Hai||om in Etosha: Cultural maps and being-in-relations[1]

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Introduction

> Ute: When the people were at the *||garudi* [seasonal water sources] in the winter time, did someone decide then, we have to go back to *tsaub* or *aus* [both permanent water sources] again or did they just see, ok, now the water in the *||garudi* is finished, we will move now?
> Kadisen: Yeah.... there are men, who can walk around and look, how looks the world like. They look around, here are the tracks, how are the lion tracks, he looks. Then they [the people] are moving. First, it needs to be looked around.
> Willem: Yes, there are the tracks, how many animals were walking there...
> (Interview with Kadisen ||Khumub and Willem Dauxab, 28.1.2001)

The interview excerpt above takes us directly into a cultural mapping project, carried out with the Hai||om, a (former) hunter-gatherer group, in the Etosha

1 The research in Namibia was conducted within the framework of the Collaborative Research Centre 389 *Arid Climate, Adaptation and Cultural Innovation in Africa* funded by the German Research Foundation. Support to the project was also provided by Comic Relief and Open Channels, and to the chapter by the Collaborative Research Centre 806 *Our Way to Europe* and the DFG-AHRC project *Etosha-Kunene-Histories* (www.etosha-kunene-histories.net). Multiple people and organizations helped to make possible the research, among them the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, the National Archives of Namibia, WIMSA and the Legal Assistance Centre. My special thanks go to the people in the Etosha area, who shared their knowledge, wisdom and experience with me, above all Kadisen ||Khomob, Hans Haneb, Jacob Uibeb, Willem Dauxab, Ticki !Noboses, Tobias Haneb, Axarob ||Oreseb and many others. I am also very grateful to Sian Sullivan, Hugh Brody, Saskia Vermeylen, and Margaret Wickens Pearce for their invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

National Park in Namibia[2] around the turn of the millennium, in which I was involved. It serves as a case study in this chapter. The quote tells us that Hai||om decisions on mobility were not (only) guided by the availability of water but that animal behavior played a major role. Significantly, and I will come back to this at the end of the chapter, reading tracks was of major importance.

I start with a short note on terminology. Maps – if understood as two- or three-dimensional representations of information related to space (with or without a standardized system of geographical reference) – are *per se* cultural, produced by specific humans embedded in specific environments (or 'cultures'); many examples in this volume document this (e.g. the contributions of Sullivan, Brody, Goldman, Pearce and Vermeylen, this volume). Any map whatsoever shows specific information only relevant in specific historical and political contexts. Therefore, it is misleading to only call the maps produced with and by indigenous peoples "cultural maps", as if indigenous maps are a deviation from the standard, implying that the standard is *not* cultural.[3] However, I stick to the term "cultural map" in this chapter for several reasons: first, the term was used in the mapping project which serves as the case study in this chapter; second, several authors in the book use the term too; and third, my critical enquiry starts exactly at this term and the ideas underlying it.

One can assess cultural maps from various perspectives, on different spatial scales and within various time frames. Many issues and side effects have been tackled to varying degrees with regard to specific mapping projects (see Rundstrom 1995; Wainwright and Bryan 2009; Sletto 2009; Roth 2009; Rocheleau 2005; Thom 2009).

My point of departure is inspired by the works of Tim Ingold,[4] Deborah Bird Rose,[5] Nurit Bird-David[6] and by many others who have published on spe-

2 For the sake of simplicity, I will mostly use Etosha when referring to the Etosha National Park or its predecessor, Game Reserve No 2, in this chapter.

3 At times though, the term "cultural maps" is used in a broader sense, referring also to maps depicting the cultural resources of various communities and sources (see e.g. contributions in Duxbury/Garrett-Petts/MacLennan 2015).

4 For example, Ingold 2011, 2011 [2000], 2012, 2016, 2018.

5 For example, Rose 1999, 2002, 2005, 2016, 2018.

6 For example, Bird-David 1999, 2017, 2018.

cific cases of hunter-gatherer ecologies, ontologies and animism;[7] influenced as well by the "ontological turn" and the concepts of "relational ontologies" and "new-animism", as well as by scholars from the fields of critical cartography[8] and the ecological (or environmental) humanities.[9]

I have revisited the outputs and the material gathered within the project and my experience with the Hai||om during the research more than a decade after the project took place.[10] Since many hunter-gatherer groups, including various San groups (cf. Guenther 2020a, 2020b), are described as being endowed with relational ontologies, it is appropriate to explore the Hai||om-Etosha ecology from a relational perspective.[11]

After describing the background of the project, I will critically assess the maps produced in the project. What information was provided and what images were created with these maps? I will then describe and analyze the various relationships of the Hai||om with their environment, with human and non-human entities therein, and explore what insights one might gain regarding their being-in-the-world, in the sense of experiencing, apprehending and acting in the world, as mentioned in the introduction.[12] Finally, I will present some preliminary ideas for mapping Hai||om being-in-relations. Therewith, the chapter aims to open possible paths for future cartographic endeavors.

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7 For example, Descola 2013; Guenther 2015; Harvey 2015; Viveiros de Castro 2012; Willerslev 2013; Guenther 2020a, 2020b; Sullivan 2017; Sullivan and Hannis 2016; Århem and Sprenger 2016; Astor-Aguilera and Harvey 2019; Harvey 2015; Low 2012, 2007.

8 See, for example, Crampton and Krygier 2005; Crawhall 2009; Dodge 2011; Dodge and Perkins 2015; Glasze 2009; Halder et al. 2018; Rose-Redwood 2015.

9 See, for example, Haraway 2015; Plumwood 2002; Rose, 2013; 2015; Rose et al. 2012.

10 This reassessment was undertaken within the framework of the Collaborative Research Centre 806 at the University of Cologne, funded by the German Research Foundation.

11 It should be noted that a relational perspective is a methodological approach, which is not the same as a relational ontology (as a relational perspective doesn't make any presumptions of the primacy of relations versus the primacy of 'things'). However, a relational perspective might provide more insights into the existence of a relational ontology than an essentialist approach exploring the nature of 'things', as the latter tend to ignore relations.

12 In the Cartesian ontology, this might be described as 'culture', a term which I try to avoid nowadays, it being part of the nature/culture dichotomy.

The mapping project and the maps

Some contextualization

The Hai||om are commonly referred to as one of the "Bushman" or San groups in Namibia (for a broader discussion on Hai||om ethnicity in the Namibian context, see Dieckmann 2007) and are estimated to comprise between 7,000 and 18,000 of the 24,550 and 40,050 San inhabitants (Dieckmann et al. 2014: 23).

The Etosha National Park (22,935 km²) is Namibia's "flagship park" (Ministry of Environment and Tourism Namibia, n.d.), the premier tourist attraction and one of the world's largest national parks. Though Etosha is marketed as an African wilderness in the classical sense, the area south of Etosha Pan, where most of the tourist roads run, has long been the home of the Hai||om, who lived across the whole region of northern-central Namibia in pre-colonial times and at the onset of the colonial period. The German Colonial Administration created the park in 1907 as "Game Reserve No 2". However, initially and for a long time afterwards, the Hai||om were accepted as residents within the game reserve. With white settlers increasingly occupying the surrounding area, the game reserve became the last refuge where these people were still allowed to practice a hunting and gathering lifestyle. Up until the 1940s, the Hai||om were regarded as "part and parcel" of the game reserve. All in all, between a few hundred and one thousand Hai||om lived in the park until 1954, when all of the Hai||om, with the exception of 12 families who were employed in the park, had to leave (Dieckmann 2001: 137).[13] The increasing interest in tourism was undoubtedly a major factor influencing this decision and the administration acknowledged the potential for nature conservation in this context. Although the game reserve still had a way to go in order to become the Etosha National Park (in 1968), by now, the "national park ideal" (Neumann 2002 [1998]) had emerged as the underlying concept for further development. 'Nature' and 'culture' had to be physically separated. The Hai||om were not

13 During the late 1950s and 1960s, there was no lack of labor in Etosha and some Hai||om could return to Etosha to work there. However, they had to stay in the staff quarters next to the police stations and tourist camps. Some (male) Hai||om also lived alone 'in the bush', mostly off the radar of the park administration (see Dieckmann 2007: 199-203).

considered to be 'pure' enough (in the evolutionist paradigm) to count as 'nature', and therefore, 'nature' had to be cleansed of the Hai||om.

Digging out meaning together: methodology of data gathering[14]

I went to Etosha for various research periods between 2000 and 2006 to explore the history of the Hai||om as part of my PhD research (Dieckmann 2007). In 2001, due to my ongoing research in Etosha, I became involved in a project which was aimed at the creation of cultural maps documenting the historical presence of Hai||om within the area, the representation of a "forgotten past", in order to deconstruct the image of Etosha as an untouched and timeless wilderness. To my knowledge, the project had been initiated by Hugh Brody, the main funding was provided by Comic Relief via Open Channels (both located in the United Kingdom) and the anthropologist James Suzman (Cambridge University) had started explorative field research. Strata 360, a small, independent organization set up in Montreal by Bill Kemp, who played a leading role in cultural mapping in Canada from 1973-2018, was contracted to develop and produce the maps.[15] The Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA), a non-governmental organization working with the San in Southern Africa, had taken an advisory role. During the course of the project, other researchers from various disciplines were temporarily part of the project over the years in manifold ways.[16]

The work, which had started rather informally, involving various individuals and organizations, needed to be formalized in a proper organization and the *Xoms |Omis* Project (Etosha Heritage Project), a community trust under

14 During presentations at the Etosha Ecological Institute in Okaukuejo and on other occasions, we introduced, amongst other things, the collected 'data'. Nowadays, I stumble over the term 'data' as it seems to compartmentalize entangled realities and experiences into a specific set of categories, which are supposed to be 'true'.

15 The donors of the Etosha mapping project (Open Channels and Comic Relief, UK) and the mapping company (Strata 360, Canada) had already started a similar mapping and documentation project in South Africa, with San who had lived dispersed and dispossessed for centuries and who had become known as ǂKhomani during court case preparations in the 1990s (see Brody, this volume). In the ǂKhomani project, mapping took place in and adjacent to the Kalahari Gemsbok Park (amalgamated with the Gemsbok National Park in Botswana in 2000 to become the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park).

16 Harald Sterly, University of Cologne, geographer; Ralf Vogelsang, University of Cologne, archaeologist; Joris Peters, University of Munich, archaeo-zoologist; Barbara Eichhorn, University of Cologne, archaeo-botanist.

the guidance of the Legal Assistance Centre in Windhoek, was established. For various reasons, the main funding was stopped, donors and individuals withdrew and the Hai||om involved and I myself had to look for further small-scale funding opportunities. Over the years, the trust proved not to be sustainable and the main trustees, the Hai||om involved in the project, have passed away.[17]

During the research, we worked mainly with a group of elderly Hai||om men, and particularly with Kadisen ||Khumub (1940–2012), Willem Dauxab (1938–2008), Jacob Uibeb (1935-2006), Jan Tsumib (born in 1945), Hans Haneb (1929–2006), Tobias Haneb (1925–2005) and Axarob ||Oreseb (1940–2007). All of them were born in Etosha at various settlements in different areas and had worked in Etosha and on farms in the vicinity in the years after the eviction of the Hai||om. We got a research permit from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism to work in the Etosha National Park, which allowed us, under specific conditions, to leave the car and to walk around in the park.[18]

We regularly undertook journeys in the park, in order to visit old places of meaning for the Hai||om, to find places which had never been on or had disappeared from official maps and to hear their stories connected to the places. This on-site oral history as a means of "cultural landscape mapping" proved highly successful, as it revitalized knowledges, practices and experiences. The trips offered an opportunity for the Hai||om men to be-in-Etosha again, outside the rest camp (i.e. the staff location next to the rest camp) and outside of the formal working contexts (e.g. the construction and maintenance of roads, drilling and maintenance of boreholes, etc.). Furthermore, we worked

17 The project's developments and failures deserve a thorough analysis which goes beyond the scope of this paper. For this paper, it is enough to point out that I saw my role initially as an anthropologist working with the Hai||om and providing the documentation. I was not trained in development studies nor did I have thorough experience in the field of 'development' (i.e. in implementing sustainable livelihood projects or capacity building projects); furthermore, as a German student conducting fieldwork in Namibia, I had just started to build up relevant institutional networks in Namibia. I thought that WIMSA would take over that part of the project, i.e. use the documentation in order to develop projects with the Hai||om, but WIMSA faced serious organizational challenges and changes of staff membership and could not fulfil that role. The donor organization (Open Channels) applied for further funding from Comic Relief, but only got funding for other mapping projects.

18 In the following, I will either refer to them by their first name or by the term "Hai||om core team members", if the information evolved in discussions.

at the research camp at Okaukuejo in the Etosha National Park in order to deepen and revise the documented information. The work in this core team was complemented by interviews with other elderly Hai||om in and outside of Etosha.

My own perspective on the landscape of the Etosha National Park changed considerably over the period of my fieldwork. Upon my arrival my perception was certainly not very different from common western views of African landscapes in general and the Etosha area in particular. I saw an arid environment populated with an abundance of wild animals in an essentially bare and rather monotonous landscape, epitomized by the Etosha Pan, a huge salt-pan without any vegetation. However, due to my previous historical research in the Namibian National Archives on people categorized as "Bushmen" formerly living in Etosha, I was already aware that the Hai||om must have lived rather comfortably within the Etosha area for – at least – some centuries. Driving through Etosha at first, it was hard to imagine how people survived in this landscape, which did not appear to be very hospitable. With the ongoing work and journeys with Hai||om who remembered having been "part and parcel" of the Etosha landscape, my own perspective on the park changed considerably and the "hostile" turned into a more familiar and habitable environment.

However, I was deeply impaired by a rather Cartesian ontology, anthropocentric and anthropo-hubristic, embedded in a categorical thinking about objects, considering plant and animal species as 'resources' to be exploited by humans. I was not yet equipped with concepts of relational epistemologies or ontologies, and lacked a fine grasp of persons-beyond-the-human, animism, human-animal transformations or integrated ecologies. The other researchers involved in the project must – by and large – have shared this 'cultural-intellectual' heritage; otherwise, *they* would have inquired more deeply into specific issues related to alternative ways of being-in-the-world. By way of excuse, most of the relevant academic discussions in these contexts took place later on.[19]

The shortcomings of the methodology of data collection and archiving were manifold, partly due to technical or logistic issues, partly due to our own (the researchers) thinking-*of*-the-world and acting-*upon*-the-world. Still, during the long period of our interaction and research with Hai||om who had other experiences of being-in-the-world, doors were slightly opened for a widened or alternative understanding, doors which were only fully

19 My idea of maps was also rooted in conventional western cartography.

opened when I began to become familiar with recent discussions within relational anthropology and related academic fields (see above), discussions which question our own scientific and philosophical heritage and aim at grasping the world from quite a different perspective.

The collected data

We roughly classified the material according to categories of places, bushfood documentation, social organization and way of life in former times, historical data, kinship data (family trees) and life lines. The information on places and plants was archived in Access Data Sets.

The information included in the Place Access Data Set (with around 180 entries) included original place names, meanings and GPS positions. Furthermore, we asked the core team if the place referred to was a water source (and which type), if it was a hunting or bushfood area, a permanent or temporary settlement (and the estimated number of people living there), or hunting or bushfood camp. The information also included the families (surnames) who lived in the area, the former headman, the bushfood common in the area, as well comments or stories connected to the place. For many of the places visited we also took photos and sometimes made video recordings.

With regard to plants in Etosha, we compiled an Access Data Set with more than 100 Hai||om plant names, the botanical names as far as possible (assisted by a archaeo-botanist and literature), photos, as far as possible (more than 500 digital photos), the uses of the plants (food, medicine, others), the parts that could be used (fruits, wood, bark, tuber and roots, etc.), their availability throughout the year and any further information.

Social organization referred to information regarding settlement patterns, territories, headmen, intra- and intergroup family relations, seasonal mobility in relation to animal movements and bushfood distribution, and access to resources in other areas. Since I came quickly to realize that kinship played a central role in the social organization of the Hai||om, I used the genealogy software *Family Tree Maker* to collect information on kinship and, although not all individuals were known, we ended up with more than 1000 related individuals in the file.

Historical material included archival documents about the history of the Etosha National Park, e.g. monthly and annual reports of the station commanders of Namutoni and Okaukuejo (1920s–1950s), reports of native commissioners, reports of magistrates, reports and correspondence in connection

with park policy and Bushmen policy, and oral histories (Dieckmann 2001, 2003).

The cultural maps and other outputs

Within the project, we produced a place name map, a map on Hai||om traditional ways of hunting and distribution of resources, two hunting posters and two bushfood posters, two life line maps (drafts) and two community posters which were not published. After this, the main funding came to an end. Working with the core team, I wrote a tour guide book (Dieckmann 2009) and a children's book (Dieckmann 2012), and we produced some postcards and T-Shirts and a website[20] with other smaller funding from different donors,[21] in order to conserve and promote the 'cultural heritage' of the Hai||om and to raise some income for the project (see https://www.xoms-omis.org/, last accessed July 20, 2020)

It needs to be said that it was not clear how long the funding would last for the project, nor how many maps we could produce with the funding. Furthermore, the maps were *not* developed for the purpose of claiming land[22] but to document the inhabitancy and way of life of the Hai||om in the Etosha area. Therefore, we had more freedom than just documenting Hai||om presence on the Etosha maps. However, we started with products which followed rather general cartographic conventions.

A geographer from the University of Cologne and I worked with Strata 360 in Canada on the development of these maps. We went for a week to Montreal and later continued the work via e-mail correspondence, Skype sessions, etc. We then went back to Etosha to present, discuss and modify the draft maps.

I critically assess the two published maps to illustrate my argument; these were the place name map and the map illustrating hunting and distribution of resources.

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20 See https://www.xoms-omis.org/ (last accessed June 14, 2020).

21 The German and Finnish Embassies in Namibia, the National Geographic Society, the German Research Foundation, the Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia, EED/Bread for the World and Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) in Germany.

22 Vermeylen and Brody's chapters (this volume) provide examples of cultural maps being used in indigenous land claims. In particular, Vermeylen invites critical reflection on the methodology of mapping and the formalization of maps when used in courts, and on the risk of enforcing a western way of thinking about land and ownership.

Map 1: Hai||om traditional place names of prominent landscape features in the Etosha National Park (Source: Xoms |Omis Project)

Map 1: Hai||om traditional place names of prominent landscape features in the Etosha National Park

The place name map was produced with the aim of revealing the strong connection of the Hai||om to the land now included in the Etosha National Park.

The base map is a satellite image which presents processed and classified land cover information using a standardized classification system of GIS/ecological analysts, and not a classification system of land cover, based on local knowledge and classifications (see Robbins 2003).[23] It therefore pretends to represent 'nature', onto which 'culture' can be mapped. It is worth mentioning

23 Superimposing place names and other 'cultural' features on the satellite image implies the doctrine that satellite images present 'truth' according to a scientific understanding. It does not acknowledge that both scientific and indigenous knowledge systems are different but equal ways of apprehending the world but presupposes a hierarchy, namely that scientific knowledge is 'truer' than indigenous knowledge.

the fact that the satellite image could not have been taken around the first half of the 20th century, the period the maps aimed to refer to, but around 2000. The land cover must have changed tremendously during that period, due to the proclamation of Etosha as a National Park in the 1960s, the erection of game-proof fences around Etosha in 1973 (Berry 1997: 3) and the resulting increase in wildlife in the area.

On the left side of the map is a box with explanatory text on the history of Etosha and the Hai||om. The text was supposed to provide a summary of the history of Etosha and the connection of the Hai||om to Etosha. While there might be good reason to provide this kind of background to outsiders/map-viewers, it is worth mentioning that the text was not the (verbal) account of the Hai||om themselves, but rather the 'official' history, mainly based on archival records, which is presented as 'the history' of Etosha.

The paragraph in the textbox on the place names serves as an explanation from outsiders for outsiders but is not the explanation given by Hai||om about the significance of place names for them. "The names reveal the close connection of Hai||om with their natural environment. They give identity to areas important for water, to landscape features such as hills or pans and to important areas of trees or bushes and even to individual trees. To Hai||om the names brought meaning and order to the vast landscape of Etosha."

For the legend we used icons instead of symbols for the places, divided into the following categories: permanent water, bushes, hills, trees, other places, other (feature, i.e. area) names, and the boundary of the Etosha National Park. The categories were chosen by the researchers and not by the Hai||om.

On the map itself are around one hundred original place names (some with the official names too) and around fifteen other (area) names. Seven photos of selected places (taken between 2000 and 2003) are also placed on the maps. These photos were chosen by the researchers in order to illustrate that different landscape features were of importance for the Hai||om. Only for five places was the meaning of the name provided under the respective picture of the place, while in fact the meaning of place names testifies to the manifold connections of plants, people, animals, time, etc. to the land and at times to each other.

Also, we find mainly dots/symbols but no connectors on this map;[24] the only *lines* are either tourist roads or the border of the current national park.[25]

The photos and names of the main Hai||om team members (photos taken and chosen by researchers) are also placed on the maps in order to credit their knowledge and contributions. It might be self-evident that although most of the raw material was provided by these individuals (during interviews, journeys and informal conversations), the processing of the material (in the form of selection, interpretation and integration) was undertaken by the researchers. By silencing this fact on the maps, the maps pretend to be *their* maps and to represent *their* knowledge, whereas in fact, the maps were rather a product of cooperation and an attempt to translate parts of their knowledge for a (western) audience.

Map 2: Hai||om traditional ways of hunting and distribution of resources

This map was developed with the objective of elucidating the ecological system (including people, plants and animals), the impact of plants and animals on people and the human seasonal mobility patterns arising from it.

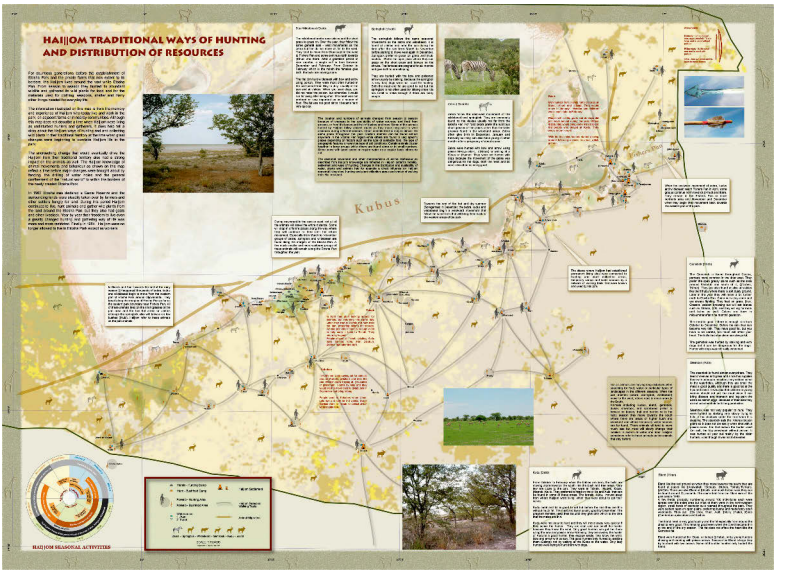
The use of the term "resources" in the title of the map already implies a certain way of thinking. The term denotes a one-directional relationship between the user (the subject, usually a human person or at least made up of human persons) and the item (object) itself, rather than a mutual relationship. In the present context, the term suggests a human or a community of humans exploiting 'nature'.

The background image chosen for this map presents vegetation zones, because the researchers considered vegetation zones as important for the distribution of resources. However, the classification of the zones follows the ideas of western scientists. It is hard to find relationships between the vegetation zones and the information on resources added on the map. The classification of zones also differs from the Hai||om's way of conceptualizing

24 This might also be related to the fact that the Hai||om had not been living in Etosha for some decades before the time of mapping, and (physical) connectors such as paths had disappeared or were not remembered anymore. Still, the detailed kinship knowledge woven into the landscape provides evidence that the interconnectedness between places, people, animals and other beings was still present.

25 Notably, the last change of boundaries took place in 1970 (Berry 1997: 4) and the park became much bigger during the time the map refers to, not only in the west (where the Hai||om had not lived) but in the south as well, an area inhabited by Hai||om and which was cut off from Etosha for white settlement in 1947 (Dieckmann 2007: 76).

Map 2: Hai||om traditional ways of hunting and distribution of resources (Source: Xoms |Omis Project)



the landscape. The Hai||om would rather differentiate between various soil types (according to color and quality), landmarks (e.g. pans, dry river beds, hills) and dominant or specific vegetation (Widlok 2008: 364).

'Resources' depicted on the map are various prey animal species as well as certain plants, the prey animals being in the focus, with plants only being mentioned without further information, though it becomes clear through the icons for bushfood areas and camps, the graph on seasonal activities and some explanatory text on mobility that seasonal mobility was also influenced by the seasonal occurrence of vegetal resources. Surely, we - the map makers - had a clear bias towards hunting, while vegetable foods were in fact more important than meat in the subsistence of the Hai||om (Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 157).

The legend explains the icons on the map: hunting and bushfood camps, hunting and bushfood areas, permanent waterholes (on this map differentiated between wells and open fountains), six prey animals (zebra, springbok,

wildebeest, gemsbok, kudu and eland),[26] settlements, and arrows in different colors for animal migration and Hai||om seasonal walking trails (which do not indicate the actual trails but rather the connections on the map).

There is a box with explanatory text (by the researchers) on the left-hand side of the map. Another box provides information on the seasonal mobility of the animals (with information extracted from interviews with Hai||om, based on their observations, and not from biologists).

Separate boxes provide information about seven prey animals, their distribution, the (nutritional) value of the animal for the Hai||om and the hunting methods. The selection was suggested by the researchers. These animals were certainly important prey animals – among many more (Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009) – but they were also selected to illustrate animals living in different landscape types and hunted with different methods. The text suggests that these animals were mostly objects to be exploited. No information is included on taboos or rituals, and no accounts are given about further meanings of the animals for Hai||om, implying other relations than a hunter-prey relationship (see more details below).

In three places, text is provided to illustrate seasonal mobility in connection to plants and animals. We used the names of months in the text. Although the Hai||om have names for months, much more important reference points are the rainy and dry seasons and temperatures (hot and cold).

The map conveys the message that mobility was guided only by the seasonal distribution of 'resources' and followed a rather strict annual pattern, whereas it was, in fact, very flexible, driven not only by subsistence aspects but also social aspects (see below), as well as job opportunities outside the park, etc.

Last remarks for both maps

Although both of these maps are about the Hai||om in Etosha, the Hai||om themselves are absent. Nor are there any depictions of non-Hai||om human beings, nor of non-human beings. Animals are depicted as 'resources', which assigns them 'object' status. These absences can be understood as symptomatic of our need for a conceptual nature-culture (and subject-object) divide, where humans (or beings?) are excluded from nature and are literally

26 We did not include an icon for the steenbok, because steenbok were found "everywhere".

above nature, looking down at the map. Furthermore, historical developments are only mentioned in the text, but not reflected in the maps.

Is it overstated to conclude that the maps represent an isolated Hai||om community, as a group of people dependent only on 'natural resources' and frozen in the past?

Both maps followed the cartographic convention of placing north up and south down. It is noteworthy that the absolute (geocentric) frame of reference of the Hai||om is based on the rise of the sun (east-west) and on a contingent landscape vocabulary (north-south), with the east-west axis being much stronger (Widlok 2008: 373-74). We did not ask the Hai||om which way they would prefer.

Moreover, we forged a lateral mode of perception into a vertical mode of representation, a panoptic, global one (borrowing words from Ingold and Casey 1996: 30). The vertical mode presupposes a division between mind and body, while the lateral mode of perception, the organism, moves around from place to place and connects these places as nodes within a wider network of movement (Ingold 2011 [2000]: 227).[27]

Hai||om being-in-relations

> The lions and the Hai||om, we are both the hunters. And here is no sign for the Hai||om or the lions. We have to put it in, the lion and the Hai||om. But the lions and the animals they stay in the bush. The lion knows exactly when the animals move. He is the man of the wind. The lion has to be in front and the Hai||om behind… On the map we have to put all the hunting animals, like leopard, it has to be on the map. All the hunters. The jackal and the rooicat and the hyena, cheetah, all those who want to eat meat have to be on the map. And the vulture… Eagle. He catches meat as well. And the hare [?]. Those animals catch different animals. That eagle, he catches the hare. Duiker, steenbok, blue buck, Damara dik-dik, dassie, caracal, all those animals, we have to put on the map….and jackal… Perhaps we have to put the snake on the map as well, but the snake is the danger for the men who are hunting, for the lion, for everybody.
>
> (Jan Tsumib, interview excerpt from a group discussion on the draft map *Hai||om traditional way of hunting and distribution of resources*, 27.3.2003)

27 See also Vermeylen (this volume) on the different perspectives.

Evidently, Jan Tsumeb, an elderly Hai||om project participant, when presented with the draft of one particular map, though happy that there was a map, was not unambiguously enthusiastic about it, identifying mostly the omissions on the map.[28] It appears that he did not consider animals exclusively as 'resources' as he complained that only some important prey animals were depicted on the map. Furthermore, he considered it inadequate that the humans, the Hai||om, were not mapped, nor were their "colleagues" (as he called the lions in other contexts). He also remarked the relationships between lions and Hai||om, prey animals and prey, snake and hunters/lions. I would argue that he expresses an eco-zoological perspective in this comment, including both hunters, prey animals and others, and not an objectified resource perspective with resource 'users' excluded from the map.[29]

The omissions which Jan Tsumeb pointed out on one of the draft maps produced within the Etosha cultural mapping project are not at all exhaustive. There are many others, which I realized in retrospect and the following – in a self-reflexive manner – aims to point out the "silence on maps" (Harley and Laxton 2002: 67), to the shortcomings and distortions on the maps when looked at from a relational point of view. I don't think that this specific mapping project is exceptional in this regard, and many of the silences and distortions can be found in other African cultural mapping projects as well.

People-cum-land[30]

In a medium-scale (regional) context, the Hai||om used to group 'clusters' of people (Hai||om) according to the geographical areas they were living in. The people were named after physical characteristics of the land or the occurrence of specific plants important to them.[31] These 'clusters' of people were also

28 Admittedly, the final maps didn't include all the missing bits and pieces that Jan Tsumeb pointed out when looking at the draft maps.

29 Certainly, evaluating omissions can only be done with consideration of the purpose of the map and of the mapping project. In our mapping project, the overall objective was the production of cultural maps, to add the 'cultural' level to the Etosha National Park by mapping the cultural heritage of the Hai||om in the park.

30 I adapted this from Widlok who pointed out to a Hai||om "land-cum-people terminology" in which "landscapes and people are … regularly fused with one another" (2008: 366).

31 There were, amongst others, Xomkhoen (the people living south of the Etosha pan, xom.s referring to the Etosha pan), Sēkhoen (the people living south of the riverbed

referred to by missionaries (e.g. Pönninghaus 1926; Unterkötter n.d.), authors and ethnographers (cf. Friedrich 2009: 49; Widlok 1999: 82-85), though not all sources accounted for the same number of groups and exactly the same names. Still, this is an indication that there is continuity of the people-area associations. I don't have information about whether the same family groups were continuously associated with the same areas; Widlok noted that these names are to some degree independent of the demography and composition of the local groups (1999: 84).

People and land/places were connected to each other and personal identities belonged to the land. On a local level, specific family groups were linked to specific areas (as well as to specific other elements, e.g. animals, natural items such as salt or a poisonous plant used for hunting). The family groups living in specific areas (also called "territories")[32] were headed by family elders, who, as with many other hunter-gatherer groups, had to be respected men, sometimes women (called *gaikhoeb* or *gaikhoes*, big/senior man, big/senior woman or *gaob/gaos*, sometimes also called *danakhoeb/danakhoes*, literally head-man/head-woman) who could listen to the people, could mediate in cases of conflict and who were the ones overseeing the sustainable use of resources (in a western way of thinking). In my words, they were the ones who had responsibility (the decision-taking role) for caring for the people, the land and other elements of the ecology. Maybe one could also call them custodians or stewards of the land, a concept which was suggested for the Ju|'hoansi, another San group in Namibia (Low 2007: 80). These men (or women) could also be replaced, if it turned out that they were not fulfilling their duties. Usually a grandson or nephew was chosen by the *gaikhoeb* because of his personal qualities, was taught by him and would take over the role later in life. Furthermore, it was a nested system. For example, a certain man might have been considered the headman of a larger area comprising several settlements, but each settlement might have had a senior respected person as well. At times, the

called Omuramba Ovambo), Gogarakhoen, (people from the stony ground – between the Omuramba Ovambo and the town of Tsumeb), |Khomakhoen (the people of the mountains – between the towns of Otavi and Outjo), Khobakhoen (the people of the black ground, referring to parts of the southern Etosha area, e.g. waterholes *Tu!Aris* [Dunaries], ||*Ai!Ab* [TkaiTkab]) and |Gomaikhoen (the people of the Mangetti trees, referring to the Mangetti area east of Etosha).

32 Just to give a rough idea about the size: Friedrich noted that these areas were more or less 20 km in radius (2009: 77). As can be seen on the map he compiled (Figure 3), there were huge differences in size (2009: 418-419).

headman of the bigger area would assign a certain place or area to another man, e.g. his nephew. At times, the Hai||om core team members had to discuss who the headman of a specific area was; sometimes they also disagreed. Furthermore, the list of headmen which Friedrich compiled (2009: 420-426) shows differences from our own list of headmen at specific waterholes. This is a further indication that headmanship was a flexible institution, the important criteria being age and respect and that the elder *belonged* to the place, i.e. that he/she *related* to the land and was part of the family group connected to that specific patch of land.

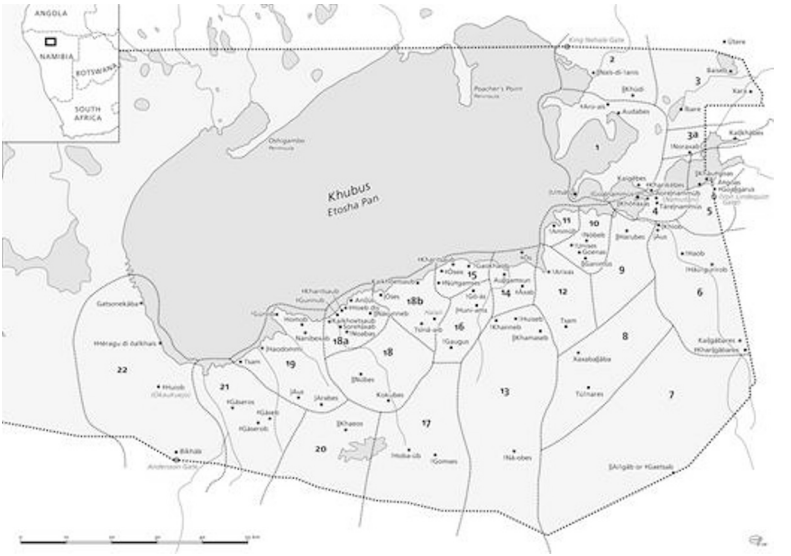
The boundaries of specific areas were, at times, reportedly marked with beacons (e.g. rocks put in trees). They were well known to the Hai||om in and around that specific area, and specific rules were reported to be in place if someone entered the territory of another group, in cases where specific kinship ties did not ensure immediate access (see next section).[33]

I argue that the existence of these outlined areas is not a proof of *ownership* in a western sense (as a very specific subject-object relationship, implying entitlements such as use, control and sale). It is rather an indication that family groups were tied to specific patches of land and had guardianship for that area, that places and people *belonged/related* to each other. Apart from the living elders, spirit beings and ancestors (||*gamagu*) also cared for and looked after the land and took responsibility for human behavior towards it.

Putting the boundaries of these areas on a map, as Friedrich did (2009: 418-419, see Figure 3), can be understood as an acknowledgement of the fact that people were spatially organized. However, it is also misleading because it implies an idea of separate groups of people and of land entities with fixed boundaries. In contrast, kinship *networks* played a major role in terms of the organization of land and people and of mobility (and crisscrossed these boundaries). People and places were connected with each other via footpaths that form a visible inscription of a network of social relations and of potential movement in the landscape. Moving from one place to another entails the enactment of family relations, which leads to the next section, on intra-Hai||om relationships.

33 The information about these rules, their application and sanctions was at times incoherent, e.g. some Hai||om claimed that the headman had to be asked permission when a hunter entered the area falling under his responsibility in order to hunt, while others claimed that a hunter killing in another area had to leave a piece of the meat or a poisoned arrowhead with that family elder.

Figure 3: "Gebietskarte" (Source: Friedrich 2009: 418-419)



People-cum-people, intra-Hai||om relationships

Since surnames were often mentioned during conversations about/at places, when we worked more systematically on the place data set, we started to ask specifically for the *surnames* of the people who once lived at a specific place or in a specific area. We always got at least a handful of surnames for the places.

It is important to note in this context that in former times, the surname was passed on by cross-descent, from father to daughter and mother to son (this has changed with identification documents and official marriages, which confuses the system, because they were, at least in the past, not implemented consistently, and only gradually).[34] Surnames do play an important role for the social organization of Hai||om (see Widlok 1999: 194-197).

34 Jan Tsumeb, for instance, should – according to the traditional naming system – be Jan !Aib, because his mother was Christa !Ais. Public officers, not concerned with the traditional system, have transformed him to Jan Tsumeb. The same is true for Kadisen ||Khumub, who should actually be Kadisen |Nuaiseb, since his mother was |Nuaises.

In retrospect, I think that we attempted to figure out the people/land units mentioned above. Trying to link surnames with specific areas/places followed a categorical conceptualization (sorting people and places together) rather than a relational approach. Not surprisingly, considering the naming system of the Hai||om, the same surnames were mentioned at various places and the surnames on their own did not provide sufficient and adequate information about socio-ecological organization. In order to reduce my own confusion, I fell back on the traditional ethnographic method of documenting kinship relations, using the software *Family Tree Maker*, as I realized that the Hai||om used to explain the *who-is-who* in terms of family relations. During this exercise the vastness of their kinship knowledge was revealed, not as much in generational depth but in width.[35]

Kinship plays a pivotal role in the social organization of the Hai||om (see also Widlok 1999: 179-193). The picture emerging throughout the whole period of research was that the vast kinship knowledge of the Hai||om is woven into the landscape; surnames do form a relevant and organizing part of this knowledge and they are, without doubt, connected to places but the kinship networks are also engrained in the landscape.[36] Both elements are crucial for an understanding not only of the social but also of the spatial organization of the Hai||om.

One example is used to illustrate this point. The numbers in brackets after the place names mentioned relate to the numbered areas on Friedrich's map (2009: 418-19, see Figure 3).

It refers to Willem Dauxab (in the Hai||om system, he should be Willem ||Gamgaebeb, because his mother was |Noagus||Gamgaebes). His father was Fritz Dauxab, who was from the *!Harib* area. Fritz had three different wives during his lifetime, originating from different areas: Aia ||Gamgaebes was born at *Tsîna*b (18b), her sister |Noagus ||Gamgaebes was born at *!Gabi!Goab* (the old location at ǂ*Huiob*, Okaukuejo) (22), and Anna ||Khumus was from ||*Nububes* (18). Fritz reportedly had at least nine children. Aia

35 With some short cuts (individuals not known, therefore called x), I compiled a file with more than 1,000 individuals, connecting all my informants in different areas (including outside Etosha, on farms and in Outjo). Unfortunately, I did not undertake the extra effort of documenting the birth places and places of residence during adulthood of all individuals, but only recorded this information for a minority.

36 This does not mean that Hai||om have a purely genealogical understanding of kinship. It is a flexible system with strong relational aspects (see Widlok 1999, chapter 6).

and Fritz had six children born at *Tsînab* (18b), ||*Nububes* (18) and ǂ*Huiob* (22). |Noagus and Fritz had one child, Willem, born at *Tsînab* (18b), who grew up with his stepfather Petrus !Khariseb, who was from the area of *Kevis* (most probably ǂ*Kharikebes* (4) on Friedrich's map). Anna and Fritz had three children, born at ||*Nububes* (18) and ǂ*Huiob* (22). Aia and |Noagus also had two brothers (or cross-cousins), with the surname !Noboseb (since their mother was a !Noboses). The brothers lived at ǂ*Homob* (19). It is noteworthy that the father of |Noagus and Aia ||Gamgaebes also had three different wives during his lifetime and around ten children born in different areas.

An interview with Willem Dauxab recorded in Okaukuejo (September 20, 2001) is illuminating concerning the meaning of kinship with regard to mobility.

Willem was born at *Tsînab* (18b), where he stayed at times as a child with his mother |Noagus and stepfather Elias. I could not figure out whether he stayed there throughout most of the year during his childhood, but certainly, he considered it and the area around it as "our place". At times, they went to the area of *Namutoni* (4), where a sister of his stepfather Elias was staying and where Elias was from (it is close to *Kevis*, 4) and stayed there for a couple of months, at times during the rainy season, because there were a lot of ǂ*huin* trees (*Berchemia discolour*) in that area (the berries of ǂ*huin* could be collected and stored for a couple of months). *Tsînab* was also known for a lot of bushfood, both corms (e.g. *!handi*) and fruits and berries (e.g. *Grewia* sp.).

He said: "Every year, we went here and there, visit each other, there, ǂ*Axab* (14), *!Nobib* (10), |*Ui!Goarebeb* (10), ||*Harubes* (9), *!Goas* (16), |*Uniams* (16), ǂ*Uniseb* (10), *!G*ûi*seb* (4) , those were the places where we visited each other." I could not figure out the exact family relationships which he had to all these places.

He noted that ǂ*Homob* (19) was also "their place", because the brother of his mother (Jan !Noboseb) and another brother (or cross-cousin) stayed there. He also explained the exact kin relations of Jan !Noboseb to another Hai||om woman I knew in Outjo, a town around 120 km south of Etosha.

Willem and his mother and stepfather from *Tsînab* (18b) used to stay at ǂ*Homob* (19) at times as well, because Willem's mother's brother was living there. Note that his father Fritz also lived at ǂ*Homob* (but in another settlement). Families with the surnames |Haudum and ǂGaesen also lived in that area around ǂ*Homob* (19), /*Aus* (19) and ǂ*Gaseb* (21) and ǂ*Huiob* (22) Apparently, the main settlement was at ⁑*Homob*, but "when they liked to, they went to

|Aus, when they liked to they went to ǂ*Gaseb*. That is how they were moving around", and they also went to ǂ*Huiob*.

Willem and his mother (||Gambaebes) only stayed with the mother's brother (!Noboseb) at ǂ*Homob*, but did not move with the family group to the other places. Only one year, when there was a lot of rain (and mosquitoes), they also stayed around *|Aus*. Willem also related that there was a place of a man with the surname ||Gamgaebeb (implying "his" own family network), close to Otavi (a town east of the park nowadays, around 120 km away from ǂ*Homob*), which he mentioned as another "place of ours", but he hadn't been there, "it was the place of the old people" (most probably referring to a time when mobility was less restricted, before the fencing of farms and the park).

In wintertime, the men living at *Tsînab* also went to *|Goses* (in the same area as *Tsînab* (18b), written as *|Oses* on the map) close to the pan, to hunt there and to make biltong. Willem mentioned many places close to the pan (e.g. *|Ani Us*, *Gaikhoetsaub* (both 18a), ǂ*Kharitsaub* (18b)) where the men from *Tsînab* went hunting (while staying at *|Goses*), and several other places (wells, plains, etc., e.g. *Bukas*, *Tsînab*ǂ*gas*, not on map (18b)) where the hunters from *Tsînab* used to hunt during other seasons. The men also went hunting to places in other families' areas but had to ask permission from the elders living in these areas.

When they felt like getting *uinan* (*Cyanella* sp.), at the right time of the year, they went to the ||*Nububes* area (18), which included *Kokobes*, which was known as a good place for collecting *uinan*. Presumably they had to ask the elders there for permission as well.

Evidently, textual representation of these family relationships is highly inadequate for us to comprehend the network arising from kindship ties. However, the description above (in contrast to the map) is essential to illustrate how misleading "territorial" maps can be in the case of hunter-gatherers.

In sum, kinship ties imply spatial connections and guide movements. They literally do establish *common ground*. Obviously, areas from which parents (including stepparents) originated were regarded as "our" place, which meant that one could go and stay there for some time. One could stay at the places of one's parents' parallel siblings. In areas where close kinship of this kind could not be established as easily, one would need to show respect for the fact that one had entered someone else's land (e.g. in terms of asking permission or giving some of the game killed to the elders there), or, in other words, one first needed to establish a relationship to the inhabitants. The example also shows that the areas considered as "our place" could be located at some dis-

tance from each other, which meant that one needed to traverse other people's areas.

People and other humans, extra-Hai||om relationships[37]

The relationships of indigenous groups with 'outsiders'[38] are often silenced on indigenous maps; indeed, they are often the underlying reason for the mapping, e.g. when logging or mining companies enter the area, or protected areas are proclaimed (e.g. Brody 1981; Lewis 2012; Hodgson/Schroeder 2002), but these relationships are mostly excluded from maps.

In precolonial times, the Hai||om did not live in isolation but were in contact and sometimes in continuous relationships with other humans and other human communities. Some of the contacts were more restricted to a certain period, while others were maintained for a longer period of time. Some were more violent, while others were quite peaceful. A comprehensive overview is not within the scope of this chapter (some information can be found in Dieckmann 2007), but I will provide some examples of relationships related to places within Etosha.[39]

37 Noteworthy, some KhoeSan ethnonyms could be translated as people or real people (e.g. Khwe, Ju|'hoansi) but Hai||om means tree sleepers. However, the Hai||om team members also mentioned (with some amusement) that in the past, Ovambo, Damara or Herero were not considered as people, but rather as 'things' (see also Widlok 2017: 3).

38 My own observations and also Widlok's writings (e.g. 1999: 179-212) suggest that Hai||om's comprehension of kinship would allow 'outsiders' to be integrated in the kinship system, not only through marriage but also due to other relations with the individual. Unfortunately, I did not explore thoroughly the process of kin-making. Widlok wrote: "The practices of naming and social reference… suggest that Hai||om actively foster certain kin ties… In actual practice kinship and names are used in an open process that has several possible potentials which develop as the participants interact with each other." (1999: 212)

39 I include some historical information, which is not immediate part of the Hai||om knowledge (especially concerning dates or time periods), drawn from archival records, other publications, the 'official history', in order to provide a framework for 'outsiders' for the Hai||om accounts. The references for their historical understanding are not dates, and not exactly political periods (an exception is the time after Namibian's independence in 1990), like pre-colonial times, the German colonial period or the South African period, but rather generations (referring to grandparents' or parents' accounts).

ǂ*Khari Kevis* (Klein Okevi) was a Hai||om settlement within Etosha. The grave of Fritz !Naob, who died in 1945, is situated there (see also Friedrich 2009: 60-62). In archival documents of the 1930s, a man with the name Fritz Aribib was often mentioned as one of the Hai||om leaders. When asked about this man, the Hai||om core team members stated that Fritz Aribib must have been Fritz !Naob (named after his mother) who worked for the police at Tsumeb (a town east of Etosha) and who lived at ǂ*Khari Kevis* at the end of his life. He was a respected person, had some livestock and negotiated with the government. His father was "Captain Aribib" (as recorded in archival documents), a Hai||om man with whom the German colonial government concluded a so-called "protection treaty" (Gordon 1989: 145; Friedrich 2009: 53-62; Dieckmann 2007: 65-67). From a Hai||om perspective, certainly, Aribib could not have signed such a contract because it contravened the Hai||om social system, according to which respected elderly men or women only had responsibility in the small areas and in the family groups they were closely connected to, and a hierarchical leadership structure beyond this level was non-existent.

A place, or rather a tree, between *Bikab* and Okaukuejo testifies to the employment of Hai||om with the police and could be an anchor from which to relate stories on their relationships with white officers (as could many other places). *Augubdi/naras* (the "umbrella thorn of August") was explained to us in the following manner: It was the *Acacia tortilis* (|*Naras: Acacia tortilis subsp. Heteracantha*) of August ||Khumub, one husband of Magdalena ||Khumus, he was the father of Adam, and he worked for the police, he was riding a horse and used to rest in the shade of this tree. Many Hai||om men worked for a while as policemen for the Germans, as archival records testify (see Dieckmann 2007: 156, for more details).

Namutoni could also provide testimony to Hai||om-German relationships. Hans Haneb told us the following, when we had climbed Fort Namutoni, about the beginning of the German-Herero war in 1904, when Chief Nehale had sent his captain Shivute with 500 armed men to Namutoni and attacked the fortress. In an official version, seven Germans tried to defend the fortress but later fled to Tsumeb (Mossolow 1993). According to Hans Haneb, a Hai||om man (in Hans's version the brother of his grandfather), who was proficient in shooting, was issued with a rifle and ammunition and was defending the fortress with the Germans. Friedrich (2009: 191) was told the story slightly differently, by the son of the daughter of daughter's son of this person.

Several place names give hints at the relationship with other groups (e.g. Ovambo or Herero) or evoke memories about these relationships.

Hai||om in Etosha also engaged in relationships to tourists over a specific period of time (starting in the 1930s and gradually increasing until the 1950s). Kadisen ||Khumub, born at *//Nasoneb*, related that his family group usually stayed in the area during the winter months, as it was situated closer to the pan than *//Nububes*, the larger settlement in the territory of that particular family group. When asked why the Hai||om moved closer to the pan in the winter, Kadisen stressed that besides the fact that it was the best time to hunt at the pan, it was also the time when the tourists were coming to Etosha, i.e. to some of the waterholes close to the main Okaukuejo–Namutoni road.

People and beings-beyond-the human

A systematic study on Hai||om ontologies and Hai||om relations to beings-beyond-the-human is still outstanding. Low (e.g. Low 2012, 2007, 2009, 2015), who mainly worked on KhoeSan healing, and Guenther, who worked on San cosmologies (e.g. Guenther 1999, 2015, 2020a, 2020b), mention the Hai||om occasionally. Hints are also found in Widlok's publications (e.g. Widlok 1999, 2008, 2017). Evidently, Hai||om ontology (or ontologies?) shares some features with the ontologies of other KhoeSan in the region (for the latter, see e.g. Guenther 2020a, 2020b; Sullivan 2017). During the fieldwork for my PhD and the mapping project, my focus was different and I will merely provide some snapshots and fragments in this regard, which illustrate the particularity of western ontology (e.g. categories like humans, animals, natural and supernatural). Although there might be many other beings-beyond-the-human, I focus on only two here, namely animals and spirit beings (though the latter include various beings and are only lumped together as spirit beings for the lack of a better term/conceptualization).

People and Animals

The Hai||om distinguish between *xamanîn* and *am|naen*. *Xamanî* animals comprise most medium to large carnivore species; the term was explained as referring to animals who look evil and bite.[40] *Am|naen* refer to bigger non-carnivorous animals (such as eland, giraffe, gemsbok, greater kudu,

40 According to the Khoekhoegowab dictionary, it means "wild animals (esp. dangerous, including poisonous animals)" (Haacke/Eiseb 2002: 151).

blue wildebeest, hartebeest and Burchell's zebra)[41]. A specific ritual (*|hâson*) carried out when hunting *am|naen* is worth mentioning because it hints at the idea that animals are not mere resources. When the hunter(s) found the animal he had killed, he had to cut an incision into the animal's auricles at the base so that the ears could be folded downward to cover its eyes. Then the blood vessel beneath the eye would be slit to let out some blood, the upper tip of the bow was dipped into the blood and a vertical line drawn on the hunter's forehead. Then the lower tip of the bow had to be dipped into the blood as well, and used to draw a horizontal line across the chest and a vertical line on each of the lower legs (Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 132-133). This ritual could be understood through various frameworks: in the context of animists' meat-eating dilemma (for a discussion see Guenther 2020b: 28-41) one could think that although the dilemma of eating other beings is not resolved, *|hâson* could be understood as an attempt to make the act of slaughtering and eating less cruel for the animal in preventing it from seeing it. Alternatively, one could explain it in view of the concept of "personhood": if seeing-each-other establishes "persons", the ritual terminated the other's personhood by preventing the two parties from seeing-each-other.

As for other San and African hunter-gatherer groups (e.g. Guenther 2020a; Skaanes 2017), the eland held a special position and the ritual to be carried out when an eland was killed was even more sophisticated than *|hâson* (see Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 133).

Among the *xamanîn,* two "families" were distinguished, one comprising *|noeb* (cheetah), *|noab* (serval), *ǂhuinab* (leopard), *!nores* (genet), *|gîb* (aardwolf), *|hoab* (African wildcat), *||ab* (bat-eared fox), *||khom* (pangoline), *!hab* (caracal), *|noreaib* (honey badger). These were usually hunted and eaten. The other "family" comprised the lion (*xam*), the spotted hyena (*haibeb*) and the brown hyena (*||abub*), who were considered *khoe-xamanîn,* human *xamanîn*. According to the Hai||om team members, the meat of hyenas was only consumed in times of food shortages.

The relationship with lions deserves special attention, as the above quote of Jan Tsumeb indicates. Lions were considered as colleagues and equals.

The Hai||om team members reported that Hai||om usually chased lions away with a piece of burning wood. However, when a lion was approaching (and no fire was around), they would shout at the lion: "*||Gaisi ainâkarasa!*",

41 It means in Hai||om "game (springbok and larger, excluding bird & fish)" (Haacke/Eiseb 2002: 9).

which they translated to us as: "You ugly face, go away!" Apparently, this did not always work and there are many stories about Hai||om-lion encounters, often (but not always) with a happy ending, i.e. that the Hai||om eventually managed to escape a lion's attack (see e.g. Dieckmann 2012: 44-47).

It is noteworthy that one of the spirit beings (*||gamagu*)[42] of the Hai||om (see more below) is a *xam||gamab* (a lion spirit), which can pass its spirit to specific people who can then become healers/shamans. The Hai||om team members explained the process in the following way: The lion spirit starts to like/love (or fall in love with) a person; they would be playing around in the bush and the lion would become a mate of the person, who would, caught by the spirit of the lion, disappear for several evenings in the bush. He would need the treatment of another *!gaiob* (healer/shaman), otherwise he would disappear altogether with the lion(s). With the treatment, he could become a healer himself. It was also said that the lion healer (*xam!gaiob*) received lion hair from the lion spirit.

Lion meat was usually not eaten at all. Only one family with the surname ||Oresen had the reputation of consuming lion meat (Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 116, 118). One story recounts that a man with that surname had once killed a lion, prepared the meat and eaten some at the settlement next to the waterhole *||Nububes*. What remained of the lion had to be buried, and all the people in the settlement were called by ||Oreseb to attend the burial, roaring like lions (Dieckmann 2009: 33). Evidently, the killed lion was treated like a fellow and the Hai||om performed a kind of mimicry, behaving like lions.

Other food taboos existed as well, e.g. concerning several birds, the secretary bird (*khoeseb*), the fork-tailed drongo (*||gauseb*), and rollers (*oo-oo||nâes*). The pied crow (*!kha-nub*) was a protected bird as well, because according to Hai||om tales, it brought back the rain after it was taken away from them by the animal "married to the rain", meaning the elephant (Dieckmann 2012: 12-13; Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 118-119). The explanations regarding the food taboos indicate that these beings were not eaten, either because

42 I use the translation "spirit being" for *||gamab*, due to the lack of a better translation. I don't want to use the word "supernatural being", as this would presuppose and reinforce a dichotomy of natural versus supernatural, a dichotomy which is – according to my understanding – non-existent in the Hai||om experience. For similar reasons, I try to avoid the term "mythical" (see also Bird-David 2017: 153, for the problem with terminology). However, "spirit being" also implies a division between the material and non-material world and might therefore be inadequate too.

they were similar to humans (like the lion or the secretary bird), or because of what Rose calls "communicative benefits" (Rose 2005: 297), as in the case of the drongo and the roller, or other benefits, as with the crow. The latter case further indicates that there is no clear-cut distinction between the world of myth or legend and the 'natural' world. Compare it to the fox in Europe: many tales describe the fox as almost human, but this doesn't protect him from being hunted, whereas the crow, who brings back the rain, according to tales, is protected in the Hai||om environment.

Snakes, their meaning for and relations to humans would also deserve further exploration. I didn't collect enough material to be able to analyze their significance in the Hai||om environment, but snakes were mentioned in various contexts and at various places. It was reported that every big water had a water snake. Being alive, the snake would not trouble the people but when the snake died or was killed (as in the case of the waterhole *Bikab*), the water dried up. Furthermore, some stories related 'mythical' snakes; I term them 'mythical' because I could not imagine them, as there were reports about huge snakes, almost the width of a road. The existence of "Great Snakes" was reported for other KhoeSan groups as well, as was the occurrence of "water snakes" (e.g. Sullivan/Low 2014; Hoff 1997).

Furthermore, according to our team members, snake spirits are among the different *||gamagu*, the spirit beings which populate the world of the Hai||om and which can transfer their potency or spirit to healers/shamans.

Another aspect of human-animal relations is the potential of transformation, reported for other KhoeSan groups as well, where people have experienced changing into lions or leopards, jackals or little birds (Low 2007: 80). These transformations are linked to the possession of the "wind of an animal". Low explains: "The notion of possession and movement of form and qualities between organisms is an expression of how wind moves through and anchors within a body." (Low 2007: 80)

Although I did not explore the topic systematically, the possibility of transformation was mentioned when we passed a hill called */Khai/Khab* ("naked surface"). The hill was said to be haunted, and the Hai||om would avoid going there, because you could turn into a kudu at that place and when people came looking for you, they would just find a kudu.

And what about mapping? Some of the information provided above is clearly linked to places, e.g. the snake at the waterhole *Bikab*, the funeral of the lion, various lion encounters and the haunted hill. Other information could

easily be connected to places (as it was often narrated at specific places), e.g. specific rituals or food taboos for the areas where the animals usually occur.

Importantly, some Hai||om families kept livestock within Etosha, mostly goats, but also cattle and donkeys (Dieckmann 2007: 154, 187; Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 112). Their numbers were at times and at specific settlements considerable (e.g. in 1939, around 98 cattle, 4 donkeys and 204 goats were reported to have lived in the vicinity of Namutoni (Dieckmann 2007: 154). Dogs were also kept and used for hunting (Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 162). None of these appeared on the maps.[43]

People and *||gamagu* (spirit beings, non-material beings, non-corporeal beings)[44]

I cannot provide a coherent picture of the relationships of humans to *||gamagu* (spirit beings), and maybe a coherent picture would in any case be but my own imagination. As I understand it, spirit beings seem to be (or were in the recent past) an integral part of the ecology, although it is said that they usually stay in *||gama||aes*, a place "up there".[45]

||Gamagu could do good but could also do harm, they could be moral guardians supervising the following of taboo rules (*sōxa*).

As mentioned beforehand, there are different *||gamagu*. The strongest one is the spirit of the rain (*|nanus*) (see also Sullivan/Low 2014: 232). Furthermore, there is a spirit of the lion (*xam||gamab*), the spirit of snakes (either *||gau!gub* "big snake" or *||gam|aob* "water snake") (see also Sullivan and Low 2014; Hoff 1997), and the spirit being of *Kaindaus* (see also Schatz 1993: 8; Wagner-Robertz

43 Widlok reports, from a free listing exercise with ǂAkhoe Hai||om east of Etosha, that livestock was generally not included in the *xamanin* category, which he translates as "animals" (Widlok 2017: 2). Still, whether or not they are regarded as "animals", they formed part and parcel of the Etosha ecology at that time.

44 Others report on only one *||gamab*, sometimes translating it as "god", (e.g. Wagner-Robertz 1977; Low 2012). However, our Hai||om core team members described several *||gamagu*. They have another single deity, which is called *Elof* or *!Khūb*. The Hai||om could directly address *||gamab* but not *Elof* or *!Khūb*. The relationships between *||gamagu* and *Elof* or *!Khūb* were not explained in detail. In general, adequate translations of a number of terms in this context are not possible due to the lack of comparable concepts. I am not content with the translation of "spirit being", but lack a better term.

45 The whirlwind is called *||gamasares* ("whirlwind of *||gamab*") because the *||gamab* is in the dust of this wind.

1977: 7-8). The latter, termed a "ghost woman" by Low (2012: 84), was described to me as a malicious female being who would fall in love with and rape a man.

Besides these spirit beings, other-than-human beings, the spirits or souls of specific ancestors (also called *||gamagu*), are also around and stories about their misbehavior are abundant.[46]

Each *||gamab* has and provides different potency/spirit/wind (*|gais*) to a person. These can be transferred through (traumatic) events, where the person encounters the spirit being (or its agent). For example, a person can get the rain spirit from a lightning strike (see also Low 2007: 81), can get the spirit of the "ghost woman" *Kaindaos* by being raped by her (see also Wagner-Robertz 1977: 8), or the lion spirit from an encounter with a specific lion (or *xam||gamab* in the form of a lion).

Low captures *|gais* in the following way:

> The word *|gais* is used predominantly in north central Namibia but has deep roots in KhoeSan healing […] The idea of having *|gais* overlaps with ideas of having spirits or winds. At a more everyday level it equates to having different talents or gifts to do or be something including, for example, an ability to dance or sing or an ability to heal using a particular animal's strengths. People know they have a particular *|gais* either because it is inherited, formally given to them by a healer, or it is divinely given through an event, such as being struck by lightning or a strange encounter with an animal which they recognise as meaningful at the time, or to which they later attribute changes they have noticed in themselves. People feel their *|gais*, or hear it or see it manifest in a particular skill they seem to have, such as hunting a particular animal. The idea of *|gais* sits within wider understandings of what constitutes a person. The meteorological conditions at a person's birth, for example, give people a relationship and a measure of influence on particular types of weather. (Low 2012: 78)

When a person gets the spirit/wind (*|gais*), he/she is reported to become crazy first, singing and running around in the bush, and would need to be treated by

46 Wagner-Robertz, whose description is based on the account of an elderly Hai||om healer, |Garagu ||Khumob, reports only one *||gamab*, who lives in a settlement between the earth and the sky (presumably *||gama ||aes)* with a snake, a leopard, Kaindaos, the souls of the dead, etc. (1977: 17-18). In both versions, i.e. one *||gamab* or several *||gamagu*, these beings (snake, ancestors, Kaindaos, etc.) are agents, carrying specific spirits/winds which can be transferred to human beings.

a *!gaiob* (healer/shaman) in order to become a *!gaiob* him/herself. *|Gais* enables the healer/shaman to communicate with the *||gamab*.

Depending on the specific *||gamab*, the *|gais* can be embodied in different forms, e.g. in the form of sticks, cochlea (rain) or lion hair (lion). These embodiments are put in a bag, which is essential during the healing ceremonies.[47] They can or are usually joined together with beads into kind of a necklace.

||Gamagu could also become or take the form of animals, which are usually hunted and consumed, e.g. iguana, but also antelopes, such as hartebeest, damara, dik diks or steenboks. If a hunted animal behaves in an unfamiliar or 'un-species-like' way, it might be a *||gamagu* and therefore should be avoided instead of being further processed and consumed (see also Peters/Dieckmann/Vogelsang 2009: 132). However, *||gamagu* might not only take the form of animals; they could also ride animals (e.g. elephants, such as on the occasion of the spirit of a certain man with the surname Subeb, who had not behaved well while alive as human being, see Dieckmann 2012: 57).

Through their connection to *||gamab*, *!gaiogu* (shamans/healers) have a wide array of skills/tasks; they can, for instance, heal diseases, they treat bad luck in hunting, they help women during childbirth, and they bring rain (see also Wagner-Robertz 1977: 9-14).

During the healing/trance dance, the *!gaiob* (shaman/healer) can communicate and negotiate with the*||gamab*. Widlok has described the basic structure of these dance events in more detail (Widlok 1999: 240-41). In the present context, I only want to note that reportedly, during healing dances, the *!gaiob* takes or sucks the disease out of the patient, inspects it, shows it (a substance/object) to the other dance participants and puts it into his bag, inside which it will be destroyed (see also Widlok 1999: 241).

Relationships to spirit-beings might be the most difficult to map, at least from my current understanding, though some of the information has clear reference to space, because the information was extracted from narratives referring to particular events at specific places, e.g. being raped by Kaindaos, being stuck by lightning, or ancestors riding animals.

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47 Low reported that *|gais* "are believed to live in particular key areas of the body, including the chest, solar plexus, and the temples and centre of the forehead" (2007: 81), but from the information I got, *|gais* are in the bag and can also get children into the bag. Kadisen ||Khumub, the son of a healer, also showed me the bag of his father. Wagner-Robertz also mentions containers ["Behälter"] for these embodiments (1977: 7).

As with the embodiments of the *|gais* (spirits/winds), my western background did not immediately provide me with an adequate explanatory framework to understand what is going on. During my field research, I was already struggling to make sense of more tangible issues, like historical developments, bushfood, seasonal mobility, etc., and left aside those issues which westerners would easily classify as belonging to religion or the supernatural world. I mostly left them aside in academic publications too (and in the maps, see below), acknowledging that I lacked a proper understanding. However, equipped with ideas about relational ontologies, inspired by "new animism" etc., in the following, I do attempt to approach the material from a new angle; my view on the matter, however, is explorative and tentative.

Hai||om being-in-the-world: A first attempt to understand

Although there are still many loose ends in my effort to figure out what it means for the Hai||om to be-in-the-world,[48] I argue that the relational perspective, as employed above, is a promising step to be further explored. I suggest that certain keys for understanding Hai||om-being-in-the-world can be found in conceptualizations and experiences of relations and transformations.

It is obvious from the above descriptions that Hai||om in Etosha entertained a variety of relations with land, Hai||om, other humans and beings-beyond-the-human and that these relations were constitutive of their being.

Land and kinship are intertwined and inseparable. Relationships to space established identities, as did relationships to people. Relationships to space and to other Hai||om were important criteria for 'headmanship'. Relationships to animals revealed that animals were not merely seen as resources, as 'objects', but that they were or could be beings or persons (as indicated by certain rituals) or that they could carry or *be* specific spirit beings. Relationships to spirit beings could transform a 'common' Hai||om into a shaman/healer.[49]

48 I am aware of this generalization, but don't have a better solution for now.

49 Willerslev has noted: "[I]ndigenous peoples, like the Yukaghirs [a small community of indigenous hunters in the Siberian north], do not bequeath all things personhood all the time. If personhood is not an inherent property of people and things, but is rather constituted in and through the relationships into which they enter, then personhood is to be seen as a potentiality of their being-in-the-world, which might or might not be realized as a result of their position within a relational field of activity […]. An animal, therefore, can be just that, or it can be a subject-person with a mind of its own. The re-

Furthermore, looking through the lens of a relational ontology, as a framework where relationships constitute beings, the phenomenon of transformations turns from a troublesome (or 'irrational') brain-twister into a reasonable possibility: if relationships are the prime ontological principle (instead of the entities involved in relationships), then it makes perfect sense that beings could transform according to their mutual relationships.[50]

Evidently, Hai||om ontologies crisscross western conceptualizations. What we are trying to capture as winds/spirits can turn into 'material objects' (both called *|gais*) and vice versa; spirit beings can turn into animals and so can humans. The borders between the tangible or material world on the one hand and the intangible/invisible/non-material world is not as clear-cut as in western ontologies, and a "categorical ambivalence" (Sullivan and Low 2014: 226) is evident. Moreover, there is no strict boundary between the natural and the supernatural, the real and the mythical. Sullivan and Low noted for the KhoeSan that their understanding of "'ordinary' and 'supernatural'/mythical/entranced realms as in relationship with each other: as dynamically entwined and infused with potency" (ibid: 227). Further exploration is needed to establish whether the Hai||om have separate though connected concepts for the 'ordinary' and the 'supernatural' or if this division is only based on our conceptualization.[51]

But what constitutes a relationship? I argue in line with Bird-David's (1999) understanding of Nayaka, a group in South India, that *sharing* is a central concept/practice in this regard which, in my view, has not yet been given enough explicit attention in KhoeSan studies beyond the human-human sphere (for the latter see Widlok 2017). In the Hai||om case, sharing food (or tobacco) establishes or enforces relationships between humans (Widlok 1999: 140-43).

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lational context in which it is placed and experienced determines its being." (Willerslev 2013: 49) This seems to be valid for the Hai||om as well.

50 It would be worthwhile but beyond the scope of this paper to look at these issues using the Agential Realism framework suggested by Karen Barad (e.g. 2003).

51 Likewise, Guenther (2015) speaks of a "First Order of existence", with ontological fluidity/hybridity, and a "Second Order", the present one, which shows a lesser degree of ontological ambiguity, though both spheres can intersect. I have not found any indication of this separation with the Hai||om (though this doesn't mean that it is doesn't exist; it would also be worthy of further exploration).

But sharing is not limited to human relationships.[52] As we have seen for the Hai||om, winds/spirits establish relationships, e.g. between *||gamagu* and humans who become healers/shamans (Low 2012); one could maybe say that sharing winds, spirits and substances establishes relationships. With regard to what I call sharing substances, Low describes KhoeSan healing practices, where potency is transferred through medical cutting: "Potency may be given to someone by rubbing the potent source into a small cut or series of cuts in the body." (Low 2007: 83) In my understanding, the potent source and the human share specific substances.

As brief as it is, this section can only suggest that further exploration of the topic is necessary, with fieldwork from another perspective, based on what Desmond calls "relational ethnography" (2014).

Looking through the lens of a relational ontology would also suggest that the structure of my analysis, namely the separation of relationships according to categories (people-people, people-beings beyond-the-humans, etc.) might be inadequate because it starts from a perspective which takes the constituents as the first structural principle and has difficulties in accounting for categorical ambivalence and fluidity and for the potential of transformations (e.g. animals and spirit beings). More work needs to be done.

However, for the sake of the argument proposed in this paper, in the context of cartography, it might suffice.

Conclusion: Mapping Hai||om-being-in-relations?

In the preceding paragraphs, I explained how the Hai||om are entangled in multiple relationships with other beings (including land and non-human actors). I also briefly explored how their being-in-the-world, like that of other San and hunter-gatherer groups, shares characteristics generally ascribed to relational ontologies.

52 Willerslev has noted for the Yukaghirs, "[s]haring is not limited to the human community, however. It also provides the moral framework for engagement with the nonhuman world of animal spirits follows the same principle of sharing." (2013: 53).

The *Xoms |Omis* maps described at the beginning might have fulfilled the purpose of acknowledging the cultural heritage of the Hai||om in Etosha,[53] as other indigenous maps might have helped to secure land rights or land tenure systems. However, they are mostly silent on these manifold relations, which are an essential principle of their being-in-the-world. I used our own project to express my concerns, but they are relevant for many other indigenous mapping projects, in Africa and beyond.

I urge us, the researchers working with indigenous communities in mapping projects, to engage in continuous self-reflection, to develop our critical awareness of our own ontological bias as well as our own mapping traditions. Otherwise, we risk indigenous mapping (unintentionally) perpetuating colonial practices instead of assisting within the wider project of a decolonialization of maps by reinforcing the primacy of western ontology and thereby contributing to a further silencing of indigenous ontologies.

As outlined in the introduction to this volume, I would not throw out the baby with the bathwater and discard maps and atlases altogether, and I see lots of potential for cartography and cybercartography to communicate *alternative* ways of 'seeing' and experiencing the world and presenting a wider audience with examples of *being-with* (see Bird-David 2017).[54] Examples from other regions (see Introduction and Pearce, this volume) have demonstrated this potential.

How would I approach mapping Hai||om-being-in-Etosha (i.e. Hai||om being-in-relations), decades after the development of the *Xoms |Omis* maps? I am convinced that it would need another process and a new project, with a team of Hai||om, anthropologists, cartographers etc. to jointly develop maps and related outputs. I just want to briefly outline some preliminary ideas to be further explored. While struggling with ideas about alternative ways of mapping, I turn to Ingold's suggestion of a "meshwork" as a way of apprehending the world, which I have already mentioned in the introduction. The "meshwork" is related to his reading of "animism" not as a way of "believing

53 They were launched officially by the Minister of Environment and Tourism in Windhoek in 2007 and were used as accompanying material in a Hai||om land claim for Etosha.

54 In this regard, I belong to the revisionist and not to the rejectionist camp, as Caquard et al. call the different positions, the "revisionists" acknowledging the benefits of geospatial technologies but believing in the necessity of changing of thinking about cartography (Caquard et al. 2009: 84).

about the world," but as a "condition of being *in* it" (Ingold 2011: 67, original emphasis). He sees "animacy" as "the dynamic, transformative potential of the entire field of relations within which beings of all kinds, more or less person-like or thing-like, continually and reciprocally bring one another into existence" (Ingold 2011: 68). He stresses two points of an "animic perception of the world, […] the relational constitution of being; […and] the primacy of movement" (Ingold 2011: 69). The "meshwork" is the lifeworld constituted of organisms in a relational field, and organisms are trails of movement and growth and not entities set off against the environment. The environment, he envisages, is "a domain of entanglement":

> This tangle is the texture of the world. In the animic ontology, beings do not simply occupy the world, they *inhabit* it, and in so doing – in threading their own paths through the meshwork - they contribute to its ever-evolving weave. Thus we must cease regarding the world as inert substratum, over which living things propel themselves about like counters on a board or actors on a stage, where artefacts and the landscape take the place, respectively, of properties and scenery. By the same token, beings that inhabit the world (or that are truly indigenous in this sense) are not objects that move, undergoing displacement from point to point across the world's surface. Indeed the inhabited world, as such, has no surface […], whatever surfaces one encounters, whether on the ground, water, vegetation or building, are *in* the world, not *of* it […] and woven into their very texture are the lines of growth and movement, not as mobile, self-propelled entities, that beings are instantiated in the world. […] The animic world is in perpetual flux, as the beings that participate in it go their various ways. (Ingold 2011: 71-72, original emphasis)

He goes on to provide examples of human groups where people, animals and celestial bodies are known for the characteristic trails they leave behind.

Capturing many aspects that I have encountered with the Hai||om, this "meshwork" seems to be a promising starting point to be further explored with regard to mapping Hai||om-being-in-Etosha/being-in-relations. For example, the Hai||om and other San are known as excellent trackers (see e.g. Liebenberg 1990) and the Hai||om do read their world at least partly through tracks, as the initial interview excerpt indicates. How about an atlas of maps with the tracks of individual beings of all sorts combined with narratives accompanying the maps? Maps could have different time scales and different spatial scales.

One could start with maps of Etosha depicting different kinds of tracks, human tracks, animal tracks, but also tracks of vegetal elements (seeds, corms and leaves can also be understood as traces/tracks), place names being parts of the map without dots (but rather as areas with an agglomeration of tracks, the tracks indicating, for example, the differences between waterholes and settlements, bushfood areas and hunting areas).

One could zoom in on specific areas and follow the tracks of a human person, e.g. a woman during the course of a day, going with other women in search of bushfood, together with children. Another map could depict her husband's day as he leaves the settlement, maybe with other hunters, following the tracks of specific animals or looking out for specific animal paths or waterholes. Hunting maps could tell the story about the hunt, of hunters following an animal, of how animal tracks might change, of when it is wounded, showing the place of butchering, the return to the settlement and the procurement of the meat. Other maps could include a focus on the police stations and rest camps, where Hai||om men were working occasionally or permanently. I imagine that "track maps" could also tell the story of how a person gets the spirit of a spirit being and later becomes a healer. Maps could also shift perspective and follow a lion, a snake, an ostrich or a springbok during a day, searching for water or food, encountering a human, or passing a settlement of humans.

Together with textual description and narratives, tracks on the maps could indicate the presence of various animals, the mutual reactions of different beings to each other (e.g. a hunter and a snake). Maps could depict the visits to other settlements and relatives and the contacts with other beings, cars or horses. And tracks are also able to depict transformations.

Following the cartographic endeavors of Pearce and Louis (2008; see also Pearce, this volume), one could also explore a shift of perspective from the orthogonal, aerial perspective to an oblique angle in order to enable a view situated in place. With this, other tracks and signs (e.g. in shrubs or trees), differences in light, daytime, weather and seasons could become visible. One could design maps for different seasons with the tracks according to season.

These multiple maps would have a temporal component. They would not perpetuate the supremacy of the human, or imply the presupposition of who is a being/person. They would not convey the picture of an isolated Hai||om community, living in harmony with nature; instead they would convey the message of the Hai||om being entangled in multiple relationships with many other beings, human and non-human.

In a way, this brings us back to the very start of this book, to the "marauder's map" of Harry Potter (in the introduction of the introduction to this volume), on which "thin ink lines began to spread like a *spider's web*", joining each other, crisscrossing and fanning "into every corner of the parchment" (J.K. Rowling 2011 [1999]: 143, emphasis added). Is it a coincidence, that Ingold chose the SPIDER ("skilled practice involves developmentally embodied responsiveness") as the epitome of his own position (meshwork vs. network) (2011: 65)?

As a final note, I think the Hai||om with whom I worked and other elderly Hai||om would be excited about such a project, not least because it would come closer to their way of 'reading' and apprehending the world. Mapping in this way would be a way of performing being-in-the-world again.[55] It could also contribute to a documentation of knowledge that would not 'squeeze' their knowledge into our conceptual framework but would get closer to merging different ontologies.

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55 See Vermeylen, this volume, for examples of mapping as performance.

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