

Andrei Opaît

## LOCAL AND IMPORTED WINE AT POMPEIOPOLIS, PAPHLAGONIA

*The study of over 22000 diagnostic ceramic fragments provides a reliable basis for understanding social and economic life at Pompeiopolis. Based on amphora discoveries, the author discusses imported wine amphorae as a means for determining main supply centres as well as their periods of acme and disappearance. Results indicate that during the early- to mid-Roman periods the main suppliers were Aegean centres, followed by the Levantine products until the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and by south and east Pontic wine amphorae during the middle and end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. A revival of the settlement during the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries is also attested by wine amphorae that arrived from the Sea of Marmara. However, this imported wine was minor in quantitative terms. Most wine must have been supplied by local producers, as is well attested by local amphorae and a large variety of jugs. The author concludes that when the desire of the local elite was sufficiently strong, they willingly paid the cost of expensive products and their transport costs.<sup>1</sup>*

Pompeiopolis<sup>1</sup> is located in northern Anatolia, in the valley of the Gökırmak (Roman name *Amnias*, or *Amneus*), only 150 km south of Sinope, but separated from this city by huge mountains.

My study of coarse ware discovered at Pompeiopolis during the past 10 years of intensive excavations has been a daunting task. It has involved the processing of over 100,000 sherds, all analyzed by contexts to provide a tentative dating of those contexts. Out of these, over 22,000 diagnostic fragments were selected for typological statistics, designed to provide a reliable basis for considering the social and economic life of the city.

Today it is commonly accepted that a huge mass of pottery can be successfully used as proxy evidence for levels of Hellenization or Romanization, ethnic identity, the intensity and nature of trade as well as economic integration.<sup>2</sup> However, we should differentiate ceramics that were traded by themselves, such as, for example, table ware or kitchen ware, and amphorae that were simple containers for liquids and semi-liquid foodstuffs. Although amphorae represent only 5.6% of the total pottery discovered at Pompeiopolis, they represent a marker for the economic connections that Pompeiopolis maintained with Pontic and Mediterranean production centres. However, they can provide us only with an approximate answer regarding “the volume and value of trade in the classical world...., what was traded and the routes along which food, goods and metals flowed”.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the discovery of some locally made transport and table amphorae sheds light on the intensity of indigenous viticulture.

For the Late Hellenistic to Early Roman period, that is from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD, our documentation is poor. This is due to the lack of archaeological contexts of this period, since many of the sherds survive only in Late Roman contexts.<sup>4</sup> However, it is worth mentioning the presence of some double-handled amphorae of Coan origin (figs. 1–2).

In addition to this imported Aegean vintage wine, we have found imitations of Coan and Rhodian amphorae, a phenomenon documented also in the Pontic and Lower Danube region during this period. The Rhodian wine achieved a wide recognition beginning in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. There was an impressive effort to acclimatize new, stronger vines able to produce a vintage wine that lasted for many years, thereby gaining more value and becoming an important complement to the prestige of local elites. The adoption of new vines was perhaps less due to the sickness of old vines,<sup>5</sup> but mostly to the desire to achieve greater productivity.<sup>6</sup> The toe of an amphora made in the local fabric, which imitated a Rhodian amphora, offers an essential example of this process (figs. 3–4). Another is an amphora toe and handle that imitates a Coan amphora (figs. 5–7). Most likely Rhodes and Cos exported not only wine but also vine roots, the new wine being bottled in vessels with a shape that indicated the kind of wine transported into them. A similar phenomenon of imitating Rhodian and Coan amphorae is found at Sinope, Heraclea,<sup>7</sup> and the Lower Danube.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to D. Davis for his suggestions on the English text.

<sup>2</sup> K. GREEN, Roman pottery: models, proxies and economic interpretation. *Journal Roman Arch.* 18, 2005, 34–56.

<sup>3</sup> K. HOPKINS, Models, ships and staples. In: P. D. A. Garnsey/C. R. Whitaker (eds.), *Trade and famine in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1983) 84–109.

<sup>4</sup> However, in the Odeon area have been found coins and ceramic fragments that can be dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.

<sup>5</sup> R. BILLIARD, *La vigne dans l'antiquité* (Lyon 1913; reprint Marseille 1988) 376–392; T. Bekker-Nielsen has drawn to my attention that illnesses afflicting vines were not a major concern in ancient viticulture.

<sup>6</sup> P. R. SEALEY, Amphoras from the 1970 excavations at Colchester Sheepen. *BAR Brit. Ser.* 142 (Oxford 1985).

<sup>7</sup> VNUKOV 2003, 28–102; 141–147.

<sup>8</sup> A. OPAÎT, Producția și consumul de vin în ținuturile dintre Carpați și

For the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD we have attested an amphora type that was very common on sites in the northern and western Pontic region.<sup>9</sup> It was a massive amphora with a capacity of c. 60 litres (figs. 8–9). I do not exclude a north Aegean origin. This type is very common on the western and northern Pontic coasts, but occasionally has been found at Athens<sup>10</sup>.

Surprisingly we have found an amphora sherd that might belong to a Dressel 6A amphora.<sup>11</sup> It bears a dipinto on the shoulder: [...]EPARE-T[...] (figs. 10–11). Dipinto on Dr 6A typically indicate that the contents were wine,<sup>12</sup> but, in this case, the dipinto suggests a personal name.

During Early Roman times the local market was modestly supplied by Pontic wine centres, mainly Heraclea, in amphorae of types Shelov B, C, and D<sup>13</sup> (fig. 12), and less so *Chersonesos* in amphorae of type Zeest 72<sup>14</sup> (fig. 13). Surprisingly, there is no Sinopean presence in this period.

In comparison with the Pontic centres come the vintage wines of the Aegean area. Insignificant quantities of wine arrived from *Ephesos* in one-handed predecessors of LRA 3<sup>15</sup> (figs. 14–16), and from *Cilicia* transported by Agora M 54 amphorae<sup>16</sup> (fig. 17). What is remarkably is the prevalence of wine carried in amphorae of type Kapitän 2 (fig. 18).<sup>17</sup> This is the vintage wine that dominated the local market during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

In the course of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods there is an important shift in the importation of vintage wine. As the production centre of wine carried in Kapitän 2 amphorae (Chios?) ceased to exist, the main quantities of vintage wine came from the Levant, mostly in amphorae of LRA 4 (figs. 19–20),<sup>18</sup> and less so in LRA 5 (figs. 21–22),<sup>19</sup>

Agora M 334 (figs. 23–26),<sup>20</sup> and LRA 1 (fig. 27).<sup>21</sup> The famous Ephesian wine, carried in LRA 3 (fig. 28),<sup>22</sup> is present but only in modest quantities.

Among Pontic imports it is worth pointing out the consistent presence of an unknown south Pontic centre, perhaps *Amastris*(?) (figs. 29–31). These amphorae are well attested not only at Pompeiopolis but also in many other western, northern, and eastern Pontic cities.<sup>23</sup> The well-known centres such as Heraclea<sup>24</sup> (figs. 32–34) and Sinope<sup>25</sup> (figs. 35–36) are very modestly represented in the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

In quantitative terms, these vintage imports were poorly represented, the only remarkable exception being Gaza wine. Most likely the quantities of wine deemed necessary for a civilized life was supplied by local vineyards. This production perhaps had a local or provincial distribution, as I managed to identify two local amphorae (figs. 37–38), and many table amphorae (fig. 39), which played an important role in storing, transporting and serving local wine.

Another important shift in trade pattern occurred during the Byzantine period. Thus, during the 7<sup>th</sup> century, we witness the disappearance of important Aegean and Levantine vintage production areas due to the Persian encroachment and Arab invasions. Trade networks are reduced to regional suppliers, such as the unknown south Pontic centre (*Amastris*?) (fig. 40), mentioned above, and Colchian wine (figs. 41–42).<sup>26</sup> At the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries the only provider remained the Marmara region, as attested by three amphorae of Ganos type manufactured there (figs. 43–44).<sup>27</sup>

Marea Neagră (sec. II a. Chr.–III p. Chr.): unele considerații. Stud. Cercetări Ist. Arh. 64/1–2, 2013, 21–65; 38–45 figs. 5–6.

<sup>9</sup> S. YU. VNUKOV, Amfore rimskogo vremeni gorodischia Kara-Tobe. Drevnosti Bospora 17, 2013, 40–41; A. OPAIT, Amfore romane de mare capacitate. Considerații tipologice. Stud. Cercetări Ist. 38, 1987, 245–247 figs. 1–2.

<sup>10</sup> A. OPAIT, Noi considerații despre amfora de tip Aegyssus I/Troesmis X. In: C. Croitoru/G. D. Hăncanu (eds.), Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica in Honorem Vasile Ursachi Octogenarii (Istros 2015) 327–345, pls. 1–2.

<sup>11</sup> M.-B. CARRE, Les amphores de la Cisalpine et de l'Adriatique au début de l'Empire. Mém. École Française Rome 1985, 218–219; C. PANELLA, Anfore. In: F. Berti, Ostia II. Le Terme del Nuotatore. Scavo dell'ambiente I. Stud. Miscellanei 16 (Roma 1970) 102–156; S. PESAVENTO MATTIOLI/S. ZANINI, Per un aggiornamento dell'epigrafia anforaria pataviana: le Lamboglia 2 e le Dressel 6A del museo civico archeologico. Boll. Mus. Civico Padova 82, 1993, 37–60.

<sup>12</sup> F. ZEVI, Appunti sulle anfore romane. Arch. Class. 18, 1966, 217–19. SHELLOV 1986; VNUKOV 2003, 118–128.

<sup>13</sup> I. B. ZEEST, Keramicheskaya tara Bospora (Moscow 1960) 111–112 pl. 30, 72.

<sup>14</sup> ROBINSON 1959, 95 M 126 pl. 23.

<sup>15</sup> ROBINSON 1959, 89 M 54 pl. 19.

<sup>16</sup> RILEY 1979, 189–193 Mid Roman 7; PEACOCK/WILLIAMS 1986, 193–195; A. CARANDINI/C. PANELLA, The trading connections of Rome and Central Italy in the late second and third centuries: the evidence of the terme del Nuotatore excavations, Ostia. In: A. King/M. Henig (eds.), The Roman west in the third century. BAR Internat. Ser. 109 (Oxford 1981) 487–503.

<sup>17</sup> PEACOCK/WILLIAMS 1986, 196–199 Class 48–49; J. A. RILEY, Pottery from the First Session of Excavations in the Caesarea Hippodrome. Bull. Am. School Oriental Research 218, 1975, 25–63; RILEY 1979, 219–223.

<sup>18</sup> RILEY 1979, 224 LRA 5; PEACOCK/WILLIAMS 1986, 191–92 Class 46; PIERI 2005, 119–21 “amphore-sac type 3”.

<sup>20</sup> ROBINSON 1959, 115 M 334 pl. 33; P. REYNOLDS, Levantine amphorae from Cilicia to Gaza: a Typology and Analysis of Regional Production Trends from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> Centuries. In: J. M. Gurt I Esparraguera/J. Buxeda i Garrigos/M. A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), LRCW 1. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 1. BAR Internat. Ser. 1340 (Oxford 2005) 571–72, figs. 104–114; PIERI 2005, 137–38 pl. 55.

<sup>21</sup> RILEY 1979, 212–216; PEACOCK/WILLIAMS 1986, 185–187 Class 44; D. F. WILLIAMS, Roman amphorae from Kourion, Cyprus. Report Dep. Ant. Cyprus 32, 1987, 235–238; PIERI 2005, 69–85.

<sup>22</sup> PEACOCK/WILLIAMS 1986, 188–190 Class 45; PIERI 2005, 94–101; T. BEZECKY, The Roman amphorae of Roman Ephesus. Forsch. Ephesos 15/1 (Wien 2013) 164–167 type 55.

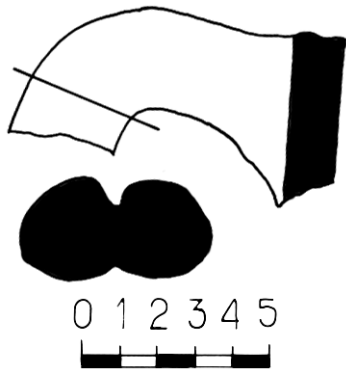
<sup>23</sup> Tomis: OPAIT 2004, 29 pl. 18.2–3. – *Chersonesos*: I. A. ANTONOVA ET AL., Srednevekovye amfory Hersonesa. Antichnaya Drevnost' i Srednie Veka. Bull. Ural State 7. 1971, 24–25 Class 6 pls. 7, 32–33; 8, 34; A. SMOKOTINA, Late Roman amphorae from Tyritake. Acta RCRF 44, 2016, 715–724 figs. 5, 5–6; 7, 7–8. – *Colchis*: N. INAISHVILI/M. KHALVASHI, Byzantine amphorae from southwestern Georgia. In: Tzochiev et al. 2011, 267 fig. 3.

<sup>24</sup> SHELLOV 1986, 398–99 type F fig. 1f.

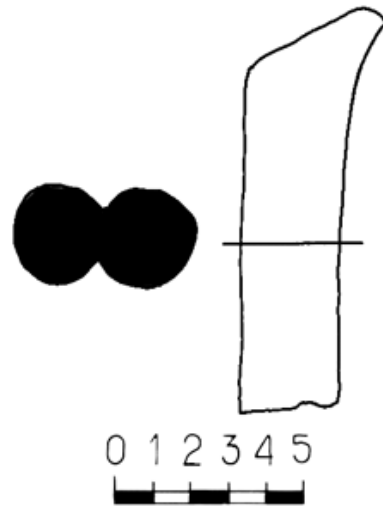
<sup>25</sup> D. KASSAB TEZGÖR, Les fouilles et le matériel de l'atelier amphorique de Demirci près de Sinope (Paris 2010) 166–168, type Snp II & III.

<sup>26</sup> S. YU. VNUKOV, Colchean' amphorae from Abkhazia. In: Tzochiev et al. 2011, 271–278; A. OPAIT, Some east Pontic amphorae of Roman and early Byzantine times. In: G. R. Tsetschladze/A. Avram/J. Hargrave (eds.), The Danubian lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7<sup>th</sup> century BC–10<sup>th</sup> century AD). Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, Belgrade, 17–21 September 2013. (Oxford 2015) 283–291.

<sup>27</sup> N. GÜNSENIN, Recherches sur les amphores byzantines dans les musées turcs. In: V. Déroche/J.-M. Spiesser (eds.), Recherches sur la céramique Byzantine. Bull. Corr. Hellenique Suppl. 18 (Paris 1989) 276–76; N. GÜNSENIN, Les ateliers amphoriques de Ganos à l'époque Byzantine. In: Y. Garlan (ed.), Production et commerce des amphores anciennes en mer Noire. Colloque international organisé à Istanbul, 25–28 mai 1994 (Aix-en-Provence 1999) 125–128; N. GÜNSENIN, Ganos wine and its circulation in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In: Mundell Mango 2009, 145–153.



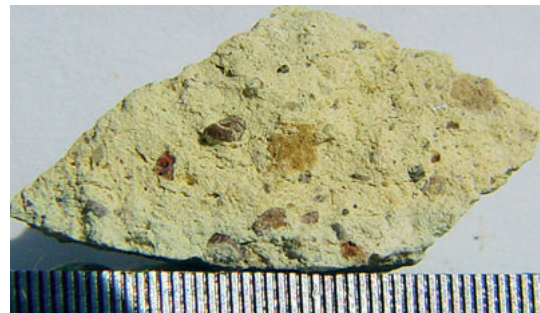
**Fig. 1.** Dressel 2-4 handles.



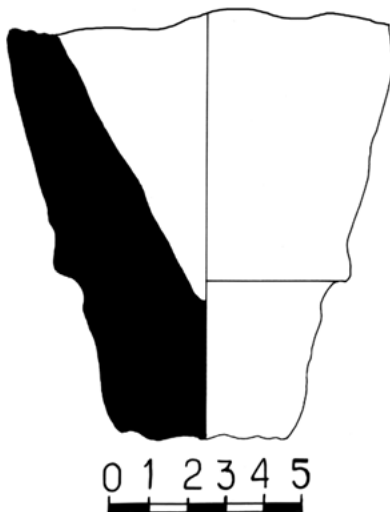
**Fig. 2.** Dressel 2-4 handles.



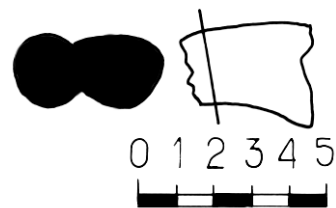
**Fig. 3.** Amphora base; local imitation of Rhodian amphora.



**Fig. 4.** The fabric of the local imitation of Rhodian amphora.



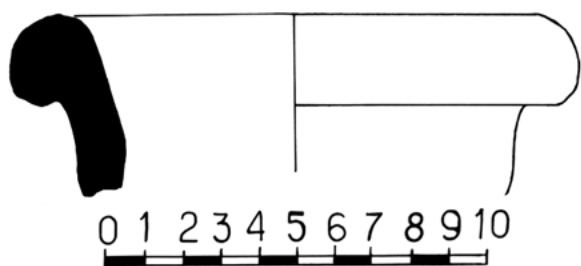
**Fig. 5.** Amphora base; local imitation of Coan amphora. Agora



**Fig. 6.** Amphora handle; local imitation of Coan amphora.



**Fig. 7.** The fabric of the local imitation of Coan amphora.



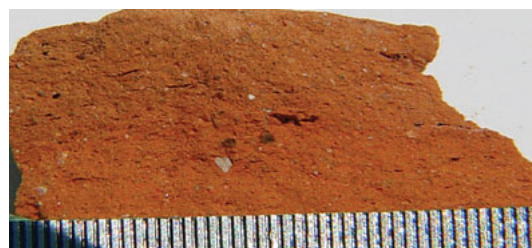
**Fig. 8.** The rim of Aegyssus I/Troesmis X amphora type (North Aegean?).



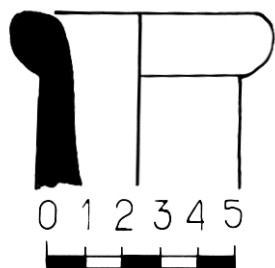
**Fig. 9.** The fabric of Aegyssus I/Troesmis X amphora type.



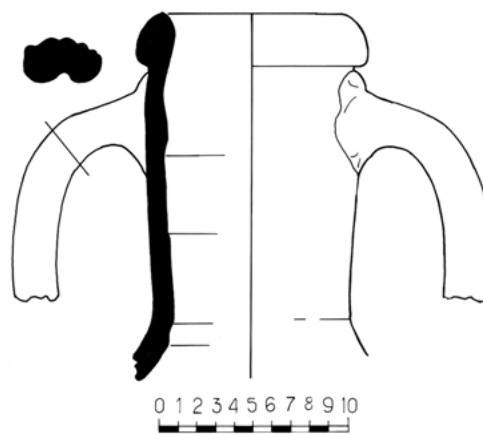
**Fig. 10.** Dressel 6A amphora fragment.



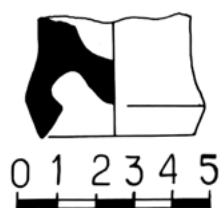
**Fig. 11.** The fabric of Dressel 6A amphora type.



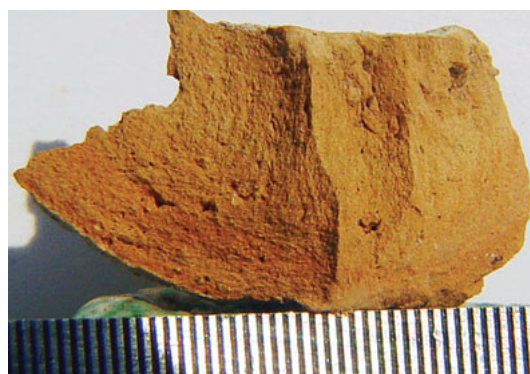
**Fig. 12.** The rim of Shelov B amphora type.



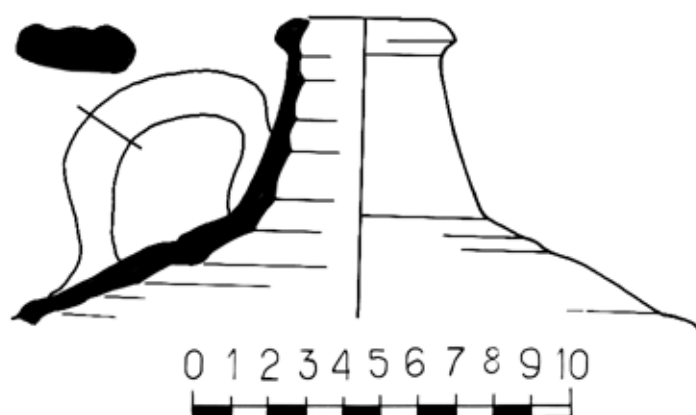
**Fig. 13.** The rim of Zeest 72 amphora type.



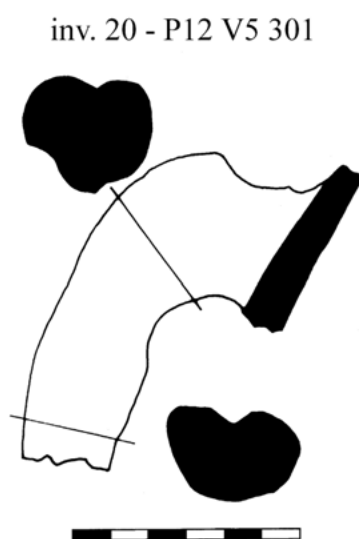
**Fig. 14.** The base of Agora M 126 amphora type.



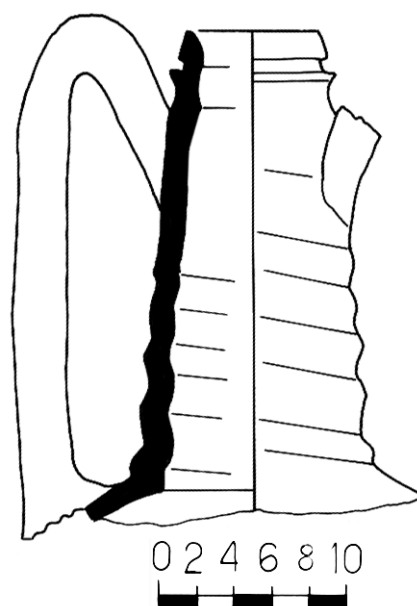
**Fig. 15.** The fabric of Agora M 126 amphora type.



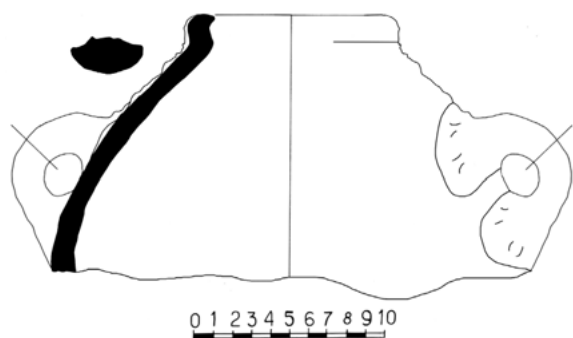
**Fig. 16.** The upper part of a predecessor LRA 3.



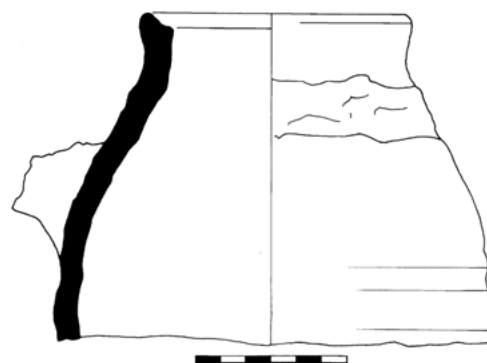
**Fig. 17.** The handle of an Agora M 54 amphora type.



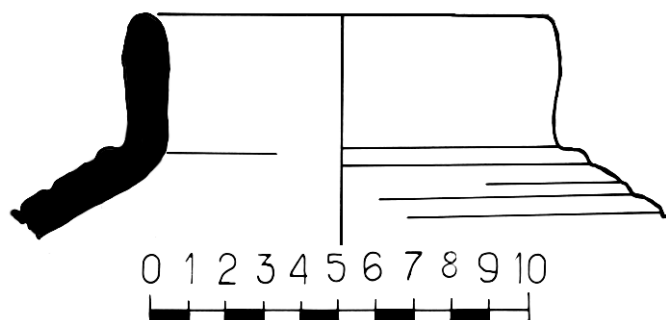
**Fig. 18.** The upper part of a Kapitän 2 amphora type.



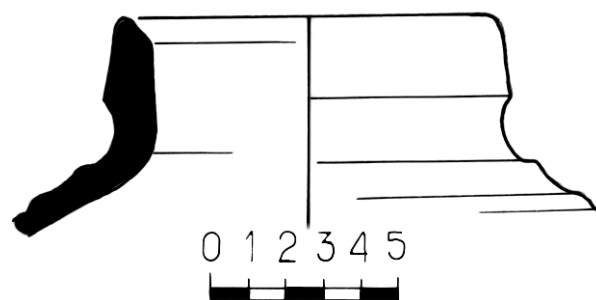
**Fig. 19.** The upper part of LRA 4 amphora type.



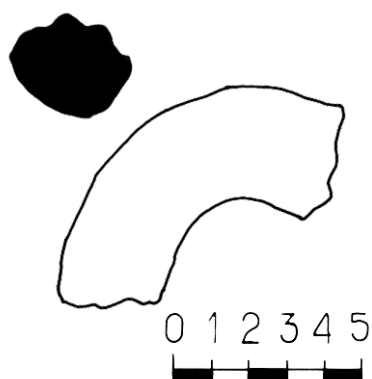
**Fig. 20.** The upper part of LRA 4 amphora type.



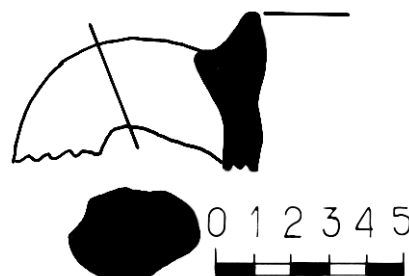
**Fig. 21.** The upper part of LRA 5 amphora type.



**Fig. 22.** The upper part of LRA 5 amphora type.



**Fig. 23.** The handle of an Agora M 334 amphora type (inv. 181).



**Fig. 25.** The rim of an Agora M 334 amphora type (inv. 320).

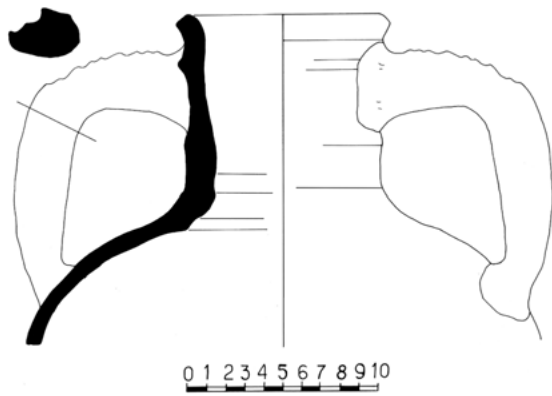


**Fig. 24.** The fabric of an Agora M 334 amphora type (inv. 181).

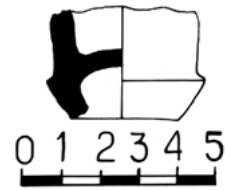


**Fig. 26.** The fabric of an Agora M 334 amphora type (inv. 320).

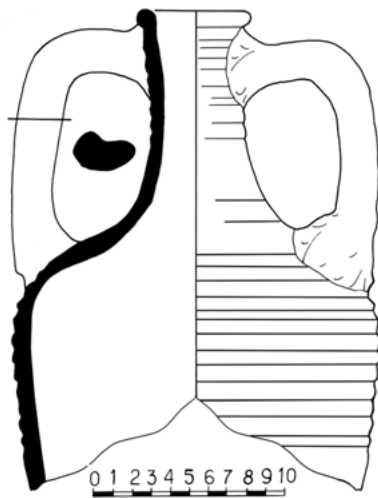




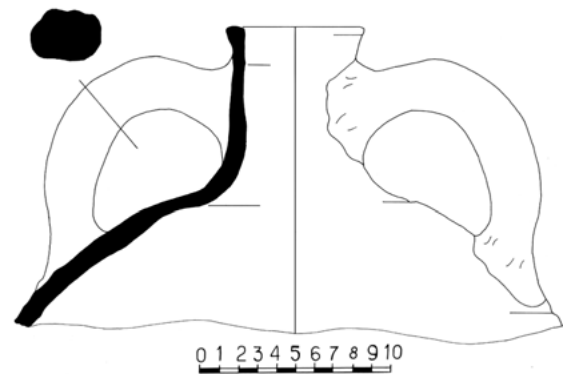
**Fig. 27.** The upper part of LRA 1 amphora type.



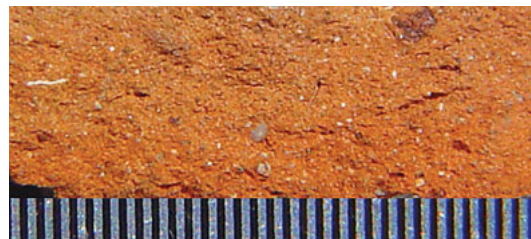
**Fig. 28.** The base of a LRA 3 amphora type.



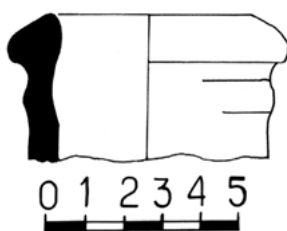
**Fig. 29.** The upper part of a south Pontic (*Amastris?*) amphora type.



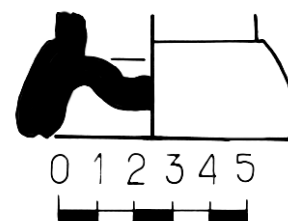
**Fig. 30.** The upper part of a south Pontic (*Amastris?*) amphora type (inv. 842).



**Fig. 31.** The fabric of a south Pontic (*Amastris?*) amphora type (inv. 842).



**Fig. 32.** The rim of Shelov F amphora type.



**Fig. 34.** The base of Shelov F amphora type.

In conclusion, as a first point, we can say that, of course, the Pompeiopolitan economy was based on agriculture, just as the whole economy of the Roman empire was. The large income provided by this agriculture and probably by the exploitation of other natural resources, such as marble quarries, was enough to satisfy the elite taste focused mostly on expensive wine and less on olive oil. This thirst for precious vintage wine was strong enough to overcome transport costs. Most likely these products arrived by sea at *Amastris*, an important hub harbor, and their transport continued over land to their destination.<sup>28</sup> An alternative could be via *Abonouteichos/Ionopolis* as the distance to *Pompeiopolis* is about 130 km by road, while from *Amastris* to *Pompeiopolis* it is ca. 250 km.<sup>29</sup> However, in quantitative terms, this imported wine was far from satisfying the whole population of the city. The local wine was perhaps the main source for sustaining the thirst of the ordinary people. Maybe from this perspective we have to see the transplanting of new high-yield vineyards into this area. In addition, taking into account that this phenomenon took place at the beginning of the city, this labor-intensive crop provided an incentive for the population to come and become sedentary in this area,<sup>30</sup> and for the state to raise more taxes, a phenomenon already known from Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>31</sup> Also, it attests to the presence of some landowners, rich enough to risk such investment that required so much capital.<sup>32</sup>

The second point is that we can differentiate a predilection for certain famous vintage centres within these commercial connections. These preferences were different in Early and Late Roman times as the Aegean wines, mainly Kapitän 2 amphora type (Chios?), were replaced by Levantine wines. Maybe this situation is an example of the existence of a strong private trade based on a direct distribution network, with amphorae loaded at an Aegean (Chios?) emporium, or at one or two ports in the Levant that were responsible for collecting amphorae from a large area of Palestine (Gaza, Akko, Samaria, Judea, Galilee, and Transjordan).<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately only a single shipwreck has been found to date loaded with LRA 4 and 5 amphorae.<sup>34</sup> However, for Early Byzantine times we cannot exclude the direct involvement of the church in the movement of some expensive vintage

wines from the Levant to *Pompeiopolis* owing to the existence of an episcopal service of charity or different ecclesiastical connections. In this context it is worth pointing out some concentrations of LRA 4 amphorae discovered in areas around religious buildings, such as St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople<sup>35</sup> and a very large episcopal basilica at Ibida, where a small rescue excavation (4×4 m) brought to light nine fragmentary examples.<sup>36</sup> Most likely this Palestinian wine because of its production in the Holy Land,<sup>37</sup> possessed “une valeur symbolique;”<sup>38</sup> it was praised by many late antique writers such as Sidonius Apollinaris, Gregory of Tours, Cassiodorus, Corippus, and John of Cyprus.<sup>39</sup> This wine may have had a strong cultural and religious attachment to the population of *Pompeiopolis*, a phenomenon identified also in the western Mediterranean.<sup>40</sup> In fact, wine selection was a way to express a social group identity and a certain affiliation. Although this trade was conducted through an intermediary port, most likely *Amastris*, the commerce was clearly directed towards *Pompeiopolis* from the Aegean during mid-Roman times, or from Gaza-Jerusalem-Akko during Late Roman-Early Byzantine times. This pattern of trade is totally different from what we know took place in the coastal cities or on the Roman frontier. Different networks and perhaps personal or institutional connections were responsible for this direct trade. Of course, the intra-provincial trade was very active, as those amphorae manufactured in an unknown south Pontic centre (*Amastris*?) attest. It shows that overland trade was a well-articulated part of this network.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, the lack of excavations in other northern Anatolian cities prevents us from knowing whether this kind of trade was specific only for *Pompeiopolis* or for the entire region.<sup>42</sup>

This flourishing trade ended during the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when Persian advances and especially the waves of the Arab invasion several decades later put an end to Levantine and Aegean production. *Pompeiopolis* was not directly affected by these calamities but the Mediterranean vintage wine no longer arrived in *Pompeiopolis*. The only solution was to increase regional Pontic commercial contacts with southern (*Amastris*?) and eastern centres (Colchis). However, this was only a temporary solution. By the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> or the first decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the city collapsed due to the same Arabs, sharing the fate of other cities of the province.<sup>43</sup> Actually, if I take into account what happened with the amphora imports in a border province such

<sup>28</sup> Bekker-Nielsen rightly points out that, on the one hand, none of the ancient poleis of the southern Pontic coast were located on the estuary of a navigable river, and, on the other hand, if the rivers were used, cost advantage was reduced by their twisting course, which made such trips three times longer than the distance by road. Cf. T. BEKKER-NIELSEN, *Navigable rivers in northern Anatolia* (in press). He also mentioned to me the existence of a wheel-ruts on a section preserved just east of *Amastris*. I am in debt to T. Bekker-Nielsen for suggesting this route.

<sup>29</sup> H. WILSON, *Origins of viticulture*. In: J. Robinson (ed.), *The Oxford companion to wine*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford 2006) 499–500.

<sup>30</sup> M. ROSTOVTSSEFF, *A large estate in Egypt in the third century BC. A study in economic history* (Madison 1922) 94.

<sup>31</sup> J. S. KLOPPENBORG, *The tenants in the vineyard. Ideology, economics, and agrarian conflict in Jewish Palestine* (Mohs 2006) 300–301.

<sup>32</sup> X. NIETO, *Le commerce de cabotage et de redistribution*. In: P. Pomey (ed.), *La navigation dans l'antiquité* (Aix-en-Provence 1997) 146–159; P. ARNAUD, *Ancient sailing-routes and trade patterns: the impact of human factors*. In: D. Robinson/A. Wilson (eds.), *Maritime archaeology and ancient trade in the Mediterranean* (Oxford 2011) 61–80; WILSON 2012, 287–291.

<sup>33</sup> M. F. LLOYD, *A Byzantine shipwreck at Iskandil Burnu, Turkey: preliminary report* (Thesis Texas Univ. 1984).

<sup>35</sup> HAYES 1992, 64–65 type 6 fig. 22,5.

<sup>36</sup> A. OPAIT, *O săpătură de salvare în orașul antic Ibida*. Stud. Cercetări Ist. Arh. 42, 1991, 30 fig. 8; the recent large excavations made at Ibida between 2000–2016 have uncovered only very rare examples of LRA 4.

<sup>37</sup> S. A. KINGSLEY, *The Economic Impact of the Palestinian Wine Trade in Late Antiquity*. In: S. Kingsley/M. Decker (eds.), *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001) 59.

<sup>38</sup> PIERI 2005, 113.

<sup>39</sup> PIERI 2005, 112–114; M. MUNDELL MANGO, *Byzantine trade: local, regional, interregional and international*. In: Mundell Mango 2009, 8.

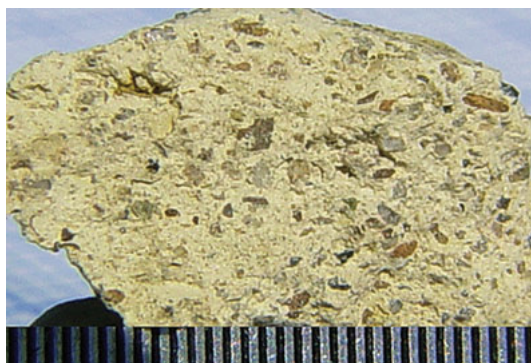
<sup>40</sup> M. DECKER, *Export wine trade to West and East*. In: Mundell Mango 2009, 239–252.

<sup>41</sup> WILSON 2012, 288.

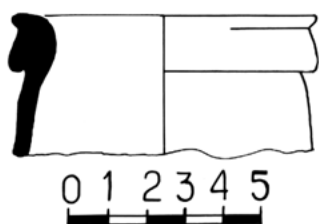
<sup>42</sup> The only noticeable archaeological excavation has been undertaken at Hadrianoupolis but we still wait for the ceramic report to be published.

<sup>43</sup> E. LAFLI/C. LIGHTFOOT/M. RITTER, *Byzantine coins from Hadrianoupolis and Paphlagonia*. Byzantine and Modern Greek Stud. 40/2, 2015, 187 ff.

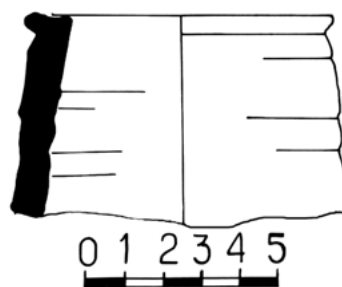




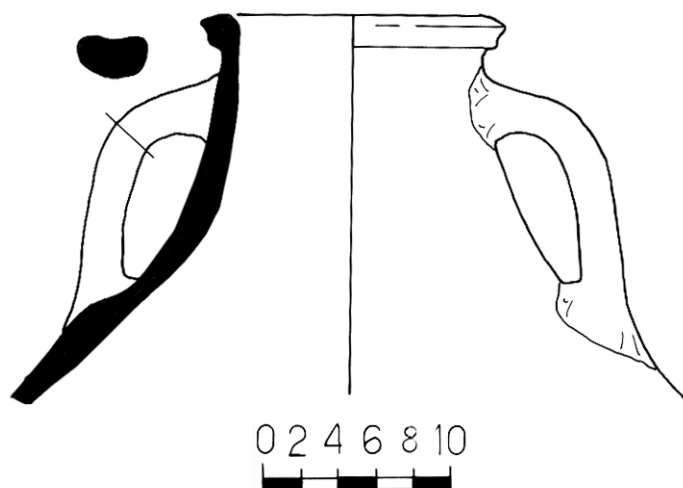
**Fig. 33.** The fabric of Shelov F amphora type.



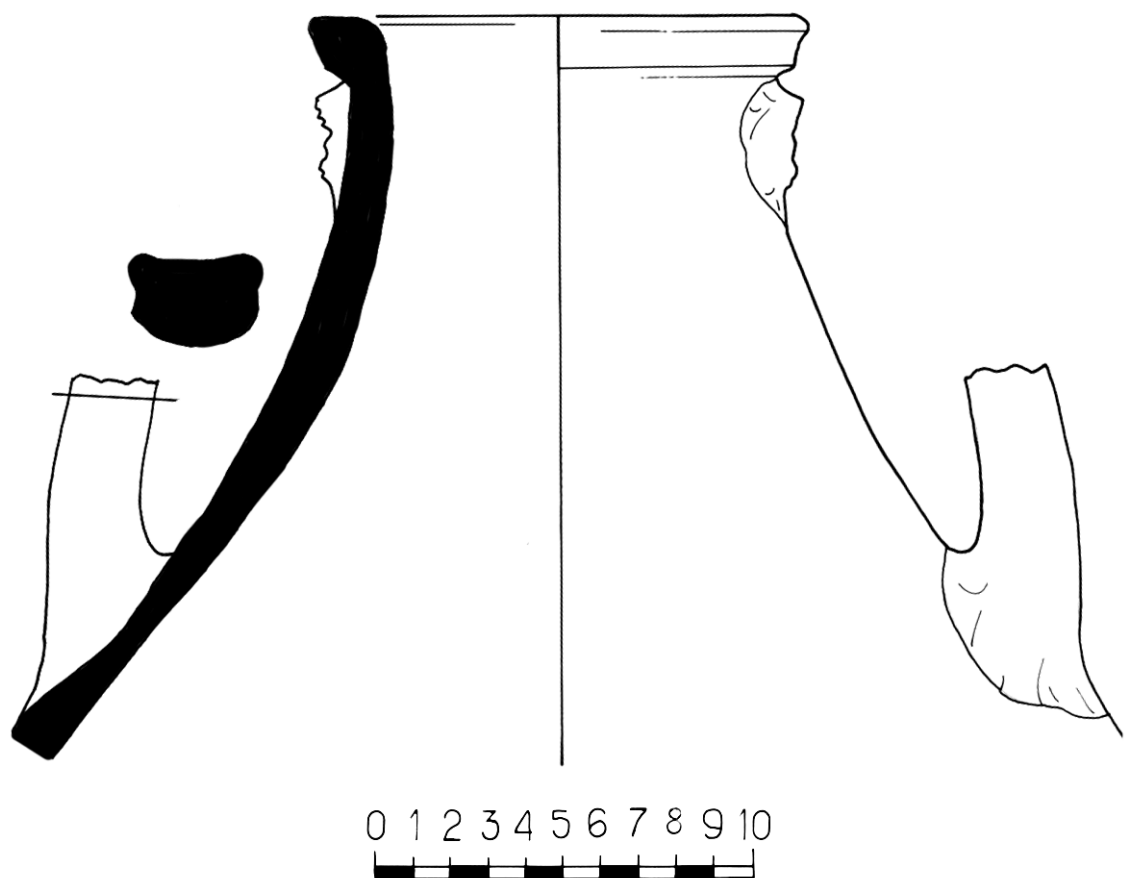
**Fig. 35.** The rim of a Sinope carrot amphora type.



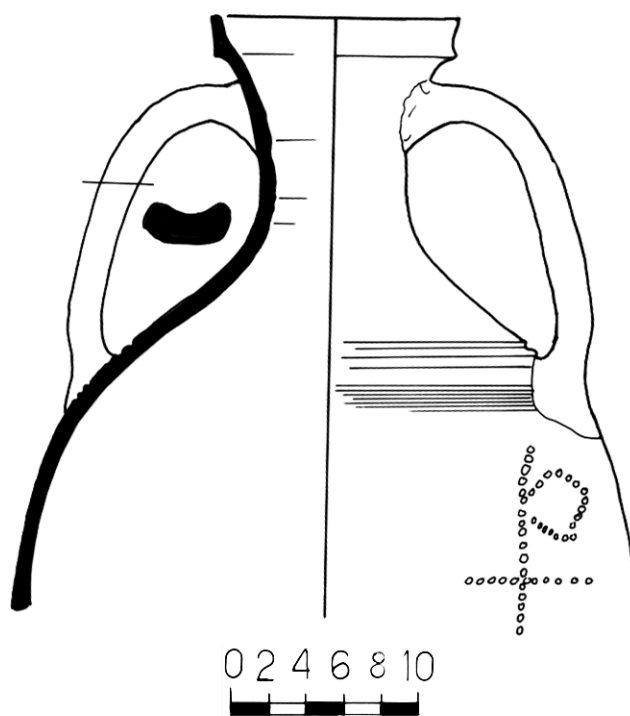
**Fig. 36.** The rim of Shelov F amphora type.



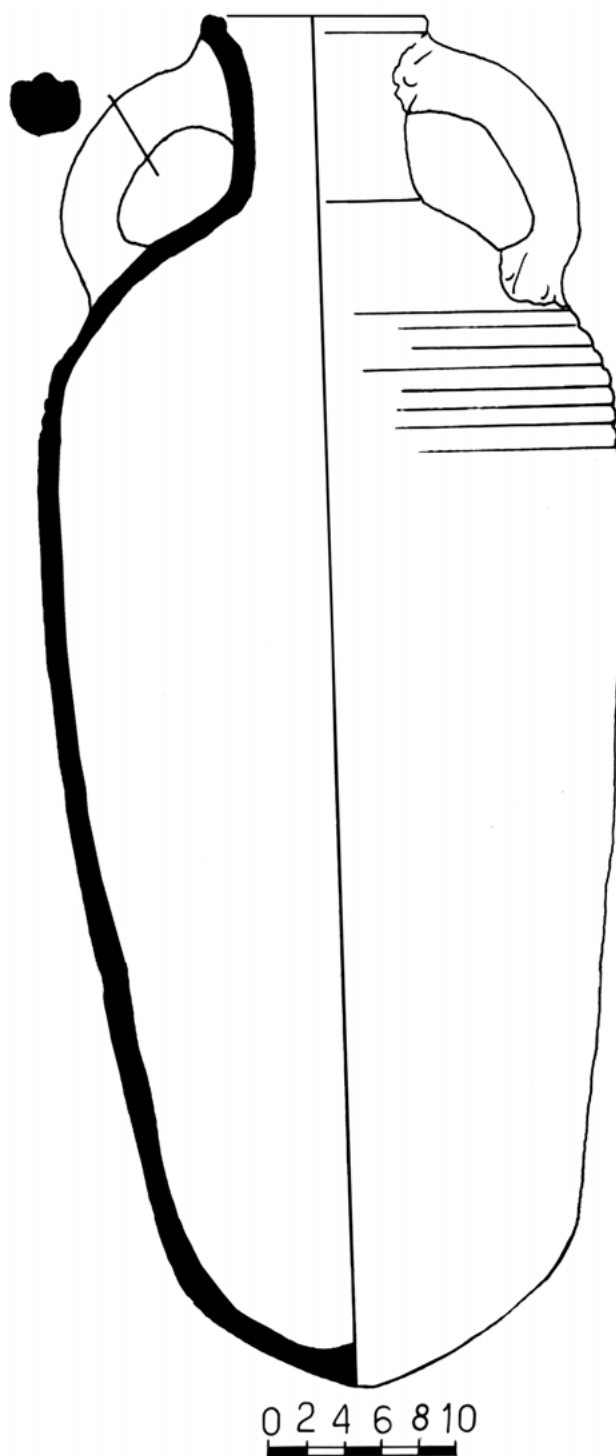
**Fig. 37.** The upper part of a local amphora type.



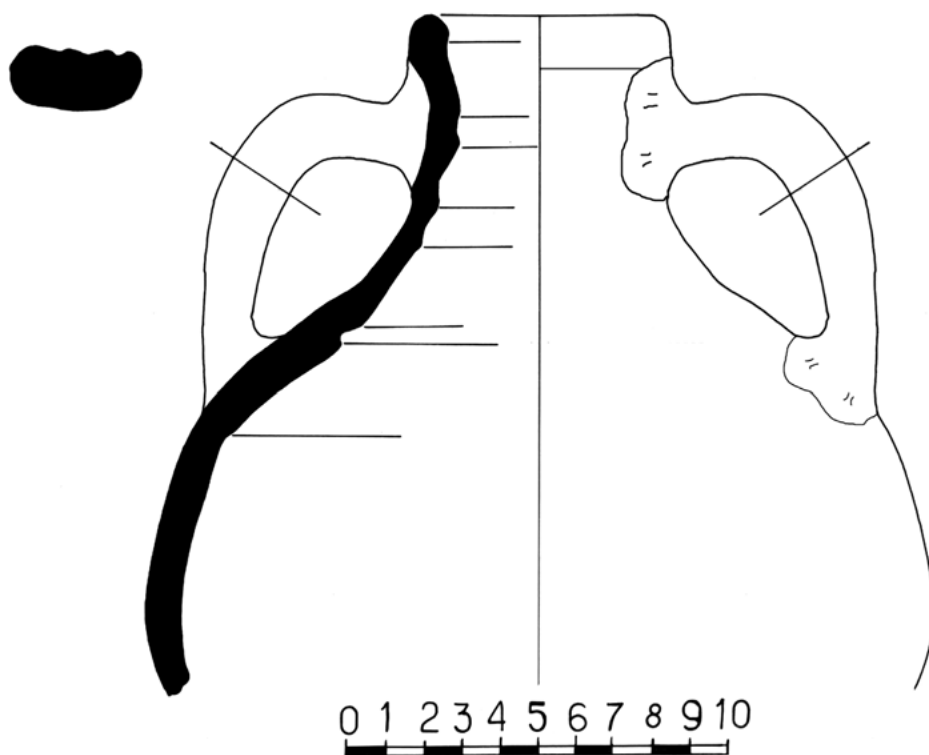
**Fig. 38.** The upper part of a local amphora type.



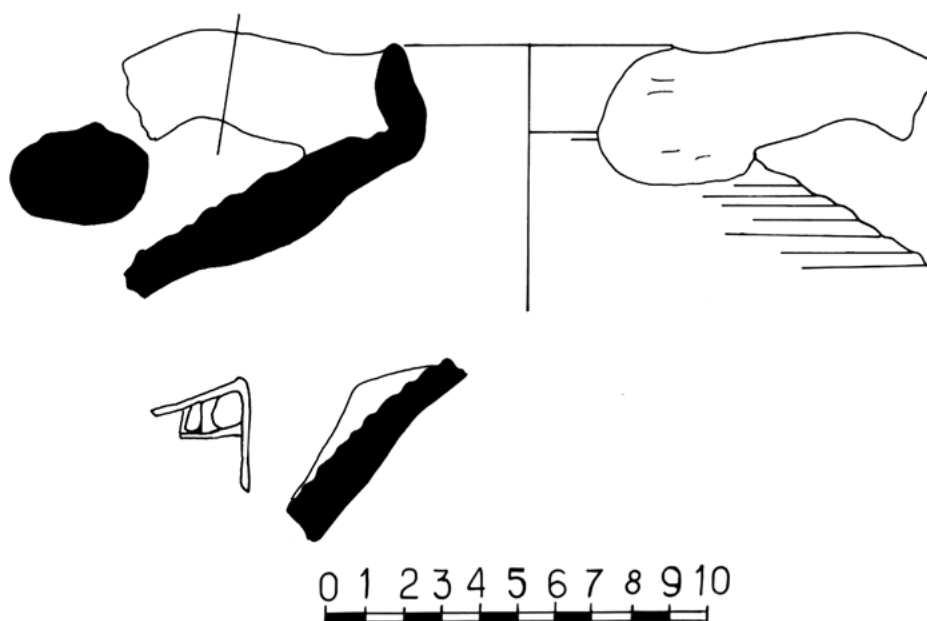
**Fig. 39.** The upper part of a local (table?) amphora type.



**Fig. 40.** South Pontic (*Amastris?*) amphora type.



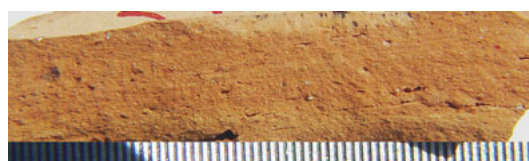
**Fig. 41.** The upper part of a Colchian amphora type.



**Fig. 43.** The upper part of a Ganos amphora type.



**Fig. 42.** The fabric of a Colchian amphora type.



**Fig. 44.** The fabric of a Ganos amphora type.

as *Scythia*<sup>44</sup> and in an inland city such as *Pompeiopolis*, the trade in vintage wine did not reach a nadir before the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century as has been recently supposed.<sup>45</sup> In fact, it was the Arab blow that ruined the most prolific wine-production areas of the Aegean, western *Asia Minor*, the Levant, and parts of Anatolia.<sup>46</sup>

The last, short-lived revival of *Pompeiopolis* happened some time during the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century when a rather pro-

sperous economic life is attested again at *Pompeiopolis*. Of course, the local economy was also based on agriculture, as *in situ* pithoi have been found there, while the trade became regional as it is attested by amphorae of Ganos type.

As a final word, I can say that the amphora discoveries made at *Pompeiopolis* shed new light on the important role played by private trade not only in the coastal areas of the empire but also far inland in Anatolia.

aopait@gmail.com

<sup>44</sup> Constant imports of vintage wines and olive oil are present into this province until the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. If the olive oil was supplied by the state through the *annona* mechanism, the large variety of vintage must have arrived due to an intensive private trade, cf. OPAIT 2004.

<sup>45</sup> WILSON 2012, 291.

<sup>46</sup> B. WARD-PERKINS, *The fall of Rome and the end of civilization* (Oxford 2005) 123–132; C. WICKHAM, *Framing the early middle ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800*. (Oxford 2005) 728–794.

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