Was the Primitive Hut Actually a Temple?  
The Impact of Recent Archaeological Excavations on the Architectural Theory of the Primitive Hut

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Excavations of Göbekli Tepe (earliest phase between 12,000 and 11,000 years old). Drawing after a reconstruction by Fernando Baptista in "Building Göbekli Tepe", National Geographic (June 2011)

Up until now, the birth of permanent architecture has always been associated with the so-called Neolithic revolution, meaning the gradual transition after 9,000 BC from a hunter-and-gatherer society to a settled way of life based on agriculture and livestock breeding.¹

Since the 1995 excavation of a site of worship of monumental dimensions on the mountain of Göbekli Tepe,² this thesis cannot be sustained anymore, or at least not exclusively. The oldest parts of this site were built between 10,000 and 9,000 BC, which is before the Neolithic shift from an economy of foragers to one of production. The size of the site, defined as a cult site, is evidence of a highly organized society.³

The Vitruvian theory of the origin of architecture, which argues architecture's derivation from a shelter, had been scientifically

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1 See Patrick Nuttgen, Die Geschichte der Architektur (Berlin: Phaidon Verlag, 2010), 16.

2 Klaus Schmidt, "Göbekli Tepe – the Stone Age Sanctuaries: New Results of Ongoing Excavations with a Special Focus on Sculptures and High Reliefs", Documenta Praehistorica 34 (2010).

3 See Klaus Schmidt, Sie bauten die ersten Tempel
bolstered by the earlier excavations of the larger Neolithic settlements of Jericho and Çatalhöyük. But in the light of Göbekli Tepe, the theory that architecture originated from the need for protection against the asperities of nature must be revised. Furthermore, the uncritical way in which we have thus far accepted that architecture was born from the activity to provide shelter must be interrogated.

From Dwelling to Building
The conventional argument that architecture grew out of people building shelter from external conditions has been reiterated in numerous interpretations grew out of Vitruvius’s metaphor of the primitive hut, including those of Filarete, Violet-le-Duc, Semper and especially Laugier, with its pragmatic focus. Until today, most history of architecture textbooks that offer insight into the early periods of architecture derive primitive buildings from pragmatic constructions built purposefully by nomadic hunters and gatherers.

Artificial stone circles, interpreted as the remains of temporary habitations, can be found as far back as the Old Stone Age. About 1.8 million years ago, temporary dwellings were built with branches secured by stones. The oldest find of this kind in Europe is over 600,000 years old and was found in Přezletice near Prague. Similar finds — whose dating, however, is still being disputed — are those of Terra Amata near Nice, estimated as being 380,000–230,000 years old, and Bilzingsleben, thought to be around 370,000 years old. These primitive constructions therefore go back even to the age before the completion of the full development of Homo sapiens. Naturally, in those days the hominids, who were foragers, used to live nomadically.
Although some of the sites were inhabited repeatedly or periodically, they cannot be defined as permanent settlements. 12

Of special interest are the numerous tents built using mammoth bones between 27,000 and 15,000 BC in the plains of Dniepr in Ukraine. A very good example is a construction found in Mezhyrich. The components of the structure were heavy and thus hardly transportable, and so the structure would not have been worth making for only short-term use. Here again it is assumed that the same constructions were used periodically. 13 Some clusters of constructions are composed of the bones of several hundred mammoths that were carefully assembled and piled up, and they display considerable aesthetic features. This building technique is usually explained as the result of a shortage of wood and an abundance of available mammoth bones. However, a retrospective look at the uneconomical construction technique of the assemblage of bones (because they still need a wooden frame), the quantity of bones needed in relation to the size of the social group benefiting from the construction and even the aesthetic value of the latter, which should not be ignored, raises some questions about how the bone buildings could actually have been used by a nomadic population of hunters.

Seen from a pragmatic perspective, the nomadic building activity developed through the Neolithic revolution into a repeated use of the same territory. This led to a stabilization of the temporary dwelling, through the repetitive rebuilding of temporary accommodations for ever longer periods of time, into a fixed construction, making the development of permanent architecture progress.

The economic shift from hunting and gathering to agriculture and livestock breeding took place in the Near East around 9,000 to 8,000 BC. 14 The most meaningful factor in this evolution was the emergence of sedentism. This can be determined by considering the relation between the growth of the population and the shortage of regenerating
natural resources. The next step in this development was the birth of villages and towns. Two places are especially known for their early dating: Çatalhöyük, from 7,400 BC, 15 is considered one of the earliest settlements found in Anatolia, and Jericho, the oldest town to have been excavated to date. In Jericho the first traces of human presence can be dated to even earlier than 9,000 BC. After being inhabited and subsequently abandoned several times, it developed into a settlement only much later around 8,350 to 7,370 BC. The construction of a fortifying wall during this phase made Jericho seem like a proper town, the oldest known in the world.

From Worship to Building

However, in the light of the even older settlements revealed by recent excavations by archaeologist Klaus Schmidt on the Anatolian mountain Göbekli Tepe, one can question the ontological deduction proposing that the origins of permanent architecture lie in the shift in man's maintenance economy. Göbekli Tepe is an archaeological site dating back in its first phase to between 10,000 and 9,000 BC. It is comprised of about twenty circular structures made of T-shaped stone pillars that measure between 5 and 6 metres high and are partially adorned with relief carvings of wild animal motifs, some of which display anthropomorphic elements such as human arms. 16 In regard to Göbekli Tepe we can clearly talk about permanent architecture, for its structures endured two thousand years and represent the oldest solid, preserved ones of this magnitude yet discovered. Although they constitute an exception, their size and technical achievements make it appropriate to assume that other similar constructions were built in the same period. 17

What is significant in the case of the Göbekli Tepe site is not only its dating, but even more so the fact that the excavations did not reveal any trace of the usual activities of typical settlements in the surrounding area. The archaeological evidence is characterized by extraordinary monumental and symbolic content. The findings indicate the mounting of lavish feasts. This fact leads us to interpret the megalithic structure as a place of worship, 18 although the exact circumstances of the ritual acts cannot be reconstructed. The extent of the effort in erecting the constructions makes it possible to assume, with regard to the suppositions about the size of social groups at that time, that several groups of hunters and gatherers joined together in the act of building. This, then, makes it possible to assume there was a level of

12 See de Beaune, "Aux origines de la construction".
13 See ibid.
14 Lichter, *Vor 12,000 Jahren in Anatolien*, 52.
15 Ibid., 124.
16 Schmidt, "Göbekli Tepe".
17 Schmidt, *Sie bauten die ersten Tempel*.
Nevali Çori (between 10,000 and 11,000 years old).
Drawing after a reconstruction by Harald Hauptmann, "The Urfa Region", in M. Özdoğan and N. Basgelen, Neolithic in Turkey: The Cradle of Civilization (İstanbul, 1999)

organization that extended beyond the single group. The discovery of this site also explained the interpretation of other constructions of this settlement – for example, the flagstone building of Çayönü and the community building of Nevali Çori. From a chronological point of view, a matter of even greater interest is the question of the earlier settlement of Hallan Çemi, constituted by a few round constructions made of stone around which a settlement of hunters and gatherers was presumably formed.

Anthropological biomolecular research, which is used to determine historical periods of time by analyzing human remains, has been useful in detecting a discontinuity in the development of sedentism. It has shown that the early stages of sedentism led not to an improvement of the living conditions of human kind, but rather to a radical deterioration of them that even led to undernourishment. This has been well documented, for example, by palaeoanthropologist Jean-Jacques Hublin, who has studied evidence of poor harvesting, and Mark Woodhouse, who came to the same conclusion by considering the evidence of epidemic illnesses among the early settlers’ livestock. Despite all this, however, sedentism increased.

On the basis of the finds in the Near East, it is now commonly accepted that sedentism preceded the shift from foraging to livestock breeding and agriculture. What was it, then, that brought mankind to embrace the ordeal of a farming life and the radical cultural and lifestyle changes that came with it? If we take into consideration examinations carried out by archaeology and anthropology as well as the study of architecture’s origins, all of which suggest that the primitive hut was replaced by the temple, it is possible to formulate a new thesis proposing that places of worship, as bearers of symbolic meaning, are
what developed into architecture and acted as the catalysts of sedentism. This, in turn, is extremely relevant to the understanding of the act of building itself, and therefore to architecture's very essence as a human act that from the beginning has aimed to achieve more than mere functionality. The act with which mankind bound his existence to the earth turned into a sort of axis mundi. With this in mind, primordial architecture would no longer be simply a pure response to need; instead, it would become a catalyst of civilization.

Gathering and Cult

Two parallel theses can be drawn as a result of these considerations. One is that the origin of architecture was the nomadic tent, and the other is that architecture's origins lie in sacred sites. Seen from a modern perspective, the two theses seem to be contradictory. However, if we posit an overlap in the symbolic layers of pre-scientific man's everyday life, then the two deductions can be drawn a bit closer. It is certainly possible to express an objective scepticism about the thesis of the sacred origins of permanent construction, and one could question, as anthropologist Edward Banning has, if the Göbekli Tepe structure was in fact a temple at all. Nevertheless, the observation of long periods of nomadic construction leads to the conclusion that the mastering of certain fundamental building techniques, even before the evolution of Homo sapiens, did not result in a clear transition to a settled way of life. The nomadic huts, although they were inhabited over longer periods of time, cannot be considered as permanent architecture, for they were never intended to endure through time.

Hominids lived as nomadic herders long before they built stable shelters, and they were able to survive despite harsh weather conditions without solid architecture. So when was it that man began to see his constructions as lasting and therefore begin to make use of more solid building materials? It can surely be said that the attachment to specific territory in the passage to a productive economy was directly motivated by the intention of handing down an inheritance of long-lasting constructions to future generations. Considering the Göbekli Tepe site as an example of a place of worship, however, shows that this need for permanence in building has even earlier roots. When considering the function of handing down a heritage, it becomes evident that the temple, and not the precarious, repeatedly rebuilt hut, is the structure that stood out in terms of significance due to its cult-related purpose and ultimately developed into architecture (as becomes

more evident later in the architecture of the early civilizations of the Sumerians and the Egyptians).

Assuming that the society of foragers could survive without stable shelter despite inhospitable weather conditions and that its temporary tents were not motivation enough to stay put, how can the traditional theory about the origin of architecture be sustained if the leap from mere building to architecture must be connected to sacred sites, as the most recent archaeological finds seem to suggest? Before man took shelter into consideration, he built a society. Vitruvius's text proposes another way to interpret the primitive hut, but as his Ten Books on Architecture was intended as a practical handbook of construction it remains implicit. Unlike Laugier, Semper goes back to this point in his book The Four Elements of Architecture when explaining the origin of building, arguing that it was a matter of human beings gathering around a fire. This narrative, itself symbolic, elucidates what fire might have meant and where it came from. The important thing to take away from it is that men gathered around an event, most likely in a circle. A space formed my human beings thus came into being in two senses: as room between men and as the social space of a group. Although Semper proposed that the knot was man's first tectonic gesture, this was more likely the joining of hands, or, even more generally, the grabbing of objects. The social space of a human ring closes and opens itself again and again, becoming increasingly intense and clear until it eventually formalizes itself in the form of a ritual.

Cult and Symbol

The nomadic community took its social space with it wherever it went and built it again in the places to which it returned to perform its rituals. A nomadic population's relationship to the landscape was not static; nevertheless, recurring places and a geomorphologically distinct landscape helped with orientation. Whether intentionally or accidentally, these social groups left traces in the landscape over different periods of time, and doing so established a relationship with it. It was not a generic landscape anymore, but rather a site plan for the group's social space that was to be built over and over again. Its morphology – a rock, a mountain and the like – became meaningful. First the recognition and then the demarcation of that landscape grew ever more important for the migrating group. People began to change their surroundings by marking them with signs – that is, by building. This deduction differs considerably from the notion of architecture's
birth in the construction of shelter because the signs marked upon the landscape were meant to outwardly project information. It was therefore not a matter of defence, but of establishing symbols. Symbols are elements that represent something, just as language does; consequently, they make it possible to convey connections over spans of time. This is important for architecture, as it implies an extended value, one that goes beyond merely building for a practical purpose. This has always been what defines the boundary between architecture and simple building. On this subject, Goethe commented ironically on Laugier’s pragmatic thesis regarding the primitive hut:

It is also wrong to think that your hut was the first. Two stakes at each end, crossed at their apex, with another as ridgepole are, as you may daily see in the huts of field and vineyard, a far more basic invention, from which you could not even extract a principle for your pig-sty. So none of your conclusions can rise to the sphere of truth. They all swim in the atmosphere of your system.

In this passage, Goethe doubts that the truth can be arrived at in a deterministic way from our present-day perspective, because up until quite recently the dwelling, in the strictest sense, overlaps with architecture only in exceptional cases, as, for example, in the residences of rulers. In contrast, in Martin Heidegger’s oft-quoted text “Building Dwelling Thinking”, the act of dwelling becomes the central theme of a kind of spatial thinking. He postulates it as follows: “We do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is, because we are dwellers.”

The act of dwelling here seems to be implied in the building. The dimension of the dwelling gets expanded up to a point of congruence with the being and then sublimated. Heidegger goes on to state: “Mortals dwell in that they await the divinities as divinities. In hope they hold up to the divinities what is unhoped for.”

The dwelling here becomes a mediator between the sky and the earth. This reflection can also be looked at from an archaeological point of view. After the shift from foraging to production was complete – over 2,000 years after the foundation of the Göbekli Tepe site – the presence of cult buildings became less pronounced, both in the Near East as well as in Southern Europe. Instead, signs of ritual activity inside single habitations increased, something proven by the numerous symbols appearing there in the form of objects or drawings. A distinctive example is the aforementioned Çatalhöyük, where no
building can be recognized as more special within the settlement's structure. In the houses, however, wall paintings and bucrania are found that hint at the performance of rituals. Either the sanctuaries have entered the houses or people have inhabited the sanctuaries. In this case, too, even if the housing is solidly built, it proves to be insufficient without the ritual aspect.

Along these lines Joseph Rykwert has looked into the ritualization of the hut in his book *On Adam's House in Paradise*. Ranging over different cultures and times periods, he describes rituals that aimed to facilitate a return to man's origins through the reconstruction of the primitive hut (*Adam's House*), such as the festivity of raising the *djed* pillars, the yearly construction of the *sukkah* hut by the Israelites or the placement of *waningas* by Australian aboriginals, as well as numerous other festivities involving exercises of rebuilding. To expand on Rykwert's words, Adam and his descendants, banished from the Garden of Eden and believing in the idea of a return there, create signs to orient themselves in the world and seek redemption before ultimately accepting the struggles of a life outside Eden and eventual death.

**Symbol and Place**

Only where the addition of ritual ensures a cultural quality are the conditions met to turn the act of building into architecture. On the basis of the lasting signs man created, *(hi)story* could be *stored*, for information can be transmitted to subsequent generations via more than just oral tradition. For example, if we think of the act of building, the signs we are discussing can be imagined to take the form of a stele. The erect position of such a stone was artificial enough in
the context of nature to attract the attention of a traveller. When, for instance, a certain group erects a sign for another, this sign communicates its authors' identity, even if the reconstruction of the meaning may be unclear to the authors themselves. Ultimately, this is true in the interpretation of archaeological finds, too.

Demarcations intended as signs are a sort of landscape script, or inscriptions on the landscape, that used to play a dominant role as material tradition until the religions based on written scriptures developed. Signs that are inscribed upon the landscape acquire richer meaning, for they not only carry the information with which they were originally imbued through the process of building, but as physical presences they also autonomously accrue additional meaning, or purely conceptual content. When the meaning of such signs becomes recognizable, these signs are turned into symbols. What man produces in his daily life can only be transformed into mental concepts through its consolidation in the form of symbols. Vitruvius, too, assumed that language – or the abstracted mediation of meanings – as the connective tissue of the group gathered around the fire had to precede the origin of the primitive hut. But because he fails to provide the exact motivation behind building, his hut ends up going back to being just a shelter.

There is, however, a further non-representational dimension hidden behind the mediation of thought via language or signs. Since the signs found in the landscape can hint at a foreign social group, they can, over extended periods of time, also become keepers of the memories of a group’s deceased members. The connection to the dead and the emotional charge that comes with this imbue these places with extraordinary meaning. This can be true even if such a place is only marked by a tumulus covering a corpse. Adolf Loos has appropriately argued that the simple symbol of a mere pile of material has the potential to become architecture: “If we find a mound six feet long and three feet wide in the forest, formed into a pyramid, shaped by a shovel, then we become serious and something in us says, ‘someone lies buried here.’ That is architecture.”

It is at this point that a gateway to the transcendent dimension opens itself in architecture through the latter’s marking of the landscape. It becomes clear that the material world has acquired immaterial content.

Place and Temple
The human transformation of the landscape into a space that reproduces the spatial conception man has of the skies (heaven) is described

35 Vitruvius, Zehn Bücher, 78–91.

by Rudolf Schwarz in his book *Von der Bebauung der Erde* (About the Building of the Earth). Schwarz suggests that humans are just a layer of the landscape animated by the Force of Life. When they build, they are simply expressing the charge of this life force in an external, physical way. If they attempt to achieve the true resonance of this force, then they realize great works – like the grammar of the Greek column, the space of the dome or a Gothic cathedral – that constitute the most significant added layer of landscape.

Mysterious things happen when a people settles. It [the people] lowers the earth, which resides within itself, in the found land; it lays down the landscape, which is in itself, in the expanse outside, and both become one. . . . But where internal and external earth – the landscape of the soul and the landscape of nature – coincide for great constructions, and the earth weds the earth, it is there that the form of history emerges. The people lay their soul in the soil of the fatherland and the two become a single entity.37

The group, which is gathered around the fire, as Vitruvius and Semper have told us, loses fundamental individuals with the passage of time and as a result of its moving through the landscape. To avoid the collapse of its social structure, the group's social space stretches to the *hereafter*, and the lost individuals become concrete points of reference within the landscape. This develops to the point where their entire social structure is reflected in the landscape as a building and the social space of the group finds a counterpart in a building, one that unifies all the members of the group, both living and deceased, as well as the past and the future, one that both *is here* and *represents the hereafter*. If the T-shaped pillars at Göbekli Tepe are interpreted from an anthropomorphic perspective – and some of them indeed display carvings of hands and clothes – it becomes easy to perceive them as our circle of people gathered around a fire. The demarcation of the landscape through layers of constructed nature establishes a metaphysical dimension in the activity of building. Certain chosen places started to stand out from the landscape and acquire superabundant meaning, and it became only natural to emphasize them. In his book *The Sacred and the Profane*, Mircea Eliade calls this differentiation of the landscape into different areas of meaning “hierophany”.38 The greater and broader the act of selecting a place is, the more meaning gathers around it, until it becomes enclosed. The resultant enclosing boundaries, which could be materialized to different extents, could already be considered as a sort of proto-architecture. From the moment
when an inside and an outside are distinguished, a room arises out of the symbol and a sign develops into architecture.

The building that arises out of this process of enclosing a place pregnant with meaning is a temple. The origin of the word temple is self-explanatory. "Temple" – from the Greek τέμενος (tēmēnos) – signifies an enclosed, segregated place. This act of laying boundaries is, as a matter of fact, a genuine architectural gesture. Hence, the newly established threshold between the profane and the sacred creates a spatial dimension in which the more – what lies beyond the essentials for survival – actually becomes possible, a dimension in which transcendent thoughts acquire a physical pendant in a concrete place. And this defined space becomes a tangible gate to the dimension of the otherworldly.

Arche

In the continued effort to reconstruct the primitive hut, perhaps the chronological sorting of archaeological finds should not be our primary interest, for our knowledge of the past will continue to deepen and we are, in this regard, far from any clear understanding. Nevertheless, the emergence of architecture is still a concrete fact, and must not remain a mere allegory in the context of architectural theory simply because we cannot find the very first architectural work. Archaeology is obviously more than a question of measuring and numbering finds. The factual presence of the finds as real signs of history may still affect us today in a primordial way. Archaeology and architecture share the same quest, respectively through λόγος (λόγος, Greek for "reason" or "word") and τέχνη (τέχνη, Greek for "craft"), for arché (ἀρχή, Greek for "beginning, origin, power, sovereignty"), with one looking back at the past and the other looking toward the future. It is important, however, not to push the meaning and nature of these terms into the corner of a fictitious causality of pragmatics, ignoring any indefiniteness. The arché is more at home in connection with declared vagueness rather than in an all too banal clarity. And the otherworldly dimension is intrinsic both in the charged tension of the empty/void space and in the aspirational gesture of the construction of architecture. And so it was that architecture took on man's own image by rising from the ground through the erection of a spiritual structure, one which ensured man an enduring existence that pushed beyond the boundaries of time.

A house may protect a man from the storm, but it is in the temple that he seeks protection from his fate.