

# Petrified Tears

## Archaeology and Communication Through Monuments

Leif Gren

Monuments reflect anxiety, not power or pride, and they are a medium for a communication near collapse. It is claimed that there must be both a sender and a receiver in that communication, and that the message tries to negate a given opinion. Periods of great culture and great monuments are also periods of conflicts in a delicate state of balance.

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Heracleitus has the answer: "War is the father of everything and the king of all," how do we interpret that? Naturally it is war in the very widest sense, war as *problem-solving*. We are not doing anything until there is a small or a big problem and we find some reason to do something about the problem. Every need requires action. Man is rational and does not waste more energy than necessary, that is, action is proportional to the subjectively considered need. Naturally there is a very wide scale of needs, from practical somatic needs, to the need for spiritual recreation, art, fun and love. Let us now investigate how man can solve specific problems with the means of communication.

To exist is to communicate. It is a great problem to understand communication among living men, but it is no less a problem to understand the communication that took place in prehistory. The question for the archaeologist and the historian is how to make interpretations of past communication on the basis of material remains. In this case we will investigate the most expressive and lasting means of communication namely the monument. It is common to use the main entrance of the

monument, but as so many already have walked that way we will use instead the back door. To be able to do this we must try to utilize a little psychology. And if we look within ourselves we may find some useful conceptual keys.

### THE DOUBLE EXISTENCE OF OUR EXTENSIONS

There is nothing interesting about man until he is *doing* something. The environment is doing things with us, and we are doing things the other way. To do something is to produce effects. What is done can be observed. The longer the effects of an action last, the more interesting it is. Nietzsche maintains (1881:305) that the historian can not study what actually happened but only what "produced an effect."

Our mind extends into the material world because our mind is *of* the very same world. When we are doing something, we are doing it *with* something. As Aristotle justly observes, the object of our action can be considered as an extra-somatic *extension*. Consequently, to paraphrase Ralph Waldo Emerson (Works vol. 7:151), every tool, including spoken words, in the material world can be apprehended as a part of our

own body.

Man has two bodies, the one he is born with and the one he is dressed in. A man that is never dressed in any extensions never becomes a man at all. Man is in the middle of a landslide of extensions, and they are old, new-made, or re-made. Some of them, like the words, have effects that lasts for generations. The task of archaeology is to identify effects in our extensions that started to perpetuate in prehistory.

Man shuns emptiness. Every man lives in an unlimited affluence. There is an eternal surplus of earth, wind, water and fire, and innumerable words to be said, songs to be sung, things to be done. With a satisfied stomach or with a satisfied mind we do not see all this. However, it is not what there *is* that brings man to action, it is what he is conscious of, and what *is not* there.

If our hands are worn, callosities will develop, but if our mind is worn, extensions will develop. The callosities and extensions remain long after the wearing force disappears, but afterward it is sometimes very difficult for the historian and the archaeologist, to reconstruct that force. Nevertheless, the rule is always that there exist no extensions without a wearing force. Consequently, when there is a wearing force, and when we have discovered it, we will be eager to find some kind of a hitherto *non-existing* extension to compensate it. With a hungry stomach or with a hungry mind we will discover nothingness everywhere, and we will imagine affluence somewhere.

Life is a mirror of nothingness. As Jean-Paul Sartre claims (1943:24), "Man is the being through whom nothingness comes to the world." We do not do anything until we discover the non-existence of the same thing, and that, of course, is very abstract and time-consuming. Thus, behind everything we do there is a *double existence*, one negative and one positive; the first is inside our head, the second is

materialized in our actions. Plato is right; there is a world of ideas, namely the one we carry inside, as well as a material world which we comprehend with our sense-organs. But this negative world does not live its own life; it is dependent on experience and what we think is positively *missing*. Consider a book of statutes for instance. Every word and every statement is there positively, simply because, and only because, we have discovered the corresponding negation. The law says: do not steal; reality already says: people are actually stealing.

Emerson has taught us that there is a polarity that underlies everything, "An inevitable dualism bisects nature, so that each thing is a half, and suggests another thing to make it whole; as spirit, matter; man, woman; odd, even; subjective, objective; in, out; upper, under; motion, rest; yea, nay" (Works, vol 2:94f). In this way the world is dual, like everything in it, and if one thing changes, the surroundings will immediately *compensate* it in the same way as "a multiplication-table, or a mathematical equation, which, turn it how you will, balances itself" (Works, vol 2:99).

Invisible things are seen as most intrusive. The making of any human action or product is preceded by some kind of conscious need. When that need grows and becomes more distinct we will get an idea of what has to be done, that is, we will be aware of a *negative space* that has to be filled. Cato the elder was perfectly aware of the importance of this mechanism when he claimed that: "I prefer people to ask why there is *no* statue erected of me, instead of having them ask *why* there is one."

Every need in our soul can find compensation in nature. What actually is compensated and produced corresponds to a subjective negative world of needs. When we look at ancient architecture, for instance, we see only one side, as Nietzsche illustrates (1886:101): "What is the beauty of a build-

ding to us today? The same thing as the beautiful face of a mindless woman: something mask-like.”

The negative interacts with the positive. We have to discover what is possible positively, as well as the non-existence of the same thing. The same principle of double existence is behind all our actions. In archaeology a similar idea is promoted by Mats P. Malmer when he maintains that a certain thing, like metal, becomes operative for man only when he becomes *aware* of the same thing (Malmer 1962:811ff; 1988:94).

#### THE SCALE OF COMMUNICATION

Everyone has experienced it: when all is in order, when we are doing something together with other people, we do not have to do anything but go on and smile. But when the other person does something wrong, we twinkle and groan and point out what is wrong. If this is not enough we have to explain with more and more words. If the other person is still doing it wrong, we may grow desperate to find some way of explaining what we mean.

The great Erasmus teaches us to “praise folly,” and there is much wisdom in that. One should be grateful for all the idiots and barbarians that ever existed, because the agitated reactions they caused have given us a fantastic heritage of a clear language and a wonderful and fine art. In a nutshell, the history of strained communication is the history of the ascent of man.

To communicate we need, of course, at least two parts, a sender and a receiver (Aranguren 1967:11). The sender can only consist of one person at a time, regardless whether this person has many like-minded supporters, but the receiver can consist of many persons of many different opinions. The communication can be single- or double-directed. For millions of years our communication was more or less direct, i.e.

person to person. The primary media, now as then, were sounds and visual gestures. Naturally there is a great deal of indirect communication in nature, especially via scent.

To understand communication we have to understand the thoughts behind it, of course. But, as Nietzsche states, there is a discrepancy between the thoughts and the expressions: “One never communicates thoughts: one communicates movements, mimic signs, which we then trace back to thoughts” (1901:428). The question is why man has developed more powerful means of communication. What feelings and what intentions lie behind communication?

Love devours, but distaste prods and analyses. What we dislike, we analyse. To analyse is to question. We love the beloved, but we strongly dislike the non-existence of the beloved. Yet there are countless poems and songs about what we love, and that is a kind of analysis. Does that mean that we do not love the beloved? Of course not! What the love poems analyse is how to compensate and overcome the *non-existence* of the beloved. A loving man does not analyse the beloved. Nietzsche (1886:386) knew this in relation to his parents: “There are two people upon whom I have never thoroughly reflected: it is the testimony to my love for them.”

Love is diffuse, but conflict is distinct. A message comprises a certain amount of analysis of the receiver. To stare at a person is rude because it is a sign of analysis. If we talk to a person of whom we approve, and whom we think we understand, we do not bother very much about analysing him and making the message very clear. It is the very same if we hear something from a person whom we like very much; we nod and make joyous acclamations “Yes indeed, you are right there!” even if we do not understand every word, or anything at all. Consequently, the more anxious we are to bring a clear message to an assumed non-

understanding receiver, the more we try to analyse him and the more we try to give the message a distinct guise.

We whisper in love, but scream in hate. The bigger the medium of communication, the greater the conflicts in the communication. With people in our close everyday environment we prefer to use messages of ordinary size, i.e. we speak at an ordinary sound level and we do not exaggerate our visual gestures and smiles. With people that are very close to our heart we prefer messages of small size, low-level speaking, and small signals such as twinkles and touches. The messages of the very smallest size, such as caresses, we reserve for our beloved one with whom we want to conjoin. If we could produce a message so minute that in principle it could not be apprehended by any other person, it would indeed be a message for a god, although some people with an inflated ego would think they were talking only to themselves. Prayers for no one but God are performed by unconditionally religious people strictly tacitly.

We never scream at a god we fear. Communication with God is wordless, so consequently, things that we want to bring to God are annihilated, usually through fire or sinking into bottomless water. Thus, lasting things are never made for any god. Pictures of God are not made for God, but for the heretics. Seneca knew this: "You should not make a temple for God by piling stones heavenwards: You should revere him in your heart."

Love is chirping, but conflict is thumping. The scale of size for communication is escalated towards bigger messages, too. When we feel that our message does not work, and that the receiver does not understand or even refuses the message, then it is natural that we speak louder and with more words. If the message seems to be in doubt, we have to make it *redundant*, i.e. to make it work even if some part is missing.

Everyone has met people that nervously repeat everything they say. If the person we are speaking to refuses to understand our wise message, then we might shout and scream and look for other ways of promoting our message. Anger is a symptom of failure in communication in the widest sense.

Love veils, but conflict unveils. What we love and approve of we do not pin-point, but in a problematic situation we will, so to speak, try to "materialize" our message to make it clearer. Maybe as a consequence of this, someone, sometime, in prehistory got the most radical idea of *separating* the message from himself, that is, the sender. Look out - now we are approaching the archaeological source material! When the spoken words were insufficient and at an end, one tried to describe or explain something with things instead, and suddenly one had *pictures* in different forms, including *symbols* and *script*. If our message is not too complex, we can reinforce it by using symbols. If we have script, it may be elusive and effective. However, script and symbols can be made of materials that do not necessarily last.

Love forgets, but conflict remembers. When the communication is under great stress, or even near collapse, we have media in the guise of *monuments*. Monuments are the *italics* in the text of materialised culture. Monuments call for serious attention and deeply dislike any misunderstanding; above all, they want to be remembered forever.

A standstill in communication can either evolve into a total break of contact, or into an uncontrolled conflict and war. Of course, any sane person will prefer communication to the utmost, rather than open conflict and violence. People that have great power do not seldom cause, or inherit, insane conflicts, but nevertheless they are sometimes sane enough to find effective and peaceful means of dealing with these conflicts. The horrible thing about many insane dictators

is that they are smart too, and quite often they utilize monuments to attain their goals in a cheap way. Monuments represent a very smart and clever side of people.

When we are communicating we are using a scale of *escalated* communication, according to how powerful we think the message has to be. A message with few material remains perhaps did not comprise any difference in opinions, or any big conflict, but when there are traces of many material remains, one might assume they have an origin in a communication under great stress (Fig. 1).

Arnold Toynbee has given the proper perspective to the explanation of the origin of cultures. If the environment comprises a certain *challenge*, it will force people to react; the stimulus can be different things like hazardous land, virgin soil, military battles, military threats, or living under threats of punishment or persecution (Toynbee 1946:ch. 2). Although he warns against the personification of institutions and groups, he seems inclined to do the same thing himself. For some reason he does not utilize appreciably one of the most lasting and valuable indicators of the state in society, namely the monument, although it

forcefully supports his view of history. However, it has to be said more clearly that individual men, not cultures, create monuments, and they do so to compensate a certain challenge.

### MONUMENTOLOGY

Archaeology originates among monuments. The history of archaeology is to a great extent the history of monuments. For three hundred years of archaeology, monuments have been the main source of empirical facts. Yet strangely enough, monuments seem to be among the least understood sources of history.

To understand something is to *reduce* it into a general sphere which we think we know (Gren 1993). Usually monuments have been reduced by archaeologists or historians to some irrational religion or cult or, in some cases, to the glorification of some unknown prince. Therefore, we should be very grateful for the ingenious research of, for example, Andrew Fleming (1973) and Colin Renfrew (1973), who have put archaeology on the right path toward the understanding of monuments. They claim that monuments should be reduced into the

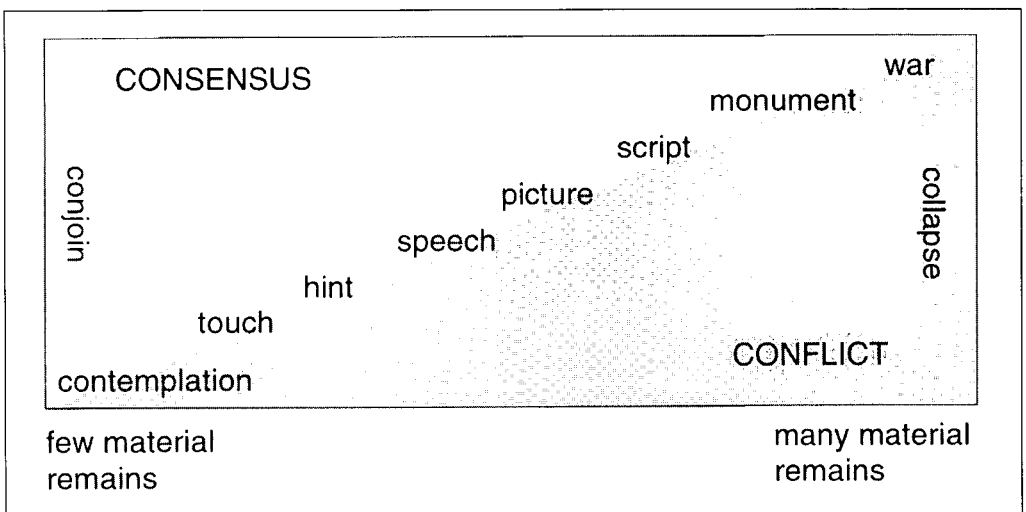


Fig. 1. The scale of escalated communication

rational social sphere with inter-human communication, and that monuments are designed for the living rather than the dead. In Nordic archaeology monuments have been treated in a similar way (e.g. Carlsson 1983).

In an *archaeopsychological* perspective, monuments are among the most important sources of history because they are so common, so well preserved and registered, and because they have such a high potential for the interpretation of the past. However, we need some conceptual tools to understand what a monument is. Within the united science and archaeopsychology it is necessary to give some definitions of *monumentology* (Gren 1989:64).

Monuments, in a double sense, are the heaviest words in language. They are, so to speak, the "heavy artillery" of communication and a near-collapse phenomenon. Of course, such a message is "hard" and made *durable* through earth, stone or metal. And an important feature of the monument is that it must be clearly visible and placed where the receiver can see it. Furthermore, it should not comprise any primary practical function, i.e. it should have a *visual function*. Of course it is possible that many things have a practical origin and only afterwards are converted into monuments, such as the ruins of old houses. And it is perfectly possible to combine functions, so that the functions of a house and a monument, for instance, can be combined into a palace.

Every piece or shape in a monument is free, but it could not have been made otherwise, because it *has* to solve some specific great problem. It is the monument that expresses something, not the one who built it, i.e. it is an extension of the sender. The idea of separating the message from the sender is a very abstract psychological invention that needed many thousand millennia, but once it was discovered it was amazingly effective. In fact, the idea of the

separate message is just as great an invention as the invention of fire or the wheel.

As stated previously, monuments are always only built to be seen by some human being. The possible persons toward which this communication is directed are an "*I*"-person, a "*we*"-person, and a "*they*"-person (cf Sartre 1943:221-430). Of course, the sender and the receiver cannot be one and the same person.

The monument is intended to last forever, i.e. it has an implication for the *future*. The concept of future is mirrored by the concept of history, that is, the monument also always comprises an allusion to history. The idea of the monument is to promote a message of eternal values. To say how something *is*, is the same as saying how it always *has* been, which is the same as how it *will* be. Monuments are moralistic and intended to be an eternal truth.

The monument says yes whereas its spectators say no. This is the main idea in an archaeology of "yes and no"; indeed in the Holy Bible St. Matthew says (5:37) that "Your speech should be: yes, yes, and no, no. What is beyond that, is evil." The task for archaeology and history is to consider that everything that man has made is there positively as a yes, and that there must be a corresponding no.

Aristotle justly maintains that everything has a purpose. He thought of everything in general, but here it is sufficient to consider that every extension has a purpose. Naturally every extension has a double meaning, one affirming and one denying. If the message of the monument shall be more than a meaningless tautology, it must be contrary to the opinion of the receiver. Consequently, the opinion promoted by the monument is a *negation* of an already existing opinion held by the receiver.

A positive charge will neutralise a negative one. It is very simple, although it seems rather abstract: what is positive for the sender is negative for the receiver. What the

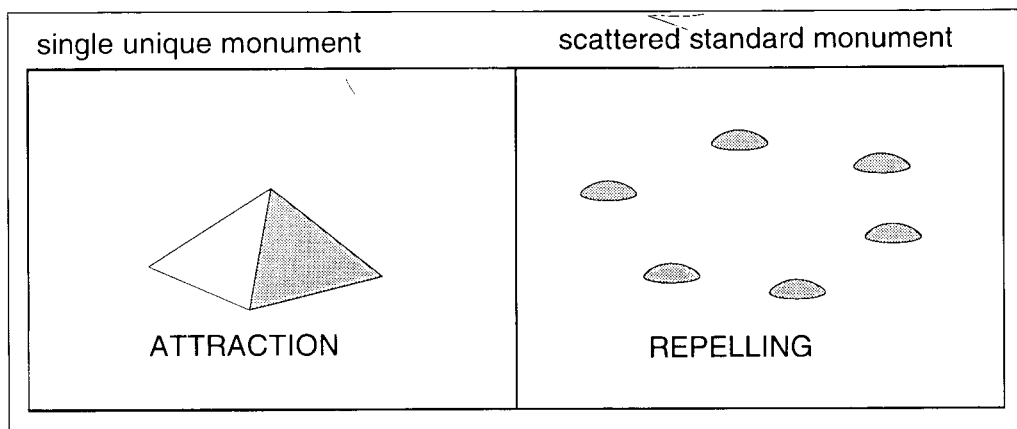


Fig. 2. The spatial effect of different kind of monuments

receiver already has brought into positive existence, has a negative correspondence in his mind. The purpose of the monument is to create a *negation of the negation*, that is, to annihilate the latter.

We use guns according to the type of prey; a monument is a psychological weapon and the receiver is a prey. The spatial distribution of monuments of a certain kind reveals a great deal. A central and unique monument is a magnet that *attracts* and demands attention of the relevant group. Many scattered and standardised monuments, on the other hand, are hailstorms that *repel* someone of another group. However, sometimes it can be difficult to decide to which category a certain monument belongs, i.e. it is dependent on the spatial distribution of contemporaneous settlements (Fig. 2).

A good monument is an act of very high and intelligent psychology. The monument is intended to be *apprehended* as a demonstration of power, and in innumerable cases this intention has succeeded for years and millennia. Most people still fall into the trap of impressions, whereby they see only the positive side of the monument. But in fact, to admire ancient monuments is to admire ancient peoples' unhappiness. Monuments reveal nothing but anxiety and

desperation on the part of the sender, and this, of course, is something that the sender must conceal to the utmost. Sometimes he is so eager to do so that he even deceives himself. But isn't this to read conspiracy into monuments? No, it is to read dread into them.

The greatest psychological paradox about monuments is that they imperceptibly have to separate the deed from the doer, the message from the intention. The monuments create a landscape in itself with meanings and imports. Nevertheless, when we try to communicate, we are producing something like a book, and Emerson justly remarks that: "A man cannot bury his meanings so deep in his book but time and likeminded men will find them" (Works vol. 2:139).

Great monuments are made of petrified tears. "Woe, there is a terrible emptiness, and someone has caused it; there is a horrible injustice, and someone has supported it. Words are not conceived, script is not understood, things have to be said louder and clearer to compensate the influence of the stupid or awful people"; such is the feeling of the one who loves his monument. It is always nice to finish a job, but no real monument was ever built for joyous reasons, "Similar to colourless blood-corpuscles,

monuments appear where it has become inflamed" (Gren 1991:272).

Joy and happiness consumes food and drink, and produces dunghoops, while anxiety and conflict consumes blood, sweat and tears, and produces wonderful monuments. Many monuments can truly be considered as a sign of excess, and as Nietzsche maintains (1886:230), "The mother of excess is not joy but joylessness."

Man is lazy, but monuments demand hard work. The bigger the monument, the more desperate is the one who is building it. That the sender is investing in a monument shows that he is *not* strong enough to promote his intentions verbally. Thus is the sender in a *retreat-position*. Such a situation can only occur in a socio-economical context, and the monument must be interpreted as an attempt to provide a practical *solution* to a certain problem in that situation.

Every solution has its *price*. Of course, it is absolutely insufficient to say that any monument, even of the most celestial appearance, was made straightforwardly without thinking that it should pay off in some sense. The unpractical masterpiece Parthenon was an investment by the art-loving Greeks due to practical social needs; the builder brings supreme wonders and wants something in return from the spectators. Naturally Emerson is right about "The absolute balance of Give and Take, the doctrine that everything has its price" (Works vol.2:111).

The golden mean is the impelling force in history, as Toynbee rightly maintains. No challenge at all causes no great effort, but too big challenges will be too hard to manage. Making monuments is the careful art of *balance* of power and persuasion. First of all, the receiver in the communication must understand the language of the monument, and in principle he has to be receptive to persuasion, otherwise the monuments will be useless. If the communication does collapse they are use-

less, and if their message is not clear enough they will also be useless. If the sender is very strong or very weak they will once again be useless. Consequently, it is only interesting to build monuments if the communication is maintained and understood, and if the sender, in relation to the receiver, has a lot of power but not a total power and control. For instance, Stalin erected innumerable statues of himself, Hitler did not; this reveals quite a lot about how the dictators apprehended their own position.

One can see why people do not rush to build monuments as soon as they disagree with someone. And one can also understand in what kinds of societies monuments occur or not. It seems that paleolithic people that lived by hunting and gathering never built any monuments, probably because the delicate *state of balance* in conflicts, which is a prerequisite for making monuments, did not appear until the introduction of agriculture.

Monuments are often more convincing than people. Actually, one of the positive aspects of the monument is that the focus is transferred from the individual who made it to something abstract and impersonal, "something behind." This marvellous trick has developed into institutions that we all accept; for instance, if an unknown man on the street says "trust me, and lend me some money," we will think that he is a fool, but if he extends himself with a monumental building called "Bank" we will immediately trust him. Nevertheless, it is always individuals that act, never institutions.

An attempt to interpret a monument must at least comprise the definition of the monument above. And it should start with an interpretation of the contemporaneous socio-economical situation. Naturally it is necessary that the interpretation is valid with regard to *methodological individualism*, i.e. every explanation of societal conditions in principle must be related to



the intentions of single individuals. Consequently, it might be appropriate to use a method similar to Sartre's progressive-regressive method (1957:77ff) in the interpretations of monuments. This means that one should try to explain a certain situation from two directions: from the existing societal prerequisites, and from the individual human. The monument is, so to speak, situated in the middle of these two "poles." One direction extends from the objective prerequisites, and the other extends from the subjective individual.

Science is characterized by the use of conceptual tools for specific purposes, e.g. we use the concepts "height, width and depth" as a *formula* for understanding space and objects. One general formula for understanding economy takes into account "supply and demand." A classical formula in archaeology is the typological one about "type and evolution." Of course there are many levels of such formulas, from the general to the more specific.

At last we have come to the very point of this intricate investigation. This can be called the general "monument-formula," a method for the understanding of monuments:

1. what does the monument say, positively and objectively?
2. what do we know about the contemporary society?
3. who would send, and who would receive and deny the message of the monument?
4. how could the monument work as a "negation of the negation," that is, subjectively seen, as a practical solution for the builder, i.e. the sender?
5. did the project succeed, i.e. was it based on a sound judgement by the builder?

The task of understanding something is always performed through the establishment of a framework with two extreme points, that is, through a *frame-understan-*

*ding* (Gren 1993). One point is very general, and one is very special. For instance, one can say that a certain monument is a "human construction" and a "grave." That does not enable very much understanding, but it is nevertheless a beginning that can be elaborated through a "historical interpolation," that is, one can fill the gap between the two points with more and more conclusions. When the gap is completely filled, one has reached an *explanation*.

With the conceptual tools from monumentology we are prepared to make a rapid worldwide stroll among monuments. The primary purpose is not to give final answers, but rather to illustrate *how* to establish a frame-understanding of specific monuments and the contemporary society. Sometimes the frame will seem superficial, but it is, of course, always possible to fill in more and more to make the picture clearer, and more detailed, and easier to understand. A specific problem is to try to illustrate the "negative space" of the corresponding monument, i.e. to show how people became aware of the need of the monument. The monument was the answer, but what was the question like?

#### A SPECULATIVE STROLL AMONG MONUMENTS: MEGALITHIC CHAMBERED TOMBS

In almost all of western Europe there is a great number of dolmens, passage graves or similar chambered tombs, "There are no stonebuilt monuments anywhere approaching them in antiquity" (Renfrew 1973:133). Often they are very impressive, indicating a big crisis in communication in the dawn of agriculture. It must be possible to give some statements about their messages. Objectively speaking, the megalithic tomb is a house for the dead in the collective, and it is immobile and eternal. To us, such a tomb seems rather natural and uncontroversial, but at that time it was something

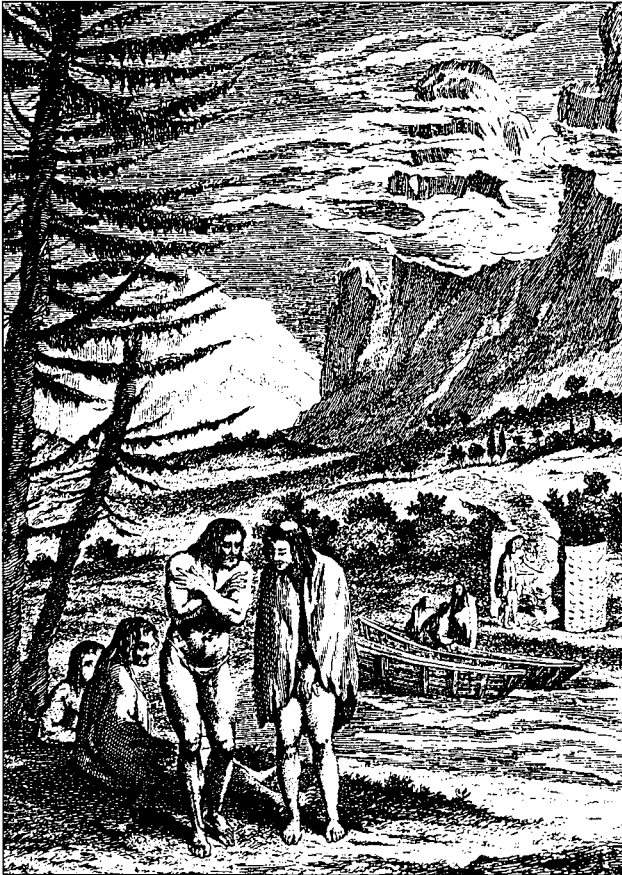
revolutionary and spectacular. We do not, of course, have very much information about the contemporaneous society, but the one who built the tomb had difficulties in promoting his opinion.

The megalithic tombs occur in a time of transition from an economy of hunting and gathering to an economy of agriculture. This transition could not possibly have taken place over a day; it just must have been a long process. Nevertheless, at one point people would have had to *decide* whether they should move across areas vast as continents, or whether they should stay in one area and utilize the soil and the investments to the utmost. The dawn of the Neolithic period means, as Malmer rightly claims (1988:94), that people become *aware*

*of rules for agriculture, certain artifacts, etc.*

We have to look at the problem from a subjective point of view, that is, from the point of view of prehistoric man, not contemporary man. *Peasants* have roots. When a man lives by agriculture his extensions will grow heavier and heavier, that is, he will invest work in a certain area, settlement, house, field, fence, etc. In other words, constant access to food is compensated by an immobile extended body. But the proud *hunter* is a man of new horizons, and his extensions are light and flexible, although he does not always know what he will eat the next day (Fig. 3).

This can be the scene behind the megalithic tomb. In a family in a society with a composite economy, agriculture is



*Fig. 3. The emergence of the negative space of the megalithic tomb.*

One young woman: I cannot stand those young men screaming about the good hunting-grounds for swines three weeks from here, I do not want to go with my little child when there is food to gather here.

One old man: And I am too old to participate in such long walks. If we occupy ourselves with cultivation instead, we could live well in this valley. I wish I could find a way of telling the youngsters that it would be the right choice to stay in this area the entire year, and that our wise forefathers would have been of the same opinion!

*The solution in the positive space: the megalithic tomb  
(Fig. after Dumrath)*

gradually discovered and there arises a situation whereby a choice has to be made. For generations a lot of work has been invested in permanent extensions, and one has begun to realize that this represents a value. Previously, no one thought of a piece of cultivated land as wealth, but in time it has become obvious that if one leaves ones investments and proceeds with the old-fashioned way of living, things will decay, or perhaps someone else will be interested in taking over what one's forefathers have invested in. The radical peasant says stay, whereas the conservative hunter says go. If the radical peasant can not convince some of the family that it is right to watch the investments, it will be a severe problem. The *solution* is the megalithic tomb, screaming out: "stop, come back to the forefathers of the family, they have always been in this solid stone house, and immobility is the right and eternal way of living."

This anxious message had to be repeated over many centuries, but we know very well which way of living was successful in the long run.

#### STONEHENGE AND WESSEX CULTURE MOUNDS

Stonehenge is the monument of a thousand theories, and there is still room left for another. There are three main phases of this unique construction, according to the investigations by Atkinson (1960). In phase I (c. 3100-2300 B.C.) a circular ditch and wall was made, and it is likely that a wooden construction was erected in the middle. In the second phase, ascribed to the "Bell-beaker culture" (c. 2300-2100 B.C.), a double stone circle was made and parts of the ditch were filled up. Finally, in the third phase, ascribed to the "Wessex culture" (c. 2100-1900 B.C.), some stones were moved and the famous sarsen circle and the trilithons were erected.

It is the third phase that we see today, but what does it say? In general terms it is a

petrified wooden construction; several archaeologists have noted that the prototype most likely was a wooden building, i.e. ceremonial house (Renfrew 1973:254f). It has also been noted, especially by G. Hawkins, that it must be some kind of astronomical observatory, with indications of the rising and the setting of the sun and moon respectively. Why should anyone deny that this extraordinary house exists as a reality for all ages, and that it is important to know what time it is?

It may be more difficult to understand a monument that has such a long period of use and rebuildings just because it is likely that the society also has changed continuously. The society in the first phase was probably based on farming and stock-breeding, with a collective ownership of the land. In the second phase, when the stone constructions of Stonehenge were taking shape, bronze was introduced. As Malmer maintains (1962:813), the introduction of bronze is a most remarkable thing. The metal makes it possible for an individual to bring with him wealth that previously, in the form of cattle and property, had to be under collective ownership. When people become aware of, and agree to, metal as a great value it will be a measure of economical value.

It must be possible to give some framework of understanding in monumentological terms, and this may be one. In the first phase there are several ceremonial wooden buildings in southern Britain. As Renfrew claims (1973:259), "it seems likely that the henges were meeting places for people who did not live permanently in one compact community," and that they functioned as "periodic meeting places for all the members of the chiefdom, and perhaps the permanent home of the chief. The meetings were occasions of feasting and ceremony and no doubt of trade."

The central institution in such a pre-metal society may have been rather stable.

One reason is that it would have been very difficult for a single person to claim personal ownership of a certain piece of land and to develop individual wealth (Malmer 1992:48). But when bronze was introduced, and when it was given a high value, it became possible for several persons to establish great fortunes in the form of metal - fortunes that could easily be carried away. Further it was probably possible for a person to manipulate with business to gain wealth that previously demanded a social consensus. That is, with the introduction of the valuable metal it

gradually became possible to use the "back door" to wealth, regardless of what anyone else in one's own community thought about that. A hypothetical comparison is if someone today legally printed his own money, causing chaos in the whole society. Of course, this would be a disaster for the old social system: now the old "social glue" is dissolving and it will be very difficult to do anything to stop the social disintegration.

Even if one recognized that the metal was to blame, one could hardly prohibit it, and one was not in the position to declare war against one's own people. One may have reached a state of "social terror balance." The *solution* for the traditional *upholders* of the central institution probably was to start a psychological warfare against the *new princes*, the metal trading social outlaws. Step by step one reinforced the centralized institutions' visual representations and made them more impressive than anything the world had seen hitherto (Fig. 4).

The idea of the value of centrality cannot, of course, be promoted if one scatters many monuments representing that idea. There were probably many wooden henges in earlier periods, but at that time nobody really severely questioned the idea. But when the latter occurred one could *not* confuse people's idea about centrality with *many* henges. Stonehenge is surely unique in the same way as the White House or the Church of St. Peter, and to multiply it would spoil the very idea of centrality. The project clearly *had* to be foolproof, with only one centre, working like a hypnotizing magnet. Centrality is best apprehended by circles; this was understood already when building the wooden henges, but with stone it was reinforced as an eternal value.

With built-in look-out points one could clearly calculate and see annual events, such as the midsummer sunrise, and so on. No doubt, Bronze Age man must have been tremendously impressed by the extraordinary Stonehenge, radiating its message of



Fig. 4. The emergence of the negative space of Stonehenge.

The lower priest: This churl says that his master is not attending the annual meeting.

The superior priest: Woe! It will be chaos if everyone is going to run herds and fields in his own way. We must find a way to make people understand the necessity of central consensus!

*The solution in the positive space: Stonehenge.*  
(Fig. after Fryxell)

desperate persuasion: "come here and see how small you are as an individual, the old values of centralism are eternal and beyond any personal interest in worldly things. Turbulence will destroy this divine and wonderful order. You must come and participate in the collective annual meeting as people have always done, and you must watch the miraculous moment when the midsummer sun is shining along the central axis of the henge, from the celestial nucleus into the nucleus upon Earth."

The history of Stonehenge was a history of an escalated tug-of-war. The new values in society, and their advocates, were not idle. All the new petty and the important princes defended the profiteering and asocial way they had become rich, and cursed any old order that said that one should not reduce common property, such as cattle and estate, to objects of simple business behind the back of communal control. La haute finance, the new-rich princes in Wessex and nearby, were by no means almighty, and they had to create a psychological counterwarfare. They gave an answer considering Stonehenge, and it was a shocking and terrible answer. They did the incredible thing: they wasted good turf, literally the communal foundation for peasant subsistence, and erected *mounds* of no practical value.

For a peasant, green turf is something holy that has to be maintained from generation to generation; the right place for the taking of an oath is under a cut strip of turf, as it is described in the old Nordic mythology. But the mounds were scattered over the landscape repelling opponents promoting the message: "we need no central consent, every peasant can understand that we are strong because we can afford to waste the means of subsistence; the mounds will last forever, just as our social and economical independence. We are doing what we want, both with the old agricultural currency and with the new metal currency."(Fig. 5).

Surely, Salisbury plain was no restful place in the early Bronze Age. The investments in Stonehenge were gigantic, and the institution seems to have functioned for at least 1200 years; but in the long run the project was in vain. The mound-project was successful, although it may seem destructive to the environment and incomprehensible in the perspective of the afterworld.



Fig. 5. The emergence of the negative space of the Wessex culture mounds.

One petty prince: The priests say that our lands and herds have always been under divine legislation, and that every change in use and ownership must be sanctioned centrally.

Another petty prince: Never. If they try to force me, I will take my grazing with me in my grave!

The solution in the positive space: the Wessex culture mounds. (Fig. after Fryxell)

## CHEOPS PYRAMID

The first great pyramid is certainly the heaviest piece of communication ever made. What do we read from this, possibly supremely desperate monument? This petrified message signals eternal weight and immobility, facing the four cardinal points. This is accordingly a negation of the observing receiver. It is reasonable to assume that the sender is Pharaoh, or the institution of Pharaoh, but who is the receiver? It should be someone that denies that Pharaoh has weight, immobility, and is facing all the world.

We must know something about the society in the old kingdom and the 4th dynasty of Egypt. The economy was completely rural, but it was no specific slave-society. No remarkable wars were going on, and there were no great military antagonists. Institutions of administration and religion were very powerful and independent, and there were some local sovereigns beyond the full control of Pharaoh.

Now, the God upon Earth, the almighty Pharaoh, asked for a pyramid - blasphemous thought, was he really that almighty? A real god does not have to exaggerate to prove his power, but Pharaoh did indeed. The incredible size of the pyramid is a measure of the degree of Pharaoh's eagerness to promote the view of his own divine power. It is placed, together with the other great pyramids, a couple hundred kilometres north of the old capital Memphis, at a focal spot near the south point of the fertile Nile delta. The central position shows a message that attracts, not repels, and that the receiver must be someone within the society. It must have been a receiver that Pharaoh respected, someone of great and long-lasting power. Probably not most of the peripheral sovereigns, because they would not see the pyramid, and not the central administration, because it was a rather new institution and it must have promoted the organisation of the building. The common

people can be an important receiver, but they, as an isolated group, probably did not have any great chance in worrying Pharaoh. A receiver that is left is some religious one.

A possible constellation is *Pharaoh* in confrontation with the superior *priests* and some local sovereigns that were disloyal to Pharaoh. If the priest hints that Pharaoh is unstable and should be subordinate to religion and, not least, the men of religion, it would be a very serious problem, of course. A kingdom of Pharaoh could turn into a religious realm under the priests. The Middle East has always been a region of religious turbulence. If Pharaoh is hard pressed, he has to solve the problem. The pyramid is the *solution* and answer; Pharaoh makes an extension of himself, screaming out a message of Pharaoh's eternity and immobility in all directions. When Pharaoh was going to return to eternity, he could be convinced that the material expression of him was left in stability on Earth. In the pillared halls of the pyramid temple, the servants of Pharaoh would sing their persuasive incantations (Säve-Söderberg 1983:37):

*A God he is, elder than the eldest.*

*He is served by thousands, hundreds sacrifice to him.*

*His lifetime is eternity.*

*The boundaries of his power is the endlessness.*

Everyone going between the Nile delta and the Nile valley could see the message placed strategically, like a stop in a funnel. The pyramid is also placed between Memphis and Heliopolis. The latter was a major religious centre, and in the 4th dynasty there was a thorough religious change promoted by the priests of Re, the God of the Sun. This change caused the replacement of Cheops family, and it can be considered as the beginning of the decline of the great Pharaohs; by the 6th dynasty the Pharaohs could no longer control their wealth and their local sovereigns. The central power became even weaker; "Finally everything

collapses” and “also the common people oppose Pharaoh - a terrible revolution goes through the country” (Säve-Söderberg 1983:40). Cheops did not show up with his eternal and endless power, as the holy incantations had promised (Fig. 6).

The price for the great pyramid was beyond measure, of course, but obviously Pharaoh calculated that it was worth it. The project succeeded so well that nobody in the late afterworld doubted that Cheops was a man of eternal divine origin and firmest stability. However, the institution of an almighty Pharaoh collapsed a few generations later. Cheops was sensible enough to anticipate, and try to avoid, this turbulent evolution in advance by entering a very strange pupal stage.

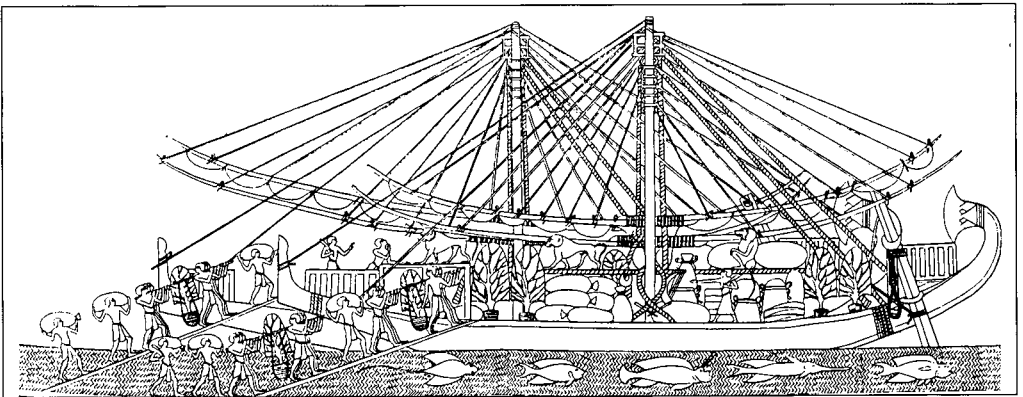
#### VIKING AGE CEMETERY

In great numbers they lie there, the Viking Age mounds in cemeteries all over southern Scandinavia. This message in green turf makes such a beautiful picture in the sunny pasture-land, but what is it really intended

to convey? The cemeteries often comprise large numbers of mounds, in many cases several hundred; thus, here is a group of dead people, exposed through their last extensions. The mounds are usually very homogeneous in shape and size, i.e. they indicate a homogeneous collective of people. They are constructed of turf throughout, or with a core of stone or sand. The surface is always made of turf. It seems likely that most of the cemeteries were placed clearly visible and near the contemporaneous settlements. How could this be controversial?

The Viking Age society in Scandinavia was based on agriculture and stock-farming. In addition there was a lot of trade and small-scale ironproduction. From a political point of view the society was turbulent with several sovereigns and kings striving to establish larger realms. And there were the famous Viking-raids to a certain extent.

Peasants grow conservative. The constructor of the cemeteries must be someone



*Fig. 6. The emergence of the negative space of Cheops pyramid.*

One merchant: We are busy bringing goods to Heliopolis, because so many people are going there, afraid of missing the miracles of Re, the God of the Sun.

One civil servant: Good heavens, don't people understand their own best! Pharaoh has let us know that he is the only thing to fear upon Earth, that he can darken the sky, and that he can make the constellations in heaven stagger. I am sure that Pharaoh will make people understand his power.

*The solution in the positive space: Cheops pyramid.*

*(Fig. after Troitzsch)*

among the peasants in the settlements and villages. The builder of a mound must have been someone concerned about tradition and family; probably it was the *old generation* in the peasant family. The primary and holy things for an established peasant are to watch over the inherited land of the family and maintain the solidarity within the family (Fig. 7).

So this can be the reason why one was so anxious to establish the cemeteries. The *younger generation* in the peasant society was tempted to participate in the new age of instant and easy fortunes through trading, regal rewards, or piracy; "there should be a better living than cultivating miserable fields in a barren landscape." The loss of the young men from the peasant village

would, of course, be a catastrophe. The experienced peasant will say that you know what you have, but that you do not know what you will get.

In a situation where there is a conflict between the old and the young generation in the peasant society, the elderly people will find a *solution* for putting the adolescents under a psychological persuasion, and the solution is the cemetery of mounds. One should never underestimate the psychological insights of old people. The old peasants will use the dead forefathers in the mounds to scream out their message: "stay here, you have come from this soil and you will return to it, you are part of this eternal collective and you are needed here; it is not meagre here, look at the mounds, look



Fig. 7. The emergence of the negative space of Scandinavian Viking Age mound-cemeteries:

The daughter: Father, do you really mean that you are letting my brothers go abroad for piracy? Do you really mean that I have to manage the farmstead alone?

The father: Do not yell at me, you know that my sons do not listen to me. We need a way of promoting a heavy group-pressure on them, from both us and our forefathers!

The solution in the positive space: The mound-cemetery.  
(Fig. after Fryxell)



at the surplus of good green turf here for our cattle, this is the right place to live in."

If the established peasants in some regions could convince the adolescents, they would not have to scream through the mounds, i.e. there would be no need to build them. It seems as if the project of constructing mound-cemeteries was not fully successful, because there actually was a lot of trade, warfare and piracy. After all, one indication that the extensions of the dead generations did have some power is that Christianity found it necessary to monopolize the use of the dead.

#### THE VIKING AGE RUNE STONE AT HÖGBY

This great and remarkably beautiful rune stone was found in the nineteenth century during the demolishing of the old Romanesque church in Högbý parish, Östergötland. The original site is not known, and the stone was probably built into the church in the early twelfth century. The original site most likely was near the village or along a nearby road. The inscription is the following (Jansson 1962:68):

*"Torgärd raised this stone in memory of Assur,*

*her mother's brother,  
who died east in Greece.*

*The good farmer Gulle  
had five sons:*

*At Fyris fell Åsmund  
the unfrightened warrior,  
Assur died*

*out east in Greece,*

*Halvdan was  
in holmgang (?) slain,  
Kåre (?)*

*Dead is Boe too.*

*Torkel cut the runes."*

It is clear that it was the woman *Torgärd* who ordered the rune stone, that *Assur* was her uncle, and that *Gulle* was her maternal

grandfather. It is possible that *Torkel* was a relative of the fallen men, but he could also have been a professional rune carver. It is not absolutely clear who the receiver of this profoundly touching message was, but it ought to be the *neighbours* in the village and people travelling through the village. So why should *Torgärd* have been so anxious about the history of her brave uncles, especially *Assur*?

As stated previously, the Viking Age was a transition period with a shift of religion and a formation of states, towns and new social classes. In many aspects it was surely a shift of world-view.

The background for *Torgärd's* eagerness to promote *Gulle's* sons can be both the shift of world-view and that she wanted to announce herself as a legal heiress. In the first case, there had been for generations two parallel and opposite moral tendencies. In both cases one intended to do something honourable and good for the family, but in different ways. The conservative way was to stay and be loyal to the family and the village; the radical way was to "do something great," to go abroad and bring fortunes and glory to the family, to perform deeds that could live on in the songs. The choice of *Gulle's* sons was the latter, and obviously that choice had to be forcefully defended.

This could be the background of the erection of the beautiful rune stone. The neighbours of *Torgärd* did not understand at all why *Gulle's* sons, i.e. her uncles, should die in vain, why they did not stay at home and work in solidarity for the village. The neighbours, and even some of *Torgärd's* family, might have converted to Christianity and therefore may have shown little admiration and approval for men who left the peaceful life, pursued piracy against christians, and were stupid enough to die in vain. Of course this would have been too much for *Torgärd* to bear: those fallen men were not fools that had died in vain. When

people did not listen, Torgård used the "heavy artillery" of communication, letting the whole world know that her uncles were not weak swine-herds, but real men who achieved something great and manly, something for the family and the village to be proud of. The *solution* for Torgård's wrath and frustration was the impressive rune-stone. Here everybody could see a moral and a deed of eternal value (Fig. 8).

It may seem peculiar that Torgård explicitly raised the "stone in memory of Assur." His great journey might have been the most impressive thing to mention, but the reason could also have been that she was afraid that someone doubted that she was the legal heiress of Assur. It is possible that Assur owned something great that some other relative claimed. But the message of Torgård is expressed in such a way that the aspect of heritage may not have been a main motive but rather that of morality.

Poor Torgård failed in her stubborn and tearful project. Not many years later the magnificent monument was overturned



Fig. 8. The emergence of the negative space of the Viking Age rune stone at Högby.

Torgård: Alas, You know that our neighbours do not respect the deed of my uncles. They say that it was a mistake to go abroad, and that it is a greater honor to stay at home and work in peace at the farm. You must help me to do something against those damned cowards!

*The solution in the positive space: The rune stone.*  
(Fig. after Ohlmarks)

and built into the new church; and nobody cared any longer about Gulle and his foolish sons.

## GOTHIC CATHEDRALS

Thirteenth-century Europe saw the birth of its most spectacular architecture hitherto. Enormous churches grew up in towns and villages of small wooden or half-timbered houses. The Gothic cathedrals are screaming out religion from every inch of their surface, and the inconceivably huge towers stand like signs of victory pointing towards heaven. Inside we find a second heaven, with divine light streaming through great windows with coloured pictures of holy saints. In Emerson's words, the cathedrals are a kind of petrified religion.

What was the thirteenth-century society of Europe like? The towns were growing rapidly, and new classes of craftsmen and businessmen were established. Education to a certain degree, was separated from the churches and monasteries and reinstitutionalized through the universities. Since the time after Charlemagne the realms of Europe had been split up, but now new kings and developing states began to appear. It even went so far that the holy all-European pope was called into question; during some periods he was even replaced by counter-popes. For a long time the church had also dominated the secular sphere of society, but now there were other parties interested in that power (Fig. 9).

The Gothic cathedrals reveal one of the most ungodly and impious periods in the history of the church. The background could have been the following. The pope and the mighty church can observe many tendencies of *profane* separation in society, education, free-thinkers and heretics, and bourgeois economic companies. And not least were there kings and counts unwilling to take orders from the church - princes presumptuous and unabashed enough to build monumental castles even *larger* than

the churches. This would naturally have been a very serious problem for the powerful church. One realized that there was a great risk that one was going to lose the superiority of the souls. Now it seemed very difficult to promote the beautiful visions of St. Augustine concerning "the city of God" and "the harmony of the worlds." Who would really listen to the message from the holy fathers of the church, when even lettered

men preferred to sing popular songs, like the students and the monks in the monastery of Benediktbeuern (*Carmina Burana*)?

*voluptatis avidus  
magis quam salutis,  
mortuus in anima  
curam gero cutis.*

[I am eager for the pleasures of the flesh more than for salvation  
my soul is dead  
so I shall look after the flesh.]



Fig. 9. The emergence of the negative space of the Gothic cathedrals:

The clergyman: Look Your Highness, it is true, I'm not cheating, people are more interested in curious things of the merchants than attending your holy mass.

The Bishop: My God, I thought we had enough problems with the impious magistrate, free-thinking students, and heretics. We really need something that can make people feel small in front of God!

The solution in the positive space: The Gothic cathedral.

(Fig. after Dürer)

The solution for the anxious pope, the cardinals, and the men of the church was to give the profane citizens a divine extension of the body, a celestial house that breathes religion "per omnia secula seculorum."

What a success! Inside a cathedral even jaded atheists lose their breath and stop talking. The cathedrals are gigantic for us today, but in the thirteenth century people used to two-storeyed half-timbered houses would have found them vertiginous and fully incomprehensible. This grand project lasted for several hundred years; some cathedrals were not completed until modern time. The continuation showed that the investment was rather sound, from the perspective of the church. Nevertheless the extended body of Catholic religion was not sufficient in every aspect; the bourgeoisie and the businessmen guarded their integrity and even corrupted the church into selling indulgences. As time went on the church declined and left space for the Reformation. Then the counter-reformation was a necessary compensation, and the pope had to dress his citizens in the divine body of the marvellous St. Peter's Church. The psychological warfare with monuments developed in many different connections and probably continued more intensively in Europe than anywhere else in the world.

EASTER ISLAND COLOSSAL STATUES  
 Few monuments give us such a free scope of imagination as these impressive stone statues. But fact comes before fantasy. There are about six hundred statues in all, and there are nearly one hundred and fifty unfinished in the production-quarry in an old volcano with very hard grey stone. The statues are normally 10 meters long, at the most 22 meters, and they have an "astonishing similarity," with remarkably long ears and a separate piece of red stone on their head, resembling a hair-knot (Heyerdahl 1957:74ff). Most of the statues are placed close to the shore, and originally they were standing side-by side on platforms, obviously looking out toward the sea. In the 18th century a lot of them were standing, but in the middle of the 19th century all of them had been thrown down. Today there are only some unfinished statues that are in their original upright position, in deposition pits covered by sand. According to Heyerdahl (1978:246-250), the statues were erected during the so-called second period of Easter Island (about 1100-1680 A.D.).

There are no written historical records that date back earlier than the discovery of Easter Island in 1722. The inhabitants were organized into ten tribal regions (Renfrew 1973:176). There are accounts of wars between the tribes before the population was almost wiped out by a slave raid in 1862. Among the inhabitants there are a lot of myths about the origin of the island and the statues: In the beginning the island was settled by people coming from the east, the "long-ears," but later there was an immigration from the west by the "short-ears." At first the different people lived in harmony, although the short-ears were forced to help the long-ears in building the great statues. After some hundred years a "civil war" broke out, and the short-ears killed all the long-ears, except for one person, in a massacre where a defence ditch was set on fire. The ditch is still visible, and Heyerdahl

(1978:255) has dated charcoal to 1670±100 years A.D. Heyerdahl gives great credit to the myth, although Firth warns against too much reliance on such stories: "its value as a historical record is very limited" (Firth 1953:713)

Some archaeologists, such as Clark (1977:314), believe that Renfrew has solved the problem of the Easter Island statues. Renfrew claims that the statues were made "by channelling the energies of the ten tribes into non-destructive competition which was encouraged by territorial disputes and population pressure" (Renfrew 1973:180). However, let us leave the tribal energy and the population pressure because such things are fictions of no use at all; individuals are the only actors. Renfrew is right when he claims that the monuments have an origin in competition, but there ends the reason for his interpretations.

What are the monumental stone men objectively crying? Their message is: collective long-ear uniformity, not tribal individuality; watch the sea, not the neighbour's territory; repelling outward towards the sea, not central attraction to any of our own tribes. The appropriate question is: who would deny this message? Even if the myth about the long-ears is a *retrospective* explanation for the shape of the statues, that would not really explain why the statues exist. Further it would be a mistake to say that myth is *a priori* false. Myths and history are often connected to some extent. It may seem strange, but the monuments of Easter Island actually support the records of mythology.

According to the objective message of the giant statues, and the subjective myths of the last two centuries, described by Heyerdahl, this could be the background of the monuments. In the first period Easter Island was inhabited by the *long-ears*, and some social stress in this society promoted a production of small statues of individuals whose importance had been questioned.

Later some immigrants of Polynesian origin, the *short-ears*, began to arrive and settle on the island. At first there was room enough, and everything was alright. But soon there came more and more ships with new immigrants, and the long-ears became aware of their own identity and of a feeling that they were going to be pushed out. The long-ears were in a precarious state of balance; they *could* not stop the immigrants and they did not *dare* start a war against them (Fig. 10).

The *solution* for the now very desperate long-ears was to initiate a psychological warfare; they erected terrifying forefathers all along the shores, which stared like ghosts at the newcomers already when they approached from the sea. The long-ears did everything they could to make Easter Island seem mystical, frightening and repellent. It was a risky game with their own lives at stake. Besides the stone ghosts, they made numerous secret caves and supported all kinds of superstition. If people have travelled 3 kilometres it might be easy to persuade them to turn back, but if they have travelled 3000 kilometres across the sea one surely will need powerful psychological arguments to get rid of them.

In the beginning the project of the long-ears must have been effective as a psychological shield against unwanted immigrants, because otherwise such tremendous work would not have been invested in the statues. The statues were the last "straw" to catch at, and they were powerful but not powerful enough, and the strange communication suddenly collapsed during this incredible project. The newcomers probably killed some of the long-ears - the myth says "all but one" - and in any case it is evident that they threw down the finished giants. It is remarkable that Heyerdahl (1989) has come to the right conclusions about Easter Island, without even regarding the most expressive message from the ancient statues. Nevertheless,

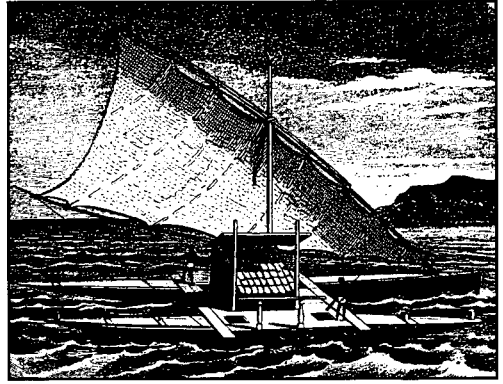


Fig. 10. The emergence of the negative space of the Easter Island colossal statues.

One Long-ear: Oh no! Here comes another boat. How can we stop them?

Another Long-ear: Do not panic, they are very impressed by superstition!

The solution in the positive space: Colossal statues. (Fig. after Dumrath)

even Heyerdahl is surprised over how extremely full of secrets and superstition the modern short-ears are, but perhaps this is not so strange if the long-ears succeeded at least in this respect. Their hunt was partly a success, but unfortunately the hunter, not the prey, was slain.

## CONCLUSIONS

Nearly everyone has walked among monuments and although their messages are tacit they say a great deal. If we try to use the psychological back door of the monuments, it may be possible to look behind their facade. The only way to understand the archaeological source material, or any artifact, is to set out from the psychological prerequisites that are common to all men. Many monuments are extraordinary efforts, and they have their origin in compensation of a great corresponding problem. One should not forget that what is done great, is done seriously. Emerson (Works vol.7:56) knows this better than anyone else:

"The Iliad of Homer, the songs of David, the odes of Pindar, the tragedies of Aescylus, the Doric temples, the Gothic cathedrals, the plays of Shakespeare, all and each were made not for sport but in grave earnest, in tears and smiles of suffering and loving men."

The monuments are among the most valuable indicators of the state in society. Furthermore, they reveal a lot about ancient societies and processes when no other records are available. But one must not forget that what we actually see in history is a representation of certain men. Emerson expresses it thus: "But the subject of the Times is not an abstract question. We talk of the world, but we mean a few men and women" (Works, vol.1:249). When we look at the remarkable and great monuments from ancient times, we are "seeing" a petrified language of anxious or desperate men and women. We can be certain, that at least some people in the society experienced the nervous and delicate state of balance of power - a situation that gave rise to severe challenges and called for what is known as great culture; a situation that, generations later, evokes our curious admiration. As Toynbee rightly maintains, challenge is a decisive force in the evolution of history.

Archaeologists have talked about three criteria for civilization: towns, monumental buildings, and script (Renfrew 1973:212). Usually monuments are the oldest of these criteria, but one may think that the introduction of civilization through monuments originates in conditions that we usually do not associate with peace and stability. Tacitus justly notes that, "the greater degeneration in a State, the more laws there are"; and we could add that the closer the social communication in a State is to collapse, the more monuments there are. Nevertheless, a monument can be considered as a remarkable attempt to retain peace in a strained society.

Man adapts his means of communication

to the needs. When the communication is easy and without problem, it is sufficient to use modest expressions in media. But when the communication is under stress, the media have to be given a clearer and more lasting expression. Man is rational in saving energy, and lazy with things that work, but he is eager to pay for the solution to real problems.

There is often a tendency to claim that when ancient people made some remarkable monument without any obvious practical use, it was intended for worshipping some barbarous divine idol; but when modern people do the same thing, one would rather say that it is a result of a sense of beauty or plain propaganda. Nevertheless, the universal rule for human sciences should be: one should not apply theories to other people, that one does not want to apply to oneself.

The theory here is: all efforts of man are payment for solving problems. To pay is to communicate, we pay human-beings by lasting things, but we pay supernatural gods and similar beings by annihilating things. As Nietzsche maintains (1887) even things like morality and religion are a question of give and take. This may sound like an eternal market economy, and it truly is.

Everything that exists at all, stands out as the positive existence of man. The word existence is literally from the Latin "exsistere," "step forward." When man fills a negative space in his battle of problem-solving, it is because he has discovered that emptiness; and he has conceptualized a way of filling it with a positive existence (Sartre 1943). In the world around us, and in the historical and archaeological records, we see this positive existence in things and actions.

Monuments say "yes," but where is the corresponding "no"? It is the same thing with all human extensions: clothes, houses, ships, weapons, script, religion, politics, art, and all actions; they say yes, but what is the no like? What factors led to the abstract

situations in history whereby man discovered that there was a negative existence that had to be concretely filled, that is, what

we can see positively in all archaeological and historical remains?

English revised by Laura Wrang.

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