

MetroDogs: the heart in the machine

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Dogs in the Moscow Metro, some say, have evolved a unique sentience: they navigate a human-scaled infrastructure and interpret human motives there. Such assertions about dogs, and encounters with them on public transit, invoke Soviet-era moral projects that wove sentiment ('compassion') and affect ('attention') through technical dreams: to erase material suffering and physical violence, to traverse the globe and the cosmos, to end wars and racisms. Dogs, after all, helped defeat the Nazis and took part in the space race. In the Metro now, their wags and barks stir debate about access and exclusion, resonating across assemblages of materials and meanings, social connections and signs. MetroDogs invite us to theorize the ways people extend connections in the moment well beyond the here-and-now.

Super-smart dog mutants have appeared in Moscow, explaining themselves with gestures.

Novosti Rossii, 14 October 2004

Dogs have learned to ride the Moscow Metro escalators. Inhabitants have documented this on the Internet, posting videos of dogs who wait for trains and curl up on car bench seats. Moscow's leading canine experts stress the dogs' strategic virtuosity as they slip between car doors just as they slam shut:

MetroDogs entertain themselves in quite an original way. They love to jump through the closing doors of electric train cars. Just in time, so that their tails *might* get pinched! Zoologists say that this striving towards extremes arises from satiation. Just as it does in people, incidentally (*Komsomol'skaja Pravda*, 20 May 2008).

For Muscovites, it is an enviable virtuosity: they may know their Metro as the most efficient, most beautiful in the world, but they also know that its automated car doors smash together even before the recording finishes warning passengers (Lemon 2009a). To witness dogs calculate mechanical rhythms moves humans to contemplate their similarities with canines. But it does more than this. As material infrastructure, the Metro channels the daily grind even as, like a time machine, it carries passengers through fantasies of Soviet science, refracting its promises and losses (see also Humphrey 2005; Larkin 2013; Lemon 2000a; Manning 2009). As I will argue, the MetroDogs thus demonstrate the continued affective force of socialist-era projects to nurture



Figure 1. Rjazanskij Prospect Metro station, Moscow: women (humans), dog (animal), Metro entrance (material, machine), map (layered semiosis). (Author's photo.)

generalized compassion through technology; in communist dreams, free circulation of all for all would be enabled, among other things, by good public transit. When we follow MetroDogs through concrete tunnels, we find not mechanical or Cartesian automatons, but communicating collectivities – critters who attend to what the other critters are up to with all those levers and handles. We find ourselves concerned with questions of how not only cognition and ‘will’, but also attention and ‘compassion’ relate to the machine.¹ To attend to the dogs offers means to ponder the scale and purpose of the Metro and movements in it.

Recent formulations of NatureCulture (e.g. Fuentes 2010; Ingold 1994) have rightly noted that the nonhuman can be indifferent to meaning; stone affords certain possibilities whether or not some sentience ascribes ‘sturdy respectability’ to it. The three little pigs discovered this even if the wolf did not. Still, while a tree can fall alone in a forest, chunks of infrastructure usually do not. I do not share the view that ‘constructivist’ scholarship dismissed the materiality of stones or bread (its best work stresses the materiality even of sign forms); rather, it addressed intense and repetitive work to naturalize some phenomena *as if* they were merely material: distributions of labour, architectures for incarceration. Latour (1992), bypassing meaning, was quite right to insist that the weight of a hotel key fob influences action in ways that words may not. But I remain more curious about who locks which doors and why, why *this* man is running the front desk, and which visitors re-tool (interpret, appropriate) a key fob as a self-defence weapon. I invoke MetroDogs to theorize how certain sentient beings (humans) engage others (canines) through materials and semiotic processes and social connections – in a particular infrastructure over time (Fig. 1).

Narratives about intelligent animals enjoy an appeal around the globe: anecdotal moose parade Canadian streets, bears root through Colorado trash cans, a cat rides the bus in England, a dog in Seattle, in Belfast, New Delhi, Denver . . . But Laika and Lassie are not the *same* dog; they fought in different wars and sniffed different pavements. A MetroDog ascends not just any escalator: its steps run incredibly deep, down to platforms that sheltered people during German air raids in the Second World War. Its architecture and machinery remain strikingly exemplary of all that socialism offered, 'like a cathedral' or 'a palace' for all.

Relations among the species shift even as Moscow changes, its administrators pulling down churches to install swimming pools, tearing them out again to restore the churches. Twenty-first-century Moscow continues to operate socialist-built infrastructures, some crumbling, some spectacularly solid. As the Metro, begun in 1931, extends lines and builds new stations, dogs and humans alike reach new glass skyscrapers as well as ancient palaces. More than a means to commute, the Metro with its paths and signs mediates new and old, mingling socialist mosaic and market advert (Lemon 2000*b*; see also Humphrey 2005). Even as the Metro appears to infuse the dogs with new capacities, MetroDogs animate seemingly abandoned socialist projects in ways that undercut claims that 'neoliberal' forces have overrun post-socialist worlds.² Moreover, even as MetroDogs evoke Soviet visions of universal care and internationalism, the debates they stir, about access and distribution, are long running. Their paws and muzzles estrange human structures and scales, and not for the first time.

Keeping all these considerations in mind, I prefer not to superimpose themes from the growing field of animal studies alone over phenomena that call for multiple groundings in theories of semiotics and materiality. Even so, this essay draws inspiration from scholars asking whether and how humans and nonhumans reciprocally know and 'make' each other (Brightman 1993; Coppinger & Coppinger 2001; Kohn 2007; Viveiros de Castro 2004 [1999]; Willerslev 2004; see also Rose 2011 and Haraway 2003; for Russia, see Helfant 2010 and Kabanova 2010).

Recent post-humanist scholarship sometimes suggests that only now, through theoretical language, can we perceive how animals form a ground against which 'the human' is defined (e.g. Agamben 2003). Of course, many humans have long challenged separations of human from animal, or have never found much use for Cartesian binaries (see Brightman 1993; Vitebsky 2006; Willerslev 2004). My observations draw from fieldwork and visits since 1988 in Russia (in Moscow, St Petersburg, Perm, Kungur, Tver', and villages around these cities), including two multi-year stints, with month-long visits almost every year. My research has focused on human interaction, but always *all* the people I have lived with care for animals: dogs, cats, birds, turtles, parrots, horses, a lemur. During visits in the US, friends from Russia have walked my dog, played with my cats, ridden my parents' horses, visited animal shelters, and attended doggy swim days at the municipal pool. We share some habits and orientations regarding animals, but the most heated criticism I have drawn from Moscow friends over all this time concerned not geopolitics, but the fact that we had house-trained our puppy by confining her several times a day to a crate.³ MetroDogs are, admittedly, not the animals in Russia I came to know best, but I am very familiar with the context of practices and debates surrounding our interactions with them; a truly rich ethnography devoted to them might someday unfold from any of the intersections drawn below.⁴

Soviet projects: the heart of the machine

Anglophone readers might not expect the capital of a state famous for its efforts to evolve 'New Humans' to be a likely setting for strong opinions on the care of animals. If the West depicted the socialist other as less than fully human – as hollow robot, captive worker, heartless bureaucrat – for many Soviets, to aspire to be cosmopolitan⁵ and modern *was to be attentive, to notice* the needs of others – even strangers on the street . . . even others that might not be human.

Soviet-era visions of an egalitarian, multicultural future nurtured sensibilities and aspirations quite different from those that the West depicted 'behind the iron curtain', and dogs had a place in them. In Soviet popular culture and science fiction, space travel was represented (as in Efremov's 1957 novel, *Andromeda nebula* – much as in *Star trek* later) by a multiracial crew of men and women seeking contact with beings beyond this solar system. Meanwhile, two little street dogs, Belka and Strelka, became the first sentient creatures to achieve orbit and return alive in 1960. Dog made the first steps for man. Dozens of dogs had been launched into space, many returning alive, albeit without having achieved orbit, before Belka and Strelka succeeded. Americans are familiar, however, only with their colleague, Laika, as she was known internationally (Laika, 'barker', names a breed), who died in 1957. Soviets long believed that she had perished after six days in orbit, euthanized just before her oxygen ran out; only in 2002 did it become public that she died soon after launch, by overheating. Soviet propagandists must have worried about the political effects of sympathy for animals – why else bother to hide the cause of a dog's death?⁶ Quite predictably, American media had made news of that canine tragedy, while Soviets touted the other dogs' success. For post-Soviets, Laika comes late to the list of canine casualties for human science.

Once Laika's sacrifice⁷ was recognized, she became littermate to the bronze dogs supporting the corners in one of the oldest Metro stations, Revolution Square.⁸ The sculpted figures, each paired with a Revolutionary soldier, represent a Soviet hybrid derived from shepherds, trained to work with police and military units. Such dogs were deployed during the Second World War to defuse mines and to crawl under enemy tanks to detonate explosions (they failed disastrously in this latter task). Be it for all humanity or for the homeland, such dogs serve by interfacing with, mediating, acting as a buffer between humans and machines, earth and air. This is true also of Western dogs of war – Marine dogs, the K9 corps in American cities.

The sacrifice of Pavlov's salivating dogs is a central story in Western mythologies not only about Soviet science, but also about the dangers of all science. For Russians, however, other dogs sit alongside Pavlov's, and Pavlov himself stands not alone, but in a pantheon, alongside competitors such as Vladimir Bekhterev, who established the Institute for Neuroscience in St Petersburg in 1907 (the Soviet state renamed it after him in 1925). In the USSR, Pavlov was not the last scientific word, neither on reflexes nor on animals. Scientists around him were actually more curious about animal capacities to observe, or to choose among actions, or to interpret human signs, than US observers caricatured Soviets to be. If Pavlov reduced dogs to Cartesian instinct machines, Bekhterev treated them as communicating subjects. Bekhterev studied the effects of nervous electrical impulses on will and thought; he did not measure canine physical secretions but observed dogs' communication with humans, without subjecting them to mechanical restraint or surgical modification. Interested in hypnosis and telepathy, he tested dogs' abilities to read 'mental commands' sent by trainers simply by placing them at ever further distances. The experiments rendered ambiguous results. Their

design adapted conditions under which dogs and humans had already been working together (Bekhterev 2014 [1920]; Vasiliev 2002 [1963]). Dogs recruited to Bekhterev's lab performed in Durov's Animal Circus, the enduring popularity of which testifies to the ways 'compassion for animals' laced through Soviet public culture. Durov and his trainers claimed renown for 'gentle and caring' training techniques (Durov 1924; Kleimola 2010), which dovetailed, as historian Amy Nelson (2006) argues, with Soviet manuals and popular journals that recommended care for and training of pets as ways for children to learn responsibility *and* empathy.

There is another factor that aligns people with the dogs of science: historians of science Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman (2005) have argued that sympathy with animals became problematic at a time when they were being increasingly used in laboratory science experiments (see also Williams 1997). That is, they claim, we began to avoid imagining a dog as a feeling subject in order to avoid new forms of guilt. In the Soviet case, however, the relationship of animals to the laboratory was not seen as exceptional: post-Soviets testify that animals alone were not objectified, that 'we were all made an experiment' (Rivkin-Fish 2009: 85). If dogs were cruelly sacrificed for Soviet modernity, well, so were we. What risk of guilt is there in acknowledging the suffering of animals for Soviet science when we suffered together?

Moreover, in Soviet Russia, experiments with dogs did not offer simple metaphors of 'subject vs object', or 'freedom vs automatism', but posed unsolved puzzles. Historian Mette Bryld (1998) argues that Pavlov appealed to the Soviet state not merely for his materialism (providing terminology such as 'higher nervous system' in place of 'soul'), but also for his resonance with the ambivalent metaphor of an experimental society. His work addressed a moral tension that, Bryld argues, was never resolved in Soviet times. *Should* socialist society train its new people to machine-like efficiency? Or *should* it become a society of wilful New Men, refining life through experimental experience? 'Decide for yourselves' (*reshaite sami*), ring the lyrics of the most popular showtune of the most beloved of late Soviet films (*Ironija Sud'by*), 'to have or not to have [a dog, a friend, a wife, etc.]'. *How* to accord humans – not to mention dogs – will remains an unsolved puzzle in Moscow as in many cities (see Hull 2010); 'will' hovers as an elusive object of desire, threatened by those very systems that *require* intentional planning.

The Metro, its stations spanning 1930s Stalinesque baroque, 1970s psychedelia, and 1990s glamour, already links the twenty-first century to the Soviet world. To millions each day, the Metro remains among the most visible of Soviet-era systems, even while its stations, since the 1990s, have also provided the setting for the most visible forms of market 'experiments' (Lemon 2000a). MetroDogs navigate the puzzles posed by the Metro as it links new and old structures, old and new 'experiments'. People see them stepping purposefully through the very heart of the machine . . . and if *they* can do it . . . and if we help them as they helped us . . . If MetroDogs call us to enter a compassionate galaxy, perhaps the grand experiment continues? Perhaps human will and compassion can live in the Metro, too?

Other voices, of course, have taken up these puzzles from a more human-centred and anti-Soviet perspective. Take, for instance, the Gogolesque allegory of dog-becoming-human gone wrong, Mikhail Bulgakov's *Heart of a dog* (1994 [1926]).⁹ Written in 1926, it circulated in hand-typed samizdat, and was published in foreign journals in 1968. It came out in Russia as a novel in 1987, and was immediately adapted for the screen. A street dog, Sharik, meets Professor Preobrazhensky ('Transformer'), who is working to increase human longevity, to which end he plans to transplant pituitary glands and

testicles from a dead human into a living dog. For this purpose he chooses Sharik, who survives the transplant and morphs into human form – only to join the local housing commission and turn the Professor out of his rooms. The dog Sharik is humble, grateful to the doctor. But after the transplant, he becomes vulgar and crass, spitting and swearing, stealing slippers.¹⁰ The satire attacks, if not early socialism itself, then its utopian science, such as directed evolution,¹¹ as liable to warp capacities either to plan well or to feel for others.

Dog zones and stranger sociability: ‘The closer to the centre, the nicer the dog’

While Coppinger and Coppinger (2001) have argued that in some human settlements dogs work either mainly as herders or else as scavengers, in Moscow this is not the case: entanglements (Raffles 2002) with dogs in Moscow vary – there is no single way to engage even with all street dogs there. Policies addressing the care and propagation of dogs have shifted several times since the Revolution. During early Soviet times (the 1920s), in keeping with official ideologies about divisions of labour proper to the Revolution, ‘bourgeois’ or ‘decorative’ breeds were discouraged. ‘Working’ dogs – boxers, shepherds, etc. – were bred to produce ‘Soviet qualities’ (e.g. the boxer was bred lower to the ground and stockier). Informally, people kept up breeding, and after the Second World War dog shows picked up again. By the 1960s, fancy purebred pets – even a gigantic dog in a tiny apartment – once more became an urban commonplace (see Barker 1999; Nelson 2006; Varga & Federovich 2010).

In the late 1970s, ethologists in Moscow began to distinguish ‘street dogs’ from ‘junkyard dogs’ as separately evolving populations (see Neuronov 2005; Pojarkov 1991). In their view, the canine population in the city centre increased in the 1990s not because, as rumoured, people could no longer afford pets: abandoned dogs quickly died. Rather, they argued, late socialist changes in zoning policy and construction triggered a new evolutionary fork. When city planners moved key industrial zones from the medial belts to the outskirts, those dumping grounds drew *some* of the existing dog populations to feed. Others gravitated instead to the centre, by the 1990s to burgeoning food stands and markets. Among these, a subset discovered the Metro as a source for food and warm shelter – especially in the winter, known as ‘the season’ for MetroDogs.

Ethologists such as Pojarkov distinguish not only pets from non-pets, but also kinds of non-pet dogs. A key distinguishing quality is their deportment towards human strangers. Dogs at garbage dumps are dangerous, avoidant, and fearful, but liable to bite. Those that ride the Metro are no threat to humans:

The closer to the centre, the nicer the dog. Those hounds living within the Garden Circle Road simply must be able to make contact with people. They have no practical possibility to catch their own food, and they have to eat. So they beg. Such dogs do not bite, and it’s pointless to fear them. The dogs on the edges of the city are another matter, there they move in packs, they find their sustenance together on the rubbish heaps or hunt small animals (Pojarkov, quoted in *Nauka Izvestija*, 2 February 2005).

Such statements resonate with the work of Soviet geneticist Dimitri K. Beljaev (1972), whose famous study of foxes implied that humans may not have been the initiators of cross-species alliances with canines (cf. Bogoljubskij 1959). Coppinger and Coppinger (2001) credit Beljaev for inspiring them to think along these lines – about a mutual co-evolution in which humans did not recruit dogs (e.g. to hunt), but dogs tamed themselves, first observing and scavenging our trash, the bravest coming closer. This

claim, still new to most Anglophone readers, would not startle a Russian audience long familiar with Beljaev's research from school and from popular natural science journals.

Many Russian terms modifying dogs attest that Muscovites habitually categorize them not only as wild vs tame, stray vs pet, free vs property (Francione 1995; Srinivasan 2013), but also as *connected to spaces*: 'street (*ulichnaja*) dog', 'dump (*pomojnaja*) dog', and the new coinage *MetroPes* – a play on the newspaper kiosks at stations labelled *MetroPress*.¹² Such varied attachment also differentiates more human-aligned dogs: the 'family' (*semejnaja*) or 'domestic' (*domashnaja*) dog is trained to live indoors, while the 'courtyard' (*dvornaja*) dog is fed outside and sleeps there, too. In this massive city of multi-storey apartment blocks, ranged around courtyards, people in surrounding buildings may profess affection for a single courtyard dog, and help feed it. (Where I lived, we sometimes dropped dumplings from the balcony.) They connect to people and place in different ways.¹³ Some courtyard and guard dogs are said to recruit themselves, turning up to be fed and then showing 'willingness' to stay on to bark warnings. The multiple classifications for dogs in Moscow might startle some urban readers in the United States, at least those who do not encounter hunting dogs or junkyard dogs. The American Humane Society encourages moving all animals from 'homeless' status to 'a forever home'. These are not place but phase categories: pets become abandoned, strays are adopted. Television series such as *Detroit Animal Cops* document the phases, following abused animals who become proper 'pets'. In Moscow, pets abandoned to shelters do not join ranks with street or junkyard dogs: these latter are rarely described as 'strays', as former or potential pets, and few animal activists advocate placing such dogs in homes. Such dogs belong 'free' in the city – or, according to some, should be destroyed entirely (as I will discuss in the next section).

Such distinctions slip away from Anglophone media that have reported the MetroDog story. Around 2008, foreign media began to pluck MetroDog stories from Russian press and blog circuits, where they had been running for some years. Deploying the same sources as had the Russian press earlier (re-interviewing the same ethnologists, recycling excerpts of older interviews, printing the same photos of animals standing on train platforms, etc.),¹⁴ they nevertheless shifted emphases, channelling different motives for fascination with the MetroDogs. One ABC News documentary (19 March 2010), through voice-over and montage, emphasized the dogs' calm, even in crowds or when the trains jerk into motion. Such reports underscore not the dogs' sociably attentive skills, but their urbane deportment, reflecting what Simmel (1964 [1903]) characterized as the 'reserve' and 'indifference' of stranger sociability in the modern city. Fritz Leiber imagines the tactful and well-behaved dogs of a mid-century San Francisco in the novel *Our lady of darkness* this way:

And now something seemed to stir in the massed darkness there. (Hard to tell what.) Perhaps one or more of the city's wild dogs, homeless for generations, yet able to pass as tame. (In a big city, if you see a dog going about his business, menacing no one, fawning on no one, fussing at no one – in fact, behaving like a good citizen with work to do and no time for nonsense – and that dog lacks a tag or collar, then you may be sure he hasn't a neglectful owner, but is wild – and well-adjusted.) (Leiber 1977: 10).

Leiber's urban dog is no longer wild because he is simply another stranger; like human strangers, following his own path, minding his own business.¹⁵

Now Leiber and the producers at ABC may, arguably, live in a world where 'good citizens' rely upon themselves, bothering nobody.¹⁶ But people writing for Russian

media, speaking on Russian radio, posting on the Internet, or chatting in my presence have stressed other points, countering the ‘indifferent’ stranger sociability aligned with ‘neoliberal’ modernity. MetroDogs’ capacity to enact polite disregard is just one talent, and not the most striking. Even among *humans* on Moscow streets, indifferent ‘stranger sociability’ was not upheld as *the* modern, aspirational ideal. To the contrary, as I began to observe on bus rides since 1988, the good transit passenger is alert when another needs to pass money up a chain of passengers to the driver, and will interrupt her own reading to pass the ticket back down again, with exact change. A Metro commuter will stop another to brush mud from a coat (*‘Devushka, vy ispachkai!’*), to help hoist a bag over the turnstile. Watchful grandmothers nudge young men to leave space open for potential passengers. And while there are those who label the grandmothers’ attention ‘surveillance’, I hear even more often about the safety that others’ eyes guarantee in public.

Both during socialism and after it had ended, people complained that demonstrations of care for strangers had diminished. Some named these acts ‘holdovers’ of village ethics; others, during late Soviet times, lamented that urban street manners were more gracefully attentive before the Revolution. Meanwhile, Soviet media modelled practices of attending to strangers (in cartoons, for instance, that feature animals such as *Krokodil* befriending humans met on the train¹⁷). The modern Soviet person – responsible, compassionate, hygienically minded, and so on – did not fully withdraw from others in public. The truth of these particular claims aside, along with actual instances of rudeness or neglect, *ideals* of attentive sociability with strangers in public still matter, as do objections that such demonstrations remain exceptional to Russia, and are absent in the cold and indifferent West. And as time has passed, those ideals can be associated more closely with Soviet times (ironically so, for those who remember pushing or crowding from those days).

Anglophone media about Russia usually foreground legacies of Stalinist oppression or Putinesque corruption, but their MetroDog stories minimize links to Soviet-era ideals or practices. They miss seeing that, when a Moscow passenger surrenders a good seat to a tired pup, she might be aspiring to a ‘socialist-era’ morality still understood as valuable.

Through MetroDogs we can trace the continued affective force of projects to nurture generalized compassion, see romantic colour course through communist-era dreams linking generalized exchange with technical progress. If one looks at the famous Soldier’s Dog at Revolution Square, one sees machine, skin, and fur touching. Similarly, in the monument to Laika,¹⁸ gun and rocket index hard progress and fatal risk, but all is softened by touch, as if signalling mutual promises to protect.

Those dogs who become ‘nicer’ as they move ‘closer to the centre’ – who have ‘learned to communicate in gestures’ – are remarkable not only because they live in peace among people, but also because they solicit human attention, and themselves attend to human signs. But before going into such solicitation in more detail, first I need to discuss politically polarizing contrasts between care for dogs and care for humans.

Street sweeps

In 2001, Moscow¹⁹ municipal legislation outlawed shooting strays, providing funds for sterilization and release (although allegedly corrupt disbursement has meant little progress, according to radio reports on Ekho Moskvy, 9 November 2012). The legislation responded to movements that protested at violence against animals and advocated for

better treatment. The movements themselves stir vociferous debates, as rivals advocate extermination. The volume of this activity resounds against relative silence on violence against humans on public transit (but see Lemon 2000a; 2004).

A recent pivotal character for animal advocates is a dog known as Mal'chik ('Boy'). In 2007, near the turnstiles at a station dedicated to the scientist Mendeleev (creator of the periodic table), local residents erected a monument to Mal'chik.²⁰ The base, signed by artists and donors, reads 'Compassion'. The dog lived for several years in the concrete underground underpass leading to the station entrance; I used to see him every day, dozing near the woman who sold bus tickets from a folding table, his back to the pillar just outside glass and steel entrance doors that, heavy as they are, swing in the wind gusting up from the train tunnels. In 2002 I noticed him missing, and neighbours told me that a young woman had killed him, stabbing him a dozen times. They described her as a 'crazy girl who called herself a fashion model', who lost her head when Mal'chik, a largish mutt, had barked at her own purebred toy. Journalists echoed such words, lingering on the tears of Metro workers who had fed Mal'chik, on memories of residents and commuters used to greeting him every day (*Izvestija*, 14 January 2002, 8 July 2002, 18 February 2003; *Rodnaja Gazeta*, 8 April 2005). Now instead, one passes Mal'chik's memorial. In summer 2012, for several days I stood at the spot for ten minutes each morning and again in the afternoon, to count dozens of people stop to ponder the hound, to lay ruble coins at his side or flowers between his paws. Periodically, Metro staff in orange vests would sweep the coins into dustpans.

Mal'chik resonates with other scrappy street mutts, like Laika, who at least died for space travel. But if Laika echoes dreams of world unity and grand experiments, Mal'chik strikes a dissonance. Moscow has whitened: people I knew, like Roma, who once worked the grey markets near the centre are pressed out to distant stations. The Metro turnstiles and platform security booths have long been staffed by 'European' women of retirement age, but minorities used to inhabit key positions in the government, and now are most visible doing custodial and construction work.²¹ The demography of Metro riders has also shifted after the Caucasus wars and bombings blamed on terrorists; people labelled *chernye* ('black', a judgement not aligned with phenotype: Lemon 1998; 2000a; 2000b; Reeves 2010) or 'non-European' have become increasingly subject to checks of residence papers and eviction from the city.

Such people experience the Metro as dangerous. Roma, students from Korea, Africa, and former Soviet Republics all tell me about the terrors of riding public transport alone. In the 1990s, Romani women spoke then of having always to move about in groups for safety; a decade later (as I learned while living in the dormitory of the Russian Academy for Theatrical Arts), people marked as non-European rode the train at night together for mutual protection against 'skinheads', who text to alert each other about stations where they spot 'foreigners'. Such nationalist projects can transform the Metro's efficient transfer system from a tribute to workers' internationalism to a structure for exclusion.

Like many Americans, many in Moscow live unaware of racial violence (Lemon 2004), and prefer to believe that racism has been transcended. Under socialism, non-Russian 'national minorities' did indeed achieve rank in central bureaucracies and institutions of culture and education; 'racism' was said to belong to capitalism. While reports of 'non-Europeans' attacked at bus stops and Metro stations increased over the 1990s, no monuments to such events stand in Moscow.²² By contrast,

the plight of dogs has become increasingly visible – Mal’chik being just one such example.²³

As Moscow whitened, the population of street dogs increased (see Neuronov 2005 and Pojarkov 1991; for contrast, see also Mantejfel’ 1976). In 2001 – when web posts about MetroDogs began (along with generalized access to the web in Internet cafés) the Moscow city government outlawed shooting strays. Animal advocacy groups, such as the Interregional Council of Stray Animal Custodians, proposed a new juridical category for people who look after street dogs, who would register as *opekun* (guardian) of specific dogs. The rationale appealed to the municipal government: registered guardians could help carry out and keep track of sterilizations. *Opekun* status entails not ownership (see also Srinivasan 2013), but *care-taking rights* – to feed the animal, to claim mistreatment by police or dog catchers, to take the animal to a clinic, and so on (see *Novye Izvestija*, 30 July 2008).²⁴ The City thus passed a resolution on 1 November 2002, no. 931-PP, ‘On the Legal Project of the City of Moscow “Regarding Animals”’, under which special cards attest legal guardianship and list the colouring and name of each animal – now animals had papers to be checked, too.

These programmes stir controversy. Opposing residents rage that ‘dog lovers’ feed animals that bite people, and that kill the cats that should eat the rats. They fume that ‘zooextremists’ spread lies when they describe MetroDogs as ‘nice’, cover up canine atrocities against birds, and stage fake sterilizations (supposedly motivated by payments from the US or from German laboratories). The debates over whether dogs should be left alone, tended to and sterilized, or exterminated and swept from the streets seethe in demonstrations, Internet forums, and radio talk shows.²⁵ Their passion is, as yet, unmatched in political discourse on urban violence that targets ‘non-European’ humans.

Arguments in Moscow setting dogs against people intensify as *doghantery* (‘doghunters’) and *opekuny* (‘guardians’) portray each other as political villains. The former paint the latter as naïve anthropomorphists who care more about ecological fantasies than about rabies. For them, sympathy for stray dogs deflects care from humans – or, at least, ‘our neighbourhood children’ – it is ‘treason’ to the human.²⁶ Animal rights activists answer by linking doghunters with militant fascists or Nazis, accusing them of atrocities: ‘I saw photos of these doghunters: a young man next to a dog. The next one shows what he did to the dog. In the third one, he bears a Fascist banner’ (Ekho Mosky, 11 November 2012). Such people claim that doghunters’ agendas slide into those of violent nationalists;²⁷ in them we see people who might welcome more public attention in Moscow not only to the rights of animals, but also to those of minorities.

The amplification of public sentiment around canine politics in Moscow since about 2000 raises the possibility that it is largely a recent phenomenon, perhaps rolling in from abroad with ‘neoliberalism’. Animal rights activists in Russia do make transnational contacts,²⁸ and the municipal government does look over its shoulder at EU urban policies. However, to read *opekun* policies only in terms of change – for example, to stress how they individualize animal care or devolve responsibility from the state – would be just as reductive as reading them only in terms of socialism, as if such were the only possible origin for care of animals not owned as property.

For debates over care for dogs versus care for humans, about whether care for animals leads to generalized human compassion or betrays species loyalty, have wound through Russia since imperial times, long in conversation with parallel debates elsewhere.

Russian authors, journalists, scientists, and scholars have debated moral relations to animals for more than a century, and their works continue to resonate²⁹ (see Costlow 2010; Helfant 2010; Lahti 2010; Nelson 2010). Russophone intellectuals in the nineteenth century read Aristotle, Montaigne, Bentham, Kant, and Descartes, while early animal rights activists elsewhere owe much to Russian thinkers, the British journal *The Vegetarian* having published Lev Tolstoy's works in 1889, even before the young Gandhi corresponded with the writer about passive resistance. Besides advocating vegetarianism, Tolstoy is known for passages that place the reader into the mind of an animal and condemn their beating, such as in his 'Strider: the story of a horse' ('Kholstomer', 2003 [1886]), where the author also thereby estranges the human category of 'property'.³⁰ By contrast, his late nineteenth-century contemporary, journalist and writer Vladimir Gilyarovskiy, known for his attention to ethnographic detail, set compassion for animals *against* that for people. Print media on MetroDogs, incidentally, cite Gilyarovskiy more than Tolstoy, but only to document animal presence in a city once crowded with trolley horses, chickens, cats, and rats. In Gilyarovskiy's short story, 'Man and dog' (1989 [1886]), a discharged soldier lives begging in the streets, evading inspection and repatriation to his home province. His only companion is Liska, a dog who keeps his legs warm at night. He loses her. More accurately, dogcatchers take her. These dogcatchers happen to work for a man who has built a decent shelter for strays where Liska is given a warm, sunny spot and plenty of food, and she settles right in. After searching all day, the beggar hears about her and the shelter. He is puzzled: it must be expensive to feed so many dogs – and they sleep warmer than people do out here! That night, he dies from exposure, half-buried in a snowdrift. The next day, another man, a stranger, reads in the newspaper about the death of a nameless beggar lacking documents, and grumbles, 'They treat dogs better than this'. In *Heart of a dog* (1994 [1926]), Bulgakov, a few decades later, would also object to dogs, even in human form, taking up warm apartment space instead of humans. But if Gilyarovskiy did so to condemn inequalities in human systems of distribution, Bulgakov protested against redistribution to those unwashed masses with whom Sharik ends up.

In the twenty-first century, politics around Moscow street dogs continue vigorously to intersect with those around marginalized or displaced humans, in different ways. Some sympathize with animals like Mal'chik while simultaneously projecting social hierarchies that naturalize violence (a process anthropologists have well documented elsewhere: see Fehervary 2012; Shevchenko 2006; White 2011). For others, Mal'chik opens possibilities to link animal and human moralities: a few animal activists when interviewed about Mal'chik have managed also to condemn attacks targeting the city's 'non-European' inhabitants (Ekho Moskv, 12 October 2012). With Kant, they would assert that care for dogs and for humans is commensurable – like those Soviet-era pet handbooks that insist that tending to pets teaches children to extend care generally. Such involvements with both human and animal issues counter Gilyarovskiy's (or Deleuze and Guattari's) assessment of concern for animals as infantile proxy for, or distraction from, compassion for humans.

Metro sapiens bestia, Metro caninus animus

Still, the MetroDog can trot alongside those who would cast out certain Others. In 2010, the very breed of shepherd that is cast in bronze with the soldier at Revolution Square station was deployed again on public transit, sniffing out 'Chechen terrorist bombs' as

its human colleagues screened people for those who lacked residence permits, deporting them from the city.

A medium for material movement and social semiosis, the Metro is also continually reconfigured according to contradictory values: social chaos and order; waste and productivity; will and autonomism (Lemon 2000*b*). Official brochures once portrayed it as a force for social stability and international friendship. Testifying to a transnational communist social order, nearly identical Metros in Prague, Budapest, Sofia, Zagreb, Warsaw, Calcutta, and Pyongyang were built with Soviet advisers and plans. By contrast, Soviet dissident and *émigré* writers disdained the Stalinist imposition of infrastructure. In their accounts, the ‘enthusiasts’ who built the Metro become forced labour. Still, from either perspective, the Metro, like the Soviet railway network joining all points to a Moscow centre, was an indexical icon for ordered space and motion. By the 1990s, it could serve also as backdrop for chaos. Commerce mushroomed precisely around Metro stations, as hawkers filled transfer tunnels and underground crosswalks, making ‘the changes’ more visible there than elsewhere in Moscow. Conservative editorials depicted the Metro as a place of social disarray, where the litter and detritus of markets feathered the nests of beggars, and called for the return of laws (rescinded in 1993) that prosecuted ‘parasitism’. Meanwhile, liberals acknowledged ‘disorder’, but claimed to prefer it to ‘clean totalitarianism’ as a cruel sign of freedom (Lemon 2000*b*).

The Metro occupies a centrally ambivalent position. Like schools or theatres, it was a civilizing site, a habitus-instilling machine for becoming ‘modern’ and ‘cultured’ (Humphrey 2005; Lemon 2000*a*; 2000*b*). For peasants, for workers coming from distant republics, to ascend the escalator properly was another way to perform ‘raising the cultural level’. By the 1990s, I heard many speak of ‘national minorities’ as ungrateful recipients of Soviet education, incapable of ‘becoming civilized’. To hear in the twenty-first century that MetroDogs are ‘evolving’ as they master the Metro thus rings discordantly against recent claims about people: the dogs’ ascension contrasts with the (alleged) failures of Soviet affirmative action, yet also continues to animate the possibility that the city and its machines can elevate sentience.

Consider again *Heart of a dog*. It opens from the perspective of Sharik, voicing doggy thoughts as he scrounges off the streets, and then the narrator steps back to describe the city’s osmotic effect on his understanding, even before the transforming surgery:

There is absolutely no necessity to learn to read; meat smells a mile off. Nevertheless, if you live in Moscow and have a brain in your head, you’ll pick up reading willy-nilly without attending any courses. Out of the forty thousand or so Moscow Dogs, only a total idiot won’t know how to read the word ‘sausage’. Sharik first began to learn by colour. When he was only four months old, blue-green signs with the letters MSPO – indicating a meat store – appeared all over Moscow . . . (Bulgakov 1994 [1926]: 11).

Repeated encounters with urban signs and structures have rendered Sharik literate, or something like it. (For Bulgakov, this ‘willy-nilly’ progress, mediated incrementally by urban forms, was preferable to socialist scientific experiments.) Perhaps we could call this a synaesthetic ‘contact literacy’, indexically and iconically grounded in particular condensations of sensible qualia in physical texts (odours, colours). Nowadays, MetroDogs are said, if not to read letters, then to have learned to discriminate parts of city infrastructures. For instance, they prefer the busy ‘Circle Line’, which offers transfers to every other line. They know which stations offer access to food stands, which stations go deeper and warmer in the winter. N.N. Meshkova, from Moscow State University’s

Department of Psychology, writing for a children's educational periodical, documents dogs' commutes to and from specific points in minute detail:

The dogs, it seems, can use the Metro for purposeful journeys (*dlja tselenapravlennykh poezdok*). We observed a case when a dog travelled from Okhotnyj Rjad station to Frunzenskaja station (4 stops, about 10 minutes), went up to the surface, turned left down Khoal'zunova Alley, towards Malaja Pirogovskaja street, to the dining hall of an office there, where she was met like an old acquaintance and fed (Meshkova 2000: 6).

For Meshkova, what matters is that the MetroDogs, having learned their distinctions, *decide* which stations to visit, from whom to ask the tastiest scraps, where to nap in peace. Meshkova stresses the dogs' ability to strategize over time and space; they are not merely absorbing textual forms and machine rhythms, automatically. Their encounters with the machine have made them anything but automatons.

As anthropologists have long argued, forms and structures, like those of the Metro, can only determine so much. People in Prague rode the same cars made near Moscow, but rode them differently (Lemon 2000a). The Moscow municipal transit authorities constantly confront failures of form to instil habitus. Each year they update the written rules to fortify linguistic, gestural, and other semiotic attempts to fix the uses of Metro doors and escalators (on troubles in fixing meaning, see Keane 1997). No one ever fully absorbs transit rules, no matter how tightly reminders weave through barricades and painted lines: to exhort humans to ride properly in Moscow requires an elaborate social division of communicative labour. At the bottom of the long escalators there is a glass booth where a woman (often of retirement age) sits, at a video monitor with split screens, two telephones, and a microphone. To be sure, most people use the escalators properly, but when delinquent teenagers roll coins down the banisters, or sit on the stairs, her voice chastises over the intercom. When people block a clear path, she exhorts, 'Citizens, clear the left!' When someone ignores her, others repeat her directive with more feeling: 'Clear the left!!' Rules are broken and reprisals are frequent.

Like teenagers, the dogs violate Metro etiquette: they sit on the escalator, sleep curled up on train car benches. But station workers rarely scold them or attempt to drive them away. I have seen passengers show amused concern for a dog sitting on the escalator but aversion for adult and child beggars there, even when they ride 'properly'. Yet dogs, even when they 'fail' at civilized riding, charm human affections in their very attempts: 'Look, she is trying!³¹ Perhaps, even more than human failures and rebellions, canine efforts estrange the rules, expose points of unexpected possibility, suggest 'what ifs?' to subvert the worrisome sense that 'structure' erases 'will'. Even having evolved in and through the Metro, dogs challenge anxieties that technology will make automatons of us all.

Some have suggested to me that we make allowances for dogs owing to their innocence, that, unlike human beggars are alleged to do, they do not pretend poverty or fake amputations.³² However, against such common-sense claims (in English or in Russian) that 'dogs cannot lie', I have also heard stories about Moscow dogs 'pretending' to have a hurt paw to get sympathy and treats. Some claim that Metrodogs, prowling fast-food stands, perfect ever more sophisticated arts of trickery:

The method of 'ambush from behind' is actively mastered by the Moscow hounds, recounts Andrej Pojarkov, research fellow at the Svertsova Institute for Problems in Ecology and Evolution. The main thing here for them is to determine who among those buying fast-food is most easily startled. But

dogs, they are excellent psychologists. They know people better than we know dogs (*Komsomol'skaja Pravda*, 20 May 2008).

Even deception here folds endearingly into a celebration of canine sentience, the canine lie as treasured evidence that dogs pay attention *to us* – they divine intentions across species, they ‘know people better than’ we know them. Here a human reads the bark as a lie, one that indexes (presupposing) canine interpretation of human signs (for intentions), which in turn indexes canine will. This is a beautifully Peircean chain of interpretants:³³ what it all affords is still in question.

Concluding remarks

Consider again the bronze ‘soldier’s dog’ at Revolution Square. Her metal nose is worn down: people rub it for good luck – the dog nearest the escalators is best for school exams. People rub Mal’chik’s nose, too (Fig. 2).³⁴ Some make a wish, others, as one friend tells me, ‘need to get rid of static cling’. In making such wishes, in which fragile plans face forces ‘bigger than us’, ‘beyond’ here-and-now – ‘nature’, ‘the future’, ‘the state,’ ‘the road,’ ‘success’ – dog noses promise to know better than ours: they point the way where we blindly tap between the rails, sounding for possibilities. Do they know because they are animal, or because they live inside the machine? Has the Metro honed their sense of the future, or vice versa?

‘*Super-smart* dog mutants have appeared in Moscow, explaining themselves with gestures’. The semiotic capacities here claimed for dogs – gestures – can work through indexical and iconic means. For humans, many gestures – a nod, a wink, a turn – can indicate present or non-present times or spaces; a wave can beckon to distant pasts, hypothetical futures. Indexicality, perhaps more than other semiotic groundings, can signal the subjunctive in a flash. While it is not clear to what extent animals remember pasts or project possibilities, empirical research shows that bees can represent places at a distance, that canine gestures can index something like a hypothetical situation, as in play (Bauer & Smuts 2000). Bateson (1972) even claimed that humans, vulnerable to madness and propaganda, are less adept at discerning which kind of communication

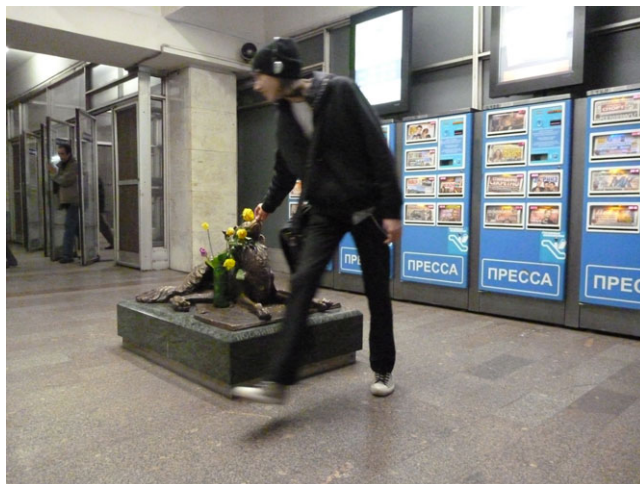


Figure 2. Rubbing Malchik’s nose. (Author’s photo.)

is afoot, more often confusing the 'playful' with the 'serious'. It is not so strange or sentimental, then, if some Muscovites interpret dogs' actions as signs, signs that dogs read human signs – or plan Metro transfers.

When a MetroDog falters or waits, tail wagging, nose pointing to a door that she cannot open with paws or snout alone, passengers are liable to interpret such gestures as signs, as requests. Something similar can happen anywhere, but when a dog 'asks' a human to hold a Metro vestibule door, the social, historical, semiotic, and material specifics of the Moscow MetroDog assemblage all come into play. They offer historically inflected chances to notice that *this* infrastructure is built to the scale of (certain) human hands and feet, and to estrange illusions that infrastructure, in itself, totalizes, or reduces us to Cartesian instinct: to consider that *someone* set the door springs at *that* tension. Beings 'out of scale' – dogs and disabled, or dispossessed persons – are all poised to paw at such questions long after rails are cast in steel.

The dog who needs a little help reveals *triangulations* among sentient beings with materials and with meanings. We all – all beings – evolve through the Metro: its material channels, mythical forms, and divisions of labour all together entangle us. To speak of the dog 'met like an old acquaintance and fed' at Frunzenskaja station is not only to foreground a will to lay a path to some caloric end, but also to weave a social bond, cultivated not in spite of but inside the machine, in a familiar place, at the heart.

From the perspective of a dog, does the human earn gratitude for such aid, or is the hand just another hinge in the door (see Candea 2010 on Descola; Derrida 2008)? No matter: each uploaded photo, shaggy MetroDog story, and human-canine encounter underground can be framed to foreground human action *for someone else, at another scale*. The MetroDogs focus charged discussions on the kindness of strangers: these days, what kind of person will hold a door open, for whom?

Anthropologists are accustomed to thinking of transformations of scale in the language of exchange, mediation, or power through circuits of extension. But for the Soviet project (because, of course, ending capitalist exchange *was* the Soviet project), not 'exchange' but 'compassion' (like 'fame' in Munn's Gawa [1986]) was to become the greater world-extending force; the new world would unfurl once we transplanted 'concern' and 'attention' from the apartment into public transit. The new human would not only achieve production quotas, but also touch and care for beings 'beyond' bonds of kinship or ownership. How appropriate that dogs led Soviet science, led 'all humanity' into outer space, barking there for unknown life-forms. Even in the twenty-first century, in glittering, hyper-capitalist Moscow, to extend a hand, to perform compassion, still lays paths for extension. We can analyse this away as misrecognition, pointing out, for instance, that late Soviets, in their time, projected public kindness back to the imperial golden years, but then we miss something else: well 'after' socialism, aspirations retain a sentimental force that can be felt as socialist, and as 'ours'. Below ground, to save a seat for a dog can reanimate expansive dreams indeed. MetroDogs stir us, grazing just past the sharp edges of memory, irritating its scars while reviving past hopes.

NOTES

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¹ On 'empathy', 'compassion', 'warmth', and care in post-Soviet Russia, see Caldwell (2004); Humphrey (2012); Lemon (2004, 2009*b*). For anthropology on animal intentions and perspectives, see Candea (2010); Ingold (1994); Kohn (2007); Viveiros de Castro (2004 [1999]); and Willerslev (2004).

² On such claims, see Collier (2011) and Shevchenko (2006).

³ For a contrasting perception that Americans treat dogs too indulgently, see Ghodsee (2006).

⁴ See, for instance, work in progress by Lavrentia Karamaniola on stray dogs in Bucharest.

⁵ On the memory of Soviet cosmopolitan spaces, of pride in internationalism, see Grant (2010).

⁶ On Russian imperial and Soviet discourse about sympathy for animals, see Costlow (2010), Lahti (2010), and Nelson (2010).

⁷ On animal sacrifice to science, see Haraway (2008). On 'Russian' sacrifice, see Oushakine (2009).

⁸ See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plushchad_Revolyutsii_\(Moscow_Metro\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plushchad_Revolyutsii_(Moscow_Metro)).

⁹ It would be fascinating to contrast Bulgakov's book with dystopian animal motifs in science fiction films such as *Planet of the apes* or *Willard*.

¹⁰ Rivkin-Fish, discussing Russian elites who cite this text to criticize socialism, notes that '[m]any [post-Soviets] explained the attempt to alter the essence of a species, to turn a dog into a person, as a metaphor for the ill-fated, unnatural Soviet project of transforming the crude proletariat into society's leaders' (2009: 85).

¹¹ Lysenkoism was overturned in 1964, and geneticists working in natural selection paradigms regained key positions. It is worth stressing that late Soviet education, compared to that in the United States, covered a much broader range of theories of evolution, more deeply detailed, from Darwin and Mendel to Watson and Crick, from Vavilov to Rappaport and Gvozdev (see Swarts, Anderson, and Swetz's [1994] comparative study of middle- and high-school textbooks in the USA, the USSR, and China in the 1970s and 1980s).

¹² 'MetroHound' might be a more literal translation, but the poetic resonance and register seem wrong.

¹³ Pets can ride the Metro, but not how MetroDogs do: see photo no. 2 at <http://www.jrai.net/gallery/metrodogs>.

¹⁴ See, for instance, *The Sun News* (11 April 2009), paraphrasing a 2008 piece from *Komsomol'skaja Pravda*. In the mid-1990s, I worked for Radio Free Europe/OMRI in Prague, monitoring media (and observing how journalists copy text across the wires). My statements draw from years of continued press monitoring.

¹⁵ I thank Paul Manning for this reference.

¹⁶ Countering assumptions that intimacy is the most ethical form of sociality, and on ways to value animal disregard, see Candea (2010) on 'interpatience'.

¹⁷ On Soviet cartoons and their ongoing resonance, see works collected in Oushakine (2008).

¹⁸ See http://www.dogsinspace.org.uk/Publish/DIS_design_Cosmodogs.html.

¹⁹ These matters are legislated separately in Russian municipal jurisdictions.

²⁰ Contrast this to other dog monuments, such as one to Shinjuku in Japan, which stress not generalized compassion, but a dog's loyalty to an individual.

²¹ On Uzbek, Kyrgyz, or Kazakh 'guest-workers' in the city, see Reeves (2010).

²² Mal'chik's sculptors did, in media appearances, make parallels with such people.

²³ A monument to strays in a St Petersburg courtyard preceded Mal'chik by only a few years.

²⁴ On laws and organizations in Russia regarding help for homeless *persons*, see Caldwell (2004).

²⁵ As, for instance, when the city cleared dogs from central tourist areas before the May 2009 Eurovision contest (see *Komsomol'skaja Pravda*, 21 May 2009), and during the 2012 Olympics in Sochi, in reaction to *visitors'* distaste for the 'strays'.

²⁶ See Deleuze and Guattari (1987) on betrayal in representations of 'becomings-animal'. But consider also the real moral disquiet after events like Katrina in 2005, when pets were rescued and people left stranded in the floods.

²⁷ On animals in similar discourses, see White (2011).

²⁸ Examples include Fauna (affiliated with Russia's Green Party), Vita (affiliated with international animal rights organizations), and Moscow Animals (moscowanimals.org).

²⁹ We might include: Chekhov's 'Kashtanka', Tolstoy's Laska in *Anna Karenina*, Mayakovsky's and Shalamov's dogs, Platonov's worker bear, Pelevin's telepathic werewolves, Grossman's mule, Zoshchenko's monkey ...

³⁰ Victor Shklovsky (1965 [1917]) begins his famous essay on estrangement ('Art as technique') with this story.

³¹ See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MHewvUDSK5A>; see also <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APReYziGguQ> (accessed 11 March 2015).

³² On 'masking' under socialism, see Fitzpatrick (2005) and Lemon (2000*a*) on Gypsies 'pretending' poverty.

³³ Peirce's interpretant, recall, is the *uptake* of any phenomena by any sentience as a sign.

³⁴ See also photo no. 3 at <http://www.jrai.net/gallery/metrodogs/>.

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Les Chiens du Métro : le coeur dans la machine

Résumé

On dit que les chiens du métro de Moscou ont acquis une sentience particulière : ils sauraient s'orienter dans une infrastructure à l'échelle humaine et interpréter les motivations humaines. Ces affirmations à propos des chiens et des rencontres que l'on fait avec eux dans les transports en commun rappellent les projets moraux de l'époque soviétique qui entremêlaient sentiment (« compassion ») et affect (« attention ») au travers de rêves technologiques : éradiquer la souffrance matérielle et la violence physique, parcourir le globe et le cosmos, mettre fin aux guerres et aux racismes. Après tout, les chiens avaient contribué à la victoire sur les Nazis et participé à la conquête spatiale. Aujourd'hui, dans le Métro, leurs frémissements et leurs aboiements suscitent des débats sur l'accessibilité et l'exclusion qui résonnent à travers les assemblages de matières et de significations, de liens sociaux et de signes. Les Chiens du Métro nous invitent à théoriser les manières dont les gens créent des liens dans l'instant qui vont loin au-delà de l'ici et maintenant.

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