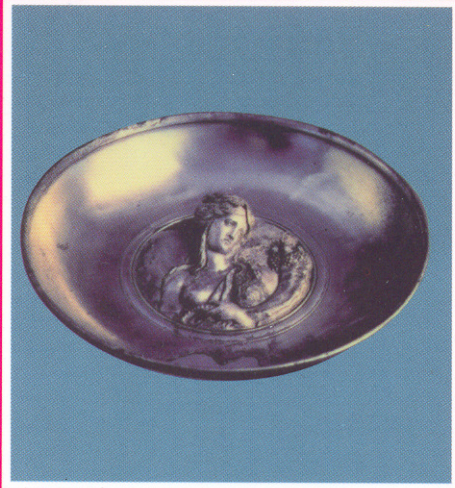


Actes du IX^e Symposium de Vani



PONT-EUXIN

ET

COMMERCE



Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises

1) The definition of an *emporion*

The discussion about how Greek colonies in the Pontic area should be defined continues already for several decades, as the Classical sources sometimes use the terms *polis*, *apoikia* and *emporion* for the same sites.

Most scholars agree on the fact that an *emporion* was a commercial port, involved in international trade and from the middle of the 4th century B.C. onwards often used for redistribution of goods¹.

The first mentioning of the word *emporion* comes from mid 5th century sources and most of those settlements could be found along the coast or a navigable river inland². All mentioned *emporia* which were also a *polis* were, at least for some time, dependencies of a foreign monarch like the Pharaoh of Egypt, or a Skythian king (a.o. Naucratis and Olbia)³.

It is possible that the concept of an *emporion* was unknown in the archaic and only developed in the classical period. In the early classical period, a development can be traced in which local trade was practiced on the *agora*, while long distance trade moved to an *emporion* (Strabo 11. 2.10).

An *emporion*, physically separated from the *polis* that it served, could develop into an urban center and even a *polis* itself. But it is clear, for instance by Herodotus that an *emporion* is not an embryo-*polis*⁴.

1. R. Etienne, L'emporion chez Strabo, in A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion*, Paris, 1993, 32, R. Garland, The Piraeus, New York 1987, 83-84. J. Hind, Traders and Ports-of-Trade (*emporoi* and *emporia*) in the Black Sea in Antiquity, in A. Avram (ed.), *Il Mar Nero II*, Roma/Paris, 1995-1996, 119. J. Hind, Colonies and ports-of-trade on the northern shores of the Black Sea : Borysthenes, Kremnoi and the other Pontic *Emporia* in Herodotus, in T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Yet more studies in the ancient Greek Polis*, Stuttgart, 1997, 116.

2. M.H. Hansen calls Pistiros, in inland Thrace, an emporion for land-transport, but the excavators [J. Bouzek, M. Domaradzki, Z. Archibald (eds.), *Pistiros 1*, Prague, 1996, page 221] make it clear that Pistiros was a river emporion, reached by the Greeks of the Aegean coast by the same rivers as the Late Bronze Age river-route through inland Thrace.

3. M.H. Hansen, *Emporion*, A study of the use and meaning of term in the Archaic and Classical periods, in Nielsen (ed.), *Yet...* (see note 1), 83, 87. Naucratis for instance didn't enjoy autonomia, but it still functioned as a *polis*, the same goes for Olbia, in which *polis* the Skythian king had an *epitropos* (overseer) in the 4th century BC (Herodotus 4.76).

4. Hind, 1997 (see note 1), 116.

The foundation of an *emporion* can, archaeologically, easily be confused with so-called secondary colonization. This happened when a Greek colony didn't have enough agricultural territory of its own and so founded dependent colonies for agricultural purpose⁵.

In the case of the Greek colonies, the first function of an *emporion* was the exchange of local products against imported goods by foreign traders⁶.

In short, especially for the Pontic area, an *emporion* can be defined as a trading-place situated either within a *polis*, within a local coastal settlement or inland along a navigable river, but definitely a Greek settlement, inhabited and internally organised by Greeks.

We can assume that there were much more *emporion* than the 120 named in the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman sources, some probably never being important enough to be named, except on the inscription of a treaty like Pistiros⁷.

2) The borders of the territory of Apollonia Pontica

The territory of Apollonia Pontica was bordered on the east by the shores of the Black Sea (fig.1) and in the north probably somewhere between the northern part of Atanasovsko Ezero (a salt-lake north of the Apollonian sub-colony of Anchialos) and the south-eastern slopes of the Stara Planina.

This border being close to the Dorian colony of Messambria caused conflict and war till the Roman occupation of this area⁸.

The borders of its territory in the west and the south are less clear.

Further research is needed to examine the borders of the territory of Apollonia in the north-west, but it is a reasonable guess that the western borders along a line between the ancient settlement at Debelt and the Thracian (?) fortress at Malkoto Kale⁹.

5. G. R. Tsetschladze, Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area, in G. R. Tsetschladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area*, Stuttgart, 1998, 42.

6. Etienne (see note 1), 30.

7. *Pistiros 1* (see note 2), 207.

8. For this conflict, see D. Pippidi and E. Popescu, Les relations d'Istros et d'Apollonie du Pont à l'époque Hellénistique, *Dacia* 3, 1959, 235-258 and B. Dimitrov, Sosopol in den Jahrhundert, Sofia, 1997, 31.

9. Debelt is now on the Burgas Lake but used to have an open connection with the Black Sea. Tsetschladze (see note 5), 59-60. For the excavations at Malkoto Kale see I. Venedikov a.o., *Trakijski Pamenitzi*, Tom 1, *Megaliti v Trakija*, Tom 1, Sofia, 1976, (in Bulgarian), 128-157.

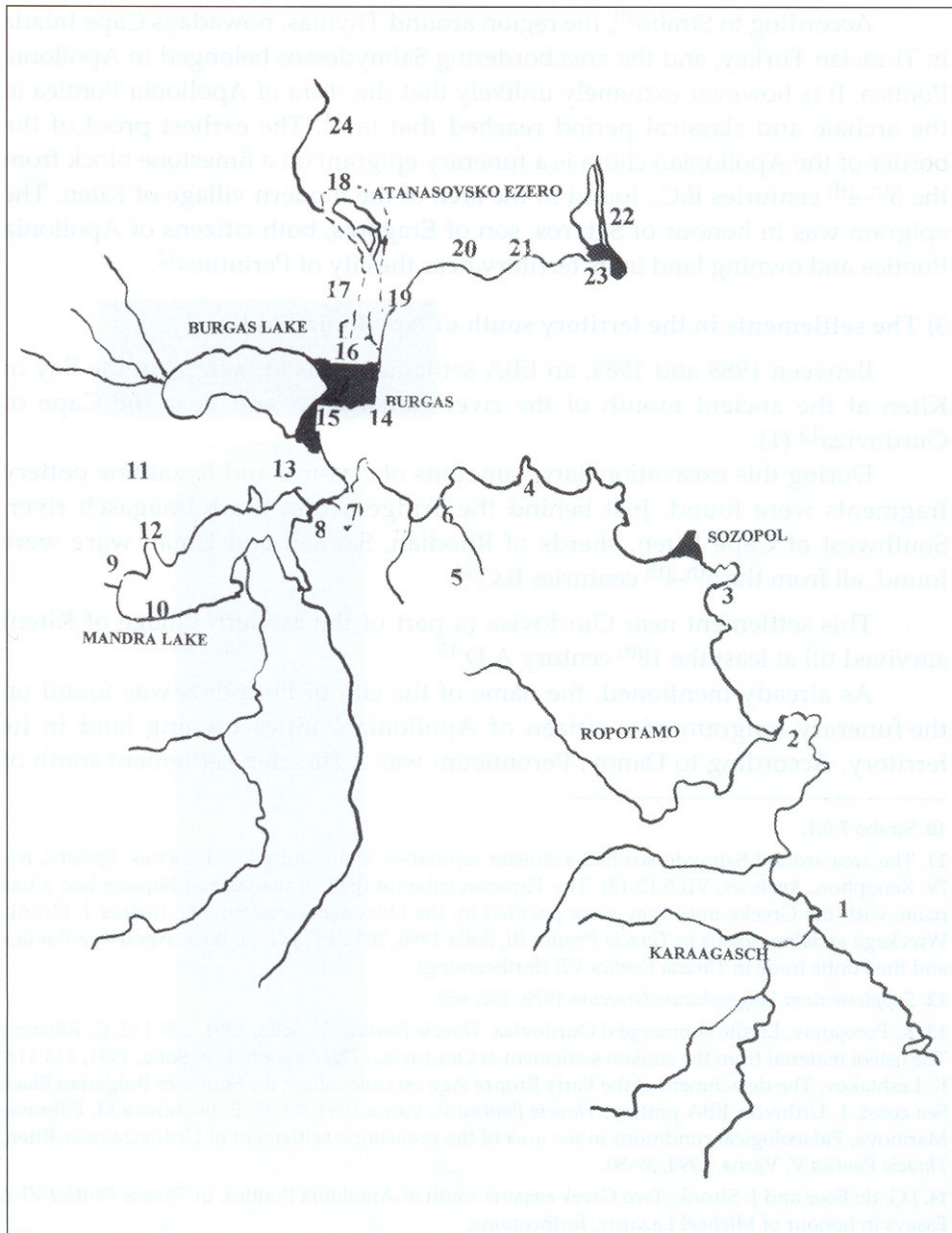


Fig. 1. Map of the south-western Black Sea coast

According to Strabo¹⁰, the region around Thynias, nowadays Cape Iniada in Thracian Turkey, and the area bordering Salmydessos belonged to Apollonia Pontica. It is however extremely unlikely that the *chora* of Apollonia Pontica in the archaic and classical period reached that far¹¹. The earliest proof of the border of the Apollonian *chora* is a funerary epigram on a limestone block from the 5th-4th centuries B.C., found in the area of the modern village of Kiten. The epigram was in honour of Satyros, son of Eragoras, both citizens of Apollonia Pontica and owning land in its territory near the city of Perinthos¹².

3) The settlements in the territory south of Apollonia Pontica

Between 1988 and 1989, an EBA settlement was excavated in the Bay of Kiten at the ancient mouth of the river Karaagasch and near the Cape of Ourdoviza¹³ (1).

During this excavation, large amounts of classical and Byzantine pottery fragments were found. Just behind the bridge across the Karaagasch river, Southwest of Cape Kiten, sherds of Rhodian, Samian and Chian ware were found, all from the 5th-4th centuries B.C.¹⁴.

This settlement near Ourdoviza (a part of the modern village of Kiten) survived till at least the 18th century A.D.¹⁵.

As already mentioned, the name of the city of Perinthos was found on the funerary epigram of a citizen of Apollonia Pontica owning land in its territory. According to Danov, Peronticum was a Thracian settlement south of

10. Strabo 7.6.1.

11. The area around Salmydessos had a sinister reputation in antiquity (Archilochus, *Epoideoi*, frg. 79, Xenophon, *Anabasis*, VII.5.12-13). The Thracian tribes of the Cyrmianae and Nipsaei had a bad name with the Greeks until they were pacified by the Odrysian kingdom. See further J. Stronk, Wreckage at Salmydessos in *Thracia Pontica III*, Sofia 1986, 203-215 ; J.G. de Boer, Apollonia Pontica and the Pontic trade in *Thracia Pontica VII* (forthcoming).

12. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 1979, 172, 663.

13. K. Porojanov, Le site submergé d'Ourdoviza, *Thracia Pontica IV*, Sofia, 1991, 109-112, G. Ribarov, The osteol material from the sunken settlement at Ourdoviza, *Thracia pontica IV*, Sofia, 1991, 113-118, K. Leshtakov, The detachment of the Early Bronze Age ceramics along the Southern Bulgarian Black Sea coast, 1. Urdoviza EBA pottery, *Thracia Pontica V*, Varna 1994, 23-38, E. Bozhilova, M. Filipova-Marinova, Palaeological conditions in the area of the prehistoric settlement of Urdoviza near Kiten, *Thracia Pontica V*, Varna, 1994, 39-50.

14. J.G. de Boer and J. Stronk, Two Greek *emporía* south of Apollonia Pontica, in *Thracia Pontica VI-2*, Essays in honour of Michael Lazarov, forthcoming.

15. M. Iosifova, La céramique découverte dans la baie du port Ourdoviza (communication préliminaire), in *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi III*, Sofia, 1992, 303.

Aulaeutichos (now the village of Achtopol)¹⁶ while Detschew thinks that with this name in Thracian sources, Peronthus in the Propontis near nowadays Ereğli in Turkey is meant¹⁷.

However on a 16th century A.D. historical map of the Black Sea area by the Flemish cartographer Ortelius, a place called Peronticum is situated just north of Aulaeutichos¹⁸ and on an Italian map from Florence from 1482 Perontico is situated at the place of nowadays Kiten¹⁹.

So the epigraphic evidence together with the 15th/16th centuries maps and archaeological finds makes it a reasonable assumption that the ancient name of the settlement near Ourdovitz/Kiten was also Perinthos and that the settlement was inhabited between the 5th B.C. till the 18th century A.D.

Our information about the settlement of Perinthos is too scarce to speculate about the function of this settlement but the funeral epigram mentions agricultural activity of Apollonian citizens in this area.

About 12 km north of Ourdoviza, at the mouth of the river Ropotamo, and on the shore of Cape S. Demetrius, another settlement can be found (2). Underwater finds and excavations near this mouth of the Ropotamo river uncovered again settlements from the Chalcolithic till the Medieval periods, including Greek ceramics from the 5th century B.C. like amphorae from Thasos²⁰.

A. Fol and I. Karajotov²¹ were probably right to identify this place as Arrian's Cherronesos²².

At the same geographical place, Ptolemy mentions a settlement called Tonzos²³. On maps from the 15th and 16th centuries the name Tonzos

16. C. Danov, *Pontos Euxeinus*, Stuttgart, 1962, 1044.

17. D. Detschew, *Die thrakische Sprachreste*, Wien, 1976, 363.

18. B. Besevliev, Die erste historische Karte vom Schwarzen Meer und seiner westlichen Küste, in *Thracia Pontica II*, Jambol, 1982, 43.

19. Besevliev (see note), 43. B. Besevliev, Die wichtige Etappen in der Kartographie der westlichen Schwarzmeerküste bis 19. Jahrhundert, *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi III*, Sofia, 1992, 148.

20. I. Karajotov, Explorations archéologiques sous-marines dans la baie devant l'embouchure du Ropotamo (1985-1986), in *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi III*, Sofia, 1992, 278.

21. A. Fol (ed.), *Trakijski Pamenitzi, Tom 1, Megaliti v Trakija, Tom 3, Tsjast 2, Trakija Pontika*, Sofia, 1982, (in Bulgarian), 450-452., I. Karajotov, The antique and medieval port at the mouth of the river Ropotamo, in *TerAntBalc* 5, 1990, 64-65.

22. Arrian, *Periplus of the Pontos Euxinus* 24. This identification is supported by the fact that the distance between Apollonia Pontica and Cherronesos, mentioned by Arria as 60 stadia, almost exactly matches the distance between Sozopol and the mouth of the river Ropotamo.

23. Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, III.xi.12.

for this settlement can be found while at a map of the 18th century, the name Gerronesos returns²⁴. So it seems that the settlement at the mouth of the Ropotamo, just like the settlement at Ourdoviza, existed from the 5th century B.C. till the 18th century A.D. Cherronesos/Tonzos was definitely inside the territory of Apollonia Pontica, which is confirmed by the find of a brick with a stamp ΑΠΟΛ, ascribed to the state brick works of Apollonia Pontica²⁵.

It's not likely that a Roman station at Cape Maslen with the name Tera²⁶ can also be identified with the same settlement as both Arrian and Ptolemy would have used this name.

The function of the settlement at the mouth of the Ropotamo river is not clear from the state of archaeological evidence, but it's possible that this settlement, besides with fishing, hunting and agriculture, was somehow connected to the mining activities in the nearby Strandzja Mountains.

According to Tzaneva, the late director of the archaeological museum at Sozopol, there was an *emporion* at Kavazite, a few kilometres south of Sozopol²⁷ (3). No further information about this site is available at the moment.

4) The settlements in the territory north of Apollonia Pontica

About 15 km northwest of Sozopol, along the modern road to the town of Burgas, is the Atiya peninsula, nowadays a navy-base of the Bulgarian Black Sea fleet (4).

According to Pliny²⁸, here used to be Antheia, a colony of the Milesians and Phocaeans were in his days (1st century A.D.) was only Apollonia Pontica. In 1927 a hoard of arrowhead copper currency was found on this site²⁹. This kind of money was used in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. and is also found around Berezan, Histria and Apollonia Pontica. Further finds from Atiya

24. B. Besevliev (see note 19, 148, 154 and 163).

25. Ts. Dretsizova, Keremidi c petsjat ot nekropola na Apollonia, in I Venedikov a.o., *Apollonia*, Sofia, 1963, 323 (in Bulgarian).

26. P. Balabanov, Burgas v epogu srednig vekov, in *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi*, Sofia, 1992, 276, (in Russian) I. Venedikov a.o. (see note 25, 130, I. Karajotov (see note 20) 279.

27. M. Tzaneva, Thrako-Griechische Beziehungen in der frühen Periode von der Entwicklung von Apollonia Pontica, in *Thracia Pontica I*, Sofia, 1982, 199.

28. Pliny *NH* 4.11.45.

29. P. Balabanov, Nouvelle étude des monnaies-pointes de flèche de la péninsule d'Athia, in *Thracia Pontica I*, Sofia, 1982, 50 ; R. Hodinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, London, 1975, 33.

consisted of pottery from the archaic period and a headless archaic *kouros*, dated between 550-540 B.C.³⁰.

The fact that all material from Antheia seems to be from the archaic period and the fact that this settlement didn't exist any longer in the days of Pliny makes it possible that Antheia was founded at the same time as Apollonia Pontica but never passed the "transition" from an *apoikia* to a *polis*³¹. Antheia's relation to Apollonia Pontica could have been the same as Berezan, which also lost its trade-role to Olbia.

Southwest of Atiya, about 5 km from the Black Sea coast and at the foot of the mountain range called "Ala tepe", a settlement was found of about 4000 m² with ceramics of the classical period³² (5). In the vicinity of this site are the remains of ancient mines³³.

West of Atiya, at the little gulf of Cenguene skelja near Cape Phoros, a natural harbour can be found (6). Here, amphorae from Thasos and layers with material from the Hellenistic and Medieval periods were found. Northeast of this site in front of the oil-harbour of Burgas, there seems to be a submerged site from antiquity³⁴ (7).

Another site from antiquity was found near the village of Tvardica at the south part of the Mandra Lake (8).

This site of about 5000 m² contained Greek and Thracian ceramics and an altar for the Thracian horsemen from the Roman period³⁵.

On the left bank of the river Sredecka, near its mouth into the Mandra Lake and near the village of Debelt, about 20 km south-west of the modern town of Burgas, is the site of the Roman town of Deultum (9). It is first mentioned by Pliny³⁶ and was founded by veterans of the 8th Augustian legion during

30. Hoddinott, see note 29, 34-35, B. Isaac, *The Greek settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian conquest*, Leiden, 1986, 241 ; I. Venedikov and T. Gerassimov, *Thrakische Kunst*, Sofia, 1973, fig. 53-4.

31. Tsetskhladze, see note 5, 16. According to G.R. Tsetskhladze, an *apoikia* used to be an early colony, established as an independent body but whose political functions are unknown between their establishment and the middle of the 6th century B.C.

32. I. Karajotov, Les sites portuaires sur les rives des lagunes et le golfe de Burgas (VI^{ème}-III^{ème} s. av. J.-C.), in *Thracia Pontica V*, Sozopol, 1994, 138.

33. J.H. Gaul, Possibilities of prehistoric metallurgy in the East Balkan Peninsula, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1942, 46, 400-408.

34. Karajotov (see note 32), 137.

35. Karajotov (see note 32), 137, Z. Gočeva and M. Oppermann, *Monumenta orae Ponti euxini Bulgariae, Corpus Cultus Equites Thracii*, Leiden, 1979, map 1.

36. Pliny NH IV.45.

the reign of emperor Vespasianus (69-79 A.D.). The site of Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium was first mentioned by the brothers Skorpil³⁷ and for the first time identified as Deultum by W. Tomaschek³⁸.

The Roman name Deultum was developed from the Greek name Develton that on its turn came from the Thracian name Debelton, meaning the two-swamp area³⁹. These swamps were formed by several rivers flowing into the Mandra Lake. The Mandra Lake was in antiquity a part of the Gulf of Burgas. In this way the settlement had excellent natural defences and was on the crossroad from the Black Sea to inland Thrace⁴⁰.

Deultum was inhabited till at least the 11th century A.D.⁴¹.

In between the Roman remains at the site near Debelt, fragments of 4th century amphorae and coins from the 3rd century (several tetradrachms from Byzanthion) were found.

In the industrial area "Kostadin Tchechma", 3 km south-east of the village of Debelt, between 1981 and 1985, a large area was excavated, containing material from 7th till the 3rd century B.C.⁴² (10).

The site contained more than 32 Thracian shrines and 12 depots of ceramics. Some of the shrines were bell formed and 1 m deep and 1 m wide. From the 6th century, the amphorae were predominantly from Chios and tableware was almost all from Ionian origin with some Corinthian. Pits from the 5th century were not found but several fragments of A 5th century Athenian pottery are known from other layers of the site. There were numerous pits from the 4th century containing 40 complete and the fragments of about 5000 amphorae. There are also fragments from craters, *kylikes* and *skyphoi* (about 30). Painted fragments (black-figured) are rare. Metal objects like lead

37. W.I. Skorpil, *Njakoi belezi varchu archeologceskite I istoriceski izledvanija v Trakija*, Sofia, 1885, 26-29.

38. W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, Wien, 1894, 131.

39. T. Todorov, On the etymology of Deultum, in *Thracia* 5, Sofia, 1980, 200-202.

40. E. Doceva, Deultum im Licht der archeologischen Ausgrabungen, in *Modus in Rebus, Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Schindler*, Berlin, 1990, 138.

41. S. Damjanov, Tamozjennij tzentri XI V. v rajone Debelta predvaritelnoe soobshenie, in *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi III*, Sofia, 1992, 247-251.

42. P. Balabanov, Trakijski selisheta zapadno ot Burgaskija zaliv, in *Poselishen zivot v Trakija, Purvi nashonalen simpozium*, Jambol, 1982, 60 ; P. Balabanov, Trakijcoe svatlishte vozele Debelta, in *Thracia Pontica III*, Sozopol, 1985, 221-237, for a summary of the finds in the English language see Tsetskhladze (see note 5), 59 ; P. Balabanov, The cities of ancient Thrace before the campaigns of Philip II, in *TerABalc V*, Veliko Tarnovo, 1990, 39 ; Doceva, see note 44, 138 ; I. Karayotov, see note 32, 137.

ingots, bronze fibulae and iron tools as well as thousands of fragments of local Thracian wheel-made pottery was found. The pits were situated on terraces and at the edge of one of them were the remains of three rooms, each filled with hundreds of amphorae, coins from Apollonia Pontica, the Thracian Chersones, Maroneia and Messambria Pontica, terracotta figures and local Thracian pottery.

The settlement probably produced its own amphorae, as a large one found in a pit had a stamp with "δοβελτ".

The interpretation of the excavators is that this site was an *emporion* of Apollonia Pontica.

On a hill in between the lagoon from Mandra and that from Vaia (11), another shrine of the Thracian horseman and layers from Hellenistic age were found⁴³. On the foot of the hill were the remains of mining activities⁴⁴.

Along the north bank of the Mandra Lake, the remains of a little fortress were discovered (12). Among the finds at this site were a silver *rhyton* and a large amount of tiles. 10 of those were with stamps A, meaning being produced in Apollonia Pontica and one tile with a stamp EΩ. Coins from Apollonia Pontica, Messambria and Athens were also found⁴⁵.

In the area between the Mandra and the Burgas Lake, three sites were discovered with large amounts of amphorae sherds (13). In one of these sites, which is near the village of Kapceto, fragments of a red-figured crater were found⁴⁶. 3 km west of the centre of the modern town of Burgas near the town quarter "Pobeda" is the site which is nowadays called "Sladkite Kladentsi", meaning "Sweet Wells" (14). The name of this site in antiquity is unknown. Its name is not mentioned on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* from the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. either.

The settlement was on the road from Apollonia Pontica to the interior of Central Thrace.

The site was excavated in 1949 by I. Galabov, in 1978 by P. Balabanov and in the last years the work is continued by the Archaeological Museum of Burgas⁴⁷.

43. Karajotov (see note 32), 136.

44. Gaul, (see note 33), 404.

45. Karajotov (see note 32), 136.

46. Karajotov (see note 32), 135.

47. P. Balabanov and Ts. Drazjeva, Trakijski nekropoli v kv. "Pobeda" v Burgas, in *Bulletin des musées de la Bulgarie du sud-est*, Plovdiv, 1985, 9-29, for the latest material see Karajotov (see note 32), 134-135.

Till this moment 20.000 m² is excavated and it seems that the settlement was unwalled. Six depots of Thasian amphorae wine and oil were found⁴⁸ together with large quantities of red-figured ware of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.⁴⁹.

Some of the Thasos amphorae have red coloured stamps. Other finds were ceramics from Rhodes (6th-5th centuries), black-figured Attic ware (5th-3rd centuries) and fragments of amphorae from Lesbos, Chios and Herakleia Pontica.

Besides local Thracian ceramics, clay objects like weights and terracottas were found. Extremely interesting were an Ionian lamp, a little *lekyth* with an anchor stamp from Apollonia Pontica and a little *hydria*⁵⁰. On the site were also remains of a Thracian necropolis with circular and rectangular places for sacrifices and epigraphical evidence with the name of Reskuporis, a son of Kotys I⁵¹.

According to Isaac, this site was an *emporion* from Apollonia Pontica, which served as a market place for trade with the Odrysians⁵². Hind however thinks that it simply was a small Thracian *bria* (fortified settlement)⁵³. This last opinion is contradicted by the large surface of this site and the fact that the settlement was unwalled.

Near Sladkite Kladentsi between the Black Sea and the Vaia Lake (15) are probably layers with material from the 5th and 4th centuries.

In the part of the modern town of Burgas called Izgrev (16), fragments of pottery from antiquity were found together with a good preserved amphora from Chios. An inscription, dedicated to Apollo from Roman times was also found at this site⁵⁴.

Near the western part of Lake Atanasovo, a tell was discovered with a layer with material from antiquity⁵⁵ (17).

At the Northern shore of Lake Atanasovo, the same situation was found⁵⁶ (18).

48. Hoddinott (see note 29), 32 ; Karajotov (see note 32), 134-135.

49. Isaac (see note 30), 249.

50. Balabanov (see note 47), 10-28 ; Karajotov (see note 32), 134-135.

51. Balabanov (see note 47), 9.

52. Isaac (see note 30), 249.

53. Hind 1995/1996 (see note 1), 121.

54. Karajotov (see note 32), 133-134.

55. Karajotov (see note 32), 133.

56. Karajotov (see note 32), 133.

Between Burgas Airport and the Eastern shore of Lake Atanasovo, a site of about 4000 m² was discovered with material from antiquity⁵⁷ (19).

Near the village of Sarafovo, a settlement with Hellenistic material was found⁵⁸ (20).

Close to a camping west of the modern village of Pomorie in a marshy area, a little site was discovered with layers with material from antiquity and epigraphical material from Roman times⁵⁹ (21).

In the lagoon of Pomorie, a stone anchor in the form of a human head with moustache was found. This anchor can be compared with stone anchors found near Serres in Northern Greece⁶⁰ (22).

Unluckily, most of these sites, mentioned by Karajotov, were neither excavated, nor were the finds published.

15 km north of Apollonia, on the opposite coast of the Gulf of Burgas is the modern town of Pomorie (23). The ancient name of this site was Anchialos. Although the ruins of the Roman town of Anchialos are still visible, the exact place of the Greek site is still unknown.

According to Strabo, Anchialos was a *polichnion* of Apollonia⁶¹, although Danov calls Anchialos an *apoika* of Apollonia⁶².

Anchialos was founded in the 5th century B.C. as an unwalled settlement with a perfect harbour⁶³. It was controlled by a fortress, which was taken by Messambria in the 2nd century B.C. according to a marble stele.

With the help of Histria, Apollonia reconquered the settlement and raised the fortress to prevent others to conquer it again⁶⁴.

In Roman times, Anchialos was walled⁶⁵ and an important site regarding the large and interesting gravetomb which was excavated in 1958-1959⁶⁶.

57. Karajotov (see note 32), 133.

58. Karajotov (see note 32), 133.

59. Karajotov (see note 32), 132.

60. D. Samaris, Recherches sur l'histoire de la navigation des habitants du cours inférieur du Strymon dans l'Antiquité, *Thracia pontica I*, Sofia, 1982, 259-261.

61. Strabo VII.6.1.

62. Danov (see note 6), 1071.

63. Isaac (see note 30), 248.

64. Pippidi a.o. (see note 8), 244-248.

65. Ovid *Trst.* 1.10.33.

66. P. Valev, Seclio Aurea : Panteonet v Rim I antisjnata grobnichta kraj Pomorie, in *Archeologija*, 1996, 2-3, 31.

The coast plain of Pomorie is about 25 km long and 10 km wide. The plain is still covered with corn and wheat fields as well as rich fruit gardens and vineyards. Salt pans were exploited till the 19th century.

Anchialos certainly was a valuable source of salt for Apollonia⁶⁷.

Probably through the Phanagorian regression, the salt pans from antiquity are now 10 m under the Black Sea. They were situated north of the Pomorie peninsula on a bank, now called the Tchimovo bank, which is about 3.8 km long and 50-100 m wide.

This bank shows artificial activity, probably an artificially mounted coast to create a lagoon for *salinas*⁶⁸.

On the territory of Anchialos, about 12 km from this town, is a site where hot baths used to be (24). On the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, this place is called Aqua Calidae. It was probably the first station of a salt road from Anchialos to the Thracian shrine of Kabyle⁶⁹.

The exact archaeological classification of Aqua Calidae is still difficult but an inscription was found in honour of the "Nymphs". This religion had a Thracian origin. Besides this inscription, thousand of coins were found, probably belonging to pilgrims from many cities in Thrace⁷⁰, probably as offerings.

In 1930 two basins were discovered, one round and one rectangular⁷¹. The hot baths were famous for their healing power.

Near Aqua Calidae on a slope of the Stara Planina on a hill called Monastir Tepe, the remains of a fortified Thracian religious centre of about 2500 m² was excavated. This centre dated to the 3rd or 2nd centuries B.C. At this site fragments of attic ceramics from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. were found like cups, plates and *canthares*. At the same site, more than 200 fragments were found of amphorae with amphorae stamps of from Rhodes, Thasos, Cos, Cnide Sinope and of the Soloka 1 type. Some of the stamps also bore personal names⁷². Money was also found like a silver drachme from Apollonia from the

67. Hoddinott (see note 29), 33 ; Isaac, (see note 30), 248.

68. Kh. Khristchev a.o., Salt production in ancient Anhialo ; geographical evidence, in *Thracia Pontica I*, Sofia 1982, 201-205.

69. P. Kiachkina, Les contacts commerciaux des Thraces de la région de Bourgas avec le monde égéen (IV^{ème}-II^{ème} s. av. J.-C.), in *Thracia Pontica V*, Varna, 1994, 175.

70. Isaac, (see note 30), 249.

71. P. Kiacchkina and I. Karajotov, Aqua Calidae, Centre de la culture Thrace, *Thracia Pontica VI.1*, Sozopol, 1997, 125.

72. Kiachkina (see note 69), 177-180.

5th century B.C., a silver diobole and bronze coins from Apollonia from the 4th century together with coins from Messambria, a Thracian coin from the time of King Amotak I and Macedonian coins with the heads of Philips II and Alexander⁷³. All these coins were probably offerings.

5) Conclusion

If one looks at the material, presented in this paper, the conclusion should be that none of the mentioned sites fits the definition of an *emporion*. However the extremely high density of sites in the area between the lagoon of Mandra and Anchialos containing large amounts of material from antiquity (5th century B.C. till Roman times) surely proves that intensive trade-contacts between the Greek colonists of Apollonia Pontica and the Thracians from the hinterland existed. The settlements near Debelt and Sladkite Kladentsi were, as far as we know, till this moment undoubtedly the largest settlements for these trade-contacts.

Another conclusion which can be made is that several of these sites had a strong Thracian and religious (like altars and culture centres for Thracian gods) element except Anchialos which was a Greek *polichnion*.

Strong Thracian presence in the hinterland is a.o. attested by the Thracian (?) fortress at Malkoto Kale. With the rise of the Odrysian kingdom in the first half of the 5th century B.C. a strong and more or less centralised Thracian government came into being in which trade contacts between Greeks and Thracians could be permitted and possibly formalised in some kind in religious way.

Geographically, the chora of Apollonia Pontica was totally dependent on the Thracian (Odrysian) rulers in the hinterland.

The question can even be asked if Apollonia had an agricultural chora at all. There are no traces of any amphorae production and neither transport amphorae with a stamp of Apollonia were found so probably Apollonia didn't have any export of wine or oil.

According to the existing evidence, the chora of Apollonia Pontica in the fifth century couldn't have been larger than about 250 km² (including the area around Anchialos).

73. Kiachkina a.o., (see note 71), 126-127.

Of this area, probably less than a third was arable land, meaning, according to the calculations of F. De Angelis for the Sicilian colony of Megara Hyblaia, a production of wheat of 2500 tons, of which 2000 tons were available for consumption. This is just enough for a total population of 9000 inhabitants, leaving hardly any surplus for trade⁷⁴.

Although the Northern and Western Pontic colonies in the 6th century B.C. were mostly agricultural settlements, all of them kept economic ties with their mother cities in Ionia, as is attested by archaeological finds in this region. As after leaving Bosphorus no decent anchorage existed for 170 miles till Apollonia, it is clear that the site was an indispensable station for any western trade route between Ionia and the Northern and Western Pontic colonies. A fact which, according to J. Hind, was advertised by the anchor in its later coins⁷⁵.

A result could have been that from the beginning of the 4th century B.C. onwards, Apollonia Pontica through several factors like the rise of the Odrysian kingdom and the aftermath of the Ionian revolt⁷⁶ became an indispensable link in the rising corn trade between Athens and the Pontic region. Regarding these facts, Apollonia Pontica may have been more involved in trade with the interior than more agricultural colonies like Histria and Olbia.

It's possible that *emporía*, as defined at this moment, were not the only market places for Greek colonies. Besides *emporía* there existed probably market places with a strong native, often religious, element, which were under the control of the local chieftain or king. The role of local inhabitants in the economic relations of the Greek Black Sea colonies should more emphasised.

74. F. De Angelis, F. 1994. The foundation of Selinous, overpopulation or opportunities, in: G.R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis (ed.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonization*, Oxford, 95.

75. J. Hind, 1985, Anchors, crayfish and facing heads : Silver coins of Apollonia at the Euxine Sea, in : *Thracia Pontica II*, Jambol, 89.

76. J.G. de Boer, The Ionian revolt and the rise of the Black Sea trade, an economic approach, in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greeks and Romans in the Black sea and the importance of the Pontic Region for the Graeco-Roman world (7th Century BC-5th Century AD)*, Oxford, forthcoming.