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FISHING AND FISH CONSUMPTION IN THE AEGEAN SEA
ACCORDING TO THE *LIVES* OF SAINTS,
7th-12th CENTURIES

This paper pulls together information on fishing and fish consumption that is provided by narrative sources in which the biography of numerous heroes, in this case saints, is strongly linked to the hinterland on both sides of the Aegean and, to a lesser extent, to the sea itself. These sources, despite the fictional and rhetorical sophistication that often characterizes them and the literary representation of events, can provide interesting data on the Byzantine perception and exploitation of marine resources. For example, the *Lives* of saints from the Asia Minor side of the Aegean, and more particularly, saints from the island of Lesbos (Mytilene) and the monastic communities of Mount Latros (northeast of Miletus) and Mount Galesion (near Ephesus), as well as the *Lives of Luke the Younger (of Steiris)* and *Athanasios of Athos* from the corresponding Helladic side,¹ provide us with a wealth of information, not only about the hagiographers' insights into marine life, but also about actual fishing methods and fish consumption in the monasteries and in the Aegean

This study is a revised and expanded version of a paper presented at the conference *Harvesting the Sea: Aegean Societies and Marine Animals in Context*, held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on 29-31 May 2014. A second paper that complements the present one by focusing on fishing activities associated with monasteries will be published in the proceedings of that conference: I. ANAGNOSTAKIS and Maria LEONTSINI, "Monasticism and Fishing in the Aegean, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries CE", *Harvesting the Gifts of the Sea*, eds Tatiana Theodoropoulou and T. Galland.

We would like to express our gratitude to the editors of this volume, and particularly Theodora Antonopoulou, for the insightful observations that have led to improvements in the text.

1. On these saints and the monastic communities, see S. EFTHYMIADIS, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (Eighth-Tenth Centuries)", *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Vol. I. Periods and Places*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, Farnham 2011, pp. 95-142, at 122; S. PASCHALIDIS, "The Hagiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *ibid.*, pp. 143-171, at 149-150.

in general.² But how reliable can Byzantine hagiography be as a source for marine life in the Aegean, when we know that Byzantine references to the quality, origin, even the names and descriptions of marine fauna were in fact based on knowledge that was handed down from ancient traditions rather than their own?³ And why, when studying such a subject, do we choose the *Lives* of Aegean saints and not archaeological evidence or accounts from Byzantine documents or other texts? Our choice is explained by a desire to study how hagiographers and people who read or heard these stories perceived and interpreted marine life in the Byzantine Aegean, as some accounts offer a unique and vivid description and interpretation of fishing events, found nowhere in archaeology. We examine these events and their reliability always “in con-

2. Fish constituted a staple food in monasteries that was consumed at certain feasts. On fish as a permissible foodstuff in fasting periods, on salted fish in the monastic diet and on the satire of the excesses of the monks, see Béatrice CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes: la culture alimentaire à Byzance*, Paris 2015, pp. 150, 191, 193, 277. Generally on the fish provision to monasteries, see K. SMYRLIS, “The Management of Monastic Estates: The Evidence of the Typika”, *DOP* 56 (2002), 245-261, at 255. The preparation of salted fish and *garum* was among the monastic tasks listed in the *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos, Vita B* (BHG 188), ed. J. NORET, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* [CCSG 9], Turnhout 1982, p. 183, 4-16, par. 47, and the *Life of Saint Nikon* “Metanoëite” (BHG 1366-67), ed. D. F. SULLIVAN, *The Life of Saint Nikon. Text, Translation and Commentary* [AIL 14], Brookline, MA 1987, p. 42, par. 5, 28-29. On the consumption of salted fish by Aegean monks in Aphousia in the Sea of Marmara, see also the *Life of Saints David, Symeon and George* (BHG 494), ed. J. VAN DEN GHEYN, “Acta Graeca ss. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo”, *AnBoll* 18 (1899), 211-259; English translation by Dorothy ABRAHAMSE and D. DOMINGO-FORASTÉ in *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints’ Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary TALBOT [Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection], Washington, D.C. 1998, p. 207. On *botargo*/*caviar* consumption in the monasteries, see D. JACOBY, “Caviar Trading in Byzantium”, *Mare et litora. Essays Presented to Sergei Karpov for his 60th Birthday*, ed. R. Shukurov, Moscow 2009, pp. 350-352, 362.

3. The increasing importance of fish in the medieval diet was the result of advances in fishing techniques and fasting regulations; see Chryssa BOURBOU, B. T. FULLER, Sandra J. GARVIE-LOK and M. P. RICHARDS, “Reconstructing the diets of Greek Byzantine populations (6th-15th centuries AD) using carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios”, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 146 (2011), 569-581. This is also suggested by the cultural tradition of recording in lexica the various species of fish fauna and the terms of fishing procedures; see J. THÉODORIDÈS, “Remarques sur l’iconographie zoologique dans certains manuscrits médicaux byzantins et étude des miniatures zoologiques du Codex Vaticanus Graecus 284”, *JÖB* 10 (1961), 21-30, at 26; Maria CHRONE-VAKALOPOULOS, and A. VAKALOPOULOS, “Fishes and Other Aquatic Species in the Byzantine Literature. Classification, Terminology and Scientific Names”, *ByzSym* 18 (2008), 123-157; Dimitra 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?* [BAR International Series 1754], Oxford 2008, pp. 8-11, 103-112. The intensification of sturgeon consumption after the Middle Byzantine era led to the development of novel terminology; see D. J. GEORGAKAS, *Ichthyological Terms for the Surgeon and Etymology of the International Terms Botargo, Caviar, and Congeners. A Linguistic, Philological and Culture-historical Study* [Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 43], Athens 1978.

text”, not in that of literary tendencies but rather in the historical and social context of everyday life, because the action takes place in a period of continuous struggle against the Muslims for the control of the seas. The historical veracity of the data offered by these *Lives* (even some imaginary hagiographical commonplaces) is checked against all types of other information (chronicles, epistolography, archives, commentaries on ancient literature, archaeological findings), although it must be pointed out that these sources do not yet provide sufficient data on the Middle Byzantine Aegean so as to form a picture of fishing in the region.⁴ Moreover, the widespread view that Byzantine sources do not provide us with any information about fishing in the Aegean (which is partly correct),⁵ has, among other things, sparked our interest in studying the issue.

These accounts, regardless of the extent they relate to the Aegean, can be divided for our purposes into two groups. These are first and foremost represented by two tenth-century *Lives* of provincial saints, the *Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos*⁶ and the *Life of Luke the Younger (of Steiris)*, respectively.⁷ In both groups, the heroes and heroines of these tales lived and roamed about

4. E. KISLINGER, “How Reliable is Early Byzantine Hagiography as an Indicator of Diet?”, *Αίπτυχα* 4 (1986-1987), 5-11; S. EFTHYMIADIS, “Introduction”, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Vol. 2. Genres and Contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, Farnham 2014, pp. 8-11. On hagiographical *topoi*, see T. PRATSCH, *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* [Millennium Studien / Millennium Studies 6], Berlin 2005, at pp. 252-253, 257-259 on fish and sea dangers, and pp. 12, 57 on the Aegean Sea.

5. J. KODER, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die Nördliche Ägäis)* [TIB 10], Vienna 1998, p. 94. See also J. KODER and F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*. Register von P. SOUSTAL [TIB 1], Vienna 1976, pp. 103-110; T. LOUNGHIS, “Περὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ἀλιείας διάφορα”, *Ζῶα καὶ περιβάλλον στο Βυζάντιο (7^{ος}-12^{ος} αι.)*, eds I. Anagnostakis, T. G. Kolias, and Eftychia Papadopoulou [NHRF/IS 21], Athens 2011, pp. 52, 54.

6. *Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos* (BHG 1723), *AASS Novembris*, vol. 4, Brussels 1925, cols. 224-233; English translation by Angela CONSTANTINIDES HERO, “Life of St. Theoktiste of Lesbos”, *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints’ Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary TALBOT [Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection], Washington, D.C. 1996, pp. 101-116. On this *Life*, see H. DELEHAYE, “La Vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos”, *Byz* 1 (1924), 191-200; K. JAZDZEWSKA, “Hagiographic Invention and Imitation: Niketas’ Life of Theoktiste and its Literary Models”, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 49 (2009), 257-279; E. C. BOURBOUHAKIS and Ingela NILSSON, “Byzantine Narrative: The Form of Storytelling in Byzantium”, *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, Oxford 2010, pp. 269-271; Catherine HOLMES, “Provinces and Capital”, *ibid.*, pp. 58-59. On provincial saints, the authors of their *Lives*, and the reworking of ancient stories, see A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850-1000)*, ed. Christine Angelidi [Institute for Byzantine Research, Research Series 4], Athens 2006, pp. 211-229, 316-330.

7. *Life of Saint Luke the Younger* (BHG 994), ed. D. Z. SOPHIANOS, *Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς. Ὁ Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτη* [Αγιολογικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 1], Athens 1989, pp. 174-175, par. 29; pp. 180-182, par. 40; p. 183, par. 43; p. 195, par. 61.

on islands, in bays, and along shores. We are thus presented with a detailed description of the situation in the Aegean Sea in the former *Life*, and along the north shores of the Aegean Sea as well as in the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs in the latter *Life*, during the ninth and tenth centuries respectively. However, the two *Lives* and the groups they represent are distinguished by one major difference: on the one hand, the group of the *Life of Theoktiste* makes absolutely no mention of marine fauna and fishing activity (referring only to hunters and prey on the islands), while, on the other, the group of the *Life of Luke* describes extensively fishermen and fishing. The difference between the two groups could be attributed to a variety of factors: the type of narrative and the purpose(s) it served, the influence exerted by the prevailing literary trends, and the personal choice of the authors to use different thematic patterns. The situation, however, allows for another historical angle in our interpretations, namely that these *Lives* reflect the multiple actualities of fishing in the Aegean, and the population's relationship with fish.

The First Group of Lives

The *Life of Theoktiste*, written by the Constantinopolitan Nicetas Magistros in about 920, is an account of the meeting between Theoktiste and hunters on the supposedly deserted island of Paros.⁸ This *Life* uses ancient literary themes and is effectively a reworking of an older hermit story, that of Mary of Egypt, but transferred to the everyday life in the Aegean during the ninth and early tenth centuries: a reality well known to Nicetas, who had crossed that sea as a member of the Byzantine navy and had also participated in an embassy to the Arabs of Crete. Theoktiste is portrayed as having been captured by Arabs in an attack against her island of Lesbos; but when the enemy fleet made its first landfall on Paros, she managed to escape and lived in solitude on this island for about 35 years. Paros is described as being deserted with churches in ruins, having been destroyed by the Arabs, but also as an excep-

8. *Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos*, cols. 228-230; JAZDZEWSKA, "Hagiographic Invention and Imitation", 257-279; S. EFTHYMIADIS, "The Sea as Topos and as Original Narrative in Middle and Late Byzantine Hagiography", *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen: Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Mittelmeerraum*, eds N. Jaspert, C. A. Neumann, and M. Di Branco [Mittelmeerstudien 18], Paderborn 2018, pp. 117-118; C. MESSIS, "Desert Islands: Aspects of the Byzantine Perceptions on Liminal Space", *Liminal Spaces and Spatial Practices in Byzantium*, eds Buket Kitapçı Bayrı and Myrto Veikou [Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies], London 2025 (forthcoming).

tional place for hunters, because of a famous species of deer living there. A hunter discovered Theoktiste; on her death, he became a hermit in her place and relates her story to Nicetas. The *Life of Theoktiste* provides us with a fascinating historical summary of the situation in the central Aegean islands at a time when an attempt was being made to fight the Arabs, who had already occupied Crete (824/6-961), and when Syrian fleets had raided Thessalonike and Dimitrias in Thessaly (904).⁹ Although the *Life of Theoktiste* refers to the movements of the Arab and Byzantine navies, seamen, mariners, and hunters between the islands (Lesbos, Paros, Naxos, Ios, Euboea-Xylophagos, Dia, Crete), it provides no information on fishing or fish consumption, unlike other *Lives* of the time.¹⁰

The same also applies to another narration concerning the crossing of the Aegean around the same time as the supposed encounter of the Parian hunters with Theoktiste, namely John Kaminiates' account of the sack of Thessalonike by the Arabs in 904. In the introduction to the text, the narrator describes two lakes located near the city of Thessalonike: these are said to compete with each other and with the sea, to provide various kinds of fish, both small and

9. V. CHRISTIDES, "The Raids of the Muslims of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest", *Byz* 51 (1981), 76-111; V. CHRISTIDES, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984, pp. 161-168; Maria LEONTSINI, "The Byzantine and Arab Navies in the Southern Aegean and Crete: Shipping, Mobility and Transport (7th-9th c.)", *Graeco-Arabica* 12 (2017), 171-233, at 206-207.

10. A literary usage occurs in connection to *naukratos* (ἰχθύος ναυκράτου), meaning a fish holding a ship: *Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos*, col. 230E. Fishing practices are very frequently referred to in hagiographical texts, indicating familiarity with such activities; see below, *Annex List II*. We choose here just two examples of *topoi*, coming from hagiographical stories of Aegean Sea saints (i.e. saints originating from or living in the Aegean area). The two *topoi*, which concern the coastal areas of Constantinople and Kythera respectively, portray marine imagery and express the way hagiographers perceived fishing. Firstly, Saint Thomaïs was trapped in marriage, like a hooked fish being unexpectedly caught by the gills (ἡγγιστρωμένος ἰχθὺς ἀπροόπτως ὑπὸ βρόχους ἐαλώκει); see *Life of Saint Thomaïs of Lesbos* (BHG³ 2455), ed. F. HALKIN, "Sainte Thomaïs de Lesbos", in IDEM, *Hagiologie byzantine. Textes inédits publiés en grec et traduits en français* [SubsHag 71], Brussels 1986, p. 198, 12; on the textual tradition, see S. EFTHYMIADIS, "Une hagiographie classicisante et son auteur: La Vie longue de Sainte Thomaïs de Lesbos (BHG³ 2455)", *Pour une poétique de Byzance. Hommage à Vassilis Katsaros*, eds S. Efthymiadis, C. Messis, P. Odorico, and I. Polemis, Paris 2015, pp. 113-131. Secondly, extermination as a result of sinning is likened to fish caught in an evil net (ὡς οἱ ἰχθύες οἱ θηρευόμενοι ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ κακῷ; *Ecclesiastes* 9:12); see the mention in the *Life of Saint Theodore of Kythera*, ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, "Ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων (10^{ος} αἰ.) (12 Μαΐου – BHG³, ἀρ. 2430)", *Πρακτικὰ Γ' Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου*, 23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1965, vol. 1, Athens 1967, pp. 264-291, at 285, 123; repr. in IDEM, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade. Studies, Texts, Monuments* [CS 369], London 1992, no. VII.

large. He also mentions the fishing fleet of Thessalonike that was used during the siege.¹¹ Kaminiates describes his own adventure in the Aegean, when as a prisoner he was transferred to Crete after the sack. However, the author, who describes in detail the crossing of the Aegean from Thessalonike to Crete via Euboea, Andros, Patmos, Naxos, and Dia, mentions nothing about fishermen or fish in this unique narration. Moreover, the seamen of the region appear to have entirely lost knowledge of the route to Crete: during Nikephoros Phokas' campaign against the Arabs of Crete in 961, the Byzantine fleet arrived at the island of Ios but could not find a pilot to guide them to Crete. This was so because "no one knew that sea lane, as for many years no Roman ship had sailed in that direction".¹²

Besides the *Life of Theoktiste*, the first group of *Lives* also includes the *Life of Theodore of Kythera*,¹³ the *Life of Peter of Argos*,¹⁴ and the edifying

11. John Kaminiates, ed. Gertrud BÖHLIG, *Ioannis Caminiatae De expugnatione Thessalonicae* [CFHB 4], Berlin 1973, p. 7, par. 5, 48-54; p. 8, par. 6, 90-95; p. 29, par. 31, 19-21; on the preface-introduction, see KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 125-131.

12. Michael Attaliates, ed. Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTIN, *Miguel Atalates, Historia* [Nueva Roma 15], Madrid 2002, ch. 28, 3, pp. 163,24 - 164,2 νῆαι καρπαθικαὶ δύο τὸν κατάπλου ἐπ' αὐτὸν ποιησάμεναι προωδοποίησαν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδοπορίαν; *Continuation of Theophanes VI*, ed. I. BEKKER, *Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia* [CSHB], Bonn 1838, pp. 475,23 - 476,1-4 γαλέας ἀποστεύλας κατασκοπῆσαι. On the legend regarding spy ships and Karpathian sailors, see CHRISTIDES, *The Conquest of Crete*, p. 167; D. TSUGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete: From the 5th Century to the Venetian Conquest*, Athens 1988, pp. 63-64; G. DELIGIANNAKIS, *The Dodecanese and East Aegean Islands in Late Antiquity, AD 300-700* [Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology], Oxford 2016, pp. 108-109. However, naval stations and refuelling points are mentioned in the *Stadiodromikon*, the official guide transmitted in the *De Cerimoniis* on the occasion of the imperial expedition against the Emirate of Crete in 949; see S. COSENTINO, "Pillars of Empire: The Economic Role of the Large Islands of the Mediterranean from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages", *DOP* 76 (2022), 245-280, at 256-257.

13. *Life of Theodore of Kythera*, pp. 286-291; W. S. CARAHER, "Constructing Memories: Hagiography, Church Architecture, and the Religious Landscape of Middle Byzantine Greece: The Case of St. Theodore of Kythera", *Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. Studies on Method and Meaning in Honor of Timothy E. Gregory*, eds W. S. Caraher, Linda Jones Hall, and R. Scott Moore, Aldershot 2008, pp. 272-273, 276-277; see also Haris KALLIGAS, *Byzantine Monemvasia. The Sources*, Monemvasia 1990, pp. 55-61; Haris A. KALLIGAS, *Μονεμβασία. Μία βυζαντινή πόλις κράτος*, Athens 2010, pp. 45-47.

14. *Life of Peter of Argos* (BHG 1504), ed. K. T. KYRIAKOPOULOS, *Ἀγίου Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου Ἀργους Βίος καὶ Λόγοι. Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενον, μετάφρασις, σχόλια*, Athens 1976, p. 244, 230-237 (on the coastline as a point of enduring conflict between Arab and Byzantine ships and the taking of captives); KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 113-114; on the saint's maritime "superintendency", see also Maria LEONTSINI, Eleni MANOLESSOU and Angeliki PANOPOULOU, "Harbours and anchorages in Corinthia and Argolis (North-Eastern Peloponnese) from the Early to the Middle Byzantine Period", *Seasides of Byzantium: Harbours and Anchorages of a Mediterranean Empire*, eds J. Preiser-Kapeller, T. G. Kolias, and F. Daim [Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 21 = NHRF/IS 25], Mainz 2021, pp. 153-166, at 160-161.

stories by Paul, Bishop of Monemvasia. Although the *Life of Theodore of Kythera* and some of the edifying tales by Paul of Monemvasia, particularly those concerning Saints Valerius, Vincent, and Eulalia, are mainly maritime accounts and provide details on sea voyages in the southern Peloponnese (Monemvasia, probably Elafonisos, Kythera, and Korone), they only describe wanderings, deserted shores and islands without drinking water, hunters, and wild animals; there is no mention of fishing.¹⁵ Paul of Monemvasia does relate a story of three monks living in Calabria, who were taken prisoners by Saracens from Africa while fishing on the shore.¹⁶ However, this is the only fishing incident narrated and it does not concern the Aegean Sea. In another of his stories, Paul of Monemvasia recounts how a pregnant woman fled from Larissa in Thessaly and spent thirty years on a deserted island with the child she gave birth to: the tale recalls Paros and the *Life of Theoktiste of Lesbos*.¹⁷ In this group, a fictional element prevails over the strictly biographical and historical themes by exploiting the old narrative commonplace of the supposedly uninhabited, desolate or wild island, which underlines the hero's struggle for survival. All these accounts fail to describe a single aspect of the life of fishermen, as the tales are mostly interested in the struggle against the wild, deserted, or mountainous environment. Here, it is worth mentioning an earlier example of the struggle against the wild nature of the Aegean islands and sea-borne human enemies. This includes hunting and fishing activity on the supposedly deserted island of Skiathos. According to the seventh-century

15. On the Arabic version of Paul of Monemvasia's story on Saints Valerius, Vincent and Eulalia, see P. PEETERS, "Une invention des SS. Valère, Vincent et Eulalie dans le Péloponnèse", *AnBoll* 30 (1911), 296-306; *Life of Theodore of Kythera*, 289, 241-243; see CHRISTIDES, *The Conquest of Crete*, pp. 61-62, 163, 166, 220; KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 225-229; EFTHYMIADIS, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes", p. 125; also KALLIGAS, *Byzantine Monemvasia*, pp. 60-63; KALLIGAS, *Μονεμβασία*, pp. 40-44.

16. Paul of Monemvasia, *Narration* 8/III (BHG 1449b), ed. J. WORTLEY, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, Évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs* [Sources d'Histoire Médiévale], Paris 1987, pp. 68-69. On fish mentioned in the *Lives* of Saints in Calabria, see I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, "Le manger et le boire dans la Vie de Saint Nil de Rossano: l'huile, le vin et la chère dans la Calabre Byzantine X^e-XI^e siècles", *Identità euro-mediterranea e paesaggi culturali del vino e dell'olio*, ed. Antonella Pellettieri, Foggia 2014, pp. 179-196, at p. 191 n. 49.

17. Paul of Monemvasia, *Narration* 12/II (BHG 1449a), ed. WORTLEY, *Les récits édifiants de Paul*, pp. 96-103; KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 227-228. In a 16th-century *Synaxarion*, the heroes are named Anna and John, and the island is located somewhere in the Adriatic Sea; see S. ΓΟΥΛΟΥΛΙΣ, "Το Συναξάρι της 'οσίας Αννας' της Λαρισαίας", *Πρακτικά 3^{ου} Συνεδρίου Λαρισαϊκών Σπουδών*, Larissa 1997, pp. 83-96; EFTHYMIADIS, "The Sea as Topos and as Original Narrative", pp. 117-118 and 121.

Miracles of Saint Demetrius, the crews of the Byzantine fleet of the Karabianoi moored at this island due to adverse wind conditions while on their way to help the Slav-beleaguered Thessalonike. During their stay, they engaged in both hunting wild animals and the catching of fish (τὴν ἄγρην ἰχθύων).¹⁸

This group of *Lives*, which is set in an early period when seafaring in the Aegean was unsafe, and at the same time lacks evidence about fishing, also includes some *Lives* relating to Iconoclasm (726/7-787, 815-843). The Mytilenian saints of the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century, namely the brothers David, Symeon, and George, are of relative interest to our topic. They experienced exiles and wanderings during the years of Iconoclasm in the region of Troas, as well as on the islands and seas of Propontis and Lesbos (Mytilene).¹⁹ It is the era when the Aegean islands of Lesbos, Thasos, and Samothrace, as places of exile, received saints, and Mytilene itself played host of the empress Irene of Athens (797-802).²⁰ Within this iconoclastic climate, the action of fishermen who found the relic of Saint Euphemia, thrown by the Iconoclasts into the sea, is documented. The sailors or fishermen, who were most likely from the Aegean, and whose occupation is the only information provided in the text, took the relic to the island of Lemnos.²¹ Returning to the *Life* of the Mytilenian saints, we find

18. *Miracles of St Demetrius*, Anonymous Collection, no. 5 (BHG 521), ed. P. LEMERLE, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, vol. 1, Paris 1979, p. 231, 6-22, pars 296-297.

19. *Life of Saints David, Symeon and George*, p. 230, 1-5; p. 231, 4-8; p. 233, 26-29; p. 235, 1-10; p. 243, 10-16; EFTHYMIADIS, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes", p. 112.

20. For the exiles in Samothrace, see *Life of Saint Theophanes A: Βίος ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ καὶ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους τοῦ τῆς Σιγγριανῆς* (BHG 1791), ed. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1883, repr. New York 1980, p. 12, 13-16; *Life of Saint Theophanes B: Βίος ἐγκωμίων συμπλεκόμενος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους, τοῦ καὶ Ἰσαακίου, Νικηφόρου σκευοφύλακος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν*, ed. DE BOOR, p. 25, 22-23; *Continuation of Theophanes VI*, ed. BEKKER, p. 438, 2. Thasos and Samothrace are also mentioned in the *Life of Saints David, Symeon and George*, p. 229, 8-12; English translation by Dorothy ABRAHAMSE and D. DOMINGO-FORASTÉ in *Byzantine Defenders of Images*, ed. TALBOT, pp. 182-183. For Lesbos-Mytilene, see A. KALDELLIS and S. EFTHYMIADIS, *The Prosopography of Byzantine Lesbos (284-1355). A Contribution to the Social History of the Byzantine Province* [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Kl. 403], Vienna 2010, pp. 38, 40, 69 (St Andrew of Crete), pp. 76-77 (Empress Eirene of Athens), pp. 79-82 (St George, bishop of Mytilene), pp. 87-88 (St Ignatios, Patriarch of Constantinople), p. 89 (John *orphanotrophos*), pp. 92-93 (Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos), pp. 95-97 (Stephen Lakapenos), pp. 103-106 (St Nicholas the Stoudite), pp. 110-111 (St Symeon the Stylite), p. 119 (Anonymous official), p. 121 (Anonymous monk).

21. Only the later account of Makarios Makres on Saint Euphemia mentions fishermen (ἄλεις);

some information about fishing and fish consumption. As part of their ascetic lifestyle, Symeon and George constantly travelled to the coasts of Asia Minor, particularly Smyrna, around the island of Mytilene, and to the islets of the Sea of Marmara. Symeon, whose ascetic peregrination also took him to Pegai near the Black Sea, lived by fishing with nets (χερσὶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἐργαζόμενος). When he was in exile on the island of Aphousia in the Sea of Marmara, a sailing-ship arrived, bringing food from Constantinople which included salted fish (ταριχευτῶν ἰχθύων).²² While in Mytilene, the saints were supplied with legumes and cereals by a ship from Smyrna, a city with which they were in close contact.²³ Judging from other incidents we present below, the hinterland of Asia Minor and its islands, including Mytilene, were commonly supplied with fish, especially salted fish, from far away.

It is noticeable that although the Mytilenian saints roamed the Aegean, which is an open sea, not even the briefest mention is made of any fishing activity, except when they fled to Constantinople, Propontis, and the Bosphorus, as was the case with Symeon. The same can be observed with another Mytilenian saint a century later, Saint Thomais of Lesbos, as her worship and miracles were associated with Constantinople, where she settled and later died. The saint helped a fisherman, who lost his fishing tackle after it was snatched from him by a fierce storm, to find his nets once again, full of fish, near Hebdomon, a suburb of the capital on the Sea of Marmara.²⁴ The lack of any reference to fishing can also be seen in the *Life of Saint Euthymios the Younger* and in the *Life of Saint Paul the Younger of Latros*. Saint Euthymios the Younger (823/4-898), seeking the ideal place for a hermit to stay, travelled to Athos twice, and to the island of Neoi (Saint Eustratios) in 865-866, where

ed. F. HALKIN, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine. Légendes byzantines* [SubsHag 41], Brussels 1965, pp. 170-183, at p. 178, par. 8, 5. The account of Constantine, bishop of Tios, *ibid.*, pp. 84-106, at 92, par. 7, 20, mentions ship captains (ναύκληροι), while the *enkomion* by Theodoros Vestes, *ibid.*, pp. 110-139, at p. 136, par. 13, 21-25, sailors (ναυτῖλοι).

22. *Life of Saints David, Symeon and George*, p. 235, 3-7; p. 241, 7. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 3 and 4.

23. *Life of Saints David, Symeon and George*, p. 225, 11-24; pp. 256-257. On Late Byzantine fishing in the Gulf of Smyrna, see P. GOUNARIDIS, "La pêche dans le golfe de Smyrne", *EYΨΥΧΙΑ, Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, eds M. Balard et al., Paris 1998, vol. 1, pp. 265-271.

24. *Life of Saint Thomais of Lesbos* (BHG 2454), *AASS Novembris*, vol. 4, Brussels 1925, col. 240, par. 21; see G. MANIATIS, "The Organizational Setup and Functioning of the Fish Market in Tenth-Century Constantinople", *DOP* 54 (2000), 13-42, at 29 n. 66; EFTHYMIADIS, "La Vie longue de Sainte Thomais de Lesbos", pp. 113-131.

he lived through the Arab raids. Although his *Life* contains detailed references to sea voyages, ships, and Arab piracy, as well as his capture on the island and the miracle of his liberation, in which boats played a key role, there is no mention of marine life on the island.²⁵ Saint Paul the Younger of Latros (d. 955), who was born in Elaia on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Mytilene and lived as an ascetic on Samos and Latros, moved around relatively often. In his *Life*, while references are made to sea voyages, such as a voyage to and from Samos with vivid descriptions of the boat hoisting its sails and heading for the Aegean Sea, or of the storms hitting travellers, yet – once again – there is no mention of fishing. Instead, the hagiographer uses commonplaces, namely the hagiographical *topos* of an ascetic in solitude and saintly escapism; in addition, as in the other *Lives* we have seen so far, emphasis is placed on the destruction of churches on Samos by the Hagarenes, the wilderness, the uninhabited places, and the hunting with which the administrators of the island occupied themselves.²⁶ The bone protruding from a monk's broken leg is compared to a large fish bone: this is the only reference to fish in the *Life*, and probably reflects the biographer's knowledge of large fish.²⁷

In contrast to the situation in the Bosphorus,²⁸ the absence of references

25. *Life of Saint Euthymios the Younger* (BHG 655), ed. L. PETIT, "Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune", *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 8 (1903), 168-205, at 37, 22-23, pars 24-26. On the sea dangers surrounding an island, see PRATSCH, *Der hagiographische Topos*, pp. 257-258.

26. *Laudatio of Saint Paul the Younger of Latros* (BHG 1474d), ed. H. DELEHAYE, "Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in monte Latro", *AnBoll* 11 (1892), 5-74, 136-182, at 46-53; repr. in T. WIEGAND, *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*, vol. 3/1. *Der Latmos* [Monumenta Latrensia hagiographica], Berlin 1913, pp. 136-157, at 141-142, pars 14-17; also, *Life of Saint Paul the Younger of Latros*, ed. DELEHAYE, "Vita S. Pauli Iunioris", 148 [= WIEGAND, *Der Latmos*, p. 119, par. 24, 35 ἐπέπλεον οὖν ἀναχθέντες τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πελάγει τὰ ἱστία πετάσαντες· ἄλλ' ἐκπίπτουσι πρὸς τὰ ἀοίκητα Σάμου, γεγονότος ἢ προσῆκε τοῦ πνεύματος σφοδροτέρου]. On the hagiographer's description of the population fleeing to Latros during the Muslim raids, see Efi RAGIA, *H Κοιλιάδα του Κάτω Μαυιάδρου στη βυζαντινὴ εποχή, ca. 600-1300: γεωγραφία και ιστορία* [BKM 51], Thessalonike 2009, pp. 101-102. On the "saintly escapism" of Paul of Latros, see KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 211-218.

27. *Life of Saint Paul the Younger of Latros*, ed. DELEHAYE, "Vita S. Pauli Iunioris", 176 [= WIEGAND, *Der Latmos*, p. 134, par. 48, 10] ὅσπουν εἶδε τοῦ σκέλους ἀνεσπασμένον τοῖς τῶν μεγάλων ἐοικὸς ἰχθύων. Eustathios of Thessalonike specifically states that the dorsal bone of the hull is called bone and not thorn: Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem*, ed. K. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. 2, Paris 1861 (repr. Hildesheim 1965), p. 332, 5-6, par. 599: τὸ τοῦ κήτους ὅσπουν τὸ ἀναλογοῦν ῥάχει.

28. G. DAGRON, "Poissons, pêcheurs et poissonniers de Constantinople", *Constantinople and its Hinterland. Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, eds C. Mango and G. Dagron [SPBSP 3], Cambridge 1995, pp. 57-73; MANIATIS "The Organizational Setup and Function-

to fishing in these *Lives* is startling. Unless fortuitous, the absence of any mention of fishing in Mytilene, Chios, Samos, and the nearby bays of Asia Minor, places historically renowned for their marine fauna, is probably due to the fact that these *Lives* were composed during a time when the Aegean was not, in reality or in imagination, considered a safe sea for fishing, except for closed and protected seas and bays, and not all bays at that. It is worth noting here that Saint Isidore of Chios was revered as the protector of sailors during the early Byzantine centuries, and his veneration spread throughout the Mediterranean Sea.²⁹ However, when the Arabs ravaged the Aegean, the Byzantines saw the helping presence of Saint George in events that occurred in the Aegean. A very popular legend was Saint George's miraculous intervention against the pirates and the freeing of prisoners, like the young man from Mytilene who had been kidnapped by Arabs in Crete.³⁰ One would expect Saint Nicholas to have had a role as the patron saint of fishermen, being already the patron saint of sailors and their savior, when caught in storms; his cult was well known in Myra on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, where the naval *thema* of the *Kibyrrhaiotai* was located. Yet neither in his *Life* nor in his miracles do fish and fishermen have a place.³¹ The relics of Nicholas of Myra

ing of the Fish Market", 13-42.

29. A Byzantine pilgrim stamp of Saint Isidore (6th century), housed in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, was used by pilgrims directed to the saint's martyrion on Chios. The saint is placed in the centre, while on his left-hand side a boat is depicted, referring both to the sailors, of which Isidore was the protector, and to the pilgrimage to the island. The writing reads: ΙΣ ΧΡ / + Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΗΣΙΔΩΡΟΣ / ΔΕΧ ΕΥΑΟΓΙ : "Jesus Christ, St. Isidore, Get a blessing"; see G. VIKAN, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, Washington, D.C. 1982, p. 15 fig. 8; K. N. CIGGAAR, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 962-1204* [MM 10], Leiden - New York - Cologne 1996, p. 314.

30. *Miracles of Saint George* (BHG 684), ed. K. KRUMBACHER, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* [Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philologische und histor. Klasse 25/3], Munich 1911, p. 79, 22. 24. For the extensive bibliography on this miracle, see P. GROTOWSKI, "The Legend of St. George Saving a Youth from Captivity and its Depiction in Art", *Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, vol. 1 [Series Byzantina 1], Warsaw 2003, pp. 27-77 (<http://archaeology.kiev.ua/byzantine/art/grotowski.htm>); P. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol. 5 [Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes 76], Athens 1952, pp. 383-386.

31. A kind of "fishing" is attested when an imperial document which Saint Nicholas threw into the sea in Constantinople reached its destination at the port of Myra (Andriake) in Lycia, where the local clergy picked it up after being guided by a vision of the saint (διήλθον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ εὐθέως τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ δυνάμει εὗρον τὸν κάλαμον μετὰ τοῦ χάρτου ὑπὸ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης κείμενον); see *Miracles of Saint Nicholas* (BHG 1351a), ed. G. ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, vol. 1. *Die Texte*, Leipzig 1913, pp. 106, 23 - 108, 9. On the protector of seamen *Saint Nicholas of Sion* and his fusion with *Saint Nicholas of Myra*, see I. ŠEVČENKO and Nancy PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* [AIL 10], Brookline, MA 1984, pp. 11-15 (BHG 1347); Eleonora KOUNTOURA-GALAKE, "The Cult of the Saints Nicholas of Lycia and the

and Isidore of Chios, which were brought to Bari (1087) and Venice (1125) respectively, also attest to the widespread veneration of these saints among seafarers and merchants in the West.³² Despite the fact that the Apostles, who were actual fishermen and fishermen of souls, are usually referred to as the patron saints of fishermen, the protection of fishermen was, oddly enough, claimed again by Saint George. According to his encomium, he was considered, among many other things, the patron saint of all kinds of seafarers; he was “a ship’s captain, an anchor and a port for those in peril in the open sea” (πλεόντων κυβερνήτης, ἄγκυρα, λιμὴν τῶν ἐν πελάγει χειμαζομένων). This was possibly the starting-point for the significant cult that developed around him in the Aegean islands, which were constantly ravaged by pirates and where he was considered (as he is even today) the patron saint of sailors and fishermen. On the contrary, Saint Phocas was the protector of the sailors of the Black Sea, although not only of them.³³ With regard to Crete, the vernacular *Life* of the tenth-eleventh-century Saint John Xenos mentions the Church of Saint George (*O*)*psaropiastes*, meaning “he who aids fishermen in catching many fish”.³⁴ Concerning fishing in Byzantine Crete, the fish tanks at Chersonesos, Mochlos, and Siteia, which date back to the Roman period, most probably did not continue to operate during Byzantine times.³⁵ In gener-

birth of Byzantine Maritime Tradition”, *The Heroes of the Orthodox Church: The New Saints 8th-16th c.*, ed. Eleonora KOUNTOURA-GALAKE [NHRF/IS 15], Athens 2004, pp. 91-106. On a miracle of Saint Nicholas of Myra saving from the storm an Egyptian fisherman who then became a Christian, see the *Πανηγυρική βίβλος* of Saint Neophytos the Recluse (BHG 1364), in *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐκκλησίου Συγγράμματα*, general editors D. G. Tsamis, N. Zacharopoulos, C. Oikonomou, and I. Karavidopoulos, vol. 3. *Πανηγυρική Α'*, eds Niki PAPATRIANTAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI (Homilies 1-15) and T. X. GIAGKOU (Homilies 16-30), Paphos 1999, *Homily* 26, 83-85, pp. 488,956 - 489,986.

32. CIGGAAR, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*, p. 314; M. McCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900*, Cambridge 2001, p. 299. In two miracles a sailor and a fisherman bear the name Isidore; see *Miracles of Saint Artemios* (BHG 173), in V. S. CRISAFULLI and J. W. NESBITT, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* [MM 13], Leiden - New York 1997, miracle no. 6, pp. 87-90; and *Life of Saint John of Psicha* (BHG 896), ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, “La vie grecque de s. Jean le Psichaitte”, *Muséon* 21 (1902), 103-123, at 120, 15. On the translation of the relics of Saint Nicholas, see *Miracles of Saint Nicholas* (BHG 1361b), ed. ANRICH, pp. 435-449.

33. N. G. POLITIS, “Ο Άγιος Γεώργιος”, in IDEM, *Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα*, vol. 1, Athens 1920, p. 81; on saintly protectors of sailors, see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol. 5, pp. 332, 383-386.

34. *Life of Saint John Xenos* (not in BHG; cf. BHG 2196), ed. N. TOMADAKIS, “Ο Άγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ”, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983-1986), 1-117, at 8-11, esp. 9, 64-65.

35. TSOUGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete*, p. 289; MYLONA, *Fish-Eating in Greece*, pp. 146-148 (Cyclades

al, shoreline fisheries have not been identified elsewhere before the eleventh century, and mainly after the twelfth century, when documents preserved in the monastic archives began to record such structures and facilities.³⁶ Fishing in Crete is considered to have been fairly limited and probably the only valuable information comes from an Arab text of the same period, which notes that shoals of tuna fish migrated towards the shores of Spain and Crete, arriving between the first and second of May, when they were caught in great quantities.³⁷

In this first group we can also include two more *Lives* written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *Life of Saint Nikon* “*Metanoieite*”, probably written in 1042, and the *Life of Saint Christodoulos*, written in the reign of John II Komnenos (1118-1143) by John, Metropolitan of Rhodes. Nikon (ca. 930 - ca. 1000), who was born in the area of Pontos, went to Crete in 961, after its liberation from the Arabs, to preach Christianity. He then travelled to Greece, before finally settling in Sparta in the 970s. The biographer borrowed elements from other *Lives*, especially from the *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*. However, in contrast to that *Life*, there is no reference to fishing, not even to fish consumption during the time Nikon lived in the Helladic regions. The text mentions only the preparation of salted fish as a monastic task, when the young Nikon was living in the Monastery of the Golden Rock (Chryse Petra), close to the coast of the Black Sea in Paphlagonia.³⁸ Again, it would seem that for some saints and their biographers, fish, especially salted fish, was always a product linked to areas outside the Aegean Sea. On the contrary, what is surprising about the *Life of Nikon* is the fact that, although it provides detailed descriptions of the saint’s movements in coastal, mountainous, and island areas of Greece (namely Crete, the Saronic Gulf, Epidaurous, Salamis, Athens,

and Crete); Henriette KROLL, “Animals in the Byzantine Empire: An Overview of the Archeozoological Evidence”, *Archaeologia Medievale* 39 (2012), 93-121, at 111.

36. GOUNARIDIS, “La pêche dans le golfe de Smyrne”, pp. 265-271; Angeliki E. LAIOU, “The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries”, *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou [DOS 39], Washington, D.C., vol. 1, pp. 320, 325.

37. TSOUGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete*, p. 289.

38. *Life of Saint Nikon* “*Metanoieite*”, p. 42, par. 5, 28-29. The editor translates *τεταριχευμένον ὄψον* as smoked meat. See *ταριχευτὸν ὄψον. ὁ καλούμενος λάρδος. ἢ τὸ ἀπόκτιν*, Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, ed. J. A. H. TITTMANN, *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1808 (repr. Amsterdam 1967), vol. 2, col. 1713, 24-25. In all probability, the reference alludes to the preparation of salted fish. It could be a kind of lard, but it is absolutely impossible that there was such meat consumption in the monastery of Chryse Petra. See also above, note 2.

Euboea/Euripos, Corinth, Argos, Nauplion, Tegea, Mani, Korone, Methone, Messenia, Sparta), as well as information on products such as salt, oil, wine, fruit, livestock, silk, and fabrics, it does not mention anything about fishing or fish consumption. This is also true for the saint's *Testament*, which is believed to have been written by the saint himself.³⁹ Let us turn now to Saint Christodoulos (d. 1093), the founder of the Monastery on the island of Patmos. According to his *Rule* and *Testament*, which are dated to 1091 and 1093 respectively, and his *Life* by John of Rhodes, the saint travelled throughout the Aegean region. He was especially familiar with the region of Latros, the coast of Caria and Strobilos, the Ikarian Sea, the islands of Kos, Leros, and Patmos, which he describes in detail, and Euboea/Euripos, where he died.⁴⁰ These texts do not mention any marine activity or fishing, and contain only a commonplace description of the wild island of Patmos, where Christodoulos ultimately chose to live and create his monastic community. The island is portrayed as the uttermost wilderness, unknown to man, a place where life flows untroubled, and whose harbor is inaccessible to regular shipping.⁴¹

Lastly, this group also includes the *Life of Saint Gregory of Assos*, which dates from the eleventh to the twelfth century. Although the *Life* vividly describes the mountains of Mytilene and refers to its trees, hills and bays, as well as many other locations on the nearby coast of Asia Minor, it makes no mention of fishing.⁴² It is as if the saint lived a secluded life in a mountainous area, although surrounded by the sea. This creates the impression that for an ascetic, but especially for the hagiographer, the sea, even in its wildest and

39. On these places, see the Index to the *Life* of Saint Nikon “Metanoieite”, ed. SULLIVAN; for Saint Nikon’s *Testament*, see the edition by O. LAMPSIDIS, *Ὁ ἐκ Πόντου ὁσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε. Κείμενα – σχόλια* [Ἐπιτροπὴ Ποντιακῶν Μελετῶν. Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, Παράρτημα 13], Athens 1982, pp. 251-256 with comments at pp. 452-465; English translation by A. BANDY, in BMFD, vol. 1, pp. 313-322.

40. *Saint Christodoulos’ Rule and Testament* (ὑποτύπωσις θεοφιλῆς εἰπὺν διάταξις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χριστοδούλου) (BHG 307), ed. K. VOINIS (BOINES), *Ἀκολουθία ἱερὰ τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χριστοδούλου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ*, Athens 1884, pp. 66-79; English translation by Patricia KARLIN-HAYTER, in BMFD, vol. 2, pp. 579-584; *Life of Saint Christodoulos* by John of Rhodes (Text I, BHG 303), eds I. D. POLEMIS and Theodora ANTONOPOULOU, *Vitae et Miracula Sancti Christoduli Patmensis* [CFHB 56], Vienna 2021, pp. 145-167, at 161, par. 51: Ἄλλως τε δὲ τραχὺν καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως βάσιμον, ἀλλ’ ἀνάντη τὲ καὶ ἀπότομον τὸν τόπον κατανοοῦντες; *Encomium* by Athanasios of Antioch (Text III, BHG 304), *ibid.*, pp. 215-242. On the saint’s wanderings in the Aegean, see the Introduction by POLEMIS and ANTONOPOULOU, *ibid.*, pp. 17-22, and the Table at pp. 54-56.

41. *Saint Christodoulos’ Rule and Testament*, p. 75, par. 9, 3; English translation, p. 582; Veronica DELLA DORA, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium*, Cambridge 2016, pp. 251-253.

42. *Life of Saint Gregory of Assos* (BHG 710a), ed. F. HALKIN, “Saint Grégoire d’Assos. Vie et Synaxaire inédits (BHG et Auctar. 710a et c)”, *AnBoll* 102 (1984), 5-35, at 6-7, 11, 18-20.

most treacherous moments, is not a suitable place for meditation, isolation and asceticism, because it allows for travel and encounters (i.e. amazing voyages, unforeseen visits, trade and transactions). The hero can only practise his calling successfully as a castaway, abandoned and forgotten on a desert island. For the hagiographers (not all of them, of course), even if the good ascetic is in the middle of the sea, he must still pursue the “saintly escapism”, the flight to the desert.⁴³ He must be surrounded by rugged mountains, wild animals and wildlife, and demons, and certainly not by the kindnesses and pleasures offered by the company of sailors or fishermen. For the hagiographer writing in the middle Byzantine period and following the model of the first group of texts, the sea should ideally provide his narrative with the danger of pirates and destructive Arabs, not with the life of fishing and trade.

Therefore, the first group of *Lives* studied thus far, as exemplified by the *Life of Theoktiste*, does not provide any evidence of fishing in the Aegean. This lack of mention of fishing as a way of life is considered to genuinely reflect a historical reality over time, which was experienced by many Aegean islanders, independently of the actual problems caused by the Arab presence in the area. Michael Choniates in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries corroborates this fact. Choniates repeatedly states that the inhabitants of Attica and the islands, specifically Keos, did not engage in fishing and, in fact, had no fish, despite living in the heart of the sea (Ἡμεῖς γὰρ καίτοι ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης κατοικοῦντες οὐκ ἰχθῶμεθα).⁴⁴ Indeed, the picture he paints of the inhabitants’ activities and diet is quite continental, revolving around stockbreeding. Something similar is stated, also in the thirteenth century, by Euthymios Tornikes, who says that the island of Keos ignored the old tradition of fishing (ἡγνοημένην ἀπήγγειλον ἀλιευτικὴν),⁴⁵ and by John Apokaukos,

43. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, p. 213.

44. Michael Choniates, *Letters*, ed. Foteini KOLOVOU, *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae* [CFHB 41], Berlin - New York 2001, p. 158, no. 103, 56-57; see also p. 14, no. 9, 18-19 τοσοῦτον ἀνακεχωρηκότα θαλάττης ὥς μήτε κλύεσθαι φλοίσβῳ καὶ τὰς τῆς θαλάσσης δρέπεσθαι χάριτας, εἴτε τις ἰχθὺν ἀσπαίροντα ἔτι ποθεῖ εἴτε καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἄλλως ἐστιᾶν βούλεται ; p. 192, no. 115, 66-67 ποῦ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Κεῖοις τοῖσδε οὐδαμῶς ἰχθυωμένοις, κρέατι δὲ καὶ τυρῷ μόνον ὄψῳ χρωμένοις, ἰχθύες πετραῖοί τε καὶ πελάγιοι, ἔνθα οὐδὲ ὅσα λαπάττει γαστέρα κηπεύεται; and p. 243, no. 150, 27-30 on receiving salted fish from Propontis. For Choniates, Euripos was a perfect place for fishing: Michael Choniates, *Orationes*, ed. S. P. LAMBROS, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, vol. 1, Athens 1879, p. 181, 22-23. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 37 and 39.

45. Euthymios Tornikes, *Letters*, ed. Foteini KOLOVOU, “Euthymios Tornikes als Briefschreiber. Vier unedierte Briefe des Euthymios Tornikes und Michael Choniates im Codex Buc. gr. 508”, *JÖB* 45 (1995), 66-73, at 67, 32.

albeit in a different social context, who says: “Living by the sea, I have no fish in my diet” (καὶ θαλάσσιος ὢν ἰχθυοβρωτεῖν οὐκ ἔχω, τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀλιευτῶν ἀνθρώποις ζωγεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας κεκελευσμένων).⁴⁶ Taking the great diversity among the Aegean islands into account, we should probably not be surprised by Choniates’ description, which is consistent with the stockbreeding and hunting recorded for the islands of Naxos, Paros, Kythera, Patmos, and Samos, as described in some saints’ *Lives*, and most clearly in our selection in that of *Theoktiste*, as well as in the *Life of Theodore of Kythera*.

The Second Group of Lives

As mentioned above, the second group is represented by the *Life of Luke the Younger (of Steiris)*, where we find a completely different approach to maritime life. Luke’s profile is that of a mainly ascetic fisherman, who lived in the sheltered seas and shores on both sides of the Corinthian Gulf, in Phocis and Corinthia, in constant contact with the sea. The *Life* (written shortly after 963) provides us with the main account of the transition from the restricted and insecure fishing of previous centuries to its gradual expansion from the mid-tenth century onwards, described in even greater detail in the *Life of Athanasios of Athos*. This new fishing boom, brought about by various political and economic factors of a new era, coexisted with the continuing absence of fishing in most of the Aegean, a sea characterised by many different microcosms, with mountain and coastal populations living side by side. In some maritime regions of the Greek peninsula and the Aegean (mainly bays), fishing appears to have become more active or organised, while on most of the islands, even when the risk of Arab pirates had ceased, the mountain way of life continued to prevail. It was a twofold landscape, a sea of dual character, which was also its wealth, even today. Luke came from a prominent island family of Aegina. In the mid-ninth century, around 865/70, Arab raids forced his ancestors to flee to Phocis. In the ninth century, due to Arab raids, the inhabitants of Aegina are reported to have fled, including Saint Theodora (812-892) to Thessalonike and Saint Athanasia

46. John Apokaukos, *Letters*, eds N. A. BEES and Eleni BEES-SEFERLIS, “Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropolitens von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)”, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21 (1971-1974 [publ. 1976]), 57-160 (“Aus dem Nachlasse von N. A. Bees”), no. 46, at 103, 35: in this case, because state authorities seized all fish!

(805/10-916) to Constantinople.⁴⁷

The sea-ruling Arabs are described as pirates who attacked (πειρατεύοντες) all the bays, beaches and coastlines. Despite this, Luke's ancestors, genuine seafarers, seemed reluctant to move away from the sea. They initially settled in coastal areas, either in bays or on beaches or very near them on the littoral mountain called Ioannou (παράλιον ὄρος Ἰωάννου καλούμενον), in Vathys Limen, in the area of present-day Itsea, where Luke's father, Stephen, was born. The family relocated to Kastorion/Kastri near Delphi, where Luke was born in 896/7. At the age of 14, he became a monk and spent seven years in a retreat on Mount Ioannou or Ioannitzi, located south of the town of Desphina, near the Corinthian Gulf. The Bulgarian invasion forced him to flee to the region of Corinth.⁴⁸ Fish was a staple food in his family's diet, and from childhood, Luke's aversion to certain foods, such as meat, alarmed his parents. They addressed the problem by devising simple recipes to deceive him, cooking meat with the plentiful fish available. Luke became ill as a result of the experiment. This incident is reminiscent of another case involving a child who was intolerant to fresh fish (νεαρῶν καὶ οὐ τεταριγευμένων ἰχθύων), which is encountered in the *Life of Symeon the New Theologian*.⁴⁹

It should be pointed out that the information provided by various *Lives*, such as Luke's *Life*, on fish consumption by communities, monasteries, and

47. *Life of Saint Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1737), ed. S. PASCHALIDIS, *Ὁ Βίος τῆς ὁσιομυροβλύτιδος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας* (Εἰσαγωγή – κριτικό κείμενο – μετάφρασις – σχόλια) [Κέντρον Ἀγιολογικῶν Μελετῶν 1], Thessalonike 1991, p. 70, par. 3; p. 76, par. 6; p. 156, par. 45; *Life of Saint Athanasia* (BHG 180), ed. Lydia CARRAS, "The Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina", *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine, and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. Ann Moffatt [Byzantina Australiensia 5], Canberra 1984, p. 212, par. 3; CHRISTIDES, "The Raids of the Muslims of Crete", 88. See also the comments of PASCHALIDIS on the *Life of Saint Theodora of Thessalonike*, pp. 244-248; KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 122-123.

48. *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, pp. 160-161, par. 3; p. 185, par. 47; A. DUNN, "The Rise and Fall of Towns, Ports, and Silk-production in Western Boeotia: The Problem of Thisvi-Kastorion", *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization. In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Cambridge 2006, pp. 41-46.

49. *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, p. 163, par. 8; see below, *Annex List I*, no. 10. *Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian* (BHG 1692), ed. I. HAUSHERR, *Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949-1022) par Nicéas Stéthatos* [Orientalia Christiana 12], Rome 1928, pp. 162-164, par. 116, 9-25; S. P. KOUTSAS, *Νικήτα τοῦ Σιθηθίου, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ νέου Θεολόγου. Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενο, μετάφρασις, σχόλια*, Athens 1994, pp. 290-292, par. 116.

ascetics around the Aegean Sea in the tenth century, is useful for both economic (production, marketing, and distribution) and social history (dietary habits and preferences). In addition to reporting the regulations on fish consumption throughout the year, which are known to us from the monastic *Typika*, the *Lives* of saints offer supplementary data on the consumption of fish by monks. Such is the case with the *Life of Saint Athanasia of Aegina*: While still in Aegina, Athanasia shunned cheese and fish, only consuming them on Easter day. This practice was also observed by Saint Paul the Younger of Latros⁵⁰ and Saint Christodoulos of Patmos, according to his aforementioned *Life*.⁵¹ Unlike these saints, the *Life of Saint Lazaros of Galesion*, as we will see in detail below, relates that fish consumption was not allowed in the monastery and some monks like Lazaros did not eat oil, wine, eggs, cheese and fish at all.⁵²

After this note on fish consumption, we return to the *Life of Luke*. We are informed that during his *ascesis* in his coastal retreat, he cultivated a vegetable garden that was often raided by the deer in the area; however, his main occupation was fishing. Even when he did not fish himself, he was provided with fish by Divine Providence. When two pilgrims from Rome visited him and they were all sitting by the sea, great fish leapt into the air and landed writhing at their feet, offering themselves as food.⁵³ According to the historian Procopius, a similar event had occurred centuries before, but not as the result of a miracle. In the Malian Gulf, between Thessaly and Boeotia, a tidal wave caused by a great earthquake that hit the region in 551 left fish of an unfamiliar appearance, on dry land. The inhabitants believed them to be edible (ἰχθύας ἐδωδίμους) and collected them to grill, but when the heat of the fire touched the fish, the whole body disintegrated into liquid putrefaction.⁵⁴ According to the *Life of Luke*, there was another incident

50. *Laudatio of Saint Paul the Younger*, p. 152, par. 47, 5; *Life of Saint Athanasia*, p. 214, par. 8; KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 211-218.

51. *Life of Saint Athanasia*, 214, 14-15; *Saint Christodoulos' Rule and Testament*, p. 118, par. 7; *Life of Saint Christodoulos* by John of Rhodes, p. 153, par. 30; PASCHALIDIS, "The Hagiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", p. 151.

52. *Life of Saint Lazaros of Galesion* (BHG 979), *AASS Novembris*, vol. 3, Brussels 1910, cols. 556F, 558B, 561A, 568E.

53. *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, pp. 172-175, pars 26-29. On fishing and fish references in the *Life*, see below, *Annex List I*, nos. 10-14.

54. ἐν δέ γε τῷ πορθμῷ, ὅνπερ μεταξὺ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Βοιωτίας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, γέγονέ τις ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροή ἀμφί τε πόλιν τὴν Ἐχιναίων καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς

involving a ship owner who was closely connected to the saint and fished in the Corinthian Gulf, in the very areas where the saint lived the life of a hermit. On a difficult day, the ship owner was only able to catch large and small fish with his hook (ἄγκιστρον) after invoking the saint's name. They then cooked and ate the fish together. Luke continued his occupation as a fisherman and later moved to Zemena in Sikyonia (Corinthia), where he lived for ten years (918-928) in the service of a stylite; his monastic duties included making nets and fishing. On his return to the shores of Phocis, he lived on the arid and uninhabited island of Ambelon from 943 to 946, where he dedicated himself exclusively to fishing. This is a significant departure from the aforementioned references to uninhabited Aegean islands in other *Lives*: Not only did Luke fish, but he even caught many fish, which he then distributed to the people (ἐδίδου τοῖς ὄχλοις).⁵⁵ All details in the *Life* reveal a different approach to the sea, and the transition to a new era, in which ship owners, boatswains, fishermen, stylites, ascetics, founders of monasteries, abbots, and political and ecclesiastical administrators appear to rediscover and revalue marine treasures. This is certainly what we learn from the second group of hagiographical sources: they reflect a new reality of marine and fishing life.

This is an opportune moment to mention the existence of evidence from the late ninth century that Patras was supplied with many and good fish from the lakes opposite in Aetolia.⁵⁶ Additionally, an incident concerning dolphins in the Corinthian Gulf is worth noting.⁵⁷ The dolphin story is of an

Σκάρφειαν. πόρρω τε τῆς ἡπείρου ἀναβᾶσα καὶ κατακλύσασα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν εὐθύς. ... ἡνίκα δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανιέναι ξυνέπεσεν, ἰχθύες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπελείποντο, ὥνπερ ἢ ὄψις ἀήθης παντάπασιν οὐσα τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις τερατώδης τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. οὗς δὴ ἐδωδῖμους εἶναι οἰόμενοι ἀνείλοντο μὲν ὡς ἐνήσοντες, θέρμης δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀψαμένης ἐς ἰχθῶράς τε καὶ σηπεδόνας οὐ φορητὰς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, Procopius, *Wars* VIII 25, 19-22, ed. J. HAURY and P. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* [Teubner], vol. 2. *De bellis libri V-VIII*, Leipzig 1963, pp. 627,16 - 628,10; LOUNGHIS, “Περὶ ἰχθύων καὶ αλιείας διάφορα”, p. 59. On Procopius' account and on other poisonous fish consumed by monks, see I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, “Τροφικὲς δηλητηριάσεις στο Βυζάντιο. Διατροφικὲς ἀντὶλήψεις καὶ συμπεριφορὲς 6^{ος}-11^{ος} αἰ.”, *Food and Cooking in Byzantium. Proceedings of the Symposium “On Food in Byzantium”*. Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Culture, 4 November 2001, ed. Dimitra Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Athens 2005, pp. 61-110, at 64, 67. See below, *Annex List I*, no 1.

55. *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, pp. 180-182, par. 40; p. 195, par. 61.

56. *Scholia on Strabo*, ed. A. DILLER, “The Scholia on Strabo”, *Traditio* 10 (1954), 29-50, at 39; repr. in IDEM, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition*, Amsterdam 1983, no. 5. See below, *Annex List I*, no. 5.

57. S. EFTHYMIADIS, “D’Orient en Occident mais étranger aux deux mondes: messages et rensei-

antiquarian character and is related in the eleventh-century *Life of Nicholas the Pilgrim*. When the saint was thrown into the Gulf of Corinth, like Arion a dolphin saved his life and carried him to safety. The tale is remarkable, because there are no other Byzantine reference to dolphins in the Aegean or in the other seas controlled by the Byzantine empire. Nevertheless, a metaphor used in the *Continuation of Theophanes* to describe an event in the ninth century when the coasts of Asia Minor were being ravaged by the Arabs of Crete, suggests a familiarity with dolphins.⁵⁸ According to this narrative, Arab pirates landed on the mainland in a well-known Byzantine fishing region with the intention of plundering the monasteries of Mount Latros. The pirates are compared to dolphins washed ashore. They were slaughtered like dolphins by the general of the Thrakesian theme (ἐπείπερ ἔξω πρὸς τὴν χέρσον ἐγένοντο, ὡς δελφῖνας τούτους ἀπέσφαξε). Indeed, according to a certain Byzantine belief, since dolphins are mammals, their flesh is black and delicious like pork, unlike other types of seafood. This is mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes when discussing the Indian Sea.⁵⁹

The two *Lives of Saint Athanasios of Athos*, written shortly after 1001,⁶⁰

gnements tirés de la Vie de saint Nicolas le Pèlerin (BHL 6223)”, *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, eds E. Cuozzo, V. Déroche, Annick Peters-Custot, and V. Prigent, Paris 2008, pp. 207-224, at 212-213; repr. in IDEM, *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social History and Cult* [CS 989], Farnham - Burlington, VT 2011, no. XIV.

58. *Continuation of Theophanes III*, eds M. FEATHERSTONE and J. SIGNES-CODONER, *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I-IV* [CFHB 53], Boston - Berlin 2015, p. 196, 2-11. Dolphin skeletons have been found in the harbour of Theodosius (Yenikapı, Istanbul) and, in one view, they are food remains; see V. ONAR, H. ALPAK, Gülsün PAZVANT, A. ARMUTAK, Nazan GEZER İNCE and Zeynep KIZILTAN, “A Bridge from Byzantium to Modern Day Istanbul. An Overview of Animal Skeleton Remains Found during Metro and Marmaray Excavations”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Dergisi* 39/1 (2013), 1-8; G. N. PUNCHER, V. ONAR, N. Y. TOKER and F. TINTI, “A Multitude of Byzantine Era Bluefin Tuna and Swordfish Bones Uncovered in Istanbul, Turkey” [= Standing Committee on Research and Statistics (SCRS), Report no. 2014/167 (DOI: 10.13140/2.1.3894.8645), International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT)], *Collective Volume of Scientific Papers* 71/4 (2015), 1626-1631.

59. Cosmas Indicopleustes XI, 12, ed. Wanda WOLSKA-CONUS, *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne* [SC 197], vol. 3, Paris 1973, pp. 340-341. Oppian (2nd century AD) argues that dolphin fishing is immoral and portrays their humanoid properties, as applied to legends spread in the Aegean Sea, in total contrast to perceptions and fishing practices adopted by the inhabitants of Thrace and Byzantium; see Oppian, *Halieutica*, ed. A. W. MAIR, *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* [Loeb], Cambridge, MA - London 1963, pp. 416-588. For the dolphin as an indicator of getting used to or moving away from the “environment of the sea”, see I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, “Le dauphin dans l’érudition et dans l’art à Byzance”, *Petits Essais / Μικρά Δοκίμια* (octobre 2022), 86-97.

60. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, pp. cxi, cxxvii-cxxviii; PASCHALIDIS, “The Hagiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries”, pp. 149-150. On fishing and fish references

mark an even more decisive step in recording the new reality of fishing in the tenth-century Aegean, which was now under Byzantine control once again. The *Lives of Athanasios* mark an even fuller recording of the new exploitation of marine resources in the Aegean during this century, a development whose earlier stages are encountered in the *Life of Luke the Younger (of Steiris)*. We now move from the individual fishing activity of Luke the Younger, who, incidentally, never owned a fishing boat, to the organized and collective fishing practices of an Aegean monastery that owned ships for both fishing and commercial purposes. This record of fishing in the Monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos has nothing to do with the literary prejudices of a hagiographer, i.e. whether he chose to emphasize or to avoid any representation of fishing. The *Life of Luke the Younger* and *Life B of Athanasios of Athos* depict the reality of everyday fishing, not only because the two saints (unlike Nikon) lived directly on the coast, but mainly because they were obviously involved in sea and fishing. Similar to other activities in which the Lavra monks were engaged, such as providing updated equipment for crop cultivation, wine and bread production, they were also involved in fishing. Athanasios (ca. 925/930-1001), the founder of the Monastery of the Great Lavra, seems to have created new conditions for safer navigation and fishing during the years that followed the foundation, by gradually building ships and creating fisheries in many monastic dependencies. The *Life* provides at least four significant accounts of fishing and fish processing. Despite his extreme ascetic exhortations for self-restraint, Athanasios is presented as pleased that he managed to adequately supply the monastery with fish, by promoting fishing and allowing the monks to engage in it. Some brothers were assigned to fishing (οἱ τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀλιεύειν ἀδελφοί) with nets (ἀμφίβληστρον) in specific sea areas, as indicated, or rather defined, by Athanasios himself. This deed of his was partly influenced by the regulations on the *ora maritima* (Περὶ προθύρων θαλαττίων) introduced by Emperor Leo VI (reigned 886-912).⁶¹ Once, the fishermen-monks disobeyed and fished in a different location. As

in the *Life*, see below, *Annex List I*, nos. 17-19.

61. *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos, Vita B*, p. 182, par. 46, 5-11; also, *Novella 56*, eds P. NOAILLES and A. DAIN, *Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage*, Paris 1944, pp. 212-215; S. N. TROIANOS, *Οἱ Νεαρές Αἰώντος Σ' του Σοφοῦ. Προλεγόμενα, κείμενο, απόδοση στη νεοελληνική, ευρετήρια και επίμετρο*, Athens 2007, pp. 192-195. See below, *Annex List I*, no. 17.

a result, Athanasios destroyed their catch and rebuked them for their disobedience.⁶² In a separate instance, the text describes the capture of an octopus using a hook (ἄγκιστρον) in a *metochion* of the Monastery near Strymon.⁶³ According to later documents, the Monastery of the Great Lavra also owned many vivaria, which were fish-ponds (βιβάρια, ἄλιότοπια, ψαροτόπια), in Macedonia, located on shores, riverbanks, and marshes.⁶⁴ Similarly, other Athonite Monasteries had fishing spots on the coasts of the peninsula (at Kalamitzia and Xylourgou).⁶⁵ A document from 995 attests to fishing in the river in Arsenikeia. Another document from 1089 mentions a vivarium at Vourvourou in the Chalkidiki peninsula, which was an imperial donation by Basil II to the Monastery of Xenophon.⁶⁶ Finally, it is attested that garum (a well-known fish sauce) was prepared in the Monastery of the Great Lavra, while the Athonite Monastery of the Amalfitans made a gift of the best garum. Once, Athanasios emptied amphorae full of garum onto the ground as an exemplary punishment for the monks' misconduct of arrogance and gluttony.⁶⁷ As garum was made from a particular category of fish, it is possi-

62. *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos, Vita B*, p. 182, par. 46, 14-22.

63. *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos, Vita B*, p. 210, par. 77, 4-6; p. 211, par. 77, 41-45. On maritime traffic in the Strymon Delta, see A. DUNN, "Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIII cc.): Commercial, Fiscal, and Manorial", *Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους από την αρχαία στη μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία. Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Πρακτικά*, vol. 1, Thessalonike 1998, pp. 339-360; A. DUNN, "Byzantine and Ottoman Maritime Traffic in the Estuary of Strymon: Between Environment, State, and Market", *Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. The Corfu Papers*, eds J. Bintliff and Hanna Stöger [BAR International Series 2023], Oxford 2009, pp. 41-46. See below, *Annex List I*, no. 18.

64. *Actes de Lavra I*, eds P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, and Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes de Lavra. Première partie. Des origines à 1204* [AA 5], Paris 1970, no. 9, p. 119 and Appendice II, p. 364, 83; *Actes de Lavra II*, eds P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, and Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes de Lavra, II. De 1204 à 1328* [AA 8], Paris 1977, no. 104, pp. 163-171.

65. *Actes d'Iviron I*, eds J. LEFORT, N. OIKONOMIDÈS, and Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes d'Iviron, I. Des origines au milieu du XI^e siècle* [AA 14], Paris 1985, pp. 74-75, no. 21, p. 220, 36-37; *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, eds G. DAGRON, P. LEMERLE, and S. M. ÇIRKOVIĆ, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon* [AA 12], Paris 1982, no. 4, p. 49, 28. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 22 and 24.

66. *Actes d'Iviron I*, no. 9, p. 162, 47-48; *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes de Xénophon* [AA 15], Paris 1986, no. 1, p. 73, 31-33; see below, *Annex List I*, nos. 20-21. From the Byzantine archival material (mainly documents of monasteries) we present and study here information dated until the 12th century, although for the following centuries, copious information exists on fishing locations, fish-boats and fishermen (βιβάρια, ἄλιευτικά σανδάλια, μονόζυλα ἁλιέων) on all coasts of the Aegean, i.e. in Smyrna (Monastery of Lembiotissa), the Gulf of Strymon (Monastery of Saint John Prodromos on Mount Menoikion), and the Pagasetikos Gulf - Almyros (Monastery of Makrinitissa); see ANAGNOSTAKIS and LEONTSINI, "Monasticism and Fishing in the Aegean".

67. *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos, Vita B*, p. 183, par. 47, 2-8. On this account on *garum*, see ANAGNOSTAKIS, "Le manger et le boire dans la Vie de Saint Nil de Rossano", pp. 186-188; also, 180, 184,

ble to identify the types of fish caught at the Monastery. These were smelts, silversides, red mullets, anchovies, mackerel, and tunny-fish.⁶⁸ However, the destruction of an entire catch of fish that Athanasios had not approved of and the emptying of amphorae full of garum onto the ground both testify to the relative abundance of fishing products. Half a century later, an argument based on this abundance and on a unilateral fish diet is put forward in order to support the presence of cattle in the monastery: “It was not possible for 700 monks of Lavra to nourish themselves from fish alone.”⁶⁹

Whereas the Monastery of the Great Lavra had a self-sufficient fish production, due to its direct access to the sea and lakes, as well as the existence of dependent monastic establishments, *metochia*, and marine fisheries, the situation at other monasteries was quite different, according to the *Lives* of saints. Certain monasteries in Asia Minor, despite being situated relatively close to the Aegean coast, did not possess fisheries and had to transport fish from the coast to the hinterland using beasts of burden. It is unclear whether the fish was fresh or salted. Judging from the distance of some monasteries, such as Saint Nikephoros on Latros (10th century), from the coast, it is possible that the fish was fresh. If properly packaged, it could have been transported many kilometres inland. According to the *Life of Nikephoros of Latros*, written shortly after the year 1000 and considered unique in style, pack animals were often used to transport wine, bread, and fish to the Monastery. Around 80 people are reported to have sat at the dining table,⁷⁰ indicating that ascetics were supplied with substantial amounts of fish. It should be

186 n. 27, and 191 n. 49 (on fish mentioned in the *Lives* of Saints in South Italy, especially in Calabria). See below, *Annex List I*, no. 19.

68. *Geoponica* XX 46, ed. H. BECKH, *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici de re rustica eclogae* [Teubner], Leipzig 1895, pp. 528-529; see I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, “Byzantine Delicacies”, *Flavours and Delights. Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine*, ed. I. Anagnostakis, Athens 2013, pp. 81-103, at 85-86; CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes*, pp. 19, 142, 161, 206. For the consumption of these fish species, see LOUNGHIS, “Περὶ ἰχθῶν καὶ αἰεῖας διάφορα”, p. 58.

69. *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos, Vita B*, p. 183, par. 47, 8-18; *Actes de Prôtaton*, ed. Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Actes de Prôtaton* [AA 7], Paris 1975, no. 8, pp. 227,89 - 228,91; English translation by T. MILLER, in BMFD, vol. 1, pp. 281-293. See below, *Annex List I*, no. 23.

70. *Life of Saint Nikephoros of Latros* (BHG 1338), ed. H. DELEHAYE, “Vita sancti Nicephori episcopi Milesii saeculo X.”, *AnBoll* 14 (1895), 123-166; repr. in WIEGAND, *Milet*, vol. 3/1. *Der Latmos*, pp. 157-171, at 166, par. 20. On the date and uniqueness of this *Life*, see S. PAPAIOANNOU, “Sicily, Constantinople, Miletos: The Life of a Eunuch and the History of Byzantine Humanism”, *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, eds Theodora Antonopoulou, Sophia Kotzabassi, and Marina Loukaki [Byzantinisches Archiv 29], Boston - Berlin - Munich 2015, pp. 261-284, at 266-267 on Latros and other monasteries in the region of Miletus, and 273-281 on John Sikeliotes.

noted that the origin of the fish in this case is not specified. However, as lake or river fish were not always considered desirable, although not excluded, and since the distance from the shore was not prohibitive, it can be concluded that the fish consumed was sea fish from a nearby harbour. As stated elsewhere, even if metaphorically, the harbour was inundated with products and commodities.⁷¹ Regarding temporary preservation, using a cool container or salt would prevent the fish from going bad. Some earlier *Lives* mention preserving fish in ice, which means freezing them in snow (χιονιζομένους ιχθύας).⁷² It is worth noting that the Gulf of Theologos of Ephesus and that of Latros were rather important fishing bays. In the autumn of 911, the *Korphitianoι*, the seamen and fisherfolk of Herakleia in the Gulf (*Kórphos*) of Latros, boarded small boats called *sandalia* (σανδάλια) and participated in a naval expedition together with six eight-oared fishing boats, called *aliadia oktakopa* (ἀλιάδια ὀκτάκωπα).⁷³ This is the first mention of a fishing fleet in the Aegean. However, for the subsequent years, there is sparse information

71. *Life of Saint Nikephoros of Latros*, p. 166, par. 19, 17-18.

72. *Life of Saint Symeon Stylites the Younger* (BHG 1698), ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le jeune (521-592)* [SubsHag 32], Brussels 1962, p. 66, par. 77, 22 Ὁ ιχθύς χιονιζόμενος γλυκεῖαν γεῦσιν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ οὐδὲ ἐξόζει, οὐδὲ σκόληκας ποιεῖ. See also *Life of Saint Symeon Stylites the Younger* (BHG 1691b), ed. J. BOMPAIRE, “Abrégés de la Vie de saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune”, *Ελληνικά* 13 (1954), 71-110, at 90-102, at 94, 33-35 ιχθύς χιόνι πηγνύμενος οὐ μὲν οὖν σκόληκας ἀποτελέσει πάντως, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ γλυκὺς μᾶλλον εἰς γεῦσιν ἔσται.

73. περὶ τῶν σανδαλίων τῶν καμοθέντων λόγῳ τῶν δρομονίων εἰς τὸν τρέχοντα, ἵνα ἀποσταλεῖ τῆς ἐταιρείας μετὰ κελεύσεως πρὸς τὸν κατεπάνω, καὶ δώσει αὐτὸν πρωτοκαγκελλάριον καὶ πᾶσαν συνδρομήν, καὶ κρατήσῃ τοὺς Κορφιτιάνους Ἡρακλείας, καὶ ἐπάρῃ ναῦτας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου σανδαλίου δ'. ἀποστελεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ συντομίας διὰ τοῦ πρωτοκαγκελλαρίου. ἵνα δὲ ἔχῃ ἕκαστον σανδάλιον τὸ κατάρτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κερατάριον καὶ ἀνὰ κωπίων δ' καὶ τὸ παρακώπιον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀλιάδια ζ' ὀκτάκωπα, *Book of Ceremonies* II 44, 166-173, ed., transl. and notes in *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: Le livre des cérémonies*, general editors G. Dagron (†) and B. Flusin, vol. 3. *Livre II*, ed. G. Dagron (†) à l'exception des chapitres II, 42, 44-45 et 51 édités, traduits et annotés par D. FEISSEL, B. FLUSIN, C. ZUCKERMAN avec la collaboration de M. STAVROU [CFHB 52/3], Paris 2020, p. 309. We agree with J. F. HALDON, “Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration. Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the *Book of Ceremonies*”, *TM* 13 (2000), 201-352, at 286 n. 167, who places *Korphitianoι* in the Gulf of Latmos and not in Kephallenia. In fact the *Korphitianoι* did not form a special marine corps, but were seamen occupied with fishing. We believe that the name *Korphitianoι* has nothing to do with Koryphon (Corfu) as proposed by Hélène AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e-XV^e siècles* [Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 5], Paris 1966, p. 122 n. 3, and simply derives from the demotic *kórphos* < *kólpos*, i.e. gulf (the *kolpites* appear as inhabitants of other *kolpoi*). See also the continental fishermen of Tembres near Dorylaion, who were employed to accompany the emperor on expeditions, supplying him with fresh-water fish from rivers and lakes μετὰ καὶ δικτύων, ἵνα κρατῶσιν ὀψάρια εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἐρήμου: *Treatise C*, 554-556, ed. J. F. HALDON, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions* [CFHB 28], Vienna 1990, p. 252; HALDON, “Theory and Practice”, 286 n. 169.

available concerning a very limited number of fishing boats, even at the monasteries. Ultimately, fishing in the Middle Byzantine Aegean appears to have involved mainly simple fishermen who had a boat and whose minimal fishing activity in the bays supplied the local inhabitants with fish.

During the eleventh century, fresh fish was transported from the coast of Asia Minor, specifically from the port of Theologos of Ephesus, to the Monastery of Saint Lazaros on Mount Galesion near Ephesus. Saint Lazaros (ca. 970/980-1053), the founder of monasteries on Mount Galesion, had a very particular attitude towards fish. Once, a visitor purchased three, probably large fish for him. The hagiographer states that the visitor “told one of his men to go buy fish, so that they might have them for dinner when they went to the monastery”. This suggests the existence of a fisherman’s wharf at Theologos where local fishermen sold their catches. According to the hagiographer, the visitor also remarked that there would be no fish available at the monastery: “We shall find nothing like that up there”; his words were considered provocative and were mocked by Saint Lazaros.⁷⁴ Indeed, the saint refused to obtain fish from the coast as he considered it an unnecessary luxury (τρυφή). In another incident, the monks begged the saint to allow them to go down to the coast to buy fish for a great feast, but the saint refused to grant them their request.⁷⁵

A corresponding network of fishing activities and transportation of fish from the coast operated in the service of another monastic community in the western part of the Aegean Sea. In the eleventh century, fresh fish were supplied to the Monastery of Saint Meletios on Mount Kithairon, according to the two *Lives of Saint Meletios the Younger* written in the twelfth century. The fish probably came from the Corinthian or the Euboean Gulf, and possibly also from lakes in Boeotia. Someone healed by Meletios took the fish that had reached his master from an unspecified place (ποθὲν προσαχθέντας) and offered them to the saint.⁷⁶ The delivery is said to have

74. *Life of Saint Lazaros of Galesion*, col. 541C, par. 107. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 25-26.

75. *Life of Saint Lazaros of Galesion*, col. 549C, par. 140. Daniil Igumen’s account of his journey from Constantinople to the Holy Land (early 12th c.) includes a reference to the abundance of fish on the adjacent island of Samos; see Sofija Petrovna DE KHITROWO, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, traduits pour la Société de l’Orient latin, vol. 1/1, Geneva 1889 (repr. Osnabrück 1966), p. 7; Élisabeth MALAMUT, *Les îles de l’empire byzantin (VIII^e-XII^e siècles)* [BS 8], Paris 1988, vol. 2, p. 433.

76. *Life of Saint Meletios the Younger* by Nikolaos of Methone (BHG 1247), introd., ed., transl. and notes by I. Polemis, *Oi Bíoi τοῦ ἁγίου Μελετίου τοῦ Νέου* [Κείμενα Βυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας 9],

taken one day, as the fish were obtained in the morning and delivered to the monastery in the evening. High-ranking visitors to the Monastery of Saint Meletios, including dukes of the fleet, praetors, and generals, were probably offered fragrant wines, freshly made cheeses, legumes, sweet pumpkins, and an abundance of fish. During an incident at the monastery, the proconsul of Hellas and the Peloponnese was being entertained with a meal. The table was overloaded with cooked fish (ἰχθύσιν ὑπερεφλέγμαινεν) and all the dishes (κανέοις) were offered to the guest, who appeared to enjoy them. However, his excessive behaviour resulted in punishment. A fishbone became lodged in the proconsul's throat, causing him to almost choke to death. As is wryly stated in the *Life* by Theodore Prodromos, high officials could be at risk from a small bone (ὁ τηλικούτος τὴν ἐξουσίαν μικρᾶς ἀκάνθης ἐγένετο πάρεργον).⁷⁷ While this description most certainly presents a rhetorical elaboration, it also highlights the preference of the powerful for choice dishes, including a special diet of selected seafood.

We know that church leaders, high officials, scholars, and even monks often exchanged carefully packaged fish or their roe as gifts. Nevertheless, many saints on both sides of the Aegean rejected them as an unnecessary luxury. As mentioned earlier, the monasteries of the Great Lavra, Latros, and Galesion refused to obtain and consume choice garum and plentiful or large fish. This was not so, however, in the case of Theodore, Metropolitan of Nicaea in tenth-century Bithynia, who, in a letter of his, expressed happiness and gratitude for the salted fish he received from his homeland, Argolid.⁷⁸ Similarly, Michael Choniates, bishop of Athens in the late twelfth century, repeatedly thanked the bishop of Naupaktos, John Apokaukos, for the fish roes he sent him from the lagoons around Naupaktos, which were

Athens 2018, p. 138, 33-40; PASCHALIDIS, "The Hagiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", p. 152.

77. *Life of Saint Meletios the Younger* by Theodore Prodromos (BHG 1248), ed. Polemis, *Oi Bioi tou agiou Meletiou*, pp. 196,23 - 198,52. A literary *topos* concerning a fishing bone sticking in the throat of a high official, this time an eparch, is also mentioned in the *Life of Saint Silvester I*, ed. F. HALKIN, *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore* [SubsHag 69], Brussels 1985, p. 22, 14, and Eleni KALTSOGIANNI, *To arhiologikó kai omilhtikó érgo tou Iωάννη Ζωναρά. Εισαγωγική μελέτη, κριτική έκδοση* [BKM 60], Thessalonike 2013, pp. 531,62 - 532,1, par. 6.

78. Theodore of Nicaea, *Letters*, ed. J. DARROUZÈS, *Épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* [Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 6], Paris 1960, p. 286, no. 18, 14-15 τοὺς δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ἰχθῦς ἀμβλυωπίας, ἅτε παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀγαπητῶς ἀπελάβομεν.

known to supply Patras and other cities with many and good fish.⁷⁹ Indeed, in a letter to Choniates, Apokaukos mentions sending 100 double, twin roes.⁸⁰ In some of his other letters, Apokaukos refers to fishing methods, catches of fish such as skate, itinerant fishermen, and fish dishes, both fried and grilled. In addition, he voices a common complaint found in Byzantine correspondence: “Here where I am, I am not enjoying myself, because although there is so much fish, I don’t have any to eat, as the state authorities seize it all”.⁸¹

It is worth commenting further on the aforementioned letter of Theodore, Metropolitan of Nicaea, who mentions the fish sent by Abbot Eustratios from Argolid.⁸² Although there is considerable information available on

79. *Scholia on Strabo*, p. 39. See below, *Annex List I*, no. 5. Michael Choniates, *Letters*, p. 272, no. 173, 23-25 ἐνθεν τοι καὶ νῦν σὺ μὲν τὰ ταριχευτὰ τῶν ἰχθύων ὡς ἄτε αὐτὰ καὶ ἰσχνὰ εἰς σύμβολον ἡμῶν τεθεώρηκας, ὡς τάχα καθ’ ἐκούσιον ἄσκησιν τακερῶν καὶ σκελετῶν ἀτεχνῶς γινομένων. Choniates wrote the letter in 1217 or in 1219. It is unclear whether he was still on the island of Keos or in the Monastery of Prodromos in Boudonitza (near Thermopylae); see the comments of the editor KOLOVOU, *Michael Choniates, Letters*, p. 147*; JACOBY, “Caviar Trading in Byzantium”, p. 351.

80. John Apokaukos, *Letters*, eds BEES and BEES-SEFERLIS, pp. 84-85, no. 26, 15-22 τί φάγεται ἢ τί πίνεται, ἀμέλει, καὶ ἀλιπῇ καὶ ἰσχνὰ πεπόμ[φαμέν] σοι τὰ βρώματα· ταῦτα δὲ ἰχθύων φά, τάριχα, ἡλίου μὲν ἄκτινι ξηρά, ποιότητα δὲ ἀποβαλόντα τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην συνημμένην ὑγρότητα· τούτων δὲ ἀριθμὸς μεθ’ ὃν τι πλέον οὐχ ὑπάρχει λαβεῖν, τὰ πάντα δὲ δίδυμα, καὶ μεμονωμένον οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔξω θεωρίας, οἶμαι, καὶ ὑψηλότητος, ἀλλ’ ἡλίου μὲν ἄκτινι ξηρά, ὅτι καὶ σὺ τῷ νοητῷ ἡλίῳ Χριστῷ πᾶσαν ἀπεξηράνθης βιωτικὴν πλαδαρότητα καὶ οὐδὲν διαρρέον ἔχεις οὐδὲ ὑγρόν; see ANAGNOSTAKIS, “Byzantine Delicacies”, pp. 84-85. The number of 100 or 200 salt fish, probably from lakes or rivers in his archbishopric, which Theophylact of Achrida (Ohrid) (born in Euboea c. 1050 - after 1126) often sent to officials, is considered and explained in his letters as symbolic; see Theophylact, *Letters*, ed. P. GAUTIER, *Theophylacte d’Achrida. Lettres* [CFHB 16/2], Thessalonike 1986, pp. 168-169, no. 12, 32-33 ἰχθύας ταρίχους ἑκατόν; pp. 170-173, no. 13, 17-24; pp. 390-393, no. 73, 45-56; pp. 520-521 no. 105.

81. John Apokaukos, *Letters*, eds BEES and BEES-SEFERLIS, p. 103, no. 46, 35; p. 138, no. 78, 19 καὶ μέρεσιν ἰχθύων ὁπτῶν ἡμᾶς δεξιοῖ; on rays, see John Apokaukos, *Epistulae et acta*, ed. S. PÉTRIDÈS, *Jean Apokaukos, Lettres et autres documents inédits*, Sofia 1909 [extracted from *IRAIK* 14 (1909)], p. 18 [86], no. 13, 1-8. See below, *Annex List I*, no. 45. On fried and grilled fish, see also John Apokaukos, *Epistulae et acta*, p. 9 [77], no. 7, 17-18 ἰχθὺς ποιοῦσιν οἱ μάγειροι, παχνοῦντες ἀλεύρῳ ὀπτοῦσι τηγάνῳ. On state authorities seizing all fish, see John Apokaukos, *Letters*, eds BEES and BEES-SEFERLIS, p. 103, no. 46, 35-36; p. 138, no. 77, 81-84 τοῖς ἀλιεῦσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἀπολέγει μὲν τὸ ὀψώνιον, τὸν εἰς τὴν ἄγρην δὲ πλοῦν ἐσβατὸν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι οὐ συγχωρεῖ, ἂν μὴ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου τραπέζῃ ἐπιμετρῶσιν ἡμερησίους ἰχθὺς; Efi RAGIA, “The Circulation, Distribution and Consumption of Marine Products in Byzantium: Some Considerations”, *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 13/3 (2018) [Special issue: *The Bountiful Sea: Fish Processing and Consumption in Mediterranean Antiquity*. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Oxford, 6-8 September 2017], 449-466, at 453-454. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 41-45.

82. Theodore of Nicaea, *Letters*, p. 286, no. 18, 14-15; P. YANNOPOULOS, “Ιστορικὲς πληροφορίες τοῦ Θεοδώρου Νικαίας γιὰ τὴν Ἀργολίδα”, *Βυζαντινὸς Λόγος* 10-11 (1999-2000), 149-162, at 160; L.

purple-fishers, known as *koghyleutai* (κογχυλευταί), who were fishermen of the imperial purple-producing sea snails, the *murex*, in Euboea, Attica, and the Peloponnese, particularly in the region of Hermionis,⁸³ there are no Middle Byzantine accounts on the processing of salted fish, which were considered valuable gifts worthy of being sent over long distances. Theodore's letter provides a unique account, which is virtually untapped by research. It concerns the transportation of salted fish from the Peloponnese to Nicaea in Bithynia, a region renowned for the fish in its lakes, among other things. The fish from Argolid are described as amblyopic fish (ἰχθὺς ἀμβλωπίας). However, this description alone is not sufficient to identify the species, unless it is linked to the tunny-fish of Propontis or the bonito, which was believed to have *amblyopia* (dim-sightedness) in its left eye.⁸⁴ In this case, the fish that was sent is a well-known variety today, the pickled bonito (known as *lakerda* in Modern Greek), which was made from one-year-old bonitos soaked in brine. Most importantly, the gift was sent by an abbot, probably from a monastery in Argolid, a region with plenty of fish, as attested a short time later. The *Regulation* (*Typikon*) of the Monastery of Areia in Argolid informs us that in the eleventh century, the monks were allowed to consume up to five or six portions of fish (*minos*, μίνσους ὀψάρια), or as much as they desired, every Sunday. This was possible because, as noted, the monas-

ROBERT, "Les Kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-sciés. Sur des lettres d'un métropolite de Phrygie au X^e siècle. Philologie et réalités", *Journal des Savants* (1962), 5-74, at 67-69. See below, *Annex List I*, no. 15.

83. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. MORAVCSIK, trans. R. J. H. JENKINS [CFHB 1], Washington, D.C. 1967², p. 256, par. 52, 11; Michael Choniates, *Letters*, p. 222, no. 135, 9-10 καὶ μὴν καὶ πλωτικοὶ πολλοὶ κογχυλευτικοῖς πορθμείοις διαπεραιοῦνται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔκ τε Χαλκίδος καὶ Καρυστοθέεν; S. B. KOUGEAS, "Ἐρευναι περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας κατὰ τοὺς μέσους χρόνους. Α'. Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις τοῦ Ἀρέθα λαογραφικαὶ εἰδήσεις", *Λαογραφία* 4 (1914), 236-270, at 259 n. 66; Eugénie GRANSTREM, I. MEDVEDEV and Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, "Fragment d'un praktikon de la région d'Athènes (avant 1204)", *RÉB* 34 (1976), 27-28; M. H. JAMESON, C. N. RUNNELS and T. H. VAN ANDEL, with a register of sites by C. N. RUNNELS, T. H. VAN ANDEL and M. H. MUNN, *A Greek Countryside. The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, Stanford 1994, pp. 106, 109, 316-321; DUNN, "The Rise and Fall of Towns", 46, 53; Lilian KARALI and Fragkiska MEGALOUDI, "Purple Dyes in the Environment and History of the Aegean: A Short Review", *Vestidos, textiles y tintes. Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consumo en la Antigüedad*, eds Carmen Alfaro and Lilian Karali [Purpurae Vestes 2], Valencia 2008, pp. 181-184, at 183; C. BOURAS, "Aspects of the Byzantine City, Eighth-Fifteenth Centuries", *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou [DOS 39], Washington, D.C. 2002, vol. 2, pp. 497-528, at p. 516. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 7, 16, 36.

84. Athenaeus, VII 301e, ed. G. KAIBEL, *Athenaei Naucraticae Deipnosophistarum libri xv* [Teubner], vol. 3, Leipzig 1890 (repr. 1966), p. 164, par. 63.

tery owned fishing boats (*sandalia*, σανδάλια), and there was plenty of fish for everyone.⁸⁵ This is the second Middle Byzantine account that mentions fishing boats of an Aegean monastery, following the account in the *Life of Athanasios of Lavra*. This leads us to suggest, although further research is needed to confirm this, that the ιχθύες ἀμβλυωπίαι sent by the aforementioned abbot to Nicaea indicates a fishing tradition in the region of Argolid, where fishing, fish-farming in fisheries, and fish salting must have been widespread practices. Given that the Argolid area that stretches from Methana, Poros and Hermionis to Nauplion⁸⁶ has numerous islands, many bays, and small lagoons, fish farming and production likely existed there during the Byzantine period, as they do today.

A fishing tradition is also attested in the case of the Monastery of Panagia Kosmosoteira, located just outside present-day Alexandroupolis in the Northern Aegean. The specific morphology of the Thracian coastline and the rivers facilitated the supply of fish. The twelfth-century Kosmosoteira *Typikon* mentions a *sandalion* that was used at the monastery to catch many large fish in the rivers Maritza (i.e. the river Evros) and Samia to supply the monks.⁸⁷ Depending on the season and existing needs, fish supplies for the monastery, with its customary fish and oyster diet, could be transported from the great coastal town of Ainos, a fishing post in the Northern Aegean, just above the debouchment of the Hellespont, where shoals of fish descend.⁸⁸ This meant that river and marine fish, as well as the frequently mentioned shellfish, were served at the table of the monastery, which, as noted above, was fortunate to be situated in an area with rivers, seas, and proximity to

85. *Typikon of the Holy Monastery of Areia*, ed. G. CHORAS, *Ἡ “ἀγία μονή” Ἀρείας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ καὶ πολιτικῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ Ναυπλίου καὶ Ἀργους*, Athens 1975, p. 252; English translation by Alice-Mary TALBOT, in BMFD, vol. 3, p. 970. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 15 and 30.

86. MYLONA, *Fish-Eating in Greece*, pp. 144-145; Tatiana THEODOROPOULOU, “Appendix. The Sea-Shellfish from the Excavations in Area H in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia in 2007 and 2008”, in A. PENTTINEN and B. WELLS (†) with contributions by Dimitra MYLONA, Petra PAKKANEN, J. PAKKANEN, Arja KARIVIERI, Anne HOOTON, and E. SAVINI, with an Appendix by Tatiana THEODOROPOULOU, “Report on the Excavations in the Years 2007 and 2008 Southeast of the Temple of Poseidon at Kalaureia”, *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 2 (2009), 89-141, at 135-141.

87. *Typikon of Theotokos Kosmosoteira*, ed. G. ΠΑΠΑΖΟΓΛΟΥ, *Τυπικὸν Ἰσαακίου Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ τῆς μονῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοσμοσωτεiras* [Θρακικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 3], Komotini 1994, pp. 64, 624 - 65, 645; p. 90, 1196-1203; pp. 93-94, 1248-1251; English translation by Nancy PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, in BMFD, vol. 2, pp. 826-828. See below, *Annex List I*, nos. 31-34.

88. *Typikon of Theotokos Kosmosoteira*, p. 109, 1463-1464; English transl., p. 828; P. SOUSTAL, *Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)* [TIB 6], Vienna 1991, pp. 170-173.

Ainos. Furthermore, processed seafood products such as salted fish, caviar, and botargo, which were brought from the Black Sea and Constantinople, became increasingly popular at the time.⁸⁹

Conclusion

The *Lives* of saints serve as a valuable source for the study of fishing in the Middle Byzantine Aegean Sea. They not only verify but also enhance the existing picture based on other sources, including archaeological evidence. Both groups of *Lives* studied depict a decline in fishing activity and, as observed primarily in the first group, a corresponding state of desolation during the eighth, ninth, and the first half of the tenth century.⁹⁰ All the testimonies refer to fishing being conducted on a purely local scale in coves and bays, while the availability of fish was restricted to the coast and the adjacent hinterland. This leads to the hypothesis that after the seventh century, the Byzantines had distanced themselves from the Aegean Sea and had little concern in describing any of their activities therein, if indeed they had any involving the open sea. The recording of its marine fauna was not a priority for them at a time when the central Aegean did not lend itself to fishing for various reasons, especially the Arab menace. In some cases, this situation, where even islanders were not involved in fishing, appears to have continued into the twelfth century. In contrast, the second group of *Lives* bears witness to a revival of fishing, initially on a small scale during the tenth century, and with an increasing intensity by some monasteries during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During these later centuries, there was a constant preoccupation with obtaining fish and transporting it by pack animal from the harbours and bays of the Aegean to areas in the hinterland, as well as with sending gifts of salted fish and botargo. This development highlights a significant change, namely a new demand for Aegean marine luxury products and an increased importance of fish consumption, as opposed to cheese and meat eating, not only in monastic communities. The widespread consumption of large, salted or fresh fish and roe was prevalent

89. A. KARPOZILOS, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XII c.", *BZ* 77 (1984), 20-37, at 24-25; A. KARPOZILOS, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII-XV c.", *BZ* 88 (1995), 68-84, at 71-72; JACOBY, "Caviar Trading in Byzantium", p. 356; ANAGNOSTAKIS, "Byzantine Delicacies", pp. 84-85.

90. MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2, pp. 433-434.

mainly among the affluent classes, as well as at the level of the ecclesiastical and provincial administration.⁹¹ References to the handling of salted fish, especially in the Aegean, appeared when significant changes had occurred in both the Byzantine economy and shipbuilding: Travelling and fishing had become much safer, and the Byzantine fleets oversaw the protection of the Aegean. A careful and critical reading of the *Lives* of saints can provide significant insights into the fishing and consumption practices of the Aegean region during the Middle Byzantine period.

91. With regard to the following centuries (specifically the years 1391-1392), see the interesting information concerning the supply of large eels and other fresh or salted fish (such as mackerel, cuttlefish etc.) from Methone, Rhodes, Cyprus and Corfu, in Ruthy GERTWAGEN, "Towards a Maritime Eco-history of the Byzantine and Medieval Eastern Mediterranean", *The Inland Seas. Towards an Eco-history of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea*, eds T. Bekker Nielsen and Ruthy Gertwagen, Stuttgart 2016, pp. 341-368, at 354.

*Annex**Actual Fishing Places and Fishing Episodes Mentioned in the Present Paper, mainly concerning saints and other persons and related to the Corinthian Gulf and the Aegean Sea**List I*

List I includes information cited in the paper and archival references to fishing locations in the Aegean dated up to the 12th century, but not all the stereotypical data concerning fish consumption as part of the monastic diet found in several Athos documents and *Typika* (especially of Saint Athanasios). In the List, as in our study, there are also selective references to fishing in the Corinthian Gulf dated in the first half of the 13th century (information provided by Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos).

The List includes (where applicable): a) Location, b) Date, c) Persons, d) Ways and Means of Fishing, e) Fish Consumption, f) Species, g) Source

1. a) Hellas (present-day Central Greece, the Malian Gulf, between Thessaly and Boeotia), **b)** 551 AD, **e)** fish (poisoned by the toxic tidal wave caused by the great earthquake) were stranded on dry land and people picked them up to grill; when touched by the heat of the fire, the whole body of the fish disintegrated in liquid putrefaction (ἰχθύες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπελείποντο ... ἐδωδίμους εἶναι οἰόμενοι ἀνείλοντο μὲν ὡς ἐπήσοντες ... ἐς ἰχῶράς τε καὶ σηπεδόνας οὐ φορητὰς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσεν), **f)** fish of unfamiliar appearance to the people of the country, prodigious, monstrous (see above n. 54), **g)** Procopius, *Wars* VIII 25, pp. 21-22.

2. a) Aegean Islands (Skiathos), **b)** mid 7th c., **c)** Byzantine navy marines, **d)** fishing (ἄγρα ἰχθύων, see above n. 18), **g)** *Miracles of St Demetrius*, p. 231, 6-22, pars 296-297.

3. a) Aegean Islands (Lesbos), Constantinople (Bosphorus, Pegai), **b)** 717/8-743/4, **c)** Saint Symeon, **d)** fishing with nets (ἀμφίβληστρον), **g)** *Life of Saints David, Symeon and George*, p. 235, 1-10.

4. a) Aegean Islands (Lesbos), Constantinople and Propontis (island of Aphousia, Sea of Marmara), **b)** 717/8-743/4, **c)** Saint Symeon, **e)** salted fish

from Constantinople (see above n. 22), **g**) *Life of Saints David, Symeon and George*, p. 241, 7.

5. a) Hellas and the Peloponnese (Patras and lakes in Aetolia), **b)** late 9th c., **c)** Arethas from Patras or Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, **d)** and **e)** Patras is supplied daily with many and good fish from the lakes opposite in Aetolia (αὐται αἱ λίμναι καταντικρὺ Πατρῶν ... ἀφ' ὧν πολλή καὶ ἀγαθὴ ἄργα (*lege*: ἄγρα) ἰχθύων κομίζεται ὅσαι ἡμέραι ταῖς Πάτραις; see above n. 56), **g**) *Scholia on Strabo*, ed. A. DILLER “The Scholia on Strabo”, 39.

6. a) Macedonia (Thessalonike), **b)** 904, **c)** [John Kaminiates], **d)** small fishing boats (τὰς βραχυτάτας νῆας, αἷς πρὸς τὴν θήραν τῶν ἰχθύων οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἐκέχρηντο), **f)** small and large fish of different species from the two nearby lakes and from the rivers (λίμναι ... τρέφουσι γὰρ ἰχθύας καὶ μικροὺς καὶ μεγάλους, καὶ τοῖς εἶδεσι διαφόρους καὶ πολλοὺς τῷ πλήθει ... ποταμοὶ ... δέ τινες παμμεγέθεις πολλὴν δαψίλειαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ πόλει παρέχονται ταῖς τε χορηγίαις ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων), **g**) John Kaminiates, p. 7, par. 5, 48-51; p. 8, par. 6, 90-95; p. 29, par. 31, 19-21.

7. a) Aegean Islands (Euboea), **b)** ?- 932, **c)** Arethas of Patras, **d)** and **e)** small boats of purple-fishers in Euboea (ὥς ἔοικεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ πορφυρεῖς περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐργάζονται, οὓς νῦν κοτυλαρίους φασὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐν μικροῖς πλοίοις ἦτοι κοτύλαις παρομοίους πορφυρεύεσθαι), **f)** purple (πορφύρα), **g**) KOUGEAS, “Ἐρευναι περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας”, 259 n. 66.

8. a) Asia Minor, west coast (Gulf of Latros, Herakleia), **b)** autumn of 911, **c)** *Korphitianoι*, seamen and fisher folk of the Gulf (= *Kórphos*) of Latros, **d)** Byzantine navy marines, eight-oared fishing boats (see above n. 73), **g**) *Book of Ceremonies* II 44, 166-173; see HALDON, “Theory and Practice”, 286 n. 169.

9. a) Asia Minor, west coast (Ephesus, Mount Latros, the region of Miletus), **b)** early 10th c., **c)** Saint Nikephoros, **d)** transport of fish to a nearby monastery on Mount Latros (φέροντες πανδαισίαν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπηχθισμένην, ἄρτους, ἰχθύας, οἶνον), **g**) *Life of Saint Nikephoros of Latros*, p. 166, par. 20.

10. a) Hellas (Kastorion in Phocis, near Delphi), **b)** before 910-911, **c)** Saint Luke, **e)** cooking meat with fish (κρέας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰχθὺν ἐν χύτρᾳ μιᾷ συνεψήσαντες), —, **g**) *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, p. 163, par. 8.

11. a) Hellas (Corinthian Gulf, Mount Ioannou or Ioannitzi, on the southern shore of Desfina), **b)** 910-911, **c)** Saint Luke, **f)** a very big fish slithered

out of the water (ἰχθὺς μέγας ; see above n. 7), **g**) *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, pp. 174-175, par. 29.

12. a) Hellas (Corinthian Gulf), **b**) 918, **c**) Saint Luke, **d**) catching fish (ἰχθύων ἄγρην), **e**) to hook a very big fish (ἄγκιστρον), **f**) a very big fish (ἰχθὺς τῶν πάνυ μεγίστων ; see above nn. 7 and 55), **g**) *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, pp. 180-182, par. 40.

13. a) Peloponnese (Corinthian Gulf, Zemenia), **b**) 928, **c**) Saint Luke, **d**) making nets and fishing (δίκτυα καταρτίζων, ἀλείας μεταποιούμενος; see above n. 7), **g**) *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, p. 183, par. 43.

14. a) Peloponnese (Corinthian Gulf, Ambelon islet), **b**) 928, **c**) Saint Luke, **d**) fishing (ἀλιεύων ἰχθὺς ; see above nn. 7 and 55), **g**) *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, p. 195, par. 61.

15. a) Peloponnese (Argolid), and Asia Minor (Bithynia-Nicaea), **b**) before 950, **c**) abbot Eustratios sent fish to Theodore, Metropolitan of Nicaea, **f**) *amblyopic* fish (τοὺς δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ἰχθὺς ἀμβλωπίας ; see above n. 78), probably tunny-fish / pickled bonito, a kind of *lakerda*, **g**) Theodore of Nicaea, *Letters*, p. 286, no. 18, 14-15.

16. a) Peloponnese, **b**) c. 950, **d**) purple-fishers, *kogchyleutai* (κογχυλευταί; see above n. 83) fishermen of the *murex* sea snails producing the imperial purple, **f**) *murex* sea snails, **g**) *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 256, par. 52.

17. a) Athos peninsula (Monastery of the Great Lavra), **b**) second half of 10th c., **c**) monks-fishermen, **d**) fishing nets (ἀμφίβληστρον ; see above n. 61), **g**) *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos*, Vita B, p. 182, par. 46, 5-11.

18. a) Macedonian coast (Strymon region, Metochion of the Monastery of the Great Lavra), **b**) second half of 10th c., **c**) monks-fishermen, **d**) hook (ἄγκιστρον ; see above n. 63), **f**) octopus (πολύπους), **g**) *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos*, Vita B, p. 210, par. 77, 4-6; p. 211, par. 77, 41-45.

19. a) Athos peninsula (Monastery of the Great Lavra), **b**) second half of 10th c., **c**) Amalfitan monks and monks of the Monastery of the Great Lavra, **e**) and **f**) garum from the Amalfitan monks and the Monastery of the Great Lavra (ἀμαλφηνῶν γερόντων, γάρων φέροντες δῶρον; see above n. 67) according to the *Geoponica*, probably prepared with smelts, silversides, red mullet, anchovies, mackerel and tunny-fish, **g**) *Life of Saint Athanasios of Athos*, Vita B, p. 183, par. 47, 3-4; *Geoponica* XX 46, pp. 528-529.

20. a) Macedonia, Chalkidiki peninsula, Ierissos (Arsenikeia), **b**) docu-

ment of 995, **d**) fishing in the river of Arsenikeia (συνεχωρέθησαν δὲ τὸ μέρος τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μόνην τὴν ἄγραν ἔχειν τῶν ἰχθύων ἐπικοινων, ἡγίκα ταύτης ὁ ἐπιτήδειος καιρὸς ἐπιστῇ, κατὰ τὸν καλούμενον ποταμὸν Ἀρσινικείας, καὶ λαμβάνειν τὰς τρεῖς μερίδας ἃς ἐλάμβανεν; see above n. 66), **g**) *Actes d'Iviron I*, no. 9, p. 162, 47-48.

21. a) Macedonia, Chalkidiki peninsula, Vourvourou, **b**) donation before 1025, mentioned in a document of 1089, **c**) imperial donation by Basil II to the Monastery of Xenophon before 1025, **d**) *vivarion*, place to keep fish, ponds (μοναστήριον λεγόμενον τῶν Ἱερομνήμων ἦτοι τὰ Βουρβουροῦ, ὅπερ ἐδωρήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς κύρ Βασίλειος τῇ μονῇ εἰς μετόχιον μετὰ τῶν μετοχίων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡσυχαστηρίων, τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ νυσίου καὶ ἐκτός, τῆς ἀλικῆς καὶ τοῦ βιβαρίου), **g**) *Actes de Xénophon*, no. 1, 7, p. 3, 31-33.

22. a) Athos peninsula (the Monastery of Iviron, Kalamitzia, location in Platys peninsula), **b**) 1015, **c**) monks-fishermen, **d**) there is a habit of the monks fishing in this area and nobody should ever stop them from fishing in Kalamitzia (Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήθειαν ἔχωσιν οἱ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὄρους μοναχοὶ ἀλιεύειν ἐκεῖσε, ἐξασφαλιζόμεθα ὑμᾶς μὴ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν κολύειν τινὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀλιεύειν· εἰ δέ γε φοραθῇτε τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἵνα τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλειείας ὑμεῖς ἐκπίπτεται ... Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήθειά ἐστι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀλιεύειν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Καλαμιτζίοις, προτρεπόμεθα ἵνα μὴ τις ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο κωλύῃ ἢ παρεμποδίξῃ εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀλείαν τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ἀδελφῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς ἅπαντας καὶ διηνεκεῖς χρόνους ; see above n. 65), **g**) *Actes d'Iviron I*, no. 20, p. 214, 48-50; no. 21, p. 220, 36-37.

23. a) Athos peninsula (Monastery of the Great Lavra), **b**) Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, 1045, **c**) monks, **d**) an argument is put forward to support the presence of cattle in the monastery: “we realized ourselves that it was not possible for 700 monks [of Lavra] to nourish themselves on fish alone ...” (Καὶ δὴ εἰδότες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἑπτακοσίους μοναχοὺς ἐκ μόνου ἰχθύος διατρέφεσθαι; see above n. 69), **g**) *Actes de Prôtaton*, no. 8, pp. 227, 89 - 228, 91. English translation by T. MILLER, in BMFD, vol. 1, pp. 281-293.

24. a) Athos peninsula (the Monastery of Xylourgou and the Monastery of Dometiou), **b**) 1048, **c**) monks-fishermen, **d**) dispute between the two monasteries concerning a boat hangar and fishing (ἀνατροπὴν καὶ ἀθέτησιν τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν γενομένης κρίσεως, εἴτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀλιεύειν ; see above n. 65),

g) *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, no. 4, p. 49, 28.

25. a) Asia Minor west coast (Theologos of Ephesus, Monastery of Saint Lazaros on Mount Galesion), **b)** 11th c., **d)** transport of fish from Theologos to the Monastery of Saint Lazaros on Mount Galesion, **g)** *Life of Saint Lazaros of Galesion*, col. 541C-E.

26. a) Asia Minor west coast (Monastery of Saint Lazaros on Mount Galesion), **b)** 11th c. (1053?), **d)** no consumption (or extremely rare consumption) of fish in the monastery; the brothers said to Saint Lazaros: “Give us a treat, and send someone to buy us some fish” (ἀποστείλας ἀγόρασον ἡμῖν ἰχθύας; see above n. 74), **g)** *Life of Saint Lazaros of Galesion*, cols. 549D, 556F, 558B, 568E.

27. a) Crete (Rethymnon), **b)** 11th c., **c)** Saint George helps fishermen catch fish: (*O*)*psaropiastes* (Ὁψαροπιάστης; see above n. 34), **g)** *Life of Saint John Xenos*, p. 9.

28. a) Hellas (Attica, Monastery of Saint Meletios on Mount Kithairon), **b)** second half of 11th c., **c)** Saint Meletios (1035-1105) and a visitor to the Monastery, **e)** fresh fish (ἰχθύας ποθὲν προσαχθέντας; see above n. 76), **g)** *Life of Saint Meletios the Younger*, p. 138, 33-40 (by Nikolaos of Methone).

29. a) Hellas (Attica, Monastery of Saint Meletios on Mount Kithairon), **b)** second half of 11th c., **c)** Saint Meletios (1035-1105) and Epiphanius Kamateros, proconsul of Hellas and the Peloponnese, **e)** sumptuous dinner with many fish (ἢ τράπεζα τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ὑπερεφλέγμαινεν ; see above n. 77), **g)** *Life of Saint Meletios the Younger* by Theodore Prodromos, p. 196,23 - 198,52.

30. a) Peloponnese (the Monastery of Areia in Argolid), **b)** ca. 1149, **c)** Leo, Bishop of Argos and Nauplia, **d)** and **e)** the Monastery of Areia’s fishing boats (*sandalia*), and monks eating up to 5 or 6 portions of fish (*minos*) every Sunday (Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ σανδάλια κέκτῃται ἡ μονή, βουλόμεθα ἐκάστη Κυριακῇ, καθ’ ἣν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐκτελεῖται, πέντε καὶ ἕξ μίνσους ἐσθίειν ὀψάρια; see above n. 85), **g)** *Typikon of the Holy Monastery of Areia*, p. 970, par. 13.

31. a) Thrace (Monastery of Panagia Kosmosoteira, just outside present-day Alexandroupolis), **b)** ca. 1152, **c)** Isaakios Komnenos (son of Alexios I), **e)** and **f)** consumption of fish provided by the monastery and of shellfish (ἰχθύων μεταληπτέον οἰκοθεν ὠψωνισμένων, ὀστρακοδέρμων; see above n. 87), **g)** *Typikon of Theotokos Kosmosoteira*, pp. 64,624 - 65,645.

32. a) Thrace (the river Maritza and the Monastery of Panagia Kosmosoteira), **b)** ca. 1152, **c)** Isaakios Komnenos (son of Alexios I), **e)** and **f)** consumption of cheap and fat freshwater fish, which the river, which is situated closest to the monastery and flowing into the sea, provides for the fisherman (ὁψάριον ποταμίσιον, εὖωνον ὃν καὶ ἀδρότερον, ὅπερ ὁ ποταμὸς ... παρέχειν τοῖς ἀλιήτορσι), **g)** *Typikon of Theotokos Kosmosoteira*, p. 47, 215-217

33. a) Thrace (Ainos, the river Evros/Maritza and the Monastery of Panagia Kosmosoteira), **b)** ca. 1152, **c)** Isaakios Komnenos (son of Alexios I), **d)**, **e)** and **f)** a monastery boat, employed in the section of the river Maritza belonging to the convent, catches fish and brings them back to the monks for consumption, while it frequently transports them from Ainos, depending on what is convenient each time (... σανδάλιον ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις δικαίοις τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μαρίτζης καὶ θηρεύειν ἰχθύας καὶ πρὸς τροφήν διακομίζειν τοῖς μοναχοῖς, πολλάκις δὲ τούσδε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴνου διαπορθμεύειν; see above n. 87), **g)** *Typikon of Theotokos Kosmosoteira*, p. 90, 1196-1203.

34. a) Thrace (the river Samia, Neokastron, and the Monastery of Panagia Kosmosoteira), **b)** ca. 1152, **c)** Isaakios Komnenos (son of Alexios I), **d)**, **e)** and **f)** many large fish in the river Samia, almost on the outskirts of Neokastron; the superior of the monastery had to arrange with an alert mind the guarding of the river and its preservation so that the fish could not be caught by just anyone happening by – for they were easily caught and ideal for an easy catch (Πολλῶν δ' ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων ἰχθύων, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῇ Σαμία περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα σχεδὸν τοῦ Νεοκάστρου, ὀφείλει ὁ τῆς μονῆς καθηγούμενος ταμιεύεσθαι ἐγγηγορότι τῷ νῷ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ συντήρησιν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος οἱ ἰχθύες θηρεύοιντο, εὐάλωτοι ὄντες καὶ εὐπετεῖς πρὸς θηρείαν; see above n. 87), **g)** *Typikon of Theotokos Kosmosoteira*, p. 90, 1196-1203.

35. a) Propontis (Sea of Marmara, Constantinople), Hellas and Aegean islands (Attica-Athens or island of Keos), **b)** 1204/5 (?) **c)** Michael Choniates received salted fish sent by Demetrios Makrembolites, **e)** and **f)** salted fish from Propontis and rivers (ἰχθῦες τεταριχευμένοι οὓς Προποντίς τε καὶ ποταμοὶ βόσκουσιν), sent from Constantinople, **g)** Michael Choniates, *Letters*, p. 243, no. 150, 27-30

36. a) Hellas (Athens) and Aegean islands (Euboea: Chalkis, Karystos;

island of Keos), **b)** after 1204/5 (?), **c)** Michael Choniates, **d)** and **e)** seafarers arrived at Keos from Chalkis, Karystos and Athens, using the many ferry boats of the purple-fishers (πλωτικοὶ πολλοῖς κογχυλευτικοῖς πορθμείοις διαπεραιοῦνται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τε Χαλκίδος καὶ Καρυστόθεν καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ; see above n. 83), **f)** purple, **g)** Michael Choniates, *Letters*, p. 222, no. 135, 9-10.

37. a) Hellas and Aegean islands (island of Keos), **b)** 1208, **c)** Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, **d)** and **e)** although the inhabitants of the islands, actually Keos, lived in the heart of the sea, no fishing or fish consumption took place at all (Ἡμεῖς γάρ, καίτοι ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης παροικοῦντες, ὁμῶς οὐκ ἰχθυώμεθα ; see above n. 44), **g)** Michael Choniates, *Letters*, p. 158, no. 103, 56-57.

38. a) Aegean islands (island of Keos), **b)** 1207/8, **c)** Michael Choniates, **d)** and **e)** παρὰ τοῖς Κεῖοις τοῖσδε, οὐδαμῶς ἰχθυωμένοις, **f)** no consumption of rock-fish and open sea fish (ἰχθύες πετραῖοί τε καὶ πελάγιοι, see above n. 44), **g)** Michael Choniates, *Letters*, p. 192, no. 115, 66-67.

39. a) Hellas and Aegean islands (Euboea: Euripos; Attica: Athens), **b)** 1217, **c)** Michael Choniates, while in Euripos, **d)** description of the Euripos channel as a fine place for fishing (ἥδιστος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὥς ἰχθύων ἄγρην παρέχων ἐκάστοτε οὐδαμῶς; see above n. 44), **g)** Michael Choniates, *Orationes*, vol. 1, p. 181, 22-23.

40. a) Hellas and Aegean islands (Naupaktos, island of Keos, Boudonitza), **b)** 1217 or 1219, **c)** John Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, and Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, **e)** and **f)** dried fish roes sent from Naupaktos to Michael Choniates on the island of Keos or in Boudonitza (τὰ ταριχευτὰ τῶν ἰχθύων ᾧ ἅτε αἶα καὶ ἰσχνά; see above n. 79), **g)** Michael Choniates, *Letters*, no. 173, 1-6 and 23-25, and commentary at p. 146 n. 455.

41. a) Hellas and Aegean islands (Naupaktos, island of Keos, Boudonitza), **b)** 1217 or 1219, **c)** John Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, and Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, **e)** and **f)** 100 twin fish roes dried in the sun were sent to Michael Choniates on the island of Keos or in Boudonitza (ψοτάριχα ἑκατόν, ἰχθύων ᾧ, τάριχα, ἡλίου, τὰ πάντα δὲ δίδυμα; see above n. 80), **g)** John Apokaukos, *Letters*, 84-85, no. 26, 15-22, and comments 183-184.

42. a) Hellas (Naupaktos, Thessalonike) **b)** 1224-1225, **c)** John Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, and an unnamed Metropolitan of Thessalonike, **e)**

John Apokaukos describes to the metropolitan fish and other products from Naupaktos, and praises them (ἰχθύας ἡμῶν), **g**) John Apokaukos, *Letters*, 123, no. 67, 39, and comments 211-212.

43. a) Hellas (Thessaly: Larissa; Naupaktos), **b**) 1227, **c**) John Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, stayed in Larissa on his return from Thessalonike, got ill and was received (?) by the Metropolitan of Larissa, **e**) fish dishes, grilled fish at a reception dinner (καὶ μέρεσιν ἰχθύων ὀπτῶν ἡμᾶς δεξιοῖ; see above n. 81), **g**) John Apokaukos, *Letters*, 138, no. 78, 19, and comments 220-221.

44. a) Hellas (Naupaktos), **b**) 1228, **c**) John Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, **d**) and **e**) even though he lives near the sea, he consumes no fish at all, because it is all taken by state authorities (καὶ θαλάσσιος ὦν ἰχθυοβρωτεῖν οὐκ ἔχω, τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀλιευτῶν ἀνθρώποις ζωγρεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας κεκελευσμένων; see above n. 46), **g**) John Apokaukos, *Letters*, 103, no. 46, 35-36, and comments 198.

45. a) Hellas (Naupaktos), **b**) 1200-1232, **c**) John Apokaukos, bishop of Naupaktos, and Eustathios, bishop of Achelous, **d**) and **e**) a fishmonger (ἄνδρα ἰχθυοφόρον) with a ray, **f**) ray (κητώδεις τούτους ἰχθῦς, τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σταγειρίτην σελάχη), **g**) John Apokaukos, *Epistulae et acta*, 18, no. 13, 1-8.

46. a) Hellas and Aegean islands (Euboea: Euripos; island of Keos), **b**) 1205-1217, **c**) Euthymios Tornikes, Michael Choniates, **d**) description of the Euripos channel and the island of Keos, which ignores the old tradition of fishing (ἡγνοημένην ἀπήγγειλον ἀλιευτικὴν; see above n. 45), **g**) Euthymios Tornikes, *Letters*, no. 67, 32.

List II

Allusive, Fictional or Allegorical Fishing and Fish (A Sample)

1. Euboea, 10th c.; literary use of *naukrates* (ἰχθύος ναυκράτου; see above n. 10); fish holding a ship; *Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos*, col. 230E.

2. *Thrakesian thema*; 10th c.; the monasteries of the Latros region were attacked by Arabs, who were massacred by the Byzantine general of the *Thrakesian thema* like dolphins (see above n. 58); *Continuation of Theophanes*, p. 196, par. 39, 1-11.

3. Latros and Samos, 10th c.; likening of tibia to the bone of a large fish

(see above n. 27); *Life of Saint Paul the Younger of Latros*, ed. WIEGAND, *Milet*, vol. 3/1, p. 134, par. 48, 10.

4. Lesbos, Constantinople, 10th c.; Saint Thomais of Lesbos was trapped in marriage just as the hooked fish is caught unexpectedly by the gills (καὶ οἷα δορκὰς ἢ καὶ ἡγγιστρωμένος ἰχθὺς ἀπροόπτως ὑπὸ βρόχοις ἐαλῶκει καὶ πάγαις; see above n. 10); *Life of Saint Thomais of Lesbos*, p. 198, 12.

5. Kythera, 10th c.; extinction due to sins is likened to hunted fish caught in an evil net; drawn from *Ecclesiastes* 9:12 (ὥς οἱ ἰχθύες οἱ θηρεύόμενοι ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ κακῷ; see above n. 10); *Life of Saint Theodore of Kythera*, p. 285, 123.

6. Gulf of Corinth, 11th c.; a dolphin saved the life of St Nicholas the Pilgrim; EFTHYMIADIS, “D’Orient en Occident mais étranger aux deux mondes”, pp. 207-224, at 213.

7. Naupaktos, 1200-1232; the paper nautilus hides in the depths of the sea when it senses the winter; John Apokaukos, *Letters*, p. 69, no. 10, 41-42 (ὁ ναυτίλος ἰχθυὺς εἰς μυχαίτατα καταδύεται τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅταν χειμῶνος αἰσθάνηται); p. 110, no. 53, 40-41.



Map of the Aegean Sea and the Corinthian Gulf
+ Fish consumption

* Fisheries, fishing, fishermen, fish boats, seafood



Fig. 1. Esphigmenou Monastery, cod. 14, *Menologion*, f. 387r.
Source: after S. M. PELEKANIDIS, P. K. CHRESTOU, Chrysanthi MAUROPOULOU-TSIOUMI and S. N. KADAS, *Oi thesauroi tou Agiou Orou*,
Σειρά Α': Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα, παραστάσεις, επίτιτλα, αρχικά γράμματα, vol. 2: *Μ. Ἰβήρων, Μ. Αγ. Παντελεήμονος, Μ. Ἐσφιγμένου*, Μ. Χιλανδαρίου, Athens 1975, p. 226, no. 348.



Fig. 2. Fishermen with blazing torch guiding fish towards the net. Miniature from Pseudo-
Oppian's codex of *Cynegetica*, circa 1060, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. Z 479, f.
59r. Source: after I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice. Codex Mar-*
cianus graecus Z 139 [recte: 479], Leiden 2004, fig. 123 and p. 172.



Fig. 3. κύρτος, ἀλιεὺς ἔψων τζαγανούς (“weel; fisherman roasting crabs”), detail of a miniature from Pseudo-Oppian’s codex of *Cynegetica*, circa 1060, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. Z 479, f. 61r. Source: after I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice. Codex Marcianus graecus Z 139* [recte: 479], Leiden 2004, fig. 126 and p. 177.

SUMMARIES / ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΕΙΣ

Ilias Anagnostakis & Maria Leontsini

Pêche et consommation de poisson en mer Égée d'après les Vies des saints, VII^e-XII^e siècles

Ce chapitre traite des activités de pêche et de la consommation de poisson telles qu'elles sont présentées dans les *Vies* des saints qui ont vécu sur les deux rives de la mer Égée entre le VII^e et le XII^e siècle. Les *Vies* sont divisées en deux groupes différents concernant les activités de pêche. Le premier donne une image du déclin de la pêche correspondant aux difficultés rencontrées par la navigation aux VIII^e et IX^e siècles et dans la première moitié du X^e siècle ; ces *Vies* exploitent un lieu commun narratif de l'île supposée inhabitée, déserte ou sauvage et soulignent ainsi la lutte du saint héros pour sa survie. Le deuxième groupe présente les régions maritimes de la mer Égée comme des lieux où les saints s'adonnaient à la pêche. Ces *Vies* attestent même qu'après le milieu du X^e siècle s'ouvre une ère d'intensification de la circulation des produits de la pêche, frais ou conservés, et d'augmentation constante des activités de pêche. Deux listes classant les informations citées par ordre chronologique sont placées à la fin du texte. La première reprend les données collectées ainsi que les références archivistiques aux sites de pêche de la mer Égée en indiquant le lieu, la date, les personnes, les modes et moyens de pêche, la consommation de poisson, l'espèce et la source (liste I) ; la seconde présente des exemples de références allusives, fictives ou allégoriques à la pêche et à la consommation de poisson (liste II).

Αλιεία και κατανάλωση ιχθύων στο Αιγαίο Πέλαγος κατά τους Βίους των Αγίων, 7^{ος}-12^{ος} αιώνας

Η μελέτη εξετάζει τις αλιευτικές δραστηριότητες και την κατανάλωση ιχθύων, όπως παρουσιάζονται στους *Βίους* των αγίων οι οποίοι έζησαν και στις δύο πλευρές του Αιγαίου μεταξύ του 7^{ου} και 12^{ου} αιώνα. Τα κείμενα αυτά διακρίνονται σε δύο διαφορετικές ομάδες αναφορικά με τις αλιευτικές δραστηριότητες. Η πρώτη ομάδα δεν παρέχει καμία ένδειξη για την αλιεία στο

Αιγαίο, γεγονός που σχετίζεται με τις πιέσεις που προκαλούσαν οι δυσκολίες στις θαλάσσιες επικοινωνίες κατά τον 8^ο-9^ο και το πρώτο μισό του 10^{ου} αιώνα. Σε ορισμένους από τους *Βίους* αυτούς η αφήγηση χρησιμοποιεί τον κοινό τόπο του έρημου ή άγριου νησιού και υπογραμμίζει έτσι τον αγώνα του ήρωα αγίου για επιβίωση. Η δεύτερη ομάδα *Βίων* αντιθέτως, παρουσιάζει αγίους να επιδίδονται στο ψάρεμα σε θαλάσσιες περιοχές του Αιγαίου. Μετά τα μέσα του 10^{ου} αιώνα οι αναφορές των *Βίων* σχετικά με την αλιεία και την κατανάλωση αλιευτικών προϊόντων, νωπών ή διατηρημένων, γίνονται συχνότερες. Σε δύο *Καταλόγους* στο τέλος της μελέτης ταξινομούνται με χρονολογική σειρά οι πληροφορίες για την αλιεία και την ιχθυοκατανάλωση. Στον πρώτο καταγράφονται οι αναφορές που συνελέγησαν από τους *Βίους* και αρχειακές πηγές, με βάση τις ακόλουθες κατηγορίες: *Τοποθεσία, Χρονολογία, Πρόσωπα, Τρόποι και μέσα αλιείας, Κατανάλωση ψαριών, Είδη, Πηγή* («List I»). Στον δεύτερο κατάλογο σημειώνονται παραδείγματα επινοημένων ή αλληγορικών αναφορών για το ψάρεμα και την κατανάλωση ψαριών («List II»).