

Patrimony of St. Peter in Dalmatia

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In the correspondence between two Roman bishops Vigilus (537-555) and Gregory I the Great (590-604) one can find information about the Patrimony of St. Peter in Dalmatia. In the letter addressed to his deacons Sebastian and Rusticus, dating from year 548/549, Pope Vigilus has mentioned the Patrimony of St. Peter in Dalmatia four times (*Dalmatiarum patrimonium, patrimonium in Dalmatia*). Pope Gregory I the Great in his letters, dating from years 592, 593 and 594, also speaks about the Patrimony of St. Peter in Dalmatia (*patrimonium in Dalmatia*) and about the Patrimony of Holy Church (*patrimonium Sanctae ecclesiae*). Administrators of the Patrimony of St. Peter in Dalmatia (*rectores*) were also papal legates in the diocese of *Salona* (i.e. Dalmatia). As papal representatives, although they were in the rank with minor Church orders, they had extraordinary authority in Dalmatian clerics. They could handle investigations concerning Archbishops of *Salona*, and they could deny bishops—right to *palium* and they could excommunicate them from the Church. The available sources, unfortunately, cannot tell us much about the origin of this papal Dalmatian Patrimony, as well as they are silent about its exact location.

The letter of Pope Vigilus to deacons Rusticus and Sebastian

In 550 Pope Vigilus wrote a rather long letter to his deacons Rusticus and Sebastian¹, and in this letter he mentions the Dalmatian Patrimony (*Dalmatiarum patrimonium*) together with the Patrimony in Dalmatia (*patrimonium in Dalmatia*):² "And after all you [Sebastian] have passionately asked us to send you to the Dalmatian Patrimony. As you had showed us so great respect, we have allowed you this gladly and without any fear. However, since you have come to *Salona* to administer the Patrimony, as the many have told us, you mingled with unauthorised and according to the Roman Church not permitted clerics, with those who were ordained against the rules of the Roman Church by Honorius the bishop of aforementio-

¹ MANSI, *Collectio*, vol. IX, 355; MIGNE, *Patrologia*, tomus 69, epist. XIV, 43-51.

² MANSI, *Collectio*, vol. IX, 355; MIGNE, *Patrologia*, tomus 69, epist. XIV, 46; CD, I, 4-5, br. VII; IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Povijesni izvori*, 162: "Postea vero ut a nobis ad Dalmatiarum patrimonium mittereris, summis precibus postulasti. Quod nos securi, quia talem feceras cautionem, animo libenti concessimus. Qui dum in Salonitanam urbem pro ordinatione patrimonii advenisses, quantum ad nos postea est plurimorum relatione perductum, illicitis te et a sede apostolica prohibitis ordinationibus miscuisti, et quos Honorius, tunc praedicatae civitatis episcopus, contra consuetudinem Romanae vel suae ecclesiae, sedis apostolicae constituta sacris ordinibus applicaverat, non solum prohibere penitus noluit, sed nec nobis ex hac causa vel scripto referre, vel quando Thessalonicae nobis occurreras, me-

ned city. Moreover, not only that you did not do anything against this, but you also - with the full awareness of your guilt - did not inform us about it; even when you came to *Thessalonica* you did not tell us anything about this. Furthermore, because of your greed you continued to cooperate with them, as they were legally and reasonably ordained, and finally you were caught as their partner in bribe. However, for the second time you were sent from *Thessalonica* as the administrator of the Patrimony in Dalmatia, and we kept warning you with our authority that you must not leave this province before you collect all the income from the Dalmatian and Praevalitan Patrimony. But you did not care about this and you hurried to Constantinople, only to make a scandal - as it was clear from the things that happened after". This letter was corroborated by the signatures of three bishops (John Marsican, Zakey Silacen, Iulian Cungan), two papal deacons (Sapatatus and Peter), papal first notary (*primicerius*) Surgentius, and some other not named sub-deacons³.

The Patrimony of St. Peter in Dalmatia in this short paragraph from the letter of Pope Vigilius was mentioned four times. Firstly it was called Dalmatian Patrimony (*patrimonium Dalmatiarum*), secondly it is named only as the Patrimony (*patrimonium*), on the third place it is noted in the same form as firstly (*patrimonium Dalmatiarum*), and finally it is mentioned together with the Patrimony of St. Peter in the province *Praevalis* (*de Praevalitano patrimonio*).

From this letter of Pope Vigilius, as well as from the any other source from this period, it is not possible to determine the exact location of the papal Patrimony in Dalmatia and his size, nor in the province *Praevalis*. It is also not possible to reveal whether the papal Dalmatian Patrimony, as also papal praevalitan Patrimony, were packed together or they were divided in several small manors. Anyhow on the territory of Dalmatia in the middle sixth century existed large estates which consist of more farms dispersed on the islands as well on the land⁴. From the above-mentioned letter Pope Vigilius one can suppose that these papal Dalmatian Patrimony on the end of the first half of the sixth century was not large. However, the income (*pensiones*) from them was quite significant for the Pope. This can be concluded already from the fact that Pope Vigilius entrusted the administration (*ordinatio patrimonii*) of the Dalmatian Patrimony to the person from his nearest circle. In this case it was his deacon Sebastian, who was introduced to this position twice - primarily because of Sebastian' asking. But even though the administration of the Dalmatian and Praevalitan Patrimony was entrusted to the Pope's nearest cooperators, this was not a guarantee that the income will end in the papal cash-box. This is clearly visible from the fact that Pope Vigilius, as personally says, several times had to remind his deacon Sebastian to collect the income from the Dalmatian and Praevalitan Patrimonies and to bring it to *Thessalonica*. However, as the deacon did not obey the Pope's directions and because of others faults, the Pope repeatedly had to scold him. And this was the chief reason why the afore-mentioned letter was written. From this letter, and any other sources, it is not possible to reveal why the administration of the Dalmatian and Praevalitan Patrimony was entrusted to the same person, and why this administrator had to go to *Salona* (*in Salonitanam urbem*) to take these Patrimonies in charge. Maybe this can be proof that the Dalmatian Patrimony of St. Peter were somewhere in the surroundings of *Salona*. Moreover, from this fact one could conclude that this administrator al-

mor conscientiae tuae, ne verbo quidem suggerere voluisti, et cum illis, tanquam cum legitimo et rationabili ordine factis, cupiditatis spiritu acquievisti procedere, et eorum socius es communionis venalitate repertus. Iterum Thessalonica ad Dalmatias patrimonii regendi causa remissus es, ex qua provincia frequenti te auctoritate monuimus, ut non ante discederes, nisi omnes secundum pollicitationem tuam tam de Dalmatiarum patrimonio quam de Praevalitano colligeres pensiones. Sed tu, omnia pratermittens, ad Constantinopolitanam urbem pro solo faciendo venire scandalo festinasti, quantum et sequens exitus declaravit".

³ MANSI, *Collectio*, vol. IX, 355; MIGNE, *Patrologia*, tomus 69, epist. XIV, 50-51; CD, I, 4-5, br. VII; IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Povijesni izvori*, 162: "Praesentem autem sententiam per Joannem Marsicanum, Zacchaeum Syllacenum, Julianum Cingulanum, fratres et coepiscopos nostros, sed et Sapatatum atque Petrum filios nostros diaconos, nec non et filium nostrum Surgentium primicerium notariorum, atque Servumdei subdiaconum regionis secundae, nostrae cui praesidemus ecclesiae, vobis noscitur transmisisse".

so could have been a papal legate at the Salonitan, or Dalmatian Church. This conclusion can be supported with the fact that in his letters the Pope criticises deacon Sebastian because of his negligence concerning the unlawful ordaining of clerics in the Salonitan Church, nor did not tell anything about them. Furthermore, this possibility can be also supported with the fact that in the times of Gregory I the Great these administrators of the papal Patrimony in Dalmatia really were the papal official representatives (*responsalis*) at the at the Salonitan, or Dalmatian, Church. On the other hand, the fact that Pope Vigilius entrusted the both Patrimones (in Dalmatia and in the province of Praevalis) to only one person can lead to the conclusion that also papal Praevalitan Patrimony around the mid-sixth century was not large either. Moreover, as in 297 the southeastern part of the province of Dalmatia was extracted and became a new province - *Praevalis* (*provincia Praevalis, Praevalitana*) with the capital in *Scodra*⁵ that soon became also an ecclesiastical centre⁶, this could be the reason why one and the same person was the administrator of the both papal Patrimones. On the former unity of Dalmatian and Praevalitan territory points out also the form of this province induced by the Patrimony (*Dalmatiarum patrimonium*). The same plural form can be found in the sources already in the year 489 (*in provintia Dalmatiarum*) concerning the Dalmatian Patrimony of Germanic king Odoacer (476-493)⁷. Therefore, it might be right what some scholars maintain that these facts reflect earlier unity of the Dalmatian region⁸. The administration of the Praevalitan Patrimony and the collection the of their income could be entrusted to the administrator of the Dalmatian Patrimony because of the fact that he, in this case it was deacon Sebastian, if he wanted to travel from *Thessalonica* to *Salona*, (if he did not travel by the sea from *Dyrrhachium* (Durrës)⁹ had to pass through *Skodra*¹⁰. Pope Gregory I the Great in a letter from 591 speaks about the administrator of the papal Dalmatian Patrimonia, and in this context he mentions Stephen, the bishop of the metropolitan centre in the province *Praevalis*¹¹. It seems that this fact can also support the hypothesis that one and the same person administrated both the papal Patrimones (Dalmatian and Praevalitean) during the first years of the last decade of the sixth century.

In the time of writing the aforementioned letter Pope Vigilius was in Thessalonica and in Constantinople in custody of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (527-565). By the Emperor's will Thessalonica in this time became the ecclesiastical centre of the *East Illyricum*. This pe-

⁴ MARINI, *I papiri diplomatici*, No. 78; НИКОЛАЈЕВИЋ, Велики посед (NIKOLAJEVIĆ, Le grand domaine), 290, sl. 3: "[—] Item [prae]cipio ut in [in]sula [Melitense] dentur per superscriptum [—] luminaria per omnes Dei sacras ecclesias vel qui ad ipsam diocesen pertinent solidi centum & ad pauperes omnes] in pd. In insula solidi centum similiter volo ut dentur in castella qui sunt super civitatem Salonitanam tam in luminaria sacrarum ecclesiarum quam ad pauperes id est Asinio: Tlu(a) [-] bielio. Gennes(r) [-] una cum alis: pulta: seu elu(ahr)sa: solidi centum s(r) [-] vero excepte quod in anteriore mea deliberavi volun[tatem] ad libertos meos quam ad alios vel quod in praesentes codicillos meos pro remedio anime meae etiam in luminaria vel ad pauperes dandum deliberavi et quanti remanserint in auro solidi volo ut omnes pro redemptione captivo[rum] —[—].

⁵ SARIA, Praevalitana, 1673-1680; КОВАЧЕВИЋ, Црна Гора (KOVAČEVIĆ, Montenegro), 242-243, 257; НОХНА, Shkodra, 551-568.

⁶ PETERS, Die ekklesiale Geographie, 105; НОХНА, Procesi i kristianizimit, 69-88.

⁷ MARINI, *I papiri diplomatici*, No. 78; НИКОЛАЈЕВИЋ, Велики посед (NIKOLAJEVIĆ, Le grand domaine), 280.

⁸ UGLEŠIĆ, Dalmacija, 65, 67, 69.

⁹ About the sea-routes see: BRUSIĆ, Problemi plovidbe Jadranom, 549-568; JURIŠIĆ, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 47-59.

¹⁰ See: TIR, K 34, *Carte historique et topographique*.

¹¹ FARLATI, *Illyr. Sacr.* IV, 170; MANSI, *Collectio*, vol. IX, 1057; MIGNE, *Patrologia*, tomus 77, lib. I, epist. XXXVIII (527); CCSL, CXL, I, 36 pag. 43: "Gregorius Malcho Episcopo Dalmatiae. Iohannes vir eloquentissimus, consiliarius viri excellentissimi domini Georgii praefecti per Italiam, insinuavit nobis contra Stephanum, episcopum Scodrensis civitatis, quorundam se negotiorum habere controversias, et petiit inter eum et se iudicium debere consistere. Propterea fraternitatem tuam praesenti praeceptione curavimus admonendam ut praedictum episcopum ad eligendum compellas venire iudicium. Et quicquid inter praedictum Iohannem virum magnificum et saepe fatum episcopum electorum fuerit sententia definitum, ad effectum perducere non omittas, ut et actor de consecuta iustitia gratias referat ut pulsatus, cum ad cognitionem deducitur, nihil contra se de illata iniustitia conquatur".

riod was also the time of the ecclesiastical disputes known as Three Chapters (*Tria capitula*). In these disputes the Emperor's influence was of the great importance. Trying to consolidate the circumstances in the state, the Emperor managed to force even the Roman bishop himself to accede condemning the *Tria capitula*¹². In order to control the Pope, the Emperor ordered that the Pope has to stay in Constantinople. In his journey to Constantinople Pope Vigilius stopped at Thessalonica, where received further support in favor of the Three Chapters by some eastern bishops. However, Emperor Justinian did not like the influence of the bishop of Thessalonica, as like as he disliked the power of the bishop in the Empire's capital. Therefore in 535 he subordinated the churches of the prefecture of the East Illyricum (which included provinces *Dacia Ripensis*, *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Pannonia Secunda*, *Moesia Prima*, *Præaevalis*, *Dardania* and *Macedonia Secunda*) to the bishop of the *Iustiniana Prima* (on the territory of Caričin Grad near present-day Leskovac in southern Serbia)¹³. However, because of the war against the Ostrogoths in Italy, in 545 the Emperor was forced to turn back Illyricum under the jurisdiction of the Roman bishop. The Sebastian's administration of the papal Dalmatian and Prævalian Patrimony took place exactly in this period of complicated circumstances, which could help the abuses and misuses in the administration of the Patrimony of St. Peter in Dalmatia and Prævalitana and also within the Salonitan Church. All these were mentioned in the aforementioned papal letters of Vigilius. The ecclesiastical disputes on the Three Chapters reflected also on the Salonitan, as well as the Dalmatian, Church. This was the reason why the Emperor Justinian ordered the expulsion of Salonitan bishop Florian firstly in the Egyptian province of *Thebaida Prima* in 554 and then to *Ancyra* in mid Anatolia in 562¹⁴.

In the time of the Vigilius' pontificate and Justinian's rule on the road that connected *Salona* and *Scodra* (through Poljica, between Split and Omiš) at the locality presently called Gate (ancient *Gedata*)¹⁵ an early Christian sacred object with the characteristics of Byzantine architecture was built¹⁶. One may say that this object is unique in Dalmatia¹⁷. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine which role it had, similarly as it is not clear what was the function of the late ancient palace nearby Ostrvica¹⁸. It is hardly possible that building of this complex sacred object was just a coincidence, especially if we know that at the same location there were built some objects for manufacturing olive oil and wine¹⁹. This indicates that the person who supervised the sacred object in Gate obviously had huge vineyards and olive-groves. On the other hand, whether the sacred object in Gate and the palace in Ostrvica could be somehow connected with the papal Dalmatian Patrimony, still is an open question. An inscription from Izbičanj near Prijepolje in the southwest Serbia confirms the fact that in Justinian's time it was possible that the Church could possess not only sacred objects but also some other kinds of buildings such as palaces, springs, stables, thermals, etc.²⁰ In Illyricum similar examples could be found also in the periods before Emperor Justinian. For

¹² About Justinian's ecclesiastical politics see: MURPHY, Vigilius, 665-667; BRATOŽ, Kirche, 537-545; CAMBI, L'âge de Justinien, 933-958.

¹³ *CIC*, III, 94 v. 2; GRANIĆ, Die Gründung, 123-140; ГРАНИТЬ, Оснивање архиепископије (GRANIĆ, La fondation de l'archevêche), 113-133; МИРКОВИЋ, Централне балканске области (MIRKOVIĆ, Central-Balkans), 104; BRATOŽ, Razvoj organizacije, 378.

¹⁴ IVANIŠEVIĆ, Salonitanski biskupi, 239-240.

¹⁵ About this route in Poljica: ČAČE, Civitates, 368-369; ČAČE, Gedate, 194-199.

¹⁶ JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, Kompleks, 143, 144, 147.

¹⁷ JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, Istraživanja, 41-161.

¹⁸ RAPANIĆ, Palača, 149-162.

¹⁹ JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, Istraživanja, 36-38, 56-60.

²⁰ ВУЛИЋ, Антички споменици (VULIĆ, Ancient Monuments), 332; ВУЛИЋ, Антички споменици наше земље (VULIĆ, Ancient Monuments of Our Land), 330; МИРКОВИЋ, (MIRKOVIĆ) Antistes Stefanus, 1-8; ILJug. 1735: + *Omnia quae cernis magno constructa labore / moenia, templa, domus, fontes, stabula, atria, thermas / auxilio Christi (!) paucis construxit in annis / antistes Stefanus (!) sub principe Iustiniano.*

example, in the period of Emperors Valentinian I (364-375) and Valens (464-378) the Church became owner of *Felix Romuliana* the palace of the former Diocletian's co-regent Galerius (293-311), which was built in Gamzigrad near Zaječar in northeastern Serbia²¹. By the same token, by the end of the fifth century and in the beginning of the sixth century the Church had huge real properties in Dalmatia, such as late ancient complex in Mogorjelo near Čapljina in present-day west Herzegovina²².

Dalmatian Patrimony in the correspondence of Pope Gregory I the Great

In the correspondence of Gregory I the Great the papal Dalmatian Patrimony was for the first time mentioned in the letter written to Jobin the Byzantine prefect of Illyricum (*praefectus praetorio Illyrici*) in 592. In this letter the Pope congratulates the prefect because he managed to settle the situation in Illyricum after a barbarian raid, but also he recommends the newly appointed administrator of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony²³. From another letter of the same Pope, dating from March 593, it is clear that this newly appointed administrator was subdeacon Antoninus. Antoninus came to this position after the previous administrator Malchus was removed²⁴. It is not clear from the sources why the Pope removed Malchus from the position, especially if we know that in 591 he was asked to mediate a dispute between Stephen the bishop of *Scodra* and John the counsellor of the prefect of Italy²⁵. Disagreements between some Dalmatian bishops and the state officials can be found also in the sources from the previous times, such as between Salonitan bishop Ianuarius (507-511) and some fellow called John, in which case even the Ostrogothic king Theoderic (489-526) had to intervene²⁶. In the aforementioned letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to the prefect of Illyricum, the Pope mentions the Dalmatian Patrimony in diminutive form (*patrimonialis*). However, from this information one cannot deduce whether this diminutive reflects the real situation - as some authors assume²⁷ - or it was just a courteous expression. Since in this turbulent period many of the dioceses in the region of Illyricum were abandoned. This is visible from the report of the prefect Jobin²⁸. It is possible that something like this happened also to the papal Dalmatian Patrimony. Moreover, the previous administrator of these estates, bishop

²¹ СРЕЈОВИЋ, *Гамзиград* (SREJOVIĆ, *Gamzigrad*), pass; СРЕЈОВИЋ (SREJOVIĆ), *Felix Romuliana*, pass.

²² MARIJANOVIĆ, Prilog, 110-120.

²³ CCSL, CXL, II, 20, pag. 107: "*Praesentium igitur latorem, quem illic pro ipsa exigui patrimoniali administratione direximus, vestrae exelentiae commendamus*".

²⁴ About Malchus see: ŠKEGRO, Da li je rimski Delminij, 23-37; ŠKEGRO, Duvanjski prostori, pass.

²⁵ FARLATI, *Illyr. Sacr. IV*, 170; MANSI, *Collectio*, vol. IX, 1057; MIGNE, *Patrologia*, tomus 77, lib. I, epist. XXXVIII (527); CCSL, CXL, I, 36 pag. 43.

²⁶ CCSL, XCVI, *Variarum lib. VII*, pag. 103; IVANIŠEVIĆ, Povijesni izvori, 157-158: "*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 acquiescat. Et ideo, si veram querimoniam cognoscitis supplicantis, consideratione iustitiae, quam sancta lege praedicatis, facite quae iure debentur sine tarditate restitui: quatinus nullus ingemiscat illata sibi per vos fuisse dispendia, quos decet potius praestare iuamina. Quatpropter studete, ut, qui non soletis, pro rebus magnis excedere, nunc non videamini, quod absit, in parvitate peccare*".

²⁷ IVANIŠEVIĆ, Salonitanski biskupi, 241.

²⁸ CD, I, pag. 6; RAČKI, *Documenta*, pag. 238; CCSL, CXL, I, 43, pag. 57: "*Iobinus excellentissimus vir filius noster, praefectus praetorio per Illyricum, scriptis suis nobis indicasse dinoscitur ad se sacris apicibus destinatis iussum fuisse ut episcopos, quos e propriis locis hostilitatis furor expulerat, ad eos episcopos qui nunc usque in locis propriis degunt pro sustentatione ac stipendiis praesentis esse vitae iungendos*".

Malchus, was quite lousy and he did not administer them well, as well as he did not pay much attention to the properties of the Salonitan Church. However, bearing in mind the fact that after Malchus Gregory I the Great appointed a new administrator, it is quite difficult to believe that the term *patrimonialis* represented the real situation of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony.

The papal Dalmatian Patrimony are also mentioned in the letter of Gregory I the Great to John the bishop of Ravenna, dating from July 592. In the first part of this letter the Pope informs the Ravennian bishop about his conciliation with Natalis the Salonitan Archbishop (around 580-592). In the second part of this letter the Pope asks John to persuade bishop Malchus to inform the Pope about the income of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony. This information about the income the Pope intended to use in his decision of whether or not to entrust the Dalmatian Patrimony to Malchus again²⁹. Even from the letters that Gregory I the Great sent to his sub-deacon Antoninus, who replaced Malchus as administrator of the papal Dalmatina Patrimony, it is clear that in this case was also render an account for the administration for the same Patrimony. In his letter sent to subdeacon Antoninus in *Salona* (March 592) Gregory I the Great asked him to order the Salonitan Archbishop Natalis to put back into position archdeacon Honoratus, who was removed from it in spite of the disagreement between himself and Popes Pelagius II (579-590) and the Gregory I the Great with this decision. If Archbishop Natalis would ignore this papal order, subdeacon Antoninus could dethrone him and forbid him to practice liturgy. Moreover, Gregory I the Great asked Antoninus to command Malchus to present personally the list of income in Rome³⁰. Even from the letter of Pope Gregory I the Great sent to the same subdeacon Antoninus in March next year (593), it is clear that in this case was also list of income from the papal Dalmatian Patrimony. In this letter the Pope titled subdeacon Antoninus as administrator of Patrimony in Dalmatia (*rector patrimonii in Dalmatia*). However, in this letter the Pope repeats his asking that Malchus had to present the list of income from the papal Patrimony (*patrimonium nostrum*), together with the income itself³¹. Moreover, as it is visible from the letter, bishop Malchus had to clear himself from the charges that he had arrogated some property of the Salonitan Church and from some other incriminate acts³². It seems that these charges were more than serious because Malchus did not appear in front of the Pope, but he escaped to Sicily trying to hide himself³³. It is probable that Malchus was replaced with Antoninus because of these charges and the charges for the usurping the properties of Salonitan Church and the fact that he did not report to the Pope. Although one can suppose that these were the reasons for the replacement. But it is not quite clear when exactly subdeacon Antoninus was appointed to the position of an administrator of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony. In any case, it was before March 593 because in the aforementioned letter the Pope addresses to him as to the administrator of the papal Patrimony in Dalmatia. According to the papal letter to deacon Sebastian (his representative in Constantinople) dating from September/October 594, it seems that Malchus was finally forced to submit the list of incomes and could not to clear himself. In any case, Malchus was found dead in the house of a papal notary, and there we-

²⁹ CCSL, CXL, II, 38 pag. 125: "Pro qua re fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Malchum admone ut prius ad nos veniat, rationes suas ponat, et tunc demum alibi, ubi necesse est, proficiscatur, et si eius actus bonos cognoscimus, ei fortasse hoc ipsum patrimonium quod tenuit restituamus.

³⁰ CCSL, CXL, II, 19 pag. 107: Malchum vero fratrem coepiscopumque nostrum curabis fideiussori committere, ut ad nos quantocius veniat, quatenus omni mora ac dilatione postposita, actionum suarum expositis ratiociniis, ad propria cum securitate valeat remeare.

³¹ CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 168: Sed et hoc eum admonere curato ut ad ponendas explendasque rationes patrimonii nostri quod gessit debeat esse sollicitus".

³² CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 168: "Nam multa habere de rebus praedictae fertur ecclesiae, eumque opinio pene auctorem exstitisse in venditione rerum eius vel aliis illicitis asseverat".

³³ CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 168: "Pro quibus etiam faciendis ex Siciliae partibus ad nos, postposita excusatione, venire festinet".

re some vicious speculations that even the Pope himself had something with this³⁴. Concerning the properties of the Salonitan Church, because of which bishop Malchus was criticized, one can easily find data about them even in one legal dispute from the period between 552 and 564³⁵. Moreover, the existence of the service called administrator of the Salonitan Church (*procurator ecclesiae Salonitanae*)³⁶ also proves that this diocese had a certain property. In Dalmatia these officials (*procuratores*) managed and looked after the ore exploitation in huge mining regions³⁷, and in Istria they were a part of the imperial staff that managed imperial properties and estates³⁸. By the same token, even on the first Church council in *Salona* (530) there were some disputes about large Church estates (*praedia*)³⁹. If one would speculate about the size of these estates, the only thing that could be said is that, regarding the size of the aforementioned objects for olive-oil and wine production (besides basilicas in Kapljuč, Manastirine, episcopal basilica, basilicas north of Salonitan forum etc.), it is obvious that the Salonitan Church owned much more land (vineyards and olive-groves) than it was needed for the liturgical and existential requirements of the clergy⁴⁰.

The papal Dalmatian Patrimony are also mentioned in the letters of Pope Gregory I the Great to his administrator (*rector patrimonii in Dalmatia*) subdeacon Antoninus, dating from March 593. This letter the Pope wrote on the occasion of the demise of the Salonitan Archbishop Natalis. It seems that the Pope worried about the election of Natalis's successor, because he writes to subdeacon Antoninus ordering him to prevent simony and the use of brutal force⁴¹, to protect the property of the Salonitan Church, and to oversee the elections in order to prevent bishop Malchus from intervening⁴². On the basis of this information, it seems that Malchus somehow managed to survive and hold some influence in *Salona*, even a year after he was replaced by subdeacon Antoninus on the position of the administrator of papal Patrimony in Dalmatia. It is possible that Malchus had to thank Archbishop Natalis for this, but

³⁴ CCSL, CXL, V, 6 pag. 271-272: "Pervenit vero ad me quia transmisit nescio quem clericum, qui diceret quia Malchus episcopus in custodia pro solidis occisus sit". ... "Quod modo autem neque in custodia fuit neque in aliqua afflictione, sed die qua causam dixit et addictus est, nesciente me, a Bonifacio notario in domum eius ductus est, cui et prandium factum est, ibique prandit, et honoratus est ab eo, et nocte subito mortuus est, quod iam dilectionem tuam arbitror cognovisse".

³⁵ TJÁDER, Papyri, I, pag. 381-384, 476, Papyrus 26; IVANIŠEVIĆ, Povijesni izvori, 170: "[-----]l-----]p[-]l-----]rum [-]strorum su[-]l[-]ntur pl[-] ecclesiae Salonitanae in[-]l[-] oportet nlos aliteras adhuc largiri in[-]l[-]quam[-]letis nostris pro parte eccl[-] aestima[-] in eorum repperiuntur s[-]l[-] Laurentius, notar(ius) s(an)c(t)e ecclesiae) S(al)-] l[-]ri si qua pro partibus vestris -] l[-]pisse ob repetitione r[-]l[-]m promissis chartulis g[-]l[-]enter quidem et ut arbit[-]l[-]lo potestati ut fides eor[-]l[-]".

³⁶ MARASOVIĆ - ZEKAN, Istraživanje ranosrednjovjekovne crkve, 118, Tab. III, 1.

³⁷ See: ŠKEGRO, *Gospodarstvo*, 39-138; ŠKEGRO, Bergbau, 69-176.

³⁸ STARAC, Carski posjedi, 133-145; MATIJAŠIĆ, La presenza, 15-22; MATIJAŠIĆ, Nomenclatura oeconomica, 171-188.

³⁹ ŠIŠIĆ, *Priručnik izvora*, 158; КЛАИТЬ (KLAIC), *Historia salonitana*, 78; GUNJAČA, *Ispravci i dopune*, 51; IVANIŠEVIĆ, Povijesni izvori, 160: "Statuimus quoque secundum patrum curam ecclesiastica predia donandum atque venendum nullatenus esse licentiam; comutandum quoque similiter damnantes arbitrium nisi pro ecclesie compendiis fieri apud eas personas et eo ordine, quod in mutuanda pecunia memoravimus fuerit conprobatum, ut, omni utilitatis ratione pensata, episcopi presbiteris suis tribuant facultatem. Ipsis vero utilitate cognita, ab archiepiscopo concedendum, ne aliter factum obtinet firmitatem et presumptum, personas abdicare cogatur ecclesia".

⁴⁰ See: DYGGVE, *History*, 30; DYGGVE, *Povijest*, 37-38; NIKOLAJEVIĆ, "Salona christiana", 167-168.

⁴¹ CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 167: "Illud quidem prae omnibus curae tibi sit ut in hac electione nec datio quibuscumque modis interveniat praemiorum, nec quarumlibet personarum patrocinia convalescant. Nam si quorundam patrocinio fuerit quisquam electus, voluntatibus eorum cum fuerit obedire ordinatus, reverentia exigente, compellitur, sicque fit ut et res illius minuantur ecclesiae, et ordo ecclesiasticus non servetur".

⁴² CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 167: "De rebus vero vel ornamento eiusdem ecclesiae fideliter rerum inventarium facito te praesente conscribi. Et ne rebus ipsis possit aliquid deperire, Respectum diaconum atque Stephanum primicerium notariorum ut ipsarum rerum omnino gerant custodiam admoneto, interminans eis de propria eos satisfactorum esse substantia, si quicquam exinde eorum negligentia fuerit imminutum. Malchum autem fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum contestari te volumus, ut se penitus in hac causa non misceat. Nam si per eum aliquid contra voluntatem nostram factum vel temptatum potuerimus addiscere, non modicam ad se culpam et periculum pertinere cognoscat".

the sources do not allow any certain conclusion regarding this question. In any case, it is visible that in *Salona* one can trace not only official bishops, but also those with an uncertain and undefined status. For an example, around the year 500 there is a note about choir-bishop (*(tm)n cèra (tm)p...skopoŝ*) Eugrafus⁴³ and bishop Paulinus (595/596). Illegally elected Salonitan Archbishop Maximus (592-599), because Paulinus did not want to recognise him as an Archbishop⁴⁴, treated him very unfriendly⁴⁵. In his letter from from March 593. Pope Gregory I the Great subdeacon Antoninus first time titulate as an administrator of the papal Patrimony in Dalmatia (*rector patrimonii in Dalmatia*). From the time of this Pope the administrators of the papal Patrimonies have an official headings *rectores*⁴⁶. From the aforementioned letter of Pope Gregory I the Great it is visible that the administrator of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony was directly subordinated to the Pope as his official. He was also papal representative (*responsalis*) in the Salonitan and the Dalmatian Church. The latter statement can be corroborated also with letters from Gregory I the Great to the aforementioned Salonitan Archbishop Maximus (April 594)⁴⁷, to the Byzantine empress Constantina (June 595)⁴⁸, and to Sebastian the bishop of *Iader* (December 597)⁴⁹. Bearing this in mind, now it becomes more clear why the administrators of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony had such power in the Salonitan Church. They could not only deny bishop's right to metropolitan insignia, but also they could forbid them to practice of liturgy - and this was practically equal to excommunication from the Church⁵⁰.

In the letter to Honoratus the Salonitan archdeacon, dating from April 593, Pope Gregory I the Great mentions the papal Dalmatian Patrimony for the fourth time. The Pope liberates archdeacon Honoratus from the charges that had been brought to Pope Pelagius II as to himself. But Pope Gregory I the Great in this letter also emphasizes the need that subdeacon Antoninus, administrator of the Patrimony of the Holy Roman Church in Dalmatia, should

⁴³ *CIL III* 9547, 13126; *ILluc* 2565: *Depositio Eugrafi / chorepiscopi d(ie) X K(alendas) / Novembres*; BULIĆ - BERVALDI, *Kronotaksa*, 238-241, Tab. XXII.

⁴⁴ *CCSL, CXL, VI*, 26 pag. 398: "*Miratus autem valde sum quia in tanto Salonitanae ecclesiae clero vel populo vix duo ex sacris ordinibus inventi sunt, frater scilicet et coepiscopus meus Paulinus et dilectissimus filius meus Honoratus archidiaconus eiusdem ecclesiae, qui communicare Maximo sacerdotium rapientem minime consentirent et se Christianos esse cognoscerent*".

⁴⁵ *CCSL, CXL, VI*, 22 pag. 397: "*Praeterea pervenit ad me quia Paulinus frater et coepiscopus meus et Honoratus ecclesiae Salonitanae archidiaconus pro eo, quod praesumptioni tuae noluerint praebere consensum, graves a te molestias patiantur, ita ut datis fideiussoribus sint constricti, quatenus eis civitatem vel domos suas egredi omnino non liceat. Quod si ita est, vel sero iam ad sensum salutis rediens scriptis praesentibus acceptis ab utrorumque te suspende molestia, ut eis libera sit licentia vel ad me veniendi, si voluerint vel quolibet alibi pro suis utilitatibus proficisci*".

⁴⁶ SPEARING, *The Patrimony*, pass.; BERTOLINI, *Patrimonio di san Pietro*, 957.

⁴⁷ *CCSL, CXL, IV*, 20 pag. 238: "*Quia igitur sine ullius exempli forma violasti talem tantamque sacerdotii dignitatem, praecipimus ut, usque dum dominicis vel responsalis nostri cognoverimus apicibus quod non surrepticia sed vera fueris iussione ordinatus...*"

⁴⁸ *CCSL, CXL, V*, 39 pag. 317: "*Ego autem praeceptioni pietatis eius obediens eidem Maximo, qui me nesciente ordinatus est, hoc quod in ordinatione sua me vel responsalem meum pratermittere praesumpsit, ita ex corde laxavi, ac si me auctore fuisset ordinatus*".

⁴⁹ *CCSL, CXL A, VIII*, 11 pag. 529: "*Nam responsali nostro omnino studiose mandavimus ut sollicitum cautumque se debeat exhibere*".

⁵⁰ *CCSL, CXL, II*, 19 pag. 106: "*Proinde experientiam tuam praesentis praecepti auctoritate duximus fulciendam, quatenus, coniungens in Salonam, Natalem fratrem coepiscopumque nostrum saltim tot scriptis admonitum studeat adhortari ut supra memoratum archidiaconem in suo statim loco suscipiat. Quod si facere hoc contumaciter ut consecuit forte distulerit, usum ei pallii, qui ad hac sede concessus est, ex auctoritate sedis apostolicae cotradictio. Quem si, etiam amisso pallio, adhuc in eadem pertinacia perseverare perspexeris, Dominici quoque corporis ac sanguinis eundem antistitem participatione privabis*".

continue investigation into the misuse of the property of the Salonitan Church⁵¹. According to Pope Gregory I the Great letter to Marcelinus the proconsul of Dalmatia, dating from May-June 598, it seems that this manipulation of the Salonitan Church property involved some of the highest officials in Dalmatia, including Marcelinus himself⁵². By the same token, according to the papal letter to subdeacon Antoninus (dating from March 592), it seems that the investigation about the illegal manipulation with the Salonitan Church property, and Honoratus had brought the accusations for this even against the late Archbishop Natalis, was entrusted to the administrator of papal Dalmatian Patrimony. Because of these accusations Natalis had removed Honoratus from his position in the Salonitan Church⁵³. Nevertheless, this case once again emphasizes that the administrator of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony, as a papal representative in the Salonitan Church, had a certain authority in this diocese. The vast range of his authorities can be noticed also in the papal letter to the clergy of the Salonitan Church, dating from July 593, when archdeacon Honoratus was elected as the Salonitan Archbishop. In this letter Gregory I the Great orders to his subdeacon Antoninus to protect Honoratus from his enemies, especially from bishop Malchus⁵⁴.

In the sources the papal Dalmatian Patrimony are mentioned for the fifth time in the letter of Gregory I the Great to his deacon Sebastian, dating from September-October 594. At the beginning of the letter, the Pope briefs his deacon about the case of Maximus, the illegal Salonitan Archbishop who - in order to obtain this position - had done many atrocities, and from whom subdeacon Antoninus, at the end, had to escape to save his life⁵⁵. This danger was real, and Gregory I the Great already in April 594 had written to Maximus to ask him about the murders of some Salonitan priests, deacons and other clerics who did not recognise Maximus as the Archbishop in the diocese of *Salona*⁵⁶.

The administration of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony

At the end of the late Antiquity and beginning of the Middle Ages there was many papal estates scattered throughout Italy (*patrimonium Urbanum, patrimonium Liguriaie, patrimonium Alpium Cottiarum, patrimonium Ravennate et Histrianum, patrimonium Piceni, patrimonium Tusciae, patrimonium Sabinense et Carseolanum, patrimonium Appiae, patrimonium Campaniae, patrimonium Samniticum, patrimonium Apuliae et Calabriae, patrimonium*

⁵¹ *CCSL, CXL, III, 32 pag. 178: "De his autem capitulis de quibus conquestus es Antonino subdiacono et rectori illic patrimonii sanctae cui Deo auctore praesidemus ecclesiae instanter ut iniunximus, siquidem in his ecclesiasticas invenerit immixtas esse personas, cum summa causas ipsas districtione atque auctoritate definiat. Sin autem cum talibus res agitur, in quos ecclesiasticae vigor non possit iurisdictionis extendi, de singulis quibusque capitulis probationes, inter publica gesta depositas, ad nos absque ulla dilatione transmittat, ut instructi subtiliter sciamus quid de his debeamus, Christo auxiliante disponere."*

⁵² *CCSL, CXL A, IX, 159, pag. 718: "Vos enim tanti mali de causa Maximi omnes astruunt auctores existere, per quos spoliatio illius ecclesiae vel tantarum animarum perditio atque inaudita praesumptionis audacia sumpsit initium."*

⁵³ *CCSL, CXL, II, 19 pag. 106: "Quem Honoratum archidiaconem arbitramur antistiti suo aliunde displicere non potuisse, nisi quod eum vasa sacra suis dare parentibus prohibebat. Quam causam subtili voluimus et tunc sanctae memoriae decessor meus et nunc ego indagatione discutere. Sed is ipse suorum sibi actum conscius personam ad iudicium postposuit destinare."*

⁵⁴ *CCSL, CXL, III, 46 pag. 191: "Eos vero qui ab electionis vestrae unitate inconsiderate discordant, ut vobiscum sentire possint, ab Antonino subdiacono nostro fecimus admoneri. Cui etiam de persona Malchi, fratris et coepiscopi nostri, quod oporteat fieri iam pridem iniunximus. Sed quoniam et ipsi scripsimus, credimus eum ab inquietudine vestra sine mora quiescere. Qui si fortasse obedire quocumque modo neglexerit, contumacia eius canonicae ultionis modis omnibus districtione multabitur."*

⁵⁵ *CCSL, CXL, V, 6 pag. 271: "Nam homines gloriosi viri Romani patricii, qui ab eo praemia acceperunt eumque ita ordinari fecerunt, Antonium, subdiaconem et rectorem patrimonii, nisi fugisset, occiderent."*

⁵⁶ *CCSL, CXL, IV, 20 pag. 238: "Additur inauditum nefas, quod post interdictionem quoque nostram, quae sub excommunicatione tua ordinantiumque te facta est, caesis presbyteris, diaconibus ceteroque clero, manu militari diceris ad medium deductus."*

Lucaniae et Bruttiorum), Sicily (*patrimonium Panormitanum, patrimonium Siracusanum*), Sardinia (*patrimonium Sardiniae*), Corsica (*patrimonium Corsicanum*), southern Gallia (*patrimonium Galliae, Gallicanum*), and around Hipon in the northern Africa (*patrimonium Africae, Germanicianum*)⁵⁷. In the correspondences of Popes Vigilius and Gregory I the Great one can easily find that among other estates of the Roman bishop, i.e. Patrimony of St. Peter (*patrimonium Sancti Petri*), there were also the papal Dalmatian Patrimony (*Dalmatiarum patrimonium, patrimonium in Dalmatia*), together with those in the province of Praevalis (*patrimonium Praevalitanum*). Gregory I the Great, who while he still was not a cleric, managed to obtain a service of prefect of Rome (*praefectus Urbis*)⁵⁸, reorganised and centralised administration of the papal estates in order to easier collect income⁵⁹. The collected income was then entrusted to the first papal notary (*primicerius notariorum, notarius*). Administrators of the papal estates had an obligation to report their work and results to this papal official. In this way Gregory I the Great managed to ensure the existence of the Roman Church and Roman people in the times of the Ostrogothic cruel rule, because the Pope had to pay tribute to the Ostrogothic king and often to buy Roman people back from the slavery⁶⁰. Thus, with this reform of Gregory I the Great the administrators of the papal estates (*rectores*) became direct papal officials⁶¹. Among these officials there were also bishop Malchus and subdeacon Antoninus, who administrated the papal Dalmatian Patrimony. The work of these administrators was strictly controlled, and this can be easily seen in the case of Malchus who had to report all his activities to the papal notary in Rome. The administrators of the papal estates could even divide the estate into parts (*fundus*) and lease out them, collecting the rent afterwards. There is no reason not to believe that the papal Dalmatian Patrimony were also administrated in this way, and the correspondence of Popes Vigilius and Gregory I the Great just proves that these Popes in several occasions asked the administrators for the income in money (*pensiones*). These administrators were also papal representatives (*responsalis*) in the Salonitan or Dalmatian Church. Although according to canon law they were in the rank with minor church orders, as papal representatives, they had some exceptional authorities - such as denying insignia to the Salonitan Archbishop, and forbidding liturgy. By the same token, the Pope sometimes entrusted them some important missions, like reconciliation between the bishop of *Scodra* and the counsellor of prefect of Italy, or return of the expelled bishop of *Epidaurum*⁶², or supervision of the property of the Salonitan Church etc.⁶³

⁵⁷ SPEARING, *The Patrimony*, pass.; MILMAN, *History*, I, 416-417; BERTOLINI, *Patrimonio di san Pietro*, 958; NOBLE, *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*, 1792-1793; DUFFY, *Die Päpste*, 50

⁵⁸ JEDIN, *Povijest*, 606; MEYVAERT, *Gregory I*, 118.

⁵⁹ SPEARING, *The Patrimony*, pass.

⁶⁰ CCSL, CXL, V, 39 pag. 316-317: *Viginti autem iam et septem annos ducimus, quod in hac urbe inter Langobardorum gladios vivimus. Quibus quam multa hac ab ecclesia cotidianis diebus erogantur, ut inter eos vivere possimus, suggerenda non sunt. Sed breviter indico quia, sicut in Ravenae partibus dominorum pietas apud primixeritum Italiae saccellarium habet, qui causis supervenientibus, quotidianas expensas faciat, ita et in hac urbe in causis talibus eorum saccellarius ego sum. Et tamen haec ecclesia, quae uno eodemque tempore clericis, monasteriis, pauperibus, populo atque insuper Langobardis tam multa indesinenter expendit, ecce adhuc ex omnium ecclesiarum premitur afflictione premitur, quae de hac unius hominis superbia multum gemunt, etsi dicere nil praesumunt*."

⁶¹ JEDIN, *Povijest*, 607-608.

⁶² CCSL, CXL, III, 9 pag. 157: *"Pervenit ad nos Florentium Epidauritanæ civitatis episcopum, praereptis prius rebus eius, pro quibusdam non approbatis criminibus, sine sacerdotali concilio fuisse damnatum. Et quia non debet is poenam sustinere canonicam in cuius damnatione non est canonica prolata sententia, praecipimus experientiae tuae ut Natali fratri et coepiscopo nostro debeas imminere, quatenus supradictum virum de eodem eici faciat quo nunc dicitur detrusus exsilio. Convocatoque episcoporum concilio, si haec in quibus accusatus est, ei canonicè fuerint approbata, praefati Natalis fratris et coepiscopi nostri volumus in eum proprium robur obtinere sententiam. Sin autem generali fuerit iudicio absolutus, nec eum deinceps cuiuslibet praeiudicio subiacere permittas, et praefatae res districta tuae sollicitudinis restituantur instantia. Necesse est ergo ut, quanto graviora talium negotiorum perpendis pondera, tanto ea maturiori vigilantiorique studeas exsecutione complere.*

⁶³ CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 168: *"De rebus vero vel ornamento eiusdem ecclesiae fideliter rerum inventarium facito te praesente conscribi. Et ne de rebus ipsis possit aliquid deperire, Respectum diaconem atque Stephanum primi-*

The origin of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony

From the available sources and the results of the archaeological excavations it is possible to conclude that large church estates were formed during the period of the late Antiquity, mostly from the funds of rich early Christians. There is no reason to doubt that estates of the Roman bishop in the western part of the late Roman Empire originated in this manner. The Church managed to obtain significant portions of land property already in the time of Emperor Constantinus I (306-337), who himself bequeathed the Church many times. Other Emperors and other prominent persons in the Empire followed his example⁶⁴, thus the Church soon became one of the biggest land owners in the West⁶⁵. After the collapse of the Ostrogothic kingdom (534/535), the Roman Church became owner of much land property in Dalmatia that once belonged to the Arian Church or to some Ostrogothic officials or to the grand landowners, etc.⁶⁶. Bearing in mind that Ostrogoths ruled this region for some 50 years (490-535) and that they favoured the Arian Church, it is quite possible that the papal Dalmatian Patrimony (*patrimonium in Dalmatia*), as well as the land property of the Salonitan Church, enlarged in this way⁶⁷. Even Emperor Justinian often bequeathed the Church, and this is visible from the *Survey of Montecassino Chronicle* by Peter the Deacon (115-1159)⁶⁸. In these extracts the authors number land properties that Justinian presented to St. Benedict and his order in *Pannonia*⁶⁹, *Istria* and *Dalmatia*⁷⁰.

cerium notariorum ut ipsarum rerum omnino gerant custodiam admoneto, interminans eis de propria eos satisfacturos esse substantia, si quicquam exinde eorum negligentia fuerit imminutum".

⁶⁴ НИКОЛАЈЕВИЋ, Посед (NIKOLAJEVIĆ, Le grand domaine), 277-292.

⁶⁵ DUFFY, Die Päpste, 50.

⁶⁶ NIKOLAJEVIĆ, "Salona christiana", 168.

⁶⁷ NIKOLAJEVIĆ, "Salona christiana", 168.

⁶⁸ NIKOLAJEVIĆ, "Salona christiana", 143-146; НИКОЛАЈЕВИЋ, Тома архиђакон (NIKOLAJEVIĆ, Thomas archidiaconus), 142-145.

⁶⁹ JARAK, Possessions, 779-786.

⁷⁰ MURATORI, *Rerum*, vol. II, 353; ОСТОЈИЋ, *Benediktinci*, I, 80: "In Pannonia Cibolim, Antianim, Himasam, Balcum, Scarabantiam, Vindemonam, Arlapen, Yaciacum, Nimaniam, Artabindo. In Histria Terriestrem, Polam In Dalmatia Pontem Tiluri, Biludium, Lausinium, Salluntum".

ADMINISTRATORS OF THE PAPAL DALMATIAN PATRIMONY			
TIME	ADMINISTRATORS	TERMS	SOURCES
550	Sebastian - papal deacon	Dalmatiarum patrimonium; patrimonium	The letter of Pope Vigilius to deacons Rusticus and Sebastian: MANSI, Collectio, vol. IX, 355; MIGNE, Patrologia, tomus 69, epist. XIV, 46; CD, I, 4-5, br. VII; IVANIŠEVIĆ, Povijesni izvori, 162.
550	Sebastian - papal deacon	Praevalitanum [patrimonium]	The letter of Pope Vigilius to deacons Rusticus and Sebastian: MANSI, Collectio, vol. IX, 355; MIGNE, Patrologia, tomus 69, epist. XIV, 46; CD, I, 4-5, br. VII; IVANIŠEVIĆ, Povijesni izvori, 162.
591	Bishop Malchus [rector patrimonii]		The letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to bishop Malchus: FARLATI, Illyr. Sacr. IV, 170; MANSI, Collectio, vol. IX, 1057; MIGNE, Patrologia, tomus 77, lib. I, epist. XXXVIII (527); CCSL, CXL, I, 36 pag. 43-44.
March 592	Papal subdeacon Antoninus [rector patrimonii]	patrimonialis	The letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to Iobin the prefect of Illyricum: CCSL, CXL, II, 20 pag. 107-108.
July 592	Papal sub-deacon Antoninus [rector patrimonii]	patrimonium	The letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to John the bishop of Ravenna: CCSL, CXL, II, 38 pag. 122-125.
March 593	Papal sub-deacon Antoninus [rector patrimonii in Dalmatia]	patrimonium in Dalmatia; patrimonium nostrum	The letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to sub-deacon Antoninus: CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 167-168.
March 593	Papal subdeacon Antoninus [rector patrimonii in Dalmatia]	patrimonium	The letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to sub-deacon Antoninus: CCSL, CXL, III, 22 pag. 167-168.
April 593	Papal subdeacon Antoninus [rector patrimonii sanctae ecclesiae]	patrimonium sanctae, cui Deo auctore praesidimus, ecclesiae	The letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to Honoratus the archdeacon of Salona: CCSL, CXL, III, 32 pag. 178.
Septem- ber/ Octob- er 594	Papal subdeacon Antoninus [rector patrimonii]; bishop Malchus	patrimonium	The letter of Pope Gregory I the Great to deacon Sabinianus: CCSL, CXL, V, 6 pag. 271-272.

Conclusion

The correspondence of Popes Vigilius and Gregory I the Great confirms the existence of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony (*Dalmatiarum patrimonium, patrimonium in Dalmatia, patrimonium Sanctae ecclesiae*) in mid-sixth century as well as during the last decade of the sixth century. However, on the basis of the available sources it is not possible to determine the exact period when (and how) the Church came into possession of these estates on the eastern Adriatic coast. There is no reason to doubt that these papal estates became Church property in the similar manner like other regional Church institutions (such as the diocese of *Salona*) obtained their property. The oldest available information about the papal Dalmatian Patrimony is the letter of Pope Vigilius, and it dates from 550. In this letter there is also some information about the administrator of these estates and about the income that these estates provided. Bearing in mind that Pope Vigilius several times insisted on collecting the income from these estates, it seems that the papal Dalmatian Patrimony in the mid-sixth century was an important part of the entire papal income. This statement can be confirmed by the fact that Pope Vigilius entrusted this patrimony to a person from his closest circle. Moreover, this administrator of the Dalmatian estates also collected income from the papal estates in the province of Praevalis. The See of this administrator was the city of *Salona*, and this proves that these papal estates in the mid-sixth century could not have been far from this city. Furthermore, this administrator of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony was also a papal representative in the diocese of *Salona*, and as such he had to supervise the ordination of the new clerics in this diocese. This was of extreme importance to the Pope because of the dispute in the historiography known as Three Chapters (*Tria capitula*), in which was involved even the Byzantine Emperor Justinian.

The papal Dalmatian Patrimony are also mentioned in the correspondence of Gregory I the Great. This Pope completely reorganised administration of the papal estates that were scattered throughout Italy, Sicily, southern Gallia, northern Africa, Illyricum etc. The administration of these papal estates was entrusted to special papal officials (*rectores patrimonii sancti Petri*) who were subordinated directly to the papal notary (*primicerius notariorum, notarius*). It also seems that in the time of Gregory I the Great the administrator of the Dalmatian estates supervised the work of the papal estates in the province of Praevalis, too. These administrators of the papal estates were also papal representatives (*responsalis*) in the local diocese (in this case it was the diocese of *Salona*). They supervised ordination of the new clergy, controlled the election of the new Archbishops and bishops, supervised the property of the diocese of *Salona*, settled disputes between Archbishops of *Salona* and other Dalmatian bishops or some state officials etc. During the regency of Popes Vigilius and Gregory I the Great, the papal Dalmatian Patrimony were entrusted to a papal deacon, bishop and sub-deacon of the Roman Church. In spite of the fact that these administrators were in the rank of minor church order, as papal representatives they had certain exceptional authorisations, such as to deny insignia to the Archbishop or to forbid them liturgy.

At the end it is important to emphasise that from the end of the sixth century there is no more trace of the papal Dalmatian Patrimony in the sources. However, it is not quite clear whether these estates existed also in the following centuries. The question about whether or not the income from these estates served also for buying back captives and slaves throughout Dalmatia and Istria in the reign of Pope John IV (640-642), is still open. By the same token, there is no clear picture about when and how Roman Popes lost their estates on the eastern Adriatic coast.

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Patrimonij Sv. Petra u Dalmaciji

Papinski posjedi u Dalmaciji predstavljali su važnu kariku u lancu posjeda rimskih biskupa koje su imali diljem Italije, po Siciliji, Korzici, Sardiniji, Galiji, sjevernoj Africi i dr. Unatoč činjenici da se papinski dalmatinski patrimonij spominje u više pisama papâ Vigilija (537.-555.) i Grugura I. Velikog (590.-604.), u znanosti je ipak ostao gotovo nezapažen. Vigilije u pismu upućenom svojim đakonima Sebastijanu i Rustiku 548./549. g. dalmatinski patrimonij (*Dalmatiarum patrimonium, patrimonium in Dalmatia*) spomeninje četiri puta. Grgur I. Veliki patrimonij u Dalmaciji (*patrimonium in Dalmatia*), odnosno patrimonij Svete crkve (*patrimonium Sanctae ecclesiae*) spominje u pismima iz 592., 593. i 594. g. Upravitelji papinskog dalmatinskog patrimonija (*rectores*) kao izravni papini činovnici bili su ujedno i njegovi predstavnici u salonitanskoj odnosno dalmatinskoj crkvi. Kao papini opunomoćenici, unatoč činjenici da su bili s nižim crkvenim redovima, posjedovali su izrazito visoke ovlasti spram dalmatinskog klera. One su uključivale mogućnost sprovođenja istrage nad salonitanskim nadbiskupima i drugim dalmatinskim biskupima, pravo uskrate nošenja palija salonitanskim nadbiskupima, a u krajnjem slučaju, i pravo ekskomuniciranja iz Crkve. Papinskim dalmatinskim patrimonijem upravljali su đakoni, biskupi i podđakoni. Gdje je bilo njihovo oficijelno sjedište nije jasno. Međutim ako je suditi po njihovim aktivnostima nedvojbeno proizilazi da je u pitanju bila ili *Salona* ili njena okolina. S obzirom na činjenicu da je u vrijeme obnašanja papinske službe od strane pape Vigilija i za vladavine cara Justinijana (527.-565.) u Gatica u Poljicima bio podignut jedinstveni sakralni kompleks, autor ne isključuje mogućnost da su upravitelji papinskog dalmatinskog patrimonija svoje službeno sjedište imali upravo u tom mjestu ili u kasnoantičkoj palači u nedalekoj Ostrvici. Kad se pak začeo papinski dalmatinski patrimonij, kakva mu je bila forma i gdje se on nalazio iz dostupnih se vrela ne može utvrditi, kao što se uostalom ne može doznati ni vrijeme njegovog nestanka. Nije isključeno da je rimski biskup do zemljišnih posjeda u Dalmaciji došao na sličan način kao i mjezna dalmatinska, ponajprije salonitanska, crkva - dakle darivanjem. U suton antike odnosno u osvit srednjeg vijeka posjedi salonitanske crkve, kao i posjedi pojedinih vladara, visokih državnih dužnosnika i dr., nisu bili monolitni. Činilo ih je više zemljišnih posjeda, sakralnih odnosno stambeno-gospodarskih objekata i dr. Njihovi vlasnici od njih su ponajprije izvlačili materijalnu dobit, odnosno ubirali novac. Nije isključeno da je slična situacija bila i s papinskim dalmatinskim patrimonijem, ponajprije zbog činjenice da pape uglavnom i inzistiraju na prikupljanju prihoda koje su oni donosili.