷.

Δράκων. SN: *Trachinus Draco* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.51. *Basilus von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398)²⁸.

Ἐλαψ. SN: *Galeus Melastomus* (*Geoponica*, 20.7)²⁹.

Ἐρυθρίνος or λύθρινος. SN: *Pagellus Erythrinus* (*HesLex*, entry ἔρυθρινοι. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 409)³⁰.

Θρανίς or Ξιφίας. SN: *Xiphias Gladius* (*HesLex*, entry ξιφίας. *SudLex*, entry θρανίτις. *ZonLex*, entry ξιφίας. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 73. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 207. Theodoros Prodromos, *Στίχοι κατὰ ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰς τοὺς ἰβ' μῆνας*, ed. J. L. IDELER, *Theodori Prodromi Mensium Adornatio*, in *PhMGM* I 418-420 (420). *Opsarologos*, 252. Anonymous, Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῶν καλουμένων τζύρων, ed. S. P. LAMBROS, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 7.4 (1910) 353-359 [355, 358]³¹.

Θυννίς and θύννος. SN: *Thunnus Thynnus*. In the past, the term characterised a large category of tunny-fishes living in the Mediterranean Sea, in which *παλαμίδα* (SN: *Sarda Unicolor*: bonito) and *ὄρκυνα*

βούλωττα. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 127. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 104.

27. *LSJ*⁹, entry γαλεώννυμος. *TrappLex*, entry γαλέον. E. KRIARAS, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας* (=KriarasLex), v. 4 (Thessaloniki 1975), entry γαλέα. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 127, 135. KOKOSZKO, 430.

28. *LSJ*⁹, entry δράκων. *KriarasLex*, v. 5 (1977), entry δράκαινα. K.-H. LEVEN, *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*, München 2005, entry Schlange. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128.

29. *DimLex*, entry μελανόστομος. GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms*, 115-119.

30. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἐρυθρίνος. *TrappLex*, entry λυθρινάριον. *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry λυθρινάρι / λεθρινάρι(ον). A. KORAI, *Ξενοκράτης - Γαληνός, Περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνύδρων τροφῆς*, Paris 1814, 61. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 82.

31. *LSJ*⁹, entries θρανίς, ξιφίας, ξιφιός. *TrappLex*, entry ξιφίας. *KriarasLex*, v. 12 (1993), entry ξίφιος. DÉVEDJIAN, 4-10. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 76.

(SN: *Thunnus Alalunga*: albacore / yellowfin tuna) were included. (*HesLex*, entry θύννος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 1.3, 2.57, 58. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.473. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 17, 34, 46. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 43. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40. *Der Physiologos*, 144a. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 231. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 237. *Opsarologos*, 252)³².

Ιουλίζ: SN: *Coris Julis* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.49, 58. *Geoponica*, 20.7. Hierophilus Philosopher, Πῶς ὀφείλει διαιτᾶσθαι ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μηνί, ed. A. DELATTE, *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, in *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia*, v. II, Paris – Liège 1939, 456-466 (462). *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 429. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1853-1865. *Georgios Pachymeres*, 43.23)³³.

Κεντροίτης or κεντροίνης: SN: *Centrophorus Granulosus* (*HesLex*, entry κεντροῖναι. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1640)³⁴.

Κεστρεύς: SN: *Barbus Graecus* (*HesLex*, entry κεστρεῖς. *SudLex*, entries κεστρεῖαι, κεστρεῖς, κεστρινός. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58, 62. (where it is strongly recommended for salting). *Geoponica*, 20.15, 16, 17, 30, 41. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40)³⁵.

Κέφαλος: SN: *Mugil Cephalus* (*HesLex*, entry κεφαλίνο. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.46. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.473. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 15, 16, 17, 20, 41. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 59, 63. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 178. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 409, 410, 411. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 423, 424, 427. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1623-1629. *Opsarologos*, 252)³⁶.

32. *LSJ*⁹, entries θύννος, θυννίς. *TrappLex*, entry θύν(ν)α. *KriarasLex*, v. 7 (1980), entry θύννα. KORAIS, Ξενοκράτης – Γαληνός, 65: «θύννος καὶ ὄγκυνος καὶ παλαμὺς οὐ διαφόρου εἶδους ἀλλὰ διαφόρου ἡλικίας εἰσὶν ὀνόματα». However, according to FAO, θύννος is registered as tuna fish. DÉVEDJIAN, 10-15. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 131, 133. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 78. KOKOSZKO, 430.

33. *LSJ*⁹, entry ιουλίζ.

34. *LSJ*⁹, entry κεντροίτης, κεντροίνης. *TrappLex*, entry κεντροίτης. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128.

35. *LSJ*⁹, entries κέστρα, κεστρεύς, κεστρινός. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 78. A. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIIc*, BZ 77 (1984) 20-37, (24). KOKOSZKO, 430. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII-XVc*, 71.

36. *LSJ*⁹, entries κεστρεύς, κέφαλος. *KriarasLex*, v. 8 (1982), entry κέφαλος. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 78. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIIc*, 24. KOKOSZKO, 430. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII-XVc*, 71.

Κόκκυξ. SN: *Aspitrigla Cuculus*. Possibly, the name originates from the noise of the fish fins when they move, that is similar to the voice of cuckoo (*HesLex*, entry *κόκκυξ*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.59. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.251, 367. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 412. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 429. See and Aristoteles, *Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων*, 535b 20, 598a 15 (ed. P. LOUIS, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux*, v. 1, Paris 1964, 148; v. 3, Paris 1969, 32)³⁷.

Κολίας. SN: *Scomberesox Saurus Saurus* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58, 72, where it is suggested to be eaten mainly as salted)³⁸.

Κυπρίνος. SN: *Cyprinus Carpio Caprio*. A fish species living in lakes and rivers (*HesLex*, entry *κυπρίνος*. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40)³⁹.

Λακέρτα. SN: *Katsuwonus Peramis* (*Opsarologos*, 252-253. Anonymous, *Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη*, 353, 355, 358)⁴⁰.

Μελάνουρος. SN: *Oblada Melanura* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 40, 45. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1650-1659. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 410, 412. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 427)⁴¹.

Ὀρκυνος. SN: *Thunnus Alalunga* (*HesLex*, entry *ὄρκυνος*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. Anonymous, *Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη*, 355, 358)⁴².

Ὀρφός. SN: *Epinephelus Aeneus* (*HesLex*, entry *ὄρυνξ*. *SudLex*, entry *ὀρφός*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.52. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 20. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 426)⁴³.

37. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κόκκυξ*. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 79.

38. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κολίας*. *TrappLex*, entry *κολιός*. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 129. KOKOSZKO, 431.

39. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κυπρίνος*. *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry *κυπρίνος / κυπρινάρι(ο)ν*.

40. *TrappLex*, entry *λακέρτα*. *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry *λακέρτα*. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 129. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 76.

41. *LSJ*⁹. *TrappLex*, entry *μελάνουρος*. *KriarasLex*, v. 10 (1988), entry *μελανούρι*. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 130. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 82.

42. *LSJ*⁹, entry *ὄρκυνος*, *ὄρκυς*. *TrappLex*, entry *ὄρκυνός*. *KriarasLex*, v. 14 (1997), entry *ὄρκυνος*.

43. *LSJ*⁹, entry *ὀρφός*. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 127.

Πηλαμύς. SN: *Sarda Sarda* (*HesLex*, entry *πηλαμύς*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58, where an evaluation of the quality of the species subcategories is mentioned. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.67. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 105)⁴⁴.

Ῥαφίς. SN: *Syngnathus Phlegon* (*SudLex*, entry *Ῥαφίς*. *Geoponica*, 20.7)⁴⁵.

Σάλπη. SN: *Sarpa Salpa* (*HesLex*, entry *σάλπη*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Aristoteles, Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων* 534a 9 (ed. P. LOUIS, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux*, v. 1, Paris 1964, 144)⁴⁶.

Σινόδων. SN: *Galeorhinus Galeus* (*HesLex*, entry *σινόδους*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58, where an evaluation of the quality of the species subcategories is mentioned. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40)⁴⁷.

Σκόμβρος. SN: *Scomber Scombrus* (*HesLex*, entry *σκομβρίδες*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.61. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.543, 2.473. *Geoponica*, 20.7, where its use as raw material for the preparation of brine is recommended. *Ioannes Tzetzes, Ἐπιστολαί*, ed. P. A. M. LEONE, *Ioannes Tzetzes Epistulae*, Leipzig 1972, 81, letter n. 57. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 105, 237. *Opsarologos*, 252. Anonymous, *Τοῦ Θεολογάκη*, 353 (τξύροι), 354, 356)⁴⁸.

Σκορδύλη. SN: *Phycis Phycis* (*HesLex*, entry *σκορδύλη*. *Geoponica*, 20.7)⁴⁹.

Σκόρπαινα. SN: *Scorpaena Porcus* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40)⁵⁰.

Σκορπίος. SN: *Scorpaena Scrofa* (*HesLex*, entry *σκορπίος*. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.543, 2.367. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Opsarologos*, 253. *Hiérophili De*

44. *TrappLex*, entry *παλαμύς*. *LSJ*⁹, entry *πηλαμύς*. *KriarasLex*, v. 14 (1997), entry *παλαμίδα*. DÉVEDJIAN, 16-23. KOKOSZKO, 430.

45. *LSJ*⁹, entry *Ῥαφίς*.

46. *LSJ*⁹, entry *σάλπη*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 132.

47. *LSJ*⁹, entry *σινόδων*.

48. *LSJ*⁹, entry *σκόμβρος*. DÉVEDJIAN, 23-43. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 132. KOKOSZKO, 430.

49. *LSJ*⁹, entry *σκορδύλη*.

50. *LSJ*⁹, entry *σκόρπαινα*.

Nutriendi Methodo, 409. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 429)⁵¹.

Σκύλαξ ἢ Κύων. SN: *Skyliorhinus Canicula* (*HesLex*, entry κύων. *Achmetis Onirocriticon*, 139.10. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1636-1637. *Opsarologos*, 252. Anonymous, Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη, 358)⁵².

Τούρπαινα. SN: *Dipturus Oxyrinchus* (*Alexander von Tralles*, 2.575. *Paulus Aeginetes*, *Ἱατρικὰ βιβλία*, ed. J. L. HEIBERG, *Paulus Aegineta* (CMG 9), Leipzig – Berlin 1921-1924, 7.53. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Opsarologos*, 252)⁵³.

Τράχουρος. SN: *Trachurus Trachurus* (*HesLex*, entry σκιθακός. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.52, 58. *Geoponica*, 20.6, 7, 40. *Opsarologos*, 253. Anonymous, Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη, 358. See and *Aelian on the characteristics of animals*, 9.2)⁵⁴.

Τρίγλη. SN: *Mullus Murmuletus* (*HesLex*, entry τρίγλη. *SudLex*, entry τριγλῖς. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.48, 52, 58. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.403, 407. *Geoponica*, 20.19. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 106-107. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 409. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 462. *Theodori Prodromi Mensium Adornatio*, 420. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 429. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1949-1952, where the physiology and feeding habits of the red mullet are described: Τρίγλη δὲ νηκτὸν ἐστὶ καὶ λίχνον φύσει. / Καὶ γὰρ φιληθεῖ τοῖς κακόσμοις ἐκτόπως / καὶ τοῖς ῥυπαροῖς ἐντρυφᾷ θνησιδίοις)⁵⁵.

Τριχαῖος. SN: *Squalius Cephalus* (*Opsarologos*, 252).

Φάγκρος. SN: *Pagrus Pagrus* (*HesLex*, entry κάπρος, φάγκρος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58, 61, 62, where the species living in the sea is distinguished between the species living in the rivers. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 32. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 118. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 412.

51. *LSJ*⁹, entry σκορπίος. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 129. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 85.

52. *LSJ*⁹, entry κύων. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 88. KOKOSZKO, 430.

53. *LSJ*⁹, entry τούρπαινα. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIIc*, 23. KOKOSZKO, 430.

54. *LSJ*⁹, entries σαῦρος, σκιθακός, τράχουρος. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 132.

55. *LSJ*⁹, entry τρίγλη. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 77, note 363.

Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires, 460, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 426, 427, 429. Anonymous, Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη, 358)⁵⁶.

Φιλομήλα: SN: *Upeneus Moluccensis* (*SudLex*, entry φιλόμηλος. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 118. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 177. *Opsarologos*, 252)⁵⁷.

Σκληρόσαρκοι πλατεῖς

Ἀνθίας: SN: *Anthias Anthias* (*SudLex*, entry ἀνθίας. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1621-1622)⁵⁸.

Βάτος or βατίς: SN: *Dipturus Batis* (*HesLex*, entries βατίδες, βάτος / βατίς. *SudLex*, entry βατίς. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.56. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.361, 2.99. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 228. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 411. *Opsarologos*, 252. *Georgios Pachymeres*, 46.12.)⁵⁹.

Ἐλλοψ: SN: *Chelon Labrosus* (*HesLex*, entry ἔλλοπες. *SudLex*, *ZonLex*, entry ἔλλοπεύειν. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58)⁶⁰.

Κάλλιχθους: SN: *Callionymus Risso* (*Geoponica*, 20.7)⁶¹.

Κίθαρος or κιθαργός: SN: *Rhinobatos Rhinobatos* (*HesLex*. *SudLex*, entry κιθαρός. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 186)⁶².

Κορακῖνος: SN: *Serranus Hepatus* (*HesLex*, entries κορακεύς, κορακίας, κόραξ. *SudLex*, entry κορακῖνος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58, 62. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 9, 25)⁶³.

Λύχνος: SN: *Uranoscopus Scaber* (*HesLex*, entry λύχνος. *Opsarologos*, 253)⁶⁴.

56. *LSJ*⁹, entry φάγρος. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 133. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 87.

57. *DimLex*, entry φιλομήλα.

58. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἀνθίας. KORAI, Ξενοκράτης - Γαληνός, 68-69. GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms*, 119-121.

59. *LSJ*⁹. *TrappLex*, entry βάτος. *KriarasLex*, v. 4 (1975), entry βάτος. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 127. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 77.

60. *LSJ*⁹, entries ἔλλοψ, ἔλοψ.

61. *LSJ*⁹, entry κάλλιχθους.

62. *LSJ*⁹, entry κίθαρος. *TrappLex*, entry κίθαργός. *KriarasLex*, v. 8 (1982), entry κιθαργός. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 77.

63. *LSJ*⁹, entry κορακῖνος. KOKOSZKO, 430.

64. *LSJ*⁹, entry λυχνίσκος. *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry λύχνος. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 130.

Οὐρανοσκόπος or καλλιώνυμος. SN: *Callionymus Lyra* / *Uranoscopus Scaber*. The fish obtained the names οὐρανοσκόπος and λύχνος (see note 64) because its body emits faint blue light in the bottom of the sea. (*HesLex*, entries καλλιώνυμος, οὐρανοσκόπος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58)⁶⁵.

Πέρκη. SN: *Perca Fluviatilis* / *Serranus Scriba*. A fish species living in the rivers and the sea. (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.49, 58, where the quality of relative species is evaluated according to the place of origin: *Νειλαῖος κορακῖνος, καὶ ἐν Πήνῳ πέρκη, καὶ ἐν Τίβερι λάβραξ*)⁶⁶.

Ρίνα. The name of the fish refers to several SN of the species *Raja*, *Leukoraja*, *Dipturus* and *Squatina* followed by the name of many subspecies (e.g. *Raja Asterias*, *Leukoraja Fullonica*, *Dipturus Oxyrinchus*, *Squatina Oculata*). (*HesLex*, entry ῥινόβατος. *SudLex*, entry ῥίνη. *ZonLex*, entry ῥινός. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.41. *Opsarologos*, 252)⁶⁷.

Ρόμβος. SN: *Dicologlossa Cuneata* (*HesLex*, entry ῥόμβος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Opsarologos*, 252. See and Athenaeus of Naucrates, *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. G. KAIBEL, *Athenaei Naucratis Dipnosophistarum libri XV*, Leipzig 1887-1890 (repr. Stuttgart 1985), II, 330: *Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν τὴν ψῆτταν ῥόμβον, καὶ ἔστι τὸ ὄνομα Ἑλληνικόν, Ναυσικράτης δὲ ἐν Ναυκλήροις*)⁶⁸.

Σνάκιον. SN: *Psetta Maxima* (*HesLex*, entry σνάκτον. *SudLex*, entry σνάκιον. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 100, where the nutritional value of this fish is compared with that of the chicken meat: *Τὸ σνάκιον οὐ κακόχυμόν ἐστι καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε πεφθῇ. τρέφει γὰρ ἱκανῶς. ὠφελεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς τὴν κρᾶσιν θερμοὺς, καὶ ἔοικεν ἢ τοῦτου σάρξ τῇ τῶν ἀλεκτορίδων. Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 184. *Opsarologos*, 252. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 412. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 427. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 56.46-49)⁶⁹.

65. *LSJ*⁹, entries καλλιώνυμος, οὐρανοσκόπος. KORAI, *Ξενοκράτης – Γαληνός*, 68-69.

66. *LSJ*⁹, entries πέρκη, πέρκα. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 131.

67. *LSJ*⁹, entry ῥίνη. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 132.

68. *LSJ*⁹, entry ῥόμβος. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 88.

69. *LSJ*⁹, entries σνάκιον, σνάξ. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 132. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 93.

Ψῆττα: SN: *Solea Solea* / *Arnoglossus Thori* (*HesLex*, *SudLex*, entry ψῆττα. *ZonLex*, entries ψῆνες, ψῆττα / ψῆσσα, ψησίον. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58, 3.2. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.543, 2.61, 403. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 123. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 106)⁷⁰.

Ἀπαλόσαρκοι

Ἀθερίνα: SN: *Atherina Hepsetus* (*Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 185. Anonymus, *Παιδιόφραστος Διήγησις τῶν ζώων τῶν τετραπόδων*, ed. V. Tsiouni, München 1972. English Translation and Commentary, N. Nicholas – G. Baloglou, *An Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds*, New York 2003, 628-630, where the use of the ox's tail as bait for the fishing of sand smelts is mentioned: Ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ εὐτελές, τὸ ἄκρον τῆς οὐρᾶς μου, / χρῶνται αὐτὸ οἱ ἄλιεῖς εἰς ἄγρας τῶν ἰχθύων, / τὰς λέγουσιν ἄθερινάς, τὰς μικροτάτας πάνυ. *Geoponica*, 20. 46, where it is mentioned that the offal of ἄθερίνα is more appropriate for the preparation of brine in comparison with that of the other small fish: Τὸ καλούμενον λικουάμεν οὕτω γίνεται. τὰ ἔγκατα τῶν ἰχθύων βάλλεται εἰς σκεῦος, καὶ ἀλίζεται καὶ λεπτὰ ὀψαρίδια, μάλιστα δὲ ἄθερίναι. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 409. *Opsarologos*, 252)⁷¹.

Ἀνίς: SN: *Argyrosomus Regius* (*Geoponica*, 20.7).

Ἀντακόσχηλος: SN: *Pomatoschistus Canestrinii* (*HesLex*, entry ἀντακαῖοι. *Opsarologos*, 253, where the correction by Krumbacher (ed. cit. n. 9) from ἀντακόσχηλος to ἀντακόσκυλος must be valid)⁷².

Ἀφύη: SN: *Sardina Pilchardus* (*HesLex*, *SudLex*, entry ἀφύα. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1944-1948)⁷³.

Ἀχάρνης: SN: *Serranus Cabrilla* (*HesLex*, entry ἀχάρνα. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 412. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 427, 429)⁷⁴.

70. *LSJ*⁹, entry ψῆττα. See and KORAIS, *Ξενοκράτης – Γαληνός*, 48.

71. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἄθερίνος. *KriarasLex*, v. 1 (1968), entry ἄθερίνα. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 127. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 76-77, 91.

72. *KriarasLex*, v. 2 (1971), entry ἀντακόσκυλος.

73. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἀφύη. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 136. GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms*, 111-112, 275. KOKOSZKO, 430.

74. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἀχαρνός. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 88.

Βῶκος. SN: *Boops Boops* (*HesLex*, entry *βῶκα*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Geoponica*, 20.7)⁷⁵.

Γαλαξίας. SN: *Mustelus Mustelus* (*HesLex*, entry *γαλαρίας*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.62, where the higher quality of this fish is pointed out, compared to the other species of topes: *Καὶ οἱ γαλεώννυμοι δὲ ὁμοίως σκληρὰν ἔχουσι τὴν σάρκα, πλὴν τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καλουμένου γαλαξίου ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ ἀπαλοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἔστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος τοῦ τῶν γαλεῶν γένους*)⁷⁶.

Γλαῦκος or *γλάνις*. SN: *Pteroplatytrygon Violacea* (*HesLex*, entries *τρυγών*, *γλάνις*. *SudLex*, entry *γλάνις*. *ZonLex*, entry *γλάνις*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.543, 2.403, 455. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Michaelis Pselli, De Medicina*, 230. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 209. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1630-1635. *Opsarologos*, 252)⁷⁷.

Γόγγρος. SN: *Anguilla Anguilla* (*HesLex*, entry *γόγγρος*. *ZonLex*, entries *γόγγρος*, *κωπαῖς*, *ἔγχελυς*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398. *Georgios of Pisidia, Esamerone*, 1020. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.249. *Geoponica*, 20.7, where it is also mentioned as *ἴλλος*. *Opsarologos*, 253)⁷⁸.

Ἐγγραυλῖς or *λυκόστομος*. SN: *Pomatoschistus Microps* (*HesLex*, entry *λύκος*. *SudLex*, entry *λυκόστομος* / *κρασίχολος*. *Geoponica*, 20.7, where its use as raw material for the preparation of brine is recommended. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 105: *ἐγγραυλοπαστοφάγος*. *Opsarologos*, 252. See and *Oppianos Halieutica*, 4.470. *Aelian on the characteristics of animals*, 8.18, where it is also mentioned as *ἐγκρασίχολος* and *λυκόστομος*. *Ἐγγραύλεις, οἱ δὲ ἐγκρασιχόλους καλοῦσιν αὐτάς, προσακήκοά γε μὴν καὶ τρίτον ὄνομα αὐτῶν, εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ λυκοστόμους αὐτὰς ὀνομάζουσιν*)⁷⁹.

75. *LSJ*⁹, entries *βῶκος*, *βοῦκος*, *βουκαῖος*. *TrappLex*, entry *βῶψ*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128.

76. *LSJ*⁹, entry *γαλαξίας*.

77. *LSJ*⁹, entry *γλαῦκος*. *KriarasLex*, v. 4 (1975), entry *γλανέος*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 129. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 76, 78.

78. *LSJ*⁹, entry *γόγγρος*.

79. *LSJ*⁹, entries *ἐγγραυλῖς*, *λυκόστομος*. *TrappLex*, entry *ἐγγραῦλα*, *ἐγγραυλος*. *KriarasLex*, v. 5 (1977), entry *ἐγγραυλη* / *ἐγγραυλῖς*. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 91.

Ζαργάνα: SN: *Belone Belone* (*Opsarologos*, 252)⁸⁰.

Κάνθαρος: SN: *Spondyliosoma Cantharus* (*HesLex*, entry *κάνθαρος*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.437)⁸¹.

Κίχλα: SN: *Symphodus Rostratus* (*HesLex*, entry *κίχλη*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.49, 58, 3.2. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.483, 2.219, 403. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 463, 465. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 424)⁸².

Κόσσυφος: SN: *Symphodus Tinca* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.49, 58. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.543, 2.407. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1747-1760)⁸³.

Κουτσοурίνα: SN: *Carassius Carassius* (*Opsarologos*, 252)⁸⁴.

Κωβίος: SN: *Cobius Cobitis* / *Cobius Aurata* / *Cobius Flavescens*. A fish species living near rocky areas in the bottom of the sea, but also in lakes and rivers. (*HesLex*, entry *κωβίτης*. *SudLex*, entry *κωβιός*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.50. Georgios of Pisidia, *Esamerone*, 402, 1513. *Geoponica*, 20.1, 7. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 59-60. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 410. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458, 462, 465. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 424, 429)⁸⁵.

Λαγώς: SN: *Coryphaena Equiselis*. A poisonous fish not recommended for fishing and a risk to human consumption (*HesLex*, entry *λαγώς*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58)⁸⁶.

Λαπίνα: SN: *Symphodus Melops* (*Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 410, 412. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458, 460, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 427, 429)⁸⁷.

80. *TrappLex*, entry *ζαργάνη*. *KriarasLex*, v. 7 (1980), entry *ζαργάνα*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128.

81. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κάνθαρος*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 132.

82. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κίχλη*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 79.

83. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κόσσυφος*.

84. *TrappLex*, entry *κουτσοурίνα*. *KriarasLex*, v. 8 (1982), entry *κουτσοурίνα*.

85. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κωβιός*. *TrappLex*, entry *γουβίος*, *κωβιώδης*. *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry *κωβίδι(ο)ν*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 129. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 82.

86. *LSJ*⁹, entry *λαγώς*.

87. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 129. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 81.

Μαίνις: SN: *Spicara Maena* (Alexander von Tralles, 12.8. *Geoponica*, 20.7, where its use as raw material for the preparation of brine is recommended. Anonymous, Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη, 358)⁸⁸.

Μορμύρος: SN: *Lithognathus Mormyrus* (*HesLex*, entry *μορμύρος*. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 206)⁸⁹.

Μύραινα: SN: *Muraenesox Cinereus* (*HesLex*, entries *μύραινος*, *συμύρος*. *SudLex*. *ZonLex*, entries *μύραινα*, *συμύραινα*. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1817-1822)⁹⁰.

Σάργος: SN: *Diplodus Sargus Sargus* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 456. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1771-1777)⁹¹.

Σκάρος: SN: *Sparisoma Cretense* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.49, 58. Georgios of Pisidia, *Esamerone*, 402, 1510-1512. Alexander von Tralles, 1.543, 2.403. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 19, 30. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 410. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458. *Anonymi Mensium Adornatio*, 425, 427, 429. Georgios *Pachymeres*, 26.8-9. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1610-1622, where the reaction of parrotfishes when they are going to be caught during fishing is described: *Τὶς ἀγγελιδὸν συμπεσόντας τοὺς σκάρους / εἰς πλεκτὸν ἀμφίβληστρον ἐξ οἷστρου βλέπων, / ὅταν ἴδωσι θῆλυν ἀλόντα σκάρων, / ἐξδὸν παρελθεῖν ὀρμῆς μιᾶς δόλον, / οὐχ εὔρε τοῦ ξῆν ἐγκρατῶς διδασκάλους, / ἥδὺς ἔρωσ ὦν ἐκπυρεῖ τὴν καρδίαν / εἰς τὰς ἐν ἀκμῇ φλεγμονὰς τοῦ σαρκίου; / Τὸ σύννομον πλήν, ἂν ἀλὸν ἴσως λάθοι, / παρακρατοῦσιν εἰσρύνεντες ἄθροοι / καὶ πολλάκις ἀφῆκαν αὐτοὶ τὸν φίλον, / ὁδοῦσι πυκνοῖς ἐκτραγόντες τὸν βρόχον, / καθάπερ αὐτοὺς ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἀνθίας / ἀνήρ τις ἰδὼν τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἰχθύων*)⁹².

88. LSJ⁹, entries *μαίνη*, *μαίνις*. KORAI, *Ξενοκράτης – Γαληνός*, 84. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 82.

89. LSJ⁹, entry *μορμύρος*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 130. GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms*, 139-142.

90. LSJ⁹, entry *μύραινα*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 131, 133. GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms*, 134-139. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 78. KOKOSZKO, 430.

91. LSJ⁹, entry *σάργος*.

92. LSJ⁹, entry *σκάρος*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 132. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 84. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIIc*, 24.

Σμαρίδα or όσμαρίδα: SN: *Spicara Smaris* (*HesLex*, entry *σμαρίδες*. *Geoponica*, 20.7, 35. *Opsarologos*, 253. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 411)⁹³.

Σμίλη: SN: *Alepisaurus Ferox* (*Alexander von Tralles*, 2.525. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 412. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 427)⁹⁴.

Σπάρος: SN: *Diplotus Annularis* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 429)⁹⁵.

Στροματεύς: SN: *Symphodus Rostratus* (*HesLex*, entry *στροματεύς*. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 410. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458)⁹⁶.

Φυκίς: SN: *Trisopterus Minutus*. The name of the species originates from the seaweeds, where these fishes live and feed themselves. (*SudLex*, entry *φυκία*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.49, 58, 3.2. See and *Aristote*, *Histoire des animaux*, 591b 13, 607b 18, ed. LOUIS, v. 3, 1969, 12, 62)⁹⁷.

Χαλκεύς or χαλκίς: SN: *Herklotsichthys Punctatus* (*Geoponica*, 20.7. See and *Oppianus Halieutica*, 1.133)⁹⁸.

Χάραξ: SN: *Diplodus Sargus Sargus* (*Geoponica*, 20.7)⁹⁹.

Χελιδών: SN: *Hirundichthys Rondeletii* / *Chelidonichthys Lucernus*. (*HesLex*, entry *χελέαρ*. *SudLex*, entry *χελιδόνας*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58)¹⁰⁰.

Χοῖρος: SN: *Balistes Capriscus* (*HesLex*, entry *χοιρίναι*. *Geoponica*, 20.7)¹⁰¹.

93. *LSJ*⁹, entry *μαρίς*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 133. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 85.

94. *LSJ*⁹, entry *σμίλη*.

95. *LSJ*⁹, entry *σπάρος*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 133. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 85.

96. *LSJ*⁹, entry *στροματεύς*.

97. *LSJ*⁹, entries *φυκίς*, *φύκη*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 142.

98. *LSJ*⁹, entries *χαλκεύς*, *χαλκίς*.

99. *LSJ*⁹, entry *χάραξ*.

100. *LSJ*⁹, entry *χελιδών*.

101. *LSJ*⁹, entry *χοῖρος*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 135. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIIIc*, 24. H. M. HASSAN, 'Ο χοῖρος στήν ἀραβική γραμματεία, *ΕΕΦΣΠΑ* 39 (2008) 513-553 (542).

Χρύσοφρυς. SN: *Sparus Aurata*. The name of the fish originates from the gold arrow around the eyes. (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 412. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 427, 429)¹⁰².

Μέσοι

Άλεξανδρίζ. SN: *Alectis Alexandrinus* (*Geoponica*, 20.7).

Βάκχος. SN: *Gaidropsarus Biscayensis* (*HesLex*, entry βάκχος)¹⁰³.

Θρίσσα. SN: *Sardinella Aurita* (*HesLex*, entry θρυμίζ. *SudLex*, entries θρίσσα, τριχίδες. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Geoponica*, 20.7)¹⁰⁴.

Λαβρακότουρνα. SN: *Dicentrarchus Punctatus* (*Opsarologos*, 252)¹⁰⁵.

Λάβραξ. SN: *Dicentrarchus Labrax* (*SudLex*, entry λάβραξ (...) την δὲ προσηγορίαν πεποιήται, διότι κέχηγεν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, καὶ ἄθρόως καὶ λάβρως τὸ δέλεαρ καταπίνει ὅθεν καὶ εὐχερῶς ἀλίσκεται. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.403. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 92, 188. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.40. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 410, 411. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 426, 427, 429. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1813-1816. *Opsarologos*, 252. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 56.46-49. Anonymous, Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη, 358)¹⁰⁶.

Λάτιλος. SN: *Latus Latus* (*Geoponica*, 20.7)¹⁰⁷.

Ὀνίσκος. SN: *Gaidropsarus Mediterraneus* (*HesLex*, entry ὄνος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58)¹⁰⁸.

Περσεύς. It was not possible to identify the name of this fish and the current scientific or common Greek name. Probably it is met in the Persian

102. *LSJ*⁹, entry χρύσοφρυς. KORAIS, Ξενοκράτης - Γαληνός, 106.

103. *LSJ*⁹, entry βάκχος.

104. *LSJ*⁹, entry θρίσσα / θρίττα. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128, 133. KOKOSZKO, 430.

105. *LSJ*⁹, entries κόθουρος, κοθώ, κότορνος. *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry λαβρακότουρνα.

106. *LSJ*⁹, entry λάβραξ. *TrappLex*, entry λαβράκιον. *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry λαβράκιον. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 77, note 363.

107. *LSJ*⁹, entry λάτος. *TrappLex*, entry λάτιλος.

108. *TrappLex*. *LSJ*⁹, entry ὀνίσκος. KOKOSZKO, 430.

Gulf. (*HesLex*, entry *πέρσος*. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1866-1872. See also *Aelian on the characteristics of animals*, 3.28).

Σάκουτος: SN: *Syngnathus acus* (*Geoponica*, 20.7)¹⁰⁹.

Σκιαδεύς: SN: *Umbrina Cirrosa* (*HesLex*, entry *σκιαδεύς*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58)¹¹⁰.

Συναγρίς: SN: *Dentex Dentex* (*HesLex*, entry *συναγρίς*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.47. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 92, 179. *Opsarologos*, 252. Anonymous, *Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη*, 358)¹¹¹.

Ψόκα: SN: *Echelus Myrus* (*ZonLex*, entry *ψόκα*. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 111, where the nutritional value of this fish is compared to that of the pork and human meat: Ἰχθὺς ὁ κοινῶς ψόκα ὀνομαζόμενος φλεγματικὸν ἀπογεννᾷ χυμὸν, οὐ κακόχυμος δέ ἐστι, διὰ τὸ ἡδέως σχεδὸν ἅπαντας τοῦτον προσφέρεισθαι ὡς οἰκειότητά τινα ἐχούσης τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν. οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτου μετείληπται τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ψ̣ς, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν χοῖρον, ὅτι τοιαύτην τροφὴν ἐμποιεῖ τῷ σώματι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ παρὰ τῷ τῶν ἰχθύων γένει, οἶαν τὸ χοίρειον κρέας παρὰ τοῖς χειρσαίοις, οὐχ ὁμοίαν μέντοι ἀλλ' ἀνάλογον. δεῖ δὲ τοῦτον ἀρτύειν θερμοτάτοις ἀρτύμασι καὶ οἶνον ἐποπίνειν λεπτότατον καὶ παλαιότερον. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV, 106. Christophoros Mytilenaeos, <Στίχοι διάφοροι>, ed. E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, Leipzig 1903, 91: Εἰς τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοῦ Προέδρου διὰ τὰς ψόκας. *Opsarologos*, 252. See and *Oppianus Halieutica*, 1.453)¹¹².

Κητώδεις

SN: *Setus*. These species are recommended for the preparation of salted fishes. (*SudLex*, entry *κῆτος*: θαλάσσιον θηρίον πολυειδές. ἔστι γὰρ λέων, ζύγαινα, πάρδαλις, φύσαμος, πρῆστις, ἡ λεγομένη μάλλη,

109. *LSJ*⁹. *DimLex*, entry *σάκουτος*.

110. *LSJ*⁹, entries *σκιαδεύς*, *σκίαίνα*, *σκιαδῖς*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 129, 131.

111. *LSJ*⁹, entry *συναγρίς*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 133. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 73, 85, 86.

112. *LSJ*⁹, entry *βύσσα*. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 87. KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIIc*, 24.

ὁ καὶ δυσανταγώνιστόν ἐστι καὶ κριός, ἰδεῖν ἐχθρόν ζῶον. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.305)¹¹³.

Δελφίς. SN: *Delphinus Delphis* (*HesLex*, entry δελφῖνες. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.57. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 231)¹¹⁴.

Ναυκράτης or ἐχενής. SN: *Echeneis Naucrates*. The mythical tradition of drawing the ships is attributed to this fish that may also explain both of its names, ἐχενής and ναυκράτης, practically meaning the same and combined in the SN. (*HesLex*, entry ἐχενής. *SudLex*, entry ἐχενής. (...)) εἴληφε δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχεσθαι τῶν θεουσῶν νηῶν ὁ καὶ ναυκράτης καλεῖται. Georgios of Pisidia, *Esamerone*, 370.999-1010: Καὶ τίς τὸν ἰχθύν τὸν βραχὺν τὸν ναυκράτην / ποιεῖ τρεχουσῶν ὀλκάδων ἀντιστάτην, / καὶ πλωτὸν εὐόλισθον ἀνταίρει στόλον / καὶ ταῖς πνεύσαις ἀντιπάττεται βίαις; / Πτέρυξ γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ στέρνου μέσα / κυκλοῖ περιπτύξασα κυμβάλου δίκην, / ἣν ταῖς θεούσαις ἀντερείδων ὀλκάσιν / ἰστᾶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα, κᾶν τρέχη, / καὶ κυρτὸν ἄφρον ἀντεπικλᾷ τῷ σάλῳ. See and *Phile De Animalibus*, 1953-1965: Περὶ ναυκράτου. Ἐστὶ τις ἰχθὺς εὐτελής μὲν εἰ βλέποις· εἰ δὲ κρίνοις, κράτιστος· εἰ δὲ λαμβάνοις, / νεκρὸς Γαληνὸς εἰς γονὰς ἀποστρόφους. / Τὸν μὲν γὰρ εὐάγωγον ἔξ αὔρας δρόμον / εἵργει προελθεῖν ἐνδακὼν τὴν ὀλκάδα / καὶ τοὺς τέως ἄδοντας ἐκ θυμηδίας, / στυγνόν τι πενθεῖν ἐκβιάζει ναυτίλους. / Κᾶν μὴ τις αὐτὸν καταδὺς θάπτον τέμῃ, / ὁδοστατηθὲν οὐ δραμεῖται τὸ σκάφος. / Τὰς δὲ πρὸ καιροῦ συγκοπὰς τῶν ἐμβρύων / ἴστησι ληφθεὶς ταῖς κνούσαις εὐθέως. / Τοῦτον τὸν ἰχθύν, Αὐσονάρχα, ναυκράτην / οἱ ναυτικοὶ καλοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος)¹¹⁵.

Ζύγαινα. SN: *Sphyrna Zygaena* (*HesLex*. *SudLex*. *ZonLex*, entry ζύγαινα. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.57. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 232. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1521)¹¹⁶.

113. *LSJ*⁹, entry κητόδης, *KriarasLex*, v. 8 (1982). J. T. PRING, *The Oxford Dictionary of modern Greek: English-Greek*, Oxford 1992 [OEGD], entry cetacean, sea monster. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128. GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms*, 122.

114. *LSJ*⁹, entry δελφίς / δελφίν. *KriarasLex*, v. 5 (1977), entry δελφίν. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128.

115. *LSJ*⁹, entries ἐχενής, ναυκράτης. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 136.

116. *LSJ*⁹, entry ζύγαινα. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128.

Ἡλακατήνας: SN: *Elagatis Bipinnulata*. The name originates from the spiral shape of the body of the fish. (*HesLex*, entry ἡλακατήνες. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58)¹¹⁷.

Ἴππουρος: SN: *Coryphaena Hippurus* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. Georgios of Pisidia, *Esamerone*, 402, 1506)¹¹⁸.

Κριός: SN: *Aries* (*Phile De Animalibus*, 1521-1522)¹¹⁹.

Λίβατος: SN: *Myliobatis Aquila* (*Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 228)¹²⁰.

Πάρδαλις: SN: *Carcharodon Carcharias* (*Phile De Animalibus*, 1521-1522)¹²¹.

Πρηστις: SN: *Pristis Pectinata* (*SudLex*, entry πρήστις. *ZonLex*, entries πρήστις, πριόνωτος. *Der Physiologus* 112a. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1521)¹²².

Σίλουρος: SN: *Silurus Glanis*. A fish species living in the rivers. (*SudLex*. *ZonLex*, entry σίλουρος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58. See and *Aelian on the characteristics of animals*, 14.25, where the large size of the fish is commented)¹²³.

Φάλαινα: SN: *Megaptera Novaeangliae* (*HesLex*, entry φάλλαινα. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.57. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 230)¹²⁴.

Φύσαλος: SN: *Platichthys Flesus* (*SudLex*, entry φύσαμος. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 231. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1521)¹²⁵.

Φωκίς or φώκαινα or φώκη: SN: *Delphinus Phocaena* (*SudLex*, entry φώκη. *HesLex*, entry φῶκος. *ZonLex*, entries φώκαινα, φώκη. *Basilius von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 400. Georgios of Pisidia, *Esamerone*, 402, 1504-1505. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.579, 581. *Geoponica*, 20.7. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 231. Anonymous, Τοῦ Θεολογᾶκη, 358)¹²⁶.

117. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἡλακατήνας. *OEGD*, entry *distaff*.

118. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἵππουρος.

119. *LSJ*⁹, entry κριός.

120. *DimLex*, entry λίβατος.

121. *LSJ*⁹, entry πάρδαλις.

122. *LSJ*⁹, entries πρηστις, πρίστις. *TrappLex*, entry πρηστις.

123. *LSJ*⁹, entry σίλουρος. *KOKOSZKO*, 430.

124. *LSJ*⁹, entries φάλλαινα, φάλλη / φάλαινα, φάλλη.

125. *LSJ*⁹, entry φύσαλος. *GEORGACAS*, Turkish common names, 134.

126. *LSJ*⁹, entries φώκαινα, φώκη.

Other aquatic species

The aquatic animals, except of fishes, included in the Byzantine medical texts, are categorized according to the same method and criteria, as those described for fishes¹²⁷:

Ὀστρακόδεσμα or ὀστρακοειδῆ or ὄστρακα (ἀπαλόσαρκα or μαλακόσαρκα and σκληρόσαρκα): SN: *Ostracodermus* / *Ostraca*. Species enclosed in hard shell. (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53: Κήρονκας καὶ πορφύρας ὄστρεά τε καὶ χήμας ὅσα τε ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ὀστρακόδεσμα

127. In order to search the evolution of the names of the various species and to identify the corresponding scientific name the following references were used: J. PLANCUS, *De conchis minus notis liber. Cui accessit specimen aestus reciproci maris superi ad littus portumque Arimini*, Venise 1854. J. E. MORTON, *Molluscs*, London 1958. G. BINI, *Catalogo dei nomi dei pesci, dei molluschi*. G. A. MELVIN, *Sea Shells of the World*, Ratland 1966. The proceedings of a Symposium held at the Zoological Society of London: *Studies in the structure, physiology and ecology of molluscs* (8 and 9 March, London 1968), ed. V. FRETTER, New York 1968. P. S. DANCE, *Rare Shells*, London 1969. F. NORDSIECK, *Die Europäischen Meeresmuscheln (Bivalvia): Vom Eismeer bis Kapverden, Mittelmeer und Schwarzes Meer*, Stuttgart 1969. P. PARENZAN, *Carta d'identità delle conchiglie del Mediterraneo*, Taras 1970. S. ANGELETTI, *Sea shells; how to identify and collect them*, New York 1972. E. A. MALEK – T. C. CHENG, *Medical and Economic Malacology*, New York 1974. B. GRZIMEK, *Animal Life Encyclopedia*, New York 1972-1976. A. P. H. OLIVER, *The Hamlyn Guide to Shells of the world*, London 1975. J. ARREGGROS, *Sea Shells of the British and European coasts*, Yeovil 1975. G. D'ANGELO – S. GARGIULO, *Guida alle conchiglie mediterranee: conoscerle, cecarle, collezionarle*, Milan 1978. P. L. PORTMANN – I. RICHTER, *Opisthobranchia des Mittelmeeres, Nudibranchia und Saccoglossa*, Berlin – New York 1982. R. T. ABBOTT, *Seashells of the World: a Guide to the better-known species*, New York 1985. K. M. WILBUR, *The mollusca*, I-III, New York 1983-1988. G. T. POPPE – Y. GOTO, *European seashells*, Wiesbaden 1991. M. DELLAMOTTE – E. VARDALA-THEODOROU – M. GEORGIADIS – V. VRATTIS – G.-J. BEN, *Κοχύλια από τις ελληνικές θάλασσες*, Athens 1994. C. CLAASSEN, *Shells*, Cambridge 1998. G. REPETTO – F. ORLANDO – G. ARDUINO, *Conchiglie del Mediterraneo: 1770 specie illustrate con distribuzione e frequenza*, Alba 2005. The proceedings of an International Council for Archaeozoology: *Archaeomalacology: molluscs in former environments of human behaviour*, ed. B. Y. MAYER, Oxford 2005. Additionally, for the purpose of the study, the following electronic databases were used: <http://www.utmb.edu/nrcc/default.htm> (National Resource center of Cephalopods), www.thecephalopodpage.org (Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences), www.wildherps.com, <http://digimorph.org>, http://bigal.world.coocan.jp/pic_book/index.html (English / Japanese shells datapage), www.malacologia.it/english.htm (Mostra Mondiale Malacologia), www.spirula.nl/indexen.htm (Dutch Malacological Society), www.biolib.cz/en/main/ (Biological Library), www.turin.net/catalogue_shell/ (Mediterranean Seashells).

καλοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὀστράκῳ παραπλήσιον ἔχει τὸ ἔξωθεν περικείμενον σκέπασμα. *Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398, Ἀέτιος Ἀμιδηνός, <Ἱατρικὸν Ὑπόμνημα>, ed. A. OLIVIERI, *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales I-IV*, (CMG 17), Leipzig – Berlin 1935, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101. *Achmetis Onirocriticon*, 239.21. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 218. *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera Minora*, 149. *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 410. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 460, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 426. *Ioannes Actuarius, Περὶ ἐνεργειῶν καὶ παθῶν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ διαίτης*, ed. J. L. IDELER, *Ioannis Actuari, De spiritu animali*, in *PhMGM I*, 312-386 [367-368]¹²⁸.

Μαλακόστρακα: SN: *Malacostracus*. Species enclosed in tender shell. (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.54. *Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398, *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.135. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101. *Ioannis Actuari*, 367)¹²⁹.

Μαλάκια: SN: *Malakia*. Bivalve shells enclosing organisms with flabby flesh. (*HesLex*, entry *μαλάκια*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 1.3, 2.54. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.136. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.102. *Ioannis Actuari*, 368)¹³⁰.

Ἀπαλόσαρκα or μαλακόσαρκα ὀστρακόδεσμα

Βάλανος or μύακας or ὀμύδιον: SN: *Concha* (*ZonLex*, entry *βάλανος*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.309. *Achmetis Onirocriticon*, 240.4. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 81. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 426)¹³¹.

Γλυκυμαρίς or χήμιον: SN: *Chama* (*HesLex*, entry *χήμη*. *SudLex*. *ZonLex*, entry *γλυκυμαρίδες*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101)¹³².

128. *LSJ⁹. DimLex*, entries *ὀστρακόδεσμος*, *ὀστρακοειδής*. *TrappLex*. *KriarasLex*, v. 14 (1997), entry *ὀστρακόδεσμα*. GEORGACAS, *Turkish common names*, 133.

129. *LSJ⁹. DimLex*, entry *μαλακόστρακος*.

130. *LSJ⁹*, entry *μαλάκιον*. *TrappLex*, entry *μαλάκιν*.

131. *LSJ⁹*, entries *μυάκιον*, *μύαξ*, *μύδιον*. *KriarasLex*, v. 12 (1993), entry *Ὀμύδιος*. *DimLex*, entries *μύακας*, *μυίσκη*. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 83.

132. *LSJ⁹*, entry *χήμιον*. *TrappLex*, entry *γλυκυμαρίδες*. *DimLex*, entries *γλυκυμαρίς*, *χήμη*.

Ἐχῖνος. SN: *Echinus* (*HesLex*, *SudLex*, *ZonLex*, entry ἔχῖνος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.335, 523)¹³³.

Κτένιον. SN: *Pecten* (*HesLex*, entry κτεῖς. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Basilius von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.335, 449, 2.169, 221. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 81. *Hiérophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458. *Anonymi, Mensium Natura*, 426)¹³⁴.

Ὅστρεον or τραχεῖα or τραχεόστρακον. SN: *Ostrea* (*HesLex*, entries ὀστράκων, ὄστρεα. *ZonLex*, entry ὄστρειον. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Basilius von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101. *Achmetis Onirocriticon*, 240.4)¹³⁵.

Πελωρίς or μελαινίς. SN: *Meineke* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53)¹³⁶.

Πίννη. SN: *Pinna* (*HesLex*, entry πῖνα. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1873-1890)¹³⁷.

Τελλίνη or ξιφύδριον. SN: *Concha*. A testaceous species named also κόγχη and ξιφύδριον because of its body shape. The name κόγχη is also referred to the aquatic organism ἀχηβάδα. (*HesLex*, entry κόγχη. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Basilius von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398)¹³⁸.

Σκληρόσαρκα ὀστρακόδερμα

Κήρυξ. SN: *Buccinum* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.111, 169)¹³⁹.

133. *LSJ*⁹, *TrappLex*, *KriarasLex*, v. 6 (1978), entry ἔχῖνος. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 127.

134. *LSJ*⁹, *TrappLex*, *KriarasLex*, v. 9 (1985), entry κτένιον. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 136. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 80.

135. *LSJ*⁹, entry τραχεόστρακος. *TrappLex*, entry ὄστρειον. *KriarasLex*, v. 14 (1997), entry ὄστρεος. *DimLex*, entry τραχεῖα. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 129. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 83.

136. *LSJ*⁹, entry μελαινίς. *DimLex*, entries πελωρίς, μελαινίς.

137. *LSJ*⁹, *TrappLex*, entry πίννη. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 131.

138. *LSJ*⁹, *DimLex*, entries τελλίνη, ξιφύδριον, κόγχη.

139. *LSJ*⁹, entry κήρυξ. *TrappLex*, entry κηρύκιον.

Λεπάς. SN: *Patela* (*HesLex*, entry λεπάδες. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 81)¹⁴⁰.

Πορφύρα. SN: *Purpura*. The name πορφύρα characterises two aquatic species: a) the sea-shell from which the homonymous purple dye was produced. b) SN: *Purpura murex*. A mollusc species. There was no information contending that the sea-shell producing the precious dye was used for food. As a matter of fact, when the aquatic organism πορφύρα is mentioned in the texts dealing with foodstuffs, it is probably referred to the mollusc species. (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, 1.44. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1966-1980)¹⁴¹.

Στρόμβος. SN: *Strombus* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Basilius von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398. *Georgios Pachymeres*, 42.2)¹⁴².

Σωλήν. SN: *Sulynus* (*HesLex*, entry σωλήνες. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101)¹⁴³.

Ὠτίον. SN: *Otis* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53)¹⁴⁴.

Μαλακόστρακα

Ἀστακός. SN: *Gammarus* (*Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.54. *Alexander von Tralles*, 1.335, 601, 2.201, 221, 251. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 25. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 223. *Hiérrophili Traités Alimentaires*, 458, 462. *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 426, 429)¹⁴⁵.

Κάραβος. SN: *Palinurus* (*HesLex*. *ZonLex*, entries καραβίς, κάραβος. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.54. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.221. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 223)¹⁴⁶.

140. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 131.

141. *LSJ*⁹. *TrappLex*, entry πορφύρα.

142. *LSJ*⁹, entry στρόμβος.

143. *LSJ*⁹, entries αὐλός, δόναξ, σωλήν. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 133. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 86.

144. *LSJ*⁹, entries ὠτάριον, ὠτίον.

145. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἀστακός. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 127. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 77.

146. *LSJ*⁹, entries καραβίς, κάραβος. *KriarasLex*, v. 7 (1980), entry κάραβος. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 80.

Καρίς: SN: *Garea* (*HesLex*, entry *καρίς*. *ZonLex*, entry *καρίδα* / *καρίς*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.54. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.367. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 60. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 223. *Anonymi, Mensium Natura*, 426. *Opsarologos*, 252, where it is mentioned as *ἐγκαρίς*)¹⁴⁷.

Καρκίνος: SN: *Cancer* (*HesLex*, entry *καρκίνος*. *ZonLex*, entry *καρκινίδιον*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.54. *Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.135. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101. *Achmetis Onirocriticon*, 239.21. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 83. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 223)¹⁴⁸.

Πάγουρος: SN: *Pagurus*. The name *πάγουρος* is attributed to various species, crustaceans and testacea. (*HesLex*. *ZonLex*, entry *πάγουροι*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.54. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.101. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma*, 83. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 223. *Hierophili Traités Alimentaires*, 462)¹⁴⁹.

Μαλάχια

Κνίδη: SN: *Urtica* (*HesLex*, entry *κνίδα*. *SudLex*, entry *κνώδαλον*. *ZonLex*, entry *κνίδη*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.483)¹⁵⁰.

Πώλυψ or *πολύπους*: SN: *Polypus* (*HesLex*, entries *ὀκτώπους*, *πολύποδες*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 398. Θεοφύλακτος Σιμοκάττης, *Διάλογος περὶ διαφόρων φυσικῶν ἀπορημάτων*, ed. L. M. POSITANO, *Teofilatto Simocata, Questioni Naturali*, Napoli 1965², 9. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.102. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.519. *Georgios Pachymeres*, 43.23)¹⁵¹.

Σηπία: SN: *Sepia* (*SudLex*, entry *σηπία*. *ZonLex*, entries *σήπειον*, *σηπία*, *σηπιάς*, *σήπιον*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Basilius von Caesarea*,

147. *LSJ*⁹, entry *καρίς*. *TrappLex*. *KriarasLex*, v. 7 (1980), entry *καρίδα*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 127. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 80.

148. *LSJ*⁹. *TrappLex*, entry *καρκίνος*. *KriarasLex*, v. 7 (1980), entry *καρκινίδιον*. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 83.

149. *LSJ*⁹. *TrappLex*, entry *πάγουρος*. *KriarasLex*, v. 14 (1997), entry *παγούριν*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 131. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 83.

150. *LSJ*⁹, entry *κνίδη*. *TrappLex*, entry *κνίδιον*.

151. *LSJ*⁹, entry *πώλυπος* / *πώλυψ*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 133.

Homilien zum Hexaemeron, 398. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.102. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.37, 39, 49, 67. *Theophanis Nonni epitome*, 62, 113. *Michaelis Pselli De Medicina*, 226. *Phile De Animalibus*, 1823-1831)¹⁵².

Τευθίζ: SN: *Loligo Vulvaris* (*HesLex. SudLex*, entry *τευθίδες / τευθίζ*. *ZonLex*, entry *τήθια*. *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.53. *Aetii Amideni Libri Medicinales*, 2.134. *Paulus Aegineta*, 2.102. *Alexander von Tralles*, 2.367, 509)¹⁵³.

A special distinction among aquatic animals is noted in *Λόγος εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον* written by Basil of Caesarea¹⁵⁴. This work is written mainly with an instructive style; however it includes, among others, detailed descriptions of many aquatic organisms. The content of the chapter that refers to these species is an analytical interpretation of the passage of Genesis: *Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν*¹⁵⁵. Primarily, the term *ἔρπετὰ* is interpreted. With this term, the Hebrew phrase *sheh'-rets haw-yaw neh'-fesh* is rendered in the Septuagint¹⁵⁶. According to Basil, the meaning of this word refers to all the organisms that crawl and live in the water: *Πᾶν τὸ νηκτικὸν καὶ τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ ὕδατος τέμνη τὸ ὕδωρ, τῆς*

152. *LSJ*⁹, entries *σήπειον*, *σηπία*, *σηπιάς*, *σήπιον*.

153. *LSJ*⁹, entry *τευθίζ / τευθιάς*. GEORGACAS, Turkish common names, 128.

154. *Basilius von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 392-402.

155. *Gen.* 1.20.

156. Based on the Septuagint, the passage is rendered as: *Αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος, ἐκεῖ ἔρπετά, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς ζῶα μικρὰ μετὰ μεγάλων (Ps. 103.25). For the rendering of the phrase *sheh'-rets haw-yaw neh'-fesh*, see: F. BROWN - S. DRIVER - C. BRIGGS, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Stuttgart 1996. JOHN STRONG, *Hebrew Dictionary*, Albany 1952, entry *sherets*, *sheh'-rets*, *hayah*, *haw-yaw*, *nephesh*, *neh'-fesh*. N. H. SNAITH, *Hebrew Old Testament*, Suffolk 1989, *Gen.* 1.20: *And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl [that] may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven. The Holy Bible*, Authorized (King James) version, ed. National Bible Press Philadelphia, 1952, *Gen.* 1.20: *And God said, "Let the waters bring forth swarms of living creatures, and let birds fly above the earth across the firmament of the heaven". Septuaginta*, ed. A. RAHLFS, Stuttgart 1935, *Gen.* 1.20: *Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· ἔξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*. See also N. VAMVAS, *Τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα ἥτοι ἡ Παλαιὰ καὶ ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη μεταφρασθέντα ἐκ τῶν θείων ἀρχετύπων*, Athens 1838 (repr. 2006), *Gen.* 1.20. N. P. VASILADIS, *Ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη μετὰ συντόμου ἐρμηνείας*, Athens 2004, I, 22.*

τῶν ἐρπηστικῶν ἐστὶ φύσεως, ἐπισυρρόμενον τῷ τοῦ ὕδατος σώματι¹⁵⁷. This explanation is related to the term *reh'-mes shawm* that describes the aquatic creatures in the 103rd psalm¹⁵⁸.

The information about fishes and other aquatic species provided in *Λόγος εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον* concerns their physiology, reproduction, type of food and place of origin. With the general term *ἰχθεῖς* or *νηκτικὰ ἐρπετά*¹⁵⁹, all the aquatic animals are described, that according to Basil they are characterised as:

Ὑπόποδα: SN: *Gasteropoda*. The term *ὑπόποδα* is mentioned for the first time by (pseudo-)Aristoteles, *Περὶ πνεύματος* 485a 21 (ed. W. JAEGER, *Aristotelis de animalium motione et de animalium incessu. Ps.-Aristotelis de spiritu libellus*, Leipzig 1913, 54: Τὰ δὲ ὀστρακόδερμα τῶν ἐνύδρων ὑπόποδα διὰ τὸ βάρος). The category *ὑπόποδα* identifies with a term of aquatic species that is used today to classify the large category of *gasteropoda* or *gastropoda*. *Gasteropoda* are aquatic animals, vertebrates and invertebrates, with or without shell, similar to amphibia, living in water and land. Actually, their name originates from the anatomical position of their legs that are fin-shaped and grow from the abdominal segment of their body. See and *Georgios Pachymeres*, 44.17-20: Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόποδα, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἀντικειμένων σκελῶν ἐν μέρει ἵσταται καὶ τὸ βάρος ἴσχει, ἀναγκαῖον ὑστέρου προβαίνοντος θατέρου ποιεῖσθαι κάμψιν¹⁶⁰.

Ἀμφίβια: SN: *Amphibia* (*HesLex*, entry ἀμφίβια ζῶα [= τὰ ἐνύδρα καὶ χερσαῖα], ἀμφίβιον [= ἐν γῇ καὶ ὕδατι ζῆν δυνάμενον]). (*Georgios*

157. *Basilius von Caesarea*, *Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 392.

158. *HesLex*, entry ἔρπει. *TrappLex. LSJ*⁹, entry ἐρπετόν. For the rendering of the phrase *reh'-mes shawm*, see: F. BROWN – S. DRIVER – C. BRIGGS, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, entry *remes*, *reh'-mes*, *sham*, *shawm*. N. H. SNAITH, *Hebrew Old Testament*, Ps. 103.25: *So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable both small and great beasts. The Holy Bible*, Authorized (King James) version, Ps. 103.25: *Yonder is the sea, great and wide, creeping things innumerable are there, living things both small and great. Septuaginta*, Ps. 103.25: Αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος, ἐκεῖ ἐρπετά, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς ζῶα μικρὰ μετὰ μεγάλων. P. N. TREMPERAS, *Τὸ ψαλτήριον μετὰ συντόμου ἐρμηνείας*, Athens 2007, 345.

159. *HesLex*, entry νήποδες. *LSJ*⁹, entries νήχω, νήχομαι, νηκτικός, νηκτός, νηχεῖον. *TrappLex*, entry νηκτικῶς. *Phile De Animalibus*, 2nd part, 118. See and *Aelian on the characteristics of animals*, 9.25.

160. *Lampe*, entry ὑπόποδος.

Pachymeres, 24.22: (...) συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ πεζῷ ὄντι ξῆν ἰχθύων βίον)¹⁶¹. In the category ὑπόποδα - ἀμφίβια, except of φῶκαι¹⁶², ποτάμιοι ἵπποι¹⁶³ and καρχῖνοι¹⁶⁴, Basil of Caesarea classifies the following species:

Κροκόδειλοι SN: *Crocodylus* (*HesLex. SudLex. ZonLex*, entry κροκόδειλος. Alexander von Tralles, 1.405. Georgios Pachymeres, 24.18-22)¹⁶⁵.

Βάτραχοι: SN: *Ceratophrys Ornata* (*ZonLex*, entry βάτραχος. Θεοφύλακτος Σιμοκάττης, *Διάλογος*, 19. *Ptochoprodromos*, IV 106). Besides the known amphibious animal, mainly in former sources, a species of ray is described with the same name. See: Aristoteles, *Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων* 540b 17 (ed. P. LOUIS, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux*, v. 2, Paris 1968, 7): Σελάχη δ' ἐστὶ τὰ τ' εἰρημένα καὶ βοῦς καὶ λάμια καὶ ἀετὸς καὶ νάρκη καὶ βάτραχος καὶ πάντα τὰ γαλεῶδη. See and: Aelian on the characteristics of animals, 13.5: Βάτραχος δὲ θαλάσσιος τίττει κατὰ τοὺς ὄρνιθας ᾧδὸν καὶ οὗτος. It is not possible to express a certain opinion, if the rare references in the Byzantine texts about the consumption of βάτραχοι (βαθρακοί), concern the amphibious animal or the fish species¹⁶⁶.

Κήτη¹⁶⁷ - Ζωοτόκα¹⁶⁸: The distinction between ζωοτόκα (*viviparous*) and ὠοτόκα (*oviparous*) was first made by Aristoteles, *Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων* 489a 35 (ed. P. LOUIS, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux*, v. 1, Paris 1964, 10): Καὶ τὰ μὲν ζωοτόκα τὰ δ' ὠοτόκα τὰ δὲ σκωληκοτόκα, ζωοτόκα μὲν οἶον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἵππος καὶ φώκη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔχει τρίγας. See and Georgios of Pisidia, *Esamerone*, 1020. In κήτη - ζωοτόκα, except of

161. *LSJ*⁹, entry ἀμφίβιον. *OEGD*, entry amphibian.

162. See page 146 and footnote 127.

163. See page 145 and footnote 119.

164. See page 150 and footnote 149.

165. *LSJ*⁹, entry κροκόδειλος.

166. KORAI, *Ξενοκράτης - Γαληνός*, 48. PH. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, v. 5, Athens 1952, 84. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung*, 77 and note 368.

167. See page 144 and footnote 114.

168. See *OEGD*, entry viviparous.

φῶκαι, δελφῖνες¹⁶⁹ and νάρκαι¹⁷⁰, the category of σελάχη is classified¹⁷¹. (*HesLex*, entries σελάχιον. (...) ὅσα ἄποδα ζωοτοκεῖ and σελάχη, σελαχίας. *SudLex*, entry σελάχιον. Ἰχθύδιον, ὃ μόνον ζωοτοκεῖ. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔσω λεχώξειν). Based on the morphology and physiology, skates, rays and some kinds of sharks are characterised as σελάχη and they are included in the families of *Rajidae*, *Rhinobatidae* and *Dasyatidae*. The species also of τούρπαινα (νάρκη), βάτος, κίθαρος, ῥίνα, and γλαῦκος, mentioned above, belong to the same category¹⁷². There are the following 17 accepted SN for the species of σελάχη: *Dasyatis Centroura*, *Dipturus Batis*, *Dipturus Oxyrinchus*, *Leucorajia Circularis*, *Leucorajia Fullonica*, *Leucorajia Naevus*, *Pteroplatytrygon Violacea*, *Rajia Asterias*, *Rajia Brachyura*, *Rajia Clavata*, *Rajia Miraletus*, *Rajia Montagui*, *Rajia Polystigma*, *Rajia Radula*, *Rajia Undulata*, *Rhinobatos Rhinobatos*, *Rostroraja Alba* (see www.fishbase.org).

Λεπτοὶ ἰχθεῖς¹⁷³ - ὠοτόκα¹⁷⁴. This category, according to Basil of Caesarea, includes the subcategory of λεπιδωτὰ¹⁷⁵ and φολιδωτὰ¹⁷⁶ and ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστι πτερύγια¹⁷⁷.

The term λεπιδωτά characterises the fishes with scales and the term φολιδωτά the fishes with lamellae. The distinction between λεπιδωτὰ and φολιδωτὰ was made by Aristotle too. He also notes that the aquatic viviparous are characterised as λεπιδωτὰ and the oviparous as φολιδωτὰ. See Aristoteles, *Ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων* 505a 23-25 (ed. P. LOUIS, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux*, v. 1, Paris 1964, 56): Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὰλλα ζῶα οἱ ἰχθύες διαφέρουσι πρὸς τῇ διαφορᾷ τῇ περὶ τὰ βράγχια· οὔτε γὰρ ὥσπερ τῶν πεζῶν ὅσα ζωοτόκα ἔχει τρίχας, οὔθ' ὥσπερ ἔνια τῶν ὠοτοκούντων τετραπόδων φολίδας, οὔθ' ὥς τὸ τῶν ὀρνέων γένος πτερωτόν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν λεπιδωτοὶ εἰσιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες τραχεῖς, ἐλάχιστον

169. See page 144 and footnote 115.

170. See page 134 and footnote 54.

171. *LSJ*⁹, entry σέλαχος.

172. See pages 134-136.

173. *OEGD*, entry *thin (fish)*.

174. *OEGD*, entry *oviparous*.

175. *OEGD*, entry *scaly*.

176. *OEGD*, entry *lamella*. Fishes with lamellae.

177. *OEGD*, entry *fin*. Fishes with or without fins.

δ' ἐστὶ πλῆθος αὐτῶν τὸ λεῖον. Cf. *ibidem* 490b 22 (ed. P. LOUIS, v. 1, 14): Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ζωοτόκα, οὐ πάντα τρίχας ἔχει, ὅσα δ' ὤοτόκα, φολίδας. See also *Hiérophili De Nutriendi Methodo*, 412: (...) ὅσα μαλακόσασα καὶ ἔχοντα λέπος and *Anonymi Mensium Natura*, 424: Μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ. (...) πάντα τὰ ἀλέπιδα μὴ ἐσθίειν.

Ὅστρακόδεσμα: κόγχαι, κτένες, κοχλῖαι θαλάσσιοι, στρόμβοι, ὄστρεα.

Μαλακόστρακα: πολύποδες, σπηΐαι.

Ποτάμια καὶ λιμναῖα ἰοβόλα¹⁷⁸: δράκοντες, μύραιναι, ἐγγέλυες.

Πελάγια, αἰγιαλώδη, βύθια¹⁷⁹, πετρώδη, ἀγελαῖα¹⁸⁰, σποραδικά¹⁸¹.

Based on the type of food: Οἱ ἰλύϊ τρεφόμενοι¹⁸², οἱ φύκοις τρεφόμενοι¹⁸³, οἱ βοτάναις ἐντρεφομέναις τῷ ὕδατι τρεφόμενοι¹⁸⁴, οἱ ἀλληλοφάγοι¹⁸⁵.

Based on the place of origin: οἱ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀλιεύοντες θάλασσαν¹⁸⁶, οἱ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἀγρεύοντες κόλπον¹⁸⁷, νησιῶται¹⁸⁸, Μαυρούσιοι¹⁸⁹.

Conclusions

More than a hundred ten names of fishes and about thirty names of other aquatic organisms are found in Byzantine literature. Most of the information is retrieved by the medical texts, whose writers are dealing with food and nutrition.

178. *OEGD*, entry *poisonous*.

179. J. T. PRING, *The Oxford Dictionary of modern Greek: Greek-English*, Oxford 1992 (*OGED*), entry *βυθός*. Fishes living at the bottom of the sea.

180. *OGED*, entry *ἀγέλη*. Fishes living in shoals. *HesLex*, entry *ἀγελαῖοι ἰχθύες*: πολλοί, μικροὶ καὶ ὁμοῦ. *SudLex*, entry *ἀγελαῖοι ἰχθύες*: οἱ εὐτελεῖς καὶ μικροί.

181. *OGED*, entry *σποραδικός*. Fishes living by themselves.

182. Fishes fed with mud. *LSJ*⁹, entry *ἰλύς*. *OGED*, entry *βοῦρκος*, *λάσπη*.

183. Fishes fed with seaweed. See footnote 94.

184. Fishes fed with plants growing in the sea.

185. *OGED*, entry *ἀλληλοφάγωμα*. Fishes fed with other fishes.

186. Fishes originated from the Indian Ocean.

187. Fishes originated from the Red Sea that in some references is called Egyptian Gulf. See and *Oribasii Collectionum*, 2.58.

188. Fishes originated from the islands.

189. Fishes originated from *Μαυρουσία*, an area in the northwest of Africa that today includes the country of Mavritania.

The criteria for their classification vary according to the category of each source. In most of the medical texts of the early Byzantine period (e. g. Oribasius, Aetius, Paul of Aegina, Alexander of Tralles) the comparative evaluation of the nutritional value of the species was considered as basic criterion. In the texts of the later writers (e. g. Symeon Seth, Hierophilus Philosopher) foodstuffs are cited in alphabetical order and among them fishes and other aquatic animals. In the texts with instructive style (e. g. Basil of Caesarea, Georgios of Pisidia, *Physiologos*,) and in the manuals of natural history (e. g. Theophylactos Simocattes, *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, Manuel Philes) the classification of the species is alphabetical. In addition, the criterion corresponding to the meaning attributed by the writers in accordance with the symbolic role of the species described is used.

During the early Byzantine period and especially in the texts by Oribasius, Basil of Caesarea, Theophylactos Simocattes, Aetius, Paul of Aegina, Alexander of Tralles, there are more references to the names of fishes, testacea, crustaceans, molluscs and shells than in the other time periods. Moreover, special information is noted by the writers about the fishes and the aquatic species living in distant seas and rivers such as the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea or the Indian River. In the course of the time, these references are limited, as the interest of the writers was focused rather to the species connected mainly with food and consumed in the every day life of the Byzantine people or they were used as raw materials in the manufacturing of household stuff, musical instruments, weapons, dyes, medicines and cosmetics. It is characteristic that the anonymous writers of *Geoponica*, *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium*, as well as Symeon Seth, and Manouel Philes, indicate in the *Προοίμια* of their works their preference to refer on information concerning the every day life.

FISHES AND OTHER AQUATIC SPECIES IN BYZANTINE LITERATURE
CLASSIFICATION, TERMINOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC NAMES

Fishes and other aquatic species were substantial food in the every day life of Byzantine people. The predomination of Christianity contributed to the increased consumption of fish and other seafood in comparison to the meat of land animals and chicken. More than a hundred ten names of fishes and about thirty names of other aquatic organisms are found in Byzantine literature. Most frequent references are found in the medical texts of the Byzantine doctors, where, fishes are classified in categories depending on their physiology and origin, because, according to the writers, these are determining factors for the evaluation of the nutritional value of each species.

The purpose of this study is to present the terminology of the fishes and the various aquatic organisms that are found in the Byzantine sources and to identify each species with its current scientific name.

