

# ARCHITECTURAL

Research  
into  
a Constructive  
Human Past

@ Nold Egenter

DOCUMENTATION OFFICE  
FOR FUNDAMENTAL STUDIES  
IN BUILDING THEORY  
Chorgasse 19  
CH-8001 Zurich  
Switzerland

World	Info-carrier	Tradition	Moral	Durability
			Education	Inf. arch.

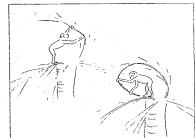
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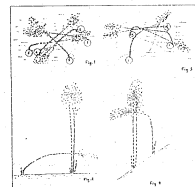
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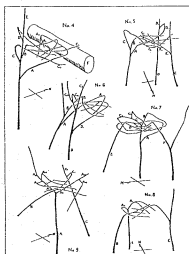
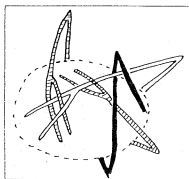
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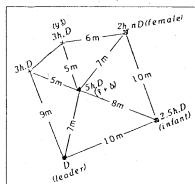
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# ANTHROPOLOGY

time struct.	soc. structure	settlement of economy	extension of economy
cyclic	little hierarchy only	rural	local, autonomous
linear	complex social hierarchies	urban	centralised, complex, ext. communication



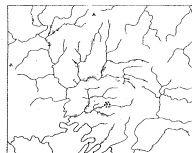
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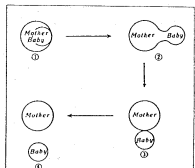
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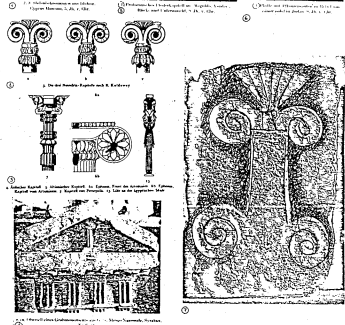
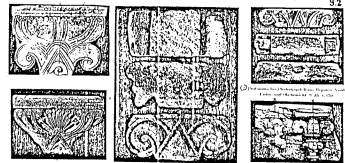
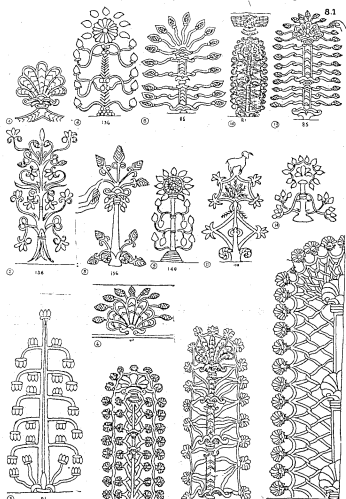
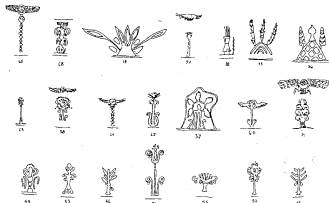
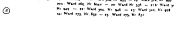
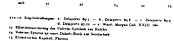
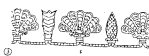
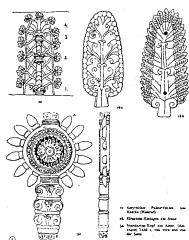


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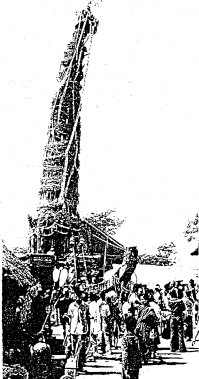
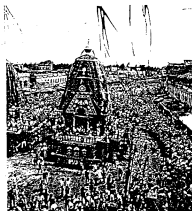
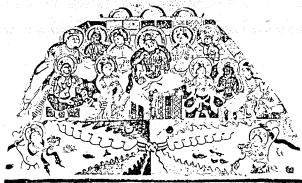
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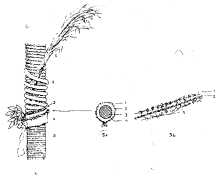
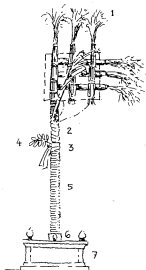
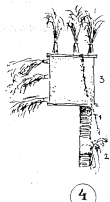
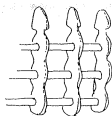
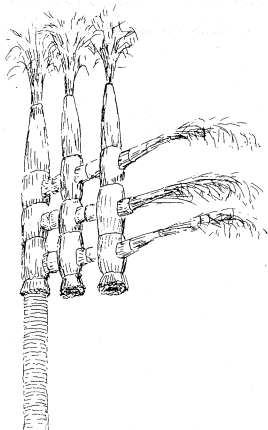












First ritual planting of rice in rice holes near 'Shrine' in the Banda field.



Two laborers use water buffalo to ensure a good season crop.



Two Akha women carrying heavy loads of rice through the village gate.



A person working in a rice paddy field, with a 'taboo sign' to prevent their re-entry.



Two Akha girls on their way to a village gate.







100 - The bridge, *danjiri*



101 - Festival for *danjiri* (Kito, Miyazaki)



102 - Festival (Itoyama, Itoyama)



103 - Festival for *danjiri*



104 - Festival for *danjiri*



105 - Festival for *danjiri*



106 - Festival for *danjiri*



107 - Festival for *danjiri*



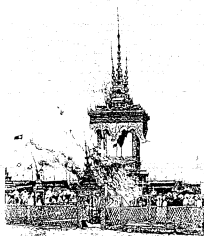
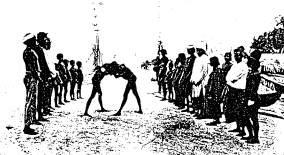
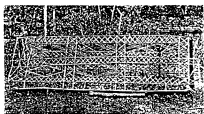
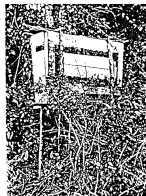
108 - Festival for *danjiri*

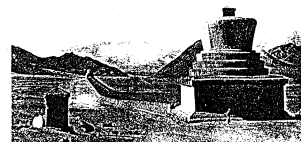


109 - Festival for *danjiri*

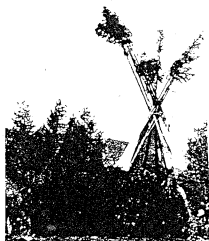


110 - Festival for *danjiri*









10. Ein Bild von der Festung, die in der  
Hauptstadt, Lamas, im Jahr 1900  
gebaut wurde.



11. Die Festung von Lamas, die in der  
Hauptstadt, Lamas, im Jahr 1900  
gebaut wurde.



12

12. Ein Bild von der Festung, die in der  
Hauptstadt, Lamas, im Jahr 1900  
gebaut wurde.



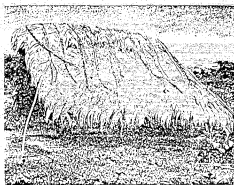
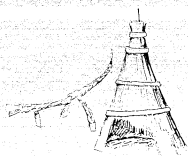
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Hauptstadt, Lamas, im Jahr 1900  
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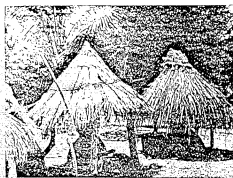
14. Ein Bild von der Festung, die in der  
Hauptstadt, Lamas, im Jahr 1900  
gebaut wurde.



Die Dörfer in der Gegend von  
Zaire. Die Häuser sind aus  
Bambus, die Dächer aus  
Palmblättern. Die Häuser sind  
auf Pfählen errichtet.



Die Häuser in der Gegend von Zaire. Die Häuser sind aus  
Bambus, die Dächer aus Palmblättern.

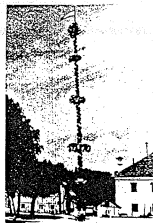


Die Häuser in der Gegend von Zaire.



Die Häuser in der Gegend von Zaire. Die Häuser sind aus  
Bambus, die Dächer aus Palmblättern.





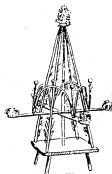
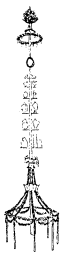
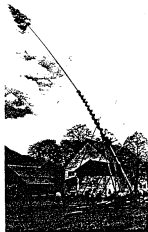
1. Hahnenkranz (Hahnenkranz)

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4. Hahnenkranz

2



5. Hahnenkranz



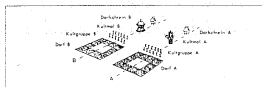
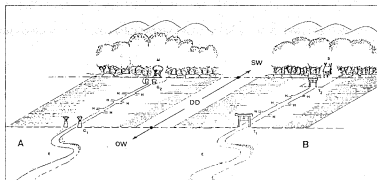


Abbildung 51: Kulturen als Zeichen. Territoriale Repräsentation

2B

Abbildung 52: Kulturen als Zeichen. Soziale Repräsentation

Soziale Repräsentation gründet sich auf den gemeinsamen Charakter der Kulturen. Eine soziale Repräsentation der Kulturen ist auf bestimmte Kulturgüter (z.B. auf bestimmte Kulturgüter) beschränkt.



2A

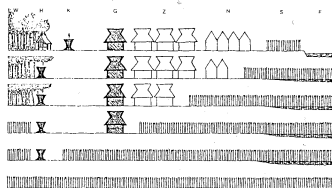
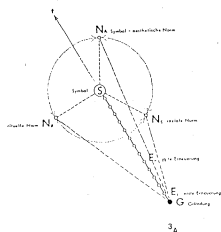
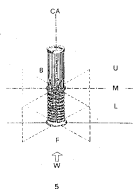


Abbildung 21: Stadtungsgeographische Bedeutung der Kulturen

3B



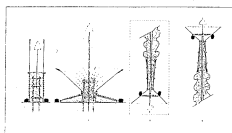
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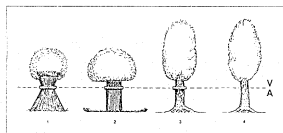
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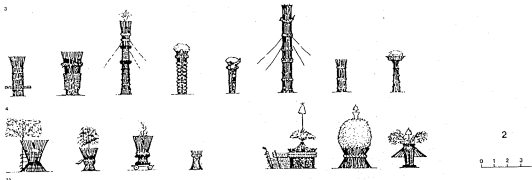
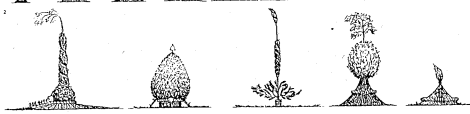
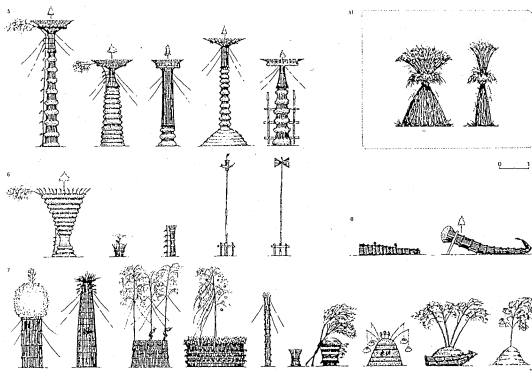


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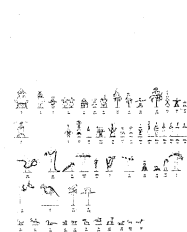
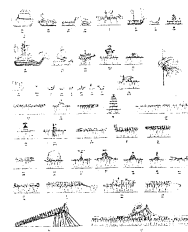
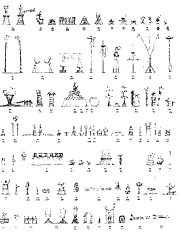
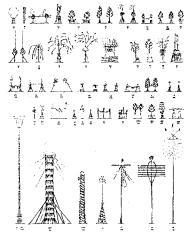
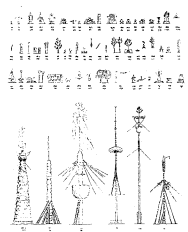
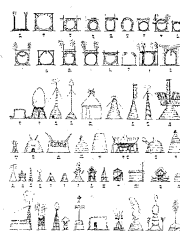
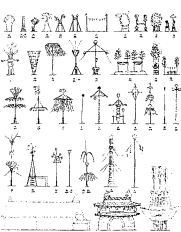
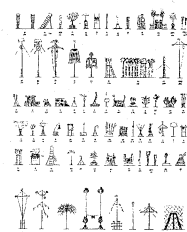
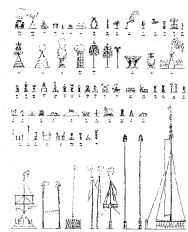
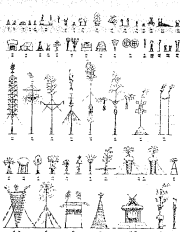
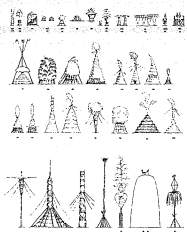
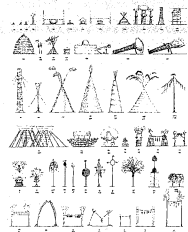


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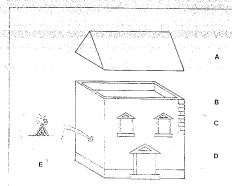
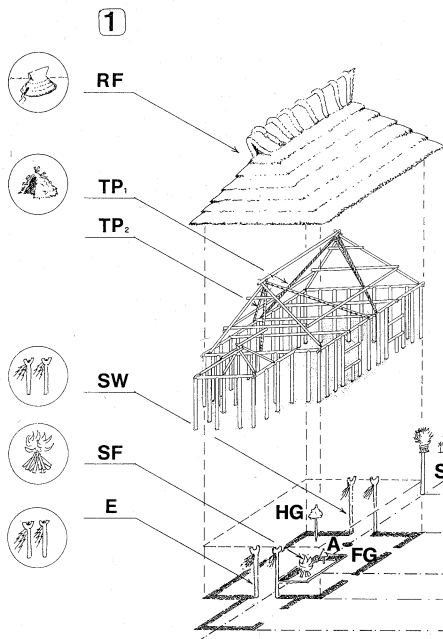
Abbildungen 11.1 und 11.2: Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Formtypen der untersuchten Gegend.  
Die Ordnung der Tabelle ergibt sich aus Prioritäten, die in der strengen rechten Spalte (Eigener (1900)) dargestellt sind. Im Rahmen 11.1 sind die zwei privatisierten Varianten der hypothesierten Urform dargestellt. Sie sind nach experimentell festgestellten Merkmalen geordnet (Wahlweise).



1

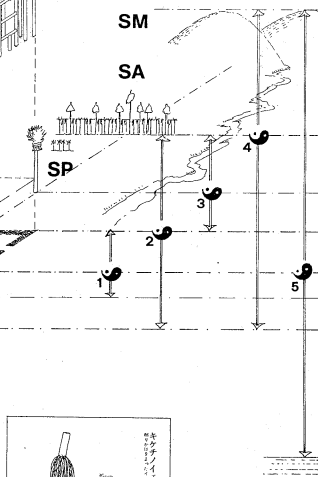
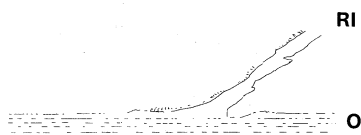
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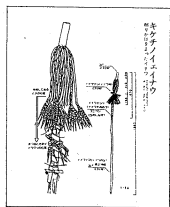


**4**

**2**



**3**



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# HABITAT RESEARCH AND ARCHITECTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

## Why do we need a general framework?

**Paper read at the Second International Conference >First World - Third World, Duality and Coincidence in Traditional Dwellings and Settlements< October 4. - 7- 1990, Univ. of California, Berkeley**

**By Nold Egenter**

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### ABSTRACT

*In his preface to >Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition<1 Alsayyad programmatically pleaded against "grand theories". This is certainly well-meant in terms of scientific scepticism. On the other hand, if we are leaning to a grand theory, should we suppress it in favour of many little theories? An illusion, because we always use grand theories. Religion? A grand theory! Art? A grand theory! Psychology? A grand theory. etc.! We just don't realise it, because we have established labels for the alchemy we are using! This paper outlines a grand theory, >Architectural Anthropology<, and tries to show how many paradigms might change fundamentally with this outlook. In a wider circle the paper also illustrates what we call 'habitat research' in view of an intended 'habitat theory of culture'.*

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**NOTE:** There are many illustrations related to this paper (see ->[Legends](#)), particularly on the worldwide distribution of semantic architecture (ca. 10 pages A3). To present them here is not possible. Copies can be ordered from the 'ETH-Bibliothek' CH-1006 Zuerich (Same title, A4: p. 1 - 20).

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### INTRODUCTION

All cultural norms are an abstraction of architecture that existed before man.<sup>2</sup>

There is still considerable terminological confusion in all those various fields of ethnology and cultural anthropology that deal with dual concepts.<sup>3</sup> Depending on schools or background, terms vary considerably. Thus social anthropology speaks of 'dual organisations', symbolic classification of 'binary orders', 'dichotomies', diadic concepts' etc.<sup>4</sup> Nobody denies however that dual concepts are of essential significance in the traditional societies surveyed.<sup>5</sup> The main difficulties derive from the fact

that 'duality' and similar terms generally imply a complex system of social, local (house- and settlement plan) and spatially extensive (cosmological) components. What is their origin? What is primary? Society, the vital environment, architectural tradition, cosmology? Conventionally such phenomena are either described in terms of social anthropology, interpreted in a structuralistic context, or explained in terms provided by the history of religions, such as creed, myth, cosmological ideas etc. This pattern is found also among studies of the last conference at Berkeley (Bognar, Khambatta, Lee, Pavlides, Tjahjono, and others; for critical remarks see note 50).

Furthermore, the concept of >Duality and Coincidence< touches on a basic philosophical problem, or - more precisely - a problem of cognition. If >duality< is taken to mean "the juxtaposition of two different conditions, principles, ways of thinking, world views, directions of will, cognitive principles, ...",<sup>6</sup> then a wide field of discussion is possible: mind and matter, idea and reality etc. But this potential multitude can be simplified by philosophically reducing >duality< to cognitive categories (e.g. above/below, solid/ empty, limited/ unlimited, etc.) and considering complex principles (e.g. mind and matter) as composites of such categories. Instead of the term >coincidence<, influenced by medieval theology, it is suggested to use the more plausible term >polarity< in the sense of "development of an essence in two opposite but mutually conditioned and complementary directions."<sup>7</sup> The opposition of >duality< and >polarity< then shows a cognitive dimension which is also inherent in the pair >duality< and >coincidence<: two basically incompatible cognitive systems appear, one which conceives of opposites in a dual or incompatible relation, the other which interprets the same opposites in a polar or mutually conditioned sense.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. I/1) If illustrated by a simple pair like dark/bright, or - more vividly - black/white, then the first type responds with a judgement: an object is either black or white. Each judgement excludes the other. The other cognitive system implies that black and white are mutually conditioned as in a drawing. Black and white are in a polar relation with regard to the picture. Thus on one hand we find an analytical or - literally - 'dissolving' or 'dissecting' world-view, which uses judgments (Ur-teil in German) as its basic tool, and, on the other hand, a world-view which is based more on the sense of aesthetics, with the harmonious intention of creating polar, coincidental or complementary totalities.<sup>9</sup> So far our ethnological and philosophical discussion of the terms duality and coincidence (or polarity). Certainly we are not mistaken if we related them to world views. Since Aristotle's >Organon<, the analytical world view is the successful concept of Europe and the West. On the other hand, there are well-founded reasons to assume that the Third World is essentially based on aesthetical and harmonious norms, or integral wholes.<sup>10</sup>

Here we would like to emphasise that we do not use the unfortunate opposition >First World -Third World< in its usual sense of economical capacity. We give it an enlarged meaning in the sense of cultural anthropology: (see Fig. I/2) we apply the term >First World< to all those urban societies which, since the first formation of empires, dominated the rest of the world by script, linear time concepts, literate education, permanent architecture, explicit social hierarchies and central administration with corresponding systems of communication. On the other hand, the term >Third World< designates all those locally decentralised societies which were extensively autonomous in supplying their needs, living without trade and transport, close to nature and depending essentially on cult and tradition for their skills, their world views being based on cyclic concepts, thus showing only little progress over time.<sup>11</sup>

It must sound rather astonishing that the above postulate of global philosophical implications can be

explained by means of architectural theory. But this presupposes an anthropological presentation of the architectural materials. This will be briefly outlined in the following.

## HABITAT RESEARCH AND ARCHITECTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Those who speak of traditional architecture today find themselves supported by what is well known. Man, they say, built shelters and huts as a protection against heat and cold. This idea is so well established that most encyclopedias somehow refer to it: building, like shelters and huts and the like. For the moment, let's call this the 'shelter-thesis'.<sup>12</sup> But, if one decides to do research, one should have an idea of the content of this research. We all deal implicitly or explicitly with architecture. If we take architecture as a container, what goes into it? For once, let us take it to be a very large thing, a generic term.

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"...nesting behaviour illustrates the ... phylogenetic development from a stage of dependence on self-adjustment to one of increasing dependence on manipulation or modification of the environment as a method of behavioural adaptation."<sup>13</sup>

### 1. Subhuman architecture

In his book >On Adam's House< Joseph Rykwert recently raised the question of the origins of architecture. As an art-historian he brilliantly discusses the history of the 'idea of the primitive hut'. BUT: of course, written history cannot do justice to this problem. Today it should be evident that the question of the primordial hut is an anthropological question. One has to look for >Adam's hut< where Adam is sought today: in primatology. More precisely: among the chimpanzees, gorillas, orangutans. Discovery: their nestbuilding behaviour has been known for about 200 years and was postulated by the Yerkes' in their monumental work on 'the Higher Apes' (1929) as proto-culture under the term 'constructivity', but - for understandable reasons<sup>14</sup> - this never really entered the cultural anthropological discussion.<sup>15</sup> The results of this survey have been published elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> Here we will only mention some of its most important aspects, namely those which support the following theoretical concepts.

The constructive techniques of primates are very differentiated. There are tree-nests and ground-nests (Fig. I/3-6). This distinction is very important in regard to the arboreal and terrestrial movements of the animals: these are vertical and horizontal. Nestbuilding behaviour is also extremely important in quantitative terms. All three species of the higher apes are nomadic. They build themselves new nests every night. If all the nests built by one individual during his roughly 40 years of life were piled on top of each other, the result would be a tower about 16 times the height of the Eiffel-Tower. An enormous opus! Furthermore, to a large extent nestbuilding is learnt behaviour;<sup>17</sup> it is a real subhuman tradition which may be very ancient (15-20 Millions of years?).<sup>18</sup> The nest is related to the nocturnal half of the apes' life (Fig. I/7,8). At night the apes are ill-adapted to their environment (stereoscope-vision), particularly in the vertically structured arboreal domain. The nest prevents them

from falling down. Socially too the nest is important. The changing mother-child relation is reflected in the form of the nest (Fig. I/9). And groups build a kind of temporary settlement, where distances seem to reflect the intimacy of relations (Fig. I/10). Settlements are dispersed (Fig. I/11) or along rivers (Fig. I/12). The nests are therefore of vital importance, unlike the ant-fishing behaviour which is often exaggerated as a form of proto-culture (McGrew).<sup>19</sup> But from our point of view, the most important aspect consists in the fact that primate nestbuilding behaviour provides a scientific base upon which to build up an anthropological theory of architecture.

This scientific basis provides priorities for the reconstruction of architectural development. Not stones (pebble tools) were the first tools but the hand! Weaving, bundling, sheaving, tying are the basic techniques in building!<sup>20</sup> Stone, clay and wood are secondary materials.<sup>21</sup> As a tool, the hand works with easily manipulated fibrous materials like grasses, twigs and branches.

There is another important implication of this new scientific base: it suggests new methods of reconstruction. Nestbuilding behaviour suggests important new questions in regard to basic problems of hominisation: Were the developments of a precision grip, of the increasing rotation of the arm, of the refinements of stereoscopic vision related to frequent building? Could the erect posture of the body be related to an increasing number of tower-like terrestrial nests - enforced by climatic conditions (loss of rainforest, increased formation of savannah)? Is it even possible that the increasing brain volume was related to increased memorizing of different constructional techniques? Now if one leans to the hypothesis that building might have been important for hominisation, then it suddenly becomes evident, that the archaeological method is not suitable for the elucidation of a constructive human past. All the artefacts important for development would have rotten away! Prehistorians in general do not realise that there is a basic contradiction in their concept of material culture, which becomes obvious on comparing an archaeological with an ethnological museum: "stones and bones", that is to say, durable materials on one hand; grasses, twigs, branches and woods, maybe up to 90%, on the other. Is the latter type of material culture late in time or is the archaeological method mistaken? Ergological paradox: the latter are technically more primitive than the former!

What does this mean? New approaches have to be adopted: ethno-historical, ethno-archaeological, ethno-anthropological. The past material culture has to be reconstructed not historically, but systematically. We have to find models in the ethnographic present and use history to verify our reconstructions. Very likely the archaeologist provides us with a human past that is based on an illusion: that what survived materially was responsible for human cultural development. Thus we hit upon a new method: we call it soft prehistory.<sup>22</sup> In this concept the following type of architecture plays an important role. Key-words: life-trees, idols, fetishes, sacred seats of gods. Religion took them to be an expression of primitive beliefs, but never really studied them. Within architectural theory they developed traditionally through long phases of local isolation. They provide the experimental field of architectural form and meaning.

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"Marduk (Ea)joined reed- wickerwork together on the water, earth he made, put it on the wickerwork to provide a seat of comfort to the gods...<sup>23</sup>

## 2. Semantic architecture

By semantic architecture we mean a type of built form which basically shows no sign of functioning as a shelter; as a rule, it does not provide interior space and therefore is - in regard to form, function and size - not functionally related to the human body. Its essential function<sup>24</sup> is semantic: it is constructed to form a sign in its spatial environment. What entitles us to integrate semantic architecture into an architectural anthropology is its global distribution, in a diachronic and synchronic sense.<sup>25</sup> Documentation will be published soon (Fig. II A-E)<sup>26</sup>

The author has carried out an ethnographic survey of such traditions in a particularly favourable milieu in terms of cultural geography, mainly in Japan.<sup>27</sup> In relation to ancient continental culture (China), Japan - particularly in its small-scale agrarian parts - could until recently be considered as a marginal area. Its entry into the circle of advanced culture (or the First World, so to speak) was relatively late (8th century). This is also due to its 200 years of national seclusion and essentially because until today, it was hardly christianised.<sup>28</sup> For these reasons it has preserved an enormous wealth of traditions rooted basically in its agrarian prehistory.

100 villages in Central Japan were surveyed in detail in regard to semantic architecture. (Fig. III B) Materials on semantic architecture available from Japanese folklore studies were also drawn upon and listed to generalize the results. (Fig. III C) As a whole, the study conveys the impression that semantic architecture must have been the general rule in Japanese villages before the introduction of Buddhism.<sup>29</sup>

Semantic architecture basically had two semantic functions: socio-territorial and ideological. Socio-territorial functions are illustrated by selected schemes only (Fig. III A/1-3). They function like a coat of arms. The cult group which builds a particular sign for the village-god (ujigami) considers this to be its own symbol, at the same time representing the domain of its members. Similar formal types and ritual unions with mobile types can indicate genetic relations, ancient association between settlements, economic dependence etc., in short, village history. The line of stereotype cyclic rituals begins with the foundation of the village, when the sign was initially institutionalised by the village founder. By continuous renewal in relation to the >main- and branch-shrine< (moto/waka miya) and >main- and branch house< (honke/bunke) systems, they became the traditional archive of village politics.<sup>30</sup>

But what is most important in the present context is their ideological function. At first sight the forms are mysterious: they are dominated by geometry. Geometry? Something spiritual? Platonism? A bundle of stalks always becomes round, a circle in diameter, without the intervention of human thought! (Fig. III A/4) Geometry as a technical by-product of semantic architecture?

Besides these archaic traits there is another general principle of form. (Fig. III A/ 5-7) All forms are more or less clearly divided into an upper and a lower part. The threshold between the two is marked by a holy rope. Detailed description of these clearly separated parts indicates that they represent opposite categories. The upper part is natural, freely branching, moves with the wind, has no definite limits, like a bush. In contrast, the lower part stands firmly at a particular point, fixed into the ground, clearly defined by ropes and knots, ancient technology of binding and bundling, geometrically outlined by the human hand. We can ask with Nietzsche: do Apollon and Dionysos live in the same form and at the same place? In Japan the symbolism of such forms is often called in-yo, which is the same as the Chinese Yin-Yang. And this is the symbol par excellence of polar thought, of the harmonious principle of the coincidence of opposites! But what is important here: they are not expressed by an abstract design but in an evidently primitive type of construction: it might be a very ancient synthesis of form and idea!<sup>31</sup> Here too the origin of this formal principle can be explained as a product of binding rooted stalks. No genius then? Did Anaximander, the Greek philosopher know this, when he said: "man is the most intelligent living being because he has hands."? We are back to our philosophical theme of the beginning. We said that the complementary worldview has a harmonious trend, that it is close to aesthetics. Shock! Have we discovered the primeval form of beauty? The origin of art? Might this be a form, which taught us our primary world-view of complementarity, of the coincidence of opposites?

Obviously these forms do not simply represent l'art pour l'art. We already said that they were the archives of village policy, something of irreplaceable historical value in traditional villages. But they were much more! They were models in a cognitive process which can be reconstructed by using other types (anthropo-, zoo-, terio-, techno-morphic examples). The cognition leads from semantic architecture to natural forms!<sup>32</sup> (Fig. III A/8) The medium of this transition is the concept of coincidence of opposites, our 'elementary aesthetics'. The objects 1 and 4 are completely different things in our analytical, or teleological world-view. 1 is an artificially made sacred symbol of primitive construction. 4 is a holy, but natural tree. Within the harmonious world-view they are analogous or - in regard to the formal principle - identical. We understand the philosophical principle of 'universal unity' as e.g. the Yin-Yang concept suggests. This looks very simple, but it provides a concept which allows us to understand the harmonious world-view of the Third World in new ways - entirely different from our scientific outlook!<sup>33</sup> Most villages in Japan are structured according to this principle. In studying their local rituals one finds complementary relations between mountains and plains, woods and fields, nature and culture, village as place, access as path etc. It is a world-view which finds expression in Japanese art from its beginnings right on through the ages. (Fig. III A/ 9) In short, we have found a basic cognitive concept related to a type of architecture which we called 'semantic architecture'. It seems to be related to village history and politics, to the aesthetic culture of settlements and to philosophy. What we called ideological function corresponds to the Chinese Yin-Yang. In Japan we can reasonably argue that such built signs were the rule in Japanese villages before the introduction of Buddhism, that is to say, before the places they marked were replaced by wooden shrine-architecture. (Fig. III C) Thus we have to recognise that the prehistoric agricultural society of Japan (Yayoi and Kofun- periods), plain with its historical continuity up to present times, not only had a very philosophical type of architecture and art, they also had a philosophy, the philosophy of coincidence of opposites.

Now we take Japan as a model. Based on the global distribution of semantic architecture,

synchronically as well as diachronically, we may suggest the following hypothesis. Not only the signs but also polar philosophy became important during the sedentary developments of the neolithic period. Both traditions continued throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages and on into the historical period of agricultural societies in Europe until the spread of Christianity. In other cultures, particularly in traditional Asia, built signs and the corresponding polar philosophy continued up to the present. In general, the polar world-view played an essential role in pre-scientific thought. For verification we can point to the earliest sources of written signs. They are very similar in different cultures (Fig. IV). Did writing start by copying semantic architecture?<sup>34</sup> Semantic architecture would thus have to be considered the revolutionary teacher of neolithic revolution. In general this could also be maintained for the traditional societies that ethnology deals with. Finally, it may be that semantic architecture stands behind the problems we have with the Third World. Do we have difficulties in understanding them because all our scientific approaches are analytical, that is to say, based on the philosophy of the First World?

## **ARCHITECTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

What have we done? We have used architectural theory and a widened First/Third World concept to gain an insight into ethnology and prehistory. La pensee sauvage? Prehistoric philosophy? There is doubtless a very ancient correlation between architecture and space-perception. In short: by using the phenomenon 'semantic architecture' and its technical, formal, temporal and spatial implications, we may not only touch upon basic problems of philosophy, cognition, religion, and art, but also of basic patterns of linguistics<sup>35</sup> (e.g. the complementary nature of categories in many cultures). Structuralism and semiotics<sup>36</sup> might find new approaches. Archaeology, prehistory and paleanthropology fall into a critical light. Semantic architecture leads us globally to new hypotheses and into a complex and interdisciplinary field of cultural anthropology. Was the relevant prehistory not durable? Was architecture essentially responsible for the establishment of cultural norms? The contrast with the conventional interdisciplinary approach comes clear: it is not architecture that has to borrow from its neighbour disciplines: architectural research brings new approaches, new hypotheses. Architecture as the mother of all arts? Architecture certainly has something to say in cultural anthropology!

## **ARCHITECTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURAL THEORY**

Architectural theory will change fundamentally. In the following we combine conventional types of architecture with those newly introduced in this article. (See following scheme)<sup>37</sup>

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### ***EVOLUTIONARY SCHEME OF 4 TYPES OF ARCHITECTURE***

**(up to the present)**

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.....-----SEDENTARY=====>

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...../ / / / /.....
.....-----DOMESTIC=====>
...../ / / / /.....
.....-----SEMANTIC=====>
...../ / / / /.....
-----SUBHUMAN=====>

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All four traditions are still observable in our time, but it is evident that subhuman architecture must be a very ancient tradition. It is also evident that domestic architecture belongs to a later phase than does semantic architecture. The hut needs a more elaborate concept and technology than does a sign, which, in its most elementary form, is simply made by a grip of the hand. Furthermore, domestic architecture is highly specialised in terms of functions, whereas signs are extremely flexible. Finally, signs provide more explanations for cultural phenomena. Semantic architecture might have been the 'creator' of fire,<sup>38</sup> of tools and devices<sup>39</sup>, of script<sup>40</sup>, of social structure<sup>41</sup>, of art<sup>42</sup>, even of religious<sup>43</sup> and philosophical concepts, as we have tried to show. Thus the human hut - in regard to internal space - may have had its precursors between semantic and domestic forms: small constructions independent of the human body like traps for animals and fish, small signs and shelters used to store collected fruits, vegetables and other materials at a certain place. Finally, when consciousness of internal space had developed, man started to use such forms on a larger scale to shelter himself. Nomadic and semi-nomadic hunters and collectors might have had loosely distributed agglomerations of non-durable dwellings in which semantic (socio-territorial and ideological) functions were essential for orientation.<sup>44</sup> The permanent settlement is generally associated with the neolithic period, and ethnographically with agriculture. Semantic architecture may have provided the structural layout of sedentary settlements.<sup>45</sup> In short, our scheme of types can essentially be considered as a series of parallel traditions which influenced one another at certain times and evidently from the lower towards the upper levels.<sup>46</sup> The connection within and between the levels is due to tradition.<sup>47</sup>

But what is most important: the 'shelter thesis', considered to be fundamental until now, moves to the end of a very ancient continuum of 'constructivity'. Domestic architecture presupposes a large field of architectural forms, independent of the human body, in which constructive, formal and symbolic characteristics might have developed over very long periods. It is evident that the enormous manifold we find today (see the Japanese model) including anthropo-, zoo- and terio-morphous precursors (art!) developed in numerous isolated locations. In many ways these semantic traditions must have influenced the formation of the house, either structurally<sup>48</sup> or by the accumulation of different semantic elements, such as hearth and fire, sacred pillars within the house, entrance door and other elements as 'buildings within the building'. Domestic architecture thus becomes a composition of various semantic elements!<sup>49</sup> (Fig. V)

Now, if the house is of composite character, we could understand e.g. how rites and cults (originally developed with the renewal of signs in the semantic stage), follow the integration of sacred pillars, fire, hearth etc. into the house. A new instrument is found for research into the ideological structure of the house! The same may be assumed for the >coincidence of opposites< expressed by semantic

architecture. What we today interpret as the cosmological meaning of a domestic type of architecture, might simply be the accumulated remnant of semantic architecture, its harmonious structure and its polar philosophy, misinterpreted by ourselves in terms of our modern cosmology! The same can be said of ornamental pillars, doors, roofs etc.. In the case of woven or bundled plant ornaments these are obviously a reminiscence of semantic precursors. Was this aesthetic tradition so strong that it survived over thousands, maybe even millions of years?

In short, we can no longer rely on current concepts of religion, of the history of art, of historical philosophy etc. if we want to explain domestic architecture and its formal, symbolic and semantic phenomena.<sup>50</sup> Rather we have to focus on the architectural tradition of a particular geographical unit for our reconstructions. The same may be said in regard to the structure of settlements. We have outlined the idealised structure of a Japanese village in relation to its cultic tradition of semantic architecture.<sup>51</sup> Settlement research in traditional societies would have to include cults and rites showing semantic architecture - what religion conventionally regarded as its own domain. Only then might it be possible to perceive the roots of settlement patterns!<sup>52</sup>

## CONCLUSION: WHY DO WE NEED A GENERAL FRAME?

The subtitle of this paper asked: why do we need a general framework? I do not believe in the total pluralism of present cultural anthropology. In English the word "history" is related to the Greek *historia*, 'knowledge'; but in German 'History' means 'Geschichte'. And this comes from 'Geschehen', 'what happened'. Thus, besides what we know about history there is something which factually happened. History had a certain economy. Certain things were possible at a certain time, others not. In general our cultural anthropology is not really conscious of all its developed retro-projections. For instance, it is historio-methodologically absolutely unwarrantable to attempt to explain processes related to the origin of the world (~ one thousand million years ago) and cosmogony (about ten thousand million years ago) on the basis of a written history covering only 2-3000 years. The Ptolemaic world map clearly documents the extension of geographic or spatial consciousness in the Mediterranean ancient world. They were entirely limited to the Mediterranean Sea and the Near East. Further, Kerschensneider<sup>53</sup> showed that the word >kosmos< in Greek meant >battle-formation< amongst other things. Its spatially narrow meaning of order and beauty survives in our cosmetics! Thus it is simply historically illegitimate to speak of archaic cosmologies before it has been clarified what such terms really meant at those times! Consequently, it would be nonsense to base architectural theory on history, using methods developed by other disciplines. We would remain in the (mis-) interpretive schemes of these disciplines. In short, it may have become clear why - in contrast to Alsayyad - we need "grand theories". We need the wide-angle outlook and a general frame. Firstly, to avoid mistakes in our research. Secondly, to bring forth new cultural hypotheses based on facts. Thirdly, to find our 'own way', our own methodology of architectural research. Fourthly and finally, to question the ever-changing 'styles' of the art historian in architectural theory and to work out a design theory with reliable criteria, one which is focussed on man in the anthropological sense.<sup>54</sup>

Let us return to our introduction with our dualistic or coincidental pair, namely "mind and matter". In our short philosophical discussion we said that 'duality' corresponds to the 'First World' and 'polarity' represents the basic thought pattern of the 'Third World'. In regard to the First World this would mean >mind OR matter<, but for the Third World >mind AND matter<, a basic difference which has left

deep imprints on European thought and is still at the root of our difficulties with the Third World. After 2000 years of philosophical arrogance, religious proselytizing and economic exploitation, it may be that with architectural anthropology - and this means >mind AND matter< - we are now on the right path to get away from all those miserable misconstructions based on a bloody prehistory of butchering and killing with its absurd concepts of primitive man (are WE not the primitive?) and its ugly Social Darwinisms etc.. We could start to re-interpret ourselves, together with the Third World, in all modesty and in a globally humanistic sense as 'homo tectonicus', as constructive human beings.

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# FIGURE CAPTIONS

## PLATE I

- 1** Polar cognition is incompatible to the analytical system of thought. The first perceives the environment in harmonious analogies, the other defines objects by analytically judging its characteristics (quality, quantity, etc.)
- 2** Criterias of the applied 3rd/1st world concept.
- 3** A grown-up chimpanzee female is building her nest in the crown of a palm-tree (Goodall 1962)
- 4** Goodall (1962) gives a sketch of how the basic elements used by the subhuman builder are intervoven to form a stable base.
- 5** Gorillas build ground-nests close to the ground (Bolwig 1959).
- 6** Izawa and Itani drew the structure of six chimpanzee nests. 5, 7, 8 and 9 are essentially tripods, 6 represents a platform supported by two inclined trees. 4 shows a tree- nest supported partially by a slender tree and by a horizontal piece of thick wood to which the nest is fixed.
- 7** Goodall (1962) describes various positions of chimpanzees in their nests. There seems to exist a considerable behavioural individualism in basically the same situation.
- 8** Rain doesn't much bother the animal . Goodall gives this drawing of a chimpanzee sitting in his nest during rain.
- 9** Different stages of the mother-child relation are reflected in different stages of the nestform (Kawai/ Mizuhara 1954).
  - 1**mother and child sleep in the same circular nest
  - 2**the part for the baby forms a bulge.
  - 3**mother- and child-nest are separate but closely located.
  - 4**mother- and child-nest are separated by a certain distance.
- 10a** Horizontal plan of a group of 6 gorilla-nests used during a night camp in mountainous woods (Kawai/ Mizuhara 1959)
  - A**treenest (F2)
  - +** mixed nest (bamboo and branches of trees (D3, E2)
  - x** bamboo nest (B2, C3)
  - o**ground-nest (A1)
  - D** dirty (feces; all except female D3)

**nD**not dirty  
**h**height in meters

**10b** This horizontal plan was reconstructed vertically so as to give a kind of architects view of the gorilla nesting site. For better view materials not used for construction are cut off. The visual relations among the animals might thus be of lesser importance than the audio relation produced by the working process and the animals voices. Mother and baby are placed in the centre of the group and in an elevated tree-nest. The dominating male is most exposed in his ground-nest. Maybe he protects the access path to the nesting site.

**11** Distribution of orangutan nests in an area of about 6 km<sup>2</sup>. The clusters are rather disperse, not clearly related to rivers.

**12** Distribution of chimpanzee-nests in the area researched by Izawa and Itani (1966). The clusters are preferably located in the trees of 18-25 m height (steep slopes of valleys).

**large dot:**10 nests  
**small dot:**1 nest

## PLATES II

The plates A-F give a selection of the historical and ethnological materials documented as 'semantic architecture'. Detailed description and bibliography will be given in another publication.

**A**Paleolithic  
**B**Ancient Near East and Egypt  
**C**Ancient Greece and Rome  
**D**India, China, Korea (Ancient and Recent)  
**E**Ethnology (Africa, Asia, Australia, America)  
**F**European folklore

## PLATE IIIA

**1** Function of semantic architecture based on reconstructions in Japan: territorial demarcation of village territory: A = prehistorical (pre-buddhistic); B = historical Shinto, influenced by Buddhism (with outer and inner torii and Shinto-shrine)

**E** village entrance way  
**G1**gate at borderline between 'outside' and 'inside'  
**H**house-doorways  
**G2**gate to ritual place  
**M**main sign between dwelling domain and sacred woods representing village territory  
**T1**outer torii  
**T2** inner torii



**SS**hinto-shrine

**OW**outside world

**DD**dwelling domain (inside world) with rice-fields

**SW**sacred woods (inaccessible primeval forest)

**2a** Those who 'make' the sign 'own' it and thus also are 'owners' of the territory

**2b** Different forms represent different villages

**3a** The main sign is instituted by the village founder at the foundation of the village and from then on annually renewed with new materials. The form of the perishable sign can thus be preserved over a considerable period of time. The renewal of the sign is the central function of these rituals. In relation with the house of the village-founder whose representant is priest of the village-cult and chief of the village, it documents the social hierarchy of the settlement.

**S**sign/symbol in the centre of the annual cult

**NA**sign creates aesthetic norms of the settlement (coincidence of opposites: harmony)

**NS**sign creates social norms of the settlement (cult groups and social hierarchy: founder)

**NR**sign creates ritual norms of the settlement (cyclic time concept) **G**foundation of village

**E**first renewal

**Enn**-th renewal

**3b** Semantic architecture set at the foundation of settlement defines its layout (coincidence of opposite domains: a natural part is set in polar relation with cultural domains like agricultural fields and space for dwellings. The relations among founderhouse, descendants and later newcomers forms the basis of the local hierarchy.

**4** Binding thin linear elements to form a bundle always creates geometry!

**5** The sign defines front and back and a central axis with an mobile empty upper part and a compact and stable lower part. The sacred rope marks the centre where the opposites 'coincide'

**6** Reconstruction of structural and formal analogies provided by the principle of >coincidence of opposites<. Though the semantic function of the signs requests differentiation, they all obey to the principle of harmony of opposite categories and thus show a formal system of unity and difference at the same time.

**7**

**a-c**Coincidence of opposites is the formal and spiritual principle which unites all forms. (C) The lower part is closely fixed to the ground. In some cases the upper part is called tenkai, meaning 'canopy of heaven'

**d** The object is one but shows two contradictory elements. With the rope three elements form a unity.

**e** If the sign is burnt, the fire forms the upper part with similar categories.

**f** Coincidence: way and place

**g** Schematic representation of different categories:

natural - technical

not defined - defined

empty - compact

many - one

mobile - fixed

**8** Coincidence of opposites among territorial signs as cognitive principle. An 'artificial' tree which is built in the region surveyed lead to an interesting hypothesis for the cultural perception (or the 'discovery'!) of the natural tree (and natural objects in general). The multi-categorical structure of 'coincidence of opposites' with which the semantic builder is familiar is transferred to the natural tree, first in the function as a territorial marker (tree- cult!), then in a general sense.

**9** What corresponds to the principle of 'coincidence of opposites' and thus expresses harmony was of highest value since the beginnings of Japanese art-history.

**V** categories related to 'heaven', like upper, light, dynamic, light, empty, limitless

**A** categories related to 'earth', like lower, stable, linear, technical, defined

**1** many vessels of the Jomon period (~8000 - 400 -/) show flame-like decorations of unknown meaning in their upper part. In contrast to this, the lower part is usually cylindrical and shows a regular basketry-like texture.

**2** The Kofun- (tumulus) period (3rd to 7th century -/) shows many clay models of houses with symbolically hipped roofs (irimoya; National Museum, Tokyo)

**3** Haniwa (decorated clay-cylinders set up around tombs) of the kinugasa type (Okayama-region), formed like a kind of umbrella with the symbolic meaning of the heavenly canopy. Such umbrellas usually made of precious textiles are used widely in processions to mark important persons or sacred objects (Tokyo-Univ., archeological department).

**4** There are many large and small tombs of early Japanese emperors and their relatives (Kofun period, 3rd to 7th century -/) in the region around Nara-City. Many of them show a particular form which is not known in China. They resemble the form of a key-hole, that is to say they are composed of a round tumulus and a rectangular or slightly conical part.

**5** gable-view of shrine-roof (Ise-style; Kotaijingž betsukž aramatsuri no miyash<sup>TM</sup>den; acc. to Fukuyama)

## PLATE III

**B** Forms found in the region surveyed by the author.

**C** Forms found in other parts of Japan (plates based partially on Japanese folklore literature on festivals, partially on field work of the author).

## PLATE IV

Script seems to have its origins from semantic architecture. Different cultures show very similar prototypes!

**1** Earliest Sumerian signs from Uruk/Warka (acc. to Falkenstein 1936)

**2** Early Sumerian signs (Jemdet-Nasr/Kisch, acc. to Langdon 1928)

**3** Cretan-Minoan signs (acc. to Evans 1909/1952, 1921)

**4** Signs scratched on bones in China. Shang-period (1500- 1000 -/)

## PLATE V

**1** The concept of >Buildings in the building<, or of accumulation is reflected in an example of the traditional architecture of the Ainu in the north of Japan. The drawing shows how various elements accumulated and formed a harmonious whole:

**RF** shape of roof (outline only) imported from traditional Japanese farmer-house house. Early type: Yayoi pit- dwellings

**TP1+2** two tripods lifted on beam. Origin: Ainu hunter's hut.

**SW** sacred window defined by two forched pillars provided with inau-kike (sign for sacred objects)

**SF** sacred fire. Original concept: small building of grasses or wood can burn, then forms coincidence with light, warmth, movement, life.

**E** main entrance defined by two forched pillars provided with inau-kike and protected by two further signs.

**SM** sacred mountains (upper part inaccessible for humans)

**SA** sacred fence consisting of 4 main altars indicating different domains related to hunting (bear), fishing (waters) and collection of plants ('standing vegetables and trees) and dwelling (ancestors)

**SP** sacred pillar erected at bear festival to attach wild bear. Tip marked by fresh bamboo-leaves and inau.

**HG** house god, male (chise koro kamui, verbally: house owner god; the Ainu delegate property to their sacred signs)

**FG** fire goddess, female (kamui fuchi), her 'territory' within the house, the hearth, is marked by her particular sign; note complementarity with house-god

**RI** river, provides axial direction for the house (line from hearth to sacred fence is parallel to river, sacred fence towards holy mountains)

## Osea, ocean

**2** The accumulated whole provides various polar domains (coincidence of opposites):

lower <-----> upper

- 1** human, normal / non-human (sacred bear), non-normal
- 2** closed, covered / open, center / periphery, limited / non-limited
- 3** close to human domain / close to sacred domain
- 4** human / non-human
- 5** cultural domain / natural domain

**3** The sacred signs (inau) of the Ainu play an important role in defining use and value of spatial domains of the house and the environment. They mark the borderline between two different domains (nature, culture). During rituals they are the centre of gift exchange between polar domains (nature and culture). With this system of 'coincidence of opposites' the Ainu structure all their activities (dwelling, hunting, fishing, collecting). The sacred signs are the symbolic models of their world-view (similar like the Chinese Yin- Yang-symbol). Thus, house and environment are essentially an accumulation of semantic and domestic architectural elements.

**4** Schematic representation of the concept of >buildings in the building<, or accumulation. The elements A, B, C, D, E are originally independent elements which have accumulated through time. Thus the 'house' is not a functional totality but shows its composite character. E. g. the fire (E) in this concept is an independent construction of its own which entered the house in a secondary development. Similarly the windows and the door can be considered as independent structures.

**A**roof as independent structure (the original hut)

**B**walls might have developped in the context of pit dwellings covered with a roof and later - in arid regions - might have lost their organic roofs.

**C**indows: many traditional houses show the independent treatment of windows as 'buildings in the building'

**D**door: it marks the transition from outer space into domestic space. In many architectural traditions it has a very independent character as a building of its own.

**E** fire: many traditional societies with very little domestic outfit (e.g. Australian aborigines) built fires in the open air. It thus marks a temporary place of social gatherings. Further its structure (wooden 'hut' and flames) fits the concept of coincidence of opposites or polar harmony!

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## REFERENCE NOTES

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- 1** Jean-Paul Bourdier and Nezar Alsayyad (ed.) 1989, Lanham, London, New York
- 2** When I read the first sentence of Henry Glassie's contribution to the latest Berkeley Review (TDSR I/II 1990 :9) I immediately felt the need to reverse his 'grand theory' ("all architecture"!, "cultural norms"! ) into its opposite. The motto is the result of this. His text: "All architecture is the embodiment of cultural norms that preexist individual buildings." On first sight an absolutely valid statement if we look at the synchronic relation 'man makes architecture'. Of course everyone knows: to make a building needs a concept. But there is another side to the medal: 'architecture makes man', and this implies a diachronic perspective, because the grades of change only reveal their effective character in larger temporal units in the frame of an anthropology of architecture.
- 3** B. Dumezil: Les Dieux des Germains, Paris 1959, C. Levy-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale, Paris 1958, J. Haekel: Die Dualsysteme in Afrika. In: Anthropos 45, 1950.
- 4** R. Hertz: Death and the Right Hand. The Free Press, Glencoe 1960/1909; E. Leach: Genesis as Myth. In: J. Middleton (ed.): Myth and Cosmos. New York, Nat. History Press 1967; E. Leach: Magical Hair. In: J. Middleton (ed.): Myth and Cosmos. New York, Nat. History Press 1967; E. Ohnuki-Tierney: Concepts of Time among the Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Sakhalin. In: American Anthropologist 71, 1969, E. Ohnuki-Tierney: Spatial Concepts of the Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Southern Sakhalin. In: American Anthropologist 74, 1972.
- 5** See e.g. Cunningham: Order in the Adoni-House. Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde von Nederlandsch Indie, 120:34-68
- 6** H. Schmidt/ G. Schischkoff: Philosophisches Wörterbuch, Kršner, Stuttgart 1969
- 7** H. Schmidt/ G. Schischkoff, op. cit.
- 8** With similar terms, A. J. Bahm works globally on a >Philosophy of Interdependence< against Western analytical reasoning. Bahm combines essentially various types of systems theory with a comparative history of philosophical and religious ideas. See A. J. Bahm: Polarity, Dialectic and Organicity. Albuquerque 3/1988, 1/1970; J. Bahm: Organicism: The Philosophy of Interdependence, in: International Philosophical Quarterly vol. 8, No. 2, June 1967; J. Bahm: Comparing Civilizations as Systems, in: Systems Research vol. 5 No. 1, :35-47
- 9** We use all three terms in a synonymous sense.
- 10** But these world-views are not independent of each other, they are genetically related. The transition from a polar and harmonious to a dual and analytical world-view can be seen clearly in the field of pre-socratic thought, namely between Heraclitus (higher and lower sounds form a melody;

war [the tension of opposites] is the beginning of all things) and Aristotle's >Doctrine of categories< and his >Organon<. It is remarkable that Greek philosophy begins at the Ionian coast, at the end of the Persian road. Many pre-socratic texts seem to discuss structures given by oriental rites (is our world a pillar?). Thus European thought would have arisen from a universal substrate of basically harmonious thought. By the way, this is an approach with far-reaching consequences See N. Egenter: East and West - Philosophical Foundations for an Anthropology of Cognition and World-View. In: Philosophy and the Future of Humanity, Oct. 1990 (Djakarta)

**11** If the First World - Third World complex is simply taken as a phenomenon, it remains exposed to functional explanations and one-sided value judgments. If we characterize it in terms of cultural history, or, better, >structural history<, we might understand differences from different structural systems of culture (see: Karl R. Wernhart: Kulturgeschichte und Ethnohistorie als Strukturgeschichte, in: Schmied/ Kowarzik/ Stagl: Grundfragen der Ethnologie, Berlin 1981). And, after all, these problems are not new. Around the time of Moses (~ 1300 B.C.) there were similar tensions between the 'First World' of the Egyptian Pharaohs and their high technology (pyramids) and the Hebrew population, mainly farmers and herdsmen of the 'Third World' corridor between Egypt and Mesopotamia. In this context the Old Testament is an interesting source. And further: global typologies of cultures are quite advanced in the Cambridge school of archaeology. In this sense the basic data of Fig. 1 are similar to those used in Chapter 63, >Comparative Chronologies< (entire world and major regions) in: Andrew Sherratt (ed.) The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Archaeology, Cambridge Univ. Press 1980, :432ff.

**12** More precisely, this implies theoretical concepts interpreting the windbreaks and huts we find in ethnology as primitive constructions and precursors of human domestic constructions. In this concept early man had to protect himself against negative influences like rain, wind, the heat of the sun etc. and would have invented corresponding devices. This is a type of teleological retro-projection which is often too promptly to hand in various disciplines. From the point of view of transformation, building cannot just be invented in terms of functional responses to certain needs. Each phase or stage of a transformational process presupposes constructive abilities, formal concepts and capacities of spatial perception.

**13** Yerkes: The Great Apes. 1929:564.

**14** Zoologists interpreted it as being conditioned by instinct and considered it analogous to the bird's nest, but overlooked the technical fact that the bird's nest is made with the beak, the ape's nest with the hand. Another reason: when social interests became dominant in primate research, nestbuilding was interpreted as a marginal aspect of social behaviour (See N. Egenter: Affen Architekten, op. cit.)

**15** With one exception: Sabater Pi (Etologia de la Vivienca Humana, Barcelona 1985) relates the nests of gorillas and chimpanzees to pigmy huts in Africa. His concept is influenced by palaeoanthropologists such as Leakey who - on the basis of limited findings (Lucy) - suggests the East African origin of man. On the other hand, the fact that the orangutans show the same behaviour in Indonesia implies a much wider angle: the whole of human ergology should theoretically be included in the frame of an architectural anthropology (see e.g. textiles < lat. tectum, roof). See: W. Hirschberg, A. Janata & Ch. Feest: Technologie und Ergologie in der Völkercunde. 2 vols., Berlin

1980/89

**16** See N. Egenter: Affen Architekten (Ape architects; the nestbuilding traditions of the higher apes, an architectural-anthropological survey) In: 'Umriß' 2/1983:2-9, Vienna; N. Egenter: Kenchiku-jinruigaku o mezashite. Posuto-modan kenchiku to jinruien ni yoru suzukuri; Foundation for an Anthropological Theory of Architecture - What has the Nestbuilding Behavior of the Higher Apes to do with Post-Modern Architecture? (Japanese and English). In: A+U (Architecture and Urbanism) Feb. 1987, No. 197 Tokyo; N. Egenter: L'architecte createur, fondements pour une theorie anthropologique d'architecture. In: "A propos de..."; Cahiers d'information - atelier de premiere annee - Departement d'architecture, EPFL, Lausanne 1988; N. Egenter: The nestbuilding Behaviour of Higher Apes; Foundation for an Architectural Anthropology. In: Int. Semiotic Spectrum Nr. 14, Toronto 1990

**17** Babies raised in isolation from their mother show an inherited motor behaviour which consists in pulling any materials close to the body with jerky movements of the arms. They are incapable of weaving branches and twigs into a durable structure (I. S. Bernstein: Response to nesting materials of wildborn and captive born chimpanzees. In *Animal Behaviour*, 10, 1-6, 1962; I. S. Bernstein: A comparison of nesting patterns among the three great apes. In G. H. Bourne (ed.) *The Chimpanzee*, 1, 393-402, Karger, Basel 1969; J. Lethmate: Nestbauverhalten eines isoliert aufgezogenen jungen Orang-Utans. In *Primates*, 18, 3, 545-554, 1977). The process of learning is well described in the literature. Playing with small nest-models is important. The learning process lasts about 3-4 years.

**18** This is suggested by the fact that chimpanzees and gorillas on one hand and the orangutan on the other live on different continents but show the same nestbuilding behaviour. Was nestbuilding developed by a common ancestor before continental separation took place? This would shed new light on the importance of tradition.

**19** A good example: At >The World Archaeological Congress< in Southampton (Sept. 1986) W.C. McGrew read a paper on the material culture of the chimpanzees. In Africa he had observed chimpanzees in the wild, especially with regard to their ant-fishing behaviour. Ant-fishing designates the use of twigs stripped of leaves for poking into ant-hills. After the twig is pulled out the ants sticking to it are licked off and eaten. Protoculture! McGrew showed numerous slides with nicely prepared sticks of various lengths and forms. But to someone who knows about nestbuilding in all its existential aspects it is astonishing how a completely marginal behaviour can be studied in so much detail. There is no doubt that archaeology and its 'man-the-toolmaker' concept implies a relationship between the hand and tool-work which misguides researchers, whereas the nest is a quite different product: this shows direct relation between the hand and the resulting work. The hand is the first tool! See: W.C. McGrew: Chimpanzee Material Culture - What are its Limits and why? In: >The Pleistocene Perspective< vol. 1, >The World Archaeological Congress<, Southampton (Allen & Unwin) 1986.

**20** If we were to speak of a 'primitive hut' we would now have to consider the groundnest of the higher apes. This shows important characteristics: its foundations are naturally rooted, and the knotting of the stalks of that which is made with bamboo shows a clear triangle structure. Geometry among the higher apes? But the animal does not live in its hut, it climbs up and rests on top of it. The

construction must be very stable and should not break down under the weight of the heavy animal, thus illustrating a kind of professional ethics with which the architect is familiar.

**21** Such priorities will become important in the search for the meaning of architecture: many forms of wood, earth or stone can be interpreted as metabolisms from an ephemeral to a durable stage (metabolism: material is changed, form remains the same!). Form and 'ornamentation' (!) were developed in the primary stage with fibrous plant materials, the durable form copied from its non durable precursor. Regarding 'metabolism', see G. Semper: >Der Stil in den Technischen und Tektonischen KŸnsten. 2 vols. MŸnchen 1860/1863; and N. Egenter: Rivestimento - Incrostazione - Metabolismo della Forma nell'opera di Gottfried Semper e Applicazione della sua Tesi principale nella recente Ricerca antropologica architettuale (Clothing - Incrustation - Metabolism of Form in the work of Gottfried Semper and the Application of his basic Theory in recent research into Architectural Anthropology; Paper read at the International Seminar >Architettura in pietra a secco<, 27-30 sept. 1987, University degli Studi di Bari, Italy. Semper was greatly influenced by evolutionists like Cuvier and Darwin! His books are outdated today in regard to the materials his theory is based on, but with new materials his theory is still valuable.

**22** This concept has been worked out for European cultural history. see N. Egenter: Software for a soft prehistory; structural history and structural ergology as applied to a type of universally distributed 'soft industry': sacred territorial demarcation signs made of non durable organic materials. The World Archaeological Congress, >Archaeological 'Objectivity' in Interpretation<, vol. 2, Allen & Unwin, Southampton and London, 1986

**23** The text describes the foundation of a settlement in ancient Babylonia. Semantic architecture made of reed serves as initial document of the foundation. The implication is that the later ritual will preserve the 'sacred seat of gods', and thus keep up the founder line's claim to the territory. The ancient text is: "The sacred house, the house of gods was not created on sacred place, reed not sprouted, tree not grown. Bricks not laid down, foundations not built, house not made, settlement not built, settlement not made, living together not possible. Nippur not created, Ekur not built, Uruk not created, Eanna not built, Eridu not created, Eridu not built, the place of the holy house, the place of the house of god not created. The lands all were [like] sea, The ground of the isles was waterflow. Marduk (Ea) joined reed-wickerwork together on the water, earth he made, put it on the wickerwork to provide a seat of comfort to the gods, humans he created, Aruru humans he created; animals of the field, living in the field he created, the green of the fields he created, the lands, the meadows and the reeds; the wild cow, her young, the calf, the sheep, its young the lamb of the pen, fruit tree gardens and groves...." (Winckler). Religion interprets this description as >creation myth<, but obviously 'create' does not mean the 'creation' of a cosmological creator. The reed milieu of the Euphrates and Tigris region is clearly indicated. Today the 'Marsh Arabs' still show us how it is possible to live on the 'chaotic waters'. All elements are evident: in the beginning, endless reed plains, like endless waters, no civilisation, primordial chaos (in regard to human settlements). The second part describes the act of foundation and the third part tells us of the results of this act. The initial planning is done, the surfaces are distributed: where peoples will live, where fruitgardens will be planted, where the pens for wild cows and sheep will be placed etc.. For the text see: H. Winckler: Die babylonische WeltschŸpfung. In: der Alte Orient und die Bibel, Leipzig, 1906.

**24** We do not use the term "function" in its purely teleological sense, meaning >a conventional



conception of a device for a certain purpose<, but rather in the sense of >a particular device handed down from time immemorial and used in a particular way according to the immanent characteristics of the object<. "Function" in our sense is highly variable. The same traditional device can be functionally interpreted in different ways, which keeps the evolutionary process going.

**25** See N. Egenter: Software for a soft prehistory; op. cit.. This contains materials relevant for Europe.

**26** Archaeology and the history of art show semantic architecture on paleolithic sources among the so-called 'tectiformes'. In the ancient high cultures as earliest scripts of the Sumerians, as well as on bones in ancient China. In the ancient Orient, semantic architecture is found in abundance as life-trees and related symbols on seals and other objects. Literature is enormous, in the following a short selection: C. Boetticher: Baumcultus der Hellenen. Berlin 1856; A. J. Evans: Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its mediterranean relations. In: Journal of Hellenic Studies 21, London 1901; A. J. Evans: The Palace of Minos at Knossos, 6 vols. 1921-36; A. Falkenstein: Archaische Texte aus Uruk. Ausgrabungen der dtsh. Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk Warka Bd. II, Berlin 1936; H. Frankfort: Cylinder Seals. London 1939; H. Frankfort: Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala region. Chicago 1964; U. Holmberg: Der Baum des Lebens. In: Annales Academiae Scien. Fennicae, Ser. B, vol. 16/ 1922; W. Mannhardt: Wald- und Feldkulte. vol. I: Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme; vol. II: Antike Wald- und Feldkulte aus nordeuropäischer Überlieferung erläutert. Darmstadt 1875/77; A. Moortgat: Vorderasien. Rollsiegel. Berlin 1940; N. Perrot: Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de la Mésopotamie et l'Elam. In: Babyloniaca Tome 17, 1937 Paris; E. Porada: Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in N-Am. Collections. 1-2, Bollingen Series, Washington 1948; W. H. Ward: Seal-Cylinders of Western Asia, Washington, 1910; O. Weber: Altorientalische Siegelbilder. In: Der Alte Orient 17-18, Bd. 1-2, Leipzig 1920; A. J. Wensinck: Tree and Bird as cosmological Symbols in Western Asia. Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen Te Amsterdam. Amsterdam 1921; G. Widengren: The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. Uppsala, Wiesbaden 1951. There are cultic huts of various types, column-types of signs related to Ishtar, the Goddess of Uruk. Later, similar symbols are found widely as stelae and pillars up to and including the Greek Ionian column (W. Andrae: Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol? Studien zur Bauforschung, Heft 5, Berlin 1933). Similarly in Ancient Egypt the Djed-pillar, in its original form as a bundled pillar of reeds. It is found throughout the dynastic period, paralleled by other primitive hutlike symbols and small temples (W. Andrae: Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient. Studien zur Bauforschung, Heft 2, Berlin 1930). That such signs and symbols had a territorial semantic character is clearly evident from the various types of pillars, which in upper and lower Egypt - but also in newly conquered territories - were knotted with ropes. Certainly the various types of plant pillars in the Egyptian temples originally belonged to this kind of semantic architecture before they were later hewn in stone and made to carry loads. Numerous built signs are found on Greek coins, as 'Omphalos' on Greek vases etc. Similar coins are found in Roman times and in Rome there was a column dedicated to the Goddess Beldona at which spears were thrown on declaration of war. The Roman manipula signs also belonged to this class. But not only history and archaeology tell us about semantic architecture: ethnology also brings us a wealth of materials. In particular, since the 16th century Christian missions tell us worldwide of 'semantic architecture' in the frame of 'primitive creed and cult'. Primitive sanctuaries, spirit-huts, sacred poles, altars made of lianas, twigs and leaves, entrance markers of settlements etc. Of course, the theologically educated missionaries did not describe them as 'architecture', nor did they study them in detail, but conceived of them as fetishes, idols etc. in terms of primitive creeds. In our

context, it is important that they provided us with a history of roughly 500 years of world-wide references and descriptions. Consequently, here too, literature is enormous. Mircea Eliade's >Die Religionen und das Heilige< (Traite d'Histoire des Religions), Salzburg 1954, provides an excellent classified bibliography. Similarly, European history and folklore provide us with many sources of such phenomena. One of the most important examples is the pillar of the Saxons, destroyed in 722 A. D. by Charlemagne, according to the report of Rudolf von Fulda. The so-called >lower mythology< of W. Mannhardt, popularized later by Sir G. Frazer (Golden Bough), showed that all European agrarian cultures had once had local customs around semantic architecture and had preserved them in fragmentary ways: e.g. decorated pillars, may poles, summer-huts and all kinds of plant-arrangements. To the present day survivals are described in the history of folk customs and recent folklore (see e.g. G  nther Kapfhammer: Brauchtum in den Alpenl  ndern. Ein lexikalischer F  hrer durch den Jahreslauf. M  nchen 1977). Often the pre-Christian territorial implications of such semantic architecture can be reconstructed (see N. Egenter: Software for a Soft Prehistory, op. cit.)

**27** The close contacts between Japanese and German cultural scholars before and during the Second World War showed that Japanese agricultural society had traditions very similar to those of European rural societies. These insights gave a great impulse to Japanese folklore studies at that time and subsequently (see K. Yanagita: >Teihon Kunio Yanagita-shu< (collected texts of Kunio Yanagita) 31 vols., 5 special vols., Tokyo 1962-1971). This argument supports our reconstructions in Japan and the corresponding generalisations. Very important are also the works of the Japanese ethno-historian of Shinto religion Toshiaki Harada (See: N. Egenter: Shin no mi hashira, Editions Structura Mundi, Lausanne 1997; this study follows Harada in documenting the 'the venerable central pillar of the Japanese world' below the most important imperial sanctuaries at Ise)

**28** According to the historical records, Buddhism came to Japan in the 8th century, but it probably arrived earlier, particularly in the south. Buddhism was very tolerant towards local cult-traditions. This is the main reason why Shinto, the autochthonous agrarian village cult tradition, still exists in its institutional form in Japan. In contrast to this, Christianity (and Islam) have fanatically wiped out all such traditions wherever they gained a foothold. Local traditions were vehemently related to 'primitive' creed and superstition and thus totally misunderstood! It is interesting to note here that the 'transcendence' of the five books of Moses is also based on 'semantic architecture'. One of the essential revelations of the Jewish state god is related to the 'eternally burning thornbush', obviously a primitive sanctuary of the type we are dealing with here, a point which becomes explosive if one realises that Moses's intention was not to found a religion but a state. A temporally deep-rooted cult system was prerequisite for Moises 'constitution' (See N. Egenter: The Eternally burning Thornbush - An Old Testament Revelation seen in an Ethno-Historical Perspective. Paper prepared for the 16th Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Rome, 3rd - 9th September 1990 (in: Architectural Anthropology, Research Series vol. 3). For the Egyptian model, see H. Kees: Der G  tter-Glaube im Alten Aegypten, Akademie, Berlin 1980. In opposition to 'mythological' schools of conventional egyptology Kees emphasised the territorial implications of predynastic village and district cults and their iconically represented gods of predynastic origins (agrarian, animalbreeders and hunting societies' influence) and reconstructed the pharaonic state cults in continuity with such predynastic local constitutions.

**29** See N. Egenter: Bauform als Zeichen und Symbol (built form as sign and symbol; non domestic architecture built in Japanese folk cults; an architectural-ethnological survey, documented on 100

villages of Central Japan). ETH, Zürich 1980; N. Egenter: Semantic and Symbolic Architecture, Ed. Structura Mundi, Lausanne, 1994; and N. Egenter: Sacred Symbols of Reed and Bamboo; Annually built cult-torches as spatial signs and symbols. Swiss Asiatic Studies Monographs vol.4, Zürich 1982. For methodological aspects see N. Egenter: Matter, mind and spirit(s). Local Institution and traditional Philosophy of the Japanese agrarian Village. Structural Ergology and the Japanese Cult of the Village Deity (ujigami). Paper read at the International Conference of the Int. Assoc. of Philosophical Societies, Jakarta, Jan. 3rd -9th 1990.

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**30** This aspect is dealt with in details in a former article: N. Egenter: Omihachiman - The Foundation of a Town; an Ethno-historical Model. Paper for the International Symposium >Traditional Dwellings and Settlements in a Comparative Perspective< 7. - 10. 4. 1988, Center for Environmental Design Research, Univ. of California, Berkeley; In: Traditional Dwellings and Settlements, Working Paper Series vol. IV, 1-15, : 45-68, 1989, Berkeley

**31** In the introduction to his translation of the >I Ging - The Book of Changes< (D'Ysseldorf, Cologne, 1960), Richard Wilhelm related the origins of Yin-Yang to the Chinese term >Tai Gi< "which in fact means 'ridge-beam'". We would have to search for it in prehistoric Chinese times. There we find 'semantic architecture' carved on bones as the origins of Chinese script! The top, or 'ridge' of these signs corresponds exactly to our ethnographic examples of built signs. The upper part is natural, not clearly defined, protruding over the lower part. The ridge was not yet a beam of a sheltering roof at that time! It was the upper part of semantic architecture! And in its relation to the stable lower part of the structure this mobile top was the beginning of Yin-Yang thought? Our hypothesis seems to pass the test! For the relation of polarity and spatial concepts in China see H. K ster: Symbolik des chinesischen Universismus. Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1958

**32** In general cultural anthropologists take the perception of natural objects for granted. E.g. the science of religion took tree-cults or the veneration of nature in general as 'primitive' expressions of belief (animism). But this might be an illusion! Of course natural objects like e.g. trees were always part of subhuman and human environments, but the anthropological question is: how were elements of the natural environment perceptively and conceptionally integrated into cultural awareness? Semantic architecture provides a structural model (N. Egenter: The Sacred Trees Around Goshonai, Japan. A contribution of building ethnology to the subject of tree worship. Asian Folklore Studies XL-2:191-212, Nagoya 1981).

**33** This can best be given with a formula:

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V1	V2	V3	DIFFERENT OBJECTS ARE IDENTICAL OR		
--	=	--	=	--	ANALOGOUS IN VIEW OF THE DIS/HARMONIOUS
A1	A2	A3	RELATION OF THEIR CONTRASTING PARTS		

---

1, 2 and 3 are basically any kind of objects. A and V represent opposed categories or combinations of such. Harmonious thought can take different objects (1,2,3) as identical, because their categorical structure is analogous. It is clear that objects of any dimension (from micro- to macrocosm) and function can be interpreted as harmonious, thus of equal value. Negation in this system is the >anomy< (Durckheim) of the reversal of the traditional (tectonic or horizontal) relation of V and A.

**34** See N. Egenter: *Kunsthistorische Architekturtheorie: Auf Sand gebaut* (The art historian's architectural theory - built on sand; an approach towards architectural-anthropological semantics). In: *Umriß* 1+2/1984, Vienna

**35** Etymology is a rich field of sources for architectural anthropology (see e.g. Rud. Meringer: *Etymologien zum geflochtenen Haus* [Etymologies related to the woven house], Festgabe für R. Heinzel, In: *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie*, Halle A.S., Max Niemeyer 1898)

**36** See Egenter: *Kunsthistorische Architekturtheorie: Auf Sand gebaut*. op. cit; and N. Egenter: *Architectural Anthropology - Outlines of a constructive human past*. In: *International Semiotic Spectrum* (Toronto Semiotic Circle) No. 14 1990.

**37** We do not go into a detailed discussion here. This will be done in another paper, but it is obvious that the introduction of constructivity into the problem of hominisation will bring up new discussions. For terrestrial nests present-day apes use rooted materials. Only for grass-heaps (so called 'siesta-nests' made during the day) do they pull out surrounding grasses and heap them up to upholster the ground. Consequently, most nest constructions are limited to places where suitable materials (e.g. bamboo) are growing. At the same time, the stability of ground nests is guaranteed by roots. This changes greatly if materials are cut, e.g. using pebble tools. Thicker materials can be used for larger constructions with variable groundplans, and also for differentiation of static and coating materials. The foundation of static elements has to be provided artificially (staking); joints must become more elaborate. The site of construction becomes independent of the place of collection of materials. Different materials from different places can be combined into the same structure. With dislocated materials the differentiation of tools is also implied (cutting stalks, branches, stems; pointing sticks and poking them into the ground). These are only a few hints on the implications of early tools if they are related to 'constructivity'. It could give us new answers to essential problems of hominisation and would explain why hominisation increases enormously with the earliest tools. We could also explain why the erect posture of the body (building with rooted plants) precedes other developments related to the constructive differentiation triggered off by tools (building with dislocated plants).

**38** In our modern understanding the term 'fire' designates the 'element', the flame with its qualities of light, heat etc. Analytical thought does not include the material or the fact that we have to 'build' a fire, that it burns only under certain 'architectonic' conditions. If we look at it with the 'Third World' concept of >coincidence of opposites< its technical and spiritual parts become a polar unit. The discovery of fire might have greatly contributed to the evaluation of polar philosophy, particularly if one considers the complex positive and negative aspects of fire! We could further assume what farmers generally know, namely that fermented grasses tend to catch fire. This is a plausible new explication for the 'discovery' of fire. Were the origins of fire related to 'semantic architecture'?

**39** Compare K. Narr's critical analysis of the prehistorical >man the toolmaker concept< with the >Technology and Ergology in Ethnology< (K. Narr: *Beiträge der Urgeschichte zur Kenntnis der Menschennatur*, in: H.G. Gadamer und P. Vogler (ed.): *Neue Anthropologie*, vol. 4 >Kulturanthropologie<, dtv-Wissenschaft, München 1973; W. Hirschberg et. al: *Technologie und Ergologie in der Völkerkunde*, op. cit.). The ethnological concept of primitive tools and devices include many types of baskets, nets, traps, fences etc. for various functions and often with clearly

tectonic character.

**40** See N. Egenter: *Kunsthistorische Architekturtheorie: Auf Sand gebaut*, op. cit. and N. Egenter: *The evolution of Japanese Art from agrarian cult-traditions*. Paper read at the 12th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences; Section ethnology and architecture, Zagreb, 24-31 July 1988 (in press)

**41** The concept of the settlement founder line with its semantically recorded dominance over the local territory explains the formation of social hierarchy (king and priest).

**42** The assumption of ephemeral models in the conceptualisation of natural form (e.g. trees, animals; see N. Egenter, *Bauform als Zeichen und Symbol*, op. cit.) could explain the early appearance of imaginary styles in the art of many cultures.

**43** Another hypothesis: Were mythical trees and animals originally artefacts (semantic architecture)? Is the wide-spread symbolic relation of (natural) snake and (natural) tree a reminder of the originally functional relation between artificial 'tree' (semantic architecture) and an (artificial) 'snake', the constructive condition of the whole, the 'sacred' rope? In other terms: the existential relation between Symbol and Diabol?

**44** See N. Egenter: *The Master of the Wilderness, the Bear, lives in the upper Part of our Home - House and World-view of the Ainu*. Paper read at the Third International and Interdisciplinary Forum of Built Form and Culture Research, 9 - 12 Nov. 1989, The School of Architecture, the Department of Anthropology and the Hispanic Research Center at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona (in press); G. RŠnk: *Das System der Raumeinteilung in den Behausungen der nordeurasischen VŠlker; ein Beitrag zur nordeurasischen Ethologie*. 2 vols. Stockholm 1949/51

**45** See W. MŸller: *Die Heilige Stadt*, Stuttgart 1961.

**46** In his interesting study on the Definition of Place among the Australian aborigines, Amos Rapoport concluded that domestic architecture (shelter) was irrelevant in 'place making'. But this statement is the result of his conventional interpretation of architecture ('shelter thesis'). The 'holy pillars' which are important in place-making, are considered merely as 'monuments'. In our view they belong to 'semantic architecture'. Though on a lower level, architecture would thus be used for territorial demarcation. In this perspective Rapoport may have described an interesting state where semantic architecture was the essential instrument for place making, when the level of 'primitive huts' had not yet been reached and the shelters might have accumulated from outside. A re-study from the standpoint of architectural anthropology is considered (see A. Rapoport: *Australian Aborigines and the Definition of Place*. In: P. Oliver (ed.) *Shelter, Sign and Symbol*, London 1975)

**47** In the subhuman line, tradition is practically absolute and stereotype. The more external potentials accumulate, the more tradition becomes open. Opposed to change are conditions of reliability of construction and form and, later, the cyclic concept of time. Within the semantic field the perishable materials and the small size of the buildings are favourable to the development of cyclic concepts of time. These become particularly important in sedentary societies on account of the topological

character of semantic architecture. Thus the tremendous continuity within the field of semantic architecture can only be understood in association with the cyclic time concepts it produces: our linear history has buried cyclic time, and particularly its completely different concept of 'originality'. In traditional societies with cyclic time concepts the content of tradition was original, proven and true, because it represented the origin of the settlement and conditioned its present. This is the reason why traditional society shows only very little progress. Cyclic time is bound to its origins, it does not seek change. The concept of originality is not related to the individual subject, but to the origins that have conditioned the present. If, for example, historians of art speak of traditional folk art in a pejorative sense as being stereotype and having no 'originality', this shows that they are fixed on linear history and the profanised concept of the Renaissance-creator. Tradition is methodologically important in our concept. Owing to this enormously dominating strength of tradition, systematic reconstructions are possible without written history. We have to take into account that certain criteria (round form, semantic quality, polarity of form, ornamental indications of origins) retain a high degree of continuity through the anthropological continuum and exert some influence from each phase to the following one. Prehistorians have neglected the importance of object tradition. With stable environmental conditions, it can show tremendous continuity over hundreds, even thousands of years, even millions in the subhuman domain! This complex of cyclic perception of time and tradition will be dealt with in another study (Egenter: >Linear and Cyclic; How History misunderstood Tradition< 1990).

**48** Regarding the roof, see G. Domenig: Tektonik im primitiven Dachbau. ETH Zürich 1980. Domenig shows that immanent semantic ideology was part of structural developments.

**49** This is particularly interesting in relation to A. Rapoport's >House Form and Culture< (Prentice-Hall, Englewood-Cliffs 1969). He interpreted house form basically as a unit which expressed essentially socio-cultural factors and responded to ergological and climatic conditions as modifying factors. In contrast to this, house-form might be interpreted more from its composite character. It might embrace several relatively independent traditions in the anthropological perspective, involving the roof, the pillars, the walls, the entrance, the doors, furniture, etc. as individual units having accumulated through long periods. An analysis of the house becomes much more complex than previously assumed.

**50** Here some critical remarks are called for (see: J. P. Bourdier and N. AlSayyad (ed.): Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition; Cross-Cultural Perspectives. Berkeley / Lanham / London 1989). Ismet Khambatta presents a kind of architectural 'New-Age-Mysticism'! The main problem of her article >The Meaning of Residence in Traditional Hindoo Society<: she does not clearly distinguish between history and tradition. She describes ritual traditions related to house-building, but derives their meaning from the interpretation of historical texts. Further, her house-examples are either reconstructions based on historical hints or urban house-types of Ahmedabad (500 years old!). Thus, to bridge the conflicts between the "metaphysical ideas" in the "Hindoo great Tradition" and the local tradition she extensively uses Eliade's theologically founded concept based on >hierophania< (revelation), which pleads for a primary macrocosm and derived microcosm. This means reversing the true order of development! "In the rituals of construction the householder is identified with Vastupurusa-Prajapati", the "cosmic man" and "progenitor" of the house, she maintains and explains the social role of the founder of the house by identifying him with the creator of the universe! Purusa is the "manifest form" of 'Brahman', "the Supreme Principle". Obviously Ismet Khambatta has never

heard of Jarl Charpentier's linguistic, exegetic and religio-historical study 'Brahman' which shows that the original meaning of this "Supreme Principle" corresponds to our concept of >semantic architecture<. Mainly following Benfey, Haug and Hillebrandt, who etymologically identified brahman- with baresman-, the designation for the avestical Barsom-Symbol made of grasses or twigs, Charpentier brings many convincing arguments to support this assumption. It would mean that the "central metaphysical ideas" of the "Hindoo great tradition" would have to be looked for in the human tradition (See J. Charpentier: Brahman. Eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Uppsala 1932). Similarly Gunawan Tjahjono. He derives his concept from a kind of palace-philosophy. No doubt, his article >Centre and Duality in the Javanese Dwelling< is very interesting. He manages to show how 'duality' reigns in the vertical and horizontal elements of Javanese architecture. Particularly the location of the wayang performance between the closed omah or dahlem and the open hall (pendopo) is remarkable with its coordination of male spectators and open realism and women spectators who are placed at the side of the closed house, looking at the shady reflections. But it is not palace-philosophy that is at the root of this system; obviously, the nucleus of the whole is again 'semantic architecture', the kayon, the >tree of life< in the centre of the wayang- theatre with its dualistic forces of good and bad, which are reflected in the puppets and the structure of the play (In this conclusion I am very much obliged to Matthew Cohen, a specialist in wayang-theatre with whom I had important communications). In this context it would be interesting to compare preserved village traditions with the theatre of the palaces. E. Pavlides and J. Hesser follow the same pattern. Though it is a remarkable fact that there is ritual continuity within architectural change (isolated Eressos and urban Epidauros having similar cultic traditions) and though that architects' field-work into religion and rites related to house and community is relatively new, the way this is done is nevertheless rather outdated in this case! The main problem of this contribution is its obstinate religious interpretation of what it finds. E.g. Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics is full of such theologically pre-interpreted descriptions, similarly generalised by global comparisons. From an architect we would like to hear WHERE EXACTLY (where in the yard, on the top of which doors etc.) these obviously primeval representations against the evil eye are set up. We would expect questions such as: what do dried flowers, laurel leaves and marital wreaths have to do with the iconostasi; are they the pre-Christian counterpart of the icon? What does the flower wreath have to do with the door on the first of May? For comparison, what kind of house-shrines did the ancient Greeks have and what kinds of similar rituals are historically known? Why are there just two sacred places, the shrine near the eastern corner and the door? Door and place, is this not pre-religious architectural anthropology? Are these customs fragmentary left-overs of a time when most Greeks still lived in huts and had their 'genius loci' made with such vegetable materials? At least some glimpses into one of those marvellous encyclopedias and specialist's dictionaries giving detailed philological or archaeological evidence would be eye-openers in regard to such questions (in German e.g. Pauly/Wissowa: Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften 1894ff.). In other words: just citing du Boulay and Raglan a little is not enough, particularly if we speak of Greece! Just warming up religion leads to contradictions of which Pavlides/Heeser give themselves the proof in their final discussion: it is certainly not the task of the architect to revive religion with architecture; but if he manages to understand the anthropological implications of architecture beyond religious rites (way and place, outside and inside, door and bed, with all the implications of these polar structures), architectural research might become creative again: Why did Renaissance architecture give so much meaning to the entrance? Were our curtain- wall- glass- doors 'anthropo-logically wrong'? Further, in view of the book-title 'Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition<, Botond Bognar's contribution is very inappropriate. The materials presented correspond basically to what is found in



Japanese school- and tourist-guide-books on the (art historian's) history of architecture. It has nothing to do with 'tradition' in the ethnological sense. "Nothingness" is a term of esoteric Buddhism, thus of history. The term 'Japanese House' in the title is misleading; what Bognar presents is basically a history of Japanese 'palace-architecture'. Not a single word about the enormously rich Japanese minka- research. The informed reader looks in vain for names such as Kenji Ishihara and his lavishly illustrated 9-volume work on >The architecture of the Japanese Farmhouse< (Nihon Nomin Kenchiku, 1972), or Wajiro Kon and his well-known >The popular Japanese House< (Nihon no minka, 1943), or about Motoharu Fujita's >The History of the popular Japanese House< (Nihon Minka-shi 1928), or Tsuyoshi Ogura's >The popular House of Northern Japan< (Tohoku no minka, 1955) or Hisatsugu Sugimoto's >Research into the Popular Japanese House< (Nihon minka no kenkyu, 1969). A glance into any one of these books would have shown that vernacular architecture in Japan is of a very differentiated nature. Bognar only mentions it in one sentence, just to explain the "refined poverty" of the elegant sukiya-style residences of the urban elites! For the rest the article is full of mistakes and platitudes (e.g.: except official, Shinto is not a "belief" but essentially a tradition of local cult-festivals; or: "...indigenous Shinto religion ... centers around the worship of nature..." Level of Sunday journalism! Further, Botond Bognar obviously derives his 'insights' from museal examples like the Katsura Imperial Villa. Otherwise, how could he say that there is no clear distinction between the sacred and the profane in the Japanese house! He obviously did not understand the polar and cyclic character of Japanese rituals! In short, this is a misleading study, which harps on the urban and elitarian art historian's (and star-architect's) views! Just WHAT WE DO NOT WANT!

**51** A more detailed description of this spatio-temporal structure of the Japanese village is found in N. Egenter: Japanese Rice-Culture - The misjudged philosophy of agrarian prehistory. In Swissair-Gazette, Zurich, 2/1989

**52** Sang Hae Lee presented similar structures of Korean settlements. He describes three different levels (Confucian ethics, Feng-Shui and autochthonous cult symbols) but deals only with historically accessible systems. The autochthonous demarcations are only mentioned, he did not do research into the local ritual traditions and how they are related to the protector gods. Thus, unfortunately we hear nothing about the most important thing: the structure of the autochthonous layer of the settlement plan. If recorded ethnographically, the village festivals could teach us a lot about the earliest phase of the settlement layout. But, of course, this would require extended ethnographic field research (See Bourdier/ Alsayyad (ed.): Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition, op. cit..

**53** J. Kerschesteiner: Kosmos. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu den Vorsokratikern. Mÿnchen 1962

**54** See N. Egenter: Le primitif historique et le primitif dans l'anthropologie culturelle. /Il primitivo storico ed il primitivo nell'anthropologia culturale (The historical primitive and the Primitive of Cultural Anthropology; in: Gian-Carlo Cataldi (ed.) >LE RAGIONI DELL'ABITARE<, ALINEA editrice, Firenze, 1988. This gives an essayistic account of architectural anthropology in relation to recent architectural theory. Further, N. Egenter: Le style a l'Origine de la Naissance des Facades Quadrillees - les doubles Racines de la Forme tectonique (The birth of Curtain Walls from the Spirit of Style; paper read at the 10th conference IAPS, TU-Delft 5.-8. July 1988). This criticises the art historian's method of style for having caused the eclecticism of the 19th century and confronts it with

Nietzsche's esthetic theory (tension between the >Apollonian< and the >Dionysian<). Different styles become analogous in their expression of >harmony of opposites<. Similarly N. Egenter: Architecture, Movement, Mind. Paper read at the opening of the Architectural Summer School at Motovun, Istria, Yougoslavia on the 8th of July 1989). See also N. Egenter: Magritte als Architekturologe (Rene Magritte as 'architecturologist' - So-called 'Surrealism' and the meaning of built environments) In: 'archithese' 3/90, 1990

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