

**DEVELOPING DWELLING AS AN APPROACH TO LANDSCAPE AND PLACE:
THE CASES OF LONG-DISTANCE TRANSHUMANCE AND EASTER
PROCESSIONS**

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Abstract

Approaches to place and landscape have concerned geographers, at least throughout Modern history. In geographical place and landscape writings, notions of dwelling indicate the lived and practised character of the relationships between human beings and their environment. They have been taken up and developed since the 1970s, which has been a controversial history in geography. Dwelling bears some negative or limiting connotations: it would be backward-looking, exclusionary, static, nostalgic, and hindered by the idea of rootedness and the authentic / non-authentic life split.

This thesis critically considers in what ways seminal dwelling literatures (those written by Martin Heidegger and Tim Ingold) might be problematical and / or enriching for place and landscape writing. In this thesis I argue that the theoretical complexity of seminal dwelling literatures is often overlooked while I also argue that some understandings of the relational, the incomplete, the nonhuman, and the contingent are largely missing or problematically conceptualised in seminal dwelling literatures.

Taking into account this reflection on the theoretical background of dwelling, the thesis explores possibilities for integrating dwelling in a framework inspired by non-representational theory (NRT). Such links are made in case studies: communities practising (a) long-distance transhumant herding in rural Spain (in which herders and herd journey biennially for about four weeks in response to environmental changes caused by the seasonal cycle), and (b) Easter processions in central Seville (in which brotherhoods celebrate the Resurrection of Jesus Christ).

Place and landscape practices are accessed through ethnographical engagements, in which herding and processional landscapes become the lived contexts for reflection. I made a sustained attempt to accomplish a certain degree of observant participation, rather than a focus on the recording of individual research participants' voices. This means that this thesis holds little citations, but preserves the communal voice.

The usage of a "make-do methodology" was necessary because of the different practices undertaken in the two case studies. This methodology is a good option to mitigate missing

data when comparing one case with another. Making comparisons between different data sets was not ideal, but not too problematic and definitely enlightening.

Dwelling is redeveloped through a framework that prioritises posthumanism, relationality, openness, rhythmicity, and nearness (as people care for and attune to each other and others). In long-distance transhumance the rural, the ecological and the practical are privileged, whereas in Easter processions the urban, the spiritual, and the sheer beauty of life are emphasised. As such, the case studies offer distinct perspectives on the possibilities for developments of dwelling in place and landscape writing, while the case studies share denominators such as journeying, seasonality, and embodiment. The case studies enabled me to approach some of the key issues that characterise different forms of human beings dwelling in transhumant and processional communities, opening up a topological complexity and depth.

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Maps and pictures are included in the bounded version of the thesis. All figures can be accessed through the DVD that is attached to the thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

It is the recognition in dwelling of the rich, intimate, creative ongoing togetherness of beings and things, the recognition of agency other than human, the recognition of time-deepened processes, embodied experience, the experience of rootedness, the richness of things together over time, and the recognition of specificity, which makes it such a potent approach in posthumanist geography (Jones 2009, p. 272).

Dwelling has experienced a controversial history in geography, and bears some negative connotations. This thesis critically considers in what ways seminal dwelling literatures (those written by Martin Heidegger and Tim Ingold) might be problematical and / or enriching for place and landscape writing. I argue that the theoretical complexity of seminal dwelling literatures is often overlooked, and develop an understanding of dwelling by approaching processional and transhumant places and landscapes in ethnographical case studies (in which I pay special attention to ideas of the more-than-human, relationality, openness, rhythms, and nearness).

In this introductory chapter I first set this thesis into a context of place and landscape thinking and touch upon the background of dwelling (1.1). I then put forward the aim of this thesis, and make its structure explicit (1.2), and finalise this introduction by focusing upon the notions of topography and topology, as they appear throughout this study and reflect some of the main tensions that place and landscape writings evoke in human geography and associated disciplines (1.3).

1.1 Background and context

While on the move or resting, in cities or in the countryside, as human beings we are always in place (Casey 1997, 2009). This does not mean that places and landscapes are only human or that they are simply ours to manipulate. It rather means that we cannot be “out of place”. This is an important premise to think about the practised essence of human becoming, and about places and landscapes as lifeworlds. The relationships between human beings and their lifeworlds are instances of what key figures in the humanities such as Heidegger and

Ingold have termed *dwelling*¹: this concept has a long but uneven tradition of attention in human geography, which this dissertation seeks to take forward.

In this thesis I develop ideas of dwelling, as they name rich relationships between human beings and lifeworlds, to explore possibilities for enriching place and landscape understandings within human geography in particular. Dwelling is a fundamental concept of Heidegger's topological philosophy of being (Fell 1979; Malpas 2000, 2008; Young 2000; Elden 2001), elaborated upon initially within the confines of "being-in-the-world" (Heidegger 1962, published originally in 1927) and more extensively in later writings, in which dwelling is interpreted to be poetic and manifold (see for example Heidegger 1971a). An important part of early Heidegger's philosophy is built on the notion of "being-in-the-world" (3.1), which holds a clear focus on everyday involvement (Dreyfus 1991). Ingold picked up this side of Heidegger's dwelling story (Ingold 2000, pp. 168-169). He combined it with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception and embodiment, as well as with development biology and Gibson's (1986) approach to perception, in which agents pick up information that specify "the 'affordances' of objects and events in the environment" (Ingold 2000, p. 166). In doing so, Ingold defined "a new ecology" (Ingold 2000, p. 173). It is within such a framework that perception, culture-nature relations, and landscape are re-configured into what he called a *dwelling perspective*: "the immersion of the organism-person in an environment or lifeworld as an inescapable condition of existence" (Ingold 2000, p. 153). He illustrated the use of the dwelling perspective for understandings of life in landscape through a discussion of the rural scene of Van Brueghel's painting "The Harvesters" (Ingold 1993, 2000). Ingold's approach may be understood to emphasise the practical, embodied, temporal, and involved nature of human being in the world, thereby erasing the culture / nature dualism: "in dwelling in the world, we do not act *upon* it, or do things *to* it; rather we move along *with* it" (Ingold 2000, p. 200; original italics).

In seeking to grasp the experiential qualities of place, humanistic geographers drew upon Heidegger's ideas on dwelling in the 1970s, and a few decades later, they were developed in more depth in human geography and related disciplines. Recently, conceptualisations of

¹ Dwelling is a translation of the German verb *Wohnen*, the original term used by Heidegger. He interpreted the notion in such a way that it overcomes the idea of dwelling in the narrow sense of living in houses, apartments etc.

dwelling have been developed as ontologies that help to understand how human and nonhuman beings (especially animals) are (at home) in places and landscapes, and as a possible approach to engagement with – and practices of – space, place and landscape (Harrison 2007a; Jones 2009; Thrift 1999; Wylie 2007). The renewed interest in notions of dwelling in human geography emerged on the one hand as a result of new conceptualisations of dwelling – such as Ingold’s (Jones 2009), and on the other hand out of a dissatisfaction of some geographers with strictly textual or semiotic interpretations of landscape (2.1.3).² Recent discussions of dwelling have been rather scattered: attempts at developing the concept were undertaken in journal articles or books, which were written rather independently of each other. Harrison selected for one of his recent essays on dwelling a telling subtitle in this sense: “*opening remarks on the concept of dwelling*” (Harrison 2007a; my italics), hinting thereby at the relative absence of dwelling discussions in human geography. As a result, in human geography there are substantially different views on the concept of dwelling (Chapter 2). However, it may be argued that notions of dwelling are generally understood to name human beings’ manifold entanglements with(in) the worldly phenomena of places or landscapes, constituting attempts to re-attach with human beings’ direct, mobile, felt engagement with the world. As such, dwelling is relevant to the turns to practice, affect, embodiment, materiality, performativity, and relationality in human geography and related disciplines (Thrift 1999, Jones 2009). In 1.2 I expose how such developments shape this thesis. Below, I first sketch dwelling’s intellectual pedigree, and set out some ways in which I write about place and landscape in this thesis.

I understand one of dwelling’s main conceptual strengths to be its entanglement in an anti-Cartesian ontology, thereby overcoming Modern dualisms, which are influenced by what Dorothea Frede called “substance ontology” (Guignon 2006, p. 3). Such thinking, underway since Plato and culminating in Descartes, sees the world in terms of divisions, dualisms and oppositions, and is based on the idea that “what is ultimately real is that which underlies properties – what ‘stands under’ (*sub-stantia*) and remains continuously present throughout all change” (Guignon 2006, p. 3). In such a worldview human beings are (lively) subjects who relate to other (lively) subjects and (dead) objects, perceiving an external world by way

² However, Hinchliffe (2003, p. 215) recognised that a landscape of inhabitation (or dwelling) can be reinvigorated by landscaping as “textual practice”, and that “textualities can actually be pursued for the work they do in producing an inhabitable and affective world”.

of conscious intentional content (Dreyfus 1991, p. 5; Thrift 2008, pp. 5-7). In contrast to this, and although the concept does much more, dwelling foregrounds the “background of everyday practices into which we are socialized but that we do not represent in our minds. [...] we simply *are*” (Dreyfus 1991, p. 3; original italics; see also Anderson and Harrison 2010b, pp. 6-11). It is through a practice-based approach that Rose, key figure in recent landscape writing, explained his interest in landscape: “my interest in how the landscape comes to appear, is an interest in how the landscape ‘comes to matter’ – how it comes to be relevant through practice” (Rose 2002, p. 457). I share this interest and in this thesis aim to develop a way of thinking about landscapes, by way of a reconsideration of dwelling practices.

But it is difficult to escape from substance ontology, as we are heavily anchored in the dualistic Modern world that human being has built itself. Not only the subject / object, but amongst others also the nature / society and the nature / culture dualisms have persevered and are still predominant in current Western academic circles, even though their fundamentally problematic character has been brought to light (Hinchliffe 2003; Latour 1987, 1993, 1999a). Substance ontology led to dialectical understandings of the world through a specific philosophical history. Meanwhile, a specific linguistic history has also shaped such dualisms. Europe’s leading academic languages, such as German, Spanish and English, have a Latin background, and thus partially depend on translations of originally Greek concepts into a different way of thinking (Latin) (Heidegger 1971a, p. 23). As Elden pointed out, *φύσις* [*physis*], to name a relevant example, which in Greek meant something like “growth”, has been translated into Latin as “*natura*” (and subsequently into English as “nature”), and thereby underwent a fundamental change in its meaning (Elden 2001, p. 37), particularly so as it became understood in opposition to “culture”. Dwelling might be understood to avoid such dualisms by taking a step back towards the original meaning of being (Chapter 3).

In non-representational theory (which might be considered one of the more critical currents of recent human geography), accounts that are specifically aimed at unsettling Modern dualisms continue to be built up out of categorical concepts such as “objects”, “culture”, “the social”, and “(inter)subjectivities”. Such writings re-frame concepts and extend these categories into each other, often maintaining the Modern vocabulary intentionally (Lorimer 2006; Thrift 2008, p. 21; Anderson and Harrison 2010b, pp. 11-19; Wylie 2010a). Yet, I doubt that this constitutes the most fruitful pathway for rethinking places and landscapes.

If “the social” is extended to all kinds of nonhuman beings, coming to refer to a circulation or “a particular movement of re-association and reassembling” (Latour 2005, p. 7; cited in Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 17), the social may indeed become inclusive of relevant and important movements and beings. But, in reference to animals, Latour recognised that “‘things’ can object to their social enrolment” (Whatmore 2002, p. 5). Indeed, it would be wrong to overestimate the human capacity of discovering meanings in animals:

They are first and foremost themselves, despite the many meanings we discover in them. We may move them around and impose our designs upon them. We may do our best to make them bend to our wills. But in the end they remain inscrutable, artifacts of a world we did not make whose meaning for themselves we can never finally know (Cronon 1996b, p. 55).

This problem of integrating animals into the social, also applies to other nonhuman beings. Enrolling nonhuman beings in “the social” seems like taking a detour on a pathway that has already proved to be problematic, as some things would remain outside of the social sphere, or, if everything would be included, it would lose its (categorical) value. While developing a notion of dwelling that opens up new ways for thinking about place and landscape, and in an attempt to move beyond Modern thinking differently, I prefer to avoid the use of these problematic Modern dualisms and categories (rather than re-defining them). The main danger in doing so looms in replacing old categories with others, thereby maintaining old fault lines (Hinchliffe 2003, p. 220). Going beyond Modern thinking implies taking steps back to arrive at a place from where I try to re-think place and landscape creatively. From there, I enable myself to reach the phenomena of place and landscape as they are: relevant entities that are not only perceived but that come into existence through (often communal) dwelling practices.

In doing so, I follow Casey in considering that place, rather than the abstract notions of space and time, should be the first consideration of all (Casey 1997). Malpas (2008) characterised Heidegger’s philosophy as a “topology of being”. Human being in and practices of places and landscapes are happenings that may be measured through a poetic notion of nearness. Places are intrinsically temporal and may be understood as gathering events (Malpas 2008). Heidegger envisaged *region* to be both the source as well as the “*über-place*” of concrete places (Mugerauer 2008, see also 3.2). In this thesis, I consider the concept

of landscape to be a kind of region, where I understand the region as a collection of places (which should to be understood independently), as well as the source of what is there.³ As such, landscape is a fundamentally placial entity (Meinig 1979, p. 45). A place might coincide with a landscape, but generally speaking, landscape is a region (Johnson 1968 [1755]: landscape; cited in Olwig 2008, p. 81); a gathering of places which is in itself also a regional place. In such cases, landscape holds several places which are interconnected or gathered through a specific, overarching practice. As we dwell in landscape, and perceive through an attunement with the landscape, the term landscape might come to mean “the materialities and sensibilities *with which we see*” (Wylie 2005, 2006, 2007, p. 152; see also Lingis 1998; original italics).

Indeed, by being in a landscape, human beings not only practise and relate with it emotionally, but also perceive it. Importantly, landscape is not to be perceived solely with the eyes. Such would mean that blind human beings (or those who close their eyes) could (or would) not be in landscape. Because of its practised character, landscape is complex and cannot be purely visual. Not even through the use of all the senses can one fully perceive, apprehend, or capture a landscape. There are simply too many secrets, too many stories, too many details and too many relations which are all constitutive of a landscape. An inhabitant, a geographer, an artist, or any human being can have only partial knowledge of a specific landscape (Wylie 2012). Thus, human beings can accumulate knowledges of a landscape, but because of the latter’s “indefiniteness” (Law 2004) and dwelt essence (which implies depth, multiplicity and complexity), a topography or a topology can never be complete, and because of landscape’s ongoing character, can never be final. Dwelling in place and landscape implies a recognition of the richness of being; “the source of the landscape’s presence is *excess*: the overabundance of life in general” (Rose 2002, p. 460; original italics; see also Heidegger 2003b, p. 38). Human beings’ dwelling in places and landscapes is a happening in the nearness of being.

³ Therefore, I understand relationality to refer not only to the complexity of embodied being-in-place, but also to the structure of a region (and landscape) as it is constituted out of various places.

1.2 Aim and structure

The richness of place has eluded much of academic geography. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the ongoing conceptualisations of place and landscape, and more specifically to the debate on dwelling and its ways of engaging with human beings' practices of placial life. In doing so, I advance a practice-based, more-than-human, and relational reading of human life in places and landscapes. At the same time, I must admit that my interest is not focused on the structures of power or the forces of domination and manipulation that characterise places and landscapes (Mitchell 1998, Rose 2002). I do not neglect the idea that affects and feelings, practices and performances, or being as such might be manipulated by certain forces, suffer from gender – and other inequalities, or become marginalised under the influence of capitalist structures. To an extent places and landscapes are products of power relations. Yet, I believe that the practised and performed, and the emotional and affective character of poetic dwelling in places and landscapes cannot be adequately explained through their integration in productive structures or power relations. This thesis is an attempt to approach lively geographies in their creative and playful depth. Poetic dwelling is about placial life in its richness (Jones 2009). As a concept it thereby overcomes other, more instrumental ontologies (3.1).⁴

The aim of this thesis, as set out above, shapes its structure in the following way. After the Introduction, in Chapter 2 I enquire into developments of the concepts of place and landscape, which considers critiques and developments of dwelling in human geography (2.1). It appears that notions of dwelling are faced with sustained critiques in current geography, which challenge their value in several respects. In sub-section 2.2 I therefore formulate a set of *research questions*, to examine in how far and in what ways these critiques are justified and valid. Here I already put forward the research questions:

- I. To what extent is the notion of dwelling nostalgic and backward-looking?
- II. Who dwells, and in how far is “the Other” excluded from dwelling?
- III. How does the authentic/inauthentic life split appear in the concept of dwelling?

⁴ As we always dwell topologically, notions of dwelling hold a recognition of the importance of places and landscapes in our daily lives, and therefore, in the humanities.

- IV. Are dwelling perspectives inevitably bound to spaces of nature and/or rurality, and if not, how do they apply in urban spaces?
- V. Is dwelling a question of being or is it embedded in ontologies of becoming?
- VI. Is dwelling synonymous to rootedness (in place), and are place and landscape necessarily closed entities?
- VII. What are the topological contents of dwelling?

I examine these questions by way of theoretical research on seminal dwelling literatures (chapter 3). I start chapter 3 by introducing the way in which dwelling appears in the work of Heidegger and Ingold (3.1). In the theoretical discussion of the research questions (3.2) the intellectual pedigree of the notion of dwelling comes to the fore. In a reflection on the discussion of the research questions (3.3), I indicate which of the research questions are closed off / are taken forward in the fieldwork in a general sense. I also indicate which others are directly linked to specific research themes for further consideration in the fieldwork.

Next to the need for an enquiry into the original contents of dwelling, another issue arises out of the review of the geographical debates on place, landscape, and dwelling (2.1): non-representational theory (NRT) is emerging as a creative area of research on place and landscape. I understand NRT to constitute an appropriate academic current for a re-formulation of dwelling for two reasons. Firstly, NRT flows from (amongst many others) Heidegger's philosophies, who already eschewed "the representational" in 1927 (Heidegger 1962), and elaborated his "non-representational" view through works such as "The Age of the World Picture" (Heidegger 1977b). His (and Ingold's) works are recognised to be seminal in the coming-into-being of NRT (Thrift 1999, p. 303; Cadman 2009, p. 457; Anderson and Harrison 2010b, pp. 6-9), which implies that dwelling links intrinsically with NRT. Secondly, and even more importantly, some aspects of life seem to be problematically conceptualised or underdeveloped in seminal dwelling literatures, hence the need or possibility for linking dwelling with other theories. NRT takes into account the relational, vivid, affectual, contingent, and chaotic character of (often urban) life (Thrift 1999), which dwelling is said to be missing (Wylie 2007). Out of the review of theoretical developments on place, landscape, and dwelling (2.1), four specific areas of interest or *research themes* come to the fore and are put forward in section 2.3.

The aim of those research themes is to investigate in how far and in what ways dwelling can be reformulated in the context of NRT. I do so by using the research themes as a structure for two ethnographical case studies (Chapters 5 and 6), through which I explore the possibilities and limits of approaching places and landscapes by way of a redefined notion of dwelling. I selected and participated in two case studies in which human beings undertake rich landscape practices as they move through environments and interrelate intimately with each other, but also with things and animals. In this thesis I write about those configurations of humans and nonhumans as *communities*, as this concept conveys a sense of shared experiences and practices, and feelings of belonging (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1116), while I remain cautious of a cosy or romantic conception of such dwelling entities (Clope and Jones 2001). In Chapter 5 I focus on long-distance transhumance in rural Spain: a herding community that journeys biennially for about four weeks in response to environmental changes caused by the seasonal cycle. In Chapter 6 I look at Easter processions in central Seville: brotherhoods (a type of community) that celebrate the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, involving a different type of effort, rhythm and beauty. I chose those two case studies because they share the relevance of journeying, seasonality, embodiment, and richness in practice, and because they provide for different appearances of the rural-urban spectrum, ecology, and spirituality. The case studies are preceded by chapter 4, in which I discuss the research strategy (research ontology, epistemology and methodology), and I specify the research strategy I applied to the fieldwork. In chapter 4 I also consider my participation in the journeys mentioned above. I use the fieldwork to propose an understanding of dwelling that re-values to a certain extent Heidegger's and Ingold's seminal contributions, and to explore the possibilities and limits of relating dwelling with notions of contingency, relationality, openness, and mobility. In the conclusion (Chapter 7) I reflect upon the intertwining of dwelling with the research themes (7.1), and upon the ways in which I have structured and elaborated the thesis as a research training exercise, while I also consider potential impacts of the thesis and possibilities for further research (7.2). Below, I first set out an important discussion in relation to dwelling, as topographies and topologies often articulate contrasting premises and aims when investigating life in places and landscapes.

1.3 Topography and topology

Although recent work on landscape has done much to connect the topographical and the topological, there is still somewhat of a breach between authors writing topographies (focused on the richness and depth of places and landscapes), and others opting for topologies (focused on the complexity and relationality of places and landscapes) to achieve their research aims (Rose and Wylie 2006). This division is relevant to this thesis, as it reflects certain positions, problems, and worries of two groups of geographers in terms of place and landscape writing.

Landscape as a topographical notion can be understood as being built up of “conceptions of space, measure, distance, surface, and perspective”; notions that are eschewed in the majority of NRT-inspired texts (Rose and Wylie 2006, p. 476). However, it also seems to enable to approach the richness and depth of landscapes (Rose and Wylie 2006).

Topographically, one may fruitfully confront *questions* about the inter-relationships between environments, people and animals, and the events or happenings that characterise landscapes. Lorimer (2006, p. 497) indicated in his reindeer herd narrative, that a topographical approach allowed him to convey the dynamic role of landscape in responding to such questions:

But you have not studied with your own eyes the long upward sweep of the land that lifts sheer at the northern corries and then once on high stretches out across the granite expanse of the mountain plateau, nor the stands of pines that survive on the lower slopes, nor the sharply incised ravine that must be crossed to reach the grazing grounds. And, since I cannot take for granted that you know this topography⁵ and its peculiar brand of local information, these responses require careful animation (Lorimer 2006, pp. 497-498).

In line with vitalist and relational ontologies, much NRT-inspired work approaches geography topologically, understanding spaces through connectivity rather than building on a geometrical view (Law 1999; Wylie 2007, pp. 202-206). Pile, Harrison *et al.* (2004) redefined landscape topologically as they produced a collection of topological essays on a varied array of objects and topics, which was introduced as follows: “the world is now patterned by both human and nonhuman processes. It is to these entanglements – that

⁵ With *topography* the author referred in this case to the placial landscape itself.

comprise what we know as landscape – that this book is oriented” (Pile, Harrison *et al.* 2004, pp. 9–10). Whatmore (2002) associated her work on hybrids with topological thinking:

In place of the geometric habits that reiterate the world as a single grid-like surface[...] hybrid mappings are necessarily topological, emphasising the multiplicity of space - times generated in/by the movements and rhythms of heterogeneous association (Whatmore 2002, p. 6).

In their reconceptualisation of landscape, Rose and Wylie (2006) reasoned that the topological character of texts such as those mentioned above – which might be at odds with notions of dwelling – might be problematic too, because:

in prioritising vectors, trajectories, and connections, topological and vitalist geographies present a curiously flat and depthless picture – and it is here that notions of landscape, perception, and subjectivity potentially reemerge [...]

[W]e still have the feeling that, here, a certain topographical richness is being sacrificed for the sake of topological complexity. The ground might be patterned, but it is flat. It ironically resembles a cross-hatched isotropic plain – a Christaller space. Here every point, every object, is accorded an equal weight and value (for example, bees, pubs, pigs, humans, moon, ..., or jungles, slums, buildings, archives, streets). All equally cede to the primacy of the relational and the connective. And the result, it can be argued, is a sort of ontological overflattening. No middle terms or synthetics (one of landscape’s previous functions) are permitted to come between topological principle and the array of individual items thereby related to one another. *To put this another way, we are left with a topology without topography – a surface without relief, contour, or morphology. A spanning scene: no shadows cast, no bottomless wells, no mysterious caverns. A world where there is much amusement and surprise but little mystery or depth* (Rose and Wylie 2006, pp. 476-477; my italics).

Rose and Wylie (2006) aimed to move beyond such topologies by writing imaginatively about the relationship between self and landscape. In doing so, they avoided the “dead-end-discussion” in which either the subjective or the structural is emphasised. Rose (2006) thought of the relationships between landscape and self as “dreams of presence”: “an unfolding plane of sensory, affective or perceptual markers registering and, thus, effecting the emergence [...] of subjectivity” (Rose 2006, p. 547). The vitalist and relational character of landscapes should be acknowledged without sacrificing their “depth and folds”, their morphologies and mysteries (Wylie 2006a). More recently, Wylie (2009, 2012) developed ideas of landscapes as tensions between presence and absence. Landscapes exist not only “as

far as culture gives [them] an existence, symbolising and expressing culture's hidden essence" (Rose 2006, pp. 541–542); they are active entities themselves, and are "capable of affecting, provoking, stimulating and *doing*" (Waterton 2013, p. 69; original italics).

In this thesis I integrate both topological and topographical aspects, building on the strengths of both approaches. In this chapter I have introduced the background and context of debates on dwelling in places and landscapes. I have also set out the aim and structure of this thesis. Finally, I have considered topographical and a topological approaches to place and landscape studies. Both have important advantages and are relevant in the context of this thesis. Next, I review theory on place, landscape, and dwelling (2.1). Following that review I put forward research questions (2.2) and research themes (2.3).

Chapter 2: Place, landscape, and dwelling

This chapter starts with a selective review of developments of notions of place, landscape and dwelling in the humanities, and especially in human geography (2.1). This discussion seeks to lay bare the aspects of place, landscape and dwelling that are crucial in the context of this thesis, such as human being in places and landscapes, and the role of distance, absence and observation as opposed to nearness, presence and participation. Throughout this section it also becomes clear that the concepts of dwelling and (dwelling) place are critiqued, especially in some (post)structuralist writings. As a result, I formulate a set of research questions about the original contents of dwelling (2.2), to evaluate in how far and in what ways such critiques are justified. The opening review of this chapter (2.1) also leads to a set of research themes which I expose in section 2.3. The research themes frame the case study research (chapters 5 and 6), through which I investigate whether and how dwelling might be linked to themes that are being developed in NRT-inspired writings.

2.1 Conceptualisations of place and landscape: from regional geography to non-representational theory

My aim in this section is to enquire into ways in which place, landscape, and dwelling have been taken up in geography, from the beginning of the 20th century onwards. I have subdivided this section, to focus on relevant currents of place and landscape conceptualisations. I first focus upon ways in which they emerged in regional geography, and on how placial thinking became less common in a period dominated by positivism (2.1.1). I then look at the phenomenological approaches to landscape and place, as humanistic geographers made a sustained attempt at developing topographical thinking (2.1.2). Thirdly, I consider landscape as a “way of seeing”: a postmodernist account in which landscape is a mental construction (2.1.3). In non-representational theory (NRT) the emphasis is being redirected towards issues such as practice and performativity, process, affect and emotion, and mobility in an attempt to overcome the shortcomings in both phenomenological and structuralist currents. In subsection 2.1.4 I elaborate upon the appearance (and absence) of landscape, place and dwelling conceptualisations in NRT.

2.1.1 Founding conceptualisations of landscape and place

Alongside environmental determinism (where environments are understood to shape or determine human conduct), at the end of the 19th century regional geography became a dominant current in the field of human geography (Cresswell 2004). Regional geography involved the description of regional differences on the earth's surface (Cresswell 2004, p. 17), understanding territorial regions as particular and distinct entities. Following Vidal de la Blache, geographers started to draw boundaries around regions after which they studied the various layers of what they thought of as the region's geography; "starting with bedrock [...] and ending with 'culture' " (Cresswell 2004, p. 16).

Another regional geographer, Carl O. Sauer, contributed significantly to landscape conceptualisations in the 1920s and 1930s (Hinchliffe 2003; Cresswell 2003; Wylie 2007). He understood landscape to be the principal phenomenological unit of geographical enquiry (Sauer 1963, originally published in 1925). Because his work can be seen as a response to environmental determinism (Olwig 1996, p. 644), landscape became entangled in a debate that centred on the nature / culture dichotomy. Although Sauer defined landscape as the outcome of the interaction between nature and culture, in a way he turned around this idea of "nature determining human behaviour", by emphasising the human imprint on an external nature; the latter being something solid that can be perceived by an observer (Sauer 1963). He thereby assumed that culture and nature could be defined separately in the relative absence of the other (Hinchliffe 2003, pp. 208-211):

The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result (Sauer 1963, p. 343; cited in Wylie 2007, p. 20).

Problematically, *culture* remained opaque (Cresswell 2003, p. 270); a super-individual entity. Human beings would be nothing more than culture-bearers, and culture was investigated only through its material outcomes: settlement patterns and artefacts rather than (individual) beliefs, rituals and ideologies. Such a conception of culture masked heterogeneity, and issues of power and inequality (Wylie 2007, pp. 27-28). Sauer's approach might be called "landscape tectonics", or the material building of landscape (form) (Hinchliffe 2003, pp. 208-211), as he emphasised the morphological in his definition of

landscape (Sauer 1963, p. 321; my italics): “Landscape is the English equivalent of the term German geographers are using largely [*Landschaft*], and strictly has the same meaning: a land *shape*”. Landscape would therefore be “an area made up of a distinct association of *forms*, both physical and cultural”.

In the 1950s, social sciences became dominated by positivism, in which the quest for universal laws was valued over specificity (Cresswell 2004, p. 18). In geography analytical models were developed to explain human behaviour, which was understood to be first and foremost rational, in what was called “spatial analysis” (Holloway and Hubbard 2001). Space became the principal “object of study”, rather than region, landscape or place. Casey (1997; see also Cresswell 2004) explained this prevalence of abstract space by carefully tracing the histories of concepts of place in academia, and found that notions of place had been overwhelmed by a focus on time and space in scientific and philosophical enquiry. In these enquiries, space was conceptualised predominantly as an objective, featureless, isotropic unit (Malpas 2008), which human behaviour then “filled in”. If space was understood as a homogeneous, abstract dimension, places, mere derivatives of space (Casey 1997) were conceptualised as locations, geometric nodes or simply: points (Cresswell 2004, p. 19; Holloway and Hubbard 2001). Because landscape was traditionally understood to follow from the study of regional difference, landscape too became an unattractive object of analysis.

During these times, in which historians and geographers searched for universal theories around structural and systematic drives of social change, William G. Hoskins did study landscapes in (or for) their uniqueness. As Sauer, Hoskins studied landscapes empirically as a material, external entity (Wylie 2007, p. 54) and had an outspoken preference for rural landscapes, viewing all modern developments as destructive (Hoskins 1985, originally published in 1954), and he also approached landscapes through the factual materials “out there” which could and should be observed through fieldwork. Hoskins however, used the landscape instrumentally, almost as a landscape archaeologist, to study the layered history of localities (Wylie 2007, pp. 30-40). To Hoskins, landscapes were treasures that should be protected from further development as he understood that it would be often already “completed” in former epochs (Wylie 2007, p. 32).

2.1.2 Phenomenological approaches to place and landscape

In the 1960s and 1970s, phenomenological accounts, especially of place (and less so of landscape) emerged in humanistic geography (a school that places the human at the centre of geography (Sharp 2009b)). The phenomenological accounts can be understood in two ways. On the one hand they can be seen as developments of the regional geographies undertaken by Sauer, de la Blache, and Hoskins. On the other hand, they may be understood as a reaction (or in opposition) to the bleak accounts of lifeless spaces as they appeared in the “spatial science” that predominated in geography at the time (Rose 1993, p. 41, p. 43).

Before the appearance of humanistic geography, the meaning place seems to have been taken for granted: “there is very little considered understanding of what the word ‘place’ means. This is [...] true in theory and philosophy [...]. Place is a word that seems to speak for itself” (Cresswell 2004, p. 1). Places in their richness (the ways in which they are practised, and places’ implications for peoples’ daily lives) started to gain weight on the research agenda only when the heterogeneity of place and human beings’ experiences in them was interpreted to be fading away. Humanistic geographers argued that the rich and intimate relationship with different places disappeared not in a few isolated cases, but throughout a globalising world of increasing (sub)urbanisation, and the construction of “standard” environments (Relph 2009, new preface).

As humanistic geographers considered place to be a universal condition of human being, place became a central element to them. To investigate the “significance of place”, they wanted to capture *differing* experiences in *different* types of places (everyday places such as home, city, and a range of landscapes). They thereby conceptualised place as a meaningful and valuable phenomenon, and considered the concept in a number of ways, all of which emphasise the holistic connection between people and place.

Intimacies of place

Several authors characterised the various modes of peoples’ relationship with place by intensities of symbolic insideness / outsideness (Relph 2009, Cresswell 1996). Outsideness follows from uninvolvement, and names the human experience of some places as alien – leading to a lack of identification with it (Relph 2009, pp. 49-52; see also Seamon 2008).

“Here, people feel some sort of lived division or separation between themselves and world – for example, the feeling of homesickness in a new place” (Seamon and Sowers 2008, p. 45). Insideness names “the degree to which a person or group belongs to and identifies with a place” (Seamon 2008, p. 3). The deepest of the modes of insideness is called *existential insideness*, which “characterises belonging to a place and the deep and complete identity with a place that is *the very foundation of the place concept*” (Relph 2009, p. 55; my italics).

Problematically, this particular way of thinking about place-experiences (characteristic of insideness / outsideness), depends on a split between people being either authentically in -, or out of place, or even on an exclusionary dualism of people either belonging -, or not belonging to a particular place. Those who would experience place inauthentically, would lack a “sense of place” (Tuan 1977; Relph 2009, p. 64, p. 67). Pocock proposed that this sense of place might be gathered or acquired by people through prolonged “union or communion” with place (Pocock 1996, p. 379).

The experience of place is closely related to intimacies of feeling and care, which are built up over time. One thing is to gather information about a place, “[b]ut the ‘feel’ of a place takes longer acquire. It is made up of experiences, mostly fleeting and undramatic, repeated day after day and over the span of years” (Tuan 1977, p. 183). Places are known and cared for from within, as they can become “fields of care”, in which “topophilia” (Tuan, 1977) emerges through the phenomenological encounter between the human being and a field of care: individuals have an emotional need to identify with personal places (homes) through intimate experience. Nature may form an important part of such placial experience, as experience may be impregnated with “geopiety”; a concept encompassing human beings’ reverence and care for the Earth; a spiritual or romantic approach to human beings’ emplacement in the natural world (Duncan 2009, p. 300; Tuan 1976; Cresswell 2004, pp. 21-22).

Being-in-the-world, dwelling and practice

Phenomenology in humanistic geography was initially based on the concept of intentionality: the relationship between human being and things is one where the subject is connected to objects through consciousness (following Brentano and Husserl). For phenomenological geographers it followed that this consciousness is always about

something *in its place*, and therefore, place conditions our experience (Cresswell 2004, pp. 22-23). Shortly after, humanistic geographers also started to engage with Heidegger's and Merleau-Ponty's philosophies, which go against this very idea of intentionality – a concept that continued to be embedded in the subject-object dyad.⁶ Place started to be seen in terms of involved being-in-the-world: people or “body-subjects” *live* places habitually by way of (mostly unconscious) everyday movements (Seamon 1980). The body has an

inherent capacity [...] to direct behaviour of the person intelligently, and thus function as a special kind of subject which expresses itself in a preconscious way usually described by such words as automatic, 'habitual,' 'involuntary,' and 'mechanical' (Seamon 1980, p. 155).

Rather than prioritising the historical and social context through which human beings relate to places and landscapes, phenomenology favours the primitive contact between human beings and world, while subject-object and perceiver-perceived dualisms are regarded as secondary constructs (Wylie 2007, pp. 182-183). In an attempt to name the intimacies between people and place, places became *lifeworlds* (Buttimer 1976; Seamon 1979; Sharp 2009b). Simultaneously, concepts such as attachment, care, affection, and rootedness were used to describe people's relationship to place, whereby the idea of *home* became one of place's key aspects (Relph 2009; Tuan 1974, 1977; Seamon 1979, 1980; Jackson, 1984; Seamon and Mugerauer 1985).⁷

It is in such a context, that Heideggerian dwelling was explicitly introduced in geography (Relph 2009; Tuan 1974, 1977; Seamon 1979, 1980; Jackson, 1984; Seamon and Mugerauer 1985). Relph (2009, pp. 37-39) argued that people dwell by way of “rootedness in place”: a close attachment to certain kinds of places that grows through familiarity, knowledge, deep care, and concern for that place, which would be accomplished through Heideggerian “sparing” (Relph 2009, p. 19, pp. 38-39, see also section 3.1). Here, *worldly* dwelling became *homely* dwelling, as it was linked with *rest* (home; centre) and opposed to *movement* and

⁶ Harrison (2008, p. 430) argued that both failed to do so, at least in their early work, because of their “continued valuation of understanding and knowing” over the sensational.

⁷ Tuan acknowledged that we cannot always speak of positive relationships between people and place (1974), as if it would always be built on care, attachment, love – or on their absence. Tuan (1979) argued that it can be characterised by aspects of fear and anxiety, an issue that was taken up by various feminist writers, especially in terms of domestic violence (Rose 1993).

encounter (horizon; unfamiliarity; journey) (Seamon 1980; Holloway and Hubbard 2001, pp. 78-81).⁸ In such a conception of dwelling, modernity (globalisation, new forms of technology and increased mobility) implied a deconstruction of what Heidegger called “dwelling in the fourfold” (Chapter 3), of dwelling place (Mugerauer 1994, p. 74), and an erasure of sense of place.

Attention to the notions *everyday* and *practice* increased after de Certeau’s famous work titled “The Practice of Everyday Life” (1984). Yet, the phenomenological project had already been advanced through those two concepts, especially through the writings of J. B. Jackson (1964, 1984, 1997). He understood landscapes as entities in which we participate. Distinct from state-planned landscapes, he valued everyday landscapes as they are inhabited “through routine practice” (Cresswell 2003, p. 274). Arguably, Jackson’s greatest accomplishment was to breathe life into landscapes, emphasising their communal and inhabited aspect (Meinig 1979, pp. 195-244; Cresswell 2003). To Jackson, the word landscape meant “not something to look at but to live in; and not alone but with other people” (Meinig 1979, p.228). Jackson’s empirical attitude to the study of landscape, with a focus on issues such as the vernacular and mobility, and things such as individual dwellings, cars and roads (Wylie 2007, p. 43; Meinig 1979, p.228), can be understood only within such a framework.⁹ He wrote unconventionally about landscape from the perspective of an everyday American motorway user. Cresswell (2003, p. 275) valued such innovative research because:

[i]f the equation that links landscape to vision has frequently erased practice, then J. B. Jackson’s mobile view of landscape began to show how vision is a practice. J. B. Jackson’s way of looking is so much less reliant on that distanced gaze from above and so much more practised – more embodied.

What follows from this practice-based approach is a different temporality from that of Hoskins and others, in that landscape is never fixed or complete but constantly changing

⁸ This anticipated the interplay between place and mobility that remains evident in human geography.

⁹ As mobility emerges as such a key area in place and landscape research, I consider whether the original dwelling literature builds on a static conception of place and landscape (Chapter 3), and I consider mobility throughout the case studies (Chapters 5 and 6).

(Wylie 2007, p. 32). Furthermore, contemporary developments are not looked upon with suspicion, but understood as real and on-going reflections of contemporary society.

Through the idea of vision as a form of practical engagement, the notion of embodiment was introduced implicitly above. Seamon (1979, 1980) followed Merleau-Ponty by embedding his work explicitly in the latter's writings on embodiment. Not only sight but all senses interact as elements of the "body-subject" with the everyday environment through routine actions, "in a preconscious way" (Seamon 1980, p. 155). Seamon (1979) used the metaphor of "body-ballet" to name interactions between human beings and place, and "place-ballet" for the interactive communal practices in place, thereby underlining that place experiences are mobile and communal. The human body was also of central interest to Tuan (1974, 1977), who suggested that we measure objects in space against the scale of our bodies, and that the human body is the basis for the development of "everyday coping skills" through which we get to know and identify with places.

In short, humanistic geography developed an account of places in which basic notions of concepts such as being-in-the-world and dwelling were integrated into visions of landscape and places as lively, practised and communal becomings or accomplishments. People's being in or moving through places was explained through the prevalence of preconscious action (routine acts, automatisms), while richer engagements with place were explained through a certain immobility, rootedness, and a sense of place built up over time.

Critiques towards phenomenological place and dwelling

There are four broad areas of critique towards phenomenological accounts of place and the uptake of notions of dwelling in humanistic geography. I dedicate special attention to those critiques, as the development of a notion of dwelling, which I aim for in this thesis, should be sensitive to the ways in which the first appearances of dwelling in human geography might have been problematic.

Firstly, in early humanistic geography place and landscape were understood to have a bounded character. Lukermann (1964, p. 168) conceptualised place as a "bounded element complex". Cresswell (2009) argued that Heideggerian dwelling reinforced the bounded character of place and landscape. Several geographers sought to address ideas of dwelling in

relation to mobility and connection, and immobility and local rootedness (Cloke and Jones 2001; Wylie 2007, p. 51; Jones 2009, p. 269; Massey 2005; Hinchliffe 2003). Like some of these authors, Harrison (2007a), a key author in the regard, viewed Heideggerian dwelling-place as closed and inward-looking: inasmuch as it requires the drawing of boundaries, it would be exclusionary. Harrison's understanding of Heideggerian dwelling as a *being-at-home-in-the-world* is especially interesting: "dwelling as enclosure; dwelling as a limitation of the event of space through the insistence on holistic closure, autarchy, and self-sufficiency". Dwelling would be characterised by "authenticity, totalisation, and holism", following "a logic of sovereignty" (Harrison 2007a, pp. 642-643). Harrison elaborated upon what he saw as an intrinsically immobile, static and bounded character of Heideggerian dwelling:

We should note that there is something immobile within Heidegger's thought of dwelling, something that is always already in place, of place, before the event of dwelling eventuates, something which cannot undergo displacement, and which, in its withdrawal, structures, measures, and calculates how this event 'should' unfold. Despite Heidegger's profoundly relational account it is as if there is always already something removed such that it is immune from the threatening eventuation of taking-place, such that the event of taking-place is itself reined in and contained (Harrison 2007a, p. 634)

Cloke and Jones (2001, p. 660) also considered the "degree to which the togetherness of dwelling relies on (harmonious) spatial boundedness". The bond that arises between people and places through dwelling articulates a form of "oneness" which would imply rootedness:

In this kind of oneness and being rooted in the landscapes that Heidegger and Ingold discuss, there is a correspondence between community, landscape, and place. There is a fixedness of the space in terms of a bounded local space (Cloke and Jones 2001, p. 661).

Massey (2005, pp. 5-6) directly linked dwelling to the closed character of place too, warning that place should not be thought of as a "protective pulling-up of drawbridges [...] against the new invasions [...] by assertions to home-grown rooted authenticity of local specificity". She eschews conceptualisations of place as coherent, integrated, as authentic, as home; a secure retreat. In her eyes, Heidegger's notion of place is "too rooted, too little open to the externally relational" (Massey 2005, p. 183) and "although in principle perhaps it need not, [...] it works against an understanding of place itself [*Ort*] as open, porous, on the move; a meeting of trajectories" (Massey 2005, p. 201).

Secondly, feminist writers argued that humanistic studies are strongly essentialist: they were, similar to attempts in “spatial science” – after universal laws (Rose 1993, pp. 44-50; see also Cresswell 2004, pp. 19-23). Rose (1993, p. 48-50) outlined that the reflexivity applied by humanist geographers rather than situating their knowledge and limiting their authoritarian knowledge claims, served as a way to strengthen their claims of objective truth on the essence of place. However, humanistic geographers did not focus sufficiently on the experiences of different people (individuals, groups) within society (Rose 1993, p. 44, pp. 86-112; see also Cresswell 2004, p. 25). To be sure, humanistic concerns were not only about “place” in an abstract sense, but also about “the on-going erosion of *the distinctive places of the world*” (Relph 2009, preface; my italics). Yet, the developments on the human experiences of places did indeed lack a consideration of the ways in which those might vary for different people: especially the experiences of women, children, ethnic minorities were insufficiently studied. It might be concluded that such choices were the result of a lack of focus on power and politics in humanistic geography.

Thirdly, and following on from the critique above, Wylie (amongst other NRT-inspired geographers) followed Deleuze’s criticism of phenomenology:

Phenomenology continues to posit and depend upon a ‘natural’ perceiving subject, a pre-linguistic, pre-cultural lived body possessed of inherent perceptual arrangements and faculties [...] also phenomenology imputes a pre-given perceiving subject *to whom* the world is given, a ‘judging’ subject who synthesises experience (Wylie 2007, p. 184; see also Rose 1993, p. 49).

Daniels critiqued humanistic geography (2.1.2) for suffering a “historical myopia” (Daniels 1985, p. 145), and portrayed geographical phenomenology as an impossible search for pure and authentic individual experiences, reproducing the separation between the individual and wider historical and socio-economic structures (Wylie 2007, p. 66). In other words, individual agency would be given ontological preference over historical, material, social and economic structures or contexts, thereby considering issues such as power and inequality secondary (Wylie 2007, pp. 180-185). In this sense, Wylie (2007, p. 185; original italics) stated that Ingold’s approach to dwelling and landscape “perhaps remains too subject-centred, too humanist even, in so far as it tends to *replace* a detached-meaning bestowing “cultural” mind

with an active sturdy and involved dwelling body”.¹⁰ The argument concerning such a misplaced human centrality (in place) is also present in Hinchliffe’s (2003, p. 220) critique: “[Ingold’s account of dwelling] reinstalls human transcendence and so opens up the old fault lines between humans and the rest”.

Fourthly, and connected to the former critiques, in current human geography and beyond, several authors argued that phenomenological accounts that use Heideggerian dwelling are embedded in an anti-modernist and nostalgic world-view (Harvey 1989; Thrift 1999; Leach 1999). Hinchliffe (2003, p.220; my italics) for example, wrote that dwelling “risks a rather ‘*earthly*’ romanticism by emphasizing the territorial qualities of dwelling.” Dwelling would only be useful in rural places, and it would be an inadequate ontology for the consideration of experiences of today’s industrialised, (post)modern, urban or cosmopolitan life (Harvey 1989; Massey 2005; Leach 1999; Mugerauer 1994, pp. 96-97 (but see also p. 89); Cloke and Jones 2001; Hinchliffe 2003; Wylie 2007; Malpas 2008, p. 324; Jones 2009). Furthermore, by applying the notion to more “romantic” individuals or communities, it risks an ethical judgment of certain ways of life as more authentic than others (Cloke and Jones 2001; Hinchliffe 2003; Massey 2005; Wylie 2007, p. 51; Jones 2009, p. 269). As a result, it is argued that dwelling is inherently looking at the “faraway” and the “long gone” (Wylie 2007, p. 182). Such worries about the validity of dwelling lead to some of the research questions that are articulated in section 2.2.

2.1.3 Landscape as a way of seeing

[Landscape.] First it meant a picture of a view; then the view itself (Jackson 1984, p. 3).

In opposition to the phenomenological approaches to place and landscape, structuralist approaches to especially landscape studies emerged in the 1980s. Rather than the unrestricted, direct experiences of landscape, such approaches focused on the workings and outcomes of social orders and mechanisms. This led to understandings of landscape as a way of seeing (Cosgrove 1985, p. 45, 1998, p. 18; Daniels and Cosgrove 1988; Duncan and Duncan 1998; see also Wylie 2007, pp. 55-93)¹¹.

¹⁰ I consider Ingold’s approach to dwelling in Chapter 3.

¹¹ The term “way of seeing” became increasingly popular after the publication of the influential work of Berger (1972), which centred on the fundamental role of the ideological in the creation of images.

Such landscape understandings were held together by *social constructivist* ontologies. They contained the idea that landscape is not only the material and external mix of nature and culture, formed over time, but that it is also socially constructed, as individual perceptions of human beings follow from social structures and processes to which they are subject (Anderson and Harrison 2010b). As landscape was understood to be quintessentially visual, it was to be found “in the eye of the beholder” (Meinig 1979, pp. 33-48).¹² In Meinig’s (1979, p. 34) statement: “any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads”, the emphasis would come to fall on the latter part, although geographers such as Daniels (1990) kept alert to one of the main tensions in landscape (its dualistic character):

[L]andscape may be seen as a ‘dialectical image’, an ambiguous synthesis whose redemptive and manipulative aspects cannot finally be disentangled, which can neither be completely reified as an authentic object in the world nor thoroughly dissolved as an ideological mirage (Daniels 1990, p. 206).

Cresswell (2003, pp. 270-272) and Wylie (2007, pp. 55-93) outlined how landscape as a way of seeing consists of Marxist-inspired writings on landscape representations in landscape art, and of understandings of landscape as the construction of a communicative system in which landscape is written by a social elite, and read in multiple ways by different people. Hinchliffe (2003, pp. 211-215) grouped the latter landscape writings under the banner of “semiotics: the study of the building of landscape meanings” (2003, p. 211).

Landscape as a way of seeing is partially based on the landscape art of drawings and paintings in which linear, static representational perspectives predominate. Cosgrove (1985) argued that because of the very subjectivity of perspective, authority and control implicitly form part of the concept of landscape. The notion of spectatorship – a position of power and property – emerges from his understanding of landscape through the composition of space. Landscape is literally pictured and appropriated as an absolute, objective entity and becomes a reproduction of a (socio-economic) ideology rather than a depiction of reality. Hinchliffe (2003, pp. 211-212; see also Law and Benschop 1997) drew the conclusion that

¹² The collection of essays “The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes” (Meinig 1979) is to be understood as the direct link between the phenomenological current and what was to come in the 1980s and 1990s.

here, in its perspectival sense, landscape is necessarily “framed” or “set up”, and thereby establishes a division between observer and world, which contributes significantly to the subject / object dualism in landscape studies.

Thus, landscape was conceptualised not as a material entity, nor as a view, but rather as the representation of the symbolic and significant, in which “the subject becomes the nexus of vision; the ‘receptor’ of the depicted objects, the ‘processor’ of visual information and, crucially the ‘projector’ of a specific ‘gaze’” (Wylie 2007, p. 68-69). Jackson had already developed thinking on the symbolic nature of landscape (Cresswell 2003, p. 271), but in this current which has been auto-denominated as “radical cultural geography” (Cosgrove 1985, p. 10), geographers became more sensitive to the way in which landscape, and especially landscape art, contained symbolic codes of an elite. As a result, to Marxist geographers, landscape functions as a veil (Matless 1992) which distorts and hides aspects of a harsher reality of power relations, exploitation, and gender dynamics. Duncan developed that idea by conceptualising landscape as “a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored” (Duncan 1990, p. 17). If landscape is like a structure that embodies the organisation of a society then we should “read the landscape” (Duncan and Duncan 1988), which means that landscape is explicitly conceptualised as *text*. Human beings then, are the subjective readers of an “arrangement of signs” through which landscape meaning is built (Hinchliffe 2003, p. 212; see also Duncan 1990, p. 17).

In both ramifications, landscape as a way of seeing implies that the world is looked upon rather than participated in or inhabited. Cosgrove acknowledged that “[to] apply the term *landscape* to their surroundings seems inappropriate to those who occupy and work in a place as insiders” (Cosgrove 1998, p. 19; original italics). Landscape as a way of seeing did allow landscape to form part of broader debates where the structures of historical societies were of central importance, and at the same time can be understood to contrast sharply with dwelling: “a narrowly observational field science misses altogether the everyday textures of living and being in landscape – misses, in other words, the point of view of a landscape’s inhabitants” (Wylie 2007, p. 6).

Despite advantages and justified critiques towards humanistic geography, landscape as a way of seeing has three problematic characteristics. Daniels and Cosgrove (1988, p. 1)

defined landscape as “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings.” Anderson and Harrison (2010b, p. 6) provided a clear synopsis of the first disadvantage of such an approach:

The insight and critical purchase of social constructivism come at a cost. [...] the world and its meanings, this divide is the cost. On one side, over there, the world, the really real, all ‘things coarse and subtle’, and on the other, in here, the really made up, the representations and signs which give meaning and value. It’s a classic Cartesian divide. Once established there can be no sense of how meanings and values may emerge from practices and events in the world, [...] no sense of how real the really made-up can be.

What follows is that landscape becomes a representation *as opposed to* or *different from* what is “out there”. Secondly, and because of the focus on landscape art (paintings and drawings), landscape is mostly understood as an entity that is to be apprehended *visually* (Cresswell 2003). Finally, and partially due to the Marxist background of those understandings, they remain anchored in the subject / object division (apart from attempts to unsettle it through notions of everyday practice and involvement). Landscape therefore remained largely detached from the human being, as the subject / object division was either reproduced or replaced with the reader / text dyad (Hinchliffe 2003, pp. 211-213; see also Law and Benschop 1997).

“Dwelling in landscape” may therefore be understood to be fundamentally different from “landscape as way of seeing”. Indeed, dwelling reappeared in human geography from the latter 1990s onwards, partially as a reaction to landscape as a way of seeing. Some geographers considered dwelling to offer possibilities to deal better with the concepts of place and landscape, in that it recovers the materiality of landscape, and in that it names lived “practices and performances of inhabitation” (Wylie 2011, p. 309). This return to dwelling is also evident in NRT-inspired work (2.1.4).

2.1.4 Place and landscape in non-representational theory

The term non-representational theory (NRT) was coined and initially developed by Nigel Thrift (1996, 1997, 1999, 2008; Thrift and Dewsbury 2000), while shortly afterwards other leading (especially UK-based) geographers furthered the project, thereby extending the

width, depth, and plurality of the initial project (Thrift 2008; Cadman 2009; Anderson and Harrison 2010a). Its general concern is in a way similar to that of social constructivism: to study and understand senses and meanings that manifest themselves. NRT takes these to show up in the practical actions of an eventful world that consists of more-than-human configurations and materialist concerns (Anderson and Harrison 2010b). NRT is about “practices, mundane everyday practices that shape the conduct of human beings towards others and themselves in particular sites” (Thrift 1997, p. 142) and “our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds” (Lorimer 2005, p. 83). NRT’s theoretical background is wide, as it draws on the works of philosophers and social theorists as diverse as Bergson, Wittgenstein, Merleau-Ponty, Benjamin, Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault, Latour, and Sloterdijk (Thrift 1999, pp. 302-303; Cadman 2009; Thrift 2008)¹³, thus encompassing predominantly post-structuralist theory (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 23).

Notions of dwelling are approached most critically in geographies that stem from such a background. But NRT might also be understood, at least partially, as a development of Ingold’s dwelling perspective and indeed of Heidegger’s philosophy of dwelling; especially Heidegger’s notion of being-in-the-world is acknowledged to be a key source of inspiration by several key writers (Thrift 1999, 2008; Anderson and Harrison 2010a; Cadman 2009; Sloterdijk 2005). NRT shares Heidegger’s critique of the substance-ontology and of the traditional primordality of mental representation, and builds on post-phenomenological developments which owe much to Heidegger (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 23).

In the relational engagement of human and nonhuman beings and world, meanings, interpretations and identities are no longer understood to predominate over lived experience, materialities, practices, performances and embodiments (Thrift 1996, p. 4; Thrift 2008; Thrift and Dewsbury 2000; Wylie 2007, pp. 162-163). In this sense, NRT aims to go beyond social constructivist approaches to place and landscape (such as those championing landscape as a way of seeing). In that sense dwelling fits chimes with NRT. In the thematic structure that follows I enquire into the possibilities NRT offers for redefinitions of place, landscape, and dwelling.

¹³ For an interesting critique on the omission of several influential writers in NRT by these geographers, see Smith 2003, pp. 68-69).

Representation

In a sense NRT-inspired writings oppose to representational geographies, where landscape is understood as a socially constructed entity, laying out before the human being. Therefore, representational geographies are tagged as “dead geographies” (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000; Thrift 2000a). Thrift (1999, pp. 296-297) defined the problem of the representational in “dead geographies” as follows:

Non-representational theory arises from the simple (one might say almost commonplace) observation that we cannot extract a representation of the world from the world because we are slap bang in the middle of it ... We act to think, and we only think we think to act because we have let some quite specific forms of life colonize our notion of what constitutes ‘humanity’.

In representational geographies, such as those which understand landscape as a way of seeing, “the composition and communication of cultural meaning via text, sign, image and symbol” is of primary interest, thereby displacing practices and experiences “as the secondary effects or outworkings of a more primary realm of cultural discourse and already structured social meaning” (Wylie 2007, p. 163). Just as in the traditional schools of landscape and place, landscape as a way of seeing (2.1.3), is based on the belief that the world can be *described, explained or represented* in academic accounts. In such accounts the idea of *representation* is illustrative, as Hinchliffe (2003, p. 212; see also Law and Benschop 1997): “the world and its narratives are already in existence, they simply require depiction”. Here, theory is deemed capable of describing the world as if already there, pre-existing, waiting to be represented.

The aim in NRT is not to substitute representations; far from it (Lorimer 2005; Wylie 2007; Thrift 2008, Anderson and Harrison 2010a). As Waterton (2013, p. 67) wrote: “the research context that emerges is not characterized by an ‘either/or’ (representation vs. non-representation), rather, by an ‘and’ ”. NRT takes into account the “more-than-representational” (Lorimer 2005, p. 83) and addresses “body *and* society, culture *and* nature, thought *and* action, representation *and* practice” (Wylie 2007, p. 164; original italics). Representations such as Ingold’s “stories, songs and designs” (Ingold 2000, p. 56) form part

and parcel of the world and are studied as such, as world-creating. Rather than a subject *detached from or looking at* an external world, human being is an embodied, affectual and emotional *being-in-landscape*. In NRT's take on representation we hear the clearest of echoes of Ingold's key argument (3.2):

Our understanding of non-representational theory is that it is characterised by a firm belief in the actuality of representation. It does not approach representations as masks, gazes, reflections, veils, dreams, ideologies, as anything, in short, that is *a covering which is laid over the ontic*. Non-representational theory takes representation seriously; representation not as a code to be broken or as an illusion to be dispelled rather representations are apprehended as performative in themselves; as doings. The point here is to redirect attention from the posited meaning towards the material compositions and conduct of representations (Dewsbury, Harrison *et al.* 2002, p.438; my italics; see also Della Dora 2009).

NRT creates the world anew and cannot be understood to enable a description of reality (Thrift 2008, p. 5; see also Chapter 4), problematising the idea of representation as returning identities or givens back through repetition, copy or reproduction (Doel 2010). NRT opens up a multifaceted world that is more complex and messier, where the apparently insignificant might obtain relevance. I consider this to be compatible with notions of dwelling (Chapters 3, 5, 6, and 7). NRT takes representations to be forceful, creative, innovative events: practices which are performed and as such they are understood throughout the thesis. Through the actuality of representation, practice, performance and embodiment are central concepts in NRT, the latter naming the enlacement between bodies and lifeworlds.

Practice, performance and embodiment

NRT foregrounds *practices*¹⁴ (Thrift 1996, 2008; Wylie 2007, pp. 166-169; Anderson and Harrison 2010b). It does by considering the representational (which includes meaning-forming, interpretation, etc.) to be “thought-in-action”¹⁵ (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 7); to be “forged in the manifold of actions and interactions” (Thrift 1996, p. 6). Anderson

¹⁴ In NRT, the emphasis on practices is such that in its early stages it was referred to as “the theory of the practices” (Thrift 1996; Nash 2000, p. 655).

¹⁵ For an experimental approach to such a notion of representation and practice, see Hinchliffe 2000.

and Harrison (2010b, p. 7; see also Smith 2003, p. 68) defined the manifold as “the background ‘hum’ of ongoing activity” with and through which we move (and rest), thereby focusing on the preconscious (unreflexive, non-intentional) action that characterises Heidegger’s being-in-the-world (Dreyfus 1991).

Practices are activities that not only simply occur; in their complex interactions they also become contextual for other practices, forming a background, which is not passive but endorsed with active agency itself (Thrift 1996, p. 3). Human actions should be understood in relation to this context: “the root of action is to be conceived less in terms of willpower or cognitive deliberation and more via embodied and environmental affordances, dispositions and habits” (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 7).

To understand the world through its practical essence, is to highlight within the idea of being-in-the-world the unconscious bonds that human beings hold and enact with others (Kruks 1995, p. 12; see also Whatmore 2002, p. 154). The notion of embodiment is essential here, because it names the enlacing of body and world through practice or performance. In her formulation of a (feminist) “ethical inter-subjectivity”, Whatmore (2002, p. 154) centralised the interconnected issues of “corporeality ([...] both the embodiment and mortality of living being) and the praxis of care”.¹⁶ For example, in her treatment of (food) consumption, Whatmore argued for a visceral understanding, which incorporates:

the multiple sites of inhabitation connecting the bodily spaces that locate ‘our’ being-in-the-world to the metabolic frailties and corporeal compulsions of multifarious ‘other’s that share the precarious register of life and redistribute its energies through all manner of intermediaries and configurations [...] The inter-corporeal intimacies that body forth through everyday consumption practices are nowhere more in evidence than in that most carnal and compulsory of exchanges – nourishment” (Whatmore 2002, pp. 117-118, see also Roe 2006).

Whatmore’s ideas on practice, partially based on Ingold’s writings, bring to light the relational and hybrid aspect of both human beings and geographies (2.1.4 *Vitalism and relationality*). Harrison’s view on embodiment (2008) foregrounded a different relationality. He argued that the idea of embodiment should embrace what he called “corporeal

¹⁶ Those are issues that I reflect upon in the fieldwork, as it is through dwelling that bodies develop (and perish).

vulnerability". Eschewing an exclusionary relationship between the body and practice in the sense of intentionality, action, and auto-affectivity, he argued for a focus on the passive, receptive or susceptible character of the body through the concept of corporeal vulnerability (referring to the importance of *exposure*). Such would be a productive way of examining signifying and sensuous life, as he departed from a serious reflection on the cases of helplessness, weakness, and exhaustion (Harrison 2008, 2009). Such ideas articulate the conceptual richness of notions of practice and embodiment, and are helpful in framing specific events in the fieldwork (Chapters 5 and 6).

The concept of practice also aligns closely with notions of *performance*. After Thrift's initial studies of "mundane everyday practices" - those that "shape the conduct of human beings towards others and themselves in particular sites" (Thrift 1997, p. 142), he and other NRT-inspired geographers developed studies of practices in their creative essence, which share "a general and generalised discontent with the per-forms that went before, an interest in embodiment, and an attempt to unlock and animate new (human and nonhuman) potentialities" (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, pp. 411-412).¹⁷ Through the notion of performance and its intrinsic valuation of intuition and improvisation, Thrift (2003a, pp. 2020-2021) highlighted not only "the immediacy of the now", but also another key strength of performance (the embodied aspect of life):

Performance can mould bodies so that they show up the communicative registers which academics, as a cursive community of practice, are so often blind to [...]: the subtleties of body language, the sensibilities of balance and posture, the sensory orientations of motion (Thrift 2003a, p. 2020).

In the introduction of "Nature performed" (Szerszynski, Heim, and Waterton (2003a), the authors unpicked performance as process or activity, as repetition, as creativity, and as event. The first meaning implies that performances exist only in their enactment. In this processual sense it works like "practice", while it also speaks to "performativity": the idea that things or phenomena exist only through iteration or enactment, and not only represent but also affect. In yet another sense performativity may refer to the way in which leading

¹⁷ Other introductions to themed issues on performance are "Spaces of performance" part 1 and part 2, written by Rose and Thrift (2000a and 2000b); "Enacting geographies", written by Dewsbury, Harrison *et al.* (2002); and on practice and performance by Latham and Conradson (2003).

feminists (Grosz 1995; Butler 1990, 2004) understood language, identity, gender, and the body to be “contingent and articulate, involved in the play of signification” (Szerszynski, Heim, and Waterton 2003b, p. 3). Performance is built on repetition, yet it cannot be a reproduction as there is always a sense of agency, creativity or difference. As performances are formed by lively beings in a context, they are intrinsically improvisatory and ephemeral. Finally, performance, in its most theatrical sense, is a created event, “marked out from the everyday, by ritualization” (Szerszynski, Heim, and Waterton 2003b, p. 3), yet it may also refer to everyday activities.

The authors conjoined performance usefully to notions of nature, which is why this book might be read next to Macnaghten and Urry (1998) and Franklin (2002). Nature becomes more complex and vital by considering performance, less material and more like a process, while performance is always to be understood as a co-production involving “nature”. Waterton (2013, p. 70) emphasised the vitalist and processual character of landscapes and human beings’ embodied interactions with landscapes: “[l]andscapes [...] are not static backdrops, but instead are imagined as fluid and animating processes in a constant state of becoming. More importantly still, our precognitive and embodied interactions with them draw us into equally fluid practices and performances”. Such a view, capturing a sense of motion, was built on developments by Crouch (2003a) and Wylie (2007), the first of whom opened up an understanding of landscape that is also about the intensity of feeling at home or belonging:

To ‘feel’ landscape in the expressive poetics of spacing is a way to imagine one’s place in the world. The individual can feel so connected with space that s/he no longer is aware, momentarily, of being (merely) human; we may *become* the event, become the landscape (Crouch 2010, p. 14).

Through his engagement with notions embodiment and dwelling, in the sense of human being’s involvement with the world, Wylie (2007) proposed an understanding of landscape as *landscaping*, or “the simultaneous and ongoing shaping of self, body and landscape via practice and performance” (Wylie 2007, p. 166).¹⁸ Rose too directed the understanding of landscape towards the issue of everyday practice: “I argue that the engine for the

¹⁸ I stay away from Olwig’s (2008) definition of *performance* as if its scenic connotations would work contrary to the “doing” of dwelt landscapes.

landscape's being is practice: everyday agents calling the landscape into being as they make it relevant for their own lives, strategies and project" (Rose 2002, p. 457).

The issue of performance opens up an embodied understanding of landscape that is not so much visual but multi-sensual. Obrador Pons (2007) undertook research on the human body on the beach, which revealed a geography of touching of, amongst others, human skin, sand and sunlight. Smith (2000) explored the world by focusing on the sonic quality of music. She appreciated listening and sounds as important ways of knowing and being (see also Morton 2005). Carolan (2008) investigated the embodied engagements of inhabitants of rural areas (such as farming tractor drivers), who felt the landscape bodily in such a way that all knowing and thinking about the countryside, places and landscapes emerge by way of their performed character. Overall, in such studies, spaces, places and landscapes emerged as tactile, felt, and intimate entities of inhabitation (Wylie 2007, p. 167). I understand the human activities in the fieldwork (Chapters 5 and 6) not only as (dwelling) practices but also as (dwelling) performances. In both cases embodiment is the key concept through which human beings and lifeworlds intertwine and come-into-being (2.3).

Bodily, sensitive or carnal inhabitation is not to be understood through the enlacement of single bodies and lifeworlds. Rather, it may be comprehended through the concept of inter-subjectivity that works within a context (Crossley 1995; Crouch 2003a, 2003b), or in a communal way, as comes to the fore in the literature on religious practices and worship.¹⁹ Holloway and Valins (2002), Raivo (2002), MacDonald (2002), and Kong (2004) highlighted that communal worship may reinforce notions of self, togetherness and communal identity. Chidester & Liddental (1995) noticed that the study of religious practices turned towards ritualisation and sacred spaces, and defined two schools on "the sacred" within the study of religion: the *substantial* and the *situational*, which would refer to respectively the poetics and the politics of sacred space. The substantial school recognises in an existential way that other-than-human powers and forces make places or spaces "sacred", while situational analysis starts from the premise that the sacred is situated "at the nexus of human practices and social projects" (Chidester & Liddental 1995, p. 5; see also Maddrell 2011). Several authors developed research on the issue of embodiment in ritual performances (Martin and Kryst 1998; Holloway and Valins 2002; Holloway 2006), or more generally in sacred spaces

¹⁹ For the themed issue on the geographies of religion, see *Social & Cultural Geography* 2002, 3, 1.

(Pocock 1996), which chimes with the attention paid in more recent writings on performative ritual theory to culture in terms of the “creative, the experimental and the playful” (Grimes 2003, p. 34). The performance of worshipping “privileges process and practice against religion as a ‘thing’ or a state” (MacDonald 2002, p. 68). Rites are not to be measured along the lines of a means-end relationship, not even along a more general causal relationship; they simply “are” (Grimes 2003, p. 35). Stoddard and Morinis edited a collection (1997a) on pilgrimage places and spaces and found that in pilgrimage, movement and space are best understood in terms of *possibility*:

[...] when movement itself is regarded as a form of worship or sacrifice, the role of distance may differ from the usual distance decay function. Distance is no longer regarded as a hinderance to travel, but instead, it becomes an opportunity because movement is something valued. The importance of movement per se is especially obvious in religious processions and circumambulations, where the goal is certainly not to arrive at a distant place (Stoddard and Morinis 1997b, p. x).

Kong (2004, p. 369) recognised the importance of extending the study of sites and places to the study of (religious) routes. Graham and Murray (1997) did so by focusing on the appropriations of the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, providing opportunities for apprehending ways in which the environment, the atmosphere and human inhabitation of more-than-human spaces take shape. Maddrell sought to go beyond the traditional foci in pilgrimage studies on either the place (shrine) or pilgrim practices and movements understood as flows by building on rhythmanalysis (Maddrell 2011), and more recently by enquiring into ways in which pilgrims engage with spiritually porous surfaces, which might “range from the macroscale of the land he or she moves through to the microscale of the church building, icon, or relic” (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1106).

Ritual performances, especially along routes, seem appropriate to consider (communal) dwelling (see sub-section 4.7.1 and Chapter 6), as they might evoke a complexity of happenings, including the relationship with the spiritual. Although the ritual may seem an exclusively human affair, human beings are always entangled in more-than-human geographies, including nonhuman animals, things and materials (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, p. 415). When focussing on the interactions between the embodied dwelling practices of human beings and other entities in places and landscapes, writers such as Thrift drew on Ingold’s studies of situated agents’ *skills* (Ingold 2000, pp. 289-420). Reflecting on building,

Ingold rejected the separation of (intellectual) design and (bodily) execution. Skills do not entail the operation of technology; they are “acutely sensitive skills of perception and action [... and are] developed in the contexts of their *engagement with other persons or person-like agencies in the environment* (Ingold 2000, p. 289; my italics).²⁰ Thrift unpicked Ingold’s understanding of skills ethically, as an expression of hope for the future:

as an attempt to re-gather the ethic of *craftsmanship*, a means of composition and channelling which involves bringing together discipline and concentration, understanding and inspiration, in order to bring out potential: a different model of *homo faber*, if you like, working both for its own sake and as a part of a community of ability (Thrift 2008, p. 15; original italics).

Affect and emotion

Closely related with a turn towards practice, is the emotional or affectual turn. When focusing on any performative space, the felt is likely to come to the fore. It is therefore no surprise that the citation directly above, opens up this specific research area in NRT on the inspiration and the potential of life. An editorial about emotional geographies (Anderson and Smith 2001), is considered to be at the heart of the turn to towards emotion and affect (McCormack 2003; Bondi 2005; Sharp 2009; Harrison 2008; Pile 2010), and acknowledged that both affect and emotion were mostly neglected in social sciences and politics and continued: “this suppression produces an incomplete understanding of the world’s workings, [...] to neglect the emotions is to exclude a key set of relations through which lives are lived and societies made” (Anderson and Smith 2001, p. 7). The editorial constituted a passionate plea for lived experiences and post-rationalist geographies in which feelings are whole-heartedly embraced, and in which emotions were to be understood as “ways of knowing, being and doing, in the broadest sense” (Anderson and Smith 2001, p. 8). Since, affect and emotion are studied, not in the least because of their generative force in both ordinary and extraordinary practices. Emotion and affect is now often seen as a fundamental part of the liveliness of places and landscapes (Latham and Conradson 2003, p. 1902).

²⁰ This has implications for the selection of case studies (4.7.1). In the fieldwork I consider ways in which human beings dwell skilfully together with non-human beings.

Emotions and affect speak of a relational ontology that privileges fluidity (and thus the open and the between), proximity and intimacy, and a sense of push or drive in a vital world (Pile 2010, pp. 10-11). They can enrich place and landscape conceptualisations. Wylie for example defined landscape not as the straightforwardly performed or practised, but as a tense entity because of the affects taking place in them: "Landscape becomes the close-at-hand, that which is both touching and touched, an affective handling through which self and world emerge and entwine" (Wylie 2007, p. 167). The force of the landscape affects human beings and makes practices sensuous: "while landscapes are necessarily contingent upon our movements through them, they also continue to shape our expressions, experiences and emotions" (Waterton 2013, p. 70).

Although I have used the concepts of affect and emotion in one breath so far, they are despite their similarities employed differently in quite distinct geographic niches: emotions in "emotional geographies" while the "spaces of affect" are a key issue in NRT-inspired writings.²¹ Emotional geographies maintain a focus on the effects of place on personal experience and the emotional response to place (Bondi 2005, p. 435). Emotions would be expressive of feeling, while affect, on the other hand, is related with *the inexpressible*, referring to the transmission or contagion of diffuse intensities (Pile 2010). Some geographers engaging with affect have critiqued emotional geographies for being "humanistic", while the spaces of affect would refer to a "post-human" world (Pile 2010). Yet, from the very start, emotional geographers such as Anderson and Smith (2001) understood the potential pitfall of understanding emotion as individualised, subjective experience (see also Bondi 2005; Pile 2010), or as the outward expressive representation of an inner subjective entity (McCormack 2003, p. 494).²² Emotions are:

paradoxically, both inordinately diffuse and all pervasive and yet also heart- and gut-wrenchingly present and personal: Sometimes moods seem to envelop us from without, sometimes emotions seem to surge up from within and comprise the very core of our being-here in the world, they inform every moment of our existence (Smith, Davidson *et al.* 2009b, p. 3).

²¹ For an interesting discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of both, see McCormack (2003), Thien (2005), McCormack (2006), and Anderson and Harrison (2006).

²² In this sense emotional geography learned built on feminist geographers' critique of humanistic geography with its "coherent, bounded, self-aware and universal human subject[s]" (Pile 2010, p. 7).

Geographies of emotion have drawn on the body as the site of experience, of feeling and of emotional expression. But emotions, being understood as cognitive processes, are studied mostly through psychoanalysis and psychotherapeutic thinking, which are means of engaging with emotions through directly expressed emotional experiences while avoiding understanding emotions as bounded in a subject, or as individualised emotions (Thrift 2004a; Bondi 2005; Pile 2010). This way of accessing emotions has not convinced all affectual geographers, who argued that working with personal accounts of emotion is naïve and misleading (Katz 1999; McCormack 2003, 2006).

The concept of affect has quite different meanings, not in the least because of its wide-ranging philosophical background (Anderson 2009b, p. 8; Pile 2010, p. 5, Thrift 2004a, p. 59). Here I focus on two of the most influential branches of thought on affect. The first captures affect as a set of embodied practices, as a set of bodily states and processes through which human beings feel and emotions are produced. To Thrift (2004a, p. 60), the context rather than a subjective force is constitutive of affect; affect is a bodily resource depending on the actions of others, a “response-ability” (Katz 1999) that often provokes emotions to come to the fore “through which and with which the world is thought”. Unlike emotion, affect thus relates to the non-cognitive and pre-reflexive (Thrift 2003, p. 2020).

Affect is the underlying, and although it cannot be fully apprehended (Pile 2010, p. 8) “one cannot help but feel moved by one’s affects, in that one experiences affective responses even if one is not able to consciously describe or explain them” (Duff 2010, p. 884). Pile (2010, p. 9) problematised such an account of affect, because it cannot trace emotions back to affectual pre-conditions, and more problematically, if they cannot be grasped, then they hardly be exposed in geographies.

Secondly, a related school of thought on affect is influenced by Spinoza and followers such as Massumi (2002b), and Deleuze and Guattari (1987) (Thrift 2004a; Anderson 2006; Duff 2010). Spinoza opposed Descartes’ dualistic world of extension and thought, by thinking of the world in terms of a single substance, where all beings unfold in different modes. Here, human thought becomes in relation to other bodies, while all can affect and be affected in particular encounters. Spinoza understood affect or emotion (*affectus*) as the modifications by which “the power of action of the body is increased or diminished, aided or restrained,

and at the same time the idea of these modifications” (Thrift 2004a, p. 62; Duff 2010, p. 885). To Massumi (2002b), affects result from myriad encounters: “[a]ffects are experienced in bodies but emanate or emerge from diverse encounters – encounters between bodies and between bodies and contexts, bodies and events” (Duff 2010, p. 885).

Anderson (2006, p. 735; original italics) therefore proposed to start to think about affect “as a transpersonal *capacity* which a body has to be affected (through an affection) and to affect (as the result of modifications).” The bodily capacity to change or shift involves both a “being affected” as well as an “affecting” (Anderson 2006, p. 735). Massumi indicated that both take place, or happen at once: “when you affect something, you are at the same time opening yourself up to being affected in turn” (Massumi 2002b, p. 212).

In the last few years, geographers have written about affects and emotions: for example boredom (Anderson 2004), care (Conradson 2003, 2005; Cloke, Johnsen *et al.* 2007; Darling 2010; Rose 2006), grief and consolation (Cameron 2009; Maddrell 2009), hope (Anderson 2006a), and love (Thien 2004; Wylie 2009; Morrison, Johnston *et al.* 2012). Simpson (2008) investigated street performances to draw attention to “the interplay of affective intensities between everyday life and the non-human forces of nature” (Waterton 2013, p. 71). Lorimer (2007) wrote about nonhuman agency in terms of ecological, aesthetic, and corporeal *charisma*, and suggested that such affect provides a vital, motivational force. Bissell (2009) looked at the experience of chronic pain as an affective intensity that might prevent other, more desirable intensities from coming to the fore. In such cases vulnerability is key for “becoming otherwise” (Bissell 2009). Whatmore (2002) argued that an accommodation of nonhumans into the fabric of “the social”, involved a simultaneously jump to affective modes of association (Whatmore 2002, p. 5). For those authors a focus on the felt means a shift away from intentionality, as it makes room for a more affectual openness and relational fluidity. Green (2011) auto-ethnographically investigated pain in a martial arts club as a way of heightening the kinaesthetic experience of reality, and as an emotion that binds community. This is observed by Spinney (2006) too, amongst cycling riders who ascended the Mont Ventoux. Martin and Kryst (1998) focused on acts of suffering and sacrifice in ritual contexts. Thrift summarised the meaning of different kinds of body practices (amongst which ritual and painful practices) to “allow the present to be intensified since they produce both an intensified sense of body movement and, at the same time, focus and enhance that movement” (Thrift 2000d, p. 45). When referring to the body practices that set up the

background, he added: “these body practices rely on the emotions as a crucial element of the body’s apprehension of the world; emotions are a vital part of the body’s anticipation of the moment” (Thrift 2004a, p. 67):

The urging of non-representational theorists to give weight to objects and the inanimate also means that, to borrow from Thrift (2008, p. 9), we as researchers have to be prepared for the landscape to ‘answer back’. Practices of landscaping and experiences of embodiment are not, then, comprised entirely of intentionality, rationality or conscious and continuous deliberation – affects, feelings and emotions are also always invariably shaped in the ways we move through landscapes and, in turn, allow them to flow through us (Waterton 2013, p. 70).

Emotional and affectual geographies do not necessarily stand in opposition to notions of dwelling. As Smith, Davidson *et al.* (2009b, p. 10) stated: “we are always already emotionally engaged beings-in-the-world”. Emotional geographies are broadly based on what Pile (2010) called “a politics of caring”, and might in this sense (and differently from affectual geographies, which are often characterised by indeterminate affects) be closely related with notions of dwelling. When considering that dwelling goes beyond a politics of care, beyond romantic togetherness, and that it includes a “being thrown into the world” (a gloomy world of unsettledness and homelessness) and dwelling through the strange, then dwelling links at least partially with ideas of affect as employed in affectual geographies (Casey 2001). As such, I take emotions as well as affect to characterise the dwelt places and landscapes that I study in the fieldwork. I chose not to convert those concepts into a research theme because of the difficulties in undertaking valid research on emotions and affect. However, I reflect upon the issue of care in the final research theme (see sections 2.3, 5.5, 6.6, and 7.1.4).

Vitalism and relationality

The topological NRT-vocabulary is mostly restricted to *space*, as place is understood to be a bounded, and therefore inadequate entity for understanding the world’s highly complex life-flows, which inter-relate innumerable hybrids (Thrift 1999). Indeed, NRT recognises that a diversity of things and forces relate to each other, while human beings are often unaware of these happenings (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 12), and are therefore not necessarily at the centre of vital spaces. Nonhuman entities are considered to be animate, to have agency, to affect. Because of its basic concerns, especially in terms of its critique towards

social constructivist ideas in geography, NRT attempts to capture “Life, and the vital processes that compose it” (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 12). In contrast to more static notions of landscape, and to structuralist notions of space, place and landscape as defined through social structures, social production and reproduction; in short, as outcomes (Harvey 1989), in NRT human and nonhuman beings and the landscape they live in constantly *become* (Massey 2005), while the emphasis falls on “creativity and transformation” (Wylie 2007, p. 201).

The understandings of places and landscapes in NRT are often embedded in a vitalist ontology as advocated by Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 1994; Deleuze 2001), which values “a radical empiricism that differs – radically – from a sense-perception or observation-based empiricism”, that largely supplants phenomenological philosophies (Thrift 2008, p. 5). It values the “onflow of life” (Pred 2005) and Whitehead’s monistic and relational ontology that sticks with the moment, as that which forms part of the onflow of experiences (Thrift 2008, p. 6). Deleuzian vitalism is about the always-differentiating or the never-yet-final (Wylie 2007, p. 201). Furthermore, the unconscious obtains such importance that it leaves the conscious as nothing more than an “emergent derivate of an unconscious” (Thrift 2008, p. 6). This involves ways of thinking about life as bare life or creaturely life, the pre-cognitive and the body’s automatisms, while consciousness is recognised to be “a very poor thing” (Thrift 2008, p. 6). Finally, play is a “perpetual human activity with immense affective significance” (Thrift 2008, p. 7).

Vitalism recognises that life is not a property of a subject, but rather that it “occurs *before* and *alongside* the formation of subjectivity, across human and non-human materialities and *in-between* distinctions between body and soul, materiality and intercorporeality” (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, p. 13; original italics). Vitalist philosophies have been related to landscape writings, some of which reflect on the relationship between vitalism and dwelling. Pile, Harrison *et al.* (2004) presented a collection of short essays in which diverse entanglements of human and nonhuman processes, were used to approach vitalist landscapes. Richardson-Ngwenya (2013) used a “more-than-human material imagination” to investigate vitalist geographies and to reflect on research methods. Following Whatmore (2002), she advocated “the cultivation of a vitalist geographical imagination”, which is “receptive and open to the liveliness of materialities and the significance of relational becomings” (Richardson-Ngwenya 2013, p. 1). Wylie (2007, p. 201) found in Deleuzian

vitalism a “strongly anti-phenomenological bent [...] in so far as ‘becoming’ is explicitly a radical alternative to what Deleuze would see as the static and sedentary tonalities of Heideggerian notions of dwelling and ‘being-in-the-world’.” Yet, McHugh (2009) and Ingold (2000, 2005, 2007, 2008) managed to understand dwelt landscapes through vitalism. Cloke and Jones (2004, p. 338) also built on vitalism, in an attempt to avoid an understanding of dwelling-place as if necessarily static, cosy and harmonious, and explored through fieldwork how dwelling in their case study came to be “an intense, uncomfortable, competitive place-related, becoming-in-the-world-together”. They argued that dwelling can name the complex and the vital, and does not necessarily look to the past or the faraway:

the conditions of an anti-idyll, the tasksapes of repression, or the unromantic oneness of pragmatic industrialised labour relations problematise any unidirectional expectations of the senses and experiences of dwelling, rather than dwelling itself (Cloke and Jones 2001, p. 664).

And Wylie (2009, p. 278) later also recognised that phenomenological accounts of landscape in terms of dwelling (practical enactments) relate in several ways with vitalist writing, which:

evokes and vivifies the material presence of landscape itself, in terms of the incessant elemental and ecological agencies of sky, earth and life [...]. The presence of landscape is here a matter of force, energy and process, landscape present and alive in and of its ongoing animation and becoming.

A question that arises is in how far dwelling can be considered to chime with vitalist ontologies. I therefore formulate a research question to investigate the seminal dwelling literature in this respect (2.2). Simultaneously with a move towards the world’s vital energies, geography experienced a “relational turn” (Harrison 2007b, p. 590, p. 591, Harrison 2008; Wylie 2007, p. 199)²³, in which the world is understood to continuously reshape, relate, proliferate and differentiate (Wylie 2007, p. 165). The nonhuman comes strongly to the fore in both vitalism and relationality, as matter is understood to be animate, forceful, and connected (Roe 2006; Whatmore 2006; Wylie 2007, p. 202; Bissell 2010). As such, and in an

²³ Two themed issues about relational space are: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 2000, 18, 2 (introduced by Hetherington and Law) and *Geografiska Annaler B* 2004, 86, 1 (introduced by Massey).

attempt to go beyond humanist and social constructivist geographies, entities such as things and animals have become foci of geographer's attention.²⁴ Wolch and Emel, key figures in the field of animal geographies, explicitly set out to develop more inclusive social theory (Wolch and Emel 1995; Wolch 2002; Wolch, Emel and Wilbert 2003). Although some work was focused on spaces of human and animal exclusion, most work has been undertaken on human and animal co-habitation (Wolch and Emel 1998, Philo and Wilbert 2000).²⁵ In this sense, Whatmore (2002, p. 32) followed Ingold's consideration of animals as "strange persons, rather than familiar or exotic things", and argued that reconnecting human and animal experiences might be accomplished by attending to the embodied and sensible ways in which both beings dwell in the world (Whatmore 2002, p. 33). Haraway (2003) looked at human and non-human animals' complex geographies of sharing hospitalities and hostilities. Sharp (2009, p. 29) indicated the forms and relationships that arise in such geographies:

The resulting hybrid forms are multiple, leading not to some undifferentiated human/non-human amalgam, but to worlds wherein non-human and human animals differentiate themselves at the same time as they form close relationships.

Animal geographies pay attention to a varied array of animals, topic areas (human nonhuman relationships such as affect, but also ethics, animals rights, identity), and types of animal environments (zoos, urban areas, the wild, and rural areas). Those writings chime with philosophies that problematise the human / nonhuman animal divide (Derrida 1991, 2003; Glendinning 1998; Agamben 2004; Elden 2006; Sloterdijk 2009). Both human beings and animals are deconstructed and constructed in a relational fashion:

The recent and related development of animal geographies is concerned not only with the ways in which human societies use and define animals and 'place' them both materially and imaginatively, but equally with examining – despite recurring fears about anthropomorphism – questions of animal agency and resistance to human orders (Scott 2004, p. 29).

²⁴ Animals have reappeared on the geographical agenda also because of a political or social concern for animal welfare (Sharp 2009, p. 29).

²⁵ A themed issue on animals is: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1995, 13, 6 (introduced by Wolch and Emel).

Although it might be difficult or even tricky (both theoretically and practically) to undertake focused research on animal dwelling, human dwelling with animals seems a relevant area of research, as animals have only recently obtained prominence in geographies. Thus, I take the presence of animals into account when selecting the case studies (sub-section 4.7.1), and enquire into human “being-with” animals (section 5.2).

Relational theories, such as those developed by Latour and Haraway, have influenced not only animal geographies. In Latour’s actor-network-theory (ANT) (1987, 1993, 1999a), relations can be material and semiotic, and are considered to be ontologically constitutive of life (Murdoch 1998; Thrift 1999; Law 1999; Hitchings 2003). Several writers proposed that what is related and their inter-relatedness constitute lively and complex *networks* (Latour 1987; Callon and Law 1995; Law and Hassard 1999; Law 1999, 2004; Thrift 1999; Anderson and Harrison 2010a). Another early relational theory came into being through Haraway’s (1991) definition of the entanglement between human being, animal and machine, as “cyborgs” (Haraway 1991, p. 1). Haraway’s postmodern and feminist theory proposes that landscapes are entities in which human beings, materialities, animals, technologies, texts and environments form endless hybrid assemblages:

Both Latour and Haraway argue that [we should not] separate off a purified space of the human and the thoughtful, untainted by materiality or animality. [...] One of the central tasks of ANT has been [...] to argue that the notion of two separate realms, natural and cultural, passive and active, is no more than a beguiling fiction, albeit one that has had profound consequences (Wylie 2007, p. 200).

Several geographers enquired into ways in which nonhumans inform human beings’ dwelling. Cloke and Jones (2001, p. 650) attempted to link dwelling with hybrid assemblages and agency of human and nonhuman life, viewing places as “dynamic entities, co-constituted and performed by human and nonhuman actants alike.” They re-defined dwelling as “a complex performative achievement of heterogeneous actors in relational settings in time and space: an embodied, co-constituted habitation of the human and nonhuman” (Cloke and Jones 2004, p. 327). As Jones (2009, p. 272) summarised that dwelling can be thought of most fruitfully when approaching places through the “togetherness of beings and things [...] and] the recognition of agency other than human”. To Obrador Pons

(2003, p. 51) dwelling is sociomaterial practice in relational space, it: “is always spatially situated and in constant and reciprocal relationship with human and non-human networks thus creating different types of assemblages”. McFarlane (2011) developed this encounter between dwelling (as a post-phenomenological conception) and assemblage (as a post-structuralist notion), through which dwelling would become infused with “a sense of openness and disruption, actual and virtual, stability and transformation”, as assemblage would offer a “spatial corrective through an openness to how relations are gathered together, aligned, transformed, or dispersed”, as it names the sociomaterial context which, he argued, is missing in the conceptualisation of dwelling (McFarlane 2011, p. 19).

To Massey (2005), relationality does not exist prior to, but is part and parcel of the way in which we live and produce time-space. She approached space as the sphere of “coexisting heterogeneity” (Massey 2005, p. 12), as the constantly emerging product of interrelations (Massey 2005, p. 9). Rather than counterposing the global and the local, or space and place, she sees the local as always already related, which is why places are not constituted locally. Hinchliffe critiqued Ingold in that sense: “it is the localism of these dwelt landscapes that remains problematic in this work. It is important, therefore, that dwelling does not become a means of returning to locality-based and ‘presentist’ senses of landscape and place” (Hinchliffe 2003, p.220).

If dwelling happens necessarily locally, then it does not deal well neither with presences nor with absences. Relationality and geographies of absence offer pathways for rethinking dwelling. Rose (2006) complicated a presentist sense of landscape by considering alterity, yet argued that landscapes would be “dreams of presence” which “mark both an imagination of, and a movement towards, presence” and emphasise “the work of human forces – for example, the call to care – within a set of avowedly posthumanist ontologies” (Rose 2006, p. 538, pp. 549-550).²⁶ He furthered a post-phenomenological account built on association, intimacy and gathering forces. To Rose, “[s]tories and landscapes are dreams of presence which orient the event of becoming by making particular renderings of what constitutes ‘everyday life’ materially and sensually experienced” (Rose 2006, p. 549). By focusing on the hauntings of a concrete place, Wylie (2009) incorporated not only presences (post-phenomenological landscape studies tend to look at gatherings, intimacies, nearness,

²⁶ In this sense he shared Thrift’s (2008, p. 13) wish to “retain a certain minimal humanism.”

involvement and immersion), but also absences in an account of landscape. As he developed the “non-coincidence of self and world [...] indiscernibility and dislocation” (Wylie 2009, p. 279; original italics), he tried to avoid approaches that would suffer from “notions of authentic or proper dwelling - coincidence of people with both the land and themselves”, where landscape would be an evolving co-presence (Wylie 2009, p. 282). Through his usage of a Derridean spectral logic, Wylie found a way to rethink subjectivity and place, and the folding of future and past (absences) into the present:

What is a place? Perhaps haunting is a pre-requisite to place. That is, a place takes place through a spectral event of displacing. There is place if there is a *dislocation*, or sudden uncertainty regarding location in space and time, uncertainty regarding even the reliability of these measurants; in other words if there is a disturbing irruption of doubt or memory, a confounding of past, present and presence all witnessed by a troubled, stricken figure, a figure haunted by this very process (Wylie 2007, pp. 180-181).

Callon and Law (2004) complicated the relationship between presence and absence (and proximity and distance) by considering “flux, circulation, and the modes in which spaces and times deploy themselves”, thereby opposing to dualistic understandings of the world based on the “fiction of natural space” (Callon and Law 2004, p. 3). Maddrell (2009, 2011, 2013a) conceptualised absence by looking at the workings of grief, remembrance and bereavement, and discussed the idea of “continuing bonds” that the living hold with the dead. Her discussion “is contextualized in relation to wider dialogue on absent presence, but argues that expressions of continuing bonds with the deceased evidence a relational and dynamic *absence-presence*” (Maddrell 2013a, p. 501; original italics).

Cloke and Jones (2001, 2004) took dwelt places and landscapes to be open and articulated entities, forming part of manifold networks. This idea is developed by Harrison (2007a), who argued that the “constitutive openness or unfinished nature of the event of space gives dwelling its orientation”, an idea based on Derrida: “the hearth [*le chez soi*] of a home, a culture, a society also presupposes a hospitable opening”. This opening is an opening not simply to “another like oneself” but “to an other who is beyond any ‘its other’ ” (Harrison 2007a, p. 642). Dwelling should be understood in a relational way, so that the legacy of the concept becomes “the issue of how we are to try to bring to thought – to say, to, reckon, to

understand, to conceptualize, and to represent – the space between us” (Harrison 2007a, p. 643).

Lastly, relationality is a constitutive notion to the studies of movement and mobility²⁷, for example in the “New Mobilities Paradigm”, where mobilities are foregrounded because we live in a time that everything and everyone is increasingly on the move (Urry 2000; Sheller and Urry 2006). An important aim of studies following this paradigm (which are often elaborated in urban spaces) is to move beyond the hunter-gatherer patterns that informed Ingold’s mobile dwelling conceptualisations, to grasp the “emergence of new, often more or less instantaneous, mobilities” (Urry 2000, p. 136).

In recent human geographical studies, a varied array of mobilities have taken centre stage (Cresswell 2006; Adey 2009; Cresswell and Merriman 2011a), not in the least to overcome their conceptualisation as secondary geographical facts (Cresswell and Merriman 2011b). Dwelling has been considered through relational ideas of time-depth, mobility, often in combination with considerations of rhythm. Jones (2009) argued that dwelling as a concept, would involve: “the recognition of time-deepened processes [...], the experience of rootedness, the richness of things together over time” (Jones 2009, p. 272) in particular places. Wylie (2007, p. 182) emphasised that a rhythmic temporality is intrinsic to dwelling, arguing the notion can best be understood within rustic, cyclical temporalities. He argued that the temporal aspect of dwelling needs to take more account of fleeting and mobile experiences, as well as stressing known, habitual landscapes. Dwelling should be “the *milieu* for material cultures and ways of being that are productive of multiple spatialities and temporalities, longstanding and momentary, [...] fixed and mobile, coherent and fragmentary” (Wylie 2003, p. 145). Recently, one way in which geographers started to develop ways of thinking about rhythms and spaces was by parting from Lefebvre’s notion of rhythmanalysis (Edensor 2012a). Lefebvre identified the regulation of embodied rhythms by way of *dressage*: “a means to train the body to perform and condition it to accede to particular rhythms”, which does not mean that performances are conformist – it also opens up possibilities for improvisation and leaves room for non-synchronic moves. Rhythms are

²⁷ Harrison (2009) explored sleep or the absence of practice and mobility and thereby suggested that “the susceptibility and a finitude of corporeal existence” forms the very “condition of possibility of practice” (Harrison 2009, p. 987).

“folded in and through the permeable body” (Edensor 2012b, p. 5, p. 4). Following on from here, Hensley (2012) investigated Cuban rumba and rhythmic natures, and considered how rhythmic responsiveness becomes part of the body: it reconfigures bodies as musicians and dancers aim to skilfully and innovatively join their bodies to the musical rhythms. Jones (2010) unpacked the multiplicity of rhythms in landscapes by investigating ways in which the moon resonates in UK tides (sea tides, night and day, annual events, etc.). Lorimer (2010, pp. 60-61) embedded rhythm in a relational, vitalist and sentient understanding of the world, to bring “the sheer vibrancy of the world taking place” to the fore. One way of doing so is by paying attention to “organic rhythms, where actions have a pulse, creating multiple tempos and differential paces or durations of life” (Lorimer 2010, p. 60). Rhythm also appeared in Lorimer’s (2006) understanding of dwelt landscape through an inventive combination of land, love, memory, mobility and embodiment, as he creatively articulated a narrative of the sentient geography of a reindeer herd.

Obrador Pons (2003) outlined how tourist mobilities constitute a form of dwelling or being-in-the-world: mobility is not only that through which we get to places but “a way of inhabiting and apprehending” places (Obrador Pons 2003, p. 62). McFarlane similarly rethought dwelling “*through* mobility”, which “disrupts the bounded, grounded baggage that dwelling connotes, opening up a wider imaginary of urban spatial topology” (McFarlane 2011, p. 15; original italics, p. 20). Todres and Galvin (2010) finally, theorised well-being as “dwelling-mobility”, where the “deepest possibility of well-being carries with it a feeling of rootedness and flow, peace and possibility” (Todres and Galvin 2010).

By focusing on relationality, a number of issues emerge in terms of how it sits in respect to dwelling. Firstly, questions emerge about the role of relationality (or absence of relational qualities) and related issues such as rootedness, closedness and locality in original dwelling literatures, which I formulate research questions about in section 2.2. Secondly, I integrate issues such as openness, mobility, rhythm, and the role of the non-human into the research themes (2.3; see also chapters 5 and 6).

In this sub-section (2.1.4), I have discussed how place and landscape have been intensely reconceptualised in NRT. On the one hand NRT does often sympathise with the humanistic geographical literatures as places and landscapes are understood as experienced environments, attending to embodied and emotional inhabitation as a way in which selves

and worlds intertwine. On the other hand, NRT often hinges on post-structuralist ideas in which spaces are made in chaotic, continuous, momentary, fragmented, and contingent ways (Krafft and Adey 2008, p. 214; Wylie 2007, p. 145), and where the affectual, and issues of absence, non-coincidence, and dislocation obtain prominence (Wylie 2009, 2012). The latter seem to be at odds with notions of dwelling. Indeed, the post-structuralist side to NRT may be understood “to supersede, rather than supplement, notions of being-in-the-world” (Wylie 2007, p. 165). Next, I formulate a set of research questions (2.2), which leads to an enquiry into seminal dwelling literatures to analyse in how far and in what ways the critiques of dwelling are justified, and which opens up a theoretical depth through which notions of dwelling may be understood (Chapter 3).

2.2 Research questions

In this chapter I have outlined geographical debates around place, landscape and dwelling. There has been a progression towards a richer engagement with place and landscape when humanistic geographers moved away from positivist accounts of places and landscapes. This was followed by a move towards landscape as a way of seeing, which more thoroughly took up issues of perspective, power, representation, and subject and object positions. In a way, NRT-inspired writers aimed at overcoming this current, what they thought of as a largely disembodied account which lacked a focus on material engagement. Dwelling might be understood to contribute to NRT, while it sits uneasily with other concepts that underpin NRT. In a contingent, spectral and fleeting world, and through specific understandings of the relationality of life, some authors argued that dwelling is plagued by connotations of boundedness, closedness, authenticity, and misfocuses on the past and the rural. All in all, dwelling is faced with a set of sustained critiques, some of which challenge its value as a concept. With an eye on the overall challenge to consider the value of dwelling for place and landscape conceptualisations, and to explore the need and possibilities for linking dwelling with other theories, I aim to re-examine the extent to which the critiques of the inherent qualities of dwelling are justified.

To disentangle and consider the inter-related critiques of dwelling (2.1), below I articulate an intersecting set of research questions. They are discussed in theoretical research on seminal dwelling literatures (Chapter 3):

- I. To what extent is the notion of dwelling nostalgic and backward-looking?
- II. Who dwells, and in how far is “the Other” excluded from dwelling?
- III. How does the authentic/inauthentic life split appear in the concept of dwelling?
- IV. Are dwelling perspectives inevitably bound to spaces of nature and/or rurality, and if not, how do they apply in urban spaces?
- V. Is dwelling a question of being or is it embedded in ontologies of becoming?
- VI. Is dwelling synonymous to rootedness (in place), and are place and landscape necessarily closed entities?
- VII. What are the topological contents of dwelling?

Those research questions do not shape the research themes in a direct way. The latter follow directly from the literature review undertaken in this chapter, and may be understood to constitute a framework for extending the breath of dwelling into NRT spheres. This I expect to be fruitful especially if through the discussion of the research questions some shortcomings of Heidegger’s and Ingold’s conceptualisations of dwelling are unfolded.

2.3 Research themes

Apart from an enquiry into the inherent qualities of dwelling (involving a discussion of the research questions in Chapter 3), another field of research has emerged from this chapter’s review. Several conceptual areas in NRT could operationalise dwelling in innovative ways, which would contribute to the overall research aim of advancing the discussion on dwelling in place and landscape conceptualisations.

As set out in the Introduction (1.2), I consider NRT to be an appropriate academic current for rethinking dwelling, because parts link intrinsically with dwelling, while it also develops aspects of life that do not appear prominently in notions of dwelling. I therefore rethink dwelling through a set of research themes (which follows from the literature review in 2.1 – especially 2.1.4):

- Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman

Following Spinoza and Whitehead, most NRT-inspired writings refer to a monistic world, wherein distinct entities stand next to each other, and are modes of “one unfolding substance” (Thrift 2008, p. 178). If the majority of current writings do differentiate between

human and nonhuman beings, the emphasis lies on ways in which they interrelate, co-inhabit and co-constitute a shared network or reality that is to be characterised by being undivided. Nonhuman beings, such as animals and things, play an important role in places and landscapes. In this research theme I consider this role of nonhuman entities, thereby integrating dwelling into post-humanist thinking.

- Rhythm and embodiment

In NRT the world is often understood to consist of a variety of incomplete, contingent and fleeting activities, feelings, and experiences. Dwelling, to the contrary, is said to arise out of time-depth, with dwelt landscapes being constituted out of repeated actions that took place in the past. Rhythmanalysis might offer ways of exploring a multiplicity of rhythms, and holds the potential to mediate “between overdrawn, static reifications of place [and] hyperbolic accounts about spaces of flows” (Edensor 2012b, p. 18). As Jiron (2012, p. 140) noted, “[t]he body is sensitive to the rhythms lying outside of it, the multiple and diverse rhythms that are captured by the senses, and also performs in accordance with the various rhythms and situations it faces.” As such, the issue of embodiment comes to the fore, while I consider how human dwelling bodies become in the process of “learning-to-be-affected” (Latour 2004) by the richness of the world.

- Openness and relationality

NRT can be understood to approach the world’s relationality; the formation and disintegration of endless hybrids and multiple assemblages, through which the whole is exceeded (McFarlane 2011). Places and landscapes hardly come to the fore in such vocabularies, as they are understood to be territorially bounded, and therefore problematic. Dwelling is likewise considered problematic because it would refer to a subjective, static, holistic being-in-place. In this research theme I consider how dwelling may obtain purchase in a relational world, and in what way openness and fleeting experiences might link to communal, time-deepened dwelling.

- Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

The advent of NRT has taken place through the renewed emphasis on the practised, performed, mobile, emotional and affectual character of life. I understand dwelling to be about the rich immersion of human being in places and landscapes, which chimes with the emphasis mentioned above. Overcoming the instrumental notion of mere familiarity, human

beings dwell in nearness of each other and others, out of care. Care in its turn, is expressed in attunement: the skilled, practised and felt relationships in – and with places. In this research theme I explore what entities places and landscapes become through such a re-defined dwelling, and I reflect on nearness as the primary geographical indicator of human beings' dwelling in places and landscapes.

In an attempt to integrate dwelling into those NRT-inspired areas of research, the research themes form the structure of the case studies (chapters 5 and 6). By intertwining dwelling with specific research themes I develop an understanding of dwelling (which re-values to a certain extent Heidegger's and Ingold's seminal contributions), to address the possibilities and limits of a redefined notion of dwelling.

Chapter 3: Revisiting seminal dwelling literature

Here I interpret and reflect on Heidegger's and Ingold's dwelling discourses, to examine in how far and in what ways critical views towards the original qualities of dwelling are justified, and to start with the development of an approach towards dwelling in relation to the research reported in the next chapters. This is based on a thorough engagement with original - and secondary literature. Throughout the chapter, I aim to think through the conceptual richness of what it means to both Heidegger and Ingold, to dwell in place and landscape. Especially in the case of Heidegger's work, dwelling is pervaded with a conceptual complexity, whereas human geographers have mostly used a simplified, practice-based conception of dwelling for place and landscape conceptualisations.

In this chapter I firstly introduce the way in which dwelling appeared in the work of both Heidegger and Ingold (3.1). I then discuss the research questions based on a theoretical engagement the dwelling literature of the two writers (3.2), after which I reflect on the relevance of this discussion in the context of the thesis (3.3).

3.1 Introduction to dwelling in the work of Heidegger and Ingold

In the case of Heidegger, the conceptualisation of dwelling was a lifelong undertaking through which he formulated a "topology of being" (Malpas 2008) in an increasingly complex way, from a rather instrumental concept to a fuller and more poetic notion that approaches the richness of being.

Initially, he elaborated a philosophy that challenged the rationalism and representationalism which were characteristic of Western philosophy.²⁸ To further his thought on being, he coined the term "dwelling" in his early work "Being and Time" (Heidegger 1962; published originally in German in 1927). There, its meaning was confined to the notion of "being-in-the-world" [*In-der-Welt-Sein*] (human being's everyday, practical involvement in the Modern world). This relationship is basically one of homelessness (in being), as the question of being had been neglected or covered up by traditional metaphysics (Mugerauer 2008).

²⁸ Especially by thinking through being as an event and in its practical essence, Heidegger has been a source of inspiration for NRT.

Shortly after “Being and Time”, Heidegger realised that he needed to escape from restrictive metaphysical language to develop his thought as he started to see that being is essentially poetic and that his challenge was to name it as such. He therefore turned to poetry and in particular to Hölderlin, who shared with Heidegger the *leitmotifs* of homelessness, home, and homecoming (Mugerauer 2008, p. 92).

Mugerauer (2008) argued that Heidegger thereby managed to overcome traditional metaphysics’ false homeliness by journeying or wandering through “the strange” (Mugerauer 2008, p. 235). Heidegger understood poets to be outcasts themselves from the familiar and the cosy, thereby obtaining the vocation of overcoming the “grey everyday”. Thus precisely in poetry, “man is reunited on the foundation of his existence” (Heidegger 2000b, p. 62). Poets acknowledge that existence is a matter of receiving and giving, of accepting gifts and passing them on. In articulating this idea, Heidegger followed Hölderlin in connecting the holy (the Source or the gods), poetry (poets), and language (thinkers and other human beings). As such, Heidegger found a new way of naming human being’s dwelling – in essence human beings dwell “poetically” (Hölderlin 1961, p. 246; cited in Heidegger 2000b, p. 51, p. 60), which means “to stand in the presence of the gods and to be involved in the nearness of the essence of things” (Heidegger 2000b, p. 60; see also Mugerauer 2008, p. 96), where things are the entities in which *the fourfold* (see below) is gathered. Poetic dwelling is therefore to be understood as a gift, rather than something earned. Heideggerian dwelling is a question of resonance, as Mugerauer (2008, pp. 98-99) emphasised that poetical or “responsive” dwelling affirm our complex modes of belonging in the world (Mugerauer 2008, pp. 98-99).

To Heidegger to dwell meant to be there where one is “preserved from harm and danger, preserved from something, safeguarded” (Heidegger 1971a, p. 147). Heidegger would follow Hölderlin in naming the character of poetic dwelling as a sparing or preserving of *the fourfold*:

As long as kindness, which is pure, remains in his heart not unhappily the human may compare himself with the *god*. Is God unknown? Is he manifest as the *sky*? This rather I believe. It is the measure of the *human*. Full of acquirements, but poetically, the human dwells

on this *earth*" (Hölderlin 1961, pp. 245-246; cited in Elden 2001, p. 83 – Elden's italics and translation).

Heidegger proposed that human beings dwell "on the earth [...] under the sky [...] remain before the divinities [...] and] belong to men's being with one another [...] By a *primal* oneness the four – earth and sky, divinities and mortals – belong together in one. [...] This simple oneness of the four we call *the fourfold*" (1971a, p. 147, p. 148; original italics).

Thus, by now Heidegger had journeyed through metaphysical homelessness and wandered through the strange (emphasising to an extent the human in the concepts of situatedness, Dasein (the way of being of human being), and being-in-the-world). He had learned from his engagement with Hölderlin that he needed to return home to try and overcome homelessness, while remembering the entire journey (Mugerauer 2008, p. 235). In doing so, he focused more straightforwardly on the topological and enquired in-depth into the concepts of place, space and region (3.2).

Ingold developed Heidegger's notion of dwelling, using dwelling a way to avoid understandings in which the organism (traditionally studied in the natural sciences) and the subject or the person (traditionally studied in the humanities) are conceptualised as two separate layers of the human being; they are "one and the same" (Ingold 2000, p. 3). He did not aim to reconcile existing versions of the human being in the social and natural sciences, but rather understood human being as a being that relates, grows, develops, and *is* by dwelling skilfully in its surroundings. The world that people dwell in, is therefore key to Ingold (2000, p. 172), who argued that anthropology principally aims "to understand the relationships between people and their environments"; a definition which opens up pathways for rethinking nature, space and landscape.

Ingold's dwelling perspective stands opposite to the *building perspective*²⁹, which is bound up in a Modernist worldview to which Ingold found himself confined until his thinking matured in the late 1980s (Ingold 2000, p. 3, p. 173). The building perspective comes down to the idea that "worlds are made before they are lived in" (Ingold 2000, p. 180). Here, form

²⁹ Ingold's use of *building* in "building perspective" does not coincide with Heidegger's *building*. While to Heidegger, building meant a way in which dwelling takes place, Ingold refers with building to (social, cultural, or mental) construction – and as such to Ingold, building is in a way opposed to dwelling.

and meaning have already been attached to the world and “people must perforce ‘construct’ the world, in consciousness, before they can act in it” (Ingold 2000, p. 153), as the human being would be a “discrete, bounded entity” (Ingold 2000, p. 3) that moves through the world “out there” on the basis of intentionality and perceives this external world through mindful processing of data, acquired by the senses.

Importantly, to understand the relationship between human being and world through the dwelling perspective, one has to abandon the building perspective (which continues to dominate understandings in the Western world) by taking a step backwards. It is only by taking this step, that the important opportunities arising from the dwelling perspective come into view, as not only the human body and mind, human being’s situation in the world, and human-animal relations are re-thought, but also the material, the technological, the temporal and relational. In a broad sense, Ingold’s recognised the dwelling perspective to be grounded firmly in Heidegger’s dwelling story: “to build is itself already to dwell... *Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build*” (Heidegger 1971a, p. 146, 160; Ingold 2000, p. 186, original italics).

Like Heidegger, Ingold tries to show that the relationship between human being and world is fundamentally non-representational: as human beings we do not build mental pictures of an external reality; we grow within the world through our engagement in it. In such a worldview, practices and performances become key notions to study the enlacement of human beings, worlds, and their becoming-together.

To Ingold, landscape is rooted in embodied dwelling: practices of human beings and animals based upon “skill” the foundations of which lie “in the irreducible condition of the practitioner’s embeddedness in an environment [...]”. This implies that whatever practitioners do to things is grounded in an attentive, perceptual involvement with them” (Ingold 2000, p. 353). It can be deducted that through *involvement* the emphasis lies on the immersing activity: walking, hiking, perceiving, thinking, or landscaping. But meanwhile, things themselves are equally central, as they are implicate in our everyday living and form the world as we know it.

Ingold focused on both immaterial and material things. Stories, songs, and designs (immaterialities) do not give meaning to a plain reality, nor do they represent the landscape.

They should be understood as signs of the ongoing involvements of the continuous formation of the world:

Telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to *cover up* the world. [...] Rather it [the landscape] has both transparency and depth: transparency because one can see into it; depth, because the more one looks the further one sees. Far from dressing up a plain reality with layers of metaphor, or representing it, map-like, in the imagination, songs, stories and designs serve to conduct the attention of performers *into* the world, deeper and deeper, as one proceeds from outward appearances to an ever more intense poetic involvement. At its most intense, the boundaries between person and place, or between the self and the landscape, dissolve altogether. It is at this point that [... people] discover the real meaning of things (Ingold 2000, p. 56; original italics).

Above I have indicated some overlaps between Ingold's and Heidegger's work. But Ingold's dwelling perspective is in some aspects fundamentally different from Heidegger's understanding of dwelling. Those differences I set out in the discussion of the research questions below.

3.2 Discussion of the research questions

In section 2.2 I proposed a set of research questions on the meaning of dwelling in Heidegger's and Ingold's work. Above I introduced the way in which both authors integrated understandings of dwelling into their work. Here I continue with a discussion of the research questions.

- I) To what extent is the notion of dwelling nostalgic and backward-looking?

Although Heidegger's dwelling constitutes a longing for a return to the origin, and can therefore be understood to be "nostalgic" (Malpas 2008; Megill 1985, p. 125), nostalgia - in this sense - must be understood as a desire for a turning back to being, to our dwelling place. Heidegger argued that both in philosophy as well as in practice, human being has been turning away from its original dwelling place (and thereby from the mystery of being as such) for thousands of years. Such turning away intensified in modernity through an increasingly strong focus on abstract notions of time and space (Casey 2009, p. 38), which

takes shape in the prevalence of “the enframing” (Heidegger 1966; 2008b): the way in which modern technology simplifies the world into a standing reserve of resources ready to be ordered. The enframing, as a mode of revealing, therefore disconnects human being in a first instance from being (Dreyfus 1995). Although Heidegger’s conceptualisation of dwelling constitutes an attempt to overcome the enframing by embedding human being in a poetic, manifold world, it is not straightforwardly anti-modern or archaic, including his references to homecoming:

‘To convalesce’ (*genesen*) is the same as the Greek *néomai*, *nōstos*. This means ‘to return home’; nostalgia is the aching for home, homesickness. The convalescent is the man who collects himself to return home, that is to turn in, into his own destiny. The convalescent is on the road to himself, so that he can say to himself who he is (Heidegger 2009, p. 98; cited in Malpas 2008, p. 305).

Heidegger’s homecoming might be understood as a postmodern longing for place as the real envelopment (limit) and source (condition) of all our experiences, where place is “prior to all things” (Casey 2009, p. 38, p. 13; see Palmer 1976 for ways in which Heidegger’s may be understood to be postmodern). In recovering a sense of place, Heidegger did not propose to think in a pre-modern way; he rather argued that human being can only dwell poetically by fully accepting the world-historical age (Modernity and its modern technology), by confronting things as they are today and not long for things past. At the same time, by dwelling poetically human being might overcome the enframing as that what characterises our age.

In this sense, Ingold’s dwelling perspective might be understood to be nostalgic too. While it is largely built on examples of dwelling in “the faraway” (non-Western communities), it generally does not look at things long past. It shares Heidegger’s longing for the placial envelopment of human being’s existence – extending it to nonhuman existence too. As the nostalgia in Ingold’s dwelling perspective implied a focus on non-Western dwelling, it enriches the conceptualisation of the way in which human being might be understood to be in the world.

II) Who dwells, and in how far is “the Other” excluded from dwelling?

Heideggerian dwelling entails a sharp division between human being and animals, as he understood human beings to dwell and die as “mortals”, while animals would live only to perish. Furthermore, human being’s “being-with” (Heidegger 1962) would be a structure of existence that refers to other human beings only. This separation between human and animal being also comes to the fore in fragments about the human and animal connections to “world” (Heidegger 1995, pp. 176-178)³⁰ and in re-establishing an exclusionary relationship between human being and being (Heidegger 2008d). Thereby, Heidegger re-drew an unsurpassable border between human being and the animal (Sloterdijk 2009, p. 18; Glendinning 1998; Elden 2006).³¹

Ingold’s view is very different. Where Heidegger saw human beings as ontologically different from animals, Ingold emphasised the shared essence of both human beings and animals: they are referred to as “human and non-human animals” (Ingold 2000, p. 177). Both humans and animals in their very being build and dwell (Ingold 2000, pp. 185-188). In breaking down the separation between the social and the ecological domains, Ingold suggested that human being is only one of the constituents of a world in which different types of beings are more or less intimately connected or enmeshed “within an all-encompassing field of relations” (Ingold 2000, p. 187). With the dwelling perspective he aimed “to show that organism-and-environment and the being-in-the-world” are similar in multiple ways, and should be understood within the same paradigm (Ingold 2011, p. 11). Nonhuman and human animals share the same world, as both skilfully and bodily adapt to their environments (Ingold 2000, 2011). To Ingold, human being’s “being-with” is a dwelling capacity that might include being with animals.

³⁰ Understanding plays a crucial role, as Heidegger (1995, p. 177; see also Glendinning 1998, p. 66) considered only human beings to be able to encounter things *as* things, and thereby “have access to entities *as such* in their being. Human beings do not only form part of a world but have a world”.

³¹ Yet it must also be noted that to later Heidegger the gathering (of being) happens in things, which may be seen as a conceptual move de-centring the human being as the “shepherd of being” (Heidegger 2008d). This move occurred simultaneously with the development of a more direct topological focus: place became “a material condition of possibility: not just of human experience [...] but of all kinds of appearance in any kind of life-world” (Casey 2001, p. 226).

Furthermore, the breakdown of the artificial separation of the social and ecological world clears the road for an understanding of personhood that applies equally to human – as to other-than-human beings. Ingold (2000, pp. 89-91) illustrated this through the circumpolar group of hunters and trappers called Ojibwa, to whom non-human beings can have personhood. This is not to be understood as adding a cultural layer of anthropomorphic being on top of a natural being, but rather as seeing that persons can take a great variety of forms of which human persons are only one.

In terms of human beings' relationship to the human "other", Heidegger emphasised co-habitation, community and co-existence. Early Heidegger (1962; pp. 149-168) conceptualised "being-in-the-world" as "being-with": human beings are always already in the world by being with others. As such, human being is not understood as "mental substance" - an understanding where the 'subject' must "come out of its inner 'sphere' into one which is 'other and external' " (Heidegger 1962, p. 60; see also Dreyfus 1991, p. 5 and Malpas 2008, pp. 65-146). Glendinning (1998, p. 57) therefore concluded that: "just as [Heidegger] rejects the idea of a worldless subject, so, too, he rejects the idea of an isolated 'I' without Others".

Rocha de la Torre's (2009) conclusion about "the Other" in Heidegger's writings can be well understood in relation with Mugerauer's interpretation of dwelling as *homecoming*. This very undertaking, Roche de la Torre (2009, p. 672) argued, is to be understood as a double recognition of the other:

on the one hand, the originary "foreboding" of its alterity, which makes the one's transparency and proper essence doubtful and drives one to undertake the voyage; on the other hand, the knowledge and recognition of the factic diversity which is achieved through the journey through unknown worlds and which drives him to come home. One and the other moves one to leave on a journey and to come home in favour of "the proper" and can only exist because of the experience of the different. This is the reason why the road that leads us far away from home and brings us back home is in essence the same as the road of the recognition of the other.

I therefore suggest that Heidegger's conception of dwelling is not exclusionary. In his later writings, an ethical view on community and acceptance of "the Other" comes most strongly to the fore. Heidegger traced the roots of "neighbourhood" back to "neigh" or "near" and therefore proposed that neighbourhood means "dwelling in nearness" (Heidegger 1971b, p.

93; cited in Casey 1997, p. 282). A neighbourhood is a constant happening “induced by the nearness of the things or people who coinhabit a place in common” (Casey 1997, p. 282); an intimate and sensuous place (Heidegger 1971b, p. 82).

Heidegger furthermore emphasised that a neighbourhood offers *possibilities* for “future implacement” (Casey 1997, p. 283). To think of dwelling place in terms of possibility links into Heidegger’s late Festival Address dedicated to his beloved Todtnauberg and its inhabitants. Similarly to the Memorial Address in Messkirch, he focused on the future of the village in a rapidly changing world. Here, he expressed not only his thankfulness to the place and people for accepting and letting him stay there (this belonging is a personal homecoming in itself), but also risked this acceptance (and maybe thereby his own life-long journey) by commending the villagers to open up their dwelling to other visitors from industrial and urban areas too (Mugerauer 2008, p. 541, p. 536):

where they suddenly can hear silence, where they can find rest in this silence, where they can experience what is a forest and an alpine meadow, what is a rocky slope and a lively flowing creek, what is a high sky and a sparkling starry night, what the following things means – to dwell in such a landscape where humans still speak the strange expressive mother tongue (Heidegger 2003a, p. 648; cited in Mugerauer 2008, p. 536).

Heidegger understood that the inhabitants are guests (to the miracle of being, in the fragility of place) too, and that they needed to respond appropriately to the gift by hosting others: by doing so they would let the source flow (Mugerauer 2008, pp. 536-540).

Such ideas can be understood to shape or link to the practices of the communities in the case studies too. Dwelling does not imply that we should think of human dwellers as closed-off individuals or communities that do not accept others to dwell (poetically) too. As a result, dwelling place might be thought of as an intrinsically open place.

III) How does the authentic/inauthentic life split appear in the concept of dwelling?

Like several Heideggerian concepts, authenticity [*eigentlichkeit*] should not be understood in its everyday meaning. To early Heidegger, authenticity is used alongside inauthenticity and undifferentiation to indicate modes that human being applies (or finds itself in) to live its

life. These modes are ultimately linked to temporality. The authentic mode refers to facing up to death (human being's ownmost possibility), while in its everyday life human being is mostly "inauthentic" or "undifferentiated". However, none is to be valued more positively than the other, as all are necessary, complementary modes (Heidegger 1962, p. 69, 1982, p. 160; see also Dreyfus 1991, pp. 27-28). To early Heidegger, dwelling did not imply an "authentic" lifestyle: human beings dwell variously inauthentically, authentically and in an undifferentiated mode.

Early Heidegger thought of authenticity as a coping with (not an overcoming of) homelessness in the face of death (an abysmal nothing) (Young 2000). Later Heidegger developed a richer notion of death: following Rilke, he conceptualised being as a globe, or a moon, with the world on the lighted side, and the sphere of the death on the dark side of this moon, so that death "belongs to the totality of the beings on its other side" (Heidegger 1971a, pp. 124-125), it is "a plenitude", a "not-yet-uncovered" rather than an "emptiness" (Heidegger 1971a, p. 124, 60; cited in Young 2000, p. 192). This way, human being could escape homelessness, achieve a homecoming, and dwell poetically (Young 2000). In this sense, later Heidegger's development of dwelling served to overcome an authenticity / inauthenticity split.

Ingold did not elaborate upon the issues of authenticity and inauthenticity. His dwelling perspective applies to all kinds of dwelling practices, while none is interpreted to be either authentic or inauthentic.

- IV) Are dwelling perspectives inevitably bound to spaces of nature and/or rurality, and if not, how do they apply in urban spaces?

Heidegger exemplified dwelling mostly by way of traditional, physically built things: a jug, Van Gogh's painting of peasant shoes, an old bridge, an old farmstead, etc.³² As any phenomenologist would, he used examples of his lifeworld, and Heidegger (1981, 1983a) felt deeply connected to his rural, Bavarian surroundings. Similarly, and due to his background

³² Heidegger used the example of a hydro-plant in a river, to identify how modern technology reduces the river into a simple standing-reserve, and the example of a motorway bridge, as it points to an efficient and constant coming and going (Heidegger 1971a, 2008b).

as an anthropologist specialised initially in northern circumpolar communities, Ingold's examples of dwelling are also mostly situated in rural places. However, this should not be taken to support the nature / culture or the rural / urban dualism. Rather, dwelling is meant to overcome these and other dualisms.

Heidegger was uncomfortable with the everyday meaning of "nature", because today's metaphysical conception of the word stems from latin '*natura*' rather than from Greek *physis* (*φύσις*)" (Elden 2001, p. 37), which originally signified 'growth' (Elden 2001, pp. 37-38). Ingold, on his part, tried to overcome the nature / artefact dualism, and argued that not only human beings, plants and animals are alive; he argued that constructed things may be grown and can be lively too (Ingold 2000, 339-348). Thus, dwelling is embedded in a philosophy that breaks down the modern conception of "nature" and therefore dwelling cannot be linked to such a concept.

Dwelling is not tied to any type of place, because human beings are necessarily in place and might engage more or less intensely with things in different environments. Hence, all places *are* because of their dwelt character: cities, villages, offices and farms alike. Malpas (2008, p. 309) gave a vivid description of a wide variety of possible rural and urban³³, past and contemporaneous dwelling places and then concluded: "the home that Heidegger is concerned with, in spite of his preference for imagery drawn from his own German life and experience, is none of these, and yet it could also be found in all or any of them". The relationship between human beings and the world is often based on familiarity and traditional yet adaptive embodied knowledges and practices; on poetic dwelling.

Human being dwells in different places; dwelling is a concept of "being-at-home-in-the-world" (Harrison 2007; my italics): human being is not tied to one, or to a limited set of places only. Indeed, much of Heidegger's early project can be seen as an outline of how human beings are capable of moving non- or pre-cognitively through the everyday, placial world (Heidegger 1962; Dreyfus 1991). Dwelling is based on the human capability of relating to others and things, through familiarity and care (Heidegger 1962). In doing so, human beings adapt flexibly to different kinds of places.

³³ The main difficulty in considering urban dwelling lies in applying the earth – sky axis.

V) Is dwelling a question of being or is it embedded in ontologies of becoming?

Heidegger is generally acknowledged to have written about *being*, which is the place where human beings can be at home. He considered *becoming* to be being's "Other", but to originarily belong to it at the same time, and interpreted Parmenides's and Heraclitus's contrasting views (one focusing primarily on being and the other primarily on becoming) to be "different", yet to be essentially "the same" (Heidegger 2000a, pp. 101-103). Thus, far from being a matter of "either – or", to Heidegger being implies becoming and becoming implies being.

Furthermore, some years after "Being and Time" Heidegger formulated the idea of "the Event" [*Ereignis*] (Heidegger 1999), which has a precursor in Heidegger's definition of the *situatedness* in 1919, which captured the situated character of being (Heidegger 1987; see also Malpas 2008). A situation is an event, in that it "imparts unity and meaning to the natural flow of life experience." We are always in the world by way of being in specific circumstances – "the 'I' is never 'detached' or 'disengaged'" (Guignon 2006, p. 29).

Heidegger defined a situation as:

the cohesive meaning a set of events have within a life, [...] in which the three temporal aspects of the event –the point of origin, the way it unfolds, and its culmination or realization– are interwoven into a lived, coherent unity. [...]

Reaching the opening at the summit, one is totally absorbed in the situation. The sun, clouds, and the rock ledge fill the moment and have a distinctive quality that is sharpened and brought into focus by the long climb. This situation is a situation *for* someone, but the self who experiences the situation is not experienced as some "thing" distinct from the situation. On the contrary, in such a situation the self is out of sight: 'it swims together [with everything else] in the situation' (Guignon 2000, pp. 84-85; inner citation from Heidegger 1987, p. 206).

Guignon (2000, p. 84) explained how a felt topology (again of a climber reaching the summit) is constitutive of the "situation", which is an event (a "meaningful totality") rather than a process (a "mere sequence of physical movements in a causal nexus"):

The structure of the situation is defined by a background of *motivation* [...], a *tendency* that impels the course of events in a particular *direction* [...], and a *fulfilment* that binds the whole together and defines it as a unity.

[...] Far from being one item among others *in* this scene, my identity as a human is *constituted* by the entire lived context that makes up my dwelling in the world (Guignon 2000, p. 85; original italics).

“The Event” [*Ereignis*] can be understood as a matured version of situatedness, as it is “the taking place”. *Ereignis* names what Heidegger missed in other concepts such as “*Sein*” and “*Wesen*” or “*anwesen*” (being, to be present). For Heidegger “the problem is to express a being’s *own* way of occurring, happening, being present, not just *for* our understanding, will, and perception, but as the being [...] itself is” (Hofstadter 1971, p. xviii; original italics). Both Malpas (2008) and Mugerauer (2008) followed Hofstadter’s germinal analysis of the concept, in which one of the senses of *Ereignis* is its “dictionary sense”: *Ereignis* is related to “*sich ereignen*”: to happen, to take place. This indicates the dynamic aspect of that what seems static in the translation of *Ereignis* with a noun. In this sense “happening” would be the most literal translation, evoking Heidegger’s philosophy of being (be-*ing*) as always already implying a “coming-to-be” (Hofstadter 1971, pp. xvii-xxi):

Later Heidegger’s vocabulary started to resonate a preoccupation with the dynamics of being (Fell 1979, pp. 415-417): the world *worlds*, the thing *things*, the appropriating *propriates*, and the region *regions* or is *that-which-regions* (Malpas 2008, p. 231). Being (be-*ing*) should not be understood as a static, but rather as a dynamic affair. This goes for human being’s dwelling too: by naming dwelling as the essence of human being, human being and its place are thought of dynamically.

Ingold reasoned that if human being in its undertakings is not separate from its world but rather intimately in it, then what would traditionally be considered *human works* are no mere intentional makings of transcription of the human will, but rather a manifold process of growth of both nonhuman and human being. We inhabit:

a flux in which materials of the most diverse kinds – through processes of admixture and distillation, of coagulation and dispersal, and of evaporation and precipitation – undergo continual generation and transformation. The forms of things, far from having been imposed from without upon an inert substrate, arise and are borne along – as indeed we are too – within this current of materials. As with the Earth itself, the surface of every solid is but a crust, the more or less ephemeral congregate of a generative movement (Ingold 2007, p. 7).

Ingold's ideas on dwelling, place, and landscape are based on becoming rather than being. Dwelling names the linkage of immersion between human being and landscape, and the way in which both human being and landscape are shaped in the process. It may therefore be understood as "different and shifting ways of attuning perception to objects and events in a process of ongoing immersion" (McFarlane 2011, p. 11). Immersive processes take place through *learning*, or the development of embodied skills over time (McFarlane 2011).

After considering the way in which the Nuer understand and experiment time only through their daily activities, Ingold (2000, pp. 323-338) argued that human beings in (post)modern societies dwell similarly, but often have to cope with invented clock time that is alien to human being and superimposed on its more original feel of rhythmic and cyclical temporality. He indicated how skilled, trained train drivers, who were once understood to possess a strong consciousness of [clock] time, may be better understood to dwell experimentally too. Just like distance, space, weight, slope and speed, time is one of the factors that a skilled railway worker integrates to let tasks flow. To train drivers too, time remains utterly heterogeneous, while the Ancient Greek concept of *kairos*, "the moment that must be seized, in the skilled work of the artisan" (Ingold 2000, pp. 335), remains of the highest importance. And if time is apprehended during the undertaking of everyday tasks, then the embodied essence of time is what relates to landscape.

Time is embodied in the human being / landscape relationship. To Ingold, organism stands to environment as body stands to landscape. The difference is that the first relation is grounded in *function* and the second in *form* (Ingold 2000, p. 193). Because human being *is* bodily in landscape, both grow, form, and become by way of their being-together: "through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it" (Ingold 2000, p. 191). The "emergent interface between both organism and environment", and body and landscape, might be called a process of embodiment, which should be seen as a process of "*incorporation* rather than inscription [...] a movement wherein forms themselves are generated" (Ingold 2000, p. 193; original italics).

This very movement of form-generation is what makes a landscape inherently temporal: landscape embodies the activities or *tasks* undertaken in it. Ingold (2000, p. 195) defined task as "any practical operation, carried out by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life [...] tasks are the constitutive acts of dwelling". This

understanding of human being and tasks follows Heidegger's elaboration of equipmentality, as Ingold (2000, p. 195) proposed that "every task takes its meaning from its position within an ensemble of tasks, performed in series or in parallel, and usually by many people working together".

Ingold coined the term *taskscape* to define the ensemble or mutual interlocking of tasks (Ingold 2000, p. 195). To integrate temporality into this taskscape, he drew on Merleau-Ponty (1962). Human being does not confront or look at the world, but *performs* its tasks as a participant. In its participatory involvement within the taskscape, one perceives the past and the future, but such a vista "is always available from this moment and no other" (Ingold 2000, p. 196). Therefore, the past and the future are gathered into the present.

Ingold (2000, p. 197) emphasised three aspects of the temporal character of the taskscape. Firstly, social life is characterised by *rhythmic* cycles that come to the fore in movement (whether bodily, or otherwise), a "building up and resolution of tension". Secondly, social life amounts up to the complex interweaving of many concurrent cycles: the taskscape is constituted of "the network of interrelationships between the multiple rhythms" and performed multi-sensually. Thirdly, the taskscape is not to be equivalised with culture, because "it does not pre-exist"; it only exists through people's actual dwelling movements.

The step from taskscape to landscape is a minor one: "the landscape as a whole must [...] be understood as the taskscape in its embodied form: a pattern of activities 'collapsed' into an array of features" (Ingold 2000, p. 198). Both the taskscape and the landscape are inherently temporal: the landscape is never complete: neither 'built' nor 'unbuilt', it is perpetually under construction (Ingold 2000, p. 199).

Thus, Ingold (2011, p. 12; my italics) emphasised the vitalist aspect of dwelling and world. The dwelling perspective always implies movement: "an issuing along with things in the very process of their generation: [...] the pro-duction (bringing forth) of *perpetual becoming*." Landscape inheres time (Ingold 1993). As we participate in the larger rhythms of the world transforming itself, our activities and perceptions form part and parcel "of the process of becoming of the world as a whole" (Ingold 1993, p. 69). This is why "we can do away with the dichotomy between taskscape and landscape – only however, by recognising the fundamental temporality of the landscape itself" (Ingold 1993, p. 69).

VI) Is dwelling synonymous to rootedness (in place), and are place and landscape necessarily closed entities?

Casey (2009, p. 132) argued that we may think of Heideggerian dwelling as fundamentally two-folded: as “dwelling-as-residing” as well as “dwelling-as-wandering”:

we can find an important clue by tracing the word dwell back to two apparently antithetical roots: Old Norse *dvelja*, linger, delay, tarry, and Old English *dwalde*, go astray, err, wander. [... In dwelling the body is both] an engine of exploration and creation as well as an agent of habit. Thanks precisely to the familiarity established by habitual body memories, we get our bearings in a place of residence, the interior analogue of orientation in open landscape” (Casey 2009, p. 114, p. 117).

The *hestial* “dwelling-as-residing” as well as the *hermetic* “dwelling-as-wandering” may be characterised by a “dialectical interplay” (Casey 2009, p. 132, p. 133): “wandering can happen within residing” and “dilatatory dwelling may occur at many points along the way”. Dwelling is “*the manner in which we humans are on the earth*” (Heidegger 1971a, p. 145); it does not refer to a static or rooted lifestyle. Depending on the situation, dwelling takes on a mobile or a lingering character, as it gains significance by familiarity and exploration, rest and mobility.

Where Heidegger wrote about dwelling as “staying”, he referred to staying “near the source” (Mugerauer 2008) rather than to staying sedentarily in a place. He argued that human being should leave the traditional metaphysical place, in order to overcome a false feeling of being-at-home, a false rootedness that should be left behind (Mugerauer 2008). At the same time, we never leave place as our lifeworld, as that where we connect to being. In the Hölderlin lectures Heidegger took the river as a paradigm case of our home, where our dwelling place is “both a site [region] (*Ortschaft*) and a journey (*Wanderschaft*)” (Gauthier 2004, p. 257). The very fulfilling of dwelling in its depth (homecoming) necessarily involves a travelling through the foreign (Gauthier 2004, Mugerauer 2008). Homecoming (the overcoming of the enframing, the turning back to being in its plenitude), necessarily involves a recognition of *the poetic* (Malpas 2008, p. 300). Poetic dwelling is both endangered by the enframing, as well as a way of overcoming the enframing – it might be able to confront the enframing’s homelessness, and consists of two broad possibilities, an *old* and a *new* “rootedness” (Heidegger 1966, p. 55).

The first possibility involves a “retrieval of the source” by “preserving existing experiences of home”, such as remembering the continuity of community (Mugerauer 2008, p. 486, 489), which involves resisting to the alienation of modern technology (Heidegger 1971c, p. 238). The second possibility for homecoming is through a “*new relation to homeland*” (Mugerauer 2008, p. 486; original italics), which consists of discovering “a new rootedness” through the “generation of new modes of belonging” (Heidegger 1966, p. 55; Mugerauer 2008, p. 489, p. 487). More concretely, this new rootedness would be based in “meditative thinking”: reflection on the manifoldness of being in relation to the enframing (Heidegger 1966, p. 55). This would involve “dwelling in the nearness to things” (Heidegger 1971a, p. 179) or a “releasement toward things” [*Gelassenheit zu den Dingen*] (accepting technological devices to enter our daily life, and at the same time leaving them alone) and an openness to the mystery of being (Mugerauer 2008, p. 488; Heidegger 1966, pp. 54-55). A new rootedness would also require the consideration of the divine as human being’s “saving power” as well as actively cultivating “marginal practices”, which are not to be measured along the enframing’s dimension of efficiency (Dreyfus 1995, p. 104, p. 105).

Ingold did not conceptualise dwelling as a question of rootedness either. To the contrary, he understood all perceptions to be embedded in movement, even in cases of apparent stillness (Ingold 2000, p. 203). In his more recent writings, he understood all organisms to live and to grow along lines (Ingold 2005, 2008, 2011). Human being’s movement marks its being “along paths”, rather than “in place” as the primary condition of being (Ingold 2008, p. 1809). Such a view on dwelling differs from Heidegger’s, who would argue that movement too happens in place as an open region.

In Heidegger’s early concept of Dasein (Heidegger 1962), the ‘*Da*’ (there) can be understood as “the open” (Sheehan 2001, p. 193; see also Malpas 2008). Later Heidegger understood place as the “open realm of gathered disclosure” (Malpas 2008, p. 69) and emphasised that dwelling takes place in the clearing, an “opening” that constitutes the happening of unconcealedness (Heidegger 1971a, p. 51). Furthermore, dwelling as a staying would be experienced as a “*zum Frieden gebracht sein [...], eingefriedet bleiben in das Freie*” (Heidegger 2009, p. 340) which may be translated as “to be brought to peace within the free sphere”, or as translated elsewhere: “to be enclosed within the free”, where “enclosed” would refer to the idea that one can be only in an open place (Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, p. 11). The

idea that Heideggerian dwelling is limited to bounded space or place (chapter 2) seems to be a misunderstanding which might have its origins in an understanding of space in its Cartesian sense. Heidegger proposed a topological understanding of being (Malpas 2008), where beings have to be understood as situated within their context or background, as they always and necessarily are – in place. Such a place is not simply “closed”, as it does not imply any straightforward boundaries. “The open” is in a sense literally “unbounded”: space becomes “something that is cleared and free” (Heidegger 1971a, p. 125). As far as places have a boundary, this boundary is not a limit: “not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that from which something *begins its presencing*. That is why the concept is that of *horismos*, that is, the horizon, the boundary” (Heidegger 1971a, p. 152; original italics).

Whereas several authors built on Hofstadter’s dubious translation of the meaning of dwelling – “to remain or to stay in a place” (Heidegger 1971a, p. 147) – which is suggestive of static dwelling in a bounded place, I propose the meaning of dwelling to be interpreted differently: to be in place as in an open region (Heidegger 1966; Casey 1997; Malpas 2008) or near the source of being (Mugeauer 2008). However, Heidegger’s conceptualisation of the situation, the Event and especially of the placial fourfold as a whole or a unity does seem quite problematical, because it hardly allows for the entrance of the external, the contingent, the unfinished and the chaotic.

Ingold (2000, p. 203) initially problematised the idea that places or landscapes could have boundaries, although they could be understood “to have” or indeed “to be” *centres* (Ingold 2000, p. 192). It would make no sense to ask where one place stops and another starts (Ingold 2000, p. 192). Several geographers critiqued Ingold for the localist undertone in his dwelling perspective (2.1). More recently, Ingold acknowledged that he “somewhat regretted” the denomination of great part of his writings under the banner of “dwelling perspective” (Ingold 2008, p. 1808). Instead, he preferred to speak of “life in the open as a process of inhabiting” in an attempt to overcome the emphasis on the “territorial qualities of dwelling” and the localism characteristic of his understanding of landscape. At the same time, Ingold defended his earlier position by pointing out how dwelling was conceptualised as a mobile undertaking – it always takes place on pathways, while journeying (Ingold 2000, p. 193).

It thus seems on the one hand that Ingold did not change his thinking, but rather rephrased it because of a fear of misinterpretation due to dwelling's negative connotations (Ingold 2008, p. 1808), while on the other hand, he started to search for a way out of the localist character of dwelling, by problematising the supposedly "bounded" character of Heideggerian dwelling place:

If place is a clearing, 'freed for settlement or lodging', then it must have a boundary. Thus a clearing in the forest stretches to the edge of the woods, and of a woodland creature that has emerged from the forest to graze in the clearing we might say that it has 'come out into the open'. As a space, the clearing is open, but as a place in the world, it is enclosed (Ingold 2008, p. 1797).

Problematically, the difference between "a space" and "a place in the world" remains opaque, especially because Ingold did not develop space as a qualitative concept.³⁴ He problematised Heidegger's understanding of place's boundary, by asking: if a place's boundary is unbounded to the horizon, "how can it be inhabited? How can any being possibly find a place there?" (Ingold 2008, p. 1797).³⁵

However critical of the boundedness of Heidegger's dwelling place, Ingold (2008, p. 1801) used a Heideggerian understanding of things to build a vitalist and relational understanding of the world as essentially "open":

In a world that is truly open there are no objects as such. For the object, having closed in on itself, has turned its back on the world, cutting itself off from the paths along which it came into being and presenting only its congealed, outer surfaces for inspection. That is to say, the "objectness of things" or what Heidegger (1971a, p. 167) called their "over-againstness" is the result of an inversion that turns the lines of their generation into boundaries of exclusion. The

³⁴ Ingold consciously neglected "space", as he seemed to consider it more worthwhile to write about the more concretely lived with, such as land, landscape, earth and ground (Ingold 1993, Olwig 2008, p. 81)

³⁵ This question is rather confusing, as Ingold (2000, pp. 219-242) had outlined how ocean farers always know their place in the world, how they dwell placially. However "homogeneous" the world might seem (especially in open places such as the ocean, the desert, or similar) one never lives in an entirely abstract or blank space. In this sense, the main difference between being in a city square and in the desert, is a matter of scale.

open world, however, has no such boundaries, no insides or outsides, only comings and goings. Such productive movements may generate formations, swellings, growths, protuberances, and occurrences, but not objects. Thus, in the open world hills rise up, as can be experienced by climbing them or, from a distance, by following the contours with one's eyes.

Here, organisms would be "interwoven lines of growth and movement, together constituting a meshwork in fluid space", and the environment a "zone of entanglement" where "life threads its ways along paths through the weather world" (Ingold 2008, p. 1796). This world is continuously in the making by "formative and transformative processes", of which inhabitation reconfigures "the relations between surfaces, substances, and the medium" (Ingold 2008, p. 1801). In rethinking life in the open, Ingold developed a way of thinking about the earth and sky axis relationship, by considering the open's weather as the ultimate medium that perforates unbounded materials and porous surfaces (Ingold 2008, p. 1802). Therefore, understanding landscape is not only a matter of focussing on the solid forms of the landscape (Ingold 2000, p. 198), but also to attend to "the weather world [... where] seasoned inhabitants know how to read the land as an intimate register of wind and weather" (Ingold 2008, p. 1803). Ingold's shift from what he thought of as "enclosed" place led to the development of the interplay (what Heidegger had called mirror-play [*Spiegel-spiel*]) between especially earth and sky, as the unbounded "binding and unbinding of the world" (Ingold 2008, pp. 1803-1804).

VII) What are the topological contents of dwelling?

Above I have touched upon the topological background of dwelling. Here I want to do so in more depth, and especially into the complexities of Heidegger's conceptualisation. Throughout his life, Heidegger developed his thinking on the way in which dwelling and place are fundamental in approaching being. Dwelling is both an *activity* and a *being gathered* into place. Later Heidegger came to understand dwelling as a complex and rich event, and coupled his quest for the meaning of dwelling with an enquiry into the meaning of *space* (Raum):

Clearing-away [*Räumen*] is uttered therein. This means: to clear out [*roden*], to free from wilderness. Clearing-away brings forth the free, the openness for man's settling and dwelling. When thought in its own special character, clearing-away is the release [*Freigabe*] of places

toward which the fate of dwelling man turns in the preserve of the home or in the brokenness of homelessness or in complete indifference to the two. [...] Clearing-away brings forth region [*Ortschaft*]³⁶ preparing for dwelling. [...]

Clearing-away is release of regions (Heidegger 1973, p. 5).

Spacing as a clearing-away is a making-room that participates in the bringing-forth of human being's dwelling places. Place is to be characterised through dwelling and space and vice versa (Heidegger 1973, p. 6):

Are places first and only the result and issue of making-room? Or does making-room take its special character from the reign of gathering places? If this proves right, then we would have to search for the special character of clearing-away in the grounding of region [*Ortschaft*], and *we would have to meditate on region [Ortschaft] as the interplay of places*. We would have then to take heed that and how this play receives its reference to the belonging together of things from the region's free expanse (Heidegger 1973, p. 6; my italics).

The relationship between place and space opens up a complex interplay in which gathering things open up spaces in encompassing regions, and come to appearance from out of "the open" or the clearing. This all happens through human being's dwelling in the nearness of things.

Heidegger (1966, p. 27) developed a complex conceptualisation of region [*Ortschaft* / *Gegend* / *Gegnet*], as an "open", and "inherently dynamic" entity, providing a pathway for re-thinking landscape (see also Casey 1997, p. 271). "Openness", pervades "the entire realm in which statement, 'object', and human being are situated in relation to one another", which takes place through engagement and movement (Malpas 2008, p. 195). Heidegger (1966) thought "the open" (*das Offene*) in regional terms. The horizon, as that wherein things appear to us, is "but the side facing us of an Open that surrounds us". "The open" would be "something like a region, an enchanted region where everything belonging there returns to that in which it rests", referring with region to "the region of all regions" (Heidegger 1966, p. 64, p. 65). This region is the inescapable domain which we cannot leave or enter at will.

³⁶ I follow Malpas (2008) and Casey (2009) in translating "*Ortschaft*" as "region".

The gathering region's dynamic character is emphasised by it being called "*Gegnen*" (regioning) and "*Gegnet*" (that-which-regions) (Heidegger 1966, p. 66). Casey (1997, p. 270; original italics) interpreted that in its regioning, region both "retains what *moves toward us*" and is such a broad gathering or sheltering that it is an expanse (space) and an abiding (time). It is within region that we would, "move-into-nearness", which is a matter of releasement toward the region, of letting-oneself into its nearness (Casey 1997, p. 271; Heidegger 1966, p. 89).

Places not only gather in different ways, but are also gathered into other places. Through the overarching concept of region Heidegger surpassed the conceptualisation of places in their relatively simple "particular" or "singular" gathering (Malpas 2008, p. 248). Region is opened up through the "interplay of places" as an *overarching place* (Heidegger 1973, p. 6; see also Malpas 2008, pp. 28-32), where the open happens (Malpas 2008, p. 247). In terms of the clearing [*Lichtung*], Heidegger (2008c, p. 319; cited in Malpas 2008, p. 248) concluded: "the clearing, the opening, is not only free for brightness and darkness, but also for resonance and echo, for sounding and diminishing of sound. The clearing is the opening for everything that is present and absent." Linking the question of region and place again back to *space*, the latter always implies *movement*. The regional gathering takes place through the pathways between its places:

Inasmuch as space gives room for a multiplicity of places to emerge within it, *so the way the unity of places is given in space is through the movements that connect those places, and thus also through the passages and pathways that connect them*. In this respect, we can understand the interconnectedness of places as also an articulation of the unity of a space, though we may also say that, inasmuch as the space that contains places within it can be understood as having something of the being of a place itself – of the sort of place we call a 'locality' or 'region' [...] Place itself gathers, but *the gathering of places, and so the gathering of places in space, is itself something that occurs by means of the pathway* (Malpas 2008, p. 262; my italics)

While there is only one region [*Gegend*], there are many particular regions [*Ortschaften*] in which the pathways are of central importance. The pathways refer to the movements between places by way of a focus on the relational and the dynamic. *Ortschaft* as a placial region becomes the domain of our poetic dwelling through its interconnecting paths:

Tòπος is the Greek for 'place,' [...] the originally gathering holding of what belongs together and is thus for the most part a manifold of places reciprocally related by belonging together, which we call a region [*Ortschaft*]. In the extended domain of the district there are thus roads, passages, and paths. A δαίμονιος Τòπος [*daimonios topos*] is an 'uncanny district.' That now means: a 'where' in whose squares and alleys the uncanny shines explicitly and the essence of Being comes to presence in an eminent sense (Heidegger 1972, p. 117; cited in Malpas 2008, pp. 262-263).

In the complex understanding of region, a new meaning of home can be found, as it names "the scope, scale, or span wherein humans actually dwell". Such a region becomes human being's world "as in home – region, landscape, and settlement" (Mugerauer 2008, p. 512).

Following Heidegger, the presencing of region as "regioning" and "that-which-regions" and as [*Ortschaft*], might be understood as landscape. These various understandings of region invoke heterogeneous meanings in such a way that landscape becomes a dense, but extremely rich concept. Casey put forward such a "regional" understanding of landscape: "a landscape can be considered the phenomenal or sensuous manifestation of a region" (Casey 2009, p. 73). Landscape is a happening: a dynamic and open dimension (both temporal and spatial), into which things gather and are gathered, and stand forth in their presence or absence.

Ingold developed an understanding of dwelling in which landscape is not quantitative, homogeneous, or measurable in ways that "land", "nature" and "space" are. To the contrary, landscape is "qualitative and heterogeneous", it is implicate, "it *with* us, not *against* us" (Ingold 2000, pp. 190-192; original italics). Landscape is therefore closer to the concept of "environment", as the latter is primarily to be defined by the function "it" has for the organism while the concepts of land, nature and space are thought of as if separate and independent from the human being (Ingold 2000, p. 193). The concepts of landscape and bodies are interrelated by their emphasis on form, and "each implies the other, alternately as figure and ground" (Ingold 2000, p. 193), which is a key idea from which to focus on the unfolding process of embodiment.

To Ingold, space would be necessarily "representational", understood as a measurable abstraction contrasting on many levels with lived place and landscape. A place to the contrast:

owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there - to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. It is from this relational context of people's engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance (Ingold 2000, p. 192).

Ingold's focus on material (but also immaterial) things opens up a worldview in which "the landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (Ingold 2000, p. 193).

Ingold and especially Heidegger have developed dwelling as fundamentally placial notions (when Ingold's vocabulary shifted towards the notion of "inhabitation", he started to speak of pathways and movement rather than places, but these concepts can be argued to be topological too). Below I consider ways in which the discussion of this - and other research questions inform the rest of the thesis.

3.3 Implications of the theoretical discussion of the research questions

This chapter brings to light the depth and manifoldness of the concept of dwelling that is not often acknowledged in engagements with dwelling in geography. Above, I discussed the research questions to explore the negative connotations that dwelling bears (2.1; 2.2). Here I consider in what ways each specific research question informs the remaining part of the thesis:

I) To what extent is the notion of dwelling nostalgic and backward-looking?

Heidegger's and Ingold's conceptualisations of dwelling are not inherently backward-looking, dwelling is not irrefutably limited by connotations of nostalgia. I do not link this research question to any of the research themes, but do consider this conclusion to support the theoretical validity of dwelling.

II) Who dwells, and in how far is "the Other" excluded from dwelling?

Heidegger's and Ingold's conceptualisations of dwelling are not exclusionary. This supports the theoretical validity of dwelling. However, Heidegger's separation between human beings who dwell and die in lifeworlds, and animals that live and perish in environments, seems unnecessary and problematic. Ingold redefined dwelling and placed it into a more equalitarian paradigm in which human and nonhumans dwell in similar ways and share the same lifeworlds. This means that for the remaining part of the thesis, I distance myself from the Heideggerian conception of dwelling with(out) nonhuman beings, while I build upon Ingold's understanding in this respect throughout the case studies, but especially in the research theme "Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman".

III) How does the authentic/inauthentic life split appear in the concept of dwelling?

Heidegger's and Ingold's conceptualisations of dwelling are not hindered by an authenticity / inauthenticity duality. I do not link this research question to any of the research themes, but do consider this conclusion to support the theoretical validity of dwelling.

IV) Are dwelling perspectives inevitably bound to spaces of nature and/or rurality, and if not, how do they apply in urban spaces?

The idea that dwelling is irrefutably limited by connotations of rurality, does not seem justified. To further investigate this issue, I select a rural, as well as an urban case study (4.7.1), and reflect upon this research question throughout the conclusion (Chapter 7).

V) Is dwelling a question of being or is it embedded in ontologies of becoming?

Being and becoming are mutually constituent ideas that form the backbone of original notions of dwelling. The writings of Heidegger and especially those of Ingold might be understood to be based on a vitalist philosophy, which I take into account throughout the case studies (Chapter 5 and 6).

VI) Is dwelling synonymous to rootedness (in place), and are place and landscape necessarily closed entities?

Heidegger's and Ingold's conceptualisations of dwelling are not inherently static in any straightforward way. Furthermore, the idea that dwelling is irrefutably limited by connotations of rootedness, does not seem justified – I develop the idea of non-static dwelling in the research theme "Rhythm and embodiment". However, and although Heidegger's notion of the fourfold – as well as the Event and the situation – are highly relational, it is difficult to understand them as entities open to external factors, while everyday, embodied interactions with modern technology seem to displace the fourfold. For those reasons I will not consider the fourfold in depth in the remaining part of the thesis, but will consider how dwelling places and landscapes might be considered as "open" entities (especially in the research theme "Openness and relationality"). This research question is closely aligned to the question of how Heidegger's and Ingold's dwelling stories can be considered to be topological (see below).

VII) What are the topological contents of dwelling?

Some of the research questions led to a discussion of topological elements in Heidegger's and Ingold's conceptualisations of dwelling. In this research question I put forward how both authors' dwelling discourses are fundamentally topological, containing fruitful conceptualisations of place and landscape. Their views on place and landscape align with studies that conceptualise places and landscapes as processes (using verbs such as spacing, landscaping, and placing rather than nouns) (Cresswell 2003; Crouch 2003a, 2010; Lorimer 2005; Wylie 2007; Merriman 2009). But not all geographical encounters with dwelling have engaged in-depth with the original conceptual richness of dwelling. I therefore enquire into the topological aspects of dwelling in the research theme "Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care".

In what follows, I combine a rich conceptualisation of dwelling (in places and landscapes) with the research themes (2.3), to investigate in how far and in what ways the notion can obtain purchase in the context of NRT. In this undertaking, the case studies serve as explorations of ways in which dwelling might obtain more relevance in the study of places and landscapes.

Chapter 4: Research ontology, epistemology, and methodology

4.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 I have outlined how human geographers have engaged with the concepts of dwelling, place and landscape. I then revisited the founding work of Heidegger and Ingold in Chapter 3, which enabled me to evaluate the critiques towards dwelling. The discussion the research questions (3.2 and 3.3) may be understood as a starting point for the redevelopment of dwelling in relation to place and landscape. The research strategy that I discuss in this chapter concerns the fieldwork, through which I evaluate the possibilities of linking dwelling with the research themes.

This chapter therefore constitutes the link between theory (chapters 2 and 3) and the way in which theory is handled in the fieldwork. In section 4.2 I propose the way in which the research triangle (ontology, epistemology and methodology) may be understood to shape research in general, while I pay specific attention to the way in which the research triangle becomes more dynamic and complex in NRT.³⁷ In section 4.3 I elaborate upon the ontological approach of this thesis and in section 4.4 upon my epistemological position (in which I value hermetic phenomenology and situated knowledge). This is followed by a discussion of research methodology in terms of ethnographic case studies in general, zooming in on participant observation, walking practices, and visual ethnography (section 4.5). In section 4.5 I also justify my choice for ethnographic case studies as a research strategy. After indicating the research themes (4.6) that frame the fieldwork, in section 4.7 I relate this chapter's discussion of theory with the fieldwork undertaken in this thesis: the case study selection (4.7.1) and the fieldwork methods (4.7.2).

4.2 Research triangle: being – knowing – doing

The way in which any research is strategically approached and designed can be thought of as the research triangle: (a) research ontology (*being*), (b) research epistemology (*knowing*)

³⁷ The three components of the research triangle not only connect, but also overlap, which is why they appear throughout the chapter.

and (c) research methodology (*doing*).³⁸ These components are generally seen as interdependent (Blaikie 2010, p. 95). In research, ontology refers to a researcher's position around questions such as "what is?" and "what is ultimately real?" A researcher might part from the idea that "reality consists of representations that are the creation of the human mind" (Blaikie 2010, p. 93). Blaikie (2010) called this "idealist" ontology – which has appeared in landscape studies (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988b). To Heidegger and Ingold, such ontology is closely related to a "building perspective" (Ingold 2000), assuming the (prior) separation of the fields of nature and culture and the (subsequent) conversion of nature into culture through the human creative mind.

Research epistemology refers to a view that a researcher adopts confronting questions such as "what is knowledge?" and "how is it possible to know something?" In the example of the idealist researcher – as outlined above –, the researcher can hardly combine his or her ontological standpoint with an epistemology that Blaikie (2010, p. 94) called "empiricism", where: "a neutral, trained observer, who has undistorted contact with reality, can arrive at reliable knowledge": in empiricism warranted knowledge is constituted of an external reality that is supposed to be independent of the human being that comes to know this reality.

A researcher also has a position in terms of methodology, which depends at least partially on the research ontology and – epistemology. Therefore, positivist ontology in combination with an empiric epistemology cannot easily be linked with the use of narratives. In the eyes of a positivist researcher, such a method would lead to merely subjective views of the world – leading to invalid knowledge as it does not reflect what the researcher thinks what may exist: the objective reality or world "out there".

In sub-section 2.1.4 I discussed ontological concerns that NRT raises, especially in terms of landscape and place conceptualisations: NRT challenges the traditional geographical views on what landscape and place are. "More than-representational" geographies emphasise relational and affectual practices and performances, focusing on "how life takes shape and

³⁸ By avoiding the research triangle, researchers implicitly argue that the issue of especially ontology, and to a lesser degree that of epistemology is irrelevant to their research projects. It is often deemed to be far from the research questions and categorised as "too philosophical". However, the researcher's standpoint on being and knowing always matters as it conditions the research results.

gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions” (Lorimer 2005, p. 84). Within such a lively panorama, landscape continue to be studied (Wylie 2007), as “always in process, [...] tensioned, always in movement, always in making” (Bender 2001, p. 3).

Here, I would like to continue with NRT’s epistemological and methodological concerns (Davies and Dwyer 2007; Latham and Conradson 2003, p. 1904). For NRT, feminist literatures have been especially relevant in problematising the representation of space. Rose (1993, p. 38) critiqued time-geography for its masculine understanding of space:

Geographers believe that space can always be known and mapped; space is understood as absolutely knowable. That is what its transparency, its innocence, signifies: it is infinitely knowable; there are no hidden corners into which time-geography cannot penetrate. This is a necessary consequence of its search for totality; for if the societies structured through space are understood as wholly visible, as they are in time-geography, then space must be wholly representable. It is real, natural and unproblematic.

Thus, ontological ideas that NRT proposes (2.1.4) go hand-in-hand with emerging epistemological views, such as suggested in Rose’s initial critique of space as a fully representable entity. Geographers are challenged to *reach* and *create* phenomena, practices and performances as they haven’t before. This also means that one of NRT’s inherent concerns is to progress methodologically, as this is understood to be instrumental in evoking lively geographies (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, p. 427; Thrift 2000). Researchers who want to approach or to emphasise the messy, performed, sensuous, and embodied character of life should be doing things differently. In this sense, creative methods and writing is being encouraged (Law and Urry 2004; Merriman, Revill *et al.* 2008; Nosworthy 2010).

Doing things methodologically differently has more advantages than *accessing* lively geographies. One of the advantages is that new performative techniques, “both extend the range of current work and provide means of sensing new forms of knowledge” (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, p. 424). Methods do not only have to fit with ontologies and epistemologies; creative and new methods also open up certain research areas (such as affect). The challenge is to get to know not simply an unknown, existing reality, but also the unexpected: totally new phenomena.

In terms of accessing and creating new geographies, Latour (2004) explained how a human being (such as a researcher) can “learn-to-be-affected”, which leads to a richer understanding of the world, the body and the elements by which it is affected. Following Latour, Thrift (2003b) focused upon “mediaries” such as aromas and scents, which through the sense of smell connect the often unconscious human being to new and affective worlds. In recognition of the liveliness of the body and its sensory organs, one develops or becomes together with a “new” world (Latour 2004; Hinchliffe, Kearnes *et al.* 2005). Building on Latour and Woolgar’s (1986) influential study of laboratories, Law and Urry (2004, p. 390) argued that social researchers too, “make worlds”. In the discipline of “Science, Technology and Society” (STS), which has much in common with NRT, it is argued that social as well as natural sciences evolve in a common world, as they are influenced by the world, but also shape and create multiple, indefinite realities that are in flux (Law 2004, pp. 12-14). In reference to (research) methodology, Law therefore prefers to speak of “method assemblage”, performative practices that are supported by (often absent) hinterlands, which serve as ways of getting to know (ie. to detect and to amplify) complex realities (Law 2004, p. 14, p. 144). By way of specific methods researchers produce realities that might be otherwise. In line with Law, Whatmore (2002, p. 7) characterised her hybrid geographies as “inescapably partial, provisional and incomplete.”

Thus, in NRT the three components of the research triangle start to reinforce each other. Far from a hierarchical research pyramid, the research triangle consists of three complex and interdependent components. Specifying one’s position in terms of the components of the research triangle, forms the basis for understanding one’s *situatedness*. In the context of a PhD thesis, it seems particularly important to develop the intertwining of theory and practice explicitly. In doing so, research gains in validity, usability, depth, and intelligibility.

4.3 Research ontology

The research aim of the case studies is to explore the possibilities of understanding dwelling in the context of NRT, in the study of landscapes and places. The research ontology must therefore be necessarily two-fold.

On the one hand, dwelling itself is a way of understanding reality; it indicates what and how the world is, especially human being's relationship to the world. Dwelling might therefore be thought of as the research ontology.³⁹ Dwelling, in naming the way human beings are on the earth, goes against traditional metaphysics in which entities can be simplified into objects with underlying properties. Dwelling names the relational reality of life, as human being and places, landscapes and spaces come into being through their interconnection. To Heidegger, familiarity, care and nearness are the main characteristics of dwelling. Several authors have delved into constitutive factors of dwelling. In such studies embodiment, time-depth and repetition, but also creativity and complexity come to the fore. At the very least, dwelling problematises dualisms that tend to characterise place and landscape studies (such as the nature / culture and mind / body dyads).

On the other hand, and although NRT does not advocate any particular worldview or ontology as such (Anderson and Harrison 2010b), I want to explore the possibilities and limits of dwelling by opening it up to understandings of the world based on the explicitly more-than-human, indefinite, incomplete, fluid, and multiple. Therefore, the research ontology might be defined as post-phenomenological (Rose 2006; Simpson 2009; Anderson and Harrison 2010b). The basic idea of the human being-world relationship is extended with worldviews that emphasise the undefined and absent, the chaotic and contingent. By following a post-phenomenological ontology, some possibilities are closed off. Topologies that might arise from a purely structuralist ontology (which emphasises social structures of power and inequality) are not to be expected following my choice of research ontology. However, I consider this research ontology to be very open and permissive. The happenings *on the ground* are of utmost importance to understand the possibilities of the theory. I have designed a research strategy that freely interprets and opens up relationships between human beings and their more-than-human lifeworlds.

4.4 Research epistemology

Following from the sections directly above (4.2. and especially 4.3), the research epistemology to be used needs to be related with a phenomenological and post-phenomenological research ontology. This means that I cannot propose an understanding of

³⁹ As is the concept is already outlined in Chapter 3, I only make some short comments about dwelling as a research ontology in this section.

knowledge that is based on the separation of human beings from the world, where human beings are understood as subjects that pursue universal knowledge of other subjects or objects. At the same time, this means that I should remain far from the broad categories or traditional metaphysical distinctions through which some researchers view and understand the world (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Latour 1993).

4.4.1 Hermeneutic phenomenology

The research epistemology that I propose values what Heidegger (1962) called *hermeneutic phenomenology*. Following Heidegger (and Ingold), this implies a retreat or withdrawal from the traditional metaphysical world, in which human beings are by way of intentionality (Dreyfus 1991). In such a world the researcher (subject) needed to displace or suppress subjectivity to try and obtain universal, objective knowledge. From a dwelling perspective, human beings live in a different world: one of phenomena into which they are entangled. As human beings we are always already embedded in the world, which therefore should not be approached by way of a birds-eye view (Heidegger 1962; Ingold 2000). Franklin (2002) linked Ingold's worldview with epistemological (and methodological) implications:

The world looks different this [Ingold's] way and to see it and sense it requires a more active study of engagement with the world. [...] The basic building blocks of this anthropology are unmediated perceptual knowledge, practical experience and knowledge of the world, the technologies that link humans and non-humans, the aesthetic and sensual composition of experience and the cultural choices that are made in reference to these (Franklin 2002, pp. 71-72).

Researchers can attend to the *phenomena* and lived experiences that we participate in, and to which we are intrinsically connected. Heidegger argued that the study of phenomena implies to avoid specific types of representation, which occur in (and reinforce) the enframing (Heidegger 1977a). Researchers represent, when understanding for example the world by way of a globe or a world-picture (Heidegger 1977b). Such would have a deadening effect on our understanding of the richness of the world.

Hermeneutics then, refers to the idea that in such a world, as human beings, we are involved with things that mean something to us – we interpret things *as* something (Dreyfus 1991). Using one of Heidegger's examples, a dinner table is therefore primarily not a piece of wood

with four corners and table-legs (Malpas 2008, p. 87). A table means something to us because of our time-deepened, lived experience of it. Due to its centrality in many shared dinners, it might have certain sides where beloved friends or family members sit down, where important discussions or prayers have taken place, and where accidents might have happened, and where human beings have developed. In this thesis I value this idea, in that I consider traditional metaphysical abstractions to be less relevant than the meanings phenomena hold to people.

4.4.2 Situated knowledge

In the social sciences (and especially so in NRT), the question of *situated knowledge* has obtained central importance – initially so through specific attention in feminist literatures (Haraway 1988, 1991; Harding 1993; Rose 1997). Haraway for example, aimed for a “feminist objectivity” or “situated knowledges”, which would be embedded in “politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims” (Haraway 1988, p. 581, p. 589). The latter are achieved most fruitfully through interpretive and conversational techniques such as “decoding and transcoding plus translation and criticism” (Haraway 1988, p. 590).

More recently, Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 223, p. 224) described situated knowledge as “concrete, context-dependent knowledge”, and argued that it constitutes a pathway to warranted knowledge claims. To achieve situated knowledge, a researcher must accept and take into account that his or her understanding of complex phenomena is always partial and incomplete, because being human means having specific backgrounds and bodies that influence the way research and the world are thought about and practised; they influence researchers’ perceptions and actions in a research environment. This does not mean that all knowledge is equally true, valuable or valid. A researcher can improve his or her research validity by thinking about the situation he or she is in. The interdependent concepts of *research reflexivity* and *research positionality* (Thrift 1996; Rose 1993, 1997) can be understood as strategies for situating knowledges. Building on concerns that have been voiced for decades by anthropologists (Salzman 2002) and feminists (Haraway 1991), a researcher should position him or herself (also in relation to the research participants and environment), but also *reflect* upon this position, where reflexivity means: “the constant

awareness, assessment, and reassessment by the researcher of the researcher's own contribution/influence/shaping of intersubjective research and the consequent research findings" (Salzman 2002, p. 806; see also Rose 1997). Doing so by labelling oneself through gender, age, and profession is insufficient, because these are simplifying categories that in practice have different effects in the various phases or situations that a researcher goes through while conducting research. A researcher that is serious about positionality and reflexivity reflects deeply upon his or her background, and on how this influences particular research findings (Robertson 2002).

Research positionality and – reflexivity hold implications for data collection and analysis, as well as for the methods of reading and writing (Mauthner and Doucet 2003). McDowell (1992) argued that research reflexivity should be written into research practices. However, it should be recognised that "the author's intentions, emotions, psyche, and interiority are not only inaccessible to readers, they are likely to be inaccessible to the author herself (Grosz 1995, p. 13); there are limits to reflexivity. Indeed, certain reflexive questions that follow from a quest "to know fully both self and context", are "simply unanswerable" (Rose 1997, p. 311). Rose proposed therefore a more modest form of situated knowledge and reflexivity: to focus on the processes of connection between researcher and researched, and to recognise that a researcher's situatedness (and his or her knowledge) continuously comes into being alongside rather uncertain research performances (Rose 1997).

Knowledge is the result of the interpretations of meaningful phenomena that human beings are connected to. As we are always in a situation (where space and time are understood through the place we are in) (Heidegger 1987), our knowledge too is essentially *situated*. The table which I referred to above (4.4.1) means something different to different people, while in a research project on this very table new meanings might be created. Hermeneutic phenomenology studies things *as* things, and not as objects or "resources" (Haraway 1988) – concepts linked to the idea of universal knowledge. The challenge is to understand the world through situated knowledges, which are necessarily partial, specific, incomplete, provisional, perspectival, and indefinite (Rose 1997).

4.5 Research methodology

In this section I first justify my choice of ethnographical case studies as the overarching methodical approach for the fieldwork of this thesis. I then discuss case studies as a research approach and the methodological issues concerning such a research approach, especially in NRT. Lastly, I delve into the specific research methods (participant observation, walking practices, and visual ethnography) which have been applied in ethnographical case studies.

4.5.1 Ethnographical case studies

The aim of incorporating ethnographical case studies is to illustrate the possibilities and limits of notions of dwelling (Chapter 3), in terms of their linkages with NRT. To argue that human beings essentially dwell is to emphasise that they are entangled, that they are not only participants in occurrences, but also mobile practitioners of rich environments, and that places and landscapes have to be understood through these manifold interactions. I understand human beings' places and landscapes as lifeworlds which are both a poetical source and the reference of our experience.

Case studies have proven to be extremely useful and valid as a methodical approach to research (Flyvbjerg 2006), and may be considered especially apt in combination with the proposed research ontology (and epistemology), because they allow for an in-depth study of people – environment interactions, which may result in thick descriptions of places and landscapes, as shown in the case studies in recent human geography by Cloke and Jones (2001, 2004) and Lorimer (2006). Although case studies can be time-consuming (Flyvbjerg 2006), I wanted to apply the notion to human beings in different environments, which is why I choose to undertake the number of *two* case studies.

I believe that dwelling refers ontologically to the way in which human beings *dwell with each other and others*. Thus, I have distanced myself in some respects from the methodical approach adopted by Wylie (2002, 2005), who used self-reflective case studies.⁴⁰ Instead, I

⁴⁰ I do not contest Wylie's research validity: I only want to highlight that different methodical approaches follow from different ontological views (Wylie (2007) argued that landscape is fundamentally about the tension or the relation between *self* and world).

opted for the elaboration of the case study that is *ethnographical* in nature – a description of human beings as involved in their environment.⁴¹ To a certain extent I focused on the dwelling of individuals. And as I formed part of the two groups of research participants, I reflected on my own dwelling too. Yet the focus was to reflect on dwelling in a communal sense. The links between ethnography and NRT are explored below.

Ethnography as a research approach evolved from a situation in which anthropologists would live in non-Western communities for at least a year, to a more flexible form applied in Western societies too, where ethnographers would be only part-time with groups of people – “reflecting the nature of such societies, where people do not both live and work together in a single place” (Hammersley 2006, pp. 4-5). Ethnographers thus started spending shorter periods of time with communities, for example at work-places, outside of work, or in schools. Simultaneously, the aim of ethnography shifted from an identification of culture “as a whole”, to a more modest understanding of “the relationship between forms of heterogeneous action” (Baszanger and Dodier 2004, p. 9).

Although this evolution or shift in ethnography has taken place and opened it up to other disciplines than anthropology, at the end of the 20th century ethnography remained “a peripheral methodology” in geography (Herbert 2000, p. 550). Together with those exceptions, more recently interesting developments in terms of ethnographical case study as a research method are emerging (see for example Laurier, Whyte *et al.* (2001), Crouch (2003a), DeSilvey (2003), Spinney (2006), Nosworthy (2010), and Mullins (2011)). Especially in NRT, ethnographies have become a popular methodical approach in recent years, as they have proven to be especially instrumental in accessing human beings’ embodied and performed practices (Latham and Conradson 2003; Lorimer 2005, 2008; Morton 2005; Davies and Dwyer 2007; Nosworthy 2010; Ryan 2012).

While in NRT the ontological and epistemological fundamentals of research are constantly revisited, creative use of methods is encouraged to get access to the new and emergent realities that appear on every corner. In this sense, Morton (2005) elaborated a study on the performance of traditional Irish musicians, in an attempt to capture “aspects of social life and our interactions with the world that can never fully be theorized or explained” (2005, p.

⁴¹ In the two ethnographical case studies I integrated *topological* and *topographical* aspects.

664) and that therefore have been neglected in the humanities. The aim of her *performance ethnography* was to capture the richness of the world *in situ* by applying a multi-sited approach (see also Revill (2004) and Nosworthy (2010)).

NRT might be considered as an attempt to engage differently with the human, and to engage differently with the *more-than-human world* (Lorimer 2005). As such, authors have creatively tried to understand places and landscapes through a specific focus on human being's engagement with the non-human, such as animals (Hinchliffe, Kearnes *et al.* 2005; Lorimer 2006; Lorimer 2010), plants (Crouch 2003a; Hitchings 2003; Hitchings and Jones 2004), materiality (Latham and McCormack 2004; Whatmore 2006; but also Edensor 2008) and spirituality (Holloway 2003; Wylie 2003).

Ethnography is often considered an appropriate methodical approach to reach the complex worlds that NRT tries to access, or to the *new* worlds that it tries to create. However, as Hayden Lorimer (2005, p. 86) explained: "there is no 'one-size-fits-all' policy for accessing embodied knowledge and emotional response." I am interested in studies in which ethnography is the overarching research approach, while multiple methods have been applied to engage with multiple realities (Roe 2006; Taber 2010). Such a complex approach might be characterised a "make-do" methodology (Lorimer 2006, p. 497). Lorimer (2006) specified that his aim with this approach was to reanimate a local reindeer herd's landscape, and was:

undertaken in collaboration with past herders and the scattered company of the present herd: walking a sentient topography of traditional grazing grounds; renewing encounters with charismatic animals through photographic portraits; consulting an archive of herding diaries; and mapping a hidden ecology of landscape relics. [... The aim is] to privilege multivalent encounters with people and animals, and so unearth from an elemental terrain of slopes, woods, streams, boulder fields, and lochans a vital landscape of interconnected phenomena, processes, and presence (Lorimer 2006, p. 497, p. 506).

The choice of specific research methods is not so much about being either "new" or "traditional" in qualitative research. Some of the more specific methods that are used within innovative ethnographies are traditional methods. More importantly, and like ethnography itself as an overarching research approach, conventional qualitative methods that appear within ethnographical approaches must be (and are being) used *in new and creative ways*

(Latham 2003, Davies and Dwyer 2007). Thrift was especially critical about the lack of imaginative methodical skills in human geography:

Cultural geographers have allied themselves with a number of qualitative methods, [...] most notably in-depth interviews and ethnographic 'procedures'. [...] [W]hat is surprising is how narrow this range of skills still is, how wedded [cultural geographers] still are to the notion of bringing back the 'data', and then re-presenting it (nicely packaged up as a few supposedly illustrative quotations), and the narrow range of sensate life they register (Thrift 2000c, p. 3).

NRT influenced literatures propose to engage and participate seriously in ethnographic work, to creatively experiment with exposure to events:

The idea is to get embroiled in the site and allow ourselves to be infected by the effort, investment, and craze of the particular practice or experience being investigated. [...] [T]he move, in immersing ourselves in the space, is to gather a portfolio of ethnographic 'exposures' that can act as lightening rods for thought. It is then in those key 'times out' as we set upon generating inventive ways of addressing and intervening in that which is happening, and has happened, as an academic, that such a method produces its data: a series of testimonies to practice (Dewsbury 2009, pp. 326-327).

Within such a changing scene, and in an attempt to diversify the range of methodical skills, a host of specific research methods have been applied: not only participant observation and interviews, but also narrative writing, photographic research and moving imagery, group sessions or focus groups, and research diaries (Pink 2001; Nosworthy 2010; Lorimer 2010; Merriman, Revill *et al.* 2008; Holloway 2003).

In most cases, an important part of the ethnography comes down to learning about the practices of human beings in their "natural" contexts (Cook and Crang 2007; Hein, Evans *et al.* 2008). This generally implies learning from research participants, which might involve sharing in their activities, which is often called "participant observation". NRT can be characterised as a shift towards this methodological approach as a consequence of the emphasis on embodied practices or "embodied acts of landscaping" (Lorimer 2005, p.85):

This further involves a broad methodological shift, moving from a largely interpretative and discursive standpoint towards a more ethnographic and performative ethos. In this way,

attentive analysis of, and, quite often, direct personal participation in, embodied acts of landscaping becomes the substantive task for contemporary landscape studies (Wylie 2007, p. 166).

While some researchers do undertake a considerable part of planning in terms of the research methods to be applied during fieldwork, others leave the ethnographic study “completely open to the uncertainties of the field”, applying an “openness to situations” (Baszanger and Dodier 2004, p. 12). The latter means that the fieldworker, rather than meticulously planning beforehand, remains largely open to the happenings in the field:

Beyond any methodical planning of observations, the fieldworker must remain open in order to discover the elements making up the markers and the tools that people mobilize in their interactions with others and, more generally, with the world (Baszanger and Dodier 2004, p. 11).

4.5.2 Participant observation

Participant observation remains a fundamental research method in NRT. However, the very word “observation” implies detachment, while the emphasis should fall on the participatory – on the fact that the researcher forms part of the event. As Thrift (2000a) explained:

Non-representational theory is an attempt to move off onto new ground where the witness *must* become an observant participant rather than a participant observer. Through its emphasis on the intensity of commitment and the commitment of intensity, non-representational theory allows no hiding place. You must be in it (Thrift 2000a, p. 556, original italics).

Participant observation is generally seen as one of a set of (the more conventional) qualitative research methods. Therefore, it might occupy specific chapters in traditional or more recent (social) research method handbooks, sitting next to other methods such as “interviewing” and “narrative writing” (Crang 2003, pp. 494-496). This seems to imply that as a researcher one can choose out of series of possibilities and apply the one that seems to be most apt of answering the research questions. The contrary is the case: an ethnographer generally uses bits of different research methods (Crang 2003; Cook and Crang 2007). As

Jackson (1983, p. 40) put it decennia ago: “That participant observation is not a ‘technique’ which can be effectively used in isolation seems to need constant re-emphasis.” While participant observation is often seen as the primary ingredient of ethnographical work (Hammersley 2006, p. 9), it flows over into, or exists out of other methods.

4.5.3 Mobile ethnography and walking

Researchers who acknowledge the mobile character of life, increasingly pay attention to various forms of “‘mobile ethnography’, which involve participation in patterns of movement while conducting ethnographic research which follows the movements of either people or objects as they circulate” (Hannam, Sheller *et al.* 2006, p. 17).

A particularly interesting and emerging type of mobile ethnography is the *walked* research practice. Recent anthropological and geographical literatures show that both participant observation and interviewing come together during such practices (Bendiner-Viani 2005; Hall 2009; Edensor 2008; Evans and Jones 2011).⁴²

Evans and Jones (2011, p. 849) compared *walking* interviews with *sedentary* interviews and found that “data generated through walking interviews are profoundly informed by the landscapes in which they take place, emphasising the importance of environmental features in shaping discussions”. They found a “measureable difference” between walking and sedentary techniques by interpreting place narratives. Solnit’s remarks help to understand why how this happens:

the rhythm of walking generates a kind of rhythm of thinking, and the passage through a landscape echoes or simulates the passage through a series of thoughts. This creates an odd consonance between internal and external passage, one that suggests the mind is also a landscape of sorts and that walking is one way to traverse it (Solnit 2002, pp. 5–6).

⁴² The volume “Ways of Walking”, edited by Ingold and Vergunst (2008a), can be seen as a celebration of this type of ethnographical research on the move and on foot. Although Wylie (2005, 2006, 2009) did not undertake ethnographies, his work is notable in the respect as he walked through various landscapes as a method to further the debate on how to relate issues such as the sacred, the self, the haunted or the absent to the concept of landscape.

Maddrell (2011, pp. 25-26) emphasised that “emotions are associated and triggered by particular places and evocations”. This is why others also argued for a “go-along” approach to relate with research participants (Kusenbach 2003; Elwood and Martin 2000; Carpio 2009). Hitchings and Jones (2004) investigated two different research settings (both included gardens and indoor areas), and concluded that research participants were much more forthcoming in the more informal, outdoors environment and that they were more capable of communicating experiences and enacting more interesting interactions, as opposed to interviews undertaken indoors (see also Hein, Evans *et al.* 2008).

Kusenbach (2003) also emphasised that it is important to do undertake research in a – for the interviewee – natural setting: in the research participants’ mundane environment. She argued that the “go-along” would be both more focused and limited than the “hanging-out” that is generally practised by ethnographers. It combines the observation of everyday activities (as practised in participant observation) with the respondent’s reflections as revealed in interviews. Go-along would be unique in that it enables the researcher “to observe their informants’ spatial practices *in situ* while accessing their experiences and interpretations at the same time” (Kusenbach 2003, p. 463).

Others eschew the over-structuration that follows from the establishment of barriers between ethnography, go-along, “hanging-out” and interviews. Jon Anderson (2004) proposed an interesting way of accessing knowledge about people’s relationship with place, which he described as “the embodied art of walking through particular co-ingredient environments for recollection, in short: talking whilst walking” (J. Anderson 2004, p. 259). The knowledge that follows from such a kind of enquiry, that is especially sensitive to the context in which it emerges, is densely rich:

This practice of talking whilst walking is also useful as it produces not a conventional interrogative encounter, but a collage of collaboration: an unstructured dialogue where all actors participate in a conversational, geographical and informational pathway creation. As a consequence, the knowledge produced is importantly different: atmospheres, emotions, reflections and beliefs can be accessed, as well as intellects, rationales and ideologies (J. Anderson 2004, p. 260).

Lee and Ingold (2006) signalled three ways in which walking with interviewees (or with research participants in general) can be seen as especially useful, as summarised by Hein, Evans *et al.* (2008, p. 1276):

- the action of walking often encourages a sense of connection with the environment;
- it allows for an understanding of places being created by the routes people take to and through them;
- walking with others creates a distinctive sociability

The foregoing seems to indicate that walking in the research participants' "natural" environment is important for accessing place-specific information. The traditional research method of interviewing is understood to be less valuable if undertaken outside of the context (Sin 2003). Furthermore, interviewing may not lead to valid research results. Pile (2010) has argued that it might be better not to interview if the research theme is that of affect and / or emotion, as these are at best not easily articulated in language, and at worst might be deformed by language and retrospective cognition. Thus, while narratives and stories are mostly incredibly valuable and often open up the landscape before us, rather than covering up the world (Ingold 2000, Rose 2006), they might not lead to a true or valid account of the sensible relations that people hold with landscapes.

4.5.4 Visual methodology

In the last decade or two, and while the battle drums against the purely representational and visual started to sound increasingly, there has been an increasing and specific interest in the use of visual media in NRT-inspired research (Rose 2000, 2008; DeSilvey 2003; Latham 2003; Lorimer 2010; Gagen *et al.* 2007). This development stems from a deep concern in NRT, which is about extending the range and exploring the possibilities of social research methods:

There is an urgent need to supplement the familiar repertoire of humanist methods that rely on generating talk and text with experimental practices that amplify other sensory, bodily and affective registers and extend the company and modality of what constitutes a research subject (Whatmore 2006, p. 607).

Recently, human geography has seen several attempts to overcome the usage of photographs as mere “visual descriptions” or “as simple illustrations of what a place looks like” (Rose 2008, p. 158). Rose (2008, p. 152; see also Pink 2001) identified two forms of visual media usage in geographical research. Firstly, the consultation of (generally speaking historical) photographs and / or videos from archives (Lorimer 2003, 2006, Bailey *et al.* 2009, Lorimer 2010)⁴³ and secondly, the usage of photographs and videos that are made in the research project itself (Lorimer 2006; Wylie 2002, 2005). Feminist concerns come to the front as researchers try to understand reality by re-interpreting historical photographs in terms of the gaze through which the picture was shot, that what is pictured, as well as the way in which researchers themselves interpret the pictures.

Secondly, in reflecting on the management of “own” visual material, researchers recognise the need to scrutinise photographic techniques, like other sorts of data-production (Rose 2000; Pink 2001; Bailey *et al.* 2009). This kind of photographic material shot during the research project might appear in two forms: the pictures and videos made by the researcher and those taken by the research participants. To use material that is shot by the researcher might serve to illuminate the events, practises or places that he or she considers fundamental. To use material that is shot by research participants holds the benefit that it opens up room for discussion on particular (or particularly interesting) events or happenings; specific knowledge that might not be untapped otherwise. Latham (2003) experimented with such a method by supplementing the written version of the diary-interview (research participants hold a diary that is later talked about with the researcher), with the diary-photograph method. The latter functions in the same way but relies also on images shot by research participants during subsequent interviews. Pictures and videos taken by researchers as well as those taken by research participants might be used “to explore the relationship between visual as well as other types of knowledge” (Pink 2001, p. 96).

Jamie Lorimer (2010) highlighted that in terms of visual research media, *moving imagery* constitutes an underdeveloped research method. This might be expected to be a key area of

⁴³ Lorimer (2010) for example, proposed that he could explain elephant behaviour only by consulting archives of material produced by others.

future NRT-research as it is likely to further the study of the affectual and mobile human-nonhuman relationships.

4.6 Research themes

In this thesis I elaborate two ethnographical case studies. The aim of the fieldwork is to explore human beings' relationships with places and landscapes, while enlacing a developing notion of dwelling with the following NRT-inspired research themes (section 2.3):

- Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman
- Rhythm and embodiment
- Openness and relationality
- Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

Within this broader structure, I intend to maintain a focus on vitalism, presences and absences, and journeying throughout the discussion of those research themes in the case studies.

4.7 Research methods

The case studies are not selected or designed to recollect irrefutable "evidence". I want to stay far from a mode of case study research, in which data is gathered to test whether a specific hypothesis should be rejected or not. I believe that the research ontology, epistemology and methodology determine to a great extent what research findings might appear. The very same real world situations, events or happenings undoubtedly have different values and meanings to different researchers. As such, I prefer to think of the case studies not as gatherings of evidence for particular hypotheses, but first of all as fields for reflection.

4.7.1 Case study selection

Following Jones (2009), I start from the premise that dwelling can be best understood in rich and deep entanglements of human beings in environments. Limiting myself to such environments, I considered that it would be beneficial to select case studies in which communities move through environments.⁴⁴ This allows me to focus not only on the communal and practical aspects of dwelling; such case studies are also interesting in terms of the “New Mobilities Paradigm” or the general in terms of the turn towards mobilities: human being’s embodied dwelling practices that are essentially mobile.⁴⁵ It furthermore allows for the consideration of dwelling as journeying.⁴⁶

I chose to limit the number of case studies to two; a number which allows for in-depth research but still allows for comparison. The literature suggested that dwelling might be redundant in urban areas, which I doubted. One of the aims of the thesis is to do research on different types of dwelling and not only traditional rural dwelling as it appears in several key dwelling literatures (Heidegger 1971a, 1983; Ingold 1993, 2000; Mugerauer 1994; Wylie 2007), and therefore sought for at least one case study that would be “urban”. I considered the communities would have to be accessible and that I would have to be happy to join in, at least periodically. I also considered that any case study would have to speak to the research themes (2.3), and that the presence of spirituality, with the important role of the gods in Heidegger’s dwelling discourse, would be beneficial.

⁴⁴ I do not pretend to analyse communal dwelling holistically. Different people with different backgrounds and roles have different ways and experiences of dwelling, which I cannot fully capture. My aim is to approach dwelling practices and performances that in the process become “data”. I am aware that the data I capture depends on the willingness of individuals to participate, and on my ability to establish and maintain fruitful relationships with research participants.

⁴⁵ Hence I drew the discussion in 4.5 toward those ethnographies that are “walked” – as opposed to driven, flown, or otherwise. In this sense, the former are similar to the case studies.

⁴⁶ The selection of intense and extraordinary landscape practices immediately raises the question of the research validity in other cases. But I am not after generalisation. As Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 229) argued: “formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas ‘the force of example’ is underestimated.” The situated knowledge that I aim to produce is valuable and valid for researchers that undertake research in other types of places and landscapes, as I set out the historical and geographical context, and the main factors that shape dwelling in the case studies.

For practical reasons I decided to consider case studies in Spain, which is a country where I had lived long enough to speak the language fluently and to have become interested in particular practices that comply with the selection criteria mentioned above. Throughout the first stage of this PhD, I thought about several possibilities during brainstorm sessions. I considered pilgrimage journeys such as those on the Way to Santiago: but discarded this option because I believed the communal aspect would not appear as a relevant factor (from my experience I knew many pilgrims travel alone or in very small groups). I also considered the *El Rocío* pilgrimage, but expected that the ludic character in that particular pilgrimage might be much more prominent than the spiritual aspect. I decided to select a case study about urban processional practices and to contrast such a setting, a case study characterised by landscape practices during a rural journey. I finally decided to select the following:

- Long-distance transhumance of a herding community in rural Spain
- Easter processions by brotherhoods in central Seville

By selecting those case studies, the research themes would come to the fore in strikingly different ways. In terms of the non-human, an important element of the first case study is the animal, while the religious image is so in the second. I also considered that not only because of the length of the journey, but also because of the different character of the undertakings, rhythms and temporalities would appear in different ways. The selection also allows for the consideration of different ways in which communities “do” or “heft onto” the landscape (Olwig 2008; see also de Certeau 1984).

In both ethnographical case studies, I use “observant participation” (Thrift 2000a) as an overarching research method, which allows me to approach the research participants’ lifeworlds, and to obtain an in-depth understanding of both landscape practices as they unfold. My aim is to approach the “eventful, creative, excessive and distinctly uncertain realms of action” (Harrison 2002, p. 487), which is first and foremost built on a co-habitation with research participants.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ While the overarching research strategy is ethnographical, I integrate topographical and topological aspects, approaching the entanglements between communities and landscapes. This means that I do not focus in-depth on some of the activities of the research participants that might be included in more traditional ethnographies.

The first case study, on long-distance transhumance by herders in rural areas, might be seen as an example of more traditional dwelling, such as Heidegger and Ingold have focused on. However, such a research context does not mean that this type of activity is not interesting in terms of the dwelling discussion. Rural dwelling too might be better interpreted through a re-defined dwelling, for example by considering fleeting and mobile experiences of dwelling (Cloke and Jones 2001). Issues such as home, temporality and rhythm, weather and atmosphere also come to the fore in a definitive way.

Through this case study I study the practices of a group of long-distance transhumant herders on their journeys. To gain access to a herding community, I established contact with a Spanish transhumance NGO called *Trashumancia y Naturaleza*. This organisation put me into contact with a herding family that travels every autumn for about four weeks from the pastures in the mountainous region of *Teruel* to an oak meadow in *Jaén*, and back again in spring. On my first trip, in autumn 2010, the NGO had sent an assistant to support a group of shepherds that made the journey for the first time for the full length. On that trip, the group of shepherds followed the cowherds and camped near to each other, as the former lacked experience on this part of the Royal Drove Road. I stayed mainly with a herd of approximately 200 cows. Both the cowherd- and shepherd-leader (who are at the same time livestock owners) had invited me to join again in the spring of 2011, but because of the warmth that characterises the journey in spring, the shepherds decided not to undertake transhumance in spring. I re-joined the cowherds in the spring of 2011 and finally in the spring of 2012. I spent about a week with the herders in each of the three trips.

A research assistant who I met on the first trips informed me about a course by the University of Granada called “Transhumance: practical knowledge of a cultural heritage”. I attended this first edition of the course (spring 2011), which allowed me to gain access to the herding practices of another community that undertakes a shorter voyage, of about eleven days, in the province of *Jaén*.

Easter processions by brotherhoods in central Seville

The second case study, Easter processions by brotherhoods in central Seville, takes place in an urban environment, which makes this case study of particular interest because urban dwelling is hardly considered in academic literature (Malpas 2008, p. 324). Here, the immateriality of religion and spirituality becomes central to human beings' performances and embodied dwelling journeys. As in the first case study, issues of home, temporality and rhythm, weather and atmosphere appear throughout this case study, albeit in different ways. Here, I study processional, communal dwelling performances which consist of moving, dancing, and praying people that transform urban environments into places and landscapes that are as intensely experienced as the transhumant places and landscapes are by the herding community.

As in other settlements, in Seville the processions are prepared and undertaken by brotherhoods. As I had personal connections in the *San Bernardo* brotherhood, I spent most of my fieldwork in and around *San Bernardo* (an informal, open brotherhood). I soon noticed that the brotherhoods, and their processions, could be quite different one from the other. This is why I attended meetings and processions of other brotherhoods too. Hence I used the plural form in the title of this case study – something I have not been able to accomplish in the other case study, because it is more difficult to spend considerable amounts of time in different herding communities.

Penitential brotherhoods are brotherhoods that undertake their processions during the Holy Week. Each penitential brotherhood undertakes one Easter procession a year. Whether they actually take place is subject to weather conditions, which my ability to carry out research depended upon. In case of rain or rain forecasts, the brotherhoods generally decide not to take to the streets. The two years in which I undertook fieldwork, 2011 and 2012 were amongst the rainiest years Holy Weeks in recent history. Therefore, I missed several of the processions that I wished to attend or participate in, but *San Bernardo* was able to take to the streets in both Holy Weeks. While I wanted to participate actively (as a Nazarene) in *Santa Marta's* 2012 procession I could not because I did not register early enough to the brotherhood – which reveals the importance that some brotherhoods concede to the selection of brothers that participate year-round and preferably not for a single year. I also tried to participate in the *Santa Cruz* procession of 2012 and 2013, but both processions were

cancelled due to the weather and weather forecasts – however, it did allow me to approach the preparation of the processional experience that tens of thousands of processional people feel in Seville's Holy Week.

4.7.2 Fieldwork methods

Here, I elaborate upon the choice of specific methods in each case study, as well as on the way those methods played out. The choice of fieldworks reflects wider concerns in the academic community. To approach the liveliness of practice, and performance it is considered of the utmost importance to do so *in situ*. To be in or near to the practice or performance at hand implicitly aims to overcome an “almost entirely text-based” methodology, with which MacDonald (2002, p. 66) characterised mainstream ecclesiastical scholarship. To uncover and create “some sense of the profoundly spatial everyday experience of worship” and of long-distance transhumance herding, I applied a make-do-methodology.

Observant participation and talking: a make-do-methodology

Within the ethnographical case studies, in an attempt to become an “observant participant”, I joined the research participants in their communal practices. This allowed me to enter into a realm of “embodied knowledge” that is far from what I usually experience (Carolan 2008).

This certainly opened up new grounds to me and allowed me to approach and access participants' practical involvements in changing environments, opening up insights that I could not have gained otherwise. However, to become an “observant participant” was more complex than I had expected. I had never undertaken herding or processional practices. Participants are generally involved year after year, often starting from a very young age. Thus, in trying to understand, learn, practise, participate and observe others, I achieved to do so only until a certain extent, which was also due to linguistic issues: with the herders I had to adjust to specific rural accents and in the brotherhoods to religious vocabularies. In the herding case study, I felt hindered by having an “urban” background and by having suffered a bad accident when I tried to ride a horse as a child. I felt that I did not improve particular skills (such as way-finding, horse-riding, and taking care of the herd animals) sufficiently. In the processional case study I came to realise that I missed ecclesiastical

vocabulary, and often found myself unable to interpret prayers and chants. As observing and participating go hand in hand, I concluded that I missed out on some information because I could not participate as a herder or as a Nazarene as fully as I had expected. However, succeeding only partially in becoming a participant may be considered to have some advantages too (see for a discussion of the observant's "insiderness" Labaree 2002). In the context of this thesis, this links directly to the discussion on dwelling, as I, in a way, felt that I did not surpass the sphere of having fleeting experiences of dwelling (5.4 and 6.5).

In both of the case studies I had the advantage of being able to return more than once, and to maintain contact with research participants for a period of over two years. This helped in establishing relationships of trust⁴⁸, and I felt that research participants generally took more of an interest in the study and their role in it, as time went by. I had expected this and left more in-depth questions for the latter stages of the case study research. Also, returning to the same research participants in their everyday environments allowed me to grow into the communities and develop my understanding of their practices, to verify research results with them, and to develop particular themes that emerged as the research evolved. Furthermore, by undertaking fieldwork at different stages of the PhD process throughout a relatively long period (and engaging with new literatures after fieldwork experiences), I succeeded in breaking with the "read-then-do-then-write" model that Cook and Crang (2007) eschew. I applied a fluid approach to the planning and execution of the broad research stages, which served to avoid any pitfalls that might be caused by a strictly linear model (Cook and Crang 2007, pp. 1-33).

In the ethnographical fieldwork I made use of a "make-do-methodology" (Lorimer 2005). I did so because of the different character of the case studies, and the different ways in which I could engage with research participants. I therefore had to apply different methods in each case study. Although I could successfully put into practice Anderson's (2004) methodical approach of "talking whilst walking" in the herding community, most processional

⁴⁸ However, to a certain degree I remained an outsider in both case studies, partially because of my non-herding, non-processional background and partially because it involved communities in which it is not very common for foreigners, to enter for prolonged periods. I do not think however, that I could have easily resolved this issue. Research participants were generally quite happy to accept my presence in the communities, to show how to undertake specific practices, and to elaborate upon their dwelling.

participants are not supposed to interact with others, making that approach in processional case study inappropriate. I tried to make up for this difference by elaborating semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions outside of the processions (of which I made transcriptions).

To set the interviews and group discussions up, I maintained contact with several research participants over a long period (over two years). Because of his experiences in various roles in the brotherhood, I performed a semi-structured interview with a key informant in the *San Bernardo* brotherhood, which was especially instrumental in getting to understand the meaning of the Holy Week processions for somebody that has strong, lifelong bonds with a particular brotherhood procession. He later helped me set up a focus group discussion with the *capataz*, one of his assistants, an ex *costalero*, and a key figure of the presidency; a focus group discussion that developed my understanding of the recent history of brotherhood processions, and of how different or similar brotherhood processions – and people's dwelling in processional places and landscapes – can be. Furthermore, my key informant was also instrumental in establishing contacts with key figures in other brotherhoods, so that I could register in my neighbourhood's brotherhood (*Santa Cruz*), and attend sessions in a central brotherhood that dedicates a lot of attention to the education of new members (*Santa Marta*). I wrote my experiences in those brotherhoods down in a research diary, through which developed my understanding of the diverse ways in which processional participants dwell in varying brotherhoods.

Other informants in the *San Bernardo* brotherhood helped me set up a focus group discussion with five processional spectator-participants, which was especially useful in understanding the ways in which seasonality and the liturgical calendar intertwine in embodied experiences. The spectator-participants would also participate in an exercise of photographic research (see below). The priest of *San Bernardo* agreed to participate in a semi-structured interview, through which I learned much about the relationship between the Church and brotherhoods, about how this played out in the case of *San Bernardo*, and about his own processional experiences in *San Bernardo*. Maintaining contacts with research participants in *San Bernardo* and other brotherhoods throughout the year also deepened my understanding of the processions themselves, in that several research participants elaborated on their almost year-round involvement with the processions and the relevance it had on their lives, which is something that I probably would not have explored by engaging

with research participants only during the periods in which brotherhood processions take place.

Notes, research diary writing and visual methods

During the fieldwork I audio recorded open conversations, stories, sounds, comments, and I took notes of that which I expected could become relevant in the research process. In both case studies time was often scarce after long days of intense research activities (during the nights I needed time to prepare for the next day), which is why I decided to subordinate fieldwork research diary writing to the overarching approach of observant participation. During the fieldwork I succinctly wrote down observations and ideas. I decided to spend little time on it, to avoid as much as possible that the research participants would feel a distance between themselves and me. I did not want anybody to feel under scrutiny. I think this was a good decision, not only for ethical reasons but also because especially in the herding community, some herders probably would have distanced themselves from me, which would have had negative effects on the research process. I felt it would be less inappropriate to use visual recordings as it was a more common thing for visitors to do, and so on my second and third visit I shot pictures and videos of that which I thought could become relevant in the research process (research participants, materials, things, and happenings), not only to enrich the case studies visually, but also as a tool to record and reflect upon the research process (Pink 2001), and to triangulate it with the concise comments and ideas that I noted down, and which I would later develop into a research diary (see below).

As Simpson (2011) noted, video methodology (and photography / audio recording in this thesis) does not fully capture nor (re)present the emotional or affective aspect of dwelling practices. I agree with his conclusion that such methods are useful mostly as substitutions for note taking, as complementary tools for reflection (Simpson 2011, p. 350), and used them as such in this thesis. I also used them to enable readers to approach processional and transhumant places and landscapes in more-than-textual ways.

However, I made a small exception to the limited role of visual methodology in his thesis. In the processions case study I was able to use visual methods more extensively than in the herding case study (because of the busyness of the herders). During the preparation of an

exercise of photographic research, I contacted the five spectator-participants with whom I had a trustful relationship and of whom I knew that they had followed the Holy Week since their childhood. I asked those research participants to photograph places that were especially meaningful in their processional experience, and to comment upon the pictures made.⁴⁹ I could not directly engage with processional research participants such as Nazarenes, *costaleros*, and band members during the processions, but the exercise with this type of processional participant turned out to be a useful, supplementary, and enriching method, as I discovered how ritual detail and particular places of specific processions held substantial relevance to those spectator-participants.

Finally, directly after each period of fieldwork research, I read the initial observations and reflections written down during the fieldwork, listened to and looked at all the other data that I had gathered day by day, and thereby developed a research diary. In the herding case study, this was complex as I had gathered a lot of material during each journey (audio, video and visual data), while I had less of this type of data in the processional case study, because I had interacted less directly with the processional participants during the processions themselves. However, I used the transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, and reflected on the photographic exercise of the spectator-participants, to develop text which was similarly rich to the herding case study research diary. I thus developed experiences, impressions and observations into two more or less coherent texts, which I used to reflect upon the research themes, and on my own involvement in the process. At that stage I intertwined different forms of data. To do so, as I added key words to the audio, pictures and video, which allowed me to unravel certain recurring themes, and to group or link these to the research themes (concepts). This helped in creating a structure in the chaos of all the materials I had gathered. First the data were sorted by data collection method. I then sorted the data chronologically (day by day) for a textual overview and to be able to reflect on the dwelling stories. I connected different data collection methods by interpreting those stories, and selecting and analysing specific happenings and issues as they come forward through the research themes. The mixture of data also enabled me to reflect on the research process (Cook and Crang 2007).

⁴⁹ Although I appreciate the added value of participant video recording (Nosworthy 2010, Simpson 2011), I did not suggest the participants to use such a method because of the practicalities involved.

I have put the emphasis on observant participation as a research method. I used little formal interviews, and chose mostly not to put the personal views of research participants. I did this because I think it defends the communality of dwelling, which was an aspect that I expected to come forward through the fieldwork (and it did), and which I wanted to emphasise and defend theoretically and methodologically. This meant I use little direct quotations, although much of what I have expressed is based on the voices of the research participants.

Chapter 5: Long-distance transhumance of a herding community in rural Spain

This case study aims to enhance my emerging understanding of dwelling by linking it with four research themes (2.3):

- Post-humanism: human beings and the non-human
- Rhythm and embodiment
- Openness and relationality
- Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

In this case study I approach places (particular events and happenings) and landscapes that come to the fore as a herding community undertakes its biannual transhumant voyage⁵⁰ and moves through rural environments, following established routes. I aim to interpret dwelling practices (that in this case might have well been focused upon in the seminal dwelling literatures) in a novel way, by linking dwelling to the research themes.

In this chapter I first delve into the background and history of long-distance transhumance (defined below), both generally as a rural Spanish activity, as well as the particular activity that is studied here (5.1). The rest of the chapter follows the structure of the research themes. I first link dwelling into a post-humanist framework, by outlining the relationships between herders, herd and environment, focusing specifically on herd animals and materials (5.2). I then elaborate upon the rhythmic and embodied aspects of dwelling, both in their seasonal temporality, as well as in their everyday herding context (5.3). Next, I consider the ways in which herding places are open and relational and how they may include fleeting moments of dwelling practices (5.4). I propose ways of understanding transhumant dwelling in place and landscape through the dimension of nearness (5.5), before concluding the chapter (5.6).

⁵⁰ This description refers to “long-distance transhumance by foot”; other types of transhumance, such as by truck, are not considered here.

5.1 Background and history

Transhumance, from Latin *trans* (across) and *humus* (ground), names the seasonal voyage that herders undertake with their herd, as available affordances grow and diminish over time due to seasonal, climatological and hydrological rhythms. This happens throughout different societies, ecologies, and with different kinds of animals. Through biennial long-distance transhumance voyages, herders optimise the existing resources and avoid supplementary feed (Ruiz and Ruiz 1986).

Long-distance transhumance originated as prehistoric herd movements, in which animals adapted to seasonal changes, and included human beings only when hunters started to respond to the agency of those herd animals by following those herds in a specific mobile form of dwelling, after which the process of domestication started (Sánchez Moreno 1998, pp. 53-55). Thus, historically, human beings have learned to follow animals rather than the other way around.

In the Iberian Peninsula, long-distance transhumance as a type of extensive animal husbandry occurred in pre-Roman times (Sánchez Moreno 1998, 2001). Since, it grew in importance (Klein 1920) until long-distance transhumance suffered a decline due to territorial instability in Moorish times (López Sáez, López Merino, *et al.* 2009). Under the subsequent Christian rule, long-distance transhumance of especially sheep again flourished in the Iberian Peninsula, as the Merino sheep with their famous wool became of great economic importance. As a result, the guild “Honoured Council of the *Mesta*” (abbreviated “*Mesta*”) was established in 1273 by King Alfonso X to protect the interests of the pastoral shepherds (Klein 1920). Due to this importance of the transhumance activity, the traditional droveways - the *cañadas* or *veredas*⁵¹ - obtained legal status: they were designated as protected areas as they were instrumental in the herding movements of sheep (in ensuring possibilities for passage and grazing). Developments or enclosed agriculture on these droveways was and remained prohibited by law. In this respect, a key legal measure was

⁵¹ *Vereda* means “path freed by the passage of herds”. It is used in two ways: one can “be at the droveway” (*estar en la vereda*; referring to one’s presence on the path) or one can “do the droveway” (*hacer la vereda* or *estar de vereda*). “Doing the droveway” holds connotations of journeying, temporality and movement, along the lines Ingold (2000, p. 204) interpreted pathways to arise out of (bodily) movement.

the designation of different types of rights-of-way, with a variety of legally established widths. The most important *veredas* were qualified as “Royal Drove Roads”, whose width was established at 90 *varas* (about 75 metres) (Klein 1920, p. 17; García Martín and Sánchez Benito 1986). This width was not established with an eye on complex movements, but rather to provide for sufficient grasses for the various herds that not only move - , but also graze and drink water on the droveways (Ruiz an Ruiz 1986, p. 79). The Royal Drove Roads generally traverse the country in a south-western direction. As such, herders in the North (Soria, Leon, etc.) undertake their voyage to *Extremadura* and occidental parts of Andalusia, while herders from the North-East (Teruel and Cuenca) travel to central and oriental parts of Andalusia (Córdoba and Jaén) (Figure 5.1). The droveways mostly follow the soil and vegetation patterns of their autochthonic environments, which in many areas suffered great changes due to the proliferation of agriculture, infrastructure, or settlements.

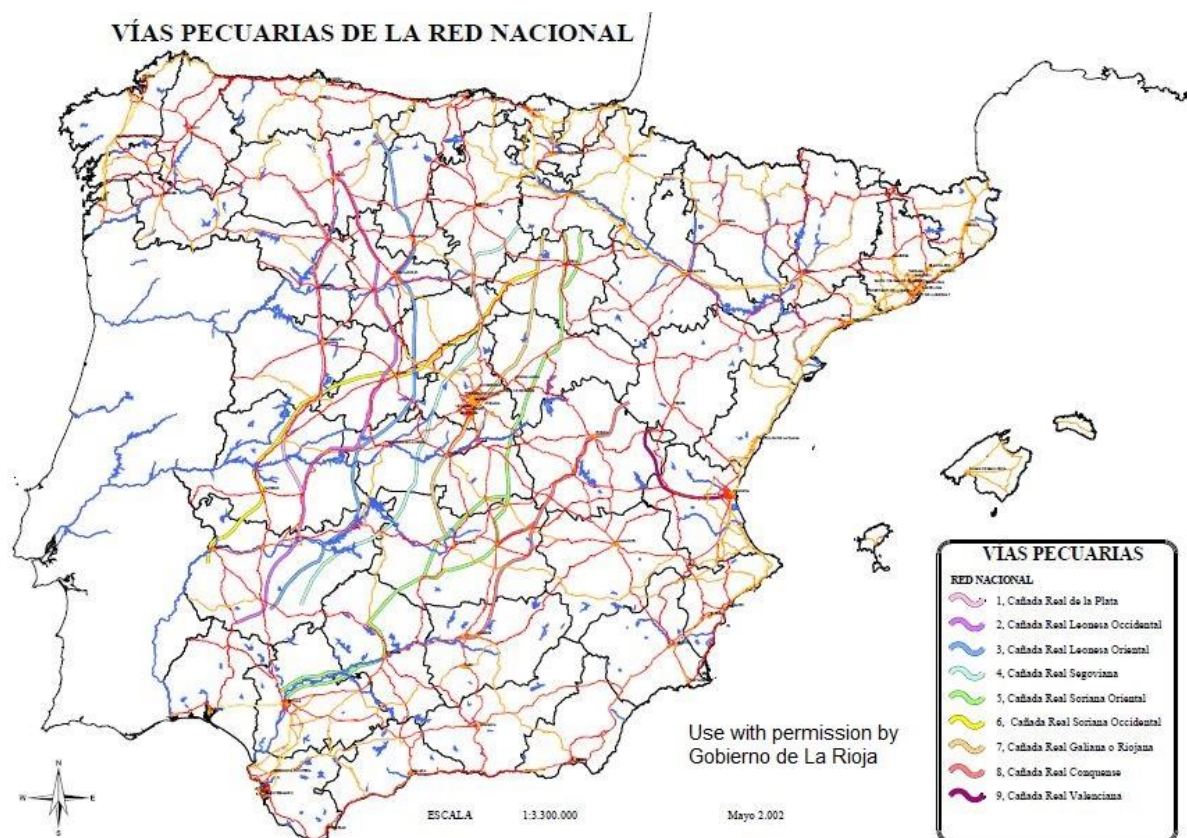


Figure 5.1: Map of the main Royal Drove Roads in Spain, over a background of less prominent drove ways

In some periods between the 16th and 19th century, over three million livestock animals (principally sheep) traversed the Iberian Peninsula annually (Klein 1920; Parejo Barranco

1989; García Sanz 1994). However, at the end of the 18th century wool lost its privileged position (the proliferation of other materials made wool's worth drop), and long-distance transhumance started to experience a continuous decline. In 1836 the *Mesta* was abolished and substituted for the less powerful "Association of Livestock-owners of the Realm" (González Casarrubios 2004). Despite the decline in transhumance agriculture, residual use and the maintenance of the legal protection have kept many of the droveways in place. Therefore, the network that long-distance transhumance configured in Spanish territory remains extensive today: about 425.000 hectares or 125.000 kilometres of droveways (Manteca Valdelande 1995). Although they remain legally protected, today many of the droveways are marginalised and are often narrower than they should be. This is caused by a variety of reasons, which can all be linked to the long-term diminution of long-distance transhumance both in terms of herders and herd animals. In the context of economic marginalisation of extensive farming in general (Antón Burgos 2000, 2003, 2004), it has become rare to see herders on the droveways. As a consequence the few sheep, goats, and cows that do journey on them, under-graze the vegetation that grows on the *veredas*. Perennial vegetation such as trees and bushes that would be grazed or trampled in their early stages if more transhumant movements would take place, grow and in their density might become obstructive elements. There are negative implications following the decline in transhumance movements for habitats and ecosystems:

since a century, when the transport of the herds over rail way started, hardly any new trees have been born in the south of the Peninsula, and the permanent overgrazing of the earth is provoking serious erosion, causing the loss of fertile soil, of the productive grasses, and of the biological diversity. In the mountains, the absence of transhumant herds in summer provokes the appearance of scrubs and bushes in the traditional fields and grazing grounds, which can become the cause of incontrollable forest fires, while the settlements are suffering from depopulation as their most valuable natural and cultural resources disappear. In the oak meadows, the splendid woodlands of holm oaks and cork oaks which we still admire [...] is condemned to disappear shortly, as the young trees are being destroyed by sedentary cattle. The nature as a whole in the Peninsula has adapted itself during millions of years to the seasonal movements of big groups of herbivores, and the disappearance of transhumance is causing an irreversible deterioration in the ecosystems (Garzón 2011; my translation).

Meanwhile, some of the land-owners adjacent to the droveways plant crops, or even set up fences⁵² and build other physical constructions on the droveways. By confiscating parts of the droveways, part of the (public) pastures is taken away and the herd's passage is disturbed. The public administrations also have built water reservoirs, hard surfaced roads, railways, electricity poles and other infrastructures on some of the droveways (El País 5-6-2011). Apart from that, the public administrations allocate few resources to the support of long-distance transhumance and for the effective protection and conservation of the droveways, while not showing signs of effective conflict-resolution in case of infringements (García Cámara 2011).

After the long-distance transhumance practice disappeared almost entirely in the second half of the 20th century, recently, and in recognition of the ecological and heritage values of transhumance (land care, traditional ecological knowledges, herding practices, gastronomic skills, and herding vocabularies), NGOs, universities and administrations have shown an increasing interest in the study and protection of the activity (Garzón 2011). With this emergent support, and in a context of increasing prices of herd transport by truck and of the suspension of transhumance services by the national railway services (RENFE), recently long-distance transhumance has re-emerged, albeit as a marginal and fragile activity (Garzón 2011), while herders nowadays have to cope with significant problems such as a lack of water supplies in some parts of the droveways, due to climate change and obsolete infrastructures (Oteros-Rozas, González, *et al.* 2012).

Nowadays few Royal Drove Roads facilitate the long distance transhumance of thousands of heads of cattle: amongst the more relevant and intensely transited ones are the Royal Drove Road of Leon and the Conquense Royal Drove Road (*Cañada Real Conquense*). It was on the latter (Figure 5.2), of approximately 410 kilometres long, that I participated three times in a long-distance transhumant journey that lasts in its totality four weeks. Its summering areas (*áreas de agostada*) are to be found in the *Sierra de Albarracín* and the *Serranía de Cuenca*, characterised by its high altitude and coniferous vegetation and patches of pasture. Its wintering areas (*áreas de invernada*) are to be found in the oriental parts of the *Sierra Morena*,

⁵² When confronting a landowner with this issue, land-owners often argue that it was the land-owner on the other side who has taken part of the droveway and that the width is therefore less than it should be.

a *dehesa* (oak meadow) landscape at a much lower altitude. Nowadays, about 20 livestock-owners and some 8,900 sheep and 1,100 heads of cattle traverse large parts of this droveway (Oteros-Rozas, González, *et al.* 2012, pp. 244-246).

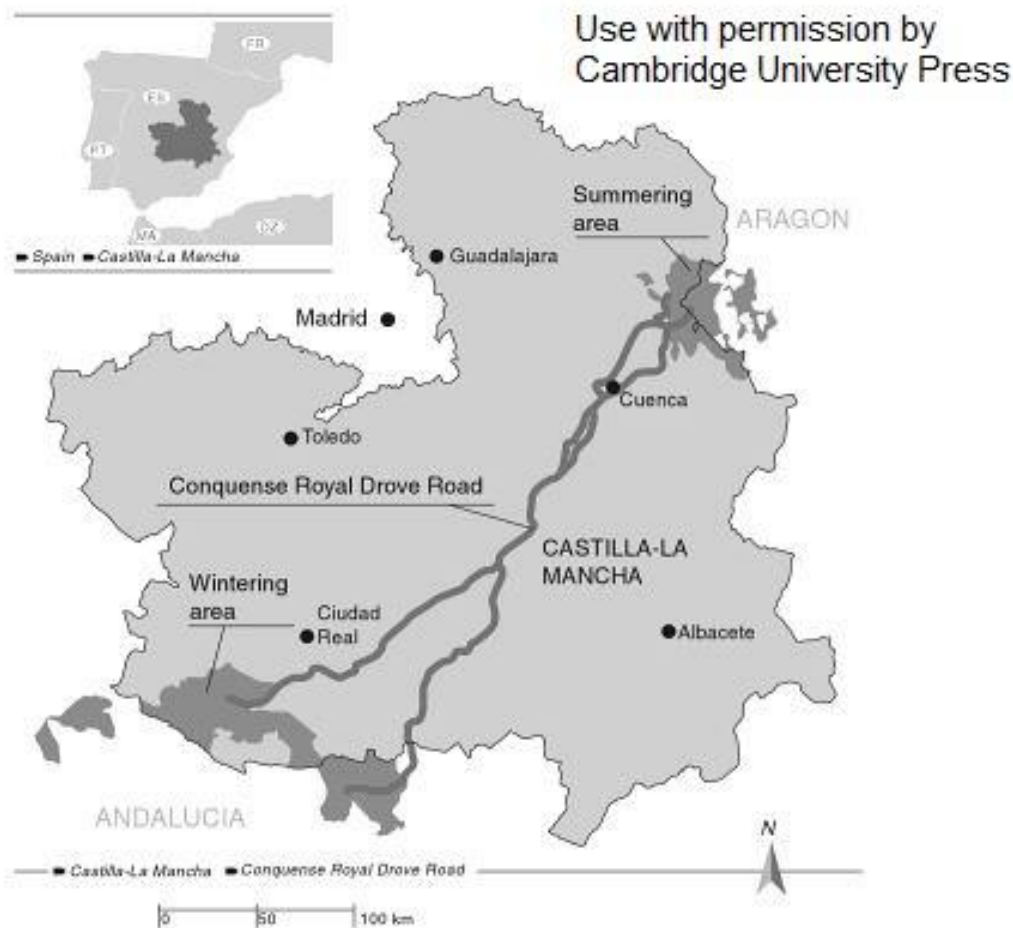


Figure 5.2: Map of the *Conquense* Royal Drove Road

Through a Spanish ONG, called “Nature and Transhumance” (Chapter 4), I joined a livestock-owning, cow herding family on their journey with a cow herd of approximately 200 cows of various kinds (mostly Limousin, Charolais, but also *Berrenda* cattle) and various owners. This family used to undertake the transhumant voyage by foot and for a significant part of the route by railway. Due to the suspension of this service in the late 1990s, they have been doing the whole route by foot biannually for many years now. Livestock is the main source of income for this family.⁵³ Breeding cows and sheep, they sell most of the lambs and

⁵³ This means that at least some of the herders are not only with the herd during the long-distance transhumance voyage; they maintain a daily contact with the herd and each other. Others join in only for the voyage, or for a part of the journey.

calves into food chains, and keep some of the promising ones for breeding so that they ensure a healthy and thriving herd. The organisation of this particular herding trip is co-organised between three to five families who group their livestock and divide it up into two herds: one of cows and one of sheep and a few goats. During my first trip, in autumn 2010, the cow herding family guided a shepherding family, who joined each other at resting places. During my other trips, in spring 2011 and in spring 2012, the cow herding family travelled “alone”. From the next section onwards (see below) I develop dwelling by enlacing the notion into the different research themes.

5.2 Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman

In recent human geography, post-humanist approaches in which more-than-human spaces are studied in depth, often dedicate specific attention to animals. In this section I use a post-humanist framework to develop an understanding of the ways in which human beings dwell in more-than-human worlds. As such, I focus on human / nonhuman relationships.⁵⁴ Firstly I do so by dedicating attention to the intertwinements between cow herd, cow herders and environment (5.2.1). I then interpret the animal, with an emphasis on the herders’ relationship with the herd animals, as a defining factor of this post-humanist dwelt geography (5.2.2). Finally I look at the things and materials that characterise the transhumant places and landscapes in this particular case study (5.2.3).

5.2.1 Cow herd, cow herders and environment

Out of the twenty herding communities that currently use the Conquense Royal Drove Road for long-distance transhumance, I joined a cow herding community which changes, especially in terms of its human components, throughout the journey. It consists of a *mayoral* (herd leader), at least one *hatero*⁵⁵ (in this case the *mayoral*’s wife assists during the entire transhumant journeys), two to six experienced herders (the family’s two sons and other herders participate irregularly because of other job obligations), and visitors that join in sporadically (mostly in the weekends).

⁵⁴ Hayden Lorimer’s herding mentors (Fraser Darling, John Berger, and Tim Ingold) studied human / nonhuman interactions in detail (Lorimer 2006).

⁵⁵ From *hato* and closely related to *hatería*: the provisions that used to be carried by a mule.

The *hatero(s)* activities' consist mainly of providing food and drinks, organising the camp, preparing the camp-fire, etc. Therefore the *hatero(s)* drive a four-wheel-drive car, buy supplies, gather wood, cook, strike camp, etc. They only join the herd and herders at resting places (the locations of which are confirmed each morning), as the droveways generally consist of such rough terrain, that they can only be traversed on foot. The *hateros* are thus obliged to take different roads, and drive from resting place to resting place, often visiting villages, gasoline stations, and other places on their way, to supply the herding community.

There is a host of herd animals participating in these journeys. The primary herd animals are the livestock itself (almost 200 cows in this case - which is about average in Spanish transhumant movements - and about 2000 sheep and goats in another herd). The practical tasks of the herders consist of maintaining the herd in a group to make sure that all animals reach their daily and final destination. Therefore, each herder travels mostly on horseback (to be quick and mobile, and to have a good overview high up), preventing the cows from wandering off, or re-grouping them. Meanwhile, the experienced herders use personal herding dogs so that they do not always have to go after the cows but may send a dog instead.⁵⁶

When moving through open areas, the herders group around the herd, especially at the back and at the flanks (with only the *mayoral* leading the herd in front), so that no animals can fall behind, and the herd keeps moving as one (Figure 5.3 - video). When traversing areas which are fenced, there is less danger of cows wandering off (Figure 5.4 - video), but especially when in a rougher, shrubby, or more uneven terrain, the task of maintaining unity requires attention and a knowledge of which animals might fall back or wander off. It is during these more chaotic stages, that in order to maintain the herd in a group the herders have to undertake actions such as watching animal movements with special attention, keeping the herd in movement by pressuring the animals at the back, positioning themselves at the sides, and going after animals that stay behind or wander off or sending dogs to do so (Figure 5.5 - video).

⁵⁶ There is also a series of unwanted animals that must be dealt with. One is the other livestock owners' cattle that may try to attack or to group with the herd. Other animals are the insects that affect the cows (especially the calves).

While in a historical sense the herding practices have formed the transhumance droveways, the width of the droveway also influences the shape of the herd (Figures 5.6 and 5.7 - videos). At times the Royal Drove Road narrows because adjacent land-owners confiscate parts of the designated areas (or because the administration “develops” parts of the droveway).⁵⁷ At other times it widens or even becomes indistinguishable from the wider environment – especially in hilly areas where no land-owners transform the adjacent lands.

The environment of the Conquense Royal Drove Road constitutes a rich testimony of (nonhuman) prehistoric herd movements and of the (human) formulation and maintenance of conservation laws. The environment affects the herd as it passes through (and rests in) it, and thereby becomes active. Especially to the cows, the environment provides grasses, acorns, water, but also shadow, freshness, and possibilities to rub themselves (Figure 5.8 - video). Transhumant places are events, interplays between herders, herd, and the environment (things and materials), that come to presence as the herding community moves along a droveway. Within such a configuration, places are mobile happening that articulate the shared dwelling of herd and herders.

When focusing on transhumant places topographical and topological aspects shine through. Interactions between herd, herders and environment bring to light the depth and specificities of places, earthly qualities that provide for rich and manifold dwelling. The nonhuman, the becoming of the mobile herding community, time-deepened relationships and complexities, and the configuration of places into wider landscapes play a relevant role in transhumant dwelling.

5.2.2 The animal

In this case study herd animals such as herd dogs, horses, and especially the cows might be considered the main nonhuman beings. The relevance of the cows and others animals is such, that transhumant places and landscapes may be qualified as “animal geographies”.

⁵⁷ Thus, activities or things that are obstructive to the transhumant voyage (such as land-owners that claim public land, and, in a more indirect way, policies that do not allocate sufficient resources to the conservation of the droveways) affect the very movements of the herd in its environment.

A twofold relationship characterises interactions between herders and cows. Firstly, the herders make an attempt to relate with the cows by behaving animal-like, for example by imitating the mooing of the cows, often to attract their attention. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued, being in such a way might be understood through the concept of ‘becoming animal’, which “presents and enables a sort of post-modern un-humaning of the human” (Patchett 2010, p. 148). I would agree with her that the concept might imply, as in this case, “not so much dispensing with [...] human identities and subjectivities, but is rather enabling a creative encounter/ dialogue between the human [...] and the animal” (Patchett 2010, p. 148).

Secondly, the herders recognise capacities in the cows that are human-like, or that exceed human capacities (research diary notes 2012). To recognise shared capacities of human and nonhuman beings, allows the experienced herders to comport themselves toward the herd in a similar way as ethologists Fraser Darling and Lockley, both of whom learned-to-relate to and affectively communicated with animals (Lorimer 2010, pp. 64-66). The ethologists and the herders do not understand the animals to act merely by “instinctual drives and neural responses” (Lorimer 2010, p. 64).

In this case, the cows in their communal being embody many transhumant journeys, and the herders recognise an inter-generational capacity of the cows, to generally move in the right direction (although whenever the cows perceive affordances such as fresh pastures, crops, or water, they do not doubt to change direction). It may be said that the transhumant animals have a highly developed territorial orientation and memory. This embodied capacity⁵⁸ includes a “muscular consciousness” (Bachelard 1994; Ingold 2000, pp. 203-204), which is possibly even more developed in the cows than in the herders (Figure 5.16 in 5.2.3).

The experienced herders recognise an individual character in each of the cows, and moods in the herd’s communal being. Both communally as well as individually, mood, emotions and behaviour change. On a rainy day the herd is not very prone to move, on a particular day a cow might be fighting repeatedly with the same herd dog, towards the end of the breaks at midday, in spring, the cows often seem happiest. During the transhumance

⁵⁸ By embodied capacity I do not mean that the brain plays no role. Consciousness and intelligence are embodied capacities, too.

journey, mooing intensifies in the morning, which the *mayoral* explains as a calling for related cows and calves that often loose each other when leaving resting places (compare for example the herds' acoustics before leaving (Figure 5.9 - video) and the acoustics shortly after leaving (Figure 5.10 - video)). He recognises the cows' ability of having affectual relationships with family members and others:

[...] I asked for the meaning of the mooing and he [the *mayoral*] told me at this time the calves calling for their mothers – some of the cows mood in response; most of the cows did not react as they were occupied with grazing. He continued by explaining that these animals are very bonding creatures, not only with family members: the calves that grow up in the same year usually stay together for the rest of their lives. They are like sisters with different mothers (research diary notes 2011).

The experienced herders recognise distinct characters in the cows, as diverse as “very nice” to “really problematic” (research diary notes 2012). As such, the herders grant personhood to the cows and calves, and allocate distinct bells to the different animals (the sound of which increases with the size of the cow, but can also be sharper or fuller depending on the cow's being) to facilitate identification. Through such intimate inter-relating with the animal, the herders distance themselves from a “functional utilitarianism”; they are the human practitioners of an animal geography or a “more-than-human” world (Lorimer 2010, p. 64, p. 66). Far from objectifying the cows, the herders' dwelling consists of comporting themselves towards the herd in such a way that they let it be (Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, p. 29):

When setting up camp on this windy night, the herders inter-relate with the herd by taking care of its well-being. They do so by situating the electrical, mobile fence in a lower area where the cows and sheep are kept together and protected from the wind by a hill (research diary notes 2010).

The relationships between herders and herd animals are not always cosy. The herders see in temporality (both meteorological as existential time) a common destination of both human and animal beings. At the same time, the herders assign functions to animals (and to things and other human beings). In such a context the lethal disease of a cow while journeying is first of all seen as a setback, as it might delay the journey. Death is understood to form part of the life cycle, and therefore simply accepted. Indeed, most calves (and less often, older cows) are sold after which they are killed for the production of meat. While journeying the

herders eat meat that was prepared before the journey started, and which stems from one of the livestock owner's sheep. This opens up a particularly intimate "corporeality" (Whatmore 2002) that relates to the care for selves and others.

Apart from the ways in which the cows' death is confronted, other happenings also articulate a relationship between herd and herders that is not cosy. The great majority of physical contact between herders and herd takes place through a stick (*garrota*), through which the cows' behaviour and movement is corrected, and through which the back of the herd is pushed forward. Such contacts always serve an aim, and only the most obstinate cows are hit with rigor; calves are treated more softly, pushed more gently with the stick.

Lorimer (2006) used the term "herding memory" in reference to the accumulation of knowledges acquired by herders and herd animals. As Gooch (2008, p. 67) noted about a transhumant voyage elsewhere: "the walk goes through a terrain intimately known and consisting of movements and places apprehended through an embodied knowledge possessed by people as well as animals". In the case of intertwined dwelling of both herd and herders, Gooch (2008, p. 73) found it highly problematical to maintain an ontological prioritisation of the human being over the animal. In the historical *and* ecological sense, the herd animal rather than the human being is originarily constitutive of the droveways (although not necessarily the cow). Since the wild herds disappeared, human beings and herd animals co-produce the transhumant places and landscapes. Refraining from a humanist understanding of "people in place", those geographies can be approached through the herders' dwelling in nearness of each other and the herd animals. With nearness I refer to the intimacies, knowledges and practices that characterise the interrelationships between human and nonhuman components of the herding community. As such, a posthumanist "politics of conviviality" (Hinchliffe and Whatmore 2006, p. 125) or ethics of human and non-human co-habitation appears. Hinchliffe and Whatmore (2006, p. 135) drew on the work of Diprose, who argued that such is an ethics of "be-coming in the world that is thoroughly relational and corporeal". In this case study, both herders and herd become through openness to and interaction with others, articulating thereby a "corporeal generosity" (Diprose 2002, see also Simonsen 2013). For the experienced herders, this type of generosity involves a "becoming animal" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), as well as a recognition of capacities in the herd animals. It also implies going through prolonged

periods of physical hardship; a commitment with a specific time-depth as the experienced herders are expected to participate (biannually) in the herd's voyages.

This more-than-human geography might be considered to be a performance in which a double care-taking takes place. On the one hand the herders dwell by taking care of the herd animals through an attuned and regular involvement, which implies a considerable human sacrifice. This links in with a Heideggerian understanding of the gods, the divine, and the holy: the main *hatero* explained that the *leitmotif* behind the community choosing to go through such efforts is to keep their ancestors, who were practitioners of this centennial activity, alive in memory and practice. The herders dwell in response to and recall their ancestors. On the other hand, the herd takes care of the earth. During millions of years the sheep, cows and goats have been treading the leafs and branches into the soil, selecting and eating plants, and distributing seeds as they got caught up in fur or hoofs, or through their excrements. As such, the herds' mobile dwelling results in highly biodiverse environments (Garzón 2011).

Focusing on the relationships between human and nonhuman beings improves the understanding of transhumant places and landscapes. This can be done through a notion of dwelling, in which human being is understood to be near to each other and others (in the case of transhumance this involves hardship and well-being at once). The experienced herders have learned to dwell with the herd. This being-with involves time-depth (some of the herders are with the herd on a daily basis for many years (or indeed for most of their lives) and recognition of capacities that in some cases are similar to human capacities. The human and nonhuman being-together may in this case be understood to be constituted out of intimacies and affects that are the pulses of a shared lifeworld.

5.2.3 Things and materials

In the former sub-sections I approached the interrelationships between herders and herd by focussing on the practices and the animal itself. To dwell in the nearness of the herd, the herders make use of a basic set of things during the transhumance journey. Such things are almost exclusively functional. It includes equipment, for example to saddle the horses , sticks to correct the cows and push them forward, or equipment to eat and drink, to pass the

night, etc. Some are taken along and used during the day, while others are transported by the *hateros* in four-wheel drive cars as they serve only at resting places.

Whereas the things that are used when on horseback or when herding on foot are limited, at resting places the experienced herders are involved with a wider range of materials and things, often fixing or creating particular things that are needed during the transhumance. When in need of hobbles, the herders make them out of rope. When a specific part of the equipment needed to saddle a horse is broken, they repair it. When they catch birds, and want to transport them alive until they might be used in a meal, they construct a cage with a knife, some rope, and branches. Due to this creativity, it happens only occasionally that the *hateros* go and buy things (other than food, drinks or ice) that are needed for the journey.

The things that the herders are involved with either on horseback or when on resting places are intimately known and well cared for, for several reasons:

- they are in any case limited
- many of them are made or repaired in the herding community itself
- some of them are gifts
- they are used repeatedly and intensely
- some of them sparkle the remembrance of specific happenings

Then, there are some functional, immobile human-made things, which are more permanently collated into the environment. They are things such as watering troughs (*abrevaderos*) (Figures 5.11 and 5.12) and milestones indicative of the width of the drove roads (*mojones*) (Figure 5.13). However, these things are mostly conspicuous by their absence. When long-distance transhumance was practised more widely, there were more, and a greater variety of such things, but in the passage of time they have mostly disappeared. Throughout the transhumant environment some obsolete things remain: remnants of past generations of long-distance herding such as shearing and scouring buildings (Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, p. 16), and watering troughs which have fallen in disuse (Figure 5.15). The presence of such human-made things, together with those indicative of non-herding activities such as hard road surfacing (5.1; Figure 5.14), and the general absence of equipment such as showers and human-made shelters, hint towards today's marginality of the transhumant activity.



Figure 5.11: Picture of a wooden, terraced watering trough, semi-dry at this point of the journey (2012)



Figure 5.12: Picture of the herd approaching a watering trough, one of the few that are recently constructed by the Administration (2011)



Figure 5.13: Picture of a *mojón* along the pathway, which is respected in this case by adjacent land-owners (2012)



Figure 5.14: Picture of perennial vegetation and hard surfaced roads on the Royal Drove Road (2011)



Figure 5.15: Picture of an obsolete watering trough (2011)



Figure 5.16: Picture of a dry environment (2012)

The ecological materials in the environment are omni-present. They might be understood to be the main motivation behind – as well as the result of – long-distance transhumance. The presence of bushes and trees on the droveways, however, are also indicative of the relative absence of transhumant journeys that have taken place in recent decades. Finally, ecological materials are expressive of climatic and seasonal changes: eroded parts of the droveway, dry pastures, and dried up watering troughs and pools (Figures 5.15 and 5.16) confirm why the journey is taking place.

The ecological materials also influence the herding movements in a more direct and everyday sense. Throughout the journey, the presence of the fresh pastures and water determines where the herd is let towards, and where it halts to graze. While journeying, the herders know which specific environments to head to, in search of fungi, fruits, and other ecological affordances such as horns (which they do not use but sell). The herders also search and hunt for hares and rabbits, ducks, and birds such as quails and partridges in specific transhumant environments.⁵⁹ But the earth's ecological materials might also offer refuge against the ice-cold *La Mancha* wind and rain, in the form of low-lying slopes, caves, or trees. The importance of such things may be shown through a reflection on the happenings of a cold and rainy autumn day:

As the afternoon progresses, the herders come down off their horses, one after the other, to warm up their feet. Stuck on a high-lying plain, the herders let their horses take a halt behind individual trees, while they search refuge behind the horses - waiting for the mist to clear up so that the road ahead might be traversed. Meanwhile, and although the herders can hardly see anything, they know that further up along the droveway the camp is being set up and that the earth's wood is being gathered to light a fire which would warm them up (research diary notes 2010; see also Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, pp. 27-28).

Apart from such specific ecological materials, which I characterised through their affordances, there are also contingent materials as the environment responds to or integrates the herding movements taking place in it. Hooves might leave footprints or flattened pastures (Figure 5.17), while herd animals also leave direct material tracks in the environment, such as excrements and wool (Figure 5.18).

⁵⁹ Other animals that I came across in droveways are wild boars and deer, yet the herders did not successfully hunt those animals.



Figure 5.17: Picture of flattened pastures (2012)



Figure 5.18: Picture of a trace of a herding journey (2012)

In this sub-section I distinguished between human-made things and ecological materials. This is a tricky distinction, as shown by Ingold (2007). Through the immersion of human being in lifeworlds, we might become related with all kinds of materials in generative movement. What characterises the transhumance undertaking is that everything that might have a function is made the most of, and thereby become dwelt things. Thus, an artificial water reservoir, fresh grasses, tires, a river and its trees, straw bales, a roll of tape found on the parking area of a petrol station, all are put to use for the well-being of the herd, and the herding community. On the other side of the spectre, material disturbances or dangers (such as wires, poisoned water, and muddy water), also form part of the dwelt places and landscapes. They might even be considered dwelt things, as they are dealt with too (and quite intensely so). The interpretations of transhumant things and materials (above), unlock the practical and ecological aspects of dwelling in transhumant places and landscapes.

To understand dwelling in a posthumanist framework has meant, in this case, to emphasise the role that nonhuman beings (especially the herd animals) have in more-than-human transhumant lifeworlds. As such, human dwelling in those places can be better understood. It constitutes a rich, interactive, and eventful happening that can only take place because of the presence and interactions with different kinds of nonhuman beings. The herders express “an openness to the other [...] an understanding of others that, on the one hand, does not reduce them to the same, nor, on the other hand, sees their alterity as so radical that it precludes all mutual understanding” (Simonsen 2013, p. 23). The experienced herders “learned-to-be-affected” (Latour 2004) by herd animals. Expressions of care, affect, emotions,

openness, knowledges, and intimacies can be best understood by focusing on the interrelationships between herders, and between herders and herd animals in changing environments.

5.3 Rhythm and embodiment

The multiplicity of the temporalities of life is a major research concern in NRT, and reveals some of the fundamental aspects of places and landscapes. In this section, I explore the rhythmic, cyclical, and embodied character of transhumant dwelling. First I focus on the way in which the experienced herders and herd appear to be strongly embedded in the coming and going of the seasons (5.3.1), an issue that comes to the fore in the herders' embodiments in the eve of the voyages (5.3.2). I then consider ways in which the day/night cycle influences the herding practices (5.3.3), and finally consider the other rhythmic interactions that appear during the herding journey (5.3.4).

5.3.1. Seasonal rhythm

The long-distance transhumance journey follows a relatively stable seasonality. In a way, it thereby contrasts with nomadism as it is practised in parts of Northern Africa, where the climatological conditions are not so predictable and herders see themselves obliged to start journeying at unforeseen moments (Ruiz and Ruiz 1986, p. 74). In any case, transhumant dwelling movements are to a degree adaptive and improvised too, as routes and resting places can be tweaked, daily stages can be changed following weather conditions, etc. (Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012).

In this case study, the seasons determine the transhumance movements, which can be planned for months before the journeys start. In autumn, herders and herd travel to their *dehesa* (oak meadow) in oriental Andalusia to pass the winter, in search of warmer temperatures. When in late spring the warmth and the lack of rain starts to affect and exhaust human beings, animals and pastures, the caravan moves back in a north-eastern direction, in search of fresher temperatures, to pass the summer. At all times, the herd is in need of fresh pastures and water. The altitudinal differences are considerable, varying from 1,700 metres above sea level in summer to 400 metres above sea level in winter (Oteros-Rozas, González, *et al.* 2012). In any case, the annual cycle of the herd is more complex, as

fresh pastures are needed on a daily basis. When in *Teruel*, the *mayoral* leads the cows every day to communal pasture grounds. But even there, the pastures might not be sufficient for the herd to pass the summer in a good condition, which means that the herders travel a bit further north with the herd before undertaking the transhumance. So, both on a seasonal as on a daily level, the herd is after fresh pastures (Figure 5.19). Therefore, the herders and the herd feel seasonality intimately, as it determines the whereabouts of the herd, also in its everyday being.



Figure 5.19: Picture of cows seeking for fresh pastures (2011)

Long before transhumance takes place, by carefully planning mating sessions, the livestock-owners try to “plan” the birth of calves to occur outside of the transhumance movement, because during the long-distance transhumance, the herders would have to do with unknown vets and civil servants in case anything goes wrong, which might delay the transhumance movement. Also, months before the transhumance actually takes place, the livestock-owners request permission, and when it is given, are allowed to depart only from a certain day onwards (normally this day falls in the first half of June and in the first half of November).⁶⁰

5.3.2 Embodied practice preceding the journey

Whether in autumn or in spring, the weeks leading up to the long-distance transhumance journey provoke a feeling of urgency in the herders and *hateros*. Because of their repeated and cyclical (biannual) involvement, seasonality in combination with their “muscular consciousness” tells them that the time has come to move “down” or “back up”. Although the sensations are different in the autumn and spring season (because of differences in diets,

⁶⁰ This is experienced as a restrictive measure, because due to the weather, water supplies or the lack of fresh pastures, the herders might want to leave earlier than the set date.

in the climatic cycle, and the (dis)appearance of environmental affordances, etc.), several experienced herders explained that the feeling is essentially the same: “*la sangre hierve*” (“the blood boils”) in the weeks before the day of departure.⁶¹ This is not to say that herd-herder relationships suddenly change or start from nowhere. In a way, some of the experienced herders continue their year-round work on the transhumant voyage. As they join the herd and guide it to different fields on the oak meadow, and lead it to grazing grounds, they care for the herd on a daily basis. In that sense, long-distance transhumance is a continuation of caring for the herd, because in this case livestock-owners, care-takers, and experienced herders are the same people. There is therefore a sense of continuity (the herders’ dwelling remains based on the principles of intimate and time-deepened knowledge, and care), although the herd and herders are differently mobile during the transhumant journey.

Weeks before the journey, the *hateros* start to organise the practicalities of the undertaking, such as preparing the car(s), provisions, a mobile kitchen, utilities, organise and plan the visits of guests, etc. Finally, on the day of the trip, members of the herding community wake up early and join the herd for departure. Herders and *hateros* feel the coming near of the day of departure through seasonal changes and the practical activities that build up towards the start of the journey. This is indicative of an embodied dwelling in nearness of the herd, which is thoroughly influenced, in this case, by the annual cycle / seasonal rhythm.

5.3.3 Herding’s daily cycle

The daily cycle of the experienced herders, and especially for the herders who join the herd only for the journey, changes when the journey starts. Throughout the year, the cows are mostly grazing within a specific area and do not require as much attention as they do during the journey, when the herders do need to be actively involved from dusk until dawn.

The everyday rhythm of the herd is one of movement and rest. The character of this rhythm can be partially outlined through the herders’ meals in response to the daily sunlight and warmth, as determined by the seasons. In autumn, when the days are considerably shorter

⁶¹ The *mayoral* that undertakes *trasterminancia* (shorter distance transhumance) within the province of Jaén explained that when he changes the animals’ bells on the days before departure, the next morning the animals are usually grouping at the gate. This implies that the animals too know or feel that the transhumant journey is coming near.

than in spring, a typical day consists of waking up at sunrise (which is later than in spring in terms of clock time), and setting the herd into movement. Around mid-day the *mayoral* stops the herd so that herders can rest and eat at ease, while the cows graze and rest too. Shortly after, the herd moves on for another half a day, and when sun sets, the herders come to a halt at the daily destination where they have dinner, and take care of the well-being of the herd animals. Before going to bed, the evening is a rather long one, of socialisation between the herders, people that accompany the herd, and visitors (friends and family that bring dinner or other supplies, or even interested people who are occasionally dropping by). As such, the diverse community passes some hours in the darkness of the night, illuminated by a mobile lantern. In spring, the day starts at sunrise too (earlier in clock time), but when the sun is at its most intense, neither animal nor human being want to move further: at mid-day a much longer stop than in autumn splits the day in two. There is time for a small meal, followed by a break for socialisation or a siesta, and a main meal. The *mayoral* and main *hatero* choose those resting places⁶² on the basis of the affordances of the environment: availability of pastures, water, shadow (Figure 5.20), slopes (so that the cows stay together without having to set up the electrical, mobile fence, see Figure 5.21 - video, and Figure 5.22). Only in the late afternoon the herders set the herd into movement again, to reach its daily destination at sunset, to have dinner and to go to bed shortly after.



Figure 5.20: Picture of a river providing not only for water but also for shadow as black poplars grow at its bank (2012)



Figure 5.22: Picture of the *mayoral* between the cows, at a resting place, next to a watering trough (2011)

⁶² Resting places are called *descansaderos*, from “*descansar*”: “to rest”.

Within a long-distance transhumance voyage, the daily stages are generally speaking of a similar length, if length refers to the duration of the tasks undertaken. Yet, dependent on factors such as the type of terrain the herd is crossing, on the availability of resting places, and on the stage in which the transhumance is, the daily distance covered varies substantially. Through years of experience and memory, the stages are broadly planned ahead by the *mayoral* and *hatero*, although unexpected events such as extreme weather or deterioration in the well-being of the herd sometimes provokes improvisation.

5.3.4 Communal and rhythmic interactivity

In the herding practices neither animal nor human being imposes a rhythm on the herd's being. The daily herding rhythm is better understood as a human-nonhuman co-production. It makes no sense to approach transhumance through clock time, nor through "objective" spatial distance, as these are not the parameters by which to measure the activity (the herders themselves hardly ever refer to such abstractions). In section 5.5 I argue that the herd's and herders' dwelling can be measured through the dimension of nearness; here I start by focussing on the herd's communal and rhythmic interactivity: the intimate events and interplays between herd-herder-environment that are constitutive of the coming-into-being of transhumant places and landscapes.

The transhumant practices are intrinsically communal. The herd I travelled with consisted of cows that are owned by various families or neighbouring friends (while the sheep owned by the *mayoral* are travelling at the same time, under the guidance of some of those people). Moreover, many of the everyday things are communal too: food and drinks, as well as blankets, cutlery and other supplies are shared. During the herding movements, a herder might have to leave his flank, but in those cases another supports him in covering the flank. This solidarity is extended to the animals, which are led to the richest environments and moved away from danger (Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, pp. 28-29).

In its everyday being before or after the journey, the herd grazes most of the day. Apart from the biennial journeys, it does not cover large distances. This means that the transhumance movement is dependent upon the animals' digestive systems (where mastication takes a relatively long time). Even when the herd is not at a resting place, the herders often let the cows graze for prolonged periods.

The cows have a different *tempo* than the sheep. Cows have a slightly higher “top speed” than sheep, yet they are also more prone to wander off. The different mobility of the two animals is the main reason behind the separation of cows and sheep, as the cows could trample the sheep. This danger is particularly evident in the heat of the day when sheep become vulnerable as they put their heads in the shadow beneath the sheep in front of them, in search of refreshment. In any case, the animals’ average speed does not reach a pedestrian’s, especially when traversing difficult terrain or lush areas. In the latter areas, the herders let the herd be, which involves guarding the herd and making sure that the animals stay together and graze tranquilly. If the area of pastures is small, the animals are maintained in this area. In this case the *mayoral* generally places himself in front of the herd while the other herders guard the flanks and the rear of the flock (Figure 5.23 - video). When there are many pastures ahead of the herd as well, the herders let the cows advance slowly (Figure 5.24 - video), which is when the *mayoral* places himself at a flank, so that the herd may graze and move at will. When traversing difficult terrain such as a hill or a mountain, when the weather is extreme, or when the animals are tired, the herd is often not quite willing to move. In such cases the herders have to start pushing, whistling and shouting (Figure 5.25 - video), so that the herd does not come to a standstill.

Gooch (2008) argued that in herds of goats, hooves follow feet, and in herds of buffaloes, feet follow hooves. Yet, in this case study neither is true, or maybe better: a combination of the two comes to the fore. Cows are mostly let be, yet can go astray both individually and as a herd, which means that they are either prevented from doing so by the herders, or regrouped after “escaping”. Moreover, the *mayoral* often rides in front of the herd.

In any case, herding places and landscapes are to be characterised by movements of stopping and walking. Attracted by fresh pastures and water, the herd slows down or even comes to a halt. When there are no or little affordances – such as on asphalted driveways – the herd moves forward more quickly. Such quick “marches” must be interchanged with longer stops when the driveway becomes grassy again, so that the animals can graze at ease and rest. As such, the constitution of the everyday transhumant landscape might be characterised as the fusion between the “space of walking” and the “spaces of staying” (Careri 2006, pp. 28-35; my translation; see also Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, p. 13). Walking, being a mobile activity, enables the herders to slowly break down environmental

and atmospheric signs: “walking permits the registration of changes in the direction of winds, of temperature, of sounds” (Careri 2006, p. 150; see also Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, p. 28).

If the *leitmotif* for the transhumant voyage is for the herd to be in areas of sufficient lush and fresh grasses, then often *during the voyage they are already there*. Therefore, what might at first be interpreted as a rather slow tempo, does not affect herd or herders negatively. To the contrary, if the herd is at ease when staying put or moving slowly, then the herders are generally happy too. Experience suggests that the journey takes four weeks (normally 28 or 29 days), and the experienced herders know where the herd should rest each night. Therefore, trying to speed up the movement makes no sense. It could even weaken the herd as a whole (and especially the weaker animals). Furthermore, the animals should not arrive early at their daily destination, as grasses may become scarce in the area in which they are held together, often by way of a mobile, electrical fence.

Setting the herd into movement for example, is a communal and dynamic process, repeated twice daily in spring. It requires various herding skills, including the preparation of the horses (saddling them), recollecting the electrical, mobile fence; maintaining the herd grouped (which might involve sending the herding dogs); and setting the back of the herd into movement so that the herders at the front can start counting as the cows pass a gate, often formed by the herders themselves, through which the cows are directed (when the herd is rather long-stretched, the herders might move: Figure 5.26 - video). In doing so, not only the direction in which the herd should be going is taken into account. The herders are constantly aware of - and interact with each other, the environment (slopes, valleys, elevations, bushes, and wooded areas), and the animals (not only the cows but also the horses and herd dogs; there is a range of animals that do not belong to the herding community itself but are definitely interacted with: cows belonging to other owners are avoided or scared away, and wild animals such as rabbits, birds and deer might be spotted and hunted). Every single practice requires knowledge and attentive involvement or attunement. In pushing the animals forward toward the gate a herder needs to understand and pay attention to the general movement. When the herd is pushed forward too readily, a cow might want to escape (turn around or pass the gate at another side) when they gather in front of the gate. Furthermore, a high concentration of cows approaching the gate complicates counting, while communication during such an activity is difficult.

Already at the start of the long journey it is clear that the transhumant activity takes its toll, as the weaker herd animals struggle to follow the rhythm. During those early stages, the *mayoral* therefore takes preventive care of the weaker herd animals, by organising shorter daily stages. Occasionally the herd halts for a full day or a full afternoon, only to move on during the next morning. This way the weaker animals (the eldest cows, the calves, those with a weaker leg or a wounded hoof) have the time recover for the long road ahead of them. The herders aim to avoid the situation in which they need to transport an animal in the trailer, partially because of the lack of space in car and the trailer.⁶³ As the journey progresses, especially the calves see less and less, as their eyes are in contact with the vegetation and might get irritated. This cannot be avoided by preventive action and the herders carry medication, taking care of cows and calves suffering from illness during treatment sessions, normally after arriving at a resting place (Figure 5.27 - video).

Thus, there are several reasons why the herd travels at a specific rhythm – not a constant tempo but enacting situation-dependent variations of intensity. The rhythm is a matter of herd, herders and the environment, while the weather (with its particular temporality) is an important factor in shaping the transhumant events, often making transhumance for both animals and human beings often far from a “romantic” and pleasant undertaking –where I referred to happiness above I did not mean that herd and herders do not suffer at the same time. The inclemency of the weather can frustrate the herd’s movements. In terms of the autumn transhumance, early snow in November can put the voyage at risk, and only the night camp offers a partial and temporary truce from the rain, snow, wind, humidity and cold. In the spring transhumance, the suffocating June-heat of the Spanish *Meseta* can exhaust both herd and herders, making the *siesta* impossible and leaving the herders with only a short night of sleep.

The bodies of the herders are inscribed with the journey: as a porous surface the skin holds the journey in suntan, scratches, and wounds. The older participants suffer from inflexibility or even pain in the knees and other articulations. Several visitors claim to widen their vision

⁶³ But, even so, in the transhumant voyages in which I have participated, a few animals have had to be transported in the four-wheel drive cars or in trailers, as they could not keep up with the herd’s tempo.

after days with the herd, and many find the voyage a source of physical and spiritual relief and restrengthening.

In this section I have focused on the rhythmic and embodied aspects of dwelling. It has brought some of the richness and detailed workings of transhumant dwelling places to the fore. The transhumant movement is a varied and complex interplay between environment, herders, and herd. The seasonal and daily cycles, a variety of herding practices, environmental situations (including the weather), and animal behaviour come together and configure a complex diversity of being in transhumant places and landscapes.

5.4 Openness and relationality

Herding is an activity that to some might hold connotations of separation from society. In the group I participated in, the opposite was closer to reality, as the herding community was generally open to visitors and other interested people, and changed its composition almost on a daily basis (5.4.1). In this section I furthermore consider in what ways the long-distance transhumant places and landscape can be considered porous (5.4.2) and relational (5.4.3) entities, and in how far fleeting dwelling might be understood to form part of the dwelt herding landscapes (5.4.4).

5.4.1 Openness of herding communities

The herding community that I joined consisted mainly of “open”, welcoming people. The backbone of the community is formed by a herding family: a couple (the *mayoral* and the main *hatero*), two sons, a daughter, brothers, nephews and other family members. All are generally open and willing to attend to interested people (but do not often actively establish contacts with unknown people). During my trips I have experienced the visits of not only family and friends, but also of tourists, academics, civil servants, other herders, land-owners, farm care-takers, rural police, press, and photographers. Most are invited to share drinks or even food with the community and thereby become part of it. Rather than influencing the rhythm of the journey, such visitors adapt to the rhythmic cycles of the journey: they keep the herders entertained for a short time when the herd is moving, and might do so for a longer time at resting places.

However, the herders believe that those who do not indirectly form part of the community might be related to people who could negatively influence the community's well-being – not in the least because certain activities taking place during the journey, such as the hunting practices, are at the border of legal practice. During my trips hunting was a relatively common practice. The herders are entitled to hunt most animals on the Royal Drove Road. However, the droways' unclear boundaries (one can often at best imagine their legal width) means that land-owners, farm care-takers, or the rural police, or indeed people connected to those, might intervene.

Not only the people who have caused the community problems in previous years, but more generally all “strangers” are treated with a certain distance, and especially those who do not support the activity. When the community camped at the driveway in front of five villas (secondary residences), in an otherwise undeveloped area, an older couple residing in one of these villas received the herders by offering the bathroom to the women and children, and drinkable water to all. As night fell they were still socialising with the herding community, but when dinner was served they were not invited. The herders decide *in situ* in how far visitors are welcome. The herders in this case believe that it is not appropriate to go through all the efforts of voyaging, transporting food, and cooking only to invite people who might have supported the community to a greater degree. But most people that support or show an interest in the community are welcomed to a greater degree, and may even participate in parts of the journey. As such, a diverse caravan is formed and an intimate mini-community takes shape, one that changes almost every day. Along the way, relations are strengthened with people who see the herd pass biannually.

This place-making community is “enclosed”, as any community and indeed anyone is always “in place”. Yet at the same the community is not a closed, but rather a porous entity, intensely relational in its essence. As a consequence, the community receives support along the way (food, dinners, shower facilities, etc.). This does not mean that all the internal or external relations are to be qualified as romantic or cosy. Internally there might be problems and arguments. The communal aspect, however, is always at the front when encountering problems with land-owners, the rural police, or farm care-takers. Although the herders seemingly try to stay away from danger and problems, when their rights are infringed they are not afraid to defend these, and to enter in direct conflicts. In such occasions, their dwelling is far from cosy.

The complexity of the mutual interaction between humans, animals and the environment and the openness of herding communities comes to the fore through the event of a herd of sheep crossing a hilly, rocky and shrubby area. The shrubby character of the landscape refers back to the lack of herds moving over the Royal Drove Road, and reduces visibility to a minimum (I do not have any pictures, videos or recordings of this environment, but for a similar environment: Figure 5.28 - video). Apart from that, artificial obstacles were abundant: tarmac roads and a system of fences and gates obstructed the herd's passage. And, although the sun was clearly visible, this was not of great help as the droveways do not follow a straight North-East / South-West line; they are rather zigzagging – now more than in the past, as the herds have to find their way around enclosed areas. While I was still settling in the herding community of the two brothers (themselves and the sheep made this part of the trip for the first time after decades of transhumance by truck), the herders lost track of the cow excrements, the hoof prints in the muddy soil, and flattened grasses of the herd of cows that went ahead. They had lost the only material tracks that they could follow, as the ecological materials normally have a greater presence than the official, white milestones (*mojones*) that are meant to outline the designated area. Without any visual indication of the route to follow, nor any other bodily perception to use, the problem was to be solved only via a phone call to the cow herders (the latter know exactly where and in which place the signal strength is highest; luckily in this case both received satellite signals), one of which went back to search for the herd of sheep and indicate the way. Here different forms of relationality come the fore, but most importantly, the intimate bond between both herding families (which is articulate of openness rather than closure), defines the character of the herding community.

In another aspect though, herding is quite closed for a simple reason: to become a herder is for most people very difficult. As the *mayoral* indicated a pre-condition: “one needs to have nurtured this type of living from early on” (research diary notes 2011) As the livestock-owning herders spend their days with the herd, they know and care for each animal, from birth to death, and acquire all the skills needed to do so over the years (Gooch 2008, p. 75), which include calving, healing, leading, selling, and in the case of sheep: shearing (Lorimer 2006, pp. 503-504). To become a responsible long-distance herder is therefore not something one can easily achieve. One does not simply go to a herding school to become a fully

professional herder during the course.⁶⁴ And even if one would acquire sufficient herding skills through years of experience, to become a long-distance live-stock owning herder one would need to acquire livestock, and own or rent two areas of pastures, which would necessarily have to be close to the droveways because of the herd's necessity of pastures, water and resting places while journeying. In practice, one needs to be brought up with herding in a herding family and even then, only in some cases, the younger generation of the herding community picks up the hardship of being a livestock-owning herder⁶⁵ and continue to enact transhumance. Worryingly, in the Conquense Royal Drove Road transhumant communities, the traditional ecological knowledges seem to be decreasing, especially amongst those born after 1975. The passing on of knowledges onto new generations and the discontinuities in undertaking the walked transhumant voyage are the main causes for this trend (Oteros-Rozas, Ontillera-Sánchez, *et al.* 2013; see also see also El País 5-6-2011).

5.4.2 The porous character of herding places

In general, the herding community may be considered to be open rather than closed. The herding places are porous too. Spatially, the countryside is at first sight much more open than the city, less crowded, and movement seemingly less restricted. However, here too, a herder's movement depends on others, mainly on the animals and the other herders. Obstacles or barriers characterise herding landscapes (Gooch 2008, p. 67, pp. 78-80). In this case they might be canals or holes hidden beneath the vegetation, but also wired fences which might hurt the cows or indeed the horses (possibly leading to dangerous falls), and chemical substances deposited on the droveway or infecting drinking water in the watering troughs (*abrevaderos*), which might poison the herd. But generally, the herders understand

⁶⁴ Such schools do exist, for example one in Andalusia (Junta de Andalucía 2013).

⁶⁵ In a context where jobs consist of 40-hour working weeks, annual holidays, and monthly standard salaries, to be a livestock owning herder implies having hardly a single day off and in terms of income being subject to market prices for livestock – prices that have hardly risen in absolute terms in the last two decades.

their landscapes not so much as closed or hostile, but simply as lifeworlds, which require constant attention.⁶⁶

The porous character of dwelt place comes to the fore when planning the passage across one of Spain's many, newly constructed water reservoirs. The infrastructure in question was constructed a few years ago, absorbing the Royal Drove Road.⁶⁷ The rural police are normally willing to regulate the traffic at crossings of busier tarmac roads or when stretches of these coincide with the droveway itself. In this case a long bridge over the reservoir was to be crossed on the next morning. To organise this crossing, an ex-police officer who joined the cowherds for the full trip, called his colleagues at the local rural police station, only to be told that these had already planned for the passage. The rural police already knew that they had to halt the traffic on the next morning because somebody of the supporting ONGs, (would it be the one that brought me into contact with this herd?), had already made the necessary arrangements for this passage to take place. Here, dwelling place ceases to be strictly "local" as it is formed through a relational interplay, in which "absent" presences become constitutive of the situation's happening.



Figure 5.29: Picture of electricity poles and - lines on the drove way (2012)

Happenings cannot always be foreseen, which is why the journey is characterised by improvisation. Friends and family visit and other interested people establish contact with

⁶⁶ This idea of being in a lifeworld is also felt as a right: "When you continually walk and wear a path, and thereby maintain its appearance and structure as a path, you simultaneously maintain your prescriptive right to use that path" (Olwig 2008, p. 87).

⁶⁷ This in itself constitutes an infringement from the administration, an actor that is often seen as an obstacle rather than a supporter of the transhumant activity. The administration is using the droveways increasingly for the construction of infrastructures (Figure 5.29).

the group. But also the environment changes and provides for new opportunities. Place is therefore a porous, creative and contingent entity. I outline this through the performative transformation of a part of the driveway into a dwelt place, on a windy autumn afternoon:

Before nightfall the *hateros* arrive to an area packed with obsolete tyres, located next to the Valencia – Madrid motorway, which divides and fragments the seemingly ordinary and unpleasant area in terms of scenic and acoustic qualities, deteriorated by inappropriate use, like other parts of the Royal Drove Road. The *hateros* selected this area to set up the camp in order to reconcile the necessities of the cow herders and sheep herders. The first could have passed underneath the motorway to reach a part that they normally use as a resting place. However, the sheep herders were straggling and they would have had to pass the motorway at nightfall. In this open area, a pile of straw bales underneath a large plastic sheet appeared to be extremely useful to the *hateros*. Re-situating the bales and the plastic sheet, we built a unique, temporary shelter consisting of walls and a roof, which protected the community from the freezing wind and possible rain. One of the *hateros* sealed the place by raising a flag over the refuge, transforming the anonymous intersection into a fortified and evocative place. While the sheep herders arrived, and dinner was being prepared, the *mayoral* observed something unusual in the sound of the cow bells: to his experienced ear the sound meant disquiet amongst the herd. This was caused by the electrical fence, limiting a space which proved insufficient for holding the cows at ease. Once widened the fence, and thereby the vital space of the cows, the cows calmed down and thus the sounds of the bells disappeared. The herders' dwelling place accomplished its full expression when some friends reached arrived, and the atmosphere around the campfire filled with stories and anecdotes (Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, p. 30; my translation).

Such a place exists not only through a multi-faceted relationality, but also combines functionality with play and care. It therefore indicates the character of place as “unbounded”, an open entity where being is brought forth and life comes to presence in its plenitude.

5.4.3 Time-deepened relationality

Long-distance movement is an activity possible only because of its time-depth. The *veredas* may follow the pathways that were taken by pre-historic herd animals (5.1). However, the driveways in their current state are a human - nonhuman co-production; they are the result of biannual performances by herding communities. Over thousands of years, long-distance

transhumance has shaped droveways, which remain the primary condition for the possibility of undertaking transhumance in today's privatised and fractioned environments.

Dwelling – transhumant journeying in this case – is in the sense of time-deepened relationality to be understood through “spacing as a clearing-away”, which is a making-room that participates in the bringing-forth of human being's dwelling places (3.2):

To clear a way, for instance across a snow-covered field, is in the Alemannic-Schwabian dialect still called *wëgen* [waying or way-making]⁶⁸ even today. This verb, used transitively, means: to form a way and, forming it, to keep it ready. Way-making understood in this sense no longer means to move something up and down a path that is already there. It means to bring the way... forth first of all, and thus to *be* the way (Heidegger 1971b, pp. 129-130; original italics; see also Elden 2001, p. 89).

In this case the way itself is the very activity of forming it, “waying” or “way-making”. The place, in its clearing-away is thus intrinsically spatial and temporal at once. The *mayoral* that undertakes *trasterminancia* (shorter distance transhumance) in *Jaén* explained how a couple of years ago a thick layer of snow in early winter impeded the departure of his sheep – which were saved from this precarious situation by the cows who made traversable tracks for the sheep through the mountainous fields. Although most of the directly visible actions (grazing and thereby eating and trampling pastures and other vegetation, clearing a way through the amounted snow, depositing excrements), are seemingly temporary and irrelevant activities, in the very passage of time they bring forth the herding landscapes as traversable, highly biodiverse pathways (Garzón 2011).

Journeying embodies a complex relationality in time and space. While wild herds historically led the way, in a phenomenological, everyday sense, herd animals also learn from each other and follow others: calves follow their mothers or the herd as a whole, while the animals might also follow human beings as the *mayoral* leads the way and as the herd animals are occasionally pushed forward from the back. Transhumance places and landscapes articulate lifelong and intergenerational bonds that many of the transhumant communities hold and cherish, support from family and friends, and more formal support

⁶⁸ *Bewëgung* without the *umlaut* is the everyday word for movement (Stambaugh 1987, p. 83).

from NGOs and academia.⁶⁹ At my first trip, the NGO *Asociación Trashumancia y Naturaleza* had sent an assistant who undertook similar tasks to the *hateros*, so that the relatively inexperienced sheep herders would cope better in their first voyage in decades, and be encouraged to undertake long-distance transhumance more regularly. The communal, but also the supporting informal or formal relationships are very important for the maintenance and encouragement of long-distance transhumance (Oteros-Rozas, González, *et al.* 2012).

5.4.4 Fleeting dwelling

The herding community is a dynamic gathering of people that enter and leave: the community around this herding family is hardly ever stable, as numerous people, all with different skills and experience, join in temporarily for different but often overlapping parts of the journey. Only a few key people can be considered to be experienced herders: the ones with most skills and familiarity with the herd and the environment that they travel through. Because of their experience, they are also best positioned to improvise in the environment, thereby co-producing changing herding places and landscapes. Other herders and visitors are in contact with the herd only for the journey, or during a part of the voyage. Within this group, a split can be made between those who return repeatedly to the herd and those who join for a single experience: the former may know and embody particularities from former voyages while the latter must necessarily depart from other knowledges (and it is the latter I consider to accumulate more fleeting experiences of dwelling). Some of the former might also be considered “experienced herders”, yet their involvement is to be defined by sudden entrance and exit, and cannot be characterised in terms of the cyclicity and continuity which defines the livestock-owning herders, who stay in intimate contact with the herd throughout the year. This difference became apparent in the final part of the transhumant journey of 2012, when the herders who did not stay continuously with the herd throughout the years were the ones becoming nervous, anxious and wishing for the end of the journey. The livestock-owning herders were about to continue their poetic dwelling with the herd and did not seem to change their attitude to the same extent.

⁶⁹ The UAM studied this Royal Drove Road in particular and proposed to reinforce policies in support of long-distance transhumance (Laboratorio de Socio-Ecosistemas, 2013).

The cow herding family decides who to accept in the community, and to what level and for how long visitors might participate, thereby often opening up fleeting instances of dwelling by visitors. The herding family generally shows openness towards visitors that already have links with the community, towards those who support the community, and towards those who display a real interest in the community and their practices. My own presence and participation was accepted as the director of the NGO who put me into contact with the herding family is a well-established contact of the herding family. It also seemed important that another student sent by the NGO currently holds a position as a civil servant from which she might be able to support the herding family's activities and long-distance transhumance more widely. In this sense, the herding family gives and takes; the herders know that to be able to receive practical or more indirect support, it may help to be open and let visitors participate in the transhumant voyages.

Thus, the journey is undertaken by both experienced herders and people that articulate more fleeting instances of dwelling, the latter of which do not always take part in herding itself. As such, the participants might be more or less familiar with the things and materials, situations and people encountered along the way, and might be more or less skilful in herding, but to visitors, less experienced -, and more experienced herders every long-transhumance journey is a voyage and thus an exploration, an adventure. For all the participants the voyage is an engagement with the known as it is an opening up to the unknown.

In this section I have explored how openness and relationality figure in transhumant places and landscapes. I have developed the idea that places and communities are generally "open", in several respects. Linking dwelling with the notion of relationality has helped to approach the richness and complexity of transhumant dwelling in its temporal and intercommunal sense. Not only experiences built up over time, but also fleeting experiences (although the latter in a less poetical sense), characterise the herding places and landscapes.

5.5 Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

In this section I aim to enquire into nearness as the primary spatial dimension of transhumant places and landscapes. I first look at the concepts of place and landscape themselves (5.5.1), which appear to be very rich entities in this case study. The richness is

approached through the various ways of attunement that the experienced herders display (5.5.2), and by a consideration of the herders' *leitmotif* of care (5.5.3).

5.5.1 Place and landscape

The herders exceed mere familiarity with the world, through which early Heidegger characterised dwelling. They dwell *poetically* in transhumant places and landscapes, as nearness becomes the defining dimension. Each herding community can be understood to be in a place, and exists of members dwelling near to each other and others by way of shared practices.

I understand a single community's transhumant being to be a happening or a taking-place. It has a stretched form, is intrinsically mobile, interactive and ephemeral. The taking place of several of such journeys, built on communal interrelationalities and time-depth, names the transhumant landscape.

Although the transhumant communities travelling along this particular Royal Drove Road are not formally organised, national and regional NGOs aim to support movements on this particular droveway. Some of the transhumant herders participate in meetings organised by such NGOs, the administrations and / or universities, through which they reflect on the current situation and on the future (necessities) of long-distance transhumance. The transhumant communities also support each other more directly, for exemplifying by sharing herds. In such relationships, herders dwell in nearness to each other, under a common practice and a common aim.

Transhumant dwelling stems from being with herd animals that *heft* onto the land, thereby creating a belonging of primarily "quadrupedal perambulations" (Ingold and Vergunst 2010b, p. 11; Olwig 2010). As Olwig proposed in the case of "sedentary" shepherding:

The term heft is applied, however, not only to the process by which sheep bond to the land but also to the bonding of these sheep into a social unit called a heft. It is moreover applied to the hill pastures attached to the farm. [...] So it is that heft comes to refer to people's feelings of belonging. [...] What we see, then, is a transferal of meaning from the processes through

which sheep become bonded to a place and to each other, to the figurative understanding of human bonding to place and the community dwelling there (Olwig 2008, p. 86).

The transhumant places and landscapes come into being in a very similar way as the cows bond with the land, herders follow and guide the cows to specific environments, and have feelings of attachments to the herd, the herding community and the drove roads; feelings that grow as the *vereda* is “done” or walked repeatedly. The transhumant landscape can be seen as a regional entity constituted out of places that are brought into being by herding.

Within the landscape, nearness is the dimension that characterises the herders’ relationship with each other and others. To approach the transhumant landscape is to get to know the intimate, emotional and affectual relationships. To study the transhumant landscapes requires the acknowledgement that these relationships are manifold: they are numerous and complex, take place continuously, and more often than not remain hidden, while they might relate to people, things and place that are absent in the material environment, such as deceased family members and friends, and other communities that stopped undertaking the transhumant activities. Long-distance herding communities find themselves in places, shaping them: “each of them weaving their own particular thread, and together they fill the whole region with the texture of [in this case: long-distance transhumance]. Whenever a group stops migrating a thread in this fabric will break” (Gooch 2008, p. 71). Herding communities weave in a broader meshwork through relationships between human beings, and between human and nonhuman beings. At this point, the following fragment on the animacy of things becomes relevant:

the liveliness of stones emerges in the context of their close involvement with certain persons, and relatively powerful ones at that. Animacy, in other words, is a property not of stones *as such*, but of their positioning within a relational field which includes persons as foci of power. [...] [T]he power concentrated in persons enlivens that which falls within its sphere of influence. Thus the animate stone is not so much a living thing as a ‘being alive’ (Ingold 2000, p. 97; original italics).

Herders’ dwelling in a vital, relational field might be measured through the degree of nearness. Nonhuman beings in the herding landscape do not come to the fore only because they constitute affordances; the relationships that the herders hold with their environment are not instrumental only. Landscapes “constitute a lifeworld that is intimately known by

bodily being-in-it and moving-through-it” (Gooch 2008, p. 68). Such knowledges require attunement and originate from the broad aim of taking care of the herd.

5.5.2 Attunement

The continuous involvement with the herd mobilises and strengthens the herders’ attunement to each other, the herd animals, and the environment. The way in which this attunement comes to the fore, depends on the place where the herd finds itself.⁷⁰

To pass “developed” places such as villages, bridges, or stretches of tarmac roads, means that the cows should stay in a group, and move at pedestrian speed. Here, herders have to attend bodily and thoughtfully to the herd movement as a whole, to the horses, the dogs, individual herd animals in their flank, each other, and the environment. In the latter happenings beyond the herd such as other herding movements might appear, while danger in such places is eminent in canals, traffic, etc. The herders’ own movements in relation to the herd are of the utmost importance, and result from being attentively attuned to the ever-changing place they are in.

Herding is an intensely embodied affair, either on horseback or walking beside the horse, where the senses acquire information about the situation, and where the body’s capacities are used to guide the herd. Herders are experienced horse-riders. On horseback, their auditory display (whistling, talking, shouting or re-creating animal sounds, and thereby communicating with each other and the cows, calling dogs, etc.) is almost continuous, while the horses are guided tactfully. The herders use their arms to indicate the herd dogs which flank to hasten or which animals to re-group, although a nod might suffice to do so.

During periods of slower herd movements, the attentive attunement does not fade, but changes into attunement of another type. Especially the *mayoral* always remains attuned to the herd animals and the environment: “active observation never ceases and so he is continually recording and reflecting upon changes... [and] does not allow the slightest sign of change to pass unnoticed” (Berger 1979, p. xxi; cited by Lorimer 2006, p. 505). In

⁷⁰ This is why, when asking almost any question about herding activities, the *mayoral* answers with: “that depends”.

agricultural areas or woods, the herd remains surrounded by the herders (Figure 5.30), who undertake a variety of activities: keeping an eye on each other and the environment (as a problem or an opportunity – such as hunting and recollection – might arise in any given moment); re-grouping animals that go astray; investigating possible hiding places; checking calves' eyes for any damage that the herbs might have caused them, studying individual animal movements to see whether one might be lame; checking whether animals suffer from diarrhoea, etc.



Figure 5.30: Picture of herders surrounding the herd and thereby preventing the cows from eating crops (2012)



Figure 5.31: Picture of the *mayoral* and other herders who save a calve from drowning (2012)

The quieter moments are also made the most of (see also Pardoel and Riesco Chueca 2012, p. 28). A herder is no dreamer but always attuned to the environment, always conscious of the situation and ready to adjust practices. When looking at the sky, a herder does not relax; he actively gathers information. The movements of birds through the air, the movement of the air itself, the campfire smoke which goes up or stays down, the transparency of the skies or a ring around the moon: all hold information about the weather to come and are interpreted accordingly. Similarly, the auditory or visual appearance of a particular animal species might tell a herder what kind of weather to expect. The accumulated experiences in the fields are many and the herd's lifeworld is therefore extremely rich. The herder is trained in slowly paying detailed attention to the surroundings. Heidegger compares the work of the philosopher who lives in the countryside, with the rhythm and pulse of the work that surrounds him. Thus, "[w]hen the shepherd, engrossed in his surroundings, guides his livestock the hillside up" we encounter a display of potentialities that is similar to the philosopher who sketches his theory (Heidegger 1983b, my translation).

The leader of the herders commented on the fact that he occasionally sleeps a short siesta: “the *mayoral* never sleeps, he rests a bit”. And this joke is not far away from the truth. During the long breaks after midday in spring many events might need his attention. He often walks between his herd, listens to the cows and inspects their condition; other afternoons he directs fellow herders in capturing a particular calf in order to cure it; or he might have to save a calf from drowning in a river (Figure 5.31). And when not with the livestock, there is always something to fix or to create. During cooking or while having meals, the experienced herders tell stories and in doing so, educate the younger and inexperienced ones, preparing them for future transhumance undertakings.

Herding landscapes are formed by a continuous interplay between herders, herd and the environment; herders dwell in nearness as they attend bodily and thoughtfully to the richness of their world.

5.5.3 Care

The dimension of nearness does not only open up the issue of attunement, but also a more general *care*. Such care appears in a variety of ways. The experienced herders take into account the “corporeal vulnerability” (Harrison 2008) of herders and herd animals. The stages are carefully planned, to avoid the herding community being pressed beyond its physical capacities. As the herd moves through the environment, the herders take care of the cows, horses and dogs by constantly moving towards pastures and water, and take care of each other in sharing food, drinks and goods. They also take care by preserving the herd from danger, avoiding roads, wired fences and chemical substances on the droveway, and by warning each other in case of danger.

Although the herding caring activities are eminently practical, some of the experienced herders and *hatero* show awareness of a way in which their journeys exceed the merely practical, and recognise that one of the reasons for their efforts, is that they care for the continuity of the rich transhumant dwelling practices of their ancestors (5.2.2). The *mayoral* indicated the farm to which his father used to undertake long-distance transhumance. Based on my diary notes (2011), I sketch a short biographical background to the coming-into-being of the herd, in an attempt to arrive at “a geography that exceeds” (Lorimer 2006, p. 506).

The *mayoral* is from *Teruel*. Ever since his early childhood he had been fond of cows. In school, his thoughts strayed from sums to the countryside, where he lived and used to observe the cows of a neighbour. One day, his herding father (who already undertook transhumance to and from *Jaén*) told his then 11-year old son to go and ask for the price of one of the neighbour's cows. His neighbouring livestock owner came up with a rather low price, without taking the boy too seriously. The next day both father and son returned to buy the cow, although the neighbour had to be convinced by the father. Since, the number of cows under his and his father's ownership has steadily increased, up to around eighty now. As a young man he married his wife, who is from the province of *Jaén*, having met during one of the future husband's transhumance trips. They have three children: a daughter and two adult sons. All support the transhumant voyage in some way or another.

The herd remains in *Jaén* for five months a year at a rented farm: a beautiful and rich *finca*, holding a winding river, healthy oak trees and pastures (Figures 5.32 and 5.33). Since his early childhood, the *mayoral*, finds this an impressive part of Andalusia during winter, a true paradise for the cows and sheep, which subsequently is paradise for their care-takers as well. For where the herd grazes happily, the herders feel at home.



Figure 5.32: Picture of cows ready to leave from the already dry oak meadow (2012)



Figure 5.33: Picture of the oak meadow in a wider environment, including a train that passes by (2011)

In this section I have interpreted dwelling to take place through nearness (a dimension which captures intensities between human beings and lifeworlds), to understand the complexity and specificity of transhumant places and landscapes. They come into being through care and an attunement of human beings toward each other, others and the

environment. This interpretation also shows the importance of certain expressions of emotions and affects in the configuration of transhumant places and landscapes, although they were often difficult to access.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have linked understandings of dwelling with the research themes, which has proven to be fruitful in a variety of ways. In this conclusion I focus on the main findings per research theme.

5.6.1 Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman

Communal dwelling

The transhumant herders and visitors form, together with nonhuman transhumant beings such as herd animals and things, a changing transhumant community, in which participants share a common and overarching practice. By focusing on dwelling *communities* rather than individuals or subjects, I avoided some of the Modernist dualisms that complicate landscape conceptualisations (Chapter 1, Chapter 7), and established a framework for approaching the flows and intensities that characterise transhumant geographies.

Human dwelling with nonhumans

In the case of transhumant places and landscapes, no ontological priority might be given to human or nonhuman beings, as the herders are capable of dwelling only because of the existence of the herd (the herders' livelihoods depend on the herd), and as both nonhuman and human beings continuously share and build the same lifeworld. The herders' main aim is the herd's well-being, which is why they are continuously engaged with and getting to know the herd (animals) intimately. The involvement with the herd cows, horses, and dogs is mainly functional, and at times gains in intensity, for example when re-grouping cows that wander off. Although the herders apprehend the herd animals as "Other" beings, they make an effort to understand and recognise animal emotions and behaviour. As such, an affectual geography arises, in which flows between different kinds of beings define the

transhumant places and landscapes. The rich and energetic relationship between herders and herd animals deepens and thickens the herders' dwelling.

5.6.2 Rhythm and embodiment

Seasonal and daily rhythms

Long-distance transhumance takes place because of – and through – seasonality. Moving biannually in and towards sustainable lifeworlds, the herding community adapts its dwelling practices to the seasonal and daily cycles (having short breaks for lunch, building fires to keep warm on the short and cold days in autumn; having longer breaks, pursuing ice and searching for water and shadows on the long and hot days in spring).

Temporal rhythms and embodiment

Transhumant herders interpret, accept and follow temporal rhythms by way of their practices and performances. In the eve of the transhumant journeys, throughout their bodies the herders feel the coming near of transhumance. In the dwelt temporality of the transhumant voyages, clock-time occurs alongside the happenings, holding minimal relevance to the herders. Transhumant herding involves interactive, rhythmic practices of walking, horse riding, stopping, playing, focussing, and resting. Herders are responsive to the actions of each other and others, which share the same place. Through the herders' rhythmic activities, their bodies become pervaded with happenings and events, and thereby enable themselves to interpret and adapt better to seasonal, daily and interactive rhythms.

Tempo and practice

The temporality that comes to the fore here is one without a beginning or an end, and can be understood only in relation to the adaptive practices, the changing environment, and the seasonal and daily cyclicity. As such, the tempo characteristic of herding practices cannot be said to be either fast or slow. Speed and movement are defined by the interplay between herders, visitors, nonhuman beings (mainly the herd animals), the wider environment (the droveway, affordances and dangers in the surroundings), and the seasonal and daily cycles.

Therefore, the tempo of those dwelling practices should not be compared to the tempo of other practices (which are defined differently).

5.6.3 Openness and relationality

Openness of communities and places

The herding communities are generally open to outsiders. Newcomers are often accepted and are occasionally invited to participate in the herding practices themselves (visitors that stay for more than a day are often asked to pay a modest daily fee). It is possible to move throughout the herd or the herding community, although ideally one first establishes contact with the herders. Whereas the countryside gives a sense of spatial freedom, one's movements in such "open" areas depend on the presence and actions of others.

Nonetheless, a certain closedness remains characteristic of the herding community, not in the least because of the time-deepened and complex character of the dwelling practices undertaken. To be a herd leader, one needs lots of experience and resources. It is mostly in other roles, or simply as a visitor, that one can grow into a herding community.

Time-deepened relationality

The droveways and the rich transhumant practices evoke a relational *time-depth*. The past herd movements created pathways that continue to be used, and have become a spatial condition for the transhumance practices in a now highly fractioned environment.

Herding places are complex configurations, in which herders relate to each other and others. Over time bonds grow between herders, as knowledges and skills are passed over from generation to generation. Bonds are also nurtured between the present herding communities (who share transhumant landscapes), and between herders and others. Such intrinsic relationality provides the basis for internal and external support. Former herding community members or herders that are bodily absent for another reason, are present in practical skills acquired by the current generations, or in memory. The dwelt transhumant landscapes hold those multiple relationships.

Fleeting dwelling

Instances of fleeting dwelling weave through the more poetic dwelling of experienced herders. During the voyage many relate to the herding community. Those who show a real interest and return, are on a transhumant dwelling journey, get involved, build up experiences, and learn to attune their senses to happenings, thereby caring for nonhuman and human others and for the practice at large. The difference resides in the capacity to sense happenings and act accordingly.

Some visitors support the herding community through capacities built up elsewhere: photographers, documentary-makers, civil servants, and academics often support the practice. Others, such as tourists and bystanders form part of the transhumant places and landscapes, and show respect by simply perceiving the herding performances or waiting for the herding community to pass, which adds a layer of meaning to the herding community's poetic dwelling.

5.6.4 Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

The transhumant herders in this case study dwell in nearness to each other and others (including nonhuman beings such as things and herd animals). In this nearness, care is the *leitmotif*: the herders care for the well-being of oneself, each other, visitors, and the herd animals, and for the transhumant tradition in remembrance of ancestors. Nearness comes to the fore through a skilled attunement to happenings in changing environments, which is achieved through the herding community's mobility. Nearness is definitive of transhumant places and landscapes.

Places and landscapes

The transhumant herding community consists of transient, mobile people, who dwell in and relate to places while journeying (Relph 2009, pp. 29-30). The community travels through environments that it has experienced in the past, and its members are always already connected to places by skilfully sensing continuities and discontinuities, and remembering happenings when journeying on foot, or horseback, or in a four-wheel-drive car.

Transhumant places exist and are embedded in a broader transhumant landscape. In this sense too, the transhumant places are always relational: they are at the same time configurative of and defined by the broader, time-deepened landscape. Without the broader transhumant landscape, a single transhumant place could not exist. Thus, the transhumant landscapes give meaning to places, but are also constituted out of its various places.

Care

The transhumant practices take place out of care: the community members care for their own and each other's livelihoods and everyday well-being, and for the well-being of the herd animals. They care for the legacy that their and other ancestors left behind. Those different forms of care, in their intensities and time-depth, open up the community's poetic dwelling. In taking care in different ways, the herders escape from the enframing as they care for the beauty and manifoldness of life. The herding community accesses suprahuman planes by preserving specific dwelling practices, and opens up to visitors who have more fleeting experiences of transhumant herding. By opening up, the community takes care of others who are interested in the richness and possibilities of life outside of efficiency-thinking, which sometimes leads to direct or indirect support from such visitors, or even to a more poetical involvement over time.

Attunement

The transhumant community dwells in nearness through attunement: the skilled focus on specific placial happenings. As the herders attune to each other and others, they become familiar with specific places, and increasingly recognise and understand the herd (animals) and placial happenings. Herd behaviour is studied in changing contexts, as the herd moves through different environments. The transhumant herders attend bodily and thoughtfully to the complexity of their lifeworld, out of care. By being attuned and attuning each other to placial happenings, richly dwelt places and landscapes open up.

In this chapter I have furthered an understanding of dwelling in transhumant places and landscapes. Below, I continue with the second case study (Chapter 6) to investigate whether and how processional places and landscapes can be approached by linking dwelling with the research themes.

Chapter 6: Easter processions by brotherhoods in central Seville

This case study aims to enhance my emerging understanding of dwelling by linking it to four research themes (2.3):

- Post-humanism: human beings and the non-human
- Rhythm and embodiment
- Openness and relationality
- Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

I do so in similar ways to the previous case study, yet expect to find differences as the activities themselves, and the research context vary. As in the former case study, communities journey by moving through environments, following specific routes. Yet in this case this happens in different ways and with different aims. By approaching the urban processions themselves, I study the processional places (specific events and happenings) that are constitutive of the broader processional landscape in Seville (Spain) during its Holy Week (*Semana Santa*). This case study enables me to embed dwelling in a specific urban, spiritual and playful context, thereby extending the work undertaken in chapter 5 and enriching reflections about dwelling (Chapter 7).

As in the first case study, I use the research themes as a framework for the case study structure, but first I outline the intertwined history of Seville and the brotherhood processions themselves (6.1). In doing so I approach the time-depth, diversity, meaning and conflicts that characterise today's processional practices. In "Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman" (6.2), I introduce the processional cortege, and focus on the holy as a central non-human entity in the processions, while I also consider the role of things and materials to reflect on human beings' dwelling in a more-than-human world. In "Seasonal rhythm and embodiment" (6.3), I elaborate upon ways in which processional participants are embedded in seasonal rhythms. Next, I approach the rhythms through which human and nonhuman beings integrate into mobile places during the processions (6.4). The section "Openness and relationality" (6.5) is about the porous character of places and the ways in which relations are constitutive of places. In "Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care" (6.6) I draw the story of the processions towards the discussion of place and

landscape, which can be defined by human beings' dwelling in nearness to each other and others. I draw conclusions on this case study in 6.7.

6.1 Background and history

In Seville, every year, processional participants and flocks of tourists and other visitors co-produce a world famous event known as “the Holy Week of Seville”, known for its diversity and intensity. The history of Seville's Holy Week processions is interwoven with the city's general history.

6.1.1 History of Seville

Seville was founded on the fertile plains of the river Guadalquivir – the main river that traverses great part of what is nowadays called Andalusia.⁷¹ On such a strategic position, Seville has been considered – at least since Roman times – an important city. Seville was conquered by the Islamic empire in 711 AD, and remained under Muslim rule until 1248 AD (Valor Piechotta 2002). It was during this period that Seville's “seemingly anarchic” street plan took shape (Martínez Velasco 2001, p. 17). However, the narrow, zigzagging streets were at the same time highly functional as they provided for shade and the circulation of winds, while cobblestones protected against the uprising of the earth's dust. In such an irregular pattern of alleys, where light and darkness played freely, the city's residences were closed to the street but open on the inside. The sight of palm trees or the sound of running water would insinuate the presence of secret, mysterious gardens (Guerrero Lovillo 1983).⁷² Some of the current streets could well follow patterns established in Muslim Seville, and the central Mosque and its minaret have become central to the Easter processions – albeit in a different form.

After the Christians reconquered Seville, the city continued its evolution, often building on the Muslim legacy. Many mosques were converted into churches, while the dominating

⁷¹ The city used to be closer to the river's estuary that leads to the Atlantic Ocean. The area around the river's estuary underwent a process of sedimentation, and large parts of the Guadalquivir Marshes were eventually colonised in the twentieth century.

⁷² Even today many residences are built around patios, such as the 20th century *corrales* or similar communal residential buildings.

style of architecture in this transition period was *Mudéjar* – which was developed under Christian rule but inspired in Muslim architecture. In the first centuries after the reconquest Muslims and Jews were prosecuted – a process that was intensified by the formation of the Inquisition. Decades after the reconquest, the central Mosque was demolished to construct on the same location what would become the largest Gothic church in the world, works commencing in the early 15th century and finishing in the early 16th century – leaving the mosque’s minaret largely intact (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). Such early developments might be seen as happenings that later would become relevant in the coming-into-being and popularity of the processions.



Figure 6.1: Picture of *la Giralda* (Psalm Sunday 2012)



Figure 6.2: Picture of *San Gonzalo* leaving the Cathedral and *la Giralda* (Easter Monday 2012)

Following Columbus's expeditions to the New World, all goods that arrived to the Old World had to pass through Seville as its port acquired the royal monopoly of trade. During the city's "Golden Age" (the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century), Seville became a metropolis, attracting amongst others merchants and artists. Baroque was the prevailing art form, with Velázquez and Murillo being two of Europe's most famous Baroque painters residing in the city (both were born in Seville).⁷³

Halfway through the 17th century, the city's importance started to decline notably as it suffered from the silting up of the port and diseases such as the plague, a situation that was worsened by the loss of the trading monopoly to Cadiz in the early 18th century. Seville only regained some of its lost status from the late 18th century onwards with the putting into use of the Tobacco Factory (Fernández Salinas 2002), and under the impetus of the 1929 Ibero-American Exposition (and later with the 1992 Universal Exposition, and as the capital of the Autonomous Region of Andalusia). The city remained predominantly Catholic.

6.1.2 Penance and worship in the history of Seville's Holy Week

The processions, as introduced at the start of the chapter, emerged out of Catholic brotherhoods (*hermandades* – *cofradías* when in procession)⁷⁴. Arguably, the first of these came formally into being in the 14th century under the name of "Brotherhood of Jesus Nazarene and the Holy Virgin Mary with Saint John" (*Hermanidad del Dulcísimo Jesús Nazareno y la Virgen Santa María con San Juan*). The brotherhood, nowadays known as "The Silence" (*El Silencio*)⁷⁵, undertook in its very first years the types of activities that can be considered to have been the blueprint of what was to come (Archicofradía de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno 2012):

⁷³ Romanticism arrived quite late to Seville but was also to have its influence on the Holy Week, especially on the emotive, sensuous aspect of the processions.

⁷⁴ Brotherhoods are groups of people that share the Catholic religion. Some brotherhoods undertake their procession during the Holy Week (*hermandades de penitencia*) and others do so during the rest of the year (*hermandades de gloria*). Another formal distinction is whether or not the brotherhoods are "sacramental", *ie.* to worship the blessed sacrament (Luengo Mena 2007, pp. 12-13).

⁷⁵ I use the brotherhoods' popular names, because their official names include references to the type of brotherhood and / or references to the images of devotion, and are therefore extensive.

- to be educated as Christians and to worship Jesus Christ and venerate the Virgen Mary in specific moments of the Passion – by undergoing penance in the Holy Week
- to undertake compassionate activities.

In the very first procession of this brotherhood, all participants were penitents (people undergoing penance) who covered their faces, wore spine crowns, carried heavy crosses and moved bare-footed – this all taking place in silence. Because of this imitation of Jesus Christ, from then onwards the Holy Week penitents were called Nazarenos (*Nazarenos*) - nowadays those participants carrying crosses are called *penitents* (Figure 6.3) and those that do not *Nazarenos*. Images, which have become important, were not used in these first processions (Archicofradía de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno 2012).

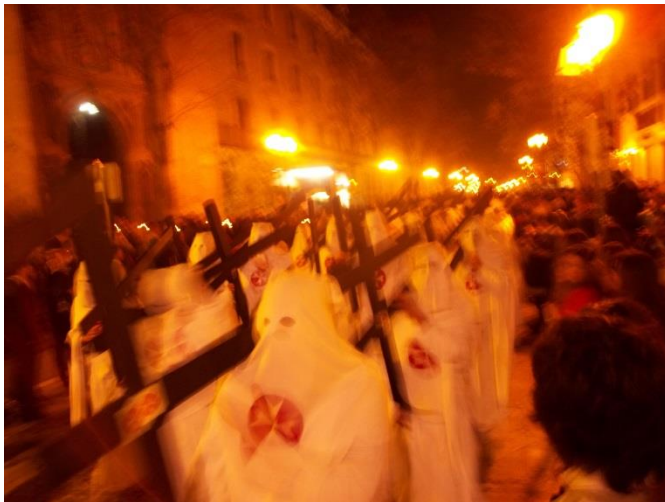


Figure 6.3: Picture of *Amargura* penitents (Psalm Sunday 2011)

In terms of *penance*, the brotherhood processions were quite extreme in the earlier centuries when flagellation was a generalised activity (Chaves Nogales 1991, pp. 68-70). In the sixteenth century, this penitential practice by “brothers of blood” characterised a dubious period in the history of the brotherhoods:

When there were not enough true penitents, brotherhoods paid false penitents that would flagellate their backs, so that they would not lose prestige. There were also women who flagellated themselves, which added an erotic component. And finally, because penitents had their faces uncovered, many participated for vanity, or to impress women and gain their admiration and favour (de Mena 1992, p. 88).

Archbishop don Fernando Niño de Guevara dictated a diocesan norm or Synod in 1604 to extinguish practices considered inappropriate. Hence onward, women were restrained from being Nazarenes (*salir de Nazareno/a*), while the rules around the tunics were changed so that participants could not be recognised. The attempts to regulate the processions did not extinguish the flagellation practices – those undertaken during the latter eighteenth century, under the reign of de Olavide, were more successful (de Mena 1992, pp. 88-94). Nowadays, penance consists of the endurance of the long procession itself, which might be physically painful, especially for the weaker people, or for those who carry out specific tasks such as carrying the images or other attributes, and for those who walk bare-footed.

Ways of *worship* have changed significantly over the centuries, too. While the first brotherhoods did not undertake their processional penance with images, their use became the standard after the Council of Trent (1545-1563)⁷⁶. This Council treated the invocation of saints and the pedagogical purpose of Christian images, both of which were fomented by decree in 1563. In the following decades imagery, as a sculptural art form, developed in the dominating Baroque style. Juan de Mesa (1583-1627) made some of today considered the finest religious sculptures, which were meant to be highly realistic so that the general public would be impressed by the appearance of the images. These images continue to be used today in Seville's Easter processions, and have by now become so central to the Easter processions, that Moreno Navarro (2006, pp. 19-20) speaks not only of their iconic and religious meanings but also of their humanised and emblematic dimension, as brotherhood members "identify, reaffirm and even rival" individually and collectively through these images. Veneration takes place by carrying images on floats (*pasos*), which may include one or more images. The floats are often heavily decorated and are moved by people who lift them up from underneath. For an example of such practice by the *Beso de Judas* brotherhood: see Figure 6.4 (video).

In the first centuries of the processions the brotherhoods chose the processional time and destination themselves. The 1604 Synod regulated a spatial aspect of the processions, by dictating a mandatory visit to the central cathedral.⁷⁷ The only exception was made for the

⁷⁶ A major meeting of the Catholic Church that took place during the Counter-reformation.

⁷⁷ The processional, penitential undertaking or "*estación de penitencia*" can be translated literally as "station of penance", referring to the procession as a painful voyage to a specific "station" – in this case the cathedral of Seville (Sánchez Herrero 2003), but I prefer "procession".

brotherhoods situated in *Triana*⁷⁸, which were offered the option of visiting the church of *Santa Ana*, situated in their own neighbourhood. Already in the early 17th century, brotherhoods were to reach the cathedral through a “*carrera oficial*”: an official (obligatory and delimited) passage which the brotherhoods had to include in their itineraries (Figure 6.5). This constituted a change from free choice of routes by the brotherhoods to regulated movement, similar in a way to changes in the freedom of long-distance transhumance movements when the Mesta imposed its regulating power. Nowadays, the atmosphere in this official passage is quite distinct from the other parts, as it is a space where only the processional participants may enter and the public that pays considerable fees for private seats (for the installations on the otherwise public “*Plaza de San Francisco*”, days before the Holy Week, Figure 6.6). For it being a privatised and exclusive space, I have not been able to spend enough time in those parts of the processional itineraries to provide a sustained account of such spaces as opposed to the freely accessible spaces.



Figure 6.5: Map of central Seville and the Holy Wednesday processional itineraries

⁷⁸ *Triana* is an *arrabal*: a neighbourhood situated outside of the city walls, across the river Guadalquivir.



Figure 6.6: Picture of the installations on the otherwise public *Plaza de San Francisco* (days before the Holy Week 2011)

Also the *pasos* themselves (Baroque, Romantic and Neo-baroque art styles) and the way in which they are carried and accompanied, have evolved considerably, although they have always remained essentially a *mise-en-scène* aimed at persuasion, for which Belting used the term “virtuosis of appearance” (Belting 2001, p. 47; cited in Läubli 2011, p. 70). In terms of the carriers, the floats had been lifted for centuries by the so-called “professional *costaleros*”: local dock workers who were paid for this specific task.⁷⁹ They used a “*costal*”: a textile sack that was used for the transportation of goods, which was put in place over the dock workers’ heads to protect their cervicals⁸⁰, and carried the *pasos* in a sober style. In the context of the 1970s economic crisis, the dock workers went on strike, during and after which a period of transition saw the uprising of “*costalero* brothers”: brotherhood members that voluntarily substituted the professionals, without receiving pay (focus group discussion 28-03-2012). It is only in the period of the *costalero* brothers, continuing today, that some *pasos* are carried in a more spectacular way (this is particularly evident in the brotherhoods from Triana, such as *San Gonzalo* and *Esperanza de Triana*), while others are still carried in a more traditional, sober style. For an example of the latter, see Figure 6.7 (video).

6.1.3 Religion and festivity in Seville’s Holy Week

The two-fold religious background to the Holy Week processions (penance and worship) take place in a festive context, as most people have public holidays and factors such as “spontaneity, emotion, exceptionality or resistance to rigid norms” come to the fore (Moreno

⁷⁹ Precisely because of their daily activities (carrying heavy loads with precision) these men were prepared for the task at hand.

⁸⁰ Hence the name “*costalero*”.

Navarro 2006, pp. 44-45; my translation). The festive atmosphere can also be explained by the Holy Week culminating in a remembrance of the resurrection of Jesus Christ (a “happy ending” to the otherwise painful Passion), and by it being undertaken by a community that is known for its particular quality of celebrating events - whether religious in character or not.

The Holy Week in Seville is special in a variety of ways (it might be called a paradigm case of “geographical specificities” (Wylie 2007)), and it can hardly be compared to the Holy Week of other places (Moreno Navarro 2006; Rufino 2007, p. 19). In Seville, participants in the processions might not attend any of the other liturgical events that are celebrated throughout the year. Some authors see Seville’s brotherhood processions therefore as mere folklore or “popular religion”. But Seville’s brotherhood activities can be seen as highly specialised undertakings, where Catholicism is interpreted and re-invented through a century-long tradition, adapted to the city’s own sensitivity. One example of such is the inversion of the importance of the figures of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary: while the Church dictates that officially, the former is worshipped (*adorado*) and the latter venerated (*venerado*), in Seville the Virgin Mary obtains central importance, even more so than Jesus Christ, as argued by Rodríguez Becerra (Rufino 2007).⁸¹ Rodríguez Becerra furthermore highlighted that the supernatural or the transcendent is undoubtedly present throughout the various brotherhood processions: at least to the *cofrades*, to a majority of whom it is not the interior of the churches but the streets that constitute its preferred habitat for its dwelling practices (Rufino 2007, pp. 16-17).

Interestingly, evangelism has until recently never characterised the brotherhood processions, because Seville was considered to be already evangelised at the time that the processions started. Nowadays however, the Church recognises that brotherhoods undertake important work in terms of evangelism by showing the Passion throughout the city, an activity that is also seen by atheists (Interview with the *San Bernardo* priest 27-04-2012), who might join the easily accessible brotherhoods. The Church, although embedded

⁸¹ Läubli (2011, p. 44, pp. 105-106) highlighted a related dichotomy: while the images of Christ often represent harm and imperfection, the images of the Virgen Mary generally evoke youth, beauty, and perfection.

in a historically uneasy relationship with the brotherhoods, now seems to appreciate the brotherhood processions, as they might attract people to Catholicism.

The above might be read as a broad historical background to today's processional dwelling practices, and might also have served as an introduction in the richness and the detail through which some people experience and practice the Holy Week in Seville. From the next section onwards, I develop dwelling by enlacing the notion with the different research themes.

6.2 Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman

In NRT, many authors take a post-humanist approach to escape from simplifying individualistic or subjective accounts of places and landscapes. My aim is to understand dwelt places and landscapes through such a post-humanist framework, in which I consider the nonhuman entities to be "dwelt" entities: things that relate directly and indirectly to human beings in the processions of the Holy Week of Seville.

In this section, I start by outlining the different bodies or sections of the processional cortege (6.2.1), which not only enables me to develop the interactions that take place in – and with the cortege (6.4.2), but also to elaborate upon the relationship between the human and the holy (6.2.2). In the final sub-section I approach the processional things that are either temporarily - or remain throughout (parts of) the year - in the environment (6.2.3).

6.2.1 The processional cortege

Although the processional places and landscapes are made up of not only the corteges, the latter certainly are one of their main elements. Each processional cortege (*cortejo*) has a distinct number of bodies or sections (de Mena 1992, p. 50). Here, I distinguish the main elements of a typical arrangement of a cortege holding two floats, as is the case in the majority of brotherhoods⁸²:

⁸² In these cases the first is a float with an image of Christ: either "a Crucified Christ" on the cross or "a Nazarene" carrying the cross, or in another particular passage or scene of the passion. When including other figures the scene is a "Mystery". The second float is one with an image of the Virgin Mary, called *Palio*.

La Cruz de Guía: the Guiding Cross (which proceeds at the head of the procession). This cross is carried by a Nazarene and accompanied by various Nazarenes, indicating the start of the cortege (Figure 6.8).



Figure 6.8: Picture of the Guiding Cross of *Amargura*, on its way back (Psalm Sunday night 2012)



Figure 6.9: Picture of a compact group of Nazarenes, accompanying the float of the Christ of *El Calvario* (the night before Holy Friday 2012)

A first body of Nazarenes: This body is referred to as “the section (of the *paso*) of Christ” as it follows the cross and accompanies the float which carries the image of Christ. The body is divided into different sections (*tramos*), each of which has its own insignia. One of those sections is preceded by the brotherhood’s “Book of Rules” (*Libro de Reglas*). The Nazarenes walk in pairs, the majority of which carry wax candles. Others – the penitents – carry crosses over their shoulders in imitation of Christ, which are generally heavier than candles, sticks, lanterns, insignia, and other elements carried by some of the Nazarenes. The Nazarenes dress a tunic, characteristic for the brotherhood, including a capirote (pointed hood), while the hood of the penitents (those carrying the crosses) is not pointed but flat. Interestingly, the body of the Nazarenes can become understood as permeable surfaces inscribed by pilgrimage marks, such as blistered feet of those who walk barefooted (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1101, p. 1119). The brothers with the longest membership are automatically placed in sections that are furthest back and thus closer to the floats; the first ranks consist of the newest members. For a compact group of Nazarenes, accompanying the float of the

Christ of *El Calvario*, on its way back on the night before Holy Friday (*la Madrugá*), see Figure 6.9.

The *paso* of Christ: The float is accompanied by an official delegation (*presidencia*) of the brotherhood, and youngsters participating as acolytes (Figure 6.10). Approximately 30 to 40 men⁸³ carry the float while the second *cuadrilla*⁸⁴ stays nearby to take over. Nearby the float is the *capataz* (the director of the *paso* and its *costaleros*) and his *contraguías* (assistants), the candle-lighter, the assistant who carries a ladder to climb onto the *paso* when needed, people that try to touch or see the *paso*, journalists, etc. The *paso* might be followed by a brass band which plays military marches on trumpets, drums, and other instruments. In some cases the *paso* is accompanied by an *a cappella* choir or a choir of chapel music, while in other processions no music is played at all. For an impression of *San Bernardo's* image of Christ at *La Alfalfa*, accompanied by a brass band which is not visible yet clearly present, see Figure 6.11 (video). Interestingly, the float takes a slightly different route from the Nazarenes, as it is brought to the front to greet (*saludar*) a care home for the elderly which is situated to the front of the *paso*.



Figure 6.10: Picture of the presidency of *Amargura*, together with acolytes accompanying the float of the image of Christ (Psalm Sunday 2011)

A second body of Nazarenes: This body is referred to as “the section (of the *paso*) of the Virgin” as it accompanies the *paso* of the image of the Virgin Mary. In its general characteristics, this element is similar to the first body of Nazarenes.

⁸³ In most brotherhoods, all *costaleros* are men. For more on the inclusion of women in the Holy Week of Seville, sub-section 6.5.1.

⁸⁴ Here, *cuadrilla* means a complete group of *costaleros*. The two *cuadrillas* interchange every now and then so that each has some time to rest outside of the *paso*.

The *paso* of the Virgin Mary: This element is quite similar to the *paso* of Christ. The float is heavier though, giving place to more *costaleros* who carry the float around with more difficulty. While the *paso* of Christ is often an open float constituted out of little more than four lanterns (*candelabros* or *faroles*), a flowerbed and an image of Christ, the *paso* of the Virgin Mary is generally constituted out of an image of the Virgin and counts with a more elaborate decoration of terraced wax candles, bouquets of flowers, and wax flowers on the sides. The weight is caused mostly by the way in which it is placed below a roof (*bajo palio*): long sticks (*varales*) on the sides of the *paso* structure (*la parihuela*) support a roof which is decorated by short, decorative curtains (*bambalinas*) which resound when the *paso* moves. This sound – like other elements of the *pasos* – is unique, and experienced *cofrades* may be able to identify the floats by such details. The image of the Virgin generally represents the event of the Virgin Mary crying for the death of her son. A Virgin is therefore called “the Painful” (*la Dolorosa*) or “Bitterness” (*la Amargura*), but also “Hope” (*la Esperanza*). For an impression of *San Bernardo*’s image of Virgin Mary, see Figure 6.12 (video). Normally, the music for the *paso* of the Christ is more funeral in character than the more upbeat music of the *paso* of the Virgin. In most brotherhoods, the *paso* of the Virgin Mary is the one that people feel nearest to, paying more attention to it for example by following the *paso* in procession, after which a band often constitutes the final element of the cortege.⁸⁵

Similar to the Orthodox liturgical multisensorial ritual experience (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013), these processions are carefully orchestrated. The cortege is constituted out of different sections or bodies, in which processional participants obtain specific roles, and come to grow in their roles and their position in the procession. In the processional practice people in the cortege interrelate with each other (and with those outside of the cortege). Processional participants interrelate also with material things such as the images and a set of instrumental or more symbolic things; they dwell in nearness to such things through a time-depth and in attention to detail (such as decorative richness, neatness). Yet, as I noted above, there are more human beings and things in those places and landscapes: there are material things that do not belong strictly to the cortege (6.2.3), and ungraspable immaterialities, such as emotions and affects, spirituality and the moods that different processions evoke. Within this latter

⁸⁵ Notable exceptions of brotherhoods in which the image of Christ is more important are *El Gran Poder* and *El Cachorro*.

group, processional participants' relationship with the holy is a central aspect of the processions.

6.2.2 The human and the holy

The brotherhoods are very worldly institutions: groups of lay people that support others and each other, and socialise in doing so. The *cofrades* of the various brotherhoods have a bond: a shared interest and practice of Seville's extraordinary Holy Week. Unique and specific activities are undertaken in the processions themselves, which creates a feeling of companionship between the Nazarenes, who dress similarly. The Nazarenes' tunic is called "*hábito*" (habit), which is reminiscent of "*habitar*" (Spanish for "dwelling"). But this contains an oxymoron. Because in participating in the processions, the Nazarenes (and others) share the experience of escaping from the everyday (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1116), and much more so than the experienced herders of the first case study. The tunics are used only for these processions, which take place once a year. For the Nazarenes' being and experience, the tunic is of fundamental importance. To indicate that one participates in the processions as a Nazarene, people use the phrase "to dress as a Nazarene" ("*vistirse de Nazareno/a*"). One wears not only the same tunic (*túnica*) as his or her brothers and sisters, but also lives the same experience of being looked at but not recognised (Moreno Navarro 2006, p. 129).⁸⁶ The Nazarenes themselves *can* look around (although sight is reduced, which means that one uses the whole body to look around), hear, and smell. Velázquez Martínez (2002, pp. 41-46) understood the Nazarene as a voyeur, which for some is a pleasure in itself. In some brotherhoods Nazarenes participate in conversations and jokes, and use their tunics to carry gifts for children who often repeat the following question "*¿(Tienes una) medallita, estampita, caramelos?*": "(Do you have a) small medal, picture, [or] sweets?"⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Nazarenes can be recognised as an individual forming part of a collective, only as "*a Nazarene of such and such brotherhood*". They can only be identified by the people that know them most intimately and who might recognise the posture, the way of walking, the hands (some brotherhoods recommend gloves), or the eyes (for a picture of me dressed as a Nazarene of *Santa Cruz*: Figure 6.13).

⁸⁷ The Nazarenes of more "serious" brotherhoods do generally not participate in such interactions and remain in silence, restricting themselves only at looking to the front and praying.

The *costaleros* share an even stronger sense of brotherhood. These men join their forces in a task which is rare (only in a few other places in Spain the *pasos* are carried in a similar way), and even share a specific vocabulary (Burgos 1982). When outside of the *paso* –for example when changing with another “*cuadrilla*” they can be identified not only as “*un costalero*”, but even as an individual (the *costal* does not cover the face). Yet, in the communal task at hand, *costaleros* lose their individuality. They practice and suffer together, and support each other in their undertakings (ie. a *costalero* supports another in putting the *costal* in place, Figure 6.13). A *costalero* has to be dedicated to the communal cause, as an uneven distribution of strength, a wrong step, or an incorrectly placed *costal* may lead to severe suffering. Importantly, by taking the *pasos* on their cervical and by moving, they make the images “walk”, enlivening them. This constitutes one of the most elaborated strategies to animate the images (Läubli 2011, p. 51). The moving images of Christ as a Nazarene (carrying a cross) on a hilly street are especially impressive as they invoke the ascent of Jesus Christ onto the mountain of Calvary. Already in the Baroque, sculptures knew that the sculptures would be carried around in processions; they knew that the images would be looked at in the streets, which means they are observed from all angles but often from below, and often in movement. The sculptures shaped the images for this aim. Today’s sculptors and *costaleros* also contribute to “the very Andalusian thing of [...] humanising [the images] and bringing them closer and nearer to the people who love them” (Velázquez Martínez 2002, p. 60; my translation). In assuming such an important role, a sense of pride is certainly present amongst the *costaleros*. Having a difficult task at hand, they are the centre of attention of many (Velázquez Martínez 2002, pp. 59-64).



Figure 6.13: Picture of a *San Bernardo costalero* supporting another in putting the *costal* in place (Holy Wednesday 2011)



Figure 6.14: Picture of me dressed as a Nazarene of *Santa Cruz* (Holy Tuesday 2012)

The holy, a non-human realm that obtains prominence in the processional places and landscapes, may be interpreted to be the Catholic God – with the images of Christ as its earthly representation and the images of the Virgin Mary as the central saint. To the Catholic “mortals”, the images serve as intermediaries with the holy. As Maddrell and Della Dora (2013 p. 1107) argued:

accessing of the spiritual via material artefacts and places requires synchronisation not only of enfolded interacting senses [...] but also the additional element of the spiritual-affective with believers’ lived experience of surfaces and the ontological significance given to those surfaces. Surface can thus be conceptualised as a liminal space, which mediates what is underlying or beyond. It is a point of tension, a line of contact between the visible and the invisible, the physical and the metaphysical, the material and the intangible. [...] Thus, surfaces need to be seen not only as barriers, but also as intersections – permeable membranes of exchange between the believer and the divine.

It is generally acknowledged that the images are not divine in themselves, but because of the long history they have gone through, they have become iconic to the centurial brotherhoods and neighbourhoods. As such, these images (“image” can be understood here quite literally as “representation of the divine”) have acquired a status that elevates them above other pieces of art that do not count with such histories. They are humanised representations of the divine, making participants dwell in nearness of the holy through penance and worship. The Holy Week of Seville thus incorporates a sense of vertical and horizontal pilgrimage, the first through the relationships with the images and the latter through the physical journey itself:

The Greek word *proskynēma* (from the verb *proskynō*, literally, to bow down), indicates the act of veneration of relics, or holy icons. It therefore emphasises the ‘vertical’ contact between the surface of the icon and the faithful kissing or touching it, rather than the ‘horizontal’ journey across the surface of the land to reach it (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1111).

Visual and embodied experiences of the surfaces of Seville’s processional landscape allow for “introspection and contact with the divine through their beauty and their immanence” (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1114).

Not all participants in the Holy Week processions understand the images as reflections of the Catholic God. In furthering an understanding of the holy in the Holy Week processions, it is worthwhile to avoid the “exclusive antithesis” between the strictly profane and the purely religious (Moreno Navarro 2006, p. 282). Maldonado (1975, cited in Moreno Navarro 2006, p. 284; my translation) saw in the expressions of both *popular religiosity* and *games* activities that “aim to put into movement energies, the proper capacities, ie. the intimate life; simply to enjoy it as it is enacted, reactivated, vivacious and sparkling”. This means that people not only undertake liturgical activities so that these may serve as an instrument for evangelism or to activate commitment. Rather, they engage in an extravagant or exuberant, rich and lavish plenitude, and thereby stay, albeit temporally, outside of the enframing: “people of the technical culture, brainwashed by the utilitarian, may turn back to these activities to receive and salvage their profound lesson of humanity” (Maldonado 1975; cited in Moreno Navarro 2006, p. 284; my translation). Velázquez Martínez (2002, p. 16; my translation) emphasised that it is the sensual experience that comes to the front in such an approach:

One of the purposes of the Holy Week and possibly one of its most important ones, is to achieve the exaltation of the senses, of the sensations, and of the sensual. In short, the Holy Week is about the triumph of the emotions over other aspects that govern and condition our daily lives such as the intellectual and the rational.

Human beings thus stand in a relation to the holy that is different from the relationship achieved through prayers in church or through purely theological practice: there is friction between biblical “theory” and the processional practices of Seville’s Holy Week (Núñez de Herrera (2006, see especially pp. 46-48). Processional participants are not only in the context of the personal and historical, their actions widen out into the immutable. In Seville’s Holy Week processions, many participants try to escape from the hustle and bustle that dominates many people’s daily lives, in search of a vaster, immense scale and reference. Similar to the pilgrimage in the Isle of Man, many processional participants referred to a “juxtaposition of movement (walking), copresence and opportunities for solitude, [...] and inner ‘stillness’, allowing them to focus on the spiritual, as well as the inspirational landscape” (Maddrell 2011, p. 28). Young (2000) interpreted the divinities to be the unwritten laws and morals that vertebrate a community which in the case of the penitential brotherhoods are based on ideas such as charity, humbleness, gentleness, and compassion.

During the processions these cannot easily be signalled, but it is by participating that many participants try to absorb such values and thus reinforce the traditional heritage that penetrates their community.

Heidegger's gods or divinities refer to the realm of the holy (3.1), which enriches and guides the dwelling of many processional participants, which are not necessarily practitioners of the Catholic religion. The role of the holy is more complex and present than in the first case study. In this sub-section I have shown that human beings' spiritual relationship with the holy is one of the central immaterial aspects of the processional places and landscapes. This relationship flows through the very materiality of the images and other things, and through the corporeality of the body. I now turn back firstly to the materials which are not to be found in the cortege itself but do form part of the processional environment.

6.2.3 Things and materials

Processional participants dwell in the nearness of things. In 6.2.1 I referred to things that are in the cortege itself, but there is a host of things constituted of materials to which people relate. The following things play a part in Seville's Holy Week environment, and might reveal some clues of experienced participants' vital landscape: cables and streetlights that are lifted to a certain height so that the *pasos* may pass (Figure 6.15 and 6.16) – streetlights used to be revolving for the same purpose; the anchorages in the ground, which are used for the installation of fences to regulate the passage of the public (Figure 6.17); *cofrade* shops (Figure 6.18); bars and restaurants that have Holy Week decoration.



Figure 6.15: Picture of remnants of a lower cable height in *San Bernardo* (2012)



Figure 6.16: Picture of the anchorages in the ground, which are used for the installation of fences (2011)



Figure 6.17: Picture of remnants of a lower cable height in *San Bernardo* (2012)



Figure 6.18: Picture of a *cofrade* shop (2011)

These materials increase steadily when the Holy Week draws near: in the tram railway, a plastic tube is installed so that the *costaleros* may walk over a plain surface (Figure 6.19); the equalising slab of tar and the chairs around a central part of the *Carrera Oficial* (Figure 6.20), the traffic signs indicating temporarily closed off roads; the candles' wax (Figure 6.21) that remains on the streets in some parts for months⁸⁸; and many more decorative, commercial and other things and materials. At the same time, material *absences* in the environment may be just as indicative of experienced participants' vital landscape in his sense, such as the (absent) overhead lines over the tram railway: both lines and railway were installed in 2007, but the overhead lines were first withdrawn temporarily during the Holy Week and later permanently because of aesthetic and practical reasons, especially conflictive during the Holy Week (Figure 6.22). These material presences and absences, whether anchored in the environment or only present in a more ephemeral way around the Holy Week, announce past, present and / or future happenings. They also reveal some of the impact of the processions on people's lives, while they might speak only to experienced participants, who are able to perceive, understand and be moved by them: "Things play animated roles in the formations of persons" (Tilley 2006, p. 10). Rather than representations, they are signifiers and move people (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1120). Importantly their surfaces need to be seen as porous membranes of exchange between the human and the holy:

Sometimes the intensity of our own emotion or depth of experience serves to burn a hole in this layer and let the brilliance of an eternal reality shine through. Sometimes it seems to be the other way round, and the invisible, the divine, breaks through to us, as it were from beyond the veil (Silf 2005, p. 9; cited in Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1107).

⁸⁸ The processions as walking practices do not leave any clear footprints, because of the city's pavement. Instead, the longest-lasting direct material remains of these walking practices might be the candles' wax on the pavement, resounding for months as vehicles ride over it.



Figure 6.19: Picture of a plastic tube in the tram railway (2011)



Figure 6.20: Picture of the equalising slab of tar and the chairs around a central part of the *Carrera Oficial* (days before the Holy Week 2011)



Figure 6.21: Picture of candles' wax on the street pavement (Holy Wednesday 2012)

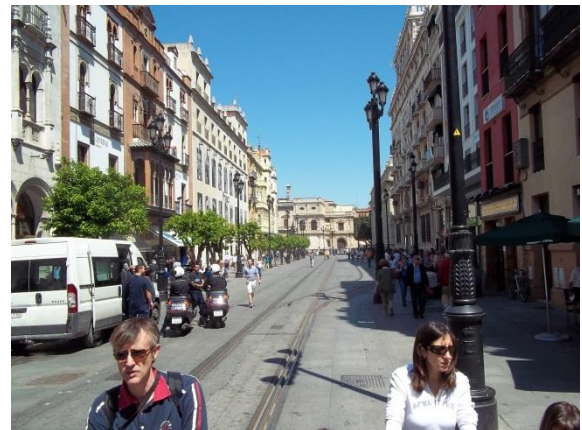


Figure 6.22: Picture of the tram railway, with no overhead lines

Chaves Nogales (1991, p. 15) argued that time-depth turns Seville into such a vivid city, as things and materials become animate over time:

Every corner we cross, is a new city [...] Every brick, every forged iron, every ashlar has its proper life, an independent meaning, which is sometimes contrary to the significance that the people grant to such a thing, up to the point that it becomes human [...].
Because of this spiritual plenitude, achieved after many centuries, our city may be considered wise and eminently sober.

Although nearness can be deducted from certain absences, or from features that have been “collapsed” into the environment (Ingold 2000, p. 198), to approach the nearness at play in the processional places and landscape (6.6) it is more fruitful to be there *in situ* - in the “processional happening” itself. The things and materials that are collated in the environment (albeit temporarily), may be considered as stimuli that refer back to, or attune experienced participants to the processions throughout the year. Those things that appear in the cortege itself (especially the images, but also the floats, crosses and other symbolic things) are cared for, touched and felt more intimately, creating effects in human beings, and are therefore prominent and changing artefacts in the constantly moving processional landscape. Similarly to the first case study, although the configurations of the materials are very distinct, it may therefore be concluded that the dwelling practices are in both case studies rich in materials and things. Moreover, and reflecting on the posthumanist framework of this section, the dwelt things play active roles in both case studies: “not because they are imbued with agency but because of ways in which they are caught up in the [...] currents of the lifeworld” (Ingold 2007, p. 1).

To approach dwelling within a posthumanist framework has signified in this second case too, that a greater emphasis is placed on the role and effects of nonhumans on the more-than-human dwelt lifeworlds. As such, human dwelling in processional places is better understood. It constitutes a rich, interactive, and eventful happening that takes place through the presences and absences of –and interactions with the nonhuman (especially important here are the images or, on another level, the holy). Certain expressions of care, affect, emotions, openness, knowledges, and intimacies can only be understood by focusing on the images and the processional environment.

6.3 Seasonal rhythm and embodiment

People partaking in the Holy Week enact, follow, and are integrated into cyclical rhythms, making embodiment a useful concept to approach a fundamental aspect of human beings' dwelling. In 6.3.1 I focus on the (annual) rhythm of seasonality in combination with the remembrance of the biblical history of the New Testament. I look in more detail at the period called Lent, describing the eve of the processional practices (6.3.2). To round off this section I consider the Easter processions in their embodied sense (6.3.3).

6.3.1 The liturgical cycle and the seasons

Events throughout the liturgical year determine the rhythm through which people come to live the Holy Week, which is the central event in the liturgical year but also in many people's lives (Navarro Antolín 2012a). People's experiences of these celebrations are intrinsically connected to Seville's seasonality. Culminating in the Holy Week, the following might be considered to be principal Catholic events in the city of Seville⁸⁹:

May Cross (Cruz de Mayo): celebrated on the third of May. Well into spring, this is a non-liturgical event commemorating the discovery or use of the "True Cross" on which Jesus Christ died. Several brotherhoods undertake processions in the aftermath of Easter.

Corpus Christi: the central celebration of the Eucharist (the "Real Presence" of the body and blood of Christ), sixty days after Easter Sunday. Undertaken in late spring, the event consists of an extensive cortege that proceeds over a short, circular route from and back to the cathedral. Central to the procession is the sacramental bread, which is rolled around by two men beneath a huge monstrance (vessel holding the host), while other images are carried around as in the Holy Week, although most *pasos* are of a smaller scale. Some brotherhood members participate in this procession, while some join as spectators.

Virgen de los Reyes (Our Lady of the Kings): celebrated on the 15th of August. In the extreme heat of summer, this day sees the procession of the image called Our Lady of the Kings, general patron of the city of Seville and of the Archdiocese of Seville, in remembrance of the

⁸⁹ For a fuller overview of the liturgical season in Seville, see Luengo Mena (2001, pp. 13-53).

Virgin Mary's Assumption into heaven. The procession starts from and ends in the cathedral's Royal Chapel.

Advent leads up to Christmas, when the birth of Christ is remembered. In deep winter, families visit churches' nativity scenes (*belenes*), consisting of images and animals. The celebration of Three Kings on the 6th of January is connected to Christmas, and consists of a popular public event: a cavalcade, during which the Magi are interpreted by three local personalities, who are driven around. Thus, while the annual cycle of the herders is predominantly seasonal, the annual cycle through which some of the processional participants come to live the Holy week is seasonal as well as liturgical, constituting an extra layer of rhythmic dwelling.

6.3.2 Lent: the eve of the processional practices

In spring, Lent is an approximately six-week penitential period culminating in the Holy Week. If brotherhoods are generally busy entities, occupied throughout the year with the Holy Week processions, during Lent brotherhoods are at the height of their activity. As such, Lent is to be interpreted as the eve (*las vísperas*) of the Easter processions.

Organising brothers take care of different aspects of the procession: clothing of the image, purchasing and organising the candles for the hundreds or thousands of Nazarenes, and the candles and flowers for the floats, organising the penitents' crosses, contracting the band, etc. The bands and of the *costaleros* rehearse more than throughout the year. The Nazarenes prepare their habits, which implies cleaning and ironing, but they might also be purchasing or borrowing the necessary attributes, such as specialised headwear (*capirotes*) or tunics (robes), sandals or esparto grass belts.⁹⁰

These activities are mostly communal. Personal preparation often implies the support of family members that do not necessarily partake actively. Also in the shared brotherhood activities, socialisation is characteristic. Furthermore, most of these activities take place in

⁹⁰ The acquisition of the tunic can be an especially delicate affair: in some brotherhoods the costs of its different elements are high which means that some spend years acquiring the complete tunic (focus group discussion 14-07-2011).

open, communal areas, such as the House of the Brotherhood, its church or chapel, or in the areas surrounding either of these: streets, squares, and bars. People thus dwell in public areas, often in the open air; in the streets which are imbued with spring atmosphere, while the people are generative of the atmosphere too. In the following extract of a focus group discussion (Chapter 4), processional spectator-participants elaborate upon the significance of Lent in Seville, which is a theme I coined. They elaborate upon the start and happening of Lent as that what leads to the Holy Week processions, in its seasonality:

I: Lent... Ash Wednesday. Then, everything changes. That's where the countdown starts. All the events start: the *igualá* of the *pasos*⁹¹, the concerts, the masses, the *sextenarios* and *quiniarios*⁹², everything. And the atmosphere changes. People start to make food that is typical for the Holy Week: *torrijas*, *pestiños* (sweet snacks) and some people fast on the Fridays. The streets smell of incense. Everybody starts to pay attention to the weather. [...]

A: Furthermore, this change coincides with the changes in the season: after the winter the days become longer. The nice weather starts, the sun shines. People start to go out more often. And when the nice days come your body starts to crave for the appearance of *pasos*.

M: It is not only these preparations but also "how do I dress for Palm Sunday and the other days? – the shoes need to be comfortable" [...]

I: The cars start to blast out Holy Week marches – or people use such marches as a ringtone... Bands rehearse at any time of the day. [...]

C: The tunics....

M: Yes, people start to purchase their *capirote*s, which are perfectly identifiable in the centre of town because they stick out of people's shopping bags.

⁹¹ The *igualá* ("levelling") of the float(s) refers to the task of granting *costaleros* their personal spot beneath the *paso*. Those that go under the same beam must have the same cervical height. This task, the *igualá*, is often combined with the "*mudá*" ("move"), during which the almost fully prepared floats are moved, normally from the House of the Brotherhood to the church from where the procession starts.

⁹² *Sextenarios* and *quiniarios* are special sets of consecutive masses during Lent – in total involving either 5 or 7 days.

MI: All of this amounts up to a lot of social pressure, because it is everywhere around you (focus group discussion, 14-07-2011)

The spring season and Lent (including the Holy Week itself) are highly intertwined in people's experience. The heightened activity becomes indicative of the season of spring and of Easter.⁹³

One of the very characteristics of the Holy Week of Seville, the intense experience of its *vísperas* (the eve leading up to it), culminates on Palm Sunday morning (Velázquez Martínez 2002, pp. 25-32). It is about this that Manzanares Japón (2000, p. 183) wrote, in the context of the different ways in which one experiences the Holy Week over the course of one's life:

Every Palm Sunday, only one thing maintained always in its place: the air. I think that if I wouldn't have a Calendar I would recognise this day only because of its special and incomparable atmosphere: its morning has a different light, the orange blossom sneaks into every corner; when breathing one perceives a profound density that can almost be touched, and people's faces are filled with expectation, as if something old would awake, again, and the whole city would be moved and ready to fulfil its most profound ritual.

Rhythmic temporalities are strongly embedded within the annual cycle, but also in the weekly, and daily cycle. The more religiously driven participants in the brotherhoods, as well as the organising brothers are generally most active on the specific day of the week in which the brotherhood's mass is celebrated. Likewise, bands and *costaleros* rehearse on a set day, weekly in some periods. Activities generally take place in the afternoon and at night because virtually all activities are unpaid, which means that people tend to volunteer at times of the day during which generally speaking no paid work is undertaken. Furthermore, people's daily rhythm of activity and rest allows them to be active at this time of the day.

The eve of the Holy Week is often especially intensely practised and felt by experienced participants, again because it involves events that are not only seasonal (or predominantly so, as in the first case study), but also institutional and festive in character. As the brotherhoods undertake most preparations during this period, a special and energetic

⁹³ A much repeated saying in the city is "Spring makes the blood boil".

ambiance surges in the city centre and around the Houses of the Brotherhoods, while people build up expectations.

6.3.3 Sensorial and embodied practice during Lent

The experience of the Holy Week processions and its seasonality cannot be captured in representations such as images, sounds or videos.⁹⁴ The thoroughly felt and embodied experience speaks of conscious and unconscious involvement, which resides in the usage of the senses. Some processional participants have the following sensations (which I grouped by sense) in the weeks leading up to the Holy Week processions:

- the olfactory: the smelling of incense (every brotherhood has its specific combination of aromatics), orange blossom that proliferates throughout the historical centre, and thyme (which gypsy women offer to tourists around the cathedral); in the case of the *costaleros* the practice sessions involve the smells of wood and sweat underneath the *pasos*.
- the haptic: wearing lighter clothing, touching materials that are used in the Holy Week: the foot-kissing of the image of Jesus and hand-kissing of the image of the Virgin Mary are intense happenings in this respect; *costaleros* feel the weight of the floats during practice sessions.
- the auditory: listening to or hearing bands that participate in the processions, either live or through recorded marches (the lyrics of which are often about the spring as the renewal of life), other sounds⁹⁵, and conversations about the Holy Week.
- the visual: seeing orange blossom, the decorative and structural works taking place in the city centre, Holy Week things and materials, the bands, people preparing for the processions.

⁹⁴ However, for an impression of events between *la Alfalfa* and *la Plaza de San Francisco* on Psalm Sunday morning, see Figures 6.23 and 6.24 (videos).

⁹⁵ Some of the most characteristic sounds during Lent have to do with the movement of the float. For an impression of a practice session at *San Bernardo*; the voices of the *capataz* and his *contraguía*, the knocker which is used to call the *costaleros* to the attention, the grunge of the *costaleros* and their dragging walk, listen to Figure 6.25 (in the audio recording most of the knocks originate from minor structural works being applied to the float, rather than with the interaction between *capataz* and *costaleros*).

- the gustatory: tasting the food and drinks that are traditionally taken in at the Holy Week celebrations, and more generally, in spring.

But, the holistic, time-deepened experience during Lent cannot be torn apart into the five senses. Particular combinations often coincide in the same event, happening, or place. It is through the very act of *sensing* in its broad meaning that the spring-imbued eve of the Holy Week is experienced. Seasonal changes and other happenings indicative of the Holy Week are sensed and perceived during Lent, as the Holy Week is expected and lived toward.

In this section I have looked at the seasonal rhythms and the embodied aspects of dwelling. It has brought a specific role of annual temporality to the fore, as well as the importance of bodily experiences. The processions are lived toward throughout the year, more intensely so during Lent. Those issues add a layer of complexity to the configuration of processional places.

6.4 Interactive rhythm and embodiment

Processions are rhythmic and complex interactions between processional participants, and between processional participants and others, through which meaningful places appear. In Seville's Holy Week, the processional practices bring to presence an urban landscape which might be called "the performed city". Yet, the processional practices cannot be fully understood by focussing solely on the (momentarily) happenings; they also depend on a specific historical context, which I focus on first.

6.4.1 Time-deepened differences between brotherhoods

Interactions are more-than-spontaneously negotiated interactions. The appearance, style and rhythm of a brotherhood depend to an extent on its historical development, which might vary from a few years to centuries. Each brotherhood has its own character (*idiosincrasia*), which changes over the years under the influence of the ever-changing *Zeitgeist*, through efforts that mark the development of brotherhoods. To approach such diversity, several authors have classified the brotherhoods (ie. Muriel Hernandez and Muriel Mascort 2001; Sánchez Herrero 2003; Luengo Mena 2007). Here, I restrict myself to some indicative remarks around the different types of brotherhoods.

A first group of brotherhoods are those situated in the historical centre; inside the city walls, an area that is (still) populated by people that are generally speaking wealthier than those living outside of the city centre. The distance from their respective churches or chapels to the “*carrera oficial*” is rather short; a condition for the organisation of short, ordered processions. Some of these brotherhoods count with the longest of traditions (such as “*El Silencio*”, “*El Gran Poder*”, or “*Vera Cruz*”), which means that they have often been able to hold on to the privilege of undertaking their processions during the Paschal Triduum⁹⁶, and more specifically during the *Madrugá*; the night during which most brotherhoods would prefer to undertake their processions. The *pasos* of these central, historic brotherhoods are often accompanied by serene *a cappella* choirs or in some cases proceed in utter silence, as their Nazarenes remain silent too. Children Nazarenes are not allowed and there is little interaction with the public and the environment. Many of those participants can be understood as pilgrims who move horizontally across a territory’s surface, a horizontality which means subordinate to an “inner”, penitential, vertical journey (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1108). Some “central” brotherhoods are not as historic but are already pervaded with an ambience of respect and serenity, such as “*Santa Marta*” (1946) and “*Santa Cruz*” (1904).

Outside of the centre many of the more popular brotherhoods are to be found. Arguably, in these brotherhoods theological aspects are less prominent than in the “central” brotherhoods. Depending on one’s view, they might be characterised as “more joyful” or “less serious”. These brotherhoods generally allow children to participate too, and often carry louder bands that might play marches that appear to hold elements or rhythms of contemporary pop music. Because of the distance from their chapels to the “*carrera oficial*”, their processions may last up to fifteen hours, affecting the way in which participants are able to maintain their posture, as well as the way in which a brotherhood as a whole can maintain the structure of its cortege.

These brotherhoods are situated in two distinct types of neighbourhoods. Outside of the city walls, Seville counts with a few legendary or historic neighbourhoods. In the 16th century,

⁹⁶ The Paschal Triduum is the three-day period within the liturgical year in which the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus are commemorated.

the city underwent a substantial demographic growth which firmly established the existence of neighbourhoods (*arrabales*), such as *Triana*, *San Bernardo*, and *La Macarena*, in which characteristic brotherhoods emerged and grew. Interestingly, many of these brotherhoods have large numbers of brothers and Nazarenos. While “central” brotherhoods undertake processions with under 400 Nazarenos, many of the “popular” ones have over 1500 Nazarenos, making the cortege necessarily long-stretched and less compact. *Triana* has for long been the only neighbourhood situated across the river Guadalquivir, badly connected until the construction of the iron bridge in the 19th century. *Triana* was often thought of as a distinct part of the city, also because of its marginalised inhabitants. Here, working class people and gypsies developed flamenco dance and music, while the neighbourhood also gave birth to renowned bullfighters. Some of its brotherhoods, such as “*San Gonzalo*” and “*La Esperanza de Triana*”, have in recent times re-invented a style of carrying the *pasos* that could be qualified as “a dance” or “artistic”, while others characterise its more extravagant movements as “exaggerated”, “strange” or even “inappropriate”. In any case, the style that has arisen in the last two decades or so in these brotherhoods, has become characteristic and the particular movement of the *pasos* is popularly called “*Trianear*”. Then, there is a substantial number of brotherhoods that is situated even farther from the city centre, and are populated mostly by working class people. These brotherhoods have a shorter history (as the major extensions of the city took shape only in the context of the 1929 Ibero-American exposition and afterwards). In this sense, the “Industrial Area of Saint Paul” (“*Polígono de San Pablo*”) was founded in 1979 and “The Eagle’s Hill” (“*El Cerro del Águila*”) in 1943. These “popular” brotherhoods count with newer *pasos*, modest heritage, and tend to walk quickly towards the centre where they assimilate the rhythm of more traditional brotherhoods.

The history of the brotherhoods and the neighbourhoods (demographical and morphological change) in which they have taken shape define to an extent today’s processions. Each brotherhood has its particular history of birth, relocation, re-foundation, or fusions with other brotherhoods, and periods of splendour and decadence, and even a development of style. In a similar way, groups of transhumant herders and their herds have different histories, which define up until a point the way in which today’s voyage takes place in each community.

6.4.2 The rhythmic and interactive procession

In the processional landscape, time refers not only to the Holy Week processions being a centurial tradition, and to people participating annually (and to some people taking care of these happenings throughout the year); it also refers to the processional mini-rhythms which are performed creatively and repetitively. In this sub-section, I focus on the rhythmic inter-relationality as a constitutive factor of the processions.⁹⁷

In this case, temporality appears in a fundamentally rhythmic way. Clock-time is utterly absent to most processional participants, who follow a cyclical rhythm of walking and stopping. This rhythm depends on the happenings in the processional place: when processional participants stop walking, the ones following them must stop. The rhythm also depends on happenings that take place in the encompassing landscape: an event such as another brotherhood crossing the itinerary elsewhere, leaving the brotherhood with no option but to stop or to slow down. For the Nazarenos, the stops (waiting and standing upright) make the procession an actual hardship. If one would continuously be moving, the undertaking would be a lot less demanding for the Nazarenos and faster too⁹⁸, yet it would lose part of its essence. For the *costaleros*, who suffer from carrying the floats, the stops are necessary. The *pasos* are carried forward in stretches - the duration of such an event is called *una chicotá*. Its duration is broadly planned beforehand through years of experience, but can also be negotiated *in situ*, as it depends on things such as the hurry the brotherhood is in, and on the musical marches being played, and on the interaction between *capataz* and *costaleros*. Normally the *chicotá* will not last for much more than a bending curve, or a “greeting” (*saludo*) to a related brotherhood at its home church or chapel (Figure 6.26 - video). The *chicotá* is best understood as a placial happening, and it is therefore useless to measure or indicate its length in clock time or in objective space. Occasionally, such events

⁹⁷ It can be argued that the rhythm is constituted by the brotherhood schedule, as planned almost-to-the-second by the official Holy Week association (*el Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradías*) in cooperation with the brotherhood, and “executed” as best as possible by the brotherhood director (*el mayordomo*). However, my aim is to develop a conception of time as something that is not followed but enacted (3.2).

⁹⁸ Such a procession was undertaken by the *Vera Cruz* (True Cross) brotherhood in 2012, as they decided to proceed without *pasos* (but with its *Lignum Crucis*), due to the high risk of rain. Without the floats the brotherhood advanced quickly (with only short stops) (Navarro Antolín 2012b).

are enlaced with each other, which means that the *costaleros* sometimes cannot rest in between the marches (ie. the Virgin of the “Kiss of Judas” brotherhood greeting *La Candelaria* brotherhood and marching onwards while another march is started, Figure 6.27 - video).

A *chicotá* can start with an energising or emotive talk by the *capataz* (the director of the *cuadrilla*) which culminates in a call to lift the float, which is normally introduced by the exclamation “*al cielo con Él / Ella*” (“lift Him / Her to heaven”) to indicate an abrupt lift, often in combination with the exclamation “*todos por igual, valientes.... a esta vez*” (“all at once, brave ones... right now”) (Figure 6.28 - video). The *capataz* might also order a slow, unperceivable lifting (“*levantá al pulso*”), but *San Bernardo’s* *capataz* explains that this type of lifting is painful for the *costaleros* and therefore puts it into practice rarely, “only when something really reaches my heart” (focus group discussion, 28-03-2012; Figure 6.29 - video). In other processions, the floats might be lifted in utter silence, where the only sounds originate from the caller (*llamador*) and the *costaleros* lifting the float (and receiving it on their cervicals).

The *costaleros* will generally move forward only when they are told to do so by the *capataz*, who often addresses his men with a convincing “*venirse de frente*” (“come forward”) or “*vámonos, mi alma*” (“let’s go, my soul”). By this time the band’s music might have joined in, causing a peculiar ambiance. The music generally starts with a single rhythmic drum penetrating the place, leading up to a much fuller sound as the music continues. The *costaleros* know how and when to move, by adapting their rhythmic movement to the music. The first move is always a step with the left foot, normally forward. But the start of the *costaleros’* bipedal movement can also take place under the serene sounds of a delicate *a cappella* choir, or in silence, in which cases the *costaleros’* dragging feet can be heard clearly. In this sense, the atmosphere can vary from busy and loud to serene. Especially impactful resounding in silence, is the heart-breaking yearning of a *saeta*⁹⁹. The *saeta* is at once prayer and song (inspired in flamenco music), a single person’s expression which describes a certain passage of the Passion or praises a particular image (de Mena 1992, p. 22). A *saetero/a* often expresses devotion towards an image in combination with expressions of love for his

⁹⁹ The literal translation of *saeta* is “arrow”: “a small spear that sticks itself into the wind, into the night, into the whitewashed walls, and into the hearts of the crowd” (de Mena 1992, p. 19; my translation).

or her streets, bridge or neighbourhood (de Mena 1992, p. 23) – in this sense the images serve as connections with the space through which they move. Nowadays *saeteros/as* often receive applause. Applause hints toward the theatrical aspect of the performance, converting the happening into a spectacle (which not all processional participants are happy with). The *saeta*, in short, is yet another interactive element adding up to the dense atmosphere that fills the streets during the processions.

During the popular brotherhood processions, members of the public entertain themselves (mainly by socialising). Some search for relatives amongst the participants. Children often wait for the processional participants to stop, so that they can ask the Nazarenes for small gifts, and after sunset, when the Nazarenes' candles are lit, ask for wax (Figure 6.30), which they accumulate into balls, and often keep and build up over time.



Figure 6.30: Picture of children asking for wax
In the *San Bernardo* procession (Holy Wednesday 2011)



Figure 6.31: Picture of *San Bernardo's* image
of Virgin Mary, receiving a *petalada* (shower
of flowers) (Holy Wednesday 2011)

At the basis of the processional places and landscape lie rhythmic interactions between band members, *costaleros*, *mayoral*, *capataz*, *saeteros/as*, Nazarenes, but also (members of) the public, the neighbourhood, the streets, and the buildings and the time of the day. Those interactions take place only when the weather allows them to: rainfall on the *pasos* could mean expensive restoration works of the heritage taken to the streets, and might cause the dispersal of the cortege. The brotherhoods anticipate possible adverse situations and often decide not to take to the streets if rain is forecast.

Although the day-night cycle seems to be of secondary importance, especially in the *Madrugá* where the brotherhoods are literally night and day in the streets, this cyclical temporality is central in the enactment of the processions. The day's temporality, the sun in its presence and absence allows for an infinite array of experiences of light and dark, of light and shadows, of reflections, and causes the lighting and dimming of candles, torches and streetlights. The daily cycle determines people's feeling of revival or weariness. Most brotherhoods leave their chapels at midday or in the afternoon to be back at midnight or shortly after, following a day-night rhythm. In the case of *San Bernardo*, the procession is planned to cross the "the fire-fighters' bridge" on their way back only when night has fallen. The float of *la Esperanza Macarena* carries the inscription: "*Spes Nostra*" ("Our Hope") on the front, and "*Estrella de la Mañana*" ("Morning Star") on the back. Such details do not only refer to specific aspects of the religious meaning of the image, but can also have significant impact on followers who encounter the float at daybreak and find hope through it, as this image of the Virgin Mary returns to her humble neighbourhood on Holy Friday.

The rhythms and interactions I described are unique, and often depend on other brotherhoods, on spontaneous actions from in- or outside the cortege. When a *saeta* is considered to be special or sang by people near to the brotherhood, a stop might last until the *saetero/a* finishes. People may provide for a *petalada* (shower of flowers – normally, roses – thrown from a roof or a balcony over the *paso* of the Virgin) (Figure 6.31) or donate a bouquet of flowers (Figure 6.32 - video) or indeed both (see the fire-fighters undertakings at *San Bernardo*'s return journey: Figure 6.33 - video). While some argue that today's processions seem like sterile happenings, not the creative and momentary inventions they used to be (Navarro Antolín 2012a; focus group discussion 28-03-2012), people might still sing unplanned *saetas*, approach the image for a personal prayer, take pictures or videos next to or within the procession, ask the *capataz* for a dedication of a *levantá*. Because of the annual repetition of these rhythms, and people's repeated participation in them, an intimate knowledge of the urban processional landscapes is built up, and a very personal connection to its specific places is grown: any cobblestone or any corner might acquire a specific meaning to the experienced participants who dwell in these landscapes (Chaves Nogales 1991, p. 15).

In section 5.3 I focused on herding rhythms generated by amongst others, the daily cycle, the constitution of the animals' body (sleeping, feeding etc), and the herd's continuous interplay within environments. An equally rich – but very different – set of rhythms appears, defining the processional dwelling performances, which spring in a different way from interactions and passions within and without the processional cortege, thereby generating complex places and landscapes. To understand those aspects of processional dwelling places is to emphasise different temporalities, in which not only the past, but also the “now” of the happenings obtains prominence.

6.5 Openness and relationality

Some consider brotherhoods to be quite closed and even archaic entities. Especially some years ago, this might have been the case. Nowadays, fewer restrictions remain and the brotherhood can be better understood to be *open* in several ways. In this section I also look at the porous and relational character of the processional places themselves. In those places, the time-deepened relationality is especially interesting, which I describe by outlining the historical depth of one particular brotherhood. Not all processional participants are experienced practitioners, which is why I consider fleeting dwelling as a constitutive factor of the processional places and landscapes.

6.5.1 Openness of brotherhoods

The membership of brotherhoods is open to all Catholic people, who need to show their Catholic baptism certificate at the initial stage of their integration and re-affirm their faith during a session in which new brotherhood members swear as a group and individually. Furthermore, for membership a modest annual fee is paid and in some brotherhoods another modest fee is paid to participate in the processions. Many of the people who join the brotherhood do so to participate in the Easter processions, which is something that organising brothers generally know and accept in regret.

In some of the brotherhoods not all members have the right to become Nazarenes. In some of the “central” brotherhoods, children up until a certain age are not allowed to become Nazarenes. Furthermore, for long it was prohibited for brotherhood sisters to become Nazarenes. From the late 20th century onwards, brotherhoods started to allow feminine

Nazarenos, which is an important factor in the increasing number of Nazarenos in the last few years. Thus, with some exceptions, brotherhood processions are now substantially more open than they used to be.

But many of the offices are still heavily “gendered”. The brotherhood directors (*Hermanos Mayores*) are in all but one case men; the spiritual leaders (*Directores Espirituales*) are usually the priests of the adjacent churches and therefore male. Due to the physical character of the work that the *costaleros* undertake, *costaleros* are generally speaking masculine too. In the processional activities women, mostly occupy background roles such as selling or distributing admission tickets of the Nazarenos, and dressing the images (Muriel Hernández and Muriel Mascort 2001, p. 124).

The brotherhood processions are therefore not entirely open, also because of the importance of *descent*. Many brothers grow into the brotherhood world through family-based experiences as a child, following their parents into a particular brotherhood. This is an issue not only in becoming a brother or a Nazarene of a particular brotherhood but also in having the unwritten right to carry particular insignia (standards and banners), in obtaining a specific role such as becoming a *costalero*, dressing the images, and in assuming the leadership of brotherhoods or the floats. General membership of a particular brotherhood tends therefore not to be a matter of personal preference; normally one follows the steps taken by ancestors, it depends heavily on lineage. The majority of people stay with a brotherhood for a lifetime. As a result of personal interest and development, people may change roles as they mature, but the unwritten rules of lineage privileges inhibit to a certain degree one’s flexibility (Burgos 1991, p. 27).

In this case the processional communities are relatively open in that any Catholic may participate in the great majority of brotherhood processions. For the processions of some brotherhoods more dedication outside of the processions themselves are required, and in others women and children are not allowed to dress as a Nazarene. Furthermore, some of the processional roles require decades of dedication before one is allowed to take them up. Such characteristics are similar to the herding communities, in which most people may participate, accumulate experiences, and take up different roles.

6.5.2 The porous character of processional places

Spatially, the processional landscape might seem a closed affair because of its *bullá* (dense crowd) (Figure 6.34). Indeed, if one does not know *what it is* that one perceives, or *where to be at what time* and relatedly *where to move towards*, or just as fundamentally *how to move*, the agglomeration of people in the city centre and around the processions can be suffocating. To the experienced participants however, to be in and move through the crowd can be one of the attractions of the Easter processions (focus group discussion 14-07-2011; Moreno Navarro 2006, pp. 70-75):

With admirable skill, we open up a way between a human wall, while we do not flee from corporeal contact with our fellow human being. In short, we communicate through the sense of touch” (Velázquez Martínez 2002, p. 34; my translation).



Figure 6.34: Picture of a crowd awaiting *La Estrella* (Psalm Sunday 2011)

A seemingly closed crowd can be perfectly moved through, especially if one is experienced in these tactful and touchy movements, and uses corporeal and verbal communication adequately.¹⁰⁰ In terms of the processions themselves, they can also be moved through, but only if one knows the brotherhood's unwritten rules and respects the participants' integrity.

The embodied landscape that arises through the processions is highly complex, and can be approached through a relationality, which I exemplify through the *San Bernardo*

¹⁰⁰ Of course, some people move rudely through the crowd, in occasions only to put themselves in a better position. In doing so they become part of a processional places as onlookers of a spectacle, as opposed to the poetic dwellers in the crowd.

brotherhood procession. The brotherhood is named after and located in the neighbourhood of *San Bernardo*, which is “*extra-muros*” – outside of the city walls, yet it has a rich history. During the Islamic rule *San Bernardo* broadly coincided with a suburban quarter (*arrabal*) called *Benialofar* (Valor Piechotta 2002, p. 51). Later, Fernand III of Castile is said to have started the reconquest of Seville from this quarter, by setting up the military camp in the area. That is why the church (and the *arrabal* as a whole) is called *San Bernardo* (Bernard of Clairvaux) – after the saint of the day in which the siege began (the 20th of August) (Rincón Hernández 2005, p. 155). After the reconquest, *San Bernardo* remained separate from the city centre. It welcomed industrial and commercial activity, giving way to environmental pollution while the neighbourhood suffered from floods too. The construction of the railway between Seville and Madrid occupied the space between the neighbourhood and the city centre, isolating *San Bernardo* even more, until the railway went underground in this part of the city in the late 20th century. For great parts of its centurial history it has been a joyful neighbourhood of working class people who identified strongly with its brotherhood (Rincón Hernández 2005). Only in the last few decades has it been renovated, with a substantial number of neighbours moving out and others coming in. While *San Bernardo* is nowadays seen as a middle-class neighbourhood, in and around its centre it has maintained a particular feel of place. Each Holy Wednesday *San Bernardo* becomes the centre of reunion for a great number of the families that have left the neighbourhood and now live in other areas. The central, adhesive event is the brotherhood procession, during which the neighbourhood flourishes. An extensive community of many thousands of people gathers in this relatively small area this particular day of the year, grouped in families whose younger members are still signed up (or sign themselves up) to the brotherhood and participate in the brotherhood processions of a neighbourhood in which they often never resided themselves. However, because of the family ties and the accumulated experiences, they are intimately connected to (and form part of) the brotherhood processions, and they might be said to constitute its relational components, and thereby define this brotherhood’s very essence (focus group discussion 28-03-2012).

From above or for an outsider, in the spatial sense the processions may seem a closed affair. Yet, experienced participants know well how to interact with the others, and how to move through the crowds. The relationality of a processional place does not only consist of the way in which people may enter the processions with relative freedom, but also of the complex connections that the processional participants hold with others who might not even

be present. The relationality of a processional landscape might be understood as the accumulation of and connectivity between its different brotherhood processions (places).

6.5.3 Time-deepened relationality

Although the gold and silver work on the images is impressive, and some of the images are considered to be amongst the best pieces of (Neo)Baroque art, richness is not only to be found in the images themselves – in a historical sense the images and floats embody the neighbourhood. As materialised histories of their neighbourhood they are the neighbourhood's central element, its focal point.

The floats and images are intimate entities, because most of the work that has led to the splendorous floats was undertaken by the ancestors of the people that relate to them today. Throughout its existence *San Bernardo*, just like many other brotherhoods, welcomed mostly working class brothers. The story of the brotherhoods starts with two boys carrying around in procession a clay image of a crucified Christ in the 1740s, which was later substituted by other clay images called “Holy Christ of Health” and “Our Lady of Protection”, which due to its material needed to be replaced often. The brotherhood grew thanks to the membership of other youngsters and not much later adults too, leading to the installation of a chapel in *San Bernardo's* church and to the formulation and approval of the brotherhood rules. The first procession to the cathedral was undertaken in 1764. In the 19th century modern bullfighting started to take shape in Seville. As *San Bernardo* had an abattoir where youngsters could practise their skills on calves, it became a bullfighting neighbourhood, bringing forth several prominent bullfighters. At least two of them saved the brotherhood when it passed through particularly distressful times (the brotherhood had to be revived by individual donations and efforts on various occasions), and three bullfighters directed the brotherhood (Rincón Hernández 2005).

During the Second Spanish Republic, popular uprisings and discontent grew to a boiling point in 1936. Preceding the Civil War Seville suffered an iconoclast movement on July 18th, when the church was looted and destroyed, the two images that *San Bernardo* possessed were lost, and the structure and decorative parts of the *pasos* were heavily damaged. It took years before the images were finally substituted by others that are now taken to the streets in procession (Rincón Hernández 2005).

In this complicated period another link to the neighbourhood was of importance for the revival of the brotherhood. The military factories of the national Artillery have been situated next to the church of *San Bernardo* for centuries. Many of the factory workers have been brothers in *San Bernardo*, and several factory directors assumed important roles in the brotherhood. After the destructions of 1936, the Artillery offered to re-construct the parish's edifices alongside the brotherhood's *pasos* and other belongings (Rincón Hernández 2005). Nowadays, the brotherhood recalls this support, as a representation of the Artillery participates in the processions, and in 1977 the patron of the national Artillery (*Santa Bárbara*) was included in the official name of the brotherhood. Furthermore, the *paso* of the Virgin counts with some miniature, decorative canons and the front curtain carries an image of Santa Barbara. Finally, the caller on the *paso* of Christ also represents the strong bond between brotherhood and neighbourhood, as it is a miniature model of the "Bridge of *San Bernardo*", which connects the neighbourhood to the city centre (Rincón Hernández 2005).

The efforts and hardship that people went through to commission the images and decorative items, and to restore elements, the veneration of the images and its predecessors by so many people in the brotherhood's centurial history, all of this is reflected in the *pasos* that take the streets on Holy Wednesday when *San Bernardo* passes by. Experienced participants apprehend not only a representation of God but sense the brotherhood's dense, deep and layered history. The relationality of this processional place is one that opens up "absent presences" or "present absences": not only of Christ and Mary themselves, but of their lost representations (Romero Murube 2001, pp. 133-134), and of the deceased family members and friends that were intimately connected to the brotherhood.

Brotherhood members stand in intimate relationships with the images. Whether studying the art history of its images, pinning decoration onto the *paso*, or suffering intensely underneath them, the intimate experiences and attentive involvements with the images can be understood as a care-taking; the processions are so rich partially due to their time-depth. It is the continuity of tradition that has brought forward a knowhow of venerating the holy figures: the dressing of the images, shaping and placing the flowers and candles on the floats, the Virgin's cape, the use of incense, the marches dedicated to the images and played in specific places, each of these involve creative and precise expertise which people re-invent annually.

Similarly to the time-deepened relationality of the herding landscape, that of the processional landscape is based on a centurial tradition which has in this case shaped (to a degree) the environment of the city centre. In another sense, this tradition consists of the rich experiences and attentive involvement of so many people that participated in the past in the communal practices of worshipping and venerating Jesus Christ in his Passion and the Virgen Mary in her loss; practices that materialised in artistic images, clothes, decorated floats, but also in very specific skills such as moving through dense crowds, dressing the images, ways of carrying floats, etc.; knowledges which are often passed on from generation to generation.

6.5.4 Fleeting dwelling

Above I have focused on the dwelling experiences of the people that participate repeatedly in the processions, people that had a specific “bodily training” and attunement of the senses to the processional landscape (Ingold 2000, p. 162). But some people in the processional places and landscapes do not enact such a time-deepened dwelling, they embody more fleeting experiences.

The processions of the Holy Week are probably the main attraction of Seville – together with the city’s *Feria* it is one of the weeks in which it attracts most tourists. Although some tourists know little about the Holy Week processions, they too can be understood to dwell, as their being is involved and embodied too, albeit in different ways (Obrador Pons 2003).

Some of the inexperienced procession visitors are on a journey just like the participants themselves. In this sense, Hernández Ramírez (2008, p. 148) referred to a type of tourist “that wishes to participate and experiment other ways of life different from its own to find an answer and enrich oneself by way of the journey.” Differently from the tourists that remain detached from the happenings, these tourists involve themselves, are genuinely learning and get touched by the processions. Similarly to the way in which I tried to get involved in the processional places and landscapes, some people try to overcome their lack of knowledge as they learn-to-be-affected. Having departed on such a journey, it does not matter at what stage one is, the essence of one’s being and dwelling is the undertaking of the

journey itself. The beginning can be absolutely stunning and a key informant highlighted his own longing for such a *first time* experience.

L: A *paso* is an incredible construction. I'm really sorry that I have not been able to experience what you have been able to experience. When you saw a *paso* of the Virgin Mary for the first time, what did you make of it? Because I really don't know!

D: Well, I thought, "this is crazy". The first time I thought... it's much more than a splendid cathedral, because it moves...

L: Of course, and I have never been able to experiment that. Maybe I will go to Italy and see Saint Peter, or see David and I will be perplexed... I hope it will be the same experience (Interview: 26-04-2011).

This research participant was more than aware that he, because of his involvement in his childhood, does not recall his first encounter with one of the processions' main phenomena. In my case, as a participant who does not count with a lifelong experience with the Holy Week of Seville, I do remember my personal journey in this respect more fully, yet I miss the embodied knowledges and skills that experienced participants like this research participant acquired as children. Others, such as students or tourists, might also take a real interest and start a journey of dwelling through fleeting experiences. Those who do not, might give a sense of meaningfulness to the processional participants by simply paying attention and absorbing the happenings. Fleeting dwelling can therefore be understood in similar ways in transhumant and processional landscapes.

In this section I have explored how openness and relationality figure in the processional places and landscapes. Although one can consider processional places and communities to be rather closed, I have developed the idea that they are generally "open". Linking dwelling with the notion of relationality has helped to approach the richness and complexity of processional dwelling in its temporal and intercommunal sense. Not only experiences built up over time, but also fleeting experiences (although the latter in a less poetical sense), define the processional places and landscapes.

6.6 Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

Here I enquire into nearness as the primary spatial dimension of processional places and landscapes. As I bring nearness to the front, I first look at ways in which the concepts of

place and landscape gain in complexity (6.6.1). To consider nearness in-depth I then enquire into processional attunement (6.6.2) and care (6.6.3).

6.6.1 Place and landscape

Experienced processional participants dwell poetically in processional places and landscapes, where nearness is the primary dimension. Each procession is a place where participants dwell near to each other and to the images by way of communal practices, which are practical and devotional at once. In this Christian pilgrimage the focus is on “the transformative process of journeying and its challenges, rather than giving primacy to experience and ritual at the final destination” (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, pp. 1108-1109). As highlighted in the sub-section “*Practice, performance and embodiment*” (2.1.4), ritual practices overcome functional means-end and other causal relationships, opening up possibilities through movement. In this case, human beings gather in a shared performance. Such a dedication means that the participants’ family members are often involved too, and will be near to the processions, whether in the streets on the particular day or not. Nearness is not only about being bodily near to each other or to the images. Deceased family members may therefore be understood to be near to the processions as well, and not only so in the sense of having left their imprint on the happenings of this place, but also by being recalled during the communal performance.

As with the transhumance places, I understand a single brotherhood’s processional performance to be an intrinsically mobile, interactive, stretched and ephemeral taking place.¹⁰¹ Not in the least because of the presence of images in the processions, the brotherhoods turn profane streets into sacred spaces: converting the streets of Seville into open-air temples (Läubli 2011, p. 46). The taking place of several of such processions, built on the communal and historical relationships of the brotherhood processions, names the processional landscape.

¹⁰¹ What precedes the procession and emerges after the procession is a “taking place” of a different kind (Navarro Antolín 2012c).

There are about 60 penitential brotherhoods in Seville.¹⁰² They are interconnected by sharing the same practices, although each has its own character and way of undertaking the processions. On the broadest level of connectivity, the brotherhoods are organised within frameworks. For example, the Brotherhood Council of Seville (*Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradías de Sevilla*) is a democratic institution that defends the general interests of the brotherhoods. A municipal institution (CECOP, Centre of Operative Cooperation) was set up after turmoil in the *Madrugá* of 2000, and regulates the municipal services such as cleaning and safety during Seville's public events. In both of these institutions brotherhood members meet and unify their efforts for a common goal.

Brotherhoods dwell also near to each other in narrower frameworks. On the one hand, *San Bernardo* as a brotherhood is near to other brotherhoods as a result of Cartesian nearness: a group of adjacent brotherhoods that fall in the same archpriesthood and uses such nearness to co-organise educational courses (Hermandad San Bernardo 2012). In a similar way, the brotherhood holds special bonds with some of the other brotherhoods that are situated along its processional route, such as *La Candelaria* and *Santa Cruz*. On the other hand, the brotherhoods that undertake their processions on the same day also organise events to strengthen their bonds, and take care of the organisation of the processions on particular days.¹⁰³ Brotherhoods that do not have a similar character, that undertake their processions on distinct days, and that are situated in different parts of the city, might be understood to have little in common, to be *distinctly different*, and to be far from each other.

The people participating in any of these brotherhoods can be understood to form a community that is unified by a common belief and practice. The *cofrades* interrelate within the more institutional frameworks indicated above but also outside of these (in tertulias, in the media, in meetings, in the street and in bars) throughout the year, to foster existing relationships and to forge new ones. To exemplify: years ago the director of *Los Panaderos* (The Bakers brotherhood) spotted a member of the *San Bernardo* brotherhood eating a lot of

¹⁰² The number of penitential brotherhoods has increased in recent years, as some brotherhoods have been allowed to undertake Holy Week processions.

¹⁰³ The responsibility of the organisation between the various brotherhoods on a specific processional day rests on the shoulders of a democratically chosen "Daily Delegate": a member of one of the brotherhoods that undertake processions on a given day during the Holy Week, draws the brotherhoods together.

bread – indeed, he was a keen bread-eater. Since, every Holy Wednesday, the director offers him a *bocadillo* (elaborate sandwich) when *San Bernardo* passes by the chapel of *Los Panaderos* after six hours of procession (Interview 26-04-2011). Such a gift and acceptance of a gift illustrates only one relationship within a dense web of significant connections between the various brotherhoods and their members, which configure the processional landscape.

Nearness is the dimension that characterises processional participants' relationships with each other and others (people, things and places). To approach the processional landscape is to get to know its emotional, affectual and spiritual relationships. To study the processional landscapes requires the acknowledgement that these relationships are manifold: they are numerous and complex, take place continuously, and more often than not remain hidden, while they might even relate through the issue of memory to people, things and places that are absent in the material environment (such as deceased family members and friends, lost images, or changed places). Nearness is achieved in dwelling, and in the case of *San Bernardo*, it has been argued that “[b]etween neighbourhood, brotherhood and parish there is a perfect symbiosis” (Rincón Hernández 2005, p. 158). Such symbiosis might have been achieved because the three entities take shape through people's dwelling in them. By dwelling in the brotherhood, people live near to, or *in the neighbourhood* of each other (3.2 and 3.3) and in the parish.¹⁰⁴ In this case, dwelling in processional place speaks clearly to the different stages of human beings' dwelling, and to nearness to being as such.

6.6.2 Attunement

Processional participants dwell poetically by attuning to each other and others in changing environments, in which especially the relationships with the images obtain prominence. Hetherington (2003) found that vision and touch are performative way of encountering *praesentia* in place:

¹⁰⁴ *Parroquia* (parish) stems from latin *parochia* which originates from greek *παροικία* (*paroikia*) (Liddell and Scott 1940a): “sojourning in a foreign land”, this in turn stems from *παροικος* (*paroikos*) (Liddell and Scott 1940b): “dwelling beside” or “near, neighbouring”, or in another sense “sojourner, stranger”. *Paroikos* (*παροικος*) is a compound of *para* (Liddell and Scott 1940c): by, beside, from, or near, and *oikos* (Liddell and Scott 1940d): home, house, dwelling-place.

Praesentia as associated with saintly relics is concerned with how the absent divine and the holy dead can be made manifest through the presence of a seemingly insignificant fragment of ordinary material made extraordinary by association: the religious relic. [...] Praesentia is concerned with the experience of mingling: distance and proximity; presence and absence; secular and divine; human and nonhuman; subject and object; time and space; vision and touch. It has the effect of making those discursive categories appear uncertain and blurred. [...] Praesentia involves a presence of something absent – something that we cannot behold but which touches us and which we can touch (Hetherington 2003, p. 1940; see also Maddrell and Della Dora 2013).

In this case, processional participants, by way of their relationships with the images, might be understood “to stand in the presence of the gods and to be involved in the nearness of the essence of things” (Heidegger 2000b, p. 60). Here, “performative praesentia” refers to attunement to both things (images) and the holy (the gods). It speaks of the multisensual contact between processional participants and images: embodiment and direct spatial and temporal presence. But “performative praesentia” invokes the absent as *absent presence*, too. Through an attunement to the images, processional participants, on the one hand hold bonds with the deceased (in remembrance or grief), thereby articulating “continuing bonds” (Maddrell 2013a), and on the other hand stand in the presence of the gods, which can be understood as either the Catholic God, or the unwritten laws and morals that vertebrate a community or the traditional heritage (Young 2000), or even as a spiritual and playful realm in which processional participants escape from the everyday and the enframing.

Processional participants do not dwell in a stable, pre-existing environment, but in a dynamic, rhythmic and playful lifeworld by: listening to processional sounds and music that flow in the night’s breeze, using shop windows to spot otherwise invisible brotherhoods, appreciating the lively *pasos* through their shadows on the whitewashed walls (Figure 6.35 - video), searching shadows for temporary shelter, or enjoying the air flows in one of the centurial alley ways. *Saetas* attune listeners to the worshipping or veneration of Jesus Christ and the Virgen Mary. As the *satero/a* starts to sing, people in his or her range listen and make others in the wider surroundings attentive to it too, extending the *saetero’s* captivating range (Figure 6.36 - video). The *capataz* and his assistants attune to a brotherhood’s character. The *costaleros* attune and adapt bodily to the indications of the brotherhood’s *capataz* and to the music, which is often dedicated to the particular image they are carrying. The members of

the brass bands adapt their walking rhythm to the tunes of the music, shortening or enlarging their steps to the space that is available so that the steps remain of a similar duration.

It has to be recognised that the landscape is more complex than anybody is able to grasp, because it is made up of people's different relationships to things and each other. One of the more important places for the priest of *San Bernardo* is the brotherhood's passage over the "Bridge of *San Bernardo*", because from here he first sees the *Giralda* (which symbolises Jerusalem for the people who understand the procession as a pilgrimage toward a particular goal). Also, this particular place is for him a place to enjoy the *paso*, as set against the sky, and to feel nearer to the divinities in an open place (Interview with the *San Bernardo* priest 27-04-2012). For some children Nazarenes, the most meaningful place is the brotherhood's church as this indicates the end of their exhausting procession. For the *San Bernardo costaleros*, *La Alfalfa* square constitutes a place of remembrance and reflection, as it is where one of *San Bernardo's costaleros* suffered a heart attack and died shortly afterwards. The processional landscape that people dwell in, is known and felt more intensely as one builds up experiences, but can be known only partially.

6.6.3 Care

The dimension of nearness does not only open up the issue of attunement, but also of a more general *care*. Such care appears in a variety of ways. Firstly, the processions involve a kind of bodily taking care, of watching one's steps and interpreting and respecting the presence of other bodies. As Vergunst (2008, p. 117) reflected on moving through an urban crowd: "picking a route through a crowd of people involves a [...] kind of care: a tactility not so much of the feet but of the whole body, and an awareness of the routes of others". Spectators move around in search of images and processional participants, and take care of themselves and others in every step, as they avoid falling down or stumbling into others. Together with the overarching organisation CECOP, the *mayoral* makes sure that the route to be taken is free of obstacles by walking the route weeks before the procession takes place (and by taking action in case of any new cables, street lights, building renovations, etc). For the *costaleros* each step and each lifting is an act of taking care of each other, as one's action might influence the other's well-being negatively. In their turn, the *capataz* and his assistants, as well as the water-carrier, take care of the *costaleros*.

At first sight it is the *costaleros*, *capataz* and his assistants, the presidency, acolytes, candle-lighter who take care of the images. Yet, also the Nazarenes and even the spectators take care of the images and the processions as such: without their presence, the processions could not take place. All take care in different ways, configuring different forms of nearness. The images are the centre of care because of their ambiguous character, inherent to all religious images: they need to be taken care off and take care of processional participants at the same time (Läubli 2011, p. 60). Because of the variety and complexity of such ways of taking care, the brotherhood processions open up unique places.

There is also a time-deepened side to the idea of taking care. Lund (2008) understood the walking practices of processional participants venerating the image of a saint in a small Spanish village to be a form of storytelling:

Whilst walking the story, the dynamic of the plot appears in the ways participants bring forward their own biographies and fuse them together to assist in telling the authorized story. People choose to participate differently in the procession. Some walk at the front, some in the middle and others at the back. Some choose to take a stand along the route where the procession passes and watch in silence or, indeed, in tears. [...] This diversity in participation and commitment nevertheless contributes to a sense of place as it is lived and experienced and, most importantly, shared" (Lund 2008, p. 101).

As Vergunst and Ingold (2008b, p. 9) interpreted, in this case, the procession "does not *re-enact* a story that is already finished, but rather *keeps it going*. And in so doing, it momentarily fuses or brings into phase the otherwise divergent and unsynchronized life trajectories of individual participants into a unified tale of belonging to this place." People near to the Holy Week processions of Seville take care of their tradition, religion, places and landscapes by taking forward the Christ's Passion; not by repeating it but by interpreting it anew, ever differently.

In this sense processional dwelling refers to the creative aspect of performance. Olwig (2008) understood landscape through the opposition between dwelling as doing the landscape versus dwelling as performing upon the landscape. But such a dyad does not apply in this case, as processional participants' places and landscape are no scenery or stage; they are

communal enacted. This is a landscape of inhabitation: “a tapestry *within* which their own lives are interwoven” (Ingold and Vergunst 2008b, p. 8; original italics).

Interpreting dwelling to take place through nearness (a dimension which captures intensities between human beings and lifeworlds) is instrumental in approaching the complexity of processional places and landscapes, which come into being through care and an attunement of human beings toward each other, and others in the environment. An “ethics of care”, which is articulated in the very essence of dwelling (3.2), is developed in pilgrimages such as the processions, and constitutes an intimacy that is a central aspect of pilgrims’ experiences (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1116). This interpretation also shows the importance of certain expressions of emotions and affects in the configuration of processional places and landscapes, although they have often been difficult to access.

6.7 Conclusion

In this second case study I have opened up leeway for rethinking dwelling by enlacing dwelling with the research themes (2.3). In this conclusion I develop the main findings per research theme.

6.7.1 Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman

Communal dwelling

As in the first case study, I have avoided Modern dualistic thinking by using the concepts of dwelling and community rather than subjects and social or cultural spheres. A brotherhood can be understood as the backbone of a dense community. When undertaking processions, the processional participants and others dwell communally yet in differing ways by the sometimes voyeuristic Nazarenes, the suffering and proud *costaleros*, brass band members, *saeteros/as*, assistants, and the observant and festive public. However, the overarching practice unites. Mainly by worshipping and venerating Jesus Christ and the Virgen Mary through the usage of images, and by enacting the penitential pilgrimage, the streets of Seville are turned into sacred and religious, yet festive and playful places.

Human dwelling with nonhumans

In a posthumanist framework, I propose that dwelling opens up not only the meaningful links that human beings hold with each other and others (things), but also the active role of nonhuman beings and the spirituality of being. In the latter sense, certain material presences have the capacity to heighten the sense of spiritual experiences (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1117). Again, no ontological priority should be given to human or nonhuman beings, as places and landscapes come into being through intertwinements between the two. The images are things that serve as intermediaries in worshipping the holy – for many the Catholic God (Christian 1972), while for others the images are primarily the humanised reflections of the history of brotherhoods (and neighbourhoods).

Apart from the images, a host of other human-made things shape processional dwelling. And the sunlight, warmth, breeze, rain, orange blossom, but also incense, music and prolonged silences fill the atmosphere in spectacular ways. Materials come to the fore in the flux of things, which are comprehended and obtain significance as the processional participants accumulate experiences.

6.7.2 Rhythm and embodiment

Seasonal and daily rhythms

Taking place at the culmination of Lent (the six-week period leading up to Easter), the processional dwelling performances are the pinnacle of Seville's annual cycle (which is both seasonal and liturgical). The relationship between the liturgical calendar and seasonality is notable in this case study. The daily cycle is also relevant in the processions, as some brotherhoods dwell actively into the night, or even into the next morning.

Temporal rhythms and embodiment

Processional participants interpret, accept and follow temporal rhythms by way of their dwelling practices. The seasonal practices and performances articulate a particular embodiment, through which the coming near of the processional activities is felt.

To all but those who ensure that the procession reaches certain locations at set times, clock-time appears as an abstract notion that has no relevance. The processions are dwelt, interactive, rhythmic performances of walking and stopping, lifting and putting down, playing and resting. Processional participants respond to the performances of others that share the same place. Through the participants' rhythmic activity, their bodies become pervaded with happenings and events.

Tempo and practice

The temporality that comes to the fore can be understood only through the interactive practice and performance of events and the passing of time in its seasonality and daily cyclicity. The tempo characteristic of the processions is neither fast nor slow. The tempo and movement are defined by the interplay between human and nonhuman processional participants (such as the images, and the wider environment), and the seasonal and daily cycles.

6.7.3 Openness and relationality

Openness of communities and places

The processional communities are generally open. In most brotherhoods, all members may participate in the processions (and to become a brotherhood member, one needs to re-affirm one's faith as a Catholic in public, and pay a moderate annual fee).

Most processional places are open in that anybody can form part of the places that come into being. Differently from herding places, the brotherhood processions might give the impression of being rather closed affairs, especially as the central part is privatised, but in most areas experienced participants move through crowded processional places with ease, or even with pleasure.

Time-deepened relationality

The temporal depth characteristic of Seville's processions left its mark in the materiality of the fleets and images, in other material presences (and absences) which are "incorporated"

(Ingold 2000, p. 193) into the environment, and in the skills and understandings which have been apprehended or taken over from ancestors. As time passes, a complex and continuously changing manifold meshwork of bonds and linkages characterise the processional places and landscapes. By dwelling, human beings establish links of various kinds with each other and others. Processional participants who have passed away are absent in a way, but do form part of the happenings in memory and / or in skills acquired by the current generations. The dwelt processional landscapes are complex groupings of those multiple relationships.

Fleeting dwelling

Instances of fleeting dwelling weave through the more poetic dwelling of experienced processional participants. In the processions, tourists are the most common visitors. Those who show a real interest, the ones who might return and build up experiences, are in a processional dwelling journey. Such visitors are similar to the more experienced participants, in that they involve themselves, attune their senses to some of the happenings, and thereby show that they care for a practice and for nonhuman and human others. The difference resides in the accumulated experience and therefore in the capacity to sense happenings and act accordingly.

Especially interesting here is that those who do not directly participate in the cortege (such as family members of the Nazarenes) often do support the participants by accompanying the participants before, during or after the processions. Also, tourists and other bystanders form an important part of the processional dwelling places and landscapes. By simply perceiving the happenings, a theatrical aspect is added to the practice, so that the processional practice can very well be conceived as a performance. Both types of spectators add sense to the processional participants' poetic dwelling.

6.7.4 Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

Processional places and landscapes are complex entities that come into being through various forms of care and skilled attunement. Mobile processional participants dwell near to

each other and others in changing environments. Nearness is the primary dimension of processional places and landscapes.

Places and landscapes

Processional participants dwell in and relate to places and landscapes, in which they are near to each other and others, and thereby stand in relationship to being as such. The latter form of nearness acquires in this case a specific spiritual depth. Through involvement in the deep, intense and complex landscapes of the Easter processions in Seville, “the embodied–sensory–affective–spiritual experience of landscape as surface is inflected by the experience of spiritual ‘surfaces’” (Maddrell and Della Dora 2013, p. 1122). Here, such surfaces but also those that belong to the images open up connections to the holy.

The processional landscapes in Seville are populated by many more than those dwelling in the transhumant landscapes (while transhumant landscapes correspond to a much more extensive land area). However, the concepts of place and landscape appear similarly. Places are interconnected and held together by a complex, dwelt landscape in which inhabitants share an overarching practice.

Care

The processional performances take place out of care: the brotherhood members come together in mutual support and belief, caring not only for themselves and each other, but also for the images and others. Care appears here also in an everyday, bodily sense. Many participants care for the processional practice in remembrance of ancestors and in continuation of a tradition. In taking care in a variety of ways, processional participants escape from the enframing in appreciation of the beauty and manifoldness of life. Processional participants access the suprahuman planes by preserving specific dwelling practices, while opening up to and caring for visitors who often have more fleeting experiences of dwelling.

Attunement

Processional participants dwell in nearness through attunement: the skilled focus on placial happenings. As participants attune to each other and others in the environment, familiarity with and in specific places grows, and understanding of ritual details and happenings (from costume materiality to the ways in which particular fleets move) increases. Processional participants attend in thought and in flesh to the complexity of the changing places and landscapes, whereby intimacies and affects fill the atmosphere.

In this chapter I have furthered an understanding of processional places and landscapes. I have been able to do so, by framing dwelling in a set of NRT-inspired research themes. By doing so, I have been able to uncover similarities in practices that at first sight might seem distinctly different. Below, I develop a conclusion to this thesis.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Currently, many people are forced to live their lives in cramped worlds which offer them little or no imaginative relief because of the economic circumstance, the narrow margins of what they are allowed to think by what they have been taught [...] Yet, [...] very many struggle to express something more than just resignation and inconsolability, often against themselves. They may value a certain conviviality, demonstrate hope, resolution, and a kind of dignity, even in the midst of melancholy. That is surely something remarkable, given most people's restricted circumstances and prospects – and it must surely be something worth nurturing. Indeed, some do go further still. And in that process, they may strike out on to new practical-imaginative territories (Thrift 2008, pp. 20-21).

The way in which I have developed a notion of dwelling has opened up possibilities for the study of the depth and richness of human beings' relationships with places and landscapes, and with being as such. Such a notion of dwelling also shows that although the enframing (3.2) might influence the lives of more and more people, other understandings of life in places and landscapes are possible both in theory and in practice. In the case studies I have looked at rich dwelling practices, which are definitive of poetic dwelling, as they open up the manifoldness of being.

In section 7.1 I reflect on the ways in which I have related a developing understanding of dwelling with the research themes in the fieldwork. I reflect on the thesis as a research exercise and indicate key findings in section 7.2.

7.1 Discussion of the research themes

The reflections that I propose here are not aimed at generalisation. For example, seasonality appears to be important in the poetic dwelling of herding and processional communities I have studied. Yet, this does not mean that this is necessarily so for poetic dwelling of human beings elsewhere, where other elements might come to the fore. In many situations, human beings might even, in McHugh's (2007) words, "dwell un-poetically" (see also Obrador Pons 2003).

7.1.1 Post-humanism: human being and the nonhuman

In an attempt to move beyond Modern subject-thinking and several sorts of humanism that privilege the human ontologically over Others, posthumanism follows a more-than-human philosophy (involving a specific focus on the nonhuman). In posthumanist approaches, human and the nonhuman beings are not separate entities of enquiry (Simonsen 2013, p. 20); they are acknowledged to share the same lifeworld (Ingold 2000). In what follows in this subsection, I look back at the way in which I have linked dwelling and posthumanism in the case studies.

Human and nonhuman dwelling

Initially, my aim was to approach dwelling practices. While designing the fieldwork's research strategy, I took the decision to focus on the dwelling practices of human beings (rather than considering nonhuman dwelling) for two reasons. On the one hand, in the dwelling literatures there is no consensus as to who or what dwells – apart from human beings. On the other hand, and more importantly, posthumanist writers often question the possibility of writing with authority about nonhuman being or dwelling. I therefore felt insufficiently confident to consider nonhuman dwelling.

Human dwelling with nonhumans

Although I did not concentrate so much on the dwelling *of* nonhuman beings, I did focus on human being dwelling *with* Others. Nonhuman beings are entangled in human dwelling. For this reason I disagree with Heidegger's separation between human being (who would dwell in the world), and animals and things (who would have different ways of being and different worlds). Instead, I followed Ingold, who in a broader project of redefining dwelling, understood nonhumans such as animals and things to be caught up in the currents of the (very same) lifeworld, thereby appreciating nonhuman beings' inherent capacity to affect (Ingold 2007, p. 1) and the human capacity to "learn-to-be-affected" (Latour 2004), in terms of which I indicate the contributions of this thesis below:

Processional participants dwell intimately with the images (and other things), while transhumant herders do so with the herd animals (but also with things and materials). Both

types of beings are fundamental in the coming-into-being of the investigated places and landscapes, in which all beings share the same lifeworld, which is why in the case studies no ontological priority should be given to either human or nonhuman beings. Herd animals and images affect the herders and processional participants deeply. Through an understanding of places and landscapes as being constituted out of flows between different kinds of beings, an affectual, intense and complex geography arises, in which human participants “learn-to-be-affected” (Latour 2004) by studying animal behaviour, ritual detail, and the ever-changing, rich environment, and relate actively and intimately with each other and other beings.

In the case studies, human beings’ relationships with nonhuman beings may be considered to be fundamental in poetic dwelling, as they open up a richness in practice, to the holy as a reference for worldly practices, and a nearness to being as such. My research has shown that studying the interactions between the human and nonhuman components of communities, and the environment, bring to light the range and specificities of dwelling, and thereby enrich place and landscape understandings. Dwelling and phenomenology more widely seem to sit well with posthumanist approaches, as they share a focus on things, the nonhuman and the more-than-human (Simonsen 2013, pp. 20-21).

Communal dwelling

In the Introduction (Chapter 1) I exposed my aim to move beyond Modernist categories such as “the social”, and especially the culture/nature and subject/object dyads that continue to suffocate place and landscape conceptualisations. Instead, I related dwelling to a monistic, posthumanist world. I have taken a step back and refrained from using such vocabularies and dualisms in approaching places and landscapes, and used categorical concepts such as *community* in reference to the human and nonhuman beings that share a particular practice. Processional and transhumant activities take place as human beings gather and share practices, ideas and beliefs. Human beings do not dwell alone, but with each other and with others that participate in the coming-into-being of places and landscapes. Categories such as “community” should not be thought of as a “social” or “cultural” entity: it is prior to Modern divisions and like the very concepts of place and landscape, it does not make sense to define it in terms of limits or boundaries, because there are none and the entity at stake continuously changes.

From Heidegger to Merleau-Ponty and Ingold, key writers on dwelling refrain from understanding human beings as ego's or subjects; they consider beings that in their being are caught up in the fabric of the world through practice, and thereby relate to each other and to others (Simonsen 2013, p. 22). Distancing myself in this respect from Wylie's understandings of dwelling in terms of individuals' relationships to the world (which lead to considerations of the relationships between selves and worlds), I propose human beings' dwelling is intrinsically communal.

7.1.2 Rhythm and embodiment

Many NRT-inspired writers understand the world as if consisting of a variety of incomplete, contingent and fleeting activities, feelings, experiences and temporalities. Dwelling, to the contrary, is said to arise out of time-depth, with dwelt landscapes being constituted out of repeated actions that took place in the past. Here, I draw conclusions on the possibilities for understanding communal dwelling through rhythm and embodiment.

Seasonal and daily rhythms

I have built on the relevance and appearance of rhythms as shown by Ingold (2000). The seasonal cycle has proven to shape the dwelling practices in both case studies thoroughly. Processional and transhumant communities also adapt to and dwell in other rhythms such as the daily cycle. My research has shown that rhythms are more than a context; they open up possibilities for communal practices and performances. The seasonal and daily rhythms, and the liturgical calendar (in the case of the processions), imply cyclicity, depth, specificity and richness in time; fundamental in the configuration of those particular instances of poetic dwelling.

Temporal rhythms and embodiment

Transhumant herders and processional participants interpret, accept and follow temporal rhythms by way of their dwelling practices. The seasonal practices and performances articulate a particular embodiment, through which the coming near of the processional and transhumance activities is felt intensely. When journeying, the herding and processional

practices are interactive, rhythmic performances of walking and stopping, lifting and bringing down, playing and resting. They are responsive to the performances of other human participants – and to the being of nonhuman elements – that share the same place. Through the participants' rhythmic activities, over time their bodies become pervaded with happenings and events.

The fieldwork has shown that one of the main facets enlacing human being, environment and time is the embodied act of remembrance. To actively be in a landscape is to remember, which is: "not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past" (Ingold 2000, p. 189). With the accumulation of experiences and in "learning-to-be-affected", herders and processional participants perceive things and events in the landscape that talk back and stimulate memory.

In the case studies, dwelling is about taking creative part in, and being taken up in rhythms such as the liturgical calendar, the seasonal and daily cycles, the weather, music, animal movements, the herding happenings and what I have called the processional "mini-rhythms", which are defined by repetition and possibility. Over time, experienced herders and processional participants increase their sensual capacities of feeling, following and responding to those rhythms. Rhythmicity is definitive of embodied being in the transhumant and processional places and landscapes.

Tempo and practice

The temporality that comes to the fore in both case studies is one without a beginning or an end, and can be understood only through the practice or the performance of events and the passing of time in its seasonal and daily cyclicity. The tempo characteristic of herding and processional places cannot be simplified to being either fast or slow. When first participating in the activities, I thought both practices were rather slow. Yet, tempo and movement are defined by the interplay between human and nonhuman participants (such as the images, the herd animals, and the wider environment), the seasonal and daily cycles, and other factors. Thus, the tempo of a dwelling practice can be compared only to the tempo of the same dwelling practice at other stages of the journey, not to the tempo of other practices (which depends on other factors).

Temporality is central to notions of dwelling: from Heidegger and Ingold, into recent works in human geography. My two case studies have shown that the temporalities and diverse rhythms of place and landscape practices are rich in both rural and urban spaces, and arise out of the complex interplay between human and nonhuman participants, and the environment. In the understanding of dwelling that I propose, place and landscape cannot be conceptualised as static entities, because they constantly become, together with changing communities, through different kinds of vital rhythms and dynamics.

7.1.3 Openness and relationality

One of NRT's main critiques of dwelling is that the concept is insufficiently relational. NRT approaches the world's relationality; the formation and disintegration of endless hybrids and multiple assemblages, through which the whole is exceeded (McFarlane 2011). Places and landscapes hardly come to the fore in such vocabularies, as they are understood to be territorially bounded, and therefore problematic. Dwelling would refer to a subjective, static, holistic being-in-place. Below, I consider in how far dwelling as a concept retains purchase in a relational world, and in what way openness and more fleeting experiences of dwelling might link to time-deepened dwelling.

Openness of communities and places

The herding and processional communities are open in various ways.¹⁰⁵ One can experience the transhumant and processional practices as a visitor and although it might take substantial effort and preparation, for many it is possible to become a participant in both cases (in the case of the processions, one needs to (re)affirm to Catholicism in a particular brotherhood). However, because of the time-deepened and complex character of the dwelling practices undertaken, the communities can be understood to be closed (for example, for most people it might be extremely difficult to participate in specific roles: to hold certain positions in the processions, or to have responsibility over a herd).

¹⁰⁵ In accepting my participation, the case studies' communities can be understood as relatively open entities. Other herding and processional communities are not as prone to receive visitors. Reflections on dwelling therefore do not necessarily apply to all herding and processional communities.

Both herding and processional places are open in that anybody can form part of the places that come into being. Whereas the countryside gives a sense of spatial freedom, one's being and movements in such "open" areas depend on the presence and actions of human and nonhuman others, as in the processional places.

[W]alking is a profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of others. Social relations are not enacted in situ but are paced out along the ground (Ingold and Vergunst 2008b, p. 1).

My research has shown that we can extend the cited idea above to herding and processional dwelling practices (which do not necessarily have to be "walked") and to the body as a whole rather than to just the feet. Relationally, both herding and processional places are complex configurations of connections and flows between participants, and between participants, others, and the environment.

Time-deepened relationality

Over the centuries, both processional and transhumant dwelling practices have left marks in their respective environments. Pathways, milestones, fleets, and images have been created, while other presences have been avoided or removed because of processions and transhumance. In a less material sense, bonds have grown over time between human beings, as knowledges and skills are passed over from generation to generation. Those who have passed away or those who are absent for another reason, are remembered. Bonds are also nurtured between the communities that share environments, and between herders and processional participants and others, which provides a basis for support. My research has shown that the dwelt herding and processional landscapes can be understood as complex configurations of those manifold relationships.

Fleeting dwelling

Instances of fleeting dwelling weave through the more poetic dwelling of experienced processional and transhumant participants, as people visit the communities. Depending on the involvement, care, and the times that visitors return, they might become poetic dwellers. Some visitors support the practices with experiences built up elsewhere. By simply

perceiving the performances, or waiting for the communities to pass by, bystanders pay respect which adds sense to the communities' poetic dwelling.

Wylie (2007, p. 182) argued that dwelling as a notion seems to be dependent and grounded in a rural, cyclical temporality. In both case studies a variety of cyclical rhythms are indeed fundamental to dwelling. Yet, such rhythms are not necessarily rural. And, if cyclical temporalities ground dwelling, that would not necessarily have to be problematical. The more fleeting instances of dwelling correspond to less poetic dwelling, but are at the same time definitive of, in this case, herding and processional dwelling places and landscapes.

7.1.4 Nearness: places and landscapes, attunement and care

The advent of NRT has taken place through a renewed emphasis on the performed, mobile, emotional and affectual character of life. Dwelling is often discarded in NRT-inspired writings, because it tends to be understood in a strict sense, as the practical involvement of human being in the world. However, I understand dwelling to be about the rich and manifold immersion of human beings in places and landscapes, involving notions of journeying, spirituality, and mobility. Poetic dwelling takes place where human beings dwell near to each other and others, thereby reaching out the gods and being as such (1.1, 3.1, 3.2). Here, I reflect upon the possibilities of integrating such a conceptualisation of dwelling into a NRT framework. What entities become places and landscapes when understanding nearness as the primary geographical indicator of human beings' dwelling in places and landscapes?

Places and landscapes

As stated at the outset of this thesis in relation to the work of Casey, people are always in place, also when "on the move". Herding and processional communities dwell in and relate to places while journeying: they are always already connected to places when traveling slowly on foot or on horseback through changing environments, thereby sensing (dis)continuities, and remembering happenings. And even when participants (visitors for example) journey through environments they do not experience as fully, they still form part of the places through involvement.

What has come to the fore in the case studies can generally be understood as poetic dwelling, which is about rich and complex relationships in and with specific places. I have shown that *nearness* is an appropriate concept to understand the dimension that captures the degree of intensity of this enlacement (3.2, 3.3, 5.5, 6.6). As Heidegger suggested, nearness does not need to be a purely sensed, local happening (Heidegger 1971a, p. 154). It captures the way in which human beings are, and stand in relationship with other human and nonhuman beings, and to being as such. The latter form of nearness acquires in the case of the processional places and landscapes a specific spiritual depth. In the transhumant places and landscapes the nearness at play can be characterised by a particular richness in practice.

Herding and processional places exist and are embedded in a broader landscape.¹⁰⁶ Such places are always necessarily relational: they are at the same time configurative of and form part of the broader, time-deepened landscape. Thus, the herding and processional landscapes give meaning to and define specific places, but are also constituted out of their various places.

To approach landscape through “dwelling and doing” (Olwig 2008) is to understand landscape as the land “shaped” by communal doing or dwelling. As such, it may be understood as a placial entity: “as a woven material created through the merging of body and senses that occurs in dwelling” (Olwig 2008, p. 84). This sense of landscape is also tied to the Germanic understanding of landscape as the land itself, which is very close to the concepts of *area* and *region* (Wylie 2007, p. 21). Landscape as a region: not the common region described in Regional Geography in the early 20th century but the region as the gathering-place of places and as the source of life. Olwig highlights there is also a more abstract sense to landscape, as he looks at the suffix “-scape”:

-*Scape* is also, however, cognate with the suffix *-ship*, which gives the concrete a more abstract quality in the sense of a condition or quality as in ‘friendship’, ‘scholarship’, or as ‘something showing, exhibiting, or embodying a quality or state’, as with the case of ‘township’ or ‘fellowship’ (Olwig 2008, p. 82).

Especially through the contacts between brotherhoods and processional participants, for example in informal and formal networks, the processional landscape of Seville articulates

¹⁰⁶ To think of a single place would be like thinking of a single human being in the world.

such bonds between the dozens of brotherhoods and tens of thousands *cofrades*. The herding landscapes, although much less dense in this sense, may also be characterised by bonds between herders and herding communities. Indirectly, all such conditional relationships arise out of dwelling, and shape transhumant and processional landscapes.

Care

In the case studies I have focused on poetic dwelling and explored fleeting instances of transhumant and processional dwelling, thereby eschewing a sedentary understanding of dwelling. The dwelling practices I studied have been mobile ever since. What has also remained the same throughout the centuries is that those practices take place out of care: the participants take care of themselves first of all in a bodily sense, either on horseback or on foot. The herders support each other's livelihoods, and the brotherhood members come together in mutual support, and shared belief, and practice. In both case studies, people dwell in remembrance of ancestors. They finally also care for Others: the herders care for the well-being of the herd animals, and the processional participants take care of the images.

In both case studies, human beings' relationships with nonhumans (which might be characterised by intensities of involvement and time-depth) are fundamental to poetic dwelling. In taking care in various ways, poetic dwellers escape from the enframing as they care for the beauty and manifoldness of life.¹⁰⁷ In both case studies participants access suprahuman planes by preserving specific dwelling practices, while opening up to visitors who have more fleeting experiences of dwelling. As such, poetic dwellers take care of those interested in the possibilities of life outside of efficiency-thinking. Visits can lead to (in)direct support, or to a more poetical involvement over time.

Attunement

One of the ways in which poetic dwellers are near to each other and others is through attunement: the skilled focus on specific placial happenings, through which communal and

¹⁰⁷ The fact that many processional participants rehearse, means that they escape only temporarily from their daily live pattern, while the experienced herders continue their practice as such. In this sense, the cow herders might be understood to *practise* herding, while the processional participants *perform* ritually.

environmental relationships take shape. In the processional places and landscapes, experienced participants come to recognise, know, and relate with processional placial happenings and details, which remain less accesible to other participants, such as visitors. Similarly, in the herding places and landscapes experienced herders come to engage with herd animals and placial happenings. Rather than ceremonial detail, animal behaviour is studied contextually, as the herd moves through different environments.

To be attuned is to attend bodily and thoughtfully to the complexity of the world, out of care. By being attuned and attuning each other to the places and the placial happenings, intimacies and affects fill the atmosphere in various ways and intensities. Through such attunement richly dwelt places and landscapes open up: lifeworlds that express an ecology through which one abandons the Cartesian dualisms and decentres the self, thereby valuing the agency of the other (Plumwood 1993, 2002).

7.2 Reflections on the research undertaken

In this section I reflect on the research undertaken, and more specifically on the questions that shaped this research, on the thesis structure, on the methods that shaped the fieldwork, and on the fieldwork itself. While taking into account the conclusion of this thesis, I reflect on the potential impact of this work – on transhumance and processional places and landscapes, and on what other work could be done.

I am content with the broad structure of the thesis, although I would have undertaken the research differently if I would confront myself once again with the same initial questions. I think this is necessarily true for most (if not all) PhD students, as the initial context leads to experiences and knowledge, which retrospectively would change the questions that might be asked, and the way in which they would be handled. The thesis structure is something that my supervisors and I discussed several times. Towards the submission of the draft thesis, I changed the thesis structure as planned at an early stage of the thesis. Overall I am satisfied with those changes and I remain confident that reconsidering the way in which, and the degree to which Heidegger's and Ingold's understandings of dwelling are used in recent geography, has been relevant. I defended the idea that dwelling is occasionally discarded too easily, without substantial reflection on its inherent values and possibilities.

Yet, I underestimated the breadth and depth of literatures that concern the research questions.

I am satisfied with the way in which I put forward the research strategy – by developing the research triangle (research ontology, epistemology and methodology) of this particular research. This development strengthened the thesis in terms of research validity, and enabled me to reflect on research positionality and – reflexivity.

In terms of the case study selection, I am happy to have found different, yet rich aspects of dwelling in transhumant and processional places and landscapes. Although my interest lies in the vastness of human practices invested in landscape: the diverse forms of practice that the landscape holds (Bataille 1989, Rose 2002), I selected case studies with a single overarching practice rather than bringing all kinds of different individual and communal activities together – which would have added an extra layer of complexity to the conceptualisation of dwelling in places and landscapes.

The fieldwork constituted a true challenge, as I discovered lifeworlds largely unknown to me. This also made the research interesting to me personally, and I think the fieldwork constituted a fruitful framework for the development of reflections on dwelling. The fact that the case studies were “new” to me also provided a pathway for the consideration of fleeting dwelling. Yet, I could have done more to learn the skills that are undertaken in the case studies. In terms of the herding case study, during or after the first visit I should have noticed that learning how to properly ride a horse, and that getting acquainted with other everyday herding techniques such as knotting ropes, would have made me feel of more use and would have improved the conditions under which I could relate to the herders, and I might have more fully captured the emotions and affects that characterise the transhumant and processional places and landscapes that I have investigated. In the processional case study, I did not satisfactorily understand the songs and prayers of the Lent’s masses, and of the crucifixion masses that were undertaken in substitution of the processions (unfortunately, it rained two consecutive years, and the particular processions I planned to participate in, were cancelled). In hindsight, I should have inscribed myself as a Nazarene in more than one brotherhood, although the probability of two cancelled processions in a row was not substantial.

In terms of the potential impacts of this thesis: it might serve the reader to reflect on dwelling, places and landscapes in general. And, although this thesis has unravelled some key themes that characterise processional and herding topographies, it was not envisioned to have – and does not have – a direct, substantial impact on the lives of herders and processional participants. This is disappointing when considering the hardship and marginality that characterise the transhumant voyages. But, as I have developed an understanding of transhumant and processional lifeworlds, I am in the position to consider what further research might be undertaken:

- Research on the problems and challenges of transhumant herders, targeted specifically at the development of national, regional, and local policies in support of this activity (the needs of the transhumant herders are rather straightforward, but have hitherto hardly been satisfied).
- Research on motivations behind, benefits from, and especially experiences during processions seems worthwhile, to enrich the understanding of processional places and landscapes.
- Research on dwelling involving different contexts. It seems interesting to use a dwelling approach in places and landscapes in which several different kinds of communities co-exist or cooperate, to approach yet another kind of manifoldness of and in places and landscapes. It also seems interesting to investigate notions of dwelling in highly globalised, urban contexts, in which most people spend their lives.

7.3 Key contributions to academic knowledge

Below I set out the key contributions of this thesis to academic knowledge. I do so in terms of theoretical debates on dwelling, research approach and methods, and case studies.

Theoretical debates on dwelling

Seminal dwelling literatures are essentially topological and provide a fruitful depth and complexity that can be useful for place and landscape conceptualisations. Most of the

geographical enquiries that considered notions of dwelling have not enquired in-depth into those possibilities, neglecting in a way the intellectual pedigree of dwelling.¹⁰⁸

In several senses original dwelling literature chimes with non-representational theory. Being and becoming are mutually constituent ideas that form the backbone of dwelling. Ingold's and Heidegger's topologies align with studies that conceptualise places and landscapes as processes (using verbs such as spacing, landscaping, and placing rather than nouns). In original notions of dwelling, places and landscapes are unbounded entities and cannot be delimited territorially. Furthermore, notions of dwelling are not limited by an authentic / inauthentic dualism or connotations of rootedness, and are not inherently static, nostalgic or backward-looking in any straightforward way.

However, and although Heidegger's notions of the fourfold, the Event, and the situation are highly relational, it is difficult to understand them as entities open to external factors, while everyday, embodied interactions with modern technology seem to displace the fourfold. Apart from that, Heidegger's separation between human beings who dwell and die in lifeworlds, and animals that live and perish in environments, seems problematic. Ingold redefined dwelling and placed it into a more equalitarian paradigm in which human and nonhumans dwell in similar ways and share the same lifeworlds. Dwelling must be understood more directly in term of openness, relationality, and the non-human.

Research approach and methods

An ethnographical case study research approach enabled me to approach different forms of dwelling of human participants in processional and transhumant herding communities. As indicated above in the general reflection on the research, I made a sustained attempt to accomplish a certain degree of observant participation, rather than a focus on the recording of individual research participants' voices. This means that this thesis holds little citations, but preserves the communal voice.

¹⁰⁸ One of the reasons why Heidegger's writings on dwelling have not been considered exhaustively, might be that translations of several later works into the English language have appeared only recently. In-depth interpretations of Heideggerian dwelling are undertaken by academics such as Malpas (2000, 2008), Young (2000), Elden (2001, 2005, 2006), and Mugerauer (2008). These authors have used original texts in German as well as more recently published English translations.

The usage of a “make-do methodology” was necessary because of the different practices undertaken in the two case studies. This methodology is a good option to mitigate missing data when comparing one case with another. Making comparisons between different data sets was not ideal, but not too problematic and definitely enlightening.

Case studies

I have been able to unravel some of the key issues that characterise different forms of human beings dwelling in transhumant and processional communities, opening up a topological complexity and depth:

Human and nonhuman beings are interdependent and should be considered as entities that, as Ingold’s dwelling perspective proposed, share the same world. Defining dwelling communities helps in approaching the relationships between beings, and to take a step back from Modern thinking, to avoid subject / object and culture / nature dualisms. I have done so not only in rural environments, but also in urban ones. Dwelling is far from a static, individualistic, or exclusionary undertaking; it takes place communally and dynamically.

Dwelling is about taking creative part in, and being taken up in rhythms, which are defined by repetition and possibility. The liturgical calendar, the seasons, the daily cycle, weather, music, the herding happenings and what I have called the processional “mini-rhythms”, affect human beings and are thoroughly felt. Over time, experienced herders and processional participants increase their sensual capacities of feeling, following and responding to those rhythms. A wide range of rhythms and temporalities define dwelling in (rural) herding and (urban) processional places and landscapes.

Processional and herding communities and spaces can be considered to be open in several ways. Dwelling should not be considered to happen “locally”. By considering the non-representational contents of dwelling (Heidegger 1971a, p. 154), and linking dwelling with notions of corporeal vulnerability, performative praesentia, and continuing bonds, dwelling in herding and processional places may be considered to complicate or surpass locales, and integrates absent presences, in both rural and urban contexts.

Nearness is as an appropriate concept to approach the dimension that captures the degree of intensity of the enlacement between human beings and places or landscapes. Processional participants and transhumant herders dwell in the nearness of each other, others and the gods, through attunement and care. A focus on poetic dwelling opens up the richness and depth of places and landscapes, and allows for the reconsideration of notions of journey, space, movement, region, and temporality.

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Interviews and focus group discussions

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