

In this critical framework architecture is newly defined in scientific terms as "all what man and his predecessors built and build." This new anthropological definition leads us to some basic discoveries! First we become aware of a technologically new "fibroconstructive industry" which is of pre-lithic importance and suggests an entirely new temporal framework to discuss architecture in an evolutionary dimension. Two different and new domains of architecture are discovered, "subhuman architecture" and "semantic architecture". We gain a new classification:

- (1) subhuman (nestbuilding behaviour of the Great Apes),
- (2) semantic (life-tree- fetish- maypole-complex),
- (3) domestic (vernacular architecture),
- (4) sedentary (settlement core complex) and
- (5) urban architecture (early city-states and the monumentalisation of fibroconstructive village cultures) [Egenter, 1992].

Some general points

Methodologically this new classification of architecture calls for a new approach derived from "structural history" [Wernhardt 1981]. It is called "ethno(pre)-historical method" [Egenter 1994a]. Material culture is not studied conventionally according to different disciplines like prehistory, history and ethnology. It is defined anthropologically, that is collectively. This has great advantages for architectural research. In fact, architecture, with its endless examples of "fibrous materials" used in ethnology and folklore cultures, now lets us discover a "soft prehistory" [Egenter 1986, 1990d] which might have been much more important than the "hard prehistory" of the archaeologists. "Soft prehistory" produces new perspectives in regard to the "artefact" concept. Most exciting is the new term "prelithic fibroconstructive industries" because the artefact concept gains new temporal depth, particularly with the primary class of "subhuman architecture".

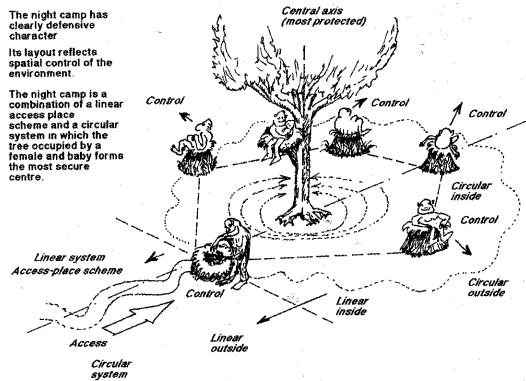
A second important point: semantic architecture had important functions in the generation of sedentary life and culture. Its topossemantic characteristics allowed it to develop into a temporary or sedentary territorial demarcation system in which certain social individuals or groups transmitted their territorial claims to other individuals or social groups in the present, and, by cyclical renewal of the fibrous demarcation to later individuals or social groups. As a perceptual and conceptual model "semantic architecture" autonomously introduced and developed high ontological values which later became the basis of aesthetics, cognition, and religion [Egenter, 2001].

Both classes also provide us with entirely new artefact depths. Architecture can now be considered with an artefact depth of 16 million years. And constructive behaviour can be considered with 22 million years of temporal depth. This will lead to quite new types of organisation of our knowledge regarding the human past. Constructive behaviour, architecture and sedentary life will become very important factors in our theories of cultural evolution [Egenter, 2001]

Fig. 5 (Slika 5) shows these fairly new parameters outlined in a schema which lets us understand the evolution of architecture and culture in close relationship. Note that not the toolmaker is the central figure anymore, we put the capacity to construct with fibrous materials ("constructivity", Yerkes 1929), and its products "architecture", "demarcated habitat" and "increasingly sedentary life", finally "monumentalisation of fibrous culture" into the centre of the process of hominisation. Important is also the degree of expanding space perception and space control. We can conclude a lot from the structural models we discover in this new



Slika 6: Japanese primatologists have produced a measured plan of the nightcamp of a gorilla group. [Izawa/Itani 1966, in Egenter 1983] This drawing shows a perspective into the night camp of this gorilla group, using the indicated measurements of Izawa and Itani. For better visibility the bamboo grove has been cleared on the drawing to give an impression how social relations work in this temporary settlement. *Japonski primatologi so predstavili prva prenočišča goril (night camp). Bambus na sliki je prestavljen, tako da so lahko bolje predstavljene socialne vezi med prebivalci te zasnove naselbine.*

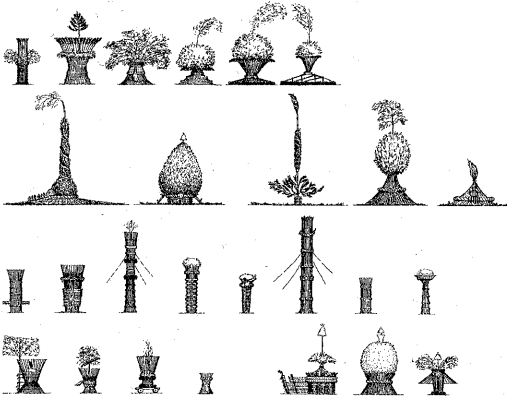


Slika 7: Same arrangement like above. Great Apes show a very clear sense for spatial order. The female and her baby have their nest in the centre and above the ground. They are protected by five other individuals including the dominant male with their tower like nests strategically protecting the centre. [Egenter 1992, 2001] *Enaka razporeditev kot na prejšnji sliki. Velike opice imajo izostren občutek reda v prostoru. Mati z otrokom ima svoje gnezdo v centru in nad tlemi, čuva jih pet ostalih posameznikov, viševiši dominantnega samca, ki z gnezda "na stolpu" strateško varuje center.*

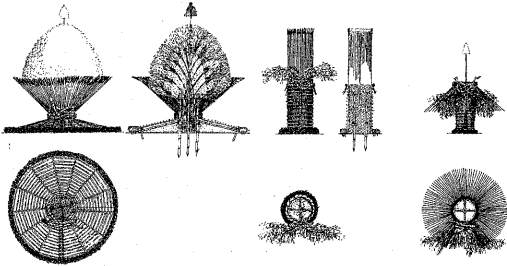
perspective. There are essentially five evolutionary lines, all surviving into the present as "living traditions". The first three are most important here.

Five Evolutionary Lines

In the primate world constructive behaviour has deep roots (22 million years). A tremendous tradition, which - from the beginning takes place in arboreal space with nests partly high up in the trees. Nests are fibrous constructions with arms and hands as 'first tools'. The fabrication of tree nests includes things like the experience of self produced, reliable stability of a construction,



Slika 8: In central Japan one hundred villages were researched at the time of their Shinto cult festivals. The results of the study were quite new in regard to religion. Cults could now be understood not from belief or verbal ideals, but, evidently the "seats of Gods" showed their central content as socio-territorial demarcation. The cults were recognized as traditional local constitution, which provides basic structural conditions for the village: socially and politically (founderhouse), spatially (value focussed axis) as well as aesthetically and ontologically (PRO-portion = META-physics) [Egenter 1980, 1994a] *V osrednji Japonski so raziskovali vasi v času "Shinto praznovanja". Kulte lahko na podlagi teh spoznanj razumemo ne le kot verovanje in idealizme, ampak kot temelj graditve prostora, razmejitve med centrom (središčem božanstva) in ostalimi socialnimi, političnimi, estetskimi in ontološkimi vsebinami.*



Slika 9: One village composed by four hamlets shows the basic conditions of the spatial organisation of a village in the framework of what is called the "cultfestival of the village deity". [Egenter 1982a] *Vas, sestavljena iz štirih delov, prikazuje osnovno organiziranost prostora v okviru vaškega praznovanja.*



Slika 10: Selection of hutlike types in various cultures. *Izbor tipov koč različnih kultur.*



Slika 11: Selection of column types in various cultures. Many of them were considered of highest values, being sacred or representing deities. The Djed pillar of Ancient Egypt for instance was representative for the the wellness of the Pharaoh's empire. [Egenter 1980a, 1994a] *Izbor tipov stebrov različnih kultur. Mnogi so bili zelo visoko cenjeni, bodisi da so bili sveti ali so predstvaljali božanstva.*

the expression of security, of commodity, of closeness in the social sense [Egenter 1983, 1990c].

In regard to the concept of "settlement" it is important that nestbuilding and passing the night in nests happens in groups. Evidently there is some sort of a plan reflecting social structure and the defensive character in regard to predators around the night camp. Note that locomotion in arboreal space is difficult at night for the animals: stereoscopic view is blocked to a great extent.

About 16 million years ago space becomes mainly terrestrial for Hominoids in Africa. Nests are dominantly built on the ground. Rooted materials like bamboostalks are knotted and fixed at a height of ca. 2 meters, thus producing a tower like stable construction which on top carries the nest. The animal climbs up and spends the night on top of his construction [Egenter 1983, 2001]. This can be considered as the beginning of architecture.

Semantic Architecture:

Semantic factor: Essentially from the nest, but also in relation to traffic signs of greater apes [Savage-Rumbaugh 1996] we must assume that building included an increasingly important semantic dimension, the "sign in the landscape" which developed into a particular class of "semantic architecture". It developed functions of socio-territorial control combined with food control. This type of architecture became extremely important for the evolution of human culture.

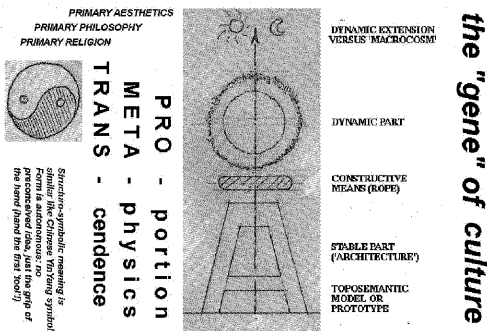
Early tools must have greatly stimulated and differentiated constructive behaviour. Tools allowed to cut materials and transport them somewhere else and combine them with other construction materials. A wide spectrum of forms is possible which we can reconstruct to some extent if we look at the material culture of traditional populations of hunters and collectors. Traps, nets, for animals and fishing, originally small round huts or tents and other small forms, basic means of transport, illumination, fire for cooking and warmth, etc.. In other words, we can assume a considerable equipment which did not show in the archaeological method [Egenter 1991a, 1994b, 2003].

Categorical polarity: Primary aesthetic factor. The most important development in the line of semantic architecture was "categorical polarity". It can be assumed as an autonomous technological development. The human hand forms a lower part by binding rooted stalks into a stable cone. A surplus part is forming a protruding element which remains naturally unbound and mobile. Two contradictive categories in one form. Aesthetically PRO-portion is born. The artificially produced "categorical polarity" can be used to make analogies to similar structures of natural forms (top and trunk of trees, protruding parts of heads (horns, antlers), wings and body of birds, etc. [Egenter 1994a, 1994c]. Did this comparative process of artificial form (semantic architecture) and natural forms contribute to the increasing size of the human brain from Homo habilis to Homo sapiens sapiens (ca. 2 My - 40 Ty). Did it form the "discovery of nature"? Was it the first human system of cognition programmed to form aesthetic harmony?

Polar analogy: We can explain this analogy between two different forms structured according to the principle of "categorical polarity" with the following formula, expressing "polar analogy".

$$O/A1 = O/A2 = O/An.$$

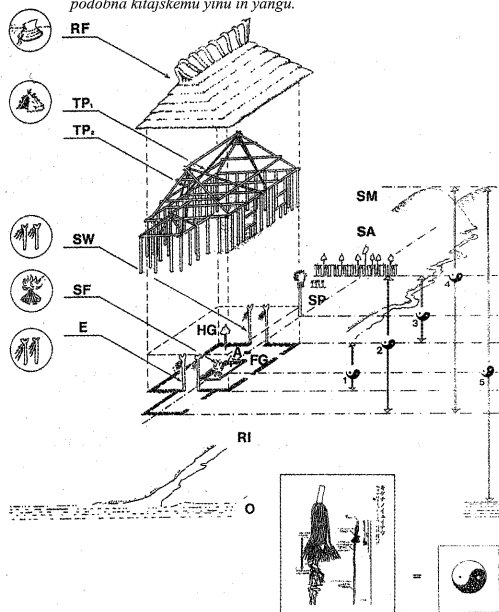
It implies natural or artificial objects 1, 2 ...n which may all be different in their form but which have something in common which makes them similar, quasi identical. It is their categorically



the "gene" of culture

Slika 12: Schematic representation of most important criteria of semantic architecture. The lower rooted part (A) forms a stable cone whereas the upper part (O) remains natural and dynamic, both parts combined acting as a model similar like the Chinese YinYang symbol. In contrast to this abstracted graphic symbol the O/A structure forms a primary local vertical axial system which can be interpreted in spatially extensive ways. If we assume its universality in rural agrarian domains since neolithic times we could consider it some sort of the 'gene of culture' providing the basic structure of art, philosophy and religion.

Shematski prikaz osnovnega kriterija semantične arhitekture. Spodnji, zakoreninjeni del (A) predstavlja stabilni stožec, medtem ko zgornji del (O) ostaja naraven in dinamičen. Oba simbola sta podobna kitajskemu yinu in yangu.



Slika 13: Elements of the Ainu House and the evaluation of the landscape. The whole environment is interpreted in the framework of a categorically polar system from inside out, from the domestic domain into the whole valley with the dichotomy of upper river and lower river as main backbone. The whole system is structured according to the sacred signs of the Ainu, the inau.

Elementi Ainu hiše in njene okolice - celotno okolje je interpretirano s kategoriziranim polarnim sistemom, od znotraj navzven, iz lokalnega na celotno dolino, z delitvijo na zgornjo in spodnjo reko. Sistem je strukturiran skladno s svetimi simboli Ainu - inau.

contradictive structure, O/A, meaning upper part with dominantly "dynamic" category over lower part with "static" category, both parts forming a formal unit in objects 1, 2 ...n. This common aspect is "harmony between contradicting categories" in their forms. We have shown how this principle is effective e.g. in the Middle Ages and later and how it is misinterpreted by European Art historians [Egenter 1998b*, c*, d*]

Domestic Architecture

Evidently this order is not invented by a prehistorical "Einstein". It is derived from models related to semantic architecture. In the case of the Ainu it is very clear: their whole society, their social, formal, spatial, aesthetic, religious, economical dimensions are structured into an enormously complex system of polar relations. "Coincidence of opposites" in the same form, in the same conceptual unit. Spatial, tectonic, architectural, or colour related on one hand, but also social, sexual or cosmic on the other side. Harmony regarding light and dark, regarding above and below, natural and artificial and so on. The whole environment with all its empirically and spiritually accessible parts is combined into a per/conceptual whole which is modelled according to sacred signs which express topos, verticality and categorical polarity at that place [Egenter 1991a].

Similarly in the case of the Japanese farmhouse. Semantic architecture defines the main points of the house, altar and entrance. The altar defines the upper part. Ritual behaviour, living and sleeping are focused on it. And the lower part with its pragmatic aspects of daily life like cooking and other work is related to the gate markers or also special markers for the hearth and the later established sacred column in the centre of the house. Note that in spite of considerable variations this basic pattern is common to all house traditions in Japan [Egenter 1982b, 1991b].

Sedentary Architecture: settlement core complex

In Neolithic times semantic architecture developed into a very important system which supported sedentary life by a new disposition, which we called "settlement core complex". Core complex is a new function of semantic architecture on the higher level of settlement or village. Demarcation is initially set up by a founder at the borderline between wilderness and intended plantation surfaces. Nuclear border means its polar code is projected outwards. It defines the "sacred territoriality" of the settlement, the functional and non-functional use of the surfaces and socially the power structure related to the founderhouse. Its representant is chief of the village, head priest (owner of deity; deity = demarcation sign) and - with his kin - ruler of the territory. The local festival calendar is the archive of village history. The most important criteria of this system are the toposemantic dimension of the fibroconstructive signs, their cyclic cultic reproduction and the structuro-symbolic form of the nuclear border marker ("semantic architecture").

Categorical polarity of the demarcation was used as a model to organise time, plantation cycles, organisation of work, etc. as we can see it in the example of the Ainu. Due to its model function for environmental order, its aesthetic and harmonising significance in general, it produced high values. It became sacred or was called "above" implying high ontological ("worldview") values (e.g. in Japanese: "kami", high above, which, in contact with other cultures became "deity" or "god").

Thus, this system of "nuclear borders" was highly effective because demarcations were within the settlement, thus protected. In its performance, that is, by developing high values, it managed to guarantee the existence and diffusion of sedentary agrarian

village cultures in many different parts of the world.

The concept of categorical polarity became the allround method to harmonise artificial arrangements as well as the organisation of natural environments. On one hand, the cyclic renewal of the demarcation set up initially at village foundation by the village founder produced local time, the "once" of the foundation reinstated and physically enewed at the cyclic festival. And it brought social hierarchy: the representative of the founderhouse became local ruler and priest at the cyclic rite as "owner of the deity".

In other words, "semantic architecture" and how it is used in certain conditions lets us reconstruct the process of the formation not only of agrarian society, but also of its important characteristics, like religious rites, "mythical time", "creation of (local) world by gods", formation of social hierarchy and so on. What we called "settlement core complex" must have formed the nucleus of a cultural system which we perceive in neolithic and metal periods as general characteristics of widespread sedentary village cultures.

Urban architecture: early city-states (monumentalisation of fibrous village cultures)

We can also reconstruct how this 'settlement core complex' was used in the formation of earliest city-states and their hierarchical social structure. We can understand the role played by monumentalised temples for social control and centralisation. We can understand the formation of earliest script based on semantic architecture [Egenter 1984, 1989*]. But this transition is not discussed here. It is outlined in various other papers, e.g. in: "Rural/urban dichotomy" 1998g*. The basic new insight consists in the fact that the culture of early civilisations were not the great ingenious inventions as described by historians, art historians and archaeologists (e.g. Spiro Kostoff 1977). The developments can rather be characterised as a superseding process in which the new upper social class materially transformed or "monumentalised" the "fibroconstructive" non-durable culture of agrarian villages of neolithic and metal age origins. The new durable elements were transformed into instruments to exploit the agrarian population and to control extended surfaces from central temple systems (sacrifice transformed into tax).

In the following we will show some examples of our new systematic approach. We will indicate the interaction, the close relation between "semantic architecture" and "domestic architecture" (or "vernacular architecture").

Conclusion

In contrast to the conventional method of the anthropologist who works ethnographically in the field surveying a traditional society, using interviews of the inhabitants of a house or a village to obtain explanations for the forms of their vernacular architecture, we have outlined a different concept which reconstructs the architectural forms and their expression as an immanent principle of the deeprooted architectural tradition itself. It is basically a physically expressed aesthetic principle which is autonomous in its origins (categorical polarity) and is traditionally preserved in many forms and expressions because of its harmonious model character. This might change the way we understand vernacular forms and their expressions.

In our first part we have critically discussed conventional interpretations of anthropology. We questioned the assumption that socio-cultural concepts were basic, that symbolismis related to the human body or gender were primary. We doubted Eliade's proposition that microcosmic interpretations were mini-

aturisations of macrocosmic experiences. We also doubted that such results of interviews might be taken as culturo-specific expressions and metaphors. This attitude is not aware of the cognitive processes involved. How is natural form perceived and integrated into human consciousness? The conventional anthropologist considers nature as a primarily given entity. (1)

If however we are assuming a deep rooted constructive tradition, a "soft prehistory" which did not manifest itself in our conventional system of prehistory, things look different. All these often phantastic vernacular forms are not just "symbolic arrangements" or particularly "decorated" types in the conventional Western sense of art theory anymore. They are rather traditional "survivals" in the sense of surviving formal concepts, survivals of a "pre-monumental" architectural substrate that was materially not durable and therefore went through the meshes of our historical perception. Forms of the semantic level have been preserved into the domestic level, even though material conditions or constructive capacities in general have greatly changed. Or, a particular form of semantic architecture had gained an important meaning within a cult system (e.g. founder's cult, ancestor cult), therefore the symbolic core was kept intact while new functional parts were added.

Such survivals can also be most impressive if the texture of a durable object still preserves the primary fibroconstructive conditions as part of a building constructed with more evolved materials and building techniques. This can be seen in many parts of the world and on various technical levels. It is the case if the texture has become an indicator of the primary condition of the form and wants to communicate the value of this stage. (2)

One of the most impressive cases are the stave churches of Northern Europe which, besides their impressive PRO-portions, show rich "decorations" of weaving work in their columns as well as in their doors and door frames. The same principle of textural survival appears also in the "cannelura" of Greek columns. The well-known texture has preserved the structural condition of long gone times when such columns were still used as free standing symbols and reed bundles [Semper 1878, Andrae 1930, 1933]. Note that the interpretation of the capital changes completely. It has nothing to do with support in the static sense. It is primary an ontological model showing the harmony of two contrasting parts, what we called categorical polarity or PRO-portion. Similarly the bundle-pillars of ancient Egypt tell us clearly that they were copied from fibroconstructive prototypes. Evidently they are not 'inventions' of designers as Spiro Kostoff maintained. Their prototypes have to be searched in predynastic village cultures. They were cyclically rebuilt fibrous columns very likely serving as topo-semantic markers in the framework of local cults in which their character as ontological model played a role [Egenter 1994a]. Highly trained sculptors working for the 'eternally durable' buildings of the Egyptian pharaohs have monumentalised them and integrated them into temples.

Similarly the nicely decorated plant columns or other types of structures associated with many Indonesian house traditions are related to the territorial founder system. Some have remained fibroconstructive and outside the houses being used in the framework of cultic traditions, or have changed materiality and were moved into the house in the case of ancient founder families. It would be an important task to gather materials on this topic. Cults and rites still performed among various ethnic groups in Southeast Asia showing "semantic architecture" in their core should urgently be studied. Anthropologists have greatly neglected these materials either because they had been devalued by christian influences (fetish, spirit hut etc.) or for reasons of

time. Studying the festival calendar of a traditional society implies living with them during at least one or a couple of years [Egenter 1994a].

Thus, all these "symbolisms" are not "invented" as some interviews in conventional anthropology may suggest. Evidently they are part of a very deeprooted tradition, which has developed its own ontological values over long times. These values can be "read" by studying local cyclic rituals. Sacred demarcations within or outside the house are ritually renewed. But, why are they so valuable for local peoples? Since neolithic times they became important in regard to sedentary life. Agrarian society began to accumulate wealth, developed village culture. As part of a territorial system the demarcations protect the agrarian habitat by serving as a socio-toposemantic archive of the local past and of local social power. [Egenter 1980, 1982, 1994a, b]

Consequently, all these symbolisms have their clear immanent logic providing a basic order for daily life of a family, of several families or of a larger sedentary group. The main purpose of this order is to express harmony, to provide an ideal model for harmonious relations. And - contrary to what many, indoctrinated with European cultural values might think, these symbolisms are not "simple" or "primitive". There is a very clear and harmonious overall concept behind all this. It could even be considered as an important philosophical system. It supports a worldview in which "all is one, and one is all" in regard to aesthetic and ontological harmony ("Hen kai pan" in ancient Greece).

Vernacular architecture was composed to express harmony from smallest details to larger units and the whole. Vernacular settlements were composed in view of expressing harmony from the intimate environment of the house, the habitat to the larger units of a valley or a region. We become aware of a great importance of tradition in the physical sense. There is a shocking continuity in many things which we are not aware, because our analytical mind has lost the capacity to read categorically polar traditions. Western concepts of absolute spirituality and other rationalisms are projected on other cultures (3). Maybe we still have this need for a harmonious continuity within ourselves. Is it not surprising how modern urban people still feel at ease in traditional vernacular architecture? Rural tourism even searches for such conditions, whereas, on the other hand, many feel frustrated in rational modern environments. Is there a fundamental difference because modern spaces are universalistic, rationalistic, devoted to homogeneous space concepts?

Are human beings of the future prepared to live in the homogeneous space of physics, of the universe? Are we pleased with the space concepts modern architects and urbanists borrowed from astronomy and physics? Or should we try again to understand the human heritage, the categorically polar and harmonious expression of vernacular architecture? Are we happy with the uniform geometry type of skyscrapers and skylines rationally deformed architects project into our cities and villages? Or do we want to rediscover the traditional way of harmonising architectural forms as a model of balanced human lives? If we discover that architecture to a great extent created man and culture, there might be reasonable motives for studying vernacular architecture more seriously than this is done today.

Approximately 30 additional illustrated examples accompanying this article and one chapter are available on author's Internet site Imposion:
http://home.worldcom.ch/~negenter/000_BoratAnthroHouseBorat_HTX_E02Z_ZZZ3.html

The complete article with all illustrations can be found with the URL:
http://home.worldcom.ch/~negenter/000_Borat_Intro.html

Opombe / Notes

- 1 Waterson (1990) for instance projects a wide range of naturalistic concepts on the Indonesian house to make it "living". But what if women gained their ideas about the womb in analogy to some storehouse or loft? Evidently there is no etymology in anthropology, we can not provide evidence. But in Indo-European etymology there are many words which we take for granted in regard to their naturalistic physical background, but then might be fairly surprised if we become aware of their technical origins.
- 2 Unfortunately the art historians had no understanding for this ergological condition of form. They often invented speculative terminologies which covered up insights into the fibrous prototypes of monumental forms (Gottfried Semper 1878 and Walter Andrae 1930, 1933).
- 3 There is a tremendous continuity in human ways to structure space in categorically polar ways. There are a lot of examples in our premodern world which still reflect categorial polarity of space organisation. Surprisingly the churches have conserved the horizontal polarity scheme in most elementary and pure ways: the spatial unit of the community in the nave is defined by the altar on one side and by the gate or entrance facade on the other side. This scheme focused on some ontological value appears also slightly varied in many other types of institutional spaces, like throne-hall, court, concert hall, theatre, etc. . Historical cities like Paris or Rome have preserved categorial polarity in their value focussed axial systems, e.g. the "Champs Elisees" which focussed on the Louvre (or, the monastery behind) having its most recent "accumulation" in "La Defense" [Frey 1947, Egenter 1998d*].

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