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Relikvijar sv. Anastazija iz Honorijeva mauzoleja na Marusincu u Saloni

Nedavno je u ormaru kapitularne dvorane samostana sv. Klare u Splitu pronađen ranokršćanski relikvijar prenesen iz splitske katedrale, gdje je bio pohranjen u oltaru sv. Staša. Budući da je riječ o kamenom kovčežiću u obliku ranokršćanskog sarkofaga, autorica istražuje njegovo podrijetlo u kontekstu ranokršćanske baštine Salone. Martir Anastazije poznat je ne samo iz hagiografskih izvora nego i iz arheoloških nalaza s cemeterijalnog kompleksa na Marusincu. Na osnovi rezultata brojnih istraživača tog ranokršćanskog groblja i revizijskih iskopavanja, E. Dyggve napravio je rekonstrukciju njegova izgleda datiravši nastanak složenog arhitektonskog sklopa u prvu polovinu 5. stoljeća, a raniji mauzolej u 4. stoljeće. Međutim, na temelju analize elemenata unutrašnjeg uređenja bazilike, crkvenog namještaja i podnih mozaika može se nedvojbeno zaključiti da je crkva sagrađena u Justinijanovo vrijeme. Pritom se može istaknuti i da su pojedini istraživači osporavali Dyggveov prijedlog izgleda mauzoleja. Očito je bio podignut za vrlo aktivnog nadbiskupa Honorija, velikog obnovitelja salonitanskih crkvenih građevina, koji je ujedno uredio novo biskupsko groblje na Marusincu. U apsidi kripte, ispred biskupova sarkofaga, tada je postavljen relikvijar s martirovim relikvijama. Nakon pada Salone opat Martin odatle uzima Anastazijevu relikviju i po papinu nalogu donosi je u Rim te se upravo u preuređenom mauzoleju nastavlja kult martira. Dolaskom Ivana Ravenjanina i uspostavom splitske crkvene organizacije prenose se relikvije salonitanskih martira sv. Duje i sv. Anastazija u splitsku prvostolnicu te je tada donesen i ranokršćanski relikvijar u oltar sv. Staša.

Ključne riječi: *relikvijar sv. Anastazija, cemeterijalni kompleks na Marusincu, Honorijev mauzolej na Marusincu, Ivan Ravenjanin, prijenos relikvijara sv. Anastazija u splitsku katedralu.*

The reliquary of St. Anastasius from the mausoleum of Honorius at Marusinac in Salona

An early Christian reliquary has recently been discovered in a cabinet within the chapter hall of the Convent of St. Clare in Split. It had been transferred from the Cathedral of Split, where it had previously been housed in the altar of St. Anastasius. Given that the object in question is a stone casket in the form of an early Christian sarcophagus, the author investigates its origins within the broader context of Salona's early Christian heritage. The martyr Anastasius is attested not only in hagiographic sources but also through archaeological finds at the cemetery complex of Marusinac. Based on the findings of numerous scholars who investigated this early Christian necropolis, as well as on the results of revision excavations, E. Dyggve produced a reconstruction of its appearance, dating the construction of the elaborate architectural complex to the first half of the 5th century and identifying an earlier mausoleum from the 4th century. However, an analysis of the elements of the basilica's interior spatial organization, church furnishings and floor mosaics indicates unambiguously that the church was constructed during the time of Justinian. In this regard, particular consideration must be given to the objections raised by certain scholars against Dyggve's proposed reconstruction of the mausoleum's appearance. The mausoleum was evidently erected during the episcopate of the highly active Archbishop Honorius, the principal renovator of Salonitan ecclesiastical buildings and the initiator of the new episcopal cemetery at Marusinac. At that time, a reliquary containing the martyr's relics was placed in the apse of the crypt, in front of the bishop's sarcophagus. After the fall of Salona, Abbot Martin removed the relic of Anastasius from this site and, acting on papal instructions, brought it to Rome; yet the veneration of the martyr's cult nevertheless continued within the remodelled mausoleum. With the arrival of John of Ravenna and the establishment of the ecclesiastical organisation of Split, the relics of the Salonitan martyrs Domnius and Anastasius were translated to the Cathedral of Split. On that occasion, the early Christian reliquary was also transferred to the altar of St. Anastasius.

Keywords: *reliquary of St. Anastasius, cemetery complex at Marusinac, mausoleum of Honorius at Marusinac, John of Ravenna, translation of the reliquary of St. Anastasius to the Cathedral of Split*

Ranokršćanski relikvijar iz splitske katedrale pronađen je 2006. godine u ormaru kapitularne dvorane samostana sv. Klare u Splitu. Otkrio ga je i objavio Arsen Duplančić, vrsni istraživač arhiva i bibliotekar Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu.[1] Na temelju detaljne analize arhivskih izvora iznio je podatke o njegovu smještaju u katedrali, gdje se prema zapažanjima pojedinih nadbiskupa u 17. i 18. stoljeću nalazio u oltaru sv. Staša. Prvi je spomen zabilježen 1604. godine, kada je nadbiskup Marko Antun de Dominis opazio prazan stipes oltara sv. Staša i nedostojno čuvanje njegovih relikvija te naredio da se one spreme u oltar i zatvore. U vrijeme nadbiskupa Ivana Krstitelja Laghija 1725. godine zapisano je da se na navedenom mjestu u relikvijaru nalaze moći sv. Dujma, sv. Staša, sv. Jurja i moći još dvojice svetaca bez natpisa. Prilikom pregleda oltara 1758. godine to je potvrdio i nadbiskup Nikola Dinarčić. Preuređenjem donjeg dijela Staševa oltara 1768. godine izrađen je novi barokni stipes, pa je relikvijar bio izvađen i spremljen u riznicu katedrale. Odatle je ustupljen splitskim klarisama, vjerojatno prilikom njihova preseljenja iz jugoistočnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače na Lučac, gdje je postavljen u oltar kućne kapele samostana. Prema navodu A. Duplančića relikvijar je prije tridesetak godina bio izvađen iz navedenog oltara te okovan željezom koje je pritom puklo, a unutra su se, uz relikvije sv. Dujma i sv. Anastazija, nalazile i moći drugih svetaca. Također je u bilješci naveo da je, osim ranokršćanskog relikvijara, u ormaru kapitularne dvorane klarisa pohranjeno više ulomaka kostiju sv. Staša, izdvojenih u jednoj staklenoj posudi.[2] U kontekstu širenja kršćanstva na području Splita, osobito promatranjem brojnih ranokršćanskih nalaza otkrivenih unutar Dioklecijanove palače, Duplančić smatra da relikvijar pripada kršćanskoj zajednici 6. stoljeća

[1] Duplančić 2013, str. 205–229.

[2] Samostan splitskih klarisa, izgrađen 1311. godine, prvotno se nalazio na Trgu braće Radić, potom je premješten na položaj Sdorij u jugoistočnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače, a 1883. godine na Lučac, gdje je i danas smješten. O sadržaju relikvija svetaca u relikvijaru navodi se: „moći sv. Dujma i sv. Jurja Mučenika s pečatima nadbiskupa Ivana Krstitelja Laghija (1720.-1730.), moći sv. Staša (Anastazija) s dva pečata nadbiskupa Garagnina, ulomak ruha (moći) makarskog biskupa Stjepana Blaškovića (1731.-1776.) s bilješkom iz XIX. st., moći sv. Klementa s bilješkom iz XIX. st. i papirić s tekstom *S. Doimo, puo essere anche di S. Arnerio ed Anastasio* pisanim u XIX. stoljeću.“ Vidi Duplančić 2013, str. 207–208.

The early Christian reliquary from the Cathedral of Split was discovered in 2006, stored in a cabinet within the chapter hall of the Convent of St. Clare in Split. It was identified and published by Arsen Duplančić, an eminent archival researcher and librarian of the Archaeological Museum in Split.[1] Through a detailed analysis of archival sources, he assembled evidence relating to its location within the cathedral, where, according to the observations of certain archbishops in the 17th and 18th centuries, it had been kept within the altar of St. Anastasius. The earliest record dates to 1604, when Archbishop Marco Antonio de Dominis noted that the stipes of the altar of St. Anastasius was empty and that the relics were being stored improperly, whereupon he ordered them placed within the altar and sealed. In 1725, during the tenure of Archbishop Giovanni Battista Laghi, it was recorded that the reliquary at this location contained the relics of St. Domnius, St. Anastasius, St. George and two further saints without inscriptions. This account was corroborated by Archbishop Nikola Dinarčić during an inspection of the altar in 1758. Following the renovation of the lower section of the altar of St. Anastasius in 1768, a new Baroque stipes was installed, and the reliquary was removed and deposited in the cathedral treasury. It was subsequently transferred to the Poor Clares of Split, most probably at the time of their relocation from the south-eastern part of Diocletian's Palace to Lučac, where it was placed in the altar of the convent's private chapel. According to Duplančić, some thirty years ago the reliquary was removed from this altar. During this process, the iron bands encasing it broke, revealing not only the relics of St. Domnius and St. Anastasius, but also those of other saints. He further noted that in addition to the early Christian reliquary, the cabinet in the chapter hall of the Poor Clares contained several bone fragments of St. Anastasius, separately kept in a glass vessel.[2] Within the broader context

[1] Duplančić 2013, pp. 205-229.

[2] The Convent of the Poor Clares in Split, built in 1311, was originally located on Braće Radića Square, but later moved to the site of Sdorij in the southeastern part of Diocletian's Palace, and eventually in 1883 to Lučac, where it remains today. Regarding the contents of the reliquary, the following relics are recorded: "the relics of St. Domnius and St. George the Martyr, with seals of Archbishop Laghi; the relics of St. Anastasius, with two seals of Archbishop Garagnin; a fragment of the vestments of Bishop Stjepan Blašković of Makar-

na tom prostoru. Naime, priklonio se mišljenju don Frane Bulića, koji je naglasio da upravo većina tih nalaza potječe iz Palače.

S obzirom na to da je riječ o relikvijaru iz 6. stoljeća (dimenzija 20,2 × 13,3 × 18,6 cm), prvotno pohranjenom unutar oltara sv. Staša u splitskoj katedrali, a potom u samostanu klarisa, neophodno je istražiti njegovo podrijetlo u kontekstu ranokršćanske baštine Salone. Martir Anastazije poznat je ne samo iz hagiografskih izvora nego i iz arheoloških nalaza s cemeterijalnog kompleksa na Marusincu. U vrijeme Dioklecijanovih progona kršćana došao je iz Akvileje u Salonu, gdje je doživio martirij.[3] Odavno započeta arheološka iskopavanja ranokršćanskog groblja na Marusincu vodili su brojni istraživači kao što su Frano Carrara, Luka Jelić i don Frane Bulić, čiji su izvještaji poznati, a svoja opažanja o nalazima iznijeli su i Jacques Zeiller i William Gerber. Nakon revizijskih iskopavanja Ejnara Dyggvea, u kojima je sudjelovao i Rudolf Egger, dotadašnji rezultati objedinjeni su i objavljeni u monumentalnoj publikaciji posvećenoj tom arheološkom lokalitetu. Ondje su pored trobrodne bazilike ukrašene izuzetnim podnim mozaicima, ispred koje se pruža atrij s jedinstvenim mauzolejom, utvrđeni ostatci građevine specifičnog oblika, prema Dyggveovu mišljenju nazvane *basilica discoperta*, s brojnim grobovima, sarkofazima i zidanim grobnicama. Nastanak građevinskog sklopa Dyggve je datirao u prvu polovinu 5. stoljeća, a raniji mauzolej u 4. stoljeće, što se neprestano preuzima i općenito prihvaća u literaturi.[4] U novije vrijeme nastavljena su istraživanja stručnjaka Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu usmjerena na reviziju sjeverne građevine, odnosno njezina neotkrivenog sjevernog broda, pri čemu su pronađeni novi grobovi i njihovi natpisi te nadopunjene spoznaje o pojedinim segmentima tog dijela groblja.[5] Naime, Dyggve je u prvom redu promatrao arhitektonski sklop te navedene objekte nije u potpunosti iskopavao, kao ni na drugim lokalitetima. Uglavnom bi postavio glavni okvir arhitekture u povijesni kontekst, ostavljajući arheolozima da detaljnije razjasne pojedine faze.

Kada se ponovno razmotre nalazi ranijih istraživača i postavljena pitanja o zatečenim, često škrtim

[3] Rendić-Miočević 2011, str. 205–219.

[4] Dyggve, Egger 1939.

[5] Povremeni izvještaji s arheoloških istraživanja donose se u raznim publikacijama. Vidi: Marin 2014, str. 231–253; Višić-Ljubić 2022, str. 703–718.

of the spread of Christianity in the Split region, and particularly in light of the numerous early Christian finds uncovered within Diocletian's Palace, Duplančić argues that the reliquary should be attributed to the 6th-century Christian community in that area, thereby aligning his interpretation with that of Don Frane Bulić, who emphasised that the majority of these objects originated from within the Palace.

Given that this is a 6th-century reliquary (measuring 20.2 x 13.3 x 18.6 cm), originally stored within the altar of St. Anastasius in the Cathedral of Split before its subsequent transfer to the Convent of the Poor Clares, its provenance must be considered within the broader context of Salona's early Christian heritage. The martyr Anastasius is known not only through hagiographic sources but also through archaeological finds at the cemetery complex at Marusinac. He came from Aquileia to Salona during the persecutions of Diocletian, where he eventually suffered martyrdom.[3] Archaeological excavations of the early Christian necropolis at Marusinac were conducted over an extended period by numerous scholars, including Frano Carrara, Luka Jelić and Don Frane Bulic, whose reports are well known, as well as Jacques Zeiller and William Gerber, who also presented their observations on the finds. Following the revision excavations carried out by Ejnar Dyggve, in which Rudolf Egger also participated, the results obtained up to that point were consolidated and published in the monumental monograph devoted to this archaeological site. The study established, alongside the three-aisled basilica adorned with exceptional floor mosaics and preceded by an atrium with a remarkable mausoleum, the remains of a structure of distinctive form that Dyggve termed the *basilica discoperta*, with a large number of graves, sarcophagi and built tombs. Dyggve dated the construction of the architectural complex to the first half of the 5th century, identifying an earlier mausoleum from the 4th century, a chronology consistently reproduced and widely accepted in scholarly literature.[4] More recently, research has been continued by specialists from the Archaeological Museum in Split, focusing on the revision of the northern structure, specifically its

ska (1731–1776), with notes from the 19th century; the relics of St. Clement, also with a 19th-century note; and a slip of paper with the text "*S.Doimo, pou essere anche di S. Arnerio ed Anastasio*", written in the 19th century". See Duplančić 2013, pp. 207-208.

[3] Rendić-Miočević 2011, pp. 205-219.

[4] Dyggve – R. Egger 1939.



Relikvijar Sv. Anastazija iz apside kripte Honorijeva mauzoleja na Marusincu, prenesen u splitsku katedralu, danas u samostanu klarisa u Splitu (Z. Alajbeg)

Reliquary of St. Anastasius from the apse of the crypt of Honorius' mausoleum at Marusinac, transferred to the Cathedral of Split, now in the convent of the Poor Clares in Split (Z. Alajbeg)

ostatcima, kao i pritom izrečene dileme, nije uvijek bilo jednostavno objasniti nastanak i razvoj kompleksa. Naime, nisu uzeti u obzir svi preostali elementi, znatno oštećeni tijekom vremena, kao ni često izgubljeni raniji nalazi arhitektonske skulpture u različitim povijesnim okolnostima. Pritom je važno istaknuti da analizom treba cjelovito obuhvatiti i često zanemarene poznate činjenice jer opažanja pojedinih istraživača nisu usuglašena, što je dovelo do različitih mišljenja o bitnim pitanjima.

Riječ je u prvom redu o velebnoj grobnoj bazilici u čijem svetištu istaknuto mjesto zauzima sarkofag s *fenestellom confessionis*, gdje su pohranjene moći sv. Anastazija. U vrijeme posljednjih revizijskih istraživanja E. Dyggvea tridesetih godina prošlog stoljeća neznatno su sačuvani dijelovi crkvenog namještaja, a oni pronađeni ranijim iskopavanjima i izdvojeni u prostoru prezbiterija gotovo su potpuno nestali pred II. svjetski rat. Preostale ulomke Dyggve je uglavnom rekonstruirao na crtežima, poput pluteja dekoriranih različitim geometrijskim ornamentima: nizovima kružnica ispunjenih križevima ili stiliziranim križnim motivima s rombom u središtu, zatim nizom geometrijskih motiva unutar kružnica te mrežom pravokutnih elemenata s oktogonima. Također donosi crteže stupića oltarnog stola s kapitelima ukrašenim stiliziranim listovima akantusa ili samo izduženim listovima, koji počivaju na profiliranim bazama s urezanim klesarskim znakovima označenim slovima. Pojedine elemente

unexplored northern aisle, where the discovery of new burials and inscriptions has supplemented our knowledge of certain elements of this part of the cemetery.[5] Namely, Dyggve, in his investigations, was primarily concerned with the architectural complex as a whole and did not fully excavate these structures, as he did in other cases. His general approach was to establish the principal architectural framework within its historical context, leaving archaeologists to clarify individual phases in greater detail.

When the finds of earlier researchers are re-examined in light of the surviving, frequently meagre remains, and the dilemmas they articulated are reconsidered, explaining the complex's origin and development has not always been straightforward. Not all surviving elements, many of them significantly damaged over time, were taken into account, and earlier finds of architectural sculpture, frequently lost under varying historical circumstances, were often overlooked. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that the analysis must comprehensively address well-established yet often overlooked facts, as discrepancies in the observations of some researchers have led to differing views on fundamental issues.

[5] Occasional reports on archaeological excavations are published in various publications, see Marin 2014, pp. 231-253.; Višić-Ljubić 2022, pp. 703-718.



Cemeterijalni kompleks na Marusincu
Cemetery complex at Marusinac

crkvenog namještaja prikazuje fotografijama, poput stupova oltarne pregrade s kapitelima ukrašenim potpuno geometriziranim biljnim ornamentima te pravokutnih pilastara s reljefnim križevima izvedenim cijelom dužinom ili samo pri vrhu između listova. Iznad oltara nalazio se ciborij čiji se otkriveni dijelovi mramornih stupova ističu složenom plastičnom dekoracijom akantusovih listova i vitica vinove loze. Imposti su ukrašeni reljefnim križevima i Kristovim monogramom unutar kružnice iz koje se izvijaju dvije trake s bršljanovim listovima.[6] Navedeni ornamenti na crkvenom namještaju karakteristični su proizvodi salonitanskih klesarskih radionica 6. stoljeća, što pokazuju i drugi primjeri, osobito oni iz Honorijeve križne bazilike episkopalnog kompleksa.[7]

Pritom se mogu istaknuti izvanredni podni mozaici koji su prekrivali gotovo cijeli prostor bazilike površine 7500 kvadratnih stopa. Ingrid Dyggve izradila je dokumentaciju koja je dragocjena za sagledavanje njihova izgleda jer mozaici nikad nisu bili konzervirani te su danas nažalost potpuno uništeni. Podni mozaici pratili su unutrašnji ras-

6 Bulić 1898, str. 39; Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 27–52, 92.

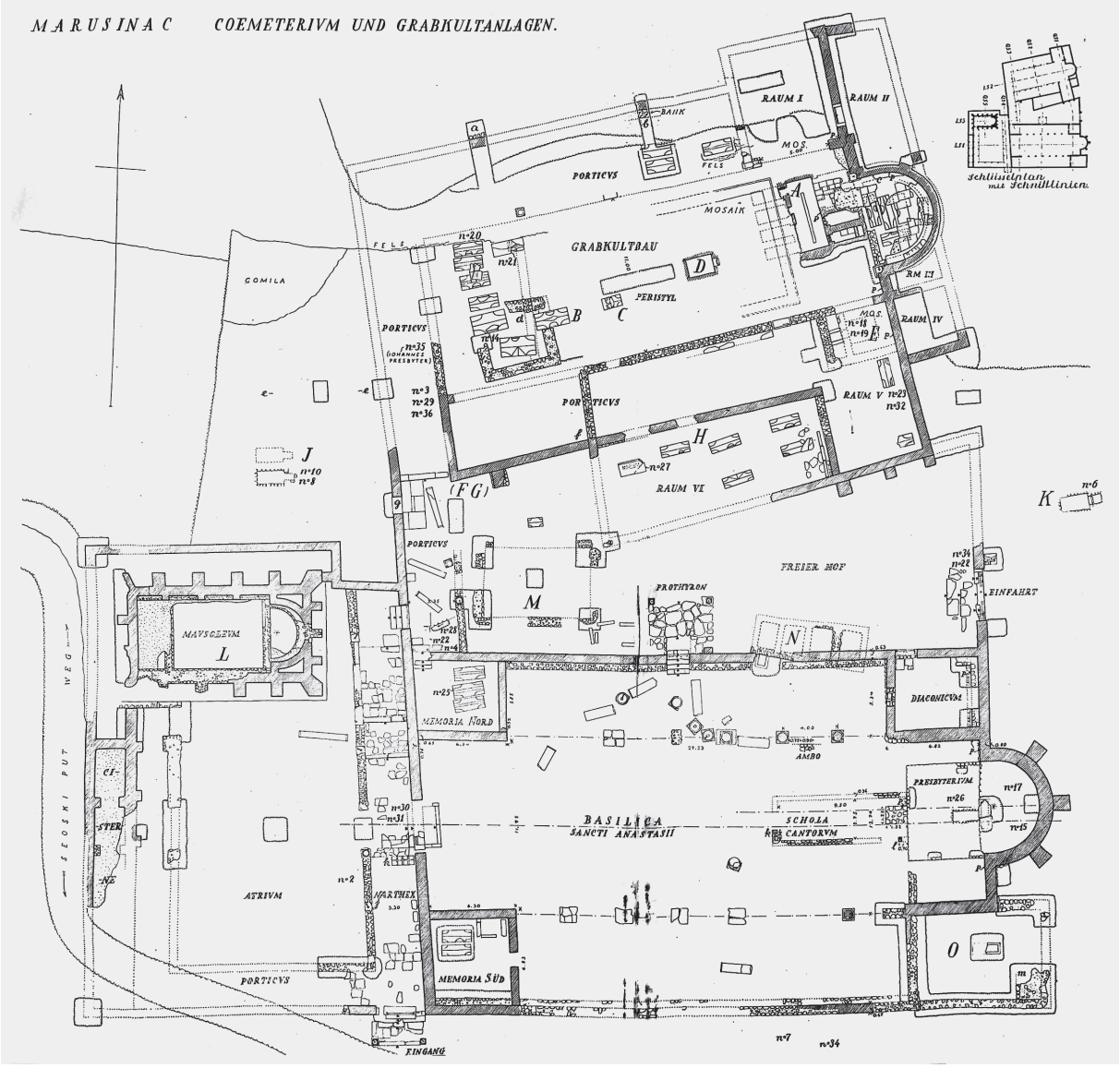
7 Jeličić Radonić 2023, str. 139–141.

This refers primarily to the grand funerary basilica, in the sanctuary of which a sarcophagus with a *fenestella confessionis* occupied a central position, preserving the relics of St. Anastasius. At the time of Dyggve's final revision excavations in the 1930s, only minor fragments of the liturgical furnishings had survived, and those uncovered during earlier excavations, previously set apart within the presbytery, had almost entirely disappeared before the Second World War. Dyggve reconstructed the remaining fragments primarily through drawings, such as plutei with perforated geometric ornaments consisting of rows of circles filled with crosses, or stylised cruciform elements with a rhombus at the centre, alongside rows of geometric motifs within circles and a network of rectangular elements with octagons. He also provided drawings of the small columns of the altar table, featuring capitals decorated with stylized acanthus leaves or elongated leaf forms, their shafts resting on profiled bases bearing incised masons' marks indicated by letters. Certain elements of the liturgical furnishing are documented photographically, including the columns of the altar screen, whose capitals display fully geometricized vegetal decoration, while the rectangular pilasters are adorned with relief crosses extending along the entire height of the shaft or with crosses flanked by leaves only at the very top of them. Above the altar stood a ciborium, whose surviving fragments of marble columns are distinguished by an elaborately sculpted ornamentation of acanthus leaves and vine tendrils. The imposts are adorned with relief crosses and the Christogram within a circle, from which two bands of ivy leaves extend.[6] These ornamental elements of the church furnishings are characteristic products of Salona's 6th-century stone-carving workshops, as evidenced also by other examples, particularly those found in the cruciform basilica of Honorius within the episcopal complex.[7]

Particularly noteworthy are the exceptional floor mosaics that originally covered nearly the entire surface of the basilica, an area of approximately 7,500 square feet. Their documentation was done by Ingrid Dyggve, providing invaluable insight into their appearance, because the mosaics are today unfortunately completely destroyed as they were never subjected to conservation. The floor mosaics fol-

6 Bulić 1898, p. 39; Dyggve, Egger 1939, pp. 27-52, 92.

7 Jeličić Radonić 2023, pp. 139-141.



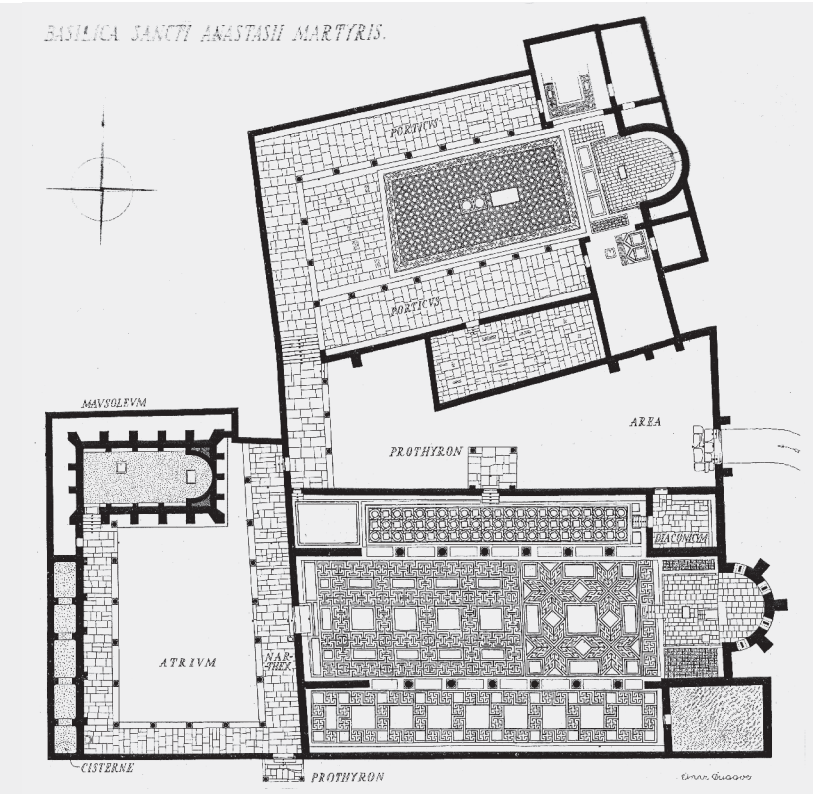
Tlocrt cemeterijalnog kompleksa na Marusincu (E. Dyggve)
Ground plan of the cemetery complex at Marusinac (E. Dyggve)

pored arhitekture, a nastali su, prema Dyggveovu mišljenju, odjednom u prvoj polovini 5. stoljeća te su predstavljali značajan ekonomski pothvat. Jedinstveno koncipirana geometrijska ornamentika kršćanske simbolike kontinuirano se protezala mozaičnim plohama bočnih brodova. U glavnoj lađi geometrijski motivi uokvireni su dvama velikim mozaičnim poljima, čime je naglašeno izdvajanje prostora prezbiterija, dodatno ograđenog pregradnim pločama, u kojem su se nalazili *schola cantorum* i ambon.[8] Slično rješenje pronađeno je i u istočnom dijelu glavne lađe križne bazilike,

lowed the interior layout of the structure and were executed, according to Dyggve's interpretation, in a single campaign in the first half of the 5th century, representing a significant economic undertaking. A uniquely conceived geometric ornamentation of Christian symbolism continuously adorned the mosaic carpets of the side aisles. In the central nave, geometric motifs were arranged into two large mosaic fields, emphasizing the spatial separation of the presbytery, which was further demarcated by screen slabs and contained the *schola cantorum* and the ambon.[8] A comparable arrangement was observed

[8] Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 54–79, gdje E. Dyggve navodi da su mozaici bili zaštićeni prekrivanjem asfaltnom smjesom.

[8] Dyggve, Egger 1939, pp. 54-79, where E. Dyggve notes that the mosaics were protected by the covering with an asphalt-based layer.



Crtež rekonstrukcije cemeterijalnog kompleksa s mozaicima (E. Dyggve)
Reconstruction drawing of the cemetery complex with mosaics (E. Dyggve)

gdje su na isti način raspoređene varijacije kršćanskih simbola. Primjeri bezbrojnih inačica prepleta navedenih motiva salonitanske radionice mozaika 6. stoljeća poznati su iz obnovljene katedrale s krstioničkim sklopom, osobito iz konsignatorija, te iz križne bazilike, a očito su nastali istodobno u vrijeme nadbiskupa Honorija.[9]

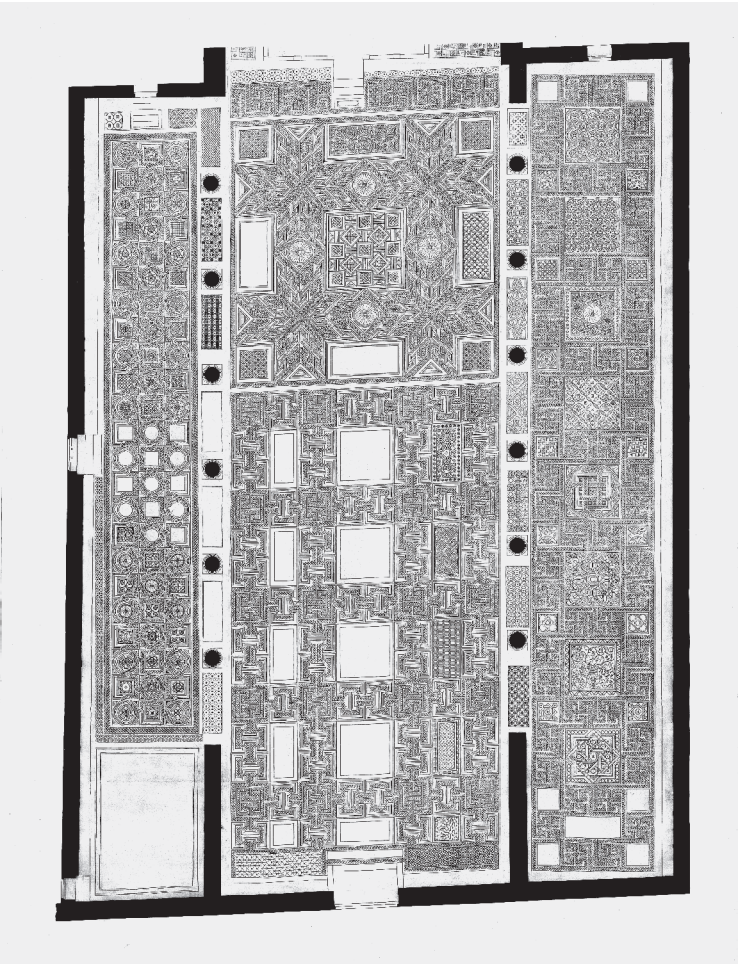
Ispred bazilike pružao se narteks u sklopu atrija s kojim je neposredno bio povezan monumentalni mauzolej. Arheološka istraživanja provedena su u više navrata te su pojedini autori – F. Carrara, L. Jelić, F. Bulić, J. Zeiller, W. Gerber i R. Egger – iznijeli različite elemente na temelju kojih je E. Dyggve izradio rekonstrukciju njegova izgleda. Pritom je istaknuo da je riječ o najvećem privatnom mauzoleju ne samo na Marusincu nego i na drugim salonitanskim nekropolama. Zidovi dvokatne građevine, izvana pojačani kontraforima, a iznutra pilastrima, nosili su bačvasti svod kripte (*cubiculum inferior*) i gornje kultne dvorane s apsidom (*cubiculum superior*). U kripti mauzoleja bila su položena dva obiteljska sarkofaga, matrone Asklepije i njezina supruga,

[9] Jeličić Radonić 2023, str. 141–154.

in the eastern part of the nave of the cruciform basilica, where variations of Christian symbols were distributed in the same way. Examples of the countless variations of these interlaced motifs produced by the Salonitan mosaic workshop in the 6th century are known from the reconstructed cathedral with its baptistery complex, especially the consignatorium and the cruciform basilica, all evidently created at the same time during the tenure of Archbishop Honorius.[9]

A narthex integrated into the atrium extended in front of the basilica and was directly connected to the monumental mausoleum. Archaeological investigations were conducted on several occasions, and individual scholars, i.e. F. Carrara, L. Jelić, F. Bulić, J. Zeiller, W. Gerber and R. Egger contributed various findings on the basis of which Dyggve produced his reconstruction of the building's appearance. He noted that this was the largest private mausoleum not only at Marusinac but also at other Salonitan necropoleis. The walls of the two-storey structure, reinforced externally by buttresses and internally by pilasters, supported a barrel vault over the crypt (*cubiculum inferior*) and the upper cult chamber with its apse (*cubiculum superior*). The crypt contained two family sarcophagi, those of the matron Asclepia and her husband, while the sarcophagus of martyr Anastasius was located within the apse and separated from the main chamber by a wall with an opening (*fenestella confessionis*). Dyggve considered this small window to be among the oldest of its type in Europe, a view endorsed by B. Brenk, who accepted Dyggve's dating of the mausoleum into the 4th century. During the construction of the three-aisled basilica, Anastasius's sarcophagus was transferred to the sanctuary of the church, where it stands today, while the apse of the funerary crypt was subsequently filled in. The upper chamber was a space intended for the cult of the dead and the cult of martyrs and featured an altar table; Dyggve noted that the floor showed evidence of only a single phase. During excavations, fragments of transennae with geometric ornaments and small columns, belonging to partitions and a mensa, were discovered on the floor of the mausoleum. He further mentioned that the raised floor of the mausoleum was cast with red mortar. Communication between the crypt and the cult chamber was provided by an opening in the floor of the upper storey, from which stairs descend-

[9] Jeličić Radonić 2023, pp. 141-154.



Crtež mozaika južne bazilike na Marusincu
(E. Dyggve)
Drawing of the mosaics of the southern basilica at Marusinac (E. Dyggve)

dok se u apsidi nalazio sarkofag martira Anastazija, odvojen zidom s *fenestellom confessionis*. Taj prozorčić je, prema njegovu mišljenju, jedan od najstarijih u Europi, što prihvaća i B. Brenk, zajedno s Dyggveovom datacijom mauzoleja u 4. stoljeće. Prilikom izgradnje trobrodne bazilike Anastazijev sarkofag premješten je u svetište crkve, gdje se i danas nalazi, a tada je zatrpan prostor apside grobne kripte. Gornja prostorija bila je namijenjena kultu mrtvih i kultu martira te je sadržavala oltarni stol, a Dyggve navodi da njezin pod pokazuje samo jedan vremenski sloj. Prilikom iskopavanja na podu mauzoleja pronađeni su ulomci tranzena s geometrijskim ornamentima i mali stupovi koji su pripadali pregradama i menzi. Dyggve spominje da je uzvišeni pod mauzoleja izliven crvenim mortom. Komunikacija između kripte i kultne prostorije bila je omogućena otvorom u podu gornjeg kata, odakle su stepenice vodile u donju grobnu komoru. U sredini

ed to the lower burial chamber. At the centre of the solid earthen floor was a bed for the sarcophagi (2.84 x 2.66 m), made from stone slabs.[10]

In the course of the archaeological excavation of this space, the remains of an earlier structure (d) were uncovered. L. Jelić interpreted these as belonging to an initial mausoleum destroyed in the course of a barbarian devastation of the cemetery. He excavated the apse of the crypt, noting that its walls had been carefully rendered in yellowish mortar, and discovered that its interior had been filled with rubble, while the *fenestella confessionis* in the partition wall had been sealed with dry-stone masonry.[11]

On the southern side, near the western corner of the mausoleum, access stairs were subsequently added, evidently indicating the position of a new entrance. It should be noted, however, that in his reconstruction drawings and model, Dyggve depicts stairs only on the western side, whereas in the plans of the entire complex it is precisely the southern side that shows an entrance opening towards the western portico of the atrium. He further maintained that the newly constructed funerary basilica, with the martyr's *confessio* located beneath the floor of its apse, clearly represents a repetition of the martyr's mausoleum, albeit with a substantially enlarged cult chamber.[12]

Certain observations by individual scholars, however, stand in opposition to Dyggve's widely accepted reconstruction of the mausoleum's appearance. L. Jelić, one of the first to excavate the structure, mentions only a single sarcophagus without inscription in the crypt, describing it as "presumably that of the martyr Anastasius Corniculariius."[13] R. Egger, who participated in the revision excavations and co-authored the principal publication on the complex at Marusinac, suggested in his concluding remarks that the burial chamber may have contained one or two sarcophagi. At the same time, he emphasised that not the slightest trace of a sarcophagus was found among the debris with which the apse of the crypt had been filled.[14] On the basis of the dimensions of the pedestal made of stone

[10] Jeličić Radonić 2023, pp. 155-156, where earlier literature is cited.
[11] Jelić 1896, pp. 19-25, 33-40.; Jelić 1897, p. 80; Dyggve, Egger 1939, p. 98.
[12] Dyggve, Egger 1939, pp. 10-13, 80-87, pl. 1.
[13] Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, p. 275.
[14] Dyggve, Egger, 1939, pp. 107-109.

čvrstog glinenog poda bio je postavljen ležaj (2,84 × 2,66 m) za sarkofage, izrađen od kamenih ploča.[10]

Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja ove prostorije pronađeni su ostatci starije građevine (d). L. Jelić smatrao je da je pripadala prvom mauzoleju stradalom prilikom barbarskog pustošenja groblja. Iskopavao je apsidu kripte na čijim je zidovima bila brižljivo nanesena žućkasta žbuka te je otkrio da je njezin prostor bio zatrpan šutom, a *fenestella confessionis* na pregradnom zidu komore zatvorena suhozidom.[11]

Na južnoj strani, blizu zapadnog ugla mauzoleja, dodane su prilazne stepenice te se ondje očito nalazio i novi prolaz. Međutim, može se primijetiti da Dyggve na crtežima rekonstrukcije i makete mauzoleja prikazuje samo stepenice na zapadu, dok je na nacrtima cijelog kompleksa upravo na južnoj strani otvoren ulaz prema zapadnom trijemu atrija. Zatim navodi da nova grobna bazilika s *confessio* martira ispod poda apside predstavlja sigurno ponavljanje mauzoleja martira, ali s mnogo većom kultnom dvoranom.[12]

O izgledu mauzoleja iznesena su i neka opažanja suprotna Dyggveovoj općeprihvaćenoj rekonstrukciji. L. Jelić, jedan od prvih istraživača koji ga je iskopavao, spominje u kripti samo jedan sarkofag bez natpisa, „valjda mučenika Anastazija Kornikularija.“[13] R. Egger, sudionik revizijskih istraživanja i koautor glavne publikacije o kompleksu na Marusincu, u svojem je zaključnom tekstu iznio mišljenje da se u grobnoj komori mogao nalaziti jedan ili dva sarkofaga. Također je naveo da se u šuti kojom je bila zatrpana apsida kripte mauzoleja nije pronašao ni najmanji trag sarkofaga.[14] Prema veličini postamenta od kamenih greda, N. Cambi smatra da je u donjem prostoru bio samo jedan sarkofag i „da nema nikakva pouzdana dokaza da je u apsidi kripte stajao sarkofag s tijelom mučenika.“ To objašnjava tvrdnjom da bi „prozorčić“ u zidu kripte prije odgovarao nekoj drugoj vrsti spomenika u kojem se nalazilo tijelo mučenika nego cijelom sarkofagu. Promatrajući izgled Anastazijeva sarkofaga u bazilici, obrazlaže: „Jer, fenestella, koja postoji u prednjem dijelu sarkofaga nije stajala u vi-

[10] Jeličić Radonić 2023, str. 155–156, gdje je navedena ranija literatura.

[11] Jelić 1896, str. 19–25, 33–40; Jelić 1897, str. 80; Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 98.

[12] Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 10–13, 80–87, T. 1.

[13] Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 275.

[14] Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 107–109.

beams, N. Cambi argued that the lower chamber originally accommodated only a single sarcophagus and maintained that “there is no reliable evidence that a sarcophagus containing the body of the martyr stood in the apse of the crypt.” This suggests that the “small window” in the wall of the crypt would more plausibly correspond to a different type of monument housing the martyr’s remains, rather than to an entire sarcophagus. In his analysis of the appearance of Anastasius’ sarcophagus in the basilica, he explains: “The fenestella that exists on the front of the sarcophagus does not correspond in height to the opening in the aforementioned sarcophagus, so that direct contact with the martyr’s remains would have been difficult to achieve, which, as is well known, was of particular importance.” In his later work, however, he set aside these earlier considerations and adopted the established view regarding the crypt’s function as a repository for the martyr’s sarcophagus, accepting that the grave in the apse was separated from the nave by a wall in which a lattice window was inserted.[15]

Thus, based on the statements presented, it appears that only a single sarcophagus was placed in the burial chamber, separated from the apse by a wall containing the fenestella, behind which the martyr’s grave was located. According to Cambi’s observation, the martyr’s relics were evidently not placed within the sarcophagus, since the one located in the basilica does not correspond to the position of the *fenestella confessionis*. It is therefore likely that some other type of monument stood there instead. The recently discovered reliquary containing the relics of Anastasius, subsequently translated to the Cathedral of Split, would have been perfectly suited to precisely this context. All indications are that a portion of the martyr’s relics was deposited within the stone casket shaped in the form of an early Christian sarcophagus, which was placed within the apse of the mausoleum crypt with carefully plastered walls. At the same time, during the construction of the funerary basilica, the majority of the relics were placed into a new sarcophagus beneath the altar of the sanctuary.

In light of the elements of the basilica’s interior furnishings at Marusinac discussed above, elements that unambiguously belong to the 6th century, the construction of the building may be securely dated to the period of Justinian’s restoration of the Em-

[15] Cambi 1991, pp. 491-49.; idem 2020, pp. 340-341.

sini rupe u spomenutom sarkofagu tako da se teško postizao kontakt s mučeničkim ostacima, što je kao što je poznato, bilo neobično važno.“ Poslije se ne osvrće na prethodno iznesene opaske, već prihvaća uvriježeno mišljenje da je kripta mauzoleja bila mjesto sarkofaga martira te da je grob u apsidi bio odvojen od broda zidom u kojem se nalazio prozor s rešetkom.[15]

Dakle, prema iznesenim navodima, izgleda da je u grobnoj komori bio postavljen samo jedan sarkofag, odvojen od apside zidom s *fenestellom*, gdje je bio martirov grob. Prema Cambijevoj primjedbi, očito martirove relikvije nisu bile položene u sarkofag, s obzirom na to da onaj smješten u bazilici ne odgovara položaju *fenestelle confessionis*, pa se ondje vjerojatno nalazila neka druga vrsta spomenika. Upravo bi tu savršeno odgovarao nedavno otkriveni relikvijar s Anastazijevim relikvijama, koji je poslije prenesen u splitsku katedralu. Očito je dio martirovih moći bio položen unutar kamenog kovčežića u obliku ranokršćanskog sarkofaga u prostoru apside kripte mauzoleja s brižno ožbukanim stijenkama. Istodobno je prilikom izgradnje grobne bazilike većina relikvija smještena u novi sarkofag ispod oltara svetišta.

S obzirom na iznesene elemente unutrašnjeg uređenja grobne bazilike na Marusincu, koji nedvojbeno pripadaju 6. stoljeću, njezin se nastanak očito može datirati u vrijeme Justinijanove obnove Carstva i podizanja monumentalnih crkvenih građevina. Tada je na čelu salonitanske Crkve bio vrlo aktivni nadbiskup Honorije, veliki obnovitelj ne samo episkopalnog kompleksa nego i drugih ranije podignutih cemeterijalnih bazilika te graditelj novih crkvenih zdanja. Vrlo sličan raspored geometrijske ornamentike s bezbroj inačica kršćanskih simbola na podnim mozaicima, osobito u Honorijevoj križnoj bazilici i na onim nastalim prilikom preuređenja katedrale s konsignatorijem krstioničkog sklopa, pokazuje da je riječ o identičnim djelima vrsnih majstora salonitanske mozaične radionice 6. stoljeća. Prema tome, agilni salonitanski nadbiskup uredio je i ovo biskupsko groblje, gdje je bio sahranjen martir Anastazije. Ispred bazilike pruža se atrij s monumentalnom grobnicom – mauzolejom – što nedvojbeno tvori jedinstvenu arhitektonsku cjelinu. Kako su pojedini istraživači osporili postojanje dvaju sarkofaga unutar kripte i time izrazili sumnju u Dyggveovu rekonstrukciju, čini se da se

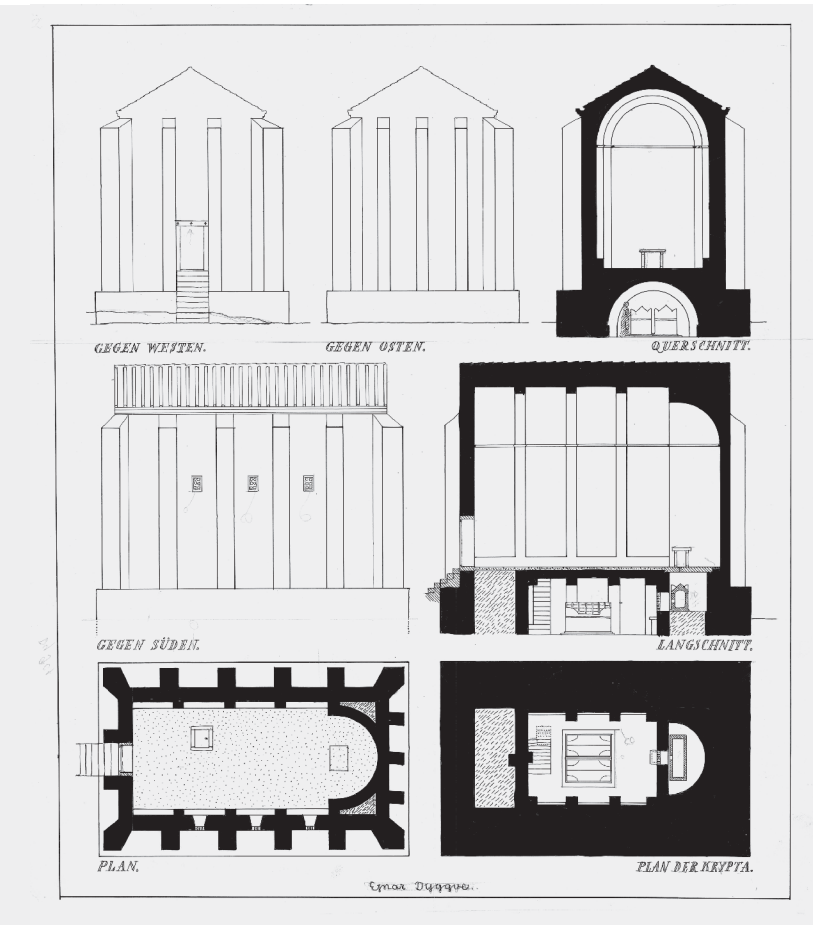


Mauzolej tijekom arheoloških istraživanja (L. Jelić)
Mausoleum during archaeological excavations (L. Jelić)

pire and the erection of monumental ecclesiastical buildings. At that time, the Salonitan see was held by the notably active Archbishop Honorius, a major renovator not only of the episcopal complex but also of earlier funerary basilicas and newly erected church structures. The close correspondence in the arrangement of geometric ornaments, expressed through numerous variations of Christian symbolism on the floor mosaics, most notably in Honorius's cruciform basilica and in those newly laid during the refurbishment of the cathedral with the consignatorium of the baptismal complex, attests to the identical workmanship of master craftsmen from the Salonitan mosaic workshop of the 6th century. It follows that this energetic Salonitan archbishop was likewise responsible for organising the episcopal cemetery in which the martyr Anastasius was buried. The atrium extending before the basilica, together with the monumental funerary structure, i.e. the mausoleum, clearly forms a unified architectural ensemble. Since certain scholars have questioned the presence of two sarcophagi within the crypt, thereby challenging Dyggve's reconstruction, it appears more likely that only a single sarcophagus occupied the space, namely that of Archbishop Honorius himself, who was the main figure responsible for the construction and furnishing of the cemetery complex at Marusinac.[16] According to tradition, the matron Asclepia, who secretly retrieved the body of the martyr Anastasius following the Diocleti-

[15] Cambi 1991, str. 491–492; Cambi 2020, str. 340–341.

[16] Jeličić Radonić 2023, pp. 159-164.



Tlocrti i crteži rekonstrukcije mauzoleja (E. Dyggve)
Ground plans and reconstruction drawings of the mausoleum (E. Dyggve)

ondje nalazio samo jedan sarkofag, i to nadbiskupa Honorija, zaslužnog za izgradnju i uređenje ovog cemeterijalnog kompleksa na Marusincu.[16] Naime, matrona Asklepija, koja je nakon Dioklecijanovih progona kršćana spasila tijelo mučenika Anastazija, skrivala ga je do smirenja situacije. U sačuvanoj hagiografiji sv. Anastazija, nastaloj, prema novijim istraživanjima, u salonitanskim skriptorijima 6. stoljeća, zabilježeni su podatci o tom događaju. Budući da je martir bio bačen u more s kamenom oko vrata, njegovo tijelo nije bilo čitavo, već znatno oštećeno. Asklepija je podigla baziliku i sahranila svetog mučenika na salonitanskom zemljištu. U hagiografskom tekstu *Passio Anastasii* ne spominje se mauzolej te ostaje otvoreno pitanje pripadaju li pronađeni raniji ostatci prvobitnom martiriju tog vremena, sagrađenom na Asklepijinu privatnom posjedu, kako se obično navodi, ili je tu već otprije

[16] Jeličić Radonić 2023, str. 159–164.

anic persecutions, hid it until conditions became more favourable. The surviving hagiography of St. Anastasius, composed, according to recent scholarship, in the Salonitan scriptoria of the 6th century, preserves an account of these events. Since the martyr had been thrown into the sea with a stone tied around his neck, his body was not intact but severely damaged. Asclepia subsequently erected a basilica and buried the holy martyr on Salonitan soil. The hagiographic text of the *Passio Anastasii* makes no mention of a mausoleum, and it therefore remains an open question whether the identified earlier remains belong to the original martyrium of that period, generally assumed to have been situated on Asclepia's private estate, or whether a burial ground had already existed there.[17] In the course of establishing the new episcopal cemetery, the mausoleum of Honorius may have been erected above an earlier structure (d)— the *memoria martyris* of Anastasius (?), the elements of which were uncovered by L. Jelić. Within the crypt was the reliquary, separated from the apse by a wall with a *fenestella confessionis*, in which the martyr's relics were preserved. The upper chamber with its altar was intended for the funerary cult and the commemoration of the deceased Archbishop Honorius. It was directly connected to the basilica via the atrium and narthex. Within the sanctuary of the church stood a sarcophagus likewise containing the relics of St. Anastasius, as confirmed upon its opening in the presence of Don Frane Bulić.[18]

The earliest excavations conducted by L. Jelić revealed that the apse of the mausoleum crypt was completely filled with rubble and that the *fenestella confessionis* had been sealed with dry-stone masonry. This observation underlies the widely accepted view that the sarcophagus of Anastasius had been transferred to the sanctuary of the basilica. This transfer evidently occurred at the time when the martyr's reliquary was removed from its original position. The question of when this exactly took place may be answered on the basis of data already available. Following the fall of Salona, Pope John IV sent Abbot Martin in 641 to retrieve the relics of

[17] Dyggve, Egger 1939, pp. 131-148; Jarak 1997, pp. 151-165; Petrović 2014, pp. 25-67; Jeličić Radonić 2023, pp. 164-166.

[18] During the opening of the sarcophagus on 1st September 1898, the martyr's relics were still present. Cf. Bulić 1899, p. 85; Dyggve, Egger 1939, p. 19.

postojalo groblje.[17] Prilikom formiranja novog biskupskog groblja Honorijev je mauzolej mogao biti sagrađen iznad ranijeg objekta (d) – *memoria martyris* Anastazija (?) – čije je elemente pronašao L. Jelić. U prostoru kripte nalazio se relikvijar, odvojen od apside zidom s *fenestellom confessionis*, gdje su bile pohranjene relikvije martira. Gornja dvorana s oltarom bila je namijenjena grobnom kultu i komemoraciji preminulog nadbiskupa Honorija te je preko atrija i narteksa bila neposredno povezana s bazilikom. U svetištu crkvene građevine nalazio se sarkofag također s moćima sv. Anastazija, što je potvrđeno prilikom njegova otvaranja za don Frane Bulića.[18]

Prvim arheološkim istraživanjima L. Jelića pronađena je potpuno zatrpana apsida kripte mauzoleja, a *fenestella confessionis* bila je zatvorena suhozidom, na čemu se temelji općeprihvaćeno mišljenje o prijenosu Anastazijeva sarkofaga u svetište bazilike. To je očito učinjeno kada je s tog mjesta izvađen martirov relikvijar. Na pitanje kada se to dogodilo može se odgovoriti na temelju dosad poznatih podataka. Naime, nakon pada Salone papa Ivan IV. poslao je 641. godine opata Martina da donese u Rim relikvije salonitanskih mučenika, među kojima su bile i one sv. Anastazija. Potom je u krstionici sv. Ivana Lateranskog podigao kapelu u kojoj su njihove relikvije pohranjene ispod oltara, dok su oni prikazani u velikom apsidalnom mozaiku. To detaljno opisuje F. Bulić donoseći citat iz *Liber Pontificalis* I.[19] Opat Martin uzeo je relikviju sv. Anastazija iz relikvijara položenog u apsidi kripte mauzoleja s obzirom na to da je svetište bazilike, gdje se nalazio sarkofag s moćima istog mučenika, bilo znatno uništeno požarom, što pokazuje debeli paljevinski sloj pronađen ispod poda (do 70 cm). Pritom je relikvijar s preostalim moćima sv. Anastazija ostao na izvornom mjestu jer se štovanje njegova kulta nastavilo upravo u čvrstoj građevini mauzoleja, najmanje stradaloj tijekom rušenja arhitektonskog kompleksa na groblju Marusinca. U tom kontekstu mogu se navesti sekundarno upotrijebljeni elementi crkvenog namještaja, poput plo-

[17] Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 131–148; Jarak 1997, str. 151–165; Petrović 2014, str. 25–67; Jeličić Radonić 2023, str. 164–166.

[18] Prilikom otvaranja sarkofaga 1. rujna 1898. ondje su se još nalazile martirove relikvije. Usp. Bulić 1899, str. 85; Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 19.

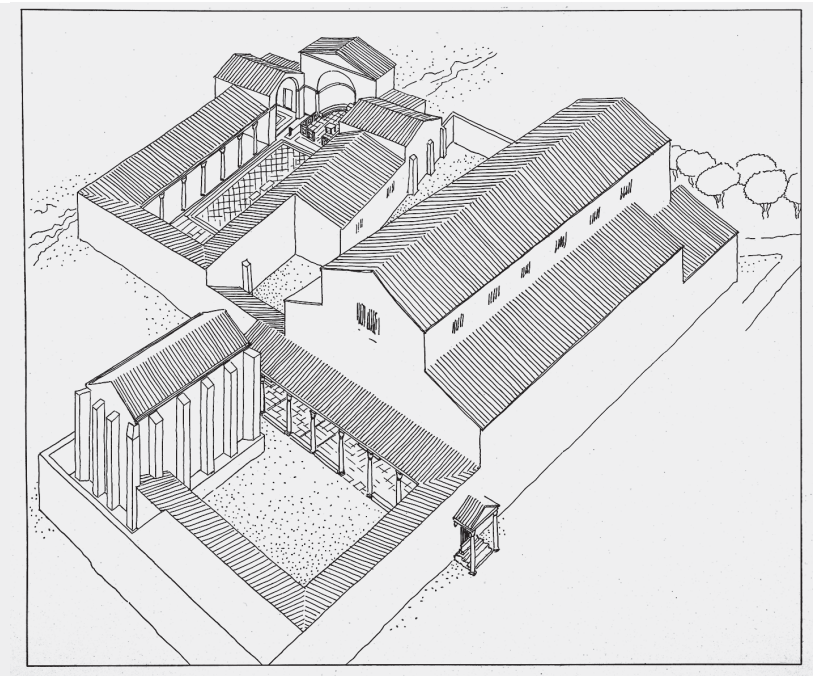
[19] *Liber pontificalis* I, 1886, str. 330 (LXXIIII. Ioannes IIII, 640. – 642.); Bulić 1986, str. 144–148.



Pogled na mauzolej
View of the mausoleum

the Salonitan martyrs, including those of Anastasius, and to bring them to Rome. He subsequently had a chapel built in the Lateran Baptistery of St. John, where their relics were deposited beneath the altar, while the martyrs themselves were represented in the large apsidal mosaic. This account is described in detail by F. Bulić, who cites the relevant passage from the Liber Pontificalis I.[19] Abbot Martin removed the relics of St. Anastasius from the reliquary placed in the apse of the mausoleum crypt because the sanctuary of the basilica, where the sarcophagus containing the relics of the same martyr was located, had been severely damaged by fire, as evidenced by the thick layer of burnt material discovered beneath the floor (up to 70 cm in depth). The reliquary with the remaining relics of St. Anastasius was left in its original location, since the veneration of the martyr's cult continued within the structurally robust mausoleum, which had suffered comparatively little damage during the destruction of the architectural complex at the Marusinac cemetery. In this context, one may also note the sec-

[19] Liber pontificalis I, 1886, 330. (LXXIIII. Ioannes IIII, 640.-642.); Bulić 1986, pp. 144-148.



Rekonkstrukcija cemeterijalnog kompleksa na Marusincu (E. Dyggve)
Reconstruction of the cemetery complex at Marusinac (E. Dyggve)

če ambona upotrijebljene kao spolija pri popravku pločnika narteksa, te kvaderi postavljeni na temelju zida između stupova trijema kao klupe. Time je omogućen prilaz mauzoleju preko narteksa i atrija od glavnog ulaza cijelog kompleksa s južne strane. S obzirom na davna istraživanja nije se obraćala pažnja na pojedine detalje njegove obnove, ali su istraživači opazili posljednji pod od grubog *terazza* u gornjoj prostoriji, koji se može usporediti s potpuno uništenim podom od grubih kamenih ploča u adaptiranom transeptu bazilike na Manastirinama. Također su naveli da je u mauzoleju uzvišeni pod izliven crvenim mortom, što podsjeća na sanduk premazan obojenom žbukom – relikvijar unutar adaptiranog kultnog prostora crkve na Manastirinama. Prema tome, upravo je navedena prostorija mauzoleja mogla biti uređena za kult sv. Anastazija nakon prijenosa martirovih relikvija u Rim. To je ujedno bio poticaj za obnovu najvažnijih kultnih mjesta martira, primjerice svetišta srušenih cemeterijalnih bazilika na Manastirinama i Kapljuču, odakle je opat Martin također preuzeo dio njihovih moći.[20] U tom se kontekstu postavlja pitanje kada je izvađen relikvijar s martirovim relikvijama iz apsi-

[20] Dyggve, Egger 1939, str. 19; Dyggve 1951, str. 83–84; Preloza 1969, str. 163–180; Jeličić Radonić 2023, str. 167–172.

ondary use of elements of church furnishings, such as an ambon panel reused as spolia in the repair of the narthex pavement, as well as stone blocks set along the foundation wall between the columns of its portico to serve as benches. This adaptation provided access to the mausoleum via the narthex and atrium from the main entrance of the entire complex on the southern side. Since these excavations were conducted a long time ago, certain details of its subsequent restoration went unnoticed; nonetheless, the researchers observed a final floor surface of rough terrazzo in the upper chamber, which is comparable to the entirely destroyed floor of rough stone slabs in the adapted transept of the basilica at Manastirine. They also recorded in the mausoleum a raised floor cast in red mortar, reminiscent of the mortar-coated casket, i.e. the reliquary within the adapted cult space of the church at Manastirine. It is therefore plausible that this upper chamber of the mausoleum was arranged for the continued veneration of the cult of St. Anastasius after the translation of the martyr's relics to Rome. This was at the same time likely part of a broader initiative to restore the principal cult sites of the martyrs, including the sanctuaries of the destroyed cemetery basilicas at Manastirine and Kapljuč, from which Abbot Martin had likewise taken a portion of their relics.[20] Within this context arises the question of when the reliquary containing the martyr's relics was removed from the apse of the mausoleum crypt. Since it is known that the relics of Anastasius, preserved in the early Christian reliquary, were translated to the Cathedral of Split and kept for a considerable time within the stipes of the altar of St. Anastasius, this must clearly be connected with the remodelling of that building into the metropolitan cathedral. With that event, the veneration of the martyr's cult in the mausoleum ceased, whereupon the apse of the crypt was filled with rubble and the *fenestella confessionis* sealed with roughly laid stonework, a technique bearing none of the characteristics of late ancient masonry. This intervention is to be placed within the tenure of Split's first archbishop, John of Ravenna, under whose authority the ecclesiastical organisation of Split was established. In the Split manuscript of the *Chronicle - Historia Salonitana* (*Codex spalatensis*), Thomas the Arch-

[20] Dyggve, Egger 1939, p. 19; Dyggve 1951, pp. 83-84.; Preloza 1969, pp. 163-180; Jeličić Radonić 2023, pp. 167-172.

de kripte mauzoleja. S obzirom na to da je poznato da su navedene Anastazijeve relikvije, pohranjene u ranokršćanskom relikvijaru, prenesene u splitsku katedralu, gdje su se dugo nalazile u stipesu oltara sv. Staša, očito je da je to povezano s njezinim preuređenjem u prvostolnicu. Pritom je prestalo štovanje martirova kulta u mauzoleju pa je tada i zatrpana apsida kripte šutom, a *fenestella confessionis* zatvorena ugrubo poslaganim kamenjem, što nije obilježje kasnoantičkog načina zidanja. To se dogodilo u vrijeme prvog splitskog nadbiskupa Ivana Ravenjanina, kada je njegovim djelovanjem uspostavljena splitska crkvena organizacija. U splitskom rukopisu *Kronika – Historia Salonitana* (*Codex Spalatensis*) Toma Arhiđakon iznosi važne podatke o njemu. Navodi da je u Dioklecijanovoj palači očistio Jupiterov hram od lažnih idola, postavivši na nj vrata i prijevore, te uredio crkvu posvećenu Kristu i Bogorodici. Potom se počeo dogovarati s građanima o prijenosu u Split tijela blaženog biskupa Dujma, koje je bilo ostalo u Solinu. O tome iznosi slikovitu priču da su u okrilju noći, zbog žurbe i straha da ih ne spriječe Slaveni, umjesto tijela sv. Dujma uzeli ono blaženog mučenika Staša, pa su se vratili idućeg dana i izvadili Dujmov sarkofag s istog mjesta. S prevelikom pobožnošću postavili su moći obaju mučenika u Bogorodičinu crkvu, gdje, zahvaljujući Bogu, do danas počivaju.[21] Prema tadašnjim crkvenim propisima, prilikom pretvorbe poganskih hramova u kršćanske crkve bilo je neophodno unošenje svetih relikvija kršćanskih mučenika.[22] Upravo je donošenjem relikvija sv. Duje nastala posveta katedrale prvom salonitanskom biskupu i martiru. Pritom se može istaknuti da je Toma Arhiđakon opisom tog događaja iznio bit prenošenja svetačkih moći u novu crkvu, premda neki navedeni podatci ne odgovaraju danas poznatim znanstvenim činjenicama. Naime, martiri su izvorno bili sahranjeni na različitim biskupskim grobljima Salone, na Manastirinama i Marusincu, a njihove su moći istovremeno donesene u splitsku katedralu.

Relikvijar sv. Anastazija, izvađen iz apside kripte Honorijeva mauzoleja i prvotno pohranjen u oltaru sv. Staša splitske katedrale, danas se nalazi u samostanu klarisa, gdje se u staklenoj posudi čuvaju i dijelom izdvojene Anastazijeve kosti. Očito su

[21] Toma Arhiđakon 1977, str. 40–42.

[22] To se navodi u poslanici pape Grgura opatu Melitu (tada među Francima) iz 601. godine. Vidi Bužančić 2004, str. 269.

deacon provides significant information about him. He recounts that John cleared the temple of Jupiter within Diocletian's Palace of its pagan statues, installed doors and doorframes, and converted it into a church dedicated to Christ and the Virgin Mary. He then began to seek an agreement with the citizens of Split to translate the body of the blessed bishop Domnius, which had remained in Salona, to their city. Thomas further recounts a vivid episode in which, during the night and in haste motivated by fear of Slavic interference, they mistakenly took the body of the blessed martyr Anastasius instead of that of St. Domnius, subsequently returning the following day to retrieve Domnius's sarcophagus from the same location. Both relics were then placed with great reverence in the church of the Virgin, where, by the grace of God, they rest to this day.[21] In accordance with the ecclesiastical regulations of the time, the conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches required the deposition of sacred relics of Christian martyrs.[22] It was specifically through the translation of the relics of St. Domnius that the cathedral's dedication to the first bishop and martyr of Salona came about. It should be noted that Thomas the Archdeacon's narrative conveys the essential nature of the translation of the saints' relics to the new church, even if certain details do not accord with currently established scholarly facts. In fact, the martyrs had originally been buried in different episcopal cemeteries of Salona—at Manastirine and Marusinac—and their relics were subsequently brought at the same time into the Cathedral of Split.

The reliquary of St. Anastasius, removed from the apse of the crypt of Honorius' mausoleum and originally placed within the altar of St. Anastasius in the Cathedral of Split, is today housed in the Convent of the Poor Clares, where a glass vessel contains a number of individual bone fragments of Anastasius, which were singled out from the rest. These were evidently removed to make room over time for the deposition of the relics of other saints. The relics of the Salonitan martyrs have been venerated in the Cathedral of Split since its foundation in the 8th century during the tenure of the first Archbishop of Split, John of Ravenna, whose name is attested in the acts of the participants of the ecu-

[21] Thomas the Archdeacon 1977, pp. 40-42.

[22] This is also recorded in a letter of Pope Gregory to Abbot Mellitus among the Franks in 601, see Bužančić 2004, p. 269.



Pluteji oltarne pregrade pronađeni kao poklopne ploče grobnica u koru splitske katedrale (Riznica splitske katedrale)

Plutei of the altar screen found reused as covering slabs of tombs in the choir of the Cathedral of Split (Treasury of the Cathedral of Split)

bile izvađene kako bi se tijekom vremena napravilo mjesto za moći drugih svetaca. Relikvije salonitanskih martira štuju se u splitskoj prvostolnici od njezina osnutka u 8. stoljeću, za vrijeme prvog splitskog nadbiskupa Ivana Ravenjanina, čije se ime spominje u popisu sudionika ekumenskog koncila održanog u Niceji 787. godine. Na temelju novijih istraživanja povijesnih izvora Mirjana Matijević Sokol ističe da je papa Hadrijan (772. – 795.) nastojao uspostaviti splitsku crkvenu organizaciju te je poslao svojeg legata Ivana da u građevini najbližoj Saloni, i povezanoj sa Salonom kao nosiocem legitimiteta, osnuje biskupiju koja će imati salonitanske metropolitanske prerogative. Potom zaključuje da je to bio politički projekt pape Hadrijana i Karla Velikog pa u tom kontekstu promatra dolazak Ivana Ravenjanina. On donosi sa sobom *Splitski evangelijar*, nastao u Rimu (8. st.), liturgijsku knjigu novouspostavljene splitske Crkve koja predstavlja njezin najstariji, do danas sačuvani kodeks.[23] Tada se katedrala oprema crkvenim namještajem, od kojeg su otkriveni pojedini elementi poput luka oltarne pregrade, sekundarno upotrijebljenog u Kaštel Sućurcu, te više ulomaka pluteja i pilastara. Tom ranom ansamblu liturgijskog namještaja nedavno

[23] Matijević Sokol 2014, str. 69–83.

menical council held in Nicaea in 787. Drawing on recent research into the historical sources, Mirjana Matijevic Sokol has argued that Pope Hadrian (772-795) sought to establish the ecclesiastical organisation of Split and hence dispatched his legate John to establish, in a building most closely associated with Salona and bearing its legacy of legitimacy, a diocese that would hold the metropolitan prerogatives of Salona. She further interprets this initiative as a joint political project of Pope Hadrian and Charlemagne, and it is within this context that she views the arrival of John of Ravenna. It was John who brought the manuscript *Evangeliarium Spalatense* with him. This liturgical book of the newly established Church of Split was written in Rome in the 8th century and represents its oldest surviving codex.[23] At that time the cathedral was equipped with church furnishings, of which certain elements have been discovered, such as an arch from the altar screen, in secondary use in Kaštel Sućurac, as well as several parts of plutei and pilaster fragments. Plutei later reused as tomb cover slabs in the cathedral choir have recently been attributed to this early ensemble of liturgical furnishings. Given their dimensions, the suggestion has been made that they may have

[23] Matijević Sokol 2014, pp. 69-83.



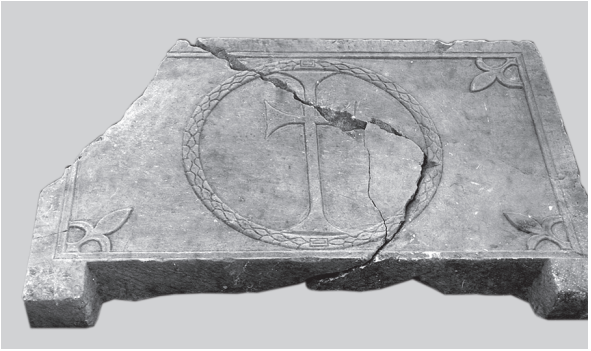
Sarkofag Ivana Ravenjanina
Sarcophagus of John of Ravenna

su pripisani pluteji korišteni kao poklopne ploče grobnica u koru katedrale, pri čemu je, s obzirom na njihove dimenzije, iznesena pretpostavka da su mogli pripadati pregradi grobne kapele sv. Mateja. Tu se prvotno nalazio sarkofag Ivana Ravenjanina, a danas je izložen u krstionici katedrale.[24] Na njima se može opaziti primjena pojedinih geometrijskih i biljnih motiva poznate ranokršćanske simbolike, čime su izraženi bitni elementi kršćanske doktrine. Ispod lučnih arkada, ispunjenih sučelno postavljenim kukama i oslonjenih na kapitele stupova, prikazani su izduženi latinski križevi ukrašeni kružićima s rupicom u sredini, stiliziranim dragim kamenjem (*crux gemmata*). U donjem dijelu nalaze se stabla života na čijim su vrhovima izvedeni motivi rombova kao alegorijski prikaz prvog dokaza Kristova uskrsnuća, temeljnog događaja kršćanske religije. Glasoviti kamen uklonjen s praznog Kristova groba jest „kamen koji donosi život" (*ή φερέσβιος πέτρα και ζοήφορος*). Iznad horizontalnih krakova križa nalaze se dva stilizirana cvjetna ukrasa – šesterolatičnog i osmerolatičnog oblika – u kojima je ukomponiran križ. Mističnim brojevima izraženi su ključni dani Velikog tjedna: šesti dan, kada je Krist razapet na križ, i osmi dan, dan Kristova uskrsnuća. Na sarkofagu Ivana Ravenjanina dominira motiv ukriženih ljiljana postavljenih u obliku Andrijina križa (X), unutar čijih su latica također prisutni motivi romba koji naglašavaju simboliku Krista i njegova uskrsnuća, odnosno početak drugog svijeta. Prikazi ljiljana pokazuju da je riječ o rajskom prizoru, čime je izražena ideja, a ne konkretan događaj, što je svojstveno ranokršćanskoj ikonogra-

[24] Basić, Jurković 2011, str. 149–185, gdje je navedena ranija literatura.

belonged to the screen of the funerary chapel of St. Matthew. This chapel originally housed the sarcophagus of John of Ravenna, which is today displayed in the baptistery of the cathedral.[24] On these plutei, certain geometric and vegetal motifs of established early Christian symbolism can be observed, through which the essential tenets of Christian doctrine are articulated. Beneath arched arcades filled with opposing hook motifs and supported by capitals on columns, elongated Latin crosses are depicted, adorned with small circles and a small central perforation in the centre, stylized gemstones (*crux gemmata*). In the lower part are trees of life, whose upper branches incorporate rhomboid motifs, an allegorical representation of the first proof of Christ's Resurrection, the central event of the Christian faith. The stone removed from Christ's empty tomb is the "stone that brings life" (ή φερέσβιος πέτρα και ζοήφορος). Above the horizontal arms of the cross are two stylised floral ornaments, namely one six-petalled and the other eight-petalled, with a cross incorporated into the latter. These forms encode, through symbolic numerology, the key days of the Holy Week: the sixth day, marking Christ's Crucifixion, and the eighth day, signifying his Resurrection. On the sarcophagus of John of Ravenna, the dominant motif consists of interlaced lilies arranged in the form of a St Andrew's cross (X), within whose petals appear rhomboid motifs that further emphasize the symbolism of Christ and the Resurrection and the beginning of a renewed world. The depiction of lilies evoke a paradisal scene, convey-

[24] Basić, Jurković 2011, pp. 149-185, where earlier literature is cited.



Mramorni plutej iz ranokršćanske bazilike pored Porta Caesarea u Saloni
Marble pluteus from the early Christian basilica near Porta Caesarea in Salona

fiji.[25] Dakle, ne samo na sarkofagu nego i na plutejima između dviju arkada s križevima nalaze se trolisni ljiljani, pri čemu je u srednjoj latici urezan simbol romba. Premda je na jednom pluteju gotovo nezgrapno izveden i probija liniju gornje bordure, koja je pritom znatno otučena, njegov prikaz jasno ukazuje na važnost simbolike uskrsnuća. S obzirom na značenje motiva romba i njegovu prisutnost na prikazima stabla života i ljiljana na novootkrivenim plutejima i sarkofagu Ivana Ravenjanina, možda bi ih se moglo promatrati u kontekstu grobne crkve sv. Mateja, namijenjene posljednjem počivalištu prvog splitskog nadbiskupa.

Slična ornamentika prisutna je i na ostalim ulomcima pluteja kojima je bila ukrašena splitska prvostolnica u 8. stoljeću. Riječ je o najranijim primjerima crkvenog namještaja na kojem su ranokršćanski motivi alegorijskih prikaza pojednostavljeni, odnosno reducirani na simboličke znakove i ukomponirani u primijenjenu ornamentiku. To neosporno potvrđuju poznati primjeri poput mramornog pluteja iz ranokršćanske bazilike pronađenog 1932. godine pored Porta Caesarea. Cijelom površinom dominira prikaz Kristova trijumfa, predstavljen križem u vijencu, ukrašenim najvažnijim dokazom uskrsnuća – nizom rombova – dok se u uglovima nalaze trolisni ljiljani.[26] Na taj se način jasno odražava kontinuitet najvažnijih elemenata kršćanske religije, što je ujedno ishodište složene kršćanske simbolike bezbrojnih inačica karakterističnih pleternih motiva na skulpturi mnogih crkvenih građevina ranog srednjeg vijeka.

[25] Underwood 1950, str. 80–92, sl. 39–43; Villette 1957, str. 27–28, 72–76; Jeličić Radonić 1994, str. 72–78.

[26] Villette 1957, str. 19–24; Jeličić Radonić 1994, str. 75–78; Jeličić Radonić 2023, str. 109.

ing an idea rather than a specific event, an approach characteristic of early Christian iconography.[25] Accordingly, not only on the sarcophagus but also on the plutei, trefoil lilies appear between two arched arcades containing crosses, with a rhomboid symbol again incised within the central petal. Although executed somewhat clumsily on one pluteus, breaking the line of the upper border, itself considerably damaged, the symbol nevertheless clearly attests to the importance attributed to the symbolism of the Resurrection. In light of the significance of the rhomboid motif and its presence in representations of the tree of life and lilies on the newly identified plutei and on the sarcophagus of John of Ravenna, it may be proposed that these elements be considered within the context of the funerary church of St. Matthew, intended as the final resting place of the first archbishop of Split.

A comparable ornamentation is also attested on other preserved fragments of plutei that adorned the Cathedral of Split in the 8th century. These represent some of the earliest examples of church furnishings in which early Christian allegorical motifs are simplified and reduced to symbolic signs, integrated within the applied ornamental scheme. This is conclusively confirmed by well-known examples such as the marble pluteus from an early Christian basilica discovered in 1932 near the Porta Caesarea. Its entire surface is dominated by the depiction of the triumph of Christ, expressed through a cross enclosed within a wreath and adorned with the principal symbol of the Resurrection—a sequence of rhomboid motifs and trefoil lilies in the corners.[26] In this manner, the continuity of the most fundamental elements of the Christian faith is clearly reflected, which also forms the basis of the complex Christian symbolism manifested in the countless variations of characteristic interlace motifs in the sculpture of many early medieval ecclesiastical buildings.

[25] Underwood 1950, pp. 80-92, Fig. 39-43; Villette 1957, pp. 27-28, 72-76; Jeličić Radonić 1994, pp. 72-78.

[26] Villette 1957, pp. 19-24; Jeličić Radonić 1994, pp. 75-78; Jeličić Radonić 2023, p. 109.

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