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Late Antique Dalmatia and Pannonia in Cassiodorus' *Variae* (*Addenda*)¹

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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 unfortunately 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

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- 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

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 tuns² 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 *Variae* relating in one way or another to Dalmatian and Pannonian matters now totals twenty four, excluding the two that refer to Histria.]

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The letter is dated by Theodor Mommsen, who is copied by Åke Johansson Fridh, and Stefan Krautschick as follows:³⁴

Letter	Mommsen/Fridh ³	Krautschick ⁴
3.7	507/511	510

Provinces and their administration

(p. 27)

To the variety of local functions and offices existing in the provinces and mentioned in the *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:

episcopus Salonitanus: 3.7 titulum.

The prosopography

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

² The term used is *orca* which is a large earthenware jar for holding liquids, wine, oil, water and other, a type of amphora. Cf. Kenneth D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1975, 180-181. See also Rita Lizzi Testa, "Comment to 3.7", in: *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro Senatore, Varie*, vol. II: *Libri III-V*, eds. Andrea Gardina, Giovanni Alberto Cecconi, and Ignazio Tantillo, Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2014, 211.

³ *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae*, ed. Theodorus Mommsen, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi 12), Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, 83; *Cassiodori Variarum libri XII*, in *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Senatoris Opera I*, ed. Åke J. Fridh, (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 96), Turnhout: Brepols, 1973, 103.

⁴ Stefan Krautschick, *Cassiodor und die Politik seiner Zeit*, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1983, 75 (3.7).

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

Ianuarius (3.7);

John (3.7.1).

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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 suscepisse, quarum pretium sibi postulat oportere restitui. Bonum quidem votum, si tamen non ibi aliquid misceatur 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 dispendia, quos decet potius praestare iuvamina. 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 *possessor*.⁵ It is not entirely clear whether he stemmed from Dalmatia (if he was a *possessor* 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.⁶ 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)⁷ to intervene.

Provincial economy

(p. 48)

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.⁸ 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.

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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 *possessor* 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 *possessor* 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^e-VII^e 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)

note 63 (in continuation): One particular official that is mentioned in the *Variae* (2.10, 5.6, 6.13, 7.31, and likely 4.5, 8.27) but not in connection to Dalmatia is attested in an epitaph found at the Manastirine site in Solin. It is a *comitiacus* styled *v(ir) d(evotissimus)*. Cf. Jean-Pierre Cailler et al., *Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne IV^e-VII^e siècles*, Rome & Split: École française de Rome; Musée archéologique de Split, 2010, 542-544 (no. 243), with John Robert Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II: A.D. 305-527, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, 222, where it is suggested that this *comitiacus* might have been *princeps officii* of the *comes Dalmatiae*. About the office, see Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, vol. 1, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964, 254-255; Paul S. Barnwell, *Emperor, Prefects & Kings. The Roman West, 395-565*, London: Duckworth, 1992, 144-145; Andrea Giardina, "Amministrazione e politica nel regno ostrogoto: il comitiacum officium", in: *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale*

esarcale. Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'Alto Medioevo, Ravenna 6-12 giugno 2004, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005, 63-86; Gideon Maier, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu den Institutionen der ostgermanischen Völkerwanderungsreiche*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005, 186-194.

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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 IV^e-VII^e 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.

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note 154 (in continuation): Even though the *Variae* do not mention *defensores (civitatis)* in Dalmatia, three men labeled as *defensor* are known from inscriptions dated to the 6th century and discovered at the Manastirine site in Solin. Cf. Jean-Pierre Cailler et al., *Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne IV^e-VII^e siècles*, Rome & Split: École française de Rome; Musée archéologique de Split, 2010, 536-538 (no. 239), 561-562 (no. 259), 571-572 (no. 267).

Corrigenda

(p. 50)

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

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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).

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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)

(p. 61-62)

note 178

instead of On relative prosperity of Dalmatia in the 6th century in the context of local ecclesiastical circumstances, cf. ; with Ivanka Nikolajević, “Salona Christiana aux VI^e et VII^e siècles”, in *Disputationes Salonitanae 1970*, ed. Željko Rapanić (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1975), 94; Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, “Honorius Iunior, Salonitanae urbis episcopus. Essai sur la Dalmatie de son temps”, in *Radovi XIII. međunarodnog kongresa za starokršćansku arheologiju: L'Époque de Justinien et les problèmes de VI^e et VII^e siècles*, vol. 2, eds. Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1998), 997-1002., *read* On relative prosperity of Dalmatia in the 6th century in the context of local ecclesiastical circumstances, cf. **Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, “Honorius Iunior, Salonitanae urbis episcopus. Essai sur la Dalmatie de son temps”, in *Radovi XIII. međunarodnog kongresa za starokršćansku arheologiju: L'Époque de Justinien et les problèmes de VI^e et VII^e siècles*, vol. 2, eds. Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1998), 997-1002;** with Ivanka Nikolajević, “Salona Christiana aux VI^e et VII^e siècles”, in *Disputationes Salonitanae 1970*, ed. Željko Rapanić (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1975), 94.

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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

Otkako mi je članak pod ovim naslovom objavljen u 49. svesku *Povijesnih priloga* iz prosinca 2015., primijetio sam propuste koje sam dužan ispraviti. Zahvalan sam urednicima što su mi to omogućili. Ti dodaci tiču se ponajprije jednog pisma koje sam na nesreću prije previdio (pismo 3.7 upućeno salonitanskom biskupu Januariju). Treba naglasiti da ovi propusti ni u kojem slučaju ne mijenjaju ni opću povijesnu sliku predočenu u članku niti donesene zaključke. Brojke u podcrtanim zagrada naznačavaju stranicu u članku, gdje se dodaci imaju ubaciti.