

## Eretria. Agreement between Chairephanes and the city of Eretria concerning the reclamation of a swampland

**Description:** Stele of Pentelic marble, inscribed on three sides (A, B, C), diagonally broken on the right and in the inferior part also on the left (dimensions: h:0.86 m w:0.47 m d:0.09 m ). A bas-relief which (very probably) represents Leto, Artemis and Apollo is engraved on the top of the frontal side.

**Layout:** side A, stoichedon 80 (but from l. 37 forward perhaps it changes to 81 and l. 39 has many irregularities).

**Letters:** Hellenistic koinè. Ionic-Attic letters of small size ( h: 0.005 m ca.)

**Origin:** Eretria, temple of Apollo Daphnephoros

**Dating:** 320-310 BC (see the commentary)

**Findspot:** Chalkis, in a property of a private citizen near the square of the prison (Eustratiades 1869, 321: *πλατεία τῶν φυλακῶν*). Perhaps the prison is the modern *φυλακές Χαλκίδας* (Mitropolitou Vasiliou ke Mpolovinenas, *Χαλκίδα* 341 00, Greece)

**Current location:** Athens, Epigraphical Museum, inv. 11553

**Reference edition:** E. Ziebarth, *IG XII 9 191*, with some modifications proposed by Knoepfler 2001, 41-79 (cf. SEG 51 1109)

**Other editions:** ed. pr. Eustratiades 1869, 317-332; R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, T. Reinach, *RJG I 9*, 143-157 (A); Stauropolos 1895, 125-130 (B-C)

**Photographs:** ed. pr. Eustratiades 1869, πιν. 48 (facsimile); Knoepfler 2001, 43

**Translations:** R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, T. Reinach, *RJG I 9*, 145-151 (French); Migeotte 2003, 178-179 (Italian); Prieto 2005, 253-258 (English); Collin-Bouffier 2008, 47 (French)

**Bibliography:** Tsatsos 1963, 3-24; H.H. Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* III 450; Papademos 1975, 490-498; Bravo 1980, 931-933; Hennig 1995, 265-266; Fantasia 1999, 65-116; Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2001, 104; Youni 2001, 132; Chatelain 2001, 81-108; Chatelain 2004, 211-220; Bresson 2007b, 172-174; Foxhall 2007, 69-71; Collin-Bouffier 2008, 41-53

κατὰ τάδε [X]αιρεφάνης ἐπαγγέλλεται Ἐρετ[ριεῦσιν ἐξάξειν τε καὶ ξηρὰν ποιήσειν τὴν λίμνην τὴν ἐν]  
[Π]τέχαις αὐτὸς τὰ ἀναλώματα παρέχων εἰς τ[ὴν ἐξαγωγὴν,] [τέλος δὲ μὴ τιθεῖς τῇ πόλει ὅταν  
εἰσάγει κα-]

[ι] ἐξάγει[ι] ἕνεκα τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξα[γωγὴν καὶ ἀτέλεια δὲ ἔστω αὐτῶι ἐπὶ εἰσαγωγῆι καὶ  
ύλων]

καὶ ξύλ[ων], ὅσων ἂν δέηται εἰς τὴν ἐργασίην, κ[αθάπερ γέγραπται τοῖς ἐργολαβοῦσί τι τῶν ἔργων  
τῶν δη-]

5 μοσίων· ἐ[π]ειδὸν δὲ ἐξαγάγ[ει] τὴν λίμνην, καρ[πιζέσθω τὴν γῆν τῆς λίμνης τριάκοντα ταλάντων  
μισθῶθ-]

[εἰ]σαν δέκα [ἔ]τη ὑποτελέων τῇ π[ό]λει τὸ μίσθ[ωμα ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦ Ἄπατουριῶνος μηνός·]  
[ἐξαγαγε-]

[ἴν] δὲ [τ]ὴν λίμνην τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τέτταρσιν ἔ[τεσι Χαιρεφάνην·] [χρόνος ἄρχει τῶν συνθηκῶν τῶνδε  
ὁ] [ἐνι-]

- αυτὸς ὁ μετὰ τὴν Ἴπποκίδου [κα]ἰ συναρχόντων [προβούλων ἀρχὴν καὶ μὴν Ἀπατουριῶν καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῶν]  
 τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τούτου ἄρχειν τοῦ χρόνου· [τέλος δὲ μὴ τιθεῖν τῇ πόλει μηδὲν Χαιρεφάνην πωλοῦν-]
- 10 [τ]α ἐ[ν] Ἐρετρίαι τὸν καρπὸν καὶ [μ]ὴ ἐξάγοντα· ὁμ[όσαι δὲ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ πίστεις δοῦναι(?) ἐν Ἀπόλλωνο-]  
 ς Δα[φ]νηφόρου Χαιρεφάνει ἧ μὴν [ἐά]σειν καρπίζ[εσθαι τὴν γῆν δέκα ἔτη τριάκοντα ταλάντων,] [ἐπειδὴν ἐ-]  
 ξαγάγει τὴν λίμνην· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰς συνθήκας [τάσδε ἐν στήλει λιθίνει·] [ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὰς πίστε-]  
 ις καὶ τὸν ὄρκον καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα καὶ στῆσαι α[ὕτην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δαφνηφόρου·] [ἐὰν δὲ]  
 πόλεμο[ς] διακωλύσει Χαιρεφάνην ἐξάγοντα τῆ[ν λίμνην ξηρὰν ποεῖν,] [ὡς γέγραπται,] [ὁ ἴσος αὐτῷ χρόν-]
- 15 ος ἀποδοθήτω, ἐπειδὴν δυνατὸν εἶ καὶ εἰρήνη γέ[νηται,] [ὅσονπερ ὁ] [πόλεμος αὐτὸν διεκώλυσεν·] [ἐὰν δὲ πό-]  
 λεμος ἐπιγένηται καὶ μὴ δυνατὸν εἶ καρπίζεσθαι [τὴν γῆν τῆς λίμνης . 25.]  
 [..] ὁ ἴσος α[ὕ]τῳ χρόνος ἀποδοθήτω ὅσονπερ ἐκωλύθη[ν,] [ἐπειδὴν δυνατὸν εἶ·] [καὶ ἐξέστω δὲ Χαιρεφάνει κα-]  
 [ἰ] ἐν τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς χωρίοις φρεατία[ς] ποεῖν τῶ[ι ὑπονόμωι,] [ἀλλὰ ταύτας μὴ ποεῖτω πλὴν διὰ τοῦ χωρί-]  
 ου οὔπερ καὶ πρότερον τὴν τιμὴν δῶ· κατὰ δὲ τὴν λίμ[νην,] [ἐὰν του χωρίου δέηται,] [λογισάμενος μίαν δραχμ-]
- 20 ἦν τοῦ ποδὸς τοῦτο ἀποτεισάτω Χαιρεφάνης, [ὅτα]ν ἐ[ξαγάγει τὴν λίμνην ἐν τέτταρσι ἔτεσι·] [τὴν δὲ λίμν-]  
 ἦν ἐξαγέτω ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασίμων χωρίων δι[ὰ] τῶν ἀργῶ[ν,] [ἵνα μὴ βλάπτωνται οἱ γεωργοῦντες(?)] [ποησάσθω δὲ]  
 κ[α]ἰ δεξαμενὴν τοῖς ποταμοῖς μὴ μείζον[α] ἢ δύο στα[δίων . 20. ἠνίκα δὲ Χαιρεφάνη-]  
 ς αὐτὸς καρπίζεται τὴν γ[ῆ]ν, ἐπισκευαζέτω τὸν ὑπό[νομον καὶ τὴν δεξαμενὴν(?)] [ἐπιμελείσθω δέ,] [ὅπως ἔξει κ-]  
 αλῶς καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπε[ι]τα [χ]ρόνον πάντα· καὶ δρυφάκτ[ους δὲ ποησάσθω περὶ τὴν δεξαμενὴν·] [ἔνθα δὲ τὸ ὕδω-]
- 25 ρ εἰσπίπτει εἰς [τ]ὸν ὑπόνομον, καὶ θύραν ἐργασάσθω [καὶ . 32. ἵνα ἐ-]  
 ἂν τοῦ ἦρος, [ὑδ]ατος γενομένου[ου], δέωνται τι οἱ γεωργο[ῦντες τὴν χώραν(?)] . 19. ἐξῆι(?) αὐτ-]  
 οῖς ἀποκλείσασι τὸν ὑπόνομον χρῆσθαι τῷ ὕδατι μ[ὴ τέλος τιθέντες τεῖ πόλει μηδέν(?)] . 8. ἐὰν δ-]  
 [έ] τι πάθει Χαι[ρ]εφάνης πρὶν ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν λίμνην, εἶ[ναι τοῖς μετὰ Χαιρεφάνους ἐργαζομένοις ἅπασι κα-]  
 [ἰ] τοῖς κληρονόμοις τοῖς Χαιρεφάνους τὰς αὐτὰς συν[θήκας . 30. εἰ δ-]
- 30 [έ] τις ἀκύρους ἐρεῖ τάσδε τὰς συνθήκας ἢ ἄ[ρ]χων ἢ ἰδιώτη[ς ἢ] [γράψει ἢ] [ἐπιψηφίζει παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας οὔτ-]  
 ῶ ἀνανκάζων Χ[α]ιρεφάνην καὶ τοὺς κοινω[ν]οὺς λύειν τὰ[ς συνθήκας ἐπὶ παρευρέσει ἢ] [τρόπῳ ἢ] [λόγῳ ὦ-]  
 [ἰ]τινιοῦν, ἄτι[μος] ἔστω καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ἔστω ἱερὰ [τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος,] [καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ]  
 ὃ ἂν πάθει, [ν]ηπ[ο]ινεῖ πασχέτω· καταστῆσαι δὲ καὶ Χαιρε[φάνην ἐγγυητὰς συνεπαγγελιομένους,] [ὅταν ἐ-]  
 ξαγάγει τὴν λίμνην, ἧ μὴν ἔσεσθαι ξηρὰν τὴν λίμνην [ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ βέβαιον παρέχοντας]

- 35 τὴν αὐτοῦ [κ]άρπ[ω]σιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων. Γ οἱ πρόβουλοι [εἶπον]: [ἔδοξεν τεῖ τε βουλεῖ καὶ τωῖ δήμωι] [ἀνα-]  
 γράψαι πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας τὰς Χαιρεφάνους τὰς πρόσθε[ν γεγραμμένας ἐν τεῖ στήλει τὴν δεδομένην]  
 [α]ὐτῶι ἀσυλίαν ἐργαζομένωι τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατὰ γ[ῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνη-]  
 [ς καὶ] αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς μετὰ Χαιρεφάνους ἐργαζομένοις ἅπα[σιν:] [. 19. καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι]  
 [συλᾶ]ν τοὺς συνεργαζομένους ἀεὶ, πλὴν εἴ τις σῦλον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχει, τούτω[ι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι  
 συλᾶν τοὺς με-]
- 40 [τὰ Χα]ιρεφάνου, πρὶν ἂν διαλύσωνται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν πάντ[α:] [ἐγγυηταὶ . 26.]  
 ἐξ Ἀσ(- - -), Ἰέρων Φηγοεῖσ(ιος) Ὑρεων(ίδος(?)), Ἀμφιχάρης Αἰγ(αλῆθεν), Τιμόξενο[ς . 38.]  
 [. 5.]κράτης Ἀφαρ(εῦθεν) (vac. ) οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπον· ἔδοξ[εν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τωῖ δήμωι] [ὁμόσαι τοὺς πο-]  
 [λίτας π]άντας Χαιρεφάνει ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος Δαφνηφόρου· ὃς δ' ἂν μ[ὴ ὁμόσει,] [ἄτιμος ἔστω:] [. c. 7.  
 ἐξορκού-]  
 [ντων δὲ] οἱ πρόβουλοι, ἐξορ[κ]ούντων δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ [ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς ἀεὶ ὄντας ἐφήβους  
 ἕως ᾗ-]
- 45 [ν τὴν γῆν] καρπίζηται τὰ ἔτη τὰ σ[υ]γκείμενα Χαιρεφάνης· ἀναγ[ράφειν καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὸν  
 ὄρκον ἐν σ-]  
 [τήλει λιθ]ῖνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δα[φνηφόρου:] [ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τεῖ  
 στήλε-]  
 [ι τοὺς ὁμόσαντας:] [ἀ]ναγράφειν δὲ καὶ τῶ[ν] ἐφήβων τοὺς ὁμόσαντ[ας ἐν στήλει . c. 21.]  
 [ὄρκος:] [ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ὅδε] ἔσται· ὁμνύω τὸ[ν Ἀ]πόλλωνα καὶ τὴν Λητοῦν καὶ [τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἧ] [μὴν  
 ἐάσω καρπίζεσθαι]  
 [τὴν γῆν τῆς λίμνης] Χαιρεφάνην, ᾧ συνέθετο ἡ πόλις ὑπὲρ τῆς λ[ίμνης:] [ἐὰν δὲ τις λύει τὰς συνθήκας  
 τὰς]
- 50 [πρὸς Χαιρεφάνην,] [οὐ]κ ἐπιτρέ[ψ]ω εἰς δύναμιν ξυνοῦ ὄρκου κειμέ[νου:] [καὶ εὐορκοῦντί μοι εἶναι  
 πολλὰ κάγαθά,]  
 [εἰ δὲ ἐπιορκέοιμι,] [ἀπ]ολέσθ[αι] αὐτὸς καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ· ὁ[μόσαι δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ  
 Χαιρεφάνου ἐργα-]  
 [ζομένοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἄ]περ Χαιρεφ<άν>ει ὁμνύωσιν, μὴ κατανεμεῖ[ν ἄλλοις(?)] τὴν γῆν τῆς λίμνης] □[. c.  
 13.]  
 [παρὰ ταῦτα] δὲ ἐὰν τις λέγει ἢ γράφει ἢ ἐπιψηφίζ[ει ὡς δεῖ ἄλλοις κατανεμεῖν τὴν γῆν τῆς λίμνης . c.  
 3.]  
 [.. ὁ] [δὲ ἐπίορκος μνᾶς δέκ]α τίσει· ἐπομνούντων δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλω[να καὶ τὴν Λητοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν  
 καὶ ἐπ-]
- 55 [εὐχεσθαι εὐορκοῦντι εἶναι τ]ῶι αὐτῶι πολλὰ κάγαθά, εἰ δὲ ἐπιο[κ]έοι,] [ἀπολέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ  
 χρήματα τὰ ἐκεῖ-]  
 [νου πάντα:] [ἐὰν δὲ τις λέγει ἢ] [γρά]φει ἢ ἐπιψηφίζει παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκ[ους,] [ὡς ἀκυροῦν δεῖ τὰς  
 συνθήκας,] [ἄτιμο-]  
 [ς ἔστω καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ἱερὰ ἔσ]τω τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀμαρυσί[ας καὶ ὁ] [ἂν πάθει,] [νηποινεῖ  
 πασχέτω κ-]  
 [αὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ:] [τῶν δὲ] πυρριχιστῶν ἂν τις τούτων πα[ρα]βαίνει τι - - - ]  
 [ - - - δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῆι Ἀρτέ]μιδι τῆι Ἀμαρυσίαι· ἐξορκο[ύντων δὲ καὶ τοὺς - - - ]
- 60 [ - - - ὅπως καὶ τούσ]δε τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰ ψη[φίσματα - - - ]  
 [ - - - ἀναγρ]άψουσι, τῶν δὲ συνθηκῶ[ν ἀντίγραφα - - - ]  
 [ - - - πέμψαι καὶ εἰς] Μέγαρα καὶ Ἄνδρον [καί(?) - - - ]  
 [ - - - ἀναθ]εῖναι τὰς συνθήκας [ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ἀ]γούσιν τὰς αὐτὰ[ς τιμάς(?) - - - ]

**Apparatus criticus:** Il. 1-35: *συνθήκαι*. I. 1 cfr. vv. 5, 12, 28, 34. [τε καί] Kn. : [[..] ἐξάξειν καί] D.-H.-R et Zieb. I. 2: [τιθείς] Zieb. et Kn. : [τελέων] D.-H.-R. I. 3: fort. melius ἐξα[γωγῆν· ἔστω (vel εἶναι) δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἀτέλεια]? [ύλων] (vel [ύλης]) Kn. : [λίθων] cett. (cum ἐπ'). I. 4: vel κ[αθάπερ γέγραπται ἐν τῶι νόμωι τῶι περὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν δη]- Kn. I. 5: cfr. vv. 16, 23, 35, 45. I. 6: sic Kn. : τὸ μίσθ[ωμα μηνὸς [. 30.] ἐ.] Zieb. : τὸ μίσθ[ωμα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ... ἐ.] D.-H.-R. I. 8: sic Kn. (ἀρχὴν iam cett.), 81 litt. : [προβουλίαν καὶ μὴν [. 13.] καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῶν] Wilhelm (et Zieb. *IG XII 9 Suppl.*, 178), 80 litt. I. 9: [τιθεῖν] vel [τελεῖν] Kn. I. 10: sic omnes, sed 79 litt. : ὁμ[όσαι δὲ πολίτας πάντας ἀθροισαμένους εἰς Ἀπόλλωνο]- dub. Kn. (cfr. v. 43) - sed item 79 litt. (melius ἀπάντας?). I. 11: vide 5. I. 12: cfr. vv. 45-46. fort. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰς συνθήκα[ς τάσδε ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ τὰς πεποιημένας πίστε]- vel [τὰς διὰ τοῦ ὄρκου (vel τῶν ὄρκων) πίστε]- Kn. I. 13: cfr. v. 46. α[ύτῆν] Kn. et D.-H.-R. : α[ύτάς] Eustr. et Zieb. I.14: sic omnes, sed 79 litt. (ποιεῖν? - sed cfr. v. 18 ποεῖν) Il. 17-18: sic fere omnes : [δ. ε. : ἵνα δὲ Χαιρεφάνης μὴ κωλύηται |] ε. τ. ι. χ. φ. π. τῶ[ι ὑπονόμωι, ὀρυττέτω πρότερον διὰ τοῦ χωρίου τούτ]- Eustr. I. 18: cfr. vv. 23 et 25. I. 19: litt. 81. I. 20: sic Kn. : [ὅταν ἐξαγάγει τὴν λίμνην· ἐὰν δὲ ποταμοῖς ἄγει τὴν λίμνην] | ην, ἐξαγάτω D.-H.-R. et Zieb. (cfr. v. 22) : [ἐὰν δ' ἐξάγει τάφροις τ. λ.] Eustr. (ὄχετοῖς dub. Kn.). I. 21: sic Kn. apud Chatelain, sed 79 litt. I. 23: [τὴν δεξαμενὴν] Kn. (82 litt.) : [τούς ποταμούς] Zieb. (82 litt.) : [τᾶλλα πάντα] Eustr. et D.-H.-R. (80 litt.) cfr. v. 13. I. 27: sic lac. repl. Kn. : μ[ένοντι ἐν τῆι δεξαμενεῖ] Eustr. I. 28: sic Zieb., sed litt. 83. I. 30: cfr. v. 53. I. 31: sic Kn., sed 79 litt. (et [τρόπωι] videtur mihi non aptus a.l.) : τὰ[ς συνθήκας τάσδε [. 5.] ἐπὶ προφάσει ἢ λόγωι ὦ]- D.-H.-R. et Zieb. I. 32: cfr. v. 57. I. 33 cfr. vv. 40-41. [συνεπαγγελλομένους, ὅταν] Kn. (cfr. v. 20) : [ἐπαγγελλομένους, ἐπειδάν] cett. Il. 34: sic Kn. : [ὡς ἐπαγγέλλεται [. 7.] καὶ βέβαιον παρέχειν] D.-H.-R. et Zieb. Il. 35 ss.: ψηφίσματα (vv. 35-42 ἀσυλία; vv. 42 ss. ὄρκος). I. 35: Γ non litt., sed interpunctionis signum. τῶι δῆμωι Eustr., D.-H.-R. et Kn. : τοῖ δῆμοι Zieb. (idem v. 42). [ἀνα] | γράψαι fere omnes : [προσ] | γράψαι Bravo . I. 36: sic Kn., sed 79 litt. : τὰς πρόσθε[ν δεδομένας αὐτῶι τιμὰς [. c. 8.] καὶ εἶναι] Zieb. : τὰς πρόσθε[ν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε [ - - - ] εἶναι] Eustr. et D.-H.-R. : τὰς πρόσθε[ν ἀνεγνωσμένας] Bravo. I. 37: litt. 81 ([ιρήνη]- con. Bravo dub.). Il. 38-40: locus obscurus. Sic Zieb. (v. 39 litt. 86, sed hic στοιχηδόν in lapide servatum non est) : ἀπα[σιν· ἔχειν δὲ πάντας ἀσυλίαν Χαιρεφάνει τὴν | αὐτή]ν τούς συνεργαζομένους ἀεί, πλὴν εἴ τις σῦλον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχει, τούτω[ν μηδένα εἶναι πρότερον τῶν ἐργαζομένων με] | τὰ Χα[ιρεφάνου] Eustr. (ἀπα[σιν· ἔχειν ... αὐτή]ν etiam D.-H.-R.), sed sic v. 38 litt. 82 (et v. 39 litt. 99). I. 40: Φηγοεῖσ(ιος) Kn. : Φηγοεῖς Zieb. : Φηγοεῖς Wallace. Il. 42-43: [πο]λίτας π[άντας] fere omnes (πολίτας μὲν πάντας fort. Kn.?) : [ἄρ]χους π[άντας] Wallace. I. 43: cfr. v. 32. Il. 44-45: sic con. Kn. (sed v. 44 litt. 79) : [τὰς συνθήκας, ἕως ἂν τὴν λίμνην ἐξάγει κα] | ι τὴν γῆν] Eustr. et D.-H.-R. (81 litt.) : [ἔτος τούς ἐφήβους· ὅπως οὖν . c. 10.] | [. τὴν γῆν] Zieb. I. 44: cfr. v. 47. I. 45: cfr. vv. 13, 60, 65. I. 46: [ἀναγράψαι] Eustr. et D.-H.-R. (etiam in v. 45), Kn. : [ἀναγράφειν] Zieb. [ἐν τεῖ στήλει] con. Kn. I. 48: vide 11. 81 litt. I. 49: cfr. v. 31. Il. 50 ss.: lacunarum supplementa valde incerta. I. 50 cfr. v. 55. [καὶ εὐ.] Zieb. (85 litt.!) : [εὐ. δέ] D.-H.-R. (84 litt.!) : [εὐ. μοι] Eustr. (82 litt., sed sic oratio dissoluta). Il. 51-52: sic Kn. (sed non liquet de versuum divisione) : ὁ[μόσαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κληρονόμοις τοῖς Χαιρε/φάνου τὰ αὐτὰ ἄ]περ Zieb. (cfr. v. 29; sed sic v. 51 litt. 82) : ὁ[. δ. κ. τ. κληρ. τ. Χαιρεφά/νους. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἄ]περ D.-H.-R. (οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ iam Eustr.). Il. 52-53: sic Zieb. : μὴ κατανεμεῖ[ν τὴν γῆν τῆς λίμνης ὡσπερ (vel καθάπερ) γέγραπται ἐν τεῖ στήλει τεῖ]δε Kn. (sed item non liquet de versuum divisione, fort. post primum τεῖ?) : [πρὸ τοῦ ὄρκου] δὲ ἐὰν κ. τ. λ. Eustr. et D.-H.-R. I. 54: [ὁ δὲ ἐπίορκος] con. Kn. Il. 55-56: cfr. v. 51. sic Zieb., sed v. 55 litt. 85 : [ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ χρή]ματα αὐτοῦ] Eustr. et D.-H.-R. (81 litt.). I. 56: cfr. v. 53. Il. 57-58: cfr. vv. 32-33. I. 58: [παραβαίνει (vel παραβαίνηι) τι] Kn. apud Ceccarelli: [παραβεῖ τι] Eustr. et D.-H.-R. : [παραβῆι τι, τίσει] Zieb. I. 59: [τῆι] con. Kn. apud Ceccarelli (iam Eustr.). ἐξορκο[ύντων δὲ καὶ τούς] Zieb. : ἐξορκο[ύντων δὲ οἱ πρόβουλοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί] D.-H.-R., cfr. vv. 43-44 : ἐξορκο[ύντων - - - ] Kn. I. 60: τὰ ψη[φίσματα παραδιδόντων ἐκ] con. D.-H.-R. I. 62: [καί] con. Kn. I. 63: [ἀναθ]εῖναι Zieb. : [καταθ]εῖναι D.-H.-R. : εἶναι Eustr.

### Translation:

At these conditions Chairephanes promises [the people of] Eret[ria that he will drain and make dry the marsh in P]techai, he himself providing for the expenses for t[he drainage, without paying any duty to the city if he will import and] export (something) for the works concerning the drai[nage, and he shall get the exemption from duties on import of both tree trunks] and wooden boards, how many he will need for the works, a[s it is written for the people who make a contract for one of the pu]blic works; after he will have drained the marsh, he [shall] exp[loit the land of the marsh leas]ed [for thirty talents] for ten years, paying the city the fe[e for the lease every year in the month of Apatourion; Chairephanes shall have drained] the marsh at most within four y[ears];

the time of these agreements begins from the year after the [magistrature] of Hyppokydes and of his colleagues [probouloi and the month Apatourion, and the time of the] four years shall begin from this moment; [Chairephanes shall not pay any taxes to the city if he sells his products in Eretria's land and he does not export them.

[The citizens shall] swear and give assurances(?) in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros that they will let Chairephanes exploit the land for ten years at the price of thirty talents, after he will have drained the marsh; [these] agreements shall be inscribed [on a stone-stele; also the assurances and the oath and all the rest shall be inscribed and [the stele] shall be collocated [in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros].

[If] war will prevent Chairephanes from draining [the marsh and making it dry, as it is written, the same time] shall be granted [him] - when it will be possible and [there will] be peace [- as long as the war has prevented him; if war will come and it will be impossible to exploit the land of the marsh, - - -] the same time shall be granted him, as long as he was prevented, when it will be possible].

[And Chairephanes shall be allowed] to make wells for the [underground tunnel also] in private fields, [but he shall not make them save through the field which he had also previously paid the compensation for; Chairephanes, [if he will need some land] near the marsh, estimating one drachma per foot, shall pay this price, if he will [have drained the marsh within four years]; he shall drain [the marsh] away from the cultivated fields through those uncultivated, in order that the farmers will not be damaged(?); he shall make] also an artificial pond for the rivers not bigger than two stadia (= ca. 360 m) - - - as long as Chairephanes himself will exploit the land, he shall provide for the upkeep of the underground tunnel and the artificial pond(?) and he shall be careful that] all [will be good] also for the future time; and he shall make fences around the artificial pond; where the water falls down into the underground tunnel, he shall make also a flood gate [and - - -, so that, if] in spring, when there is (a lot of) water, the people who farm [the land(?) - - -] will need it for something, [it will be possible for them, after closing the underground tunnel, to make use of the water without paying any tax to the city(?) - - -].

[If] something will happen to Chairephanes before he will have drained the marsh, the same agreements shall be valid for all the people who work with Chairephanes and] for his heirs [- - -; if] someone will say that these agreements are not valid, whether archon or private citizen, or will make some written proposal or vote against the agreements], forcing [thus] Chairephanes and his collaborators to break up [the agreements for whatever] [pretext or reason or in whichever] [way], he shall be deprived of all his rights and his property shall be sacred [to Artemis, and he himself and his family], whichever thing will they suffer, they shall suffer it with impunity. Chairephanes shall produce [guarantors who will promise together that, if he] will have drained the marsh, the marsh will be dry, [as he himself promises, and who will make safe] his exploitation (of the land) for thirty talents (i.e. they will grant the thirty talents).

The probouloi [made the proposal, the council and the people resolved]: that, beyond the previously written] agreements with Chairephanes, should be [in]scribed [on the stele also the] inviolability [that has been granted] him - when he carries out the business of the city - both on land and on sea, during war and peace, both] himself and all the people that work with him; [- - - and it shall not be possible to exercise the right] [of reprisal] on the people who, from time to time, work with Chairephanes, unless someone can exercise it against the city, but [this person shall not be permitted to exercise the right of reprisal against Chairephanes [and his workers], before they will have fully reconciled themselves with the city in; [guarantors - - -] from As(- - -), Hieron from Phegous, of the tribe Oreonis(?), Amphichares from Aigaleia, Timoxenos, - - -] krates from Aphareus.

The probouloi made the proposal, [the council and the people] resolved: that] all [citizens should swear] to Chairephanes in (the temple) of Apollo Daphnephoros; who will not swear, shall be deprived of all his rights - - -] the probouloi [shall make swear] and also the strategoi shall make swear [those who will be epebes every year as long as] Chairephanes will exploit [the land] for the fixed years; [both the decree and the oath] shall be inscribed in a stone-stele] and shall be collocated in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros; on the stele shall be inscribed also the people who have sworn; and shall be inscribed [on the stele] also those who have sworn among the epebes [- - - oath: the oath] will be [this]: "I swear by Apollo and Leto and [Artemis that I will let] Chairephanes [exploit the land of the marsh], he with whom the city has made the agreements concerning the marsh; if someone will try to break up the agreements with Chairephanes, I will not] allow it - as much as it will be possible for me -, because a common oath is in force; and, if I keep my oath, may I be blessed by good luck, if instead I perjure myself, may I myself be ruined with my own property;" (the citizens) [shall swear to all the people who work with Chairephanes the same things that] they will swear to Chairephanes, that they will not allocate [to others the land of the marsh(?) - - - beyond that], if someone will say or make some written proposal or vote that it is necessary to allocate to others the land of the marsh, - - - the perjurer] will pay [ten mines]; the citizen shall swear by Apollo [and Leto and Artemis and they shall pray that, if someone keeps his oath], he may be blessed with good luck, if someone instead perjures himself, he himself with all his property may be ruined; | if someone will say or will make some written proposal or vote against the oaths, that it is necessary to invalidate the agreements, he shall be deprived of all his rights and his property shall be sacred to] Artemis Amarysia, and, whichever thing will he suffer, he shall suffer it with impunity, both he himself and his family]; if someone among the pyrrichistai [will violate something - - - drachmas sacred to Artemis Amarysia; (the

probouloi/strategoi(?)) shall make swe[ar also the - - - ].

[ - - - in order that these] oaths and the de[crees - - - will insc]ribe, [copies] of the agreements [ - - - shall be sent both] to Megara and Andros [ - - - ] the agreements shall be [dedica]ted [ - - - ] receive/bring the sam[e honors(?) - - - ] this decree [ - - - ].

### Commentary:

Thanks to *στοιχηδόν* disposition in A (the only side considered in this commentary), it is possible to reconstruct more or less the length of every line of this part of the inscription (see in particular ll. 5, 13, 32, 37, where the integrations are very probably correct). Thus also a large part of the lost text can be reconstructed and the general sense, if not the single details, is quite clear. Some editors seem to feel a sort of horror vacui and try to fill all the gaps in the text, but this leads often to very dubious integrations, especially when the number of letters does not fit the *στοιχηδόν*. Even the text of Ziebarth (and the modifications and additions proposed by Knoepfler - e.g. ll. 46-47) does not escape this kind of criticism and in some points appears to be a bit too prolix and repetitive (even if repetition is typical of this sort of inscriptions, here cf. e.g. l. 34 *λίμνην*), or suspiciously complete, e.g. ll. 15-17, 25-27, 53-54, 61-62, where, despite the gaps not fully filled, the sentences are perfectly clear. Currently, there is the need for a new critical edition of this epigraph in order to revise that of Ziebarth, and one is expected from Knoepfler, who in his 2001 article (Knoepfler 2001) already made important contributions to our knowledge of this text.

The inscription's structure (also followed in the current translation) is shown below:

#### Side A

a) ll. 1-35: *συνθήκαι* between Chairephanes and Eretria.

ll. 1-10: Chairephanes's promise to reclaim the swampland within 4 years in exchange for the exploitation of the land so obtained for 10 years at the price of 30 talents + some clauses about eventual exemptions from duties/taxes (concerning the import-export of the materials or the selling of products) and precise temporal indications about the beginning of the contract;

ll. 10-13: clause that advances the compulsory oath for all the citizens (cf. point c) and about the collocation of the stele in the temple of Apollo;

ll. 13-17: clause that takes into consideration possible hindrances or delays (produced by war) of the works of reclamation/exploitation of the land;

ll. 17-27: technical details about the works of drainage and reclamation (plus the possibility of expropriating private lands to compensate for the hindrances mentioned previously);

ll. 27-35: final dispositions (clause concerning the premature death of Chairephanes, *ἀτιμία* and requisition of property of the citizens who might side against the validity of the agreements, request of guarantors).

b) ll. 35-42: *ψήφισμα* on the *ἀσουλία* granted Chairephanes and the people who work with him plus guarantors of the contract (ll. 40-42).

c) ll. 42-59: *ψήφισμα* on the *ὄρκος* which Eretria's citizens should swear.

ll. 42-47: duty to swear for all citizens and ephebes;

ll. 47-59: text of the oath (to Chairephanes and his heirs) and eventual penalties for the people who should try to violate it or to propose modifications to the agreements or the oath itself.

d) ll. 60-66: final dispositions on the inscription of the stele (and perhaps about some copies that will be sent to Megara and Andros).

Sides B and C (not printed here): names of the citizens and of the ephebes who have sworn.

The dating of the epigraph has been definitively shown to be around the last decades of the 4th century BC by Knoepfler 2001, 61 ff., mainly on the basis of paleographical and linguistic arguments. The terminus ante quem is the disappearance of the *στοιχηδόν* from Eretria after 301 BC. Moreover, the inscription is written in *κοινή*, but there are some ionic-Euboic forms left (see e.g. l. 4 *ἐργασίην* or l. 6 *ὑποτελέων*): this period of linguistic transition can be set with some certainty between 320 and 310 BC. Knoepfler wishes also to limit the dating to shortly after 318 BC: around this year probably a democratic revolution took place in Eretria (see Diod. 18.55 ff. and *IG XII 9 196*). A democratic context seems indeed to be required by the inscription: the restitutions of ll. 35 and 42, with the mention of *βουλή* and *δήμος*, are nearly sure; all the citizens (?) must swear, l. 43. Knoepfler wishes also to identify our Chairephanes with *Χαιρεφάνει Αἰσχύλου* of SEG 47 490, an entrepreneur to whom Kassandros granted the *ἀτέλεια*, probably during the last years of the 4th century BC. But all these reflections remain quite hypothetical and the evidence is not entirely sufficient to limit the dating around 318. A slightly larger temporal window (320-310 BC) should work better.

About the bas-relief engraved on the top of side A see again Knoepfler 2001, 63-65. It is only partially conserved and, beyond the two visible figures (Leto and Artemis), there should have been also Apollo. Probably there was still space for something else, maybe a representation of Chairephanes himself or the god protector of his city

(Knoepfler), maybe one of Eretria's citizens in the act of swearing to the goddesses. For this second hypothesis see LIMC Artemis 1128 (= Apollon 1466/635b): it is a bas-relief from Kato Vathia, dating around the middle of the 4th century BC, which represents Apollon, Leto and Artemis and, near Artemis, the smaller figure of a worshipper, nearly touching the arm of the goddess. Moreover, this bas-relief may have been originally part of the temple of Ἄρτεμις Ἀμαρυσία, which is mentioned in the current inscription on l. 57 (on this temple see Knoepfler 1988, 382-421; 410-411 on the bas-relief).

The agreements between Chairephanes and the city of Eretria consist of a *συγγραφή* (enterprise contract) plus a *μίσθωσις* (lease contract), cf. Knoepfler 2001, 46-47. Chairephanes will reclaim the marsh and then he can exploit and cultivate the land, leasing it.

In order to make this (if the restitutions are correct), Chairephanes should benefit from two kinds of *ἀτέλεια*. The first one (ll. 2-5) is from the *πεντηκοστή*, a duty on imported/exported goods and materials which was around 2% of their value. The second one (ll. 9-10) is from *ἐπώνιον*, a tax on the sale on goods whose rate may fluctuate; this should have encouraged Chairephanes, after the reclamation of the marsh, to sell his products straight on the local market. For *πεντηκοστή* and *ἐπώνιον* see Migeotte 2003, 51-52; Chankowski 2007, 312. After the reclamation of the marsh, Chairephanes will exploit the land for 10 years at the price of thirty talents - so three talents per year. The duration of the *μίσθωσις* is quite normal: see e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1241, IG II<sup>2</sup> 2499 or *I.Thespiai* 55 and Pernin 2014, 502-503 (the most widespread lease contracts were those which lasted 10 years and those which were perpetual). The price of three talents per year, instead, is very high: Knoepfler 2001, 49 compares the rent gained by the temple of Apollon at Delos from all its sacred properties, which around 250 BC. amounted more or less to 11,500 drachmas (against the 18,000 drachmas = 3 talents paid every year by Chairephanes). Normally, Attic leases were lower than 1000 drachmas (for parallels see Pernin, 2014, 171, 233 ff.). If the expenses for the reclamation cannot have been less than 10 talents (Bresson 2007b), we may infer that - after the reclamation of the marsh - Chairephanes would have had to earn at least 4 talents per year in order to refund his patrimony. Finally, Fantasia 1999, 104 points out that Chairephanes could have exploited the land in many ways: directly, cultivating it with cereals or using it to farm animals, or indirectly, subleasing it to private citizens.

About the technical details concerning the reclamation, see Chatelain, 2001. From the inscription Chairephanes seems to have employed a drainage system with an underground tunnel (*ὑπόνομος*) which was connected to open air by means of wells (*φρεατίαι*) and which carried away the water from the marsh to the sea. There was also an artificial pond (*δεξαμενή*) on the surface which collected the water from the rivers which increased the marsh and poured it into the underground tunnel. This water could possibly also be exploited by farmers for irrigation. For other famous examples of reclamations in the antiquity see e.g. Strabo 9.2.18 (lake Copais in Beotia) or Suet. *Claud.* 20.1-2 (lake Fucinus in Abruzzo); an interesting parallel for the underground gallery with its wells is Polyb. 10.28.1-5. For other references see also (more in general) Collin-Bouffier 2008.

Much more disputed is the geographical collocation of the marsh and the *δήμος* of Πτέχαι. Two sites had been proposed: a) east of Eretria, near the city (cf. Diog. Laert. 2.133) ; b) near the *δήμος* of Δύστος, in the north-east of Eretrian *χώρα*. In both these places the presence of marshes is well-attested up to the end of the 19th century. However Knoepfler 2001, 68 ff. has strongly contested these locations and proposed a third possibility, i.e. the current plain of Velousia-Lepoura. His arguments cannot be analysed here, but, unless the archeological searches throw new light on this problem, the question is probably bound to remain open. More in general about the topography of the Eretrian *χώρα* see Knoepfler 1997, 352-449 (with references).

In order to protect the safety of Chairephanes and the people who work with him during the reclamation and the exploitation of the land, the *ἀσυλία*, inviolability from the right of reprisal (for the concept see Bravo 1980 and K.J. Rigsby, *Asyilia*) is granted them. Lines 38-40 are very difficult to understand, especially because of the many gaps, but Bravo in his article has doubtfully suggested two possible interpretations. The second one in particular is really persuasive (for the first one see instead, with doubts, Knoepfler 2001, 56), but it requires a slightly different restoration of the text from that proposed by Ziebarth. Thus, in the apparatus you can find an alternative integration proposed already by Eustratiades that would fit the second interpretation offered by Bravo, as it can be seen from the translation of ll. 38-40: "all the people who from time to time work [with Chairephanes shall get his sam]e [inviolability], unless someone can exercise the right of reprisal against the city; [no one] of th[ese shall be among the people who work with Cha]irephanes, before they will have fully reconciled themselves with the city". In other words, the city will give the workers the inviolability, but before it must be sure that they will not have any controversial issue with the city itself, otherwise they could exercise their right of reprisal with impunity thanks to the granted *ἀσυλία*.

The final part of the inscription contains the *ὄρκος* which sets very strict penalties for the transgressors. Here we have the earliest mention of *ἐφηβία* in Euboea (l. 47: see Chankowski 1993, 17-44); the *πυρριχισταί* (l. 58) are perhaps ephebes or members of the local nobility who danced the *πυρριχή* during the procession in honor of Artemis Amarysia (see Ceccarelli 1998, 191-195).

To sum up, this text is an interesting example of how the relationships among private entrepreneurs and

(public) cities worked in the antiquity. The great care in defining the details of the contract, beyond - as we have said - the high price of the lease, shows that this was an enterprise of outstanding importance and relevance, both for Chairephanes and for Eretria and its people, something that would have drastically changed the environment. Unfortunately, we do not know if Chairephanes in the end was successful or not.

- Bravo, B. (1980), 'Sulân. Représailles et justice privée contre des étrangers dans les cités grecques. Étude du vocabulaire et des institutions', *ASNP* s. III, 10.3, 675-987
- Bresson, A. (2007b), *L'économie de la Grèce des cités I. Les structures et la production*, Paris
- Ceccarelli, P. (1998), *La pirrica nell'antichità greco romana*, Pisa-Roma
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