

NOVENSIA 33

NOVENSIA 33

Studia i materiały
pod redakcją naukową

Piotra Dyczka

NOVENSIA 33



Ośrodek Badań nad Antykiem
Europy Południowo-Wschodniej

Projekt okładki / Cover design
Anna Adamczyk & Janusz Reclaw
Opracowanie graficzne / Graphic design
Anna Adamczyk

Redaktor naczelny / Chief editor
Piotr Dyczek

Komitet redakcyjny / Editorial board
Tat'ána Egorova
Evgeniâ Genčeva
Rebecca Jones
Florian Matei-Popescu
Oliva Menozzi
Ewdoksja Papuci-Władyka
Luan Përzhita
Joaquín Ruiz de Arbulo Bayona
Andreas Thiel

Sekretarz redakcji / Editorial secretary
Bartosz Wojciechowski

Niniejszy numer zawiera artykuły w wersji pierwotnej / Volume contains original articles.

© Publication under the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 PL (CC BY 3.0 PL) license
(full text available at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/pl/legalcode>).

Numer finansowany z programu „Inicjatywa Doskonałości — Uczelnia Badawcza”
Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego oraz programu „Rozwój Czasopism Naukowych”
Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego.

Ośrodek Badań nad Antykiem Europy
Południowo-Wschodniej
00–927 Warszawa
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 32
novae@uw.edu.pl

Warszawa 2023

ISSN 0860-5777
e-ISSN 2720-2941

Wydanie I
Druk: Hussar Books

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

ZOFIA KACZMAREK

- Centers of Romanness. The collegia in Virunum and their role in integrating the population of the provinces 7

KAROLINA TRUSZ

- Fish and fishing in the daily life of the inhabitants of the Southern Coast of Anatolia 35

MATEUSZ ŻMUDZIŃSKI

- A possible branch of the Silk Road in the Roman Danube provinces 45

С. М. ИЛЬЯШЕНКО, М. МАТЕРА, П. ЛЕХ

- Исследования в Западном городском районе Танаиса в 2018–2019 гг. (раскоп XXV) 57

VADZIM BELÂVEC, KATARZYNA CZARNECKA

- First find of an imported Roman key from the territory of Belarus 123

KRZYSZTOF NARLOCH

- Bronze nails from Risan (Montenegro) 133

Oświadczenie o etyce wydawniczej i niewłaściwych praktykach 177

Informacje i wskazówki dla autorów 178

Publication ethics and malpractice statement 183

Guidelines for authors 184

Karolina Trusz

FISH AND FISHING IN THE DAILY LIFE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF ANATOLIA

Abstract: This article aims to allow a closer look at the fishing industry in the daily life of towns on the southern coast of Anatolia. The available written sources, iconography and excavations results make it possible to shed light on where and how the fishing was practised, what was its role in commercial relations and spiritual beliefs.

Keywords: fish industry, Anatolia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, fish

Introduction

Cities and settlements on the Mediterranean coasts were associated with water-related activities. Fishing, catching molluscs or diving for sponges were one of the many daily tasks of the people living off the southern coast of Anatolia. In the ancient markets, freshwater and sea fish species were available in fresh, dried, salted and smoked forms. However, fish sauce was one of the most popular product. A blend of viscera and whole fish, soaked in salt water and herbs, fermented, was considered an exclusive product used as a condiment for meals but also used for medical purposes.¹ The following section will discuss the relationship between people living on the southern coasts of Anatolia and marine creatures [Fig. 1].²

Ancient written sources — daily life perspective

The information in ancient sources about the fish in waters around the south coast of Anatolia is limited, though Mare Pamphylium frequently appears. Ancient writers mentioned Mare Pamphylium as a place where it was possible to catch, a formidable opponent, a sturgeon in the depths. It was called a “silent fish” known also as a *hellops*.³ According to Columella, the sturgeon lived only in the waters surrounding the Pamphylia region and occurred extremely rare.⁴ That might explain

¹ E.g. JUNDZILL 1991, pp. 104–111; CURTIS 1991, pp. 27–37; GRAINGER 2020, pp. 90–92; MARZANO 2018, pp. 438–439; Diosc. *De materia medica* 2.34.

² The map shows all discussed ancient rivers and archaeological sites where fish industry facilities were discovered. Other ancient rivers have also been marked on the map.

³ Ael. *NA* 8.28.

⁴ Columella, *Rust.* 8.16.9.



Fig. 1. Map of Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia regions
(prepared by K. Trusz, base map from © 2014 Esri)

the celebration that ensued when the sturgeon was caught. Fisherman decorated their boats with wreaths, and they were greeted with the sounds of flutes and bells in the port.⁵ In one of the Pamphylian harbours, a similar reaction was seen. Plutarch observed a fisherman returning after catching a *hellops* fish and described the excitement and the great joy of people greeting the fisherman.⁶

Much more information we have about the freshwater fish found in rivers and streams flowing into the northern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Milyas, a town located on the northern border of Lycia, was famous for its lakes, from which freshwater fish were obtained.⁷ This suggests that freshwater fish were frequently consumed in the region, though no specific fish name is given. The river Kestros (today Aksu) in Pamphylia was once famous for its mullets and pikes, which were abundant at the mouth of the river.⁸ Aelianus mentioned that few fish swam in the river Kyndos, a stream of Tarsus in Cilicia, but also numerous fish were seen in other Cilician rivers: Pyramos (today Ceyhan) and Sarus (today Seyhan).⁹

The writer Dioscorides of Anazarbos in Cilicia wrote an extensive work in which he mentions fish sauces (*garum*) as medicine. According to *De materia medica*, *garum* could be used to treat cheek and intestinal ulcers or help with sciatica.¹⁰ Unfortunately, we do not know the efficiency of using *garum* as cure.

Fish were also mentioned in ancient written sources as a part of beliefs. Pliny reports that the inhabitants of the area around the river Limyra, in Lycia region, offered food to the fish and waited to see if it would be consumed by them. If the fish accepted the food this indicated a positive response, if it was rejected then the response was negative.¹¹

It was believed that fish swimming in the spring of Apollo in the city of Myra had magical abilities. Food was offered to the fish summoned by the sounds of the flute. If the fish ate food, it would bring good luck, but if it was rejected, it would bring misfortune.¹²

⁵ Ael. *NA* 8.28.

⁶ Plut. *De Soll.* 32.

⁷ BORCHHARDT 1999, pp. 62, 41.

⁸ VAN NEER 2000, p. 841.

⁹ Ael. *NA* 12.29.

¹⁰ Diosc. *De materia medica* 2.34.

¹¹ Plin. *Nat.* 31.18.

¹² Plin. *Nat.* 32.8.

Athenaeus mentions a pool in the grove of Apollo located in Lycia by the sea. When two wooden sticks are placed into the pool, it is filled with seawater, and the keeper of the grove examined what kind, and if any, fish appeared — bringing that way appropriate prediction.¹³ The inhabitants of the village of Sura, between Myra and Phellos, also observed the behaviour of fish, their appearance or jumping above the water surface was interpreted accordingly.¹⁴

The presence of sea creatures in the daily lives of coastal people was natural and important. But while ancient writers focused primarily on fish, it is worth noting that the waters surrounding the Lycia region were also famous for their large and delicate sponges. Those found in deep and calm sea waters were particularly delicate.¹⁵

Inscriptions and iconography — examples

In antiquity, every city with a harbour collected customs duties on goods reaching its borders. The evidence of such regulations can be seen on inscriptions found along the northern coast of Mediterranean Sea. An inscription from the Nero period concerning customs law was found near the *granarium* at Andriake in Lycia. The inscription indicated that dried fish, among other goods like olive oil, and saffron, were subjected to a special fee.¹⁶ Unfortunately, we do not have any specific information regarding such a payment. In the same town, at the entrance to the harbour, was an inscription dated to the fifth century AD with information about linen nets for catching fish.¹⁷ This indicates the possibility to access not only to freshly caught or dried fish, but also to the equipment needed for fishing. Perhaps in town was a local manufacturer of fish gear.

Less precise is an inscription from the town Anazarbos in Cilicia.¹⁸ Part of inscription was found on a marble slab, dating from the fifth–sixth century AD, mentioning a duty among others imposed on an unspecified amount of fish sauce.¹⁹ It is hard to determine if the fish sauce has been produced in Cilicia or imported from the eastern centres because of the lack of a fishing industry found in the region.

Three inscriptions from Korykos, Cilicia, show that three fishermen were involved in the fishing business.²⁰ They might have established a local association for fish hunting.

A fisherman's sarcophagus was discovered in the Elaiussa Sebaste²¹ area, with an inscription indicating the deceased's connection to the marine environment.²² A similar find is evident in the Lycia region. As part of the trade, captain Eudemos brought among other things, salted fish from the Pontus Euxine and Propontis to Olympos.²³ Apparently, there was a demand for this product in the city. The sarcophagus of the shipowner Eudemos²⁴ is still visible in ancient city [Fig. 2]. Salted fish from Black Sea region were also brought to Phaselis as an annual sacrifice to Cylabras, shepherd who sold land to build a city.²⁵

Other interesting depiction of the fish on everyday life object was a relief found in Limyra, which is located inland by the river with the same name,²⁶ about 30 km from the coast. During excavations in 1971 a lead table was found in the tomb of Xntabura, which was decorated with reliefs depicting a fish, probably a carp, and a wild boar [Fig. 3].²⁷

¹³ Ath. 8.8.

¹⁴ Ael. *NA* 8.5; Plut. *De Soll.* 23.

¹⁵ Plin. *Nat.* 9.69.

¹⁶ TAKMER 2012, pp. 201–202, 209, 214.

¹⁷ ÖZTÜRK, ÖZTÜRK 2014, p. 448.

¹⁸ Located inland.

¹⁹ DAGRON, FEISSEL 1987, pp. 170–185; HILD, HELLENKEMPER 1990, pp. 114, 125.

²⁰ HILD, HELLENKEMPER 1990, p. 114; KEIL, WILHELM 1931, pp. 160, 279.

²¹ Cilicia region.

²² BORGIA, SAYAR 1999, p. 66.

²³ ADAK, ATVUR 1997, pp. 11, 24.

²⁴ A ship is visible on the sarcophagus.

²⁵ Ath. *Deip.* 7.297, CURTIS 1991, p. 129.

²⁶ Lycia region.

²⁷ BORCHHARDT 1999, p. 62.



Fig. 2. A sarcophagus of captain Eudemos from Olympos
(photo by K. Trusz)



Fig. 3. Lead slab from Limyra (drawing elaborated by
K. Trusz after BORCHHARDT, JACOBK, DINSTL 1990, p. 210, fig. 148)

Fish depictions on mosaics from the southern Anatolian coastal areas are also known. For example, during the excavations on agora in Elaiussa Sebaste, a mosaic with a sea scene depicting various fish and dolphins was found. The mosaic dates back to the first century AD. It seems that this area was part of a larger structure, like the workshop of the fisherman.²⁸ From Cilicia region comes more mosaics with fish depiction. The mosaic floor was found near the ancient port of Syedra city, located on the border of Pamphylia and Cilicia. Whether the exact function of the room is unknown, it may have been a part of a bathhouse. The depiction on the mosaic is interesting, there were two winged Cupids shown in the boat. One of them was rowing, the other had a rod in his hand, and around them were different sea creatures, like: eel, swordfish, dolphins, octopus or cuttlefish [Fig. 4].²⁹ A floor mosaic with representations of 18 species of sea creatures was found in Anazarbos, Cilicia. Among the sea creatures were featured dolphin, catfish, bream, seabass, shark, freshwater perch, and calamari.³⁰

The fish motif is also visible on the coins. The reverse of the coin from Side in Pamphylia is one of example. The coin of the emperor Maximus shows a harbour and five large ships. On one ship is visible fisherman using a fishing rod.³¹ Another example is a coin from the ancient city called Mopsuestia/Mopsos that shows a river god named Pyramos and a fish.³²



Fig. 4. Mosaic found in ancient Syedra, now in the Alanya Archaeological Museum (photo by K. Trusz)

²⁸ BORGIA, SAVAR 1999, p. 66; EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2005, p. 182.

²⁹ KARAMUT 1996, p. 82, figure 8.

³⁰ ALTAY 1996, pp. 49, 51–52.

³¹ LEVANTE 1994, p. 846.

³² LEVANTE 1986, p. 1346.

Fish-production workshops — archaeological evidence

Only a few fish workshops have been found on the southern coast of Anatolia. So far, all of them are located within the Lycia region. Workshops were built on the sidelines of cities, not far from the port or on islands, so the smell of the fermentation process did not disturb the city inhabitants.³³ Until recently, there was only one location off the coast of southern Anatolia associated with the fishing industry. Due to the strong earthquakes that occurred in the second and third centuries AD,³⁴ part of the coast of Lycia has subsided, causing some of the waterfront structures to be underwater. That is evident on the island of Castellorizo,³⁵ located in ancient times at the south-western tip of Lycia. Within the vicinity of the ancient city of Megisti, in the Mandraki port, two rectangular basins were located. They are part of a workshop for *garum* production.³⁶ This part of the port is currently underwater.

Another place where remains of fish industry have been found in what is now called the Kekova region in Lycia. Fish ponds were found in three places. In Theimiussa, archaeologists uncovered over forty such finds, suggesting an annual production of more than 400 kilograms of dried fish.³⁷

Second place in the region is ancient Dolichiste located on a small island called Kekova.³⁸ The city harbours are in two bays on the west part of the island: the Tersane Koyu and the Kuzey Yerleşim.³⁹ In the vicinity of the bays have been found ponds used for fish sauce production. The researchers were able to estimate that the workshops could produce almost 600 m³ of fish sauce at a time, which allowed for the filling of approximately 40 000 amphorae in a single production batch.⁴⁰

It is worth noting that the Betica amphorae, used for the storage of fish products, were discovered in the ancient Tarsus in Cilicia region.⁴¹

Conclusions

The waters around the southern coast of Anatolia provided abundant marine resources for the local community. The fishing industry was an integral part of daily life which supplied food and income related to economic prospects, and a connection to the natural world was established, which held spiritual significance in their beliefs.

Remains of fish processing are visible in Lycia, at Megiste and Kekova region, which confirms the small systematic and planned sea fishing industry. The Kekova region is of particular importance, as it confirms fish processing on the southern coast of Anatolia. Previous archaeological research results have suggested that fish workshops were located only on the western shore of Anatolia, in the Caria, Mysia and Bithynia regions, among others.

Numerous ancient shipwrecks dating from the Bronze Age to the present day have been found in the waters off the southern coast of Anatolia.⁴² A shipwreck from Uluburun dating back to the fourteenth century BC sank only 400 meters off the coast of the modern city Kaş.⁴³ Among

³³ CURTIS 1984, pp. 439–440.

³⁴ BEAN 1978, p. 30; ASLAN 2014, p. 64.

³⁵ Castellorizo/Kastellorizo Island is a small Greek island near Kaş city in Turkey.

³⁶ PIRAZZOLI 1987, pp. 59–61.

³⁷ ZIMMERMAN 2003, pp. 280–292.

³⁸ This is the modern name of the island. The Kekova island is located on the opposite side of the city of Theimiussa.

³⁹ These are the modern names of the bays; ASLAN 2014, pp. 62–63; ASLAN 2015, pp. 152–153; ASLAN 2017, pp. 178–181.

⁴⁰ There were 2–3 such batches per year; ASLAN 2017, p. 182; ASLAN *et alii* 2017, p. 429.

⁴¹ VAN NEER *et alii* 2010, p. 167.

⁴² For example: PARKER 1992; ÖNİZ 2016; BASS 1966; BASS 2002.

⁴³ PULAK 1998, p. 188.

goods like copper, tin, glass, wood, handicrafts, including tools and ceramics, seeds and fruits, spices, ivory, bones of hippopotamus, land snail shells and murex snails opercula, were discovered fragments of fish bones.⁴⁴ This find is unique, and it's worth considering this as a model for studying the cargo of other ancient shipwrecks, particularly small craft, in terms of transporting fish as a product.

The fish caught were processed and, in the form of dried fish, probably met the local needs of the communities. However, finds of amphorae from Betica suggest that fish sauce came as a commercial product to the coast of southern Anatolia. Would that mean that the amounts of fish sauce produced by local workshops were too small? Future excavations in Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia may yield new and interesting information on fish industry in this part of Anatolia.

Ancient written sources:

Ath. <i>Deip.</i>	Atheneus, 1854 <i>The Deipnosophists. Or Banquet Of The Learned Of Athenaeus</i> , H. G. BOHN (trans.), London.
Ael. <i>NA</i>	Alienus, 1958 <i>De natura animalium</i> , A. F. SCHOLFIELD (trans.), Cambridge.
Columella <i>Rust.</i>	Columella 1941, <i>De Re Rustica, On Agriculture, Volume I</i> , H. BOYD ASH (trans.), London.
Diosc. <i>De materia medica</i>	Dioscorides, 2000 <i>De materia medica: Being an herbal with many other medicinal materials: written in Greek in the first century of the common era: a new indexed version in modern English</i> , T. A. OSBALDESTON, R. P. WOOD (trans.), Johannesburg.

Bibliography

ADAK, ATVUR 1997	M. ADAK, O. ATVUR, "Das Grabhaus des Zozimos und der Schiffseigner Eudomos aus Olympos", <i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> 28, pp. 11–31.
Altay 1996	M. H. Altay, "Anavarza Mozayıkları Hakkında Ön Rapor" [Preliminary Report on Anavarza Mosaics], <i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i> 15.2, pp. 49–54.
ASLAN 2014	E. ASLAN, "Kekova Bölgesinde Bulunan Antik Çağ Limanları" [Ancient harbours of Kekova Region], <i>TINA Denizcilik Arkeolojisi Dergisi/TINA Maritime Archaeology Periodical</i> , pp. 56–75.
ASLAN 2015	E. ASLAN, "Kekova Bölgesi'nde Bulunan Balık Sosu İşlikleri" [Fish sauce workshops in the Kekova Region], <i>Cedrus</i> 3, pp. 141–161.
ASLAN 2017	E. ASLAN, "Kekova Adası Araştırmalarında Tespit Edilen Üç Yeni Balık Sosu İşliği" [Three new fish sauce workshops detected in Kekova Island research], <i>Phaselis: Journal of Interdisciplinary Mediterranean Studies</i> 3, pp. 175–185.
BASS 2002	G. F. BASS, "Four Decades of Nautical Archaeology in Asia Minor", [in:] <i>Tropis 7: Proceedings of Seventh International Symposium on Ship construction in Antiquity, Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition 1999</i> , ed. P. H. TZALAS, pp. 995–1005.
BASS 1966	G. F. BASS, <i>Archaeology Under Water</i> , London.
BEAN 1978	G. BEAN, <i>Lycian Turkey</i> , London.
BORCHHARDT 1999	J. BORCHHARDT, <i>Limyra Zemuri Taşları: Likya Bölgesi'nde Limyra Antik Kenti'nin Gizemli Sularında Yapılan Arkeolojik Araştırmalar</i> [Limyra

⁴⁴ PULAK 1988, pp. 5–36; PULAK 1998, pp. 203–204; PARKER 1992, pp. 439–440.

- Zemuri Stones: Archaeological Research in the Mysterious Waters of the Ancient City of Limyra in the Lycia Region], Istanbul.
- BORCHHARDT, JACOBEB, DINSTL 1990 J. BORCHHARDT, R. JACOBEB, A. DINSTL, *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien*, Wien.
- BORGIA, SAYAR 1999 E. BORGIA, M. H. SAYAR, “Catalogo delle iscrizioni”, [in:] *Campagne di scavo 1995–1997*, ed. E. EQUINI SCHNEIDER (= *Elaiussa Sebaste* I), Roma, pp. 63–80.
- CURTIS 1984 R. I. CURTIS, “Salted Fish Products in Ancient Medicine”, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 39, 4, pp. 430–445.
- CURTIS 1991 R. I. CURTIS, *Garum and Salsamenta: Production and Commerce in Materia Medica*, Leiden – New York.
- DAGRON, FEISSEL 1987 G. DAGRON, D. FEISSEL, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris.
- EQUINI SCHNEIDER 2005 E. EQUINI SCHNEIDER, “Excavation and Research at Elaiussa Sebaste: The 2003 Campaign”, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 26.2, pp. 181–192.
- GRAINGER 2020 S. GRAINGER, *The Story of Garum: Fermented Fish Sauce and Salted Fish in the Ancient World*, New York.
- HILD, HELLENKEMPER 1990 F. HILD, H. HELLENKEMPER, *Kilikien und Isaurien* (= *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5), Wien.
- JUNDZILL 1991 J. JUNDZILL, *Rzymianie a morze* [Romans and the sea], Bydgoszcz.
- KARMUT 1996 I. KARMUT, “Yılı Syedra Antik Kenti Çevre Düzenleme Çalışmaları” [Landscaping Works in the Ancient City of Syedra], *VI. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri*, pp. 77–89.
- KEIL, WILHELM 1931 J. KEIL, A. WILHELM, *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien* (= *Monumenta Asiae minoris antiqua* 3), Manchester.
- LEVANTE 1986 E. LEVANTE, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Switzerland* I, Bern.
- LEVANTE 1994 E. LEVANTE, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, France 3. Cabinet des Médailles. Pamphylie, Pisidie, Lycaonie, Galatie*, Zurich.
- MARZANO 2018 A. MARZANO, “Fish and Fishing in the Roman World”, *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 13, pp. 437–447.
- ÖNİZ 2016 H. ÖNİZ, *Doğu Akdeniz’de Amphoralar* [Amphoras in Eastern Mediterranean], Antalya.
- ÖZTÜRK, ÖZTÜRK 2014 F. D. ÖZTÜRK, H. S. ÖZTÜRK, “Ein spatantikes Edikt zum Wirtschaftsleben in Andriake (Lykien)”, [in:] *Öffentlichkeit-Monument-Text: XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, 27-3, Augusti MMXII*, ed. W. ECK, P. FUNKE (= *CIL Auctarium Series Nova*), Berlin, Boston, pp. 448–449.
- PARKER 1992 A. J. PARKER, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces* (= *British Archaeological Reports International Series* 580), Oxford.
- PIRAZZOLI 1987 P. A. PIRAZZOLI, “Submerged remains of Ancient Megisti in Castellorizo Island (Greece): A preliminary survey”, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 16.1, pp. 57–66.
- PULAK 1988 C. PULAK, “The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1985 Campaign”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 92.1, pp. 1–37.
- PULAK 1998 C. PULAK, “The Uluburun shipwreck: an overview”, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 2.3, pp. 188–224.
- TAKMER 2012 B. TAKMER, “Anadolu’nun Önemli Tarihi Yazıtları 2. Lykia Eyaleti Gümrük Yasası: Nero Dönemi’ne Ait Andriake Gümrük Yazıtı Hakkında Ön Rapor” [Important Historical Inscriptions of Anatolia 2. Customs Law of the Lycian State: Preliminary Report on the Andriake Customs Inscription from the Nero Period], [in:] *Eskiçağ Yazıları*, ed. V. ÇELGIN, N. E. AKYÜREK ŞAHİN (= *Akron* 3), Istanbul, pp. 201–240.
- VAN NEER 2000 W. VAN NEER, “Results of the 1996 survey of the fish fauna of the Aksu river and some lakes in southwestern Anatolia, and the implications

- for trade at Sagalassos”, [in:] *Sagalassos V: report on the survey and excavation campaigns of 1996 and 1997*, ed. M. WÆLKENS, L. LOOTS, Leuven, pp. 828–842.
- VAN NEER, ERVYNCK, MONSIEUR 2010 W. VAN NEER, A. ERVYNCK, P. MONSIEUR, “Fish Bones and Amphorae: Evidence for the Production and Consumption of Salted Fish Products outside the Mediterranean Region”, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 23, pp. 161–195.
- ZIMMERMANN 2003 M. ZIMMERMANN, “Hafen und Hinterland. Wege der Akkulturation an der lykischen Küste. Vorbericht über die Feldforschungen in den zentrallykischen Orten Tyberissos und Timiussa in den Jahren 1999–2001”, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 53, pp. 265–312.

Karolina Trusz
Faculty of Archaeology
University of Warsaw
k.trusz2@uw.edu.pl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5812-1126>