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Lumbarda Psephisma, the Oldest Document about the Division of Land Parcels in Croatia from the Beginning of the 4th or 3rd Century BC

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Abstract: *The geographic position, climate and history of the island of Korčula are described in the introduction. The island was settled from the early Stone, Bronze and Iron Age. Illyrians, Greeks and Romans settled the island. The Greeks of Knidos established a settlement on the western part of the island, and the Greeks of Issa (today's Vis) established a settlement on the eastern part of the island, probably near the place of today's Lumbarda. The Lumbarda Psephisma was discovered on the neighbouring hill Koludrt near Lumbarda. The stone indicates the conclusion of the assembly to establish and distribute land parcels to colonists. The contract was made between the Greeks of Issa (Vis) and the domestic Illyrians at the beginning of the 4th or 3rd century BC. The Lumbarda Psephisma is written in Greek. This is one of the oldest written monuments in Croatia. At the same time, it is a monument about the distribution of land to the Greek colonists in Croatia. It is therefore also very significant to Croatian geodesists and jurists.*

Key words: *Psephisma, island Korčula, Lumbarda, Greeks, Issa, Lumbarda Psephisma, distribution of land parcels, owner, geodesists, jurists*

1. Introduction

The island of Korčula is an island in the south of Dalmatia extending in the direction east-west, somewhat parallel to the peninsula of Pelješac. It is 46.8 km long and its width is between 5.3 and 7.8 km (URL 5). Korčula is separated from Pelješac by the Pelješac Channel about 1300 m wide, which connects the Lastovo Channel and the Korčula Channel. It is the sixth largest island in the Adriatic Sea.

The island climate is very mild with distinctive Mediterranean characteristics. Average temperatures are relatively high, e.g. the average annual temperature is 16.8°C, and in the coldest month, January, it is 9.1°C, while in July, the warmest month, it equals 26.9°C. Snow rarely and briefly falls on the island because periods with temperatures below 0°C are rare and short (URL 6).

The number of annual sunny hours on the island of Korčula is very high – 2700 hours, only 18 sunny hours per year less than Hvar. Rains are rare and mostly fall during autumn and winter.

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Lumbardska psefizma najstariji dokument o podjeli zemlje u Hrvatskoj iz početka 4. ili 3. stoljeća pr. Kr.

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Sažetak: U uvodu članka opisani su geografski položaj, klima i prošlost otoka Korčule. Otok je naseljavan od ranoga kamenog doba, brončanog i željeznog doba. Naseljavali su ga Iliri, zatim Grci i Rimljani. Grci iz Knidos osnovali su naselje na zapadnom dijelu otoka, a Grci iz Isse (Visa) osnovali su naselje na istočnom dijelu otoka, vjerojatno na mjestu današnje Lumbarde. Na susjednom brežuljku Koludrt pronađena je Lumbardska psefizma. Na njoj je bio upisan zaključak skupštine o osnivanju i raspodjeli čestica zemlje kolonistima. To je bio ugovor sklopljen između Grka Issejaca (Višana) i domaćih Ilira početkom 4. ili u 3. st. pr. Kr. Lumbardska psefizma, pisana na grčkom, jedan je od najstarijih pisanih spomenika u Hrvatskoj. To je ujedno najstariji pisani spomenik o podjeli zemlje grčkim kolonistima u Hrvatskoj, pa je zbog toga važan hrvatskim geodetima i pravnicima.

Cljučne riječi: psefizma, otok Korčula, Lumbarda, Grci, Issa (Vis), Lumbardska psefizma, podjela zemljišnih čestica, vlasnici, geodeti, pravnici.

1. Uvod

Otok Korčula je južnodalmatinski otok, koji se pruža u smjeru istok-zapad, manjim dijelom paralelno s poluotokom Pelješcem. Dug je 46,8 km i širok 5,3 do 7,8 km (URL 5). Korčulu od poluotoka Pelješca razdvaja Pelješki kanal, širok oko 1300 m, koji spaja Lastovski i Korčulanski kanal. Po veličini je šesti otok u Jadranskom moru.

Klima je na otoku vrlo blaga, sredozemnog obilježja. Srednje temperature razmjerno su visoke, te je tako srednja godišnja temperatura 16,8°C, u najhladnijem mjesecu siječnju ona iznosi 9,1°C, a u najtoplijem mjesecu srpnju 26,9°C. Snijeg na otoku padne vrlo rijetko i samo na kratko, jer temperature rijetko padnu ispod 0°C (URL 6).

Broj godišnjih sunčanih sati na otoku Korčuli vrlo je velik i iznosi čak 2700 sati, te tako zaostaje za Hvarom samo 18 sunčanih sati godišnje. Kiše su rijetke i padaju najčešće u jesen i zimu.

Zahvaljujući blagoj klimi i povoljnim uvjetima za život ljudi, otok je bio nastanjen već u dalekoj prošlosti, te je

Owing to mild climate and favourable conditions for people to live in, the island was settled a long time ago, there were people there in the earlier Stone Age and was connected to the so-called prehistoric culture of Hvar (Fig. 1). Afterwards, Korčula was settled by Illyrians of the Ardiaei tribe, and the peninsula of Pelješac was settled by the Pleraei tribe. Strengthened by tribal alliance, they became interested in the sea and became adventurous sailors. Thus Illyrians ruled the island during the Bronze and Iron Age, which can be seen from a series of grave remains and strategic piles of stones (Belamarić 1998, page 321).

The island came out of historical anonymity and became famous in the antique world. Greeks called the island of Korčula Korkyra or Kerkira Melaina. Korkira is an Illyrian name with an Indo-European root ker-kor, which means to cut – to jab (sharp hilly island). On the other hand, the word Melaina is connected to an older Illyrian name. Namely, in Albanian the word mal means forest hill, and Melaina means forested hill (URL 3).

In antique sources, the island of Korčula is mentioned in the 4th century BC in Periplus by Pseudo-Scylax. However, Greek colonists and merchants had known the place before. According to Strabon (famous antique geographer, who provided the most sources in antique geography alongside Ptolemy), the people of Knidos established a colony in Korkira Melaina. The Knidos colony in Korkira Melaina was probably established on the western part of the island at the beginning of the 5th century BC or even during the 6th century BC, and its Latin name was Corcyra Nigra – Black Korčula (Belamarić 1998).

According to a legend, Korkira Melaina was probably established by Aeneas (according to a Greek myth, the son of Anchises and the goddess Aphrodite and a prominent hero in the Trojan War), and according to another by Antenor (a wise Trojan hero) in the 6th century BC, which would mean the Knidos colony on the western part of Korčula is older than the Faros colony from Hvar (today's Stari Grad), and probably older than other colonies of the middle Adriatic (URL 3).

However, according to the Lumbarda Psephisma, it is obvious that the colony on the eastern part of Korčula was not a Knidos colony, because the text mentions people from Issa (i.e. Greeks from Issa, that means from the island of Vis).

During the 3rd century BC, the island was ruled by Illyrians from the eastern Adriatic coast, and then by Romans who called it Corcyra Nigra (Black Korčula). During the 6th century, the island came under the rule of the Byzantine Empire, and later it was populated with Slavs (Šentija 1978, vol. 5, page 548).

2. Lumbarda

Lumbarda is a small fishing settlement on the eastern cape of the island of Korčula, 6 km from the city of Korčula. It is located at the entrance into the Pelješac Ca-

nal, which connects the Lastovo Canal and the Korčula Canal and separates the island of Korčula from the peninsula of Pelješac. Therefore, Lumbarda probably had a strategic position, especially since ships of the antique times mostly sailed near coast.

Nowadays, Lumbarda has about 1200 inhabitants, who grow grape vines, fish and chisel stone, and who have recently also started tourist activities. Lumbarda is surrounded by sandy vineyards, where a sort of grapes is grown for making the well-known wine Grk. Some experts consider the grape vine sort autochthonous Dalmatian, while others refer to its name and conclude it came from Greece during the antique period.

During its entire history, Lumbarda was influenced by various people and cultures. Its first inhabitants were the Illyrians, who ruled the island during the Bronze and Iron Age. Their material heritage is reflected in a series of grave and strategic stone piles. Most of them are in the western part of Lumbarda (URL 10 and URL 4).

When Greeks breached into the Adriatic, the island of Korčula came out of historical anonymity and Greeks established two colonies there. One of them was probably around Vela Luka on the western part of the island and was established by Greeks of Knidos. The other Greek colony on Korčula was Lumbarda, and it was established by Greeks of Issa (Vis). The act is evidenced by the Lumbarda Psephisma (Fig. 4).

3. Lumbarda Psephisma

The word Psephisma originates from Greek and it denotes a conclusion (decision) of an old-Greek national council (Klaić 1990, page 1108), which counted for a law.

The Lumbarda Psephisma is the most important written Greek monument, carved into a stone pillar, which was found in Croatia. Even though only 13 fragments were found, they are significant for the entire region and broader because the content enables interpreting how administration in Greek colonies operated.

At the same time, it is the oldest written monument about distribution of land to Greek colonists in Croatia and as such is important to Croatian geodesists and jurists.

Most of the main and largest fragments of the stone plate of the pillar in which the Psephisma text was carved in were found by accident by a Lumbardian, Božo Kršinić in 1877 on top of a hill, on a small peninsula of Koludrt, north of Lumbarda's centre (Fig. 2). The part is referred to by locals as Gradina, and there are remains of old walls of a medieval monastery with a church of St. Ivan. It was subsequently determined that an antique water tank used to be there. Grandson of Božo Kršinić, Frano Kršinić Šove persistently and systematically excavated there and found four new fragments in 1967 and 1968 (Kršinić 1971).



Fig. 1. Map of archaeological sites on the island of Korčula

Slika 1. Karta arheoloških nalazišta na otoku Korčuli

tako čovjek na Korčuli živio u mlađem kamenom dobu i bio vezan s tzv. hvarskom prapovijesnom kulturom (sl. 1). Nakon toga Korčulu nastanjuju Iliri plemena Ardijejci, a poluotok Pelješac Plereji. Učvršćeni plemenskim savezom sve se više zanimaju za more i postaju poduzetni pomorci. Tako su Iliri vladali otokom tijekom brončanog i željeznog doba, što se vidi po nizu pronađenih grobnih ostataka i strateških kamenih gomila (Belamarić 1998, str. 321).

Otok je izašao iz povijesne anonimnosti i postao poznat u antičkom svijetu. Grci su ga nazivali Korkyra ili Kerkira Melaina. Korkira je ilirsko ime, koje ima indo-euroski korijen ker-kor, što znači rezati, bosti (oštar brdovit otok). Riječ Melaina vezana je uz starije ilirsko ime. Naime, u albanskom riječ mal ima značenje šuma, brdo, a Melaina šumovito brdo (URL 3).

U antičkim se izvorima otok Korčula spominje u 4. st. pr. Kr. u Pseudoskilakovu Periplusu. Međutim, grčki kolonisti i trgovci mjesto su poznavali i prije. Prema Strabonu (slavnom antičkom geografu, koji je uz K. Ptolemeja dao najviše izvora u antičkoj geografiji), Knidski kolonisti su osnovali koloniju na Korkiri Melaini. Knidska kolonija osnovana je vjerojatno na zapadnom dijelu otoka početkom 5. st. pr. Kr. ili čak u 6. st. pr. Kr., a imala je i latinski naziv Corcyra Nigra – Crna Korčula (Belamarić 1998).

Prema jednoj legendi Korkiru Melainu vjerojatno je osnovao Eneja (prema grčkom mitu sin Anhiza i božice Afrodite, istaknut junak u Trojanskom ratu), a prema dru-

goj Antenor (mudar trojanski junak), i to u 6. st. pr. Kr. To bi značilo da je knidska kolonija na zapadnom dijelu otoka Korčule bila starija od farske s Hvara (današnja Staroga Grada), a vjerojatno i ostalih kolonija srednjeg Jadrana (URL 3).

Međutim, prema pronađenoj Lumbardskoj psefizmi ta kolonija na istočnom dijelu Korčule nije knidska, jer se u tekstu spominju Issejci (znači Grci iz Isse, tj. s Visa).

U 3. st. pr. Kr. otokom su zavladali Iliri s istočne jadranske obale, a zatim Rimljani, koji ga nazivaju Corcyra Nigra (Crna Korčula). U 6. stoljeću otok je došao pod vlast Bizanta, a poslije je naseljen Slavenima (Šentija 1978, sv. 5, str. 548).

2. Lumbarda

Lumbarda je malo ribarsko mjesto na istočnom rtu otoka Korčule, udaljeno 6 km od grada Korčule. Nalazi se na ulazu u Pelješki kanal, koji spaja Lastovski i Korčulanski kanal, te razdvaja otok Korčulu od poluotoka Pelješca. Tako je Lumbarda vjerojatno imala strateški značaj, posebice kada su brodovi u antičko doba najviše plovili uz obalu.

Danas Lumbarda ima oko 1200 stanovnika, koji se bave vinogradarstvom, ribarstvom i klesarstvom, a u novije doba i turizmom. Okružena je pješčanim vinogradima, gdje se uzgaja sorta grožđa od kojeg se izrađuje čuveno

The Lumbarda Psephisma monument was written on a stone pillar with a profiled upper end. The pillar is made of domestic red-brown limestone. It is 1.08 m high, 0.13 m wide, and the width of the title field is 0.69 m (Fig. 3). It is preserved at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (URL 2 and URL 7).

The text of Lumbarda Psephisma, as a whole, was first published by Josip Brunšmid in 1898 in the monograph *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechische Städte Dalmatiens* (Titles and money of Greek cities in Dalmatia).

The Lumbarda Psephisma consists of two parts:

- The first part, containing the conclusion of the national council about establishing a colony and distribution of land to the colonists,
- The second part, containing a list of about 200 colonists classified in three Dorian tribes: Dymanes, Hylleis and Pamphylois. The list contains 158 complete or damaged names (Šentija 1979, vol. 5, page 193).

The text of the Psephisma, translated from Greek, as cited in Suić, M. "Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu", reads:

Best of luck. During the time of hieromnamon Praxidam [in the month of Machaneus a contract was made to establish a colony between] the people of Issa and Pil and his son Daz. [Colony founders agreed upon] and the people decided: those who where the first [to occupy the land] and built a wall around the city would get a special land to build houses within the fortified city, especially with a part, and of the land which was [outside the city], so that those first people separately obtain the first lot of three plethrons separated from the land, and from the other parts, to write down [what lot and what part] each of them obtained, and in permanent ownership they [and their descendants] get one and a half plethrons each; subsequent colonists are to get from [undistributed land in the field] four and a half plethrons; [the authorities swear never to] divide the city or land again; if someone of the authority proposes something or someone agrees against this [Psephism], let he or she be dishonoured, and his or her property should become public property; [the person who kills him or her] is not to be punished.....

This land was obtained and the city walls built by:

Dymanes Hylleis Pamphylois

3.1 Interpretation of the Psephisma text

The text begins with the usual formula best of luck, similar to how miners greet each other nowadays.

Afterwards, the date is determined, most probably according to Issean hieromnamon Praxidam (from Vis). The badly preserved part of the text can be interpreted as the name of the month Mahaneja, thus the Lumbarda Psephisma is dated according to hieromnamon Praxidam from Issa (Vis).

The contract about establishing a colony was made between Isseans (from the island of Vis) and Pil and his son Daz, who were probably representatives of local Illyrian aristocracy, i.e. owners of land the Isseans were interested in. Thus the Psephisma indicates the colony located where the Psephism was found was established on the basis of contract between the two parties and in a peaceful manner. In addition, the text also says the people have decided so. Therefore, in a democratic manner.

The text continues with principles of colonization, i.e. distributing land to newcomers. Namely, the land was first distributed to those colonists who came first and constructed walls around the city, and then to those who came later.

Colonists who came first and constructed walls around the city obtained:

- Land for building a house inside the fortified city
- Cultivated land outside the city, 3 plethrons in the first lot and
- An additional 1.5 plethrons for permanent ownership.

Subsequent colonists each obtained 4.5 plethrons of lower quality cultivated land in the field, out of undistributed land; they had to return the land to the community (city – state) after death. Therefore, they were users but not owners of the land.

The key operation of establishing the colony was the distribution of cultivated land among the colonists. Namely, even nowadays geodesists know that land distribution is a complex geometric exercise, but interpersonal relations between parties participating in the distribution can also be complex. This problem of interpersonal relations, i.e. quarrels, was solved by drawing lots.

Archaeological research of the Archaeological Research Group – Korčula on the basis of recent aerial images showed certain regularity in today's layout of stone walls. By confirming this with direct geodetic field surveys, one could discover the initial distribution of land mentioned in the Psephism.

Colonists had to swear they would not distribute the land again. Colonists who did not uphold the oath were prosecuted. They would be considered outlaws,



Fig. 2. Satellite image of Lumbarda from Google Earth, with an added yellow arrow and the name of the hill where the Psefizma was found

Slika 2. Satelitska snimka Lumbarde preuzeta s Google Eartha, a naknadnom obradom slike dodani su žuta strelica i naziv brijega na kojem je nađena psefizma

vino grk. Dio stručnjaka drži tu sortu vinove loze autohtonom dalmatinskom, dok drugi, zbog njezina imena, zaključuju da je u antičko doba stigla iz Grčke.

Kroz čitavu svoju prošlost Lumbarda je bila pod utjecajem različitih naroda i kultura. Prvi su stanovnici bili Iliri, koji su otokom vladali tijekom brončanog i željeznog doba. Njihova materijalna ostavština ogleda se u nizu grobnih i strateških kamenih gomila. One se nalaze uglavnom u zapadnom dijelu Lumbarde (URL 10, URL 4).

Prodorom grčkih interesa u Jadran, otok Korčula je izašao iz povijesne anonimnosti i Grci su na njem podigli dvije naseobine. Jedna od njih vjerojatno je bila oko Vele Luke na zapadnom dijelu otoka, koju su podigli Grci s Knidos. Druga grčka naseobina na Korčuli bila je Lumbarda, a nju su osnovali Grci iz Isse (s Visa). O tome činu svjedoči Lumbardska psefizma (sl. 3).

3. Lumbardska psefizma

Riječ psefizma je grčkog podrijetla, a znači zaključak (odluku) starogrčke narodne skupštine (Klaić 1990, str. 1108), koji je vrijedio kao zakon.

Lumbardska psefizma je najznačajniji grčki pisani spomenik pronađen na tlu Hrvatske. Iako su pronađeni samo ulomci, njih 13, njezin značaj nadilazi regionalne

okvire zbog sadržaja koji omogućuje tumačenje kako je djelovala vlast u grčkim kolonijama.

To je ujedno najstariji pisani spomenik o podjeli zemlje grčkim kolonistima u Hrvatskoj, te je zbog toga važan hrvatskim geodetima i pravnicima.

Veći dio glavnih, najvećih ulomaka kamene ploče na kojoj je bio uklesan tekst psefizme slučajno je našao Lumbardanin Božo Kršinić 1877. godine na vrhu brežuljka, na malom poluotoku Koludrtu, sjeverno od središta Lumbarde (sl. 2). Taj dio mještani nazivaju Gradina, a na tome mjestu nalaze se ostaci starih zidina srednjovjekovnog samostana s crkvom sv. Ivana. Poslije je utvrđeno da je ondje nekada bila antička cisterna za vodu. Praunuk Bože Kršinića, Frano Kršinić Šove je ustrajnim i sustavnim iskapanjem na tom istome mjestu pronašao 1967. i 1968. godine još četiri nova ulomka (Kršinić 1971).

Lumbardska psefizma bila je uklesana na kamenom stupu s profiliranim gornjim završetkom. Stup je izrađen od domaćega crvenkasto-smeđega kamena vapnenca. Njegova visina je 1,08 m, debljina 0,13 m, a širina natpisnog polja 0,69 m (sl. 3). Čuva se u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu (URL 2 i URL 7).

Tekst Lumbardske psefizme, kao cjelinu, prvi je objavio Josip Brunšmid 1898. godine u monografiji *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechische Städte Dalmatiens* (Natpisi i novac grčkih gradova u Dalmaciji).



*Fig. 3.
Pillar with Lumbarda
Psephisma (Psephisma
fragments are preserved
at the Archaeological
Museum in Zagreb)
(URL 11)
(photo by Igor Krajcar)*

*Slika 3.
Stup na kojem je napisana
Lumbardska psefizma.
Ulomci psefizme čuvaju se
u Arheološkome muzeju
u Zagrebu (URL 11)
(foto Igor Krajcar)*

Lumbardska psefizma sastoji se od dvaju dijelova:

- u prvom dijelu napisan je zaključak narodne skupštine o osnivanju kolonije i podjeli zemlje doseljenicima,
- u drugom dijelu dan je popis od oko 200-tinjak kolonista razvrstanih u tri dorska plemena: Dimane (Dymanes), Hile (Hylleis) i Pamfile (Pamphylois). U popisu je sačuvano 158 što potpunih što oštećenih imena (Šentija 1979, sv. 5, str. 193).

Tekst psefizme u prijevodu s grčkoga, kao što je citirano u Suić, M. "Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu", glasi:

Neka je sa srećom. Za hijeromnamona Praksidama [Mahaneja mjeseca utvrđen je ugovor o osnivanju naseobine između] isejaca te Pila i njegova sina Daza. Ovo [su osnivači naseobine ugovorili] i narod odlučio: da oni koji su prvi [zauzeli zemlju] i obzidali grad dobiju posebno zemljište za gradnju kuće unutar utvrđenoga grada, posebno s dijelom, a od zemlje koja je [izvan grada] da isti dobiju odvojeno prvi ždrijeb odvojeno zemlje od tri pletra, a od ostale dijelove; da se zapiše [kakav je ždrijeb i kakav dio] svaki dobio; u trajnom posjedu neka bude njima i [njihovim potomcima] jedan pletar i pol po svakome; kasniji doseljenici neka dobiju od [neraspodijeljene zemlje u polju] četiri i pol pletra; da se [vlasti zakunu da neće nikad] ni grad ni zemlju ponovo dijeliti; ako netko od vladajućih nešto predloži ili se pak netko složi ili se pak netko složi protiv ove [psefizme], taj neka potpadne pod atimiju, a imetak njegov nek postane narodnim vlasništvom; nekažnjen nek ostane [onaj koji ga ubije].....

Ovi su dobili zemlju i obzidali grad:

.....
Dimani Hili Pamfili

3.1 Interpretacija teksta psefizme

Tekst psefizme počinje uobičajenom formulom neka je sa srećom, slično kao što se danas pozdravljaju rudari.

Nakon toga dolazi određivanje datuma najvjerojatnije po isejskome hijeromnamonu Praksidamu (s Visa). Slabo očuvani dio teksta može se protumačiti kao ime mjeseca Mahaneja, te je tako Lumbardska psefizma datirana po hijeromnamonu Praksidamu iz Isse (s Visa).

Ugovor o osnivanju naseobine sklapan je između Issejaca (s otoka Visa) te Pila i njegova sina Daza, koji su najvjerojatnije bili predstavnici lokalne ilirske aristokracije, odnosno vlasnici zemlje za koju su Issejci bili zainteresirani. Tako psefizma pokazuje da je naseobina gdje je ona pronađena osnovana na temelju ugovora tih dviju stranaka, i to mirnim putem. Osim toga naglašeno je da je tako narod odlučio. Dakle, demokratskim načinom.

Zatim su navedeni principi kolonizacije, odnosno podjele zemlje došljacima. Naime, zemljište se najprije dijelilo za one doseljenike (koloniste) koji su prvi došli i obzidali grad, a zatim koji su došli poslije:

Doseljenici koji su prvi došli i obzidali grad dobili su:

- zemljište za gradnju kuće unutar utvrđenoga grada,
- obradivo zemljište izvan grada po 3 pletra u prvom ždrijebu i
- još 1,5 pletar koji su dobili u trajan posjed.

Naknadni doseljenici dobili su po 4,5 pletra obradivog slabijeg zemljišta u polju od neraspodijeljenog zemljišta, koje su morali vratiti zajednici (gradu – državi) nakon smrti korisnika. Dakle, oni su bili samo korisnici ili posjednici zemljišta, a ne vlasnici.

Ključna operacija pri osnivanju mjesta bila je podjela poljoprivrednog zemljišta među kolonistima. Naime, i danas geodeti znaju da je podjela zemljišta složen geometrijski problem, ali mogu biti i složeni međuljudski odnosi između stranaka koje sudjeluju u podjeli. Problem međuljudskih odnosa, tj. svađa oko zemlje, oni su riješili izvlačenjem, odnosno ždrijebom svih parcela.

Arheološkim istraživanjima Arheološke istraživačke grupe – Korčula na osnovi novijih zračnih snimaka uočena je izvjesna pravilnost u današnjem razmještaju kamenih ograda. Ako bi se to potvrdilo izravnim geodetskim mjerenjima na terenu, moglo bi se ući u trag prvobitnoj raspodjeli zemlje koju spominje psefizma.

Kolonisti su se morali zakleti da neće ponovno dijeliti zemlju. Za eventualne prekršitelje ovog stava iz psefizme predviđene su oštre sankcije. Naime, ti će se prekršitelji naći izvan zakona, osramoćeni i lišeni imovine, pa će onaj tko ih ubije proći nekažnjeno. Upravo to pokazuje pravnu snagu ovog dokumenta koji je donijela narodna skupština kolonista.

3.2 Mjerne jedinice duljine

Grci su većinu mjernih jedinica preuzeli od Egipćana i poslije ih predali Rimljanima. O Grčkim mjerama postoje prilično pouzdani podaci, koji se ipak razlikuju prema različitim izvorima.

Tako je prema Brezinščaku (1971, str. 180) starogrčka stopa bila duga 0,3083 m, a starogrčki stadion imao je 600 stopa.

Prema (URL 9) Grci su imali ove mjerne jedinice duljine:

- atička, tj. jonska stopa, duga oko 0,296 m,
- dorska stopa, duga oko 0,326 m i
- normalna grčka stopa, od 0,308 m i od 0,316 m.

Grci su imali i druge mjerne jedinice duljine: prst, pedalj i lakat, te niz manjih i većih. Osim toga neka su mjesta imala i svoje posebne mjerne jedinice duljine.

disgraces and stripped of their possessions, and one killing them would be able to walk away. This demonstrates the legal power of the document, produced by the colonists' national council.

3.2 Measuring units for distances

Greeks took most measuring units from Egyptians and subsequently handed them to Romans. There are fairly reliable data about Greek measures, though they vary according to different sources.

Thus, according to (Brezinščak 1971, page 180), an old-Greek foot was 0.3083 m long, and an old-Greek stage had 600 feet.

According to (URL 9), Greeks had following measuring units for length:

- Athens foot, i.e. Ionian, about 0.296 m long,
- Dorian foot, about 0.326 m long and
- Normal Greek foot, 0.308 and 0.316 m long.

Greeks also had these measuring units for length: finger, span and elbow, as well as several shorter and longer. In addition, some locations had their own distance measuring units.

It is unknown which foot the people of Páros used. However, the large scientific project "Starogradsko polje" (URL 8) used statistical data of parcel lengths in Starogradsko polje to derive the length of their foot: 0.3026 m (URL 9 and Solarić 2009). Therefore, it was neither Athens, Dorian, Normal Greek foot, nor the one noted in (Brezinščak 1971).

It can be assumed that people of Páros surveyed parcel side lengths using measuring tapes similar to Egyptian ones, which were not calibrated accurately enough, and it was possible they could deform due to changes in temperature and due to transport and work.

In addition, it is unknown which Greek foot was used by Isseans from Vis in Lumbarda; it can only be determined by geodetic surveys of land parcels which have preserved their original size since the time when the settlement (today's Lumbarda) was built.

Greeks expressed areas in area units called plethrons, which contained 100 feet × 100 feet each, i.e. about 950 m² (Brezinščak 1971, page 181). Source (URL 1) refers to pletar as a Greek area unit, i.e. the same as in the translation of the Lumbarda Psephism.

According to various sizes of Greek feet, the Greek area unit plethron, expressed in square meters is going to be equal to:

Plethron

- for Athens foot, i.e. Ionian foot876.16 m²

- for Dorian foot1062.76 m²
- for Normal foot 0.308 m long948.64 m²
- for Normal foot 0.316 m long998.56 m²
- for Greek foot according to Brezinščak950.49 m²
- for Greek foot in Starogradsko polje915.67 m².

It is unknown which Greek foot was used by Greeks in Lumbarda, and according to other used Greek feet, a land parcel of 1 plethron in Lumbarda could have had an area from 876 m² to 1063 m².

The average value of plethron according to above values equals 958.7 m². This means that:

- A land parcel area of 4.5 plethrons corresponds to an area of about 4320 m²,
- 3 plethrons correspond to an area of 2876 m² and
- 1.5 plethrons correspond to an area of 1438 m².

It can be seen that areas of land parcels in Lumbarda were very small and that an area of 4320 m² corresponds to a parcel with dimensions of about 66 m × 66 m. Comparing it to dimensions of parcels in Starogradsko polje on the island of Hvar which equal as much as 181 m × 905 m, it can be seen they are incomparable. This fact leads to the conclusion that the settlement was not planned just for agriculture. Therefore, it can be assumed the settlement probably had a strategic importance, especially since it was located at the entrance to the Pelješac Canal, which separates the island of Korčula and the peninsula of Pelješac. Namely, during the old times, sailors used to sail near the coast while transporting goods.

3.3 Dating of the Lumbarda Psephisma

Brunšmid dated the Lumbarda Psephisma according to palaeographic analysis. He placed it in the first half of the 4th century BC. Palaeographic analysis is an auxiliary historic science researching the development of old writings in order to enable reading them and determine where and when they were made. Thus the Lumbarda Psephisma obtained the title of the oldest written monument in Croatia. Such dating was accepted in scientific circles for a long time, and some scientists even place it at the very beginning of the 4th century BC. However, Duje Rendić-Miočević questioned that dating in 1965 and placed the origin of the Lumbarda Psephisma a whole century later, i.e. the beginning of the 3rd century BC. He linked the establishment of Issean colony on Korčula to the emancipation of Issa from its capital Syracuse, i.e. its greatest power when Issa established two additional colonies in the Delmata area, Tragurion (Trogir) and Epetion (Stobreč). Namely, Issa had a planned strategy of creating its own minor empire in the middle part of the eastern Adriatic (URL2).

Ne zna se koju su stopu koristili Párani u Starogradskom polju na Hvaru. Ali u velikom znanstvenom projektu "Starogradsko polje" (URL 8) iz statističkih podataka o duljini parcela u Starogradskom polju dobiveno je da: duljina stope u Starogradskom polju iznosi 0,3026 m (URL 9, Solarić 2009).

Dakle, to nije ni antička ni dorska, ali ni normalna grčka stopa, kao ni ona navedena u Brezinščakovoj knjizi (1971).

Može se pretpostaviti da su Párani mjerili duljine stranica čestica nekom od mjernih traka sličnih egipatskim, koja nije bila dovoljno točno baždarena, a vjerojatno je mogla dobiti produženje ili skraćivanje zbog promjene temperature, te doživjeti i deformacije pri prevoženju i radovima.

Također, za sada se ne zna koju su grčku stopu koristili Issejci iz Visa u Lumbardi, a to će se moći utvrditi samo geodetskim mjerenjima zemljišnih čestica za koje se utvrdi da su zadržale izvornu veličinu iz vremena izgradnje naselja na kojem je danas Lumbarda.

Grci su površine zemljišta izražavali u jedinicama za površinu nazvanu plethron, koja je sadržavala 100 stopa \times 100 stopa, dakle oko 950 m² (Brezinščak 1971, str. 181). U izvoru (URL 1) grčka jedinica za površinu naziva se pletar, kao i u prijevodu Lumbardske psefizme.

Prema različitim veličinama grčkih stopa, grčka jedinica za površinu pletar bit će, izražena u kvadratnim metrima, jednaka:

pletar

- za antičku, tj. jonsku stopu.....876,16 m²
- za dorsku stopu.....1062,76 m²
- za normalnu stopu dugu 0,308 m948,64 m²
- za normalnu stopu dugu 0,316 m998,56 m²
- za grčku stopu prema Brezinščaku.....950,49 m²
- za grčku stopu u Starogradskom polju.... 915,67 m².

Koju su grčku stopu koristi Grci u Lumbardi nije poznato, a prema ostalim korištenim grčkim stopama 1 pletar zemljišne čestice u Lumbardi mogao bi imati vrijednost između 876 m² i 1063 m².

Srednja vrijednost pletra prema gore ispisanim vrijednostima iznosi 958,7 m². To znači:

- da površina zemljišnih čestica od 4,5 pletra odgovara površini oko 4320 m²,
- da 3 pletra odgovaraju površini od 2876 m² i
- da 1,5 pletra odgovara površini od 1438 m².

Vidi se da su površine tih zemljišnih čestica u Lumbardi vrlo male i da površini od 4320 m² odgovara parcela s dimenzijama oko 66 m \times 66 m. Kad se to usporedi s

dimenzijama parcela u Starogradskom polju na otoku Hvaru koje iznose čak 181 m \times 905 m, vidi se golemo razlika. Iz toga se može zaključiti da nije bilo planirano da se kolonisti bave isključivo poljoprivredom. Zato se može pretpostaviti da je to naselje imalo vjerojatno strateški značaj, posebice zato jer se nalazilo na ulazu u Pelješki kanal, koji razdvaja otok Korčulu i poluotok Pelješac. Naime, u starom vijeku pomorci su obično plovili svojim brodicama uz obalu, prevozeći korisni teret.

3.3 Datiranje Lumbardske psefizme

Brunšmid je Lumbardsku psefizmu datirao na osnovi paleografske analize, te ju je smjestio u prvu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr. Paleografska analiza je pomoćna povijesna znanost koja ispituje razvoj starih pisama da bi omogućila ispravno čitanje i odredila mjesto i vrijeme nastanka starih rukopisa i natpisa. Tako je Lumbardska psefizma uživala naslov najstarijeg pisanog spomenika u Hrvatskoj. Takvo datiranje dugo je bilo prihvaćeno u znanstvenim krugovima, a pojedini stručnjaci uvrstili su je čak u sam početak 4. st. pr. Kr. Međutim, Duje Rendić-Miočević je 1965. godine preispitao to datiranje, pri čem je njezin nastanak svrstao za čitavo stoljeće poslije, tj. u početak 3. st. pr. Kr. Pritom je osnivanje isejske kolonije na Korčuli stavio u vezu s emancipacijom Isse od njezine metropole Sirakuze, tj. u doba najveće joj moći, kada Issa osniva još dvije kolonije na delmatskom području – Tragurion (Trogir) i Epetion (Stobreč). Naime, Issa je imala planiranu strategiju stvaranja vlastitog manjeg imperija na srednjem dijelu istočnog Jadrana (URL2).

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4. Zaključak

Lumbardska psefizma ima vrlo veliko značenje, jer je to najstariji pisani spomenik na prostoru Hrvatske. Osim toga ona je za geodete posebno važna jer se u njoj prvi put govori o podjeli zemlje, a za pravnike je također važna jer govori o vlasništvu.

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4. Conclusion

The Lumbarda Psephisma is very significant because it is the oldest written monument in Croatia. In addition, it is especially important for geodesists because it was the first to mention land distribution, while its importance for jurists lies in the fact that it is about ownership.

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