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Great Dane meets Dalmatian

Ejnar Dyggve and the Mapping of Christian Archaeology

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Old man: *So, you thought about living in Versailles for a long time before you actually moved here.*

Young man: *No, I had to experience Versailles in order to understand Sanssouci.*¹

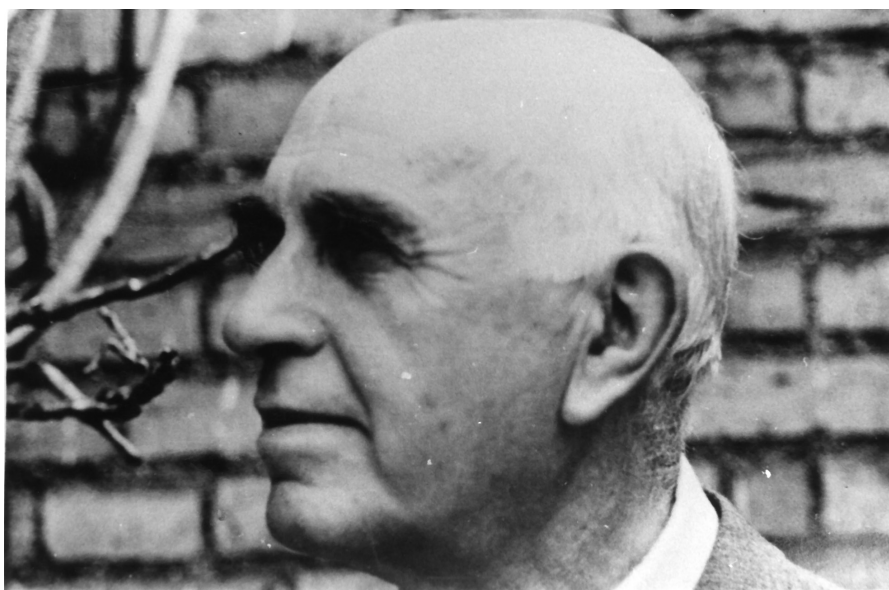
Art History of the Early Middle Ages in the North and South

Studying, researching and teaching art history in Southern, Central, or Northern Europe still means practicing quite different things. Everybody who has this privilege can confirm how decisively national perspectives affect the local discipline. Today we live in a globalized age, in which the calls for a World Art History (Davis, 2011) coexist with the discipline's frequent need to fight locally for its status or even to survive at all. Between the German *Bildwissenschaft* and Anglo-Saxon *Visual Culture* on the one hand and *Bio-Art* and *Bio-Media* on the other, today's art history sees itself threatened mainly by the need to make seemingly ever faster paradigm shifts. The current sense of cultural fragmentation, dislocation, and the apparent absence of coherence seem to undo cultural unities (Blundell, 1993; Chatterjee, 1993; Bhabha, 1994). In such a situation, it may be beneficial to ((re-)) consider the theory and praxis of cultural continuity. To capture art and culture in their historical dimension means primarily the will to adopt such a continuity assumption, that despite of its fragility can always be postulated again. As the point of departure of such a continuity assumption serves the truism, that historicizing denies an idea of inevitability. The art historical methods and procedures cannot in fact "be conceived before the solution of the problems, but only developed along with their solutions" (Sedlmayr, 1958, p. 56).² Already Hans Sedlmayr – taking the mantle of Jacob Burckhardt's successor – has called for an art and cultural history with "an inclusion of results that exist in other areas and address the problems that arise in the study of any kind of events" (Sedlmayr, 1958, p. 54).³ However, Sedlmayr has limited cooperation with other disciplines to a professional-pragmatic one: cooperation would in fact only be possible "if the character of an area has been already so established, that one's own method of approach and objects of interest aren't threatened by contact with other sciences" (Sedlmayr, 1958, p. 61). This is important to remember today, in light of the current relationship between art history and visual culture that can only be called unsatisfactory. But, even more precarious, in fact

almost severed, are the bonds between the former inseparable sister disciplines of art history and archaeology. Therefore, within this limited framework, I want to relate the current situation of the discipline of art history to the Early Middle Ages, the time when today's Europe began to take shape. We deal here with the little researched period before the end of the first millennium; a time before thoughts of continuity and a European identity, a time that ultimately reflects the tentativeness of today's Europeans. In this essay, I want to look at the prehistory and preconditions of art historical research and to take a long-term process approach to cultural formation. I take up Mike Featherstone's prompt to focus "upon certain phases in the history of particular societies" as a promising way "to understand the processes that lead to the formation and deformation of the cultural sphere" (Featherstone, 1995, p. 32). As a case in point, I propose the art historical and archaeological research undertaken into Early Medieval art and architecture and its role for our discipline today. *Pars pro toto*, I would like to bring to mind the work and character of the deserving, but unfortunately almost forgotten archaeologist, architect and also art historian, Ejnar Aksel Petersen Dyggve (1887-1961) [Fig. 1].⁴

I will briefly sketch Dyggve's research profile, central motifs and methodologies which ultimately lead him to become one of the most cited pioneers in comparative cultural studies in mid-twentieth century Europe. Subsequently, I will summarize obvious arguments for 'digging Dyggve' today and propose steps towards an interdisciplinary research program for a revaluation of Early Medieval art history and Christian archaeology across Europe. But the real benefit of reassessing both the archived and the not yet 'excavated' facts and fictions around Ejnar Dyggve and his work lies in the potential for representatives from Denmark and Croatia, representing the North and South of Europe, respectively, along with members of the wider European history of art community, to work together on a comparative revaluation of Art and Culture in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.

This ambitious program might appear displaced and anachronistic in a time when, as Homi Bhabha argues, "the very notion that we can undertake a comparative analysis based upon homogeneous national cultures, consensual traditions or 'organic' ethnic communities is being challenged and redefined" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 5). As it happens, "this inability to find the way home, to return to the lost point of coherence and order" (Featherstone, 1995, p. 1) was also a well-worked theme in the aftermath of the First World War; this was a time marked by cultural relativism and crisis, and



1. Ejnar Dyggve. Photographer unknown.

it was also when Dyggve started his archeological investigations. Obviously, the comparable situation between then and now produced and still produces a range of outsiders and outsider groups – not least around the art historian and archeologist communities, whose ‘double consciousness’ had, and has, been formed from experiences “both inside and outside the West, inside and outside modernity.” To understand and to learn from the experiences of the ‘migrant’s double vision’ demands, as Featherstone argues, “a conception of culture which not only discovers increasing complexity in the current phase of globalization, but also looks at previous phases of globalization and its relationship to modernity [...] In effect we need to investigate the conditions for the development of the cultural sphere by focusing on particular historical sequences and locations” (Featherstone, 1995, pp. 11-12, 15).

Our fellow art historians and Christian archeologists know very well that the millennium of the Byzantine Empire provided the foundation for Europe’s geographical and chronological continuity. Aware of the variety of cultural idioms within this ‘movable frame’, and also aware that an attempt or even just the expression of ‘translating an idiom’ bears a *contradictio in adjecto*, we must construct or think of these idioms or cultures, including those of the art and architecture of Late Roman and Medieval times, as processes or transformations. That makes us archaeologists of chunks of the fragile continuities which in one form or another set

themselves into the mosaic of the Grand Narratives that, only a couple of decades ago, Lyotard and followers viewed as having been dismantled (Lyotard 1979).

As Ejnar Dyggve received the chance to work in service of the then pioneering comparative cultural studies (DK: sammenlignende kulturforskning), he probably didn’t expect that he would find both less and much more than initially presumed.⁵ His digging around the peripheries of the continent allowed him to practice comparative cultural studies on a European level that went beyond the contemporary ‘snapshot’-level, and it is this realization of the potential of a broader perspective that has motivated us to transcribe, translate and publish the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split* and to place it at the disposal of further inquirers.⁶

In the next section, I would like to draw the reader’s attention to some details and contexts of Dyggve’s work and its reception: in my view their contemporary resonance is justification for the adoption of Dyggve’s approach as a model for current art historical investigations and the redevelopment of relations with Christian and Early Middle Ages archaeology.

Frames and Frontiers, Crossroads and Continuities

What Dyggve found soon after his arrival in Split and Salona were extant crossroads, both topological and chronological. He found them in situ either still in usage since Antiquity, or



2. A view of the Salona site in May 2005 (today's Solin, on the north border of Split in central Dalmatia), showing a central part of the site *intra muros*. Photograph: © Slavko Kacunko.

as an archive, carved in stone [Fig. 2]. According to Miljenko Jurković, this archive is quantitatively incomparable in Europe.⁷ The variety of epigraphic monuments, he asserts, is not least an expression of the strong connection between church and state, which promoted the visual arts with the same intensity and dedication. What Ejnar Dyggve found, was therefore also proof or indication of a cultural continuity of transformation, which still provided a living, experienced sense of identity. This might have reminded him not least of his studies in Scandinavia. On this general level, Dyggve's Croatian colleagues (then and now) share and value his continuity-assumption and the orientation that he provided through his thorough research. "The grandeur of the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia as of Istria in the Early Middle Ages depended in large part on the late antique heritage and

of its bearers. That was mainly the coastal cities, where life has not died, although it was quite modest" (Jurković, 2005; compare Dyggve, 1933a; et al.).

After the Frankish battles with Byzantium, which ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 812, circumstances were favorable for the development of architecture and the visual arts in the newly formed Croatia. Showing influences of both the patriarch of Aquileia (with the formal elements like the nave church with three apses or the neutral cruciform church) and the Franks (with the characteristic *Westwerk*), the huge number of a hundred preserved Pre-Romanesque churches were built from the mid-ninth century onwards. The influence of late Antiquity remained visible in the three-aisled basilica with three polygonal apses. Cultural influences on such crossroads have given rise to idiosyncratic forms and

functions, to which, amongst others, the best archaeologists and art historians from all over the world have been drawn to interpret their meanings and paths of influences.⁸ The typological diversity of the churches of that time has been widely researched, producing what would seem highly cogent arguments for theories of the continuity of late Antique tradition (including complicated ‘six-leaves’-central forms with their variants) and of their autochthonous development. It is therefore not surprising that the best authorities in the field of Early Medieval art and architecture on the Adriatic Coast often tend to combine these seemingly incompatible explanatory models – just as their predecessors did in stone, one might say. The flourishing of the Pre-Romanesque art from the end of the eighth century has been described as a “mixing of own experiences with those of the foreign travelled masters [...] Located at the crossroads of these worlds, the Croatian lands took ideas from both sides, but they also added territorially inherited elements.” With the quoted ‘Archive in Stone’, which Dyggve encountered first in 1922, and with the churches with rounded buttresses, “these early masters have made their very own contribution to European Pre-Romanesque” (Jurković, 2005; Bužančić, 2011).

This is perhaps the boldest, and at the same time precarious, context for today’s rethinking of Dyggve’s continuity thesis, to which I will return shortly. It is important to bear in mind that any future attempt to produce theoretical syntheses related to the art of architecture at the dawn of Europe will have to take the necessary simplifications into account and be aware of the associated limitations. This applies among other things to the theory of the ‘Frontier Zones’ (Whittaker, 1994), which “runs the risk of whitewashing the fact by evoking an image of all time peace and easy penetrability of the borders” (Syrbe, 2013, p. 18), similarly, the theory of ‘Contact Zones’ (Pratt, 1991). In an international conference on Frontiers in East and South Central Europe, organized by the *Centar Cvito Fisković* in Split in June 2013 (*Frontiers* 2013), Neven Buda emphasized in his talk about the Early Medieval boundaries in Dalmatia/Croatia between the eighth and eleventh centuries, that when the Roman province of Dalmatia was split into the Byzantine and Carolingian entities, and a Croatian *ethne* formed, the latter did not necessarily follow the logic of the ecclesiastical borders or those of the changing administrative division – and of particular interest in this context, it did not always follow the borders between liturgies (Budak, 2013, p. 7). It is this complexity, which prompted Dyggve to repeatedly emphasize the importance of the ‘archeological proof’; advice which Dyggve

clearly followed himself as evidenced by the caution he exercised in the use of written documents. We are left with the “reflections on boundaries in local art history from the perspective of the geography of art” (Pelc, 2013, p. 16) – and the other way around – so important also to “transborder art historical writing” (ibid.; Ćurčić, 2010). The border question becomes even more complex once environmental factors are taken into considerations. In these the ecohistorical dynamics between the Adriatic / Mediterranean, Pannonian / Central European, and Dinaric / Balkanic play as important a role as the political and religious European frameworks (Roksandić, 2013, p. 17).⁹ I will return to Dyggve’s contemporary Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971) and his hypotheses about the border, provincial and peripheral regions in the context of the polarizations between the (dis-)continuity theses of these two important co-players and competitors. Respecting the seductive power of both arguments, it seems relevant to emphasize – as another of Dyggve’s Croatian contemporaries did in 1925 – that “a look at the physical map of Europe shows that the space, which our country [today’s Croatia] includes, is located in the transition zone between East and West, North and South” (Lukas, 1925, p. 25).¹⁰ This virtual cultural crossroad, which runs from Trieste to Gdańsk on one side and the Vistula and Dniester Rivers on the other, frames and represents what Lukas called the “Transgression Zone”, where national, cultural and political as well as climatic factors need to be taken into account for an “anthropogeography” (Lukas, 1925, p. 32) – a maybe surprisingly modern notion even for contemporary migration studies.

Mapping the Motifs and Methodologies

After providing a précis of the impressions which Ejnar Dyggve might have acquired during his first encounters with a far and yet familiar culture on the opposite frontier of Europe in the interwar years, we should take a look at the frames and frontiers of Dyggve’s inquiry, as they were shaped between the two poles of Europe, and at the same time they have shaped contemporary discussions between the fields of comparative cultural studies, archaeology and not least art history.¹¹

In an article that appeared shortly after Dyggve’s death, Kay Fisker quotes from Dyggve’s small autobiography highlighting his impression of having lived two lives. “One life as a practicing architect, caught in his youth as a revolutionary avant-garde architect. And another life as an archaeologist,

researcher and art historian. Over the years, the latter came to completely outshine the first” (Fisker, 1961, p. 1).¹² His first encounter with the interests that were to dominate his ‘second life’ as archaeologist, researcher and art historian came during his early studies in Helsinki, Gothenburg and at the University of Copenhagen and the Technical School where he was introduced to the Viennese School, from *Sezession*, *Jugendstil* and *Art Nouveau*. From the beginning of his studies at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen (1909-20), Dyggve reacted against the National Romanticism of his professor, Martin Nyrop (1849-1921) and the still widespread academicism. Dyggve, who became the leader of a little group of oppositional students in 1910, later wrote about his experiences:¹³

But these new common-European efforts went around our Danish Academy of Fine Arts [...] That which they [Dyggve’s group or “cell”] sought, looked like a manifesto, they would take up the problems in theoretical purified form and define the context and laws. They wanted systematic thinking to be reflected in the work outline, and that this should not only take the form of drawing, but also of a written expression. And they also wanted to reach a sharpened perception of the technical peculiarities of the respective material. Ultimately their goal was that the time’s changing social structure should fittingly influence architectural education.

(Dyggve quoted in Fisker, 1961, p. 3)¹⁴

Dyggve provides an appropriate account of his response as it would develop henceforth:

Through a functional analysis, the tasks were dissolved in their components, and this analysis was translated into an idiom determined by the characteristics of the chosen material. To arouse the feeling of space it happened that we considered the cubic mass compared to an included fourth dimension, a concept that only recently, thanks to film, has found its usage in composition theory [...] Our program was to keep the historical styles outside the present architecture. And yet we didn’t want to deny historical study. On the contrary, I have mentioned that we found it necessary to examine the architecture and crafts of previous times.

(Dyggve quoted in Fisker, 1961, p. 3)¹⁵

In response to the accusations that his group consisted of ‘revolutionaries’ and ‘internationalists’, Dyggve countered that small societies like Denmark did not have a purpose

in themselves (Dyggve quoted in Fisker, 1961, pp. 3, 5).¹⁶ Dyggve’s political convictions found expression in a pertinent search for the chronological, topological, and above all ‘functional’ continuities, which themselves became the necessary support in his life-long integrity, both as a public and private person. I am taking a late example just to exemplify how Dyggve’s motives and methods matched each other. The meeting of ‘North’ and ‘South’ can be seen from this perspective rather than as a byproduct: at the very beginning of his short study, explicitly titled as an ‘art history’, on the monolithic dome of the Theoderik mausoleum in Ravenna, Dyggve quotes several art historians of a nationalist-romantic bent from the German-speaking realm, such as Kugler, Eitelberger (1861) and especially A. Haupt: “A stone monument in which the mighty blood-stream of the North still pulsates and is still recognizable in detail” or “In the vast dome of its stone ceiling we recognize the Nordic feeling” (Haupt quoted in Dyggve, 1957, pp. 5-6).¹⁷ Dyggve insists that the quoted author is harking back to Fritz Kugler and his links to the North that were expressed in 1856, namely that Theoderic’s grave relates to “that indestructible rock load that was stacked on top of the graves in the old home” (Kugler quoted in Dyggve, 1957, p. 6).¹⁸

Other quotes, obviously too embarrassing for the main text, can only be found in the footnotes, like the one from S. Fuchs from his book about the art of the Eastern Goths (1944), where he writes how “the king was a German, and so, at his grave, in a curious anachronism and as a magnificent testimony to the eternal power of the blood, there broke forth in the megalithic builder’s attitude a basic instinct of his breed” (Fuchs quoted in Dyggve, 1957, p. 13).¹⁹

“This writing is poetry. It is not architectural history”, commented Dyggves (ibid.),²⁰ while the related utterances of Josef Strzygowski received a more differentiated commentary (Strzygowski, 1929, p. 137). Dyggve’s little publication can be taken as characteristic of his working method and moral: only eleven pages text followed by eight pages of small-print notes and finally eighteen pages of ‘visual culture’, one might say, of which half are photographs and the other half drawings with a focus on function and on comparable examples, similar to his *Funktionalismen i amfiteatret* [*Functionalism in the Amphitheatre*] (1950) and many other publications from the mid-1920s on.

In order to fully understand the motives and methods that Dyggve applied as an archeologist and art historian, it is necessary to look back at his so called ‘first life’, at his own architectural practice. His suggestions for a scenic cottage

complex in Tibirke Hills represented an early and radical re-thinking of the nature conservation issue. Dyggve designed several summerhouses for this exclusive location from 1916 onwards.²¹ As the first example of a holistically planned holiday area in Denmark, this complex eventually became a starting point for Dyggve's activities for the *Danish Society for Nature Conservation (DN)*.²² However, this commitment brought him into conflict with several different bodies, the most famous of these disputes began in the mid-1920s when culture-radicalist writer, designer and architect Poul Henningsen started a campaign against the so called "Snob Hills" in the journal *Kritisk Revy*. His attacks were directed towards the "lost aesthetic" of DN, and Henningsen likened DN's management of environmental issues to a "dictatorship", and he referred to the related activists, as "nature fascists".²³ Perhaps, ironically it was a right-wing Danish Prime Minister – Anders Fogh Rasmussen – who eventually announced the abolition of the DN's successor (*Naturrådet*) in his New Year's speech on January 1, 2002. Henningsen's 'functionalistic' attacks on Tibirke-cottages seem no less misplaced when one reviews their original, rather sober dispositions and not least the functionalist vein in Dyggve's own theory and praxis. Dyggve appears to have become more purposeful in his functionalist thinking as he shifted his focus from architecture to archaeology and especially to problems of sepulchral liturgy. To map his leading methods inevitably implies a questioning of his motives. Maybe the most appropriate way to describe them – especially with regard to the later argumentation on archeological issues, as outlined below – might be the tenet 'Form Follows Function' (FFF), which was first coined by the American sculptor Horatio Greenough in 1852, but which primarily became famous through its later usage by the American architect Louis Sullivan, the major representative of the Chicago School. This phrase has often been misinterpreted as a call for renunciation of ornament and it applied neither to Sullivan's nor to Dyggve's environmental 'functionalism' at that stage. It is important to bear this in mind when studying Dyggve's permanent and changing interests in Tibirke.

Beginnings of architectural historiography

Drawing the personal and research profile of Ejnar Dyggve should receive sharper contours through an attempt to map his motives and methods. But Dyggve's specific 'case' seems to have the potential of becoming 'model' for a re-reading of

the complex genealogy and relationships between the architectural historiography and those of art history. His genuine reaction to Romanticist historiography both in the realms of architectural theory and art historical explanation patterns was certainly informed by the critical historiography of art. The positivist influences and especially those of A. Riegl and M. Dvořák of the Viennese School affected "not only the theory and practice of the protection of monuments, but also the new evaluation and methodological approach to the history of art. Also the evaluation of the Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque art in Europe was closely linked with it" (Marasović, 2008, p. 70).²⁴ Marasović includes an extensive bibliography in his opus magnum *Dalmatia Praeromanica* (2008f), which is a good starting point for comparative historiographies of art, architecture and archaeology. Shifting the focus from the Europe-wide operating (and known) authors like A. Venturi, W. Gerber, D. Frey, J. Strzygowski and S. Bettini to the more locally operating colleagues in the North, South or East of Europe may be undertaken, for example, by picking up such complementary contexts like those of Denmark and Croatia, where, again, the comparative investigation of the life-long collaboration and competition between Ejnar Dyggve and Ljubo Karaman could well serve as a model. Before turning to this particular issue, it should be emphasized that Dyggve definitely belongs to the pioneers of architectural historiography with his early investigations into the use of technology and construction in the archeological and art historical work on site. Also, the work of his counterparts and contemporaries in Croatia like C. M. Iveković (1910; 1922; 1928; 1937) deserves equal consideration in the comparative re-evaluations of the pertinent architectural historiography. H. P. L'Orange cites an early article by his colleague and collaborator Ejnar Dyggve in the Danish national journal *Nationaltidende* of July 6, 1924 with the title *The Danish Examinations in Salona (De danske undersøgelser i Salona)*, which describes how "he has developed there his peculiar research personality and research morale, which since then has molded everything he did thereafter" (L'Orange, 1962, p. 104)²⁵, as it was still reflected in Dyggve's short text *About the Technique and Representation of Excavations*, written over three decades after his first report in *Nationaltidende*. Dyggve writes about "the astonishing methodological improvements of the field-archaeology" and the influence of the natural sciences, while summarizing both his dedication to the visual explanations and an invaluable epistemic value of the reflected visual culture in the work in situ. He emphasizes the distinction between the actual digging and its displaying, the immersion and the reflection:

The value of elucidation by means of graphical representation must not falter if an archaeological publication is to satisfy. And yet illustration has been previously often considered an added value, but it is not addition, but a permanent documentary value in the work, and it deserves to be realized with serious and binding responsibility.

(Dyggve, 1955)²⁶

Today, in an age when cultural studies basically follow the post-humanistic theories grown out of the Cold War, it doesn't seem to be very popular to contextualize (Dyggve's) views which belong to what has been called 'post-war humanism 1945-60' (Hamilton, 1997, p. 75f). However, this was precisely the context in which Dyggve found his earlier anticipations confirmed. Analysis must reflect our seeing, and seeing is also visual thinking, a process taking place in time.²⁷ Therefore, it must reflect also our changing standpoints in the spirit of the present time. Only out of our present time and using our skills and our media may we understand the decisive moments and the fragile continuities of art history.

As previously mentioned, the schism between the approaches of art historians and engineer-builders turned into a promising dynamism during the first half of the last century. Dyggve's master drawings and precise archeological reconstructions not only set new standards and received wide international recognition; they were prime heralds of the mentioned change. Like every change, it was accompanied by disputes and antagonisms, especially when the identity of the respective disciplines and even more, those of the respective national contexts, appeared to be at stake.

Province, Frontier, Periphery. Collaboration and Competition

This brings us back to one of the most absorbing and still confusing questions, crucial for the understanding not only of art and architecture on the frontiers of Europe, but also at the continent's 'center', or rather its changing centers over the period of time. In the section *Frames and Frontiers, Crossroads and Continuities* above, I have touched on the complex question of the cultural continuity and discontinuity on the European continent on a rather general level. The quoted recent theories and views share a common origin in the no-man's-land between the hypothesis of continuity and shifting paradigms of which the best defined ones were probably those of the two contemporaries under study, Ej-

nar Dyggve and Ljubo Karaman. After his study of art history in Vienna with Strzygowsky and having Dvořák as the supervisor of his doctoral thesis about the Romanic plastic in Split (1920), Karaman emphatically attacked Strzygowsky's theory (amongst others) according to which the Croats had transferred models of Northern wooden architecture to the Adriatic. He expanded his negation of the continuity-thesis both topologically and chronologically, deducing an absence of continuity between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Age architecture in Salona, the former capital of Roman Dalmatia and latter point of departure for today's Dalmatian capital Split (Karaman, 1963; et al.). In his probably most important and definitely most famous book entitled *From the Cradle of Croatian History* (1930), Karaman interpreted the fascinating quantity and hardly commensurable quality of the seventh to twelfth century buildings in the Croatian area with his coinage of the 'free-shaped buildings'.²⁸ With his understanding of the special forms we encounter in the Dalmatian peripheral environment he explicitly rejected the thesis of the local mimesis of Antiquity as well as the continuity of building between Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval period, and argued that the arrival of Croats in fact impacted as a caesura in the development of the Dalmatian cities and the temporary decoupling of their ties with Europe. The scale of the present publication does not allow us to reopen the discussion of the interesting deviances of this 'discontinuation'-theory with respect to the manifold forms of the three-, four-, six- and other multi-apsidal churches in the cities of the Roman province of Dalmatia, whose Late Antiquity origins and their later imitations Karaman of course could not deny. What interests us at this point is his encounter with Dyggve. Karaman was a close collaborator of one of the father-figures of Christian archaeology, Don Frane Bulić (1846-1934), with whom he published the well-known study about the palace of the emperor Diocletian in 1927 [Fig. 3]. Bulić had already founded *Bihać* in 1894, an organization for the preservation of history from the age of Croatian national rulers and helped Split and Salona (today's Solin) to host the first International Congress of Christian Archaeology in that same year. Dyggve actually met Karaman when the latter was the secretary of *Bihać* and an assistant of the Provincial Conservation Department for Dalmatia. When Dyggve came back to Dalmatia in his new, important function as the leader of the excavations for *Bihać*, Karaman had served already two years as the chief conservator for Dalmatia in Split. Of course, it was both in the nature of his job and his genuine dedication to watch carefully over the Danish archeological excavations in and around Salo-



3. Ejnar Dyggve (second from the right) in front of the Split Cathedral inside the palace of the emperor Diocletian, together with Jerko Marasovic (first from the right) and Tomislav Marasovic (first from the left), Split 1958. With kind permission of Tomislav Marasovic.

na, which revolved around and were actually motivated and justified by crucial questions like the archeological proofs of Croatian history in those surroundings. However, to say 'Danish' means in this case (in rather over-simplified terms), employing the Dane by the Croats in order to find further invaluable testimonies of the ethnic identity of the latter. In our postmodern time, this kind of arrangement may appear quite modern to us, perhaps too modern, with an effect of having a right person at the right place, but still being somehow out of place. To paraphrase Foucault's famous dictum, one might specify that the reason for Dyggve's 'heterotopic' being in Dalmatia as a chief-archeologist for Bihać was the task of finding the topos of the remains of the mausoleum of the Croatian kings (St. Stephen's Church) at the site of the *Šuplja Crkva* ('Hollow Church') near Salona [Fig. 4].

The question of the location of the kings' mausoleum church was in fact first answered in 1929 by Don Lovro Katić (1887-1961),²⁹ who proved what Karaman guessed (Katić, 1929; Zekan, 2000, p. 74), that work at the *Šuplja Crkva* site should be focused on searches for another church called St. Moses.³⁰ In the same year, Dyggve published an article, in which he refers to Bulić's excavations at the nearby location of *Gospin Otok* (Lady's Island) in 1898 and the discovery of the sarcophagus of the Croatian Queen Jelena, wife of Mi-

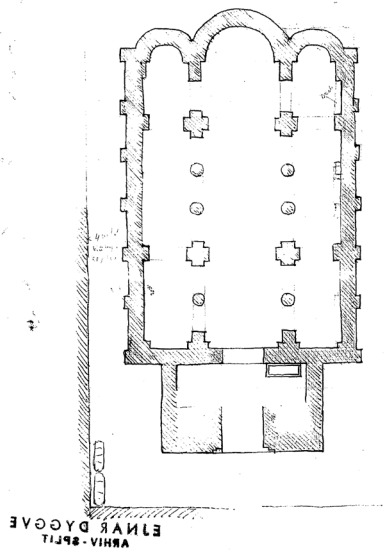
chael Krešimir II of Croatia dated 976. This site was later confirmed as a mausoleum of the Croatian kings. Dyggve states that according to a friendly note from "Prof. Katić, Solin, a medieval document proves that the Church of St. Stephen, where the Croatian kings were buried, is located on the same *Gospin Otok*" (Dyggve, 1929, p. 572)³¹ near Salona – i.e. not at nearby *Šuplja Crkva*. What is significant here is that Dyggve approaches the important question about the location of the burial places of the Croatian kings not least by raising the typically topological question of the ancient road and the passage of the river Jadro in Roman times.

In 1930, Karaman published a report of the General Assembly of the *Bihać* society of April 10, 1928 with a summarized status quo of these works on site and his announcement of the larger documentation to be published in his opus magnum *From the Cradle of Croatian History* later in the same year. Karaman decided (rather hastily?) to use the same opportunity to publish the first results of Dyggve's excavations on the *Gospin Otok* and announce Ejnar Dyggve's forthcoming publication. He also used the occasion to guess, perhaps in a hurry, which one of the two churches on the *Gospin Otok* is actually St. Stephen's (with the mausoleum of the Croatian kings) and which St. Mary's (Karaman, 1930a, pp. 3f, 17).

As it turned out, there were no remains of the mausoleum on site of the *Šuplja Crkva*, but Dyggve's continuation of the excavations there in 1931 brought sensational archaeological finds. What Dyggve found was a large Pre-Romanesque church on the site of the Early Christian basilica. On March 17, 1931, Fra L. Marun wrote in the *Jutarnji List* the following enthusiastic (and with respect to the found facts wrong) report, which highlights the respect for the Danish researcher:

A friend of mine has recently written from Solin, that the Danish architect Dr. Dyggve recently found a great old Croatian aisled basilica in Klis field [...] I immediately wrote a greeting to the architect Dyggve, who made this discovery, without doubt as a technical professional reporter for the "Bihać"-Association for the study of local history in Split. In this congratulation I have said how extraordinarily glad I was to hear the good news about his discovery of a large three-aisled old Croatian basilica in Solin on this side of the coast. Furthermore I declared, although I had then not yet seen the basilica, that it is the most important early Croatian discovery in general made between Trogir and Omiš. Our people should be grateful for all of his Old Croatian works, especially for this latest [...] Checking these excavations on

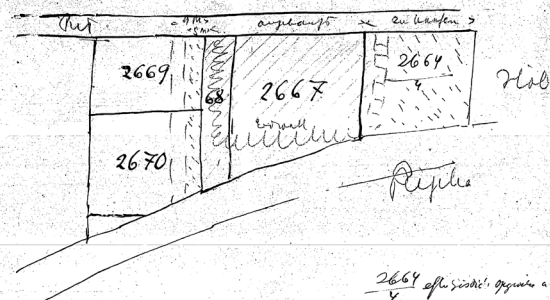
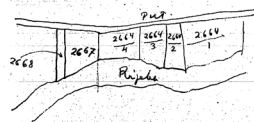
SALONA ŠUPLJA CRKVA 101



*Solim
Suphatwa*

Art. Dyggve

4:20C



$\frac{2664}{4}$ after sunrise, originates a 700 m/s

$\frac{700}{69} \left| \begin{array}{r} 23 \\ 30,5 \text{ m. ca.} \end{array} \right.$

ELNAR DYGOVE
ARHIV - SPIT

101

DST 45/31 88.

5. Basilica on the site of *Šuplja Crkva*. Dyggve's attempt at an axonometric reconstruction. *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*. With kind permission of the Conservation department in Split.

assignment despite his verifiable interdisciplinary approach [Fig. 5]. I believe that this question of status between the three professions continued to hold its validity even after Dyggve's death and that it has had negative consequences for interdisciplinary research. I will return to my conclusion in this matter later, but the more specific consequence of the presumed disciplinary dynamic which I have in mind here has to do with the abandonment of further excavations in Salona, which is to be regarded as a substantial loss for Christian archaeology, art history and other related disciplines. In his review of the previous research into the Coronation Basilica of King Zvonimir, Mate Zekan concludes that "In spite of splendid results, systematic excavations at the site were interrupted till as late as 1989, when they were continued firstly by revision works and then by searching a wider area around the church", and the revision has con-

firmed Dyggve's discoveries (Zekan, 2000, p. 258³⁴; Marasović, 2008, p. 283).

Dyggve's excavations on the locations of *Šuplja Crkva* and *Gospin Otok* have shown not only the Early Romanesque basilica and a necropolis on the first, but also a kind of *basilicae geminae* on the second site, the Croatian king's coronation site in the first, the Croatian king's mausoleum site in the second case. In spite of the fantastic finds, they were suddenly interrupted for several reasons, of which Zekan names "primarily unresolved property rights and slow land acquisition, followed by the termination of the contract of E. Dyggve and his return to Denmark, and finally the death of Don Frane Bulić, tireless promoter of all research on the Solin area" (Zekan, 2000, p. 254).³⁵

Which of the three named reasons was the decisive one, if any at all? Zekan continues his report with a mention of

the modest excavations at *Šuplja Crkva* in 1935, which Karaman undertook right after Bulić's death in 1934. He adds that Dyggve likewise visited this site in the same year and quotes Karaman's statement about the decision as to whether it would be worth keeping the excavations opened and visible or not, "We will make a decision this fall when a new administration will be elected and when we meet the agreement in September with architect Dyggve, who carried out the excavations" (Karaman in Zekan, 2000, pp. 254-55).³⁶ Zekan finally concludes, that "therewith, unfortunately, end the archaeological research works on this complex and for Croatian history extremely significant site" (ibid.).³⁷

Two questions remain: first, the circumstances of Dyggve's eventual withdrawal. Was the obviously failed agreement of September 1936 prepared long before that time? Still notably missing in the historiography of this particular 'case' are the minutes of events between 1930 and 1935. Some indications about Dyggve's struggle to continue his work on site can be found in *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split* even before we have finished the long series of transcriptions and interpretations there: from spring 1930, an application to the Yugoslav Academy, signed by the president of *Bihać*, to finally approve the resources for publication of the excavation results. Curiously, there are two exact versions of the same letter, one written in German and another in Danish. It seems obvious that Dyggve could count on Bulić's support to some extent, but also that Dyggve at the same time tried to find support elsewhere. In Dyggve's archive in Split there is also a short-term contract extension for his own salary dated February 6, 1932. Finally, Dyggve's nomination as an honorary member of *Bihać* from July 8, 1932 (with signatures of Bulić as president and Karaman as a secretary) means probably – with respect to the continuation of the work *in situ* – a dignified farewell. Emilio Marin has described the work of "architect Dyggve" in Solin as "post-Bulić-period", confirming the rich results from the research of Danish archeologists and especially Dyggve (Marin, 1985, p. 17).

There is no need to speculate further about the backgrounds of the art historical, archeological and other related games at that time; a time that has become immortalized on film thanks to the antics and adventures of Hollywood's fictional archaeologists, Lara Croft and Indiana Jones. Instead, I would like to close this micro review of the beginnings of architectural historiography between Denmark and Croatia with a last look at the complementary scientific relationship and also presumed competitiveness between Karaman and Dyggve. An attempt of its 'meta-reading' might also contrib-

ute – again *pars pro toto* – to the revaluation of the institutional frameworks and the strategic orientations of art history in the mid-twentieth-century.³⁸

In 1954, the *Croatian Society of Art Historians* (HDPU), which is a counterpart of the *Danish Association of Art Historians*, published the first issue of its most important art historical magazine, in which the question of the (dis-)continuity between Antiquity and the Romanesque was the featured subject.³⁹ Milan Prelog published his influential contribution to the analysis of the historical position of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia (Prelog 1954), while Ljubo Karaman published a summary of his favored review work *Reflections on some recent publications and statements from areas of art history Dalmatia: criticism and methodological considerations* (Karaman, 1954a) and – as a separate article – his long review of Dyggve's *History of Salonitan Christianity* from 1951. Apart from a few acts of courtesy, the latter was a slating review. Dyggve's search for the formal characteristic and genealogy of Pre-Romanesque architecture by following the functional questions and assumptions like the 'following' of the graves of the local martyrs by the burials in the Salonitan cemeteries both *extra muros* and *intra muros* ('FFF'-issue mentioned above) is an eyesore for the Croatian follower of the Viennese school of art history. Seen from this perspective, the topic of the double churches in the Episcopal complex in Salona and the translation of the (cult of the) graves into the city walls, has been particularly attacked, sometimes with arguments of the type of the "slighter sense of hygiene of medieval man" (Karaman, 1954, p. 180).⁴⁰

Also Dyggve's assumptions about Syrian and other eastern influences in Salona meet with Karaman's contempt (the former has been accepted in the meantime; see Bužančić, 2011a, pp. 18f). Karaman also misses greater consideration of Aquileia's influence (which has also been widely accepted in the meantime; see Jurković, 2005) and comes to draw his conclusions about the "greater freedom of the peripheral environment."⁴¹ Myth and reality in Karaman's hypotheses about the frontier (border), provincial and peripheral regions have been widely discussed not only in Croatia, or at the 100th anniversary of his birth. Ejnar Dyggve has offered a good opportunity to reflect on the two apparently diametrically opposed approaches to the question of continuity and discontinuity as well as identity and difference at scholarly symposia (Karaman) and through the translations of their work (Dyggve quoted in Marasović, 1989). In *Radovi Instituta Povijesti Umjetnosti* [*Journal of the Institute of Art History*] from 1987, Radovan Ivančević writes about

the “Myth and reality” in this context, while Miljenko Jurković writes about the “origin” of Karaman’s thesis on the origin of Pre-Romanesque sculpture. Finally, Jagoda Marković writes about the Karaman Archive and its incentive for research, which brings us back to the theme of Dyggve’s and Karaman’s archive, sharing as they do now, the same room in Split, vis-à-vis each other (Ivančević, 1987; Jurković, 1987 and 1989; Marković, 1987). In 2001, the Croatian society of art historians⁴² published the second edition of Karaman’s *Problems of periphery art* with an afterword by the president of the society, Radovan Ivančević.

Another coincidence of (dis-)continuity on an institutional level can be traced back to Milan Prelog (1919-88), who was the first president of the Institute of Art History in Zagreb, which was founded in 1961, the year of Dyggve’s death.⁴³ In his article from 1954 in the aforementioned journal of the Croatian society of art historians, he writes about the two major, but complementary theses in interpretation of the origin of the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia – those of Dyggve and Karaman. The Prelog actually leaned towards Dyggve’s thesis about the influence of the Antique architecture on the Pre-Romanesque (M. Prelog, 1954; 1994), which, according to Tomislav Marasović, brought him to his thesis of the “passive negation of antiquity” until the tenth century (Marasović, 2008, p. 76).⁴⁴ However, the Prelog tended more to support Karaman, as do contributions from some later experts of this particular period, who have generally followed the discontinuation-thesis.⁴⁵ It may, therefore, be concluded that both contrary theses of (dis-)continuity are respectively accepted and confirmed, but not in general (rather like Dyggve and Karaman seemed to have ‘performed’ their respective rightness), always in relation to the excavated archeological remains. It applies to a long line of researchers from C.M. Iveković (1937) through the middle generation such as M. Jurković to the newcomers. Seen from a psycho-historical and socioeconomic perspective, it could be generalized to some extent, in line with Mike Featherstone, that “cultural specialists are often caught in an ambivalent relationship toward the market that may lead to strategies of separation and distancing to sustain and promote the autonomy of the cultural sphere” (Featherstone, 1995, p. 16). Such favoring of the autonomization of the cultural sphere by the placing of cultural production above economic production belongs also to the approved strategies of parts of today’s cultural studies.

Also, it is to the benefit of Dyggve’s invaluable contributions including his theoretical orientation, that Tomislav

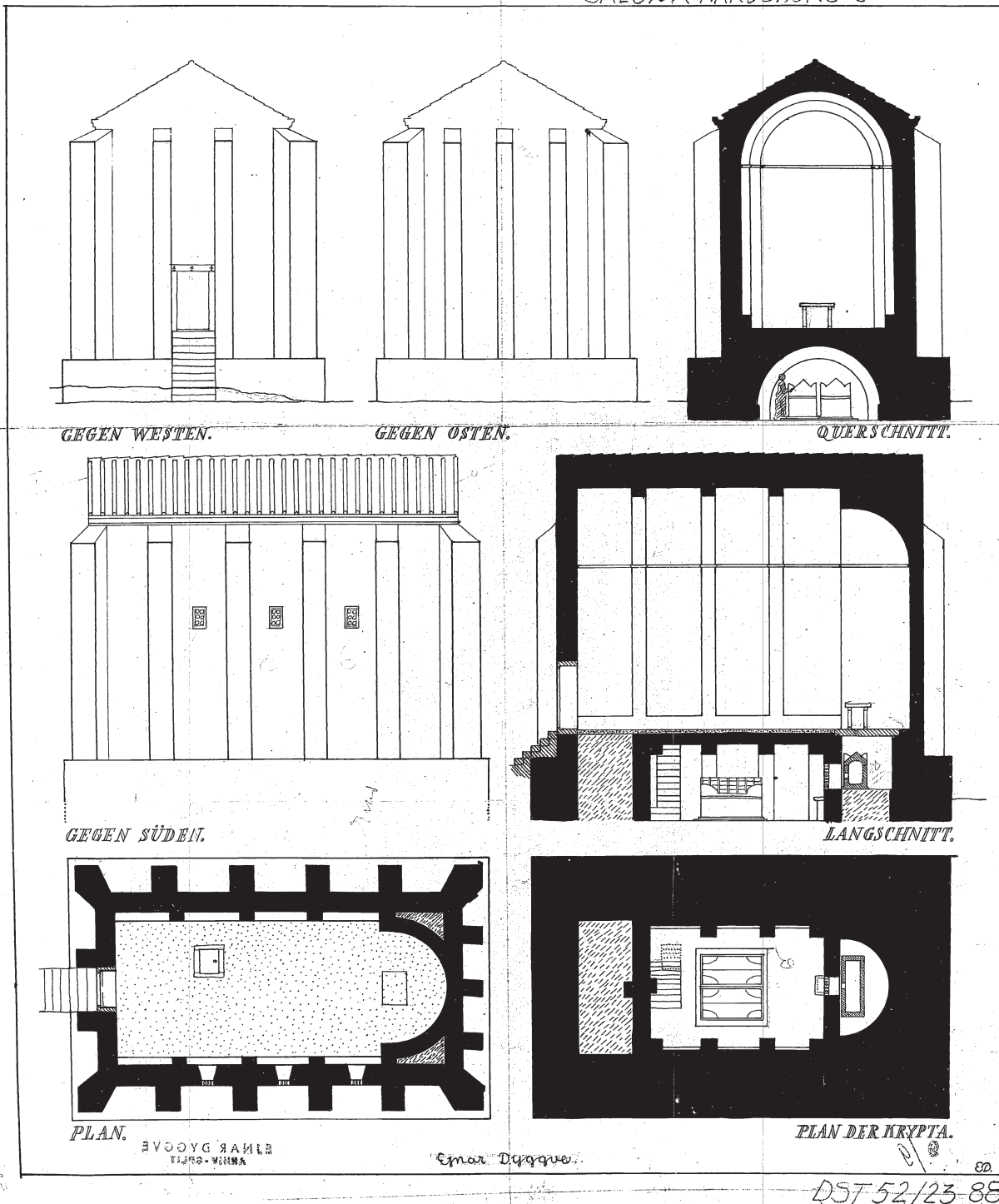
Marasović, who has together with Nenad Cambi co-edited the first Croatian translation of *History of Salonitan Christianity* and who has also written extensively about the chronology of the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia, speaks of the invaluable contributions made by Dyggve (Marasović, 1989; 2008, with an extensive bibliography). In his foreword to Dyggve’s collected writings, Marasović states that “Dyggve’s fundamental theories about the origin of early Romanesque art in Dalmatia and beyond [are still] valid [...]” and continues:

I believe that the conclusions regarding the Byzantine components in the formation of some type-groups of the Dalmatian Pre-Romanesque, or about the Carolingian “westwerk” at some others [...] do not at all diminish the same theory, but extend it to other possible influences, always recognizing the preponderant role of the late classical tradition precisely in a way that was mapped by Ejnar Dyggve half a century ago.

(Marasović, 1989, p. 17)⁴⁶

Mapping the cultures. Between Jelling and Salona

In the divided Europe between the wars, Dyggve began to look for evidence of cultural continuity and found successions of myth, cult and ritual on the frontiers of today’s continent without borders. He raised questions about the origins and maintenance of a particular image of culture (Featherstone, 1995, p. 14). His excavations in Salona near Split in Dalmatia and Jelling in East Jutland still serve as evidence for the Christianization of today’s Croatia and Denmark and are closely bound to the national identities of both countries. Dyggve’s convictions of the causal priority of topological, liturgical and other functional elements over the formal elements of ‘style’ have led him to defend his continuity-hypothesis, which has, as we have seen, provoked a fruitful debate since its appearance in the 1920s. Through both the explicit and implicit debate and its representatives, disciplinary institutional and other actors, art history and archaeology have significantly contributed to the creation of contemporary comparative cultural studies. It is obvious that the latter cannot be regarded as a synonym for cultural studies as they are practiced in the Anglo-Saxon world today. We are talking about the comparative cultural studies developed between Copenhagen and Split with their strong anchorage in the Middle-European, German speaking realm, along with the Mediterranean spheres of influence with the archaeology



6. Marusinac, an important cemetery site outside of Salona's city walls. Dyggve's attempt at a reconstruction. *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*. With kind permission of the Conservation department in Split.

experts between France and Greece. The comparative cultural studies in this understanding served Dyggve both as a framework and a point of departure for his early work in Dalmatia, at the same time he was able to achieve such Europe-wide recognition and acknowledgment that his pertinent (and necessary) ‘culture diplomacy’ helped to promote his approach in the countries where he worked and thought.⁴⁷ In this section, I will briefly refer to some of Dyggve’s writings which should demonstrate his methodological ‘comparatism’ and his historiographical interest, both led and followed by his ‘polyhistoric’ breath of Europe-wide cross references.

The living praxis, declared as a goal and motive, not in spite, but because of all its unpredictable transformations is clearly expressed in Dyggve’s late text about the development history of the sanctuary, entitled *From evangelist church to the church of power* (1956a). The methodological reflection serves there as in his earlier texts as a self-corrective and a rhetorical means of appellation. While the tasks within the old Christian studies were so much easier to solve in his time than in his predecessors’, their efforts should always remain recognized, says Dyggve. “But”, he continues, “I am convinced that the researchers who wrote about church building and liturgical history half a century or more ago, would be surprised and at many points dismissive towards the newer research stage, to which we have come first and foremost thanks to a difference in method” (Dyggve, 1956a, p. 12).⁴⁸ Dyggve makes clear that his (“the newer”) research doesn’t want to overrule the irreplaceable written tradition, but “endeavors to widen the understanding of this tradition [...] by recognizing the archaeological and iconographic monuments as messengers from the very vibrant, old Christian society” (ibid.).⁴⁹

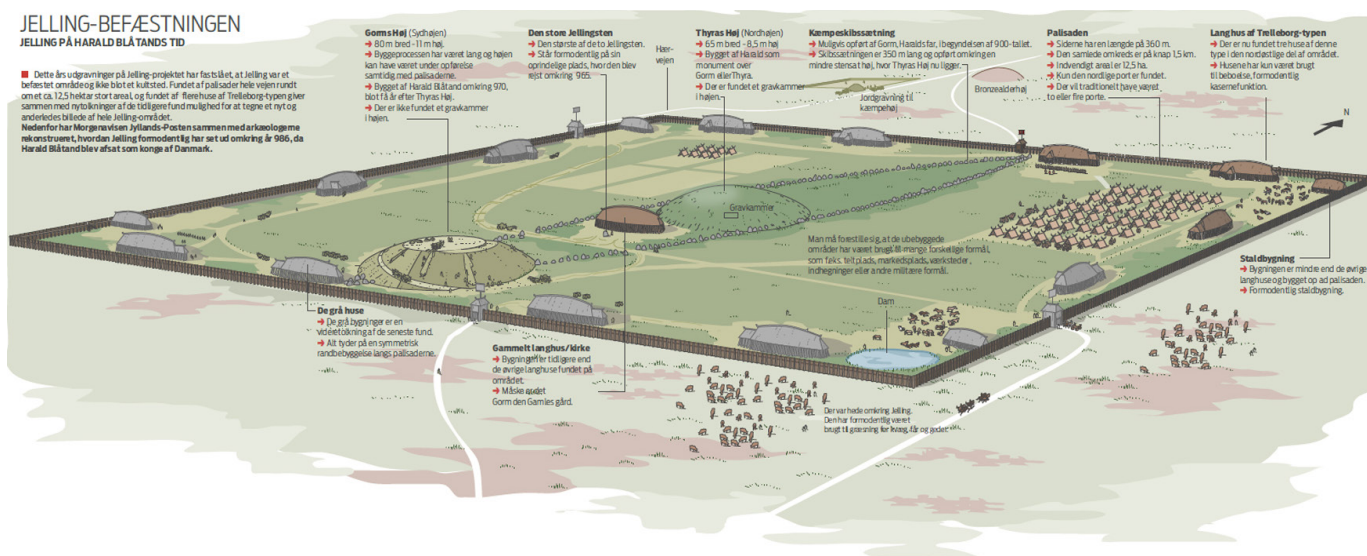
Dyggve’s comparative visual materials (Dyggve, 1956b) have therefore massively supported this apparently simple message, bearing the wish of recognition for those responsible for the visualizations, which still serve as a ‘primary’ working material of the art historian [Fig. 6]. Even if the then typically art historical questions of typology and style were not Dyggve’s main concern, his entitling of the continuity-thesis between the Late Antiquity and the Early Romanesque as ‘Adriobyzantinism’ became nearly a status of style, provoking an ongoing querelle (Rapanić, 2002, pp. 172-79; Jurković, Duval, 1984; et al.). We cannot debate this rather geo-historical *terminus technicus* here either, but it should be stated that the task of ‘mapping’ or ‘measuring’ the encountered cultures should be regarded as a method – literally, μέθοδος – of seeing the issues of nation, religion, heritage,

identity and tradition all at once as a kind of continuous flux, which enabled Dyggve to immerse in and reflect it at the same time.

Dyggve’s colleague and supporter F. Weilbach has summarized that in Dyggve’s views, “his propaganda and his own landscape architecture have survived and show the worth of his theory” (Fisker, 1961, p. 51).⁵⁰ During and just after WWI, Dyggve remained seized, as Weilbach claims, by an even stronger interest in metrical systems, in classical proportion rules and in archaeology. This mélange as well as Dyggve’s later focus on the supposed holy places (Vi-s) from Denmark’s prehistory (Jelling, Tiberke, Tingsted) were intensified during WWII. At least partially these concerns were motivated by Dyggve’s unbroken ‘FFF’-interest in the functions of human-built places, blended with the search for continuities in and between communities.

In his overview about the *Development of archaeological research and study in Dalmatia throughout the last millennium*, Don Frane Bulić describes the encounter with Weilbach and the Danish archeologists, including the contractual questions, terms and conditions of the deal between the Yugoslavian state and the Rask-Ørsted Foundation between 1919 and 1924. All costs of the excavations were covered by the Danish organization, while the State financed the acquisition of the landed properties; all found objects had to remain in the country, while the Rask-Ørsted Foundation received exclusive rights for the first scientific publication, which had to be realized in 1925 (Bulić, 1925, pp. 186, 192).⁵¹

During his stay in Denmark at the time of the German occupation, Dyggve took the opportunity to write a review of Danish archaeology, which – to quote an American professor of European Archeology – “has been a subject of academic investigation in Denmark longer than most other places in the world have been nations.”⁵² Dyggve depicts the Danish research and archaeological explorations in the Balkan Peninsula, in Egypt and the Near East as an inauguration of a long and successful tradition. It had begun with Peter Oluf Brøndsted (1780-1842), “a pretty philosopher”,⁵³ as Lord Byron called him and was followed by a long line of Danish archaeologists,⁵⁴ right through to Dyggve’s own mentors and collaborators like J. L. Heiberg (1854-1928), F. Weilbach (1863-1937) and M. Johannes Brøndsted (1890-1965). By 1916 Weilbach had already published a monograph about Diocletian’s Palace in Split (Weilbach 1916) and was able to make the acquaintance of Don Frane Bulić after WWI, while Heiberg, as a director of the new-established Rask-Ørsted Foundation (1919-72) offered a young Dyggve the opportunity to



7. Jelling, a drawing from the Archaeology Forum Website: <http://www.arkeologiforum.se/forum/index.php?topic=5460.40>.



8. Jelling site with two mounds and the church in between, August 24, 2013. Photograph: © Slavko Kacunko.

accompany Brøndsted and Weilbach as a member of the first Danish archaeological expedition to Salona. The expeditions in 1922 with Brøndsted and in 1923 with Ingrid Møller then laid the foundation for Dyggve's autonomous work in Croatia. While Brøndsted turned to Denmark and to the 'Nordic themes', Dyggve remained caught in the fascinating but difficult questions of the chronotopology of Salona, encountering one after the other Bulić, Karaman, Rudolf Egger, Bulić's successor M. Mihovil Abramić, and others (Dyggve, 1943a, p. 159). After the disruption in the archaeological excavations in Salona in the 1930s, Dyggve directed his appeal to the international public by naming Salona – with the richness of its old Christian monuments, cemeteries and "16 large basilicas" – as comparable only with Rome and Ravenna (Dyggve, 1943a, pp. 159-60).⁵⁵

In his overview of the golden age of Danish archaeology, Dyggve concludes by following his words about Salona and some further research in Palestine with a tribute:

In these days, there is hardly any study visit, fieldwork, or publication which hasn't a debt of gratitude to these prolific Danish foundations. Without their support, Danish archaeology could not have maintained as it has, its place in the competition of scientific research with its constant aim, in its ideal form, to establish fruitful international collaboration between colleagues.

(Dyggve, 1943a, p. 164; see also Dyggve, 1948)⁵⁶

During the occupation, Dyggve was also engaged in the resistance by helping interned Yugoslavians in Scandinavia. In 1943, Dyggve curated an ethnographical exhibition dedicated to Dalmatia at the National Museum in Copenhagen.⁵⁷ After the WWII, he became the president of the Danish-Yugoslav Friendship Society (Marasović, 1989, p. 8).⁵⁸

During the 1940s, however, Dyggve was better known for his excavations in Jelling, Denmark [Fig. 7]. Johannes Brøndsted described Dyggve's contact with the National Museum in Copenhagen, "[Regarding Jelling] there was a need for an archeologist with the technical capability, with the sense for context, with an eye for detail [...]" (Brøndsted, 1962, p. 118).⁵⁹ These were exactly the faculties which shaped Dyggve's deep involvement in what would later be called architectural historiography. This involvement was a very conscious one and accompanied by a deep research enthusiasm (L'Orange, 1962, p. 105).

During the German occupation of Denmark 1940-45 "Jelling became a national symbol", as Steen Hvass writes. The

National Museum of Denmark made extensive excavations in both burial mounds in 1941 and 1942.⁶⁰ One of the reasons for the works (especially regarding the deep cut into the south mound) was the prevention of possible destruction by the occupation forces. Ejnar Dyggve and Paul Nørlund led this excavation project, the largest of its kind in Scandinavia [Fig. 8].

Dyggve's numerous publications on Jelling as the most important site from Viking-times and the most distinguished monument of Danish history cannot be reviewed here. The later revision works, new discoveries and publications have also brought new insights and posed further questions.⁶¹ What is of particular relevance to the current discussion is Dyggve's recapitulation in his article from 1957 with the title *Tradition und Christentum in der dänischen Kunst zur Zeit der Missionierung* [*Tradition and Christianity in Danish Art at the Time of Proselytization*]. He summarizes there his excavations and also the actual preservation work in Jelling. The moments and places of encounter (or the 'contents') illustrate both the range of the underlying motive and method:

On the encounter of the Christian mission penetrating, from Mediterranean culture, the old Scandinavian culture [...] only little archaeological material is available to date. However, we urgently need the knowledge of the archaeological facts to animate and support the results obtained from the written sources.

(Dyggve, 1957a, p. 221)⁶²

That may sound 'modernist' today, and in fact it shows how the modern approach already included the 'post-modernist' critique of Grand Narratives. The difference lies in an obvious absence of cynicism in the work and thought of Ejnar Dyggve and some of his fellow architects, archaeologists and art historians. The national narratives and other story-tellings have in fact been made more transparent by their setting into parenthesis instead of hiding them in the long endnotes. The royal tribe which resided in Jelling was critically important for the gathering of the Danish kingdom, for its defense and its official transition to Christianity. Dyggve found here a situation comparable with those he found around Salona one decade before, as he found and interpreted the important buildings on *Šuplja Crkva* and especially on *Gospin Otok*, where, as mentioned above, a mausoleum of the Croatian kings from Queen Jelena, wife of Michael Krešimir II of Croatia, includes national relics from the same time (976) and of same historical importance as the runic stones in Jelling. Though remains of the royal palace or 'kongsgård' re-

9. Jelling, south of the church: Harald's stone with the runic inscription. Photograph: Roberto Fortuna, commissioned by the Danish National Museum.



spectively have yet to be found at either site, both of which are regarded as ‘cradles’ of the respective nations. On one of the runic inscriptions from the Jelling stones, the conversion of Harald Bluetooth (ca. 910-87) to Christianity has been summed up in the famous inscription

King Harald bade these memorials to be made after Gorm, his father, and Thyra, his mother. The Harald who won the whole of Denmark and Norway and turned the Danes to Christianity [Fig. 9].

Together with the church and the two grave mounds, the rune stones in Jelling not only symbolize the transition from paganism to Christianity and from Nordic grave rituals to Christian religious practice, but obviously they trace the ethnicity directly related to the kingdom as an administrative structure. Dyggve follows the same method as he did in Salona in his examination of the wide-ranging topology in Jelling, he also follows a similar line of consideration of the chronological and comparative frameworks related to the central functional and liturgical issues.

The oldest construction from the time of King Gorm (died in 958) consisted of a presumably nearly 200 meters long geometrically formed sanctuary, a so-called ‘Vi’, connected to the Northern hill with the grave place. To explain the enormous size of the site, in some publications Dyggve used his usual method of comparative visualization, which in this case appears a bit questionable: I am referring to a kind of ‘tryptich’-drawing with the ‘Vi’ in Jelling between Delphi and “a modern example”, which he describes as the City Hall in Copenhagen that his former teacher, Martin Nyrop, built in the National Romantic style (Dyggve, 1964, p. 29). The peculiar V-shape of a sanctuary *sub divo* Dyggve here seems to be demonstrated for the first time, and comes with a hint of its deeper Danish heritage (Dyggve, 1957a, p. 222). His questioning of the dimensions of the geographical, historical and cultural continuity leads him also to attempt a mapping of the comparable sites. In one of his later publications called *Three sanctuaries of Jelling type*, Dyggve compares Jelling (excavated in 1941), Tibirke (examined in 1954) and Tingsted (on the island of Falster, examined in 1955) to provide proofs and a satisfying theory of continuation, while obviously the

existing doubts need to be parried. So the opening statement that “it is commonly agreed that the Vi, the Scandinavian sanctuary of the Pagan period, can be defined as an unroofed enclosure” (Dyggve, 1960, p. 3; 1955a) bears the traces of his dispute with Karaman (Karaman, 1954) and other critics of his earlier reconstruction of the cemetery-building in Marusinac in Salona and its interpretation as *basilica discoperta*, a construction with a presumed centered sub divo-element. But also the ‘Vi’-theory itself seemed to bounce. Dyggve’s methodological ‘hand’ is visible when he argues for Tibirke in a similar topological manner as he did when he presented his *New research on the crossing over the river Jadro near Salona* (Dyggve, 1929; et al.) and examined the contexts around the mentioned important sites of *Šuplja Crkva* and *Gospin Otok* by Salona. He explains that, “topographically there was no need for a road in this place [“Tibirke”] and how “the road runs in the direction of Tibirke church, [...] originally formed an open-air sanctuary of the same large size and of exactly the same shape as that known in Jelling” (Dyggve, 1959/60, p. 3).

Seen in this context, the still existing ‘mystery’ of choosing Jelling for a “powerful royal place” (Hvass, 2000, p. 13)⁶³ may be reviewed in the light of Dyggve’s seemingly ‘down-to-earth’, topographical explanation type, mentioning not least an “Ox Road, a main foundation through Jutland to Dannevirke and further southward, which runs just a few kilometers from here [Jelling], from the earliest times” (Dyggve, 1955b, p. 128).⁶⁴

It is indeed generally known that such ‘Oxen Roads’ played an important role until and even beyond the Thirty Years War of the seventeenth century. The place where the Treaty of Westphalia was signed between the Catholics and Protestants in 1648 lies on such a crossroads, in Germany known as ‘Ochsenbrücke’ [Oxen-Bridge], today’s Osnabrück.⁶⁵

Like in Dalmatia and elsewhere, in relation to Jelling Dyggve writes about the continuity in the use of local building materials in order to include it, in this case, in an argument about the overall context and the continuity of form and function of the pagan and the two further sanctuaries between the two huge barrows in Jelling (Dyggve, 1957a, p. 229). He concludes that:

Although they represent the sharpest contrasts in the religious sense, seen architecturally they are typical representatives of one and the same Nordic culture. The mere fact that the altar consisted of an unhewn boulder, is in this respect very eloquent testimony.

(Dyggve, 1957a, pp. 229-30)⁶⁶

Admittedly, this may be Dyggve falling prey a little to the rhetoric he had attacked in the previously quoted article from the same year, when the similar ‘meaningfulness’ and ‘self-documentary’ of the ‘Nordic feeling’ in the monolithic stone ceiling in Ravenna had been made out by several art historians of the national-romantic attitude. But in our monographic and yet comparative context of Dyggve between the poles of Europe the patterns of questioning the form-function complex are decisive, leading as they usually do, to an affirmation of the ‘culture under the open sky’. Would it be over-interpretation to read an ideal of convergence and continuation between nature and culture into this? Dyggve’s commitment as a member of the Nature Conservation Council (1924-8; 1937-57), of the Danish Society for Nature Conservation Executive Committee, of the Agriculture Ministry’s Committee for State Forest’s Aesthetic and Scientific Operation (1926), of the Danish Town Planning Plenary Session (1926) speaks for such a reading. In any case, Harald’s church with an *atrium sub divo* (Dyggve, 1957a, p. 222) and other comparable examples of the ‘open’ sanctuaries belong without doubt to Dyggve’s most discussed contributions of all. Before I turn to this issue and to Marusinac as a most prominent example, I would like to add another comparative interpretation related to the runic stones in Jelling. Dyggve sees in these monuments not only “the image of initially undisturbed continuity we have gained in Jelling from observations on the wooden church”, but also the fact, that the Rune stone in which Harald announced the conversion of the Danes to Christianity “was not composed in Latin, but in Danish and with runes” (Dyggve, 1957a, p. 231).⁶⁷ What attracts attention is not only Dyggve’s interest in the circumstances of the ‘Latinic turn’ that followed the conversion, with a long period of coexistence of pagan and Christian customs, but also the comparative method that used what the international community regarded as ‘unorthodox’ written sources. He refers as he does in several other texts, to Ferdo Šišić’s *History of Croats* (1917) and writes how:

The Synod of Split, in March 1060, condemned the use of the Glagolitic [...] letters, by the way of their equation with goticas literas (= runes) [...] It would be worthwhile to delve into the very detailed tradition of the developmental history of the Catholic church in Dalmatia and through possible useful parallels, to be able to throw light on similar questions in the missionising of [...] Scandinavia, for example, on the church’s relationship to the runes.

(Dyggve, 1957a, p. 231, note 17)⁶⁸

A ‘reversed’ Strzygowsky to some extent, one might say at a first glance, but indeed, the Northern concern about the Runic alphabet, which was used for various Germanic languages before the adoption of the Latin alphabet, parallels the South Slavic concern at about the same time regarding the Glagolitic alphabet, the oldest known Slavic alphabet from the ninth century (even if the latter retained currency much longer in some regions of coastal Croatia. Dyggve takes from Šišić another analogy with the Synod of Split from 925, as the first Croatian king Tomislav received the recommendation from the Pope John X to the Slavs to learn “the language of the Roman Church [...] closely associated with the doctrine of the Roman Church” (Dyggve, 1957a, p. 235, note 31).⁶⁹

During the last five years of his life Dyggve intensified his studies of the written sources to find further evidence of the origins and transitions of the Slavic temples found in the North of Europe (Dyggve 1956c; et al.). Dyggve takes the information on and interpretation of Slavic gods like Swantewit and pillar houses both from Saxo Grammaticus’s (c. 1160 - after 1208) Danish history until 1185, *Gesta Danorum* and from the reconstructions and unsolved questions posed by J. Strzygowski and Carl Schuchhardt (1859-1943) (Dyggve, 1956, p. 37; 1959, p. 193). Also, with respect to the Swantewit-temple on the island of Rügen, Dyggve speculates – with another comparison to Jelling – about the liturgy under the open skies: “the Holy of Holies had no walls, but was isolated by ciborium-like suspended purple *vela*” (Dyggve, 1959, p. 194).⁷⁰

For the sake of consistent comparison of Dyggve’s research results with those of others we should not conceal the criticism of Olaf Olsen, who invested, according to his own words, a lot “into a proper investigation of the whole question of continuity from pagan to Christian sites of worship in Scandinavia” (Olsen, 1986, p. 126). In his book about the historical and archaeological Viking studies (1966), Olsen has summarized, among others, the results of the revision works in Jelling and other sites with presumed ‘Vi’-sanctuaries in Denmark in the early 1960s. Apart from the “only written ‘evidence’ of some interest”, the famous letter from Pope Gregory the Great to Abbot Mellitus from 601 with an instruction to the missionaries in England to convert the heathen temples into churches (of which Olsen also doubts that it would have been transferred to the Denmark of the tenth century) and the proved existence of the center in Jelling, Olsen does not see any archaeological basis for the theory of continuation. And apart from Knud J. Krogh’s conclusions upon the revision works in Jelling, which differed from Dyggve’s vertical reconstruction of the ‘three phases’ of pagan

and Christian sanctuaries, the general conclusion of Olsen’s historical, archaeological, and topographical investigations remains at least with respect to Jelling’s disposition of monuments. Olsen states that “the Jelling ‘sanctuary’ could in fact be a variant of the boat-shaped Viking burial framed by menhirs” and that “under one of the large royal barrows he [Dyggve] found the remains of an evidently V-shaped boundary of upright stones, with the apex pointing south and with the church lying inside the boundary” (Olsen, 1986, p. 128). However, Olsen was not convinced that this deep layer was a proof of a pagan sanctuary. It seems that Olsen supports this assumption with another revision of one of ‘Dyggve’s’ ‘Vi’s, that in Tibirke, which Olsen himself had dug in 1964, while on the case of Tingsted, Olsen claims, “Dyggve’s V-shaped enclosure was based only on lines on a sketchy map from 1784”, and the “study of proper cadastral maps and observations on the spot made it clear beyond doubt that the enclosure had never existed” (ibid.).

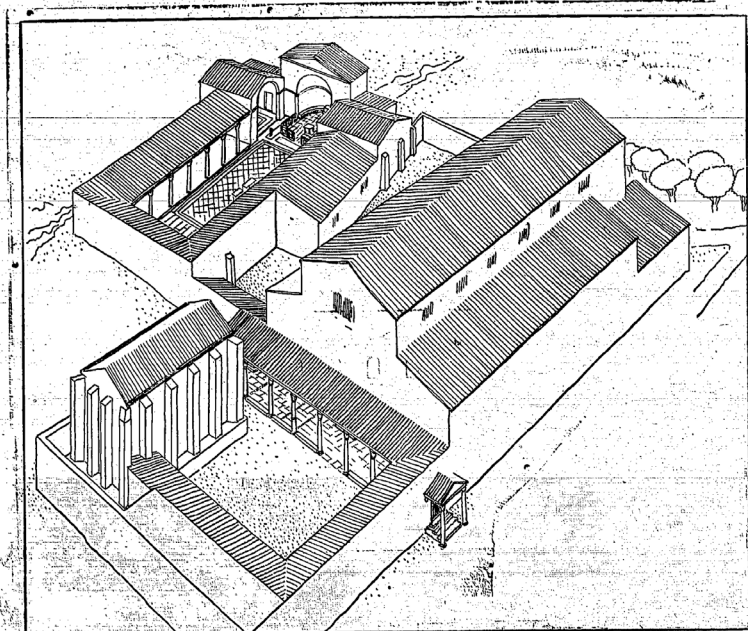
Seen from outside, it seems that Olsen has actual archaeological proof (*ex negativo*, however) that there was no continuity of the Christian cult within the physical pagan enclosure. In the case of Jelling, the basis of Olsen’s argument seems to me to be another *ex negativo* proof, however based on a contrary conviction to that of Dyggve, thus offering an explanation which is *per definitionem* much weaker as proof-category of a kind of “thick layer of sand” like in Tibirke. The proof-category for Tingsted lies between the two proofs mentioned above, and is based on an indirect, visual representation (a map), so holding the whole dispute still in a relative balance. Finally, the negation of direct continuation between the pagan and Christian phases does not imply the non-existence of the *relationship* between the two, as the title of Olsen’s summary article suggests. The at least generally comparable praxis seen in building designs between the pagan, old Christian and Pre-Romanesque times, could be a further indirect argument for the continuation theory. Dyggve’s own excavations at the *Šuplja Crkva* site from 1931 show for example the Early Romanesque building on topological continuation within the walls of an early Christian basilica from the sixth century – built by the later influx of newly Christianized Croats at a place where there were already foundations and a supply of other building materials. I think that Dyggve generally had this kind of continuation in mind, which always consisted of the liturgical and political arguments ‘from above’ and ‘from below’, the pragmatic needs and capabilities of the natives on site (Dyggve, 1943). It may still be plausible that Dyggve (not in spite of, but be-

SALONA MARUSINAC 9

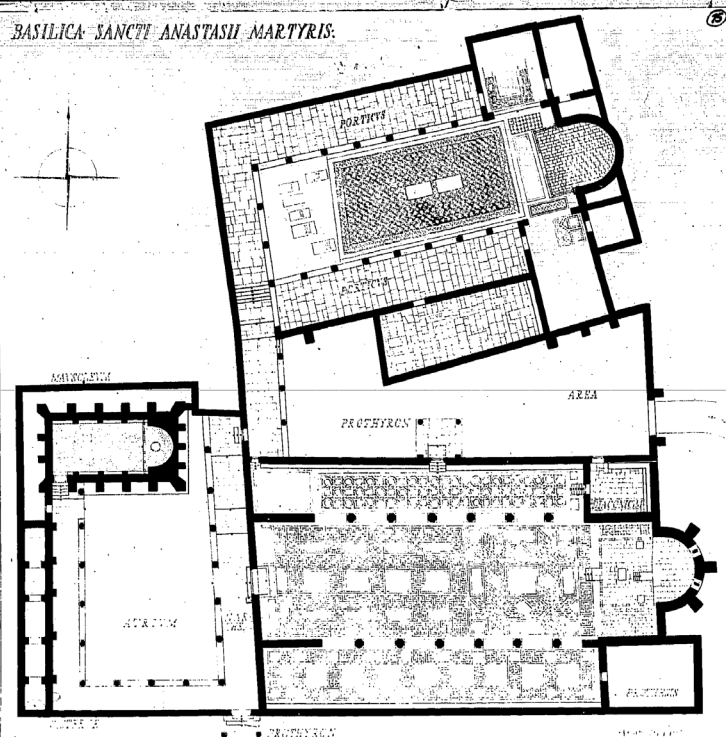
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cause of his integrity as a researcher) slightly changed his attitude from 'rebel' to 'romantic' over the half century. But, if these adjectives were to be taken in their literary (historical) sense so comparing young Goethe to Baudelaire, it should become clear that such clichés would apply neither to Dyggve nor to Karaman nor to any of their respective supporters. The material related to Dyggve's work in Jelling and Tisvilde at the National Museum of Denmark and his drawings from the Danish National Art Library in Copenhagen will hopefully help to strengthen one or another chain of indications.⁷¹

From Σάλωνη, Salona and Salonae to Solin. From Case to Model

In 1939, seven years after the adjournment of his archaeological mission for the *Bihać* society, Dyggve finally succeeded in publishing the third volume of the monumental *Researches in Salona* in which he together with Rudolf Egger summarized the results of the work in the old Christian Cemetery of Marusinac outside the Northwest walls of Salona which included St. Anastasius' mausoleum, a large cemeterial basilica from the fifth century and a building of the cult-sepulchral purpose (Dyggve, 1939 and 1940a; Egger 1936; et al.). Two of four most controversial 'cases' in Dyggve's career and, yes, pillars of his theory, have their origin here: one is the reconstruction proposal of *basilica discoperta*,⁷² another the interpretation of the mausoleum of St. Anastasius as a paradigm in the development of a typological group of early medieval church architecture in Dalmatia, affiliated with the later formulation of 'Adriobyzantinism'. The third refers to the existence of the *basilicae geminae* in the Episcopal center of Salona and the fourth is linked to the mentioned sanctuaries of 'Jelling' type.

Neither the genealogy and typology of the 'Vi'-s in Denmark nor those of the churches with rounded buttresses in Croatia can be examined here; both of them belong to the genuine monuments of European cultural heritage which continue to inspire art history and Christian archaeology, still leaving many more individual insights than could be digested in one essay. In any case, Dyggve's fascination with the mausoleum from Dioclecian in Split and Theoderik in Ravenna to those in Jerusalem, Kalydon or Pécs, just to name a few, can in retrospect hardly be compared to his fascination and firm conviction in the importance of the mausoleum of the martyr Anastasius in Marusinac [Fig. 10]. This led him to include a wide range of comparative material related to Anastasius –

from the Anastasius-Dyptichon (Dyggve, 1938, p. 7) to the problem of the 'Basilica Anastasis' (Dyggve, 1939, Kap. V and VI, pp. 80ff and pp. 107ff.; 1940; 1940a; 1941; 1943). In the case of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem Dyggve announced characteristically that he wouldn't want to support his reconstructions and argumentations with the written sources exclusively, but also, for example, with masonry of the related [Constantine] period (Dyggve, 1941, p. 6).⁷³ He used the comparative written materials extensively, however, when, for example, he reported on the pilgrim *Aetherias* from the later fourth century, noting that, "although [...] by the expression '*basilica Anastasis*' she means the same as the expression '*locus subdivanus*', i.e. the large and beautiful '*quasi-atrium*', the text-editor has still refused to recognize such an identification" (Dyggve, 1941, pp. 6-7).⁷⁴ Dyggve writes not only in this case about Jerusalem, but has Marusinac as known from his own excavations in mind – and he quotes it throughout the whole text. Marusinac serves as an explanation-key par excellence. In the same year, Dyggve reports about *Ravennatum palatium sacrum* as a hypertrical ceremonial basilica, but the involvement of the 'sister-city' Ravenna might easily be read as a wink to Marusinac and Salona with direct references to the *Researches in Salona III* in 1939 (Dyggve, 1941a).⁷⁵

Dyggve's reconstruction of the cemeterial north complex in Marusinac is implicitly present also later, when he writes about the function of the detached clergy bench (Dyggve, 1952a), and certainly when there comes a need for a response to general attacks on the '*discoperta*' issue. In the case of one doctoral dissertation that attempted to reconstruct the north complex in Marusinac with the help of the modern statics, Dyggve delivered a new indication providing a pilgrim record, while Rudolf Egger supplied the linguistic support (Dyggve, 1956, pp. 87-88, 90).

Duje Rendić-Miočević discussed the examples of the 'churches without a roof' in Salona, stating with respect to Dyggve, that these objects or complexes "already in the earlier stages of research yielded results that have either enriched or foresaw the science of archaeology" (Rendić-Miočević, p. 69). Rendić-Miočević reproduces the older church literary sources on *ecclesia sine tecto* or *basilica discoperta*, which served Dyggve as references,⁷⁶ and reviews also the above quoted 'general attack' of R.M. Milenović (with a help from an engineer, Dr. Stäussler) before concluding that the cemeterial north complex in Marusinac would still obviously have to be *sub divo* (Rendić-Miočević, p. 73), if not necessarily exactly matching Dyggve's reconstruction proposal. Unlike

those authors (A. Grabar, 1946, R. Krautheimer), who confirmed or (Condurachi, 1940) completely rejected Dyggve's theory about this possible transition state between the building-type of *mausoleum* and *martyrium*, Rendić-Miočević finds the more acceptable solutions in the interpretation of Egger and his proposal of a special type of cemetery with arcades (*Arkadenfriedhof*; Egger, 1939, p. 118) and the similar one by Karaman. Karaman emphasized in his review from *Peristil* that "Dyggve [...] persistently highlights the belief in the intimate connection of the church altar for the Eucharistic sacrifice with the cult of martyrs' burial remains [...] and writes that every martyr's grave in the cemeteries was, so to say, the altar [...]; on the other hand, he supposes, that in the open central area of the *basilicae discopertae* the funeral dances had been held before the tombs of the martyrs in the sanctuary" (Karaman, 1954).⁷⁷ Karaman questions accordingly an unbridgeable difference between the idea of open cemetery and open sanctuary (as *basilica discoperta*). After comparison with other sources from the east Adriatic coast and from Panonia (Suić 1960; 1976), Rendić-Miočević concludes slight modifications to the opinions of Egger and Karaman function well along with Dyggve's assumption of the martyr-grave in the sanctuary of the 'open basilica'. He supports his conclusion with later excavations, which Dyggve undertook in the Episcopal center in Salona in 1949 with the support of, among others, Rendić-Miošević himself. Dyggve partially published the results of these revision works in the second issue of *Peristil* from 1957, which was dedicated to Karaman's 70th anniversary. Dyggve's article with the title *Nova basilica discoperta u Solinu* [New Basilica Discoperta in Solin] was not least a specific answer to Karaman's critical review of *History of Salonitan Christianity* from the first issue of *Peristil* and the final example of the life-long discussion between the two rival opinions. Dyggve relates the new hypertrapezoidal composed oratorium found on the west side of the narthex of the *basilicae geminate* (called oratorium "E") to the *basilica discoperta* in Marusinac (Dyggve, 1957b, p. 59). In his principal defense (along some special corrections) of Dyggve's new research results, Rendić-Miočević emphasizes some important facts related to the time delay in the reception of Dyggve's research in Croatia and in general: *The History of Salonitan Christianity* from 1951 was a rather short and concentrated summary of six lectures, held at the Institute for Comparative Cultural Studies in Oslo in 1946, but Dyggve was not yet able to include the results of his revision works in the Episcopal complex from 1949. His first chance to give a lecture on the subject was during the V

International Congress of the Christian Archeology in Aix-en-Provence 1954, while he first published the revised plan of the Episcopal complex in 1957 (Rendić-Miočević, p. 81). In other words, the remote, but pointed dialogue between Karaman and Dyggve between 1954 and 1957 is not just a further indication of a reductionist explanation pattern for an obvious rivalry: This is also a link in a chain of proofs and arguments that Dyggve was only able to digest and deliver in a process of his rather extensive comparative cultural studies between the 'poles' of Europe. Rendić-Miočević states that in 1949, during the revision excavations, the idea of the hypertrapezoidal shape of the oratorium "E" was not at all an issue in spite of many discussions he then had with Dyggve, and concludes that this idea subsequently grew slowly in Dyggve's mind (Rendić-Miočević, p. 77).⁷⁸ Rendić-Miočević's summary goes as follows:

We constantly emphasized the role of the extraordinary connoisseur of antique and especially early Christian architecture, Einar Dyggve, to whom both international scholarship and our own owe much with respect to these fields of study. If today we cannot follow that great connoisseur of the Salonitan monument-heritage in all details, his undeniable merit is that he showed and gave architectural solutions as well as reconstructions for several of Salona's exceptional monuments or memorial complexes, which he managed to take out of anonymity, but also out of some kind of abstractness. Today, we have still gained, thanks to his research and aim to explain all these issues, a clear representation of a new type of Salonitan early Christian cult architecture, in which a spacious courtyard (atrium?) surrounded by triple porches has become a dominant element.

(Rendić-Miočević, p. 80)⁷⁹

It should be added that some of the problems of transition from the suburban Heroon-martyrion to urban community church and the further questions of the funeral and Eucharistic liturgy, which Dyggve tried to understand, still remain unsolved (Lemerle, 1958, p. 379; Dyggve, 1934). The transcribed records of his research from the *Einar Dyggve Arhiv Split* will surely reveal more details. After he visited Split and Solin in the summer of 1960, he gave away the rest of the material related to his most recent research at the Episcopal cult center in the beginning of 1961 (Tomislav Marasović, 1989, p. 8). In an interview carried out in the summer of 2013 Marasović confirmed that he still holds the material that Dyggve gave him for the purpose of publishing, but only after fur-

ther excavations to confirm or refute some of the conclusions enclosed there. Other archival materials are expected to provide more indications about Dyggve's research genealogy both on *basilicae discopertae* and especially on the second major subject of his research in Salona; the *basilicae geminate* in the Episcopal centre.

Dyggve published several smaller essays related to this huge complex, which certainly justifies the opener to his *History of Salonitan Christianity*: "After Rome Salona is the most important urban area on European soil for studies in archaeology of early Christianity" (1951, p. IX). The explanation of the two large, parallel oriented basilicas in its Episcopal center required inquiry into the paths of different cultural influences in the city on the one hand (Dyggve, 1949) and a theory of the 'micro-migrations' of both living and dead citizens of Salona on the other. The latter question is reflected in the structure of the *History of Salonitan Christianity*, which contains a central theme of the "Christianity *intra muros*" (Chapters II and III) and "Christianity *extra muros*" (Chapters IV and V). The whole can be interpreted from this perspective as a saga about insiders and outsiders written by someone who was both an insider and outsider. It is hardly necessary to mention that Dyggve also emphasizes that "the reflections on the grave-cult on the other hand, made in this chapter, have been based on purely archaeological observations" (Dyggve, 1951, p. 117). Here he takes a back seat and expresses his hope to "encourage other and fresh quarters to undertake detailed studies and through that to help pave the way for the long wanting large publication on the history of Salonitan Christianity" (Dyggve, 1951, p. X). The sixth and last chapter, on the time after the fall of Salona in the early seventh century is hardly an abstract of the multifaceted interdisciplinary studies and the important excavations around 1930, which Dyggve undertook and which led to the specific – one might say 'bilateral' – questions of comparative cultural studies in the context of continuity between Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Dyggve's message is complex and simultaneously directed both to his critics in Croatia and in Denmark:

I have pointed to the said questions, dating from the very first time of the Croats, because this lack of archeological remains actually seems to be so characteristic of the presence of the Slav tribes. It must not be taken, in any way, to mean that they were without an independent culture of their own, but it has been a culture which, like the Nordic culture and art, on so many points has been based on an easily

perishable material, on wood, osier band, and wool. How instructive would it not have been if it had been possible to follow the very beginning – the first purely pagan centuries – in the acclimatization by day! This is, however, at the present time not possible. We may, on the other hand, show to some extent how these pagan immigrants adapt themselves to the religious ways already marked during the Christian time of Salona.

(Dyggve, 1951, p. 129)

The discussion of continuation and cultural comparison leads to the questions about the Croatian buttress architecture with critical remarks to Strzygowski, but especially to Karaman and his thesis of its autochthonous character. For Dyggve, "there is thus no basis for speaking of an autochthonous Croatian early medieval art of building [...] During the time of mission the erection of new church-buildings is not a free stylistic problem, a question of general taste; no, at the back of it stands the missionary work with all its special presuppositions" (Dyggve, 1951, p. 138-39). Having Dyggve's 'functionalistic' presuppositions in mind, this conclusion does not surprise at all; Karaman's response in *Peristil* three years later appears in retrospect similarly expected as well. His drive to the comparative cultural studies underlines Dyggve once again:

On the basis of this architectural ecclesiastical-historical picture drawn, step by step, I have finally considered it my task to try and follow the traces of the meeting between the fresh young Slav immigrants and the apparently demolished classical Christian civilization. There is certainly something universal about this meeting.

(Dyggve, 1951, p. 142)

Dyggve's motivation becomes transparent in the last sentence, where he reports on the time-frame of ca. 300-1000 and:

a work of research, which is so much more important than the formation of the states of Europe of the present day, and essential sides of our whole social life up to the two world wars, built on this long wrongly disregarded period of stirring centuries, that bear the stamp as well of worship of authority as of a gradually increasing individual civilization.

(Dyggve, 1951, p. 143)

One year after publishing the *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Dyggve further elaborated a few questions linked to the 'double churches' in the Episcopal centre in Salona in the text



11. One of the entrances to the Salona site with Ejnar Dyggve's drawn reconstruction as it is today. May 2005. Photograph: © Slavko Kacunko.

entitled *The Origin of the Urban Churchyard*. He returned especially to demonstrating a kind of a 'continuous shift' from the burials *extra muros* into those *intra muros*. Although the provisions of the Roman Twelve Tables-Law, according to which the burials must be done outside the city walls, have covered the long period of a full millennium, their validity seemed not to be practiced subsequently. "Certain tendencies towards private burials in the towns must be evident", concludes Dyggve, because the "prohibition in repeated imperial edicts [...] of course otherwise would have been unnecessary" during the Byzantine times. "It is this *repeated* emphasizing that seems important to me, as the fact that the prohibition-clause has been included in the Theodosian codification of the laws of the empire scarcely in itself entitles one to draw any conclusion at to this point" (Dyggve, 1952, p. 149).

Dyggve describes the 'migrations' of the dead related to the cult of the martyrs with words like "invasion" and "dramatic rivalry" (pp. 150-51), concluding that both archaeological as well as literary facts indicate that there was only one safe means of remedying this stagnation of the urban church, and the means was the introduction of the martyr-cult in the urban church (p. 152).

Further work around the churches of St. Stephen and of St. Mary, recovered at the above mentioned location *Gospin Otok* just outside the east city walls should provide further support for the theory of the 'double churches', and additional information about the yet unresolved question of the situation of the palatine church of the Croatian kings and queens. Also some results are expected from the transcription of Dyggve's unpublished notes, which indicate some remains



12. Jelling site with the recently marked and widened area in the shape of a parallelogram, August 24, 2013. Photograph: © Slavko Kacunko.



13. Jelling site with the oval shape of the 'ship', recently marked by concrete blocks, August 24, 2013. Photograph: © Slavko Kacunko.



15. Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II and Tomislav Marasović during the visit in Split in April 1977, appraising the famous baptistery of the Croatian prince Višeslav from the early ninth century. With kind permission of Tomislav Marasović.

14. Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark with Henrik, Prince Consort of Denmark, and Tomislav Marasović in Split in April 1977. With kind permission of Tomislav Marasović.

of the walls and towers (Marasović, 2008, p. 148).⁸⁰

Later investigations have challenged the attribution of the southern old Croatian church (Rapanić, 1971), but with recent studies of this assembly, in which the distinguished stages of its development have been recognized (R. Bužančić [1998]), an earlier assumption about the *basilicae geminate* has been revived (Marasović, 2008, p. 239).⁸¹

We should conclude this (re-)drawing of a profile by stating that very few of Dyggve's fellow archeologists have covered such a wide field of research interests, from the Roman theatre and Byzantine palace to the Nordic pagan and Christian memorials. With his innovative methods, his sys-

tematic and detailed procedures, standardized excavation and reporting, he certainly represented the outstanding features of Danish archaeology. Another feature and a condition *sine qua non* was national interest and support. It is our wish to reintroduce Ejnar Dyggve as a central figure of mid-twentieth century Christian archaeology who managed to encompass both the North and the South of Europe in his work; and then to discuss and present it through exhibitions and publications, both to Danish and Croatian colleagues and the general public. Especially it is our wish to map, highlight and also make available for our younger fellow art historians the features of Christian archaeology as seen through the eyes

of Ejnar Dyggve, whose two dearest signatures were that of *danus* and of *civis salonitanus*.

Today's visitors to the gorgeous archaeological site of Salona near Split still find their way thanks to the drawings of Dyggve and can still read his name all around this precious place [Fig. 11]. The same applies to Jelling. Tomislav Marasović wrote that "Denmark indeed considered [Dyggve] as a giant of its science, and he, in turn, well aware that he belongs to a modest nation, has emphasized his nationality even in the signatures of his drawings (*delineavit Ejnar Dyggve Danus* it says on some drawings of ancient Salona)"⁸² (Marasović, 1989, p. 9).

Dyggve published the results of his research in many different languages and his 'polyglot' character can doubtless be compared with that of Schliemann. Yet, as P. Lemerle completely understandably laments in his text about Dyggve and Christian archaeology, Dyggve's immersion in his own language realm had the surprising 'downside' that:

[his pamphlet] is written in Danish and only quotes, references and illustrations would let me guess its content and interest. It would have been desirable to have a translation done as soon as the pamphlet of about fifty pages was published. It would have been even more desirable if Dyggve would agree, after fifteen years, to consolidate it, and to include his latest thinking. These few lines, brief as they are, can only convey incompletely and certainly too sketchily the richness, diversity, and creative ingenuity of a mind that has much to offer us yet. Notwithstanding, I hope Ejnar Dyggve will permit me to offer them to him on behalf of all as a testimony of loving friendship.

(Lemerle, 1958, p. 382)⁸³

The purpose of writing this essay in today's *lingua franca* was obviously and primarily to make the envisioned comparative cultural perspective readable for the interested public both in Denmark and Croatia. Dyggve's own 'two lives' as an architect and an archaeologist can also be viewed on a

geographical scale, making him a truly European figure. It is well known that the Jelling-site was the first cultural-historical monument in Denmark to enter UNESCO's World Heritage list in 1994 [Fig. 12]. Ejnar Dyggve was the initiator of the establishment of the museum *in situ* back in the 1950s (Hvass, 2000, p. 85). The marvellous and dignified site with the church and two rune stones between the two burial mounds is now visibly framed by the number of flat concrete blocks retracing the shape of the ancient, 170-meter-long ship, which itself is girthed by a larger 'fence' forming a parallelogram, so showing the first results of the recent archaeological excavation results and offering even more space, physically and for the imagination. Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark officially opened the new Jelling project on September 10, 2013 [Fig. 13].

Another of Dyggve's favorites, Diocletian's Palace in the Old Town of Split, has been on the UNESCO World Heritage list since 1979 and is, like Jelling in Denmark, the first site of its country on this list (together with Dubrovnik). Tomislav Marasović, who had been awarded the royal Danish Medal of Merit, bore the responsibility of writing the successful application for Split [Figs. 14-15]. As a matter of fact, Split was the part of *ager Salonitanus* and not the other way around. As the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, Salona was the actual source of the later cultural continuity of the east Adriatic coast. Tomislav's brother Jerko Marasović brought Dyggve's archive from Copenhagen to Split in the late 1950s and organized it before Tomislav took over to tend it and before the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv* finally found its present domicile in Split [Fig. 16].

A couple of months ago, I asked the 86 years old Tomislav Marasović about his readiness to support Salona's possible application for inclusion in the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites. He said, "I would support it with all my power, and, by the way, Dyggve would have done so, too." The long and deserving history of Danish and Croatian archaeology provide without doubt promising perspectives for future collaboration between archaeologists and art historians on a European level.



16. Einar Dyggve and Jerko Marasović in Split in 1960. Jerko Marasović had followed Dyggve's invitation in Copenhagen in 1958 to systematize his archive in Copenhagen and to bring it to Split. Jerko Marasović became the first director of the *Einar Dyggve Arhiv Split*. With kind permission of Tomislav Marasović.

Notes

- ¹ Alter Mann: *So haben Sie lange an Versailles gedacht, bis sie hier leben konnten* / Junger Mann: *Nein; so habe ich lange in Versailles verkehren müssen, um Sanssouci zu begreifen* (An excerpt from a dialog in the video installation *Dans la vision périphérique du témoin* [‘In the Peripheral Vision of the Witness’, 1986] by Marcel Odenbach. Collection Musée National d’art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris).
- ² Author’s translation: “nicht [...] vor der Lösung der Probleme ausdenken, sondern nur an ihrer Lösung entwickeln” lassen.
- ³ Author’s translation: “das Heranziehen von Ergebnissen, die in anderen Gebieten vorliegen und Probleme betreffen, die bei der Erforschung jeglichen Geschehens auftreten.”
- ⁴ He changed his last name from Petersen to Dyggve in 1906. Dyggve or Dyggvi in Old Norse means ‘useful, effective’ and still has a phonetic resemblance to the Danish word ‘dygtig’ (studious, diligent). According to Snorri Sturluson’s *Ynglinga saga* (1225), Dyggve or Dyggvi was a Swedish king, Domar’s son, who’s origins reach in a direct lineage to Domald, Visbur, Vanlande, Swegde and Fjorde back to Freya, one of the most important goddesses in Norse mythology.
- ⁵ To learn to get along with chance and opportunity is literally the ability taught in the cult of Tyche that was propagated in Salona after Constantine’s death. Salona received such a symbol, the *city Tyche* (*Martia Iulia Valeria Salona Felix*), erected at a central location, the Porta Caesarea. Tyche Salonitana remained as the representative of urban values from the time of Diocletian and during the time of already affirmed Christianity at its original position until the city’s fall – a visible sign of continuity.
- ⁶ Digging Dyggve was an unofficial identifier of the first project outline with the goal of a new digitizing of the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*, which is still not transcribable in its present low-resolution form. This archive documents Dyggve’s work as an architect-curator at the Archaeological Museum in Split and as the leading archeologist of the company *Bihać* (specialized in research of the Old Croatian monuments in the region) for the Salona-excavations as well as an associate and scientific advisor to the Department of the History of the Urban Construction Bureau in Split, later Urban Development Institute of Dalmatia-Split (URBS) over a period of nearly thirty years. The latter institute in Split has published a voluminous 720-pages survey of the archive and URBS records for the period 1947-2008. In the part dedicated to the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split* (URBS 2012, pp. 557-90), there is a description of the process of the donation of the archive to the city of Split. Dyggve invited architect Jerko Marasovic to his home in Copenhagen in February 1958 to help with the systematization of the material related to Dyggve’s extensive excavations and other research activities along the east Adriatic coast and after a fruitful two-month collaboration, a scientific research structure ordered along topological

lines was set out. It included data on about 296 sites, classified into 480 envelopes with a photo library of 1,300 negatives and Dyggve’s own manuscript and typewritten notes, most of them in Danish. From the book documenting the use of the archive, it has also been documented which parts of the archive are currently lacking and which parts, where and when, have been lent to the users (some of whom have died). In other words, the material, the most of which is today under the auspices of the Conservation department at Ministry of Culture of Croatia in Split, has been prepared for final arranging, including the restoring of its borrowed parts and its completion as well as a new digitization.

Together with the associate professors in the Art History section of the University of Copenhagen, Søren Kaspersen, Jens Fleischer, and Nicoletta Isar, we have formed the *Ejnar Dyggve Research Group Copenhagen* with the purpose of realizing the last mentioned, a seemingly simple – or in the words of Jens Fleischer, “down-to-earth” project of transcription and translation into English of the digitized material as well as making it available for further scientific processing. We have taken the exact fiftieth anniversary of Dyggve’s death as an occasion for that and contacted the colleagues in Croatia immediately.

Both the former Head of the Archive at URBS, Prof. Dr. Tomislav Marasović and the current Head of the Conservation department in Split, Dr. Radoslav Bužančić have supported the initiative. With the priceless mediation and consulting help of Goran Blagus, a friend and colleague from the Croatian Ministry of Culture in Zagreb, the *Ejnar Dyggve Research Group Copenhagen* has received the right of use and of first publication of the results of the transcription process, as noted in the Cooperation Statement of the Minister of Culture Prof. Dr. Andrea Zlatar Violi, dated September 24, 2012.

However, after the visit of part of our group to Zagreb and Split in 2012, we have decided to widen the concept, so that the former goal has now become the first phase of the more comprehensive project with the title *Ejnar Dyggve and the Reconstructing the Roots of Christianity in Europe – Meeting the Perspectives* (Denmark/Croatia). Unfortunately, neither was this first attempt to receive the financial support successful, nor the two somewhat shortened, following applications named *A legacy renewed: The Ejnar Dyggve Digital Archives – a Danish-Croatian collaboration project*. These rather disappointing, but with respect to Dyggve’s long absence from scientific agendas in Denmark not really unexpected results, have resulted in both new insights and strategic perspectives and showed how an enhanced creative and proactive approach remains a must: there followed two further trips to Croatia, of which the last, to Split, took place in July 2013 together with the new collaborator, Anne Haslund Hansen from the National Museum in Copenhagen. Thanks to the help of the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies (IKK) at the University of Copenhagen, the National Museum of Denmark and not least the Ministries of Culture and Science in Croatia, we have been able to co-organize an international

conference *Ejnar Dyggve. Creating Crossroads*, which took place in Split in Croatia, November 7-9, 2013. So, out of necessity our second phase has turned to become chronologically the first in a series, but not without providing a perspective to address further goals related to the envisioned rediscovering of one of the internationally most renowned Danish scholars. The Conference is a cooperation with the *Croatian Institute of Art History – Centar Cvito Fisković* in Split and it assembled an international network of experts on the research area related to the Shaping of Medieval Europe. In spite of the not-yet completed work on the Ejnar Dyggve Archive in Split, the first results of its transcription and translation was presented to the international audience.

⁷ Architectural decoration and sarcophagi are some of the most important material sources for the study of Early Christian art. After the production of figurative art was greatly diminished, the symbolic and ornamental iconography in circulation was reinforced from the end of the fourth century onwards. This 'style' was enforced in Salona in particular through the practice of the local bishops: With their own example – by burials in the 'iconoclastic' ('only' epigraphic) sarcophagi – they continued an ancient tradition, which was gradually eroded by technical, formal and conceptual changes in the production of sarcophagi and with the type of funeral. One of the reasons for the long persistence of ancient traditions in Salona was not least the rich and diverse epigraphic heritage, which, however, meant a substantial deviation from the pagan Roman epigraphy. See note 5 and current projects, like the *Epigraphical Database* related to *Forschungen in Salona I-III*, <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main?url=bi>. More bibliography on the epigraphic research on site by V. Delonga, I. Petricoli, Z. Rapani and others can be found in Marasović, 2008, pp. 66f.

⁸ *Salona Sotteranea Christiana*, a paraphrase from *Roma sotteranea* of Antonio Bosio (1632) was a working title of my planned doctoral thesis of 1999 with the purpose of reevaluating "Genesis, Profil und Transformation der frühchristlichen 'Stadt der Toten' am Beispiel der antiken Salona 300.-600."

⁹ See *International Triplex Confinium Project*, <http://www.ffzg.hr/pov/zavod/triplex>

¹⁰ Author's translation: "Pogled na fizičku kartu Evrope pokazuje, da se prostor, sto ga naše zemlje obuhvataju, nalazi u prijelaznoj zoni Istoka i Zapada, Sjevera i Juga. Uzme li se kao pregradna linija, što ide od Trsta do Danzig, to se očevidno vidi, da se na njoj svršava uzano poluostrvo Zapadne Evrope, dok se prema istoku evropsko kopno proširuje i postaje sve masivnije i kompaktnije, ali pravi evropski trup se započinje istom na linija Visla-Dnjestar. Između te dvije linije obuhvaćeni prostor predstavlja zonu prijelaza (transgresija), pa koliko narodno-kulturni i politički, toliko klimatski utjecaji ulaze tu s obje strane."

¹¹ I have linked it to the Dyggve conference in Croatia, *Creating Crossroads*, see note 5. The first encounters have required a bit of deeper

digging into Dyggve's incitements, which similarly provides an opportunity to reproduce a possible 'preview' of the third step of our Dyggve project, the title and concept of which have been conceived together with Anne Haslund Hansen in Split in June 2013. After the previous talks with Jens Fleischer and colleagues at the National Museum in Copenhagen as well as the recent talks with the Head the Conservation department in Split Dr. Radoslav Bužančić (where the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split* is situated), it remains our wish and hope to receive enough interest and support to be able to set up the research network entitled *Mapping of Christian Archeology: Towards a comparative Revaluation of Art and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* as well as the exhibition *Great Dane meets Dalmatian. Ejnar Dyggve and the Mapping of Christian Archeology* in Split and Copenhagen (2014/16). Their tentative structure serves as mentioned as a pretext to sketch Dyggve's profile as a researcher and an engaged cultural diplomat on one hand and to map his motifs and methodologies on another.

¹² Author's translation: "Ét liv som udøvende arkitekt, ovenikøbet i sin ungdom en revolutionær avantgardarkitekt. Og ét liv som arkæolog, forsker og kunsthistoriker. Det sidste kom i årenes løb helt til at overstråle det første." Fisker's quotes stem from Dyggve, 1958. With kind thanks to Anne Haslund Hansen.

¹³ Dyggve names the following group members: Mehrn Ludvigsen, Otto Valentiner, Aage Rafn, Kay Fisker, Axel G. Jørgensen, Ingrid Møller, Volmar Drost and Povl Stegmann as well as the painters Jens Adolf Jerichau and Asger Bremer (Fisker, 1961, p. 3).

¹⁴ Author's translation: "Men disse ny almeneuropæiske bestræbelser gik udenom vort danske Kunstakademi [...] Det, de så hen til, så ud som en manifest, de ville tage problemerne op i teoretisk rensket skikkelse og definere sammenhæng og love. De ville, at systematisk tænkning satte sig spor i arbejdsdispositionen, og at denne ikke alene fik et tegnerisk, men også et skriftligt udtryk. Og de ville nå til en skærpet sansning for materialets tekniske ejendommeligheder. De ville endelig også, at tidens ændrede samfundsstruktur fik tilbergt indflydelse på arkitektuddannelsen."

¹⁵ Author's translation: "Gennem en funktionsanalyse blev opgaven op-løst i dens komponenter, og denne analyse blev omsat i et formsprog, bestemt ved egenskaberne hos det valgte materiale. For at pirre rumfornemmelsen hændte det, at vi betragtede den kubiske masse i forhold til en indført fjerde dimension, et begreb, som først i den nyeste tid, takket være filmen, er nået til anvendelse i kompositionsteorien [...] Vort program var at holde de historiske stilarter uden for nuets bygningskunst. Og dog gik vi ikke udenom det historiske studium. Tværtimod, jeg har nævnt, at vi fandt det nødvendigt at undersøge ældre tiders arkitektur og håndværk."

¹⁶ Author's translation: "[...] vi blev kaldt omvælttere og internationalister [...] Vores lille samfund havde ikke et mål i sig selv [...]."

¹⁷ Author's translation: "Ein steinernes Monument in dem der gewaltige

- Blutstrom des Nordens noch pulsiert und in dem Einzelnen noch erkennbar ist [...] In der ungeheuren Kuppel ihrer Steindecke erkennen wir das nordische Gefühl" (Dyggve's quote from A. Haupt, *Wachsmuths Lex. D. Bauk.*, 1930, p. 617).
- ¹⁸ Author's translation: "[...] jene unverwüstbare Felslast, die in den alten Heimatlanden über den Gräbern der gewaltigen emporgeschichtet ward" (Dyggve's quote from Fr. Kugler, *Gesch. D. Bauk.*, 1856, p. 398).
- ¹⁹ Author's translation: "Aber der König war Germane und so kam bei seinem Grabmal in merkwürdigem Anachronismus als grossartiges Zeugnis für die ewige Macht des Blutes, in der megalitischen Baugesinnung ein Urinstinkt seiner Rasse zum Durchbruch" (Dyggve's quote from S. Fuchs, *Die Kunst der Ostgotenzeit*, 1944, p. 41).
- ²⁰ Author's translation: "Dette skrivers er digtning. Det er ikke arkitekturhistorie."
- ²¹ [Http://historie.dn.dk/#get=/Article/Focus/63](http://historie.dn.dk/#get=/Article/Focus/63)
- ²² [Http://www.dn.dk/](http://www.dn.dk/)
- ²³ [Http://historie.dn.dk/#get=/Article/Focus/21](http://historie.dn.dk/#get=/Article/Focus/21)
- ²⁴ Author's translation: "[Influence of the 'Viennese School'] ne samo na teoriju i praksu zaštite spomenika nego i na novo vrjednovanje i metodološki pristup samoj povijesti umjetnosti. S time je bilo usko povezano i vrjednovanje predromaničke i ranoromaničke umjetnosti u cijeloj Europi." See also Marasović 1985 and his texts about the "active approach to the architectural heritage."
- ²⁵ Author's translation: "[...] kort sagt, her utviklet han den eiendommelige forsker karakter og forsker moral som siden skulle prege alt hva han skapte."
- ²⁶ Author's translation: "Der Wert der Aufklärung mittels der graphischen Darstellung darf nicht versagen, wenn eine archäologische Publikation befriedigend sein soll. Und doch ist die Darstellungsarbeit früher oft als Zugabe betrachtet worden; sie ist aber keine Zugabe, sondern ist eine Arbeit dauernden dokumentarischen Wertes, und es gebührt, sie unter ernster und bindender Verantwortung auszuführen."
- ²⁷ I follow here the thoughts of Radovan Ivančević (1931-2004), former president of the *Croatian Society of Art Historians* (HDPu) and the brilliant leading figure of Croatian art history.
- ²⁸ Author's translation: "Građevine slobodnih oblika."
- ²⁹ Lovre Katić (1887-1961), born in Solin, is Dyggve's exact contemporary and a dear colleague, whose dissertation about Gottschalk at the court of the Croatian prince Trpimir (1933) still inspires a large number of Croatian art historians and archeologists. He was a scientific collaborator of the archeological museum in Split until 1959, before he died two years later, just three weeks after Dyggve in Copenhagen, on August 26-27, 1961, curiously the day of St. Anastasius's martyr-death in 304.
- ³⁰ The published document, found in 1929 in the Split diocesan archive contends that both sought churches are on the island (insula in qua existunt ecclesiae B. Virginis et Sti. Stephani). For this reason, further research on the location of the Hollow Church had to cease, and all attention has since been focused on the position of the *Lady of the Island* (Zekan, 2000, p. 250).
- ³¹ Author's translation: "Prof. Katić, Solin, laut mir gemachter freundlicher Mitteilung, ((hat?)) nach einer mittelalterlichen Urkunde erweisen können, daß die Kirche des Hl. Stephanus, wo die kroatischen Könige begraben wurden, auf derselben Otok-Insel [*Gospin Otok*] gelegen ist."
- ³² Author's translation: "Prijatelj mi je nedavno pismeno dojavio iz Solina, da je danski arhitekt Dr. Dyggve zadnjih dana otkrio veliku starohrvatsku trobrodnu baziliku u kliškom polju [...] Odmah sam upravo pismenu čestitku arhitektu Dyggveu, koji je to otkriće učinio, nedvojbeno kao tehnički strukovni izvjestitelj 'Bihać' društva za istraživanje domaće povijesti u Splitu. U toj sam čestitci rekao, kako me izvanredno raduje vijest o njegovom otkriću velike trobrodne starohrvatske bazilike u Solinu s ovu stranu Jadr. Nadalje sam rekao, premda tu baziliku nisam vidio, da odmah sada izjavljujem, kako je to najvažnije starohrvatsko otkriće, što je uopće učinjeno između Trogira i Omiša. Naš narod da mu mora biti zahvalan za sve njegove starohrvatske radove, a naročito za ovaj najnoviji [...] Pregledavajući ove iskopine ili, ispravnije, početak iskopina, koji nije nego sondiranje terena, obuzelo me je neopisivo čuvstvo uzhićenja koli nad stručnim i udivljenim sondiranjem, toli nad znamenitosti započetog otkrića bazilike, kojoj se tek konture vide i još nekih drugih priloženih zgrada. Bez daljeg predomišljanja uvjerio sam se, da se je napokon ušlo u trag položaju grobova hrvatskih knezova i vladara! [...]" (Fra L. Marun, Knin, March 17, 1931).
- ³³ Igor Fisković summarizes in his later study on this Early Romanesque building within the perimeters of the largest Early Christian basilica *extra muros*: "The location of the Early Romanesque building within the walls of an early Christian basilica from the sixth century is of foremost significance, as well as the evident synthesis of Byzantine and Western traditions and experiences in the proportioning of the whole and in the assembling of parts in its exquisite building organism" (Fisković, 2004, p. 38). Because of the near location of *Gospin Otok* with the Croatian king's mausoleum, it may be regarded, Fisković continues, as *capella palatina* Palatinate, or the court church (Fisković, 2004, p. 35); "moglo bi ju se smatrati capellom palatinom, tj. dvorskom crkvom." The fact of the obvious continuation of the Late Antique and Medieval architecture on site speaks for the conscious usage of the given proportions of the earlier, larger building, including the front walls. "It is therefore not impossible that they deliberately hold them as evidence of their antiquity in order to confirm the over-average meaning of the new architecture." (ibid.) "Nije stoga isključeno da ih namjerice zadržase kao dokaze starine koje se u cilju potvrđivanja natprosječnih značenja nove arhitekture nisu htjeli odreći." Lemerle emphasizes Dyggve's original interpretation: "[...] Selon moi, c'est au contraire l'antiques basilique chrétienne que a subi fortement l'influence de la basilique cérémonielle palatine, conformément d'ailleurs à l'influence que manifestement les formes extérieures du culte de l'empereur ont exercée

- tant sur les rites que sur l'art de l'ancienne Église" (Lemerle, 1958, p. 381). See Jeličić-Radonjić, 2011, p. 25: "U tom kontekstu, važno je ponovno istaknuti Dyggveovu konstataciju da Dioklecianovu palaču treba promatrati iz salonitanskog ugla, zbog tijesne povezanosti sa Salonom [...]" See also further examples by Bužančić, 2011a.
- ³⁴ New searches showed that the Early Romanesque church was built within a large paleo-Christian basilica of the cross ground plan, taking space just a bit wider than its nave. Walls of the earlier basilica, erected in the sixth century, preserved up to 3.5 meters high, surrounded the walls of the later one, creating a kind of ambulatory in the filled up and leveled space between them.
- ³⁵ Author's translation: "[...] najprije zbog neriješenih imovinsko pravnih odnosa i sporog otkupa zemljišta, a potom i zbog prestanka radnog ugovora E. Dyggveu i njegovog povratka u Dansku, te napokon zbog smrti don F. Bulića, neumornog promicatelja svih istraživanja na solinskom prostoru."
- ³⁶ Author's translation: "O tome ćemo donijeti odluku ove jeseni kada bude izabrana nova uprava i kada se o tome sporazumima u septembru sa arh. Dyggveom, koji je te iskopine izveo."
- ³⁷ Author's translation: "Time, na žalost, završavaju arheološko-istraživački radovi na tom kompleksnom i za hrvatsku povijest izuzetno značajnom lokalitetu."
- ³⁸ For further development of the architectural historiography in the second half of the twentieth century in Croatia see the comprehensive list of works cited in Marasović (2008) including Gunjača, 1973-78; C. Fisković 1948, pp. 49, 57-58, 65, 83; Vinski, 1971; Suić, 1976; 2003; Posedel, 1952; Prelog, 1954; 1994; Prijatelj, 1954; Fučić, 1954; 1957; Petricoli, 1952b; 54b; 55a; 1960b; 61b; 63a; 68; 88), as well as further listed works by Marasović, Rapanić, R. Ivanević and others. See also bibliography of the IPU (Institute of Art History Croatia) online, <http://www.ipu.hr/uploads/documents/1594.pdf>, as well as the *Peristil* bibliography.
- ³⁹ For the relevance of the Old Croatian architecture in the context of the general history of the European Pre-Romanesque see Goss, 1978.
- ⁴⁰ Author's translation: "Srednjovjekovni čovjek nije ni izdaleka imao onaj osjećaj za higijenu, koji je u doba antike izazvao zabranu pokapanja u samom gradu."
- ⁴¹ Author's translation: "većoj slobodi periferijske sredine."
- ⁴² [Http://www.dpuh.hr/](http://www.dpuh.hr/)
- ⁴³ The Institute was formally established in 1961 due to the efforts of two leading art historians and the University's professors Grgo Gamulin (1910-97) and Milan Prelog. The Institute has developed especially strong activities in the fields of urbanism, art historical topography, and not least the preservation of the art heritage in Croatia.
- ⁴⁴ Neither this thesis nor the possible alternative formulations of the type 'negative affirmation' and the like can be discussed here, but its resemblance, taken on the level of the individual competitors' relationships, can be seen in reoccurring explanation patterns: I have in mind Horst Bredekamp's study on St. Peter in Rome and the metaphor of the "productive destruction", in relation to the meaning of the "principle" while interpreting that, what was eventually built, primarily as the result of cutting lines in the maelstrom of divergent interests (of Bramante, Sangallo, Michelangelo and others) (Bredekamp, 2008). As a matter of fact, this metaphor itself relies on an expression of Dyggve's and Karaman's contemporary, Austrian-American economist Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883-1950), who introduced the influential theory of the fall of capitalism with the help of the term "productive destruction" which should lead, contrary to what Marx claimed, through the rise of the "entrepreneurship". His theory of 'continuity through discontinuation' (Schumpeter, 1942) matches to some extent even Karaman's earlier theories of "tactical loss".
- ⁴⁵ Take for example Miljenko Jurković's paper about the "Cultural Transfers on the Adriatic from the 5th to the late 8th Century in Their Political Context and the Question of 'Adriobizantism'": "There is practically no evidence, or scarce details, of trading or cultural transfers after the Slavic incursions at the beginning of the 7th century [...] but, in the second half of the 8th century new protagonists appeared on the Adriatic scene – first Rome through Ravenna, the Lombard kingdom and soon afterwards the Carolingians" (Jurkovic, 2013, p. 13; see the related issue of 'Adriobizantism', Dyggve, 1933; et al.).
- ⁴⁶ Author's translation: "Smatram da i zaključci o bizantijskoj komponenti u oblikovanju nekih tipskih grupa dalmatinske predromanike, ili pak o karolinškom "westwerku" kod nekih drugih [...] nipošto ne umanjuju to istu teoriju, nego je samo proširuju na druge moguće utjecaje, priznavajući uvijek pretežnu ulogu kasnoantičke tradicije upravo na način koji je prije pola stoljeća bio zacrtao Ejnar Dyggve." See also Marasović, 1978; et al.
- ⁴⁷ For the fantastic line of Dyggve's awards as an architect, archeologist, and art historian as well as a cultural diplomat, see the article in Danish *Wikipedia*.
- ⁴⁸ Author's translation: "Men jeg er overbevist om, at de forskere, som for et halvt århundrede siden eller mere skrev om den kirkelige bygnings- og liturghistorie, ville stå fremmede og på flere punkter stejlt afvisende overfor forskningens nuværende stade, som vi vel først of fremmest er nået hen til på grund af en forskel i metode."
- ⁴⁹ Author's translation: "[...] den bestræber sig for at udvide forståelsen af denne overlevering [...] ved at anerkende de arkæologiske og ikonografiske monumenter som budbringere fra selve den levende, gammelkristne samtid."
- ⁵⁰ Author's translation: "Dyggves synspunkter, hans propaganda og hans eget landskabelige byggeri har imidlertid overlevet og viser hans teories værdi."
- ⁵¹ Author's translation: "[...] za nabavu zemljišta, koje je naša država metnula na raspolaganje društvu Rask-Oersted-Fondet u Kopenhagenu

- [...] potrošilo se 163.000 dinara – sve ostale troškove nosilo je samo društvo i predmeti su ostali državi [186] [...] [1922] Prema onoj pogodbi dansko društvo nosi sve troškove iskapanja; svi nađeni predmeti, bilo koje vrste, ostaju našoj državi, a dansko društvo ima pravo prve znanstvene publikacije, koja će biti gotova tijekom g. 1925.”
- ⁵² [Http://www.danskemuseer.com/english/WhatDanishArchaeology-MeanstoMe.html](http://www.danskemuseer.com/english/WhatDanishArchaeology-MeanstoMe.html)
- ⁵³ [Http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts19_1/AH1812_2.html](http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts19_1/AH1812_2.html)
- ⁵⁴ Christian Hansen (1803-83), Theophilus Hansen (1813-91), M.G. Bindesbøll (1800-56), Peter Forchhammer (1803-94), J. L. Ussing (1820-1905), Christian Jørgensen (1851-1916), Valdemar Schmidt (1836-1925), Maria Mogensen (1882-1932), K. F. Kinch (1853-1921), M. Frederik Poulsen (1876-1950), Mogens Clemmensen (1885-1943). Dyggve begins his review with the predecessors of the sixteenth century.
- ⁵⁵ “L’importance de Salone comme champ de fouilles repose d’abord et surtout sur la richesse de ses vestiges des temps paléochrétiens. Ce site a la réputation d’être, après Rome et Ravenne, un des centres les plus importants pour l’étude des édifices paléochrétiens, et de leurs objets mobiliers ainsi que des cimetières paléochrétiens.”
- ⁵⁶ Author’s translation : “De nos jours, il n’y a guère de voyage d’études, ni de travail sur le terrain, ni de publication qui n’ait une dette de reconnaissance à l’égard de ces fécondes fondations danoises. Sans l’appui de celles-ci l’archéologie danoise n’aurait pu maintenir, comme elle l’a fait, sa place dans la compétition scientifique qui aura toujours pour but, sous sa forme idéale, d’établir une fructueuse collaboration internationale entre confrères.”
- ⁵⁷ More information can be acquired from Anne Haslund Hansen (National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen), who has found the related documents on site.
- ⁵⁸ “Za vrijeme nacističke okupacije Danske Ejnar Dyggve je bio angažiran u pokretu otpora, pomažući i jugoslavenskim internircima u skandinavskim zemljama, a poslije oslobođenja postaje predsjednikom dansko-jugoslavenskog društva prijateljstva.”
- ⁵⁹ Author’s translation: “[Ift. Jelling] Her var brug for en arkæolog med teknisk evne, med sans for stor sammenhæng, med øje for detaillen [...]”
- ⁶⁰ The two burial mounds, about 70 meters in diameter and up to 11 meters high, two rune stones and two rows of large monoliths build “presumably the remains of Scandinavia’s largest stone ship, an impressive burial site with the erect stones placed in the shape of a 170-meter-long ship presumably with a grave in the middle” (Hvass, 2000, pp. 83-84).
- ⁶¹ See Dyggve, 1943b; 1957, p. 221 and two Dyggve bibliographies from 1959 and 1961 (Bruun, 1959 and L’Orange, 1962 / Brøndsted 1962). For the chronology of the works until 2000 see Hvass, 2000.
- ⁶² “Über die Begegnung der vordringenden, von der Mittelmeerkultur bestimmten christlichen Mission und der alten skandinavischen Kultur [...] liegt bis jetzt nur wenig archäologisches Material vor. Dennoch bedürfen wir dringend gerade der Kenntnis archäologischen Tatsachen zur Belebung und Unterstützung der aus der Schriftquellen gewonnenen Ergebnisse.”
- ⁶³ “At man valgte Jelling til det magtfulde kongesæde har stadig heller ingen forklaring.”
- ⁶⁴ Author’s translation: “Og Oksevejen, hovedåren ned gennem Jylland til Danevirke og videre sydpå, den løber fra urolidstid kun få kilometer herfra.”
- ⁶⁵ From May 15 to 23, 2005, we co-organized under the collaborative auspices of the Department of Art History at the University of Osnabrück and the Institute for Art History at the University of Zagreb the excursion under the heading of *Charlemagne and Croatia/Karl der Grosse und Kroatien*. The excursion gave students at both universities a first opportunity to experience and process in vivo and in situ the cultural links between the medieval territories of modern-day Germany and Croatia – ties that art history has only scantily taken into account for all their long tradition. The development of this idea can be retraced to the pilot exhibition in the European exhibition series, *Croatians and Carolingians* that ran from 1999 to 2000. From June 20 to October 25, 2004 there was also an exhibition coordinated by the Cathedral Treasury and the Diocesan Museum at Osnabrück, entitled *Karl der Grosse und Osnabrück*.
- Our site-specific aim of the eponymous trip to Croatia was to familiarize the students with both the formal vocabulary of Early Medieval, ‘adriobyzantine’ art at the interface of Europe’s Southeast and West, and the historical background of this geographical area. The problem of methods arose regarding the attribution, dating and iconography of the monuments, and this was debated with particular regard to the problem of so-called ‘mixed styles’. The advantages and disadvantages of pursuing analysis of interdisciplinary width – comparative art historical and stylistic, archaeological and historical – soon became apparent. The excursion also provided the students and teachers with the opportunity of direct and critical comparison of two quite different art historical procedures, methods and mentalities linked to the ‘North’ and ‘South’, with the effect of sensitizing awareness for the local, regional and international differences in theory and research. The different convictions in the conservation and tending of monuments made for particularly invigorating study in working directly with the monuments in ground plan and elevation; and in working with the fragments of architectural sculpture and sculpture in its own right.
- ⁶⁶ Author’s translation: “Daher sind Gorms Tempel und Haralds Stabkirche, obgleich sie in religiöser Beziehung die schärfsten Gegensätze darstellen, architektonisch gesehen typische Vertreter einer und derselben nordischen Kultur. Allein schon die Tatsache, daß der Altar aus einem unbehauenen Feldstein bestand, ist in dieser Beziehung ein sehr sprechendes Zeugnis.”
- ⁶⁷ Author’s translation: “Das Bild der anfangs ungestörten Kontinuität, das wir in Jelling durch Beobachtungen an der Holzkirche gewonnen haben [...] Runenstein, in welcher Harald Bekehrung der Dänen zum

- Christentum verkündete, [war] nicht lateinisch abgefertigt sondern in Dänisch und mit Runen geschrieben.”
- ⁶⁸ Author’s translation: “Die Synode zu Split, März 1060, verdammt den Gebrauch der von [...] glagolitischen Lettern, indem sie die so mit *goticas literas* (= Runen) gleichstellt [...] Es würde lohnend sein, sich in die recht ausführliche Überlieferung der katholisch-kirchlichen Entwicklungsgeschichte Dalmatiens zu vertiefen und möglicherweise durch brauchbare Parallelen Licht auf ähnliche Fragen im Mission... Skandinaviens werfen zu können, z.B. auf das Verhältnis der Kirche zu den Runen [...]”
- ⁶⁹ Author’s translation: “Anlässlich der Spliter Synode von 925, empfiehlt Papst Johannes X. den Slawen, die römische Kirchensprache [...] eng verbunden mit der röm. Kirchenlehre, zu lernen.”
- ⁷⁰ Author’s translation: “Das Allerheiligste hatte keine Wände, sondern war ziborienartig durch aufgehängte purpurne *vela* isoliert.”
- ⁷¹ E-mail from Peter Pentz, fil.dr., mus. insp., Danmarks Oldtid, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, and Markus Bogisch.
- ⁷² Dyggve presented his theory in several congresses like XIVe Congrès International d’Histoire de l’Art, Bale 1936; XVe Congress in London in 1939, at the Congrès International d’Archéologie chrétienne in Rome in 1938 (See Lemerle, 1958, p. 378, note 3).
- ⁷³ He repeats such methodological-technical arguments several times later (as quoted above, Dyggve, 1956a, p. 12; 1957a).
- ⁷⁴ Author’s translation: “at hun med udtrykket ’*basilica Anastasis*’ mener det samme som med uddrykket ’*locus subdivanus*’, d.v.s. det større og smukke ’*quasi-atrium*’, har bearbejderne af teksten dog vægret sig ved at anerkende en saadan identifikation.”
- ⁷⁵ Further ten years later becomes the Holy Chamber of Oviedo and the asturian architecture the status of the ‘architectural type’, while being compared in its two-floor disposition with the mausoleum in Marusinae (Dyggve, 1952, pp. 126-27).
- ⁷⁶ “*Non longe autem ab Ebron ad passus trecentos in loco, qui dicitur Abramiri, est domus Iacobi, ubi ecclesia sine tecto constructa est.*” (Petrus Diaconus, liber de locis sanctis, in “Itinera Hierosolym”, 110, 28-38). See also Arhidiakon 1960: “*De Betlehem autem usque ad ilicem Mambre sunt milia XXIV, in quo loco iacent Abraham et Isaac et Iacob et Sara, sed et ossa Joseph basilica aedificata in quadriporticus, in medio atrio discopertus, per medium discurrit cancellus et ex uno latere intrant christiani et ex alio latere Iudaei incensa facientes multa.*” (Itinerarium Antonini Placentini [Itin. Hierosolym. 179, 1]); (As quoted in Rendić-Miočević, 1977, pp. 72-73).
- ⁷⁷ Author’s translation: “Dyggve [...] upomo ističe uvjerenje o intimnoj vezi oltara u crkvi za euharistijsku žrtvu s kultom grobnih ostataka mučenika [...] i piše, da je svaki grob mučenika na grobljima bio, tako rekavši, oltar [...] a s druge strane domišlja se, da su se u otvorenom središnjem prostoru basilicae discopertae održavali pogrebni plesovi pred grobom mučenika u svetištu” (As quoted by Rendić-Miočević, p. 79).
- ⁷⁸ “Čini se da je kod Dyggvea polaganio sazrijevala ta ideja i da je taj svoj novi odnos prema užem spomeničkom kompleksu otkopanom zapadno od narteksa dvojnih bazilika [...] tekući paralelno s njim, od juga prema sjeveru, tek naknadno postupno formulirao. U tome nas mišljenju učvršćuje i činjenica da se za vrijeme istraživanja 1949. godine nije još postavljala takva teza.”
- ⁷⁹ Author’s translation: “Stalno smo isticali ulogu izvanrednog poznavao- ca antičke i posebno ranokršćanske arhitekture, Salone prije svega, Ejnara Dyggvea, koji je toliko zadužio i svjetsku i našu znanost baš u tim znanstvenim područjima. Ako danas i ne možemo tog velikog poznavao- ca salonitanske spomeničke baštine u svemu slijediti, njegova je neosporna zasluga što je upozorio i dao arhitektonska rješenja, i rekonstrukcije, nekoliko izuzetnih salonitanskih spomenika ili spomeničkih kompleksa, koje je tako izveo iz anonimnosti ali i neke vrsti apstraktnosti. Danas smo zahvaljujući njegovim istraživanjima i težnji da sve to objasni i zorno prikaže ipak dobili jedan novi tip salonitanske ranokršćanske kulturne arhitekture u kojemu postaje dominantan element prostrano dvorište (atrium?) okruženo trostrukim trijemom.”
- ⁸⁰ “U splitskom Dyggveovu arhivu nalaze se neobjavljeni podatci o kompleksu zgrada uz crkvu sv. Stjepana, pa ako je u Solinu postojala starohrvatska vladarska rezidencija, koju inače ne potvrđuju povijesna vrela, najlogičnijim se čini potražiti je u tom sklopu, koji pokazuje i oznake utvrde s ostatcima zidova i kula.”
- ⁸¹ To the further listed examples of *basilicae geminate* belong, among others, those in Stari Grad (Hvar), Srma near Sibenika, Dikovaca near Imotski, Zenica and Dabrovina in Bosnia, Crikvine near Zmijavci in Imotska Krajina, and further international examples, listed by Dyggve – not least the *Peristil* in Split (see also newer article by Bužančić, 2011a, pp. 18, 35) – and others.
- ⁸² Author’s translation: “Danska ga je zaista smatrala velikanom svoje znanosti, a on je zauzvrat, svjestan toga da pripada malom narodu, naglašavao svoju nacionalnu pripadnost čak i na potpisima svojih nacrtâ (‘*delineavit Ejnar Dyggve Danus*’ stoji i na nekim crtežima antičke Salone).”
- ⁸³ Author’s translation: “Mais il est écrit en danois, et seules les citations, les références et les illustrations m’en laissent deviner le contenu et l’intérêt. Il eut été souhaitable qu’au moment où paraissait cet opuscule d’une cinquantaine de pages, on en fit une traduction. Il serait encore plus souhaitable que Dyggve acceptât, après quinze années écoulées, de le refondre et d’y consigner le dernier état de sa pensée. / Ces quelques lignes traduisent assurément de façon bien incomplète dans leur brièveté, et bien trop schématique, la richesse, la diversité, l’ingéniosité créatrice d’un esprit qui a encore beaucoup à nous apporter. Que Ejnar Dyggve me permette pourtant de les lui offrir, au nom de tous, en témoignage d’affectueuse amitié.”

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