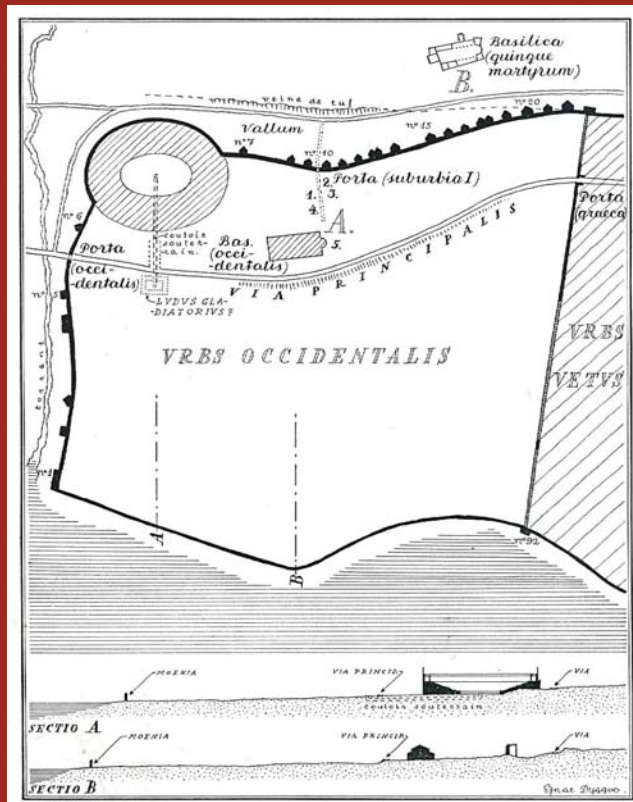


EJNAR DYGGVE: CREATING CROSSROADS

International conference



Split, November 7-9, 2013
Centre *Studia Mediterranea*
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Cover: Ejnar Dyggve's plan of the Amphitheatre at Salona in its original urban context

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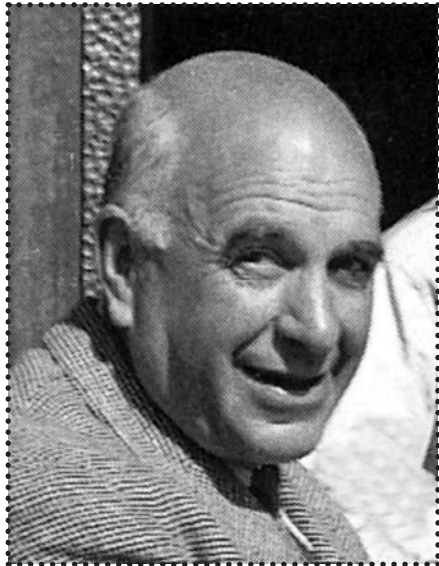
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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



The Danish architect, archaeologist, and art historian Einar Aksel Petersen Dyggve (1887-1961) belong to the most prolific researchers of the 20th century. In his numerous publications he has contributed to the perception of Late Antique and Early Medieval architecture until these days. Despite of his importance, Dyggve is little known outside expert circles today. A remarkable exception, however, is Croatia, where Dyggve's memory is still highly revered because of his achievements in Salona and along the coast of Dalmatia. His opus magnum *History of Salonitan Christianity* (1951) Dyggve has proudly signed as *Civis Salonitanus honoris causa*, so demonstrating his awareness of the seminal importance of the site for the world's heritage.

In the year of celebrating the joining of the Republic of Croatia to the European Union, the Conference will bring together two strands of the international research allied to the Danish scholar. The Conference will address an international network of experts on the research area related to the Shaping of Medieval Europe related to the Comparative Reconsideration of European Art and Architecture in its Transitions from Late Antiquity and Pagan Cultures to the Christian Middle Ages. Among others, the first results of the transcription and translation of the Einar Dyggve Archive in Split will be presented to the international audience.

PROGRAMME

Thursday, November 7, 2013

20.00 The first working meeting at the hotel Judita Palace,
Narodni trg 4

Friday, November 8, 2013

9.00 Welcoming Remarks

Joško Belamarić
Slavko Kačunko

9.15 Chairmen: Tomislav Marasović / Jens Fleischer

Slavko Kačunko: *Ejnar Dyggve and Ljubo Karaman: Two 'Cases'*

Jasna Jeličić Radonić: *Dyggve's Salona in the Light of New Research*

Dino Milinović: *Salona: an Example of "blood and fire fanaticism with respect to people who think differently"?*

10.15-10.30 Coffee Break

Søren Dietz: *Some reflections on Form, Space, Function and Time. Dyggve's ideas about the Kalydon Heroon as prototype and inspiration for the early Christian Basilica*

Goran Nikšić: *Diocletian's Palace – new findings about planning, design and construction*

Ivo Vojnović: *The assumed appearance of the rooms in Diocletian's Palace at Dosud in the context of recent research*

11.30– 11.45 Coffee Break

Joško Belamarić: *After the Restoration of the Peristyle in Split*

Tonći Milošević – Željko Peković: *Dyggve's reconstruction of the late Roman period palace on Mljet*

Radoslav Bužančić: *The pluteum from the Church of St Bartholomew at Resnik. Re-utilisation of the marble of the altar screens of pre-Romanesque churches in the renovation of demolished churches after the Council of Trent*

12.45 – 13.15 Discussion

14.00 Lunch break

16.30 Chairmen: Søren Dietz / Dino Milinović

Jens Fleischer: *Dyggve's 'Adrio-Byzantine' capitals and the sacred space*

Miljenko Jurković: *Adrio-byzantism reconsidered, and the problem of continuity between late antiquity and the early middle ages*

Tomislav Marasović: *Ejnar Dyggve and the early mediaeval heritage in Dalmatia*

17.30– 17.45 Coffee Break

Anne Pedersen: *Ejnar Dyggve and the royal monuments in Jelling*

Søren Kaspersen: *'The big animal' on Harald Bluetheeth's Jellingstone: a reconsideration and perspectivation*

Anne Haslund Hansen: *The Easter Exhibition 1944*

18.45 – 19.15 Discussion

20.30 Dinner

Saturday, November 9, 2013

9.30 Excursion to Salona – Solin with the lecture:

Miroslav Katić: *Salona shrines sub divo*

13.00 (in Tusculum, Salona)

Nenad Humski: *The digitalisation of Dyggve's Archives in the Split Conservation Institute*

13.20 – 14.00 Summary of the Conference

14.00 Lunch



Slavko Kačunko

Ejnar Dyggve and Ljubo Karaman: Two ‘Cases’

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 presented paper picked a complementary context between Denmark and Croatia as a model for questioning of the cultural continuity, where the comparative investigation of the life-long collaboration and competition between the two exact contemporaries Ejnar Dyggve (1887-1961) and Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971) served as a model.

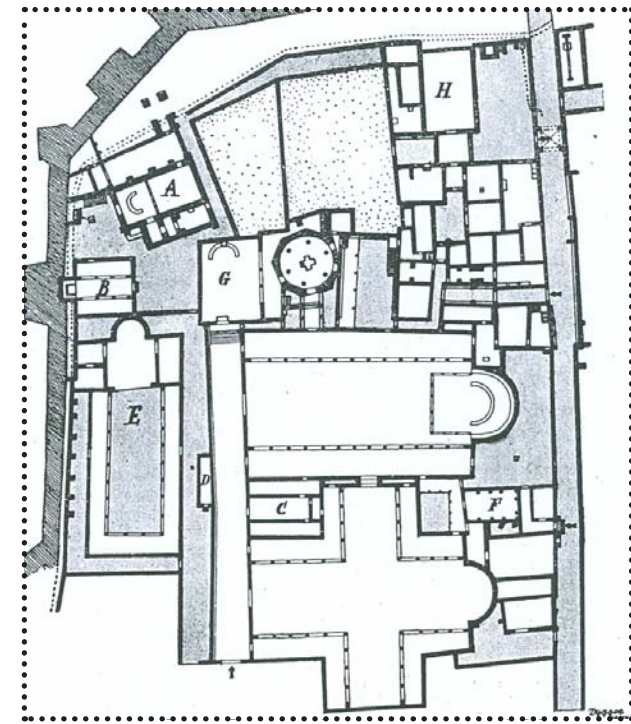
The first ‘Case’ referred to the time between 1929-1932 and the issues of Province, Frontier, Periphery, as Karaman has established his negation of the continuity-thesis both topologically and chronologically, which led to the conclusion of an absence of continuity between the late antiquity and early middle age architecture (Karaman 1930; 1963 et. al.). As it turned that there were no remains of the king’s mausoleum church on site of the *Šuplja Crkva* near Salona in 1930, Dyggve’s

continuation of the excavations there in 1931 have brought sensational archaeological find – a large Preromantic church on the site of the Early Christian basilica from the 6th century. Karaman reported immediately about the discovery, which however, came just after the publication of his own *opus magnum* 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 his discontinuation-theory. The “case” of *Šuplja Crkva*, its shape and not least its size have suggested rather an opposite thesis of continuity, which Dyggve represented.

The second ‘Case’ (1954-57) related to the ‘Cultures under the open Sky’: 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. Ljubo Karaman published there 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 was, among others, the supposedly unbridgeable difference between the idea of open cemetery and open sanctuary (as *basilica discoperta*). In Jelling, Dyggve found in the early 1940ies 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 (around 976) and of comparable historical importance as the runic stones in Jelling. Also other Dyggve’s publications from that time tried 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; Dyggve 1955) they

bore 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 a construction with a presumed centered *sub divo*-element. Dyggve partially published the results of the revision works in the Episcopal complex in Salona in the second issue of *Peristil* from 1957, which was dedicated to Karaman's 70th 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 1957b: 59). In his principal defense (along some special corrections) of Dyggve's new research results, Rendić-Miočević emphasized rightly some important facts related to the time delay in the reception of Dyggve's research in Croatia and in general: The remote, but pointed dialogue between Karaman and Dyggve between 1954 and 1957 is not just a further indication for a reductionist 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.

Both mentioned 'Cases' demonstrate the long and deserving history of Danish and Croatian archeology. Some time-delays or blind spots in the respective reception of each other's state of research were for Ejnar Dyggve obviously sources of motivation and inspiration. They became also a shared source for future collaborations and planned joint efforts towards a future comparative reevaluation of the Art and Culture of the Early Middle Ages – both between Denmark and Croatia as representatives of the 'North' and 'South', and also widened on the European level.



Slavko Kačunko is Professor for Art History and Visual Culture at the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies (IKK), University of Copenhagen. Key foci of his research profile are processual arts (video, performance, installation, and net art), visual studies and its boundaries, an interdisciplinary approach in art history and the discourse of the archaeology. International recognition received for interdisciplinary approaches between art history and media studies.



Jasna Jeličić – Radonić

Dyggve's Salona in the Light of New Research

Dyggve's Salona is even today the fundamental point of departure for a study of the urban design of the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia. The urban elements discovered during the earlier researches supplemented with Dyggve's perceptions show the basic development of the town on a map of Salona. The oldest core of the city, the *Urbs vetus*, in the central part of the city, as Dyggve stated, was later on extended to east and west, new urban spaces thus being created, the *Urbs orientalis* and *Urbs occidentalis*, respectively.

Dyggve completed the picture of the city walls reinforced with towers as discovered by Carrara with subsidiary entrances to the city on the northern perimeter of the city (*Porta suburbia I, II and III*). On the line of the decumanus that stretched from *Porta Caesarea* he found a gate in the complex of the western ramparts of the older part of the city, the *Porta Graeca*, as it is called, thus determining the size of the primary city core.

In the western ring of the ramparts of the new part of the city, *Urbs occidentalis*, there is also the gate *Porta occidentalis*, recently re-excavated. The amphitheatre was incorporated into the unique fortification system of that part of the city. Dyggve was of the opinion that the amphitheatre and the western wall were built at the same time, and that they were conceived as a unique architectural assembly created in the last half of the second century. The new excavations have

revealed a join between the western ramparts and the amphitheatre. The line of the city walls stretches within the line of the substructure of the upper menian, creating out of the amphitheatre a closed bastion in the NW corner of the city.

Carrara had partly excavated the gate *Porta Andetria*, the form of which was totally determined in new research. On this occasion an epigraph was discovered on the overall repair of the city walls during the time of Emperor Theodosius II or Valentinian III, and then, as well as wall reinforcements, triangular *avants-corps* were probably added on to the square towers.

In the oldest part, *Urbs vetus*, Dyggve discovered the forum. With test digs, he determined in their basic elements its shape and the spatial organisation of the main buildings. On the proposed reconstruction, he showed two tetrastyle temples symmetrically deployed in relation to the central considerably lower building, the platform or rostrum. On the opposite, southern, side elements of a building raised on substructions because of the marked fall in the ground were long since noticed. Here, that is, a wall articulated with arches is preserved, as shown clearly on Dyggve's drawing, but still no research has been carried out, although it is assumed that what is concerned is a basilica.

On the western side of the forum is a *cardo*, which divides the main city square from the theatre. Opposite this monumental public building is a tetrastyle temple harmonised with the facade of the theatre building, and to the east one more, smaller, building. This is probably a minor temple, also discovered during the research of the Danish archaeologist into the theatre complex, and recently re-excavated. On the eastern side of the forum a simple rectangular building with eastern oriented apse, the *curia*, was discovered.

Dyggve devoted particular attention to one of the main channels of the Jadro, which he assumed to have entered the city close to *Porta*

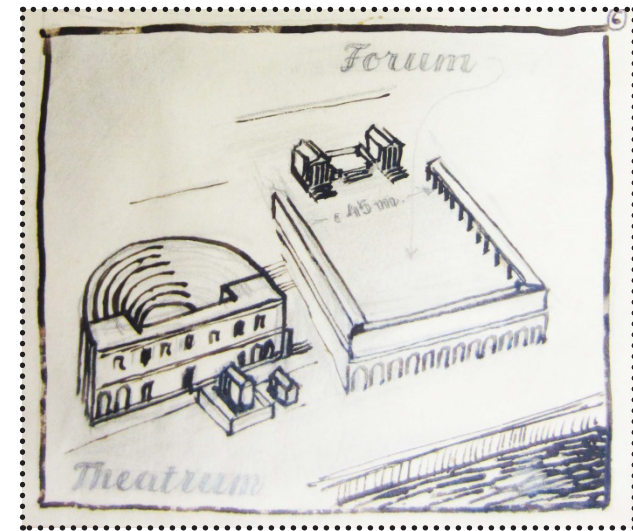
Andetria and to have extended to the Roman bridge, Five Bridges, as it is called. Recent research discovered elements of arches on the eastern city walls where this channel entered the city. The line of its course was also determined; it went through the very centre of the town, which had a considerable effect on the urban grid of *Urbs orientalis*.

The Diocletian period was particularly important for Salona, which knew an increase in its prosperity, as shown by the introduction of the imperial gentilicium into the official name of the city – *Martia Iulia Valeria, Salona Felix*. Dyggve determined the renovation of some of the public buildings, such as theatre or amphitheatre, according to the characteristic decorations of architectural elements featured in Diocletian's Palace. In this context the last Salona temple close to *Porta Andetria* can be cited, probably dedicated to Venera Victrix, the excavations of which we started by Dyggve, although he reported on them only preliminarily.

Salona, metropolis of the Roman province of Dalmatia, occupies a prominent place in the Christian world. Dyggve devoted many studies to the Salona Early Christian monuments, attempting to show not only their origin and development, but even the liturgies that unfolded within them. He took part in the first excavations of the cemeterial basilica at Kapljuč; then he independently investigated the complex cemetery complex at Marusinac; re-excavated the episcopal complex and precisely located numerous Early Christian churches, such as the western and eastern basilicas, including those only hinted at on the ground according to certain discovered elements or sketched out according to the vegetation. All these constituted Dyggve's Salona oeuvre summed up and combined in the celebrated work *History of Salonitan Christianity*.

The width of Dyggve's views of Salona is impressive. It covered Salonitan monuments of all periods, invaluable considerations

expressed first in sketches until they should grow into real studies, and countless items of information about each one, even the smallest, of the elements recorded in photographs or drawings. Over the course of time, some of Dyggve's theses have been supplemented or corrected with new research, but this in no way diminishes the importance of his researches into the Salona monumental heritage. On the contrary, Dyggve's Salona is an essential source for the illumination of the history of the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia.



The drawing of the forum and of the theatre (after E. Dyggve)

Jasna Jeličić-Radonić graduated the archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, where she also took her master's and doctorate. From 1976 to 2007 she was employed in the Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture in Split as senior expert consultant – conservator for archaeological heritage. Since 2007 she has been a full professor in the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Philosophy in Split. She is in charge of the courses History of Art of the Ancient World, Roman Art in Croatia and Selected Chapters of the Art of Antiquity. In the Department of History, she lectures on the subject Monumental Heritage as Historical Source. From 1993 to 2008 she taught at Art Academy in Split the subjects Protection of Monuments and Archaeological Heritage.

She has published a number of books (A Church from Justinian's Time; Early Christian Twin Churches in Stari Grad on the Island of Hvar) and number of articles on Classical and Early Christian art from the Roman province of Dalmatia. A selection of recent works: Posvetni natpisi namjesnika Flavija Julija Rufina Sarmantija carevina Konsdantu i Konstanciju II u Saloni (Dedicatory Inscriptions of the Governor Flavius Iulius Rufinus Sarmentius to the Emperors Constans and Constantius I in Salona), *Tusculum* 5 (2012), 89-102; Hram Dioklecijanova doba kod Porta Andetria u Saloni (A Temple of the Time of Diocletian at the Porta Andetria in Salona, *PPUD* 42, (2011), 5-28; Venus Victrix in the Salona *Urbs Orientalis*, XI Coloquio internacional de Arte romano provincial „Roma y las provincias: modelo y difusión, Mérida 18-21 Mai 2009, Roma 2011, 305-311; The Cult of the Salona Martyrs in the Amphitheatre, *Hortus Artium Medievalium: Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages*, 15 (2009), 55-62; Diocletian and the Salona *Urbs Orientalis*, Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace on the 1700th Anniversary of Existence, (2009), 303-337; Aurelia Prisca, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 41, (2008), 5-25; Salona at the Time of Bishop Hesychius, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 13 (2007), 13-24; Salona, the *Urbs orientalis*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 12 (2006), 43-54; Altar Types in Early Christian Churches in the Province of Dalmatia, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 11 (2005), 19-28; Krstionički sklop salonitanske katedrale (Baptistry of the Cathedral in Salona), *Znakovi i riječi*, (2002), 109-121; Salonitanska radionica mozaika, *Kapljuč*, (Salonitan Mosaic Workshop, *Kapljuč*), *Opuscula archaeologica* 27 (2003), 513-521; Liturgical installation in the Roman Province of Dalmatia, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 5 (1998), 133-145.



Dino Milinović

Salona: example of «red hot fanaticism towards people of other ways of thinking»?

Pre-Christian architecture of Salona always remained of secondary interest in comparison with its Christian counterpart. This cannot be credited only to Msgr. Bulić's interest in early Christian architecture. Apart from individual monuments, such as the amphitheatre and the theatre, pre-Christian Salona has little to offer, it seems. We do not even know much about its political and religious center, the forum, despite new discoveries by Jasna Jeličić Radonić who recently proposed to look for a new public center with a temple in the *Urbs Orientalis*, and attributed this development to Diocletian, but we know almost nothing about it, apart from various *spolia* which were found scattered and which were re-used mainly for the embankments and the city-walls. In consequence, there is little we can say about the passage from «pagan» to «Christian» Salona. Dyggve believed that the disappearance of the pagan city was due to Christianity which «conquered more quickly and more thoroughly than in the official Rome». The conclusion seems inevitable: according to Dyggve, Salona is a fine case of «red hot fanaticism towards people of other ways of thinking», by which he meant the crushing impact of Christianity on traditional cults. But, is there a need to look for violence and violent ends of pagan shrines in Salona? Evidence from other parts of Roman Empire, notably

Italy, do not support this conclusion, despite random destruction, such as was probably responsible for the fate of the *Augustaeum* in Narona, another important Roman colony along the eastern Adriatic shore. So, what happened to pagan Salona if not Christianity? By the time Christianity really took over, and this did not happen before the end of the 4th century, Roman cities have already very much changed their looks and pagan temples in particular seemed to be in a poor condition, due to the lack of state funding and the lack of (religious) interest (i.e., financial support from the rich). The problem is being repeatedly addressed by the emperors themselves, in their legislation. The *Codex Theodosianus* makes it manifest that emperors strive to direct funds towards restoration and conservation of older buildings instead building new ones. Theodosius even orders that two thirds of building activities should be directed to this purpose. The re-use of older material is another reason for urban decline. Across the empire, the use of architecture as *spolia* was first noticed under Septimius Severus and has grown in scope throughout the 3rd century, as the result of economic crisis. By the time the empire once again found stability under Diocletian and later under Constantine, the use of older material, the *spolia*, has become a familiar phenomenon and could be used not only for practical but also for ideological reasons.

To conclude, the development, or rather the stagnation and decline of the traditional city is probably responsible for the sad state of preservation of pre-Christian Salona and not necessarily the violent facing off between pagans and Christians. There was no such thing as the “clash of gods”. The old was very much understood as a quarry from which new, deemed more important, was to rise: churches, bishop’s residence and in particular city-walls.



The statues in the temple of the imperial cult (Augusteum) at Narona

Dino Milinović graduated at the University of Zagreb in 1984 and received the degree of Doctorat du 3e cycle in Late Antique Civilization at the Université Paris IV – Sorbonne in 1989. Between 1992 and 1999 he worked as Secretary General of the Croatian Commission for UNESCO. He received his Ph.D. at the University of Zagreb in 2006. He is currently teaching at the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Department of History of Art. His fields of interest center in particular on Late Antiquity and Early Christian art.



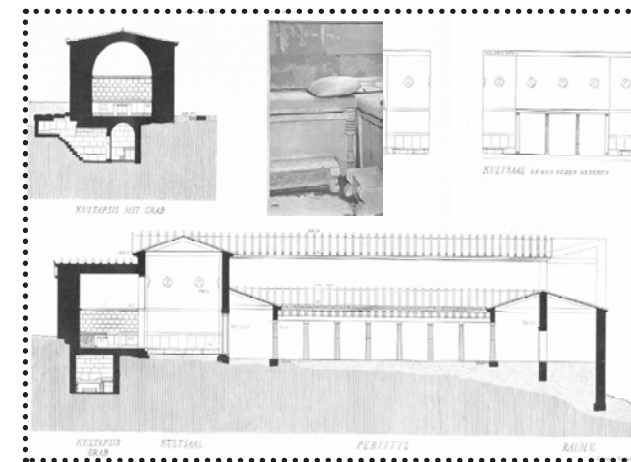
Søren Dietz

Some Reflections on Form, Space, function and Time. Dyggve's ideas about the relations between the Kalydon Heroon and the early Christian Basilica

The town of Kalydon was surrounded by a fortification wall, 6 metres high with four large gates and 11 up to 12 metres high towers. The building project of the walls was initiated around 400 BC – but with a fortified Acropolis from the late 6th century. The wall was 2.4 kilometer long, the city 35 ha with around 5000 inhabitants (Dietz S. and M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. Kalydon in Aitolia I-II. Aarhus 2011). Outside the walls was the large sanctuary for Artemis Laphria with the first offerings from Late Geometric, 7th century BC - undoubtedly the most important in the region and from around 100 BC, the so-called Heroon. The Heroon was excavated in 1926 and 1928 by Frederik Poulsen and Konstantinos Rhomaios and from October 1932 – together with the Danish architect and “Bauforscher” Ejnar Dyggve “durch seine Studien und Grabungen in Dalmatien bekannt” as they write in the Preface. The Heroon was published already in 1934 (Dyggve E. , F. Poulsen, K. Rhomaios 1934 Das Heroon von Kalydon. Kbh.) –mainly Dyggve was responsible for this work which is still today highly appreciated.

The building measures 34x37 m². In the middle is a courtyard surrounded by 8x8 doric columns, The peristyle passage way where visitors were walking and discussing - measures 4 metres. Except for

the west side square rooms are placed between the passage way and the surrounding wall. The rooms on the East side probably had clinae along the walls and were in use for banquets. On the north side is the entrance through a prothesis in the north east corner and Kultsaal and kultexedra in the middle (names after Dyggve). In the North West corner was a room which was probably a louthron (a bathroom) and not a room for Kultmahle as suggested by Dyggve (expressing some doubt).



Heroon reconstructed with the tomb below the cult exedra (after Dyggve et al. 1934)

Below the so-called kultexedra was the grave in the “krypta” as Dyggve choose to call it. In the grave was found two clinae with two pillows - one in each end of them and foot panels, one with a fine flower relief pattern in a characteristic late Hellenistic style from around 100 BC. On a “Reliquienbehälter” saying that this was the vomós of the hero Leon -the new Herakles. We must presume that Leon was buried in the chamber below the “cult room” and that a cult for the hero took place

in the building. As for the Heroon, there seems to be agreement that the tomb was the main reason for the construction.

Dyggve and the Churches

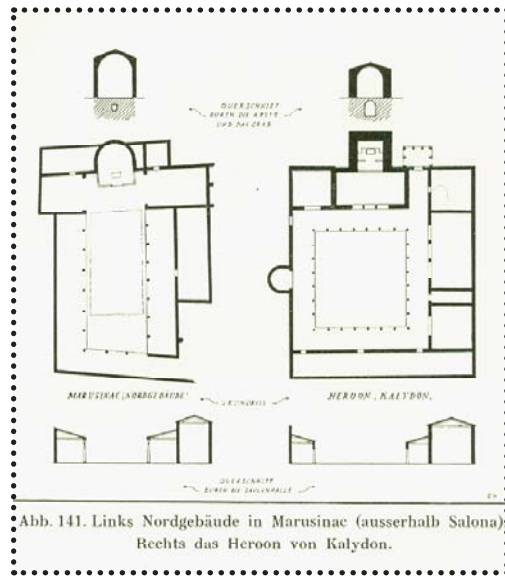


Abb. 141. Links Nordgebäude in Marusinac (ausserhalb Salona) Rechts das Heroon von Kalydon.

Marusinac and the Kalydon Heroon

Let us try to follow Dyggve’s arguments as for the relationship between the Kalydon Heroon and the early Christian Basilica type or rather the similarities between the Heroon and the so-called Basilica Discoperta in Marusinac just outside the walls of Salona. In 1934 Dyggve writes: “Beide Anlagen, die von Kalydon und die von Marusinac, beleuchten und ergänzen einander: ein Grab als Unterbau, eine Kultapsis als Oberbau, eine um eine Stufe erhöhte Stelle für den Altar, weiter Schranken und Altartisch. Und vor der Kultapsis der lange, rechteckige Querraum mit Bänken, davor der offene Hof, der wegen der Mosaiken

ebensowenig wie der Peristylhof in Kalydon eine Gartenanlage gekannt hat, und endlich die Säulenhallen” (Heroon p. 125).

The Marusinac complex was published by Dyggve and Egger in 1939 (Salona III) and consists of a Mausoleum for the Martyr Anastasius who was killed/sacrificed by Diocletian in 304. The Mausoleum was later on in 426 built together with an Atrium creating a forecourt and narthex to the Anastasius Basilica from the same period. To the North, separated by a courtyard is the building called Basilica Discoperta (or hypæthral basilica) by Dyggve.

At first sight - as pointed out by Egger - the building looks as a usual three-aisled Basilica with transept and annexes around the apse and an addition on the right aisle - but the preserved column bases shows that the columns were only 40 cm in diameter. The columns seem to have been 3.6 meter high, placed with an intercolumniation of 3.3 meter (which is quite a lot - Heroon: 2. 42m) and cannot possibly have supported an arch with an 11 meter span. This means that the center of the room must have been open. “Die Nordanlage wurde als eine mit Querschiff versehene, scheinbar basilikaler Bau - durch die noch vorhandene Klerusbank mit Bischofsitz und durch das dazugehörige Bema im besonderen als Kultbau bestimmt” and “... neue Wege, die von heidnischen und christlichen Grabkult ausgehen (with referens to the Apsissaal in Leonteion von Kalydon ...”).

If we can trust Egger’s and Dyggve’s informations about the columns in Marusinac - the reconstruction of the peristyle building in Marusinac is undoubtedly correct - but the question is if it is a basilica - if the architectural arrangement in the apse is a sufficient evidence for the interpretation of the construction as a basilica. The possibility doesn’t seem to be totally foreign to Krautheimer who in 1986 wrote :“.... an apse in the centre and two oblong rooms projecting sideways, a plan which superficially evokes the transept basilica to such a degree

that the structure has been termed a „basilica discoperta“, a roofless basilica“ (Krautheimer R. Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, 181). In 1986, Krautheimer calls it martyrrium precinct.

In my opinion there are still many more things to be said about relations between Hellenistic/Roman architecture and liturgy - new sources will create new aspects and Dyggve's ideas will still be important for our understanding of the architectural development in this stormy but creative period of Western History.

Postscriptum: The author is obliged to colleagues Jasna Jeličić Radonić and Miljenko Jurkovic for the information that subsequent research in Marusinac has not been able to confirm Dyggve's and Egger's data concerning shapes, dimensions and intercolumniation of the columns in the so-called “Basilica discoperta”.

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1969. Mag.art. in Northern Archaeology and European Prehistory. University of Copenhagen.

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1970-1981. Ass. Professor at the University of Copenhagen. Institute of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology (Prehistoric Greece. Near Eastern and Egyptian Prehistory).

1985-1990. Keeper of the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Archaeology at the National Museum of Denmark.

1991 Dr.phil. University of Copenhagen.

1992 - 1997. Director of the Danish Institute at Athens

1995 - 2001. Director of the Danish/ Greek excavations in Chalkis Aitolias.

1998 - 2002. Director of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

2001 - Director of the Danish/Greek field work in Kalydon and Chalkis Aitolias.



Goran Nikšić

Diocletian's Palace—new findings about planning, design and construction

Relying upon the reinterpretation of historic sources put forward by Joško Belamarić, who proved that the original use of Diocletian's Palace was a textile manufacture, upon the recent archaeological investigations and upon detailed analyses of the most significant buildings within the Palace, the author proposes a new reading of the original architecture, which was largely determined by the technology of distribution of water brought by the aqueduct, and by the sewage system in the northern part of the complex.

The choice of the site for the construction of Diocletian's Palace on the lowest ground, the opening up of the upper part of the perimeter walls with wide arches, and the fact that originally all the towers had external entrances, are strong evidence that the building was not a fortification at all, but became one only with great invasions at the end of the Late Antique period and during the Middle ages, when the openings were walled up and defense brought up on top of the walls. Diocletian's Palace had the appearance of a well defended place, but in fact the perimeter walls, towers and double gates served the purpose of controlling the activity inside the building, and were meant to impress the visitor. The height of the walls equals the level of the

aqueduct channel, and most probably pressurized stone pipes were situated on top of the walls, from where water was further distributed in the northern part of the building. In that way we can describe the upper part of perimeter walls as an aqueduct, rather than part of a fortification.

The brick dome of Diocletian's Mausoleum was constructed as a double shell. Bricks of the interior shell were arranged in a complicated fan-shape pattern (opus circumactum). The arches thus created were self-supportive, and required no heavy, costly and time-consuming timber centring. Until now it has been argued that the dome of Diocletian's funerary chamber was lined with a mosaic, without material proof. The recent cleaning of the dome has revealed remains of iron pegs introduced into the joints during the construction, spaced at approximately regular distances. They most probably served to hold the segments of the mosaic in place until the mortar set and hardened.

The dome of the crypt under Diocletian's Mausoleum, and most of the vaults in the substructures of the imperial apartments were constructed using Roman concrete (opus caementicium). In the crypt, the imprints of boards of the wooden centring are clearly visible on the intrados of the dome. The vaults in the substructures look like masonry structures because the mortar was not poured directly onto the wooden centring, but over a layer of tufa stones, which served to reduce the dead load and to enable easy dismantling and reuse of the centring for the vaults of the same span.

Archaeological research during the recent reconstruction of the street pavement resolved the long-lasting dilemma about the original appearance of the central hall of the imperial apartments. Between the threshold of the main entrance to the hall and the upper surface

of the concrete vault structure there was no room for a substantial marble floor, but only for a relatively thin floor of opus signinum, opus sectile, or, most probably, a mosaic floor. Walls in the interior were covered with a marble veneer. Longitudinal walls on the upper level were significantly narrower than those in the substructures, so the main space could not have been covered with a vault (as most of researchers supposed), but with a timber structure.



Goran Nikšić (Split, 1957), architect (1980 Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade). MA in architectural conservation (1992 Centre for Conservation Studies, University of York). PhD (2012 Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb). As conservation architect with the Ministry of Culture, Conservation Department in Split produced architectural surveys and supervised restoration projects for a series of historic buildings, including cathedrals of Korčula, Hvar, Split, Trogir and Šibenik; responsible for the Historic Core of Split and Diocletian's Palace. Since 2006, as Head of the Service for the Old City Core has managed a number of planning, restoration, rehabilitation and maintenance projects for the Municipality of Split. Since 1997 has lectured architectural conservation at the Restoration Department of the Academy of Fine Arts, University of Split. Engaged by ICOMOS as expert for assessment of candidates for the World Heritage List. Published articles on his important conservation projects and on local architectural history, with special interest in the analysis of architecture and in the research of design methods used for Dalmatian buildings through history. Also researches the history of conservation in Split in 19th and 20th centuries.



Ivo Vojnović

The assumed appearance of the rooms in Diocletian's palace at Dosud in the context of recent research

At the beginning of 2010, during the renovation of the house at Dosud 6, a small window with the part of the wall of western facade of Diocletian's Palace was revealed. The lower part of the facade which was built in Roman technique opus quadratum and belongs to foundations level, has been visible for a long time. The upper part of the facade, which is our point of interest here, belongs to the level of Diocletian's apartment and was built in Roman technique opus mixtum. The antique window that has been walled up, together with the part of the wall has been preserved as it was hidden under the roof of former St. Michael church. This small fragment of the wall is the only part of the western facade of Diocletian's apartment found so far. The sides of the window with double arc were built of Roman brick. Once the window was re-opened, on its side walls has been spotted still preserved original earthy red plaster.

The question is, which room of Diocletian's apartment had this newly discovered window? J. Marasović, according to what is known by now, assumes that the angular room on the foundations level of Palace, as well as one on Diocletian's apartment level, had a quatrefoil shape. At the apex of these apses there were windows on the facade and door

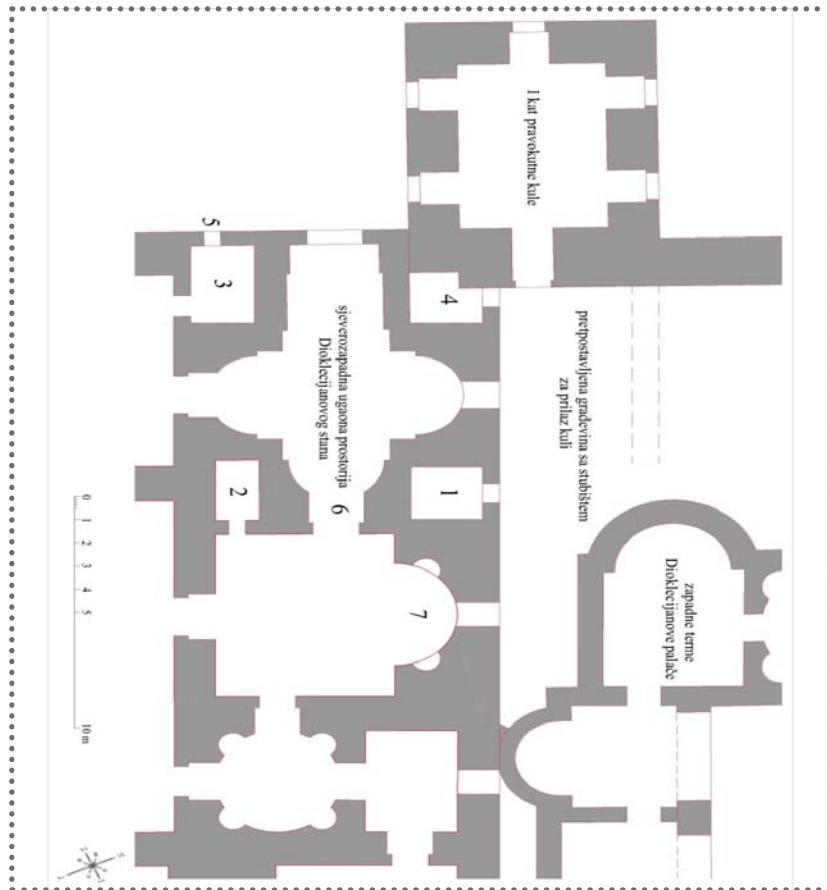
towards adjacent premises. The newly discovered window isn't set in this axis.

In order to understand this situation better, we need to look at earlier graphic images of preserved remains of Diocletian's Palace brought by R.Adam, Ch.L.Clerisseau and V.Andrić. All of them show two small rooms on the east side of the angular room of Diocletian's apartment, and the northern one still exists. A recently discovered window on the west facade leads to the conclusion that there was another small room on this side like those on east side. Therefore, we can assume there was a fourth room in the northwestern corner, located next to the rectangular tower. Small rooms within the large mass of walls surrounding the indented layout form of premises is common in Diocletian's Palace. What were these small, certainly vaulted rooms with holes on the outside for, we can not surely assume for now.

In addition to this, there is another detail. A small finding of reddish pigmented plaster found on the inner sides of recently discovered window indicates the assumption of color of external walls of this part of Diocletian's Palace. When we think of combination of white carved stone at the base and reddish plaster over it, we can only assume what coloristic effect it had on external walls of Diocletian's Palace.



Recently discovered window on the western facade of Diocletian's Palace



Assumed original situation, according to J. and K. Marasović, supplemented by I. Vojnović

1. The existing vaulted room with window on the north side
2. The former room in the southeastern part, as shown by Adam, Clerisseau and Andrić
3. The assumed room in the southwestern part
4. The assumed room in the northwestern part
5. Recently discovered window with part of western facade
6. The eastern part of angular room as shown by Adam, Clerisseau and Andrić
7. The existing room with an apse

Ivo Vojnović was born in 1959 in Split. After graduation from high school, in 1976 he enrolled in the Architecture Faculty of Zagreb University, from which he took his degree in 1984. He worked for twelve years as architect-conservator in what was then the Regional Institution for the Protection of Monuments of Culture, or today's Conservation Department in Split. Since 2000 he has worked as an independent architect, mostly engaged in research into, documentation of and architectural designs concerned with cultural properties.

He has shown a particular interest in research into Diocletian's Palace. As well as in Split, he also makes architectural designs in other historical city centres, such as Trogir, Kastel, Hvar, Vis and Korčula.



Joško Belamarić

After the Restoration of the Peristyle in Split

In earlier monographs on the palace (Niemann, Hébrard, Bulić-Karaman) there was no mention of how the Peristyle was supposed to function and neither of the wider spatial logic where it is incorporated. The Peristyle's esplanade, framed by elegant colonnades and the Protiron's facade, was until recently treated in the standard expert literature as the central courtyard of the palace/villa, that is, as the square of the palace/town. Only in 1940-s did Eynar Dyggve, formulate an interpretation to prove that the architecture of the imperial residence had to consider the requirements of the new ceremony, introduced by Diocletian, in order to present himself as Lord and Master (Dominus Noster) and (Deus presens) Jovius. Therefore, the Peristyle would be dedicated to the cult of the alive son of Jupiter. To the south, at the top of a frontal staircase there was the emperor's Mausoleum, while three small temples were located to the west, to honor the cult of the traditional gods of the Roman state. The purple color of the granite pillars in the southern half of the Peristyle should be considered as a selected and chosen effect for his worship, because crimson was reserved for the emperor and his family. The Protiron, where the emperor walked through the Vestibule from his apartment, was a frame

– as Dyggve, and later Branimir Gabričević suggested – to present himself to his people while they fell to a proskynesis, honoring him by prostrating the whole body on the floor.

The paradox is that it seems to us today that Dyggve and Gabričević and their subtle interpretations of the Late Antiquity ruling ritual, justified the intervention that was in many aspects controversial. The opening of the communication towards the basements, that is, towards the harbor complex (discovered only in 2007), the opening of the steep stairway under the supposed tribunalion, would certainly be understood in Diocletian times as a promiscuity of communicative functions and the liturgical sense of the imperial cult. Dyggve and Gabričević's reconstruction of the imperial liturgy would be better matched by the Peristyle's space, with all the incrustations of historical changes until their time in 1950s. The results of the archeological and restoration campaign, finished in 1960, as the principal researchers Jerko and Tomislav Marasović interpreted them, underlined, however, the fact that the Peristyle is an actual, if not strictly geometric center of the Palace, where complex relations of various levels of spatial units coordinate in steps from the north to the south. A relatively low porch of the streets is adjusted to the high roofs of the Protiron, Vestibule and other chambers of the Diocletian's villa, perforating the very center of the Protiron's stairway - in order for it to be used as a passage to the central hall in the basements and further towards the Porta Aenea (the Sea Gate), and on the other side to climb to the highest level of the imperial residence.

Interpretations that reduce the Peristyle to the function of a communication knot – as seen by Noel Duval, f.e., who challenged Dyggve's views – disregard the unusual fact that may be understandable: in the very center of the complex, immediately in front of Diocletian's

villa, there is a sacral zone with the emperor's mausoleum that has not yet been deified, with a temple complex on the opposite side. There are no direct parallels in the Roman urbanism of that time. Augustus, however, did erect his domus on the Palatine in relation to the temple of his god protector Apollo. But it was subordinated. The inclusion of the emperor's mausoleum and the opposite temples in the center of the palace in Split was a novelty without a precedent.

Let us remind ourselves that Georg Niemann stated in his first scientific monograph on the Palace (1910) that the arcades on the Peristyle's sides were not organically linked with the Protiron's facade, which evokes the conclusion that the Peristyle was not built at once. Luigi Crema (1948) supposed then that the building in Split originally followed a plan of a Roman camp and he envisioned the existence of a traverse wide square in front of the independent Protiron's prospect as a passage to the praetorium - commander's residence. He believed that in the second phase of the construction, but definitely during Diocletian's life, "diaphragms" would be built, with columns and connected to the "central porch as well as the mausoleum and temple precincts to the east and west of the newly-built "Peristyle". The latest archeological probing confirmed without doubt that there were several distinctive phases in the early history of the complex. Before the Peristyle, there was a monumental front building in the same location. In the first phase of the Diocletian's construction it seems that there was a Tetrapylon – first hypothesized by Dyggve – on the crossroad of cardo and decumanus, at least its base. The basis of the end column on the western arcade of the Peristyle, towards the decumanus, had evidently broken through the massive wall of the earlier building, thus splinting the edge of the tetrapillon's base, that was apparently demolished when the arcades were built.

After so many archeological discoveries and theories that considered some aspect of the Diocletian's construction that have been neglected until now, we have to return to the historical context when the Palace was designed, in order to review its program on a wider spatial scale and the social and political framework. The new interpretation will be significantly appended by the recently finalized ten-year conservation and restoration campaign on the Peristyle, perhaps the most complete and the best prepared renovation program of any monumental complex in Croatia. This project will certainly support similar projects and renew, no doubt, discussions on the original function and layout of the Peristyle itself, as well as the options to better design many of its details.



Georg, Niemann: Protiron - a reconstruction of the original appearance (Kupferstichkabinett, Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien)

Josip Belamarić (Šibenik, 1953), graduated the cross-departmental studies in Art History and Musicology at University of Zagreb. At the University's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences he then received his MA and PhD degrees. From 1979, he was an employee of the monument protection services in Split and, in period 1991-2009, the director of the Regional Office for Monument Protection in Split (today's Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture). Since 2010, he has been employed at the Institute of Art History, as the head of newly established Cvito Fisković Center in Split. He is also a Professor at the Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Split. He has published a number of books and a series of articles and studies on the topic of urban history of Dalmatian cities and Medieval and Renaissance art.

Bibliography link:

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Tonći Milošević – Željko Peković

Dyggve's reconstruction of the late Roman period palace on Mljet



Next to Diocletian's Palace in Split, the ruins of a magnificent building in Polače on Mljet island are the most monumental remains of Roman buildings that have come down to our day in a fairly good state of preservation. Experts have been concerned with the Split palace for several centuries, but with that on Mljet only some 60 or so years. It was introduced into the literature by Ejnar Dyggve, who provided reconstructed ground plans and proposals for what it might originally have looked like. Since then the palace on Mljet has been studied as one of the most important buildings of Antiquity, especially because of Dyggve's assumption that it should be considered in the context of the genesis of Early Christian churches.

Dyggve spent a short time on the island, and in bad weather at that, and was accordingly unable to make a thoroughgoing survey of all the elements. Later studies corrected his ground plan, which he then supplemented according to the principle of symmetry, for the private rooms in the eastern wing were still not accessible to him. But then,

the ground plans that came later and resulted in gradual modifications of Dyggve's were not complete either. Architectural drawings made a few years ago provide a somewhat different image of the ground plan of the palace, and in addition a considerably greater number of elements for the reconstruction of its original appearance.



Mljet, Polače (photo dr. B. Gušić)

Ante Milošević (Sinj 1953) graduated in archeology and history of art from the Faculty of Philosophy at Zadar (1976), and received his PhD from the same university in 2005. In 1977 he became director of the Museum of the Cetina Region at Sinj, and, from 1994 to 2005, he was the head of the Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments at Split, and again from 2013. Since 2007, he has been teaching the course Croatian Early Medieval Architecture and Sculpture for the Faculty of Philosophy at Split. He has collaborated on a number of research projects, publishing several books and more than a hundred articles in Croatian and international scholarly journals, especially in the medieval archeology and history of art. Since 1996 he has been a corresponding member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, and since 2009, a member of the Centre for Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina at Sarajevo. He has curated around ten permanent museum displays and several dozen exhibitions, among which a particularly significant place belongs to the large exhibition Croats and Carolingians, 2000, which was part of the international project Charlemagne – the Making of Europe. In 2001, as the editor of the catalogue of this exhibition, together with the other contributors, he received the Josip Juraj Strossmayer award for the most successful scholarly publication in the humanities, given by the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Željko Peković (1960) has more than 25 years of professional experience as an architect and a Senior advisor – conservator within the Ministry of culture of the Republic of Croatia working mostly on reconstruction projects and as a Site manager of cultural monuments in Dubrovnik and surroundings. During last 10 years, besides being an associate and full time university professor, he has been working within the company Omega engineering d.o.o., mostly as Project Team leader on Reconstruction of cultural monuments in Croatia, Conservation research, as well as Conservation and Presentation projects for several archaeological sites.

See the List of published books, articles, papers and lectures at: Croatian Scientific Bibliography:

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Radoslav Bužančić

A pluteum from the Church of St Bartholomew at Resnik – the reutilisation of parts of marble altar screens of early medieval churches

The renovation of the modern Church of St Bartholomew at Resnik during spring 2011 included the cleaning of the mensa of the main altar in the apse. When the marble slab placed on a masonry antependium was disassembled, a fragment of a pluteum of an early medieval altar screen was revealed, the smooth side of it having been used as the table of the Baroque altar. The pluteum with the motif of the bottom of a wicker basket (*korbboden*) is decorated with floral details, stylised lilies and ivy leaves interwoven with three-stranded ribbons and a rose motif in the centre. As well as with floral motifs, the slab is ornamented with two peacocks symmetrically disposed on both sides of a three-stranded circle. This belongs to a specific kind of *korbboden* decoration that is frequently to be found on decorative moulding of the 9th century.

An old church dedicated to St Bartholomew was mentioned in Valier's visitation of the diocese of Trogir of 1567 as a ruin. Valier writes of eleven churches in the Trogir area, simple endowments. All of them were in ruins, mostly because of human negligence, or age, or simply the working of time. The visitor ordered the decree of Trent to be applied to them, i.e. that what was worth repairing should be restored

and whatever, on account of impoverishment, could not be restored, should be moved to nearby churches or the mother church. If the churches were knocked down, then a cross was to be erected on the site.

Recorded among these eleven churches was a little church of St Bartholomew, which was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Trogir. It was located on a hillock by Javorski put, a road that led from the coast and the place where the Resnik stream emptied into the sea, to Stombrat, the road that from ancient times joined the royal allod of Bijaći and ancient Siculi. The Church of St Bartholomew lay at the edge of the bishop's possessions, which from the mouth of the Resnik extended to Sv. Vital and the area of Tarce, which since the times of the Arpad dynasty had been mentioned in various endowments. To the north, in Bijaći, was the pre-Romanesque Church of St Martha. Modern documents say that this was once owned by the Dragač family, which built a castle on the sea coast to the east of Resnik near ancient Siculi.

The pluteum from St Bartholomew's most likely belonged to the liturgical furnishing of St Martha's, and was brought into the church while it was being remodelled in the Baroque, in the same way that fragments of early medieval churches arrived in other nearby churches during the time of the Baroque renovations. This is shown by finds from the churches of St Andrew, St Maurus and St Theodore on the island of Čiovo.

From this it can be seen that the transfer of stone fragments from ruinous churches had become a practice of the post-Trent period, and that according to the examples of churches in Trogir it can be considered a fashion of the 17th century; it was also of course closely connected with a shortage of precious imported marble. The search for marble was described in detail by Lucić in his work devoted to

Trogir, recording his own acquisition of marble fragments for the altar of St John of Trogir which, as master of the fabric of the cathedral, he renovated in the mid-seventeenth century. The Jesuit Riceputi, writing his work *Memorie di cose dalmatiche nella storia della vita di San Giovanni Orsini* about 1730 quoted some fantastic transfers of stone architectural decorations from St Martha's, probably under the impression of the earlier mentioned re-utilisation of marble architectural decorations from the royal allod of Bijaći. From this time derives the story that the Radovan portal originally derived from Bijaći, residence of the Croatian princes and kings, and was subsequently moved to Trogir, onto the facade of the cathedral.

When the reutilisation of medieval chancel screens is being discussed, today the preoccupation of Ejnar Dyggve with marble liturgical furnishing from the Split baptistery is particularly topical. Dyggve at first drew this furnishing in the Split cathedral, but after the finds of fragments of an altar rail in Zvonimir's coronation basilica, with depictions of Peter and Moses, the workmanship of which recalls the figure of the king from the pluteum of the Split baptistery, he changed his mind and connected the whole oeuvre with the site of Solin. This hypothesis was called into question by a recent find at Klis that shows the figure of the Ascension worked in exactly the same manner as the Solin fragments. The production of one single workshop is now connected with the three important sites of Klis, Solin and Split.



Dr. Radoslav Bužančić is the former head of the Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture at Trogir. He has worked as a heritage conservationist for over 20 years, supervising and completing a number of complex restoration tasks on monuments across Dalmatia ranging from Roman architecture and Early Christian churches, to Renaissance and Baroque palaces. In 1997, together with a team of colleagues, he successfully enrolled the town of Trogir, Croatia on UNESCO's World Heritage List. He has received a number of awards, including the Europa Nostra Award for the restoration of the Renaissance chapel of St. John of Trogir, with the team of experts. As an architect he actively participates in international exhibitions and scientific conferences, and since 2011 has lectured architectural conservation at the Universities of Split and Dubrovnik. He now directs conservation programs in Split as head of the Conservation Department in Split.



Jens Fleischer

**Dyggve's 'Adrio-Byzantine' capitals
and the sacred space**

Reading Dyggve's digitalized archive in Split, one feels that it sits on the surface of his scribbles and sketches that he had an impressive ability with regard to theories. Out of a single capital, he could see a connection to a larger stylistic pattern. The digital no. 91474 has a partly readable notion: "about 1st Century...early. Four-Leaved Capital? nota bene... [this] strengthens my Four-Leaved Theory." The purpose of this study is to discuss how another derivative of a classical order, the two-zone protome capital contributed to Ejnar Dyggve's reflections on style, cross-cultural dynamics and the "Age of Transformation". In 1933 Dyggve participated in a congress in Stockholm. His abstract, *Eigentümlichkeiten und Ursprung der frühmittelalterlichen Architektur in Dalmatien*, was based on his research in Salona. As a "Vermittlungsland" between cultures in East and West, the peculiarities and origin of Christian architecture had, according to Dyggve, to be studied within this perspective. After about 300, Oriental and Syrian styles took a firm hold in this part of the Mediterranean world. Simultaneously, a Late Antique "Byzantine" art was present, which gave rise to Dyggve's concept of an architectural crossroads, which he described as 'Adrio-Byzantinism'. In his conclusive discussion in 1951 of the baptistery next to the basilica episcopalis at Salona,

Dyggve singled out the "fine imported Byzantine marble capitals." One of capitals has an upper zone with griffins instead of volutes and a peacock in between, the lower zone decorated with vine leaves (fig. 1). As to the classification and migration of the two-zone protome type, which only occurs in the 5th and 6th centuries, Kautzsch, Kitzinger, Mercklin, and Deichmann have all contributed since the 1930s with articles and catalogues. These researches expose the difficulties of Dyggve's stylistic term. The capitals have been found all over the Mediterranean: in Northern Italy, Istria, along the Dalmatian coast, in Albania, inland Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt and Tunisia, not forgetting Constantinople. My case in point is a double-zone capital in the municipal museum of Sousse in Tunisia (fig. 2). It shows a style differing from Byzantine tradition and with Pre-Romanesque features.

But why does the double-zone type with animal protomes exist for a relatively short period? Where does it fit into the current picture of Late Antiquity as an age of transformation? Talking about context, it should be noticed that between the 4th and 6th centuries the late Roman world witnessed a wide spread destruction and mutilation of sculpture. These destructive actions mirrored a series of edicts launched by the Christian authorities concerning the outlawing of pagan cult. Nevertheless, statues still played an important role in Roman urban life. According to Hannestad (1999), Christianity as such was hardly hostile to sculpture – nor were the Christian emperors." Stirling stresses the point that the destruction was primarily aimed at statues in public shrines. Riegl (1901) has pointed out another aspect of Late Roman visual culture. As Riegl puts it, the peacock on the Salonitan capital is "space-provoking", and it represents an optical turn. This observation might lead us to the question of a new visual and religious discourse in the Early Middle Ages. Could it be that columns decorated with

animal protomes were a Christian response to the Roman statues? And could it be that the sacred space of the basilicas, with their columns decorated with beasts and birds, gradually became a substitute for the public space with statues? As Nasrallah (2010) puts it, “Statues take the viewer by the hand and try to lead her or him somewhere”. Why should architectural sculpture not do the same? The former Basilica Ursiana in Ravenna was also adorned with protome capitals, and according to a late source “Sattius and Stephen decorated the other wall on the men’s side, up to the above-mentioned door, and here and there they carved in stucco different allegorical images of men, animals and ‘quadrupeds’, and they arranged them with the greatest skill”. If we look at the animal capitals as part of a wider, expanded sculptural field, it is relevant to include the decorated shafts. Foremost, the spiral vine scroll columns of Constantinian St. Peter’s and the similar columns, which adorned the Nymphaeum Traiani in Ephesos, should be taken into consideration. If we include floor mosaics, Maguire (1987) has produced important interpretations of the depicted animals, birds, and plants in Early Byzantine tradition. He underlines the potential meanings, e.g. a literal or allegorical reference to Paradise. So, did the columns represent a liminal zone between Earth and a heavenly Paradise? If we count the decorative element of the upper zone, it makes eight in number, i.e. four beasts or birds on the four corners and four motifs in between. The number four is one of the most powerful religious symbols in Christianity, a four-fold order, which in a narrow Christian context can represent the four arms of the cross, the four rivers of Paradise, the four Evangelists and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. A more specific allusion to Paradise emerges, if we look at the number eight, which is identified with a new beginning and the Christian soul’s journey to heaven. St. Augustine explains the symbolic meaning of the number in *De sermone Domini in monte*.

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Jens Fleischer is Associate Professor, Section of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen. His research interests include Pre-Romanesque church walls, in particular the use of spoils, as well as the question of the “liminal space”. He is member of The Danish National Committee for Byzantine Studies, of the board of The Society of History, Literature and Arts (Copenhagen), and Vice president of the Danish-Finnish Society (Copenhagen) as well as member of the Board of the Society for the History of Copenhagen.



Miljenko Jurković

Adrio-byzantism reconsidered, and the problem of continuity between late antiquity and the early middle ages

The aim of the paper is the revision of two major theses Dyggve exposed in his History of Salonitan Christianity: the problem of continuity / discontinuity between late antiquity and the early middle ages in the former roman province of Dalmatia, and Adrio-Byzantism as a phenomenon characteristic for the Adriatic area in late antiquity. The question of continuity / discontinuity has, at the time, raised a serious discussion between art historians and archaeologists, being in the focus of every debate as the most important issue in the fifties. As we know today, Dyggve's continuity was later adopted by scholars. On the other hand, the term Adrio-Byzantism, forged by Dyggve, has been used without real comprehension of its meaning, as Dyggve initially meant. Today its value has to be reconsidered, and finally the term abandoned as meaningless for late antiquity; it could thus be used for a different artistic expression, the Byzantine influence transferred through Venice in the late middle ages.



Miljenko Jurković (1958) is professor of medieval art history at the Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, and Head of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and the middle Ages, University of Zagreb.

He is editor of the journal Hortus Artium Medievalium, also author or coauthor of a few international exhibitions on Carolingian, Anjou and renaissance periods. His research focuses on late antiquity, the early middle ages and the Romanesque.

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Tomislav Marasović

Ejnar Dyggve and the early mediaeval heritage in Dalmatia

The author of the presentation was strongly connected with Ejnar Dyggve through the collaboration and friendship during last years of life of the eminent Danish scholar. More intensive collaboration started from 1958 onward, when he donated all his research material from Dalmatia to be organized as the Ejnar Dyggve's archive- Split. Among wide range of possible topics and arguments concerning Dyggve's research of cultural heritage in Dalmatia, for this occasion I intended to summarize his studies of the early mediaeval period, since it is the field of my own studies. This also seems to be a large theme within which I would like to emphasize three chapters, particularly important in my opinion:

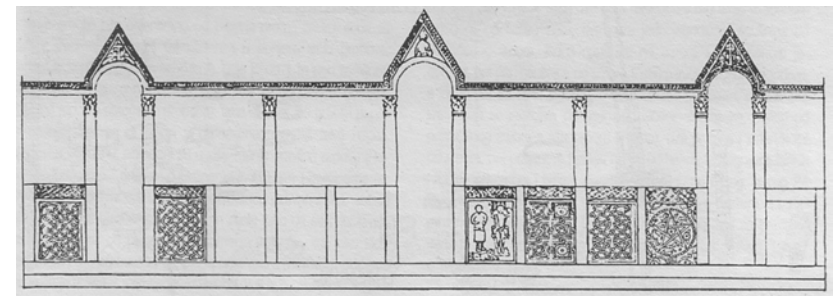
1. Dyggve's interpretation of the origin of the Dalmatian pre-Romanesque architecture

Having studied in details the Mausoleum of Saint Anastasium in Salona, Dyggve recognized the pattern which had been followed during the early Middle Ages by an entire typological group of buildings. Elaborating his research Dyggve has affirmed that a large number of early Croatian forms can be related to the early Christian models. Such a thesis was particularly evidenced on his drawing of juxtaposed

ground plans of ten paleo-Christian and early mediaeval churches in Dalmatia. Although the research in the second half of the last century corrected some dating of ground plans appearing on Dyggve's drawing, nobody can disagree with his conclusion that a large number of pre-Romanesque buildings trace their origin in types and forms to very similar early Christian churches from the same region.

2. Research of individual early mediaeval buildings and sites

A great number of early medieval churches was thoroughly studied by Dyggve, some of them after archaeological excavation, mostly within the area of Salona. The most important are: King Zvonimir's coronation basilica (St Peter and Moses), the twin churches (St. Stephan and St. Mary on Otok), Crkvine, Rižinice. In addition to Salona, an important contribution to early mediaeval heritage was given through the study of the Split cathedral, St. Peter in Omiš and St. Luke in Lastovo.



E. Dyggve: King Zvonimir's coronation basilica (St Peter and Moses), ideal reconstruction of altar cancellum

3. Early medieval ecclesiastical installations and sculpture

The research of early medieval liturgical installations, particularly altar cancellum, resulted in discovery of the segment relating to the early middle ages.

The research work of the eminent architect and archeologist Ejnar Dyggve was very fruitful. In his presentation, the author has illustrated the significance of the segment relating to the early Middle Ages within Dyggve's entire opus.

Tomislav Marasović is *professor emeritus* of the University of Split. From 1956 to 1980 he participated as a research associate of the Dalmatian Institute for Urbanism in research and restoration works in Diocletian's palace in Split and historical cores of other Dalmatian towns.

After completion of specialist studies at ICCROM in Rome in 1966, he continued collaboration with ICCROM as a lecturer. He was one of the founders of the postgraduate study of Architectural Heritage in Split and professor of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar and Split. From 1990 to 1994 he was the prorector of the University of Split.

He also studied Diocletian's Palace as the Deputy Director of the joint project of the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis (USA). He is devoted to early medieval architecture on the Adriatic coast from his first engagement at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in 1948 until today, which is crowned by the publishing of its monumental corpus in 4 volumes of *Dalmatia praeromanica*, Split 2008-2012.

He has been invited as guest lecturer in numerous universities in Europe and America: London, Paris (Sorbonne), Madrid, Copenhagen, Rome, Milan, Zürich, Bern, California (Berkeley), New York (Columbia), Detroit, Seattle (University of Washington), Minneapolis (University of Minnesota) and State College, Pennsylvania.



Anne Pedersen

Ejnar Dyggve and the royal monuments in Jelling, Denmark

The Jelling monuments – two huge grass-covered mounds and between them two rune stones from the tenth century, and a Romanesque stone church – are one of the best known Viking-Age sites in Denmark and, moreover, since 1994 a UNESCO World Heritage Monument (fig. 1). The smaller rune stone was erected by King Gorm the Old in memory of his wife Thyre, while the larger rune stone was commissioned c. AD 965 by King Harald Bluetooth in memory of his parents Gorm and Thyre and not least his own achievements – that he won for himself all of Denmark and Norway, and made the Danes Christians.

Archaeological excavations have taken place in Jelling for the past 200 years; the most recent investigation in the spring of 2013 as part of the National Museum Jelling Project funded by the Danish Bikuben Foundation. The Danish architect Ejnar Dyggve – the focus of this conference – was responsible for one of the most extensive archaeological campaigns in Jelling in the 1940s. Dyggve's excavations resulted in the first model of the spatial and chronological development of the site, including the significant transformation from a pagan to a Christian monument, and although interpretations have changed since then, the results still mark a major achievement in Danish archaeology.

(See E. Dyggve, 'The royal barrows at Jelling'. *Antiquity* XXII, no. 88, 1948, pp. 190-197. Also E. Dyggve, 'Gorm's Temple and Harald's Stave-Church at Jelling'. *Acta Archaeologica* XXV, 1954 (1955), pp. 221-239.)

Excavation commenced in the South Mound, south of Jelling Church. The scale of the enterprise was enormous. It involved a large work force, thus providing work for many local inhabitants in the difficult years during the Second World War (fig. 2). Unlike his predecessors, Ejnar Dyggve chose to excavate the mound stratigraphically from the top. At the top the excavators encountered wooden posts which are interpreted as the remains of a medieval belfry. Further down a complicated wooden lattice structure emerged, the meaning and function of which is still debated. There was no evidence of a burial chamber but other interesting features were revealed. The centre of the mound was marked by an oak post, and large monoliths (known from a previous investigation in 1861) were now seen to have been set in two diverging rows.

From the South Mound, Ejnar Dyggve proceeded to the North Mound in 1942. The centre of the mound had already been excavated twice from the top, first in 1820-21 and again in 1861 when it was decided to reconstruct the large oak-built burial chamber. The chamber had been opened already in antiquity and very little remained of the original furnishings. Dyggve excavated a section into the mound from the east, a huge and potentially dangerous undertaking considering the height of the mound and the narrow width of the section. As an explanation for the opening of the mound and the missing remains of the deceased, Dyggve suggested that the royal couple, Gorm and Thyra, had been moved to a Christian grave, possibly in the oldest church in Jelling or perhaps in Roskilde. Excavations in the choir of the stone church in 1947-48 did not reveal a grave – this was not found until the 1970s

in the chancel – however, Dyggve identified the first traces of earlier wooden buildings beneath the church.

Ejnar Dyggve also excavated outside the church, documenting graves in the churchyard and the foundations of the stone church. He recovered a number of large stones, which he believed were part of a pagan sanctuary defined by two rows of monoliths, the remains of which were preserved under the South Mound, and he had the stones erected in an on-site reconstruction of this monument (fig. 3).

A royal estate has never been identified in Jelling, but Dyggve assumed that it might be found to the east of the North Mound in the vicinity of a major farm. In this, he was influenced by his previous experience and research – he referred to Mediterranean traditions in which palatium and sanctuary were linked to royal burial. Despite the lack of positive evidence, Dyggve maintained, that the royal estate in Jelling should not be perceived as a fortified site surrounded by moats (a medieval tradition) but rather as a palatium built of wood and situated in an agrarian landscape dominated by the old burial mounds.

The idea of a pagan sanctuary and temple was abandoned after the excavations of Knud J. Krogh in the 1970s, when remains of several wooden buildings all interpreted as churches and a 10th century burial chamber were found beneath the stone church. (See for instance K.J. Krogh, 'The Royal Viking-Age Monuments at Jelling in the Light of Recent Archaeological Excavations. A Preliminary Report', *Acta Archaeologica* 53, 1983, pp. 183-216. Also K.J. Krogh, *Gåden om Kong Gorms Grav. Historien om Nordhøjen i Jelling. Vikingekongernes Monumenter i Jelling*, bind 1, København 1993).

The most recent excavations from 2006-2013 have added new structural elements to the site – an immense four-sided enclosure covering 12.5 hectares and defined by a huge palisade built in the second half of the tenth century. The North mound was situated at the

exact centre of the enclosure and buildings were spaced along the NE boundary, the whole complex thus giving an impression of precise planning according to well-defined standards of measurement. (M. Kähler Holst, M. Dengsø Jessen, S. Wulff Andersen & A. Pedersen, 'The Late Viking-Age Royal Constructions at Jelling, Central Jutland, Denmark. Recent investigations and a suggestion for an interpretative revision', *Præhistorische Zeitschrift* 2012 (87)2 (2013), pp. 474-504). These results have altered our knowledge and understanding of the monuments both in terms of the scale of the complex, its components and their development, and the overall functions of the complex. It appears to have been built for a specific purpose, possibly political or religious assemblies, at a specific time. Thus, although not quite like the royal estate envisaged by Ejnar Dyggve, the complex holds some of the elements originally proposed by him, and not only time but also defined space is again a significant feature in the discussion of Jelling. Dyggve's achievement represented a major advance in the study of Jelling, and even if not all of his ideas have survived time, some are worth reconsidering.



Fig. 1. The Jelling Monuments; North Mound, Jelling Church and rune stones. Photo Anne Pedersen.



Fig. 2. Excavation of the South Mound in 1941. Ejnar Dyggve is seen to the left dressed in light trousers and stockings. The mound is excavated by hand and the earth removed in heavy wheel-barrows. Photo The National Museum.



Fig. 3. Monoliths raised in the eastern boundary of the pagan sanctuary proposed by Ejnar Dyggve. Photo The National Museum.

Dr. Anne Pedersen, born 1955. Ph.D. degree in prehistoric and early medieval archaeology from the University of Århus, Denmark. At present senior researcher at the National Museum of Denmark and principal investigator of the National Museum Jelling Project. Author of articles on Viking and early medieval subjects and artefacts.



Søren Kaspersen

**'The big animal' on Harald
Bluetheth's Jellingstone:
A reconsideration and perspectivation**

During the Second World War Ejnar Dyggve made excavations in Jelling, where one of the monuments is Harald Bluetheth's large rune stone. It has been subject of antiquarian interest at least from 1586, when king Frederik 2.'s administrator Caspar Markdanner re-established its upright position, and shortly after, in 1591, a copper engraved prospectus of Jelling was made for vicegerent Henrik Rantzau showing the stone between the two large mounds and the Romanesque church.

According to the runic inscription Harald erected the stone as a memorial of his father, king Gorm, and his mother, queen Thyre, and it also proclaims that Harald conquered the whole of Denmark together with Norway and christianized the Danes. Two of its three sides show large pictures of which many interpretations have been made from the beginning of the 17th century until now. Today there is an almost total agreement, that the scroll-entwined man signifies Christ in the position of the crucified, while the animal entwined by a snake is most often considered as a lion. But it has also been interpreted as a wolf - more specific the Fenris wolf of Nordic mythology - by the Danish runologist Erik Moltke (1985), and lately - by the German

archaeologist Egon Wamers (1999) - as a stag. Wamers main reason for this identification is, that a stag fighting with a snake is a well-known motif, which can be connected with baptism. He suggests that the so-called neck tuft could signify the antler of the stag, but admit that the tail belongs to a lion, and that it is in any case a very stylized depiction of a stag.

In any case the animal has a lion's mane and tail. Ejnar Dyggve (1955) instinctively understood the motif as an oriental influenced fight between a griffin-like lion and a worm/snake. And it seems plausible that the animal is a combination of an eagle and a lion even if it is wingless: the bird-like claws may well be the talons of an eagle and its rather long neck and small head may also allude to a bird. Furthermore, its head ornament could well be a developed crest of a griffin. Combining features of the king of the birds with the king of the beasts, the griffin-like lion was most likely meant to be a very powerful and majestic creature.

The Norwegian scholar Signe Horn Fuglesang has related text and pictures in an elaborate interpretation of the stone (1986), and considers the side with the lion-snake composition as an expression of the military and political conquest of Harald while the 'Crucifixion'-side represents the spiritual conquest of the king. She furthermore understands the scroll as a vine and thereby the entwined figure of Christ as a symbol of the victorious Church (1981). But if one e.g. compares the depiction with the silver encolpium from Gåtebo on Gotland, the 'vine' may also be seen as an entanglement. Many passages in the Bible, especially in the Psalms (17: 5-6; 123: 7-8; 140: 9-10) are talking about snares. In the light of this the tendril-like looped ribbons with acanthus-like or trilobate leaf terminals may not only signify a vine but also the snares of death and Satan defeated by Christ through his crucifixion. The same duality may be present in the so-called fight between the griffin-

like lion and the snake. The big animal seems unhurt and victorious, and the snake then may both connote evil forces and death together with resurrection, because it is being defeated.

An important perspective of all this is, that the Jelling stone introduced a new theme – the lion – and a new kind of ornament, referring back to Antique art and its acanthus scrolls. With the new Christian universe in the Roman version followed new artistic idioms related to the Antiquity. Seeds were planted on the Jelling stone which in relation to the on going transformation of the Danish kingdom to a Christian society flourished in a new artistic idiom, the Romanesque style. And the 'lion-seed' was also to flourish: in the eastern parts of Jutland a large number of baptismal fonts were made in the (early) Romanesque period with bicorporate lions or affronted lions as their main decoration. It can be argued that these lions like the lion on the Jelling stone – 'the birth certificate of Denmark' – signify Christ and through Christ also the power of the king. In the treatises of the so-called Norman Anonymous, written around 1100, baptism, the anointed king and Christ are woven tightly together, the king is the vicar of Christ and like him a *persona gemina*. In this way the so-called lion-fonts in Jutland like king Harald's monumental rune stone in Jelling performed the process of christianization and thereby the transformation of the Danish society, becoming a member of the European world.

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Fig. 1 The larger runestone in Jelling, 'the big animal', ca. 970-80. (Photo: Anne Pedersen)



Fig. 2 The larger runestone in Jelling, the 'crucified' Christ, ca. 970-80. (Photo: Anne Pedersen)

Søren Kaspersen, associate professor in art history at the University of Copenhagen, specialized research on the Middle Ages, not least the art of medieval Denmark: wall-paintings, golden altars, baptismal fonts and altarpieces, both according to style and iconography and with liturgy, political theology, popular piety and other kinds of cultural history as contexts.



Anne Haslund Hansen

Ejnar Dyggve and the Easter Exhibition 1944

The Danish-Yugoslav Association was founded in 1933 and Ejnar Dyggve functioned as chairman from 1935 and until his death in 1961. Throughout these years, Dyggve worked incessantly to disseminate knowledge of the Balkans in Denmark.

In 1944, during the German occupation of Denmark, Dyggve and other key members of the association arranged an exhibition entitled South-Slavic Costumes, hosted by the Ethnographic Collection in the National Museum of Denmark. The exhibition was the only manifestation of the association during the five-year long German occupation.

Due to the political situation in 1944, international relations were amputated and the exhibition had to be entirely locally made. The National Museum held little from the region and all the artefacts came from the private holdings of members of the association.

Lenders were: Ejnar Dyggve and wife Ingrid Møller Dyggve (b. 1890). Architect Arne Ludvigsen (b. 1898), a long-time friend and associate of Dyggve's. Henny Harald Hansen (b. 1900) - ethnographer and pioneer in the study of the daily life of Muslim women (Bosnia

1939). She was the curator for the South-Slavic Costumes exhibition. Zorka Andersen (?) – a Serbian woman married to a Dane called Milton Andersen. Ejvind Møller (b. 1891) – Dyggve's brother in law - collaborated with Dyggve on the landmark preservation of Tibirke Bakker in 1916. Alka Ellinger (b. 1901 in Sisak) Ellinger married Danish zoologist Tage Ellinger in 1927. Ellinger's collection was the largest to enter the exhibition. I. P. Mirner (b. 1898), a former Danish consul in Beograd c. 1939-1941. Except for Ellinger, all the lenders subsequently donated the objects to the museum.

The exhibition encompassed more than 200 items. Dyggve donated 54 numbers, purchased on localities such as Salona (from local Dalmatian peasants), Split, Zadar, area of Knin-Šibenik, Dubrovnik, Cetinje, Glamoč, Jajce, Sarajevo, Zagreb and Peć (Albania). The majority of items were textiles, including both entire garments and smaller samples but also musical instruments, jewellery and household implements.

Part of the background for the exhibition can be found in a series of articles, written by Henny Harald Hansen, where the association advocated the acquisition of handicrafts from the Balkans for Danish museums while local traditions were still intact and authentic objects were yet to be found. Growing cities, industrialization and tourism were all enemies of authentic traditions, not just on the Balkans but on a global scale. The donations by the association were intended as an encouragement. Today, these objects still form the core of objects from the former Yugoslavia in the National Museum of Denmark.

At the very same time that authentic traditions and artifacts were disappearing - and subsequently became the object of a bourgeois hobby of collecting - they reemerged. Elements of mass-production, tourist markets, and modern identity making are all interwoven. Salamon

Berger, textile manufacturer and later director of the ethnographical museum in Zagreb, arranged numerous exhibitions worldwide on the region's handicrafts from 1888 onwards - including Copenhagen in 1930 and 1931/32 (Katarina Bušić, "Salamon Berger i počeci izložbene djelatnosti zagrebačkog Etnografskog muzeja" Etnografski muzej Zagreb; 26. veljače 2009, 281-300). Here preservation, documentation and collecting, went hand in hand with revivalism and a modernized production of textiles. Some of the same traits can be observed in the 1944 exhibition, with its strong emphasis on the aesthetics, techniques and the historical legacy entrenched in the objects. Since his early days as an architect, Dyggve had drawn attention to how local Danish artisan traditions - through genuine designs, good materials and proper techniques - could serve as inspirational models. The same ideas seem to permeate his view on the Yugoslav handicrafts.

The exhibition in 1944 was, at least at the onset, a fulfilment of the intention of the association but the political situation also played a decisive role. The association had always emphasized the non-political promotion of the entire region as it had been known historically since 1918. Initiatives, prior to the war, took great care to be inclusive. In 1941, in order to stay impartial, it was necessary to cease all formal activities and bring the association's archive into a secret location.

In order to escape German censorship the exhibition was deliberately entitled South-Slavic Costumes rather than Yugoslav Costumes. Once Denmark was liberated in May 1945, the underlying message was more directly formulated: the exhibition was now referred to as the unification and brotherhood of two countries, against "the common enemy". (Geografisk Tidsskrift 47, 1944-45, 134).

The exhibition stands as a snapshot of Dyggve's dense and multifaceted life. In a museological context, South-Slavic Costumes reflects certain collecting and exhibiting patterns of the first half of the 20th century, embodied by the concept of folk art and the period's quest for the authenticity associated with the rural and the regional of the pre-industrial age. In the context of Dyggve's biography, it demonstrates his scholarly emphasis on patterns of continuity as observed in art and architecture – across time and geography. Furthermore, through this exhibition we can gain insight into Dyggve's ability to navigate in a cultural and political landscape by means of networking, entrepreneurship and diplomatic insight.



Anne Haslund Hansen (born 1971) has an MA in Egyptology and Museum Studies from the University of Copenhagen and the University of Lund, Sweden. She received her Ph.D. in 2012 from the University of Copenhagen and the National Museum of Denmark. Her research focuses on 18th century visual culture, the history of museums and collecting and the perception of antiquity.



Miroslav Katić

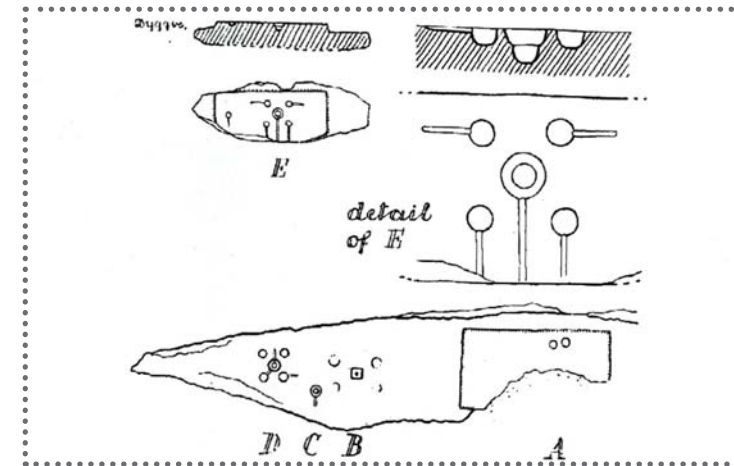
Salona shrines sub divo

In the neighbourhood of Salona there are several open air Ancient shrines. On the slopes of Kozjak there were two shrines dedicated to Silvanus – deity of forests, water and shepherds. On the slopes of Mt Mosor, by Uvodić in Klis-Kosa, there was a shrine to Jupiter within a smallish settlement. Numerous narrow steps were carved into the bedrock around a dedicatory inscription to Jupiter. They were part of a former shrine, although it is hard to determine their real role.

On a large conical stone peak by Vranjic called Kavala there is one more shrine, of which only some circular recipients carved into the flattened top remain. The shrine on Kavala was described by Dyggve. It belonged to a Roman necropolis that stretched along the road that led in the direction of Vranjic. From this same Vranjic necropolis, a relief with a depiction of a family of four is extant; their portraits are carved into bedrock.

The shrine at Kavala dominated the surroundings. It had one smallish building, the square base of which was carved in the middle of the rock. On the northern and southern sides are flattened surfaces with the recipients already mentioned for libations, the making of which

was a frequent practice in cemeteries. Hence the Kavala shrine might have been dedicated to one of the many Roman deities that provided help to the deceased in their life beyond the grave.



Miroslav Katić (Split, 1965), graduated in 2001 in Archaeology at the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. From 1994 he was an employee of the Regional Office for Monument Protection in Split where he worked as an archaeologist conservator. He has led several archaeological researches in Dalmatian archaeological sites: Salona, Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, ancient Issa at the island of Vis, Trogir, Kaštela and at the area of the Dalmatian hinterland. He received his MA degree in 2003 ("Greek - Hellenistic pottery Pharos") and his PhD degree in 2010 ("Cultural and urban profile of the ancient Issa") at the University of Zadar. Since 2007 he has worked in the Conservation Department in Trogir, which he has directed since 2010 as head of the Department. He has published thirty scientific papers, mostly on topics related to the Greek colonization and late antiquity in the Adriatic.

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THE ARCHIVES OF EJNAR DYGGVE

After several years of preparation, the programme for making microfilms started in earnest in 1979 in what was then the Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Culture, which after a number of transformations was absorbed into the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia as Directorate for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage. Today the microfilming project is the longest-lived separate programme in the context of heritage protection. The filming has been reduced (about 100,000 technical drawings have been filmed, stored either in conservation departments or in institutions that keep in their holdings engineering documentation related to the monumental heritage), and the main business has been concentrated on the making of a database and the digitisation of the already filmed material and linking it to data bases of microfilmed documentation.

Long ago in 1988 a start was made by preparing the Dyggve Archives for filming, as part of the programme “Microfilming engineering/technical documentation of the cultural and monumental heritage”. Previously stored in the Urban Planning Institute of Dalmatia, it was moved to the Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Culture in Split. The documentation was put in order, sorted according to topics and preserved in archival boxes, so that the preparation for filming could be addressed at once – the making of a card index system for filming into which each drawing was entered with the basic data and

the referencing of each drawing for the needs of filming (this work was carried out by architectural technician Đurđa Barač). Since this was not just a matter of “classical engineering documentation”, but also involved drawings, sketches, supplemented with hand written texts in Danish by Dyggve, typescripts and a clippings collection consisting of newspaper articles devoted either to Dyggve and his work or persons who collaborated with him in the work (Lujo Marun, Msgr Frane Bulić) and to themes that were of interest in connection with Ejnar Dyggve, in agreement with Vesna Švarc, the manner of the presentation of the filmed material was selected. It was determined that this would be an A6 microfiche, which would take 6 records (the sixth is the index card with the basic data about the drawings recorded on each individual microfiche). The microfiches thus created were inserted into special albums.

The filming of the documentation was started and finished in 1989. Standard 35 mm microfilm was used, in a camera dedicated to filming technical documentation, in a specially selected microfilm studio. In total there were three shootings. Two thousand and fifteen drawings were filmed. The first and second recordings were thematically devoted to Salona, with 1208 shots of drawings. The third filming covered the thematic area from Pula in the north, via Krk, Nin, Perušić in Lika, a theme from Zadar, Biograd, numerous sites in the area of Šibenik, the Split-Dalmatia County, Dubrovnik County and Dubrovnik. Dyggve also travelled into Montenegro, to Boka, Kotor. We can find him in Macedonia in the theatre in Stobi. In his research, he did not concentrate on just the main theme, Ancient and Early Christian Salona, but covered practically the whole of the eastern coast of the Adriatic. This was a fascinating amount of investigations and interests in a relatively short period.

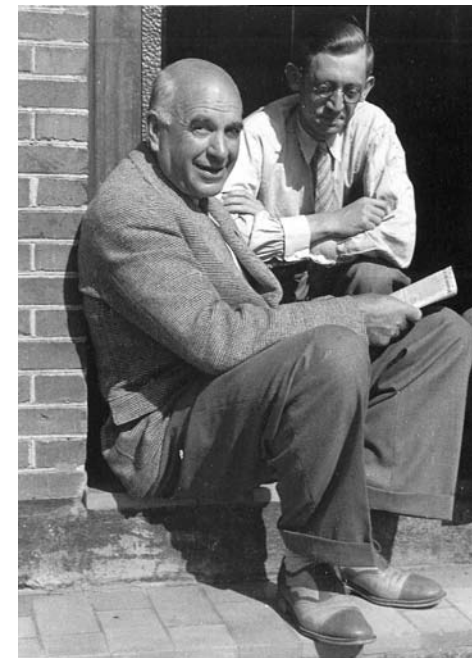
At the end of the nineties, in collaboration with programmers, a start was made on devising the appearance and content of the database related to the microfilmed documentation. A parallel system of the microfilmed Dyggve Archives was set up in 2004 for the sake of entry into the database, on microfilm cards (aperture cards), which obtained running numbers that went on from the existing microfilm documents of other institutions. When the database of the Ejnar Dyggve Archives was completed, digitisation was addressed (carried out by FINA), and implementation of the digitised material in the data base.

The result of the work is a catalogue of the Ejnar Dyggve Archives with a description of each drawing (name of structure or theme, description of the content of the drawing, kind of support, the drawing medium, the scale if it is an engineering drawing that is concerned, and information as to whether it is an original a copy or a printed version that is at tissue. The catalogue is accompanied by two CDs with digitised microfilms of the filmed records.



Ejnar Dyggve and Tomislav Marasović, while organising Dyggve's Split archive in 1961

Nenad Humski took a degree in art history and archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. In the mid-1980s he took a post in the then Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Culture (the predecessor of today's Directorate for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia) in the documentation, registration and promotion of the cultural heritage department, where he has been devoted to the creation of a central database concerning technical documentation in the institutions in Croatia that concern themselves with the monumental heritage. He worked on the programme for processing and microfilming these documents: over a quarter of a century he has filmed about 95,000 technical drawings, and about 30,000 items of written material, which he subsequently systematised into a database. In 2006 he started on the digitisation of all the microfilms. He worked in the Central Archives, ran the register of monuments, and was involved in work on recording and evaluating war damage to monuments of culture in the Republic of Croatia.



Ejnar Dyggve and Carl Johan Becker in Jelling, 1941-42
(Photo : Georg Kunwald)

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