From Rome to Byzantium: Trade and Continuity in the First Millennium AD

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For My Parents

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Preface

From Rome to Byzantium provides a detailed overview of trading activity in the Roman and Byzantine Mediterranean, grounded in recent archaeological research. It is argued in what follows that while state-sponsored trading was undoubtedly important in both eras, 'free trading' led by consumer tastes and competition over prices must have played a significant role too. It is also contended that the so-called 'Dark Ages' of the seventh and eighth centuries saw more continuity with the Roman past in terms of both commercial activity and urban life than is often admitted. As such, the Byzantine economic and urban revival of the ninth century needs to be at least partly seen in the context of the 'legacy of Rome' and cannot be considered an entirely unrelated phenomenon, as it sometimes is.

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Chapter 1

The Nature of Trade in the Roman Mediterranean, c. 200 BC--AD 600

1. Approaches to Roman Trade

The role and character of trade within the Roman economy has long been a topic of much controversy. Certainly there can be no question that pottery, wine and other goods were somehow carried across the Mediterranean, as we cannot explain the archaeological evidence recovered from surface survey and excavations in any other way: artefacts indicative of such trade are found on a significant proportion of Roman-era settlement sites. The mechanics and nature of this transportation are, however, very much open to debate, as is the importance and frequency of such wide-ranging contacts. The present chapter offers a brief overview of this debate, looking in some detail at the character of Roman trading activity from the Republican era through to Late Antiquity and asking what the pattern of this trading indicates about the shifting currents of prosperity.

A consideration of the latter question emerges naturally from the discussion of the archaeological evidence for trade; however, on the former matter -- the nature of the trading -- some background is perhaps needed before we can proceed. On this opinion has been frequently split into two main schools representing, to a large degree, the differing approaches to trade and the economy of the economic historian and the archaeologist, with the views of the former acting as the basis for the modern debate, against which the latter have reacted. The viewpoint of the economic historian -- often termed the 'new orthodoxy' -- has been prominently championed by A. H. M. Jones and Sir Moses Finley amongst others. It takes as its starting point references in the classical authors to the economy and derives from them a picture of the Roman economic landscape in which the empire was self-sufficient, with each farm, district and/or region growing and making nearly all that it needed. The main basis of all wealth is thus considered to be agriculture and the vast majority of the population was concerned with the growing of food.

This concept obviously has little room for inter-regional trade -- or, indeed, non-local manufacturing -- as anything other than small-scale and insignificant to the economy as a whole, dealing mainly with prestige goods for the elites as transport costs were too high for anything but the carriage of luxury items. What evidence there is for the transport of goods is, as such, not generally seen as 'free' trade but rather as part of either the state redistributive mechanisms associated with the *annona* (the tax-in-kind that was used to feed and supply Rome) and the lines of military supply, or as the result of elites moving goods between estates or gifting them to other members of the elite.

This model of trade is, of course, one largely derived from historical and literary sources, not archaeology. This does raise some methodological issues, as the texts being used to construct this 'new orthodoxy' are often political or philosophical works, which only make mention of economic matters in passing. As such, it is certainly open to question whether their lack of interest in, and knowledge of, trading (and other matters, such as technological innovation) is a reflection of the economic realities, as seems to be assumed by the 'new orthodoxy', or a result of the concerns of the authors and audiences of these texts; such documents were, after all, written both by and for the *status quo*-favouring elites. If we had texts composed by other social groups they might paint a very different picture of the Roman economy and technological innovation.

One way to try and circumvent these worries is, of course, to make use of non-literary sources as a means of illustrating and developing the historical material. Keith Hopkins has, for example, offered a slight modification of the 'new orthodoxy' involving the application of archaeological data from coins and shipwrecks, arguing that a model can be produced which suggests that Roman taxation of the provinces from the second century BC through to the second century AD stimulated a degree of inter-regional trading, as the provinces had to sell their surpluses to Italy in order to obtain the coin needed to pay the taxes. In other words, central taxation led to all Roman citizens, from peasants upwards, being increasingly drawn into an integrated

Roman economy. Certainly this would help explain the significant numbers of coins and sherds of non-local pottery found at many rural settlement sites across the Empire, which are so inconvenient to the Finley model. Thus at Tarraco and its hinterland in eastern Spain in the Republican period, the assemblages from rural settlement sites are dominated by imported pottery. However, even with Hopkins' modification the picture is still one of relatively low-level trading in luxury items, as described in the classical written evidence. The question therefore becomes one of whether this scenario remains credible or not, if we use the archaeological material as a source in its own right rather than as an after-thought or illustration.

2. Pottery and Patterns of Trade and Prosperity

In any discussion of Roman trade from an archaeological perspective, fine-ware pottery and amphorae are usually dominant, as they are here. The reason for this is that these items seem to have been produced and traded in vast quantities; they are difficult to destroy, allowing for a better survival rate than either glass or silver plate, which can be melted down; and it is relatively easy to trace the source and chronology of the traded items. Obviously there are problems with this focus, not least of which is a concern over whether these artefacts can be assumed to be indicative of the main direction and force of commercial currents within the Roman economy. However, whilst we certainly cannot deduce anything about, for example, Roman wool trading from the distribution of fine-ware pottery, the sheer quantity of this material and the fact that it cannot be considered a rare or luxury item suggests that it can be reasonably used as an index of trading routes and the likely movements of archaeologically invisible goods, especially given that shipwreck evidence shows that pottery was hardly ever the sole cargo on Roman ships.

In what follows the character and distribution of amphorae and fine-ware are examined, to both investigate what these can tell us about patterns of trading and prosperity within the empire and also to lay the essential groundwork for a subsequent discussion of the nature of Roman trading.

2.1 Amphorae and the Pattern of Trading

Amphorae are perhaps particularly useful as evidence for trade given that they were the trade packaging of the Roman period. They chiefly contained wine, olive oil and fish sauce, which were essential parts of the Mediterranean lifestyle. Indeed, this was true even of the farthest reaches of the empire, with Gildas in sixth-century Britain identifying wine and oil as a crucial parts of *romanitas* (*De Excidio Britanniae*, §7). There is, however, a problem when we assume that the geographical and chronological origins of these foodstuffs were the same as that of the amphorae that contained them. This has been made clear from the early seventh-century shipwreck at Yassi Ada. Here we have a trading ship heading south from the Black Sea (to Rhodes?) loaded with a cargo of amphorae containing wine and olive oil, with a number of these amphorae having inscriptions showing that they had been re-used over a considerable length of time and by many different owners. Although very late, this does raise questions with regards to the viability of using amphorae to identify commercial currents. Indeed, it has been argued on the basis of this evidence that the origins of amphorae can no longer be used as an indicator of either what was being carried or where it originated, with amphorae perhaps being produced at one site and then sold to others some distance away, for filling with the products of those regions.

Certainly such a scenario of the production of amphorae away from the regions where their contents was produced -- in contrast to the general assumption that amphorae were likely to have been made on the estates -- gathers some support from elsewhere in the Roman Empire. Thus the lack of amphorae kilns in Morocco, where fish-oil production seems to have been a major activity, has been seen in this light. Similarly in Spain we can see the production of amphorae being undertaken by specialists, for example at the El Tejarillo kiln site (where no fewer than twenty-five different types of stamps were found on the wasters) and at the Bay of Cadiz, where there were huge heaps of wasters, with these products then being sent elsewhere for filling. On the other hand, there is also plentiful evidence for the production of amphorae as part of the estate economy, as can be seen from the stamps on third-century Tripolitanian amphorae (and the kilns close by a villa at Aïn

Scersciara, Tripolitania) and from the wide scatter of the small Gauloise 4 (Class 27) kilns throughout Languedoc and Provence.

These regional differences perhaps offers us an explanation, however. Both olive oil and wine production were part of the normal villa estate economy, and the North African and Gaulish amphorae -- which seem to have also been produced as part of the villa estate economy -- are believed to have largely contained these products. In contrast the production of fish-products, including the widely used fish-oil, seems to have been a specialised industry separate from the villa system, and this industry was mainly based in Morocco, Portugal and Spain: that is, those regions where amphorae production doesn't seem to have been linked to the production of their contents. As such, the above differences can probably be seen to reflect an underlying difference in the organisation of commodity production rather than anything else, and in this context it does not seem unreasonable to treat the origins of at least wine and olive-oil (but not fish-oil) amphorae as indicative of the origins of the products they contained. Where, though, does this leave the re-used wine and olive-oil carrying amphorae from Yassi Ada? It is perhaps significant here that the shipment dates to Late Antiquity and from a period of war with the Persians; in consequence, re-use might well be explicable simply in terms of a decreased availability of new amphorae due to conflict, without any more general applicability.

Given that amphorae can thus probably be reasonably safely used to reconstruct the flow of the trade in some of the most important foodstuffs -- wine and olive-oil -- in the Roman period, at least before the end of sixth century, we now need to turn to look at the pattern and chronology of this trade, as indicated by these vessels. In the second and first centuries BC the main trade seems to have been defined by the export of wine from Italy to the provinces, in particular to southern Gaul (where Italian imports replaced local products, such as those of Marseilles) and up the Rhône, with Dressel 1 and Dressel 2-4 amphorae dominating in the western Mediterranean and northern Europe, even reaching North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

Taking the Dressel form 1 amphorae with Sestius stamps as an example, it appears from a striking concentration and variety of these amphorae at the port of Cosa (Tuscany) that they were made in a factory near the town, on the estate of the Sestius family, and then were filled and exported, reaching sites as distant as Spain, Austria and Athens and being particularly common in southern Gaul. This is quite remarkable for the products of a single estate, and it is not hard to see genuine 'free' trading in this distribution: the distribution and quantity of Dressel form 1 amphorae generally, both on land and from wrecks, is spectacular. Indeed, it has been calculated that up to forty million amphorae were unloaded in Gaul from the vineyards of the Tyrrhenian coast between 130--120/110 BC, with 24,000 found at one river site. Even more interesting is the fact that the customers for all these imports were not elites and soldiers, but rather local Gallic civilians, with the amphorae being found extensively diffused and at some of the most isolated sites. Clearly this does not fit into the 'new orthodoxy' model, revised or not, and this picture of an Italian domination of the wine trade is confirmed by the evidence of wrecks. Of the 103 wrecks found along the coast of Narbonnaise, over half belong to the second or first century BC and the vast majority of these originated in Italy.

At the beginning of the Imperial period this focus moves away from Italy. Local production in the provinces now dominates, with Spanish Oberaden 83 amphorae being found at a number of overseas sites in late first century BC contexts, and Spanish olive-oil, fish products and wine reaching Italy in quantity before the end of Augustus' reign. In fact, Dressel 20 amphorae, which were used from the time of Augustus to Gallienus to carry oil from the valley of the river Guadaluivir (southern Spain), achieved a distribution almost as spectacular as that possessed by the Dressel 1 amphorae, though the quantities involved are smaller. From the mid-first century AD in the western Mediterranean, Spanish (fish products and olive oil) and Gaulish (wine) amphorae clearly dominate, reaching a peak in the mid-second century, when vast amounts of Spanish oil appears to have been imported into Rome. In illustration of this we might cite the fact that two thirds of the amphorae on the surface of the amphorae heap which forms Monte Testaccio were Dressel 20, most of these dating 140--65 AD.

The third century, however, sees a decline in exports from Spain and Gaul in the western Mediterranean, with

amphorae-borne commerce moving its focus to North Africa, whose products dominate the whole of the Mediterranean into the fourth century (they had actually dominated at Rome from the second century). From the late fourth century this pattern changes once again, with a steady influx of eastern Mediterranean amphorae (Classes 43--46) into the west, dominating the trade across the whole of the Mediterranean (and into the Atlantic) until the seventh century. The exception to this seems to be North Africa and Italy, with African amphorae and their contents continuing to dominate the regional market in North Africa and also continuing to appear in large quantities in Italy, for example at Vibo Valentia, southern Italy, where eastern Mediterranean amphorae are rare but significant numbers of African amphorae are found into the seventh century. However, not even Carthage was immune, with eastern Mediterranean amphorae being found there from the late fourth century into the seventh century, something which tends to confirm the impression gained from the African Red Slip Ware industry that the Vandal conquest did not greatly disrupt trade, with eastern imports actually increasing through the period, though the trading pattern becomes more stable after the Byzantine re-conquest of Africa in 534.

This then is the pattern of trading in olive oil, wine and fish products that the distribution of Roman-era amphorae reveals. Clearly this was trading on an extremely large scale, penetrating to all levels of society within the empire. On the whole it seems not unreasonable to take the origins of wine and olive-oil amphorae as indicative of the prosperity of the regions they come from and their role within the Roman economy, whatever its nature is taken as. A consideration of this suggests a picture of shifting prosperity throughout the period, from Italy in the Republican era, to Spain and Gaul, to North Africa, and finally to the Near East in Late Antiquity.

2.2 Fine-ware and the Pattern of Trading

Fine-ware, unlike amphorae, were traded items in their own right. As such, their viability as a guide to trade and prosperity does not suffer from the issues raised above with regards to amphorae. Given this, it might be seen as particularly significant that the pattern which emerges from a study of this material bears close comparison with that deduced from the finds of wine and olive-oil amphorae.

On the whole, the late Republican and early Imperial periods see largely local and regional production of fine monochrome red-gloss table-wares, with the finest of these being the samian or *terra sigillata* pottery from Gaul and Italy. As we move through the Imperial period, however, we see an increasingly dominance of western Mediterranean assemblages -- as we also saw with the olive-oil and wine industries -- by North African products, in particular African Red Slip Ware. Once again, the enormous quantities of this material found all across the western Mediterranean and at all types of sites are suggestive of mass-production and wide-ranging trading links. The centre of production for this ware seems to have initially been the Carthage region, with Carthage acting as both an important market and a centre for the exporting of this material to the rest of the Mediterranean (other factories were rapidly established in parts of Tunisia and eastern Algeria, but Carthage remained the gateway for African Red Slip Ware). The enormous popularity of this pottery, despite the fact that it was less sophisticated than the *terra sigillata*, may well be because it was cheaper to market than the rival wares, given that it used clays of a simple composition for the main fabric which didn't require closely controlled firing; that it employed simplified decoration; and that it developed low feet on the vessels, which allowed for easier shipping of larger quantities of the product. That there was indeed some competition between the *terra sigillata* industry and the African Red Slip Ware industry can be seen in the fact that the earliest African Red Slip Ware deliberately imitates the former, for example via polished surfaces.

The popularity of African Red Slip Ware continued growing through the second and third centuries, so that in the mid-third century it dominated the entire Mediterranean. Previously, fine-tableware in use in the eastern Mediterranean had continued to be mainly *sigillata* wares, though in Greece and the Aegean the local *terra sigillata* was replaced by Candarli-ware in the mid-second century. From the mid-third century however these pottery industries rapidly disappear and African Red Slip Ware dominates into the fourth century. The reason for this mid-third century change in the eastern Mediterranean may simply be an expansion of the trade in this

presumably relatively cheap fine-ware, but it is interesting to note that it does coincide with the introduction of African Red Slip Ware 'C' ware. This was the finest African Red Slip Ware, in circulation from *c.* 220 to *c.* 500, which seems to have consciously attempted to replicate contemporary silver- and bronze-ware. It might well be suspected that the adoption of African Red Slip Ware in the east might be seen as a function both of its relative cheapness and the fact that, in the mid-third century, it was being deliberately sold as an affordable substitute for the silver vessels that adorned the tables of the rich (see further below).

From the fourth century onwards, the phenomenal success of African Red Slip Ware resulted in the emergence of imitators. The closest copies come from Egypt, but the most important of these imitations were Cypriot Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware, both of which begin production in the fourth-century and last through until the mid-seventh century. Phocaean Red Slip Ware is the most interesting of the two, not least because it was mass-produced in west Turkey and shows the most independence from African Red Slip Ware of all the imitation red-slipped wares. In terms of fabric and technique, Phocaean Red Slip Ware seems to have been a continuation of the Candarli-ware tradition, and only the earliest examples (to *c.* 420) imitate the shape and decoration of African Red Slip Ware. The major market for Phocaean Red Slip Ware from the mid-fourth century seems to have been the new Imperial capital, Constantinople, and the initial fortunes of this ware seem to be linked to those of the city, with Constantinopolitan silver and gilded vessels providing the models for Phocaean Red Slip Ware just as Roman ones did for African Red Slip Ware, something which is perhaps suggestive of the Phocaean Red Slip Ware industry being, at least initially, state-directed whilst also filling a specific consumer need.

However, whatever its initial origins and motivation, in the course of the fifth century Phocaean Red Slip Ware takes over as the dominant form of fine-ware found on eastern Mediterranean sites -- where African Red Slip Ware had previously been found in large quantities -- with the related Cypriot Red Slip Ware also becoming more popular than African Red Slip Ware; the only exception to this is in Egypt, where we actually see an increase in African Red Slip Ware finds and local imitations of these continued to be made. From this point, Phocaean Red Slip Ware remained the dominant form of fine-ware in the Eastern Empire until the seventh century, although both African Red Slip Ware and Cypriot Red Slip Ware see a revival in the mid-late sixth century. Such a situation is difficult to explain solely in terms of centrally-directed trade, and it parallels the increasing dominance at this time of east Mediterranean olive-oil and amphorae, noted above. The notion of a central state-control of the trade becomes even more problematical from the mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries, when Phocaean Red Slip Ware spreads out from the eastern Mediterranean to be found in Italy, southern Gaul, Spain, Portugal and western Britain -- areas previously the preserve of African Red Slip Ware, such as Forms 103--104 -- where it would seem to have been traded as part of an eastern Mediterranean package of goods, including wine, olive-oil and probably silks.

We thus seem to see in the evidence from fine-ware a very similar pattern of shifting production and thus, potentially, prosperity, from Italy and Gaul, to North Africa and then to the eastern Mediterranean, as was observed from the trade in wine and olive-oil. The fine-ware can also help us better understand the end of this sequence. In the seventh century we see a further superseding of pottery types, with African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware in the eastern Mediterranean being replaced by the Egyptian Red Slip Ware types A and C and the Cypriot Red Slip Ware (in Jordan we also see the emergence of high-quality imitations of African Red Slip Ware stamped vessels). Thus in Antioch African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware were both imported until the early seventh century, when they are replaced by Egyptian Red Slip Ware 'C' ware. Although both African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware continue in production for a time, with African Red Slip Ware vessels being produced and used in the Carthage region and Italy until the end of the seventh century, it seems clear that their importance outside their own local markets saw considerable restriction in favour of locally made copies of both, with the sole exception of Cyrenaica, where African Red Slip Ware dominated through the seventh century.

Exactly why this decline in the main mass-produced fine-wares occurred is debatable, though Caroline Williams has suggested that it may have been motivated by a desire to ensure a more reliable supply of goods,

due to the disruption of sea connections in the seventh century associated with the Persian and Arab conquests in the region. It has to be said that a decline in demand is indisputably implausible, given that Egyptian Red Slip Ware A and C continue to be found in Palestine and Egypt into the early eighth century and certainly at Antioch the Egyptian 'C' ware seems to replace Phocaean Red Slip Ware and African Red Slip Ware. In other words, the demand for fine slipped table-ware obviously continued beyond the end of the use of the main mass-produced versions of this. Neither does there seem to have been an interruption in production in the early seventh century, as is evidenced from the continued presence of these wares in their home regions -- and, for African Red Slip Ware, Italy and Cyrenaica -- up to the end of the seventh century. However, one other element of the 'decline', aside from the insecurity of the seventh century, may just possibly (though by no means certainly) be that Egyptian and Cypriot Red Slip Ware vessels were somehow more desirable than African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware, perhaps once more on the basis of cost. This, after all, would seem to be partly how African Red Slip Ware ended the dominance of *terra sigillata* in the late first to mid-third centuries, and some support for this suggestion can be had from the fact that, in many areas of Egypt, African Red Slip Ware seems to have been imported as a luxury item whilst Cypriot Red Slip Ware appears to have captured the 'mass market', judging from the distribution of the different fine-wares.

2.3 Conclusion on Patterns of Trading and Prosperity

The broad coincidence over which areas are the chief foci for trade in the Roman period, as evidenced by fine-ware and amphorae, is intriguing and arguably important. Indeed this coincidence seems to be present despite the fact that the evidence from Carthage and Yassi Ada indicates that the fine-ware and amphorae could often not be exported together but rather followed separate trade routes: thus eastern amphorae are found in quantities at Carthage whilst Phocaean Red Slip Ware is not, something which indicates the existence of multiple trade routes, as does the varying fortunes of the various individual amphorae types.

This similarity strongly argues that we are getting a reliable picture of the changing trade patterns and prosperity of various regions, with first Italy, then Spain and Gaul, then North Africa, and then the east Mediterranean seem to be the most vital centres of both fine-ware and produce production. This impression is furthered by the fact that field survey shows that periods of heightened pottery production and olive-oil and wine export coincide closely with periods of rural prosperity in the same areas. Thus Italy, from the first century bc to the first century AD, sees its pottery, wine and marble exported all over the western Mediterranean, whilst field survey reveals that rural settlement was at its most extensive and prosperous. The same pattern is also to be found from the late first century AD through the second century in Spain and Gaul; through the third and fourth centuries in North Africa; and through the fifth and sixth centuries in the Near East, with heightened exports from Gaza and the Antioch region coinciding with the best evidence for settlement and prosperity in the Negev and the Syrian limestone massif. The converse is true too, so that as the fifth and sixth centuries see a gradual and noticeable shrinkage in north African exports, so too do we find a decline in rural and urban settlement there.

What can we conclude from this? First, and foremost, it seems clear that pottery is indeed a reliable indicator of the shifting trends in regional prosperity. Furthermore, Bryan Ward-Perkins has suggested that the pottery and produce industries may lie at the heart of this shifting. It may well be that overseas demand for a local product of a particular region -- be it because it was of a better quality, cheaper, of more reliable supply, or that it offered something new, such as an affordable alternative to metal-ware -- led to increased prosperity for that region, with a shifting of demand to other areas resulting in a concomitant decline in prosperity as external resources cease to arrive in the region. In illustration of this he points to the opening up of marginal land on the Syrian limestone massif, a region which can only sustain a small population at the 'margins of prosperity'. The fact that this region is, despite this, densely settled and very prosperous in Late Antiquity, can be explained by the known and demonstrable demand for Antiochene amphorae and olive-oil, the presence of Late Antique olive-presses in the villages of the massif, and the possibility of planting trees in the tiny but numerous pockets of soil found there -- in other words, taken together the evidence strongly suggests that increased demand opened up this region to the specialized cultivation of the olive. Regional prosperity in the

Imperial era may thus, to some degree, actually reflect consumer demand and trading patterns, rather than vice versa.

The implications of all this for the nature of Roman trade are, of course, important, though necessarily open to argument. Why demand might shift from one region to another is an imponderable given the present state of our knowledge, but it has to be admitted that changing consumer priorities, and perhaps even 'fashions', may have a role here, suggesting in turn that the fine-ware and amphorae distribution reflects something closer to modern 'free' trading than simply or purely state- and elite-controlled exchange.

3. The Nature of Roman Trade

In light of the above survey of the pottery evidence for trade and prosperity, we must return to the question of what, exactly, the nature of all this trading actually was. Two non-market factors have been proposed by those who wish to minimize the free-trading aspect of the Roman economy: reciprocal exchange of luxuries between estate owners, and distribution motivated by the concerns of the state. The first of these certainly happened but it is incomprehensible that it was a major factor of trade, given the staggering quantities of pottery found all across the Mediterranean and the fact that these must only represent a small amount of that which was originally transported. Indeed, this is corroborated by the fact that not only fine-wares were carried around the empire but also some coarse-wares, which are not readily susceptible to elite-exchange interpretations.

The second deserves more serious attention. This is that the distribution of this material in the Roman world was, to a large extent, dictated by the state and its provisioning of the army and the cities. Thus the very large quantities of amphorae found in Rome are seen as travelling there with the *annona*, some as part of this (the *annona* included not only grain but also oil, wine, fat and fruit) and some being carried with it by the private merchants who were in the service of the state, these being encouraged to carry the *annona* by a waiving of port-charges for their own goods. Similarly the amphorae found at forts and around the arteries of supply to the German *Limes* (with inscriptions relating to merchants) are interpreted as being there due to military provisioning in the same manner. A comparable Late Antique example of such 'tied' trade might be the provisioning of the Church, with Gregory of Tours refering to Gaza wine in sixth-century Gaul (*History of the Franks*, VII.29).

Certainly the notion that trade was stimulated by the state is probable, as is the notion that merchants would trade their own goods along the trade routes established for the state supply. Thus the Tunisian amphorae and African Red Slip-Ware industries both seem to export a large proportion of their product to Rome. In a similar fashion Phocaean Red Slip-Ware (also known as Late Roman 'C') can be seen to rise to dominance on the back of Constantinople in the fourth and fifth centuries, which it may well have been set up to supply. Indeed, this state involvement in trade does, in some cases, go much further than this. Thus, for example, Proconnesian marble looks to have been widely sold via regular commerce, in order to produce capitals and chancel screens in places such as the Negev desert, but both the production and distribution of this commodity looks to have been under state control. Similarly, the export of fine-wares and amphorae to western Britain in Late Antiquity provides a very good example of state directed and controlled trading. Here it would seem that the Imperial requirement for tin (used to produce bronze coinage) in the late fifth and early sixth centuries was the primary motivation for merchants making the 10,000 km round-trip to trade with the Cornish -- that this was directed trading, not simply commerce, is made clear by the fact that there was clearly no attempt made to trade with the regions between Portugal and Cornwall.

Despite all this, there are good reasons to believe that Imperial trade did involve a significant element of 'free trade' and that this extended beyond the Imperial lines of provision. The most persuasive evidence for this comes from the distribution and changing focus of the pottery industries, as discussed in the previous section. For example, though African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware clearly benefited greatly from the fact that they provisioned the capitals, the distribution of both of these wares is enormous and spreads across

the entire Mediterranean. This distribution must surely represent commercial trading on a wide scale motivated by consumer demand -- there is no other cogent explanation. This is driven home by the fact that the focus of this fine-ware trade seems to have shifted first from *terra sigillata* to African Red Slip Ware, then from African Red Slip Ware to Phocaean Red Slip Ware, and finally from Phocaean Red Slip Ware to Cypriot and Egyptian Red Slip Ware: in each instance it can be argued that the change that occurred was due to a probably cheaper product being preferred over a more expensive one, or the adoption of design elements by the industries that made their wares more attractive to consumers than those from elsewhere.

An example of this postulated consumer driven change comes from African Red Slip Ware 'C' ware, discussed briefly above. This was the finest African Red Slip Ware and circulated from *c.* 220 to 500. It seems to have been produced in Central Tunisia using a smoother, purer fabric and moulds and it consciously apes contemporary silver- and bronze-ware in terms of its thinness, the choice of shapes (for example, large platters and small bowls with wide rims) and the decoration of these pieces. That this was a conscious decision to imitate the metal dishes and so forth is confirmed by the fact that the changes in the style of the 'C' ware mirrors those in the metal-ware. Thus, in the fifth century, higher foot-rings make a return as they do on the silver and bronze vessels, and feather rouletting is introduced in the late fourth century in line with developments in the decoration of silverware. A few relief-decorated vessels may even have been cast directly from metal originals. The fact that just after this ware is introduced, African Red Slip Ware is exported in quantity to the eastern Mediterranean is surely highly significant, and it might be suggested from the above that fine-ware was being deliberately marketed from the mid-third century as an affordable substitute for the silver vessels that adorned the tables of the rich. Certainly, for some reason, the mid-third century sees fine-wares appearing in regions such as Palestine where very little fine-ware had previously been found, and in the established markets of the western Mediterranean we see an expansion of the area served by this pottery, as in Portugal. All of these coincidences are perhaps best explained as being, in some senses, consumer driven. People wanted fine-wares and were willing to shop around for them -- thus on the Nile Delta, Cypriot Red Slip Ware seems to have been preferred over African Red Slip Ware due to it being cheaper (given the solely elite usage of the latter), whilst elsewhere in Egypt local copies of African Red Slip Ware were made because it was too expensive to import the real thing due to overland transport costs.

Something very similar can be seen with the amphorae. Although a number of reasons have been invoked for the decline of the Italian Republican wine trade, including the reliance of slave labour, it is surely not a coincidence that the Spanish Dressel 20 amphorae that dominate the western Mediterranean in the early years of the Imperial period are lighter than those from Italy which they replaced/dominated, or that the North African amphorae which in turn replace/dominate the Spanish amphorae are lighter still. Quite simply, the lighter the vessel, the cheaper it is to transport a litre of wine and thus the cheaper the wine can be sold.

Consequently it seems clear that both fine-wares and amphorae contents were most likely being sold via 'free trading', with the rise and fall of specific types being relate to either consumer taste or the savings that some types offered over their rivals, and perhaps even ultimately causing and explaining the pattern of empire-wide shifts in prosperity that can be observed. The amphorae evidence from Carthage supports the above suggestions: the fact that we find evidence of olive oil and wine being imported into Carthage -- the heart of African olive-oil production -- from the late fourth century surely indicates that consumer choice and taste was dictating the trading that took place, rather than simply foodstuffs following Imperial supply routes.

This conclusion can be further strengthened by looking at the post-Roman western Mediterranean, where it is most interesting to note that Tunisian wine amphorae and African Red Slip Ware continue to appear in Italy and Rome right up until the end of the seventh century, well after any imperial traffic had died away. This continued trading surely underlines the fact that trading was commercial and not utterly dependent on Imperial supply or control. Similarly, the Yassi Ada ship is generally interpreted according to the 'tramp steamer' model, that is to say that the amphorae aboard (see above) look like the contents of a commercial ship trading along the coast, not a vessel carrying the *annona*. This is reinforced by the fact that it was travelling away from Constantinople and its cargo seems to consist solely of amphorae alone, rather than

amphorae being carried as a private venture alongside imperial food-stuffs.

Therefore, whilst it is clear that the state lines of supply were important in the trading pattern within the Roman Empire, we should not underestimate the amount of 'free' trade that also occurred: it is very hard to explain the fine-ware and amphorae distribution, and the changes to this, without recognizing that commercial concerns must have been one of the driving forces. Such may well also ultimately lie behind the otherwise perplexing shifts in rural and urban prosperity that occur throughout this period. The necessity of recognizing the reality of a role for 'free' trading is perhaps further underlined by the fact that, although Late Antique Constantinople was supplied with corn from Egypt, Phocaean Red Slip Ware, Cypriot Red Slip Ware and African Red Slip Ware (as well as local fine-wares) continued to dominate assemblages in this region. There is very little evidence for the *annona* bringing with it Egyptian Red Slip Ware, as the 'new orthodoxy' model would suggest that it ought to have done.

4. Conclusion

To conclude, the evidence discussed in the previous sections clearly indicates that pottery can be used to reconstruct the shifting patterns of Roman trading and prosperity, from Italy in the late Republican period, to Spain and Gaul, then North Africa, and finally to the Near East in Late Antiquity. Furthermore, the character of this evidence means that the 'new orthodoxy' interpretation of the nature of the Roman economy is no longer sustainable. The quantity of the fine-ware and amphorae sherds which have been retrieved from excavation and surface-survey is unambiguous: inter-regional trading must have been a very widespread phenomenon, and one which affected all levels of society, with this material being found on all types of sites in all areas. This interpretation of the distribution of the ceramic evidence can, in fact, be further confirmed by the fact that between 20% and 40% of the pottery used at sites such as Carthage, Knossos and Ostia was imported. This was inter-regional trading on a grand scale.

All this is not, of course, to deny that state had a role to play in trading, nor that the Roman economy had a fundamentally agricultural base, though the latter could well have been over-emphasised in the past; see, for example, Ken Dark's recent suggestion that the Late Roman economy can actually be classified as proto-industrial, if not even industrialized in some areas. Rather it is to explain the fact that many rural sites are found with imported pottery and coins on them, when they are supposedly only concerned with producing enough food to live on and pay their taxes. Recognizing the need for such an explanation can, in turn, perhaps help us elucidate and understand the pattern of shifting prosperity revealed above.

Chapter 2

Decline and Recovery: Byzantine Trade, c. 600--1150

1. Late Antiquity and the 'Dark Ages', *c.* 600--800

Up until the end of the sixth century, trade in the eastern Mediterranean seems to have remained very much inter-regional in character -- indeed, up until the last third of the sixth century fine-ware, wine and olive-oil from the eastern Mediterranean was exported as far afield as Portugal, Brittany and western Britain. Such wide-ranging trade had, in fact, been the general pattern within the Mediterranean basin throughout the Imperial era. However, with the seventh century came numerous changes in the economic and trading life of this region. The following study is concerned primarily with trading within the eastern Mediterranean, and particularly within the surviving portions of the Roman Empire (known to modern historians as the Byzantine Empire) from *c.* AD 600 to *c.* 1200.

The first two centuries of this period are generally seen as a time of increasing localisation and decline, and this localisation took a number of forms. On the one hand, local pottery industries which had always co-existed with the pan-Mediterranean African Red Slip-Ware and Phocaean Red Slip-Ware industries -- such as those producing the painted wares of Egypt and Palestine -- came more to the fore in the seventh century. On the other hand, local imitation Red Slip Wares (Egyptian, Cypriot, and Jordanian) rose to dominance in the eastern Mediterranean, supplanting Phocaean Red Slip Ware and African Red Slip Ware. Finally, in Constantinople itself we even seem to see something entirely new. Here the seventh century sees the pottery market shifting not from the Phocaean Red Slip Ware (which seems to have largely evolved to serve the new Imperial city in the fourth century) to a Late Roman-style ware, but rather to locally produced lead-glazed wares. In the late sixth and seventh centuries at Saraçhane these are found alongside Phocaean Red Slip Ware, but over the course of the seventh and eighth centuries they totally supersede the Late Roman wares as the standard form of fine-ware. This is a most singular development, as lead glazed pottery was never common in the Roman world, appearing only intermittently from the late first century (though some glazed ware is known from late sixth-century Corinth). Whatever its antecedents may have been, this type of pottery actually came to dominate the Byzantine fine-ware pottery market throughout the middle and late Byzantine periods.

This localization is not restricted to fine-wares but also is apparent in the distribution and character of amphorae (which are indicative mainly of olive-oil and wine trading). At Sardis, in Turkey, the seventh century amphorae found there were all local to the region, whilst in southern Italy the Tunisian amphorae seem to give way to local products in the period under study here. Nonetheless, localisation does not, necessarily, mean the end of trade. We have evidence for at least some continuation of pan-Mediterranean trade in the first half of the seventh century in the 'Life of John the Almsgiver', Patriarch of Alexandria from 610--20, which refers to a merchant from Alexandria who specialized in trade with Gaul (chapter 36), and ships which sail with grain to or from Sicily and even western Britain (chapters 8, 11). Indeed, the ship-wreck at Grazel in France, which probably dates to the 630s, would perhaps seem to represent this type of continuing trade, carrying metal-ware to the west. Similarly Tunisian wine amphorae and African Red Slip Ware continued to appear in Italy and Rome until the end of the seventh century, whilst Phocaean Red Slip Ware Form 9 continues to be found across the eastern Mediterranean until the mid-seventh century -- these items do not simply disappear at the start of this century. The situation in Antioch is, perhaps, particularly instructive. Here importation of fine-ware does not simply cease, despite the fact that the early seventh century saw the end of African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware here. Instead these wares are replaced by imports of Cypriot Red Slip Ware and Egyptian Red Slip Ware type C. Indeed, both Cypriot fine-ware and Egyptian types A and C continue to be found in the Aegean, Egypt and Palestine into the early eighth century. Although they represent more localized wares, they are still traded quite widely within the eastern Mediterranean.

If the course of seventh century thus saw the gradual but effective death of pan-Mediterranean trade, there is still good evidence for regional trading networks continuing to operate. Further to that cited above we might

also point to the Yassi Ada shipwreck, an archaeological site which testifies admirably to continued local trading, representing an unfortunate end to a *c.* 626 trading voyage along the coast from the Black Sea towards Rhodes(?), with the contents of the ship demonstrating that production of standard types of pottery, metal-ware and glass continued. We might also assign the 'Rhodian Sea-Law' to the seventh century (it is dated broadly *c.* 600--800: a translation of this is provided in the Appendix). This text is probably derived in the main from local customs and concerns itself with the regulation of sea-traffic and the relationship between merchants who supply cargoes and the captain and crew of the ships which carry them. The very fact that it was felt worthwhile to codify these relations must surely be indicative of ship-borne trade continuing to a fairly substantial degree within this period. Indeed, it is clear from the 'Rhodian Sea-Law' that pirates were still operating, and that merchants were still hiring ships to carry their cargoes, with wine, corn, oil, silk and linen all mentioned as cargoes by the text.

Thus trading continued, but it changed and seems to have become chiefly regional rather than pan-Mediterranean in character. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that it seems to have continued to decline both in volume and distance throughout the seventh and eighth centuries, with even the 'regional' networks probably eventually giving way to much more localised exchange. This is, in fact, what we see in some of the changes referred to above. Thus the African imports to Italy did not continue into the eighth century, giving way to very local production as seen in the amphorae kiln found at Misenum on the Bay of Naples. Similarly, at Constantinople African Red Slip Ware, Phocaean Red Slip Ware and Cypriot Red Slip Ware were totally superseded by the local glazed-wares by the eighth century. Indeed, even Cypriot Red Slip Ware and Egyptian Red Slip Ware imports into Palestine and Egypt disappear after the early eighth century. This end to long- and even medium-distance trade in the eighth century can perhaps also be seen to lie behind the almost total absence of eighth-century amphorae from eastern Mediterranean sites. Amphorae were primarily the 'trade-packaging' of Antiquity, used largely for the bulk shipping of wine and olive-oil. When this ceased, the very reason for their existence disappeared -- indeed, the initial decline in long-distance trading, and thus amphorae production, might be seen in the re-use of amphorae (presumably due to the lack of availability of new vessels) at Yassi Ada.

As to why this contraction and then virtual collapse of the Mediterranean and regional trading networks occurred, it was suggested in the previous chapter that at least the initial move away from pan-Mediterranean trade was begun simply in order to ensure a more reliable supply of goods, in the context of the disruption of the sea connections caused by the military challenges to Byzantine rule in the seventh century by the Persians and Arabs; certainly the appearance of local fine-wares throughout the seventh century indicates that there was no immediate decline in the demand for and production of fine-wares which might have instead caused such regionalisation. Whether this can be taken further is open to debate, however. Whilst some have suggested that the physical contraction of the Byzantine Empire to just the areas of Constantinople, Asia Minor and the coastal fringes of Greece and southern Italy by *c.* 700, with the rest of the empire falling into Arabic hands, led to the final destruction of even the regional commercial networks as they weren't able to function across political borders, this is dubious. Certainly this might help explain the localisation of trade within the Byzantine Empire. However, it fails to explain the localisation which occurred outside of the imperial borders, such as the fact that Egyptian Red Slip Ware ceased to be exported to Palestine in the eighth century, both areas having been under Arab control since the first half of the seventh century, or the fact that we continue to find Cypriot Red Slip Ware in Egypt after the Arab conquest. As such, there seems little reason to go beyond the first explanation offered, that is to say that the various conquests, military actions and other disruptions of the seventh century simply made anything other than local trading unreliable, costly and thus commercially unattractive. Of course, the general 'decline' of towns through the seventh century -- particularly within the Byzantine Empire -- also needs to be recognised as playing a potential role here, given that this phenomenon would have deprived non-local trade of the population centres it needed to survive. However, too much can perhaps be made of the evidence for this 'decline'. After all, the commercial colonnades in Corinth, Antioch and Constantinople all seem to have survived in use beyond the eighth century, and the amphorae at Sardis were all locally-produced at the time that the shops collapsed in the early seventh century, suggesting that, here at least, localisation preceded the decline and destruction of the urban

centres.

Whatever the case with regards to the above, the eighth century seems to have been a period of extremely limited trading, although this is far from saying that all commercial activities ceased. Glazed pottery continued to be produced in the Constantinople region and amphorae in the Bay of Naples. Similarly, not only were the colonnaded commercial streets at Corinth, Constantinople and Antioch kept clear (the latter was built over in the tenth century, not Late Antiquity as is sometimes claimed) but there was clearly some reason that the Agora was also kept clear in not only Corinth but also Constantinople and Athens too. Finally, although coinage was certainly rarer in the eighth century than at any other time, David Metcalf has estimated that from the late eighth century to the early ninth century there were over ten million low-denomination coins in circulation within the Byzantine Empire. These must clearly have been used for some purpose -- the Byzantine economy manifestly had not been reduced to simply one of pure barter and *ad hoc* local exchange, a point reinforced by Florin Curta's recent survey of low denomination Byzantine coinage throughout the seventh and eighth centuries.

The message is clear: long-distance and regional trade had ceased, and many towns had arguably become little more than administrative fortresses, but commerce was not completely dead. The evidence for silk production and trading amplifies this. As with other goods, the indications (from the seals of the *kommerkiarioi*) are that the seventh century saw increasing localisation of the production and trading of raw silk and silk-garments, but that this industry continued into the eighth and ninth centuries. Whilst the industry, as a result of the Arab invasion of Asia Minor in the eighth century, moved away from the regions of conflict into the Balkans, it clearly continued to exist despite this dislocation (though control passed out of the hands of the *kommerkiarioi* in 730/31). Indeed, the fact that we find *kommerkiarioi* of cities (Constantinople, Thessalonica and Mesembria) from the late seventh century through until the early ninth century is surely indicative that the silk was being traded through these cities at that time.

To conclude, the overall pattern in the seventh and eighth centuries is indisputably one of economic contraction and a decline in inter-regional trading. This was not, however, a sudden decline, nor a complete one. Instead the evidence suggests a gradual replacement of pan-Mediterranean trading by inter-regional networks, which then contracted into the early eighth century until most trading involved simply local transactions. Why this occurred is open to debate, but it must be remembered that even at its nadir, in the eighth century, there is still evidence for both trading in silks and commercial activity -- of some sort -- in the towns of the Byzantine Empire.

2. Byzantine Revival and the Return of Inter-Regional Trade, *c.* 800--950

From the early-mid ninth century there was a recovery in Byzantine commerce. At Corinth, for example, we find substantial numbers of ninth- and tenth-century coins appearing, with the topography of these coin finds being indicative of the city expanding eastwards. This recovery seems to begin both here and in Thebes with the coinage of Theophilus (829--42), and it has been argued that the economy was being deliberately stimulated by an Imperial reform of the coinage and the establishment of provincial mints. Given that the coins are of low-denomination and represent perhaps millions of coins in circulation in Corinth alone in the ninth century, it is certainly difficult to avoid treating these coins as evidence of a massive revival in commerce, with the origins of the coins indicating trade with Constantinople and Sicily/southern Italy. Indeed, the success and scale of this revival can be readily observed from David Metcalf's tally of the Corinthian numismatic evidence, showing 157 coins from the reign of Theophilus; 288 from the reign of Basil; 957 from the reign of Leo VI; and 2284 from Constantine VII and his family. Indeed, Metcalf has suggested that, for the empire as a whole, the minimum low-value coinage in circulation in the reign of Basil I (867--86) might be taken as around fifty millions. Given this, the reality of a ninth-century recovery can hardly be doubted, though it clearly was more significant in some places that others -- in Thebes, for example, it seems to have failed in the mid-ninth century, and in Athens the economy (as represented by coin finds) doesn't seem to have taken off properly until the reign of Basil I.

This increasingly vital ninth-century economic climate is also reflected in the 'Book of the Prefect', generally considered to have been an edict of Leo VI (886--912) sent to the Prefect of Constantinople in 912. This paints a picture of Constantinople as a highly prosperous city, with the goods on sale ranging from food items (such as bread, meat and vegetables) via candles, soap and perfume, through to rich silks, linen and gold jewellery. The organisation of these trades and where they were permitted to operate was clearly strongly regulated by the Imperial authorities -- thus the perfumeries had to locate between Hagia Sophia and the Imperial Palace, whilst pork butchers must sell in the Forum Tauros and wax-chandlers must not work on the public streets. Most interesting of all are the regulations relating to the silk trade and 'aliens'. The former had previously been closely regulated by the Imperial authorities but by the reign of Leo VI the Imperial monopoly has ceased, to be replaced by 'free trade' of sorts, with producers and merchants meeting to negotiate the sale of the silk as two cartels. This freeing up of the silk-trade might be linked with the reform of the coinage as another attempt to stimulate the Byzantine economy.

With regards to 'aliens' at Constantinople, an entire chapter of the 'Book of the Prefect' relates to 'Merchants of goods imported from Syria and Baghdad', where it is stated that goods arriving from these areas must be deposited in bulk in a warehouse where the Prefect will direct the purchase of them by Byzantine merchants acting together as a cartel. The implication is that, in the reign of Leo VI, inter-regional (indeed, international) trade was once again a significant element in the commercial life of Constantinople. Elsewhere in the 'Book of the Prefect' we find a number of references forbidding the sale of, for example, purple silk and cloaks worth over ten *numismata* to non-Constantinopolitans, and raw silk to 'Jews or trade-folk who would resell it outside the city', obviously implying that such trade would exist without this regulation. Similarly it is stated in chapter four that the sale of silk goods (and dyes) to non-Byzantines has to be certified by the Prefect, and some of the duties of his Imperially-appointed Deputy included checking what 'foreigners' were leaving the city with, and ensuring that non-Byzantine merchants didn't remain in the city longer than three months.

All told, it seems clear that there were sufficient non-Byzantine merchants operating in Constantinople *c*. 900 to require regulation of their activities, something which implies the re-emergence of the regional and inter-regional commerce which had disappeared in the seventh century. The evidence from Corinth in particular suggests that this recovery was a rapid affair, with trading links being established not only with the near-east but also with areas such as Sicily. The numismatic evidence also indicates significant trading now taking place between the Grecan cities (such as Corinth and Athens) and the Aegean islands, as well as with Arabic Crete in the ninth century. Indeed, in the tenth century we see a major resurgence in the importation and use of elephant ivory amongst the Byzantine elites, suggesting trading links that end ultimately in both Africa and India.

To this positive picture we can add the evidence for Byzantine trade with the Rus (Russians) from the late ninth century onwards, with Byzantine coins, amphorae, and silks appearing in Kievan Rus from this time. Again this trade seems to have been largely carried out at Constantinople, with the Rus trading slaves and probably honey, furs and wax there from 907. One might also point to the evidence of glazed white-ware pottery and tiles of the ninth and tenth centuries that appear in Constantinople and Corinth (again testifying to trade between the two), and also in Bulgaria and the Crimea. So, for example, A1 Polychrome ware, a fine white ware decorated by painting directly onto the pot before glazing, seems to have been made in the region of Constantinople, with the capital as its major market, but it is also found both at Corinth and at Patleina, Bulgaria, perhaps used -- like some of the Late Roman slip-wares -- as an affordable alternative to gilded and silver metal-ware; powdered gold and silver is certainly used to decorate the earliest and rarest examples. This is not, of course, to say that commerce had fully recovered, or that regional and inter-regional trade dominated once more as they did in the sixth century, but rather that such a recovery seems to be visible both in the documentary and archaeological record.

3. Economic Growth and the Expansion of Trade, *c*. 950--1150

If the ninth and earlier tenth centuries showed a revival in trading in the Byzantine Empire, the later tenth and

eleventh centuries maintained and built upon this, with a firm move away from merely local commerce to inter-regional trade. In Corinth coin numbers continue to increase, and in the eleventh century both the Agora and Lechaion Road are built over by industrial and commercial properties, such as glass and ceramic factories, something which can be more easily seen as evidence for prosperity and vitality than 'decline', despite the assertions of the official excavation report. However, one of the most significant pieces of evidence for increased trading is the re-emergence of trade amphorae in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Thus at Otranto (southern Italy) in the eleventh century we see amphorae once again being made, and this -- combined with the presence of Byzantine finds there -- should surely be interpreted as a revival by the Byzantines (continued by the Normans) of the maritime wine trade of this region. The vitality of this re-emerging maritime trade might be further evidenced by the fact that traditional amphorae forms were superseded in favour of continuously changing new types from the eleventh century onwards.

The notion that Islamic merchants were increasingly travelling to and from the Byzantine Empire also finds confirmation in finds of this period, in particular from the Serçe Limani shipwreck of *c.* 1025. From the equipment of the ship it seems probable that it was, at the time it sank off of the south-west coast of Turkey, in the hands of Islamic traders and was carrying a cargo of broken glass (for recycling) and Byzantine wine (although it has been suggested that the glass was being carried from Syria to an unknown Byzantine port, the fact that the ship contained Byzantine wine amphorae might well indicate travel in the opposite direction). On the other hand, the Cairo Geniza documents indicate that such trading was, in the eleventh century at least, still something of a rarity. On the basis of these documents, it appears to have been far more common for Byzantine merchants to travel themselves to the ports of Syria, Egypt and Tunisia than for the Islamic merchants to venture into the empire, and one might well wonder whether the restrictions placed on their purchases and freedom described in the 'Book of the Prefect' might have had something to do with this. In fact, it is clear from the Geniza documents that the custom of Byzantine merchants -- along with those from Italy -- was of the first importance to these markets, and as such Byzantine inter-regional trade with the Islamic world must have been of significant volume. Indeed, these documents help balance out the image of Byzantine trade offered by the 'Book of the Prefect', demonstrating that Byzantine merchants didn't simply wait as cartels at Constantinople for 'foreign' goods to come to them but rather set out beyond the borders of the empire in search of them, although the documents do confirm the effectiveness of the Imperial edict against the sale of raw silk to 'aliens' -- the documents only ever mention finished silk from Byzantium being traded, never raw silk.

In consequence it seems clear that, in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, the Byzantine economy continued to prosper and commerce was most definitely occurring on an inter-regional basis. Further illustration of this can be had from the eleventh century, when the 'romanizing' Russian elites imported significant quantities of luxuries such as fabrics, jewellery, pottery, glassware, pepper, olive oil, wine and fruit. Similarly the evidence of Byzantine pottery confirms a continuing growth in trading and exchange. At Corinth from the late tenth century, for example, we see the appearance of Green and Brown painted ware, which is of Persian inspiration, and in the late eleventh century we also find Sgraffito and Lustre wares appearing, with these Persian imports being rapidly copied by local potters. The presence of the original Persian pottery in cities such as Corinth obviously testifies to international trading, whilst the Byzantine borrowing of these pottery styles is indicative further of a tolerance of, and desire for, exotic artefacts amongst the population at large. Indeed, in the twelfth century Sgraffito rapidly becomes the favourite Byzantine form of ceramic ornamentation. What is particularly noticeable, however, is that, compared to the white glazed vessels of the ninth and tenth centuries, these Byzantine vessels have a much wider distribution. Thus these 'orientalised' wares are found in Anatolia, the Grecian mainland, Egypt and Italy, and this regional and supra-regional distribution of Byzantine pottery is not restricted to 'orientalised' wares. For example, Aegean ware, which appears from the late twelfth century, has been found on Cyprus and other Aegean islands, and at Constantinople, Corinth, Athens, Thessalonica, Pergamon, Antioch, Caesarea (Palestine) and Jaffa, as well as on rural sites near Sparta and in East Phokis. As such it clearly had an exceptionally wide distribution, was not limited to urban or coastal sites, and seems to have been transported around the eastern Mediterranean by merchant vessels, such as those wrecked at Skopelos in the Northwest Aegean and at Kastellorizo off the

coast of Lycia. We thus here have evidence of trading on a much larger scale than had been seen since the end of Late Antiquity.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is tempting to compare the Byzantine development of trade in the Middle Ages with that in Antiquity. In general we see a gradual decline in commerce and an increasing localisation of trade from the sixth century through to the eighth, with towns shrinking in scale or disappearing entirely. The eighth century, though clearly seeing some trade, appears to be the low-point in terms of commercial activity. However from the ninth century we see an effective reversal of the Late Antique situation, with commerce once again picking up, regional trade re-emerging and towns reviving (with Corinth, at least, seeing definite expansion). This trend continues and increases throughout the tenth century and by the eleventh and twelfth centuries we can clearly see considerable inter-regional trading occurring, with towns such as Constantinople, Athens and Corinth taking a leading role in this. As such we seem to have arrived, in some senses, in the twelfth century at a similar point to that which we started at in the sixth.

Of course it will not do to push this point too far. The Mediterranean is no longer a 'Roman lake', and medieval towns are not classical cities, though the products being traded in them are not too dissimilar from those traded in the time of Justinian. Thus we have wine and olive oil being transported across the sea, sometimes using amphorae (though these have changed shape and are over time replaced by other non-ceramic containers); fine-ware travelling all around the eastern Mediterranean (though it is now glazed rather than red-slipped); and silk being exported to places as far away as Kiev and Alexandria (though it is now generally produced within the empire, rather than being bought in from Persia). In terms of the pottery industry the changes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries might also be compared with those seen in the first to third centuries, when products with more restricted distributions (*terra sigillata* in Antiquity, white glazed wares in the medieval period) are replaced by vessels with a much wider distribution (African Red Slip Ware in Antiquity, Sgraffito ware in the medieval period).

Finally the role of the state in the stimulation of trade must be noted. Whilst it was argued in the preceding chapter that trade was *largely* 'free' in Antiquity, the pan-Mediterranean trade in pottery and wine/olive-oil can certainly be *partly* ascribed to state concerns. Thus the dominance of African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware can be seen to stem, to some degree, from their role as chief suppliers to the Imperial capital (indeed, Phocaean Red Slip Ware seems to have been set up specifically to serve the new capital at Constantinople), and the expansion of these wares into the Atlantic probably results from an Imperial need for tin. Similarly, whilst there is considerable evidence for significant and probably consumer-driven trading in the Byzantine Empire, it does appear to be the case that the reinvigoration of trade from the ninth century onwards was in some ways a deliberate Imperial move, as evidenced in the reform of the coinage and the freeing up of the silk trade.

Chapter 3

Urban Change and Continuity in Roman and Byzantine Corinth

Corinth was one of the great cities of Greece, the capital of the Roman province and later Byzantine theme of Achia, and the see of an archbishop. The American School at Athens undertook the excavations of the central area of Corinth in the first half of the last century, providing us with a valuable (if variable) source of evidence for examining the transition of Corinth from classical to medieval city, and this provides the basis for the following discussion.

The basic architectural form of Corinth was well established by the second century AD. The centre of public and private business was located in the Agora, in a broad low hollow approached from the north by the main avenue of the city, the colonnaded road to Lechaion. The Agora itself was split into the Upper and Lower Agora, divided by the Central Shops and the Bema. The Upper Agora was the centre of local and provincial government. The Lower Agora, in contrast, was bounded by shops on the north, south and west; the Julian Basilica on the east; temples and monuments on the west, in front of and behind the shops; and the Propylaia at the head of the Lechaion Road. The Propylaia steps led down onto the Lechaion Road, which was around seven metres wide, paved with limestone and lined with colonnades and pavements. To the west of this, above the shops, was a great Basilica whilst on the east was the public water supply, the Fountain of Peirene, the colonnaded court of the Peribolos of Apollo, and a luxurious complex of baths. To the west of the road and its adjoining buildings were the Northern Market, the so-called Temple of Apollo, the Odeion and the Theatre.

Late Antiquity witnessed a number of alterations to the settled pattern of the city. One of the most significant of these was the reduction in the defended area of the city by two-thirds in the early fifth century, a development that was seen at many Late Antique urban sites. This was obviously a fundamental change for the city, particularly for those areas now outside of the circuit of the walls. Within the city centre there seem to have been similarly great changes, some undoubtedly to be related to earthquake damage sustained in this period. These largely concerned the public, monumental features of the city -- specifically their loss, decay and reuse. Thus on the south side of the Upper Agora the colonnade of the South Stoa seems to have disappeared in the early fourth century. The loss of these colonnades must have required fundamental reconstruction of the buildings and it has been suggested that this complex, which housed the local administration, was split into individual units with individual roofs, thus completely changing the look of this important area of the classical city. By the end of the sixth century it seems clear that the whole complex was in decay, if not ruins, with a large room to the west of the Council chamber being partially filled with earth by the fifth century and the South Basilica falling into disuse in the late fourth century.

Similarly the large Basilica above the Lechaion Road seems to have been levelled by the end of the fourth century, as was Temple E. The Julian Basilica, on the other hand, saw a change in usage, being repaired in the late fourth century and remodelled in the fifth, although whether it served as a church as some believe is to be debated. Alterations in function can also be seen at the 'Southeast' building on the Upper Agora -- which seems to have been converted into a prominent high-status dwelling in the fourth century -- whilst the Baths on the east of the Lechaion Road saw a luxurious house built in their courtyard (this continued in use into the seventh century, long after the final phase of the latrines and baths themselves) and the Peribolos of Apollo may have been converted into a monastery.

Other monuments and buildings within the city seem to have been repaired without having their function changed. This certainly seems to be the case with the public water-source, the Fountain of Peirene, and with the Propylaia, in both cases the repairs taking place in the sixth century. The shops facing onto the Lechaion Road are similarly rebuilt, whilst other building are even constructed anew. Examples of the latter include the late fourth century demolition of the Central Shops and their replacement by a grand staircase linking the Lower and Upper Agora (with the rooms flanking the Bema being converted into fountains), and the building of the Hemicycle on the Lechaion Road (built in the early fifth century with a probable inn behind it, and

destroyed in the sixth century). Additionally, statues continued to be put up through the fifth and sixth centuries, with the last being planned as late as the second half of the seventh century.

Thus we have three different pictures. One shows a relatively vital city, where new public buildings and monuments are built whilst others are maintained and repaired (admittedly using material from other buildings, but this is common practice in Late Antiquity and should not be seen as a sign of decay). Another paints a picture of fundamental change. In this, the administrative heart of the city is removed and private residences take over the archives and baths complex of the city. The final one is related to the above and shows what might be termed 'decline'. Thus the new inn behind the Hemicycle collapses in the sixth century; the Bema ceases to be kept clear and is covered by a layer of earth in the sixth century; both the pagan temples of the Agora and the floor of the Agora itself are stripped of their marbles for re-use as building materials; and graves and tombs appear in the Agora and surrounding buildings.

The last of the signs of 'decline' points us to one final fundamental change seen in Corinth in this period that has not yet been mentioned -- the appearance of the church in the town. Though we might rightly be somewhat sceptical of claims that the Julian Basilica became a church, the despoiling of/failure to repair the temples of central Corinth and the presence of a Christian cemetery on the south side of the upper Agora indicate that it was a major force for change. Indeed, a large fifth century complex on the east flank of the defunct South Basilica has recently been suggested as a Christian Basilica, a notion supported by the presence of Christian supplications in the Northwest Shops, whilst the Peribolos of Apollo may have been reused as a monastery. Whilst the building of a church was a normal activity in Late Antique towns, the burials within both the Agora and buildings such as the Fountain of Peirene indicate a major change in attitudes towards the Agora and the city in general.

How then should we interpret all of this? The changes and decline described above have previously been blamed upon earthquakes, plagues and invasions, but it must be recognised that there was, in addition to these very real disasters, a clear change in the way that people felt about the city. This change was most probably brought about largely by the increasing influence of the church combined with the decline of self-governance. Thus whilst earthquakes and invasions would almost certainly have played a role, the failure to maintain/repair the Basilicas, the South Stoa, the temples and so forth must have been deliberate decisions, like the decision to strip the marble from the pavement of the Agora and not to clean the Bema. In contrast, the Lechaion Road, with its colonnades, and the Fountain of Peirene were both maintained right through Late Antiquity and beyond, as too was the Lower Agora, which seems to have remained relatively clear unlike the Upper Agora (see below). There are clearly choices being made here. The best explanation is surely that commerce (as represented by the shops and the public square, which was probably maintained for commercial reasons rather than anything else) and a public water-supply were clearly valued in the Late Antique city, in a way that other aspects of the classical city seem no longer to have been.

After Late Antiquity there comes the so-called 'Dark Ages' of the seventh and eighth centuries. As with other cities -- including Constantinople -- our information on the development of the city in this period is scanty at best. One thing we can be fairly certain of it that the central regions of Corinth were no longer the political heart of the city. The 'administrative' zone of the Upper Agora was destroyed by the end of the sixth century. Eric Ivison has suggested that burial evidence indicates that control had shifted to the Acropolis in the late sixth century. Here he sees metal-work and pottery testifying to the presence of a Byzantine administrative citadel held by a garrison including 'Slavic' soldiers until at least the second half of the seventh century (when the coin sequence ceases, as it does in most other Byzantine cities -- as such this shouldn't be taken as necessarily the end of occupation at this site). Certainly a citadel is suggested, but there is no real need to see it as a political centre as well as a military one. An alternative location for the city administration might well be in the north, around the harbour of Lechaion, a plausible location for where the building materials stripped from around the Agora were taken, perhaps.

Within the main town we have a limited amount of direct evidence for continuity in urban life in the seventh

century, including the final early seventh century phase for the house in the Baths and a base for a statue in honour of Constans II erected around 662 in the Agora. Of these, the latter is most interesting, as it implies at least some continuity in the notion of the Agora as a public and monumental square. Additionally we continue to find graves within this central district, which presupposes the continued habitation of the city, though (once again) not respect for traditional classical notions of what a city was. The best evidence for continued activity is more indirect however, and is based in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. For example, in the Lower Agora twelfth-century coins were found just above the Roman pavement level, indicating that this public square was kept deliberately open and clean right into the twelfth century, and thus throughout the 'Dark Ages'. The same would also seem to be true for the Lechaion Road and the public water supply, the Fountain of Peirene, a feature whose maintenance through to the tenth century seems to pre-suppose continued occupation. With regards to the Lechaion Road, it seems clear that both the road and its shops continued into the tenth century, and probably the eleventh (with Marlia Mango arguing for continued maintenance), whilst the building of a seven metre wide ramp up to the Propylaia in the mid-tenth century (proven by underlying coins) demonstrates that both the road and the Lower Agora were extensively used and -- crucially -- unblocked up to this point. Similarly it seems that the Northwest Shops were still viable in the ninth century, with at some point between Antiquity and the tenth century one of the vaulted rooms here being converted into an apartment.

Consequently it appears fairly certain that at least parts of the main city survived the 'Dark Ages' and that the town was not completely abandoned for the citadel on the Acropolis, despite the predictably fragmentary nature of the evidence for the seventh and eighth centuries and assertions to the contrary, a position strongly supported by Florin Curta's recent re-examination of the the seventh- and eighth-century numismatic evidence from the centre of Corinth (which demonstrates that it would be wrong to conclude that Corinth was nothing more than a 'deserted village' in the 'Dark Ages'). Of course this is not to say that there was no discontinuity. The house in the Baths seems to have been destroyed and buried in this period, and sixth and seventh century burials were disturbed by those of the ninth century and later, indicting perhaps a break in knowledge of the burial grounds within the city itself.

Turning to the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, Corinth once again appears clearly in the archaeological and historical record. The literary and historical sources depict it as a place of real importance, the residence of the *strategos* (a high-ranking noble official), the capital of the theme of Morea, and a great citadel. Increasing numbers of coins in the ninth and tenth centuries have been used by David Metcalf to argue for the sustained and growing prosperity of Corinth in this period, with the topography of these coin finds being indicative of the city expanding eastwards. This recovery seems to really begin both here and in Thebes with the coinage of Theophilus (829--42), and it has been argued that the economy was being deliberately stimulated by an Imperial reform of the coinage and the establishment of provincial mints. Whatever the case may be, the growth in prosperity can be clearly seen in the fact that the Corinthian numismatic evidence reviewed by Metcalf shows 157 coins from the reign of Theophilus; 288 from the reign of Basil; 957 from the reign of Leo VI; and 2284 from Constantine VII and his family. Indeed, the coins we have show extensive trade contacts, not only with Constantinople and Athens but also with Sicily.

It is thus clear that the city was, like the empire as a whole, thriving in this period. For Corinth the administrative and military functions of the city undoubtedly had a role to play in this, but we should not underestimate the role also played by the development of silk, pottery and glass industries in the city, particularly from the tenth century onwards but with this beginning in the ninth. The main result of this increased economic activity in the central excavated area of the city seems to have been another change in the form of the city. Though the Late Antique buildings (a monastery?) in the Peribolos of Apollo were probably in use until the late eleventh century, the Fountain of Peirene did see a change in usage, with a church constructed here in the tenth century. The courtyard of the Fountain was subsequently used as a cemetery and to the east of this the remaining classical walls were remodelled from the tenth century to create a luxurious and imposing residence.

Other changes to the centre of Corinth include the building of another church in the tenth century, at the Bema; the conversion of the central part of the Northwest Shops into what has been seen as a 'Governor's Palace', though this can be questioned; the construction of a wine-press in the tenth century within the area of South Stoa colonnade; and the development of an industrial area in the north of the Western Terrace. The most significant change seems, however, to have come between the mid-eleventh century and the mid-twelfth century, when almost the entire area of the ancient classical Agora was covered over with buildings (mainly commercial and industrial, including glass and ceramic factories), streets and small squares, focussed on an open market at the centre of the old Agora. At the same time the Lechaion Road became extremely narrow, lost its columns and was lined with commercial establishments including a small bath. These two key areas of the classical town had been protected -- kept clean, open and monumentally adorned -- from the decline suffered by the rest of the city through Late Antiquity and the 'Dark Ages', but for some reason this ends by the twelfth century.

All told, the city of Corinth undergoes major changes from the fourth to the twelfth centuries. In many ways it was not unusual. The abandonment of Basilica, administrative buildings and pagan temples has been recorded at many sites, most notably Ephesus. Similarly the reduction of the walled area and the removal of political and military centres to a separate site are also common, as is an obvious decline in the evidence for urban life in the seventh and eighth centuries. More significantly, the preservation of the Agora until the eleventh or twelfth century is a feature that Corinth shares with Sparta and Athens, whilst the preservation of the colonnaded street beyond Late Antiquity is something found in other major cities too, such as Scythopolis (new porticoes with shops built in the eighth century), Antioch (preserved until the tenth century) and Constantinople (preserved until the early thirteenth century).

Despite not being a unique situation, the preservation of both the Agora and the colonnaded street is highly intriguing, particularly given that the main political focus had shifted to the Acropolis and the harbour area. It seems possible that the explanation for the selective abandonment of buildings in Late Antiquity might be extended here too. Despite the removal of the political focus and the decay of many buildings in the seventh century, the Agora and the colonnaded street continued to be adorned and kept open because, it was suggested above, they were considered to be necessary and advantageous. The eleventh century end to this preservation might then be seen as the end to their utility. In Corinth, as in Athens and Sparta, the period after the ninth century saw a great increase in prosperity and involved the city in industrial activity. Presumably the building over of the Agora by commercial and industrial properties represents these activities becoming more important to the life of the city than the continued preservation of such a large, public open space, overcoming a previous reluctance to change (a similar interpretation of the changes to the Lechaion Road is also permissible, with the nature of its 'decline' being a change which Hugh Kennedy has interpreted in other circumstances as actually being a positive measure of prosperity and commercial activity).

It seems, then, that the development of Corinth in the Byzantine period, whilst obviously being affected by earthquakes (which damaged and destroyed buildings), security threats (which led to the partial retreat to the Acropolis) and the empire-wide downturn of the seventh century (which led to serious decay in not only provincial towns but also in the Imperial capital), was also affected by the perceived needs of the inhabitants of the town. Pagan monuments were allowed to decay whilst the church was allowed to effectively take over the Upper Agora, and the Lower Agora was maintained -- probably as a commercial area -- as long as the space was not needed for anything else, or could not be more profitably utilised to the same end. Similarly, the only plausible explanation for the continued maintenance of the Fountain of Peirene was that the city obviously felt the need for it to be so maintained. The excavation of the central area in the 1930s might have benefited from modern excavation techniques to help elucidate further the development of this area, and it is to be regretted that the excavations have not been more extensive. Nevertheless, what material we do have paints a fascinating picture of a town in transition, and challenges some commonly held views with regards to when, exactly, various key elements of the classical city finally disappeared in Greece, such as the common opinion that colonnaded streets disappeared in Late Antiquity or the subsequent 'Dark Ages'.

Chapter 4

Appendix - The Rhodian Sea-Law

The 'Rhodian Sea-Law' is a text of considerable interest for the present work, given that it appears to have its origins in the seventh- or eighth-century Byzantine Empire. The fact that it was felt worthwhile to codify the relationship between merchants who supply cargoes and the captain and crew of the ships which carry them in this 'Sea-Law' is, of course, strongly indicative of ship-borne trade continuing to be an important element in the economy at this time. The following translation of the 'Rhodian Sea-Law' is that of Walter Ashburner, taken from his edition and translation of 1909 (*The Rhodian Sea-Law*, Oxford).

The Chapters of the Rhodian Law

1. A master's pay two shares;

2. A steersman's one share and a half;

3. A master's mate's one share and a half;

4. A carpenter's one share and a half;

5. A boatswain's one share and a half;

6. A sailor's one share;

7. A cook's (?) half a share.

[*The first seven chapters regulate the shares which the various classes of mariners take in the profits of the maritime adventure.*]

8. A merchant may have on board two boys; but he must pay their fare.

9. A passenger's allowance of space is three cubits in length and one in breadth.

10. A passenger is not to fry fish on board; the captain must not allow him.

11. A passenger is not to split wood on board; the captain must not allow him.

12. A passenger on board is to take water by measure.

13. Women on board are to have a space allowance of one cubit; and a boy . . . of half a cubit.

14. If a passenger comes on board and has gold, let him deposit it with the captain. If he does not deposit it and says, 'I have lost gold or silver', no effect is to be given to what he says, since he did not deposit it with the captain.

15. The captain and the passengers and the crew, who are on board together, are to take an oath upon the evangels.

16. A ship with all its tackle is to be valued at fifty pieces of gold for every thousand modii of capacity, and so is to come into contribution. Where the ship is old, it is to be valued at thirty pieces of gold for every thousand modii. And in the valuation a deduction is to be made of one third, and the ship is to come into contribution

accordingly.

17. The law ordains: let them not write moneys lent at sea to be repaid out of property on land without risk. If they do write them, let them be invalid under the Rhodian law. But where loans are made on fields or on hills to be repaid out of property on land without risk, let them write them down in accordance with the Rhodian law.

18. A man borrows money at interest and for eight years pays the legal interest. After eight years it happens that there is a destruction or fire or inroad of barbarians. Let interest cease to be payable in accordance with the Rhodian law. If the man does not pay legal interest, the written contract prevails in accordance with the former agreement, as the writing bears on its face.

19. Captains in actual command, where they contribute not less than three-fourths in value of the ship, wherever they are dispatched, may enter into agreements how they are to borrow money and send it on board ship either for the season or for a voyage, and what they have agreed upon is to prevail; and he who lent the money is to send a man to receive payment (?).

Chapters

of Rhodian Law by way of Excerpt Concerning Maritime Affairs

1. Concerning thefts of a ship's anchors.

2. Concerning thefts of anchors and other tackle.

3. Concerning a theft wrought by a sailor.

4. Concerning plundering of a ship by thieves or pirates.

5. Concerning injuries inflicted by sailors while fighting.

6. Concerning homicide committed by sailors while fighting.

7. Concerning sailors who in a fight put out an eye or cause scrotal hernia.

8. Concerning captain and sailors who take some one else's stock and run away with the ship.

9. Concerning deliberations about jettison by captain and passengers.

10. Concerning injury to ship or wreck.

11. Concerning the hiring of ships by merchants.

12. Concerning every deposit whether given in a ship or in a house.

13. Concerning disputes about a deposit of gold.

14. Concerning denial by a depositary of the deposit.

15. Concerning a merchant or passenger or slave who has been received in deposit remaining on shore, while the ship starts off to escape pillage or an attack of pirates.

16. Concerning money lent out to be carried over sea.

17. Concerning loans of gold and silver made on the footing of a share in profits.

18. Concerning a man borrowing money for a fixed time and going abroad.

19. Concerning a man hiring a ship and giving an earnest.

20. Concerning a man hiring a ship and their agreeing in writing or coming to terms without writing.

21. Concerning disputes between two captains in partnership.

22. Concerning a merchant hiring the whole cargo-space of the ship.

23. Concerning agreements between captain and merchant about cargo.

24. Concerning agreements between captain and merchant and the giving of half the freight and a subsequent change of intention.

25. Concerning a merchant not keeping to the time provided by the contract.

26. Concerning a ship wrecked while the sailors are sleeping on shore.

27. Concerning a ship which is wrecked on its way to be loaded by a merchant or partnership.

28. Concerning a ship which is wrecked from the fault of a merchant or partner.

29. Concerning a ship which is wrecked before the time fixed by the contract has arrived or after the time has arrived.

30. Concerning a ship with cargo which breaks to pieces, while the merchant is saved with gold on him.

31. Concerning disaster to ship and salvage of cargo in part.

32. Concerning a ship hired or sailing in partnership and wrecked on its way through the strait.

33. Concerning a ship which is wrecked after unloading.

34. Concerning a ship which carries silk and injury wrought to the cargo from a storm or from bilge.

35. Concerning a ship which loses its mast.

36. Concerning a ship which in sailing runs down another ship.

37. Concerning a ship which is wrecked while the goods of the merchants or passengers are saved.

38. Concerning a ship loaded with corn and caught in a gale.

39. Concerning the loss of a ship which is loaded and salvage of the cargo.

40. Concerning a ship which is wrecked while ship and cargo are saved in part.

41. Concerning a ship which is destroyed while the goods of passengers are either saved or lost with it.

42. Concerning a ship which springs a leak while carrying cargo.

43. Concerning a ship which makes jettison of freight and tackle.

44. Concerning a ship which loses its mast or its tillers in a gale.

45. Concerning a man who brings something safe from the open sea to land from a ship which is wrecked.

46. Concerning a man who saves the long-boat from a ship which has broken off from it.

47. Concerning a man who saves something from the depths from a ship that is wrecked.

Beginning of the Law

1. A ship is lying in harbour or on a beach and is robbed of its anchors. The thief is caught and confesses. The law lays down that he be flogged and that he make good twice over the damage he has done.

2. The sailors of ship A by direction of their captain steal the anchors of ship B, which is lying in harbour or on a beach. Ship B is thereby lost. If this is conclusively proved, let the captain who directed the theft make good all the damage to ship B and its contents. If any one steals the tackle of a ship or any article in use on board, *i.e.* ropes, cables, sails, skins, boats, and the like, let the thief make them good twice over.

3. A sailor by the captain's order robs a merchant or passenger. The sailor is detected and caught. Let the captain make good the damage twofold to those who were robbed, and let the sailor receive a hundred blows. If the sailor commits the theft of his own accord and is caught or convicted by witnesses, let him be well beaten, especially if the thing stolen is money, and let him make good the loss to the person robbed.

4. The captain brings the ship into a place which is infested by thieves or pirates, although the passengers testify to the captain what is at fault with the place. There is a robbery. Let the captain make the loss good to the sufferers. On the other hand, if the passengers bring the ship in in spite of the captain's protests and something untoward happens, let the passengers bear the loss.

5. If sailors set to fighting, let them fight with words and let no man strike another. If A strikes B on the head and opens it or injures him in some other way, let A pay B his doctor's fees and expenses and his wages for the whole time that he was away from work taking care of himself.

6. Sailors are fighting and A strikes B with a stone or log; B returns the blow; he did it from necessity. Even if A dies, if it is proved that he gave the first blow whether with a stone or log or axe, B, who struck and killed him, is to go harmless; for A suffered what he wished to inflict.

7. One of the captains or merchants or sailors strikes a man with his fist and blinds him, or gives him a kick and happens to cause a hernia. The assailant is to pay the doctor's bill, and for the eye twelve gold pieces, for the hernia ten. If the man who gets kicked dies, his assailant will be liable to trial for murder.

8. The captain to whom the ship is entrusted sets sail and runs away into another country with gold by will of the sailors. All their possessions, movable, immovable, and self-moving, as many as belong to them, are to be seized. Unless the amounts which these fetch in a sale make up the equivalent of the ship and the profits of the time (during which they were absent), let the sailors with the deputy captain be let out and make up the full amount of the loss.

9. If the captain is deliberating about jettison, let him ask the passengers who have goods on board; and let them take a vote what is to be done. Let there be brought into contribution the goods; the bedclothes and wearing apparel and utensils are all to be valued; and, if jettison takes place, with the captain and passengers the valuation is not to exceed a litra; with the steersman and mate, it is not to exceed half a litra; with a sailor, it is not to exceed three grammata. Slaves and any one else on board who is not being carried for sale are to be valued at three minas; if any one is being carried for sale, he is to be valued at two minas. In the same way if goods are carried away by enemies or by robbers or . . . together with the belongings of sailors, these too are to come into the calculation and contribute on the same principle. If there is an agreement for sharing in gain, after everything on board ship and the ship itself have been brought into contribution, let every man be liable for the loss which has occurred in proportion to his share of the gain.

10. If the captain and crew are negligent and there is an injury or wreck, let the captain and crew be responsible to the merchant for making the damage good. If it is through the merchant's negligence that ship and cargo are lost, let the merchant be responsible for the loss caused by the shipwreck. If there is no default either of the captain or crew or merchant, and a loss or shipwreck occurs, what is saved of the ship and cargo is to come into contribution.

11. The merchants and the passengers are not to load heavy and valuable cargoes on an old ship. If they load them, if while the ship is on its voyage it is damaged or destroyed, he who loaded an old ship has himself to thank for what has happened. When merchants are hiring ships, let them make precise inquiry from the other merchants who sailed before them before putting in their cargoes, if the ship is completely prepared, with a strong sailyard, sails, skins, anchors, ropes of hemp of the first quality, boats in perfect order, suitable tillers, sailors fit for their work, good seamen, brisk and smart, the ship's sides staunch. In a word let the merchants make inquiry into everything and then proceed to load.

12. If a man makes a deposit in a ship or in a house, let him make it with a man known to him and worthy of confidence before three witnesses. If the amount is large, let him accompany the deposit with a writing. If the man who agreed to take charge of the deposit says that it is lost, he must show where the wall was broken through or how the theft took place and take an oath that there was no fraud on his part. If he does not show it, let him restore the goods safe as he received them.

13. If a passenger comes on board and has gold or something else, let him deposit it with the captain. If he does not deposit it and says 'I have lost gold or silver', no effect is to be given to what he says. But the captain and the sailors, all those on board together, are to take an oath.

14. A man receives a deposit and then denies it. Evidence is taken in the matter. In due course the deposit is found on him after he had taken an oath or denied his liability in writing. He is to make good the deposit twice over and suffer the penalty of his perjury.

15. A ship carries passengers or merchants or slaves whom the captain has taken in deposit. The captain comes to a city or harbour or shore, and some leave the ship. Robbers give chase or pirates make an attack and the captain gives the signal and gets away. The ship is saved with the property of the passengers and merchants that is on board. Let each receive back his own goods, and let those who went out receive back their respective goods and chattels. If any one is minded to pick a quarrel with the captain for leaving him on shore in a place infested by robbers, no effect is to be given to what he says because it was only when they were pursued that the captain and crew fled. If a merchant or passenger had somebody else's slave in deposit and left him in any place, let him make the loss good to his master.

16. Captains and merchants and whosoever borrow money on the security of ship and freight and cargo are not to borrow it as if it was a land loan . . . if the ship and the money are saved . . . lest a plot be laid against the money from the dangers of the sea or from pirates . . . let them pay back the loan from the property on land with maritime interest.

17. A gives gold or silver for the service of a partnership. The partnership is for a voyage, and he writes down as it pleases him till when the partnership is to last. B, who takes the gold or the silver, does not return it to A when the time is fulfilled, and it comes to grief through fire or robbers or shipwreck. A is to be kept harmless and receive his own again. But if, before the time fixed by the contract is completed, a loss arises from the dangers of the sea, it seemed good that they should bear the loss according to their shares and to the contract as they would have shared in the gain.

18. A man borrows money and goes abroad. When the time agreed upon has expired, let them recover from his property on land according to law. If they cannot recover the debt, the capital of their loan shall be unconditionally repayable, but the interest shall be maritime interest for so long as he is abroad.

19. If a man hires a ship and gives earnest-money and afterwards says 'I have no need of it', he loses his earnest-money. But if the captain acts wrongfully, let him give back to the merchant double the earnest-money.

20. Where a man hires a ship, the contract to be binding must be in writing and subscribed by the parties,

otherwise it is void. Let them also write penalties if they wish. If they do not write penalties, and there is a breach, either by the captain or by the hirer--if the hirer provides the goods . . . let him give the half of the freight to the captain. If the captain commits a breach, let him give the half-freight to the merchant. If the merchant wishes to take out the cargo, he will give the whole freight to the captain. These penalties shall be exacted as in cases where A brings a suit against B.

21. Two persons make a partnership without writing. Both the parties confess 'we made a partnership on another occasion without writing and kept faith one to the other and paid the tax on all occasions as if for a single capital'. Something happens to one of the ships, either while it is in ballast or when it is loaded. What is saved is to contribute one-fourth part to the sufferer, since they do not bring forward a contract in writing but formed a partnership by word of mouth only. But let contracts in writing subscribed by the parties be firm and valid, and let the part saved contribute to the part lost.

22. Let the captain take nothing but water and provisions and the ropes which ships have need of, where the merchant loads the whole ship according to their written contract. If the captain is minded to put in other cargo after this, if the ship has room, let him put it in; if the ship has no room, let the merchant before three witnesses resist the captain and sailors; and, if there is jettison, it will rest with the captain; but if the merchant does not prevent it, let him come to contribution.

23. If there is a contract in writing between captain and merchant, let it be binding; but if the merchant does not provide the cargo in full, let him provide freight for what is deficient, as they agreed in writing.

24. The captain takes the half-freight and sails and the merchant wishes to return. They made and subscribed a contract in writing. The merchant loses his half-freight by reason of his hindrance. Where there is a contract in writing and the captain commits a breach, let him return the half-freight and as much again.

25. If the limit of time fixed by the contract passes, let the merchant provide the sailors' rations for ten days. If the second limit also passes, above all things let the merchant make up the full freight and go away. But if the merchant is willing to add so much to the freight, let him give it and sail as he pleases.

26. If one of the crew or captains sleeps off the ship and the ship is lost whether by day or night, all the damage regards the members of the crew or captains who slept off the ship, while those who remained on board go harmless. Those who were negligent must make good to the owner of the ship the damage which was done by reason of their negligence.

27. A ship is on its way to be freighted by a merchant or a partnership. The ship is damaged or lost by the negligence of sailors or of the captain. The cargo which lies in the warehouse is free from claims. If evidence is given that the ship was lost in a storm, what is saved of the ship is to come into contribution together with cargo and the captain is to retain the half-freight. If one of the partners denies the partnership and is convicted by three witnesses, let him pay his share of the contribution and suffer the penalty of his denial.

28. If a ship is hindered in the loading by a merchant or partner, and the time fixed for loading passes, and it happens that the ship is lost by reason of piracy or fire or wreck, let him who caused the hindrance make good the damage.

29. If the merchant does not provide the cargo at the place fixed by the contract, and the time fixed for loading passes, and a loss happens by reason of piracy or fire or wreck, all the injury to the ship regards the merchant. But if the days of the allowed time have not passed when something of this sort happens, let them come to contribution.

30. If the merchant loads the ship and there is gold with him and the ship happens to suffer one of the maritime risks and the cargo is lost and the ship goes to pieces, let what is saved from the ship and the cargo

come to contribution, but let the merchant take his gold with him on paying a tenth. If he was saved without clinging to any of the ship's spars, let him pay the half-fare in accordance with the contract; if he had to cling for safety to one of the spars, let him pay one-fifth.

31. If the merchant loads the ship and something happens to the ship, all that is saved is to come into contribution on either side; but the silver, if it is saved, is to pay a fifth; and the captain and the sailors are to give help in salving.

32. If a ship is on its way to be loaded, whether it is hired by a merchant or goes in partnership, and a sea-disaster takes place, the merchant is not to ask back the half-freight, but let what remains of the ship and the cargo come to contribution. If the merchant or the partner has also given an advance, let their agreement made in writing prevail.

33. If the captain puts the cargo in the place fixed by the contract and the ship comes to grief, let the captain recover the freight in full from the merchant, but the goods which have been unloaded into warehouses are safe from those which are on board the ship with the ship, but let what are found on the ship together with the ship come into contribution.

34. If a ship is carrying linen or silk, let the captain supply good skins, in order that in a storm no harm may be done to the freight by the dashing of the waves. If the water rises in the hold, let the captain say so at once to those who have the cargo on board, in order that it may be brought up. If the passengers make it manifest to the captain and for all that the cargo is injured, the captain is responsible together with the sailors. If the captain declares beforehand together with the sailors that the water is rising in the ship and the goods must come up, but those who loaded the goods neglect to bring them up, let the captain and sailors go harmless.

35. If a ship makes jettison of its mast, whether it breaks of its own accord or is cut, let all the sailors and the merchants and the goods and the ship so far as saved come into contribution.

36. If a ship in sail runs against another ship which is lying at anchor or has slackened sail, and it is day, all the collision and the damage regards the captain and those who are on board. Moreover let the cargo too come into contribution. If this happens at night, let the man who slackened sail light a fire. If he has no fire, let him shout. If he neglects to do this and a disaster takes place, he has himself to thank for it, if the evidence goes to this. If the sailsman was negligent and the watchman dozed off, the man who was sailing perished as if he ran on shallows and let him keep harmless him whom he strikes.

37. If the ship comes to grief and the property of the merchants or passengers is saved while the ship is lost, let the debentures which are saved provide one-fifteenth, but let not the merchant and the passengers give the ship to the captain.

38. If a ship loaded with corn is caught in a gale, let the captain provide skins and the sailors work the pumps. If they are negligent and the cargo is wetted by the bilge, let the sailors pay the penalty. But if it is from the gale that the cargo is injured, let the captain and the sailors together with the merchant bear the loss; and let the captain together with the ship and the sailors receive the six-hundredths of each thing saved. If goods are to be thrown into the sea, let the merchant be the first to throw and then let the sailors take a hand. Moreover none of the sailors is to steal. If any one steals, let the robber make it good twofold and lose his whole gain.

39. A ship with a cargo of corn or wine or oil is in full sail. By wish of the captain and crew who slacken sail, the ship goes into a place or on a beach against the wish of the merchant. It happens that the ship is lost, but the cargo or goods are saved. The merchant is to suffer no harm from the loss of the ship, since he did not wish to go into that place. If while the ship is in full sail, the merchant says to the captain 'I want to go into this place', and the place is not comprised in the charter-party, and it happens that the ship is lost while the goods are saved, let the captain have his ship made good by the merchant. If it is by wish of both parties that

the ship is cast away, let everything come to contribution.

40. A ship is wrecked, and part of the cargo and the ship is saved. The passengers have on them gold or silver or whole silks or pearls. Let the gold that is saved provide a tenth, and the silver contribute a fifth. Let the whole silks, if they are saved dry, contribute a tenth, as being equal to gold. If they are wetted, let an allowance be made for the abrasion and the wetting, and let them come into contribution on that footing. Let the pearls according to their valuation contribute to the loss like a cargo of gold.

41. If there are passengers on board and the ship is injured or destroyed, but the goods of the passengers are saved, let the passengers make a payment towards the loss of the ship. If passengers two or three lose their gold or their goods, let them receive from all according to their capacity towards the loss together with the contribution of the ship.

42. If a ship springs a leak while it is carrying goods and the goods are taken out, let it lie with the captain, whether he wishes to carry the goods in the ship to the trading-place agreed upon, if the ship is repaired. If the ship is not repaired but the captain takes another ship to the trading-place agreed upon, let him give the whole freight.

43. If a ship is caught in a storm and makes jettison of its cargo, and breaks its sailyards and mast and tillers and anchors and rudders, let all these come into contribution together with the value of the ship and of the goods which are saved.

44. A ship has a cargo, and in a gale the mast is jettisoned or the tillers broken or one of the rudders lost. If it happens that the cargo gets wet from the gale, there is every necessity that these should come to contribution. But if the cargo is hurt more from the bilge and not from the gale, let the captain take the freight and hand the goods over dry and in quantity as he took them.

45. If in the open sea a ship is overset or destroyed, let him who brings anything from it safe on to land receive instead of reward the fifth part of that which he saves.

46. A boat breaks the ropes and gets off from its ship and is lost with all hands. If those on board are lost or die, let the captain pay their annual wages for the full year to their heirs. He who saves the boat with its rudders will give them all back as he in truth finds them and receive the fifth part of what he saves.

47. If gold or silver or anything else is raised from the sea from a depth of eight fathoms, let the salvor receive one-third. If it is raised from a depth of fifteen fathoms, let the salvor receive one-half by reason of the danger of the sea. Where things are cast from sea to land and found there or carried to within one cubit of the land, let the salvor receive one-tenth part of what is salved.

Chapter 5

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