I relive the situation
Still see in my mind.
You’ve got my imagination
Working overtime.

Dire Straits / Mark Knopfler
“You and your friend”.

This piece of work is written by a person who knows from the inside the world
of Indianists – white people caught up with the American Indian culture and perceiving the American Indian heritage as a core part of their own life experience. From 1987 to 1991, the author was an active member of the Indianist community in Russia and fully shared its values, goals and mood. It was a period of intense personal contacts, deep emotional involvement and a quest for the reasons and grounds of the life-path that seemed so important for the people inside the community, as it was considered strange and freakish by the outsiders. Here lies the clue for the extensive use, throughout the work, of the personal experience and recollections of the author, which he believes, will make the description and the analysis of a self-identity theme more trustworthy and evocative.

Having retired from the community at the end of 1991, the author cut all links with his former brethren and to this day his contacts with them have been confined to occasional encounters, spontaneous and evanescent involvements. This fact offers the opportunity to bolster the personal experience with an alienated and reflexive overview of the Indianist phenomenon and, thus, to attempt at an objective presentation of the material.

The author is of the opinion that the facts of one’s own personal and unavoidably subjective experiences may serve as a subject of a scholarly interpretation, equally significant for sociology and social anthropology as the traditional generalized data. The method utilized in this essay combines two types of observation, namely participant and non-participant. By means of stripping the former off its predilection towards imitation of a group membership, and pretension, the author follows a distinct methodological path to be coined experienced, or reliving observation. Social scientists are rarely granted with a chance to work out this kind of “cross-fire approach” and usually compelled, while swimming in one sphere, to sink in the other.

Throughout the text, the author, while citing opinions of the members of the Russian Indianist community, will use their “Indian” nicknames, partly following the extant scholarly tradition to avoid references to the real names of the informants, partly compelled to this pattern by his ignorance of the people’s surnames and even sometimes their personal names, partly wishing to set the narrative closer to the real life of the community in question.
May the sacred smoke
Infuse you, my mind.
Inside myself,
May it wipe away the white pest.
Deep in my heart,
Stifle the feeble whisper of fear.
Deep in my bosom,
Give the strong voice to the Red Power.

An Indianist Purification Song
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Introduction

In the Euro-American popular mythology American Indians claim a prominent place in comparison to other indigenous people. The gloomy history of the European conquest of America and the unceasing violation of Native Americans’ rights are counterbalanced by the heroic halo, sympathy and indulgence with which Indians are granted by the mass media and public consciousness.

It is known that Columbus himself summarised his attitude towards the aborigines in the following phrase: “Their mores are decent and praiseworthy”. The figures of the Enlightenment found among Indians the epitome of the ideal type of social relations and personal behaviour. Apparently charmed by the stories from the French colonies in North America, Jean-Jacques Rousseau created the image of Le Noble Sauvage who was free from the vices of civilisation and lived his idyllic life basking in his childlike innocence1. Among the oeuvre of Voltaire there is the novel Le Simplet (The Simple-minded) which portrays a Huron Indian who was taken to live in France. As the title implies, he had an unsophisticated character, was vulnerable to the poisons of the spoiled French society of the XVIII century and could rely there only on his friends' help. His end was mournful: he died young of tuberculosis having no natural resistance to this non-Indian disease.

The poets of French romanticism used to sing of the Indian being also caught up with the images of his moral purity, nobleness and dignity. Chateaubriand is the one who should be mention here first and foremost. His poems René, Atala, Les Natchez were widely known in France and abroad in the late XVIII and the beginning of the XIX centuries.

In the United States of the early XIX century, the evocative vision of Indian life gave rise to the world-famous series by James Fennimore Cooper whose main character Chingachgook has become a thoroughly legendary and beloved figure. About the same time, Henry Longfellow composed his poetic version of an Indian epic (The Song of Hiawatha) which was also translated into many languages.

The famous Russian poet Alexander Pushkin imbued by the spirit of Chateaubriand completed a translation of the book of memoirs of a white man kidnapped and fostered by the Ojibwa Indians (Thirty Years among Indians. The Life and Adventures of John Tanner). In 1830 another Russian poet Pavel Korotaev composed a verse about the noble Iroquois (The Death of a Redskin) and Anton Chehov is known to have written a story about two teenagers who tried to elope from their parents in order to live the Indian life in America (Montigomo, The Hawk Talon). Finally, to add an amusing note, during the Soviet times in Russia, when there was an abundance of books about Lenin portrayed in various ages, one story dealt with Lenin playing an Indian named Jaguar and acting in front of his peers as a paragon of human dignity.

Among the pieces of Euro-American cultural tradition of the XX century which

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1 Rousseau’s idea was echoed in the current century by the famous French structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss whose field-work among the Brazilian Indians set in train a humanistic and affectionate attitude towards the savages (cf. his book Tristes Tropiques) coupled to his belief in the possession of Neolithic mind (cf. La Pensée Sauvage).
pick up on the heroic image of the Indian several should be specially mentioned. First of all, these are Maine Reed’s and Gustav Emar’s novels where Indians appear, if not as leading figures, certainly as those deserving respect and love. Then, Karl Mai’s novels whose leading and immutable character Winnetou has reached the public consciousness the rank of his early Cooper-born predecessor. Germany also had given birth to another writer who successfully contributed to the fancy prose on Indians. That is Liselotta Welskopf-Heinrich with her series about Harka - the hero of the Sioux tribe (Top and Harry, Harka - Chief’s Son, Tokei Itō).

Finally, in Russia and Poland in 1970-1980s several books were published which belong to the hand of Stanislaw Suplatovich - the author whose biography, due to his own efforts, has long been presented as a mystery. He claimed to be of a mixed Polish-Indian origin; the tribe which his father had come from (Shevanes) was situated by him in the forested part of Canada, said to have migrated from the territory of the United States in order to preserve their original way of life. Stanislaw Suplatovich used his “Indian” name Sat-Okh as a literary pseudonym and wrote a dozen romantic stories about the wild life of the Shevanes and some transpositions of Indian legends (The White Mustang, The Land of Salty Cliffs and the others).

Along with the prose and poetry, cinematography has also contributed a great deal to the fabrication of the Indian image. While the American movies of 1930-1960s (MacKenna’s Gold is to be specially referred to here) usually had confined Indians merely to a colourful background for the convolutions of the Western plot, the European cinema products of 1960-1970s (mostly, by East German DEFA company supported by Italian, Romanian and Yugoslavian groups) tended to put the Indian hero - often accompanied by a lone white goody - in the centre of the plot. Those of the DEFA movies which are based on the books by Karl May (Winnetou - Inchu Chun’s Son, The Treasures of Silver Lake, Sure Hand - the Friend of Indians and others) has brought fame to the French actor Pierre Brice, while the Yugoslavian star Goiko Mitich (Hawk’s Track) has become a European personification of the Super-Indian through the films shot after original scripts.

The humanistic impulse with regard to Indians belonging to the world outlook of the Enlightenment has been underplayed in the current century in favour of making Indians a plaything of mass culture. Le noble sauvage has found his place among children’s games, turned into a rubber toy and enjoyed animation in kitsch movies. Today any kind of fascination with Indians normally meets a forbearing smile, is considered only suitable for children and otherwise viewed as a token of the lack of life earnestness.

From the very beginning, several sorts of Indian-interest groups found in Euro-American world should be marked out. First, there exists a purely scholarly approach to the Indian cultural heritage. It involves researches in various spheres of Indian traditional and modern conditions done by anthropologists, ethnographers, archaeologists, linguists, sociologists, historians. They tend to celebrate the commonness of their scientific field of concern by participating in regularly organised conferences, among which the International Congress of Americanists enjoys the paramount importance, and publishing miscellanies and thematic journals.

Another trend might be coined as a socio-political activity in respect to American
Indians. The main concern of these groups which can be found in various European and American countries is the focused study of the modern Indian life conditions and political struggle with a clear aspiration to give an assistance in improving the former and to support the latter. Leaflets of protest and information, demonstrations, official contacts, lobbying, quest for the public support by means of collecting signatures and the like - all belong into this sphere of activity.

The present essay deals with a group of people who devotedly carry on through their lives the deep perception of Indian cultural values and experience the work of the unparalleled powers of the identity construction. They are devoid of the rational preoccupation with Indians as a convenient and intriguing object of intellectual and socio-political exploitation, offering instead a way of *identity construction* via experiencing, partaking and preservation of American Indian life pattern.

Indianism should not be mixed up with *hobbyism*, i.e. the pastime involvement on the part of adults and teenagers in making Indianesque garments, ornaments and dwellings. Hobbyism is widely spread in the United States: special books, with the characteristic titles like *The Indian Hobbyist, The Golden Book of Indian Crafts and Lore*, are published which describe and picturesquely depict the techniques of making war bonnets, leggings, tomahawks, peace pipes, moccasins etc., and offhandedly admonish and encourage the reader to go back to nature. Hobbyism brings about no particular need for forming a social group, remaining a purely individual crankiness. Elements of Indianesque hobbyism were also taken up by the scout movement.

As will be shown in later pages, the identity construction way can get with the other three tendencies which, however, are confined there to a poor adjunct of the main line.

Indianists also stand apart from the other Indian-interest activities mentioned above due to the fact that their concern is focused purely and exclusively on North American Indians. The scientists do not form a rigid border around their field of interest and for them Americanistics is just a sub-field within a broader terrain of social sciences. The groups pursuing the socio-political activity, as a rule, consider North American Indians a part of the indigenous world and their actions are not confined to Indians but express a more general anxiety about the destiny of the pre-industrial societies (cf. The Centre for the Support of the Indigenous Population in Holland). Notably enough, these groups have often coalesced with ecological movements.

Indianism, i.e. the organised adherence to the cultural values of American Indians, is not exclusively a Russian phenomenon. Similar groups have developed in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, to a less extent in Finland, Denmark, Holland, Wales\(^1\) and other West European countries. Nonetheless, the

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\(^1\) In the ethnic history of the Welsh, some facts are of interest regarding the intersection of the Welsh identity with American Indians. In the Elizabethan times, Welsh historians presented evidence that Prince Madoc, a direct ancestor of the queen, had discovered America in XII century, long before Columbus claimed the territory for the king of Spain. In the XVIII century, the Madoc legend inspired some of the Welsh intellectuals in America (first of all, Iolo Morganwg) to insist on the existence of the Welsh Red Indians - the lost descendants of the early Welsh discoverers of America. A contemporary Welsh historian Emyr Humphreys, who provided a detailed picture of the destiny of this myth among the Welsh, writes: “[They] would be the noblest of all the noble savages, since they retained untainted the
emergence of the Indianist phenomenon in Russia during the period of Communism characterised by the unparalleled political and informational closeness presents a sheer puzzle. As the author will come on to argue, Indianists have made an audacious attempt to build an imposing social and spiritual mountain out of the mole-hill of the infantile kitsch, thus tracking back in a way to the humanistic impulse of the Enlightenment.

In Russia, the anthropological publications on the Indianist community are confined merely to one diagnostic phrase in a recent book devoted to the youths’ culture: “Indianists is a group pursuing mystico-religious goals” (Schepanskaya A. 1993. P. 192). Then, in 1994, a book by a Professor of Ohio University Claude Clayton Smith, Red Men in Red Square, was published in which he describes his visit to Russian Indianists together with the chief of the Pogasset tribe, Big Eagle (Smith, 1994). This pilgrimage was simultaneously epochal and quirky. Smith was particularly interested in the political changes in Russia and the relation of the Indianist case to the concept of civil rights. His observations about the life-ways and appearance of the Indianists remind the diaries of the early American explorers. Alternatively, Big Eagle was for the Indianists what Columbus had been for the Indians, - the first Native American they had ever seen.

secrets of the mother tongue and even the crystal clear gospel that the Elizabethan humanists had insisted was the true inheritance of the aboriginal British. When this lost tribe was discovered, the wheel of history would have come full circle; mysteries long hidden would be made plain; the endurance of the centuries, the endless sufferings and disappointments would at least be justified and rectified, and a new era in the history of oppressed peoples and of all mankind would begin” (Humphreys E. 1983: 111). In 1796-1797, the expedition led by John Evans found the Mandan villages on Missouri River. The Mandans had light skin and blue eyes and John Evans announced the reality of the Welsh Red Indians. To be true, eventually he admitted the Mandans had no connections with the Welsh but this myth persisted and found support with a famous American painter George Catlin who tried to prove it in his Mandan series of 1832.
Part 1. The History of the Indianist Community in Russia

The Ontogenesis of an Indianist

Indianism grows out of the ‘play Indian complex’ of childhood, gradually obtaining for some of the people a significance which transcends the limits of the childlike game. According to the author’s observations shared by all the Indianists he has ever questioned on this topic, one can acquire the Indianist vocation only in one’s young years and without any pressure from outside. Different people gave the age span from 8 to 12 years as the period when American Indians started to play a notable role in their spiritual and emotional life. I myself recall starting playing Indian together with my yard-mates at the age of 8. At the age of 10, I began to feel a desire to learn more about them and subsequently the interest grew even stronger.

Apparently, 14 years may be set as a deadline for the acquisition of the Indianist vocation. Currently, there is only one group of three guys in the Russian Indianist community which was enticed into Indianist activities by their school teacher - himself an Indianist - at the age of 14.

The Phylogenesis of the Indianist Community

The rise of Indianism in Russia falls into the late 1960s when the first mail correspondence commenced between dispersed loners and small groups of friends interested in North American Indian culture throughout the country. In the Indianist journal ‘Iktomi’ one may find a recollection of one of the oldest members of the community:

It often happened that these groups ceased to exist by the time their members grew out of school age and entered adolescence. There were a lot of singles who knew nothing about the others, or who only episodically maintained contacts with them. (Ishta Shicha. 1994a. P. 81).

In 1971 the first two stable Indianist groups of 3-5 people had formed in Veliky Luki (about 300 km to the south from St. Petersburg) (‘The Kauchee’) and Novosibirsk. The Kauchee group later expanded to include some of the Indianists from St. Petersburg and now recognises itself as such. As early as 1981, The Kauchees are said to have celebrated their tenth anniversary, which is notable taking into account the nascent character of the Indianist movement at that time.

The members of these cliques started to retreat periodically into the woods with the intention to live a natural life. They had instigated a custom which subsequently obtained an enormous significance and turned into an overall practice among the

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1 The title ‘Iktomi’ (Spider) comes from the name of a popular tricky character of the North American, more precisely Dakota, mythology.

2 The meaning of the name has faded away but it seems to be derived from ‘Apache’, a well-known Indian tribe which was the chief point of interest for the members of the group.
Indianists.

August 1980 highlights a turning point in the development of Indianism in Russia. It was the time of the first all-Russian Indianist rally called afterwards The Grand Council. It took place on a lake island near St. Petersburg and included 14 people from St. Petersburg, Moscow, Novosibirsk and Veliky Luki. The Grand Council made a decision to establish an Indianist club in St. Petersburg and, starting from 1982, to hold annual rallies in the countryside near St. Petersburg. These impending rallies were coined Pow-Wow since this term is normally used today by North American Indians to refer to their own yearly gatherings. All the Pow-Wows were held in St. Petersburg, with one exception: in 1985 the camp was set up in the north near Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Karelian Republic.

For about a year, The Peter The Great Museum of Anthropology staff members used to give lectures to Indianists on various topics connected with the ethnography of North American Indians. Indianists were making the first attempts to contact Indianist groups in other countries (East Germany, Poland) and Indians themselves. In May 1981, they had a meeting in St. Petersburg with a Maya Indian Irma Morales. In 1981-1982, they made their first public presentations and concerts of Indian music in the History Faculty of St. Petersburg State University and in several public clubs. These advertising actions brought into the community lots of freshmen who hitherto had been unaware of the existence of their cousins. The first typewritten journals ‘The Echo of Wounded-Knee’ and ‘Wassaha’ (Dakota ‘Let the People Know’) were published. These journals were being distributed among friends, sent by mail and passed among the people. They aimed at providing the Indianist readership with information on the forthcoming Pow-Wow and contained articles on the history and modern life of North American Indians.

In 1982 the first Pow-Wow took place in the woods 63 km from St. Petersburg and since then this tradition has never been interrupted. After the rally St. Petersburg Indianist Club ‘Alcatraz’ was established and received official recognition from the administration of St. Petersburg. In 1983 Indianists from St. Petersburg celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Indian revolt at the Pine-Ridge reservation (February 27, 1973) (cf. Podervyanskaya M. P. 1990. P.3-4)

In 1984-1985 groups of Indianists engaged in a new form of activity. Striving to reach a full fusion with nature and the Indian way of life, people from Ukraine, Novosibirsk and St. Petersburg founded rural settlements in the Altai Mountains and in the Crimea Peninsula. Some of them accomplished this “exodus” together with their wives and small children and dived into agricultural and cattle-breeding pursuits. These first companies had numbered 7 people in the case of the The Altai settlement and 3 people in the case of the Crimea band. Afterwards, the population of the bands was constantly changing: some people were dropping from the band to be replaced by

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1 Notably enough, the word pow-wow has entered into informal English with the meaning of ‘any conference, meeting’ (Webster’s Encyclopaedia of Abridged English).
2 The title of the journal harked back to the battle of Wounded-Knee (1890) when the last large free Indian band was massacred by American troops.
3 Alkatraz is the name of a closed prison situated on an island in Los Angeles Bay. In 1969 a group of Indian activists assaulted and seized it and forwarded a demand to the U.S. government to give that piece of land back to Indians.
others, Indianists used to visit the bands and to stay for several months. The leaders and inspirers (White Feather from Novosibirsk in the Altai band and Wandering Spirit from Ukraine in the Crimea band) of this campaign were the only permanent element in these settlements. At the dawn of existence of the Altai hamlet, its members founded a rock band ‘Red Arrows’ which produced two albums of Indianist songs.

In 1986, on the wave of an extensive mass media campaign, several Indianist activists formed the Leonard Peltier Support Group in St. Petersburg whose main concern was an assistance in setting free from an American prison one of the leaders of the American Indian Movement. Small manifestations, collecting of signatures, consultations with lawyers, meetings with the members of a like-minded group from the U.S. led by Leonard Peltier’s wife, petitions to the governmental structures formed the range of the actions of this group. By 1989 it exhausted the resources of action and ceased to exist.

Those Indianists who for whatever reason refrained from getting into these socio-political and “natural life” experiments followed a more moderate line of activity. They kept establishing new contacts with the like-minded enthusiasts, made radio, television and live performances, exhibitions of Indianesk artefacts, gave lectures at schools, conducted conferences, visited their cousins in East Germany for Indianishe Woche - the German counterpart of the Russian Pow-Wow. From 1987 to 1990, another Indianist club, ‘Ethnos’, which was a revival of the early and nascent ‘Alkatraz’, worked in St. Petersburg.

In 1990 Indianists started a big publishing campaign which gave rise to a good amount of officially recognised journals, among which Iktomi (published in Moscow since 1994), Tomahawk (Syktyvkar, 1990-1994), American Indian News (Moscow, 1990-1993) and The First Americans (St. Petersburg, since 1996) occupy a pre-eminent place, and Russian translations of the classical ethnographic literature on North American Indians (North American Indians series). About the same time, The Band of Indian Dances and Songs was formed on the basis of the St. Petersburg group with several invited participants from Moscow, Minsk and Ukraine. Due to the sponsorship, the band succeeded in making a tour to Siberia but afterwards its scale was restricted to occasional performances during Pow-Wows and other Indianists’ gatherings.

Starting from 1990, Indianists have participated in two American Indian actions, which are called the Indian Run. The Indian Run represents a campaign to protect moribund nature and vanishing indigenous people. It took the form of bus convoys throughout North America, Europe and Asia. Following the ancient Indian myths and religious practices¹, the participants of the march were supposed to cover part of the distance by running with an Indian symbol in their hands². People from the U.S.,

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¹ The myths of the Hopi Indians, which were used as the ideological basis for The Indian Run, state that in the days of yore all human races lived together in peace and friendship. Then a schism happened and the races dispersed throughout the globe. The primordial unity may be restored only by means of reconciling White Brother and Red Brother. Running was endowed with ritual significance among many Indian tribes. Hence, the organisers of The Indian Run saw it as a means of establishing harmony amongst mankind.

² Sometimes these distances happened to be of a marathon length. On coming with his team to St. Petersburg, the leader of The Indian Run 1991 had to run about 40 km across the city.
different European and Asian countries, members of the indigenous communities (e.g. Ainu), enrolled in this campaign, pursued their own interests which sometimes bore no connection to the ideas initially put into the movement by Indians. First time in 1990 The Indian Run was led by Dennis Banks - the leader of the American Indian Movement, the main all-Indian political movement. St. Petersburg was the final point of the Run. Russian Indianists held a meeting with Indian members of the team and participated in the concert of Indian music and dances.

Next year The Indian Run was led by Sky Hawk - a Blackfeet Indian activist and painter. This time some of the Indianists were fully enrolled members of his team and they also made some arrangements to back up The Indian Run of the following year. Single Indianists participated also in the local Runs in America.

Finally, in 1995 Indianists opened an Indian-Cowboy Pub ‘Grizzly House’ of the closed type which took the place of the previous meeting places ‘Alkatraz’ and ‘Ethnos’ and to this day has presented the best possibility for the in-group interaction.

The following is an approximate list of towns of the former Soviet Union regularly represented at Pow-Wows in the late 1980s - early 1990s:

**Table 1. Towns of the Former Soviet Union Represented in the Indianist Community**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Petersburg</td>
<td>Yakutsk</td>
<td>Charkov (Ukraine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>Ryazan</td>
<td>Kiev (Ukraine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrozavodsk</td>
<td>Veliky Luki</td>
<td>Konotop (Ukraine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelyabinsk</td>
<td>Bryansk</td>
<td>Uzhgorod (Ukraine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novosibirsk</td>
<td>Kimry</td>
<td>Minsk (Belorussia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyumen</td>
<td>Sverdlovsk</td>
<td>Vilnus (Lithuania)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyborg</td>
<td>Krasnodar</td>
<td>Kaunas (Lithuania)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murmansk</td>
<td>Segezha</td>
<td>Tallinn (Estonia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among them St. Petersburg enjoys a preponderant position numerically as well as concerning the intensity and variety of the Indianist activities fostered and undertaken. If, for instance, in Moscow the number of Indianists does not exceed 10 people, in St. Petersburg a rough estimation shows at least 70. No other place can even draw near this number. In addition, 1990s have witnessed enormous movement of Indianists from the marginal regions of Russia and Ukraine to St. Petersburg which has contributed to the reputation of this city as the centre of the Indianist movement in The former Soviet Union.

The chart shows the fluctuations in the Pow-Wow attendance starting from The Grand Council of 1980 to 1991. In 1986 two Pow-Wows were held near St. Petersburg. The Pow-Wows of 1990 and 1991 stepped into the status of international gatherings, as they were attended by East German Indianists and the chief of the Pogasset Indian tribe Big Eagle accompanied by a professor of Ohio University, C. C. Smith.

**Chart. Rates of Pow-Wow Participation**
According to the chart, the rate of the Pow-Wow attendance drastically fell in 1985. Several causes can account for this. First, some Indianists moved away to establish the rural settlements. This experiment not only affected the attendance of the rallies directly, though, judging from the whole number of the community members at that moment, the loss of 10 enthusiasts was quite perceptible a damage to the principal gathering. An indirect influence of the campaign was that lots of Indianists quit attending the rallies because they planned to move to these settlements. Second, lack of advertisement hindered the inflow of newcomers. Third, at that time Indianists were kept under KGB surveillance which included actions against Pow-Wows as “unauthorised gatherings”, shakedowns in the camp at the pretext of searching for weapons etc. Even long after Pow-Wows had been officially permitted by the city administration and the forestry agency, Indianists deemed suspicious all the unknown people of mature age who chanced on entering the camp. Fourth, several influential Indianists’ leaders dropped from the community at that period of time.

The 1980s brought a tremendous increase of 95% to the Indianist community membership. The principal contribution to this outburst (75 %) falls into the period from 1988 to 1990. Greater social freedom, more means of advertising and wider access to international contacts, all due to the political changes initiated in Russia, in the period from 1988 to 1990, contributed to this jump in membership. Many serious books on Indian culture and spirituality started to mushroom in Russia. Russian cinema and video markets were being filled with movies which authentically portrayed Indian cultural heritage and historical fate (Little Big Man, War Party, Geronimo, Dances With Wolves etc.). In their turn, the literature and the movies were aided by the overall tendency to reassess the modernistic attitude towards indigenous population and nature, which had emerged in the Euro-American society after World War II.

Regarding the Pow-Wows of 1992 and 1994-1996, the author does not have accurate data at his disposal. However, judging from the chart and relying upon the recollections of the participants, it can be said that 1990 witnessed the climax of the Indianists’ group activities which later on became weaker.

The recent abatement of Pow-Wow attendance has been caused by several
circumstances. First, the growing tendency on the part of Indianists to form smaller
groups. Second, the political and economic situation in the former Soviet Union which
often make long travels unaffordable and troublesome. Third, the lowering of the initial
Indianist moral principles which deter some of the people from participation in
communal activities. Following the break-up of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian
members of the Indianist community have set in train their own local Pow-Wows.
Separate Pow-Wows also started to be held occasionally near Moscow, though the
traditional Pow-Wow of St. Petersburg continues to be deemed the most important and
highly attended.

In brief, the history of the Indianist community in Russia may be divided into four
stages. The first stage spans the period from the end of the 1960s to 1979 and is
characterised by early contacts between individuals and small companies of friends
confined to their localities. The Kauchee group, which reached maturity early on, stands
out of this general picture. This local development had been due to the strong
personality of the leader of the group Red Wolf who subsequently claimed the fame of
the Indianists’ spiritual teacher. The second stage (1980-1984) is renowned for the
communal, or Pow-Wow, solidarity which imbued Indianists. No distinct groups
within the community are known to have formed during this time. The years 1985-1986
may be marked out as the third period of the Indianist community development. Total
consciousness was outmoded at that time by the formation of small and stable groups
(the Crimea settlement, the Altai settlement, the Leonard Peltier Support Group and
others). The increase in membership in 1987-1990 forms the fourth stage. It can be
viewed as a revival and redoubling of the communal solidarity of the second phase
which likewise was followed by group and individual segregation and group and
the Indianist community is marked by the cycles of dispersion and concentration.
Part 2. The Internal Structure of the Community

The Division into “Tribes”

Each member of the Indianist community belongs to a ‘tribe’, or ‘band’. This condition is indispensable and a person chooses membership either during the period of his independent involvement with Indians or on entering the community. From the very beginning, older members start to coax a newcomer to make his decision about the “tribe”. The range of selective possibilities is rather narrow due to the fact that fiction literature and cinema productions, from which Indianists were initially picking up their information about Indians, have their own stable preferences. The following is the list of the North American tribes to which Indianists tend to ascribe themselves:

Table 2. “Tribal” Affiliations within the Indianist community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plains Tribes</th>
<th>Woodland Tribes</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dakota</td>
<td>Ojibwa</td>
<td>Tlinkit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>Modoc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comanches</td>
<td>Delawares</td>
<td>Shoshoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>Iroquois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackfeet</td>
<td>Cree</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Pawnee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
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<td>Assiniboin</td>
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The vast majority of the tribes belong to the Plains area in North America which is easily understandable in view of their heroic image transmitted through movies and literature. Among these tribes Indianists reveal the strongest preference towards the Dakota (Sioux).

The choice of a “tribe” is critical first of all for the purpose of the visual presentation of the person. Indianists make Indian costumes and other elements of Indian culture which they wear during Pow-Wows and, to a lesser extent, on other occasions. Much attention is paid to their accurate conformity to the traditions of the particular Indian tribe. Finally, “tribal” membership is the only possibility to plough one’s way through the abundance of information, which gradually has become available to Indianists. These objective imperatives contribute to the creation of an Indianist’ “tribal” identification but they do not act as the ultimate cause of the choice.

Dancing Fox: “People make their choices about a tribe proceeding from the details and nuances which, only to them, are visible”.

Spider once objectified his adherence to the Ojibwa saying that geographically the Ojibwa live in woodlands on the same latitude as St. Petersburg, the climate, flora and fauna are similar in both places and hence it is easier to feel yourself an Ojibwa than, for
instance, a member of a desert tribe in the American Southwest. The same logic belonged to Wandering Spirit’s decision to move to the Crimean Peninsula since the plains there were most likely to shore up his interest in the Dakota.

Sometimes a person can change his/her “tribal” membership on discovering that one is more suitable for him/her than another. One fellow switched from the Cree to the Iroquois, another switched from the Dakota to the Pawnee.

An intimate link between a person and his/her “tribe” is established and reinforced by means of permanent mental and practical concentration on the object. Sometimes Indianists, like Indians themselves, engage in badinage about each other’s tribe, jokingly overplaying advantages of one and disadvantages of the other. They may refer to the size or history of a tribe, whether the tribe was hostile, or friendly to the whites, whether two tribes were waging wars against each other or used to form alliances, or finally to some stereotypes which are known about a real Indian tribe or which have formed around its Indianist counterpart. On the other hand, earnest vaunting of one’s own “tribe” over the others is always disapproved and made a subject of mocking.

When two Indianists meet they always ask about the other’s tribal membership. Indianists always seek out the members of their respective “tribes” and close friendship is likely to be established between them. Members of one’s own “tribe” are always the first whom a person contacts. A neophyte who enters the Indianist milieu with his “tribal” membership already selected would be readily given the whereabouts of the other members of his “tribe” and the one who has not yet made his choice might be enticed into joining a certain “tribe” by its other members. Tribesmen tend to unite their efforts in getting information about their “tribe” and to make a “tribal” tipi (an Indian tent) to live in during Pow-Wows. “Tribal” solidarity often preceeds and outweighs free interpersonal relations. At least it imposes solid borders upon the people, which need the intrusion of special forces to be lowered.

These special forces may take the form of joint and outward-turned actions, such as those common for the second and the fourth stages in the development of the Indianist community (e.g. establishment of the rural settlements, the Leonard Peltier Support Group, the Band of Indian Dances and Songs), which bring about the close contacts between the people regardless of their “tribal” membership. They are based on interests which could not be fostered and bound up to tribal affiliation but which rather dwell in individual preferences and conceptions about the Indianist idea in general.

The “Indian” nicknames

Together with the tribal membership, an Indianist has to possess a name-identifier. Following the Indian custom, Indianists derive their nicknames from the names of animals, birds, plants, celestial bodies, from the memorable events of their lives, or from the peculiarities of their appearance and behaviour. An exemplary list of 60 men’s names and 20 women’s names found among the Indianists’ is given below:

Table 3. The “Indian” nicknames
## Men's Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standing Bear</td>
<td>Strong Wind</td>
<td>Black Bear</td>
<td>Dead Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Bear</td>
<td>Dead Buffalo</td>
<td>Spider</td>
<td>Eagle Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prickly Skate</td>
<td>Skunk</td>
<td>Crazy Lynx</td>
<td>Cliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Lynx Cub</td>
<td>Wolf Cub</td>
<td>Black Bear</td>
<td>Walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raven</td>
<td>Mountain Lion</td>
<td>Black Raven</td>
<td>White Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Hawk</td>
<td>Buffalo Chief</td>
<td>Hawk</td>
<td>Red Wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawk</td>
<td>Swift Dear</td>
<td>Bear Paw</td>
<td>Big Heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calling Elk</td>
<td>Stone Heart</td>
<td>Marten</td>
<td>Big Beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Big Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Beast</td>
<td>Wandering Spirit</td>
<td>Foot Catcher</td>
<td>Dancing Fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against The Wind</td>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>Singing Rainbow</td>
<td>Strong Voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Horse</td>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Grey Owl</td>
<td>Little Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone Wolf</td>
<td>Ermine</td>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Star</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Star</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Sadjo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Little Night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>She Wolf</td>
<td>Forest Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Red Blanket</td>
<td>Rocky Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Squirrel</td>
<td>Mountain Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sea Gull</td>
<td>Cloves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Women's Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>Star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She Wolf</td>
<td>Forest Creek</td>
<td>Achitiva</td>
<td>Bow String</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Blanket</td>
<td>Rocky Creek</td>
<td>White Cloud</td>
<td>Laughing Cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squirrel</td>
<td>Mountain Creek</td>
<td>Black Cherry</td>
<td>Bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Gull</td>
<td>Cloves</td>
<td>She Cat</td>
<td>White Doe</td>
</tr>
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Sometimes nicknames were not translated into Russian but read in original. In rare cases, a person obtained a “Wild West” (e.g. Sheriff, Chuck, Hank, Smoke) or a normal nickname, or was addressed by the name of his tribe (e.g. The Modoc, The Iroquois, The Algonquin, The Dakota, The Apache, The Crow). It often happened that the people were unaware of the Russian names and surnames of their brethren in the community.

There are various ways of acquiring a nickname. A person can choose the nickname by himself, though it is not widely spread or highly welcomed, unless he gets to know it from his/her dream. On the other hand, the dreams, even if they are evocative, are not always used for the aim of obtaining or changing the name. Strong Voice once dreamt of himself turning into a bear, but this occasion, however appropriate for getting the name it might have considered by others, did not seem to him important enough to change his name.

Ideally, a person was nicknamed by the others.


Squirrel: “When I had just entered the community, the older girls decided to give me a name. We came together to Sea Gull’s place and they deliberated on my name for a short while. All of them said in one voice that I was Squirrel. That’s because my hair is red. Since then nobody has ever called me Olya”.

Among the older Indianists a custom existed to obtain one’s name from Red Wolf - the leader of the Kauchee group. They used to visit him in Veliky Luki or during Pow-Wows. At first, Red Wolf would conduct a pipe smoking ceremony and then the company would deliberate on the name of the newcomer. After the name had finally been announced to him, he had to perform a dance imitating the habits of the bird or animal whose name he was taking on.

Raven: “I was trying my best but I knew I could not dance well. But I was impressed by the fact that nobody was laughing at me, not any sign of smile appeared on their faces. The atmosphere was solemn and august”.

When the contacts with Indians were established, some of the Indianists started to obtain names from them. These names were the only names recognised by Indians. As Evil Eye recalls, when he met with the famous Indian singer and movie star, Floyd Westerman, the latter carefully questioned him about his Indian name and the way he had received it. He was finally satisfied when he learnt that it was one of the leaders of The Indian Run who had bestowed the name on him and signed greetings on one of his music cassettes (Ishta Shicha. 1994. P. 77).

A name could be changed if a person felt that he himself had changed significantly, though excessive preoccupation with one’s name was not welcomed. Someone who changed his name was deemed self-scrutinising or childish and, moreover, this fact introduced barriers to communication. Long after a person had switched over to another name others continued to refer to him by the old one and sometimes did this deliberately to make fun of him or used it as a curse-like expression of annoyance.

On the other hand, it would be deemed ridiculous if a person was named after a very famous Indian chief, say, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, or Geronimo. The name is generally conceived as a permanent and immutable identifier of a person in terms of the community. On the level of content there is no place for imitation and self-worship.

The Age Structure of the Community

An approximate estimation of the age span of the community members shows that the oldest part of it belongs to the age group of 35-40 years. These are the originators of the movement, the attendants of The Grand Council and the first Pow-Wows. In Indianist discourse they are known as the Elders (stariki). The Elders tend to affiliate with each other and they form a corporate group of about 20 people based on common experience and long-term closeness.

The Elders are counterbalanced by the young generation of Indianists (the Youths) of roughly 20-26 years old which was moulded in the course of the membership
increase of 1987-1988. Even though within this generation many distinct groups (tribal, territorial, gender-based and suchlike) are functioning, it recognises its corporativity mainly in opposition to the Elders.

The intermediary age group lacks a clear-cut mould. This situation definitely stems from the period of decline and stagnation, which the community went through in 1985-1986. Still worse, some of the strong personalities (born between 1963 and 1967) deserted the community in the middle and the late 1980s: Porcupine perished in the mountains, Raven dropped out for a while because of his quarrel with the Elders. It laid a chasm between generations, thereby breaking the continuity of collective experience. The people of 27-34 years are dangling between the two poles feeling their superiority over the Youths and facing up the alienation on the part of the Elders. Spontaneously they can adjoin to the former, or to the latter but their internal bonds are weak. Some of the representatives of the middle group were initiated into the community too late, roughly at the same time as the Youths were, but their interests and backgrounds are discrepant.

Some of the people who formally belong to the eldest age group have fallen down into the intermediary position due to the fact that their behaviour has been assessed by the Elders as ridiculous and inadequate. Particular cases may throw some light on the details of these interpersonal twists.

Spider has been always affected by the complexes of his shortness and unattractive appearance. However he stubbornly tried to compensate for this by developing his physical abilities, Indianist skills (e.g. by making good garments and other articles, doing archery and tomahawk-throwing well, making book translations and the like) and sociability (by composing and singing songs by guitar). On the other hand, he often indulged in excessive boasting, ostentation and narcissism, thus bringing his achievements to naught. He became sort of “fun to have around” and a subject of endless mockery.

Calling Elk is interested in different kinds of spiritual improvement techniques and his belief in the impending doomsday together with his knockery against others’ way of life brought him fame of a big freak. In a certain way the same negative halo has surrounded Big Friend.

Hawk started the Leonard Peltier Support campaign and the pretentiousness of its actions was disapproved of by the Elders. He gave his licks in and the mutual alienation followed.

All these people became closer to the Youths and mutual contacts became a common thing but nevertheless they remained offside contributing to the dispersed composition of the middle age-group.

Relations between the Elders and the rest of the community is generally friendly with a respectful attitude on the part of the Youths and kind indulgence on the part of the Elders. Be that as it may, The Elders keep the others at a distance guarding the closeness of their own clique. They stand out due to their age, experience, a well-functioning system of getting beads and skins for making costumes, steel for making knives and hatchets, craftsmanship, early international contacts - all with which the rest are unable to compete. Some of The Youths made attempts to get through to The Elders but in vain. Others criticise, for example, Red Wolf for being garrulous, glib and
imposing but no one is capable of offering an alternative ideological ground for the movement. The objective superiority which the Elders enjoy over the others gave rise to a blasè disposition among the former observable in the following story by Crazy Lynx:

Once we got together and some of the young girls came also. They wanted to meet The Elders hoping to listen to them talking about Indians. Imagine, how distressed these freaks were when all night long we were just talking about everyday matters.

The attitude of the Elders towards Indians and Indianists was clearly expressed by Great Lynx Cub when he cited as an example the life-story of a contemporary Indian who in his search for truth and self-determination had passed through a hell of drugs and alcohol, then got involved in the Indian political struggle. He finally found tranquillity in simple day-to-day delights.

The very presence of The Elders in the community and on Pow-Wows injects them with organisational principles and, in a way, lays foundations for the communal life as such. They enjoy possession of the whole range of Indianist ideological clues. Bear Paw is the Pow-Wow Pipe Keeper, Lone Wolf is the chief of the camp police and the recognised ear-piercer\(^1\), Red Wolf is the spiritual authority. Yet, it is true that the Indianist community knows no ‘chiefs routine’ which is often stressed by The Elders as well as by The Youths in the following form: “We reject chiefism, we have had too many ‘-isms’ in this country”.

The Elders rarely acted in such a way which would change the stability of the situation, they never fuzz around, they just live their lives paying little attention to what is going on outside their circle and regular pursuits. In earlier times, they had followed and enforced strict moral rules in the camp, i.e. no alcoholic drinks, no obscenity, no thieves’ cants were allowed, no outsiders were welcomed, whereas later they came to view these pursuits and facts as natural and relaxing. They no longer put bans on the activities of the rest of the community but their authority is still all-penetrating. Whatever the Elders do, they deem themselves consistent, and usually they are granted with trust by the others.

Throughout the community’s existence, life on Pow-Wows has been controlled by the camp police called Dog Soldiers introduced after a similar institution found among the Plains tribes. In practice, this function has always been performed by one man - Lone Wolf who possessed a unique Dog Soldier war bonnet and due to his sternness and physical force could easily take care of troubles.

There were two attempts to topple the authority of The Elders and to open their circle up. First, Raven, while being in the self-imposed exile, enrolled into the Young Wolves Society, from the school where he was teaching, a group of teenagers of 13 -14 years old. He would take them to the woods, give lectures on Indian culture, share with them his Indianist skills, train them physically to form a strong and viable clique and later use them for the purpose of creating a counterbalance to The Elders. He fused his Young Wolves Society with the ‘Ethnos’ club, guided at that time by Spider, managed

\(^1\) Indianists usually wear a ring in their left ear that signifies the ‘faithfulness to the old traditions’. Visits to Lone Wolf for the purpose of having one’s ear pierced is a common habit among The Youths.
to gather around him a lot of The Youths and intermediaries from the club, to form alliances between some tribes and finally to get control over the camp police institution. His success, however, did not last long because of his personality which ultimately turned people away from him. If he had been totally successful, it would have set in train the formation of a continuous and flowing three-fold structure in the community.

The second attempt was later undertaken by a group of The Youths who wanted to revive the morality of the camp life and to guard the community from the influx of lay people by taking over the role of the camp police. Getting drunk in the camp had become the commonest thing and many people were anxious about the fate of Indian principles. One such statement may be found in an article by the editor of the journal The First Americans:

If we talk about relaxing, one indecent thing should be mentioned specially. By this I mean the newly born habit to booze and to sing thieves’ Latin in the middle of the night. Because of that, the camp sometimes looks less like an Indian camp, than a Hippie get-together (Yasenenko O. N. 1996. P. 95).

They asked The Elders for approval citing various examples of the misdemeanour in the camp but The Elders’ answer was straight and characteristic: “We broke bread together and no one will ever go against the other”.

The formation of The Band of Indian Songs and Dances ultimately created a link between to generations of Indianists. Along with The Youths, Dancing Fox managed to entice into it some of The Elders and to excite the curiosity of the others.

The Gender Structure and Gender Relations in the Community

As can be inferred from the sample of Indianists’ nicknames offered in Table 3, the vast majority of Indianists are males (60 males against 20 females). Among Indianists there exists a steady opinion that the wife should be an Indianist also.

**Big Friend:** “Observing the cases of Mato Sapa and the others who had to divorce their non-Indianist wives and seeing how well Chetan is getting along with Sadjo, I have become fully convinced that I can find my woman only among the Indianists. No other woman can come to understand why we are so keen on Indians”.

Later on Big Friend married a woman from the community.

Though the aforementioned tendency does exist among Indianists (the author knows 11 couples who have contracted marriages within the Russian community and one woman who has married a German Indianist), it could never be fulfilled on the objective reasons. Men, surely, search for partners in the outside world but even in this case their Indianist identity strongly influences the choice. This is demonstrated by the following narratives:

**Sheriff:** “My girl-friend, perhaps, is not nicely built but when I went with her to Dancing Fox he said that it seemed to him that she was getting the point”.
Badger: “When I visited one Indianist with my girl-friend he said that he could see that she was getting the point”.

Claude Smith reports the same attitude:

“Masha Terenik is a good wife for Alex. She understands him – she is an Indianist too – but his first wife didn’t appreciate about this” (Smith, 1994: 218).

I myself also got the chance to hear the magic phrase ‘to get the point’ when I visited ‘Grizzly House’ with my wife. One young Indianist told me: “I don’t know your wife well enough, but I can see that she gets the point”.

The phrase ‘to get the point’ means much for the male Indianist. It means the ability of the woman to share his feelings, pursuits and company and to participate in the yearly round of the Indianist activities, with the Pow-Wow as the major event among them. On the other hand, the woman who is able to understand their passion towards Indians may be confident in a stable and long-lasting bond. Consequently, the marriage practices of the Indianists combine both endogamous and exogamous patterns: individual preferences outside the community serve to ascertain the group’s identity.

Some of the girls romantically daydream of marriage to an Indian. For example, Star, when filling out a questionnaire at her college, wrote that her dream was to marry an Indian chief. Among the men, sexual desires are always more realistic. Women are also more interested in information on sexual relations in the traditional Indian society, while men restrict their information quest to historical, military and spiritual evidence on Indians.

Everything which has been said about the convolutions of the age relations within the Indianist community refers exclusively to the male majority. Because of their small number, women tend to form cliques and sham groups (Women’s Society the idea of which has been borrowed from Plains Indians) irrespective to age division. No inter-age opposition is found among them.

The community is strongly dominated by men but during Pow-Wows women are regularly given breaks. Special competitions with joking overtones in the Indian manner are organised specially for women. Once during the rally the Day of Crazy Women is announced when they are allowed to attack men, push them into the river, or to overturn their tipis unless men do not pay them off with some goodies. This women’s right is carefully guarded by men and the one who dares to make an attempt upon it can be punished by the camp police. In addition, women have always played a leading role in the camp dances done in the Indian way1 - the best occasion to get off with a guy.

The Indianists’ Pursuit Field: Knowledge, Practical Skills, the Colonisation of Space

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1 It is enough to say that women initially were teaching Dancing Fox along with other guys, especially, the youngest, to do Indian steps.
There are three major pillars of the Indianists’ pursuit field. First, the accumulation of knowledge of Indian history, current situation, culture and spirituality. Second, the Indianesque article-making practices and ritual performances among which the Pipe Smoking Ceremony and the Sweating Ceremony\(^1\) occupy the pre-eminent position. Handicrafts and the ritual performances stem from knowledge borrowed from books but, on the other hand, they give life to storage of the otherwise petrified information\(^2\). Third, the forest life, which is considered of equal importance to information accumulation practices, handicrafts and ritual participation.

The metaphor of earth, ground, land and space which has a particular importance for Indianists is commensurate with the same pre-occupation found among the traditional and, understandably enough to a greater extent, among the modern Indians.

Before each Pow-Wow a special party is sent from the city to reconnoitre a possible campsite. The party takes into account such criteria as the availability of timber for making tipis and storing firewood, water supplies (lake, river, or creek) and the remoteness from populous places. The results of the reconnaissance are widely discussed in the Indianist circles and the party’s choice is either approved, or disapproved. When Indianists gather for Pow-Wows the first thing which is done concerns the organisation of the camp-site. Tipis are set in such a manner as to form a circle which divides right away the piece of land into two sections - the colonised and the uncolonised.

Indianists believe that each site has its mystic, supernatural owner. It can be the spirit of a tree growing there which has a queer shape, a wild animal found living somewhere about (a bear, a racoon etc.), a human-like female or male creature. Encounters with these objects constitute the Indianist folk-lore and serve as a good subject for the tipi stories. It is also believed that the site-owner suffers from the encroachments of civilisation. Something strange and awesome may happen when, say, a country-house cooperative expands its limits to cover another piece of uninhabited land. Mountain Lion recalls his visit to a beloved Indianists’ hideout in the forest:

“I visited it alone and slept one night in the cabin. That night I had a horrendous dream. I saw a woman lying on the ground in the forest, right where the cabin stands. The woman was dead, her heart was torn out but it was beating feverishly. I woke up in a cold sweat and understood that she was the site-owner who was now dead and whose soul is suffering because the whites’ houses are already encroaching. I remember a story told by those Indianists who had been building that cabin. One night during the construction they were sitting in the tipi when suddenly they heard a shrill yell from the wilderness which could not have been made either by a human being, or by an animal. They related that it had been something in-between -

\(^1\) For the Sweating Ceremony the people build a dome-shaped construction of saplings covered all over with blankets (Sweat Lodge). Then, stones are prepared red-hot on a separate fire and carried into the Sweat Lodge. A group of 5 to 12 people enters the lodge, shuts the door tightly and starts pouring the water infused with herbs onto the stones. Amidst the odorous vapour, which sometimes is unbearably hot they sing Indian songs and prayers. When the ceremony is over, the participants run to the river to bathe. The general meaning of the rite is spiritual and physical purification.

\(^2\) It is worth mentioning that these practical activities resemble a new field developed in archaeology, namely ‘experimental archaeology’. The scientists working in this field manually reproduce the tools and houses of ancient man in order to understand their rustic practices “from the inside”.
an animal being torn by wolves into pieces and at the same time a woman. Now it is clear that it was the cite-owner”.

The cite-owner can lead people astray. Numerous stories are circulating among Indianists that relate cases when people got lost in the forest. These accidents are immutably attributed to the cite-owner’s malevolence. The site-owner dislikes the aliens but, once he accepts them, he becomes helpful. Indianists pacify him with gifts of red bands and pieces of food, thereby winning his favour.

The tipi forms the nucleus of the Indianists’ spatial structuration. Tipis are an indispensable piece of Indianist life. Tipis are far more comfortable than tourist tents: they are spacious, they have a fire-place inside, which enables people to stand even a severe frost; and they have a special system of air-circulation (the smoke flaps and the lining). No Indianist would stay in a tent when a tipi is available. During regular visits to the woods (apart from Pow-Wows) Indianists seldom wear the full Indianist costume but the tipi is carried along on every occasion. The people take good care of their tipis, decorating them with Indian symbols from outside and making it cosy inside.

Forest, camp-site and tipi are all the milestones of the Indianists’ search for their ‘own red ground’ sundered from the ‘white ground’ around. This struggle for spatial anchors underpin the idea of founding the rural settlements. America as a land is exciting Indianists’ imagination to no less extent than Indians who inhabit this land.

**Calling Elk:** “American land with its mountains, plains and giddy canyons ideally suits Indians, the highest race among humans”.

A similar attitude underlies the recently formed devotion on the part of Indianists to the culture of the Wild West and of cowboys. The fascination with American continent sometimes can even outweigh the interest in Indians. Those Indianists who have recently emigrated to the States live in the cities and not on Indian reservations inhaling the air of freedom which has long been associated with America.
Part 3. The Double Self-Identity Foundation of the Indianist Phenomenon

To posit the problem in one phrase, the double self-identity complex exposes itself in a palpable contradiction between Indianists’ physical belonging to the white race, to the modern European culture and to the Russian social environment all of which form their social identity, and their devotion to the Indian nation. This devotion, which constitutes their actual identity, is generally described by Indianists as a strong and irresistible passion, a prestation, which comes over them in childhood, gradually swells to reach its climax and focuses invariably and exclusively on Indians. As Big Friend once expressed this feeling and his opinion was readily shared by the other Indianists present at the gathering,

“Several times in my life I made attempts to quit with Indians but all along in vain. I stopped thinking about them only to the effect of coming back to them later. The Indianist vocation is the happiest in the world but also the most burdensome and painful one”.

Usually Indianists avoid calling themselves ‘Indianists’ and assert that they are real Indians, thus casting their social identity away as insignificant for self-determination. The steadiness of this identification has successfully passed a hard test of meeting with real Indians. That this encounter might be destructive for the Indianist vocation is revealed by the following testimony made to the author by a research worker of The Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography:

“Before entering the museum, I studied Indians and was very much fascinated with them. But I have never met them personally. Afterwards I got the chance to meet those Indians who were visiting our museum. They were constantly begging to have their articles returned to them. That contrasted so much with the image I had built in my mind. I got disappointed and never more cared to study them. Now I work in the Department of South-East Asia”.

Indianists do not worship Indians as an indisputable authority. They assert that whatever the latter’s attitude may be, it would not make them quit or even adjust to the expectations. The chief of the Pogasset tribe, Big Eagle, on visiting one of Indianists’ Pow-Wows, framed the following reaction:

“I was really fascinated with what I witnessed there. If only our Indian youths were so keen

1 The terms social identity and actual identity are borrowed from Erving Goffman’s analysis of the stigma. He uses them to describe the relation on the part of the people who either forcefully or deliberately follow deviative social paths to society in general (Goffman E. 1963. P.12).

2 The term prestation (French prestation originally ‘benefit, performance’) is extensively used by Jean Baudrillard who assigns to it the meaning of ‘a feeling of obligation to an irrational code which determines behaviour before even being considered in the consciousness of the social actors’ (Baudrillard J.1981. P.30-31). The ambivalence of the meaning of the term is thoroughly commensurate with the character of the Indianist vocation.

3 The named contradiction presents a puzzle for Indians as well. Being asked by the author about his attitude to Indianism, Sky Hawk, the leader of The Indian Run 1991, stressed that he was really perplexed by that and reasoned that, perhaps, it was due to the creation of the heroic image of the Indian by mass media propaganda.
on the old traditions...."

Recent encounters with the “up-group” resulted not in retreating from Indianism but in a slight reformulation of the actual identity which has produced the assertion that “we are Indians of today” (and not Indians of the fascinating past).

Anchored in the knowledge of Indians, practical skills and social space colonisation, the actual identity is used to work out a distinct life path which would tower above, through absorption, rejection and synthesis, the other ways of treating Indians (i.e. hobbyism, scholarly approach, socio-political activity) on one hand, and the other escapes from the highways of European civilisation (say, hiking, the Hippie movement, extrasensory addiction and the like). Red Wolf was plain enough when he expressed this Indianist striving for uniqueness:

“I can’t understand why some of our people are interested in this new extrasensory and extraterrestrial boom. We have a lot of our own ways which are better and germane to us”.

Each newcomer entering the community is observed closely and tested on the possession of this Indianist vocation. The people peer into the way he acts in the camp, and at other gatherings, assess the attention he pays to the information on Indians, the depth to which he penetrates Indian spirituality and the meanings of Indian rituals performed by Indianists, the enthusiasm with which he creates his visual image of an “Indian” and his faithfulness to the forest life. His personal moral qualities are also taken into account along with his capacity to fit into the community. An offhand, unintended, gaffe-like disrespect for Indian values (an accidental step into the tipi fireplace, interruption of a ritual, chuckling about Indian values, or the rules of camp-life) or useless damage and insult inflicted on nature (chopping down living trees instead of dead ones for making tipi poles, sticking knives or hatchets in the ground\(^1\) etc.) can be used for catching a person out as a dummy Indianist. As Calling Elk recalls about the people of this sort:

“I know one guy, he was entering offices and giving rubber Indian toys as the presents to the woman secretaries, saying each time: “This little Injun is for you, this little Injun is for you”.

When a person is finally granted with trust regarding his possession of the Indianist vocation, he/she may be awarded with an appellation *pervozdannyi* ‘pristine, primordial’.

Alternatively, the social identity of Indianists works equally strongly, though taking other forms and covering other domains of life. Its existence discloses itself in the rejection on the part of Indianists of the Indian societal practices and purely uncivilised customs. Indianists have never tried to introduce the clan system with its matrimonial corollaries, which is widely spread among Indians; polygamy, sororate and levirate; any of the complicated and burdensome rituals some of which involved self-torture; mourning customs and so on and so forth. As exclusions can be cited an attempt of one

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\(^{1}\) An Indianist rule reads: “Don’t stick a knife or a hatchet in the ground - the earth is a living thing”. 
of the Indianists to fast on the top of a tree in order to dream of a guardian spirit and
the whipping of one of the Indianists by the camp-police for a breach of Indianist rules.
In the latter case, it was rather a consequence of the personal enmity that existed
between the chief of the police and the victim, than a desire to give full protection to
Indian values.

The Indianists’ actual identity has certain limits, which it is unable to trespass.
From these limits on, their social identity begins to work on them. Both identities are
deemed *sacred* and their entirety is not to be violated, or sullied.

If one turns to the nature of the Indianists’ secular attachments, an interesting
picture will emerge. Table 4 contains a rather representative list of Indianists’
occupations.

**Table 4. Civil Occupations of Indianists**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>driver</th>
<th>kindergarten nurse</th>
<th>policeman</th>
<th>docker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>turner</td>
<td>circus trumpeter</td>
<td>car repairer</td>
<td>watchman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locksmith</td>
<td>photo shop worker</td>
<td>librarian</td>
<td>forester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>baker</td>
<td>engineer</td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security servicer</td>
<td>band guitarist</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>shoemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitter</td>
<td>cartoon painter</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>bookbinder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hairdresser</td>
<td>saleswoman</td>
<td>Zoo worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vast majority of Indianists pay ridiculously little attention to their secular
careers. They prefer to move horizontally, changing places of residence, attending Pow-
Wows, visiting their brethren, moving for a short while to live in the forest. The vertical
dimension of the society does not exist for them.

**Small Talk:** “I work as a fitter in a museum. I like my small job, I like my recluse’s working
room which I share with an artist and I never interfere with the other problems in my
museum”.

Indianists often work together and the problem of finding a job at first is solved via
Indianists’ connections.

Alternatively, unlike, for example, Hippies, Indianists do not avoid employment
but rather consider it to be a significant part of their lives. Apart from bringing in
money - and their “Indian” life is a money-consuming one - and fostering a feeling of
stability, employment enables them to “plug” into the white milieu, to give expression
to their social identity and thus to feel intact.

In a law-like way, those Indianists who get involved in career-pursuing activities
invariably loosen their ties with the community until finally they drop from it
completely. For instance, while a simple school teacher, Raven had been an active
member of the community but then he started to climb the ladder and on his way to the
position of the school director he dropped out of the community. MacKenna had been
one of the father founders of Indianism but on enrolling in a post-graduate school he
cut his bonds with the community. The Apache dropped from the community upon
setting out to organise a private firm.
In a similar fashion, one who had been already oriented on a secular carrier, by the time of getting acquainted with Indianists, would not be able to enter the community fully. In this case, two individuals may be mentioned. Alexander Vaschenko, a Doctor of Philology, the author and translator of many books on North American Indian folklore and modern literature, occasionally visited Pow-Wows but has never avowed his adherence to the Indianist idea. For Indianists, he has always been their main consultant on Indian literature, the one who was often visited by groups of Indianists as well as by individuals in his apartment in Moscow. Andrei Znamenski, a Doctor of History, the author of several articles on the current political struggle of the Native Americans and a co-translator of the pieces of Indian literature and, was also an occasional visitor to Pow-Wows and other important Indianists’ gatherings, but his academic carrier in Samara State University has always been his primary concern. These examples can be further multiplied.

Thus one may conclude that the Indianists’ actual and social identities cancel out each other’s creative development and, consequently, thwart people’s initiatives and undertakings. An active participation in the outside social life immutably locks for him/her the door into the community and vice versa. Indianists’ actual identity and social identity present themselves as disparate and incompatible entities to the effect of constituting a blatant controversy of the Indianist phenomenon.

The question arises as to what extent Indianists are aware of the aforementioned controversy and what ways they choose, if not to cancel the problem out, but at least to smooth it over.

Generally, Indianists tend to get round this problem. If all of a sudden a discussion touches on this point, the latter is granted either with heavy silence, or with an offhand explanation like: “We just get a kick out of Indians”. This conundrum is perceived as proof of the existence of Great Mystery, Great Spirit (Wakan Tanka, Manitou) - the belief that Indianists adopted from Indians. As it was shown above, Indianists employ certain procedures which aim at testing the validity of a person’s belonging to the community, however, any rational attempt to question the legitimacy of Indianism is highly unpopular in the community. As intimidating is sometimes felt the following line from the Indianist song about a Chicago Indian meditating on the sullen history of his nation.

We can not get to understand his disaster...

A brief look at the table of contents of all Indianist periodicals will show that the overwhelming emphasis is being put on translated materials on Indians only with rare and feeble stabs at Indianists’ speculations on the topic. As the editor of The First Americans set it forth,

“I know that Indianists’ ideas about Indianism can furnish a journal with interesting materials but my journal is first and foremost about Indians”.

Indianists’ life trajectory is an endless alternation of their identities. At one point in time they come together to give voice to their “red spirit”, and then retreat to their
respective social niches to set free their “white blood”. These identities are the kings in their own castles and their encounters are undesirable. Indianists’ passings (to use Goffman’s term) possess a purely mechanical and blind character: while flying over the chasm they never cast a look down.

Here the chasm intersecting the course of Indianists’ yearly pursuits may not be a critical one, but the chasm in their innermost identity is. The nature of interpersonal relations within the community may be viewed as an immediate reflection of the double self-identity bundle. The group portrait of the community-fellows is painted in broad strokes. One’s personality in the Indianist milieu is not partitioned, the details of his/her self-presentation are not reckoned with, filed, or analysed; facts of one’s social background are granted little interest. Red Wolf used to belabour the following point:

“No matter how a person eats, he should be satisfied with his food”.

All the discrepancies which potentially may evolve in the conflict of interests lack a fertile ground and if, by some chance, a conflicting situation pops up it is shortly extinguished. Mockery remains the most common and effective way of smoothing out conflicts.

Some of The Elders, true, take delight in misinterpreting situations for The Youths putting them on jokingly. For instance, Standing Bear is known as a person who plays a cool cowboy and who looks for gullible youngsters to get them to fall for his tricks. However, this sort of invasion into the interpersonal field has a specific in-group goal, namely to prevent the people from engaging into the blind worship of Indians.

Conflicts tend to emerge only in the situations when the far-reaching outward activities are begotten and launched within the community. Shortly after the foundation of the Altai rural settlement dissension began among its members as to the way of managing the profits. Some argued for a common fund and wage-levelling harking back to Indian customs, while others demanded more individual freedom cursing the egalitarianism of Soviet society. Then, when the creation of The Band of Indian Songs and Dances was under way, there existed a steady opposition and distrust in respect to its leaders. They were accused of poor preparedness and worthlessness. A similar situation occurred when the Leonard Peltier Support Group came into existence.

It might be expected that in closed and/or isolated communities interpersonal relations tend to be formulated by means of the metaphoric kinship which furnishes a community with the status network. This is, for example, the case with the Hippie community in Russia which is characterised by a certain system of kinship terms usage (Schepanskaya A. 1995). The usage of kinship terms among the members of the Indianist community may support the idea advanced below about the ill-differentiated character of interpersonal interaction.

Basically, there functions only one kinship term, brother, which is reserved for

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1 An example of this worship tendency can be furnished by a situation which the author witnessed in The Indian Run camp. The leader of the run, Sky Hawk, was sitting by the fire in a tipi with a group of young Indianists. At one point a girl asked him about the meaning of smoke, seemingly, expecting to receive from him a bit of ancient Indian wisdom. But Sky Hawk plainly replied that the smoke was eating into his eyes.
ceremonial occasions, and one quasi-kinship term, *kola* (Lakota ‘friend’), which is widely used in everyday communications and remains untranslated.

In the Indianist profane and ceremonial songs as well as in popular beliefs kinship terms are found more often. A reference can be made to father (*Smoke Purification Ceremony Song*), grandfather, mother (in the construction *Mother Earth*), brother and friend. Among them only grandfather tends to be attached to a clear referent - the site-owner. The rest do not appear to have a special addressee and function merely as a rhetoric calling.

These facts show that in the interpersonal space of the Indianist community there exists only one institutionalised position, or code, that of the Indianist as such without any particular status distinction. On the other hand, what seems to be the most appropriate thing for the structuration of the interpersonal field finds its place in the symbolic domain of abstract ideas.

Three chief kinds of interactive symbols are functioning in the Indianist community: the “Indian” nicknames, the “tribes” and the “Indian” handicrafts. No personal information, which would be useful for interpersonal communication, can be drawn from such nicknames as Big Bear or White Feather but a person denoted in this fashion can freely expose his set-up in its totality.

In European culture, to be sure, names are entirely alien both to the process of interaction and to the personalities of their bearers, but their function is performed by the statuses which downscale the individual set-up to meet the demands of the social network. The tribal appellations are equally non-interactive, though very important for the Indianist self-constitution.

The Indian handicrafts play the similar role of self-constitution and self-substitution in an interactive setting. They can be exchanged, or given as gifts. The Indianists say that a man-made Indianaesque article bears a part of the soul of its maker and, consequently, is not to be sold. As Red Wolf stated in one of his “sermons”:

> “When the people give me their articles as presents, I know that they share a part of their souls with me. Hence, when I see a tobacco pouch hanging on my wall, I think of Standing Bear; when I use my bone spoon I remember Crazy Lynx...”.

The utilisation of symbols instead of statuses for the construction of the interaction order brings about a situation when all the people belonging to the community are generally permeated with the outstanding feeling of mutual (even non-verbal) understanding, mutual consideration, warmth, and true kinship-like friendship. This structural closeness is further strengthened by the people’s desire to live up to the Indian image which they carry around inside from childhood.

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1 In this respect Indianists treat their Indianaesque articles even more affectionately than Indians themselves. The latter are known to have been involved for a long time in a profitable business of selling their handicrafts (surely, those which possess no religious value) to tourists.

2 A. Vaschenko is said to recall one of his first visits to Pow-Wow as follows: “We were sitting at night by a tipi and making a small talk. It was getting colder and I started to freeze. Suddenly, an invisible hand put a blanket on my shoulders. I won’t forget this episode. I would not expect them to be such caring for people”.
At the present moment, a palpable tendency is being articulated to give more weight to free interpersonal connections than to the in-group affiliations.

**Small Talk (1993):** “It is the relations between people as such, rather than the relations confined to the tribes and even to the whole community, that should constitute one’s principal concern”.

Not to the least extent has this attitude been bound up to the new type of gathering place, which started to function in St. Petersburg. While ‘Alkatraz’ and ‘Ethnos’ clubs were designed to provide a common piece of ground for the information exchange and this task naturally strengthened the tribal and communal ties, Indianists visit the Indian Cowboy Pub ‘Grizzly House’ with the principal purpose of drinking beer, dancing, listening to live Indian and country music and to meet the others. It is plausible that Indianism gradually switches over from the discourse-about-Indians to the discourse-proceeding-from-Indians.

Under the tranquil surface, however, has always run a strong subterranean current fraught with pain, sombreness and grief. This current gives voice to those feelings and experiences which are usually overshadowed by the Indianist enthusiasm and immersiveness. It bursts out in songs where the identity dichotomy is avowedly expressed. Below, some illustrative fragments are adduced:

Along a long and deserted road  
Was he walking disharmonious inside.  
The feet worn-out unto blood  
Were carrying along his evil fate.

***

Here are my greetings to you, White Brothers!  
How do you feel in our home?  
Are you happy or wretched with being our guests,  
Having built your home on our bones.

***

Brother!  
The tears of grief in the morning dew,  
A hundred years ago  
Were we all wounded in the Battle of Ghosts.

Clearly did I hear,  
The land there can speak  
The heart of Crazy Horse is beating there.

Friend!  
To nobody will I give this creek away  
That is the blood  
Which streams from under the earth
Like water.

***

All know about Moscow and Paris
But there is also Pine-Ridge Agency on the globe.
Since the last century onward
Genocide and bloody terror rules there.
Each step you take there
The shades of the dead are rising from under the earth…
You should know, the White World
You have buried you consciousness
In your volleys at Wounded Knee.

***

The chariot of progress is rushing ahead
Squashing the tribe with its wheels.

The severe combat which takes the form of the vicarious meditation on the struggle between Indians and Whites in America meanwhile is nothing else than a sublimed experience on the part of Indianists of their double self-identity. These counterbalancing halves both lay claims to being real and strive to cast the other aside as spurious. The internal dialogue takes the shape of a lawsuit as to which of the identities comes nearest the reality. By no means accidentally, the metaphor of death, the dead, the blood and the bones which can be assigned to the opposite referents is a commonplace in the songs.

Virtually, there are several ways of mediating this contradiction found among Indianists. First, the “freezing up” way which amounts to preserving the status quo of the alternating passings. This method is typical for The Elders.

Crazy Lynx (1997): “One should find his own tiny niche in the world, somewhere in-between, pursue his routine and keep his soul from rolling out”.

Second, the “propelling” way which aims to generate the institutionalised practices out of the internal resources of Indianism. The publishing activity, The Band of Indian Songs and Dances and the establishment of rural settlements - all belong to this category. Third, the “falling back” way which is employed by the people who drop from the community and edge their Indianist vocation out.

However, none of these “techniques” is capable of solving the identity problem. They leave the borderline between the actual and the social identity untouched. That this line really exists and that its trespassing may cause irreversible changes in an individual’s disposition is illustrated by the following lengthy testimony of Eagle Owl who dropped from the community several years ago:

“I could not stand the split and I dropped out of the community. I cut my hair short, stumbled into the club for the last time and said farewell to all. I was under stress and for some
time stayed at home trying to pull myself together. I felt that something important had happened to me, as if my bosom had ruptured. Suddenly I got to understand that all the people around me are divided into two groups: those of my clan and those of the opposite clan. Just what Indians always have had. With the people whom I recognised as belonging to ‘my clan’ I had no problems in interaction. They were easy to understand and, in a way, akin to me. But I was afraid of the people from the other clan. I could not get myself comfortable with them. The same concerned women: with those whom I included into ‘my clan’ I felt confident but they did not work on me and, moreover, if I ever cared to touch them, I felt I would have committed the worst of the crimes, like incest. With women from the other ‘clan’, on the contrary, I felt timid, though it were they whom I wanted a lot and considered the relations with them to be the only correct ones. I could instantaneously find out to which clan a person belongs but I am not able to explain the criteria I used. Never before had I carried around with me this feeling of the division and after it arouse it did not concern Indianists. Those days were very painful but I drew a very important thing out of my decision to leave the community: I can now avowedly admit that I am a Russian, a European or whatever and at the same time feel myself an Indian even stronger than before. To be an Indian and a European is all the same. I’ve done it! Now I can get to understand their disaster. I was downtrodden in the same way as they had been”.

It follows from this statement that the real intrusion into the domain of the immediate interpersonal relations pushes both the actual identity and the social identity to their breaking points. Setting his social identity into movement, the person in question came up against the drive to inject his life with those social rules which had been inherent in the traditional Indian (and, wider, indigenous) world and which had never been employed within the Indianist community. The paradox revealed here is that only via elevating these identities to their ultimate pitch can one experience their convergence and fusion.

**Conclusion**

Addressing the problem of the genesis of the human self from the play period of childhood onward, George Herbert Mead remarked:

“Children get together to “play Indian”. This means that the child has a certain set of stimuli which call out in itself the responses that they would call out in others, and which answer to an Indian. In the play period the child utilises his own responses to these stimuli which he makes use of in building a self” (Mead G. H. 1967. P. 150).

Children tend to adjust their disposition to the rules of the game offered. The internal cohesion of children’s actions, desires, thoughts, expectations etc. dominates the impulse to appropriate the elements of their personal set-up, i.e. to attach them to a single point of view which should be regarded as the self. In the course of maturation, a child comes across an ever-expanding variety of situations which make him develop his personal set-up to such an extent as to be able to participate in these situations. The web of interpersonal relations expands as well and life reveals its higher complexity in

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1 This phrase harks back to the line from one of the Indianist songs adduced on page 30.
comparison to games. The meaningful circle of man’s actions, desires, abilities, drives, thoughts, expectations, pursuits and the like is rent asunder in a stepwise manner being outmoded by the other type of self-organisation, namely that of a separate appropriation of these items by the personality. Modernity requires that each of the elements of an individual’s personal set-up be an indexical expression (to use the ethnomethodological vocabulary), rather than a category with a fixed meaning.

The Indianist phenomenon, on the contrary, implies another strategy of the personality’s social development. It preserves the original state of meaningfulness of the personality’s set up and hinders its appropriation. It explains the fact that those Indianists who set out to pursue their secular careers are likely to drop out of the community. While climbing the hierarchical ladder, a person is bound to get embroiled in various - often mutually incompatible - patterns of interpersonal relations which ask for a flexible personal set-up ready to generate instantaneous reactions to the evanescent social environment.

As it was shown, all the attempts to change the fabric of the Indianist society and hence to give rise to the flexible personal set-up were drown in the thickness of the symbolic expressions of the community.

Notably enough, conflict and equivocal situations tend to arise on the periphery of the Indianist community, for instance, in Altai settlement and in Leonard Peltier Support Group which constantly attracted the lay people. Contacts with the outsiders were bound to contribute to the decay (in the case of Altai settlement) and collapse (in the case of Leonard Peltier Support Group) of these undertakings.

Life in the late modern age, Anthony Giddens argues, has become a highly “risky” enterprise (Giddens A. 1990). Involvement in this sort of life destroys the psychological foundations of the Indianist phenomenon.

Modernity has brought about an outstanding system of immediate interaction between people. For every sort of interaction a certain pattern of treating the Other is reserved. The comparison of the Indianist alterology with the regular alterology may be summarised in the following scheme:

**Scheme.** The Regular and the Indianist Alterology

*The Regular alterology:*

Ego —— individual set-up <—— statuses —— Alter

roles

*The Indianist alterology:*

Ego/Alter —— individual set-up <—— symbols

codes
According to Kingsley Davis’s well taken definition (Cicourel A. 1974. P.14), the actual performance of an individual in a given position (role) should be distinguished from what he is expected to perform as an occupant of this position (status). The regular alterology implies that society makes a selection of the personal qualities and properties of an individual before granting him/her with a certain status. The performance of one’s role amounts to a further differentiation and “cell-division” in the personal set-up. A person partly returns to those of his/her properties which are excluded from the status performance, partly generates an additional set of actions.

Contrariwise, the Indianist alterology cares for the preservation of the original set-up of the individual and the communication is exercised by means of symbols and codes. Among the symbols, the nicknames, the “tribal” appellations and the Indianesque handicrafts were mentioned. They serve to perpetuate the original “version” of the individual set-up. Instead of bringing the personality to the fore and making it capable of a complicated interaction with others, these symbols turn the set-up inward to the effect of meeting the code which can take only two alternative forms - either the Indianist (being virtually tantamount to the Indian), or the non-Indianist.

It is tempting to stigmatise Indianism greatly as a local development of the complex which was coined by Jean Baudrillard as recyclage, or the anachronistic resurrection. He wrote:

“As Marx said of Napoleon III, sometimes the same events occur twice in history: the first time they have a real historical impact, whereas the second time they are no more than its farcical evocation and its grotesque avatar - nourished by a legendary reference. Cultural consumption can thus be defined as the time and place of the farcical resurrection and parodic evocation of that which is already no more - of that which is ‘consumed’ in the original sense of the word (consummated and terminated). Consumers are like those tourists who journey by coach to the Far North to retrace the steps of the gold rush, and who hire prospecting equipment and Eskimo costumes to lend a touch of local colour…” (Baudrillard J. 1990. P. 63).

However, a closer look at this phenomenon (which the author hopes he managed to furnish the reader) forbids lumping it together with those modern social practices which evoked Baudrillard’s contemptuous criticism. Indianists utilise recycling as a technique - moreover, not a single one - and do not deem it the ultimate goal. The best proof for this proposition is provided by the fact that they oppose to such practices as tourism, hobbyism, extrasensory addiction, the quest for Oriental wisdom - to name the few and keep their distinctiveness even in front of Indians themselves.

It is true that Indianists’ relation to the traditional Indian culture is of a nearly equal strength with the relation to this culture on the part of modern Indians. The latter are also prone to recycling their traditional values for the purpose of identity-construction and self-determination. Eugene Roosens shares with his observations of the Hurons:

“When I compared the characteristics of this neo-Huron culture with the culture depicted in the historic records, most of the modern traits, virtually everything, were “counterfeit”: the folklore articles, the hair style, the moccasins, the “Indian” parade costumes, the canoes, the
Indians inherit their link to the traditional world via their parents and adopt their attachment to the modern world via the majoritarian social milieu. Contrariwise (or similarly), Indianists inherit their attachment to the modern world via their parents and adopt their link to the traditional Indian world. Both ways of identity acquisition are interchangeable and, furthermore, imposed upon the individuals of a certain broad generation from outside. They are not generated within the world of an adult, self-conscious and independent personality, neither they are the result of free choice.

The case of Indianism may be used as an illustrative back-up to the turn of sociological and anthropological thought, which currently is obtaining increasing influence in the scientific circles, to seek for the roots of the ethnicity phenomenon within the structure of man’s identity. Its contribution to this trend may be seen as boiling down to the following queries: “To what extent can the ethnic membership inherited from the biological ancestors stand for the actual ethnic belonging of an individual?”, “Should the correspondence between an individual’s set-up and his ethnic label be taken for granted?” and “Do ethnonyms possess any fixed referent, or do they obtain it only from the context?” By and large, the Indianist phenomenon can bolster the idea, which is currently being proved by Anthony Giddens, that in the late modern age the basic properties of the individual cease to be fixed but become constitutive of the “reflexive narrative of self” (Giddens A. 1990).

Assessing the Indianist phenomenon in philosophical terms, it must be pointed out that the innermost drive for Indianists is to establish continuity in various realms of social life: the continuity of one’s personal life experience, the continuity of the ‘I - the Other’ bond and, finally, the continuity of the human race, i.e. the celebration of the unity of mankind and the mutual dependence of modernity, on one side, and primitivity, on the other side. An Indianist song sometimes referred to as the Indianists anthem reads:

A healthy sleep  
And a good bank account  
Make quite a nice drive.  
But I prefer to know across time  
That we are now just the same as then.

Indianism is a religion but one which dares to worship Man (paradoxically, without loosing its quality of being a religion), who towers above the full totality of potential and actual existence and is at one and the same time a child and an old man, a wizard and a puppet, a European and a savage, alive and a dead, and to experience His outpouring presence on the earth.
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