

# TEMPORALITY OF MOVEMENTS OF NORTHERN BAIKAL REINDEER HERDERS, HUNTERS AND FISHERMEN

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## ABSTRACT

This article addresses the topic of temporality of movement among northern Baikal reindeer herders, hunters, and fishermen. It proposes the distinction between short-term and long-term movements based on the return to places of intensive use. Short-term movements usually do not cover large distances and imply a return to the same place within a relatively short period of time. This type of movement implies the use of one main point where a movement starts and finishes. In contrast to short-term movements, long-term movements require intensive preparation, imply the use of several bases and cover larger distances. They are built upon a set of short-term movements which involve return to certain points of a route from which people operate. Hunting and reindeer herding are not connected only to movement in the taiga; these activities imply the use of stationary and mobile structures and hunting bases. In this context, the village also functions as a kind of base and serves as a point of constant return.

KEYWORDS: northern Baikal reindeer herders • hunters and fishermen • mobility  
• movements • hunting bases • Evenki native village

## INTRODUCTION

This article investigates the patterns of mobility of northern Baikal reindeer herders, hunters and fishermen. It analyses local concepts designating different types of movements and aims to elaborate the role of the intensively used places within the structure of local people's movements. The materials presented in this article were collected in the Evenki village of Kholodnoye, which is placed 18 kilometres from Lake Baikal in the Severobaikalskiy Rayon of the Republic of Buryatia in Russia. The field research took place over thirteen months from 2007 to 2012.

Physical mobility is a prerequisite for northern hunters and trappers (Oswalt 1999: 279), and it is a necessity for reindeer herding families as well (Habeck 2005: 35). In this sense, mobile structures such as a conical lodge should be analysed together with reindeer herders' and hunters' patterns of movement across the land (Anderson 2007). Principally, people establish "a relationship with a set of places" through movement (Rapoport 1978: 233). The motion of hunters and reindeer herders is never chaotic; it includes the intensive use of places connected by a path. They usually establish their

camps in the same places year after year (Tuan 1977: 182) and also travel along the same routes (Sirina 2002: 112). These people maintain a certain regularity and continuity in their use of the places. That is why in many places in the taiga, reindeer herders started using stationary structures such as winter log cabins (*zimovya*).<sup>1</sup> However, the introduction of these structures also served the purpose of mobility. People built them not in order to stay in one particular place, but in order to move from place to place.

Even though a classical mobility research by Derrick J. Stenning (1957; 1959) elaborated a clear distinction between the regular seasonal movement (transhumance), displacement of transhumant orbits (migratory drift) and “the assumption of new transhumance orbits by a sudden and often lengthy movement” (migration) (ibid. 1957: 59) and analysed how pastoralism was affected by social, historical and ecological factors, there was a lack of insight into how movements were organised in timescales beyond the seasonal fluctuations. The development of the idea of temporality was inspired by the phenomenological approach. Tim Ingold (1993; 2000: 189–208) attracted the attention of researchers to the temporal dimension of landscape. He suggested that a focus on the temporality of the landscape might enable scientists “to move beyond the sterile opposition between the naturalistic view of the landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalistic view that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space” (ibid. 1993: 152). He called this the “dwelling perspective”: the combination of these views where “the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in doing so, have left something of themselves” (ibid.).

Generally, European discourse “spoke of its control over nature and of land as alienable property, with the subsequent denial of the temporality of the land as the product of human labour” (Barrett 1999: 22). Moreover, it reproduced a perspective of cartographic representation in which “each point on an undulating land surface was mapped onto a single plane” (ibid.). As a consequence,

it dislocated time from space because space was no longer experienced as the commitment of time; space was not an area over which one moved to encounter places in turn, because all places appeared at the same moment to the observer who no longer inhabited the surface that contained them (ibid.: 22–23).

In other words, the temporal dimension was eliminated from the landscape as well as from the analysis of movements. However, space and time are combined within people’s movements, and people are always engaged in an “ensemble of tasks, in their mutual interlocking” (Ingold 1993: 158). Therefore, space is not static and cannot be defined as an absence of temporality, and spatiality can be approached as constantly in the process of being made (Massey 1999: 264). This kind of understanding of space correlated with a particular interpretation of time as “irreversible and the vehicle of novelty” (ibid.: 265). I can also add that spatiality is being made in the context of movements.

In this sense, time should be better incorporated into scientists’ understandings of the environment (Ingold 1993). Arguing against Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove (1988: 1), who defined a landscape as “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing or symbolizing surroundings”, Ingold says that landscape “is not a picture in the imagination, surveyed by the mind’s eye; nor however is it an alien and formless substrate awaiting the imposition of human order” (1993: 154; 2000: 191). I concur with William

J. Mitchell that landscape can be approached “not as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed” (1994: 1).

From this point of view, the Evenki village is not a picture-like frozen entity as it was represented in the Soviet administrative discourse and within the policy of Evenki ‘sedentarisation’. Generally, managers of development projects and administrators often interpreted the space of the village as if the village were a completed portrait. However, such a narrow view does not take into consideration local people’s movements. I argue that the stay in the taiga and the stay in the village should not be approached as contrasting lifestyles but rather as complementary time periods, which together constitute the strong sense of locality and the way of life of local people who adapted to the combination of different types of movements in their routine practices.

Even though social scientists have long acknowledged the importance of addressing flux in the socio-cultural enquiry and developed a diversity of approaches, “attention to the ramifications of movement remains relatively lopsided” (Kirby 2009: 1–2). Moreover, even though scientists have analysed flux in the context of global processes, the experience of movement at human scale has been neglected (*ibid.*).

Comparative studies of mobility patterns among hunter-gatherers have been conducted by archaeologists, especially by Lewis R. Binford (1980; 1990) and Robert L. Kelly (1983; 1992; 1995). In particular, Binford (1980) differentiated between residential mobility and logistic mobility. Specifically, residential mobility is a type of movement where people move from one camp to another whereas logistical mobility implies movements of individuals or task-specific groups out from and back to a residential camp (Binford 1980; Kelly 1995: 117). Accordingly, Binford (1980) argued that ‘foragers’ employ mostly residential mobility and ‘collectors’ rely mainly on logistical movements. However, this ideal scheme does not fit movements of northern Baikal hunters and reindeer herders as I found that the same group of people can combine the features of ‘foragers’ and ‘collectors’, depending on their immediate goals. Furthermore, even though Binford’s and Kelly’s scheme describes how movement operates in space, it does not take into consideration its temporal dimension.

I therefore suggest another scheme, which is based on the notion of length involving both spatial and temporal dimensions. I propose that Kholodnintsy (people from the village of Kholodnoye) employ movements of two different terms. Thus, short-term movements are those, which usually do not cover large distances and imply a return to the same point within a relatively short period of time. This type of movement implies the use of one main base where a movement starts and finishes. Long-term movements, on the other hand, usually do not imply a quick return to the same place and cover larger distances, yet they are built upon a set of short-term movements which involve periodic returns to certain points of a route, such as a *tabor* (Ev. a place where hunters or fishermen stay overnight or where they stop to cook food, drink tea and have a rest), a *okhotnichya baza* (hunting base), a *yurta* (conical lodge) or a *zimovye* (winter cabin). In this sense, long-term movements are built upon the use of several bases serving as points of constant return. At the same time, these two types should not be seen as two different ways of movement with a strict border, rather they relate as part to whole where long-term movement always consists of a set of short-term movements. By analysing temporality of movement, a researcher follows the perspective of a local person’s movements, which can help reconstruct the role of a base within the whole set of movements.

Overall, local people use a combination of short- and long-term movements in accordance with the rhythms of their activities. The directions of local people's movements depend on the certain rhythmic phenomena. Particularly, Ingold (1993: 163) pointed out that "the rhythms of human activities resonate not only with those of other living things but also with a whole host of other rhythmic phenomena" which include the cycles of day and night and of the seasons and the winds. Consequently, the term of movements of Kholodnintsy depends not only on the task they perform, but also on the season, weather, wind direction, time of day or night and, finally, on the regular movements of animals in the taiga and fish in the river.

However, I argue that temporality of movement can also be altered by economic factors. In the context of northern Baikal, an analysis of the temporality of the landscape (Ingold 1993) may be extended by adding an economic dimension. The intensity of people's movements is affected not only by seasons or other rhythms but also by local market demands. For example, the opportunity to earn cash from selling non-ferrous metal scrap became a reason for intensive movements of local people to the former geologists' village of Pereval after the settlement was officially closed in 1992. Furthermore, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, local entrepreneurs became more interested in fish from Kholodnintsy. This was stimulated by the demand of the BAM settlements, which suffered from a lack of supplies compared to the provisions of the late Soviet period. Consequently, the increasing demand for fish stimulated Kholodnintsy to move to the river and the lakes with more intensive constant returns to the village. This type of movement was also spurred by the fact that in the post-Soviet period, many hunters were not able to prepare properly for the hunting season. That is why they became engaged mainly in fishing, which brought rapid economic returns compared to the delayed returns of hunting, where a hunter must pay for petrol, food-stuff and cartridges and wait a comparatively long period before he would receive the dividends. Moreover, after selling meat and furs, a hunter often needs to repay his debts to the local shop, which usually allows hunters to purchase the necessities on credit. At the same time, both in the case of long-term movements of reindeer herders and hunters, as well as short-term movements of fishermen, the village functions as a point of constant return.

#### SHORT-TERM MOVEMENTS

Short-term movements can be defined as motion from a central base (village, hunting base, storage platform, *zimovye*, *yurta* and *tabor*) from which a person sets out and to which he returns within a relatively short period of time. This period may vary depending on how many locations a person visits on his or her trip. It can last from several hours to several days. These movements imply the visiting of various places surrounding a *zimovye*, a *yurta*, a hunting base, a storage, or a house in the village with return to the same point, which functions as a *bikit* (Ev.) or a main campsite. In this sense, the periodic returns of people picking berries, or fishermen to the place where they leave their luggage, tools and food and short trips to the neighbouring houses or to the nearest shop in the village can also be considered as short-term movements. The major feature that distinguishes short- and long-term movements is that short-term movement

implies the use of one base, which serves as a point of periodic returns. For example, the school teacher Viktor Alekseyevich Ganyugin hunts and traps, using the village as a base. He frequently leaves the village for a weekend and visits a *zimovye* near the Nyurundukan Pass. While trapping, he does not need to wait in the forest. He periodically visits these locations in order to bait and check his traps, spends only one or two nights in the *zimovya* and returns to the village.

Praskovya Nikolayevna Platonova (born 1923) from Kholodnoye remembers that people called the type of movement within one day *khodit obudenkom* (Fieldnotes 2009). This is a regional expression that is also used in Zabaikalye. It derives from the word *budni*, which means 'working days' or 'weekdays'. This expression reflects the connection between this type of movement and everyday practice. Praskovya Platonova said it meant that a person had visited a particular location within one day and returned. She commented that *khodit obudenkom* usually means that a person got up in the morning, then went to a particular location and returned home (*utrom vstal, a vecherom domoi*) without staying overnight anywhere. This type of short-term movement from a base in Kholodnoye may take several hours and usually does not exceed 20–25 kilometres from the village. In the case of places that can be reached within a day, people describe a short-term movement as a temporal concept (day trip) rather than as a spatial excursion. Generally, the spatial dimension of a journey is often represented through the temporal, as in the case when, for example, distance is measured in days (*dni puti*). This becomes especially relevant to their practice since their movements often occur in the mountainous places where one kilometre of travel may take several hours of walking. In a similar manner, Baffinland Eskimos measured distance according to periods of sleep (Boas 1888). According to the hunters and reindeer herders from Kholodnoye, people usually choose the places for their mobile and stationary structures in relation to the places where they started their movement. Particularly, the distance between the places where they stay overnight usually does not exceed one day of walking.

Conversely, Kholodnintsy call short-term movement that happens during the night *khodit v nochevuyu*. This type of movement is employed by fishermen who leave a base in the evening and return to the same place the next day. Thus, these two types of short-term movement are defined through the temporal notions of a day or a night. In this case, the words *obudenok* and *nochevaya* are usually supplemented by the verb *khodit* (to walk), which means that the distance is covered on foot. Hunters and reindeer herders who temporarily stay in the village or hunting base as well as people who permanently live in the village employ these types of short-term movement.

Hunters do not necessarily move in the forest every day. Sometimes they stay in one particular location without moving. People also describe the absence of movement through temporal concepts. For instance, the word they use for the absence of movement within a day is *prodnevat*. During these periods of staying in one place, they may cook, repair a *zimovye*, prepare firewood or defat skins, make notes in their diaries, read books or old magazines that they have in a *zimovye* or chop firewood. In the 2007–2012 period, in the central base of the Uluki *obshchina* (communal organisation), people used a diesel direct-current generator and watched movies with a DC-powered video player and TV. Accordingly, people referred to the act of staying in one particular place for a night as *nochevka*, and the verb *nochevat* means 'to stay overnight'. Consequently, both words *dnevat* and *nochevat* signify that a person stays in one particular place and does

not move in the taiga. These notions oppose the temporal concepts of *obudenok* and *nochevaya*, which signify movement.

Short-term movements of Kholodnintsy include short fishing trips to the river as well as trips connected with gathering berries and pine nuts or hunting in the surrounding village territories. I have observed that Kholodnintsy extensively use trains in summer and autumn in order to get to the places rich in berries. In this case, they usually return to the village the same day. These short trips can also be connected with haymaking or preparing firewood. However, nowadays such movements near Kholodnoye are never connected with reindeer herding. It is evident from the texts of the early Soviet ethnographers that it was different during the first part of the 20th century. For example, Konstantin Zabelin (1930) documented that Shamagir Evenkis adapted to short-term movements around the village of Tompa. However, contemporary reindeer herders do not use the pastures located near Kholodnoye. The reason is not only the BAM and the road, which would disturb the reindeer, but also the acquisition by the *obshchiny* of the reindeer pastures that are located at least 40 kilometres from the village. As a matter of fact, reindeer herders do not use the territories, which were actively employed during the Soviet period in the 1940s and 50s, such as the pastures located near the head of the Gasan River as well as on the shores of the Nyurundukan River. One of the main reasons is that these territories were not allocated to the *obshchiny* for their use. Instead, they became used by independent hunters and by the Kindigir school hunting cooperative. As other reasons, the reindeer herders from Kholodnoye mentioned the degradation of the cup moss pastures near the village. In the case of the other Evenki villages in the Severobaikalskiy Rayon, local people are not engaged in reindeer herding even in pastures remote from settlements.

In most cases, short-term trips do not require extensive preparation. People frequently take just the necessary tools, a hunting knife (Ev. *kato*), matches and a small amount of food. They usually bind their stuff to an 'Evenki backpack', called in Evenki a *ponyaga* (Rus. *evenkiyskiy ryukzak*), which consists of a wooden plank with straps and ropes (see Photo 1).

A *ponyaga* is the main attribute of short-term trips because people tie to it all the necessary belongings they may need within a period of one to several days. It can also be used as a cutting board when people need to cut meat, tallow or bread. A hunter as well as a fisherman will probably never leave the village without a *ponyaga*. Sometimes people may possess an ordinary tourist backpack, but they usually attach it to a *ponyaga* (see Photo 2).

Villagers frequently leave some heavy tools or even vehicles in the forest or near the river or lakes not far from their work site. For example, in autumn, people usually collect pine nuts at the foot of the Akukan Mountain. Even though some Kholodnintsy may use three-wheeler motorbikes for cedar cone transportation, most people visit the Akukan area on foot as the cedar forest is located only four kilometres from the village. People use a large wooden hammer called *kolot* to beat the trunks of cedar trees to knock down the cones. People usually store this hammer near the places where they gather pine nuts. In a similar vein, in the case of winter fishing, they frequently leave an ice pick (*peshnya*), a shovel (*sovkovaya lopata*) and other tools on the banks of the river and shores of the lakes. Several people or groups of people can use these tools when there is prior agreement. Moreover, villagers keep their wooden boats (*struzhki*) and aluminum motorboats (*motorki*) just on the riverbank (see Photo 3).

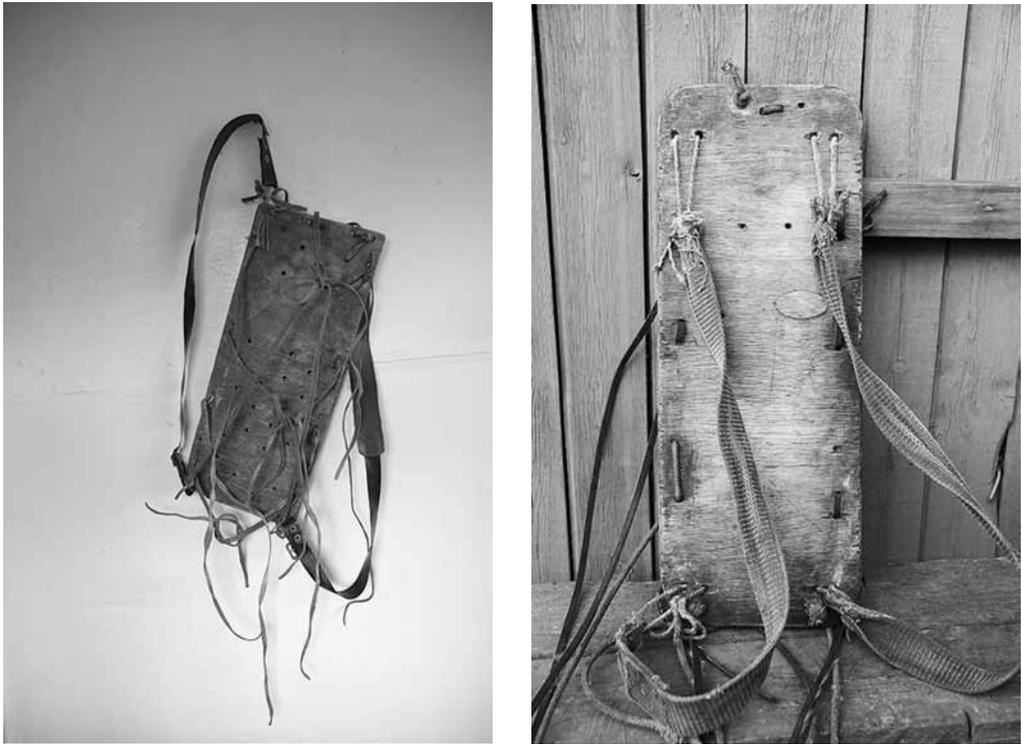


Photo 1. The ponyagi. Kumora, Severobaikalskiy Rayon, spring 2008. Photo by Vladimir Davydov.

By keeping tools and vehicles close to the places of fishing or gathering, people intensify the use of certain territories. In these cases, local people organise storage because of the regularity of their short-term movements. These storages become the places of constant return. Thus, a cache of tools can define a place as well as a structure. In this sense, the storage is not attributed only to stationary structures in the village; rather, people use both the settlement and a number of small locations around it.

Kholodnintsy understand that in order to move in the taiga, a person should be physically trained. Therefore, short-term movement has become an important part of the school curriculum in Kholodnoye. The route that local teachers use for their teaching activities is known as the Memorial Trail (*tropa pamyati*), and it is a combination of small structures separated by short distances that could be covered within a few hours (Fondahl 2007; Simonova 2013). During the first part of the 20th century, people used this trail for long-distance reindeer migrations. Today, the trail has become the training ground for local pupils, who live in the village permanently. Local people have employed this trail as the site for school lessons and constructed *yurty* and *zimovyya* at the places of the old Evenki *tabora*. According to local teacher Viktor Alekseyevich Ganyugin, in order to reconstruct the trail, school people employed the knowledge of the elders who remembered these places and who participated in the construction of *zimovyya* and *yurty*. One of the Kholodnintsy who actively participated in this reconstruction was Arkadiy Petrovich Lekarev. Viktor Ganyugin respectfully called him *Nastavnik* (Master). He pointed out the places where he stayed when he worked as a reindeer herder and used to travel to the village before the construction of the Perevalskaya Road



Photo 2. Denis Shangin usually attaches his backpack to the ponyaga. Kholodnoye, spring 2008.  
Photo by Vladimir Davydov.

senior pupils participate in trips across the Nyurundukan Pass, which demands good physical training. They often stay overnight there and return to the village the following day. This route consists of eight stops (*stany*) where pupils can have a snack and stay overnight in a *yurta* or a *zimovye*. People refer to these places as Pervyi Stan (First Camp), Vtoroi Stan (Second Camp), Tretiy Stan (Third Camp) and so on. For example, the place called Pervyi Stan, which is closest to the village, consists of two stationary bark *yurty*, a *zimovye* and a wooden outhouse (see Photo 4).

To sum up, quick return to a particular point can be seen as the main feature of short-term movements. Overall, people use many places as centres for this type of movement. Thus, village and forest are not that different. People who are engaged in fishing, hay-making and gathering and stay in the village rely mostly on short-term trips. In other words, in the case of Kholodnoye, short-term movements start and finish in the village, which serves both as a storage and distribution centre. Even though local people use houses in the village, their way of life includes movements through places, such as *otogi*, where Kholodnintsy use fire, cook food, stay overnight and keep their belongings.

by geologists. In 1992, they built the first *zimovye* on this reconstructed trail; however, reindeer herders do not use this trail today, although it is still used by hunters and berry pickers.

Today, Viktor Alekseyevich Ganyugin periodically organises short-term trips for his pupils during which they can learn how to hunt, interpret animal tracks, make a fire, ski, paddle a boat (*struzhek*) and stay overnight in the forest. This is part of the gamekeeping lessons (*okhotovedeniye*) at the Kindigir school, lessons which imply “understanding in practice” where learning is not separated from doing, or, rather, moving from place to place (Ingold 2000: 416). Viktor Ganyugin explained that during these lessons, school pupils (*shkolniki*) get accustomed to trips in the forest and acquire the necessary knowledge and skills in order to be able to hunt and to move in the mountainous taiga.

The youngest pupils start by visiting places closest to the village. As they grow up, Viktor Alekseyevich adds new destinations to their trips. For example, the

## LONG-TERM MOVEMENTS

Long-term movements are mainly movements based on the use of several places for staying overnight along a route that does not imply a rapid return to the same point.



*Photo 3. Boats on the bank of the river. Ples, November 2007. Photo by Vladimir Davydov.*



*Photo 4. Viktor Alekseyevich Ganyugin and two of his pupils near the yurta. Peroyi Stan, spring 2008. Photo by Vladimir Davydov.*

This period could last from several days to several months. More importantly, it includes the use of several bases serving as the centres of short-term movements. Long-term movements can be seen as a combination between the intensive short-term movements around several centres, such as a *baza* (base) or a *bazovoye zimovye*, and periodical trips to the village. In other words, this type of movement is a combination of several types of short-term movements, which finish in several bases.

The participation of a person in long-term movement is one of the main elements of hunting and reindeer herding. Both individual hunters and people who hunt on the territories of *obshchiny* get used to this type of movement. However, in some cases, such as seal, squirrel or muskrat hunting, people may confine themselves to short-term trips. Sometimes a few hunters from Kholodnoye join a group of seal hunters from the village of Baikalskoye. Even though these seal hunters usually employ long-term movement when they stay at the base outside Baikalskoye at the beginning of May for the seal hunting season, called *nerpovka* or *zayezd nerpovshchikov*, some people prefer short-term trips that involve the use of a motorbike or a car with a return to the village the same day.

From the second part of the 20th century, the movements of reindeer herders and hunters became mechanised as a result of a reliance on vehicles (see Photo 5). Today, the trip to Pereval takes from four to eight hours while at the beginning of the 20th century reindeer herders usually needed two days. Road construction and the use of vehicles have made many remote places more accessible to hunters and reindeer herders, speeding up the cycle of long-term movements. Therefore, villagers usually call a hunting tour, which starts and finishes in the village, a *zayezd* (ride). This emphasises



Photo 5. The departure of the hunters in the common tracked ATV called *vezdekhod* (drives everywhere) in Russian. Kholodnoye, November 2007. Photo by Vladimir Davydov.

that a person uses vehicles for this trip and contrasts with the use of the verb *khodit* for short-term movements such as *obudenok* and *nochevaya*.

Generally, Kholodninty call the type of movement where hunters travel on foot and stay overnight in a new place within several days of travelling *khodit otogami*. It means a person may stay overnight just near a bonfire. In particular, the word *otog* derives from an Evenki word *togo* that means 'fire'. A person can use random places as well as places where people have already stayed and which local people call *tabora* (Ev.). In this context, the distance can be measured in temporal terms. Thus, the expression *khodit otogami* correlates with the notion of 'day of walking' (*den puti*) as mentioned above. *Khodit otogami* does not necessarily mean that a person returns to the same point. Consequently, this type of movement may be part of short-term movement as well when, for example, people who gather berries stay overnight in the forest. It is also said that this movement was common for Kumora villagers (*kumorchane*) who travelled, for example, to Nizhneangarsk and back either on foot or in a boat before the construction of the road.

Short-term trips on the Memorial Trail, which I mentioned in the previous section, serve as a training ground for another type of movement, which involves several stops in order to include an overnight stay with a return to the same point. Villagers refer to the route of a hunter through *zimovya* that starts and finishes in a hunting base as a 'round' (*krug*). Sometimes hunters call this type of movement *obkhod* (bypass) *zimovii* (see Photo 6). The word *obkhod* derives from the verb *khodit* and means that a hunter travels on foot (*peshkom*). A 'round' depends on how many *zimovya* a hunter uses in his hunting territory (*uchastok*) and may vary. Some hunters have only two or three *zimovya* in their *uchastok*. Hunters with a short-term *krug* usually do not use a special hunting base. In contrast, other hunters, such as hunters from the Uluki *obshchina* Pasha Chernoyev may use up to fifteen *zimovya* on their *uchastok* and employ several hunting bases (*bazovye zimovya*).

Generally, reindeer herders do not make large rounds because they have to look after reindeer. Another hunter from this *obshchina*, Anatoliy Shishmarev, makes his round by using five *zimovya*. Finally, Leonid Tulbukonov, who hunts and looks for reindeer, visits three *zimovya* and then returns to the hunting base near the Chaya River. His round usually lasts from five to seven days. He is used to hunting near the mountain called Avenda. Leonid translated this place name as *tarbaganya zemlya* (the land rich in marmots, Lat. *Marmota sibirica*). He said that during winter, he never makes long trips because of the necessity to look for reindeer. After his return to the Chaya base, he usually makes a trip in order to find reindeer. Leonid may also visit the central base near the Nomama River. In this sense, the central base serves as a point of periodic return, similar to the village.

I argue that long-term movements can be understood as a combination of residential and logistic mobility (Binford 1980). For example, hunters' mobility includes both movements from a *zimovye* to a *zimovye* as well as short-term return trips to the same *zimovye*. Thus, after coming to or arriving at a *zimovye*, hunters may use it as a base for short-term trap-checking tours for several days and then move to the next *zimovye* and employ it the same way. On the one hand, following Binford's classification (1980), *krug* can be seen as a type of logistical mobility because people organise these movements around the camps or the village. On the other hand, a *krug* can be approached as a sort of residential mobility organised around a central base and implies the use



People may need to make special preparations before the haymaking period (*pokos*) if they plan use camps on the shores of the river. When haymaking people may employ both short-term and long-term movements. For example, the haymaking territories (*pokos*) of the Bukidayevs are located just three kilometres from the village in a place called Burgunda. Therefore, they usually return to the village in the evening. In contrast, the Ganyugins use a *pokos* on the banks of the Kichera River, approximately seventeen kilometres from Kholodnoye. While the Bukidayevs mainly use a sidecar motorcycle to get there, the Ganyugins employ larger vehicles, including a Niva car, a boat and a motorboat. Furthermore, they use a tractor with a trailer, as well as a self-made catamaran with a platform in order to transport hay to the village. In this case they employ the same term as in hunting – *zayezd*. According to Oleg Ganyugin, towards the end of the *pokos* period, he usually makes eight round trips on the tractor in order to deliver hay to the village. He explained that they prepare approximately 1.5 tonnes of hay every year in order to provide fodder for two cows.

The engagement of hunters in long-term movements in combination with the intensive preparations implies the use of storage platforms called *labaz*. Every *zimovye* is accompanied by a *labaz*, but not every place which people use as a cache is accompanied by a *zimovye*. Consequently, a *labaz* becomes a point of periodic visits. As the hunter Semen Platonov explained, “A *labaz* serves as a base for you. You can keep food there, usually at a height of three or more meters from the ground in order to safeguard it from bears or mice.”

The number of people staying at the central base of the Uluki *obshchina* varies from two or three in winter to eleven to twelve in summer and the beginning of autumn, and they are mainly men. However, many women frequently stay at this place when they gather berries in the second part of summer and at the beginning of autumn. One or two women may even stay in the bases during the hunting season and help hunters with the cooking. Thus, in 2009, the retiree Anna Ivanovna from Kholodnoye lived in the base of the Oron *obshchina*. She even got the nickname *Lesnaya Nimfa* (Forest Nymph). However, she had to return to the village for several days every month in order to receive her pension and to purchase provisions. This kind of movement can be seen as foraging for cash. It is different from the movements of, for instance, school teachers, who stay mainly in the village and periodically visit the forest.



Photo 7. Labaz near a zimovye on the shore of the Gasan River. August 2012. Photo by Vladimir Davydov.

During work in the taiga, hunters may be short of some necessities. However, they do not necessarily return to the village or hunting base in these situations. For example, the reindeer herder Aleksei Tulbukonov asked me to prepare a *zapiska* (note) and give it to Valeriy Filimonov at the central base, who was supposed to bring certain things to the reindeer herders' camp. On a small piece of paper, I wrote down this list: "1) Cigarettes, 2) Matches, 3) Lighter, 4) Rifle cartridges, 5) Tea, 6) Sugar, 7) Bread". In order not to be able to continue working in the taiga and not return to the settlement, some hunters send notes (*zapiski*) to their friends or relatives with the GOK<sup>2</sup> *vakhtovka* (shift transport, a combination of a heavy truck and a bus which is used to transport workers) that regularly travels between Pereval and Nizhneangarsk. Moreover, they can ask the other hunters or the members of the Uluki *obshchina*, who also use heavy equipment for transport. Hunters still use *zapiski* even though some of them have portable radio transmitters on their *zimovya*, and they can also use a phone at the GOK office in Pereval.

In order to communicate with other people, hunters and reindeer herders also use notes that remain stationary, left on the tables in *zimovya* or in diaries (*dnevniki*). When hunters leave a *zimovye* or a *baza*, they usually note down when they left this particular place and when they plan to return. Hunters say it is very important because in the case of an emergency, people would know where to search for a particular person. Contrary to hunters and reindeer herders of the Katangskiy district of the Irkutsk Oblast who usually take the diaries to their journeys (Sirina 2002: 124–125, 142–150), the northern Baikal hunters keep the diaries in particular *zimovya* and never move them to other places. However, in both cases, diaries reflect the pattern and the destination of movement by naming particular geographic points. In this sense, a function of a diary is to locate the movement of a person along particular geographic reference points. Writing in a hunter's diary is a particular form of writing. Generally, the term writing used in everyday speech combines "a very complex set of semiotic practices that involve the visualisation and materialisation of ideas and concepts, their archivability and transferability across time and space" (Blommaert 2007: 8; 2008: 4). Thus, in the case of Katanga hunters, a diary reflects many points of a route as well as the activities within a route (Sirina 2002: 142–150). In the case of the hunters from Kholodnoye, a diary reflects the movements and activities connected with the use of a particular *zimovye*. This written document is perceived by hunters as a part of a *zimovye*, which is connected with the history of this place as well as the history of movements. However, history is embedded in movements. Thus, as Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst (2008: 17) wrote, "to follow a trail is to remember how it goes, making one's way in the present is itself a recollection of the past". A diary is also a recollection of the past to a reader. It contains the history of movements through a certain place. However, a person who writes may record in a diary not only the notes about their previous trips and activities but also the proposed destinations of movements. Some hunters, for example, recorded the results of their hunting, such as how many traps they set and how many sables they caught. According to the hunter Pavel Naumov from Dushkachan, these diaries contain information about good and bad years and help hunters to compare the situation in different years. Some diaries contain short phrases like "finished preparing firewood" or "moved to the village". The hunter Saveliy Shangin commented on the record made by his 20-year-old son in the diary in the *zimovye* located near the Minya River:

This diary is a rather old one. It even contains records from the 1970s. I asked Denis to write in the diary, and he wrote: "Hurrah! Hurrah! We are going home! We are going home!" [*Ura! Ura! Domoi! Domoi!*] However, I expected him to write "We moved to Dovyren" [*Poshli na Dovyren*]. This happened just before the New Year. Then my son said to me: "Hei, papa, can you imagine how much I want to visit the disco (*diskoteka*)." (Fieldnotes 2008)

Saveliy commented that the hunters usually make a note of the next point of their route. However, his son, who hunted with him in winter 2007–2008, just noted the final destination of their route. In the case of the northern Baikal region, the authors of a particular diary are frequently different persons who used a particular *zimovye*. Even though some hunters may keep personal diaries, such as, for example, Leonid Tulbukonov, who even said to his friend Anatolii Shishmarev that he would like to write a book about his own life at some point, a diary can be a product of collective writing. Consequently, one hunter may make notes in different diaries that he found in most *zimovya* along his route. In this sense, a diary can be approached as an on-going conversation between hunters.

As Aleksei Alekseyevich Ganyugin explained, movements of reindeer herders in the northern Baikal region were dictated mostly by people's involvement in hunting. That is why northern Baikal Evenki hunters used to move together with small herds that usually did not exceed twenty reindeer. According to Aleksei Ganyugin, they moved because they were looking for areas rich in game (Fieldnotes 2007). Now the relocation of the reindeer camp is connected with the need to save the pastures rather than with the needs of hunting. The hunters follow reindeer who "themselves know when to move", although hunting remains their main occupation and is characterised by many short-term movements with the constant return to a camp. On these short trips, they may hunt, fish in the mountain lakes and gather berries, pine nuts and medicinal herbs. Visits to the central base allow them to re-provision from the *labaz* and wash in the bathhouse (*banya*). Sometimes the reindeer herders are visited by hunters who are staying in the central base. In the summer of 2009, they used an old Minsk motorcycle for transport between the base and the campsites.

Reindeer herders are used to seasonal migrations between winter and summer pastures. The movements of the first part of summer are dictated by the need to save reindeer from biting insects. The reindeer herders from the Uluki *obshchina* used to relocate the herd to different pastures placed around two central bases near the Nomama and Chaya rivers. Consequently, their movements are simultaneously focused on several different points. Firstly, their movements are focused on the camp. Secondly, the use of the camp is focused on the central base. Finally, the use of the central base together with the use of the camp is focused on the village. Thus, reindeer herders combine different sorts of movement connected with the necessity to return to the camp, change the location of the herd and periodically visit Kholodnoye. However, the main difference between the movements of contemporary reindeer herders and those of herders from the early 20th century or from *kayury* (reindeer porters) during the second part of the 20th century is that their visits to the village are no longer accompanied by reindeer. Local people may just occasionally bring some reindeer to the village, for example, to celebrate the Feast of the North (*Prazdnik Severa*) in the spring. Today, the herds stay on the grazing territory of the *obshchiny* permanently, and the reindeer herders usually

entrust other people who work in the *obshchiny* to look after their reindeer during their stay in the village.

Therefore, long-term movements usually have a sophisticated structure and may involve several points of periodic return in addition to the village. They incorporate a set of short-term movements, such as *obudenok* and *nochevaya*. They may also incorporate the type of movement that people call *khodit otogami* and *krug*. In this sense, they imply the use of a large number of places where people stay overnight and use both stationary and mobile architecture. Finally, the whole series of movements from departing Kholodnoye to the moment of return to the village may include trips with the use of vehicles that people call *zayezd* and be supplemented by periods when a person stays in one particular place (*dnyuyet i nochuyet*).

#### THE VILLAGE AS A POINT OF CONSTANT RETURN

I argue that people inhabit a landscape that includes the village and other bases, and that these are all equally important in their practises. In this sense, the description of the hunters and reindeer herders as nomads who live in the forest, as well as the description of Kholodnintsy as a sedentary population is a fundamental misunderstanding of their way of life. As a matter of fact, some people live most of the year outside Kholodnoye, although they regularly visit the settlement in order to meet their relatives and friends in the village. For example, the hunter and reindeer herder Aleksei Tulbukonov, who is known in the village as Lenia Russkiy (Lenia the Russian), visits Kholodnoye two or three times a year. During his stay in the village, he lives in the house of his sister Olga, who lives in Kholodnoye permanently. He usually visits the village in the spring, in September and sometimes before New Year. He views his visits as holidays (*otpusk*) during which he can meet his friends and have a rest. Lenia said that the first two or three days after his return to the village, he usually drinks a lot. However, after a few days, he stops drinking, stays for a few days in his sister's house in order to recover from the hangover (*boleyet*), and starts helping her and his uncle Arkadiy Petrovich Lekarev in their households. He finds his visits at the beginning of September especially important because he helps to dig up potatoes for his sister, and he goes to Akukan to gather pine nuts. In the autumn, he usually stays in Kholodnoye for several weeks. When Lenia returns to the village in September, he brings rare medicinal herbs and medicines, such as *yanda* (Ev.) (Lat. *Gentiana algida*) he has gathered near the Nomama Lake, as well as bear fat and gall bladders. First of all, he gives the *yanda* to his sister, his uncle and then other relatives if they need it. Generally, the arrival of hunters in the village is followed by the giving of meat and medicinal herbs as well as the selling of furs and skins from moose and reindeer legs (*kamusa*). In this sense, the hunters' movements in the forest are important for the villagers who stay in the village. The hunters contribute to family incomes and provide food for their families and relatives.

As I observed during my fieldwork, hunters try to visit the village in spring before the period known as the Spring Flood (*Bolshaya Voda*). During this time, the way from Pereval and Nomama to the village is separated by the rising water of the Kholodnaya and Gasan rivers. During their stay in Kholodnoye, they prepare foodstuffs, petrol and tools to be able to deliver them to their hunting territories before the Spring Flood.

When the ice on the rivers has broken, people do not usually use heavy trucks to cross the river, which is why hunters try to reach Pereval before the increase of the water. During the period of the Spring Flood, people can only use the old trail on the bank of the Kholodnaya River to get to Pereval or Kholodnoye on foot. The period of the Spring Flood varies from year to year, and it restricts the movement between the village and Pereval in May and June (see Photo 8).



*Photo 8. The beginning of the Spring Flood. The Perevalskaya Road, Kholodnaya River, May 2008. Photo by Vladimir Davydov.*

Kholodnintsy employ both short- and long-term movements in fishery and during hay-making. Even though fishermen and haymakers do not usually cover large distances and often prefer to return to the village the same or the next day, in cases of intensive work some of them may stay outside the village for several days and even weeks. In these cases, people use several points of periodic return, and people can easily reach the village if they need to go there. Moreover, during haymaking, some people regularly travel to the village in order to bring food, tools and petrol to those who stay in a *yurta* on the bank of the Kichera River.

People periodically return to the village combining both long- and short-term movements. In fact, the border between these types of movements is not terribly strict. It depends on the remoteness of the hunting territory that a person uses as well as on the equipment he or his relatives possess. For example, some hunters use territories that are located close to the village. In this situation, they can check their traps within a few days and quickly return to the village after their trips to the taiga. Moreover, the use of vehicles such as snowmobiles, sidecar motorcycles, UAZ or Niva cars or self-made vehicles quickens the rhythm of their movements. At the same time, hunters who go to more

distant places, such as the valleys of the Chaya, Mama, Abchada and Minya rivers, prefer to stay in the forest for much longer intervals. For example, Pasha Chernoev, who hunts in the remote territories (*otdalennye uchastki*) of the Uluki *obshchina*, usually leaves Kholodnoye at the beginning of October and does not return until around New Year.

The temporality of the post-Soviet landscape is different from the temporality of the Soviet period. In the Soviet era, a village was incorporated into a “developmental programme with a perceived historical inevitability” where “the present was directed towards social change aimed at the realisation of a specific future goal – communism” (Kanef 2004: 8). A particular feature of the socialist regime was the centralisation of time through the control of labour and by subsuming industrial and work time into the state agenda (*ibid.*). Particularly, the Soviet administrators tried to organise the movements of local hunters through a system of plans (*plany*) and required quotas (*normy*) that they had to fulfil during hunting seasons. One of the main concerns of the early Soviet administrators was the timely (*svoevremennyi*) departure of Evenkis for hunting (Komaritsyn 1929: 110). However, Evenki *artel* members and later *kolkhozniki* often delayed their hunting for ‘soft gold’. For example, according to an article in the local newspaper in 1940, the *kolkhoz* administration directed a hunter from Evenki village Tompa, V. P. Sokolnikov, to hunt on the western shore of Lake Baikal near Goremyka village (contemporary Baikalskoye village on the western shore of Lake Baikal). He had arrived at Goremyka and met his relatives there and “was drinking with them for five days” (*Krasnyi Baikalets* 1940: 2). Afterwards he had returned to Tompa claiming that “the *kolkhoz* had not sent him the skis”. Another hunter, Gavriyl Chernykh, “was preparing for the hunting season for fifteen days and still had not left” (*ibid.*). Finally, Semushev, director of a *kolkhoz* named after Kalinin, “was staying in Kumora village for fifteen days and drinking”, which was the reason why the hunters delayed their departure for twenty days and left only on the 20th of January 1940 (*ibid.*). The local *kolkhoz* administrators saw such delays as potentially destructive for the fulfilment of their plans since delaying the departure for hunting could potentially decrease the production of the *kolkhoz*. This kind of temporality can be characterised according to the ideology that “encompassed the fragmented times under its directed temporal goals” (Kanef 2004: 9). Thus, the state organisations tried to regulate hunters to stay in and leave the villages through the allocation of special quotas they had to fulfil by certain deadlines. This temporal structure required the hunters to be mobile and limited the periods of their stay in the settlement in order to increase their productivity.

Certainly, the contemporary movements of hunters, fishermen and reindeer herders are no longer structured by “Socialist temporality” (*ibid.*: 8–10), but they continue to depend on economic factors as well as seasonal variations. For example, many hunters usually plan to return to Kholodnoye in mid-autumn in order to earn some money during the arctic cisco fishing season (*omulevka*) by selling fish to local entrepreneurs. Ingold (1993: 160) argues that in social life, there is not just one rhythmic cycle but a complex interweaving of a large number of concurrent cycles. The rhythms of villagers’ movements, however, cannot be described as depending only on one rhythmic cycle, such as the annual cycle of hunting. The same people could be involved mainly in fishing one year and hunting the next. For example, in 2007, a young man Matvei Arpiul'yev, earned money mainly from fishing. However, in 2008 and 2009, he hunted most of the year in the hunting territory of the Oron *obshchina*. His example demonstrates the

change from the short-term movements of a fisherman to long-term movements of a hunter. In contrast, in the autumn of 2007, Aleksandr Skosyrskiy, who was in his late thirties, changed from work in the forest in the Uluki *obshchina* to short-term movements around the village. Overall, the same change in type of movements was a common story for many Kholodnintsy.

## CONCLUSION

To sum up, the temporality of local people's movements depends both on ecological phenomena and economic factors. This temporality is structured by a combination of short- and long-term movements. First of all, as I have mentioned above, a certain economic difference exists between short- and long-term movements. Long-term movements demand capital investment, but in many cases, people do not spend their own resources and rely on the investments made by the *obshchiny* or other hunters. In this case, their relations often take a form of "patron-client relationships" (Foster 1963; Wolf 1966; Scott 1972a; 1972b) where a patron makes the main capital investments during the preparation for large-scale movements in order to provide his clients with food, clothes and hunting tools. That is why during the post-Soviet period, some people became involved mainly in short-term movements that did not require a large investment of capital, and were oriented towards short-term returns.

Through an engagement in short- and long-term movements, people have acquired wide spatial knowledge, which has become an important part of their everyday lives. Overall, they employ both short- and long-term movements as they live on the land and move around in the village and surrounding locations. Long-term movements involve a large number of places, which become the centres of short-term movements and which are all equally important for local people. To put it another way, it is not possible to say that either the village or a base in the taiga is more important for their subsistence practices; rather, local people's routine practices imply the use of a large number of places and constant movements between these places. In this sense, the use of stationary structures is not limited only by the use of space in the village; and structures, which consist of both mobile and stationary objects, are spread out over the landscape and attributed to many places. However, all these places have their own temporality and cannot be seen as frozen entities.

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## NOTES

1 All words given here and below in italics refer to Russian vocabulary unless otherwise indicated. Evenki words are indicated as Ev.

2 The abbreviation for *gorno-obogatitelnyi kombinat* (ore processing enterprise).

## SOURCES

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