

INTRODUCTION

This book is a historical ethnography of the form life has for the Chagga-speaking people of Rombo District on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. It is a language-oriented ethnography that takes as its focus the use of vernacular concepts and claims, and attends to how these entail, entangle and engage things and activities. The book is not concerned with matters of symbols or signification, or the ways in which words and statements name and represent objects and situations. Instead, it explores the constitutive relationships between the linguistic and non-linguistic, and investigates the mutuality between semantic, social and material phenomena.

At the heart of the book are notions and activities that featured prominently in the event that took place in the plains below Rombo in 2008. In particular, the account centres on the notion of *ikaa* that I translate as ‘dwelling’ and the different yet imbricating activities that take place in and around the homestead (*kaa*), which derives its term from this notion. As I will show, these activities transfer and transform ‘life force’ or ‘bodily power’ (*horu*) between humans, livestock and crops, which enables and constitutes their existence, capacity, health and well-being. Pursuing the different permutations of *horu*, the book shows how their transfers and transformations involve or engage a plethora of places, substances, conduits, beings and processes whose terms derive or unfold from the notions of *moo* or ‘life’. By tracing and outlining these concepts, the book reveals how dwelling involves and concerns efforts to channel capacity in ways that realize life in a particular way.

My concern with vernacular concepts and claims is not an attempt to portray or propose a unique and distinct ‘Chagga culture’. After all, it is now a commonplace in Africanist anthropology that broader social, political and economic processes embroil and connect even the most remote settings (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1993, 1997; Ferguson 1999; Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Hutchinson 1996; Moore and Vaughan 1994; Piot 1999; Weiss 1996; West 2005). Indeed,

it is perhaps the case to an even greater extent for Kilimanjaro than for most other places on the continent. At least, an important impetus for this insight emerged from Sally Falk Moore's (1986) 'time-oriented anthropology', which reveals the longstanding involvement of Kilimanjaro in regional trade, and details the political and economic transformations wrought by colonial rule and coffee cash-cropping for its banana-farming and livestock-rearing inhabitants. On that basis, Moore challenges and escapes the confines of bounded and bounding analytics, like 'society', 'culture' and 'tribe', and instead proposes a processual approach, where 'diagnostic events' and cases are described and combined so that an 'ethnography of the present' reveals the historical transformations and long-term effects of large-scale processes (Moore 1987, 1993, 2005a, 2005b). Unsurprisingly, Moore's conception has been formative for subsequent work in this area, where researchers draw on her analysis and extend her approach to explore the effects of missions, monetized economies and market conditions, as well as education, changing gender relations and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, for social life in Kilimanjaro (Hasu 1999; Pietilä 2007; Setel 1999; Stambach 2000).

In different yet related ways, these researchers unfold events into dynamics of longer reach and greater depth, and thus provide valuable material and conceptual contributions regarding the significance and impact of historical developments and the various phenomena they involve. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the notions of *ikaa*, *horu* and *moo* are not to be found in any of these studies. A perhaps obvious reason for this is the fact that Moore and her successors have opted to conduct their work through Swahili and English, rather than the Chagga vernacular.¹ It may also be that their preoccupations with larger-scale and longer-term dynamics eclipse the more mundane concepts of everyday life and regional interactions of a more immediate kind, like that which took place between people in the plains below Rombo in 2008. At the same time, it also seems that the interest for such dynamics has shifted anthropological attention away from issues such as settlement patterns, inheritance practices and bridewealth prestations that are central to these notions. Yet the main reason is probably the fact that these are elusive notions that are easily overlooked and even harder to grasp. Thus, Henrietta Moore (1999: 19) argues, 'All the societies of the region are concerned with the creative life forces of the world and their manifestations through fertility and reproduction. Yet, anthropologists, with some exceptions, have found it difficult to understand the nature of these life forces'. In line with her claim, it took me a while to discover the notions of *ikaa* and *horu*.

But at the time of the event in 2008, I had explored acts of pouring and placing beer, milk and meat on the ground as prestations of bodily power or life force, and I had investigated how *horu* is constitutive of people's capacity, health and well-being, and how it is transferred and transformed in the process of dwelling (Myhre 2006, 2007a, 2007b). Yet the notion of *moo*, which loomed large during the event in the plains, was first encountered – at least in that form – on that particular occasion. Nevertheless, these notions are not confined to that specific context, but concern a set of subtle and slippery concepts that are widespread in the area, yet receive little attention.

According to Moore, the prevalent life forces are overlooked by anthropologists due to a neglect of the practical and performative aspects of gender, and a disregard for the embodied character of agency and subjectivity. Her claim obviously relies on analytics that gained prominence since the 1970s and 1980s (Hirsch 2014; Merlan 2016), but it receives support from those scholars who do grapple with these phenomena. René Devisch (1993), for instance, relays how 'life-transmission processes' among the Yaka of southwestern Congo involve and concern combinations of 'agnatic life force' (*ngolu*) and 'uterine vital flow' (*mooyi*). Filip de Boeck (1994a: 271), meanwhile, describes how 'vital life-flow' (*mooy*) among the nearby Luunda 'constitutes the essential source of life, longevity, health and well-being', and 'is a relational force, with integrative and cohesive powers, connecting "male" and "female" processes of life-generation'. Reminiscent of how Peter, the descendant of a 'chief', addressed *mangi* Horombo, both argue that these forces are transposed metaphorically onto corporeal, social and cosmological fields that conjoin in the chiefly person, who derives his position and power from the capacity to articulate, mediate and embody opposing principles and provide a relationship to the regenerative forces that secure the fertility of persons and land (de Boeck 1994b; Devisch 1988).

These ideas are developed by Todd Sanders (2008), who explores how rainmaking is a matter of life and death among the Ihanzu of central Tanzania, which like other fertile and productive endeavours turns on the judicious combination of masculine and feminine forces. According to Sanders, these forces form part of a 'gender epistemology' that includes yet exceeds human bodies and their reproductive relations to encompass the seasons, spirits, positions, practices and paraphernalia that the Ihanzu hold for male and female. His perspective surpasses anthropological conceptions that privilege either the human body or a form of practice or field of experience, and promote one such as a model, metaphor, metonym or symbol for other areas

and domains (Beidelman 1986, 1997; Broch-Due 1993; Feierman 1990; Harris 1978; Herbert 1993; Taylor 1992). In fact, it transcends such semantics altogether and thus also goes beyond those approaches that consider bodies and reproduction elements of broader metaphorical or symbolic relations (Comaroff 1985; Gausset 2002; H.L. Moore 1986; Weiss 1996). By contrast, Sanders considers how different phenomena *are* gendered and how they *are* combined to create particular effects that include rain.

In a similar vein, Wenzel Geissler and Ruth Prince (2010: 10) describe how gendered complementarity and generational sequence are central to a widespread notion of 'growth', 'in which the well-being of cosmic and social worlds, the fertility of the land and its inhabitants, people and animals, living and dead, form an interconnected whole, and in which seemingly disparate dimensions of growth are dependent upon one another'. Where earlier approaches to such notions attend to ritual, myth and symbolic systems, Geissler and Prince focus on everyday moments of material contact that the Luo-speaking people of western Kenya conceptualize in terms of 'touch'. As they point out, touch directs attention to boundaries and interfaces, and provides a view of how persons and things are brought into contact and into being through contested and ambivalent practices of social relations. In turn, this attends to how growth involves a care and concern for specific and valorized orientations and movements that unfold phenomena through time and space, in a different manner and through different relations than the ones emphasized by Sally Falk Moore and her followers in Kilimanjaro.

Another scholar wrestling with these ideas is Malcolm Ruel (1997: 117), who describes how the Kuria notion of *omooyo* means 'life', 'health' or 'well-being' in the abstract, yet concretely designates the gullet, windpipe or alimentary canal.² A cognate of Yaka *mooyi*, Luunda *mooy* and Chagga *moo*, the Kuria notion of *omooyo* forms part of a widespread series of Bantu-language words that in Ruel's view has been wrongly rendered as 'spirit', 'soul' and 'heart'. Instead, he argues, the notion concerns how life, health and well-being (*obohoro*) are effects of ungendered passages and processes that afford the movement and consumption of food, air, water and even speech. Indeed, these passages and processes extend beyond the person and the body to include other openings and pathways, such as the doorways and gateways of houses and homesteads through which *omohoro* flows (Ruel 1997: 120).³ *Omooyo* therefore involves a relational and ecological conception of persons and life that differs and departs from the presuppositions of self-sufficiency and self-maintenance implied

by its longstanding translations. Rendered properly, it provides a view of how life, health and well-being enter and emerge from parts of persons and the environment, and thus project *through* beings of different kinds.

The cognate character of *mooyi*, *mooy*, *omooyo* and *moo* problematize the assumptions and effects of enclosing analytics in a different way from the approaches of Sally Falk Moore and her followers. Rather than the reach, extent and impact of colonial and postcolonial developments, these notions reveal how vernacular values and meanings extend through time and space. They plumb other historical depths and recede towards a horizon within which they enmesh and facilitate interactions between peoples that may be considered distinct and separate in cultural or social terms (see Ruel 1997: 2). As such, it speaks to how the people from Rombo and the people from Kenya gathered and engaged across national, ethnic and linguistic boundaries for the common concern of rain and life. At the same time, the authors who engage these notions show how they make room for and call forth alternative conceptions that recast being and life in relational terms of forces, touch, passageways and openings. Indeed, their approaches can be plotted as a trajectory, where metaphorical connections give way to practical and material relations, which in turn yield to the movements of life through persons, things and the world at large.

This book extends this trajectory, as it describes how ungendered life force converts and conveys in different forms by means of different parts of persons through the everyday activities of dwelling. It moreover explores how the beings and entities that dwelling yields are transferred through the doorways of houses and along pathways in bridewealth prestations and marital relations, which extend persons through time and space. Conversely, burial practices consist of a protracted process, where these extensions are gathered to locate the deceased in a specific place. On this basis, the book investigates how the transfers and transformations of life force involve movements of extension and contraction, and processes of emplacement and displacement that actualize temporal and spatial orientations and relations of the kind that Peter invoked in his address. In this way, the book attends to how dwelling involves and engages places, substances, conduits, beings and processes from, through, along and by means of which *horu* converts and conveys. As these in turn derive their terms from *moo*, they reveal how life is an effect of the transfers and transformations of life force (*horu*) that occur through dwelling (*ika*) in and around the homestead (*kaa*). Cognates of the Kuria *omooyo* and *omohoro*, Chagga *moo* and *horu* hence concern how life emerges and re-

sults from material transfers and transformations that occur through parts of persons, houses, livestock and crops. The result is a view of *horu* as a uniform life force that exists between, acts upon and refracts through persons and things to yield all that the world contains.

Towards an Anthropological Concept of Life

To explore these notions and practices, I draw on Ludwig Wittgenstein's later philosophy. It might seem odd to engage a long-dead European philosopher to explore the character of dwelling and life in contemporary east Africa, and especially one whose chief contributions were to logic and the philosophies of language and mathematics. However, Wittgenstein's later philosophy emerged from an encounter with anthropology that occasioned a conception of language and meaning that speaks to concerns for pragmatics and performativity that have gained interest and influence in anthropology and related disciplines (see for instance Barad 2003; Latour 2005; Law 2009; Whyte 1997). Wittgenstein moreover attended specifically to ordinary language for which he developed a descriptive approach and attending tools that relate to and open for ethnographic enquiry. He even hinted at an 'ethnological approach' (CV: 45), and invoked and engaged a notion of 'life' that can shed light on the ideas and activities that are at play in Kilimanjaro.⁴ The engagement finally gains support from Ruel's (1997: 3) contention that the notions and practices he describes as Kuria 'religion' could equally be considered a form of philosophy or a truth-system.

Wittgenstein's encounter with anthropology occurred in 1931, when he read James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough* with his student Maurice O'Connor Drury (1996: 134). The experience resulted in a set of critical remarks, where Wittgenstein took exception to Frazer's view that magic and religion are erroneous attempts to explain and influence the world, which in turn are in need of explanation, if not intervention. Wittgenstein's objection was that such explanation presupposes that the phenomena in question involve and rest on a hypothesis, which misconstrues the role they play in people's lives: 'Every explanation is after all an hypothesis. But a hypothetical explanation will be of little help to someone, say, who is upset because of love. – It will not calm him' (RFG: 123). Explanations and hypotheses moreover postulate underlying phenomena that account for the notions and practices in question, but these cannot resolve the meaning the latter have for those who use and engage in them. Wittgenstein

pointed out: ‘It was not a trivial reason, for really there can have been no *reason*, that prompted certain races of mankind to venerate the oak tree, but only the fact that they and the oak were united in a community of life, and thus that they arose together not by choice, but rather like the flea and the dog. (If fleas developed a rite, it would be based on the dog)’ (RFG: 139). Wittgenstein therefore held: ‘I believe that the attempt to explain is already therefore wrong, because one must only piece together what one *knows*, without adding anything, and the satisfaction being sought through the explanation follows of itself ... Here one can only *describe* and say: this is what human life is like’ (RFG: 121).

These quotes show that Wittgenstein invoked ‘life’ in different ways in his remarks on Frazer, where it served as the ground for the phenomena in question and the object of their description. To further grapple with these issues, Wittgenstein adopted in his *Philosophical Investigations* (1953) the notion of ‘form of life’ (*Lebensform*), which already had a long and variegated history in German philosophy and scientific enquiry (Helmreich and Roosth 2010). ‘Form of life’ only appears a handful of times in Wittgenstein’s book, where it is used in both the singular and the plural, and in indeterminate and determinate forms. Its scarce and apparently careless usage may obscure how this notion combines with other ideas and insights in Wittgenstein’s effort to consider language not as an abstract system of representation, but as an integral part of human practice that grants privilege to description at the expense of explanation and theory (Allen and Turvey 2001; Bouveresse 2007; Glock 2001; Hacker 2001a).

Central in this regard is the concept of ‘language-game’ (*Sprachspiel*), which Wittgenstein coins to highlight how language embeds in non-linguistic practices: ‘Here the term language-*game* is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the *speaking* of a language is part of an activity, or a form of life’ (PI: §23). While *Lebensform* is borrowed from elsewhere, *Sprachspiel* is Wittgenstein’s invention that aims to grasp how language is a practice where the meaning of a word is its use, and not the object to which it refers. It also attends to the diversity of uses that words have, and the overlapping and criss-crossing ‘family resemblances’ between their multiple meanings. These need not have any feature in common, but instead exist through a range of relationships: ‘Instead of producing something common to all that we call language, I am saying that these phenomena have no one thing in common which makes us use the same word for all, – but that they are *related* to one another in many different ways. And it is because of this relationship, or these relationships, that we call them all “language”’

(PI: §65). It is because language consists of a multitude of relationships of different kinds that words and meanings must be considered and described in their concrete use: 'In order to see more clearly, here as in countless similar cases, we must focus on the details of what goes on; must look at them from close to' (PI: §51).

These ideas are particularly apposite for the notion of *horu*, which has a multiplicity of uses and imbricates with an array of activities, in what can be considered a diversity of language-games. *Horu* is in other words a family resemblance concept that both entails and forms part of a multiplicity of relationships that must be described in their detail. Moreover, *horu* is not *something*, but pertains to movements or interactions that manifest as beings of different kinds, which emerge, exist and evanesce as transformations of each other. In the different language-games played with this notion, *horu* therefore does not designate an object, but concerns the capacity of different beings to affect each other through the activities that constitute dwelling or *ikaa*.

However, the notion of language-game not only serves to embed language in other activities, it conversely captures how language-use entwines and concomitates non-linguistic actions. Thus, Wittgenstein says: 'I shall also call the whole, consisting of language and the actions into which it is woven, the "language-game"' (PI: §7). In the words of Avrum Stoll (2007: 103), 'a language-game is a slice of everyday human activity', where the use of language enables, entwines and entails other forms of action. Indeed, linguistic practice not only has bodily concomitants, but in a sense extends out of such activities: 'Language – I want to say – is a refinement, "in the beginning was the deed"' (CV: 31).⁵ Or, as Wittgenstein stated in his remarks on Frazer, language forms part of 'the *surroundings* of a way of acting' (RFG: 147). These notes aim to grasp the multiple and variegated relationships that obtain between language and action and by extension the objects that these involve in concrete language-games. Along with Wittgenstein's equation between meaning and use, their result is that words and notions neither refer to nor index objects and practices, but rather contain and entail activities that entangle and engage things in specific language-games. Phrased in a different way, one can say that objects are gathered up in different ways in different language-games (see also Myhre 2012: 195–197), which hence involve a plethora of world-relations. These relations depart from epistemological and metaphysical perspectives, where persons confront and impute meaning to a world that is distinct from them and their description of it, and instead provide a view of how language and meaning involve and emerge from engagements and relations between persons and the world.

The relations that these notions involve entail that it is the language-game, rather than the word or proposition, that constitutes the semantic unit: ‘Look on the language-games as the *primary* thing’ (PI: §656). The relations require description to lay out the uses of words, along with the activities they entail and the objects these involve. In this way, description affords a ‘surview’ or ‘overview’ (*Übersicht*) of a particular portion of language of which it aims to provide a ‘perspicuous representation’ (*übersichtliche Darstellung*): ‘The concept of perspicuous representation is of fundamental importance for us. It denotes the form of our representation, the way we see things ... This perspicuous representation brings about the understanding which consists precisely in the fact that we “see the connections”. Hence the importance of finding *connecting links*. But the hypothetical connecting link should in this case do nothing but direct our attention to the similarity, the relatedness, of the *facts*’ (RFG: 133).

The idea of perspicuous representation is the only element of the remarks on Frazer that Wittgenstein retained for his *Philosophical Investigations*. It became central for his endeavour to describe the ‘conceptual topology’ of a language that replaced the ‘conceptual geology’ of his earlier philosophy (Hacker 2001b), which gained no traction once ‘nothing is hidden’ (PI: §435). The emphasis on ‘seeing connections’ and ‘finding connecting links’, combined with the idea of family resemblance, could suggest that Wittgenstein conceives of language and meaning in terms of identity or commonality between phenomena. In truth, however, Wittgenstein is as concerned with difference and dissimilarity as with identity and similarity: ‘The language-games are rather set up as *objects of comparison* which are meant to throw light on the facts of our language by way not only of similarities, but also of dissimilarities’ (PI: §130). O’Connor Drury (1996: 157) accordingly recalled Wittgenstein arguing that, ‘Hegel seems to me to be always wanting to say that things which look different are really the same. Whereas my interest is in showing that things which look the same are really different. I was thinking of using as a motto for my book a quotation from *King Lear*: “I’ll teach you differences”’.

A perspicuous representation charts what Wittgenstein calls the ‘grammar’ that determines the uses and meanings of particular words. For Wittgenstein, the purpose of such a representation is to resolve or dissolve philosophical problems, which arise from conceptual confusion and misuse of words that are due to our entanglement in the variety of linguistic expressions. Such resolution or dissolution occurs through a conceptual clarification that disentangles and lays bare the use of particular words and the workings of language (PI:

§109). The account can make no reference to anything hidden or underlying, since the use and meaning of words cannot depend on something that is concealed to those who speak the language. The solution to philosophical problems therefore cannot involve explanation of any kind, but can only consist of description: 'Philosophy simply puts everything before us, and neither explains nor deduces anything. – Since everything lies open to view there is nothing to explain. For what is hidden, for example, is of no interest to us' (PI: §126).

It follows from this that a perspicuous representation does not involve the discovery of anything new, but consists in an arrangement or rearrangement of what competent speakers already know and do: 'The work of the philosopher consists in assembling reminders for a particular purpose' (PI: §127). Because the purpose varies in accordance with the problem involved, the arrangement that is required and achieved also differs. A perspicuous representation thus affords a survey of a particular segment of language, which depends on the purpose and the problem concerned. The description it involves is moreover not a uniform concept, but itself a family resemblance phenomenon, whose form depends on the words and issues involved (Hacker 2001b: 24). The perspicuous representation therefore provides *a* – not *the* – conceptual order of a particular portion of language through a description that is partial, both in the sense that it is incomplete, and in the sense that it is infused by a specific interest. To paraphrase Martin Holbraad and Morten Pedersen (2009: 381), the effect of such a representation 'is to provide, not a point of more general vantage, but rather one of further departure'.

Transposed to ethnography, the task is to describe the uses and meanings of particular words together with the activities they entail and the objects they involve. The relations that language-games involve mean that such description does not simply consist in the portrayal of a state of affairs. Instead, it involves the act of *unfolding* a language-game to lay out the uses of words, along with their attendant practices and things. The description must also chart the family resemblances between the different uses of the singular notions across the language-games in which they occur. In addition, it must sketch the additional words and concepts with which those of particular interest are used in combination. The account of *ika* therefore evokes and necessitates descriptions of the homestead (*kaa*), and the multiple uses and various language-games of *horu* that the activities that occur in and around it involve. It moreover requires accounts of the places, substances, conduits, beings and processes from, through,

along and by means of which life force converts and conveys in different forms. A description of *ikaa* in other words involves an account of *kaa*, which extends into descriptions of *horu* and portrayals of the various notions that derive from *moo*. Methodologically speaking, this means that the description can trace relationships from anywhere, as the language-game can be unfurled from either the words, practices or objects it contains, or be folded out of any of the other language-games with which it enchains.

To provide a perspicuous representation, one must hence describe the multifarious uses of particular words or expressions, along with the activities they involve and the objects they engage. It proceeds through an account of the language-uses that surround specific activities and the objects they engage. It enables what Peter Hacker (2001b: 23) calls connective analysis, 'that is, a description of the conceptual connections and exclusions in the web of words'. Its emphasis on description affords an ethnographic openness, while the idea of taking something apart by joining it to something else, and combining something through taking it apart, resembles Marilyn Strathern's (1988, 1995, 2005) account of anthropology's relation. It recalls her elucidation of elicitation, detachment and decomposition as social processes, and affords a view of how vernacular conceptualizations combine and divide phenomena without presuming entities or relationships of a particular kind.

Since the perspicuous representation is a description that uses language to chart the grammar or use of words, there is an internal relationship and self-similarity between its means and ends (cf. Myhre 1998). Accordingly, it does not involve analysis in a conventional sense, where concepts are applied to a material that is different in scope or character. Instead, it consists in a moment and movement of unfolding and enfolding, where descriptions effectuate and multiply concepts as their result or end-point (Corsín Jiménez and Willerslev 2007; Myhre 2014, 2015). Despite the connotations of 'surview' and 'overview', the perspicuous representation locks into ordinary language on which it provides a peripheral perspective that traces relationships within and between language-games to describe conceptual structures from within or from the inside out (cf. Riles 2001). The description hence enables and entails a reverse or inverse move that confounds the distinction between the analytical and the empirical, and destabilizes the separation between anthropological and vernacular concepts (cf. Myhre 2013a). Vernacular concepts consequently become the subject of ethnography, which generates anthropological

notions that this perspective places on the same footing (cf. Viveiros de Castro 2003, 2013). The approach allows the ethnographic to shape the anthropological, as vernacular and analytical concepts emerge together and constitute each other. The challenge, then, is not to provide a translation of a vernacular term, but to allow space where language-games may unfold so the concepts they involve can emerge and appear (cf. Strathern 1987a, 1988). Accordingly, I deploy established analytics, such as 'production', 'reproduction' and 'consumption', to approach the phenomena I consider, but these gradually give way to the notions of life force and dwelling, and eventually yield to *horu*, *ikaa* and *moo*. Wittgenstein's ideas of meaning as use, language-game, family resemblance and grammar thus constitute an 'infra-language' (Latour 2005: 30) where unfamiliar concepts may appear and receive a chance they otherwise do not get (Latour 2000: 368). His descriptive tools simply posit empty relations of similarity and difference, and are therefore 'thin' concepts that allow for 'thick' descriptions from which dwelling and *ikaa*, life force and *horu*, life and *moo* can emerge as concepts in their own right.

These considerations shed important light on the difference between my rendition of *ikaa* as dwelling and Tim Ingold's (2000) use of the same term. Inspired by Martin Heidegger ([1954] 1978), I adopted dwelling to grasp how *ikaa* summates a set of practices that occur in a particular place (*kaa*), where *horu* converts and conveys in different forms to constitute a specific mode of being or form of life (*moo*). Returning from fieldwork in 2001, I discovered that Ingold (2000) used the same Heidegger text and notion to advocate a 'dwelling perspective' that focuses on how humans generate material and immaterial forms through their practical engagement with their surroundings. Like *ikaa*, Ingold's concept affords a view of how persons, things and the world at large are crystallizations of activities that enfold and testify the unfolding relations between humans and non-humans. The two notions thus intersect as they consider how phenomena unfold as the outcome of practices and processes. But where Ingold's is a purely analytical concept that can be applied to any ethnography for the purpose of rendering the world in a particular way, my concept emerges from descriptions of the multiple uses of *ikaa*, which unfold the different language-games of which it forms part, including the activities and objects they concern and entail. 'Dwelling' is here then not a concept that is applied to an ethnographic material for analytical purposes, but the result and end-point of a description that reveals the effects of the vernacular notion of *ikaa*.

The Horizon of Language and Meaning

The account above shows how Wittgenstein's later philosophy emerged from an encounter with anthropology, and how it engages issues of ethnographic interest and import. It reveals a lateral conception of language and meaning, where words, practices and things combine in language-games that extend into and out of each other. It is this that grounds the most common interpretations of 'form of life', which in Oswald Hanfling's (1989: 162) view, 'is meant to convey the wholeness of the system, and also the fact that it includes action ("life") as well as passive observation or experience'. Similarly, Jerry Gill (1991: xii) argues that Wittgenstein 'saw this form of life as constituting a vast and ever-developing network of overlapping and criss-crossing "language-games", each tied in its own way to specific physical and social activity'. The idea of an interlocking web of games that enfold words, practices and objects conceptualizes language as something that exists and unfolds through time and space. Accordingly, Wittgenstein used a temporal and spatial simile to grasp the character of language: 'Our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of new boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses' (PI: §18).

The conception of language and meaning as extensive phenomena is apt for a situation where cognate notions like *mooyi*, *mooy*, *omooyo* and *moo* occur throughout a geographical region. Such notions moreover speak to Wittgenstein's conception of language and meaning as convolutions of similarities and differences. Curiously, it is particularly apposite in light of how Bantu languages create and multiply verb-forms by adding and inserting prefixes, suffixes and infixes to stems or root-forms. Nouns – like *kaa* – moreover derive from verbs – like *ikaa* – to which they retain similarities, while registering difference. These grammatical features lend Wittgenstein's concepts of language-games and family resemblance even greater force, as they extend connections and overlaps between and across even further situations and contexts of use. Added to this are people's longstanding capacities for speaking and understanding multiple cognate languages, which they use to interact across ethnic, social and cultural divides. Thus, the Chagga-speakers from Rombo and the Kamba-speakers from Kenya used Swahili to communicate and coordinate the event in the plains, while they conversed among themselves and made their invocations in their re-

spective languages. Such situations and capabilities extend similarities beyond the singular language, while they relocate difference in ways that do not coincide with the boundaries commonly recognized by anthropological analytics. Rather, they redistribute similarities and differences in space and time to constitute an extensive horizon within which concepts, practices and objects can appear as always already meaningful.

Today everyone is bilingual in Rombo, where Chagga is used for most everyday interaction, while the national language of Swahili is the medium of instruction in public primary education and the vehicle of cash-cropping and governance. Village and sub-village meetings together with those of the cooperative societies, the Catholic prayer groups (*jumuiya*) and the descent groups are thus all conducted in Swahili, which moreover replicate the same organizational form.⁶ Swahili is also the language of liturgy in the Catholic Church, to which the vast majority of people in the district belong. In the past, Swahili was only the language of catechism, but the church then ran Swahili pre-schools that children attended as a preparation for primary school. While this suggests that the use of Swahili is intimately linked to colonial rule and postcolonial developments, John Iliffe (1979: 79) points out that its spread and significance dates back to the slave and ivory caravans, which rendered Swahili widespread in the east African hinterlands by the mid to late 1800s. Some parts of Kilimanjaro served as points of provision for these caravans, which camped at purpose-built sites on their way to and from the interior (Kersten 1869: 291; S.F. Moore 1986: 31). Accordingly, the missionary Charles New (1873: 377) claimed that on meeting the *manji* of Old Moshi: 'I spoke in Kisuahili, which Mandara comprehends and speaks almost as well as if he had been bred at the coast, and many of the people also understand a good deal of this language'. Even earlier, the German missionary Johannes Rebmann, who arrived in western Kilimanjaro as the first known European in 1849, reported that, 'Next day, and again on the 8th of January I received visits from Muigno Wessiri, a Suahili, who has lived in Jagga for six years, and has been appointed by the king his medicine-man and sorcerer, personages identical in savage countries' (Krapf 1860: 251). Thirteen years later, the German explorer Baron Carl Claus von der Decken also met Munie Wesiri [*sic*], whom he claimed originated from coastal Pangani.⁷ He had arrived in Machame as a caravan porter (Kersten 1869: 291), where he first gained influence for his abilities as a 'witch-master' (*Hexenmeister*), but later maintained a standing as an interpreter for coastal caravans arriving in the area.⁸

In addition to Swahili, many people in Rombo speak other often cognate languages that they acquired when living or working in other parts of Tanzania or the wider region. Such capabilities also have a long history in the area, which abuts that which John Sutton (1969: 12) describes as the most linguistically diverse part of Africa. Accordingly, the traveller Harry Johnston (1886: 210) described how both Swahili and Maasai were understood by nearly everyone in Taveta, in the plains below Rombo. Roughly 25 kilometres from where the Chagga-speakers of Rombo and the Kamba-speakers of Kenya gathered in 2008, Johnston (1886: 320) claimed that, ‘You may sit here in the porch of your comfortable thatched house, which may be built in a few days from the materials at hand, and receive visits from representatives of most of the nations found in East Central Africa’. Listing and naming fifteen different groups that included people as far away as Buganda and Nyoro in present-day Uganda, Johnston (1886: 321) claimed that they ‘all find their way to Taveita [*sic*] somehow, whether as slaves, traders, tramps, criminals, or refugees. You may hear about twenty African languages talked around you, and, by searching among the slave caravans, which stop here for repose, a list of hundreds of East African tongues might be composed’.

The multilingual situation was partly due to the caravans Johnston mentioned, but also to the fact that this area is located on the Bantu-Nilotic interface or borderland. It is evidenced by the now defunct age-set system that preoccupied some of the early ethnographers to Kilimanjaro (Dundas 1924: 209ff; Gutmann 1926: 321ff), but that primarily is described from and identified with Nilotic-speaking peoples (Gulliver 1963; Parkin 1990; Spencer 1988). The occurrence of age-sets among other Bantu-speakers along this interface (Kenyatta 1938; Ruel 1962) testifies to ‘the sharing and transmission of symbolic elements across major linguistic and cultural boundaries, and the transformations and reversals that occur between neighbouring peoples of similar language and culture’ (Southall 1972: 103). It is evinced by the plethora of Maasai words still used in Rombo, which manifests what David Parkin (1990: 195) calls a ‘cross-fertilization of ideas transacted across constantly shifting cultural boundaries’. People’s past and present multilingual capacities constitute an extensive semantic and conceptual horizon that does not coincide with linguistic, ethnic, social or cultural boundaries. Instead, it affords an openness that facilitates traffic in concepts, practices and persons, which the historical sources reveal.

An important factor for such traffic was the fact that Kilimanjaro had no iron, clay or salt, and therefore long relied on trade with sur-

rounding areas for ingots, pots and the cooking soda (*mbala*) that is still in use in Rombo (Dundas 1924: 269ff; Johnston 1886: 440; Krapf 1860: 244; Marealle 1963: 67; S. F. Moore 1986: 26; New 1873: 348). Accordingly, the movement of persons and linguistic practices was accompanied by transfers of goods and objects over long distances. Thus, the caravans that brought persons like Munie Wesiri to Kilimanjaro also ferried goods like the cotton-cloth worn by the hundred-strong crowd of men and women who gathered shortly before von der Decken arrived in Machame (Kersten 1869: 290). Early reports of repeated requests for guns and gunpowder disclose that the people of Kilimanjaro already knew and desired goods of many kinds, in return for which they offered travellers ivory, slaves, food-stuffs and firewood. Indeed, the first travellers probably expanded people's knowledge of and aspirations for stuff, as they brought and gifted cutlery, scissors, needles and thread, tailored outfits, handkerchiefs and mirrors, as well as the usual beads and cloths (Kersten 1869: 292; Krapf 1860: 238). Some decades later, the one-time doctor of the German colonial station at Old Moshi reported how coastal and European clothes, such as the Arab-style *kanzu* and discarded *askari* and other uniforms, were increasingly common and popular (Widenmann 1899: 59).⁹ Spears were no longer forged from pig-iron sourced from surrounding areas, but made from European iron-wire that was imported in rolls and used as a means of exchange, while Mauser rifle casings replaced animal horns as snuff containers (Widenmann 1899: 56–57, 67–68).

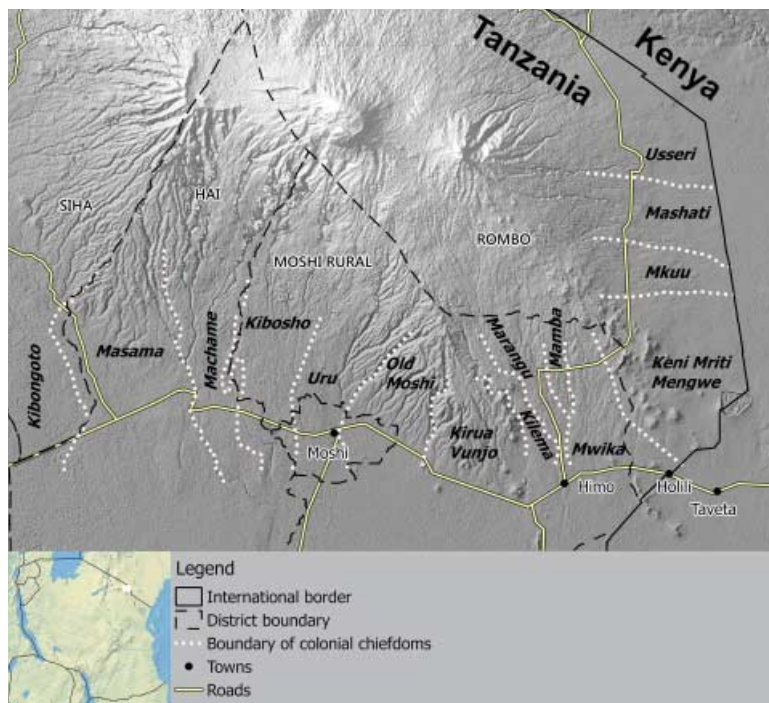
These sources describe a situation where persons, practices, objects and languages circulate in a wider region, where they attract attention and use for different purposes. The combined and concomitant transfers of words and things speak to Wittgenstein's notion of language-game, and reveal Kilimanjaro as an always already 'globalized' place (Piot 1999). Coastal porters, Arab traders and Europeans thus rubbed shoulders at *mangi* Mandara's homestead at Old Moshi, while a great number of people from other 'tribes' lived at the military and mission stations (Widenmann 1899: 48). The Chagga-speaking inhabitants came to these places to acquire matches that were known as 'Sweden', perhaps from the Greek trader who lived there by 1895, and bartered in the pewter rings he imported or the cloth and beads in which porters were paid (Widenmann 1899: 69–70). The German missionary Bruno Gutmann (1909a: 167) described how children were named *Ngiriki* or 'the Greek', following the visit of such a trader, which highlights how the people of Kilimanjaro actively solicited and entangled relations that extended far beyond the mountain.¹⁰ It is

underscored by John Iliffe's (1979: 100) account of Mandara despatching an emissary in 1889 to present the German Kaiser with an ivory tusk in the hope of receiving a canon in return. Instead, he was presented with a cloak and helmet from a production of *Lohengrin* at the Berlin Opera House by the commander Hermann von Wissmann.¹¹ Such movements extended in other directions too, as trade links between Zanzibar and India ensured that the rupee remained in circulation until the early 1900s, despite the introduction of an own currency by the German East Africa Company (Hasu 1999: 135). In Kilimanjaro, the rupee was perhaps bolstered by the Indian traders who had settled in Old Moshi and Marangu by 1898, where they offered goods of various kinds, including dining utensils and canned food from Europe, even comprising bottled beer from Germany (Hasu 1999: 203).

Rombo: A Relative Periphery

In terms of words and objects, these sources reveal how Kilimanjaro contained parts of Europe and the wider world long before the twentieth century. They concur with Sally Falk Moore's (1986) contention that the people of Kilimanjaro were entangled with wider, even global processes of transformation that predate yet imbricate with colonial rule. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that Rombo was on the fringes of these developments, at least in relation to parts of central and western Kilimanjaro. Thus, the early travellers like Rebmann and von der Decken skirted Rombo and even returned for later visits without setting foot there. It was not until 1871 that the first known European came to Rombo, when Charles New (1873: 448) arrived at Lake Chala at the southern edge of today's district. In 1883, Joseph Thomson (1885: 130ff) travelled through Rombo to Usseri in the north, and the next year Harry Johnston (1886: 287) followed, apparently after travelling through the forest above the inhabited areas. The accounts of their trips are scant, and together with Johnston's claim that the people of Rombo speak a completely different language from the rest of Kilimanjaro, they suggest that they stayed for a short time and engaged with people to a limited extent.

One reason the early travellers favoured central and western Kilimanjaro over Rombo was probably the fact that the latter had no provision points for the caravans and therefore was peripheral to the other areas. Accordingly, Widenmann (1899: 64) described Rombo as remote and lacking in traffic. However, the main reason was probably



Map 0.1. Map of the districts and former chiefdoms of Kilimanjaro.

mangi Mandara or Rindi, who actively courted the early Europeans and schemed to ensure they stayed in Old Moshi for as long as possible. Indeed, this dynamic continued after the establishment of German East Africa and affected the German efforts to control the area. Thus, when Hermann von Wissmann's army arrived in Kilimanjaro in 1891, they became embroiled in the longstanding conflict between Mandara and *mangi* Sina of Kibosho (Iliffe 1979: 100). Both chiefs had obtained large amounts of firearms through Swahili traders, who procured them from earlier expeditions to Kilimanjaro upon their return to the coast and peddled them upcountry in exchange for ivory (cf. Widenmann 1899: 59). In addition, both chiefs employed soldiers or mercenaries from outside Kilimanjaro. Partly on Mandara's instigation, von Wissmann's army overran Kibosho, but when Mandara died later that year, *mangi* Marealle induced *Reichskommissar* Carl Peters to move his headquarters to Marangu. Subsequent schemes on Marealle's part further weakened Old Moshi's position, as Mandara's son was forced by the Germans in 1893 to give up his control of the surrounding areas and his people compelled to build a military

station at the site of his fortress. It ensured that Marealle 'became effective paramount of eastern Kilimanjaro controlling 27 of the 44 Chagga chiefdoms' (Ilfie 1979: 101) and gained a powerful position as an important sub-chief maker (S.F. Moore 1986: 96). This proved the beginning of a powerful dynasty, as Marealle's London School of Economics and Cambridge-educated grandson, Thomas Marealle II, won an election for Paramount Chief or *Mangi Mkuu* of the Chagga people in 1951. Thomas Marealle, who only died in 2007, played a significant if restraining role in the decolonization of Tanganyika, as he accompanied Julius Nyerere to address the United Nations, where the latter demanded a date for Tanganyika's independence (Hunter 2009; Stahl 1969). There is little mention of Rombo in these historical accounts, but sources suggest it was under Marealle's authority. Thus, Ilfie (1979: 120) claims that Marealle's exploitation of Rombo became a source of conflict with European settlers, who wanted to use the area as a labour pool.

Christian missionaries also played a role in establishing the hegemony of central and western Kilimanjaro over Rombo. According to J.C. Winter (1979: 43), Mandara invited the first Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries to Kilimanjaro in 1885, as part of a plan to gain control over neighbouring chiefdoms. Once the CMS missionaries were settled in Old Moshi, however, Mandara prevented them both from doing meaningful work and from relocating to another area. After Marealle's ascendancy, the German authorities ordered the British missionaries to hand over their station to the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission of Leipzig. The first German missionaries arrived in 1893, but settled in Machame instead of Old Moshi and opened a second station on the border between Mamba and Marangu the following year. In 1891, the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers established themselves at Kilema between Mamba and Old Moshi, and opened another station at Kibosho between Old Moshi and Machame two years later. The result was that central and western Kilimanjaro were divided between Lutheran and Catholic mission societies, which neighbored each other in alternating sections that ran up and down the mountainside. Sally Falk Moore (1986: 102) claims this arrangement was the colonial government's attempt to minimize competition between the different mission societies and Christian denominations. However, Ilfie (1979: 224) and Winter (1979: 45) maintain that competition remained strong between the Catholics and the Protestants, and that the *mangis* exploited this to their advantage.

It was not until 1898 that the Holy Ghost Fathers established the first mission station in Rombo, at a location they called Fischerstadt.

The place was later renamed Mkuu and the district headquarters or *boma* became located in its vicinity. Unlike the other areas of the mountain, Rombo was not divided between different denominations, but came under sole Catholic influence. The earliest baptismal registries reveal that the initial progress was slow, but on the eve of its centenary in Kilimanjaro the Catholic Church reported phenomenal success: 18,857 out of a total population of 19,140 in Keni Parish were baptized Catholics (Anon. 1990). Of the remaining population, 280 were Protestants, while 45 were deemed 'traditional believers'.

Although the population remains overwhelmingly and loyally Catholic, several evangelical churches are active in the area. There is also a charismatic Catholic lay-movement that meets at several churches and appears to be tolerated by the clergy, as a bulwark against the evangelical congregations. However, in everyday parlance, the charismatic movement is often conflated with the evangelical churches, partly because they share a hard-line stance against activities like those that took place in the plains in 2008. The different attitudes adopted by different denominations in this regard at times play a part in conflicts between people.

In contrast to Moshi town and Machame in western Kilimanjaro, Islamic influence is virtually non-existent in Rombo. A mosque is located by the main road in the village neighbouring the one where I lived, but I have never seen anyone in or near it. Of the handful of people I knew who identified as Muslim, only one was a local convert while the rest were casual labourers or healers who originated from central or coastal Tanzania and wound up in Rombo, usually for a shorter period of time. There are probably more Muslims in the booming settlement and nascent urbanization that have sprung up around the district headquarters at Mkuu in the past decade.

The delayed missionization of Rombo was of a piece with its relatively late incorporation into the cash economy. The first coffee seedlings were allegedly brought to Kilema by the Catholic Church, which intended the crop to be a source of mission revenue (Marealle 1952: 63; S.F. Moore 1986: 103). According to Iliffe (1979: 154), local catechists began receiving seedlings from their missions in the 1890s, but the first native coffee entrepreneur was an adviser to Marealle, who established a sizeable plot in 1900, while Marealle and other *mangis* quickly followed suit. Winter (1979: 55) argues that Dr Emil Förster, a German colonialist with progressive ideals who settled in Marangu, was central to promoting coffee as a cash-crop among the local population, in contravention of colonial policy and sentiment. Meanwhile, S.F. Moore (1986: 119) emphasizes the role of one-time District Com-

missioner Major (later Sir) Charles Dundas, who encouraged the establishment of the first coffee cooperative. In any case, coffee arrived later in Rombo, as it was held that the dry climate made the area unsuitable for the crop. In 1922, the Agricultural Department reported the number of coffee trees in each of the administrative chiefdoms, which reveals that more than half of the coffee trees – 19,359 – were located in Marangu alone. By contrast, there were 263 trees at Mwika and 350 at Old Moshi, but only 45 trees in the whole of Rombo, all of which were located at Mashati (TNA AB/425).¹² These were only the coffee-bearing trees; the number of non-bearing trees was 10,185 for Marangu, 1,921 for Mwika, 1,185 for Old Moshi, and none in Rombo. The high figure for Marangu supports both Iliffe's claim that Marealle was central to coffee farming and Winter's contention that Förster was a catalyst. It shows how coffee was well established in certain parts with Marangu standing out, while hardly any was grown in Rombo. The great push appears to have occurred in 1923, when 300,000 seedlings were planted in Kilimanjaro to bring the total number of trees under 'native cultivation' close to half a million (TNA AB/77). It nevertheless seems that coffee became widespread in Rombo even later, as the area was reported to be a labour reserve for settlers in the 1920s.

A History of Anthropologists

The dominance of central and western Kilimanjaro was reiterated by the many anthropologists working in the area. One of the earliest and without doubt the most prolific ethnographer was Bruno Gutmann, a Leipzig missionary who served in Mamba, Machame and Old Moshi from 1902 until 1938. Like several of his colleagues, Gutmann published ethnographic accounts in both missionary and academic books and journals, in addition to pastoral and educational works. Gutmann is by far the best known of these missionary-ethnographers, partly due to the vast quantities of material he published.¹³ In his intellectual biography, Winter (1979: 32ff) details how Gutmann was influenced by the scientific, philosophical and theological ideas of his day. He was especially taken by the psychology of Wilhelm Wundt, whose lectures Gutmann attended at Leipzig University before departing for Africa. In addition, he was influenced by Gustav Warneck's notion of *Volkmission*, on which the Leipzig mission policy was based. In Warneck's view, missionization should proceed through vernacular languages and local practices, in order to become a popular – *volkstümlich*

– church. Iliffe (1979: 218) argues that the ideas of the *Volksmision* ‘attracted missionaries who, regardless of social origins, hoped to find in Africa the organic social unity which a rapidly secularizing Europe had lost’.

In line with this, Gutmann aimed to describe an organic sociality – *Gemeinschaft* – that in his view was constituted through the ‘primordial ties’ (*urtümliche Bindungen*) of descent, neighbourliness and age-grade fellowship. To document these relations in an unadulterated form, Gutmann concentrated his research on older members of the community, who recounted and reconstructed bygone practices from memory. Gutmann’s last assistant, Ernst Jaeschke (1985: 45), claims that the three-volume work, *Die Stammeslehren* (1932), was dictated word for word by elders who came to Gutmann’s house every morning for several years. Gutmann’s house at Old Moshi, which has been converted to a church-run dispensary, still features the purpose-built niche where Gutmann would seat his informant, while he sat in the attic above recording the accounts, which floated up through an open ceiling. According to the priest who showed me the place, the arrangement enabled Gutmann to obtain information without his interlocutors’ engagement being visible to the surrounding community. Gutmann’s publications indeed often contain what appear to be verbatim dictations that are followed by his own distinct interpretations. While discounting Gutmann’s pretension to present a precolonial past with little regard for the historical changes that were taking place around and because of him, one may still recognize that vernacular voices are discernible in his ethnographic descriptions, which make them unique historical sources (Hunter 2009: 154). Used with care and circumspection, they can be combined with fieldwork material and other sources for insights into historical transformations and the temporal depth of present processes.

Ethnographic material was also produced by Gutmann’s colleague Johannes Raum, who worked in Machame, Moshi and Mamba from 1897 until his death in 1936. According to Winter (1979: 49), Raum and Gutmann were contemporaries who got on reasonably well, even if they competed for positions, influence and recognition both academically and professionally. Raum was influenced by the same ideas as Gutmann, but he seems a less creative thinker and his writings appear less overtly ideological. Raum’s concerns were perhaps more practical, as he produced and published an early grammar and dictionary of the Chagga language, probably intended for future missionaries (Raum 1909). Johannes Raum’s son, Otto Friedrich, obtained a scholarship from the Phelps Stokes Fund and a grant from the Inter-

national African Institute (IAI) to train as an anthropologist under Bronislaw Malinowski. As an associate of the IAI at the LSE in the mid 1930s, Raum would have been a contemporary of Jack and Eileen Krige, Günter Wagner and Jomo Kenyatta, among others. He became especially close to another African academic with political interests, namely the ANC activist and later diplomat Z.K. Matthews. After obtaining his doctorate in 1938, Raum relocated to South Africa, where he first taught in a Lutheran teachers' training college in Natal. In 1949, he secured a post through Matthews at Fort Hare University, where he rose to become professor, first of education, and later of social anthropology (S.F. Moore 1996: xiii; Paul 2003: 198). Despite the fact that Raum was born and raised in Kilimanjaro – and returned from initial studies in Germany and England to serve from 1928 until 1932 at the teachers' training college his father founded on land provided by Marealle at Marangu – he based his doctoral dissertation and eventual monograph nearly entirely on Gutmann's writings (Raum [1940] 1996). His book was nevertheless influential and instrumental in making Gutmann's work more widely known, especially in the English-speaking world.

While Gutmann professed to portray a pristine past, he of course did not remain aloof of the events of colonization. Not only was he – as a missionary – an agent of colonialism, he also knew well the actors central to the introduction of coffee to Kilimanjaro. During his exploratory trip to Kilimanjaro in 1906–7, Emil Förster befriended Gutmann and implored him to visit his eldest daughter, Elisabeth, during his impending home leave with the prospect of marriage (Winter 1979: 54). Gutmann indulged Förster's wishes, and he and Elisabeth married in 1909. When Förster returned to Germany in 1908 to prepare for his settlement in Kilimanjaro, he brought with him Josefu or Joseph Merinyo, whom S.F. Moore (1986: 118ff) describes as a convert and student of Gutmann's, and Winter (1979: 55ff) refers to as Förster's servant. In Germany, Merinyo gained fluency in German, studied book-keeping, and was introduced to the principles of western agriculture and the peasants' cooperative movement. On his return, Merinyo started growing coffee on Förster's instigation, and later married Gutmann's housemaid.¹⁴ Merinyo moreover became interpreter, clerk and informant for Charles Dundas, who compiled his own ethnographic account (Dundas 1924). In 1925, Dundas's successor Lt. Com. A.M. Clark enabled the first coffee cooperative, Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association (KNPA), and made Merinyo its first president, while Nathaniel Mtui, another student of Gutmann's and informant for Dundas, became vice-president.¹⁵ According to Klaus Fiedler

(1996: 129ff), Merinyo fell afoul of the Lutheran Church in 1930, due to a quarrel with Georg Fritze, a colleague and competitor of Gutmann's based in Mamba. The dispute concerned Fritze's imperious reaction to Merinyo's wife wearing European clothes when receiving communion, and occasioned a formal complaint by Merinyo to the Leipzig mission board. Raum dealt with the matter on behalf of the missionary council, but Merinyo was excommunicated on the basis of an anonymous accusation of adultery. Indicative of the competition between different denominations, Merinyo subsequently had his newborn child baptized by the Catholic Church, which was probably eager to poach a member of such high standing. Merinyo was reinstated in 1932, when Gutmann returned from home leave to intercede on his behalf with the missionary council (Fiedler 1996: 132). In the 1940s, Merinyo and another convert and teacher named Filipo Njau became pivotal for the Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union (KCCU), which advocated for the establishment of the paramount chieftaincy to which Thomas Marealle was eventually elected. As Emma Hunter (2009) points out, this work was at least partly reliant on the existence and circulation of the works by Dundas and Gutmann, which provided an impetus for this particular political movement.

Gutmann clearly also knew Dundas, from whom he barely retrieved the manuscript for *Das Recht der Dschagga* (1926) before he was repatriated in 1920 as a consequence of the Versailles Treaty (Winter 1979: 62). In his memoirs, Dundas (1955) describes growing up as the child of an aristocrat in the British Consular Service in Hamburg and Oslo (then Christiania), where he attended both German and Norwegian schools. Dundas would therefore have been able to communicate with Gutmann in German, who in any case knew English from his missionary training in Leipzig. In his ethnography, Dundas mentions Gutmann's writings, but does not cite or quote any specific text. There is no other record of their interaction or communication, and Gutmann does not figure in Dundas's memoirs. It is nevertheless clear that Gutmann was central in the nexus of people and events that occasioned the introduction of coffee as a cash-crop, and was hence not far removed from the major catalyst for social change in Kilimanjaro – despite, or perhaps as a spur to, his interest in the idealized past.

If Gutmann's perspective and interests displaced historical concepts and hampered him from documenting social changes (Hassing 1979: 429), subsequent anthropologists have placed such matters at the forefront of their accounts, often in dialogue with Gutmann's work. It is most notable in the case of Sally Falk Moore, who engages Gutmann's (1926) magisterial treatise on 'Chagga law' for her pro-

cessual anthropology.¹⁶ A trained lawyer, Moore served at the Nuremberg Trials before she turned to anthropology, writing extensively on many aspects of life in Kilimanjaro, even if her reputation is chiefly as a legal anthropologist (Moore 2005a). Moore's work also comes out of central Kilimanjaro, where she did multiple bouts of short fieldwork in the neighbouring areas of Kilema, Marangu, Mamba and Mwika through the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Similarly, subsequent works come out of central and western Kilimanjaro, and are based on fieldwork conducted in Machame, Kilema, Mamba, Marangu, Mwika and Moshi town (Hasu 1999; Pietilä 2007, Setel 1999; Stambach 2000). However, Moore (1986: xiv) ventured to visit the primary court in Keni-Mriti-Mengwe, and thus appears to have been the first anthropologist to set foot in Rombo. In another indication of how relations overlap and intersect in this area, Moore (2005b: 264) mentions staying at Kibo Hotel in Marangu during her fieldwork, which was founded by Emil Förster, and from whom it was confiscated as enemy property after the First World War (Winter 1979: 55ff).¹⁷ At Kibo Hotel, Moore (2005b: 266) moreover hung out with Thomas Marealle's uncle, one-time colonial chief Petro Itosi Marealle, who showed her his correspondence with Malinowski that resulted from the latter's visit in 1934.¹⁸ Her gratitude to Joseph Merinyo furthermore suggests a personal and direct link between her work and that of Gutmann, and a connection to the first converts and coffee operatives on the mountain (S.F. Moore 1986: xiv).

Moore's main conceptual contribution lies in the aforementioned time-oriented or processual anthropology, where she treats fieldwork as if it is current history. In this book, I follow Moore and combine fieldwork material with historical sources to plumb the depths and significance of particular occurrences. Like her, I also take as my starting point concrete events and cases, but my concern is not to situate these in an overarching historical process. Instead, I endeavour to explore and extract concepts, such as *ikaa*, *horu* and *moo*, from descriptions of the uses of language, and their imbrications with activities and objects. By charting the grammars of dwelling and life force, I thus aim to disclose the form life has in Rombo.

The book approaches this by way of the homestead – *kaa* – that derives its term from the notion and activity of dwelling – *ikaa*. For this purpose, chapter one considers historical changes and geographical variations pertaining to modes of production, settlement patterns and inheritance practices. It explores the significant yet overlooked roles that cattle, houses and women play in this regard, and investigates the changing structures and layouts of houses and homestead. The

chapter also describes the productive activities that take place in and around the *kaa*, where an intensive form of horticulture imbricates humans, livestock and crops, and involves movements and transfers between the mountain and the plains. Finally, the chapter explores the ways in which these activities have come to encompass money both through cash-cropping and other forms of market exchange.

Chapter two departs from the fact that the homestead comes into existence upon the bride's relocation in marriage to consider the meaning and significance of the bridewealth prestations. It considers closely the invocation made in connection with the initial bride-wealth prestation to show how this transaction and the relationship it involves affords the homestead as a place of dwelling, where *horu* transfers and transforms through production, reproduction and consumption. Attending to the mode of presentation, it considers how the notion of *ialika* or marrying involves a process of attachment and detachment that extends and suspends the being of the bride and groom between multiple homesteads. Finally, it explores how the bridewealth prestations gradually bring affines into contact and speech, and how language is another effect of *horu*, which in this case determines the transfers and relationships involved.

Chapter three considers sex and the reproduction that the bride-wealth prestations enable. It investigates how persons through these activities convert and convey *horu* in different forms through different parts of the body for different effects. It moreover explores how these engagements constitute and bring into being different subject positions that engage and involve prominent features of the homestead. The chapter also explores how these engagements concern and entail the naming practices, and thus sheds further light on the concept of *ialika* as a state of extension. In addition, it describes a set of concepts that derive from the root-form *moo* to investigate how life also emerges as an effect of the transfers and transmutations of *horu*. On this basis, it expands on the relationship between language and life force to reveal how prohibitions concerning sex and reproduction channel *horu* in certain ways for particular effects. In this way, it is determined that dwelling concerns how production, reproduction and consumption nest as transformations of each other, and how *horu* is a life force that moves through them in different forms to afford beings of different kinds.

Chapter four uses a case of divination as a starting point for exploring the relationship between the dead and the living. The chapter describes historical changes and regional variation in burial practices, and investigates how these constitute processes of attachment and

detachment to significant features and objects of the homestead that serve to gather the extensions gained through dwelling and life, and thus contract the person to emplace him or her in a specific place in the homestead. The chapter thus considers how burial too is an effect of the transfers and transformations of *horu*, and how the failure to bury a person may result in the dead being placed in a state of calling that affects the health and well-being of the living, and therefore requires particular interventions. Finally, the chapter considers how the ability to divine emanates from the relationship between the dead and the living, and the further light this sheds on the relationship between language and life force.

Chapter five, in turn, expands on this relationship by exploring cursing as a linguistic and material practice. It considers in detail one case to reveal how cursing involves and constitutes family resemblance notions that presuppose and operate through relationships of particular kinds. It moreover shows how cursing lends speech and language an ambiguous character, and how the curse has a capacity to replicate and move between houses and homestead like persons and prestations. These points are deepened by the consideration of cursing as a material practice, which engages for destructive purposes objects, substances and features that ordinarily channel *horu* in productive ways. In addition, the chapter describes a case of removing or washing a curse, and demonstrates how this involves that it is carefully removed from the homestead and its inhabitants, and then gathered and disposed of to ensure that its effects do not spread through the activities and relationships of dwelling and life. A comparison with the *ihora kaa* ceremony that cools or cleanses the homestead after burial deepens how these activities serve to reconstitute the transfers and transformations of *horu* and thus reorient the dwelling and life that they disrupted. Finally, it is shown how the ethnography entails that speech and language are *horu* in a further form, and thus not only results from and determines its transfers and transformations, but affects and effectuates them to actualize relations that may be either constructive or destructive.

Chapter six finally returns to consider the event that took place in the plains in 2008. It describes in detail the acts and statements that were made over the course of those two days, and explores how these relate to the notions, practices and material forms presented earlier in the book. Tracing the event from preparation to conclusion, the chapter describes how it concerned and involved the deployment of *horu* in certain forms to ensure its transfer elsewhere in other forms as presentations for the deceased that serve to emplace them and return

a debt that the living owe for their dwelling and life. As they provide and channel powerful substances of different kinds, the living return life to the dead with the hope and aim of receiving rain that will afford fodder and foodstuffs, and thus secure and extend *ikaa* and *moo* into the future. The chapter considers how these transfers and transformations of life force engage the mountain and the plains, and hence a topography and orientation that feature throughout this book. It moreover shows how rain forms part of these movements and transmutations, and how water thus constitutes life force in yet another form. As the proceedings in the plains are succeeded by similar ones across the mountainside, the event unleashes a wave of life force that washes over the area to elicit and attract rain in its wake to afford dwelling and life. The chapter also considers how Christian notions and practices inflect the event and have affected the understanding of a precolonial concept of *ruwa*, which means the sun and has been interpreted as 'god', yet is better understood as an opening through which life force flows. Finally, it considers a set of notions that derive from *ihora* and that pertain to cooling, cleansing, curing and ceremoniality, to argue that *horu* concerns movements and interactions that afford beings in a calm and quiet manner that constitutes a state of plenty.

In this way, the book explores and extracts a welter of concepts, which include *ikaa* and *moo* that Peter used, as well as those that serve as the chapter headings. As it combines historical sources and contemporary fieldwork material, the book returns life to older descriptions and to anthropological issues, such as settlement patterns, modes of inheritance, bridewealth prestations, burial practices and, finally, activities to attract the rain.

Notes

1. Sally Falk Moore (1986: xiii) states clearly that she worked through Swahili and English. The same fact emerges obliquely from the way subsequent scholars mainly render Swahili rather than Chagga terms in their texts.
2. Curiously, neither H.L. Moore nor Sanders consider Ruel's work in their overviews and disquisitions on gender and fertility in eastern and southern Africa. Similarly, Geissler and Prince only consider Ruel's work on Kuria Christianity, yet leave untouched his ethnographic concerns with Kuria ideas similar to those that preoccupy them. These oversights are all the more curious in light of the fact that all these authors have con-

- nections to Cambridge, where Ruel taught anthropology for most of his career.
3. Ruel does not account for the difference between *omohoro* and *obohoro*, which I assume involve the common Bantu-language practice of adding different prefixes to a common root-form, in accordance with different noun-classes.
 4. I follow the convention in the commentary literature on Wittgenstein and cite his works by using an abbreviation of the title in question, followed by a page reference or paragraph number.
 5. Wittgenstein borrows the dictum from Goethe's Faust, in opposition to the biblical 'in the beginning was the word'.
 6. All these entities consist of an elected chairperson (*mwenyekiti*), a vice-chair (*mwenyekiti kaimu*), a secretary (*mkatibu*) and a treasurer (*mhazibu*), roles which moreover are commonly filled and performed by the same persons.
 7. According to von der Decken, Munie Wesiri was known by the further sobriquet Nasiri.
 8. All quotations from German sources are translated by the author.
 9. At the time of writing, Widenmann was staff surgeon at the Kaiser Wilhelms-Akademie for military medicine.
 10. Gutmann did not specify which part of Kilimanjaro his account concerned, but it was most likely Machame in western Kilimanjaro, from where most of his earliest writings drew their material (Winter 1979: 47).
 11. Von Wissmann later became commissioner and governor of German East Africa.
 12. Archival sources from the Tanzania National Archives are referenced by TNA followed by the accession number for the relevant files.
 13. The *Festschrift* for Gutmann's ninetieth birthday includes a bibliography of more than five hundred items (Gutmann 1966).
 14. Winter (1979: 56) claims that Merinyo married Gutmann's housemaid, while S.F. Moore (1986: 118) claims that he married a sister of *mangi* Salema of Old Moshi. It is of course possible that these are identical, although I doubt that a woman from a chiefly descent group would work as domestic help for a European missionary. The possibility that Merinyo had two wives is also unlikely, in light of the Protestant missionaries' opposition to polygamy. I have no solution to this discrepancy, but choose to rely on Winter's account.
 15. According to S.F. Moore (1986: 119), KNPA counted 7,000 members by 1926. It was replaced by the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) in 1932. KNCU was subsequently abolished as a result of the 1967 Arusha Declaration, but it re-formed in 1984 after economic liberalization. Once wielding a monopoly over the purchase, marketing, and sale of coffee, KNCU today competes with the multinational companies operating in the area.

16. Moore's citations make it appear that she only uses the rather poor translation of this book that forms part of the Human Relations Area Files.
17. Moore (2005b: 265) incorrectly states that Förster married Gutmann's daughter, rather than the other way around.
18. One of Malinowski's letters to his wife reveals that he also visited Gutmann in Kilimanjaro and even suggests he made a trip to Rombo (Wayne 1995: 198).