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A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE GREEK LAND DIVISION DECREE  
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## A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE GREEK LAND DIVISION DECREE FROM LUMBARDA ON THE ISLAND OF KORČULA\*

The Lumbarda decree<sup>1</sup> is a rare ancient Greek source for land division and as such it has been continually studied and commented upon since the discovery of its first fragments in 1877 by the Kršinić family and their publication by Josip Brunšmid in 1898. A number of new fragments were published by Duje Rendić Miočević in 1970 and another fragment by Mario Lombardo in 2005.<sup>2</sup>

The Center for Prehistoric Research has excavated different sites in Lumbarda since 2007. In that period we did extensive analysis of all existing published texts as well as unpublished documentation and testimonies of living participants of events related to the discovery of different fragments of “The Psephisma of Lumbarda”. Our conclusion was that all fragments were in some way connected to an archaeological site on the Koludrt peninsula in Lumbarda, although circumstances of individual discoveries were not always clear. The site itself was primarily thought to be ruins of the monastery of St. John (Brunšmid 1898), but already Frane Kršinić Šove, who discovered fragments K, L, M and N, and D. Rendić-Miočević in his publication suggested that it was actually a water cistern from the “pre-Roman period” (Rendić-Miočević 1970, 32). In later literature this structure was rarely and briefly mentioned and sometimes incorrectly dated into Roman times (Fazinić ed. 2007, 115). During the annual field survey in 2017, we recorded increasing structural damage on the walls of the cistern and initiated a rescue excavation as the object itself was in danger of collapsing. Three years of excavation established that the cistern was built of large stone blocks in a drywall technique and plastered by three very fine layers of waterproof mortar. The monumental size of the cistern (approximately 10m × 17m), with depth of 3.5m at the deepest point of the inclined bottom, make it quite unique.



Fig. 1a. The cistern at the end of the excavations



Fig. 1b. Detail of the northern corner showing drywall blocks as well as the multi-layered waterproof mortar

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<sup>1</sup> This monument has been called “The Psephisma of Lumbarda” since Josip Brunšmid’s catalogue publication in 1905. It is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. In the text itself the decree is not described as ψήφισμα and it fits its definition only in the broadest sense of a decision that was voted upon.

<sup>2</sup> Text: Brunšmid 1898; SIG II<sup>2</sup> 933; Brunšmid 1905, 96–101, No. 176 and 177; SIG I<sup>3</sup> 141; Rendić-Miočević 1970; Lombardo 2005. Discussion: Vuletić-Vukasović 1883; Radić 1891; Brunšmid 1901; Szántó 1901, 5–6; Wilhelm 1913; Lisičar 1951; Klaffenbach 1958; Maier 1959, 204–206; Rendić-Miočević 1965 (SEG XVII, 312); Asheri 1966, 15; Schmitt 1969; Woodhead 1970; Kršinić-Šove 1970; Яйленко 1971; Braccesi 1977, 310–315; Graham 1983, 43–44; Jones 1987, 155–156; Masson 1990 (SEG XL, 511); Fraser 1993 (SEG XLII, 549); Lombardo 1993; 2002; Cahill 2002, 219–221 (SEG LII, 576); Kuntić-Makvić-Marohnić 2010, 75–77, No. A3.

The characteristic building technique together with pottery discovered during the excavations date the object to the Hellenistic period beyond any doubt, although all finds still have to be analysed and will be published in a separate paper. The new fragment of “The Psephisma of Lumbarda” was discovered in 2018, near the western wall of the cistern, in a layer with stone blocks that collapsed from upper parts of the cistern. The context of the find did not reveal any details concerning its possible original location. However, we had the opportunity to confirm that the last discovered fragment (Lombardo 2005) was discovered in immediate vicinity of the new one. Now we can be almost certain that all known fragments of “The Psephisma of Lumbarda” were excavated from the cistern, but the circumstances under which the stele ended there still elude us.

The new fragment is undoubtedly the upper right-hand corner of the stele containing the text of the decree. The dimensions of the new fragment are  $0.35 \times 0.20\text{m}$ , on the inscribed side. The body of the stele is approximately  $0.20\text{m}$  thick and it becomes thinner towards the upper end. The small fragment published by Lombardo (Lombardo 2005) fits perfectly with this one: it has been actually chipped of its surface on the lower left side. However, our fragment does not join the main fragment A. The new fragment contains the ends of the first ten lines.

The surface of the new fragment is damaged and the letters are not nearly as well preserved as on the other fragments. The letters close to the left edge are either completely destroyed or preserved only in very shallow traces, in some cases made more clearly visible to the eye only with the help of 3D modelling.<sup>3</sup>

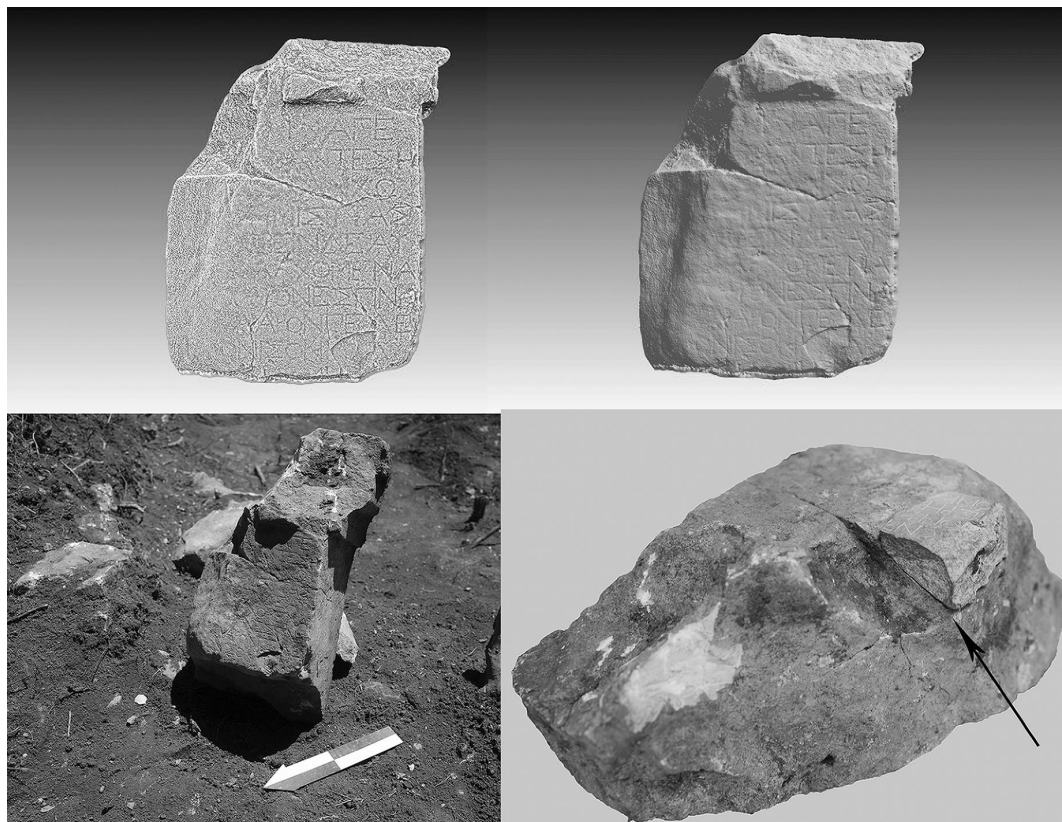


Fig. 2. The new fragment.

Lower left: photograph of the fragment in the field; upper left: radiance scaling applied to a 3D model of the fragment in Meshlab; upper right: directional shading applied to the 3D model in meshlab; lower right: the new fragment together with fragment X interpreted by Lombardo, clearly showing that fragment X is a broken off piece of the new fragment

<sup>3</sup> Using image based modelling principles, we created a 3D model of the new fragment which is in line with current developments in epigraphic studies (Carrero-Pazos–Espinosa-Espinosa 2018). The photographs were taken with a Nikon D7100 with an  $f/8$  and ISO at 100, and the object was placed on a revolving turntable placed 90cm from the sensor on a tripod. In total 146 overlapping images were used to create a dense point cloud in Agisoft Metashape (Agisoft LLC, 2020) of 18 000 000 points, which were in turn used to create a polygonal 3D model of the surface of the inscription field. The model was then colored and shaded in MeshLab (Cignoni et al. 2008) and CloudCompare (CloudCompare ver, 2.1, 2019) software to accentuate the subtle engravings of the damaged letters and to aid us in the reading of the inscription.

The letter size, forms and spacing, as well as line spacing, are entirely consistent with those on the other fragments of the upper part of the stele.

The monument is dated only according to letter forms and layout, as well as its overall appearance and style. Absence of any comparable and/or firmly dated inscription from this region of the Adriatic makes any date imprecise. The stele was first dated “after the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC” (Brunšmid 1898, 5), then “c. a. 385?” (SIG I<sup>3</sup> 141). The date was later revised to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Rendić-Miočević 1965), while Peter Fraser dated it to 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (LGPN III.A 1997, 374).

Here is our reading of the first ten lines directly affected by the discovery of the new fragment. The remaining lines 11–17 of the main part of the text are given according to SIG I<sup>3</sup> 141.

- ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι· ἐφ’ ἱερομνάμονος Πραξιδάμου, Μα[χανέος, τῶν ἀρχαγε-  
 τῶν Ἰσσαίων καὶ Πύλλου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Δάζου· τάδε συν[έγραψαν οἱ αἰρεθέ]γτες ἦ  
 καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳι λαβεῖν ἐξαίρετον τοὺς πρώτους [καταλα]βόντ[ας τὰ]ν χώ-  
 ραν καὶ τειχίζαντας τὴν πόλιν τὰς πόλιος οἰκόπ[εδον ὅ]λον κα[ὶ] ἡμισὺ τὰς  
 5 τετειχισμένας ἐξαίρετον σὺν τῷ μέρει, τὰς δὲ Ε[ . . . . ]ΙΕΡΗ. λ[αβ]εῖν δὲ αὐ-  
 τοὺς καὶ τὰς χώρας ἐξαίρετον τὸν πρῶτον κλᾶρον [πέλεθρ]ον κα[ὶ] τὰ ἐχόμενα  
 πέλεθρα τρία, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τὰ μέρη· ἀναγραφῆμεν δὲ [τὸν πρῶ]τ[ο]ν [κ]λᾶρον ἐς πίνα-  
 [κα] εἰ ἕκαστος ἔλαχε· κατὰμονον δὲ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τ[οῖς ἐγγόν]οις κ[λᾶ]ρον πέλε-  
 [θρ]ον καὶ ἡμισὺ ἕκαστῳ· λαβεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐφέρποντας τῶ[ς] χώρας κλᾶρ[ον] ἴσον ἢ [τ]ᾶ-  
 10 [ς] χώρα[ς] ἀδιαιρέτου πέλεθρα τέσσαρα καὶ ἡμισὺ· ΤΑ[... ca 11 ...]Η[ . ]μη[δέ-]  
 [ποτ]ε τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν χώραν ἄνδαιτον ποή[σεσθαι] μηδαμῶς, εἰ δέ τί  
 [κα ἄρχω]ν προθῇ ἢ ἕτας συναγορήσῃ παρ τ[ᾶ] ἐσαφισμένα, αὐτὸς ἄτιμος καὶ]  
 [τὰ ὑπάρχ]οντα δαμόσι[α ἔστ]ω, ἀθῶιος [δὲ ὁ ἀποκτείν]ας αὐτὸν — — — ]  
 [ — — — — ]ΤΟΥ[ — ]  
 15 [ — — — — ]ΠΑΤΙ[ — ]  
 [εἴ κα τῷ δ]άμῳι δό[ξη]ι — ]  
 [Οἶδε] κατέλαβον τὴν χώρ[αν καὶ ἐτείχι]ξαν τὴν πόλιν·

1 Due to the surface damage, the remains of the letters P and X on the new fragment are shallow but visible, albeit with some difficulty. There appear to be no remaining traces of the preceding letter (restituted as A).

2 The N on the new fragment is shallow but partly visible.

3 The N on the new fragment is shallow but partly visible. There is an empty letter space at the end of the line.

4 A vertical stroke interpreted as the right stroke of the letter H on the new fragment is very shallow but visible.

5 Our reading of the first letter of the small fragment (Lombardo 2005) differs from that of Lombardo who interpreted it as M. At close inspection the stroke at the beginning of the line is clearly the letter I. The entire letter is well preserved and, although it is very close to the edge of the fragment, it is visible that the letter is complete, as a small space of the surface is preserved around the entire letter (see Fig. 3).

The iota is a bit shorter than the following epsilon. In the entire inscription there is quite a variance in the relative size and distance between subsequent letters, showing also in the strings IE and ME, in which the I or the M can be of the same height as the epsilon (IE in line 1, ME in lines 5 and 7), lower height (IE somewhat lower in line 3, ME quite a bit in line 5), or higher (ME in line 8).

6 ἐχόμενα: the A is shallow but visible.

7 The very tops of the letters T and possibly N are clearly visible in the small fragment. The letters Λ, Α and Ρ on the new fragment are shallow but visible.

8 The first Λ is shallow but visible.

9 There is an empty letter space after the last letter, as in line 3.

10 Only the very tops of the strokes remain.

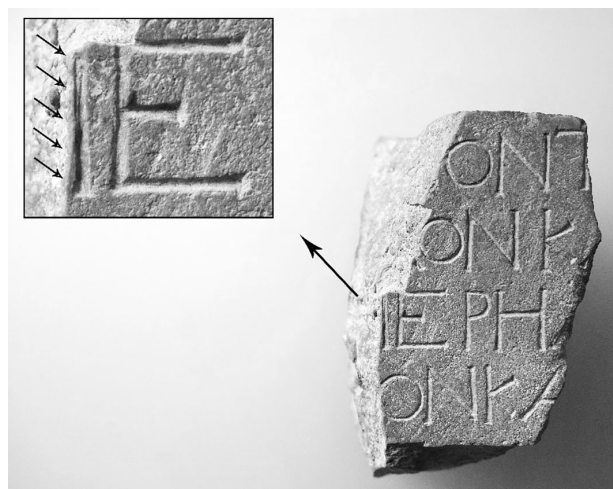


Fig. 3. The small fragment (Lombardo 2005) with emphasis on the letter I in line 5

Few of the existing restitutions have been confirmed on the new stone.

There are seven other inscriptions from Issa or Issaeian settlements dated by *ἱερομνάμων* and this one is the earliest. If the date of around 300 BC is accurate, it would be the earliest example of an eponymous *ἱερομνάμων* anywhere (see Marohnić 2013).

*Μα[χανέος*, the genitive of the month name *Μαχανεύς*, had been proposed by Dittenberger and afterwards generally accepted. It is tempting to consider a different restitution of the end of the first line: *μα[ρτυρούντων ἀ]ρχαγε/τῶν Ἰσσαιῶν καὶ Πύλλου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Δάζου*.

The Issaeian *ἀρχαγέται* (line 1–2) in this context appear to be physical persons, as opposed to legendary founders or divinities. They are connected with Pyllos and Dazos by the conjunction *καὶ* and the genitive case.<sup>4</sup> From the phrase *τῶν ἀ]ρχαγε/τῶν Ἰσσαιῶν* with two genitives in a row, it is not entirely certain whether the *ἀρχαγέται* are meant to be all Issaeians as the polis of Issa, all Issaeian colonists in the new settlement, a select group of representatives of Issa, or perhaps even the representatives of the founders of Issa.

The Issaeians, and as we now know, Issaeian *ἀρχαγέται*, appear in the text on an equal footing with the Illyrian-named father and son, who bear no titles. It has therefore been supposed that this document might be a *συνθήκη*, a treaty. However, the following phrase beginning with *τάδε συν...* (restituted usually as *τάδε συν[έθηκεν]*) is syntactically related to the following *...γτες*, not to the preceding persons in the genitive. The phrase *τάδε συνέθηκεν* is usually followed by the names of the two sides making a treaty in the nominative plural, for which there is simply not enough space here. The phrase precedes the motion formula (*ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ* in line 3) leading to the positive proposals (from *λαβεῖν* in line 3) concerning the rules of land division among citizens, and not leading to anything resembling a treaty, as had been observed before (Graham 1983). It is, however, reasonable to suppose that a separate earlier treaty of some sort might be hinted at by the very mention of Issa and Pyllos and Dazos in the same breath.

The identity of Pyllos and his son Dazos is unknown, as is whether they are from another part of the island or from further afield. Their names are Illyrian (Masson 1990).

In line 2 *οἱ* is restituted instead of *τοί* in *τάδε συν[έγραψαν οἱ αἰρεθέ]γτες*, although it is not expected in this otherwise common phrase, due to the number of available letter spaces and the absence of either *οἱ* or *τοί* on the stone. The phrase implies that a chosen group, a committee, had been appointed to compose the text of the rules of land division which was then passed by vote in the assembly (*ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ* in line 3), making it a decree. It is supposed that this is a decree of Issa and the *δᾶμος* in the motion formula *ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ* would therefore be the Issaeian assembly. The use of emphatic *ἦ καὶ* (line 2–3, see Den-

<sup>4</sup> For the genitive plural see also *λογιστῶν* on the inscription from the nearby Issaeian settlement Tragurion (SGDI III,1 3254): *ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος / Εὐάρεος / τοῦ Τειμασίωνος / λογιστῶν Δαφναίου, Ὀλτίωνος, Σάλλα, / Θαρσύνοντος, Λυσία / γραμματέος Ἀριστοφάνεος*.

niston 1954, 306–307) to combine the two formulae where a simple καί would have sufficed is unexpected in a decree, but any alternative reading of Η as a number or another word seems even less probable.

Brunšmid's reading of the end of line 3 ([καταλα]βόντ[ας τὰ]ν χώ[ραν]) is confirmed on the new fragment.

In line 4, ἡμισυ is a surprise unpredicted by scholars, although οἰκόπ[εδον ὅ]λον had been suggested before (Lombardo 2005). The phrase οἰκόπ[εδον ὅ]λον κα[ὶ] ἡμισυ, “a whole house-plot and a half” appears at first illogical and clumsy – why wouldn't it be “one and a half”, or, better, simply a larger οἰκόπεδον? As the text of the decree accounts for the later arrival of newcomers to the colony (τοὺς ἐφέρποντας in line 9), perhaps we should allow for the possibility of some empty space within the city walls. In that case, a settler would receive his own οἰκόπεδον and half of an empty one which he might later sell to a newcomer or use for another purpose. Xenophon wrote of empty houses and house-plots inside the Athenian walls (*De vect.* II. 6: πολλὰ οἰκιῶν ἔρημά ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν καὶ οἰκόπεδα), arguing that Athens should allow for the distribution of those (as well as land) to metics as a way to increase their number and loyalty. While this is admittedly not the same context as an entirely new settlement, it is, however very much a discussion of how in theory empty plots would be distributed in an already existing city. In this case here on the island of Korčula, two thirds of the space allotted to housing would have been filled at once and a third would remain empty. There is also σὺν τῷ μέρει (line 5) on top of one and a half οἰκόπεδα for each settler, relating either to a part of nearby land unrelated to proper χώρα or possibly to a share in the common and public parts of the city.

The restitution of a part of line 5 remains equally and possibly more difficult: τὰς δὲ Ε[ . . . . ]ΙΕΡΗ. A close inspection of the beginning of the small fragment (see above) revealed the impossibility of the letter Μ and the convenient word μέρη, repeated also in line 7 (τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τὰ μέρη). There is a iota instead. The particle δέ clearly denotes a separation from the previous part of the sentence. There is a lacuna of five letters.

The clause about the distribution of χώρα in lines 5–7 (λ[αβ]εῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς χώρας ἐξαίρετον τὸν πρῶτον κλᾶρον [πέλεθρ]ον κα[ὶ] τὰ ἐχόμενα / πέλεθρα τρία, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τὰ μέρη) reveals an unexpected attribute ἐχόμενα (line 6) to the previously well-known πέλεθρα τρία (line 7). In this context, the meaning of ἐχόμενα would be “neighbouring, bordering on” (Liddell–Scott, s. v. ἔχω, C.III). These three bordering plethra are attached to the first lot (τὸν πρῶτον κλᾶρον), which we restitute as consisting of one plethron (τὸν πρῶτον κλᾶρον [πέλεθρ]ον). This restitution is supported by the phrasing of a similar concept in lines 8 and 9, defining the land minimum: κ[λᾶρον πέλεθρ]ον καὶ ἡμισυ ἐκάστωι. Four plethra instead of three are still a very small plot (Lombardo 2002; Zuchtriegel 2017).

The following clause (line 7 and 8: ἀναγραφῆμεν δὲ [τὸν πρῶ]τ[ο]ν [κ]λᾶρον ἐς πίνα/[κα] εἰ ἕκαστος ἔλαχε) reveals that there was a “tablet” (πίναξ) in which it was written “where” (εἰ) each settler got his first lot. The choice of the word πίναξ implies this is not about this very same stone stele, as the word is much more commonly used for a tablet made of wood or metal. Neither does this stele contain detailed information about each settler's land parcel. Additionally, the clause about the inscription of the decree would belong to the very end of the document. The word “where” (εἰ) is crucial because it implies that the tablet must have contained precise information about the land parcel, possibly descriptive in words and numbers, but probably also visual – a table, a sketch, a drawing, a plan, something resembling a cadaster. It would be significantly easier to record with sufficient precision where each settler got his plot if it were written into a plan than into a list. For the cadastral plan, a cartographic document accompanied by notes (Chouquer–Favory 2001, 45), Roman gromatic writers use both the Latin term *forma* and the Greek τύπος (e. g. Sic. Flacc. *De div.* 1). It was first compiled either on tablets or on some soft material and then inscribed on bronze tablets (*in aereis tabulis*), to be kept in the sanctuary of the imperial cult for further reference. Both the words *forma* and τύπος can refer not only to a draft of a text document but also, primarily, to something visual.



The land minimum clause in lines 8 and 9 (κατάμονον δὲ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις κλῆρον πέλε/[θρο]ν καὶ ἡμισυ ἐκάστωι), although different in wording from all the previously proposed restitutions, remains close to them in content.

In lines 9 and 10 is the clause about the land plots for new settlers (λαβεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐφέρποντας τὰς χώρας κλῆρον ἴσον ἢ [τ]ῶ/[ς] χώρας ἀδιαίρετον πέλεθρα τέσσαρα καὶ ἡμισυ). The certain parts are that whatever new settlers would get is the same (ἴσον) and it is tempting to think of οἰκόπεδον ἴσον. However, the remaining preceding four letter spaces would make for a hard lacuna to fill (TA[. . . οἰκόπεδ]ον ἴσον), while our interpretation of line 4 about the way the empty space was reserved for newcomers also makes it more difficult to presuppose an equal house-plot. The restitution we have decided upon offers the new settler either an identical lot of the chora (i. e. four plethra) or four and a half plethra of the undivided land, probably of lower quality and in need of clearing. Which of these a new settler would get would depend, presumably, on availability in the moment of their arrival.

In the clause concerning the permanence of this land division in lines 10 and 11 (TA[... ca 11 ...]H[. .] μη[δέ/ποτ]ε τὸν πόλιν μηδὲ τὸν χώραν ἀνδαιτον ποι[σέσθαι] μηδαμῶς), the remains of letters at the end of line 10 do not fit any of the existing restitutions.

#### Abbreviations

LGPN: Lexicon of Greek Personal Names

SIG: Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum

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