Mapping materiality – social relations with objects and landscapes

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Figure 1: The scenic view over the Yaeda valley, Tanzania (Photo: Thea Skaanes)

Let us, dear reader, find a vantage point from which to overlook the landscape. A suitable place is to climb the mountain and find a good spot (see Figure 1). From here we will try to perceive and interpret the Hadza landscape before us. In his fascinating account on speaking with names, Keith Basso noted that landscapes do not interpret their own significance (Basso

1988: 100). Interpretations and ascriptions of meaning require people, they require relationality. So, have a look and take in this scenic view. Sitting on a mountain top, overlooking the valley far below and the mountain rim at the other end of the valley, we may notice the landscape's strong combination of presence and distance, of grandeur and of the miniscule; we are there on the cliff feeling the silencing awe of it all.

On the day the picture was taken, we had set out from the Hadza camp in the morning and had both found honey and eaten copious amounts of tubers; we were filled to satiety and the sun heated warmth of the rock radiated from under us as the afternoon heat began to wane. The breeze was turning soft and kind, changing from the mid-day hot and tiringly hostile winds. We pointed to places we had been recently, to the pack of zebras and three impalas grazing under the trees far below, and made a few remarks, but the dialogues ebbed away and silence flooded in as we eventually sat down and looked, not at each other, but at this landscape before us, in an atmosphere of reflective contemplation.

The words could be many more,[1] but the landscape itself speaks by other means than words. As she beholds the landscape, the emic 'reader' (Scott 1998) of the landscape with the trained eye could be in a vivid dialogue with a myriad of words, a dialogue full of specificities and significance; propelled by points, traces, memories, narratives and relationships. But for the novice, for the unfamiliar, untrained, not-so-well-acquainted eye, the landscape dialogue is more sparse; it does not provide you with strings of specific words connecting into a story of significance. Keith Basso describes unfamiliarity with this extreme tangibility in this way:

> Emphatically 'there' but conspicuously lacking in accustomed forms of order and arrangement, landscape and discourse confound the stranger's efforts to invest them with significance, and this uncommon predicament, which produces nothing if not uncertainty, can be keenly disconcerting. (Basso 1988: 99)

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1 I would like to thank Ute Dieckmann for a wonderful collaboration and for being an exemplary editor and reviewer. I would also like to thank Sian Sullivan and Mara Jill Goldmann for their careful reading and for giving invaluable comments and feedback in their reviews of this chapter. And how uplifted I was and utterly grateful for the inspirational discussions and lectures that formed part of the *Mapping the unmappable*-workshop in December 2019 in Cologne that preceded this publication. Thank you for inviting me to partake in this inspirational process.

In order to access the landscape, to learn its distinctiveness, and to be able to invest it with significance, 'we' need to mediate and conceptualize it in order to attach meaning to it. 'We', here, refers to us as field-working, visiting researchers, i.e. those of us who are not indigenous to the area we work in. The translation challenge is key in this point, as we are novices looking at and trying to learn about and appreciate a new landscape. We devise our own cartography as we seek to identify significant entities, sections, types and kinds that we connect and relate to other kinds in grids, schemes and maps. We make drawings, take photographs, note GPS coordinates; we keep memorabilia and souvenirs in the hope that they might be a key that will open the door to a place of knowing for us. And as we include parts in the picture, even tiny bricks in a seemingly giant multidimensional puzzle, of layers of experience, emotions, discourse, we weave systems of meaning around us, as a means of learning, of translation, or, as Donna Haraway says, *ways* of seeing:

> [A]ll eyes, including our own organic ones, are active perceptual systems, building in translations and specific *ways* of seeing, that is, ways of life. … there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing worlds. All these pictures of the world should not be allegories of infinite mobility and interchangeability, but of elaborate specificity and difference and the loving care people might take to learn to see faithfully from another's point of view… (Haraway 1991: 190, original emphasis)

Ever so individually fashioned, translation processes like those described by Haraway here would provide comfort and lessen the feeling of being alien. However, as Donna Haraway puts it, these "partial ways of organizing worlds", the systems we fashion, should not only be "allegories of infinite mobility and interchangeability", but rather a process of "elaborate specificity and difference and the loving care people might take to learn to see faithfully from another's point of view". In this way, Haraway warmly encourages us to transgress the boundaries of the systems we have set in place for ourselves, i.e. the systems that Basso called "accustomed forms of order and arrangement". With eloquence and humor, she calls on us to try faithfully to learn about and gradually to better appreciate the systems that we have not fashioned ourselves. If we strive to learn about the landscape and how it is conceptualized by the people who are so familiar with it, in this case the Hadza of Tanzania, a rather fundamental rearrangement will be needed. Again, I use the words of Keith Basso:

> In other words, one [as an ethnographer] must acknowledge that local understandings of external realities are ineluctably fashioned from local cultural materials, and that, knowing little or nothing of the latter, one's ability to make appropriate sense of 'what is' and 'what occurs' in one's environment is bound to be deficient. (Basso 1988: 100)

In the editor's invitation to contribute a chapter to the present volume, I found a call for this deeper search or rearrangement (see Introduction, this volume). It aired a critical query regarding the ways cartographic theories and methods have been applied to African environments, the multispecies ecologies carved by alternative ontologies, and how the two theories, or world views, as systems of ideas, have resulted in a fundamental mismatch of ontological and epistemological incongruities in many cases. How may we proceed adequately? Echoing Keith Basso, the question remains: How can we make appropriate sense of "what is" and "what occurs" in the ontological schemes of African hunter-gatherers? Furthermore, how may we as researchers communicate our findings? Can maps be a viable way?

With Haraway's firm and feminist critique of objectivizing narratives, Basso's call for absolving the subjective understanding, and being informed of the vivid debate in anthropology called "the ontological turn", which questions our very application of concepts (see Henare et al. 2007), the task ahead seems almost impossible. How will we be able to know what the women and children on the mountain top saw that afternoon as they contemplated the landscape before them?[2] Questions of cultural translation led to decades of numbing self-reflection in academia, facing the demons of privilege, and silencing claims based on epistemological or ontological translation by the nightmarish questioning of the very legitimacy of the academic practices of border-crossing scholarly work. This critique was due and, like a grindstone, it sharpened our scholarly diligence and ethical attention. But how do we turn that sharp-

2 Many scholars have argued that contemplating the landscape is a specific and western construct (see Ingold 1993) relating to the rise of romanticism (see Hirsch/O'Hanlon 1995). I acknowledge the perceptive analyses in these contributions; however, I am describing the empirical situation of us sitting on the mountain top, as speech ebbed away, and quietly looking – not closing the eyes – at the scenery before us. Therefore, let us not rid the Hadza of this experience either, but keep an open mind as to what they saw, what it meant, and with which conceptual schema or sensorial faculties this experience would match for them.

ened blade away from ourselves and into constructive use, i.e. how do we reengage? How may we draw maps of that which, it seems, is unmappable?

I am neither a trained cartographer, nor have I worked in the role of a cartographer. But what I notice is that we[3] all draw maps; and we all maneuver within ideational frames. Such frames that we navigate are both frames that we set ourselves and frames that were set by others before us. Annette Markham, talking about visual methods, argues:

> Frames function like maps. They shape how we move, how we think and how we put boundaries around things. And they shape our behavior and it's not unless something jars us loose of a conceptualization like this that we notice that there was a frame operating at all. That could be questioned. It is a fantastic corrective map of the world that really does transform how we think of it. (Markham 2012, personal communication)[4]

In this way, frames function like maps, and maps function like frames. We set frames and navigate both visible and invisible maps. These might be maps of places, routes and sites, but also of logistics systems, kinship relations, social dynamics, economic exchanges, strings of currencies in transvalue systems, cosmologies, and all kinds of resources, to mention but a few examples. As researchers, we draw correlations and identify kinds. We set the frames for our research in a myriad of ways in order to define the areas for our work, or, with other spatial terms, the *spheres* (Bohannan 1959), *fields* (Bourdieu 1984), or *scapes* (Appadurai 1996). This is what we do, both as researchers and as humans in general.

Let me take us to the opposite end of the area before us, or rather, let me shift metaphors here, to the other side of the matter at hand. My own background as a social anthropologist and curator at a cultural history museum steered me in my own research into asking questions around "local understandings of external realities fashioned from local cultural materials" (see Basso above) in order to ever so tentatively start learning about "what is" and "what occurs" (see Skaanes 2017a). The question that motivated me was whether new information could be gleaned from the examination of selected objects in connection with practices, ideas and phenomena such as sharing,

3 We, here again, is the scholarly 'we'. In the spirit of full transparency, I am a trained social anthropologist and museum curator.

4 Lecture held during the course *Cultural Methods, Methods of Culture*, at Aarhus University, Fall 2012.

ritual and symbolism that carry both material and immaterial constituents. Could following this path help us understand the structures of social relations among the Hadza – and would cosmology really matter (Skaanes 2017a)?

Moving on in this chapter I will digress from maps and landscapes in order to bring you to the world of things, a field closer to my own scholarly attention than cartography. I will trace how applying novel frames to material objects provides new insights, and I suggest a similar change as one method among many others that will allow us to jerk loose from the naturalized theory-bound conceptualization of land and environments. To give you, dear reader, peace of mind, as we move along, I argue for considering social relations in spheres beyond the human. In order to be able to make this leap from objects to landscapes, I identify connecting concepts in the potency of special objects with that of special places. This way, I will eventually address questions of "social relationships, non-human agents and [briefly and more implicitly, though] the dimension of time" (as outlined in the introduction to this volume) when trying to reengage with landscapes and mapping informed by these findings. But before we proceed, let me briefly introduce the Hadza and the empirical case for this chapter.

Introducing the Hadza hunter-gatherers of Tanzania and their environment

From the famous work of James Woodburn, the Hadza are well-known among hunter-gatherer researchers working in Africa. In terms of terminology,[5] they are small-scale, semi-nomadic, immediate-return hunter-gatherers living in the south-eastern areas around Lake Eyasi in northern Tanzania. The fieldwork informing this chapter was conducted in a camp, *'Ika 'e 'a-dzua,*[6] just at the foot of the Kideru mountains.[7] The ecology of the area reflects the semi-

5 The way we introduce an area, a field, and a group of hunter-gatherers seems to me to be fixed in a genre, a certain style, that assumes correctness and objectivity, but that to some degree carries objectifying measures and troublesome applications of the Cartesian theory-bound assumptions, that we seek to critically undo here.

6 Anonymity is ensured by different kinds of cloaking tactics. Altered names, altered places, altered kin relations or altered descriptions. However, I pay attention to keeping the resource of the empirical data intact.

7 The Kideru Mountains are part of the southern bifurcation of the eastern branch of the East African Rift of the Great Rift valley system.

arid conditions. You find heavy rainfall in the rainy season, with rain water pouring down the surrounding mountains. The water turns into roaring rivers where there used to be roads and creates dangerous erosion around constructions (bridges, the odd bricked house, or cemented construction around water supplies, such as wells, pumps, etc.). As it reaches the lowlands it floods large areas in the valley, from the swamp – which is further downhill from the camp – upwards. In the rainy season, the need for shelter might be beyond the capacity of the thatched huts, so people seek shelter in rocky caves in the mountains. The dry season's dusty and windy heat, conversely, carries all humidity away, and with the sun's rays reflected by the grains of sand and minerals in the soil, the environment turns into a sun-oven, with unbearable heat. Housing and shelter in the dry season involve high demands for shadow, breezy areas for the morning and late afternoon, and insulation from the midday heat inside the cool thatched hut. The dry season is animated by wind, the swirling dust-devils and tumbleweed that create movement and catch the eye in the otherwise stillness of the sizzling landscape. Such are the extremes of the surrounding environment. Yet it is also fertile, green, vibrant and accommodating in between these extremes. This is why we also find encroachment in the area, both by agricultural farmers (mostly Iraqw and Isansu) clearing land and sowing corn, wheat or watermelon fields, and by increasing numbers of cattle and goats, causing ecological deterioration as they are brought into the area by Iraqw and Datoga pastoral families. At the same time, families from neighboring ethnic groups are hesitant to move here, despite the escalating national crisis of land shortage, due to their fear of the feral factors in the area, especially the dreaded tsetse fly, the man-eating large cats, the huge elephants, packs of hyenas and venomous snakes.[8] Dehumanizing stereotypical views of the Hadza also contribute to the overall image of the

8 Living here you share physical space with and partake in an ecology made up of animals such as the ones mentioned here, but also large mammals such as eland, hippopotamus and buffalo and the numerically rich herds of zebras, Thomson's gazelles, and the small dik-diks. The prevalence of animals relates to the many game reserves in the area. To the north-west we find the Maswa Game Reserve, which further up extends into the Serengeti National Park. Ngorongoro is to the north, to the north-east we have the Lake Manyara National Park, and south of that, we find the Tarangire National Park. It is an area with a relatively high number of game animals, but it is not a residence area as such. There are both lions and leopards in the area. Due to the shallow burial practices of the Hadza, these have sometimes scavenged and eaten human flesh, which adds to people's fear of the cats as having crossed over into being man-

area as ferocious and dangerous.[9] Another factor is that the infrastructure is scarce and poorly maintained. At the time of my fieldwork, there were no operating water lines, no electricity apart from the odd solar panel left behind by a researcher,[10] the few roads were poorly maintained, and the mobile phone coverage was highly limited and untrustworthy. So, in most regards, what the Hadza consider their homeland is conceived of as a peripheral and inhospitable area by most others.

The Hadza are excellent bow-and-arrow[11] hunters and powerful digging-stick[12] gatherers. They live in band-sized camps (20-50 inhabitants, mostly related by kin), characterized by a high degree of flexibility of composition (i.e. people frequently and easily move in and out of camp) and with a rather limited amount of possessions. According to a recent census conducted by the anthropologist Brian Wood in 2012, the total population is around 1200 Hadza (Pontzer et al. 2015; Wood, personal communication, 2012), whereof an estimated 400 remain primarily hunter-gatherers (Marlowe 2010:38; Woodburn 1968a).

To categorize a society as hunting and gathering requires attention to the formal definitions of the term.[13] An unequivocal, yet restricted, definition was provided by Murdock, who states that to qualify as hunting and gathering, a society should base less than 5 percent of its subsistence on other strategies than hunting and gathering, e.g. farming and herding (1981: 92,

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eaters. Whether this is a huge problem or not, stories among the Hadza flourish about a leopard that has tried its luck.

9 Even just spending the night in the valley was considered dangerous by neighbors living as close as on the mountain rim, and spending multiple nights was seen as risking your life, whereas for the Hadza these nights formed a large part of creating a sense of togetherness in camp, of performing rituals, of storytelling and poetics (Skaanes 2017b, 2017a).

10 The sheer amount of equipment that researchers came to the area with (water tanks, food, boots, sunglasses, nets, hats, hats with nets, backpacks, locks, solar panels, computers and other electronic equipment) and arriving not only in one but often two 4x4s, taking great care to follow safety protocols, only reaffirmed the assumption that this was a dangerous area.

11 In ordinary Hadza hunting, there is no use of firearms, traps or fishing, but only the use of bows and arrows, occasionally with the addition of a very potent plant-based poison to the iron-headed barbed arrows (/ /' ana or / /' anako, see Woodburn 1970) to kill large prey.

12 The digging stick is also referred to as the woman's bow.

13 See Sullivan (this volume).

106). However, as described by Lee (2005) and Widlok/Tadesse (2005), recent developments in hunting and gathering societies reveal that hunter-gatherer economics and sharing practices often coexist with commoditization. A more complex definition of hunter-gatherers was provided by Nurit Bird-David; it pointed to characteristics independent of subsistence-strategies, bringing attention to "a distinctive mode of sociality" (Bird-David 1999: 235). She mentions the band-based society with its valuation of individual autonomy and social relatedness, resource-sharing, and universal kinship as characteristics (ibid.). She states that the ethnic groups categorized as hunter-gatherers do not seem to categorically distinguish between 'nature' and 'culture' or between the human and the non-human worlds (ibid.). Furthermore, as a critique relating to Murdock's definition, she points to remarkably flexible adoption of "additional subsistence pursuits" that seems to be done with ease, and that these adopted ways are just as easily abandoned again, leaving no disturbing trace on the societal structures. The Hadza that I worked with were hunter-gatherers by all of these definitions.[14]

Despite the relatively small population, most Hadza in the Yaeda Chini valley display linguistic resilience, as they speak Hadzane[15] in daily conversation; however, as quite a few especially elderly Hadza disapprovingly told me, the obligatory schooling in distant boarding schools is increasingly depriving the youth of valuable knowledge about living in the bush and is creolizing young people's language, turning it into a mixture of Swahili and Hadzane (for further information, see Skaanes 2017a).

Anthropologists and scholars of evolutionary theory display a special interest in Hadza research, which is revealed through the cornucopia of published papers dealing with Hadza conditions. Taking their small population into consideration, the Hadza have provided empirical material for an impressive quantity of studies and their case elicits claims of remarkable scale in academia. Professor Emeritus, James Woodburn, as the most respected and esteemed Hadza researcher of more than six decades, used the long awaited *Tenth International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies* (CHAGS10) in 2013 as an opportunity to encourage researchers to begin to look elsewhere, implying that not much is left to be said about this overly-studied people. I

14 The identification of these areas as being of significance is something that I recognize and find to be key in the Hadza case as well.

15 Hadzane is a click language and might be a linguistic isolate (Sands 1998).

think he might have been right in terms of the operating frames that are predominant in these prior studies, but changing the prevalent discourses would indeed bring new insights to academia.[16]

Shifting the operating frames

During the symposium *Man the Hunter* at the University of Chicago in April 1966, discussions were lively, and we are fortunate that they were transcribed and published along with the presented papers (Lee/Devore 1968). Following Marshall Sahlins' contribution (1968) a discussion on hunting and happiness came up. In it, two main themes emerged in relation to the Hadza: the absence of concern for the morrow and the relative lack of binding social relations expressed through commitment and obligation. Addressing the latter, James Woodburn stated the following:

> It may be worth mentioning a lack of commitment different from the lack of commitment to the morrow and yet, perhaps, related to it. The Hadza are strikingly uncommitted to each other; what happens to other individual Hadza, even close relatives, does not really matter very much. … With a few exceptions, a Hadza does not depend on specific individuals standing in particular relationships to him for access to property or to adult status, or for assistance in cooperative activities. (Woodburn 1968b: 91)

Woodburn restated this a decade later (Woodburn 1979: 257). Family ties, responsibilities and sense of obligation along kin lines were at that time and have since been manifestly downplayed when discussing the Hadza case. According the existing studies, the Hadza seem to live the simplest[17] version of

16 Furthermore, gender also matters. The group in the Hadza society that are subjected to the most restrictions to knowledge, i.e. the group that people withhold most information from based on social conventions, are non-initiated men. Simply being a woman would allow more information to be passed on to me than if I had been a man. So, both gender and framing, along with methodology, are factors that carry high significance for what is rendered visible – and conversely, invisible – in academic accounts.

17 The Hadza and the Mbuti are singled out as scoring zero as regards the degree of societal complexity (Marlowe 2010: 70); the remaining hunting and gathering societies are all placed at the low end of the scale. Scores rank from 0 to 40, and the average score for hunting and gathering societies, or, as Marlowe terms them, "foraging societies", was 6. Frank Marlowe sums this up: "It does not surprise me that the Hadza ranked at

society that we know of; they are strikingly tied to the present, and their weak family relationships do not carry burdensome dependency.

Turning to religion, the Hadza case is used as an inverse position to religious beliefs or symbolic constructs, or, as James Woodburn denotes them, "ideological elaborations" (1982a; Barnard/Woodburn 1988). Woodburn (1982a) compared mortuary rites and beliefs in four hunting and gathering societies (!Kung, Baka, Mbuti and Hadza) and in conclusion he stated:

> All these themes that might provide a starting-point for elaboration into a set of systematic beliefs about fertility and regeneration in death but the evidence does not, I think, support the idea that such a set of systematic beliefs has already developed in any of these four societies. (Woodburn 1982a: 204)

With an assessment that the Hadza were a society without systematic beliefs (see Marlowe 2010: 60) or that was minimally religious (Apicella 2018) being broadly accepted in academia, there has been very little subsequent research on Hadza rituals and cosmology (although see Purzycki et al. 2017; Apicella 2018; Power 2015; 2017; and Power/Watts 1997 for notable exceptions).

During my doctoral work, I worked with a small selection of power objects that I had read about in James Woodburn's British Museum publication (Woodburn 1970), which is physically modest but magnificent in its contribution. In it, he provides in-depth descriptions of each object in the British Museum's Hadza collection: a collection that Woodburn had collected years before and then divided into collections for the British Museum and the Horniman Museum. He described three objects that were part of the ritual called the *epeme* night dance: namely, a stick (*naricanda*), a calabash (*a'untenakwiko*) and a doll (*han!anakwete*).

Relating to these objects,[18] Woodburn, as the ground-breaking author, was the one to point to their exceptionality. He did so by altering the description from the otherwise prevalent technical, political or practical-economic descriptions to use a discourse of ceremony, ritual and efficacy. He notably did so by describing these special objects as "children" (Woodburn 1970: 57). This is a strong way of diverging from the practical-economic discourse. In his description of objects that relate to the ritual *epeme* night dance, he wrote:

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the bottom of the complexity scale; we would be hard-pressed to find a less complex society." (Marlowe 2010: 70)

18 The following section also appears in different sections of Skaanes (2017a).

> He [the male solo dancer, the *epeme*] dances first in his own name and later in the names of his children and he may also dance for three types of object which he refers to as his children, the *a'untenakwete*, which are engraved gourds used to hold clarified animal fat, secondly the *han!anakwete*, stone or mud dolls which may be decorated with beads, and thirdly the *naricanda* which are incised sticks made by men for female initiates to use during the ceremonies associated with female circumcision. At these ceremonies the initiates use the sticks to beat and stab any man who does not run away as they approach. Each individual *a'untenakwete* gourd, *han!anakwete* doll and *naricanda* stick belongs to a woman and may be named by her. (Woodburn 1970: 57, original emphasis)

How does this statement correspond with a society scoring zero on a complexity scale (Marlowe 2010)? Or with living firmly in the present with no care for the morrow (Lee/Devore 1968)? And, maybe most strikingly, with family relations not being of significance? I noticed that this description indicated a crack in an otherwise tightly fashioned narrative about the Hadza as entertaining only a few rituals and having a rather fragmented cosmological narrative (see Woodburn 1982a; Marlowe 2010: 60).

Indeed, in my doctoral work, as I tracked and researched the significance, symbolism and application of these objects, new perspectives came to light. The stick, the gourd and the doll, and the way Hadza relate to them, are not representative of the way Hadza relate to things or possessions in general. These are ritual objects and they stand out as functioning objects of power for the Hadza. Power object is not an emic term. I apply it as an analytical concept that, I suggest, could gain the status of a cover term for artefacts such as charms and exemplars that carry spirit, are magical, mystical or particularly ritualistic. This term may save analysts from the discomfort, or even embarrassment, of resorting to the related concept 'fetish' (see Pietz 1985; Guardiola-Rivera 2007; 2009).[19] In a likened process of terminating a concept,

19 A caption at the British Museum's Africa exhibition in front of a large display case with anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic sculptures, mostly of wood, refers to this concept and defines it in the following way: "Objects of power Wooden sculpture commonly offers a way of fixing and controlling powers that are of natural or supernatural origin or can even be part of an individual's own body" (British Museum, transcript from exhibition text in Africa exhibition, December 2013). In the Hadza context, objects of power are not only wooden or sculptures, but they are specifically related to powers and they are indeed part of the women's bodies. Other terms that are in use would be

of putting it to rest, most famously done by Claude Lévi-Strauss for the concept of totemism (1962), Pietz, with his articles (most prominently 1985), also effectively terminated the application of the concept of the fetish. This has created a void for an agreed-upon cover term in academia. My suggestion is that we identify such a term, e.g. power object, in order to ensure academic dialogue.

I argue that the objects singled out here are materializations of social relations and of time. The present self (*a'untenakwiko*) indicates the specific person and her being's present and corporeal potency; the past (*naricanda*) connects the woman to her forebears, living or dead; and, thirdly, the woman extends into the future through her children (*olanakwete*) (see Skaanes 2015; 2017a for elaboration).[20] As such, the woman extends beyond the boundary of her skin; in her material forms, i.e. her body and her material names, she materializes relationships both to different times and to family within her

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object-beings (Grimes 1990) and biographical objects (Hoskins 1998). However, power object as a term seems to be broad enough to encompass both object-beings (ontological aspect) and symbolic or connecting objects (epistemological aspect) and allows us to address objects that are, in both understandings (epistemologically and ontologically), more than objects. I am grateful for the inspiring discussions during the international conference *The Power of Objects. Materiality, Forms, Ritual Action*, in Toulouse, May 2013.

20 The observant reader will notice that I have substituted Woodburn's *han!anakwete*-doll with this *olanakwete*. When I inquired about the *han!anakwete*, *epeme* men told me that they did not know about such a doll. However, they did know about another doll that had the same use, i.e. a name called in the *epeme* night dance ritual, and one that, in my subsequent analysis, proved to be a tangible ecology of social relations (Skaanes 2018; 2017a). I am, however, aware now that there is a very secretive doll, which is indeed called the *han!anakwete*. James Woodburn, when collecting the *han!anakwete* for his material collection, noted a clear hesitation to disclose it and became acutely aware of the secretive nature of the doll (Woodburn 2013, personal communication). However, contrary to Woodburn (1970) and Kohl-Larsen (1959), it seemed to me that this was not an object that was open to the *epeme* men nor related to the *epeme* rituals and hence it had a different function from that of the two other tangible names, the *naricanda* and the *a'untenakwete*. I should add that both the *a'untenakwete* and the *olanakwete* are gendered, and that this is reflected in the word for them. A female gourd is *a'untenakwiko* and the female doll is an *olanakwiko*. Even though there are slight differences in the gourd's applicability relating to gender (Skaanes 2017a), in order not to write both genders when I address them, I have chosen the female gourd and the male doll as the standard representation here.

encompassing self – including here the external objects that are considered '(of) her'.

The objects that form the case for this chapter are objects that, based on the findings in my research, are intimately viewed as (related with/to) persons. Before we take the objects in hand and examine them, let us consider what others have said in the literature about the Hadza and objects, property or possessions. Frank Marlowe wrote a chapter on Hadza material culture, and in it he remarks:

> With the exception of having the bow and poisoned arrow (and perhaps the ax), Hadza technology is about as simple as that of any society ethnographically described and probably as simple as that of most foragers before agriculture first appeared. (Marlowe 2010: 70)

In his chapter on material culture, Marlowe stresses that he only considers the material culture, and: "…let the reader decide how simple or complex the nonmaterial culture is" (ibid.). James Woodburn takes a more holistic view, tying material and immaterial culture to a systematic and logical principle. As he proposes, specific key factors in Hadza social dynamics are instrumental in producing a specific relationship to property:

> […] we have here the application of a rigorously systematic principle: in these societies the ability of individuals to attach and to detach themselves at will from groupings and from relationships, to resist imposition of authority by force, to use resources freely without reference to other people, to share as equals in game meat brought into camp, to obtain personal possessions without entering into dependent relationships – all these bring about one central aspect of this specific form of egalitarianism. *What it above all does is to disengage people from property, from the potentiality in property rights for creating dependency.* (Woodburn 1998: 445, original emphasis)

This quote shows how material culture and the way people engage or disengage with it are valid and important sources for learning about systematic principles operating in society. As Woodburn focuses on egalitarianism (above, see Woodburn 1982b), he emphasizes that properties, belongings and possessions carry the characteristic ability to be potential generators of inequality.

This link to material culture has also been carefully examined in a remarkable variety of perspectives by Widlok and Tadasse (2005). They presented us with a rich range of contributions on hunter-gatherer correlations between

property and equality and pointed to rich aspects of this multifaceted field (ibid.). Being of importance and influence, these perspectives have informed the general focus in literature on property as related to dependency, power structures and as practical-economic resources (ibid.; Marlowe 2010; Widlok 2017).

The view on belongings in most studies in the Hadza context confine objects to being mundane, having a resource value that when transacted has a transposing effect on the distribution of resources, hence implicitly assuming the practical-economic instrumental rationale of the actors administering these things (see Apicella et al. 2012; Marlowe 2010; Hawkes et al. 1997). The widespread use of resource discourse, i.e. a discourse related to the property-qualities of materials and objects, is also prevalent in descriptions of hunter-gatherer environments and cartography,[21] and I find this a common premise for engaging with both objects and land relations. Instead, I propose that a change in framing in relation to objects and the insights that such a change enables might provide a model for how to see both land and cartography differently.

The objects that are singled out for this study, however, do not share these practical-economic characteristics in society: in contrast to material practices in general among the Hadza, they may be inherited,[22] they are ceremonial, serve ritual functions, they are personal, stored, kept, cherished, and not circulated. This attests to their special status, and that they are not merely objects, but something else as well. Leaving aside Marlowe's point about the simplicity of Hadza material culture, I proceed with a new point of view on material culture as focusing and expressing *social relations*:

> *From another point of view material culture may be regarded as part of social relations,* for material objects are chains along which social relationships run, and the more simple is a material culture the more numerous are the relationships expressed through it. … A single small artifact may be a nexus between persons, e.g. a spear which passes from father to son by gift or inheritance *is a symbol of their relationship and one of the bonds by which it is main-*

21 See Introduction and Dieckmann, this volume.

22 Inheritance practices are interesting among the Hadza. A person's possessions at the time of death are distributed based on consideration of practicality and needs. However, certain objects, like the objects discussed here, are dealt with in accordance with customary considerations. It is significant who inherited the objects and from whom they came and what it entails to receive such an object.

> *tained*. Thus people not only create their material culture and attach themselves to it, but also build up their relationships through it and see them in terms of it. As Nuer have very few kinds of material objects and very few specimens of each kind, their social value is increased by their having to serve as the *media of many relationships* and they are, in consequence, often invested with ritual functions. (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 89, emphasis added)[23]

What I found was that Evans-Pritchard's descriptions, although describing processes in a pastoral system, shared traits with the system operating through these three objects among the Hadza. The three objects were not well described through the discourse of property, but rather, as suggested by Evans-Pritchard, as social relations, as connectors of people, and as having a ritual function rather than an economic one. As power objects, the objects are efficacious objects, linked to the very spirit of women and giving tangible form to a string of social relationships. They specifically materialize spirit and kin relations across generations, and producing such objects was an act of tangible co-creation of time.

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23 Evans-Pritchard's argument is strongly contested by Alan Barnard and James Woodburn, however. They write: "Evans-Pritchard's characterization is right for the Nuer and is right, too, for delayed-return hunter-gatherers including the Australian Aborigines. People build elaborate relationships with each other through symbolic elaboration of ties with and through 'things', especially, in the hunter-gatherer cases, with and through artefacts and land. These ties include various forms of identification, but property rights, with their rules of inclusion and exclusion, are of central importance. But Evans-Pritchard was wrong, quite wrong, if he thought that symbolic elaboration is something to do with having a simple material culture. People in immediate-return systems, users of an even simpler material culture than the Nuer one, do not symbolically elaborate the relations between people and things, to any great extent except in a few restricted contexts usually linked with marriage and more generally with relations between the sexes." (Barnard/Woodburn 1988: 30-31, emphasis added) Barnard and Woodburn do not dismiss that such relations could exist in immediate-return societies like the Hadza, but they argue that they do so in "a few restricted contexts" generally relating to "relations between the sexes". Barnard and Woodburn emphasize the mundane relation between people and things, while I would argue that a significant part of the material system operating among the Hadza includes these objects as part of social relations (see Skaanes 2017a). Putting their disagreement aside, what both Evans-Pritchard and Barnard and Woodburn seem to agree on is that such descriptions are powerful and must be undertaken with caution in order to carefully capture the fine webs of significance that lie between humans and their objects.

In our collaboration during this research, the people living in the camp 'Ika 'e 'a-dzua and I needed another frame to be set around these objects – a frame that allowed for connections, for stories of social relations, kinship, time, cosmology and ritual – in order to make space for how these objects reflect on world views and the way they give shape and tangibility to systems of ideas.[24] The people living in 'Ika 'e 'a-dzua and I changed the framing and discourse from one of property to one of social relations as a way to work with the local materials that these objects were. And as materials of social relations, a rich story came to life about names, kinship, cosmology, ritual and time.

Objects: material name-cases

A particular example could be instructive in communicating the argument of this chapter. I describe a material case involving the three power-objects: the *naricanda* stick, the *a'untenakwiko* gourd and the *olanakwete* doll (Skaanes 2015; 2017a; and see Figures 2-4).[25] These objects are to be understood as names, i.e. tangible names in themselves, as well as being names of the woman they

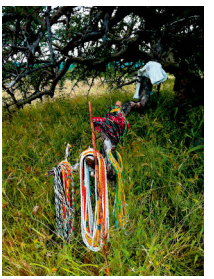
24 The methods of my research were primarily ethnographic. Doing ethnography includes, for me, being present and staying for relatively long periods of time in the community, allowing me to take part in life lived in the camp, e.g. digging for tubers not as a method, but as a way of sustaining myself, writing fieldnotes every evening in the red light from my head-lamp in my tiny one-man tent, and conducting different kinds of interview (some were instigated by myself while others were not, some followed a route, an inquiry, that I had intended, while others did not; some brought insights regarding the interlocutor(s)'s perspective, some served to triangulate information, some interviews taught me about connections, others again provided long story-lines; all in their own way taught me about the nature of humans and non-humans). These were all part of this research. The collaborative aspect gained further prominence when I was advised to work with someone who was kin to the majority of the people in the camp I worked in, and I followed this advice. Then we started working together. The material collection that we made for the museum was made collaboratively. Especially when it comes to the power objects, these objects were given to me out of a recognized necessity for keeping and storing cultural materials for future generations. Being tasked by the Hadza to make such a cultural heritage material collection and to document and safe-guard their intangible heritage turned the work into a collective endeavor with a shared objective.

25 A fuller description of the three objects is to be found in my PhD dissertation "Cosmology Matters" (2017a), see also Skaanes 2015.

belong to.[26] What, then, is in a name? As is well-known from a wide range of ethnographic accounts from all over the world, the event of a birth, also in the Hadza understanding of events, is not the time of creation of the social person. A child who is born does not have spirit until it is named. It is mere biology, a mere body. A child becomes someone when he or she is named. So names, including these tangible, material objects, hold transformative powers that can transform more or less irrelevant biology into deeply emotionally connected and relevant kin.

What happens when a Hadza is named? Along with the name, spirit enters the body. Not just any spirit, but the spirit of the one in the family whose name is now given. Thus, naming, besides providing a nominal identifier, is an act of rebirth along kin-lines (Skaanes 2017a).

Figures 2-4: The three power-objects are the naricanda *stick, the* a'untenakwiko *gourd and the* olanakwete *doll (Photos: Thea Skaanes)*

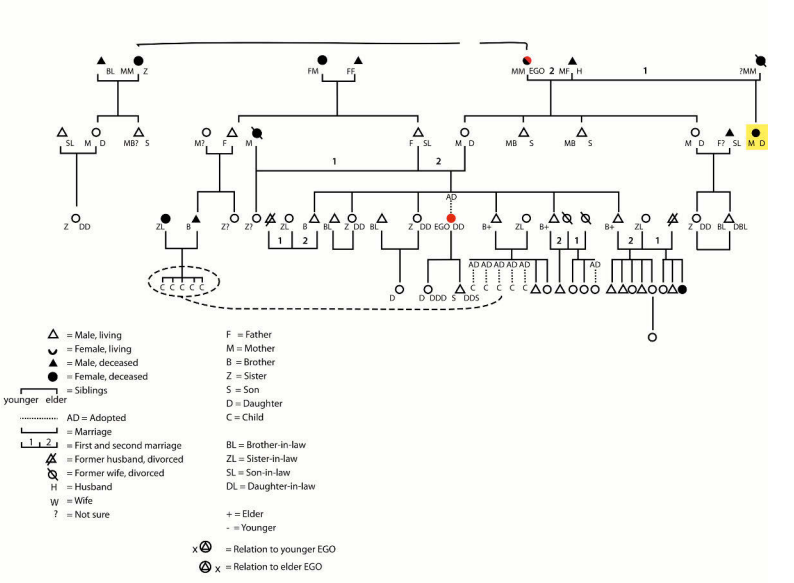


Let me give you an example (see Figure 5). During my doctoral fieldwork, I was adopted, named and thus given a position in the kinship system.[27] I was named after my maternal grandmother by my mother, Pa'akokwa. Receiving her name provided me with two positions in the kinship diagram, both my

26 All women will have a *naricanda* stick, since they are given a stick when they are named. The doll is related to coming of age, in preparation for maternity, and the gourd is mostly given to even older women. I was given both a stick and a doll, but not a gourd yet.

27 The kin terms, e.g. mother and brother, thus relate to the relations in the Hadza kinship system, that I became part of. This integration posed a significant change in a general acceptance of me as a relevant and more whole social person. A major reason for this change was that with this integration, I too became an embodiment of kin relations.

Figure 5: Kinship diagram. The horizontal lines are generations – moving downwards indicates a forward move in time. Red markings are my ego-positions. The yellow marking is the namesake of the doll.



own and that of my maternal grandmother's (red markings); I remember how my brother looked at me with deep, warm affection as he would reminisce our past together, i.e. how as a child he adored spending time with me, his grandmother. During fieldwork, I was also given a clay doll, one of the other power-objects, a tangible name, and she was named Masako after my older mother (yellow marking). Pa'akokwa's father had had another wife before he met Pa'akokwa's mother (me). They had a girl, who died when still a child. It was her name that was given to the doll, Masako.[28]

28 The Hadza kinship system bears similar traits to the classificatory model identified by Morgan in 1871 as the Hawaiian kin structure. However, exceptions to this type are instructive, as I have affirmed elsewhere: "Terms of kinship differ according to the relation to kin, e.g. the word for 'mother' differs according to whom we are talking about:

The doll was indeed considered my *child* (Woodburn 1970), my daughter, and, positioning myself as my alter-position (older), Masako (the human) would also be my daughter. At the same time, however, she would also be my own mother, since to my (younger) position Masako (MFD, yellow) would be my older mother. We were both mothers and daughters to each other at the same time: a fractal and inverse replication of our relationship. In this way, I found that naming and kin is an embodied, endemic relation even within a person.

Hadza consider other Hadza to be relatively close kin. But *how* you are related, i.e. whether it is through paternal or maternal family lines, you may not know. And sorting out these relationships is essential, since it determines not only who the people you meet are, but also *who you are*. This need to get the relationships sorted out stems from the naming practices: parents give their new-born child two names when they name him or her: one from the father's family and one from the mother's family, reflecting the system of double descent. Each name comes with a spirit, a social ego; in this way, within your body you have two spirits anchored in the two names, and they are two different social persons. Furthermore, as seen in the kinship diagram above, each name also carries a reference to older generations. Observe that in the kinship diagram above, I have only indicated relationships from one name. This means that before you and your interlocutor can engage in a meaningful relationship, you need to establish what kin relationships you have to each other. That is, until you know who you are for your interlocutor, and vice versa, you do not know how to socially anchor the relationship you are about to engage in.

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it indicates whether the mother mentioned is my mother, your mother or their mother (Miller 2016: 323). [Three] other exceptions distinguish the Hadza kinship system from the Hawaiian type of kinship that it resembles the most: '(1) there are three sets of terms for the same classificatory relationships, for example aya-ko 'mother/aunt', pa'a-ko '(your) mother/aunt', and asu-ko '(their) mother/aunt'; (2) men and women use different roots for brother/parallel sibling, hedl'a'ali and murunae, but both sexes use murunae for sister/cross-sibling; and (3) cross-uncles are classificatory akaye 'grandfathers' rather than bawa 'father/uncles', without a corresponding distinction among aunts or cousins.' (Miller 2016: 323; orthography normalized to this thesis) From these linguistic precisions, we may infer that both generation, gender and most of all, specific relation, are of importance as a structuring principle to order social maps from." (Skaanes 2017a: 105)

Giving a child (or an adult in my case) a name serves to link the child to the family and the spirit powers. As we see with the doll as well, this adds a manifestly diachronic dimension to the named. Whereas the doll pushes spirit into the future, the stick manifests a relationship to someone in your family's older generation – living or dead. This is what the *naricanda* stick emphasizes the most. The specific stick belongs to a specific woman – it emphasizes her kinship and deep relations to the past. With this relationship, it also connects her to specific forebears residing in the abode of the spirits, a god mountain. We will come back to that below.

The stick, however, even though it is so endemically (of) a woman, i.e. it is her very name, is in itself a male object. It is tightly connected to the menarche rites of passage called *maitoko*.[29] The *maito* and *maitoko* are rituals for men and women, respectively, to embrace the other, to shift status, and to assume the other's point of view (see Power/Watts 1997). The stick also attests to this. The rites of passage involve an inversion of roles, where ritually women hunt, and men turn into prey. By definition, women are not hunters (Skaanes 2017a). A man undergoing a *maito* will, during the time of the ritual experience, be danced for, mediated by 'the *naricanda* of the *maito*' – such mediated dances are ordinarily only done for women.[30] *Maito*/*maitoko* is thus a process that involves the intimate embracing of and shifting into the significant other (see Skaanes 2019; Power 2017). To move beyond who you are is a central part of the ritual, to become a new person with new insights and new experiences after the ritual.

We have touched upon the stick and the doll, but what about the last object, the calabash gourd? It is called *a'untenakwete* (m) or *a'untenakwiko* (f) and it may be both male or female, i.e. oblong calabashes are male, and rounded ones are female. Both gourd genders may be women's names, as we have also

29 It is also tied to the male counterpart, the initiation rite of passage *maito*, as the *epeme* collective will choose a stick to be the neophyte's friend and companion, because when entering the ritual, he is separated from his friends and cohort, and would otherwise be alone when he goes through the initiation ritual.

30 A good example of the way these objects are names is their role in the *epeme* night dance ritual. When a dancer dances in men's names, he will do so directly, simply communicating (in whistled language) that he is about to dance for/as this person. Then that person's spirit will enter the dancer. When he dances in women's names, he will say that he dances in, e.g. the *naricanda* of Thea. That would be the call for me, for my name, and for my Thea-spirit to go to – and enter – the dancer, as he called my name. In the case of the *maito*, he will also be danced for through "the *naricanda* of the *maito*".

seen from the gendered dolls and the male stick. Above, we left the idea of rebirth somewhat unexplained: would giving you your grandmother's name turn you into your grandmother? This seemed to be the case with the brother's reminiscence. However, to help untangle these very intangible relationships, the gourd is an indicator. But first of all, a principle needs to be explained. We are talking about a spirit that is passed on through naming, which, analytically, uses the language of material transactions: something is passed on to someone. But unlike finite material or physically limited substances, I found that a human spirit is able to be in more bodies at once: it is both transferred and kept at the same time. It is called *polysômie* in French, here meaning "to evoke the fragmentation of a single divine into multiple bodies" (Malamoud 1989, referenced by Guillaume-Pey 2018). It is the idea that a single spirit may reside in multiple bodies simultaneously, a non-finite substance, so to speak. It is the ability of a spirit to be able to move without leaving.

We find this polysômic principle to be operating in the Hadza naming process. A name is not only passed on from deceased family members; the originator from the older generation might still be alive when her name is passed on to a neonate. This does not leave the originator dispossessed of her spirit, even though she, i.e. her spirit, is already been reborn. Another example is the *epeme* night dance, this ritual dance performed monthly, where the *epeme* men, the collective of men initiated through *maito*, will dance in the name of family members (see Skaanes 2017b). Calling somebody's name during this ritual will allow his or her spirit to enter into the *epeme's* body during the dance, and the dancer will become a hybrid being, carrying forward the spirit of the one whose name has been called in his body. When an *epeme* dances in the name of his son, the son's spirit will enter the *epeme*. But the son will still be himself while the dancer dances. Likewise, an *epeme* will also dance in the names of female family members, but that would necessarily have to be through one of these three tangible names – the doll, the stick or the gourd. Doing this would allow the spirit of the woman to enter into the dancer while he dances, but the one danced for is still spiritually intact. Thus, we find a capacity for polysômic fragmentation of a spirit into multiple bodies.

The gourd manifests an idea of the self, that you are relevant in your form, in this flesh, as this person.[31] Thus, even though we find ideas of the self as

31 In accounts from all over the world, we find multiple containers, like gourds, pots, chalices, and the like to have a special relation to women, to their reproductive capacity, and to their selves. But what is it that this container contains? The *a'untenakwiko* is used

being extended onto objects, into other persons, to other times, this gourd – the last name-object – firmly asserts the self, your being as in your body and in the here and now. Thus, the someone that the neonate girl becomes is a composite being, not simply a rebirthed person, but also someone in her own right (see Skaanes 2017a). This aspect is also manifested in the event of a woman's death, where her *a'untenakwiko* will be broken on her grave (Woodburn 1982a). This is a stark way to materially demonstrate: She is no more, her being has ended.

The three objects both connect and form social relations, both across times and across genders (see Skaanes 2018). They show us how the Hadza conceive of notions of person, body, spirit and materiality in a way full of relational significance, of kinship ties, of cosmological reference and ritual efficacy.

Land-scapes: social relations

What may we glean from the case presented above? How might it convey insights to the query we have at hand? Let me start by pointing to the conceptual intersections between *objects* and notions of environments and *land*. Both form material, physical entities that humans interact with. Both have been given prominence as an essence, a relevant element, in differentiating between human cultures. This is why these aspects are used as qualifiers in order to classify and describe African hunter-gatherers, e.g. when we say that we work with "forest hunter-gatherers" (indication of environmental context), "bow-and-arrow hunters" (material-technical indication), and the like.

Which role has the concept of land played in the general academic discussion around African hunter-gatherers? Land is framed, generally speaking,[32] in a politico-legal and technical-economic fashion, which, I acknowledge, is highly important. Arguments along these lines have been instrumen-

for animal fat. Fat is a power-substance that adds efficacy to the gourd and enables its ritual power (see Skaanes 2017a; Mguni 2006; Sullivan/Low 2014). Examining this further brought me to investigate inter-species relationships of potency, which opens up another chapter that I will not explore here in this nascent story of Hadza ritual and cosmology (see Skaanes 2017a). Here we have only followed one thread deriving from tangible names in the vast fabric of Hadza cosmology.

32 For notable exceptions, see Sullivan/Ganuses (this volume), who consider the landscape as saturated with memory-based relations and personal history. Vermeylen (this volume) poses an example of advocacy in land right disputes, but proposes a radically

tal in generating impact and in speaking with authority in cases of advocacy; this discourse is particularly well-suited to pointing to important aspects of encapsulation, inequality, discrimination, exploitation, etc.[33]

When we consider the academic conceptual intersections between notions of objects and notions of land, we find an array of points that align (see Figure 6). Firstly, as mentioned above with the 'bow-and-arrow' and 'forest' typologies, both concepts of technology (objects) and of physical environment are used in societal classification. Secondly, both land and material objects are viewed in terms of property. This means that they are material entities that form part of the estate, the things and land that you might consider to be at your disposal. This links closely to the third idea: that these matters, i.e. land and objects, these properties, are talked about in terms of ownership: to whom do they belong? Are they your possessions or someone else's? Fourthly, the idea of ownership is again tightly linked to viewing both land and objects as resources. They represent economic value, a resource that, fifth, might be transacted, inherited, shared or stolen. Both land and objects form part of economic systems of transaction, and being viewed as resources, as value, sixth, and lastly, they have the capacity and potential to be generators of inequality and dependency.

Figure 6: Conceptual intersections between land and objects

- Societal classification
- Property
- Ownership
- Resources
- Transmission and economic transactions
- Generators of dependency and inequality

However, even though these efforts and views deserve our closest scholarly attention, this is not the only discourse available to shed light on objects, nor

alternative standard for court recognition. Another example of breaking away from the general idea of landscape as resource is to be found in Du Plessis (2018).

33 I fully acknowledge the importance of this work. In the Hadza case, they gained collective land-ownership in 2011 through a certificate of Customary Rights of Occupancy, which was fought for and brought to fruition as a major accomplishment of the NGO URCT (http://www.ujamaa-crt.org, last accessed July 08, 2020). This was a huge achievement with important ramifications and one that I fully applaud.

on land. During fieldwork, as the people in the camp and I set new frames, changing the premises and the questions, I found that this set of special objects were knots of social relations. What would happen if we allowed for a similar change of framing, or discourse (Basso 1988), around land as well? Arjun Appadurai used the word 'landscape' to coin his analytical five concepts of 'scapes': mediascapes, technoscapes, ethnoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes (1996). In relation to land, we might look at different scapes, too, whereof the economic is only one: consider for instance findings elicited from comprehending land as cosmoscapes, as transactionscapes and as time- or kinscapes?[34]

Figure 7: Suggestions for land-scapes (alone or in combination, eg. cosmo/gender-scapes)

- Cosmoscape
- Ritualscape
- Genderscape
- Speciesscape
- Transactionscape
- Timescape
- Kinscape

The way land is looked upon – by researchers from different disciplines, visitors from various backgrounds and by those who are intimately familiar with the ecology – comes in a plethora of ways that cover these 'scapes' and many others. However, this has rarely found its way into ways of mapping or into cartography (several exceptions are to be found, e.g. in this volume). What if we considered paths and special places of efficacy, ritual or kinship as the significant elements to be mapped? How would that reshuffle the figure/ground hierarchies in terms of mapping processes, meanings and units in the environment marked on the map?

My findings suggest that special places, like the special objects discussed above, are carriers of social relations in the Hadza landscapes; I find social

34 Appadurai's theoretical work is ingenious, rich and complex. The point, I am making, though, is a cartographic point, i.e. how we choose to frame what we analyze is generative of our findings: when we search the landscape for traces of gender- or species-differentiation, or indicate where rituals are performed, correlations become visible, discernable, and relevant.

relations that are manifested in specifically gendered spaces, in segregating and efficacious ritual sites, in the territories that are homes for gods, forebears and multispecies cohabitation.[35] This carries new implications for how to allow for and process an idea of landscape that embodies time, connects kinds such as humans and non-humans, deceased and alive, and the ways that different genders, materials and forms combine (see Sullivan/Ganuses; Dieckmann, this volume).

Let us take mountains that the Hadza consider special as an example. First of all, what is most salient when looking at the Hadza landscapes are the mountains. Framing them through gender-, ritual- and cosmoscapes, we find that certain mountains house forebears and spirit-sharing specific animals, and that they form designated places for rituals. Just as we observed with the power objects, these mountains are special, they are gendered places of efficacy, and they stand out from other mountains in the area as such. These mountains, Sanzako, Dundubi'i and Anao/Anahu are more than physical places, they are gods (see Figure 8). The mountain Sanzako is feminine (observe the suffix *-ko*) and the mountain Dundubi'i (suffix *-bii*) is masculine. Their names relate to space and directionality as they are named by/naming the corners of the world. This is also reflected in their location in the environment, i.e. Sanzako is in the north, Anao in the south, and Dundubi'i to the west of the Hadza homeland. It is unclear whether people relate to directionality through reference to the gods or whether the names of the gods reflect the directionality of their situatedness. However, in any case, the gods are hyper-spatial, prominent in their visual and material presence, and tied to pointers in navigating space.

Figure 8: Mountain gods

- Sanzako: literally means north. This mountain is the most powerful god.
- Anao/Anahu: literally means south. This mountain is a sacrificial site.
- Dundubi'i: literally means west. This mountain is a god who provides; visits include sounding lithophones.

35 I have not had the opportunity to systematically conduct fieldwork inquiring along these lines, but observations in this field can be found in my field notes. Therefore, this suggestion is put forward as a thought experiment rather than elaborated with interview excerpts and published findings in this contribution.

The mountains are also sites for rites, such as sacrifice and communication with forebears. We also find a strong presence of the gods in mortuary rites: those left behind place the body of the deceased with the head towards the relevant forebears' homestead. This is not always straight-forward, since, because of the semi-nomadic lifeways, the naming practices and the double-descent system, there might be divergent views as to where – i.e. to which mountain – a person would belong. Families orient towards different mountains, so the necessity of making only one choice in death may cause controversy.

The gods themselves are agents that take action, perform and engage in rituals, and that are bound by similar conventions like the Hadza. The gods may engage in communication and exchange when called to do so. Being named is also to be given a person whom you would address when talking to the mountain gods. You belong to the community and have access to the god through the namesake, as illustrated in the following exchange with a middle-aged *epeme* man.

> "T: And this your own spirit, is it very old?
> P: Yes!
> T: It is very old.
> P: Yes, yes! It comes from my grandparents inside of my family. Yes!
> T: It comes from your name.
> P: Yes. Like I am my name. My name is from my grandfather. Now my grandfather's spirit is watching me closely. And it is inside [my body]. And another one of his spirits is there at Dundubi'i. And it is watching me as well. But my spirit is inside [of me]. And this is why when I go to Dundubi'i, I have to address this old man [my grandfather]. Are you paying attention? Uhmm? [Laughs]. (Interview transcript, my translation)

Descendants may come to the god-mountain to discuss matters or communicate with forebears – some matters are explicitly targeted to the specific forebear (e.g. asking a recently deceased person if he or she arrived safely after their death?), some address the forebears with issues meant for the god to take action on (the common practice of indirect communication by proxy), and some address the god directly (which is highly demanding and requires ritual, spiritual stamina and power). The gods are even approached with demand-sharing and are thus, like other Hadza, compelled to share. The god may also conduct rituals and, when doing so, the god may blow *kelaguko*, an active plant-based agent (water-plant root) used in many Hadza rituals. The

distinctive traces in the air of the odor of *kelaguko* cover large areas when the god blows this ritual agent.

The gods are not confined to their physical stasis. The personal name-spirits, the forebears that reside in the mountains, may be sent out by the mountain god to the Hadza bush areas to guard and protect all beings. For instance, when a hyena tracks down the prey left by a hunter as he goes to camp to call for help to carry the load, the god gives the prey away to help the hyena. I suggest that communication by proxy, as well as this way of extending action through mobile spirits, might reflect an understanding of the mountain god as the exemplar of all Hadza spirits. In Evans-Pritchard's famous work on the Nuer, he described how lesser spirits were the hypostatization of the higher god's "modes and attributes" (1956: 9), i.e. that they were forwarded refractions of the god: "the diverse spiritual figures of Nuer thought are to be regarded as social refractions of God" (1953: 203). Diverse kinds of spirit are named by Evans-Pritchard, e.g. "totemic spirits", the "spirit of the flesh" and the "nameless spirits" (ibid: 208), but in their diversity, they are all "of the same exemplar", i.e. "God is both the one and the many – one in his nature and many in his diverse social representations." (ibid.) This corresponds well with the refractions of spirit that we found in the principle of polysômie described earlier (Guillaume-Pey 2018). And then we find the gods to be both embedded in the landscape and social agents on the landscape; they are related to as kin, and their hypostatization through personal name-spirits (from the god, through forebears, to living name-sakes) will – to some extent – also integrate an element of mountain-godliness as an intimate part of living life as a Hadza.

This case of the mountains is just one among many others to be unfolded (see Figure 9). Looking at landscapes as scapes and realms of social relations, we find a wide array of salient features to be explored. Meat-sharing and other transaction practices and how they are distributed in space come into prominence. After a successful hunt, some of the cuts of meat will be carried home to the camp for equal distribution, but specific cuts are categorically consumed away from camp by the exclusive group of initiated men, the *epeme* collective (see Skaanes 2017a, chapter 5); in the same manner, some ritual interactions with spirits take place in camp, while others categorically do not. Marshall Sahlins' famous model of "Reciprocity and Kinship Residential Sectors" indicates the inclination towards gaining increasing yields of the transactions (from generalized, over balanced, to negative reciprocity) as sectoral distance increases away from the house (home, family) (Sahlins 1972: 198-199).

These transaction forms, he argues, are dominant in and correspond to types of social relations. Thus, social relations produce certain transaction forms. However, the cause and effect are also reversible: by transacting through certain kinds of reciprocities, we create social relations accordingly: "If friends make gifts, gifts make friends" (Sahlins 1972: 186). In this way, he points to the correlation between space, i.e. the sectors, and social relations, i.e. systems of reciprocity. Using his analytics, we might similarly ask, what kind of social relations are created by the actions taking place at these places, and vice versa?

Figure 9: Findings on landscape as scapes and social relations

- Kinship relations are manifested spatially in relation to mountain gods and directionality.
- Mountain gods: Active gods that are also counterparts in ritual performance, communication and exchange.
- The mountain gods are places: Inside, they are spaces where forebears' and animal spirits cohabit. On their surface, they are sites for ritual practices.
- Sharing practices: sharing takes place in different places. Some sharing occurs in and some out of camp (Sahlins). The distinction carries significance.[36]

Conclusion

What were they seeing, the Hadza, sitting on the mountain top that afternoon? Along what lines did their thoughts wander? I do not know. However, I argue that these tangible names and divine mountains, all these efficacious materials discussed in this chapter, point to the basic need for us – as humans - to engage socially and symbolically in meaningful relationships; to

36 It is interesting that quite a lot of sharing practices are regulated by space and sectoral distance or proximity (Sahlins 1972). Some meat-sharing takes place in the center of the camp, while other kinds of ritual meat-sharing need to be done secretly and away from camp. In another ritual, the *epeme* night dance ritual, the efficacy is brought into the heart of camp. When these rituals take place, young uninitiated men have to flee into the bush to escape the dangers of being exposed to the efficacy of the transformative ritual (see Skaanes 2017a; 2019).

ascribe meaning to our actions, breathing notions of soul or spirit into animals, objects and landscapes, and thereby turning them into power objects and totems.

Tim Ingold, much like Keith Basso (1988), once wrote that landscape is "the world as it is known [to/in those] who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (Ingold 1993: 156). David Turnbull (2007), like Ingold, speaks of studying paths and trails, i.e. hodology.[37] Both Ingold and Turnbull bring matters and bodies to the core of the hodological perspective, e.g. by arguing that material environments such as places, paths and artefacts are relevant factors in the social processes of producing the meanings, specific understandings and knowledge that reflect our worlds (Ingold 1993; Turnbull 2007: 142). Yet this is to stay within the boundaries of a system; a key focus in this chapter is the question of how to translate,[38] communicate or represent such knowledge.

What would a cartography of this landscape look like? I encourage us as researchers to consider social relations in other spheres than the human, i.e. in relation to objects but also in relation to landscapes. I would like to support the cartographers who boldly work in this field and I hope to encourage all of us to radically consider emic understandings, materials, forms, scapes and operating frames with regard to the environment when drawing maps, even though this might entail, for the cartographer, positioning oneself in the

37 Hodology is the study of paths or trails (see Eide, this volume, for the hodological perspective). The hodological perspective as I see it is an immersed perspective; it is situation-specific, it is embodied, particular, personal, a prerequisite for establishing trustworthy social relations in fieldwork situations. Hodology as a mapping regime does not assume the all-encompassing gaze; rather, it is the path followed, the trail trodden, one among so many others. In this way hodology allows for caution against indiscriminately disclosing all aspects and spreading them out on a map for all eyes to see. Not taking such things into consideration in map-making might tamper with delicate and important structures of esotericism (Skaanes 2017a).

38 Globally, we currently (spring/summer 2020) find new social movements fueled by decades of structural injustice based on ethnic and gender identity. The movements question the legitimacy of hierarchies of power, entitlement and cultural appropriation. This poses the question of cross-cultural advocacy, i.e. the legitimacy of cultural translation. Ethical challenges remain unresolved in this respect and the time is ripe for addressing inequalities, asymmetrical power structures and recognition. I hope that we will learn to create better structures across cultural divides but not that we will stop communicating, being inspired, and learning from each other. The suggestions in this chapter are based on the premises that we address communication across borders.

disconcerting situation of not-knowing the landscapes and accepting the confounding lack of ability to readily see or read landscapes (Basso 1988). Indeed, this would entail a bold scholarly movement that reverses the familiarity, the relevant language and the power balance between those whose ecologies are represented on the maps and those habitually operating the scholarly conventions of mapping (see Vermeylen, this volume).

This latter part anticipates the question: why map environments as social relations? The historical legacy attests to a need for turning the tables and approximating a more diverse power structure in cartographic practice (see Brody, this volume). Two additional reasons stand out. One is that ethnographic accounts should be reliable, accurate, rigorous and detailed. Ethnography matters – both because of our commitment to the people whose life worlds we, as researchers, as outsiders, are allowed to take a glance into, and also in order to provide qualitatively good data (not in the positivistic sense, but rather as ethically balanced and diligent descriptions, faithful renditions of perspectives, patterns, relations and world-views) to academia. With Basso and Haraway, I think that an ideal would be if we all, with each our phenomenological perceptual systems, strove to learn about "what is" and "what occurs", considering the local materials, in a quest to learn how to lovingly appreciate other people's ways of seeing. Secondly, this is 'us' learning. Analytical reasoning needs to be multiple. When we apply our analytical apparatus, we *make* worlds. And time has demonstrated to us that we cannot create or find a singular, all-encompassing, totalizing view by means of our analytics.[39] But by applying new analytics, we discover new worlds, new possibilities, new correlations, that we might immerse ourselves in analytically in order to get a glimpse of new landscapes that are "emphatically there but conspicuously lacking in accustomed forms of order and arrangement" (Basso 1988: 99), i.e. to learn to see novel spaces, the beings that inhabit these spaces and, indeed, their social relations.

What not to map? In this chapter, I have argued for an understanding of materiality, such as objects and landscape, as forming part of social relations. When we work with social relations, ethical considerations are indispensable. Besides doing and getting it right and paying attention to details, ethics might also take the form of cloaking tactics, i.e. of not rendering visible, not exposing, and not shedding light on all parts. The maps we create should be sensitive to and accommodate intended invisibilities, i.e. that which should not be

39 See Goldman, this volume.

exposed, those interrelations that are not for all to see, that which prevents a totalizing view. If we look at physical, rounded objects,[40] much like analytical apparatuses, they cannot be fully grasped from one angle in a totalizing encompassing gaze. As objects they stand out visually to the beholder, but at the same time you cannot have a totalizing view of them: you only have one perspective and you rely on letting that one perspective go while embracing another to get a fuller visual impression of the object.[41] As we observe with the three power-objects presented in this chapter, we find the power of objects to be the ability to be inherently multiple, flexible and shadowy; they connect, anchor and communicate relations through their very material presence: relations to land, relations to spirit, relations to kin, and relations to time. Could this ability form part of a new mapping regime?

Social relations, certainly among the Hadza, are powered by ambiguity, by flexibility, by shadows and by the creative multitude of perspectives available around a single phenomenon (Skaanes 2017a; see Parkington 2003; Guenther 1999; 2020 for similar findings in other cases). Thus, allowing for a rematerialization of maps at the expense of the indiscriminate ability to decode the

40 Looking at museum collections, we find materialized maps in the shape of a range of different canvases, figures and power-objects. Texture, color, pattern and material seem to be key in the maps we find in the form of artistic canvases (see Vermeylen, this volume), north American buck skin maps, and esoteric patterned maps painted on the belly skin of clan members in Northeast Arnhem Land. Tangibility and touchable physicality are key in the wooden *Ammassalik* maps, whereas the curved sticks and shells of the Marshallese stick charts teach the seafarer about the sea voyage's envisioned dynamics. The nomadic Mongol felt tents, *gers*, are spacious and sheltering cosmological and social maps. The *ger's* organization and multi-form montage creates material structures of the universe that you immerse yourself and your family in (Skaanes/Lehrmann 2018). Finally, the *lukasa* boards made by the Luba of the Democratic Republic of the Congo are good examples of esoteric power-objects that are materialized maps that hold rich stories of memories, diachrony, knowledge, cultural heritage and the mapping out of places. This multitude of stories told by material maps seems to be key in why they are indeed not made in the shape of conventional maps.

41 You have to turn the rounded object to see the backside of it, and as you do so, you let go of the initial perspective. Conventional maps, too, carry similar traits. Area, distance, shape, direction and bearing are all relevant characteristics of the conventional map, but you cannot map them all at once; you have to let go of some traits to be able to embrace others. A globe, as we know, combines most such features in one visual representation. The globe, however, is in this context a materialized map since the globe is prominently an object with a rounded form and fields out of sight, rather than a map with full oversight.

map or the universal reading of it, would make way for the most immaterial aspects, such as kinship, social relations, and what Derrida calls the ghost, magic or superstition (Derrida, interviewed by Tellez/Mazzoldi 2007: 380-382) to gain presence in map-making and map-reading. The map-object itself becomes the teller in relation to the onlooker. It becomes a part of the social relation itself.

So, just once more, imagine being there on the cliff. Imagine feeling the connectedness, the intimate kin relations even within your very own being, while the world thinks that for the Hadza, for you, kin relations do not really matter. You know that this is the prevalent story, even in this situation where you behold these impressive matters of kin before you: the mountains that you know as powerful gods and that are abodes for your forebears. The forebears whose names you carry forward in time with your breathing and carnal being. For generations the Hadza have created power objects, these name-matters as connectors of relations, that testify to the sheer importance of social relations for the Hadza – especially kin relations. So, I do not have a complete answer to the question of how to draw, paint, sculpt or carve such maps, but to fashion a kinship diagram – this one-lined, visual chart of relations of different kinds and of time – could be a starting-point, a hodological first thread, in the weave of how to graphically start to chart landscapes encompassing social relationships, non-human agents and the dimension of time.

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