Late Antique Dalmatia and Pannonia in Cassiodorus’ *Variae* (Addenda)

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Since the publication of my article in the December 2015 issue of the *Povijesni prilozi* (vol. 49) I have noticed omissions that I am obliged to correct. I am grateful to the editors for allowing me to do so. The additions are concerned with one letter that I have misfortune overlooked previously (the letter 3.7 addressed to Bishop Ianuarius of Salona). It has to be stressed that these omissions in no way change the overall historical picture presented and conclusions drawn in the article. The numbers in the underlined brackets indicate the pages in the article, where the additions should be inserted.

Contents and date of the letter

(p. 14)

1) *Ianuario viro venerabili episcopo Salonitano Theodericus rex* (3.7): urging Bishop Ianuarius of Salona to inquire into a matter of payment to one John

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1 I would also like to use this opportunity to add an acknowledgement that I have inadvertently missed previously: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7 2007-2013) under grant agreement n° 291823 Marie Curie FP7-PEOPLE-2011-COFUND (The new International Fellowship Mobility Programme for Experienced Researchers in Croatia - NEWFELPRO). This paper has been written as a part of a project “The Justinianic Age in Dalmatia and Southern Pannonia (JUSTINIANDALMPAN)” which has received funding through NEWFELPRO project under grant agreement n° 60.
for a quantity of sixty tuns\(^2\) of oil for lamps which the bishop has received from him but have not been paid for.

[With this letter, the number of letters from the \textit{Variae} relating in one way or another to Dalmatian and Pannonian matters now totals twenty four, excluding the two that refer to Histria.]

\(\text{(p. 17)}\)

The letter is dated by Theodor Mommsen, who is copied by Åke Johansson Fridh, and Stefan Krautschick as follows: \(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Mommsen/Fridh(^3)</th>
<th>Krautschick(^4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>507/511</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Provinces and their administration

\(\text{(p. 27)}\)

To the variety of local functions and offices existing in the provinces and mentioned in the \textit{Variae}, which have been noted in the previous version of the article, one high church office pertaining to Dalmatia should be added, the head of the ecclesiastical province of Salona:

\[\text{episcopus Salonitanus: 3.7 titulum.}\]

The prosopography

\(\text{(p. 35)}\)

To the number of persons mentioned in the \textit{Variae} as active or living in or connected in their official capacity or otherwise to Dalmatia and Pannonia during the


Ostrogothic rule should now be added two more, which amounts to sixteen named persons in total.

Ianuarius (3.7);
John (3.7.1).

(p. 40)

IANUARIUS, bishop of Salona; styled *vir venerabilis* (3.7 titulum) and *sanctitas vestra* (3.7.1), which are the usual terms of address to bishops in the *Variae* (1.9; 2.8; 3.37; 4.31; 4.44; 8.8; 9.15.3; 10.34; 11.3.7; 12.37). The entire letter addressed to Bishop is formulated as a moralizing admonishment by King Theoderic, and one not at all flattering for the head of the ecclesiastical province of Dalmatia: “We indeed command everyone to nurture and uphold justice, but particularly those who are elevated by divine honors to be made closest to the heavenly grace as long as they should be distant from a terrestrial desire. And so John has moved us with a lamentable allegation that Your Sanctity has received sixty tuns of oil for filling up the lamps from him, the cost of which he claims ought to be restituted to him. Indeed, a promise is valid unless something adverse is involved there. For although it is always proper to uphold justice, this is particularly necessary in those things which are offered to divine views: let us think not that God does not know whence he receives if he acquiesces to fraudulent offerings. And therefore, if you recognize the petitioner’s complaint as true, make that which is owed be restituted without delay according to a consideration of justice that you preach by sacred law, so that no one laments that he has suffered losses from you for whom is more appropriate to provide help. Hence, make an effort that you who do not usually transgress for great matters are now not seen - heaven forfend! - to sin in something small” (3.7.1-3: *Omnes quidem iustitiam colere et observare praecipimus, sed eos maxime qui divinis honoribus eriguntur, ut supernae gratiae fiant proximi, dum a terrena fuerint cupiditate longinqui. Iohannes itaque flebili nos allegatione pulsavit sanctitatem vestram a se sexaginta orcas olei ad implenda luminaria suscepsisse, quarum pretium sibi postulat oportere restitui. Bonum quidem votum, si tamen non ibi aliquid miscetur adversum. Nam licet ubique deceat iustitiam custodiri, in illis rebus maxime necessaria est, quae divinis obtutibus offeruntur, ne putemus ignorare deum, unde accipiat, si fraudatis oblationibus adquiescat. Et ideo, si veram querimoniam cognoscitis supplicantis, consideratione iustitiae, quam sancta lege praedicatis, facite quae iure debentur sine tarditate restitui: quatenus nullus ingemiscat illata sibi per vos fuisse dispensia, quos decet potius praestare iuveni. Quapropter studete, ut, qui non soletis pro rebus magnis excedere, nunc non videamini, quod absit, in parvitate peccare*).
John (Iohannes), presumably a merchant or perhaps a possessors. It is not entirely clear whether he stemmed from Dalmatia (if he was a possessors that is a likely possibility) or possibly from Italy (including Histria), but he may have been a known figure to King Theoderic since he is mentioned in the letter without any additional remarks. He is said to have sold sixty tuns of oil for lamps to the bishop of Salona, but did not receive the expected payment, which is why he petitioned to the king, asking him with what is styled flebilis allegatio (lamentable allegation) to intervene.

Provincial economy

Apart from taxation misconduct, the case of John and his sixty tuns of oil that had been sold to Bishop Ianuarius of Salona but never paid for seems to attest to another type of economic misconduct in Dalmatia in the Ostrogothic time: non-payment for goods delivered or services rendered (3.7). On the other hand, as in the case of failure to pay the siliquaticum, this is an evidence of existing commercial activities in the province, whether on local level if John was a merchant or an oil producer from Dalmatia, or on the interprovincial level if he came from Italy or Histria. In any event, even though the letter pertaining to the case does not reveal this, it is fairly likely that John, with King Theoderic’s backing, eventually managed to obtain his payment.

Thus sixty tuns of oil sold to Bishop of Salona may be construed as a testimony for the olive oil production in Dalmatia or for the regional import of goods from Italy or Histria.

5 That he was a possessors from Salona is maintained by Lizzi Testa, “Comment to 3.7”, 211, even though she also says that the hypothesis of his being a negotiator olearius cannot be discarded. She even claims that the term describing the containers for the transport of oil (orca) might suggest a regional or local merchandise and not its overseas provenance, which would, as she puts it, support the idea that Iohannes was a Salonitan possessors and not an oil merchant. Yet, she herself adduces written evidence showing that such containers were also used for a transport by sea.

6 Testa, “Comment to 3.7”, 211, believes that the king was not informed about non-payment for delivered goods by John personally, but likely through an official in charge of checking the tax obligations in the province.

7 The same phrase appears three more times in the Variae in relation to irregularities concerning ecclesiastical officials (3.37) or church matters (9.15.2), or to other matters involving church personalities (12.26.1).

8 A fragmentary epitaph found at the Manastirine site in Solin mentions one Balerianus who seems to have been a negotiator originating from Viminacium. Cf. Jean-Pierre Cailler et al., Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne IV-VII siècles, Rome & Split: École française de Rome; Musée archéologique de Split, 2010, 540-542 (no. 242).
Provincial society

(p. 57)
Furthermore, if John to whom the bishop of Salona owed money was indeed a merchant (regardless of whether from Dalmatia, Italy or Histria), King Theoderic’s intercession on his behalf shows the royal willingness to protect the interests of the commercial class. If John was a possessor, that is an oil producer, his case may be another example of the king’s readiness to display an active royal care towards the landowner elite in Dalmatia. In addition, Theoderic’s intervention in this case, as in the cases of landowners from Savia whose representatives are alluded to and are said to have often approached the king (5.15.1), and of landowners from Dalmatia who could enlist the help of an influential courtier to state their grievance before the king, attests to the effectiveness of immediate appeals from the interested parties as during the best imperial times.

Politics and ideology

(p. 64)
Moreover, the king promotes himself to a position of a corrector and admonisher of those who are perceived as the highest moral authority, ecclesiastical dignitaries (3.7).

Addenda varia

(p. 26)
(p. 34)

note 96 (in continuation): It is worth noting that a sarcophagus inscription from the Manastirine site in Solin mentions one Saturninus miles Salonitanus. Cf. Jean-Pierre Cailler et al., Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne IVe-VIIe siècles, Rome & Split: École française de Rome; Musée archéologique de Split, 2010, 587-589 (n. 282). His name would suggest that he was recruited locally.

(p. 52)


**Corrigenda**

(p. 50)

*instead of* has not been supresed, *read* has not been suppressed

(p. 56)

*instead of* apparently none of those that plagued Savia before (5.15), *read* apparently none of those that plagued Savia before (5.14).

*instead of* their fiscal obligations to the less fortunate (tenuis fortuna) (5.15.1), *read* their fiscal obligations to the less fortunate (tenuis fortuna) (5.14.1).

(p. 61)

*instead of* fifteen letters deal exclusively with matters relating to Savia (3), Pannonia Sirmiensis (3) and Dalmatia (9), *read* sixteen letters deal exclusively with matters relating to Savia (3), Pannonia Sirmiensis (3) and Dalmatia (10).

instead of (*iustitia, iustus and ius are recurring terms: 3.23.3; 3.24.3...*), read (*iustitia, iustus and ius are recurring terms: 3.7.1; 3.7.2; 3.23.3; 3.24.3...*)
Kasnoantička Dalmacija i Panonija u Kasiodorovim Variae
(Dodatak)

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Sažetak