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'Indianism' in Lithuania: Re-enchantment of the World through 'Playing Indians'

*Saulius Matulevičius*¹

European fascination with Native American societies has a long history. During the 20th century, this fascination grew into a large-scale international movement, comprised of enactment clubs, trade/exchange networks, and summer and winter rendezvous known as Pow Wows. In this article, the author explores the roots of this phenomenon, analysing it within the theoretical framework of a critique of modernity. He reveals how 'playing Indian' may be perceived as discontent with modernity, and its re-enchantment through the appropriation of cultural elements of the Native Americans. 'Indian play' is a grossly under-researched phenomenon; therefore, this is a timely study.

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Introduction

During the decades preceding 'Perestroika', boys growing up in the Soviet Union read Karl May and James Fenimore Cooper, and watched films in which the 'noble' Native Americans resisted 'imperialist aggression'. For many of them, the expression of their enchantment was limited to making bows and arrows and wearing crow feathers in their hair. Today, we can find small groups in many European countries, Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, the Netherlands and Germany, with a continuing and abiding interest in the cultures of North America. These communities unite people of very different age and social status, including women and children, sharing a common purpose: to identify with the cultures of North American Natives, mostly of the 18th and 19th centuries, through restoring and practising individual cultural ele-

¹This paper is based on data gathered in Lithuania in 2008 for my Master's thesis, 'European Indians: The Construction of North American Indian Culture in Lithuania', at Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania in 2010.

ments, and gathering into communities and clubs. The 'Summer Pow Wow'² is one of the most important 'Indianist', a name they give themselves, events. During the festival, a camp is built in a forest, where the participants engage in activities which, in their understanding, are typical of Indian cultures: songs, dances, storytelling, historic crafts, household implements, ritual practices and ceremonies. One such element representing Indianism is the dwelling of the Plains Indians, the 'teepee'³, one of the most important elements in the 'material culture' of Indianism, and often the only accepted type of dwelling in the Pow Wow camp.

In this article, I analyse the origin of this phenomenon, beginning with a discussion of modernity and its discontents. However, before going deeper into an anthropological analysis of modernity and its discontents, as well as the dichotomies it tends to articulate, I must clarify some details in advance. It is important to note that the analysis I focus on dwells on the development of the popular, that is, non-academic discourse on modernity and various dichotomies it tends to articulate. However, we must remember that some of the popular intellectual (still non-academic) discourses occasionally leak in to the academic discourses affecting it, and vice versa. This is the dynamics of reciprocity in the history of ideas, and an anthropologist researching Western societies must keep this in mind. In this article, I reveal how this reciprocity of ideas developed the typical common sense perception of the 'other', namely, the Native American. The ethnographic study also shows how the so called 'Indianist' or 'European Indians' movement could be read as popular reactions/counter-reactions to particular discourses of modernity. In other words, the phenomenon discussed in the article reveals itself as a form of discontent with the popular attitudes of modernity appropriating the image of a Native American. To avoid confusion, I have to mention that this article is not targeted at discussing the anthropological perception of culture or civilisation. The juxtaposition between culture and civilisation that I develop later is a plain ethnographic model retrieved from my research data. However, I do analyse the (history of the) development of both concepts as popular discourses of modernity. I reveal the history of the concepts that are articulated, challenged and appropriated by my informants. I also show the role and place of popular concepts of culture and civilisation in the ideology of the Indianist movement (not in the discipline of anthropology per se).

Until recently, only a few scholarly studies on the Indianism phenomenon were available in the English language: two of them were anthropological studies. The author of the fourth, a Native American, a historian and journalist,

²The name of the inter-tribal song and dance festival, the Pow Wow, of the Native Americans has been adopted by the Indianists.

³According to informants, 'teepee' means 'a place to live' in the Lakota language.

writes about the phenomenon of 'playing Indian', rather than investigating Indianism itself. By far the most comprehensive piece of work on this subject is the dissertation thesis by German Valentinovich Dziebel 'Playing and Nothing: European Appropriations of Native American Cultures in the Late 20th Century' (2005).

Dziebel, himself a one-time Indianist, visited Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, German, Czech and Bulgarian Indianists while doing his research. His work encompasses a vast historical sweep of the fascination with the Native North Americans in Europe since 1492, and applies a number of theoretical perspectives in his analysis of Indianism, revealing the complexity of the phenomenon. The most recent study on Indianism is the thesis by Petra Tjitske Kalshoven at McGill University in Montreal, called 'Plays on 'the Indian': Representations of Knowledge and Authenticity in Indianist Mimetic Practice' (2006). In comparison with Dziebel's study, this piece of work is less theoretical, and is much closer to ethnographic field research.

Kalshoven treats Indianism as a phenomenon of 'play', distinguished in two modes: the historically precise copying of Indian cultural elements, the mode of 'playing Indian', and the 'translational' mode, signifying the interpretational approach, in which the elements, symbols and meanings of Indian cultures are reinterpreted, or 'translated' into meanings typical of contemporary times.

The Native American historian and journalist Philipe J. Deloria, in his book *Playing Indian* (1999), has produced the best-known and popular work on this subject. However, instead of analysing Indianism itself, as Dziebel and the other authors mentioned here do, he describes how the impact of the stereotypical image of the Indian on 'white' American society gradually changed into permanent recreational activity through self-identification with them. Deloria argues that 'the whites' have created a stereotype of the 'Indian other', and any imagination of the Indians by the white man is predetermined by this stereotype and does not refer to contemporary Native Americans. He believes that the 'othering' of the Indian also hides the secret of the 'playing Indian' phenomenon.

My own research, on which the findings in this paper are based, was carried out in 2008 in Lithuania, for the purpose of my MA thesis in social anthropology at Vytautas Magnus University. I was accepted as a 'fellow' in the Lithuanian Indianist community, even though I have never been considered as a 'real' Indianist. I came into this group of people through common friends and an interest in old crafts, as well as someone who had gone through a very distinct stage of enchantment with Indians in the past.

The field of research consisted of formal and informal gatherings of Indianists, several 'Peyote' ceremonies typical of the Native American Church (without the use of peyote) and various Indianist educational events. The central event

for the fieldwork, however, was the most important gathering of Indianists, the Summer Pow Wow in 2007: Pow Wow dances, pipe ceremonies, 'sweat lodges', called 'Inipi' by informants, and many other ceremonies and rituals, as well as athletics contests.

The word 'Indian' will be used throughout this article. I understand the problematic use of this term, and am aware of the fact that some Native Americans find it unacceptable. However, my research group does not belong to the Native Americans, and the word 'Indian' is primarily of iconic significance to the group, and carries no negative connotations whatsoever.

Indianism in Lithuania

The narratives collected during the fieldwork show the very complex dynamics of the phenomenon's development, which are impossible to organise into a lineal model. It seems that Soviet anti-American propaganda, the typical Marxist romanticism of non-state societies, and the respective moral ideals deployed in the education of the younger generation, created a particular psychological frustration, and prepared the soil for the birth of a social phenomenon.⁴ Large-scale production of books and movies about 'noble Indians' brought up several generations with a particular kind of idealism and enchantment with the idea of a free and virtuous man living in harmony with nature and fighting the hegemonic power of morally decayed Western civilisation. This idea, however, was/is not always coherently articulated. It was rich enough to be fragmented for the satisfaction of different needs. Some were fascinated by 'Indians' for their 'moral ideals' of honour, friendship and valour. Others were more into 'Indian' crafts. Yet others took 'Indians' for a model of ecology and sustainable and harmonious life within nature. There were those who, above all, were interested in the social aspects of 'Indian' tribal life, political organisation and diversity of tribal identities. The ideal of resistance was yet another reason to fall into a fascination with the image of the noble 'Indian' which was perpetuated in Soviet educational strategy.

Most people grew out of it, but there were those who took it more seriously. Many informants told me about the Lithuanian who left everything behind and went to Siberia, intending to live the life of a hunter in the Siberian wasteland, find a wife from the local autochthonous tribes, and live his 'Indian' dream. They say that he was one of those who inspired many others. However, it is true that the fascination with the image of an 'Indian' emerged in many hearts of (mostly) boys of several generations, and many of them made attempts to practise their fantasies in one way or another. They began to identify themselves as a group

⁴For a broader discussion on this, see Dziebel 2005.

somewhere around 1989, when one of my informants wrote a message to a socialist youth magazine inviting those who were interested in the North American Indians to get together. The core of the contemporary Lithuanian indianist community still consists of those who responded to the call. However, it is worth noting that the contemporary community is numerous and more diverse in age, with people under 16 to over 50 years old.

As was mentioned, the centre of Lithuanian Indianist life is the Summer Pow Wow. It is a camping gathering, where people build Native American dwellings called 'teepees', and practise historic Native American crafts, trades, folklore, religious rituals, etc. During the Summer Pow Wow, Indianists have a chance to show their handmade items, which they call regalia, and exhibit them for evaluation. They also sing and discuss newly learned songs, and discuss recent films and TV shows about or with Native Americans. All the crafts, accumulated knowledge, songs learned and all other respective Indianist activities throughout the year perpetuate around the 'axis' of the Summer Pow Wow, where Indianist life and ideals take a tangible form. An Indianist woman may spend a year making a traditional buckskin dress or the so-called 'Jingle' dress, just to put it on at the week-or-two-long Pow Wow, or to put it on merely once or twice (as with the Jungle dress) for Pow Wow dances. Another spends a year in his leisure time making marvellous beadwork on a buckskin moccasin or a shirt pattern just to wear it proudly at the Pow Wow. Others work on making a deal with teepee makers, ensuring that the new teepee is ready at the time of the summer camp, and, throughout the year, save an agreed amount of money to pay for it. Some Indianist gatherings and small-scale 'rendezvous' take place around the year, too. The biggest one is mostly for the so-called 'Peyote ceremony', but the anchor of Indianist life in Lithuania, nevertheless, is the Summer Pow Wow. There, one can find the true face of the Indianist phenomenon, and observe Indianist discourses in practice.

A notable element of life at the Pow Wow camp is the specific kind of routine. It is supposedly created to resemble the dynamics of the temporary settled nomad lifestyle. In other words, it is a nomad village with a daily approximate routine. Modern technology, like mobile phones and their solar-panel chargers, battery lanterns, lighters and other gadgets, does not disturb the experience of the temporary different lifestyle. There is no single schedule or timetable for everybody, each household organises its daily routine as it pleases the people living in it. Exceptions are applied only to common ceremonies and festivities. People are informed and commonly agree an event date/time, and everyone is expected to be present. In many respects, Pow Wow camp is not a camp but more of a village. And the quasi-nomad village life is a target experience there. People bring a lot of possessions and garments to the Pow Wow village, to make the time

there feel like living instead of camping. Therefore, numerous daily tasks related to 'living' in nature make it an important element of the Pow Wow experience. Pow Wow festivities, like opening ceremonies, Pow Wow dances and religious ceremonies, are another vital part of experiencing the Pow Wow, experiencing what Indianism is like.

Criticism of Modernity: Weberian 'Disenchantment', 'Centre' vs. 'Periphery', 'Self' vs. 'Other', and the Problem of the Notion of Culture

The insights of the above-mentioned researchers laid some of the theoretical foundation for this study. However, this foundation seemed to be without a necessary 'cornerstone', a lack, I believe, that could be filled by introducing a discussion about 'modernity' and its discontents. The phenomenon of Indianism brings forward Weber's idea of modernity as bureaucratic, rational, structural and, first and foremost, 'disenchanted'. For him, all scientific, technological and economic progress, along with rationality, was a major shift, a spring out of the superstitious, unreasoned world of religious and magical beliefs. However, that shift came at a cost. The world became 'disenchanted'. 'The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the "disenchantment of the world"' (Weber 1946: 155). The 'disenchanted modernity', therefore, became an idiom with positive as well as negative connotations. In postmodern conditions, the negative one became widely accepted in public and popular culture. Therefore, the rationally pragmatic modernity, with the socially devastating, capitalist economic model at the forefront, became the antipode of 'natural', organic social life with unique cultural beliefs and without any rupture in tradition. In other words, Weber was the one to develop the dichotomy between the disenchanted modernity and non-modernised culture. That dichotomy rests well within Indianist discourses.

Jonathan Friedman and Arjun Appadurai use the term 'modernity' in the wider sense of the word, considering it as a heterogeneous historical time period covering the postmodern contradiction of itself. Friedman's critique of modernity could be considered a Weberian one, as he continues analysing it through the scope of discontent and disenchantment, especially when it comes to the critique of capitalism. Nevertheless, both Friedman's and Appadurai's analysis of modernity provide a relevant analytical framework for the anthropological study of Indianism.

The development of Indianism as a tangible phenomenon was more or less parallel with the development of modernity (including its late criticism in the form of postmodernism). In the case of the study of Indianism, the division between modernity and postmodernism says practically nothing. On the contrary,

the study of Indianism reveals that the roots of the postmodernist 'denial ethics'⁵ lie at the very origins of modernity.

Modernity, as a time period, is usually associated with the rapid economic boom of Western civilisation, caused by its colonial expansion and the Industrial Revolution, as well as with scientific progress, technological development and the consequent rapid socio-cultural changes in the Western world. These circumstances conditioned the specific self-perception by the West of the rest of the world. According to Friedman, the modern attitude of the Western world is close to the Hellenistic logics of centre vs. periphery, where the state, having achieved great scientific and technological progress, dominates the centre. This model differs from the Middle Age hierarchical understanding of the world as centre and periphery. In this model, all elements of the universe are hierarchically placed from the centre towards the periphery, which, though 'less' in the centre, still remains part of the common structure. In the modern world, however, the periphery becomes a juxtaposition of the centre (Friedman 1994: 47), and the people living there become 'others', simultaneously becoming the antipode of 'civilised' man. This juxtaposition was present throughout popular as well as academic discourses, since the conception of the modern era to the mid-20th century, when the problem of othering was taken as an issue. The language of othering is evident in many popular works of literature, but it was also established in academia. It is enough to read just about any sociological and anthropological work of the 19th to the mid-20th century, and one can find discourses of 'civilised vs. primitive, savage or uncivilised'.

The 'othering' processes of the world outside the 'West' are reviewed in detail in Larry Wolff's book *Inventing Eastern Europe*. Referring to sources from the 17th to 19th centuries, the author points out how, in the course of history, Europeans started romantically depicting Poland and the region further east of the Western world as an exotic primeval land, untouched by the vices of civilisation, a region where travellers, having just stepped into Poland, found hordes of Huns, Slavs, Scythians, Sarmatians. Lithuanians are ironically portrayed as half-human, half-bear (Wolff 1994: 285–332). The negative perception of the 'other' as a savage is as old as the world itself. However, since the Renaissance, the Western world began surrounding it with a somewhat exotic aura (see Ellingson 2001). In the 19th century, this trend led to the birth of the idiom of the Noble Savage⁶. Though the

⁵ I have borrowed the expression 'denial ethics' from: Ramanauskaitė 2004: 29.

⁶ The idea of the Noble Savage is erroneously associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and, therefore, often dated much earlier than the 19th century. Rousseau, however, never used this term himself. What Rousseau did was to put romantic emphasis on the primeval human state and romanticisation of non-state societies. It was John Dryden who used the expression 'noble savage' for the very first time, namely in his play *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* (1672). Nevertheless,

value balance of this concept frequently fluctuated between the Noble and the Ignoble Savage, it always hid in itself the picture of an 'uncivilised' man living a way of life different to that of 'civilised' people and, most important, living close to nature.

In the 17th to 19th centuries, however, the idea of the Noble Savage became a permanent rhetorical device depicting the juxtaposition of centre vs. periphery.

The early modern Western world, introduced such concepts as 'savage' and 'civilised', equating culture and civilisation, and rendering the 'periphery' people as uncivilised and impolite, lacking manners. In other words, savagery is perceived as a lack of 'culture'. Thus, the concept of culture becomes 'elitist' and gets consumed by civilisation, on the grounds of the logic that civilisation is a culture itself. Civilisation, being a culture, becomes the centre, while the periphery is understood as a lack of culture (Friedman 1994: 81–87).

In the 20th century, the notion of the 'Fourth World' was developed, which implied the notion of 'cultural survivors' residing in the remote periphery (Friedman 1994: 71). Such turns in the popular discourses started formulating the reverse dichotomy '*civilisation vs. culture*', where the concept of culture was distinguished and opposed to civilisation on the grounds that the meaningful existence of man can only be in the context of 'culture' (contrary to civilisation, which lacks culture).⁷ However, to be accurate, I have to say that the appearance of the dichotomy 'civilisation vs. culture' in popular discourse is not unique to the 20th century. It began to emerge in the Renaissance, along with the romanticism of the 'savage' way of life (see Ellingson 2001: 8). Late modernity only reaffirmed it more strongly, using media tools and anthropological insights.

The latter juxtaposition, however, is extremely important in the context of Indianist movements. Referring to the empirical data of my research, and other sources on Indianism, I am suggesting that one aspect of constructing the North American Indian cultures is the aspiration to generate 'cultural' experiences not found in civilisation. During the interviews, I frequently heard such expressions as 'Indian culture' or 'cultures', and, as its dialectic juxtaposition, an occasional mention of '... all that [Western] civilisation ...'

The rapid development of new media contributed to the spread of this dichotomy, by transferring the primitive idea of the Noble Savage to popular litera-

the idiom 'Noble Savage' as an oxymoronic rhetorical figure appeared only after Charles Dickens' satirical essay 'The Noble Savage', written in 1851. For a broader discussion on the origin of the concept of the 'Noble Savage' see Ellingson 2001.

⁷This shift in popular discourses has its roots mostly (but not only) in F. Boas' anthropological school. Twentieth-century anthropology played a huge role in 'fixing' the established popular discourses on culture, civilisation and perception of the 'other'; however, it could not prevent reinterpretations of the concept in the popular media.

ture and film. In his analysis of the impact of the media on Indianism, Dziebel, called it the 'literary romantic paradigm' which, in its turn, was parallel with the development of modernity. To describe the global reach of modernity, Arjun Appadurai coined the terms ideoscape and mediascape (Appadurai 1966: 33). The application of these concepts allows us to understand why the phenomenon of Indianism experienced a rapid development leap in the 19th and 20th centuries. The primitive attitudes thriving in the Western world and expressed through the idea of the 'Noble Savage', 'borrowed' the picture of a North American Indian, which ideally suited the purpose, stereotyped and romanticised it, for consumption by a wide circle of readers and film audiences.

Interestingly enough, the media have now become a major, maybe even the most important, factor influencing Indianism. While the literary romantic stage of the development of Indianism is sinking into the past, the Internet, in its turn, makes possible the emergence of new aspects of Indianism, such as social networks of Indianists, on-line markets, international Indianist event pages, and the development of the virtual Indianist identity on their Internet websites.

'Stupid White Man'

Reflecting on the *centre vs. periphery* dichotomy discussed above, my own ethnographic data, and that of other researchers of this phenomenon, suggest that Indianism is a construction of the peripheral identity in search of the self outside the boundaries of the 'centre', employing for its purpose the stereotyped image of a North American Indian. The image encompasses a non-conformist approach towards the values of Western civilisation, and an abstract resisting character. Dziebel suggests that the image of the 'noble' Indian oppressed by 'the whites' and resisting them becomes a universal symbol of the human fight and resistance against oppression. It would not be an exaggeration to say that in the republics of the Soviet Union, Indianism emerged as a form of passive resistance to the Soviet regime, a conscious retreat away from the 'system' to the 'margins' of society (i.e. the periphery), and as an opposition to one of its main characteristics, forced modernisation.

The Indianists' resistance approach requires an antagonist. In Marxism, the tension between the protagonist and the antagonist finds its image in the struggle between social classes. In Indianism, the self-centred Western civilisation and its hero, the conformist 'white man' becomes the antagonist. Thus 'the whites' become the generalised juxtaposition of the noble Indian, they become the real antagonist 'others'. To express this, the Indianists I observed frequently used, in the English language, the phrase '*stupid white man*' from Jim Jarmusch's 1995 film *Dead Man*.⁸

⁸The film *Dead Man* (Jarmusch, 1995) became one of the cult films among Lithuanian Indianists. My informants knew numerous quotations from the film, and could mimic, to make others laugh, several scenes.

It served to mock someone's 'stupid' behaviour, and usually to criticise the behaviour of all the 'others' who were not Indianists. In the Indianists' summer Pow Wow camps, I heard numerous instances where this phrase was applied to tourists boating along the river, the so-called 'canoeists', who, passing by the camp, often hooted, hurled insults, and made video recordings. One of my informants, Arunas, ignoring the canoeists' insults, and refusing to be provoked, looked at me and said calmly, imitating the 'Tonto' talk⁹ used in the *Dead Man* film: 'Stupid white man'.

The 'white man' label, however, is not restricted to canoeists. At the weekend when Indianists gathered for the 'Peyote ceremony', my informants Simas and Arunas were talking, in turns, about their experience in the USA, at a Native reservation, where, during a Peyote ceremony, they observed a case of drunken behaviour: 'We have also seen among North American Indians impolite "whites"'.

A quotation from 'The Rules of the Pow Wow Camp', supplied to novices joining the Indianists, summarises the concept of the 'white man' in Indianism: '*Friends with common interests shall participate in the camp, while strangers shall not be welcomed*'. This rule emphasises quite clearly that a common interest in North American Indians is a factor uniting the community, without which one will naturally be considered as the 'other', and, as in the juxtaposition civilisation vs. culture, they would appear in the category of 'the whites'. In the discourses of my informants, I distinguished the following traits attributed to the 'white man': impoliteness, lack of wit, stupidity, coarseness, aggression, consumerism, insincerity, power, secularity, and similar negative traits attributed to antagonists representing civilisation.

Indianists' skilfulness in crafts and natural survival skills, giving priority, of course, to the traditional crafts of the North American Indians, is yet another area drawing the dividing line between the 'white man', spoiled by the technology of civilisation, and the Indianist, inspired by Indian cultures.

Sacredness and 'Secularisers'

Research data allow the assumption that Indianists perceive the North American Indian culture, compared with the modern Western world, as, to some extent, sacred. I observed that everyday tools and things were treated ordinarily, used according to their purpose, while a degree of respect was accorded in the treatment of 'Indian' things: eagle feathers and feather fans were never placed on the ground, musical instruments were kept in places specifically prepared for them, avoiding leaving them lying on the ground. As mentioned earlier, all the 'Indian'

⁹'Tonto' is a specific Native American kind of English language, with unique pronunciation and articulation.

things informants called 'regalia', and on numerous occasions emphasised that Indian 'regalia' had to be treated with dignity.

I also observed how the construction of the North American Indian culture encompassed the parallel construction of the secular and sacred spaces. For instance, having built his tepee, and having fully settled there, my informant Simas took to making an altar,¹⁰ where a plastic cigarette lighter lay close by. Simas suddenly seized the lighter and thrust it toward us saying: '*Take away those secularisers from here.*' Having built his Indian dwelling, the last stage was the 'sanctification' of the newly created space by building an altar in the centre. A common product of 'civilisation', the plastic item, was treated as bringing 'secularity' to the teepee environment.

Similar ritualised processes of space sacralisation were observed when the camp 'turned into' a village after digging a pole in the centre of the circle of the teepees, during the official opening of the Pow Wow festival, and the preparation for the 'Inipi' ceremony. My request for permission to take pictures of these processes was denied, on the grounds that spiritual things ought not to be photographed. Moreover, while engaged in these activities, the Indianists kept silence, and talked sotto voce or whispered. Simas, one of the leaders of the ritual, warned everyone that crossing the line between the 'sand altar' and the fireplace is not allowed from the moment the 'sand altar' is built: the space becomes ready for ritual, and acquires a degree of ritual sacrality.

During the Inipi ceremony, I witnessed yet another case of treating modernity and civilisation as extremely secular. A sweat lodge (Inipi) was organised on one of the evenings: the Indianists built a small dwelling of branches covered with blankets. A small hole was dug out in the centre of the dwelling for stones. When everyone was inside the lodge, red-hot stones were brought in from the camp fireplace. Every time a stone was brought in, one of the participants touched it with braided sweet grass (*Hierochloe Odorata*), the incense of North American Indians. A pleasant aroma diffused from the smouldering braid. A moment later, a cord that tied a braid accidentally touched the hot stone and released an eye-irritating smell. 'The cord is synthetic!', someone shouted, to everyone's annoyance. It was made clear by the participants that sacred sweet grass incense and a synthetic plastic product of 'civilisation' do not go together.

According to my informants, Lithuanian Indianists keep an old agreement not to sing Indian songs when drinking alcohol. I observed, in one case, how

¹⁰ During the research, the informants emphasised that the altar is an integral part of the Indian teepee. There were occasional discussions on this issue; however, an altar, or something similar, was present in almost all teepee dwellings.

those who had drunk alcohol and sung an Indian song later approached the informant Simas, the spiritual authority at the camp, to apologise, and handed him incense as a present, which he accepted, and encouraged them to avoid repeating this. Alcohol, as a product brought by the 'white man', and so damaging to the North American Indian 'culture', represents secularity, and, the informants believe, does not mix with cultural folklore.

However, Lithuanian Indianists are not unanimous about attributing alcohol to secularity: the Indianists I observed could hardly be considered abstainers. Most of them practise, to put it simply, a 'conflict-free' relationship with this product. However, a specific ethics of alcohol consumption prevails in the Pow Wow camp. Though not always accepted unconditionally, the ethics place limits on alcohol consumption all the same by leaving space to the practice only in private surroundings and during ordinary time.

Meanwhile, drunk canoeists, representing '*stupid white men*', and their reckless alcohol consumption, strengthen the polarisation between the 'fellow' and the 'stranger', 'sacred' and 'secular', with alcohol falling more into the latter category than the former.

The Criteria of Constructing 'Culture'

While constructing their own peripheral identity, Indianists, selectively construct the culture of North American Indians as well, giving it values opposite to those of Western civilisation. I have identified six interrelated criteria: historicity, authenticity, traditionalism, aestheticism, naturalness and spirituality.

The criterion of historicity indispensably goes together with the next two, authenticity and traditionalism. These three criteria are probably the most important Indianist elements in constructing culture. Kalshoven mentions this trend in her thesis, and calls it a 'historically correct strictness among Indianists in Europe' (Kalshoven 2006: 200).

One can frequently hear Indianists say that Indianism is treated as identical to 'living culture': it is extremely important, the informants claim, to avoid reinterpretation in construction, and instead aspire to authenticity based on the history and tradition of a tribe. The issue of authenticity becomes particularly important when producing North American Indian craft items. A skilled Indianist may, for the sake of interest, produce items typical not only of the tribe that he sees as his 'own', but also of other North American Indian tribes. The sole requirement is that the item be a precise copy of the one used by the tribe according to the three above criteria. Interpretations are not welcome, and, as some of my informants believe, even insulting.

Indianists use the following specific criteria to classify their hand-made items:

1. 'Museum quality' – for the most authentic items.
2. 'Replica' – for items with minor authenticity discrepancies.
3. 'Made after' – for items made according to an example (usually a picture), without going into subtleties.
4. 'Interpreted' – for items made using 'Indian' elements, but freely interpreted by the maker.

All four labels are usually uttered in English. Informants believe that the last category is the least valuable, and is to be treated controversially.

Aestheticism is particularly esteemed in Indianism. It is noteworthy that this criterion is the decisive one when an Indianist selects the tribe to identify with. I heard an Indianist say, for instance, 'I became interested in the Ojibwa because they looked nice to me.' The word 'style' is also frequently mentioned when analysing someone's appearance: the Lakota style, the Kiowa style, the Oklahoma style.

In one case, an Indianist in an open conflict with others occasioned a discussion as to what should be done with him. Some suggested that he should be expelled from the group, jokingly suggesting 'exile', others said he should be given one more chance. One of my informants appeared to appeal to 'aestheticism': 'He doesn't bother me, so if he changes for the better, let him stay. He looks good...' By this, the informant meant the man's particularly subtle aesthetic self-presentation, Indian accessories ('regalias') and, in general, the appearance matching the quality of 'Indianness'.

It must be noted that some of my informants not only investigated and reconstructed the aestheticism of a specific tribe, but also studied contemporary Indians living in reservations, the so-called 'reservation style'. When one of my informants came to a gathering wearing boots, wide baggy trousers, a baggy pullover and a sports cap, his friends laughed at him and said: 'You are dressed in the reservation style'.

The criterion of aestheticism should include a mention of the media, so important in the formation of the image of the 'Indian'. Most Indianists are interested in the Plains Indian tribes, which, according to Deloria, are the most frequently found in the 'media space': books, picture albums, illustrated calendars and films. Also, because these tribes have been documented and photographed the most, their aestheticism is the easiest to access for Indianists through media channels (see Deloria 1999: 95–128).

The criterion of naturalness relates primarily to the critique of civilisation and contemporary concepts of 'purity' and 'impurity'. My research data suggests that Lithuanian Indianists consider that only those things are pure which are 'ecological', 'naturally' extracted or made of 'natural' materials, while mass-

production, synthetic articles or things containing ‘unnatural’ admixtures, as well as things treated by mechanical or technological processes, are regarded as ‘impure’. Indian culture is treated in a similar way. While civilisation is unnatural, unreal, synthesised or peculiarly ‘impure’, Indian culture is organic, natural, unchanged (only damaged) by civilisation, and therefore pure.

Some Indianists consider that ecological and naturalistic attitudes, in the context of North American Indian culture, are more important than the criteria of authenticity and historicity. My informant Simas, having noticed this, said that ‘Some Indianists [Lith. sl. “*indeicai*”] are closer to the “cultural Indian”, while the others are nature-lovers [Lith. sl. “*naturofilai*”]’.

The issue of naturalness is related to issues of sacredness in the context of ‘*pure vs. impure*’. The plastic lighter was a ‘seculariser’, and by its nature absolutely inappropriate in the sacred space being created in the teepee at the time of the building of the altar. The case of the melting synthetic cord during the burning of sweet grass at the ‘Inipi’ ceremony pits the stink of ‘civilisation’ against the aroma of ‘naturalness’ of the incense.

One of the most frequent observations in my fieldwork was the constant reference to spiritual values and meanings. Symbols, interpretations of natural phenomena, rituals and ceremonies, as well as discourses and narratives, are all richly saturated with spiritual meanings. While the North American Indian culture is treated as close to nature, and therefore ‘naturally’ spiritual, civilisation, in its turn, is treated as distant from nature, changed and ‘turned into the secular’.

The search for spirituality is a component part of Indianism, and one of the criteria for constructing culture. It is not surprising, therefore, that the North American Indian cultures are constructed as naturally spiritual. During Indianist discourses, one of the statements describing Indianism was that it is the ‘way of spirituality’. And according to my informant Diana, Indianism is ‘like a question of religion’.

Based on my research data, I have classified the meanings given to civilisation and culture generated by informants into two contrasting groups, arranged in the table below.

Table by Saulius Matulevičius. Summary of categories dominating indianists’ discourses

Culture	Civilisation
Historic	Fragmented
Authentic	Unreal (of mass-production)
Aesthetic	Eclectic
Communal life	Alienated
Natural, organic	Artificial (synthetic)
Spiritual (sacred)	Secular

While civilisation is considered as fragmented, and devoid of tradition, culture is understood as naturally historic, based on tradition, and therefore authentic. Civilisation is seen as eclectic in the process of its globalisation, while culture is seen as tangibly aesthetic. While culture is close to nature and 'natural', civilisation, its opposite, has become remote from it, has turned artificial, unnatural, synthetic. Civilisation, departing from nature, moves away from the Creator, and therefore becomes secular. Culture, being close to nature, is close to its Creator; consequently it is spiritual in itself.¹¹

It appears that the specificity of constructing the Indianist model is based on the principle of contrast, referring to which Indianists select the elements that conform to the criteria of *culture*, and start constructing it in their surroundings, treating it in opposition to the prevailing Western *civilisation*.¹²

'Proud to be Cheyenne':¹³ The Indian Ethos

I was asked on several occasions why, when writing about Indianism, I never mention the term 'subculture'; such a categorisation of the phenomenon would seem quite logical. However, I believe that the term 'subculture' is no less problematic than the efforts to categorise, in a general way, 'peripheral' social phenomena. In analysing Indianism, one could find qualities that are common to phenomena such as 'self-construction', aestheticism and 'narcissism' (Friedman 1994: 193). However, other qualities dominant in Indianism encourage us to consider this phenomenon from another perspective.

In his article 'How American Indians and Russian Indianists did not Smoke the Peace Pipe', Dziebel describes how Russian Indianists met real North American Indians for the first time, and how the former were shocked and disappointed in the negative reaction towards the Indianists' passionate interest in North American Indian cultures, a feeling akin to fraternal love (Dziebel 2003: 1–6). During the political campaign 'Sacred Run for Freedom and Earth' in 1990, North American Indians visiting Russia refused to smoke the 'traditional' pipe made by the Indianists' own hands, a sign the Indianists took as a renunciation of brotherhood.

This unexpectedly unfriendly reaction encouraged Indianists' reflections on their love of the North American Indian cultures, a passion they do not consider either as a hobby, a leisure culture, an amateur club, or one of the many other

¹¹ This statement was made by my informants, though in slightly different words.

¹² The specific meaning that Indianists give to the word *culture* differs entirely from the definition that Tylor gave it in 1871 (see Tylor 1871). In selecting certain qualities and giving them a positive value, it is more analogous to 'High Culture' or 'Culture with a capital C'.

¹³ This was written on the T-shirt of one of my informants.

subcultures. Additionally, several researchers have noticed that Indianists themselves do not find the question 'What is it?' very pleasant, treating it as irritating and 'very personal'. When speaking about what it really is, they start philosophising about the 'way of life' and 'spirituality'.

When talking with participants at the Pow Wow camp, on several occasions I mentioned the words 'Indianism' and 'Indianist'. My informant Simas silently warned me that I should avoid using these words, because it could provoke negative reactions. This, indeed, happened. My informant Diana told me that the word 'Indianism' should not be used, because it does not reflect the essence of the phenomenon, and is 'somehow very academic'. When I asked what word I should have used, she replied: 'Indians ... European Indians.' I heard this argument on several other occasions during various discussions.

When summarising the discourses found in Indianist literature, the argument is frequently found that the North American Indian does not denote ethnicity; it is the ethos encompassed by the *Indian cultures*. Therefore, it follows that Indianists, also not being Indians by ethnic origin, can be 'Indians by ethos'. This argument serves as an important factor 'legalising' self-identification with the North American Indians.

Another important aspect, apart from others, noticed by Dziebel as well, is that the North American Indian is always treated as being in the shadow of a hegemonic power: the elements of dissidence are frequently present in the image of the Indian, a condition that finds an analogue in and allows the creation of the 'European Indian'. Considering a North American Indian as a 'dissident' in his own land, and his 'culture' as opposing Western 'civilisation', Indianists, in the sense of the North American Indian ethos, become symbolic dissidents on their continent and in their Western civilisation, which in Eastern Europe, also includes the additional burden of the Soviet experience. Thus Indianists, in their understanding, are 'European Indians' by ethos.

As has been said, the European Indian ethos is an argument preconditioning self-identification with the cultures of the North American Indians. The self-identification process itself supposes something more specific.

In order to avoid the abstract ethos, Indianists choose a specific North American Indian tribe to identify themselves with. Though the degree of strictness of this requirement differs among Indianist communities, and from country to country, it is nevertheless one of the first conditions of becoming an Indianist.

During the course of my research, I tried to register with the Internet website of the Russian Indianists. The registration form had a box, 'Your tribe', without declaring which, registration was not possible. The Pow Wow camp where I did my fieldwork was divided according to tribes, or groups of tribes, depending on the region to which the participants, by their identity, belonged. The grouping,

derived from North America, consisted of two parts: the eastern part, the living places of which are called the 'forest' region, Indians, and the western part, occupied by 'representatives' of the Blackfoot, Cheyenne and Sioux tribal groups.

One of the Indianists arrived at the Pow Wow camp wearing a T-shirt with the words 'Proud to be Cheyenne' prominently displayed. According to my informants, his Indian costume was a precise copy of the historic Cheyenne costume, including all the necessary elements. During their personal conversations, when introducing themselves, Indianists often ask the question: 'What tribe are you interested in?' or 'What tribe are you from?'

It should be emphasised that this identification with a specific tribe is so strong in the case of some Indianists that their own ethnic origin literally loses its meaning. Russian, Estonian, Latvian and Belarusian guests at the Lithuanian Pow Wow assembled according to the North American Indian tribal identity they had assumed. They say that these divisions remain valid upon their return to the city. One of my informants described a meeting at an Indianist's place as: 'It was the Cheyenne gathering'.

In the process of self-identification with North American Indians, some Indianists consider their relationship with the 'real Indians' as something similar to kinship. In 1993, 500 Canadian Indians, representing over 40 communities, signed a document declaring 'war' on the exploitation of their cultures. In comments on the declaration, European Indianists were mentioned as one of the addressees of the declaration, a document that evoked much resonance with the Russian Indianists. Their popular magazine *Первые Американцы* (First Americans), 2001, No 8, in an article entitled 'Indians Declare War on Indianists', suggested that the document actually declared war on the 'New Age' movements, neo-pagans and other 'plastic shamans', rather than the 'real' Indianists. The article ends, nevertheless, with an invitation to the European Indianists to act in solidarity with the Indians, and make their own declaration of war against hobbyists and all those 'enjoying themselves at the expense of Indians' (Russ. '*тусовщики-на-индейцах*'). Such congruity suggests that the Indianists consider themselves as being, in a sense, 'almost' Indians.

The degree of identification with the North American Indians includes listening to their music, frequently the only music they listened to, learning their songs and dances, and even frequent cases of studying North American Indian languages. During a performance for schoolchildren, my informant Timur spoke briefly in the Lakota language, followed by a translation. Another informant, Simas, told me that one of the Russian Indianists had compiled a textbook on the Lakota language, which has been adapted and is used in North American Indian reservation schools in the USA. Moreover, most of my informants have seen almost all the available films about the North American Indians. The Russian

Indianist magazine *'First Americans'* has a separate column discussing not only films about North American Indians, but also films with such actors.

Apart from that, Indianists wear symbols relating to North American Indians and their history: Timur wears patches on his jacket with 'Remember Wounded Knee 1890, 1970' and 'AIM' (American Indian Movement). Šarunas has inscribed the lyrics of a North American Indian song in his belt clasp. I have seen the flags of North American Indian tribes at the Pow Wow camp. There are plenty of other examples of Indianists using various identity 'mobilisers'. Bearing in mind the scale of this self-identification – the use of North American Indian historical costumes, folklore, language, symbols and other cultural elements mobilising identity – the question arises: 'How is this phenomenon different from a minority diaspora?' An Indianist, while constructing himself as a North American Indian, finally constructs his 'quasi-ethnicity', and an Indianist community or a group could, perhaps, be conditionally called the 'quasi-Indian diaspora in Europe'.

The abundance of such examples leads to the argument that the phenomenon of constructing European Indian culture is at the same time a phenomenon of constructing a 'cultural minority' peculiar diaspora in the hegemonic Western civilisation. Moreover, the only difference between the 'real' ethnic diaspora and Indianists is the word 'quasi-'. Moreover, as Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* argues, communities should be differentiated on the basis of how they are imagined, rather than on whether they are artificial or real (Anderson 1999: 22).

Conclusions

The Indianism phenomenon, like other social movements such as anti-globalism, neo-paganism, Greenpeace, is inseparable from its antagonist, the modern, institutionalised and self-centred Western world, the cradle of contemporary civilisation. It is most likely that Indianists are enchanted with North American Indian 'cultures' not only because of the "cultures" themselves, but also because they are perceived as the antithesis of essentialised Western civilisation and its values. This is the 're-enchantment' of the world, which was supposedly 'disenchanted' by the Weberian institutionalised, pragmatized, rationalised, bureaucratised and secularised modernity. North American Indian cultures, for Indianists, have become the opposition to the 'disenchanted' modern civilisation.

It is likely that Indianists are not very interested in the arguments of the social sciences on the constructivity of what is called 'tradition' and 'culture'. Few, if any, use them as explanations for the frustration and disenchantment with the society and conditions in which they live. By creating the soil for self-identification in the image of North American Indians, they construct what they call

'culture', understanding it as the dialectical antithesis of modern 'civilisation'. They do all this irrespective of the fact that they go to the Pow Wow camp in cars, and give each other directions in the forest over mobile phones. Without denying the advantages of modern technological progress, they articulate essentialised abstract concepts of 'civilisation' and 'culture', and saturate them with philosophical content polarised in terms of values. It is interesting, however, that thanks to the historicity of North American Indians, Indianists do not dwell on only the philosophical attitude of disenchantment with the time period, but embody it in a tangible form by constructing their 'alternative ethnicity', and gathering into the 'quasi-diaspora'. In this way, North American Indian culture helps them to discover themselves, and gives a sense to their existence on the periphery of their 'hegemonic' civilisation.

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„Indianizmas“ Lietuvoje: pasaulio įprasminimas „žaidžiant indėnus“

Saulius Matulevičius

Santrauka

Straipsnyje apžvelgiamas „indianizmo“, t. y. „žaidimo indėnais“ arba žavėjimosi Šiaurės Amerikos indėnų kultūromis, etnografijos reiškiny. Tyrinėdamas šį reiškinių, autorius dalyvavo „indianistų“ vasaros stovyklose, vadinauose *Pow-Wow*, įvairiuose neformaliuose jų susibūrimuose bei susitikimuose, stebėjo, kaip praktikuojami „tradiciniais“ vadinami Šiaurės Amerikos indėnų amatai bei kiti folkloro elementai: šokiai, dainos, ritualinės apeigos, „tradicinis“ pasakų pasakojimas (angl. *storytelling*) ir t. t. Straipsnyje ieškoma „žaidimo indėnais“ reiškinių šaknų istoriškai analizuojant žavėjimąsi „laukiniais“ bei „necivilizuotomis“ visuomenėmis. Tokia analitinė prieiga nuosekliai veda prie modernybės epochos raidos analizės. Todėl indianizmo reiškiny šiame straipsnyje analizuojamas vadovaujantis teorine modernybės kritika. Autorius, remdamasis atlikto tyrimo duomenimis, siūlo indianizmo reiškinių suvokti kaip populiarių modernybės diskursų bei „laikysenų“ kritikos išraišką (kaip vėberiškąją modernybės kritiką).

Autorius pateikia kai kurių, indianizmo studijoms aktualių, modernybės raidoje susiformavusių populiarių diskursų analizę. Atskleidžiama, kaip formuojasi egzotiška „kito“ kaip „laukinio“, necivilizuoto žmogaus, esančio arti gamtos, sąvoka. Analizuojama, kaip šis stereotipas tampa suromantinta priešprieša civilizacijai ir joje gyvenančiam „baltajam“ žmogui. Tai atveda prie modernybei būdingų dichotomijų formavimosi analizės. Ši analizė atskleidžia, kaip modernybinės dichotomijos paveikia „kito“ suvokimo formavimąsi. Autorius pažymi, kad modernybinė savimonė suformuluoja dichotomiją centras *vs* periferija. Ši priešprieša lemia, kad periferija imama suvokti kaip technologiškai, kultūriškai ir socialiai pažangaus centro priešingybė, civilizacijos stoka. Toks erdvės suvokimas yra artimas helenistiniam, tačiau skiriasi nuo viduramžiško erdvės suvokimo. Pastarasis erdvę dalino ne į centrą *vs* periferiją, bet – centrą ir periferiją, kai periferija buvo tiesiog „mažiau“ negu centras arba viso labo „toliau“ nuo centro.

Taigi suformulavus modernybinę dichotomiją centras *vs* periferija, „kitas“ tampa necivilizuotos periferijos gyventoju. Suegzotintas ir suromantintas „kitas“ galiausiai sutapatinamas su Šiaurės Amerikos „indėnu“. Kilnaus „indėno“, gyvenančio civilizacijos šešėlyje, samprata atskleidžia istoriškai pamažu pakitusią populiarią „kultūros“ sampratą. Plėtojantis antropologijos mokslui, „kultūra“ vėlyvojoje modernybėje pradėta suvokti atskirai nuo civilizacijos, ta-

čiau populiariuose diskursuose ji perauga į priešpriešą jai. Šitaip susiformuoja populiarī dichotomija civilizacija *vs* kultūra. Šią dichotomiją iš dalies formuoja XIX a. pab. – XX a. pr. populiarīoji medija, kurioje tuo metu buvo itin pamėgta vaizduoti įvairias ne Vakarų civilizacijos tautas, tautes bei gentis, šitaip piktnaudžiaujant „kultūros“ diskursu. Šio laikotarpio knygos, vaidinimuose, cirko pasirodymuose ir t. t. dažnai pabrėžiamas kilnių bei orių necivilizuotų genčių „kitoniškumas“, palyginti su Vakarų civilizacija. Jų papročiai, vertybės, garbės kodeksas ir gyvenimo būdas yra romantinami pabrėžiant jų „kultūrų“ savitumą. Šitaip populiariuose diskursuose išugdoma kilni, pozityvi kultūros bei negatyvi civilizacijos konotacija. Tad autorius atveda teorinę straipsnio dalį prie etnografinės dalies apie indianizmo reiškini. Čia jis pateikia daug etnografinių pavyzdžių, per kuriuos atsiskleidžia indianizme artikuliuota „indėnų kultūros“ ir „Vakarų civilizacijos“ vertybinė priešprieša. Jis imasi analizuoti indianistų vartotą idioma „Stupid White Man“. Ši idioma dažniausiai buvo naudojama pabrėžti skirtumą tarp pačių indianistų, stovyklaujančių *Pow-Wow* stovyklose ir jiems nuolat trukdančių įkyrių, agresyvių, nenuovokių bei itin „nekultūringų“ (praplaukiančių ar praeinančių) turistų. Idioma nuolat pabrėždavo skirtumą tarp turistų, kurie, pasitelkę civilizacijos įrankius, naudoja gamtą kaip rekreacinį išteklių, ir indianistų, kurie įsikuria ir gyvena gamtoje siekdami „kultūrinių“ patirčių tapatinamiesi su Amerikos indėnų gentimis.

Kitą autoriaus analizuojamą etnografinę priešpriešą indianistai konstravo Vakarų civilizaciją bei jos ydas tapatinami su sekuliarumu, o „indėnų kultūroms“ ar kultūriniais elementams priskirdami sakralumo savybes. Pavyzdžiui, „indėniško“ būsto, vadinamo „tipi“, erdvės „pašventinimo“ metu plastikinis žiebtuvėlis buvo vertinamas kaip netinkamas įrankis uždegti ugniai ir net ritualinę erdvę „profanuojantis“ daiktas – „sekularaizeris“. Lygiai taip pat buvo reaguojama į sintetinį siūlą, kuriuo buvo surišta „kvapiosios stumbražolės“ (*Hierochloe Odorata*) pynė. Šis augalas yra Amerikos čiabuvių smilkalas, naudojamas ritualinėms reikmėms, dėl to indianistams jis turi tam tikrą sakralumo aurą. O sintetinis siūlas – technologinis Vakarų civilizacijos produktas – simbolizavo vertybinę priešingybę, panašiai kaip plastikinis žiebtuvėlis.

Toliau autorius nurodo kriterijus, kuriais rėmėsi indianistai konstruodami „indėnų kultūrą“. Tai „istoriškumas“, „autentiškumas“, „tradiciskumas“, „estetiškumas“, „natūralumas“ ir „dvasingumas“. Autorius pabrėžia, jog jie tik dar labiau sustiprina indėno kaip „gyvos kultūros žmogaus“ įvaizdį bei civilizacijos kaip vartotojiškos, išsikovėpusios ir „sinteninės“ įvaizdį. Mat etnografiniams materialiosios Amerikos čiabuvių „kultūros“ elementams pasigaminti reikia daug išvermės, kruopštumo, kantrybės, įgūdžių, domėjimosi, žinių ir ilgų darbo valandų. Tuo tarpu daugelį „civilizacijos“ produktų indianistai suvokė kaip masinės, automatizuotos gamybos „besielius“ daiktus.

Galiausiai autorius atkreipia dėmesį į indianistų etninio tapatumo konstravimo procesą. Pasak jo, tapatintis su abstrakčiu romantišku „indėno“ įvaizdžiu indianistams ne tik nepakanka, bet tai laikoma dar ir „blogu tonu“, mėgėjiška (o tai reiškia – autentiškumo nesiekiančia) prieiga. Autorius pažymi, kad tapatintis su konkrečia Šiaurės Amerikos indėnų gentimi indianistams yra beveik būtina. Mažų mažiausiai tai yra „geras tonas“ siekiant būti priimtam į bendruomenę. Taip pat jis nurodo, kad „gimtasis“ etniškumas šiame tapatumo konstravimo procese nėra nuneigiamas, bet tarsi netenka savo reikšmės, mat „gentinis“ indianistų pasiskirstymas išlieka ne tik vasaros stovyklose, bet ir po jų. Pagrindinis indianistų argumentas, „įteisinant“ tokį tapatinimąsi su konkrečia gentimi, grindžiamas tuo, jog „indėnas“ yra visų pirma „etosas“. Jis įkūnija pasipriešinimo hegemoninei jėgai idėją ir idealą. Tad autorius teigia, kad tapatindamiesi su „indėnais“, kurie yra JAV hegemonijos disidentai, indianistai kuria vertybinę „kvazidiasporą“ Amerikos indėnų kultūrų pavidalu. Kurdami „kvasidiasporą“, indianistai tampa tarsi vertybiniais disidentais hegemoniškos Vakarų civilizacijos šėšėlyje.

Autorius baigia straipsnį mintimi, kad „žaidimo indėnais“ reiškinį galima suvokti vėberiškosios modernybės kritikos kontekste, kai modernybė suprantama kaip netekusi egzistencinio žavesio – atkerėta (angl. *disenchanted*). Judėjimai kaip šis siekia grąžinti pasauliui žavesį ir prasmingumą (angl. *re-enchantment of the world*), argumentuojant, jog tai glūdi (indianistų) savitai suvokiamoje „kultūroje“, o ne tariamame Vakarų visuomenės „civilizuotume“.

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