to other districts in the Mongolian countryside, the ability to source these resources locally and trade in them with city clients is held to be unique. Alongside these means of subsistence, however, other ideas as to what the land has to offer also clamber for attention. Archaeologists have been excavating ancient graves in the area, gold miners are scraping away at valleys, causing rivers to become polluted, and a non-governmental organization (NGO) is drawing up boundaries for a National Park. New land privatization laws in Mongolia are also bringing to the fore questions about access to resources and who exactly is entitled to them.

The Buriad are very aware that the land they currently live in contains multiple resources that must be managed carefully in order to remain sustainable. For each claim, however, the history of the people who used to live in this landscape weighs heavily beneath people’s feet. As ideas about access to resources are debated, questions about who actually owns the land become vitally important. In this context, knowledge of the landscape’s pre-socialist past is increasingly valued as claims to different resources jostle for recognition. Because the Buriad are relative newcomers to the area in which they currently reside, they lack knowledge of the landscape’s history and of its past inhabitants. Local shamans emphasize that although decisions concerning access to resources are often determined from outside, such resources can only really be accessed once relations with the invisible land masters, who take the form of previous human inhabitants, have been established. They claim to have established contact with these past inhabitants who have endorsed the Buriad as ‘good’ people who should remain here. Through this kind of endorsement, they go some way towards legitimating their own authority in this place. No longer is it dominated by a history of Mongolian statehood from which they are excluded, or the location of a crumbling Soviet project; it is a place in which they are able to hold authority on their own terms.

Movement in the landscape

Living at Renchin’s encampment, I often had the sense that our activities were similar to those on board a ship. In the mornings, once the cows had been milked, and we were sipping our first cups of milky tea, we discussed what needed to be done during the day. A common kind of conversation would start with Renchin saying to no one in particular, ‘The large enclosure needs repair. I’ll go there.’ Someone would respond that they could source the wood needed for the fence. Another might add that they would collect some essential tools of water from the river or things people took on various tasks that would join Delgermaa or her tasks were not always carried out. Some crucial piece of equipment would be missing or not to be sourced. In such instances, one had to leave on some errand (sometimes several days later) to complete it. As we spent a lot of time in their absence and made sure we brought to the household, e.g., at the kiosk in the district, it became increasingly difficult. At one point we were even snarled up as burying a bottle in the ground or as breaking a barrel. Despite delays and mistakes, there was no real difference to the overall flow of the day. In the evenings, when we gathered around the fireplace, surrounded us, literally, in the form of sacks of flour and sugar that hung from the top of the tent like a huge mast, the canvas that sheltered us from the elements.

In this description I hint at sea and the practice of pastures tell me, suggests that seasonal movements are always very much pre-determined. I know, for example, who exactly we would go Sunday. Before we could depart, the movement of a vessel at sea, as with the encampment, people have to be completed. Another food purchased, and someone had to do so in the city. The similarity is that during the movement of a vessel at sea, as with the encampment, people have to stay still somewhere in a new place. While different seas are being grazed for the herds, specific places in particular places. In this sense the opportunity for movement.

Other anthropologists were
MANAGING THE LANDSCAPE'S RESOURCES

The ability to source these events is held to be unique. Another idea as to what the archeologists have evidenced is the scraping away at valleys, establishing a new governmental organization in the Park. New land privatization questions about access are currently live in contains society in order to remain sustainable, the people who used to live in the area. As ideas about access are historically owned the land becomes the landscape's pre-socialist resources. We received the area in which they resided. The landscape's history and of its surroundings. Although decisions concerning the outside, such resources have been the invisible land masters, such projects, have been established. The past inhabitants who have not yet to remain here. Through this development, people legitimize their own society by a history of Mongolian pastoralism. The location of a crumbled tent is to hold authority on their

The sense that our activities were evenings, once the cows had returning, milky tea, we discussed the common kind of conversation in particular. The large enclosures, they could respond that they could. I might add that they would collect some essential tool from a nearby family and fetch the daily supply of water from the river on the way. In such a way, plans were formed and people took on various tasks for the day. If young children were around, they would join Delgermaa or the other women in some task. Inevitably, these tasks were not always carried out as planned. Things were often delayed. Some crucial piece of equipment needed repair, or funds for oil or petrol had to be sourced. In such instances it was common for men in the household to leave on some errand in the mornings and return home much later (sometimes several days later), obviously drunk. As women of the encampment we spent a lot of time getting on with what tasks could be completed in their absence and made sure to hide any vodka bottles that had been brought to the household, either as a gift from some passing visitor or bought at the kiosk in the district centre. Finding places to hide vodka became increasingly difficult. At one point during the summer we even went as far as burying a bottle in the ground and placing another in a bag in the yoghurt barrel. Despite delays and minor hiccups, which never seemed to make much difference to the overall flow of things anyway, things moved forward. In the evenings, when we gathered inside the house, the fruits of our labour surrounded us, literally, in the form of large barrels of yoghurt and cream, and sacks of flour and sugar that were placed along the wall. Trays of drying curds were balanced on beams, and pieces of meat hung from hooks. The chimney, attached to the stove in the centre, reached up and out of the top of the tent like a huge mast, while the beams supported the layers of felt and canvas that sheltered us from the wind and rain.

In this description I hint at the similarity between the passage of a ship at sea and the practice of pastoral herding. In saying this, I do not mean to suggest that seasonal movements are not planned or known. Destinations are always very much pre-determined. In the late summer of 2007 everyone knew, for example, who exactly would be moving to the autumn pasture on Sunday. Before we could depart (nuuu, lit. move), however, certain tasks had to be completed. Another four days of milking were needed, flour had to be purchased, and someone had to come and collect the barrels of cream for sale in the city. The similarity is, then, concerned not so much with the movement of a vessel at sea, as with the way in which, when attached to an encampment, people have to accomplish certain tasks in order to move to a new place. While different seasonal encampments provide different kinds of grazing for the herds, specific seasonal activities also have to be completed in particular places. In this sense, it is the tasks, once completed, that provide the opportunity for movement.

Other anthropologists writing about Mongolia have also noted the
similarity between pastoral herding and a ship at sea. Chabros (1988) suggests that the Mongols do not see relocation to different pastures as movement as such. Rather, she argues, it is the surrounding landscape that may be thought of as moving while the house remains centred and stable in different places (Chabros 1988). As we have seen, parts of the house and its contents are relocated, so that a continuity is afforded in different places. Encampments are also marked with tethering posts (Bur. tsirig), enclosures, outhouses, and buried placentas that mark the space as attached to particular people. Pedersen has also pointed out that nomadism may be perceived as a sailing-like activity (Pedersen 2007a: 317). While people move to different locations, in one sense they are not moving at all, for the whole point about nomadic migration is for the world to repeat itself: one moves to maintain stability and sameness (Pedersen: 2007a). In such a way, we may speak of the nomadic landscape as ‘organised according to the constellation of centres that exist within it’ (Pedersen 2007a: 316). If certain locations in the landscape can be viewed as centres or points, then how does one perceive the vast unmarked territory that is not inhabited in this way? Pedersen (2007a) suggests that this landscape may be perceived as a ‘void’. The ‘void’, he states, ‘comprises the chunks of space which exist outside the above grid of planets and gravitation points [such as household encampments and ovoo] … it is upon these disparate chunks of unmarked and unqualified space that the nomads’ livestock are put to grass, and across which they themselves must move when visiting one another, and when migrating’ (Pedersen 2007a: 316). Here, the landscape’s unmarked territory provides the background by which a constellation of various points or centres is foregrounded and linked.

This tension between movement across a void and fixed locations in a centred stillness is marked in many ways. Alongside movement to different seasonal places, people also move away from the house and set out for other places. For example, at certain times of the year, people disperse to the mountains (uulmuu) to go hunting, or nut and berry collecting, to look after children who are studying at school in the district centre, or to nearby cities to find work and employment. Sometimes, however, the ‘void’ that comprises the unmarked territory, or the ‘sea’ that transports people, becomes a force to be reckoned with, forcing people to pause and tend to it in various ways.

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1 Pedersen notes ‘Some of these centres—such as the nomadic households (ail)—are moving, whereas others—such as the sacred stone cairns (ovoo) found on top of mountain passes—remain fixed. [In such a way] a given nomadic household forms part of a sort of planetary system, whose individual and collective movements during the nomadic migration cycle are determined by the mutual positioning of each nomadic singularity as well as by certain gravitation points, such as the ovoo’ (Pedersen 2007a: 316).

2 Of course, Western concepts of landscapes have been appropriated by other Mongols, it is common to see an owner or spirit. The landscape, they actually call it. People’s experiences of land are not always inadvertently traversing it, but rather they move across a place where things happen.
Chabros (1988) suggests that pastures as movement as an integral part of the landscape that may be thought of as a dynamic and unstable in different places and its contents are relocated to different places. Encampments are mobile shelters, fences, enclosures, outbuildings, and so on, are dedicated to particular people. They may be perceived as a sailing-vessel that moves to different locations, but the real point about nomadic landscapes to maintain stability and balance. When we may speak of the nomadic landscape, we are referring to a network of centres that exist in the landscape. Hansen (2007a) suggests that the land is a 'void', he states, 'comprises a rigid grid of planets and stars and [we] ... it is upon an ordered space that the nomads' world revolves'. People themselves must move when they require. Here, the land is a ground on which a complex and linked movement is carried out. Encampments and fixed locations in a mobile movement to different places and set out for other people disperse to the mountains, to look after children, or to nearby cities to sell their goods. The 'void' that comprises the land is a void for people, becomes a force that people tend to it in various ways. Permanent and nomadic households are moved on top of mountain passes and the nomadic migration cycle is part of a sort of planetary singularity as well as by certain

People's experiences of the landscape can become unpredictable if they inadvertently traverse into 'hard or difficult places' (hatun gazar), or stumble across a place where the past inhabitants of the landscape are said to reside.

An animate landscape

Anthropological works on landscape have frequently stressed that the term 'landscape' has its origins in a genre of northern European painting that viewed the land as something to be observed from a distance (Bender 1993, 2001; Hirsch 1995; Humphrey 1995; Leach 2004; Olwig 1993; Willerslev forthcoming). Anthropologists have argued that this perspective has been characterizing anthropological concepts of 'landscape' as a 'scape', 'territory', or 'vista'. Bender (1993), for example, notes that we should be mindful of the fact that in other places vision may not be the most significant aspect of the landscape. She critiques the emphasis on a visual and static 'scape' in which the observer stands back from the thing observed (Bender 2001). Instead, she stresses that landscape is a process, whereby action rather than sight creates spaces, which are always in a process of construction and reconstruction. Land, then, is not to be viewed as somehow complete and stable. People hold different ideas about the landscape and revise these as they move within it.

Among the Buriad, as indeed among all Mongol groups, the idea that the land is created through the passive receipt of our gaze is also unfamiliar. Landscapes are not simply vistas or 'scapes' to be viewed from a distance. While encampments may be fixed points linked across a territory or void, at times this void is filled with various kinds of agency that need attending. In relation to this, Humphrey (1995) has noted that 'it is not contemplation of the land (gazar) that is important [in Mongolian culture] but interaction with it, as something which energizes far greater than the human' (Humphrey 1995: 135). The idea that interaction with the land energizes people is closely intertwined with the animistic belief of shamanism, whereby landscapes are attributed various 'spirits' (see Chapter 2; Humphrey and Sneath 1999). Like other Mongols, it is common for Buriads to claim that things in nature have an owner or spirit. These spirits do not simply 'dwell' in places in the landscape, they actually constitute the physical world (Humphrey 1995).

Of course, Western concepts of landscape are not solely defined by distanced objectivity, and landscapes have been apprehended in diverse and varied ways in art and elsewhere (cf. Ingold 2000, 2008).
such a perspective, places are made up of specific formations and contours that are more akin to 'agentive artefacts' that affect humans just as much as humans affect them.

Different relations are fostered between people and the land's 'spirits' or 'masters' to manage the way people are able to utilize resources. For instance, in Chapter 2 we saw that it is common for people to honour local land masters at mountain ceremonies in order to receive the fecundity and protection that allows them to live and rear animals at certain encampments. The landscape surrounding the encampment should be plentiful (bugantai gazar), so that people and animals can prosper, and numerous criteria must be met before one chooses a place to settle. I was told that, having selected a place, a person should dig a small hole in the ground and then place a handful of rice at the bottom. Filling the hole up again with the extracted soil, if a small mound forms above ground level the place is safe to settle on. Sometimes the land does not accept one living there. Choosing a new place to settle one year for their autumn pasture, in between two hills in a small opening in the forest, Rencin explained that they were surprised to find that their usually healthy cattle had started to become ill and some died. In consultation with the diviner, they learnt that they should move immediately as the place was full of 'quick, mobile, and violent spirits' (giidletsi, dogshin gazar, lit. a cruel running track place) who rushed through particular areas in the landscape and caused their animal fortune to disperse. They rallied together extended family, and fifteen people carried their wooden house over the hills to another location.

It is generally thought that removing, or taking things, from the landscape without making offerings to the land masters of that place may result in punishment. But some places are considered harder, harsher, more violent and severe than others (taanghii gazar, giidletsi, dogshin gazar, hattu gazar, bugai gazar, chöttgörii gazar, hünd shirriin, dogshin gazar). It is said that dogs and cattle know such a place and will not lie down there. Young children, too, can see 'bad invisible things' (mun hii yimi) that gather in these places and become scared when they pass through them. Chopping down trees, hunting wild animals, or even just taking a stone when travelling through such a place may provoke the invisible agents (ad, chöttgörii) who reside there. At a place called the White Rock, for example, it was rumoured that a man had been cursed by the local land masters because he had inadvertently taken a stone from one of the rock's caves, and this caused his children to become seriously ill.

I spent several summers learning how to navigate a small boat in the Baltic Sea. Movement in the Stockholm archipelago requires a three-dimensional awareness of the sea and one must understand or more of the 40,000 visible or submerged rocks that are the only place that is visible (islands, shores, cliffs, rocks, and levels), to allow for the potential movement in the seascape. People who are mobile, running across the landscape, provide navigational markers in the form of cairns or encampments, and a series of 'running tracks' where stones are placed at certain rocks, these 'running tracks' are similar to the game of land-void, the landscape becomes more complex and dynamic. With skill, people to move and attending to relations with the landscape, it is believed that the landscape becomes an element which punctuate a void.

Hunting: movement and place

At certain times of the year people tend to represent important parts of the landscape. After Ashinga to purchase rare deer would return to the heart, fur, and testicles of the male deer. Badgers are antlers of various kinds (for their头) and are frequently relying on

Chabros (1988) has examined the idea of passage from one valley to the next, which defines seasonal encampments (Chabros, 1988: 17) as the steppe, or from the country to the forest. The idea of centre and periphery is also continued in the second kind of passage, is one that occurs in the forest.
MANAGING THE LANDSCAPE’S RESOURCES

Dimensional awareness of space. Navigation may be done in relation to one or more of the 40,000 visible islands, but one must also be aware of the many submerged rocks that are concealed beneath the sea’s surface. Attending to that which is visible (islands), as well as that which is invisible or concealed (submerged rocks, which also vary in their threat according to shifts in water levels), allows for the movement of one’s vessel to resonate with ideas of movement in the ‘seascape’ that is the landscape for the Burjat. Herds are mobile, running across the landscape’s surface, several points jut out and provide navigational markers. These markers may be visible sites, such as cairns or encampments, but others may be invisible, such as the dangerous ‘running tracks’ where undesirable spirits rush. Like currents or submerged rocks, these ‘running tracks’ divert and play havoc with people’s journeys. Rather than a flat surface, apprehended from a distance and constituting a void, the landscape becomes a field of interpretation that is choppy, variable, and dynamic. With skill, this flux of different elements may be utilized, allowing people to move and benefit from the resources in a given terrain. In attending to relations with land masters and various landscape spirits, we see that the landscape becomes not one of a passage between discrete centres which punctuate a void, but an interactive field of engagement.3

Hunting: movement across spatial territories

At certain times of the year, MongolianmiddlemenfromUlaanbaatarclaimingto representimportantChineseand Korean businessmen arrive in Ashingato purchase rare animal parts from local hunters. These include the heart, fur, and testicles of the bear, and the testicles, gallbladder, and antlers of the male deer. Badger, sable, and wild boar parts are also desirable, as are antlers of various kinds (so-called ‘blood’ and ‘dry’ antlers). Younger couples are frequently relying on their parents to tend to their animals, as they

3Chabros(1988)hasexamined Mongoliaconcepts of space in terms of ideas of passage. First, there is the passage from one kind of space to another, such as that leading from one river valley to the next, which defines the people of one territory, or the movement to different seasonal encampments (Chabros 1988: 31). Secondly, there is the passage from the forest to the steppe, or from the countryside to the district centre/city. Certain sources of wealth and fortune exist in domains characterized by this second kind of passage. For pastoralists, Chabros explains, wealth is dependent on accumulation of herds and concentrations, pointing to the idea of centre and periphery (Chabros 1988: 32). In contrast, hunting wealth, associated with this second kind of passage, is concerned with exchange between the hunter and the hunted in the forest.