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Sala, G.

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## Appendix: food items reported by André (L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome)

Tab. 1. Cereals.

<b>English name</b>	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Barley	Hordeum	Hordeum vulgare (H.	Used to prepare puls, bread (pancakes). It was considered		Columella Rust. 2, 9,
		hexasticum was the	less nutritious than wheat. So, it was cultivated mainly as		14. Plin. HN 18, 14.
		only one cultivated in	feed, and was consumed in periods of food shortage.		
		Magna Graecia until			
		4th c. BCE; H. disticum			
		was signalled in			
		Greece from 3th c.			
		BCE)			
Emmer	Triticum, far,	Triticum turgidum	Hard, hulled, without awns, the first wheat consumed by the		Plin. HN 18, 12; 18,
	ador, adoreum	subsp. dicoccum	Romans during the first 300 years of their history. Var.: zea -		19; 18, 20. Ed. Diocl.,
			semen - probably with awns; scandals or scandula, cultivated		1, 8.
			in Gaul, 2 times less expensive than barley; arnica, cultivated		
			in Gaul and Italy, with long and heavy ears; spelta, called far		
			by St. Jerome.		
Einkorn wheat	Tiphe	Triticum monococcum	According to Plin. only cultivated and consumed outside		Plin. HN 18, 12; 18,
			Italy.		20.
Durum wheat	Triticum	Triticum durum	Cultivation started in 5th C. BCE. From 1st c. BCE, cultivated		Plin. HN 18, 12; 18,
			everywhere in Mediterranean. Cato gave to his slaves only		20.
			naked wheat. From 1st c. CE Italian farmers only cultivated		
Half hard	Triticum	Triticum turgidum	naked wheat as food.		
wheat					
Soft wheat	Siligo	Triticum vulgare or			
		aestivum			
Common	Milium	Panicum miliaceum	Cultivated from Po Valley to Campania, but also in Gaul.	Used in soups.	Strabo 4, 1, 2; 4, 2, 1;
millet			More important than agronomists tell us. Short cultivation		5, 1, 12. Plin. <i>HN</i> 18,
			cycle (3 months) and high resistance to drought, so		24; 18, 49.
			important in famines.		

Foxtail millet	Milium (?)	Setaria italica	Longer duration of cultivation cycle compared to common		Columella Rust. 2, 9,
			millet (5 months).		17-19.
Rye	Secale,	Secale cereale	In 1st c. CE only cultivated by the Ligures (Taurini). Later		Plin. HN 18, 40.
	centenum		also cultivated in Pavia, Germania, Macedonia. Disliked for		
			human consumption, and usually mixed with <i>T. dicoccum</i> .		
Oat	Avena	Avena sativa	By Cato still considered as weed. Only later cultivated as		Cato Agr. 37, 5.
			green forage or for grain, used as feed. Cheapest of the		Columella Rust. 2, 10,
			cereals.		24; 2, 10, 32. Plin. <i>HN</i>
					18, 44. Ed. Diocl. 1, 17.
Sorghum	Sorghum	Sorghum bicolor	According to Plin. introduced in 70 CE from India. Use		Plin. HN 18, 10.
			unknown. Probably corresponds to the olyra of Egypt cited		
			by Plin. (HN 18, 62).		
Rice	Oryza	Oryza sativa	Not cultivated in South Europe before the Arabs, but grown	A decoction could be	Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 155.
			in Syria and Babylon. Imported from India as medicine. Very	prepared with it. Used to	Celsus, 2, 18, 10.
			expensive in time of Horace.	thicken sauces.	
				Elagabalus made it cook,	
				and pearls were added	
				(SHA Heliogab., 21, 3;	
				Apicius RC 2, 2, 9).	

Tab. 2. 'Legumes' (Legumina).

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Fava bean	Faba	Vicia faba	Forbidden to Flamen dialis, but always been present in ancient diet in Mediterranean. Several types (white, black, of '3 months', of Baia - Baiana). Lomentum: flour. Cooked and mashed: puls fabata, or conchis, concha, conchicula. These preparation were eaten with lard. Fava beans were also eaten raw as titbit. The tender pods (fabaciae) were eaten as our green beans. This was probably only for rich people (only mentioned by Apicius).	Concha (Apicius RC 5, 4, 1). Fabaciae (Apicius RC 5, 6, 1-4).	Columella <i>Rust</i> . 2, 9, 8; 2, 10, 9; 11, 2, 50. Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 30. <i>Ed. Diocl</i> . 1, 9-10.
Pea	Pisum	Pisum sativum	Not mentioned before Varro. Only sold in dried form (broken or unbroken).	Conciclae (Apicius RC 5, 4, 3-6). Indicum pisum (Apicius RC 5, 3, 1-9).	Varro Rust. 3, 7, 8. Columella Rust. 2, 10, 4. Plin. HN 18, 31. Ed. Diocl. 1, 13. Pal. 6, 1, 1.
Chickpea	Cicer	Cicer arietinum	Known var.: ram, black, Punic, of Venus Sold both dried and green, in bunches.	Grilled as snack, boiled, with a cheese pie (Apicius <i>RC</i> 5, 8, 1-2).	Columella <i>Rust.</i> 2, 10, 20; 9, 1, 8.Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 32. Petr. 35, 3; 66, 4. <i>Ed. Diocl.</i> 1, 35; 6, 37.
Grass pea, blue sweet pea, Indian pea	Cicercula	Lathyrus sativus	Uses better described by comic/ satiric Greek authors.	Difficult to cook and digest. Still, used even nowadays.	Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 26; 22, 72; 18, 32.
Red pea	Eruilia	Lathyrus cicera	More expensive than fava beans and broken beans; as expensive as lentils.	First baked and peeled, than boiled.	Plin. HN 18, 23. Ed. Diocl. 1, 12.
Bitter vetch	Ervum	Vicia ervilia	First of all, animal forage. Eaten only during famines. According to Plin., it gives vomit, diarrhoea, headache.		Plin. <i>HN</i> 22, 73. Gal. VI, 546.
Vetch	Uicia	Vicia sativa	More or less the same as bitter vetch.		Ed. Diocl. 4, 551.
Lentils	Lens	Lens culinaris	Considered more nutritious than pea. Famous those from Gela, Alexandria, Syria.	Cooked or baked, or made in soups, also after being peeled.	Cato <i>Agr.</i> 116; 132. Varro <i>Rust.</i> 1, 32, 2. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 2, 7,

					1. Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 31; 18. 46; 18, 55.
Lupine	Lupinus	Lupinus albus	Important for both humans and animals. Bitter, was long cooked to remove the taste. Sold in cities already cooked (see <i>lupinarii</i> in Pompeii). Cheap.	Not cited by Apicius, but highly considered by Plin.	Columella <i>Rust.</i> 10, 115; 2, 10, 1. Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 10; 18, 36; 22, 74. <i>Ed. Diocl.</i> 1, 19; 1, 20.
Cow pea	Phaseolus	Vigna unguiculata	Called <i>phaseolus</i> , but not our bean. Unknown before Cato, it arrived from Greece. Cultivated in Varro's time. Also eaten as green beans ( <i>ph. virides</i> ; see remark for fava beans).	For Apicius, <i>P. virides</i> were also the fresh grains (Apicius <i>RC</i> 5, 8, 1-2).	Diosc. 2, 146. Virg. <i>G</i> . 1, 227. Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 33. <i>Ed. Diocl</i> . 6, 33; 1, 21; 6, 39.
Flax	Linus	Linum usitatissimum	After peeling, used for <i>polenta</i> (3 pounds flax/ 20 pounds barley flour). Probably more a Greek recipe.	For recipe prepared in Cisalpine Gaul, see Plin. HN 19, 16.	Columella <i>Rust</i> . 2, 7, 1. Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 14; 19, 2-4.
Sesame	Sesamum	Sesamum indicum	Classified as both <i>frumenta</i> and <i>legumina</i> . Not discussed by Cato. Plin. knew it came from India. Grain mentioned by Plaut.	Used in bakery products and salads.	Plaut. <i>Poen</i> . 326. Columella <i>Rust</i> . 2, 7, 1; 12, 59, 2. Plin. <i>HN</i> 18, 10; 18, 22.
Рорру	Papaver	Papaver somniferum	Already grown in the garden of Tarquinius Superbus.	Mainly used in baked goods. Ancient Romans ate it also as ingredient of a dessert (grilled and with honey) and in cocetum (drink offered to brides before the marriage night.	Liv. I, 54, 6. Plin. <i>HN</i> 19, 53. Ov. <i>Fast</i> . 4, 151-152.
Hemp	Cannabis	Cannabis sativa	Mentioned in Columella <i>Rust.</i> between chickpea and millet.	Baked as ingredient of a dessert. Also in soups.	Diosc. 3, 148. Columella Rust. 2, 7, 1-2. Plin. HN 19, 56 (he does not mention food uses). Gal. VI, 549. Ed. Diocl. 1, 29.

Tab. 3. Roots.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Turnip	Rapa	Brassica rapa	That from Amiternum was better than that from Nursia.	Apicius <i>RC</i> 3, 13, 1 and 2.	Plin. HN 18, 34-35.
			That from Nursia was better than that from mount Algidus.		
Radish	Raphanus	Raphanus sativus	To limit the effect on breath, Plin. suggests to eat it with very		Plin. HN 19, 26; 19,
			ripe olives.		87.
Carrot	Pastinaca,	Daucus carota	Sold in bunches with 25-50. Preferred when large and at least	Apicius RC 3, 21	Columella Rust. 9, 4,
	(staphylinus		1 y.o.		5; 10, 168. Plin. HN
	for				19, 27. Pal. 3, 24, 9.
	Columella)				
	later carota				
Parsnip	Pastinaca,	Pastinaca sativa	Confused with carrot in sources. Popular after Tiberius	Popular.	Columella Rust. 10,
	siser (?)		promoted it.		114;11, 3, 35. Plin. HN
					19, 27.
Alexanders,	Smyrnium	Smyrnium olosatrum	Leaves, buds, roots, stems were all eaten.		Diosc. 3, 67.
horse parsley					Columella Rust. 10,
					123; 11, 3, 36; 12, 58.
					Plin. HN 19, 62. Pal.,
					5, 3, 2.
Elecampane	Inula	Inula helenium	Very bitter, Columella describes the <i>inulae curatio</i> (12, 48).		Columella Rust. 11, 3,
			Plin. also suggests ways to contain the taste. Livia ate it every		35. Plin. HN 19, 29.
			day.		Pal. 3, 24, 13
Beet	Beta nigra	Beta vulgaris var.			Plin. HN 19, 40.
		rapacea			
Caraway	Careum	Carum carvi	Today only used for the seeds, but at that time also the root		Plin. HN 19, 49.
			was eaten.		
Eryngium	Centum	Eryngium campestre	Plin. says that the Greeks ate the root, and André adds that it		Plin. HN 22, 10.
	capita		would be strange if the Roman peasants only gathered the		
			wild kind without cultivating it.		
Colocasia	Aros,	Colocasia antiquorum	Starch rich roots eaten raw or cooked. Introduced shortly	Apicius RC 3, 4, 2; 6, 9, 9;	Plin. HN 19, 30; 21,
	colocasia	or esculenta	before the time of Plin.	7, 17.	51; 24, 91. Pal. 3, 24,
					142.
Cachris	Libanotis	Cachrys libanotis	Belonging to the Apiaciae family. The root was used, above		Plin. HN 19, 62; 24,
			all in medicine.		59.

Tab. 4. Bulbs.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Onion	Сера	Allium cepa	The Latin agronomists had developed various kinds.	Apicius RC 4, 2, 24.	Columella Rust. 12,
					10, 1. Plin. <i>HN</i> 19, 32.
Garlic	Allium	Allium sativum	In 4th c. CE more expensive than dried onion. As the onion, it	With the Cyprus variety	Columella Rust. 11, 3,
			was considered food for poor people (see aleatum of Plaut	a kind of aioli was made	20. Plin. HN 19, 34.
			Most. 48). Famous: ulpicium (large), Punic, of Cyprus.	by mixing pureed garlic	Ed. Diocl. 6, 20 and
				with vinegar and oil.	23.
Muscari	Bulbus	Muscari comosum	Bitter, required long cooking. In 4th c. CE more expensive	Was eaten cooked and	Cato Agr. 8, 2. Plin.
			than onion and garlic. Regarded as aphrodisiac.	with oil, garum, wine or	HN 19, 30; 20, 40. Ed.
				vinegar or fried (Apicius	Diocl. 6, 41 and 42.
				RC 4, 5, 1-2; 7, 14, 1-4).	
Gladiolus,	Gladiolus	Gladiolus segetum		Crushed through bread	Plin. HN 21, 67.
Sword lily				dough.	
Asphodel	Asphodelus	Asphodelus spp.	Galenus found it uneatable (VI, 652). Still used nowadays:	Cooked under ash and	Plin. HN 22, 32.
			young buds blanched in water and conserved in oil; leaves	then seasoned with salt	
			used to wrap burrata.	and oil.	

**Tab. 5.** 'Asparaguses' (shoots and sprouts).

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Asparagus	Asparagus,	Asparagus officinalis,	The wild types were 3 times cheaper than the cultivated.	Apicius RC, 3, 3; 4, 2, 5-6.	Plin. HN 19, 19; 19,
	corrudae	tenuifolius, aphyllus,	Famous those of Nisida and Ravenna (3 pieces weighted		42. Ed. Diocl. 6, 34
	(wild types)	acutifolius	about a pound).		and 35.
Broccoli	Сутае,	Brassica oleracea var.	In 4th c. CE, one bunch was as expensive as 5 first choice	Cooked in water and in	Columella Rust. 11,
	caules,	asparagoides	cabbages.	sauces (Apicius RC 3, 1-	3, 24. Plin. HN 19-
	cauliculi			6).	41. Ed. Diocl. 6, 9-
					11.
Calabash	Lagenaria?	Lagenaria siceraria			Plin. HN 19, 24.
Samphire, sea fennel	Batis marina	Crithmum maritumum			Plin. HN 21, 50.
Star of	Ornithogala	Ornitoghalum			Plin. HN 21, 62.
Bethlehem,		umbellatum			
grass lily					
Broomrape		Orobanche spp.			Diosc. 2, 142.
Strawberry	Fraga	Fragaria vesca	The wild type. Non cultivated in antiquity.		Plin. HN 21, 50.
Field bindweed	Iasine	Convolvolus spp.	Eaten raw with vinegar, probably also cooked with salt and		Plin. HN 22, 39.
			oil. We know nowadays that this plant is a purgative.		
Spotted golden	Scolimus	Scolymus maculatus	Very young buds.		Diosc. 3, 14. Plin.
thistle					HN 22, 43.
Нор	Lupum	Humulus lupulus			Plin. HN 21, 50.
Black bryony	Tamnus	Dioscorea communis,	Still eaten in England in the 17 <sup>th</sup> c.	Apicius <i>RC</i> 4, 2, 7.	Diosc. 4, 184. Plin.
		Tamnus communis			HN 21, 50.
Grape	Vitis	Vitis vinifera			Plin. <i>HN</i> 14, 23.
Butcher's broom	Ruscus	Ruscus aculeatus			Diosc., 4, 144, 2.
					Plin. HN 21, 50; 23,
					83. Ed. Diocl. 6, 36.
Fig	Ficus	Ficus carica	Cato describes the conservation of both the young buds and		Cato Agr. 101. Plin.
			the leaves.		HN 15, 34.

**Tab. 6.** 'Artichokes' (flowers and parts of flowers).

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
'Artichoke'	Carduus	Cynara cardunculus	Not the artichoke we know, but the cardoon. The stems were	Apicius gives 3 recipes	Columella Rust. 10,
			called cardui, the receptacles sponduli or sphondyli. In the 4th	for the <i>cardui</i> (3, 19, 1-3)	235; 11, 3, 28. Plin.
			century CE, the price of sponduli was 6 denarii/ 12 pieces; that	and 7 for the sponduli (3,	HN 21, 57; 19, 19;
			of cardui 10 denarii/5.	20, 1-7).	19, 43. Ed. Diocl. 6,
					1; 6, 2. Pal. 4, 9, 1-2.
Eryngium	Centum	Eryngium campestre			Plin. HN 22, 8-9.
	capita				
Carline thistles	Spina alba	Carlina vulgaris			Plin. HN 15, 34.

**Tab. 7.** Salads (green parts of plants eaten raw).

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Lettuce	Lactuca	Lactuca sativa	Eaten either at the beginning of the meal or, in early Rome, at the end.	Eaten with a sauce of garum and vinegar (Apicius RC 3, 18, 2).	Mart. 13, 14, 1-2
Chicory	Intubus	Cichorium endivia		Apicius RC, 3, 18, 1.	Columella <i>Rust.</i> 10, 111-112. Plin. <i>HN</i> 19, 39. <i>Ed. Diocl.</i> 6, 3. Pal. 11, 11, 1.
Wild chicory	Intubus	Chicorium intubus			
Garden cress	Nasturtium or cardamom	Lepudium sativum	Cultivated. Because of the strong taste, it was mixed with lettuce.		Columella <i>Rust.</i> 10, 231. Plin. <i>HN</i> 19, 35; 19, 44. Pal. 2, 14, 3.
Water cress	Sisymbrium	Nasturtium officinale	In the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. CE, sold in bunches of 20 plants.		Varro <i>Ling</i> . 5, 103. Plin. <i>HN</i> 19, 55. <i>Ed</i> . <i>Diocl</i> . 6, 24.
Purslane	Portulaca, porcillaca	Portulaca oleracea			Columella <i>Rust</i> . 10, 376. Plin. <i>HN</i> 20, 81. Celsus, 2, 20, 1.
Samphire, sea fennel	Batis marina	Crithmum maritumum			Plin. HN 26, 50.
Water parsnip	Sium, lauer	Sium angustifolium or erectum	Remained wild.		Plin. HN 22, 41.
Fenugreek	Fenum Graecum	Trigonella foenum- graecum	Recent introduction from orient.	With sauce with <i>garum</i> oil and vinegar (Apicius <i>RC</i> 5, 7).	
Leek	Porrum sectile, sectiuum, sectum, tonsile	Allium ampeloprasum	That of Tarentum was known for its strong smell. Nero ate it for its voice, without bread. For the rest, it was a food for poor people.		Columella <i>Rust.</i> 11, 3, 30. Plin. <i>HN</i> 19, 33.

**Tab. 8.** 'Spinaches' (green parts of cultivated or wild plants prepared in soups).

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Cabbage	Brassica	Brassica oleracea	Consumed after cooking in water, seasoned with salt, herbs		Cato Agr. 156-157.
			and oil, or raw, with vinegar (Cato) or lard. See in Hor. also		Columella Rust. 10,
			remark on preferences of citizens for relatively wild types		130-131; 10, 139.
			compared to cabbages coming from gardens. Known types:		Plin. HN 19, 19; 19,
			kale (B. ol. var. acephala); of Aricia; of Bruttium; of Cuma;		41; 20, 33. Hor. Sat.
			soft; with smooth leaves; Lacuturnensis; of the Marrucini; of		2, 2, 117.
			Pompeii; of the Sabellians; of Signa; Tritianum (or Tritanum).		
Mallow	Malva	Malva sylvestris	Sold in bunches, considered as laxative.	Simply prepared with	Columella Rust. 10,
				sauce of oenogarum, with	247. Plin. HN 19, 44;
				oil and vinegar, oenogarum	20, 84.
				and pepper, garum and	
				cooked wine (Apicius RC	
				3, 8).	
Lettuce	Lactuca	Lactuca sativa	Cooked and chopped, as side dish for boar. Several varieties	Apicius RC 3, 15, 3; 3, 18, 2.	Columella Rust. 10,
			were developed: white, red, black, purple, Greek, of Cyprus,		181-186; 10, 187-
			of Cadix, of Cappadocia, of Cilicia, of Laconia. Probably also		188; 10, 191. Plin.
			food for poor people.		HN 19, 38; 20, 26.
Celery	Apium	Apium graveolens	Not much used, because not enough improved, and	Apicius RC 3, 15, 2. Eaten	Columella Rust. 10,
			therefore not very pleasant.	together with cabbage.	166; 11, 3, 33. Plin.
					HN 19, 35. Pal. 5, 3,
					1.
Chard	Beta candida	Beta vulgaris cicla	Seeded three times a year, so always present. Appreciated as	Eaten with lentils or fava	Plin. HN 19, 40.
			frugal food, but considered insipid, so, strongly seasoned.	beans with mustard	Mart. 13, 13, 1-2; 3
				(Apicius RC 3, 11, 1-2).	47, 9.
Orache, arrach,	Atriplex	Atriplex hortensis	Cultivated for the leaves, until the spinach appeared.		Plin. HN 19, 35; 20,
mountain					83. Pal., 5, 3, 3.
spinach					
Purple amaranth	Blitum	Amaranthus blitum	Considered insipid. The consumption is mentioned by Plaut.		Plaut. Cas. 748;
			Leaves and shoots consumed cooked with oil, salt and lemon		Pseud. 815. Plin. HN
			juice.		19, 35; 20, 23. Pal. 4,
					9, 17.

Patience dock	Rumex,	Rumex patientia	Plin. argues that the wild type was better than the cultivated.		Varro Ling. 5, 103.
	lapathum		Ignored by Cato, but cultivated in the time of Varro.		Columella Rust. 10,
			According to Plin. eaten only with barley porridge, probably		373. Plin. HN 19, 37;
			because the doctors considered it bad for the stomach.		19, 40. Celsus 2, 21;
					2, 25, 2.
White mustard	Sinapis	Sinapis alba	Cultivated for the grains, but the leaves were also consumed.	Apicius <i>RC</i> 4, 2, 7.	Columella Rust. 10,
					1222. Plin. HN 19,
					35; 19, 54. Pal. 3, 24,
					5.
Black mustard	Sinapis	Brassica nigra	See above.		See above.
Alexanders,	Smyrnium	Smyrnium olosatrum	Leaves, buds, roots, stems were all eaten.		Diosc. 3, 67.
horse parsley					Columella Rust. 10,
					123; 11, 3, 36; 12, 58.
					Plin. HN 19, 62.
					Pal., 5, 3, 2.
Radish	Raphanus	Raphanus sativus			Galenus, De alim.
					fac., 2, 70.
Parsnip	Pastinaca,	Pastinaca sativa	When the leaves were young.		Diosc. 3. 69.
	siser				
Turnip	Rapa	Brassica rapa	Young leaves and shoots.	Apicius <i>RC</i> 3, 13, 1 and 2.	Plin. HN 18, 34.
Broadleaved	Lepidium,	Lepidium latifolium	Only young leaves, otherwise irritant.		Diosc. 1, 174.
pepper-weed	siliquastrum				Columella Rust. 11,
					3, 41. Plin. HN 19,
					51; 19, 61-62.
Leek	Porrum	Allium ampeloprasum	The best came from Aricia and Ostia.	Eaten with cabbage, fava	Columella Rust. 10,
	capitatum			beans and other vegetables	139; 11, 3, 32. Plin.
				(Apicius RC 3, 10, 1-4).	HN 19, 33.
Nettle	Urtica	Urtica dioica, Urtica	Considered healthy, also by Apicius. Food for poor people.	Apicius RC 3, 17.	See, D. Bois, Les
		urens			plantes alimentaires,
					452-453.
White nettle	Urtica	Lamium album	See above.	Apicius RC 3, 17.	See, D. Bois. Plin.
					HN 21, 55.

Horse-radish	Armoracia	Armoracia rusticana		Diosc. 112, 2.
				Columella Rust. 12,
				9, 2.
Nipplewort	Lapsana	Lapsana rusticana	Identification uncertain.	Plin. HN 20, 37.
Sow thistle	Sonchos,	Sonchus oleraceus,		Plin. HN 22, 44.
	cicirbita	Sonchus asper		
Plantains	Plantago	Plantago maior		Diosc. 2, 130.
Garland	Buphthalmus	Chrisanthemum		Plin. HN 25, 42.
chrysanthemum	caltha, caltha.	coronarium, now		
		Glebionis coronaria		
Common salsify	Tragos	Tragopogon porrifolius		Plin. HN 27, 116.
Giant fennel	Ferula	Ferula communis		Plin. HN 15, 34; 19,
				56; 20, 98.

## **Tab. 9.** Botanical fruits presently considered vegetables.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Cucumber	Cucumis	Cucumis sativus	Important food, but judged as non-nutritious by doctors.	Eaten both raw, with or	Plin. HN 19, 23. Ed.
			Bitter. To try to improve the taste, the seeds were soaked in	without skin, with honey	Diocl. 6, 28.
			milk and honey before seeding. As expensive as turnip.	and sweet wine or cooked,	
				accompanying fish or	
				chicken (Apicius RC 3, 6, 1-	
				3; 4, 2, 7).	
Squash,	Cucurbita	Lagenaria sativa (or	Not mentioned before Varro. Martial used it to characterize	Apicius (3, 4, 1-8, 4, 5, 3)	Columella Rust. 10,
calabash		siceraria?)	ridicule meals. Considered not very nourishing by Celsus,	gives 9 recipes: cooked,	234. Plin. HN 19, 24.
			but healthy by Plin. As expensive as cucumber.	fried, filled	Mart. 11 31. Celsus
					2, 18, 3. Ed. Diocl. 6,
					26; 6, 27.

**Tab. 10.** Mushrooms, truffles.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Mushrooms,	Fungi,	Cantarellus cibarius (?)		Apicius RC 7, 15, 1-3.	Plin. HN 16, 11; 16,
chanterelles	among other				35; 22, 47; 22, 99.
	funghi farnei				
Boletus	Boletus	Boletus spp., Agaricus		Apicius RC 7, 15, 4-6.	Plin. HN 16, 11; 16,
		spp.			35; 22, 47; 22, 99.
Porcino	Suilli	Boletus edulis	Dried ones imported from Bithynia.		Plin. <i>HN</i> 16, 11; 16,
					35; 22, 47; 22, 99.
Truffles	Tuber	Tuber magnatum		Apicius gives 6 recipes (7,	Plin. <i>HN</i> 19, 11
		(white truffle)		16, 1-6)	
		Tuber aestivum	Brown outside, white inside.		
		(summer truffle)			
		Tuber rufum (red			
		truffle)			
		Tuber brumale (black			
		truffle)			
		Terfezia leonis (desert	Imported from Libya.		
		truffle)			

Tab. 11. Fruits.

<b>English name</b>	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Fig	Ficus	Ficus carica	Very important food; at least 44 var. were known. Imported from Caria, Syria and Africa.	Together with bread (Cato decreased the bread ration from 5 to 4 pounds when the figs started to be	Cato <i>Agr.</i> 56, Plin. <i>HN</i> 15, 21. Sen. <i>Ep.</i> 87, 3.
Apple	Malus	Malus domestica	Thirty two var. were known, different in shape, colour,	available.	Plin. <i>HN 15,</i> 14-15.
			quality of the pulp and keepability.		
Pear	Pirus	Pirus communis	Six var. in the time of Cato, 44 in Plin. time.		Cato <i>Agr.</i> 7, 3-4. Plin. <i>HN</i> 15, 16-17.
Prune	Prunus	Prunus domestica	About 12 var. were known. Also the <i>Prunus damascena</i> (from Damascus), with goof attitude to be dried, was cultivated in Italy. In the 1 <sup>st</sup> c. CE people thought it was of ancient introduction.		Diosc. 1, 121. Cato <i>Agr</i> . 133, 2. Plin. <i>HN</i> 13, 10; 15, 12. Gal. VI, 213.
Quince	Malum cotoneum	Cydonia vulgaris, C. oblonga	Originally from orient (Armenia, Persia, Turkestan), cultivated in Italy already in 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. Several varieties were known: <i>malum chrysomelinum</i> (gold yellow), of Italy, of Naples, <i>malum strutheum</i> or <i>strutium</i> , <i>malum mulvianum</i> (could be eaten raw).		Cato <i>Agr.</i> 7, 3; 133, 2. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 5, 10, 19. Plin. <i>HN</i> 15, 10.
Pomegranate	Malum Punicum, malum granatum	Punica granatum	Arrived in Rome from Carthago. According to Plin., 9 var. were known, with different acidity. A specific var. had soft pits, even though it was called <i>apyreum</i> .	Mentioned as part of meals.	Plin. <i>HN</i> 13, 34; 15, 34. Sen. <i>Ep</i> . 85, 5. Petron. 31, 11. Mart. 7, 20, 10; 13, 42-43.
Black mulberry	Morus	Morus nigra (M. alba introduced in Italy only in Middle Ages)	Pliny the Younger had a lot of these trees (together with figs) in his garden in Lavinium. Sold at markets, considered very healthy.	Eaten fresh or conserved, used as dessert.	Columella <i>Rust.</i> 10, 401; Plin. <i>HN</i> 24, 54; 25, 73. Plin. the Younger, <i>Ep.</i> 2, 17, 15. Hor. <i>Sat.</i> 2, 4, 22. <i>Ed. Diocl.</i> 6, 77. Pal. 3, 25, 28-30.

Service tree	Sorbus	Sorbus domestica	The fruits need to be over ripened to lose their astringency.		Plin. HN 17, 37.
			Kept for the winter, in different ways.		Mart. 13, 26.
Grape vine	Vitis	Vitis vinifera	Vites escariae (vines for table grapes), according to Plin., and		Varro <i>Rust.</i> 1, 54, 1.
			vites suburbanae, according to Isidorus. The plant with the		Columella Rust. 3,
			most cultivated varieties: ambrosia (could be long kept on		2, 1; 3, 2, 2. Plin. HN
			vine), bumastus (large cluster), ceurania, cydonites (taste and		14, 4. Isid. Or. 17, 5,
			aroma of quince), dactylus (long grain), duracina (firm pulp),		15-17.
			forensis (of the market, well suitable to be trasported), Lybica,		
			purpurea, Rhodia, scripula (small grain), stephanites (forming		
			'crowns'), tripedanea (3 feet high), unciaria or uncialis (long		
			grain, 1/12 feet).		
Cherry	Cerasum	Prunus avium, P.	According to Latin authors, introduced by Lucullus from		Plin. HN 15, 30.
		cerasum	Pontus in 73 BCE. The cultivation developed quickly and		Tert. Apol. 11, 8.
			new var. were obtained: of Apronius (more red), of Caecilius		Athen. 50 f-51 a.
			(black and round), duracina (in Campania called cherry of		
			Pliny), of Junius (not suitable for transportation), of Lusitania		
			(3 colours), of Lutatius (very black).		
Citron	Malum	Citrus medica	Originally from north India, not mentioned by Varro and	Apicius uses it in 'minutal',	Diosc. 1, 115, 5.
	Assyrium, M.		Columella. Virg., between 37 and 29 BCE, mentions his bitter	and uses its leaves for a	Virg. G. 2, 126. Plin.
	medicum, M.		juice, but he gives the impression it is an exotic tree.	wine of roses without roses	HN 12, 7; 23, 56.
	citreum		According to Plin. well known in Greece and used as	(1, 3, 2; 4, 3, 5)	Mart. 13, 37. Ed.
			medicine. Probably introduced in Italy only in 4th c. CE In 4th		Diocl. 6, 75. Pal. 4,
			c. CE 30 times more expensive than pomegranate.		10, 11; 4, 10, 16.
Peach	Malum	Prunus persica	Unknown to Cato and Varro, it was introduced in Italy at the		Plin. HN 15, 11; 23,
	Persicum,		beginning of the 1st c. CE Mentioned the first time by Celsus,		67. Celsus, 6, 7.
	Persicum		Plin. knew already several varieties: Asiaticum (ripened after		
			autumn), duracinum (with pulp adherent to pit) Gallicum		
			(precocious), populare, supernas (of Sabinia). Still, not very		
			appreciated for its taste and aroma.		
Apricot	Malum	Prunus armeniaca	Same origin as the peach, introduced in Italy around 50 CE.		Diosc., 1, 115, 5. <i>Ed.</i>
	praecox,		At the beginning, the price was absurd: 30 sestertii for one		Diocl. 6, 50.
	praecoquum		piece. In 4th c. CE, 4 denarii for 10.		

Lasura,	Муха	Cordia myxa	Arrived in Italy during the time of Plin. Used more in		Plin. HN 15, 12; 22,
Assyrian plum			medicine than as food.		57.
Jujube, red date	Zizyphus	Zizyphus jujuba	Originally from Asia, introduced around 10 CE by Sextius		Columella Rust. 9,
			Papinius. Known to Columella. The sweet fruits were sold at		4, 3. Plin. HN 15, 14;
			the same price as mulberries.		17, 14. Pal. 1, 37, 2.
					Ed. Diocl. 6, 56.
Azerole, Medit.	Tubur	Crataegus azarolus	Introduced in Italy from the Near East, even though Plin.		Columella Rust. 11,
medlar			wrote that it came from Africa at the same time as jujube.		2, 11; 11, 2, 96. Plin.
			Sweet fruits were much appreciated.		HN 15, 14; 17, 14.
					Mart. 13, 42-43.
					Pal. 10, 14, 1.
Carob	Siliquae,	Ceratonia siliqua	Also from the Near East, Columella is the first to mention it.		Columella Arb. 25,
	siliquae				1. Plin. HN 15, 26.
	Graecae				Pal. 3, 25, 27.
Medlar	Mespilus	Mespilus germanica	The type of fruit is mentioned for the first time by Diosc., but		Diosc. 1, 118; Plin.
		, ,	only from Pal. we know that this species was cultivated.		HN 15, 22. Pal. 4,
			Could be eaten only overripe.		10, 19-22; 14, 69.
Watermelon	Реро	Citrullus lanatus	From tropical Africa, mentioned as <i>pepo</i> for the first time by	Served with a sauce of	Diosc. 2, 135. Plin.
			Plin. Diosc. highly valued its pulp. It was sold for 1 denarius	pepper, mint, honey,	HN 19, 23. Ed. Diocl.
			per piece. They were much smaller than now.	liquamen, vinegar and	6, 32.
				sometimes silphium	
				(Apicius RC 3, 7).	
Melon	Melo,	Cucumis melo	The same origin as pepo, arrived in Italy (Campania) during	See above.	Plin. HN 19, 23. Pal.
	melopepo		the time of Plin. In the 4th c. CE the large ones were sold at		5, 3, 5. Ed. Diocl. 6,
			twice the price of <i>pepo</i> .		30-31.
Cornelian	Cornum	Cornus mas	Eaten frequently by shepherds.		Virg. Aen. 3, 649.
cherry,					Calp. Sic. 4, 24.
European cornel					Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 57.
Strawberry tree	Arbutum,	Arbutus unedo	Plucked during the winter in forests		Virg. G. 2, 520. Ov.
-	unedo				Met. 1, 104.
Elderberry	Sambucus	Sambucus nigra	Eaten as jam.		Plin. HN 16, 121.

Blackberry	Rubus	Rubus fruticosus	Eaten fresh or cooked.		Plin. HN 24, 73. Ov.
					Fast. 4, 509; Met. 1,
					105. Pal. 14, 16.
Wood	Fraga	Fragaria vesca silvestris	Not cultivated (it takes a lot of space, only for one harvest).		Virg. B. 3, 92. Ov.
strawberry					Met. 1, 104.
Raspberry	Rubus	Rubus idaeus	Used above all in medicine.		Diosc. 4, 38. Plin.
					HN 16, 71.
Blueberry	Vaccinium	Vaccinium myrtillus	Planted on hunting grounds to attire birds.		Virg. <i>B.</i> , 2, 18. Plin.
					HN 16, 31.
Dates	Palmae,	Phoenix dactylifera	Eaten fresh only in Orient and Africa, for the rest imported to	Used to sweeten different	Varro <i>Rust.</i> 2, 1, 27.
	dactyli		Rome dried. Several var. known: nicolai (the most famous),	recipes, among others,	Plin. HN 13, 9; 15,
			patetae (very juicy). Folded in golden colour paper, they were	hare, crayfish (Apicius RC	34. Mart. 8, 33, 11-
			sold at theatre shows.	8, 8, 2; 8, 8, 3; 9, 1, 1; 9, 12).	12; 13, 27; 11, 31, 10.

**Tab. 12.** Nuts.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Chestnut	Castaneae	Castanea sativa	Not mentioned before Varro, according to Virg. it was the food of shepherds. Plin. mentions already several var.:	Eaten cooked, baked, in puree (Apicius <i>RC</i> 5, 2, 2).	Virg. B. 1, 81; 2, 52; 7, 53. Varro Rust. 3,
			Tarentina, balanitis, Salariana, Corelliana, Tereiana, black, of	purce (ripicius RC 3, 2, 2).	15, 1-2. Plin. <i>HN</i> 15,
			Naples.		25.
Walnut	Nux	Juglans regia	In the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. CE, fresh were twice as expensive as dried.	Eaten as dessert with figs	Plaut. Poen. 326.
				and grapes/ raisins, also	Virg. B. 8, 39.
				grilled, and in other	Catull. 61, 131. Plin.
				preparations.	HN 15, 24. Hor. Sat.
					2, 2, 121-122. Ed.
					Diocl. 6, 50 and 52.
Hazelnut	Nux Pontica,	Corylus avellana	Cato kept them fresh in earth in vases. They were sold also	Eaten fresh or grilled	Cato Agr. 8, 2; 143,
	nux Abellana		shelled.	(Apicius RC 6, 5, 2; 7, 13, 4).	3. Plin. <i>HN</i> 15, 24;
	(Abella in				17, 96; 17, 21. Ed.
	Campania)				Diocl. 6, 53.
Almond	Nux Graeca	Prunus amygdalus	Romans got to know it through the Greeks.	Eaten fresh or dried, raw	Cato Agr. 8, 2. Plin.
				or grilled, and in several	HN 15, 24.
				recipes (Apicius RC 2, 2,	
				10; 6, 5, 3).	
Pine nut	Nuclei pinei,	Pinus spp.	Highly valued by the Romans, they were more expensive	Used in several recipes,	Plin. HN 15, 9. Ed.
	pinei		than almonds and shelled hazelnuts.	were also put in puls and	Diocl. 6, 54. Pal. 12,
				meat preparations (Apicius	7, 12.
				RC 2, 2, 10; 2, 3, 1; 2, 5, 1).	
Pistachio	Pistacium	Pistacia vera	Introduced in 37 CE by Vitellius from Syria. The nut was		Plin. HN 13, 10; 15,
			initially used only in medicine. Unknown the application as		9; 23, 78. Pal. 4, 10,
			food.		37; 11, 12, 3.
			1000.		37; 11, 12, 3.

Tab. 13. Molluscs.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Common	Balanus	Balanus spp.	Offered as entry in the banquet in honour of Lentulus. It was		Plaut. Rud. 297.
barnacle			also farmed.		Columella Rust. 8,
					16, 7. Macr. 3, 13,
					12.
Common whelk	Висіпит	Buccinum spp.	Easy to digest and nourishing.		Cael. Aur. Acut. 2,
					210; Chron. 3, 35.
					Plin. HN 9, 61.
Dog whelk	Purpura	Nucella lapillus	Also used to prepare purple dye. Farmed for this purpose.		Columella Rust. 8,
					16, 7. Celsus 2, 24,
					3.
Sea urchin	Echinus	Echinus spp.	Highly appreciated, particulary those of Misenum. Offered	Apicius RC 4, 2, 13; 9, 8, 1-	Plaut. Rud. 297.
			as entry in the banquet in honour of Lentulus. Sold at half	5.	Ennius cit. Apul.
			the price of oysters.		Apol. 39, 3. Hor. Sat.
					2, 4, 33; 2, 8, 52. Sen.
					Ep. 95, 26. Juv. 4,
					143. Mart. 13, 86.
Bitter-sweet	Glycymaris	Glycymeris spp.	Offered as entry in the banquet in honour of Lentulus.		Plaut. Rud. 297.
clams					
True limpet	Lopada	Patella vulgata			Plaut. Cas. 493; Rud.
					297.
Mussels	Mitulus, mys,	Mytilus spp.		Apicius RC 9, 9.	Plaut. Rud. 297.
	musculus				Ennius cit. Apul.
					Apol. 39, 3. Hor. Sat.
					2, 4, 28. Mart. 3, 60,
					4.
Murex, rock	Murex,	Murex spp. (Spp.	Cultivated for the purple dye.		Columella Rust. 8,
snail	muriculus	from Atlantic sea are			16, 7. Celsus 2, 24,
		transferred to genera			3.
		Haustellum and			
		<i>Hexaplex</i> ). See also			
		Bolinus brandaris.			

Great scallops	Pecten	Pecten spp.	The best were from Tarentum, Altinum and Venetia.		Hor. Sat. 2, 4, 34.
1			,		Petron. 70, 6. Plin.
					HN 32, 53.
Banded venus	Pectunculus	Clausinella fasciata (or	Highly appreciated. Farmed.		Varro cit. Gell. 6,
		other spp. from			16, 5. Columella
		Veneridae)			Rust. 8, 16, 7.
Clam (a type of)	Peloris	-	Offered as entry in the banquet in honour of Lentulus. Mart.		Macr. 3, 13, 12.
			found it tasteless. Appreciated that of the Lucrinus lake.		Mart. 10, 37, 9. Hor.
					Sat. 2, 4, 32.
Perna	Perna	Perna spp.	A type of mussel.		Plaut. Capt. 850.
					Plin. HN 32, 54.
Spondilus,	Spondylus	Spondilus spp.	Considered by Sen. as a very refined dish, served to sick	It could be prepared as	Columella Rust. 8,
thorny oyster			people with no appetite. Farmed. Sold at the same price of	quenelle (Apicius RC 2, 1,	16, 7. Sen. Ep. 95, 26.
			sea urchins, half of the price of oysters.	6).	Macr. 3, 13, 12. Cael.
					Aur. Acut. 2, 210;
					Chron. 3, 35. Ed.
					Diocl. 5, 10.
Cowrie	Ueneria	Fam. Cypraeidae			Sen. Ep. 95, 26
Sea anemone	Urtica marina	Order Actiniaria		Served as entry,	Plaut. Rud. 298.
				garnishment, or in fish	Macr. 3, 13, 12.
				minutal (Apicius RC 4, 2,	
				12; 4, 3, 1).	
Oyster	Ostreum	Fam. Ostreidae	A species with smoth scales was called <i>leiostreum</i> or	Mostly raw with garum or	Plaut. Rud. 298.
			liostracon. C. Sergius Orata was to first to farm them in 108	a sauce with cumin or	Columella Rust. 8,
			BCE. Famous those of the Lucrinus and Averna lakes,	other sauces, but also	16, 7. Plin. HN 9,
			Brundisium, Tarentum. In the 1st c. CE also those of Britanny	cooked and in quenelles	79; 32, 21. Sen. <i>Ep</i> .
			were famous. In 4th c. CE they were sold for 100 denarii for	(Apicius RC 1, 14, 1-2; 9, 6).	77, 16; 78, 23; 95, 26.
			100 pieces.		Ed. Diocl. 5, 6.
Squid	Lolligo,	Order Teuthida		Eaten as quenelle (Apicius	Plaut. Cas. 493. Ov.
	lolliguncula			RC 2, 1, 1-2; 9, 3, 1-2)	Hal. 132.
Common	Polypus	Octopus vulgaris		Apicius RC 9, 5.	Plaut. <i>Rud.</i> 1010.
octopus					

Cuttlefish	Sepia, sepiola	Sepia spp.	Already consumed in the time of Plaut.	Quenelles, stuffed, in	Plaut. Cas. 493; Rud.
				court-bouillon, cooked in	659.
				its ink (Apicius <i>RC</i> 2, 1, 1, ;	
				9, 4, 1-4; 5, 3, 3)	
Snails	Cochlea	Class Gastropoda	Since about 50 BCE, the first cochlearia was built to farm	After purging for several	Varro Rust. 3, 3, 3;
			them in captivity. Before that year they were only gathered.	days, Apicius fried them in	3, 14, 1; 3, 14, 4.
			They were fed on cooked wine and flour. They were	oil, or roasted them (RC 7,	Hor. Sat. 2, 4, 58-59.
			considered by some as aphrodisiac. Not appreciated by Plin.	18, 1-4).	Petron. 130, 7. Plin.
			and Mart., but eaten by Plin. the Younger when he was in the		<i>HN</i> 30, 15. Plin. the
			countryside. In the 4th c. CE, sold in two sizes: 4 denarii/ 20		Younger, <i>Ep.</i> 1, 15,
			pieces for the large, 4/40 for the small.		2. Mart. 13, 53. <i>Ed.</i>
					Diocl. 6, 46 and 47.

Tab. 14. Crustaceans.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Spiny lobster	Astacus (also	Palinurus elephas	Mentioned only in one text. Not much used?	Quenelle (Apicius RC 2, 1,	
	Carabus and			1).	
	locusta?)				
European or	Cammarus	Homarus gammarus	According to Juv., it could be put in a half egg as garnishing.	Two recipes of quenelles,	Juv. 5, 80-85.
common lobster			Was this the size used at the time? Or did Juv. mean other	of which Elagabalus was	
			crustaceans (e.g., shrimps, also called caris and squilla)?	very fond, described by	
				Apicius (RC 2, 1, 1; 2, 1, ;3)	
Mantis shrimp	Squilla	Squilla spp.	More appreciated than nowadays.	Roasted, as garnishing or	Lucilius, cit. Cic.,
				quenelle (Apicius RC 2, 1,	Fin. 2, 24. Hor. Sat.
				3)	2, 4, 58; 2, 8, 42.
Shrimp	Carides	Order Decapoda	According to Athen., Apicius ate in Minturne shrimps		Athen. 7 a-b.
	(Greek		(carides; or were they lobsters in the first place?) larger than		
	name)		Alexandrian lobsters.		
Crabs	Plagusia	Plagusia spp.	Mentioned by Plaut.		Plaut. Rud. 298.
(probably)	striata				

Tab. 15. Salt water fishes.

<b>English name</b>	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Sturgeon	Acipenser	Various genera	The most appreciated by Plaut. (end of the Republic). Less appreciated at the beginning of the CE, and therefore absent in Apicius, but again valued by Martial.		Plaut. frg. cit. Macr. 3, 16, 1-4; Lael. cit Cic. Fin. 2, 24. Cic. Tusc. 3, 43; Fin. 2, 91. Mart. 13, 91.
Garfish, sea needle	Acus, belone	Belone belone	Easy to digest, and still not very appreciated.		Plin. <i>HN</i> 9, 76. Mart. 10, 37, 6.
Eel	Anguilla	Anguilla anguilla	Fished above all in the Garda lake and in the Messina channel; fish for common meal, but Mart. appreciated it.	Apicius RC 10, 4, 1-2.	Plin. HN 9, 38. Macr. 3, 15, 7. Juv. 5, 103. Mart. 12, 31, 5.
Anchovy	Apua	Engraulis encrasicolus	Fried or boiled.	Apicius gives the recipe of a dish of anchovies without anchovies ( <i>patina de apua sine apua</i> ; RC 4, 2, 12; 4, 2, 20)	
Hake and whiting	Asellus	Merluccius merluccius, Merlangius merlangius	Took the place of sturgeon when this became less appreciated.	,	Plin. HN 9, 28.
Sea breams	Aurata, chrysophrys, cantharus	Sparidae family	Farmed in sea or lake ponds. Appreciated the one from the lake Lucrinus. The taste of chantarus was considered not particularly pleasant.	Fried or with sauces (Apicius <i>RC</i> 4, 2, 31; 10, 3, 8-9).	Columella <i>Rust.</i> 8, 16, 2. Mart. 13, 90. Ov. <i>Hal.</i> 103.
Haddock	Bancus	Melanogrammus aeglefinus	For Caelius Aurelianus easy to digest. Probably the <i>bacchus</i> of Plin. According to André, from the genus 'Asellus'.		Cael. Aur. Acut. 2, 210. Plin. HN 9, 28; 32, 77.
Shad, river herring	Chalcis	Alosa spp.	They spawn in rivers.		Columella <i>Rust</i> . 8, 17, 12. Plin. <i>HN</i> 9, 71; 9, 74. Athen. 328 c.

Spotted	Citharus	Citharus linguatula	According to Plin., the less tasty of the flounders, even		Plin. HN 32, 53.
flounder			though the Greek found it excellent.		Athen. 305f-306a
Conger eel	Conger	Conger spp.	Fished since ancient times, eaten cold, it could be roasted.	Apicius RC 10, 1, 9.	Plaut. Aul. 399; Mil.
					760; <i>Persa</i> , 110. Ter.
					Ad. 377.
Skate	Cornuta	Fam. Rajidae		Apicius <i>RC</i> 10, 1, 10.	
Damselfish	Coruus,	Chromis chromis	Flesh quite tough according to Celsus.		Celsus 2, 18, 7.
	Coracinus				
Common dentex	Dentex	Dentex dentex	Highly appreciated, searched also to be farmed in coastal	Fried or boiled (Apicius RC	Columella Rust. 8,
			ponds.	4, 2, 31; 10, 3, 6-7).	16, 8.
John Dory	Faber	Zeus faber	Fished above all in the Atlantic ocean (Cadix).		Columella Rust. 8,
					16, 9. Plin. HN 9, 31
Picarel	Gerres	Spicara smaris	For poor people, not appreciated.		Mart. 3, 77, 7; 12,
					32, 15.
Shark	Glaucus	Superorder	The head was highly appreciated. The best was sold in		Ennius cit. Apul.
		Selachimorpha	Cuma.		Apol. 39, 3. Athen.
					295c, 295e-f.
Gobius	Gobius, Gobio	Gobius spp.			Ov. Hal. 130. Plin.
					HN 9, 83; 32, 53.
					Juv. 11, 37.
Sterlet	(H)elops	Acipenser ruthenus	According to Ov., not known in Italian seas, famous that of		Ennius cit. Apul.
			Rhodes, bought in Sorrentum. Some people found it the best		Apol. 39, 3. Varro
			of the fishes.		cit. Gell. 6, 16, 5.
					Ov. Hal. 96. Plin.
					HN 9, 79; 32, 54.
Bass	Lupus	Order Perciformes	It took the place of the sturgeon as well, when this became	Apicius RC 4, 2, 32.	Columella Rust. 8,
			less appreciated. The most famous was the one fished in		16, 1; 8, 17, 8. Plin.
			Rome between the two bridges, where the sewer came into		HN 9, 28; 9, 79.
			the river. This variety was called <i>catillo</i> (dishes licker). It was		Mart. 2, 37, 4-5; 2,
			farmed in ponds and was used to populate lakes.		40, 4. Hor. Sat. 2, 2,
					31
Blotched picarel	Maena	Spicara maena	Not appreciated.		Plaut. Poen. 1312.
•					Lucil. 1077. Cic. Fin

					2, 91. Mart. 12, 32,
					15.
Saddled	Melanurus	Oblada melanura	Farmed in sea ponds.		Ennius cit. Apul.
seabream					Apol. 39, 3.
					Columella Rust. 8,
					16, 8.
Brown wrasse	Merula	Labrus merula	Appreciated, and farmed in sea ponds		Columella Rust. 8,
					16, 8; 8, 17, 8. Plin.
					HN 32, 53.
Mullets	Mugil	Mugil spp.	Also farmed in ponds.	Apicius RC 4, 2, 31; 9, 10, 6-	Columella Rust. 8,
				7.	16, 1; 8, 17, 8.
Mullus, goatfish	Mullus	Mullus spp.	Very often cited. Large fishes were paid even 5000-8000	With garum. From its liver,	Columella Rust. 8,
			sestertii. In the time of Petronius it was considered as	allec could be prepared	17, 7-8. Mart. 13,
			common by refined palates.	(Apicius RC 4, 2, 22; 9, 12;	79. Sen. <i>Ep.</i> 95, 42.
				10, 2, 11-12	Plin. HN 9, 31.
					Petron. 93, 2, v. 8.
Muraena	Muraena	Muraena spp.	Very often cited for human consumption. Those from the	Grilled of cooked, with a	Plaut. Amph. 319;
			strait of Sicily were highly appreciated and were called <i>flutae</i> .	sauce (Apicius RC 10, 2, 1-	Aul. 399; Persa 110.
			They were also farmed in sea ponds.	6).	P. 9, 169. Mart. 13,
					80. Macr. 3, 15, 7-8.
Anglerfish	Mustela	Order Lophiiformes	They were also farmed in sea ponds. The best were those		Ennius cit. Apul.
	marina		from Clupea (Cap Bon, today's Kelibia or Calibia).		Apol. 39, 3.
					Columella Rust. 8,
					17, 8.
European plaice	Passer	Pleuronectes platessa	Also farmed in sea ponds.		Columella Rust. 8,
	vulgarus				16, 7. Hor. Sat. 2, 8,
					29.
Painted comber	Perca	Serranus scriba		Apicius RC 10, 1, 14.	
Monkfish,	Rana marina,	Lophius piscatorius	Fished above all along the coast of Laurentum.		Cic. Nat. deor. 2,
fishing-frog	rana				125. Mart. 10, 37, 5.
Turbot	Rhombus	Scophthalmus maximus	Fish for rich people, fished in Adriatic sea, above all close to		Hor. <i>Epod</i> . 2, 50;
			Ravenna.		Sat. 1, 2, 116; Perse
					6, 23. Mart. 3, 45, 5;

					13, 81. Ov. <i>Hal</i> . 125. Juv. 4, 39. Plin. <i>HN</i> 9, 79.
Salmon	Salmo	Salmo spp.	Not present in Mediterranean, so known by the Romans, but unclear if it really was eaten.		Plin. HN 9, 31.
Salema porgy	Salpa	Sarpa salpa	Appreciated only in Ibiza, disliked elsewhere. It needed to be beaten with a stick to tenderize him before cooking. We are now aware of its psychoactivity. It was consumed as a recreational drug.		Ov. <i>Hal.</i> 121. Plin. <i>HN</i> 9, 31. Athen. 321. Pommier, De Haro. (2006). <i>Clinical Toxicology</i> , 44, 2, 187.
Sardine	Sardina	Sardina spp. and Sardinella spp.	Sold at the price of second quality sea fish.		Columella <i>Rust</i> . 8, 17, 12. <i>Ed. Diocl</i> . 5, 12.
White seabream	Sargus	Diplodus sargus (probably)	Fished close to Brundisium.		Ennius cit. Apul., <i>Apol.</i> 39, 3. Plin. <i>HN</i> 9, 30.
Mediterranean parrotfish	Scarus	Sparisoma cretense	First choice dish, above all in the time of Plin. Tasteless according to Mart. who appreciated above all the viscera, like Vitellius who liked the liver. It could be fished only from Sicily to Asia minor, but under Claudius an attempt was done to introduce it on the coast between Ostia and Campania.		Ennius cit. Apul., <i>Apol.</i> 39, 3. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 8, 16, 9. Hor. <i>Epod.</i> 2, 50; <i>Sat.</i> 2, 2, 22. Petr. 93, v. 6. Plin. <i>HN</i> 9, 29. Mart. 13, 84. Suet., <i>Vit.</i> 13, 5.
Mackerel	Scomber	Scomber spp.	One of the most consumed fishes.		Plaut. <i>Capt</i> . 851. Cato <i>Agr</i> . 95, 8. Mart. 3, 50, 9; 4, 86, 8.
Scorpionfish	Scorpio, scorpio marinus	Scorpaena spp.	Prepared in court-bouillon with dill, celery, coriander, leek, oil and salt.	Apicius gives a recipe of this fish cooked and one with turnip ( <i>RC</i> 10, 3, 10; exc. 7).	Plin. HN 32, 31.

Sole	Solea,	Solea solea	It could be bred in sea ponds.	Apicius gives also a recipe	Plaut. Cas. 497.
	lingulaca			with eggs (RC, 4, 2, 138;	Varro Ling. 5, 77.
				4, 2, 155; exc. 19).	Columella Rust. 8,
				, , ,	16, 7.
Gilt-head (sea)	Sparus,	Sparus aurata	Hard flesh, so not appreciated.		Mart. 3, 60, 6. Ov.
bream	sparulus				Hal. 106-107. Celsus
					2, 18, 7.
Tuna	Thunnus,	Thunnus spp.,	One of the most consumed, both fresh and conserved. Its	Apicius gives 2 recipes of	Plin. HN 9, 18. Cael.
	thynnys	Neothunnus spp.	name was different depending on the age: cordula (young),	thunnus and 6 of cordula	Aur. Chron. 1, 27.
			pelamys (at least 1 year), sarda (Atlantic tuna). Particularly	(RC 10, 3, 4-5; 9, 10, 1-5)	
			appreciated were the belly, the tail and the neck.		
Marbled electric	Torpedo	Torpedo marmorata	According to Plin., its the liver very tender.	Apicius gives 2 recipes (RC	Plin. HN 9, 67.
ray				9, 2, 1-2).	
Stingray	Trygon, pastinaca	Dasyatis spp.			Plaut. <i>Capt</i> . 851.
Green wrasse	Turdus	Labrus viridis	Farmed in sea ponds.		Columella Rust. 8,
					16, 8; 8, 17, 8.
Maigre, shade	Umbra,	Argyrosomus regius	Farmed in sea ponds.		Ennius cit. Apul.,
fish	umbra marina				Apol. 39, 3.
					Columella Rust. 8,
					16, 8.

**Tab. 16.** Undetermined salt water fishes.

Latin name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Acharna	Maybe the bass (oder Perciformes). The head, and above all the		Athen. 311 d.
	brain, were much appreciated.		
Apriculus	The best one was fished in Taranto.		Enn. cit. Apul. Apol.
			39, 3.
Elacata	Suitable to be salted.		Columella Rust. 8, 17,
			12.
Iulida	With soft flesh. Plin. calls it iulis, but it does not describe it.		Cael. Aur. Chron. 1,
			22. Plin. HN 32, 31.
Lacertus, lacerta	Group of undetermined fishes. For poor meals.	Cooked and seasoned with	Mart. 7, 78, 1; 12, 19,
		rue (Apicius RC 10, 3, 1).	1. Juv. 14, 131.
Lagitus		Apicius RC 4, 2, 21 and 26.	
Oculata	Soft flesh, probably the ophthalmias of Plaut.		Plaut. Capt. 850.
			Celsius 2, 18, 7.
Rubellio	Perhaps identical to the Erythinus.		Apicius RC 10, 1, 15.
Thursio	Mentioned by Plin. but not identified. Perhaps it is the shark. In	Patella esiciata de tursione	Athen. 310.
	Athen. this is the name for a delicate cut of the shark. In Apicius it	(Apicius RC 4, 2, 18).	
	seems a word for a cut of fish in general. Perhaps it is the low belly		
	of fish.		

**Tab. 17.** Freshwater fishes.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Shad	Alausa	Alosa spp.	They spawn in rivers.		Auson. Mos. 127.
Common bleak	Alburnus	Alburnus alburnus			Auson. Mos. 127.
Adriatic	Attilus	Acipenser naccarii	Present in the Adriatic sea, but spawning in the Po river.		Plin. HN 9, 17.
sturgeon					
Barbel	Barbus	Barbus barbus			Auson. Mos. 94 and
					134.
Chub	Capito	Squalius cephalus			Ibid.
Carp	Carpa	Fam. Cyprinidae			Cassiod. Var. 12, 4.
Gudgeon	Gobio	Gobio gobio			Columella Rust. 8, 17,
					14. Auson. Mos. 132.
Pike	Lucius	Esox lucius	According to Auson., it could be eaten only in cheap		Auson. Mos. 120-124.
			restaurants, but Anthimus considered it later a good fish.		Anthim. 46.
Burbot, bubbot	Mustela	Lota lota	Mentioned by Plin. with reference to the lake of Constance		Plin. <i>HN</i> 9, 29.
			and by Auson. with reference to Danube and Moselle.		Auson. Mos. 120-124.
European river	Nauprida	Lampetra fluviatilis	Not appreciated.		Anthim. 47.
lamprey					
Perch	Perca	Perca spp.	Higly appreciated.		Auson. Mos. 113.
					Anthim. 39.
Trout	Salar, tructa	Salmo spp.,			Auson. Mos. 88.
		Oncorhynchus spp.			Anthim. 39.
Salmon	Salmo	Salmo spp.			Auson. Mos. 97.
Catfish	Silurus	Order Siluriformes	Considered mediocre.	Apicius RC 9, 11.	Juv. 4, 33; 14, 132.
					Cael. Aur., Chron. 3,
					142.
Tench	Tinca	Tinca tinca			Auson. Mos. 125.
Grayling	Umbra	Thymallus thymallus			Ibid. 90.

**Tab. 18.** Undetermined freshwater fishes.

Latin name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Anchorago	Fished in the Rhine.		Cassiod. Var. 12, 4.
Cracatius			Anthim. 46.

Tab. 19. Hunted birds.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Wild duck	Anas, boscis	Anas platyrhynchos	Also farmed in aviaries.		Columella Rust. 8, 15,
					1.
Wild goose	Anser ferus	Anser anser	Difficult to domesticate.		Varro Rust. 3, 10, 2.
					Plin. HN 10, 27; 10,
					29.
Ring-dove	Palumbes,	Streptopelia capicola	Plin. mentions the yearly arrival in Etruria. Fattened in cages.	Roasted or cooked	Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 7, 1. P.
	palumbus			(Apicius RC 6, 4, 1-4).	10, 72; 78. Hor. Sat. 2,
					8, 91. Mart. 2, 37, 6;
					13, 67.
Rock dove	Columba	Columba livia	Fattened in cages. Sold per pair.	Roasted or cooked	Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 91.
	saxatilis			(Apicius RC 6, 4, 1-4).	Mart. 2, 37, 6; 13, 67.
Turtle dove	Turtur	Streptopelia turtur	Already highly appreciated in the time of Plaut., above all if	Apicius gives different	Plaut. Most. 46. Varro
			well fattened. Captured in harvest time, it was fattened in	recipes (RC 6, 2, 1; 6, 3,	Rust. 3, 3, 3; 3, 8, 1.
			cages, but it could not be bred in captivity. More expensive	3)	Mart. 3, 60, 7; 3, 82,
			than ring and rock doves.		21, 13, 53. Ed. Diocl. 4,
					25.
Crane	Grus	Grus spp.	Already bred in Ancient Egypt, they were trapped in the	Apicius gives 6 recipes,	Virg. G. 1, 307. Varro
			winter when they were migrating south, or bred in captivity.	boiled, roasted, with	Rust. 3, 2, 14. Hor.
			The meat was considered nourishing.	turnip, (RC 6, 2, 1-6).	Epod. 2, 35; S. 2, 8, 87.
					Plin. HN 10, 30.
					Celsus, 2, 18, 2.
Rock partridge	Perdix	Perdix graeca	Captured for breeding in cages. Not often consumed,	Apicius RC 6, 2; 6, 3, 1-	Varro Rust. 3, 11, 4.
			probably because expensive.	3.	Plin. <i>HN</i> 10, 51. Mart.
					13, 65. Ed. Diocl. 4, 24.
Grey partridge	Perdix	Perdix perdix	See above.	See above.	See above.
Thrush	Turdus	Turdus spp.	One of the favourite hunted birds, it was given as present.	Apicius gives 2 recipes	Varro Rust. 3, 3, 3.
			Widespread, so in the winter quite cheap (in 4th c. CE 60	(RC 4, 2, 14; exc. 29)	Columella Rust. 8, 9,
			denarii/ 10 pieces). Lucullus bred it to have it also in other		1; 8, 10, 1. Mart. 3, 47,
			season. Served at the table of higher classes. Elagabalus was		10. Petron. 40, 5. Plin.
			fond of the brains.		HN 10, 30. Hor. Sat. 2,
					5, 10. Ov. Ars. am. 2,

Quail	Coturnix	Coturnix coturnix	Fattened in cages, but in time banned from tables because it ate seeds of a poisonous plant (Helleborus). For this reason, in the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. CE it was sold at low price (20 <i>denarii</i> / 10 pieces).		269. Plin. the Younger, <i>Ep.</i> 5, 2, 1. Macr. 2, 4, 22. <i>Ed. Diocl.</i> 4, 27. Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 5, 2. Plin. <i>HN</i> 10, 33. <i>Ed. Diocl.</i> 4, 41.
Francolin	Attagena	Fam. Phasianidae, subfam. Percidinae	Farmed in aviaries, sold in the 4th c. CE at 20 denarii/ piece.	Apicius <i>RC</i> 6, 3, 3.	Plin. HN 10, 68. Hor. Epod. 2, 54. Ov. Fast. 6, 175. Mart. 13, 61. Ed. Diocl. 4, 30.
Ortulan bunting	Ficedula	Emberiza hortulana	The meat was delicate because the bird ate figs and grapes. It was eaten completely, it was a luxury food item. In the $4^{th}$ c. CE it was sold at $4$ denarii/ piece.	Part of 2 complicated recipes of Apicius ( <i>RC</i> 4, 2, 5; 4, 2, 14).	Mart. 13, 49. Gell. 15, 8, 2. Juv. 14, 9. Petron. 33, 8. Suet. <i>Tib.</i> 42, 2. Macr. 3, 13, 12. <i>Ed. Diocl.</i> 4, 36.
Common teal	Querquedula	Anas crecca	Farmed in aviaries.	Mentioned once, boiled (Macr. 3, 13, 12).	Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 3, 3; 3, 11, 4. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 8, 15, 1.
Coot	Phalaris, phaleris, fulica	Fulica atra	Farmed in aviaries at the edge of ponds.		Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 11, 4. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 8, 15,
Western capercaillie, wood grouse, heather cock	Tetras, tetrao	Tetrao urogallus	Captured in the Alps or Apennines, it was considered to lose its taste if farmed in aviaries.		Plin. HN 10, 29.
Woodcock	Scolopax	Scolopax spp.	Also called <i>rustica</i> or <i>rusticola</i> , it had the same taste of the partridge.		Plin. <i>HN</i> 10, 54. Mart. 13, 76.
Great bustard	Otis, Avis tarda	Otis tarda	Originally from Spain, not consumed anymore after Plin. time, but appreciated by some people.		Plin. <i>HN</i> 10, 29. Synesius, <i>Ep.</i> 4, 165.
Stork	Ciconia	Ciconia spp.	More appreciated than the crane in the time of Augustus, but almost not consumed anymore 50 years later. Forbidden to Christians by pope Zacharias (741-752).		Hor. <i>Sat.</i> 2, 2, 49. Plin. <i>HN</i> 10, 30. Zach. <i>Epist.</i> 13, Migne, P.L. LXXXIX, c. 951 A.

Swan	Cygnus	Cygnus spp.	Not often mentioned as food, but farmed in aviaries. Its meat		Plut. <i>De esu.</i> 2, 1, 6.
			was considered heavy to digest. Its fat was used in medicine.		Plin. HN 30, 10; 30,
					22. Oribasius, 4, 77.
Flamingo	Phoenicopterus	Phoenicopterus spp.	It appeared on tables only during the Empire. Appreciated	Apicius RC 6, 6, 1-2.	Mart. 3, 58, 14; 13, 71.
			the brains and the tongs. Also farmed in aviaries.		Juv. 11, 139. Sen. <i>Ep</i> .
					110, 12. Plin. HN 10,
					68. Suet. Vit. 13, 5.
					Celsus 2, 18, 3.
Sparrow	Passer	Passer spp.	It comprised several different species. In the 4th c. CE sold at		Ed. Diocl. 4, 37.
			16 denarii/10 pieces.		
Starling	Sturnus	Sturnus spp.	Sold at the same price of quails.		Ed. Diocl. 4, 42.
Lark	Alauda	Alauda spp.	Elagabalus ate plates of its tongs.		SHA Heliogab. 20, 5.
Common	Turdus	Turdus merula		Eaten roasted.	Varro Rust. 3, 5, 1; 3,
blackbird					5, 14. Hor. Sat. 8, 91.
Cuckoo	Cuculus	Cuculus spp.	The meat was most delicate when the bird started to fly.		Plin. HN 10, 11.
Magpie	Pica (?)	Pica spp.			Mart. 3, 60, 8.
Crow	Corvus	Corvus spp.			Zach. Epist. 13,
					Migne, P.L. LXXXIX,
					c. 951 A.

## Tab. 20. Undetermined hunted birds.

Latin name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Ampelion	Farmed in aviaries.		Ed. Diocl. 4, 34.
Miliaria or	Fattened in aviaries.		Varro Rust. 3, 5, 2.
Miliaca			Cael. Aur. Chron. 1,
			27.
Novae aves	Plin. mentions its arrival above the Po river in 69 CE		Plin. HN 10, 69.
Gallina rustica	Literature and identification attempts are contradictory.		Varro Rust. 3, 9, 1; 3,
			9, 16-17. Columella
			Rust. 8, 2, 2-3; 8, 12.
Galbulus	Maybe the Old World orioles of the green finch.		Mart. 13, 68.
Aucellae	A mixed groups of small birds.	Apicius RC 5, 3, 2; 5, 3, 8.	

Tab. 21. Bred birds.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Chicken	Pullum, gallinae	Gallus gallus domesticus	Arrived from India through Persia, it was known by Aristophanes as Persian bird. From Plaut. we get the impression that it was long naturalised in Italy. The Greek varieties were large, but bad in egg production. Columella preferred an 'Italian' variety because highly productive. In Cato's time the fattening of fowl was already practised (gallinae altiles or pastae). To do this, wood melick was often used. Columella suggested to get rid (eat) chicken older than 3 years, because they produced less eggs. Castration of cocks was normally applied.	Several preparations were known: Parthian, Numidian, with vinaigrette, with silphium, with milk, stuffed (Apicius <i>RC</i> 4, 2, 21; 4, 3, 3; 4, 5, 1; 5, 3, 8).	Arist. <i>Aves</i> , 485; 707; 833. Cato <i>Agr</i> . 89. Varro <i>Rust</i> . 3, 9, 6 and 19. Columella <i>Rust</i> . 8, 2, 4-13; 8, 5, 24. Plin. <i>HN</i> 10, 71. <i>Ed. Diocl</i> . 4, 23.
Goose	Anser	Fam. Anatidae, subfam. Anserinae	Domesticated in ancient time, they were fattened in <i>chenoboscion</i> . The fattened one was twice as expensive (in the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. CE 100 <i>denarii</i> , vs. 200). Considered food for special occasions. The foie gras was already appreciated: it was obtained by feeding figs.	Apicius gives a recipe for boiled goose ( <i>RC</i> 6, 5, 5; 6, 8) and 2 for foie gras ( <i>RC</i> 7, 3, 1-2).	Cato <i>Agr.</i> 89. Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 2, 14; 3, 10, 1. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 8, 13, 1-3; 8, 14, 1. Mart. 13, 73. Plin. <i>HN</i> 10, 26-27. <i>Ed.</i> <i>Diocl.</i> 4, 21-22.
Duck	Anas	Anas spp.	Also domesticated in ancient time, they were fattened in <i>nessotrophium</i> . First served in banquets, from the 1st c. it was considered as a plebeian food. In the 4th c. CE it was sold for 40 <i>denarii</i> a pair (much cheaper than chicken - 60 <i>denarii</i> a pair).	Apicius gives 6 recipes, showing that it was an important product ( <i>RC</i> 6, 2, 1-6).	Macr. 13, 52. Petron. 93, v. 4. Ed. Diocl. 4, 31.
Domestic pigeon	Columba	Columba livia domestica	Bred and fattened in <i>columbarium</i> . Several breeds were known (of Campania, of Alexandria,). It was sold in the 4 <sup>th</sup> c. CE for 24 <i>denarii</i> a pair.	Eaten either roasted or boiled (Apicius <i>RC</i> 6, 4, 1-4).	Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 7, 2. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 8, 8, 1; 8, 8, 8. <i>Ed.</i> <i>Diocl.</i> 4, 31. Pallad. 1, 24.
Guinea fowl	Africana gallina	Fam. Numididae (Numida meleagris)	Probably arrived in Italy after the conquest of Carthago. The detailed description of it by Columella allows the identification of the species and tells us that the bird was not	Not cited by Apicius, probably because rare.	Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 9, 18. Columella <i>Rust.</i> 8, 2, 2. Plin.

			well known in his time. Food only for rich. Not mentioned		HN 10, 37. Mart.
			by the Ed. Diocl.		13, 73.
Peacock	Pavo, pavus	Pavo spp.	Originally from India to Greece through Persia. Probably its	Apicius RC 2, 2, 6.	Varro Rust. 3, 2, 2;
			breeding started in the first part of the 1st c. BCE. In Varro's		3, 6, 6. Columella
			time the price of an egg was 5 <i>denarii</i> , and that of a bird 50. In		Rust. 8, 11, 1. Plin.
			the 4th c. CE a male was sold for 300 denarii, and a female for		HN 10, 23. Ed.
			200. Elagabalus asked his cooks to prepare tongues and		Diocl. 4, 39-40.
			heads.		
Sultan chicken	Porphyrio	Gallus gallus	Kept in house to eliminate insects, mice and reptiles, it was		Plin. HN 10, 63
		domesticus	also appreciated as food.		and 69. Mart. 13,
					78.
Pheasant	Phasiana avis,	Fam. Phasianidae,	The last kept in captivity of the cited birds, only cited by Plin.	Apicius gives 2 recipes of	Plin. HN 10, 67.
	phasianus	subfam. Phasianinae	and Juv. In the 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. phasianarii were devoted to its breeding/	quenelles (RC 2, 2, 1; 2, 2,	Juv. 11, 139. Ed.
			fattening. In the 4th c. CE its price was 250 denarii when	6).	Diocl. 4, 17.
			fattened (the male). Elagabalus liked the heads.		
Ostrich	Struthio	Struthio camelus	Only rarely consumed, mentioned in the fantasies of	Apicius gives 2 recipes,	SHA Heliogab. 30,
			Elagabalus.	boiled (RC 6, 1, 1-2).	2.
Parrot	Psittacus	Order Psittaciformes	Only consumed as curiosity and present in the fantasies of	Apicius RC 6, 6, 1.	SHA Heliogab. 20,
			Elagabalus.		6.

Tab. 22. Hunted mammalians.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Boar	Aper	Sus scrofa	Present everywhere in Italy and the empire. Particularly	Often marinated in salt	Varro Rust. 3, 13,
			appreciated were those from Tuscany, Umbria, Lucania. Sen.	for 1 day. The ancient	1. Columella Rust.
			found its flesh quite common ( <i>Epist</i> . 78, 24). Originally only the	Romans liked it gamey	9, 1, 1; 9, 1, 7.
			back was eaten, later tenderloin, breast, haunch, head, teat and	(Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 89). It was	Mart. 3, 82, 20; 7,
			vulva were the preferred cuts. Breeding in viviaria allowed for	spit roasted, cooked,	27, 1; 10, 45, 3-4.
			rich people to eat only the young animals (< 4 y.o.), with more	baked in the oven, and	Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 40;
			delicate flesh. It was the most expensive of the hunted	was always served with	2, 4, 42; 2, 8, 6.
			mammalians (in the 4th c. CE 16 denarii/ pound; pork was 12	sauces (Apicius RC 8, 1,	Hor. Od. 1, 1, 28.
			denarii/ pound).	1-10; 8, 1, 4-8)	Plin. HN 8, 78.
					Plin. the Younger,
					<i>Ep.</i> 1, 6, 1.
Deer	Cervus	Cervus spp. (C.	Delicacy, even though doctors did not agree on its properties.	Apicius gives 7 recipes	Virg. G. 1, 307.
		elaphus)	Hunted during the winter by peasants. Eaten by rich ladies	(RC 8, 2, 1; 8, 3-8). The	Columella Rust. 9,
			every morning to avoid fevers. Sold at the price of pork. Also	large pieces were	1, 1. Plin. HN 8,
			bred in game reserves.	sometimes cooked before	49. Celsus 2, 18, 2.
				being roasted.	Galenus VI, 664.
					Ed. Diocl. 4, 44.
Roe-deer	Caprea,	Capreolus capreolus	For rich people. In Rome sold at the same price of deer. Also	Apicius gives 3 recipes	Varro Rust. 3, 3, 3;
	Capreolus		bred in game preserves.	(RC 8, 3, 1-3).	3, 13, 3. Juv. 11,
					142. Celsus 2,18, 2.
					Ed. Diocl. 4, 45.
Fallow deer	Damma	Dama dama	Also bred in game reserves. It was largely consumed, so it		Columella Rust. 9,
			became too common for rich people.		1, 1. Mart.13, 94.
					Juv. 11, 121.
White oryx	Oryx	Oryk leucoryx	Originally from North Africa, it was also bred in game		Herodotus, 4, 192.
-			reserves. It had to be sold and consumed before its 4th year.		Mart. 13, 95. Juv.
					11, 138; 11, 140.
Wild goat	Caprae ferae,	Capra aegarus	Present in the mountains, for examples those of Sabina.		Varro Rust. 2, 1, 5;
Ü	caprae silvestres		Considered nourishing and easy to digest.		2, 3, 3.
Wild sheep	Ovis fera, ovifer	Ovis spp.	Quite widely spread, it was also bred in <i>viviaria</i> . <i>Musmo</i> was	Apicius gives 2 recipes	Polybius 12, 3.
			the wild sheep of Corsica.	(RC 8, 4, 1; 8, 4, 3)	Varro Rust. 2, 1, 5;

					3, 12, 1. Strabo, 5, 2, 7. Plin. <i>HN</i> 8,
					75; 28, 42; 30, 52.
Bear	Ursus	Ursus spp.	Both the animals hunted and killed in the arena were eaten.		Petron. 66, 5. Plut.
			The paws were the favourite cut. It was eaten during funerals.		Quaest. Nat. 22.
					Tert. <i>Apol.</i> 9, 11.
Hare	Lepus	Lepus spp.	Frequently hunted, both the common hare and the hare of the	Apicius gives 14 recipes	Varro Rust. 3, 3, 8;
			Alps (brown in summer and white in winter) were known.	(RC 8, 8, 1-13; 4, 3, 7),	3, 12, 5-6.
			Bred in <i>leporaria</i> (semi-freedom), it was put in cages to be	which demonstrates the	Columella Rust. 9,
			fattened before slaughtering. Breeding stopped at the end of	importance of the animal.	1, 8. Plin. HN 8,
			the 4th c. CE, and later Romans were surprised that it was ever	It was consumed roasted,	81. Macr. 3, 13, 14-
			bred. The most appreciated cut was the shoulder.	cooked, stuffed, with	15. Mart. 13, 92; 6,
				sauce. With liver, longs,	75, 2; 7, 78, 3.
				and blood a minutal was	Hor. Sat. 2, 4, 44;
				prepared.	2, 8, 89.
Rabbit	Cuniculus	Oryctolagus	Much less appreciated, and much cheaper than hare.	Only 1 recipe in Apicius	Cato Agr. 37, 18.
		cuniculus	Originally from Spain, it was reported to be introduced in Italy	(RC 2, 2, 6).	Varro <i>Rust.</i> 3, 12,
			after 218 BCE. Bred in leporaria. According to Plin. the Spanish		6-7. Plin. HN 8, 81.
			ate also fetuses, or baby rabbits, even without eliminating the		Mart. 13, 60.
			entrails. Probably more consumed by low classes.		Strabo 3, 2, 6. Ed.
					Diocl. 4, 32-33.
Dormouse	Glis	Glis glis	Highly appreciated. It was bred and fattened either in pots or	It was eaten roasted,	Varro Rust. 3, 2,
			in gliraria (large facilities with walls). They were fed chestnuts,	dipped in honey,	14; 3, 15, 1-2. Plin.
			nuts, acorns. The larger were preferred. In 115 BCE a law by	sprinkled with poppy	HN 8, 82. Mart. 3,
			M. Aemilius Scaurus tried to limit its consumption, but	seed, or stuffed and	58, 36. Ed. Diocl. 4,
			without success. In the 4th. c. CE it was sold at 4 denarii/ piece	baked in the oven	38.
			(so, quite cheap; probably by that time it was less appreciated).	(Petron. 31, 10).	
Garden dormouse	Nitela	Elyomis quercinus	Eaten above all in Lucania and other regions in Italy.		Gal. VI, 666.
Beaver	Castor	Castor fiber	Pope Zacharias prohibited the consumption to Christians.		Zach. Epist. 13,
					Migne, P.L.
					LXXXIX, c. 951 A.

Rat	Rattus	Rattus spp.	Above all during famines.	Liv. 23, 19, 13. Plin.
				HN 8, 82. Val.
				Max. 7, 6, 3.

Tab. 23. Bred mammalians.

English name	Latin name	Scientific name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Pork	Sus	Sus scrofa domestica	The Romans distinguished a race with hard, black bristles,	Apicius RC 2, 4; 4, 3, 12;	Plaut. Aul. 375;
			suitable for cold regions, and one with less or white bristles,	7, 1, 5; 7, 2, 1-4; 7, 3, 1-2;	Capt. 849; 904;
			more suitable for warm regions. They were fattened above all	7, 8; 8, 7, 1-17.	915; Men. 211;
			in mountain regions. It was known that different food could		Pseud. 166; 198.
			give different properties to the meat. All cuts were eaten. The		Varro Rust. 2, 4,
			lard was used above all with pulses. Different sausages were		10. Varro Ling. 5,
			prepared: of Lucania (lucanicae), tomacula, funduli, longaones,		111. Columella
			farcimina, farcicula, hillae, apexabones. The sow was sometimes		Rust. 7, 9, 2; 7, 9,
			fattened with figs, and was sold as ficatum. The teats and the		4. Plin. HN 16, 8;
			vulva were very appreciated, above all the vulva of virgin		8, 77. Ed. Diocl. 4,
			sows, called vulva sterilis or sterilicula. Also appreciated the		4; 4, 5; 4, 46.
			milk piglets (porcellus lactans, porcellus lacte pastus).		
Beef	Bos	Bos taurus	At the beginning of Roman history killing a beef could be	Apicius gives only one	Varro Rust. 2, 5, 4.
			punished with dead or exile. Since it was indispensable for	recipe for beef and 4 for	Columella Rust. 6,
			field work, it was forbidden to sacrifice them to Ceres. The	veal (RC 8, 5, 2; 8, 5, 1-4).	1, 1-3. Ov. Fast. 4,
			breeds were differentiated for their attitude to work, not for		413-416.
			their meat production, and the agronomists never mention		
			breeding for meat. Still, beef and veal meat was mentioned		
			already in Plaut. as meal component. The Ed. Diocl. does not		
			discriminate between beef and veal.		
Sheep	Ovis	Ovis aries	Not much cited in literature. Juvenal calls a boiled mutton	Apicius gives 11 recipes	Columella Rust. 7,
_			head 'the treat of a cobbler'. The lamb was preferred to	for lamb, but none for	3, 13. Juv. 3, 294.
			mutton, and therefore more expensive (in the 4th c. CE 12	mutton (RC 8, 6, 1-10)	Ed. Diocl. 4, 3.
			denarii/ pound vs. 8).		
Goat	Capra	Capra aegagrus	Doctors advised against its consumption because goats were	Apicius RC 4, 1, 2; 7, 12,	Varro Rust. 2, 3,
		hircus	prone to several diseases. Still, even ill animals were eaten.	1; 8, 6, 1-10.	9-10. Columella
			Preferred also in this case the meat of young animals, sold at		Rust. 7, 6, 7-8; 7, 7,
			the same price as lambs.		2.
Donkey	Asinus	Equus africanus	We do not have much sources on the consumption of this type		Ov. Fast. 1, 391.
-		asinus	of meat. We know that donkeys were sacrificed to Priapus and		Plin. HN 8, 68.
			to the winds. Maecenas made the consumption of young		
			donkeys fashionable, but this was forgotten after his time.		

Dog	Canis	Canis lupus familiaris	Puppies were sometimes eaten before weaning. In Plin. time	Columella Rust. 2,
			they were served only in meal dedicated to the gods. Also in	21, 4. Ov. Fast. 4,
			Carthago this kind of meat was consumed.	408. Plin. HN 29,
				32. Marcus
				Junianus Justinus
				19, 1, 1.

Tab. 24. Animal products.

<b>English name</b>	Latin name	Use/ notes	Recipes	Source
Eggs	Ova	Mainly hen's eggs were consumed, but also those of goose,	Boiled (ova hapala) with a	Cato Agr. 143, 3.
		duck, pigeon, pheasant, partridge and also wild birds. Plin.	special spoon called	Varro <i>Rust</i> . 3, 9, 12.
		says that if a pregnant women would eat crow eggs she	hapalare, fried in	Columella Rust. 8, 6.
		would have problems. They were part of the gustatio (ab ovo	oenogarum,as omelette	Plin. HN 10, 74-79;
		ad mala). Used in many dishes, also as functional ingredient.	with milk (ova spongia)	29, 11. Petronius, 65,
			(Apicius RC 2, 1, 6; 4, 2, 6;	2.
			4, 2, 18; 4, 4, 28; 5, 3, 5; 7,	
			13, 8; 7, 19, 1-3; 9, 4, 2-4;	
			9, 6;9, 8, 3)	
Milk	Lac	The agronomists described the properties of different milk	Different recipes of	Varro Rust. 2, 3, 10;
		types. That of sheep was considered the best by Varro and is	Apicius mention milk as	2, 11, 1. Columella
		the only one cited in Ed. Diocl. That of goat was considered	one of the main	Rust. 6, 1, 1-2; 6, 24,
		the most nourishing and good for the stomach. That of cow	ingredients, e.g., granea	4-5; 7, 3, 13; 7, 6, 4-5.
		was seen as the least nutritious. In the summer the herds left	triticia, puls, patinae, dulcia	Plin. HN 28, 33.
		for the pastures. So, milk was not available and cheese had to	(RC 4, 2, 1-2; 4, 2, 13; 4, 2,	
		be consumed instead. Milk was consumed full fat, and	16; 5, 1, 3; 6, 9, 11; 7, 13, 2-	
		colostrum was a treat.	3; 7, 13, 6-8).	
Cheese	Caseus	Different coagulants were used (fig lattice, flower of cardoon,	In boiled barley (polenta	Varro Rust. 2, 11, 3-
		clotted milk extracted from the stomach of young animals,).	caseata), sala cattabia,	4. Columella Rust. 7,
		Columella gives a recipe of a cheese which seems similar to	tyrotarichum, moretum	8, 1; 7, 8, 4; 7, 8, 4-7;
		pasta filata cheeses, caseus manu pressus. Cow milk cheeses	(Apicius RC 4, 1, 1-2; 4, 2,	12, 43. Plin. HN 11,
		were the most appreciated, followed by those of sheep and	17. Moretum, 87-118)	96-97; 16, 72; 28, 34.
		goat. Smoked cheese was very appreciated. Several local		Ed. Diocl. 6, 96
		cheese were renowned (of Vestini, Trebula, Sabina, Sarsina,		
		Umbria, Luna, Liguria,) and cheeses were also imported		
		from abroad,		
Fermented	Oxygala and	They were both products obtained by allowing milk to	Melca was abundantly	Columella Rust. 12,
milks	melca	naturally ferment, in the case of <i>oxygala</i> in presence of herbs.	seasoned with pepper,	8, 1-2. Plin. HN 28,
			garum, oil and coriander	35-36.
			(Apicius RC 7, 13, 9).	
		1	·	