

ตำนาน พิธีกรรมและสถาปัตยกรรม

Myth, Ritual and Architecture

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บทคัดย่อ

ในการศึกษาทางประวัติศาสตร์และมนุษยวิทยา ตำนาน เรื่องเล่าต่างๆ ถือเป็นหลักฐานที่สำคัญประการหนึ่งที่ใช้สืบคันประวัติความเป็นมาและบอกเล่าเหตุการณ์ต่างๆ ที่เกิดขึ้นในอดีต โดยปกติแล้วตำนานและเรื่องเล่าที่แสดงถึงความเชื่อของคนในสังคมต่างๆ นั้น จะมีความสัมพันธ์อย่างแน่นและแสดงออกผ่านพิธีกรรมในหลากหลายรูปแบบ โดยเฉพาะการศึกษาด้านสถาปัตยกรรม การมีความรู้ความเข้าใจในความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพิธีกรรม ความเชื่อ กับตำนานต่างๆ นั้น เปรียบเสมือนหลักฐานอันสำคัญที่ช่วยส่งผ่านข้อมูลและเรื่องราวต่างๆ ในอดีต โดยเฉพาะข้อมูลทางประวัติศาสตร์และวัฒนธรรมที่เกี่ยวเนื่องกับสถาปัตยกรรมและสภาพแวดล้อม แต่ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างตำนาน พิธีกรรมและสถาปัตยกรรมนั้น มักถูกกละ gele และถูกปฏิเสธ ที่จะให้ความสำคัญในการศึกษาจากนักวิชาการทางสถาปัตยกรรม เนื่องจากถูกมองว่าเป็นสิ่งที่ไร้สาระ ล้าสมัย และไม่สามารถอธิบายด้วยเหตุผลได้ ทั้งๆ ที่เราไม่สามารถปฏิเสธได้เลยว่า ตำนานและพิธีกรรมนั้นถือเป็นสิ่งที่ช่วยอธิบายความสัมพันธ์ และพัฒนาการระหว่างมนุษย์และสถาปัตยกรรมได้เป็นอย่างดี จากเหตุผลดังกล่าว “แนวคิดมนุษยวิทยาสถาปัตยกรรม” จึงกำเนิดขึ้นโดยมีจุดประสงค์หลักเพื่อพยายามอธิบายความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างมนุษย์และสถาปัตยกรรมด้วยมุมมองทางมนุษยวิทยา จากข้อมูลทางเอกสารและวรรณกรรมต่างๆ บทความนี้มุ่งเน้นนำเสนอแนวคิดและพัฒนาการของ “แนวคิดมนุษยวิทยาสถาปัตยกรรม” โดยเฉพาะความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างตำนาน พิธีกรรมและสถาปัตยกรรมที่บอกเล่าผ่านโลกทัศน์และกระบวนการสร้างสภาพแวดล้อมของคนในสังคมและวัฒนธรรมต่างๆ

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Abstract

In historical and anthropological studies, traditional narratives such as a myth and storytelling are considered as key evidence to trace the origins of society. Myth always determines ritual practice that it accompanies, it implies ritual, ritual implies myth, and they might be the same. However, myth and ritual are often ignored by modernized people, since they are considered to be irrational and intimately related to unexplainable and supernatural circumstances. Especially in the study of architecture, myth and ritual always stand for a nonsensical belief and suspicious story. Even though they can reveal enriching information and carry cultural messages which were underlying in architecture and its related built environment, they seem to be refused by many scholars, who rely on a rational and practical perspective.

If we trace back to the past, myth and ritual can help us to understand how our ancestors create their built environment. They may serve the study of architectural history and the analysis of relationships between men, architecture, and their surrounding world. For this reason, many scholars have begun to connect architectural works with the development of social and cultural anthropology. The idea of “architectural anthropology” has been suggested to describe the interrelation between architecture, men and their related built environment. Based extensively on foregoing descriptions, this paper devotes the attention to exemplify

the idea and chronological development of "architectural anthropology". In addition, the interrelation between myth, ritual and architecture will be explicated in this paper.

Keywords: Myth Ritual Architecture Architectural Anthropology

Introduction

Architecture, in which we live in, can be viewed more than a shelter. As a part of built environment, it is a domain that people work, worship, socialize and ritualize in and around. Following this reason, it might be said that architecture is considered to be one of crucial factors that structure human life. If we looking back to foregoing architectural studies, it is quite clearly to see that they are based on a restricted knowledge and determined by the conventional history, stylistic and aesthetic of art. Most of what they have been focus principally on physical aspects of the building, such as construction techniques, environmental conditions, resources and technology, while others are concerned with spatial organization, symbolism and aesthetic values of architecture. Relatively little is said about the socio-cultural organization of the people who live in a building, even though research on architecture is unavoidable related to the people who build and use it. In addition, preceding studies in anthropology have shown little attention to constructive behavior of materiality of the buildings, the study of human condition related to architecture is not integrated.

Only in recent decades, architecture had come to be viewed as a discipline that closely connects to anthropology as both architects and anthropologists have begun to concern themselves with indigenous architecture, in particular the study of a house of single society and the remote tribes. By emphasizing the theoretical significance of domestication as intellectual, political and sociological processes, several anthropological works written from different perspectives have been suggested to architectural society. They maintain the idea that architectural theoretical framework have to be widened by integrating it into anthropological dimensions. Thus, the term "architectural anthropology" has been proposed to explain the bridge between these two disciplines (Jones, 1996). In some sense, "architectural anthropology" can be described as a subject that attempts to investigate an evolution of human culture and their related built environments by defining space and place in response to socio-cultural development; it is a renewal of anthropological study of the perception and interpretation of the built form as social process. Even though, an anthropological approach to architecture appears as a complex, many-sided field and take disarticulated forms with a wide array of topics, its main focus is to investigate how the built form is culturally defined and constructed. With the help of insights from the related disciplines, "architectural anthropology" can better serve to understand, describe, and represent the human worldviews embodied in different built environments and socio-cultural contexts.

Architectural Anthropology

With the view of architectural phenomenology, architecture bears the role of the container of human beings; it is mostly apperceived as "visible pictures", or even described as "architectural texts", aiding humans in keeping their memories (Jones, 1996), and expressing their thoughts and dreams. Especially a house is considered one of the greatest repositories of thoughts, memories and dreams of human beings, because of the remains of occupation. Whether these were desired or compromise the space, such signs of the people who have been using it are never removed, precisely because people want them to remain (Bachelard, 1969). From architectural perspective, the house should be viewed more than expressing as architectural texts; the

basic character of the house can be viewed as an enclosed space that responds to the needs of its dwellers. These needs create a specific form of architectural appearance which relies on the availability and choice of materials, construction techniques, and must respond to the physical stress of the natural environment. Thus, it is impossible for us to deny the influence of physical, socio-cultural and environmental factors.

In forming a visible structure, the house cannot be achieved without sophisticated ritual and constructive activities. The process of building a house, indeed, must contain the builder's belief, thinking and actions. Mere concentration on physical aspect of the built form such as construction techniques, the use of materials, and structural processes, cannot illustrate the whole story about the ways in which people shape their buildings and reveal cultural artefacts in construction processes. Also involved are the selection of building site, the orientation of the structure, the preparation of materials, decisions about structural dimensions, and the conducting of techniques in building which crucially display the role of the social system and the cultural context in the production of architecture, as Peter Blundell Jones (1996, pp. 22-5) says:

"Not only will the appearance of a building tend to become associated with the activities that go on inside it, its internal organization will also reflect the roles and relationships of those who use it,..., the establishment of handed-down traditions allows people to get on with building without much conscious reflection, simply as part of the order of things; and there need be no difficulty for the people who build and use it, because the building process automatically and strongly reflects their beliefs and values".

From this account, it can be said that architecture plays its role in framing human activities, and these activities, in turn, imply a certain role in establishing a meaningful space, structure and its related built environment.

It was not until the late sixties that the new emphases were placed. As a new domain of research, a considerable interest in "architectural anthropology" has been extended for achievements of the relationship between men and their built environment. The original integration of architecture into the natural surroundings is constructed by the ingenuity of untaught builders with a special "humanness", as proposed by Bernard Rudofsky in "Architecture without Architects" (Rudofsky, 1973). The main difference between this approach and ordinary architectural studies is that it can explain with a deeper understanding related to the socio-cultural aspect, rather than surface style, as Peter Blundell Jones (1996, pp. 22-5) describes:

"The effect of anthropological studies in architecture is both more indirect and more essential, provoking fundamental questions about the issues concerning the organization of social life, the function and significance of art, the origins of architecture, the relation of people with buildings, and the role of the architect..., anthropologists can help us to understand how the relationship between buildings and society worked before it became so complicated, and they can also help us to trace the stages of the complication"

Following this attention, it is convincingly to say that the study of indigenous architecture has become the subject of a growing literature. Several works from different tactics have a more holistic focus on vernacular architecture. But not simply with its physical structure, they focus instead on the interrelations between men, their ideology and built environment. Various systematic techniques in anthropology have been applied to describe the interrelation between them, revealing some different ways in which architecture comes to stand for a socio-cultural contribution and represents the world around them, and also tries to understand them

within their local contexts. In the first place, the study of vernacular architecture would have been made with educational intentions, either to indicate certain fundamental principles in architecture and building, or to explore a specific characteristic. Alternatively, the approach might have been from the position of the architectural profession, perhaps with a view that attempts to bring contemporary design into a regional tradition. From those which have been accomplished, the study of indigenous architecture can be described in two main concepts; ethnological and anthropological frameworks. The ethnological study mainly focuses on domestic architecture as found in the remote area of every country. In regard to its cultural significance, vernacular architecture was usually understood as important part of material culture, and represented as "local architectural dialect" that was built up along with the development of the people in a specific society, while vernacular architecture within anthropological perspective has been viewed much larger and deeper than an edifice of a certain society as it was described in ethnology (Egenter, 1992).

According to Tuan (1977), vernacular architecture was perceived as a reality of "humanly constructed space"¹, representing a boundary of a thing whether material or immaterial. It illustrates the intimate connection between human beings, their ideology and environment. If truth be told, it does not mean, there is a place that man can dwell as Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980) stresses that man can inhabit in a space called a dwelling when he can orientate himself within, and identify or experience himself with an environment in his daily life and such place also carries spiritual and emotional loads by giving particular meaning to the place in terms of socio-cultural context². Following his idea, the dwelling is taken for granted as a basic principle of human existence, reflecting the most concrete and the most abstract terms of human cognitive order. It is central to domestic life and the system of domesticity as a part of an architectonic realization of the ideology of dwelling that provides an intrinsic attribution of "safeguarding" and becomes a fundamental source of protection against a terrifying environment (Rykwert, 1997).

The Study of Architecture with Anthropological Perspective

The most pioneering works in "architectural anthropology" date back at least to Lewis H. Morgan's 1881 in "House and House-life of the American Aborigines", this literature was considered to be a forerunner of the investigation of social factors that influenced the dwellings. Based considerably on ethnography, Morgan identifies different "social usages and customs" which determine the form of the "long houses" of the Indian tribes in aboriginal America, and emphasizes that the built form and its construction techniques can be represented as a "container" of social units (Morgan, 1965 first published in 1881). Cultural influence on the form of a building can originate in symbolic conceptions. Notions of the right order of relationships within the social and the cosmic universe can play an active role in the building of a house, determining the manner of execution of details in its construction or its position relative to the cardinal points. A seminal work which goes back to the 1930s is Griaule and Dieterian's analysis of the shelters of Dogon in Mali. They demonstrate how a very complex cosmology is expressed in an esoteric anthropomorphism which informs the layout of houses and settlements, and determines their built forms (Griaule and Dieterian, 1954).

¹ The term "humanly constructed space" can be described as Yi Fu Tuan (1997) says "human beings have to make sense of the world before they start building spaces and shelters, because the cognitive order is prior to the material one, once people construct their defined space, the cognitive order is being interpreted and turned into reality" (p. 32).

² Christian Norberg-Schulz attempts to raise the term "genius loci" to identify the concept of dwelling; this term briefly consolidates the meanings of domestic space with reference to the house and its dwellers' activities. See more in *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* accomplished by Norberg-Schulz (1980).

In 1950, Marcel Mauss provides an early inspiration for architectural study with sociological and cultural perspectives. This work illuminates the interconnection between the Eskimos' cosmological ideas and their geographical determination, drawing on the evidence of large body of ethnographical data (Mauss, 1979 first published in 1950). From his analysis, Mauss suggests that human geographical factors should be read in relation to the influences of the socio-cultural context of the particular society. Moreover, he demonstrates that a single case study is as well conceived as executed, which is sufficient to establish a general principle. Several ethnographies, such as Mauss', demonstrate the interconnections between materials, social and symbolic aspects of the indigenous architecture, but they have been curiously neglected by academic architecture, as Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones criticizes that

"One important reason is that they are so commonplace, so familiar, so much a part of the way things are, that we hardly seem to notice them" (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995, p.4)

Beyond this view, Caroline Humphrey suggests that the study of vernacular architecture and its related built environment should not be viewed just for their physical features; instead "they tend to be thought of as cases of socio-cultural symbolism or cosmology rather than subjects in their own right" (Humphrey, 1988, p.16). The diversity of vernacular architectural study can be found recently in various sources of literature. Many of them were initiated by architects with an interest in anthropology, and with the common goal not only of describing and classifying forms but of understanding them within their local context. One notable example is a series of work edited by Paul Oliver in "Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World". This series investigates and documents the great variety of house forms in different cultures around the world, by explaining the relation between architectural aesthetics and the very special structural conditions of related ways of life and social orders (Oliver, 1998).

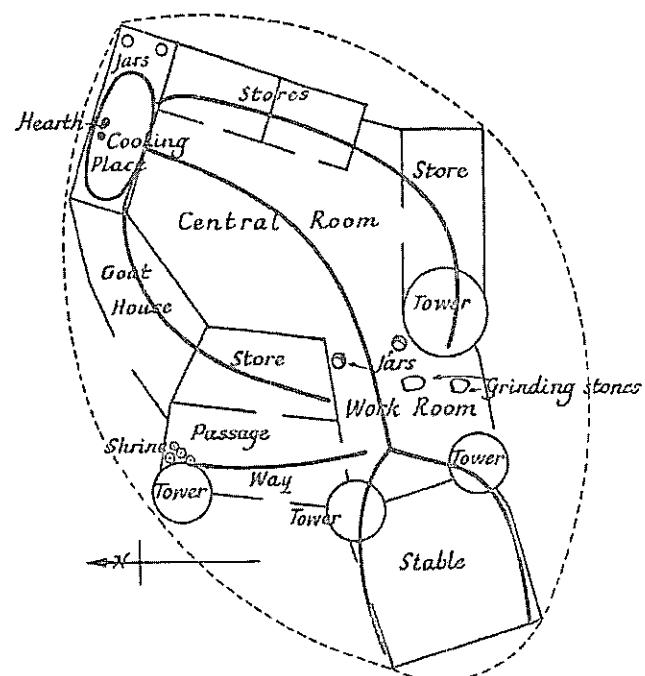


Figure 1 The relationship between men and their family homestead in an analysis of the Dogon house provided by Griaule and Dieterian (1954, p. 98).

As an important topic that became to be the quest for potential factors which determine the shape of architectural constructions and which can explain the enormous diversity of house forms, the major contribution with the purpose of the understanding of meaning in architectural forms has been accomplished by Amos Rapoport (1960) in "House Form and Culture". According to him, the meanings of things are derived from the way in which men define things around them. The meanings do not actually reside in the things, but they develop from the way people want their environment to mean certain things, which include almost everything built by men since they first started to build. The interpretations of things functions under the "physical determinism" of modifying factors such as climate, material, construction technique, economy, belief and religion. In this view, architecture is clearly determined by the relation between men and their specific socio-cultural complex.

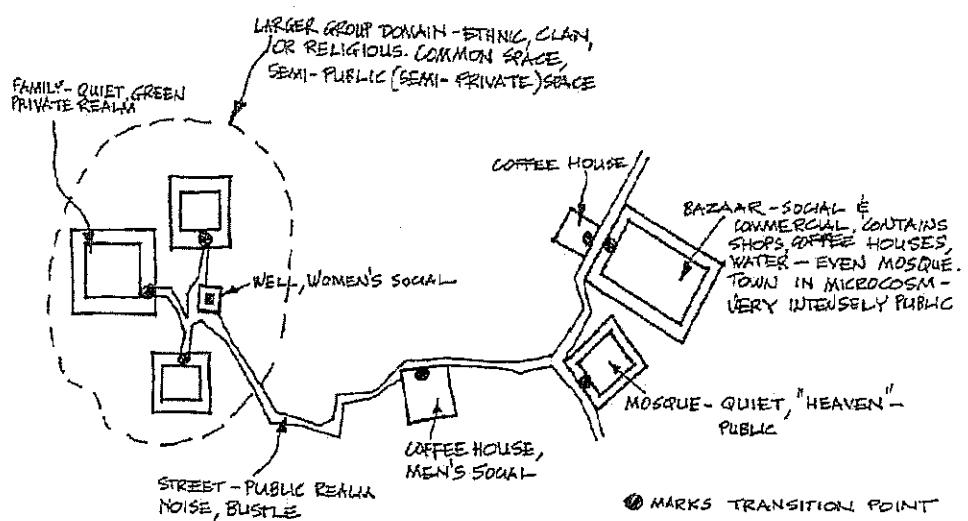


Figure 2 Diagram of House Settlement System, represents men's activities related their built environment (Rapoport 1960, p. 73).

Slightly later than Rapoport's work, Levi-Strauss (1963) suggested the idea of analysing human settlement patterns in his important paper "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" His essay provided an initial inspiration for later literature in anthropological analysis of the spatial organization of domestic architecture, such as the works of Cunningham (1964), Bourdieu (1973), and Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995). A prime example of symbolic interpretation of traditional house forms is the much-quoted analysis of the Atoni house accomplished by Cunningham and the Berber house by Bourdieu. In Cunningham's description, the relation between spatial arrangement, construction details, and the use of space, socio-political and cosmological plurality has been analyzed in systematic way. It justifies that house can be one of the best modes available to preliterate society to store and encapsulate ideas.

Bourdieu's famous analysis of the Berber house in Algeria is another illustration. Its emphasis lies in the symbolic presentation of conceptions about the relationship between men and women, and their built environment. In this relationship, male is associated with the outside and characterized as cultural, bright and fertilizing, in contradistinction to female which, of itself, is dark and, being associated with the inner space, is in constant need of fertilization and illumination (Bourdieu 1973). In this description, Bourdieu argues that the

buildings not only serve a functional purpose but also express a "set of symbolic opposition and hierarchies that order the societal divisions" (p. 106). Bourdieu's 1990 analysis of the Kabyle house stresses that allocation of spaces in the Kabyle house corresponds to basic dichotomies in the Berber cosmogony. Interestingly, the communicative role was recognized by an outsider, but was not obvious and realized by the Berber builders. While Bourdieu's analysis of the Kabyle house is obviously not translatable to every building in a society, it still shows how buildings serve a symbolic function. According to these examples, an analysis means much more than merely a demonstration of the socio-cultural background of architectural symbolism. Nuances are added to the understanding of ideas and values in a society which can be compared with a text in its own right and which can provide new insights in architecture.

Until the end of 1970s, the concept of "house" has attained additional significance in architectural anthropology. In actual fact, houses have many aspects; they are complex, multifaceted entities, particular aspects of which are given meaning by different people within particular cultures, contexts and historical conditions. These meanings constantly shifted within cultures, and they have no inherent cross-cultural validity. None of them can be understood as static pre-given structures, whether these are of the material kind or mental projections of a structuralizing sort, as Yi Fu Tuan describes:

"People from different cultures differ in how they divide up their world, assign values to its parts, and measure them. Ways of dividing up space vary enormously in intricacy and sophistication, as do techniques of judging size and distance. Nonetheless certain cross-cultural similarities exist, and rest ultimately on the fact that man is the measure of all things. This is to say, if we look for fundamental principles of spatial organization we find them in two kinds of facts: the posture and structure of the human body, and the relations (whether close or distant) between human beings. Man, out of his intimate experience with his body and with other people, organizes space so that it conforms with and caters to his biological needs and social relations" (Tuan, 1977, p. 32).

Houses have significantly been considered to be related to human beings as universal theory. One initial idea is that they have been frequently thought of as like a human body; the idea of "house and the body" was introduced in order to draw the picture of intimate connection between domestic space, human body and mind in continuous interaction in terms of the physical structure, social conventions and mental images of such spaces. This idea stresses that once people construct houses and make them in their own image, they use these houses and house- images to construct themselves, taking them as representations of individuals and groups³.

³ The innovative exploration of the link between human body and domestic space, and between domestic space and the experience and activities of inhabitants, was suggested by Littlejohn (1960) in his study of the Temne house, and in Bourdieu's classic paper on the Kabyle house (1977). In his analysis, Bourdieu defines the house as "the principal locus for the objectification of generative schemes", in which is inscribed a vision and structure of society and the world. According to him, moving in ordered space, the body "experiences" the house which serves as a mnemonic for the embodied person. Through habit and inhabiting, each person builds up a practical mastery of the fundamental scheme of their culture (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 89 cited in Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995, p. 2).



According to Levi-Strauss (1963), the potential theoretical significance of the house was drawn with the scope of "house societies"⁴. This idea expands an alternative language of the house by focusing on the connections between architectural, social and symbolic significance (Waterson, 1995). With this idea, houses are the depiction of a specific and widespread social type, which emphasizes the significance of the indigenous category of house in the study of systems of social organization. They are a place for understanding the development of society, and significantly reveal an establishment of a system of thought, or a specific form of social organization, representing a crucial practical and conceptual unit in the economies, kinship systems and political organization of widely different societies. These striking works mark a major step in understanding of the links between material culture, kinship system, sociality and the human body, and also reveals different ways in which houses are considered as social interactions with surrounding world (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995).

Myth, Legend and Anthropological Study of Architecture

In historical and anthropological studies, traditional narratives such as a storytelling and myth are considered key evidence to trace the origins of society. They are anecdotes involving supernatural beings and powers, ancient tale of primordial culture, carrying a necessary cultural message that embodies and reveals an explanation for the chronological development of early society, socio-cultural phenomena, religious belief, and ritual practices as Peter Blundell Jones says:

"Although the human known history is relatively short, and human culture has developed quite recently, it is surprising that what our ancestors were doing for all those years in the long evolutionary path is still not clear, ..., it is a burning issue, which has been ignored and leaves a perplexing silence" (Jones, 1990, p. 93).

Myth and traditional narrative are often ignored by modernized people, since they are considered to be irrational and intimately related to unexplainable and supernatural circumstances. In the study of architecture history, myth, legend, and storytelling always stand for a nonsensical belief and suspicious story, and they seem to be refused by many scholars who rely on a rational and practical perspective, even though they can reveal enriching information and carry cultural messages which were underlying in architecture and its related built environment. In fact, myth, legend and storytelling can hardly be separated from architecture, since they can confirm the role of architecture in socio-economic and socio-cultural life of people both in preliterate and modern societies; they may serve the study of architectural history and the analysis of relationships between men, architecture, and built environment. Myth can describes

⁴ Roxanna Waterson (1995) notes that the key features of the definition of the term "house societies" are (i) the ideal of continuity; (ii) the passing down of some form of valued property (a name, land, titles, sacredness and supernatural powers); and (iii) the strategic exploration of the "language of kinship or affinity" (which includes extensive use of fictive relations when necessary to prevent the extinction of a "house"). These, then may be judge the irreducible aspects of the "house" as a social phenomenon.

"How man and the world had their origin, and give solidity and significance to the presence of a group in some particular area by providing them with historical and existential justification for their own presence there, for their relationship with their neighbours and with natural resources, for the relationship between their clans, and so forth" (Guidoni, 1975, p. 13)

With the attempt to introduce new insights into an analysis of architectural study, in "Primitive Architecture: History of World Architecture", Enrico Guidoni stresses that the study of architecture and built environment,

"Must reckon with cultural currents, social and economic structures, and ritual and mythic complexes" (1975, p. 7).

In case of the Dogon house, Marcel Griaule (1965) explains that myth, legend and storytelling play significant roles in structuring the world system and architecture of the Dogon. In their world, the built environment was built up in relation to the myth of eight ancestors, and reflected in the organization of the village, and in the construction of the large family house, the granary and the sanctuary. These buildings link the various groups of Dogon with their mythic ancestors in the socio-cultural domain, providing them not only with shelter but also with temples of living and dead souls. Griaule provides a detailed description of the Dogon house that

"The front elevation [of the house] was twelve cubits wide and eight cubits high; it was pierced by ten vertical rows of eight square niches, their sides measuring a handbreadth; these niches extended from ground level to a horizontal line of swallow's holes which lay under the shelter of a roof of small wooden billets no larger than a cubit in size. The whole facade was finished off by a series of slender columns like sugar loaves, each one topped by a flat stone intended to catch the rain; but the water had worn them away so that them had come to look like hour-glasses (p. 91). The paired holes on the two surfaces of the front wall are particularly occupied by the temporary death of one of their eight ancestors, Lebe, who was subsequently reincarnated in the form of a serpent, and the front façade, with its eight rows of ten niches, represents the eight ancestors and their descendants, numerous as the fingers on their hands (p. 92). This was constructed through connection with the myth. The niches are the homes of ancestors, who occupy them in order to birth of beginning with the highest row. The niches should never be closed, for the ancestors need to breathe the outdoor air. On the carved door of the upper storey there are, or should be, eight rows of eighty figures, picturing the men and women of the whole world descended from the original ancestors (p. 93)".

In the same vein, Amos Rapoport (1975) signifies that myth and storytelling are not only used to interpret the origins of architecture, but can also reveal a picture of how primitive people organize their world, its built environment, and its geographical designation. He illustrates how the Australian Aborigines systematize their surrounding world, when he says:

"They organize their landscape and construct their small temporary hut by the relations with their mythical ancestor-snake and the imitation movement of a real snake crossing a sandy terrain in the dream- time ritual..., The myth of the routes taken by the ancestral heroes

across the territory has been elaborately developed and is widespread through the vast aboriginal area. The ritual plan is constituted by circles and straight lines, locating the site for temporary huts and ceremonial routes. .., the mythological heroes appear and disappear from a 'hole' on the surface of the earth and go through a serpentine path, and thus the landscape was created on a featureless world, including mountains, watercourses, livings, and so on. While the Australian Aborigines wander through the landscape and follow the path of the dreamtime events, the mythology born in their minds also becomes the map of their territory, explaining the creation of landscape by the mythological heroic creatures of the dreamtime that sustain the power of their clan structures. Under such conditions, the myth serves to order the world, making out place and indicating the difference between places, some of which are more significant than others and the physical structure and natural features of the landscape are thus imbued with mythical colours and human embodiment" (Rapoport, 1975, p. 49).

Following these examples, myth and storytelling should be interpreted as a deliberate philosophical attempt to explain and understand the world; they are a means to describe the ways early people organized their order and culturally dispensed it to the built environment. Although, the results of mythological attempts at explanation were patently wrong, myth and legend cannot be dismissed as "mere error and folly". Rather, they should be viewed as "an interesting product of the human mind" or they can be represented as a "primitive ways of reasoning" (Ackerman, 1975). Myth and legend can invoke an evolutionary view of human social development from savageness to civilization, in the course of which some primitive explanations survive in certain modern belief and custom (Taylor, 1958).

Myth and Ritual

According to Leach (1954), myth is relatively related to ritual practice, myth determines the ritual that it accompanies, as he says

"Myth implies ritual, ritual implies myth, and they might be the same" (p. 13).

Myth can be regarded as an explanation of what ritual was about even if its original meaning has been forgotten or confounded. It is considered as a representation of a social creation that exists in every society (Smith 1969), while ritual is the original source of the expressive forms of cultural life, and fundamentally serves the basic social function of creating and maintaining community. Ritual acts imply a type of "gift" model by which human beings make offerings to ancestors and spirits in return for blessings.

As primitive forms of reasoning, Myth and ritual reveal much about human perception and cognition. Myth accompanying ritual can tell a sacred story about the actions of spirits and gods; they are a means of a festive "communion" between humans and spirits or gods that has the effect of sacralising the social unity and solidarity of the group, and thereby explains how things came to be the way they are, as Eliade (1963) describes

"Myth narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial times, the fabled times of the beginning. In other words, myth tells how, through the deeds of supernatural beings, a reality came into existence, be it the whole of reality, the cosmos, or the only fragment of reality- an island, a species of plant, a particular kind of human behaviour, an institution. Myth then is always an account of a creation, it related how something was produced, began to be ..., because myth relates the existence of supernatural beings and the manifestation of their sacred powers, it becomes the exemplary model for all significant human activities (p. 5)...., The identification of human acts with the divine models preserved in myth enables people to experience the ontologically real and meaningful, to regenerate cyclical notions of time, and to renew the prosperity and fecundity of the community. Ritual sets up the beginnings of this identification, and in turn, it is a re-enactment of the deeds performed by the gods in the primordial past and preserved in mythological accounts. By performing these deeds again in ritual, the participants identify the historical here and now with the sacred primordial period of the gods before time began. Through the ritual enactment of primordial events, human beings come to consider themselves as a truly human, sanctify the world, and render meaningful the activities of their lives (p. 6)".

Following his statement, ritual can be referred to a re-enactment of an event or story recounted in myth, while the myth plays a critical role in establishing the system in which any activity has its meaning by ritually identifying the activities. Ritual is a form of action which denotes to the domain of the holy and the constituents of which include the sacred, the numinous, the occult, and the divine. Even though, it has been interpreted differently and also been chosen to locate the idea of "sacredness" in different ways, such as in mystical confusion, in historical commonalities, in cognitive structure, or in human interpretive endeavours, but the results are similar. With the a view of critical studies in religious and ritual practice, ritual is a form of pattern and order that portrays the idealized way that a thing in the world should be organized., It is an opportunity to reflect on the disjuncture between what is and what ought to be, and the ways in which people attempt to see, or argue for, what is significant in real life. Ritual can be seen as attempting to present, model, and instil a coherent and systematic unity within all human experience. It is an effective means to integrate social instinctual tendencies and to adjust to prescribed social roles, suggesting the presence of unconscious forces in shaping social behaviour (Smith, 1982).

Myth plays on of beliefs, symbols and ideas, and is deemed a manifestation of the sacred that is inherently closer to the cognitive patterns, so consecutively ritual plays as action, it is considered a secondary expression of those very beliefs, symbols, and ideas. As same as Catherine Bell (1997) in "Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions", concludes that myth, like ritual, simultaneously imposes and orders. They accounts for the origin and nature of that order, and shape people's dispositions to experience that order in the world around them. Myth gives a coherent and meaningful unity to a diversity of religions, cultures, and histories. It can explain the question of how human beings share the powerful socialization imposed by the sacred, or by the seasons, or by a divinity. Thus, it might be concluded that ritual is dependent on myth, while in turn myth is never separated from the ritual involved in telling the sacred story, which requires ritual. Intrinsic to the ritual enactment of the events in the story is the recitation of the myth itself, a system to assure people that what

they are doing in the ritual is what was done in the primordial age when the gods, spirits, heroes, or ancestors ordered the cosmos, created the world, and established divine models for all subsequent activity. The interrelation between myth and ritual provides accounts of universal experience and logical system that appear to prove the unity within human diversity, and to delineate the broad outlines of what is meaningful in human experience in general.

Ritual and Magic

Ritual acts and magical acts are intimately correlated; magic can be claimed as a part of ritual form and structure, since it is considered as a matter of symbolic action that simply expresses sociological truths in cosmological order of particular societies (Douglas 1973). It is sometimes known as sorcery, a practice of consciousness manipulation to achieve a desired result, or a natural emotional reaction to situations in which technical knowledge or skills are unable to guarantee success. It is naturally associated with practices influenced by ideas of mysticism, the supernatural, and religion. Magic has been interpreted in different ways, in "A General Theory of Magic", Marcel Mauss (1972) classifies magic as a social phenomenon that expressed in rites, religious materials, social roles and relationships. It is based on the principle connected to consecration and sacredness of objects and places, and the interaction with supernatural powers which are mediated by an expert, with the employment of symbolism, sacrifice, purification and representation in rites, assuming the importance of tradition and continuation of knowledge. Magic is logically akin to religion and science, but it is portrayed as an element of pre-modern societies or "a priori belief", that is in many respects the antithesis of religion and science. The distinction between them can be signified in terms of sentiment and practice and the desired result, as Mauss says:

"A magical rite is any rite that does not play a part in organized cults. It is private, secret, and mysterious and approaches the limit of prohibited rite, magic is secretive and isolated, and rarely performed publicly in order to protect and to preserve occult knowledge, while religion is predictable and prescribed and is usually performed openly in order to impart knowledge to the community" (1972, p. 24).

While Bronislaw Malinowski (1954), Evans- Pritchard (1965), and Stanley J. Tambiah (1990) explain that magic, science, and religion all have their own "quality of rationality", and have been influenced by politics and ideology, the demarcation between them depending upon various perspectives. Magic flourishes wherever man cannot control hazard by means of science. The logical idea of magic lies deeply in how it was used to alleviated people's anxieties, therefore its function was used to ritualize man's optimism, and to enhance his faith in the victory of hope over fear (Malinowski, 1954). In "Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande", Evans- Pritchard (1965) argues that the purpose of magic is not for enhancing people's optimism and self confidence, but to attempt, simultaneously much more social and intellectual aims. According to him, magic closely relates to unusual events, and its practices may be performed in conjunction with technical and utilitarian actions. Magic can be perfectly rational when understood within reference to the traditional beliefs about gods that accompany it. Magic and religion share the same sense, similar in that they serve the same function in a society. The difference is that magic is more about the personal power of the individual

(Malinowski, 1954), it is a strictly ritualistic action of the implementation of forces and objects by using a technique which attempts to restructure and integrate the minds and emotions of the actors, while religion is about faith in the power of Gods that are supposed to encompass all aspects of life. Science, on the other hand, is a system of behaviour by which man acquires mastery of the environment; it suggests a clear divide between nature and the supernatural, making its role far less all-encompassing than that of religion. In both magic and religion, nature and the supernatural are connected and essentially interchangeable. In science, nature and the supernatural are clearly separate spheres.

According to Tambiah (1968), the performance of magic always involves the use of languages, symbols, and rituals. In "The Magical Power of Words", he illustrates the ways in which magic plays its role in words and ritual language. He claims that languages are central to the expressive properties in exploring how the metaphors and metonymies of ritual language actually work. For him, magical language is intelligible, rational, and logical. Thus, various forms of magical language, such as spells, chants and blessings are not based on a belief in the "real identity between word and thing" but instead on an "ingenious" use of "the expressive and metaphorical properties of language". In this respect, magical language can be claimed as a ritual act, and it is particularly adept at constructing metaphors in establishing symbols that link magical rituals to the human world. It perfectly reflects the influence of the idea of "performative utterance" which suggests that all acts of speaking have some "performative dimension". Thus, magical language can be described as a ritual mode of thought and action that is used to work with magic, it expresses the way in which symbolic forms of expressions simultaneously make assumptions about the way that things really are. However, the power of magical language is said to reside in words, they only become effective if uttered in the special context of actions performed with special objects at a particular place and time. By the "performative dimension" of ritual, a ritual act can create the sense of reality, or a symbolic language of the system of communication, which is expressing, describing and conveying the ideas and meanings that act upon the real world as it is culturally defined (Leach 1976).

Ritual and Social Construction of Space

By definition, ritual means a prescribed order of performing religious or other devotional service, including a series of actions compulsively performed under certain circumstances, and it has to "take place" somewhere. If the performance of ritual acts is prevented, people will experience tension and anxiety. In general, ritual experience connects symbolic meanings with space, making metaphorical ideas visible. Space in this way is closely related with every aspect of ritual, providing physical shelter for ritual performance. The experiences of people towards ritual are initially based on the experience of bodily movements in daily life that they learn to make on first encountering the world, entering into, moving forward and back, left and right, up and down, and coming out, with particular marks and meanings in the ritual performance. Any gesture performed is brought about and accompanied with a ritually elaborated and challenged enactment, and it is very important for the process of constructing space. The relation between ritual and space, especially ritual in relation to architecture, is a subject that needs to be explored, since they are intimately associated. In fact ritual can take place anywhere within particular time-space, either outside or inside buildings. Once spaces have rituals taking place, such spaces embody a strong sense of symbolic meanings. Thus, ritual experiences connected



with symbolic meanings make spaces become reality. They turn them into a domain of ritual in which the people perform various kinds of ritual in order to obtain their personal desires (Doxtator, 1983). In this way, space is closely related to every aspect of ritual: the relation between them is inseparable. Space provides a physical shelter for ritual performance; it plays the role in supporting the order of rituals.

In traditional societies, most buildings, either religious edifices or human habitations, have to do with ritual acts, expressing symbolic meanings of belief, or religious ideologies of people and societies (Bourdieu 1973, Cunningham 1964, Eliade 1987). Ritual and its features construct the space with symbolic meanings, ordering buildings in a set of metaphysical discriminations, such as natural and supernatural powers, cosmological idea, sacred and profane, hierarchical order, living and dead, as Peter Blundell Jones describes:

"Architecture meshes with a series of social rules and beliefs, each sustaining the other" (1985, pp. 34).

Symbolic representations of the built form and ritual culture are significantly pervasive; many literature have been written in order to excavate the interpretation of architectural space and ritual meanings. In pre-modern cultures, constructing a building is equivalent to founding a microcosm and reconstructing a symbolic order of both cosmic and social worlds. From this account, we can establish the point that built form is never free from symbolic meanings. Constructing any built forms must be associated with rituals, with the aim of regenerating both cosmological and social orders. It builds up the relationship between activities and the socially structured environment. As a model of the microcosm, architecture reflects the experiences, perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours of people in shaping and ordering their cognitive world. Ritual functions as a system that frames human activities by establishing a setting as a reminder for their reiterative actions. It needs to be performed in space so that the performers can establish their identities with their ritual objects, between ritual objects and the world, and also between them and the world. Their experiences and perceptions of the ritual make possible the founding of sacred space, by which the sacred manifests itself in space, and the ordered world comes into existence, as Mircea Eliade say:

"A house is not just an object or a machine to live in, but it must be animated and receive life and soul, ..., every construction implies a new beginning of life with every inauguration at dawn with the first light shining on the world" (1957, pp. 55).

Therefore, the sacred character of space is located not only as the ritual space, but is also involved in countless rites of building, which have been recorded in religion and folklore, intending to frame the world within its limits and establish its order.

In Every Society, building a house, for example, is normally employed as a first line of defense against the chaotic elements which are interpreted as inauspicious. To have a house signifie being fully adult and the process of constructing a house is the most important scheme of the "rites de passage" (Gennep, 1960). For this reason, myths, ritual practices and magical acts have been taken over the houses; these practices are significantly governed by the principles of how to avoid bad luck and misfortune. Such practices therefore, assist men in establishing their houses as a device of domestic sanctification by activating sacred and supernatural powers to facilitate their protection system, functioning to prevent danger, meanwhile promote domestic auspiciousness and well-being. According to this, constructing and dwelling a house require a numbers of

rituals and regulations as the references for establishing and maintaining a human's constructed realm. During the process, each different stage brings different and particular circumstances, such as selecting a house site, preparing materials, constructing a house, considering the different potency of spirits and etc. These different states of potency require different rites and acts in practice to accumulate effectiveness. It might be said that myths rituals and magical acts signify the capability of the inhabitants to control available material environments with craft in their building processes, these processes also can be viewed more as the greatest of human activities imbued with richly cultural symbolic meaning, rather than simply as building works. The structures of the house not only have a practical aim, but also reassure their occupants, both during building process and later when inhabiting. Furthermore, the ordering of rituals presents and reinforces beliefs about the system of universe and the nature of the world which in primordial culture are not held in other forms, and these rites also act as mnemonics and educational artifacts for the next generation.

Conclusion

According to this description, it is convincing to say that architecture can play its role as a container of human beings. It is a communicative medium that cannot be separated from traditional narratives. Myth, ritual practices and magical acts can reveal enriching information and carry cultural messages which were underlying in architecture and they also may serve the study of architectural history and the analysis of relationships between men, their socio cultural influence and architecture. Thus, architectural anthropology allows us to understand a multiplicity of factors which combine to influence architecture and its related built environment. In any given society one of these factors may be foremost importance. The main point, however, is their interaction, under the primacy, direct or indirect, of the prevailing socio-cultural patterns and values. And it is at this stage of investigation that the question of the cultural- historical situation gains new importance. Every culture builds upon its predecessors; every factor influencing architecture and built environment departs from the array of structures and associated meanings which are at the disposal of the society, having been passed down from its ancestors to the descendants. For this reason, it might be concluded that the study of architecture should not be considered as a narrow concept of physical values. It should be reconceived in its temporal depths and extended towards anthropological approach that can help us to clarify the factual complexity of architecture.

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