

# (Multi-)Mediatized Indians in Socialist Hungary: Winnetou, Tokei-ihto, and Other Popular Heroes of the 1970s in East-Central Europe

## *Indiánosdi* as a Multimediatized Practice

This study aims to analyse a specific field of the socialist past and its techniques of representation in our east-central European countries. This field, this “cultural field” (*champs culturel*), or “cultural practice” (*pratique culturelle*), to use the approach of the excellent French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1996), had two chief characteristics that seemed to be common to perhaps the majority of the scholars present in our conference in December 2015 in Sofia: first, that this socialist past and its cultural representations constituted our childhood—a peculiar childhood whose social context has been held and felt very different from the current postsocialist–early capitalist era, its imagery, and its attitudes;<sup>1</sup> and, second, that the same socialist past has provided a number of *cultural motifs*, *patterns*, and *ways of doing* for our childhood and early youth that themselves seem to have been (more or less) common in our east-central European countries. One such motif and also a pattern of doing was, I would argue, what we call *indiánosdi* (Indianizing) in Hungarian—that is, reading, watching, playing, reenacting (North American) “Indians”.

The functioning of *indiánosdi* during the 1970s in the Peoples’ Republic of Hungary is at the same time an excellent example of *multimediality*, the very topic of the 2015 conference. *Indiánosdi* relied upon—invented, I would say—all the branches of contemporary media and (almost) all the channels of interpersonal communication and bound them closely together. It appeared in the text of printed novels, in the drawings inserted into them (like frontispiece pictures or illustrations; among many examples, see Cooper 1973; May 1973, 1974, 1975; Weltskopf-Henrich 1973a, 1973b). *Indiánosdi* penetrated movie culture—for example, the extremely popular West German and East German “Indian films” as they were commonly called during the period and later on as well. Next to popular “spaghetti westerns”, the latter were qualified somewhat more positively “red westerns”, meaning that they replaced the good old opposition of “good guys–bad guys” with

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter, I rely on the conversations I led with friends, colleagues, and acquaintances during 2015 and 2016; see my research described under the subheading “Ego-histoire: A Self-History, Personal History Contextualized” in this study.

the opposition of “good Indians–bad Anglos”, and refreshed the latter in this way with a dose of socialist internationalism (*Commies and Indians* ... 2013). Two of their most popular heroes are to be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2. Figure 2 shows the famous French actor, Pierre Brice (1929–2015) in the role of Winnetou, the Apache chief of the German novelist Karl May (1842–1912); the image is from one of his films made together with the American actor Lex Barker (1919–1973) in the role of Old Shatterhand. Figure 1 shows the equally famous Serbian–East German actor, Gojko Mitić (1940–) after whom the East German Indian films were called rather ironically *Mitićfilmek* (‘Mitić Films’) in Hungary in the 1980s.<sup>2</sup> I will return to the impact of movie culture, but let us continue surveying the channels and sources of *indianosdi*. There were also specific filmstrips produced for children and the young audience with a Hungarian text by the Magyar Diafilmgyártó Vállalat (‘Hungarian Enterprise for Filmstrip Production’)—for example, James Fenimore Cooper, *Vadölő* (‘The Deerslayer’, 1963), *Bőrhárisnya* (‘Leatherstock’, 1961), *Az utolsó mohikán* (‘The Last of the Mohicans’, 1957, 1963) and Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, *A Nagy Medve fiai* (‘The Sons of the Great Bear’, n.d.), and *Winnetou* (1962, 1974).<sup>3</sup> But there were innumerable postcards and picture almanacs and toys (like the peculiar Indian outfit consisting of a feathered headdress or war bonnet and bows and arrows),<sup>4</sup> and there were social games (like playing Winnetou and Old Shatterhand in the bushes).<sup>5</sup> There were even certain patterns of behaviour and gestures, and also ways of speaking (e.g. gazing with a rigid face and saying “Uff” in order to stop conversation or crawling on the ground in a specific, Indian way, touching the ground with one’s fingers and toes only)<sup>6</sup>—all this constituted important and popular microelements of *indianosdi*. A great number of men and women from my generation (born in the 1960s) have played—and enjoyed—such games and practices, not much knowing nor really caring about the exact sources of all that and even less about the historical-political context in which it was embedded.

In order to open up the highly complex web of multimediality, one should find out first if and how certain ingredients of *indianosdi* exerted influence upon the others. Let us start with the possible impact of the movies.

<sup>2</sup> My own memories, shared by those participating in this research.

<sup>3</sup> I had a copy of the above mentioned filmstrips in my own collection as a child. They are widely known by my generation and the next one.

<sup>4</sup> I personally did not own any, but a lot of my friends and acquaintances did, regardless of their gender.

<sup>5</sup> Both little boys and little girls could play such games. Belonging to a “tribe” and sometimes also having chosen Indian names for individuals was the essence of the game.

<sup>6</sup> Such an Indian crawling has been copied directly from the descriptions to be found in the novels of Karl May.

### From Movies to Children's Books and Beyond

Figure 3 shows the frontispiece image of May's popular tetralogy, *Winnetou*, published in Hungarian for children in 1974 by the children's publishing house, Móra, in Budapest. Figure 4 is a black and white drawing from *A Nagy Medve fia*, the Hungarian translation of *Die Söhne der Grossen Bärin*, a two-volume novel of Welskopf-Henrich (1901–1979), a popular East German writer of the time (her novel has been published in German since 1951). The Hungarian translation came out in 1971 in Budapest, it was made from one of the original German texts (it is not specified though which one) and was addressed to the Hungarian youth. Accordingly, new drawings were attached to it. If one takes a closer look at these two pictures in the figures, one finds a certain resemblance of the Indian chiefs depicted in them to the contemporary movie stars shown in figures 1 and 2. The resemblance to Mitić is especially remarkable as to the physical appearance, the shape of the figure of the Indian shown in both Figure 3 and Figure 4. The body of Winnetou drawn in Figure 3 by a renowned Hungarian graphic artist of the day, Ádám Würz (1927–1994), seems to bear peculiar similarity to Mitić's body presented in movies like *The Sons of the Great Bear* (1966), *Trail of the Falcon* (1968), *Osceola* (1971), and so on. The body and the face of the French actor Pierre Brice could however also affect the illustrations, especially Figure 3, and other drawings of Winnetou. Brice played the role of May's Apache chief in the movies *Winnetou I* (1963) and *Winnetou II* (1964) and featured in some other great Indian films of the 1960s and 1970s. As for the black and white drawing in Figure 4, it represents Tokei-ihto, an imagined Sioux (Dakota) chief whose character was played by Mitić in *The Sons of the Great Bear*. This movie, as mentioned above, was based upon the novel entitled *Die Söhne der Grossen Bärin* of Welskopf-Henrich (who also wrote the screenplay), and the drawing was made by a Hungarian graphic artist, Tamás Szecskó (1925–1987), who had produced numerous illustrations for children and youth literature of the period.<sup>7</sup> The image shown in Figure 4 is taken from the Hungarian adaptation of the novel (1971). If one examines the shape of the face of Tokei-ihto in that drawing, one finds again possible traces of the influence of the face of the young Mitić—especially the form of his head, his face, and especially his cheeks.

Examples are numerous; much of infiltration and interpenetration can be detected among the different media of the socialist period conveying representations of those rather imagined indigenous inhabitants of North America. One can trace

<sup>7</sup> The son of Tamás Szecskó, Péter Szecskó, has also become a graphic artist, making illustrations for children's books. He illustrated, for example, the Hungarian translation of Grey Owl's *The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People*, published in 1975 by Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó (see Szürke 1975). The first Hungarian translation of this work was due to Ervin Baktay (1890–1963), painter, traveller, and Orientalist who did a lot for popularizing North American Indian culture in Hungary between the two world wars, and after WWII he initiated the first "Indian camp", a kind of hobbyist movement for Hungarian intellectuals in the 1930s. This "camp" was copied later on as well in different places in Hungary; one of the elderly contributors of my research had met Baktay in the 1960s.

the way of wandering—redrawn, reused, reconceived—images from novels to movies/filmstrips and back, from movies and filmstrips to book illustrations,<sup>8</sup> and from books and movies to doings, sayings, even objects. This dense intermediality makes the practice of *indiánosdi* a paradise indeed for cultural research, and not only for Hungarian scholars.

A significant complement to this richness is provided by the international character of the sources. Novels and movies, children's toys and filmstrips constitute a remarkable *ensemble*, a *textual and visual/figural repertoire* of the most varied linguistic and cultural origin, reuse, and re-adaptation. Without being exhaustive, let me put together some of the most notable examples. A number of those sources originated in West Germany (like the Indian films featuring Barker and Brice); some were East German (like those of Welskopf-Henrich, the publishing houses Altberliner Verlag Lucie Groszer and Kinderbuchverlag in Berlin, and the DEFA Filmstudio for which Mitić worked for years); some were Serb/Croatian (Mitić originally was a Serb born in southern Serbia, near to Leskovac but moved to East Germany); many of the Indian movies were made in West German and Yugoslavian co-production and filmed on locations now to be found in Croatia (e.g. the national parks of Plitvice, Paklenica, or the mountains above Rijeka), and the publishing house called *Mladost* ('Youth') in Novi Sad (today in Serbia) published children's books for Hungary as well as for Yugoslavia. Other ingredients of this cultural *mélange* were Czechoslovak (like this Indian outfit sold for children during the 1970s, which consisted of a colourful plastic headdress, a bow and arrows, and some other pieces of clothing),<sup>9</sup> while still others were Polish (such as the publishing house Czytelnik in Warsaw, which provided, as we will see, certain Indian books to translate abroad), and many were Hungarian or even Bulgarian. Among the latter two we find individual translations of the classical Indian novels of Cooper (1789–1851) and May and also several "original" works written in the wake of these authors.<sup>10</sup> By original I mean here Indian stories authored by European/east-central European local, domestic writers. Some of these books have even been *cross-translated* in our socialist countries, as I will return to it later.

What can we do with such a huge and complex amount of cultural material? How can we approach it; in what ways can we handle it? And, is it interesting at all? Are there any important—social, political, and so forth—lessons that its study would yield for us, eastern Europeans, and also, perhaps, for a wider audience? I attempt to answer these questions by presenting here the basic research questions

<sup>8</sup> There was a certain overlap between the graphic artists of filmstrips and children's books during the 1960s. Ernő Zórád (1911–2004), for example, was active at both filmstrip drawing and illustrating children's books. He made, among others, the black and white illustrations for the Hungarian translation of Thomas Mayne Reid's novel *The White Chief* published in 1975 by Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó (Reid 1975).

<sup>9</sup> A friend from my generation remembers having had a complete set as a little girl.

<sup>10</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Dobrinka Parusheva (University of Plovdiv) for her invaluable help and constant interest in this research.

and the first results of my own study concerning some of the material discussed so far. I have been working on the history and anthropology of *indianosdi* in Hungary for a while; this is the first study that I will have published about it. It is far from complete. I think however that it is worth sharing a first mapping of the data and an outline of a possible approach to this particular *champs culturel*.

### Ego-histoire: A Self-History, Personal History Contextualized

Let us start from a premise according to which the research of *indianosdi* can be understood as an *ego-histoire* as it was called once in modern French historical scholarship (Nora 1987). With some modifications necessarily having been made, it can be pursued as a self-history, a personal history contextualized—that is, put back into its contemporary social-cultural contexts. What are the characteristics of such a research?

It consists first of all of an examination of my own library of childhood, especially of the books with Indian content. This constitutes a good three dozen different works, which are usually illustrated. I have pursued a content analysis of them (both texts and images), on the one hand, and, on the other, I have tried to get information about their popularity, their past and present readers, and the views and emotions such works generate even today. Uploading their front cover and frontispiece pictures on my profile on one of the social media websites, I have invited comments from my Hungarian and foreign friends, colleagues, and acquaintances, a good three hundred persons. Relying also on some more traditional, philological as well as sociological research methods, I try to place my individual collection of Indian books—and my personal, individual knowledge about the whole practice of *indianosdi*—back into its common *sociocultural* and historical *web* or context. In the final analysis, it is about that particular sociocultural and historical context that I want to learn as much as possible, since my own past is embedded in it, so it might provide a knowledge that is more broadly relevant than the boundaries of one person's experience. That context and that knowledge was/is also relevant for a great number of my contemporaries, friends, acquaintances who belong to my generation and also those who were born some ten years later (during the 1970s). These are the perspectives that the kind of *ego-histoire* that I pursue could offer and that is why it is so exciting; it aims to find out—to identify—the “Social” in our individual experiences, in our subjective knowledge. And the purpose of all this would be a better understanding of how a certain *sociocultural* and also *representational reality* was (and still is) constructed around us—in the current case, a reality of “socialist Indians”. Cultivating *ego-histoire* means that the researcher pursues an analysis—a *deconstruction*, as one would say with Jacques Derrida (greatly simplifying his philosophical approach for the use of an anthropological history)—of that reality (Derrida 1967; Rorty 1995). The aim of such a deconstruction would be to find a place for the practice of *indianosdi* in the conglomeration of several other constructed and similarly complex representational realities that surrounded

us as social beings in certain periods of history. Those constructed, semi-real, semi-virtual realities make up the *representational repertoire* of a given historical period, age, social regime, social setting, or, for that matter, subculture, and it is the anthropologist's/historian's task to reveal them. It does not matter that he/she succeeds only partially, there is always a way to go further and deeper. The methodological approach outlined here is informed by the related works of Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Roger Chartier, and, as mentioned above, Pierre Bourdieu (Berger & Luckmann 1966; Chartier 1989). Considering our present times, the age of globalism and its impact on cultural encounters and research ethics, there are some contemporary *American Indian* scholars as well that I rely on for other important aspects of my approach. They will be mentioned later.

Figure 5 shows the frontispiece of the Hungarian translation of a Polish original story about *indiánosdi* for children entitled *Kosmohikanie* ('Cosmohicans'), written in 1967 by Polish author Ewa Lach and published in Hungarian already in 1970 by the children's publishing house Móra, in Budapest. A new, Hungarian title, *Micsoda kölykök!* was added to the work, which means "Oh, Those Kids!", and the image carries the basic visual stereotypes according to which the indigenous inhabitants of America were imagined and were expected to be visualized by the children of my generation—impressive headdresses, colourful body painting, tomahawks, and ritual shouting; one could even buy these kind of things, tools and toys in plastic or wood, in warehouses. By wearing such "regalia", one could indeed frighten or even "attack" the adults, one's parents, relatives, and so forth. Yes, one could, but *not without limitation*. An aspect of playfulness was also implied in those social games as a matter of fact: no one was expected to take things entirely seriously, neither the children nor the adults. As a consequence, after the attack, the little Indians were supposed to change back to proper, decent socialist children and go back to proper, orderly socialist schools—either in Poland or in Hungary.<sup>11</sup>

Let us now turn to the classical Indian novels and take a look at the illustrations included in their Hungarian translations to be found in my personal library. The majority of those illustrations are black and white drawings, while front cover and frontispiece images are normally in colour. A remarkable tendency of stereotypization can be located in these images: a reliance on a couple of characteristic *visual clichés* in representing North American indigenous people. I will discuss a selection of such clichés in the following paragraphs and I will try to demonstrate that the representation of the distant Other was *more* than just a neutral, or just a purely playful strategy, in socialist visual culture—likewise, its reception and appropriation.

Our book illustrations tended to *canonize* certain figures, appearances, postures, and gestures, suggesting that American Indians—all Indians in all times—looked

<sup>11</sup> Such an aspect of playfulness, amusement and fun is very much present in the memories that I have collected. And it seems only to some extent due to the reworkings of memory. Indian games were played as much seriously as for fun.

and acted as the book's illustrations depicted. Aimed to instruct a general, popular, and especially young, audience, these images have conveyed unifying, uniformizing, and at the same time simplified ideas of the native peoples of North America. Let us see some of the most common variations.

### A Heroic, Pathetic Representation (Snapshots)

A heroic, pathetic representation of the American Indian is to be seen in Figure 6, the front cover illustration of the Hungarian translation of Cooper's novel *The Prairie*, published in 1973, and also in Figure 7, the front cover picture of the same author's *The Last of the Mohicans*, published in Hungarian in the same year. Both images were drawn by the already mentioned Würz, an artist frequently employed for the illustration of children's books in the period.<sup>12</sup> Figure 8 shows one of the numerous inner illustrations of Welskopf-Henrich's novel *The Return of Tokei-ibto*, which were conceived in the same spirit, and the Hungarian translation of which also released in 1973. Such a visual heroization of the North American natives is well known from the Indian movies of the age, both in their Western as well as Eastern "Red" versions (*Comnies and Indians* ... 2013). It is important to recognize however to what an extent our graphical representations suggest the idea of *snapshots*. They seem to have originated as much in the still images of movie culture as its precedents—and perhaps also afterlife—in visual technology, namely *photography*. The pathetic late romanticism conveyed in the photos that the American photographer Edward S. Curtis (1868–1952) had made of a number of Native Americans during the early 1900s could have exerted a direct influence in this respect; it reached in an indirect way the illustrations of our children's books as well (Curtis 2005; see also Sz. Kristóf 2004).

### The Representation of Movement (Filmic Images)

Movie culture as such seems to have had an enormous impact on the imagery of our Indian books in another respect. Figures 9, 10, and 11 could give an idea of how *movement* appears in the graphical illustrations of those books—itsself originating in the visual world of the Indian films of the period. Figure 9, the front cover picture of *Az Ezüst-tó kincse*, the Hungarian translation of May's *Der Schatz im Silbersee* ("The Treasure of Silver Lake"), published in 1973 in Budapest, depicts a wild racing in the prairie, as does Figure 10, the front cover picture of the same author's *A medveölő fia*, *Der Sohn des Bährenjägers* ("The Son of a Bear Hunter") published in 1975 in Budapest.<sup>13</sup> Figure 11, the last inner illustration of the former novel of May goes, however, even further. This drawing from *Der Schatz im Silbersee* shows

<sup>12</sup> The Afterword of this edition of Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* were written by Ádám Réz (1926–1978), a well-known Hungarian literary critic of the age. It was he who executed the translation of both *Vadölő* ("The Deerslayer") in 1956 and *Az utolsó mohikán* ("The Last of the Mohicans") in 1973.

<sup>13</sup> The latter was made by another well-known painter and graphic artist of the age, Gyula Szőnyi (1919–2014).



not only a peacefully racking group of horsemen in an imagined landscape, but it provides clues for the reader/viewer to *identify* the mountains and cliffs in the background by a careful execution of the visual representation, the design, the shape, and the position of the cliffs. This is beyond doubt Monument Valley, lying on the border of the states of Arizona and Utah and to be found on the Navajo reservation in the United States of America, a typical scene for a great number of the “Wild West” movies from at least the time of the chief actor of the early Hollywood westerns, John Wayne (1907–1979). Just like Monument Valley represented, typified the “Wild West”, or the “Land of the Indians” for Hungarian children, so the figure of the *prairie Indians*, especially the *Sioux* with their spectacular headdress, tipis, and nomadic bison hunting came to represent the Indian in the over-simplified, over-stereotyped world of socialist multimediality of our childhood, novels, filmstrips, movies, photo postcards, and so forth.

Taking a look behind the images, it is important to note however that the land and the tribe did not/do not fit at all. No Sioux Indians (belonging to the Siouan language group) have lived in Monument Valley (if not by force). Since at least the sixteenth century, it has been the homeland of the Dine (or Navajo) Indians (belonging to the Athapascan language group) (Pritzker 2000: 51–55, 103, 316–339). Native American scholars have long expressed their criticism of those Hollywood movies and the resulting images that confounded different characteristics of the native tribes and conveyed a never-existing, constructed world of showcase lands and Indians (Kilpatrick 1999; Mihesuah 2001; see also Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008, 2012). These scholars surely would criticize the illustrations of our socialist Indian books for quite similar reasons. Contemporary Native Americans cannot identify with those pictures since they cannot recognize themselves in the exoticized, idealized, and/or homogenized, simplified images that the visual products of the dominant Euro-American culture has conveyed about them since at least the late nineteenth century (Fixico 1997, 2003; Mihesuah 2001; see also Sz. Kristóf 2004). Native Americans, being more heterogeneous both linguistically and culturally than it was suggested by those pictures, call the “natives” who appear in these images “celluloid Indians” (Kilpatrick 1999). As we see, celluloid Indians arrived in eastern Europe, too—they appear in socialist children’s books.

### Ethnographic Representations

It is undeniable however that there was an equally powerful tendency in our book illustrations to represent Native Americans with an ethnographic “accuracy”. At least there were efforts to do so. Figures 12, 13 and 14 are good examples. Their purpose is to introduce the viewer to the peculiar way of life of the indigenous people of North America, down to its details. Figure 12 is a drawing from Cooper’s novel *A préri* (“The Prairie”), depicting a scene of bison hunting with its various techniques, strategies, and tools. This is another Sioux scene, but this time placed in the appropriate locality, somewhere in the northeast of the North American



continent. Figure 13 is a drawing from the novel of Welskopf-Henrich's *Tokei-ihito visszatér* ("The Return of Tokei-ihito") (1973) and it represents a ritual speech inside a tipi: the specific clothes, tools, and ritual objects of the Dakota people as well as the wooden structure of the tent are all carefully shown. This also is a Sioux scene, but this time quite accurate, ethnographical, and "anthropological", one could say.<sup>14</sup> It is as if the viewer could observe *from inside* what would be happening in the tent. The drawing places the reader of the book in the role of a "participant observer"; she or he is supposed to share the anthropologist's position in gathering knowledge about the tribe. Figure 14 however is a drawing from *Sós sziklák völgye* ("The Land of Salt Rocks"), written originally by a Polish fake, or "wannabe Indian", Sat-Okh, alias Stanisław Supłatowicz, and translated into Hungarian in 1965. The drawings were made by a Hungarian graphic artist, Sándor Benkő, and they depict the way of life—in Figure 14, the ritual of initiation for young boys—of an *imagined*, never-existing Canadian Indian tribe, the so-called "sevanez" (probably a coined version of the name Shawnee).

Sometimes fake and sometimes closer to the real world, the ethnographic images in our children's books have contributed to the dissemination, and at the same time the acceptance and toleration, of those other ways of living that Native Americans pursued. Although many scholars of the latter would not perhaps agree (see Deloria 1988; Mihesuah 1998), these images managed to bring those distant cultures that suffered so much under Euro-American colonial rule closer indeed to Hungarian/east-central European readers. They have succeeded in turning—not only popular but also scholarly—attention and compassion towards them. Several of my colleagues who were fans of Indian books in their childhood have chosen the profession of ethnography/anthropology, and some still work either for the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and/or one or another of our universities and museums.<sup>15</sup> Knowing it from inside, I would argue that anthropology functioned not so much as a science of cultural exploitation (Deloria 1988; Biolsi & Zimmerman 1997) in Hungary of the day but, rather, as a science of curiosity, sympathy, and solidarity for native people. And these positive emotions and motivations owed a lot to the images of our children's books.

### Characters and Roles to Identify With: Warriors and Freedom

What conclusion can one draw in this rather early stage of research? Multimedia-tized *indianosdi* seems to have been a rather complex phenomenon of our socialist past. From a political point of view or, more exactly, from the point of view of the authorities it constituted a kind of "strain gauge" that was used deliberately by

<sup>14</sup> Welskopf-Henrich made several trips to the United States of America and Canada during the 1960s and 1970s in order to study the native culture of the Dakota Indians.

<sup>15</sup> A number of them participated in this research, but not all of them agreed to cite their names in this study. This and some other considerations led me to not mention the names of the contributors at all.

those in power. One could argue, thus in line with a Foucauldian analysis, that people were *allowed*, even *encouraged*, to watch, read, and play “Indians”. But only on condition that they do not revolt (Foucault 1975).

The practice of *indiánosdi* has however provided its audience with quite powerful characters and roles to identify with. And these characters and roles were those of the *warrior*. Derived from the image of North American Indian warriors (such as the Sioux in their battle for freedom from the 1860s to the 1890s) and founded partly on the international struggles for the cause of socialism (e.g. the campaign for Salvador Allende in Chile in 1970) and partly on the local, especially southeastern (Yugoslav), partisan culture of WWII,<sup>16</sup> the example of the “socialist Indian” warrior was addressed not only to little boys but also to little girls. Figure 15 is a drawing from *Tokei-ihito visszatér*, which suggests, as do almost all the pictures of that book, that rather a young male readership was addressed by the editors. Figure 16 shows however movie star Brice, as Winnetou, in a cut-out as it was distributed by a (West) German Jugendzeitschrift, a journal for the youth entitled *Bravo*, in the year 1964; a friend of mine—a woman!—had it in real size on the wall of her vestibule. The practice of *indiánosdi* affected both genders, indeed, as mentioned above, and images of female warriors also existed, circulated, and were acted out. They were even quite widespread; one example of this practice involving female warriors is shown in Figure 17. This drawing is from the front cover of a novel of Imre Kőszegi, *Tollas Konty* (‘Feathered Bun’), a piece of youth literature for girls in Hungarian, published in 1971 in Budapest. The novel relates how a teenage daughter of an agrarian cooperative of the country—that is, a high functionary in the socialist era, struggles with growing up, founds an Indian camp in her village, finds her way in the end, and becomes the respected leader of her age group. I had a copy of this novel in my own collection of Indian books.

Having a certain insight into the microcontexts and the microhistory of *indiánosdi* in the 1970s (and also the 1980s and 1990s) in Hungary, I would argue that the fact that the practice *did* include the pattern and also the potential to *fight* and to counter the authorities provided its attendants with such potentialities as the same authorities did not expect. And these potentialities turned out to be, in certain cases, more important, more powerful than the intention of the authorities to channel violence and calm down political anxiety. The practice of *indiánosdi* could thus serve—and we know that in many instances it did serve—in Hungary during the 1970s and 1980s as an alternative to official socialist culture. Its venues, sites, and localities functioned frequently as a meeting place for those in *political opposition*. Not only do the memories of the contributors to my research testify to this but also the files of the Hungarian state security service, since the Indian

<sup>16</sup> The exact relationship among these three aspects of the image of the socialist Indian in central Europe is still to be studied, its local variations are to be described. As for Hungary, I plan to write a study about it in the near future. See also *Commies and Indians...* (2013).

meetings—a *counter culture par excellence* for adults—were frequently observed by secret agents (Szőnyi 2005).

It is for such “post-Foucauldian” reasons that I am convinced that *indiánosdi* had a different and perhaps more complex meaning in socialist Hungary—and probably also in other socialist countries—than just another form of “hobbyism”, as it did in western Europe (e.g. in West Germany) or in the United States (Deloria 1998). For a lot of Hungarians of the day, multimediatized *indiánosdi* was a *dream* and a *game of freedom*. And perhaps that is why we were so much committed to it.

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**Gojko Mitić as Indian Chief**

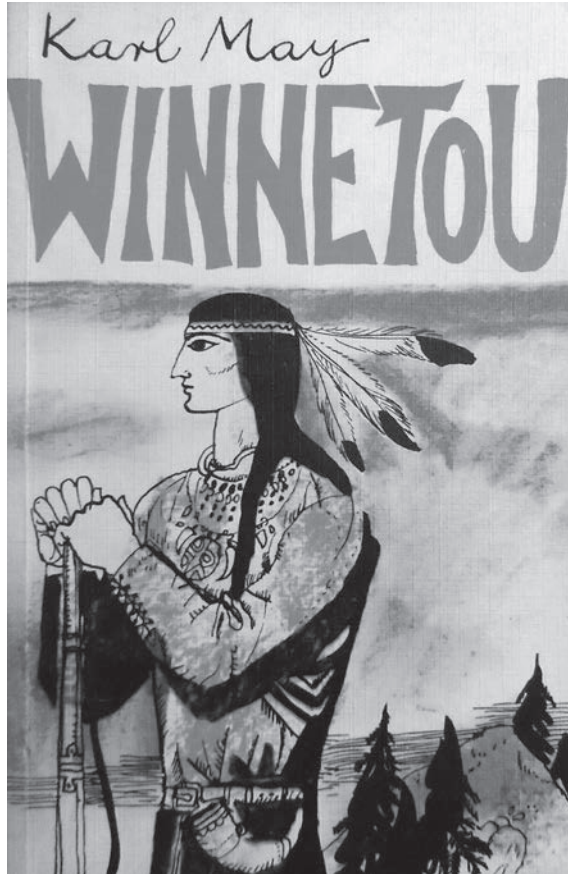
[https://www.google.hu/search?q=gojko+mitic&source=lnms&ctbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiv3MCY7rTNAhXJ\\_iwKHa2UC20Q\\_AUICCGB&biw=1366&bih=677#imgrc=TuAnJrdwuExn-M%3A](https://www.google.hu/search?q=gojko+mitic&source=lnms&ctbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiv3MCY7rTNAhXJ_iwKHa2UC20Q_AUICCGB&biw=1366&bih=677#imgrc=TuAnJrdwuExn-M%3A)



**Pierre Brice as Winnetou**

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Karl May, 1974 [1966]. *Winnetou*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., adaptation by Tivadar Szinnai, ill. by Ádám Würz,  
Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.

Winnetou

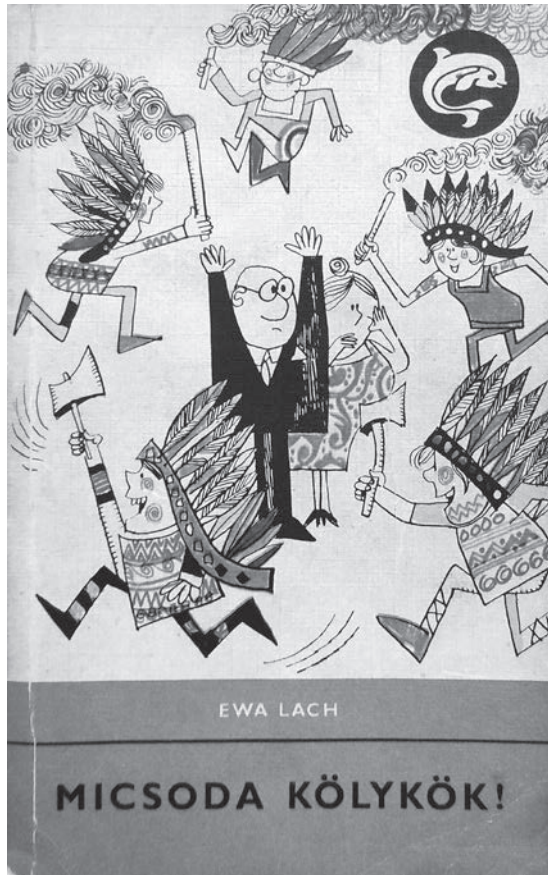




**Tokei-ihto**

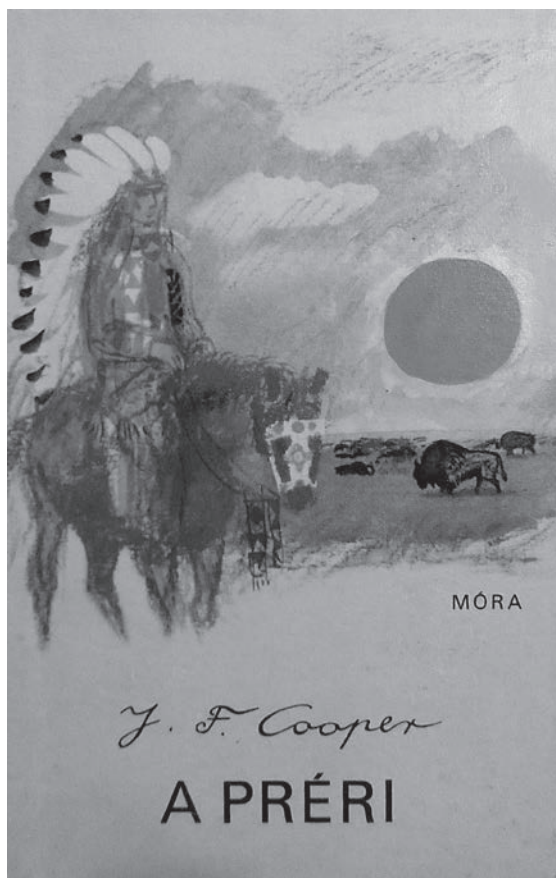
Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, 1973a [1971]. *A Nagy Medve fiai. Regény* ("The Sons of the Great Bear. A Novel"), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. by Stefánia Mándy, ill. by Tamás Szecskó,

4 Budapest: Móra Könyvkiadó, inner drawing, p. 149.



**Oh, Those Kids!**

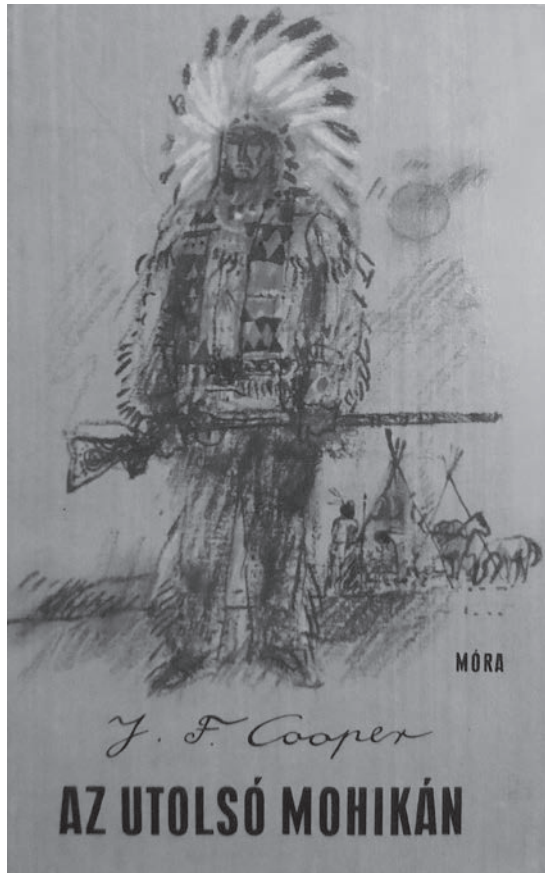
Ewa Lach, 1970. *Micsoda kölykök!* ('Oh, Those Kids!'),  
trans. by Jolán Cservenits, ill. by András Mészáros,  
Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.



**The Prairie**

James Fenimore Cooper, 1973 [1963]. *A préri. Regény* ('The Prairie. A Novel'), 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., trans. and adapted by Tivadar Szinnai, ill. by Ádám Würtz,

6 Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.



**The Last of the Mohicans**

James Fenimore Cooper, 1973 [1957]. *Az utolsó mohikán. Regény* ("The Last of the Mohicans. A Novel"), 4<sup>th</sup> ed., trans. and adapted by Ádám Réz, ill. by Ádám Würtz, Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.

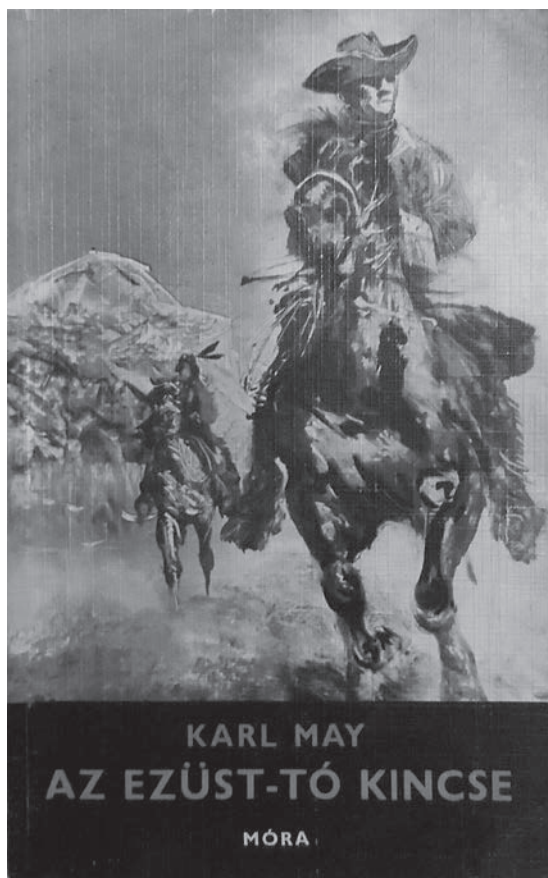


147

**The Return of Tokei-ihto**

Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, 1973b [1971]. *Tokei-ihto visszatér. Regény* ('The Return of Tokei-ihto. A Novel'), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. by Stefánia Mándy, ill. by Tamás Szecskó,

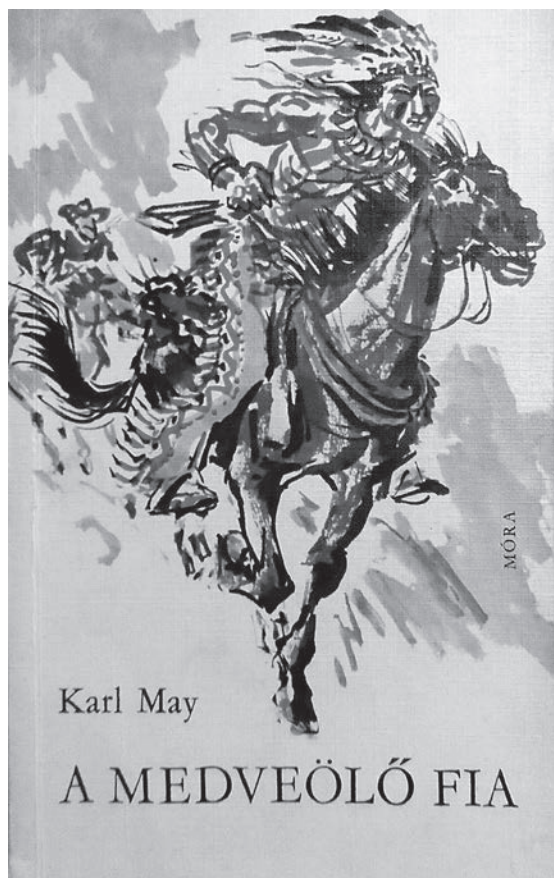
8 Budapest: Móra Könyvkiadó, inner drawing, p. 275.



**The Treasure of Silver Lake**

Karl May, 1973 [1964]. *Az Ezüst-tó kincse. Vadnyugati történet* ("The Treasure of Silver Lake. A Story from the Wild West"), 4<sup>th</sup> ed., adapt. by Tivadar Szinnai, ill. by Pál Csergezán, Budapest: Móra Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.





**The Son of the Bear Hunter**

Karl May, 1975 [1970]. *A Medveölő fia. Regény* ("The Son of the Bear Hunter. A Novel"), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. and adapted by Tivadar Szinnai, ill. by Gyula Szőnyi,

10 Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.



The Treasure of Silver Lake

11

Karl May, 1973 [1964]. *Az Ezüst—tő kincse. Vadnyugati történet* ("The Treasure of Silver Lake. A Story from the Wild West"), 4<sup>th</sup> ed., adapted by Tivadar Szinnai; ill. by Pál Csergezán, Budapest: Móra Könyvkiadó, inner drawing, p. 237.



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The Prairie

12

James Fenimore Cooper, 1973 [1963]. *A préri. Regény* ("The Prairie. A Novel"), 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., trans. and adapted by Tivadar Szinnai, ill. by Ádám Würtz, Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, inner drawing, p. 137.



**The Return of Tokei-ihto**

Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, 1973b [1971]. *Tokei-ihto visszatér. Regény* ('The Return of Tokei-ihto. A Novel'), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. by Stefánia Mándy, ill. by Tamás Szecskó,

13 Budapest: Móra Könyvkiadó, inner drawing, p. 89.



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**The Land of Salt Rocks**

Sat-Okh, 1976 [1958]. *A sós sziklák völgye. Egy indián törzs viszontagságai* ('The Land of Salt Rocks. The Adversities of an Indian Tribe'), 5<sup>th</sup> ed., trans. by Edward Mach, ill. by Sándor Benkő, Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, inner drawing, p. 11.

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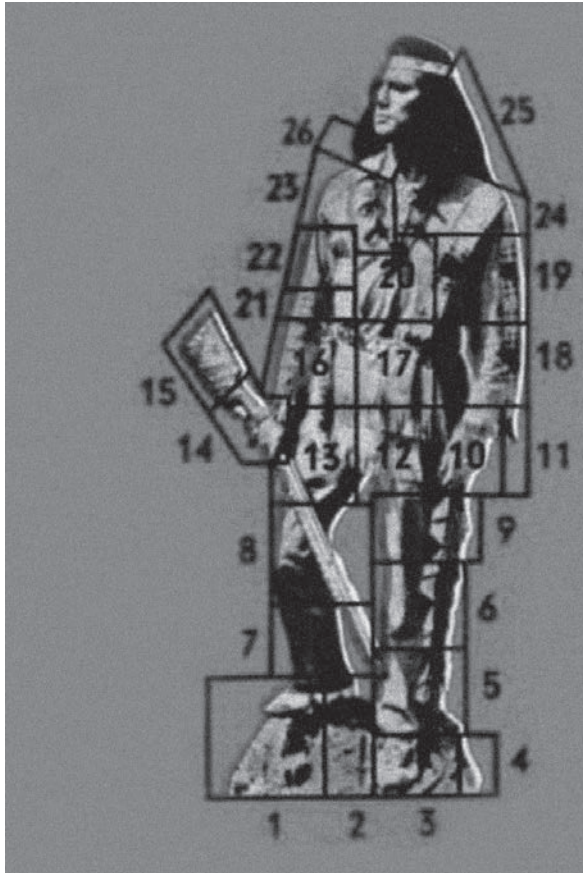


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**The Return of Tokei-ihto**

Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, 1973b [1971]. *Tokei-ihto visszatér. Regény* ("The Return of Tokei-ihto. A Novel"), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. by Stefánia Mándy, ill. Tamás Szecskó,

15 Budapest: Móra Könyvkiadó, inner drawing, p. 115.



Pierre Brice, Winnetou als Starschnitt

*Jugendzeitschrift Bravo*, 1964.

[https://www.google.hu/search?q=pierre+brice&biw=1366&bih=677&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKEwjdcO87rTNAhXIHJoKHTjlB\\_gQ\\_AUIBigB#tbn=isch&q=pierre+brice+starschnitt+bravo+1964&imgc=sujEgjRkC9lIM%3A](https://www.google.hu/search?q=pierre+brice&biw=1366&bih=677&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKEwjdcO87rTNAhXIHJoKHTjlB_gQ_AUIBigB#tbn=isch&q=pierre+brice+starschnitt+bravo+1964&imgc=sujEgjRkC9lIM%3A)



**Feathered Bun**

Imre Kőszegi, 1971. *Tollas Konty. Regény* ('Feathered Bun. A Novel'), ill. by Lajos Kondor,

17 Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.