

NEGOTIATORES ALLECarii AND THE HERRING

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IN MEDIEVAL LATIN *allec* (*alecium*, *allecum*, etc.) referred to the herring (*Clupea harengus*), whether fresh, dried, smoked, salted, or pickled. This was a widespread association in northern Europe, both on the continent and in Britain, from at least A.D. 1031, the date of the earliest mention of *allec* listed in dictionaries of medieval Latin.¹ Herring merchants in France in the fourteenth century were called *alleciarii*, and a factory for salting herring near Durham on the eastern coast of England at the end of the thirteenth century was called a *domus alleciaria*.² Some etymologists of the last century, apparently following medieval usage, derived the modern word herring (It. *aringa*; Sp. *arenque*; Fr. *hareng*; Ger. *Hering*) from Latin *halec*.³ Others, however, rejected this derivation in favor of a Germanic origin. Valentine Rose suggested in 1874 that the modern word herring may have come from a Germanic form *harinc* or *herinc*, referring to the fish's habit of swimming in schools and giving rise to a classical Latin form (*h*)*aringus*.⁴ Etymologists since that time have abandoned the derivation from *halec* in favor of the Germanic origin, though not accepting in all

¹Variations in spelling include *alec*, *alex*, *alexium*, *alecium*, *alecum*; plus these forms but beginning with *h-* or *all-*. See J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden 1976), R. E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London 1975), and O. Prinz and J. Schneider, *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch* (Munich 1967), s.v. *allec*. Arthur M. Samuel says that the herring fishery at Yarmouth in England was mentioned in the Chronicles of the Monastery of Evesham for the year A.D. 709 and that it may have begun as early as A.D. 495, soon after the arrival of Cedric the Saxon (*The Herring* [London 1918] 58). Charles Cutting adds that herring were caught on the continent in the time of Charlemagne and later at Fécamp, Calais, and Dieppe in 1030 (*Fish Saving* [London 1955] 54, 56). I have been unable to confirm the citations of either Samuel or Cutting, but cf. n. 55, below.

²For herring merchants (apparently both male and female) in France see Denis F. Secousse and E. J. de Laurière, eds., *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race* (Paris 1723–1844) 6, 404–414. In this letter of 1379 Charles V confirms a parliamentary decree of Paris of 21 August 1361, concerning sea fish, from which he freely quotes. Herring merchants are variously spelled *allexiaria* (405), *alleciarius* (407 and passim), *aleciaria* (407), and *alleciaria* (408). For British fish salteries see *Foedarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, Publications of the Surtees Society 58 (1871) 24 ("magnam domum alleciariam," in Hartlepool in 1420); and *Extract from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, Publications of the Surtees Society 99 (1898) 66 ("magne domus alleciarie," in Hartlepool in 1438–1439), and 100 (1899) 500 ("domus allec. de Jaru," in 1299).

³M. Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig 1872), s.v. *Hering*; and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig 1877), s.v. *Hering*.

⁴V. Rose, "Aringus, der Hering," *Hermes* 8 (1874) 224–227, 225–226:

particulars the explanation of Rose.⁵ The (*h*)*aringus*, for example, is not found in classical Latin, unless one can attribute, as Rose would have it, a unique recipe for *liquamen*, in which the word appears, to the third-century A.D. writer Gargilius Martialis.⁶ The recipe, without title or attribution, appears as paragraph 62 of a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript of the *Medicinae oleribus et pomis* by Gargilius Martialis.⁷ If the modern word herring does indeed come from the German,⁸ how does one explain the usual medieval equation *allec* = herring? Recent discoveries relating to the commercial activity of Roman fish sauce merchants in the northern provinces offer a possible clue.

In April of 1970 a fishing trawler dragging its net in the waters of the Eastern Scheldt off Colijnsplaat in the Dutch province of Zeeland brought up a fragment of an altar dedicated to a local goddess, Nehalennia. Subsequent archaeological investigation of the same waters by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden during the following ten months yielded over 120 altars, of which most of those which were inscribed were dedicated to the same deity.⁹ Nehalennia had been attested only at Domberg, some 25 kilometers to the west, and at Cologne, the capital of the Roman province

Der Fisch, der hier in grossen Heeren plötzlich aus den Tiefen auftaucht, in meilenlagen Bänken (Heringsblick), heisst nach dieser auffälligsten Thatsache seiner Erscheinung eben har-inc, her-inc 'der im Heere geht,' der 'Heerfisch,' lateinisch aringus (ohne h, wie Ariovistus, von hari Heer), nach einer so einfachen und einleuchtenden Erklärung Müllenhofs, dass die gewöhnliche Meinung, die den bestimmten Namen des einzelnen Fisches mit der ganz allgemeinen Bezeichnung nicht einmal des 'Salzfisches,' sondern nur der Fischlake (hallec) zusammenbringt, . . . daneben keines Eifers mehr Bedarf. Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Herings mit allec stammt aus dem allerdings feststehenden Gebrauche mittelalterlicher Glossare und Schriften . . . und ist schon von Conrad Gesner abgewiesen."

⁵The *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford 1966), s.v. *herring*, for example, calls it a West German word derived from an inferred form **xēringa*, "besides which a var. with **xar-* is repr. by medL. *haringus* (whence Pr. *arenc*. F. *hareng*: It. has aberrant *aringa*); poss. orig. 'grayish-white fish,' f. HOAR." Cf. F. Kluge and W. Mitzka, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*¹⁹ [Berlin 1963], s.v. *Hering*, "Aus dem Germ. ist im 6. Jh. Lat. *haringus* entlehnt (*Hermes* 8, 226): daraus frz. *hareng*. *Hering* stellt Vercoullie als 'Grätenfisch' zu nl. *haar* 'Gräte';" A. Walde and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1938), s.v. *aringus*, "aus dem Germ., vgl. ahd. *hāring*; doch ist die Stelle vl. erst mittellalt Zusatz."

⁶Rose (above, n. 4) 225: "Dass er (sc. *aringus*) nicht öfter von Schriftstellern der Kaiserzeit erwähnt wird, kann ein reiner Zufall sein." But cf. Antoine Thomas, "Latin *sclareia*," *RevPhil* 31 (1907) 199–201.

⁷Rose (above, n. 4) 224–227.

⁸Cf. OHG *Hāring*, *hāring*, *hēring*, *herinc*; MHG *haerinc*, *hoerinc*, *herinc*; MLG *hārink*, *hāring*, *hērink*, *herinc*; AS *hōring*, *haerincgas*, *hēring*; OFris *hēreng*; OE *hāring*, *hēring*. See Latham (above, n. 1) and works cited in notes 3 and 5 above.

⁹Piet Stuart, "Nehalennia: Goddess from the Sea," *Delta* 14 (Aug., 1971) 5–23, also "A New Temple of Nehalennia: A Preliminary Report," *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen* 52 (1971) 76–78; J. E. Boagers, "Nehalennia en de epigrafische Gegevens," in *Deae*

of Germania Inferior.¹⁰ She was especially favored by merchants, who dedicated altars to her in gratitude for safe arrival or return. Among these merchants were three *negotiatores allecarii*.¹¹

The three have already received some attention and have been recognized as merchants in fish sauce of the late second or early third century A.D. who, with others, such as traders in salt and wine, conducted business along the coast of Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior, into the interior of the Rhineland to Cologne, and across the channel to Britain.¹² L. Secundius Similis and T. Carinius Gratus, who dedicated an altar together, appear to have been Roman citizens who formed a small *societas* to trade in salt-fish products in the area. The third merchant, C. Gatullinius Seggo, was a Roman citizen of Celtic origin, a native of Trier. The commercial activity of *negotiatores allecarii* in the northern provinces as early as the late second century A.D. may have contributed to the use of the term *allec* to refer to the herring.

The *negotiatores allecarii* were apparently involved in carrying fish sauce to Britain from the Rhineland.¹³ There is considerable evidence for production of and commerce in salted fish products throughout Gaul during the Roman period. On the western extremity of Armorica (modern Brittany) a large number of fish salteries operated between the first and fourth centuries A.D., and a *conventus* of Roman citizens was probably active in the salt-fish trade there during the same period as that of the *negotiatores allecarii*.¹⁴ Roman fishing activity in the Netherlands in the first

Nehalenniae (Middleburg 1971, Gids bij de tentoonstelling tijd, Romeinse monumenten uit de Oosterschelde in het Stadhuis Middleburg, 17/2–29/8, 1971) 32–43; and Piet Stuart, “130 römische Steindenkmäler aus dem Meer,” *Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 2 (1972) 299–302.

¹⁰CIL 13.8498–8499.

¹¹*Æpigr* 1973.104, no. 365: *Nehalenniae L(ucius) Secundius/ Similis et T(itus) Carinius/ Gratus negotiatores/ allecarii v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)!* [. . .]; and 106, no. 375: *In h(onorem) d(omi) d(ivinae)! deae Nehalenniae/ C(aius) Catullinius/ Secco negotiator/ allecarius/ cives Treuer/ pro sel et suis/ v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit).* Nehalennia is frequently represented on altars resting her foot on the prow of a ship. See Stuart, “Nehalennia,” (above, n. 9) 13. Cf. *Æpigr* 1973.105, no. 372.

¹²Mark Hassall, “Britain and the Rhine Provinces: Epigraphic Evidence for Roman Trade,” in J. du Plat Taylor and H. Cleere, eds., *Roman Shipping and Trade: Britain and the Rhine Provinces* (London 1978) 41–48. See also above, note 9.

¹³Hassall believes that they may have been importing fish sauce and salt from Britain (*ibid.* 45). Cf. below, note 45.

¹⁴R. Sanquer and P. Galliou, “Garum, sel et salaisons en Armorique gallo-romaine,” *Gallia* 30 (1972) 199–223; P. Galliou, “Les industries de salaisons en Armorique romaine,” *Caesarodunum* 10 (1975) 141–147; R. Sanquer, “Une nouvelle lecture de l’inscription à Neptune trouvée à Douarnenez (Finistère) et l’industrie du garum armoricain,” *Annales de Bretagne* 80 (1973) 215–236, and “Les industriels des salaisons en Armorique romaine,” *Caesarodunum* 10 (1975) 148–156.

century A.D. is attested at Leeuwarden in the Dutch province of Friesland, where a Roman citizen, Q. Valerius Secundus, a *manceps* of a *societas* of *conductores piscatus*, dedicated an altar to a local goddess, Hludana.¹⁵ Additionally, there was found in 1962 at Aardenburg a dolium with the inscription *Aliic xi s(emis)*, which J. E. Boagers tentatively interprets as eleven and one-half amphorae of *allec*.¹⁶

This activity undoubtedly was connected with the need to feed the Roman armies stationed along the *limes* and in other military camps distributed throughout the northern provinces. Fish sauce merchants would procure their products from coastal salteries and convey them inland along the highways and waterways that could be traversed almost uninterruptedly throughout Gaul and Germany. A good example is M. Primus Secundianus, the *curator* of a corporation of Rhodian sailors (*nautae*) who was also a fish sauce merchant (*negotians muriarius*) living in Lugdunum.¹⁷ He probably obtained his merchandise at Fos, located at the mouth of the Rhone River. The Mediterranean coast of Gaul, particularly in the Gulf of Lyon, had many fish salting factories which could have supplied him with fish sauce.¹⁸ Forum Iulii was, according to Pliny the Elder, famous for its *allex* and Antipolis for its *muria*.¹⁹ He might also have picked up imported products, such as *garum* from Pompeii, and transported them, along with the locally produced sauces, into the interior of Gaul.²⁰ During the first three centuries A.D., however, Spanish salt-fish products seem to have flooded the markets of the western Mediterranean, including those of Gaul. Spanish fish sauce amphorae, for example, have been found in Fos and in several cities in the north, such as Oberaden, Haltern, and Nijmegen lying

¹⁵CIL 13.8830. See also Diedrich Bohlen, *Die Bedeutung der Fischerei für die antike Wirtschaft* (Hamburg 1937) 46.

¹⁶Boagers (above, n. 9) 40. Boagers also points out that the merchant of CIL 13.8513 was perhaps a *negotiator a(llecarius)* (84, n. 97).

¹⁷CIL 13.1966. *Muria* could be any saline solution, such as that used to preserve vegetables and other foods. It also referred to the liquid used to preserve fish (*salsamentum*) or make fish sauce (*garum*). In this sense *muria* is itself a fish sauce. *Muria* seems also to have been used in common speech as synonymous with *garum*. See esp. A. Hug, "Muria," *RE* 31 (1933) 661–662.

¹⁸See especially Fernand Benoît, "L'économie du littoral de la Narbonnaise à l'époque antique: le commerce du sel et les pêcheries," *RStLig* 15 (1959) 87–110.

¹⁹Forum Iulii: Pliny *HN* 31.95; Antipolis: Pliny *HN* 31.94; Martial 4.88.5–6 and 13.103. See also J. H. Clergues, "Fichier d'archéologie sous-marine du secteur d'Antibes," *Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique* 1 (1972) 53–62.

²⁰For Pompeian *garum* at Fos see B. Liou and R. Marichal, "Les inscriptions peintes sur amphores de l'Anse Saint-Gervais à Fos-sur-mer," *Archaeonautica* 2 (1978) 165–167. For the route of merchants into Gaul see R. Diot, "La route des amphores," *Aventure sousmarine* 21 (1959) 18–27; and D. P. S. Peacock, "The Rhine and the Problem of Gaulish Wine in Roman Britain," in *Roman Shipping and Trade* (above, n. 12) 49–51.

along the *limes* in Germania Inferior.²¹ Spanish salt-fish amphorae have been recovered from shipwrecks in the English Channel and have been found at Camulodunum, at Kempton, and in the military fort at Vindolanda near Hadrian's Wall.²² Fish sauce merchants in the northern provinces, therefore, would have most likely traded in local products or in imports from Mediterranean provinces, particularly Spain.

With the commercial activity of Roman fish sauce merchants in the northern provinces in mind let us now take a closer look at their merchandise. The word *allecarius* derives from the Latin *allec*, a term which in classical Latin designated the dregs (*faex*) of *garum* production or a specific product similar to, but distinct from, *garum*.²³ The origin of the word itself is unknown. The Greek form ἄλιξ does not occur before the time of Dioscorides, a physician of the first century A.D., yet the Latin forms *hallex* or *hallec* can be found over two centuries earlier in the comedies of Plautus.²⁴ The Greeks probably made no distinction between

²¹For the production of *garum* and other processed fish products in Spanish salteries see especially M. Ponsich and M. Tarradell, *Garum et industries antiques de salaison dans la Méditerranée occidentale* (Paris 1965) esp. 81–90. For the identification of Spanish salt-fish amphorae see especially F. Zevi, "Appunti sulle anfore romane," *Archeologia Classica* 28 (1966) esp. 229–247; and D. P. S. Peacock, "Amphorae and the Baetican Fish Industry," *The Antiquaries Journal* 54 (1974) 232–243. Since the bibliography on Spanish amphorae finds in Gaul and Germany is so immense, I will cite only a few representative works. For Fos see Liou and Marichal (above, n. 20) 131–145. See especially the list of finds compiled by Fede Berti, et al., *Le Terme del Nuotatore: Ostia II*. (Rome 1968–1969, Studi Miscellanei 16) 136–137; and E. Ettlinger, "Aspects of Amphora-Typology—Seen from the North," in *Méthodes classiques et méthodes formelles dans l'étude des amphores* (Rome 1977, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 32) 9–16; and my "Production and Commerce of Salted Fish Products (*Garum* and *Salsamenta*) in the Roman Empire," forthcoming in Vol. 2 pt. 11 of *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*.

²²D. P. S. Peacock, "Roman Amphorae in Pre-Roman Britain," in D. and M. Jesson, eds., *The Iron Age and its Hill Forts* (Southampton 1971) 180–184; R. Keen, "Great Britain: Guernsey, Channel Islands: Little Russel Amphora Site A," *IJNautArch* 8 (1979) 8; R. P. Wright and M. W. G. Hassall, "Roman Britain in 1973: II. Inscriptions," *Britannia* 5 (1974) 467, no. 44.

²³Pliny *HN* 31.95. For *garum* see esp. R. Zahn, "Garum," *RE* 7 (1912) 842–849, and A. Marx, "Allec," *RE* 1 (1894) 1584. *Allec* (Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.9) is sometimes spelled *hallec* (Cato *Agr.* 58; Plautus *Aul.* fr. 5), *hallex* (Plautus *Poen.* 1310), or *allex* (Pliny *HN* 31.95). For *tituli picti* on amphorae and other jars identifying the vessels' contents as *hallex* see *CIL* 4.5717–5720, 5728(?), 9407–9411, 10261(?), and *CIL* 15.4730(?).

²⁴Dioscorides 4.148; Plautus *Poen.* 1310, *Persa* 105, *Aul.* fr. 5. If Plautus were reproducing a Greek form found in the lost Greek originals upon which his plays were based, the word is unattested. The only other references to ἄλιξ come from the *Geoponica* 20.46.3 (as the name of a fish), and possibly from two late papyri: *PGot* 17 (ca 6–7th cent. A.D.) and *PApollo* 93 (ca A.D. 703–715). See also P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968) s.v. ἄλιξ. The Romans adopted unchanged the Greek word τὸ γάρον to form Latin *garum*. *Muria* is equivalent to Greek ἡ ἄλμη, and probably comes

garum and its dregs and so had no word for *allec*. To the Greeks it was all τὸ γάρον. The Romans, on the other hand, apparently did see a difference, but its origin is shrouded in mystery. Jacques André suggests that *allex* was a Latin derivative from a primitive western Mediterranean form **allac*, after passing through an intermediary form *allec*.²⁵ Whatever the true derivation, *allec* was a recognized fish sauce by the second century B.C. and was in common usage by the first century A.D.

The fish sauce *allec* seems to have given its name to a fish. In the first century A.D., a small fish was called (*h*)*al(l)ecula*; Columella mentions it four times, once as a river fish and once apparently as a sea fish;²⁶ in late Latin *allec* appears to be the name of the same fish. Isidore, the Bishop of Seville in Spain (A.D. 560–636), says that “the *allec* was a small fish suitable for the liquor of salted fish, from which it [the fish] derives its name.”²⁷ The glosses, which generally date to the period after the sixth century A.D., give similar definitions. *CGL* 4.205.37, for example, states that “the *allec* was a small fish from the sea suitable for fish sauces,” while *CGL* 5.520.2 adds that “the *allec* was a kind of fish abundant in the vicinity of Salerno.”²⁸

The identification of the fish *allec* is uncertain, but survivals of the form in modern Romance languages indicate that it was most likely the anchovy (*Engraulis encrasicolus*). Anchovy (It. *acciuga* or *anciova*; Sp. *anchova*; Fr. *anchois*) may be in origin a Basque word.²⁹ In southern Italy, however, the anchovy is called *alice* (Naples), and in Spain, *lacha* (Catalonia), *alacha*

directly from it or from ἄλμυρις or some other closely related form. For the etymology of *garum* and *muria* see A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris 1967) s.vv. *muries* and *garum*.

²⁵J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*² (Paris 1981) 113, n. 271. Walde-Hoffman (*Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *allec*) suggest Gr. ἄλυκός “salzig,” which underwent a Volksetymologie to *allectare*, *allicere*, *illex*, but find the appearance of the -ē- troublesome. Ernout and Meillet (*Dictionnaire*, s.v. *hallec*) likewise note that “peut-être emprunt au gr. τὸ ἄλυκόν,” but then conclude, “Mot populaire de forme mal fixée qui a pu passer par un intermédiaire étrusque.”

²⁶Colum. *Rust.* 6.8.2; 8.15.6 (river fish); 8.17.12; 8.17.14 (sea fish). The first citation may actually refer to the fish sauce itself, as the *alecula* appears to be a liquid: *eandem partem* (the throat of an ox) *alio uino et alecula linire*.

²⁷Isidore *Orig.* 12.6.39–40: *Allec pisciculus ad liquorem salsamentorum idoneus; unde et nuncupatus*.

²⁸*CGL* 4.205.37: *Allex pisciculus ex mari modicus aptus etiam liq̄ aminibus*; *CGL* 5.520.2: *Allec allecis: genus piscium quod maxime Salerno abundat*. A third gloss (*CGL* 560.36) states *Allecis: nomen piscis*. See also *CGL* 2.586.42: *liquamen garum salsas liquor allecis*. *Geoponica* 20.46.3 lists ἄλιξ as a small fish suitable for making *garum*. Cf. Charisius *Gramm.* 1.11: ὁ ἄλληξ ἰχθύς ταριχευόμενος. See also Rubenbauer, “(h)allex,” *ThLL* 2517–18.

²⁹D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London 1947) 58. But cf. Demetrius J. Georgacas, *Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon and Etymology of the International Terms Botargos, Caviar and Congeners* (Athens 1978) 275–277.

(southern Spain), or *haleche*, all obvious derivatives from Latin (*h*)*allec*.³⁰ Sometimes modern derivatives from *allec* refer to several other similar fish of the same family. It. *alleccia*, *alatka*, and *allaccia* are sometimes used of the sardinella (*Sardinella aurita*), and It. *alaccia*, *leccia*, and *lacci* refer to the sardinella and the much larger shad (*Alosa alosa*).³¹ The classical Latin *allec* or *alecula*, therefore, probably referred to a number of species of small Mediterranean fish, usually the anchovy but probably also the sardine and shad.³² The river fish (*rivalis alecula*) of Columella may have been the shad, which is accustomed to enter rivers to spawn in the upper waters of lakes.³³

Terms for fish sauce merchants are derived from the product sold and appear in various forms; for example, the Latin *negotians muriarius* of Lugdunum in Gaul, and the Greek *γαροπώλης* of the Eastern Mediterranean.³⁴ The designation *liquaminarius* is equated with the *γαροπώλης* in the glosses, the only place in which it is found.³⁵ It would be extraordinary if these merchants dealt in only the specific sauce indicated in their titles, since the four Roman fish sauces (*garum*, *allec*, *muria*, and *liquamen*) were produced as by-products in fish salting factories.³⁶ It seems more likely that a fish sauce merchant would also trade in each kind of sauce, while choosing one to form his title,³⁷ which, by a kind of synecdoche, would

³⁰André (above, n. 25) 113, n. 271; and Thompson *op. cit.*, 282.

³¹Thompson, *op. cit.*, 270. For consistency with my discussion on pages 155f. below I have altered Thompson's designations for the sardinella (*Clupea aurita*) and the shad (*Clupea alosa*) to conform with scientific designations which I have adopted from Bernard Grzimek, *Grzimek's Animal Life Encyclopedia* (Eng. ed., New York 1973) 4.172–200.

³²For the anchovy used by the Romans to make fish sauce see below, note 43.

³³Colum. *Rust.* 8.15.6. On the shad see Thompson (above, n. 29) 269; and Grzimek (above, n. 31) 193–194.

³⁴*Muriarius* (above, n. 17); *γαροπώλης*: in Egypt see *PBaden* 42 (2nd cent. A.D.); in Syria see Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, "Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963–1974): I. Inscriptions de la nécropole," *BMBeyrouth* 29 (1977) 54.

³⁵*CGL* 3.470.48. *Liquamen*, at least by the fifth century A.D., was used to mean *garum*. See Caelius Aurelianus *Tard. pass.* 2.1.40 (ed. and tr. I. E. Drabkin, *Caelius Aurelianus On Acute Diseases and on Chronic Diseases* [Chicago 1950] 590): *garum, quod appellamus liquamen*; and 2.3.70 (Drabkin, p. 610): *ex garo . . . quod vulgo liquamen appellant*. These terms in the first century A.D. designated two distinct products. See the evidence of amphora inscriptions from Pompeii (*CIL* 4. *passim*), in which the two sauces were named side by side.

³⁶Manilius, in *Astron.* 5.656–681, describes how fishermen prepare their catch on the shore. After cutting up the fish, they separate those pieces to be used for fish sauce from those destined to be made into *salsamentum*. See esp. J. van Wageningen, *Commentarius in M. Manilii Astronomica* (Amsterdam 1921) 311–314. Lines 656–675 refer to the tunny, but lines 676–681 refer to small whole fish, probably anchovies or sardines (so A. E. Houseman, *M. Manilii Astronomicon Liber Quintus* [Cambridge 1937] 85).

³⁷Though we do not know by what title A. Umbricius Scaurus of Pompeii called himself, we do know that he produced and sold both *garum* and *liquamen*. His name has, however, yet to be linked with *allec*, *muria*, or *salsamentum*. See *CIL* 4 *passim*.

imply that he also traded in the rest. Merchants in salt-fish (*salsamentarii* or *salsarii*) might also have dealt in the fish sauces.³⁸ If this is correct, one can suppose that the *negotiator allecarius* traded in the fish sauce *allec* (in addition to the other sauces) and the fish *allec* (probably in salted, pickled, dried, or smoked form).

As stated previously, the *negotiator allecarius* would have likely traded in Spanish imports of fish sauce or in local products. His title would be a valid one in either case, since the *allec* (anchovy, sardine, or shad) was available not only in Mediterranean waters but also along the Atlantic coast and, in the case of the shad, in the rivers of northern Gaul and Germany (below, 155). If distinctions between anchovy, sardine, or even the larger shad were not regularly practiced in the Mediterranean among fishermen, there would be even less likelihood of distinctions being made among merchants and inhabitants in the northern provinces far from the Mediterranean Sea. Romans or Romanized Celts (Seggo, for example) seeing fish in the northern provinces similar to those from the Mediterranean would no doubt use the same terminology to identify them. It would also follow that Romans seeing a new fish but one closely related to the Mediterranean varieties would lump it into the latter and use the common name for the whole group. There was indeed another fish of the same family that was available only in the Atlantic Ocean and North Sea. This was the herring.³⁹

The herring is a small fish of the order *Clupeiform*.⁴⁰ Of the two

³⁸John Wachter (*The Coming of Rome* [New York 1979] 144) identifies four *negotiatores salarii*, who also dedicated altars to Nehalennia at Colijnsplaat, as salt-fish merchants. One came from Trier while the other three were from Cologne. See *Æpigr* 1973 nos. 362 (M. Exingius Agricola), 364 (C. Iulius Florentinus), and 378 (Q. Cornelius Superstis). For C. Iulius Ianuarius see Boagers, *Deae Nehalenniae* (above, n. 9) 41. These merchants may have been dealers in salt; but cf. Martial 1.41.8 and 4.86.9, where the term *salaris* refers to merchants in salt-fish. Sometimes a salt-fish merchant does specify that he deals in more than one product, although the combination of salt-fish and fish sauce has not been attested. But cf. *PGot* 3 (A.D. 215–216), where a fisherman in Egypt stands as a guarantor for a companion who is to provide *garum* and salted and fresh fish for Caracalla's visit to Alexandria. For a salt-fish merchant who dealt in other products (though in this case not fish sauce) see the *negotians salsamentarius et vinarius* of *CIL* 6.9676. Cf. also *CIL* 13.5221(?).

³⁹At what date Latin speakers first encountered the herring is unknown; but probably the soldiers, camp followers, and merchants of Caesar's army during the Gallic Wars of 59–49 B.C. were the earliest substantial group. Amphora finds in the northern provinces, including Britain, indicate that Spanish preserved fish products, and perhaps Spanish merchants as well, were present in the last decade B.C. See Peacock, "Roman Amphorae," (above, n. 22) 168–171. I have found no evidence, either literary or archaeological (such as fish bones or the representation of this fish in mosaics or paintings), to indicate that herring were imported into the Mediterranean area.

⁴⁰The following discussion of the herring derives in the main from Grzimek (above, n. 31) 172–200.

suborders of *Clupeiformes* the largest is the *Clupeoidei*, which has three families, the *Clupeidae* (herring), *Engraulidae* (anchovy), and *Chirocentridae* (wolf herring).⁴¹ The clupeid family has seven genera that inhabit northern latitudes, of which the genus *Clupea* is the most important. The Atlantic Herring (*Clupea harengus*), which inhabits almost exclusively the northeastern Atlantic, is a schooling fish measuring less than 45 cm. in length and shows a grey-green color on its back and silver on its sides; the herring of the North Sea are the smallest of the species. Three genera within the family *Clupeidae* (and so closely related to *Clupea harengus*) inhabit both the Mediterranean Sea and the North Atlantic: the sprats (esp. *Sprattus sprattus*), the sardines (esp. *Sardina pilchardus*), and the shad (esp. *Alosa alosa*). Two of these, the pilchard and the sprat, are schooling fish of about 18–20 cm. average length. Both were used by the Romans in salting establishments in Armorica at Plomarc'h and Combrit.⁴² The shad resemble the herring in appearance, though they are of a larger size at maturity, and inhabit the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast from Spain up to the North Sea. The *Alosa alosa* has a vernacular English name, the *allice shad*, which indicated that this fish apparently went under the name *allec*.

The second family of the *Clupeoidei*, the *Engraulidae*, differ only slightly from the herring by having a prominent jaw. Otherwise they are remarkably similar in appearance. This is particularly true of the *Engraulis encrasicolus*, or anchovy, a small schooling fish that resembles the herring but possesses silver stripes. The chief area of habitation is the Mediterranean Sea, but these fish do inhabit the Atlantic up to the North Sea. The anchovy reaches about 20 cm. in length, but is usually 12–16 cm., a size similar to the sprat and not much smaller than the herring of the North Sea coast. In the spring the anchovy migrate through the English Channel into the North Sea, passing closely along the French, Belgian, and Dutch coasts to the East Frisian coast. In the fall they migrate to the northern part of the English Channel along the English coast (Grzimek [above, note 31] 199). The Mediterranean anchovy was used by the Romans to prepare fish sauce. The bones of small fish found in several dolia in the *Garum* Shop of Pompeii have been identified as those of the anchovy (*Engraulis encrasicolus*), and the *allex* of Forum Iulii, praised by Pliny, may have been made from the same fish.⁴³

⁴¹The *Chirocentridae* are not germane to this discussion, since their distribution includes only the tropical regions of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. See Grzimek, *op. cit.*, 200–201.

⁴²Sanquer and Galliou, "Garum," (above, n. 14) 207; R. Sanquer, "Informations archéologiques: Douarnenez," *Gallia* 35 (1977) 355–360.

⁴³For the identification of anchovies at Pompeii see my article, "The Garum Shop of Pompeii (Reg. I. 12. 8)," *Cronache Pompeiane* 5 (1979) 11. Thompson (above, n. 29) 58 identifies the *Engraulis encrasicolus* with the *lupus*, the fish which Pliny (*HN* 31.95) says

The picture which here emerges is of a fish population in the North Atlantic that is made up of herring and herring-like fish which have closely related species of similar size, appearance, and habit thriving in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. These latter fish (anchovy, sprat, pilchard, and shad) were used by the Romans to make fish sauce, particularly *allec* which also gave its name to a fish, probably the anchovy but apparently the term could also include the others as well. Roman fish sauce merchants trading in the north would introduce these products to the area under Latin (that is, Mediterranean) terminology. This was easily accepted since the same species of fish were caught in northern waters and used for the same purposes.⁴⁴ In the North Atlantic there was also a fish unknown to Mediterranean waters but closely related to the sardine, shad, and anchovy. Although this fish, the herring, might have had its vernacular Germanic name (either the OHG form *harinc* or an earlier form not attested in extant literature) in the early third century A.D. or before, Romans and Romanized Celts would group this fish with their known variety and using Latin as the primary means of expression would employ their familiar word *allec*, referring to a small fish suitable for pickling. This designation apparently became fixed and remained constant as long as Latin continued to be used.

This association would have been strong as well in Britain, which may have had its own fish salting industry.⁴⁵ We need only recall that there were several units of Spanish troops stationed in Britain from as early as the mid-first century A.D., and some probably retired there.⁴⁶ There would also have been many civilians, particularly merchants, from Italy, Spain, and other Mediterranean provinces active in Britain over the centuries (e.g., Wachter [above, note 38] 141–178). Indirect influence in the post-Roman period may have served to strengthen the association. The widespread popularity of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore in monasteries of northern Europe and England from the seventh century A.D. on, for example, would have reinforced the use of Latin *allec* to designate fish used for pickling.⁴⁷

The process of disassociation of the term *allec* from the herring and the equation of *harinc* and its related forms with this fish cannot be precisely

was used at Forum Iulii to make *allec*. On page 141, however, Thompson seems to equate the *lupus* with a sea bass.

⁴⁴The *Sardinella aurita* inhabits the Mediterranean, but not the northeastern Atlantic and North Sea. The true sardine, the *Sardina pilchardus*, which is of similar size and appearance to the *Sardinella* sardine, inhabits both areas (Grzimek [above n. 31] 191–193).

⁴⁵Bones of various species of fish, including herring, sea bream, and grey mullet, have been found at Silchester in the interior of southern Britain. These sea fish were probably transported there in a preserved state; salted, dried, smoked, or pickled. Whether they were imports from across the channel or were products of British coastal fisheries is unknown. See G. C. Boon, *Silchester: The Roman Town of Calleva*² (London 1974) 261.

⁴⁶I. Richmond, "Spanish Troops in Roman Britain," in P. Salway, ed., *Roman Archaeology and Art* (London 1969) 190–193.

⁴⁷M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500–900*² (Ithaca, N.Y. 1957) 124. Cf. above, n. 27. For contacts between England and northern France

followed. The third century A.D. witnessed a disruption of trade and industry when the Germanic tribes moved out of the northern areas and into Spain.⁴⁸ This crisis had a profound effect on the Mediterranean, especially Spanish, salt-fish industry, a disaster from which it did not completely recover.⁴⁹ Many salteries ceased to function, while others reduced their capacity.⁵⁰ Although some production and commerce continued into the fourth and fifth centuries, the activity of Spanish salted fish merchants in northern Europe was only a shadow of what it once had been. There is no direct evidence for Roman trade in salt-fish in the northern provinces after the fourth century. The constitution of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian in A.D. 368, which forbade the selling of *liquamen*, oil, and wine to people living outside the empire, probably further restricted the trade of Mediterranean merchants in the northern provinces.⁵¹ We do know that fish sauce (*garum* and *liquamen*) continued to be produced locally during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods in Gaul.⁵² There is no reason to doubt that the herring also continued to be caught and processed.⁵³

before the eleventh century see D. Harrison, *England Before the Norman Conquest* (Ipswich n.d.), *passim*; W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford 1946) esp. 4–14; and P. Grierson, "The Relations between England and Flanders Before the Norman Conquest," *TrRoyalHistSoc* 4th ser., 23 (1941) esp. 74–76.

⁴⁸See esp. J. M. Blazquez, "La crisis del siglo III en Hispania y Mauritania Tingitana," in *Economía de la Hispania Romana* (Bilbao 1978) 461–483.

⁴⁹The northern markets for Spanish products may have begun to disappear even before the mid-third century A.D., if Anthony Parker is correct in his suggestion that as the Roman armies in the northern provinces became less populated with soldiers of Mediterranean origin the need to provide a Mediterranean diet decreased and with it the trade in Mediterranean food products, such as preserved fish. At present the evidence is inconclusive. See A. J. Parker, "The Evidence Provided by Underwater Archaeology for Roman Trade in the Western Mediterranean," in D. J. Blackman, ed., *Marine Archaeology* (New York 1973) 366.

⁵⁰See R. Étienne, "A propos du 'garum sociorum'," *Latomus* 29 (1970) 297–313, and Ponsich and Tarradell, *Garum* (above, n. 21) 116–119.

⁵¹*Cod. Iust.* 4.41.1: *Impp. Valentinianus, Valens et Gratianus AA ad Theodorum, Magistrum militum. Ad barbaricum transferendi vini et olei et liquaminis nullam quisquam habeat facultatem, nec gustus quidem causa aut usus commerciorum.*

⁵²Fish sauce is mentioned in the sixth century A.D. by Anthimus *De observatione ciborum ad Theodoricum regem Francorum epistula* 9; in the seventh century by Marculf *Formulae* 1.11 (*Patrol. Lat.* [Migne] 87, cols. 706–707); and in the eighth century A.D. in the diploma of Chilperic II, dated April A.D. 716, which confirms a similar one of the late seventh century (*Patrol. Lat.* [Migne] 88, cols. 1123–1125). There is no need to assume, as Pirenne seems to imply, that fish sauce was imported into the Frankish kingdom from the East. Local Gallic production of salted fish products finds confirmation in the Carolingian Capitulary *De villis* 34 (MGH, *Legum sectio* II, p. 86). See Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, tr. B. Miall (New York, n.d.) 89–92. Cf. the *garum* recipe found in a Carolingian manuscript from the Abbey of Echternach (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Lat 11219; also published in Jean Lestocquoy, "Épices, médecine et abbayes," *Études mérovingiennes*, Actes des journées de Poitiers, 1–3 Mai 1952 (Paris 1953) 185–186. This recipe, however, may date from an earlier period.

⁵³See Samuel and Cutting as cited above, n. 1.

Those people whose mother tongue was Germanic, but who sought to communicate in Latin, were more likely to coin (and to use with increasing frequency) the form *haringus* than those with a Romance tongue. When this "Germanic Latin" form acquired wide-spread usage is unknown. The two Latin forms, *allec* and *haringus*, were apparently used side-by-side from at least the eleventh century and probably much earlier. Besides the ninth or tenth century manuscript of Gargilius Martialis mentioned above, which may reflect a text no older than the sixth century A.D., the earliest use of Latin *haringus* that I have been able to discover is in a Norman charter of Robert Curthose in ca 1088–1091.⁵⁴ One can only speculate that as the vernacular languages began to increase in prominence in northern Europe, the Germanic form became more prevalent and widespread, passing into the various dialects, such as Anglo-Saxon, and influencing, indirectly through Latin *haringus*, the Romance languages as well.⁵⁵ The Latin forms were eventually superseded as Latin fell into disuse, surviving among the Germanic languages only in English as the "allice shad;" the Romance languages maintain vestiges of both forms.⁵⁶

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⁵⁴C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass. 1925) 286–289, no. 4(b): *haring*. For *allec* see note 1 above.

⁵⁵An Anglo-Saxon charter of ca A.D. 1038, for example, mentions the herring season (*haeri'n'ge*). See A. J. Robertson, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge 1956) 174, no. 91. See also note 8 above.

⁵⁶Besides the forms in Italian and Spanish derived from (*h*)*allec* mentioned above, pages 152 f., and esp. n. 5, the influence of the Germanic form can be seen in old French *hareng* (12th cent.), Spanish *arenque* (1277), and Italian *aringa* (not before the 18th cent.). See *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, Adolf Toblers and Erhard Lommatzsch, eds. (Wiesbaden 1960) s.v. *harenc*; *Diccionario crítico etimológico Castellano e hispánico*, Joan Corominas and José A. Pascual, eds. (Madrid 1980) s.v. *arenque*; and *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, eds. (Florence 1950) s.v. *aringa*.

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