

1. Wading through a Flood of Information

The 'ontological turn' in Anthropology and Archaeology

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It is almost impossible to speak of archaeology or anthropology in the singular without disregarding the heterogeneity that characterises both disciplines. They mostly exist in the form of debates, controversies, tacit agreements, or polarising arguments. Processes that are constitutive of their respective dynamism. Moreover, the realities archaeology and anthropology study offer multiple entries to scholars, they are constituted by such a wide variety of patterns and trajectories that unravelling or following them often appears a daunting task. So, what can we say of the ambition of a collective book which brings together specialists from disciplines that are difficult to describe unequivocally?

Our ambition is not really to ponder on what brings the two disciplines closer or what keeps them apart. We, however, propose a starting point. Archaeology and anthropology focus on collectives, societies, behaviours, narratives, technologies, modes of existence. They share an interest in products and processes that illustrate the diversity of human institutions and endeavours. In doing so, they face epistemological challenges that overcome traditional disciplinary boundaries. In this respect, anthropology and archaeology have in common that they have been shaken up by major debates about how to describe their research objects. The last decades have indeed been characterised by a concern for renewing the epistemological approach of complex collectives of human and non-humans.

Although it continues to attract significant criticism (Carriters *et al.* 2010), the concept of 'ontology' is at the heart of these renewals. Some of the debates that have defined new directions in the humanities and social sciences have been (and continue to be) articulated around it. Borrowed from the language of philosophy, its use in anthropology and archaeology has a depth of several decades (Diantaill 2015). While in anthropology, the work *Beyond Nature and Culture* is a milestone (Descola 2005; see also Viveiros de Castro 1998; Ingold 2007), the term 'ontology' is the avatar of profound reflections that, at least since the 1990s, have questioned the ways of knowing of the Western sciences. The so-called 'ontological turn' has indeed encouraged a modification and broadening in our ways of describing societies (Holbraad & Pedersen 2017), and brought about a reversal in the 'modernist' epistemologies (*e.g.* Wagner

1981; Strathern 1988; 1990; Descola & Palsson 1996). The primary targets of this critical work are the dualisms derived from the nature-culture pair. As a paradigm, this divide between two compartmentalised domains has many variations. Among these, human-society/environment, thought/matter and object/subject have been particularly prominent in descriptions of social phenomena.

Among other things, this reversal has encouraged a more symmetrical posture (Latour 1993; Witmore 2007) in our approaches to past and current phenomena. Analysing our Western institutions with the same methodological and conceptual tools as those used to investigate the distant (in time and space) societies is part of this movement that drives the human and social sciences. Yet the ontological turn has its greatest resonance in the keen interest in ‘modes of existence’, broadly speaking (Latour 2013), but also as specifically attributed to things (Olsen 2013). In the last few decades, multiple beings have entered anthropological and archaeological descriptions (Haraway 2007; Helmreich & Kirksey 2010; Olsen & Witmore 2015). A social world is no longer just made up of power relations and political institutions; it is made up of objects, beings and forces that shape it (Gell 1998; Appadurai 1986; Watts 2013; Harman 2018; Olsen & Witmore 2021).

Whether one is an archaeologist or an anthropologist, doing fieldwork and facing new assemblages means being confronted with multiple possibilities and, often, an overabundance of materials that require questioning (Latour 2005). This work implies a necessary reflexive stance on the researcher’s position, on her or his choices, on the narratives (s)he will be able to grasp, infer or create, on countless ‘things’ as they present themselves to her or him, but also on the guidelines that will frame their description and analysis (Keane 2006; Henare 2003; Henare et al. 2007; Lemonnier 2012; Pitrou 2016; Olsen et al. 2012).

Although the broad range of recent approaches with an interest in the material and a focus on solid matters are in no way a homogenous field of research, they still share some common ground. For example, they do not dismiss human agency but call for – more or less radically – a displacement in perspective, allowing a greater importance to the material world and the materiality (*e.g.* Ingold 2000; Miller 2005; Bennett 2010). As recently put forward by Olsen and Witmore (2021: 70), to avoid “accepting living and inert as the ontological rift that subsumes all difference in being”.

But the arguments in favour of a new conceptual apparatus are not just theoretical and epistemological. They are also ethical (González-Ruibal 2018; Olsen *et al.* 2021). Because it is motivated by the recognition of other ways of knowing, the use of the term ‘ontology’ has made it possible to postulate the diversity of worlds, in place of the diversity of world conceptions. The concept supports a process of decolonisation of thought, which refuses to assume the supremacy of one epistemology over all others. In this sense, working with concepts is a complex task, since it underpins many of the epistemological and ethical issues at stake in our disciplines. This is why we have placed the ‘ontology’ at the heart of the collective reflections proposed in this book.

It would be pointless to summarise here the innovations that, explicitly or implicitly,

have been deployed in the wake of this turning point. By way of introduction, we simply wish to emphasise and illustrate the dual importance of the conceptual work made possible by the term ‘ontology’. It’s not just a matter of reporting, transcribing or translating phenomena. The words we use are also ‘thinking machines’. They are nodes from which we question phenomena. What kinds of questions do they prompt us to ask, and what kinds of problematisations do they encourage us to prioritise? Concepts are truly tools for thinking (and not simply for communicating), from which archaeologists and anthropologists conduct their interpretations. And it is this stage of interpretation that lies at the heart of the questions raised by the contributors to this book.

Let us open it with an example.

How does an event exist?

During the summer of 2021, Belgium was shaken by an unprecedented event. Multiple factors indeed combined to create historical floods. An awful summer, typically Belgian, with never-ending rains, an overflowed dam and a whole country was drowned in terror as valleys were submerged under a continuous wave of water, mud and debris (**Fig. 1.1**).

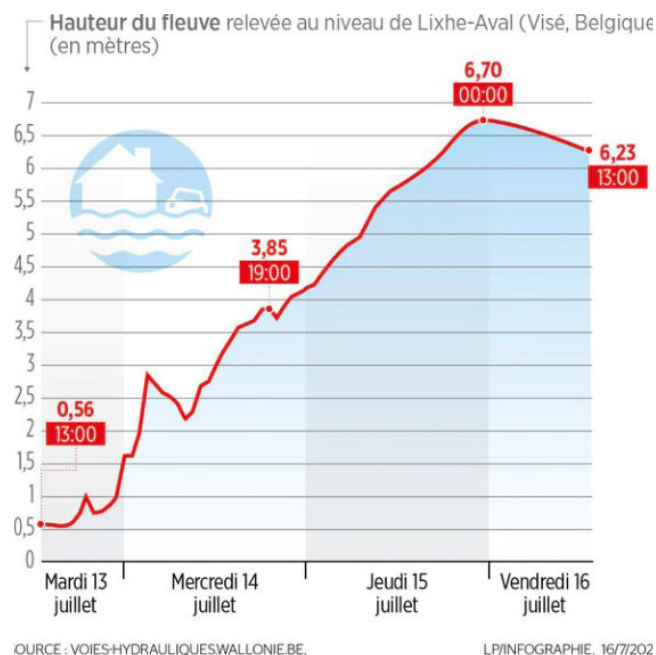


Fig. 1.1 Height of the river Meuse between the 13th and the 16th of July 2021 (©LP/Infographie; data: voies-hydrauliques.wallonie.be)

Long story short, this hydrological disaster which principally hit the south of the country was the deadliest known so far in Belgium with 39 casualties, but it also led to tremendous property damages, affected multiple infrastructures, and caused a series of environmental issues. The flood left, in its wake, devastated villages and towns and roughly 220.000 tons of debris. Once cleared away from flooded areas and countless riverbanks, these mountains of rubbish were evacuated to various temporary storage areas to await sorting, recycling, incineration, or burial in landfill.

This disaster is very difficult to grasp. Its extent however was manifested by various images: that of the violence of the ongoing event (**Fig. 1.2**) as well as the magnitude of the damage it caused, epitomised by the gigantic heaps of things swept away by the flood (**Fig. 1.3**). In these images, one finds many narratives and stories but also stark contrasts. And, in these contrasts, questions. Questions that, in this brief introduction, will revolve around the way one can look at what happened during the summer of 2021.



Fig. 1.2 Flood at Mont-Saint-Guibert on the 15th of July 2021 (©Quentin Van Belle)

Being confronted with this multiplicity indeed first begs an important question: if one aims at a faithful account of the floods, what perspective should be adopted to describe them? What materials should be mobilised to analyse them? The destructive event in itself and the heaps of debris appear like two aspects of the same phenomenon. But how exactly are they linked to the floods? What are the trajectories that open if one picks their thread, uses them as starting point? When it comes down to it, what stories do these images tell us?



Fig. 1.3 Streets at Chênée (Liège) on the 19th of July 2021 (©D.R.)

The heaps of debris: immobility, olfactive presence and ethical issues

The accumulations of debris are often characterised by their immobility, the disturbing quietness of a past event of which only clues remain. Images such as those of figures 1.2 and 1.3 present some sort of semiotic relationship. They represent a fixed, condensed account of the floods. When they are not found *in situ* (that is to say where the torrents of water carried them), the heaps of debris reveal sorting efforts. They show gathering, compacting, containment, and concealment. They bear the mark of a planned intervention like this 8 km long strip of destruction debris – 150.000 tons give or take – gathered by public authorities on a stretch of abandoned highway close to the city of Liège (**Fig. 1.4**).

When gathered or processed, heaps of debris also stand out by their olfactive presence. Odors that emanate from them evoke the slow ripening of the massive tangle of things that are almost impossible to inventory. Almost peaceful, they nonetheless create emanations hinting at the existence of the event on the longer term. Through percolations in the soil, the debris deeply mark the landscape beyond what the eye can see.

Although listing every single thing that the heaps contain appears pointless, one cannot forget that they are first and foremost composite entities. The homogeneity they could display at first sight is the result of an incongruous bundling. A series of processes which ripped these objects from their original intimate contexts to throw them in the cold streets, random public areas or, later on, in some sort of dystopian wasteland.



Fig. 1.4 Debris gathered on an abandoned highway ramp at Juprelle (Liège) on the 3rd of September 2021 (©AFP – Kilian Fichou)

Heaps are also witnesses. They testify to consumerist behaviours which, little by little (and way beforehand the floods) have built the sheer amplitude of these masses of things. If a toaster is found with a group of hairdryers, together they say something of the practices that constitute our daily lives. As symbols of unbridled consumerism, the heaps can be the support of political and ethical stances.

These accumulations of debris are peculiar objects. They are at once a symbol and the support of various affects. They are simultaneously a distinct mass with its particular material properties and an entity randomly composed of objects and furnishings that once populated Walloon houses. They represent the bare privacy of individuals and their daily lives as much as an anonymous social landscape, a structure, shared ways of life and patterns of consumption.

On closer inspection, the image that the heaps offer says a lot about the events. However, the narratives that emerge when facing the accumulation of debris contrast with the actual floods in many ways. When looking at the photographs and recordings capturing the ongoing disaster, the story one can write starting from the events almost appear antithetical to the narratives opening up from the heaps of debris.

The flood event: fluidity, temporality and affective dimensions

The apparent fixity of the pile of things indeed contrasts with the fluidity of the devastating waves, their extreme mobility (Figs 1.5 & 1.6). The heaps often bear the traces of organising human hands whereas the events show the image of an untameable environment and of people submerged by conditions they witness and endure. The compacity of the accumulations of debris obscures the maximal scattering that was their previous mode of existence.



Fig. 1.5 Houses destroyed by the flood at Pepinster (Verviers) on the 16th of July (©EPA)

The organisation of things and their gathering in space is put in perspective with the events and their chaotic nature that breached the limits of all buildings, villages or towns. What appears more or less managed afterwards is presented as uncontrollable; the debris that are circumscribed were once impossible to contain.

The silence of the strip of destruction remains leaves in the shadow the extreme hustle and bustle of the floods. The noise intensity of the events left no trace in the heaps gathered out of sight. Partially occulted due to its peripheral situation from urban centres, the confinement of the heap contrasts with the public nature and wide broadcasting of the events.

Where these contrasts are concerned, the epistemological position to take is worth considering. Do we follow the chronology of events or do we focus on their end-results? As soon as this question is raised, it introduces innumerable modes of existence of the floods.

This disaster indeed continues to exist along multiple lines. Beyond their

material traces, the floods survive in conversations, feelings, sensations, memories, concerns. They persist in the guise of media reports, political projects but also in the reconfiguration of landscapes, villages and towns, through life trajectories, support networks... These processes are as many modes of existence of the floods.



Fig. 1.6 Flood at their highest at Pepinster (Verviers) on the 15th of July (@Giny Verbrugge)

Furthermore, when stepping back from the heap and the event in itself, one is forced to admit that the floods actually existed way before their actual occurrence, in an array of factors that, little by little, have created their conditions of possibility. Beyond climate change and intense rains, the emergence of the disaster was linked to urbanisation practices, land-use patterns, disregard for identified flood zones, deforestation, soil impermeabilisation, or the management of hydraulic resources. What happened in 2021 reflects practices, human footprint on specific milieus, and tampering with so-called ‘natural’ spaces. The event is hence built up over a long period of time that, in a way, the heap synthesises too.

These modes of existence immerse us in a variety of temporalities such as the enduring nature of the heap – which was eventually processed – or the fast pace of

the events. The long-lasting and partly indelible effects are incommensurate with the sudden character of the flood. The geological and geophysical temporalities which contributed to its occurrence are also of a different order than the few days of terror, weeks of cleaning, and months of mourning. The event will also persist long after the heaps of debris are gone, most notably through the pollution of pedological layers through percolation, but also in the almost uncontrollable spread of the Japanese knotweed carried by the rushing waters to large areas the invasive plant had not started to colonise before.

The heap of debris and the flood event: on the multiple modes of existence

While being almost perfectly antithetical, the heap and the event say something fundamental about one another. They're both an important and indissociable part of the summer of 2021. Focusing on only one of them is leaving aside an essential part of the flood phenomenon whereas considering them separately is necessarily an arbitrary posture.

Our brief foray into the 2021 floods hence leaves us in the midst of epistemological concerns. It triggers questions that we constantly face as researchers. Whether we encounter the heap or describe the event, which selection do we operate? How do we deal with a phenomenon manifested through very contrasted images? What temporal or spatial scale do we focus on? How do we zoom in or out? Do we favour a bird's-eye view of the heap to come to grips with its sheer extent or do we extract countless things from its bowels to inventory its many components?

How do we define the meanings of our objects of research? What is made visible in the heap and the event? Are they the mirror of a society and its consumerist tendencies? Do they reflect successive land-use strategies? Is it the privacy of thousands of people that is brought in plain light? All of these things – society, privacy, uses and spaces – are of course tangled up together. Fundamentally, how do we leave room for a multiplicity of narratives, for different modes of presence?

These are rather general questions and, with the heap and the event, we only pulled a few threads of the flood phenomenon. Numerous other trajectories or developments are possible and most certainly worth exploring.

This image, for example (**Fig. 1.7**), offers us a brand-new direction. The floods of 2021 also exist in the guise of actions and interpretations. The researcher can then try to follow what is mobilised to comprehend the event and identify (and sometimes punish) scapegoats. This opens up new leads which, with the occurrences of other cases, allow the potential development of comparative approaches. With that beaver in mind, we can evoke the treatment targeting, in various regions of the world, bats or pangolins almost as soon the Covid-19 pandemic started...



Fig. 1.7 Beaver nailed to a plank at Esneux (Liège) along the Ourthe river in July 2021 (©D.R.). The sign reads (translation by the authors): *We're fed up with the damages caused by the beavers everywhere and in our gardens. The beavers have killed people with the floods. The beavers cut thousands of trees that were swept away with the floods. These trees have created dams that then caused tsunamis or hit houses that collapsed killing people. These pests have to be eliminated. The Department of Nature and Forest behaves like integrists when protecting them*

Other photographs could also be considered illustrative of new and fleeting reconfigurations that the floods created in a landscape long conceptualised through an ontological rift between 'nature' and 'culture'. The event indeed showed how cities, countryside and forests are interrelated. Photographs taken in the city of Liège, for example, showed wild animals roaming the streets or strolling on the banks of the river Meuse. These could speak of demographic and urban expansion or endangered species and ecosystems.

If these considerations on the heap of debris, the flood event and related phenomenon have a clear epistemological dimension they are also deeply set in an ontological perspective. They indeed question what IS or, in other words, the many ways in which things exist, come to be and persist.

What is a pile of rubbish? A thing, an object in itself? The indicator of consumption

habits, the remains of an event? The end result of a collective effort, the support of countless narratives? A political instrument, a news story...? And what is the flood? A consequence, an occurrence, a byproduct, a trigger?

Heap and flood are both embedded in multiple ontological categories, as evocations, symbols, ecological threat, political narrative, emotional motive, geological element, hydrological or ecological event but also in their materiality. They are all of that at the same time and very contrasted: evocative of the solidarity between people and the collective, grassroots, mobilisation of efforts as much as they reflect human excesses, creating a world of garbage. Whenever one starts unravelling this meshwork, whatever thread is picked up, there's a risk of leaving the essential aside.

The heap illustrates a particular mode of interaction with the flood as it reflects the management of some of its consequences. But how exactly do we describe the relationship between these two aspects of the same phenomenon? Is one the prolongation of the other? Its derivation, its domestication, or its negation?

It is precisely with the multiple modes of existence of the objects of inquiry in archaeology and anthropology that we wanted to open this collective book. This brought together archaeologists and anthropologists to present ontology-oriented research and discuss the current impact of the ontological turn on both disciplines.

Organisation of the volume

This volume constitutes the final publication of the proceedings of a workshop entitled *Ontologies in the Making. Anthropological and Archaeological Perspectives* that took place on the 18-19th of May 2022 at the Université catholique of Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium) in the framework of the Collaborative Research Actions Talos 20/25-106 (*The Santorini Eruption. Comparative anthropological and volcanological research of an archaeological case study*; <https://talos.minoan-aegis.net/accueil>). We acknowledge the financial help of the *Fonds national de recherche scientifique*, CEMA (*Centre d'étude des mondes antiques*), INCAL (*Institut des civilisations, arts et lettres*) and IACCHOS (*Institut d'analyse du changement dans l'histoire et les sociétés contemporaines*). We also thank Nicolas Kress for the help provided during the workshop and the formatting of the present proceedings.

It is divided in four sections, each comprising two papers that address similar topics or echo one another in some aspects. To further capture the richness of the discussions that took place during the workshop, each section is complemented by a Q&A in which both authors underline the key messages of their papers, develop their arguments, or unpack ideas that are in line with the overall theme of the volume.

The first section is dedicated to the notion of 'Anthropocene'. When writing the proposal for the workshop, our main question was to know if the ontological turn offered epistemological or methodological opportunities to unveil some of the detrimental dynamics that characterise the world today. As underlined by Knappett in this volume, one could argue that changing reality actually "requires a rethink, not

a redo – shifting our metaphysics so that we can alter our material practices”. This is precisely what both authors of the first section strive to achieve, with a specific focus on the role that archaeology can play in such a process.

Witmore presents a detailed rebuttal against the notion of ‘Deep Anthropocene’ and highlights how the dynamics that characterise current human/technologic assemblages are of another magnitude than past modes of living when their impact on the environment is concerned. He argues that the proportionality of what it is to be human today – with myriads of non-human entities we created but do not really fully control anymore – has grown far beyond whatever existed before and questions what that means for archaeology.

Olivier also takes stock of the power and magnitude of the Anthropocene which violently conflates the immense geological and biological time frames with the ephemeral time spans of human societies. He also argues that this clash brings on challenges that are so urgent and disproportionate that it leaves humanity close to powerless. Olivier’s main point nonetheless revolves around the ontological nature of archaeology at the dusk of the history of mankind. He sees this anthropocenic temporality as heralding a new age for archaeology which is precisely about studying what remains after, about comprehending the transformation of the memory in matter.

The dialogue between Witmore and Olivier can be seen at once as a much-needed reality check and a plea for a profound ethical and conceptual change in the way we, humans, relate to the world, other entities, space and time. Grave and thought-provoking, their discussion corners us in facing the barely thinkable, the end of human history. Far from being purely pessimistic, their exchanges nonetheless show a profound discontentment but also features ways in which archaeology – combined with an epistemology of bricolage and openness – is ideally situated to help reimagining “a re-grounded culture that prioritised reverence over mastery, cooperation over conflict [and] stability over limitless growth”.

The second section focus on the modalities of relations that can emerge when one is confronted with different types of objects. We believe that this focus on relationality can help building bridges between archaeology and anthropology. So that ethnographers are better armed to “focus more on what objects do in different contexts rather than what locals think the objects can do or what powers and meanings are ascribed to [them]” whereas archaeologists can illustrate how a focus on materiality can contribute to interpretations without systematically referring to anthropological analogies (Fahlander 2017: 79-81) or do so with an informed eye.

Long yam tubers and networked printers are at the start of Coupaye’s exploration of technical objects, both as mediators of human actions and intentions in specific milieus but also as co-actants in conceptualisations of the world. In so doing, his focus is first and foremost methodological and revolves around ways in which encounters with technical objects can be dealt with by ethnographers and archaeologists and help to reveal particular ontological regimes.

With his study of a wide range of architectural models as epistemic objects, Knappett discusses how certain things can be at once real and virtual, a dynamic that is fundamental to many creative practices. He also highlights that although material engagements can ultimately lead to constraining entanglements, such encounters also hold the potential of triggering creative disruption and reimagining.

Coupaye and Knappett's discussion is first and foremost about milieu (human-environment-objects) and material engagement (entanglement, affordance, emergence). Both recognise ontologies as concretisations of specific modalities of relations, as processes of becoming and not only being. They also highlight that such processes are always contextual and emergent at the moment of encounter between people and things and, of course, scholars and objects of enquiry. What matters to them are the ontological claims that are made, actualised or generated through various modalities of relations rather than specific ontological regimes.

The third section is devoted to indigenous ontologies and assemblages. It revolves around the idea of conveying 'otherness' and/or looking for similarities when confronted to collections or categories of objects that are alien to their observers. This type of posture is evocative of Keane's (2003) argument that highlight the need to distinguish between the epistemologies of estrangement and of intimacy. Both papers also discuss how writings or marks ultimately behave beyond their symbolic meaning and can be understood as means to think with or through, akin to Knappett's discussion on epistemic objects.

In her paper, Franco chooses as a starting point a large collection of native artifacts and books collected in the second half of the 19th century by Father Saint-Onge, a diocesan priest, itinerant secular missionary and linguist. Her main goal is to explore how Saint-Onge played a role in the construction of non-indigenous knowledge of the First People of North America. Historiographical in scope, the paper also addresses the heuristic potential of the archives she studied to unveil particular dynamics in the ontological confrontation of Western culture and Native world-views.

With a focus on the geometric designs that appear on Woodland pottery, Watts explores a series of approaches towards non-figurative art in archaeology and art history. This is ultimately the multi-medial nature of such designs in the Great Lakes area during the Late Woodland period that triggers his reflection on the ontologies of images, the immanence of design and its affective properties.

Their discussion starts by evoking the notion of care in data collection and knowledge production which is often threatened by the imperatives of academia and cultural management. This notion of a care-based epistemology then leads on evoking processes of decolonisation but also the interplays between object biographies and the role of cultural institutions in repatriation initiatives.

The fourth section navigates between the material traces of archaeology and intangible lessons from ethnography. Both papers illustrate how, as practitioners

(ethnographers and archaeologists), we can move from investigating people and/or things – with a preferential focus on one or the other depending on the discipline – to approach society or culture to understanding networks of actants, now or in the past. They also discuss what this theoretical shift in perspective entails in terms of methodology and evaluate how we can trace and document relations in a less anthropocentric way. The two contributions in this section also address important questions pertaining to the Nature/Culture divide and highlight issues of gender.

With her in-depth exploration of the intercultural encounters between young ecofeminist westerners and an indigenous (Kichwa) organisation in the context of passing on midwifery practices, Rival illustrates the existence of Amazonian world-views that revolve around the role of the body in shaping consciousness and the importance of caring for it. But her study also allows her to address crucial epistemological questions pertaining to the collaboration between archaeology and anthropology in lowland South American research.

Embracing Donna Haraway's invitation to tentacular thinking and following Descola's seminal work on ontologies, Shapland sets on to offer a new reading of a famous Bronze Age Cretan assemblage: the Temple Repositories found in the palace of Knossos at the beginning of the 20th century. He highlights the existence of a collective, gathering and connecting a wide range of entities, in service of a palatial ontology but also reconfigurations that followed the Thera eruption and in which folk cultural ways regained their importance paving the way for more domestic collectives.

Their Q&A starts with an in-depth discussion on Descola's ontological scheme but also on questions of dominant VS subaltern ontologies, patriarchy and feminism. At first, midwifery practices in the Amazonia and Bronze Age Cretan iconography may indeed seem worlds apart but Rival and Shapland illustrate the existence, in both instances, of prominent women that were part of a collective – whether it revolved around the textile industry and/or birthing practices and midwifery – that had a unique secular power. Their dialogue also highlights the importance of disambiguating the notions of 'agency', 'autonomy' and 'conscious action' but also tackles how gender and the body need to be accounted for in relational approaches of past and present phenomenon.

The book features no conclusion because we wanted to leave it as open-ended as possible. The pairs of authors address multiple key-questions in their dialogues and this is what we want readers to keep in mind. Where ontologies are concerned, we second Knappett and Coupaye and believe that they need to be considered both emically and ethically. That they are alternative world-views and conceptions that are profoundly alien to us is a well-known fact and this will continue to challenge scholars in human and social sciences. But one needs also to keep in mind that, when confronted to the collectives we investigate, we constantly make ontological claims as well, both at the methodological and epistemic levels.

Recognizing this is an absolute prerequisite for rethinking the ways in which we relate

to others and the world. This, we believe, is probably one of the biggest challenges humanity is facing today. In our globalised and heavily connected world where some sort of dematerialisation of relations seem to characterise our daily interactions, it is indeed important to remember that the pace at which we consume resources and keep building ever-expanding infrastructures is frantic to say the least. Human and non-humans are deeply entwined in networks that gain in complexity as they expand. The relational approach that our book presents and questions through different case-studies can certainly help critically unravelling these intricate networks of things and people, a necessary step if we want to reconfigure them into more sustainable and equitable collectives and commons.

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