CONTENTS

		List of contents	i
		List of tables	ii
		List of illustrations	Ii
		Acknowledgments	v
		Abbreviations	vi
		List of Classical works used in this thesis	Vi
CHAPTER	1	Introduction. Defining the problem of fish-eating in Classical Greece	1
CHAPTER	2	Fish-eating between the hammer of Classics and the anvil of	
		economy	5
2.1		Philologists, ancient historians and the archaeologists of the early 20 th century on ancient fishing and fish-	
		eating	5
2.2		Modeling and quantification of ancient fishing	7
2.3		Fish in the economy and beyond. The recent work	11
2.4		Conclusions	14
CHAPTER	. 3	Theoretical framework adopted in this study	16
3.1		Food consumption in anthropological thinking	16
3.2		Food consumption as a social phenomenon	18
3.3		The social life of things – the social life of fish	20
3.4		Food embodiment and the senses	22
3.5		Conclusions	23
CHAPTER	4	Shaping the methodology	24
4.1	•	Objects versus texts: the scope and methods of historical	~ '
		archaeology	24
4.2		Objects and texts: shaping a methodology	25
4.3		Definitions of terms and limits	30
4.4		Conclusions	32
CIIADTED	-	Catalina Sala mandustion	22
CHAPTER	3	Catching fish – production The productivity riddle: How rich in fish were the Greek waters?	33
5.1		•	33
		What fish resources were exploited?	33 37
5.2 5.3		The geographical distribution of exploited fish	31
).3		resources	50
5.4		Conclusions	65
). 4		Conclusions	03
CHAPTER	6	The invisible fishermen	67
5.1		What is a fisherman?	67
5.2		Looking for the fishermen in the fish names	69
5.3		Looking for the fishermen in the fish-myths	70
5.4		Conclusions	74
CHAPTER	7	Fish becoming food – distribution and marketing	75
7.1	,	Fresh fish	75
7.2		Preserved fish.	84
7.3		Conclusions	88
788 V RABIA182	0	Where when and with whom to get fink the regist context of fink	
CHAPTER	8	Where, when and with whom to eat fish – the social context of fish consumption	91
3.1		Fish-eating with the gods and the dead	91
3.2		Secular fish-eating in houses and taverns	99
3		Conclusions	102

i

CHA 9.1		a fish price list	103 103
9.1		tegories beyond Linnean taxonomy	103
9.2			112
9.3	Conclusions.		112
СНА	PTER 10 Eating the fis	sh – fish-dishes and the senses	113
10.1		pecific fish tastes as shared culture	113
10.1		4 th century as a multilevel sensual act – the fish-	113
10.2	_		115
10.3			123
СНА	PTER 11 Conclusions.		124
Appe	ndix 1 Literary source	es related to fish, fishing and fish-eating	126
		Epigraphical sources related to fish, fishing and fish-eating	
		Fish-related structures	137 140
		Sites of special interest to the study of ancient fishing and fish	
• • •	consumption.	,	
Appe	ndix 5 Fish bone reco	ording codes.	149
• • •		G	
Refer	rences		152
		LIST OF TABLES	
4.4			
4.1		sh fish names	28
5.1a-g		n by site	38
5.2		on the basis of fish remains and references in literary	
	sources		41
5.3		ng, fish eating and fish in cult based on literary	
	sources		44
5.4		ed in Classical Greece	47
5.5	Geographical distribution of	fish and fishing related data	51
5.6		archaeologically or literarily attested fish	
	resources		62
6.1	Fish names of popular fish va	rieties	70
7.1	Itanos. Fish anatomical part i	representation	82
7.2	Terms related to the variety o	f preserved fish products	86
8.1	Kalaureia - "Dining deposit".	Fish taxonomic and body size	
		······································	94
8.2	Kalaureia - "Dining deposit".	Fish anatomical part	
			95
9.1		hia inscription (end of 3 rd -beg. of 2 nd c.	
	B.C.)		104
¥ ¥0m =			
LIST O	OF ILLUSTRATIONS		
4.1	Fish basic skeletal groups: Cra	nial, branchial, pectoral and pelvic bones, abdominal	26
	vertebrae and caudal vertebrae	(drawing from Bristow 1992, p.10).	
5.1	Satellite image of Greece (Tale	ent Cruiser, <u>www.cruiser.gr/en_main.html accessed 25</u>	
• •	November 2006).	ordisor, www.cruiscr.gr/cii iliaiii.iliiii accessed 25	34
5.2		of productivity in the Aegean Sea as it is indicated by	J 4
- 	images of the surface fluoress	ent pigments (average) during April (a) and September	
	(b) (from Lykousis et al. 2002.	an pigments (average) during April (a) and September	24
5.3	A small water 1 of the art	ng. 4).	34
البول ا	Crote (photograph by D)	s of Geropotamos, a seasonal river, east of Rethymnon,	~ -
<i>5 A</i>	Crete (photograph by D. Mylo		36
5.4	DISTIDUTION OF SMAll Wetland S	sites (red dots) on the Aegean Islands (from Katsorodakis	

	and Paragamian 2006, p.4).	43
5.5	Young fisherman on the coast. Scene in the interior of cup by Ambrosios Painter, 6 th c.	
	B.C., now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Beazley 1963, p. 173, no 9; photograph	
	from Sparkes 1995).	49
5.6	Thynneio: an arrangement of permanent nets and watching-towers set neat the coast for	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
	the catching of migratory fish (from Koukoules 1948, p. 34).	52
5.7a	Satellite image of northern Greece and part of northern Aegean (from Talent Cruiser,	22
J. / H	www.cruiser.gr/en main.html accessed 25 November 2006).	
5.7b	Satellite image of part of northern Aegean and Euboea (from Talent Cruiser,	53
3.70		33
E 70	www.cruiser.gr/en main.html accessed 25 November 2006). Satellite image of mainland west coast and Ionian sea (from Talent Cruiser,	
5.7c	,	
	www.cruiser.gr/en_main.html accessed 25 November 2006).	53
5.7d	Satellite image of southern Thessaly and Sterea (from Talent Cruiser,	
	www.cruiser.gr/en_main.html accessed 25 November 2006).	54
5.7e	Satellite image of Corinthian gulf (from Talent Cruiser, www.cruiser.gr/en_main.html	
	accessed 25 November 2006).	54
5.7f	Satellite image of Attica, Saronic gulf and Argolic gulf (from Talent Cruiser,	
	www.cruiser.gr/en main.html accessed 25 November 2006).	55
5.7g	Satellite image of Peloponnese (from Talent Cruiser, www.cruiser.gr/en_main.html	
	accessed 25 November 2006).	55
5.7h	Satellite image of Cyclades (from Talent Cruiser, www.cruiser.gr/en_main.html	
	accessed 25 November 2006).	56
5.7i	Satellite image of Crete (from Talent Cruiser, www.cruiser.gr/en main.html accessed	
	25 November 2006).	56
5.7j	Satellite image of Dodecanese (from Talent Cruiser, www.cruiser.gr/en main.html	
•	accessed 25 November 2006).	57
5.8	Olynthus netting needles (from Robinson 1941, pl. CXVI).	58
5.9	A hoard of several fish-hooks from Halieis, found at Lower Town (from Jameson et al.	
J.,	1994, fig. 5.23).	61
6.1.	Marble statue of an old fisherman, Roman copy of a 2 nd -1 st c. B.C. original, Palazzo dei	01
0.1.	Conservatori, Rome (from Pollitt 1944, fig. 156).	67
6.2	Silver stater from Itanos. On the one side it depicts Glaukos holding a trident and fish,	07
0.2	on the reverse two sea horses. 380/330 B.C. (from	
	http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=82924&AucID=89&Lot=899	
		70
	accessed 23 December 2006).	72
6.3	Marble statuette of a man eaten by a sea-monster, 3 rd -4 th c. A.D. Clevelant Museum	
	(from Farkas et al. 1987, pl. XXI).	73
7.1	Representations of two men carrying fish on a pole. One is carrying two large fish	
	(tunas?) and the other two baskets of smaller fish. Black figure amphora by Ambrosios	
	painter, 6th c. B.C., now in Berlin (Beazley 1963, p. 109, no 30; photograph from	
	Sparkes 1995, fig. 11.5 and 11.6).	77
7.2	Site plan of the Kenchreae fish-tanks. Spaces A-F are the interconnected vats (from	
	Shaw 1978, pl. 11).	79
7.3	Sacred Lake on Delos (from Bruneau and Ducat 2005, p. 170, fig. 42).	80
7.4	Salted and sun dried chub mackerels (Scomber japonicus), called in Greek "tsiros"	
	(photograph by D. Mylona).	84
7.5	Site plan of the Punic Amphora Building, 5th c. B.C., Corinth (from Williams II, 1980,	
	p. 109).	87
7.6	Punic amphorae of the Maña-Pascual A4 type (from Zimmerman-Munn 2003, p. 200,	
	fig. 12.3).	88
7.7	Sections of fish scales found adhering to Punic amphorae fragments and other fish	•
, • <i>,</i>	remains found in the Punic Amphora Building (from Zimmerman Munn 2003).	89
8.1	Tuna catch (from http://www.travelblog.org/Asia/Philippines/Mindanao/blog-	0,7
O. I	50042.html accessed 10 January 2007).	91
0.3		
8.2	Kalaureia site plan (The Kalaureia Excavation Project. Plan by E. Savini).	92
8.3	Triangular area, west of Building D, Kalaureia. The dark shaded area denotes the main	
	body of the "dining deposit", while the light shaded area spilled over material of the	
	same deposit plan (The Kalaureia Excavation Project. Plan by E. Savini).	93
9.1	Dolphin mosaic from the "House of Dolphins" on Delos, end of 2 nd -beginning of 1 st c.	
	B.C. (from Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, 2003, fig. 18).	107
10.1	Fish plate outline (from McPhee and Trendal 1987, p.174, fig.4).	116

10.2	Attic fish plate from Taman (from PcPhee and Trendal 1987, pl. 8a).	116
10.3	Attic fish plate from the northern Black sea (from McPhee and Trendal 1987, pl. 6b).	117
10.4	Attic fish plate from Tanagra (from McPhee and Trendal 1987, pl.11a).	117
10.5	Taman peninsula. Engraving, 1823 (from Koromila 2001, p. 217).	118
10.6	Apulian fish plate from Tatanto, fourth quarter of the 4 th c. B.C., from the antiques	
	market (from Zindel 1998, p. 77).	119
10.7	Apulian fish plate from Tatanto, fourth quarter of the 4th c. B.C., from the antiques	
	market (from Zindel 1998, p. 57).	120
10.8	Fish plate form a Punic cemetery at Palermo (Tomb 36), southern Italy, with fish	
	remains found in it (from McPhee and Trendal 1987, pl.15c).	121
10.9	Tuna in the market. The fishmonger slices the fish. Sicilian bell crater from Lipari, 4 th	
	c. B.C., now in Museo Mandralisca at Cefalù (Trendall 1967, p. 208, no 54; photograph	
	from Sparkes 1999, fig. 11.7).	122