A PERSONAL LETTER FOUND IN HERMONASSA*

In Summer 2011 a lead object was found by chance under the waters of Bay Taman near the ancient townsite of Hermonassa. It was a tablet coiled into a tube. The find was made by a private individual who took it for a fishing weight. The tube was uncoiled and text discovered on the surface, which revealed the object to be a lead tablet displaying a Greek letter (Fig. 1).[1]

Currently the μολύβδια constitute a section of the Greek epigraphy which although scarce are extremely interesting for classical scholars as they present us with important information on the private lives and

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* This find was preliminarily reported at the international scientific conference of the Bosporan Phenomenon (see: С. В. Кашаев, Н. А. Павличенко, "Письмо из Гермонассы (предварительное сообщение)" [S. V. Kashaev, N. A. Pavlichenko, "A Letter from Hermonassa (Preliminary Report)"], in: *Боспорский феномен. Население, языки, контакты* [St Petersburg 2012] 343–344) and at the Department of Classical Philology of the St Petersburg State University. The letter was also discussed at a sitting of the Department of the History of Greek and Roman Culture of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IIMK) RAS. The present authors are grateful to all the participants of the discussion of this newly found lead letter and especially to A. K. Gavrilov, D. V. Keyer, S. R. Tokhtas'ev and A. L. Verlinsky.

[1] The private individuals who found it applied in Autumn 2011 to scholars in Moscow and Saint Petersburg allowing it to be photographed and requesting that they decipher it. In these circumstances, a unique situation arose where two groups of scholars – Yu. S. Saprykin and A. V. Belousov in Moscow and independently the authors of the present paper in Saint Petersburg – studied the document and simultaneously published it: Н. А. Павличенко, С. В. Кашаев, "Новая эпиграфическая находка из Гермонассы" [N. A. Pavlichenko, S. V. Kashaev, "A New Epigraphic Find from Hermonassa"], *Древности Боспора* 16 (2012) 288–298; Ю. С. Сапрыкин, А. В. Белоусов, "Письмо Кледика из Гермонассы" [A. V. Belousov, S. Yu. Saprykin, "A Letter of Kledikos from Hermonassa"], *ibid*., 348–349. A variant of Saprykin's and Belousov's article appeared in 2013 in English: A. V. Belousov, S. Yu. Saprykin, "A Letter of Kledikos from Hermonassa", *ZPE* 185 (2013) 153–160.

The authors of the present paper had an occasion to study the letter in Autumn 2011, Summer 2012 and Summer 2013 when after a more careful cleaning of the external surface of the object it proved possible to read two additional lines containing the address of the letter. Now the letter still is possessed by the persons who found it. About the circumstances accompanying its publication see also: Belousov, Saprykin, "A letter …", 153 n. 2.

daily problems of representatives from diverse social strata. Compared to lapidary inscriptions – of which there are thousands – letters on lead tablets are to be considered extremely rare finds.[2] Over a dozen similar documents are now known in the northern Black Sea littoral.[3]

In the uncoiled form, the letter under consideration is a tablet measuring 3.1–3.2 × 20.2–20.4 cm and about 1.5 mm thick. On the inner side the tablet bears a text consisting of two parts divided by a vertical line. The left side contains six lines, on the right there are two lines. On the external surface lies the address, written at a right angle to the main text. The letters are scratched with a sharp tool; the height of the letters is 3–5 mm, and that of the address, 3–4 mm. Within the content of the message, the letters are drawn following fairly straight lines and are of approximately equal height. In contrast, the letters in the address are rather unsteady with differing heights and widths. The state of preservation of the document is generally fairly good. Most of the letters are clear and easy to read. The left half of the tablet is the most eroded**,** due to the effects of seawater and hasty uncoiling. Its edges have been badly corroded. On the surface, traces of brown deposit and white patina are discernible and some letters are difficult to read (especially in the last line). Slight darkening of the metal is also observable along the upper edge of the tablet, however this does not hamper deciphering.

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[2] In Yu. G. Vinogradov's opinion their rarity is due to the fact that we discover only those letters that never reached the addressees. The letters delivered were remelted after they were read and the metal was used for domestic purposes: Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Древнейшее греческое письмо с острова Березань" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, "The Earliest Greek Letter from the Island of Berezan"], *VDI* 1971: 4, 95–96. Benedetto Bravo ("Une lettre sur plomb de Berezan: colonisation et modes de contact dans le Pont", in: *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* I [Paris 1974] 116) held another view: after the 4th century BC lead tablets started to be ousted by papyrus which had become available by that period and was therefore usable, in particular, for private correspondence.

[3] M. Dana, "Lettres grecques dialectales nord-pontiques (sauf IGDOP 23–26)", *REA* 106 (2007) 69; E. Eidinow, Cl. Taylor, "Lead-letter Days: Writing, Communication and Crisis in the Ancient Greek World", *CQ* 60 (2010) 50; С. Ю. Сапрыкин, Н. Ф. Федосеев, "Фрагмент хозяйственного письма на свинце из Пантикапея" [S. Yu. Saprykin, N. F. Fedoseev, "A Fragment of a Household Letter on Lead from Pantikapaion"], *VDI* 2010: 1, 50; В. В. Назарчук, "Новый фрагмент надписи на свинцовой пластине из Ольвии" [V. V. Nazarchuk, "A New Fragment of an Inscription on Lead Tablet from Olbia"], in: *Боспорский феномен. Население, языки, контакты* (St Petersburg 2011) 471. During recent years, several other personal letters have been found on the Taman Peninsula: some on lead tablet and some on a number of ostraka. These are presently under preparation for a publication by the present authors.

Due to the lack of archaeological context, the dating of the letter is possible only through its palaeographic features. L. Jeffery supposes that in Miletus, the interpunction in form of two dots is dated to the period between the second half of the 6th and early 5th century BC.[4] However it is also found in later inscriptions, including the Attic ones, e. g. in the letter by Mnesiergos (early 4th century BC).[5] Olbian examples are also known, such as those in dedications to Apollo and the Mother of the Gods found in excavations of the Western Temenos (5th century BC),[6] in Artikon's letter (mid-4th century BC),[7] and in the copy of a *lex sacra* drawn on a fragment of a louterion from the 4th century BC.[8] Among the published Bosporan graffiti and letters on lead, the two-dot interpunction is recorded, notably, on the *prochous* (oinochoe) of Myniis from Pantikapaion from the second quarter (middle of the 6th century BC);[9] in a graffito on a black-glossed kylix from the second half of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century BC from Pantikapaion;[10] in a Phanagorian letter about the slave Phaulles dated to 530–510 BC;[11] as well as in the dedication to Aphrodite on the bottom of a kylix from Kepoi in the late 6th century BC.[12] So far as one is able to judge from a photo, the same type of interpunction was used in

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[4] L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Oxford 1961) 326.

[5] *SIG*3 1259.

[6] А. С. Русяева, *Граффити Ольвии Понтийской* [A. S. Rusyaeva, *Graffiti from Pontic Olbia*] (Simferopol 2010) 52, no. 18, Pl. 11. 3, 16. 4; 62, no. 78, Pl. 19. 16, 20. 26.

[7] L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont* (Genève 1996) 63, no. 25.

[8] Ю. Г. Виноградов, А. С. Русяева, "Культ Аполлона и календарь Ольвии" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, A. S. Rusyaeva, "Cult of Apollo and the Calendar of Olbia"], in: *Исследования по античной археологии Северного Причерноморья* (Kiev 1980) 47, Fig. 11, 80, Pl. 10 (= *SEG* XXX 980) – Yu. G. Vinogradov supposed that here we are dealing with a 4th century copy of a law dating from the early 5th century BC. L. Dubois ([n. 7] 167, no. 99) dates it to ca. 450 BC.

[9] Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Прохус Миниды из Пантикапея" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, "The Prochous of Myniis from Pantikapaion"], *VDI* 1974: 4, 57, Fig. 1.

[10] В. П. Толстиков, Д. В. Журавлев, Г. А. Ломтадзе, "Новые материалы к хронологии раннего Пантикапея" [V. P. Tolstikov, D. V. Zhuravlev, G. A. Lomtadze, "New Evidence on the Chronology of the Early Pantikapaion"], *Древности Боспора* 7 (2004) 348 ff., 365 Fig. 11. 1.

[11] Yu. G. Vinogradov, "The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Region in the Light of Private Lead Letters", in: G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area* (Stuttgart 1998) 160 (= *SEG* XLVIII 1024).

[12] Н. И. Сокольский, "Культ Афродиты в Кепах в VI–V вв. до н. э." [N. I. Sokol'skiy, "Cult of Aphrodite in Kepoi in the 6th – 5th century BC"], *VDI* 1973: 4, 88–89, Figs. 1, 2.

a still unpublished lead letter (found in 2001) from Hermonassa dated to the 5th century BC.[13]

The letter under consideration combines forms of letters typical of the late 5th century BC with some elements deriving from an earlier period – the first half or middle of the same century. *Alpha, lambda* and *mu* have slanting hastae broadly set apart, *theta* is with a dot, *omicron* and *theta* are inscribed into the dimensions of the line, *kappa* has closely arranged slanting hastae, *sigma* has widely opened hastae; simultaneously either *nu* with a slight pitch to the right and slightly raised right hasta or *nu* with hastae set at the same level are used; *omega* has rounded legs. The combination of *upsilon* in the archaic form of the Latin letter "V" (exactly this type of *upsilon* is found in the inscription of Myniis, in the letter about the slave Phaulles and in the dedication to Aphrodite from Kepoi) and a three-part *upsilon* with slightly bent hastae possibly enables us to narrow the date proposed earlier,[14] so that the letter would be originated from ca. 450–440 BC.[15]

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[13] С. И. Финогенова, "Очерк истории Гермонассы по материалам раскопок последних лет" [S. I. Finogenova, "Essay on the History of Hermonassa Based on Materials from Excavations of Recent Years"], *Древности Боспора* 8 (2005) 438–439, Figs. 3. 4; ead., "Hermonassa", in: D. V. Grammenos, E. K. Petropoulos (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea* II (Thessaloniki 2003) 1019, 1044, Fig. 9.

[14] Павличенко, Кашаев, "Новая эпиграфическая…" (n. 1) 294 – second half of the 5th century BC; cf. Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 155 – second half of the 5th century or the turn of the 5th to the 4th century BC.

[15] During discussion of our report in the Department of Greek and Roman Culture at IIMK RAS (May 11, 2012), Sergey R. Tokhtas'ev noted that in the letter found in 2001 in Hermonassa, which he was then preparing for publication and had dated to a more ancient period than the one found in 2011, *upsilon* everywhere is shaped as Latin "V". Some time earlier, he dated this letter to a broad time span of the first half of the 5th century BC: С. Р. Тохтасьев, "Контакты Борисфена и Ольвии с Боспором в архаический период в свете археологических источников" [S. R. Tokhtas'ev, "Contacts of Borisphenes and Olbia with Bosporos in the View of Archaeological Sources"], *Археологический сборник Государственного Эрмитажа* 38 (St Petersburg 2010) 55 n. 15.

It is noteworthy that in the graffito on a handle of a Lesbian redware amphora of the first half of the 5th century BC from Phanagoria, *upsilon* consists of three parts: see Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Новые материалы по раннегреческой экономике" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, "New Evidence on the Early Greek Economy"], *VDI* 1971: 1, 68, Fig. 2. Sergey Yu. Monakhov believes that manufacture of redware amphorae on Lesbos ended about the mid-5th century BC: С. Ю. Монахов, *Греческие амфоры в Причерноморье. Типология амфор ведущих центров-экспортеров товаров в керамической таре* [*Greek Amphorae in the Black Sea Region. Typology of Amphorae from the Leading Centres Exporting Products in Ceramic Containers*] (Moscow – Saratov 2003) 49. So the date proposed by Yu. G. Vinogradov can possibly be slightly lowered.

The letter was found in the Cossack village of Taman. This fact suggests with a certain degree of confidence that either the author or the addressee of the letter were staying in Hermonassa – a Greek polis founded, according to Dionysios (Dionys. *Per*. 552; Eustath. *ad Dionys. Per*. 549), by the Ionians or, as Arrianus wrote (*Byth*., fr. 55 Roos), by the Aeolians headed by a certain Semandros of Mytilene on Lesbos. Based on the earliest materials from household pits found by Iraida B. Zeest in the Northern Excavation area, the foundation of Hermonassa is dated presumably to the second – third quarter of the 6th century BC. Furthermore, in other excavation areas a number of fragments from the period specified were also found, although not in assemblages, but in re-deposited cultural strata.[16] The total amount of the early material revealed suggests that the city was founded in the first half of the 6th century BC, and by the mid-6th century BC Hermonassa was already densely settled.[17]

Since the lapidary inscriptions, graffiti and the lead letter of 2001 from Hermonassa dated from the 5th and 4th centuries BC are written in the Ionian dialect, most of the scholars justly suppose that the majority of the colonists were Ionians although the Aeolians seem to have been at the head of the oikists.[18] It is also true that the Ionian dialect dominated in other Greek poleis, both in the European and Asiatic Bosporos.[19]

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[16] И. Б. Зеест, "Архаические слои Гермонассы" [I. B. Zeest, "Archaic Layers of Hermonassa"], *Краткие сообщения Института археологии* 83 (1961) 53–54; ead., "Возникновение и первый расцвет Гермонассы" ["The Origin and First Flourishing of Hermonassa"], *Советская археология* 1974: 4, 85, Figs. 3 and 4; Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Полис в Северном Причерноморье" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, "Polis in the Northern Black Sea Region"], *Античная Греция* I (Moscow 1983) 369, 370; А. К. Коровина, *Гермонасса. Античный город на Таманском полуострове* [A. K. Korovina, *Hermonassa: Ancient Town on the Taman Peninsula*] (Moscow 2002) 31; Финогенова, "Очерк истории…" (n. 13) 422, 433; ead., "Гермонасса" ["Hermonassa"], in: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, В. Д. Кузнецов (eds.), *Античное наследие Кубани* I (Moscow 2010) 511, 512.

[17] Коровина (n. 16) 47.

[18] Ю. А. Виноградов, С. Р. Тохтасьев, "Новые посвятительные граффити из Мирмекия" [Yu. A. Vinogradov, S. R. Tokhtas'ev, "New Dedicatory Graffiti from Myrmekion"], *Hyperboreus* 4: 1 (1998) 39 n. 45; cf. Ф. В. Шелов-Коведяев, "О центрах миграции греков в северо-восточное Причерноморье в эпоху Великой греческой колонизации" [F. V. Shelov-Kovedyaev, "Centres of the Greek Migration to the North-Eastern Black Sea Littoral during the Great Greek Colonization"], in: *Международный симпозиум "Античная балканистика 6". Этногенез народов юго-восточной Европы. Этно-лингвистические и культурно-исторические взаимодействия Балкан и Циркумпонтийской зоны. 18–22 октября 1988 г.* (Moscow 1988) 68–70.

[19] С. Р. Тохтасьев, "Греческий язык на Боспоре: общее и особенное" [S. R. Tokhtas'ev, "The Greek Language in Bosporos: the Common and Specific"], in: *Боспорский феномен. Население, языки, контакты* (St Petersburg 2011) 675.

The following reading of the text of the letter is proposed (Fig. 2):

Side A:
1 ̓Ωριστόκρ<α>τες : ἐπιστέλλε̄ τοι
Κλέδικος : πυνθάνομα<ι> γάρ
Μανδρόχαριν : τὰ ἔνθ̓ αὐτο͂
ἐόντα : διαιτᾶν : κακῶν
5 ἐλθὼν : παρὰ Σωκράτεα
ἐς τὰ οἰκ[ία λαβέ e. g.--- καί]

Side B:
1 συνλέξαντες · τὰ λελιθμένα
ἐς μίαν στέγην · κατασφρ<α><γ>ίσατε.

In tergo (Fig. 3):
Κλέδικος
̓Αριστοκ<ρ>άτε̄

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Side A: 1 ΩΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΤΕΣ plumbum; 3 Μάνδρο χάριν : τὰ ἐνθαὐτο͂ Belousov-Saprykin; 4 δίαιταν Belousov-Saprykin; 6 ἐς τὰ οἰκᾰ́μητ ἀ̣πο̣λωλό̣τα Belousov-Saprykin

Side B 1 λελιθ<ω>μένα Belousov-Saprykin; 2 ΚΑΤΑΣΦΡΚΙΣΑΤΕ plumbum

In tergo: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΑΤΕ plumbum

Only few of the lead letters known to us bear a separately written address. Irrespective of whether the letter was folded in two or three – such as the letters of Mnesiergos (*Syll*.[3] 1259) or Apatourios,[20] – or coiled into a tube – such as those of Achillodoros[21] and Lesis,[22] – the address is in many cases drawn at a right angle to the main text on the right part of the external surface of the tablet, which was therefore rolled or folded from left to right.

The most detailed address is Φέρεν ἰς τὸν κέραμ|ον τὸγ χυτρικόν· ἀποδόναι δὲ Ναυσίαι | ἢ Θρασυκλῆι ἢ θυΐῶι – which is found in the letter of Mnesiergos. The upper surface of Lesis' letter is poorly corroded so that, regretfully, the address is unreadable. In the letter to Achillodoros from Berezan, the address is less informative, being written according to another scheme: τοῦ δεῖνος epistula τῶι δεῖνι – ̓Αχιλλοδώρō τὸ μολίβδιον παρὰ τὸμ παῖδα κ̓ ̓Αναξαγόρην. An address analogous to that of our letter is found in the Olbian letter from Apatourios to Leonaktes (late

[20] M. Dana, "Lettre sur plomb d'Apatorios à Léanax. Un document archaïque d'Olbia du Pont", *ZPE* 148 (2004) 3, 4.

[21] Виноградов (n. 2) 75.

[22] D. R. Jordan, "A Personal Letter Found in the Athenian Agora", *Hesperia* 69 (2000) 93.

6th century BC), where it is presented in the same laconic variant: ὁ δεῖνα τῶι δεῖνι – ᾽Απατόριος Λεάνακτι.

The omission of letter *rho* in the name of the addressee seems to be a chance grammatical mistake produced by haste or excitement during composition of the letter. In a number of places in the text, traces of correction of erroneous writing are manifest – original letters are rubbed out while new ones are scratched in their place and some letters are omitted. In one place, the omitted letter is superscribed above (line 1).

The text of the letter is introduced by an address to the reader (lines 1–2).[23] Of the variant introductions known to us from other letters, the closest parallel is found in the Berezan letter from Achillodoros to Protagores or Anaxagores which also begins with a vocative and the formula: ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι ἐπιστέλλει – ῏Ω Πρωταγόρη, ὁ πατήρ τοι ἐπιστέλλᾱ "Protagores! It is Father who writes to thee".[24]

The beginning of our letter is constructed according to the same scheme – ᾽Ωριστόκρ(α)τες, ἐπιστέλλᾱ τοι Κλέδικος – "Aristokrates! It is Kledikos who writes to thee". In the vocative ᾽Ωριστόκρ(α)τες[25] a crasis of the interjection and initial α[26] and a syncope are recognizable – the unaccented ᾰ is omitted and afterwards subscribed above.[27] Another case of a syncope, as well as an unaccented ᾰ after the liquid is presented in

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[23] Very few letters lack an address and/or any more or less verbose introductive formula: see В. П. Толстиков, Д. В. Журавлев, Г. А. Ломтадзе, "Новые материалы к хронологии и истории раннего Пантикапея" [V. P. Tolstikov, D. V. Zhuravlev, G. A. Lomtadze, "New Evidence on the Chronology of the Early Pantikapaion"], *Древности Боспора* 7 (2004) 348; Тохтасьев (n. 19) 675; Vinogradov (n. 11) 160 ff. no. 3; Тохтасьев (n. 15) 50; Ю. Г. Виноградов, Н. В. Головачева, "Новый источник о походе Зопириона" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, N. V. Golovacheva, "New Evidence on the Campaign of Zopyrion"], in: *Нумизматические исследования по истории Юго-Восточной Европы* (Kishinev 1990) 15 (= *SEG* XLII 711).

[24] Виноградов (n. 2) 75. Derivatives from στέλλω are probably among the invariable elements of the introduction to the letters – ἐπιστέλλω is used also in the letter of Mnesiergos; in Theophr. *Char*. 24. 13 a haughty person, when addressing a letter (ἐπιστέλλων), writes: ᾽Απέσταλκα πρὸς σὲ ληψόμενος.

[25] The personal names recorded in *CIRB* with the stems in sigma, including those with -κρατης, in the majority of cases have the vocative ending in -η (Διογένη, Φιλοκλῆ etc.) – all these examples are from the 2nd century BC – 2nd century AD. In one case, the vocative has the form of Κα[λλι]γένης (*CIRB* 614, 1st–2nd centuries AD). The Olbian epitaph to Epikrates presents an earlier example dated to the first half of the 4th century BC – ᾽Ωπίκρατες (Dubois [n. 7] 89, no. 45).

[26] The available example of crasis ō + α (*CIRB* 119. 13) is unfortunately too late – 2nd–1st centuries BC, and derives from a poetic inscription.

[27] On the syncopes in Attic inscriptions see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I–II (Berlin – New York 1980–1994) I, 395–396.

the imperative ΚΑΤΑΣΦΡΚΙΣΑΤΕ in line 2 Side B, where along with the syncope there is a replacement of *gamma* with *kappa*.[28] Moreover, the first phrase is notable for the use of the Ionian τοι instead of σοι and for the presence of ε̄ = ει (ἐπιστέλλε̄, Κλέδικος), commonly seen in such letters.[29]

Further on, the exposition continues in the first person. In ΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΑ, which begins the new phrase, the final *iota* is omitted, probably through haste or carelessness of the author of the letter who committed errors more than once.[30] In order to understand this phrase – πυνθάνομα(ι) … κακῶν (lines 2–4) – it is important to define the meaning of ΜΑΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΙΝ which allows a varied interpretation. Here either two words may be supposed or one, since the interpunction signs in the letter of Kledikos divide nouns together with their articles and prepositions (cf. ΠΑΡΑΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΑ, ΤΑΛΕΛΙΘΜΕΝΑ, ΕΣΤΑΟΙΚ[ΙΑ]).

A. V. Belousov and S. Yu. Saprykin consider ΜΑΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΙΝ as the genitive of the anthroponym Μάνδρο, unregistered in *LGPN*, with the preposition χάριν. This proposal leaves only one possibility for the interpretation: ΤΑΕΝΘΑΥΤΟΕΟΝΤΑ and ΔΙΑΙΤΑΝ with the related ΚΑΚΩΝ thus must be regarded as accusatives depending, as direct objects, upon πυνθάνομα(ι). Δίαιταν, as may be derived from the translation (*Yes,*

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[28] On unvoicing and vocalization of the obstruents, including those near *rho*, see: G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1896) 271–274; С. Р. Тохтасьев, "Новые материалы по истории койне" [S. R. Tokhtas'ev, "New Evidence on the History of the Koiné"], in: *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология* 10 (St Petersburg 2006) 299.

[29] This phonetic phenomenon is well represented in Ionian inscriptions from the northern Black Sea littoral. Cf. e. g. the examples collected in Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 155 n. 6.

[30] Cf. a graffito from Gorgippia where a number of mistakes also were made – the *iota* was omitted in πα(ι)δί[ωι] (line 3, on the sherd ΠΑΔΙ), and *lambda* omitted and afterwards superscribed above in ἦλθεν (line 5): Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Письмо с горгиппийских наделов" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, "A Letter from Gorgippian Land Plots"], in: Е. М. Алексеева (ed.), *Античный город Горгиппия* (Moscow 1997) Appendix, 544. Fig. 1, 550.

Saprykin and Belousov ("A Letter…" [n. 1] 156 and n. 11) see here a monophthongization of the diphthong αι with the transition of αι into ᾱ or "the elimination of the final weak -ι in the -αι". However the monophthongization of αι, which arose earlier in the Boeotian dialect (where as early as in the 5th century BC the αι began to be spelt as αε) leads by the mid-2nd century BC to vacillations between αι and ε in the Koiné: M. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du Mycénien et Grec ancien* (Paris 1972) 230 § 242. In the quoted passage from "The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions", Leslie Threatte states that "monophthongization to ε [e]" was the normal development of αι: Threatte (n. 27) I, 268–269.

I find out for Mandros' sake [*about*] *the circumstances taking place here – the way of life of the evil* [*people?*]), – must serve here as an apposition to τὰ ἐνθαὐτῶ ἐόντα.[31]

Firstly, one general consideration runs contrary to the interpretation proposed by our Moscow colleagues. All the letters that survived, both on lead and on ostraka, tell us about actual events**:** they present names and numbers, describe the events exactly and in detail and sometimes quote the direct speech word for word. In other words, there is no place for euphemisms in them. Against this background, the passage of "the way of life of the evil [people]", especially alongside the further particular instructions – *having arrived there do the following* – seems somewhat out of tune with the general situation.[32]

This interpretation of ΜΑΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΙΝ also contradicts the fact that in Black Sea inscriptions χάριν in the quality of a preposition indicating a cause or a goal is used as a rule with nouns standing for abstract notions: εὐνοίας χάριν, μνήμης χάριν etc.[33] In addition, this preposition used in conjunction with proper names is relatively rare in prose. Thus another possibility seems more probable: to consider ΜΑΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΙΝ as an accusative of the anthroponym Μανδρόχαρις, although also unregistered in *LGPN*. Personal names with the first or second stem μανδρο- derived from the Anatolian theonym Μάνδρος[34] are widely represented in Miletus and Milesian colonies and are found in many Ionian poleis.[35] Names with the second stem of -χαρις are also well known. This fact, in turn, enables

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[31] Сапрыкин, Белоусов, "Письмо Кледика…" (n. 1) 353–354; Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 158.

[32] In the opinion of E. Eidinow and Cl. Taylor ([n. 3] 36), all the letters on lead and on ostraka known to us were written at moments when their authors needed an immediate solution to a certain problem.

[33] A. Kozevalov, *Syntaxis inscriptionum antiquarum coloniarum Graecarum orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* (Leopoli 1935) 91.

[34] J.-A. Letronne was the first to suppose that personal names with the word stem of μανδρο- derive not from μάνδρα ("stall, enclosure"), but from the name of a certain deity Μάνδρος worshipped in western Anatolia: see in particular J.-A. Letronne, "Mémoire sur l'utilité qu'on peut retirer de l'étude des noms propres grecs, pour l'histoire et l'archéologie", *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 19/1 (1851) 55. For names with this stem see also: P. Thonemann, "Neilomandros. A Contribution to the History of Greek Personal Names", *Chiron* 36 (2006) 11–43; F. Bechtel, A. Fick, *Die griechische Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt* (Göttingen 1894) 194–195.

[35] Cf., e. g.: Μανδραγόρης, Μάνδριππος, Ἀναξίμανδρος, Θεμισθόμανδρος, Πυθόμανδρος from the list of Milesian *molpoi* of 525/4–314/3 BC (G. Kawerau, A. Rehm, *Milet* I. 3. *Das Delfinion in Milet* [Berlin 1914] 254 ff. no. 122), and also Μανδρογένης, Μανδρόδωρος, Μανδροκλῆς, Μανδρόλυτος (*LGPN* V A s. v.).

us to suppose that the construction of the *accusativus cum infinitivo* here depends on πυνθάνομα(ι) ("it is known to me"). Μανδρόχαριν is the logical subject in this construction, ΔΙΑΙΤΑΝ is the predicate, which may then be taken for *infinitivus praesentis activi* from διαιτάω, and τὰ ἔνθ᾽ αὐτῶ̄ ἐόντα is a direct object of διαιτᾶν.

The verb διαιτάω can have either a neutral sense of "to settle the matter" or a special juristic meaning "to be a mediator, an arbitrator". Naturally, it is very tempting to conclude that in Hermonassa there was a court of *diaitetai* elected to accommodate private suits. It does appear that the letter of Kledikos gives us reason to speak, albeit very cautiously, about the existence of such an institute in the city.[36]

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[36] Unfortunately, we know very little about the organization of the judicial institutions in Bosporos, so that we are able only to presume that they copied to some extent the corresponding Athenian and Milesian examples (Ю. Г. Виноградов, "Табличка дикаста из Эрмитажного собрания" [Yu. G. Vinogradov, "A Tablet of Dikastos from the Hermitage Collection"], in: *Античная балканистика* [Moscow 1987] 13–16; D. A. Jordan, "Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora", *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–157, nos. 171 (?), 173, 176; С. Р. Тохтасьев, "Магическое граффито из Ольвии" [S. R. Tokhtas'ev, "Magic Graffito from Olbia"], *Hyperboreus* 2: 2 [1996] 183–188; id., "Новые tabellae defixionum из Ольвии" ["New Tabellae Defixionum from Olbia"], *Hyperboreus* 6: 2 [2000] 296–316, nos. 1–4; id., "Новое заклятие на свинце из Северного Причерноморья" ["New Curse Tablet on Lead from the Northern Black Sea Littoral"], *VDI* 2007: 4, 48–49; Ju. G.Vinogradov, "New Inscriptions on Lead from Olbia", *ACSS* 1 [1994] 103–111).

Valeriy P. Yaylenko believes that the civil administration of justice was extremely underdeveloped in Bosporos. In his opinion, this circumstance was due to the fact that "justice was administered by the royal administration… not so much according to the laws as by personally understood rules": В. П. Яйленко, "Магические надписи Боспора" [V. P. Yaylenko, "Magic Inscriptions of the Bosporos"], *Древности Боспора* 8 (2005) 480; id., "Человек в античной Ольвии" ["Man in Ancient Olbia"], in: *Человек и общество в античном мире* (Moscow 1998) 98, 127. Cf. also: Сапрыкин, Федосеев (n. 3) 57–58; С. Ю. Сапрыкин, А. А. Масленников, "Свинцовая пластина с греческой надписью из Фанагории" [S. Yu. Saprykin, A. A. Maslennikov, "Lead Tablet with a Greek Inscription from Phanagoria"], *VDI* 2007: 4, 60; Тохтасьев, "Новые tabellae defixionum…" 315.

Indeed, the sources on legal system in Bosporos are very scarce, amounting to only few lead tablets with invocations concerned with law. Moreover, one of the latter is undoubtedly related to a legal suit. This is a lead tablet from the second half of the 4th century BC. ῾Ιεροκλέα, Χαβρίαν, τοὺς συνδίκους ("I [bind] Hierokles, Chabrios, counsels for the defence"), purchased in Kerch in 1898 or 1899 from E. Zaporozhskiy by the resident of Kerch A. V. Novikov (ГЭ, инв. № 14392, Е. 2401), see: В. В. Шкорпил, "Три свинцовые пластинки с надписями из Ольвии" [V. V. Shkorpil, "Three Lead Tablets with Inscriptions from Olbia"], *Известия императорской археологической комиссии* 27 (1908) 686 n. 2;

In ΤΑΕΝΘΑΥΤΟΕΟΝΤΑ, of note is the Ionian form of the neuter plural participle from εἶναι τὰ ἐόντα, as well as two adverbs of close meaning – ἔνθα with an elision of the final vowel and αὐτῶ̄ (ō = ου). In Bosporan inscriptions, ἔνθα along with ἐνθάδε were repeatedly used to mean "here", e. g., for ἔνθα – *CIRB* 133 (Pantikapaion, 1st century AD), for ἐνθάδε – *CIRB* 116 (Pantikapaion, 4th–3rd centuries BC), *CIRB* 144 (Pantikapaion, 2nd century AD); and αὐτοῦ also has a similar meaning "exactly here" / "exactly there". These adverbs may be simultaneously used to mean "exactly here". An example of this type of usage can be found, for instance, in Aristophanes (*Vesp*. 765–766) ἀλλ᾽ ἐνθάδε αὐτοῦ μένων δίκαζε τοῖσιν οἰκέταις "Stay here instead, and judge the household slaves".[37]

Belousov and Saprykin suppose that ΕΝΘΑΥΤΟ corresponds to Attic ἐνταυθοῖ and see here a monophthongization of οι to ō.[38] However, οι is not monophthongized to ō.[39] In § 17 of *Zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Milesischen Inschriften* by Scherer, as well as in section 17.00 of *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, to which Belousov and Saprykin refer, the case in question is not the monophthongization of οι, but the loss of the final *iota* in the diphthong when placed before a vowel inside the word.[40] As to the example of ΔΥΟΒΕΛΟ cited by them from a jocular (?) inscription (δυ᾽ ὀβελὸ̃ καὶ μ᾽ ἔθιγες / δυ᾽ ὀβελὸ̃ καὶ μὲ̃ θιγε͂ς) on an Attic black-figured amphora of ca. 540 BC, it is not the *nom. plur.* δυ᾽

Е. М. Придик, "Греческие заклятия и амулеты из южной России" [E. M. Pridik, "Greek Incantations and Amulets from Southern Russia"], *Журнал министерства народного просвещения* 1899: 11/12, 118; A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* (Lutetiae Parisiorum 1904) 142 no. 90; Э. В. Диль, "Ольвийская чашка с наговором" [E. V. Dil', "An Olbian Bowl with an Incantation"], *Известия императорской археологической комиссии* 58 (1915) 50, Fig. 7. A judicial invocation is possibly found on a recently discovered tablet from Pantikapaion: А. В. Белоусов, "Новая магическая надпись из некрополя Пантикапея" [A. V. Belousov, "A New Magic Inscription from the Necropolis of Pantikapaion"], in: *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология. (= Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology)* 17 (St Petersburg 2013) 59–65. In addition, there are a few tablets containing lists of names which possibly were *tabellae iudicariae* – four from Pantikapaion and one from Phanagoria (Яйленко, *op. cit*., 480–482; Сапрыкин, Масленников, *op. cit*., 50).

[37] Transl. J. Henderson: Aristophanes. *Clouds. Wasps. Peace*. Loeb Classical Library 488 (Cambr., Mass. – London 1998) 319.

[38] Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 156.

[39] H. Collitz, O. Hoffmann, *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* IV. 2 (Göttingen 1914) 906; for the Attic dialect see: Threatte (n. 27) I, 323.

[40] A. Scherer, *Zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Milesischen Inschriften* (Munich 1934) 12 § 17; Threatte (n. 27) I, 324 ff.

ὀβελοί, but a *nom. dual.* δυ᾽ ὀβελοῖ (= δυ᾽ ὀβελώ).[41] Furthermore, Athenian examples suggest that locatives with -οι retain their ending unchanged.[42]

It seems that the most complicated matter in this part of the letter is the definition of the form of the ΚΑΚΩΝ. This can be a plural genitive of the adjective κακός or the noun τὸ κακόν, but also a present participle from κακόω. In the present case, we are evidently dealing with a hyperbaton where ΚΑΚΩΝ is to be interpreted as a genitive of a noun subordinated to τὰ ἔνθ᾽ αὐτῶ, i. e. literally "those of the evils that are taking place exactly here".[43] If we accept this interpretation of κακῶν, then the second phrase would mean: "I (i. e. Kledikos) know that Mandrocharis, as *diaitetes*, is arbitrating for those evils that are taking place right here".

Most of the last line on side A is almost entirely corroded, only its beginning is preserved and readable as ΕΣΤΑΟΙΚ. Under strong magnification, a few indistinct dashes are discernible behind the *kappa*, but it is impossible to identify them with any letters. Repeated cleaning of the tablet in 2013 did not improve the situation. The present authors have examined this area of the lead tablet using, among other things, special optics, but except for ΕΣΤΑΟΙΚ, no traces of other letters can be discerned here. In fact, the *kappa* itself is preserved in a considerably worse condition than the precedent letters, although it is distinctly recognizable.

Therefore, it is difficult to agree with S. Yu. Saprykin[44] who reads the last line as ἐς τὰ οἰκάμητ᾽ ἀπολωλότα, thus inducing the readers to disbelieve their own eyes when they see a quality photograph of the lead tablet with an absolutely smooth surface behind the ΕΣΤΑΟΙΚ. It is of note that in the English version of the paper by Belousov and Saprykin, these authors present no detailed drawing. Such a drawing is an indispensable part of epigraphic publications where the surface of a stone or metal tablet is smoothed or damaged and hence is poorly discernible in a photograph.

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[41] D. A. Amyx, W. K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai. Part III. Vases and Other Containers", *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 300 ff.; B. F. Cook, *Reading the Past. Greek Inscriptions* (Los Angeles 1998) 52, 53, Fig. 47. The authors are grateful to Nina Almazova for drawing our attention to this fact.

[42] Threatte (n. 27) II, 367, 368. Cf., e. g., ἐνθαυθοῖ from an Athenian decree of 422 BC: *IG* I³ 78 a 13.

[43] This interpretation of κακῶν was proposed by A. L. Verlinsky.

[44] See: Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 153, where it is mentioned that the authorship of the interpretation of the last line on side A belongs particularly to Sergey Yu. Saprykin. See also the reproduction of this text in majuscules in the review of epigraphic finds in the northern Black Sea littoral for 2011, where in the last line only ΕΣΤΑΟΙΚ is present: А. В. Белоусов, "Греческая и римская эпиграфика Северного Причерноморья. 2011 г." [A. V. Belousov, "Greek and Roman Epigraphics of the Northern Black Sea Region. 2011"], *Aristeus* 6 (2012) 219, no. 25.

Belousov and Saprykin suppose that in οἰκάμητ᾽ Kledikos erroneously changed the places of *eta* and *alpha*, a circumstance they explain through an "illegitimate use of Ionism – Ionic-speaking Greeks, indeed, used to replace the indigenous Greek -α by -η".[45] As may be concluded from the references presented in note 15, the matter concerned is the replacement of the common Greek ᾱ with an η which was characteristic of the Ionian dialect. However, in τὰ οἰκήματα, the suffix -ματ- includes not ᾱ, but ᾰ, so that the explanation of the presumed mistake of the author of the letter seems doubtful.

Nevertheless, the reconstruction of ΤΑΟΙΚ as τὰ οἰκήματα by analogy of the letter of Artikon (*SIG*^{3} 1260) proposed by Saprykin is fairly plausible, since both τὰ οἰκήματα and τὰ οἰκία, which we proposed earlier,[46] may imply "home, dwelling, house". Perhaps the reconstruction τὰ οἰκ[ία] is preferable, since occasionally it can imply not only a separate house, but a block constituted of several buildings.[47]

Because of the poor state of preservation of the sixth line on side A, it is rather unclear whether the next phrase contains Kledikos' instructions as to what exactly Aristokrates must do in the present situation. Possibly here Kledikos merely continues to narrate the events to which he was a witness. Furthermore, we are able only to guess whether this phrase ended on side A or continued further on. If here a new part of the letter began, i. e. instructions for Aristokrates, then after ἐλθὼν παρὰ Σωκράτεα ἐς τὰ οἰκ[ία--] ("having arrived to Sokrates' house…"), one expects the reconstruction of some personal verbal form, most probably an imperative, such as: "take something" or "do something". Further the letter evidently explains what Aristokrates and Sokrates must do in the latter's house, and therefore the narrative is continued in plural.

The text on side B is completely preserved offering no variant reading. Along with συνλέξαντες without an assimilation of the nasal consonant before λ,[48] of note is the remarkable form of τὰ λελιθμένα. As an analogue, ἐστεθμένοι can be found in the Milesian calendar of sacrifices of the last quarter of the 6th century BC. This is the Ionian form of passive perfect participle from στέφω.[49] Kretschmer believed that this form is explainable

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[45] Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 156.

[46] Павличенко, Кашаев, "Новая эпиграфическая…" (n. 1) 298.

[47] Cf., e. g., *SIG*^{3} 45. 10, 25; Hdt. 1. 35. 5; 44. 7; 98. 7; Arr. fr. 103. 5 J.

[48] Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in finding any early Black Sea parallels, but a similar phonetic phenomenon has been recorded across Athens, Miletus, and Ionia.

[49] δύο γύλλοι ἐστεθμένοι: Kawerau, Rehm (n. 35) 163, no. 31 a 2.

from στέθμα (cf. Hesych. στέθματα· τὰ στέμματα).[50] Thus, taking into account that in the colloquial practices of Bosporan cities, ει may have been represented as ι in as early as the first half of the 6th century BC,[51] accordingly λελιθμένα corresponds to Attic λελειμμένα and is indeed a passive perfect participle from λείπω.

Belousov and Saprykin interpreted τὰ λελιθμένα otherwise. In their opinion, this is a passive perfect participle from λιθόω; moreover, they explain the elision of *omega* (unfortunately, without quoting any analogues) by the same phonetic processes as in the elision of ᾰ in Ὡριστόκρ<α>τες and κατασφρ<α><γ>ίσατε.[52] They suppose that in this particular context τὰ λελιθ(ω)μένα means "some stone workpieces or remains of previously destroyed stone buildings".[53] However, the possible character and dimensions of these "stone remainders" are unclear (whether any stone articles or, for instance, blocks of a foundation are implied), as are the dimensions of the "room", in which they are gathered. Furthermore, this interpretation of τὰ λελιθμένα runs contrary to the sense of the verb λιθόω, which was employed only in the passive voice meaning "to be petrified" (LSJ s. v.).[54] Thus λελιθωμένος in no way implies "constructed of stone" or "something being stone from the

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[50] P. Kretschmer, "Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1914", *Glotta* 8 (1917) 248–250. Kretschmer, in turn, cites the opinion of Otto Hoffmann that Ionian στέθμα, γράθμα and Aeolian ὄθμα derive from *στεφθμα, *γραφθμα and *οφθμα: O. Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen* II (Göttingen 1893) 241; cf. also: Fr. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* (Berlin ²1963) Vol. I, 59, § 66, Vol. III, 124, § 101.

[51] Тохтасьев (n. 19) 675, 676: Ἰπικράτης : ἀναιρῖται : στατῆρας : πεντῆκοντα "Epikrates takes away 50 staters" (Pantikapaion, 2nd half of the 6th or early 5th century BC, graffito on a black-glossed kylix). Belousov and Saprykin ("A Letter…" [n. 1] 159 n. 26) erroneously suppose this graffito to be a unique case of the early transition ει > ι, but there are also other examples, e. g. in Olbia (5th century BC): Dubois (n. 7) 185, 186; see also S. R. Tokhtas'ev's review of Dubois in *Hyperboreus* 5: 1 (1999) 185 to no. 50.

[52] Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 156. Mentioning that in one case the *omicron* is omitted is probably a misprint. Indeed, examples of omission of a long vowel are well known: see, e. g., ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ = χορ(ω)φελής, Attica, 470–460 BC (N. Almazova, "A Lyre on the Ground", *Hyperboreus* 18: 1 [2012] 54 ff.), as well as ἀνέθκεν, Athens, early 5th century BC, and other similar examples in Attic inscriptions (Threatte [n. 27] I, 397), but they seem to be accidental.

[53] Belousov, Saprykin, "A Letter…" (n. 1) 159.

[54] Cf. other denominative verbs ending in -οω with the general meaning of "to make to look like something, to transform into something": for instance, δουλόω ("to enslave"), ἐλευθερόω ("to set free"), ταπεινόω ("to lower, to humble"), χρυσόω ("to gild").

beginning", but "something petrified or transformed into stone", which had not been stone initially, but became such due to certain actions.[55]

Στέγη can imply a roof, a ceiling, some roofed room or a storey of a house (LSJ s. v.). Of all the meanings enumerated, within the context of the letter under study – "having gathered the remainders ἐς μίαν στέγην" – perhaps the meaning of a "roofed room" is the most plausible. Στέγη may designate constructions of very different scale. Herodotus, for instance, labels as such both the hut where the Egyptian Pharaoh Psammetichus placed two babies wishing to determine which language the first humans spoke (2. 2. 11) and the temple which Amasis brought to Sais from Elephantine (2. 175. 14). If we correctly reconstruct ΟΙΚ as οἰκ[ία], then στέγη can be part of it. It is exactly in this meaning that this word is employed in the Athenian decree about the repairs of the sanctuary of Asclepius (*IG* II^2 1046. 13, 52/51 BC), where it designates a roofed vestibule (τὴν ὀπίσω τοῦ προπύλου στέγην).

Κατασφραγίζω means "putting a seal, sealing". This verb can have been used concerning "sealing" of various vessels,[56] but was also employed when a seal was put on the door of a house. An example is found in Pseudo-Aristotle's *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* (842 a 29): certain bowls in Elis were miraculously replenished with wine during Dionysia. It is written that the Elideans invited any who desired to check the vessels and seal the door of the house where these vessels were kept (ἐξετάσαι τὰ ἀγγεῖα καὶ τοῦ οἴκου κατασφραγίζεσθαι τὰς θύρας).[57]

Accordingly, the text on side B must be read as: "Having gathered all the remaining things in a single room, seal [the door]". It is unlikely that a seal would be put on the door of some shabby hut. Sealing evidently must have implied some building with fairly strong, i. e. stone or adobe walls and a roof, which it would be impossible to penetrate apart from via the door.

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[55] See e. g. Aristot. *De gen. anim*. 783 a 28 (about sea urchins) τὰς δὲ ἀκάνθας μεγάλας ἔχουσι καὶ σκληράς ... σκληρὰς δὲ καὶ λελιθωμένας διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα καὶ τὸν πάγον; Ps.-Luc. *Asin*. 4 ἐξευρεῖν τινα τῶν μαγεύειν ἐπισταμένων γυναικῶν καὶ θεάσασθαί τι παράδοξον, ἢ πετόμενον ἄνθρωπον ἢ λιθούμενον; Plut. *De gen. Socr*. 577 F 2 εὑρέθη δ᾽ οὖν ... ψέλλιον δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα καὶ δύ᾽ ἀμφορεῖς κεραμεοῖ γῆν ἔχοντες ἐντὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου λελιθωμένην ἤδη καὶ συμπεπηγυῖαν.

[56] See, e. g., the Thessalian decree about consulting the oracle of Apollo from the first half of the 2nd century BC (*SIG*^{3} 1157. 43) – ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀγγεῖον κατασφραγισάσθωσαν τῇ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ νομοφυλάκων σφραγῖδι.

[57] Cp. Plut. *De cupid. div*. 525 a: κατακλείσας δὲ πάντα καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος καὶ παραριθμήσας τοκισταῖς καὶ πραγματευταῖς ἄλλα συνάγω καὶ διώκω, καὶ ζυγομαχῶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς πρὸς τοὺς χρεώστας.

The earliest structures built on stone foundations discovered in Hermonassa are dated from the 6th and 5th centuries BC.[58] By the 5th century BC, the use of stone in dwelling construction was already very developed, as suggested by excavated stone masonry of dwelling houses of the second half of the 6th and early 5th century BC and fairly numerous architectural remains in deposits of the 5th century BC.[59] During excavations, stone masonry with elements of polygonal construction was uncovered, as were foundations of walls built from ashlars or rubble masonry. It is of note that the layers dated to the 6th – 5th century BC are occasionally up to 2 m thick.

Masonry no. 102, 1.0 m thick, was, judging from descriptions, one of the most monumental stone walls of the 5th century.[60] Of interest is also wall no. 89 exposed for a length of 5 m. It was a stone socle constructed of different rocks, over which mudbricks were laid.[61] Svetlana I. Finogenova notes that although clay, or rather mudbricks made from it, was the main building material throughout the entire 5th century BC,[62] the excavated remains of building complexes of that period demonstrate the quality and thoroughness of their construction.[63]

The regularity and systematic character of building in Hermonassa are confirmed by the fact that in the "Highland" excavation area, regular orientation of buildings is traced from the 6th to 3rd century BC.[64] Architectural remains excavated during recent years demonstrate accuracy of layout and carefulness of stonework evidencing high skills of the town builders.[65]

All these finds suggest that in as early as the 5th century BC there were monumental buildings in Hermonassa.[66] Unfortunately, no assemblages of the period under consideration have so far been uncovered. On the one hand, this is due to the rather small areas excavated; on the other, the stone walls and foundations of earlier constructions were destroyed during the later period and used as secondary building material.

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58 Коровина (n. 16) 32, 33.

59 А. К. Коровина, "Гермонасса" [A. K. Korovina, "Hermonassa"], in: *Античные государства Северного Причерноморья* (Moscow 1984) 81.

60 Зеест, "Возникновение и первый расцвет Гермонассы" (n. 16) 85, 86, 89.

61 Финогенова (n. 16) 513.

62 Финогенова (n. 16) 516.

63 С. И. Финогенова, "Очерк истории Гермонассы по материалам раскопок последних лет" [S. I. Finogenova, "Essay on the History of Hermonassa Based on Materials from Excavations of Recent Years"], *Древности Боспора* 8 (2005) 424.

64 И. Б. Зеест, "К вопросу о городской планировке Гермонассы" [I. B. Zeest, "On the Problem of the Urban Layout of Hermonassa"], in: *История и культура античного мира* (Moscow 1977) 55.

65 Финогенова (n. 63) 425.

66 Коровина (n. 16) 45.

Thus far, the proposed interpretation of the concluding part of Kledikos' letter does not run contrary to archaeological evidence.

Along with the anthroponym Μανδρόχαρις unregistered in *LGPN*, also personal names Ἀριστοκράτης, Σωκράτης and Κλέδικος are found in the letter under study. The first two names have been already encountered in Bosporos, inter alia in the Gorgippian agonistic catalogue (*CIRB* 1137 B 2_{56}, 1137 A 1_{36}).[67] In contrast with Σωκράτης, for which only one example is known (*Milet* I. 3. 147, 205/4 BC), Ἀριστοκράτης is repeatedly recorded in Miletus, e. g. in the list of Milesian *molpoi* of 525/4–314/3 BC and other Milesian inscriptions.[68] Both names have been found in Ionian poleis since the 5th and 4th century BC (*LGPN* V A. s. v.). The personal name Κλέδικος, as yet not found in the Black Sea littoral, is also presented in the list of Milesian *molpoi*.[69]

Thus the following translation of the letter under study can be proposed:

> Kledikos to Aristokrates.
> Aristokrates! It is Kledikos who writes to thee. I (i. e. Kledikos) know that Mandrocharis, as *diaitetes*, is arbitrating for those evils that are taking place right here. Having arrived to the house of Sokrates [take ? … and] having gathered the remainder in one room, seal up [the door]!

We can presume that the events described in this letter were taking place in Hermonassa or some other Bosporan town. Since the letter was found coiled, it must never have been delivered to the addressee. Unfortunately, the loss of the text in the lacuna of the last line on side A deprives us of the possibility to learn what exactly was the disagreement which Mandrocharis had to rectify, neither are we able to know what particular objects it was necessary to guard so carefully in a locked room behind a sealed door.

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[67] All the other examples date from a later period – 2nd century AD: Ἀριστοκράτης – *CIRB* 263, 1171; Σωκράτης – *CIRB* 354, 519, 705.

[68] Kawerau, Rehm (n. 35) 254 ff., no. 122 $I_{38, 66, 92, 93}$. See also: *Milet* I. 2. 10 (289/8 BC), *Milet* I. 3. 85 (3rd–2nd BC), *Milet* I. 3. 50 (228/7 BC) etc.

[69] Kawerau, Rehm (n. 35) 254 ff., no. 122. I_{21}. See also Attic examples: list of names of the second half of the 6th century BC – *IG* I. 1146. 6 (= *SEG* XVI 23); dedicatory inscription of ca. 550 BC – A. E. Raubitchek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1949) no. 330.

A lead tablet, found in 2011 under the waters of the Taman Bay near the ancient townsite of Hermonassa, preserves the text of a private letter that can be dated to 450–440 BC. The text of the letter runs as follows: "*Kledikos to Aristokrates. Aristokrates! It is Kledikos who writes to thee. I know that Mandrocharis, as* diaitetes*, is arbitrating for those evils that are taking place right here. Having arrived to the house of Sokrates* [*take ? ... and*] *having gathered the remainder in one room, seal up* [*the door*]*!*" Thus the letter allows us to assume, albeit cautiously, the existence of a court of *diaitetai* for private suits, in Hermonassa.

Летом 2011 г. в водах Таманского залива, в районе городища Гермонассы, был обнаружен свинцовый свиток, содержащий текст частного письма: "*Кледик Аристократу. Аристократ! Пишет тебе Кледик. Мне известно, что Мандрохар в качестве диэтета улаживает причиненный здесь вред. Придя к Сократу в дом* [*возьми ?... и*] *собрав оставленное в одно помещение, поставьте печать* (*на двери*)". Шрифт письма, в частности сочетание *ипсилона* архаической формы в виде латинской буквы V с трехчастным *ипсилоном* со слегка искривленными гастами, позволяет датировать его 450–440 г. до н. э. Употребление в тексте глагола διαιτάω позволяет допустить, хотя и в крайне осторожной форме, существование института диэтетов, улаживавших частные тяжбы, в Гермонассе.

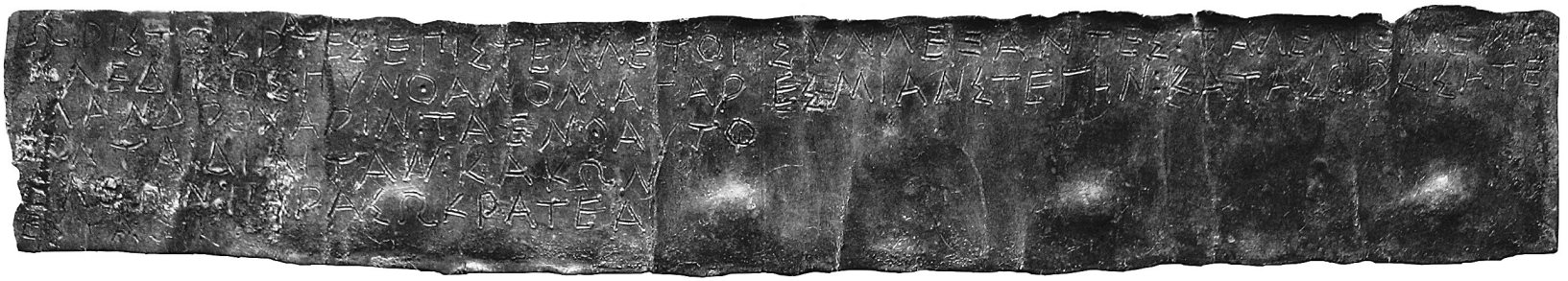
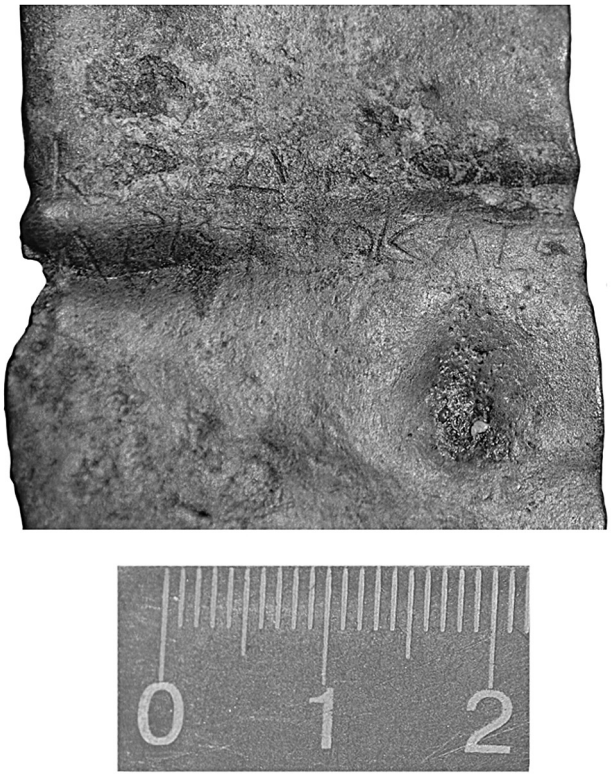


Fig. 1


ΩΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΤΕΣ:ΕΠΙΣΤΕΛΛΕΤΟΙ
ΚΛΕΔΙΚΟΣ:ΠΥΝΘΑΝΟΜΑΓΑΡ
ΜΑΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΙΝ:ΤΑΕΝΘΑΥΤΟ
ΕΟΝΤΑ:ΔΙΑΙΤΑΝ:ΚΑΚΩΝ
ΕΛΟΠΝ:ΠΑΡΑΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΑ
ΕΣΤΑΟΙΚ
ΤΟΙ
ΡΕΞΜΙΑΝΣΤΕΓΗΝ:ΚΑΤΑΣΦΡΚΙΣΑΤΕ
0
5 cm

Fig. 2



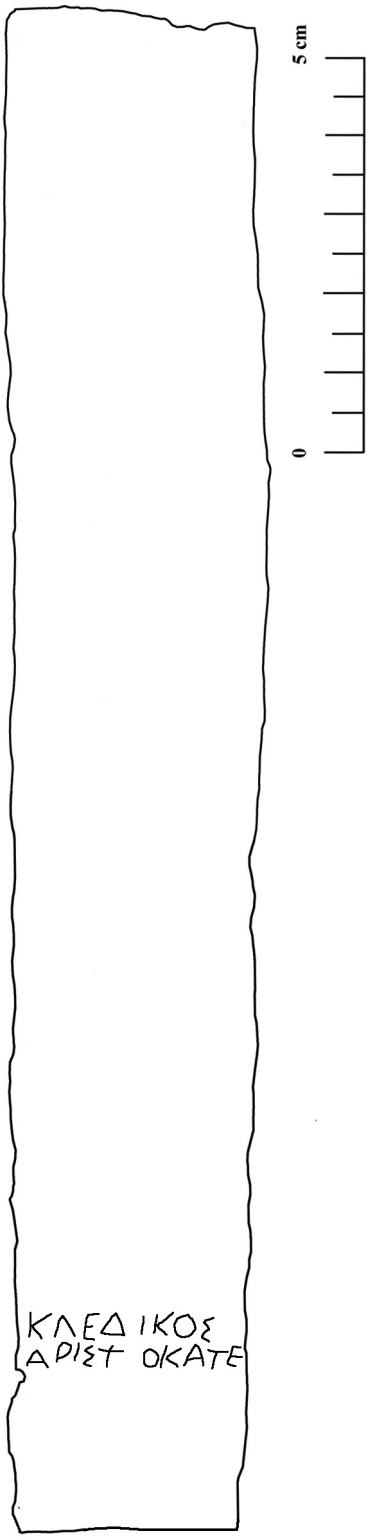


Fig. 3

CONSPECTUS

DISPUTATIONES

Статьи сопровождаются резюме на русском и английском языке
Summary in Russian and English