

HYPERBOREUS

STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὐροίς
ἔς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

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THE LEAD LETTER OF PISTOS FROM PATRAEUS*

In the autumn of 2012, a resident of Garkushi village (Taman peninsula, Russia) found by chance a lead letter in the part of ancient Greek settlement Patraeus that was submerged by the waters of Taman Bay (St. Byz. s.v. Πάτρασος).¹ The text is written on one of the sides of an irregularly shaped plate (max. length 14.05 cm, max. width 4.10 cm; letter height 6–8 mm). The plate is broken off from a longer lead stripe, probably specially for the given letter. The first letters in the beginnings of the lines are barely visible. At the end of the first line, the crack that arose during the unfolding of the plate evidently destroyed the last letter in this line. A large round lacuna has eliminated two letters at the end of the fourth line. The rest of the lead letter is fairly well preserved (Fig. 1).

The palaeographic features of the Patraeus letter enable us to date it to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.² The punctuation in the form of two dots, incised in every line of the letter under consideration, occurs in the Bosphorus in graffiti and lead letters dated from the third quarter of the 6th to the late 5th centuries BC.³

* We are sincerely grateful to M. Abramzon, D. Keyer, A. Verlinsky and A. Zavoykin for their valuable notes and help in the work on this paper. This publication is a revised and updated version of an article published in Russian in 2016 (Zavoykina–Pavlichenko 2016 [Н. В. Завойкина, Н. А. Павличенко, “Письмо на свинцовой пластине из Патрея”, in: А. А. Завойкин, *Материалы по археологии и истории Фанагории*], 230–249). On *Patraeus* vs. *Patrasys* see Tokhtas’ev 1986 [С. Р. Тохтасьев, “Из ономастики Северного Причерноморья. I: ПАТОУΣ, ПАТРАΕΥΣ, ПАТΡΑΣΥΣ”, in: Э. Д. Фролов, *Проблемы античного источниковедения*].

¹ Currently it is kept in the Archaeological Museum affiliated with the Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Heritage of the Saratov State University.

² Avram–Chiriac–Matei 2007, 391, 401; Saprykin–Maslennikov 2007 [С. Ю. Сапрыкин, А. А. Масленников, *Граффити и дипинти хоры античного Боспора*], 84–85, no. 369, 132–135, no. 694; Saprykin–Fedoseev 2010 [С. Ю. Сапрыкин, Н. Ф. Федосеев, “Фрагмент хозяйственного письма из Пантикапея”, *ВДИ*], 50–58.

³ Agaфонов 2017 [А. А. Агафонов, *Общественный комплекс на западном плато. Последняя четверть VI – вторая четверть V вв. до н.э.*], 268, no. 132; Sokol’skiy 1973 [Н. И. Сокольский, “Кульτ Афродиты в Кепях в VI–V вв. до н.э.”, *ВДИ*], 88–89, fig. 1, 2; Vinogradov 2001 [Ю. Г. Виноградов, “Визит эвбеяца

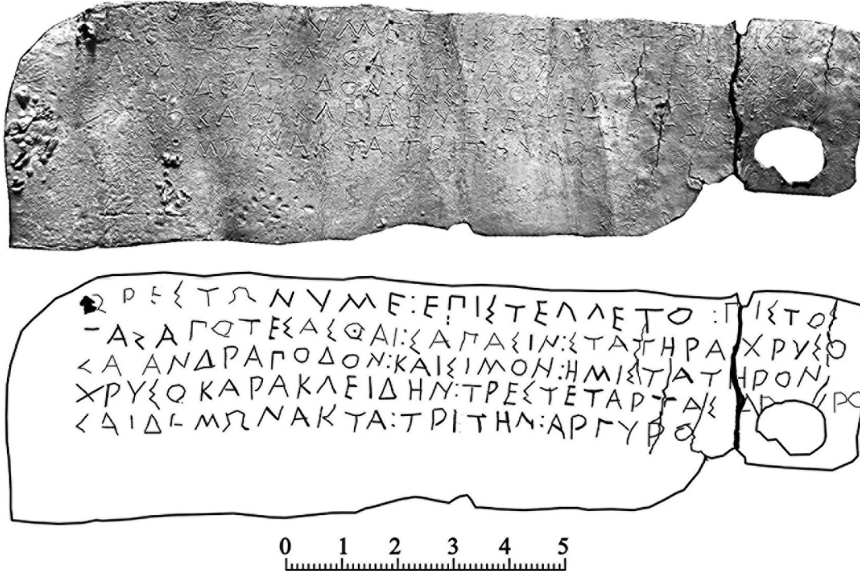


Fig. 1. The lead letter of Pistos (the photo and the drawing)

- 1 Ὁρ[ι]στώνυμε : ἐπιστέλλῃ τοι : Πίστο[ς]
[τ]ῆς ἀποτέσσασθαι : Σαπασιν : στατήρα χρυσῶ
καὶ ἀνδράποδον : καὶ Σῆμον : ἡμιστάτηρον
χρυσῶ κἀρακλειδῆν : τρεῖς τετάρτας ἀργυρῶ
- 5 καὶ Δημόνακτα : τρίτην : ἀργυρῶ.

The pronoun *τοι* instead of *σοι*, such forms as *ἐπιστέλλῃ*, *ἀποτέσσασθαι* and *τρεῖς*, where *ει* is represented as *ῃ*, and the presence of *ῶ* (*χρυσῶ*, *ἀργυρῶ*) indicate the Ionian dialect.

Lines 1–2. In the middle of the first line, *ΕΠΙΣΤΕΛΛΕΤΟΙ* is distinctly read. The verb *ἐπιστέλλω* and its derivatives were often used in the beginning of the letters.⁴ Although the through hole in the plate has annihilated the left part of the first letter in this line, its right part is preserved fairly well, enabling us to reconstruct an *omega* here. Thus, the letter evidently began with a form of address to a certain Aristonymos –

в Фанагорию”, *ВДИ*], 103–104 (*SEG* LI, p. 288, no. 991); Tolstikov–Zhuravlev–Lomtatze 2004 [В. П. Толстиков, Д. В. Журавлев, Г. А. Ломтадзе, “Новые материалы к хронологии раннего Пантикапея”, *Древности Боспора*], 348 ff., 365, fig. 11. 1; Dana 2007, 87, no. 12; Pavlichenko–Kashaev 2012, 228, fig. 1, 2.

⁴ *Syll.*³ 1259; Jordan 2000, 95; Pavlichenko–Kashaev 2012, 230.

Ῥρ[ι]στώνυμε, with a crasis of the interjection and initial [a].⁵ The personal name Ῥριστώνυμος has not been previously attested in the Bosphorus. In the Black Sea littoral, it has been encountered only once, in the epitaph to Mastor from Berezan (ca. 550 BC).⁶ Thus the addressee was called Aristonymos, while the name of the author of the letter was the subject of ἐπιστέλλῃ and, consequently, put in *nom. sing.*, must have been positioned after the verb. After τοι and the sign of punctuation in the form of two dots, we can restore the personal name Πίστος.⁷

Part of the first letter in the beginning of the second line is destroyed by the break in the tablet, but in the upper area of the line, the right edge of a horizontal hasta is distinctly discernible. Further, the letters ΑΣ are scratched on the tablet, followed by a punctuation mark and ἀποτέσασθαι. The reconstruction of *gamma* or *pi* does not yield satisfactory sense and therefore the second line probably began with a new word – a feminine article in *acc. plur.* [τ]άς.

Line 2. Thus, in the first line we read: Ῥρ[ι]στώνυμε : ἐπιστέλλῃ τοι : Πίστο[ς]. After ἐπιστέλλω, in the beginning of some letters, a construction in *acc. cum. inf.* occurs where the logical subject implies the addressee of the letter. In line 2 of the letter to Aristonymos, we see, firstly, ΤΑΣ, then the infinitive ἀποτέσασθαι, i.e. a construction in *acc. cum. inf.* similar to constructions in the letters of Lesis and Mnesiergos.⁸ The verb ἀποτίνω in the active voice means ‘pay’ (debt, tax, fine) or ‘indemnify’ (damages, expenses).⁹ In the medial voice, this verb means ‘get money, payment, demand an exaction, exact a penalty’ (LSJ s.v.). No cases of the use of medial forms have been found in the epigraphic evidence so far. As for literary sources, according to LSJ, there is only a single example of the use of ἀποτίνομαι with words designating monetary units – this is in a fragment from the comedy *Κόλακες* by

⁵ Cf. a crasis in the vocative Ῥριστόκρ<α>τες in the letter to Kledikos from Hermonassa: Pavlichenko–Kashaev 2012, 231, no. 26.

⁶ Dubois 2006, 85, no. 43; *SEG* 32, no. 723; Jajlenko 1982 [B. П. Яйленко, *Греческая колонизация. VII–III вв. до н. э.*], 259–267; *LGPN* IV, s.v. Ῥριστώνυμος.

⁷ Pantikapaion, 1st century AD (*CIRB* 356); Euboea, 4th–3rd centuries BC; Samos, 7th–6th centuries BC (*LGPN* I, s.v.), Athens, 4th century BC (*LGPN* II, s.v.).

⁸ Cf.: Jordan 1996, 95, 98; *Syll.*³ 1259.

⁹ See e.g.: Dem. 18. 105. 10; 24. 127. 7 etc.; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54. 2, as well as this verb in the texts of decrees and enactments of the 6th–5th centuries BC: *IG* I³ 78 a. 58 (Eleusis, ca 422 BC); Hallof 1993, 61, no. 19 (Attica), 127, no. 44 (Eleia), 138, no. 45 (Delphoi), 241, no. 65 (Amorgos), 325, no. 85 (Megara Hyblaea), 342, no. 94 (Crete). The same verb is used also in the formula πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν, i.e. ‘endure a physical punishment or pay a fine’ (cf. e.g. Plat. *Leg.* 843 b).

Eupolis, surviving in Eustathius' Commentary on the *Odyssey*: κατ' ἀντιβολίαν δέκα τάλαντ' ἀπετισάμην (Eust. 1406. 27). In their edition, R. Kassel and C. Austin cite A. Nauck and C. G. Cobet, who emended the verb into ἀπετείσαμεν or ἀπετίσαμεν, i.e. into an active instead of the medial form, but apparently Kassel and Austin do not consider the form ἀπετισάμην to be impossible.¹⁰ I. Storey also adopts the reading ἀπετισάμην.¹¹ In other cases, medial forms have the meaning of 'take vengeance' or 'punish the guilty'.¹² Thus, in Euripides' *Heraclidae* (852), Iolaos asks Zeus and Hebe for the possibility to punish his enemies – κάποτεισασθαι δίκην ἐχθρούς. This instance is especially interesting for us, since here the medial form of ἀποτίνομαι is used with two accusatives that denote the persons affected and the penalty that is exacted from them. A similar construction with two accusatives occurs also with the verbs meaning 'exact, receive payment' from someone.¹³ Obviously, the same construction and the same meaning should be supposed for ἀποτέσασθαι in the letter published here, with the accusatives of persons who should pay and the accusatives of sums of money that should be exacted, arranged in decreasing order, in one case with the addition of an ἀνδράποδον.¹⁴ Probably, an addressee of the letter must exact some debts, fines or fees from a number of persons. Hence, taking into account that the noun implied at ΤΑΣ must be of feminine gender and used in plural, it remains to suppose that the article is employed elliptically,¹⁵ instead of e.g., τὰς ζημίας, ἐπιβολάς¹⁶ or, more probably, τιμάς.¹⁷ Anyway, given the lack of close analogies, the meaning of τὰς remains unclear.

¹⁰ *PCG* V. 388, no. 168 (317).

¹¹ Storey 2003, 195, 196.

¹² *Arph. Thesm.* 686; *PCG* IV. 125, no. 6 (Cratinus); *Eur. Her.* 882; *Xen. Anab.* 3. 2. 5; *Cyr.* 5. 4. 35; *Dem.* 19. 225. 26.

¹³ See e.g.: *Xen. Mem.* 1. 2. 60; *Dem.* 59. 19; 20. 32.

¹⁴ It is possible to add to the lists of private persons contributing certain sums of money (Saprykin–Maslennikov 2007, 135) a Nymphaion fresco from the second quarter to the middle of the 3rd century BC (Vinogradov 1990, 555, no. 590).

¹⁵ Cf. ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ (Hdt. 1. 109. 1, see also 3. 119. 2; 5. 72. 4); and further Gildersleeve 1901, 12–13, § 34, cf. Kühner–Gerth 558 § 596. 4.

¹⁶ Hdt. 2. 65; *Plut. Lys.* 27; Athenian inscription of the Poletai: Langdon 1991, 115, no. P 26, face B fr. b, col. IV 506 (342/1–339/8 BC); *IG* I³ 82. 27 (Attica, 421/420 BC); *Lys.* 30. 3. 5.

¹⁷ ...ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πιπρασκομένων παρά τε Θηριππίδου καὶ Δημοφῶντος τὰς τιμάς ἐλάμβανεν (*Dem.* 27. 13); ...τὸ δ' ἐργαστήριον κεκαρπωμένων αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν πεπρακότεα καὶ τὰς τιμάς οὐκ ἀποδεδωκότα... (*ibid.* 47).

Lines 2–5. Three of Pistos’ debtors – Δημῶναξ, Ἡρακλείδας, Σῆμος – bear names that were commonly used in many Greek poleis throughout different historical periods.¹⁸ After ἀποτέσσασθαι, one and the same scheme is repeated four times. And since Σῆμον κἀρακλείδην (a crasis of the conjunction καί and Ἡρακλείδην) and Δημῶνακτα undoubtedly are forms of the accusative of personal names, then ΣΑΠΑΣΙΝ, also carved after ἀποτέσσασθαι, must be a name in accusative. It is probable that Σαπασιν (Σαπασις, Σαπασιος?) is a derivative of the ethnonym Σάπαι.¹⁹

Line 3: ἀνδράποδον. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, ἀνδράποδον was one of the commonly used terms for slaves.²⁰ Strabo is the only literary source concerned with the northern Black Sea littoral who mentions ἀνδράποδον (11. 2. 3). In epigraphic material of the northern Black Sea region, ἀνδράποδον did not occur before.²¹ In the absence of a context that might elucidate the exact meaning of ἀνδράποδον in the letter, we translate it neutrally as a ‘slave’. The use of ἀνδράποδον in the Patraeus letter is probably one of the earliest examples of this term in the inscriptions.

So, Sapasis was to give to Pistos a *slave* bought, probably, at a slave market in one of the Black Sea cities. The existence of such markets in the Bosphorus is attested by Strabo (11. 2. 3), albeit for a later time, who mentions the delivery by nomads of ἀνδράποδα along with other “goods”

¹⁸ CIRB 1137 A II, 27, the feminine variant of the name Δημῶναξ – Δημῶνασσα – is registered in Myrmekion in the 5th century BC and in Olbia in the 6th to 5th centuries BC (SEG XLVIII, 1007; Dubois 1996, 144, no. 92); cf. the feminine variant of the name Σῆμος in Phanagoria found on a graffito on the bottom of a black gloss kylix from 500–480 BC (Vinogradov 2001, 103–104; Zavoykina 2013 [Н. В. Завойкина, “Фанагорийское общество”, in: В. Д. Кузнецов, *Материалы по археологии и истории Фанагории*], 280, no. 120, fig. 9).

¹⁹ The tribe of Sapai (Sapaii) is mentioned by Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάπαι; Hdt. 7. 110; Strabo. 7. fr. 17. 27 Radt; 10. 2. 17; 12. 3. 20. In lapidary inscriptions, this ethnonym occurs, for example in the Delphian list of theorodokoi of 230–220 BC (Plassart 1921, 18, col. III. 83) and in a dedication to Apollo from Dodoparon of the 2nd to 3rd century AD, where Σαπαϊκῆν ἐρίβωλον is mentioned (IGBR III, no. 1794; SEG 37, 608, cf. Dimitrov 2009, 69 with a date from the 2nd to 1st century BC). See also Kazarow 1935, 647–649.

²⁰ Poll. 3. 74–78; Gschnitzer 1964, 12–15; Mactoux 1980, 54–62; Garlan 1988, 20–21; Vlassopoulos 2011, 120. The historical commentary on the term ἀνδράποδον see also in: Zavoykina–Pavlichenko 2016, 235–243.

²¹ In the inscriptions on ceramics and lead from the late archaic and classical periods from this region, the terms usually used to designate slaves were δοῦλος, οἰκέτης, παῖς; SEG XLII, 710; Dubois 1996, no. 24; Saprykin–Fedoseev 2010, 50–51, line 7; Dana 2007, 75–76; Vinogradov 1998, 154–157, no. 1, 161 ff.; Zavoykina 2013, 282, no. 127, fig. 10.

to Tanais. The slaves delivered to the towns of the northern Black Sea littoral were primarily local barbarians, but also the inhabitants of the inner regions of Asia Minor and Thrace.²² The gender, age and professional characteristics of the unnamed ἀνδράποδον could have been stipulated by Pistos and Sapis beforehand. Notably, the largest sum of debt, including also an ἀνδράποδον slave, was to be received from Sapis – the sole bearer of a non-Greek (Thracian?) name among Pistos' debtors.

Lines 2–3: στατήρ χρυσῶ, ἡμιστατήρ χρυσῶ. There is no doubt that the letter deals with units of money rather than measures of weight. This is suggested by a specially stipulated formula prescribing the payment of sums of a gold *stater* and a *hemistater* (this is specified probably to keep Aristonymos, the counteragent of Pistos, from confusing gold staters for silver ones). The letter does not inform us what minting the gold coins must have been. Evidently, this was already known both to the author of the letter and to its addressee.

It is of note that where, in the opinion of the author of an inscription, the term 'stater' did not need any more precise definition because what was meant was monetary units constantly used in the given polis, the word στατήρ could be used in the text without any additions.²³ This is the case, e.g., in *Plutus* by Aristophanes (408 BC), which speaks of servants playing 'odd and even' στατήρσι χρυσοῖς (v. 816) or in decrees from the 5th and 4th centuries BC from Iasos (*Iasos*.1) and Erythrai (*IEry*. 1, 2, 17) in Asia Minor or in the graffito Ἰπικράτης : ἀναίρ(ε)ῖται : στατήρας : πεντήκοντα on a fragment of the Ionian black-gloss cylix from Pantikapaion (the last third of the 6th century BC).²⁴

Since the context of the letter itself does not unambiguously imply the place of minting of the gold staters, we are justified only in proposing more or less well-grounded suppositions about this issue based on the peculiarities of monetary circulation in the Bosphorus during the period

²² Finley 1983, 168–175, Gavriljuk 2003, 77–80; Avram 2007, 239–241.

²³ In those cases where the payment is carried out in several monetary units, the denomination is usually defined more precisely: e.g., at the transfer of payments to the Spartan military fund, στατήρας Αἰγυναῖος and δαρικός are mentioned (Meiggs–Lewis 1969, 182 no. 67. 10, 16, ca 427 BC), while in the list of temple contributions from cities and private persons in Delphi ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς and στατήρα χρυσοῖον Ἀβυδηνόν are specified (*Syll.*³ 239 C, coll. III. 20. 21, 364/63 BC). In the reports on the construction of the Parthenon, χρυσῶ στατήρες [Λαμψο]ακενοί and χρυσῶ στατήρες Κ[υ]κενοί are stated (Meiggs–Lewis 1969, 162, no. 59. 13, ca. 434–433 BC, see also: *IG* I³ 436. 30, 439. 67, 440. 87, 447/46 – 433/32 BC).

²⁴ Агафонов 2017 [A. A. Агафонов, “Пантикапей. Торговые связи”, in: В. Д. Кузнецов, В. П. Толстикова, *Пантикапей и Фанагория. Две столицы Боспорского царства*], 306, no. 185.

under consideration.²⁵ The moneys circulated on the internal market of Bosphorus were for the most part silver coins minted during that period in Pantikapaion and coins with the legend ΑΠΟΛ.²⁶ From the last third or quarter of the 5th century BC, they were supplemented by the coinage of Nymphaion and Theodosia and by coins with the inscription ΣΙΝΔΟΝ.²⁷ Staters from Kyzikos were used to conduct large trading operations (including import and export).²⁸ Precisely these staters took the role of an interlocal monetary unit that from the mid-sixth century BC until the 330s BC dominated the international trade space in the middle part of the Aegean basin, the western coast of Asia Minor, Thrace and cities on the coasts of the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea, including the Bosphorus.²⁹

If for the earlier period (from the second half of the 6th to the first decades of the 5th century BC) there are certain grounds to note the circulation of the coins of some Ionian centres along with *kyzikenoi* in the Bosphorus,³⁰ no information of this kind is available for later periods.³¹ In our opinion, this decreases the probability that our letter implies gold staters of any centres other than Kyzikos.

²⁵ It is clear that our lead letter is not referring to Pantikapaion gold staters, because they were not minted before the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century BC (Zograf 1951 [А. Н. Зограф, *Античные монеты*], 164–168; Abramzon–Frolova 2007–2008 [М. Г. Абрамзон, Н. А. Фролова, *Корпус боспорских кладов античных монет*], 22; Frolova 2010 [Н. А. Фролова, *Античные золотые монеты в собрании Государственного Исторического Музея. От античности до Византии*], 232–233).

²⁶ Zavoykin 2013, 352–357.

²⁷ Kuznetsov 2016 [В. Д. Кузнецов, “Фанагория и Синдика: некоторые заметки”, in: А. А. Завойкин, *Материалы по археологии и истории Фанагории*], 256 f.

²⁸ Zograf 1951, 41; Abramzon–Frolova 2007–2008, 22, 27–29.

²⁹ Shelov 1956 [Д. В. Шелов, *Монетное дело Боспора в VI–II вв. до н. э.*], 52; Abramzon–Frolova 2007–2008, 22. On the list of Bosporan hoards of the mid-6th century to the 340s–330s BC containing *kyzikenoi* and their fractions, see: Abramzon–Frolova 2007–2008, 23–27.

³⁰ For instance, during excavations at Phanagoria in 2005, a silver *hemiobol* of an “unknown Ionian centre” was found with a lion’s muzzle baring its teeth, left, and *quadratum incusum*, dated to ca. 480–470 BC (Abramzon 2013 [М. Г. Абрамзон, “Античные иноземные монеты из раскопок Фанагории”, in: В. Д. Кузнецов, *Материалы по археологии и истории Фанагории*], 66, Fig. 4. 105).

³¹ Notably, even for the period of active trade contacts between the Bosphorus and Athens, the silver coin of the latter is very rarely encountered in the finds from Bosporan sites and, moreover, these include only coins of the 5th century BC (see: Abramzon–Frolova–Gorlov 1999 [М. Г. Абрамзон, Н. А. Фролова, Ю. В. Горлов, “Таманский клад серебряных монет VI–IV вв. до н. э.”, *ВДИ*], 45–46, Table IV. 53; Strokin 2007 [В. Л. Строкин, “ΑΠΟΛ[лония Боспорская] или [храм] ΑΠΟΛ[лона]?”, *Древности Боспора*], 358, n. 6).

Among the monetary finds from the second half of the 6th to the 5th century BC, along with the staters of Kyzikos are found (more rarely) their fractions. Thus, at the Patraeus town site, *hektai* and *hemihektai* were found.³² Fractions of staters are repeatedly mentioned in the business records of residents of cities in the northern Black Sea littoral of that and earlier periods.³³ The information presented above suggests with fair confidence that the Patraeus letter refers to stater and hemistater of Kyzikos. Thus, Sapasis was to pay to Pistos, in addition to the slave (ἀνδράποδον), one gold stater of Kyzikos, and to Simos half a *kyzikenos*.

Lines 4–5: τρέξ τεάρταξ ἀργυρῶ, τρίτην ἀργυρῶ. Since according to its content, Pistos' letter falls within the category of private business correspondence in which the realities of the second half of the 5th century BC are reflected, evidently it must contain everyday business vocabulary that Bosphoran merchants and traders used in their informal language. Following the logic of the text, after the aforementioned gold staters, the word ἀργυρῶ must imply silver coins. As in the case of the gold staters (hemistaters), the content of the letter proper does not make it possible to define with certainty exactly which monetary system this silver belonged to. Although the palaeography of the letter published here seems to indicate its Bosphoran origin, we are not able to affirm this with complete confidence. Nevertheless, independently of the place where this record was written, it is evident that it is concerned with commercial activities in some territory of the Bosphorus (because, after all, the letter was found in a layer of a Taman site). As mentioned before, the money circulating in the Bosphorus was the locally minted silver. Hence, the probability that denominations of non-Bosphoran coins are specified in this note is rather small.³⁴ Firstly, we will

³² Zakharov 2009 [Е. В. Захаров, “Монеты VI–V вв. до н. э., найденные на поселении Гаркуша I (Патрей)”, *Древности Боспора*], 207; 215–216; Abramzon–Frolova 2007–2008, 61–62 (hoard of 1998).

³³ Cf., for example, ἔκτην and ἡμιέκτην in the graffito from Berezan, representing a record of a trader of the 6th century BC (Karyshkovskij 1988 [П. О. Карышковский, *Монеты Ольвии*], 10; Vinogradov 1990, 556, no. 593; Vinogradov 1999, 139, 140); ἐπτά καὶ εἴκοσιν στατήρες from the Olbian letter of Apatourios to Leanax of the late 6th century BC (Karyshkovskij 1988, 10; Dana 2004, 6, 12); ἔκταξ from the Olbian letter of the 1st half of the 5th century BC (Mitina 2017 [В. В. Митина, “Письмо, найденное в Ольвии в 2010 году”], 259–260). According to a new interpretation proposed by S. Saprykin and A. Maslennikov, a graffito of the 5th to early 4th century BC from Zeno's Chersonesos also mentions such denominations of *kyzikenos* as *hektai* and *hemihektai* (lines 7–8) (*SEG* XL, 643; Saprykin–Maslennikov 2007, 137–139, no. 694).

³⁴ Of note in this connection is the decree of Kanobos (*IOSPE* I², 24) regulating the conditions of trade in the territory of the Olbian polis in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. According to this decree, all traders were obliged to use only the local coin (Karyshkovskij 1988, 10–15).

try to establish exactly what denominations of Bosporan silver coins are implied by the expressions τρεῖς τετάρτας ἀργυρῶ and τρίτην ἀργυρῶ. Although drachm was the basic monetary unit, in the identified coin series of Pantikapaion of the 5th century BC, smaller denominations definitely prevail quantitatively (*diobol*, *hemiobol*, *tetartemorion*).³⁵ Since we suppose that, in Pistos' letter, fractions of the Pantikapaion drachm (equal to six obols) are implied,³⁶ correspondingly the *three quarters* of a Pantikapaion drachm must have equalled 4.5 *obols* (= 3 trihemiobols or 2 diobols and a hemiobol), while a third of a drachm equalled 2 obols (= 1 diobol). Thus, Herakleides was to pay to Pistos 4.5 obols and to Demonax 2 obols in silver (it does not matter in what denominations).

So the following translation of the text of the letter under study can be proposed:

O, Aristonymos! Pistos sends to you (this letter) so that you exact the following (fines / debts?): from Sapisis a stater of gold and a slave, from Simos a hemistater of gold, from Herakleides three quarters of silver, from Demonax a third of silver.

Unfortunately, Pistos did not explain why Sapisis, Simos, Herakleides and Demonax were indebted to him. We are probably dealing with a list of debtors with enumeration of the sums to be exacted. In any case, the letter published here belongs to the category of business correspondence and thus enriches our knowledge of commodity-money relations in the private sphere in the Bosporus of the second half of the 5th century BC.

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³⁵ Shelov 1956, 63–65.

³⁶ Few silver coins were minted by Nymphaion in the last quarter of the 5th century BC compared with the volume of emissions of Pantikapaion, so that they could not meet the trade-economic needs of cities in the region of the Cimmerian Bosporus (Shelov 1956, 52, 62–63). Phanagoria and Theodosia also started to strike their coins no earlier than the last quarter of the 5th century BC (*ibid.*, 52). Hence, only coins with the legend ΑΠΟΛ can be considered an alternative. These were minted from the middle to the end of the 5th century BC (cf. Zavoykin 2013 [А. А. Завойкин, *Образование Боспорского государства. Археология и хронология державы Спартокидов*], 353 ff.).

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In 2012 in the part of ancient Greek settlement Patraeus submerged by the waters of the Taman Bay (the modern village Garkusha of the Krasnodar Krai, Russia) a lead letter was found. The letter belongs to the category of business correspondence and contains a list of debtors with enumeration, in decreasing order, of the sums to be exacted. The gold *staters* mentioned in the letter are most likely *kyzikenoi*. In addition, the letter contains an accusative of a personal name that has not been encountered before: Σαπασιν (Σαπασις, Σαπασιος?).

В 2012 г. в затопленной водами Таманского залива части городища Патрей (совр. поселок Гаркуша, Краснодарский край, РФ) было найдено письмо на свинцовой пластине. Письмо относится к категории деловой переписки и содержит список имен должников и перечисление, в порядке убывания, денежных сумм, которые должны быть взысканы. Упоминаемые в письме золотые статеры, вероятнее всего, являются кизикинами. Кроме того, в письме имеется аккузатив до сих пор не встречавшегося личного имени – Σαπασιν (Σαπασις, Σαπασιος?).