*Review Article*

NIKOLAI SSORIN-CHAIKOV

# Reassembling history and anthropology in Russian anthropology: part II

This two-part overview of contemporary Russian anthropology focuses in detail on the work of several scholars and situates it in the changing landscape of Russian academia. The main issue I address is the debated academic identity of anthropology as 'historical science' as it is officially classed in Russia. Proceeding in a case-study manner, I aim to re-conceptualise the relationship between anthropology and history from the point of view of the anthropology of time, not merely by historicising anthropology but also by anthropologising history. I ask what temporal frameworks underscore the relationship between anthropology and history as it is thought about by the scholars I explore.

**Key words** Russia, anthropology, history, world anthropologies, review

*In memory of Alexei Nikishenkov*

In a 2016 interview published by the science news portal indicator.ru, sociologist Vladimir Kartavtsev touched on one of the hottest issues in contemporary Russian sociology. In March 2014, the question 'Do you agree that Crimea is Russia?' was put to a large random sample of telephone interviewees. This question was part of a sociological poll conducted, as it turned out, just days before Crimea's annexation on 21 March 2014. The poll triggered a heated debate across Russian sociology journals and social media, which quickly went beyond stating the obvious, namely, that the polling question was a leading one and that the agencies that conducted the poll, the Public Opinion Foundation and the Russian Public Opinion Research Centre, were driven by a political agenda. The controversy as a whole came to be about the forms as well as the limits of the performativity of knowledge, and about this performativity's recent histories in Russian social sciences.

As Kartavtsev puts it, 'each of your [research] actions within social reality changes it' (2016a: np). Thus, understanding social reality should involve what Pierre Bourdieu calls 'objectifying the objectifier' (2016a: np). Kartavtsev's example of this is Simon Kordonsky's 'social estate' theory, which builds on the word *sosloviia* ('social estates'), a term from the vocabulary of the Russian empire but applied to contemporary Russia and its redistributive economy (Kordonsky 2007, 2008, 2016; Kordonsky *et al.* 2012a, 2012b). In this paradigm, the state allocates resources unequally through state-ascribed designations that comprise culturally encapsulated universes with minimal social links between them. Sociology and the public poll industry is, from this point of view, a state science that constitutes one such universe – a social estate of social scientists. This social estate's service to the state is, through surveys, to provide a means for other state subjects to indicate that they know their place. In such a context, the interviewee

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sees the pollster as 'the state'. In the interview-as-knowledge/power-situation, the interviewee is not a universal citizen with rights to political opinion but a particularly situated and dependent state subject. Her place and privileges are ascribed by the state. In fact, she frequently expects to be able to put a particular grievance to the state in exchange for information the survey is to collect. This kind of sociology, argues Kartavtsev, 'does not survey opinions but elicits complaints' (2016a: np).

It follows that the affirmative answer to the question of whether you agree that Crimea is Russia, means: 'yes, I am a loyal state subject'. Kartavtsev suggests exploring this power/knowledge situation by looking not just at individual answer distributions in such a poll but a single telephone interview. As he suggests, the tone of the answer, the pauses between question and response, and the manner in which the question is asked in the first place, etc., all reveal a clearly audible affective soundscape of power relations. He calls this the survey's 'paradata' (*paradannye*; Kartavtsev 2016a: np) that highlights a political idiom of hierarchical giving and taking, ascribing rather than describing.

And here enters anthropology. For this is a colonial situation of 'red jackets and loincloths': 'The poll methodologists in Russia need to address what is essentially an anthropological question: why the interviewer is taken as an agent of colonial administration' (2016a: np). Furthermore, in order to grasp this situation properly, Russian sociology itself needs to become akin to Malinowskian anthropology. Kartavtsev alludes to the British Empire that achieved 'scientific mastering [*nauchnoe osvoenie*] of its overseas territories' by gaining information about what really takes place. For this purpose, administrative reports and surveys were insufficient – just as polls are insufficient in contemporary Russia. Unlike Russia, however, the British Empire made 'orgconclusions' (*orgvyvody*: 'conclusions about organisational consequences') and placed 'world-renown scholars … on the ground for long-term ethnographic fieldwork' (2016a: np).

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This is a discussion of sociology which I find nonetheless highly illuminating of the state of anthropology in Russia from an angle that I did not discuss in this article's Part I. Let me note, first, that the indicator.ru interviewers did not think anthropology needed any introduction for this portal's largely natural science and computer science readership. Equally importantly, the anthropology in question is not the one associated with the study of human origins, living ancestors, tribal or traditional societies. It is the anthropology of empire – of 'red jackets and loincloths' (Kartavtsev 2016a: np).

However, and second, if this signals that anthropology enjoys a broader academic recognition, Russian anthropology can hardly claim this as evidence of its impact. Kartavtsev's sources of inspiration are emphatically Western, not Russian. His normative reference to Malinowski's field science demarcates sites where such a science is what it should be (that is, in the West) versus Russia where a tradition of long-term fieldwork is still not institutionalised. This is not to say that long-term fieldwork is not actually practised in Russia. It is, for example, routinely carried out by the anthropologists I have discussed in Part I. Yet for them and many others it is still a matter of personal commitment rather than an institutional requirement. Equally, this is also not to say that long-term participant observation is actually institutionalised in what I call in this article, for a lack of a better term, 'gatecrasher anthropology'. For Kartavtsev, anthropological fieldwork remains what he wishes to do, rather than what he practices in his own research. This did not prevent him however from writing an editorial

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introduction to a special issue on political anthropology for the journal *Sotsiologiia Vlasti* (*Sociology of Power*). Kartavtsev's introduction is a sophisticated discussion of approaches towards politics and power that draws upon the current work of Sherry Ortner and David Graeber (Kartavtsev 2016b). The special issue includes Russian translations of James Ferguson on development and depoliticisation and Didier Fassin on prisons and psychiatric hospitals. There is one original article by the University of Toronto-trained Russian anthropologist, Anna Kruglova. The remaining articles are by Russian-educated sociologists and political philosophers (Kartavtsev 2016c). What makes the latter anthropological is its engagement with anthropological theory. Verdery (2006: 47) once remarked that it sufficed to refer to Geertz to pass as an anthropologist in Eastern Europe. Nowadays, it is not so much Geertz as Latour, Kopytoff, Viveiros de Castro, that is, the ontological turn, materiality and post-humanism that are reigning.

What this implies is that understanding anthropology in contemporary Russia would be incomplete without considering how it is frequently and systematically claimed by scholars of diverse non-anthropological disciplinary backgrounds, ranging from political science to philosophy, philology and cultural studies. In this second instalment of the article I focus on how the particular kinds of academic anthropology upon which I focused in Part I coexist with such varieties of gatecrasher anthropology. I look at how anthropology is understood by these non-anthropological scholars and at what else is claimed, in addition to anthropology, in these anthropological assertions. In this part's conclusion, I discuss how this, along with the previous part's material, could be read from the point of view of reassembling history and anthropology.

The gatecrasher claims to anthropology position the discipline as a social science in an explicit contrast with Russian academic anthropology, in which anthropology is seen as not merely a historical science but as a past-dependent one – that is, by and large, that it is still driven by the Soviet ethnographic canon. What is interesting from this point of view is how Kartavtsev displays his own past-dependency of sorts. Kartavtsev's argument in his interview is contingent on a historical matrix of British empire and Malinowski's anthropology, and that of the social estates of early modern and imperial Russia. However, these two historicities work towards two different ends. British imperial anthropologists are examples of 'world renowned scholars' (Kartavtsev 2016a: np); they serve as points where Kartavtsev's own sociology and his vision of what Russian social sciences should be are reassembled as the 'contemporary world science' (*sovremennaia mirovaia nauka*). In contrast, the concept of social estates, deployed to understand contemporary Russia, temporalises it as an archaic research object. What we see is a double temporal orientation that I discussed in Part I. The temporal identity of scholarship is articulated together with the temporalities that this scholarship charts. What we also see is that the notion of contemporary world science is not just temporal. The 'world' here means 'the West', quite contrary to the current Western usage in which 'world anthropology' signifies whatever is out there in addition to the Western traditions (Ribeiro and Escobar 2006).

Katherine Verdery (2006) points out that as the former Soviet space became accessible to Western anthropologists for fieldwork, it has also become an arena for competitive local claims in the social sciences to be Western and modern, in which Western anthropology became an important marker. Verdery's most telling example of this competitive process is Romanian initiatives to create Western-style social and cultural anthropology that were advanced in the 1990s simultaneously by Romania's largest universities, such as those of Bucharest, Timişoara, Cluj and Iaşi, all claiming that they were the first to do it and, on these grounds, asking for EU and other Western intellectual and

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financial aid (2006: 47). I show below that in Russia, at the university level, the name of the game is now 'internationalisation'. Yet the processes I describe are about much more than that. As I suggest below, gatecrasher anthropological claims carve out distinct spaces within the Russian intellectual milieu and their social body operates at a different scale than do university policies and also independently from them.

Claims to difference structure these spaces as 'chronotopes of postsocialism' (Sosnina and Ssorin-Chaikov 2009). These differences express degrees of separation of a given event or location from what is identified as Soviet and past-dependent. For instance, in the 1990s, the influential journal *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* (*New Literary Observer*) declared an anthropological turn in the understanding of such topics as the Soviet everyday, nationalism and the history of emotions, and ran conferences on these issues while hardly ever inviting Russian anthropologists to take part, at least until very recently. Conferences and publishing separate these locations. But there are places such as bookshops where this separation is achieved by mixing. Bookshops' anthropology sections include not just research monographs but anthropological textbooks written by philosophers, political scientists and sociologists (Belik 2009; Khisanfova and Perevozchikov 2002; Vasiliev 2002; Orlova 1994; Yarskaya-Smirnova and Romanov 2004). Below, I chart some of these anthropological locations in transformation. I understand anthropological locations not so much as fieldwork locations (Gupta and Ferguson 1997) but as spaces of debate interlinked with institutional sites and publication venues. Just as was the case in Part I, some of the discussion below is based on ethnographic interviews with specific scholars, namely with Simon Kordonsky (sociology) and Alexandra Arkhipova (folklore studies).

## Anthropology and history as social science

In considering these processes it is important to keep in mind that the post-Soviet chronotope of contemporary world science is not expressly new. Consider a brief example from a historical period in which the frontline of time in science was understood as being in sync with the frontline of time in society itself, and in which the unity of the two was constitutive of new academic locations. Such radical temporalisation was inseparable from the self-identity of early Soviet society and Soviet Marxist social science as the world's cutting edge of time – that is, historically new phenomena, predicated on the radical temporal break with the past: with the Russian Empire and 'bourgeois' academic institutions and approaches.

Pavel Kushner, who was the subject of Sergei Alymov's interest, took part in this in the 1920s (Alymov 2006: 23–7), that is, 20 years before Kushner embarked on a project on ethnic cartography (see Part I). Throughout the 1920s, Marxist research and teaching institutions proliferated to produce new university and party cadres, elaborate Marxist classification of sciences and university subjects, and in doing so, to 'conquer', to use the Bolshevik formulation (Alymov 2006: 23), the former Imperial Academy and the institutions of higher education. At one such new location, the Yakov Sverdlov Communist University, Kushner taught the newly created subject of 'history of social forms'. In 1929, he became a chair of a similarly titled section in the Society of Marxist Historians at the Communist Academy. The evolutionary problematic of 'primitive society' loomed large both in Kushner's lecture course and the work of this section. Both were instrumental in the elaboration of the concept of socio-economic formation

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within Soviet anthropology. The section was soon renamed as being 'sociological', which meant 'Marxist sociology', and was otherwise called simply 'social sciences' (*obschestvennye nauki*). The Faculty of Social Sciences in this Marxist sense existed at Moscow State University from 1919 to 1925, encompassing what had been the Faculty of History and Philology before 1917.

In 1925, in an entirely unprecedented manner, this Faculty of Social Sciences at Moscow was renamed as the Faculty of Ethnology. 'Ethnology' included not just the emerging Soviet anthropology, but also history, archaeology, philology and the history of art. It reassembled these different subjects under the umbrella of Marxist 'social science' by inserting a Marxist temporality of the new social and academic order – and by a simultaneous anthropologisation of these disparate disciplines. But actual ethnology within this faculty *de facto* included scholars with a much broader range of theoretical affinities than Marxism – most notably, diffusionists. In fact, the main problem for Marxist 'social science' was that it did not exist. At Moscow as well as elsewhere at that time, to be Marxist was a matter of complex intellectual and political differentiation from other kinds of socialism – in particular, differentiation from peasant socialism (Ssorin-Chaikov 2009) – and, eventually, a matter of self-censorship and censorship until the very term 'ethnology' came under attack as 'bourgeois' from within, as well as outside, ethnological circles (Alymov 2006; Alymov and Arzyutov 2014; Solovei 1998). As a result, at Moscow State University, 'ethnology' disappeared in 1931 and reappeared in 1939 as 'ethnography' – as the Department of Ethnography at the Faculty of History. The latter was also reassembled in 1934 as being separate from philology, etc., while reassembling anthropology as a historical science.

This was the Department of Ethnography where I completed my undergraduate degree in 1987. Just as did Alymov, Ozhiganova and Khristoforova, as well as many other students, I regularly visited Alexei Nikishenkov long after graduating. When I told him in the 1990s, coming from Stanford where I completed my PhD, that I found it striking how influential Marxism and Marxist-inspired social theory was in Western anthropology, he described this story of 'ethnology' to me as being 'Marxist social science'. As he explained, when he started working on the history of the British school in the late 1970s, he did not mind the genre of the Marxist critique of bourgeois approaches, as he always took Marxism seriously as a methodology. He also thought it was ironic that Soviet Marxism constituted the Procrustean bed of evolutionism for Soviet anthropology while also once upon a time realising anthropology's continuous ambition of becoming a meta-discipline.

## Institutional and project temporalities

Just as in the 1920s, the current reassembling of anthropology and history takes place not merely as a matter of individual scholarly trajectories but also in the form of institutional transformations. Here, it is useful again to refer to Alymov's work on the Institute for Ethnology. The key events of the post-1944 period that was his focus (see Part I) occurred after the institutional centre of the Soviet Academy of Sciences was moved during the Second World War from Leningrad to Moscow and with the Academy's subsequent rapid growth as a prime location for Soviet science in the Cold-War era. In post-Soviet times the Academy's privileged research position was challenged by funding cuts as well as by the growth of research universities. Post-Soviet

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academic space was reshaped considerably, starting in the 1990s through the emergence of new state and private universities, such as the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow and the private, postgraduate European University at St Petersburg.

In the 2000s, state funding relatively stabilised. It formed the basis for higher education and research that was assembled anew and was geared towards new state priorities. If Cold-War concerns were driven by the nuclear arms races and physics, more recently computer and other applied sciences grew in prominence, as did the production of government economists and civil servants. In the education of new government elites, the Higher School of Economics (HSE) and the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) play leading roles. But these new institutional changes also include internationalisation across all academic fields through participation in the global university rankings race. A new group of ambitious research universities has formed to partake in government funding programmes to move up this international rating system. At these state universities, this race combines neoliberal managerial techniques and incentives to publish in English and in the West with what can be described as an academic version of Kordonsky's social estate theory of privileged access to state resources.

Within this context, Alymov and Ozhiganova, as anthropologists based at the Academy of Sciences, are placed at a structural disadvantage, as is the Academy of Sciences in general. They compensate for this, as many others do, by engaging in research collaborations outside their institutions. Alymov has taken part in a series of projects on the history of Soviet anthropology directed through the University of Aberdeen; Ozhiganova has a long-running collaboration on post-Soviet healthcare systems with sociologists and gender theorists of the European University at St Petersburg. In turn, Khristoforova's base, the Russian State University for the Humanities, experienced rapid growth in the 1990s and was later in steady decline after the retirement of its founding director, Yuri Afanasiev. Khristoforova is now part of the group of philologists and historians of culture from this university that partially moved to another academic location, the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, where they created a School for Advanced Studies in the Humanities.

All these scholars' institutional, biographical and subject-matter temporalities are now part of the post-socialist chronotope of 'contemporary world science' that is constituted through complex rhythms of grant schemes and conferences, as well as English-language publications. This chronotope persists today, despite rising political tensions between the Russian government and the West, and a recursive suspiciousness of research links that non-state universities have cultivated with the West. This is widely if informally seen as one of the key reasons for recent licensing problems faced by the European University at St Petersburg and Moscow's School of Economic and Social Sciences affiliated with the University of Manchester. Kordonsky's social estate theory is useful here too as it implies that universities are not academic 'universal citizens' with universal rights but subjects with different and unevenly distributed privileges.

## Temporalisation: metropolitan, provincial and 'native' science

A 2013 volume of the journal *Antropologicheskii Forum* carried a provocatively titled article, 'Provincial and native science', by sociologists of science Mikhail Sokolov and

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Kirill Titaev. This article addresses the current situation in the Russian social sciences. Sokolov and Titaev (2013) argue that one part of the Russian academic community is in a rush to enhance its international standing by privileging citations from scholarship produced in the West. They call this tendency 'scientific provincialism' as this referencing produces temporal dependency: Russian scholars read, Western ones write. Others ignore Western literature and debates altogether in what Sokolov and Titaev describe as academic nativism or nationalism. Sokolov and Titaev's overall scheme also depends on the foundation category of science that is neither provincial nor native but metropolitan (*stolichnyi*).

From their point of view, science as an institution is essentially a form of temporal orientation. 'Scientists must maintain awareness of what is *new* in their fields', argue Sokolov and Titaev using the Russian term for 'science', *nauka*, which applies to all academic fields from the natural sciences to the humanities. They define science as the pursuit of new knowledge as well as a timelessness of sorts: 'the main legitimising myth of science, the one which puts it above other realms of social life, is the cumulative contribution of each scientist to science as a common building that in turn gives them *eternity*' (2013: 242; emphasis added). This temporal orientation towards novelty and timelessness constitutes communities of scholars as localised fields that are made visible, for example, in referencing and acknowledgements (Sokolov and Titaev 2013).

Sokolov and Titaev's article generated commentary and critique from a broad academic spectrum, including anthropology. The journal's forum section that accompanied the publication includes reactions from approximately 30 scholars and runs for more than 200 pages (Provintsial'naia i tuzemnaia nauka: forum 2013). Some commentators agreed with Sokolov and Titaev's main argument and compared the Russian situation with other academic locations, such as Germany and Armenia. Others strongly disagreed with the actual shape of research networks that were described, and also disagreed with Sokolov and Titaev's epistemological assumptions – and, above all, with the authors' self-assured 'metropolitan' tone. As Ekaterina Melnikova (2013) puts it in her commentary, if the anthropology of science as a form of the anthropology of the 'self' has become one of the discipline's cutting edges, the categories of the provincial and the native reveal modalities of old-fashioned and essentialist 'otherness in time'. Melnikova's critique was echoed by Sergei Sokolovskiy (2013), who points out that the post-modern view of science as language games undoes the temporality of Sokolov and Titaev's emphasis on new knowledge and timelessness.

Taking a cue from Melnikova's observation, let me consider Sokolov and Titaev's approach not as analytical but indigenous, that is, articulating one of the powerful languages of academic self-description. It is interesting that their approach does not just assume the temporality of novelty and eternity, but also historically archaicises the social organisation of science by conceptualising it through the lens of Nobert Elias' concept of court society (Elias 1983). The hierarchal distance from the sciences' world centres is put in terms of proximity to the court or the ruler – with isolationist 'native scientists' simply making a claim of being alternative rulers. Sokolov and Titaev describe the research status of provincial science in terms of aristocratic visits of each other, lists of invitees, acknowledgements and 'thank you' notes exchanged after the visits. There is also similar exchange that characterises native science, albeit it not with other scientists but with local politicians on occasions of applied research. This scholarship gains its legitimacy not from academic exchange with other scholars but from local administrative concerns of regional development, social policies, globalisation

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and migration. But it does so in a way that does not really shape these policies. This applied focus is, as Sokolov and Titaev argue, purely performative. It works as a merely praising submission: 'such "native" texts work as [Enlightenment] court poet's odes on the accession to the throne: you don't have to do anything with it, it just has to be there' (Sokolov and Titaev 2013: 252–3, 246–7, 261).

This discussion is partially metaphoric but only partially so. It resonates, for example, with Shapin's (1995) argument about the genealogy of manners of modern scientific debates. But unlike Shapin, what Sokolov and Titaev explore is not the world of science of the 17th and 18th centuries but that of the early 21st century. They conceptualise the social organisation of Russian science by temporalising Russian history, that is, by arguing that both the contemporary Russian political and academic systems can be explained by slowing down historical time. Koselleck describes this as 'the nonsimultaneity of the simultaneous (Ungleichzeitigkeit des Gleichzeitigen)' (2002: 159). This temporalisation appears as the 'time of the Other' (Fabian 1983), that is, as rendering the world outside the West existing as if in a different conceptual time zone. Koselleck links this with the self-identity of modernity as 'newtime' (2002: 165), in which the non-simultaneity of the simultaneous is also about differences between parts of the world where the very view of modernity as the cutting edge of time is taken up sooner rather than later.

This temporal construction of Russia is not of course exclusive to this Russian scholarship. For instance, Michael David-Fox (2015) describes in great detail idioms of archaism in contemporary Western historiography of Russia and the Soviet Union. What I would like to draw attention to here is a relationship between one kind of research temporality – of what it means to be academically cutting edge – and another: the temporalities of the processes that this research charts. Let me dwell on Kordonsky's approach to illustrate this temporal orientation. His aim in developing his social estate model for understanding post-Soviet Russia is not just to indicate the legacies of the earlier regimes of governance – as is the case, for example, in the argument of Sheila Fitzpatrick (2000) about ascriptive, social estate models of Soviet class identities; the thrust of his model is more fundamentally a-temporal. Central to Kordonsky's conceptualisation is a cyclical temporality of the state. He argues that Russian redistributive political economy and social estate formations undergo cycles of boom and bust analogous to the cycles of market economies. But for him this cyclicality is much more encompassing. As he put it in a conversation with me, 'We have no history but repetition', that is, cyclical rather than linear temporal patterns of state organisation. Here Kordonsky's concept of history is predicated on the openness of archives. 'If these archives are classified', as many important documents of the Soviet era still are, 'they are not open to reflection; thus there is no progress – we go in circles as if blinded.'

For me, these formulations came as an unexpected bonus. This was an unintended result in my interview with him; I was actually interested in another question. Kordonsky combines his position at the School of Public Administration at the Higher School of Economics, Moscow, with the headship of the board of experts of the private Khamovniki Foundation, which funds, *inter alia*, anthropology – and particularly the anthropology of business and local governance. However, Kordonsky never thought of himself as an anthropologist until Columbia University Press published an English translation of one of his books (Kordonsky 2016), and nominated it for a book prize of the Society for the Anthropology of Work. Yet the rubric of anthropology had already existed within the Khamovniki funding schemes for several years. I interviewed him to ask why the grantees of this programme are most frequently sociologists, sometimes

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political scientists, but virtually never 'proper' anthropologists (but see Zhuravskaia and Davydov 2019). 'I guess', he replied, 'ethnologists already know their place.' For him, Russian anthropologists are effectively a different social estate whose state duty is still to oversee ethnic policies and to develop the concept of Russia's national identity. Their situated perspectives are hard to shift, for example, towards the ethnography of business and governance.

## Rapid reaction folklore studies

If the temporalisation that underscores the work of Kordonsky, Sokolov and Titaev includes the slow-time and even a-temporality of not just the Russian sociopolitical system but also Russian science as court society and social estate, in the work to which I turn now this temporalisation involves the opposite: that of speeding up the time of both research practices and this research's subject matter. This is the research of Alexandra Arkhipova, Olga Khristoforova's colleague at the Russian State University for the Humanities and at the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA). Arkhipova's project is entitled *Monitoring aktual'nogo fol'klora.* This can be translated as 'monitoring contemporary folklore' although the word 'contemporary' does not quite capture the Russian notion of *aktual'nyi*, as borrowed from the French *actuel*. The term also means 'timely' and 'relevant', prompting the question: relevant for whom?

Arkhipova's research project, sponsored by the RANEPA, charts the languages and idioms of new social movements. It produces ethnographic research of these movements at a remarkable speed by a rapid reaction ethnographic team on standby to be dispatched wherever a new rally happens. Equally speedily, this team puts out quarterly bulletins of research data. If not for the visibly varying quality of this research output due to its speed of production, the project could have almost served as a response to George Marcus' (2003) observation of 'the unbearable slowness of being an anthropologist now'. Marcus points this out with regard to the chronic belatedness of ethnography in relation to the pace of changes in the societies that we study. Equally interestingly, the speed of *Monitoring aktual'nogo fol'klora* complements another temporal regime. It focuses on what these scholars understand to be folklore that is urban and modern, rather than rural and traditional.

Alexandra Arkhipova and I had a long discussion about her project. At the start of our conversation I asked her what kind of anthropologist she was, a historical science or social science one. She replied that she was neither, but rather a philologist by education, and then admitted to being a gatecrasher anthropologist: 'I have decided to call myself an anthropologist during conferences in Western Europe where either nobody knows what folkloristics is or feels that it has been historically compromised by links with nationalism.' In other words, her anthropological identity is a matter of internationalisation. Yet this does not mean that she identifies herself as an anthropologist only in this Western context. Arkhipova routinely does so in her publications, at conferences, including those of the Russian Association for Anthropology and Ethnology, as well as at a summer school on anthropology and folklore that she runs annually.

In our conversation, however, Arkhipova described to me something quite different from internationalisation. Her project emerged as a completely internal matter in inner circles of the RANEPA high administration whose members wished to have 'a

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running bulletin on new political jokes and slogans, and new social movements' linguistic improvisations – in short, everything that could be described as new political folklore'. Most of these bulletins are classified, although some have been posted on academia.edu and others are accompanied by open publications – for instance, on racist Obama jokes about the alleged US State Department involvement in Russian protest movements and 'offshore' jokes about the flight of capital from Russia (Arkhipova *et al.* 2016, 2017). These classified bulletins are reminiscent of equally classified cartography projects in which Kushner took part and that Alymov described (see Part I), as well as many other classified reports that the Institute for Ethnology has regularly produced.

The conditions of possibility of Arkhipova's project include just-in-time temporalities of this research subject matter – a here-and-now of a given protest or demonstration. Above, I have outlined the historicist temporalities of socio-economic formations and nation-building that underpinned ways in which the subject of anthropological research was envisioned in Soviet times. These have also deployed another foundational anthropological temporality: that of a historicist distinction of tradition and modernity which also underscores the emphasis of Arkhipova's project on the folklore that is 'new', 'contemporary' and 'relevant', and that is highlighted not merely by spatial shifts to urban and political sites, but also by speed.

The speed in question is actually quite complex. Arkhipova is aware that many think that her project could very well be part of political surveillance of new social movements. She adamantly disagrees with this assertion: 'For them [the RANEPA high administration] such bulletins are more like coffee table books – they are fun to read and they make great gifts among administrators.' I tend to agree with her on this, albeit on somewhat different grounds. Ilya Kalinin (2017) has persuasively argued that the state is no longer interested in surveillance of political jokes, or indeed in overseeing any kind of oppositional aesthetics, which was the case throughout the Soviet period. This is not because free speech has finally gained ground but because the state has itself successfully appropriated the previously oppositional political humour or *styiob* in the sense analysed by Boyer and Yurchak (2010). In doing so, Kalinin argues, the state is in fact far ahead of the game in its use of non-seriousness as a means of political governance.

One can say that the state has the last laugh, although in terms of the temporality of domination versus resistance it is the state that laughs first. Kalinin argues that the government is much more skilful and quick in using non-seriousness as an art of domination, making political humour virtually redundant as an art of resistance. One of Kalinin's examples of this temporality is the well-known statement of Russia's Minister of Defense Sergey Shoigu about the presence of Russian troops in eastern Ukraine. He apparently said that 'It's very difficult to look for a black cat in a dark room, especially if there's no cat. And it's even … stupid to look for a cat [there], if the cat is smart, bold and polite.' The 'polite people' has become almost an official yet half-joking designation for Russian troops in Crimea during its annexation. This is a statement that simultaneously denies and admits, jokes and does not joke. Kalinin (2017: 5) theorises this as a speech act that constitutes the Bakhtinian chronotope of the outside (cf. Yurchak 2006), but that makes the state itself unaccountable rather than the subordinate subject. The circulation of booklets on oppositional political folklore as bureaucratic gifts and coffee table offerings in the high administration of a university that has the training of elite civil servants as its *raison d'être*, inscribed in its title (the Russian Presidential

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Academy of National Economy and Public Administration), is a good illustration of Kalinin's point.

In a way, Arkhipova's project conceptually lags behind these politics while attempting to be up to speed with the tempo of social movements. In focusing on the temporalities of opposition, she overlooks the temporalities of governance and power relations that include the incidents of laughing like the state, to paraphrase James Scott (1998). The folklore studies in which Khristoforova participated at the start of her research into witchcraft among old believers looked politically safe in their temporalising idiom of collecting survivals of the past. But her research was about revealing things that were potentially dangerous both for state ideologies of modernisation and anthropological narratives of tradition (see Part I). In comparison, Arkhipova's project is less dangerous than it looks. In any event, it reassembles anthropology and history by deploying the notion of the 'contemporary' and 'relevant' political folklore within a historicist distinction of tradition versus modernity.

## Reassembling history and anthropology in Russian anthropology

History has become one of the leading modes of anthropological analysis. It marked a decisive departure from the timeless and evolutionary Other as anthropology's foundational subject and repositioned it as a part of modern and contemporary history. A landmark of this emergent trend was the establishment in 1988 of a joint anthropology and history PhD at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, with modern empires as its constitutive theme (Dirks 1992, 1993; Coronil 1994; Stoler 1995). An important starting point of this trend was the historicisation of anthropology itself – in particular, reflection on the ways in which Victorian and early 20th-century anthropology constituted imperial knowledge (Asad 1973; Clifford 1988; Stocking 1987, 1991; Trautmann 1987).

It is this historicisation of anthropology which makes it palpable that anthropology itself is not a singular entity. While this particular historical turn has become important internationally, its beginnings are pointedly North American. This article's main concern stems from the question of how such configurations of history and anthropology work in other anthropological traditions. What are specific reasons for turning to history or, conversely, staying clear from it for specific national, continental and transnational anthropological schools? How are these relations theoretically justified and what are their specific institutional arrangements? In this article I discussed such questions focusing on anthropology in Russia. I have argued that what made Russian anthropology's encounter with history distinct is that it has been classed as a 'historical science' since the 1930s. I charted some of the current discussions in Russian anthropology that include a strong push to approach this discipline as a social science rather than as a form of history.

My overall argument has been that history for this discipline is in a way unavoidable. It has not been difficult to see historicity as the methodological orientation of those scholars who strongly identify themselves against the 'historical science' identity of anthropology (e.g. Anna Ozhiganova, see Part I) or who come to anthropology from other social sciences and humanities (e.g. Vladimir Kartavtsev, Simon Kordonsky, Alexandra Arkhipova, Part II). My point is that what is important here is not so much history or no history as a matter of academic identity, but, rather, how

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history itself is understood and what kind of history is constitutive of this scholarship's empirical concerns and theoretical apparatuses. I have argued for understanding these meanings of history from the point of view of the anthropology of time. I explored these meanings, which are themselves historically situated, through what I called a double temporal orientation in which the temporality of this scholarship's subject matter is interlinked with the temporality of research practices and identities of this scholarship itself.

In developing this perspective, I have been inspired by Johannes Fabian's (1983) critique of classical anthropological temporalities. From Fabian's point of view, the timelessness of the ethnographic present and 'the other time' in which the subjects of ethnography were analytically constituted has been seen as both distinct from and related to linear historical time of anthropology itself. He defines this relatedness as *coevalness* or simultaneity. However, while Fabian calls for anthropology 'to meet the Other on the same ground, in the same Time' (1983: 165), he does not ask what this same time is. He describes it merely as a 'spatialisation' – as positioning differences, including differences between anthropologists and informants and, by implication, between different cultural models of time, 'side by side'. There are different articulations, frequencies, pitches and tempos of interactions, Fabian concludes, and all are contemporary. He argues that 'these dimensions of time' should be 'transcribed as spatial relations' (Fabian 1983: 162–3).

Doreen Massey observed that we can only imagine a spatial concept of simultaneity through a particular time: as if that of 'an instant flashing of a pin-ball machine'. She argues that the spatial notion of simultaneity is 'inadequate' precisely because 'space is also time' (Massey 1992: 80). Let me draw on Massey's critique of the spatial concept of simultaneity to stress the two following points. First, if it is insufficient to transpose the dimensions of time that Fabian charts as just spatial relatedness, what kind of temporality constitutes such simultaneity as spatialisation? Indeed this very insufficiency is the reason that in this article I turned to the 'temporalisation of history' in the sense of Reinhard Koselleck (2002). Koselleck charts the relationship between the temporality of the researcher (historian) and this researcher's subject matter (history) as the one between modernity as 'newtime' and the retrospective elaboration of epochal differences, such as those of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation – as well as the epochal, and not just chronological, concept of 'century'. These differences in time are also simultaneous, just as the production of the historian's modern identity and historical classifications of periods happen at the same time. My first point with which I would like to conclude this article is about the theoretical language that would be apt in thinking about such simultaneity as a temporal rather than spatial category.

Here it is useful to turn to Henri Bergson (1965; see Ssorin-Chaikov 2017: 11–14). He approaches simultaneity as a temporal concept that involves spatialisation in a sense that is very different from Fabian's. Bergson argues that the modern philosophical conceptualisation of time is spatial. We 'spatialize time' (1965: 50) when we think about it. We imagine it as a line or a circle in our mental movement that follows the motion of things we measure in time and in doing so time 'claims a space' (1965: 50). Bergson argues that our own mental motion which we express spatially is nonetheless a movement in time. This spatial measurement of time is a correlation of at least two temporalities or movements: the one we measure and the other we use for this measurement. And it is this correlation that is contingent on simultaneity: 'we owe this concept [of simultaneity] to our ability to perceive external flows of

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events either together with the flow of our own duration, or separately from it, or, still better, both separately and together, *at one and the same time*' (Bergson 1965: 51; emphasis added). This ability is the foundation of measurement. For instance, in the discussion of 'provincial' science in Russia, Sokolov and Titaev (2013) put differences in time between this provincial and metropolitan science as those in space between Russia and the West. This spatial distinction highlights a difference in time.

My second concluding point follows from cases that I considered in this article: it is that the temporalities in question are multiple. There is the fast time of contemporary political folklore (Arkhipova), and there is the slow time of the Russian sociopolitical system (Kordonsky). There are the temporalities of constitutive events and conceptual history (Alymov), as well as those of modern biopolitical transformations (Ozhiganova) and witchcraft accusations (Khristoforova). These all are articulated together with the temporalities of these scholars' research practices, their biographical temporalities as well as the temporalities of institutional transformations of post-socialist academic locations.

One way to relate them is through the linear temporal vector of Soviet Marxist time and post-Soviet developmental time, assumed by a temporal orientation toward world science and internationalisation. This correlation works in some contexts and does not work in others – particularly in the instance of non-linear biographical time which at the moment of narration can interlink past events differently than at the time they actually happened. As Janet Carsten, Sophie Day and Charles Stafford (2018: 7) argue, biographical time is an inexorable part of the process of ethnography, rather than being constituted as separate from or prior to it. This temporal flow is retrospective and directly linked with the time of the narrative that, for instance, Khristoforova examined with regard to witchcraft accusations (see Part I), and that is here applicable first of all to the time of narration of biographies, anthropological identities and the history of research that were given to me by scholars at the time of my interviews with them. But this retrospective time is also applicable to 'mental' positioning, also in a Bergsonian sense, of a given scholar at the time of her ethnography – as, for example, at the moment when Ozhiganova embarked on research in Russia, rather than in India, or when Alymov decided to do biographical research outside the framework of what he called a Whiggish glorification of ancestors (see Part I). In turn, this retrospection works as a way to correlate and measure other research temporalities. Just as in the case of linear time, this time of the narrative appears as a specific device to construct relatedness that is made visible in these multiple temporalities at the time of narration. More fundamentally, the varied temporalities that I have addressed in this article may be seen as working in a similar way as measuring devices for others (Ssorin-Chaikov 2017). This implies that history is temporalised differently depending on which temporality we foreground. Recognising this temporal multiplicity allows us to reassemble history and anthropology by focusing on different temporal categories that underpin this scholarship. Charting these categories both historicises a given anthropological practice and enables us to approach our understanding of history anthropologically.

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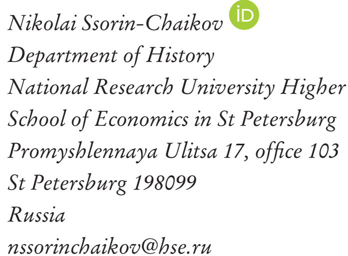

*Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov*
*Department of History*
*National Research University Higher*
*School of Economics in St Petersburg*
*Promyshlennaya Ulitsa 17, office 103*
*St Petersburg 198099*
*Russia*
*nssorinchaikov@hse.ru*

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# Rassembler l'histoire et l'anthropologie dans l'anthropologie russe: partie II

Cette vue d'ensemble en deux parties de l'anthropologie russe contemporaine se concentre sur les travaux de plusieurs chercheurs et les situe dans le paysage changeant du monde universitaire russe. Le principal problème que je traite est l'identité universitaire débattue de l'anthropologie en tant que «science historique» telle qu'elle est officiellement classée en Russie. En procédant par étude de cas, je vise à repenser le rapport entre anthropologie et histoire du point de vue de l'anthropologie du temps, non seulement en historisant l'anthropologie, mais aussi en anthropologisant l'histoire. Je demande aussi quels cadres temporels soulignent la relation entre l'anthropologie et l'histoire telle qu'elle est pensée par les spécialistes que j'explore.

**Mots-clés** Russie, anthropologie, histoire, anthropologies du monde, bilan/revue

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