

тема года 2012 annual theme:

СТРУКТУРЫ И КУЛЬТУРЫ ИМПЕРСКОГО И ПОСТИМПЕРСКОГО РАЗНООБРАЗИЯ

STRUCTURES AND CULTURES OF IMPERIAL AND POST-IMPERIAL DIVERSITY

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FORUM AI

**ОСТРАНЕНИЕ НОМАДИЗМА
UNSETTLING NOMADISM**

Сергей УШАКИН

О ЛЮДЯХ ПУТИ: НОМАДИЗМ СЕГОДНЯ
ВВЕДЕНИЕ К ФОРУМУ ПРИГЛАШЕННОГО РЕДАКТОРА

The truth is that, in their heart of hearts, Russians hate all occupations that tie them down to a particular spot. ... They lack the feeling for home as a fixed and old-established topographical point. We think of a particular house or village where we were born and where we spent our impressionable days of childhood; these regard home purely as a social center – they are at home everywhere, so long as their family is about them. So you will find them at Continental watering-places, never alone, like Englishmen, but moving about in tribes and batches. Nomads! They have a fairly rich language, yet it contains no equivalent for our word “home”. ... those whose ancestors have been accustomed to wander over limitless spaces many be supposed to have acquired a wider vision, a more restless temperament. This is reflected in the conversation of Russians, for nothing is more difficult than to keep them from ‘wandering from the point’; their thoughts flit airily from one subject to another with inexhaustible wealth of ideas. That is their social charm. ... They like a wide grasp of their subject; they reach out too far, and yet must perforce include it all. ... It is not willful prolixity so much as an irresistible heredity straining after spaciousness and wide horizons.

Norman Douglas, *Intellectual Nomadism*, 1925.¹

¹ Norman Douglas. *Intellectual Nomadism* // Norman Douglas. *Experiments*. New York, 1925. Pp. 137, 138, 143, 144.

Не надо грязи?

В августе 2012 г. социалистическое правительство Франции ликвидировало несколько лагерей, разбитых “нелегальными странниками” (*illegal travelers*) в Лионе, Париже и Лилле. “Странники” согласились добровольно вернуться “домой” после того, как власти предложили им триста евро (на человека) в качестве “компенсации” и бесплатные билеты на чартерный рейс в Бухарест. Объясняя прессе причины этой широкомасштабной операции, Мануэль Валлис, министр внутренних дел, настаивал на том, что решение правительства о “добровольном” выдворении нескольких сотен человек было вызвано “санитарными опасениями” (*sanitary concerns*), а также напряженными отношениями, которые установились “между местными жителями и странниками” после появления импровизированных лагерей в рабочих кварталах французских городов.²

В своем репортаже “нелегальными странниками” *The New York Times* называет восточноевропейских рома, цыган, известных во Франции под именем *gens du voyage*, “люди пути”. Нынешняя попытка избавить рабочие кварталы Франции от “людей пути” была не первой. Двадцать лет раньше президент республики Николя Саркози потребовал от министра внутренних дел “положить конец диким поселениям и лагерям рома” (*the wild squatting and camping of the Roma*). В ходе той “зачистки” двадцать четыре чартерных рейса репатриировали в Румынию и Болгарию более восьми тысяч цыган. Ирония ситуации, впрочем, не осталась незамеченной среди самих репатриантов. В интервью журналу *Spiegel* один из них, ностальгируя по временам настоящих *французских* президентов Ширака и Миттерана, заметил, что все нынешние беды – от “обезумевшего венгра Саркози”.³

В публичной риторике по поводу “людей пути” мне бы хотелось особо выделить “грязь” как основную причину “санитарных опасений”. “Грязь” стала своеобразным внешним признаком “диких” кочевников,

² David Jolly. French President Shuts Down Roma Camps and Seeks Relocation // The New York Times. 2012. August 10. P. 7. См. также: New French government moves against Roma camps // BBC News Europe. 2012. August 9. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19194639>.

³ Ullrich Fichtner. Driving out the Unwanted: Sarkozy’s War Against the Roma // Spiegel Online. 2010. September 15. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/driving-out-the-unwanted-sarkozy-s-war-against-the-roma-a-717324-2.html>. Подробную статистику см.: Steven Erlanger. Document Cites French Bid to Oust Roma // The New York Times. 2010. September 12.

их социально-санитарной метонимией. В выборе этого тропа представители французских властей, разумеется, были далеко не оригинальны. Противопоставление занесенного “мусора” и местной “чистоты” традиционно используется в качестве приема, позволяющего вписать антагонизм оседлых горожан и кочующих странников в современный символический ландшафт. “Очистим Москву от мусора!” – призывал в 2005 г. предвыборный ролик партии “Родина” (с участием Дмитрия Рогозина), изображающий “кавказцев”, мусорящих в столичном сквере.⁴ “Грязь” и “мусор” здесь – симптомы беспорядка более значительных масштабов: под угрозой оказывается не просто чистота конкретного пространства, под угрозой – чистота самой “родины”.

Понятно, что дифференцирующая роль “грязи” только политикой не ограничивается. Почти сто лет назад в своих “Наблюдениях о румынской народной музыке” венгерский композитор Бела Барток в ином контексте, но с сходными целями использовал риторику “загрязнения”. В 1914 г., яростно отвергая предложения рецензента о включении цыганских мелодий в свой каталог румынских народных песен, Барток так аргументировал свои выводы о пагубном воздействии цыган на музыку румынских крестьян:

Цыгане искажают (*pervert*) мелодии, меняют их ритм на “цыганский”, вводят в народный обиход мелодии, услышанные в иных краях и в дворянских поместьях. Иными словами, они загрязняют (*contaminate*) стиль настоящей (*genuine*) народной музыки.⁵

Адаптация как подмена. Полифония как искажение. Нерасчлененность региональных и классовых различий как неразборчивость. Несоблюдение локальных кодов как дикость. Смешение как грязь. Грязь – как смешение.

За этим каталогом нарушений пространственных типологий, стилистических конвенций, социальных границ и национальных иерархий, точнее за этим отказом “людям пути” в естественной чистоте, стоит идея о принципиальной важности индивидуальной и групповой привязанности к месту. Местность, территория, пространство воспринимаются не только как среда обитания, но и как исток национальной идентичности или, скажем, национального музыкального стиля, и как материальная гарантия их исходной чистоты и ясности. Соответ-

⁴ Ролик доступен по адресу: <http://youtu.be/Hin3o2N8Ly0>.

⁵ Béla Bartok. Observations on Rumanian Folk Music // B. Bartok. Essays / Ed. Benjamin Suchoff. New York, 1976. P. 198. Обсуждение этой работы см.: Ronald Bogue. Deleuze's Way: Essays in Transverse Ethics and Aesthetics. Aldershot, 2007. Pp. 118-119.

ственно история и политика понимаются в терминах ботаники – как взаимодействие со структурами, укоренившимися в той или иной почве. Лииза Малкки, американский антрополог, справедливо отмечала, что выбор типологических примеров у этой политической ботаники крайне ограничен: “экологически неподвижные” корни здесь пользуются явным преимуществом.⁶ В словаре символов этой ботаники гораздо проще обнаружить дуб, сакуру, кедр или березу, чем, скажем, подорожник, пырей ползучий или перекати-поле. Примат заземленной древовидности в политической ботанике не случаен. Как показал Сергей Соколовский в своем исследовании биополитических дискурсов, укорененная неподвижность становится точкой отсчета, позволяющей проводить экологическое и юридическое размежевание – между эндемиками и экзотами, коренными и пришлыми, полезными и сорными.⁷

На фоне такого территориального фундаментализма “люди пути”, лишенные и своего “места”, и правильных “корней”, представляют не только санитарную, но и пространственно-типологическую проблему. Где именно искать те принципы, которые могли бы прояснить ускользающую природу этих странников? Еще более проблемными оказываются смысл и функции самого “пути”, у которого нет четкой точки назначения, а есть лишь конгломерат полустанков, слабо связанных между собой.⁸ Да и является ли “путем” сама ритмичная миграция традиционного номада с одного пастбища на другое? Куда ведет этот путь по кругу?

Долгую историю попыток *локализации* “людей пути” во времени и пространстве успешной назвать трудно. Это введение не место для детального библиографического обзора работ по кочевничеству,⁹ поэтому

⁶ См. подробнее: Liisa Malkki. National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees // Cultural Anthropology. 1992. Vol. 7. No. 1. Pp. 28-29.

⁷ Сергей Соколовский. Аборигенность и права на территорию: антропологические и биогеографические параллели // Ab Imperio. 2010. №. 3. С. 319-344.

⁸ См.: Vilem Flusser. Thinking About Nomadism // Flusser. The Freedom of the Migrant. Objections to Nationalism. Urbana, 2003. P. 43.

⁹ Полезный обзор этих дискуссий см., например, в гл. “Историография номадизма Н. Н. Крадина” (Н. Н. Крадин. Кочевники Евразии. Алматы, 2007. С. 9-59). См. также: Р. М. Мавродина. Киевская Русь и кочевники (печенеги, торки, половцы). Историографический очерк. Ленинград, 1983; В. В. Каргалов. Внешнеполитические факторы развития феодальной Руси. Феодальная Русь и кочевники. Москва, 1967. См.: также статью Дэвида Снита и последующую дискуссию в *Ab Imperio*: David Sneath. Tribe, Ethnos, Nation: Rethinking Evolutionist Social Theory and Representations of Nomadic Inner Asia // Ab Imperio. 2009. No. 4. Подробный обзор современных подходов к изучению “людей пути” в зарубежной антропологии и истории см.:

я выделю лишь одну тенденцию в (преимущественно) русскоязычной литературе, которая позволяет понять, как пространственно-типологическая проблемность номадизма с удивительной настойчивостью стимулировала попытки вывести этот феномен за скобки привычных аналитических и интерпретационных установок. Валентность подобных попыток могла меняться от откровенно негативной до ярко выраженной позитивной, но принципиальным оставалось стремление подвергнуть номадизм и своеобразной локализации, и своеобразной цивилизационной изоляции то в виде “исторического тупика”, то в виде “особой альтернативы социальной эволюции”.

Начну издалека. В XIII в. даосский монах Чан Чунь (1148–1227) из Китая совершил трехлетнюю поездку к Чингисхану, посетив на своем пути Монголию, Сибирь и Среднюю Азию. Сопровождавший Чан Чуня ученик оставил нам своеобразный травелог, документирующий отзывы учителя по поводу увиденного. Незнакомое в основном воспринималось Чан Чунем как неверное:

В заграничных владениях, у отдаленных варваров, не узнать всего; там нет правильного распределения Инь и Ян и времен года.¹⁰

Особенно глубокое гносеологическое недоумение, судя по всему, вызвала у монаха встреча с кочевниками Монголии, живущими “в черных телегах и белых юртах”:

Куда бы взор ни достигал, не видно конца горам и рекам; ветер и туман беспрерывны, и реки вечно текут. Для чего Творец, образуя вселенную, в этих странах повелел людям пасти коней и коров? Они пьют кровь, жрут шерсть, как в глубокой древности; носят высокие шапки и связывают волосы различно от Китая. Святые мудрецы не могли завещать им письменного образования, и они целые века живут беспечно, довольствуясь сами собой.¹¹

Этот поиск признаков “правильного” в сочетании с базовым вопросом “для чего Творец повелел им пасти коней и коров?” продолжает оставаться в центре дебатов о природе номадизма и сегодня. Напри-

Joseph C. Berland and Aparno Rao. *Unveiling the Stranger: A New Look at Peripatetic Peoples* // Berland and Rao (Eds.). *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*. London. 2004. Pp. 1-31.

¹⁰ Си Ю Цзи, или Описание путешествия на запад даосского монаха Чан Чуня // <http://www.rgo-sib.ru/book/kniga/114.htm>. Обсуждение этого источника см.: Б. Я. Владимирцев. *Общественный строй монголов. Монгольский кочевой феодализм*. Ленинград, 1934. С. 9, 36.

¹¹ Описание путешествия на запад даосского монаха Чан Чуня.

мер, в 2002 г. группа историков, анализируя современное состояние исследований кочевников, констатировала, что в последнее десятилетие

предмет дискуссии сконцентрировался вокруг вопроса о том, что является основой специфичности номадизма: внутренняя природа скотоводства, являющегося основной так называемого номадного способа производства, или же особенности адаптации кочевников к земледельческим “мир-империям”.¹²

Постоянство ключевого вопроса показательно: лишенный привычных пространственно-временных ориентиров, номадизм с трудом вписывается в сложившиеся способы концептуализации истории. Отсутствие у номадизма внятных пространственных и эпистемологических координат приводит к тому, что странничество нередко начинает восприниматься как странность, а процесс блуждания – как заблуждение. В итоге и сам феномен кочевничества, сама категория “жизни в пути” закономерно превращается в *отклонение* от нормы, в “вынужденную” уступку среде. Геннадий Марков, ведущий советский специалист по кочевникам Азии, в главе о теоретических проблемах кочевничества”, например, объяснял возникновение номадизма так:

Кочевничество возникало, развивалось и существовало главным образом там, где исчезали или отсутствовали возможности для достаточно продуктивного, хотя бы мотыжного земледелия. На протяжении истории у кочевников была тенденция к оседанию на землю, но зачастую, встречая существенные препятствия, не реализовывалась, так как оседание могло быть связано с потерей независимости и подчинением государствам оседло-земледельческих областей.¹³

Иными словами, кочевники – это неудавшиеся земледельцы, не сумевшие сделать правильный выбор на повороте истории.¹⁴ Советские

¹² Д. М. Бондаренко, А. В. Коротаев, Н. Н. Крадин. Социальная эволюция, альтернативы и номадизм // Кочевая альтернатива социальной эволюции / Под ред. Н. Н. Крадина, Д. М. Бондаренко. Москва, 2002. С. 9. Сходные подходы см.: В. И. Колесник. Экономические возможности кочевых обществ // Вопросы истории. 2007. № 4. С. 142-152.

¹³ Г. Е. Марков. Кочевники Азии: структура хозяйства и общественной организации. Москва, 1976. С. 279.

¹⁴ За полтора века до Маркова автор статьи “О Киргизцах” в “Вестнике Европы” развивал сходный тезис, связывая кочевое скотоводство казахов (“киргизцев”) с их неумением и неспособностью вести оседлое земледелие: “Степь Киргизская естественно способна к одному обитанию кочующих пастухов. Водворения постоянного сделать на ней невозможно по причине бесплодия почвы, усеянной солончаками

антропологи, авторы академической “Истории первобытного общества”, довели этот подход до логического конца, подытожив в 1986 г.:

В исторической перспективе развитие высокоспециализированных обществ охотников, рыболовов и собирателей и кочевых скотоводов представляют собой тупиковые ветви и лишь земледельческое или комплексное земледельческо-скотоводческое хозяйство позволяет перешагнуть рубеж классовообразования и успешно развиваться дальше.¹⁵

С точки зрения такой телеологии оседлости отсутствие собственного места, собственной базы для “успешного развития” служит эпистемологическим основанием для выдворения самого феномена за границы “исторической перспективы”: единственным приемлемым местом, уготовленным историей (и историками) для “людей пути”, оказывается тупик.¹⁶

Настойчивая потребность видеть в номадизме цивилизационный сбой не случайна. “История всегда пишется с точки зрения оседлых... даже если в ее центре – номады”, – справедливо отмечали Жиль Делёз и Феликс Гваттари.¹⁷ “Тупиковое” восприятие кочевничества, – как и “грязь странников”, – отражает не столько специфику самого номадизма, сколько обозначает пределы тех интерпретационных и нарративных конвенций, в которые его пытаются безуспешно вписать. “Санитарные опасения” по поводу чистоты национальных жанров имеют ту же структуру, что и “цивилизационные” обобщения о безвыходной судьбе кочевничества. Залог социальной и символической чистоты видится не в ликвидации отбросов, но в изоляции и депортации людей, ассоциированных с ними. Мэри Дуглас, британский антрополог, в своих работах неоднократно подчеркивала эту связь между загрязнением и

и совершенного недостатка лесов. По сему степь сия ни для кого иного неудобна, кроме Киргизов, или подобных им номадов... ибо ни к земледелию, ни к промыслам Киргизец не способен, да и земля и климат его к тому неудобны”. Герман. О Киргизцах // Вестник Европы. 1821. Т. 121. № 22. С. 130.

¹⁵ История первобытного общества. Эпоха первобытной родовой общины / Под ред. Ю. В. Бромлея, А. И. Першица, В. А. Шнирельмана. Москва, 1986. С. 244.

¹⁶ Любопытное обсуждение этого стремления советских историков и антропологов “вытеснить” номадов за “рамки диалектики истории” см.: Ernest Gellner. The Nomadism Debate // Gellner. State and Society in Soviet Thought. Oxford, 1988.

¹⁷ Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis, 1987. P. 23. См. русское издание: Жиль Делёз, Феликс Гваттари. Тысяча плато: Капитализм и шизофрения. Екатеринбург, Москва, 2010. С. 41.

социальной дистанцированностью: "...загрязнение становится важным как символическое выражение иных нежелательных контактов, которые могут повлиять на всю структуру идей о социуме и космосе", сложившуюся в данном сообществе.¹⁸

Иными словами, опасность "мусора пришедших" не столько в том, что он может быть заразен, сколько в том, что он может быть *заразителен*. "Смешение с грязью" – это всегда смещение (если не пародия) господствующей структуры или иерархии, это перенос, перевод, транспозиция "элементов одной системы в другую", сопровождающийся сменой значения.¹⁹ Опасность "грязи" – именно в этом, системном, эффекте ее присутствия.

Дуглас справедливо выделяет еще один принципиальный аспект (практически универсальной) тревоги по поводу возможного загрязнения, связанный с привычкой отождествлять загрязнение с осквернением.²⁰ Принципиальна здесь опять-таки не исходная близость этих двух понятий, но системные последствия их близости. Физический и социальный "мусор", понятый как материя вне своего места, проблематизирует социальный и интеллектуальный порядок, остраивая систему, которая до этого воспринималась в виде естественного фона. Акцент на (возможном) загрязнении, таким образом, есть выражение не только санитарно-гигиенической, но и эпистемологической тревоги: грязь – угроза порядку в той же степени, в какой она является и угрозой тем интеллектуальным основаниям и практикам различения, на которых этот порядок строится.²¹ Как пишет Дуглас:

грязь (*dirt*) – это категория-маятник, описывающая события, которые размывают, затемняют, отрицают или еще каким-либо образом запутывают принятые классификации. Главным здесь является ощущение того, что система ценностей, которая обычно находила свое выражение в сложившейся организации вещей, оказалась нарушенной.²²

¹⁸ Mary Douglas. *Pollution* // Douglas. *Implicit and Explicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology*. London, 1975. P. 55.

¹⁹ См. подробнее: Юрий Тынянов. *О пародии* // Ю. Н. Тынянов. *Поэтика. История литературы. Кино*. Москва, 1977. С. 294.

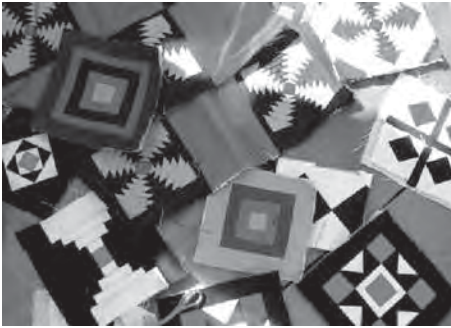
²⁰ Если верить этимологическому словарю Макса Фармера, "пятно" и "порок", например, в чешском языке восходят к одному корню – *skvrna*.

²¹ Mary Douglas. *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London, 1966. Pp.161-162.

²² Douglas. *Pollution*. P. 51.

“Люди пути” – все те передвижники, кочевники, странники, пилигримы, о которых идет речь в форуме “Остранение номадизма”, – играют во многом сходную роль “категории-маятника”. Дестабилизируя – острамая – сложившиеся системы отсчета и классификации, “люди пути” вместе с тем не предлагают сколько-нибудь устойчивой структуры взамен. Искусство диалектики, навыки синтеза (и снятия) противоположностей оказываются в тени иного – *номадического* – способа взаимодействия с противоречивыми реалиями жизни. Брайан Маскуми, канадский теоретик культуры, называет этот принцип работы “флуктуальным” (*fluctual*): целостные системы и устойчивые порядки оказываются невозможными в силу принципиальной разнородности элементов номадического мира. Признание этой дискретности ведет не к ее гомогенизации в рамках линейного нарратива об успешном развитии (как в “мире оседлых”), но к постоянным блужданиям и флуктуациям *среди* элементов.²³

Киргизский *курак* – лоскутное шитье, “сборная конструкция” из подручных материалов, позволяет лучше понять абстрактность этих формулировок (илл. 1). Сшитый из кусков материи, отличающихся по



Илл. 1. Лоскуты, приготовленные для курака.

Несмотря на свою близость традиционному лоскутному шитью, практикуемому в разных культурах, курак имеет принципиальные отличия.

Лоскуты в данном случае редко являются просто материалом, как правило, это уже “кодированные” единицы, структурно выстроенные узоры. Говоря иначе, если в традиционном лоскутном шитье лоскуты – это фонемы, то в кураке мы имеем дело с морфемами, т.е. структурами более сложного порядка. Важно и синтаксическое отличие. Лоскутное

текстуре, цвету и орнаменту, курак не предлагает *главной* траектории своего прочтения. У курака нет точки отсчета, как нет у него и логического конца: к любой стороне шитья может быть добавлен один или несколько рядов.

Наращивая шаг за шагом пространство своего “текста”, взгляд зрителя может двигаться слева направо, сверху вниз, по диагонали или, допустим, по кругу.

²³ См. подробнее: Pierre Joris and Brian Massumi. Notes Toward a Nomadic Poetics (1996–2002) // Joris. A Nomad Poetics. Essays. Middletown, 2003. P. 39.

шитье зачастую не столько разнонаправлено в траекториях предлагаемого чтения, сколько лишено вообще какого бы то ни было направления (илл. 2). Киргизский курак задает четко прописанный ритм, распределяя элементы в определенной последовательности, которая может читаться в разных направлениях.

Однако сводить смысл курака только к этой разнонаправленности текстуальных практик его орнаментов не стоит. Многонаправленность изобразительного “текста” – не только эффект прочтения, но и следствие вполне конкретной материальной структуры. Цветовая и стилистическая разрозненность усиливается здесь разнообразием текстуры сшитых вместе кусков. Задавая отдельный ритм, чередование разнородных материалов (гладкий, ворсинчатый, вышитый и т.п.) одновременно формирует и гетерогенный сенсорный эффект (илл. 3).



Илл. 2. Современное лоскутное шитье (источник: http://loskutch.ya.ru/replies.xml?item_no=2).



Илл. 3. Традиционный курак (фото Айнуры Тургангазиевой).

Визуальная, фактурная и объемная дискретность материальных элементов в сочетании с общей открытостью “внешних” границ этого



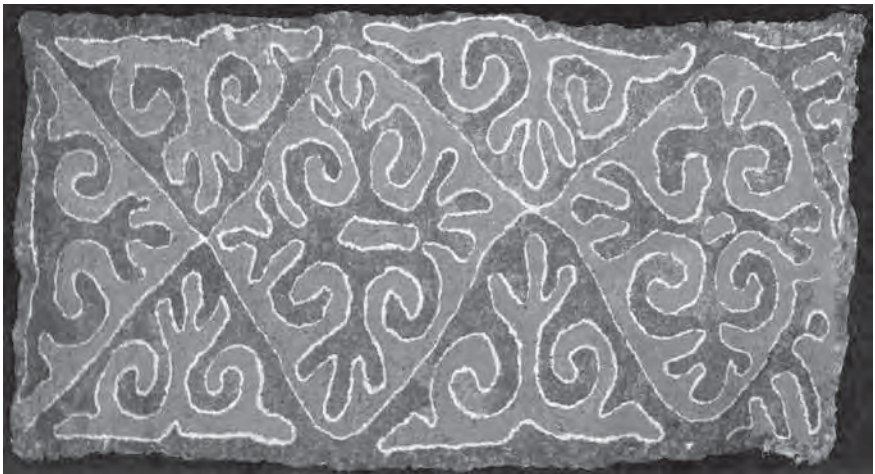
Илл. 4. Современный курак (фото Айнуры Тургангазиевой).

текста оказываются необходимым условием существования данной пластической формы (илл. 4).

Сформулирую чуть иначе. Курак позволяет увидеть, что морфология и синтаксис высказывания могут включать в себя разнонаправленные, несовпадающие и даже взаимоисключающие принципы организации. Отсутствие содержательной целостности и последовательность балансируются

здесь четкой геометрией формы. Пьер Жорис использует эту особенность номадического “текста” для характеристики кубических работ Пабло Пикассо: в обоих случаях суть письма состоит в “синтаксических и грамматических манипуляциях языком с целью его высвобождения от ряда традиционных ограничений”.²⁴

Еще одним примером из этого же материально-эпистемологического ряда может служить *ала кийиз* – киргизский ковер из пестрого войлока. Вместо жестко собранной геометрии курака, здесь нечеткий орнамент из приглушенных красок. Ковер создается путем вкатывания в рыхлую



Илл. 5. Ала кийиз.

²⁴ Pierre Joris. The Nomadism of Pablo Picasso // Pierre Joris. A Nomad Poetics. P. 115.

кошемную основу еще менее сбитого по своей структуре войлока иной окраски, собственно и составляющей узор (илл. 5).

Работа с материалом связана не с его строгой фиксацией в пространстве ковра (строгая фиксация здесь технологически невозможна), но с распределением его подвижных и неподвижных элементов в виде “длящейся вариативности”.²⁵ Итоговый орнамент лишен четких границ точно так же, как он лишен и четкой структуры. В отличие от курака, симметрия повторяющихся элементов здесь примерна: орнамент “не сбит”, он “течет”, конструкция “размазана”. Подвижность формы усиливается подвижностью содержания: в зависимости от точки зрения в качестве орнамента может восприниматься как исходная (темная) основа кошмы, так и вбитый в нее цветной (яркий) войлок. Флуктуация между фоном и орнаментом – часть структуры восприятия. Роли фона и узора функционально не укоренены, стабильность/подвижность их позиций определяется зрителем. Но, как и в кураке, условия возможности такой подвижности предопределены эстетико-эпистемологическими основаниями данного пластического искусства. Интересно, что каталог киргизских орнаментов, вышедший в 1986 г., связывал популярность этой техники с “пływучестью, нечеткостью и непредсказуемостью” орнаментов *ала кийиз*. Именно “размытость контуров”, по мнению авторов альбома, позволяла придать традиционным мотивам “новые... и неожиданные звучания”.²⁶

Эта позитивность “размытых” оснований представляет любопытный контраст негативному восприятию размывающей “грязи”, о котором пишет Дуглас. “Пływучесть” и “непредсказуемость” номадизма вызваны не тягой к неоформленности и неопределенности. В их основе, повторяюсь, сопротивление материала, его неспособность встроиться в имеющиеся структуры. Задача данного *форума*, однако, не (только) в том, чтобы с помощью маятников-кочевников размыть (или затемнить) “принятые классификации”. Эпистемологическая привлекательность “номадической методологии” и состоит в попытке воспринять гетерогенность и фрактальность номадизма, так же как его ритмичность и открытость, не в качестве “тупика” или вынужденной уступки, но в качестве еще одной формы организации отношений и материального мира.²⁷

²⁵ См. подробнее обсуждение этой темы у Делёза и Гваттари в гл. “The Smooth and the Striated”: Deleuze and Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Pp. 474-476. В русскоязычном издании (Делёз, Гваттари. *Тысяча плато*) гл. “Гладкое и рифленое”, С. 805-851.

²⁶ Кыргыз оймолору. Киргизский узор / Сост. В. Максимов и Е. Сорокин. Фрунзе, 1986 (без нумерации страниц).

²⁷ О номадической методологии см. подробнее: Rosi Braidotti. *Complexity Against Methodological Nationalism* // Braidotti. *Nomadic Theory*. The Portable Rosi Braidotti.

Новый номадизм

В своем введении к монографии “Конец номадизма? Общество, государство и среда во Внутренней Азии” антропологи Каролайн Хамфри и Дэвид Снит отмечали, что “сама категория номадизма утратила свою аналитическую полезность”, став условным обозначением стереотипов о кочевом образе жизни.²⁸ Хамфри и Снит правы в том, что “новый номадизм” мало заинтересован в восстановлении “исторической справедливости” в отношении собственно “людей пути”. Исходная мотивация “нового номадизма” лежит в иной плоскости. Став частью более общего академического интереса к теме мобильности и пространства, “номадология”, “номадическая теория”, “современный номадизм” служат своеобразным признанием того, что идеи о стабильности и устойчивости, лежащие в основе современных представлений об идентичности, обществе и государстве, все меньше и меньше отражают реальное состояние дел.

Социальное и пространственное кочевничество как следствие фундаментальной неукорененности перестало быть лишь уделом “людей пути” и космополитической элиты. Массовый масштаб и вариативность нынешней полилокальности – этого челночного пребывания в разных средах – выводит на первый план процессы и ситуации, возникающие между устойчивыми и закрепленными позициями. “Новый номадизм”, иными словами, заинтересован в понимании именно этой ситуации активного размывания “центра” и “периферии”, “присутствия” и “отсутствия”, “укорененности” и “беспочвенности”. Энергично отстаивая эпистемологическую и политическую важность “нового номадизма”, или “номадизма современности”, Матильда Каллари Галли, антрополог из Болонского университета, писала не так давно:

Если мы собираемся играть конструктивную и активную роль в транснациональном мире, населенном сообществами, которые все меньше и меньше строятся по целостным (*unitary*) и непротиворечивым (*coherent*) моделям культуры и образования, то нам необходимо создать новые инструменты, способные взаимодействовать с новым – и структурированным, и запутанным – коллективным опытом прошлого, этой динамической смесью реальности и фан-

New York, 2011. Pp. 209-238; о новом номадизме см.: M. Callari Galli (Ed.). *Contemporary Nomadisms: Relations between Local Communities, Nation-States and Global Cultural Flows*. Zurich, 2007.

²⁸ Caroline Humphrey and David Sneath. *The End of Nomadism? Society, State and the Environment in Inner Asia*. Durham, 1999. P. 1.

тазии. Каждый раз, когда мы подходим к тому, чтобы подвергнуть анализу иную культуру – или просто выйти ей навстречу, – нам стоит отбросить идею о том, что мы увидим связную систему повторяющихся и самовоспроизводящихся практик, сформированных исключительно в данном месте и не подверженных влиянию извне.²⁹

Подобное – расширительное – понимание “номадизма” не предполагает сведения его аналитической значимости лишь к красивой метафоре. Роза Брайдотти, один из наиболее активных теоретиков современного номадизма, справедливо отмечает, что существование вне устойчивых границ, будь то “бездомный, ссыльный, беженец, турист, жертва изнасилований во время войны, странник, нелегальный мигрант, экспат (иностраннный специалист), невеста-по-почте, сиделка-иностранка... финансовый эксперт по глобальным венчурным проектам, специалист по гуманитарному содействию в рамках программ ООН, гражданин страны, которая больше не существует (Югославия, Чехословакия, Советский Союз), – это не метафоры, это реальные социальные местоположения”.³⁰ Вилем Флюссер в своей поэтической интерпретации этимологии слова “номад” напоминает нам, что для греков номадом был “человек в поиске установленных для него границ или пределов, в поиске региона или места, в котором он мог иметь законное положение”.³¹ Во многом новый номадизм – попытка вернуться именно к этому пониманию поиска пределов, поиска границ, в которых понимание подвижности как образа жизни не сводилось бы к той или иной форме варварства, дикости или цивилизационного шума.

Иными словами, обращаясь к тематике и практике номадизма, статьи этого *форума* делают попытку применить на практике формы интеллектуальной картографии, которые позволили бы, с одной сторо-

²⁹ Matilde Callari Galli. The Nomadism of Contemporariness // Matilde Callari Galli (Ed.). Contemporary Nomadisms. Pp. 23-24.

³⁰ Braidotti. Introduction // Braidotti. Nomadic Theory. P. 14.

³¹ Греческое слово “nomad” происходит от *nomas* – “искатель пастбищ”. В свою очередь, *nomas* восходит к слову *nomos* – “ограниченная область” (как в астрономии или автономии). Соответственно *nomos* происходит от *nemein* (“давать”, “назначать”), корень которого восходит к индоевропейскому *n-m*, выражающему состояние подчинения закону или порядку (слово *number* является здесь однокоренным). См. подробнее: Flusser. Nomads // Flusser. The Freedom of the Migrant. P. 46; Ronald Bogue. Apology for Nomadology // Bogue. Deleuze’s Way: Essays in Transverse Ethics and Aesthetics. Aldershot, 2007. Pp. 124-126. См. также: Christopher L. Miller. Beyond Identity: The Postidentitarian Predicament in Deleuze and Guattari’s *A Thousand Plateaus* // Miller. Nationalists and Nomads: Essays on Francophone African Literature and Culture. Chicago, 1998. Pp. 171-210.

ны, отразить в тексте принципиальную гетерогенность исследуемого материала, не сводимого к стройной линейной структуре, а с другой – сохранить не менее принципиальную приверженность документации исторически специфических изменений, спровоцированных диалогом с внешним миром.³² С разных дисциплинарных позиций и в разных временных контекстах авторы этого номера исследуют практики и формы трансформаций, ставшие возможными благодаря движению.

Картография, впрочем, – это не только способ организации материала, но и метод его репрезентации. Цель форума “Остранение номадизма” не в том, чтобы раз и навсегда зафиксировать специфику номадизма. И статьи, собранные в этом номере, сознательно выходят за пределы традиционных исследований номадизма, озабоченных по преимуществу аналитикой способа производства и типологией политического устройства кочевых сообществ.³³ Скорее авторы текстов, собранных в этом номере журнала *Ab Imperio*, видят свою задачу в использовании особенностей номадизма и концепций номадической теории для того, чтобы “очистить” свою аналитическую и интерпретационную оптику от окаменевших наслоений “метафизики оседлости”.³⁴ Форум строится вокруг набора ключевых понятий. Каждый раздел фокусируется на разных – иногда диаметрально противоположных – аспектах таких явлений, как дистанция, тело, пространство, нация, нациестроительство и символизм. Для многих авторов *форума* диалог с номадизмом – это первая попытка ввести в свой концептуальный язык термины и концепции, возникшие в рамках принципиально иной парадигмы.

Подвижность синонимична кочевничеству. Однако, как правило, подвижность в этом случае сводится к физической мобильности, к движению в пространстве. Раздел “Пути к обновлению” демонстрирует принципиальную связь между этой формой подвижности и подвижностью, понятной как способность организма “реагировать на изменения в окружающей среде”.³⁵ Современные исследования кочевых

³² Обзор недавних работ по социологии, антропологии и истории мобильности см.: Peter Kabachnik. *Nomads and Mobile Places: Disentangling Place, Space and Mobility // Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*. 2012. Vol. 19. No 2. Pp. 210-228.

³³ См., напр.: Феномен кочевничества в истории Евразии. Номадизм и развитие государства. Сборник материалов международной научной конференции, Алматы, 19-20 декабря 2005 г. / Под ред. И. В. Ерофеевой и Л. Е. Масановой. Алматы, 2007.

³⁴ О “метафизике оседлости” (*sedentarist metaphysics*) см.: Malkki. *National Geographic*. P. 31.

³⁵ См. определение в Большой психологической энциклопедии: “подвижность – одно из первичных свойств нервной системы, состоящее в способности быстро реагировать на изменения в окружающей среде”. <http://psychology.academic.ru/1670>.

сообществ едины в признании того, что подвижность, пластичность в отношениях “с другими людьми, обстоятельствами, погодой, рынками” является следствием и отражением непредсказуемости среды обитания кочевников, для которых “‘изменение’ – неизбежно, непрерывно и ожидаемо”.³⁶ Изменчивость внешней среды предполагает не только способность увидеть и использовать нетрадиционные ресурсы, но и включенность в разнородные информационные сети, способные обеспечить необходимыми данными, скажем, о смене торговых путей или о высохшем пастбище.

Как показывают статьи данного раздела, в стационарных и/или стагнирующих сообществах сходная подвижность восприятия и взаимодействия со средой достигается за счет остранения привычных установок. Виктор Шкловский, автор термина “остранение” вспоминал, что из-за незамеченной грамматической ошибки изначальная связь термина со словом “странный” оказалась в итоге несколько утраченной.³⁷ Все три статьи эту изначальную связь восстанавливают полностью, показывая, как обновление понятий и опыта становится возможным за счет движения. Сдвиг привычных установок (остранение), иными словами, достигается здесь при помощи физических перемещений (странствий). Статьи любопытным образом прослеживают и еще один важный аспект – эпистемологическое преимущество физической подвижности. Дистанцированность становится здесь залогом если не объективности, то, по крайней мере, условием менее выраженной предвзятости – “близостью к настоящему”, словами Молли Брансон.³⁸ Важен и еще один общий момент, отмеченный авторами этого раздела. Перемещение в сочетании с подвижностью приводит к закономерному результату – индивидуальной трансформации. Показательно, впрочем, что результатом этой трансформации оказывается если не оптико-моральная раздвоенность, то, по крайней мере, явная “сбитость” фокуса, дающая возможность удерживать в одном поле зрения несколько перспектив.

В статье “Странствующие греки: как Репин открыл народ” Молли Брансон выстраивает три параллельных сюжета о странниках: русские

³⁶ William Lancaster and Fidelity Lancaster. Who Are These Nomads? What Do They Do? Continuous Change or Changing Continuities? // Joseph Ginat and Anatoly Khazanov (Eds.). *Changing Nomads in a Changing World*. Brighton, 1998. Pp. 26, 32.

³⁷ Виктор Шкловский. *О теории прозы*. Москва, 1983. С. 73.

³⁸ Molly Brunson. *Wandering Greeks: How Repin Discovers the People* // *Ab Imperio*. 2012. No. 2. P. 85.

художники-передвижники, путешествующие по России в поисках новой аудитории, новых рынков и новых идей; Илья Репин, странствующий по Волге для обновления собственной эстетики и системы восприятия; и наконец, персонажи, бредущие вдоль Волги на известной картине Репина. Во всех трех случаях движение становится формой флуктуальной позициональности. Подобно типологическому “страннику” Георга Зиммеля, художники и бурлаки Брансон оказываются моделью промежуточности, точнее передвижничества: “привязанность и отчужденность, возникшие в ходе сложных координаций (*negotiations*) социального пространства” распространяются в данном случае и на процесс создания картины, и на процесс наблюдения.³⁹ Итогом этой постоянно практикуемой дуальности (присутствия и отсутствия) становится полотно, лишенное нормативной временной и фигуративной целостности. Полилокальность художника – этнограф-реалист, буржуазный турист, “странствующий грек” – обнаруживают себя на полотне в виде разнообразных исторических анахронизмов и пространственных несоответствий. Но, как свидетельствует Брансон, именно эта пространственная и временная разнонаправленность “Бурлаков” (и Репина) и обеспечила им непреходящую актуальность.

Работа Михаила Рожанского посвящена несколько иному пути к реальности. На примере ударных строек позднего социализма Рожанский демонстрирует как “смена места жительства оказывалась средством самовоспитания и этапом духовного движения”, попыткой “стать *настоящим*”.⁴⁰ За неимением других возможностей для поколения ударных строек 1960–1970-х гг. главным ресурсом самоформирования служила география.⁴¹ Поход за “трудным счастьем” в Сибирь и на Дальний Восток дал любопытный идеологический эффект: смещение социалистической системы оказалось одновременно ее обновлением и спасением – при помощи вновь открытой романтики и утопизма.

Физическая дистанция по отношению к столичному социализму формировала свой вариант флуктуальной культуры: новая жизнь на расстоянии строилась в постоянном отрицании старой жизни. Как пишет Рожанский:

Отстраненность от “большой земли”, остранение ее правил и норм, рационализация своего отъезда с этой “большой земли” – все

³⁹ Ibid. P. 97.

⁴⁰ Михаил Рожанский. Навстречу утренней заре: странствия в поисках настоящего // Ab Imperio. 2012. № 2. С. 113, 120.

⁴¹ Ibid. С. 125.

это задавало жесткую границу между миром, предполагающим доверие и искренность, и миром, допускаящим лицемерие.⁴²

И неопределенность контуров этого нового мира не могла поставить под сомнение главного: мир, строящийся своими руками, был “не только *иной*, но и *несовместимый* с тем, из которого хотелось бежать”.⁴³

“Это правда, что у номадов нет истории; у них есть география”, – отмечали Делёз и Гваттари.⁴⁴ Как показывает текст Рожанского, для поколения 1960-х гг. география оказалась средством компенсации нежеланной истории – с ее лагерями, враньем и бюрократией. Собственно эта же география и превратила официальную массовую мобилизацию дешевой рабочей силы в нечто принципиально иное – в позднесоветское странничество, где кочевье по необустроенным местам становилось неотъемлемой частью обустройства нового мира.⁴⁵

Статья Эмиля Насритдинова “Духовный номадизм и центральноазиатские странники-таблиги” сводит воедино идею внутренней трансформации в движении с пониманием движения как приема остранения. В центре внимания здесь тоже “кочевье по необустроенным местам”, точнее кочевье с минимальным обустройством. Опираясь на опыт собственного странствования с группой таблигов, Насритдинов анализирует то, как сдвиг пространственных границ позволяет изменить сообщество верующих. Эта статья, пожалуй, наиболее последовательно представляет идею о том, что вне сознательного и ритмично практикуемого пространственного и умственного самодистанцирования по отношению к работе, семье и быту личностная трансформация невозможна.⁴⁶ Странничество в итоге выступает своеобразным перипатетическим пробелом в текучке повседневности. Пробелом, с помощью которого постигается смысл предшествующего и будущего: одно трехдневное паломничество каждый месяц, одно сорокадневное паломничество раз в год, одно четырехмесячное паломничество раз в жизни.

Важность самого процесса паломничества, как подчеркивает Насритдинов, не должно скрывать принципиального: духовные изменения, происходящие во время религиозных странствований, призваны

⁴² Ibid. С. 136.

⁴³ Ibid. С. 123.

⁴⁴ Deleuze and Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus. Pp. 393-394. В русскоязычном издании: Делёз, Гваттари. Тысяча плато. С. 664.

⁴⁵ Рожанский. С. 142.

⁴⁶ Emil Nasritdinov. Spiritual Nomadism and Central Asian Tablighi Travellers // Ab Imperio. 2012. No. 2. Pp. 153-154.

стать по возвращении основой для соответствующих изменений как в религиозной, так и в бытовой жизни. Духовный номадизм таблигов, таким образом, строится на основе принципиальной дуальности. В своем движении от мечети к мечети таблиги соотносят картографию святых мест (физических точек, разбросанных по миру) с картографией своего “внутреннего духовного ландшафта – воображаемых мест поиска истины, смысла жизни и братства”.⁴⁷

Раздел “Духовные телодвижения”, собственно, и делает попытку разобраться более детально с внутренним миром этого воображаемого поиска истины. Ключевой категорией и субстанцией в данном случае является тело. В имеющихся исследованиях номадизма тело представлено на удивление мало. Мы знаем, например, о наличии особых телесных практик, с помощью которых формировалась техника всадничества как особая организация осанки, жестов и способов управления конем.⁴⁸ Но мы знаем крайне мало о том, каким дисциплинарным практикам подвергается тело, предназначенное для жизни в пути. Мы почти ничего не знаем о тех нормативных моделях, в соответствие с которыми соотносятся и оцениваются реальные тела реальных номадов. Мы, впрочем, имеем определенные попытки связать соматику и номадизм на уровне медицинской патологии. В любопытном трактате 1915 г. “Номадизм, или Импульс странствия и его связь с наследственностью” Чарльз Давенпорт, директор отделения экспериментальной эволюции лаборатории в Колд Спринг Харбор, приходит к выводу о том, что тяга к странствиям, наблюдающаяся у некоторых пациентов, может быть объяснена их принадлежностью “к номадической расе”.⁴⁹ Опираясь на многочисленные истории болезней, Давенпорт сообщает, что наиболее ярко такая расовая принадлежность выявлена у мужчин, хотя передается она “микробами-клетками (*germ-cells*)” по линии матери.⁵⁰ Проанализировав более сотни семейных историй пациентов-номадов, Давенпорт заключает, что в основе тяги к странствиям лежит тот же самый “инстинкт странствования”, который заставляет перелетных

⁴⁷ Nasritdinov. P. 166.

⁴⁸ См., например: К. Ферре. О тюрко-монгольской цивилизации лошади как модели воздействия на природу. // Вклад кочевников в развитие мировой цивилизации. Сборник материалов Международной научной конференции, Алматы 21-23 ноября 2007 г. / Под ред. Л. Е. Масановой, Б. Т. Жанаевой. Алматы, 2008. С. 232-233.

⁴⁹ Charles B. Davenport. *Nomadism, or The Wandering Impulse, with Special Reference to Heredity* // Davenport. *The Feebly Inhibited*. Washington, 1915. P. 26.

⁵⁰ Davenport. *Nomadism*. P. 20.

птиц дважды в год осуществлять свою миграцию.⁵¹ Под влиянием нравов тяга к номадизму может быть подавлена (и это подавление чревато “эпилептическими, истерическими, депрессивными или сексуальными припадками”⁵²), либо она может быть канализирована в определенную профессиональную занятость.⁵³

Оставляя выводы Давенпорта о существовании “номадической расы” за скобками обсуждения (биолог был активным проповедником евгеники и сторонником расовой чистоты браков), мне бы хотелось выделить один момент в этом трактате. В сегодняшней терминологии “импульс странствования”, скорее всего, понимался бы как форма аффективного состояния, т.е. как неконтролируемая “проекция тела”, выражающаяся в тех или иных действиях. Полностью расходясь с Давенпортом в оценке (и источниках) подобных импульсов, обе статьи данного раздела показывают, как сходные по своей силе эмоциональные позывы могут регулировать перемещение тел в пространстве. Несмотря на различия анализируемых материалов, оба текста, тем не менее, прослеживают возникновение аффективных сетей, созданных при помощи реальной и воображаемой циркуляции тел.

Статья антрополога Ани Бернштейн посвящена анализу телесной мобильности. Фокусируясь на практиках реинкарнации и институте последователей в буддизме, Бернштейн демонстрирует, как воображаемое и реальное движение телесных субстанций позволяет преодолевать временные и пространственные границы. Итогом оказывается разветвленная “телесная сеть”, – не столько корпоративная, сколько корпоральная, – в которой “значение индивидуальных тел формируется посредством их отношений с другими телами сети”.⁵⁴ Как и в статьях предыдущего раздела, ключевым в понимании логики этой формы движения становится специфический вариант промежуточности: интертелесность (*inter-bodiment*) сводит воедино тела, разделенные вре-

⁵¹ Ibid. P. 9.

⁵² Ibid. P. 25

⁵³ Список этих профессий представляет особый интерес: “пионеры-первопроходцы, ковбои, моряки, штурманы, коки на кораблях, матросы, морские офицеры, путешественники, исследователи, натуралисты, миссионеры, коммивояжеры, разносчики книг, коробейники, лудильщики, бродяги, ‘бездельники’ на пляжах южных морей, профессиональные пешеходы, солдаты (особенно в мирное время), инженеры, кондукторы, тормозильщики-проводники (в поездах), путевые обходчики, шоферы, жокеи и наездники” (Davenport. Nomadism. P. 24).

⁵⁴ Anya Bernstein. On Body-Crossing: Interbody Movement in Eurasian Buddhism // Ab Imperio. 2012. No. 2. P. 170.

менем и/или пространством. Для Бернштейн существование практики интертелесности является важным аргументом против сложившихся режимов биополитики национальных государств, в которых телесная заземленность служит синонимом “лояльности”. Как отмечает антрополог: “Номадические образы инкарнированных (*personae of the incarnates*) вовлекают своих мирских последователей в сложные паутины корпоральных сетей: пересекая геополитические границы, они выходят одновременно как за границы жизни и смерти, так и за границы классических этнических идентификаций”.⁵⁵

В статье “Номадическое православие: о новых формах религиозной жизни в современной России” антрополог Жанна Кормина анализирует сходную модель сетевой организации (религиозного) аффекта, телесных субстанций и материальных предметов. Как и в исследовании Бернштейн, формирование воображаемых и реальных *коллективных* тел становится здесь возможным благодаря специфически организованной подвижности. Однако в отличие от “корпоральных сетей” Бернштейн, “общины на колесах”, которые описывает Кормина, возникают не столько за счет связей *между* телами, сколько за счет постоянно возобновляемой и разрываемой связи *между* коллективным телом и святыней. Дискретной оказывается сама практика верования, сведенная к ритуалам групповых паломнических поездок. Лиминальность этих “номадов на приходах” очевидна, но в данном случае любопытен остра-няющий эффект их подвижности. Как отмечает Кормина, физическое движение ведет к определенной социальной мобильности:

Предпочитая дальний храм своему местному, верующий либо хочет избежать контроля со стороны локальной общины, либо перемещается в более низкостатусное социальное пространство (из города в деревню), чтобы, используя социально-пространственную асимметрию, занять там позицию “элиты”...⁵⁶

Подвижность, иными словами, оказывается средством преодоления границ, средством временным, слабо поддающимся институциализации. В подвижности, однако, заключается и определенная ирония этой формы религиозной практики. Именно невозможность *окончательной* увязки своего (религиозного) статуса и своей (мигрирующей) позиции и вынуждает православных номадов нормализировать лиминальную неукорененность своего положения: полилокальность превращается в образ жизни.

⁵⁵ Ibid. P. 183.

⁵⁶ Жанна Кормина. Номадическое православие: О новых формах религиозной жизни в современной России // Ab Imperio. 2012. № 2. С. 206.

Расхожее представление о номадах как свободных кочевниках, бесцельно странствующих в безграничной степи или пустыне, – это, безусловно, романтическое клише, имеющее мало общего с реально существующими номадами. “Люди пути” нуждаются в путях, т.е. в пространстве, исчерченном и осмысленном определенным образом. Томас Барфилд выразил эту идею, пожалуй, наиболее четко, заметив, что, несмотря на свою неочевидность, миграция номадов имеет свою цель и свой ритм:

Ни при каких условиях номады не “блуждают” (*wander*). Они знают, куда и зачем они направляются. Сходным образом: их палатка или шалаш и есть их дом, и тот факт, что они периодически передвигают свой дом, еще не делает их “бездомными”.⁵⁷

Три статьи в разделе “Обживая ландшафты” исследуют эту взаимосвязь между мобильностью и зависимостью от конкретного места. Предложенная в работе антрополога Аймара Вентсела метафора пространственного “захвата”, пространственной ловушки, в которую оказывается пойманной история, верна для всех трех текстов раздела. Каждая статья в той или иной степени исследует состояние пространственной захваченности и формы захвата истории пространством. Несмотря на сходство общей темы – заложники пространства как заложники истории, – каждая работа акцентирует специфический способ дестабилизации границ.

В центре статьи литературоведа Майкла Куничики “‘Были здесь скифы...’: о номадической археологии, модернистской форме и раннесоветском модернизме” – скифские курганы, точнее, те герменевтические практики, с помощью которых эти следы далекого прошлого вписывались в символический контекст послереволюционной России. В ходе скрупулезного анализа романа Бориса Пильняка “Голый год” (1922) Куничика показывает, как темпоральная многослойность раскопов скифских курганов становится моделью и для множественного прочтения прошлого России, и для множественного восприятия ее настоящего. Многослойность раскопанных курганов – эта диахрония в синхронном разрезе – “делает возможным одновременное восприятие нескольких времен”.⁵⁸ Не менее важным для Куничики, впрочем, является и то, что эта археология номадизма, эта постоянная флуктуация внутри слоев прошлого, находит свое выражение и в особом номадическом письме

⁵⁷ Thomas J. Barfield. *The Nomadic Alternative*. Upper Saddle River, 1993. P. 12.

⁵⁸ Michael Kunichika. “The Scythians Were Here...”: On Nomadic Archaeology, Modernist Form, and Early Soviet Modernity // *Ab Imperio*. 2012. No. 2. P. 232.

Пильняка. “Градиентная темпоральность”, воплощенная в скифских курганах, оживает в его романе в виде многослойной социальной дискретности, сводя в пределах одного текста “колдунов и большевиков, аристократов-сифилитиков и анархистов, язычников и православных, курганы и фабрики, кельи монахов и кинематограф, заклинания и частушки, мертвые города, подобно Увеку, и умирающий Ордынин, вообразенный в романе”.⁵⁹ Идее целостности и однородности в данном случае противопоставляется идея сосуществования и рядоположенности. Топографическое соседство слоев в курганах делает возможным соседство “архаичной и модернистской мобильности” в тексте Пильняка.⁶⁰

Историк Алексей Попов в своей работе “Мы ищем то, чего не теряли: Советские ‘дикари’ в поисках места под солнцем” исследует иную форму пространственной ловушки, созданной при помощи мобильности. Ловушкой в данном случае оказывается Крым, а в виде мобильности выступает позднесоветский туризм. Принципиально иначе разрешается и конфликт между подвижностью и пространством: выходом становится не временная многослойность (как в тексте Куничики), но синхронная социальная многоукладность. Следствием рекреационного туризма, как пишет Попов, становилось своеобразное соседство архаичности и модернизма – цивилизационная деволуция, ведущая к появлению “дикарей по выбору” и “дикарей по принуждению”. Неожиданным образом работа Попова подтверждает вывод Барфилда, процитированный выше: даже “дикари по выбору” редко блуждают без цели, предпочитая сложившиеся пути и стоянки импровизированным заменам. Собственно, столкновение дикарей с официальной системой организованного отдыха и отражает столкновение двух диаметральных принципов понимания движения. Сложившиеся *пути* “дикарей” в интерпретации системы оказывались *точками назначения*, а сам “неорганизованный отдых” – войной без правил.⁶¹

“Точки назначения” приобретают совершенно иное значение в статье Аймара Вентсела, становясь не столько попыткой локализовать и сдержать движение, сколько стремлением подвергнуть пространство определенной синтаксической процедуре, способной внести некий ритм (пунктуацию) в ее нерасчлененную протяженность. Используя материалы полевых исследований в Анабарском районе республики

⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 232.

⁶⁰ Ibid. P. 235.

⁶¹ Алексей Попов “Мы ищем то, чего не теряли”: советские “дикари” в поисках места под солнцем // Ab Imperio. 2012. № 2. С. 295.

Саха, Вентсел документирует, как ловушки местных охотников-долган становятся не только средством охоты, но и формой символично-юридического обозначения своих претензий на тот или иной участок земли. В условиях отсутствия (традиционного для кочевников) частной собственности на землю ловушка является метонимией захвата территории, материализацией присутствия отсутствующего хозяина данной земли. Этот эффект захвата, впрочем, оказывается взаимным. Как пишет Вентсел, “включенность в пространство”⁶² предполагает постоянное физическое и символическое взаимодействие человека и территории. Топография и топонимия идут здесь вместе: физическое освоение места сопровождается его символическим присвоением. А сама охотничья “точка” становится в итоге не только местом воспроизводства, но и местом ухода: долгане нередко хоронят умершего рядом с той самой «точкой», где расположена ловушка охотника. Охотничья “точка”, таким образом, оказывается и завершающей точкой жизни долгана.

Анатолий Хазанов, ведущий исследователь скотоводов-кочевников Евразии, неоднократно подчеркивал, что традиционные выводы о примитивности образа жизни кочевников слабо соотносятся с реальностью. “Примитивность” в данном случае – это примитивность, увиденная оседлыми культурами. Скромность вклада кочевников в изобретение новых материальных и символических форм не должна скрывать их принципиальной роли в *распространении* уже изобретенного. Как пишет Хазанов:

мобильные скотоводы и кочевники были одним из главных агентов культурной диффузии и кросс-культурных контактов в Евразии.... Уже в 1220-х гг. мусульманские ткачи были переселены в Северный Китай, где они шили роскошные одежды для императорского двора и передавали навыки местным специалистам. ... Китайские врачи практиковали в Иране, а среднеазиатские лекарства доставлялись в Китай.⁶³

В разделе “Космополиты поневоле” делается сходная попытка проанализировать воздействие современных номадов на “принимающую” культуру и соответственно взаимное воздействие новой культуры на самих кочевников. Две статьи представляют два противоположных способа реакции на новые условия. Логике рассеивания национального

⁶² Aimar Ventsel *Entrapping History in Space: On Tuundra and Its Masters* // *Ab Imperio*. 2012. No. 2. P. 316.

⁶³ А. Хазанов. Кочевники и мировой исторический процесс // *Вклад кочевников в развитие мировой цивилизации*. С. 14-15.

в данном случае противостоит логика его консолидации. Диалог этих двух статей является хорошим аргументом против каких бы то ни было попыток романтизации неукорененности номадизма и автоматической увязки физической мобильности с социально-психологической подвижностью и пластичностью.

Максим Матусевич в историческом очерке “Расширяя границы Черной Атлантики: Студенты-африканцы как советские модернисты” реконструирует процесс кросс-культурного взаимодействия в послесталинском Советском Союзе. Оттепель казалась глобальной, включая в себя не только ликвидацию ГУЛАГа, но и преодоление оков международного колониализма. Преодолевая изоляцию предыдущего периода, СССР начинает активную образовательную кампанию, ориентированную на страны Африки: к концу 1960-х гг. в стране обучалось 5000 студентов-африканцев. Как и во многих других случаях, эта попытка направить массовое движение людей и идей в определенное русло дало неожиданные результаты. Как пишет Матусевич, “эти молодые африканцы взломали изнутри изоляционизм страны своего пребывания; знакомя принимающую сторону с ритуалами и практиками глобального номадизма, они тем самым знакомили ее с модернизмом”.⁶⁴ Многие “агенты культурной модернизации”, приехавшие на учебу в Советский Союз, оказались разочарованными низким уровнем бытовой культуры, высоким уровнем расизма, бюрократизмом и догматизмом. В выигрыше, судя по всему, остались их местные сокурсники и друзья. Приобщенные к новинкам политики, музыки и моды, они увидели на практике модели поведения, не стесненные политическими предрассудками, – “неавторитарную международную молодежную культуру” с ее ритуалами политических протестов и политического участия.⁶⁵

Марина Михайлова в статье “‘Трамплин в большой мир’: реактивный национализм как идеология выживания” предлагает обратную модель взаимодействия номадов и окружающей среды. Анализируя интервью с литовскими мигрантами, уехавшими на заработки в Великобританию, Михайлова делает вывод о том, что ответом на опыт маргинализации в обществе с незнакомой культурой и языком становится не попытка активной интеграции в новую культуру, но последовательная консолидация следов исходной национальной культуры. В отличие от студентов-африканцев в статье Матусевича, космополитизм литовских

⁶⁴ Maxim Matusevich *Expanding the Boundaries of the Black Atlantic: African Students as Soviet Moderns* // *Ab Imperio*. 2012. No. 2. P. 329.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* P. 348.

мигрантов не только вынужденный, но и нежелательный. Миграция, видевшаяся в Литве “трамплином в большой мир”, в Великобритании оказалась опытом проживания новых границ и суженного социального пространства. Соотношение между географической открытостью и национальным воображением дало негативную корреляцию: в мире без границ национальная принадлежность стала пониматься как последний оплот стабильности.

В двух заключительных разделах авторы *форума* предлагают свои версии того, как практики номадизма переводятся на язык политики и символизма. Раздел “Номадизм на продажу” объединяет две статьи, в которых исследуются особенности процесса использования символов номадизма для строительства наций в Казахстане и Киргизии – новых постсоветских государствах, не имевших собственного опыта государственности в современной истории.

За последние три десятилетия исследователи национализма убедительно показали, что территориальное единство традиционных национальных государств во многом есть результат более эфемерного единства – единства словаря выразительных и вообразительных средств, с помощью которых жители того или иного государства вписывают себя (и своих сограждан) в пространство страны. Историк Стивен Норрис в статье “Принадлежность к кочевой нации: кинематограф, принадлежность нации и память в постсоветском Казахстане” документирует процесс активного формирования альтернативного визуального словаря строящейся нации, показывая, как трансформируется хорошо известный тезис Бенедикта Андерсона о нациях как воображаемых сообществах. Печатный капитализм, обеспечивший единство канонических образов благодаря массовой грамотности и дешевым книгам, сменяется визуальным, точнее – иконографическим, капитализмом, делающим ставку на всеобщую визуальную грамотность. Новая постсоветская кинематография Казахстана, как отмечает Норрис, занята кинематографической инвентаризацией истории кочевничества: “визуализируется любой сколь угодно важный символ казахости, имеющий отношение к номадическому прошлому”.⁶⁶ От киноэпопей до комедий современное казахское кино, по мнению Норриса, взяло на себя функции “исторической этнографии”, снабжая аудиторию “аутентичными” образами номадической культуры прошлого в качестве ресурса современного патриотизма.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Stephen M. Norris. Nomadic Nationhood: Cinema, Nationhood, and Remembrance in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan // *Ab Imperio*. 2012. No. 2. P. 386.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* P. 396.

Мелани Кребс анализирует похожий процесс адаптации кочевого прошлого к рыночному настоящему в статье “От настоящего дома к национальному бренду: о стационарных и мобильных юртах”. В данном случае в центре внимания не мифо-истории номадизма, но его материальная культура. Кребс предлагает читателю “биографию вещи”, взяв в качестве объекта анализа киргизскую юрту. Как показывает Кребс, нынешнее превращение пастушьей юрты в коммерческий и туристический продукт во многом использует механизмы, задействованные кинематографами Казахстана. Символ, призванный объединить нацию, должен обладать определенной исторической легитимностью, даже если в процессе современной адаптации исходный смысл этого символа теряется. Кребс отмечает и еще одну проблему этой попытки стабилизировать смысл символа для его последующего воспроизводства. Символы номадизма не могут быть стабильнее самого номадизма. И, как заключает Кребс, национальная “подвижность” юрты, ее принадлежность нескольким этническим группам входит в естественное противоречие с самой попыткой использовать образ юрты для быстрой и безошибочной идентификации киргизской культуры.⁶⁸

Вилем Флюссер в своем эссе “Номады” замечает, что принципиальное отличие оседлых народов от кочующих народов заключается в том, что для оседлых важна собственность, в то время как для номадов принципиален опыт.⁶⁹ Размах обобщений Флюссера чрезмерен, но, тем не менее, тенденция, подмеченная им, важна. Две статьи, завершающие *форум*, во многом строятся на использовании противопоставления, озвученного Флюссером.

В своем поэтическом эссе “Дикий тунгус и духи мест” Пирс Витебский выворачивает наизнанку традиционную историю русского колониализма. Опираясь на многолетние исследования эвенков, Витебский показывает нам, что исходная “дикость” была, на самом деле, “формой симбиотической экологии настроения”, в которой люди и животные выстраивали друг с другом сеть отношений и обменов в процессе кочевья. Делёз и Гваттари называют такое сращивание животного и человека “страстным ассамбляжем”.⁷⁰ Витебский добавляет к этой модели еще и пространство: для традиционного оленевода “ландшафт – это громадный храм на открытом воздухе, не имеющий точки финального назначения...”⁷¹

⁶⁸ Melanie Krebs. From a Real Home to a Nation’s Brand: On Stationary and Traveling Yurts // Ab Imperio. 2012. No. 2. P. 427.

⁶⁹ Flusser. Nomads. P. 49.

⁷⁰ Deleuze and Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus. P. 399.

⁷¹ Piers Vitebsky. Wild Tungus and the Spirits of Places // Ab Imperio. 2012. No. 2. P. 436.

Советский период во многом изменил эти симбиотические практики: “храмы” стали оленеводческими хозяйствами, рассчитанными преимущественно на мужчин. Деревни стали местом женщин, ждущих своих мужей. Сегодня “дикий тунгус”, воспетый Пушкиным, может читать русского классика в подлиннике, но практически не в состоянии воспроизвести основы культуры своих предков. Что чувствует тунгус, цитирующий стихи Пушкина о своей “дикости”? И где начинаются и заканчиваются пределы этой “дикости”? В умирающей советской деревне, по сравнению с которой “лес... выглядит сегодня примером чистоты... и альтернативным пространством цивилизации”?

Работа Ольги Бурениной-Петровой обращает внимание на еще одно пространство альтернативной цивилизации, в которой опыт (движения) оказывается важнее и продуктивнее, чем дивиденды (стабильной) собственности. Цирковая культура на колесах, описанная в статье, в каком-то смысле сводит вместе темы, затронутые в этом *форуме*. Постоянная жизнь в пути сочетается здесь с не менее постоянными попытками “присвоения и обживания чужого пространства”.⁷² Трансгрессия границ идет рука об руку с созданием собственной “семиотической вселенной”. Архаичность повседневности (юрта-шатер) не исключает модернизма цирковой эстетики. Многоликость “собирающего лица” артиста цирка противостоит трагичность “циркача без грима и костюма”.⁷³ Опыт кочевничества текуч, подчеркивает Буренина-Петрова, в лучшем случае, от него остается “метафизический след”, замкнутый круг, напоминающий о празднике, который был. И который может вернуться.

* * *

В оседлых культурах “тундра” давно стала условным обозначением безграничного, неструктурированного, пустого пространства. “Юрта”, в свою очередь, как правило, воспринимается символом временного жилья, вынужденной заменой дома с надежными стенами и прочной крышей. Но Аймар Вентсел информирует нас в своей статье, что слово “тундра” для ее обитателей по своему смыслу близко слову “деревня”. А слово “юрта”, сообщает нам Мелани Кребс, во многих тюркских языках означает “дом”. Остраняющий эффект номадизма, его практик и установок, концепций и терминов позволяет взглянуть иначе на клише и стереотипы, сформированные в собственной культуре. Цель этой операции, повторюсь, не

⁷² Ольга Буренина-Петрова *Цирк – культура на колесах* // *Ab Imperio*. 2012. №. 2. С. 450.

⁷³ *Ibid.* С. 454, 455.

в том, чтобы восстановить утраченную или забытую гармонию слова и смысла, практики и контекста. Если новый номадизм и может научить нас чему-то, так это положительному (и терпеливому) отношению к незавершенности и неоднородности опыта – социального, исследовательского или, допустим, педагогического. Важно и еще одно качество номадизма: его неизбывная установка на потенциальность. “Ландшафт скотовода усеян ‘невидимыми’ ресурсами”, – пишет Аджей Дандекар в своем исследовании кочевников Восточной Африки.⁷⁴ Новый номадизм позволяет увидеть ресурсы там, где раньше виделась только “грязь”.

Идея взглянуть на номадизм сквозь призму сегодняшних практик формировалась постепенно во время моих поездок в Бишкек в последние три года. И я благодарен коллегам и друзьям, убедившим меня отнестись к их ссылкам на “номадическую природу” киргизов серьезно. Я также благодарен авторам этого форума за их желание рискнуть. Наконец, моя глубокая благодарность редакторам *Ab Imperio* за их критику, терпеливость и непреходящую готовность вовремя сойти с намеченного пути.

Бишкек – Барнаул – Принстон,
Июль – август 2012 г.

SUMMARY

Oushakine starts his introduction to the forum on “Unsettling Nomadism” with a historical and bibliographical detour. By looking at Soviet and post-Soviet scholarship on nomadic societies, he traces an intellectual tradition that would either dismiss nomadism as a “civilizational mistake” or glorify it as an example of exceptionalism, as a “special” – alternative – path of historical development. As Oushakine suggests, these negative and positive attempts to encapsulate nomadism, in fact, obfuscate important conceptual and ethnographic contributions that studies of nomadism could make. Using Central Asian rugs as his key metaphor, Oushakine suggests that we could take nomadic practices of multidirectionality and diffusion as important models for understanding the fluctuant relations with space practiced by contemporary nomads.

⁷⁴ Ajay Dandekar. Narrative from the Pastoral and the Nomadic Worlds of the Deccan // Mícheál Ó hAodha (Ed.). *The Nomadic Subject: Postcolonial Identities on the Margin*. Newcastle, 2007. P. 13.

Molly BRUNSON

**WANDERING GREEKS:
HOW REPIN DISCOVERS THE PEOPLE***

“I didn’t like travel or excursions of any kind.”¹ With this confession Ilya Repin begins his reminiscences on the creation of perhaps his most well-known painting, *Barge Haulers on the Volga* (*Burlaki na Volge*, 1870–1873, Fig. 1). As a young student at the Imperial Academy of the Arts in St. Petersburg, the relatively introverted Repin preferred to work in his studio, venturing on occasion only as far as the academy garden to sketch in the open air, or the foyer to copy the sculptures that lined the grand staircase. In the summer of 1869 there were many students like him roaming the academy hallways, alternating work on competition pieces with strolls

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¹ I. E. Repin. *Iz vremen vozniknoveniia moei kartiny “Burlaki na Volge” // Golos minuvshago*. 1915. Nos. 1, 3, 6. Reprinted as: *Burlaki na Volge 1868–70 // I. E. Repin. Dalekoe blizkoe*. Moscow, 1964. P. 220. Unless otherwise noted, all translations into English are mine, and I alone am responsible for any errors.

through the capital city, its famous white nights fueling the long hours. Since students customarily did not share work with one another, Repin writes that “adventurous colleagues would catch the hermits in the hallways,” luring them from their tiny workspaces out into the wider world.² If not for one such outgoing classmate, Konstantin Savitsky, Repin himself may have never left his hideout. And it was on this rarest of weekend excursions down the Neva River that Repin saw for the first time the subject that would make him famous – a scene of barge haulers (*burlaki*) against a colorful backdrop of picnicking vacationers and sailboats, glimmering in the summer sunshine.



Fig. 1. I. E. Repin, *Barge haulers on the Volga* (*Burlaki na Volge*), 1870–3 (State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg).

In Repin’s early sketches and watercolors of the barge haulers, the message of the work was anything but subtle, dependent as it was upon the stark contrast between leisure and labor, freedom and oppression.³ Repin recalls the reaction of the young landscape painter Fyodor Vasilyev:

Ahh, the barge haulers! So, they’ve hit a nerve? Yes, here it is, a life that is so incompatible with the old inventions of pitiful, venerable old men... But do you know something? I worry that you might fall into tendentiousness. Yes, I see it now, a study in watercolor... Here you’ve got young ladies, their admirers, a countryhouse setting, something in the manner of a picnic; whereas, these grubby ones are rather too artificially “composed into” (*prikomponovvaiut’sia*) the

² Ibid.

³ A black-and-white illustration of one of Repin’s first Neva watercolors is included in the Chukovskii edition of *Dalekoe blizkoe* (1964). The location is listed as unknown. Ibid. Pp. 216-217.

picture for the sake of edification: look, they're saying, what wretched monsters we are, what gorillas. Oh, you'll get lost in this picture: it's got far too much rationality. A picture should be broader, simpler, what is known as a picture that stands on its own.... If we're to have barge haulers, then let us have barge haulers! In your place, I would travel to the Volga – they say that this is where one ought to search for the real, traditional type of the barge hauler.⁴

Vasilyev, by all accounts the more outgoing of the two, proposes a summer trip down the Volga River as the appropriate solution to the artificial composition of Repin's sketches, arguing that such authenticity will obscure the final work's didactic heaviness and reveal a greater artistry. And so, a year later, Vasilyev and Repin set out on a several-month trip down the Volga, accompanied by Repin's younger brother and their fellow artist Evgeny Makarov.⁵ In the following pages, I will propose that this trip, an epic journey of sorts, inspired by the search for a new subject and the ever more insistent demands for realistic representation, is what defines the expressive contours and produces the aesthetic and ideological peculiarities of Repin's realist masterpiece.

By abandoning the studio for on-site research, Repin and Vasilyev do more than simply enact an artistic cliché; they also participate in progressive trends already under way in European and Russian painting, more specifically, the push toward a greater democraticization of subject matter, the rage for ethnography and its supposed scientific objectivity, and the growing enthusiasm for *plein-air* landscape painting. Put simply, Repin and his cohort strive to eliminate the distance, physical and otherwise, between themselves and their subjects. For the leading critic and theoretician of nineteenth-century Russian realism, Vladimir Stasov, it is precisely this proximity to the “real” that characterizes the ideological power of the new generation of artists. In an 1871 exhibition review, he wonders who could have imagined that Russian artists would leave their studios, that

...they, these artists, whom everyone had until now imagined to be careless idlers, naive young men – each of whom knew only “the

⁴ Ibid. P. 225.

⁵ A. Leonov reconstructs several key dates and places of Repin's 1870 itinerary. In late May or early June, the group sailed from Tver' with the company *Samolet*. On June 5, they were in Rybinsk. On June 8, they reached Nizhnii Novgorod. They spent two weeks in mid-June in Stavropol' and Samara, then in Shiriaev byerak. They continued to travel in this area throughout July. Repin returned to Samara on his honeymoon in 1872, during which time he completed additional sketches for the final version of the painting. A. Leonov. *Burlaki na Volge*. Kartina I. E. Repina. Moscow, 1945. Pp. 9-23.

divine Raphael” and his future buyer, and was occupied only with a plaster Hercules and his own painting, or some foggy, lofty talks with a friend about the “ideal” and about “art” – that they would suddenly abandon their artists’ lairs and wish to plunge (*okunut’sia*) into the ocean of real life, to join with its surges and currents, to think about other people, their comrades!⁶

Although Stasov is speaking generally here about the push toward realism in Russian painting, he employs a turn of phrase that will reemerge in his discussions of Repin in the coming years. *Okunut’sia*. To plunge into. To immerse oneself.

This “immersion” into one’s subject matter, the life of the people, reappears in Stasov’s 1873 letter to the editor of the *St. Petersburg Gazette* (*Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti*). The letter is now famous for its exuberant praise of the just-finished *Barge Haulers on the Volga* and its effectual appointment of young Repin to the post of ultimate realist.

Mr. Repin is a realist, like Gogol, and just like him, deeply national.

With a daring of, for us, an unprecedented sort, he has abandoned any remaining ideas about something ideal in art and has plunged (*okunul’sia*) headfirst into the very depths of the people’s lives, the people’s interests, and the people’s oppressive reality.⁷

Stasov goes on to provide what will become the dominant reading of Repin’s *Barge Haulers*, a reading that identifies the young boy in red as the central figure of protest. The boy, or so argues Stasov, rises up in opposition to the somnambulant apathy of his coworkers and the sultry haze of the summer afternoon. For Stasov, Repin’s “immersion” into this world of the common people produces the potent mix of objective representation, national content, and oppositional ideology that will comprise the foundation of the critic’s interpretation of realist painting in Russia.⁸

The call for an objective and national art, and the supposedly populist orientation of this imperative, does not begin with Stasov, however. In an

⁶ V. V. Stasov. *Peredvizhnaia vystavka 1871 goda (1871)* // *Idem. Izbrannye sochineniia v trekh tomakh*. Moscow, 1952. Vol. 1. P. 204.

⁷ V. V. Stasov. *Kartina Repina “Burlaki na Volge” (1873)* // *Idem. Izbrannye sochineniia v trekh tomakh*. Vol. 1. P. 239.

⁸ In his own review of the 1873 academy exhibition, Dostoevsky famously disagrees with Stasov about the dominance of the painting’s ideological message, praising instead the subtlety of the social content. “Not one of them,” he writes, referring to the barge haulers, “shouts from the painting to the viewer.” F. M. Dostoevskii. *Po povodu vystavki (1873)* // *Idem. Sobranie sochinenii v piatnadsati tomakh*. Leningrad, 1994. Vol. 12. P. 88.

1863 review of the annual Academy of the Arts exhibition, the progressive critic Ivan Dmitriev publishes a vitriolic attack on contemporary artists, accusing them of pandering to the tastes of the academy and its elite patrons, while ignoring the need for socially relevant works of art. “Art should be of benefit to the people,” concludes the critic, “a necessity of the people, but it obviously will not attain these results with useless, ancient habits.”⁹ A few weeks after the publication of Dmitriev’s article, a group of fourteen artists led by the painter Ivan Kramskoy withdrew from the academy, citing lack of freedom in the choice of their Gold Medal subjects. More specifically, they took issue with that year’s mandatory and decidedly non-Russian subject for history painting, “Valhalla, a scene from Scandinavian mythology.” Supposedly freed from the constraints of the academy, Kramskoy and the others formed the St. Petersburg *Artel*, a communal artistic association intended to ensure the economic security of its members, provide opportunities for public exhibitions, and administer commissions. In 1870, the members of the *Artel* and a group of Moscow artists headed by Nikolay Ge and Grigory Miasoedov merged to form the Society of Traveling Art Exhibitions, better known as the *Peredvizhniki*, or the Wanderers (*Tovarishchestvo peredvizhnykh khudozhestvennykh vystavok*). The goals of the Wanderers, at least as they were presented in their founding statute, were threefold: to bring art to the people in the provinces, to develop in the people a love and appreciation for art, and to provide opportunities for their members to achieve economic independence.¹⁰ In lieu of a clearly expressed aesthetic *programme*, Kramskoy and Stasov, as the unofficial theoreticians of the Wanderers, will profess the group’s dedication to social content over formal experimentation in letters, articles, and reviews throughout the 1870s and 1880s.¹¹

⁹ I. I. Dmitriev. *Rassharkivaiushcheesia iskusstvo (po povodu godichnoi vystavki v Akademii Khudozhestv) (1863)* // N. I. Bespalova and A. G. Vereshchagina (Eds.). *Russkaia progressivnaia khudozhestvennaia kritika vtoroi poloviny XIX veka*. Moscow, 1979. P. 158.

¹⁰ For more on the history of the Wanderers and their relation to the critical realism of the 1860s, see Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier. *Russian Realist Art. The State and Society: The Peredvizhniki and Their Tradition*. Ann Arbor, 1977; Idem. *The Peredvizhniki and the Spirit of the 1860s* // *Russian Review*. 1975. Vol. 34. No. 3. Pp. 247-265; and David Jackson. *The Wanderers and Critical Realism in Nineteenth-Century Russian Art*. Manchester, 2006. Carol Adlam addresses the role of art criticism in the rise of realism in: *Realist Aesthetics in Nineteenth-Century Russian Art Writing* // *Slavonic and East European Review*. 2005. Vol. 83. No. 4. Pp. 638-663.

¹¹ This emphasis on content and immediate comprehensibility will also presumably inspire Clement Greenberg to name Repin as an example of kitsch (as opposed to the avant-garde). Greenberg writes that “Repin pre-digests art for the spectator and spares him

The Wanderers' expressed interest in the people aligns them with a broader populist movement, which, in response to growing discontent with the reforms following the 1861 emancipation of the serfs, swept through *intelligentsia* circles throughout the 1870s. By leaving the urban centers and "going to the people," the most radical populists, the *narodniki*, sought to capitalize upon the natural virtues of the peasantry and to instill in them a revolutionary fervor that would overhaul Russian imperial society. On its face, this "going to the people" seems akin to Stasov's call for "immersion." However, while they may be parallel manifestations of a more general orientation, the *narodniki* and the Wanderers were inscribed within very different social groups and driven by very different ideological and aesthetic demands. In her foundational history of the Wanderers, Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier complicates the supposed civic mission of the early realist painters, what another scholar has called the "Peredvizhniki myth."¹² She explains that their traveling exhibitions were "neither intended for nor ever reached the Russian peasantry and working class."¹³ Rather than "going to the people," the Wanderers brought their art to a group of middle class, provincial Russians. One of the reasons for this was, according to Valkenier, quite practical. Themselves mostly of humble origin, the Wanderers sought to profit from their art, to attain economic security through sales and commissions, rather than conform to a purely ideological agenda. This economic demand, coupled with the Wanderers' continued official and unofficial reliance upon the institutional structures of the academy, produced works that would have a broader reach, aesthetically appealing but still with the flavor of *intelligentsia* values. It is a more tempered populism that we see in the paintings sanctioned by the Wanderers, one determined as much by politics as by social status, the market, and aesthetic norms.

Although Repin will not officially become a Wanderer until 1878, with *Barge Haulers* he claims the title of painter of the people. And this narrative of a young artist making a pilgrimage to join hands with the oppressed lower classes, however problematic and deserving of our skepticism, was what so ingratiated Repin to Stasov and Kramskoy, the presumptive leaders of

effort, provides him with a short cut to the pleasure of art that detours what is necessarily difficult in genuine art." Greenberg will admit in a later edition of the famous article that he had confused Repin with another painter. Clement Greenberg. *Avant-Garde and Kitsch* (1939) // Francis Frascine (Ed.). *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*. New York, 1985. P. 28.

¹² The "Peredvizhniki myth" is Evgeny Steiner's term. *Pursuing Independence: Kramskoi and the Peredvizhniki vs. the Academy of the Arts* // *Russian Review*. 2011. Vol. 70. P. 252.

¹³ Valkenier. *Russian Realist Art*. P. 45. See also: Pp. 3-48 and 68-73.

the movement. Given the supposed causal link between proximity to one's subject and the "truthful" communication of a message, it should not come as a terrible surprise that problems arose when Repin, upon receiving the academy's Gold Medal prize, traveled to western Europe in 1873 to study for three years. Stasov's ingénue was wandering, but doing so in the wrong geographic and ideological space. How, after all, could the "immersion" into Parisian cosmopolitan life produce anything that would further the aesthetic and ideological goals of a native Russian realism? As it turns out, and as others have discussed at length, Repin's time abroad did trigger a certain resistance to the narrative demands of Stasov's realism and a desire for greater formal experimentation.¹⁴ In a now famous letter to Kramskoy, Repin asks God to "save Russian art from its corrosive analysis." "It is a misfortune," he writes, "which terribly binds it to barren, technical accuracy and rational concepts in ideas, drawn from political economy."¹⁵ Repin's letter provoked a quick and sharply worded response from Kramskoy, concerned that the impressionable young painter might be straying from the plan for national art. Stasov took a slightly different approach, publishing an article on Repin in which he cited selective excerpts from their correspondence meant to highlight only anti-Western sentiments. Moreover, upon returning to Russia, Repin was promptly shipped off to his native village to purge the pernicious Western influences so apparent in paintings such as *The Parisian Café* (Parizhskoe kafe, 1875) and "regain his powers ... of a realist, a national artist."¹⁶

¹⁴ See, for example: Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier. *Ilya Repin and the World of Russian Art*. New York, 1990; David Jackson. *The Russian Vision: The Art of Ilya Repin*. Schoten, 2006. Pp. 42-74; and Idem. *Western Art and Russian Ethics: Repin in Paris, 1873–1876 // Russian Review*. 1998. Vol. 57. No. 3. Pp. 394-409. For more on the parallels between the Wanderers and movements in Western art, see: E. V. Nesterova. *Russko-frantsuzskie khudozhestvennye svyazi vtoroi poloviny XIX veka // Andrei V. Tolstoi (Ed.). Rossiia – Evropa: iz istorii russko-evropeiskikh khudozhestvennykh svyazei XVIII–XX vv. Sbornik statei*. Moscow, 1995; D. V. Sarab'ianov. *Russkaia realisticheskaia zhivopis' vtoroi poloviny XIX veka i ee rol' v evropeiskom iskusstve // Idem. Russkaia zhivopis' XIX veka sredi evropeiskikh shkol: opyt sravnitel'nogo issledovaniia*. Moscow, 1980. Pp. 107-40; Rosalind P. Blakesley. "There is Something There...": *The Peredvizhniki and West European Art // Experiment/Eksperiment*. 2008. Vol. 14. Pp. 18-50; and Rosalind P. Blakesley and Susan E. Reid (Eds.). *Russian Art and the West: A Century of Dialogue in Painting, Architecture, and the Decorative Arts*. Dekalb, 2007.

¹⁵ Repin. Letter to Kramskoi (October 16, 1874) // Jackson. *Western Art and Russian Ethics*. P. 399.

¹⁶ Stasov. Letter to Kramskoi (November 7, 1876) // Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier. *Opening up to Europe: The Peredvizhniki and the Miriskussniki Respond to the West // Blakesley and Reid. Russian Art and the West*. P. 50.

This psychodrama, in addition to being one of the more outrageous anecdotes of the period, is also quite instructive. It speaks to the spatial quirks of Repin's aesthetic, how dependent it is upon the tension between proximity and distance. By leaving his studio, Repin sets into motion the dual pressures of a journey, the way in which it is always about both an arrival and a departure. This is not, to be sure, an aimless wandering (as might be assumed by the imperfect English translation of *Peredvizhniki*), but rather a wandering with a purpose, a wandering anchored by a point A and a point B. Or maybe it is an imagined wandering, one that allows the artist to dislodge himself from staid conventions and refresh his point of view. If Repin's journey is just as much about leaving the academy as it is about going to the people, then once he is on the shores of the Volga, the journey's spatial dynamic reverses itself, becoming about leaving the site and returning to the studio. It is this spatial conundrum – forever here and there – that shapes the formal characteristics of *Barge Haulers*. Repin may discover his subject on the Volga, but this attempt at cultural and social immersion is answered by an opposing force that pulls the painter out of the world of the barge haulers and into a world of formalism and even epic universalism.

The social type I have in mind here is Georg Simmel's "stranger," "the man who comes today and stays tomorrow – the potential wanderer, so to speak, who, although he has gone no further, has not quite got over the freedom of coming and going."¹⁷ A fusion of closeness and remoteness, attachment and detachment, Simmel's "stranger" is conditioned by his unique position in space and his relationships with those who are not strange but native. The in-betweenness of the "stranger" was likely even more profoundly felt by Repin because of his own social origins – he was born in 1844 in the small village of Chuguev to a father who was stationed in the Russian military settlement. Repin was sensitive to his heritage and, as suggested by an 1872 letter to Stasov, even conscious that his social status might be a boon to the young realists.

That is why the artist has no reason to stick around Petersburg, where more than anywhere else, the people are enslaved (*narod rab*); whereas, society is confused, old, and living out its last. There are no subjects there of popular interest (*form narodnogo interesa*).

The *muzhik* is now the arbiter of taste, and hence we must reproduce his interests (for me this is an opportune moment since, as you know,

¹⁷ Georg Simmel. *The Stranger* (1908) // Donald N. Levine (Ed.). *On Individuality and Social Forms*. Chicago, 1971. P. 143. I am grateful to Serguei Oushakine for suggesting this link with Simmel.

I am a *muzhik*, the son of a retired private who spent twenty-seven not very fortunate years soldiering for Nicholas).¹⁸

Having taken a break from *Barge Haulers* to travel to Moscow in connection with *Slavic Composers* (Slavianskie kompozitory, 1872), Repin expresses the creative impetus behind leaving St. Petersburg. Once the privileged locale of native artistic practice, not to mention the birthplace of Russian realism, the capital city has become too oppressive for the young artist. A truly modern realist must, according to Repin, travel to other places where the people's interests are more positively represented. Repin even emphasizes his distance from the cultural elite by asserting his *muzhik* origins. In doing so, he casts himself in the role of an inveterate "stranger," whether strolling along the banks of the Neva or the Volga or the Moscow rivers.

In the remainder of this article, I consider how Repin's unique orientation as a "stranger" enacts a refinement of the progressive image of the "people" in *Barge Haulers on the Volga*. Having sought out the authentic *burlak*, Repin discovers instead the complex and often paradoxical nature of the "people," a concept that becomes more a composite projection of Repin's own experience than a reflection of any exterior reality. In this, Repin participates in a larger cultural phenomenon that accompanied the exposure of the *intelligentsia* and the radical *narodniki* to "real" examples of the Russian peasantry. No longer able to maintain idealized images of the people, they replace these myths with alternative images, some negative and almost subhuman, others still sympathetic but more precise.¹⁹ Informed by Stasov's realist "immersion" and the remoteness of the eternal outsider, Repin's "people" emerge as simultaneously transparent in their narrative of oppression and revolt and ultimately unknowable in their foreignness, in their blank looks, in the thickly applied deep browns of their ragged clothing. They are a subject both near and far, readable and unreadable. These two forces, I will argue, enact their push and pull on multiple levels, social, physical, epistemological, and ontological. And it is the tension between these opposing forces, borne of the spatial and social realities of the painting's production, that will in turn supply energy to the painting's oppositional message.

¹⁸ Repin. Letter to Stasov (June 3, 1872) // I. E. Repin. *Izbrannye pis'ma v dvukh tomakh 1867–1930*. Moscow, 1969. Vol. 1. P. 41.

¹⁹ For more on the changing images of the peasant in Russian society and culture throughout the nineteenth century, see: Cathy A. Frierson. *Peasant Icons: Representations of Rural People in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia*. New York, 1993. See also: Donald Fanger. *The Peasant in Literature* // Wayne S. Vucinich (Ed.). *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Stanford, 1968. Pp. 231-262.

Barge Haulers Near and Far

Repin was not the first to find the barge haulers a promising subject for artistic representation. As early as 1810, Orest Kiprensky completed a small drawing titled “Landscape with Barge Haulers,” and in 1855, Ivan Nikitin published a poem “Barge Hauler” in *Notes of the Fatherland* (*Otechestvennye zapiski*). The most famous *burlaki*, however, belong to none other than Nikolay Nekrasov, and many contemporary viewers even wondered if Repin’s painting was an illustration of his “Thoughts at a Vestibule” (*Razmyshleniia u paradnogo pod’ezda*, 1858). Nekrasov’s barge haulers trudge along the shores of the Volga, joining their voices in what becomes a “song” of overwhelming suffering – “where there are people, there too is moaning” (*Gde narod, tam i ston*).²⁰ Given that the poet fuses the barge hauler with the “people” in a singular image of uprising, one might think that Stasov would have supported the association of Nekrasov’s barge haulers with Repin’s. Instead, he takes issue with this interpretation and, in an 1874 article, makes a point of Repin’s originality, arguing that his barge haulers have nothing in common with those of Nekrasov. They do not moan. They do not sing. They walk in silence, each occupied with his own thoughts and his own worries. For Stasov, the power of Repin’s picture resides in the fact that the subject is lifted not from “books, but from the very lives of the people.”²¹

Vasily Vereshchagin, on the other hand, sees no such unmediated verisimilitude in Repin’s picture. Having read Stasov’s 1873 letter to the editor of the *St. Petersburg Gazette*, Vereshchagin immediately sends a response to the newspaper, claiming that Repin should not get all the glory, since he himself had begun a painting on the same theme in 1866. Outraged, Vereshchagin writes another letter, this time to Stasov, in which he accuses Repin not only of treading on his territory but also of executing the subject poorly and inaccurately. For Vereshchagin, the main (and rather petty) point of contention was the number of people required in a work crew. In actuality, he writes, there would be three to four such groups, not a single group with only five to six men. Tracing this dispute in relation to the other

²⁰ N. A. Nekrasov. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem v piatnadsati tomakh*. Leningrad, 1981–2000. Vol. 2. P. 49.

²¹ Stasov is polemicizing, in particular, with the critic M. P. Kovalevskii (of *Otechestvennye zapiski*). V. V. Stasov. *Nyneshnee iskusstvo v Evrope. Khudozhestvennye zametki o vseмирnoi vystavke (1873 goda) v Vene (1874)* // *Idem. Izbrannye sochineniia*. Vol. 1. Pp. 91–92. In his reminiscences, Repin himself claims that he had not known Nekrasov’s poem before *Barge Haulers* and read the verses for the first time two years after the completion of the canvas. Repin. *Dalekoe blizkoe*. P. 274.

representations of barge haulers from the time (by Repin, Aleksey Savrasov, and Fyodor Vasilyev, more specifically), Elena Nesterova argues that the differences between the images of Vereshchagin and Repin reveal a broader transformation in aesthetic ideology from the 1860s to the 1870s. Vereshchagin, still very much invested in the positivism of the sixties, produces an “informative” picture, one that captures as objectively as possible the real conditions of the workers. Repin’s painting, on the other hand, is a “reflection of reality through the prism of the internal, spiritual world of man.”²² This filtering of the objective world through the subjective is, in Nesterova’s view, what sets the Wanderers apart from their predecessors.²³ While I will recast Nesterova’s terms, emphasizing spatial and social conditions over spiritual and psychological ones, I agree with her overall conclusion that the status of verisimilitude in Repin’s painting not only reveals a move toward a more nuanced aesthetics of realism but also sheds light upon the complex negotiations between artists and their “real” subjects. In other words, I will complicate (and even prove to be undesirable, not to mention unattainable) the requirement that a painting, in order to be realist, must be snatched “from the very lives of the people.”

Allow me now to turn to the painting itself and, in fact, stay with the painting for the remainder of this article. I will enact this kind of extended engagement out of a conviction that something quite interesting happens to a realist painting when subjected to prolonged visual attention, something that might be similar to what occurred when Repin observed the *burlaki* for several months on end.²⁴ We move from an initial comprehension of narrative content – those are barge haulers pulling a ship along the Volga – to a complex recognition of the disruptions and inconsistencies in that narrative, the way in which our diverse impressions do not always cohere into a single, legible story. The corporeality becomes disembodied, the now becomes a

²² E. V. Nesterova. Tema burlakov v russkoi zhivopisi 1860-1870 godov // Il’ia Efimovich Repin. K 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia. Sbornik statei. St. Petersburg, 1994. P. 65.

²³ D. Sarab’ianov makes a similar claim in regard to Repin’s *Barge Haulers*, arguing that we can see within the work evidence of the transformation from 1860s realism to a later realism defined more by psychology and morality. D. Sarab’ianov. Narodno-osvoboditel’nye idei russkoi zhivopisi vtoroi poloviny XIX veka. Moscow, 1955. P. 122.

²⁴ In this act of prolonged visual attention, I am following the lead of art historian Michael Fried, whose influential work on realism has identified a pervasive tendency to *read* rather than *look at* realist painting. Realist works are, Fried writes, “looked at less intensively than other kinds of pictures, precisely because their imagined causal dependence on reality – a sort of ontological illusion – has made close scrutiny of what they offer appear to be beside the point.” Michael Fried. *Courbet’s Realism*. Chicago, 1990. P. 3.

distant past, and the picture outs itself as a carefully managed illusion. But just as our attention undoes the image, so too does it put it back together. This epistemological tension that is embraced by figurative painting, and the kind of the realist variety perhaps most intensely, will be a consistent leitmotif in my following discussion of traveling, space, self, and subject.

To begin at the beginning, we must recall that Repin packed a bag, boarded a ship, and traveled to his subject. In *Barge Haulers*, Repin communicates this proximity to

the subject by establishing direct eye contact between one of the men and the viewer. Although Stasov had been most drawn to the young boy in red, I think that the man immediately in front of him plays an even more critical role in establishing a connection with the viewer. Caught in a stare for the ages, he makes visible (almost tactile) the pact of anonymity between painter and subject, and violates the supposed unidirectional observation of the artistic enterprise. The preparatory sketch for this figure testifies to the power of the subject's returned gaze, at once intimate and intimidating (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. I. E. Repin, Sketch of a barge hauler, 1870 (State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg).

both attracted to and repelled from this man's searing eyes.²⁵ The gaze is an outstretched hand, an invitation to make contact, and a sharp rebuke of the voyeuristic position shared by painter and viewer.

Of the group his is the body most acutely tilted toward the ground. Because of this awkward suspension, the man urges us to imagine his position in space and reminds us of the physics of this scene. If any two forces

²⁵ Sarab'ianov writes that this man's gaze "forces [the viewer] to shudder." Sarab'ianov. *Narodno-osvoboditel'nye idei russkoi zhivopisi*. P. 128.

are dominant, they are the forces of weight and of gravity. The bodies of these men lean forward, suspended by the ties around their chests and the heavy counterweight of the ship on the river. A bizarre study reveals how important this counterweight is (Fig. 3). We see a man standing strapped into the barge hauler's harness. Behind him is not a ship caught in a powerful crosscurrent, but what seems to be a fenced-in pasture underneath the fluffy white clouds of an otherwise bright afternoon. It is an odd image,



Fig. 3. I. E. Repin, Study of a barge hauler, 1870 (State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg).

The last man in the work crew underlines the point. His body pitched forward, has he in fact tilted the scale? Does he participate in the balance of weight and gravity, or has he been lifted out of the group and suspended above the glistening pool of water at his feet? In his liminal position, hovering between heaviness and weightlessness, this man is at once a record of the spatial dynamics of barge hauling and a trace of the formal distortions wrought by Repin's status as a "stranger."

According to Stasov, the French critic Paul Manz compared Repin's painting to another realist classic, Gustave Courbet's *The Stonebreakers* (1849), and even went so far as to say that Proudhon himself would have

with its background surely filled in as an afterthought or as a professional exercise while in the artist's studio, but it reminds us that without a pull in the opposite direction, this man becomes weightless, a ghost, a phantom from another world. Returning to the final painting, we now see both the real balance between weight and gravity that makes this labor possible, and the disruption of this physical system wrought by the uncanny flotation of the barge hauler in the study. The labor is grounded by bodily weight, yet disembodied and utterly implausible.

The last man in the work

been moved to tears by the barge haulers.²⁶ Although separated by over two decades, the works share more than just a theme, mode, and outsized reputation; they share a disturbance in their depiction of labor, a simultaneous closeness to and distance from their chosen subject. Courbet's two central figures are situated in close proximity to the picture plane and to the space of the viewer. And yet, their faces are turned away, preventing any direct communion between observer and observed. This paradox is exaggerated by the inability of the figures to fully cohere to the ground, the way in which the men seem almost affixed to a flat surface. Referring to the simultaneous physicality and stiltedness of the representation of labor, art historian T. J. Clark has called this "an image of balked and frozen movement rather than simple exertion . . . an image of labour gone to waste, and men turned stiff and wooden by routine."²⁷ In this, Clark sees a hallmark of the artist's realism, the way in which it took up "the social material of rural France, its shifts and ambiguities, its deadly permanence, its total structure."²⁸ A man of split identity, his peasantry roots not far beneath the bourgeois surface, Courbet, or so Clark argues, paints a France with similar internal contradictions and tensions. For Michael Fried, the unusual placement of Courbet's figures and the nearness of their bodies are evidence of something else, the foundation of the artist's aesthetics in corporeality and metaphor. More specifically, the bodies, absorbed in labor, become a metaphor of the very process of representation. They are doubles for the painter himself, engaged in artistic labor and, as such, become doubles too for the process of beholding the image.²⁹ In his more recent work on the German realist Adolph Menzel, Fried expands upon this notion of an "art of embodiment," an art that involves "countless acts of imaginative projection of bodily experience," an art that invites the viewer "to perform feats of imaginative projection not unlike those that gave rise to the paintings and drawings in the first place."³⁰

When I look at Repin's workers, I see a productive coexistence of these two readings. On the one hand, the strange mixture of knowability and

²⁶ V. V. Stasov. *Nashi itogi na vseмирnoi vystavke (1878–1879) // Idem. Izbrannye sochineniia*. Vol. 1 P. 344. Igor Grabar' writes that he was impressed by Repin's technical mastery in comparison to the "backwardness" of Courbet's *The Stonebreakers*. I. E. Grabar'. *Repin (Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh liudei)*. Moscow, 1933. P. 66.

²⁷ T. J. Clark. *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (1973). Berkeley, 1999. Pp. 79-80.

²⁸ *Ibid.* P. 116.

²⁹ Fried. *Courbet's Realism*. Pp. 99-110.

³⁰ Michael Fried. *Menzel's Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin*. New Haven, 2002. P. 13.

utter foreignness of the workers must have emerged, in part, as an answer to Repin's own conflicted position vis-à-vis his subjects. While he was certainly a "stranger," invited inside the circle but also kept at a remove, he was also someone who had come from a remote village, from peasant origins, only then to find himself examining a version of his own identity from the position of a distinct other.³¹ In this way, the picture reflects the broader social realities of the 1870s, while also capturing the peculiar status of the realist artist within that social system. On the other hand, in addition (and not, I would urge, contradiction) to a social reading, Repin's canvas also invites a Friedian embodied viewer, a viewer that projects herself into the canvas and merges with both the subject and the artist. We are asked to imagine what it would have taken to move that boat down the river, and what it would have taken to project our own understanding of the labor onto a blank canvas, miles away in an artist's studio. Attachment and detachment, arising from the complex negotiations of social space, now become also about observing and participating in the project of representation.

In his memoirs, we find Repin engaging with what seem to be the limits of this kind of embodiment.

And yet another great nuisance made itself more and more apparent: beginning with our boots, which simply burned from our long strolls among the hills and forests, our clothing suddenly decayed and transformed into the most improper rags: our trousers began to split into some kind of ribbons and flopped unceremoniously below like picturesque paws (*zhivopisnymi lapami*)... Once with horror I saw myself clearly in such beggarly rags that I was even shocked by how quickly I had arrived at "such a life."³²

What Repin describes is not only travel taking its predicable toll, it is also a process of assimilation. Simply imagining the bodies and clothing of the barge haulers is followed by a transformation of sorts. Their boots decay, their clothing turns to rags, and their bodies become "picturesque" (*zhivopisnye*). It is worth emphasizing, however, that this is not a transformation into a barge hauler, but a transformation into a *depicted* barge hauler. Or, to

³¹ Discussing the social distance between the artists and their subjects, Repin recalls hearing the locals say that the artists were messengers of the Antichrist. He adds that mothers would not allow their children to sit for the artists and only the bravest of locals would do so themselves, even when promised payment. Repin. Letter to P. V. Alabin (January 26, 1895) // Idem. *Izbrannye pis'ma*. Vol. 2. Pp. 90-94.

³² Repin. *Dalekoe blizkoe*. P. 263.

put it still another way, rather than immersing himself in the reality of the people, Repin immerses himself into their representation.

This transformation from artist to subject, and the fluidity between art and life that it implies, is one of the boldest conceits of a realist aesthetic perhaps best demonstrated by Nikolai Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done?* (Chto delat'?' 1863), a novel meant both to capture a present reality and to posit a future utopia that would provide a literary model for the lives of new men and women.³³ Rakhmetov, Chernyshevsky's archetypal new man, goes a step further than Repin and Vasilyev, working alongside barge haulers in order to reforge his mind and body.

About a year after adopting this program, he set off on his travels (*stranstvovanie*) and had even greater opportunities to devote himself to building physical strength. He worked as a plowman, carpenter, ferryman, and laborer at all sorts of healthful trades. Once he even worked as a barge hauler along the whole length of the Volga, from Dubovka to Rybinsk. If he'd told the captain of the barge and the crew that he wanted to work as a barge hauler, they'd have considered it the height of stupidity and would never have accepted him. So he went aboard as a passenger and became friendly with the crew and began to help them tow the boat. In a week he buckled himself into a harness, just like a real barge hauler.³⁴

Rakhmetov is transformed by his "travels," even receiving a new nickname, Nikitushka Lomov, borrowed from a *bogatyř* famous from Volga folktales. While Rakhmetov's embodiment of a *burlak* may seem more genuine than Repin's, his adoption of a name straight out of legend reveals the vulnerability of his transformation. If we return to Stasov's own celebration of Repin's immersive potential, we see similar signs of its fallibility.

Whoever looks at Repin's *Barge Haulers* will immediately understand that the artist was deeply impacted and shaken by the scenes that appeared before his eyes. He has touched these hands made of cast iron, with their sinews, thick and strained like rope.³⁵

³³ In her study of the novel, Irina Paperno describes the mechanics of realist aesthetics in the following way: "Taking its material from life, refashioning it, and then returning to life for imitation and actualization, literature regenerates and extends contemporary life into the future and recasts man as he is into a new man." Irina Paperno. *Chernyshevsky and the Age of Realism: A Study in the Semiotics of Behavior*. Stanford, 1988. P. 9.

³⁴ Nikolai Chernyshevsky. *What Is To Be Done?* / Transl. Michael R. Katz. Ithaca, 1989. P. 279.

³⁵ V. V. Stasov. Il'ia Efimovich Repin. // *Idem. Izbrannye sochineniia*. Vol. 1. P. 265.

Like Rakhmetov, Repin moves beyond detached observation and toward participation, reaching out and making physical contact, tracing the signs of hard labor etched onto another's hands. But these hands are "poured from cast iron" and their veins are "like rope." The intrusion of metaphoric language into a description of Repin's mimetic acumen changes Stasov's "immersion" into something more akin to Fried's "imaginative projection." In *Barge Haulers*, the relationship between artist and subject – which is bequeathed to viewer and subject – repeats this fraught juxtaposition of physical contact and metaphoric distance. We hold hands in one instant and in the next we feel only the bumps and ridges of dried paint.



Fig. 4. K. A. Savitsky, *Repair Work on the Railroad*, 1874 (State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow).

This tension between near and far, triggered by the continuity of the traveler's itinerary, is nowhere apparent than in the contrast between the extreme intimacy of the individual portraits and the shimmery immateriality of the background. With the thickly applied paint and the rich tones of their bodies and clothing, the barge haulers come together as a unified group, while also distinguishing themselves from the airy, light, liquid background, almost glassy in appearance.³⁶ This discontinuity between foreground and background becomes all the more stark if we compare Repin's picture with Savitsky's *Repair Work on the Railroad* (*Remontnye raboty na zheleznoi doroge*, 1875, Fig. 4), completed just a year later. Savitsky's laborers are tightly bound with their environment, connected through the earthy greens and browns of their coloration and the way in which they populate a majority of the visible ground plane. Although the railroad workers are not without strangeness in their physical rendering – the central group seems to fly in opposite directions, arms spread like wings over the wheelbarrows – unlike Repin's barge haulers, they make sense in this space.

This difference, I argue, is partially a result of the unique circumstances of Repin's fieldwork, his movement between ship and shore. Remembering that summer, Repin recalls how striking seemed the discontinuity between these two points of view.

³⁶ Ol'ga Liaskovskaia discusses the unified nature of the group in: Il'ia Efimovich Repin. Moscow, 1962. P. 38.

What is most astounding about the Volga is the space. None of our albums had the capacity to hold the unusual horizon.

From the middle of the river or from the steamboat you see mosquitoes of some kind along a luminescent strip on the hilly side of the river. Lord, how they move about and just barely move forward... And what about this hair pulling toward us? It's the barge haulers pulling the barge with a rope along the shore of the hilly side. We approach: the light strip turns out to be a huge sloping incline up to the forest, completely covered and pitted with boulders of light limestone, sandstone, and granite.³⁷

This experience of moving between a distanced perspective and an extreme close-up comprises the central drama of a curious drawing by Repin (Fig. 5). It is a composite image, bringing together three different sketches from three different points of view onto a signal page. If we read the image

from left to right, we are rewarded with a narrative of departure. From what seems to be a relatively generalized sketch of a vessel, we move to a full-body line drawing of Kanin, the leader of the work crew. To the right of Kanin we see a landscape, the dark lines of the pencil indicating the abstracted gradations of the shore, "light layers of limestone, sandstone, and granite." Moving back in the other direction, our departure is reversed into an arrival, from the middle of the river we move to shore, transforming the abstract view into a real human being and, having moved too close, back into an abstract object. In this case, the single page of the traveler's sketchbook becomes an emblem of his status as "stranger" and speaks to the distortions rendered by this status. For the traveling artist, the landscape shrinks to the same size as a man (or does the man stretch to the enormity of the landscape?), and the ethnographic detail of a local piece of pottery becomes of equal importance as a human face. All receive the same attention, but in the absence of proper proportion and context, fail to cohere into a single picture.



Fig. 5. I. E. Repin, Sketch of Kanin towing and the Volga near the village of Vorovskaya, 1870 (State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow).

³⁷ Repin. *Dalekoe blizkoe*. P. 241.

Repin writes of this profound disconnect in the artists' abilities to capture both the details and the panoramic sweep of the Volga.

A little bit further on ... sat two fishermen with their nets: one is cleaning and the other loading the hooks with worms – in a word, each was at his own business. And we couldn't stand it: we pulled out our sketchbooks and began drawing.... All of it was amazingly painterly; only we couldn't work out the backgrounds: they couldn't be contained by any kind of dimension...³⁸



Fig. 6. F. A. Vasilyev, Sketch of peasant and embankment, 1870 (State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg).

Again, a page from a sketchbook echoes the story, this one belonging to Vasilyev. The detailed profile of a fisherman hovers over the tracing of the shoreline, the pencil hastily sweeping back and forth, making the most of the horizontal orientation of the book (Fig. 6). The problem here is apparent. Both of these visual experiences cannot be fused on paper. With the constant mobility of the traveler comes the erasure of a fixed viewing point, the kind that anchors the spatial system of Renaissance perspective and that allows for the legible recording of distance and proportion. Instead,

³⁸ *Ibid.*

the incessant movement from ship to shore to ship disrupts any production of a continuous image, a “people in a landscape.” Rather than overcome this disjunction, *Barge Haulers* will embrace it, and derive much of its ideological power from it.

Before I turn to how exactly Repin makes the most of these complications, a few more observations about the Volga are in order. The expansiveness of the Volga – *prostor* seems the right word here – had posed a problem for artists and travel writers for decades. As Christopher Ely relates in his study of Volga River tourism, the brothers and landscape painters Nikanor and Grigory Chernetsov, charged with exploring the Volga in 1838, had similar trouble finding appropriate perspectives that would give them a picturesque view. The river was just too big, with few areas of elevation or architectural landmarks to organize the space in an aesthetic manner. The Chernetsovs eventually produced a 2,000 ft. panorama, *Travel along the Volga* (*Puteshestvie po Volge*), a fact that only highlights the trouble that a painter would encounter when trying to squeeze the space inside a reasonably-sized canvas. Ely links the boom in leisure travel in the 1870s–1880s with increased attempts to make picturesque these wild Russian expanses. Referring to Vasily Nemirovich-Danchenko’s travel guide *Along the Volga* (*Po Volge*, 1877), Ely concludes: “*Along the Volga* took the image of an unspectacular, open, and flat Russian landscape and combined it with a breezy and frankly pleasurable search for picturesque scenes and views in order to establish a unique form of touristic vision in Russia.”³⁹

The “picturesque” nature of landscape painting was clearly a problem for the ideologues of a critical, even tendentious, realism, who were never fully comfortable with the idle gazing encouraged by pretty views, or their possible contamination of an otherwise sound narrative.⁴⁰ Despite this anxiety, landscape paintings were enormously popular among collectors and the public and were consistently among the best-selling objects of the Wanderers. This conflict is brought to light in the strange division between foreground and background in *Barge Haulers*, a division that now reads as that between two competing academic genres, political genre painting and landscape. The hardworking social content pulls itself forward out of the calm pastel waters, the sunny blue sky. Perhaps we long for a picturesque

³⁹ Christopher Ely. *The Origins of Russian Scenery: Volga River Tourism and Russian Landscape Aesthetics* // *Slavic Review*. 2003. Vol. 62. No. 4. P. 674. See also Ely’s book on the Russian landscape: *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia*. DeKalb, 2002.

⁴⁰ See Ely. *This Meager Nature*. Pp. 168-173.

landscape in which we can lose ourselves? Or maybe we desire an activist stance? Either way, we are ferried back and forth along the diagonal between these two points of view, one belonging to a tourist or the owner of a placid landscape and the other to an ideologue, an activist, a Rakhmetov.

I would like to return for a moment to Vasilyev's portrait-landscape drawing, for I think that it makes yet another provocative proposition about space and landscape in Repin's painting. If we consider the drawing not as two separate sketches but as a single composition, it seems as if this peasant is looking down upon the riverscape, and we might wonder if we are seeing this view through his eyes. What I would like to suggest is that this drawing offers one possible resolution of the incoherencies in Repin's canvas. Might the glassy landscape not be a vision of the idle gazer but the land as seen by the boy in red, head lifted, staring into the distance? One way then to resolve the picture's inconsistencies is to locate them within the subjectivity of the barge hauler. This, it seems, would also be the most ethical version of the story, for it returns the power of representation to the subject. Of course, just as this option is dangled before us, the picture takes it back and for good reason. After all, this is not a picture about social cohesion or a fantasy of harmonious connection between the people and the land. It is, rather, about social inequity, about the distance between us and them, and artist and subject, and the multiple projections of the people (and the self) that this space produces.

Projections of the "People"

This tension between artist and subject disrupts the picture's embeddedness in a present reality, in one specific moment. We occupy many moments in time – with the barge haulers, with the figures on the boat, in the present, in the past, and in parallel versions of these spatiotemporal layers. This interruption of a singular reality is emphasized by the nature of the subjects themselves. By the time Repin paints his picture, *burlachestvo* is already a dying profession. As of 1866, four years before Repin's trip, steamships transport 85 percent of all goods between ports on the Volga.⁴¹ Evidence of this technological advancement can be spotted in the distance of Repin's painting – a puff of gray smoke rises from a far-off boat. This anachronism was not lost on Repin's contemporaries. In 1880, one critic writes that "Repin painted his *Barge Haulers* at a time when steamships

⁴¹ F. N. Rodin. *Burlachestvo v Rossii. Istoriko-sotsiologicheskii ocherk*. Moscow, 1975. P. 174.

already scurried along the Volga and barge hauling was only legend.”⁴² If we dig into the language of both Repin and Stasov, we find that they too were attuned to this antiquatedness of the barge haulers. In his letter to the editor, Stasov termed the figures “sleeping Herculese,” “*bogatyr*s,” and “wandering Greeks with more or less antique features.”⁴³ In his memoirs, Repin will call the picture a “barge hauler epic” (*burlatskaia epopeia*). The supposed contemporaneity of his chosen subject is perhaps most undermined by a series of anachronistic associations Repin employs to describe Kanin. He is, variably, a Roman philosopher, a saint, a Scythian statue, even Lev Tolstoy plowing his fields.⁴⁴

It may very well have been the travel to a distant locale, one that already loomed so large in the Russian cultural imagination, that encouraged this layering of historical and epic imagery. In an 1862 guidebook published by Samolet, the boat company that Repin and his colleagues hired for their trip, we encounter a similar contamination of the contemporary site. A description of the view as seen from an elevated tower (“a marvelous panorama opens up”) is followed by a view of the Zhiguly hills as seen from an epic distance: “here the Volga is visible in all of its greatness and the wild Zhiguly, so famous from the legends of ancient Volga robbers and the history of Stenka Razin, are awash in a veil of light blue.”⁴⁵ As if to underscore the coexistence of present and past, this passage is followed by an engraving of the Zhiguly hills and the Volga shoreline. The hills retain their association with “ancient robbers,” but are now joined by a single steamboat, puffing smoke into the air. Turning back to *Barge Haulers*, we notice a parallel structure. The steamboat, an index of modernity but also of touristic vision, pulls and tugs on the ancient Greeks and *bogatyr*s moving in the opposite direction.

Another possible answer for the odd epic quality of the painting, what one scholar calls its “epic breath,” can be found in the summer reading list of Repin and his co-travelers.⁴⁶ Having forgone Dmitry Pisarev’s article

⁴² A. Ledakov, cited in V. V. Stasov. *Tormozy novogo russkogo iskusstva* (1885) // *Idem*. *Izbrannye sochineniia*. Vol. 2. P. 615.

⁴³ Stasov. *Izbrannye sochineniia*. Vol. 1. P. 240.

⁴⁴ Repin. *Dalekoe blizkoe*. Pp. 273-274.

⁴⁵ N. P. Bogoliubov (Ed.). *Volga ot Tveri do Astrakhana*. St. Petersburg, 1862. P. 282.

⁴⁶ A. A. Fedorov-Davydov. *Il’ia Efimovich Repin*. Moscow, 1961. P. 21. See also: *Liaskovskaia. Il’ia Efimovich Repin*. P. 38. Repin was even working on a painting of Diogenes just a year before he first saw the barge haulers on the Neva. This may have contributed to the epic overtones of *Barge Haulers*, or perhaps even supported the artist’s

on Pushkin and Belinsky and Ivan Turgenev's prose, they finally become absorbed in reading aloud from *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*.

Completely unexpectedly, word after word, verse after verse, we didn't even notice that this living fairy tale had pulled us in. We could no longer tear ourselves away.

Vasilyev grew tired and I took it [*the book, M.B.*] and felt that ecstasy was grabbing hold of me, and I begin to imagine that all of it is written about people closest to us. And from that evening on, as a result of that neverending reading (*The Odyssey* was also found), wherever we set off, wherever we sailed, the verses from those immortal, living poems accompanied us everywhere and sang our feelings in a living language.⁴⁷

What we are given in Repin's *Barge Haulers* is a projection of the "people" that is defined not only by Repin's realist gaze – one that records the details of a Kanin and transforms them into the type of the *burlak* – but also by the panoramic views of the tourist and the epic generalizations of a modern-day *Odyssey*. Cast as a realist ethnographer, a bourgeois tourist, and a wandering Greek, Repin projects corresponding images of the people onto the canvas, a canvas that retains the fissures between these inconsistent images. These historical anachronisms and spatial incongruities do not, however, constitute a failure. Instead, they save Repin's *Barge Haulers* from the fate of a rote photographic naturalism and paint a complex picture of an artist's discovery of his subject.

There is still another level, hinted to in the very same epic references, on which Repin's *Barge Haulers* operates. These epic gestures do not come only from the tales of a distant past; they are also residue of Repin's academic training. When we read Stasov's comparison of the *burlaki* to "sleeping Herculeses," we recall that two years earlier, he had referred to the busts of Hercules when celebrating the Wanderers' exodus from the studios of the academy. In asserting their relation to epic heroes, the barge haulers thus reveal their paradoxical roots – on the Volga, and in the marble sculptures displayed in the foyer of the Academy of the Arts. In this way, Repin's painting becomes an allegorical representation of the painter's process and

assumption of the role of "wandering Greek." See Grabar'. P. 48; and O. Liaskovskaia and F. Mal'tseva. Al'bom I. E. Repin i F. A. Vasil'eva v Gosudarstvennoi Tret'iakovskoi galeree // Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia galereia. Materialy i issledovaniia. Moscow, 1956. Vol. 1. P. 176.

⁴⁷ Repin. Dalekoe blizkoe. P. 276. Repin even goes so far as to say that he and Vasilyev would act out mini epic battles for fun (P. 277).

a projection of his particular status as a young master-in-the-making, still trying to make good copies of those marble busts.⁴⁸

“It’s impossible to imagine a more painterly and more tendentious painting!” Repin recalls thinking upon first catching sight of the barge haulers along the shore of the Neva.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that Repin writes these words in 1914, a much different cultural climate than that of 1870, one that valued the self-conscious aestheticism of art-for-art’s sake, I think that he is nonetheless right. *Barge Haulers on the Volga* is, I propose, both “painterly” and “tendentious.” It is simultaneously about the story of these Volga boatmen and about the nature of paint itself. As such, it renders visible the particular pressures placed upon Repin as a young artist, to become a dutiful realist and a good painter. Recalling the conversation with Savitsky on that first trip down the Neva, Repin distills the distance between these goals into the difference between a social type and a glob of brown paint.

“What is that moving over there toward us?” I ask Savitsky. “See that dark, greasy, some sort of brown spot...what is that crawling toward our sun?”

“Ah! That is the barge haulers pulling a barge with a heavy rope. Bravo! What types! You’ll see, they’re coming closer now. It’s worth looking.”⁵⁰

It will be Repin’s task to bridge this divide, to make a spot of brown oil paint a barge hauler pulling a rope. In doing so, however, he somehow retains the distance between the two and it is in this disjunction that we witness the painting echo the distance between Repin and his subject.

I would like to offer the wicker basket in the center foreground as further evidence of my point. Likely discarded or lost by local fishermen, the fishing trap surfaces in Repin’s painting as a marker of the “real.” It is also, however, an emblem of the paradox I have been describing throughout this article, between Stasov’s promise of realist “immersion” and Repin’s painted projection. The basket opens toward the viewer, drawing her gaze further into it. Like the pools of water and the unstable riverbank, it is a vehicle of entrapment and, as such, a symbol of the supposed power of realism to

⁴⁸ I am drawing here on Michael Fried’s conception of a “real allegory” (taken from the subtitle to Courbet’s *A Painter’s Studio*), a painting that is a “sustained meditation on the nature of pictorial realism, a meditation whose content, one might also say whose conclusions, I find the more compelling in that the manifest subject matter . . . has nothing to do with painting.” Fried. *Courbet’s Realism*. P. 148.

⁴⁹ Repin. *Dalekoe blizkoe*. P. 223.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* P. 222.

“immerse” its painters and viewers into the world depicted inside the canvas. But the fishing trap is also employed for perspectival effect. Roughly the size of the sailboat on the left side of the painting, it exaggerates the capacity of proportion to produce the illusion of spatial depth. Furthermore, the regularity of the spokes, joined together to make a three-dimensional object, mimes the way orthogonal lines are arranged to create a volumetric “container” out of a flat picture plane. These technical associations remind the viewer that there is no “real” space in which to immerse oneself. It is all a projection onto a blank surface. In a short chapter of his memoirs titled “Nature as Teacher,” Repin makes explicit how such a realist detail can send the traveler hurtling back to the studio-lined hallways of the academy.

Among the shrubbery on Bald Hill, I comprehended for the first time the laws of composition, its relief and perspective. A tattered, withered shrub in the foreground occupies a huge part of the painting; coquettishly, beautifully it obscures a forest path, and relegates to the background a magnificent group of trees from the middle ground. That is the relief of a painting, much as we were busy composing *bas-reliefs* at the academy.⁵¹

In this wicker trap, we discern the attachment and the detachment of Simmel’s “stranger,” the push of the Volga and the pull of Petersburg. It is a bit of local color, a symbol of “immersion,” an academic exercise. It is, in sum, a composite projection of Repin’s travels, both real and imagined.

What I have been suggesting is a version of Repin’s painterly realism that allows for, and in fact feeds off, seemingly contradictory impulses. It demands that the painter pick up and move, become a wandering philosopher, moving among the people in search of a higher truth. And it also demands that the painter perfect his craft, labor over the details, delight in the tricks of oil painting. The shimmery pool of water finishes the thought; sand caving into its watery reflection, it is undoubtedly a figure, a promise even, of “immersion.” But it is also, and this impression is undeniable, pure paint, pooling on the artist’s palette. With the water turned paint, the twig becomes the brush, plunging itself into the shallow pools of color. Repin writes:

The next day it dried out a little and we took a walk down a round-about path to the Volga, in which we washed our brushes.⁵²

Dipping the brushes into the river, Repin pulls away from the barge haulers and back to the studio. Twig becomes brush. Water becomes paint. As

⁵¹ *Ibid.* P. 250.

⁵² *Ibid.* P. 263.

if to render this connection utterly readable, Repin carves his name into the sand with one of these twigs. His painted signature is tilted inward, creating a miniature diagonal trajectory, perpendicular to the one formed by the group of boatmen, the diagonal that had initially guided us into this work. And so the paint guides us back in, back to the Volga. This is the potential wanderer, the stranger forever coming and going, promising connection only to snatch it away.

Repin's *Barge Haulers* is not, however, the kind of "landscape of immersion" that is the topic of Nina Lübbren's study of nineteenth-century rural artists' colonies in Europe, an image in which, to quote Lübbren, "two principles – multi-sensual immersion and visual formalism – were held in productive tension."⁵³ There are certainly echoes of this ontological tension in Repin's painting, but there is also another critical ingredient, the social content. Although I have emphasized the formal in this article, I do so only to provide room for these strictly visual observations within an art historical tradition that has viewed Repin's works largely as narratives to be read. My formal emphasis is not meant to crowd out the ideological content, but rather to show how this message of social unrest plays out on the level of painterly form. In other words, Repin's *Barge Haulers* is not, I think, a clear harbinger of the medium specificity of high modernism. Rather, its struggle between the aesthetic and the ideological, all in a search for truth in expression, is a marker of a mature and self-conscious realist aesthetic.

In fact, to ignore the power of the barge haulers themselves would be to miss the point. Whether they are accurate reflections of reality or the result of overlapping projections, the people in this landscape increase the volume of the painting's oppositional stance. In this case, Stasov says it best:

And this entire community is silent: it carries out the work of oxen in profound silence. Only the boy makes a noise, bubbling with fervor, with his long blonde mane, barefoot; he is in the center of the procession, the painting, the whole creation. Before anything else, his bright pink shirt arrests the eye of the viewer at the very middle of the painting, and his quick angry glance, his willful figure, as if barking at and scolding everyone, his strong young arms, adjusting the harness that causes calluses on his shoulders – all of this is the protest and opposition of a mighty youth against the meek submissiveness of the mature wild Herculeses, broken down by habit and time, walking in front of and behind him.⁵⁴

⁵³ Nina Lübbren. *Rural Artists' Colonies in Europe 1870–1910*. New Brunswick, 2001. P. 111.

⁵⁴ Stasov. *Izbrannye sochineniia*. Vol. 1. Pp. 240–241.

Stasov is ultimately right that this is a work about protest and opposition, but I diverge from him in one significant way. The protest derives not from the boy alone, or from the story he represents, but from the opposition between ideological content and formal expression. The boy clutches at the harness around his chest, resisting enslavement to the forces that surround him. In becoming the subject of an artist's gaze, the boatmen's own instruments for artistic self-expression, their arms, have been tied down. The boy's rebellion then is a rebellion not only against the material conditions of his place in society but also against the silencing of visual representation. Perhaps this is why Stasov made note of the silence of the picture, as opposed to the moaning and singing of Nekrasov's poetry. There does seem to be a stifling stillness about this painting. If we believe Stasov, the boy alone makes a noise, a single sound in an otherwise dreamy, hushed visuality.



Fig. 7. A. Lavrov, *The People's Dreams Have Come True!* 1950.

In this struggle between the boy and the harness, between the story and the silence of visual representation, we see evidence of the social and spatial conditions of the painting's production. Even though Repin claims to have not enjoyed travel, he embarks on a journey for the sake of *Barge Haulers* and discovers something akin to what he will discover in his trips to Moscow and Paris in the coming years. A singular space, with its immobile point of view and its fixed social structures, is too limiting. The artist, like the barge haulers, must struggle against convention, complicate it, wander, but do so with conviction. Repin never does discover the people, but he does eventually complete his painting of the *burlaki*. It is an imperfect work, but in its imperfections – the embodiment and the disembodiment, the refusal of figure and ground to cohere, the interruption of the epic and the picturesque – is revealed a far more profound picture of the “people” than might have been otherwise. The disjunctions interrupt and sometimes contradict any clear ideological proposition, and force the viewer instead to go on a journey of “imaginative projection,” following an itinerary made up almost entirely of arrivals and departures.

In this struggle between the boy and the harness, between the story and the silence of visual representation, we see evidence of the social and spatial conditions of the painting's production. Even though Repin claims to have not enjoyed travel, he embarks on a journey for the sake of *Barge Haulers* and discovers something akin to what he will discover in his

Barge Haulers on the Volga has enjoyed a legacy that Repin likely would have never imagined for his first big splash in the art world. In a 1950 political poster, Repin's painting hangs on the wall of a Soviet steamer, visual proof of the fulfillment of the people's dreams seen through the window to its left (Fig. 7). Most recently, the barge haulers made their way to an anti-Putin protest in Moscow. In this poster, the ship has been replaced with a super yacht, but the barge haulers are the same, still



Fig. 8. Poster from protest on Novyi Arbat, “We do NOT want to drag on for 12 more years!!!” March 2012 (courtesy of Aglaya Lopata-Glebova).

laboring away while resisting the forces of oppression (Fig. 8). What is it that makes this painting such a potent and universally applicable image so as to appeal to both Soviet official culture and antiestablishment protesters? One answer to this question can be found, I believe, in the formal and ideological incongruities of *Barge Haulers* that I have explored in this article. A picture of wandering souls made by a painter in pursuit of his own truth, Repin's painting refuses finality. It fails to cohere into a single narrative or structure and becomes instead a space in which to activate all manner of personal and political struggle. Granted this freedom by the painting, the *burlaki* are able to travel beyond the confines of their historical reality and enjoy an active, sometimes parodic and sometimes profound, afterlife in Soviet and post-Soviet culture.

SUMMARY

In the summer of 1870, the painter Ilya Repin, who, in his words, “did not like travel or excursions of any kind,” goes against his nature and embarks on a several-month trip down the Volga River, in search of models and inspiration for what would become his first major work *Barge haulers on the Volga*. In this article, Molly Brunson proposes that this trip and the spatial realities of the journey as such are what define the expressive

contours and produce the formal peculiarities of what is perhaps Repin's most widely known realist masterpiece. Examining Repin's sketches and memoiristic writing in the context of an extended visual engagement with the painting itself, Brunson considers how the artist's unique orientation as both an outsider and a participant – manifest in the painting's push and pull between distance and proximity, the epic and the contemporary, the aesthetic and the ideological – enacts a refinement of the progressive image of the "people." Having sought out the authentic burlak, Repin discovers instead the complex and often paradoxical nature of the "people," a concept that becomes more a composite projection of Repin's own experience than a reflection of any exterior reality. Ultimately, Brunson argues for a nuanced understanding of Repin's realism, one that disrupts the mode's supposed commitment to verisimilitude and ideological content with the spatiotemporal and social disjunctions wrought, in the case of *Barge haulers on the Volga*, by the experience of travel.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Летом 1870 г. художник Илья Репин, вопреки своей нелюбви к путешествиям и экскурсиям, отправился в длительную поездку по Волге в поисках образов для своей первой большой работы "Бурлаки на Волге" (1870–1873). В публикуемой статье Молли Брансон показывает, как это путешествие и его пространственные реалии определили выразительные приемы и формальные особенности самого известного реалистического шедевра художника. Автор рассматривает репинские наброски и мемуарные заметки непосредственно в связи с его художественной техникой. Амбивалентная позиция Репина как аутсайдера и участника проявляется на картине в динамике дистанцирования и приближения, эпике и современности, эстетизации и идеологизации и приводит к усложнению прогрессивного образа "народа". Отправляясь на поиски аутентичного бурлака, Репин открывает сложную и часто парадоксальную природу "народа", и это открытие в большей степени отражает его собственный опыт, нежели какую-то внешнюю реальность. Брансон призывает к более тонкому пониманию репинского реализма, не сводимого только к идеологическому содержанию, но учитывающему пространственно-временные и социальные смещения, которые в случае с "Бурлаками на Волге" проявлялись в ходе путешествия художника.

Михаил РОЖАНСКИЙ

**НАВСТРЕЧУ УТРЕННЕЙ ЗАРЕ:
СТРАНСТВИЯ В ПОИСКАХ НАСТОЯЩЕГО***

Толстяк. По СССР бегать не полагается. Каждый должен находиться на своем месте.

Ванечка. Абсолютно.

Мих. Булгаков. Зойкина квартира

Мы создадим в тайге моря
и вдаль уйдем,
мы бросим снова якоря
в краю глухом.

Усть-Илимская “народная” песня

Когда речь идет об “ударных” стройках и молодых городах, то тема географической мобильности неизбежно становится одним из центральных сюжетов истории советского общества. Связь между социальным идеализмом и мобильностью – неотъемлемая характеристика советского

* Статья представляет собой версию главы из книги автора “Советские идеалисты: поколенческий анализ”, которая готовится к изданию. Благодарю Сергея Ушакина за внимание к моей работе по данной теме и ценные советы при подготовке статьи.

стройка. Советский молодой человек, решаясь ехать в “неведомые края”, “глубинку”, получал возможность “испытать себя”: смена места жительства оказывалась средством самовоспитания и этапом духовного движения (“душевым порывом”). Географическая мобильность наделялась идейно-историческими смыслами: духовное движение – это идейный рост плюс готовность к свершению. И такое духовное движение возможно лишь как участие в общем историческом пути.¹

Советская готовность ехать “туда, где ты нужен” принципиально отличалась от странничества, предполагающего дорогу без конца и четкой цели. Странничество несовместимо с идеократией – по СССР бегать не полагалось. Причины изживания странничества в сталинскую эпоху не сводились к введению паспортного режима: странничество воспринималось вызовом понятию “настоящего” (= советского) человека как человека целеустремленного. Романтика странничества изживалась постольку, поскольку обретение внутренней свободы через странствие и возможность отстраненного взгляда на “другую жизнь” с трудом совмещались с моделью духовного роста через подчинение историческим целям. Исторический путь предполагал добровольную зависимость от исторической необходимости и осознанное принятие своего места в поступи поколений. Странничество видело в дороге самоценность, условие и признак самостоятельности.

Позднесоветский период предложил модель географической мобильности, в которой осознанное участие в общем историческом пути оказалось в неожиданном диалоге с практиками и поэтикой странничества. Образ дороги прочно связался с формулой “трудное счастье”. Строчка, которой озаглавлена статья (“Навстречу утренней заре”), заимствована из песни Александры Пахмутовой, написанной в 1963 г. на слова С. Гребенникова и Н. Добронравова:

Верят девочки в трудное счастье.
Не спугнет их ни дождь, ни пурга,
Ведь не зря звезды под ноги падают
И любитесь ими тайга!

Можно вспомнить, что вышедший в 1958 г. фильм Александра Столпера по сценарию Юрия Нагибина “Трудное счастье” повествовал о

¹ См. подробнее: М. Рожанский. Дневник советской девушки // *Интер*. 2007. № 4. С. 55-70; Idem. Разномыслие в условиях добровольной несвободы: поколения советских идеалистов // *Разномыслие в СССР и России (1945–2008)* / Под ред. Б. М. Фирсова. Санкт Петербург, 2010. С. 180-206; Idem. Между настоящим и реальностью: оптика советского идеализма // *Человек*. 2010. № 5. С. 47-57.

судьбе цыганского мальчишки, чье детство пришлось на Гражданскую войну, который посвятил молодость борьбе с кулаками и героически воевал в Великую Отечественную. Через пять лет тема испытаний, к которой отсылает формула “трудное счастье”, уже будет насыщена радостными предчувствиями, дружелюбием суровой природы, которая покорена не то что трудом, а даже настроением девушек – для радости достаточно ощущения пути.²

В Сибири 1950–1970-х гг. хорошо видно, как канализирована “энергия номадизма” – стремление и готовность людей решать свои экзистенциальные и/или материальные проблемы, перекочевав в новое, часто незнакомое место жизни и работы.



Послевоенный кинематограф начиная с эпического “Сказания о Земле сибирской” Ивана Пырьева утверждал образ Сибири как места настоящей жизни

Илл. 1. За окном сибирские просторы, впереди – личное и общее счастье в Сибири. Заключительный кадр из к/ф “Сказание о Земле Сибирской” (Реж. И. Пырьев, “Мосфильм,” 1947 год).

настоящего человека. В кино и песенной лирике второй половины 1950-х – начала 1960-х гг. тема трудного счастья прочно сплелась с историями о геологических экспедициях и работе на стройках Сибири. Великие стройки сделали трудное счастье доступным и типичным для последнего поколения советских юношей и девушек. Судьбу можно было выстроить, а личное счастье заслужить, отправившись однажды в дальнюю дорогу.

Феномен ударных комсомольскихстроек и молодых сибирских городов в исторических исследованиях малозаметен. В советское время он оставался в пределах фактографии, поскольку, вписываясь в историю выполнения задач, поставленных партией, и не предполагал включение в социальную историю страны. В современной российской историографии также не привлекается внимание к истории сибирскихстроек и молодых городов. Возможно, потому, что сделать их предметом исследования – значит пойти навстречу серьезному теоретическому вызову. Исследователи социальной истории страны неизбежно вынуждены будут обратиться к темам энтузиазма и социального иде-

² В 2012 г. поисковые программы в Интернете выдают на сочетание “трудное счастье” в первых позициях сайты одноименных служб знакомств.

ализма и рассматривать гипотезу о “советском” как цивилизационном, доказательство и опровержение которой потребует, в свою очередь, коррекцию подходов к существующему корпусу источников и формирование новых источников. Полевая работа по сбору устной истории, которая стала базой для данной статьи, ведется с начала 1990-х гг. в молодых городах Сибири, ее основными проблемно-тематическими фокусами являются судьба советского идеализма и динамика социальных миров в сибирских городах, возникших после Великой Отечественной войны.³ Но в этой статье я хочу подойти к собранному материалу в контексте географической мобильности и социальных смыслов (а также социальных следствий) странничества. Такая перспектива позволяет иначе (чем принято в постсоветской историографии) взглянуть на природу позднего социализма, у которого имелась своя география, и по новому подойти к деконструкции “советского”, которое, как я хочу показать, нельзя сводить к цинизму и двоемыслию.

Нужда и романтика

Что вело людей в необжитые места, если они отправлялись туда добровольно? Самый емкий ответ я получил от Клары Т., участницы строительства Братской ГЭС с первого года, с “палаточной зимы”: “Нужда гнала и романтика была”. Великие стройки в постгулаговскую эпоху выглядели на фоне страны как горящие лампочки плана ГОЭЛРО. Они обозначали места, где происходил прорыв в будущее – фронт модернизации и оазисы настоящей кипучей жизни, где все не так, как везде.

Миллионы людей разного возраста после войны, после освобождения из лагерей или ссылки, накануне демобилизации находились в ситуации выбора места жизни. В любом месте новый человек так или иначе проходит через недоверие, а в советских условиях “чужак” был особенно подозрителен. Выбор же в пользу новой стройки социально одобрялся, и все на ней, за исключением молодежи из местных

³ Основная источниковая база статьи – биографические интервью, собранные в сибирских городах Ангарске, Братске и Усть-Илимске в 1994–2006 гг. В тексте особое внимание уделено первым годам строительства Братской ГЭС, поскольку начало строительства совпало со сменой эпох (в социально-политическом измерении – началом публичного отмежевания от репрессивных методов руководства), и стройка оказалась “переходной”, если смотреть с исторической дистанции. Материалы, связанные с Усть-Илимском, дают возможность рассмотреть исследуемый феномен в контексте нескольких десятилетий.

деревень, были приезжими. Но и для сельской молодежи стройка не являлась чем-то навязанным, но предоставляла возможность жить не так, как было predetermined фактом рождения в сибирской деревне:

Нас отправили на картошку в деревню, на острова. Так молодежи там было мало. Спрашиваем, где ваша молодежь? А они все подались: кто в город, кто на стройку. В деревне не хотели. К образованию хотели. У нас в первый же год в школе открыли вечернюю школу. Было битком забито. Стремилась учиться. (Людмила З.)

Братская ГЭС занимает особое место в истории “ударных строек”. Это была первая крупная стройка без использования труда заключенных.⁴ Начало ее строительства совпало со сменой эпох, с публичным отмежеванием от репрессивных методов руководства. Строительство Братской ГЭС собирало добровольцев, которые искали новое место жизни. В лаборатории по испытаниям энергооборудования, где работала Клара Т., сложился небольшой коллектив людей с разными, но в чем-то типичными биографиями послевоенного времени:

С.: ...В Норильске десять лет отработал, реабилитирован. Очень многие остались в Братске на строительстве. Почему? Ну, вот он. Сам из Минска. Дом разбит, ничего там нет. Ну вот, он остался.

К.: Вот как судьба человеком. Впервые встретила еврея, который работал шофером. В финскую войну работал на полutorке – остался жив. Всю войну был сапером. Остался жив. Получилось пять лет, и оказалось, эта служба не засчитывается и “надо еще действительную”. После действительной восемь лет был в армии, потом сюда.

П.: ...Этот сидел уже у нас, на Вихоревке (поселок недалеко от Братска. – *М.Р.*).

П.Г.: Он был рентгенолог, всю войну прошел в медсанбате. Вернулся домой, все нормально, встретили – выпили. Он говорит: “Неправильно, что в Германии простые люди все на помойках живут. У них тоже все хорошо устроено. У них не колхозы, но у них тоже кооперативы. Фермер арендует технику, заключают соглашение о покупке продукции”. Ему дали десять лет. А были все совершенно свои.

В. Родом из поволжских немцев. Работал электриком у Павлова – физиолога. В июне сорок первого был в деревне. Когда началась война, был три дня на покосе. “Возвращаюсь – идет

⁴ На строительстве самой ГЭС и города Братска.

техника, не обратил внимания, там шли маневры. А мне ‘Хэнде хок’. Батрачил, все делал”. Затем откатывался вместе с немцами от наступавшей советской армии, арестован, и после пыток В. подписал признание. “Ему в камере говорят: подпиши, отсидишь срок в *Тайшете* и выйдешь, а так живым не оставят после того, что с тобой делали”. Ну и решил: подпишу, отсижу в *Ташкенте* в тепле. А его все везут и везут – в *Тайшет*. А жена с сыном приехали к нему. Его мало посылали на лесоразработки – на все руки мастер, женам начальства надо шить – машинку надо отремонтировать там. Он негибачый такой, выжил потому, что дал себе приказ молчать.

Такие люди собрались у меня в лаборатории.

Приведенные свидетельства – о людях “с непростыми судьбами”, которые были взрослыми во время войны. Но на стройке преобладали (особенно на рабочих специальностях) те, кто во время войны были детьми или подростками. Многие ехали сразу после демобилизации из армии, кто-то из сибирских деревень, кто-то с другихстроек, проходивших не в таких экстремальных условиях, у кого-то были уже непростые жизненные истории. У всех была способность к самостоятельному решению – во всяком случае, у тех, кто остался в Братске. Вот свидетельство о тех, кто был занят непосредственно на строительных работах.

Моя подружка сюда приехала из Москвы тоже по комсомольской путевке. Целый поезд был. Ну, конечно, девчонки после окончания школы, та, например, в институт не попала. Она поступила, но подружка ее не поступила, и по этой причине она за компанию не стала учиться. И приехали сюда. Тетка ее готовила. Стеженки, говорит, им дали. Лето было, а думали, что мороз тут. Удивительное дело. И вот этих девчонок потом отправили работать на ЛЭП. Эту ЛЭП строили – не 220, а 110. Первую ЛЭП вели из Иркутска... Они работали там на бетоне. Нужно было все опоры бетонировать. Это кошмар. Зима, палатки, холодина. Приходили в робах в бетоне, так и плюхались на кровати. Потом утром вставали, с себя их сдирали, что-то на себя надевали и опять шли работать. Как можно было девчонок туда отправлять? Потом уже удивлялись. Мыслимое ли дело. Работали наравне с мужчинами. (Людмила З.)

Управленцы, в том числе и вполне добросовестные, обращались к энтузиазму подчиненных как к средству, позволяющему компенсиро-

вать пороки хозяйственной организации. Леонид Шинкарев цитирует начальника одного из участков строительства Иркутской ГЭС, который именно на этой стройке – не первой в его жизни – понял, что “на стройке успех обеспечивают не только техника и средства, а в основном энтузиазм людей”.⁵ Подобный, характерный для 1930х – 1960-х гг. стиль советского управления опирался на аскетизм и стоицизм как культурную норму человека, понимающего приоритет не просто общего перед частным, а исторических задач перед индивидуальным.⁶ Эта культурная норма могла объединять командиров производства и “рядовых бойцов”. Она же могла быть и предметом управленческой манипуляции. Различия между первой и второй далеко не всегда были очевидны.

Историческая мобилизация

Сибирь была поприщем для социального признания и самоутверждения молодого человека. Историческая миссия становилась частью коллективной идентичности, особенно значимой для тех, кто приехал на стройку из больших городов, но ощущали эту миссию и выходцы из деревни – участники строительства чувствовали себя представителями современности в таежном крае. Формула, которой определялся главный исторический смысл стройки в Братске с конца 1950-х гг. – “величайшая в мире” – была знаком соревнования систем, этапом гонки в достижениях с Америкой.

Не менее важен и исторический смысл – преобразование не тронутых прогрессом просторов. Перед поколением, “мобилизованным историей”, стояла задача не экономическая, а историческая. Основным аргумент необходимости строительства Братской ГЭС – выполнение планов освоения Сибири, а отнюдь не неотложная потребность в электроэнергии.⁷ Ударная стройка в Братске была формой исторической мобилизации, которая оказалась достаточно емкой для тех, чья

⁵ Л. Шинкарев. Сибирь. Откуда она пошла и куда она идет. Иркутск, 1974. С. 250.

⁶ Собственно на подобной апелляции построен весь типологический репертуар ответственности комсомольца, члена партии, любого рабочего или интеллигента. Здесь не только сословная честь, но и ответственность страны перед историей как фон (выявляемый или скрытый) любого события, поступка, высказывания. Идеальное предьявлялось в модальности долженствования.

⁷ Ближайший возможный крупный потребитель электроэнергии Братской ГЭС (в период ее строительства) отдален от Братска на полторы тысячи километров. И решение о строительстве крупнейшей в мире ГЭС определялось “логикой” больших проектов, присущей экстенсивной централизованной экономике.

социальная и трудовая активность была окрашена романтизмом, для тех, кто проходил социальную реабилитацию, и для тех, кто стремился собственными усилиями создать условия для самостоятельной жизни.

Героизм оставался главным и безусловным доказательством человеческой доброкачественности. Подобно тому как для предвоенной молодежи, “опоздавшей” к Гражданской войне, смысл существования определялся ответом на мобилизующий вопрос “А если завтра война?”, для послевоенных подростков, “опоздавших” на войну Отечественную, одним из главных был вопрос “А как бы поступил(а) в войну ты?”.

Между интервью, которые цитируются ниже, два дня. Клара Т. говорит об одном и том же времени. Но сказанное ею могло прозвучать и с диапазоном в несколько минут – для нее здесь нет противоречия.

Эпизод из воспоминаний о деревне:

В сорок девятом году, конец августа, сидим, ужинаем. Говорю: “Мама, я сбегу из колхоза”. – “Беги, не бойся. Не бойся, Клара, тюрьмы – там кормят”.

Фрагмент из воспоминаний об атмосфере на стройке:

Время такое было. Не народ, а чудо!

– Может потому, что вы из деревни вырвались, из крепостного права?

– Мы признавали это крепостное право, потому что война недавно кончилась. Из деревни дезертиров было полно, скрывались в лесах. Банд сколько было. А сколько предателей было. И это всё знали. И отношение западных украинцев, и что сделали татары крымские.

И чуть позже об отношениях на стройке:

Задавался невольно вопрос: может предать или нет, в разведку с ним пойдешь или нет. А сколько комиссаров стреляли в спину и командиров. Все это знали.

Ощущение исторических сдвигов, переживания истории, с которой связывались надежды на лучшее, как и стремление к социальным идеалам – все это много глубже тех установок, которые формируют пропаганда и воспитание. Участие в большом коллективном свершении создавало ощущение “прямого” участия в истории. Суровые условия жизни и работы могли восприниматься не просто как испытания, но и как возможность жизненной самореализации. Отправившись “по распределению” или присоединившись к молодежным отрядам, едущим на большую стройку, человек совершал судьбоносный выбор и

получал значимый психологический ресурс, убеждая окружающих в своей полезности:

Я поехала на Красноярскую ГЭС, в Красноярск в 58-м году, сразу после окончания института, я вам даже скажу опять-таки: у меня были такие романтические завихрения... Я прочитала, была у Анатолия Кузнецова “Продолжение легенды” – вот на этом произведении, наверное. Ну а потом приехала я в Красноярск, пришла в крайком комсомола, опять вот мне здорово везло, что ли, у меня денег почти не было, и я объяснилась. ...Вышел первый секретарь, хороший парень, и я ему: вот так и так. Он так посмотрел и говорит: “Школу закончила?” Ну что, я худенькая была девчоночка, не хотелось мне говорить, что я институт закончила. Это же меня на стройку не возьмут, это меня уже по дороге научили. “Документы какие?” Ну, аттестат-то я взяла, показываю аттестат, и говорит: “А где еще пять лет была?” Я говорю: “В институте”. – “Исключили?” – “Да нет, – говорю, – у меня диплом”. Он говорит: “Да знаешь, как нам учителя нужны! Да что ты, ну бетонщицей разве пойдешь? Да парни это сделают. Да если ты действительно по душевному порыву”. Короче так вот сказал, что мне даже стыдно стало. Ну, думаю, и в самом деле, если им и вправду здесь учителя нужны... Короче говоря, он набирает номер телефона в КрайОНО и говорит: “Сейчас девушка к вам подойдет, предложите ей все варианты, какие есть. Девчонка хорошая”. Вот так и сказал. (Ирина К., 1935 гр.)

В Братске 1950-х и в Усть-Илимске 1960-х гг. исторические смыслы подчеркивались сильнее, чем, например, в том же Усть-Илимске в 1980-е, но логика Большого проекта, зов “громадной исторической задачи” оставались в силе. Большой проект – это всегда историческое свершение, а человек, участвующий в нем, не мог не чувствовать, что возможности, используемые им, умножены этой вневременной значимостью. Во время строительства Байкало-Амурской магистрали эта идея отольется в чеканные формулы песни Оскара Фельцмана на стихи Роберта Рождественского: “Слышишь – время гудит: БАМ!” и обещания вписать “в биографию планеты... свою строку”. Самореализация оказалась тесно связана с самовоспитанием, с переделкой себя, с тем, чтобы соответствовать требованиям эпохи и смыслам истории – стать *настоящим*.⁸ Клара Т. вспоминает:

⁸ См. о содержании конструкта “настоящий, настоящее” в анализе дневника Киры Мансуровой, см.: М. Рожанский. Дневник советской девушки.

Мой брат приезжал ко мне (из деревни в Нечерноземье) и говорит: “Знаешь, сестра, ты не гордись, что вы строите величайшую ГЭС. Не только вы строите, и мы строим”. Отсюда он набирал рыбных консервов, камбалы. На которые мы внимания не обращали. Он говорил, что у них и пшена нет. “Мы ничего почти этого не видим. У вас тут все есть... Не одни вы строите ГЭС”.

Диалог, точнее его версия и контекст, оставшиеся в памяти, ясно свидетельствуют, что участие в стройке было предметом гордости, что участники воспринимали ее исторические смыслы как собственное достояние. На протяжении многочасового интервью Клара Т. всякий раз сокращала штамп “*величайшая в мире*” до иронического “...*чайшая*”, как бы передразнивая пропаганду того времени и дистанцируясь от своих прежних иллюзий. Братская ГЭС не перестала быть одной из крупнейших в мире, но под сомнения попал смысл такого гигантизма и его последствия. При этом ни в коей мере не подвергается сомнению исключительность социального мира, возникшего на гигантской стройке.

Падунские Пороги

Клара Т.,⁹ пятидневное интервью с которой положено в основу этого раздела статьи, не вспоминает каких-либо веских причин, которые побудили их с молодым мужем уехать из Куйбышева в Сибирь – отдельную жилплощадь они вскоре должны были получить в своем городе, карьерные соображения их никогда не волновали. Все версии можно строить на свидетельствах о характерах Клары Т. и ее мужа Геннадия. О характере Геннадия свидетельствует то, что коллеги его прозвали “правдолюбом”. А для характеристики Клары достаточно привести один эпизод из ее воспоминаний:

Когда мы ехали, несколько часов мы стояли в Тайшете. Поскольку был 55-й год, шла реабилитация заключенных. И вот там, на вокзале в Тайшете, в этот мороз лежало столько скрюченных искалеченных людей, ревматичных. Они не могли ходить, под ними лужи, они примерзли. Меня мой еле удержал. Я бы натворила дел. Я не могла этого... я рвалась к дежурному. Мой только держал меня. Он говорил: “Ты пойми, ты сама угодишь туда”. Я могла

⁹ В базе интервью, взятых в Братске, есть пятидневное биографическое интервью (примерно 12 часов) с Klarой Алексеевной Тимониной (далее Клара Т.). Оно стало опорным для данной статьи. Биографическое повествование используется не как иллюстрация, а как способ удержать антропологический фокус анализа – это возможно только через детальное видение биографии человека.

наговорить, не знаю чего. Но в конце концов: “Все, все будет... за ними приедут и скоро их куда-то увезут... на носилках унесут”. Понимаешь, меня, как дуру, облапошили, конечно. Уехали мы. Но эта картина у меня стояла долго перед глазами. Я впервые увидела эту бесчеловечность. Кошмар какой! Не приведи бог.

Пассажирский поезд идет от Тайшета до станции Падунские Пороги сейчас около шести часов. Даже с поправкой на скорости середины 1950-х можно сказать, что это впечатление Клара Т. получила буквально перед приездом на строительство. А на Падунских Порогах их с Геннадием ждали совсем другие впечатления и новые бытовые заботы. Прибыли они 30 декабря 1955 г. В тот день было 56 градусов мороза (“Оказывается, действительно, мозги замерзают – это не преувеличение”). В гостинице (“вот – две палатки стоят”) гомон, “чафир” и горячее обсуждение вновь прибывшими, на какой именно участок строительства надо попасть. Назавтра, когда определялись с жильем, увидели в приглянувшейся им палатке молодую пару с двумя маленькими детьми и решили: “С детьми приехали, а мы-то уж проживем”.

Палатка, в которой зимой 1955/56 г. жила моя собеседница, – стандартная армейская двадцатиместная. В таких жили большинство приехавших в первую зиму строительства Братской ГЭС. Обустройство и быт в этих стандартных палатках стандартными не были.

Стали ставить палатку, а я говорю: “Ген, давай походим, может быть, где тут и есть место в старых”. Он: “Ну че, лучше давай в новой палатке, там и запах будет свежий, и все, а че в старых палатках!” В общем, мы в несколько старых палаток зашли, а там уже знаете как: и прокурено, и провонено. А в одну палатку зашли, там мужики жили одни, еще жены не приехали. А одна приехала. И приехала с двумя ребятишками... Остальные ждали, когда приедут супруги ихние молодые. И вот мы зашли в эту палатку, и я гляжу. Я сразу углядела: с одной стороны стоят лавочки, и на них ведра с водой, и бак с водой. А в другой стороне тоже такая клетушка, прям низко двери, там дровник. Днем натаскивают, чтобы ночью сжечь эти дрова. Я говорю: давай здесь остановимся. (Клара Т.)

В палатке до осени, когда построили первые квартиры, проживали пять семей, включая Клару с мужем:

В двух противоположных углах печки. Между семьями дощатые перегородки, сверху занавесочками закрытые, чтобы не занозиться... Каждый день привозили машину дров. И за сутки ее почти всю сжигали – буржуйка-то быстро прогорает.

Дров уходило так много еще и потому, что в палатке весь день кто-то из обитателей был – хотя бы молодая мама со своими двумя маленькими детьми.

А вот повседневность (точнее, еженощный быт) зимы 1955/56 г. в такой же палатке, ставшей общежитием учителей:

Жили все вместе. Сначала перегородки были, потом сломали, чтобы теплее было. А учитель химии, мужчина, говорит Александре Ивановне (их кровати рядом стояли): давайте, говорит, каждый в своей кровати накроюсь сначала вашим одеялом, потом одеждой, потом моим одеялом. Иногда ветер страшный ночью – палатку раскачивает, печку раскачивает – искры на палатку падают, дырочки прожигает. Мне говорили: “Не мой волосы на ночь”. Ну не могу же я так в школу пойти с головой невымытой. А кровати стояли вдоль стены. И у меня коса примерзла. Потом папа с мамой ко мне из Кяхты приехали – днем топить стали. Корреспонденты из “Комсомолки” приехали: как вы можете так в палатках? Живем, другого нет, пристраивались как-то. (Людмила З.)

На большую стройку людей приводили разные жизненные траектории, мотивы приезда были различны, разными были заботы молодых и взрослых, одиноких и семейных, разными были и требования к быту и способность обустроить его. Но даже деревенская и практичная Клара Т., рассказывая о первых годах в Братске, определяет свое тогдашнее состояние словами: “Эйфория была”.

Великие стройки – переплетение интереса к изменению своей биографии и изменения социальных условий. “Эйфория коллективизма” возникла потому, что сбывались надежды и ожидания, которые предшествовали решению ехать на стройку, – радикально менялась биография, радикально иными были социальные условия. Для человека, приехавшего в Братск, стройка была не просто сменой места и условий жизни, а возможностью самореализации и самоутверждения. Новый стиль человеческих отношений, собственная способность к жизни в экстремальных условиях – необходимое и достаточное условие того, чтобы возникло ощущение большой жизненной удачи, ставшей результатом личного решения поехать на стройку. Чтобы построить мир, в который ты не просто получил пропуск, но в создании которого ты участвуешь. Контуров этого мира еще не совсем определены, но он – новый. Не только *иной*, но и *несовместимый* с тем, из которого хотелось бежать, и, тем более, с тем, который Клара Т. с мужем видели из окна поезда в Тайшете.

Эйфория, если и связана с трудовым энтузиазмом, то не сводится к нему. В сегодняшних воспоминаниях он не является главной темой. Когда речь идет о трудных условиях работы и быта, то подчеркивается именно экстремальный характер этих условий. И способности к напряжению сил. Экстремальность условий оказывалась соразмерной экстремальности задач. Первая зима – особенно жестокие условия быта и труда, но и они воспринимались как то, что оказалось преодолимым, стало повседневностью.

Все было неустроенно, страшно неустроенно. Ну и что? Палатки не смущали, не боялись. Наводнение в декабре. Ночью. Мы из палаток перебрались в недостроенный дом. (Людмила З.).¹⁰

Народ деятельный. Гора Шанхай – врезались, делали землянку (они теплее), и по всей горе горели огни. На ней разбивали огороды, разводили коров и свиней. (Клара Т.)

Практические жизненные возможности воспринимаются даже не как ресурс, а как начало новой жизни, контрастно отличной от прежней:

Интервьюер: Люди были тут более непокорные, более свободные, чем на Волге?

Информант: Люди тут были более самозабвенные. Тут был такой дух – он шел от людей, – что надо ГЭС построить, что мы будем жить лучше, что нам дадут квартиру. Столько было открыто учкомбинатов – люди получали специальности.

В этом коротком ответе названо, по сути, все перечисленное ранее: историческая задача, работа, жилье, учеба. Но акцент падает на слово “дух” – метафору общественной атмосферы, настроений, самоотверженности. Психологическую атмосферу, преобладавшую на рабочих участках, можно описать и фразой из интервью с Людмилой З.: “Работали с какой-то легкостью”. В воспоминаниях (без исключения) царит ностальгия по некоему общинному духу. Но только отчасти эту ностальгию можно объяснить неудовлетворенностью *сегодняшней* стилистикой и качеством человеческих отношений – ни в одном интервью не прозвучало аргументации в дихотомии раньше/теперь. Противопоставление сегодняшней и прежней социальной атмосферы

¹⁰ Летом были свои, тоже экстремальные трудности: “А сколько тут было мошкар. Я помню, ходил такой агрегат, который пускал дым с дустом. И вот этот дым на какое-то время травил эту мошку. Через час мошка снова появлялась. А ребята все бегут и дышат этим. Называли его ‘мошкодавка’. Потом вода поднялась, и мошки не стало. Она на берегу в болотцах плодилась”. (Людмила З.).

если возникало, ни разу не касалось микросреды, коллектива – только общей социальной ситуации. Но достаточно частый сюжет – контраст между атмосферой стройки и тем, что человек видел и пережил до того.

Показательно, что, в отличие от более поздних по времени строек в Усть-Илимске и более ранней – в Ангарске, где сюжеты драк, хулиганства, агрессии воспроизводятся в устной истории наряду с рассказами об уникальной человеческой атмосфере, в рассказах о Братске они вытеснены настолько, что по воспоминаниям (как письменным, так и устным) невозможно реконструировать, были ли они исключением или все-таки повседневностью в первые годы строительства.¹¹ Свидетельство Людмилы З. достаточно характерно:

Водки и вина было мало. Помню, была водка кориандровая, можжевеловая. В основном настойки. На травах. Но это все было в Братске. На Падуне¹² был магазин, а так-то не было. Пьяных было мало. Пьянки, как таковой, не было. Кто-то оставался здесь. Кто-то собирался уезжать. А уезжать – надо заработать деньги.

Можно предположить причины такого вытеснения. Во-первых, это значимость декларации об отсутствии заключенных на стройке (“мы – первые, мы справимся и без лагерей!”) для исторического смысла стройки и, следовательно, для коллективной идентичности самих строителей. Во-вторых, это принципиальная важность признаков обновления жизни для людей именно 1950-х гг. География стала своеобразным ресурсом этого поколения,¹³ и выбор собравшихся на строительстве Братской ГЭС, так же как и для их столичных ровесников, обозначенных позднее как “шестидесятники”, был в пользу идеалов и ценностей, которым не соответствовала социальная реальность. Но, в отличие от “детей XX съезда” (в 1956 г. и позднее), строители Братской ГЭС были объединены не обсуждением/осуждением масштаба репрессий и курса партии (в героических случаях – борьбой за права человека), а *практикой устройства* социальной жизни, не похожей на ту, из которой они уезжали и которая стала возможна “здесь и сейчас”. Эта новая жизнь и была для них событием, гораздо более заметным, чем “секретный доклад” или “бытовое пьянство”.

¹¹ Задача выяснения этого в архивах органов внутренних дел мной не решалась.

¹² Падун – поселок строителей ГЭС, а Братск в период, о котором вспоминает респондент, – райцентр, превратившийся в начале 1950-х гг. из села в рабочий поселок (лесозаготовка) и оказавшийся впоследствии в зоне затопления.

¹³ См. подробнее: М. Рожанский. Разномыслие в добровольной несвободе.

Вместе с формированием коллектива на первой же стройке без ГУЛАГа обозначилось несовпадение культивируемых коллективных ценностей с системой идеократии и дистанция между мирами – “политическим” и коллективистским. Сферой реализации идеала человеческих отношений была приватно-публичная жизнь, которая не менее характерна для больших молодежных строек и построенных молодых городов, чем для больших городов, о которых в основном пишет Виктор Воронков, впервые сформулировавший это понятие.¹⁴ Здесь она была, по сути, синонимом “общественной жизни” и досуга, тем компонентом жизни, который создавал и символизировал отличие “молодого города” от остальной страны, – от тех самых городов и сел, из которых уехали те, кто собрался на стройках Сибири.

Модернизация воспринималась не только как цель, но она становилась и повседневной практикой, бытом. Техника была одним из символов современности.

Представьте себе – крестьянин. В любой области, крае. Это тяжелейший труд. В Сибири он трижды тяжелей. Условия тут такие тяжелые. И когда стройка началась, все поняли, видели. Я бабушку Агафью сорок раз вспоминал: пришли трактор, самосвал, бурилка, электропилы, краны и все прочее, она посмотрела на все это и говорит: “Сейчас так работают, как мы раньше отдыхали”. Жизнь коренным образом изменилась. Появился свет и так далее. (Николай Д.)

Ресурсом для того, чтобы не отстать от обновления жизни, было образование. Учительница рассказывает о буднях школы, в которой работала.

Тогда все три этажа были забиты вечерниками. Многие отслужили уже армию. А днем там были учебные пункты. И еще была дневная “вечерняя” школа – потому что ребята работали посменно. (Людмила З.)

Эмоциональный настрой поддерживался и рациональным обоснованием правильности сделанного выбора. Рационализация – для себя и/или для тех, кого нужно было убедить в этой правильности, – опиралась на любые признаки того, что на великой стройке действительно открываются возможности обновления жизни, новой биографии, доступ

¹⁴ В. М. Воронков. Проект “шестидесятников”: движение протеста в СССР // Отцы и дети: Поколенческий анализ современной России / Сост. Ю. Левада, Т. Шанин. Москва, 2005. С. 193-194.

к перспективам модернизации. Получение жилья, например, было не просто решением проблемы (появлением “своего угла”), а приобщением к *новой*, современной жизни.

... Когда я первый раз зашла в свою комнату из палатки – ну как тут объяснить. Конец августа, у нас много было переселений. Отопление уже дали. Электричество провели в дом. Что вам надо еще? Дом деревянный, паля с верхних пазов висит на полметра – плохо протыкнута. На первом этаже, где маляры краски свои разводили, краска лепками – и стены просто деревянные нестроганные, окна так вставлены. Входим: “Гена, как хорошо – батареи горячие”. (Клара Т.)

Возникающие ассоциации со стихотворением Маяковского, написанным в 1928 г.,¹⁵ усиливаются, когда Клара Т. рассказывает подробности обживания. Ни советскую власть, ни социализм, в отличие от героя Маяковского, она не вспоминает, но эмоции не менее глубокие, чем в поэтическом тексте, – переживания человека, входящего в новую жизнь.

Поставили свои два чемодана, у меня были две подушки, два одеяла ватные – мама мне подарила. Выручили очень в палатке. Время – три, четвертый час уже, – надо и о вечере уже подумать. Гена мигом чурок наносил, сколотили топчан из досок, газет настлали, ток есть в розетке – как хорошо! Тут же чайник на полу поставили, вскипятили, отварили, уселись есть. А ноги мелькают у нас в окошке, потому что еще не закрыли канавы – отопление проводили, и поверх ходят, ноги мелькают, заглядывают. Ну ладно, люди свои.

Каждое приобретение было событием: покупка стола, покупка стиральной машины, которую сразу же испытали. И через пятьдесят лет Клара Т. хорошо помнит, что для испытания рискнули кальсонами китайского производства, которые специально принесла соседка. Событием стала и покупка туалетной бумаги, поскольку о существовании такого блага цивилизации молодожены не подозревали до того, как увидели товар в магазине. Детали как ступени в новый образ жизни запечатлелись еще и потому, что они сообщались “городу и миру”. Дочка Клары Т. дополняет эти воспоминания рассказами родителей, которые слышала в детстве: “Когда ждали квартиру, мама не верила,

¹⁵ Вл. Маяковский. Рассказ литейщика Ивана Козырева о вселении в новую квартиру // Вл. Маяковский. Полное собрание сочинений: В 13 т. Москва, 1958. Т. 9. С. 23-26.

что в каждой квартире собственный туалет: зачем отдельные туалеты?” (Валентина К.)

Вместе с исключительностью трудностей всегда описывается атмосфера коллективной жизни как совместного преодоления трудностей и акцентируется ее исключительность.¹⁶ Метафора “дух” возникает как экспрессивная форма такого подчеркивания. Стиль отношений можно определить двумя формулами из разных интервью: “не помню ни одного конфликта” и “ржачка все время стояла”. Первая фраза относится к трудовому коллективу, вторая – к общему палаточному быту. Небольшие иллюстрации (которые можно множить) к этим двум формулам.

В палатке было пять семей, а кровати односпальные. Делали из досок топчан, который клали на кровать, чтоб муж с женой мог спать. Топчаны скрипели, конечно. Столько смеха было наутро: а эти-то до пяти скрипели – спать не давали.

Здесь как одна семья была. Большинство жили в палатках, а палаточный городок, как одна семья.

Народ, который работал – “скромность не скромность, ханжество не ханжество” в отношении денег – было стыдно спросить об оплате. Мужики считали ниже своего достоинства об этом говорить.

Народ был молодой, смеялись.

Атмосфера веселья – постоянный мотив во всех воспоминаниях. Атмосфера эта запомнилась настолько ярко, что можно предположить значимость ее как функции психологической разрядки, как личного освобождения. Второй обязательный мотив воспоминаний – исключительность отношений.

Остранение системы

Вот еще о повседневности палаточного поселка на строительстве Братской ГЭС.

Рядом с палаткой стоял репродуктор. Утром в 6 часов он начинал: “Говорит Москва...”. Мужики швыряли в него что-нибудь, он замолкал. Потом начинал хрюкать – в него опять что-нибудь швыряли. Днем его налаживали, и наутро опять: “Говорит Москва...” И так каждый день. (Клара Т.)

¹⁶ В последующие годы, когда Ангара была перекрыта и люди жили уже не в палатках, лишения воспринимались уже как проблема организации, как чья-то вина.

Около другой палатки, в которой жили учителя, стоял энергопоезд, который “тарыхтел страшным образом и ничего не слышно. Зато светло”. Через шум энергопоезда доносился звук репродуктора, уставленного рядом с палаткой на столбе:

Когда в 6 утра радио начинало играть гимн, соседка по палатке (учительница физкультуры) поднимала всех. И мы все, стоя, пели гимн. (Людмила З.)

Хочется добавить “и так каждый день”, чтобы подчеркнуть переключку этого эпизода с рассказом Клары Т. Отличия между двумя этими картинками можно объяснить отчасти календарно: Клара Т. прибыла на стройку в конце декабря, а Людмила З. – месяца на четыре раньше, к началу учебного года. Конечно, отношение к идеологическому шуму, к публичному выражению чувств было разное, и представить коллективное пение гимна в “семейной палатке”, где проживала Клара, невозможно, но нет сомнения, что и внутренний ритуал, описанный Людмилой, в конце концов изжил себя. Подобные практики на ударной стройке и затем в молодом городе не сохранялись.

Две эти картинки в воспоминаниях моих собеседниц о своих палатках в своем сходстве и различии – воплощение формулы “семантический коллапс ‘коммунизма’”. Формулу употребили Геннадий Батыгин и Мария Рассохина в статье, основанной на анализе источника совершенно другого ряда – журнала “Новый мир” 1950-х годов.¹⁷ Два десятилетия происходила тривиализация коммунистической речи – от текста, созданного большевистским романтизмом, к “расколдовыванию” светлого будущего.¹⁸ Энтузиазм и эмфаза вытеснялись из коммунистической риторики, глоссологии¹⁹ подвижничества вырождались. В пятидесятые годы, констатируют авторы, “коммунистическая идея представляла собой уже не подвиг и дерзновенную мечту, а рутинный модернизационный проект”.²⁰ Программа построения коммунизма (т.е. новая Программа КПСС), которую Батыгин и Рассохина назвали образцом новой коммунистической речи – “язык техпромфинпланов” – была

¹⁷ Г. Батыгин, М. Рассохина. Семантический коллапс “коммунизма” // Человек. 2002. № 6. С. 61-77.

¹⁸ Дискуссию об “искренности” в литературе, начатую “Новым миром”, авторы считают реакцией на это “расколдовывание”. См.: Там же. С. 76-77.

¹⁹ В данном контексте можно определить как риторические фигуры или словосочетания, нагруженные ритуальными и магическими функциями, но не транслирующие смыслы и не развивающие содержание.

²⁰ Г. Батыгин, М. Рассохина. Семантический коллапс “коммунизма”. С. 77.

принята “тогда, когда ‘коммунизм’ присутствовал в публичной речи как разновидность всем известной, но необходимой лжи”.²¹



Илл. 2. Картина В. Ф. Жемерикина “Серебряные рельсы”, 1979 (завершение строительства стыковочного узла на БАМе).

С позиций этого анализа ударные стройки, развернутые во второй половине пятидесятых, – особый случай для отслеживания судьбы идеократии, с одной стороны, результат и свидетельство энтузиазма и подвижничества, а с другой – передовая модернизации, место, где техпромплан является ежедневной целью. Было или нет здесь ощущение коллапса, судить трудно. Возможно, для кого-то и было – в некоторых интервью проскальзывает снисходительное (иногда слегка презрительное) “комсомольцы” по отношению к тем, кто приехал в составе

²¹ Там же.

разного рода “отрядов”, но не удержался на стройке. Встречается также (причем в противоположных коннотациях) определение “правдолюб”. Но в целом, став повседневностью, энтузиазм и подвижничество освободились от идеологического оформления без видимого напряжения. В песне Добронравова и Пахмутовой, ставшей неофициальным гимном строителей Братска, эта эмансипация от идеологии найдет свое выражение в интонации извинения: “так уж вышло, что наша мечта на плакат из палаток взята...”.

Работа на “передовой” и экстремальные условия жизни давали санкцию на то, чтобы нарушать норму, которую невозможно было бы нарушить на “большой земле”. Например, в “палаточном Братске”, насколько могу судить, даже не прошла и общесоюзная “закрытая читка” доклада Хрущева.²² Вспомним, что и товарищей Клары Т. по палатке не “призвали к порядку”: “затыкать” “голос из Москвы” не мешали, хотя порядок не пересматривали и репродуктор чинили исправно.

На передовом крае преобразования страны формировалось социальное пространство, которое было одной из зон риска для идеократии. Конечно, здесь, в отличие от столиц, “диссидентская атака на уже мертвый ‘коммунизм’”²³ возникнуть не могла, но остранение идеологии и системы власти, сакрализованной идеологией, было неизбежным. Дистанция географическая оборачивалась не столкновением мировоззрений, но мировоззренческой дистанцией. Мобилизация людей на ударные стройки как исторические свершения “родины социализма” обернулась одним из способов разрушения идеократии. Мобильность “советских номадов” была и поиском своего места, и формой ухода, и способом остранения социально-политической системы. Наталья Т. вспоминает:

Я уехала, но тоже со скандалом с Урала. Там был директор школы – он мне не показался ни по отношению к учителям, ни по отношению к школе. Что это за директор: в девять приходит, в четыре уходит. Дает распоряжение в середине урока. А мне было

²² Съезд пришлось на первую зиму строительства (и быта строителей), и я специально спрашивал о том, как был воспринят “секретный” доклад. Собраний с зачитыванием доклада на строительстве либо просто не проводили, либо предельно сузили круг участников такой читки. Это косвенно подтверждает, что формировавшийся коллектив строителей ГЭС оценивался как концентрация социально-активных людей с потенциалом социального протеста или столкновений (скажем, между освободившимися из лагерей и бывшими сотрудниками карательной системы).

²³ Выражение Батыгина и Рассохиной. Семантический коллапс “коммунизма”. С. 77.

двадцать пять лет, но я ему все это принародно и высказала. Ну, я не каялась в этом, хотя мне пришлось потом очень тяжело, очень тяжело.

Мы сюда с моей приятельницей написали письмо. Заварив кашу на Урале, мы, в общем, решили и написали письма – куда нас позовут. Тридцать писем отправили. Отправляли по принципу: где есть “коричневое”. Я очень не люблю ровную местность. В Верхоянск отправляли, ну вот в такие места из коричневых – вот к нам пришло письмо из Усть-Илимска: ждем, приезжайте. (Наталья Т., 1949 г.р.)

Участие в исторических стройках оказывалось одновременно дистанцированием от тех, кто сохранял право озвучивать исторические смыслы. Выразительная метафора этой социально-исторической ситуации – эпизод торжественного запуска Н. С. Хрущевым первого агрегата ГЭС, кинорепортаж о котором стал одним из дежурных визуальных символов курса на строительство коммунизма. За последние годы опубликованы свидетельства участников события,²⁴ и мы знаем, что визит руководителя СССР не был запланированным и был кратковременным, иначе говоря, был одной из импровизаций Н. С. Хрущева, придавшей запуску ГЭС символическое значение.²⁵ Мы знаем и то, что акт этот был не только символом, но и имитацией: рабочий запуск негласно состоялся до приезда Хрущева. Свидетельство Клары Тимохиной, готовившей по долгу службы ключевую часть события, делает метафору “запуска величайшей стройки” еще более объемной:

– Так включал Хрущев первый агрегат или нет?

– Кто бы ему дал!? Представь щит управления – релейная защита там и все. К нему подвели от постороннего источника напряжение, чтобы закрутить ротор. То есть возбуждение дали от постороннего источника, генератор крутился, а ток не выдавал – выхода не было. Хрущев повернул, и вольтметр показывает: ток пошел! Приоткрыли затворы – на лопасти попáдало, закрутилась турбина.

– А Хрущев знал, что это имитация?

– Может, и знал. Не знаю.

²⁴ См., например, <http://bratska.net/?doc=1946> ; <http://expert.ru/siberia/2011/47/polveka-v-stroyu/>.

²⁵ Пуск состоялся 28 ноября 1961 года, то есть всего лишь через месяц после завершения 22 съезда КПСС, принявшего новую Программу партии – “программу построения коммунизма в СССР”.

Степень автономности сообщества была такова, что участница событий могла не знать о том, был ли руководитель партии и правительства в курсе имитации символического акта. Очевидно, что этот вопрос либо не обсуждался участниками инсценировки, либо ответ на него значил не так много, чтобы запечатлеться в памяти. Социальное пространство, созданное людьми, решавшими историческую задачу, было настолько дистанцировано от сакрального пространства власти, что встреча этих двух социальных миров, их совмещение-без-подчинения друг другу, породили одну из самых объемных метафор “вертикали власти”. Участие “вертикали власти” свелось к “ручному управлению” в крайне ограниченных пределах. Существенной является и еще одна метафора из кинохроники: крупный план приборной панели управления, на котором “задергались стрелки” (выражение Клары Тимониной) после исторического поворота рукоятки, – выразительный образ “обратной связи” на имитационное воздействие руководства.



Илл. 3. кадр кинохроники 1961 года: Никита Сергеевич Хрущев только что “включил” первый агрегат Братской ГЭС.

Особенные отношения легендарных строек с властью и идеологией порождали мифы во внешнем (по отношению к этим стройкам) мире, в генезисе которых интересны как основа, так и последующее мифотворение. Миф, ходивший, в частности, в Иркутске в начале и середине шестидесятых годов, повествовал о том, “как Хрущева не пустили включать Братскую ГЭС”. Сюжет мифа: Хрущев приехал в Братск “пускать ГЭС”, но возмущенные рабочие не пропустили его к плотине, и знаменитые кадры, на которых Никита Сергеевич поворачивает рубильник, кинооператоры снимали на другой ГЭС. Миф обрастал версиями: уточнялось, чем именно возмущались рабочие (своим положением или политикой в стране), где проходила киносъемка (на Иркутской ГЭС или в Сталинграде). Но ни в одной из версий не шла речь о каких-либо репрессиях против рабочих – миф переплетался с героизацией строителей Братска, за ними признавалась сила настолько серьезная, что они могли заявлять правду начальству и постоять за себя.

Эпизоды пребывания в Братске руководителя СССР Н. С. Хрущева я пытался реконструировать на основе фокусированных интервью.

Выяснилось, миф сводил воедино эпизоды из двух разных визитов Хрущева. Но и это удалось выяснить не сразу – эпизоды смешались и в воспоминаниях свидетелей. Хрущев посетил Братск 8 октября 1959 г. после своей знаменитой поездки по США и визита в Китай. Митинг, на котором строители ГЭС предъявили советскому руководителю свои претензии, состоялся именно тогда. А неожиданный и скоротечный визит Хрущева, в ходе которого был зафиксирован кинодокументалистами запуск первого агрегата ГЭС, состоялся в ноябре 1961 г. Судя по воспоминаниям о митинге 1959 г., обструкция, которой подвергли верховного руководителя, была неожиданной для самих братчан, и ее, пожалуй, нельзя назвать жесткой. Вот логика эпизода в памяти участников: Хрущев не сумел найти “общего языка” с братчанами,²⁶ собравшимися на встречу с ним, что привело его в раздражение, и, как результат, зазвучали вопросы и реплики из толпы. Выкрикивались претензии в отношении быта и особенно снабжения, на которые Хрущев не мог ответить.

В реконструкции митинга первый секретарь Иркутского обкома КПСС выглядит растерянным и жалким, если не сказать, ничтожным, а начальник БратскГЭСстроя Иван Наймушин – выдержанным и достойным на фоне приехавших “первых лиц”. При этом претензии братчан, вызвавшие раздражение Хрущева и растерянность руководителя Иркутской области, касались снабжения Братска продуктами и товарами первой необходимости, т.е. вполне могли быть предъявлены и “первому лицу” стройки.

Методы руководства на самой стройке были по-советски патерналистские, но альтернативные сталинистским, поскольку не ориентировались на репрессии. Альтернативны они были и формально-бюрократическим методам, характерным для последующих советских десятилетий.²⁷ “Свои” командиры воспринимались как культовые фигуры, чему способствовал их демократизм (доступность) и патерналистская забота – полная противоположность стилю аппаратчиков. Стилистика руководителей стройки была неожиданной, но узнаваемой – в ней

²⁶ По различным опубликованным воспоминаниям Никита Сергеевич был очень недоволен результатами визита в Пекин, и его настроение привело к тому, что в Иркутске он вообще отказался от участия в митинге, собранном на Иркутской ГЭС.

²⁷ Не случайно генерация руководителей, сформировавшаяся на уральских и сибирских стройках, оказалась востребованной в период перестройки и системного кризиса 1990-х гг. Важно также, что ситуации аврала были для этих людей не менее привычны, чем штатные ситуации.

реализовывался идеал “отцов-командиров” и боевого товарищества, особо значимый для подростков военного и послевоенного времени.

Однако миф о визите Хрущева противопоставлял не “народ” и “власть”, а, подобно всей исторической мифологии Братска, – мир “конкретного дела” и невнятный мир политических идей. Путаница в воспоминаниях о разных визитах Хрущева очень характерна. Также плохо запомнились визиты других советских руководителей независимо от симпатий и антипатий, сложившихся тогда. Однако все были готовы эмоционально и очень подробно вспоминать о приезде Фиделя Кастро. Революционный лидер оказался явно созвучен социальной атмосфере молодого Братска. Также созвучными ей оказались, например, Евгений Евтушенко, Александра Пахмутова и Николай Добронравов.

После коммунизма

Поколение людей, родившихся в 1950-е гг., стало ключевым для последних всесоюзных ударных строек, в том числе для Байкало-Амурской магистрали и промышленных объектов в Усть-Илимске (и собственно города Усть-Илимска). Десталинизация была социальным контекстом, в котором формировались люди этого поколения. Литература, кино, формальные и неформальные институты воспитания транслировали пафос революционного обновления мира, романтизировали “очищенные” идеалы. Разоблачение “культы личности” для этого поколения не было событием, а было знанием, подтверждавшим естественный ход прогресса. Потенциал исторической мобилизации сохранялся, и целеустремленная личность была героем эпохи.²⁸ В 1960-х гг. “стройки коммунизма” и новые города были очередным воплощением антропономических²⁹ намерений советской власти, выраженных в проекте “нового

²⁸ Мир 1960-х рассмотрен П. Вайлем и А. Геннисом в их книге как мир взрослых людей: “шестидесятников”, молодежи, покоряющей целину, Сибирь и науку. Лев Аннинский в статье, включенной как послесловие в одно из изданий книги, передает этот мир формулами “концентрация энергии”, “манья восхождения”, “опьянение мировой культурой, опьянение мировой революцией”, “опьянение соперничеством с главной державой Запада”; см.: Л. Аннинский. Пальмы на айсберге // Вайль, Генис. 60-е. Мир советского человека. С. 333, 334. Для подростков 1960-х гг. это был мир, каким он должен быть: энергичный, восходящий, наполненный романтикой борьбы и освобождением народов, – иначе говоря, естественным следствием революции и разгрома фашизма.

²⁹ Антропономическая революция – стремление изменить основы воспроизводства человеческой жизни (термин введен Даниэлем Берто).

человека”. Формула “строитель коммунизма” (как синоним “нового человека”) оставалась одним из основных звеньев пропагандистского обеспечения “ударныхстроек”. Но сам язык пропаганды был чужим для тех, кого пропаганда воспевала.

К концу 1960-х смягчился и пафос самовоспитания – такие резкие формулы как “переделать себя”, “настоящий человек”, “человек будущего” плохо совместимы с процессами индивидуализации, с автономизацией личной жизни. Но отстаивать право на личный выбор, утверждать достоинство самостоятельного человека, стремиться принести “общественную пользу” – это тоже испытывать себя трудностями, искать “трудное счастье”:

Наверное, то плохое, что я получила, то с чем трудно жить сейчас, т.е. от времен “оттепели”, я получила такие вот основы коммунарского движения, т.е. они в душу-то попали, видимо, выросли там, а окружающая действительность им не соответствовала. Т.е. это нужен был какой-то риск, который как бы... или не сталкиваться с окружающей действительностью, а если и сталкиваться, то, может, это как-то объяснить вот эту вот привычку все брать на себя: Сделай так, чтобы другим было хорошо. (Наталья Т., 1949 г.р.)

Представители этого поколения еще реже, чем добровольцы начала 1960-х, верили в коммунизм как общественный строй, но, как правило, верили в свои силы и в способность жить иначе, чем живет страна “реального социализма”.

– Получается, что вы на Тынду попали в самом начале стройки?

– Да, самое интересное время. Там такие люди собрались. Там был такой мир, который мне напоминал студенческий шестьдесят пятый год, когда я поступала в университет. Какие-то тусовки своих людей интересных, споры, гитара, походы обязательно. Там еще были люди непринятые. Как сказать? Талантливые, но отвергнутые. Странники были там. Ребята рабочие, без образования, но образованнее образованных. И приходишь к ним – тебя или принимают или не принимают. И если принимают, они сразу становятся родными. (Татьяна К., 1947 г.р.)

Отстраненность от “большой земли”, остранение ее правил и норм, рационализация своего отъезда с этой “большой земли” – все это задавало жесткую границу между миром, предполагавшим доверие и искренность, и миром, допускаящим лицемерие. В 1970-х гг. отношения

с идеологией и с “большим обществом” были далеко не однозначны и могли принимать форму столкновения и даже противостояния.

– А идеологический шум не мешал? “Тында – столица БАМа” и подобное?

– Как не мешал? Меня вызывали в соответствующие органы. И вплоть до того, что аморалку шили. Все это было, знаете, страшно. Но именно там я поняла, что не сломаюсь ни за что. Но тогда это было где-то на лезвии, на грани лезвия, потому что помню это унижение. (Татьяна К., 1947 г.р.)

Молодые города не были оазисами, свободными от идеологического администрирования, но если давление или даже преследование происходило, подобные случаи описываются как столкновение между идеализмом, обретшим практическое поприще (интересное, полезное дело, увлеченность и вовлеченность людей) с идеократией – абстрактной, дегуманизированной и часто персонифицированной в неумных функционерах.

Концептуализируя феномен “шестидесятников”, Виктор Тюпа отмечает, что это явление начиналось “с того, что у все более значительного числа советских граждан обнаруживается, по выражению Окуджавы, ‘некоторая отстраненность’ от ролевого присутствия в мире, позволяющая ‘оставаться самим собой’”.³⁰ Обложка книги, которую открывает статья Тюпы, оформлена фотопанорамой молодого сибирского города.³¹ В книге “феномен шестидесятых” исследован как кризис советского сознания. Статьи, составившие коллективную работу, посвящены культурной жизни Москвы, Ленинграда, новосибирского Академгородка. Это географическое ограничение “столицами” характерно для исследований “шестидесятых” (как и для темы разрушения советского сознания). Основываясь на “столичном материале”, Тюпа прослеживает, как драматизм двоедушия (“официального” и “неофициального”), столь характерный для “шестидесятых”, постепенно трансформируется в семидесятых в циничное разделение официального и неофициального миров, с присущими этим мирам собственными “правилами игры”.

Для Тюпы различие между десятилетиями связано с тем, что “в 1960-х годах такая отстраненность и восстановление изгнанного из советской

³⁰ В. И. Тюпа. Кризис советской ментальности в 1960-е годы // Социокультурный феномен шестидесятых. Москва, 2008. С. 19.

³¹ Социокультурный феномен шестидесятых / Сост. В. И. Тюпа, О. В. Федунина. Москва, 2008.

ментальности чувства собственного достоинства еще не переросли в эгоцентризм ‘неофициального’ Я-сознания”.³² В этом пункте роль “географической дистанции” оказывается принципиальной. Отстранение могло выражаться не только в “эгоцентризме ‘неофициального’ Я-сознания”, но и в уходе от двоедушной современности в иное пространство, к перемещению туда, где принципы жизни и общения не напоминали игру по правилам. Туда, где можно было даже участвовать в создании среды, не предлагающей цинизм как норму.

Смыслообразующая роль “великих строек” для человека, участвующего в них, сохранилась, несмотря на явный диссонанс между коммунистической риторикой и повседневностью. “Двойное рождение” Усть-Илимска³³ – прекрасное доказательство преемственности и различия семидесятых и шестидесятых. Можно сравнить два поколения, два слоя социальной жизни в городе: “коллективисты”-энтузиасты 1960-х и “индивидуалисты” 1980-х.³⁴ В обоих случаях речь идет о выработке соотношения между индивидуализмом и общинностью. Мера индивидуального и коллективистского ищется заново, в диапазоне от принятия ритуального коллективизма до публичного выбора позиции “белой вороны”.

Мир молодых сибирских городов отличался от “столичных” 1960–1970-х гг. прежде всего реализуемостью идеала. Идеал этот не стоит путать с идеологическими целями, вечно отложенными на будущее. Речь в данном случае идет об идеале человеческих отношений, который реализуется в настоящем. Одновременно с большой стройкой люди создавали социальность на микроуровне – в неформальных и полужформальных коллективах. Людям, встретившимся друг с другом на сибирских стройках, не были чужды запросы “столичного” общества:

³² Там же.

³³ Как у города, у Усть-Илимска было два рождения. Первое – в конце 1960х – начале 1970х годов – связано со строительством ГЭС, второе – на рубеже 1970-х–1980-х – со строительством лесопромышленного комплекса (интернациональная стройка СЭВ) и “Нового города”.

³⁴ Основная часть исследования в Усть-Илимске проходила в 1994–1996 гг. на основе метода истории семей. Предмет исследования – формирование и межпоколенческая трансляция городской идентичности. Город предстал через биографические интервью, прежде всего как формирующийся человеческий мир, не согласившийся оставаться моноградом, где жизнь была бы подчинена градообразующему предприятию и прошлым историческим смыслам “великой стройки”. См. подробнее: М. Рожанский. Память города без прошлого // Биографический метод в исследованиях постсоциалистического общества. Санкт-Петербург, 1997.

материальное и экзистенциальное слишком плотно зависели от участия в большом проекте. Но выбрав новую стройку, человек так или иначе выбирал людей, которые, как и он, решились приехать сюда. “Своими” оказывались не только те, кого ты знал в лицо и по имени. “Своими” были все те, кто тоже выбрал *настоящую* жизнь.

В Усть-Илимске, Северобайкальске, Тынде 1980-х гг. эта установка на осуществимость идеала, на реализацию практического смысла (без медиаторов-пропагандистов, но с бескорыстными и активными лидерами) была вполне публичной и общепонятной. Циничное принятие “правил игры” не то что не было нормой, а скорее общественно осуждалось, как и двоемыслие.

Процесс переоценки истории в конце 1980-х нанес серьезный удар по ощущению “исторической правоты” нового, созданного вместе с товарищами мира. Важно, однако, то, что этот удар не затронул советского прошлого и его идеологии: ни одно биографическое интервью не дает иллюстраций к формуле “разочарование в коммунистических идеалах”, ставшей дежурной для статей о позднем советском времени. Разочарование связано с другим – с радикальным и публичным отрицанием исторического значения построенных ГЭС, заводов, Байкало-Амурской магистрали. Удар *по стройкам* был воспринят, как удар *по поколению первостроителей*...

Семантика мира великих строек была бинарной: с одной стороны, ее ядром был новый город, новая жизнь, с другой – обновление больших и достижимых целей. Поиск своего места не обязательно означал желание укорениться в молодом городе. Некоторые становились профессиональными первопроходцами, переезжая с одной большой стройки на другую. В середине семидесятых одной из самых исполняемых в Усть-Илимске была песня с условным названием “Лосята”, строфа из которой вынесена в эпиграф к статье:

На усть-илимских островах закат, закат,
И сосны в гаснущих лучах молчат, молчат,
Как стражи верные, храня покой земли,
Лосята грустные стоят, как корабли.³⁵

Лосята – острова недалеко от места перекрытия Ангары, обреченные на затопление. Если в песне Пахмутовой и Добронравова тайга любовалась девчонками, то в усть-илимской народной песне величественная девственная природа, которую олицетворяют грустные

³⁵ Местный текст на мелодию песни Юрия Визбора “На Соловецких островах”.

острова и молчаливые сосны, прощалась перед уходом на дно рукотворного моря. А само будущее море представляло этапом жизненного пути, осуществленной целью, но не итогом. Человек определял “свое место” не как обустройство нового социального мира, а как кочевье по необустроенным местам.

Вместо заключения:

Немного о песнях, которые “придумала жизнь”

Стихотворение Михаила Светлова “Гренада” стало песней в конце 1950-х годов,³⁶ войдя в непреходящую часть репертуара “под гитару”. В 1960-х гг., когда поселок Усть-Илим еще не стал городом Усть-Илимском, там было два основных очага городской культуры – ресторан “Лосята” и Дом культуры “Гренада”. В слове “Гренада” обновление идеалов, близкое многим из приехавших строить ГЭС и новый город, соединялось с романтикой дальних дорог, которая тоже была растворена в воздухе эпохи. Воплощение идеалов в образе дороги делало их “земными” и понятными: идейное воспринималось как экзистенциальное.

С киноэкрана “в народ” пошли песни из вышедших в 1958 г. кинофильмов “По ту сторону” (“Песня о тревожной молодости”, муз. А. Пахмутовой на слова Л. Ошанина) и “Добровольцы” (“Комсомольцы-добровольцы” и “А годы летят”, муз. М. Фрадкина на слова Е. Долматовского). “Меня мое сердце в тревожную даль зовет” и “Не созданы мы для легких путей” – образец “сурового стиля” советского идеализма,³⁷ для которого великие стройки стали продолжением революции и Великой Отечественной. С начала 1960-х и в мажорном

³⁶ Наиболее популярная песенная версия “Гренады” (муз. Виктора Берковского) появилась в 1958 г.

³⁷ Понятие “суровый стиль” сформулировано для описания тенденций и направлений в советской живописи 1960-х гг. Но более точное определение трудно подобрать, например, для большинства песен А. Пахмутовой и Н. Добронравова, в том числе о Братске и Усть-Илимске. Алексей Бобриков противопоставляет эту стилистику как сталинскому искусству, так и эстетскому “искусству для искусства”: “‘суровый стиль’ может быть описан как своеобразная советская Реформация. Он демонстрирует протестантский тип героя – взрослого и ответственного, обладающего собственным опытом, личной верой и вообще развитой внутренней мотивацией (и потому не нуждающегося во внешнем идеологическом стимулировании со стороны партии-церкви), хотя и действующего в рамках общего преобразовательного проекта.” См.: А. Бобриков. Суровый стиль: мобилизация и культурная революция // Художественный журнал. № 51/52. <http://xz.gif.ru/numbers/51-52/surovo/>.

секторе эстрады зазвучали песни, в которых сама возможность делать биографию через географию трудовой страны представлялась приоритетом молодости, ее особым ароматом.³⁸ Сибирские стройки в этих песнях упоминались не всегда. Во многом это были песни “большой земли”, точнее даже песни мегаполиса: человек “шагал по Москве”, и мог пройти еще “и тундру и тайгу”. Для счастья оказывалось недостаточно большого города и в целом устроенного урбанизированного мира, а случайно встреченный “настоящий парень” с сибирской стройки пробуждал лирическую грусть в парне-метростроевце, влюбленном в Москву. Или можно было влюбиться в “девчонку-бирюсинку” и решать, взять ее в столицу или самому остаться в ангарской тайге.

В этих песнях можно было услышать вызов мещанству, миру мелких бытовых забот или, во всяком случае, имитацию такого вызова. Реакцией на урбанистическую революцию была и субкультура туризма со своим огромным “костровым” репертуаром про “щемящее чувство дороги”. Песни могли рождаться и на маршруте, но родом они все же были из больших городов, где в концертных залах “страдают в бродячих душах бетховенские сонаты”. Это была уже не героическая и общественно полезная романтика дальних дорог, а скорее поэтика странствия, которой не было места на эстраде. Странствие – это всегда остранение оставленного мира, и слова о странности “большой земли” мало совместимы с историческим оптимизмом.³⁹ Тем не менее и туристская субкультура находила свою нишу если не на эстраде, то на всесоюзном радио и в сценариях композиций для клубов и ДК.



Илл. 4. Картина В. Е. Попкова “Строители Братска”, 1960–61 (характерный образец “сурового стиля” в советской живописи).

³⁸ “Голубые города” (муз. А. Петрова на стихи Л. Куклина), “Под крылом самолета” (муз. А. Пахмутовой на стихи С. Гребенникова и Н. Добронравова), “Мой адрес – Советский Союз” (муз. Д. Тухманова на стихи В. Харитоновой), “Морзянка” (муз. М. Фрадкина на стихи М. Пляцковского), “Ну что тебе сказать про Сахалин” (муз. Я. Френкеля на стихи М. Танича), “В Сибири далекой” (муз. А. Островского на слова Э. Иодковского) и многие другие.

³⁹ Не случайно из бардовских песен эстрадой тиражировалась, например, вполне мажорная “А я еду за туманом” Юрия Кукина.

Сибирские стройки имели непосредственное отношение и к мажорной эстраде, и к туристской лирике. Романтика Сибири и сибирскихстроек была частью социального заказа для официального культурного репертуара, в том числе и для эстрады, так же как для литературы, кино, живописи. Готовность сменить “тепленькое местечко” на неведомые края была экономической необходимостью, а значит, и идеологическим приоритетом. Это давало санкцию и на присутствие в официальном публичном пространстве. В звуковом журнале “Кругозор” или в программе радиостанции “Юность” репертуар “от костра” и лирические репортажи с великих строек не просто соседствовали, они были трудноразличимы в своем стилистическом единстве. В какой-то мере в эту нишу попадали и представители авторской песни – они могли быть авторами этих репортажей (как Юрий Визбор или Максим Кусургашев) или просто участниками встреч в эфире с молодыми строителями, но как субкультура авторская (или “бардовская”) песня создавалась и существовала в те же 1960–1970-е гг. в публично-приватной сфере – параллельно с эстрадой и телеэкраном, если не “перпендикулярно” к ним.

Одним из очевидных признаков этой “перпендикулярности” было то, что традиционная для русской (и советской в том числе) песенной лирики тема дороги, воплощаясь в поэтике духовного поиска, стала темой внутренней независимости: “Мой друг уехал в Магадан, снимите шляпу...” – пел В. Высоцкий. “Придут другие времена, мой друг, / Ты верь в дорогу””, – вторил ему Ю. Визбор. Одновременно привязанность к дороге осознавалась как симптом неукорененности, как неудовлетворенное желание “настоящей” жизни: “Где же наша звезда? / Может, здесь... / Может, там...” (В. Высоцкий), “Ненадежен твой мир и не прочен твой дом – / Все дорога, дорога, дорога...” (А. Городницкий).

““Отложенная” жизнь – это тоже способ жить”, – заметили Лев Гудков и Борис Дубин в эссе “Интеллигенты и интеллектуалы” (1992).⁴⁰ Речь шла о том, что вечная незавершенность модернизации в России – травма, создающая интеллигенцию. Тема странничества делала субкультуру “авторской песни” контркультурой не в меньшей (а возможно, и в большей) степени, чем политически актуальные тексты – именно потому, что в этой “ностальгии по настоящему” было очевидно переживание травмы. “Отложенной” воспринималась жизнь страны, и воспринималась она так не только интеллигенцией. Нельзя сказать,

⁴⁰ Л. Гудков, Б. Дубин. Интеллигенция. Заметки о литературно-политических иллюзиях. 2-е изд., испр. и доп. Санкт-Петербург, 2009. С. 145.

что исторический оптимизм оказался не востребовавшимся, спрос на него сохранялся, но предложение было неубедительным.

Через двадцать лет после песни о девчонках на палубе, формула “трудное счастье” прозвучит в другой песне, ставшей популярной: “Трудное счастье – находка для нас, / К подвигам наша дорога”.⁴¹ В тексте не было ни слова о каком-либо строительстве, зато там были упомянуты багульник (давший название песне) и кедры. Этих примет было достаточно, чтобы песню единодушно отнесли к “БАМовской” тематике. Не мешало, что мелодия (вопреки слову “подвиг”) звучала элегически, если не меланхолично, и ей соответствовала интонация стихов с явным злоупотреблением сослагательным наклонением: “Вот бы прожить мне всю жизнь молодым, / Чтоб не хотелось покоя”.

Две песни о “трудном счастье”, написанные профессиональными столичными авторами, вошли не только в официальную культуру (обе – долгожители праздничных концертов), но в застольные и околокостровые песнопения. Они вполне могут служить маркерами и рассматриваться как симптомы, с одной стороны, того, что дозволялось и поощрялось, с другой стороны, того, что находило отклик и даже подхватывалось. “Багульник” примечателен тем, что в нем не было и следа от лирики исторического оптимизма, которым пронизана песня “По Ангаре”. Скорее, он выражал некое межумочное настроение, которое можно назвать коллективно-экзистенциальным: тема преобразования далекого края, по сути, предстала возможностью странствия по жизни вместе с такими же, как ты. Иначе говоря, познание себя через познание пространства оказывалось значимее и ближе, чем преобразование мира. Советское представало все более странным и формальным. Мотивы странничества звучали гораздо более искренне, чем исторический оптимизм.

В социальной истории страны период “великих сибирских строек” занимает примерно четверть века: от мобилизации добровольцев на строительство Братской и Красноярской ГЭС, трассы Абакан – Тайшет до рубежа 1970–1980-х – времени апогея строительства БАМа и развертывания усть-илимских строек. Описание этого периода через дихотомию оттепель/застой предельно упрощает динамику социальных настроений, подчиняя ее политической истории.

Социальная история великих сибирских строек соединила в себе два способа жизни: странствие в поисках настоящего и конструктивное

⁴¹ “Багульник”, муз. В. Шаинского, сл. И. Морозова.

действие. По сути, оба эти способа жизни антисистемны, хотя в советском случае странствие осуждалось, а конструктивность – одобрялась. В позднесоветское время эти способы организации жизни оказались не только совместимыми, но иногда и неразделимыми, позволяя советскому человеку обрести – без помощи идеологической риторики и реальной или имитационной борьбы с ней – ощущение целостности и чувство “настоящего”.

SUMMARY

Mikhail Rozhanskii's article focuses on the notion of geographical mobility in the late Soviet period. Although Soviet notions of mobility were directly opposed to nomadism in that they required a clear and determined path, in the late Soviet period, “joining the historical process” entered into a dialogue with the poetics and practices of nomadism. Rozhanskii builds his study on a wide range of sources gathered during fieldwork in “young” cities of Siberia, where young people were seen as creating their own “difficult happiness” through participating in the construction projects of late socialism. Some joined these construction projects as they emerged from the Stalinist concentration camps and were looking for a “clean slate.” Others were driven by a sense of historical mobilization. Today's memory of these projects often focuses on the shared experiences of euphoria and collectivism. Due to the geographical and social liminality of these Siberian construction sites, people experienced estrangement of the ideological system of late socialism. Rozhanskii argues that in parallel to the socialist construction sites, people created social worlds on the micro level. Finally, Rozhanskii analyzes songs of the late Soviet period and illustrates how nomadism and the search for difficult happiness emerged as a social and collective movement that allowed people to realize themselves within the confines of the Soviet modernization project.

Emil NASRITDINOV

**SPIRITUAL NOMADISM
AND CENTRAL ASIAN TABLIGHI TRAVELERS***

Introduction

In the context of the general theme of the forum *Unsettling Nomadism* this article uses the concept of nomadism to describe the lifestyle of people who travel the world in its spiritual terrain. I would like to suggest that as with terms such as *pastoral nomadism*, which define the lifestyle of people moving with their herds of animals from pasture to pasture, we can employ the term *spiritual nomadism* to help us better understand the travel components of contemporary religious movements. The terms “nomadism” and “nomad” have expanded their meanings in the twentieth century to include concepts such as “virtual nomads” – to identify people who regularly travel in the online spaces, “academic nomads” – university professors and researchers, “global corporate business nomads” and “development nomads” – professionals working for various corporate and nongovernmental organizations, “lifestyle nomads” – who travel with their guitars and backpacks, and “labor migration nomads” who regularly travel between countries of origin and destination. New modes of transportation and global interconnectedness have contributed to the creation and expansion of these new types of human mobility. What makes these various types of travel forms of nomadism is

* The author acknowledges the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

the regularity of travel, significant time spent on journeys, and the effect of the mobile lifestyle on many aspects of personal and communal life.

In a similar way, the number of people who travel around the world with some spiritual purposes has also significantly increased. The importance of travel is recognized in many world religions. Pilgrimages to holy places, to graveyards of saints, and to the location of various relics, travel for purposes of acquiring religious knowledge, for missionary purposes, and for escaping worldly matters are found in many examples of religious practices in history and in contemporary times. The history of monotheistic religions, such as Judaism, Islam and Christianity, is full of stories of travels and wanderings of many Prophets, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus; and the history of Buddhism is significantly based on the travels of Buddha and his followers. Today, we find hundreds of thousands of people of different religious affiliations traveling across the world for the purposes of their own spiritual growth.

The main ethnographic part of this article draws on the analysis of practices, narratives, and discourses of Tablighi travelers – participants in the movement for the revival of Islam, which originated in India in the early twentieth century and by now, has reached many distant Muslim communities around the world. One of the major components of Tablighi religious tradition is regular travel. The article describes how this kind of particular religious travel affects the lives of Tablighis individually and how it affects the larger communities of which they are a part.

Tablighi travel is organized in such a way that it has strong transformative effects on the traveler. Tablighi narrative describes personal transformation as the main purpose of travel. I have been joining Tablighi jamaats on their three-day journeys since 2002 and last year I joined them on a forty-day journey. The journey was even more valuable because it took me to India, where I had a chance to be in the Nizamuddin *marqas* (center) in Delhi and to attend an *ijtema* (gathering) in Bhopal. My experience was enriched by the chance to listen to the *bayans* (talks) of the veterans of the movement and converse with Tablighis from many parts of the world. The topic of travel was the one of most interest to me. Bayans, taalim circles, stories, and my own observations and contemplations serve as the main material for the sections below. I have united the main ethnographic materials into six themes, all helping to deconstruct the travel experience: personal transformation, knowledge and experience, new perspectives on worldly matters, socialization, correction of belief, and travel metaphors. Using the concept of nomadism as a lifestyle and regular travel practice helps me to connect these themes together.

The source of all of the stories and quotations used here is this forty-day Tablighi trip to India, in which I met Tablighi participants from different parts of the world. Therefore, the quotes refer to where the particular informant is from.

The theoretical contribution and aim of this research is twofold: (1) to analyze and reformulate Tablighi practices in relation to the term “spiritual nomadism” used in this article; and (2) to describe the transformative effects of spiritual Tablighi travels. But first, we briefly discuss the importance of travel in Islam generally, look at the origins of Tablighi travel practice, and contextualize it on the territory of Central Asia.

Islamic perspective on travel

Although the idea of religious pilgrimage, including the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, has been discussed extensively,¹ the more inclusive subject of travel in Islam as a unifying theoretical concept has not received sufficient systematic attention from scholars. One synthesizing attempt was made by Eickelman and Piscatori² in their edited book titled *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*. The authors defined several Islamic concepts describing the idea of travel in Islam. These include *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), *hijra* (migration), *ziyara* (travel to shrines), and *rihla* (travel for the purpose of acquiring religious knowledge). The authors propose that different types of spiritual travels were often combined not only with each other, but also with other types of travels, such as labor migration and trade and that these worldly travels, even without a spiritual component, often had a strong effect on the spiritual transformations of travelers.

Other relevant terms include: the concept of *sirat-al-mustakim* (straight path or straight way), which we encounter in the opening *surah* of the Quran, and *fee-sabilillah* (in the path of Allah), the meaning of which includes travel in *jihad* (holy war), travel for the purpose of *dawah* (invitation to Islam), and travel for various *takazas* (tasks) of *din* (religion).

Eickelman and Piscatori portray these various types of spiritual travel as specific forms of social action transforming the imagined communi-

¹ Francis Edward Peters. *The Hajj: the Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*. Princeton, 1994; Michae Wolfe (Ed.). *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing About the Pilgrimage to Mecca*. New York, 1998; Ali Shariati. *Hajj: Reflection on Its Rituals*. Chicago, 1993.

² Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (Eds.). *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*. Berkeley, 1990.

ties of believers through shifting boundaries and creating new identities and new meanings. They emphasize the value of various terms defining Muslim travel as elements of a universal vocabulary that make possible comparison and analysis of various versions of Islam that have evolved in different parts of the world and in different periods. Travel, as one of these smaller concepts, constitutes both religious tradition and religious imagination and helps us to gain a richer understanding of Islam while avoiding an essentialist stand.

In Islam, the importance of travel is recognized and emphasized in the numerous ayahs of the Holy Quran and in the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.). For example, Abdullah bin Umar (R.A.A.) described how Prophet Muhammad took him by the shoulder and said: “Be in this world like a stranger or a wayfarer” (Buhari).

In the more interpretive version, this hadith might stress the temporal nature of the world for a Muslim whose final abode is in the *akhirat* (next world). However, a more literate understanding is perhaps an instruction to people to spend significant part of their lives as travelers. In a more straightforward way, one ayah of the Quran says: “Travel through the Earth and see what was

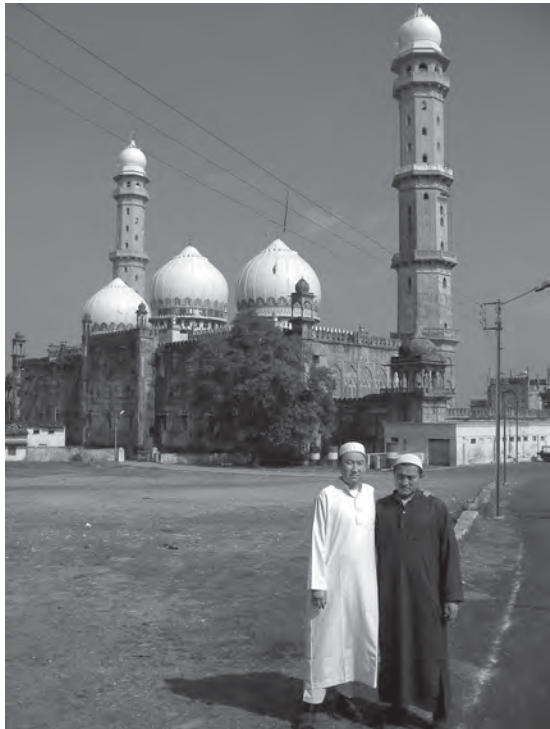


Fig. 1. Two Kazakh Tablighi travelers with the Taj-ul Masajid* in the background (photo by the author.)

* Taj-ul Masajid (The crown of Mosques) in Bhopal, India used to be the biggest mosque in Asia and now is considered the biggest mosque in India. It can accommodate 100,000 worshippers. Its construction was initiated by Shajehan Begum in 1868. Since 1949 it used to be a place of annual Tablighi Ijtimas – three-day gatherings. In the recent past, when the number of attendees became so large that they could no longer fit in the mosque and its surroundings, Ijtima was moved to a field outside the city.

the end of those who rejected the truth” (6:11). The Quran itself has many stories of how different communities rejected the message and how they were punished. In this sentence it instructs believers to travel in order to see for themselves.



Fig. 2. The main building of the Taj-ul Masajid (photo by the author).

Many hadiths describe the benefits of travel in relation to the rewards that travelers receive. The following extracts were taken from the chapter on the virtues of travel included in the book of “Selected Hadiths” compiled by Maulana Muhammad Yusuf:

Anas (R.A.A.) narrates that Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) said: “One morning or one day in the path of Allah is better than the whole world and everything that it contains” (Buhari).

Aisha (R.A.A.) described that she heard the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) say: “If dust touches the body of a person in the path of Allah, these parts of the body will be forbidden for the fire of Hell” (Musnad Ahmad, Tabrani, Majmauz-Zavaid).

Abu Huraira (R.A.A.) narrates how Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) once sent a group of sahabahs to carry out an assigned task. They asked: “Should we depart tonight or wait until morning?” Prophet Muhammad

(S.A.W.) said: “Don’t you want to spend a night in one of the gardens of Paradise?” (Sunan Kubra).

Protection from punishment and the promise of paradise embedded in the Islamic teaching and grounded in the amplitude of feelings ranging between fear and hope are all very powerful abstract motivators, while a comparison to worldly riches helps to understand the significance of the rewards of travel.

Movement was crucial for the success of the Islamic world. Islam spread so fast partly because of the nomadic lifestyle and mobility of Arabs who delivered the message of Islam to many distant corners of the old world. But movement was important not only in its initial stage. It played significant role throughout Islamic history. Gellens described Islamic civilization: “...a network of variegated societies, united by their commitment to the *shar’ia* – was one which in the fullest sense owed its vibrancy to constant movement. Travel in all its myriad forms – pilgrimage, trade, scholarship, adventure – expanded the mental and physical limits of the Muslim world, and preserved and nourished the various contacts that Muslims perennially maintained with one another.”³

This network of Muslim societies connected through various channels was a crucial factor in preserving and strengthening the Muslim Ummah and its economic and intellectual growth. Travels were especially important in the lives of Sufis who understood travel as both a spiritual and physical journey. Pina Werbner describes this concept in the following way:

Sufism is conceived of essentially as a journey along a path (*suluk*) leading towards God. In Sufism the human being is a model for the universe, a microcosm of the macrocosm, and the journey towards God is a journey within the person... But Sufi Islam is not only a journey within the body and person... It is also a journey in space... Beyond the transformation of the person, Sufism is a movement in space which Islamicizes the universe and transforms it into the space of Allah. This journey, or *hijra*, which evokes the migration of the Prophet to Medina, empowers a saint as it empowers the space through which he travels and the place where he establishes his lodge.⁴

Sufis traveled in different places around the world not for the purposes of worldly gain, but mostly in their spiritual realms. Sufism took different forms in different places around the world. But almost universally pres-

³ Sam Gellens. *The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Muslim Societies: a Comparative Approach* // Eickelman, Piscatori (Eds.). *Muslim Travelers*. P. 51.

⁴ Pina Werbner. *Pilgrims of Love: The Anthropology of a Global Sufi Cult*. Bloomington, 2004. Pp. 41-43.

ent was the figure of a wandering *dervish*, who led a very ascetic life and continuously moved from place to place performing *zikr* (remembrance of Allah) and searching for purity of heart and a connection with God. Today, Sufi practices can be found on all continents of the world, including in Western countries, where they are called “neo-Sufi” movements. But the Sufi practices that are the main interest of this article are just as global and trace their origins to India. These are described in the next section.

Spiritual nomadism in the practices of Tablighi jamaat

Early in the twentieth century a new movement emerged in the region of Mewat in India, where Maulana Ilyas Zakariya, who was both a member of a Sufi order and a religious scholar, proposed that the state of affairs of Muslim communities around the world would not improve until Muslims improved their own religious practices and transformed themselves into better individuals. He also proposed that a person cannot correct himself if he is always in the environment of worldly matters. To transform, one needs to leave his comfort zone, his work, family, and daily trifles and spend more time in the environment of *din* (religion). Maulana established the regular practice of travel performed in *jamaats* (groups) of eight to twelve people and involving a stay in a mosque for two to three days before moving on to another one in nearby. The main daily activities inside the mosque would include: *taalim* and *muzakirah* (study circles), daily prayers, *zikr* (remembrance of God), *bayan* (talk), and *gasht* and *ziyarah* (visiting people in the locality to invite them to the mosque). This practice became very popular and soon spread across the Indian subcontinent.

Nearly eighty years have passed since then and the movement has become truly global, but very little has changed in the way that Tablighi is performed today compared to the times of Mawlyana Ilyas. Just as before – travel remains the most crucial element in the practices of Tablighi. It is believed that only in travel are people able to completely detach themselves from worldly matters and devote their time and energy to proper religious worship and learning.

When combined with time and space, “travel” has a special meaning in the Tablighi discourse. It is a physical movement from one’s present space (house, city, or country) to another. It is comparable with the concept of Hijra, in the sense of both migration and withdrawal. In these senses, it is travel within one’s self. One temporarily migrates from *duniya* (worldly pursuits) to *din* (religious concerns), a favorite

dichotomy among the Tablighis. It is a migration from corruption to purity, withdrawal from worldly attachments to the Path of God.⁵

Why do I suggest that Tablighi practice is a kind of spiritual nomadism? First of all, it is the regularity of travel. Tablighis are encouraged to spend at least one three-day trip a month, one forty-day trip a year, and one four-month trip in a lifetime. Regularity is very important and always stressed. When the time for travel comes, one is encouraged to travel “no-matter what.” One

reason for this is that travel thus becomes an important part of one’s life: there is a bit of travel every month and more significant travel every year. Many wonder about the economic aspects of Tablighi travel practices and funding sources for distant journeys and large gatherings. The main principle of any travel is self-financing. There are simply no funds that would pay for anyone’s journey. Every participant is expected to completely finance his own trip. The individual show a sufficient amount of money before being allowed to join the group. That is why not all



Fig. 3. The group of Kyrgyz and Kazakh Tablighi travelers in front of the main gates of the Taj-ul-Masajid (photo by the author).

Tablighis can afford international travel, but many try to save for several years in order to make such trips. One thing that makes travel to the Indian subcontinent easy is the local hospitality. Particularly in India, local Tablighi participants in every mosque consider it a duty to arrange food for the visiting *jamaat* (group) during its entire stay in their mosque. On my forty-day journey, we hardly had a chance to cook for ourselves. Thus, the major cost was a

⁵ Muhammad Khalid Masud. *Travelers in Faith. Studies of the Tablighī Jamā‘at as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal.* Leiden, 2000. P. xvi.

roundtrip airline ticket from Bishkek to Delhi (about US \$600), on top of which I spent no more than \$100 for various small purchases.

Second, the amount of time spent in travel is quite significant. Three days a month – makes 10 percent of one’s time and forty days a year add another 10 percent. So, a committed Tablighi spends at least one-fifth (20 percent) of his lifetime on a journey. Once in a lifetime people are encouraged to travel for four months. However, this is a minimum. Many veterans of the Tablighi movement at some point decide to spend four months traveling every year. In combination with the three-day trips this totals more than 40 percent of their lifetime. In more extreme cases, people travel for a year and in the most extreme cases, usually in old age, people decide to spend all of their time travelling. I spent two weeks with an elderly Indian Muslim from Mewat, who was a retired government official, had a retirement pension, and spent most of his life on a journey. He returned home between his four-month trips, to get some rest and deal with family matters, just to depart again in a couple of weeks. Obviously, when people spend between one-tenth and one-half of their lives on the road it cannot help but have some major effect on their own lifestyles and on the lives of their families.

Therefore, my third argument for calling Tablighi members “spiritual nomads” is that their travels have a strong influence on their lives when they return. One of the main things they bring from journeys is an attachment to mosques. During the short three-day trips they pray in the mosque with the local jamaat and participate in all mosque activities. When they return, they are encouraged to continue praying with the jamaat in their local mosques and to start participating in the local *amals* (activities), such as *taalim* (study circle), *gasht* (rounds in the neighborhoods), and *mashvara* (council).

During travel they also participate in activities such as cooking and cleaning. When they return, they are instructed to change their attitudes toward their families and give more *kuzmat* (help) to their wives, to treat all their family members with love and respect, and to introduce a *taalim*-circle at home. They can also take their wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters on what is called *masturat* (closed) *jamaat*. *Masturat* jamaats can involve travel for three days, fifteen days, and forty days. It is recommended for a woman to travel for three days once in three months. When only men travel, women stay at home, sometimes for very lengthy periods. This requires new arrangements in the organization of household activities, as in the case of many migrant families.

Finally, regular monthly and yearly travels require Tablighis to make special arrangements at their workplaces or to choose a kind of work that

gives them flexibility in terms of time and commitments. Many Tablighis become engaged in trade or open their own businesses to be their own bosses. One Tablighi I knew used to work for ten to eleven months, then quit his job, travel for four months, and each time he returned, he would look for a new job. That continued for almost twenty years, until he found a job at an Islamic school with a Tablighi orientation, where he would not lose his job because of traveling.

But perhaps the major effect of spiritual journeys on Tablighis is less tangible – this involves their level of personal transformation and changes in their worldviews. During these trips they build new ethical, philosophical, and religious foundations, which then have more prominent effects on life in general. Because these new perspectives are obtained on journeys, they embrace many elements of the spiritual nomadic lifestyle.

Spiritual transformations

The main ethnographic part bringing together my observations, recordings of talks, and interviews with Tablighi participants is structured around six major themes, the first of which is personal transformation.

PERSONAL TRANSFORMATION

Tablighis are often quite rightfully perceived and described as Muslim missionaries. One of the major activities in which they engage on their travels is to invite people to the mosques and remind them of the importance of Islamic practices. This invitation – *dawah* – is in the core of Tablighi ideology. However, the Tablighi narrative sees this invitation not as a final goal, but more as means to a goal. The final goal, as the Tablighi claim, is one's personal transformation. They propose that travel helps them to obtain new qualities, strengthen their *iman* (belief), correct their *yakyn* (conviction), and improve their *amals* (religious practices). On numerous occasions I have heard that the purpose of going on this path is not to change other people. Whoever thinks so, it is told, will waste his time. The purpose of going is for one to change his own qualities.

What makes this change possible? The first factor is distance. It is both physical distance from home and more abstract distance from everyday matters. One Tablighi with a background in visual arts commented:

People in their daily routines don't have many possibilities for looking at their life globally because they are busy with thousands of minute details. In travel they distance themselves from their daily trifles and see a large-scale picture of their existence, just like artists

have to stand away from their drawings or paintings in order to check proportions, balance, and the overall impression.⁶

This distance also produces a more abstract vision of the world that is more detached from reality. Such abstractness of thinking is important for comprehending many abstract religious concepts, such as *ghoib* (unseen), *jannat* (paradise), and *jahannam* (hell). By disengaging from reality a traveler can develop more utopian visions.

The second factor is an opportunity to spend time alone, which is also an opportunity to rethink many matters in life. The regular day of a contemporary busy person involves lots of planning to maximize efficiency and reduce time wasted in doing nothing. Time for relaxation is also used actively for entertainment, sports, or just sleep. In travel, people lose this control of time and become much more dependent on external events and circumstances. People experience long pauses, during which they have to wait and do nothing, such as when sitting in a train or at the airport. In the interesting account of everyday life titled *The Secret World of Doing Nothing*, Orvar Löfgren and Billy Ehn describe how important and rich an experience seemingly useless times of waiting can be:

Above all it is the liminality of waiting that makes it a special kind of doing nothing. In-between events can make people feel stuck, but such events can also generate new possibilities. Waiting produces a “sleepwalking” mood, in which the asylum seeker or the pregnant woman may feel removed from the world or flow of time.

Waiting also makes some people see their material surroundings, the strangers next to them, and their own lives in a new light. Waiting can be a source of intense boredom but also of surprising insights.⁷

Similarly, Tablighis on their journeys spend significant time by themselves “in the quiet.” That gives them the opportunity to contemplate and make *murakaba* (a prominent Sufi concept of remembrance of Allah with heart and thinking about the ways He created the world). They do not have many chances to do this in their homes and workplaces.

One elderly Tablighi compared travel with an X-ray machine. He said it shows people’s soul sicknesses – just the way an X-ray shows their physical sicknesses – and when they realize their mistakes, they have to make *istighfar* (ask for forgiveness from God). At the same time, he said travel is like a clinic. Many people need to leave their environments in order to see

⁶ Tablighi traveler from India.

⁷ Orvar Löfgren, Billy Ehn. *The Secret World of Doing Nothing*. Berkeley, 2010. P. 78.

their mistakes and improve themselves by looking at life from afar – away from the circumstances that often become the causes of their wrongs: “In the path of Allah people cry at night over the ways they offended their family members, friends, and colleagues, and commit to living a better life.”⁸

The fourth factor is time. I have been joining three-day travels for several years, but only when I went for forty days did I realize that three-day trips were not long enough for a person to break away from worldly matters. In a trip of forty days or longer, people really start to feel changes. During the first week, one keeps remembering various worldly matters. But because the inflow of old information is almost completely absent (on the trip it is recommended to turn off mobile phones and not to call home), the new information slowly replaces the old and gradually a person finds the rhythm to amplify the range of feelings and thoughts.

Finally, during journeys people also become stronger physically because they have to go through all kinds of difficulties and changes in the environments. Tablighis sleep on the floor, take *daarat* (partial ablution) and even *gusl* (complete ablution) with cold water, and walk long distances. Because of these difficulties, the human immune system becomes activated and people comprehend the many abilities of the human body, and through that they understand the *kudrat* (might) of the Creator.⁹

Therefore, when Tablighis return from their journeys, they arrive significantly transformed spiritually, emotionally, and physically. They become more “nomadic” in their mindset and physical abilities. They develop worldviews and habits that make distant travels a regular part of their life. Travelers also obtain new knowledge that strongly affects their life after travel. This is described in the next section.

KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE

Although Tablighi practice does not require any prior training, the importance of acquiring Islamic knowledge is always stressed as *farz* (obligatory) for both men and women from the time of birth to the last day. Travel provides people with numerous opportunities for obtaining new knowledge. At least two to four hours in the daily schedule of any jamaat are devoted to *taalim* (study circle) spent on learning Quran, ahadith, and basic principles of *dawat* (invitation). In the afternoon there is also a daily *muzakira* (repetition) of various *sunnahs* (practices of the Prophet (S.A.W.)). Travelers are

⁸ Tablighi traveler from Kyrgyzstan.

⁹ Tablighi traveler from Russia.

destined to meet many new people and, being free from daily routines, they have ample time to exchange ideas and share experiences. Some of these new contacts are scholars and pious people, who teach them new ideas and share motivational stories.

Tablighi teaching claims to give travelers a chance to connect knowledge with practice. One Dungan Tablighi from Russia explained:

While at home, people might never come across situations in which they can use the knowledge they have obtained from books. In travel, such situations are plentiful. In many Muslim communities around the world, everyday life at home is far removed from the Islamic ideal as described in the *sunnah*. Because of the Soviet heritage and more recent Western influences, people eat at tables, use spoons and forks, sleep in beds and sofas, watch TV, and so on. In travel, people learn the *sunnah* ways of sleeping, eating, going to the toilet, all of which are based on simplicity and assumed to aid a person with the tools for bringing *barakah* (blessing) into their life, protecting themselves against all kinds of dangers, and earning numerous *savabs* (rewards).¹⁰

Gellens describes *rihla* or *talab al-alim* as travel with a purpose of acquiring knowledge, as a strong unifying theme in Islamic history. In his reference to Campbell he describes the myth of a hero traveler, who leaves the familiar, encounters travels and adventures, and then reintegrates into his society with his newly acquired knowledge. The important outcome of this historical process is new Muslim communities with blended traditions. Far from making Muslim communities around the world homogeneous, this blend diversifies them and enriches them with new concepts and ideas.¹¹

In addition to the expansion of knowledge as a result of travel, we can also talk about the special kinds of nomadic knowledge necessary for successful travel that come only with experience. On these journeys, many people who lead fairly sedentary lifestyle learn how to be spiritual nomads.

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON WORLDLY MATTERS

One of the main dichotomies present in the Tablighi discourse is between *akhirat* (next world) and *duniya* (this world). The concept of travel reinforces this dichotomy with new ideas and experiences. Sufi ideology has always propagated the ascetic life. Tablighi journeys can be quite ascetic too. Long travel limits the amount of things people can take with them, and the living

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Gellens. *The Search for Knowledge*. P. 56.

conditions in many mosques can be very difficult. It is mostly through these experiences that Tablighis obtain a new understanding of worldly life. For example, one Kyrgyz Tablighi explained:

When people travel, they understand that they are able to live without all the conveniences they ordinarily enjoy, like soft beds, TV sets, daily showers, and mobile phones. Travel shows that life without these conveniences is not only possible but can in fact be even more fulfilling.¹²

During the journeys references are often made to the examples of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) and many *sahabahs* (R.A.A.), who led material lives of utmost simplicity. I often heard in Tablighi talks that when the Prophet (S.A.W.) passed away, he was the ruler of a great territory, yet all he had in his possession was a reed mat and a bowl and when Umar (R.A.A.) was the Khalif (leader) of the Muslim Khalifat, he used to wear clothing that had a great number of stitches and patches.

Tablighi travels are very egalitarian spaces. They reconstruct social hierarchies. An interesting comparison was given by a Tablighi from Kazakhstan who said that travel is a likeness of death:

Just as at the time of death people cannot take any of their possessions to the grave with them, when people travel, they also leave behind all of their material wealth, their families, and their socioeconomic status. All they can take with them is their personality and their beliefs. A doctor and a taxi driver in the jamaat are in the same position, they go through the same difficulties, and in critical situations, what matters is not one's degree or profession, but one's personal qualities and relationship with the Creator.¹³

However, there is a difference between Tablighi teachings and traditional Sufi asceticism and other monastic forms in other religions, which renounce the world completely. In fact, this is a very important matter stressed in many Tablighi discussions. It is suggested that going on religious travel does not mean rejecting worldly matters completely. The purpose of traveling is to acquire the internal power of *iman* (belief) and bring it back into one's worldly life, so that every day a person lives according to religion. Some Tablighis have abandoned worldly matters altogether, leaving jobs and even families. This has been a point of concern for many experienced Tablighis, who recognize that such practices, on the contrary, can have a negative effect on the reputation of the movement and effectiveness of its

¹² Tablighi traveler from Kyrgyzstan.

¹³ Tablighi traveler from Kazakhstan.

work. In the Tablighi perspective, participants are always encouraged to be active members of the community and good providers for their families. The pointer and middle fingers are often joined together to show how the middle finger representing religion is slightly longer than the pointer finger representing worldly matters, yet they are together.

The worldview of a twentieth-century spiritual nomad is the one from the “saddle.” He is not a passive observer of world events passing by his house or workplace. He becomes an active observer, who moves through the space and worldly events taking place in different localities. This fundamental difference embedded in two positions has a strong effect on the change in the world perspective of Tablighi travelers.

SOCIALIZATION

While on the journey, Tablighis continuously move from one mosque to another. The average length of stay in one place is two to three days. The stay in each location is full of interactions with local residents who come to the mosque and whom Tablighis visit in their houses. This is why when traveling on a spiritual path one meets many new people. Some of these encounters are very brief; others become real opportunities for becoming acquainted, especially when members of one jamaat spend several months together.

One Pakistani Tablighi from London pointed out that in travel people become united and their cultural and social barriers are destroyed; travel thus eradicates racism. International travels unite people of different nationalities. For example, people from all over the world come to India, where one can see Indians, Arabs, Malaysians, Africans, Americans, Australians, Europeans, Russians, and Central Asians sharing a meal in Nizamudin *marqas* (center) or during the *ijtemas* (large gatherings). In such meetings believers from all over the world see the global nature of religion and start to feel like real members of the *Ummah* (global community of Muslims).

In travel, people also meet many representatives of other religious affiliations and become familiar with the visual manifestations of their beliefs and religious practices. These encounters strengthen their identity as Muslims.

My own observations show that jamaat brings together people of different personalities. Some get along very well, others not as much, but circumstances force all people in jamaat to be together most of the time and this teaches the travelers to be patient and to ignore the mistakes of others, in order to protect the unity. Maulana Saad from India, the leader of the movement today, frequently emphasizes the importance of unity and the danger

of individualism. On the subject of learning from each other, one elderly Kyrgyz Tablighi explained:

When we see the mistakes of others, we try to see our own reflection in them, to correct them in ourselves, and make *dua* (prayers) for our brothers. When we see some good qualities, we try to adopt them. For a few days I have been observing how the elderly Indian person from our jamaat wakes up every night at 2 o'clock, offers his *tahajud namaz* (night prayer) and sits until morning in *zikr* (remembrance of Allah), and how he fasts every Monday and Thursday and on several other days according to the *sunnah*. I want to learn these qualities from him.¹⁴

Another experienced Tablighi from India said: "On this path we learn how to get into the shoes of another person and put our needs behind the needs of our brothers."

CORRECTION OF BELIEF

Tablighi change in many ways when they travel. However, one transformation is given special status and importance: it relates to the correction of a traveler's *yakyn* (belief or conviction). "The main purpose of traveling is to correct our *yakyn*, which is to develop full conviction in our heart that everything that happens, happens by the will of Allah."¹⁵

Tablighi travels are very far from luxurious or safe. A great unknown awaits in every city, village, or neighborhood to which they travel. I heard stories describing extreme situations, such as sleeping in the open on the snow with a temperature of minus 20 degrees Celsius, crossing a large mountain on foot to reach herders in their pastureland and having to crawl in mud on the way back, or having no food for several days, to the extent of having to eat grass to survive. Such stories describe conditions in which supposedly nobody but God can help, and as the story goes, when such help comes, people's beliefs change. As has been explained by one Indian sheikh in his *bayan* (talk):

This world is the world of *azbabs* (means), while in the next world people will be free from them. They won't need a cow to produce milk, the wish will be sufficient. In their daily life, people often develop wrong beliefs: they think it is pill that kills the pain and a car that delivers them to work; and they do not see the main power behind

¹⁴ Tablighi traveler from Kyrgyzstan.

¹⁵ Formula frequently repeated in many Tablighi talks.

the means. But in numerous extreme situations during journeys, God shows that when there are no means, only He can help. Sometimes, God can push the situation to the utmost limits to test people's patience and only then show His help. After people witness who is in control of all things, their beliefs are corrected and they return home with proper *yakyn* and a new understanding of the world.¹⁶

Regular travel, which becomes a part of one's spiritual nomadic lifestyle, helps one to maintain and strengthen this conviction. If travel is not regular, singular experiences quickly give way to more prominent sedentary perspectives. That is why maintaining spiritual nomadic practices is so crucial for the long-term effect of travel.

TRAVEL METAPHORS

The five themes considered in this section and the extent to which they are discussed could not possibly cover all dimensions of spiritual travel and its importance for spiritual growth. Rather, they can be taken as cases for understanding the link between travel and spirituality – a link that in this research is blended into a specific worldview or narrative – that of a traveling Tablighi. Just as a medieval Sufi, the twenty-first-century Tablighi travels without a library in his bag. He is fairly unlikely to have proper religious education and he is almost certain to share his vision of the world with people who also have very little religious knowledge. To deliver and to be understood, this Tablighi is quite likely to use various allegories in his stories. I personally find such allegories extremely beautiful and deserving the space of at least a separate article. The range of allegories by topics is very broad and the idea of travel is one of them.

One allegory very frequently used by *dawatchis* compares traveling with water: *Dawah* (invitation) is like running water. If water stays in one place it starts stinking and all kinds of bacteria grow there; it becomes useless and unhealthy. Similarly, when people stop traveling, their *iman* weakens. In the path of Allah we renew and refresh our *iman*.

Another allegory compares traveling to swimming: Imagine a swimming person. He is in the middle of the lake in his journey and suddenly he stops swimming. What will happen? He will drown.

The third allegory emphasizes movement as the main principle of existence: When the blood stops circulating – the person dies. When the sun and earth stop rotating – the Day of Judgment will begin.

¹⁶ From a talk given by an Indian Tablighi veteran.

Finally, an interesting allegory, which also makes a connection between travel and the relation to *duniya*, compares one's life to traveling on a ship: Imagine a ship that stands in the harbor. If the captain is afraid of traveling, it will never leave the harbor and it will never reach its destination. So, we should not be attached to our possessions. If we travel, but the ship is overloaded with merchandise, it could easily drown on the journey. That is why we should not be afraid of traveling and engaging with worldly life, however, we need to travel light. In this way our journey will be easy and fast and we will reach our destination successfully.

And so, the *dawatchi*'s story goes, this life is a journey, which, if a person is successful, will bring him home – to Paradise. A few of the metaphors introduced portray some of the main elements of the spiritual nomadic narrative in all of its seeming simplicity, yet deep meanings and multiple possibilities also exist for the interpretation and play of nomadic imagination. We can draw parallels here with the role of metaphors in the folklore of many traditionally nomadic people and their cultures.

Pastoral nomads of Central Asia and spiritual nomadism

In the last section of this article, I would like to make one more argument for the link between nomadism and Tablighi practice by contextualizing the Tablighi movement in the region of Central Asia. During Soviet times, Islamic practices were equally restricted for all ethnic groups of Muslims in Central Asia. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, many new religious influences emerged in the region, one of which was the Tablighi practice that came from the Indian subcontinent. By the second half of the 1990s it found fruitful ground in Kyrgyzstan and in the past fifteen years it has become the dominant Islamic teaching there. Today, Kyrgyzstan is the only country in Central Asia where Tablighi practice is legal and has a very large number of active followers. In the yearly 2000s, the number of three-day jamaats traveling only in the northern regions on weekends was nearing a thousand. This was the period of highest popularity reaching levels of fashion. Since then the numbers have dropped significantly, but there is more regularity, experience, and formalization/legalization of the practice.

On the contrary, Tablighi practice in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is strictly prohibited and persecuted. A logical explanation for this situation is in the nature of the political system. Kyrgyzstan, generally considered as an "island of democracy" in the "sea of authoritarian states," has much more religious freedom and that is supposedly why it has accepted Tablighi ideology.

However, if we look at the case of Kazakhstan, we will see that in spite of its authoritarianism, censorship, and the illegal status of Tablighi practice, it is still very popular among the ethnic Kazakhs. In the *ijtema* gathering in Bhopal, India, Kazakh Tablighis constituted the biggest group (by my estimates, nearly 70 percent) from the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Additional evidence against the political regime thesis is the unpopularity of Tablighi practices among Uzbek Muslims in southern Kyrgyzstan. Tablighi practice has a very large number of followers in northern Kyrgyzstan. However, it is much less popular in the south, where a large share of the population is ethnic Uzbeks. It is easily noticeable that in the south, Tablighi practice has a strong ethnic character – mostly Kyrgyz Muslims engage in it, while many Uzbek scholars and congregation in the mosques reject it. Obviously, in the case of southern Kyrgyzstan, this has nothing to do with the political regime, since this differentiation takes place in the same country.

What can explain this difference? One seemingly logical explanation can be drawn from a historical perspective: Uzbeks and Tajiks had a stronger religious tradition before the Soviet period and after its breakup they simply returned to it having little space for new influences. Kyrgyz and Kazakh Muslims, on the contrary, are generally perceived to have had much weaker Islamic practices in the past and therefore they were much more open to new influences,¹⁷ including all kinds of Evangelical Christian missionary organizations,¹⁸ Wahabi teachings,¹⁹ Fetullah Gullen schools,²⁰ and very active Tablighi jamaat.²¹ This argument is quite strong. However, it reproduces the stereotypical view of Central Asian nomads as “bad Muslims” and fails to acknowledge the main historical difference between two major Islamic

¹⁷ Chris Hann, Mathijs Pelkmans. *Realigning Religion and Power in Central Asia: Islam, Nation-state and (post)Socialism // Europe-Asia Studies*. 2009. Vol. 61. P. 9.

¹⁸ Mathijs Pelkmans. Asymmetries on the “Religious Market” in Kyrgyzstan // Chris Hann (Ed). *The Postsocialist Religious Question: Faith and Power in Central Asia and East-Central Europe*. Berlin, 2006. Pp. 29-46.

¹⁹ Bayram Balcı. Uzbek and Uyghur Communities in Saudi Arabia and Their Role in the Development of Wahhabism in Present Day Central Asia // Birgit N. Schlyter (Ed.). *Prospects for Democracy in Central Asia*. Istanbul, Turkey, 2005. Pp. 239-253.

²⁰ Bayram Balcı. Fethullah Güllen’s Missionary Schools in Central Asia and Their Role in the Spreading of Turkism and Islam // *In Religion, State and Society*. 2003. Vol. 31. Pp. 151-177.

²¹ Bayram Balcı. The Rise of the Jama’at al Tabligh in Kyrgyzstan: the Revival of Islamic Ties Between the Indian Subcontinent and Central Asia? // *Central Asian Survey*. 2012. Vol. 31. No. 1. Pp. 61-76.

influences in the region: first of the traditional conservative *ulama* scholarship and second of the Central Asian Sufi brotherhoods.

Traditional Islamic teaching in the region was spread through the official institutions, such as mosques and madrasas. These were based primarily in the larger cities of Central Asia, such as Bukhara, Khiva, and Samarqand, but also in smaller towns and villages. As such it had more influence on the urban and agricultural populations of Uzbeks and Tajiks who lived in all these settlements. On the contrary, nomadic groups of Central Asia did not have access to these traditional Islamic institutions. Their conversion to Islam and further Islamic practices were shaped by the traveling Sufi dervishes of Central Asian Sufi orders, which were quite influential. As discussed previously, Sufi practice placed much less emphasis on proper Islamic knowledge, but more on *zikr*, meditation, and journey both physical and spiritual. Sufis who traveled in Central Asia as traders, beggars, or dervishes had a nomadic component strongly present in their lives and philosophy. That is why their teachings were much closer to those of the Central Asian nomads than to the teachings of urban scholars. Sufi practice was also more flexible in regard to the main tenants of Islam, such as five-time prayer, study of the Quran, and the attainment of proper religious knowledge. This was another reason why it was more welcomed by the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs of Central Asia.

Therefore, we can see that from the very beginning, the nomadic and settled cultures of Central Asia practiced different kinds of Islam and this differentiation continued for centuries to become a tradition embedded in lifestyle, philosophy, and social relations. When the Soviet Union broke up, the Tablighi practice, which had many elements of Sufi practice, was found to be much closer to the religious views and practices of Kyrgyz and Kazakh Muslims and more alien to those of Uzbeks and Tajiks.

This perspective allows us to establish some further links between nomadism as a lifestyle and cultural practice and new religious traveling practices in Post-Soviet Central Asia. From the cultural perspective, Kyrgyz people, who for centuries lived as pastoral nomads and retained many nomadic practices through the Soviet period up to the present, have a lifestyle that is much more mobile than that of the settled cultures of Uzbeks and Tajiks. Their worldviews, family and gender roles, and even occupations are much more accommodating of the need for frequent travel. It is partly for these reasons, I claim, that the Kyrgyz engage much more actively than Uzbeks in the travel practices of Tablighi jamaat. A very similar argument can be proposed for the formerly nomadic cultures of Kazakhs. Seventy years of Soviet rule were long enough to influence the lifestyle of Central Asian

nomads in making them much more settled, but obviously were not long enough to change their culture. Therefore, instead of correlating the popularity of Tablighi with the nature of the political system, I would suggest a direct correlation with the nomadic lifestyle.

In addition, a connection can be made with the strong oral tradition of Central Asian nomads. Kyrgyz people did not have a widespread written language until the Soviet period, but they have the largest oral epic in the world – *Manas* – and they always valued good stories and persuasive storytellers. Tablighi practice is also significantly based on the oral narrative rather on extensive written sources. Only three or four main books are used by Tablighis on their journeys. The main mode of delivering and sharing the message is oral. This can be stated as another reason for the popularity of Tablighi among the Kyrgyz.

One can argue against this view using examples of other sedentary cultures around the world that embraced Tablighi practice very well. In fact, the people of Mewat, where the practice originated, were a very settled population. To answer this critique, I propose that Tablighi as a grassroots ideology and practice has some basic unchangeable principles, but it is also quite flexible and when it was spreading around the world in the past century, it built on the specific cultural features of every region and the peoples it encountered. In some places it was traditional hospitality, in others communal lifestyle, and so on. I would not argue that nomadism was the only factor that contributed to the popularity of Tablighi, but one cannot deny its significance.

This regional comparison gives us another interesting perspective on the use of the term “spiritual nomadism” for understanding the Tablighi movement. On the example of the popularity of Tablighi practices among the Central Asian nomads, we can propose that spiritual travels are not just about frequent trips for spiritual purposes. Spiritual travels are, more than anything, the reflection of an explicit lifestyle that accommodates a higher degree of mobility embedded in the culture, livelihood, and social relations of specific ethnic groups.

Conclusion

In this article, we employed the term “spiritual nomadism” to give a better understanding of Tablighi travel practice and its effects on the personal transformations of its participant-travelers. We described the lifestyle and philosophy of people who long ago traveled the world for various spiritual purposes and who travel it extensively today as well. In their journeys, Tablighi travel along paths that connect spiritual places, as they go from

one mosque to another. These physical nodes in different places around the world overlap with their own spiritual inner terrains – imaginary spaces of searching for truth, for the meaning of life, and for brotherhood. In the Tablighi perspective the two types of journeys are inseparable. As we have witnessed in the accounts of Tablighi, physical and spiritual travels strongly reinforce each other. The combination of these lengthy inner and outer journeys, form the lifestyle and worldview of Tablighi travelers.

The perspective of nomadism explains why Tablighi journeys cannot be limited to only a few experiences and why they need elements of a nomadic lifestyle to have these experiences repeated again and again on a regular basis in order to envision life as a constant transformation, to continue expanding one's spiritual nomadic knowledge and one's social networks, to reinforce more dynamic worldviews and to maintain and strengthen one's belief system. In turn, this article has shown how these traveling practices of the Tablighi then transform people from traditionally settled cultures into spiritual nomads of the twenty-first century and how in certain regions of the world, such as Central Asia, it builds on an already existing nomadic tradition.

SUMMARY

This article employs the concept of spiritual nomadism as a lifestyle and a regular traveling practice to portray and understand the contemporary religious practices of participants in the Tablighi Jamaat movement, which originated in India and today has become truly global. In the late 1990s the movement reached Central Asia and Russia and found fruitful ground in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The article builds on an analysis of the traditional role of travel in Islam and on a more contemporary interpretation of spiritual travel in Tablighi ideology and practice. Its main ethnographic elements are drawn from the author's forty-day Tablighi travel from Kyrgyzstan to India as part of a group of Kyrgyz, Kazakh, and Russian Tablighi and it is structured around six main themes discussed from the viewpoint of spiritual nomadism: personal transformation, knowledge and experience, new perspectives on worldly matters, socialization, correction of belief, and travel metaphors. It argues that active and regular participants in the movement acquire elements of a nomadic lifestyle and can be called spiritual nomads of the twenty-first century and that in some places in the world, such as Central Asia, Tablighi practice effectively uses the already existing nomadic practices of historically nomadic peoples such as the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs.

В статье концепция духовного номадизма используется для описания стиля жизни и регулярных путешествий участников движения джамаата Таблиги. Зародившееся в Индии, сегодня это движение достигло глобальных масштабов, распространившись в конце 1990-х гг. в том числе в России и в Средней Азии и завоевав особенно прочные позиции в Киргизстане и Казахстане. Автор начинает с рассмотрения традиционной роли путешествий в исламе и интерпретаций духовных путешествий в идеологии и практиках Таблиги. Этнографическая часть исследования представляет собой материалы, собранные Эмилем Насритдиновым в ходе его 40-дневного путешествия из Киргизстана в Индию совместно с другими таблиги из Киргизии, Казахстана и России. В статье рассматриваются такие аспекты номадических практик Таблиги, как личное преображение, новый взгляд на мир, знание и опыт, социальные сети, укрепление веры и роль метафор как важного компонента нарратива Таблиги. Как показывает автор, активные участники движения практикуют элементы кочевого образа жизни, а в некоторых регионах, таких как Средняя Азия, они опираются на исторические практики номадизма, характерные для этого региона.

Anya BERNSTEIN

**ON BODY-CROSSING:
INTERBODY MOVEMENT IN
EURASIAN BUDDHISM***

In the summer of 1927, five Buddhist pilgrims appeared in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. Their formidable journey, which took over a year of travel on foot, camels, and yaks, started in the Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in Siberia and passed through Mongolian grasslands, the Gobi Desert, Tsaidam swamps, and the high mountain passes of the Tibetan plateau. The lamas enrolled in Lhasa's famous Drepung Monastery and embarked on a multiyear curriculum in the Gomang monastic college.¹ It is not

* I thank Serguei Oushakine for inviting me to write this article and think about “nomadism” in new ways. His helpful and creative suggestions during the revision process greatly improved the argument. For earlier conceptualizations of this material, I thank Bruce Grant who helped me think through the post-Soviet context, Donald Lopez who clarified many Buddhist concepts for me, and Giovanni da Col, who inspired me to get interested in “kinship” again. I also thank the audiences and discussants at the following conferences, where parts of this article had been presented: American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Montreal (2011), Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference, Michigan State University (2010), and Annual Soyuz Symposium, Yale University (2009). The writing of this article was supported by the Michigan Society of Fellows postdoctoral fellowship.

¹ Drepung, founded in 1416 by Jamyang Chöje, a disciple of Tsongkhapa, at its height, was the world's largest monastery with over 10,000 monks. For more on Drepung, see Melvyn C. Goldstein. *The Revival of Monastic Life in Drepung Monastery* // Goldstein &

known whether they originally planned to stay in Tibet after receiving their degrees; it was likely upon hearing of the severe repressions over religion that started in Russia in the late 1920s that they made the fateful decision to remain in Tibet. Within a few decades, almost all these men held senior positions in the Tibetan monastic establishment. As the socialist project migrated from Russia to China, however, some of them became victims to Chinese repressions against Tibetan Buddhism and perished during the Cultural Revolution.²

Little or nothing was known of the fate of these men in Buryatia until the late 1980s, when the first Buryat lamas newly mobilized by perestroika began visiting Drepung again, by then relocated to and re-created in southern India by the Tibetan exile community, and a thriving home to about 4,500 monks. To their amazement, the first of the late socialist Siberian pilgrims were stunned to discover four of these original five monks alive and well in the tropics. One of these pilgrims was now over eighty years old while two others lived in the monastery, as they themselves professed, in their new bodies. That is to say, they were reincarnations of the former Buryat pilgrims. The bodies these Buryats acquired were ethnically Tibetan, one from Nepal, and one from the region of Kham in the Sichuan province in China. These two monks subsequently visited Buryatia, had reunions with their Buryat “relatives,” and became active members of the Buryat Buddhist revival.

Matthew T. Kapstein (Eds.). *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet. Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*. Berkeley, 1998. Pp. 15-53. For more on Buddhist monastic education, see Georges B. J. Dreyfus. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping. The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley, 2003.

² I have assembled the history of these early Soviet pilgrims in a somewhat piecemeal fashion from the following four sources: oral histories with Kentrul Rinpoche (current reincarnation of one of the pilgrims) and Yeshe Lodrö Rinpoche (a disciple of one of the pilgrims); the autobiography of one of the participants, Agvan Nyima; and a brief note by Buryat researcher G. N. Zaiatuev, who mentions a group of five monks sent to Lhasa by the Buryat lama and diplomat Agvan Dorzhiev. Nyima does not state the year of their departure in his narrative, however, the preface written by Yeshe Lodrö Rinpoche sets the date at 1923. Both Kentrul Rinpoche in an interview with me and Zaiatuev in his book set the date to 1927, which I have used here. See G. N. Zaiatuev. *Tsanid-khambo Agvan Dorzhiev, 1853–1938 gg.* Ulan-Ude, 1991; A. Nyima. *Pereprava cherez reku sansary. Avtobiografiia [Crossing the River of Samsara. An Autobiography]*. Translated from Tibetan by Bair Ochirov. Ulan-Ude, 1996. Other discrepancies in the sources include the number of monks who were part of this group: while Zaiatuev lists five, both Agvan Nyima in his autobiography and Kentrul Rinpoche in an interview state there were about ten of them.

The fourth monk did not seem to have a recognized reincarnation, however, during his life in Tibet, he served as a master to a young Tibetan incarnate lama named Yeshe Lodrö (Yelo) Rinpoche. In the early 1990s, Yelo Rinpoche, now in his sixties, had been invited to teach in Buryatia due to his being of “Buryat ancestry” through his master. Today, Yelo Rinpoche, an ethnic Tibetan, resides in Buryatia, speaks relatively good Buryat, and has acquired Russian citizenship. Rinpoche’s status as a “naturalized foreigner,” however, is contested by the distinction between Tibetan lamas with “roots” in Buryatia and those without them, prompting a relatively new discourse on “roots,” which might seem incompatible with the otherwise apparent cosmopolitanism of Buryat Buddhists who have long been conscious of their many border crossings in both time and space.

To understand the sorts of corporeal mobilities that enabled these border-crossings, this article attempts to conceptualize the institutions of Buddhist reincarnation and discipleship as practices of a certain kind of corporeal motion, which includes not only traversing vast Inner Asian territories, but also journeys and relationships between bodies across multiple lifetimes. In the Buddhist view, no body is an isolated unit, but rather a mosaic of references to other bodies: as Buddhists like to say, “if you wish to know what you were like in the past, look at your present body.”³ That is the very fact of having a body of a human (as opposed to that of an animal or a hungry ghost, which are considered unfortunate births) is a result of ethical deeds in past life. While rebirth and reincarnation involve movement from body to body, tantric discipleship involves transfers of certain symbolic bodily substances that create quasi-kinship relationships between masters and disciples. The movements and relationships between two or more bodies produced by Buddhist corporeal technologies constitute extensive transnational somatic networks, where the meaning of individual bodies is shaped through their relationship with other bodies in the network. Using an analogy with the notion of intertextuality,⁴ in this article I look at the phenomenon of reincarnation and discipleship as instances of “inter-bodiment” where individual Buddhist bodies acquire sociopolitical import through referencing or evoking other bodies. In the case of reincarnation, inter-bodiment is produced through a vertical axis that connects bodies through time, while in the case of tantric discipleship, we have both horizontal and vertical axes,

³ Donald S. Lopez. *The Story of Buddhism: A Concise Guide to Its History and Teachings*. New York, 2002. P. 45.

⁴ Julia Kristeva. *Word, Dialogue and Novel* // Toril Moi (Ed.). *The Kristeva Reader*. New York, 1986. Pp. 34-62.

the former connecting living masters with their disciples and the disciples to each other, while the latter refers to the relationships that these masters and disciples had in their past lives. I argue that the significance of such religiously inspired inter-body movement has subversive implications that go beyond esoteric religious practices, as they challenge biopolitical regimes of mobility imposed by nation-states on their indigenous populations, complicating the issues of allegiances and loyalties. This article thus contributes to the growing field of studies of religion, transnationalism, and globalization⁵ by considering a previously neglected type of mobility – that between bodies and bodily substances – and its role and effects in transnational religiopolitical movements.

Just as scholars have noticed that classically defined nomads do not just “wander,” but follow strict patterns defined by their social and economic systems,⁶ reincarnation does not amount to aimless wandering of souls. In classical Buddhist theory, reincarnation is regulated by the complex and impersonal laws of karma, often poorly understood by regular practitioners outside of the Buddhist scholarly context. Many Buryat Buddhists view the process of reincarnation of the lamas introduced above as an intentional act with messianic implications: according to this view, the “return” of some of these five original lamas to Buryatia is a result of a preconceived grand plan put in place by these early twentieth-century lamas with the single-handed goal to benefit the development of Buddhism in Buryatia. The lamas were supposed to come back to Buryatia after their training in Tibet, however, this plan has been hindered by the Chinese and Russian revolutions, resulting in the Buryat lamas’ death in Tibet. Their subsequent reemergence in Buryatia in the bodies of Tibetan lamas is viewed as a part of an intentional (but now slightly changed) mission to bring Buddhism back to Buryatia, now as part of global postsocialist religious revival. Similarly, the institution of tantric discipleship, which enabled these early Buryat monks to take on Tibetan disciples, who eventually came back to teach in post-Soviet Buryatia, and are now viewed as partially “Buryat,” is also popularly viewed as a part of the same plan, as it is believed that masters and disciples connected in past lives must necessarily meet again in the present. These culturally specific

⁵ The literature in this field is vast. Some notable examples include Thomas J. Csordas (Ed.). *Transnational Transcendence. Essays on Religion and Globalization*. Berkeley, 2009; S. Hoerber Rudolph, J. Piscatori. *Transnational Religion and Fading States*. Boulder, CO, 1996; Peter Beyer. *Religions in Global Society*. London and New York, 2006; Dwight N. Hopkins et al. (Eds.). *Religions/Globalizations*. Durham, 2001.

⁶ Thomas Barfield. *The Nomadic Alternative*. Englewood Cliffs, 1993. P. 12.

practices and interpretations of somatic motion can help us rethink the debates on religion and transnationalism and expand this field beyond the standard studies of migration, diaspora, and globalization.

With the exception of Agvan Nyima, the only one of the original five pilgrims who escaped Tibet and wrote his autobiography,⁷ practically no published materials exist on these lamas or their fates, a puzzle given the dramatic means by which their lives traversed some of the most famous political and religious struggles of the twentieth century. To learn more about these men, and to consider their impact on Buryat cultural politics today, I aimed to re-create many of their same paths by traveling myself between monasteries in Buryatia and southern India. What follows is based on field research and interviews between 2001 and 2008 with the three Tibetan lamas whose lives are continued under new auspices. These extraordinary transnational reincarnation and discipleship lineages began in 1920s Soviet Siberia, crossed over to Tibet, Nepal, and India, and eventually came back to postsocialist Russia. There are two types of inter-body movement involved in these lineages: reincarnation lineages involve movement from body to body while tantric discipleship lineages involve creating certain relationships between two or more bodies. The corporeal practices involved in these border-crossings represent a fusion of religious and political consciousness that allows Buryats to preserve a careful balance between a greater Asian Buddhist universe and their loyalties to Russia.

Fig. 1. Inter-body Movement

CASE OF REINCARNATION	CASE OF DISCIPLESHIP
Russian Empire	
(c. early 1900s) Galsan Legden (Buryat) born in Siberia	(c. early 1900s) Thubten Nyima (Buryat) born in Siberia
Soviet Union → Pre-Chinese Tibet	
(c. 1927) Arrived in Tibet	(c. 1927) Arrived in Tibet
(c. 1950) Became abbot of Drepung Monastery in Lhasa	(c. 1950) Became a senior lama, served as a tutor to a young Tibetan tulku (incarnate lama) (b. 1943)
Chinese Tibet (1950 –)	
(c.?) Died in a Chinese prison	(c. ?) Died during the turmoil in Tibet

⁷ A. Nyima. *Pereprava cherez reku sansary.*

CASE OF REINCARNATION	CASE OF DISCIPLESHIP
China → Nepal (Via Reincarnation) → India	Tibet → Exile To India
(c. 1976) Reincarnation born in his friend's family in Nepal	(c. 1959) Young disciple (Yeshe Lodrö Rinpoche) fled to India following the Dalai Lama
India	
(c. 1980) Discovered in Nepal by Tibetan monks from the Indian Drepung, brought to India	(c.1980) Yeshe Lodrö Rinpoche completed his formal monastic education
(c. 1990) Discovered by first post-socialist Buryat pilgrims to India, became conscious of his "Buryatness"	(c. 1990) Rediscovered his Buryat "roots," went to teach first in Mongolia, then Buryatia, learned Buryat, became a naturalized Russian citizen
India → Postsocialist Russia	
(c. 2000) Started to visit and teach in Siberia, reunited with his Buryat "relatives"	(c. 2000) Opened his own monastery in Buryatia, became a major competitor to the official Buryat religious establishment

Reincarnation: Bodies in Flux

Buddhists view a single human lifetime as simply one stage in a much longer, complex project, which involves endlessly taking new forms, both human and nonhuman. The ultimate goal of the Buddhist path is to understand the nature of reality, which, once fully realized by an individual, stops the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth (Skt. *samsara*), achieving a state known as "nirvana" (literally "extinction"). According to the Mahāyāna tradition followed among the Buryats, the highest goal is to achieve buddhahood oneself and then teach the path to enlightenment to others. Those who have advanced far along the path to buddhahood, called bodhisattvas, as well as those who have achieved buddhahood are said to compassionately appear in the world in human form. While regular people do not remember their previous lives and are not able to control their rebirth, these individuals, designated in English as incarnate lamas, can choose their place of birth and usually leave clues for the rest as to where they would be reborn after their death.

Early Buddhist theology postulated that the Buddha had two bodies – the physical body (*rūpakāya*) and the transcendent body “of virtuous qualities” that was not subject to sickness and death (*dharmakāya*).⁸ Later doctrines developed a tripartite scheme of the Buddha’s bodies: dharmakāya, in which the supramundane qualities of the Buddha evolved into a kind of transcendent principle of enlightenment, the sambhogakāya, a celestial body of the Buddha, and the nirmanakāya or “emanation” body, which might be assumed for the purpose of instructing and saving beings in our world, most famously in the form of the historical Buddha himself.⁹ In Tibetan, the Sanskrit term for “emanation body” is translated as *tulku* (sprul sku), suggesting that, at least technically, these beings are emanations of a buddha. According to common understanding, they are also considered to include advanced bodhisattvas. Since the fourteenth century, all Tibetan Buddhist schools have been identifying the successive rebirths of famous teachers. Incarnate lamas – the most famous of whom today is the Dalai Lama – are believed to be a line of individuals, who are in a sense the same person, returning to the world in lifetime after lifetime. The Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), whose predecessor was a Mongol, was the first Dalai Lama to assume political control of Tibet, with the support of Mongol troops in 1642.

The most famous of these incarnate lamas are identified with specific buddhas and bodhisattvas. Thus, the Dalai Lama is understood to be the human incarnation of the bodhisattva of compassion, Avalokiteshvara and the Panchen Lama an incarnation of the buddha Amitabha. The Bogd Gegeen (Jebdzundamba Khutugtu of Mongolia) is considered an emanation of Vajrapani. Transferring the notion of emanation into the secular realm, Tibetan Buddhists have proclaimed sacralized historical figures to be manifestations of deities: Genghis Khan is considered a manifestation of the fierce bodhisattva Vajrapani, the Qing emperor Qianlong an emanation of Manjusri, while the Russian emperors are widely believed to be the emanation of the goddess White Tara.¹⁰ Secularizing the idea of reincarnate lineages even further by combining it with the Chinese notion of zhengtong (“political descent”), Inner Asian rulers often proclaimed themselves reincarnations of their charismatic predecessors, with Altan Khan identifying himself as a

⁸ Lopez. *The Story of Buddhism*. Pp. 61-62.

⁹ Paul Williams. *Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Doctrinal Foundations*. London, 1989. Pp. 167-185.

¹⁰ Alexandre Andreyev. *Soviet Russia and Tibet. The Debacle of Soviet Secret Diplomacy, 1918–1930s*. Leiden, 2003. Pp. 7-8; Evelyn S. Rawski. *The Last Emperors. A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*. Berkeley, 1998. P. 248.

reincarnation of Khubilai and many other rulers claiming descent from Chinggis Khan.¹¹ Although, unlike Tibetans, Buryats never developed a formal institution of reincarnation whereby a child is identified as a reincarnation of a previous lama, some prominent lamas were posthumously referred to as incarnates of past masters.

The identification of the successive incarnation of high lamas, an institution that developed in Tibet as early as the eleventh century, ensured the inheritance of leadership and property from one generation to the next at a time when celibate monastic communities replaced noble families – previously the primary patrons of Buddhism – to become centers of Buddhist power and governance. Taking a Weberian view of authority, Turrell Wylie suggested that the institution of reincarnation facilitated the “transition from charisma of person to a charisma of office: a change essential to the establishment of a hierocratic form of government that could survive as an institution regardless of the charisma of any individual.”¹² Focusing on the role of reincarnation in the transfer of property, Melvyn Goldstein demonstrated how features inherent in reincarnation transformed the Tibetan political system itself, resulting in what he called a “circulation of estates,” large blocks of arable land intermittently held by incarnate lamas in power.¹³ Besides high incarnate lamas, most dramatically exemplified by the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan tradition had also developed hundreds of minor lineages, in which incarnate lamas are associated with a particular monastery or local region. The personalities whom we encounter in this essay belong to this category of incarnate lamas.

Reincarnation has often crossed ethnic boundaries and forged political ties, especially among Tibetans, Mongols, and Chinese, moving even to the West in the late twentieth century.¹⁴ A folk story that I have often heard from Buryat adepts about the origin of the lineage of Mongolian Jebdzundamba Khutugtus tells of the Tibetan scholar Tāranātha (1575–1634) who, at the end of his life, asked his disciples where he should be born next. One of them, a Mongol, cried out, “Please be reborn in Mongolia!” Tāranātha was

¹¹ Rawski. *The Last Emperors*. Pp. 210, 249.

¹² Turrell V. Wylie. *Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism* // Louis Ligetti (Ed.). *Proceedings of the Csoma de Koros Memorial Symposium*. Budapest, 1978. Pp. 579-586, here P. 584.

¹³ Goldstein. *The Circulation of Estates in Tibet: Reincarnation, Land and Politics* // *Journal of Asian Studies*. 1973. No. 32. Pp. 445-455.

¹⁴ Amy Lavine. *Tibetan Buddhism in America: The Development of American Vajrayana* // Charles S. Prebish, Kenneth K. Tanaka (Eds.). *The Faces of Buddhism in America*. Berkeley, 1998. Pp. 105-110.

reborn in the noble Mongolian family as Zanabazar (1635–1723), who was recognized as the first Jebdzundamba and subsequently inserted into the lineage of Chinggis Khan and Khubilai Khan.¹⁵ Several decades prior to this (in 1588), in a similar diplomatic move, the Fourth Dalai Lama was identified in a great-grandson of the Mongol leader Altan Khan, becoming the first and only non-Tibetan Dalai Lama at the time when Buddhism was once again starting to take hold in Mongolia.¹⁶ Thus, beyond the issues of leadership and property succession identified by Wylie and Goldstein, reincarnation appears to have been crucial for the spread of Tibetan Buddhism to new regions, most notably its transmission into Mongolia. Transnational reincarnation lineages are produced through somatic networks, which interlink individual bodies into a chain of cosmic relatedness.

Discipleship: Lineages in Motion

If reincarnation can be understood as a movement between bodies, which produces extra-kin and extraterritorial lineages in Tibetan Buddhism, another quasi-kinship practice, known as a master–disciple relationship,¹⁷ creates a relationship between two or more different bodies through the symbolic transfer of bodily substances. Incarnate lamas inherit not only property but also disciples with whom they enter into a special ritual relationship through which the master’s power is transmitted to the student. One of the central rituals of tantric Buddhism is the process of the transmission of ritual power known as “initiation” or, literally, “empowerment” (Tib. *dbang*). Through “empowerments” the disciple is initiated into the practice of a particular deity and becomes a part of a certain “buddha-family,” which sometimes includes a ritual rebirth and going through the stages of childhood, such as obtaining a new name and getting one’s first haircut and bath. During this

¹⁵ For more on the lineage of Jebdzundamba Khutugtus, see Charles R. Bawden. *The Jetsun Dampa Khutukhtus of Urga, Text Translation and Notes*. Wiesbaden, 1961; Caroline Humphrey. *Remembering an “Enemy.” The Bogd Khaan in Twentieth-Century Mongolia* // Rubie S. Watson (Ed.). *Memory, History, and Opposition Under State Socialism*. Santa Fe, 1994. Pp. 21-44; Fabian Sanders. *The Life and the Lineage of the Ninth Khalkha Jetsun Dampa Khutukhtu of Urga* // *Central Asiatic Journal*. 2001. No. XLV. Pp. 273-303.

¹⁶ David Snellgrove, Hugh Richardson. *A Cultural History of Tibet*. Boston, 1995 [1968]. Pp. 184-185.

¹⁷ On tantric discipleship as a quasi-kinship practice, see Martin A. Mills. *Vajra Brother, Vajra Sister: Renunciation, Individualism and the Household in Tibetan Buddhist Monasticism* // *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 2000. No. 6. Pp. 17-34.

ritual the disciple must imagine his master as the deity, and fellow disciples who attended the initiation led by the same master are called “vajra brothers” and “vajra sisters” (Skt. *vajra*, or thunderbolt, being the central symbol of indestructibility), and are often viewed as “children” of the lama. In some initiations, such as the Kalachakra cycle, disciples must visualize the master in sexual union with a female consort, subsequently visualizing themselves as entering the mouth of the lama, passing through his body to the vagina and then on to the womb of his female consort, from where they are ritually reborn.¹⁸ There is also a point at which a drop of yogurt is placed on each person’s tongue. This represents the sexual fluids that have emerged from the vagina of the tantric consort after intercourse with the tantric master. In the higher initiation, one is then supposed to have intercourse with a consort.

Tantric initiation rites involve symbolic transfers of bodily substances to link different bodies into a web of somatic networks. While it might appear that these networks are arbitrarily constituted by previously unrelated bodies, Buddhists believe that these bodies were already bound by these relationships in previous lifetimes and the fact that they meet now is a result of karma and good deeds in past lives. The Buddhist view excludes the element of randomness from movements and relationships between bodies. In this light, many contemporary tantric initiations that today increasingly take place in lay, urban, transnational contexts acquire subversive potential as they refuse to accommodate the logics of nation-states. Kalachakra initiations, for example, fairly regularly conferred by the Dalai Lama in India (as well as Europe and North America), are gigantic public spectacles attended by thousands of believers from all over the world.¹⁹ Since the Dalai Lama is not allowed to visit Russia due to China’s objections, such initiations often become a focal point for lay Buryat adepts to escape the purview of both Russia and China by conducting pilgrimages to India, Europe, or even as far as the United States, where they become parts of Buddhist networks as new “vajra brothers and sisters” (Rus. *vadrzhnye brat’ia i sestry*) along with thousands of fellow coreligionists from Brazil to South Africa.

For those who cannot afford distant travel, Tibetan émigré lamas living in Russia and visiting lamas from India regularly conduct other tantric ini-

¹⁸ The Dalai Lama. *Kalachakra Tantra: The Rite of Initiation*. Somerville, MA, 1999. Pp. 94-95. See also Mills. *Vajra Brother, Vajra Sister*.

¹⁹ For a behind-the-scenes ethnographic account of the staging of a Kalachakra initiation in New York, see Meg McLagan. *Spectacles of Difference: Cultural Activism and Mass Mediation of Tibet* // Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod, Brian Larkin (Eds.). *Media Worlds. Anthropology on a New Terrain*. Berkeley, 2002. Pp. 90-115.

tiations in Buryatia. Since Buryatia does not have its own currently living lamas, who would be qualified to conduct such rituals, in the postsocialist period initiations have become the domain of Tibetan incarnates. Their authority, however, is not uncontested, and certain lamas are considered by some Buryats to be more suitable than others to confer empowerments. Enter a new kind of a contemporary Tibetan teacher: the Tibetan of “Buryat ancestry” (literally, of Buryat “roots,” Rus. *s buriatskimi korniami*). Those Tibetan lamas who happen to be either the reincarnations or disciples of an important past Buryat master, are considered better for this role than those with no direct ties to Buryatia.

In order to understand why Buryats today might prefer to receive empowerments from their own “kin,” let us first consider the practices that make Tibetan lamas of “Buryat ancestry” possible, forging transnational ties between the two peoples. While the notion of reincarnation may have been developed in order to ensure the proper succession of religious authority, it also became a means of social mobility. Highly educated and talented monks sometimes became great masters, and after their death, a search for a successor might be initiated, thus founding a new lineage. This was the case with the two lamas, who were originally part of the group of the five Buryat pilgrims to Tibet: by having achieved high status in their previous lives, they forged the beginning of two new transethnic lineages, further expanding the networks of interrelated Buddhist bodies.

The biographies of two incarnate Tibetan lamas with “Buryat roots” demonstrate how bodily technologies of reincarnation and tantric apprenticeship enabled Buddhist subjects, whose mobility was restricted by the modern biopolitical regimes of Russia and China during the socialist period, to create somatic networks that transgress boundaries between nation-states, but also between bodies, between life and death and conventionally defined lines of kinship and ethnicity. This unauthorized inter-body movement complicates issues of allegiances both within the Russian Federation and within the Republic of Buryatia, where these nomadic hybrid bodies present challenges to the current nationalist Buddhist establishment.

Buryats in Tibet: The Story of Galsan Legden

One of the most prominent among the five lamas who arrived in Tibet in 1927 was a Buryat named Galsan Legden (Buryat name, Galsan Arzhigarov). He quickly rose to prominence, becoming an abbot of the Drepung Gomang monastic college, the first Buryat ever to head an important religious

institution in Tibet. He was later imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution in China and is reported to have died in custody. The present incarnation of Galsan Legden is now known as Kentrul Rinpoche (“ken” means “abbot,” and “tul” signaling “tulku”) was born in 1976 in Nepal. As is very common in reincarnation narratives, since the time he started talking, he always said he wanted to join the monastery.²⁰ When he saw monks, he tried to follow them and when he saw red or yellow fabric, he often tried to grab it and put it on himself. When he was four, monks from Drepung monastery appeared on his doorstep, claiming that the boy was a reincarnation of their former abbot. It turned out that when Galsan Legden was imprisoned in China, he shared his prison cell with a Tibetan monk who was planning to escape to Nepal. Knowing that his death was near, Legden asked his fellow inmate if he could visit him in Nepal. Thinking that he was talking about coming to his house in Nepal after the release from prison, Legden’s friend responded, “Yes, of course, you can visit me, and I will do everything to make your stay comfortable.” Thus, two lifetimes got conflated in the same conversation. Galsan Legden died in prison and was reborn into his friend’s family in Nepal.²¹

While notions of rebirth are widespread in various cultures and usually happen within ethnic groups, and most often within the same genetic kin groups, reincarnations are not impeded by national borders.²² From 1977 to 1980, Agvan Nyima, one of the original five Buryat pilgrims and the only one to escape Tibet, served as the abbot of the Gomang college of the Indian Drepung.²³ During his term, in the late 1970s, he initiated a search for the reincarnation of his old friend. Following all the standard procedures,²⁴

²⁰ For accounts of reincarnation and procedures related to the identification of tulkus written by incarnate lamas themselves, see The Dalai Lama. *My Land and My People: The Original Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet*. New York, 1997 [1962]; Thubten Jigme Norbu. *Tibet Is My Country: Autobiography of Thubten Jigme Norbu, Brother of the Dalai Lama, as Told to Heinrich Harrer*. London, 1986 [1960]; Chögyam Trungpa. *Born in Tibet*. Boston, 2000.

²¹ Interview, Drepung, Karnataka, South India, February 2008.

²² Anthropological literature abounds with references to notions of rebirth in various cultures, from Native North America to Africa to Melanesia. For a synthesis of many of these sources, see Gananath Obeyesekere. *Imagining Karma. Ethical Transformation in Amerindian, Buddhist, and Greek Rebirth*. Berkeley, 2002.

²³ After retiring from his post of the Gomang College abbot, Agvan Nyima taught and worked in Switzerland and Holland. For more on Agvan Nyima (1907–1990), see his autobiography (Nyima. *Pereprava cherez reku sansary*).

²⁴ The standard procedures for the search of a reincarnation include performing a series of divinations to determine the location of the candidates and then examining the candidates’



Fig. 2. Galsan Legden conducting an empowerment. Russia, 2008. Photo courtesy of Igor' Ianchevlov.

the search party from Drepung identified a Tibetan boy in Nepal as Galsan Legden, a Buryat from the Tunka region of southern Siberia, who served as the abbot of the Gomang college of the Drepung in Lhasa during the time of the Chinese takeover. Thus, due to the efforts of his countryman Agvan Nyima, Legden became the originator of a new lineage, which has so far spanned four countries and two nations. What might such ethnic fluidity, resulting from transnational reincarnations, signify? In 2008, I lived in the South Indian Drepung monastery for several months and sought out this young man to ask how he himself understood this reincarnation process.

When I was told I was a reincarnation of Legden, I was glad, but I didn't feel anything special. It was only when they showed me his picture, I felt something . . . unusual. When they told me my predecessor was a Mongol – I did not know about the difference between Mongols and Buryats at the time – I felt a sense of “us” and “ours.” A sense of pride for being a Mongol, even a feeling of some kind of patriotism. A Mongol patriotism.

ability to demonstrate some knowledge of their predecessors' identities. The tests include having young boys choose objects belonging to the past incarnation among various objects presented to them.

It was only in the late eighties, when Kentrul Rinpoche saw the first Buryat monks and pilgrims who started arriving at Drepung from Russia, that he learned about this difference. The first postsocialist Buryat pilgrims who arrived in Drepung, having heard of the reincarnation of their celebrated Legden, immediately treated him as a high lama, although he was only a teenager at the time. The word about the reincarnated master spread, and eventually, visiting and getting blessings from Kentrul Rinpoche and another former Buryat incarnate living in India, Zhibalha lama, became part of the pilgrim routine on visits to Drepung.



Fig. 3. Kentrul Rinpoche (Galsan Legden) with Buryat pilgrims in India. Drepung Monastery, Karnataka, India, 2008. Photo by the author.

Routine rituals in which Buryat pilgrims engage while visiting Indian monasteries also contribute to the creation of bodily networks that go beyond nation-states, ethnicities, and borders. One of the most important activities sought by pilgrims is securing audiences with as many incarnate lamas as possible. While seeing the Dalai Lama is of utmost importance but not often possible, it is considered especially valuable to visit their fellow “Buryats,” Tibetan lamas Legden or Zhibalha, while in southern India. (In the North, getting an audience with the traditional leader of Mongolian Buddhists, the

ethnic Tibetan Jebdzundamba Khutugtu the Ninth, used to be another major goal).²⁵ Although not nearly as elaborate as formal initiations, these visits also provide brief instances of inter-body movement, namely, the transfer of ritual power from the master to his disciples. During such brief audiences, power is transferred as a blessing through a simple touch by the incarnate to the devotee's head, a gentle blow on the face, or the holding and reciting of consecrating verses over various souvenirs purchased from street vendors. After these haptic engagements, the pilgrims are viewed as spiritually charged, and on their return home, many people, in turn, want to touch them to partake of their accreted power. The distribution of consecrated souvenirs, from more elaborate altar pieces bought for close friends and kin to simple threads blessed by the lamas to be worn on the wrists and necks given as tokens of attention to other acquaintances, is often the central ritual upon a pilgrim's return.



Fig. 4. Zhibalha Rinpoche, another Tibetan lama with “Buryat roots,” with Buryat pilgrims in India. Drepung Monastery, Karnataka, India, 2008. Photo by the author.

²⁵ Jebdzundamba Khutugtu the Ninth or Bogdo-Gegen, as Buryat and Russians adepts like to call him, passed away in March 2012, as I was preparing this article for print. For the ethnographic description of the community of his Buryat followers in India, see Anya Bernstein. *Religious Bodies Politic: Rituals of Sovereignty in Buryat Buddhism*. Upcoming from the University of Chicago Press in 2013.

When asked of his impressions of Buryatia, Legden said he was surprised by how many people wanted him to conduct the rituals of tantric empowerment. His surprise is understandable, for, until recently, most rituals of this kind have been restricted to the monastic establishment. It is with the spread of Buddhism to the West and modernization of Tibetan Buddhism in exile by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama that it became common practice for lay people to be initiated into the tantric “families.”²⁶ Legden bemoaned the fact that some lay Buryats seemed to be more interested in receiving high-level initiations than getting a good grasp on Buddhist fundamentals, which he addressed in his public lectures. While he ascribed it to the “shamanistic” Buryat obsession with ritual, I would suggest the Buryat interest in receiving empowerments from a Tibetan lama with “Buryat roots” hinges on their belief in its greater efficacy precisely because it expands their inter-body networks from the local to transnational level. On the one hand, through empowerments, lay people become incorporated in the global Buddhist “families” of deities, incarnate lamas, and monks. On the other hand, by receiving empowerments from someone whose body itself acts as a link to the Buryat prerevolutionary “golden age,” they gain additional power through reconnecting with specifically Buryat Buddhist kin and ancestors.

To revisit the central premise of this article, then: reincarnation presents a type of inter-bodiment, where certain people acquire sociopolitical power via their capacity to reference their previous bodies. Nomadic personae of the incarnates cross geopolitical borders, as well as transcend the borders between life and death and between classically ethnic identifications while involving their lay followers into complex webs of corporeal networks. These networks challenge biopolitical regimes of mobility, producing complex transnational allegiances based on beliefs and values often incompatible with the logics of the larger nation-states and local nationalist politics. Since the eleventh century, the existence of incarnate lamas who were able to transcend site-specific allegiances or, in more recent times, literally “think and feel beyond the nation”²⁷ has played the crucial role in making Tibetan Buddhism a translocal religion, reaching far beyond its Himalayan homeland. During the early Soviet socialist period, these transnational flows were mostly unidirectional, flowing outward from the USSR to allow Buryat pilgrims to cross borders and perhaps even recruit coreligionists into the Soviet fold. These ties were discontinued at the turn

²⁶ One exception are the Kalachakra initiations, which were public in traditional Tibet.

²⁷ Pheng Cheah, Bruce Robbins. *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis, 1998.

of the 1930s, when Soviet internationalists abandoned their efforts to draw Tibet into its orbit.²⁸ Today this Buddhist transnationalism has resumed in both directions, with the locus of authority for Buryat Buddhists relocated from Lhasa to Dharamsala, the current seat of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan government in exile and to South India where three main Geluk monastic seats have been re-created. While thousands of Buryat pilgrims visit Tibetan communities in India every year, since the mid-1990s, Buryatia has become the center of Tibetan emigration to Russia. Tibetan lamas have had great success in postsocialist Buryatia as religious teachers, promoting an array of cosmopolitan subjectivities in an already pluralist Siberian republic. Below, I consider how another type of inter-bodiment, that of the master–disciple relationship, creates relationships between different bodies via the transfer of symbolic substances, complicating religious and ethnic politics in post-socialist Buryatia. This process is well illustrated by Yelo Rinpoche, whom we met earlier, the Tibetan incarnate lama residing in Buryatia.

Tibetans in Buryatia: The Story of Yelo Rinpoche

Yelo Rinpoche was born in Litang in eastern Tibet in 1943. At the age of three, he was recognized as a fourth incarnate lama in his lineage. One of his early teachers was the Buryat lama Zhibalha, one of the original five lamas mentioned earlier in this article. When Yelo was thirteen, he entered the original Drepung in Lhasa where one of his main masters was Thubten Nyima, one of the five original Buryat pilgrims. Later he escaped to India where he completed his monastic education under Agvan Nyima, who proved to be his next major Buryat teacher. After the collapse of socialism, he expressed interest in being sent to teach in Mongolia, where he spent a year mastering the Mongolian language. When Yelo Rinpoche first arrived in Mongolia, he attempted to locate the birthplace and find relatives of his “root” teacher, Thubten Nyima, who, he thought, was a Mongol. It is at that time, in Mongolia, he was told, that his teacher’s native land was across the border to the north, in Siberia, and that his late teacher was, in fact, a Buryat.²⁹ Subsequently, when, in the early 1990s, Buryats started asking the Dalai Lama to send them a master to teach at the Ivolginsk Monastery,

²⁸ Andreyev. *Soviet Russia and Tibet*. Pp. 385-395.

²⁹ Interview, Ulan-Ude, Buryatia, Russia, July 2001. See also my ethnographic documentary devoted to his life in Buryatia, where he personally narrates his story. Anya Bernstein. *Join Me in Shambhala* (videorecording, 30 min.). USA: Documentary Educational Resources, 2002.

which houses the largest monastic university in Buryatia and serves as the seat of the Khambo Lama, Yelo Rinpoche gladly accepted.

Yelo Rinpoche arrived in Buryatia with his Tibetan disciple Tenzin, received Russian citizenship, and permanently settled in Ulan-Ude. He was initially sponsored by the official Buryat Buddhist establishment to teach at Ivolginsk; however, due to the ongoing conflicts with the local religious establishment, he dropped out and opened his own monastery on the outskirts of the city in 2004, along with several lay “dharma centers” in major Russian cities.

The cornerstone of the tensions between these two major figures in Buryatia lie in the Buryat relationship with the Tibetan world and the Buddhist world in general. As I have discussed elsewhere, there is currently



Fig. 5. Yelo Rinpoche with his disciple Tenzin. Buryatia, 2001. Photo by the author.

a deep schism between religious leaders in the republic over issues of the identity and future of Buryat Buddhism.³⁰ While some are convinced that it should be modeled as much as possible on contemporary Tibetan Buddhism, others vehemently resist any foreign involvement or influence. The official leader of Buryat Buddhism, Khambo Lama Damba Aiusheev famously advocates “indigenous” Buryat Buddhism, which, in his view, is equal to (or in some versions of this argument, even superior to) but separate from Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhisms. Other

leaders, in contrast, resist the appellation of “Buryat,” arguing that there is only one Buddhism and that such distinctions are based on erroneous nationalist feelings, incompatible with true Buddhist doctrine. To make matters more complicated, the Russian central government, from Catherine the Great to President Medvedev had always fostered notions of ecclesiastical self-government, since having a religious community on the former empire’s

³⁰ Bernstein. *The Post-Soviet Treasure Hunt: Time, Space, and Necropolitics in Siberian Buddhism // Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 2011. Vol. 53. No. 3. Pp. 632-653; Bernstein. *More Alive Than All the Living: Sovereign Bodies and Cosmic Politics in Buddhist Siberia // Cultural Anthropology*. 2012. Vol. 27. No. 2. Pp. 261-285.

borderlands subordinated to foreign leadership would complicate borders and loyalties. As we shall see, the ways in which these political allegiances manifest themselves through religious forms are manifold and complex.

Being one of the most powerful and respected religious figures in contemporary Buryatia, Yelo Rinpoche's extraordinary status as an incarnate lama presents challenges for the Khambo Lama, who, on many occasions, has expressed resentment of the fact that Tibetans open their monasteries in Buryatia. While both Yelo Rinpoche and the Khambo Lama are widely popular religious leaders in the Republic, interestingly, the Khambo Lama emerged as a truly populist leader who works and speaks for the nation and evokes feelings of Buryat pride, while Yelo Rinpoche is mostly favored by Buryat intelligentsia in search of esoteric teachings. Due to his status as the only incarnate lama residing in Russia (the Khambo Lama, on the contrary, is not a reincarnation but an elected leader), Yelo Rinpoche is in high demand for conducting tantric empowerments. Because Buryatia does not have an institutionalized tradition of incarnate lamas, the status of Yelo Rinpoche is technically higher than anyone else in the Republic, which intensifies the tensions already present in Buryat religious politics.

While tulkus have an extraordinary status everywhere in the Tibetan Buddhist world, in Buryatia, even regular Tibetan lamas are usually viewed by lay people as charismatic, possessing special powers via a certain fetishization of Tibetan mystical "otherness." Tibetan lamas in Buryatia often enjoy a strong following, even if their reputation becomes questionable.³¹ Unlike lay people, some members of the Buryat clergy, especially those who have spent many years in India with Tibetans, sometimes express skepticism and even cynicism regarding their fellow coreligionists. These views, passed unofficially through rumors and private conversations, which in a tightly knit Buddhist community of Ulan-Ude quite quickly become public, creating a resentment that undermines Tibetan monastic emigration in Buryatia. A common view of some of the monks is that Tibetans "failed" in Buryatia,

³¹ Perhaps the most famous Tibetan lama in Russia, Geshe Jampa Tinlei, was recently the subject of a number of scandals regarding "inappropriate" behavior, money, and relations with women, ending up disrobing and losing all his priestly privileges (according to unconfirmed rumors he was disrobed by the Dalai Lama himself during his visit to Kalmykia in 2004). This, however, did not affect his enormous following with dharma centers set up almost in every major city in Russia, as he is believed to be intrinsically holy and continues to be venerated as a teacher despite his recently lay and married status. See Anonymous. Otreksia ot sana. Sopernichestvo sredi tibetskikh lam v Rossii vyilos' v aktiiu protesta [Disrobed. Rivalry Between Tibetan Lamas in Russia Ended Up in a Protest Action] // Inform-Polis. 2005. December 15. P. 4.

understanding “failure” in terms of the impossibility of introducing the Tibetan model of monastic education in Buryatia and educating the public appropriately. Celibacy and monastic discipline are usually at stake, and the absence of these in Buryatia is often explained by the incompatibility of Buryat and Tibetan “mentality” with Buryats being incapable of subduing their “nomadic” and “wild” temperament into the rigid monastic structures of Tibetan Buddhism. But perhaps most crucially and most commonly, Tibetans are thought to be bound to failure in Buryatia because they do not have “roots” there. In other words, Tibetans in Buryatia who are not part of common somatic networks are often thought of not as great teachers and bodhisattvas, but alien intruders inherently incapable of understanding local realities, and out to profit from the ever-growing religious marketplace.

The pervasiveness of the biologicistic discourse on “roots” is especially striking, given that the Buddhist transnational and transcultural model of kinship is specifically designed to undermine this very ideology. To demonstrate how inter-body movement is being negotiated in local religious politics, in the remainder of this essay I examine how the debates around one particular ritual during the summer of 2008 became an arena through which competing notions of “roots” were expressed. In this context, Yelo Rinpoche’s “Buryat ancestry” through his master Thubten Nyima placed him in a special position in the “roots” debate, thus exemplifying how corporeal networks created by the master–disciple relationships can play into the complex cultural politics in the region.

Buddhist Ritual Wrought Anew

Some of the central seasonal rituals in Buryatia are ritual offerings called oboo. An oboo refers to a cairn usually built on mountain tops to mark the residence of the so-called land master spirits.³² Land master spirits are linked to both kinship and territorial groups, with all residents of adjacent villages often gathering for a communal ritual. Oboo rituals are rarely missed by Buryats, even the ones not actively involved in any kind of religious practice. Many, especially those who reside outside Buryatia, time their summer vacations to coincide with these events. During the months of May and June, Buryats come back to their native villages to attend the ritual and

³² See L. L. Abaeva. *Kul't gor i buddizm v Buriatii*. Moscow, 1991; Caroline Humphrey. *Marx Went Away – But Karl Stayed Behind*. Ann Arbor, 1999 [1983]. Pp. 422-423; Caroline Humphrey, David Sneath. *The End of Nomadism? Society, State, and the Environment in Inner Asia*. Durham, 1999. Pp. 123-134.

reconnect with numerous relatives. While oboo rituals can be performed by shamans and knowledgeable elders, here I focus on the rituals performed by Buddhist lamas.



Fig. 6. Oboo ritual. Buryatia, 2008. Photo by the author.

The lama is supposed to perform a certain tantric visualization, generating himself as the Buddhist wrathful buddha Yamantaka or the wrathful bodhisattva Vajrapani and then, as Yamantaka or Vajrapani, address “land master” spirits, asking them for protection, help in worldly affairs, and various blessings. People attending the ritual bring copious offerings of various foods and drinks, which are offered to the deities according to an established ritual scenario and are consumed during the communal feast that follows while the remainders of sacrificed foods are taken home and given to the relatives and friends who were not able to attend. It is widely believed that successful oboo rituals bring rain, much needed during the usually dry months of May and June. Yet what happens if a ritual fails? During the summer of 2008, when I was in Buryatia, June was extremely dry despite all of the oboo rituals that had been performed.

The “pro-Tibetan” faction immediately declared that the oboo rituals performed by Buryat lamas failed because they made the wrong kinds of

offerings, offerings that were not considered to correspond to “true” Buddhism. Meat and alcohol as food sacrifice became the most contested issues in this debate. Both personal and ritual consumption of meat and alcohol had always been controversial in Buddhism and vary widely between different schools and national traditions. As far as monastic rules go, while alcohol is explicitly prohibited in the early vinaya, meat eating is not prohibited as long as the animal was not slaughtered to feed the monk.³³ Despite the fact that there is no direct prohibition of the use of meat in early sources, there is a contemporary tendency to view those who abstain from meat as “better Buddhists,” particularly widespread in modernized and Western interpretations of the “nonviolence” doctrine.³⁴ Although offerings to wrathful deities, both in Tibet and Mongolia, typically include meat and alcohol, some modernist Buryats seem unaware of it and think of this as only a Buryat tradition that somehow perverted more authentic forms of Buddhism due to the influence of native shamanism. This particular construction of Buddhist authenticity built on an imagined earlier, purer version recently provoked controversy regarding the ritual use of meat and vodka in Buryatia (including animal sacrifice in shamanic rituals). Oboo rituals, especially notorious for the copious amounts of vodka brought, offered as libations, poured on the ground, and consumed in what often turns into a post-oboo ritual drunken revelry as soon as the presiding lamas leave, became the highest stake in this debate.

“When Bakula Rinpoche,³⁵ a famous Buddhist master from India, came here, he was stunned to see all this vodka poured into the ground. He said, ‘Look, your spirits are all drunk! No wonder you cannot get any help from them. How can a drunken spirit help anyone?’” one Buryat Buddhist lama related to me. Similarly, a Buryat nun who currently lives in India commented that when she attended such an oboo ritual, she had a vision, in which she was able to communicate with the land master spirit to whom the offerings were being made. “The spirit told me that he was a vegetarian since Buddhism was established in this area, however, no one brought

³³ Tibetan monasteries never served any food to monks, other than tea and tsampa. In the Indian Drepung, this is still the case, except that they now also serve noodles, rice, vegetables, and yogurt. Meat is not proscribed, however: monks who have the means to buy it from local vendors sometimes cook it in their dormitory kitchens.

³⁴ For an informative overview of the various Buddhist attitudes to vegetarianism, see Brian Peter Harvey. *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*. Cambridge, 2000.

³⁵ The late Bakula Rinpoche, a prominent incarnate Buddhist lama from Ladakh in northern India, worked as a minister for the Indian government under Indira Gandhi. In 1990, he had been appointed an Indian ambassador to Mongolia, which enabled him to visit the USSR and later, postsocialist Buryatia.

him his favorite cottage cheese (Rus. *tvorog*) for a long time. The spirit complained that all they brought him was meat, which he did not eat.” The spirit asked the nun to kindly call her relatives who were going to attend an oboo during this season and make sure that the rules of vegetarianism be more strictly followed.



Fig. 7. Oboo offerings. Buryatia, 2001. Photo by the author.

The “anti-Tibetan” faction represented by some lamas whom I interviewed during this period, however, insisted that offering meat and alcohol was a “Buryat tradition.” They claimed that unlike shamanist oboos, what they offered was not “really” vodka, but a special substance referred to as “nectar” into which vodka is transformed through appropriate prayers and visualizations.³⁶ The real reason for the failure of the ritual, they claimed, was that local spirits would not “take instructions” from “foreigners” (Tibetans) who tried to meddle in their affairs. (The obstacles here are constructed specifically in blood kinship terms as opposed to those of spirits’ linguistic competence, since the ritual is almost always conducted in classical Tibetan). Interestingly, the Tibetan incarnate lamas with Buryat roots discussed above were perhaps

³⁶ Although lamas invoke this fact as a “Buryat tradition,” this is true for Tibetan Buddhist tantric ritual in general.

the only ones who have been somewhat exempt from these accusations, because, according to the Buddhist view of kinship, they “are” Buryat via their quasi-kinship relationship with their respective Buryat predecessors.

Indeed, the ability to establish peaceful relationships with local spirits is central to any lama’s legitimacy in Buryatia, both Buryat and foreign alike. When Zhibalha Rinpoche, another Tibetan lama with Buryat “roots” mentioned earlier in this article, visited Buryatia and the Aga region in 2004 (the native region of his previous incarnation), the elders informed him of the lack of rainfall. He conducted several offerings to local spirits on the mountaintop and near the river, and within a couple of days there was a heavy downpour. “I felt that the local spirits were favorably inclined to me,” he said when I interviewed him in his residence in Drepung Gomang in India in 2008.³⁷ Buryat elders also took Zhibalha’s capacity to pacify the local spirits to be a sign of his legitimacy to act as a lama in Buryatia. Thus, his journey has been locally understood not as a visit by a foreign lama but by a “Buryat” lama finally arriving in his “homeland.”³⁸ While Zhibalha Rinpoche (who still resides in Drepung Gomang in India and only visited Buryatia once) is still relatively unknown to the wider Buryat public, Yelo Rinpoche is a very public figure and his every step is subject to scrutiny.³⁹

Thus, exempt from blame on the oboo front, Yelo Rinpoche was still reproached by his detractors for doing too many “flashy” tantric empowerments as opposed to the unglamorous work of spreading the dharma through regular teachings. However, since there are currently no Buddhist teachers of such high status in Buryatia with all the appropriate initiations (a lama must have received an initiation in order to confer it), Yelo Rinpoche remains the most qualified lama for these empowerments. As mentioned above, Kentrul Rinpoche from India, another incarnate lama with Buryat “roots,” was surprised by how many people approached him to conduct empowerments

³⁷ Interestingly, he used Tibetan terms for locality spirits, such as *yul lha* and *gzhi bdag*, to refer to Buryat “landmaster” spirits. Interview with Zhibalha Rinpoche, Drepung Gomang monastery, India, January 2008.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Interestingly, Zhibalha Rinpoche became a key figure in the Buddhist revival in Tuva, regularly visiting the Tuvan Republic since 2004. His “Buryat” connection is very important for Tuvans, who also view him as “ours” (Ksenia Pimenova, personal communication, 2011). Although Tuvans are a Turkic group with strong Mongolian influences, Zhibalha himself (similarly to other Tibetan lamas familiar with the Buddhist peoples of the Russian Federation) believes Buryats, Kalmyks, and Tuvans to be “people of Mongolian ethnicity” (Tib. *sog po mi rig*) (Interview with Zhibalha, 2008). Similarly, Kentrul Rinpoche now also regularly visits Kalmykia.

when he visited Buryatia. Since empowerment rituals structure the Buddhist community in kin-like ways,⁴⁰ I suggest that these lamas are sought out by Buryats not only because they are internationally renowned and qualified masters but also because by acquiring these Tibetan lamas as their symbolic kin, Buryats also reclaim and reincorporate their own past masters into their somatic networks and the current body politic. In other words, these incarnate Tibetan lamas with “Buryat” roots are in particularly high demand in Buryatia not only for their “reproductive” ritual capacity, but because they evoke and reference, via inter-bodiment, their Buryat predecessors. Yelo and Kentrul Rinpoches’ bodies serve not only as the crucial links in bringing Buryats into the new transnational and pan-Asian “vajra families,” forging post-Soviet religious ties and transforming geopolitical imaginaries; these bodies also reconnect Buryat believers with specifically Buryat key religious personalities of the past.

Inter-body movement enabled by the practices of reincarnation and tantric discipleship blurs the lines of political and ethnic alliances. Despite being an ethnic Tibetan, the present Kentrul Rinpoche, by virtue of being a reincarnation of a Buryat monk, has become an important figure in the post-Soviet Buryat Buddhist revival. He is also a source of considerable pride for Buryats. Not only was he the sole



Fig. 8. The Dalai Lama with Buryat monks studying in India. Drepung Monastery, Karnataka, India, 2008. Photo courtesy of Igor’ Iancheglov.

Buryat to preside over a famous Tibetan monastic college, he mastered the process of death and rebirth to be reincarnated outside of Chinese-occupied Tibet in order to eventually engineer his “return” to Buryatia, relinking ordinary Buryats with Buddhist deities. Incarnation here emerges as an empowering technology for mobility and border-crossing, which challenges state-imposed regimes of mobility and reinterprets the notions of life and death. In the case of Yelo Rinpoche, who is an apprentice of not one but three Buryat lamas,⁴¹

⁴⁰ Mills. Vajra Brother, Vajra Sister.

⁴¹ As a young boy in Litang, Yelo Rinpoche received basic Buddhist instruction from Zhibalha Rinpoche. He also received teachings from Agvan Nyima at the Indian Drepung Monastery (Interview, 2001, Ulan-Ude).

the Buddhist institution of master–disciple relationship, which creates kin-like corporeal networks between the master and his disciples through tantric ritual, similarly unsettles the issues of loyalties and allegiances. While some nationalist-leaning Buddhist leaders resent their superior status as detrimental to indigenous self-determination, others view them as “ours” (Rus. *nashi*), descendants of the great Buryat lamas Galsan Legden and Thupten Nyima, who intentionally transcended both death and Soviet and Chinese controls of mobility only to reemerge in postsocialist Buryatia to renovate the religion in these troubled times.

SUMMARY

The article by Anya Bernstein is based on field research conducted in post-Soviet Buryatia, focused on the history of the cohort of Buryat monks who left Buryatia in 1920 to achieve positions as grand lamas in Tibet. The author traces the lives of this cohort, which were complicated by reincarnation and tantric discipleship to the point of “return” of the cohort to post-Soviet Buryatia. Based on this research, the article attempts to conceptualize the institutions of Buddhist reincarnation and discipleship as practices of a certain kind of corporeal motion, which includes not only traversing vast Inner Asian territories, but also journeys and relationships between bodies across multiple lifetimes. The movements and relationships between two or more bodies produced by Buddhist corporeal technologies constitute extensive transnational somatic networks, where the meaning of individual bodies is shaped through their relationship with other bodies in the network. The author argues that such religiously inspired interbody movement has subversive implications that go beyond esoteric religious practices, as they challenge biopolitical regimes of mobility imposed by nation-states on their indigenous populations, complicating the issues of allegiances and loyalties. This article thus contributes to the growing field of studies of religion, transnationalism, and globalization by considering a previously neglected type of mobility – that between bodies and bodily substances – and its role and effects in transnational religiopolitical movements.

РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье Ани Бернштейн рассматривается феномен буддистской реинкарнации и тантрического ученичества. Авторский подход со-

вмещает исследование религиозного верования с историей телесности и транстелесности (мобильности) в разных социальных и культурных контекстах XX в. В основе статьи лежит история исхода буддистских послушников бурятского происхождения из советской Бурятии в Тибет в 1920-х гг., где они стали ламами и заняли высокие посты в духовной иерархии. Автор прослеживает процесс реинкарнации и тантрического перехода этой группы бурятских лам в истории тибетской религиозной иерархии и в контексте Юго-Восточной Азии, их вполне реальное возвращение в постсоветскую Бурятию и влияние на развитие буддизма в этой республике. История “возвращения” бурятских лам в постсоветскую Бурятию позволяет автору проследить, как “номадические” практики, укорененные в буддистских верованиях, становятся инструментами распространения буддизма, сопротивления границам гражданства и биополитики современного государства и переопределения национальной идентичности на постсоветском пространстве.

Жанна КОРМИНА

**НОМАДИЧЕСКОЕ ПРАВОСЛАВИЕ:
О НОВЫХ ФОРМАХ РЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ ЖИЗНИ
В СОВРЕМЕННОЙ РОССИИ***

В сущности, нет религий, которые были бы ложными.

Все они по-своему истинны: все они, хотя и по-разному, соответствуют данным условиям человеческого существования

Эмиль Дюркгейм

Согласно данным ВЦИОМ на март 2010 г. 75% россиян считали себя православными.¹ Оценить количество “настоящих” верующих среди них довольно сложно; обычный для подобных опросов вопрос “были

* В статье использованы результаты, полученные в ходе выполнения проекта № 11-01-0126, реализованного в рамках Программы “Научный фонд НИУ ВШЭ” в 2012–2013 гг. Я благодарна анонимным рецензентам и редакции *Ab Imperio* за их критические замечания, заставившие меня четче обозначить собственные методологические позиции (см. раздел “Современное православие: реставрация традиции”). Хочется также поблагодарить Сергея Ушакина за центральную для статьи концептуальную метафору номадизма и интеллектуальную щедрость. Сергею Штыркову моя благодарность за внимательное чтение текста на разных этапах и строгое комментирование.

¹ Пресс-выпуск ВЦИОМ №1461. Верим ли мы в Бога? 30 марта 2010.

ли Вы на богослужении в прошлое воскресенье?” в России не задают, поскольку положительных ответов оказывается меньше значимой для таких исследований величины.² Все это большинство, с точки зрения, преобладающей среди клириков и иерархов Русской православной церкви, являются номинальными православными или “прихожанами”, поскольку не удовлетворяют норме, традиционно предъявляемой ею к своей пастве: регулярно участвовать в литургической жизни своей локальной православной общины. Однако такое требование, уходящее корнями в крестьянскую историю российского православия, оказывается неприемлемым для современных урбанизированных верующих. Они, перефразируя Бурдые, более не “принадлежат земле”,³ не только сознательно выбирая приход, куда предпочитают ходить (или ездить), но и практикуя иные, альтернативные общинному способы проживания своей религиозной жизни. “Структурные”⁴ православные, выбирающие регулярную религиозную жизнь в церковной общине – своем локальном приходе или монастыре, – стали в современном российском православии экзотическим меньшинством. Большинство же выбирают иные способы аффилиации с церковью, оставляющие существенное место пространству личного выбора и минимизирующие контроль институции за их религиозной жизнью.

Происходящие изменения можно сопоставить с разными агрегатными состояниями вещества: “твердые тела” церковных общин, с их относительно стабильной формой и структурой, текучие, не имеющие собственной формы массы, и “газообразные”, слабо связанные между собой и трудноуловимые частички православной паствы являются разными способами существования одного и того же. В этой статье пойдет речь о том, какие культурные практики вырабатываются верующими, стремящимися избежать жестких традиционных форм социальной организации, но все же испытывающими потребность переживания принадлежности группе единоверцев.

Было бы преувеличением сказать, что “антиструктурные”, или “текучие”, тенденции в религиозной жизни являются чем-то совершенно новым. Их легко обнаружить во вполне традиционной практике па-

² С. Филатов, Р. Лункин. Статистика российской религиозности: магия цифр и неоднозначная реальность // www.archipelag.ru (последний просмотр 11.01.2012).

³ П. Бурдые. Практический смысл. Москва, 2001. С. 123; и далее.

⁴ Т.е. проводящие свою религиозную жизнь в рамках церковной общины, которая в терминах В. Тернера является “структурой” в отличие от “коммунитас” паломнических групп. В. Тернер. Символ и ритуал. Москва, 1983. С. 170.



Илл. 1. У часовни Ксении Блаженной. Верующие читают акафист. Санкт-Петербург, 2010 (фото С. Штыркова).

ломничества, т.е. путешествия, предпринимаемого с целью посещения святых мест, точнее контакта со священным, которое аккумулируется в таких особых локусах. Первыми, кто стал писать об этом, были Эдит и Виктор Тернеры, предложившие в своей книге о католическом паломничестве⁵ рассматривать этот вид путешествия как временное и добровольное пребывание участников в лиминальном состоянии. Сами католики, совершавшие паломничества, Тернеры писали, что, так же как юноша, проходящий инициацию в традиционном обществе, паломник теряет на время свой “мирской” социальный статус, удаляется из стратифицированного мира в сообщество равных (*communitas*) и претерпевает телесные страдания. Концепция лиминальности применительно к “антиструктурным” состояниям до сих пор остается вполне продуктивной, особенно если задаваться вопросом о том, какими смыслами наделяет свое добровольное страдание паломник. Кроме того, как мы увидим далее, лиминальность как социальный модус сознательно выбирается разными необщинными православными, предпочитающими

⁵ Edith Turner and Victor Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage*. New York, 1978.

ми в организации своей религиозной жизни движение – стабильности, а одиночество – коллективизму.

Спустя некоторое время был предложен альтернативный тернеровскому метод анализа паломничества, сформулированный в сборнике статей под редакцией двух других британцев, Джона Иде и Майкла Солноу.⁶ Составители и авторы сборника рассматривают паломничество как сферу конкуренции разнообразных религиозных и секулярных дискурсов. Они обращают внимание на то, что разные группы посетителей и другие участники паломничества (например, “хранители святыни”) могут приписывать различные значения как почитаемому месту, так и самому путешествию к нему. Эти различия обнаруживаются в предпочитаемых разными группами нарративах, подтверждающих священный статус почитаемого места, в репертуаре религиозных практик, а также оценке своего опыта паломничества.⁷

В своем предисловии к сборнику “Contested the Sacred” Иде и Солноу выделяют три составляющие, которые необходимо, с их точки зрения, учитывать при анализе паломничества: почитаемое место, сам паломник (его статус, признаки этого статуса и т.п.) и тексты, легитимирующие почитание святыни, как нарративные (письменные и устные), так и визуальные. К этим трем перспективным направлениям анализа паломнических практик Джон Иде в соавторстве с другим британским антропологом Саймоном Коулманом добавляют еще одно – движение.⁸ Под движением ими понимаются, во-первых, специфические палом-

⁶ John Eade and Michael Sallnow. Introduction // *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. London, 2000. Pp. 1-26.

⁷ Мое собственное исследование на сельской святыне Псковской области *Пещорка*, где, согласно местной традиции, явилась Богородица, оставив след на почитаемом ныне камне, показало, что городские паломники, священник и его окружение и местные жители используют разные способы, чтобы легитимировать почитание этого места. Паломники рассказывают о чудесных исцелениях, купаются в речке, где лежит камень, и стараются увезти с собой сувениры – воду, песок, камни, растения. Священник составил “документальную” историю появления следа (предполагающую, впрочем, чудесное явление Богородицы) и регулярно организует крестный ход к святыне, куда, в отличие от его пустующей церкви, приходят верующие. Местные жители рассказывают мемораты о наказании святотатцев, пытавшихся в советское время осквернить камень (перевернуть, взорвать и проч.) и лечат у следка свои больные ноги. Они остаются глухи и равнодушны к историям друг друга. Jeanne Kormina. *Pilgrims, Priests and Local Religion in Contemporary Russia // Folklore*. 2004. Vol. 28. Pp. 25-40.

⁸ Simon Coleman and John Eade. Introduction: Reframing Pilgrimage // *Idem (Eds.). Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*. London and New York, 2004. Pp. 1-25.

нические техники тела (подползание к святыне на коленях, целование священных объектов, обход святыни определенным образом, купание на святыне). Во-вторых, это способы передвижения паломников: велосипед (типично для современных католических паломничеств), мотоцикл, автобус и, конечно, традиционное пешее путешествие.⁹ Наконец, движение сближает паломничество с туризмом и позволяет рассматривать паломника как своего рода временного рекреационного мигранта, а паломничество – как специфический миграционный процесс.

Однако движение может анализироваться не только с точки зрения его этнографических характеристик, как определенная культурная практика, но и как своего рода идеология. Иными словами, нас будет интересовать не то, *каким способом* передвигаются верующие (т.е. их тела), а траектории их перемещений и то, *почему* они это вообще делают.

Модели православной мобильности

Вообще, можно, видимо, говорить о разных моделях православной мобильности в географическом пространстве, взяв за основу предварительной типологии отношение движения *vs* статичности применительно к сакральному центру, вокруг которого тем или иным образом объединяются верующие, и этими верующими. Можно обнаружить две базовые модели – или траектории – отношения между святыней и верующими. В первом случае верующих притягивает определенное святое место, точка в ландшафте (монастырь, церковь, иная локальная святыня), куда они приезжают или даже временно переселяются. Во втором случае сакральный центр сам постоянно мигрирует (чудотворные иконы, частицы мощей, иногда – священник или старец), вслед за ним перемещаются и верующие.

Эти модели отчасти соответствуют режимам православной социальности среди современных российских православных, т.е. предпочитаемым способам аффилиации с группой, описанным мной в другой работе.¹⁰ Я предлагаю выделять четыре таких режима: общинный

⁹ См. напр. прекрасную этнографическую работу Нэнси Фрей о паломничестве в Сантьяго де Компостела (Испания), автор анализирует в том числе вело-паломничества. Nancy L. Frey. *Pilgrim Stories. On and Off the Road to Santiago*. Los Angeles, 1998.

¹⁰ См. подробнее: Ж. В. Кормина. Режимы православной социальности в современной России: прихожане, паломники, сетевики // Приход и община в современном православии: корневая система российской религиозности / Под ред. А. Агаджаняна, К. Русселе. Москва, 2011. С. 189-211.

(приходской); паломнический; сетевой; режим флэшмоба.¹¹ Принципиальное различие между этими религиозными режимами коренится в разном понимании верующими того, где локализована религиозная харизма, чем она легитимируется и как обеспечивается доступ к ней верующих. “Структура”, или церковь, по классическому определению Макса Вебера, является бюрократическим институтом по распределению харизмы, которая освящается и легитимируется традицией. Харизма присутствует в священных предметах, но прежде всего в самом священстве и церковных таинствах. “Антиструктуре” (паломникам) претит риторика харизмы, поддерживаемая официальной церковью, предполагающая безусловный контроль со стороны общины и священника над жизнью и доступом к святости верующего; они пытаются найти способы пережить религиозный опыт вне церкви. Сетевики – это церковные альтернативщики; креативные, ищущие живой веры, они нуждаются в новых святых людях и местах, чудесах и деятельной работе по спасению души в ожидании скорого конца света. Для них носителями религиозной харизмы являются в первую очередь старцы, своего рода “живые святые”, обладающие, с точки зрения их почитателей, рядом духовных даров – предвидения, излечения и утешения. Православный “флэшмоб”, связанный с феноменом путешествующих святынь, делает событием прибытие в город, в определенную его точку, артефакта, который и является материализацией религиозной харизмы.

Различия между этими религиозными режимами можно схематично описать при помощи двух пар оппозиций, построенных по признакам “локальность” и “историчность”. Структура, представленная в первую очередь институтом церковного прихода, локальна и исторична. Антиструктура (коммунитас), ярче всего выраженная в практике группового паломничества, нелокальна и неисторична. Социальная сеть, примером которой является описанная А. В. Тарабукиной “прихрамовая среда” 1990-х годов, нелокальна и исторична.¹² Локальность и историчность здесь, конечно, понимаются схематично и упрощенно. Под локальностью подразумевается устойчивая идентификация верующего или группы верующих (прихода) с определенным церковным зданием или местностью, где оно расположено, с их историей, инфраструктурой, социальным окружением и т.п. Историчность здесь – это прежде всего устойчивость “совокуп-

¹¹ В статье этот режим не описан; его идея возникла во время обсуждения моего доклада о религиозных режимах в МАЭ РАН в ноябре 2011 года.

¹² А. В. Тарабукина. Фольклор и культура прицерковного круга / Дисс. ... канд. филол. наук. Санкт-Петербург, 2000.

ности социальных взаимосвязей” во времени.¹³ Так, группа паломников, собравшаяся в паломническом автобусе по объявлению, услышанному по православному радио или прочтенному в рекламном листке с православной ярмарки, на время поездки становится временным квазиприходом, или “общиной на колесах”. Это временное сообщество верующих возникает с момента посадки в автобус, который на время поездки станет ее общим пространством, и прекращает существование в момент возвращения из паломничества. Иными словами, период существования такого сообщества ограничен временем поездки, оно “неисторично”.

Социальные сети не локальны по определению. Хотя их сгущения имеют локальные привязки, т.е. участники сети где-то встречаются или имеют повышенные шансы встретиться, их религиозная идентичность, как правило, не имеет локального выражения. Отсутствует локальная привязка и в легитимации этого типа религиозной социальности. При этом социальные сети относительно устойчивы во времени, поскольку связаны обычно с реализацией какого-то долговременного проекта (например, канонизацией того или иного святого, прославлением иконы и т.п.), а солидарность внутри них поддерживается на основе неконформистской религиозности того или иного извода.¹⁴

Наконец, толпы почитателей, которые собирают путешествующие святыни: мощи святого, чудотворные иконы и другие священные предметы, например собиравший в ноябре 2011 г. в разных городах России грандиозное количество верующих афонский пояс Богородицы,¹⁵ – представляют последний случай религиозного режима: локальный и неисторичный. Святыня, приезжающая в город М., собирает местных

¹³ Идею религиозных режимов я заимствую у голландского антрополога Марта Бакса, автора работ о знаменитом месте католического паломничества Междугорье. См. напр.: Mart Bax. *Religious Regimes and State-Formation: Towards a Research Perspective* // *Anthropological Quarterly*. 1987. Vol. 60. No. 1. Pp. 1-11.

¹⁴ Наиболее яркие примеры православных социальных сетей – православные фундаменталисты и церковные либералы-кочетковцы. Представители совершенно разных сегментов политического спектра православного мира, и те и другие, тем не менее, похожи в том, что являются последовательными религиозными неконформистами и находятся в опале у официальной церкви.

¹⁵ Пояс Богородицы был привезен в Россию из Афонского монастыря Ватопед при поддержке фонда Андрея Первозванного, попечителем которого является глава ОАО “Российские железные дороги” Владимир Якунин. Святыня собрала почти 4 миллиона верующих; в Москве поклониться ей пришли около 800 тыс. человек, при том что на рождественскую службу в столице пришли почти в 10 раз меньше – 90 тысяч (Новый “антирекорд” посещаемости рождественских богослужений в Москве, см.: www.portal-credo.ru, последнее посещение 10.01.2012).

жителей, считающих себя православными (и посчитавших нужным прийти к святыне), так что, оказываясь в одной общей очереди, они становятся на несколько часов своеобразным сообществом. У этого сообщества нет прошлого и будущего, разве что прибудет новая святыня и образуется новая очередь. Другой пример: пользующиеся большой популярностью православные ярмарки, куда также приходят верующие, потому что они верующие и для того, чтобы побыть верующими. На такой ярмарке можно купить разнообразную православную продукцию от молебнов за усопших, которые будут читаться в отдаленных монастырях, до меда с монастырских пчельников, а также поклониться привезенным откуда-либо чудотворным иконам.



Илл. 2. На православной ярмарке: беседа со священником. Санкт-Петербург, 2011 (фото Ж. Корминой).

Итак, очевидно, что, наряду с традиционным способом проживания религиозной жизни в своем местном православном приходе под руководством священника, существуют иные нормы или режимы проживания религиозной жизни. Этот конфликт между традиционными и новыми нормами может быть описан как усиление номадических тенденций, свойственных обществу постмодерну и постсекулярному, каковым является современная Россия.

Современное православие: реставрация традиции

Номадические практики в российском православии (как, видимо, и в любой другой религии) не являются чем-то совершенно новым. Так, паломничество к святыням предпринималось православными верующими в разные исторические периоды, включая советский,¹⁶ путешествия святынь, прежде всего чудотворных икон, также были распространены в дореволюционной России. Однако смыслы этих религиозных практик в современной России настолько отличаются от своих досоветских прототипов, что заставляют анализировать их не в парадигме культурной преемственности, а, наоборот, – в терминах культурного разрыва. И действительно, трудно представить, каким образом могла бы передаваться религиозная традиция в условиях, когда предназначенные для этой цели социальные институты, отвечающие за социализацию (семья, приходская, т.е. локальная и соседская, община), перестают выполнять функцию трансляции религиозных ценностей и практик, как это произошло в советское время. При этом вполне очевидно, что советская насильственная секуляризация была своеобразной локальной интерпретацией глобальных процессов “естественной” секуляризации, охватившей значительную часть западного мира. Иными словами, результат советской “секуляризации сверху” вполне сравним с аналогичными, но “естественными” социальными трансформациями глобального масштаба: это прежде всего рождение нового постсекулярного субъекта, ориентированного на неолиберальные ценности. Ему претит такой вариант религии, при котором она принимает формы тотального института; он стремится минимизировать контроль общины или церкви над своей религиозной жизнью; он находится в поисках аутентичности (практик, идей, текстов, опыта) и поэтому с готовностью верит в преемственность “своей” национальной/этнической/религиозной традиции; для

¹⁶ О православном паломничестве в России XIX в. см.: Chris J. Chulos. *Religious and Secular Aspects of Pilgrimage in Modern Russia* // *Byzantium and the North* (Acta Byzantica Fennica. Vol. IX.). Helsinki, 1999. Pp. 21-58; Roy R. Robson. *Transforming Solovki: Pilgrim Narratives, Modernization, and Late Imperial Monastic Life* // *Sacred Stories. Religion and Spirituality in Modern Russia*. Bloomington, IN, 2007. Pp. 44-60; Christine Worobec. *The Unintended Consequences of a Surge in Pilgrimages in Late Imperial Russia* // *Russian History*. 2009. No. 36. Pp. 62-76. О паломничестве более позднего времени см., напр.: Х. В. Поплавская. *Паломничество, страннопримство и почитание святынь в Рязанском крае. XIX–XX вв.* Рязань, 1998; Laura Stark. *Peasants, Pilgrimage and Sacred Promises: Ritual and the Supernatural in Orthodox Karelian Folk Religion*. Helsinki, 2002; А. Л. Беглов. В поисках “безгрешных катакомб”. Москва, 2008. С. 177-187.

него участие в религиозной жизни – это способ организации досуга, приносящего интеллектуальное и социальное удовлетворение. Такого рода “ищущие” (*religious seekers*) появляются в СССР не позднее 1960-х гг.;¹⁷ показательно, что нередко последователи нью-эйдж движений (например, рериховцы) могут считать себя и православными.

Примером обсуждаемого культурного разрыва может служить утрата современными паломниками обычая *завета*, или *обета*, центрального для такого религиозного предприятия. Согласно этому обычаю, паломник совершает свое путешествие к святыне, делает приношения, занимается ее благоустройством или некоторое время остается там (если это монастырь) в качестве трудника в благодарность, например, за чудесное исцеление или же таким образом просит о чудесном вмешательстве в трудной или мало предсказуемой ситуации (к примеру, уход на войну).¹⁸ Современные городские паломники не знакомы с практикой обета, что свидетельствует о серьезной трансформации культурных паттернов и социальных функций этой религиозной практики.

То же можно сказать и о традиции “кочующих” икон. В дореволюционное время визит чудотворной иконы, прибывающей с крестным ходом из монастыря или храма, где она хранится, был регулярным событием годового календарного цикла деревни, города или городского квартала. Встреча иконы была коллективным действием всего сообщества. В настоящее время изменился и масштаб, и степень, и способ мобильности святынь. Нынешние православные узнают о привозе мощей или икон из Интернета и по радио, и являются туда не в дополнение к своей обязательной приходской жизни, а в качестве альтернативы ей.

Итак, говоря о религии в постсоветском обществе, мы имеем дело с разрывом (а не преемственностью) традиции. Однако правила игры

¹⁷ О. В. Чепурная. Независимые религиозные объединения в Ленинграде в 1960–80-е годы / Дисс. ... канд. культурологи. Москва, 2004.

¹⁸ Выполнение индивидуального обета (завета) становилось причиной паломничества в дореволюционной России, см., напр., приведенную в недавней статье Кристины Воробец о чудесных исцелениях историю о том, как крестьянин из Архангельской губернии прошел тысячу верст пешком, чтобы в исполнение обета поклониться могиле Серафима Саровского (Christine D. Worobec. *Miraculous Healings // Sacred Stories. Religion and Spirituality in Modern Russia*. Bloomington, IN, 2007. P. 25). О традиции заветов в крестьянской культуре XX в. см.: А. А. Панченко. Исследования в области народного православия. Деревенские святыни Северо-Запада России. Санкт-Петербург, 1998. С. 82; Т. Б. Щепанская. Кризисная сеть (Традиции духовного освоения пространства) // Русский Север. К проблеме локальных групп. Санкт-Петербург, 1995. С. 118-120; Jeanne Kormina. *Pilgrims, Priests and Local Religion in Contemporary Russia*. Pp. 28-29.

заставляют всех ее участников верить, что все происходит, как прежде, поскольку сертификат аутентичности является наиболее убедительным способом легитимации этого института. В таком случае задача исследователя состоит в том, чтобы, учитывая факт и формы этой веры, анализировать их как деятельность по конструированию традиции.

Однако в случае с современным российским православием знаменитая хобсбаумовская метафора “изобретения” традиции не вполне передает смысл происходящего; в данном случае мне представляется более удачным говорить о “реставрации традиции”. Под реставрацией традиции я понимаю такую деятельность “социальных архитекторов” и “дизайнеров”, которая направлена не просто на то, чтобы придать “древние” формы современным явлениям, когда для них строятся разного рода “изобретенные” генеалогии. “Реставраторы”, используя самые разные средства убеждения, настаивают на непрерывной преемственности традиции, на том, что нынешнее здание православия ровно то же, что было всегда. При этом внешние формы и очертания этого здания вроде бы сохраняются, но все остальное – социальные функции, механизмы контроля, собственно верующий субъект и понимание того, что значит быть верующим, принципиально изменяется. Если вернуться к метафоре реставрации – и адрес, и даже цвет фасада вроде бы те же, что сто лет назад, но в оконных проемах – пластиковые пакеты, а внутри, вместо жилых помещений, – офисы. У социального явления, называемого тем же именем, что век-полтора назад, принципиально меняются функции. При этом и вовлеченные в реставрационные работы люди, и арендаторы помещений, и случайные прохожие поддерживают идею аутентичности этой конструкции, ее древности. Так что задача исследователя и состоит в том, чтобы обнаружить эту социальную мимикрию и не принять культурный “новодел” за действительную древность. Социальные явления меняются, а тот, кто делает вид, будто они остались теми же, мистифицирует окружающих. Наша задача состоит в том, чтобы разбираться в культурной логике и социальных причинах этих мистификаций.

Материалами для этой статьи стали результаты этнографического исследования, интервью и включенное наблюдение среди паломников, прихожан и других православных верующих, в основном Санкт-Петербурга и Северо-Запада России, но также Свердловской области и Москвы, собиравшиеся мною, иногда при помощи коллег, в течение последних десяти лет. Анализируя религиозную жизнь современных православных верующих, я намеренно не обращаюсь к историческим

работам об аналогичных явлениях в дореволюционной или же советской России. Далеко не всегда диахроническое исследование помогает ответить на исследовательские вопросы о современности. В случае с православием – определенно это так. Выше бегло обсуждалось полное вымывание из практики паломничества когда-то смыслообразующей для нее идеи обета; сравнивать паломничество вековой давности и нынешнее имеет смысл, только если есть задача выяснить, как изменилась эта религиозная практика. Но вот объяснить нынешнее паломничество данными или выводами о практиках вековой давности, по моему глубокому убеждению, нельзя. В самом деле, когда паломник конца позапрошлого века решал отправиться в дальнейшее паломничество или даже выбирал путь странника в качестве “профессии”, он имел опыт приходской жизни. Теперь же паломник-автобусник во многих случаях выбирает поездки как способ быть (почувствовать себя) православным, потому что отказывается быть прихожанином. Это иной, новый, пост-секулярный религиозный субъект.

Номады на приходах

Некоторые исследователи уже отмечали такой любопытный факт современной православной жизни, как предпочтение горожанами сельских храмов, куда они регулярно ездят на службы или приезжают для совершения обрядов жизненного цикла – крещения или венчания.¹⁹ Вероятно, отчасти эта своеобразная временная миграция может объясняться простыми практическими соображениями, такими как нехватка церквей в новых спальных районах мегаполиса или более низкая плата за требы (т.е. услуги клира, предоставляемые верующим) в сельских храмах. Однако дело тут, вероятно, не только в простой рациональности, заставляющей верующих выбирать более комфортные условия, прежде всего экономические. Предпочитая дальний храм своему местному, верующий либо хочет избежать контроля со стороны локальной общины,²⁰

¹⁹ См. напр.: К. Сергазина. “Паломничество” или “воцерковление”: о разных типах православных приходов на примере трех церквей северо-восточного Подмосковья // Приход и община в современном православии: корневая структура российской религиозности. Москва, 2011. С. 37-57.

²⁰ Примеры, когда верующий хочет скрыться от контроля локального сообщества, могут варьировать от таких случаев, когда решил креститься взрослый человек и, стесняясь сделать это в своей деревне, специально едет в другую или в городской храм, до сознательного избегания контактов с местным священником из-за политических, соседских или иных разногласий.

либо перемещается в более низкостатусное социальное пространство (из города в деревню), чтобы, используя существующую социально-пространственную асимметрию, занять там позицию “элиты”, либо является частью “свиты” (другом, родственником, духовным чадом и т.п.) служащего там священника, что также позволяет ему стать частью приходской элиты. Три эти резона могут быть как исключительными, так и взаимодополняющими причинами для предпочтения территориально отдаленного прихода “своему” локальному.

Значительное присутствие горожан в сельских церквях было мне известно по экспедициям в один из северо-западных регионов, полный “дачных” деревень, где жизнь вообще, в том числе и церковная, происходит благодаря приезжающим на летний сезон горожанам. Однако и в других регионах, с “живыми” деревнями и селами, наблюдается похожая ситуация. Так, летом 2009 г. мне довелось проводить полевые исследования на Урале, в Каменском районе Свердловской области, где я наблюдала жизнь двух православных приходов, расположенных в довольно крупном селе и большой деревне с населением приблизительно 3000 и 800 человек соответственно. В обеих церквях (они были закрыты в советское время) фактически существуют две церковные общины: “литургическая”, формирующаяся вокруг фигуры священника и литургического действия, и “хозяйственная”, существующая вокруг собственно церкви и объединенная разного рода бытовыми заботами о церковном хозяйстве – состоянии построек, церковного интерьера, чистоты в церкви. Костяк литургической общины в обоих случаях состоит из регулярно приезжающих на службы или мигрировавших из города (но так и не социализировавшихся в местное сообщество) людей. В селе, например, эту общину составляет семья женщины-нотариуса (ее так и называют за глаза Нотариус) из ближайшего города и переехавшая оттуда же выпускница медучилища Ирина, работающая в отделении скорой помощи местной больницы. Брак Ирины с местным жителем оказался неудачным, социализация – неуспешной. У нее нет друзей и подруг, и только в церкви она (обучившаяся церковному чтению и пению) чувствует себя уверенно; там ценность ее навыков (и ее как личности) несомненна.

Даже регулярно приезжая в сельские церкви, такие люди не становятся там своими; напротив, выполняя обычно функции, требующие некоторых специальных навыков (пение в хоре, церковное чтение и т.п.), они формируют что-то вроде группы религиозных специалистов, приближенных к священнику. Местные жители на таких богослуже-

ниях становятся скорее зрителями, чем участниками. Эти группы придерживаются (конечно, вряд ли осознавая это) разных концепций церковного прихода: прихода как сообщества посвященных верующих, активных участников богослужения и прихода как локального сообщества, состоящего из всех местных жителей независимо от их церковной активности. Местные активисты прихода могут не знать самых простых молитв и пропускать воскресные службы, но с энтузиазмом, скажем, будут собирать деньги на новую церковную ограду, и никто из односельчан не откажет им в помощи, как не откажет дать деньги, например, на помощь погорельцам, для которых организуют точно так же обходы дворов. Иными словами, для местных жителей их церковь служит прежде всего символом локальной идентичности и является локальной *res publica*, т.е. той “общей вещью”, до которой есть дело каждому местному.

Сосуществование местных и приезжих (или приезжающих) далеко не всегда протекает мирно; история развития их отношений может быть историей захвата “нашей” церкви “горожанами”, прибывшими после героического периода восстановления храма силами местных энтузиастов.²¹ Именно так она была рассказана мне Валентиной, 60 лет, этнической немкой. Церковь в их деревне была открыта, первой в районе, стараниями председателя сельского совета и ее, тогда заведующей клубом и депутата. Возвращение церковного здания было выполнением ее депутатского наказа, т.е. требования своему депутату от местных избирателей, которое Валентина рассматривала как акт возвращения культурного наследия:

Я, наверное, не скажу, чтобы я, допустим, была какая-то верующая. Была я далека от веры. Но во мне просто, вероятно, жило... вложенные какие-то чувства... патриотизм к родине. И поэтому вот эта не вера, а возрождение... боль вот именно за свое, российское... русское, российское.²²

Любопытно, что возрождение церкви для Валентины не было восстановлением местной религиозной традиции и происходило оно не под лозунгом возврата исторического прошлого местному сообществу. И сама Валентина, и председатель сельского совета не коренные жители.

²¹ См. об этом, напр.: Д. Тошева. От восстановления храма к созданию общины: самоограничение и материальные трудности как источники приходской идентичности // Приход и община в современном православии. С. 277-297.

²² Интервью с Валентиной, 60 лет, этнической немкой, уроженкой Казахстана. Свердловская область, 2009, июль.

Так что для нее выполнение ее депутатского наказа было знакомой по предыдущей воспитательной деятельности патриотической работой, прежде всего с детьми и подростками:

...Когда я директором работала, мы начали вот это возрождение.

То есть я молодежи так объяснила: что это наше, русская, российская традиция. То есть это память. И верим мы, не верим – мы должны как-то...

Накануне православных праздников Валентина стала отменять субботние дискотеки и водить вместо этого подростков в храм, показывая им альтернативную возможность проведения досуга и тем самым проводя воспитательную работу:

...Мы отменяли дискотеки. Но мы собирались в клубе. И вот эти 60, 70, 80 человек – мы массово шли в храм. Но, во-первых, шли трезвые...

Первое богослужение в церкви состоялось на Пасху 1991 г. без священника, под пластинки, имевшиеся в личной фонотеке председателя сельского совета, агронома по образованию, получившего в детстве, прошедшем в Тамбовской области, кое-какое домашнее религиозное воспитание. По его эскизам был устроен первый алтарь художником-оформителем, из тех, что раньше писали транспаранты. Первый священник появился в церкви полгода спустя и надолго не задержался. Потом священника не было еще три года, и церковные службы каким-то образом совершались прихожанами самостоятельно. Служивший в церкви в 2009 г. настоятель выполнял эту работу уже семь лет, но продолжал жить в городе (как многие сельские священники), примерно в часе-полтора езды на машине. С ним в этот сельский приход стали приезжать городские прихожане. В престольный праздник 2009 г., по оценке местного жителя, не более 20% пришедших в церковь были местными.²³ Валентина была постепенно потеснена городскими пришельцами и перестала, например, выполнять функции алтарницы, но все же ключи от церкви она удержала в своих руках.

Кроме горожан, приезжающих на службы со священником, есть при этом сельском храме несколько женщин, переехавших в деревню, чтобы жить поближе к церкви. По рассказам Валентины, их ссадили с электрички за безбилетный проезд, они увидели церковь, “пришли вот сюда и так и остались”. Такие мигранты из города есть, пожалуй, при

²³ Сам информант единственный из своей большой семьи пришел туда, чтобы причаститься накануне крещения своего воспитанника.

любом сельском храме. Если в 1990-е это были главным образом молодые мужчины, нередко скрывавшиеся от закона или долгов, выполняя работы по обустройству храмов и церковных построек в глубинке за кров и пищу, то в 2000-е такими церковными мигрантами стали женщины, обычно пенсионного возраста, решающие посредством такого дауншифтинга одновременно проблему досуга, социальной поддержки и экономического обеспечения своего существования. Пенсии, а иногда и арендной платы за сдаваемую в городе квартиру вполне хватает, чтобы безбедно жить в экономически депривированной деревне.²⁴

Структура приходской общины, с точки зрения распределения ролей между местными и горожанами, может быть иной, если настоятель храма – местный. Такое случается исключительно редко, но если происходит, такой священник, особенно если он молод, умен и энергичен, становится залогом процветания церкви, общины и даже деревни. Его локальность придает и церкви ареол аутентичности, исключительно высоко ценимый в современной России и опять-таки привлекает внимание приезжих, у которых, впрочем, принципиально меньше шансов стать религиозными специалистами в такой церкви – эти роли будут, скорее всего, выполнять местные.

Итак, во многих сельских православных приходах можно наблюдать “структурные” и “антиструктурные” тенденции, однако дело запутывается тем, что в устройстве приходской общины, локальной и историчной, центральное место часто занимают чужаки, своего рода религиозные номады, которые легко могут сменить эту общину на другую в случае, например, ухода устраивающего их священника. Как точно заметила Валентина (несмотря на прожитые в этой деревне 30 лет воспринимаемая местными как чужая – в деревне ее за глаза называют по девичьей немецкой фамилии), “каждый ищет своего батюшку”. Иными словами, носителем святости и средоточием харизмы, притягивающей к себе мобильных верующих, становится не храм, а священник.²⁵ В то

²⁴ Иногда старшие члены семьи переезжают в деревню, чтобы решить тем самым квартирный вопрос младшего поколения, т.е. оставляют свои квартиры детям.

²⁵ Яркий пример реализации этого принципа – перемещение всей литургической общины вслед за священником. Так произошло, например, в случае с о. Александром Суховым, перебравшимся в 2007 г. из петербургского храма в сельскую церковь в Ленинградской области. Значительная часть его паствы перешла вслед за ним из старого прихода и продолжает ездить к нему, многие еженедельно, за две сотни километров от города. За несколько лет, прошедшие с момента исхода этой общины из городской церкви, на новом месте ими была реконструирована старая церковь, построены часовни и даже здания для будущего монастыря (приход перешел в подчинение

же время локальная церковная община, занятая стиркой половиков и починкой церковной ограды, ориентирована как раз на свою церковь и может в общем жить и без священника. Как сказала та же Валентина об активной православной христианке из села, долгое время ездившей в церковь в их деревню, “я довольна тем, что она наконец-то решила, что ее храм – это ее храм”. Принципы “своего храма” и “своего батюшки” (мы называли их выше принципами организации общины – территориальной vs литургической) противоречат друг другу, и, одобряя решение своей знакомой, Валентина очевидно отдает предпочтение первому: ей хорошо известно, что священники приходят и уходят, а церковь остается.

Итак, православные номады часто становятся религиозными специалистами, необходимыми локальным православным сообществам для нормального функционирования их храмов. Они создают условия для проведения церковных служб, образуя литургическую общину храма. Местное сообщество нередко относится с подозрением к их религиозному рвению: “видимо, есть, что замаливать”. Местные рассматривают и храм и себя как “принадлежащих земле”, т.е. в каком-то смысле продолжающих традицию территориального, оседлого ведения религиозной жизни. Однако с точки зрения Русской православной церкви члены территориальной общины, взаимодействие которых с церковью часто ограничивается участием в обрядах жизненного цикла (особенно в похоронах) и заботами о сохранении церковного здания как, прежде всего, символа местной идентичности, не являются настоящими прихожанами.

Паломничество как практика религиозного номадизма

Активисты литургической церковной общины, в отличие от членов территориальной общины, живейшим образом участвуют в православных социальных сетях, простирающихся за пределы района, области. Они могут, например, приезжать друг к другу в гости на престольные праздники; важным способом поддержания таких сетей являются коллективные паломнические поездки, инициируемые “сверху” – епархией – или устраиваемые самостоятельно. Социальные сети и паломнические поездки – своего рода нормальное существование для

одной из альтернативных РПЦ МП православных церквей). Община, обустривая свое хозяйство, становится в каком-то смысле территориальной и локальной, напоминая какую-нибудь транснациональную семью, идентичность которой поддерживается представлением об общем доме и генеалогии, а также общей памятию.

таких индивидуалистов, как православные кочевники. Сама идея индивидуальной ответственности за собственное спасение должна делать их такими – стремящимися к свободе от институциональных условностей. Обе эти тактики образования социальной солидарности – сети и сообщества паломников – эксплуатируют возможности лиминального статуса, делая его не промежуточным, а постоянным, т.е. не временным состоянием, как полагал в своей ранней работе Виктор Тернер, а удобной социальной позицией.

Вообще групповые паломнические поездки стали распространенной практикой среди россиян с середины 1990-х гг. Такие поездки преследуют одновременно рекреационные, просветительские и религиозные цели, причем функции паломничества, с точки зрения разных участников – организаторов поездки, разных групп паломников, местных “хранителей святынь”, включенных в паломнический маршрут, и официальной церкви часто не совпадают.

Под паломничеством я буду понимать кратковременные организованные коллективные поездки обычно на автобусе с целью посещения заранее определенных святых мест. Каждая часть этого определения может быть оспорена: кроме коллективных демократических, бывают паломничества индивидуальные представительские, такие как паломничество президента России В. В. Путина на Афон в 2005 г.;²⁶ бывают индивидуальные приватные; бывают элитные – специально организованные для особой группы, как паломничество на Афон руководителя сектора социологии Института общественного проектирования Михаила Тарусина в 2006 г.²⁷ Вероятно, элитным, хоть и в несколько другом масштабе, можно назвать паломничество в Иерусалим, организованное священником для активных прихожан благочиния, в котором приняла участие Валентина.²⁸

²⁶ Впервые В. В. Путин пытался посетить Афон в 2001 г., но ему помешал шторм. Это неудачное паломничество живо обсуждалось апокалиптически настроенными православными “ревнителями”. В частности один диссидентский православный ресурс писал: “Что касается вопроса о том: ‘Почему Пресвятая Богородица не пустила Владимира Путина на Афон?’, – то ответ на него напрашивается сам собой: ‘по грехам’”. А. Мазуркевич. Ответ на письмо А. Потупина “Поездка Путина на Афон” // http://apocalypse.orthodoxy.ru/letter/2001_12_13.htm (последнее посещение 16.11.2011).

²⁷ М. Тарусин. Афонские будни // Фома. 2006. № 11 (43), <http://www.foma.ru/article/index.php?news=3655>; № 12 (44), <http://www.foma.ru/article/index.php?news=3658>; 2007. № 1 (45), <http://www.foma.ru/article/index.php?news=1886>.

²⁸ Это единственная поездка за рубеж в жизни Валентины.

Вряд ли можно дать универсальное определение паломничества, которое устроило бы всех, – поскольку даже среди исследователей православного паломничества нет согласия в том, каковы границы этого явления. Некоторые авторы считают “настоящими” паломничествами организуемые официальной церковью крестные ходы на большие расстояния, такие как Великорецкий крестный ход. Во время таких религиозных практик вне церковных стен, по мнению, например, Инны Налетовой, участники паломничества создают “kenotic community”, т.е. религиозное сообщество, “члены которого участвуют в аскетических и общинных практиках, напоминающих самопожертвование Христа и его любовь к человечеству”.²⁹ Правда, признание автора в том, что “кенотические сообщества” трудно описать при помощи теоретического инструментария современной антропологии,³⁰ т.е. они не могут анализироваться методами социальных наук, ставит вопрос об эвристической ценности вводимого понятия, заимствованного из православной теологии, и адекватности предлагаемого в работе определения православного паломничества.

Ориентируясь главным образом на британскую антропологическую традицию анализа паломничеств, в настоящем разделе я попытаюсь поставить вполне традиционный вопрос о латентных функциях этих практик и показать, что паломничество в России служит своего рода “внутренней колонизации” страны. Вообще под внутренней колонизацией принято понимать процесс освоения отдаленных или пустующих территорий своего государства. В случае с Россией, например с Северо-Западом, куда в основном ездят в кратковременные поездки паломники Санкт-Петербурга, такими территориями является сельская местность, опустевшая или маргинализованная в ходе послевоенной урбанизации.

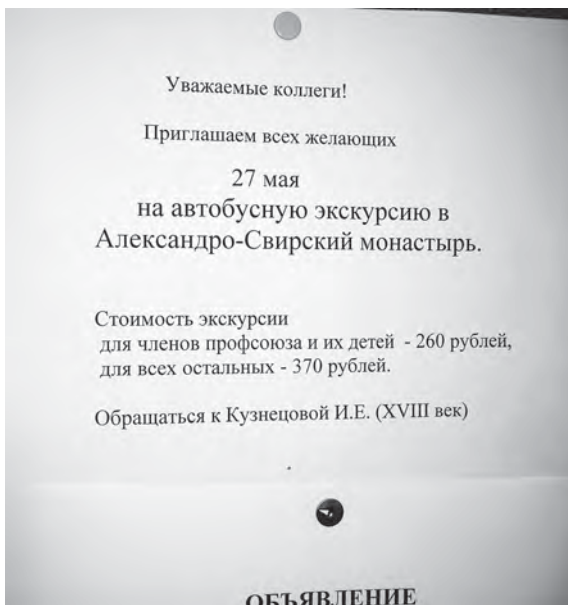
Генетически сама идея совершать организованные коллективные поездки выходного дня определенно восходит к советским практикам организации досуга трудящихся профсоюзами. Об этом мне сообщали самые разные информанты – от доктора наук из московского академического института до сотрудницы бухгалтерии на петербургском предприятии “Адмиралтейские верфи”. Действительно, от того времени осталось, во-первых, представление о достойном проведении досуга людьми с определенными культурными запросами: досуг должен быть

²⁹ Inna Naletova. *Pilgrimages as Kenotic Communities beyond the Walls of the Church // Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*. P. 254.

³⁰ *Ibid.* P. 263.

полезным, что значит прежде всего познавательным. Люди присоединяются к паломническим группам ради приращения знания и расширения культурного кругозора, как они сами это объясняют. Естественно, “удовлетворение культурных потребностей” может вступать в конфликт с религиозными установками, как это случилось с доктором наук Еленой, в советское время возившей в поездки выходного дня группы от своего академического института. Во время паломничества в Нилову пустынь она решила помочь водившему группу монаху, который плохо знал историю монастыря. Она провела трехчасовую экскурсию по монастырю в сопровождении этого монаха, прокомментировавшего рассказ Елены так: “Это все стили, это не духовное”. По ее словам, группа была довольна ее вмешательством, потому что хотела знать историю, “но нет другой формы сейчас”, кроме паломничеств.³¹

Кроме представления о престижности культурного досуга, современное паломничество унаследовало от советского времени способ организации путешествия. Нередко поездки устраивает предприятие, например районная больница, представляя коллегам по работе возможность общения вне привычной иерархии. Конечно, и пространство автобуса предоставляет достаточные условия, чтобы воспроизвести иерархию, или, по Тернеру, структуру; однако



Илл. 3. Объявление о паломнической поездке на доске объявлений библиотеки РАН. Санкт-Петербург, 2006 (фото Ж. Корминой).

³¹ Интервью с Еленой, 60 лет, 2004 г., Москва. Одна моя коллега рассказывала, что во время, как она полагала, светской поездки в Псков, наступил момент, когда группу повели в храм – не для экскурсии, а для отправления религиозных надобностей, в существовании которых экскурсоводы не сомневались, как и в том, что все туристы в группе – православные верующие.

здесь обладающая экспертным знанием в религиозных делах санитарка имеет все шансы временно стать “выше”, чем главврач.

Паломнические службы могут организовываться при храмах или монастырях, а могут существовать как независимые индивидуальные инициативы. В последнем случае снимается офис в каком-нибудь офисном центре или же организатор вообще обходится без специального помещения, осуществляя менеджмент поездки по телефону. Руководитель одной из самых старых в Санкт-Петербурге паломнических служб Лариса (в советское время работавшая экскурсоводом) обходится подручными средствами и собственными социальными сетями. Она развешивает объявления о поездках в местах, куда ходят верующие (например, у Смоленского кладбища, где находится почитаемая часовня святой Ксении Блаженной), указывая там телефоны для связи – свой и нескольких своих помощниц, согласившихся отвечать на такие звонки. Хотя все игроки рынка паломнических услуг так или иначе сообщают о своей легитимности через, например, утверждение о получении благословения на эту деятельность от какого-то официального представителя РПЦ, епископа или настоятеля какого-то храма, очевидно, что контролировать такие инициативы церкви крайне трудно.³² В упоминавшемся селе в Свердловской области организатором таких поездок занимается, например, невоцерковленная, но энергичная женщина, обладающая некоторыми организаторскими способностями. Отправляясь в паломничество, прихожанки этой церкви спрашивают благословения у настоятеля храма, но это лишь жест вежливости, поскольку не дать разрешение на поездку он просто не может:

Куда-то мы поехали... ой, мы поехали до Верхотурья.³³ А был праздник Воздвижение креста Господня в сентябре. И он как был против – нельзя же в праздники, что прихожане уезжают из своей церкви. Так кое-как благословение у него выпросили. Он не очень-то благословляет. Кое-как. Чуть не со слезами (смеется).³⁴

³² Под благословением в православной среде понимается разрешение представителя церкви на какое-то действие или деятельность. Помню свое удивление, когда на мою просьбу показать, как выглядит письменное благословение на ее деятельность по организации паломнических поездок, руководитель одной из паломнических служб показала мне поздравительные открытки на ее имя, кажется к Рождеству, присылаемые из канцелярии петербургского митрополита.

³³ Имеется в виду Верхотурский Свято-Николаевский монастырь, где хранятся мощи Симеона Верхотурского, одно из наиболее популярных мест паломничества в Свердловской области.

³⁴ Интервью с Верой, 60 лет, прихожанкой церкви. Свердловская область, 2009, июль.

Паломнические поездки являются своего рода альтернативой регулярной приходской жизни, привлекательной как для тех, кто такую жизнь ведет, так и для тех, кто хочет быть православным, но лишь в свободное от работы и семейных забот время. Для них паломничество оказывается привлекательной рекреационной практикой. Свечница в местной церкви заметила:

Вот кто в церковь не ходят, они ездят в паломничество. Они в паломничество ездят. Ну, ходят они как – может, в год раз-два придут. Я считаю, что это все равно, что не ходят.³⁵

Паломники: опыт лиминальности

В большом городе человек, пожелавший отправиться в паломническую поездку, звонит по телефону из рекламного листка, записывается сам и, если едет не один, записывает кого-то еще, а затем приходит в назначенное время к месту, обычно у станции метро, от которого будет отходить автобус. Позвонившему сообщают, какая ему (чаще всего – ей) нужна экипировка: удобная обувь на низком каблуке, юбка, платок на голове, одежда для купания в святом водоеме и тара для святой воды. Некоторые руководители поездок с момента посадки в автобус начинают говорить паломникам “ты” и активно использовать православный социолект, предполагающий, в частности, обращение “матушка” к девушке или женщине. Представляясь друг другу, паломники называют только свое личное имя, независимо от возраста, что необычно для современной городской нормы, и, как правило, не стремятся завести новые знакомства.

Как правило, и организаторы поездки не прилагают усилий для того, чтобы сделать из паломников группу: вероятно, все предпочитают оставаться анонимными, скрывающими или специально не предъявляющими знаки своего “мирского” социального статуса. Равенство в группе предопределяется структурными условиями: все одинаково терпят неудобства длительного путешествия в обычно довольно старом автобусе, мокнут под дождем или страдают от жары и духоты. Иными словами, во время паломничества возникает социальная ситуация, обозначенная Виктором Тернером термином “коммунитас” — сообщества людей, пребывающих в лиминальном состоянии, без имен, статусов, отделенных от остального сообщества физически и символически, к тому же переносящих определенные физические испытания. К последним, кроме собственно

³⁵ Интервью с Ниной, 70 лет, свечницей церкви. Свердловская область, 2009, июль.

неудобств пути, относится купание в святом водоеме, обязательно включаемое в программу паломнической поездки в любое время года.



Илл. 4. Паломники из Санкт-Петербурга у купальни. Псковская область, 2010 (фото Ж. Корминой).

Такие временные сообщества верующих, объединенных общим маршрутом путешествия, транспортным средством и личностью руководителя поездки, старательно избегают самой возможности превратиться в общину. Один из симптомов идеологии коммунитас – бесконечное избегание любой возможности реципрокности во время паломнических поездок, которая, как предположил еще Марсель Мосс в своем “Эссе о даре”, и является социальным клеем, строящим связи между людьми. Это избегание выражается в нежелании идти на какое-либо сотрудничество внутри группы паломников: никто не уступит более удобное место матери с ребенком-инвалидом, не вызовется мыть посуду после “трапезы” на приходе и т.п. Отказ от сотрудничества, видимо, показатель нежелания превращать “антиструктуру” в “структуру”. Паломники – во всяком случае, в коротких паломничествах выходного дня – чужие друг другу люди, взыскующие личного спасения и алкающие индивидуального религиозного опыта.

Объясняя свой выбор в пользу “нерегулярной”, или внеприходской, религиозной жизни, паломники обычно описывают мир приходской религиозности как слишком требовательный, несовместимый с повседневностью современного человека, закрытый и недружелюбный. Вот типичная критика нормативного приходского религиозного режима: физически трудно выстоять службу; непонятен язык и смысл происходящего в церкви; памятен негативный опыт первого контакта внутри церкви (в частности, со свечницами, исполняющими роль привратниц у входа в этот мир). Именно так описывала свой опыт воцерковления Мелитина, организатор первого паломнического агентства в Петербурге:

Я пришла в церковь поздно, я пришла в 60 лет в церковь. Ну что, пришла... стою... ноги устали. Что-то читают, что-то поют, а стоишь, и понять что-то очень трудно.

Только после своей первой поездки в монастырь она поняла, что такое наша православная вера. ... Я почувствовала, что такое православная вера. Я подумала: “Господи, да таких дур, как я, полцеркви стоит, если не больше”. И вот поэтому я первая в нашем городе решила образовать [паломническое агентство].³⁶

Иными словами, Мелитина видит в паломнических поездках способ воцерковления, минуя регулярную приходскую жизнь, поскольку, по ее мнению, аутентичная “православная вера” локализуется не в приходских церквях под руководством настоятелей, – либо неопытных, либо имеющих подозрительный предыдущий светский опыт, либо обладающих другими недостатками мирских людей, – а в святых местах, выделенных из профанного мира, прежде всего в монастырях. Замечу, что у Мелитины, весьма просвещенной православной христианки, поддерживающей дружбу со многими священниками, нет своего прихода и “своего” священника. Она сама выполняет функцию руководителя своеобразных временных общин паломников, не перерастающих ни в постоянно поддерживаемую сеть, ни, тем более, в устойчивую религиозную общину.

Другая, кроме просветительской, функция паломнических поездок, о которой не упомянула Мелитина, – рекреационная. Многим паломникам такие поездки видятся как качественный и дешевый вариант проведения досуга,³⁷ с пользой для ума (приобретение новых знаний),

³⁶ Интервью с Мелитиной, 76 лет, февраль 2007 г., Санкт-Петербург.

³⁷ Посещение, например, Италии в составе группы паломников (обычно едут в г. Бари, где хранятся мощи св. Николая Мирликийского) обойдется дешевле светского

души и тела (пребывание в экологически чистых, удаленных от города местах). Признание в паломничестве рекреационной составляющей необязательно предполагает преобладание в нем мирского вместо священного. Отделить “истинное” паломничество от неистинного (т.е. религиозного туризма) не проще, чем, скажем, разграничить так называемую народную и официальную религиозность. Сближает их, например, типичная для обоих типов путешествия практика фотографирования на фоне достопримечательностей. До появления индустрии туризма для некоторых социальных групп (женщин, например) паломничество было едва ли не единственной легитимной причиной путешествия, так что паломничество, по-видимому, всегда было своеобразным отдыхом от повседневной рутины.³⁸

Что, по-видимому, делает паломничество паломничеством, а паломника паломником, так это чаяние чуда (прекрасная иллюстрация – фильм Джессики Хауснер “Лурд”, 2009) и стремление пережить собственный личный религиозный опыт, т.е. индивидуальное мистическое общение со священным. Вообще под религиозным опытом понимают обычно откровение, пророчества и тому подобные практики, доступные немногим религиозным виртуозам. Однако в современном демократичном российском паломничестве и религиозный опыт – иначе говоря, лиминальное состояние – хочет пережить каждый. Один из способов – купание в святом водоеме (особенно в неподходящий для этого сезон). Вот как описывает свой первый опыт купания в святом источнике Людмила:³⁹

Я тогда первый раз окуналась. Было холодно, снег падал. ...А окунаться надо три раза с макушкой. И вот удивительно: войти, просто все не твое, ужасно тяжело. Ледяная вода. А [надо] второй раз и третий. Ты паришь, как в космос, наверное, слетать!

Тактильный контакт со священным оказывается у паломников своеобразным необходимым минимумом мистического опыта, который

тура туда же. Собственно паломничества отчасти и выполняют функцию туризма “эконом-класса”.

³⁸ Можно вспомнить хотя бы “Кентерберийские рассказы” Чосера. Впрочем, и в православном паломничестве России позднеимперского периода не последнюю роль играл как будто совершенно секулярный рекреационный мотив проведения досуга. См., напр.: Chris J. Chulos. *Religious and Secular Aspects of Pilgrimage in Modern Russia // Byzantium and the North. Acta Byzantina Fennica*. 1999. No. 9 (1997–1998). Pp. 21–58.

³⁹ Интервью с Людмилой, 55 лет, 2004 г., Санкт-Петербург.

позволяет им, как правило, не практикующим “нормативное” православие приходского извода, указать на то, что они – верующие.⁴⁰

Людмила, здравомыслящая женщина, бухгалтер, мать семейства и бабушка, ни за что не согласилась бы купаться в водоеме под падающим снегом. Однако во время религиозного путешествия она отсекает от себя все свои светские, “структурные” идентичности – здесь она православная христианка и паломница.

Номадизм как идеология: православные сетевики

Если в паломничестве лиминальный социальный статус является, в соответствии с антропологической классикой, временным, то в режиме социальных сетей он становится принципом организации социальных отношений – эгалитарных, оставляющих место для анонимности или, вернее, жизни иной, отличной от мирской личности.

В социальной сети нет ни очевидной иерархии, которая обязательна в социальной структуре, кроме иерархии репутаций, ни явных центров власти, ни способов подчинения и контроля. При этом, в отличие от весьма разношерстных паломников, участники одной сети разделяют определенный габитус и могут опознать друг друга, не будучи лично знакомыми. Так, когда мы вместе с коллегой в 2004 г. впервые приехали на остров Залита (Псковская область), где за два года до того скончался Николай Гурьянов (1909–2002), сельский священник, почитавшийся в последние годы жизни как старец,⁴¹ и пришли вместе с другими паломниками в его домик, то были безошибочно идентифицированы следившими за порядком в доме “охранниками” как чужие. Поводом для такой идентификации был неправильный ответ на вопрос о том, что нового творится в мире: мы стали говорить о военных действиях на Кавказе, а они ожидали услышать вести о “происках глобалистов”.

Кто такие старцы и что такое старчество – это большой вопрос, пока недостаточно изученный, поскольку немногие пишущие на эту тему авторы, как правило, занимают довольно жесткую апологетическую или критическую позицию по отношению к предмету своих изысканий,

⁴⁰ Подробнее см.: Ж. В. Кормина. “Святая энергетика намоленного места”: о языке православных паломников // *Natalesgratenumeras?*: Сборник статей к 60-летию Георгия Ахилловича Левинтона. Санкт-Петербург, 2008. С. 252-266.

⁴¹ Подробнее о Гурьянове и современной концепции старчества см.: Jeanne Kormina. *Portrait and Icon of Starets Nikolay* // *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*. 2012 (in print).

что, конечно, мешает спокойному, взвешенному исследованию этого явления. Так, историк Ирина Пярт в своей недавней книжке *Spiritual Elders: Charisma and Tradition in Russian Orthodoxy* занимает позицию защитника старчества, видя в нем специфический, выработанный в недрах русской культуры “мост” между культурой элиты и народа, между церковью и сектантством (ортодоксией и гетеродоксией).⁴² В такой защите старчество нуждается, поскольку подозревается официальной церковью в стимулировании “сектантских” настроений. Николай Митрохин, наоборот, занимает гиперкритическую позицию и говорит о старцах как об альтернативном теневом управлении РПЦ, воспроизводя тем самым популярную в “сетевых” кругах риторику теории заговора.⁴³ Не вдаваясь в подробности внутри-, около- и антицерковных споров о старчестве, я отмечу только, что старец, с точки зрения верующих и сочувствующих, – это живой носитель религиозной харизмы, или, говоря их языком, святости и/или благодати.

Впрочем, в настоящей статье нас интересует не старец, а люди, которые, переселяясь на остров или регулярно приезжая, образуют своего рода социальные сети, сгущающиеся вокруг его фигуры – или, вернее, его имиджа, самими же сетевиками создаваемого.

В один из моих приездов на остров вместе с питерскими паломниками я стояла в очереди в покрашенный в зеленый цвет домик старца и прислушивалась к беседе двух женщин, обсуждавших икону Николая Гурьянова, на которой он держит в руках икону Григория Распутина. Большой стенд с изображением этой иконы был установлен перед входом в домик. Женщины сомневались в том, канонизирован ли Распутин и, следовательно, можно ли его изображать с нимбом. Я решила поддержать беседу и тут же получила неожиданно агрессивную отповедь от другого своего соседа по очереди, мужчины лет сорока. Он сказал мне, что я сомневаюсь, потому что ничего не понимаю “своим маленьким умишком”; он же знает всю правду, потому что одна монахиня, которую он встретил на могиле митрополита Иоанна Снычева в Петербурге, дала ему видеокассету с фильмом, где рассказывается о почитании Гурьяновым Григория Распутина. В конце концов мы с ним договорились встретиться в городе, и я получила этот фильм из

⁴² Irina Paert. *Spiritual Elders. Charisma and Tradition in Russian Orthodoxy*. DeKalb, IL, 2010.

⁴³ Н. М. Митрохин. Архимандрит Наум и “наумовцы” как квинтэссенция современного старчества // Религиозные практики в современной России. Москва, 2006. С. 126-148.

рук нового знакомого. Надо сказать, что место нашей встречи было весьма символично – это была машина, на которой он подъехал к Европейскому университету в Санкт-Петербурге. На мои предложения встретиться в его храме он сообщил, что своего прихода у него нет: “мой приход – вся Родина!”

Одна из особенностей религиозного режима сетевого православия состоит в том, что в его рамках не происходит делегирования права на легитимацию религиозных практик, представлений и т.п. формальному институту (церкви). Вместо этого легитимация той или иной практики (например, почитание такой сомнительной во многих отношениях фигуры, как Григорий Распутин) базируется на принципе репутации, т.е. нечто признается легитимным, если обладает рядом высокостатусных, с точки зрения членов социальной сети, признаков. Так Распутин, например, объявляется “старцем”, что делает его в глазах многих верующих носителем неконтролируемой церковью несомненной святости. В случае с сетевым православием такими характеристиками, с точки зрения урбанизированных мирян, являются, с одной стороны, локализация источника информации в воображаемом мире монашества,⁴⁴ идеализированном и анонимном, и, с другой стороны, “документализация” такой информации в православном самиздате, в доступных только для посвященных видео- или печатных источниках.

Итак, характерные особенности сетевого православия – экстерриториальность и претензия на причастность к узкому кругу избранных, иными словами, элитарность. При этом социальные сети, по-видимому, могут существенно различаться идеологически и стилистически. Особенность сети, “сгущающейся” вокруг фигуры старца Николая, – ее погруженность в специфическую православную субкультуру, где воспроизводятся (и производятся) конспирологические теории, эсхатологические слухи и связанные с ними социальные фобии. Релевантная для этой сети информация, обмен которой формирует маркеры сетевой идентичности, это слухи о происках “глобалистов” вроде введения

⁴⁴ Именно поэтому домик отца Николая именуется *келлией*, а ухаживающие за старцами – *келейниками*; по этой же причине его последняя келейница, москвичка с высшим филологическим образованием, объявила его монахом, тайно принявшим постриг в 1940-е годы, и даже схиепископом, доверившим тайну своего сана только ближайшему кругу избранных. Сама эта келейница объявила себя схимонахиней Николаей; под этим именем она публикуется в националистических изданиях “Русский вестник” и “Русская линия”. Тем же именем она подписывает свои книги и “документальные фильмы” об о. Николае. См. напр.: Схимонахиня Николая. Царский архиерей. Москва, 2004.

ИНН и штрих-кодов, о “сильных” старцах и старицах, распространение разнообразных пищевых фобий (например, о дрожжах-убийцах) и т.п. Временные и пространственные точки сгущения этой сети – день памяти о Николае на острове Залита (24 августа) и ежегодные Николаевские чтения “Николаевская Русь”, проводимые в Москве в мае ко дню его рождения все той же схимонахиней Николаей.⁴⁵ В 2010 г. они прошли в девятый раз. При этом важно отметить, вслед за Тарабукиной, что с исследовательской точки зрения описанные выше сетевики – это не “суеверие” или “сектантство”, а одна из норм в рамках православной культуры, оказывающая огромное влияние на всю эту культуру, т.е. на другие ее нормы.⁴⁶

Такие сети, однако, необязательно имеют яркие идеологические характеристики как формы протестной религиозности – неважно, либерального, как последователи и симпатизанты о. Георгия Кочеткова, или праворадикального, как почитатели Распутина или Иоанна Грозного толка. Ирина, которая приехала из города работать в село в районную больницу и стала членом маленькой литургической общины в местной церкви, тоже включена в православные сети и тоже ощущает превосходство над соседями, коллегами и другими людьми, не принявшими ее. Как она сама говорит, после воцерковления она потеряла старых друзей, которые развлекались бесовским образом, празднуя, например, 8 Марта, и теперь у нее нет друзей, только сестры и братья, с которыми она встречается на службах и в паломничествах. Иными словами, Ирина подчеркивает принцип равенства во взаимоотношениях со своим духовным братством. Ощущение же собственной элитарности поддерживается в ней не только убежденностью в том, что она владеет особым знанием, но и в том, что ценность этому знанию придает мощный православно-государственный дискурс, в соответствии с которым быть русскому православным – правильно.

⁴⁵ К сожалению, мне пока не довелось побывать на этом собрании почитателей старца Николая, поэтому трудно оценить его многочисленность. Если верить информации заинтересованной стороны, на юбилейные Чтения в 2009 г. собралось около трех тысяч человек, см.: К. Варб. Вечер столетия Николая Гурьянова // Журнал “Самиздат” http://zhurnal.lib.ru/a/arbow_k_w/vesper.shtml (последний просмотр 31.01.2011). Думаю, впрочем, что цифра завышена.

⁴⁶ Вполне вероятно, что генетически многие идеологические и культурные черты православных сетевиков восходят к катакомбному церковному подполью советского времени, описанному в книге Алексея Беглова: А. Л. Беглов. В поисках “безгрешных катакомб”. Москва, 2008.

Православные флэшмобы

Социальный режим православных сетей производит своего рода нормализацию лиминальности. Духовные сестры и братья вовсе не стремятся съехаться в одно место и вести общее хозяйство, вместе ходить на богослужения и т.п., т.е. осесть где-то и стать общиной – приходской или монастырской. Они, как правило, не готовы отказаться от своих мирских профессиональных и семейных обязательств, от своего дома, предпочитая поддерживать отношения при помощи мобильной связи или интернета и встреч в местах, обладающих харизмой святости. Их “кочевье” пролегает от их домов и квартир к монастырям, церквям или святым местам, где содержится эта харизма.

Однако такие “контейнеры святости” необязательно сами остаются неподвижными. В последние несколько лет в России приобрели невероятную популярность “гастроли” святынь. О феномене поклонения путешествующим святыням, названном мною православными флэш-мобами, пойдет речь в этом последнем разделе статьи.

“Их много тут, и все чудотворные”, – со вздохом сказала девушка из молодежного отдела епархии, собиравшая пожертвования на программу по ранней поддержке детей с синдромом Дауна при входе на православную выставку одному из посетителей, спросивших, где тут на втором этаже чудотворная икона. Такая реакция на невинный, казалось бы, вопрос красноречиво говорит о том что, во-первых, его задают регулярно (шел последний день пятидневной выставки) и, во-вторых, эта молодая православная христианка не разделяет одержимости собратьев по вере желанием приобщиться к материальному носителю святости.

Участники православных флэшмобов встречаются в определенное время в назначенном месте, где ведут себя по заранее условленным правилам, меняя тем самым временно семантику этого локуса. Поводом для образования православной очереди становится приезд в тот или иной город какого-либо материального объекта, обладающего, согласно разделяемой верующими и сочувствующими конвенции, способностью совершить чудо или харизмой. В православии такими объектами являются прежде всего чудотворные иконы, но также мощи святых и некоторые другие реликвии (например, упоминавшийся пояс Богородицы). Их привозят из мест постоянного хранения, чаще всего монастырей, в большие города, чтобы люди могли, не отправляясь в паломничество, поклониться православной святыне. Иными словами, святыня сама отправляется в своеобразное паломничество. Так, в 2010 г. было организовано путешествие по стране ковчега с частицами мощей

Матроны Московской, прославленной к всероссийскому почитанию в 2004 г. и стремительно ставшей невероятно популярной. Ковчег с мощами святой привозили в Нижнекамск, Санкт-Петербург, Екатеринбург, Сочи и многие другие большие и малые города России, а также в Украину (Донецк) и Беларусь (Гродно). Совершенно очевидно, что это паломничество мощей святой, репрезентирующей столицу Российского государства, имеет политический подтекст. На символическом уровне ее паломничество объединяет всех православных людей страны, давая им возможность пережить, не покидая родных городов, чувство причастности большой православной державе с центром в Москве. Посещая Украину и Беларусь, небольшой золоченый ковчег становился своего рода “агентом Москвы”, актуализируя прорусскую идентичность тех, кто пришел поклониться этой святыне. Вполне возможно, что организаторы путешествия из Архангельской епархии не имели в виду ничего подобного, попросту занимаясь монетизацией символического капитала святыни (способность к чудотворениям) – частицы мощей Матроны Московской, переданной патриархом Кириллом в собор Северодвинска в 2009 г.

В городах ковчег с мощами или чудотворные иконы могут выставлять не только в церквях или монастырях, но и в светских помещениях, обычно используемых как выставочные площадки. Так, чудотворные иконы обязательно привозят на православные ярмарки – с недавних пор чрезвычайно популярные мероприятия, куда выстраиваются очереди из желающих купить разнообразную православную продукцию: от видеодисков до длинных платьев из натуральных материалов, обычно плохо пошитых, послушать песни православных авторов, пожертвовать на строительство церкви или монастыря, купив “именной кирпичик” и т.п. О популярности этой формы православной жизни говорит статистика: в 2010 г. прошло 107 православных 4–7-дневных ярмарок в 51 городе Российской Федерации.⁴⁷ Само явление православных ярмарок роднит с путешествующими святынями, во-первых, их ориентация на локальное сообщество и, во-вторых, констатация существования такого – православного – сообщества во всех пунктах маршрута святынь или местах организации ярмарок. Однако эти сообщества оказываются таковыми только в момент флэшмоба православной очереди к чудотворной иконе или на вход в выставочное пространство, где проводится ярмарка. Оно локально как в пространстве ландшафта, так и времени.

⁴⁷ Статистические данные взяты с сайта Православные выставки-ярмарки, www.idrp.ru. В 2009 г. их было, согласно тому же источнику, 67 в 33 городах страны.



Илл. 5. Очередь на православную ярмарку. Санкт-Петербург, 2011 (фото С. Штыркова).

Заключение

В настоящей статье я попыталась показать, что идеология номадизма является доминирующей нормой в современном российском православии. Эта норма, очевидная при изучении современных религиозных практик, не артикулирована в каких-то документах; наоборот, формально нормальной считается организация религиозной жизни по генетически крестьянскому принципу прописки, вокруг своего локального храма, своей территориальной общины. Именно такого рода соображениями, видимо, руководствовались инициаторы недавно запущенного проекта строительства “храмов шаговой доступности” в спальных районах Москвы. Этот проект лишний раз доказывает применимость метафоры реставрации традиции к современному российскому православии.

При этом большинство православных проводят свою религиозную жизнь вне стен отреставрированного здания, предпочитая любоваться им издалека. Приведенные выше типы номадической, т.е. не привязан-

ной к определенной локальности и связанной с нею истории, религиозности описывают большинство религиозных практик вне стен церкви: паломничество, сетевое православие, православные флэшмобы. Вряд ли от этого они перестают быть православными или теряют “градус” православности. Очевидно, происходит выработка новых форм православной социальной жизни (религиозных режимов), соответствующих постмодерному общественному устройству, или, как изящно сформулировал Зигмунт Бауман, состоянию “жидкой”, или “текучей”, модерна. Новые религиозные номады пытаются “утечь” от домодерной структуры, заложенной в самой концепции церковного прихода, с ее жестким контролем и ясной иерархией. Такого рода уклад становится выбором религиозных профессионалов – монастырских и аналогичных закрытых общин, – в которых верующие занимаются традиционным для православных людей делом – спасением души и проповедуют жесткий моральный ригоризм в отношении окружающих и общества в целом. Большинство же руководствуется иным пониманием религии, рассматривая ее как источник личного морального закона и руководство по приписыванию смыслов своей земной жизни.

SUMMARY

In contemporary Russian Orthodoxy, alternative regimes of religiosity are developing alongside traditional modes of organizing religious life within the framework of parishes. All alternative regimes are united by a common ideology of Orthodox nomadism that caters to the demands and habits of the urbanized Orthodox majority. Those who compose this majority prefer pilgrimages and visits to Russian Orthodox fairs to a regular religious life in their local Orthodox communities. Thus, they try to evade a premodern structure inscribed in the very concept of a church parish with its strong control over the parish’s members and explicit hierarchy. The article by Zhanna Kormina offers an in-depth analysis of different forms of such avoidance and escape. It is based on the author’s long-term sociological-anthropological study carried out in the regions of the Russian Northwest and Sverdlovsk.

Michael KUNICHIKA

**“THE SCYTHIANS WERE HERE...”:
ON NOMADIC ARCHAEOLOGY, MODERNIST FORM,
AND EARLY SOVIET MODERNITY***

In June of 1919, in the aftermath of the Revolution and amid the Civil War, two figures, an archaeologist and a writer, arrive independently of one another at the excavations of Uvek, one of the fortified cities of the Golden Horde. The archaeologist was F. V. Ballod, who would devote an extensive section to Uvek in his work *The Volga “Pompeii”*: *An Attempt at an Artistic-Archaeological Examination of the Right Bank of the Saratov-Tsarinsk Volga Strip*, which he published in 1923.¹ Throughout the work,

* I would like to express my gratitude to Serguei Oushakine for his keen and sympathetic reading of an earlier version of this article. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable conceptual and bibliographic recommendations. This article is drawn from a longer paper on Pil’niak and steppe archaeology. I have modified its argument to focus primarily on how the archaeology of nomadism proved a powerful aesthetic and conceptual resource in *Naked Year*, enabling Pil’niak to think through the relationship of the archaic and the modern in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution.

¹ F. V. Ballod. Privolzhskie “Pompei”: opyt khudozhestvenno-arkheologicheskogo obsledovaniia chasti pravoberezhnoi Saratovsko-Tsaritynskoi privolzhskoi polosy. Moscow, 1923. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine. For contemporary scholarship on Uvek, which is also known as Ukek, see, for example, L. F. Nedashkovskii. *Zolotoordynskii gorod Uvek i ego okrug*. Moscow, 2000.

Ballod’s archaeological perspective upon the landscape was a way of reading the traces of the past still present within it, serving as indices of both the passage of peoples and the passage of time. “Through the ‘Great Gates of Peoples,’” Ballod begins *The Volga “Pompeii,”*

between the Urals and the Caspian, innumerable waves of tribes have passed since the most ancient of times into the Volga steppes, and stopped, awaiting laggards at those natural barriers to carefree travel at the Volga. There, having gathered their strength, they crossed the river and established fortified sites on its right bank, and from there they fended further into the West and into the Southern-Russian steppes. The path of these movements was clear: from the Urals to the Volga, from the Volga to the Don and Dnepr: it lay partially through the forests and partially through the steppe; it went along the steppe rivers, where horses and herds are not threatened by drought or thirst during the summer heat.... An observer, moreover, would not need to search out this path. Traces of the presence of man point toward it: sites with broken wares flung about, and landmarks of the road in the form of kurgans. The path is clear even to this day, for the chains of kurgans have stood in their places despite the work of later agrarian peoples, the fierce steppe wind, and the whole destructive hand of time.

Sometimes flat and eroded, a barely perceptible elevation of soil; sometimes stone mounds (*kamennye mary*); sometimes superbly intact hills (*sopki*) in the shape of turned-over bowls, with characteristic sepulchral stones at the top: these are the landmarks of the Transvolga path that present themselves as both the landmarks of time (*vekhi vremena*) and as monuments of the various cultures that have successively replaced one another.²

These “landmarks of time” mark the movements of peoples along the Transvolga path, while registering the movement of time, either through erosion or destruction. Whether in the form of *kurgans*, or burial mounds, which mark passage through space and through life, or in smaller forms such as bestrewn wares, the artifacts the archaeologist discerns within the landscape refer to a variety of pasts, made by different people at different times. What we catch glimpse of here is a hermeneutic, a way of reading the landscape to discern a story of temporal supersession of nomadic peoples one by the other, but which are simultaneously perceptible to the archaeologist, enabling him to thereby traverse multiple times at a standstill.

² Ballod. Privolzhskie “Pompei”. P. i.

The other figure at Uvek that June was Boris Pil'niak, who arrived just a few days after Ballod. Pil'niak found in the archaeological excavations a model for modernist aesthetics and a way to perceive the experience of the revolutionary moment. In 1919, Pil'niak was still several years away from becoming the “first celebrity of Soviet letters,”³ a status he achieved with the publication in 1922 of *Golyi god*, or *Naked Year*, the first major literary work of the postrevolutionary period, whose influence on the literary style of the period would eventually be labeled *Pil'niakovshchina*, as his works and influence provoked greater critical scorn.

We find in the pages of *Naked Year* an elaborate description of the excavations of Uvek in an extended sequence that begins much like what transpired that June of 1919: two characters arrive at the “bald, stony mount” of Uvek, one is an artist, Gleb Ordynin, whose surname refers us to the *Zolotaia Orda*; the other is an archaeologist named Baudek:

On the summit of Uvek, people had noticed ruins and kurgans (*razvaliny i kurgany*) – the archaeologist Baudek and the artist Ordynin had come to excavate them with a detail of *muzhiks*. The excavations were in their third week and centuries were emerging from the earth. On Uvek they found the remnants of an ancient town, stone ruins of aqueducts lay in layers, the foundations of buildings, a sewer system – what was hidden by the loamy soil and black earth had remained not from the Finns, nor the Scythians, nor from the Bulgars – some unknown people came here from the Asiatic steppes in order to found a city and to disappear from history forever. But after them, after those unknown people, the Scythians were here, and they left their kurgans.⁴

The themes found in this remarkable passage are the central concerns of the present essay. Much like the landscape described by Ballod, where the topography contains a story of peoples superseding one another, what Pil'niak's characters confront here is the vertical articulation of that supersession, with various temporal epochs layered upon one another. Each uncovered stratum tells a story as much about layering as it does about accumulation and of dispersal, whether of people or things, with each stratum marking a cultural

³ Katerina Clark. Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution. Cambridge, 1995. P. 52; citing Peter Alberg Jensen. Nature as Code: The Achievement of Boris Pil'niak. Copenhagen, 1979. P. 65.

⁴ Boris Pilnyak. *Naked Year* / Trans. A. R. Tulloch. Ann Arbor, 1975. P. 93. I have amended the translation. The first page reference will be to the Tulloch translation, the second to the edition: Boris Pil'niak. *Sobranie Sochinenii v shesti tomakh*. Vol. 1. Moscow, 2003. References to other works by Pil'niak are to the volumes of this edition as “SS.”

deposit by a people whom another displaces. Each unearthed vertical layer makes multiple times simultaneously perceptible, while also reaching back out horizontally through space.

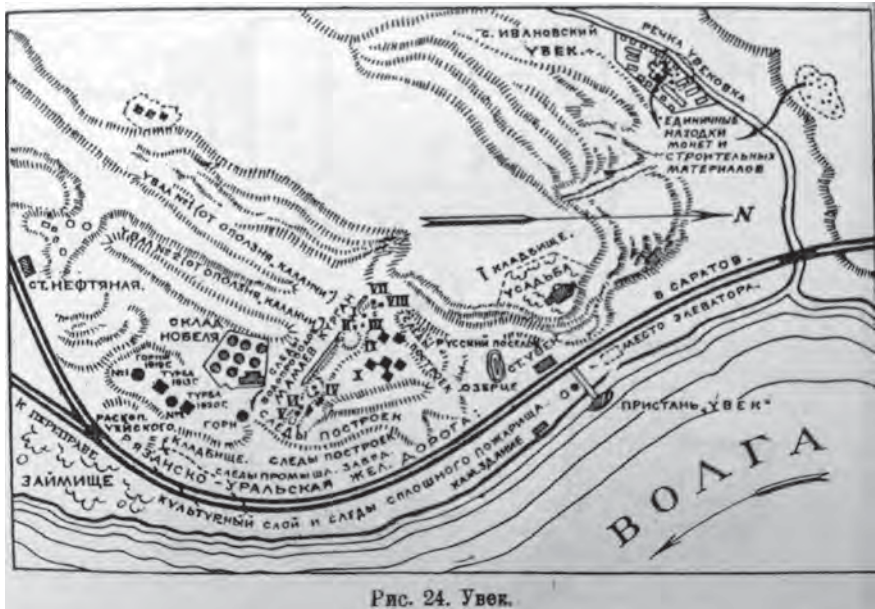


Fig. 1. “Diagram of Uvek”. From Ballod. Privolzhskie “Pompei”. P. 72.

Uvek forms an emblem for a general feature of *Naked Year*, in which artifacts from the deep past are perceived alongside a host of other times simultaneously present within the revolutionary moment. The Scythian, their burial mounds, and Uvek, are among the deepest of the pasts found represented in *Naked Year*, but belong to a gradient of temporalities embodied by wizards and Bolsheviks, syphilitic aristocrats and anarchists, pagans and Orthodox, burial mounds and factories; monks’ cells and cinemas; incantations and *chastushki*, dead cities such as Uvek and moribund cities such as the work’s imagined “Ordynin-Town.” It was this multiplicity of times and their juxtapositions in *Naked Year* that provoked broad debate about its representation of the revolutionary epoch – just as so many of Pil’niak’s later works would similarly do (albeit to ever more strident reception). Trotsky, for example, highlighted this feature in a long essay on Pil’niak, in which he observed that *Naked Year* reflected the pervasive dilemma of the persistence of the past into the present, but faulted him for not differentiating between what Trotsky termed “historical planes”:

And although in present-day Russia, a sorcerer's incantations exist next to the Gviu and Glavbum, they do not exist in the same historical plane (*v odnoi istoricheskoi ploskosti*). The Gviu and the Glavbum, however imperfect, tend forward, while the incantations, no matter how "folk like," are the dead weight of history (*mertvyi gruz istorii*).⁵

In failing to explicitly delineate the differences between the vital and the moribund, the historical and ahistorical, the living and the dead, Pil'niak created what Trotsky found a spurious vision of the revolutionary period; spurious, in Trotsky's view, because *Naked Year* founders in a synchronic perspective on "present-day Russia," that reveals multiple times existing simultaneously, while refusing to articulate them within a framework structured by a *telos*. The work revealed all the "particularities of the historical development of Russia," to borrow a phrase Trotsky famously used elsewhere, but left out the development. Not only did some of its characters repudiate modernization, they also thought the revolution would jettison Western influence upon Russia: a perspective that meant that technological development, Peter the Great, even Bolshevism were part of the same paradigm: "And everything is dead, sheer machinery, technology, comfort" says Gleb Ordynin, the character who accompanies Baudek to Uvek, in a lengthy conversation with the Archbishop Sylvester that represents the philosophical core of *Naked Year*: "The path of European culture lead to war, '14 was able to create this war. The culture of the machine has forgotten about the culture of the spirit" (72/74). These were the views that have typically led scholars to link the work to parallel intellectual currents in the 1920s such as primitivism, Eurasianism, and Scythianism, with which several characters of *Naked Year* espouse analogous views that Russia would have to maneuver its own historical path, pitted between East and West, and that it would have to recuperate its own aesthetic and spiritual sources in the pre-Petrine past.⁶ The multiple perspectives vying with each other over the nature of the revolution, however, meant that views such as Gleb's are constantly held in tension with others: the Archbishop, for example, responds: "Russia, you say? – but Russia is a fiction, a mirage, because Russia is the Caucasus, and the Ukraine, and Moldavia!... Great Russia, it must be said is the Oka, Volga, Kama regions [Poochie, Povolzhe, Pokamie]" (73/75). This is the space in which Uvek is located. The primary

⁵ Leon Trotsky. Boris Pil'niak (1923) // L. Trotsky. Literatura i revoliutsiia. Moscow, 1991. P. 75.

⁶ For more on this subject, see, for example, the chapter "Nep Gothic" in Eric Naiman. Sex in Public. The Incarnation of Soviet Ideology. Princeton, 1997.

question animating these pages is how those “historical planes” that were emphatically dead – that is, those planes represented by the Scythian burial mound and Uvek itself – fit within the work’s variegated picture of Russia and the Revolution. Given that both the encounters of Ballod and Pil’niak with the archaeological take place in 1919, how does the deep past function when time and space are upheaved?

The scholar E. B. D’iachkova once observed that Pil’niak “loves the metaphor of archaeological excavations, the immersion in another time (*pogruzhenie v drugoe vremia*).”⁷ I want to extend this observation by demonstrating how archaeology served as a conceptual and aesthetic resource for Pil’niak as he sought to account for the revolutionary moment, but also as a disruptive force, routinely challenging the constitution of a historical telos by continually calling attention to archaic sites and artifacts whose relation to the present was indeterminate, but whose presence within, or upon the landscape was unavoidable.

To demonstrate this, the following pages focus on two episodes in *Naked Year*: the excavation of Uvek; and a sequence involving a train station named after a burial mound, “Mar-Loop Station” (Raz’ezd-Mar). The two episodes are respectively structured according to two aesthetic principles of modernist stratigraphy and modernist topography, which highlight the range of times, historical planes, and forms of life, simultaneously found in “present-day Russia.” With Uvek, we see the continual layering of temporal epochs one over the other, which enable these epochs to be perceived simultaneously, which gives way as the sequence continues to confront the various temporalities, or in the terms of Ernst Bloch, nonsynchronisms, discernible within the country.⁸ In the sequence of “Mar-Loop Station,” and its various appearances throughout the work, we find a reliance on a set of topographic juxtapositions in which the archaic and the modern enter into proximity. What this scene offers is a way of thinking about archaeology not in terms of its standard affiliation with metaphors of depth (which is, to be sure, emphatically evidenced in the Uvek sequence), but rather in terms of contiguity and adjacency; not a “poetics of depth,” but one of surface, which enables him to juxtapose archaic and modern mobility.

⁷ E. B. D’iachkova. *Problema vremeni v proizvedeniakh B. Pil’niaka* // Boris Pil’niak: opyt segodniashnego prochtenia. Moscow, 1995. P. 66.

⁸ Ernst Bloch. *Nonsynchronism and the Obligation to Its Dialectics* / Transl. Mark Ritter // *New German Critique*. 1977. No. 11. Pp. 22-38.

To focus on these two sequences might seem myopic given the complexity (some have claimed incoherence) of *Naked Year*.⁹ I pursue this approach with the hope that the pages to come might have some relevance to this cluster's thematic focus on nomadism and mobility by examining how the archaeology of nomadism enabled one Russian modernist to think through the revolutionary moment and, in particular, the Civil War as it was waged within the steppe. Pil'niak's insistent attention to these various forms of mobility and of endurance thereby impinges upon several commonplaces of the Russian landscape, and in particular of the steppe landscape.¹⁰ On the one hand, we find the usual commonplaces of the steppe recorded in *Naked Year* – "Steppe. Emptiness. Boundlessness. Darkness. Cold" (148/146) – but those commonplaces are now confronted by various archaeological artifacts. Pil'niak negotiates between these commonplaces and the various forms by which that space is constituted by multiple temporalities, both within the ground and upon the surface.

"The Scythian Plane," the Kurgan, and the Tabula Rasa

To include the detail that "the Scythians were here, and they left their burial mounds" was to confer mimetic accuracy to the scene, but also to encode a whole cultural image and ideology coalescing around the Scythian during the Russian modernist period. "The Scythian" could often serve as counterimage to prevailing attitudes about "civilized" life, whether positively

⁹ For other accounts of *Naked Year*, see: Kenneth Brostrom. Pilnyak's *Naked Year*: The Problem of Faith // Russian Literature Triquarterly. 1979. Vol. 16. Pp. 114-153; Gary Browning. Boris Pil'niak: Scythian at a Typewriter. Ann Arbor, 1985; Clark. Petersburg; Jensen. Nature as Code; Robert Maguire. Red Virgin Soil. New York, 1968. Pp. 101-128. See also the volume Boris Pil'niak: opyt segodniashnego prochtenia. Moscow, 1995. Especially the essays by M. M. Golubkov. Esteticheskaiia sistema v tvorchestve Borisa Pil'niaka 20-kh godov. Pp. 3-10; and the essay by D'iachkova cited above.

¹⁰ The literature on the subject of Russian landscape is vast. The following works have been valuable in helping to formulate the ideology and poetics of space in Russian culture: Mark Bassin. Russia Between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space // Slavic Review. 1991. Vol. 50. No. 1. Pp. 1-17; Mikhail Epstein. Russo-Soviet Topoi // Evgeny Dobrenko and Eric Naiman (Eds.) The Landscape of Stalinism. The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space (Studies in Modernity and National Identity). Seattle, 2003. Pp. 277-306; Susan Layton. Russian Literature and Empire: the Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy. New Haven, 1997; William Sunderland. Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe. Ithaca, 2004; Harsha Ram, The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire. Madison, 2003.

or negatively evaluated at a given historical moment.¹¹ In that capacity, it operates as other civilizational “mirrors” such as the noble or ignoble savage, the nomad, the Gypsy, or the Caucasian mountaineer. One feature that distinguished the Scythian in Russian culture is that it served as an archaic mirror, in which contemporary issues and cultural and aesthetic values were reflected by, or indeed projected into the deep past.

In 1918, the year before Pil’niak arrives at Uvek, we find a remarkable conjunction of Scythianism, as both ideology and archaeology, in three major works that form the immediate background for Pil’niak: the first was Alexander Blok’s long poem, “The Scythians” (Skify),¹² the second was Evgenii Zamiatin’s essay, “Are We Scythians?” (Skify li?),¹³ which was a review of the journal *Skify*, edited by Ivanov-Razumnik, whose first issue appeared in 1917;¹⁴ and, lastly, the noted scholar of classical antiquity Mikhail Rostovtsev’s *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Ellinstvo i iranstvo na iuge Rossii), which devotes several sections to the archaeology of various ancient nomadic peoples.¹⁵ Each work consolidated particular facets of the image of the Scythian: it could represent a quintessential predecessor of the modern artist, forever pursuing new aesthetic territory (Zamiatin); a quintessential predecessor of Russia, invoked as the model for a struggle with the West (Blok); a predecessor of the avant-garde and revolutionaries, who could find common cause with their most ancient antagonists, the Hellenes, in a struggle against the bourgeoisie (Ivanov-Razumnik). Alongside

¹¹ On the basic structure of the discursive construction of the “noble savage,” see Hayden White. *The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea* // Edward J. Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak (Eds.). *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*. Pittsburgh, 1972. Pp. 3-38. The range of affiliated images of the “other” in Russian cultural history is too vast to cite here. Those works that have been central to my thinking on the subject include: Layton. *Russian Literature and Empire*; Yuri Slezkine. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small People of the North*. Ithaca, 1994. See also Francois Hartog. *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*. Berkeley, 1988. I take the concept of the “image” from White; and the concept of the “mirror” from Hartog and Slezkine.

¹² A. A. Blok. *Dvenadsat’*, Skify. St. Petersburg, 1918.

¹³ E. Zamiatin. *Sochineniia*. Moscow, 1988.

¹⁴ Ivanov-Razumnik (Ed.). *Skify*. Sankt-Petersburg, 1917–1918.

¹⁵ M. I. Rostovtsev. *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na iuge Rossii*. Petrograd, 1918. Following Rostovtsev’s emigration, N. Ia. Marr published Rostovtsev’s monumental appraisal of the Scythians as: *Skifiia i Bospor: kriticheskoe obozreniie pamiatnikov literaturynykh i arkheologicheskikh*. Leningrad, 1925. The longer version of this essay tracks Rostovtsev’s interaction with figures such as Viacheslav Ivanov, who also devoted several essays to the Scythians; and of Rostovtsev’s delineation of the steppe as a space of antiquity.

these images, moreover, the Scythian was also an object being reconstituted archaeologically: its various artifacts, primarily found in kurgans, served to evidence how the South of Russia had been a space of continual interaction and the locus of an antiquity hitherto unrecognized (Rostovtsev).

In light of the Ballod–Pil’niak connection, I want to emphasize these twin features – the cultural myth and the archaeological object – because previous accounts of Scythianism during the modernist period, which have rightly emphasized the cultural mythologies surrounding the image, can also be supplemented by the story of Scythian archaeology.¹⁶ One reason to do so is that there is some dispute over Pil’niak’s relationship to Scythianism as a cultural ideology: the image of the Scythian Pil’niak inherits and promulgates, in other words, partakes in both of these currents, and moreover grapples with the artifactual remnants within the Russian landscape.¹⁷ It is this particular facet of the Scythian story – namely, how its archaeological status impinges upon the image of the Russian landscape, and, in particular the topos of Russia as a tabula rasa – that I want to use here to delimit the scope of the Scythian theme, and to add an additional dimension to previous scholarship on Pil’niak’s relationship to Scythianism and that of his immediate predecessors, in particular Blok.

¹⁶ For more on Scythianism, see E. Bobrinskaia. Skiftstvo v russkoi kul’ture nachala XX veka i skifskaia tema u russkikh futuristov // Rannii russkii avangard v kontekste filosofskoi i khudozhestvennoi kul’turny rubezha vekov: ocherki. Moscow, 1999. Pp. 54–82; Stefani Hoffman. Scythian Theory and Literature, 1917–1924 // Nils Ake Nilsson (Ed.). Art, Society, Revolution: Russia 1917–1924. Stockholm, 1979. Pp. 138–64; Ibid. Scythianism: A Cultural Vision in Revolutionary Russia / Ph.D. dissertation; Columbia University. New York, 1975. For Scythianism in relation to music of the period, see, Richard Taruskin. The Great Fusion // Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through *Mavra*. Vol. 1. Berkeley, 1996. Pp. 849–966. For an excellent examination of its image in avant-garde art, see Jane Sharp. Russian Modernism Between East and West: Natal’ia Goncharova and the Moscow Avant-Garde, 1905–1914. Cambridge, 2003. Pp. 157–173.

¹⁷ Peter Jensen, for example has argued that Pil’niak’s representation of “Skiftstvo” was “half-hearted and frivolous”: he was happiest with the Scythian’s pagan semantics [...] the izba was no shrine as it was for [Nikolai] Kljuev, and did not share the “skify’s” Messian dreams of the Revolution as the gateway to a peasant paradise (Jensen. Nature as Code. P. 315). Gary Browning, whose title *Scythian at a Typewriter*, perhaps immediately indicates his differences from Jensen, has argued that “Pil’niak crafted his themes, style, composition, and narrative manner with a few, rapid, powerful strokes of his Scythian axe. [In *Naked Year*] he first produced a successful work parallel to the time-worn pitted burial mound fertility statues and the rough, soaked oak of his artistic ideal” (Browning. Boris Pil’niak. P. 114).

To sense what was radical about the possibility that an archaeology of nomadism could generate such complex temporal and spatial dimensions, we can begin by citing Russian cultural thought at its most agonized. It was Chaadaev, in “The First Philosophical Letter,” who linked his sense of Russia as transcendently homeless to an accursed nomadism evident in Russian life:

Everything passes, flows away, leaving no trace either outside or within us. We seem to camp in our houses, we behave like strangers in our families; and in our cities we appear to be nomads, more so than the real nomads who graze their flocks in our steppes, for they are more attached to their desert than we are to our towns.¹⁸

Even when Chaadaev recanted the views he espoused here in his later “Apology of a Madman” (*Apologie d’un fou*, 1837), what he left unchanged was his view of the Russian landscape. His famed philosophical maneuver that reevaluates Russia’s alleged privation into the very basis for its future achievement, will nevertheless take place within a still barren field:

Yes, there was some exaggeration in this type of indictment against a great people, whose only crime, in the last analysis, consisted in having been relegated to the extremities of the civilized world... there was some exaggeration in not acknowledging that we came into the world upon a sterile soil upon which empires did not flourish, which generations did not venerate, where nothing spoke to us about the ages gone by.¹⁹

Chaadaev, moreover, already had his sights on the efforts of his contemporaries to recuperate artifacts testifying to a Slavic past. He deemed these efforts both fanatical and vainglorious, and supplied another powerful maneuver that effectively transposed the trope of emptiness from the realm of geography into that of the soul and the mind: “From time to time in their

¹⁸ The letter was published in French in 1836 in the journal *Teleskop*. Peter Chaadaev. Letters on the Philosophy of History: First Letter // Marc Raeff; Isaiah Berlin. Russian Intellectual History: An Anthology. New Jersey, 1992. Pp. 160-173; P. 163. My reading of Chaadaev relies on Mikhail Gershenzon. P. Ia. Chaadaev: Zhizn’ i myshlenie (1908). Rpt. edition. Hague, 1968; Dale Peterson. Civilizing the Race: Chaadaev and the Paradox of Eurocentric Nationalism // Russian Review. 1997. Vol. 56. No. 4. Pp. 550-63; Andrzej Walicki. The Paradox of Chaadaev // The Slavophile Controversy: History of a Conservative Utopia in Nineteenth-Century Russian Thought / Trans. Hilda Andrews-Rusiecka. Notre Dame, 1975. Pp. 83-117.

¹⁹ Peter Chaadaev. Apologia of a Madman // Major Works of Peter Chaadaev. A Translation and Commentary. Notre Dame, 1969. P. 217; P. Ia. Chaadaev. Apologie d’un fou // Polnoe sobranie sochineii i izbrannye pis'ma (PSS). Vol. 1. Moscow, 1991. P. 302.

diverse excavations our fanatic Slavacists will, of course, still be able to exhume curios for our museums, for our libraries, but one may doubt if out of the depths of our historical soil they can ever draw something to fill up the emptiness in our souls, something to condense the vacuity in our minds.”²⁰ Not even these “Fanatic Slavacists” (*Slavons fanatiques*) – a reference to the nascent Slavophiles²¹ – could exhume enough “curios” to fill this alleged void of the Russian soul and mind. It was in this bleak light that Chaadaev conferred to Russian cultural mythology the metaphor of the “sheet of white paper,” a variant of the topos of the tabula rasa, upon which Peter stamped “Europe” and “The West,” which encompasses both the idea of the alleged vacuity of the Russian soul and the barren nature of its soil, but also the possibility for the country to realize its “great historical mission.”

It was this commonplace of the “white sheet” that the historian I. E. Zabelin challenged in the opening pages of his *History of the Russian Life from the Most Ancient Time* (1876).²² “The Russian man,” Zabelin observed, “...in the consciousness of educated society appears as an *empty place* (pustym mestom), a *clean sheet of paper*, upon which many people have inscribed their regulations and rules, customs and morals, industries and arts, even their epic folk songs” [italics mine].²³ Chaadaev, to be sure, might still have seen a figure such as Zabelin as an offspring of those “Slavons fanatiques” he had disparaged several decades earlier in *The Apology*. What

²⁰ Chaadaev. Major Works. P. 206

²¹ Chaadaev. PSS. Vol. 1. P. 744, fn. 12. The footnote is to the Russian translation, as a gloss of “fanaticheskije slaviane”: “Nos Slavons fanatiques pourront bien dans leurs fouilles diverses exhumer de temps à autre des objet de curiosité pour nos musées, pour nos bibliothèques; mais il est permis de douter, je crois, qu’il parviennent jamais à tirer de notre sol historique de quoi combler le vide de nos âmes, de quoi condenser le vague de nos esprits.”

²² I. E. Zabelin. *Istoriia russkoi zhizni s drevneishikh vremen*. Moscow, 1876. Rpt. Edition. The Hague, 1969.

²³ *Ibid.* P. vi. Zabelin raises the study of the past to a new responsibility of “an educated country”: he includes in the preface to the volume the “golden words” of two scholars K. M. Ber and A. A. Shifner: “If Russia does not study its own most ancient past, then it shall not fulfill its task as an educated state. The matter has already ceased to be national (*narodnym*): it is become a general concern of man” (P. x). The passage is from their *Severnije drevnosti Vorso* (St. Petersburg, 1861), on the work of the Danish academic Worseau, who revitalized his own compatriots’ study of their antiquities. For more on Ber, see N. I. Platonova. *Karl Maksimovich Ber i nachalo issledovanii pervobytnykh drevnostei Rossii // Chelovek i drevnost: pamiati Aleksandra Aleksandrovicha Formozova* (1928–2009). Moscow, 2010. Pp. 611–622, see http://www.archaeology.ru/Download/Platonova/Platonova_2010_Ber.pdf (last visit: May 27, 2012).

is notable about Zabelin’s invocation of Chaadaev’s metaphor for the story here is the artifact he uses to challenge this prevailing assumption: the kurgan. “The kurgan antiquities,” he writes, “that are bestrewn upon our land hide within themselves the true, and genuine cradle of our national life (*istinnuiu, podlinnuiu kolybel’ nashei narodnoi zhizni*).”²⁴ It is a remarkable claim for the kurgan that it was not only a site of antiquity and potential site for Russia’s national past, but that the burial mound, in effect, becomes metaphorically a cradle.

But there was a problem. Who was actually buried inside them? “With great zeal,” Zabelin writes, “we have opened, and continue to open the graves of the ancient inhabitants of our country, but nevertheless we do not reliably know, are these our forefathers, or are they foreign?”²⁵ Although Zabelin was after his own forefathers, his views did not preclude a positive evaluation of several of the peoples with whom the kurgans were affiliated, most notably, the Scythians:

...the southern border extended as the boundless steppe, in which lived the Scythians, a renowned people (*slavnyi narod*), wise, invincible, and possessing a miraculous art of warfare, for it was impossible to catch or to find them in the steppe, just as it was impossible to escape them. In this brief sketch of Scythian warfare, it was fully and very clearly expressed, so to say, the martial essence of our steppes, indeed of our entire country, from which neither Darius the Persian, who went to battle with the Scythians, was able to escape with glory, nor Napoleon, the leader of the Gauls, battling with the Russians.²⁶

We find here of a form of analogical thinking that will become an identity claim made by modernists such as Blok. But with Zabelin, we are still far from appropriation, much less from an identification with an archaic model. But the analogy does point to the question of whether a particular historical moment could be seen to recapitulate a given paradigm, with each, in a sense, iterations of this greater paradigm of the “martial essence of our steppes”: the Scythians defeated an outside invader; those who defeat an outside invader are Scythians; the Russians defeated an outside invader: could that mean, syllogistically, the Russians are Scythians?

Not with Zabelin, but in 1918, when Alexander Blok proclaimed – “Yes, we are Scythians” (Da, Skify my!) in his poem “Skify” (The Scythians) – he

²⁴ Zabelin. *Istoriia russkoi zhizni*. P. xi.

²⁵ *Ibid.* P. xii

²⁶ *Ibid.* P. 2.

marked a high point in the identification of Russia with both the barbarian and the nomad, in an admixture of apocalyptic Eurasianism aimed at the West. Blok's "Scythians" were more of a general category, a paradigm for other Asiatic nomads – "Yes, we are Asians!" (Da, Aziaty my), the line continues – including the Huns and the Golden Horde. Their shared characteristic apart from being Asian and nomadic was that they had posed threats to the West. In this regard, Blok was not only reevaluating the image of the Scythian and other asiatic nomads, but also breaking from recent elaborations of the nomadic theme. The reference point in this regard was Vladimir Solov'ev, whose poem "Panmongolism" (1895) was written in a paroxysm of yellow terror provoked by the Boxer Rebellion in China,²⁷ and cast Russia again as under the threat from the East. Blok, who cites as an epigraph for "The Scythians" the first two lines of Solov'ev's poem – "Panmongolizm! Although the word is savage, it caresses my ear," (Panmongolizm! Khot' slovo diko, / No mne laskaet slukh ono") – defiantly embraced the image of a threatening East, and enfolded Russia into the paradigm of the martial Scythians in a struggle against both the West and Westernized Russia.²⁸

A particular line of attack in "The Scythians" is germane to the pages to come, which is a version of Chaadaev's metaphor of the "page of white paper." Blok's Scythians directly aimed at European antiquities, which, as Olga Matich has characterized it, expressed a "Eurasian apocalyptic fantasy [that] erases ancient historical sites."²⁹ "And the day shall come," Blok proclaims "that there will be not even a trace of your Paestums!" (I den' pridet – ne budet i sleda ot vashikh Pestumov). Paestum, which contained both Greek and Roman antiquities, is destroyed in this vision by Blok's Russo-Scythian barbarians, who shall emerge to complete the job of their ancestors. With Blok, then, we also see the recapitulation of Chaadaev's *tabula rasa*, but which is figured here as a desire for renewal through wiping the slate clean, rather than as a *horrorvacui*. As Matich observes, moreover,

²⁷ On Solov'ev's "Panmongolism," see the section "Panmongolism and the Crisis of Empire" in Ram. *The Imperial Sublime*. Pp. 221-225.

²⁸ A particularly illuminating point of comparison with the reevaluation of the Scythian can be seen in the general career of the category of the "primitive" during Russian modernism. The discursive features have been admirably assessed by Sharp. "Orientalism." *Russian Modernism Between East and West*. I touch on a similar body of concerns regarding the various evaluations of "primitivism," in *The Penchant for the Primitive: Archaeology, Ethnography, and the Aesthetics of Russian Modernism* / Ph.D. dissertation; University of California, Berkeley. Berkeley, 2007.

²⁹ Olga Matich. *Erotic Utopia: The Decadent Imagination in Russia's Fin de Siècle*. Madison, 2005. P. 159.

the tabula rasa is manifest as part of Blok’s Eurasianist fantasy, which seeks to wipe away not only the motley palimpsest of Europe’s own antique sites, but also the effects of Westernization in Russia.

The question that arises in light of this recapitulation of the tabula rasa as an idea tied to Eurasianism is what might one do with all those sites that archaeologists had been pointing out belonged to the nomads themselves, whether in the form of Uvek or kurgans? To do so requires jettisoning the figure of tracelessness and considering instead how Eurasia itself had its own Paestums and Pompeiis, or more appropriately here, *Volga “Pompeiiis.”* There is a gesture to this already in Ballod’s title – *Volga Pompeiis*. To invoke Pompeii was not only to see the story effectively relocated and recapitulated along the Volga steppe, and thus to register the threats of destruction both past and present; it was also to claim that the discoveries, whether large or small, evidenced that these cities were indeed comparable to that paragon of the destroyed city, not that it was inhabited by barbarians (see figs. 2-3):

The beautifully equipped furnaces for the firing of ceramic wares; the homes with a complex system of central heating made of marble and decorative tiles; the water supply system, the geometrically arrayed streets and squares; the caravan sheds; the mosques and grandiose mausoleums, the silks and brocades from interments, the silver ladles, and the Venetian and Persian glass: all portray the population of the cities of the Golden Horde not as savages, but as a cultured people, occupied with manufacture and trade: they were not alien to dealings with the peoples of the East and West, and they broadly developed the applied arts.³⁰

The Volga “Pompeiiis” were thus bounded by these multiple cultural arguments, just as they were being encircled in 1919 by various forces that would be the latter-day iterations of those earlier forces that had destroyed them. It was precisely the kind of structure of repetition and temporal overlay – where a geographic site transects multiple historical epochs – that Pil’niak, as we will see in the next section, used as the basis for thinking through the archaeological site in relation to contemporary events. This presents one of the essential differences between Pil’niak and Blok: for Pil’niak the Scythians and other nomads were perceived not only as a mythology, a precursor that could be appropriated in a fight against the West, but also as an archaeology, and the space of the Russian steppe was a site where archaeology would enter into a confrontation with the Revolution.

³⁰ Ballod. Privolzhskie “Pompei.” P. 131

Ballod and “Baudek” at Uvek

“I am already terribly bored here,” Pil’niak wrote in a letter during his sojourn to Saratov in June of 1919. “But, if you don’t get sick, I think I’ll return toward July, so that I can perhaps gather more impressions. In a few days, I’ll head to the excavations, the archaeological ones, and shall write a story – ‘Wormwood.’”³¹ It was a day after Pil’niak sent his letter (June 9, 1919) that Ballod set off for the various excavation sites, in the company of fifty people, which included participants from the Historical–Philological Department of Saratov University.³² It is this team that likely served as the model for Pil’niak in his description of the excavation scene in “Wormwood,” which, as planned, he finished the following month and published in his collection *Grasses* (Byl’e), which he reworked and included in *Naked Year*: “At the top of Uvek people had noticed ruins and kurgans, the archaeologist Baudek with a group of Tver *muzhiks*, who had earlier been barge haulers on the Volga, had arrived to excavate them.”³³

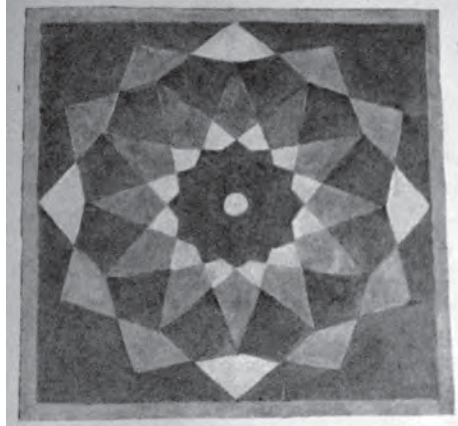


Fig. 2. Example of a Mosaic. From Ballod. Privolzhskie “Pompei”. Table 5.



Fig. 3. “Earthenware form” found on Uvek. From Ballod. Privolzhskie “Pompei”. P. 95.

³¹ Letter to M. A. Sokolovaia. June 9, 1919 // B. A. Pil’niak. Pis’mu. V 2-kh tt. Moscow, 2010. Vol. I. Pp. 303-304.

³² Ballod. Privolzhskie “Pompei”. P. 5.

³³ Boris Pil’niak. Polyn’ // Idem. Byl’e. Revel, 1922. P. 43. Pil’niak scholarship, to my knowledge, has not linked “Wormwood” or *Naked Year* to the actual excavation practices of the period. But scholars of archaeology in Russia have, albeit only in passing: the archaeologist A. A. Formozov observed that “Baudek” was based on Ballod. A. A. Formozov. *Russkie arkheologi v period totalitarizma: istoriograficheskie ocherki*. Moscow, 2004. P. 315; Cited in N. M. Malov. *Sovetskaia arkheologiia v Saratovskom gosudarstvennom universitete (1918–1940): organizatsionnoe stanovlenie, razvitie i represii // Arkheologiia vostochno-evropeiskoi stepi*. 2006. No. 4. Pp. 4-28. P. 13, fn. 49.

To judge by the description we find in “Wormwood”, which Pil’niak reworked for *Naked Year*, what he found at Uvek was more than a relief from boredom, but also a space where chronos striated topos. Perhaps the name Uvek itself, which contains the Russian word for “age” and “century” (*vek*), already promised such significance to an “ornamental” prose writer always weaving together verbal patterns to highlight multiple levels of linguistic signification: “And the centuries preserved for it its name: Uvek.” (*I veka sokhranili za nim svoje imia – Uvek.*):

The summit of Uvek, all in stone, had grown bald; like silvery, dusty bristle, wormwood had grown upon it, and it smelled bitterly. The centuries. The centuries teach just as the stars do and Baudek knew the joy of bitterness. The concepts of the archaeologist Baudek were mixed up with the centuries.³⁴

Vek, veka, Uvek, Uveka: by virtue of an interlingual pun, Uvek is a toponym that is as much a reminder of time as it is a remnant of a bygone time. No wonder, then, that Baudek’s thoughts are “mixed up with the centuries”: to be in Uvek is to find oneself facing a multiplicity of times, and to require that one locate oneself in space and in time.

Critics and scholars have frequently observed, and frequently complained about the stylistic elements of *Naked Year* we find typified in this passage. The editor of *Krasnaia’ nov’*, A. K. Voronskii, who was initially supportive of Pil’niak and published sections from *Naked Year* in the journal, objected: “the reader has to overcome the pages and persistently connect [them] for himself.”³⁵ Faced with an absence of a plot and the use of various orders of discursive, ethnographic, and archaeological material – from eighteenth-century decrees to pagan incantations – critics have called *Naked Year* “a patchwork counterpane,” “a regular anti-system,” “a literary

Other historians of the Volga Germans have noted Pil’niak’s close association with various archaeologists, especially with a certain Paul Rau, who is the eponymous protagonist of Pil’niak’s story “German History” (*Nemetskaia istoriia*, 1928). Natalie Kromm. *Povolzhsko-nemetskii sled v zhizni i proizvedeniiakh pisatel’ia Borisa Pil’niaka* // *Die Geschichte der Wolgadeutschen*. http://wolgadeutsche.net/biographie/Pilnjak_WD_Spuren_rus.htm (last visit: April 9, 2012). See also N. M. Malov. *Paul Rau // Nemtsy Rossii: Entsiklopediia*. Moscow, 2006.

³⁴ The Russian original:

Вершина Увека, в камнях, облысела, серебряной пыльной щетиной поросла польнь, пахнула горько. – Века. – Века учат так же, как звезды, и Баудек знал радость горечи. Понятия археолога Баудека спутались веками. (93/94)

³⁵ A. K. Voronskii. *Boris Pil’niak* (1928) // *Idem. Izbrannye stat’i o literature*. Moscow, 1982. P. 88.

montage,” “mosaic,” or “cubist collage,” which defied the conventions of the realist novel and further radicalized the Russian modernists’ own experimentation with literary form. Most relevant to Pil’niak were Andrei Bely’s *Petersburg* (Peterburg, 1913–16) and Alexander Blok’s *The Twelve* (*Dvenadtsat’*, 1918) both of which seem plot heavy in comparison to the radical attenuation of plot in *Naked Year*. Comparisons, moreover, to both these works were offered to indicate not only Pil’niak’s sources for his formal experiment and cultural ideology, but also the models in light of which he was deemed a maladroitness, slavish epigone. As Victor Erlich summarizes this position, *Naked Year* proceeds with a “montage-like accumulation of heterogeneous detail, often resulting in a virtual orgy of enumeration and apparently designed to mimic the bewildering multifariousness of the new reality.” But, he goes on to note, this “should not be mistaken for a pluralistic vision or a genuine sense of complexity.”³⁶ Scholars who have tried to make a case for genuine complexity rather than incoherence have followed the terms of this argument about the multifariousness of details, but have offered a different mode of linking them. Robert Maguire, for example, extrapolates a general principle from *Naked Year*’s verbal patterning and repetition of themes and motifs: “Pil’niak works... through ‘associations of parallels and antitheses,’ not through the unfolding of a story line in time and space. We must therefore read him as we read so much modern poetry – vertically, as it were, piecing together a picture from scattered clues.”³⁷

Where “verticality” is metaphorical in Maguire’s account, it forms the basic structure of the description of Uvek, where time acquires shape and substance – “and from the earth the centuries were exiting” (*i iz zemli vykhodili veka*). Multiple epochs are registered here stratigraphically, and that mode underpins the entirety of the excavation, which begins with Pil’niak detailing various layers descending back to the very origin of Uvek:

someone unknown came here from the Asiatic steppes in order to found a city and disappear forever from history. But after them, after those unknown people, the Scythians were here, and they left their kurgans. (92/93)

Each of these layers for Pil’niak reveals that Uvek is constituted by multiple nomadic pasts, rather than being solely a settlement of the Golden

³⁶ Victor Erlich. *Two Pioneers of the Soviet Novel: Konstantin Fedin and Boris Pilnyak* // Idem. *Modernism and Revolution*. Cambridge, MA, 1994. P. 139.

³⁷ Maguire. *Red Virgin Soil*. P. 117.

Horde, with each becoming simultaneously perceptible to Baudek. As the excavation sequence descends into the deeper and deeper pasts, moreover, so too will it enter into various other juxtapositions occurring contemporaneously with the excavation itself, namely, those of the Civil War. Indeed, so many temporal frameworks coalesce within the excavation sequence that a reader might feel somewhat like Baudek in trying to parse them. For all the possible confusion this might entail, one reason to track these various frameworks is that they exhibit in a condensed form the greater crisis of thinking through the Revolution and the question of history that haunts *Naked Year*. It does so not only because the Revolution means that time and space are being everywhere upheaved within the landscape but also because archaeology is destabilizing the ground, by pointing toward the deeper pasts contained within in, or calling attention to those artifacts upon its surface.

One initial way to diagnose this dilemma is to say, following Mikhail Bakhtin, that Baudek cannot inhabit a stable chronotope. Bakhtin provided a particularly germane account of verticality as a literary category that he linked to the synchronization of diachrony. Unlike Maguire, for whom the figure of vertical reading is a quintessential aesthetic mode of the modernist text, Bakhtin found it underpinning Dante’s *Inferno*: “the stretching-out of the world – a historical world, in essence – along a vertical axis ... everything that on earth is divided by time, here, in this verticality, coalesces into eternity, into pure simultaneous existence.” The tension of “the synchronization of diachrony,” Bakhtin further wrote, is that “the images and ideas that fill this vertical world are in their turn filled with a powerful desire to escape this world, to set out along the historically productive horizontal, to be distributed not upward but forward.”³⁸ “To synchronize diachrony” was a version of what Trotsky saw as the chief failure of *Naked Year*: in this regard, Pil’niak should have diachronized the synchronic, inasmuch as Trotsky, in Bakhtinian parlance, sensed the absence of a “historically productive horizontal.”

In a similar vein, Peter Jensen argues that Pil’niak’s “*chuvstvo istorizma*” meant the replacement of history as a chronological sequence with a historical space in which all stages of the life of mankind met and recognized one another. From being a sequential syntagm – a chain of events – history became a paradigm, – a class of simultaneously available, mutually and

³⁸ Mikhail Bakhtin. *Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel* // Idem. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin, 1981. Pp. 155-57.

equally related situations. The epoch was experienced as a panchrony.”³⁹ One modification of this account in regard to Baudek’s experience of the excavation is that Baudek encounters various stages of life, but also various ways that life is temporally organized. In light of the terms we find in Bakhtin and Jensen, one notable feature of the excavation sequence is that when Pil’niak turns toward the horizontality, he does so to transform the excavation into a ritual space. Rather than generating a “historical productive horizontal,” horizontal is the plane along which we find various disruptions of the articulation of historical progress. In the concluding passages of the excavation scene, Baudek, in the company of another character Natal’ia, whose views on Russian history take up the rest of the excavation sequence, witnesses a pagan ritual enacted by women circumambulating the excavation:

They stopped to say goodbye and noticed: from the gully toward the excavations, from the other side, from Nikola [church], naked women were running, in single file, with broad, unhurried gait, with disheveled hair, with the dark hollows of their pubic regions, with brooms of feather grass in their hands. The women ran silently to the excavations, ran around the circular ruin on the high point and turned to the ravine, the gully, raising wormwood dust. (93/94-95)

In face of this scene, Baudek proclaims:

Somewhere there is Europe, Marx, scientific socialism, but here a superstition has been preserved that’s a thousand years old. The girls run about their land, they cast spells with their bodies and their purity. This is the week of Peter Summer Solstice. Who will invent the Peter Summer Solstice? This is more beautiful than excavations! Now it is midnight. Perhaps they are the ones casting spells on us. This is the girls’ secret. (94/95)

Since we know of Trotsky’s criticism of *Naked Year*, Baudek’s proclamation “somewhere there is Europe, Marx, scientific socialism” must surely have struck him as part of the problem of the work, since Baudek actually celebrates what Trotsky likely would have labeled “the dead weight of history.” Where the archaeological excavation indicates an artifactual endurance, the women introduce another form, namely, that of pagan belief. We later learn why the women might be running around Uvek, when the wizard Yegorka comes to the excavation and says, “you have no business digging these places. Because this place, Uvek, is mysterious, and it always smells

³⁹ Jensen. *Nature as Code*. P. 308.

of wormwood” (104/104). He then proceeds to tell a story of a Persian princess who had been locked away in one of the towers: “the girls at times jump naked for the Persian beauty, at night, at the solstice, in this season, but that is not known... (104/105). Not only do the women embody a form of endurance, they also signal a particular interconnection between the Russian folk and archaeological sites: in fact, it is likely more accurate not to call Uvek archaeological from the perspective of Yegorka or these women, inasmuch as they remind us that archaeology is itself a practice identified in the sequence with modernity.

Taken together, both the excavation and the ritual represent the various temporalities coalescing in and around Uvek, indicating, by extension, the multiple temporal modalities available to Pil’niak’s characters. The force of Baudek’s gesture, then, marks a more complicated temporal scheme than what Jensen observed in “Wormwood.” One way to account for that scheme is to consider it in relation to one way that premodern and modern time have been distinguished from one another. Benedict Anderson, for example, once asserted that the idea of “simultaneity-in-time” is the quintessential temporality of modern life: a term that means “[a] homogeneous, empty time, in which simultaneity is, as it were, transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar.”⁴⁰ This modern temporality stands in opposition to a “simultaneity-along-time,” which characterizes premodern temporalities, for which Anderson relies on Erich Auerbach’s concept of *figura*. The sacrifice of Isaac, for example, is structured as a *figura* whereby the sacrifice “prefigur[es] Christ, so that in the former the latter is, as it were, announced and promised and the latter ‘fulfills’... the former ... a connection is established between two events which are linked neither temporally nor causally,” but rather “vertically linked to Divine Providence, which alone is able to devise such a plan of history and supply the key to its understanding.”⁴¹ In contrast to this conception of prefiguration and verticality, Anderson argues that the conditions of modernity are constituted by a new form of “simultaneity.” Where Auerbach’s premodern time represents a “simultaneity-along-time” (the prefiguring of a future event by one in the past), this sense of modern time finds its expression in the word “meanwhile,” which juxtaposes two simultaneously occurring events, not necessarily related to one another, but conceptually apprehensible together. “Every essential modern conception,”

⁴⁰ Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. London, 1991. P. 37.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Pp. 22-23; citing Erich Auerbach. *Mimesis / Trans.* Willard R. Trask. Princeton, 1953. Pp. 73-74.

Anderson argues, “is based upon this concept of time.”⁴² Anderson’s terms help to illuminate the particular models of time at work at the excavation scene. In proclaiming “Somewhere there is Europe,” Baudek makes what Anderson would call a “transverse, longitudinal comparison,” juxtaposing two simultaneously occurring events. Rather than constituting a “homogeneous, empty time,” however, Baudek’s juxtaposition compares two distinct temporalities: Scientific Marxism and the pagan rite; the clock and calendar of modernity, the ritual time of the premodern.

These transverse comparisons will only continue as the excavation scene is subsequently set in relation to the events of the Civil War. Following the excavation, for example, another character later reports on the events of the Civil War occurring elsewhere: “The woods and ravines are swarming with bandits. You can hear it – a deathly silence! Death. In the steppes there are villages, which have died out completely. Nobody buries the corpses... The Russian nation” (95/96). This is another transverse comparison, presenting a subtle juxtaposition of the excavation scene with the story of revolutionary violence. Essentially the juxtaposition asks us to consider the significance of not burying the dead, when the excavation scene reveals how archaic peoples had buried their own. These villages are, in effect, becoming Uveks, dead cities, but without the archaic depth. In contrasting these two spaces, what Pil’niak reveals about the current state of the Russian nation is that it is gradually becoming a mass, open grave. In the terms Jensen provides, for example, we might consider the transverse comparison of Uvek and other sites of warfare as a syntagmatic extension of Uvek outward throughout the steppe, where the story of the dead city prefigures those continually being repeated. In so doing, Pil’niak, perhaps unwittingly, ironizes Chaadaev’s “First Philosophical Letter” to bleak effect, while also recapitulating Zabelin’s sense of the “martial essence of the steppe”: revolutionary Russia is more nomadic than other archaic nomads because during the time of the Civil War, it is both the agent and the victim of plunder. As the narrator recounts, “The Reds and the Whites had been in the village of Staryi Kurdyum several times each, whole side streets lie burnt and plundered” (153/151).

In view of all of this destruction, the character Natal’ia perceives the events of the Revolution as a fairytale: “Natal’ia understood: the wormwood, its bitter, fairytale smell, like the smell of the living and dead water, is the

⁴² Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. P. 24, fn 34. Anderson further refines this point in later pages of *Imagined Communities*, when he posits that print made possible “wholly new ideas of simultaneity,” after which “communities of the type ‘horizontal-secular, transverse time’ become possible” (P. 37).

smell not only of these July days, but so smell all of our days.” Smell, in the sequence, is both a mnemonic and a transformer of historical phenomena into paradigms:

Look around, a fairytale is in Russia now. People are creating fairytales, the people are creating the Revolution, and the Revolution has begun as a fairytale. Isn't hunger like a fairytale, isn't death? Are cities dying like they would in fairytales, departing for the eighteenth century? Look around – it's all a fairytale. It smells like wormwood because it's a fairytale. (98/99)

It is this account of the Revolution that furthers our sense that the characters are pulled between a variety of chronotopes, wavering between a historical and mythological account of the Revolution. Even a characters such as Baudek and Natal'ia may feel the pull towards mythological thought, they evince an awareness of historicity itself. As such, the excavation sequence indicates how the work operates with multiple chronotopes, perceived by various characters, and which are all equally available and embodied. That is to say that Pil'niak offers here an inversion of the Bakhtinian framework, inasmuch as the panchronic vision he adopts at this moment of the Revolution are various chronotopes elaborated along geographic space.

It is in this light that we can now turn to the second emblem of the “Mar-Loop-Station.” Like the transverse comparisons that enabled Baudek's comparison of the excavation scene with events occurring simultaneously elsewhere, the train sequence furthers the shift already evidenced in this section toward the topographical, rather than the stratified temporality of Uvek. This turn toward the horizontal, in light of figures such as Bakhtin and Anderson, might suggest that we will also find the restoration of historicity, but as Pil'niak coordinates it, modern movement through the steppe entails the continual encounter with the vestiges of nomads.

“Mar-Loop Station”: The Burial Mound and Modernist Topography

Toward the end of the Uvek sequence, Natal'ia, through whose perspective that whole sequence was told, asks: “A people without a history – For where is the history of the Russian nation?” (*Narod bez istorii – ibo gde istoriia Russkogo naroda?*) (96/97). What prompts the question is the sight of two peasants and a child, all wearing bast sandals, starving, pitiable, louse ridden, but whom she identifies as embodiments of “the Russian nation.” And then Natal'ia recalls: “The very station, where she met them for the first time, was called ‘Mar-Loop Station’” (97/98). Three significant ele-

ments are here – the archaeological, in the form of the kurgan (for which *mar* is a synonym); modernity, in the form of the train; “the Russian nation,” in the form of peasants wearing bast sandals – and their conjunction gives rise to the desire to locate the history of Russia. What is it about this conjunction of the stations of modern mobility and the vestiges of archaic mobility that compel this desire for the historical, and how is “the Russian nation” triangulated between the archaic, on the one hand, and the modern, on the other?

“Mar-Loop Station” recurs at several points within *Naked Year*, and testifies to the way that Pil’niak sought to lace the work with patterns requiring the reader to compare those various appearances in order to delineate their significance. After serving as the setting for Natal’ia’s search for Russian history, its most significant appearance is during one of the most famous sequences in the work, the train ride of “Mixed train no. 57” through the steppe. It is also one of the work’s most gruesome, registering the privations suffered by the dispersed populations of the provinces as they flee encroaching armies or suffer the consequences of the Civil War: “Mixed Train no. 57 crawls along the black steppe. People, human feet, arms, heads, stomachs, spines, a human cargo” (145/144). Pil’niak’s fragmentary style practically dismembers the human figure into its constituent parts, just as they seem to devolve as the passage continues, as though they were not traveling in a train, but a mobile abattoir. As Gary Browning observes of the sequence, “one finds the most intensive negation of humanity – of man’s capability to govern himself, to provide for his basic needs, and to establish a climate proper for love and children.”⁴³ This “human cargo” is at once bound to modernity, and a product of it: their complete privation causes them to lose the rudiments of civilization, and so they are zoomorphized as they learn to sleep like livestock: “The people journey for weeks. All these people have long since lost the distinction between night and day, between filth and cleanliness, and had learned to sleep sitting, standing, hanging” (145/144).

The train is a symbol of industrial modernity, but insofar as it is crisscrossed by peoples for millennia, the question is what the possible relationship between these two forms of mobility might be:

Mar-Loop Station, at which trains never stop and where they don’t change the signaling rod, disappears at once in the darkness. All around is emptiness and steppe. The station agent walks past the *mar*: the steppe kurgan is deathly and silent, – who, when, which nomads

⁴³ Browning. Boris Pil’niak. P. 121.

raised it here, and what does it protect? – the withered feather grass rustles at the kurgan (143/143).

Why would a station agent at a train station ponder the kurgan and its provenance? The reemergence of the kurgan in this late section of *Naked Year* marks the reemergence of the archaeological theme in the work, but unlike the excavation, archaeology is here distributed horizontally across space, and registers the intermingling of various temporalities along a horizontal axis throughout the steppe. The cumulative effect of this sequence is to reveal how a persistent awareness of the archaeological dimensions of the steppe generates a concomitant awareness to the archaic precedent of mobility, one that Pil’niak uses to transform the Civil War into the repetition of this paradigm of steppe violence.

“Mar” is a curious word, with its own etymological tale of supersession and the disappearance of nomads. According to Dal’, *mar* was used primarily in the Southeast, and was synonymous with words such as *bugor*, *nasyt*, *prirodnaia sopka*, and *kurgan*.⁴⁴ The etymologist Fasmer, moreover, indicates that *mar* was used by the Mordva, a Finno-Ugric people, for their “burial mounds.” We find, for example, in Ballod, descriptions of a variety of *mary*: “White Mound” (Belyi mar), which locals called, “Van’ka Kain”; or the “Stone Mound” (Kamennyi mar), which was also known as “Grishka Rasstrizhka.”⁴⁵ Given how Pil’niak uses it in the passage (“the station agent walks past the *mar*: the steppe kurgan is deathly and silent”), he first highlights the locale toponym of “mar” and then provides a translation of the term. Beyond accuracy, the etymological history of the word forms a parallel story to what we have seen in the excavation scene, descending into etymological rather than archaeological origins. One of the cryptic features of the sequence is that Pil’niak eventually focuses on the Mordva, but leaves for investigation the etymological story that underpins the selection of the term *mar*: shortly after the passage, the duty man says: “Asia. Not a country, but Asia. The Tatars, Mordva, Poverty. Not a country, but Asia” (145).

These minute details stand on the opposite end of Pil’niak’s other descriptive mode throughout his description of the steppe, which views the scene from two angles. The first is the station in close-up, and then it shuttles out into a panoramic view onto the entirety of the steppe: “Night moves over the steppe. Stately swishes the sward of the mown grass. At the burial

⁴⁴ V. I. Dal’. *Tolkovy slovar’ zhivogo velikorussskogo iazyka*. S.v. “mar.”

⁴⁵ Ballod. *Privolzhskie “Pompei.”* P. 112.

mound [*mara*] the feather grass rings. The microscopic station ‘Mar-Loop Station’ is not seen” (145/144). In this mode, he recapitulates some of the standard commonplaces by which the steppe has been construed in Russian cultural mythology. As Harsha Ram has observed, “horizontality lacks the grandeur of height and the authoritative vision that height affords; it awakens instead a fear of boundlessness, or, at the very least, the duller anxiety of monotony. In the most extreme case of Bely’s symbolist novel *Petersburg*, the horizontal axis contracts to a ‘point’ where center and periphery collide and intermingle.”⁴⁶ We find Pil’niak registering this sense of the steppe explicitly when the train has stopped at the station: “Steppe. Emptiness. Boundlessness. Darkness. Cold” (148/146). One challenge the kurgan poses to this pervasive sense of horizontality, however, is that it offers many such points, forming an archaic network within the space of the steppe, which Pil’niak uses to conjoin not center and periphery as would Bely, but the archaic and the modern.

Pil’niak partially reveals the significance of the conjunction of the archaic site of the kurgan – the site where nomadic mobility comes to an end in the form of a monument to the dead – with the loop station, when he writes,

Behind the loop-station in the steppe lies the kurgan after which the loop-station is named. Once a man had been killed near the kurgan, and on the gravestone somebody etched out in clumsy letters:

“I was what you are –

But you will be what I am.”

The boundless steppe, the burial mound, are all buried under snow, and of the inscription on the gravestone only two words remain.

“I was....” (154/154)

Here, the kurgan is compounded by another grave, whose inscription transforms the entire scene into a hyperbolized *memento mori*, which indicates that everything is bound to endless repetition. The Mar-Loop Station, in this sense, forms a perfect, if grim emblem for the various oppositions within the work, inasmuch as it contains the modern, which is affiliated with trains and the West, and the archaic, which is affiliated here with the *mar* and the East. To be at the the loop station is to be bounded within the two conditions that have so long structured Russian cultural history, the East and the West, the archaic and the modern, two untenable, and crushing paradigms, which leaves Russia in the hyphenated middle ground between them. Pil’niak does gesture to a way out: the inscription is being covered by

⁴⁶ Ram. *The Imperial Sublime*. Pp. 231-32.

snow: “The boundless steppe, the burial mound, are all buried under snow, and of the inscription on the gravestone only two words remain. I was.” Perhaps the snow, which is a metaphor for the elemental forces associated with the revolution, will form a new field upon which things can be inscribed all over again: another tabula rasa. Since the snow has not entirely erased the inscription, however, it leaves legible a sign of the past, while symbolically leaving the future indeterminate.

What this final emblem suggests is that Pil’niak, like his modernist fore-runners such as Blok, sought a way out of time and space that would steer between the archaic Asia and the modern West, that would take place upon a tabula rasa. Over the course of the 1920s, however, archaeology will serve Pil’niak as a way to continue this powerful myth of renewal.⁴⁷ He writes in a letter of June 16, 1927, about his plans for another story, which would be called “A German History”: “I am thinking about a new tale, about the steppe, about the desert, about a lost kurgan (*poteriannom kurgane*) and about how some pioneer-colonizers (*pionery-kolonizatory*) dig a well and stumble upon the skull of a Sarmatian.”⁴⁸ The problem is that as the ground is readied for the future, the chances increase that some deep shock of the archaic will be unearthed. What is indicated already in *Naked Year*, and what will continue throughout his writing of the 1920s, is the impossibility of achieving the tabula rasa, since at any moment a reminder might emerge that one is always located in a space riven by time.

One reason *Naked Year* warrants sustained attention is Pil’niak’s keen attention to the multiple temporalities he perceived as simultaneously existing in the present; a variegation of time and space to which he sought to give aesthetic form. Pil’niak was by no means the only figure to be interested in this particular conjunction of themes. Therefore, to indicate other trajectories that the archaeology of nomadism could take at the beginning of the twentieth century, I want to conclude with just one example from the vast literature that Russian writers and thinkers produced on the Scythians. We find the Scythian and the kurgan enshrined in the overall development

⁴⁷ At this stage of his career, Pil’niak will not explore this proximity between archaeological practice and industrial modernity to the degree that he will do so later in the decade, as, for example, in *The Volga Falls into the Caspian Sea* (*Volga vpadaet v kaspisskoe more*, 1930), which some critics consider his capitulation to the regime, and the first production novel of the first five-year plans. This conjunction of archaeology and modernization in the early Soviet period is the focus of my article, “Area of Deformation: Dziga Vertov and Salvage Archaeology” (Under Review).

⁴⁸ Letter of 16 June 1927 to O. S. Shcherbinovskaia // *Pis’ma II*. P. 324.

of Russian art in Grabar's *The History of Russian Art* (Istoriia russkago iskusstva), from volume 5, which was written by N. N. Vrangl:

For two and half thousand years the Scythians, Kherson masters, Genoese visitors, Germans, Italians, Dutch, and French all vying with each other brought their treasures to the history of Russian culture and the reflections of their creations have come to us from ancient to modern times. The *kurgany* of southern Russia, the Crimea, Georgia, Novgorod, Kiev, Rostov, Vladimir and Moscow preserve the monuments of the beauty of the past. The mixture (*smes'*) of various cultures gave in the end a new worldview, a new beauty. Artistic traditions were inherited from the Greek colonies from the banks of the Black Sea to Kiev, from Persia to eastern Russia, from the depths of Central Asia to Siberia and to the banks of the Dunai.⁴⁹

How different this view from that of Chaadaev: "We belong to none of the great families of mankind, we are neither of the West nor the East, and we possess the traditions of neither." Rather than an orphaned culture, or one bound between that slim margin of the "Mar-Loop Station," Russia is imagined here as a syncretic one, who is heir to the various traditions that left their traces (to borrow from Chaadaev's terminology, but obviously against his spirit) and who could fashion these artifacts and influences into a "new worldview, a new beauty." The respective views of Chaadaev and Vrangl chart the basic poles by which the same terrain was evaluated, with one representing the most agonized assessment, and predominated by the metaphor of orphanage, and the other the most optimistically syncretic, predominated by Russia as an heir or even a home. What is eminently notable about the *Istoriia* is that it unifies the vast temporal and spatial extensions of Russia's imperial geography into a history underpinned by aesthetic values and temporal continuity. Russia, in this view, is a repository of untouched riches and home to a variety of peoples, not a series of endless hordes and yokes that laid waste to the country. This vision effectively transforms the prevailing conception of the Russian landscape as a barren waste – "Steppe. Emptiness. Boundlessness. Darkness. Cold" (148/146) – and marks the concomitant promotion of a range of artifacts of different provenance and of varying degrees of prestige to a shared rank in an aesthetic hierarchy that generates some curious bedfellows: the pagan Scythians and their kurgans can now be as esteemed in the same breath, and in the same history, as Orthodoxy and its churches, and the peoples from the depths of Central Asia.

⁴⁹ I. E. Grabar' (Ed.). *Istoriia russkago iskusstva*. Moscow, 1910–1914. V. 5.

SUMMARY

In 1919, the archaeologist F. V. Ballod arrives at Uvek, a former city of the Golden Horde, where he conducts excavations of the site and finds artifacts of various peoples located within it. A few days later, the writer Boris Pil'niak also arrives at Uvek, having heard about the excavations, and finds there a model by which to think through the aftermath of the Revolution. Taking this conjunction of archaeological excavation and modernist literary experiment as its departure point, this article considers how archaeology serves as a conceptual and aesthetic resource for Pil'niak's account of the aftermath and promise of the Revolution in his *Naked Year* (Golyi god, 1922). Focusing on Pil'niak's representation of the Uvek excavation and on the recurrent figure of the *kurgan*, or burial mound, Michael Kunichika proposes to read these episodes as structured by two descriptive modes – modernist stratigraphy and topography – which enable Pil'niak to coordinate the encounter between the deep past and the present day. This close proximity of the archaic and the modern in *Naked Year* indicates the work's ascription to the steppe landscape of a spatiotemporal structure far more complex than the commonplace of the steppe as a proverbial void. This structure of the landscape is made legible by Pil'niak's attendance to archaeology generally and to the archaeology of nomadism in particular. It is this juxtaposition between the deep past and the contemporary situation of Revolution that is central to understanding one of the work's central questions, namely, “where is the history of the Russian nation?”

РЕЗЮМЕ

В 1919 г. археолог Ф. В. Баллод прибывает в Увек, древний золотоордынский город, начинает его раскопки и находит ценные артефакты, относящиеся к проживавшим там разным народам. Несколькими днями позже писатель Борис Пильняк, узнав про раскопки, также приезжает в Увек и обнаруживает там модель, с помощью которой пытается осмыслить постреволюционную жизнь. Отталкиваясь от наложения археологических раскопок и модернистского литературного эксперимента, автор рассматривает археологию как концептуальный и эстетический ресурс, который Пильняк использует в описании послереволюционного времени и ожиданий, рожденных революцией, в “Голом годе” (1922). Майкл Куничика сосредотачивается на репрезентации раскопок Увека и символизме кургана в тексте Пильняка и предлагает интерпретировать эти сюжеты как структурированные двумя описательными модусами –

модернистской стратиграфией и топографией, с помощью которых Пильняк координирует отношения между глубокой древностью и сегодняшним днем. Близость архаического и современного в “Голом годе” и обращение Пильняка к археологии кочевников позволяет Куничике говорить о том, что Пильняк приписывал степному ландшафту гораздо более сложную пространственно-временную структуру, нежели привычный образ степи как пустоты. Именно противопоставление глубокой древности и революционного настоящего принципиально для понимания главного вопроса “Голого года”: где проявляется “история русской нации”?

Алексей ПОПОВ

**“МЫ ИЩЕМ ТО, ЧЕГО НЕ ТЕРЯЛИ”:
СОВЕТСКИЕ “ДИКАРИ”
В ПОИСКАХ МЕСТА ПОД СОЛНЦЕМ***

Солнце светит ярким светом
Над Москвою и вокруг.
Почему же люди летом
Отправляются на юг?¹

В советских конституциях 1936 и 1977 гг. утверждалось, что “граждане СССР имеют право на отдых”.² Под этой достаточно размытой формулировкой понимались все возможные циклы отдыха/рекреации

* Автор благодарит Сергея Ушакина и анонимных рецензентов *Ab Imperio* за ценные замечания и рекомендации, позволившие значительно улучшить текст и определить приоритетные вопросы дальнейшего исследования темы. Часть материалов для публикации была собрана благодаря поддержке Gerda Henkel Stiftung. Также хочется поблагодарить Алексея Голубева и Людмилу Кузнецову, без помощи которых появление данной статьи было бы невозможно.

¹ Куплет из песни “В Подмосковье водятся леши” (муз. В. Шаинского, слова Э. Успенского, мультфильм “Старуха Шапокляк”, 1974).

² Ст. 119 Конституции СССР 1936 г. и ст. 41 Конституции СССР 1977 г.

(от лат. *rescreatio* – “восстановление”): ежедневный (после рабочего дня), еженедельный (после рабочей недели), ежегодный (очередной оплачиваемый отпуск) и даже жизненный (пенсия). Ежегодный отпуск, продолжительность которого не могла быть меньше 14 дней, имел для советского человека особое значение. И дело здесь было не только в физиологическом и психологическом восстановлении организма. Располагая фиксированным количеством свободных от работы дней, а также определенным запасом денежных средств (отпускные + накопления), человек получал реальную возможность быть мобильным: навестить престарелую бабушку в вологодском селе, повидать закадычного друга детства в Киеве, махнуть по путевке в многодневный тур по ленинским местам. Кстати, текст “брежневской” конституции (1977) прямо указывал на то, что одним из инструментов реализации права на отдых является развитие в стране массового туризма. Правда, отдых не означал получение человеком аванса экзистенциальной свободы. В советских реалиях он должен был быть таким же общественно полезным и организованным, как и ударный труд на благо страны. Особенно если это касалось отдыха по санаторно-курортным или туристическим путевкам.

Однако в период “оттепели” зарождается, а в период “застоя” получает массовое распространение феномен неорганизованной рекреационной мобильности, действующие лица которой получили название “дикари”.³ На рубеже 1950–1960-х гг. это понятие стало широко использоваться по отношению к тем советским гражданам, которые путешествовали и/или отдыхали на курортах самостоятельно, без путевок каких-либо организаций. Так, на страницах “Литературной газеты” от 28 мая 1966 г. констатировалось:

Слово это (дикарь. – *А.П.*) настолько вошло в обиход, что его уже можно употреблять без кавычек. А вошло оно в моду потому, что дикари – наиболее многочисленная из категорий отдыхающих, выбирающих маршрут по своему вкусу.⁴

³ Первые известные нам упоминания слова “дикари” в данном контексте относятся к 1956 г., когда в журнале “Крокодил” (№ 18) был опубликован фельетон “Записки дикаря” – об отдыхе без путевки на Кавказских Минеральных Водах, а советский писатель и драматург Сергей Владимирович Михалков завершил работу над комедийно-лирической пьесой “Дикари”.

⁴ Цит. по: Н. Б. Лебина. Энциклопедия банальностей: Советская повседневность: Контуры, символы, знаки. Санкт-Петербург, 2006. С. 126. Иногда “дикарей” называли также “индусами” (сокращение от “индивидуально устраивающийся”).

Популярность “дикого” туризма росла очень быстро. В СССР на протяжении 1960–1980-х гг. неорганизованным способом ежегодно путешествовали десятки миллионов людей, что дало основание современникам говорить о “рекреационном буме” и “рекреационном взрыве”.⁵ Неорганизованные формы рекреационной мобильности в той или иной степени проявлялись на всей территории Советского Союза, но нами будет охарактеризовано самое популярное, магистральное направление летней миграции “дикарей” – направление “на юг”.⁶ Фактологической основой для исследования преимущественно стали материалы Крыма, поскольку именно Крыму еще с 1920-х гг. принадлежал статус “всесоюзной здравницы”, а в 1960-е гг. добавился еще один значимый титул – “рай для дикарей”. “Все хотят в рай. А рай – это Крым”, – с известной долей сарказма вынужден был констатировать автор одного из фельетонов на страницах журнала “Крокодил”.⁷ И это оценочное суждение подтверждали данные проведенного в 1975 г. всесоюзного социологического исследования. Самым популярным среди граждан СССР вариантом ответа о желаемом способе проведения летнего отпуска (21% респондентов) оказалось проведение его именно в Крыму, а вторым по популярности направлением (16% респондентов) было названо Черноморское побережье Кавказа.⁸

Чем же манил юг советских людей послевоенной эпохи? Кто и почему отдыхал “диким” способом на юге в поздний советский период? Как выстраивались отношения “дикарей” с жителями черноморских курортов и органами власти? Попытке ответить на эти вопросы посвящено данное исследование.

⁵ На данный момент наиболее подробно тема массового приморского туризма в СССР (в основном на материалах Черноморского побережья Кавказа) представлена в работе: Christian Noack. *Coping with the Tourist. Planned and “Wild” Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast* // Anne Gorsuch, Diane Koenker (Eds.). *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*. Ithaca, 2006. Pp. 281-304.

⁶ Подробно о “построении” Юга как дискурсивного конструкта в европейской гуманитаристике см.: *Einleitung* // Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, Martina Winkler (Hrsg.). *Der Süden. Neue Perspektiven auf eine europäische Geschichtsregion*. Frankfurt am Main, 2007. S. 7-20.

⁷ В. Митин. К северо-востоку от рая // *Крокодил*. 1968. № 18. С. 13.

⁸ В. И. Переведенцев. Путешествие с путевкой. Летний отдых в зеркале социологии // *Литературная газета*. 1977. 20 июля.

Летняя миграция на юг: масштабы и причины

Один из зарубежных друзей Советского Союза, датский писатель Мартин Андерсен-Нексе, после своего посещения Крыма писал, что “весь полуостров обрамлен голыми, коричневыми, как терракот, телами”.⁹ Этот, безусловно, гиперболизированный образ из года в год все более приближался к истине. В период “развитого социализма” Крым, население которого составляло около 2 млн человек, ежегодно посещало до 7–8 млн туристов и рекреантов. Увеличение количества туристов и рекреантов в Крыму с 1958 по 1988 г. почти в 12 раз (на других приморских курортах СССР наблюдалась сходная динамика) и дало основание современникам говорить о “рекреационном взрыве”. Причем не менее 75% от общего количества отдохавших здесь советских граждан были именно “дикарями” (табл. 1).

Таблица 1. Динамика численности рекреантов, посетивших Крым в советский период, млн чел. (%)¹⁰

Отдыхавшие	Годы							
	1928	1958	1960	1970	1980	1985	1987	1988
Организовано	0,09 82%	0,4 57%	0,46 38%	1,2 24%	1,5 21%	1,6 23%	2,0 25%	2,1 25%
Неорганизовано	0,02 18%	0,3 43%	0,74 62%	3,8 76%	5,7 79%	5,4 77%	5,9 75%	6,2 75%
Всего отдохавших	0,11 100%	0,7 100%	1,2 100%	5,0 100%	7,2 100%	7,0 100%	7,9 100%	8,3 100%

Что же заставляло миллионы людей проводить бесценные недели ежегодного отпуска на юге, выбирая преимущественно неорганизованный формат отдыха? Советские авторы объясняли причину “рекреационного бума” прежде всего социально-экономическими, отчасти социокультурными факторами. Статистика тех лет показывала позитивную картину увеличения количества свободного времени у населения при одновременном улучшении уровня его материального благосостояния, а неуклонный рост культурно-образовательного уровня

⁹ Л. И. Горьков. Вписано рукой Ильича // Дворцы здоровья – трудящимся. Симферополь, 1970. С. 20.

¹⁰ Курортно-рекреационное хозяйство Крыма: сезонность, занятость населения: Информационный материал. Симферополь, 1990. С. 13.

советских граждан должен был способствовать формированию у них потребности в познании родной страны.¹¹

В исследованиях постсоветского периода обращается внимание на некоторые дополнительные факторы, оказавшие влияние на рост масштабов неорганизованного отдыха в 1960–1980-е гг. Один из факторов – это увеличение на руках у населения денежной массы при весьма ограниченных возможностях ее использования. Если в 1960 г. размеры денежных вкладов в сберегательных кассах СССР составляли 10,9 млрд рублей, то в 1985 г. – уже 220,8 млрд рублей.¹² В советских реалиях были чрезвычайно ограничены возможности людей инвестировать свои сбережения в развитие собственного бизнеса, покупку недвижимости. Потратить накопленные средства на приобретение автомобиля, мебели, бытовой техники также было проблематично по причине дефицита этих товаров, а возможности совершать туристские поездки за границу были существенно ограничены. В итоге свои накопления советские граждане либо “откладывали на сберкнижку” (отсюда более чем 20-кратное увеличение размеров вкладов), либо тратили на отдых и путешествия по стране (что и стало финансовым фундаментом для “рекреационного бума”).¹³ Причем право на отдых реализовывалось преимущественно в неорганизованной форме, поскольку путевки на популярные курорты также были в дефиците и зачастую доставались по льготной цене работникам с невысоким уровнем дохода, в то время как более высокооплачиваемые сотрудники уходили из профкома ни с чем.¹⁴

В обеспечении рекреационной мобильности “дикарей” важную роль играло наличие личного автотранспорта, поэтому рост количества легковых автомобилей, находившихся в собственности граждан СССР, также имел большое значение в контексте рассматриваемой темы. Например, за 15 лет количество легковых автомобилей, нахо-

¹¹ В. И. Азар. *Отдых трудящихся СССР*. Москва, 1972. С. 6-12.

¹² Народное хозяйство СССР в 1960 году: Стат. ежегодник. Москва, 1961. С. 854; Народное хозяйство СССР в 1985 году: Стат. ежегодник. Москва, 1986. С. 448.

¹³ С. І. Попович. Соціально-економічні передумови розвитку туризму в Україні та розширення його інфраструктури в 60-х – першій половині 80-х рр. // *З історії вітчизняного туризму: Зб. наук. статей*. Київ, 1997. С. 115-118.

¹⁴ В одном из изданий 1980-х гг. приводится характерный рассказ женщины, приехавший отдыхать без путевки в Ялту: “...в нашей организации если и бывает профсоюзная путевка, то всего одна в год, и ее всегда отдают уборщице, как малооплачиваемой. Остальные устраиваются, кто как может”, см.: С. Суханова. *Ялта: город чудный, город бедный*. Симферополь, 1989. С. 15.

дившихся в собственности советских граждан, увеличилось в 7,5 раза. Если в 1970 г. этот показатель составлял шесть автомашин на 1000 человек, то в 1985 г. – уже 45 автомашин на 1000 человек.¹⁵ Среди западных авторов на проблему взаимосвязи между “автомобилизацией” населения СССР и ростом “дикого” туризма впервые обратил внимание Льюис Сигельбаум (*Lewis Siegelbaum*).¹⁶ Не случайно практически одновременно с новым рекреационным значением слова “дикарь” в русский язык вошли такие новообразования, как “автотуризм”, “автотурист” и “автостоп”.¹⁷

Существовала еще одна причина, лежавшая в социально-психологической плоскости. Неорганизованная рекреация предоставляла возможность не только выбирать время, направление, продолжительность поездки на юг, но и отдыхать в том круге лиц, который участники вояжа считали оптимальным. В частности “дикий” способ рекреации мог обеспечить весьма редкую для граждан СССР возможность семейного отдыха и туризма, потому что в Советском Союзе профсоюзная путевка обычно предоставлялась лишь одному из членов семьи. Внутренние правила большинства санаториев и турбаз долгое время вообще не предусматривали размещения здесь детей, а семейные пары если и принимались, то без гарантии получения отдельного номера. Удивительно, но только в 1972 г. в СССР появились первые дома отдыха и пансионаты для родителей с детьми.¹⁸ В последующие годы их количество постоянно росло, но не могло удовлетворить огромный спрос на семейный отдых. Советский демограф и публицист Виктор Переведенцев так характеризовал данную проблему:

Большинство из нас – об этом говорят социологические исследования – желает отдыхать семейно. Многие едут на море (а это самый популярный сейчас вид отдыха) ради ребенка, его здоровья. Для некоторых семей совместный отдых чуть ли не единственная возможность относительно продолжительной нормальной семейной жизни: для тех, например, кто работает на Севере, а семья живет “на материке”...

¹⁵ Народное хозяйство СССР в 1985 году: Стат. ежегодник. Москва, 1986. С. 446.

¹⁶ Lewis Siegelbaum. *Cars for Comrades: The Life of the Soviet Automobile*. Ithaca, NY. 2008. Pp. 228-229.

¹⁷ Новые слова и значения: Словарь-справочник по материалам прессы и литературы 60-х годов. Москва, 1971. С. 34-35, 157-158.

¹⁸ Подробнее о семейном отдыхе в СССР послевоенного периода см.: Diane Koenker. *Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union // Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 2009. Vol. 51. No. 2. Pp. 401-425.

Между тем возможности организованного семейного отдыха незначительны. Недостаток мест для отдыха семьей – самое узкое место всей системы нашего организованного отдыха.¹⁹

Однако уже на этапе своего зарождения движение советских “дикарей”, ставшее реальной альтернативой организованному (плановому, путевочному) отдыху, приобрело и некоторую идейную основу. Экзистенциальную сущность “дикого” туризма отдельные его адепты выразили чрезвычайно емкой по своему содержанию фразой, якобы сказанной неким “палаточным мудрецом”: “Мы ищем то, чего не теряли”. Это выражение стало и неофициальным девизом участников полевых экспедиций советских геологов и археологов, которые действительно искали залежи полезных ископаемых или оставленные предыдущими поколениями артефакты.²⁰ Но именно в случае с туристами эти “искания” обретали не утилитарный, а мировоззренческий, по-настоящему философский смысл.

Зигмунт Бауман (*Zygmunt Bauman*) в своей работе “От паломника к туристу” достаточно подробно охарактеризовал архетипы “человека путешествующего” в их исторической динамике. В частности он концептуально разграничил образы Бродяги и Туриста, которые могут быть использованы и при анализе ценностных установок “дикарей”:

Подобно бродяге, турист находится в движении. Подобно бродяге, он всюду вхож, но нигде не свой. Однако между ними есть некоторые весьма существенные отличия.

Во-первых, у бродяги равновесие между “толкает” и “манит” достигается сильным перекосом в сторону “толкает”, а у туриста центр тяжести смещен к “манит”. Туристом движет цель (или, по крайней мере, он(а) так думает). Он(а) двигается прежде всего “для” и только потом (если вообще) “по причине”.²¹

Используя терминологию Баумана можно утверждать, что человек в путешествии обычно “толкает” нечто, связанное с его основным местом жительства и привычным образом жизни, то, что в начале поездки он склонен оценивать негативно и чем готов, хотя бы временно,

¹⁹ В. И. Переведенцев. На курорт – с женой и сыном // Литературная газета. 1977. 28 декабря.

²⁰ “Мы ищем то, что не теряли. / Бывает – изредка – найдем”. См. Борис Эфрос. Держись, геолог! [1980-е] // Б. Д. Эфрос. Мы ищем то, что не теряли... Стихи разных лет. Апатиты, 2007. С. 7.

²¹ З. Бауман. От паломника к туристу // <http://sj.obliq.ru/article/198> [сохраненная копия]. Дата обращения – 10 мая 2012 г.

пожертвовать. Даже в “причесанных” советских текстах тяга на юг связывалась с попыткой бегства от негативного воздействия антропогенной среды большого города, желанием избавиться от рутинного быта и профессиональных обязанностей, стремлением изменить и расширить сложившийся круг общения.

Поездка в Крым пробуждает надежды: обещает исцеление недугов, радость общения с новыми людьми, соприкосновение с красотой природы. Благодатный климат, жажда новых впечатлений влекут сюда миллионы людей. Отдых от обыденности... необходимый в наш век постоянных стрессов и преследующего человека однообразия – здесь (в Крыму. – *А.П.*) кажется обеспеченным в полной мере.²²

А главной “манящей” категорией, устойчиво ассоциирующейся с югом, являлась свобода, возможность по собственному усмотрению распоряжаться своим временем, телом и мыслями. Не случайно сюжет советского фильма “Будьте моим мужем” (1981, режиссер Алла Сурикова) начинается с диалога: “На море еду, нервишки подлечить. – Дикарем?... – Что ты! Свободным человеком”.

Однако почему объектом для отпускного эскапизма чаще всего становился именно Крым или Черноморское побережье Кавказа? На наш взгляд, во многом это было обусловлено особым статусом юга на ментальной карте русского/советского человека, который был обозначен задолго до начала “рекреационного бума” в СССР. Например, еще классик поэзии Серебряного века Игорь Северянин стал автором стихотворения “Тяга на юг” (1929). В нем поэт говорит о неотрефлексированном стремлении в далекий край, который не только отличается природно-климатическим своеобразием (здесь “ласковой воздух и ярче волна”), но и способствует погружению путешественника в особое экзистенциальное состояние “грёз без предела и чувств без оков”.

Однако рубеж 1950–1960-х гг. стал переломным в том смысле, что экономическое развитие и социальная политика в СССР впервые позволили миллионам людей практически воплотить в жизнь мечту о путешествии на юг, реально совершить то, что раньше было возможно преимущественно на уровне воображения, метафор и символов. В известной книге Петра Вайля и Александра Гениса “60-е. Мир советского человека” говорится о том, что для поколения “шестидесятников” было характерно чрезвычайно сильное, хотя и недостаточное

²² А. Опочинская. Невзгоды старой Ялты // *Архитектура СССР*. 1989. № 1. С. 102. 268

рационально обоснованное стремление к совершению миграций по территории страны. Целью преодоления иногда весьма значительных расстояний была романтика, которая в большой степени стала синонимом слова “свобода”.²³ При этом имела место *романтика труда и подвига*, вектор которой был ориентирован на восток – по направлению к расположенным за Уралом ударным стройкам. Этот вектор нес в себе более выраженное коллективистское начало и во многом основывался на традициях “великих строек” эпохи первых пятилеток. Однако все большее влияние обретает *романтика отдыха и свободы*, которая по своей природе была более индивидуалистской (личной, интимной) и наиболее успешно реализовывалась за пределами места постоянного проживания. Географически такой романтизированный отдых ассоциировался с югом, сезонно – с летом, символически – с морем.

Достижение глубокого рекреационного эффекта (особенно на психологически-эмоциональном уровне) основано на трех основных составляющих: смена окружающей среды; смена привычного вида деятельности; смена круга общения и/или переход отношений со старыми знакомыми на качественно новый уровень.

Поездка на юг давала хорошую перспективу для решения всех этих задач:

1. природно-климатические условия побережья Черного моря, как правило, заметно отличались от тех, что были характерны для большей части территории СССР;
2. “дикий” отдых у моря предоставлял большие возможности для самореализации, а также пространство для различных социальных и индивидуальных экспериментов (в идеале максимально отдаленных от основного вида деятельности отдыхающих). Например, в фильме “Три плюс два” (1963, режиссер Генрих Оганесян) доктор физико-математических наук Степан Сундуков упорно отказывается говорить на темы, связанные с физикой, с удовольствием заменяя расщепление атома “расщеплением” только что пойманной морской рыбы. В этом контексте интересно отметить, что большое распространение среди убежденных “дикарей” получил ренейминг, т.е. присвоение неорганизованным рекреантам разнообразных прозвищ, которые заменяли их имена в повседневной жизни (что достоверно отражено в том же фильме “Три плюс два”);

²³ П. Вайль, А. Генис. 60-е. Мир советского человека. 2-е изд. Москва, 1998. С. 126.



Илл. 1. “Дикий” отдых у моря как пространство для экспериментов (постановочное фото 1970-х гг.).

3. как пишет Анна Роткирх, в Советском Союзе летние поездки к морю предоставляли возможность сбежать от конвенциональной сексуальной морали, выбраться из-под надзора родителей, супругов или детей. Вдобавок путешествия могли обеспечить приватное физическое пространство, было ли оно туристской палаткой, купе поезда или гостиничным номером. В глазах мужчин и особенно женщин поездки на юг рассматривались как хороший способ найти нового партнера.²⁴

²⁴ А. Роткирх. Мужской вопрос: любовь и секс трех поколений в автобиографиях петербуржцев. Санкт-Петербург, 2011. С. 150-152.

Ипостаси советского “дикаря”

Многочисленность и неоднородность ежегодного потока “дикарей” значительно затрудняла классификацию представителей этого направления рекреационной деятельности. В книге публициста А. Н. Кузнецова “Дорогами Крыма” (1976) говорилось лишь о трех типах “дикарей”. К первому типу он относил студентов, стремившихся найти максимально дешевое пристанище в непосредственной близости от моря, в том числе они могли довольствоваться походной жизнью в палатке. Второй тип – люди среднего и пожилого возраста, имевшие показания к санаторному лечению, но не доставшие путевки. Приехав в приморские города Крыма, они останавливались на частной квартире и пытались приобрести курсовку, дававшую право на получение амбулаторного лечения в санаториях или курортных поликлиниках. Третий тип – супружеские пары (или один из родителей) с несовершеннолетними детьми, которые обычно также размещались в арендованных у местных жителей помещениях. По наблюдениям А. Н. Кузнецова именно последняя категория “дикарей” на протяжении 1960-х – первой половины 1970-х гг. имела наиболее заметную тенденцию к росту.²⁵

Ниже нами будет предложена авторская модель типологизации неорганизованных отдыхающих Крыма и Черноморского побережья Кавказа, основанная на сопоставлении двух ключевых параметров: 1) оценочное отношение самих рекреантов к “дикому” формату отдыха; 2) степень их мобильности/автономности. Для большей наглядности в качестве типичных примеров будут использованы киногерои из популярных советских фильмов 1960–1980-х гг., в которых ярко представлена тема летнего отдыха у моря без путевки: “Три плюс два”, “Будьте моим мужем” и “Спортлото 82” (1982, режиссер Леонид Гайдай).

Таблица 2. Типологизация “дикарей”

<p>Мобильный “дикарь” по выбору <i>Бродяга</i> Пример: Степан Сундуков (“Три плюс два”)</p>	<p>Оседлый “дикарь” по выбору <i>Мечтатель</i> Пример: Вадим (“Будьте моим мужем”)</p>
<p>Мобильный “дикарь” по принуждению <i>Прагматик</i> Пример: Павел, жених Татьяны (“Спортлото 82”)</p>	<p>Оседлый “дикарь” по принуждению <i>Мученик</i> Пример: Наталья Костикова (“Будьте моим мужем”)</p>

²⁵ А. Н. Кузнецов. Дорогами Крыма. Москва, 1976. С. 57.

Итак, по оценочному отношению к неорганизованному формату рекреации мы выделяем “дикарей по принуждению” и “дикарей по выбору”. Первых советская система распределения социальных благ обделила вожаденной путевкой на юг, несмотря на желание ею воспользоваться.²⁶ Для вторых отдых без путевки был осознанным и самостоятельным выбором, а различные блага цивилизации не всегда желанным багажом. Именно о таких романтиках, своеобразных “диссидентах от рекреации” советский географ Борис Родоман писал: “Сколько бы прекрасных гостиниц и приютов мы ни построили... все равно останутся любители палаток и нехоженых троп”.²⁷

С другой стороны, можно разделить “мобильных дикарей” и “оседлых дикарей”. Важной особенностью первых было наличие собственного автомобиля и/или походного снаряжения. Это избавляло их от жесткой привязки к конкретному месту рекреационной локации. Определенный набор “номадических предметов”²⁸ (например, палатка, легкая складная мебель, походный инвентарь для приготовления пищи, радиоприемник), а также запас продуктов питания долгосрочного хранения позволял им поддерживать достаточно высокую автономность на протяжении нескольких отпускных недель. Поскольку советская промышленность чрезвычайно медленно подстраивалась под нужды автотуристов, то значительное распространение получили самодельные приспособления, облегчавшие походный быт: переносные плиты различных конструкций, разборные столы и стулья, “бензиновые самовары” и т.п.²⁹

“Оседлые дикари” добивались до места отдыха без использования личного автотранспорта. Отсутствие автомобиля затрудняло пере-

²⁶ Именно вынужденный характер “дикого” туризма подчеркивается в работе об истории советского туризма канадской исследовательницы Anne Gorsuch. См.: Anne Gorsuch. All This is Your World: Soviet Tourist at Home and Abroad after Stalin. New York, 2011. Pp. 33-34.

²⁷ Б. Б. Родоман. Географические проблемы отдыха и туризма // Территориальные системы производительных сил. Москва, 1971. С. 325-326.

²⁸ Термин французского интеллектуала Жака Аттали (*Jacques Attali*). См.: Жак Аттали. Кочевники // http://www.neonomad.kz/styleneonomad/moda/index.php?ELEMENT_ID=2347.

²⁹ См., напр.: Автолюбители на юге. Походная кухня туриста // За рулем. 1961. № 7. С. 19. Пример приспособления к путешествию самого транспортного средства в советских реалиях см.: О. Смоляк. Сделай сам. Несколько замечаний о комфорте и изобретательности советского человека в 1960-е годы // Ab Imperio. 2011. № 4. С. 251-256.

мещение по рекреационной территории, а также практически лишало возможности брать с собой на отдых громоздкий походный инвентарь и продуктовый запас. В результате заметно снижалась степень автономности таких рекреантов, потребность в ночлеге и питании привязывала их к сервисной инфраструктуре конкретного населенного пункта. В Крыму неорганизованные отдыхающие размещались в 140 приморских городах и поселках, причем более 70% из них сознательно выбирали самые крупные рекреационные центры – Ялту, Евпаторию, Алушту и Феодосию.³⁰ Быт “оседлых дикарей” в достаточно большом курортном городе очень колоритно показан в фильме “Будьте моим мужем”, в то время как кинокартина “Три плюс два” посвящена преимущественно отдыху “диких” автотуристов.

Характеризуя условные типы неорганизованных рекреантов, следует начать с Бродяги – мобильного “дикаря” по выбору, во многом похожего на участника самостоятельного туристского движения в СССР. “Походный туризм” (пешеходный, лыжный, водный, велосипедный) был широко распространен на всей территории Советского Союза и не имел выраженной сезонности, как приморский “дикий” отдых.³¹ Однако Бродягу крымского или, например, алтайского, роднили борода, песни у костра под гитару, постоянное употребление консервов (когда каждый прием пищи стандартно начинается с вопроса “В томате или в масле?”). Примером Бродяги является герой кинокартины “Три плюс два” Степан Сундуков (“Сундук”, “Доктор”). Именно он, в отличие от своих спутников, на протяжении всего отпуска/фильма остался верен “клятве дикаря”: не бриться, не пить и не курить. Бродяга, безусловно, отличался склонностью к натуразму в сочетании с некоторым аскетизмом. Так, в сценарии пьесы Сергея Михалкова “Дикари” есть характерный диалог, не вошедший в киноверсию произведения:

– Да! Хорошо все-таки вот так отдыхать в полном отрыве от цивилизованного мира! Отдых так отдых! Давайте, давайте, друзья, растворимся в природе и оградим себя от всех внешних раздражителей! И по сему случаю предлагаю вообще на время оставить все разговоры о ресторанах, об удобствах гостиничного бытия...

³⁰ Е. А. Сергеева. К вопросу снижения притока неорганизованных отдыхающих в приморские города-курорты // Наука и техника в городском хозяйстве. Киев, 1989. Вып. 70. С. 98.

³¹ Более подробно о феномене “походного туризма” в позднем СССР см.: Борис Родоман. Досуг вне государства: самоорганизация походных туристов // <http://www.strana-oz.ru/?numid=27&article=1183>.

- И о женщинах!
- Да. И о них тоже.
- Меня женщины вообще не интересуют. Вы это знаете.³²

В образе Павла, жениха Татьяны из фильма “Спортлото 82”, мы видим Прагматика, который имеет лишь внешнее сходство с Бродягой. Как и Сундуков, он владеет собственным автомобилем, переносным примусом, складным столом и стульями. Он тоже остановился на отдых на живописном берегу крымской бухты. Но для него это лишь вынужденный рациональный выбор той альтернативы летнего отпуска, которая на данный момент более доступна, а в каком-то смысле еще и удобная, модная, экономная. Прагматик также обычно не разделяет аскетизма Бродяги (вспомним, с каким вожделием Павел ожидает приезда своей невесты Татьяны в лагерь автотуристов).

Характеризуя ипостаси “оседлых дикарей”, сразу следует отметить, что четко разграничить Мечтателей и Мучеников достаточно сложно. Ведь после столкновения с суровыми реалиями летнего приморского города некоторые любители “индивидуально устраиваться” могли резко поменять свои взгляды. “Предлагали дураку путевку, а я отказался. Домой хочу, к маме!” – вполне искренне сокрушается отдыхающий в шляпе, обращаясь к главному герою фильма “Будьте моим мужем” Виктору.

Однако на примере Виктора и Натальи из того же фильма мы все же можем увидеть разницу между Мечтателем и Мучеником. Первый даже не попытался получить в профкоме путевку к морю, а вторая пыталась, но безуспешно. Первый во многих случаях философски умиротворен, а вторая постоянно раздражена. Первый приехал на отдых ради себя, а вторая – ради оздоровления ребенка. Мечтатель Виктор идет на общественный пляж с надеждой, а Мученица Наталья – с тревогой.

Впрочем, любой шаблон классификации является условным и не передает всего многообразия жизненных комбинаций, особенно когда речь идет о многомиллионном племени “дикарей”. Это хорошо видно на примере молодого офицера КГБ Владимира Путина, который вместе со своей будущей супругой Людмилой Шкробневой (Путиной) летом 1981 г. отдыхал “дикарем” в Судаче. В книге Олега Блоцкого “Владимир Путин: дорога к власти” (2002) цитируются воспоминания супруги

³² С. В. Михалков. Дикари. Водевиль-шутка в трех действиях // <http://lib.ru/TALES/MIHALKOW/dikari.txt>. Интересно, что в фильме “Будьте моим мужем” озвучен своеобразный девиз женского курортного аскетизма, согласно которому дама на отдыхе должны быть “непокобелима” (в смысле “непоколебима”).

президента Российской Федерации, которая так характеризует будни отдыхающих без путевки на берегу Черного моря в эпоху “застоя”:

Помню, я там готовила, потому что Владимир Владимирович напрочь отказывался ходить в столовые общепита. В то время в магазинах было шаром покати, и продукты приходилось покупать на рынке, где цены были достаточно высокими. Приходилось ухитряться, что-то там покупать и не сильно тратиться при этом. Готовила я на двоих, но время от времени заходили ребята [приятели]. Хозяйка была страшно недовольна, так как обычно комнаты в квартирах сдавались без права стряпать на кухне... В поездку Владимир Владимирович взял подводное ружье, ласты, маску и матрас. Море находилось далеко от дома – примерно в получасе ходьбы.³³

В данном случае речь однозначно идет об оседлом “дикарстве”, однако сложно определить, что же побудило будущего президента проводить свой отпуск именно таким способом: невозможность достать путевку на юг или нежелание отдыхать организованным способом? Интересно, что Людмила Путина вскользь упоминает еще об одной совместной поездке в Крым (в Ялту), уже на личном автомобиле. Эта поездка стала их свадебным путешествием после заключения официального брака летом 1983 г., однако никаких крымских подробностей этого вояжа, к сожалению, не приводится.³⁴ Данный пример показывает, что классификация неорганизованных рекреантов может быть затруднена дефицитом информации, особенно касающейся внутренней мотивации к совершению поездки. Тем более что даже у путешествующих вдвоем близких людей мотивы и оценки отдыха могли существенно отличаться. Кроме того, мы видим, что одна и та же пара (семья) могла в разное время практиковать как оседлую, так и мобильную стратегию “дикого” отдыха, а впоследствии в силу изменения своего социального статуса вообще отказаться от него.

Говоря о количественном соотношении разных категорий неорганизованных отдыхающих, следует также отметить, что для “дикого” отдыха на юге в период “позднего социализма” была характерна определенная эволюция. Как устоявшаяся практика приморский отдых без путевки занимал существенное место в системе рекреационных ценностей представителей двух советских поколений – поколения “шестидесятников” и так называемого “позднего советского поколения”, тех, кто родился

³³ Цит. по: <http://dobrokhотов.livejournal.com/510436.html?thread=15674084&format=light> [сохраненная копия]. Дата обращения – 15 мая 2012 г.

³⁴ Там же.

между серединой 1950-х и началом 1970-х гг.³⁵ Первое воплощало в себе социокультурные ценности “оттепели”, а второе – эпохи “застоя”.

Ранние советские “дикари” (“дикари-шестидесятники”), на наш взгляд, в большей степени были одержимы идеей свободы. Для неорганизованных рекреантов конца 1950-х – первой половины 1960-х гг. был характерен большой романтизм, натурализм, а также несомненная интеллигентность. Несмотря на попытки некоторых авторов начала 1960-х гг. представить советских “дикарей” как “запоздалых недочеловеков, которые из всего походного снаряжения знают только топор”,³⁶ очень скоро выяснилось, что приверженцами такого отдыха могут быть успешные, социально активные, высокообразованные люди.³⁷ Автор интернет-публикации о советском “диком” туризме Zverozub (Игорь Русанов) отмечает, что, в отличие от творческой интеллигенции (писатели, художники, театральные деятели), научно-техническая интеллигенция в Советском Союзе не имела развитой сети специализированных здравниц, в силу чего вынуждена была реализовывать свое право на отдых неорганизованным способом. Он также указывает на тот факт, что многие крымские местности, чрезвычайно популярные среди первого поколения “дикарей” (район Балаклавы, Симеиза, Алушты, Нового Света, Феодосии), соседствовали с узкоспециализированными исследовательскими учреждениями и высокотехнологичными предприятиями. Якобы благодаря этому инженерно-технические работники из крупных городов СССР получали первичную информацию о местах, прекрасно приспособленных именно для отдыха без путевок, при максимально возможной гармонии с природой.³⁸

Поздние советские “дикари”, судя по обработанным нами источникам, в гораздо большей степени являлись “дикарями поневоле”. Для многих из них, особенно тех, кто путешествовал с семьей, самостоятельное путешествие на юг не было способом дистанцирования от организованного отдыха. “Дикий” сценарий проведения летнего отпуска в 1970–1980-е гг. чаще всего являлся альтернативным спосо-

³⁵ Alexei Yurchak. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton, 2006. Pp. 31-32.

³⁶ В. Жуков. Впереди еще не один перевал // На суше и на море: Путешествия, приключения, фантастика. Москва, 1963. С. 109.

³⁷ В этом контексте можно вспомнить профессии главных героев фильма “Три плюс два”: Вадим – дипломат, Роман – ветеринар, Степан – доктор физико-математических наук, Зоя – артистка цирка, Наталья – киноактриса.

³⁸ Zverozub. Дикий туризм: 40 лет спустя // <http://www.zverozub.com/orgforum.php?show=theme&id=216>.

бом реализации тех рекреационных потребностей, которые не могла удовлетворить негибкая бюрократизированная система распределения путевок. По данным социологического исследования, проведенного в начале 1970-х гг., лишь около 25% отдыхающих имели путевки, хотя общее число лиц, желающих отдохнуть организованно, составляло примерно 80%.³⁹ Следовательно, число “дикарей по принуждению” (около 55%) заметно превышало число убежденных адептов неорганизованного отдыха (около 20%). Основная масса представителей вынужденной неорганизованной рекреации тяготела к курортной оседлости. Материалы аналитических отчетов 1980-х гг. также подтверждают, что на одного “дикаря” в палатке тогда приходилось 4–5 “дикарей”, размещавшихся в частном секторе.⁴⁰

В сознании неорганизованных отдыхающих, представлявших “позднее советское поколение”, большое значение имели мода и престиж. Провести отдых летом на Черном море всей семьей, согласно уже приводившимся выше данным социологических опросов, мечтали более трети советских граждан. Летняя приморская рекреация стала не только важным социальным маркером, свидетельствующем о благополучии среднестатистической советской семьи, но и социально ожидаемым проявлением заботы о детях (хотя стремление родителей “оздоровить” детей на юге любой ценой нередко приводило к обратному эффекту).⁴¹ Поэтому совокупный общественный спрос на летний отдых у моря (формируемый законом “демонстративного потребления”) постоянно возрастал, охватывая более широкие социальные слои и группы, нежели в эпоху “шестидесятников”. Неорганизованный способ рекреации, который первоначально позиционировался как индивидуально-ориентированный и в какой-то степени даже элитарный, приобрел подлинную массовость. Несмотря на некоторый флер романтизма, уходящий своими корнями во времена зарождения “дикого” туризма, в 1970–1980-е гг. он стал гораздо прагматичнее. Теперь, отправляясь летом без путевки на юг, многие советские люди всего лишь пытались обмануть систему, самостоятельно обеспечить себя дефицитным и малодоступным в “застойных” реалиях благом. В этом контексте миграции “дикарей” стали несколько напоминать рейсы пассажиров “колбасных электричек”, устремлявшихся из провинции в Москву за дефицитными товарами.

³⁹ Азар. Отдых трудящихся СССР. С. 15-16.

⁴⁰ Научные предложения к разработке и реализации ОЦКП “Курорт” на XIII пятилетку. Симферополь, 1989. С. 1.

⁴¹ См., напр.: Суханова. Ялта: город чудный, город бедный. С. 7-9.

Борьба за место под солнцем/тентом: курортные локации и коммуникации

Зимой шофер-любитель, как правило, маскируется под пешехода, но с наступлением солнечной поры... мчится вперед, преимущественно к морю. Там он, на манер Робинзона, надеется освоить пустынный берег. Но берег обитаем, им уже завладели тысячи таких же представителей общества любителей солнца.⁴²

По прибытии на юг каждый “дикарь” должен был определить-ся с более конкретным местом/местами отдыха, при этом обычно учитывался личный опыт и рекомендации знакомых. “Мобильному дикарю”, путешествующему на собственном автомобиле, добраться вместе с вещами до места назначения было, конечно, легче. По некоторым подсчетам на протяжении второй половины 1970–1980-х гг. в Крым ежегодно прибывало свыше 150 тыс. единиц личного автотранспорта, перевезивших до 500 тыс. автотуристов,⁴³ однако на территории полуострова действовало всего несколько автотурбаз и кемпингов, которые основное внимание уделяли обслуживанию иностранных автотуристов либо туристов с путевками. В 1970-е гг. на крымском побережье также существовало 15 специально организованных автостоянок, способных одновременно принять лишь 5 тыс. автомобилей,⁴⁴ причем условия пребывания здесь едва ли можно было назвать комфортными. Вот как описывалась одна такая автостоянка, расположенная возле Симеиза:

Автостоянка... ограждена проволокой, не спланирована, недостаточно освещения и воды. Под одним краном умываются, моют посуду и стирают белье. Не отведено место для приготовления пищи. Имеют место факты, когда приготовление пищи производится на керогазах, примусах или костре непосредственно возле автомашин.⁴⁵

⁴² Ю. Кривонос. У самого Черного моря // За рулем. 1968. № 8. С. 33.

⁴³ См., напр.: В. Костецкий, Г. Кожемяченко. Автотуризм и автосервис // За рулем. 1971. № 2. С. 18.

⁴⁴ А. Щербаков. Турист на обочине // Крымская правда. 1974. 26 февраля.

⁴⁵ По декрету Ильича: Курортное строительство в Крыму, 1920–1989: Сб. документов и материалов. Симферополь. 1989. С. 160-161.

Налицо было несоответствие между спросом на различные услуги для автотуристов и возможностями их удовлетворения советскими службами сервиса, что особенно остро ощущалось в летние месяцы. Даже элементарные солнцезащитные навесы оказывались недоступной роскошью для “автокочевников”.

Владелец автомобиля в состоянии уплатить за ночлег, за чашку чая и вкусный обед. Но ночует он чаще всего под стогом соломы возле дороги... или просто так – в степи, ест сухомятку. Он бы, конечно, не возражал уплатить за какие-то дополнительные удобства, даже за тень. Но ни на одной из крымских стоянок вы не найдете ее.⁴⁶



Илл. 2. Автостоянка “дикарей” в Рыбачьем (1978 г.).

В условиях, когда даже самые примитивные автостоянки могли вместить лишь малую часть желающих, сотни тысяч людей вынуждены были самостоятельно искать места для отдыха на берегу моря. Особенно притягательный для “дикарей” 1960-х гг. участок побережья от Алушты до Феодосии в последующие десятилетия уже не мог вместить всех желающих.

В этих условиях росла популярность западного побережья Крымского полуострова, например участок береговой линии от Сак до Евпатории, а также окрестности курортного поселка Николаевка. Для защиты от солнца и дождя автотуристы устанавливали палатки и шатры из брезента, собственными руками мастерили шалаши и навесы. В таких стихийно возникающих лагерях часто отсутствовало водоснабжение, туалеты и контейнеры для сбора мусора, не говоря уже о столовых или магазинах.⁴⁷ Торговая сеть Крыма обычно оказывалась слабо подготовленной к сезонному спросу на отдельные группы товаров, обусловленному наплывом “дикарей”. Например, летом 1969 г. на страницах газеты “Правда Украины” было опубликовано коллективное письмо группы туристов, в котором они жаловались на отсутствие в крымских магазинах продуктов питания, удобных для приготовления

⁴⁶ Л. Шувалов. У самого синего моря // За рулем. 1976. № 5. С. 34.

⁴⁷ А. Ляпидевский. Собрался в путь автолюбитель // Турист. 1968. № 5. С. 20.

в походных условиях (тушенка, рыбные консервы, гречка), а также веревок, пленки, спортивной одежды и обуви.⁴⁸

Впрочем, для “дикарей по выбору” отсутствие разлагающего влияния благ оседлой цивилизации могло восприниматься не как недостаток, а как достоинство. Сложнее было обеспечить другую компоненту подобного формата отдыха – уединение в гармонии с живописной южной природой. В 1970–1980-е гг. стихийные автостоянки “дикарей” обычно вмещали сотни и даже тысячи автомобилей, окруженных причудливыми самодельными конструкциями для сна, приготовления и приема пищи. Там, где позволял рельеф местности (например, вдоль трассы Саки – Евпатория или в районе так называемого Золотого пляжа под Феодосией) в пик сезона подобные рекреационные агломерации растягивались вдоль береговой линии на много километров. На этом фоне притязания двух микрогрупп “дикарей” начала 1960-х гг. на уединенный отдых в отдельно стоящей бухте (“Три плюс два”) могут показаться абсурдными.

В таких хаотично разрастающихся лагерях, переполненных копошащимися, как муравьи, “дикими” автотуристами далеко не всегда можно было созерцать роскошную субтропическую растительность или наслаждаться видом живописных Крымских гор. Ведь на западном побережье Крыма или на Керченском полуострове, где располагалось огромное количество “мобильных дикарей”, вдоль берега моря часто можно увидеть лишь достаточно унылый степной ландшафт. В этих условиях прекрасным было только море, а самым радостным – близость к нему, ради чего, видимо, и стоило преодолеть тысячи километров дороги.

Утром проснулся – и ВОТ..! Вместо беленых стен перед глазами, в 10 метрах – МОРЕ. Не надо вставать, одеваться, идти 10-20-30 минут до моря. – Оно вот, перед глазами. Лежи и смотри... Вместо зарядки – искупался. Позавтракал – опять искупался... А МОРЕ – оно по-прежнему рядом, в двух шагах... Только тогда пришло ощущение, что ты на МОРЕ, а не в ПОСЕЛКЕ, который только находится рядом с морем...⁴⁹

Говоря о времяпрепровождении “мобильных дикарей” нельзя обойти вниманием тему флирта, секса, любви во время отдыха. Целомудренность советских фильмов про неорганизованный отдых резко

⁴⁸ На то он и турист [коллективное письмо] // Правда Украины. 1969. 22 мая.

⁴⁹ Цит. по: <http://nl.irtafax.com.ua/2008-08-18-24.html>.

контрастирует с содержанием российского фильма “Дикари” (2006, режиссер Виктор Шамиров), который с существенными оговорками можно считать сиквелом советской кинокартины “Три плюс два”. Оголенная женская грудь появляется в кадре через минуту после начала фильма, слово “трахал” впервые звучит спустя полторы минуты, а непосредственно половой акт демонстрируется уже на 19-й минуте почти двухчасовой картины. Изображающие “дикарей” актеры старательно пытаются казаться “пьяными, грязными, бестолковыми тварями”.⁵⁰

Интересно, что обсуждение этого фильма интернет-сообществом было достаточно бурным и в основном свелось как раз к субъективной оценке роли секса, алкоголя и наркотиков во время неорганизованного отдыха у моря в Крыму. Приведем лишь два характерных комментария:

Для кого-то водка и легкодоступный секс является предметом счастья... для кого-то – секс втроем со свежей студенткой. ... Если режиссер хотел показать именно это – что ж, ему это удалось. А прелесть отдыха в палатках, вдали от цивилизации, имеет, на мой взгляд, две основные составляющие – полное слияние с природой и встречи с интересными людьми.⁵¹

Фильм понравился! Очень! Напомнил наш отдых начала 80-х в Гурзуфе, Крым. Почти тридцать лет назад... А посмотрел фильм, как будто вернулся туда, в молодость... Отрывались почти так же. ... Также купались по ночам, справляли дни рождения, танцевали, курили... ... Допускаю, что кого-то коробит разговорная речь, обилие выпитого в фильме, сексуальные сцены... Но ведь это правда! Без дураков, без ханжества. Ведь именно так и говорили (или почти так), и пили, и с девчонками кувыркались. Ну, конечно, не вся молодежь так отдыхала. ... Я с удовольствием посмотрел фильм, побывал в своей молодости, взгрустнулось, что это уже никогда не повторится.⁵²

Эти полярные комментарии дают основание предположить, что наличие и интенсивность секса, а также романтические любовные отношения прямо не зависели от формата отдыха. Гораздо большую роль играла система ценностей, возраст, круг спутников и новых курортных знакомых – участников путешествий на юг. Одинокaя поездка в “край

⁵⁰ Вырванная нами из контекста фраза, произнесенная действующим лицом по прозвищу Ай-Яй (Гоша Куценко), который изображается как некий “дикарский гуру”.

⁵¹ Цит. по: <http://kino.otzyv.ru/opinion.php?id=1400> [сохраненная копия]. Дата обращения – 10 мая 2012 г.

⁵² Там же.

встреч и разлук” всегда грозила перерасти в курортный роман с более или менее серьезными последствиями. Сюжеты упомянутых выше советских фильмов о неорганизованном отдыхе содержат истории романтической любви, рождающейся на берегу теплого моря, хотя в реальной жизни пляжно-курортные отношения могли выглядеть намного прозаичнее.⁵³

Если “мобильные дикари” пытались органично вписаться в природный ландшафт, то “оседлые дикари” стремились найти себе комфортное место в антропогенной среде курортного населенного пункта. Но поскольку рядом находились тысячи и тысячи таких же искателей “благоустроенной койки” и “места под тентом”, курортные будни превращались для них в нелегкое испытание.

Первым испытанием было так называемое “заселение”, когда неорганизованные рекреанты арендовали место для проживания. Летом на приморских курортах Крыма и Кавказа всегда наблюдался острый дефицит пригодных для ночлега койко-мест, что заставляло значительную часть отдыхающих соглашаться на самые спартанские условия, в противном случае им приходилось ночевать на вокзале или на скамейке в парке.

Когда я вижу на каменном полу автовокзала (в Ялте. – *А.П.*) спящих вповалку людей, которые не смогли устроиться на квартиры, вспоминается кошмарный военный Красноводск, ставший перевалочной базой в перемещении сотен тысяч эвакуированных с запада на восток. ... И мне непонятно, что заставляет сейчас отпускников обрекать себя и свои семьи на такие муки.⁵⁴

Ситуацию с плотностью заселения частного сектора курортных населенных пунктов весьма достоверно передает монолог квартирной хозяйки тети Клары (“Спортлото 82”), озабоченной проблемой устройства прибывшего к ней на отдых племянника Кости: “Комнаты сданы. ... Терраска тоже сдана. ... Во флигилечке небольшая семья живет, под навесом студентики спят. А летнюю кухню я молодоженам сдала.

⁵³ Например, жительница Киева Елена вспоминает: “Мой брат, будучи студентом, очень даже шикарно отдыхал в Крыму... становился на симферопольскую трассу с ‘трояком’ в кармане и ‘червонцем’ в плавках – на всякий пожарный. В Крыму находил одинокую добрую повариху с турбазы или из санатория – и в ус себе не дул аж до августа! Обратную дорогу загоревшему ловеласу любезно оплачивали временные дамы сердца”. Цит. по: Диана Каминская. “На недельку до второго...” <http://novaya.com.ua/?/articles/2010/07/07/143103-15>.

⁵⁴ Суханова. Ялта: город чудный, город бедный. С. 11-12.

Уж очень просились”. В этих условиях иногородний родственник чувствует себя баловнем судьбы, расположившись в переоборудованном под отдельные апартаменты курятнике. Не случайно среди владельцев приморского жилья очень распространенным стало выражение “держать отдыхающих”,⁵⁵ по аналогии с крестьянским “держать кур”, “держать поросят”.

Воспоминания тех, кто отдыхал на юге без путевки, подтверждают и дополняют картины курортного расселения, показанные в советском кинематографе.

Частники просили за койку в фанерном сарайчике рубль-полтора в сутки. Летняя кухня, веранда или комната в жилом доме обходилась в два-три рубля. Некоторым хозяйкам даже удавалось сдавать душевые на ночь или двор под палатки.⁵⁶

В 1970-е на юге в сезон сдавались не квартиры... а койки. Стоимость койки – рубль в сутки. ...Цена была твердой на протяжении нескольких десятилетий. ... Хозяева переделывали сараи и летние времянки для курортников, “уплотняли” кур, оборудуя часть курятника под жилье, ставили кровати на чердаках, в коридорах. Сдавали места под фруктовыми деревьями. И даже стоявшую посреди двора беседку, увитую плющом, – “проживание” в ней стоило 50 коп. с человека.⁵⁷

Хозяева арендуемого жилья были той категорией местного населения, с которой “оседлые дикари” контактировали наиболее активно. В советское время подавляющее большинство жителей курортных городов владели одним пригодным для проживания объектом недвижимости (квартирой или частным домом), поэтому сосуществование на одной территории арендодателей и арендаторов на протяжении нескольких недель было неизбежным. В фильмах “Будьте моим мужем” и “Спортлото-82” образ хозяйки жилья у моря – колоритный и узнаваемый образ женщины средних лет, почему-то бездетной, с неопределенным семейным положением. Она доминировала над постояльцами, которые часто превосходили ее по социальному статусу и уровню образования. Власть курортной хозяйки основывалась на праве распоряжаться маневренным фондом принадлежащих ей койко-мест разной степени комфортности. В привилегированном положении обычно оказывались

⁵⁵ Т. Браткова. Город Солнца? // Дружба народов. 1987. № 6. С. 198.

⁵⁶ Д. Каминская. “На недельку до второго...”.

⁵⁷ Курортная арифметика 1970-х // <http://narkisgu.livejournal.com/4442.html>.

постоянные клиенты (Сан Саныч) и родственники (племянник Костя), а к заведомым аутсайдерам относились, например, одинокие матери с малолетними детьми (на чем построен сюжет фильма “Будьте моим мужем”):

Трудно себе представить существо более бесправное, чем “дикарь”, он, по существу, полностью зависит от произвола хозяйки.⁵⁸

Одни хозяйки не брали постояльцев с малышами (много шума), другие не пускали молодежь (будут поздно приходить), третьим не нравились чисто мужские компании (будут выпивать и резаться в преферанс до утра). В самом невыгодном положении оказывался тот, кто приехал отдыхать один.⁵⁹

Материалы курортной прессы и анализ воспоминаний тех, кто отдыхал на крымских курортах в 1960–1980-е гг., показывает, что между хозяевами и арендаторами жилья постоянно велась негласная борьба. Это было более или менее скрытое противоборство за право мыться в ванной комнате, готовить на кухне (вспомним случай Людмилы Путиной), пользоваться хозяйским телевизором, холодильником или утюгом, громко слушать музыку и т.д.⁶⁰ Причем в местных крымских источниках сами сдатчики жилья зачастую изображались как жертвы и мученики:

Если вы живете в Ялте, вы меня поймете. У меня довольно хорошая квартира, и в ней три кровати и тахта. Но все лето я сплю на полу. Просто некуда деваться в собственном доме.

На тахте вдвоем спят мои дети, прежде чем уснуть, они дерутся и брыкаются. А в спальне на наших кроватях, и в кухне, и в столовой на раскладушках спят родственники и друзья. ... Перед отъездом они берут у меня займы деньги, которые я, в свою очередь, тоже у кого-то занимаю, и приглашают, если мне – чем черт не шутит! – придется когда-нибудь попасть в Караганду, чтобы я обязательно остановилась у них.⁶¹

Когда проблема с поселением была решена, начинались ежесуточные испытания, связанные с удовлетворением насущных социально-физиологических потребностей отдыхающих, важнейшими из которых были потребности в еде, морских купаниях, развлечениях. Именно

⁵⁸ Браткова. Город Солнца? С. 199.

⁵⁹ Курортная арифметика 1970-х // <http://narkisgu.livejournal.com/4442.html>.

⁶⁰ См., напр.: Путешествие дилетанта. После обсуждения // Советский Крым. 1987. 4 сентября.

⁶¹ С. Суханов. Квартира для курортников // Курортная газета. 1963. 19 мая.

многочисленные трудности курортного быта дают основание для обозначения “оседлого дикаря поневоле” использовать слово Мученик.

На ужасной солнечной жаре они подолгу стоят в очередях в столовые, к почтовым окошечкам, к киоскам с газированной водой, к билетным кассам. Они ютятся по пять человеко-коек в одной комнате, едят жесткие шашлыки и вообще терпят всевозможные лишения ради того, чтобы в оставшиеся от очередей часы лежать под жгучими прямыми лучами солнца на раскаленных камнях...⁶²

Центральным местом притяжения “оседлых дикарей” был общественный пляж, где концентрация людей была колоссальной. Например, Массандровский пляж в Ялте при длине 700–800 метров и ширине около 20 метров за день мог принять до 30 тыс. человек. При норме 5–6 кв.м. на 1 человека в пик сезона на одного посетителя общедоступного пляжа приходилось фактически 0,1 кв.м.⁶³ Чтобы занять место под солнцем, а еще лучше под тентом, некоторые отдыхающие приходили на рассвете или же за определенную плату договаривались о “бронировании” места с обслуживающим персоналом пляжа. Тяжелые деревянные топчаны, владение которыми считалось верхом комфорта, тоже были в дефиците, нередко они становились предметом жестоких конфликтов и тайных договоренностей.⁶⁴

Экипировка посетителей пляжей, особенно в 1960-е гг., также оставляла желать лучшего. В 1969 г. спецкор газеты “Правда” так описывал увиденное им на одном из черноморских пляжей:

Сию на берегу моря и приглядываюсь к отдыхающим...
Большинство мужчин в этот жаркий день приходит в шерстяных брюках. Многие прикрывают головы от солнца газетой. Редко отыщет глаз яркое пятно солнцезащитного зонта. Кто не достал деревянный топчан, лежит на полотенцах.⁶⁵

Помимо собственно купания в грязной морской воде огромное значение имели солнечные процедуры. Однако из-за недостатка мест под тентами и навесами многие отдыхающие обгорали “до дыма”, а затем пытались реанимировать кожный покров, натираясь сметаной или кефиром.

⁶² В. Солоухин. Чем отличается лето от зимы? // Крокодил. 1968. № 18. С. 2.

⁶³ И. Семеняка. Градостроительные тревоги Большой Ялты // Архитектура СССР. 1989. № 1. С. 14.

⁶⁴ М. Львовски. Ялта-1975: Советский рай с частичными удобствами // Сегодня. 2010. 14 мая.

⁶⁵ Л. Почивалов. “Дикари” у моря // Правда. 1969. 12 августа.



Илл. 3. Городской пляж Алушты (1968 г.).

Такой отдых (или даже “отдых”) был особенно утомителен для женщин, приезжающих на юг с детьми. Нередко можно было услышать: “чтобы отдохнуть неорганизованно, надо иметь хорошее здоровье”.⁶⁶ Проведенное в 1969 г. на курортах Крыма социологическое исследование показало, что среди “дикарей” женщины составляли 59,9%. Не состояли в браке 27,8% неорганизованных рекреантов, 14,4% составляли семейные пары без детей, доминировали именно семьи с детьми – 54,5%.⁶⁷

Массовый и стихийный наплыв “дикарей” в приморские населенные пункты становился важным источником сезонных доходов для местных жителей. По некоторым подсчетам, во второй половине 1980-х годов совокупный “теневой” доход хозяев жилья только лишь в Большой Ялте ежегодно составлял 12–15 млн. руб.⁶⁸ В то же время именно под влиянием “дикого” туризма сформировался полускрытый аборигенный шовинизм:

Ехали к нам профессора, солидные дамы в лисах, – говорили мне недавно в одном крымском городке, – а теперь?! Кто у нас

⁶⁶ Переведенцев. На курорт – с женой и сыном.

⁶⁷ Азар. Отдых трудящихся СССР. С. 46.

⁶⁸ Браткова. Город Солнца? С. 199.

только не бывает! Жизни нет от этих “дикарей”. Ни проехать нормально, ни на пляж сходить!⁶⁹

Существовало еще одно действующее лицо курортных коммуникаций – отдыхающие с путевками. Приведем цитату из монолога героя фильма “Три плюс два” Романа Любешкина: “Говорили мне: Рома, поезжай в санаторий. ВЦСПС, МИД, ВТО, ДДТ, УКАКА... Пижамы в полоску!” Здесь упомянут предмет гардероба, который в туристском фольклоре являлся ассоциативным символом организованного отдыха по путевкам: традиция выдавать просторные пижамы всем прибывшим по путевкам лицам мужского пола существовала в советских санаториях довоенного периода. Впоследствии иронично-презрительным прозвищем “пижамники” “дикие” туристы нередко называли отдыхающих в санаториях и домах отдыха.⁷⁰ Не останавливаясь подробно на данном вопросе, лишь отметим, что “дикари по выбору” всегда высокомерно относились к “пижамникам”, в своем фольклоре изображая их слабохарактерными и недостаточно физически развитыми.⁷¹ Что же касается “дикарей по принуждению”, то они в большей степени завидовали отдыхающим с путевками, мечтая когда-нибудь влиться в их ряды.

Однако в случае конкретной семьи “водораздел” между организованным и неорганизованным отдыхом зачастую мог быть весьма условным – имели место случаи смешанной, гибридной формы рекреации. Например, мать с ребенком отдыхала по путевке в пансионате или профильном санатории, а отец снимал койку в частном секторе на территории того же курортного населенного пункта. В стремлении проводить больше времени вместе, члены семьи, разделенные забором здравницы, обычно нарушали санаторный режим и установленные правила пребывания.⁷²

⁶⁹ В. И. Переведенцев. На птичьих правах // Литературная газета. 1984. 25 апреля.

⁷⁰ Л. Жуховицкий. Письма из Планерского // Турист. 1976. № 3. С. 21.

⁷¹ См., напр., текст туристской песни “Толубая пижама”: <http://prielbrusie.narod.ru/library/trdryzby/index9.html>.

⁷² См., напр., “Лишний” ребенок, или Путевка, деленная на три // Советский Крым. 1987. 1 апреля.

“Дикари” и Система: стратегии взаимодействия

“Оседлая” культура порождает и производит кочевников, диалектически самоутверждаясь в противопоставлении им.⁷³

Начиная с 1920 г., после подписания ленинского декрета “Об использовании Крыма для лечения трудящихся”, органы власти всех уровней постоянно декларировала заботу об отдыхе и оздоровлении советских людей. Наиболее часто тиражируемым символом “все-союзной здравницы” послевоенного периода стала ротонда с надписью “Граждане СССР имеют право на отдых”, расположенная на набережной Алушты. Очевидно, что в советских реалиях эта забота имела не филантропическую, а прагматическую основу. В условиях огосударствления экономики СССР одной из задач, стоящих перед административно-командной системой управления, была организация эффективного рекреационного восстановления трудовых ресурсов. И проблема рекреации годового цикла (отдыха во время отпуска) играла здесь огромную роль, ведь хорошо отдохнувший трудящийся лучше работал и меньше болел.⁷⁴ В этих условиях курорты Крыма с начала существования советской власти рассматривались как неотъемлемый элемент общесоюзной социально-экономической системы, функционально обозначенный как “фабрика оздоровления”, “кузница здоровья”, “лечебный конвейер”.⁷⁵ До последних лет существования СССР на железнодорожном вокзале в Симферополе всех приезжих встречал актуальный лозунг: “Здоровье каждого – богатство всех!”

Именно для обеспечения организованного отдыха советских граждан, который официально был объявлен “полноценным” и “рациональным”, в благоприятных с природно-климатической точки зрения регионах СССР была создана масштабная система санаторно-курортных и туристско-рекреационных учреждений (далее СиСКиТуР⁷⁶). К ней же с определенными оговорками можно отнести также сеть государствен-

⁷³ А. В. Дьяков. Человек кочующий: Номадизм как средство от тоталитаризма // Компаративистский анализ общечеловеческого и национального в философии / Под ред. А. С. Колесникова. Санкт-Петербург, 2006. С. 46-47.

⁷⁴ Л. Денисова. Отдых в СССР // Родина. 2007. № 9. С. 125.

⁷⁵ См. у Маяковского: “Людей ремонт ускоренный / В огромной крымской кузнице” (Владимир Маяковский, “Крым”, 1927).

⁷⁶ Авторство аббревиатуры принадлежит Сергею Ушакину.

ных предприятий сферы обслуживания, которые в период курортного сезона активно оказывали различные бытовые услуги приезжим (от гостиниц и столовых до общественных бань и экскурсионных бюро).



Илл. 4. Ротонда на набережной Алушты (1970-е гг.).

Если в 1960 г. емкость санаторно-курортных учреждений Крыма составляла около 43 тыс. мест, то к 1970 г. эта цифра достигла 100 тыс. мест, в 1980 г. – более 171 тыс. мест.⁷⁷ Однако даже при таком динамичном росте СиСКиТуР не могла, как уже говорилось выше, удовлетворить всех желающих организованно отдохнуть на берегу Черного моря в летний период. Ведь в июле-августе на территории Крымского полуострова одновременно находилось около 1,2 млн отдыхающих из других регионов страны.⁷⁸ Именно на неравномерность спроса на рекреацию обычно списывались все проблемы в функционировании СиСКиТуР.

Подавляющее большинство населения желает отдыхать... только летом. Подавляющее большинство семейных – только семьей. Большинство – только на морских берегах. Выполнить все эти условия, как правило, не удается.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Трудовые ресурсы курортов Крыма и их использование: Справочно-аналитический обзор. Симферополь, 1983. С. 27.

⁷⁸ Научные предложения к разработке и реализации ОЦКП “Курорт”. С. 1.

⁷⁹ В. Переведенцев. В отпуск с рюкзаком // Смена. 1984. № 21. С. 6.

Символическое указание на несостоятельность СиСКиТуР мы можем наблюдать в советских художественных фильмах о неорганизованном отдыхе, снятых в 1980-е гг. В отличие от кадров документальной хроники, мы не видим монументальных лозунгов о праве на отдых и общественной значимости здоровья каждого. Их заменяют самодельные таблички из кусков фанеры или картона, на которых помещены одинаковые по содержанию, но различающиеся по интонации надписи: скупко информирующие (“Мест нет”), полуграмотные (“Мест нету”), притворно вежливые (“Извините, мест нет”, “Очень жаль, но МЕСТ НЕТ”). Для “общества тотального дефицита” такой визуальный ряд был привычен и естествен.

При этом “оседлые дикари” доставляли СиСКиТуР не меньше проблем, чем “мобильные дикари”. Последние игнорировали ценности системы на идейно-мировоззренческом уровне, однако меньше требовали от нее удовлетворения своих материальных потребностей, во многих случаях идя по пути самообслуживания. “Оседлые дикари” предъявляли к СиСКиТуР именно материальные притязания в части качественного сервиса и бесперебойного снабжения. Когда же эти ожидания не оправдывались, их разочарование также могло иметь идеологические последствия.

Проблема неудовлетворенного спроса на организованный отдых в Советском Союзе неожиданно приобрела международное значение. Зарубежные издания время от времени помещали материалы о “диком” отдыхе в СССР, сопровождая их фотографиями переполненных черноморских пляжей. Интерес к этой теме во многом был вызван конъюнктурой “холодной войны”. Подробно описывая злключения “дикарей”, западные журналисты иллюстрировали несостоятельность взятых советской властью обязательств по обеспечению своим гражданам права на достойный отдых.⁸⁰ Иностранцы туристы, посещавшие курортно-рекреационные регионы страны, также становились свидетелями очевидных острых проблем неорганизованного отдыха. Так, в информационном письме “Интуриста” за 1982 г. сообщалось, что туристка из Великобритании выразила удивление тем обстоятельством,

⁸⁰ Вот лишь отдельные примеры, взятые из немецкоязычной западной прессы 1970–1980-х гг.: Kampf um den Platz an der Sonne. In der Sowjetunion wächst die Zahl der “wilden Urlauber” // Handelsblatt. 1978. 23 Februar; Rudolph Chimelli. Familien können nur als “Wilde” kommen. Massenerholung an der Krim-Riviera // Süddeutsche Zeitung. 1979. 30 Juni; Elfie Siegl. Der sozialistische Alltag ist immer dabei. Wie Sowjetbürger in Sotschi auf der Krim Urlaub machen (müssen) // Frankfurter Rundschau. 1984. 7 Juli.

что “в Ялте существуют трущобы”: “Квартиры не имеют удобств – воду берут из колонок во дворах. Район перенаселен, люди живут на верандах, в пристройках”, – так она описала свои впечатления о прогулке по одной из ялтинских улиц.⁸¹

Таким образом, неорганизованные туризм и рекреация представляли для СиСКиТуР определенную проблему, для решения которой использовалось несколько разных стратегий. Разумеется, желание ликвидировать “дикарей” как рекреационный класс или “перевоспитать” их не занимало в деятельности советских функционеров такое же большое место, как борьба с нетрудовыми доходами, идолопоклонством перед Западом или, например, бытовым алкоголизмом. Рекреационный фронт идеологической борьбы не был основным, и, наверное, именно поэтому нам не удалось обнаружить каких-либо решений общесоюзного или республиканского уровня, прямо указывающих на вредность и недопустимость неорганизованной рекреации. Однако на местном крымском уровне, мы можем увидеть примеры реализации временных мер, даже претендовавших на долгосрочность программ, явно направленных против тех, кто отдыхал “диким” способом.

Административно-командная (агрессивная) стратегия сводилась к попытке ограничения свободы передвижения отдыхающих и туристов без путевок. На заре становления массового неорганизованного отдыха в стране среди его приверженцев периодически возникали слухи о том, что доступ на территорию Крыма для “дикарей” в скором времени будет административно ограничен. В 1968 г. фельетонист “Крокодила” рассказал об этом читателям журнала в достаточно неожиданной “библейской” интерпретации: “...все время муссируется кошмарный слух: Чонгарский мост якобы перекрыт, и два милиционера у врат рая, Петр и Павел, звеня ключами, сортируют отпускные души на праведников с путевками и грешников без таковых”.⁸²

Следует отметить, что эти слухи имели документальную базу. В частности, сохранился документ с красноречивым названием “Предложения по ограничению въезда в Крым неорганизованных туристов”, который был составлен в ноябре 1970 г. Крымским областным советом по туризму и экскурсиям и адресован партийному руководству области. Составители документа, в частности, предлагали:

⁸¹ Государственный архив в Автономной Республике Крым (ГААРК). Ф. П-1. Оп. 4. Д. 2527. Л. 52.

⁸² В. Митин. К северо-востоку от рая. С. 13.

- разрешить въезд в Крым только тех туристов, которые имеют *путевки* на всесоюзные туристские маршруты;
- автотуристам и отдыхающим самостоятельно без путевок разрешить въезд только после получения *вызова-разрешения* на пребывание в Крыму;
- разрешить въезд в Крым самодеятельным туристам по *въездным учетным карточкам*, исходя из наличия мест и возможностей их приема на турбазах.⁸³

Есть и другие свидетельства того, что местные власти курортных населенных пунктов периодически возвращались к идее о том, что отдыхающие и туристы должны попадать сюда лишь при наличии соответствующего документа (вызов, путевка, пропуск, талон).⁸⁴ Особенно эффективной оказывалась периодически используемая в 1970–1980-е гг. схема запрета на въезд в курортные населенные пункты иногороднего автотранспорта. Подобные запреты чаще всего применялись именно в местах, наиболее популярных на заре развития советского автотуризма (район Большой Ялты, Новый Свет).⁸⁵ Практика показала, что свободу передвижения “автокочевника” можно достаточно эффективно ограничивать с помощью шлагбаумов и запрещающих знаков, мобильных патрулей ГАИ и сезонных пропускных пунктов.

Ассимиляционная (воспитательная) стратегия. Как для тоталитарной, так и для авторитарной системы нежелательно любое отклонение от нормы, нарушение установленных стандартов. В 1960-х гг. только еще зарождающийся “дикий” туризм воспринимался властью как некая довольно безобидная “рекреационная девиация”, в основном сводимая к внешней непохожести на традиционный образ отдыхающего, валяжно фланирующего по набережной в легких летних брюках. И во многих приморских населенных пунктах была начата резонансная кампания, направленная против тех пионеров курортной демократизации, которые осмеливались посещать общественные места в шортах. Занимательная хроника борьбы за введение дресс-кода на крымских набережных приведена в произведении Василия Аксенова “Таинственная страсть. Роман о шестидесятниках” (2007).

Сезон 1966 года был довольно накаленным по части шортов.

Всех прибывающих сурово оповещали: на набережной никаких шортов, только брики. Только лонги, что ли? – злился московский

⁸³ ГААРК. Ф. Р-3512. Оп. 1. Д. 299. Л. 33.

⁸⁴ В. И. Переведенцев. На птичьих правах.

⁸⁵ См., напр. С. Ворушилина. У заставы // За рулем. 1978. № 12. С. 27.

народ. Вот именно, как положено. Таково решение поселкового совета, принятое в свете решения Феодосийского горкома. Всякий, кто выйдет с пляжа не как положено, будет осужден за вызывающую форму одежды и весь отпуск проведет на исправительных работах с метлой.⁸⁶

Однако эта абсурдная кампания имела тот же результат, что и попытки отучить несознательных советских людей от ношения джинсовых брюк или от увлечения западной музыкой.

Впоследствии попытки ассимиляции “дикарей”, их постепенное приближение к общекурортной норме (под которой понимался организованный отдых по путевкам) стали прагматичнее. В курортных местах появились специализированные институции, функционально предназначенные именно для упорядочения отдыха “оседлых дикарей”. Во-первых, это были *квартирно-посреднические бюро* (КПБ), которые по официально утвержденным ставкам сдавали отдыхающим предварительно законтрактованное у местного населения жилье. Однако в тех курортных населенных пунктах, где действовали КПБ, регистрацию в них проходило не более 20–30% приезжих,⁸⁷ что оставляло огромные возможности для “теневого” рынка сдачи жилья. Во-вторых, существовали *хозрасчетные курортные поликлиники*, которые могли обслужить некоторую часть неорганизованных рекреантов, нуждающихся в профильном лечении или оздоровительных процедурах. В-третьих, следует упомянуть так называемые *курсовки* – продаваемые за наличный расчет “недопутевки”, которые давали “дикарю” право пройти на базе санатория только курс лечения, без предоставления других услуг.⁸⁸ Впрочем, в летнее время приобрести курсовку было почти так же сложно, как и полноценную путевку.

Инновационная (структурно-системная) стратегия. В 1970-е гг. советские ученые сделали так и не реализовавшийся впоследствии прогноз, согласно которому к 2000 г. число туристов и рекреантов в Крыму должно было достигнуть 16–20 млн. Причем предполагалось, что большинство их (98%) будет охвачено именно организованными формами отдыха, а удельный вес “дикого” туризма будет доведен до ничтожных 2%.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ В. Аксенов. Таинственная страсть. Роман о шестидесятниках // <http://knizhnik.org/page/vasilij-aksenov-tainstvennaja-strast-roman-o-shestidesjatnikah/2.html>.

⁸⁷ Трудовые ресурсы курортов Крыма. С. 152-153.

⁸⁸ С. С. Северинов. В Крым на отдых: Справочник. Симферополь, 1988. С. 114.

⁸⁹ См., напр.: Я. К. Трушиньш. Перспективы формирования Крымской объединенной рекреационной системы // Строительство и архитектура. 1976. № 6. С. 11-12.

Решение этой сверхсложной задачи связывалась с реализацией концепции *Крымской объединенной рекреационной системы (КОРС)*. Создание КОРС должно было обеспечить наивысшую пропускную способность туристско-рекреационного комплекса Крыма с достижением максимально возможного рекреационного эффекта, а также сгладить территориальные и сезонные диспропорции, характерные для миграции рекреантов.⁹⁰ Руководителем научно-исследовательской группы, которая занималась разработкой концепции КОРС, являлся архитектор Якаб Карлович Трушиньш. Он предложил принципиально новое для того времени решение, по которому гигантские туристско-рекреационные комплексы должны были быть построены не на береговой линии, а в глубинных районах Крымского полуострова (окрестности Симферополя, Бахчисарая, Белогорска, Старого Крыма). Именно здесь планировалось разместить миллионы туристов и отдыхающих с путевками, их тягу к морю предполагалось реализовывать за счет кратковременных выездов на пляжи по принципу организованной “маятниковой” миграции с использованием скоростного транспорта.⁹¹

В инновационной схеме развития курортного Крыма “дикий” туризм и рекреация практически не были предусмотрены. Некоторое время работавший в команде разработчиков КОРС крымский географ Игорь Русанов вспоминает:

В КрымНИИпроекте и в целом в рекреационной географии и планировании отдыха и туризма господствовал административно-командный стиль. Курс был на 100%-ное оздоровление по путевкам, борьбу с дикарями и сугубо научно-обоснованное нормирование. Померили тебе давление, пульс и анализы, нарисовали путевку, и будь добр оздоравливайся по режиму, а потом покажи прирост производительности труда и напряженности социалистических обязательств.⁹²

Действительно, знакомясь с научными публикациями 1970–80-х гг. мы видим стремление авторов концепции КОРС не только “привязать” подавляющее большинство туристов к определенному рекреационному объекту, но и разработать типичные программы (сценарии)

⁹⁰ Там же. С. 11.

⁹¹ Н. Петров, М. Соколов, Я. Трушиньш. Организация глубинных рекреационных комплексов в Крыму // Архитектура СССР. 1976. № 5. С. 26.

⁹² И. Русанов. Дерево целей формирования территориальной системы кратковременного отдыха населения Симферополя // <http://www.zverozub.com/index.php?r=54&a=452&l=1>.

временипрепровождения на отдыхе в зависимости от возраста и других социально-демографических характеристик.⁹³ Теоретиками была даже предложена специальная единица измерения рекреационного эффекта от отдыха – “рекреон”. Однако концепция КОРС оказалась слишком революционной для своего времени и не была реализована даже частично.

* * *

Призрак “дикого” туризма сопутствовал летним миграциям советских людей на юг со времен “оттепели”, когда неорганизованная рекреация впервые стала заметным социокультурным фактом. Появление советских “дикарей”, в том числе на черноморских пляжах, являлось одним из следствий постсталинской либерализации советского общества. “Дикари-шестидесятники” зарекомендовали себя как “диссиденты от рекреации”: они осознанно отдали приоритет походной палатке, а не санаторной койке, предпочли морские купания до изнеможения и ночные бдения у костра размеренной жизни по распорядку дня, установленному администрацией здравницы. Во всяком случае именно таких “дикарей”, романтиков отдыха ради свободы, мы видим в популярном советском фильме “Три плюс два”.

Однако со временем, когда ежегодное количество неорганизованных рекреантов в одном лишь Крыму превысило 5–7 млн человек, стала очевидной их пестрота и неоднородность. Помимо “дикарей по выбору” появилась и постоянно увеличивалась категория “дикарей поневоле”, тех, кто был равнодушен к номадическому антуражу и тяготел к антропогенной среде курортных населенных пунктов. Для многих неорганизованных рекреантов, принадлежавших к “позднему советскому поколению”, летние поездки на юг без путевки были в большей степени связаны с “демонстративным потреблением” и преодолением острого дефицита путевок (особенно предназначенных для отдыха всей семьей). Мать с несовершеннолетним ребенком, похожая на Наталью из фильма “Будьте моим мужем”, стала главным действующим лицом “дикого” туризма на юге в 1970–1980-е гг.

Массовое желание граждан СССР отдохнуть у моря, реализуемое в основном неорганизованным способом, в определенной степени привело к девальвации рекреационной ценности черноморских курортов. Сотни тысяч “мобильных дикарей” на личных автомобилях создали колоссальную нагрузку на наиболее привлекательные участки морского побережья,

⁹³ Петров, Соколов, Трушиньш. Организация глубинных рекреационный комплексов в Крыму. С. 26.

а миллионы “оседлых дикарей” заполнили курортные города, своим скоплением в пик сезона доставляя массу неудобств таким же, как они, любителям солнца и моря. В результате, помимо дефицита койко-мест в частном секторе и отсутствия так называемых товаров курортного спроса в местных магазинах, возник и дефицит моря (в виде невозможности найти место на общественном пляже для себя или площадки для установки палатки на “диком” пляже). Свобода, романтика, релаксация в гармонии с южной природой также оказались в остром дефиците.

Массовость движения “дикарей” усложняла и их отношения с другими действующими лицами курортной коммуникации, в первую очередь с местными жителями. Отношение местных к неорганизованным рекреантам зачастую стало напоминать знаменитое московское “понаехали тут”, мол, “Ялта не резиновая!”. Эти настроения, несколько десятилетий проявлявшиеся лишь на бытовом уровне, в годы “перестройки” стали высказываться открыто. “Все не могут жить в Москве. Все не могут проводить отпуск в Ялте”, – рассуждала в 1980-е гг. на страницах своей книги ялтинская публицистка Светлана Суханова.⁹⁴ Очень популярной среди местного населения стала идея ценового регулирования потоков неорганизованных отдыхающих. В первую очередь она исходила от ялтинцев, ведь они считали свой город курортной столицей Советского Союза. Поэтому именно Ялта, по их мнению, должна была принимать самую состоятельную публику. А менее платежеспособным “дикарям” следовало выбирать более демократичные курорты либо осваивать курортную целину на берегах Азовского моря.⁹⁵

Возникнув как альтернатива отдыху по путевкам, неорганизованная рекреация противоречила патерналистскому представлению советской власти о “правильном” отдыхе (*rational recreation*). Многомиллионное племя “дикарей” с трудом поддавалось учету и контролю, было непредсказуемо в своем движении (“spontaneity of movement” у Льюиса Сигельбаума).⁹⁶ Благодаря этим свойствам оно постоянно испытывало СиСКиТуР на устойчивость, стало для нее вызовом и испытанием. В отличие от самоорганизуемой на рыночных принципах западной “индустрии гостеприимства”, плановая и централизованная СиСКиТуР не была готова к удовлетворению того огромного количества запросов, которое в разгар сезона ежеминутно и ежесекундно генерировалось

⁹⁴ Суханова. Ялта: город чудный, город бедный. С. 129.

⁹⁵ См., напр.: Сергеева. К вопросу снижения притока неорганизованных отдыхающих. С. 100; Суханова. Ялта: город чудный, город бедный. С. 12.

⁹⁶ Siegelbaum. Cars for Comrades. P. 229.

неорганизованными рекреантами. Соответственно у миллионов добравшихся “через тернии к морю” людей формировалось критическое отношение к тезису о неустанной заботе государства о простом советском человеке. Это была война за качественный курортный сервис, которая велась без четкой линии фронта. Ведь определить траекторию перемещений и все возможные потребности путешествующего без путевки человека было чрезвычайно сложно. Данная ситуация очень напоминала конфликт двух миров, разных систем ценностей, описанных в работе Зигмунта Баумана “От паломника к туристу”:

В бродяге пугала его кажущаяся свобода передвижения, а следовательно, свобода от тенет некогда сосредоточенной на местах власти. Но самое ужасное, что передвижение бродяги было непредсказуемым: в отличие от паломника, у бродяги нет пункта назначения. Вы не знаете, куда он двинется дальше, потому что он сам этого не знает, да и не хочет знать... В любом месте он может сделать привал, но он никогда не знает, надолго ли задержится...⁹⁷

Подобный характер противостояния, когда война без установленных правил и четко обозначенной линии фронта приводила к беспомощности сильнейших государств перед лицом кочевников, описывают также французские интеллектуалы Жиль Делёз и Феликс Гваттари в своем “Трактате о номадологии” (1980).⁹⁸

Впрочем, несмотря на все противоречия, неорганизованное рекреационное движение “дикарей” успешно пережило Советский Союз и по-прежнему остается самым распространенным форматом летнего отдыха в Крыму. Так, по официальным данным за 2010 г. в Автономной Республике Крым отдохнуло 5,72 млн человек, из них организовано – всего лишь 1,16 млн (20,28 %), а неорганизовано – 4,56 млн (79,72 %).⁹⁹ И это несмотря на появление отечественной “индустрии гостеприимства”, ликвидацию перманентного дефицита путевок и системных препятствий для отдыха всей семьей. Следовательно, в притягательной романтике “дикого” юга все-таки есть что-то устойчивое и глубокое. То, что ежегодно заставляет миллионы людей стремиться к морю. То, что нельзя потерять, но можно попытаться найти.

⁹⁷ Бауман. От паломника к туристу.

⁹⁸ Ж. Делёз, Ф. Гваттари. Трактат о номадологии // http://www.situation.ru/app/j_art_1022.htm.

⁹⁹ Программа развития и реформирования рекреационного комплекса Автономной Республики Крым на 2012-2013 годы // <http://crimea.gov.ua/programma-razvitiya-2012-2013>.

SUMMARY

The article analyzes the “wild tourism” in the post-1950s’ Soviet Union as a cultural, lifestyle, and economic phenomenon. It scrutinizes the social, economic, and psychological reasons for the spread of “wild” vacations at Soviet resorts. Individual accounts and official documents are analyzed together with popular Soviet films such as *3+2*, *Be My Husband*, and *Sportlotto-82*. The author studies infrastructural policies in the Crimea that emerged in response to the growing tourist and vacation boom, on the one hand, and values, aspirations, and strategies of accommodation and communication of different groups of “wild” travelers to popular Soviet resorts, on the other. The article also deals with the official Soviet ideological discourse of care and control of the population, and offers information on different official strategies directed at decreasing the number of uncontrolled “wild tourists.” The metaphor of nomadism provides a general framework for discussing the multifaceted phenomenon of Soviet “wild tourism.”

Aimar VENTSEL

ENTRAPPING HISTORY IN SPACE: ON *TUUNDRA* AND ITS MASTERS*

On a sunny day in late summer 2000, I was taking a short walk in the tundra with my host Vassili Kylvashov, the brigadier of the 3rd reindeer brigade of Il'ia Spiridonov MUP (Municipal Unitary Enterprise [*munitsipal'noe unitarnoe predpriiatie*]). We were looking for sick reindeer calves left behind as the herd moved on. After walking for some time, we ascended a hill where I saw an object that one often sees in the tundra. It was a huge log lying on the ground, surrounded by small sticks stuck into the earth. I asked Vassili what this was. "This is an arctic fox trap (*paas*)," he explained. He went to the log, lifted it and quickly demonstrated how the trap worked. The main principle of the *paas* is simple: the sticks form a corridor and when the fox enters the corridor to get a small piece of meat, the log falls and breaks the fox's neck. I asked Vassili about who was hunting with these traps. "Moigo, the old man from Tiistaakh," he said. We were not far from the hunting base of Tiistaakh, it was maybe 7 km away.

"Could you put your traps anywhere you want?" was my next question. "No, the land where your traps stay is yours. No one else can put their traps here! And no one can touch your traps!" answered Vassili. This example

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Fig. 1. A reindeer herder cleans his fellow hunter's polar fox trap from grass. Photo by the author.

contains the principal elements of land entitlement as understood among the native people of Anabar. The hunting territory of Spiridon Ivanovich Tuprin, also known as Moigo, is his “possession” (*vladenie* in Russ.). He is the master (*khoziain*) of these lands and has the moral legitimacy to hunt there. The borders of his lands are fixed and marked. This tie to a particular area organizes social relationships between people and gives certain people the power to decide who has access to local resources and who does not.

The focus of this article is the institution of the “master” (*khoziain* in Russian, and *kus'aain* in Dolgan¹), how such land entitlement is established, and the basic features of “moral possession” of the land. The legitimacy of the institution of the “master” is embodied in narratives and meanings that make his presence visible in his hunting territory – family stories, the history of material objects, and place names. Moreover, beside immaterial symbols like toponyms, some of the narratives are concrete artifacts such as ancestors' graves and trap lines that symbolize the presence of a strong family. In the context of this article, the narrative is a set of symbols that gives people “authority over the local resources.”² One feature of the narrative is that the

¹ E. I. Ubriatova. *Iazyk norilskikh dolgan*. Novosibirsk, 1985. P. 35.

² Anja Nygren. *Environmental Narratives on Protection and Production: Nature-based Conflicts in Rio San Juan, Nicaragua* // *Development and Change*. 2000. Vol. 31. Pp. 807-830, 828. 300

narrative contains symbols³ that actively construct realities⁴ or help people to express and transmit these realities.⁵ Narrative is often studied as the way in which people make sense of their environment.⁶ I approach the narrative as a set of symbols used to construct and maintain social relations.⁷ Elements of the narrative can be seen as subplots, not unlike in Hayden Whyte's idea of "emplotment," where a particular fact makes sense only in relation to other constellations of facts (or "plots"), thereby constituting a historical narrative.⁸ In the Dolgan legal framework of landownership, the history and ownership of arctic fox traps occupy a privileged position.

Traps are powerful tools in the narrative of land. The Dolgan land use regime is an "entrapment" where the arctic fox trap becomes a "total social fact"⁹ that embodies and regulates complex cultural, social, economic, and legal relationships. The institution of the "master" demonstrates that the traditions of a nomadic culture are rooted in the perception of land entitlement and that despite being in a state of constant movement, people of the

³ David Turton. *How to Make a Speech in Mursi* // Peter Ian Crawford and Jan Ketel Simonsen (Eds.). *Ethnographic Film Aesthetics and Narrative Traditions*. Aarhus, 1992. Pp. 159-175.

⁴ For example, Jerome Bruner. *The Narrative Construction of Reality* // *Critical Inquiry* 1991. No. 18. Pp. 1-18; Idem. *Life as Narrative* // *Social Research: An International Quarterly*. 2004. No. 71. Pp. 691-710.

⁵ Elliot G. Mishler. *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative*. Cambridge, MA, 1991; Donald E. Polkinghorne. *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. Albany, 1988.

⁶ Minal Hajratwala. *Intimate History: Reweaving Diaspora Narratives* // *Cultural Dynamics*. 2007. No. 19. P. 73; Peter Hopkins. "Blue Squares," "Proper" Muslims and Transnational Networks: Narratives of National and Religious Identities Amongst Young Muslim Men Living in Scotland // *Ethnicities*. 2007. No. 7. Pp. 61-81; George Mavrommatis. *The New "Creative" Brick Lane: A Narrative Study of Local Multicultural Encounters* // *Ethnicities*. 2006. No. 6. Pp. 498-517; Ron Scollon, Suzann Scollon. *Narrative, Literacy, and Face in Interethnic Communication*. Norwood, NJ, 1981.

⁷ Fredric Jameson. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative As a Socially Symbolic Act*. London, 1981.

⁸ Hayden White. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore, 1973.

⁹ "These phenomena are at once legal, economic, religious, aesthetic, morphological and so on. They are legal in that they concern individual and collective rights, organized and diffuse morality; they may be entirely obligatory, or subject simply to praise or disapproval. They are at once political and domestic, being of interest both to classes and to clans and families. They are religious; they concern true religion, animism, magic and diffuse religious mentality. They are economic, for the notions of value, utility, interest, luxury, wealth, acquisition, accumulation, consumption and liberal and sumptuous expenditure are all present." Marcel Mauss. *The Gift: the Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York, 1990. Pp. 76-77.

Arctic tundra acknowledge the existence of social bonds that determine or limit access to the region's resources.

Field Site

My field region is the Anabarskii district (or Anabar) in the northwest of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in the Russian Far East. This is a small district of about 40,000 square km, populated by about 4,000 people. My main field site was the most northern village of Uurung Khaia,¹⁰ which has about 1,200 inhabitants, mainly Turkic-speaking Dolgans. It is a large topic of discussion whether the Dolgan language is a dialect of Sakha or an independent language. I can only add that the languages are extremely similar, especially the eastern Dolgan spoken in the Anabar district and in the neighboring eastern part of Krasnoiarsk krai. Dolgan people are traditionally hunters of wild reindeer and arctic foxes, reindeer nomads who still hunt for their income and subsistence.

Within the territory of the Republic of Sakha, the Anabar region has historically been difficult for the state institutions to control. From the seventeenth century onward, nomadic Tungus (who later became known as Evenki) went to Anabar to avoid paying tax (*yasak*) or to escape punishment for their rebellion.¹¹ In addition, a group of rebellious Tungus lived in Anabar, the so-called children of Kokui (*Kokuevykh deti*), who numbered thirty adult men in 1643. The head of the clan group (*rod*), Kokui, was taken hostage by Russian servicemen in neighboring Olenek, and two of his sons were taken hostage by other servicemen. But the group continued to resist paying *yasak*. The Tungus from Anabar freed their kinsmen and attacked the Russians in 1644. In 1646 the "children of Kokui" were attacked by Tungus from Olenek, and were then deported to the south and forced to live and pay *yasak* in Olenek.¹² Russians established a few outposts in Anabar

¹⁰ The system of transliteration (especially toponyms) I have used in this article is a combination of my own system, a system applied by Tatiana Argunova-Low (in *Scapagoats of Nationalism: Ethnic Conflicts and Silence in Sakha (Yakutiia)*, Edwin Mellen, forthcoming) and the Library of Congress (ALA-LC) romanization tables. The aim was to maintain toponyms in the way they are pronounced by people in the district and not in the way they are used in Russian maps. Due to Sakha phonology I use umlauts, which should be pronounced as the umlauts in German.

¹¹ B. O. Dolgikh. O naselenii basseiniv rek Oleneka i Anabara // *Sovetskaia etnografiia*. 1952. No. 2. Pp. 86-91, P. 83; I. S. Gurvich. *Kul'tura senernykh yakutov-olenovodov*. Moscow, 1977. P. 10.

¹² B. O. Dolgikh. *Rodovi i plemennyi sostav narodov Sibiri v XVII v.* Moscow, 1960. Pp. 447-449.

and these settlements became bases for the first collective enterprises or *tovarishchestva* after the revolution.¹³ In this period, the Anabarskii district went down in the history of Sakha as the place where the last battle with the “white bandits” on the territory of the freshly established Yakut Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (YASSR) took place in February 1931.¹⁴ Although the collectivization of the Dolgan people was reported to be successfully completed in 1938, the eastern fringes were a few years behind.¹⁵ It was only in the 1940s that the *tovarishchestva* in the Anabar region were reformed and turned into four collective farms.¹⁶ During the war, many men who had been conscripted into the army escaped into the northern districts, including Anabar. Tokarev’s remark that in the Arctic districts the enrollment lists were virtually nonexistent shows that the Communists were not able to control the population until the end of the 1940s.¹⁷ I believe that the tradition of resistance to the state has been one reason why formal and informal land use regimes existed in the district in the Soviet era.

Although Dolgans were collectivized into Soviet collective farms (*kolkhozy*) during the 1940s and 1950s, the radical change in their life occurred in the 1960s when collective farms were absorbed into the big state farms (*sovkhozy*). Part of the state farm policy was to sedentarize people, which succeeded in the 1980s. Since then, two-thirds of the people now live in the village and only a small segment of Dolgans of the Anabar district are professional hunters and reindeer herders, that is, “people of the tundra” or *tundroviki*. Nevertheless, hunting as a means of subsistence remains highly important for all the population and most people from Uurung Khaia regularly spend their time in the tundra during the hunting seasons.

In 1991 the former YASSR declared sovereignty as the Republic of Sakha. In 1992 the republic passed the law on “clan-based communities” or *rodovaia obshchina*, becoming the forerunner of indigenous reorganization in Russia. The *obshchina* was granted tax freedom and subsidies and the number of institutions increased to 400 in a few years, only to dry

¹³ Aimar Ventsel. Reindeer, *Rodina* and Reciprocity: Kinship and Property Relations in a Siberian Village (Vol. 7. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia). Berlin, 2005. Chapter 2.

¹⁴ I. M. Neustroeva (Ed.). 65 let Anabarskomu ulusu. My darim severnoe siianie. Sasykylakh, 1995. P. 3.

¹⁵ A. A. Popov (Ed.). Kochevaia zhizn’ i tipy zhilishch u dolgan. Vol. XVIII. Moscow, 1952.

¹⁶ Neustroeva (Ed.). 65 let Anabarskomu ulusu. P. 4.

¹⁷ P. N. Tokarev. Istoriiia voennogo komissariata RS(Ia). Vol. 1. Yakutsk, 2000. P. 211.

up in the second half of the 1990s.¹⁸ My research shows that despite the fact that the *obshchina* was designed to revitalize indigenous cultures and economy, indigenous people saw the *obshchina* as formal institutions to communicate with the state structures and trading organizations.¹⁹ This was the first time that Western anthropologists were able to conduct fieldwork in Siberia, and the period witnessed several publications on new forms of property and changes of land use regime among the indigenous Siberian people.²⁰ Changes in the land use regime were also studied in Sakha among ethnic Sakha²¹ and among indigenous minorities.²² However, very little anthropological research is conducted in the tundra zone of the republic of Sakha. The closest work to my research is that conducted by John Ziker, who demonstrated that on the Taimyr peninsula, new private and collective enterprises appeared not as a sign of the indigenous revitalization but as a tool to defend indigenous hunting territories against other Russian hunters, that is, to formalize exclusive land use rights.²³

In the 1990s, the state farm was reorganized according to the municipal agricultural enterprise II'ia Spiridonov MUP, but many brigades established their own hunting or herding enterprises. The "agricultural landscape" of the district is complex, and includes various enterprises that differ from

¹⁸ M. K. Belianskaia. *Sovremennye obshchiny evenov Yakutii // Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe i kul'turnoe razvitie narodov Severa i Sibirii: Traditsii i sovremennost' /* Pod red. Z. P. Sokolova. Moscow, 1995. Pp. 119-136.

¹⁹ See Ventsel. Reindeer, *Rodina* and Reciprocity. Chapter 3. In this chapter, I demonstrate how the people of Anabar reregistered one enterprise several times, moving from the "peasant farm" via *obshchina* to the small-scale enterprise, and how the Republic of Sakha granted tax freedom and subsidies to new forms of enterprises.

²⁰ David G. Anderson. *Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia: The Number One Reindeer Brigade*. Oxford, 2000; Gail A. Fondahl. *Gaining Ground? Evenkis, Land, and Reform in Southeastern Siberia*. Boston, 1998; Idem. *Legacies and Territorial Reorganization for Indigenous Land Claims in Northern Russia // Polar Geography*. 1995. No. 19. Pp. 1-21; Patty A. Gray. *The Obshchina in Chukotka: Land, Property and Local Autonomy*. Working Paper No. 29. Halle/Saale, 2001; Florian Stammeler. *When Reindeer Nomads Meet the Market: Culture, Property and Globalisation at the End of the Land*. Halle/Saale, 2004.

²¹ Susan Alexandra Crate. *Cows, Kin, and Globalization. An Ethnography of Sustainability*. Lanham, New York, Toronto, Plymouth UK, 2006.

²² Gail Fondahl, Olga Lazebnik, Greg Poelzer, and Vasily Robbek. *Native "Land Claims," Russian Style // Canadian Geographer*. 2001. Vol. 45. No. 4. Pp. 545-561.

²³ John P. Ziker. *Peoples of the Tundra. Northern Siberians in the Post-Communist Transition*. Prospect Heights, 2002; Idem. *Land Use and Economic Change Among the Dolgan and Nganasan // E. Kasten (Ed.). People and the Land. Pathways to Reform in Post-Soviet Siberia*. Berlin, 2002. Pp. 207-224.

each other in subordination to the district administration and Ministry of Agriculture. This “landscape” contains subsidiary enterprises, small-scale enterprises and family enterprises.²⁴ All of them use the tundra’s resources, as do people from the village. Central for the monitoring of the tundra is the system of hunting territories (*ugodia*) and those who control them. Following the local tradition of autonomy, the district administration – which has always been led by local people – did not interfere in the land use negotiations of formal and informal users. Moreover, the attempt in 2008 to establish in the district “territories of traditional land use” (*territoriia traditsionnogo prirodopol'zovaniia*), which would aimed at enhanced governmental control of land use, failed completely.²⁵

During 2000–2001, I spent a year in the district collecting data for my doctoral thesis. For more than eight months of the fieldwork period I was in various reindeer and hunting enterprises and brigades. After that, I remained in contact with various people from the district, especially with hunters from the family enterprise Tiistaakh, meeting them and their relatives regularly in the capital of the republic, Yakutsk.

The Master and His Homeland

In my research area, I had heard the expression *khoziain* only in relation to hunters and their permanent hunting spots. *Khoziain* is a Russian expression that has various meanings. Two different meanings of the word *khoziain* are relevant to understanding popular conceptions of economic and political change. The “real” *khoziain* (i.e., “master” as a positive connotation) was an entrepreneur or peasant farmer, a hardworking and honest man. He built up his enterprise, or farm, by working sixteen hours each day and traded quality goods at fair prices.²⁶ Another meaning of *khoziain* is negative: it refers to the “bazaar” entrepreneur who trades imported poor quality goods at high prices. This other *khoziain* is related to the Stalinist definition of

²⁴ See Ventsel. Reindeer, *Rodina* and Reciprocity. Chapter 3.

²⁵ The federal law for “territories of traditional land use” was passed in 2001 but no such territories have been registered in Russia yet. The reason may be that this status gives free and exclusive land use rights to indigenous groups (Brian Donahue, personal e-mail June 24, 2012). In the case of Anabar, the governmental committee was supposed to control the governance of the territory, and, therefore, the plan met silent resistance from the Anabar administration.

²⁶ Julian Watts. Heritage and Enterprise Culture in Archangel, Northern Russia // Ruth Ellen Mandel and Caroline Humphrey (Eds.). Markets and Moralities. Ethnography of Postsocialism. Oxford, New York, 2002. Pp. 59-68.

kulak or expropriator.²⁷ On the Taimyr peninsula, a *khoziain* was understood to be a brigadier who was the “caretaker” of the territories of a state hunting enterprise.²⁸ In this case, the brigadier was either appointed by the state enterprise or worked on a contract basis on the reallocated territory, and the expression *khoziain* was connected to a formal status.

The institution of *khoziain* (which I translate as “master”) that I encountered among Dolgans in the Anabarskii district is rooted in the formal status but has ceased to be merely a formal category. It is closely connected to a territory usually called *rodina* or “motherland.” The Dolgan native word for *rodina* in Sakha was *doidu*, which means both “home” and “homeland,” and was used to describe places in the tundra and the house in the village, depending on the context and situation. Thus, the native and Russian understanding of *rodina* are conceptualized differently, both geographically and emotionally. *Rodina* among Dolgans is understood to be a place where one’s roots are, and in most places it is the region in the Anabar tundra where a person’s family has hunted, herded their reindeer, and migrated for many generations. Or at least they lay claim to the region. *Rodina* in Dolgan culture is geographically very concrete and is defined through a narrative that links places, history, markers, toponyms, artifacts, and facilities and creates an emotional attachment to a place.

In order to analyze the notion of “masterhood” and *rodina* we must look back into recent history. Relying on general Dolgan and Evenki ethnography and theories of hunter-gatherers, it seems that the “masters” were partly a product of Soviet policy and partly a consequence of the incorporation into the Soviet agricultural model of old precollectivization values and hunting practices. However, it is complicated to track this construct beyond the period of collectivization. Early ethnographic information records certain families or groups that the authors have associated with the Anabar region. As early as the seventeenth century, Tungus elders from the Olenek and Anabar regions were complaining to Russian officials that Russian hunters were exploiting *their* hunting grounds. Dolgikh describes the Kukui family who lived in the Anabar tundra, and the Laptev expedition that encountered settlements of seminomadic hunters on the Arctic Ocean

²⁷ Ibid. Pp. 67-99. Watts describes how the notion of *khoziain* changed over time during the post-perestroika period in Archangelsk. He states that the word *khoziain* is an “ancient and rich one, grounded in the world of the peasant household and feudal estate, and means variously owner, proprietor, master, boss, manager, husband, and host” (P. 62).

²⁸ Ziker. Peoples of the Tundra. P. 374.

coast.²⁹ While these groups certainly had some sense of defined land ownership and the mechanisms to regulate resource use, we nevertheless do not know in detail how land ownership and “masterhood” were constructed in these times.

As Fondahl has shown, the introduction of socialist patterns of hunting and reindeer herding did not impact heavily on the old ways as often the old strategies and concepts were incorporated into collective and state farm hunting and reindeer herding.³⁰ On a theoretical level, Ingold points out that hunting strategies are not tied to a particular economic and political setting.³¹ While they may change as the economic situation changes, it is not necessarily so.³²

The formal and informal land entitlement of hunters in the Anabarskii district was in the majority of cases based on the territories of the hunting spots or *tochka*, that is, a Soviet reorganization of territories (*zemleustroistvo*). The aim of the *zemleustroistvo* was not only to maximize the efficiency of land use but also to control the indigenous population by giving certain groups and organizations (hunters, reindeer brigades, state farms, collective farms, etc.) fixed territories.³³ What the *zemleustroistvo* achieved was the establishment and reenforcement of the institution of the “master.” Several researchers have stressed that despite their nomadic economy, Siberian native people had strong emotional ties to their hunting and pastoral lands.³⁴

²⁹ B. O. Dolgikh. Osnovnye voprosy sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva u malykh narodov Severa // Doklady i soobshcheniia nauchnoi konferentsii po istorii Sibirii i Dal'nego Vostoka / Pod red. Z. B. Gogoleva. Tomsk, 1960.

³⁰ Fondahl. Legacies and Territorial Reorganization. Pp. 1-21.

³¹ Tim Ingold. The Optimal Forager and Economic Man // Philippe Descola and Gisli Pals-son (Eds.). Nature and Society. Anthropological Perspectives. New York, 1996. Pp. 25-44.

³² John P. Ziker. Assigned Territories, Family/Clan/Communal Holdings, and Common-Pool Resources in the Taimyr Autonomous Region, Northern Russia // Human Ecology. 2003. No. 31. Pp. 331-368.

³³ David. G. Anderson. Tracking the “Wild Tungus” in Taimyr. Identity, Ecology, and Mobile Economies in Arctic Siberia // Peter Schweitzer, Megan Biesele, Robert K. Hitchcock (Eds.). Hunters and Gatherers in the Modern World. Conflict, Resistance, and Self-Determination. London, 2000. Pp. 223-243; V. N. Sannikov. Novye zemel'nye otnosheniia na Severe Yakutii // Tezisy vserossiiskoi konferentsii “Dukhovnaia kul'tura narodov Severa i Arktiki v nachale tret'ego tysiacheletiiia / Pod red. I. I. Shcheikina, I. F. Lapparova, A. I. Savvinova, V. A. Petrovoi, M. P. Lukinoi, N. D. Petrovoi. Yakutsk, 2002. Pp. 33-35.

³⁴ Gail Fondahl. Through the Years. Land Rights Among the Evenkis of Southeastern Siberia // The Troubled Taiga. Survival on the Move for the Last Nomadic Reindeer Herders of South Siberia, Mongolia, and China. Cultural Survival Quarterly. 2003. Vol. 27. No. 1.

During my fieldwork I noticed that in Anabar these emotional ties and the sense of *rodina* were created through the activities of hunting and fishing in the territory.

The institution of “master” would not exist today were it not for the Soviet experiment in agricultural practice and the attempt to break traditional kinship ties and territorial affiliation according to the official goal of collectivization. Instead, Dolgan family structure and its entrapment to particular territories were embedded into the Soviet collective farm brigade structures. What the state needed was the indigenous inhabitant’s knowledge and skills to procure meat, fish, and furs, and here the economic rationale outweighed the ideological.³⁵

The period from the 1950s until the 1980s, in local folklore, is described as the happy time of family brigades (*semeinye brigady*) or a time where families continued to hunt and migrate in their pre-Soviet territories. The rupture happened in the 1980s, when kinship-based brigades were reformed. However, studying brigade enrollment lists I found out that even after the 1980s some members of the family continued to work and migrate within their old territories as part of a reformed brigade. In this period, hunters’ camps were turned into permanent sites by the building of log cabins in strategic places, such as river crossings where wild reindeer migrations passed by twice a year. Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the new reforms in agriculture, nonrelatives left such brigades to join their own relatives. When conducting fieldwork in 2000–2001, I noticed that all the reindeer and hunting brigades in the Anabar tundra were made up of relatives or dominated by one family.³⁶

Agnia, a daughter of Moigo, the undisputed head of the Tiistaakh family, once explained to me her father’s relationship to the Tiistaakh hunting

Pp. 28-31; John P. Ziker. “Horseradish Is No Sweeter than Turnips.” Entitlements and Sustainability in the Taimyr Autonomous Region, Northern Russia // Chris Hann and “Property-Relations”-Group (Eds.). *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question. Property Relations and the Rural Condition*. Münster, 2003. Pp. 363-390.

³⁵ In retrospective, the economic rationale dominated before the ideology when it came to the reorganisation of Siberian indigenous communities. In most regions of the Russian North, the Soviet state indeed tried to introduce a standardised structure and methods for hunting, fishing and reindeer herding, yet it was nowhere fully successful and regional differences remained until the end of the Soviet Union. It seems that it was more economically profitable to adapt existing skills and organisations to the state agricultural policy, than to radically change everything to follow ideological prescriptions, i.e. the priority was to fulfil the plan at any costs.

³⁶ Ventsel. Reindeer, *Rodina* and Reciprocity.

base and other hunters: “There used to be a [hunting] brigade in Tiistaakh. Our family and another family hunted here. Then the other family went away and my father remained here. Everybody knows he has always been here. These are his lands” (*Zdes’ byla v Tiistaakhe okhotnitskaia brigada. Nasha semia i drugaia semia zhili zdes’. Togda eta vtoraiia semia uekhala i nash otets ostalsia zdes’. Kazhdyi znaet, chto on vseгда byl zdes’. Eto ego zemli!*).

During my first fieldwork trip in Sakha from 2000 to 2001, the land, by law, belonged to the state.³⁷ Formally, no private ownership of land existed. Although the “public” (state) status of land remained, the decision-making authority in most cases was shifted from the federal center to the regional government, who, for their part, delegated most decision making, especially

³⁷ The legal land use regime in Russia – especially concerning indigenous people’s land use – is confusing and laws change often before they are implemented. Some legal anthropologists I have consulted about the issue expressed the opinion that this is intentional, in order to keep indigenous activists “off balance.” Since 2001, land property in Russia has been liberalized and some portions of land can be privatized, usually large enough for a house or a factory, but not land in the northern regions, which is part of the federal land. The land use issue in Russia remains very confusing as not only land but also land use rights are sold. In the perception of the public, both transactions are usually undifferentiated and it is difficult to find out whether people have sold or bought the land or the right to use the land.

In the Russian Federation several federal laws regulate indigenous land use. However, these federal laws are often general frameworks whose details should be worked out at the regional level. All local laws have to be in accord with the federal law, but federal level laws have to be enacted at the republic level through an act of the republic-level legislative body (local parliament) in order for them to take effect (Brian Donahue, personal e-mail, June 24, 2012). This can cause delays in the implementation or modification of laws when they threaten to violate the interests of local power groups, as has been the case in Tuva (see Brian Donahue. *The Law as a Source of Environmental Justice in the Russian Federation* // Julian Agyeman and Yelena Ogneva-Himmelberger (Eds.). *Environmental Justice and Sustainability in the Former Soviet Union*. Cambridge, MA, London, 2009. Pp. 21-46, P. 25).

According to the Land Code of the Republic of Sakha, from 2011 the possessions on the land can be transmitted from municipal ownership to private hands for free if the purpose is for agricultural activity (Land Code Article 6.11). Federal lands can be transferred to private property only for private house construction, gardening, and part-time farming (Land Code Article 8.11 and Article 8) but also for full agricultural activity from the lands belonging to the category of agricultural land. The maximum amount of land privatized for agricultural activity is limited to three hectares (Land Code Article 23). Article 16 states that indigenous people have the right to rent lands for reindeer herding and other traditional economic activities (see http://www.neruadmin.ru/elib/zemelni_kodeks_RSY.pdf).

regarding agriculture, to the local district administration.³⁸ In the case of the Sakha Republic this meant that the president and parliament delegated part of their decision-making power to the districts. Local authority was given to village administrations, except the responsibility for agriculture, which was allocated to the successor of the state farm, the MUP. In the 1990s, as new institutions appeared in the tundra, the MUP's monopoly over "the agricultural tundra" disappeared, although the MUP's officials maintained the closest connection to the village administration, and through it retained an influential position concerning land use decisions.

As a rule, new enterprises in a district appeared when former state farm brigades reregistered themselves as small-scale enterprises, *obschchina*, and so forth.³⁹ These new enterprises continued to use their own brigade territories and – in the case of hunting enterprises – facilities built in the Soviet era. With the reorganization of agriculture and the appearance of new property laws, the social position of extended families and their heads became more visible. Alongside these changes, the institution of the "master" in the Anabar tundra became a semilegal category. In new enterprises, a family head's decision-making powers became near absolute, independent of whether old men were elected as enterprise directors or they remained as ordinary hunters in the official records.

The existence of the Tiistaakh hunting family was the strongest proof of the social meaning of the institution of "master." The Tiistaakh was a hunting base in the tundra, home to an extended family led by a patriarch with the nickname Moigo. Moigo has ten children who work in various enterprises in the village or are officially unemployed. However, in the hunting or fishing season most of them went to the tundra to assist their father. The family had a very clear idea of their precise hunting territory and Moigo had the authority to prevent fishing or hunting on his lands if he did not like someone. All reindeer brigades, before migrating through the Tiistakh territory, asked the permission of Moigo, who arbitrarily made the decision. The interesting fact was that officially the family had no legal status at all. When I arrived in the district, the Tiistaakh clan was in the process of registering their own "family enterprise" (*semeinoe predpriiatiie*) but had no official response and no registered land allotment – their claim literally did not exist. Nevertheless, they were present at the district

³⁸ G. Oshrenko. Indigenous Political and Property Rights and Economic/Environmental Reform in Northwest Siberia // *Post-Soviet Geography*. 1995. Vol. 36. No. 4. Pp. 227-237. P. 229

³⁹ Ventsel. Reindeer, *Rodina* and Reciprocity. Chapter 3.

level, the head of the district celebrated the family in his speeches as the model example for an indigenous traditional economy, the Tiistaakh were included in the district's economic statistics, and so forth. At the same time, the family faced problems when trading their meat and fish to traders due to their lack of official status.

What made the “elasticity of the land”⁴⁰ in the Anabarskii district so special and interesting is that even if the officials did not support such entitlement, they tolerated it. Thus, the head of the Uurung Khaia village found it strange when I wondered why the MUP's reindeer herders respected the land use rights of the Tiistaakh hunters, who did not have any legal status at the time. He said, “But this is probably so everywhere!” In the Anabarskii district, local people dominate the local government and administration. The head of the administration, Nikolai Egorovich Androsov, was born there and supported local people and the revitalization of the so-called traditional economy. As long as there were no serious conflicts over land entitlement (for example with the gold industry), Androsov did not interfere and did not force people to legalize their entitlement.

The ambivalence of the informal institutions and their relationship to official structures was symbolized by a meeting of reindeer herd brigadiers and directors of hunting enterprises in the village head office where I assisted in spring 2001. Theoretically, it was an accountancy meeting where brigadiers and directors of enterprises had to report their activities, gains, and losses during the previous winter period. What I witnessed was in marked contrast to the official hierarchy. The head of the village administration was a young man in his thirties whereas most others were of senior age, giving them the status of “elders.” The body language of the head of the village was of a young man meeting with local patriarchs: he sat at the head of the table, eyes down listening carefully to what the old men had to say, asking questions with a respectful tone. The old men discussed the movements and activities planned for the forthcoming season, dividing pastures among themselves, and the head of the village, the highest state official in room, accepted everything and fixed the results in a meeting protocol. For me, this meeting was a demonstration of the position and power of the “master” in the existing social setting of the district.

⁴⁰ Katherine Verdery. *The Elasticity of the Land: Problems of Property Restitution in Transylvania* // Eadem. *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?* Princeton, 1996. Pp. 133-167.

The Meaning of Tundra

In the north, I cannot remember hearing the word “tundra” (*tuundra* in Sakha). People in the capital of Yakutsk and in the villages in Central Yakutia used to say “going to the tundra,” “being in the tundra” (*Tuundra hhatahsyehha*; *Tuundra hhasyldzyehha*). In Anabarskii district, people use the word *tya* for tundra, which in Yakutian means “forest.”⁴¹ But in vernacular use, *tya* actually means “village” or “countryside.” A Russian–Yakutian phrasebook gives *tya* as the equivalent of the Russian word *derevnia* (village).⁴² “Agriculture” (*sel'skoe khoziaistvo*) in Yakutian is *tya khahaaiystabata*, using the word *tya* as “rural.” In a Russian–Yakutian dictionary, one can even find the pair *kuoratuonna tya*, translated as “town and village.”⁴³ Tundra dwellers are called *tyetaghykihi* (*-kihiler* in plural) and people who live in a village are *pöhyölekkihite* (also *-kihiler* in plural), which simply means “village people.” When people in the Anabarskii district go to the tundra, they do indeed go to the countryside, which is not the same as the tundra. The meaning of the word “tundra” has connotations of something isolated, outside the normal social sphere of everyday life. The use of the word *tya* means that, for native people, the tundra is a social space, more or less equivalent to the village.

From the official point of view, the tundra “lives” when it is covered with *tochkas*, reindeer brigades and other marks of human activity. This discourse is symbolized by huge maps, which decorate the walls of the offices of the head of the district administration, the director of the Il'ia Spiridonov MUP, and the head of the district land commission. Colored points mark the location of the reindeer herds and log cabins. From the officials' point of view, the landscape lives when it becomes “alive” on paper with settlements and roads, whereas unmarked territories are seen as “empty” or “wild.”⁴⁴ Their “wilderness” is a social and cultural construction of village-based officials, but is not absolute and general.⁴⁵ Many officials of the district administration in Saaskylaakh wondered how I, a Westerner who must need showers, good food, and TV, could survive in the “wilderness,” where even they have never been. On the other hand, I heard *tundroviki* saying that soon there would

⁴¹ Iakutsko-russkii slovar'. Moscow, 1972. Pp. 417-418.

⁴² Pogovorim po-iakutskii. Yakutsk, 1987. P. 100.

⁴³ Russko-Iakutskii slovar'. Moscow, 1968. P. 131.

⁴⁴ Cf. Peter Gow. Land, People, and Paper in Western Amazonia // Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (Eds.). The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space. Oxford, 1996. Pp. 43-62.

⁴⁵ See Philippe Descola, Gisli Palsson. Introduction // Idem (Eds.). Nature and Society. Anthropological Perspectives. London and New York, 1996. Pp. 1-22.

be no space left in the tundra. And this at a time when we were driving on snowmobiles or reindeer sledges through the tundra, seeing no other signs of human life for hours on end! Both sides were defining space through different activities and a different engagement with the environment, which all gave nature a different social meaning.⁴⁶ On the official map, the social space was organized as registered fixed allotments for the production of meat, furs, and fish with concrete resources fixed on paper. The mode of resource extraction (whether reindeer herding, hunting, or fishing or all three) on a particular territory was defined in a constitution linked to a brigade or enterprise (*ustav*).

For the population, the tundra first of all represents the movement of people, fish, animals, and goods over a large territory crossing huge distances. In recent years, the needs of village dwellers to use the natural resources of the tundra have increased. Unemployment and low salaries in the village have forced people to hunt and fish more extensively. Places in the tundra hold meaning for most people in Uurung Khaia as landmarks or as sources of food and money; there are useless, and on the other hand, very highly valued territories, depending on their ecological resources and accessibility. The described places shifted their meaning according to the season. The wild reindeer migration twice a year kept hunters constantly moving to “follow the herds,”⁴⁷ and they paid little attention to formal brigade or administrative borders. For example, the Tiistaakh family had a very ambiguous relationship to the tundra. They had their own territory, which was located on the migration route of wild reindeer, and the river crossing to shoot reindeer was literally on their doorstep. In spring, Moigo drove around the western and southern tundra to hunt reindeer, staying in reindeer herder camps or hunting lodges. October to December was the ice-fishing period, and entitlement to the good fishing places was strictly divided among the clans that had their *tochkas* in the region. In contrast to the winter fishing period, places to fish were less fixed in July when nets were used. The fluidity and controversy involving the territory came out in a short discussion I had with the Tiistaakh family. When I asked Moigo about where exactly his lands lie, he replied, “I do not need land, I need water.” Agnia, who was in the kitchen, commented: “I think, father did not understand you. Of course we have our land!”

For a long time I was confused by these two statements. The Tiistaakh family had hunting grounds recognized by other people but also claims of

⁴⁶ Cf. Ingold. *The Optimal Forager and Economic Man*.

⁴⁷ E. Burch. *Herd Following Reconsidered // Current Anthropology*. 1991. Vol. 32. No. 4. Pp. 439-445.

informal land entitlement to the family. It may be that old Moigo, when answering my question, did not see his territory as one unit but rather a network of places, an entrapment of meanings and functions. The water system is a concrete network of rivers and lakes useful not only for fishing but also for boat transportation, a link between strategic and useful places. Moigo saw as his exclusive possession some river crossings and hills where arctic foxes resided. At the same time, his land was not closed to other people. The (semi-) nomadic tundra culture on the coast of the Arctic Ocean requires the constant movement of people and goods. On the way to their own *tochkas*, hunters cross through different hunting territories, spend a night in an occasional *tochka* on the way and often visit inhabited places to “drink tea.” What is considered a violation of local social norms is not the crossing of one’s lands but hunting, fishing, and trapping without permission – that is, exploiting the resources of a certain place in the territory. It is known that the Nganasan on the Taimyr peninsula considered certain places, such as river crossings on the wild reindeer migration routes or some especially good fishing places, as clan possessions and had the right to limit the access of other clans to such places.⁴⁸ Some of my older informants remembered hearing their parents speak about similar traditions in the Anabarskii district. Today, in the Anabarskii district, almost all the hunters’ *tochkas* are located on the riverbanks where the main waves of the wild reindeer migration cross the river, and they use facilities built in the Soviet era. It is very possible that the exclusivity of the traditional precollectivization hunting places continued and institutionalized under Soviet rule gave birth to the notion of *rodina* and *khoziain*.

As in other hunting families, Moigo argued that his family lived in the region for generations and he had inherited the land entitlement that he also held in the Soviet period. This was probably what the daughter meant by saying that the family “has lands,” whereas Moigo seemingly understood my question from the perspective of their value of use.

Domesticated Space

The “social landscape” in the Anabar tundra is often created by connecting real people and events with the landscape.⁴⁹ The most obvious sign that

⁴⁸ Chester S. Chard. *The Nganasan: Wild Reindeer Hunters of the Taimyr Peninsula // Arctic Anthropology*. 1963. No. 1. Pp. 105-121, 109-111.

⁴⁹ Cf. Michael J. Casimir. *The Dimension of Territoriality: An Introduction // Idem and Aparna Rao (Eds.). Mobility and Territoriality. Social and Spatial Boundaries Among Foragers, Fishers, Pastoralists and Peripatetics*. Oxford, New York, 1992. Pp. 1-26; also in Gow. *Land, People, and Paper*.

people know a territory is that they have given names to places. The most beautiful place name for me in the Anabarskii district is *Golub Töliüür Aryyyta* (the island where the dove is born). This island is where the early summer bird hunt takes place, but there are also many people-related place names in the district. One day in late summer we were mounted on reindeer and looking for some lost animals. When we passed a small lake, Vassili, my host, mentioned, “This lake’s name is Boris.” I asked: “Why Boris?” Vassili replied: “There used to be a Russian [in Uurung Khaia]. He fished here often.” The lake was named after a real person and the name symbolized his activities in the region.

Even from a brief glance at the map it is obvious that the Anabar region has many person-related toponyms. When we drove north from the camp of the 3rd reindeer brigade of Uurung Khaia we had to cross Ivan Salaata (Ivan’s Path). Feodor Kylaia (Look at Feodor’s [Place], or Lights of Feodor) was on the way to the village of Uurung Khaia (which itself means “White Hill”) from Tiistaakh. The first place is connected to the memory of the trap lines of the hunter Ivan. The other river got its name from the hunting cabin of Feodor, whose hunting grounds used to be there. Egor Paastaga means “Egor’s fox trap.” Other toponyms hint at human activities, such as Bөрөлөөkh (Full of Wolves), Sasyl Yrekh (Fox Stream), or Khaia D’iieleekh (from Khaia Kurduk D’iie – House Big as Mountain).

Places where one can expect to see and hunt foxes or places that should be avoided because of wolves that are likely to attack your reindeer, are only known by those who make regular visits to these regions. The activities of hunters and reindeer herders are thus entrapped in the landscape and these features have meaning for others who share the same way of life. Of course, many place names refer to some visible marker on the landscape, such as Kholocholookh (*kholo* means curve, the name of a crooked-shaped lake), Ulakhan Kumakh Yrekh (Stream of the Big Sand), or Bulgunn’akhtaakh (Covered with Hills). The “story” of some place names has almost been forgotten. For example, it was difficult to find someone who could explain to me the origin of the toponym Hetta Heddem (Seven Brothers). Finally Aponia, the brigadier of the district’s northernmost reindeer herd, explained: “There used to be seven brothers who migrated to the area. They were Turpiny. I think they were relatives of Pavel, our MUP’s director.”

I was always very impressed with how well *tundroviki*, especially older people, knew the tundra. Many times, I witnessed how people were able to find their way in a snowstorm when the whole world seemed to be one white rushing madness. When I returned to the district after a few months’ stay

in Moscow and brought back photos from previous migrations, people not only recognized lakes and hills but also remembered what we were doing in these places. For example, when I camped with the reindeer herders at one unnamed lake, we had a small abandoned reindeer calf in our camp. The brigadier said that he would let the calf grow a bit and then make a fur hat out of her. Therefore the calf was called Shapka (hat, in Russian). When we were looking at the photos some months later, the brigadier's wife pointed at the picture of the lake and said only one word: "Shapka!" I do not have to wonder whether the lake now bears this name. Moreover, hunters and reindeer herders demonstrated in many cases that they remember activities that happened years ago, connected to certain places. I took a Soviet Army map with me to the fieldwork. These maps used mainly local toponyms, although in Russian transliteration, and people recognized them easily. Drawing routes on the map with a finger, my informants showed me their hunting and pasture lands, as well as those of others now dead, demonstrating that "memory" is what "writes subsistence and other activities on the landscape," and "articulates the relationship between the landscape and the community, or between the landscape and individual."⁵⁰

Social space in the Anabarskii district is not necessarily bound to old stories, nor is it static. New toponyms appear and some old ones are forgotten. It is important that the Dolgan "implication in a landscape" focuses on an active relationship among living people, and a person and the land,⁵¹ whether that person is already dead or still alive. Place names demonstrate how the entrapment of *rodina* is established through human activity in the tundra, by the practical functions of the landscape as navigation marks or provider of resources. Time lived on the land gives authority for the person settling the territory because, over a long period, the activities of a person or a family mark the territory, creating entrapment and a narrative. These narratives symbolize "what actually has happened",⁵² the relationship with the tundra forms the history of a person and the family and legitimizes the entitlement to a territory.

"My Parents Are Buried Here": Ancestors' Legacies

In almost every settlement of more than two families in the Anabar tundra, crosses on the surrounding hills are a frequent sight. Dolgan burial customs

⁵⁰ Mark Nuttall. Arctic Homeland. Kinship, Community and Development in Northwest Greenland. Toronto, Buffalo, 1992. P. 57.

⁵¹ Gow. Land, People, and Paper. Pp. 51-52.

⁵² Turton. How to Make a Speech in Mursi.

are a mixture of traditional beliefs, Russian Orthodox, and Soviet tradition. The Dolgans throw all the necessary tools and favorite items around the grave of the dead person, breaking them before the burial. The best reindeer will be slaughtered for the burial; the meat will be eaten and the bones put onto the grave as well. After forty days (following Russian tradition), another reindeer will be slaughtered, eaten and the bones left on the grave. This procedure is repeated after one year. According to Dolgan tradition, after three years, the relatives of the dead person build a small wooden box over the grave. Often, in addition to the crosses, there are red star monuments, or Russian-style gravestones with black-and-white pictures of the dead person.

One goal of the Soviet collectivization policy, to break “backward” kinship ties, met with no success in the Anabarskii district.⁵³ The reindeer brigades had always been made up of close relatives, and hunting brigades were very often made up of the father as a brigadier and his sons as hunters working for him. The graves around the *tochkas* demonstrate that Soviet power also had little success in turning hunting bases into sole places of production, or some kind of workers’ temporary living space. It was (and still is) a widespread practice for the dead to be buried in the tundra not far from the *tochka*, rather than to be brought back to the village. This is very well illustrated by an interview with the head of one hunting brigade, a man nicknamed “Kupaa” who lived in Chöchördaakh – a hunting base with a trading post (*faktoria*).

Author: Is the trader your relative?

Kupaa: The trader is our relative but not one of us. He is a Dolgan, we are Even. Of course, we have already forgotten our language, but we are Even.

Author: How do you happen to be here, in this *tochka*?

Kupaa: We have been living here for generations. Our family has always hunted here.

Author: Even in Soviet times all of you worked here in the same brigade?

Kupaa: Yes, my sons and I were here in the brigade. I buried my parents here. They wanted to be buried in their homeland (*rodina*).

The relation between graves and a “master’s” legitimacy became clear to me a few months later. After leaving Kupaa’s hunting base, I returned to

⁵³ I. S. Gurvich. *Current Ethnic Processes Taking Place in Northern Yakutia* (Translated by Emma Lou Davis) // *Arctic Anthropology*. 1963. Vol. 1. No. 2. Pp. 86-92; Yuri Slezkine. *Arctic Mirrors. Russia and the Small Peoples of the North*. Ithaca and London, 1994. Chapter 6.

the reindeer brigade. In the winter we again migrated close to the area where Kupaa's base was located. Sometimes we even talked to him on the radio. Near the trading post was a place where good quality coal lay on the ground along the riverbank. The reindeer herders of the 3rd Uurung Khaia brigade wanted to go and collect that coal but they needed Kupaa's permission first.

After a radio session one evening in a *balokh*, the mother of the family, Zinaida Tuprina, put away the radio microphone and said: "Kupaa is a stingy person!"

Author: Why?

Zinaida: We ask him constantly for permission to dig coal near Chöchördaakh, but he always avoids the subject. When we ask him on the radio, he never says a word. Neither "yes" or "no." If he had answered, Ivan (the oldest son) could go off to dig the coal.

Author: But why must Kupaa give you permission? Is it his coal?

Zinaida: He is the "master," these lands are viewed as his own!
(*On khoziain, schitaetsia, shto eto ego zemli!*)

The brigade of Kupaa is not atypical for the region; the members of the brigade are closely related and have hunted in the region for a long time. Although the *tochka* was established in the 1970s, the people tracked their family history in the region back for many generations. These people had established a strong emotional tie with the particular territory where they had grown up hunting, typical of other Siberian state farm hunters.⁵⁴

The entitlement of "master" rights to a region, are often based on the notion that "we have lived here for generations." The graves of the ancestors are an important symbol defining the institution of the "master." In symbiosis with the Soviet state farm framework, this symbol became even more powerful. In Soviet collectivized agriculture, the organization of the collectives was static, and their territories closed to other people.⁵⁵ Thus, particular families lived in their hunting territories for many generations, even under Soviet rule, and became accustomed to this relative independence, allowing them to operate within the borders of the hunting territory. This facilitated the incorporation of pre-Soviet land use norms into state farm ideology.

Association, indication, and identification with a particular region means more than some kind of presence "ownership" for the Dolgan. Social relations to the landscape were transferred among kin and from generation to generation. This process of transmission of land entitlement was a conscious

⁵⁴ Cf. Ziker. Assigned Territories, Family/Clan/Communal Holdings.

⁵⁵ Anderson. Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia.

process among Dolgan hunters. For example, Kupaa told me that he would retire soon and leave all of his *balokhs* and trap lines to his son: “He will hunt here soon; I have done it enough.”

The transmission of territory as practiced by the Dolgan, means that after all the older sons have received their share, the youngest son inherits all of his father’s reindeer and other property such as the arctic fox traps, along with the obligation to be the primary supporter of his old parents. Transferring an ancestors’ space over to the children gives the act a historical dimension and ingrains the family into the landscape, reconstituting the younger generation as formal heirs to particular places, similar to the process of the transfer of land entitlement described for sheep farmers in the Scottish borders.⁵⁶

Ingold’s genealogical model of land ownership stresses the fact that “dwelling unfolds history.”⁵⁷ He argues that forms of landscape are constituted through this dwelling.⁵⁸ Ingold holds the view that language and tradition for indigenous hunting communities are the *object* of memory, which relates people to the landscape. In the Dolgan case, traditions of dwelling and land use are constituted in memory and place names, but the ancestors’ presence is also made visible by graves and arctic fox traps on the landscape. Graves give the legacy to a family to view a territory as something over which they have supreme decision-making power. It could be argued that the memory of ancestors and their symbolic presence transforms *tochka* from a Soviet place of production to a homeland – *rodina*. Dead ancestors are part of the local memoryscape and establish – in my view – an unquestionable “moral possession.” The narrative of the land is based on activities of people now dead. These activities live on in the memory, having two functions: establishing a domesticated landscape and linking real people and families to concrete places.

The Borders

One evening in January 2001 in the tundra with a reindeer brigade closely related to the Tiistaakh people, we talked about land use rights. I put forth the question: “Does the land we are migrating on now belong to Moigo?”

Before answering me, the old reindeer herder asked his wife: “Are Moigo’s arctic fox traps around here (*paastar*)?”

⁵⁶ John N. Gray. *At Home in the Hills. Sense of Place in the Scottish Borders*. New York, Oxford, 2000. P. 220.

⁵⁷ Tim Ingold. *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London, New York, 2000.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Pp. 133, 199.

The discussion about private land ownership among nomadic Arctic hunters started with Frank G. Speck, who conducted extensive fieldwork among Algonquian Indians in Canada and the United States in the early years of the twentieth century. Since then, Arctic hunting territories and the importance of trapping in defining these territories has been a matter of research and great debate.⁵⁹ In Anabar, the history of hunting animals for fur can be dated back to the eighteenth century and, for me, the arctic fox traps encapsulate – entrap – the narrative of the land: accumulated knowledge and family heritage about the landscape and its resources, which determined the activities of real people on the landscape and turned the lands into a personalized space.

In Anabar, deadfall traps for arctic foxes are private property and serve as visible markers of territorial ownership,⁶⁰ that is, the trap is a “tool... whose use marks its user in the social space.”⁶¹

⁵⁹ In a series of publications, Speck argued that many Algonquian hunters had institutionalized “family hunting territories.” He wrote that “these territories were known and recognized, and **trespassing**... was summarily punishable.” These “family hunting territories” were a “family inheritance” and operated only by the family (Frank G. Speck. *The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonquian Social Organization* // *American Anthropologist* N.S. 1915. No. 17. Pp. 289-305, 290, 293). Speck is seen as the initiator of the concept of “family hunting territories,” which was supported but also criticized by other scholars. Dean Snow argued that, although family hunting grounds obviously existed among Algonquian Indians, there were different systems. Speck ignored the fact that the main activity on these territories was trapping, not hunting, and because of this, the term “family hunting territory” was a “misnomer” (Dean R. Snow. *Wabanaki “Family Hunting Territories”* // *American Anthropology*. 1968. No. 70. Pp. 1143-1151). The concept of land as private property was questioned by Eleanor Leacock, who argued that such hunting grounds developed in response to European colonization. She stated that before the arrival of Europeans, property among Algonquian hunters was not focused on land but on beavers (Eleanor Leacock. *The Montagnais “Hunting Territory” and the Fur Trade*. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1954. P. 2). Leacock used historical data to show that strictly guarded family hunting territories were not suited to hunting for food (P. 25). She supported her theory using the fact that having permanent trap lines was called “trapping like the white man” by the Indians because Indians had “fluid territory” where the locations of trapping lines were changed periodically and exclusive hunting territories developed as the importance of commercial hunting increased (Pp. 30, 34).

⁶⁰ Irrespective of whether hunting territories were private property and trap lines permanent (Speck. *The Family Hunting Band*) or territories fluid and trap lines temporary (Leacock. *The Montagnais “Hunting Territory”*), and whether the aim was to trap for money (Ziker. *Assigned Territories*) or for social prestige (Robert Jarvenpa. *Subarctic Indian Trappers and Band Society: The Economics of Male Mobility* // *Human Ecology*. 1977. No. 5. Pp. 223-259), trapping lines are generally private property and the owner has a right to limit their use by others.

⁶¹ Michel de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1988.

Andrei Tuprin, who worked on Bol'shoi Begichev island as a hunter at the end of the 1970s, told me: "It is not so easy with traps. You must know where the arctic foxes (*kyrssa*) are. You cannot build the traps everywhere. You must know the landscape... And what the weather is like there..."

For Tim Ingold, trapping is a different kind of predation because the trapper has to know the region where he sets up his traps but also the way there and back.⁶² Arctic fox deadfall traps are sturdy constructions that can be used for generations. To build the traps, one has to transport the material (logs) into the tundra and expend considerable time and effort building them. To keep the arctic fox traps intact, they must be looked after and repaired regularly. In winter, the owner must keep the traps baited and collect the trapped animals before other arctic foxes eat them. All these activities are justified through the harvesting of a substantial quantity of furs. Therefore, the inherited knowledge of the region and accumulated skills of trapping have directly paid off and affected the livelihood of people. While in Soviet times the state farm supplied hunters with materials and paid extra money for building and repairing the traps, in the post-Soviet period all of these caretaking and construction jobs were left to the hunters themselves. With the abandonment of organized trapping and the increase in hunters' independence, the traps became valuable private property, as did the resources of the territory where the traps are located. By inheriting trapping lines, sons also inherited territory and the right to consider this territory as their exclusive hunting area. Oleg, a reindeer herder whose brigade migrated along the Arctic Ocean coast, once showed me long trap lines in the tundra. "These traps belonged to my father. Now my brothers use them," he said. "This is my *rodina*. These lands belong to us." When I asked whether hunters from other enterprises were allowed to hunt in their territory, Oleg thought long and said, "Why should they? Their trapping lines are somewhere else. Here is no place to put new trapping lines and we need to hunt for wild reindeer too!"

In the Arctic seminomadic economy, people inhabit territories that can directly and indirectly feed them. Therefore the notion of *rodina* is very complex and includes both the emotional affiliation with a territory and a strong economic meaning. Via generations of inhabitation, the territory is filled with meanings that both legitimize the entitlement and help to use resources. Skills, ecological knowledge, history, and toponyms belong together and become elements of the entrapment.

⁶² Tim Ingold. *The Appropriation of Nature: Essays on Human Ecology and Social Relations*. Iowa City, 1987. Pp. 93-94.

With Soviet state farm organization, that is, the shift to fixed brigade territories, deadfall traps became symbols of the permanent occupation of a territory with concrete borders. The combination of traps and trapped game as private property and the brigade hunting territory system mean that traps link their owner to the lands in which the traps are located. The practice that sons use the same traps that their fathers had built, provides a continuity of occupancy, transmission of land use, and the right to exercise control over a certain territory.

Conclusion

In this article I have outlined the institution of *khoziain* (“master”) and the concept of *rodina* (“homeland”). The Dolgan case proves that, despite high mobility, kinship-based territorial control is central for nomadic economic and social organization. Hunting is a social process that has developed within historical, ecological, and cultural constraints and also has a strong connection to land use entitlement.⁶³ To “domesticate” the tundra it had to be turned into a social space where people’s activities were entrapped onto the landscape. These activities were connected to real people who could trace their personal and family history in a certain region. Thus the social relationship to the landscape was established with the help of complex narratives and symbols – similar to the “plots” of White⁶⁴ – that in sum helped individuals and families to develop emotional ties to particular regions in the tundra.

Success in hunting and fishing and the entitlement to territories depended upon an accumulation of knowledge over generations, that is, familiarity with the territory’s ecology, but also the skills to use those resources. The longer the history of presence in the territory the more authoritative the knowledge accumulated via this presence. Knowledge and success are linked in the Anabarskii district to one’s “own” land and “own” wild reindeer population and have encapsulated the superiority of the master over the resources of the hunting territory. In a nomadic culture, the transmission of knowledge means for hunters and reindeer herders the transmission of territorial rights. This knowledge was expressed in tangible and intangible objects and symbols connected to the “domestication” of the tundra through the life and work of real individuals.

⁶³ Ibid. Pp. 252-256.

⁶⁴ White. Metahistory.

The Soviet state farm policy of dividing lands into fixed parcels and relating individual production units (brigades) to territories, institutionalized division of the tundra into concrete “ownerships,” and thus the territorial entitlements of some families were strengthened by locating family brigades on their ancestors’ territory. The state farm also created new masters by establishing hunting and reindeer brigades and allocating land to such brigades, which has been important for establishing and transferring land entitlements in the post-Soviet era.

With the collapse of Soviet agriculture, hunting bases and trap lines became the private property of families and the land around them came under informal ownership of the “master” – his homeland. With the help of an ancestor’s memory, the homeland also received a historical dimension, uniting a living master with past generations and increasing his authority to decide upon access to the resources of his homeland. The “ghosts of ancestors” transmitted not only the legacy of land use but also, using their hunting grounds and skills, the mode of resource use.

The notions of “master” and “homeland” are a symbiosis of pre-Soviet and Soviet practices that were used to monitor tundra resources. To symbolize “ownership” of lands, a complex system of narratives developed, which includes place names, memoryscapes, ancestors’ graves, and especially arctic fox trap lines. These narratives functioned as entrapment that positioned concrete actors in a local social context and related to other people in the framework of land use.⁶⁵ Dolgan people demonstrate that claiming legal rights is always a discursive act, and in the northern tundra, the family entitlement has material objects as reference points – especially the trap lines – that become “total social facts” linking history, memory, land, and law. This family entitlement – despite its semilegal status – is a strong enough institution to be recognized, even by the officials. Its survival and power demonstrates that the main goal of the Soviet state – to establish control over nomadic people and their territories – was less successful than was claimed. The continuation of the institutions of *khoziain* (“master”) and *rodina* indicates that post-Soviet Russia has not managed to establish strong state institutions and law enforcement in all social and economic spheres. One begins to see why in Siberia it was never possible to transform hunting and reindeer herding into a single, centrally configured economy.

⁶⁵ For example, Nygren. Environmental Narratives on Protection and Production.

SUMMARY

In this article, the author discusses landownership among the seminomadic Dolgan in the Republic of Sakha. Despite their nomadic lifestyle, the Dolgan have developed a complicated landownership system based on biographical and ancestral narratives linked to particular territories. The article shows how these narratives make “wilderness” into “inhabited” land and are essential for the “appropriation of nature.” Aimar Ventsel seeks an answer to the question of why informal clan-based landownership has been so vital and still today regulates the use of the tundra’s resources. The concept of the “narrative of the land” is so strong that even formal administrative structures cannot ignore this form of landownership. Moreover, the post-Soviet dismantling of state structures for controlling the use of environmental resources makes the concept of the “narrative of land” more instrumental for monitoring the use of resources in the Russian Arctic. Ventsel’s hypothesis is that informal landownership or “moral possession” is constructed through a complex set of tangible and intangible objects that support each other in creating emotional bonds to a territory and thus establishing a family’s right to control a territory’s resources.

РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье рассматривается институт и культурный комплекс землевладения полуномадической народности долган в Республике Саха. Несмотря на номадический образ жизни, долгане создали сложную систему владения землей, которая основывается на биографических нарративах и рассказах о предках, связанных с определенными территориями. Автор показывает, как с помощью нарративов, играющих ключевую роль в освоении природы, “дикие” земли становятся населенными. Он предлагает объяснение живучести неформальной системы землевладения, основанной на клановом родстве продолжающей регулировать использование ресурсов тундры. Авторитет “нарратива земли” столь непререкаем, что формальные административные структуры не могут игнорировать эту форму землевладения. Автор проводит гипотезу, согласно которой неформальное землевладение, или “моральное владение”, конструируется посредством сложного сочетания материальных и нематериальных объектов, поддерживающих друг друга и создающих эмоциональную привязку к территории.

Maxim MATUSEVICH

**EXPANDING THE BOUNDARIES
OF THE BLACK ATLANTIC:
AFRICAN STUDENTS AS SOVIET MODERNS***

As a nineteen-year-old youth, Sunday Adelaja traveled some 5,000 miles from his native Nigeria to Minsk, the capital of what used to be Soviet Belorussia. Adelaja arrived in Minsk in 1986, at the beginning of Soviet twilight. In later years he would describe this journey to study journalism at Belarus State University as divinely inspired. Indeed, the young Presbyterian from Ogun State would go on to become the founder of one of the largest mega churches in Europe, the Embassy of God, presently headquartered in Kyiv, Ukraine. Fluent in Russian and resident in the former Soviet spaces for a quarter of a century, Adelaja harbors few illusions about being an outsider in one of the least cosmopolitan parts of Europe. Yet he clearly sees himself as a foreigner with a mission: “Though I am a foreigner, God has given me the ability to go and minister beyond race, culture and denominational

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barriers.”¹ It was God’s will, Adelaja assured his 25,000-strong congregation in Kyiv (which includes the city’s mayor), to set a black man on the quest “to bring religion back to Russia and the Soviet Union.”² But the mission has expanded beyond its initial purely religious objectives. Apparently, it was God who moved the former Nigerian immigrant to lend his considerable popularity and resources to the cause of a pro-Western Orange Revolution in Ukraine, a political choice that almost automatically made him persona non grata in Vladimir Putin’s Russia.³

But Russia itself has not been entirely immune from modernizing challenges presented by the black nomads transplanted to its soil. Just like Adelaja and thousands of other young Africans, Joaquim Crima and Jean Gregoire Sagbo first arrived in the Soviet Union some twenty-odd years ago in search of an affordable education. Both married, and stayed, and emerged out of the post-Soviet flux relatively successful and well respected within their respective provincial communities. Both appear to have embraced their Russian identities but at the same time remained astutely aware of the debilitating inefficiency and the myriad of social and economic ills plaguing Russia’s countryside. Both made infrastructural development and the struggle against corruption and rampant drug addiction and alcoholism central to their political campaigns for public office. Crima’s campaign eventually floundered but Sagbo has been more successful and now serves as one of the ten councilmen of his village Novozavidovo in the Volgograd region. “This is my home, my town. We can’t live like this,” explained Sagbo who had previously donated time and money to organize other villagers to clean up their apartment buildings and improve the municipal garbage collection.⁴ The Soviet and post-Soviet odyssey of Adelaja, Crima, and Sagbo has encapsulated a unique postcolonial transformation from migrant to settler, from student to educator, from being the recipient of a particular (Soviet) notion of modernity to becoming a reformer – and modernizer within the former host community.

¹ Afe Adogame. “Up, Up, Jesus! Down, Down, Satan!” African Religiosity in the Former Soviet Bloc – the Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for all Nations // *Exchange*. 2008. Vol. 37. Pp. 310-336.

² Alan Cullison. Man with a Mission: A Nigerian Minister Sets Out to Save Kiev; Sunday Adelaja Promotes God and Democracy in a Land Suspicious of Evangelism // *Wall Street Journal*. 2006. July 21.

³ Clifford J. Levy. An Evangelical Preacher’s Message Catches Fire in Ukraine // *New York Times*. 2011. April 23.

⁴ Russia Welcomes First Black Politician // *Afro-American Red Star*. 2010. July 31–August 6.



Fig. 1. (Campaign poster for Joaquim (Василий) Crima) – personal collection of Michael Eckels (with permission).

Some two decades ago, Paul Gilroy published his influential essay *The Black Atlantic* where he connected the diasporic black experience with the rise of modernity in the West.⁵ To be sure, such connections had been drawn before. The late Guyanese historian and politician Walter Rodney, for example, explicitly linked the rise of European industrialization to the exploitation of Africa by Europe during the Modern era. Africa, asserted Rodney, served as the resource base for European capitalist expansion, which forced the continent to put its resources, both natural and human, at the disposal of Western entrepreneurs and colonizers.⁶ But for Gilroy, Africans' role exceeded that of industrialization fodder. Uprooted and exploited, alienated from their surroundings, moved across the oceans and continents, they, nevertheless, emerged over time as the true agents of modernity. In the case of Africans in the diaspora, their very alienation, their perpetual outsider status, their collective historical memory of dispersion, the adaptability skills acquired in exile or bondage and then passed down from generation to generation, their real or potential access to transnational support networks – all were exactly the kind of attributes that one often associates with this most visible symbol of modernity, the global nomad. It is not a coincidence that Gilroy readily recognized the commonality of black and Jewish experiences of dispersal, and here he followed in the tradition of founding fathers of Pan-Africanism such as Edward Blyden, who had been an early proponent of the affinity between Jews and Africans established around the axes of migration, suffering, and servitude.⁷ Just like Jews, diasporic Africans had to negotiate a transition from the state of oppression to acquiring full citizenship rights. Similar to Jews, their inferior status produced a frenetic search for the optimal terms of political and social existence.⁸ To achieve this self-serving goal they had to reform and modernize the societies that traditionally exploited and oppressed them.

⁵ Paul Gilroy. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA, 1993. P. 261.

⁶ Toyin Falola, Kevin D. Roberts (Eds.). *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000*. Bloomington, 2008.

⁷ Gilroy. *The Black Atlantic*. P. 261.

⁸ *Ibid.*

And in doing so, just like the Jewish Mercurians recently imagined and brought to life by Yuri Slezkine, they turned themselves into the agents and promoters of the Modern Age.⁹

Gilroy presents to his readers a compelling new model of modernity that is intrinsically tied to the historical expansion of the “web of diaspora identities and concerns” that he labels the “Black Atlantic.” Historians have long since made the Atlantic central to the narrative of global capitalist expansion. But, ironically, neither capitalism’s champions and apologists nor its foes have been inclined to assign much independent agency to the people who featured so prominently, both as the producers and the commodity, in the Atlantic-centered globalization.¹⁰ Gilroy effectively transforms diasporic Africans from mere victims into assertive agents of modernity. They challenge but also define the West by introducing new discursive patterns and political sensibilities, by championing novel forms of artistic expression, and also, importantly, by initiating the white residents of the West (especially in Europe) into the world of bifocal perspectives and multilayered identities.

Despite its ambition and a distinct expansionist élan, Gilroy’s project remains limited by the history and topography of Western imperialism. While acknowledging the global reach of African diaspora, Gilroy demarcates the shores of the Black Atlantic as extending from North America into Western Europe. In other words, the history of the Black Atlantic is the history of Africa’s ill-fated encounter with those European societies who had a direct involvement with either Atlantic slavery or colonialism. But this fairly narrow interpretation of diasporic geography, while quite understandable, implies that the impact of black migrations was largely absorbed by the former colonial powers (Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, etc.) whose politics and culture were transformed and modernized through the infusion of former colonial subjects and, to a lesser extent, itinerant African-Americans.¹¹ What remains left out of this equation is, in fact, another vector of mass postcolonial migrations, the one that compelled thousands of young Africans to travel behind the Iron Curtain, usually in search of education. In many ways, their sojourns in the Soviet Union (and other socialist countries) were quite distinct from the black experience in the West. For one, their introduction to the East lacked the intimacy inherent in an encounter between the former

⁹ See Falola, Roberts. *The Atlantic World*; also Yuri Slezkine. *The Jewish Century*. Princeton, 2004.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Paul Gilroy. *Migrancy, Culture, and a New Map of Europe* // Heike Raphael-Hernandez (Ed.). *Blackening Europe: The African American Presence*. New York, 2004.

colonial subject and the former master society. The two communities (the migrants and the hosts) possessed virtually no shared history, and colonialism as a traditional point of reference worked only insofar as the Soviets were known to have made a habit of decrying Western racism and imperialism.

Nevertheless, the arrival of black postcolonial migrants in the cultural and political spaces on the other side of the Cold War divide had some profound ramifications for the host societies.¹² I would argue that this particular group of educational nomads in the socialist nations of Eastern Europe functioned as the conduit of modern ideas and sensibilities, some, understandably, originating in the West, but the West, as astutely observed by Gilroy, fundamentally transformed by the Black Atlantic. Postcolonial Africans, making their appearance in the midst of the societies whose ideology made them wary of “foreign influences,” performed a distinctly subversive role, both culturally *and* politically. And in doing so they pushed back against the Soviet consensus and the accepted norms of public behavior and discourse in the Soviet Union. In some significant ways these young Africans pried open the isolationist host society; they introduced their hosts to the rituals and practices of global nomadism – and thus to modernity. In other words, the shores of Gilroy’s Black Atlantic extended much further east than previously imagined – far beyond the borders of Western Europe and deep into the heart of the Pax Sovietica.

The End of Internationalism

To appreciate the significance of the encounter between postcolonial Africans and the Soviet society one must consider it in the context of the Soviet Union’s postwar isolationism. As recently observed by Vladislav Zubok, the war had finalized the transformation of the Soviet Union from a multiethnic empire with an internationalist outlook to a nation state with a strong Russian core. Since the late 1930s, Stalin, keenly aware of the emotional appeal of Russian nationalism, actively encouraged and meticulously cultivated its resurgence. By supporting the production of historical dramas such as *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) and *Ivan the Terrible* (1944), both directed by Sergei Eisenstein, Stalin sought to reclaim the heroic Russian past heretofore shunned by the Bolsheviks. During the war, the regime brought back the prerevolutionary Russian military insignia, evoked the names of the faithful tsarist generals of yore, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov, to

¹² Maxim Matushevich. *Journeys of Hope: African Diaspora and the Soviet Society // African Diaspora*. 2008. Vol. 1. No. 1. Pp. 53-85.

rally and decorate the troops and, on occasion, even allowed the Orthodox priests to bless the soldiers' arms before battles. The preeminence of the Russian center of the Soviet Union was codified in a new national anthem that (tellingly) replaced the *Internationale* and was first played on the Soviet radio at midnight on January 1, 1944. Its famous first stanza left no doubt that the much trumpeted equality of Soviet nationalities was being qualified; Russia was "more equal" than its fellow republics: "An unbreakable union of free republics Great Russia has joined forever."¹³ In a break with the earlier Soviet practice, ethnic Russians were now actively promoted to occupy the sensitive administrative and security posts, replacing the non-Russian cadres.¹⁴ The war experience also made it clear that the official rhetoric of socialist internationalism notwithstanding, Stalin harbored deep suspicions regarding some ethnic minorities' willingness to defend his rule against the foreign invaders. The liberation of Soviet territories from the Nazi occupation was often accompanied by vicious campaigns of ethnic cleansing, which targeted those groups most suspected of collaboration with or sympathies for the Germans – Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingush, ethnic Germans, Greeks, Estonians, and so on. Jews, yet another irksome minority with dubious cosmopolitan inclinations and possibly harboring an allegiance to a newly established State of Israel, were to follow. By the time of Stalin's death in 1953, Soviet Jewry, already ravished by a series of purges and campaigns against the "rootless cosmopolites," "Zionist conspirators," and, most notoriously, the "murderous doctors" with Jewish surnames, were facing a very real possibility of mass arrests and deportations.¹⁵ If prior to the war the Soviet Union had received a constant stream of black (mostly African-American and Afro-Caribbean) visitors who fled North American racism and colonial oppression to experience the purportedly color-blind Soviet utopia, now such trips became a rarity.¹⁶

¹³ "Gimn SSSR (1943)," <http://www.hymn.ru/anthem-sovietunion-1943.html> (accessed November 16, 2011).

¹⁴ Vladislav Zubok. *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War, from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Chapel Hill, 2007.

¹⁵ Jonathan Brent, Vladimir Pavlovich Naumov. *Stalin's Last Crime: The Plot Against the Jewish Doctors, 1948–1953*. 1st ed. New York, 2003. P. 399; Ya. L. Rapoport. *The Doctors' Plot of 1953 [Na rubezhe dvukh epokh.]* Cambridge, MA, 1991. P. 280; Louis Rapoport. *Stalin's War Against the Jews: The Doctors' Plot and the Soviet Solution*. New York, 1990. P. 318.

¹⁶ See Maxim Matusevich. *Harlem-Globe-Trotters: Black Sojourners in Stalin's Soviet Union* // Jeffrey Ogbonna Green Ogbar. *The Harlem Renaissance Revisited: Politics, Arts, and Letters*. Baltimore, 2010. P. 264.

Stalin's conservative revolution did not spare the disciplines deemed prone to bourgeois deviations, particularly various area studies. The burgeoning field of African studies, among others, bore the brunt of the wholesale attack on the suspect disciplines. Some of the founding fathers of the Soviet-organized research on Africa were swept up in the purges, others changed profession or else had to escape to the relative safety of African linguistics. Despite an impressive crop of young Africanists that had made their presence felt in Soviet academia during the early and mid-1930s, African studies as a discipline remained in a rudimentary state, any attempts at serious research effectively preempted by ideological constraints and a general atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. Field research, even of the nineteenth-century Orientalist variety, was impossible to fathom. Until Professor Ivan Potekhin's 1957 visit to Ghana, not a single Soviet scholar of Africa had set foot on the continent.¹⁷ In other words, on the eve of African decolonization, the Soviet Union found itself singularly ill-prepared to engage with the newly independent African states.

“Africa Is Shaped Like a Heart”

The end of Stalin's rule coincided with the rise of African independence. Whereas Stalin harbored little hope for the political and ideological awakening of African colonies, those unredeemable preserves of Western imperialism, his colorful successor Nikita Khrushchev was full of optimism. Compared to Stalin, Khrushchev subscribed to a more nuanced worldview, which allowed him to abandon the rigid dualism of his predecessor and recognize the progressive potential of the emerging postcolonial regimes. For example, Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of the pro-independence Convention People's Party in the British colony of the Gold Coast, was no longer dismissed as a stooge of “big national bourgeoisie” and a British collaborator. And Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt proved himself worthy of a major arms deal, which, when concluded in 1955, sent shock waves through the Western alliance and earned Nasser the undying hostility of its chief actors. No longer the backwaters of global politics, the newly independent African nations now held the promise of evolving into reliable Soviet partners and, hopefully, eventual ideological allies. Such sentiments were expressed in a 1955 letter to Khrushchev and then-premier Nikolai Bulganin by Ivan Maiskiy, the

¹⁷ Apollon Davidson, Irina Filatova. *African History: A View from Behind the Kremlin Wall* // Maxim Matushevich (Ed.). *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters*. Trenton, 2006. Pp. 111-131.

former Soviet ambassador in Great Britain: “[the next stage of] the battle for the world supremacy of socialism would involve the liberation of colonial and semi-colonial nations from imperialist exploitation...” Winning the goodwill of postcolonial Africans (and other Third Worlders) was now imagined to be an important precondition for the ultimate disintegration of the global capitalist system.¹⁸ After decades of academic and geopolitical neglect, Africa had finally come into vogue with Soviet political elites.

At least in part, Africa’s emergence as a staple theme of the Soviet Cold War discourse was a corollary to a relative opening up of the Soviet Union during the Khrushchevian “thaw.” By denouncing Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 Khrushchev inaugurated a peculiar period, which, while often equated with the height of the Cold War and some of its most intense crises and stand-offs, also became synonymous with a qualified relaxation of ideological restrictions at home. Probably no other event better captured this atmosphere of newness and liberalization than the International Youth Festival held in Moscow in August 1957.



Fig. 2. Oppressed Africans redeemed by Sputnik (Krokodil. 1958. No. 2. P. 8).

The festival made a profound and long-lasting impression on the post-Stalin generation. Almost fifty years later, Apollon Davidson, the doyen of Soviet African studies, still remembered the cultural and emotional shock of the festival. Davidson, like other Soviet students of Africa, had never been to the continent and had limited contact with foreigners. And now, over 30,000 foreign youngsters had poured into Moscow. The Moscow streets were filled with people who “looked anything but Soviet.”¹⁹ For the first time in decades, Soviet citizens found themselves face-to-face with the representatives of a world ordinarily closed to them.²⁰ For Davidson and his friends, the experience of this new openness was nothing short of “surreal, fantastic.”²¹ For a famous jazz musician, Alexei Kozlov, interviewed half a century later, the

¹⁸ RGANI. F. 5. Op. 30. D. 161. L. 1, quoted in S. V. Mazov. *A Distant Front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956–1964*. Washington, DC; Stanford, 2010. P. 334.

¹⁹ 50 let nachala Vsemirnogo festivalia molodezhi i studentov v Moskve // Radio Svoboda, <http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/transcript/404434.html> (accessed November 12, 2011).

²⁰ Youngsters Fill Moscow For Fete // *New York Times*. 1957. July 28.

²¹ For more on the festival and its impact on Muscovites, see this recent memoir: A. B. Davidson, L. V. Ivanova. *Moskovskaia Afrika*. Moscow, 2003. Pp. 7-25.

festival spelled the beginning of Soviet unraveling, a virtual extravaganza of cultural exposure and mixing that introduced permanent fissures inside the Soviet monolith.²² Writer Anatoly Makarov closely echoes Kozlov's sentiments; he also remembers being completely overwhelmed by the novelty of his experiences: "The world, it turned out, was remarkably diverse. In this multiplicity of human types and races, tongues, customs, fashions, and musical rhythms – we all shared in the desire to live, to interact, and to get to know each other... For me it was like a revelation. Our country was discovering the world, becoming one with the rest of humanity. And the world was discovering our country... I don't even recall whether I had a chance to sleep or eat [during those fourteen days]. I was happy, as simple as that."²³

By many accounts, African delegates enjoyed wide (and wild) popularity during the festival. The hotel reserved for African delegations quickly turned into a vibrant social spot, "the liveliest place" in town, with Soviet youngsters crowding its entrance in hope of getting acquainted with the foreign newcomers.²⁴ Urban folklore circulated the wild tales of Russian girls throwing themselves at dark-skinned visitors. The rumors, undoubtedly greatly exaggerated, cast the festival as a veritable eruption of interracial debauchery. Yet the gathering did excite Soviet citizens, unaccustomed to such close, not to mention intimate, contacts with foreigners, pushing the most adventurous toward behaviors both risky and risqué. One of the festival's unintended consequences was the appearance of a generation of biracial "festival kids," whose presence amid the Soviet populace would serve as a continuous reminder of that 1957 summer of love in Moscow.²⁵ Indeed, love was very much in the air. "Africa is shaped like a heart," gushed forth poet Evgenii Dolmatovsky, yet another contemporary observer smitten by the festival.²⁶

The party and state authorities had planned the festival to showcase Soviet values, but the event overwhelmed them and, as suggested by Kozlov, produced some unanticipated and long-term ramifications. In August 1957, millions of Soviet citizens received their first exposure to the lifestyles,

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Anatoly Makarov. *Deti festivalia* // *Izvestia*. 2007. July 10.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Pp. 9-10. Also see *2-Week Revelry In Moscow Ends* // *New York Times*. 1957. August 12.

²⁵ Kristin Roth-Ey. "Loose Girls" on the Loose? Sex, Propaganda and the 1957 Youth Festival // Melanie Ilić, Susan E. Reid and Lynne Attwood (Eds.). *Women in the Khrushchev Era*. New York, 2004. Pp. 75-95.

²⁶ Russian State Archive of New History (RGANI). Department of Culture at CC CPSU. F. 5. Op. 55. Ex. 103 (January 1964–July 1965).

mannerisms, aesthetics, cultural expressions, and political debates that contrasted most sharply with the Soviet norm.²⁷ The effects of the festival would linger on for decades; it provided an opening through which Western ideas and art forms began to percolate into Soviet society.²⁸ Africans, so visible and popular during the festival, would soon begin to arrive in the country in significant numbers. They came to study, but in an ironic role reversal, they ended up educating the Soviets; they introduced a population steeped in parochialism to modern aesthetics, new art forms, and the liberation political discourse.

The Eastern Shores of the Black Atlantic

In August 1957, the waves of the Black Atlantic reached the Soviet shores. In the aftermath of the Moscow fete, the Soviet leadership sought to capitalize on the publicity generated by the festival to expand its contacts with the rapidly decolonizing African locations. In 1958, the Soviets inaugurated radio broadcasts on the continent, first in French and English, but soon adding programming in Swahili, Amharic, and Hausa. Simultaneously, the Soviet Union began to ship thousands of copies of Russian-language books and periodicals to Africa, while also initiating a series of library and museum exchanges. The offerings of a recently founded publishing house *Vostochnaia literatura* (Oriental Literature) prominently featured books by African authors and a variety of publications on African themes.²⁹ For the first time in their professional lives, Soviet Africanists were allowed to set foot on the continent that they aspired to study. Between 1957 and 1959, several delegations of Soviet scholars visited Ghana, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt, and Madagascar.³⁰ The two flagship universities, in Moscow and Leningrad, adopted new curricula and, in the case of Moscow State University, established a new department in African studies.³¹

The institutional foundations of Soviet efforts in Africa had been laid with the creation, in 1959, of the Institute for African Studies (also known

²⁷ For a comprehensive overview of the festival's impact on Soviet society, see the recently published Pia Koivunen. *The 1957 Moscow Youth Festival: Propagating a New, Peaceful Image of the Soviet Union* // Melanie Ilić and Jeremy Smith (Eds.). *Soviet State and Society Under Nikita Khrushchev*. London, 2009. Pp. 46-65.

²⁸ This argument has recently been made in Yale Richmond. *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War*. University Park, 2003.

²⁹ Mazov. *A Distant Front in the Cold War*. P. 334.

³⁰ Yu. M. Ilyin. *Institut Afriki, 1960–2004*. Moscow, 2005.

³¹ S. V. Mazov. *Sozdanie Instituta Afriki // Vostok*. 1998. No. 1. Pp. 80-88.

as Africa Institute) under the umbrella of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The institution's creation myth has it that the idea had first been pitched to Khrushchev by none other than the great pan-Africanist W. E. B. Du Bois, who in a private conversation called on the Soviet leader to set up "an institute for the study of Pan-African history, sociology, ethnography, anthropology and all cognate studies."³² Less than a year later, a party resolution in February 1960 stipulated the founding of a new university to train "the national cadres for the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America." Friendship University, later renamed Lumumba University after the martyred Congolese prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, would emerge as the principal institution of higher learning, catering to the needs of Third World students and thus, presumably, to the needs of Soviet foreign policy.³³



Fig. 3. African Students at Lumumba University (Friendship University (formerly Lumumba) archival collection).

The first students from Sub-Saharan Africa made their appearance in Moscow and Leningrad soon after the festival, but until the launch of Lumumba University, their numbers remained relatively insignificant. As of January 1, 1959, only 7 Sub-Saharan Africans were officially enrolled in Soviet institutions of higher learning.³⁴ But by the end of that year, 114 young Africans were studying in the Soviet Union.³⁵ Just a year later, in January 1961, Soviet officials put the number of African students in the country at well over 500.³⁶ By the end of the decade this number would increase almost tenfold, reaching 5,000.³⁷ On the eve of Soviet collapse, close to 30,000

³² See W. E. B. Du Bois. *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century*. London, 2007. Pp. 18-19. Also see Mazov. *Sozdanie Instituta Afriki*; Ilyin. *Institut Afriki*.

³³ RGANI. F. 4. Op. 16. D. 783. L. 13 and D. 806. L. 19, 21. For more archival references, see Mazov. *Sozdanie Instituta Afriki*.

³⁴ RGASPI. "Spravka o kolichestve studentov-inostrantsev iz kapitalstran, obuchaiushchikhsia v vuzakh SSSR na 1 ianvaria 1959". F. 1M. Op. 46. D. 248. L. 12

³⁵ RGANI. F. 3. Op. 12. D. 639. L. 57; cited in Mazov. *A Distant Front in the Cold War*. P. 334.

³⁶ RGANI. F. 5. Op. 35. D. 180, Ll. 12-17; cited in *ibid*.

³⁷ These numbers come from O. M. Gorbatov and L. Ia. Cherkasski. *Sotrudnichestvo SSSR so stranami Arabskogo Vostoka i Afriki*. Moscow, 1973 – also quoted in Julie Hessler. *Death of an African Student in Moscow // Cahiers du Monde Russe*. 2006. Vol. 47. No. 1-2. Pp. 33-63.

young Africans were taking academic courses in the USSR, or about 24 percent of the total body of foreign students.³⁸

The cultural and social profile of this new cohort of black sojourners in the Soviet Union differed most dramatically from the earlier pre–World War II wave of travelers. As demonstrated by some recent studies, the vast majority of the earlier trekkers had arrived from North America or the Caribbean, often attracted by Soviet ideology or, at the very least, by its antiracist and anticolonial rhetoric. The numbers most likely remained in the low hundreds and diminished greatly by the end of the 1930s.³⁹ The post–World War II arrivals, however, came overwhelmingly from the continent. In most cases, they fled no racism or persecution but rather pursued the pragmatic goal of procuring an affordable education. In fact, the majority hailed from the newly independent African nations, steeped in feverish political activism and brimming with cultural assertiveness and identity politics that often accompanied the process of decolonization. From their perspective, their Soviet destination was not so much the promised land of racial egalitarianism, but rather just another developed nation with a well-regarded system of higher education, which also happened to offer fairly generous scholarship packages to foreign students.⁴⁰

There is no question that throughout the Cold War period, the Soviets sustained a concerted propaganda effort decrying and mocking Western racism and colonialism, creating, in fact, a whole subgenre within the vast inventory of Soviet political cartoons. The evils of American racism and European colonialism were satirized almost daily in the pages of Soviet periodicals, including major propaganda vehicles such as *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. Antiracist and anticolonial cartoons regularly appearing in the popular humor magazine *Krokodil* [The Crocodile] ridiculed the real and sometimes invented manifestations of racial inequality in the United States while also

³⁸ V. V. Gribanova, N. A. Zherlitsyna. Podgotovka studentov iz Afrikanskikh stran v vuzakh Rossii // Publications of Africa Institute www.inafran.ru/ru/content/view/77/51/ (accessed June 17, 2008).

³⁹ See, for example, Woodford McClellan. Africans and Black Americans in the Comintern Schools, 1925–1934 // *International Journal of African Historical Studies*. 1993. Vol. 26. No. 2. Pp. 371–390; Maxim Matusevich. Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa. P. 411; Idem. “Harlem Globe-Trotters.” Pp. 211–244.

⁴⁰ In a well-researched recent article Constantin Katsakioris dwells on the connection between the modernizing aspirations of postcolonial African elites and the educational opportunities offered by the Soviets. See: K. Katsakioris. Afrikanские студенты в СССР. Учеба и политика во время деколонизации // *Ezhгодnik sotsial'noi istorii*. 2008. Pp. 209–228.

heaping scorn on the fast-shrinking European colonial empires. Needless to say, Soviet initiatives and selfless actions in defense of the colonized, the exploited, and the discriminated against in and by the West were juxtaposed with the reactionary habits of Moscow's Cold War rivals.⁴¹ But there is little evidence that these propaganda campaigns had much impact on the continent. Contrary to some of the claims expressed in Soviet propaganda cartoons, the majority of Africans entered the Soviet Union to receive affordable education, not to escape capitalist oppression. Khrushchev and his successors may well have interpreted decolonization as an opportunity to subscribe postcolonial populations to the socialist model of modernization, pegging their hopes on vague, made-for-use concepts such as the "noncapitalist path of development" and "socialist orientation." However, theory and practice diverged most drastically. Across the colonial world, the end of European domination did not necessarily entail an automatic reorientation of the emancipated toward socialism. In the case of Africa, Khrushchev's early enthusiasm would be curbed in the course of the Soviet Union's continuous encounters with independent African actors who, notwithstanding their anti-imperialist rhetoric, kept the Soviets at arm's length. Moscow's early successes in securing allies in places like Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, and Mali would come to naught once those friendly regimes had been overthrown or had changed their initial pro-Soviet orientation by the mid-1960s.⁴²

⁴¹ Literally hundreds of such cartoons can be found in the pages of Soviet newspapers and popular magazines. A typical one presents a short comic strip in two frames. In the first frame, we see a wretched bunch of dark-skinned Africans toiling under the whip of a white capitalist exploiter. But in the second frame, a Soviet satellite crosses the horizon, an event apparently deemed capable of inducing Africans to liberate themselves from colonial oppression. Inspired by Soviet technological achievement, Africans gain in self-confidence and give the boot to their Western tormentor (see *Krokodil*. 1958. 20 January. No. 2. P. 8).

⁴² A few years back I examined this hard postcolonial pragmatism in a book on Nigerian–Soviet relations: see, Maxim Matusevich. *No Easy Row for a Russian Hoe: Ideology and Pragmatism in Nigerian–Soviet Relations, 1960–1991*. Trenton, 2003. P. 302. More recently, the difficulties the Soviets faced in the Third World, and more specifically, in Africa, emerged as an important theme in a series of revisionist post–Cold War studies of African–Soviet ties, as well as in memoirs by former Soviet diplomats in Africa: see, for example, Davidson, Filatova. *African History*. Pp. 111–131; S. V. Mazov. *Politika SSSR v Zapadnoi Afrike, 1956–1964: Neizvestnye stranitsy istorii Kholodnoi Voiny*. Moscow, 2008. P. 335; *Idem*. *A Distant Front in the Cold War*. P. 334; D. F. Safonov. *A dugi gnut s terpeniem: Kak ia stal diplomatom-Afrikanistom*. Moscow, 2002; A. M. Vasiliev (Ed.). *Afrika v vospominaniakh veteranov diplomaticheskoi sluzhby*. Moscow, 2001; A. M. Vasiliev, P. P. Petrik (Eds.). *Afrika v vospominaniakh veteranov diplomaticheskoi sluzhby*. Moscow, 2004; S. Ya Sinitsyn. *Ostavlennye rubezhi: iz vospominanii diplomata*. Moscow, 2006.

Thus young Africans who began to enter Soviet society in the early 1960s rarely represented any particular political interests and sensibilities besides their own. Their encounter with the Soviet Union and their response to everyday Soviet life bore little resemblance to the euphoric acceptance expressed by the previous generation of black travelers, many of them conscientious refugees from America's Jim Crow or colonial racial hierarchies. Accounts by African students in the Soviet Union are replete with complaints about drab lifestyles, everyday regimentation, substandard dorm accommodations, and alleged spying by Soviet roommates.⁴³ Upon his arrival in Moscow in 1959, an East African student named Everest Mulekezi was quick to discover that he had to share his 14- by 16-foot dorm room with three other students, two of whom were "hand-picked" Russians. His hopes for a hot bath after a long and arduous journey were quickly dashed – hot water was available only once a week, on Wednesdays from five to eleven o'clock in the evening.⁴⁴ Another young East African supplied a similarly gloomy account of his first few days at a dorm in Baku: "We were put four students to a room of 12 feet by 12 feet. There were no curtains in the windows. In the room were four beds. On each bed we had a mattress, one blanket and two sheets... There are no bathrooms in the hostels. To take a bath you have to go to a bathing house two miles away where you pay 15 kopecks. There are no laundries; every citizen has to do his own laundering."⁴⁵ Fifty-five air force cadets from Guinea enjoyed even fewer creature comforts at a training base in Soviet Kirghizia. Their complaints triggered an inspection by the CPSU Central Committee, whose conclusions confirmed the wretched living conditions in the barracks: "The cadets are housed six to seven people per room, living quarters are poorly furnished with little to no furniture. Most buildings lack plumbing and heating...." According to the report, the cadets grumbled about the empty shelves at the local grocery and stationery store: "This is the country of sputniks but look at this poverty." Alarmed, the party inspector warned that the low living standards at the installation could potentially

⁴³ See, for example, Olabisi Ajala. *An African Abroad*. London, 1963; Andrew Richard Amar. *An African in Moscow*. London, 1963; Jan Carew. *Moscow Is Not My Mecca*. London, 1964; Andrea Lee. *Russian Journal*. New York, 1981; Nicholas Nyangira. *Africans Don't Go to Russia to Be Brainwashed* // *New York Times Magazine*. 1965. May 16. P. 64; S. Omor Okullo. *A Negro's Life in Russia – Beatings, Insults, Segregation* // *U.S. News and World Report*. 1963. Vol. XLIX. No. 5. August 1. Pp. 59-60; William Anti-Taylor. *Moscow Diary*. London, 1967.

⁴⁴ Everest Mulekezi. *I Was a Student at Moscow State* // *Readers Digest*. 1961. Vol. 79. No. 471. Pp. 99-104.

⁴⁵ Nyangira. *Africans Don't Go to Russia to Be Brainwashed*.

tarnish the image of the country abroad and supply its foes with an effective “propaganda weapon against us, against the socialist community.”⁴⁶

In stark contrast to the prevailing climate of complacency and the relative timidity of their Soviet peers, Africans protested vociferously against: poor living conditions; racist incidents; restrictions on travel within the USSR; restrictions on dating Russian girls; and restrictions on forming national and ethnic student associations. As early as March 1960, African students in Moscow petitioned the Soviet government to curb the expressions of crude racism by Soviet citizens.⁴⁷ On another occasion, two African students refused to be part of a long established Soviet practice – an annual dispatch of thousands of Soviet students to work in the countryside during the harvest. The objectors from Chad and Morocco resorted to a culturally sensitive rationalization of their indolence. In their cultures, they argued, men under twenty-five were not allowed to work in the fields but rather had a special obligation “to engage in leisure activities.”⁴⁸ At about the same time, in September 1960, four African students (Theophilus Okonkwo of Nigeria, Andrew Richard Amar and Stanley Omar Okullo of Uganda, and Michel Ayieh of Togo) were expelled from Moscow State University for defying an administrative ban on forming the Black Africans’ Student Union. Their expulsion and subsequent departure from the country received wide coverage in the Western press. The students publicly accused university officials of suppressing the union as well as of imposing severe restrictions on the circulation of “books and jazz records.” Okonkwo, Amar, and Ayieh challenged the Soviet authorities in a biting “open letter”: “For the Soviet leaders to pose before the world as champions of oppressed Africa while they oppress millions in their own country and their satellites is hypocrisy at its worst.”⁴⁹ The expelled students left the Soviet Union with a scandal and, once safely outside the country, sought to capitalize on their notoriety. Amar quickly penned a book while Okonkwo gained minor celebrity by

⁴⁶ Instruktor Otdela partiinykh organov TsK KPSS po soiuaznym respublikam B. Popov. O polozhenii na tsentral’nykh kursakh po podgotovke i usovershenstvovaniiu aviatsionnykh kadrov Ministerstva Oborony SSSR // RGANI. F. 4. Op. 16. D. 937. L. 95-97 (December 31, 1961); Mazov. *Politika SSSR v Zapadnoi Afrike, 1956–1964*. P. 335.

⁴⁷ RGANI. F. 5. Op. 35. D. 149. L. 42, 44. For more on this and similar incidents, see Mazov. *Afrikanskie Studenty v Moskve*. Also see: *The Plight of Our Students in the USSR* // *West African Pilot*. 1964. February 3.

⁴⁸ *Doklad o provedenii letnego otdykha studentov UDN vo vremia letnikh kanikul 1961 goda* // RGASPI. F. 1M. Op. 46. D. 295 (1961).

⁴⁹ *Africans Did Russians in by Rioting* // *Chicago Defender*. 1963. December 28; also see: *Africans Embarrass Reds* // *Christian Science Monitor*. 1964. February 18.

publicizing his Soviet travails in a series of interviews and lengthy newspaper articles.⁵⁰ Soviet authorities responded in kind, denouncing Okonkwo and his friends in no uncertain and well-trying terms as “Pentagon men bought for American dollars” and “inspired by [their] overseas masters.”⁵¹ But for the Western media the troublesome students represented something entirely different – the tip of a burgeoning dissident movement in the USSR no less.⁵²

The death of a Ghanaian student in Moscow, in December 1963, which his friends suspected to have been a homicide, occasioned an exceptionally angry reaction among African students in the USSR.⁵³ They staged a protest march on the Kremlin demanding a “Bill of Rights” for African students in the country (the first unauthorized demonstration in the Soviet Union since the expulsion of Leon Trotsky in 1927).⁵⁴ The press was also raging back on the continent: “Why did our students... protest in Moscow recently?” asked a particularly incensed African observer. “Was it not because... our boys had been insulted and attacked on trams, on the streets, in restaurants, in most public places? Could it be that our students have grown tired of the hypocrisy of Communism and the Soviet system?”⁵⁵ More trouble brewed in 1964 and 1965, with African students in the USSR frequently reporting racist attacks, fights with Soviet youngsters, and even feeling compelled to “carry knives for protection.”⁵⁶ In 1965, in a particularly embarrassing episode for the Soviet authorities, several dozen African students organized an eight-day sit-down strike at the railway station in Baku; they protested the death of a fellow student from Ghana who had apparently fallen victim to

⁵⁰ See Richard Andrew Amar. *A Student in Moscow*. London, 1961; Chukwuemeka Okonkwo. *Behind the Iron Curtain* // *Sunday Times*. Lagos, 1960. November 20; Idem. *Life in Moscow University* // *Sunday Times*. Lagos, 1960. November 6; Idem. *I Meet Imodu in Moscow* // *Sunday Times*. Lagos, 1960. November 13; Idem. *The Russians Try to Hold Me Back* // *Sunday Times*. Lagos, 1960. November 20; Idem. *Behind the Iron Curtain* // *Sunday Times*. Lagos, 1960. October 16.

⁵¹ L. Koryavin. *Razbudivshaiasia* Nigeria. Moscow, 1962.

⁵² *Moscow Accuses Nigerian Student* // *New York Times*. 1960. October 30.

⁵³ An exhaustive study of this episode is found in Julie Hessler. *Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War* // *Cahiers Du Monde Russe*. 2006. Vol. 47. No. 1-2. Pp. 33-63.

⁵⁴ *Students Demand “Bill of Rights”* // *West African Pilot*. 1963. December 30.

⁵⁵ Sunny Odulana. *Our Students in Moscow* // *West African Pilot*. 1964. January 2.

⁵⁶ See: *Red Race Relations* // *Washington Post*. 1964. January 5; *Africans Carry Knives for Protection In USSR* // *Chicago Daily Defender*. 1964. May 11; *Soviet-African Student Fighting Reaches Kremlin* // *Washington Post*. 1965. January 28; *African Students Trying Anew to Leave Russia* // *Washington Post*. 1965. April 4; *Kenya Students Tell Why They Left USSR* // *Chicago Daily Defender*. 1965. April 8.

an intense rivalry over a girl. The strike in Baku reverberated throughout the community of African students across the length of the Soviet Union, with solidarity protests reported in Moscow, Leningrad, and Minsk. Eventually twenty-nine students insisted on being repatriated back home. The Soviets obliged in their own fashion by giving the recalcitrant youths “50 minutes to pack.” During a debriefing in Nairobi upon their return, they painted a highly unflattering picture of their Soviet sojourn, complete with alleged harassment by the authorities and perennial fighting with Soviet students. Rivalry over girls, in particular, tended to express itself in “racial terms.”⁵⁷

In the aftermath of the Baku scandal, Komsomol officials at Moscow State University (MGU) grudgingly acknowledged several instances of scandalous behavior by Soviet students, but also argued that Africans and other foreigners at MGU had a limited understanding of the selfless and romantic nature of Soviet young men, many of whom preferred the hardship of toil in remote Siberia to the pleasures of Moscow high life. One wonders if it was the “romantic nature of Soviet young men” that fueled the passions of one freshman geography major who threatened to “lynch” an African student married to his Russian fellow student. Or was it a disagreement over their respective work ethics that led another MGU freshman to call upon his African roommate to “pack up his stuff and go back to Mali?”⁵⁸

In May 1965, the Soviet authorities tacitly linked the African student community in the country with the idea of political subversion when they expelled a black American diplomat, Norris D. Garnett, for “conducting anti-Soviet work among students from African countries.”⁵⁹ Garnett, fluent in Russian and Swahili, peeved the Soviets by making a habit of entertaining African students in the library of the U.S Embassy in Moscow, where he

⁵⁷ Kenya Students Go Home After Mysterious Death of Youth from Ghana // Pittsburgh Courier. 1965. April 17; Kenyans Charge Soviet Brutality // New York Times. 1965. April 7; Death of Another Ghanaian in Soviet Angers Africans // New York Times. 1965. March 22; Kenya Students Go Home After Mysterious Death of Youth from Ghana // Pittsburgh Courier. 1965. April 17; Lawrence Fellows. Kenyans Charge Brutality // New York Times. 1965. April 7; Richard C. Longworth. Soviet Party Girls Look West // Chicago Tribune. 1965. November 21; Adolph J. Slaughter. There’s A Jim Crow in Russia Too // Los Angeles Sentinel. 1965. July 22; Victor Zorza. Student’s Death “Not a Racial Issue” // Guardian. 1965. July 12.

⁵⁸ Spravki ob internatsional’nom vospitanii v MGU // RGASPI. F. 1. Op. 39. D. 127. Ll. 9-10, 87 (1964).

⁵⁹ See: U.S. Diplomat Ordered to Leave Soviet Union // Chicago Daily Defender. 1965. May 12; Soviet Ousts U.S. Cultural Aide as Inciter of African Students // New York Times. 1965. May 12; also: Expelled Negro Diplomat Calls Soviet Charges Ridiculous // Washington Post. 1965. June 17.

served as a cultural attaché. His anti-Soviet activities, it appears, consisted mostly of drinking, smoking cigarettes, and listening to jazz records in the company of young Africans, to whom on occasion he also lent money.⁶⁰ Garnett's departure from the scene hardly garnered the desired long-term effect, as the community of African students in the USSR continued to be the source of multiple headaches for the Soviet authorities. Incidentally, Garnett's expulsion from the Soviet Union infuriated the African-American press back in the United States. At the height of the Civil Rights movement, the public humiliation of one of very few prominent African-American diplomats at the State Department was interpreted as a slander and a major setback for the cause of racial emancipation.⁶¹

Discrimination or alleged discrimination aside, the students' resentment, it was noted, stemmed from "the sole fact of their living in a communist country."⁶² Once in the Soviet Union, Africans, "even self-proclaimed leftists," had to reconcile "the obvious discrepancies between what is said and what actually exists." And what "actually existed" in the Moscow of the 1960s and 1970s were "the crowded living conditions, lack of privacy, monotonous diet, inadequate sanitary facilities, and the overall drabness of life."⁶³ A former African student at Moscow State University, writing about his experiences there, maintained that of all foreign students in the Soviet Union, Africans were most upset by Russia's depressed style of living: "No cars, no cafés, no good clothes or good food, nothing to buy or inspect in the stores, no splash of color to relieve Moscow's damp gray. Nothing but shortages and restrictions. No opportunity to let go normally, breathe easily, and enjoy some harmless student fun. Not a trace of the *civilized pleasures of Paris—or even Dakar*."⁶⁴

By expressing their displeasure with the Soviet status quo (something that few of their Soviet peers dared do) and by challenging it through their "foreign" lifestyles and cosmopolitan aesthetics, some African students became the de facto conduits of dissent. They had more freedom of expression and travel (and quite often more money) than their hosts, and many of

⁶⁰ Who's Meddling on Whose Campuses? // Chicago Tribune. 1965. June 2; Russia Expels U. S. Diplomat Who is Negro // Chicago Tribune. 1965. May 12; Garnett's Expulsion // Chicago Defender. 1965. May 22.

⁶¹ Ibid; Adolph J. Slaughter. There Is Jim Crow in Russia Too // Los Angeles Sentinel. 1965. July 22.

⁶² The Plight of Our Students in the USSR // West African Pilot. 1964. February 3.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ George Feifer. The Red and the Black: Racism in Moscow // Reporter. 1964. January 2. P. 27.

them arrived from postcolonial settings reverberating with spirited political debates.⁶⁵ Russian students in the hostel, according to the nonconformist Oknokwo, enjoyed the company of Africans; they found “our easy manner, our gaiety and our open debates quite attractive.”⁶⁶ In class, African students were eager to challenge their professors, they asked “uncomfortable questions,” not to subvert the educational process but rather to “know the answers.” Fascinated by such displays of uninhibited behavior, some Russian students reportedly attempted to emulate it.⁶⁷ Everest Mulekezi remembered intense political discussions he used to hold in his dorm room with some



Fig. 4. Soviet cartoonists decry the evils of Western music (Krokodil. 1966. No. 17. P. 10).

of his Russian friends who were bewildered by the openness and nonchalance with which Everest and his fellow Africans discussed politically sensitive matters. From the Soviet perspective, Everest, by encouraging his Russian friends to question authority and read the Western press, clearly acted as an agent of political subversion. By introducing them to jazz, he effectively sabotaged Soviet cultural values. It was in the course of one such “sedition session” that a Russian friend of Mulekezi’s “buried his face in his hands” and conceded the truth of the African’s argument: “It is true we’re not free... I am not free to read what Westerners read. I am not free to visit the West or even

travel in my own country without a permit.”⁶⁸ African students in Moscow articulated ideas manifestly out-of-sync with Soviet sensibilities in the pages of *Russian Journal*, Andrea Lee’s perceptive memoir of her time in Russia. Lee records, for example, a memorable conversation she had in a smoke-

⁶⁵ Amar. *An African in Moscow*. P. 19.

⁶⁶ Chukwuemeka Okonkwo. *Behind the Iron Curtain* // *Sunday Times*. Lagos, 1960. October 16.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Everest Mulekezi. *I Was a Student at Moscow State* // *Reader’s Digest*. 1961. Vol. 79. No. 471. Pp. 99-104.

filled Moscow kitchen with a stern-looking Eritrean student: “In my five years in Russia, I’ve come to hate everything about the Soviet system. Life here is a misery of repression – you yourselves know it... The Soviet Union has educated me, though not in a way it intended.”⁶⁹ A former student at Lumumba University recalled a popular joke from his time in Moscow: “If you want to bring up a good Communist and radical send the kid to study in the West. But if you want him to grow up a sensible bourgeois then have him educated in the Soviet Union!”⁷⁰

It is not that the majority of African students in the USSR embarked on an Okonkwo-like collision course with the Soviet system. For many, the romantic aura surrounding their arrival in this strange new land never entirely wore off. They were overwhelmingly young, mostly single, and often adventurous, and Moscow, while no London or Paris, still offered at least some excitement of urban student living, not to mention the opportunities for exploring the vastness of the USSR through organized and sometimes independent travel.⁷¹ Their economic situation was usually far superior to that of their Soviet peers. During the 1960s the average stipend of a foreign student in the USSR exceeded 90 rubles, or three times the amount paid to Soviet students. This discrepancy was not lost on the regular Soviet citizen; it also served to underscore the disparity in social and economic status between the two communities, and the difference did not work in the Soviets’ favor.⁷²

Being an African in the Soviet Union meant that one performed “foreignness” on a day-to-day basis. Besides, blackness implied an almost automatic association with a number of modern political and cultural phenomena that taxed Soviet sensibilities. Antiracist and anticolonial movements carried a powerful liberation (and often implicitly religious) message, while the sorts of cultural production usually associated with black roots tended to be antiauthoritarian, both in form and content. The liberal wing of the Soviet intelligentsia sometimes embraced the officially sanctioned liberation “causes” not out of any deep respect for Soviet foreign policy but rather because Africa’s struggle for emancipation and freedom resonated with those whose own freedoms were significantly restricted. For example,

⁶⁹ Lee. *Russian Journal*. P. 152.

⁷⁰ Lina Rozovskaya. *Oni uchilis’ v SSSR* // BBC Russian. 2010. February 4 http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/russia/2010/02/100204_peoples_friendship_lumumba.shtml (accessed November 15, 2011).

⁷¹ For an insightful analysis of the impact those trips had on the students’ perception of their host country and their place in it, see Rossen Djagalov, Christine Evans. *Moscow, ca. 1960: Imagining a Soviet-Third-World Friendship* / Unpublished paper, 2009.

⁷² See, Nyangira. *Africans Don’t Go to Russia to Be Brainwashed*.

having visited West Africa in the late 1950s, the bard of the Soviet “thaw” Yevgenii Yevtushenko produced a collection of emotionally charged and ideologically ambiguous poems. To be sure, the poet exoticized Africa but also mused on the supposed commonality of fate between the savannah (Africa) and the taiga (Russia):

Savannah, I’m the taiga
 I’m endless like you
 I’m a mystery for you
 And you’re a mystery for me...

Your sons desire for you
 Freedom eternal
 And toward them I’m filled with love
 Enormous like the pine trees of my land...⁷³

Of course, one could read the poem as yet another celebration of African emancipation. Indeed, over the years, the Soviets labored assiduously to domesticate and appropriate African anticolonial movements or to claim a kind of ideological kinship to the Civil Rights movement in the United States (a movement epitomized by a charismatic Baptist minister – by no means a natural ally of the USSR).⁷⁴ Yet considering Moscow’s own less-than-stellar record in that department, any discussion of human and civil rights, even by a poet generally loyal to the

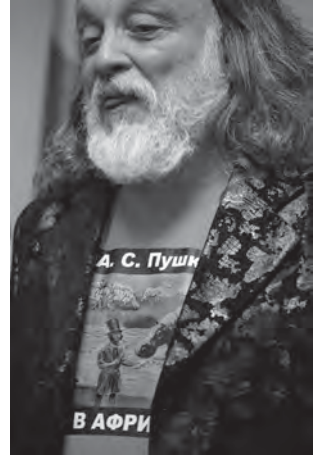


Fig. 5. “Pushkin in Africa” (Russian intelligentsia channels their African connection through Pushkin) – photograph by Michael Eckels (with permission).

⁷³ Savannah and Taiga // Evgenii Evtushenko. *Vzmath Ruki*. Moscow, 1962. Pp. 58-59. Translated by the author.

⁷⁴ Martin Luther King, Jr., with his Christian gospel and Gandhi-inspired tactics of civil disobedience, had to be inconvenient for the Soviets. They far preferred firebrand radicals such as Angela Davis, whose famous 1971–1972 trial occasioned a massive propaganda campaign of support by the Soviet Union. See, for example, numerous commentaries and cartoons about the trial in issues of *Krokodil* for 1971–1972. A typical one depicts a plucky Davis holding her head high in front of a racist judge. The sleeve of the judge’s robe is in fact an executioner’s ax ready to drop on the courageous black communist. See *Krokodil*. 1972. No. 5. P. 10. But even Angela Davis inspired more than a sense of solidarity in the hearts of the Soviet intelligentsia. In 1978, a leading Soviet nuclear physicist Sergei Polikanov was expelled from the Communist Party after having made a statement to Western reporters protesting restrictions on travel abroad. “It was easier to fight for the freedom of Angela Davis than for our own freedom,” announced Polikanov and predictably got into trouble with the authorities. See: *Soviet Physicist Who Complained of Travel Curb Is Ousted by Party* // *New York Times*. 1978. March 28.

regime, was potentially subversive. Yevtushenko's ode to African freedom, composed at the time when hopes were running high for a long-lasting post-Stalin liberalization of Soviet society, can also be read as a hymn to freedom – African *and* Russian. Was it just a coincidence then that one of the first public expressions of dissent in Brezhnev's Soviet Union was occasioned by African events? In 1968, Andrei Amal'rik, the dissident author of the visionary *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, breached a major taboo when he and his wife picketed the British embassy in Moscow carrying signs reading "Gowon Kills Children" and "Wilson, Don't Help Gowon."⁷⁵ This unsanctioned protest was an ingenious act of political defiance. It was the Soviet Union, not Britain, that had been providing crucial military aid to Nigerian General Yakubu Gowon since 1967. At the time, Gowon's federalist regime was locked in a bloody civil war against the secessionist Biafra.

Probably the most visible aspect of Africa's subversive challenge to Soviet values could be observed in the countercultural prominence of the types of artistic expression usually associated with African/black cultural tradition. Living in Moscow in the early 1960s, Andrew Amar noted the Russian students' fascination with jazz music as well as their awareness of its historical roots: "One of the things which often brought us together with the Russian students was listening to modern jazz music. Large numbers of them appreciated the better kind of jazz and also realized and acknowledged that it had developed from the folk music of the African people."⁷⁶ With its strong emphasis on improvisation and free spontaneous expression, jazz (just as rock music later) forged between its listeners a special kind of camaraderie that knew no borders and/or ideological divides. Jazz as an art form then was bound to run afoul of Soviet authorities, a fact duly noted by the observant Amar: "It was really the popularity that this type of music gained among Russian students, thus bringing them into close contact and friendship with American and African students, that really decided the Soviet authorities to condemn this kind of music."⁷⁷ Early Soviet commentators saw in jazz the worst manifestations of Western decadence. They also fumed over the "jungle" and "uncivilized" roots of the music. When it came to criticizing jazz (and later rock) the gloves came off and Soviet

⁷⁵ Henry Kamm. *Portrait of a Dissenter*. Preface to: Andrei Amal'rik. *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* New York, 1970. P. XIII.

⁷⁶ Amar. *An African in Moscow*. P. 63.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* P. 63.

cultural critics and commentators did not hesitate to tap into the basest racial stereotypes borrowed from the West. The great proletarian author Maxim Gorky had explicitly linked jazz to the alleged savagery and unbridled sexuality of its performers. For Gorky, jazz was a symptom of decay and sexual degeneracy, a logical final step



Fig. 6. Through racialized imagery Soviet cartoons mocked the allegedly “jungle” nature of jazz and rock music (Krokodil. 1964. No. 17. P. 7).

abyss (obesity and homosexuality being the intermediary stages).⁷⁸ Some thirty years later, jazz provided the Soviet intelligentsia with an opening into what Irina Novikova aptly termed a “second life.”⁷⁹ Soviet jazzmen like Alexei Kozlov remained keenly aware of the genealogy of jazz and readily recognized its black roots as well as the historical connection of the genre to the themes of individualism and personal and collective liberation. Jazz as a music of black redemption appealed to the sensibilities of the post-Stalin generation in the Soviet Union, many of them searching for an escape from the heavy paternalism of the dominant system. *Black Music, White Freedom* was the title of the first samizdat volume on jazz theory by the genre’s great enthusiast and future emigrant, Efim Barban.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ For excerpts of Gorky’s writings on the subject as well as an informed discussion of the history of jazz in the USSR, see S. Frederick Starr. *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, 1917–1991*. New York, 1994. P. 91.

⁷⁹ Irina Novikova. *Black Music, White Freedom: Times and Spaces of Jazz Counterculture in the USSR* // Heike Raphael-Hernandez (Ed.). *Blackening Europe: The African American Presence*. New York, 2004.

⁸⁰ Efim Barban. *Black Music, White Freedom: Music and Perception of Avant-garde Jazz*. Leningrad, 1977, reprinted as *Chernaia muzyka, belaiia svoboda. Muzyka i vospriiatie avangardnogo dzhaza*. Ekaterinbrug, 2002; 2-e izd. St. Petersburg, 2007.

Conclusion

Africa and Africans thus occupied a highly ambiguous place in Soviet everyday life. African students, the continent's most visible and numerous ambassadors in the Soviet Union, would come to showcase much more than the Soviet Union's internationalist credentials. While over the years the Soviet state and its ideologues exerted considerable efforts in "bringing Africa into the fold," the reality of African presence in the USSR was far more multilayered and complex. The Soviets had intended to gain in international legitimacy by providing the decolonizing Third World nations with generous educational scholarships. The plan to bring in thousands of Africans and other postcolonials to the institutions of higher learning in the Soviet Union had a touch of Khrushchev's ebullient idealism, yet it was also a pragmatic enterprise, intended to display the Soviet achievement and obtain new allies in the developing world. But in an unexpected twist of historical irony, the poor African relations became the agents of change lodged within the host society. Their impact was profound if rarely recognized, akin to the agency of Black Atlantic moderns in Western Europe. Such a significant influx of foreigners inside the largely isolated Soviet society produced some unintended consequences for their hosts. Soviet authorities were soon to learn that the propaganda value of the African student cohort was often outweighed by the subversive impact of their presence on Soviet political discourse and the officially sanctioned cultural production. African students in the Soviet Union, due to their privileged status (high stipends, access to hard currency stores, relative freedom of travel), often functioned as the conduits of Westernization and an exclusive link connecting the isolated Soviet society to the global community. Their privileged status within the Soviet Union laid bare the visible benefits of global mobility. Not only did the "Mercurian" Africans provide the Soviet public with their first taste of jazz and rock music and blue jeans but they also routinely challenged the established norms of political behavior. Contrary to their Soviet peers, African students rarely hesitated to file official complaints against university authorities, to submit grievance petitions to Soviet governmental and party bodies, and even to organize protest strikes. In other words, they introduced the Soviets to the antiauthoritarian international youth culture and its rituals of political protest during a decade marked by mass antiestablishment movements on both sides of the Atlantic. Is it merely coincidental then that half a century later, in post-Soviet Russia, the global nomads Crima and Sagbo have been following in the steps of their predecessors in the Soviet Union by challenging



Fig. 7. Black Russian fan celebrating a Russian soccer win during the 2008 European Cup (photography by Norvezhsky Lesnoy, Georgy Stefanov, Vitaly Azheurov, and Stanislav Laur, published with permission by lenta.ru on 22 June 2008 <http://euro2008.lenta.ru/photo/2008/06/22/ura/n05.htm>).

their host communities to modernize? Having successfully adopted new Russian identities they also effectively globalized them. By engaging in political activism and striving to reform their adopted communities they privileged mobility and change over stasis. In the process, these African immigrants introduced their Russian families, friends, and neighbors to the practical manifestations of global nomadism; they taught their Russian voters an important lesson in civic engagement and the value of diversity; in other words, they

helped them become more modern. The driving force behind the activism of Crima and Sagbo is the very energy of the Black Atlantic, so eloquently summoned by Paul Gilroy, and now yet again being felt on the other side of the former Iron Curtain.

SUMMARY

This article by Maxim Matusevich proposes to develop the model of modernity presented by Paul Gilroy in his seminal essay *The Black Atlantic*, to better understand the modernizing impact of African students in the Soviet Union on their host society. While it is true that the Soviet Union, just as its Russian predecessor, possessed no African colonies and, in fact, remained unrelenting in its critique of European colonialism and North American racism, it experienced its own modernizing encounter with the Black Atlantic. In the aftermath of the 1957 Youth Festival in Moscow, first dozens, and eventually thousands of African students made their appearance in the USSR. They arrived in Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Kiev, Minsk, and other Soviet cities attracted by generous educational scholarships but also inspired by their own postcolonial dreams of reforming and rebuilding their newly independent nations. For the Soviets, steeped in anticolonial rhetoric and

guided by Cold War exigencies, these young Africans seemed to be “natural allies” who could help to enhance Moscow’s credentials in the Third World and cultivate its future elites. However, the reality of the encounter between these postcolonial nomads and a largely isolationist society produced some unintended consequences. From the point of view of Soviet authorities, the community of African students in the Soviet Union continued to be a source of ambivalence and even, on occasion, political and cultural subversion. Cosmopolitan and globally minded African students repeatedly challenged the norms of Soviet political and cultural discourse and, in doing so, proved to be the true harbingers of modernity and globalization for the hosts. In the course of the encounter with Soviet society, they inadvertently expanded the reach of the Black Atlantic, bringing its tidal waves well beyond the Iron Curtain.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Статья представляет собой оригинальную попытку применить модель модерности, предложенную Полем Гилроем в его знаменитом эссе “Черная Атлантика”, для понимания модернизационного воздействия африканских студентов в СССР. Автор рассматривает период после московского фестиваля молодежи и студентов 1957 г., когда в СССР стали прибывать десятки, а позднее и тысячи африканских студентов. Их привлекали не только щедрые стипендии; они вдохновлялись постколониальной мечтой реформирования своих ставших независимыми наций. Советы рассматривали их как естественных союзников и агентов укрепления позиций Москвы в третьем мире. Однако в реальности контакты между этими постколониальными номадами и изоляционистским советским обществом привели к ряду неожиданных последствий, анализ которых и составляет главный предмет рассмотрения в статье. Космополитичные и глобально мыслящие африканские студенты бросали вызов советскому политическому порядку и культурному дискурсу и, как показывает автор, оказывались провозвестниками иного типа модерности и глобализации в принимающем обществе. Взаимодействуя с советским обществом, они непреднамеренно расширяли и пределы Черной Атлантики за рамки железного занавеса.

Marina MIKHAYLOVA

**A SPRINGBOARD TO A WIDER WORLD:
REACTIVE NATIONALISM
AS AN IDEOLOGY OF SURVIVAL**

“I don’t understand how people can leave their land to look for a better life.”¹ In October 2011, Lithuania’s main online news portal, Delfi, cited this proclamation by Parliament Speaker Irena Degutiene in an article on migration. Lithuania, a former Soviet republic, which became a member of the European Union (EU) in 2004, has the highest rate of emigration among EU member states,² and media and politicians frequently voice anxieties about the survival of the nation. The article, in which Degutiene suggested that both schools and families should put more efforts into cultivating pa-

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¹ Eglė Samoškaitė. I. Degutiënė: nesuprantu, kaip žmonės palieka savo kraštą dėl gero gyvenimo // Delfi. 2011. Spalis 27.

² According to Eurostat data, in 2010, the highest negative net migration per 1,000 population was recorded in Lithuania (–23.7). Lithuanian Statistics Department. Lietuvos gyventojų tarptautinė migracija 2010. Vilnius, 2011. P. 63.

triotism among young people, in order to prevent them from forsaking their nation, triggered a flurry of online comments. Politicians may bemoan a lack of patriotism, but, as the reaction to Degutiene's words suggests, far from being obsolete, the Lithuanian nation remains a potent concept and lived reality for thousands of Lithuanian migrants within the EU.

In this article, I draw on interviews with Lithuanians in the United Kingdom, the main destination of Lithuanian migrants,³ to examine how the concept of the Lithuanian nation⁴ is reasserted as a result of transnational mobility. While recent anthropological scholarship has focused on the resurgence of antimigrant nationalist sentiments in the EU countries,⁵ I will address reactive nationalism – the ways in which transnational mobility and social exclusion reinforce and shape migrants' own ideas about nationhood and ethnicity. While Lithuanian membership in the EU enabled unprecedented migration, mobility can reinforce the importance of belonging to the Lithuanian nation and dependence on ethnic networks. Paradoxically, some individuals can achieve transnational mobility and function in the “wider world” beyond the Lithuanian state only by narrowing their social world down to ethnic enclaves. At the same time, an analysis of reactive nationalism shows that the vocabulary of ethnic difference and nation-based social imaginary are naturalized not only among the right-leaning portion of the population but also among migrant communities.

Transnational Lithuanian migrant networks oriented toward the country of origin are not a novel phenomenon. Vytis Ciubrinskas, a key scholar of Lithuanian migration, examines how Lithuanians and their descendants, who came to the United States during and before the Soviet period, sustain and reclaim transatlantic “Lithuanian-ness.” He highlights the significance of the idea of “home” and an idealized vision of Lithuania for migrants who moved to the United States to escape the Soviet regime.⁶ However, the social context of recent Lithuanian migration to the EU countries is strikingly different from earlier migration waves described by Ciubrinskas. While politi-

³ Lithuanian Statistics Department. Lietuvos gyventojų tarptautinė migracija 2010. P. 10.

⁴ The Lithuanian term “tauta” has a range of meanings. “Nation” is the most prominent one, but it can also be translated as “the people” or even “ethnicity.” The term “tautybe” refers to nationality or ethnicity.

⁵ For example, Douglas Holmes. *Integral Europe: Fast-Capitalism, Multiculturalism, Neofascism*. Princeton, 2000; Maryon McDonald. *New Nationalisms in the EU: Occupying the Available Space* // Andre Gingrich and Marcus Banks (Eds.). *Neo-Nationalism in Europe and Beyond*. New York, 2006.

⁶ Vytis Ciubrinskas. *Transatlantic Migration Vis-à-vis Politics of Identity: Two Ways of Lithuanian-ness in the US* // *Filosofija. Sociologija*. 2009. V. 20. Nr. 2. Pp. 85-95.

cians and the media at times accord Soviet-era migrants moral superiority for their rejection of the Soviet regime and loyalty to Lithuanian traditions, post-independence Lithuanian migrants in the EU are often portrayed in more negative terms. In turn, the migrants have an ambivalent relationship to their “homeland,” even as they remain oriented toward Lithuania and may plan to return there. This article aims to examine these “new” migrants’ own narratives about transnational mobility and national belonging.

Scholars have begun to investigate experiences of post-independence Lithuanian migrants to the United States and the EU. One of the key findings seems to be the persistent importance of migrant social networks that channel individuals into particular locations and jobs. Migrant networks, in interaction with dimensions such as gender and class, can provide social and financial support but also restrict individuals’ opportunities.⁷ What types of solidarities and differences are constructed through a reliance on these social networks? The studies of Lithuanian migrants have begun to address this question by focusing on the interplay between belonging and discursive separation of “us” versus “them.” Thus, Neringa Liubiniene considers the process through which individuals construct their understanding of their own space in Ireland partially through exclusion.⁸ Violetta Parutis examines how Lithuanian and Polish migrants construct their own identities in the context of ethnoracial diversity in London. She argues that they employ a variety of strategies to position themselves as part of the UK’s “white” majority, in opposition to other migrants.⁹ However, migrants’ reaction to the UK’s demographics varies: Jolanta Kuznecoviene highlights the diversity of migrants’ experiences and categorizes migrants into four groups, distinguished by their degree of integration into British society and orientation toward Lithuania.¹⁰ Scholarship on Lithuanian EU migrants is dwarfed by a more

⁷ Jurga Bucaite-Vilke, et al. *The Experiences of Lithuanian Migrants: The Social Construction of Networks and Identities* // *Filosofija. Sociologija*. 2011. No. 4. Pp. 510-522; Daiva Kuzmickaite. *The Adaptation of Recent Lithuanian Immigrants in Chicago* // *Lituanus*. 2000. Vol. 46. No. 2. Pp. 63-76.

⁸ Neringa Liubiniene. *Migrantai iš Lietuvos Šiaures Airijoje: “Savos Erdvės” Konstravimas* / Ph.D. Dissertation; Vytautas Magnus University, 2009.

⁹ Violetta Parutis. *White, European, and Hardworking: East European Migrants’ Relationships with Other Communities in London* // *Journal of Baltic Studies*. 2011. Vol. 42. No. 2. Pp. 263-288.

¹⁰ Jolanta Kuznecoviene. *Outside of Imagined Community: Strategies of Incorporation of Lithuanian Immigrants* // *Identity Politics: Migration, Communities, and Multilingualism* [Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis XX, Studia Anthropologica IV]. 2010. Vol. 9. P. 23.

extensive body of work focused on East European migrants in general and on Polish migrants in particular. These studies describe features common to East European migrants, including their orientation toward the home country, their sense that their migration is a temporary solution, and a variety of labor strategies they undertake.¹¹

This article builds on studies of the social organization and political imaginaries of migrants in order to explore the construction of reactive nationalism among Lithuanians living in the UK. Caroline Brettell, referencing Anthony Fielding's essay "Migration and Culture," argues that anthropology's key contribution to the study of migration is its ability to show that individuals mediate their experiences and socioeconomic conditions through their own cultural and social orientation.¹² I draw on Brettell's methodology of an analysis of migrants' narratives in order to examine the ways in which individuals interpret and manage social transformations and encounters with others engendered by transnational mobility. According to Steven Vertovec, anthropology is well positioned to explore the politics of culture linked to transnational migration and to analyze the ways in which individuals use concepts such as culture, cultural difference, and nation to contemplate the role of migrants in their societies.¹³ However, instead of focusing on local residents' responses to migration, this article examines how migrants themselves use the terminology of nationhood and cultural difference, as a reaction to novel socioeconomic circumstances and various types of social exclusion in their new places of residence and work. An analysis of migrant narratives reveals the mechanism through which exclusion can be reinterpreted in moral terms and translated into the vocabulary of nationalism and ethnic difference.

This article is based on interviews with seventeen Lithuanian migrants, which I conducted from October 24 to November 9, 2011, in London, London suburbs, and Peterborough. I had begun to examine individuals' discourses about migration, national belonging, and the Lithuanian state during my dissertation fieldwork in Lithuania. By interviewing individuals

¹¹ Richard Black, et al. (Eds.). *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labor Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*. Amsterdam, 2010; Jakub Isanski and Piotr Luczys (Eds.). *Selling One's Favorite Piano to Emigrate: Mobility Patterns in Central Europe at the Beginning of the 21st Century*. Cambridge, 2011; Anna White. *Polish Families and Migration Since EU Accession*. Bristol, 2011.

¹² Caroline Brettell. *Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity*. Walnut Creek, 2003. P. 23

¹³ Steven Vertovec. *The Cultural Politics of Nation and Migration // Annual Review of Anthropology*. 2011. No. 40. Pp. 241-256.

in the UK I wanted to track narratives about Lithuania as a homeland and the ethnic differences that emerge as a result of transnational mobility. I aimed to include a broad range of individuals, in order to observe whether there are recurrent themes in individuals' discourses. Thus, my interviewees include five individuals working in education, business, and upper management, and twelve individuals employed in services or manual labor, such as factories and construction work.¹⁴ While I had a list of broad questions I asked each respondent, my intention was to have a semistructured, informal discussion.¹⁵ Some of the interviews turned out to be group discussions, since individuals would involve their friends and family members in the conversation and would shift their addressees between me and their friends, sometimes picking up long-standing discussions or arguments. My goal is not to generalize about the views and opinions of Lithuanian migrants based on this small sample but to examine how individuals construct their narratives and analyze tropes, metaphors, and vocabulary that they employ when talking about their migration trajectory and experiences in the UK. Thus, the interviews exemplify the process of construction and reification of national belonging and cultural difference, as well as the social implications of this vocabulary.

I begin by considering the valence of discourses about nationalism in Lithuanian politics in light of recent migration from Lithuania. I then examine how individuals narrate their encounters with others outside of Lithuania's borders and show how social exclusion results in a reassertion of ethnic difference. The next section describes how for some migrants, the Lithuanian nation emerges as a lived identity that is necessary for survival but also highly limiting. I show that the individuals I talked to in the UK perceive Polish migrants as a model nation, highlighting their own commitment to the ideal of a monoethnic culture and acquiescence to the failure of integration. Finally, I analyze individuals' interpretation of their own mobility and their relation to the Lithuanian nation-state in light of the solidification of ethnicity as a key dimension of belonging and a platform for social action.

¹⁴ All of my interviewees moved to the UK after Lithuania's independence. I obtained contact information for all of my respondents (except one, whom I approached without a prior introduction) through four different acquaintances in Lithuania. I made a conscious choice to rely on my acquaintances' social networks, in order to achieve at least a degree of rapport with the interviewees.

¹⁵ The interviews were 40 minutes to 1.5 hours long, and all but one were recorded. Four of the interviews involved two or three people, and the rest were one-on-one.

The European Union, Lithuanian Nationhood, and Mobility

While Lithuania was still part of the Soviet Union, “nation” and “Europe” were powerful concepts in mobilizing individuals against the Soviet regime. A Herderian notion of unique nationhood, which became important in Lithuania during the nineteenth century, has only been reinforced by Soviet nationalist policies, as scholars have shown.¹⁶ In the 1980s, resistance against the Soviet regime gained a broad mass following, spearheaded by Lithuanian intellectuals, who framed the movement toward greater sovereignty in terms of survival of the nation and a return to the European family of nations.¹⁷ The Lithuanian nation, thus, was a site of morality and solidarity in opposition to the repressive Soviet policies and Moscow-imposed control over Lithuania’s territory. Some politicians and scholars have described Lithuania’s drive toward independence as a return to the “European family of nations,” equating the Soviet system with an artificial and antinationalist “prison of nations.”¹⁸ Thus, the nation was an alternative form of belonging and moral community, while “Europe” served as a paragon of morality and political organization. After Lithuania became independent from the Soviet Union, the political elites were unified in the goal of joining the European Union.

After Lithuania’s accession to the EU in 2004, the country became entangled in a variety of political initiatives and institutions but remained peripheral in terms of its decision making. Migration out of the country provoked additional anxieties about Lithuania’s place in the EU’s political economy. Lithuania’s entrance into the Schengen zone – the EU territory where internal borders and custom controls have been eliminated – enabled free migration within the EU. In 2004, Ireland, the UK, and Sweden opened

¹⁶ Roger Brubaker. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge, 1996; Francine Hirsch. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca, 2005; Yuri Slezkine. *The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism // Slavic Review*. 1994. Vol. 53. No. 2. Pp. 414-452; Ronald G. Suny. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford, 1993; Ronald G. Suny and Terry Martin. *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. Oxford, 2001.

¹⁷ Romuald Misiunas. *Baltic Nationalism and Soviet Language Policy: From Russification to Constitutional Amendment // Henry Huttenbach (Ed.). Soviet Nationality Policies: Ruling Ethnic Groups in the USSR*. New York, 1990; Alfred E. Senn. *Lithuanian Awakening*. Berkeley, 1975.

¹⁸ Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren. *The Role of Language in European Nationalist Ideologies // Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. Oxford, 1988; Suny. *The Revenge of the Past*.

access to their labor markets for residents of other EU countries. Discrepancy in the economic level between Lithuania and other EU countries, as well as increasing unemployment in Lithuania in recent years, contributed to high levels of emigration out of Lithuania to other EU countries. According to the European Migration Network, 0.6 million people emigrated from Lithuania since its independence.¹⁹ This is a significant number considering that as of June 2012, Lithuania's population was 3,185,883.²⁰ However, many of the individuals I talked to believe that, in fact, much of the migration is not recorded, since many people do not declare their departure. In 2010, 50 percent of migrants declared the UK as their country of destination, while Ireland and Norway lagged significantly behind as the destination countries of Lithuanian migrants.²¹ Like other so-called A8 migrants, Lithuanians in the EU embodied a novel type of mobility: neither international nor truly internal.

In the context of limited sovereignty and high levels of migration, politicians, media, and individuals in everyday conversations often resort to the vocabulary of nationhood to lament or analyze Lithuania's situation. Talk about the death of the nation is common in politicians' narrative repertoires, usually expressing concerns about the changing ethnic composition of the state or anxieties about social rapture.²² As Oushakine argues, traumatic narratives about nationhood act as a "sociosymbolic operation of disinvestment from previously important contexts and practices that vanished within a very short period."²³ In the case of Lithuania, discourses about the dying nation seek to reconcile Lithuania's participation in the EU, which was long considered the moral standard, with the country's persistent socioeconomic difficulties and political scandals. Not surprisingly, individuals' interpretations of Lithuania's position within the EU and migration's causes differ depending on social position. Thus, politicians, especially those affiliated

¹⁹ European Migration Network – Lithuania. "Migration: 10 Years Overview" // <http://123.emn.lt/en/general-trends/migration-10-years-overview>. 2011.

²⁰ Statistics Lithuania. Rodiklių duomenų bazė / Gyventojai ir socialinė statistika // <http://www.stat.gov.lt>.

²¹ In 2010, 49.7 percent of Lithuanian migrants declared the UK as their next place of residence. The next two most popular countries of destination were Ireland (14.5 percent) and Norway (5.9 percent). Lithuanian Statistics Department. Lietuvos gyventojų tarptautinė migracija 2010. P. 10.

²² Susan Gal and Gail Kligman. *The Politics of Gender After Socialism*. Princeton, 2000. Pp. 27-28.

²³ Serguei Alex. Oushakine. *The Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War, and Loss in Russia*. Ithaca, 2009. P. 114.

with right-wing political parties, blame individuals for their moral disorientation, lack of patriotism, and betrayal of the Lithuanian nation-state.²⁴ On the other hand, individuals frequently portray Lithuanian elites as the culprit of moral disintegration and rampant social injustice. While the culprit of moral and social corruption varies, the debate continues in terms of nationhood, however ill-equipped this concept is to explain the complexities of the EU's political economy and individuals' geographic labor trajectories.

Degutiene's statement, "Civic development in school: is it possible to inherit love for the motherland?" made during the conference that I mentioned at the beginning of the article, is an example of a narrative about migration as a betrayal of the nation. At the conference a variety of educators and politicians discussed how patriotism can be cultivated among school students. Degutiene said that she could not understand or imagine a situation where "just because today the state is in a difficult situation, and I can't live the way I could live in a foreign state, because of this I should lose my sense of nationhood, my language, to forsake it, to integrate into a different society, where, actually, it is difficult to fit in."²⁵ In this narrative the Parliament chair suggested that mobility is a betrayal of one's nation-state – a callous valuation of personal economic benefit over eternal values of love for one's nation and language. Not only were individuals, according to Degutiene, abandoning their state at the time of adversity, but they were literally losing their own sense of belonging to the nation. The individuals I talked to, however, saw their mobility in quite different terms. They frequently portrayed their migration as a result of the state's abandonment of the Lithuanian nation and the elites' lack of concern about Lithuanian citizens. In the next section, I show that migrants' encounters with others outside of Lithuania's borders only heightened their reliance on the vocabulary of nationhood.

Failed Integration and Ethnic Difference

What are the effects of Lithuanian migrants' transnational mobility on their own notions of belonging? Do individuals fashion a novel type of cosmopolitan orientation or new multiple allegiances? One of the results of mobility, as I show in the section below, can be a "discovery" of ethnic

²⁴ For example, there is an interesting collection of papers on migration, ranging from statistically oriented analyses to lyrical contemplations about the longevity of the Lithuanian nation: Lithuanian Republic Parliament. *Emigracija iš Lietuvos: Padėtis, Problemos, Galimi Sprendimo Būdai*. Konferencijos Medžiaga. Vilnius, 2006.

²⁵ Samoškaitė. I. Degutienė.

difference. Individuals translate many of the everyday traumas and failures to integrate into the vocabulary of deep-seated ethnic difference, reinscribing the prominence of ethnicity and national belonging as categories that organize their social reality. As scholars have shown, in the context of social instability and marginalization, group loyalty and naturalized group bonds can become especially important.²⁶

One of the striking features of the new Lithuanian migration is its short-term orientation, which, as some researchers have indicated, can discourage individuals from learning English or trying to integrate into the local community.²⁷ Everyone I talked to insisted that they originally came for a short time, “just to see what it is like,” and planned to go back to Lithuania once they had earned some money. More than half of the people I talked to were still planning to return to Lithuania at some point in the future. Indeed, some individuals told me that they purposefully kept their apartment in Lithuania or refused to buy property in the UK, so as not to be tied to their new place of residence. However, failure to integrate is not simply a personal decision: individuals encounter various forms of exclusion within the local communities and institutions.

Individuals interpret everyday forms of exclusion through the vocabulary of ethnic difference. Migrant narratives described a social world that was structured by a hierarchy of ethnicities. In this hierarchy the English occupy the highest position, “Pakistanis” – as they refer to South Asian migrants – are in the middle, and East Europeans, especially Lithuanians, are at the very bottom. My interviewees assigned South Asian migrants second place because of their supposed knowledge of their rights and the laws, which give them leverage against the English who are afraid of discrimination accusations. Unlike the Lithuanian migrants in Violetta Parutis’s study, who made an effort to align themselves with the English on the basis of skin color,²⁸ a few people I talked to insisted that Lithuanians were at the very bottom of the hierarchy in terms of their treatment by the English, the scale of wages, access to schools, jobs or services. For example, Juozas,²⁹ a young man who worked as an auto mechanic, said that the hierarchy applies

²⁶ Oushakine. *The Patriotism of Despair*. P. 12.

²⁷ Equality and Human Rights Commission Report. *The UK’s New Europeans: Progress and Challenges Five Years after Accession*. Washington, 2010. P. 17.

²⁸ Violetta Parutis. *White, European, and Hardworking: East European Migrants’ Relationships with Other Communities in London* // *Journal of Baltic Studies*. 2011. Vol. 42. No. 2. Pp. 269-270, 280-284.

²⁹ All the interviewees’ names are replaced by pseudonyms.

to the order in which individuals are assisted at the auto repair shop – first the English, then Pakistanis, and, finally, Lithuanians. Juozas offered this as an example of discrimination and one of the reasons why he does not like living in the UK. Juozas and others I talked to distinguished among ethnicities based on their ability to claim privileges and navigate the UK’s labor market and social world.

Individuals derive lessons about ethnic differences not only at work and during business interactions but also from other socialization experiences. Most individuals said that they have no friends among the English. I interviewed Giedre and Irma at a Polish diner at a mall in northeastern London. Giedre, in her late sixties, was retired but active in the local Lithuanian community and in a particular Lithuanian Catholic Church, which, as she explained, functioned as a Lithuanian social club. Irma, her friend, who was in her late forties, was getting a degree in public administration from a Lithuanian university and planned to move to Lithuania in a few years. Giedre and Irma, as other people I interviewed, explained English aloofness in terms of social organization and mentality.

Marina: Do you have many acquaintances, friends among the English?

Giedre: The English will never be your friends. Never. You see, the English somehow they position themselves... well... We’re all immigrants to them, you know. English will never... And for us... I was studying in college. And the teacher – she was English – so she says: “Do you have English friends?” Everyone is silent. There were all different ethnicities there. So, she says, “I didn’t think you did.” Because that’s how the English position themselves. Of course, they talk to you, communicate at work, everything. But they will never allow a friendship.

Irma: Well, this is their established tradition. This is their mentality.

Giedre: This is their mentality.

The interaction between Giedre and Irma is telling, because it illustrates the process through which ideas about ethnically specific behavior become entrenched. To prove her point that friendship between the English and Lithuanians is impossible, Giedre refers to a local teacher who transmitted a narrative about the willingness of the English to come into contact with other ethnicities. For Giedre, the teacher, who is English herself, is an authority on the topic, and other students in the class only confirm her words by their tacit acknowledgment that they have no friends among the native residents. Giedre also insists on this idea to Irma, and readily picks up an explanation

about mentality volunteered by Irma. Later in the same conversation Irma explained English aloofness in terms of the rigidity of their social circles. And while Irma tried to use Giedre's friendship with another woman to show that the English do occasionally socialize with migrants, Giedre was adamant about differentiating between the English and Irish ethnicities with corresponding modes of behavior.

Irma: There is this preprogrammed social circle. And since we – migrants who came here – end up in such a – how should I say it? – a bit of a marginalized bounded social space... Still there are some personal connections. There is some type of communication. Well, [to Giedre] like you and your friend.

Giedre: Yes. But she is Irish. We do socialize.

Irma: Well, anyway.

Giedre: No, she really emphasizes that. That she is Irish.

Irma: It's different, huh?

Giedre: She will never say that she is English. Never. She is Irish.

This is completely different, you know. The English, they are different.

Giedre's interaction with her Irish friend reconfirmed for her the importance of ethnic differentiation and naturalized ethnicity and migrant exclusion. While Irma attempted to explain the lack of communication between Lithuanians and the English in terms of social differences, Giedre channeled the discussion into the vocabulary of ethnicity. Giedre also rejected Irma's attempt to group together the British and the Irish, by pointing out that these two ethnicities presuppose completely different modes of behavior. In this and previous episodes, Giedre relies on the discourses of difference offered by two local residents: her English teacher and her Irish friend.

Individuals get confirmations of the importance of ethnic differentiation from interlocutors in England, from each other, and from Lithuanian media and literature. Many individuals' experiences of exclusion are so traumatic that they describe their interactions in terms of assault on their humanity. In some interviews, my respondents emphasized that it is their children who have the most difficulty in adapting to their environment and have the most miserable time in the UK. Ostracized in school, bored at home, seeing very little of their parents, these children found it extremely difficult to adjust to life in the UK and build friendships with the English or even with migrants, who are not Lithuanians. I interviewed Romune, a woman in her mid-forties, and her friend Jurate, about forty years old, in their apartment in Peterborough. Both women and their husbands worked at a chocolate factory. The women, their husbands, and children shared one apartment.

Our conversation took place in their kitchen, which was sparsely decorated and not well heated. Jurate, who had a cold, wore a pink bathrobe over her clothing in an effort to warm herself. Romune said that her youngest child is being picked on by teachers and other students just for being Lithuanian. Romune explained bitterly that since neither she nor her husband spoke much English, “there is no one to fight for him.” For Romune the mistreatment she encountered at the factory and her son’s tribulations in school were traumatic experiences that she framed in the warlike terminology of assault and resistance. In another interview Migle, a twenty-one-year-old woman, could barely hold back tears when she recounted the humiliation of her high school experience. When she came to the UK at fourteen, she could not speak English, and the children in her class would constantly tease her. Migle described her troubles at school:

In school it was completely horrible. Because the kids are cruel. Because they think that if I can’t say something in English, they think that I can’t say anything at all, that I am not a person. They ask me, they say in front of the class – I remember that question very well – they say: [in English] “Are you a human being?” And I didn’t know what to answer because I didn’t know what that meant. They asked me if I am a human being. And I didn’t know what that meant. And you just sit and don’t know what to answer, and the whole class is laughing at you.

For Migle this question represented the general attitude of English residents toward immigrants, especially those who cannot speak English well. Since there were no other Lithuanians in her class, Migle believed that she did not have the necessary social support to resist those who teased her. The only venue of resistance that Migle saw was a retreat into an ethnically based community. But Migle went further and explained that the absence of her compatriots meant that no one around her could confirm her humanity by engaging in a conversation and seeing her as a complete human being. Thus, for her, only members of her own ethnic community could validate her and allow her to feel herself fully human.

Traumatic experiences linked to exclusion and problems of communication were translated into broader conclusions about incommensurability of ethnic differences. Many respondents pointed to language and difficulties of cultural translation as lasting barriers to meaningful relationships with non-Lithuanians. Even now that she speaks English well, Migle prefers to communicate with other Lithuanians, since, in her opinion, it is only with them that she can truly express herself and be fully understood. Migle explained that it is difficult for her to socialize with people of other ethnicities. She

said: “In my leisure, I choose people who are close to my heart, to my soul.” While she did have acquaintances among Latvians and Pakistanis, she could not be as relaxed with them as with people of her “own ethnicity.” Thus, Migle described the existence of a more intimate level of communication, mutual understanding, and respect, which is only accessible to individuals from the same ethnicity. Migle categorically rejected the possibility of staying in the UK – she said that she realized how important the Lithuanian nation is to her and she was planning to move back to Lithuania, where she believed she could find more people spiritually close to her.

Exclusions by others and failed interactions encouraged individuals to articulate the idea of a belonging to a nation or an ethnicity and to acknowledge the seriousness of ethnic differences. Nowhere is the dawning realization of one’s belonging to a nation more explicit than in Nojus’s account. Nojus, who is about forty years old, has tried a range of various professions, speaks numerous languages, and currently teaches seminars on a variety of topics. Nojus, who now lives in London, made the amazing discovery that he was part of a Lithuanian nation, when he first moved from Lithuania to Israel in the 1990s. Nojus described his feelings: “Suddenly, for the first time in my life, I found...for the first time in my life I found out that I am a part of a nation...that I belong to a nation. For me that was an unbelievable thing. A shock.” This discovery was so dramatic because Nojus did not expect to have nationalist sentiments. It is only when he became an emigrant that he realized his belonging to the Lithuanian nation. Before he left Lithuania he believed himself to be a cosmopolitan, yet living abroad he felt “that somewhere deep inside me a Lithuanian is speaking.” Nojus describes ethnicity as a deep interiority that “wakes up” once he is beyond Lithuania’s borders. In Nojus’s narrative, his ethnicity or belonging to the nation suddenly comes into relief when he attempts to live a full life and communicate with local residents. It is this failure of communication and subsequent recognition of difference that provoked him to draw on vocabulary of nationhood that then became a platform for action – his temporary return to Lithuania.

Only two of my interviewees acknowledged that most of their communication is with people of other ethnicities. I met with Aurelija in London’s financial area. Aurelija, in her late twenties, a striking young woman, looked as if she stepped out from the pages of a fashion magazine. As we talked, she exuded confidence and optimism. Aurelija, the only one of my respondents who offered to switch into English, noting that she is equally fluent in both languages, graduated from Cambridge and worked as a manager

at an emissions and commodities trading company. In Aurelija's account, national belonging is a choice that individuals make, once faced with increasingly homogenized social forces and popular culture. Aurelija herself felt the need to be part of a Lithuanian network: "I started a Lithuanian youth association because my circle of friends and partner at the time were English so I was not really exposed to any Lithuanians. And I was really missing it." Thus, although Aurelija was communicating with the English and was well integrated into the local society, she felt the need to engage with the Lithuanian community. Aurelija's high social standing and her educational and professional experiences enabled her to circumvent many of the traumatic encounters and the need for ethnic networks as a survival mechanism, yet even she felt that her "globalized" lifestyle provoked a need for national allegiance.

Zoja, a twenty-four-year old woman, on the other hand, had no friends among the English but many friends among other migrants. Zoja, who came from a working-class Russian-speaking family in Lithuania, was less invested in the narrative focused on the Lithuanian nation. Zoja, who has never had a chance to complete high school, came to London when she was eighteen. She progressed from dishwasher to retail manager at a supermarket in six years. She explained that she had only one Lithuanian friend, even though she did share an apartment with Lithuanians when she first arrived in the UK. Zoja, whom I met at a coffee shop in Notting Hill, close to her job, told me:

I have one friend from Lithuania with whom I spend time, a few Latvian girls. But mostly I have many acquaintances from India, Pakistan, from Sri Lanka. It's easy for me to communicate with them. Because they are also diligent and they work very hard. And, by the way, they are really smart. They completed all those schools [laughs]. I have this feeling that they should be professors [laughs]. I have very many acquaintances like that.

It seems that it is precisely her satisfaction with her labor trajectory and her lack of investment in the idea of Lithuanian ethnicity that allowed her to portray other migrants in positive terms, constructing a binary of hard-working migrants versus spoiled British. Her rejection of monoethnic nationhood allowed her to experience cosmopolitanism as a lived identity; her social circle, nevertheless, excluded the English. In her framework, the dividing line, both in friendship and work, is between the migrants and the English. Here is how Zoja explained that at her job top managers are English, while the rest of the employees are migrants from different countries:

“The way I understand it, the way it was explained to me, if you want to go higher and higher, you must be English. They won’t let you jump high, so to speak.” But for everyone except Zoja and Aurelija, the Lithuanian nation was a key category of identification and a rudimentary social resource necessary for survival.

Ethnic Enclaves and Poles as the Model Nation

As individuals encounter more exclusion, which they interpret as irreconcilable ethnic difference, they retreat into their own ethnically based enclaves. Except for Zoja, Aurelija, and another young woman who worked in academia, everyone else noted that they had few friendships or communications with non-Lithuanian residents of the UK. Lithuanian networks are key to migrants’ everyday lives, from finding jobs and housing to filling out applications and socializing. Acquaintances are especially important, in light of what is a key dimension of vulnerability for Lithuanian migrants – the insecurity of work, and, frequently, of housing. I interviewed Onute, who was about fifty years old, in her house in Peterborough. In a dimly lit living room, with a parakeet chirping in the background, Onute told Dalia, a woman who had introduced me to her, and me about her tribulations when she came to the UK in 2004. When she had just moved to the UK, Onute shared a house with eleven other people, most of whom were young men, but in her next job she lived in a fifteen-room house with around sixty other migrants. Indeed, this widespread migrant housing arrangement, where many East Europeans share one house, contributes to sociality and information sharing that can result in a new job or new forms of exclusion. Although acquaintance networks and agencies are fundamental in enabling migrants to find jobs, individuals often become restricted to the options available through these channels and are funneled into particular types of jobs and locations with heavy concentrations of migrants. As a result, they become entrenched in particular low-paying jobs, with no time or motivation to learn the English language.³⁰

Most of the Lithuanian migrants who were employed before they left the country worked in sales, industry, or transportation – all realms that are in demand in the present UK economy.³¹ Lithuania had a large industrial sector during the Soviet period, but its share fell from one-third of gross

³⁰ Equality and Human Rights Commission Report. *The UK’s New Europeans*. P. 31.

³¹ Lithuanian Statistics Department. 2010. P. 19; Cinzia Rienzo. *Briefing: Migrants in the UK Market: An Overview*. Oxford, 2011.

value to one-fifth during the 1990s.³² A few of my interviewees told me that their factories ceased operations in the early 2000s. Through networks of acquaintances Lithuanian migrants acquire similar – or lower status – jobs at various factories or in the service industries. Jurate and Romune, who worked at a factory and did not like living in England, explained to me that it is nearly impossible to find a job in Lithuania.

Jurate: In Lithuania right now you won't get a job as a janitor if you don't speak English.

Romune: Yes.

Jurate: With a broom [laughs]. Yes. A person went to apply for a job, and they asked: "Do you know the English language?" He says: "But wait. Who will I have to talk to? To the broom? In English?" [laughs].

According to Jurate, the person returned to England "in shock" that he had to know English in order to get a manual labor type of job in Lithuania. It is striking that Jurate felt it was easier to get a job without a knowledge of English in England than in Lithuania. Jurate's anecdote points to a paradox that transnational mobility does not need to correlate with a more cosmopolitan and multilingual lifestyle. In fact, Jurate and Romune did work at factories where they had little need or opportunity to learn English because they worked mostly with Lithuanians and Poles.

Among all ethnolinguistic groups, Poles were especially frequently mentioned with a mixture of animosity and admiration. Some individuals described Poles as a model migrant community. While individuals believed that Poles are also at the bottom of the ethnic hierarchy, their similarity in terms of religion, history, and work in the UK made them an especially important reference point for Lithuanian migrants. My interviewees felt that Poles got special privileges because of their numbers and cohesion, and would discriminate against Lithuanians.³³ Many were resentful about the dominance of Polish language in their workplace.

Marina: Are there many Poles in the city?

Onute: It's full of them. Oh, how many Poles.

³² Government of the Republic of Lithuania and European Commission Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs. Joint Assessment of Lithuania's Economic Policy Priorities. Vilnius, 2000.

³³ Poles constitute the largest portion – about two-thirds – of A8 migrants. Researchers have noted that Polish migrants often have more access to information and services than other A8 migrants because of the economy of scales. Equality and Human Rights Commission Report. The UK's New Europeans: Progress and Challenges Five Years after Accession. 2010. Pp. 13, 28.

Dalia: Poles have their own church.

Onute: Oh, how many Poles, Jesus. They took over everything. They took over everywhere. At different jobs.

Dalia: In factories [shifting into English] the working instructions are printed in English and Polish, OK? There is no Lithuanian.

Onute: Yes.

In this excerpt from an interview, individuals describe the dominance of Poles at work and outside of work with a degree of resentment. *Dalia* switched from Lithuanian to English to state that there were no instructions in Lithuanian, as if emphasizing marginalization of the Lithuanian language. My respondents insisted that in some factories it was enough for individuals to speak only Polish. *Romune* and *Jurate* were interrupting each other in a hurry to tell me about the privileges that Poles receive at their factory.

Romune: For example, a Lithuanian must know the English language. A Pole is a manager or a supervisor – they come and say, she or he does not understand English. They are allowed not to. And the Lithuanians are not allowed not to know it. A Lithuanian must speak English.

Jurate: Or, even better, it's like this: "Do you speak Polish?"

Romune: Not English!

Marina: Really? They ask that?

Jurate: It's now an international language here.

Romune: So you don't need English.

Jurate: So we don't need to learn English. At all. There, where we work right now.

Jurate and *Romune* were especially indignant about what they perceived as unequal rights among migrant communities, where Poles were excused from knowing the English language. For *Jurate* and *Romune* the Poles' ability to speak in their own language represented their official recognition as a respected community capable of defending their rights. At the same time, work at Polish factories made knowledge of English unnecessary but still left Lithuanians at a disadvantage in resolving problems or asserting their rights with Polish or English supervisors.

Individuals whom I interviewed were surprisingly univocal in contrasting the disunion within the Lithuanian migrant community to the cohesion of the Polish community. Poles were lauded for being unified in one community and sticking up for each other. Comparisons with the Polish community

must be understood in light of ethnic politics within Lithuania, where the relative socioeconomic status and political importance of individuals affiliated with Lithuanian and Polish ethnicity have shifted through the past centuries. Today, in the UK's geographic and social landscape, the power dynamics have shifted once again. The sheer size of the Polish migrant communities and their longer history in the UK have contributed to their prominence and created a situation where Lithuanian migrants have to contend with Polish supervisors, managers, and ethnically based systems of social support.

The perception of the Polish community as unified and hostile toward Lithuanians amplifies Lithuanian migrants' reliance on as well as skepticism toward Lithuanian migrant networks. Indeed, individuals use examples of Poles' supposed solidarity to highlight shortcomings of the Lithuanian community. For example, Mige, whom I mentioned above, said that while in school she regretted she lacked the protection that the Polish students offered to their classmates. She explained that there were a number of Poles in her school, and they would stick together and "hold off the attack." After a while, when Mige learned to speak English and when more Lithuanians entered her school, they organized a similar group to protect their own, especially the young kids, from any moral or physical assaults. Others juxtaposed Lithuanian and Polish behavior more explicitly.

Marina: So, they [Poles] probably also accept their own, their own friends into jobs.

Onute: Yes. Actually, Poles are...

Onute and Dalia together: ...very friendly.

Dalia: Among themselves.

Onute: Among themselves. They help each other. And a Lithuanian will eat another Lithuanian alive.

Dalia: Unfortunately, this is so.

Onute: Yes.

Dalia: But in our... You are socializing in your own circle, then it's OK.

Onute: Yes. We have our own circle of friends.

Similarly, Romune said: "We are yelling that these Poles are so terrible. But with their own people, I have never seen such a friendly nation yet." She added later: "Poles, now that's a nation!" The Polish migrants thus act as a model community for Lithuanians in the UK. The size, prominence, and supposed solidarity of the Polish community are the features that Lithu-

anians would like to see in their own communities. The prominence of Poles in Lithuanian migrants' narratives reveals the limits of social imagination among Lithuanians in the UK: the ideal toward which individuals can aspire is a cohesive community that survives through solidarity and protects one another's rights against other migrants and the English.

Despite or rather because of the key role of ethnic networks, individuals are deeply ambivalent about the Lithuanian community in the UK. "I don't know what happens to our Lithuanian nation here in England," said Romune, a woman in her mid-forties, who worked at a chocolate factory. Romune, Jurate, and Onute insinuated that one should not trust a Lithuanian – outside of Lithuania. Romune and Jurate claimed that in their behavior toward each other, Lithuanians are much worse than other migrants.

Marina: So, the socialization is just among Lithuanians...?

Romune: Oh, that's even scarier. If you meet a Lithuanian, and he says "Good afternoon," see if it's not evening.

Jurate: He will never help you if there is a problem. Never.

Romune: In England the most terrifying person is a Lithuanian.

Jurate: Yes.

Romune: To the extent that it's really embarrassing to tell people. A Lithuanian, a Lithuanian – it's your ethnicity, so how can you not like your own people?!

Romune repeated the phrase "if he says 'Good afternoon,' see if it's not evening" a few times during the conversation, as if it were a proverb expressing common wisdom among migrants. This phrase expressed distrust of the motivations of other Lithuanians. Many of my interviewees told me horror stories about betrayal, backstabbing, and theft in the Lithuanian communities. Onute recalled with bitterness how Lithuanian women she used to share a house with turned away from her in her moment of need. These narratives describe ethnicity as a moral community that should be defined by solidarity and affection – the function that ethnonational identity fulfilled during the political struggle against the Soviet regime, for example. The individuals imply that these values are in a state of deep crisis and articulate a discourse about the moral corruption of a nation, which should naturally coalesce into a community outside of Lithuania's boundaries.

However, troubles that individuals encounter within their ethnic enclaves have a real social basis. Ethnic networks, which are fundamental to migrants' lives, are a source of great social anxiety and potential marginalization, as Jennifer Cole highlights in her paper on female migrants from Madagascar

in France.³⁴ My interviewees saw envy as the root of the problem within the Lithuanian community and, in fact, the rapidly changing social standing of individuals elevated the stakes of social ties and reputation. Onute and Juozas noted that a new discrepancy in income that replaced relatively egalitarian income distribution in Lithuania triggered envy within the migrant community; as Serguei Oushakine notes, sudden extreme income differentiation in the post-Soviet context can trigger discourses of distrust.³⁵ Migrants' anxieties about the Lithuanian community also highlighted limitations of overreliance on tightly knit migrant groups, where not only information but also rumors circulate with promptness, where the competition for work is heightened, and where the main currency is one's social standing and reputation. Dalia and Onute, like other migrants I talked to, said that they depend on a small circle of friends for their socialization. Indeed, overreliance on ethnic networks, which also become channels for job competition and information for criminals, forces individuals into increasingly more claustrophobic social circles.

A Nation Beyond State Borders

Notions about national allegiance shape individuals' views of their mobility and their relationship to the Lithuanian state, as well as act as a platform for action. For many individuals their failure to integrate and an increased sensitivity to cultural differences bring into relief their own position as a "nation-in-exile." Many of the interviews revolved around metaphors of a forceful push away from or a pull toward Lithuania. My interlocutors insisted that they had not abandoned their nation – it was the state that abandoned the nation and forced people to leave their land. Zoja, for example, passionately recounted her reaction to Degutiene's disapproval of migrants: "How dare you write that? You are personally kicking them out!" Those who had the fewest opportunities in Lithuania would highlight rampant inequality and corruption in the country. Onute, who worked at a furniture factory in Lithuania, recounted how her managers got richer by stealing materials from the factory and juxtaposed migrants to Lithuanian political and business elites: "We found our place here, we could not find our place in Lithuania. Because nobody needs us there. If they want to live

³⁴ Jennifer Cole. Gossip and the Intimate Politics of Realignment Among Malagasy Migrants in France / Conference Paper. American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting. Montreal. November 17, 2011.

³⁵ Oushakine. *The Patriotism of Despair*. P. 76

for themselves in wealth, let them live there. We are not jealous of them.” She added: “Yes, I’m very angry with Lithuania. That we can’t live in our own land. Really. I’m really, really angry.” In a poignant reversal of Degutiene’s rhetoric about citizens abandoning their nation, Onute narrated her experience of mobility as a representative of the Lithuanian nation who was forced off her land by a renegade state. Interestingly, nobody I interviewed blamed EU policies or global capitalism for their hardships, but many have consistently portrayed Lithuanian elites as fundamentally hostile to the Lithuanian population.

My interviewees’ attitudes toward the Lithuanian state were influenced by their social positions. Thus, individuals who had the fewest opportunities in Lithuania were the most hostile to Lithuanian elites, while middle-class individuals were likely to criticize the government as well as to seek some sort of engagement with the Lithuanian state. For example, Irma criticized Degutiene and other Lithuanian elites: “It’s as if they live in a vacuum. In a glass bubble.” She added: “You see what kind of gap there is between politicians and regular people.” Vilte, a woman in her mid-thirties, who was a social worker in Lithuania, sitting with me in a café in a remote London area, while a Polish waitress brought us coffee, shared her reaction to the article: “I got really angry. They say we leave for a better life. No, we leave to earn money. And we don’t want welfare payments from Lithuania. We want to earn it with our own hands.” Irma, Vilte, and Giedre painted a picture of the elites who disregard their compatriots in Lithuania and abroad. They disapproved of the Lithuanian elites’ unwillingness to include migrants in the decision-making process of Lithuanian government and were – so far unsuccessfully – seeking ways to establish contacts between Lithuanian politicians and Lithuanian migrants.

Individuals who had appropriate social resources could use the national identity that they “discovered” abroad as a platform for action and engagement with the Lithuanian state. Nojus and Aurelija described how their discovery of their roots pulled them toward Lithuania. Thus, Nojus’s discovery of his own national belonging interfered with his previous plans and forced him to return to Lithuania from the Middle East: “I couldn’t live anymore. It had such an impact that I had to do something with that. To realize this somehow. So I went back to Lithuania. Very consciously.” Nojus returned to Lithuania for a few years in the hope of giving something back to his country. But Nojus had one more goal, which he managed to fulfill: once he realized that it was difficult to break through language and cultural barriers, he decided that he should find himself a Lithuanian wife. Ironically,

after Nojus worked for a while in Lithuania, organizing seminars in Parliament, while receiving no remuneration, his wife insisted that they move to the UK, where many of her relatives were already living. Thus, Nojus has migrated again, but this time he retained and multiplied his connections to his home country, leading online seminars, traveling back to Lithuania every two of months for a couple of weeks, acting as an adviser in the Lithuanian Parliament and establishing a think-tank that addresses Lithuania's political and social issues. Nojus noted that, paradoxically, he was more useful to Lithuania and better able to build a career when he was based in the UK.

To explain why he first returned to Lithuania and then went to the UK, Nojus borrowed my notepad and drew a diagram with multiple concentric circles and a single arrow emanating from the center toward the outer circles. Nojus explained the diagram as the model of a human being's development through circles that represent the mother's womb, kindergarten, school, university, city, nation-state, and, finally, the global level. According to Nojus, in order to develop, an individual must progress through different levels. Otherwise, a person "loses meaning, experiences degradation and depression." Nojus added:

In my own opinion, if you want to live normally at a global level, like a cosmopolitan, like a person of the world, you have to go through a national stage first, to live through it somehow – that will be a natural bridge, a springboard into the wider world. If you didn't do that, you will feel as if you did not complete something. And you won't be able to feel good in the wider world.

Nojus's model of the world and understanding of his mobility assume an expanding identity with an inherent teleology, where a human being naturally progresses toward the transnational realm. In this view, national allegiance is a lasting interiority, a person's core, but also a stage an individual must pass through and internalize in order to reach the ultimate goal of transnationalism. Thus, human development through time is associated with progression from more peripheral to more global levels.

Aurelija interpreted her own mobility and her own engagement with the Lithuanian nation-state not as a natural progression but in terms of a tension or even a battle between a cosmopolitan life with many opportunities and a chance to help her country. Aurelija said: "For me it was always a battle. Whether I'm more useful to Lithuania or I should work on the global issues. For me there is no question that whatever job I do, I want it to be for the benefit of others." It takes some effort, Aurelija explained, to take yourself out of London's "vibrant environment with many opportunities"

and realize that you need to do something for your country. Aurelija said: “You want to ultimately make a difference. It is a matter of pride to go back to and make a difference in your country.” Aurelija did return to Lithuania for a few years. She, along with some of her acquaintances, was invited by the Lithuanian government – the Conservative Party, which recruited a young professional from abroad to almost every ministry, according to Aurelija – to work as an adviser to one of the ministers. “They need you there. They love it when you are there,” said Aurelija about the Lithuanian government. After a while almost all the “migrant youth” returned to the UK. Aurelija too came back, but she does not preclude the possibility of working there again. In the meantime, she continues her involvement by organizing conferences, acting as an adviser to the Lithuanian government and participating in an organization for young Lithuanian professionals in London. Aurelija explained to me that globalization has the interesting effect of making people more nationalistic. She believed that as we lead more similar lives across the world, we “try to find the roots, where we are from. We want to be unique. And having a nationality makes us unique.” Aurelija felt she had to “to keep that spirit of Lithuania alive” in herself and prevent herself from “drifting farther and farther away” from her Lithuanian roots. Aurelija employed familiar tropes of nationalism, referring to roots and the nation’s spirit. Her account relied not on a personal development timeline like Nojus’s but on historical development – as societies become more modern and globalized, individuals seek to “go back” and rediscover their national belonging.

At first glance, migrants’ orientations to the Lithuanian state are highly diverse: from forceful rejection to criticism and a desire for engagement with the state to Aurelija’s and Nojus’s intense collaboration with Lithuanian political institutions. Aurelija and Nojus were in many ways distinct from my other respondents: their social position, connections, and cultural capital allowed them to perceive their national belonging as a type of obligation highlighted by their transnational experiences. Yet even they were only able to imagine cosmopolitan belonging as firmly rooted in national orientation. No matter how enamored by London both of them were, they still referred to Lithuania as their state and their nation. Nojus’s chronotope of personal development depended on fulfillment of the national stage, while for Aurelija, a cosmopolitan lifestyle triggered a return to idiosyncratic national roots. Nojus’s and Aurelija’s greater social resources and cultural capital enabled them to actively foster Lithuanian networks and use them as a platform for fulfilling work and political engagement, instead of using preexistent

networks for survival and being restricted to narrow labor niches.³⁶ Yet, like other migrants, their social imagination, political activism, and self-identification were firmly rooted in the ideology of national belonging and ethnically based networks.

Conclusion

The concept of a Lithuanian nation remains a viable and essential social category for Lithuanians living abroad. The category of nationhood is reinforced by Lithuanian migrants' everyday interactions with the English, other migrants, and their former compatriots. Individuals mediate their mobility and their encounters abroad through their preexisting beliefs about nationhood as a key dimension of personhood. Exclusion of migrants from a variety of contexts and antimigrant sentiments can breed a more aggressive self-definition as a nation with a distinct and disadvantaged position among the hierarchical order of ethnicities.

Social exclusion and failures of integration can push individuals into increasingly narrow ethnically anchored social circles. At the same time, even as the individuals I talked to are dependent on ethnic communities for all aspects of their everyday lives, they are skeptical about the "Lithuanian nation" abroad. Their narratives about the corruption of the moral fabric of Lithuanians outside of the country's borders reveal a tension between a desire for belonging and the networks as a hub of gossip, criminality, and intense competition for jobs. It is revealing that many Lithuanians in the UK describe the Polish community as a model nation. The features that individuals admire, such as Poles' solidarity and deep social support networks, highlight the ideal of a monoethnic moral community and suggest the failure to imagine an alternative model of integration.

While the EU enables individuals to seek out livelihood opportunities across its geographic space, paradoxically, migrants can frequently survive on the transnational stage only by narrowing the "wider world" into ethnic enclaves. Even the most "cosmopolitan" of my interviewees still perceived nationhood as the necessary internal core of a transnational citizen. National identity, ethnic difference, and ethnically based networks come to be naturalized as fundamental dimensions of personhood and platforms for social action. Failure to integrate, interpreted and naturalized through the prism

³⁶ An illustration of the way migrant networks can contribute to long-term social stratification. Equality and Human Rights Commission Report. *The UK's New Europeans: Progress and Challenges Five Years after Accession*. 2010. P. 31.

of rudimentary ethnic differences, interacts with Lithuanian elites' alarmist narratives about the dying of the Lithuanian nation. Individuals, for whom nationhood is a key category of personhood and a lived reality, however, contest the elites' narratives about the people who have lost their national allegiance. Indeed, Parliament Chair Degutiene was eventually pressured into issuing a public apology to emigrants for accusing them of disloyalty to their nation.³⁷

While individuals argue about which social group is more patriotic and how this patriotism is manifested, the debates in the media and everyday conversations still operate with the vocabulary of monoethnic national belonging. Neither the elites nor migrants have yet developed a terminology of belonging that would take into account the complex reality of open-ended transnational trajectories and individuals' social engagement in different geographic locales. Social exclusion and economic marginalization constitute fertile ground for the emergence of reactive nationalism. Although this type of nationalism is defensive in nature and stems from a position of disadvantage, it still adds fuel to the xenophobic social imaginary of naturalized ethnic differences and cultural incommensurability that are gaining momentum within the EU.

SUMMARY

Lithuania has the highest rate of emigration within the European Union, yet the conception of the Lithuanian nation is often reinforced as a result of transnational mobility. This article examines reactive nationalism by tracking how migrants construct ideas about national belonging and ethno-national difference in response to exclusions they encounter. The article draws on interviews with Lithuanian migrants in the United Kingdom to show how ideas about nationhood mediate individuals' interactions with England's residents and other migrants, their interpretations of mobility, and their orientation to the Lithuanian state.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Литва демонстрирует самые высокие показатели эмиграции в Европейском Союзе, однако эта транснациональная мобильность

³⁷ I. Degutienė: nuoširdžiai atsiprašau emigrantų // *Ekonomika.lt*. 2011. November 9. <http://www.ekonomika.lt/naujiena/i-degutiene-nuosirdziai-atsiprasau-emigrantu-15477.html> (last visited: 07.13.12).

часто работает на концепцию литовской нации. Марина Михайлова рассматривает этот феномен реактивного национализма, анализируя, как мигранты в ответ на исключения и ограничения, с которыми они сталкиваются, конструируют представления о национальной принадлежности и этнонациональных отличиях. В основу статьи положены интервью литовских мигрантов в Великобритании. Автор показывает, как представления о национальной принадлежности опосредуют их взаимодействия с британцами и другими мигрантами, а также интерпретации мобильности и ориентацию на литовское государство.

Stephen M. NORRIS

**NOMADIC NATIONHOOD:
CINEMA, NATIONHOOD, AND REMEMBRANCE IN
POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN***

The official Web site of Kazakhstan’s president, Nursultan Nazarbayev, is loaded with fascinating historical interpretations. Sprinkled in his speeches – all posted to the site – and on other informational pages about the country he leads, these historical lessons offer an intriguing window into the way the new Kazakh state has harnessed the past. Much of the work going on in this site has to do with creating a “history” for a nation that has not existed for very long and with interpreting the deep and recent pasts for present-day nation-building purposes. And many of the interpretations that result from this work have to do with the nomadic past as a source for contemporary Kazakh nationhood.

Most former Soviet republics have had to create History with a capital “H” after 1991. As Mark von Hagen noted in an insightful 1995 *Slavic Review* article, Ukraine had a “history” only in the sense that people living on Ukrainian lands possessed a lived experience of the past. But the new nation-state had no “History” in the sense of a scholarly, written record of that experienced past that “command[ed] some widespread acceptance and

* I wish to thank Serguei Oushakine for asking me to write about nomadism and for his helpful suggestions on a draft of this article. I also want to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments.

authority in the international scholarly and political communities.”¹ Creating new history departments, new narratives about Ukraine’s pasts, and new ways to integrate coherently the lived experiences of Ukrainian citizens after 1991 proved to be a difficult task to say the least.

Similar dilemmas faced Kazakhstan. Nazarbayev’s nation had no “History” in the way Ukraine also lacked one. As a new nation-state experiencing independence for the first time, Kazakhstan, its leaders and citizens agreed, needed a national history and a new tradition of historical scholarship. The task was not a straightforward one. The history of the Kazakh steppe is one caught between West and East,² but also between traditions of written stories and oral testimonies about the past. Much the way Ukrainian historians and nation-builders appropriated the Cossacks and their experiences as early “Ukrainians” and therefore “Ukrainian history,”³ nomads could serve in the same capacity for Kazakhstan. On the president’s Web site, Kazakhstan’s “ancient and medieval history” is explained as one where mankind has lived for “nearly a million years” because the rich lands there provided wild game and wild fruits. From these ancient civilizations, “Kazakhstan became the region for the mastery of horse-breeding and the formation of nomadic civilizations” [*Kazakhstan vkhodit v zonu osvoeniia konia i formirovaniia kochevykh tsivilizatsii*].⁴ Kazakh lands, we learn, have been inhabited by tribes that mastered cattle breeding and the art of being warriors. These peoples also developed an extensive, elaborate culture, culminating in the “world famous” Golden Man (who may in fact be a warrior princess), found in an Issyk burial mound and proof that a *Kazakh* culture has deep historical roots.

This article seeks to expand on this short foray into history-making found on Nazarbayev’s Web site and narrated in other important Kazakh memory sites (textbooks, memorials, and so on). The purpose is not to dissect these exercises in “mythistory” or to wade into the thorny scholarly field

¹ Mark von Hagen. Does Ukraine Have a History? // *Slavic Review*. 1995. Vol. 54. No. 3. P. 658.

² For a small but useful sample that illustrates the difficulties in writing a history of the region, see James Millward. *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*. New York, 2009; and Justin Jacobs. *The Many Deaths of a Kazak Unaligned: Osman Batur, Chinese Decolonization, and the Nationalization of a Nomad* // *The American Historical Review*. 2010. Vol. 115. No. 5. Pp. 1291-1314.

³ See Serhy Yekelchuk. *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation*. New York, 2007. Ch. 1.

⁴ Taken from the Russian version of the Web site: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/kazakhstan/general_information/ancient_and_medieval_history_of_kazakhstan/. The site is also available in Kazakh and English.

of studying the historic cultures of nomads on the Kazakh steppe,⁵ but to analyze how the new Kazakh nation-state's attempt to provide a history to its people functions as a sort of "nomadic nationhood," an ongoing, vibrant process of building both a sense of national identity and a sense of historical remembrance that center on nomads. The state has taken the lead in this nation-building exercise, and Kazakh films, often relying on state support, have also played a starring role.

Alon Confino has urged scholars to explore the "hybrid links between two powerful notions that have stood at the center of the shift from society to culture: nationhood and memory." Nationhood itself functions as a "culture of remembrance, as a product of collective negotiation and exchange between the many memories that exist in the nation." Confino continues: "Nationhood and memory appear as modern sensibilities that give meaning to values and beliefs such as collectivity, selfhood, territoriality, and the past."⁶ And yet, as Bhavna Dave has recently pointed out, the Kazakh nation is a work-in-progress, guided mostly by a "nationalizing state" (she borrows the term from Rogers Brubaker).⁷ Independent Kazakhstan is a hybrid nation-state that has attempted to create a new sense of nationhood and a new sense of remembrance out of the legacies the Soviet Union bequeathed. The result has been the creation of a seemingly contradictory locus for both: the nomads. While the state and Kazakh filmmakers have usefully mined the past to articulate a new Kazakh nationhood centered on nomadic culture, its reception among Kazakh citizens has produced a mixed bag: many Kazakh audience members have celebrated what they see as a "new Kazakh patriotism" articulated onscreen. Others have criticized certain aspects of the onscreen nomadic nationhood, particularly the Kazakh state's role in promoting it and Kazakh filmmakers' adaptation of Hollywood techniques. Still others have stayed away from Kazakh films entirely, choosing instead to check out the latest Hollywood blockbuster. Still, the work of nation-building and memory-making that has gone on in recent Kazakh cinema indicates that these films are capable of conveying "serious history" in the way Robert Rosenstone has argued: they render an important past in innovative and complex ways.⁸

⁵ The best monograph remains Anatoly Khazanov. *Nomads and the Outside World* (2nd ed.). Madison, 1994. See Joseph Mali. *Mythistory: The Making of Modern Historiography*. Chicago, 2003, for more on the crucial roles myths have played in the construction of history.

⁶ Alon Confino. *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History*. Chapel Hill, 2006. P. 18.

⁷ Bhavna Dave. *Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, Language, and Power*. London, 2007.

⁸ Robert Rosenstone. *History on Film/Film on History*. London, 2006. P. 2.

Seeing Like a Post-Soviet State: Nomad and the Creation of Nomadic Nationhood

Of course, the creation of nomadic nationhood, which locates Kazakh history in the deep past, has its origins in more recent events. The Russian and Soviet encounters with the region profoundly shaped the way its residents viewed themselves. The tsars, as Dave has written, saw their southern frontiers as unexploited and unclaimed; the disparate nomads living on the steppe were deemed a backward nuisance.⁹ Beginning in the 1860s, Russian colonists began to settle in the region, following the military conquest of Central Asia. Locals were *inorodtsy* (“aliens”), a “broadly inclusive legal category to describe relatively or completely ‘backward’ non-Russians” in the empire.¹⁰ Although Central Asia was undergoverned,¹¹ the Russian colonial presence introduced notions such as “nation,” “race,” “empire,” and other modern ideas to the steppe. Out of this encounter a modern form of Kazakh national consciousness developed, one that took up the category of “nation” brought by Russian settlers and infused it with local, “Kazakh” traditions.¹²

The Soviet experiment both transformed Kazakh nationhood and did much to destroy traditional ways of life in the steppe. The scholarship on USSR as empire is rich and diverse; what matters here is that in the eyes of the Soviet state, as Dave writes, “nomads and Muslims were seen as lacking a history, a record of material and cultural achievements, and categorized as the ‘most backward people’ [*raneĕ otstalye narody*], or ‘people without scripts’ [*bespis’mennye narody*].”¹³ The scripts provided by the Soviet state to the Kazakh nomads took two forms: first, an attempt to define Kazakh nationhood as one centered on traditional music; and second, an attempt to eradicate nomadism and replace it with a new, “Soviet” way of life.¹⁴ As Matthew Payne has recently written, “the regime sought not only to make the Kazakh nomads ‘legible’ to the state, but also to impose order on a

⁹ Dave. Kazakhstan. P. 35.

¹⁰ Willard Sunderland. The Ministry of Asiatic Russia: The Colonial Office That Never Was But Could Have Been // Slavic Review. 2010. Vol. 69. No. 1. P. 138.

¹¹ Adeeb Khalid. The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia. Berkeley, 1998. P. 60.

¹² See Steven Sabol. Russian Colonization and the Genesis of Kazak National Consciousness. Basingstoke, 2003.

¹³ Dave. Kazakhstan. Pp. 22-23.

¹⁴ For the former effort, see Michael Rouland. Music and the Making of the Kazak Nation, 1920–1936 / Ph.D. Dissertation; Georgetown University, 2005.

disorderly nature and its savage, nomadic children.”¹⁵ The attempt to settle the nomads as part of Stalin’s collectivization program proved disastrous: between one-third and one-half of the 4.1 million Kazakh nomads perished. The Kazakhs only reached their 1926 population level again in 1969.

The crux of this encounter between the Soviet state and its nomadic citizens was in how each viewed the land. For the nomads, the steppe was a lived environment, a deeply rooted homeland centered on kinship and community. For the state, the steppe was an empty space, a site for trying out development policies.¹⁶ Soviet officials believed the Kazakh steppe could be conquered for their projects: agricultural, cultural, political, and otherwise. The nomads, as backward people without scripts, had to be settled. The empty space could be populated by other Soviet peoples, whether they were party enthusiasts or deported “special settlers” (indeed, after the collectivization-settlement campaign, Kazakhstan became the home of 1.2 million deported nationalities, roughly the same number of Kazakhs who died in the ensuing famine). No wonder, then, that Kazakhstan also became the site of major Gulag camps. No wonder it became the center of Khrushchev’s Virgin Lands scheme. And no wonder it served as the space for Soviet nuclear tests and for sending Soviet rockets into space.¹⁷ The Kazakh lands proved to be the laboratory for Soviet projects in population management, agricultural reform, and technological developments.

Given this usage, it is not too surprising that nostalgia for nomadism developed among Kazakhs and party officials alike even before 1991.¹⁸ Most post-Soviet Kazakh histories dwell on the settlement campaign as a naked, violent colonial act.¹⁹ And just as unsurprising, if not paradoxical, is

¹⁵ Matthew Payne. *Seeing Like a Soviet State: Settlement of Nomadic Kazakhs, 1928–1934* // Golfo Alexopoulos, Julie Hessler, and Kiril Tomoff (Eds.). *Writing the Stalin Era: Sheila Fitzpatrick and Soviet Historiography*. New York, 2011. P. 60.

¹⁶ In addition to Payne’s article, see Kate Brown. *Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana are Nearly the Same Place* // *American Historical Review*. 2001. Vol. 106. No. 1. Pp. 17-48; and Mukhamet Shayakhmentov’s memoir, published in English as: *The Silent Steppe: The Memoir of a Kazakh Nomad Under Stalin*. New York, 2007.

¹⁷ For these histories, see Steven Barnes. *Death and Redemption: The Gulag and the Shaping of Soviet Society*. Princeton, 2011; Michaela Pohl. The “Planet of One Hundred Languages”: *Ethnic Relations and Soviet Identity in the Virgin Lands* // Nicholas Breyfogle, Abby Schrader, and Willard Sunderland (Eds.). *Peopling the Russian Periphery: Borderland Colonization in Eurasian History*. London, 2007. Pp. 213-237; and Martha Brill Olcott. *The Kazakhs*. Stanford, 1995.

¹⁸ Payne. *Seeing Like a Soviet State*. Pp. 78-80.

¹⁹ For the best account of Kazakh history in the twentieth century (itself part of the attempt to give Kazakhstan a “History”), see K. Karazhaov and A. S. Takenov (Eds.).

the survival of many Soviet-era cultural practices in the new Kazakhstan. The Soviet state eradicated nomadic life. It also provided contemporary Kazakhs with the language of nationhood and the symbols of Kazakhness, often created by nomads on the steppe.

The Soviet era also provided the source of the lament for the nomads of old as a more “authentic” source of Central Asian identity, captured most powerfully by Chingiz Aitmatov in his 1980 novel, *The Day Lasts More Than a Thousand Years*. The main theme of the novel is the *mankurt* motif, which stresses the loss of cultural identity among non-Russians. Because of the novel’s success in late Soviet Central Asia, the term “*mankurt*” came to represent all non-Russians who had been cut off from their roots because of the Soviet project.²⁰ In Kazakhstan (even before the Soviet era), as Dave argues, pastoral nomadism became seen as “not just a functional mode of survival” but “came to symbolize a way of life rooted in a web of kinship, shared cultural and psychological traits, and a common pastoral imagery and myths imparted through oral folklore.”²¹ Akseleu Seidembekov, the Kazakh writer, suggested that “what Soviet power accomplished was not the attainment of the long-promised Bright Future and the creation of a true Soviet community of nations, but a *mankurtizatsiia* [mankurtization] of the nations.”²² This historical memory work, one that interpreted the Soviet era mostly as a colonial project,²³ informed the new Kazakh state’s decisions to create sovereignty based on a “continuing and ongoing process of decolonization and the construction of an autonomous national imagination.”²⁴ It

Noveishaia istoriia Kazakhstana: sbornik dokumentov i materialov. Almaty, 1998. This collection of newly published archival documents itself is a revealing window into the process of nation-building and historical narration in the new Kazakhstan. The “newest history,” as the title indicates, contains a number of archival documents that shed light on contentious issues from the recent past. Published in Russian, the book also reflects the tensions of language politics established under Soviet rule.

²⁰ See David Laitin. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca, 1998. P. 135. As Dave notes, the adoption of the “*mankurt* thesis” in postsocialist Kazakhstan conveniently covers up the effects of Soviet-era affirmative action policies and the close collaboration of Kazakh communist elites with the Soviet system (Pp. 3-4).

²¹ Dave. *Kazakhstan*. P. 34.

²² Quoted in *Ibid.* P. 50.

²³ Certainly there is some truth to this claim, as the devastation caused by the settlement campaign attests to. The Stalinist project also replaced nomadic epics, oral folklore, and memory with the printed word, literacy, and Marxist history as the central markers of modernity. Dave. *Kazakhstan*. P. 57.

²⁴ *Ibid.* P. 24.

also represents the nexus between nationhood, empire, and remembrance in postsocialist Kazakhstan.

The present-day turn toward nationhood, articulated around nomadism so plainly on Nazarbayev's Web site, is therefore an indication of the traces Soviet policies left and the ways they came to be remembered. To help to build a new sense of nationhood and to articulate new historical narratives to the broadest possible audience, the Kazakh state also turned to cinema. Nazarbayev invested a great deal in the cinema industry, overseeing the reconstruction and reemergence of Kazakhfil'm, the largest film studio in Central Asia. Films have therefore become one of the primary sites where the past gets interpreted and ultimately an important place to examine for the emergence of nomadic nationhood.

No recent Kazakh film has received more attention than the 2005 epic *The Nomad* [Kochevnik]. With only a small degree of hyperbole, Gulnara Abikeyeva declared that "never before have Kazakh people waited so long for the arrival of a national film."²⁵ The film seemed ready-made to fulfill President Nazarbayev's desire that the task of the new Kazakh state "is not a simple creation of statehood as understood in twentieth century terms, but a revival of its *historical* statehood [my emphasis]."²⁶ Given the fact that Kazakh history was marked by statelessness and by its nomadic traditions that could hardly be fit into Western concepts such as "state," "nation," and so on, Nazarbayev's call was one that implicitly asked for historical retrofitting to take place.²⁷

Nomad attempted to do just that. Filmed at great expense (the exact figure has never been released by the Kazakh government, which footed the bill, but is believed to be around \$30–40 million) and involving three directors (Sergei Bodrov, Ivan Passer, and Talgat Temenov), the movie begins in 1710, when the Kazakh tribes are bickering and Oraz, the film's narrator, longs for a descendant of Chingis Khan to unite the Kazakhs. Meanwhile, the Jungar tribes to the east of the Kazakhs threaten the fragile stability of the Kazakh lands. When a baby is born to a Kazakh sultan, Oraz saves him from a Jungar attack and persuades the father to let him raise the boy. He does, along with a number of other boys chosen from the various Kazakh

²⁵ Gulnara Abikeyeva. *The Nomad Is Coming...* // KinoKultura. 2006. No. 14. <http://www.kinokultura.com/2006/14r-nomads.shtml>.

²⁶ Quoted in Dave. Kazakhstan. P. 140.

²⁷ For more on the idea of historical retrofitting, see Serguei Oushakine. "We're Nostalgic, But Not Crazy": Retrofitting the Past in Russia // Russian Review. 2007. Vol. 66. No. 3. Pp. 451-482.

tribes. The boy, Mansur, becomes a formidable warrior and develops a close friendship with Erali. They both fall in love with Gaukhar. When the Jungars mount an attack against the Kazakh tribes, the two sides agree to let the dispute be settled by a duel between Mansur and Sharish, the fiercest Jungar warrior. Mansur kills his foe and the Kazakh tribes hail him as the new Ablai, the name given to a heroic khan. Erali, meanwhile, has left to rescue Gaukhar, who has been kidnapped by Jungars and promised to Sharish as his tenth wife. Mansur is also captured by Jungars and made to go through various “tests” meant to kill him. He survives, but in his final trial, he fights a masked Erali and kills him. Mansur and Gaukhar escape, declare their love for each other, and make their way back to the Kazakh camp. Six months later, Mansur leads the united Kazakh tribes in victory over the Jungars, touting his role in uniting his people and with it, his role in creating a Kazakh nation.



Fig. 1. An act of cinematic nation making: Ablai unites the Kazakh tribes and creates the Kazakh nation. Still from *Nomad* (2005).

The film is, as Abikeyeva has argued, “pure mythology”;²⁸ less historical drama than legend. And yet this structure is significant, for it marries, however badly, the structure of a Kazakh folk epic to a film epic. The plot of the film, however, was not nearly as important as the process of making it and of promoting it. Branded with the official slogan “every warrior, every people, every love must have its fatherland” *Nomad* attempted to put a present-day spin on an important period in Kazakh history and introduce a worldwide audience to contemporary Kazakhstan. While it succeeded somewhat in the former attempt, it failed in the latter goal.

²⁸ Abikeyeva. *The Nomad Is Coming*.

Nomad managed to visualize virtually every important symbol of Kazakhness connected to the nomadic past: the yurt, the dombra (a musical instrument widely promoted in late imperial and early Soviet-era nation-building texts), notions of hospitality, the steppe landscape, nomadism itself, a localized form of faith, and so on. By situating the action in the past, the



Fig. 2. Visualizing Kazakh nationhood: the aul, yurt, and steppe landscape. Still from *Nomad* (2005).

filmmakers gave these symbols of nationhood deep historical anchors. Indeed, while the action is loosely based on the real-life Ablai Khan, *Nomad* is more about using the past for present-day purposes. The repeated messages that Kazakh tribes need to unite around a strong, heroic leader and that the nation's very existence is constantly threatened by invading foreigners are not that applicable to the historical setting. Instead, these messages are aimed at the contemporary audience. At the end of the film, Mansur/Ablai sends the Jungar ruler a "new globe" that has the lands from the Aral Sea to the Tian Shan Mountains marked as "Kazakhia." The accompanying scroll declares that "all enemies of the Kazakhs" must know that these lands "have been occupied by the Kazakhs since ancient times." Given the fact that the term "Kazakh" (Turkic for "independent" or "free" nomads) gained wide usage only in the fifteenth century, the film's historical retrofitting sounds a lot like Nazarbayev's calls – most famously made in his 1997 speech "Kazakhstan 2030" – for national unity as a basis for state security and his warnings that internal discord will cause failure.²⁹ *Nomad* was mostly meant to promote patriotism among contemporary Kazakhs. Certainly the film hammered home the main messages of unity and patriotism again and again. Whether

²⁹ The speech is available on his Web site. <http://www.akorda.kz/ru/kazakhstan/kazakhstan2030/> (last visit 13 July, 2012).

they had any effect or not is unclear: the domestic box office figures have never been released.

Nazarbayev has also repeatedly expressed his desire to use mass media as a means to present Kazakhstan as an attractive place for tourists and investors alike. As Abikeyeva wrote, the film is also significant because it appeared as part of the attempt to create not just a Kazakh state, but an “image of this new country.”³⁰ The filmmakers, she suggests, were charged with the task of presenting Kazakhstan to the world by “generating a positive image of the independent state with its unique traditions, culture, and the special mentality of its people”; to “make a genuinely patriotic film and strengthen national consciousness within Kazakhstan”; and to “create a precedent in domestic cinema that would provide an impetus for the development of the film industry as a whole.”³¹ As one scholar has recently described it, the film served as an attempt to establish a new national brand for Kazakhstan, one aimed at a global audience.³²

It is possible to view *Nomad* as a lengthy infomercial of sorts that depicted a beautiful land full of unique traditions. Long delayed, *Nomad* finally hit Kazakh cinemas only in September 2006, after the Sacha Baron Cohen comedy *Borat* had debuted in Toronto.³³ Nazarbayev, who was in Washington, DC, around the time both films appeared, discussed *Borat* with then-president George W. Bush. Some critics have speculated that *Borat*'s success scuppered the chances of *Nomad* to make an impact and to introduce the world to the “real Kazakhstan.” These claims are difficult to prove. What is certain, however, is that *Nomad* failed in its international advertising aims. Referred to as “stilted and lame” by one of the few American critics to review the film,³⁴ it appeared only in limited release and earned an embarrassing \$79,000 at the U.S. box office, a small portion of the \$3 million it earned worldwide.

³⁰ Abikeyeva. *The Nomad Is Coming ...*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Saulesh Yessenova. *Nomad for Export, Not for Domestic Consumption: Kazakhstan's Arrested Development to “Put the Country on the Map”* // *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*. 2011. Vol. 5. No. 2. Pp. 181-203. Yessenova also discusses the curious choice of Ablai Khan as a twenty-first-century national hero.

³³ For more on the *Borat* controversy in Kazakhstan, see the articles in the special issue of *Slavic Review* devoted to it, particularly by Edward Schatz and Robert Saunders (2008. Vol. 67. No.1).

³⁴ Stephen Hunter in the *Washington Post* (27 April 2007): <http://www.washingtonpost.com/gog/movies/nomad-the-warrior.1133190/critic-review.html#reviewNum1>. Hunter began the review by imagining what Borat would say after watching the film.

Nomad's ultimate significance, however, may rest with the money that went into refurbishing Kazakhfilm Studios. The studio acquired \$5.5 million worth of cameras, equipment, and recording technologies. This post-Soviet upgrade in turn allowed other Kazakh filmmakers to refurbish the national past and screen memories about it.

Out of the Tupik: Kazakh Films and the Nomadic Past

Ernest Gellner, the legendary scholar of nationalism, wrote in his 1981 forward to Anatoly Khazanov's book *Nomads and the Outside World* that "nomadic society is stagnant. It does not, and cannot, as a pastoral society, develop any further. It constitutes a sociological cul-de-sac, or, to use the expressive Russian word, a *tupik*."³⁵ Gellner's words referenced the Soviet scholar S. E. Tolybekov's view of nomadic society. Nomads could not have contributed to the growth of feudalism, Tolybekov argued, because nomadic society does not fit into Marx's historical schema. It is stagnant yet also vibrant, for "every illiterate nomadic Kazakh, like all nomads of the world, was in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries simultaneously a shepherd and a soldier, an orator and a historian, a poet and a singer."³⁶ Nomads, at least in this scholarly view, are therefore outside of Western history and Western historical concepts, particularly those that employ terms such as "nation," "class," and "ethnicity." What matters here, however, is less the historical (or, more broadly, the scholarly) understanding of nomadism, but the ways that recent Kazakh filmmakers and audiences have reinterpreted the meanings of nomadism and its connections to the past. Nomads, at least in the past two decades, have become useful for defining the Kazakh nation and the Kazakh people.

Recent Kazakh films have proved to be an important site where history, memory, and nationhood get performed. *Nomad* may be the most famous (or perhaps infamous) example, but a host of recent movies have interpreted the past, engaged in the work of memory, and captured important items from the menu of nationhood.³⁷ Above all, recent Kazakh cinema has done much to promote what can be termed "nomadic nationhood" as an essential component to contemporary Kazakh historical remembrance. These films

³⁵ Ernest Gellner. Foreword // Khazanov. *Nomads and the Outside World*. P. xix.

³⁶ Quoted in *ibid*. P. xxi.

³⁷ The notion of a "menu of nationhood" comes from my reading of Anthony D. Smith. *Gastronomy or Geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations // Nations and Nationalism*. 1995. Vol. 1. No.1. Pp. 1-23.

have collectively provided the new scripts to the new nation, replacing the Soviet ones and the Soviet view that nomadic Kazakhs lacked them. These films are also not all state-ordered ones akin to *Nomad*; instead, the attempts to provide new scripts for nationhood, and therefore to define a nomadic nationhood, are ones also made by a host of new Kazakh filmmakers employing a number of different cinematic genres. While some scholars have reviewed these recent Kazakh films individually (particularly in the online journal *KinoKultura*), their connections to each other and the way they have collectively taken part in the attempts to remember the past and to construct a post-Soviet Kazakh nationhood have not been explored.

One way that recent Kazakh films have recaptured the nomadic past is by focusing on the effect the Soviet experiment had on the Kazakh lands. Several films set in contemporary Kazakhstan present a barren landscape, devoid of family life and defined by immorality and fear. In a sense, these films articulate narratives about what might have been and what came instead; had Kazakh life continued without the Soviet project, the steppe would still be vibrant, full of life, full of tradition. Instead, the empty spaces today testify to the harm done by the Soviet “civilizing mission,” which brought only destruction to the aul and its nomadic culture. Zhanna Isabaeva’s 2007 *Karoy* represents the clearest (and bleakest) example of this trend. The title, which refers both to a locale in the Kazakh steppe that translates as “black



Fig. 3. The barren steppe. Azat (left) surveys his bleak life. Still from *Karoy* (2007).

cavity” and the word meaning “dark thoughts,” provides a cue into the film’s plot. It follows Azat, a depraved con man who wanders through the barren landscape robbing, lying, beating, and raping. The towns Azat travels through are decrepit, broken ones. So too are the families, both his own and others. The reason for Azat’s violence and immorality, we learn from his mother, is because he “did not have a childhood.” His Soviet upbringing was one dominated by a violent, abusive father, one filled with theft and drunkenness, and therefore one filled with no moral center. The Soviet system, Azat’s mother implies, destroyed traditional kinship and community networks and Azat is the logical product. He is an embodiment of Seidembekov’s view about *mankurtizatsiia*: Azat’s world is a world without the aul, without traditional Kazakh nomadic culture.³⁸

While some Kazakh filmmakers used the barren steppe to stand as testament to Soviet destruction, others have recreated a traditional, nomadic-like culture on the very same landscapes. With the Soviet Union gone, these films suggested, Kazakhs could get back to the project of building a nationhood based on their nomadic past and its family values. Isabaeva’s follow-up to *Karoy*, 2009’s *My Dear Children* (Oipyрмаi), promotes a positive, timeless family culture as an important part of Kazakh identity. The film, as Joe Crescente has noted, is “primarily about the maintenance of Kazakh family traditions and related generational conflicts.”³⁹ A “family comedy genre imbued with traditional national values for the masses,”⁴⁰ the star of the movie is the Mother, who attempts to hold her family together despite generational and economic differences. In addition to promoting the family as the center of the Kazakh nation, a part of nomadic culture still usable for the new state, Isabaeva’s film celebrates traditional Kazakh housewarming (making *beshbarmak*), the dombra and other Kazakh instruments and music, and celebratory occasions such as weddings. Indeed, Crescente has rightly noted that the movie reads “like a list of ‘positive’ Kazakh traditions” and that “many national stereotypes are summoned” to make it up.⁴¹ Only Kazakh itself is spoken in the film, an important marker of identity too (most of the films discussed in this article use Kazakh with Russian dubbed over

³⁸ It is also the same barren world that the family in Akhan Sataev’s 2009 film *Strayed* [Zabludivshiisia] encounters. See Achim Hättich. Review of *Strayed* // KinoKultura. 2010. No. 30: <http://www.kinokultura.com/2010/30r-strayed.shtml>.

³⁹ Joe Crescente. Review of *My Dear Children* // KinoKultura 2009. No. 26: <http://www.kinokultura.com/2009/26r-oipyрмаi.shtml>.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

it). Isabaeva's main point is what matters: "every nation has its own unique family relations. Every land has special family traditions, peculiar to itself. More than that, though, my film is about the *strength* of the family, about the spirit of family unity. ... In *My Dear Children* we speak about values that are understood by every person, irrespective of age or homeland."⁴² *Karoy* speaks to the damage the Soviet era did to traditional family values and nomadic kinship networks; *My Dear Children* also addresses the ways Kazakhs can reclaim these values as part of a new nationhood. In a sense, *My Dear Children* presents a visual recreation of the *shezhire*, the genealogical family tree, for post-Soviet Kazakhstan.⁴³



Fig. 4. Kazakh hospitality, Kazakh shezhire. Still from *My Dear Children* (2009).

Family and the damages done to it under Soviet rule may be one prominent theme running through recent Kazakh cinema and a theme that engages with larger issues of memory and nationhood; so too are landscape and village life. Sabit Kurmanbekov's *Seker* (Sugar, 2009) was filmed in the director's home village of Chubar in the northern, mountainous Taldykorgansk region. It is very much a new "village film" that resembles *Karoy* but that has the more positive characteristics of *My Dear Children*. The film also has an ethnographic feel to it, a bit like the "neo-neo-realism" of

⁴² Quoted in *ibid.*

⁴³ For more on the *shezhire* as a marker of Kazakhness in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, see Saulesh Yessenova. "Routes and Roots" of Kazakh Identity: Urban Migration in Postsocialist Kazakhstan // *Russian Review*. 2005. Vol. 64. No. 4. Pp. 661-679.

Gennady Sidorov's 2003 Russian film *Old Women* (Starukhi),⁴⁴ for it stars mostly unprofessional actors from the village itself. As Kurmanbekov has stated, "my film is based on the 'aul theme,' because I am a village person – the village is my homeland."⁴⁵ The film is loosely based on the director's mother's life story as a girl who was originally brought up as a boy in postwar Kazakhstan. Much like the previous movies discussed above, the historical memory work is accomplished from the outset: *Seker* opens with landscape scenes, moving into the aul, where two older men (one played by the iconic Nurzhuman Yqtymbaev) are working and speaking Kazakh to each other. Here, two aspects of nomadism survive untouched by the Soviet era: village life and language. *Seker* is also very much a film that invokes the past and present, one that integrates, as Jane Knox-Voina has written, "national iconography that celebrates the yurt, the dombra, kumys, traditional clothing."⁴⁶ The eponymous heroine of the film has dreams about the Kazakh fairy tales her father has told her, dreams that feature Kyz-Zhibek (the subject of a sixteenth-century Kazakh folk tale later made into the first Kazakh national opera in the 1930s). Kurmanbekov's film employs humor to treat these parades of national icons with some degree of self-irony. Still, the film promotes an idea that the village and the village family will win out and survive. *Seker* is a film that recreates a past where mankurtization did not occur.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See my, *The Old Ladies of Post-Communism: Gennadii Sidorov's Starukhi* (2003) and the Fate of Russia // *The Russian Review*. 2008. Vol. 67. No. 4. Pp. 580-596.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Jane Knox-Voina. Review of *Seker* // *KinoKultura*. 2009. No. 26: <http://www.kinokultura.com/2009/26r-seker.shtml>.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Sergei Dvortsevoi's *Tulpan* (Tiul'pan, 2008), and Guka Omarova's *Native Dancer* (Baksy, 2009), also evoke the significance of place in Kazakh nationhood. Both were art-house, festival circuit films that had screenings at a number of important festivals. Dvortsevoi's movie, the more acclaimed of the two, traces the return to his steppe village of a Kazakh man who has served in the Russian fleet. He wants to get married and live a traditional way of life by herding sheep. The director, born in Kazakhstan, employs his documentary style (he had previously directed acclaimed documentaries) to capture beautiful steppe landscapes. Yurts, camels, sheep, donkeys, storms, dust, fields: these are the symbolic markers of the film and indicators that traditional Kazakh ways of life have survived. Omarova's film also features stunning landscapes, making the steppe an important actor in both films. The titular character is a traditional Kazakh healer who has to balance tradition and change, generational difference, and crime in the seemingly timeless landscape. Yet again the processes of intertwined remembrance and nationhood are captured at the beginning of the film, which introduces the old healer invoking traditional spirits while standing atop a mountainous landscape.



Fig. 5. Folklore revived: Kyz-Zhibek in a dream. Still from *Seker* (2009).

These films are among the many recent Kazakh features that resuscitate past values and national symbols for present-day viewers. Although they have not always performed well at the box office,⁴⁸ collectively these films, mostly produced at Kazakhfil'm, offer a rich variety of scripts that mine the past and nomadism for present-day nationhood purposes. Recent Kazakh historical films have also performed the same tasks while simultaneously offering viewers new ways to think about the past and how to view it and with them, possible alternatives not taken. While the films discussed above mostly feature contemporary settings where traditional elements of Kazakh nationhood appear, a host of recent films transport viewers back to the past to see how these very same traditions appeared then. Zhanabek Zhetiruov's 2006 *Notes of a Trackman* (*Zapiski putevogo obkhodchika*) is the story of an old, blind man (played by Nurzhuman Yqtymbaev, arguably Kazakhstan's most recognizable actor) who served as a railway worker in the Soviet era. His blindness makes him unaware of the present problems of the postsocialist state; instead, the film celebrates his life and his work and

⁴⁸ See Georgii Afonin. *Vyshli my vse iz naroda, no kak ot nego daleko* // *Izvestiia Kazakhstan*. 2008. 17 October: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/9739>; for analysis on *Bakysy's* tepid performance. And his *So zritelem nuzhno rabotat'* // *Izvestiia Kazakhstan*. 2008. 3 October: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/5252> for his pessimistic take on Kazakh cinema's failure to attract audiences in general.

the relationships among the three generations of his family. He tells stories of nomadism to his grandson and how he came to love sleeping in the steppe lands. His nomadic past allowed him to find his own way in life but also to be a good worker in Soviet times. The grandfather acts as a traditional Kazakh storyteller passing down national values to future generations: he recounts legends, tells of the past life, and their roles in a new state. At the end, as Michael Rouland has astutely observed, “dombra music, representing Kazakh tradition and folk culture,” plays, accompanying the grandfather as he strolls along a track.⁴⁹ Modernity and change have come to Kazakhstan, the film implies, but traditions remain.

The nomadic past plays an equally important role in Ardak Amirkulov’s 2008 feature, *Farewell Gul’sary* (Proshchai Gul’sary!). Based on a short story by Chingiz Aitmatov and set in the years after World War II, the film, according to the director, is “the story of the last nomad.”⁵⁰ The story, as Christina Stojanova describes it, is “about the love of Tanabai, a devout Kazakh communist and a WWII hero, for his beautiful stallion Gul’sary, who is a symbol of freedom and idealism – everything the main character



Fig. 6. The last nomad? Tanabai on the Kazakh Steppe. Still from *Farewell, Gul’sary!* (2008).

⁴⁹ Michael Rouland. Review of *Notes of a Trackman* // KinoKultura. 2007. No. 18: <http://www.kinokultura.com/2007/18r-zapiskiobxod.shtml>.

⁵⁰ Christina Stojanova. A Sentimental Journey: *Farewell, Gulsary* // KinoKultura. 2009. No. 25: <http://www.kinokultura.com/2009/25r-gulsary.shtml>.

stands to lose to the crash collectivization in the Far East in the 1940s and 50s.” It too opens by inscribing nationhood into the past: traditional Kazakh instruments play as the camera pans across a snowy steppe landscape. A stable full of horses are scared by an approaching wolf, bringing Tanabai out from his traditional yurt. The horses break free from their stable and gallop across the landscape, only to be corralled again by Tanabai’s skills. It is only after this scene that we learn our hero is a Soviet person. Tanabai’s devotion to his party is outweighed by his devotion to his own morality and his creative spirit. He refuses to give Gul’sary to a higher-ranking official and refuses to go along with the violence of the postwar system he serves. He is sent to a labor camp but eventually is reunited with his horse. As Stojanova describes him, “Tanabai is indeed ‘the last nomad,’ and the film represents a series of his stubborn and futile resistance against the numerous attempts to destroy his farm, his horse, and his soul.”⁵¹ His free spirit, his nomad spirit, survives.⁵²

Similar national resuscitations appear in Doskhan Zholzhaksynov’s 2009 film *Birzhan Sal*. This cinematic memory work focuses on Birzhan Turlybaiuly Kozhagulov (1834–1897), perhaps the most famous dombra player in late nineteenth-century Kazakh lands.⁵³ The two-stringed dombra is the national instrument of the Kazakhs and Kozhagulov’s songs are among the most famous ever played on it. Set in the years of Russian colonization of the steppe, the film captures the differences between the traditional Kazakh way of life and the Russian ways of life (the titular character speaks Kazakh). It pays homage to nomadism and nomadic culture. While the plot focuses on the titular character’s love life, the star of the film is his music. Reviewing the film, Adolf Artsishevskii described it as “the rebirth of a legend,” a figure “loved and not forgotten by the people [narod]” today, but that the

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Other aspects of Kazakh nationhood “survive” in Satybaldy Narybetov’s 2008 *Mustafa Shokai*. The titular character was the descendant of Kazakh khans and a Turkestan nationalist in the early years of the Soviet Union. He fought for an autonomous Turkestan that was independent from the USSR, a wish that led to the Soviet government branding him as backward, elitist, and religious-oriented. Narybetov’s film rehabilitates Shokai and his ideas, presenting them as alternatives not taken but also as a source of values for the present. Mustafa tells a friend that he was “for Turkestan’s autonomy” but that “we had no unity” (a lament also stressed in *Nomad*). Kobiz music accompanies these discussions, adding an aural reminder of Kazakhness to go along with the usable values of Shokai and his associates.

⁵³ For a useful overview of his life and the ways Birzhan has been remembered, see Serik Medetov. Igral na dombre i pel // Izvestiia Kazakhstan. 2010. 3 September: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/12979>.

main hero of the film is his music, which “entered organically into the flesh and blood of the film and became its integral part.”⁵⁴ Another review praised the beautiful scenery shot in the Kokshetau steppes, noting that “everything was here: the rolling, peaceful steppes; the expansive, deep sky; the wind’s noise on the tops of the trees; the swan’s flight across a lake; and herds of horses.”⁵⁵ Several scenes – including one lengthy re-creation of a festive meal – act as cinematic historical ethnography: they aim to provide the “authentic” look of nomad culture from the past as a source for contemporary patriotism. Birzhan Sal’s lyrics that “the time of the Kazakhs is finished” and that “our people have stopped being proud” also have the present-day effect, as Michael Rouland has noted, of trying to connect audience members to their “nomadic and musical traditions from the past.”⁵⁶



Fig. 7. The sounds of Kazakhness: Birzhan Sal plays his dombra. Still from *Birzhan Sal* (2009).

Onscreen, as captured by Kazakh filmmakers in their attempts to provide new scripts about the past, nomadism has certainly come out of the *tupik*. Nomadic life is far from stagnant in these films. It is vibrant and usable as a historical anchor for present-day nationhood.

⁵⁴ Adol’f Artsishevskii. Birzhan-Sal: Vozrozhdenie legendy // Central Asia Monitor: <http://camonitor.com/archives/84>.

⁵⁵ Dina Sablina. “Birzhan Sal”: istoriia odnogo poeta-voina // Gazeta.kz. 2009. 7 September: <http://articles.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=136792>.

⁵⁶ Michael Rouland. Review of *Birzhan Sal* // KinoKultura <http://www.kinokultura.com/2010/30r-birzhansal.shtml>.

Nomad II?

By 2008, the Kazakhstan-based film critic Georgii Afonin began to write about the “monotony of drama” that had dominated the fifteen years of postsocialist domestic cinema. While searching for the reasons for this cine-market saturation, Afonin offered some criticisms of Kazakh directors and their fixations on the past and on literary adaptations. Instead of making historical films, the critic wrote, Kazakh directors should have filmed genres that people in the country found popular. Afonin noted that “while many speak about a new boom in Kazakh cinema,” “these movies are not known for their variety in terms of genre.” In the end, he openly hoped for “new scripts.”⁵⁷

Afonin’s reasons for the seeming monotony in Kazakh cinema may be valid, but his major gripe speaks to larger, historical reasons for the overwhelming focus on drama in recent Kazakh films: directors, producers, and the Kazakh state have all engaged in the process of defining a new nationhood and in charting the parameters for postsocialist remembrance. Recent Kazakh cinema has served as an important site where history, remembrance, and nationhood collide and reinforce each other in important ways. Kazakhfilm’s revival has produced a wave of new films where this convergence has taken place.⁵⁸ Blockbusters, art-house films, contemporary village films, historical films, dramas, even horror films (as in Akhan Sataev’s 2009 film *Strayed*): all have engaged in the process of building a new nomadic nationhood.

Gulnara Abikeyeva’s words about the reasons for *Nomad*’s historical setting as an essential one for a new sense of nationhood fit the other films discussed in this article. “We can look at ourselves in different ways,” she wrote, “for example, we can examine Kazakhstan and our history as a series of endless, tragic experiments – from collectivization, djut, the KarLAG,

⁵⁷ Georgii Afonin. Opiat’ ... drama? // *Izvestiia Kazakhstan*. 2008. 19 December: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/1734>.

⁵⁸ This revival is discussed in Asemgul’ Bakytova. Eshche ne vse poteriano // *Izvestiia Kazakhstan*. 2008. 21 November: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/6580>; and Askar Gazizov. Iskusstvennoe dykhanie s mechtoi o bume // *Izvestiia Kazakhstan*. 2009. 23 October: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/3673>. Note the change in tone from one year to the next: Bakytova reports on the continued struggles of domestic Kazakh cinema; one year later, Gazizov reports on the growing boom. See also Jane Knox-Voina’s enthusiastic view of recent Kazakh cinema in her: The Kazakh “New ‘New’ Wave” // *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*. 2010. Vol. 4. No. 2. Pp. 195-203; followed by Birgit Beumers’s more tempered view: Waves, Old and New, in *Kazakh Cinema*. Pp. 203-209.

to the Semipalatinsk polygon and the ecological disaster of the Aral Sea, etc.” The litany of bad history, however, would not inspire. Instead, “it is obvious that what we need are myths about a great country, strong heroes, wise philosophers, and happy people.”⁵⁹ Kazakh filmmakers have granted these desires, screening their nomadic nationhood for a new state.

The state at least has attempted to harness this national cinematic remembrance project, hosting “days of national cinema” in the run-up to Independence Day (December 16). Local, regional, and national governments support the films. Kazakh directors, producers, actors, and others associated with the film industry do too. The efforts to promote a “nomadic nationhood” from the top are certainly strenuous ones.

From below, however, the results are mixed. Audiences have provided nuanced reactions to the films described above. When *Nomad* appeared, the film prompted a number of critical responses on prominent film sites such as *Kino-Teatr.ru*, *Kinopoisk.ru*, and *Kino.kz* (it is also worth pointing out that two of the sites that feature regular posts from Kazakhstan are located in Russia; the third is largely conducted in the Russian language, itself a sign of the complicated way Kazakh History and Kazakh nationhood get constructed). One Kazakh viewer, “Beibarys,” complained that the state spent a lot of money on the film but could not seem to find any Central Asian actors. A second posted that *Nomad* represented “a good, quality, watchable, patriotic film about the formation of a proud and wonderful people [*narod*] – the Kazakhs.”⁶⁰ Similar praise and complaints appeared on other sites: many opined that “the government of Kazakhstan simply decided to draw attention to its independence” and did so by making a “hyper-patriotic” Hollywood-style blockbuster; others at least praised the look of the film, its setting, subject, and even its horses.⁶¹

At times the responses on these global sites revealed national divides. On one forum devoted to Akhan Sataev’s film *Strayed*, for example (see note 37), several viewers from Russia suggested the film was derivative, a lot like other Russian films. A handful of Kazakh spectators responded. One noted “I live in the Kazakh steppe” and declared that the film represented them well; a second wrote “in general the film is our Kazakhstan.”⁶² This sort of patriotic response characterized the reception of the other films: a

⁵⁹ Abikeeva. The *Nomad* Is Coming.

⁶⁰ Both appeared on the *Kino-teatr.ru* forum: <http://kino-teatr.ru/kino/movie/post/3216/forum/#524718>.

⁶¹ See the responses on the *Kinopoisk.ru* site: <http://www.kinopoisk.ru/level/1/film/47270/>.

⁶² See the forum: <http://kino-teatr.ru/kino/movie/post/30920/forum/#1016662>.

Kazakh viewer of *My Dear Children* posted that he loved the film because it showed “the different parts of Kazakhstan,” “the strong ways family and mutual support exist among Kazakhs,” and the beautiful use of music, all of which combined to make a story that could be one from “any city and village in Kazakhstan.” Most important, the viewer declared that Isabaeva’s film offered a way out of the “*Borat syndrome*” that had affected the nation.⁶³ “Only a Kazakh or someone who has lived a large part of their life among the Kazakhs,” a second respondent noted, “will be able to understand the entire truth of this film.” Kazakh viewers posting on *kino.kz* even debated whether or not the characters onscreen had eaten beshbarmak correctly.⁶⁴

These “truths” extended to the reception of the films set in the past. Audience members declared “this is our past” and “this is a powerful, honest story about life,” typical posts to *Farewell, Gul’sary!* and *Mustafa Shokai* (see note 53).⁶⁵ Some viewers saw the recent stream of Kazakh films using Kazakh actors as the antithesis of *Nomad* and therefore an answer to Hollywood. Writing about the film *Baksy* [Native Dancer], a viewer noted “I am proud that Kazakhs did not forget my culture and I believe that they can show these Western, Hollywood ‘giants’ what Kazakhstan means!”⁶⁶

Yet another form of nomadism has developed: despite the patriotic praise, Kazakh audiences have not yet responded in large numbers to the new cinema, taking part in what Afonin has dubbed “the cinematography of exile.” “The authorities have decided to renew a respect for national cinema,” he argues, but the “culture building” efforts of the new Kazakh cinema, while not without some minor successes and some excellent films, have not succeeded in attracting mass audiences.⁶⁷ One person posting to *kino.kz* praised the rich use of symbols in *Farewell, Gul’sary!* and the way the film criticized the Soviet regime but concluded his post by stating “there were only 8 people in the cinema at the premiere.”⁶⁸ Many Kazakhs migrate instead to Hollywood blockbusters: as Afonin laments, *Zach and Miri Make a Porno* (2008, Kevin Smith) was more desirable than *Karoy*; James Bond still attracts more spectators than Tanabai in *Farewell, Gul’sary!*⁶⁹

⁶³ On the *Kinopoisk.ru* forum: <http://www.kinopoisk.ru/level/1/film/467973/>.

⁶⁴ See the responses on *kino.kz*: <http://www.kino.kz/notice/notice.asp?id=2786&page=10>.

⁶⁵ See responses on <http://kino-teatr.ru/kino/movie/ros/16505/forum/#601535> and <http://kino-teatr.ru/kino/movie/post/17545/forum/#416329>.

⁶⁶ <http://kino-teatr.ru/kino/movie/ros/15679/forum/#589768>.

⁶⁷ Georgii Afonin. Kinematograf v izgnanii? // *Izvestiia Kazakhstan*. 2008. 28 November: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/6160>.

⁶⁸ See <http://www.kino.kz/notice/notice.asp?id=2509&page=2>.

⁶⁹ Afonin. Kinematograf v izgnanii?

As a result, Nazarbayev visited the set of Kazakhfil'm in late 2009. The president paid tribute to the historic role of Kazakh cinema in the Soviet era and to the renewal of cinema he had overseen. "The new history of Kazakhstan is created today right before our eyes," he declared. This history making in the present, Nazarbayev announced, had taken place in part because Kazakh filmmakers had fashioned national narratives out of the past: "everyone recently has been fascinated by historical themes." At the same time, while the Kazakh state spent a lot on *Nomad*, "we did not obtain the appropriate return." It was time, he said, for Kazakh filmmakers to focus on the present.⁷⁰

Nazarbayev's visit and speech did not signal the end of nomadic nationhood onscreen. Akhan Sataev's \$7–10 million blockbuster *Zhauzhurek Myn Bala* [One Thousand Warrior Boys] opened in May 2012 in Kazakhstan. It recounts the story of young nomadic warriors, led by a boy named Sartay, who unite to defeat the Jungars in 1729. Sataev declared that his film is significant because "the young generation should know the cost that our ancestors paid for our current independence and our freedom." Ermek Aman-shaev, the head of Kazakhfil'm, noted that while "cinema is a myth-making industry" this film about "the Steppe Robin Hood" would succeed because of "the accuracy of the historical background."⁷¹ Unlike *Nomad*, this time around all the actors are Kazakh and they all learned to speak an old Kazakh dialect. Early reactions to the film were positive: it made \$2 million during its first week, and audience reaction was strong. Reports in online chat rooms consistently noted that the cinema halls were full. One post, from "Galym Akishev," noted that he was at the premiere and that the film meant "the disgrace of *Nomad* can now be forgotten as a strange dream," even though *Myn Bala* also carried Nazarbayev's strong stamp on it. Although the film used state money to recapture a historical myth onscreen, Galym Akishev stated, "every nation needs its myths and legends, not just those of ancient Greece." His recommendation: "all Kazakhs of every nationality should go right away to the movie and see it."⁷²

⁷⁰ See Anna Assonova. V ozhidanii blokbastera // CentrAzia. 2009. No. 12. Pp. 15-28. http://www.continent.kz/asia_12/13.htm. See also the report on Nazarbayev's Web site: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/news/2009/11/segodnya_prezident_nursultan_nazarbaev_posetil_natsionalnyu.

⁷¹ Quoted in Natasha Elkington. Romantic Kazakh Epic Film Aims to Woo the Young // Reuters. 2011. 10 October <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/10/us-romantic-kazakh-idUSTRE79947R20111010>.

⁷² Posted on kinopoisk.ru's discussion board: <http://www.kinopoisk.ru/level/1/film/665337/>. The box office figure and reports of full theaters appeared in: Akhan Sataev.

SUMMARY

This article examines the new Kazakh nation-state's attempt to provide a history to its people and how this attempt functions as a sort of "nomadic nationhood": an ongoing, vibrant process of building both a sense of national identity and a sense of historical remembrance that center on nomads. The state has taken the lead in this nation-building exercise, and Kazakh films, often relying on state support, have also played a starring role. Surveying a number of recent Kazakh films, the author argues that Kazakh filmmakers, responding to President Nursultan Nazarbayev's calls to create national narratives, have turned to nomads and the nomadic past as the source for Kazakh nationhood and remembrance. The reception among Kazakh citizens has produced a mixed bag: many audience members have celebrated what they see as a "new Kazakh patriotism" articulated onscreen. Others have criticized certain aspects of the onscreen nomadic nationhood, particularly the Kazakh state's role in promoting it and Kazakh filmmakers' adaptation of Hollywood techniques. Still others have stayed away from Kazakh films entirely, choosing instead to check out the latest Hollywood blockbusters. As a result, Nazarbayev declared in late 2009 that Kazakh filmmakers should start to pay more attention to the present and not just the past, but the cinematic nomadic nationhood has not stopped. The May 2012 film *Myn Bala* [A Thousand Boys] mines the same historical territory as 2005's *The Nomad*, the film that in many ways initiated the new Kazakh cinema's turn to the nomadic past.

РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье рассматривается политика истории в современном Казахстане, который продвигает концепцию "кочевой национальности". Стивен Норрис понимает эту политику как живой процесс строительства национальной идентичности и формирования исторической памяти, в центре которой кочевое прошлое. Казахский кинематограф, располагающий государственной поддержкой, играет в этом проекте национального государства важнейшую роль. В статье анализируется несколько недавних казахских фильмов, авторы которых отозвались на призыв президента Нурсултана Назарбаева создать национальный

My mogli pozvolit' sebe polivat' // Izvestiia Kazakhstan. 2012. 18 May: <http://www.izvestia.kz/node/21689>.

казахский нарратив. Они обращаются к кочевникам и кочевому прошлому как к источнику казахской национальности и памяти. Норрис анализирует образный язык и идеологическое послание этих фильмов и их восприятие аудиторией. Автор реконструирует диапазон оценок от восторженно-патриотических до умеренно критических и откровенно индифферентных и делает вывод о функционировании концепции “кочевой национальности” в современном казахстанском обществе.

Melanie KREBS

**FROM A REAL HOME TO A NATION'S BRAND:
ON STATIONARY AND TRAVELING YURTS***

Yurts – the round felt tents, known under different names – were for centuries the common house for the nomadic steppe dwellers of Central Asia as well as the inhabitants of the mountainous areas of today's Kyrgyzstan, on whom I will focus in this article. The article traces how the yurt changed with the decline of nomadism as an everyday way of life during the period of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and analyzes the increasing interest in yurts as symbols not only in national but also transnational representation (and often romanticization) of Central Asian nomadism, on the other hand. My main interest is not the role of the yurt within nation-building processes in Kyrgyzstan, but in the way the yurt itself transports ideas that are constitutive for the Kyrgyz nation, while also evoking individual as well as collective dreams in people living far away from Kyrgyzstan and any nomadic traditions. For this attempt I use the idea of nation-branding instead of nation-building, which focuses mostly on the dynamics within the nation being built. A nation-brand as Keith Dinnie defines it is “the unique, multidimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all its target audiences.”¹ A brand can therefore be anything that is somehow connected with the nation's own

* The author acknowledges the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

¹ Keith Dinnie. *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice*. Amsterdam, 2008. P. 15.

idea of its strength (typical examples are hospitality, love for certain arts, freedom, etc.) and can be reduced to something that is highly recognizable and easy to reproduce (often reduced to a mere slogan, sketch, or logo). Branding a nation-state is often started by a civil administration or tourism experts and focuses more on the prospective consumer than on the people living in and with the potential brands, as Simon Anholt criticizes.² I take the Kyrgyz yurt and its physical as well as symbolical usage and changes in different cultural settings as an example of how an object of material culture can become part of a network of ideas and emotions built around it, while also shaping the material according to the ideas connected with it.

The yurt was much more than a mere commodity or an important but replaceable object of material culture, but a house, a home with all the emotional aspects that are connected with this idea. Houses are often not just seen as shelters; they are regarded as the extension of the body or even of the self, sharing a history with the people living within them and thus intimately linked to concepts of family and society structures.³ To put up a house – or a yurt – is to claim a space to live, a place to eventually start a family and protect it against enemies, or in which to host guests. Another indication of the close connection between the yurt and the idea of “home” and even “homeland” can be found in the way most Western languages use the word today: Originally, *yurd* meant home or homeland in most Turkish languages. It is very likely that foreign travelers misunderstood the term and started to use it to refer only to the felt tent. In Kyrgyz, a yurt is called *boz uy* or, more rarely, refers to using the Russian term *kibitke*.⁴

Due to the fact that the yurt was an important part of the life of Kyrgyz nomads, its meaning significantly changed when nomadic Kyrgyz everyday life and culture changed during the twentieth century: the yurt lost its importance as a home and became a commodity also sold outside the region. In order to explore these changes in the usage, meanings, and values of the yurt and its parts in different cultural settings, I apply Igor Kopytoff's approach of the cultural biography of things and investigate the yurt as an object within various temporal and cultural shifts.⁵ In particular, I focus on

² Simon Anholt. *Brand New Justice: The Upside of Global Branding*. Oxford, 2003. P. 123.

³ Janet Carsten, Stephen Hugh-Jones. Introduction // Idem. *About the House*. Cambridge, 1995. Pp. 1-46.

⁴ My observations are based on eight months of fieldwork for my doctoral research in Kyrgyzstan from April to October 2005.

⁵ Igor Kopytoff. *The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodization as Process* // Arjun Appadurai (Ed.). *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, 1988. Pp. 64-91.

the question of how the yurt is interpreted and used by various new stakeholders (such as the new Kyrgyz government, local as well as international nongovernmental organizations [NGOs] working in the field of preserving Kyrgyz culture, tourism experts, and foreign yurt enthusiasts), and how this changes the appearance of the yurt itself as well as the life of the people still producing and using yurts in the Kyrgyz countryside. Therefore, in my research, I concentrate on the material basics of the yurt as well as on its meaning within a broader sense of history and nomadism, but not on its significance as a house and the special research questions related to that status. Even if every inhabited furnished yurt was, from the perspective of the owners, a unique and not exchangeable home, single parts of a yurt could be seen in terms of exchangeable commodities, as characterized by Kopytoff. In this article I focus on the cultural biography of these items over the past 150 years.

For Sergei Tret'yakov, writing a biography of the thing instead of a classical human-centered novel concentrating on the emotions of a hero could help to bring the reader's attention to a field that, in Tret'yakov's opinion, has been greatly overlooked in literature: the social environment of people and the connections between different groups, as well as the world of work and the workers. According to him, emotions should be not portrayed as the feelings of an individual but described as emotions of classes and groups of people. This could be done through a biography of a thing rather than through traditional literature.⁶ While restricting the biography of an object only to its production process (and regarding this production process as mainly industrial), Tret'yakov misses in this idea the fact that human beings can have very strong and very personal emotional connections to things. This applies not only to objects produced by hand, and perhaps according to the special wishes of the customer, but also to every object that is owned, used, or even destroyed by people. In this way, even more people than the producers alone are connected to the object: retailers, owners, consumers, collectors, garbage removers – they can all in their own special way be part of the biography of the object and their emotions toward it can be as varied as their connections with it. Writing a biography of an object has to include all these emotions toward it – at least to the extent that they are traceable. Along these lines, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi shows how much objects can matter for people and how different

⁶ S. Tret'yakov. *Biografiia veshchi* (1929) // *Literatura fakta*. Pervyi sbornik materialov LEFa. Moskva, 2000. S. 68-72.

the emotions toward a commodity can be, not only when this commodity changes over time or is brought from one cultural sphere to another, as described by Kopytoff, but also, as in Csikszentmihalyi's example, when a commodity owned by a single family has very different meanings for different members of the family.⁷

Although commodities can have very different meanings for different people and can therefore be connected to them through different emotions, commodities can also be used to evoke the emotions of unity and of belonging to a larger group, thereby becoming symbols for this group. The use of certain works of craftsmanship usually connected with prestige and used by an elite and not by the whole group, such as daggers (for example, in Yemen, Oman, the United Arab Emirates), jewelry or parts of craftworks such as carpet patterns (as in Turkmenistan) in national representation, can be seen as an institutionalization of emotions toward a commodity in order to build a national consciousness. These works can be represented on flags, stamps, coins, and banknotes, but also on billboards on the streets. Even if these commodities are only used by one gender, age, or social group, and never signify the same thing for every member of this smaller group, most of the members of the extended group recognize these works as "ours."⁸ In a next step, the object can be used as a nation-brand fulfilling Anholt's claim for a higher identification of the local community with the created brand.⁹ In general the usage of contemporary crafts and crafts production in nation-building is less researched than the role of architecture and archaeological sites or museum displays and objects.¹⁰ The research on nation-branding, the objects chosen as a brand – tangible or intangible heritage – as well as its impacts on the branded nation and the targeted audience worldwide are even more rare.¹¹

⁷ Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. *The Meaning of Things. Domestic Symbols and the Self. Object Relations.* Cambridge, 1981. Pp. 90-120.

⁸ Alexis Schwarzenbach. *Portraits of the Nation. Stamps, Coins and Banknotes in Belgium and Switzerland 1880–1945.* Bern, 1999. For the use of Kyrgyz and Uzbek crafts in national representation of today's Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan: Melanie Krebs. *Zwischen Handwerkstradition und globalem Markt.* Berlin, 2011. S. 94-98, 106, 107.

⁹ Anholt. *Brand New Justice.* Pp. 123.

¹⁰ Michael Rowlands. *Heritage and Cultural Property* // Victor Buchli (Ed.). *The Material Culture Reader.* Oxford, New York, 2002. Pp. 105-115.

¹¹ Dace Dzenovska. *Neoliberal Imaginations, Subject Formation, and Other National Things in Latvia, the Land that Sings* // Tsypylma Darieva, Wolfgang Kaschuba (Eds.). *Representations on the Margins of Europe.* Frankfurt and New York, 2007. Pp. 114-136 in particular Pp. 122-125; Marie Louise Stig-Sorensen. *The Fall of a Nation, the Birth of a*

Scholarship on nation-building, specifically in Central Asia, often focuses on the ways the nation is built in the consciousness of the people who should become “Kyrgyz,” “Tajik,” or “Uzbek,” and which role language and culture play in this process.¹² Even if these nation-building processes also include representing the national culture outside the borders of the nation itself, little research has been done on how the new nations have tried to make their country known to a global public after independence.

In this case, the focus of this article is not on just on the Kyrgyz people who consider the yurt as something that belongs to them, but on the people from outside Kyrgyzstan for whom the yurt is something exotic, because regarding a commodity as “ours” is not the only means by which people form a special relationship with it: on the contrary, the idea of possessing a commodity that is unknown to the possessor’s own culture can lead to the formation of a special bond between the possessor and the commodity. The fact that an object belongs to another cultural context can make it even more interesting for consumers and it often allows more and other redefinitions than are possible with an object originating from the customers’ own culture. The “foreign” object does not have to be adapted as something completely new, it can still have the meaning from its original culture (at least in the way the new owner interprets it) and can also receive new meanings within its new culture. As a result, it becomes an object new to both cultural settings. This can happen when the object is transferred geographically, but also when the cultural environment of the object changes, as happened in Kyrgyzstan in the past century.

There can be many reasons for adapting foreign objects. One is that people are looking for something singular, for an object that is unique and has a special meaning and authenticity. These objects tend to be labeled as “art” in contrast to “craft,” a term used to refer to items that are often seen as common and are produced in greater quantity. But in times when every work of art can be reproduced and reproductions can be bought everywhere, this special aura of authenticity, the value of a work of art that lies in its special

Subject: The National Use of Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Denmark // Margarita Diaz-Andreu, Timothy C. Champion. *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*. London, 1996. Pp. 24-47.

¹² Laura Adams. *Invention, Institutionalization and Renewal in Uzbekistan’s National Culture* // *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 1999. Vol. 2(3). Pp. 355-373; Mary Margaret Doi. *From the Heart: Marginality and Transformation in the Lives of Uzbek National Dancers, 1929–1994*. PhD diss., Indiana University, 1997; Lutz Rzehak. *Vom Persischen zum Tadschikischen*. Wiesbaden, 2001.

presence, as Walter Benjamin describes it, of having a singular priceless object in your home, is easily spoiled.¹³ Therefore, people in Europe and the United States tend to look for other objects that have the aura, the special authenticity that makes an object unique and priceless for the owner as well as representative of special tastes, and they tend to find this authenticity in commodities from foreign cultures. Objects with an aura of singularity and pricelessness can be seen as the opposite of objects reduced to a brand with its demand to be easy to be reproduced in different materials and shown (or sold) everywhere.

The structure and history of the yurt

Yurts were described for centuries in travelogues of Western as well as Chinese travelers as the homes of most families in the region of today's Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Mongolia. All these travelers stress how perfectly the yurt is adapted to the nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Central Asian steppe dwellers and to the extreme climate of these regions.¹⁴ In fact, the yurt seems to be so perfectly adapted to its inhabitants' needs that the basic structure has not changed for centuries, perhaps even for millennia. The structure is made of wood from young willow trees that grow along small mountain creeks or lakes and contain the trellis (*kerege*),¹⁵ which usually comes in two or more sections and forms the "walls" of the yurt, the roof poles (*uuk*), and finally the round roof crown, the *tunduk*, which not only is the highest point of the yurt and holds the structure together but also contains the air hole that allows the smoke from the fireside directly beneath it to leave the yurt (fig. 1). The *tunduk* is therefore not only regarded as the "cornerstone" of the yurt but also connected with the fireplace and the hearth of the family living inside the yurt. It symbolizes the unity and warmth of the family and the tribe, in modern times of the nation and became therefore important in the nation-branding process.

¹³ Walter Benjamin. *Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*. Würzburg, (1936) 2010.

¹⁴ Alfred Brehm. *Reise zu den Kirgisen*. Leipzig, 1982. S. 155; Richard Karutz. *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*. Leipzig, 1911. S. 69. Brehm and Karutz traveled in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century mostly in the region of today's Kazakhstan, but their observations can also be seen as valid for the Kyrgyz people of the same time. Fritz Machatschek. *Landeskunde von Russisch Turkestan*. Stuttgart, 1921. S. 125.

¹⁵ Because I mainly focus on yurts in today's Kyrgyzstan, I use the Kyrgyz words for the different parts of the yurt.



Fig. 1. *Tunduk* in its original place. Photo by the author.

The *kerege* is surrounded by a plaited wall screen (*chiy*) made from a special kind of wild sedge that is also known in Kyrgyzstan as *chiy*. This *chiy* can be adorned with complicated patterns by wrapping each stem separately with colored raw wool before weaving it into the screen. This is very tedious work because for more complicated patterns the screen has to be woven twice: First to draw the pattern on the screen, then after opening and wrapping every single stem with colored wool, weaving it once again in exactly the former order. This technique is mostly used by Kyrgyz people and is especially widespread in northern Kyrgyzstan.¹⁶ The frame and the *chiy* are covered by thick, large layers of plain white felt that darkens over the years. The color of a yurt covered with fresh layers of felt led to the Kyrgyz name for yurts: *boz uy* – white house, even if the wooden parts of the yurt are usually painted red. The big felt covers usually last five to ten years before they need to be replaced by new ones. Woven or plaited bands of all lengths and widths play an important role in the yurt's stability. They are visible on the external parts of the yurt as well as inside the yurt, so they are often diligently decorated with geometrical patterns and additionally adorned with colorful tassels. Yurts usually have a felt door in mosaic style

¹⁶ Elena Tsareva. The Construction and Decoration of the Yurt // Music for the Eyes. Textiles from the Peoples of Central Asia. Antwerp, 1998. Pp. 75-79.

(*shyrdak*) and backed with a *chiy*. Solid wooden doors with wood carvings are also very common.

Less research has been done on the usage of space in the Kyrgyz yurt than in the Mongolian yurt,¹⁷ but it can be said that the yurt is traditionally divided into a male section on one side and a female section on the other. The items used by men as hunting equipment and other tools are stored in the male section on the left side of the entrance, while the female section on the right side is used for cooking and storing household devices. A kitchen can be within the yurt – normally hidden from the eyes of visitors by a special *chiy* (*ashkana chiy*) – or in the summer located outside the yurt. A special place opposite the door is reserved for honored guests.¹⁸

The main advantage of a yurt is that it is easy to transport between different pastures. Travelers also wrote about how quickly yurt camps could disappear and be put up again.¹⁹ But nevertheless, putting up a yurt big enough to house a larger family can require more than an hour and several people. Therefore, most families used tents when they stayed in the same place for just a few nights and put up the yurt only when they settled down for a longer period. This was mostly the case on the summer and winter pastures, for Kyrgyz nomadism was mostly semi-nomadism between two or three places in the course of the year. The Kyrgyz mostly bred sheep and, to a much smaller extent, cattle and camels.²⁰ The yurt was mainly connected with the summer pastures (*jajloos*) in the mountains. The German traveler Alfred Brehm wrote in 1876 that Kyrgyz people used to live in yurts only during summertime, while winter settlements consisted mostly of the same houses as the settlements of sedentary people – even though, according to his observations, these houses were less well adapted to the climate than the yurts.²¹ That might be one of the reasons why yurts were also used in sedentary settlements.²²

Another reason why the yurt was perfectly adapted to the nomadic life was that the most important material, wool, was produced by the sheep the family owned, and that other materials were found near their campsites, such as *chiy* or plants for natural colors used to dye wool and yarn for the bands and carpets within the yurt. Only the wooden frame of a yurt was always

¹⁷ Caroline Humphrey. *Inside a Mongolian Tent* // Ken Teague (Ed.). *Nomads. Nomadic Material Culture in the Asian Collections of the Horniman Museum*. London, 2000. Pp. 87-95.

¹⁸ Tatyana Emelyanenko. *The Yurt* // *Music for the Eyes*. Pp. 43-53; P. 43.

¹⁹ Brehm. *Reise zu den Kirgisen*. S. 159; Karutz. *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*. P. 69; Heinrich Moser. *Durch Zentral-Asien*. Leipzig, 1888.

²⁰ Machatschek. *Landeskunde von Russisch Turkestan*. S. 154-156.

²¹ *Ibid.* S. 124-126; Brehm. *Reise zu den Kirgisen*. S. 155.

²² Emelyanenko. *The Yurt*. P. 43

made by a sedentary master in a commercial workshop. This is because, on the one hand, carpentering a wooden frame requires a lot of experience, and on the other hand, that the other woodwork requires more and heavier tools than can be easily transported in a nomadic lifestyle.

After buying the frame, all other parts of the yurt, the *chiy*, the felt covers, woven bands and the interior, were made by the women of the family in addition to their household work. Felting yurt covers is much more time-consuming than any other kind of felt work and it requires numerous helpers, so women from different families often helped each other in producing the big felt covers, but they rarely exchanged completed works outside the family, nor did they sell them. Occasionally women asked an especially talented woman from outside the family to draw a pattern for a felt carpet or a *chiy*, but even this woman would not be considered an artist or a master of a special craft to the same extent as the carpenter making the wooden frame, and she did not receive any money for her work. Furthermore, although felt carpets were given as presents within the extended family, they were not distributed outside this circle. In this way, the frame was seen as a commodity for sale that did not display any individuality, while for a long time the parts made by women were not regarded as tradable. Most women making felt for the commercial market today still say that the idea of selling felt would have been inconceivable for their mothers, as these objects were seen as the expression of the family's wealth and the diligence of its women, and were therefore to be displayed in the family's own yurt and not to be given away.²³

In contrast to the wooden structure of a yurt that is nearly impossible to change, the interior can be customized to an extent that it is not exchangeable in the sense of Kopytoff's theory.²⁴ The interior can display individual tastes, the craftsmanship of the producer, the ideas regarding authenticity of producers or customers, and it can be changed due to various influences. The most important elements of traditional yurt furniture are felt carpets (*shyrdak* and *alakiyis*), embroidered wall hangings (*tush kiyis*), and bags for storing all kinds of goods. This does not mean that wooden chests made by sedentary craftsmen were completely unknown even in nomadic households, but they were not an essential part of the furnishings.

One of the most important changes in the decoration of the yurt occurred in the nineteenth century when Russian rule was established in the Central

²³ Anna Portisch describes the same for the Kazakh living in Western Mongolia: Anna Portisch. Techniques as a Window onto Learning // *Journal of Material Culture*. 2009. Vol. 14. No. 4. Pp. 474-994; P. 474.

²⁴ Kopytoff. *The Cultural Biography of Things*. P. 69.

Asian steppes. According to Brehm's account, during this time, wealthy families owned up to fifteen yurts. The family of the owner lived in one yurt while the other ones were used by people who worked for the family or by guests. Many yurts meant that the owner could not only afford to buy enough wooden frames from sedentary masters but also that he owned enough sheep to produce the large amount of wool needed for the covers, enough female relatives to make the covers, and enough transport animals (probably camels) to transport the yurts from one place to another. By putting up more yurts than absolutely needed by the family, wealth as well as hospitality were openly displayed. Because yurt camps could be easily spotted from miles away, everybody could estimate the social status and economic conditions of a family based on the number of yurts before actually approaching their home.

When Russian officials began assessing tax rates in the region, they based the rate on the number of yurts a family owned. This led to the first change in the appearance of the yurt that did not originate from the shifting tastes of the yurt dwellers, but from an outside force. To avoid higher taxes, people began investing more money in the yurt's interior rather than setting up more yurts.²⁵ Now a visitor had to be invited to the family's yurt to get an idea of the wealth and social status of the owner. The custom of adorning the *chiy* probably also began at this time. In the end this pattern is not seen from outside the yurt and even rarely from within the yurt and appears in full beauty only on the rare occasions in summer when it is so hot that the felt covers of the yurt are removed to let the wind come through. Little is known about the appearance of the yurt interior before this important change in the late nineteenth century, because most of the examples we find in museum collections today are from this very period.

In the 1930s, Stalin sedentarized the nomads in the Central Asian Soviet republics by force and started the collectivization of land in Central Asia. Nomads were compelled to settle down and organize themselves in kolkhoz structures. As the big sheep herds could not survive without moving from one pasture to another, many animals and later the people themselves died due to famine. The better-off families who owned yurts were also in danger of being accused and killed as *kulaks*. But even though the Central Asian nomads were formally sedentarized, this did not mean the complete end of the nomadic lifestyle for the Kyrgyz people.²⁶ Sheep breeding remained

²⁵ Brehm. *Reise zu den Kirgisen*. S. 160 f. and S. 168 f.

²⁶ Manfred Hildermeier. *Die Sowjetunion 1917–1991*. München, 2001. S. 36-38; Peter Finke. *Contemporary Pastoralism in Central Asia* // Gabriele Rasuly-Palczek, Julia Katschnig. *Central Asia on Display*. Wien, 2004. Pp. 397-410; P. 399.

the most important economic activity and shepherds still moved between different pastures at different altitudes during the year.²⁷ Yurts were still used on the summer pastures in the mountains or were put up in the yards and gardens in the village as additional rooms for guests, especially in the summer months, when relatives and friends from the cities came to the countryside on vacation.

The livestock declined starting in the 1950s with Khrushchev's agriculture policy and especially in the first years after independence. Peter Finke also found a reduction in the Krygyz people's movement patterns to only two places – one in summer and one in winter – instead of the former cycle of four places that was typical in pre-Soviet and Soviet times.²⁸ Nevertheless, even during my recent fieldwork, many of my neighbors and colleagues in Bishkek told me proudly about the sheep and cattle they have somewhere in the countryside, herded by rural relatives for money or in exchange for medicine or technological goods.

The importance of the two settlements changed significantly under Soviet rule. According to the memories today related in Kyrgyzstan and testimonies from early travelers, the summer pasture was the more important place in the life of Kyrgyz people, or at least equal to the winter settlement, but during Soviet times the settlements became the center of social, cultural, and political life, as this was where the administration of the kolkhoz was concentrated, along with schools, workers clubs, and so on. Increasing numbers of families or family members stayed behind in the village for at least part of the summer instead of moving the entire household to the summer pasture. Yurts were no longer given as a future home to newlyweds as a place in which to live and start their family because the concrete house in the village had become the place for the family, while the yurt became the extraordinary place to stay during the summer months. However, this did not change the yurt's importance within the "moral geography" of Kyrgyz people, according to research by Jeanne Féaux de la Croix.²⁹

The interior also changed again with the yurt's loss of importance as a regular or even temporary home of Kyrgyz families in the twentieth century.

²⁷ Finke. *Contemporary Pastoralism in Central Asia*. Pp. 401-406. Caroline Humphrey describes the same development for sheep and cattle herders in Mongolia, where the main migration principles based on altitude and relief stayed broadly the same during the collective period, even if there were some important changes. Caroline Humphrey, David Sneath. *The End of Nomadism?* Durham, Cambridge, 1999. Pp. 233-236.

²⁸ Finke. *Contemporary Pastoralism in Central Asia*. Pp. 401-406.

²⁹ Jeanne Féaux de la Croix. *Moral Geographies in Kyrgyzstan: How Pastures, Dams and Holy Sites Matter in Striving for a Good Life* / PhD dissertation; St. Andrews, 2011.

The traditional felt and leather bags of all sizes hanging from the *kerege* and used for storage³⁰ became less important once only a few family members moved to the summer pasture with the yurt while other family members and all nonessential items stayed behind in the house in the village. The use of trucks also contributed to this change, as a truck can be used to easily transport a shelf or cupboard in a manner that is much more convenient than the traditional bags – as long as the roads to the mountain pastures are good enough to drive up by truck. As an elderly woman from a village near Issyk Kul told me: “We used to go to the *jajloo* by car, taking all our things with us. But now the road is too bad. We have to go by horseback. I go maybe for a few days now, to visit the old places. Others go. But me? I am too old. No, thanks.” Together with the involuntarily return to the old way of going up to the mountains by horse, the bags have become more important again, but are not inseparably connected with yurts as they were before.

Yurts in national representation

Since the establishment of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic in 1936, the yurt has been part of the representation of the Kyrgyz Republic within the Soviet Union. As a result, yurts were shown in All-Union Exhibitions, occasionally republic-wide competitions among yurt makers were held, and successful yurt makers were asked to produce yurts as presents of the Soviet Union to other states.³¹ However, although the yurt was established as a symbol of the Kyrgyz traditional lifestyle in these times, its use was mostly folkloristic. This changed after Kyrgyzstan gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. For the young state it became necessary to create national symbols for a nation that had never been independently united on this territory and under a common government before. But the task of building a nation was not the only problem. Considering Kyrgyzstan's difficult economic situation and its lack of natural resources (at least compared with other Central Asian republics like Turkmenistan or Kazakhstan), the development of other income sources also became important. This made it necessary to find a brand to “sell” the nation within the global tourism industry. This is not an uncommon strategy for nation-branding, but seems to be more common for new states, which feel a need to improve their position in the globalized world – or even need to become known in the first place.³²

³⁰ Elena Tsareva. Yurt Interior. Wall Bags and Other Textile Containers // Music for the Eyes. Pp. 105-144; K. Antipina. Narodnye sokrovishcha Kirgizii. Frunze, 1974. P. 19.

³¹ V. Maksimov. Kyrgyz Ojmoloru. Frunze, 1986.

³² Dzenovska. Neoliberal Imaginations. Pp. 122-125.

One of the main reasons for the utilization of the yurt within the national representation and nation-branding of Kyrgyzstan is its strong connection with nomadism and its long history. The yurt combines the longing for a distant but still present past, a kind of “living history” rooted in ancient times and connected to the promise of freedom and independence from any political forces that is often associated with nomadism. In my interviews with officials as well as in unofficial conversations, my interlocutors often brought up the nomadic tradition of the Kyrgyz people in order to explain certain events and behaviors that were seen as expressions of a “national character.” When it came to the Soviet past or the danger of a more fundamentalist Islam, I often heard: “You see, we are nomads, we reduce every ideology to something that can fit in our saddle bags,” to explain why Kyrgyz people were never fully committed communists or Muslims. The “Tulip Revolution” in March 2005 was commented upon with a laconic: “Nomads are not used to accepting a government just because it is a government. We are not used to having a ruler above us.” Interestingly, while the last point might not be exactly what a government already struggling with legitimacy problems wants to have claimed as a national character, even officials state this fact with much pride.

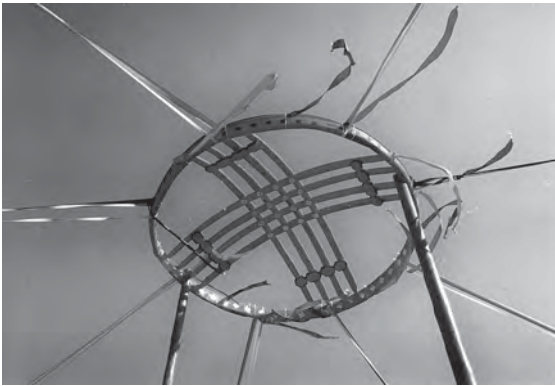


Fig. 2. *Tunduk* as an advertisement and symbolic centre in a yurt camp near Lake Issyk Kul, August 2005. Photo by the author.

interpreted as the symbol of the unity of the forty Kyrgyz tribes (which are also symbolized on the Kyrgyz flag by the forty rays around the *tunduk*). The symbolic significance of the *tunduk* was already in use during Soviet times: The monument in Bishkek to the Kyrgyz soldiers who fell in World War II

The most important element in the general usage of the yurt is the *tunduk*, which is shown on the Kyrgyz flag. As a *pars pro toto* for the whole yurt, the *tunduk* is a symbol of the unity of the family, which is also expressed in the wish to a newlywed couple, “Tündükün tüş-pösün” (Never break your *tunduk*) (fig. 2).³³ In the wider national context, the *tunduk* is also interpreted

³³ Stefanie Bunn. *Nomadic Felts*. London, 2010. P. 122.

shows a giant broken *tunduk* (see fig. 3). The yurt and its parts differ from many other objects of material culture that are used in national representation due to the fact that the yurt was actually used – even if not owned – by nearly all Kyrgyz people during a certain time now in the past, and not a commodity used only by a single group. In this way especially, the *tunduk* can function as a possible brand, standing for the yurt and all its meanings as whole but easily reduced to a logo.



Fig. 3. Broken *tunduk*: World War II memorial in Bishkek, 2005. Photo by the author.

It is interesting that this national representation focuses mostly on the wooden structure of the yurt while the felt and textile parts are not put to use equally.³⁴ Even the woven bands, which are vital for the construction and sometimes show a high level of craftsmanship, do not play a significant role within any yurt-related national representation. Yurt-shaped structures made mostly from metal or plastic, rarely from wood, were erected in Bishkek in 2005 for major public celebrations such as Victory Day (May 9) or Independence Day (August 31). But these structures were only put up as decoration in some of the central urban squares, such as the Ala Too square in front of

³⁴ That does not mean that other felt products do not play a significant role in national representation, too. In particular, the highly recognizable patterns of the mosaic carpets, the *shyrdak*, are also used, but nowadays they are not automatically connected to yurts and can be found in any Kyrgyz house, so I will not go deeper into their usage.

the National History Museum, and had no practical function whatsoever. In order to be decorative elements they were not even covered with felt but with textiles in the national colors of red and yellow. The round structure and the conic shape make these structures obviously recognizable as a yurt even if the material and colors are completely different from the traditional yurt. The reduction to a mere shape or an isolated part of the yurt and the transformation into different materials transforms the yurt into a brand for the Kyrgyz Republic: easily recognized by Kyrgyz city dwellers and foreigners alike, immediately connected to the nation's nomadic past and culture but without connection to the former cultural context of production and meaning. This structure has no use as a living space and there is no need for masters to make yurt frames or people skilled in putting up yurts anymore: Every worker can transport a metal frame to a public square, fix it, and cover it with textile flags.

While in the national representation, the traditional materials like willow wood, *chiy*, and felt were almost totally neglected, the fact that the yurt is made only of natural materials – and in the case of *chiy*, materials found only in the Central Asian steppes – is often mentioned by local and international NGO representatives in order to emphasize the deep connection Kyrgyz people have to their land and how they preserved the sensitive environment they live in. The perfect adaption of the yurt to the environment is also used as proof of the connection to the land itself – something that is always more difficult for nomads than for sedentary people who can use archaeological excavations to “prove” that their group has lived in the same region for a long time. Another important point regarding the yurt often made by Western NGO representatives or tourists is that the Kyrgyz nomads' way of living was adapted to the sensitive environment of mountains and steppes and that their lifestyle was in line with today's ideas of an environmentally friendly lifestyle.

Felt, one of the basic materials of a yurt, plays an important role, particularly in the narratives about the long history of the yurt and yurt making as well as in ecological discussions. It is often stressed that felt is one of the oldest known materials made and used by humans (felt carpets have been found in Scythian graves from the Pazyryk culture from around the sixth to the third century BC), and perfectly fits with a nomadic lifestyle because it does not require any tools that are heavy or difficult to transport (i.e., spinning wheels or looms).³⁵ Together with the idea of the yurt's centuries-old shape and unchanged construction, the ancient history of felt contributes to the yurt's special aura that is used by national representatives and tourism experts alike.

³⁵ Janet Harvey. *Traditional Textiles from Central Asia*. London, 1996. Pp. 43, 62.

Yurts for foreigners

Tour operators link the country to the famous Silk Road, even if Kyrgyzstan does not have many architectural monuments or the legendary Silk Road cities such as Bukhara or Samarkand in Uzbekistan, and promote its national beauty and nomadic pastoralism.³⁶ Posters and brochures often show mountain ranges and *jajloos* dotted with yurts and flocks of livestock, families in front of yurts (often elderly people in colorful clothes and with weathered faces and pictured with children) or eagle hunters on horseback – giving an image of a nomadic culture and an untouched landscape far away from cities and urban life. Pictures of yurts play an important role in these visual materials to attract tourists and even full-sized yurts are brought to tourism and crafts fairs all over the world, where they often stand side by side with Mongol or Kazakh yurts. At the international crafts fair in November 2006 in Berlin, a yurt served as a showroom for felt fashion. But even with a big sign in front bearing the words “Kyrgyz Heritage,” more than half of the interviewed buyers, visiting the yurt and buying felt-silk shawls or one of the small felt accessories, located the origin of their bargains in Mongolia, while others more or less equally named Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, or Siberia as the country of origin. A few even connected the felt works with Lithuania, which occupied the neighboring stall.³⁷ As a nation-brand for Kyrgyzstan, the yurt certainly faces the problem that there are many competitors.

But the interviews at the craft fair also showed that – despite the geographical problem – most visitors linked the same ideas about nomadism with the yurt as the Kyrgyz official statements and the tour operators do: the freedom and independence of nomads and their closeness to nature and the land they live on – the branding process was already at work here. These dreams also make yurts attractive for foreigners looking for an authentic experience when traveling in Central Asia. For them – in contrast to the Kyrgyz officials using only the iconic version of the yurt – the contact with the people involved with the yurt, the producers and dwellers, is an integral part of the yurt. The visitors are interested not only in spending the night in a round felt tent but also in talking to people who are supposed to have a close connection to the yurt and all it stands for. They want to share this at least for a few days.

To fulfill these expectations, home stays in yurts are now offered to visitors (fig. 4). Advertising was created, announcing, “Stay in Yurt Inn in Kyrgyzstan –

³⁶ Cynthia Werner. *The New Silk Road: Mediators and Tourism Development in Central Asia* // *Ethnology*. 2003. Vol. 42. No. 2. Pp. 141-159.

³⁷ Interviews with customers at the Import Shop – Fair / Berlin, November, 2006.



Fig. 4. Yurt camp near Lake Issyk Kul, August, 2005. Photo by the author.

explore nomad's life style"³⁸ and describing the experience: "Accommodation in a Yurt is an opportunity to feel deeply the life style of Central Asia nomads, traditional Kyrgyz hospitality and kindness."³⁹ In this way, yurt stays for tourists on the summer pastures were advertised and promised authentic experiences of the Kyrgyz nomadic lifestyle and hospitality, together with all the amenities needed by Western tourists, from satellite phones to horseback riding, from minibars to folklore shows. The issues that arise between authenticity and tourists' demands become apparent when it comes to the furnishing of the yurt: The problem of whether you can expect hot water or Western-style beds and toilets in a yurt stay was often discussed among travelers in Bishkek. So, although beds, boards, and chairs are in no way authentic yurt furniture (and not even very authentic for sedentary Kyrgyz villagers either!), they play an important role in the yurt stay advertising. "One kitchen yurt decorated in national style"⁴⁰ is advertised as a special treat – making the formerly most private, least decorated part of the yurt into the most important part of a tourist attraction.

³⁸ <http://www.centralasia.kg/yurts.html> (last visit: December 22, 2011)

³⁹ http://www.adventurer-kg.com/en/tr_inf/yurt_inn.htm (last visit: December 22, 2011)

⁴⁰ This and all examples for yurt camp facilities were found on the Web site <http://www.centralasia.kg/yurts.html> (last visit: December 22, 2011).

On special occasions such as the “International Felt Symposium” 2005, organized by the Kyrgyzstan-based Central Asian Craft Support Association (CACSA), felt artists and anthropologists from Europe and North America were given the opportunity to come together to learn more about yurt making in the village of Kyzyl Too in northern Kyrgyzstan. The visitors were taught by the yurt-making families how to produce a miniature yurt of 60 cm in diameter themselves – at least the parts made of felt and *chiy*, and to a lesser extent also the woven bands and tassels, while the wooden frame was previously prepared by the workshops.

Kyzyl Too claims to be the place where most Kyrgyz yurts come from and there are several yurt-building workshops in the village and a few more in the neighboring villages and the nearby small town of Bokonbaevo. All of these workshops are run by families in which the traditional gender-based division of labor still exists. Men carry out the woodwork, while women do the felting, weave the *chiy* and the bands, and design the interior as a whole. During my fieldwork in 2005, only a few workshops had functioning machines for combing the wool and preparing it for felting; this is done mostly by hand. A family (sometimes with hired helpers depending on the amount of work) can produce up to five 5-meter-diameter yurts and several smaller ones a year. With a price of about \$5,000 for a fully decorated 5-meter-diameter yurt, a yurt workshop can be one of the most economically successful businesses in a village or even the whole region, even if it can sell only one to three yurts a year. As a result, yurt building – and felt making in general – is a very attractive economic field and the competition among the different workshops is quite high.

Even if most owners of yurt workshops are proud that their workshops are old and that their parents (and often grandparents) made yurts, they also often stress that “there were no yurts in Soviet times.” When asked about this apparent contradiction, one yurt maker claimed, “Yes – but this was during communism!” It seems that today and in conversation with a Western researcher, only yurts made for the external market and paid for in foreign currency are considered “real business” by the yurt makers. They do not even mention the yurts they produce for the local market, even though there are still local customers.

Making yurts for foreigners – either for yurt stays or for export – differs in many ways from the traditional yurt-making process when yurts were produced for the local market only. The process for foreigners is marked by an increasing commodification of objects that were previously not regarded as tradable, and this creates work opportunities that did not exist before. The

new kind of customer orders not only the wooden frame from a workshop but also the felt covers and yurt bands and often (in the case of Western customers always) a fully finished yurt with complete interior. These customers will not provide any raw materials or participate in the building themselves, they just pay for the final product. Nowadays the workshops have to buy the raw wool for their felting because even if they still breed sheep themselves, their herds cannot supply enough for a larger felt workshop producing up to five, often fully furnished five-meter-diameter yurts. It also means not only that the men in the family doing the woodworking are involved in the family's business but also that the women of the family become an important part of the business by doing the felt work and the interior furnishings. They also often hire women from outside the family to help; some yurt workshops employ more than fifteen women during peak times. This development means that things formerly not seen as tradable commodities, such as wool, and work formerly regarded only as unpaid women's work for the family (e.g., combing or dyeing wool, felting, weaving yurt bands, or sewing felt carpets), became commercialized and turned into one of the main sources of income for many families.

The change in the role of felt-making women can be considered the largest transformation: These women started to regard felt making, something that their mothers and grandmothers had done as part of their household duties, as a profession and a business in which they could make a living, and the training that every young girl used to receive from her elders is often considered insufficient and is therefore complemented by workshops provided by Western NGOs and development agencies. Here, felt-making women receive information about Western tastes and fashions and are taught to design their products according to these fashions (i.e., using natural colors, making leaflets with information about the history and meaning of the patterns). The fact that the yurt's interior is especially important for foreigners and often requires a lot of communication between the customer and the woman designing the furniture and leading the work makes this woman a very important person within the workshop. Western development agencies especially focus on these women and provide training in business communication and accounting for them. It is therefore no surprise that today most felt workshops are run by women who organize the work, buy the raw material, sell the goods and represent the workshop to foreign buyers and institutions. Even if I never heard any hostile remarks against these women in their villages, some women now heading workshops seem to feel a need to place their new career within a conventional framework by explaining it in traditional terms as "putting bread on the table for our families" or

claiming that their work still demonstrates their diligence and commitment to the family to the outside world, just as the carpets their grandmothers sewed showed this to any visitor in the yurt.

It is difficult to say exactly when the role of women in felt making changed: As fully equipped yurts were already being produced for a Soviet Union-wide market, it seems very likely that women were already working in this field for money before 1991. But these yurts were produced mostly in yurt workshops that emerged from the traditional workshops where the main focus was on carpentering the wooden frame. Women working within these workshops were not seen (and did not consider themselves) as employed, but as doing what they had always done: producing felt covers and interior decorations for yurts used by their families – even if “using” in this sense meant that the yurts were brought to exhibitions, maybe won prizes there, and were sold. But when asked, most of them date the beginning of their business back to the early 2000s when a U.S.-based NGO, Aid to Artisans, organized training sessions in order to prepare felt artists (not exclusively yurt makers) to enter overseas markets for their products⁴¹ – leading also to the social changes already referred to. Following their advice, Kyrgyz women set up felt businesses in several villages, mainly focusing on felt work that can be easily exported, such as smaller carpets, miniature yurts, or clothing and accessories. Some of these felt workshops buy wooden frames from the carpenter workshops and then produce the felt covers and the interior decorations in order to sell the fully finished yurt.

The question of authenticity

In interviews with foreign customers shopping for a yurt, the fact that they are looking for a “real” or “authentic” yurt is often mentioned and there are many discussions about the characteristics of an authentic yurt. Most customers agree that every part should be handmade from natural materials and by producers who still have a special connection to yurts. Patterns used for yurt bands and floor carpets should have a special meaning known by the producer and chosen for this special yurt to make it unique. These demands for authenticity show some parallels with the demands for authenticity of Turkmen carpets, as analyzed by Brian Spooner.⁴²

⁴¹ Beth Gottschling, Mary Ann Littrell. *Central Asia: An Artist Association Is Born*. Hartford, 2004.

⁴² Brian Spooner. *Weavers and Dealers: the Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet* // Arjun Appadurai (Ed.). *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. 422

According to Spooner, an authentic carpet combines properties such as utility, commodity, and exotic meaning.⁴³ The production of a special exotic meaning is connected to the fact that a carpet should be handmade by a woman who chooses the motifs she uses according to the traditions of her family and her own ideas, in contrast to a worker in a carpet factory who has no possibility of choosing the motifs he uses himself. The last point is especially important for foreign customers looking for a real yurt. While being a commodity is not part of an authentic yurt – in contrast to items such as oriental carpets or Chinese porcelain, which were traded as highly appreciated commodities in Europe for centuries and are still in demand by collectors – yurts were until very recently never considered by their producers and owners as a tradable good outside the region. The commoditization of yurts only started in recent decades. Even within the region, dealing in yurts – especially in fully furnished yurts – was perhaps not unknown but rare. Because of this, yurt dealers are not common and customers usually deal more or less – with the help of interpreters or maybe an organization that helps to establish the contact – directly with the yurt maker. This makes a big difference in the idea of an authentic yurt in comparison with an oriental carpet. A yurt does not have to be old. In fact, most yurts are ordered and produced directly according to customer wishes. In this sense, it is not possible to “falsify” a yurt as it is possible to falsify an antique carpet. As pointed out earlier in the text, meeting with the producer and the negotiations about the production of the yurt are part of the experience of authenticity that consumers look for. Otherwise, even if the yurt just bought does not have to be old, the idea of a century-long continuity of the tradition of production makes a recently produced yurt a relict of a glorious past.

The interior is today particularly important for the trade outside the region and is therefore of special interest when it comes to furnishing an authentic yurt. While the interior plays a less important role during yurt stays because of tourists’ demands for Western-style furniture like beds and cupboards, most Western customers order yurts with full interiors, that is, felt carpets, cushions, embroidered wall hangings, tassels, and adorned bands. These wishes for an “authentic” yurt and its “real,” “traditional” furnishings are often inspired by objects seen in books or exhibitions of Central Asian art

Cambridge, 1995. Spooner analyzes the growing interest Western collectors have shown over the past few decades in Turkmen carpets from the nineteenth century. Some of his results are also valid for Western interest in yurts, such as the romantic notions Westerners have regarding nomadism and tribal structures. See P. 202.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Pp. 224-225.

in Europe or the United States. This becomes apparent when, for example, the offer of *kuraks*, the typical Kyrgyz quilts, or embroidered cushions are refused by Western customers because they are not seen as authentic enough. *Kuraks* are very rare in Western museum collections and embroidered cushions hardly ever appear there. The reason might be that the region of today's Kyrgyzstan was not often visited by travelers and collectors, in contrast to the legendary cities along the Silk Road in today's Uzbekistan, and the few travelers who did visit Kyrgyzstan concentrated mainly on felt items, which were already seen as more authentic for the region than fabrics. Felt and woven bags, today replaced primarily by shelves and cupboards in yurt camps, are also not in demand among foreign customers, even though they represent one of the most authentic parts of original yurt furniture.

Another example for this changing picture of how an authentic yurt should look is the felt band that goes around the yurt between the wooden frame and the felt covers at the point where the roof begins and *kerege* and *uuk* are attached to each other with ropes. This band has the practical function of saving the felt covers from direct contact with the wood and the ropes, and it is only seen from the inside. It is usually done in *shyrdak* style. Because this band is completely invisible from the outside, it is often attached to the external felt covers of miniature yurts (fig. 5). During the



Fig. 5. Small model yurt with felt ornament band at the outside. Yurt workshop near Bokonbaevo/Kyrgyzstan, August, 2005. Photo by the author.

past few years, tourists who had seen miniature yurts also wanted to have normal-sized yurts with this “authentic” ornament.

A further idea regarding authenticity is the demand for natural colors, which for most Western customers means that the colors not only should be from natural dyes but also in muted, not very bright colors, such as earth tones. In the beginning of my fieldwork I was often confused when crafts-women told me about their old, traditional colors and their own dyes (or in the southern villages “the tajik” dyes – for the factory was on the other side of the border in Tajikistan), meaning synthetic dyes and referring to the natural dyes made from local plants as “the new” or even “the American” dyes, because they had just learned about these dyes in a workshop organized by an American NGO. The fact that bright colors have always been very popular among Kyrgyz people (the reason why the synthetic dyes quickly became popular at the beginning of the twentieth century is because they enabled the production of colors even brighter than natural dyes) does not make these colors “authentic” for most foreigners – and sometimes not even the proof that the dyes were natural can change the idea that muted colors are more authentic than bright ones. A customer from the Netherlands once refused a bright red and yellow carpet because the colors did not look natural enough to her, even though she had just witnessed the dyeing process with natural plants.

Another way in which purchasing a yurt differs from buying an oriental carpet, which tends to be seen more as a piece of art than a commodity, is that yurts are rarely bought as parts of collections: While collectors of carpets often set up collections of over a hundred different objects they would never use in everyday life, yurt buyers only buy one yurt, and most of them are not collectors of other Kyrgyz objects such as felt carpets or other crafts. In fact, customers buy yurts in order to use them for very different purposes, ranging from an artist workshop in a Finnish suburb, to esoteric seminars in the British Midlands, or to a kindergarten in a town in the United States – but in all these cases the customers want the yurt to be used, not just collected. Even museums ordering yurts normally want them as part of hands-on exhibitions where they should be touched and “experienced” as part of a still living nomadic culture – in whichever way this might be possible in a climatized room far away from the Kyrgyz mountain pastures. Even in this marketing of (more or less) real yurts, the *tunduk* can play a role as an easily recognizable part: the German NGO Nomadenland (nomad’s land), which organizes events in a Kyrgyz yurt, shows one in its advertising materials.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ <http://www.nomadenland.de> (last accessed 06.05.2012).

The idea of the yurt as a home for nomads living far away from the civilized world in nature traveled even farther than the material yurts produced in Kyrgyzstan or Mongolia. Since the 1980s, yurt camps have become fashionable for U.S. campsites, especially in the Midwest, which provide round, conic buildings made from wood and covered with fabric or vaguely resembling yurts, usually with windows, electricity, and even bathrooms. How important the connection between yurt and nomadism is (even if it is a concrete yurt) is demonstrated in an article about yurt camping in Iowa that begins with the words, "In summer, the nomads are on the move." And ends: "...we've got lots of nomads, and they're all looking for a cool place to stay."⁴⁵ And this cool place is a yurt.

Conclusion

After the yurt lost its relevance as the main home of the family for most of the Central Asian peoples in the twentieth century, it was in use only on the summer pastures during a certain time of the year. After independence in 1991, the yurt achieved great significance in the national representation of most of the countries in the region, becoming a brand for the emerging Kyrgyz tourism sector and felt business, and in this way obtained some economic value: yurts became commodities used in the tourism sector as well as being produced to be sold to foreigners and shipped all over the world. Together with the material presence of the yurt, images of nomadism, tradition, and ecological awareness were represented, sold, and bought. I argue that this loss of importance of the yurt as the spatially mobile house of most Kyrgyz people was followed by a shift to a more symbolic, social and culturally mobile representation of Kyrgyz history and culture within and outside its region of origin. It is recognized as "ours" and a "real home," even by Kyrgyz who have lived in cities and towns for more than two generations, and it can therefore serve as a symbol for Kyrgyzstan and Kyrgyz life in national representation as well as a brand in advertisements to tourists, and can be an "ambassador" for the country when sold in other parts of the world. These new markets and the new demands made of the yurt changed its appearance as well as the work and life of yurt makers, in particular.

But even if today the Kyrgyz yurt is used in many different ways, most of all far from its original purpose as a nomadic house, it is still neverthe-

⁴⁵ "Yippee for Yurts" http://www.midwestweekends.com/plan_a_trip/stay/camping/yurts_state_parks.html (last accessed December 22, 2011).

less strongly connected to its original purpose in the way that the idea, the symbolism, or, to quote Benjamin, the *aura* of the yurt depends on this nomadic history. Even yurts made of unfamiliar materials, put up in different cultural settings, and used in new ways still stand for nomadism, freedom, and being close to “the spirit of nature” – regardless of whether the yurt in question is a metal structure in the urban center of Bishkek used as a national symbol of the Kyrgyz Republic, a yurt bought from an “authentic” Kyrgyz yurt maker in a remote mountain village and now used as a place for esoteric or felt-making workshops on the outskirts of a city in Europe, or a concrete yurt set up in a state park in Iowa.

Because the yurt is so strongly connected with nomadism, it is difficult to establish it as a brand due to this more general association: the typical Western consumer of a yurt does not make much distinction between a Mongolian, Kazakh, Siberian, or Kyrgyz yurt. Even the buyers debating over every detail with the Kyrgyz yurt makers are often more interested in the nomadic *aura* and in the experience of buying a yurt from its producer, rather than in the fact that they are purchasing something specifically from Kyrgyzstan.

SUMMARY

Even though the yurt almost completely lost its relevance as a home for most of the Kyrgyz people during the twentieth century, it is still a central part of today’s nation-branding in the Kyrgyz Republic. The article outlines how the yurt and the life of yurt makers changed with the decline of nomadism as an everyday way of life during the Soviet Union and the increasing interest in yurts as symbols in a national as well as a transnational representation (and often romanticization) of Central Asian nomadism.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Хотя в течение XX в. юрта практически потеряла свое значение дома для большинства киргизов, она остается важнейшим элементом национального брендинга в современной Республике Киргизстан. В статье показывается, что сама юрта и жизнь ее производителей изменились

с упадком номадизма как образа жизни в советской Киргизии. Автора также интересует возникновение постсоветского интереса к юрте как символу, используемому в национальной и транснациональной репрезентации, а также тенденция к романтизации юрты и центральноазиатского номадизма в целом.

Piers VITEBSKY

WILD TUNGUS AND THE SPIRITS OF PLACES*

Wild peoples of the Far North

The nomadic Tungus peoples of Siberia are best known to Russians from a famous poem by Alexander Pushkin:

My reputation will spread through all of great Russia,
And every living being will cite me in their own tongue,
The proud descendant of the Slav, and the Finn, and the still wild
Tungus, and the steppe-loving Kalmyk.¹

Pushkin was echoing a poem written in Latin 2,000 years earlier by Horace, court poet to the first Roman emperor Augustus, who consolidated the modern idea of empire as control over a far-flung territory of diverse peoples who feed consumption at the center in exchange for civilization, their own lives bent to an alien agenda that they barely comprehend.

* The ecology, politics, and spirituality since the 1980s of the community discussed in this article are described in detail in Piers Vitebsky. *The Reindeer People: Living with Animals and Spirits in Siberia*. London and Boston, 2005. That book also lists my many debts over two decades of research. The present article is greatly indebted to recent discussions with Anastasia Piliavsky. I am grateful to the University of Tromsø for funding my presentation of an earlier version at a conference of the International Arctic Social Sciences Association in Akureyri, Iceland.

¹ Слух обо мне пройдет по всей Руси великой,
И назовет меня всяк сущий в ней язык,
И гордый внук славян, и финн, и ныне дикий
Тунгус, и друг степей калмык.

My translation.

The triumphalism of Pushkin's poem refers not merely to routine imperialism but also to the supposed universalism of Great Art. The Tungus, like the now-forgotten Italian tribes mentioned by Horace, serve as archetype for the one who is outside both these aspects of the totalizing project, but who must be drawn in and transformed into a participant. The Soviet phase of the Russian empire has made Pushkin's prediction come true: the Tungus do indeed recite him, if not always in their own language, then certainly in Russian.

Who are the Tungus? The naming and counting of the indigenous peoples of Siberia and the Russian North has a complicated history. Such peoples currently number some 200,000 and fall under some thirty to forty ethnic labels. The term "Tungus" is currently used to cover several peoples who speak closely related languages of the Tungus-Manchu family. The Tungus peoples are spread extremely thinly in the least populated area of a vast region from central Siberia to the Pacific coast and from the border areas of China to the Arctic Ocean coast. The largest group are the Evenki, who probably number over 30,000, and the Even, who number around 20,000. My fieldwork was conducted among Even, but I am obliged to call them by the Russian plural Eveny, to avoid impossible grammatical constructions in English, such as "Even men ride reindeer." My Eveny friends live in the Verkhoyansk mountain range, which happens to be the region of Siberia that claims the coldest winter temperatures of all. Without actually living there, it is difficult to imagine the vastness and emptiness of this huge, jagged landscape. My base village of Sebyan-Kyuyel' contains 800 people, of whom around 90 work out on the land as reindeer herders, while all the others remain in the village and work (or not) in services or as backup to the herders. The surrounding area, which is used by the herders and their animals, amounts to 1 million hectares, or around 2,500,000 acres.

To the Russian mind, the Tungus were "wild" for many reasons. They had Asiatic faces, spoke a strange language, and were unbaptized. Their name resonates with a greater glamour and mystique than the names of other northern peoples, not least because they gave us the word "shaman," meaning a spirit medium whose soul flies around the cosmos during a very wild-seeming trance. And what was later to become most problematic for the Soviet regime, they were nomadic.

Until the Russian expansion into Siberia in the seventeenth century, all the indigenous northern peoples were hunters, their lives adjusted to the migratory movement of animals. Their shamans would make soul-fights around the landscape to scout for animals, or turn temporarily into those animals in

order to understand their psychology and migratory intentions. Hunting is about arranging an encounter or ambush, a cross-cutting of two independent trajectories. But the Tungus peoples had also domesticated reindeer some 2,000–3,000 years ago in order to ride on their backs and hunt wild reindeer. With domestication, humans and animals started to move side by side. The impact of Russian colonial expansion from the seventeenth century led to a rapid growth in the size of herds,² as the escalating demand for meat changed domestic reindeer from just a means of transport to the foundation of a system of ranching that would eventually grow into the large-scale reindeer herding of today, in which a state farm or its privatized successor organization³ might have several domestic herds of around 2,000 animals each. The economy has grown from a subsistence base to a meat industry obsessed with “productivity.” I shall argue that this change has also led to a shift in the nature of “wildness” among the Tungus, as well as in the locus of that wildness, which is now differentially distributed between men and women, and between the forest and the village newly established by the Soviet regime.

The image of wildness is often fed by imagining the movement of nomads as random, irrational, chaotic, and directionless. This is how the term is often used in popular speech as an equivalent of vagrant or stray. But true nomads follow a highly structured movement related to the cycle of the seasons. The Verkhoyansk mountains rise to 6,000 feet (2,000 meters) and run for several hundred miles north toward the Arctic Ocean. The ground is under snow for six months and the reindeer subsist mainly on lichens, a special kind of plant that does not die back in winter and that they excavate from under the snow and ice by digging with their hooves. But from May onward, the northward and uphill retreat of the melting snow reveals a succession of resprouting green plants such as grasses and willows. An irrepressible urge to migrate builds up in the animals and they start to move up the valleys toward the highest mountain meadows. In August, after a brief summer, they begin to move downstream toward their winter pastures in the deepest valleys. Green plants disappear successively through the autumn and the animals increasingly revert to their diet of lichen.

Such annual cycles, which can cover a thousand miles or more, were already talking place many millennia ago when all reindeer were wild. Hu-

² Igor Krupnik. *Arctic Adaptations: Native Whalers and Reindeer Herders*. Hanover, NH, 1993. Ch. 5.

³ Anna Sirina. *Rodovye obshchiny malochislennykh narodov Severa v Respublike Sakha (Iakutiia): shag k samoopredeleniiu?* [Studies in Applied and Urgent Ethnology, No. 126]. Moscow, 1999.

man involvement in progressive stages of domestication has not significantly altered this pattern. Rather, generations of indigenous skill, veterinary science and bureaucracy have introduced many nuances of animal and pasture management. Herders guide their animals toward a balanced diet and the avoidance of overgrazing and harrassment by biting insects, while also selecting good sites for their own camping and fishing. But out on the landscape, away from the controlling fantasies of the administration of the state farm, the herders understand well that the control between themselves and their animals is mutual, and the question of who leads whom remains ambiguous.



Figs. 1 and 2. Loading saddlebags onto reindeer before a migration. Photo by the author.

Reindeer tend to drift forward constantly on their migration, while humans pitch their tents and move them forward every few days to keep up. Just as the pasture gets grazed and trampled, so the camp site gets “tired” and dirty. After a few days the herders become restless. Instead of the calm mood of cooperation, tempers rise. They consider how far their animals have drifted, and decide to move on themselves. On arrival at the next site, there is a noticeable feeling of relief and relaxation. Tents are pitched, sometimes over their still-visible imprint from the same moment the previous year, and inside each tent a fire is lit. Before people eat, they feed the spirit of the fire with an offering of food and vodka (if available), and mutter a prayer: “Draw back your feet and let us stay here” or “Give us good dreams.”

Every item is unpacked and placed in its usual position inside the tent. With the tent flap closed, you would not know where you are. Yet outside the tent each site is utterly different, both in the configuration of the landscape and also in its role in the annual cycle. Almost immediately, the tension starts to rise and the urge builds up to move on. At different seasons and on different pastures one may stay for a shorter or longer time, but the pattern is the same. It is not so much that the old site rejects you or pushes you out, but more that the next site draws you forward. The herders explain this by a metaphor of “magnetism” and by the Russian word *tyanet*: “it pulls us.”



This is not the way sedentary people often imagine mobile people to be, a notion in which transience is negative in principle, as in the widespread Eurasian fantasy of the cursed gypsy pushed ever forward. Rather, humans and reindeer alike are pulled by the same force. Reindeer behavior provides the foundation of Eveny cosmology and of daily experience. The humans experience this animal instinct and extrapolate it into the foundation of their own culture. If there is indeed something “wild” about the Tungus, it is perhaps in their sharing of this animality – an empathy that has persisted from the true wildness of prehistoric herds through all forms of modern management. In this symbiotic ecology of mood, humans and animals share the same tension, the same urge to move, the same magnetism of the next grazing area and camp site, and the same relief on arriving.

Reindeer movement is unidirectional: they never go back the way they have come. Humans, too, should keep moving forward. There are many manifestations of this idea. Herders talk lyrically about the beauty of each site, wondering aloud whether they will live another year to see this place again. Yet when the moment of migration arrives, they set out with never a backward glance, behavior so different from my own instinct to keep looking back for a last lingering glimpse. It was some time before I worked out that turning back is felt to be perverse and dangerous, because the backward glance subverts the forward movement. You should never *look* back in any situation where it is essential to *move* forward. It is only after death that you become pinned down on the landscape, when you are buried at your favorite spot in the annual cycle (though you will continue to nomadize in the next world). Those passing by your grave must leave an offering such as a coin or cigarette and walk away looking only forward, lest you interpret a backward glance as a sign of attachment and draw the visitor after you into the realm of the dead.

Nomadic religiosity

In a sedentary culture, this fine balance between attachment and separation might remain a confusing ambiguity. In the nomadic experience it is separated out into an alternation between contrasting moments of tension and relief, anticipation and fulfillment. In detaching yourself from one camp site and reattaching yourself to the next one, you are renewing a relationship that has been in abeyance since the same time last year. A destination is never final, and the destinationality of each place is also transient: in the perpetual cycle of migration, there is no final resting point and no closure. Each site is dormant until woken up in its turn by a brief burst of human engagement and settlement in response to the place's latent magnetism.

Eveny religion seems based on the idea of spirits located in places. For years I asked about the identities and personalities of the landscape's many spirits, but got few answers. I have now come to understand that the identity of each spirit is largely derived from the character of the place itself. Indeed, most spirits have no other name, except the name of their place. The character of spirits is brought into focus, indeed the spirits are made manifest, one after the other as you migrate through a succession of sites. The spirit of a place merges with the spirit of the fire that one lights there. The act of pitching a tent draws these spiritual forces into a partnership to create a place that is habitable for humans.

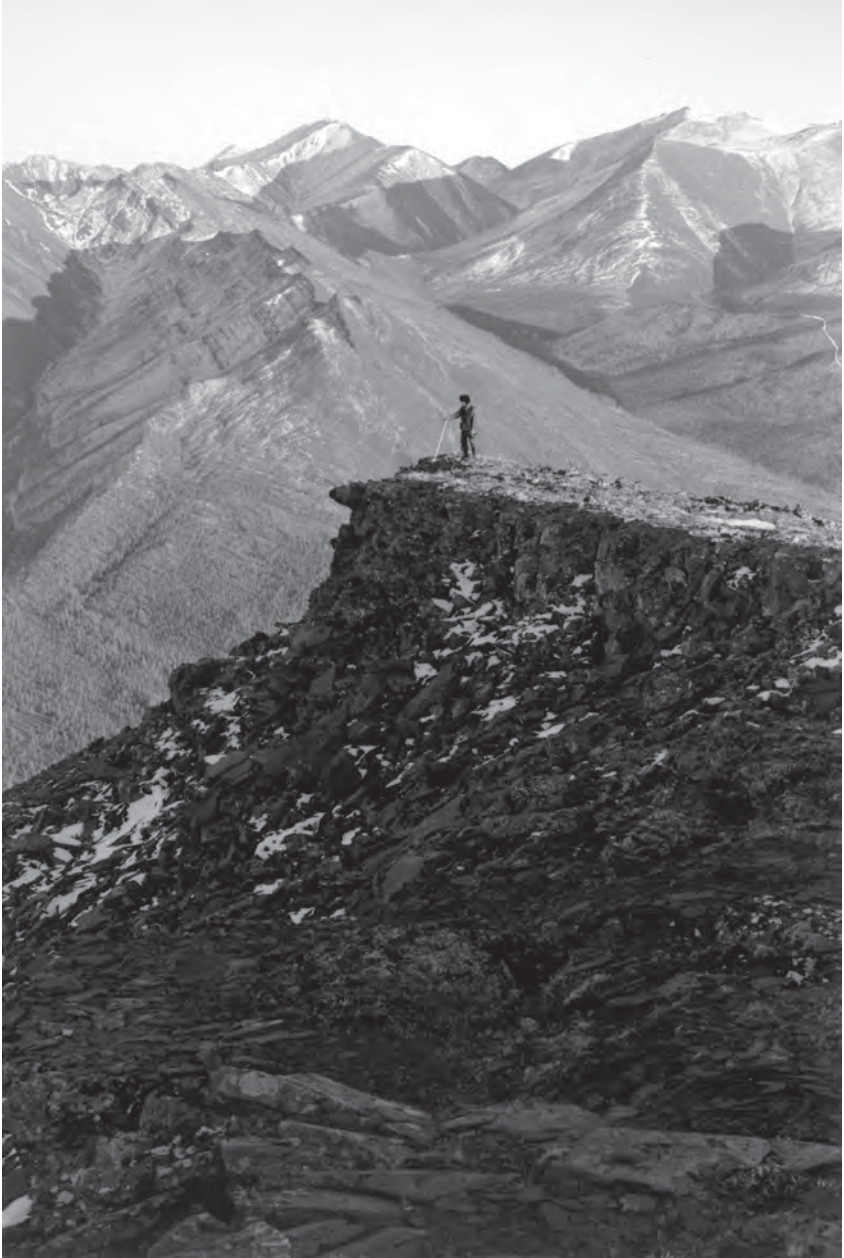


Fig. 3. A herder surveys the landscape and plans tomorrow's migration. The mountainsides are bare, while a larch forest rises out of the valley below. Photo by the author.

This contrasts strikingly with the religions of sedentary cultures, where the most sacred part of a church or temple is generally experienced as the final destination of a journey, and the sense of sacredness becomes more intense as the worshipper moves closer to this focal point. But for the Eveny, the entire landscape is like a huge open-air temple in which there is no final destination, no one camp site that is more spiritually charged than the others. The herders progress around a succession of places that never comes to an end. The sacredness of each place is equally intense, but the herders engage with it for only a few days, until they are forced by their animals' onward migration to move on to the next place. Then the old place lies unvisited, not enlivened by human presence, as if asleep. Even the predictive dreams that are so important to the Eveny (perhaps especially since the Soviet regime's elimination of their shamans) seem to be tied to this cyclical pattern. Momentous dreams are often said to be fulfilled "exactly a year later." This is the moment when a nomad returns to the place where the dream occurred. It is as if the place is a portal that is at its most open at the same time each year, and the dream is a kind of pre-echo foreshadowing the event that may become fulfilled when one returns to the same site.

Joining the empire

What can it mean for a person formed by this way of life to join the imperium and learn to recite Pushkin? The Russians came to native territories of Siberia in the sixteenth century for furs; in the twentieth century they stayed for minerals and national security,⁴ culminating from the 1960s onward in the oil and gas boom that now provides the mainstay of the Russian economy.⁵

The early Soviet regime also took on responsibility to administer and civilize the remotest territories and peoples in their realm. They had no doubt about the essence of the wildness of the Tungus and other northern peoples: nomadism. For bureaucrats, nomadism was bad in terms of governance because nomads were hard to control; for thinkers, it was bad in terms of social evolution because it was primitive and backward. Just as the indigenous peoples had domesticated their reindeer thousands of years earlier, now they would have to be domesticated by missionaries of socialism. It is perhaps no accident that uncovering the undocumented prehistoric process of reindeer domestication became a major preoccupation for Soviet

⁴ Pier Horensma. *The Soviet Arctic*. London and New York, 1999.

⁵ Florian Stammler and Emma Wilson. *Dialogue for Development: an Exploration of Relations Between Oil and Gas Companies, Communities, and the State // Sibirica: Journal of Siberian Studies*. 2006. Vol. 5. No. 2. Pp. 1-42.

anthropologists and historians⁶ at the same time that the regime was devising policies for taming the natives themselves.

The Soviet empire was unusual in that it brought literacy and literature to everyone, with the high ideal of making them *kul'turnyi* (cultured, civilized), at some periods through Russification, and at others by devising alphabets and publishing local literature in indigenous languages. This is the most successful legacy of the Soviet presence, and through their avid reading of poetry, science, and philosophy, Soviet reindeer herders became surely more *kul'turnye* than people in an equivalent occupational position anywhere else in the world. When my Eveny friends excuse any outrageous behavior by saying "I'm a wild Tungus," they are making a sophisticated, learned joke.

But the master-policy for civilizing the nomads was sedentarization (*osedlost'*). Just as the mind imbued with ideals of governance sees nomads as ungoverned, so from the perspective of a culture based on peasant agriculture they are seen to suffer from an ecological lack: no fields, no crops, no villages. Even when their mobility is acknowledged, as in modern ecological studies, this is still seen negatively as a response to environmental constraints, as if indigenous cultures in the Arctic are fully determined by cold (or desert cultures by drought). Certainly, there is a need to migrate, but if one frees oneself from a prejudice in favor of settled agriculture, one can equally see this as taking advantage of the opportunities or affordances of the environment, and existentially as a way of life (*obraz zhizni*). Why would one do anything different? In the historical experience of the Eveny, sedentarization is the strange way of life requiring a difficult adjustment, and it is still exacting a complicated price.

Like many other villages built throughout the indigenous North, the main village in my study was founded in the late 1920s to sedentarize the people of this vast area, though it did not succeed in drawing most of them from their nomadic tents into log cabins until the 1960s. The village changed the perception and experience of space by its very lack of movement. When out on the landscape, one might still think of traveling as the old people traveled, cyclically with the herd, and beyond that even further afield for hunting or for visits, indefinitely in every direction as over a web. But now the village commands the surrounding landscape, and space radiates out from the vil-

⁶ G. M. Vasil'evich, M. G. Levin. *Tipy olenevodstva i ikh proiskhozhdeniia* // *Sovetskaia etnografiia*. 1951. No. 1. Pp. 63-87; V. N. Skalon. *Olennye kamni Mongolii i problema proiskhozhdeniia olenevodstva* // *Sovetskaia arkheologiiia*. 1956. No. 25. Pp. 87-105; S. I. Vainshtein. *Problema proiskhozhdeniia olenevodstva v Evrazii. Part I* // *Sovetskaia etnografiia*. 1970. No. 6. Pp. 3-14; *Part II. Sovetskaia etnografiia*. 1971. No. 5. Pp. 37-52.



Fig. 4. Sedentarisation: the village from the air. Photo by the author.

lage in concentric circles of decreasing significance. Every herding family has a house in the village that they use as a base lying completely outside their nomadic cycle. Herding camps are no longer just a place in relation to other places: some are more “remote” than others because they are further from the village. The village in turn is itself seen as lying at the outer edge of a far grander concentric space with its center in Moscow. Villages were located for ease of access to the outside world rather than to the reindeer pasture,⁷ and were designated as “points of population” (*naselelnnye punkty*), as if no population could exist without them or beyond them, and “points of supply” (*punkty obespecheniia*), as though supplies could come only from outside, thus belying the actual productivity of the land and the flow of meat to towns of Russian settlers.

Though there are many reasons why my friends may sometimes idealize a former way of life, it was a fundamental principle that earlier nomadic life required a full family, with men and women carrying out complementary tasks and training the next generation of children.⁸ Family relations were founded on what people call “*taigá* values” based on taciturnity and discretion, in

⁷ A policy justified in B. Lashov. *Nekotorye voprosy razvitiia natsional’nykh raionov krainego severa*. Yakutsk, 1973.

⁸ A. A. Alekseev. *Zabytyi mir predkov*. Yakutsk, 1993.

which one would sense the feelings and needs of others through an extreme sensitivity and a congruence of moods among human companions, animals, and landscape. In the long silences of life in the taiga, the herders can be so alert to each others' unspoken moods that it seems almost like telepathy.



Fig. 5. When the family migrated together, 1940s. By an unknown photographer.

Soviet reform was impatient with such values. Communist missionaries started to “civilize” the native peoples and rescue them from backwardness (*otstalost'*), not only by building them permanent wooden villages but also by providing basic schooling and medical facilities, introducing state bureaucracy, and teaching them Communist values.⁹ From the 1920s, young Siberian native adults were selected and sent to a special college in Leningrad called the Herzen Institute, where they were trained to occupy administrative or Party positions back home; by the 1960s, all young children were being taken into boarding schools from the age of seven. The approach was well-meaning and brutal at the same time: the regime gave prizes to housewives for the cleanest tent while it also imprisoned or killed the shamans who linked the Tungus to the powers and spirits of the land.

⁹ A process brilliantly, sometimes satirically, described in Yuri Slezkine. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North*. Ithaca and London, 1994.

Despite the inroads of the fur trade since the seventeenth century, the previous economy had still operated largely at a subsistence level and was not very “productive.” The regime collectivized everyone’s reindeer and organized both people and animals into collective farms (*kolkhozy*, changed in the 1960s across the North to state farms, *sovkhozy*), imposing a model designed for peasant areas of western Russia with little modification onto hunting and herding communities with quite different economies, cultures, and landscapes. Since the herds of reindeer were generally far from the new villages, reindeer herders were restructured on the model of Russian miners and other industrial workers who were similarly far from their residential base. Experimental models imitating industrial shift work (*vakhtovyi metod* or *smennyi vypas*) were tested in the northwestern areas of the Soviet North and then extended to the rest of the country.¹⁰ In effect, reindeer herding was industrialized, and its emphasis changed from subsistence to ranching, as the landscape became a giant open-air meat factory. This newfound productivity of meat was linked to the consumption needs of the growing settlements of Russian miners across the North, a process that was greatly accelerated with the development of hydrocarbon extraction and the advent of helicopters in the 1960s. So in much of the North a dual pattern arose, separating participation in the indigenous people’s animal economy from that in the white man’s mineral economy (even though mining settlements often provided the main market for the herders’ meat).

Within the indigenous community, the long-term effect of sedentarization has turned out to be catastrophic in an unexpected way. Those white workers will return to western Russia or Ukraine with a pile of money, but for the native herders there is nowhere else to go – this is their home. The original Bolshevik missionaries already identified women as the proletariat among the northern peoples,¹¹ and women have remained the locus of attempts to domesticate the wild Tungus to this day. Women were brought into the village to work as teachers, bookkeepers, and dinner ladies. The children, too, were taken off the land. In some villages they were taught in a village school, in others they were sent to harsh, distant boarding schools

¹⁰ G. S. Anufriev. *Smenno-zven’evoi vypas v olenevodstve // Nenetskii Avtonomnyi Okrug: Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar’*. Moscow, 2001. Pp. 242-243; F. P. Filippov et al. *Smenno-zven’evaia forma organizatsii truda v olenevodstve nenetskogo natsional’nogo okruga: povyshenie produktivnosti olenevodstva*. Moscow, 1976. Also G. A. Dvzda et al. *Biography, shift-labour and socialization in the northern industrial city – the Far North: particularities of labour and human socialization*, 2010. Web publication in English and Russian; full pdf available for download on <http://www.arcticcentre.org/?deptid=23618/>.

¹¹ Slezkine. *Arctic Mirrors*.

and not allowed to speak their own language. Almost the only people left tending the reindeer out on the land were men. The village has become a predominantly female space while the landscape has been masculinized and brought closer to the environment of migrant industrial workers. The process has been so successful that young women regard herders with disdain, and refuse to live with them under what they perceive as dirty, primitive, and cold conditions.¹² If there are any wild Tungus, from the women's point of view these are the herders in their distant reindeer camps.

When I first arrived here in the late 1980s, herders were still quite well paid. But they were already suffering from the separation from their women and children back in the village. With the economic crash of the 1990s, herders were sometimes not paid for years on end, and there was little remaining incentive to endure an enforced bachelorhood. The rate of fatal fights and suicides has rocketed, especially among young men and especially when they visit the village and have access to vodka. I witnessed a sudden moment of possible opportunity (externally introduced by perestroika) for the community to reorganize their lives from 1988 into the early 1990s, and the subsequent failure of this. It now appears, both to them and to me, that this period was not a great celebratory transition at all, but a bruised aftershock from three generations of enforced rupture, and a confirmation that as post-nomads their agency would remain extremely limited.

Eveny discourse today is not simply about a lack of recent change, but about a *failure* to change now that this is needed.¹³ As for many other groups in Russia, the impulse of perestroika petered out in disappointment. During the 1990s there was a plunge from initial hope to great economic deprivation, with widespread disappearance of wages, social welfare, and helicopters or biplanes. On this landscape with no cash and no roads, many people no longer expected to go anywhere, ever, for the rest of their lives. Reindeer herders became even more isolated in their bachelorhood; the boarding schools had already produced two generations who were mostly ignorant of how to herd reindeer or parent their own children since they had not been parented themselves; and a terrible catalogue of young people's drunken accidents, murders, and suicides escalated. The general revival of Russia's

¹² Piers Vitebsky. From Materfamilias to Dinner-lady: The Administrative Destruction of the Reindeer Herder's Family Life // *Anthropology of East Europe Review*. 2010. Vol. 28. Pp. 38-50.

¹³ Piers Vitebsky. Repeated Returns and Special Friends: From Mythic Encounter to Shared History // Signe Howell and Aud Talle (Eds.). *Returns to the Field: Multitemporal Research and Contemporary Anthropology*. Bloomington, 2012. Pp. 180-202.

economy in the 2000s, riding on the back of high world energy prices, has brought little comfort to the broken families of these communities.

The discourse of failure to change for the better developed an undertone of a change for the worse: morality was declining, young people had no fear stealing offerings from graves. During the 1990s I was often told that minority peoples like the Eveny were heading for extinction, as “endangered species.” Those informants were people of my own generation, half-nomadic people who had been persuaded or forced to believe in the Soviet project and were now in a state of confusion and anger.

I readily bought into this rhetoric at the time,¹⁴ but my view has been challenged by a recent study in a neighboring Eveny community that suggests possible grounds for more hope. In the first detailed study of the attitudes of children in a Siberian reindeer-herding community, made in the 2000s, Olga Ulturgasheva studied children’s visions of their own future in Topolnoe, the village where she herself grew up.¹⁵

This study reveals a significant difference between children who spend the first years of their life in reindeer camps in the forest, and those who grow up in the village, never having known the forest. Ulturgasheva argues that each of these two interrelated but distinct cosmological and social spaces is associated with the formation of a different kind of person and the anticipation of a different life trajectory. Though all children end up in the village for schooling by the time they reach seven, those who have first been brought up in the forest are formed with a particular construct of time and space that is grounded in forest practices of sharing. The child’s developing person is likened to that of a growing reindeer calf, at the same time that the child develops a strong sense of their own agency through taking part in useful tasks and constantly being called upon to exercise judgment while moving around the landscape. The personhood of children who have spent all their lives in the village, by contrast, more directly reflects the community’s current despair, alcoholism, and post-Soviet collapse of infrastructure and social welfare. These contrasting social worlds translate into contrasting narratives of the child’s supposed adult destiny as they imagine their own projected future. All children imagine going to the city of Yakutsk or even beyond for education or to make their fortune, and all aspire to avoid the

¹⁴ Piers Vitebsky. *Withdrawing from the Land: Social and Spiritual Crisis in the Indigenous Russian Arctic* // Chris M. Hann (Ed.). *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*. New York and London, 2002. Pp. 180-195.

¹⁵ Olga Ulturgasheva. *Circles of Absence and Return: Ideas of the Future Among Young Eveny in Northeast Siberia*. Oxford and New York, 2012.

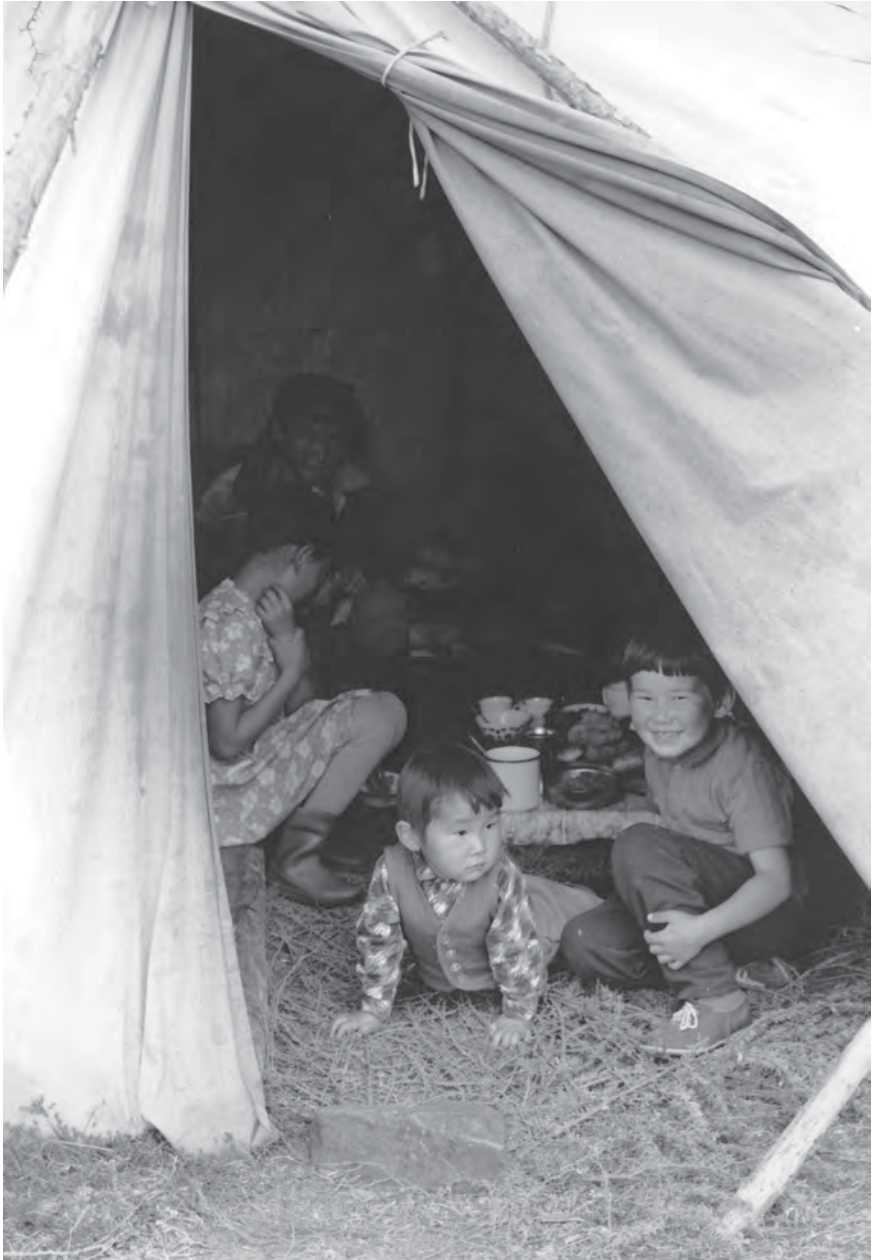


Fig. 6. Children in a summer tent. The tent is dismantled and moved on every few days. Photo by the author.

alcoholism, poverty, and broken families of their parents. But the forest-reared child imagines bringing the fruits of city education back to the forest to improve herding life, while the village-reared child imagines escaping to settle in the city for ever.

It is too early to know how far these “future autobiographies” will be fulfilled, and whether they represent a genuine new sense of agency or a hopeless fantasy whose failure will further fuel the alienation and depression among the young. But I think we can see the ways in which they reconfigure nomadic senses of space and time, in which old patterns can be played out or transformed in new contexts, through new trajectories that partly perpetuate old ones and partly override them. All these children’s visions are framed within the post-nomadic, sedentary model of concentric space, but this space is now conceived on the larger scale of the nation or imperium. Soviet civilization made the forest peripheral to the village; now the village too is peripheral to the regional capital. Just as sedentarization into villages broke up the pattern of total nomadism, so now the city is starting to break up the semi-nomadism of the village, even if people hardly ever go there. Nomadic time, too, is changed. The children have repositioned their own life experience within this new space, as their time scale is extended to match a new notion of biography. The repetitive annual cycle of migration and dream prediction has been largely superseded – even for the forest-reared children – by a lifespan model structured in terms of successive stages of education, romantic marriage, and business success.

Diversifying wildness

There is not yet a total abandonment of nomadic consciousness, but rather its fragmentation or evolution into more diverse forms of identity, only some of these closely linked to subsistence or nomadism. In principle, as with reindeer migration, there is no going back, but these people will no longer keep returning to the same point. Some remain more or less nomadic, though with a modernized consciousness, most remain in the village in an uncomfortable limbo as they fantasize about leaving, and a very small number move out. Among adults, the highest level of agency and fulfillment seems to be among those who combine subsistence patterns on the land with other economic activities that link them to the wider world in ways that are not humiliating or demeaning, such as small business enterprises selling reindeer antlers or smoked fish. They also diversify the family economy and spread risk by placing close relatives in white-collar positions such as teachers or administrators. In some other regions, where reindeer herders

are badly impacted by oil, gas, and other industrial development, they also seek positions or develop contacts inside the industrial company.

Russianized education has brought a new aesthetics, in which static, synoptic paintings or photos of “landscape” (*peyzazh*) on the wall of the village house replace the sense of forward movement and the frequent change of scene outside the tent flap. These pictures depict something called “nature” (*priroda*), which along with the “environment” (*okruzhaiushaia sreda*) can also serve the dissident agendas of social and cultural activists. These terminologies, some of them calqued into Russian from western languages, have no Eveny equivalent. This kind of discourse has its roots in the early years of perestroika, for example, with the founding of non-governmental organizations such as the Association of Northern Indigenous Peoples (now RAIPON) or the Unquiet North (Trevozhny Sever), both of whose inaugural meetings I attended in the late 1980s. This was a radical and innovative discourse even among Russians, and its rapid co-opting by indigenous peoples is the latest phase of their encounter with empire, a sign that their education has integrated them to the point where they can become well-informed critics from within.

Pushkin speaks from a sedentary center of empire about Art and Civilization, grand objects of reverence that are separate from the daily life of ordinary people and always at risk of being eclipsed by the banality of circumstances. His Tungus have no voice of their own, since their role is to suffer from a lack of both these noble qualities and to revere what is offered them by the imperium. But in fact there are local Pushkins among the Tungus themselves. They do not sing of imperial command or an abstract domain of Art, but of negotiated social relationships among equal partners whose activities are rooted in the landscape:

Today I obtain a wild reindeer,
I shall share it so that there is enough for everyone...
Honor every person,
Consider them your equal,
And between you there will be peace and harmony.
If I deny a guest their share,
That is the worst offense of all.
But if your intimate guest is happy,
Then your domestic reindeer will be healthy...

In an environment where one must engage directly and robustly with the elements, Tungus poets also sing of *mondji*, the quality of being self-reliant, able to survive without help in life-threatening situations, and never giving up:

He can manage to break strong rope,
Who strives forcefully toward happiness.
When you meet suddenly with unexpected misfortune,
Don't rush: Think! Observe!
Don't turn back!
Stand firm...
If you want to be a true man,
Rely only on yourself!
It is very difficult to scramble up the steep slope
To your goal,
Even harder to do good to another.
For happiness is not given to anyone lightly,
It is brittle like the first ice of autumn,
It comes only to those
Who are true to *mondji!*

The old Eveny reindeer herder Vasily Pavlovich improvised these songs while living at the outer edge of the state farm's territory, 300 miles and several days' ride from the village. But it was not enough for them to remain in his oral repertoire: he also wrote them down in an exercise book, and intended this as the first step toward a publication with which they would join



Fig. 7. Women feeding salt to reindeer to keep them tame. Ideally this should be done daily, to discourage them from reverting to a semi-wild state. Photo by the author.

the canon of indigenous “literature,” that important genre in the Soviet nexus of “culture” and “friendship of the ethnicities” (*druzhba narodov*). Vasily Pavlovich had little schooling, and as the son of an original anti-Bolshevik “bandit” he was not sent to study at the Herzen Institute. But even so, the long arm of Pushkin reached his consciousness in the remotest campsite in one of the remotest communities in the whole of Siberia.

Since Pushkin’s day the concept of wildness has undergone extensive transformation, as the Eveny have been drawn into the imperial project of literacy, military service, and productivity statistics. An old-timer like Vasily Pavlovich would not have known that he was wild unless Pushkin told him: for him the essence of the Tungus character lies in *mondji*. The spatial locus of wildness, too, has fragmented, as has its distribution and evaluation among different kinds of people. For well-groomed village women with the flicker of consumerist imagery on their jabbering TV sets, wildness now resides among the dirty, telepathic, animal-like men who herd reindeer in “remote” forests and mountains. Looking at the drunken, suicidal youths around these women, one might conclude that the Soviet project of civilization has turned inside out so that the village itself now constitutes the heart of wildness: instead of nomads moving around a trajectory that is administratively and cosmologically justified, these young men have become directionless strays.¹⁶ The children who will shortly grow into this stage of life try to preempt this fate by escaping to the city.¹⁷ Some do so with the ideal of eventually returning to the forest, a space that now appears as pure rather than wild, an alternative space of civilization sustained through isolation rather than through integration.

SUMMARY

The essay by Piers Vitebsky is based on the author’s field research on the Tungus family of peoples in Siberia’s north and, in particular, on the Eveny. The author introduces the geographic, social, ethnic, and cultural parameters of the life of the Eveny and attempts to decipher the specifically nomadic features of their life. Vitebsky ties the origin of Eveny nomadism to the reindeer-based economy. The cycle of migration and the ecologically

¹⁶ Interestingly, there is now an elaborate discourse about how the carefully bred and well-trained dogs of the past have been replaced by undisciplined, badly hybridized strays.

¹⁷ Of course, the city has its own large-scale forms of wildness that the Eveny are not equipped to survive. Most of those youths who do go to the city do not succeed or even stay there for long, and quite a few become depressed or die.

determined routes of migration of domesticated reindeer shape the life of the Eveny. The nomadic way of life is best reflected in the desire of the Eveny to move immediately after a temporary camp is established on the route of their migration. This urge to move is reflected in religious beliefs, which reference a number of spirits by location, while the pluralism of this animistic belief is linked to the desire to change places. The author then focuses on the perception of wildness of the Tungus, which was formed as a result of Russian imperial expansion in Siberia and the encounter of the normative Russian discourse of the sedentary population with the realities of nomadic life of the Tungus peoples. He traces the influence of the discourse of wildness on Soviet transformative policies of forced modernization and sedentarization in the north. In the final part of the essay, the author explores the reproduction of the nomadic way of life in the new circumstances of the Eveny in Soviet and post-Soviet life. Even though the policy of sedentarization was largely successful, the nomadic predisposition is reflected in Eveny mobility between the village and the city.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Эссе Пирса Витебского “Дикие тунгусы и духи места” основано на полевом исследовании тунгусской семьи народов, проживающих на русском Крайнем Севере, и в частности на исследовании жизни эвенков. Автор пытается идентифицировать черты социального и культурного уклада эвенков, наиболее ярко отражающие их кочевой способ жизни, зарождение которого автор связывает с оленеводческой основой экономики данного народа. Экологически обусловленная миграция одомашненных оленей определила кочевой образ жизни эвенков, который сложным образом отразился в их религиозных верованиях. Эти верования содержат анимистические представления о связи духов с определенной местностью. Плюрализм анимизма эвенков, таким образом, отражает стремление к смене места и духа-покровителя. В статье также рассматривается восприятие тунгусов через троп дикости со времен русской экспансии в Сибири. Автор прослеживает, как имперский дискурс дикости повлиял на советскую политику ускоренной модернизации и перехода эвенков к оседлости. В заключительной части эссе Витебский анализирует способы воспроизводства кочевого образа жизни в новых для эвенков условиях советской и постсоветской реальности. Хотя переход к оседлому образу жизни был успешно завершён в советский период, элементы номадизма продолжают характеризовать жизнь эвенков в той ее части, которая касается оси миграции от деревни к городу.

Ольга БУРЕНИНА-ПЕТРОВА

ЦИРК – КУЛЬТУРА НА КОЛЕСАХ

1.

В “Трактате о номадологии” Жиль Делёз и Феликс Гваттари, задавшись целью отыскать сообщество, противостоящее государственности, находят таковое в племенах кочевников.¹ Государство, принуждающее человека к оседлости, представляет собой, согласно Делёзу и Гваттари, главное зло для свободной личности. Чтобы высвободиться от сковывающего порядка государственности, кочевники противопоставляют ему свое неповиновение, именуемое философами “машиной войны”. Делёз и Гваттари иллюстрируют различие между “военной машиной” и механизмом государства с помощью игры в шахматы и игры го. Шахматные фигуры обладают неизменными свойствами: слон в игре всегда остается слонем, а конь – конем. Фишки го, напротив, выступая в качестве анонимного собирательного лица, оказываются элементами коллективной машины. Характеристика номоса, которую дают Делёз и Гваттари, очень сходна с сущностью циркового искусства, в пространстве которого не только сам цирк, но и тело артиста принадлежат негосударственному миру.

С одной стороны, жизнь на колесах, лишенная постоянного фиксированного места проживания, заставляет цирковых артистов неустанно территориализировать и детерриториализировать чужое пространство.

¹ См.: Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari. *Nomadology: The War Machine*. New York, 1986.

Будучи по природе кочевниками, циркачи всегда присваивают себе ту территорию, на которой собираются давать представления. Они словно раскалывают пространство, проводят границу, по одну сторону которой локализуются сами, а по другую – оставляют территорию полиса. Культура на колесах – это способ присвоения и обживания цирковым номосом чужого пространства, превращения его в свой дом, формирования в любом месте собственной семиотической вселенной, т.е. в широком смысле – трансгрессия пространственных, этнических, национальных, социальных, смысловых границ, осуществляемая за счет непрерывного движения циркового каравана по горизонтали. При этом присваиваемым пространством может являться не только земная, но и водная территория. Известно, что одни из пионеров американского цирка Джон Робинсон и Док Сполдинг² открыли в 1852 г. в Цинциннати плавучий цирк на две тысячи четырехста мест. Внутри цирка, возведенного на гигантской барже, располагался манеж, с двух сторон которого во всю длину были установлены трибуны для зрителей. Баржу с цирком тянул на буксире колесный пароход “Норт Ривер”, умещавший на своем борту не только здание цирка, напоминавшее четырехэтажный деревянный дом, но еще и конюшни, гримерные и разного рода другие подсобные цирковые помещения.³ Характерно, что пароход, возивший по Миссисипи и Огайо цирк, был колесным. Таким образом, цирк Робинсона и Сполдинга, кочуя по водному пространству, продолжал сохранять символическую связь с одним из важнейших атрибутов циркового номадизма – колесом.

Повседневная жизнь артистов сливается с цирковой, что и порождает феномен культуры на колесах. Остановки в пути не статичны, так как подготовка к представлениям или сами представления – это всего лишь один из инвариантов кочевого образа жизни артистов. Вагончики и повозки, на которых они передвигаются по свету, превращаются во время остановок или в период представлений во временные жилища. Игровое пространство передвижного цирка собирается, складывается почти на глазах у будущих зрителей, как детский игрушечный домик, из частей, таких же мобильных, как и он сам. Цирковой шатер – одно из самых архаичных архитектурных сооружений, родственных юрте, яранге, типи индейца или палатке бедуина. В нем, как и в этих тентовых сооружениях, целесообразна каждая деталь. При этом легкая брезен-

² Настоящее имя артиста – Гилберт Р. Сполдинг.

³ См. об этом факте подробно: Доминик Жандо. История мирового цирка / Пер. с франц. О. Гринберг. Москва, 1984. С. 44-45.

товая ткань цирка, ее проницаемость и уязвимость перед природными катаклизмами, передают присущее артистам ощущение хрупкости, бренности всех материальных ценностей, порождаемых цивилизацией. Подобное чувство возникает также и при взгляде на юрту, ярангу, типи или шатер бедуина. Кольшки, которые вбиваются в землю, для того чтобы установить цирковой шатер, а также стойки-мачты, на которые натягивается брезентовый полог, являются знаками-метками присвоения и обживания чужой территории (см. илл. 1). И даже когда цирк уже разобран, от него остается метафизический след, хранящий память о проходивших на этом месте представлениях. В фильме Чарли Чаплина



Илл. 1. Александр Родченко. Собирают конструкции цирка Шапито.

“Цирк” след от уехавшего цирка настолько отчетлив, что обретает сходство с магическим кругом. Этот след оказывается в финале фильма геометрическим и символическим образом мифологической, иррациональной с точки зрения современного обыденного сознания Вселенной, мифологическим пространством, отмеченным соприсутствием божества.

Жизнь на колесах не знает центра и по сути своей является жизнью в открытом “гладком” пространстве, не расчерченном границами и дорогами. Ритм этой жизни созвучен мировому ритму Вселенной. И лишь цирковой шатер или просто открытая цирковая площадка играют роль внутреннего координационного центра, необходимого артистам для ориентации в истории и современности, а также для продвижения к будущему. Во время представления пространство и время сливаются под куполом шатра или в круге площадки, а само представление превращается в сакральное действо. Однако этот центр никогда не остается на одном месте, его можно перемещать. Даже стационарные цирки – это всего лишь временное пристанище постоянно гастролирующих циркачей. “Мы – кочевники и люди неуловимые, нас ловят, но безуспешно”,⁴ – заметил в одном из интервью Олег Попов.

В фильме Феллини “Дорога” цирковой силач Джампано, бродя по свету, присваивает себе не только пространство, но и то, что находится

⁴ См. <http://kudryats.journalisti.ru/?p=89>.

в сфере его границ. Так, в поисках партнера для своих выступлений он покупает у крестьянки дочь Джельсомину, включая ее в цирковую программу и, сверх того, в ритм всей своей бродячей жизни. По сути, здесь представлен символический акт захвата земледельца в номадический плен: девушка из крестьянской семьи отныне принадлежит циркачу-номаду. Цирковая жизнь на колесах, показанная в фильме, ощущается не как перемещение, направленное из одной точки в другую, а как бесконечное движение по миру, лишённое конечного пункта назначения, пронизанное случайностями. Гладкое пространство бескрайних ландшафтов изоморфно в фильме безграничным степям номадического мира. Как и номады, Джампано черпает в степи витальные силы, он оставляет в ней свои следы,



Илл. 2. Кадр из фильма Феллини “Дорога”.

а при встрече с такими же, как он, бродячими артистами, ведет себя, как настоящий степной обитатель. Последним, вероятно, может быть объяснимо совершаемое им убийство циркача Матто. Примечательно, что и в рассказе Владимира Набокова “Весна в Фиальте” цирковой фургон, проходящей лейтмотивом, в финале оказывается причиной гибели автомобиля, т.е. объекта цивилизации. Героиня рассказа Нина гибнет в автокатастрофе. Ее автомобиль “потерпел за Фиальтой крушение, влетев на полном ходу в фургон бродячего цирка”. Уже в первых фрагментах рассказа “объявление заезжего цирка, с углом, слизанным со стены” является герою в виде символического знаменания и проходит лейтмотивом как знак судьбы через все произведение.⁵

“Дорога” Феллини – это не путь, а трасса в делёзовском смысле, поэтому с нее невозможно свернуть. Понятно, почему, покинув Джам-

⁵ Владимир Набоков. Рассказы. Приглашение на казнь. Роман. Эссе, интервью, рецензии. Москва, 1989. С. 73, 91. О мотиве цирка в творчестве Набокова на примере интертекстуального диалога Андрея Синявского с Набоковым см., напр., подраздел “А. Синявский-Терц (‘В цирке’): смерть как фокус” в статье: В. Десятов. Русский постмодернизм: полвека с Набоковым // Империя Н. Набоков и наследники / Под ред. Ю. Левина, Е. Сошкина. Сборник статей. Москва, 2006. С. 210-256. О лейтмотиве цирка в рассказе Набокова “Весна в Фиальте” см. подробно: С. Седервич, Е. Шварц. Сок трех апельсинов. Набоков и петербургский театральный авангард // Там же. С. 306-309.

пано, а вместе с ним и цирковую жизнь, девушка в конце концов умирает. В одной из сцен Джампано играет на трубе, напоминая один из иконографических образов возвещающего о Страшном суде архангела Михаила. Михаил был змеборцем – змея изображена на левой руке Джампано. На правой его руке – татуировка со скрещенными шпагами, своего рода аллюзия на копье архангела Михаила. Образ клоуна



Илл. 3. Кадр из фильма Феллини “Дорога”.

с трубой завершает и фильм Феллини “Клоуны”: артист играет на трубе, призывая душу умершего товарища – клоуна Фру-Фру. Иными словами, циркач, как и кочевник, не должен и не может никуда бежать. Интересно, что группа “Белый орел”, транспонировавшая в клип “Моя любовь, воздушный шар” многие цирковые картины Пабло Пикассо (“Девочка на шаре”, “Арлекин”, “Арлекин в кабачке ‘Проворный кролик’”, “Комедианты”, “Семья акробатов с обезьяной” и др.), разворачивает сюжеты этих картин таким образом,

что повесть о жизни бродячих артистов

осмысляется как общечеловеческая история. Музыкант в образе старого гитариста – сам художник, внедрившийся в экранизацию своих картин, которые, складываясь, собираясь в сюжет, оказываются трансисторичными по своей сути, так как репрезентируемые в них принципы бытия показаны действительными и актуальными для любых времен (илл. 4).

Эрнст Блох, считавший принцип утопии конституирующим принципом человеческой социальности, в работе “Принцип надежды” увидел в цирке то место, где человек освобождается от ощущения неполноты мира и максимально приближается к реализации духа утопии. По Блоху, “еще-не-бытие” (*noch-nicht-sein*) никогда не сможет трансформироваться в “бытие” (*sein*). Зазор, образуемый между ними, – это территория надежды, характеризующаяся в философских построениях Блоха как несуществующее место, утопия и одновременно как Родина, т.е. место, связанное с детскими мечтами и воспоминаниями. Таким местом, в представлении Блоха, является цирк, поскольку именно он являет собой пример искусства, лишённого амбивалентности кажимости и наделенного свойством незавершенности реального бытия как приближения к лучшей жизни. Но именно потому, что цирк это не “отчужденное” от земли пространство,

а место, которое существует. Он далек от идеального и, следовательно, деструктивного состояния завершенности. В нем заключен принцип надежды, пронизывающий, с точки зрения Блоха, всю человеческую жизнь. Именно этим принципом надежды руководствуется бродящий по дорогам циркач. Мир цирка – культура в движении. Следовательно, в нем оказывается возможным диалог различных культурных традиций, смешение разных языков. Не только в труппе современного цирка Чимелонг вместе работают артисты из Америки, Африки, России, Казахстана и Китая. И в том, что один из австралийских цирков назван “Московский цирк”, нет ничего парадоксального: каждый современный цирк – многонационален и полифоничен.



Илл. 4. Пикассо. Комедианты.

В процессе незавершенного движения цирк реализует утопический сверхпроект, в основе которого – стремление к преобразованию мира. Подобнономадам, он срастается не только с пространством, но и с атрибутами всего своего циркового мира. Не случайно циркач без грима и костюма выглядит почти трагично.

С другой стороны, цирковой номадизм предполагает принципиальную пластичность и изменчивость субъекта и его ролевых функций: циркач воспринимается в культуре не только как артист, но и как образ живой, вечно трансформирующейся, перекодирующейся структуры, знак потенциального кода, обеспечивающего постоянные метаморфозы человека и окружающего его мира. Павел Флоренский в письме, отправленном в 1930-е годы из дальневосточной ссылки, посвятил цирку небольшой, но весьма примечательный пассаж:

Дорогая Тика, в этом письме хочу рассказать тебе об особом цирке, который устраивают в Швеции. Цирк этот называется “Человек-Цирк”. Он устраивается в сравнительно небольшом здании, примерно на 80 человек зрителей. Здание оборудовано как настоящий цирк: места для зрителей, ложи, место для оркестра, арена и даже губернаторская ложа. У входа в цирк – касса. Входишь, садишься на свое место. Над углублением, где оркестр,

виднеются верхушки инструментов – трубы и пр. Звонки. Начинается музыка. Верхушки инструментов колышутся, временами мелькает палочка дирижера. Но играет – только одна труба: в оркестре только один человек, он – музыкант, он же клоун, он же наездник, он же фокусник, он же – и директор цирка. По окончании музыки выбегает на арену небольшая лошадка с всадником. Лошадь эта – из папье-маше, через брюхо и спину ее просовывается наездник, ноги его прикрываются попоной. Он бежит по арене со своей лошадью и проделывает всевозможные упражнения. Затем лошадь убегает с арены и почти немедленно выходит клоун – тот же человек, но в другой одежде. Он показывает разные клоунские проделки. Затем выходит фокусник и т. д. Так проводится вся программа единственным действующим лицом, которое непрерывно меняет одежду, вероятно, парик и вообще свой вид. По завершении представления в губернаторской ложе появляется “губернатор” – в военной форме, с эполетами. Он аплодирует и бросает на арену букет цветов. Губернатор этот – все то же Действующее лицо всего представления, и букет цветов – его последний выход.⁶

В приведенном выше пассаже Флоренского хорошо показано, как артист, не обладая закрепленным амплуа, выступает в роли собирательного лица: музыкант становится клоуном, затем наездником, фокусником, директором цирка, лошадью и, наконец, губернатором. В этом смысле цирковой артист подобен фишкам игры го, поскольку всегда готов на ситуативность и импровизацию. Циркач существует до тех пор, пока находится в движении, осуществляемом не только синтагматически вместе с передвигающимся во внешнем мире цирком, но и парадигматически, т.е. на открытой цирковой площадке или на манеже под куполом цирка. Во время представления артист может менять маски/образы тела, при этом не обязательно обращаясь к гриму, реквизиту и костюмам. Так, в репризе “Калейдоскоп” Леонид Енгибаров, лишенный цирковых атрибутов, по ходу действия демонстрировал мгновенные превращения в гитариста, в хоккейного вратаря, в нападающего и, наконец, в пожилого человека. Множественность репрезентаций телесности в случае Енгибарова или в пассаже о цирке Флоренского оказывается способом сопротивления иерархии как таковой, противопоставления силе властных структур, поскольку государство всегда ощущается цирковым артистом

⁶ П. Флоренский. Письма с Дальнего Востока и Соловков // П. Флоренский. Сочинения: В 4 т. / Сост. и общая ред. игумена Андроника (А. С. Трубачева), П. В. Флоренского, М. С. Трубачевой. Москва, 1998. Т. 4. С. 323.

номадически, т.е. как институт духовного и физического подчинения и подавления и, таким образом, как вселенское зло. Разыгрывая синтетическое представление, циркач дополнительно акцентирует момент неподчиненности циркового искусства никаким иерархиям, его независимости ни от какой власти, кроме власти художественных образов (аплодирующий циркачу представитель власти у Флоренского – знак победы артиста над аппаратом государства.) Цирковой артист сам по себе обладает способностью быть эквивалентным цирку как таковому и окружающему его миру, становясь таким образом в оппозицию государственной власти. Подвижное и свободное, преодолевающее свои собственные пределы, его тело в конце концов также является “машиной войны”, символически разрушающей узаконенное государством очерчивание сферы человеческих границ.

Этот факт хорошо обыгрывается в романе Юрия Олеши “Три толстяка”: только благодаря цирковому гимнасту Тибулу и его юной ассистентке Суок становится возможной победа над господством триоправительства. В экранизации романа Алексеем Баталовым гимнаст Тибул уже в начале фильма вооружен обручем, увешанным огнестрельным оружием. Позже он показан уже с оружием в руках.



Илл. 5. Кадр из фильма Алексея Баталова “Три толстяка”.

В связи с этим уместно вспомнить приведенный Юрием Боровым пример разрушающего противостояния цирковых артистов официальной власти:

Марко Поло, венецианский путешественник XIII в., рассказывал, как владыка Китая Кублай изгнал фокусников и акробатов из своей страны. Их было так много и они так хорошо владели своим оружием, что, перейдя через многие горы и пустыни, завоевали дальние страны.⁷

На самом деле в упоминаемой Боровым “Книге о разнообразии мира” Марко Поло сообщается легенда о том, что китайское царство

⁷ Ю. Боров. Эстетика. Москва, 1969. С. 294.

Мян решил покорить некий великий хан, при дворе которого было множество фокусников и плясунов. Хан приказал артистам сформировать войско и захватить это царство. В помощь он дал им начальника и провожатых. В конце концов циркачи завоевывают царство, описываемое Марко Поло как величественное. Покорение цирковыми артистами государства Мян, возможно, является не фактом истории, а исторической легендой, однако служит наглядным примером того, как полис оказывается бессильным против номоса. С одной стороны, хан, представитель государственности, вынужден просить штукарей о помощи, потому что их витальная сила – в слитности с природой, в единстве с космосом. С другой стороны, государство терпит поражение в схватке с цирковыми артистами, поскольку, руководствуясь исключительно принципами стратегического расчета, в результате становится беспомощным перед номадической эксцентрической непредсказуемостью циркачей. Интересно, что именно как набег кочевников на город описал Петр Шаликов в своих “Путешествиях” появление цирковых артистов на ярмарке в Ровны:

Гуляя по рядам, увидите вдруг чрезвычайное волнение в народе, услышите топот лошадей, пронзительный бой барабанов, и явится глазам вашим взвод амазонок, как можно разгневанных, как можно распещренных; вместо стрел и копий летят из рук их во все стороны афиши, которые говорят: в семь часов вечера будут пантомимы, игры гимнастические и балансеры.⁸



Илл. 6. Кадр из фильма Феллини “Клоуны”.

В фильме Федерико Феллини “Клоуны” появление циркачей в городе Римини пугает маленького мальчика: гомон, который исходит от клоунов, напоминает шум, производимый при набеге номадов на оседлые поселения. Интересно, что в фильме “Номады” Джона Мактирнада эксцентричность кочевников, предстающих в образе свирепых хиппи-панков, обладает сходством с эксцентричностью и монструозностью клоунов Феллини. Герои фильма в ужасе бегут от натиска явившихся из прошлого номадов так же, как сбегает с представления клоунов плачущий ребенок. Эксцентричность в чистом виде обретает в обеих кинолентах монструозные

⁸ П. И. Шаликов. Второе путешествие в Малороссию. Москва, 1804. С. 88.

формы. Параллель между хиппи и клоунами провел Вячеслав Полунин, заметив, что в 1950-е гг. в поисках “живого искусства” “клоуны, объединившись в хиппи, уходили на улицу, потому что самое простое и быстрое понимание того, что хотят люди, возникает при прямом контакте”.⁹

В конце 1970-х гг. Вячеслав Полунин, обратившись к традициям бродячего цирка, создал театр “Лицедеи”, сценой которого становились не только мюзик-холлы и стадионы, но и улицы, витрины магазинов, трамваи, парки, ступеньки дворцов, соборные площади. Актеры полунинского театра, наделенные сходством с хиппи и панками одновременно, нередко разыгрывали театральные представления в виде внезапных “набегов” на город. Десять лет спустя этот театр трансформировался в театральный город на колесах под названием “Караван мира”, обошедший в течение полугода многие города Европы; тем самым Полунин реализовал уникальную идею европейского фестиваля уличных театров.

2.

Другими словами, цирковая жизнь на колесах – и есть само бытие, противопоставленное “ничто” полиса. Вытесняя мифологему театра, цирк все ошутимее становится мифологемой и аллегорическим эквивалентом нашей современности. Будучи по своей природе номадическим, т.е. в основе своей незакрепленным и неподлежащим закреплению культурным феноменом, цирк в ситуации “взрыва” визуальности и медиальности, охватившей современную культуру,¹⁰ начинает ассоциироваться с универсальной *семиомедиаферой*, в пространстве которой присутствует попытка найти некую абсолютную модель динамического равновесия между “семиосферой” (Ю. М. Лотман) и медиаферой, т.е. между знаковыми системами и материальными носителями знаков (письмом и книгой, кинематографом и компьютерной технологией), между устно-зрелищной и письменной культурой, между вербальным и визуальным. Не случайно цирк начинает характеризоваться как “универсальная зрелищная форма” искусства, “вариации которой

⁹ Цит. по: Т. Смирнягина. Театр мечты Вячеслава Полунина // Е. В. Дудков. Развлекательное искусство в социокультурном пространстве 90-х годов. Санкт-Петербург, 2004. С. 164.

¹⁰ Ср. И. Ильин. Постмодернизм от истоков до конца столетия. Эволюция научного мифа. Москва, 1998. С. 186.

можно обнаружить как в традиционных, так и в новых (технических) зрелищах”.¹¹ Следовательно, цирк – трансмедиальное искусство, предполагающее ситуацию постоянного перехода, перевода из одной знаковой системы в другую, способность репрезентации разных медиа. В противоположность замкнутости синтеза, трансмедиа сфера цирка, благодаря своей номадической сущности, открыта вовне и предполагает постоянное переключение, перемещение равновесия с одного объекта на другой. Под трансмедиа сферой я имею в виду не репрезентацию одного медиума другим,¹² а наличие в ней самой переключателей, отсылающих к разным сферам культуры, – искусству, истории, политике и др. Мне представляется, что именно в цирковом искусстве присутствует попытка найти некую универсальную модель межмедиа льного (и одновременно) межсемиотического равновесия между литературой и зрелищем, между вербальным и визуальным как таковым. Кстати, еще в 1920-е гг., сопоставляя искусство цирка и кинематограф, Лев Кулешов постулировал родственную близость обоих искусств именно в силу их номадической основы:

Цирковой актер не ограничен местом работы. Он кочует по всему миру. Кинематографическая лента также демонстрируется по всему миру, и возможность такой широкой работы получается от того, что отдельные “номера” есть показатели точнейшего расчета и сложнейшей работы человека над собой.¹³

Номадическая vs трансмедиа льная сущность цирка хорошо показана в фильме Александра Клуге “Артисты цирка под куполом: беспомощны”, главная героиня которого Лени Пайкерт, воздушная гимнастка, ставшая директором цирка, мечтает о реформированной программе. Однако в финале она неожиданно порывает с цирком, начинает изучать теорию массмедиа и вместе с другими артистами переходит работать на телевидение. Лени легко справляется как с теорией, так и практикой, поскольку механика СМИ (“световые эффекты”, “зрительный опыт”, “акустическое восприятие”), с которой она знакомится, по сути, воспроизводит цирковую, а сам цирк трактуется ею как важное информа-

¹¹ Ср.: Н. Хренов. Кино. Реабилитация архетипической реальности. Москва, 2006. С. 43.

¹² Ср.: Philip Hayward. Echoes and Reflections. The Representations of Representations // Idem. Picture This! Media Representations of Visual Art and Artists. London, 1998. Pp. 1-25; G. Winter. Kunst im Fernsehen // Helmut Korte/Johannes Zahlten (Hrsg.). Kunst und Künstler im Film. Hameln, 1990. S. 69-80.

¹³ Л. Кулешов. Цирк – кино – театр // Цирк. 1925. № 1. С. 14-15.

ционное пространство. Разрыв с цирком, таким образом, оказывается для героев мнимым.¹⁴ На то, что цирковое искусство в силу заложенной в его основе динамики равновесия обладает свойством трансмедиальности, в свое время обратил внимание Юрий Олеша:

Цирк учел силу воздействия на человека всяких зрелищ, в которых нарушаются наши обычные представления об отношении человека и пространства. Большинство цирковых номеров построено на игре с равновесием: канатоходцы, перш, жонглеры.

Что же получается?

Цирк волшебным языком говорит о науке! Углы падения, равные углам отражения, центры тяжести, точки приложения сил – мы все это узнаем в разноцветных движениях цирка.

Это очаровательно.¹⁵

Теодор Адорно усматривал экспликацию в цирковом искусстве первообразов или дохудожественных образов искусства:

Формы так называемого низкого искусства, как, например, цирковое представление, в конце которого все слоны встают на задние ноги, а на хоботе у каждого неподвижно стоит балерина в грациозной позе, – все это представляет собой бессознательные, создаваемые без обдуманного намерения, изначальные образы того, что история философии расшифровывает в искусстве, из форм которого, отвергнутых с отвращением, можно столько выведать о его сокрытой тайне, о том, относительно чего вводит в заблуждение уровень, на который искусство возводит свою уже отвердевшую форму.¹⁶

Номера циркового представления ассоциируются Адорно с элементами коллективного бессознательного в духе Карла Юнга. Соответственно, сам цирк – предикат вечности. В нем актуализуется информация, присущая целым поколениям. Можно утверждать, что цирковые представления сопоставимы с информационным пространством, образуемым интернетом. И наоборот, современная Всемирная паутина напоминает пространство цирка, образующее во время представления особого рода “гиперпространство”, параллельную вселенную, где законы притяжения оказываются бессильными, а скорость света и случаи

¹⁴ Ролан Огю, размышляя о цирке XIX столетия, назвал цирк “телевидением XIX века”, как раз имея в виду коммуникативно-информационную функцию циркового искусства: Roland Auguet. *Fêtes et spectacles populaires*. Paris, 1974. P. 127.

¹⁵ Ю. Олеша. *Избранное. Зависть и другие*. Pullman, Michigan, 1973. С. 201.

¹⁶ Т. Адорно. *Эстетическая теория* / Пер. с нем. А. В. Дранова. Москва, 2001. С. 411.

трансгрессии – возможными. (Не случайно одна из мощных компьютерных программ названа Acrobat. Гибкость, с которой программа способна интегрироваться в видео-, текстовые, графические, звуковые файлы, сходна с гибкостью и подвижностью артиста-акробата, выступающего в разных жанрах.) Пластика акробатов, в свою очередь, сходна с бесконечной взаимопревращаемостью элементов космического целого.

Номадизм, заложенный в самой природе цирка, позволяет сосуществовать в данном искусстве элементам массовой и высокой, профанной и сакральной, общечеловеческой и национальной культуры, вырабатывать “охранно-восстановительный потенциал”, с одной стороны, консервирующий культурные ценности архаической эпохи, а с другой стороны, их реставрирующий.¹⁷ Данное понимание выводит цирк за рамки искусства и позволяет рассматривать его как культурный феномен номадического типа, затрагивающий и художественные и внехудожественные области.

SUMMARY

In this article, circus is treated outside the context of art. It is understood as a nomadic-type cultural phenomenon. On the one hand, circus nomadism is a transgression of spatial, ethnic, national, and social borders as well as the borders of meanings. On the other hand, circus nomadism presupposes a fundamental plasticity and changeability of the very subject and of his roles: in cultural terms, a circus actor functions not only as an artist but also as an image of a live, constantly transforming and recording structure, a sign of a potential code that enables permanent metamorphoses of a human being and his environment. In addition, a circus is a transmedial art that enables constant translation from one system of signs into another and is capable of representing different media.

¹⁷ Ср. Н. Хренов. Зрелища в эпоху восстания масс. Москва, 2006. С. 316.

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