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ICHTHYOLOGICAL HAPAX LEGOMENA IN MARCELLUS' *DE PISCIBUS*

Introduction

Marcellus of Side, a physician and poet living in the second century AD, is an almost unknown figure¹. Little information about his life has been passed down from Antiquity and the few preserved records indicate that he lived under the rule of three Roman emperors: Hadrian (117–138), Antoninus Pius (138–161) and Marcus Aurelius (161–180). An entry in the Byzantine encyclopedia called *Suda* (tenth century) informs us that Marcellus of Side was still active in the times of Emperor Marcus Aurelius and that he created a medical poem consisting of forty-two books, entitled *Chironides* (*Books on surgery*), composed in dactylic hexameters²:

Μάρκελλος Σιδήτης, ἰατρός, ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου. οὗτος ἔγραψε δι' ἐπῶν ἠρωϊκῶν βιβλία ἰατρικὰ δύο καὶ μ', ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ λυκανθρώπου.

Marcellus of Side, physician, [deceased] under Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus. He wrote 42 medical books in heroic verse, in which he also wrote about the werewolf.³

¹ W. KROLL, *Markellos von Side*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XIV.28, col. 1496–1497; M. WELLMANN, *Marcellus von Side als Arzt und die Koiraniden des Hermes Trismegistos*, Leipzig 1934 [= *Phil.S.* 27.2], p. 1–50; L. BERKOWITZ, K.A. SQUITIER, *Thesaurus linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works*,³ New York–Oxford 1990, p. 257; Β. ΣΠΑΝΔΑΓΟΣ, Ρ. ΣΠΑΝΔΑΓΟΥ, Δ. ΤΡΑΥΛΟΥ, *Οι ἰατροὶ καὶ οἱ φαρμακολόγοι τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδας*, Αθήνα 1996, p. 215; Κ. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Αρχαίοι Ἕλληνες ἰατροί*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 326; S. FORNARO, *Marcellus* [2], [in:] *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, vol. VIII, (*Lyd–Mine*), ed. H. CANKIK, H. SCHNEIDER, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 297; G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side. Gli imperatori adottivi e il potere della medicina*, Acireale–Roma 2016; G. ARENA, *Marcello di Side: protomedico urbano o archiatra imperiale?*, *Hor* 10, 2018, p. 1–20.

² *Svidae Lexicon*, pars 3, ed. A. ADLER, Stuttgartiae 1967, p. 3266 (s.v. Μάρκελλος Σιδήτης).

³ Based on author's own translation. It is worth noting here that by “werewolf” Marcellus of Side meant a mentally ill person (suffering from lycanthropy). See W. ROSCHER, *Das von der “Kynanthropie” handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side*, Leipzig 1896, p. 4–92.

The Palatine Anthology contains a funerary epigram of Marcellus of Side, from which it is clear that Emperor Hadrian and his successor Antoninus Pius ordered 40 books of his medical work to be placed in a public library in Rome.

Μαρκέλλου τόδε σῆμα περικλυτοῦ ιητήρος,
 φωτὸς κυδίστοιο τετιμένου ἀθανάτοισιν,
 οὐ βίβλους ἀνέθηκεν ἐνκτιμένη ἐνὶ Ῥώμῃ
 Ἀδριανὸς προτέρων προφερέστερος ἡγεμονίων,
 καὶ πάϊς Ἀδριανοῖο, μέγ' ἔξοχος Ἀντωνίνος,
 ὄφρα καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνδράσι κῦδος ἄροϊτο
 εἶνεκεν εὐεπίης, τὴν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
 ἥρψψ μέλψαντι μέτρψ θεραπῆια νοῦσων
 βίβλοισι ἐν πινυταῖς Χειρωνίσι τεσσαράκοντα.⁴

On Marcellus, the Physician of Side

This is the tomb of Marcellus, the renowned physician, a most celebrated man, honoured by the gods, whose books were presented (to the public library) in fair-built Rome by Hadrian, the best of our former emperors, and by admirable Antoninus, Hadrian's son; so that among men in after years he might win renown for his eloquence, the gift of Phoebus Apollo. He sung the treatment of diseases in forty skilled books of heroic verse called the *Chironides*.⁵

Marcellus also wrote a preserved panegyric in honor of Anna Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, who died tragically in 160⁶. It can be assumed that the physician and poet of Side lived during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180 AD), as reported in the *Suda*. Probably the last two books of *Chironides* were published posthumously. Only a short fragment of the whole work has survived to our times, containing a catalogue of fish and other marine animals, as well as a list of several medicaments obtained from them. This preserved fragment *De piscibus*, includes 101 verses.

In the four-verse invocation, the author states that he recognized the “healing nature of sea creatures” (v. 1), and also familiarized himself with the literature on the subject (v. 3). Then the poet announces that he will present a catalog of fish and their names (v. 4), which he then proceeds to do step by step in subsequent lines (v. 5–40). Emphasizing that nature itself gives to people numerous medicines to be obtained from sea, soil, and air (v. 41–43), the author goes on to discuss medicines from fish and their uses for specific ailments (v. 44–101). The text stops at the 101st verse. It is not known how extensive Marcellus' book on fish and other marine animals was.

⁴ See *Anthologia Graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea*, VII, 158, ed. H. STADTMUELLER, Lipsiae 1899 [= BSGR], p. 103.

⁵ *The Greek Anthology*, vol. II, trans. W.R. PATON, London–New York 1919 [= LCL, 68], p. 89–91.

⁶ M. DAVIES, S.B. POMEROY, *Marcellus of Side's Epitaph on Regilla (IG XIV 1389): An Historical and Literary Commentary*, P.RSC 38, 2012, p. 3–34.

The surviving Greek text reads as follows⁷:

Εὖ δὲ καὶ εἰναλίωιν ἐδάην φύσιν ἰήτειραν
 <σχ>ήμασι παντοίοισιν ἐμὸν νόον ἐξερεῖνων,
 ὡς αὐτός τ' ἐνόησα καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουσα·
 ὧν τοι ἐγὼ πληθὺν ἠδ' οὖνομα πᾶν ἀγορεύσω.
 Βένθεα κητώνεντα πολυσκοπέλοιο θαλάσσης
 ἰχθύες ἀμφινέμονται ἀπειρίτοι ἀργινόνεντες
 παμμέλανες περκνοὶ τε καὶ αἰόλον εἶδος ἔχοντες·

I have also learned well the healing nature of sea-creatures,
 thoroughly searching my mind in all sorts of ways,
 both as I have learned myself and heard stories from others:
 of these I will tell you the multitude and all the names.
 Around the sea-creatures filled depths of the sea with its many cliffs
 innumerable fish dwell, bright-shining,
 all-black, dusky, and variegated in appearance.⁸

Hapax legomena in Marcellus of Side

The surviving fragment of Marcellus' work features Greek ichthyonyms that do not appear in other ancient sources, or their form significantly differs from the names of fish found in the literature on the subject. Ernst Heitsch labels these names as “*pisces ignoti*” or “*nomina inusitata*”⁹. Below *hapax legomena* related to the ontological terminology of Marcellus of Side will be discussed.

βούφθαλμος ‘large-eye dentex’

The first exclusive ichthyonym appears in the eighth verse of the preserved epic fragment, which reads: φάγροι τε γλαῦκοί τε, πρέποντες βούφθαλμοὶ τε (*red porgies, marlins, ‘prepontes’ and large-eye dentexes*).

According to F.R. Adrados, the Greek ichthyonym βούφθαλμος seems to describe a fish of the *Sparidae* family, similar to bogue (Gk. βώψ, *Boops boops* L., 1758)¹⁰. This assumption seems correct because Marcellus often juxtaposes related fish at the beginning and the end of the line, and in the analyzed verse there is

⁷ See E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. II, Göttingen 1964 [= AAWG.PHK, 3.58], p. 16–22.

⁸ Trans. by F. Overduin. See F. OVERDUIN, *The Didactic Aesthetics of Marcellus' De Piscibus* (GDRK 63), AJP 139, 1, 2018, p. 39, 42.

⁹ E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente...*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV, ed. F.R. ADRADOS, Madrid 1994, p. 747. See also R. STRÖMBERG, *Studien zur Etymologie und Bildung der griechischen Fischnamen*, Göteborg 1943, p. 99. Note that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161, wrongly identify the fish called βούφθαλμος with the blackspot seabream (*Pagellus bogaraveo*, Brünnich, 1768).

also another fish of the *Sparidae* family, namely red porgy (Gk. φάγρος, *Pagrus pagrus* L., 1758). The term βούφθαλμος is clear in terms of word-formation and etymology; it literally means a fish ‘with big eyes’, cf. the Greek prefix βου- ‘big, large, numerous’¹¹ (< Gk. βούς f. m. ‘cow, ox’) and ὀφθαλμός m. ‘eye’. It should be assumed that this is a large-eyed dentex (*Dentex macrophthalmus* Bloch, 1791), because this particular fish has “huge eyes”¹² in relation to its body size.

θύρος ‘some sort of marine fish’

Another rare fish-name occurs in verse 10: θύροι τε σκιαδεῖς τε καὶ ἥπατοι ἀγκυλόδοντες (*thyroi*, *halibuts*, *hakes with curved teeth*). *Thyroi* (Gk. θύροι) are unidentified marine fish (“*pisces ignotae*”¹³), found in the Mediterranean basin. This ancient ichthyonym in the above form appears only in the preserved fragment of the work by Marcellus of Side¹⁴. It should be noted, however, that in Ancient Greek and Latin there was a very similar word, θυρσίων, which had two meanings. In Athenaeus’ work, it defines such a part of the fish (specifically a part of the lower abdomen of the porbeagle, *Lamna nasus* Bonnaterre, 1788)¹⁵ that was supposed to be the most exquisite rarity of Hellenic cuisine¹⁶. In Latin, the term *thursio*, borrowed from Greek, appears to mean a large sea animal shaped like a dolphin¹⁷. The animal is generally identified with the porpoise (*Phocoena phocoena* L., 1758, syn. *Delphinus phocoena* L., 1758)¹⁸, a marine mammal of the porpoise family. The word θυρσίων ‘a kind of fish/eine Fischart’ was used in Medieval Greek¹⁹. The name of this fish has been preserved to this day in the Pontic dialect of the Modern Greek language as τυρσίον n. ‘some sort of marine fish’ (Inepolis, Trebizont)²⁰.

¹¹ R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, vol. I, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 228. See the Hesychian gloss: βου· τὸ μέγα καὶ πολὺ δηλοῖ. [Ἰάκωνες]; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. K. LATTE, Hauniae 1953, p. 336; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM, Berlin–Boston 2018, p. 453.

¹² F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische. Steinbachs Naturführer*, München 1983, p. 100; B. WIĘCĄSZEK, A. ANTOSZEK, S. KESZKA, *Naukowe, polskie i angielskie nazewnictwo ryb świata w układzie systematycznym*, Warszawa–Radom 2015, p. 125.

¹³ E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente...*, p. 17.

¹⁴ *LSJ*, p. 153.

¹⁵ M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (III–VII w.)*, Łódź 2005 [= BL, 9], p. 353–354.

¹⁶ *Athenaei Naucraticae dipnosophistarum libri XV*, VII, 309e, vol. I–III, rec. G. KAIBEL, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890 (cetera: ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*).

¹⁷ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, IX, 34: *Delphinosaurum similitudinem habent qui vocantur thursiones*, see: GAIO PLINIO SECONDO, *Storia Naturale*, vol. II, *Antropologia e zoologia, Libri 7–11*, trans. et comm. A. BORGHINI, E. GIANNARELLI, A. MARCONE, G. RANUZZI, Torino 2007, p. 314.

¹⁸ *LSJ*, p. 812 (‘a dolphin-like fish’); F. MONTANARI, *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, Milano 2003, p. 928 (‘focena, pesce porco’).

¹⁹ N. ANDRIOTIS, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten*, Wien 1974 [= SB.LA, 22], p. 279.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

It seems that the ichthyonym $\theta\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ quoted by Marcellus may represent a local Pamphylian form popular in the city of Side and its surroundings. In the Pamphylian dialect the consonant group $-\rho\sigma-$ assimilated progressively to $-\rho\rho-$ and the resulting geminate was then shortened to $-\rho-$, cf. Pamph. Πούρου gen. sg. 'of Pyrrhos' ($< \text{Πύρρου} < * \text{Πύρσου}$)²¹. The simplification of the geminate $-\rho\rho-$ could be compensated for by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. In other words, there is no reason why the local Pamphylian appellative $\theta\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ could not derive from the Greek $*\theta\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$. This form was the basis for the derivation of another Greek-Latin ichthyonym: $\theta\upsilon\rho\sigma\iota\omega\nu$.

χρῦσοφοϛ 'gilt-head bream'

The ichthyonym is found in verse 12: $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\iota \eta\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\pi\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\eta\lambda\alpha\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\rho\kappa\alpha\iota$ (*gilt-head breams and 'elopes' [sturgeons], and bonitos, and 'acharnai'*). Only Marcellus of Side uses the rare, probably dialectal (Pamphylian) form of $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$ instead of the more popular (Attic-Ionian) version of $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ 'gilt-head bream'²². The form recorded in the analyzed fragment appeared as a result of progressive dissimilation of liquid consonants (Gk. $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma < * \chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\rho\upsilon\varsigma$). Gilt-head bream (*Sparus aurata* L., 1758) is a species of fish of the *Sparidae* family, the sole representative of the *Sparus* genus²³. It is common in the Mediterranean Sea²⁴. Breams as fish with very tasty and delicate meat were highly valued by ancient dietetians, although not many recipes of ancient Greek cuisine have survived²⁵.

ἐρυθρός 'common pandora'

The fourth *hapax legomenon* appears in line 14: $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\iota \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\iota \mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ (*lizas, common pandoras and coastal obladas*). The Greek ichthyonym $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, used by Marcellus, does not appear in other written sources. There is no doubt that this is a fish called $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (also as a result of progressive dissimilation of $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$), known in English as the common pandora (*Pagellus erythrinus* L.)²⁶. This name was regressively dissimilated ($\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma > * \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\theta\rho\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$) in Hellenic dialects of Great Greece, hence the Italian dialectal names:

²¹ C. BRIXHE, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire*, Paris 1976 [= BIFEAI], p. 70.

²² A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London 1947, p. 292; LSF, p. 2011; G. ARENA, M. CASIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 163 (the authors use an unaccepted name *Chrysophrys aurata* L., 1758).

²³ J. GRONAU, *Polsko-łaciński i łacińsko-polski słownik popularnych nazw ryb. Z przyporządkowaniem poprzez kod do rodzin ryb wraz z uproszczoną systematyką ryb*, Kraków 1994, p. 42; B. WIĘCASZEK, A. ANTOSZEK, S. KESZKA, *Naukowe, polskie i angielskie nazewnictwo ryb...*, p. 127.

²⁴ F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 94.

²⁵ A. DALBY, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 61; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 75–76.

²⁶ J. GRONAU, *Polsko-łaciński...*, p. 70; B. WIĘCASZEK, A. ANTOSZEK, S. KESZKA, *Naukowe, polskie i angielskie nazewnictwo ryb...*, p. 126.

lutrinu in Calabria, *lutrinu* in Salento, *lutrinā* in Taranto and *lutrinā* in Naples²⁷. The same phenomenon can be observed in the Modern Greek dialects, where a deminutive form appears, cf. MGk. dial. λυθρίνι, λεθρίνι n. ‘common pandora, *Pagellus erythrinus* L.’

Common pandoras are frequently found in the Mediterranean Sea and eastern parts of the Atlantic Ocean. The meat of the fish is tasty, firm and nutritious. According to Oribasius, the fish called ἐρυθρίνος in wine was an essential component of a love potion²⁸.

περόνη f. ‘some kind of belone-shaped fish’

Marcellus of Side places another *hapax legomenon* in line 15, which reads as follows: βῶκες καὶ περόναι καὶ πετρῶντες ἴουλοι (*bogues, ‘peronai’ and wrasses living among rocks*). The didactic poet calls some unidentified fish caught in the Mediterranean Sea by the Greek name περόναι²⁹. This ichthyonym is unique and appears only in Marcellus’ work. The Greek appellative περόνη f. means ‘pin, tongue of a buckle, or brooch; buckle or brooch brooch itself’³⁰. The ichthyonym probably refers to some belone-shaped fish (Latin *Beloniformes*), characterised by a narrow, elongated shape of the body, perhaps belonging to the *Belonidae* family, like e.g. garfish (*Belone belone* L.)³¹.

βράχατος ‘angler’

Monkfish (Gk. βράχατοι) are marine fish found off the coasts of Europe and north-west Africa, including in the Mediterranean³². The angler (*Lophius piscatorius* L., 1758), which belongs to the *Lophiidae* family, usually lives at the bottom of the sea. Its length reaches 2 meters. Marcellus of Side used the dialectal form βράχατοι (sing. βράχατος)³³, which belongs to the *hapax legomena*. This form is significantly different from the Attic form βάτραχος (Ionic βάθρακος)³⁴, which

²⁷ G. ROHLFS, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität*, Tübingen 1964, p. 157–158.

²⁸ *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, II, 58, 18, 1–19, 1, vol. I–IV, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928 (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*). Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 96.

²⁹ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 195 (“An unknown fish”). G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 162, suggest a hypothetical identification with the garfish or the sea needle (*Belone belone* L., 1758).

³⁰ *LSJ*, p. 1395.

³¹ F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 60–61.

³² S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb morskich*, Gdańsk 1982, p. 596–597, No. 943; F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 206–207.

³³ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV..., p. 751.

³⁴ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV..., p. 698. Note that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 155, 161, introduce the Attic form βάτραχοι (*Lophius piscatorius* L., 1758) to Marcellus’ text (v. 21).

allows us to assume that Marcellus introduced a native, Pamphylic lexical unit to his poem. The related Cypriot term βρούχετος, validated in Hesychius' gloss (cf. βρούχετος· βάραθρον· βάτραχον δὲ Κύπριοι³⁵), featured a similar metathesis of the liquid consonant, as well as an identical sequence of dorsal and dental consonants.

In ancient times, the angler was not part of the daily diet of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast. As a demersal fish, it was rarely caught in fishing nets and for this reason it was regarded as a unique delicacy and treat, served for exquisite feasts and sumptuous parties. Archestratus (preserved in the work by Athenaeus) considered the abdominal part of the angler to be exceptionally tasty³⁶. Oribasius points to the need to use expensive spices to improve the taste of the fish, as its meat had, in his opinion, an unpleasant smell³⁷.

ἄρπη 'some kind of sea fish'

Verse 22 brings as many as two ichthyonyms belonging to *hapax legomena*: καὶ τρυγῶν τρυγῶν ἄρπη τε καὶ ἠόεις κόλλουρος (*and the stingray, and the harpe, and the coastal slender sunfish*). Only the first name, τρυγῶν, is validated in other ancient sources. The ichthyonym ἄρπη means some unknown fish³⁸. The name appears only in a poem by Marcellus of Side. The Greek term ἄρπη means primarily some kind of bird of prey from the falcon family. Floating stingrays resemble birds, especially gliding birds of prey, hence the Greek name ἀετός, which probably meant both 'eagle' and sea fish, namely the common eagle ray (*Myliobatis aquila* L., 1758)³⁹. Presumably Marcellus used the appellative ἄρπη in reference to some fish similar in appearance to the stingray.

κόλλουρος 'slender sunfish'

The Greek ichthyonym κόλλουρος (literally 'having its tail cut off') refers to some unidentified fish, registered only in Marcellus' *De piscibus* (v. 22)⁴⁰. Reinhold Strömberg assumes an expressive gemination of -λλ- and links the name

³⁵ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. K. LATTE..., p. 350; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM..., p. 470.

³⁶ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*, VII, 296d.

³⁷ ORIBASIOS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 3, 12, 3–13, 3. M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 50–51.

³⁸ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. III, ed. F.R. ADRADOS, Madrid 1991, p. 523; F. MONTANARI, *Vocabolario...*, p. 326. A hypothetical identification with the flying gurnard (*Dactylopterus volitans* L., 1758) is suggested by G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161. It is worth emphasizing that the flying gurnard was called ἰέραξ in Ancient Greek, cf. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 149.

³⁹ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 3; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 304; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 24–25.

⁴⁰ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 121; F. MONTANARI, *Vocabolario...*, p. 1109.

of the fish to the adjective κόλουρος ‘with a tail cut off, without a tail’⁴¹. He also supposes that ichthyonym relates to some Mediterranean fish from the *Molidae* family, such as slender sunfish or ranzania (*Ranzania laevis* Pennant, 1776, syn. *Orthogoriscus truncatus* Retzius, 1785). These fish do not have a tail shaft. The epithet ἡϊόεις clearly indicates that this fish was found in the coastal zone, which excludes the reference to the mola (*Mola mola* L., 1758), which is a typical pelagic fish⁴². The slender sunfish, on the other hand, is found mainly in the warm waters of the continental shelf⁴³, i.e. in the coastal zone, so the adjective ἡϊόεις ‘coastal’ used by Marcellus makes it possible to identify the fish named κόλλουρος⁴⁴.

τραγίσκος ‘blue whiting’

The next *hapax legomenon* appears in line 23: σκορπίοι ἡδὲ λύκοι καὶ σήπια ἡδὲ τραγίσκοι (scorpion fish and stargazers, cuttlefish and blue whiting). The ichthyonym τραγίσκος (literally ‘kid, goat’) appears only in the work by Marcellus of Side. The name is a diminutive created from the appellative τράγος m. ‘goat’. The identification of the fish is not certain⁴⁵. The fish called τράγος (literally ‘goat’) appears already in Aristotle’s *Zoology*⁴⁶, where the author states that the male of the fish called μαινίς (i.e. th blotched picarel, *Spicara maena* L., 1758, syn. *Smaris maena* L. 1758) take on a dark colour during the mating season, and some [Greeks] call them *goats* (τράγοι). However, in other ancient sources (i.e. Oppian, Athenaeus, Ovidius) the fish τράγος (τραγίσκος) and μαινίς (μαίνη) are usually carefully differentiated⁴⁷. Also Marcellus of Side mentions separately the fish called τραγίσκος (line 23) and the blotched picarel (line 28). Aleksander Mikołajczak convincingly identifies the fish Ovidius named *tragus* with blue whiting

⁴¹ R. STRÖMBERG, *Studien zur Etymologie...*, p. 48. See also R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary...*, vol. I, p. 736–737.

⁴² S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb...*, p. 596–597, No. 941; F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 206.

⁴³ S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb...*, p. 596–597, No. 942.

⁴⁴ G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 162, give a tentative identification with a question mark: “*Labrys merula*/tordo nero (?)”. It should be noted that the brown wrasse (*Labrys merula* L., 1758) has a long tail.

⁴⁵ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 263.

⁴⁶ ARISTOTLE, *Historia animalium in three volumes*, 607b9, vol. III, trans. D.M. BALME, London–Cambridge Mass. 1991 [= LCL, 439].

⁴⁷ OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, I, 108: βόσκονται μαινίδες ἰδὲ τράγοι ἡδ’ ἀθερίναι (*On the weedy beach under the green grasses / feeds the Maenis and the Goat-fish and the Atherine*), cf. Oppian, *Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, trans. A.W. MAIR, London–New York 1928 [= LCL, 219], p. 210–211. See also ATHE-NAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*, 313a–c (μαινίδες) vs. 328c (τράγοι); OVIDIUS, *Halieutica*, 120 (*maena*) vs. 112 (*tragique*). See *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Halieutica*, ed. A.A. ΜΙΚΟΛΑΪΤΣΑΚ, Gnesnae 1997, p. 82.

(*Micromesistius poutassou* Risso, 1827)⁴⁸. Blue whiting is common in the North-west Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea⁴⁹.

τυφλίνος 'some small-sized coastal fish'

There is no doubt that it is worth mentioning and discussing line 25: τυφλίνου νάρκη τε καὶ ἡδείη ἀκαλήφη ('*typhlinoi*' and rays and sweet anemones), even though the form τυφλίνος appears not just in the work by Marcellus of Side, but also in the thesaurus by Hesychius of Alexandria. It cannot be ruled out that Hesychius quoted Marcellus' ichtyonym. The fish τυφλίνος (literally 'blind one') has not been identified in the literature on the subject yet⁵⁰. Athenaeus mentions the unknown "blind" fish (Gk. τύφλη) among the Nile fish⁵¹. The fish called τυφλίνος is also listed by Hesychius of Alexandria, a Greek lexicographer from the end of the 5th century AD, who supports its Nile origin: τυφλίνος· ἰχθύς Νειλῶ[ε]ιος· καὶ ὄφρεως εἶδος⁵² ('*typhlinos*' – Nile fish; and snake species). Physician Oribasius (325–403) uses the diminutive τυφλινίδιον, which indicates the small size of this fish⁵³. It is also mentioned by the Byzantine writer Cassianus Bassus in his *Geoponica* as a good bait for bigger fish⁵⁴. The fish τυφλίνος could be found in saltwater as well as in freshwater, e.g. at the mouth of the Nile. This fish, according to Oribasius, had little dietary value, was difficult to digest, had a bad effect on the digestive tract and could sometimes cause diarrhea⁵⁵.

ἀλιπλεύμων 'jellyfish'

Line 27 features a *hapax legomenon* that is clear in terms of word-formation: τρηχαλέη ρίνη τε καὶ ἀργινόεις ἀλιπλεύμων (*Rough angelshark and white-shining jellyfish*). The Greek term ἀλιπλεύμων (literally 'sea lung') appears only in the work

⁴⁸ *Publii Ouidii Nasonis Halieutica*, ed. A.A. MIKOŁAJCZAK, Gnesnae 1997, p. 81. A different identification is proposed by G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 163 ('red mullet, *Mullus barbatus* L., 1758').

⁴⁹ S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb...*, p. 262–263, No. 276.

⁵⁰ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 272; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 234; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 367–368. Note, however, that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 163, suggest a tentative identification with the broadnosed pipefish (*Syngnathus typhle* L., 1758).

⁵¹ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*, VII, 312a.

⁵² *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. IV, ed. P.A. HANSEN, I.C. CUNNINGHAM, Berlin–New York 2009, p. 89.

⁵³ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, II, 58, 152.

⁵⁴ *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eologie*, XX, 19, ed. H. BECKH, Lipsiae 1895.

⁵⁵ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, II, 58, 152; see M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 367–368.

by Marcellus⁵⁶. The authors of *the Greek-Spanish Dictionary* identify the animal as a jellyfish (Spanish *medusa*)⁵⁷. Indeed, the name πλεύμων or πνεύμων defined jellyfish in Greek sources of the classical era (Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus)⁵⁸. In ancient medicine jellyfish were used to treat kidney stones and warts⁵⁹, and applied as plasters for gout and frostbite⁶⁰. Jellyfish is one of the two morphological forms of the *Coelenterata* of the *Cnidaria* phylum⁶¹.

θραβίας ‘swordfish’

The above fish name was validated in verse 29, which reads as follows: καὶ κί<ρρ>οὶ συ<ν>όδοι τε ἰδὲ ξιφία θραβία τε (*and reddish dentexes, swordfish and broadbills*). The ichthyonym θραβίας (elsewhere validated in an alternative form θράβις) is widely recognized as synonymous with the appellative ξιφίας ‘swordfish or broadbill’ (*Xiphias gladius* L., 1758). The identification is based both on the testimony of Pliny, who explicitly states semantic identity (*thranis quem alii xiphiam vocant*), and on the work of Xenocrates (θράβις, ἢ ξιφίας, κητώδες ἐστὶ)⁶². The form θραβίας, validated only in Marcellus’ work, is a local, probably Pamphylian name for this fish, created by crossing the dialectal name θράβις with the universal Greek appellative ξιφίας. Therefore, one can think that Marcellus of Side used a copulative conjunction of ξιφία θραβία τε to poetically document the synonymous character of both these Greek ichthyonyms.

γαρίσκος ‘small sea fish from which the *garum* fish sauce was made’

Line 33: καὶ σαῦραι χάν<ν>αι τε καὶ ὀρφέες ἠδὲ γαρίσκοι (*and horse mackerel, and painted combers, writers and groupers, and ‘gariskoi’*). The Greek ichthyonym γαρίσκος means some small sea fish that was the basic ingredient of fish sauce

⁵⁶ The term *halipleumon* was earlier used by PLINY THE ELDER (*Naturalis historia*, XXXII, 149). See E. DE SAINT-DENIS, *Le vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique*, Paris 1947, p. 44.

⁵⁷ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. I, ed. F.R. ADRADOS, Madrid 1989, p. 150. See also G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161: «*Rhizostoma pulmo/medusa nota come “polmone di mare”*».

⁵⁸ PLATO, *Philebus*, 21c, [in:] PLATO, *Statesman, Philebus, Ion*, trans. H.N. FOWLER, W.R.M. LAMB, London–Cambridge 1925 [= LCL, 164]; *Aristotelis De partibus animalium libri quattuor*, 681a18, ed. B. LANGKAVEL, Lipsiae 1868, p. 108; THEOPHRASTUS, *Signa*, 40, [in:] IDEM, *Enquiry into Plants and Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs*, trans. A. HORT, London–New York 1916 [= LCL, 70], p. 429. See A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 203.

⁵⁹ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXXII, 102, cf. GAIO PLINIO SECONDO, *Storia Naturale*, vol. IV, *Medicina e farmacologia*, Libri 28–32, trans. et comm. U. CAPITANI, I. GAROFALO, Torino 1986, p. 592.

⁶⁰ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXXII, 111; *Pedani Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, II, 37, vol. I, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berolini 1958; PAULUS AEGINETA, *Epitome Medicinae. Libri V–VII*, VII, 3, ed. J.L. HEIBERG, Lipsiae–Berolini 1924 [= CMG, IX.2].

⁶¹ See A. RAJSKI, *Zoologia*, vol. II, *Część systematyczna*, Warszawa 1997, p. 58; *Zoologia*, vol. I, *Bezkręgowce*, ed. C. BŁASZAK, Warszawa 2009, p. 66.

⁶² A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 77, 178; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 316–317.

called γάρπος or γάρπον (Latin *garum*)⁶³. Pliny the Elder says that the famous fish sauce was once made from a fish called γάρπος, and in his time (I century AD) *garum* made from mackerel was considered the best (*hoc [garum] olim conficiebatur ex pisce quam Graeci 'garon' vocabant [...] nunc ex scombro pisce laudatissimus*)⁶⁴. This information is also repeated by Isidore of Seville (*Garum est liquor piscium salsus, qui olim conficiebatur ex pisce quem Graeci γάρπον vocabant*)⁶⁵. The fish is unidentified because the term γαρίσκος (derived from a diminutive) is found only in the work by Marcellus of Side, and the alternative form γάρπος only in Latin authors (Pliny the Elder, Rufinus and Isidore of Seville)⁶⁶.

γερίνος 'some kind of a sea creature'

The last *hapax legomenon* appears in line 37: ὄστρεά τε γλαφυραί τε πελωρίδες ἠδὲ γερίνοι (*Oysters and delicate pelorides, and 'gerinoi'*). The Greek name γερίνος appears only in the work by Marcellus of Side. It probably defines a mussel or a sea snail as indicated by the context (v. 34–39)⁶⁷, and not a sea fish, as suggested by the authors of the Greek-Spanish Dictionary (*DGE*)⁶⁸.

Conclusions

This paper discusses Greek ichthyonyms that appear exclusively in the work by Marcellus of Side. Since they are found only in one literary source, they are classified as *hapax legomena*. Most of the appellatives analyzed here are transparent in terms of word-formation, although we are not always able to reconstruct specific semantics and clearly identify the Mediterranean fish labelled with a given name. In some cases, the ancient poet of the second century AD introduced very rare ichthyonyms, which probably functioned in the Pamphylian dialect of Ancient Greek, including ἄρπη, βούφθαλμος, βράχατος, γαρίσκος, γερίνος,

⁶³ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 43.

⁶⁴ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXXI, 93, see: GAIUS PLINIO SECONDO, *Storia Naturale*, vol. IV..., p. 520, 522.

⁶⁵ See ISIDORO DI SIVIGLIA, *Etimologie o origini*, vol. II, ed. A. VALASTRO CANALE, Roma 2014, p. 644.

⁶⁶ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV..., p. 789. It is worth emphasizing that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161, connect γαρίσκος with the Italian fish name *garizzo* ('*Spicara flexuosa* Rafinesque, 1810').

⁶⁷ The verses 34–39 read as follows: κάραβος ὀκρίοις καὶ εὐόνυχες κήρυκες / καὶ λεπάδες χήμαι τε καὶ ὀξυθεῖρες ἐχῖνοι / πολυπόδες τε πολυπλόκαμοι κόχλοι τε φαινοί / ὄστρεά τε γλαφυραί τε πελωρίδες ἠδὲ γερίνοι / τελλίνα βάλανοι τε πετρηγενέες τε μύισκοι (*Spiny lobster and strong-legged tritons / and patellas, and scallops, as well as spiky sea urchins, / multi-armed octopus, luminescent snails, / oysters and delicate veneroids and gerines, / telines and piddocks born in rocks and mussels*). All the marine animals mentioned in these lines belong to invertebrates.

⁶⁸ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. III..., p. 802 (s.v. γερίνος) ('cierto pez'). Note that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161, translate Gk. γερίνος as 'fry' ('avannotto' in Italian).

έρυθρός, θρανίας, θῦρος, κόλλουρος, περόνη, τραγίσκος, τυφλῖνος, χρύσοφος. The paper proposes new identifications of some fish, e.g. βούφθαλμος 'large-eye dentex, *Dentex macrophthalmus* Bloch', κόλλουρος 'slender sunfish, *Ranzania laevis* Pennant'. The dialectal forms are also explained from the phonetic, morphological and semantic point of view.

Translated by Katarzyna Gucio

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Abstract. Marcellus of Side, a physician and didactic poet of the second century AD, mentions fourteen exclusive ichthyonyms in the preserved fragment *De piscibus*, extracted from the 42-volume epic poem entitled *Cheironides*. The author discusses Greek names of fish and sea animals that appear only in Marcellus' work. They belong to the so-called *hapax legomena*. The following appellatives are carefully analyzed: ἀλιπλεύμων, ἄρπη, βούφθαλμος, βράχατος, γαρίσκος, γερῖνος, ἐρυθρός, θρανίας, θῦρος, κόλλουρος, περόνη, τραγίσκος, τυφλῖνος, χρύσοφος. It is assumed that Marcellus of Side introduced a number of ichthyonyms of Pamphylian origin, e.g. Pamph. θῦρος (< *θύρσος), βράχατος (instead of βάτραχος), ἐρυθρός (= ἐρυθρῖνος), θρανίας (instead of θράνις), χρύσοφος (instead of χρύσοφρς). Also new identifications of fish are suggested, e.g. Gk. βούφθαλμος 'large-eye dentex, *Dentex macropthalmus* Bloch', Gk. κόλλουρος 'slender sunfish, *Ranzania laevis* Pennant'. All the discussed ichthyonyms, as well as names of other sea animals, are explained from the point of view of phonology, morphology or semantics, e.g. ἀλιπλεύμων 'jellyfish' (literally 'sea lung'), ἄρπη 'a kind of ray fish' (literally 'a kite').

Keywords: animal terminology, etymology, Greek, ichthyonymy, vocabulary.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Large-eye dentex (*Dentex macrophthalmus* BLOCH, 1791).
Source: www.fao.org [18 IX 2019].



Fig. 2. Gilt-head bream (*Sparus aurata* L.) in the Sardinian Sea.
Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by D. BLAIKIE [31 V 2007].



Fig. 3. Common pandora (*Pagellus erythrinus* L.) in the Tyrrhenian Sea.
Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by S. GUERRIERI [27 IX 2005]



Fig. 4. Angler (*Lophius piscatorius* L.).
Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by MEOCRISIS [10 IX 2005]



Fig. 5. Slender sunfish (*Ranzania laevis* PENNANT).

Source: Wikimedia Commons



Fig. 6. Blue whiting (*Micromesistius poutassou* RISSO)

Source: Wikimedia Commons. Picture by H. GERVAIS (1877)

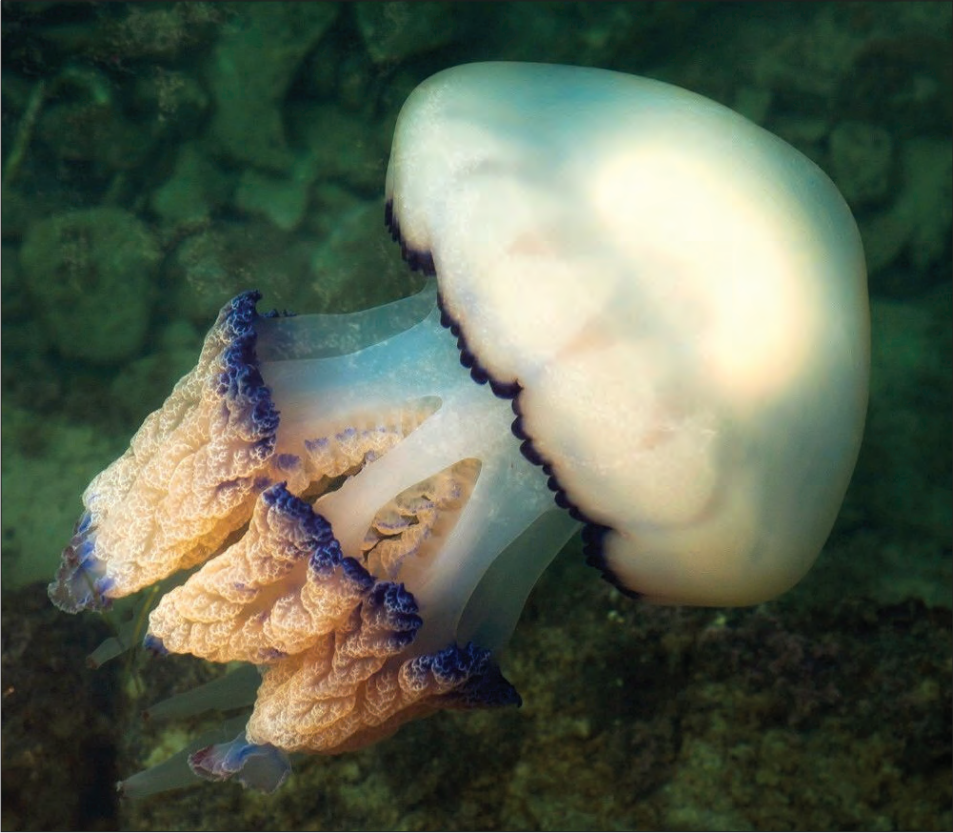


Fig. 7. Barrel jellyfish (*Rhizostoma pulmo* L.).

Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by A. KLADNIK [23 II 2014]

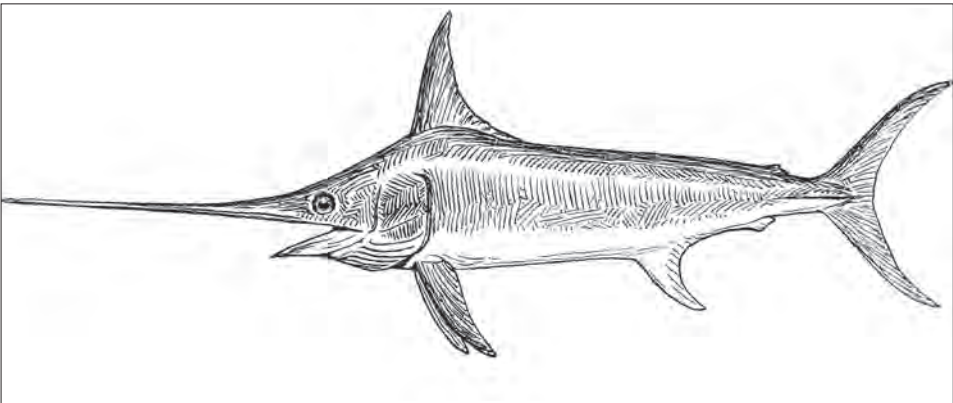


Fig. 8. Swordfish (*Xiphias gladius* L.).

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