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## Great Dane meets Dalmatian.

### Ejnar Dyggve and the Creating of the Cultural Crossroads in Europe

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#### *Abstract*

*The current sense of cultural fragmentation, dislocation, and the apparent absence of coherence seem to undo cultural unities (Blundell, Chatterjee, Bhabha). In such a situation, it may be beneficial to (re-) consider the theory and praxis of cultural continuity. The paper relates the current situation of the discipline of art history to the Early Middle Ages, the time when today's Europe began to take shape. As a case in point, the work and character of the deserving, but almost forgotten archaeologist, architect and art historian, Ejnar Aksel Petersen Dyggve (1887-1961) should be brought to mind. Dyggve's research profile, central motifs and methodologies will be briefly sketched, since they have ultimately lead him to become one of the most cited pioneers in comparative cultural studies in mid-twentieth century Europe. Dyggve's excavations in and around Salona in Dalmatia and Jelling in east Jutland still serve as the crown witnesses of the Christianization of today's Croatia and Denmark and are closely bound to the national identities in 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-thesis, which has provoked a fruitful debate since its appearance in the 1920s. The paper picks a complementary context between Denmark and Croatia as a model for questioning of the European cultural continuity, where the comparative investigation of the life-long collaboration and competition between the two exact contemporaries Ejnar Dyggve and Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971) serve as a special case.*

*Keywords: Ejnar Dyggve, comparative cultural studies, cultural continuity, European identity, Christian archaeology, Croatia and Denmark*

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 the discipline depends on the respective national perspective. Today we live in a globalized age, in which 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 a cultural continuity. To capture art and culture in their cultural-historical dimension means primarily the will to adopt such a continuity-assumption, which, despite its fragility, can always be postulated again. Such a continuity-assumption in turn presupposes the truism that historicizing denies an idea of inevitability. This is important to remember today while recalling the bonds between the former inseparable sister disciplines of art history and archeology. Therefore, within this limited framework, I wish to relate the current situation of the discipline of art history to the Early Middle Ages, the time of the becoming of today's Europe. We deal here with the still insufficiently explored period before the end of the first millennium which preceded our thoughts of continuity, identity and which ultimately reflects the tentativeness of today's Europeans by providing it with the necessary material substance. 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 means "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).<sup>1</sup> 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 reevaluation of early medieval art history and Christian archeology across Europe. But the real potential of reassessing both the archived and the not yet 'excavated' facts and fictions around Ejnar Dyggve and his work lies in a future comparative reevaluation of Art and Culture in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages between Denmark and Croatia as representatives of the 'North' and 'South', and also on the wider European level. 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) And indeed, "this inability to find the way home, to return to the lost point of coherence and order" (Featherstone, 1995, p. 1) was a well-worked theme in the time period after the First World War too, the time marked by cultural relativism and crisis in which 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 been formed from experiences

"both inside and outside the West, inside and outside modernity." To understand and to learn from such 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)

When Einar Dyggve had the chance to work in the service of the then pioneering comparative cultural studies (as it was named in 1920ies in Norway: *sammenlignende kulturforskning*), he was probably surprised to find both less and much more than he bargained for. Comparative cultural studies on the European level which goes beyond the contemporary ‘snapshot’-level – this was indeed an outcome of Dyggves digging around the peripheries of the continent, and in turn it motivates us to transcribe, translate and publish the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split* and to place it at the disposal of further inquiry.<sup>2</sup>

## 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 as an archive, carved in stone. According to Miljenko Jurković, this archive is quantitatively incomparable in Europe. 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 Einar 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 remind 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 gave 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. Set between the influences of 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 ‘Preromanesque’ churches were built especially from the mid-ninth century on. The influence of late Antiquity has 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 archeologists and art historians from all over the world have been drawn to interpret their meanings and paths of influences. 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 [...] On the crossroads of the worlds, Croatian lands took ideas from either sides, but they additionally filled them with 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 the perhaps the boldest and 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 in the dawn of Europe will have to take the necessary simplifications into account and be aware that that is what they are. 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). This also applies to 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 this June (*Frontiers* 2013), Neven Budak has 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 and those of the changing administrative division – nor, which is especially interesting in our context, of the borders between liturgies (Budak, 2013, p. 7). It is this complexity and the wise caution in his use of written documents, which brought Dyggve to repeatedly emphasize the importance of the ‘archeological proof’. 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). Environmental considerations, too, have entered the approach to the problem of multiple borderlands, whereby 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)<sup>3</sup> I will return to Dyggve’s contemporary Ljubo Karaman 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)<sup>X</sup> 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 are 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 first glance on the impressions which Ejnar Dyggve might have acquired during his first encounters with a far and yet acquainted culture on the opposite frontier of Europe between the two big wars, we should take a look at the frames and frontiers of Dyggve's inquiry, as they have been shaped between the two poles of Europe while themselves shaping discussions to this day between the fields of comparative cultural studies, archeology and not least art history. In an article that appeared shortly after Dyggve's death, Kay Fisker quotes from Dyggve's small autobiography the statement that he obviously came to live 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: 1) The first clear influence during his early studies in Helsinki, Gothenburg and at the University of Copenhagen and the Technical School came from 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 had shown a committed reaction 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<sup>4</sup> of oppositional students in 1910, wrote later about these times:

"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 not only acquire form as drawing, but also as 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)

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)

To the accusations that his group consisted of "revolutionaries" and "internationalists", Dyggve countered that small societies like Denmark would not have a purpose in themselves. (Dyggve quoted in Fisker, 1961, pp. 3, 5) 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 nationalist-romantic stamp from the German-speaking realm like 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) Dyggve insists that the quoted author is harking back to Fritz Kugler and his link, already expressed in 1856, to the North, that namely 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) 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)

## Beginnings of architectural Historiography

Dyggve's 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 the Viennese School with A. Riegl and M. Dvořák has 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) Marasović delivers in his opus magnum *Dalmatia Praeromanica* (2008f.) an extensive bibliography which can certainly serve as a point of departure for the future comparative historiographies of art, architecture and archeology. A shift of focus from authors active Europe-wide (and known) like A. Venturi, W. Gerber, D. Frey, J. Strzygowski and S. Bettini to their colleagues operating more locally in the north, south or east of Europe may be undertaken, for example, by picking up such complementary contexts as 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 belongs to the pioneers of architectural historiography with his early use of investigation into technology and construction in the archeological and art historical work on site. Certainly, the work of his counterparts and contemporaries in Croatia like C. M. Iveković (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)* and 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), 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-archeology” and the influence of the natural sciences, while summarizing both his dedication to visual explanation and the immeasurable epistemic value of the reflect 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)

Today, in an age in which 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: 75f.) However, this was precisely the context in which Dyggve found his earlier anticipations confirmed. 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, that 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.

## The first ‘Case’: Province, Frontier, Periphery. Ejnar Dyggve and Ljubo Karaman, Collaboration and Competition 1929-32.

If we pick up such complementary contexts like those of Denmark and Croatia and the questioning of the cultural continuity, the comparative investigation of the life-long collaboration and competition between the two exact contemporaries Ejnar Dyggve and Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971) could well serve as a model. After his study of art history in Vienna with Strzygowsky and having Dvořák as the supervisor of his doctoral thesis (1920), Karaman has emphatically attacked not only Strzygowsky’s theory according to which the Croats had transferred models of the northern wooden architecture to the Adriatic. He expanded his negation of the continuity-thesis both topologically and chronologically, which led to the conclusion of an absence of continuity between the late antiquity and early middle age architecture – also in and around Salona as the former capital of Roman Dalmatia (Karaman 1963 et. al.) Dyggve actually met Karaman when the latter was the secretary of society *Bihać* and an assistant of the Provincial Conservation Department for Dalmatia in 1922/23. As Dyggve came back to Dalmatia in his new, important function as the leader of the engravings for *Bihać* in 1929, Karaman had served already two years as the chief conservator for Dalmatia in Split. Dyggve’s task was finding the *topos* of the remains of the mausoleum of the Croatian kings (St. Stephen’s Church) on the location of *Šuplja Crkva* (‘Hollow Church’) near Salona. The question of the location of the kings’ mausoleum church was in fact first answered in the same year 1929 from Don Lovro Katić (Solin 1887 – Split 1961<sup>5</sup>, who proved what Karaman just guessed, that namely at the location of *Šuplja Crkva* should be searched after another church, that of St. Moses.<sup>6</sup> In the same year, Dyggve published an article, in which he relates to Bulić’s engravings at the nearby location of *Gospin Otok* (Lady’s Island) in 1898 and the discovery of the sarcophagi of the Croatian Queen Jelena, which actually will be confirmed as a mausoleum of the Croatian kings. As it turned that there were no remains of the king’s mausoleum church on site of the *Šuplja Crkva*, Dyggve’s continuation of the excavations there in 1931 have brought sensational archaeological finds. What Dyggve found was a large Preromantic church on the site of the Early Christian basilica (from 6<sup>th</sup> c.).

Fra L. Marun wrote on March 17<sup>th</sup> 1931 in *Jutarnji List* the enthusiastic report, which highlighted the respect to the Danish researcher. Also Karaman reported immediately about the discovery in his almost journalistic accuracy, however not in an enthusiastic manner as in case of Lujo Marun. (Karaman 1931: 13) – Which is very understandable because some of the results which he published just few months ago (1930) happened to be already outdated: I am referring to Karaman's probably most famous book entitled *From the cradle of Croatian history*, where he described the fascinating quantity and quality of the old-croatian architecture with his famous formulation of the “free-shaped buildings” and of discontinuation-theory. But - the “case” of Suplja Crkva, its shape and not least its size have suggested rather an opposite thesis of continuity, which Dyggve represented. Dyggve's excavations on the locations of *Šuplja Crkva* and *Gospin Otok* have shown not only the Early Romanic 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 his review of the previous researches of the Coronation Basilica of King Zvonimir on the location of Suplja Crkva, Mate Zekan concluded 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 researching of a wider area around the church,” and the revision has confirmed Dyggve's discoveries.

The interruption had to do not least with the termination of the contract of E. Dyggve and his return to Denmark, and finally the death of Don Frane Bulić. Some modest excavations on the location of *Šuplja Crkva* followed in 1935, which Karaman undertook right after Bulić's death 1934. Mate Zekan adds that also Dyggve visited this site in the same year and quotes Karaman's statement about the decision, whether is it worth that the excavations remain 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: 254/5) Zekan finally concludes, that “therewith, unfortunately, ends archaeological research works on this complex and for Croatian history extremely significant site.” (ibidem)

What remains is on one side the question of the circumstances of Dyggve's eventual withdrawal. Was the obviously failed agreement from September of 1936 prepared long before that time? Still missing in the historiography of this particular ‘case’ are namely the protocols of events between 1930-1935. Some indications about Dyggve's struggle to continue his work on site can be found in *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*: From spring 1930 dates 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 copies of the same letter, one written in German and another in Danish. It seems that Dyggve tried to find support elsewhere. In Dyggve's archive in Split there is also a short-termed contract extension for his own salary dated on 6. February of 1932. Finally, Dyggve's nomination as an honor member of *Bihać* from 8 July, 1932 (with signatures of Bulić as a president and Karaman as a secretary) means probably – with respect to the continuation of the work *in situ* – a dignified farewell. Emilio Marin has called the work of “architect Dyggve” in Solin as “post-Bulić-period”, confirming the rich results of the research of Danish archeologists and especially Dyggve's. (Marin 1985: 17) Our second “case” takes place 25 years later:

## The second ‘Case’: ‘Cultures under the open Sky’. Between Jelling and Salona 1954-57

In 1954, the *Croatian Society of Art Historians* (HDPU) issued for the first time its most important art historical magazine *Peristil*, in which the question of the (dis-)continuity between the Antiquity and a Romanesque was the featured subject.<sup>7</sup> Ljubo Karaman published there, among others, his long review of Dyggve's *History of Salonitan Christianity* from 1951. Apart from few acts of courtesy, Karaman's review of Dyggve was a slating one. The eyesore for the Croatian follower of the Viennese school of art history is without doubt Dyggve's search after the formal characteristic and genealogy of the 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* and *intra muros*. 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 rather “creative” argumentations. He writes so fx about the “smaller sense for hygiene of the medieval man.” (Karaman 1954: 180) Also Dyggve's assumptions about Syrian and other eastern influences in Salona meet Karaman's skepticism (the former has been accepted in the meantime; s. Bužančić 2011a: 18f.). Karaman misses also the stronger consideration of Aquileia's influence (which has on the other side also been widely accepted in a meantime; s. Jurković 2005) and Karaman comes not least to his genuine statement about the “greater freedom of the periphery environment.”

No matter which position we may tend to take today, it still may be said, that Dyggve's excavations in and around Salona in Dalmatia and Jelling in east Jutland still serve as the crown witnesses of the Christianization of today's Croatia and Denmark and are closely bound to the national identities in both countries. Dyggve's convictions of the causal priority of topological, liturgical and other functional elements over the formal elements of ‘style’ (as Karaman learned in Vienna from Dvorzak, who was a direct follower of A. Riegl also as curator of public monuments in Austria, however with his

idealistic turn to the Art History as a Spiritual History) have led him to defend his continuity-thesis, which has, as we have seen, provoked a fruitful debate since its appearance in the 1920s.

In Jelling, Dyggve found a situation, which can be compared with those he found around Salona on *Gospin Otok* one decade ago, as he worked on the site of the mausoleum of the Queen Jelena, wife of Michael Krešimir II. of Croatia. It bears respective national relicts from the same time (976) and of same historical importance as the runic stones in Jelling. Dyggve follows in Jelling the same methodology focused on the examination of the wide ranged topology, set in the chronological and comparative frameworks related to the central functional and liturgical issues, as he did in Salona:

In one of his latest 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. With its insistence on the unroofed enclosures, (Dyggve 1960: 3; 1955a) it 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 ‘handwriting’ is visible when he arguments for Tibirke in the 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.

Decisive in our comparative context of Dyggve between the poles of Europe are the patterns of questioning the form-function complex, which usually lead to the recognition of the ‘culture under the open sky’ – a discopertal or hypertral culture, if you will. In any case, Harald’s church with an *atrium sub divo* (Dyggve 1957a: 222) and other comparative examples of the ‘open’ sanctuaries belong without doubt to Dyggve’s most discussed contributions at all. Karaman emphasized in his mentioned review from *Peristil* Nr. 1 (1954) an unbridgeable difference between the idea of open cemetery and open sanctuary (as *basilica discoperta*). After comparison with the further sources from the east Adriatic coast and from Panonia (Suić 1960; 1976), Rendić-Miočević concludes that a slightly modified 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 engravings, which Dyggve undertook in the Episcopal center in Salona in 1949 with 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 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Dyggve’s article with the title *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* three years ago and the final example of the life-long discussion between the two rivalry opinions. Dyggve relates the new hypertral 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: 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. For the first time, he was able to give a lecture on the subject during the V<sup>th</sup> 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: 81)

With other words, the remotest, but pointed dialogue between Karaman and Dyggve between 1954 and 1957 is not just a further indication for a reductionistic explanation pattern of 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 consuming comparative cultural studies between the ‘poles’ of Europe. Rendić-Miočević states that in 1949, during the revision excavations, the idea of the hypertral shape of the oratorium “E” was not at all an issue in spite of many discussions with Dyggve, he then participated in, and concludes that this idea subsequently grew slowly in Dyggve’s mind. (Rendić-Miočević: 77) Also these remote discussions between Karaman and Dyggve might have played their role – for both great researchers.

## Conclusions and perspectives

In the divided Europe between the wars, Dyggve began to look for evidence of the cultural continuity and found the successions of myth, cult and ritual on the frontiers of today’s continent without borders. He raised the questions of 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 the crown witnesses of the Christianization of today’s Croatia and Denmark and are closely bound to the national identities in 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 archeology 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 mid-European, German speaking realm, along with the Mediterranean spheres of influence with the archeology experts between France and Greece. The comparative cultural studies in this understanding served Dyggve himself both

as a framework and a point of departure for his early work in Dalmatia, while 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. In this closing section, I will briefly refer to some of his writings which should demonstrate Dyggve’s methodological ‘comparatism’ and his historiographical interest, both led and followed by his ‘polyhistoric’ width 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*. 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: 12).

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.) 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. 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 ‘Adribyzantinism’ became nearly a status of style, provoking an ongoing *quérelle* (Rapanić, 2002, pp. 172-9; 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, *μεθοδος* – 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 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: 51) 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 archeology. This *mélange* as well as Dyggve’s later focus on the supposed holy places (Vi-s) from Denmark’s prehistory (Jelling, Tibirke, 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.

The purpose of disseminating this essay is primarily to make the envisioned comparative cultural perspective readable for the interested public both in Denmark and Croatia, standing *pars pro toto* for European North and South. Dyggve’s own ‘two lives’ as an architect and an archeologist can be viewed also 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. Ejnar Dyggve was the first initiator behind the establishment of the museum *in situ* back in the 1950s. (Hvass, 2000, p. 85) The marvelous 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 archeological 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.

Another of Dyggve’s favorites, Diocletian’s Palace in the Old Town of Split, belongs to the UNESCO World Heritage list since 1979 and is therewith, like Jelling in Denmark, the first site of its country on this list (together with Dubrovnik). Tomislav Marasović, a bearer of the Order of Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, bore the responsibility of writing the successful application for Split. 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 also of the later cultural continuity on 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. Back in 2013, 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.”



## Author's reference

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## Images

1. Ejnar Dyggve portrait (author unknown)
2. A view of Salona-site in May 2005 (today's Solin, on the north border of Split in central Dalmatia), showing a central part of the engravings *intra muros*. (© Slavko Kacunko)
3. Ejnar Dyggve (2<sup>nd</sup> from right) in front of the Split's Cathedral inside the palace of the emperor Diokletian, together with Jerko Marasović (1<sup>st</sup> from right) and Tomislav Marasović (1<sup>st</sup> from left), Split 1958. (With kind permission of Tomislav Marasovic)
4. Salona-site, drawing from Ejnar Dyggve from 1932. *Šuplja Crkva* ('Hollow Church') is located on the east side (on the far right), north of the river Jadro. The location of the Otok ('Island') can be seen on the south-east side.
5. Basilica on the site of *Šuplja Crkva*, Dyggve's attempt of axonometric reconstruction from the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*. (With kind permission of the Conservation department in Split)
6. Marusinac, an important cemetery-site outside of Salona's city walls. Dyggve's attempt of reconstruction from the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*. (With kind permission of the Conservation department in Split)
7. Jelling, a drawing from Archeology Forum Website: <http://www.arkeologiforum.se/forum/index.php?topic=5460.40>.
8. Jelling-site with two mounds and the church in between on August 24<sup>th</sup> 2013. (© Slavko Kacunko)
9. Jelling, on the south of the church: Harald's stone with the runic inscription.
10. Marusinac, Dyggve's axonometric reconstruction of the assembly with *basilica discoperta* from the *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*. (With kind permission of the Conservation department in Split)
11. One of the entrances to the Salona-site with the reconstruction-drawing map of Ejnar Dyggve as it is today.
12. Jelling-site with the newly marked widened areal in the shape of parallelogram, as on August 24<sup>th</sup> 2013. (© Slavko Kacunko)
13. Jelling-site with the oval shape of the 'ship', newly marked with the betony blocks, as on August 24<sup>th</sup> 2013. (© Slavko Kacunko)
14. Her Majesty Queen Margarete II. of Denmark with Henrik, Prince Consort of Denmark accompanied by Tomislav Marasović in Split in April 1977. (With kind permission of Tomislav Marasovic)
15. Ejnar Dyggve and Jerko Marasović in Split in 1960. Jerko Marasović has 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 *Ejnar Dyggve Arhiv Split*.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> 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, whose origins reach in a direct lineage to Domald, Visbur, Vanlande, Swegde and Fjolde back to Freya, one of the most important goddesses in Norse mythology.

<sup>2</sup> *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. Together with the associate professors in the Art History section of the University of Copenhagen, Soren Kaspersen, Jens Fleischer (both retired in the meantime), and Nicoletta Isar, we have formed the Ejnar Dyggve Research Group Copenhagen with the purpose of realizing a seemingly simple project of transcription and translation into English of the digitized material as well as making it available for further scientific processing, which is, however not accomplished by now due to the lack of financial support. For subsequent actions towards its realization (2013-14) see my longer text in *QUADRATURA. Writings in Danish art history 1 / 2014*, pp. 30-31 (note 6.), on which this contribution is widely based. In the

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meantime (2014-2015), a small exhibition *Ejnar Dyggve. Researches in Dalmatia* was held in Split and Zagreb, the former being formally opened by Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark.

<sup>3</sup> See International Triplex Confinium Project, <http://www.ffzg.hr/pov/zavod/triplex>.

<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> 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 26/27. August 1961, curiously the day of St. Anastasius's martyr-death in 304.

<sup>6</sup> The published document, found in 1929 in the Split diocesan archive contents that both seeked 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 being focused on the position of the *Lady of the Island*. (Zekan 2000: 250)

<sup>7</sup> For the relevance of the Old Croatian architecture in the context of the general history of the European pre-Romanic see Goss 1978.