

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Four churches and a lighthouse—preservation, ‘creative dismantling’ or destruction

Jes Wienberg*

Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University, Box 117, SE-221 00 Lund, Sweden

(Received 18 December 2013; accepted 4 March 2014)

A presentation and discussion of the heritage dilemmas, which appear, when the medieval churches of Mårup, Rubjerg, Lyngby and Furreby and the modern lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude in Northern Jutland, Denmark, all are threatened by dunes, drifting sands and the North Sea. The churches of Rubjerg and Lyngby were taken down and rebuilt further inland in, respectively, 1904 and 1913–1914, while the church of Furreby is still functioning. The lighthouse is standing as a ruin waiting to be taken down around 2020. The church of Mårup was made redundant, when a new church was built further inland in Lønstrup in 1926–1928.

A great dispute emerged on the future of Mårup, when it became threatened by increasing sea erosion in the 1980s. The church was investigated and partly taken down 2008 and 2011. The dispute on Mårup has been seen as a conflict between nature and culture, periphery and centre, experience and knowledge – preservation and destruction. First, to understand the debate the author introduces the concept ‘creative dismantling’; a concept in between preservation and destruction. Second, the author argues that the unspoken core of the dispute has been the assumed irrelevance of the church to the national canon of art and history by all disputants. The creative dismantling lifted the church into the canon thereby creating a new, but also problematic consensus.

Keywords: heritage; preservation; destruction; creative dismantling; medieval church; modern lighthouse; cultural canon

At the edge of Jutland

The sky, land and sea meet stories of the past, present and future at Lønstrup Klint in Northern Jutland in Denmark. Along the 15-kilometer long cliff open to the North Sea between Lønstrup and Løkken four medieval churches and a modern lighthouse have been or are still threatened (Figure 1). Nature with its waves hammering the coastline, dunes and shifting sands are threatening the survival of the cultural remains up on the cliff.

The cliff is a popular destination visited by hundreds of thousands of people every year. The visitors are attracted by the ruined church of Mårup, close to the edge of the cliff, and by the lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude standing alone among the dunes (Figure 2).

Lønstrup Klint is itself partly protected as a unique erosion cliff creating a conflict between priorities of either nature or culture. Also development and antiquarian actions have been perceived as posing threats to the cultural remains. Thus, the four neighbouring churches and the lighthouse are an excellent case study to discuss being or not being of heritage.

Why did an intense debate emerge on the destiny of the church of Mårup in the 1980s, while other churches long ago have been taken down, moved and rebuilt and few cares about the future of the lighthouse? How may we understand the different perspectives on the church and the lighthouse and what might we learn from them? The author here emphasizes the importance of the stories we

tell about the heritage for its preservation and questions the new consensus for valuing heritage.

Destination Mårup and Rubjerg

Within sight of each other and with only half an hour’s walk between them lie the church of Mårup and the lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude, both within the area of nature protection. The medieval church and the modern lighthouse are deserted after having been superseded by development and the forces of nature, but are now popular tourist destinations close to seaside hotels and cottages.

Both the church of Mårup and the lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude are threatened by the North Sea. The question is, if it was or is desirable and also possible for the church and lighthouse to be preserved? Is destruction unavoidable? Or is there a third way?

During the decades, as the sea has approached and made a solution more urgent, the debate over this question has been vigorous and involving many institutions and people. The debate is not concentrated on one place or one moment, but has to be discovered in scattered official reports, articles, correspondence and webpages, in media, pamphlets and lectures and also in local activities over the course of several decades (e.g. documents in the archive of the National Museum, www.maarupkirke.dk, www.naturstyrelsen.dk).

*Email: Jes.Wienberg@ark.lu.se

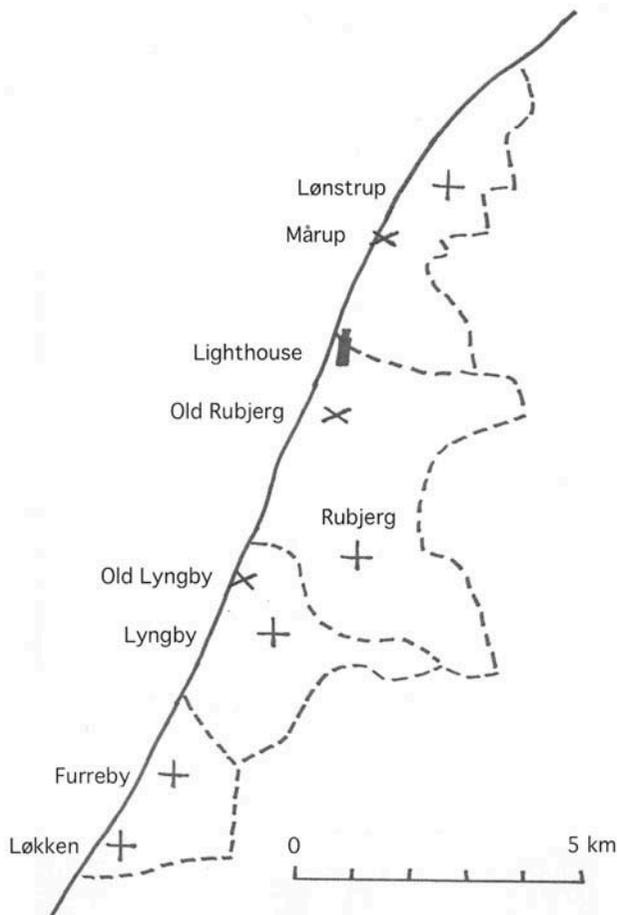


Figure 1. Four parishes along Lønstrup Klint in Northern Jutland with the localization of the churches of Lønstrup, Mårup, Old and New Rubjerg, Old and New Lyngby and Furreby and also the lighthouse of Rubjerg. Redrawn after rubjergknude.dk.



Figure 2. Lønstrup Klint with the lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude among the dunes and the medieval church of Mårup further away. Photo Per Lysdahl, the Historical Museum of Vendsyssel in Hjørring, 3 July 2008.

Different competing stories have been debated in which to fit the church and lighthouse. Depending on the story that would come out from the debate as a winner the consequences for the remains would be different. The stories have actualized a number of classical dichotomies – nature versus culture, the Middle Ages versus Modernity, periphery versus centre, experience versus knowledge and protection versus destruction.

However, in the shadow of the famous destinations, the church of Mårup and lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude, there are the stories of three additional churches along the cliff. South of the lighthouse are the foundations of the two medieval churches, one at Rubjerg and one at Lyngby, which both were moved and rebuilt further inland in presumed safety of the sea, dunes and drifting sands. Further south is the still standing church of Furreby.

Even though all four were Romanesque buildings, the church of Mårup remained protected for decades, only recently to be reduced to a ruin, whereas the churches of Rubjerg and Lyngby were taken down and rebuilt on new sites. Finally, the church of Furreby is intact. Why such different strategies in handling the ecclesiastical heritage? And what will happen to the lighthouse?

Recognizing heritage in Scandinavia

During the Romantic period in the first half of the nineteenth century medieval churches were gradually being recognized as heritage worth preserving and studying in disciplines such as art history and medieval archaeology (Wienberg 2006, pp. 62ff, Wienberg, in print). The newborn consciousness of the medieval heritage arose in a paradoxical coexistence with the replacement of hundreds of original medieval churches with neo-Romanesque or neo-Gothic churches in Scandinavia and also abroad (Clarke 1928, Grandien 1974, Fernlund 1982, Wienberg 1993, pp. 192ff).

In the decades around 1900, when the need for new and larger churches ceased, there was a change in the antiquarian perspective. From here on it became unthinkable to demolish a medieval church, at least in Scandinavia. And with the increased secularization during the twentieth century also churches belonging to post-medieval periods were gradually perceived as valuable heritage. At present, demographic shifts and a continuous decline in those attending church have caused a debate on the future of disused churches from all periods. However, the supposed sacredness of the place, emotional ties to buildings and the existence of burials often prevent alternative use, movement or demolition (Wienberg 2006, 2010).

The recognition that industrial buildings and constructions could also be considered as heritage came more than a century later. With de-industrialization commencing in

the 1980s the interest in remains of the modern industrial society has increased. This interest has had two manifestations, as follows:

Either a story is told about the transformation of the factory and other remains into heritage and the reuse of the space as a cultural centre, a museum, as offices or housing. It is a story of progress, of the success of transforming society from industrial to post-industrial (e.g. Storm 2008, Willim 2008). Or deserted and decayed factories, office blocks, machines and cars are presented in photo books and on websites, which are permeated by melancholic aesthetics and existential reflection (e.g. Burström 2004, Edensor 2005, Jörnmark 2007). The ruins should remind us of the consequences of capitalism, of the failures of progress and of the perishability of Modernity.

Both the story about successful transformation and the story on inevitable impermanence are trying to deal with the consequences of the conjunctures of Western capitalism; however, perceived very differently. In the first case, the threat of decline is turned into a possibility for action and recovery, and in the second case the threat is accepted as a condition only open for experience and reflection.

Heritage and threats

The turning point in development by which both churches and industrial remains are transformed into heritage is the emergence of a threat. It is destruction, or the threat of destruction, that creates a certain category named heritage (cf. Arrhenius 2003). This may be recognized all the way from the efforts at the Abu Simbel in Egypt in the 1960s to the establishment of UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites with the convention of 1972 over the destruction of the Bamiyan-statues in Afghanistan in 2001 and to the present discussion at Mårup on preservation versus destruction. Threats are a vital part of the rhetoric in the heritage sphere, but also a reality to face (e.g. whc.unesco.org/en/danger).

Threats are basically in my view about changes, which are perceived as negative: perishability, oblivion, vandalism, iconoclasm, destruction or erasure. Changes with positive connotations might then be development, modernization, renewal, innovation and creation. Thus, the paradoxical concept of 'creative destruction' introduced by Joseph Schumpeter, which has had a renaissance in interpreting the transformation of living industries into industrial heritage (Schumpeter 1912, cf. Jörnmark 2007), is fascinating in its ambiguity, both positive and negative.

At Mårup and Rubjerg nature poses a genuine threat. There is heavy sand drift, and the coastline is eroded between 1 and 3 metres every year. The medieval church of Mårup was initially built around 1 kilometre from the coast, but stands today (2014) less than 7 metres from the edge of the cliff; parts of the cemetery are already lost to the sea (Figure 3). As it has been expressed in a



Figure 3. The church of Mårup threatened by the sea. Photo Per Lysdahl, the Historical Museum of Vendsyssel in Hjørring, 3 July 2008.

newspaper headline: 'The church of Mårup is waiting for the sea' (*Politiken*, 29. December 2008). When the lighthouse was erected it was 200 metres from the cliff; now the distance is around 60 metres (rubjergknude.dk).

Nature poses a threat however at the church of Mårup even antiquarian authorities, which are expected to work for protection of heritage, have been seen as a threat to the church, as they opposed its preservation. At least this was the view raised by a local opinion, when the waves of the debate rose high. The regional and national heritage authorities on their side argued that continuous preservation of the church was either impossible or too expensive. Furthermore, from my point of view, heritage authorities and local people, respectively, were telling different stories about the church.

Church of Mårup

Mårup church was probably erected near a village. The Romanesque church was built in brick with rich articulated details. According to a dendrochronological investigation, it dates from 1200 to 1204. An eastern sacristy, a porch and a large western tower were added in the late Middle Ages. From the decades around 1700 it was reduced to the familiar church consisting only of a chancel, a nave and a late porch. Many of the original details were covered or lost. The settlement moved away. From the elaborate medieval building central in a probably wealthy parish the church were transformed into a simple building with an inadequate location (Bertelsen 2009).

In 1926–1928, a new and larger church was erected further inland in the nearby expanding fishing village of Lønstrup. The parish wanted to demolish the old church and sell the lead roof; however, the National Museum in Copenhagen took over responsibility for its maintenance.

The building was abandoned, while burials on the cemetery continued.

After several coastal collapses in the 1980s, where the sea advanced 25 metres in 3 years, it became obvious that the church and the cemetery were threatened. An intensive debate started, which involved many individuals, societies and heritage authorities – for example, The Danish Coastal Authority, The Danish Agency for Culture, The Danish Nature Agency, the Danish Parliament, The Danish Society for Nature Conservation, the society Friends of Maarup Church, Hjørring Municipality, Lønstrup Tourist Society, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Transport, the National Museum of Denmark, the North Jutland Region, the parish council and Vendsyssel Historical Museum. Maarup church here totally overshadowed the lighthouse at Rubjerg.

Under threat the church of Maarup now also became one of the most popular tourist destinations in Denmark. Maarup fascinated and still fascinates with its risky location close to the edge of the high cliff and with a spectacular view to the North Sea.

The threat from the sea transformed the church into a symbol of vanity, an illustrative example of unavoidable downfall and also a local symbol of a coastal region dominated by poor fishermen. In 1993, the year after the disappearance of 12–14 metres of the coast in one day, the local ‘Friends of Maarup Church’ society was founded aimed at the protection of the church.

Several future scenarios were possible: A movement on rails further inland was suggested, but the national antiquarian authorities saw this as a temporary solution and furthermore too expensive. A transfer to a museum was not an option, as Hede Open Air Museum in Jutland already has a (reconstructed) Romanesque church (Petersson and Wienberg 2007), and as the Open Air Museum in Copenhagen was not interested in a church from Jutland. Coast protection was also considered, but rejected, as this part of Lønstrup Klint is protected as nature, where erosion and dune formation can rage freely. Friends of Maarup Church collected signatures from 40,000 people arguing for coast protection, and there were both illegal and later also legal attempts of coast protection, however in vain.

The national authorities chose to give priority to the natural environment over culture, to the eroding coast over the church. The furniture of the church was gradually secured by being moved, and an archaeological investigation was conducted. The protection of the church was repealed in 2005. The Ministry of the Environment, the Culture Heritage Agency (now the Danish Agency for Culture) and the National Museum agreed on a plan, which hereafter has been followed in the main lines: when the church was only 15 metres from the edge, it would be dismantled under supervision and followed by an antiquarian documentation (www.naturstyrelsen.dk).



Figure 4. The church of Maarup after a second phase of dismantling. Photo Thomas Bertelsen, the National Museum in Copenhagen, 2011.

In 2008, this plan was put into effect and the last service was conducted under the church roof. The National Museum had the church investigated and taken down halfway creating a minor ruin with standing walls in the height of 2 meters without a roof. The churchyard would not be investigated, as there are relatively recent burials; the last coffin was buried in 1961 and the last urn in 1994. The bones, which are allowed to fall down the cliff, are collected at the beach (Trap 1960, VI, 1, pp. 227ff, Wienberg 1999, 2006, 2010, Bertelsen 2009, rubjergknode.dk).

Three years later, in September 2011, it was time to take down also the western end of the nave further reducing the man-made ruin. The distance to the cliff was then only 7 meter (Figure 4).

Three more churches—Rubjerg, Lyngby and Furreby

The site of the old church of Rubjerg is still visible. The cemetery is overgrown, but preserved with some tombstones standing. There are the remains of the core of the western wall of the church building. Moreover, the layout of the church is marked by turf walls.

Folk stories tell that the parish once was rich and densely populated. The church from the twelfth century should have been located at a large now vanished village. However, the parish and the church were tormented by sand drift as forests were overused. From the seventeenth century the church was standing almost isolated in a sand desert and gradually decayed. The distance for attending high mass was rather long. It might even have been necessary to dig the way into the church. The increasing problem with sand drift and the distance to the settlement

of the parish led to the idea in 1881 of moving the church (Riber 2004, rubjergknude.dk).

After years of discussion and planning the Romanesque church was finally taken down and rebuilt in 1904 ca. 2 kilometres further inland using the old granite ashlar, which were numbered during the process of rebuilding. Also some of the furnishings were moved to the new church and reused. The last burial on the old cemetery was in 1910 (Riber 2004, rubjergknude.dk).

A memorial mound was set up over the last remains of the old church with a Romanesque stone cross. The site was then left to decay until 1966–1967, when the Historical Museum of Vendsyssel cleansed the site and marked the layout of the church. Today the cemetery lays relatively safe ca. 360 metres from the cliff (Trap 1960, VI, 1, pp. 224ff, Riber 2004, rubjergknude.dk).

Also the site of the old church of Lyngby is visible with burial plots and a belfry. The sea has already taken the western part of the cemetery. Coastal erosion threatened the dilapidated Romanesque church and also other buildings from the 1880s. A new cemetery was consecrated 1 kilometre further inland in 1901, and the last burial on the old cemetery was in 1910. It was considered to close down the parish and let people attend to the new built church of Rubjerg. However, in 1913–1914, when the distance from the cemetery to the cliff was only 20 metres, a new church of Lyngby was erected on the new cemetery. Again, old granite ashlar were numbered and reused in building the chancel and some of the furnishings were moved (Trap 1960, VI, 1, p. 331ff, Jensen 1987).

Finally, the Romanesque church of Furreby is still functioning. The distance to the cliff is ca. 270 metres, so it is not yet under threat. The neo-Gothic church of Løkken in the same parish, which was built in 1898, is in fact closer to the sea. It stands only 195 metres from the cliff. Now we go back to the lighthouse at the once highest point of the cliff, 60 metres above sea level.

Lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude

The lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude was built in 1899–1900. From the beginning there were problems with dunes and shifting sands. In the 1920s, when Mårup church was abandoned, a sand dune between the lighthouse and the sea had to be reduced every year, so the sound of the foghorn and the light could reach the ships. In 1953, the horn was taken down, as it was no longer heard and in 1968 even the light was turned off (rubjergknude.dk). The first struggle against the sand was lost.

The lighthouse became a tourist destination. A museum of sand drift was established in the adjacent buildings in 1980, and the nearby dune became a popular attraction for paragliders. However, the dune gradually covered the buildings surrounding the lighthouse, and



Figure 5. The lighthouse at Rubjerg Knude in the dunes. Photo Nikolas Becker, 18 March 2005, Wikipedia Commons.

the museum had to close in 2002. The roofs of the buildings were taken off in 2003 to avoid accidents and they were gradually filled with sand (Figure 5). Instead a museum on the culture and nature of Rubjerg was organized in a nearby farm called ‘The wreck master’s house’ (rubjergknude.dk).

Today, the dune has encroached further inland, beyond the lighthouse, which stands alone as a ruin in a desert of sand. The present plan is to take down the lighthouse around 2020, to avoid it falling into the sea (rubjergknude.dk). Thus, the lighthouse would wait for the sea in vain.

From conflicting dichotomies to consensus

The four churches and the lighthouse at Lønstrup Klint apparently highlight a number of classical dichotomies in discussion of history and heritage: nature versus culture, the Middle Ages versus Modernity, periphery versus centre, experience versus knowledge and finally preservation versus destruction. However, at a closer look these dichotomies are revealed as false or at least problematic.

At the cliff of Lønstrup, nature protection was given priority over culture protection, the erosion of the coast

over the protection of the church and lighthouse. This might have a pragmatic economic explanation. However, it might also refer to a political context, where the Ministry of Environment had a strong position in Denmark giving priority to questions concerning nature over culture, at least until the political turn of 2001, where a new right-wing government took power. This government instead gave priority to a national cultural canon (*Kulturkanon* 2006, cf. Wienberg 2007, pp. 241–242). But the concepts of nature and culture are slippery, as the dunes and drifting sands are the consequence of both an earlier climate change and of human action. When the churches were built, the area was probably dominated by forest. Drifting sand however was proven to be a problem already in the late Middle Ages at the church of Mårup according to the archaeological investigation (cf. Bertelsen 2009, p. 88). Cultivation exploited the soils and requirements of timber for shipbuilding and for fuel in time of war exploited the forest leading to erosion and drifting sands (rubjergknude.dk).

The four churches and the lighthouse might also be seen as examples of older heritage being given priority over younger, the Middle Ages over Modernity, as there is no discussion of the lighthouse being protected or moved. It is only gradually and hesitatingly that modern remains have been included in what is considered worth protecting. However, it might be claimed, with words from Walter Benjamin, that every present has seen itself as modern (Benjamin 1982, p. 2, 677). Thus, the Middle Ages and Modernity are not mutually exclusive as also the Middle Ages once have been modern. And all modern periods will become old.

In the debate on the future of the church of Mårup the national authorities apparently have been up against the local inhabitants, the capital of Copenhagen up against the periphery of Jutland and experts and politicians up against ordinary people. The local society has struggled in vain for the protection of ‘their’ church. A compromise by moving the church to an open-air museum was rejected by both parties. National authorities considered a relocation of the church as too expensive and locals as simply out of the question. The local self-confidence was expressed by the author Knud Holst, who wrote about the idea of transferring the church to the Open Air Museum at Copenhagen: ‘The Open Air Museum? Then rather let it be blown into the air’ (Holst 1984).

However, I do not think geographical location is essential. It is not the location of the churches far from Copenhagen, the capital and centre of political, bureaucratic and also antiquarian power in Denmark, which has decided their fate. The churches of Mårup, Rubjerg and Lyngby, as also the lighthouse of Rubjerg Knude, are peripheral to the national canon of history. If the churches had been associated with stories of royal individuals, as is the case at the three Danish World Heritage sites – Jelling

with its mounds, runic stones and church, the Roskilde Cathedral and the Kronborg Castle, or if the lighthouse had been connected to some famous scientist, then I am convinced that all possible resources would have been mobilized to keep them alive.

At Mårup, there seems to have been a partly hidden conflict of values between experience and knowledge. On one side, the locals and their society viewed the church of Mårup as a symbol of local identity, the peripheral and poor fishermen of the coast, and also as a tourist destination important for their economic income. Without the actual experience of the authentic church ‘in situ’ at the edge of the cliff it would all be meaningless to them. On the other side, the national antiquarian authorities looked at the church as a source material. A demolition was acceptable if the site was properly investigated and documented so it might be reconstructed in the future. The church as a source might be turned into texts and pictures in an archive; however, the church as an experience demands the sky, land and sea. Here a digital reconstruction would not work.

Where archaeological excavations normally attract great public interest as a performance (cf. Holtorf 2005), in the case of Mårup the antiquarians and archaeologists were undesired, as their work was perceived as a part of the destruction. Moving of furnishings and excavations were seen as an early warning of the coming end. However, this conflict of values changed as new knowledge gained from the investigation by the National Museum resulted in a rewriting of the history of the church.

To all parties the church had stood out as architecturally insignificant: a typical, but not archetypical, Jutlandic medieval church, as so many others. Now it changed from silent to speaking, from poor to rich, from average to exclusive and delivered new insights into the medieval building process (cf. Bertelsen 2009). The church of Mårup was no longer insignificant, but has had a rich brick architecture, has been considerably larger and can now be dated with accuracy. It can now be mentioned with local pride as an extraordinary church; no longer associated with poor fishermen, but with medieval aristocracy and noblemen.

After the investigation, the church of Mårup has raised to the level of the national canon of art and history, up to the level, where it might be mentioned in the art historical overviews and the history books. Mårup has been lifted up to the level of outstanding Romanesque architecture built by the mighty of the Middle Ages. Hereby, some of the conflict between the Jutlandic periphery and the centre in Copenhagen could be downplayed or settled. Even if the church will be totally dismantled within a few years, the story has been rewritten with an almost happy ending for the disputants now meeting each other in a consensus on the importance of the church. However, what bothers me,

and ought to bother others too, is if the conventional canon of art and history, outstanding architecture and the presence of the mighty, still is important or even necessary for granting value to heritage.

Finally, the four churches and the lighthouse raise the question of protection versus destruction, where I will introduce a new concept in between.

Preservation, 'creative dismantling' or destruction

What stories are told is essential for the survival of a place. It depends on the stories themselves and where, by whom and when they are told. Stories are decisive for the classification and evaluation of places, deciding whether remains are to be preserved as heritage, discarded as garbage, just left for oblivion or simply destroyed. Thus, it might be crucial whether a place has been characterized as either belonging to nature or to culture, to the Middle Ages or to Modernity, belonging to the centre or to the periphery of the national canon, either contributing with experience or knowledge. Positive and negative connotations of words are important as also the social context of stories meaning the authority of the storyteller.

The choice between preservation and destruction depends on the object and the context in time and space, where tourism has become a significant factor. Seemingly the example of the church of Mårup reaffirms the thesis of threats creating heritage; the more threatened, the more efforts on preservation as heritage. However, the concept of a threat depends on context. If the church of Mårup had been seriously threatened back in the nineteenth century it would simply have been demolished or rebuilt in a new location without hesitation.

One way of preserving a church is by moving it piecemeal as at Rubjerg and Lyngby. The churches were moved in the years when there was an 'antiquarian turn'. A few decades before they might just have been demolished, and replaced by new churches. A few decades later, it would probably not have been possible at all to take down the medieval churches. Thus, the last medieval church of Scania in Sweden to be demolished was at Röke in 1906, and the hitherto last medieval church in Denmark to be taken down before Mårup was at Kolind in 1918 (Wienberg 2006, pp. 64–65).

The years around 1904–1914 were a period where several Norwegian and Swedish old stave or timber churches were carefully taken down, moved and rebuilt in the new established open-air museums as a strategy to save them from destruction. Also the ruin of St Mary Minor, a medieval stone church in Lund in Sweden, was moved in 1914 to the nearby Cultural Museum after an archaeological excavation (Petersson and Wienberg 2007, p. 112).

Another way of preservation is to move a church in one piece. Thus, St Emmaus in Heuersdorf in Saxony in

Germany weighing 660 ton was moved 12 kilometres on a truck in 2007, when the whole village was threatened by brown coal mining.

However, there exists a compromise between preservation and destruction. The church might be investigated and taken down – by what I would call a 'creative dismantling' cf. the concept by Joseph Schumpeter of 'creative destruction'. The 'creative' element in the process is the investigation, which gives birth to new knowledge and storytelling. When remains such as building materials and furnishings are stored for future use, it would be wrong to talk about 'destruction' as in the concept by Schumpeter. Also the moving of the churches of Rubjerg and Lyngby might be labelled 'creative dismantling' as past remains were reused in new contexts.

The National Museum chooses its words with care. The church of Mårup was not vandalized, destroyed, eradicated or demolished, but 'dismantled under supervision'. As is well known, all archaeology is both destructive and constructive. Something disappears, and something else turns up instead. At Mårup, the archaeological investigation created a new story. Furthermore, the building materials are stored in the nearby town of Hjørring making a reconstruction possible in the future.

The last part of the church of Mårup, the man-made ruin, will soon be taken down. However, it is an open question, what will happen to the modern lighthouse. Would a 'Friends of Rubjerg Knude lighthouse' society appear struggling eagerly for its survival? Would it be taken down by a 'creative dismantling' making a new story or a future reconstruction further inland possible? Or would it just be allowed to fall, when it wants to? It might depend on the stories we choose to tell about the lighthouse in the future.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Thomas Bertelsen, the National Museum in Copenhagen, and Per Lysdahl, the Historical Museum of Vendsyssel in Hjørring, for their kind permission to reproduce their photographs. Thanks to Cornelius Holtorf, Linneaus University in Kalmar, and to Troels Myrup Kristensen, Aarhus University, for comments on the case studies and manuscript. Thanks also for comments from two anonymous peer-reviewers.

References

- Arrhenius, T., 2003. *The fragile monument. On conservation and modernity*. Trita-ARK 2003: 5 Stockholm: Kungl Tekniska Högskolan.
- Benjamin, W., 1982. *Das Passagen-Werk*. Edition Suhrkamp. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1–2.
- Bertelsen, T., 2009. Fra fattig landsbykirke til prestigebyggeri – nedtagningen af Mårup Kirke. *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 2009, 71–90.
- Burström, M., 2004. Archaeology and existential reflection. In: H. Bolin, ed. *The interplay of past and present*. Papers from a session held at the 9th annual EAA meeting in St.

- Petersburg 2003. Södertörn Archaeological Studies 1 Södertörn: Södertörns högskola, 21–28.
- Clarke, K., 1928. *The Gothic revival. An essay in the history of taste*. London: Constable.
- Edensor, T., 2005. *Industrial ruins. Space, aesthetics and materiality*. Oxford: Berg.
- Fernlund, S., 1982. "ett Herranom Världigt Tempel". *Kyrkorivningar och kyrkobyggen i Skåne 1812–1912*. Lund: Konstvetenskapliga institutionen.
- Grandien, B., 1974. *Drömmen om medeltiden. Carl Georg Brunius som byggmästare och idéförmedlare*. Nordiska museets Handlingar 82 Stockholm: Nordiska museet.
- Holst, K., 1984. Vor kirke skal ikke på museum. *Politiken*, 1 August 1984.
- Holtorf, C., 2005. *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas. Archaeology as popular culture*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Jensen, J., 1987. Lyngby kirkes flytning. *Vendsyssel Årbog*, 1987, 127–134.
- Jörmark, J., 2007. *Övergivna platser*. Lund: Historiska Media.
- Kulturkanon*, København: Kulturministeriet & Politikens Forlag, 2006.
- Petersson, B. and Wienberg, J., 2007. Time travelling. Between research and presentation at Hjerl Hede. In: B. Hårdh, K. Jennbert and D. Olausson, eds. *On the road. Studies in honour of Lars Larsson*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia in 4°, No. 26. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 110–114.
- Politiken*, 29. December 2008: Mårup Kirke venter på havet.
- Riber, A.A., 2004. Da Rubjerg Kirke blev flyttet i 1904. *Vendsyssel Årbog*, 2004, 87–102.
- Schumpeter, J., 1912. *Theorie der wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*. Leipzig: Verlag von Dunker & Humblot.
- Storm, A., 2008. *Hope and rust. Reinterpreting the industrial place in the late 20th century*. Stockholm Papers in the History and Philosophy of Technology, Trita-Hot-2057. Stockholm: Royal Institute of Technology, KTH.
- Trap, P.J., 1960. *Danmark*. 5th ed. København: G. E. C. Gads forlag, VI(1).
- Wienberg, J., 1993. Den gotiske labyrint. Middelalderen og kirkerne i Danmark. *Lund studies in Medieval archaeology 11*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Wienberg, J., 1999. The perishable past. On the advantage and disadvantage of archaeology for life. *Current Swedish Archaeology*, 7, 183–202.
- Wienberg, J., 2006. Kirke, kulturarv og konflikt – Mårup på klinten. *Hikuin*, 33, 61–76.
- Wienberg, J., 2007. Kanon og glemsel. Arkæologiens mindesmærker. *Kuml. Årbog for Jysk arkæologisk Selskab*, 2007, 237–282.
- Wienberg, J., 2010. När Gud flyttar ut – ödekyrkor förr och nu. In: M. Dahlberg, T. Romberg and J. Wienberg, eds. *Maglarp. Kyrkan som försvann*. Studier till Sveriges kyrkor 3 Stockholm: Swedish National Heritage Board, 59–71.
- Wienberg, J., in press. Historical archaeology in Sweden. *European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies*, 4.
- Willim, R., 2008. *Industrial cool. Om postindustriella fabriker*. Lund: Lund University.

Websites

- Friends of Maarup church: www.maarupkirke.dk
- List of World Heritage in Danger: whc.unesco.org/en/danger
- The Ministry of Environment, The Danish Agency of Nature, Church of Mårup: http://www.naturstyrelsen.dk/Naturoplevelser/Beskrivelser/Vendsyssel/Maarup_kirke/
- Rubjerg Knude's cultural and natural history: <http://rubjerg-knude.dk>

Archive

- The National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, Antiquarian-Topographical Archive: Reports, correspondence, photos and newspaper clippings