



Edited by
JOHN P. ZIKER,
JENANNE FERGUSON,
AND VLADIMIR DAVYDOV

THE SIBERIAN WORLD



THE SIBERIAN WORLD



The Siberian World provides a window into the expansive and diverse world of Siberian society, offering valuable insights into how local populations view their environments, adapt to change, promote traditions, and maintain infrastructure.

Siberian society comprises more than 30 Indigenous groups, old Russian settlers, and more recent newcomers and their descendants from all over the former Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. The chapters examine a variety of interconnected themes, including language revitalization, legal pluralism, ecology, trade, religion, climate change, and co-creation of practices and identities with state programs and policies. The book's ethnographically rich contributions highlight Indigenous voices, important theoretical concepts, and practices. The material connects with wider discussions of perception of the environment, climate change, cultural and linguistic change, urbanization, Indigenous rights, Arctic politics, globalization, and sustainability/resilience.

The Siberian World will be of interest to scholars from many disciplines, including Indigenous studies, anthropology, archaeology, geography, environmental history, political science, and sociology.

John P. Ziker is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at Boise State University in Boise, Idaho, USA. His work focuses on social networks, climate change, and demography.

Jenanne Ferguson is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology, Economics and Political Science in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Her work in linguistic and sociocultural anthropology focuses on Indigenous and minority language revitalization, urbanization and globalization, and linguistic creativity/verbal art.

Vladimir Davydov is Deputy Director for Science at Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, and a research fellow in the Chukotka branch of North-Eastern Federal University, Anadyr, Russia. His work focuses on mobility, infrastructure, human–animal relations, reindeer herding, anthropology of food, and the history of Siberian ethnography.

THE ROUTLEDGE WORLDS

THE Umayyad World

Edited by Andrew Marsham

THE ASANTE World

Edited by Edmund Abaka and Kwame Osei Kwarteng

THE SAFAVID World

Edited by Rudi Matthee

THE BIBLICAL World, SECOND EDITION

Edited by Katharine J. Dell

THE TOKUGAWA World

Edited by Gary P. Leupp and De-min Tao

THE INUIT World

Edited by Pamela Stern

THE ARTHURIAN World

Edited by Miriam Edlich-Muth, Renée Ward and Victoria Coldham-Fussell

THE MONGOL World

Edited by Timothy May and Michael Hope

THE SÁMI World

Edited by Sanna Valkonen, Áile Aikio, Saara Alakorva and Sigga-Marja Magga

THE WORLD OF THE ANCIENT SILK ROAD

Edited by Xinru Liu, with the assistance of Pia Brancaccio

THE WORLD OF THE BAHÁ'Í FAITH

Edited By Robert H. Stockman

THE QUAKER World

Edited by C. Wess Daniels and Rhiannon Grant

THE ANCIENT ISRAELITE World

Edited by Kyle H. Keimer and George A. Pierce

THE ANGKORIAN World

Edited by Mitch Hendrickson, Miriam T Stark and Damien Evans

THE SIBERIAN World

Edited by John P. Ziker, Jenanne Ferguson and Vladimir Davydov

<https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Worlds/book-series/WORLDS>

THE SIBERIAN WORLD



Edited by

John P. Ziker, Jenanne Ferguson, and
Vladimir Davydov

Designed cover image: Iuliia Kuzenkova / Alamy Stock Photo. 'Travelling in winter, a man standing on Frozen lake Baikal with Ice cave in Siberia, Russia'

First published 2023
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2023 selection and editorial matter, John P. Ziker, Jenanne Ferguson, and Vladimir Davydov; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of John P. Ziker, Jenanne Ferguson, and Vladimir Davydov to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

With the exception of the Introduction, no part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

The Introduction of this book is available for free in PDF format as Open Access from the individual product page at www.routledge.com. It has been made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-No Derivatives 4.0 license.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Names: Ziker, John P. (John Peter), 1965- editor. | Ferguson, Jenanne, 1983- editor. | Davydov, Vladimir, 1981- editor.

Title: The Siberian world / edited by John P. Ziker, Jenanne Ferguson, Vladimir Davydov.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2023. | Series: Routledge worlds | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Identifiers: LCCN 2022046488 (print) | LCCN 2022046489 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367374754 (hardback) | ISBN 9780367374778 (paperback) | ISBN 9780429354663 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Ethnicity--Russia (Federation)--Siberia. | Human ecology--Russia (Federation)--Siberia. | Human geography--Russia (Federation)--Siberia. | Indigenous peoples--Russia (Federation)--Siberia. | Siberia (Russia)--Population. | Siberia (Russia)--Social conditions.

Classification: LCC DK758 .S535 2023 (print) | LCC DK758 (ebook) | DDC 305.800957--dc23/eng/20221122

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022046488>
LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022046489>

ISBN: 978-0-367-37475-4 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-37477-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-35466-3 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9780429354663

Typeset in Sabon
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

CHAPTER 27

HIDDEN DIMENSIONS OF CLANDESTINE FISHERY

A misfortune topology based on scenarios of failures



Lidia Rakhmanova

INTRODUCTION

An integral part of hunting and fishing is “luck”: an elusive element among the strict regulations, proven scenarios, interrelated actions, signs, and omens. Luck is a condition and, at the same time, a reason for the abundance of the caught prey or fish. Remarkable ethnographic cases (see, among others, the notion of “hunting luck” in Brandišauskas, 2017; Hamayon, 2010; Hamayon, 2012) have been analyzed to show how to attract luck and achieve success in hunting and/or fishing, revealing the intentionality of hunters’ actions and those of the community as a whole, targeted at a future time. Stakes are made by hunters to attract luck and enter into a “partnership” with it in order to achieve good results in catching prey, thus ensuring the success and survival of the community or hunter himself.

In this chapter, I attempt to turn the logic of “hunting luck” (which is directed forward, to the future) upside-down; here, I show how reverse temporality operates in an example of river fishing. The ethnographic material in which I am grounding this analysis reveals the hidden practices of a fisherman, which are aimed not at attracting luck and success in fishing but rather at preventing possible failures, breakdowns, and misfortunes. “Fishing failure” turns out to be an alternative core around which practices, actions, fears, and hopes concentrate. It is crucial to show how different the desire for success is from the pursuit of eliminating failures or surviving “despite” them.

From the perspective of economic anthropology, this approach provides a different interpretation to the time budget and patterns of investment in the informal economic practices of fishermen and hunters. Within the framework of the anthropology of the state and controlling authorities, my aim is to introduce the practices of informal nature management and non-compliant practices into a new risk horizon that affects the actions of fishermen: the threat of being caught by an inspector and the “river panopticon” forms a certain risk topology in which the fisherman’s house and his village are the most dangerous “points of return.” In this situation, other points, warehouses, shelters, and caches are created, reflecting dangerous and less dangerous areas in terms of frequency of inspection raids. However, inside these zones there is another logic that does not succumb to the logic of control: it is guided

by the “logic” of failure and the intention to eliminate the consequences of failures in the field. Thus, we find a multidimensional space with different causalities appearing in the geography of the fishery.

Here it is necessary to make a caveat and specify that the ethnographic case I rely on relates exclusively to river fishing. It means that the hidden architecture of the space includes the space of the river itself, its inflows, as well as riverbanks and the river bottom. Sea fishery or taiga hunting deal with other landscapes, and their dramaturgy follows other scenarios. These differences lead us to the necessity of a phenomenological analysis of the landscape in the ethnography of hunting and fishing. In this context, the intention for luck and the intention for failure prevention are a unique structural component—or perhaps even a unique language—that provides a new understanding of the intentional nature of the interaction between the human and the landscape.

My field research took place in villages located on the right and left banks of the middle reaches of the Ob River (in the Tomsk region). The most vivid and revealing material that prompted me to think about patterns of failures and misfortunes in fishing, especially non-compliant behavior, was collected in 2017, but during the winter and summer seasons of 2018 and 2019 I returned to seasonally isolated remote villages in order to participate in fishing again and learn more about new failures and ways of preventing risks. My research methodology included staying with a fisherman’s family for a month or two on a permanent basis, helping the fisherman’s wife with all household chores in order to finally be allowed to go night fishing with the homeowner. In addition, I interviewed many fishermen in villages whose livelihood relies solely on fishing for expensive and rare species of fish.

It is also interesting to note that participant observation of this type involved not only a fishing trip and assistance aboard a boat but also participation in the aftermath of a “fishing failure,” which is the semantic center of this chapter. The successful unraveling of the cut and damaged pieces of bottom trawl with hooks at the host’s home allowed me to gain greater trust from my informants, which I may not have achieved had the fishing expedition gone well.

FISHERMAN’S MISFORTUNE AND ANTHROPOLOGIST’S LUCK

The fisherman muttered something under his breath; he looked very dissatisfied, pulling from the riverbed a bulging bundle that was full of hooks. I only heard fragments of what he was saying: “I told you... how can... nonsense! a woman on board! There is trouble afoot... I told her!”

That day my presence and observation of night solo fishing was itself a “failure” and thus something unacceptable for the owner of the house where I was staying. Something had already gone wrong earlier in the evening when I got into his boat and he allowed me to accompany him to check the anchored (bottom) trawl (trawline)¹ (*donnye samolovy*). As it turned out later, the whole situation that night turned out to be composed of numerous layers of failures, breakdowns, accidents, which overlapped each other at the same time and almost in one place, creating unique conditions for participant observation.

We spent the evening in suspenseful wait for complete darkness, when we could go to the field without fear. A company of fishermen from nearby villages gradually gathered near one of the fishing huts. Two of my guide’s comrades drove up and

reported that since they had stored their boat motor near the warehouse and hut, it had been stolen because it was not well hidden. This led to a lively conversation, revolving around the story of some friends' misfortunes. It turned out that over the past week there had been a series of thefts, not only of motors from boats standing near the shore but also motors hidden in little-known caches and hiding places. They first started to discuss where it was now safe to hide things, but the conversation quickly became a discussion of how jointly created caches are no longer caches.

The second "malfunction" of the evening occurred when an overwhelming number of local fishermen discovered that their collections of riverbed gear were cut into parts. Townspeople, who used other nets, other boats, and equipment—and generally fished for fun—were accused of doing this. Local fishermen, one after another, approached the hut on the shore to report that they were now missing parts of bottom trawlines and other fishing gear. My informant seemed noticeably worried while waiting for the moment when it would be possible to go to check on his "possessions." When it got dark, we went to "hut number two," which was not his property and was built by people from another settlement; however, he had the right of access to it in case of a storm and other emergencies, as well as the need to substitute oars, twines, benders, ropes, hooks, and so on.

When the check of the anchored trawlines began, we found the third bottom-rope was soaked with sand and snags at the bottom. Thus its weight had increased and this prevented the gear from lifting, after which the twine burst and, together with the grapnel (*koshka*)—a special device for catching the rope of the anchored trawline—was left at the bottom of the river. In this case, there was a spare grapnel in the boat, but it was less heavy, less comfortable to hold, and less effective. We had to continue checking the trawlines using it. The fifth bottom trawline was cut into two halves, just as the fisherman feared. Due to the strong current and the weight of fish stuck on the hooks, the ends of the 150-meter rope at the bottom twisted into two knots. It was barely possible to lift them, and one could untangle them only in the village, at home. It was necessary to cut off the ends of the rope and pack it for repair.

While checking the last hook bundle, the twine of the gear became wrapped on the screw of the motor. The fisherman was noticeably nervous, as he was used to doing everything alone and managing the space of the boat by himself. It was clear that my presence was causing additional stress. Winding the twine with the grapnel behind my back, he recklessly led the twine through the stern, not the nose. The boat rocked, her nose rose above the water, and we almost tipped over. To balance the weight of a fisherman and my weight I had to crawl on my belly to the engine screw and cut the rope that held the grapnel at the bottom. This is how the owner of the gear was left without a second "catching instrument."

Nevertheless, the checking process had to be finished for several reasons. On one hand, because of the inspection raids two days prior, nobody dared to go out on the river even at night. The fish could die and spoil. On the other hand, the anchored trawline with hooks could again be cut by urban fishermen or other outsiders. Therefore, the catch had to be taken away immediately. But with what? The fisherman thought for a long time, looked at me and took a course to the opposite shore, upstream.

We drove for a long time in darkness and stopped at the mouth of a small river. The fisherman left me in a boat, having moored, jumped onto the bank and disappeared. For twenty minutes I could hear the rustle of grass and his quiet curses. After

that he dug out of the thickets with a rusty huge grapnel in his hands. He was looking for a stash that he had not accessed for several years (AFD,² 2017, Tomsk region). This hiding place existed in case of extreme misfortune, which we had experienced that night, when one failure was imposed on another and entailed a third. The grapnel was not comfortable, or rather, the fisherman was used to working with tools that were better shaped. However, it was only a matter of time and adaptation of techniques for him to be able to use it.

And so a series of accidents and failures in the fisherman's practice turned out to be an incredible research success. How does the "anthropology" of failures and misfortunes work? Does the breakdown reveal only the peculiarities of hidden and informal/illegal practices, or is it capable of giving us an unexpected look at quite common, unpunished activities and phenomena that seemed so simple in structure that they did not demand research? I will try to address these questions in the remainder of this chapter.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS: ANTHROPOLOGY OF MISFORTUNE

When we claim to be studying how certain social structures are organized and how they are formed or regulated by different practices, we try to highlight them and observe them directly. Or, less reliably, we ask our informants to tell us how everything is organized. In the course of 2017–2018 field research of non-compliant behavior, my research goals were to find out, among other things, how the fishing industry on the Ob River is organized in villages that are cut off from federal highways and regular transportation by air and waterways. What lay on the surface and were the first to be described ethnographically were the types of fishing; the fish breeds that were considered valuable and even prohibited; and the fishing equipment, such as nets, planes, wicks, muzzles, and trawls.

However, it turned out that by simply finding out how, why, and by which methods the fishing is carried out, we cannot reveal more than a third of the information. The rest of the knowledge remains hidden in both formalized interviews and intimate conversations. In part, this is due to the fact that we often do not quite correctly formulate questions for our informants. This is partially due to how our informants simply do not realize that when a researcher asks about the "front side" of the fishery, in fact, he means the back side of this business, which a fisherman would not even consider talking about. He will not talk about it precisely because it is a story of inefficiency, a story of failures, a story about what happens when the things he is used to that always work suddenly break down and stop working.

The anthropological investigation of failures and misfortunate events can be explored from several perspectives. Firstly, it can be considered as a methodological technique in field research. However, such an approach necessarily raises questions about how failures can be anticipated, and how one can know for sure the time and place when they may occur in the "field." Provoking misfortunate episodes is closer to an ethnomethodological perspective and raises several ethical questions unique to the research of informal practices and non-compliant behavior.

Secondly, the risks that sometimes turn into failures and even tragedies have their own special spatial structures which we can interpret and explore as a "hidden

architecture of risk prevention.” In order to reveal the spatial dimension of risks, one should consider the essence of spaces and scapes that are considered in the course of field research. What “space” do we actually encounter and explore while observing, practicing, and assisting our informants who are fishing? Is the structure and geometry of risk and failure spaces fully comparable to the specific physical and geographical conditions and landscapes in which fishing takes place?

Third, the anthropology of misfortune deals not with a linear temporality, but rather with the reverse. Instead of investigating the event as an incentive and response to the case, here the anthropologist deals with proactive actions and practices. These practices are carried out one way or another in the horizon of risks and failures that are located in the future time zone in relation to the insurance actions carried out in advance.

Fourth, value regimes and levels of “security” create, intersect, and overlap with hierarchies of different types: hierarchies of spaces and the practices permitted in them, hierarchies of actions, and, of course, hierarchies of different caches and hiding places. The question in this case is how precisely we can reconstruct these ranks and hierarchies, based on verbal interpretations, observed practices, and emotions of informants. Whether we can talk about meanings and hierarchies directly, and if not, how the order of action during the collapse points us to a phenomenon of greater or lesser significance. Or perhaps it is possible to consider all points and all practices in a given topology of misfortune to be equivalent?

RESEARCHER AS A SOURCE OF FAILURE: SCENARIO LAUNCHING

In earlier papers I have described how the most valuable information for an anthropologist can be related to his/her relatively vulnerable position, according to the local community members (Rakhmanova, 2019). The position of a beginner, an unskilled worker, an urban dweller, a woman in the context of a “purely masculine” occupation, has great potential and allows her to become, for a time, an “apprentice” of her informants, who is reluctant but still taught the subtleties that would not manifest verbally in a normal conversation or interview. However, it is obvious that it has limitations and a lot of ethical questions surrounding it. In particular, this position calls into question the boundary between playing the “naive urban girl” and misinforming the local resident (informant) about her intentions as a researcher.

Gender identity manifests itself quite clearly in the field and influences not only the nature of information disclosed but also the interpretation of the reasons for “luck” and “failure” in fishing and hunting: “a woman on board—trouble to come”; “there is no place for a woman in a boat.” As in the case of the field situation described above, I was a source of new tonality in the rhetoric used by male fishermen to explain their disasters and failures. However, the methodological weakness of this statement is that being in this position, I will never be able to figure out how exactly men would explain the missing tools and motors if there were no woman among them that evening, especially a woman who was an outsider.

Nevertheless, the provocativeness of the situation lies in the conjugation of the researcher’s intervention with the arrival of rich people from the city who have disrupted the inviolability of conditional boundaries of commercial water areas on the river. Thus one can record not only rhetorical passages and strategies of substantiation

and explanation of events that are used by members of the local community, but also directly observe the reaction to breakdowns and failures. These non-verbal observations reveal the flip side of the fishery and allow us to carry out an archeology of the earlier measures and find the traces of practices that anticipate the failures.

ARCHEOLOGY OF PREEMPTIVE PRACTICES: PLACES OF NON-RETURN

What exactly I was able to “excavate” after a night full of constant losses, breakdowns, failures, and disappointments? The loss of the first grapnel [*koshka*] at the bottom paved the way to the “storehouse of spare parts” in the boat itself. This fact seemed to me obvious and banal, until spare gear that was in the boat was also lost or broken. The storage place on board ended up being a part of everyday small practices and found itself in a wider system of insurance and supply system for individual fishing. Thus, if my informant usually needed only the boat itself and the tools and gear inside it, then in the evening when the participant observation was conducted, he also had to go to the other side of the river to take a rope and hooks in a storehouse, which had been preserved since last season in a common area shared by several fellow fishermen from two villages on the neighboring riverbanks. The warehouse was intact, and next to it there was a temporary summer shed serving as a fishing club, where they gather before the night fishing and discuss the latest news (AFD 2017 Tomsk region). However, even the additional gear did not allow to immediately repair the trawline system: tangled and cut into two parts, their use was postponed for repairs in the “final point of arrival,” the village house.

All other problems that arose in the course of the fishing required a solution on the spot, without going to the settlements or seeking for help. Therefore, the third grapnel, the last one, which was available in the fisherman’s inventory, had to be taken out of the stash near the river mouth, which was closer to the usual place of fishing than the village. This grapnel had been lying there for several years, according to the fisherman, and was never required before this case (AFD, 2017, Tomsk region). If we had missed or broken this instrument, we would have to turn to the non-individual stocks in a warehouse near the shed that the fisherman was allowed to access. Thus, he would have had to give himself away by putting us in the “spotlight” near a fairly visited place which the inspector could have known about. It was fairly risky, but less dangerous than returning to the village for inventory.

The choice made by a fisherman in an emergency situation shows the existing hierarchy of “places” in terms of their *safety*, *proximity* to the fishing sites or home, as well as the *degree of publicity* (or, conversely, maximum *secrecy*). A boat is an obvious place to store tools and parts, and therefore an ideal object for theft, and yet as an individually used tool, it retains some degree of physical control of the owner. A stash in the grass near the mouth of the river in the system described above is an individually created, most secret, well-hidden, and safe “place.” The warehouse, where it is possible to find some necessary equipment and then, at the first opportunity, to return its analogue in respect of duty, is a public and popular place where you can meet both a friend as well as the ambush of the controlling bodies. However, turning to the warehouse as a way to cover the traces is preferable to returning directly home when it comes to protecting family members from suspicion.

HIDDEN EDGES OF CLANDESTINE FISHERIES

Why is the anthropological study of failures aimed precisely at non-compliant practices and informal individual fishing activities? Before the observation at the inspection raid and at the night checking of anchored trawlines, I assumed that the fishery itself was based on a number of technological elements; however, it turned out that most of the investment in the fishery is related to the replenishment, maintenance and support of the hidden elements of sterlet fishing, rather than the basic processes of fishing itself (techniques and technology of fishing, skills). I reflected on the “hidden” only in the context of legal and illegal fishing. However, it turned out that control over the extraction of valuable fish species is only one sort of danger in this system among numerous risks and threats that have a source in the landscape structure, relationships within the community and beyond.

In case of any clashes, disputes, or conflicts between fishermen, for example, due to the theft of a boat motor, the fish itself, and parts of bottom trawlines, the participants can not appeal to the police, regional investigation committee or “folk” court in the settlement. Giving publicity to such a conflict would lead to disclosure and attract the attention of local authorities and controlling bodies (river traffic police and fishery inspection) to illegal fishing. Since vigilante justice and threats are not a tolerated means of resolving conflicts with competitors—and addressing the police/inspection does not work and causes more trouble than good (AFD, 2016, Tomsk region)—fishermen are forced to minimize clashes themselves. They must prevent competitors and thieves from committing a violation, or, if a crime is committed, find an alternative and replace the stolen/broken tool or instrument.

Here it will be appropriate to point out the difference between a storage hut/warehouse and a stash/hiding place: the first type of “place” or “point” in the structure that provides the fishery is the place where you should go in case of failure, where you can and must return, and you can rely on it: it is for “return” that they were created and maintained. A stash is a place where you do not have to go, or it is not desirable to return to. It is very likely that the cache can be discredited after the first “return” to it, not counting the moment that the stash is originally “filled with content.”

In this regard, the phenomenon described by Vladimir Davydov (2017) as a “place of constant return,” which mainly concerns terrestrial landscapes, may be redefined. In my case, when dealing with the community and investigating the practices of mutual assistance and support, I also cannot help but pay close attention to the importance of individual fishing; the secrecy of all key practices under the influence of the legislative framework; and finally, the direct control of executive bodies over the activities of fishermen on the Ob River. Where isolation plays both a negative and liberating role, and where the inspector’s boat can still reach the same places as the fishermen themselves, the stake is not on the public availability of the warehouses as rescue strongholds, but on the hidden invisible network, which I partly was able to discover and “excavate” owing to my participation in night fishing.

SCATTERING AND COLLECTING: THE REVERSE TEMPORALITY

Hidden structures consist of the networked places where you have to return, or where you can return only once; later, having discredited this place as a hiding place,

you must create a new one. This complicated scattering and then collecting tools and resources to solve a problem or overcome difficulties reveals to us the sophisticated temporality of fishing: these practices are not immersed in linear or cyclic time. So how do they work? In the scheme (Figure 1) I show that the fisherman's thinking is immersed in the future, while the task of his physical practices and actions is to work with the "past of his future." Even before fishing, the hiding places must be defined and equipped with the most precious details and inventory (in advance cache creation). As new information about raids, competitors' practices and rumors become available, the contents of the cache can be "re-hidden" and the place created for risk prevention will shift in the physical space ("transfer/creation of a new cache"). An even more lightning-fast reaction, just before entering the field, might be necessitated if the fisherman witnesses the failure or misfortune of his closest friend/neighbor. In this case, the spatial pattern of the caches must also be shifted or completely changed (transformations as a result of "neighbor's failure"). In the center of the scheme you can see the very process of fishing, which can last unhindered according to the scenario until the first failure, after which the owner of the caches will use their contents or turn to a common public warehouse. Using a cache and the things stored there requires replenishing resources while waiting and anticipating a new failure.

However, a new risk exists for each solution and anticipatory practice. On one hand, there is the possibility of failure itself: breakage, loss, complex fishing equipment that requires additional equipment. On the other hand, there is another risk: the possibility of stealing tools from the caches (which does not affect those who do not have caches at all). Finally, even if the cache is intact, you could be noticed by the inspector on your way there, since when on the shore for a few minutes in search of a cache you become vulnerable to observers. Scenarios of risk in this case are similar to the structure of a nesting doll, where the counter-actions against one threat automatically creates the ground for the second and third.

Other key questions arise from this framework. Do all these practices generally tend to have a strong intentionality? In what way does this intentionality differ from the type of intentionality embedded in the practices of hunters preparing for hunting? As a rule, the focus of practices, ritual actions, prayers, spells, bodily practices

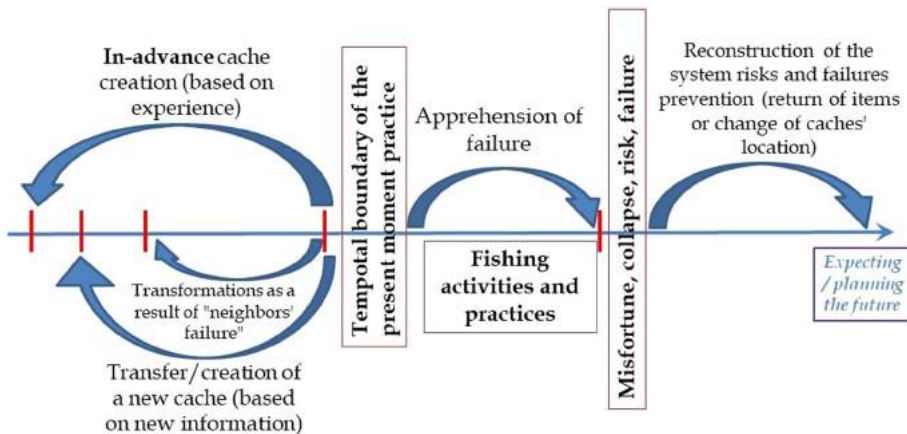


Figure 27.1

is aimed, on the one hand, at protecting the body and spirit of the hunter, i.e., at “strengthening” it, and at establishing a dialogue with the prey, which should be pliable enough, or submissive and indifferent enough to be easier to hunt. The focus here is on the body of man and animal/fish.

In the case of scattering and gathering of objects, the creation of caches and stashes, what is to be strengthened, protected, and stabilized is the very process of fishing in its duration. The “joints” and other organs may fall out of the “body of fishery”: a grapnel, which helps to find gear at the bottom, hook and lift the bundle of self-tapping hooks, a rope that tears, a boat that threatens to tip over.

And here I want to return to the episode described above, in which the twine of the grapnel caught the screw of the boat motor. Thinking about how, by habit, to save the situation by himself, to release the boat, stuck and chained to the bottom as at anchor, on a grapnel, the fisherman told me: “Well, now we will jump in and cut the rope in the water!” (AFD, 2017, Tomsk region). While not thinking about his body, health, risks of drowning, or getting hurt from the myriad of double-edged hooks assembled near the boat, the fisherman thought about the continuity of the process of catching and replenishment of “misbehaving parts” or lost tools. Instead of jumping into the water, I suggested using the difference in weight of our bodies to balance the boat, which allowed me to approach the sunken stern and cut the twine. In this way we solved the problem without personal injuries. However, if the events had required urgent medical assistance—or bandages, patches, or tourniquets to stop the blood—they would not have been found in the boat, unlike the spare grapnels.

This case shows how the value of an uninterrupted fishing process comes to the foreground, while the embodied knowledge, the agency of the fisherman himself, his physical ability, remains in the background, becoming as if an optional condition. Thus, fishing associated with the extraction of valuable fish species is not connected to the master’s luck; it is rather the exact solutions found in response to all the challenges and misfortunes one might face, and of course, the continuity of the process itself, which is central to the system.

PHENOMENOLOGY OF ACTION: THE-MOTIVE- BECAUSE IN CLANDESTINE FISHERIES

The above differences point to various types of intentionality (in terms of the temporal regimes that are characteristic to different types of fishing and hunting) and, on the other hand, to different types of rational action, which Alfred Schütz defined as “motive-for-it-to-happen” and “motive-because” (Schütz, 2004, pp. 23–25). “Motive-for” is directed exclusively towards the future and its cherished purpose is (in one of the variations) the hunting luck. “Motive-because” is the source of those practices and the embodied knowledge that allows one to create secret networks of stashes, keep them secret from his wife and close friends and strive not to return to places where the most valuable tools and things are located.

However, the fisherman certainly acts according to a mixed logic: if we zoom in and look at his fishing in general, you will see that all these precautions, stocks, and safety measures were created in order to ensure the catch of fish, to feed his family, to sell and get money for the fish, and so on. The question remains: is there any “luck” in the perspective of fishermen as such, do they expect luck, do they hope for it? After

all, a successfully completed act of fishing, resulting in the abundance of fish for the one who has reinsured himself in advance from failures, is only a consequence of his activity, not luck, which was influenced from the outside. As Schütz wittily remarks, pointing to the obvious limitations in the methods of interpretation and research of practices that are at our disposal, “only the actor himself knows ‘where his action begins and where it ends’, i.e., what it must be done for. The temporal length of his projects links his actions together” (Schütz, 2004, p. 25).

The difference between motives for the fisherman and the researcher who is involved in fishing and conducts research is particularly sharp in the case under analysis. This observation leads us to the need for a critical review of what the landscape and topology of the caches represent and imply in our study. The difference of landscape and land is concentrated in the idea, as Tim Ingold puts it, “land is not something you can see” (Ingold, 1993, p. 153), while landscape, the very notion of scape, presupposes a “view” and a certain “observer position.” The language repertoire defines the interpretation of the word “scape” that suggests the distance of an observer and arising of a third subject or agent between the land and the human, through which land becomes a landscape. However, a different genealogy of the “scape” prefix, which Ingold suggests considering in his work on rethinking task-scape, discredits this distance and offers a completely different approach: “Thus it is not land looked at but land shaped” (Ingold, 2017, p. 24).

Thus, the landscape in which the clandestine fisheries unfold is “shaped” by one passion and one fear: the passion for hard-won fish and the fear of breaking the script, the fear of failure and misfortune. Setting traps at the bottom of the river and stashes on the shore, the fisherman has two different objectives, two different tasks: the first are created to “work” on catching in the future time (relative to the time of setting up the traps) and presuppose fisherman constant return. The second, on the contrary, are created to avoid scenarios of failure “to be triggered.” Their value is to support “never-happening” events. It is a task-scape of never-completed tasks (see Ingold on the “unending task-scape,” 1993, p. 162).

CONCLUSION: STASHES OF CLANDESTINE FISHERMEN: INVISIBLE IN SPACE, MANIFESTED IN TIME

If we look at fishing stash not in the light of “risk prevention” but in terms of perceptual world and effector world (see Uexküll, cited by Ingold, 2000, p. 177), we will see that once created, a stash has the intention not to become an “object of the perceptual world” for anyone, and it is in this forgetfulness, abandonment, or exclusion from the horizon of perceptual world that his only purpose and effectiveness lies. In the perspective of this “dysfunctionality,” abandonment and invisibility, Ingold’s thesis about opposing “scape” as a vision and seeing “scape” as an act shaping the world becomes gradually clear. The mysterious landscape of fishermen is formed not by the gaze but by the deed; it works precisely because it is invisible and breaks when it gets into the “field of view.”

Revealing the system of caches, we are dealing with a type of “scape,” which is not visible, nested in the visible landscape. The stash is invisible in two senses of the word. Firstly, it is impossible to detect it by those who are not privy to the mystery, even if just by accident. Secondly, it is an invisible object because it is not located in the

present. At the exact moment when a fisherman throws a grapnel into the water to get the bottom trawline with a good catch, he acts in the landscape of the present, where the secret topology of stashes is absent. Stash is in the past, being associated with the prudent action of its creator and at the same time, the stash is an element of potential (future) landscape, or rather—a potential “functional tone of landscape” (Ingold, 2000, p. 175), which is designed by the fisherman, having in mind its “future use.”

What happens at this moment with the time of fishing itself? If turning to the hiding place is a kind of work with the past, the interrupting of the fishing scenario, directed towards abundance and continuous extraction of resources, can we say that this pause is like the sleeping harvester in a painting by Bruegel (Ingold, 2017, p. 24)? Does Tim Ingold speak about those very frictions in clandestine fisheries, when describing the temporal structure of the landscape? Let us reflect on the phrase below: “for things to pour forth into their surroundings, they must also periodically withdraw into themselves” (Ingold, 2017, p. 24). From a diachronic perspective, as we have described above, if we consider the process or flow that involves fishing practices, the trap at the bottom is located in a completely different chronotope than the stash on shore. However, if we consider stashes in a synchronous phenomenological perspective, trying to map an intention to luckily catch and readiness to misfortune in one landscape, we would discover that the fishermen’s stash is a flip side of those hooks that bring a good catch. Literally, the things that lead to luck and that preclude failures are the two sides of the same coin that has withdrawn into itself and poured into the surrounding landscape.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was carried out with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research in the framework of scientific project No. 18-00-01625 “Hybrid forms of interaction / coexistence in the social space on the banks of the Ob River: conjugation of life worlds of local communities, state structures, and scientists as a resource for understanding global/local climate and sociocultural change.”

NOTES

- 1 A special type of clandestine fishing gear, used to catch sturgeon and sterlet: a line of hooks (or series of interconnected lines), both ends of which are anchored to the riverbed.
- 2 Author’s Field Diary (AFD): Tomsk region, middle flow of the Ob River, 2016, 2017.

REFERENCES

- AFD. (2016). Author’s Field Diary. Tomsk region (Russia), middle flow of the Ob River.
- AFD. (2017). Author’s Field Diary. Tomsk region (Russia), middle flow of the Ob River.
- Brandišauskas, D. (2017). Starye tehnologii i sovremennoe izgotovlenie taezhnogo snariazheniia u evenkov Zabaikal’ia [Old technologies and contemporary production of Taiga gear by Evenki of Transbaikalia]. *Journal of Ancient Technology Laboratory*, 13(3), 44–57.
- Davydov, V. (2017). Temporality of movements in the North: Pragmatic use of infrastructure and reflexive mobility of Evenkis and Dolgans. *Sibirica*, 16(3), 14–34.
- Hamayon, R. (2010). The Prey’s love gift: The other side of the Siberian Hunter’s Luck. *Revue du MAUSS*, 36(2), 171–181.

- Hamayon, R. (2012). The three duties of good fortune: 'Luck' as a relational process among hunting peoples of the Siberian forest in pre-soviet times. *Social Analysis*, 56(1), 1–18.
- Ingold T. (1993). The temporality of the landscape. *World Archaeology*, 25(2), 152–174.
- Ingold T. (2000). *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ingold, T. (2017). Taking taskscape to task. In U. Rajala & P. Mills (Eds.), *Forms of Dwelling: 20 Years of Taskscapes in Archaeology* (pp. 16–27). Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Rakhmanova, L. Ya. (2019). Fishermen and Supervisory Instances on the Ob' River: Law Enforcement in the Shadow of Local Rules of the Game [Rybaki i kontroliruiushchie instantsii na Obi: pravoprimerenie v teni lokal'nyh pravil igry]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, 2019, no. 4, pp. 45–60.
- Schütz, A. (2004). *Mir, svetiashchiisia smyslom*. [A world illuminated with meaning]. Moscow: Russia Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN).